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(S. B. Maharjan)

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Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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## Regency of Bahadur Shah<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

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After the death of Queen Rajendralaxmi, confusion arose at the royal palace as regards the future course of action. The new King was a minor, and Bahadur Shah was in detention. In the meantime, Dalajit Shah had occupied Kaski. Abhiman Simha also had gone to Kaski. All of them subsequently came to Kathmandu and held a meeting. They decided that nothing could be done unless Bahadur Shah was released from detention. Old royal palace officials and members of the nobility also suggested that Bahadur Shah should be invited. Bahadur Shah was released on the eleventh day after the death of Rajendralaxmi. He took over the regency after the end of the mourning period on the advice of all. First of all, Swarup Simha Karki was beheaded, Bahadur Shah then dismissed Balbhadra Shah during the next Pajani.

Kaski had been occupied when Rajendralaxmi was still alive. Bahadur Shah now decided that the Chaubise states across the Kali river should also be conquered. Since the kings of Palpa and Parbat were creating trouble, he summoned his elder sister Vilasakumari, who was married to Prince Rana Bhima Shah of Salyan, to advise on relations with the Chaubise kingdoms. Although Vilasakumari did not come to Kathmandu, she sent her son, Raghunatha Shah. Bahadur Shah did not discuss his plan with anyone in Kathmandu, but went to Gorkha to meet Raghunatha Shah along with the King. In Gorkha, they decided that Bahadur Shah should marry the daughter of Mahadatta Sen, King of Palpa and persuade him to accept the suzerainty of the government of Nepal. They agreed that this would make victory over all the Chaubisi states easy.

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Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samksipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shumshere and Nir Bikram "Pyasi". 2022 (1966). Chapter XVII, "Bahadur Shahko Mukhtiyar" (Regency of Bahadur Shah). pp. 92-101.

Contd...

Shiva Shah, uncle of the King of Gulmi, was living in Ramnagar in exile. His son had died. Shiva Shah was living in Ramnagar with a concubine, and a grand-daughter on the legitimate line, Vidyalaxmi. Thinking that it would be easy to conquer Gulmi if Shiva Shah was won over, Bahadur Shah brought Vidyalaxmi to Kathmandu as his betrothed bride. Then he sent Shiva Shah to attack Gulmi along with Gorkhali troops led by Jiva Shah. Damodar Pande, brother of Vamsha Raj Pande, who was then a minister, was sent to invade Parbat. He was also entrusted with the task of subjugating the kingdoms of the west. Similarly, Abhiman Simha Basnyat, another minister, was sent to occupy the kingdoms of the east. However, Abhiman Simha accompanied Damodar Pande up to the banks of the Kali river when the latter was going to invade Parbat. The Gorkhali troops reached the borders of Jajarkot in different groups after occupying Gulmi, Argha, Khanchi, Parbat, Musikot, Galkot and Pyuthan. The small kingdoms adjoining Jajarkot were also occupied. The Terai kingdom of Dang was occupied and given to the King of Salyan. Friendship had been established with the King of Jajarkot from the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Jajarkot had been given autonomy on payment of a tribute of Rs 700 annually to the government of Nepal. The Gorkhali troops returned to Kathmandu after having this treaty reconfirmed. Bahadur Shah became very powerful after these victories, which were celebrated with great jubilation in Kathmandu. Feudatory kings like Mahadatta Sen also attended the ceremony. They received elephants, horses and other gifts from the hands of King Ran Bahadur Shah. In return, they presented gifts to King Ran Bahadur Shah. Mahadatta Sen received the kingdoms of Gulmi, Argha and Khanchi as his reward. Angyal Dorje, King of Mustang which was situated near Parbat, also accepted the suzerainty of Nepal. Friendship was maintained with the Kingdom of Jumla by giving away some villages in Mustang. Although Shiva Shah of Gulmi had helped in the war, he did not receive the Kingdom of Gulmi. He therefore became frustrated and died.

Bahadur Shah then started a war with Tibet on the issue of debased coins. Disputes had arisen during the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah because debased coins for circulation in Tibet had been issued by Jaya Prakash Malla. An envoy from Nepal had gone to Tibet to conclude an agreement in this regard. Prithvi Narayan Shah died by the time the envoy reached Khasa. An agreement was then signed by the representative of the Dalai Lama, the Lama of Sikkim, and other leading Lamas, representatives of the King of Nepal, Kaji

Contd...

and the Taksari at Khasa during the reign of King Pratap Simha. That agreement remained in force only during the reign of King Pratap Simha. After his death, the Tibetans stopped supplying pure gold and silver coins, hence Nepal-Tibet trade was totally disrupted.

According to the Khasa treaty, trade between India and Tibet could be conducted only via Nepal. But the Tibetans started conducting trade through the Sikkim route. When a clarification was sought during the reign of Queen Rajendra-laxmi about such violation, Tibet hinted that this had been done because it had to sell silver, but did not send an official reply.

In the meantime,<sup>a</sup> a dispute arose at the monastery of the Tashi Lama of Digarcha. The Chief Lama of Digarcha, Palden Yara, died on his way back home after visiting the Emperor of China. His brother, Shamarpa Lama, became the Lama temporarily. Shamarpa Lama misappropriated gold worth hundreds of thousands of rupees. When a new Lama, a minor, was installed there, his father inquired into the property of the monastery. A quarrel ensued between Shamarpa Lama and them. Shamarpa Lama, taking all movable property in his possession, fled to Sikkim, along with fifteen colleagues, through the newly-opened route. On their arrival at the border of Nepal, they informed the Nepal government that they wanted to live in Nepal as refugees.

A war was going on at that time in the west, but Bahadur Shah sent Ranajung Pande to receive these Lamas. They were brought to Kathmandu and kept at Swayambhu. Bahadur Shah made them citizens of Nepal on their request.

When the war in the west ended, Bahadur Shah invaded Tibet on the charge that it had stopped trade with Nepal. Kuti and Kerung were attacked simultaneously. The Tibetans could not face the Nepalis. The Ambans of Lhasa then forced the Tibetans to sign an agreement with Nepal. Nepal demanded that Kuti should be vacated or Rs 10 million paid as reparation. After prolonged discussions, Tibet agreed to pay Rs 50,000 annually to Nepal. The Nepali troops returned after an agreement to this effect was signed in Kerung.

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Tibet was then under the suzerainty of China. During the reign of the Ming dynasty in China, Tibet had become almost independent. The Manchu dynasty succeeded the Ming dynasty in China. The Manchu Emperors could not exert any pressure on Tibet. They sent two Ambans to Lhasa as their envoys. These Ambans only functioned as advisors to the Tibetans. At that time, they expressed the view that representatives of the Nepal government should be sent to the Chinese Emperor along with a copy of the new treaty. Their intention was to utilize this opportunity to suppress the Tibetans.

The simple-minded Gorkhalis agreed to this offer, and a Nepali representative, accompanied by an Amban, left for China via Kuti. The delegation was received in China with great honor. The Emperor of China conferred medals on both Bahadur Shah and Ran Bahadur Shah. The latter was conferred the "Arti-Tiwang", while Bahadur Shah received the "Ghung." The other Amban accompanied the delegation on their return. He came through Kerung and returned via Kuti. Both Ambans surveyed the route during their visit.

Shamarpa Lama too had signed the treaty with Tibet on behalf of Nepal in the capacity of a Nepali citizen in Kerung. The Tibetans were infuriated by the manner in which a refugee from Tibet, who had defalcated property, had signed a treaty to suppress Tibet. The Tibetans paid Rs 50,000 according to the treaty during the first year. But they discontinued payment from the next year. During the third year, a Tibetan representative visited Nepal and demanded fresh negotiations, refusing to pay the amount. It was then decided to hold a meeting in Kuti, and a Nepali representative went there for this purpose. The main aim of the Tibetans was to arrest Shamarpa Lama. Knowing this, Shamarpa Lama did not go to Kuti. When the Tibetans asked why Shamarpa Lama did not attend the meeting, the Nepalis said that he was ill. But the Tibetans refused to talk in the absence of Shamarpa Lama. The Nepalis, realizing that the Tibetans had come not to hold talks but to arrest Shamarpa Lama, arrested them and brought them to Kathmandu.

Before the Tibetan officials were arrested, there had been war with Jumla, because Jumla had assisted Tibet during the Nepal-Tibet war. Jumla had also seized the Kingdom of Mustang, which had accepted the suzerainty of Nepal. Nepali troops, led by Kaji Shiva Narayan Khatri, advanced toward Jumla along the Himalayas via Muktikshetra. These troops occupied Tibrikot first. After some days, Shiva Narayan Khatri occupied

Contd...



Chhinasim, capital of Jumla. Seeing no advantage in proceeding further, Shiva Narayan Khatri appointed Bhakti Thapa as Subedar and sent him to occupy Dailekh and Dullu along with a Brahman Sardar, Kalu Pande. Kalu Pande attacked Bilaspur, capital of Dailekh. The King fled, and Dailekh was occupied without any difficulty. When the Gorkhalis attacked Dullu, everybody, including the King, fled. They were later persuaded by Kalu Pande to come back. Dailekh was incorporated into the Kingdom of Nepal because it was without a King. Dullu was left intact, because its King, Uttama Shahi, accepted Gorkha's suzerainty. Bhakti Thapa then proceeded toward Jumla. Shiva Narayan Khatri was already in Jumla at that time. They extended their authority over the whole of Jumla. Gorkha's dominions thus extended to the Bheri river.

Bajhang had once formed part of the Kingdom of Kumaun. It became independent following a civil war. The King of Doti then asked the King of Bajhang to accept the status of a vassal but the latter refused. A princess of Bajhang had been married to a son of the King of Doti. The King of Doti then offered to designate this son as successor if he killed his father-in-law, the King of Bajhang. The son actually did so by deceit when he visited Bajhang during the Dashain festival. The infant son of the assassinated King of Bajhang was then in Achham. The officials of Bajhang decided to accept Gorkha's suzerainty, thinking that Gorkha would then punish the King of Doti.

Without the knowledge of the King of Achham, the officials of Bajhang went to Dullu and signed a treaty accepting Nepal's suzerainty and agreeing to pay a tribute of Rs 500 yearly. The King of Achham rejected an offer made by the Gorkhalis to sign a similar agreement. The Gorkhalis thereupon attacked Achham. The King of Achham fled and hid himself in the Mahabharat forests.

Doti was the next target of the Gorkhalis, but it was difficult to attack it. Doti was an extensive kingdom. Kaji Shiva Narayan Khatri, Captain Golaiyan Khawas, Sardar Amar Simha Thapa and others had been sent from Nepal to invade Doti. Kaji Jagatjit Pande was sent to assist them. A civil war was raging in Kumaun by the time these officials reached their Joshi Brahman ministers. Mohan Chand had been declared King, superseding the old royal dynasty. Mohan Chand was killed in the course of a clash with the Joshis. His son, Mahendra Chand, /Salyan between the Chand Kings and

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expelled the Joshis and became King. Harshadeva Joshi, one of the expelled Joshis, went to Salyan and asked Prince Ranabhima Shah (Prithvi Narayan Shah's son-in-law) to provide him with troops, promising that he would then bring Kumaun under Gorkha. Harshadeva Joshi also requested that he be allowed to accompany the troops. Harshadeva Joshi's offer was accepted, and he proceeded toward Doti along with Gorkhali troops.

Jagajit Pande occupied Depayal, capital of Doti, easily. The King of Doti fled. The troops of Doti sustained a defeat at the battle of Dumrakot at Narayanghat. The whole of Doti was then annexed into the Kingdom of Nepal.

When the Gorkhali troops reached Kumaun, Amara Simha Thapa was defeated in a minor battle. However, Amara Thapa and Jagajit Pande jointly defeated the King of Kumaun in another battle. The King of Kumaun then fled. Kumaun was occupied easily. The Gorkhalis then proceeded towards Garhwal. They marched toward Srinagar, capital of Garhwal, along the banks of the Alaka river. The ministers of Garhwal then fled to an inaccessible fort in the Mahabharat mountains along with the infant king. The Gorkhalis occupied Srinagar, and then besieged the mountainous fort. The siege continued for a year with sporadic fighting. One year later, the Gorkhalis were defeated in a minor skirmish at Paniyakhet. The defeat was due to the fact that a large number of the troops of Doti were assisting the Gorkhalis.

As soon as news of this defeat reached them, the kings of Kumaun, Doti, Jumla and Loham made attempts to reoccupy their kingdoms. The King of Loham did so immediately and killed two companies of Gorkhali troops which had been stationed there. As a result, Nepal's contacts with the west were broken.

At this time, Bahadur Shah faced great difficulties. The Tibetans remained intransigent even after their representatives were arrested. The Gorkhali troops then attacked Digarcha and the gumba of the Panchen Lama. The Gorkhali troops were led by Damodar Pande and Bam Shah. The Gorkhali officers plundered the gumba when the Lamas fled. However, the Gorkhalis sustained a heavy loss of life when they were coming back through Syartangpo, as winter was approaching. Even then, the Gorkhalis were able to come back to Kathmandu along with the plunder. The plunder provided an excuse to the Chinese.

The Chinese general who had come to Kerung wrote a strong letter to the King of Nepal, demanding that the plundered goods should be restored, because these had been given as presents by the Chinese Emperor to the Panchen Lama. The Chinese courier was taken into custody. Discussions then started at the royal palace as regards the next step. On one side was the Chinese invasion, and, on the other, defeat in Garhwal. Gajaraj Mishra, who was in Banaras at that time, realized that there was no alternative but to sign a treaty with the English. He met Mr. Duncan, the English Trade Representative in Banaras, and raised the question of signing a trade treaty. Gajaraj Mishra and Mr. Duncan then drafted a treaty with the help of Munshi Abdul Kader. The treaty was signed by both sides in a hurry. (in order to please the government of Nepal. The Nawab of Oudh

The English were waiting for an opportunity to send an English officer to Nepal in order to study its actual condition. Accordingly, terms were formulated which would cause no harm to Nepal. However, Nepal did not permit any English officer to visit its territory. It permitted only Munshi Abdul Kader to visit Nepal. After the treaty was signed, the English government wrote a letter to the Nawab of Oudh/was persuaded to write to the Nawab of Rampur exerting pressure on the King of Garhwal to accept the suzerainty of Nepal. Because of his difficult position, the King of Garhwal agreed that an envoy of the Government of Nepal should be appointed in Garhwal, that Garhwal should not maintain contacts with any other state, that it should not maintain contacts with any other state, and that it should accept Nepal's suzerainty.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Commander-in-chief, Tung Thang, entered into Nepal through Kerung along with 9,000 troops. There was an encounter between the Gorkhalis and the Chinese at Kuti, in which the Gorkhalis were defeated. The Chinese army then encamped at Listi, which is situated at a distance of approximately 30 kōsh east of Kathmandu. The Gorkhali troops too encamped nearby, determined not to allow the Chinese to march farther. Fighting came to an end when the Chinese raised the question of signing a treaty. They proposed that the Chinese troops should be shifted to Dhaibung for the purpose of holding negotiations. The Gorkhalis therefore vacated Dhaibung and encamped on the other side of the Betrawati river. Negotiations continued for one month, but without any result. The Chinese then proposed that negotiations should be held in Nuwakot. The Gorkhalis did not accept

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this proposal, as they were afraid lest the Chinese should proceed slowly toward Kathmandu. They were determined not to allow the Chinese to cross the Betrawati river.

In this situation, a Chinese commander crossed the Betrawati bridge along with 3,000 troops. The Chinese force was attacked by the Gorkhali troops stationed at Gerku and Chokde under the command of Damodar Pande and Kirtiman Simha Basnyat. The Chinese were defeated. The Gorkhalis destroyed the Betrawati bridge so as to prevent the Chinese from coming back. Nearly 1,000 Chinese soldiers fell into the Betrawati river and were killed.

As winter was approaching, the Chinese raised the question of a truce. They demanded that the goods plundered from the gumba of the Panchen Lama in Digorcha should be restored, but did not specify the quantity. The government of Nepal therefore accepted the proposal. The Chinese also demanded that Shamarpa Lama should be given back to them. However, the government of Nepal replied that it would not surrender refugees. Tung Thang then promised that he would not harass Shamarpa Lama, but let him stay at his monastery along with his comrades. Nepal thereupon agreed to give Shamarpa Lama back to the Chinese.

The Tibetans who had been arrested in Kuti, as well as the Chinese courier who had been taken into custody, were then released and sent away from Kathmandu. However, Shamarpa Lama took poison and committed suicide at the first halt. The Chinese took away his dead body, saying that it would be buried at his monastery. The treaty was then signed. The Chinese took Kuti and Lhasa.

During the war with China, the King of Sikkim fought against Nepal on the Chinese side. Gorkhali troops therefore reached Sikkim and inflicted a defeat on the Sikkimese army. The capital of Sikkim was occupied. The Chinese did not pay any attention to Sikkim, which was situated on the southern side of the Himalayas. The government of Nepal relinquished Kerung when the Chinese made a demand to this effect. Kuti had always being a part of Tibet. Khasa belonged to Nepal, but Nepal was forced to relinquish it. Bahadur Shah agreed to sign the treaty accepting all these conditions.

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Bahadur Shah committed a blunder by invading Tibet. Prithvi Narayan Shah had directed that war should never be fought on two fronts. However, Bahadur Shah started a war on the Garhwal front also. He had thus to face difficulties on both fronts. The English arranged for the signing of a treaty with Garhwal. In any case, after the treaty with China was signed, the English were not in a position to interfere in Nepal, because they did not understand the intentions of China. The gains of the war with China thus almost equalled the losses.

Since a trade treaty had been signed, the English tried to send Captain Kirkpatrick to Nepal as their trade representative. Bahadur Shah had signed this trade treaty with the English hoping that he would be able to buy arms for the war with China. But when the English refused to supply arms to the agent sent by the government of Nepal to Patna against payment in cash, the Nepalis felt displeased, realizing that the English were opportunists. Bahadur Shah was actually not happy with the English. But he remained silent, as his displeasure would have been interpreted as the official displeasure of the government of Nepal. Because of the opposition he faced, Bahadur Shah summoned Captain Kirkpatrick not to Kathmandu but to Nuwakot, where he took King Rana Bahadur Shah also. Kirkpatrick remained a few days in Nuwakot, and then came to Swayambhu. He stayed a few days in Kathmandu before returning to India in March 1793 A. D.

A few months after Kirkpatrick's departure from Kathmandu, Rana Bahadur Shah attained the age of eighteen years. Traditionally, it was necessary to entrust the reins of the administration to him, now that he had attained majority. However, Rana Bahadur Shah could not accept this responsibility. Considerable expenditure had been incurred in war. It was necessary to recruit additional troops at different places, and dismiss them at other places. Moreover, it was necessary to give rewards to those who had displayed bravery in war. All this could not be completed within a year. Accordingly, Bahadur Shah and Rana Bahadur Shah ruled jointly for about a year. In actual fact, the wishes of Rana Bahadur Shah always outweighed those of Bahadur Shah.

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Calendar of Historical Documents

(1837 Vikrama)

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Ijara for Revenue Collection

(Jestha Sudi 15, 1837)

Ijara granted to ... Chaudhari for revenue collection in Mahottari district for a three-year term. Total amount Rs 7,503. (36/472-73) X

Appointment of Chaudhari

(Jestha Sudi 15, 1837)

Appointment of Bhanu Chaudhari for revenue collection in Koradi Parganna of Mahottari district. (36/473-74).

Exemption from Payment of Chumawan Levy

(Ashadh Sudi 5, 1837)

Royal order to Mahanta Tetar Shaiwa granting exemption from payment of Chumawan levy on Birta lands belonging to the Pindeshwar temple in Morang. (5/582).

Restoration of Property of Lama

(Ashadh Sudi 15, 1837)

Royal order to Karma Rayake Lama, reincarnation of Ghelung Sera Yabago Lama. "Ghelung Sera Yabago Lama had placed some property in the charge of a Jajman. This was appropriated by Jaisi Taudhik. According to custom, the disciple of a deceased Lama inherits his property, and vice versa. We hereby reconfirm this custom, and accept a fee (Bhetghat) in consideration thereof." (5/583).

Sale of Kush Birta

(Shrawan Sudi 1, 1837)

Damodar Pande had been granted 6.25 ropanis of land as Kush Birta. He sold this land to Harikrishna Vaidya for Rs 75. The sale has been confirmed through royal order. (5/582).

X These figures refer to the volume and page numbers in the Regmi Research Collections.

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Reconfirmation of Nankar Lands

(Shrawan Sudi 10, 1837)

Royal order reconfirming the Nankar lands of Devanarayan Chaudhari in Sidhmas, Parsu district. (36/471).

Collection of Chumawan Levy

(Shrawan Sudi 15, 1837)

Royal order to Indramani Basnyat and Garbhu Khawas, Fouzdars of Saptari district. "We have received reports that the ryots of Saptari district have been put to hardship because of the high rates of the Chumawan levy. We therefore order you to make collections at the rates prescribed for Mahottari district." (5/583).

Reconfirmation of Homesite

(Bhadra Badi 5, 1837)

Reconfirmation of the homesite of Jasadhar Thapa in the Deurali area. (36/472);

Collection of Buffalo Levies

(Aswin Badi 2, 1837) (36/476-77)

Three-year Ijara granted to Mahindra Singh Newar for the collection of buffalo levies (Bhainsi-Bhansar) all over the kingdom. (36/476-77).

Collection of Buffalo and Pasturage Taxes

(Aswin Sudi 5, 1837)

Hridaya Ram Chaudhari and Adham Chaudhari granted one-year Ijara for the collection of pasturage (kascharai) and buffalo (Bhaisodha) taxes in Mahottari. Total Amount: Rs 2,667. (36/475-76).

Contd...

Jagir Land Grant

(Aswin Sudi 15, 1837)

One mouja of waste land in Koradi (Mahottari district) granted as Jagir to Bichitra Mahant. (36/480).

Reconfirmation of Birta Grant

(Aswin Sudi 15, 1837)

Reconfirmation of Kush Birta granted by King Bhupalendra Malla to Durga Das Padhya to the latter's descendant, Chamu Padhya Ghimire. (36/477).

Appointment of Peshkar

(Kartik Badi 1, 1837)

Royal order reconfirming Narepati Das as Peshkar in Vijayapur-Morang to discharge functions relating to correspondence, revenue accounts, etc at the office of the Subba. (5/585-86).

Guthi Management in Kathmandu

(Marga Badi 13, 1837).

Bajnath Upadhyaya was granted a three-year contract (Ijara) for the management of 26 Guthi endowments on payment of a yearly fee (Mahasul) of Rs 261 to the government. (36/479).

Guthi Management in Patan

(Marga Badi 13, 1837)

Nanda Ram Upadhyaya granted contract (Ijara) for the management of Guthi endowments in Patan (previously operated by Ganga Bahadur) on payment of a yearly fee (Mahasul) of Rs 351. (36/480).

Appointment of Mokaddam

(Poush Badi 14, 1837)

Royal order appointing Baladas Mokaddam in Bhardah, Khalisa (Septari district). (5/592).

Contd...

Jagir Land Grant

(Magh-Badi 14, 1837)

Royal order granting virgin lands (Kalabanjar) in a Terai district as Jagir to Bakhat Singh. (5/590).

Appointment of Munsiff

(Magh Badi 30, 1837)

Royal order appointing Jamadar Ramachandra Khawas as Munsiff in Morang to measure lands and compile tax-assessment records. (5/587).

Regulations for Munsiff in Morang

(Magh Badi 30, 1837)

Regulations issued through royal order in the name of Ramachandra Khawas defining his functions as Munsiff. (5/587).

Revenue Regulations

(Magh Sudi 4, 1837)

Regulations in the name of Fouzdars Abaya Singh Khawas and Garbhu Khawas for Septari and Mahottari. (36/497).

Assurance of Protection

(Magh Sudi 11, 1837)

Royal order granting protection to Parashuram Thapa so long as he remained loyal. (5/591).

Contd...

Appointment of Kanugoye in Bara

(Magh Sudi 13, 1837)

Nandalal Das was appointed Kanugoye of Tokani Parganna in Bara district and given the waste mouja of Pakari as his Nankar holding. (36/486).

Revenue Collection Contract

(Magh Sudi 13, 1837)

Nandalal Das was given a five-year contract (Ijara) to reclaim Simhapur, a waste mouja in Tokani (Bara district) on payment of the following amounts yearly:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Payment</u> Rs
1837	5
1838	7½
1839	15
1840	26¼
1841	52½ (36/485)

Kushi Birta Grant

(Magh Sudi 13, 1837)

Sarba-anka-bitalab-Kusha-birta grant to Raghunath Pandit in Charbant, Bara district. "Any person who misappropriates the produce of this land shall be deemed to have eaten beef if he is a Hindu, and pork, if he is a Mussalman." (5/589).

Jagir Land Grant

(Magh Sudi 13, 1837)

Royal order granting 3 moujas of virgin lands (kalabanjar) at Khesraha in Mahottari district as Jagir to Jayanta Khawas and Manya Khawas. (5/588).

Contd...

Appeal to Emigre Chaudharis

(Magh Sudi 14, 1837)

Manbodhi Chaudhari and Satar Chaudhari of Saptari-Mahottari, who had fled to India, were asked to come back and reoccupy their lands. (36/492).

Land-tax-assessment Records in Saptari-Mahottari

(Magh Sudi 14, 1837)

Fouzdars Abhaya Singh Khawas and Garbhu Khawas were directed to compile land-tax-assessment records on a provisional basis without measuring lands, taking into account the existing level of collections and the views of the local Chaudharis, Kanugoyas, Mokaddams, and ryots. (36/492).

Payment of Salaries

(Magh Sudi 14, 1837)

Order to Fouzdars Abhaya Singh Khawas and Garbhu Khawas regarding payment of salaries amounting to Rs 2,832 with the revenues collected in Saptari and Mahottari to troops stationed in the forts of Bhadaruwa, Naraha, Rupaitha and Bhewa. (36/490).

Appointment of Peshkar

(Magh Sudi 14, 1837)

Khelapati Das was appointed Peshkar for Saptari and Mahottari to handle official records and correspondence at the district headquarters office under the Fouzdar. (36/493).

Appointment of Priest

(Magh Sudi 14, 1837)

Royal order appointing Damodar Padhya as priest of the Narayan temple in Machhegaun (Kathmandu). (5/591).

Contd...

Management of Sera Lands

(Magh Sudi 14, 1837)

Royal order placing Crown (Sera) lands in different areas under the management of Dharmananda Vaidya. "Supply such commodities from the produce of these lands as are required by the (royal household), utilizing the porterage services of the tenants. Dig irrigation channels." (5/591).

Appointment of Jamadar

(Falgun Badi 1, 1837)

Royal order appointing Kanhaiya Khatri Jamadar of 12 peons (halkara) on a monthly salary of Rs 12. The peons were paid Rs 4 every month. (5/595).

Appointment of Fouzdar

(Falgun Badi 6, 1837).

Royal order appointing Abhaya Singh Khawas as Fouzdar jointly with Garbhu Khawas, replacing Indramani Basnyat in Saptari and Mahottari. (5/588). Three other documents of the same date giving notice of dismissal to Indramani Basnyat and informing the local Chaudharis of the change. (36/488-89).

Appointment of Dware

(Falgun Sudi 13, 1837)

Royal order appointing Ram Prasad Dware of musicians (at the royal palace). (5/594).

Appointment of Nausindas

(Chaitra Badi 1, 1837)

Bhola Das and Pirthi Das were appointed Nausindas at the office of the Munsiff in Saptari and Mahottari. (36/495).

Contd...



Management of Guthi Endowments

(Chaitra Badi 1, 1837)

Royal order placing four Guthi endowments in Deopatan, Kathmandu, under the charge of Dware Shashidhar. (5/592).

Collection of Levy from Weavers

(Chaitra Badi 12, 1837).

Royal order to Sainbu Buki, granting him a three-year Ijara for the collection of a levy of nine annas per year from each weaver in Kathmandu Valley and the hill regions on payment of a total amount of Rs 22,503 at the rate of Rs 7,501 per year. The Ijara was previously operated by Melhama Banda. (5/584).

Jagir Land Grant

(Chaitra Sudi 3, 1837)

Royal order granting lands in Mahottari as Jagir to Nandalal Das to maintain himself and his family. Exemption was granted also from forced-labor obligations. (5/595-96).

Jagir Land Grant

(Chaitra Sudi 3, 1837)

Royal order granting 3 khets (i.e. 300 muris) as Jagir to Manik Raj Khawas. The lands had previously been assigned to Abhaya Singh Khawas. (5/608).

Appointment of Munsiffs

(Chaitra Sudi 3, 1837)

Royal order appointing Manik Raj Khawas and Biru Padhya as Munsiffs in Saptari and Mahottari. Also two orders of the same date informing Fouzdars Abhaya Singh Khawas and Garbhu Khawas of this appointment, and directing them to pay salaries to the employees and peons of the Munsiffs, and a public notification regarding the appointments. (5/606-07).

Contd...

Land Measurement

(Chaitra Sudi 3, 1837)

Royal order authorizing Munsiffs Manik Raj Khawas and Biru Padhya to assess taxes in Saptari and Mahottari without measuring lands, if this helped to increase the revenue, and if the local ryots were willing. (5/607).

Royal Order to Bhuwaneshwar Padhya

(1837)

Royal order summoning Bhuwaneshwar Padhya and assuring him of the gradual restoration of his property. (36/470-71).

Reconfirmation of Jagir Holding

(1837)

A Sen King of Makwanpur had granted the mouja of Kadari in Khalisa (Saptari district) as Jagir to Anup Dhami. After the Gorkhali conquest, another mouja was added to this Jagir holding. These lands are now reconfirmed in favor of Anup Dhami. (36/487).

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Cancellation of Land Grants  
(1897 Vikrama)

From King Rajendra,  
To the Srinath Kampu.

We have received reports that when royal land grants made irregularly (throughout the kingdom) between the Mechi river in the east and the Mahakali river in the west during the period from 1894 to 1896 Vikrama (1837 to 1839 A.D.) were all cancelled, disputes arose regarding the rights of cultivation (Adhiya), several persons claimed rights to the same plot of land, and therefore submitted complaints.

We therefore order that with effect from the year 1897 Vikrama (1840 A.D.) :-

- (a) All fresh grants cancelling old ones, that have led to the loss of the rights of any actual occupant, and deprived him of his homestead, shall be cancelled.

Provided that:-

Grants of the following categories shall not be cancelled:-

- (i) Allotments of lands in consideration of labor services (Gole, Ghansi, Byang, Barudkhana, Kagat, Hulaki, and Thaple - Hulaki),
- (ii) Grants of lands confiscated from Brahmans, and
- (iii) Allotments of lands on Raibandi basis to ryots of all categories in the village.

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<sup>x</sup>Yogi Naraharinath (ed.), Itihasa Prakashama Sandhipatra-Sangraha (A Collection of Treaties in Light on History), Dang: the editor, 2022 (1966), p. 453..

Contd...

The central office of the Srinath Kampu shall restore to the actual occupants all rice lands and homesteads of which they had been deprived through the grants that have now been cancelled. It shall also make arrangements to have the rice lands cultivated.

- (b) Any person who cultivates lands forcibly in contravention of this order shall be punished.
- (c) In case any person had obtained a royal land grant in his name and paid the necessary fees, but has not been able to cultivate the lands, the fees shall be refunded to him.
- (d) For the Vikrama year 1898 (1841 A.D.) all previous royal land grants (made between 1837 and 1839 A.D.) shall be procured and scrutinized to ascertain whether or not they had been made in an equitable manner.

Jestha Badi 9, 1897  
(May 1840)

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(S.B. Maharjan).

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Iazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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Selected Documents of Baisakh-Ashadh 1887 Vikrama

(Abstracts)

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Sale of Birta Land in Saptari

(1887)

Guru Panditraj Bishnu Pandit, of Makhan Tole, Kathmandu, had sold 200 bighas of waste Birta lands in Dhanchhawar, Saptari district, to Bhagat Jha for Patna Rupees 1201. The Tusal-Dhansar office collected a fee (Baksauni) of Rs 12½ on the transaction. (44/8).

Darshan-Bhet Revenue

(Baisakh Sudi 7, 1887)

Receipt issued by the Kausi Tosakhana for revenue amounting to Rs 714, collected by Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Thapa. (44/14).

Purchase of Cloth

(Baisakh Sudi 11, 1887)

Receipt issued by the Kausi Tosakhana for cloth worth Rs 5,774½ purchased by Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Thapa through Bishnudatta Padhya with revenues collected from Palpa in the year 1886 (Vikrama), (44/8-9).

Appointment of Mijhar

(Baisakh Sudi 15, 1887)

Royal order appointing Musya Lohar, headman (Mijhar) of blacksmiths (Kami) in Parsa district, with authority to dispose of cases relating to caste and sexual offences among Kamis in this area. (44/9).

Appointment of Fouzdar

(Baisakh Sudi 15, 1887).

Royal order to Sardar Jahar Simha Basnyat, Subba Nayak Gohi Simha, and Shubhakarna Giri. "We have received reports that the number of peons for the collection of revenue in

Contd...

Bara, Farsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi and elsewhere is insufficient, and that no provision exists for the appointment of a Fouzdar. With effect from the year 1887, the post of Dewan Darpa Narayan Das shall be abolished, thereby saving Rs 300. To this shall be added Rs 500 from fines collected by the court (Kachahari). One Fouzdar shall then be appointed on a salary of Rs 300, and 20 peons on a total salary of Rs 500 (per year). (44/9-10).

#### Appointment of Chaudhari

(Baisakh Sudi 15, 1887)

Lekhman had been appointed Chaudhari in the Baluwa area of Parsa district. But he could not work satisfactorily. He was therefore dismissed and replaced by Trilok Chaudhari. The post carried the assignment of two moujas as Nankar. Trilok Chaudhari was directed to make revenue collections properly under the Panchashala system, and pay Patna Rs 100 every year (Khatami Salami) on his Nankar lands. (44/10-11).

#### Gift of Elephant

(Jestha Badi 2, 1887)

Dittha Balabhadra Joshi and other employees of the elephant depot were ordered to land over a four-cubit elephant as a farewell gift to Chaudhari Gauri Singh. (44/11-12).

#### Repair of Irrigation Channels

(Jestha Badi 4, 1887).

Royal order to the Dwares, Jesthabudhas, Tharis, respectable people, and Mohis cultivating rice lands throughout Gajuri (in Dhading): "Four irrigation channels irrigating Raikar and Jafadi (i.e. confiscated Birta) lands in Gajuritar have been damaged, and rice-lands assigned (as Jagir) to the army may remain uncultivated. The entire people of that area, including mohis appointed on a permanent basis, shall contribute Jhara labor for the repair of these irrigation channels. Restore these channels to their original condition. Do not work elsewhere on Jhara basis. All mohis who have been cultivating (rice-lands) until 1886 Vikrama shall do so on payment

Contd...

of the prescribed kut rents and other dues. The landlord (Talsing) shall not evict them. Any person who acts in contravention of these regulations, thereby keeping the (Jagir) lands of the army uncultivated, shall be punished." (44/12-13).

#### Appointment of Priest

(Jestha Badi 5, 1887)

Ramnath Jogi was appointed priest of the Sri Ratannath temple in Dang. He succeeded Gopinath Jogi, who had died. (44/13).

#### Purchases in Brahmadeo-Mandi

(Jestha Badi 10, 1887)

Royal order to the Ijaradar of Brahmadeo-Mandi. Nawab Fouz Mohammed Khan had sent the following communication to the government of Nepal: "Previously, when our men visited Brahmadeo-Mandi to purchase falcons, animals, etc, they did not face any obstruction. They use to make purchases easily. These days, much obstruction is caused. I therefore request that an order be sent to officials at Brahmadeo-Mandi not to cause any obstruction." The officials were accordingly ordered: "When the men sent by the Nawab come to Brahmadeo-Mandi to purchase falcons, animals, etc for the personal use of the Nawab, they shall be permitted to do so at the current prices on payment of the prescribed duties. You shall be punished severely if you collected additional payments and cause any obstruction." (44/14-15).

#### Allowance to Guru Panditraj Ranganath Pandit

(Jestha Badi 13, 1887)

The Ijaradar of mines in areas between Sanga-Sindhu and Nagre was directed to pay Rs 4,000 to meet the expenses of Guru Panditraj Ranganath Pandit. (44/15).

#### Revenue Collection in Doti

(Jestha Badi 14, 1887).

Chautariya Pushkar Shah had given a contract (Thek) to ... Kathayat for the collection of revenue amounting to Rs 102

Contd...



and 6½ annas from twelve homesteads in the village of Gahira-gaun in the Chauki-Garkha of Doti district during the revenue settlement of 1882 Vikrama. The grant was now confirmed through royal order. (44/16).

Moratorium on Debts

(Jestha Sudi 1, 1887).

Kaviraj Basnyat had submitted the following petition: "My son, Vamsharaj Basnyat, has incurred heavy debts. Because of the fear of his creditors, he has gone abroad. In case some arrangement is sanctioned for the creditors, I will recall my son and pay the debts back gradually." A royal order was then issued to the creditors not to demand repayment for ten years. (44/16-17).

Payment of Salaries

(Jestha Sudi 2, 1887)

Subba Kulananda Jha, Ijaradar for mines in the area situated between Sanga-Sindhu and Nagre, was directed to pay salaries amounting to Rs 250 to Nilagribananda Upadhyaya Bhaju, and Rs 205 to Chamu Singh, from payments due for the Vikrama 1887. (44/17).

Payment of Salary

(Jestha Sudi 5, 1887)

Captain Birabhadra Kunwar was authorized to draw Patna Rs 1856 from the proceeds of Salami fees collected from Chaudharis and Kanugoyes in Saptari and Mahottari and deposited at the Kausi Tosakhana (44/18).

Appointment of Priest

(Jestha Sudi 11, 1887)

Appointment of a priest at the temple of Gokarneshwar (in Kathmandu), with 600 muris of khet lands as Guthi. The priest is allowed to appropriate the surplus income. (44/18-19).

Contd...

Copper-Mining Contract

(Jestha Sudi 11, 1887).

Subba Kulananda Jha was given a one-year contract (Ijara) for operating copper mines at Kulekhani and elsewhere. He was under obligation to supply 2,275 dharnis of pure copper to the government arsenal every year. Kulananda Jha also held a monopoly in the sale of copper in these areas, and exercised judicial authority over the local inhabitants. (44/19-20).

Repair of Temples

(Jestha Sudi 11, 1887)

Umanath Padhya was granted possession on the Guthi lands of Sri Gopinath and Sri Jagannath temples for ten years and exempted from payment of tax (Mahasul) thereon on condition that he repaired the temples. (44/22).

Appointment of Naik

(Jestha Sudi 11, 1887)

Ramasundar was appointed chief (Naik) of Newar traders in Lhasa, replacing Laxmisundar, on an annual salary of Rs 1,000. (44/24-25).

Appointment of Mukhiyas in Panchthapala, Salyan

(Jestha Sudi 13, 1887)

Contractors appointed after the 1882 (Vikrama) revenue settlement in Panchthapala, Salyan, and newly-appointed village Mukhiyas quarrelled. The Mukhiyas were then made responsible for the collection of the contract (Thek) revenue as stipulated in 1882. (44/26).

Pasture Lands in Panchgaun, Salyan

(Jestha Sudi 15, 1887).

Lands being used for pasturage by the inhabitants of Panchgaun were granted to Indu Kanwar by local authorities in Salyan. The inhabitants complained, and the grant was cancelled. (44/27).

Contd...

Revenue on Istimrar Mokarri Land

(Ashadh Badi 1, 1887)

Receipt for revenue amounting paid by Basant Raut on his Istimrar Mokarri lands in Bara, as well as proceeds of pasturage tax (Kascharai) in the Bariya-Soti area. Total amount: Rs 3,791. (44/28-29).

Payment of Customs Duties

(Ashadh Badi 8, 1887)

Birta-owners and Jagirdars in Saptari district were appropriating revenue from customs duties on goods exchanged between Nepal and India. They were prohibited to do so, and were reminded that they were entitled to appropriate only the proceeds of duties payable on commodities produced in the area under their jurisdiction. (44/29-30).

Confirmation of Land-holding

(Ashadh Badi 8, 1887)

Two brothers, Tuising and Juling, were cultivating 39 ropanis of Jagir rice-lands in Panga. Their possession of these lands on payment of the customary rents (kut) was reconfirmed. (44/30).

Tax Exemption

(Ashadh Badi 9, 1887)

Dhirja Vaidya, who had conducted variolation on a royal prince, was granted exemption from forced-labor obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar), and from payment of Sahanapal (a levy collected to finance the wages of guards who prevented cattle from straying into fields) and Dhalwa (a levy collected to finance the wages of persons who looked after irrigation channels). (44/30-31).

Gift of Elephant

(Ashadh Badi 10, 1887).

Dittha Balabhadra Joshi and other officials of the Elephant Office were ordered to hand over a four-cubit elephant to Mahan Umrao Giri as a farewell gift. (44/31).

Homesite Grant to Rangalal Chaudhari

(Ashadh Badi 14, 1887)

35 bighas of land at Pakariya in Saptari district, owned by Rangalal Chaudhari, was given to him as a homesite (Gharbari) for construction of a house with a tile roof. The land was made tax-exempt, except for royal palace levies (Rajanka). (14/31-32).

Thekbandi Revenue from Thak

(Ashadh Badi 30, 1887)

A one-year Thekbandi contract, amounting to Rs 12,501, for revenues due from Thak. (44/32-33).

Appointment of Chaudhari

(Ashadh Sudi 2, 1887)

Royal order appointing Damodar Mishra as Chaudhari for the collection of revenue in Rautahat. (44/34-35).

Contract for Operation of Iron Mines

(Ashadh Sudi 7, 1887)

Hari Krishna Newar was granted a one-year contract, on payment of Rs 1,001, for operating iron mines in Majhkirat, and also for collecting taxes in the mining area. (44/35-36).

Labor Services for Gunpowder Factories

(Ashadh Sudi 8, 1887)

The unpaid-labor services of inhabitants of Thimi town and adjoining villages (other than Jaisis, Upadhyayas, and soldiers serving in the army) were assigned to the gunpowder factories of Thimi and Sankhu. The laborers were required "to grind gunpowder, fetch firewood, charcoal, etc., make grinding-stones, and do other work as ordered by the chief (Dittha) of the factory." The order added, "In case any person defaults in his duties, he shall be punished severely. Workers employed in these gunpowder factories shall not be evicted

Contd...

from their lands. Jagirdars shall not increase the rents being paid by these workers on their lands and homesteads. These workers shall be granted 50 per cent remission in the Saunefagu levy ... Members of new families created through subdivision shall also be employed in the gunpowder factories. In case any worker remains absent, two annas shall be collected as fine for every day of such absence, if he has been employed in making grinding-stones, and four annas per load of firewood, if he has been employed in fetching firewood. Workers shall be given holidays as follows:-

Bisket festival	...	5 days
Dewali	...	1 ,,
Sithi festival	...	1 ,,
Hile festival	...	3 ,,
Ghantakarna-chaturdashi...		1 ,,
Dashain	...	5 ,,
Tihar	...	2 ,,
Ghodejatra	...	1 ,,
Full-moon (Purnima) days in the months of Bhadra, Aswin, Kartik and Marga	.....	4 ,,
Maghe-Sankranti	...	1 ,,
Sri-Panchami	...	1 ,,
Ashadh	...	15 ,,
Marga	...	15 ,, (44/37-39).

#### Funds Sanctioned

(Ashadh Sudi 8, 1887)

Subba Prayag Datta Jaishi was ordered to pay Rs 45,001 from revenues collected under Ijara (contract) from land tax (Mal) and timber exports (Kathmahal) in Morang district for meeting the expenses of the Kausi Tosakhana. (44/39).

Maintenance of Rest-house and Water-spout

(Ashadh Sudi 8, 1887)

"Our father had constructed a rest-house and a golden water-spout (Sundhara) near the Tundikhel. We hereby assign 181 muris of rice lands to the caretakers and artisans employed to repair and maintain them. Full exemption from unpaid-labor obligations and payment of miscellaneous taxes and levies has been granted to them." (44/39-40).

Appointment of Mechanic

(Ashadh Sudi 10, 1887)

Sitaram, a mechanic, was appointed on a monthly salary of Rs 20. (44/40).

Thekbandi for Mines in Achham

(Ashadh Sudi 12, 1887)

A Thekbandi arrangement for operating iron mines at Panchgaun in Achham district had been made on payment of Rs 401 every year. The local inhabitants complained that they were also being compelled to supply 360 dharnis of iron to the munitions factory at Silgadhi. This obligation was therefore cancelled, and the Thekbandi revenue was increased to Rs 411 yearly. (44/42).

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Glossary of Selected Terms

Bikātā	...	Deed of transfer of Jimidari holding.
Jhorā	...	'Forests containing interior timber.
Kāthmahāl	...	Commercial sale of timber.
Nimyāk	...	Compensation.
Pasuban	...	Compensation paid to a husband by a person with whom his wife has eloped.
Prajawat	...	A levy imposed on leather, workers, oil-men, weavers, etc. in the far-western Tarai. (51/129).
Sirā	...	Forests containing valuable timber.
Sivapurusanāmā	...	A deed executed to grant freedom to a slave.
Thigurimahāl	...	Sale of timber for domestic and agricultural purposes.

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Some Administrative Offices of the Rana Period

Figures inside parenthesis refer to the volume and page numbers in the Regmi Research Collections.

Alainchi Dadani Adda

This office supplied advances to producers for the supply of cardamom, which was covered by a state monopoly. (58/600, 648).

Bandobast Kachahari

A central office responsible for Tarai affairs. For instance, a statement of supplies required by elephant offices in the Tarai was submitted by the Mal Kachahari to the Bandobast Kachahari and from there to the Dafdarkhana Kumarichok. (10/35).

Basantapur Moth Tahabil

Funds loaned by government loan offices to traders and others were recovered through this office. (52/193).

Basantapur Tahabil Adda

This office supplied loans against the security of Birta lands and other property, as well as against personal surety. (33/92).

Bhandarkhal Tahabil Adda

This office supplied loans to individuals against the security of immovable property. (56/381).

Dalan Kachahari

This office was created by Jung Bahadur some time before 1853 to dispose of disputes relating to the Jagir land assignments of himself as well as his four sons. (33/175). In 1862, this office was made responsible for the disposal of disputes concerning Kaski and Lamjung, Birta and Guthi lands of Jung Bahadur's family, Daijo lands of his daughters and daughters-in-law in the entire country, and also Rakam services of selected categories. (33/465).

Contd...



Dharmakachahari

The Dharmakachahari, or Anti-corruption Court, was established by Prime Minister Jung Bahadur in 1870 A.D. "to try cases of bribery, corruption, maladministration, violation of the law, and the like, involving officers of all ranks (including Ranas) from the Prime Minister downwards." According to Baburam Acharya, "Jang Bahadur had a political motive in creating this court, namely, to downgrade his brothers by bringing false charges against them and to upgrade his sons. The Kachahari was headed by an officer of the rank of Subba, and consisted of eleven members. It was dissolved by Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh in 1878."<sup>1</sup> According to another source,<sup>2</sup> "During his later years, Jang Bahadur was dissatisfied with the manner in which his brothers functioned. He therefore formed a Dharmakachahari to hear cases of corruption against members of the Rana family. Ranoddip Singh and Jagat Shamsheer were held guilty of taking bribes. But no charge was proved against Dhir Shamsheer."

The following order was issued in the name of Lt. General Bambir Bikram Bahadur Kunwar Rana, a son of Prime Minister Bam Bahadur Kunwar Rana, on Ashadh Sudi 1, 1933:<sup>3</sup>

"The Dharmakachahari has held that a sum of Rs 874/4 is due on the surplus (Ukas, Jagera) lands of the Bhairung battalion (Paltan), which was under the command of your father, Prime Minister Bam Bahadur Kunwar Rana, for the (Vikrama) year 1908. This sum will be realized from you. Your father had also looked after all civil and military affairs, and all revenue functions throughout the country. Since he is now dead, we hereby pardon you for all amounts which he may have appropriated himself, instead of depositing them at the proper places, while discharging these functions, except amounts obtained by him as loans. We also hereby order that you sons shall not be held liable in the future for whatever Prime Minister Bam Bahadur Kunwar Rana may have done."

On Baisakh Sudi 9, 1909, a royal order had been issued in the name of Commander-in-Chief General Bam Bahadur Kunwar Rana, a summary of which is as follows:<sup>4</sup> "During a period of four years, six months, and seventeen days between Aswin Badi 13, 1903 and Chaitra Sudi 15, 1907, you had obtained loans, both in cash and in kind, from the Kausi Tosakhana, and had also made repayments from time to time. The net amount due from you was certified as Rs 9,631/15 by the following officers: Kaji Umakanta Padhya, Khajanchi Shiva Prasad Arjyal, Subba Brajamohan Padhya, Ditthas

Contd...

Haridas and Shamsheer Bhandari, Tahabildar Dhirjabir, Mukhiyas Ananda Govinda, Bhimarudra Dhvaj Jaisi, Ramasundar and Kumananda. A sum of Rs 6,000 has been written off, and the balance of Rs 3631/15 has been recovered from you. The accounts were scrutinized in the presence of Kaji Dilli Singh Basnyat, Bada Captain Sanak Singh Khatri, Amin Subba Siddhiman Singh Rajbhandari, Subba Umanath Upadhyaya, Subba Shivanarsing, Subba Hridayarama of the Kumarichok Dafdarkhana, and Mukhiyas Shambhu Nath Das and Ramharan, Pradhan Naran Singh and Mukhiya Gajadhar of the Kadelchok, and Mukhiya Tikadatta Pande of the Sadar Dafdarkhana."

#### Ijhar Praman Adda

A central office which scrutinized applications, petitions, complaints, etc. before forwarding them to the Kaushal Adda. (32/555).

#### Kaushal Adda

was

Kaushal/a corrupt form of "Council", This office was created in 1851. It drafted the 1854 Legal Code. Later, it turned into a regular government office which handled petitions, etc. to be referred to the Prime Minister. (32/555).

#### Mal Kachahari

District revenue collection offices in the Tarai. (10/35).

#### Mohinaike Bandobast Adda

This office was responsible for the appointment, work, etc. of Mohinaikes in Kathmandu Valley. (16/107).

#### Naya Muluk Bandobast Adda

An office which looked after administrative and developmental affairs in the "Naya Muluk" districts of the far-western Tarai. (57/2, 61/69).

#### Naya Muluk Rakam Goswara

An office which looked after revenue administration in the "Naya Muluk" districts of the far-western Tarai. (61/337).

Contd...

Sadar Janqi Kotwali Thana

Central police station in Kathmandu. (33/206).

Tejarath Adda

This office, located in Kathmandu, arranged for remittances through the treasury (Mulukikhana). (52/236, 61/280).

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Notes

1. Satish Kumar, Rana Polity in Nepal (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 104.
2. Kashinath Acharya Dikshit, "Bayalis Sal" (The Year 1942 Vikrama). Nepali (Quarterly), Magh-Chaira 2016 (January-March 1960), p. 29.
3. Yogi Naraharinath (ed.), Itihas Prakashama Sandhi Patra-Sangraha (A Collection of treaties in lights on history). (Dang: the editor, 2022 [1966]), pt. 1, p. 179.
4. Ibid, pp. 171-76.

Land Taxes in Dang<sup>x</sup>

1. From Commanding-General Dhir Shumsher Jung Rana Bahadur,  
To Subba Jayashankar Pande.

The Chaudharis and Mahatos of Dang have submitted the following report: "On Raikar lands, (taxes) have been remitted (on plots allotted to) plowhands and other agricultural laborers. The territories comprising the Rajya of Salyan will not become populous, if some tax concessions are not granted there. The ryots demand that they should be given the facilities that have been sanctioned in the adjoining areas."

Reports have been received from the revenue office (Mal Kachahari) of the Rajya that the ryots will be satisfied, and lands will be reclaimed, if (the land tax) is reduced to one-seventh (of the produce) in those villages (mouja) where it is being collected at present at the rate of one-sixth, and to one-sixth (of the produce) in those villages where it is being collected at present at the rate of one-fifth, as in Chitaun.

On Kartik Badi 9, 1935 (Vikrama) we had approved this proposal. However, no tax-remission was allowed (for plots occupied by) plowhands and other agricultural laborers. We hereby confirm that order.

Baisakh Badi 2, 1936 (Vikrama).

2. From Commanding-General Dhir Shumsher Jung Rana Bahadur,  
To Subba Jayashankar Pande.

You have submitted the following proposal: "Unirrigable lands in Tuhi, Babaipar, and other areas of Dang, are lying waste because of the depredations of tigers, bears, and wild board. Ryots have removed rocks and boulders from these lands and reclaimed them. If the tax on such lands is fixed on a contractual basis at Rs 2½ per plow, it would be collected easily, and settlement would be promoted there. Otherwise, the ryots will continue occupying these lands, and no revenue will be collected from them."

We hereby approve this proposal. We also direct that new ryots should not be made liable to make the same payments as those cultivating old lands."

Ashadh Badi 10, 1938 (Vikrama).

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<sup>x</sup>Yogi Naraharinath, op. cit. p. 428.

Documents Relating to Guthi Endowments in the  
Janakpur Region

Appointment of Mahant in Simardehi Asthan

(Shrawan Badi 13, 1861 (9/329))

From King Girban,  
To Buddhirama Das, disciple of Dharmadas Vaishnav.

We hereby appoint you as Mahant of the Simardehi Asthan. Perform the customary religious functions at the Asthan with the income obtained from its Birta lands. Use the surplus to provide free food (Sadavarta to mendicants, pilgrims, etc.). (After your death), your disciple shall succeed you. Wish victory to us, and bless us.

Land Grant to Gosain Bitthaldas

(Magh Badi 6, 1933) (9/908-09)

From King Surendra,  
To Mahant Narayan Das, disciple of Gosain Bitthaldas of the Ratnasagar Asthan.

You had submitted a petition to us through Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh, requesting that since the royal order issued in the name of your preceptor, Gosain Bitthaldas, on Jestha Badi 7, 1891 had been lost, a new one be issued. The old order had read as follows:-

We grant twelve bighas of Dhanahar lands at Mujeliya in Kodari, Mahottari district, for performing Sadavarta functions. Use the income from these lands to provide food to guests and wayfarers. Wish victory to us, and appropriate the surplus income. Jestha Badi 7, 1891.

We hereby issue a fresh order reconfirming this grant.

Contd...

Appointment of Mahant in Ramachandra Asthan, Mahottari

(Bhadra 19, 1962 (September 4, 1905). (1/354-55)

From (King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Dev),  
To Mahant Ishwara Giri.

The King of Makwanpur had granted lands as Kush Birta Bitalab, remitting all taxes including those payable to the Crown (Raja-Anka), to the temple (Asthan) of Sri Ramachandra at Janakpur in Koradi, Mahottari district.

On Falgun Sudi 1, 1967 (Vikrama), (King Girban) had issued a copper-plate inscription in favor of Mahant Ambar Giri reconfirming the grant as Kush Birta Bitalab in the same manner as it had been reconfirmed by (King Prithvi Narayan Shah and King Rana Bahadur Shah).

On Marga Sudi 9, 1890 (Vikrama), a royal order had been issued in the name of Ranaksh Giri as follows: "Your preceptor (Guru), had designated you as his successor to the position of Mahant (in the Sri Ramachandra Asthan). Accordingly, we confirm your appointment as Mahant."

Later, (the position of Mahant) was obtained by Mahant Rajeshwara Giri, a disciple of Mahant Basanta Giri. However, Mahant Rajeshwara Giri was convicted of murder, and Bishweshwara Giri was appointed as his successor.

It has now been proved that Bishweshwara Giri lodged a false complaint, alleging that (the property of the Asthan) had been looted. Since he had committed such an evil act even while occupying the position of a Mahant, he was dismissed.

With effect from the year 1960 (Vikrama), you have been appointed Mahant of Sri Ramachandra Asthan in Janakpur, on condition that you designate a disciple as your successor only after reporting the matter to the government.

Contd...

Appointment of Mahant in Matihani Asthan

Falgun 22, 1962 (March 6, 1906). (1/374-75)

From (King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Dev),  
To Mahant Lakhan Narayan Das.

Ramasharan Das had been functioning as Mahant of the Matihani Asthan. However, he was convicted of murder, and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

You have now submitted a petition for appointment as Mahant of the Matihani Asthan, claiming that you are a disciple of Mahant Devadas.

We therefore sanction your appointment as Mahant of the Matihani Asthan, succeeding Ramasharan Das.

Hostel in Mahottari

On Poush 29, 1968 (January 13, 1912), King Tribhuwan made a Guthi endowment for a hostel in Mahottari accommodating 54 Brahmans. Lands were endowed at Khesraha in Mahottari district to yield an income of Rs 4,150 yearly in Indian currency to finance this hostel. (1/108).

Income and Expenditure of the Bhola Asthan Guthi in Mahottari

Baisakh 28, 2010 (May 11, 1953). (3/53-55)

(a) Cash Income and Expenditure (in Indian Rupees)

<u>Income</u>	<u>Rs/annas</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Rs/annas</u>
Income from lands held by the Asthan	3166	Tax on 40½ bighas of Jirayat lands	410/6
		Daily religious ceremonies	112/8
		Doles, etc.	388/2
		Ceremonial functions and feasts	382/7

Contd...



	Other expenses	285/7
	Royalty paid to Mahottari Guthi Mal Office	1528/5
	Remuneration of Mahant	58/13
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Rs	3166/-	Rs 3166/-
	=====	=====

(b) In-kind Income and Expenditure

(In maunds)

<u>Income</u>		<u>Expenditure</u>	
Paddy, potato, lentils, etc.	521	In-kind expenditures on religious functions	468
		Expenses on recla- mation of Jirayat lands	41
		Allowance to Mahant	12
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	521 maunds		521 maunds

\*\*\*\*\*

Poor Houses in the Tarai

According to an order issued on Ashadh 28, 1969 (July 12, 1912 A.D.), the government of Nepal sanctioned the establishment of poor-houses near district headquarters offices in Morang, Hanumannagar, Birganj, Bethari, Taulihawa and Banke. Provision was made to accommodate 27 orphans, old persons, and disabled persons at these poor-houses. However, people belonging to untouchable castes were not eligible. Arrangements were made to endow Gutni lands fetching an income of Rs 2,000 in Indian currency to meet the expenses of each of these poor-houses.<sup>x</sup>

District-administration Regulations

Extract from an order sent from Kathmandu to the Baitadi-Jhulaghat Gounda Office on Marga Badi 3, 1949 Vikrama:  
 "Assistants in district military headquarters offices shall be appointed not by the chief officer, but by the government, on 3-year terms. No government servant shall keep at his residence persons who have been appointed in the districts, except the King and the Prime Minister ... No (government officer) shall enroll his slaves and bondsmen (as government employees) and draw emoluments in their names." (57/26-29).

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<sup>x</sup>Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 87-88.

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The Reign of Dambar Shah<sup>1</sup>

By

Dinesh Raj Pant,

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According to the Gorkha Vamshavali, one day, King Dambar Shah began to think, "Good sons spread the fame of their ancestors. Mediocre sons maintain the fame of their ancestors, whereas bad ones destroy it. I have become frail in body. It is said that the boon which the Goddess has granted will not benefit me. I feel, therefore, that I shall not live long. Now it is not possible for me to perform any act of valor, I can only maintain what had been done by my father, and propitiate the gods." Dambar Shah therefore began to spend more time in religious performances.<sup>2</sup>

This shows that Dambar Shah was a religious man who had no love of war.

According to the inscription installed by Pratap Malla in 1705 Vikrama at the Krishna temple in front of the Hanumandhoka palace in Kathmandu, King Pratap Malla destroyed the sturdy elephant of King Dambar Shah, and occupied the fort of King Siddhinarsimha Malla.<sup>3</sup>

This shows that Dambar Shah had elephants in his army, and that he had sent troops to assist King Siddhinarsimha Malla of Patan.

Contemporary evidence gives us an estimate of Dambar Shah's character which is quite contrary to that conveyed by the Gorkha Vamshavali

This means that we cannot arrive at the truth by solely relying on the Vamshavali for our understanding of history.

According to Daniel Wright, who worked as a doctor at the British Residency in Kathmandu during the rule of Prime Minister Jang Bahadur, Dambar Shah (1555 Shaka, 1633 A.D.) reigned nine years, while Krishna Shah became King in 1564 Shaka.<sup>4</sup> Wright has also said that Dambar Shah reigned nine years, and died in 1699 Vikrama, or 1642 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Contd...

According to the Bhasha Vamshavali, written by Buddhiman Singh, Dambar Shah, Ram Shah's son, became King in 1535 Shaka, or 1690 Vikrama, and reigned nine years, and that his son, Krishna Shah, ascended the throne in 1564 Shaka, or 1699 Vikrama.

Both Wright and Buddhiman Singh thus state that Dambar Shah became King in 1690 Vikrama after the death of Ram Shah, and that he died in 1699 Vikrama. Let us now see how far this view is correct.

According to an inscription installed by Ram Shah at the Rameshwara temple at Pokharithok in Gorkha, he built a monastery on Sunday, Ashadh Dashami in the month of Shrawan 1558 Shaka, or 1693 Vikrama.<sup>6</sup>

This shows that Ram Shah was still reigning on Shrawan 18, 1693 Vikrama. Wright and Buddhiman Singh are therefore wrong in stating that Dambar Shah ascended the throne in 1690 Vikrama.

The colophen of a copy of the Shivashastra, a part of the Kedarakhanda in the Skanda-purana, prepared in 1699 Vikrama, mentions Dambar Shah as King for the first time.<sup>7</sup> The date mentioned in the colophen corresponds to Kartik 27, 1699 Vikrama.

The records of Tiwari, a priest (panda) at Devaprayag, shows that Dambar Shah was King of Gorkha in 1701 Vikrama.<sup>8</sup>

According to a document in the possession of Bhawani Prasad, King Dambar Shah had made a land grant on Jestha Sudi 7, 1708 Vikrama, or Jestha 18, 1708.<sup>9</sup>

This proves that Dambar Shah was King on Jestha 18, 1708 Vikrama. Wright and Buddhiman Singh are therefore wrong in stating that Krishna Shah succeeded Dambar Shah in 1699 Vikrama.

The colophen of a copy of the Chaurapanchashika, prepared on Shrawan Dashami 1581 Shaka, or Shrawan 3, 1716 Vikrama describes Krishna Shah as King. This shows that Dambar Shah had died some time before Shrawan 3, 1716 Vikrama.

Clear references to the reign of Dambar Shah from 1699 to 1708 Vikrama are thus available. Ram Shah is proved to have still been reigning in 1693 Vikrama; hence Dambar Shah could not have become King before that year. Dambar Shah thus became King of Gorkha some time between 1693 and 1699 Vikrama. Krishna Shah is proved to have been King in 1716 Vikrama. Accordingly, Dambar Shah must have died some time between 1708 and 1716 Vikrama.

All this shows that Dambar Shah could not have reigned before 1693 and after 1716 Vikrama. On the basis of available evidence his regnal years are 1699 to 1708 Vikrama.

Baburam Acharya and Surya Bikram Gnyawali had made an attempt to calculate the correct dates of the reign of the Kings of Gorkha, without depending on Wright and Buddhiman Singh alone. According to Baburam Acharya, Ram Shah reigned from 1528 to 1558 Shaka, or from 1606 to 1636 A.D.,<sup>10</sup> and Dambar Shah from 1636 to 1642 A.D.<sup>11</sup>

According to Surya Bikram Gnyawali, the dates are as follows:

	<u>Shaka</u>	<u>A.D.</u>	<u>Total reign</u>
Ram Shah	1528-58	1606-36	30 years
Dambar Shah	1558-67	1636-45	9 ..

Evidence is available, however, that Chhatra Shah was reigning in 1666 Vikrama,<sup>13</sup> and Dambar Shah until 1708 Vikrama. The dates given by both Baburam Acharya and Surya Bikram Gnyawali are therefore not trustworthy.

(Notes are given on page 44)

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Notes

1. Dinesh Raj Pant, "Dambar Shahko Rajyakalama Ek Vichar" (A view of the date of Dambar Shah's reign). Purnima Year 8, No. 3, Marga 2031 (November-December 1974). pp. 177-83.
2. Naya Raj Pant, et.al., Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah). p. 593.
3. Ibid, pp. 594-95.
4. Daniel Wright, History of Nepal, p. 279.
5. Ibid, p. 290.
6. Naya Raj Pant, op. cit., pp. 588-59.
7. Babukrishna Sharma, Rashtriyabhilekhalayasthahasta likhita prachinapustakanam Brihat Suchipatram. (Comprehensive catalog of ancient manuscripts at the National Archives), Part 8, p. 301.
8. Purnima, 27, p. 162.
9. Mohan Prasad Khanal, Madhyakalin Abhilekh (Medieval Inscriptions), p. 26.
10. Baburam Acharya, Shri 5 Badamaharajadhiraj Prithvinarayan Shahko Samkshipta Jivani (A brief biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Part 2, preface.
11. Ibid, p. 12.
12. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, "Shahvamshaka Kehi Rajaharuka Rajyakalka Vishayama Vichar." (Thoughts on the regnal years of some Shah Kings). Prachin Nepal (Ancient Nepal), 9, p. 35.
13. Kailash, Year 1, No. 1, p. 77.

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Selected Documents of Shrawan-Aswin 1887 Vikrama

(Abstracts)

Payment of Salaries to Physicians

(Shrawan Badi 30, 1887) (44/42-43).

Hiralal Jha was ordered to pay Rs 350 each to three physicians, Shivananda, Bhawani, and Keshe, as their salaries for the year 1887, with revenues collected from Bhadgaun.

Allowances to Jogis

(Shrawan Badi 30, 1887) (44/43).

Gobind Bhacha and Dhanarajbir were ordered to disburse Rs 96 and 11 annas to Jogis and Pirs for their expenses during the Chaturmasa (four-month period ending Kartik Sudi 11), Rs 3½ to potters for earthenware, and Rs 9 for materials required for religious ceremonies, with the Pota tax revenues collected in Kathmandu.

Orders were issued on the same date to Purushottam and Hiralal Jha sanctioning Rs 172 and 13 annas from the revenue collected in Patan town. (44/47-48), and Bhadgaun town (44/48) for the same purpose.

Reconfirmation of Birta Lands of Shrikanta Padhya

(Shrawan Badi 30, 1887) (44-44-47).

Petition Submitted by Shrikanta Padhya: My father, Harinanda Padhya, had assisted the government in conquering the Kirat region. In appreciation of this service, King Prithvi Narayan Shah had reconfirmed the Kush Birta lands granted to him by the King of Makwanpur. Subsequently, some of these lands were acquired for the Naraha fort, in exchange for which lands were granted in Khalisa, Septari district as Kush Birta Bitalab. During the 1871 (Vikrama) Nepal-British war, rents on these lands were collected by the army. Later, these lands were confiscated and assigned as Jagir to the army. These lands were restored to me in 1875 Vikrama. I have now incurred debts amounting to Rs 5,000. The lands have been subdivided by my brothers, whereas I am personally liable for these debts.

Contd...

Royal Order: The lands shall not be subdivided for six years. The income shall then be used to repay the debts. None of your brothers shall have any claim to these lands until these debts are paid off. Thereafter, only the income shall be subdivided, not the lands.

Kut-Thek Land Grant in Kaski

(Shrawan Badi 30, 1887) (44/47).

580 muris of rice lands, held as Jagir by the Srinath Kampu in Arghau, Kaski district, were granted to Dhanabir Charti on Kut-Thek tenure for a total payment of Rs 210 and 6 annas every year. The breakdown was as follows: Amount previously paid as Kut-Thek: Rs 181 and 6 annas; amount of Kut-Thek now increased: Rs 14 and 8½ annas; and Ghiukhane levy: Rs 14 and 7½ annas. The order added, "Pay Chardam Theki and other levies at the customary rates to the landlord (Talsing). Provide him with loans when demanded."

Land Exchange

(Shrawan Badi 30, 1887) (44/49).

Khajanchi Udaya Giri, of Indrachok in Kathmandu, had bought 2¼ ropanis of land from Manabir. He exchanged ¾ ropani of this plot with 1 ropani of rice lands owned by Ngaku Sim Jyapu of Tengal Tol under Suna Birta tenure. The cost of the land thus exchanged was estimated at Rs 135, on which the government collected nine annas as Baksauri fee.

(The Khajanchi had similarly exchanged three ropanis with Suna Birta lands of Taudhik Tuising Udas of Kel Tol) (44/50).

Land Transactions

(Shrawan Badi 30, 1887) (44/49-50).

1. Jagannath Jaisi of Gokarna sold six ropanis of rice lands to Kharidar Lilanath Pande of Marutol in Kathmandu for Rs 200.
2. Dasharath Jaisi Pokhrel and Murali Jaisi Pokhrel of Pasidal in Deopatan sold ten ropanis of rice lands to Kharidar Lilanath Pande for Rs 300.

Contd...

3. Ranasur Pandit of Budanilakantha purchased 12½ ropanis of rice lands from Jagathir and his brothers of Bhimadeo Tol in Gokarna for Rs 925, which he had offered to the temple of Pashupatinath.

Guthi Endowment for Narayan Temple

(Shrawan Badi 30, 1887) (44/51)

A Narayana temple at Makhan Tol in Kathmandu had collapsed. The Guthiyar could not be located. The site was therefore granted to Bakhtwar Singh of Makhan Tol to build shops, and perform religious functions at the temple with the rents.

Exemption from Jhara Obligations

(Shrawan Sudi 3, 1887) (44/52)

Newars residing inside the walled village of Nuwakot submitted the following petition: "We had been granted exemption from Jhara obligation for work other than in the maintenance of channels irrigating Sera lands. But these days we are not left with spare time even during four months (during the monsoon) because of the pressure of Jhara obligations." The government then reconfirmed the exemption from Jhara obligations for work other than on Sera lands.

Labor Obligations of Kumhales

(Shrawan Sudi 3, 1887) (44/52-53)

The Kumhales of Battar (in Nuwakot) submitted the following petition: "We have customarily been providing Thaple Hulaki Porterage Services. But these days money-lenders have taken possession of our Kipat lands. How then can we continue providing Thaple Hulaki services?" The government issued the following order: "Provide Thaple Hulaki services as usual, and continue to work at the Dukhantar orchard. Any person who does not provide Thaple Hulaki services shall be evicted by the headman (Mijhar), and replaced by another. Those persons who provide Thaple Hulaki services under royal orders shall not be obliged to work elsewhere. Money-lenders shall not take possession of the lands of Kumhales, or take over their children under bondage. Money-lenders shall accept repayment of the loan, or of interest thereon, if offered by the debtor. People who evade their obligation to work at the Dukhantar orchard shall be strongly punished."

Contd...

Dismissal of Khawasas

(Shrawan Sudi 5, 1887) (44-34).

The mouja of Murakipaliya in the Basantapur Parganna of Bara district, which had been assigned to Khawasas, was resumed and taxed on Thekbandi basis. The proceeds were utilized to pay salaries to 27 peons at the rate of Rs 25 every year. The peons were employed to transport bags of coins, and visit Patna and Banaras for purchasing goods. These functions were previously performed by the Khawasas.

Marital Customs of Khas Community

(Shrawan Sudi 6, 1887) (44/54-55)

This royal order was addressed by the Tagadhari and liquor-drinking (Pakalaa-Khanya) Khasas of Darma, Jahari, Baphi, Gota, Athbis, and Panchthapala. "Since the time of your feudatory king, you have been following the custom of cross-cousin marriages. During the time when Rudravir Shahi was Subba of Salyan, this custom had been banned. This year, the ban was lifted in the case of the liquor drinking Khas Jimidars of Salyan. You have now petitioned that the ban should be lifted on a permanent basis. We therefore decree that henceforth Tagadhari Khasas should not follow the custom of cross-cousin marriage, but that liquor-drinking Khasas may do so."

Supply of Charcoal

(Shrawan Sudi 8, 1887) (44/56)

Three villages in the Dhulikhel area, and one village in the Bisankhu area, had been granted exemption from the supply of charcoal to the government munition factory in consideration of the services that they rendered to the local Amali. The exemption has been withdrawn.

Chhap Land Grant

(Shrawan Sudi 10, 1887) (44/57)

Twelve ropanis of land in Kirtipur, Thankot, and Deopatan were granted as Chhap to Bali Thapa, subject to the payment of taxes to the Chaprasi (Company).

Contd...

Purchase of Supplies

(Shrawan Sudi 14, 1887) (44/58-59)

Subba Prayag Datta Jaisi of Morang was ordered to disburse Rs 2231 and two annas for Pashmina fabrics and other supplies purchased by the Tosakhana.

Supplies for Harisiddhi Festival

(Shrawan Sudi 15, 1887) (44/59)

Local functionaries in the rural areas of Kathmandu Valley were ordered to supply materials according to custom for the twelve-year Harisiddhi dance festival.

Another order was issued on the same date directing the Amalidar of Harisiddhi to select boys for the festival.

Thek Revenue in Jahari

(Shrawan Sudi 15, 1887) (44/59-60)

Raja Dip Narayan Shah was appointed Jimnawal to collect revenue (including Mahsul tax on rice lands) on Thek basis at Kalagan in the Jahari area amounting to Rs 1194.

Water Supply for Gunpowder Factory

(Bhadra Badi 2, 1887) (44/59-62)

Royal order to the inhabitants of Patan town, and the villages of Sunaguthi, Thecho, Chapagan, Bulu, and Pyangan: "Construct two channels, each four cubits deep and three cubits wide, for the supply of the new gunpowder factory that has been constructed at Pulchoktar. Two Naikes and twenty-two caretakers (Dhalwa) are hereby appointed to maintain and repair these channels. If their labor is insufficient, others too shall provide labor. Each Birta and Rakam peasant who cultivates five ropanis shall pay one pathi of grains through the Naika. The two Naikes and twenty-two caretakers are hereby granted exemption from Jhara obligations."

Contd...

Appointment of Chaudhari

(Bhadra Badi 3, 1887) (44/62-63)

Gauri Chaudhari and Bali Chaudhari were appointed Chaudhari for specified areas in the Parganna of Jhapa, comprising the district of Morang, replacing Shadiram. The position carried emoluments in cash. An annual fee (Khatami Salami) of Patna Rs 100 was payable to the government.

Another order, issued in the name of Gauri Chandhari and Bali Chaudhari on the same date, reads as follows: "Shadiram Chaudhari has fled to India; hence you have been appointed to succeed him. Levies previously collected from the mouja, and the proceeds of the Singarhat fine, have been included in the contract for the collection of revenue from the mouja. The proceeds of Grama-Kharcha levies too have been included in the contract. Accordingly, Rs 500 has been prescribed as the salary (Khangri) of the Chaudhari, Rs 100 of the Kanugoye, and Rs 150 of the Thikedar, Mokaddam, Sairdar, etc. Obtain this amount from the Amil every year." (44/63-64).

Land Reclamation in Palhi

(Bhadra Badi 4, 1887) (44/65-66)

Maniratna had submitted a petition offering to reclaim waste lands within specified boundaries in the Baghaura tappa of Palhi district, in the Parganna of Binayakpur, in case the following concessions were granted: (1) The Mahato of the newly-settled villages should be granted security of tenure. (2) The settlers should be exempt from forced-labor (Beth, Begar) obligations. In case these conditions were fulfilled, he offered to procure settlers from India. The offer was accepted, on condition that Maniratna paid Rs 51 every year to the Amil of Palhi so long as the newly-reclaimed lands remained cultivated, after the initial tax-exemption period (which was not specified) expired. He was permitted to appropriate all taxes and levies collected from the settlers, including judicial fines and escheat property.

Contd...



Jhara Revenue

(Bhadra Badi 5, 1887) (44/66-67)

Receipt for Jhara revenue collected in the areas situated east of the Arun river and west of the Mechi river for the year 1886 Vikrama, amounting to Rs 8645 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and Rs 13 due as arrears of 1885, making a total amount of Rs 8662 $\frac{3}{4}$ . The amount was deposited with the Tosakhana.

Construction of Office Buildings

(Bhadra Badi 12, 1887) (44/67)

Royal order to Captain Birabhadra Kunwar, "The Kachahari (district headquarters office) building of Saptari-Mahottari is located near the border. It has a roof of thatch. Since many people, from both inside and outside, have to visit this office, we hereby order that brick buildings with tile roofs be constructed to accommodate it. The barracks for the army shall also be constructed similarly. Employ both local and foreign artisans and mechanics for this purpose."

Purchase of Male Buffaloes

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887) (44/67-68)

Royal order to the Amali of Simras (Dolakha): "We are here-with sending Rs 4 to purchase two male buffaloes (to be slaughtered) for religious functions during the Dashain festival. Deliver these buffaloes to the Itachapli (office) on Aswin Sudi 2, 1887."

Punishment for Sexual Offenses (1)

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887 (44/68-70)

Royal order to Bichari Radhakrishna Gotame of Majhkhand, Prescribing punishment for the following offenses as follows:-

- (1) Bhaktu Padhya Khanal of Chhoprak (Gorkha), enticed Gaura Brahmani, wife of Narottam Padhya, to go abroad along with him. They spent a night in a hut on the banks of the Daraundi river, where Bhaktu Padhya committed sexual intercourse with her, on Falgun 10, 1885. His share of the ancestral property shall therefore be confiscated. Gaura Brahmani shall be degraded from her caste.

Contd...



- (2) On Ashadh 3, 1884, Hadya Thapa committed sexual intercourse with Chhali Thapa, related to him as a sister-in-law (or daughter-in-law) within eight generations, while she was looking after the maize-field of the Khas widow of Khahali Thapa. The case shall be disposed of according to both Niti (customary) and Samriti (official) (rites of expiation).
- (3) On Baisakh 15, 1864, Darabir Thapa Puwar Khas of Tarapu committed sexual intercourse with the wife of Damu Brahman, while she had gone to the well at night to fetch water. He then escaped. A statement shall be recorded from the woman to the effect that she will be able to obtain confession from him when he is traced, and his share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated. The woman shall be degraded from her caste.
- (4) Ganga Ghimire of Pustung (Lamjung) committed sexual intercourse with Bishweshwari Brahmani, wife of his ritual brother (Mit), Basanta Mishra, for two years from Marga 1873. He kept the matter secret, and thus involved the Brahman in commensal relations with her. His share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated and he shall be degraded from his caste and banished.
- (5) During the last week of Magh 1874, Dale Bhandari of Tarapu had sexual intercourse with the same Bishweshwari Brahmani. When her brother came to know of the matter, Dale Bhandari paid him a bribe of Rs 3½ and asked him to keep silent. Dale Bhandari thus involved the Brahman in commensal relations with the woman. He shall therefore be punished severely.
- (6) Without knowledge of the sexual relations between Dale Bhandari and Bishwashwari Brahmani, Muktya Katuwal and Ramadev Bhandari of Chhoprak committed sexual intercourse with her, knowing her caste status full well, and thereby involved the Brahman in commensal relations with her. They shall therefore be punished severely.

### Jajamani

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887) (44/74)

Royal order to Tenzing Gyampo Tsewang Rejyen Lama of the Phulung Ghyang, "Your great grand-father, Kamar Genzen Lama, had been assigned the four ghyangs of Syapruk, Bharkes, Dhunche, and Yashi as his Jajamani. The royal order of assignment has been destroyed by fire; hence we issue this order reconfirming your Jajamani."

Contd...

Reconfirmation of Land Grant

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887) (44/75)

The Dholma-Ghyang in Belkot, and 90 muris of rice-lands belonging to it, had been granted on a tax-free (Sarba-Kara-Akara) basis to Pirdhi Lama. The order was destroyed by fire, and a new order was therefore issued in favor of his great-grandson Dchya Lama.

Guthi Endowment in Chitlang

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887)

"The (Malla) King of Nepal had endowed 37 ropanis of rice-land as Guthi in Chitlang to finance the supply of food to mendicants, pilgrims, etc. (Sadavarta). After that territory came under our sway, we confirmed this endowment, and increased the land grant to 67 ropanis. Since the endowment is not being managed properly, we hereby appoint Bakhat Giri manage it. Supply one mana of grains to each person with the produce of these lands."

Disbursement of Salaries

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887) (44/76)

Sardar Jahar Singh Baniya was ordered to disburse Rs 300 as salary to Devarishi Padhya, and Rs 100 to two peons, who had been posted in Patna, with the contract revenues of Bara, Parva and Rautahat for the year 1887.

Supply of Hides and Skins

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887 (44/76-77)

This order was addressed to all classes of people "in the region situated west of Sanga-Sindhu, and east of the Marsyangia river, excluding Makwanpur, Hariharpur, Chitaun, and Belod, where revenue is collected under royal order by the Bhairung Paltan and the Gurubux Company, and including the new villages established by the Batukdal Company." In these areas, each family of Bhotes, hunting communities, and communities whose members used the flesh of dead cattle as food (Sino-Khane), was ordered

Contd...

to supply one hide or skin of buffalo, tiger, bear or deer, and pay two annas, every year. Each Sarki family was ordered to pay four annas. The Sri Mehar Paltan was sent to collect these impositions, have the proceeds transported through Jhara labor, and hand them over to the munitions factory.

Interest on Arrears of Revenue Payments

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887) (44/77-78)

Captain Bira Bhadra Kunwar was ordered to collect interest on arrears of revenue payments due from Chauharis, Kanugoyes, etc. in the districts of Saptari and Mahottari who did not complete payment under the Panchashala (five-year contract) system within the stipulated time limit.

Ferry Services in Chainpur

(Bhadra Badi 13, 1887) (44/78)

Dhandeo Majhi had been operating ferry services at Belahara-Ghat, and using 120 muris of rice lands in consideration of these services. Subsequently, he was replaced by Dalya Majhi. However, Dalya Majhi left that place after sixteen years. Dhandeo Majhi was therefore reinstated.

Restoration of Land

(Bhadra Badi 30, 1887) (44/79).

In 1861 Vikrama, Balabhadra Pokhrel had been granted 100 bighas of land in Khalisa, Saptari district, as Birta. In 1879, Subba Kulananda Jha, while inspecting Birta lands, held that 29 more bighas had been utilized. He appropriated the entire holding to recover payments due to him. After these payments were completed, the lands were restored to Balabhadra Pokhrel's son, Ratnanidhi Pokhrel.

Reconfirmation of Nankar Lands

(Bhadra Badi 30, 1887) (44/80)

The family of Lata Gurau had been holding lands on Nankar tenure in Belod, Marjyadpur district. Because of harassments created by local officials, the lands had reverted to waste. These lands were now restored to Lata Gurau in consideration of his services as Gurau.

Contd...

Supply of Ghee

(Bhadra Sudi 1, 1887) (44/80).

Some pasture lands at Khemti (Chisankhu) had been detached from the local royal cattle-farm, and granted to Meghavarna Basnyat against the supply of 21 dharnis of ghee every year. These lands were now granted to Kulananda Jaisi against the supply of 25 dharnis of ghee every year to the Kot-Bhandar.

Sully of Brocade

(Bhadra Sudi 6, 1887) (44/81)

Kaji Bakhtwar Simha was ordered to pay Rs 1,824 to Hardeo Bharthe with the revenues of Palpa in consideration of the supply of brocade to the Tosakhana.

Hulak Services in Sahule and Simpall Villages

(Bhadra Sudi 8, 1887) (44/81-82)

Royal order to sixteen households each in the villages of Sahule and Simpall: "You are hereby ordered to provide Hulak services for the transportation of arms and ammunition between Nepal and Tibet, as well as saltpeter, copper, iron, lead, cash, sick persons, and goods belonging to the royal palace as ordered by General (Bhimsen Thapa), without the slightest delay. Do not provide portorage services for (royal) priests, Chautaryas, Kajis, Sardars, Subbas, Subedars, Jamadars, Huddas, soldiers, and others without a royal order. In case any person falsely claims that any goods belong to the royal palace, report the matter to us, and act as ordered. The households which are under obligation to provide Hulak services in this manner shall be exempted from the Saunefagu and other levies, as well as from compulsory labor-obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar). However, they shall levy Senna tax on their lands and homesteads as usual. Hulaki porters shall not be evicted from their lands and homesteads. The old Hulak route lay through these villages, but a new one was opened through Sipa subsequently. Now the Hulak route through Sipa has been closed. The Thaple-Hulakis of Sipa have been removed, and you have been enrolled as Hulaki porters. The Hulaki porters of Sahule village shall provide portorage services up to Simpall, while those of Simpall shall do so up to Baguwa-Kipatya.

Contd...

Payment of Salary

(Bhadra Sudi 9, 1887) (44/83)

Dittha Ganja Singh was ordered to pay Rs 675 as salary with the income accruing from the four courts of law (Adalat).

Rajendra Bikram Festival in Bhaktapur

(Bhadra Sudi 12, 1887) (44/83-84)

Royal order to the Amalis and Rakemis of Bhadgaun: "Expenses of the Sri Rajendra Bikram festival (Jatra) of Goddess Indrayani in Bhadgaun had been met by you through voluntary contributions in the Vikrama year 1886. Observe that festival in the same manner every year in the future. The manager (Chitaidar) of the Taleju-Guthi shall provide twelve torches, the Chitaidar of the Changu-Guthi two torches, and two Juwar-Naikes (?), two Thecho-Rakamis (?), the Salmi-Rakami, and the Kerana-Bhansari, four torches each. Each household of dyers (Chhipi) shall supply one banner. and the Bhainsi-Bhansari shall supply two buffaloes for Rs 1½. The local Amali shall take part in the festival, along with singers and musicians from all over the town."

Payment of Salary

(Aswin Badi 2, 1887) (44/84)

Subba Kulananda Jha was ordered to pay Rs 600 as salary to Khardar Taranath Acharjyu and Scinath Acharjyu with the revenues of the Parbat mines and the Beni-Baglung mint.

Supply of Cloth

(Aswin Badi 3, 1887) (44/85)

Kaji Bakhtwar Singh was ordered to pay: with revenue collected in Palpa:-

- (1) Rs 1,248 in dhyak paisas (i.e. two-paisa coins) to Rajendra as the price of cloth supplied to the Tosa-khana.

Contd...

- (2) Rs 4,464 and five annas through Purohit Yadunath Pandit as ritual gifts during religious ceremonies performed in the Vikrama years 1885 and 1886.

Guthi Endowment for Srikalika Temple

(Aswin Badi 8, 1887) (44/86)

The thum of Purkot in Tanaha, and 1,300 muris of rice-lands had been endowed as Guthi for the temple of Srikalika in Gorkha. This Guthi endowment was now placed under the management of Kalu Thapa.

Allowances to Princes of Isma

(Aswin Badi 11, 1887) (44/86-87)

The Ijaradar of the Parbat mines and the Beni-Baglung Mint ordered to pay Rs 500 every year as allowance to (Princes) Benu Prasad Simha and Keshari Jung Bahadur Simha of Isma.

Land-tax Concessions Withdrawn in Mahottari

(Aswin Badi 13, 1887) (44/87-88)

Royal order to the Chaudhari, Jethraiya, and ryots of Mailbada mouja in Mahottari: "All land-allotment certificates (Patta) granted by Subbas and Thik dars (contractors) under the Panchashala system (of revenue collection), which stipulated payment of land taxes at concessional rates (Kamsarahi), are hereby cancelled, and taxes have been imposed at current rates (Samsaraha). Pay taxes on the lands cultivated by you to the Thikedar at current rates.

Thekbandi in Majhkirat

(Aswin Badi 13, 1887) (88-89)

The thum of Khamtel, which had been assigned as Jagir to Lieutenants and Jamadars in the army, had been placed under Thekbandi for Rs 800 every year. The Thekbandi had been accepted by Makhateki Rai. He complained that he was unable to collect revenue because the local people were shifting elsewhere and the village was consequently becoming depopulated.

Contd...



The amount stipulated under the Thekbandi was therefore reduced by Rs 100 to Rs 701 for the year ending Chaitra Sudi 15, 1887. This amount was payable to the Jagirdars.

Payment of Allowance:

(Aswin Badi 14, 1887) (44/90)

Local authorities in Salyan were ordered to pay Rs 200 every year with revenue collected in that territory as allowance to Princess Punya Kumari, to enable her to spend her last days in Kashi, India.

Cancellation of Land Grant

(Aswin Badi 30, 1887) (44/91)

One Khet (i.e. 100 muris) of rice-lands in Dullu had been assigned to the Ranabhim Paltan as Jagir. In 1883 Vikrama, Kushle Budha obtained a grant of these lands, falsely representing them as waste lands. The grant was therefore cancelled. and Jagadeo Padhya, Bhaudas Padhya, and Maruwa Khadka were ordered to transmit the rents to the Tosakhana every year.

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More Administrative Offices of the Rana Period

Adalat Goswara

Central Office of Justice, headed by an officer styled "judge." This office also scrutinized petitions submitted to the Prime Minister regarding claims, etc. (57/214). The Adalat Goswara had Adalats in different districts under its jurisdiction. (57/436-37). The duties and functions of the judge have been enumerated in Sandhipatrasangraha, pp. 143-44.

Butaul Sarafikhana

An office in Butaul which conducted exchange transactions in Nepali and Indian coins. (58/651).

Gadimubarak Bandobast Adda

An office established to collect the Gadimubarak tax levied on the occasion of King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah's coronation in 1885. (54/62).

Kaccha Janch Adda

Audit office. Such offices appear to have been established in each district. (57/133, 56/418).

Kathmahal Bandobast Adda

Central office for forest administration. (54/335).

Kathmandu Potakhana

An office which collected the Pota tax on Birta lands in Kathmandu. (54/39).

Majhkhand Khani Goswara Adda

An office which was responsible for the management and operation of mines in the central hill region. (57/231).

Mukhtiyari Dalan Adda

Accounts audited by the Thapathali Tarf Tarf Ka Bahi Bujhne Goswara Adda were scrutinized by this office. (54/137).

Contd...

Pokhara Tahasil

The office established in Pokhara to collect revenues from the Rajya of Kaski-Lamjung, which belonged to the Rana Prime Minister. (54/20).

Thapathali Tahasil Adda

On Falgun Sudi 9, 1942, an Ijara was issued in the name of Hawaldar Setu Khadka Chhetri to collect revenues from lands that had been assigned as Jagir to General Padma Jung Rana. Payments due under the Ijara were as follows: Rs 2,980 in cash, 141 dharnis of ghee, 31 dharnis of wax, 50 pieces of homespun cloth, and 10 blankets. These payments were made to the Thapathali Tahasil Adda. (54/1-10).

Thapathali Bandobast Adda

The Thapathali Bandobast Adda scrutinized Hawaldar Setu Khadka Chhetri's application for the Ijara and referred it to the Prime Minister. (54/4). It was apparently the Prime Minister's Personal Secretariat.

Thapathali Tarf Tarf Ka Bahi Bujhne Goswara Adda

Apparently the central office auditing the accounts of the personal offices of the Rana Prime Minister and other members of the Rana family. (54/137).

Madhesh Bandobast Adda

Central office for Tarai administration. (54/423).

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(S.B. Maharjan)

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Selected Documents of Kartik-Poush, 1887 Vikrama

(Abstracts)

Supply of Rice

(Kartik Badi 7, 1887) (44/92)

Royal order for the supply of 2,000 muris of rice for the fort of Makwanpur, and 1,000 muris for the fort of Hariharpur, with Thek rents collected in Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, and Sarlahi during 1886-87.

Regulations for Palpa

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/93-95)

Regulations promulgated in the names of Dittha Anup Singh Adhikari and Mukhiya Gajendra Dhvaj Jaisi.

1. Proceed to Palpa immediately and accept charge of official documents from Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Thapa.
2. Make a detailed scrutiny of all accounts of revenue and expenditure in the hill and Tarai areas of Palpa, Gulmi, Argha, and Khanchi, and determine the amount which should accrue to the government every year. Find out whether any one has been able to conceal any source of revenue from Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Thapa.
3. Ascertain the amount left after debiting authorized expenditures. Take steps for the realization of arrears of revenue, if any.
4. Scrutinize all accounts and documents, and prepare an accurate statement of revenue and expenditure, without any favor to any one.
5. Have uncleared accounts, if any, cleared off in the presence of the Kaji.

Contd...



Exemption of Customs Duty

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/99).

Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Thapa of Palpa was ordered to grant exemption from payment of customs duty on coins exported by twelve traders and one priest.

Appointment of Priest in Temple of Manakamana

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/99-100)

Royal order to Balwanta Thapa, a descendant of Lakhan Thapa: "We hereby appoint you as priest in the temple of Sri Manakamana, replacing Srikrishna Thapa. The temple has two khets (i.e. 200 muris) of rice lands, and Rs 100 is collected every year from the Serma, Saunefagu, Chaudharai (on Newars only), Hasil and Hattidana levies, and from escheat property and judicial fines (including fines for Panchakhat offenses), in the village of Kapyang. Of this amount, spend Rs 36 for religious ceremonies in the month of Baisakh, and the same amount in Kartik. The balance of Rs 28 shall be utilized to make ornaments for the duty, after reporting the matter to us through the Guthiyar of the temple. We also place under your management lands (Suwaro) endowed to supply grains for feeding pigeons at the temple."

Appointment of Dittha

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/100-01)

Anup Singh Adhikari was appointed Dittha of the Kumarichok, for auditing the accounts of revenue and expenditure in the entire kingdom. The post was previously held by Baka Khatri. He was given a salary of Rs 1,500 a year, with Rs 75 each for buying clothes for the Dashain festival, for the winter season, and for the Fagu festival, thereby making a total amount of Rs 225. He was permitted to charge a fee of Rs 5 (?) on every Rs 1,000 of accounts cleared by him. Half of this amount was to be credited to the account of the government, and the balance shared by the Dittha and Mukhiyas of the Kumarichok. (On the same day, Buddhisagar Padhya was appointed Tahabildar (in charge of cash and stores) at the Kumarichok on a salary of Rs 12½ per month).

Contd...

Appointment of Mijhar

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/102)

Mehorman Lohar was appointed Mijhar to adjudicate cases relating to commensal relations and contamination by water among members of the following communities in Tanahu: Kami, Sunar, Afre, Mahar, Chudera, and Kandara. He was ordered to work at the government munitions factory.

Jagir Assionment of Naya Srinath Company

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/102)

Royal order to Captain Birabhadra Kanwar: "Thek revenue from Phakphok (in Ilam), which had been assigned as Jagir to the Naya Srinath Company, has been remitted in favor of Kaji Ekla Thok. Rs 571 shall therefore be paid to that company with the Thek revenues of Saptari and Mahottari for the year 1887.

Royal Order to Kaji Ekla Thek

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/103-04)

Royal order to Kaji Ekla Thok, "In the year 1884 (Vikrama), Thek revenue collected from the homesteads of Limbus at different places at Phakphok in the Chainpur region had been assigned to the army. In addition, 101 homesteads had been established on waste Raikar lands. Revenue collected from these homesteads, amounting to Rs 324, had been assigned to the Naya Srinath Company in the year 1885. Of this amount, Rs 287 had been remitted in 1886, thus leaving a balance of Rs 37. We have now remitted this amount too on your request."

Payment of Salaries

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/104)

- (1) Subba Kulananda Jna was ordered to make payment of the following amounts as salaries to the following employees of Nasalchok (at the Hanumandhoka Palace in Kathmandu) with the revenues of the Parbat mines and the Beni-Baglun mint for the year 1887:-

Contd...



Jagatjit	...	Rs 205	Nain Singh Basnyat	...	Rs 100
Indrabir	...	Rs 100	Ichchharam	...	Rs 20
		Manbir	...		Rs 20.

- (2) Kaji Ajambar Panta, Dittha Kalidas, and Dittha Anup Simha Adhikari were ordered to pay Rs 100 as salary to Subba Dhokal, and Rs 300 to Sribhagat, for the year 1887 with fees collected at the Kumarichok.

### Sexual Offenses

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/105-10)

Dharmadhikar's order:-

- (1) Sim Narayan Nakarmi, of Kamalachhi Tol (in Kathmandu), is proved to have kept Apilaxmi, a Kasai woman, as his wife for the past twenty-seven years, taken cooked food and water from her hands, and contaminated others also in the same manner.
- (2) Indrajalaki, a Sarki woman, is proved to have entered the houses of several persons, contaminated water with her touch, and committed sexual intercourse with high-caste people, suppressing information about her caste, and falsely claiming to be a slave.
- (3) Chimi, a slave-girl owned by Sher Mardan Karki, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Pun Narayan, a Dhobi, since Falgun 1886, kept the affair secret, then committed sexual intercourse with a Newar called Dhirjasing, and allowed others to use water contaminated by her touch.
- (4) Since Shrawan 1882, Tejalaxmi, a Newar woman, is now proved to have committed sexual intercourse with two Kasais and three Kushles of Patan and Bhadgaun, in addition to several Newars, kept these affairs secret, falsely claimed to be of the Shrestha caste before people with whom she shared commensal relations, and allowed several persons to use water contaminated by her touch.

Contd...

- (5) Since Falgun Sudi 3, 1886, Chigadhi, a Newar woman, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Suman Miyan, a Muslim, involved her relatives in commensal relations, and allowed other persons to use water contaminated by her touch.
- (6) Since Falgun 1886, Alapi, a Damai woman of Lyanglyang, and Benu Padhya Subedi of Manthali, are proved to have had sexual relations.
- (7) Ajambar Putwar, whose nose had been cut off and who had undergone expiation (Prayas-Chitta) on the charge of committing sexual intercourse with a Kulu woman, appears to have entered the Nasalchok, Mulchok and other courts at the royal palace.
- (8) Chandri, a Khas woman, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with a man of the Chyamkhalak caste. Staying at the temple of Sri Guhyeshwari, she appears to have allowed several persons to use water contaminated by her touch.
- (9) Kabircha, a Kushle living at Nhugal Tol, is proved to have falsely claimed to be the brother of the wax monopolist (Main-Bhansari), of the Shrestha Newar caste, entered into the residence of Sharanabhadra Kunwar, allowed others to use the Lookah contaminated by his touch, and offered sweetmeats purchased by him to Ham=(sa)=bir Khadka.
- (10) In 1879, Subhadra Karkasi was alleged to have committed sexual intercourse with Dublya Chandara. In 1886, a trial by ordeal was held at the Koteling (Adalat), in which she lost.
- (11) In Ashadh 1884, Binya Thapa, of Kalapatal village in Parbat, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Dhuma, a Kami woman.
- (12) In Shrawan 1886, Ratnya, a Newar of Thecho village, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Dipa, a Dum woman, with full knowledge of her caste. The foetus was aborted during the fourth month of pregnancy. Ratnya then went to Jumla as a pipa in the company stationed there, and let water contaminated by his touch be used by several persons.
- (13) Nekusing, also a pipa, is proved to have committed a similar offense, and let water contaminated by his touch be used by several persons.

- (14) In 1885, Gaiindya, a slave, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Devakanya, a Sarki woman, in Chuplu (Chisankhu).
- (15) In Bhadra 1885, Ganga Sarki of Chuplu is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Kanti, a Khas woman.
- (16) In 1886, Dabalya Mainali of Pakarbas is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Bahiri, a Sarki woman.
- (17) Kamre Chimse, a Damai, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with two slave-girls, Chyauki and Chimi, in the year 1885.
- (18) In Magh 1885, Deo Sing Thapa Magar, of Jutugaun in Palpa, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Shiva-kali, a Sarki woman.
- (19) In Marga 1879, Dibi, a Sanyasi woman, and Hirya, a Damai woman, were proved to have been involved in adultery in the village of Gorpagaun in Pyuthan.
- (20) Sasim Budha, of Rolpa village in Palla-Salyana, is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with a Kami woman.
- (21) In the village of Dandagaun in Salyan, the slave of Pitambar Pandit is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Kanji, a Kami woman.
- (22) Damya Raut of Musikot is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Buddhi, a Damai woman.
- (23) Kasya, a slave of Dang in Salyan, and Bari, a Sarki woman of Chyanagaun, are proved to have committed sexual intercourse.
- (24) Dhanya Rana is proved to have committed sexual intercourse with Lyanki, a Kami woman of Sutrikot in Salyan.
- (25) Kalwars appear to have let others use cooked food and water contaminated by their touch for several years past.

For many years past, there have been cases of contamination (Samsarga) by such offenders (Pātaki). We have had expiation done for these offenses. Report the cases accurately to local

Subedar and the functionary deputed there by the Dharmadhikar, offer fees as follows for the book (Pustak), obtain a certificate (purji) of expiation (Prāyaschitta), and perform expiation.

In case any person evades the performance of expiation as mentioned above, he shall not be allowed to perform any religious ceremony for the gods (Havya), or for ancestors (Kavya), and no one shall be permitted to use water contaminated by his touch.

Schedule of Fees

	<u>Contamination through the use of cooked food</u>	<u>Contamination through the use of water</u>
	(for each household)	(for each household)
First offender	Rs 7	8 annas
Second ..	Rs 3½	4 annas
Third ..	Rs 1¼	2 annas
Others	-	1 anna

Abolition of Jagir Land Assignments

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/110-11)

The lands assigned as Jagir in the Tarai districts to elephant-keepers, grasscutters, tailors, etc. comprising the royal entourage were registered at the Revenue Office (Mal). They were therefore paid salaries in cash amounting to Rs 3,054.

Exchange of Jagir Lands

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/111)

With effect from the Vikrama year 1888, certain lands assigned as Jagir to the Srinath Kampu were reassigned to the Gorakbaksha Paltan, and vice versa.

Chhap Lands of Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/111-12).

General Bhimsen Thapa had been granted lands on Chhap tenure in Tistung. He was granted exemption from the Jhara, Gol, Saunefagu, and other levies and obligations on these lands.

Irrigation Channel in Gadkhar

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/112).

The inhabitants of Kabilas (Nuwakot district) were enrolled for the repair and maintenance of the new irrigation channel constructed at Gadkhar. They were granted exemption from other Jhara obligations.

Royal Order to Santoshanath Yogi

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/112-13).

"We hereby grant you one mouja of Kalabanjar lands at Deupur in Belod, Marjyadpur district. Use the flowers grown on these lands for worship at the Sri Mukundanath temple in Deughat. Appropriate the money and other offerings made by pilgrims and other persons, and function as priest."

This royal order had been issued in the name of Santoshanath Yogi. In 1880 Vikrama, Harshadeo Thapa obtained an order from the Chautariya, and claimed ownership of the lands as well as the post of priest. The original royal order was then reconfirmed.

Prohibition to Collect Interest

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/113-14).

The following royal order to the creditors of Danuwars of Satgaun had been issued in 1830 Vikrama:-

"You have been supplying loans to the people in money and in paddy, and realizing twice or even thrice the amounts so supplied. You are thus harassing the people, and converting their children into bondsmen or slaves. You are therefore forbidden to collect any interest on loans in the future, although you may recover the principal amounts. In case you convert any one into a bondsman or slave through force or pressure, you shall be severely punished."

This order was reconfirmed on Kartik Badi 8, 1887.

Contd...

Judicial Administration in Majhkirat

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/114-16)

Complaints were received (1) that Bicharis deputed to dispense justice in the Majhkirat region, which is situated between the Dudhkosi and Arun rivers in the eastern hills, sent more peons to the villages than the number permitted by the regulations, (2) that Hulaki officials disposed of complaints submitted by non-Hulaki ryots, and (3) that the peons collected foodgrains and other provisions without any payment.

The government thereupon directed that Bicharis should hold sessions only at Khotang, Khikamachha, Kharpa, and Halesi, and pronounce judgment after hearing both sides. Bicharis were forbidden to appoint peons in excess of the number prescribed in the regulations. Other points contained in the order were as follows: (1) Bicharis shall not send their men to the villages to dispense justice. (2) Hulaki officials shall not dispose of complaints submitted by non-Hulaki ryots. (3) Peons sent by Bicharis may collect provisions only from those persons who are to be arrested, or from whom payments are due. (4) Revenue contractors may collect provisions only from those persons from whom payments are due. They shall not collect any extra amount (Pyajkhani). (5) Persons who have to collect rents shall contact the district-level revenue functionary (Jilladar), identify the tenant (Mohi), and collect provisions from him until the rents are paid. They shall not demand provisions from the district-level revenue functionary, or from other ryots.

Thekbandi in Pyuthan

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/116-118).

Three villages in Pyuthan, Neparyagaun, Langselgaun, and Kasyarigaun, had been assigned to the munitions factory. However, Mukhiya Biru Khadka of Kasyari village were unable to discharge their duties satisfactorily. Consequently, that village was ruined. Biru Khadka was therefore dismissed, and Thekbandi revenue-collection arrangements, as made during the settlement of 1882 Vikrama, were reconfirmed for all these three villages. Particulars are as follows:-

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	<u>Neparya</u>	<u>Langsela</u>	<u>Kasyari</u>
1. No. of households	5	12	12
2. Serma tax	Rs 2/14 annas	Rs 3/8	Rs 6/6
3. Saunefagu tax	6 annas	Rs 1/8	Rs 1/7/1
4. <u>Asmani revenue</u>	Rs 1/10	-	Rs 3/8/2
5. Thekbandi payment	Rs 4/14	Rs 5	Rs 11/5/3
Total Thekbandi revenue from the three villages		---	Rs 21/3/3
Asmani revenue from Kagate- Hulaki households		---	Rs 1/8
do. from three households in Kasyari appointed to work in government offices at Sikuwadanda		---	Rs 1/8
Total		-----	Rs 22, annas 11 and paisa 3.

### Jhara Labor Services

(Karcik Badi 8, 1887) (44/119)

- (1) All inhabitants of Purano Lingling in Purano-Salyan, other than Kagate-Hulaki and Thaple-Hulaki posters, and Brahmans, were ordered to provide Jhara labor services for the construction of an iron fort at Bagphale.
- (2) The inhabitants of all villages in Pyuthan were similarly ordered to provide Jhara labor services for the construction of irrigation channels and embankments, and transport stones and grinding-stones for gunpowder and munitions factories.

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Management of Guthi Endowment

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/120)

Pujya Rokaya was appointed priest of the Sri Mahadeva temple at Gamchal in Pyuthan. He was permitted to use income from the Guthi lands of the temple to perform religious ceremonies there, and appropriate the surplus income for his personal use.

Gharbari Land Grant

(Kartik Badi 8, 1837) (44/120).

In 1882 Vikrama, Rupaharain Bisht had reclaimed four ropanis of waste lands situated on the border between Thimi and Patan. These lands were given to him as a homesite (Gharbari), on payment of Pota tax at the rate of four annas per ropani. Eight annas were payable on two ropanis to Thimi, and the same amount to Patan.

Management of Garden in Pyuthan

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/120-21)

- (1) Manikarna Thapa was appointed Chitaidar (manager) of the Dewandera garden in Pyuthan, with 171 muris of rice-lands as Jagir.
- (2) Order to Mukhiya Mai Khatri of Upalla-Rasapur village, and Mukhiya Ranajit Bohora of Talla-Rasapur village, in Pyuthan district: "All households in these villages which are under the obligation to provide Jhara labor services, should work at the Dewandera gardens. So long as this work is not completed, they need not provide Jhara labor services elsewhere."

(To Be Continued)

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King Rana Bahadur Shah<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

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In May 1794, Rana Bahadur Shah established a new Bharadari with the aim of taking over full powers from Bahadur Shah. At that time, any one who was appointed as Chautara in the Bharadari was required to function as an assistant to the King. For this reason, the post of Chautara was regarded as very high and important. There were many candidates for this post to be filled up by Rana Bahadur Shah. Among them were Balabhadra Shah, Bidur Shahi, Sher Bahadur Shahi, and Bam Shah. Balabhadra Shah claimed that he was qualified for the post, because he belonged to a superior caste. Bidur Shahi and Sher Bahadur Shahi said that being the brothers of the King, even though illegitimate, they were more deserving than anybody else. Finally, Rana Bahadur Shah appointed Bidur Shahi and Sher Bahadur Shahi as joint Chautaras. At the same time, he appointed Balabhadra Shah and Bam Shah also as Chautaras, with responsibility to look after affairs in areas outside Kathmandu and in Kumaun respectively. Tribhuvan Khawas and Narasimha Gurung were appointed Kajis.

Two old Chhetri ministers, Abhiman Simha Basnyat and Damodar Pande, were retained. The practice of appointing a Gurung and a Newar as ministers was discontinued. The new Bharadari functioned well in the first year. The Raja of Garhwal sent a minister to Kathmandu to attend the celebrations held to mark the King's take-over of the administration. He complained that the tribute of Rs 9,000 imposed on Garhwal was too high. Rana Bahadur Shah then reduced the amount to Rs 3,000, and presented both the Raja of Garhwal and his visiting minister with gifts.

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966 A.D.). Chapter 18, pp. 102-09.

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During the same year, a woman named Kantawati had come from Mithila on pilgrimage to the temple of Pashupati Nath. On the advice of Bidur Shahi and Sher Bahadur Shahi, Rana Bahadur Shah took her to the palace. For six months, Kantawati insisted that she would never remarry. Rajarajeshwari, the eldest queen of Rana Bahadur Shah, and Subarnaprabha, the younger queen, were jealous of each other. After having given birth to a daughter, Queen Rajarajeshwari had become incapable of bearing more children. On the other hand, Queen Subarnaprabha had two sons. She wanted one of her sons to be proclaimed as heir to the throne. This was why she wanted to stop Rana Bahadur Shah from marrying Kantawati. But Queen Rajarajeshwari was in favor of Kantawati being married to Rana Bahadur Shah, because she did not want to see Subarnaprabha's son proclaimed as heir. She preferred Kantawati's son to Subarnaprabha's as successor to Rana Bahadur Shah. King Nagabam Malla of Doti also had married a Brahman widow named Bhanumati, and proclaimed the son begotten by her as his successor. The descendants of Bhanumati's son had since been ruling Doti. The news of Nagabam Malla's marriage with a Brahman widow had spread to Kathmandu. Kantawati consented to marry Rana Bahadur Shah only after he had vowed to proclaim the son to be begotten by her as his heir. They were thereafter married in Gorkha.

After Rana Bahadur Shah returned to Kathmandu on the conclusion of the wedding ceremony in Gorkha, a conflict developed between him and Bahadur Shah. One reason for that conflict was the occupation of Bahadur Shah's rooms inside the palace by Bidur Shahi and Sher Bahadur Shahi. Bahadur Shah had therefore been compelled to live in a rest-house built by him at Pashupati for the accommodation of pilgrims. Another reason for the conflict was that Bahadur Shah had written a letter requesting the Amban of Lhasa for permission to visit the Emperor of China. The Amban informed Rana Bahadur Shah of the receipt of that letter. Till then, Rana Bahadur Shah had not said a word. But when the Emperor of China died, and was succeeded by his son, Bahadur Shah again wrote a letter to the new Emperor. The Emperor then awarded a medal called "Hung" to Bahadur Shah. The Amban of Lhasa did not oppose the award, but he said that Rana Bahadur Shah should be consulted. Accordingly, the Amban wrote a letter to Rana Bahadur Shah. The latter did not send any written reply to the Amban, but despatched Kaji Sarbajit Pande to Lhasa to make oral representations to the Amban, and hand over to him a note containing imaginary charges against Bahadur Shah. Hardly had Kaji Sarbajit Pande

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reached Lhasa than Rana Bahadur Shah arrested Bahadur Shah. For three months, Bahadur Shah was imprisoned at a fort located on the banks of the Bishnumati, which now accommodates the Paropakar Orphanage. The fort had been originally built by Malla Kings, and later used by the Gorkhalis, sometimes as a guest-house, and sometimes as a jail. One night, Bahadur Shah was secretly murdered, and next morning, the body was cremated at Aryaghat, thereby creating the impression that he had died a natural death. In this manner, Bahadur Shah met with a tragic death. It is not known what happened to his wife.

Kantawati gave birth to Girvana Yuddha Bikram Shah. His birth made all happy, specially his mother and the eldest queen. He was immediately proclaimed as Crown Prince, and throughout the year there was a festive atmosphere.

King Rana Bahadur Shah had a fair complexion, and his face was always cheerful. He had a sweet voice, and he knew how to play the Sitar. But he was lean, and his health was not good. Because of his poor health, he did not ride on horse-back, and usually moved about on a man's back. His hobby was tending birds and animals. There was once a large animal farm exactly at the place which now accommodates the Nepal Bank building. Various lands of birds and animals including horses, cows, deer, sheep, goats, buffaloes, boar, ducks, hen, etc. were kept there. Rana Bahadur Shah was very fond of making these animals fight each other. He was particularly interested in bull-fights.

Girvana Yuddha Bikram's first year after his birth was spent happily. But when he was just two years of age, his mother, Kantawati, developed symptoms of tuberculosis. This gave rise to concern and grief in the royal palace. The King was very grief-stricken. Several Bharadars started making efforts to take advantage of this situation. Kirtiman Simha Basnyat, son of Kahar Simha Basnyat, was one of such persons. At the time of the war with China, he occupied the post of Kaji. But he was dismissed soon after the war. Having contracted tuberculosis, Queen Kantawati was naturally worried over her son's future. She was not sure whether Girvana Yuddha Bikram would ever become King. Since the state of King Rana Bahadur Shah's mind too was not satisfactory, she apprehended that her son might get involved in some unfortunate development. In the meantime, Kirtiman Simha Basnyat began to incite Queen Kantawati. He told her that it was possible to enthrone the Crown Prince at once. The eldest queen, Rajarajeshwari, also

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began to insist that Girvan Yuddha Bikram be proclaimed King at once. She was well aware that she might forfeit her position as the seniormost queen in the event of Subarna Prabha's son becoming King. Her selfish interest therefore lay in the enthronement of Girvan Yuddha Bikram. No competent physician came forward to treat the queen, because everybody believed at that time that a tuberculosis patient could survive for not more than one thousand days. Finally, Kirtiman Simha persuaded a royal physician named Milham, who resided at Deopatan, to attend to the sick queen. He was told that he would be given a handsome reward if he could cure the queen's ailment.

The physician, a simple-minded person, expressed the opinion that the queen could not be cured of tuberculosis unless something which could bring her religious merit, was done. He suggested that a rest-house should be built at Deopatan for pilgrims since the existing rest-house there, which was established by Bahadur Shah, was too small. The King promptly bought a plot of cultivated land at Bhadgaun and set up a Guthi endowment for maintaining a rest-house with its income. The rest-house still stands there. In a copper inscription issued in this connection, only Kirtiman Simha's name is mentioned as a witness to this act. On the advice of Milham, Rana Bahadur Shah also built a residence for Kantawati near the physician's own residence, since it was necessary to build such a sanatorium in a forest area.

The physician then advised both the King and the queen to wear saffron robes, saying that it was essential for them to practise abstinence. At this stage, Kirtiman Simha requested the King to renounce the world and proclaim the Crown Prince as King. He maintained that there was no harm in doing so, and that this was also desired by the queen. He referred to the fame gained by King Siddhinarasimha Malla and Srinivas Malla of Patan by opting for an ascetic life, and said that everything would be all right if King Rana Bahadur Shah did likewise, and appointed him as minister. The eldest queen also supported that proposal. This matter was kept secret for six months. In the month of February 1799, it was decided to consult all the Bharadars on that proposal. The Bharadars concurred, and even signed a pledge to the effect that they would serve the Crown Prince with renewed loyalty, in case he was enthroned. After having secured such a pledge from about 100 Bharadars, Rana Bahadur proclaimed Girvana Yuddha Bir Bikram Shah Dev as King in March.

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King Prithvi Pal Sen of Palpa was invited to conduct the coronation ceremony. He personally placed the Crown on the head of Grivan Yuddha Bir Bikram. There was another motive in calling Prithvi Pal Sen to Kathmandu. Both he and his younger brother, Rana Bahadur Sen, were confined to the Lalitpur Palace, so that the King might not be able to leave Kathmandu.

Since it was not proper for an ex-king to stay on in the capital after the coronation of his successor, Rana Bahadur Shah, dressed in saffron robes, left for the sanatorium at Deopatan. Although clad in saffron robes, he still retained his Shikha (tuft of hair on the Crown of the head), and sacred thread. Queen Kantawati also accompanied him to the Sanatorium. Rajarajeshwari, the eldest queen, remained at the royal palace, looking after the minor King and the affairs of the state as regent. Subarnaprabha, the second queen, also stayed on in the royal palace, because both of her sons were also minor, and had been designated as Chautaras. But she was not allowed to attend any state function, except meetings of the Council of State. Kaji Abhiman Simha was dismissed, and replaced by Kirtiman Simha Basnyat. Kirtiman Simha Basnyat appointed Bhimsen Thapa, son of Amar Simha Thapa, who was related to him, as Sardar, and entrusted him with the responsibility of staying with Rana Bahadur Shah, who was now called Parama-Nirgunanand Swami, and attending to his well-being. Bhimsen Thapa remained with the Swami until the latter's death.

At the sanatorium of Deopatan, Milham started treating Queen Kantawati. The Swami did not pay special attention to the sick queen. One day, suspecting that the condition of the queen had further deteriorated, he castigated the physician, charging that his treatment was not having any effect, and punished him. The Swami thought that it was no use staying at Deopatan, and therefore shifted to Pulchok, where Siddhinarasimha Malla had once lived, along with Kantawati.

(To Be Continued)

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Fiscal and Labor Obligations of Inhabitants of  
Panchsayakhola in Nuwakot

(Bhadra Sudi 8, 1912) (66/103-08)

During the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the following obligations had been imposed on the inhabitants of Panchsayakhola in Nuwakot, on the Nepal-Tibet border: "Since you live in a border territory, you have to fulfill both military and portage obligations. Seize arms and ammunition, saltpeter, sulphur, being smuggled to Tibet, auction them, and hand over the proceeds to the royal palace. Capture any rebel who may try to escape to Tibet through that territory. Provide portage services for Sirto supplies between Nepal and Tibet. Make regular payment of herbs and drugs, and other supplies due as Sirto from that territory. The inhabitants of ten villages, including Kharsa and Parcyang, shall provide Hulak services. The inhabitants of other villages shall work at the gunpowder factory. Provide assistance in the collection of Jagat duties on goods traded between Nepal and Tibet. Capture persons who create disturbances and hand them over to the royal palace. Hulakis shall be granted exemption from all tax and Jhara obligations. They shall enjoy security of tenure on their rice lands and homesteads. Inasmuch as this area of rice lands in your territory is not large, and you cannot maintain yourselves only through unirrigated hillside lands, you may bring salt from Tibet. The inhabitants of the ten villages who provide Hulak services shall be exempt from Jagat, Nirkhi, and Tak, or levies. Each household of those villages who work at the gunpowder factory may procure five manloads (of salt from Tibet).

"Subsequently, revenue officials collected Jagat duties forcibly from the inhabitants of Kharsa and Parchyang villages. This year, because of the war with Tibet, we have also been compelled to transport supplies of provisions, arms and ammunition, and also provide Thaple-Hulaki and Kagate Hulaki services. Frequent troop movements have created yet another burden. Our fiscal privileges have all been withdrawn. How then are we to continue providing labor services. We have to supply provisions to the Dware and his men throughout the year, as a result of which we are being compelled to sell our children."

The following royal order was then issued, "All customary facilities and privileges granted to the inhabitants of Panchsayakhola have been reconfirmed. Revenue officials shall not forcibly collect Jagat, Nirkhi, and Taksar levies from the inhabitants of Kharsa and Parchyang villages. Dwares and other officials shall not procure provisions forcibly. The obligation to supply such provisions is hereby abolished. All fiscal privileges that had been granted previously shall be restored."

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Activities of the Guthi Corporation<sup>x</sup>

Traditionally, Guthi revenues in Nepal have been kept in a separate fund. In keeping with this tradition, the Guthi Samsthan (Guthi Corporation) was established in 1964 under a law enacted for that purpose.

His Majesty's Government handed over an amount of Rs 649,581.32 as the Guthi fund to the Guthi Corporation after its establishment. The Guthi Corporation collected revenue amounting to Rs 1,777,497.84, and spent Rs 630,532.37, during the fiscal year 1964-65. Its income during the fiscal year 1973-74 was Rs 6,558,343, and its budget for 1974-75 totals Rs 14,598,286.

The Guthi Corporation has continued its traditional functions, and also undertaken 263 renovation and reconstruction projects during the past ten years, at a cost of Rs 9,329,373.64. The Corporation intends to spend Rs 800,000 or Rs 1 million every year on renovation and construction works.

However, the Corporation faces several difficulties in collecting revenue. According to available statistics, Rs 6,057,623 in cash, and 354,586 maunds of paddy, are in arrears.

The Guthi Corporation performs traditional religious ceremonies through rents accruing from Guthi lands. The new rent system has reduced the income of the Corporation. Rising prices have created additional difficulties. Growing population has encouraged the trend of squatting on Guthi lands.

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<sup>x</sup> Excerpts from the report of Ramachandra Paudel, Administrator of the Guthi Corporation, at its eleventh anniversary function held in Kathmandu on Kartik 28, 2031 (November 13, 1974). Dharma Darshan (Nepali, quarterly, published by the Guthi Corporation). Year 1, No. 3, Kartik-Poush 2031 (October-December 1974). 59-62 pp.

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Lands constitutes the chief property of the Guthi Corporation. It owns about 77,000 bighas of land in the Tarai and about 65,000 ropanis in Kathmandu Valley and the hill region. In addition, it has 150 buildings, stalls, tanks, gardens, etc. The Corporation functions its with the income accruing from these assets.

The Guthi Corporation conducts about 8,000 festivals and religious ceremonies of about 2,000 temples and shrines. In the case of Chhut Guthis, such functions are performed by individuals. Chhut Guthis are now legally under the jurisdiction of the Guthi Corporation, but they are still being managed as usual. Some Chhut Guthis pay a stipulated amount as Solami to the Guthi Corporation.

The Guthi Corporation has provided handis (i.e. rations) to 833 disabled and indigent persons, and occasional handis to 7,000 mendicants, including those who come to Kathmandu during the Shivaratri festival. Similarly, maintenance allowances are paid to 30 persons who go to Varanasi in India to spend their last days. The Corporation has also made boarding arrangements for poor students. About 225 students are at present enjoying this facility.

The Guthi Corporation has started cultivating 1,500 bighas of land in the Janakpur and Narayani zones itself to meet the shortage of foodgrains for its religious functions. The Corporation intends to execute a number of projects on these lands.

The Guthi Corporation has eighteen offices in different districts, with 641 employees.

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(S.B. Maharjan)

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd

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King Rana Bahadur Shah<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya,

(Continued from the previous issue).

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A few days before Milham was punished by Rana Bahadur Shah, another physician named Laxmi Narayan had offered to treat the queen through witch-doctors (Jhankris). Rana Bahadur Shah agreed. But Laxmi Narayan ultimately confessed his failure. Rana Bahadur Shah had his head shaved thereby degrading his caste-status, and banished him from Nepal. This event had taken place just a few days before the coronation of Girvan Yuddha Bikram. Some time later, Chautara Krishna Shah, the youngest son of Mahoddamkirti Shah, fled to Hariharakshetra. Rana Bahadur Shah, who was staying at Pulchok along with Queen Kantawati, saw that her condition was getting worse, and that she was not responding to treatment. He therefore decided to have religious functions performed at different temples, praying for her recovery. Accordingly, such functions were performed at different temples in Kathmandu Valley through Brahmans, Gubhajas and Bandas. Approximately Rs 100,000 was spent on these functions. However, the condition of the Queen did not improve. Finally, on Kartik 19, (November 31) Queen Kantawati died at Aryaghat.

The grief-stricken Rana Bahadur Shah started shouting that he wanted to be reduced to ashes together with the queen. Damodar Pande and other Bharadars, however, persuaded him not to do so. He was then brought back to Pulchok.

Seeing that the Swami had lost his mental balance, Queen Rajarajeshwari started living with him at Pulchok. She spent the night at Pulchok, and the day at the royal palace to attend to the state affairs.

Kirtiman Simha Basnyat had maneuvered the abdication of Rana Bahadur Shah and his own appointment as minister. He now tried another maneuver. He proposed the revival of the customary annual festival in which all nobles gathered at Nuwakot and celebrated the Holi (festival). Since

<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu; Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966 A.D.). Chapter 18, pp. 102-09.

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the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the King, his brothers and other nobles, had gone to Nuwakot in the month of Fagun and stayed there for one or two months. They went to Nuwakot even if the festival was observed in Kathmandu. This practice had been discontinued later. Kirtiman Simha sought to revive this practice.

On Magh 10, he left Kathmandu for Nuwakot for this purpose. He reached Nuwakot after a journey of ten days. This step created a dilemma for Queen Rajarajeshwari. She could not afford to leave Kathmandu with the Swami there, nor could she neglect Girvan Yuddha Bikram, who had already reached Nuwakot. At the time, the Swami was insisting that he would go to Kashi. The queen feared that he might run away if she too went to Nuwakot, leaving him alone. This was why the queen went to Nuwakot at intervals of eight or ten days, and returned to Kathmandu after affixing the royal seal on official documents. This was not liked by the Swami. He therefore personally went to Nuwakot, and arrested Ranabam Pande, nephew of Damodar Pande, and Sardar Amar Simha Thapa, and subjected them to a humiliating treatment, and then returned to Kathmandu. Kirtiman Simha Basnyat and Damodar Pande, who were infuriated by this action of the Swami, hatched a plot to arrest him, as well as Queen Rajarajeshwari, who supported him.

However, Chautara Balabhadra Shah dissociated himself from their proposal, and hastened to Pulchok to inform the Swami and the Queen of the conspiracy. This enraged them to such an extent that they dismissed the royal court that was present in Nuwakot, and formed a new one in Kathmandu without any deliberation. In the new set-up, Balabhadra Shah was appointed Chief Chautara. Bidur Shahi, who was stranded in Kathmandu, was appointed as the second Chautara. A son of Bam Shah's uncle, who was staying in Nuwakot, was made the third Chautara. The post of Chief Kaji was given to Pratiman Rana. Ranakeshar Pande, son of Damodar Pande, and Jahar Simha Basnyat, elder brother of Kirtiman Simha Basnyat, were appointed the second and third Kajis respectively. Similarly, some of the employees who had been dismissed previously were reappointed as Sardar. Amar Simha Thapa, father of Bhimsen Thapa, was included in the new set-up. It cannot be said how Bhimsen Thapa viewed these changes. Anyway, the Swami, after taking all these measures, closed all the exit points from Nuwakot by building improvised fortresses at Kakani, Pulchok and Paknajol. For four months thereafter, the Swami held full powers.

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When news of all this reached Nuwakot, Kirtiman Simha Basnyat devised means to clear himself. He spread the rumor that all the charges levelled against him by Balabhadra Shah were concocted, and that he had done nothing against the Swami. At the same time, he compelled Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah to issue a royal message in the name of the people of Kathmandu. The message said, "The Swami is guilty, although he is my father. Hence to fight against me is to abandon one's duty. Similar royal messages were sent to the people of Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. But the Swami's writ continued to run in Kathmandu. He withdrew funds from the treasury, and took them to Pulchok. Of this money, Rs 10,000 or Rs 12,000 was given to the queen and Balabhadra Shah, while approximately Rs 50,000 was appropriated by the Swami, Bhimsen Thapa, and Balanarsingh Kunwar. Jagat Khawas, who was the treasurer, let the Swami take away both money and weapons. On Baisakh 20, he issued orders to the people asking them to come and help him. But as the mail transport system was not under his control, his orders could not reach all places. The system was controlled by Kirtimansimha Basnyat, who sent messages bearing the seal of Girvan Yuddha Bikram, ordering troops garrisoned in various parts of the country not to enter Kathmandu Valley, but to assemble in Nuwakot. On receipt of these messages, some of the troops stationed in the western part of the kingdom actually arrived in Nuwakot. Damodar Pande won over the troops stationed at Kakani to his side, and when, in the month of Jestha, he advanced to Mudkhu, the Swami left Pulchok without giving any notice to Queen Rajarajeshwari. He reached Makwanpur, travelling through Chapagaun, Pyutar, and Pethan, and crossing the border of the country, through Parsagadhi, he headed towards Kashi.

<sup>x</sup>On learning of the Swami's escape, Queen Rajarajeshwari felt that it was not advisable to stay on in Kathmandu. Accordingly, two days after the Swami's flight, she left for Kashi through the main Chisapani route, carrying all her possession. Neither Kirtiman Simha Basnyat nor Damodar Pande attempted to intercept her. The queen took only a fraction of the money drawn by the Swami from the treasury, and left the balance behind in Pulchok. Balabhadra Shah accompanied the queen.

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<sup>x</sup>Ibid, Chapter 19, pp. 110-18.

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Following the flight of the Swami and the queen, all the new Chautaras, including Bidur Shahi, and all the new Kajis and Sardars, including Pratiman Rana, were dismissed, whereas the Bharadari that had been formed at Nuwakot was retained intact. Queen Subarnaprabha was now the guardian of the junior King, and functioned as regent. She was brought back to the royal palace in Kathmandu in a procession. Kirtiman Simha Basnyat was then appointed Chief Kaji, or Prime Minister. In the ensuing reorganization of the set-up of Chautaras and Kajis, Sardar Amar Simha Thapa was appointed Kaji. Damodar Pande, however, remained an ordinary minister with reduced powers. District and military headquarters in the western region, which were under his control, were placed under Chautara Bam Shah. This led to a rift between these two men. Damodar Pande could not accept such humiliation from his own nephew.

For nearly fifteen months, Kirtiman Simha Basnyat was all-powerful of Nepal. The supporters of the senior queen were feeling jealous of him. They were even spreading the rumor that Kirtiman Simha was maintaining illicit relationship with Queen Subarnaprabha. In the month of Aswin, 1858 Vikrama, two men assassinated Kirtiman Simha Basnyat at night, when he was returning home through Hattisar after holding consultations with Sher Bahadur at the royal palace. The assassins threw his body on the road. Kirtiman Simha Basnyat usually returned home through Hattisar because it was a short cut to his home. The news of his assassination spread only the next day. The assassins escaped, but they were identified. However, the persons who had ordered them to murder Kirtiman Simha had yet to be identified. Subarnaprabha and Sher Bahadur Shahi, after mutual consultations, detained eighty nobles and officers suspected to be supporters of the senior queen. Sher Bahadur let his elder brother, Bidur Shahi, escape after informing him that a court would try the conspirators in the royal palace. Damodar Pande also was let off after he had vowed not to flee. However, his son, Rana Keshar Pande, was imprisoned. Ranajit Pande was compelled to flee to the Tarai. Several other Bhara-dars were also imprisoned. Some five of them, including Sardar Pratiman Rana and Garbhu Khawas, were later beheaded on the charge of having spread sinister rumors. The actual assassins, however, remained at large. Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat was then appointed to succeed Kirtiman Simha Basnyat, his brother.

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In the meantime, Swami Rana Bahadur Shah had reached Kashi. He was received by the local British Political Agent. Rana Bahadur Shah was allowed to live in Kashi as a refugee. Ranganath Pandit, who was four years old when his father Brajanath Pandit, was banished from Nepal, and who had now become young, went to Kashi immediately on hearing of Rana Bahadur Shah's arrival there. Ranganath Pandit used to stay some times at Ramnagar, and some times at Kashi. The Swami, within a few days after reaching Kashi, started preparing to come back to Nepal. He called on Parshuram Thapa, who had been living in Kashi at that time after being banished from Nepal, and asked him to go back to Nepal to win over the Bharadars, and find out a way to enable him to return home. He promised that in consideration of this service he would include the Thapas in the rank of Bharadars, which then comprised only six families.

Both Bhimsen Thapa and Ranganath Pandit were ignorant of politics. They thought that if they flattered the British, the latter might help them to reinstall the Swami on the throne of Nepal. Hence they were constantly trying to represent their viewpoint to the British Political Agent. The British, of course, were seeking to infiltrate into Nepal to derive some advantages for themselves. But they did not want to show any undue haste in this regard. They preferred a cautious approach. Earlier, when Rana Bahadur Shah was in power, they had sent a Muslim named Abdul Kadir as envoy to Nepal along with some goods as a means for paving the way for their entry into Kathmandu. But Abdul Kadir's mission had failed, and he had had to return empty-handed. Even after the Swami's visit to Kashi, the British did not listen to the suggestions of Bhimsen Thapa and Ranganath Pandit. Instead, they proposed to hold negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty with the Nepal government, with Gajaraj Mishra acting as intermediary. Gajaraj Mishra, had failed to return to Kathmandu during the coronation of Girvan Yuddha in protest against Rana Bahadur Shah's abdication. He was now contacted by the British Governor General, who then made arrangements to despatch a British envoy to Nepal to assess the situation there and conclude a new treaty with the Nepal government. Gajaraj Mishra too thought that it was not easy to prevent the British from entering into Nepal because they were very strong and the territories under their control had become large, and that it was in the interest of Nepal itself to let a British resident stay in Kathmandu, and to deal with him carefully. Accordingly, he prepared the draft of a treaty and went to Kathmandu for a meeting with Kirtiman Simha Basnyat. Kirtiman Simha Basnyat agreed to conclude a treaty

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with the British, on the condition that the Swami would be confined to Kashi, and not allowed to engage in any activities from there. Gajaraj Mishra, who represented Nepal, and a representative of the British, then started drafting the terms of the treaty at Patna. It was at this time that Kirtiman Simha Basnyat was assassinated in Nepal, and replaced by Bakhtwar Simha as Chief Kaji. Sardar Subuddhi Khacka was then the Chief Advisor to Queen Subarnaprabha.

The draft of the treaty was finalized at Patna in the month of November. It proposed an annual allowance of Rs 80,000, to be obtained from the revenue of Pallo-Kirat and Morang, and supply of some provisions to Rana Bahadur Shah, on the condition that he would refrain from interfering in the affairs of Nepal, and agreed to live peacefully and under the surveillance of both the Nepal government and the British government. The Swami was permitted to maintain 100 men as his body-guards, and depute his own men to collect his allowance. The treaty also provided that the Nepal government itself would help to collect the allowance, in case the Swami failed to depute his men to do so. In addition, the treaty provided for the abolition of the rule requiring Nepal to give two elephants annually as a tribute to the British for the territories of the Tarai. The treaty also contained a provision which was very embarrassing to Nepal. The provision was that the British would arbitrate in the event of any border dispute between Oudh and Nepal. This provision was fraught with dangerous implications for Nepal. The British could not be expected to take sides with Nepal, ignoring the case of the Nawab of Oudh, who was under their protection. Another provision in the draft treaty was that the responsibility for the safety of the Bharadars of Nepal was to be borne by the British. Indeed, he who assumed the role of protector would also become master. Notwithstanding these features, the draft treaty was signed by the Governor-General, and, in April 1802, Captain Knox, who was appointed as British envoy to Nepal, took it to Nepal. He was accompanied by Gajaraj Mishra and Raghunath Pandit. Queen Subarnaprabha had sent Damodar Pande to the Tarai to receive the British envoy. Captain Knox finally reached Kathmandu with his party.

The Swami had taken only a small amount of money to Kashi. He soon ran out of funds, because he had had to incur substantial expenses there. Shortage of funds led to a quarrel with Queen Rajarajeshwari. The queen, accompanied by Balabhadra Shah and about nine or ten servants, left for the Ramnagar estate in Bettiah, and took shelter with Raja Hara-

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kumar Datta Sen, who was living there after having been driven out of Tanahu. She had no hesitation in staying at Ramnagar, because she had been brought up there during her childhood. On hearing of Kirtiman Simha's assassination, she proceeded towards Rautahat. Queen Subarnaprabha learned of this, and despatched a contingent of troops, with a letter bearing the seal of King Girvan Yuddha, directing Queen Rajarajeshwari to withdraw from Rautahat. But the troops had no courage to expell Queen Rajarajeshwari, who remained entrenched in Rautahat. Rajarajeshwari was still living in Rautahat when Captain Knox arrived in Kathmandu. In the meantime, Balabhadra Shah died suddenly, leaving Rajarajeshwari helpless. In these circumstances, she decided to proceed towards Kathmandu. Queen Subarnaprabha, however, despatched troops to the outpost at Churiya-Bhanjyang in order to stop Rajarajeshwari from advancing towards the capital. When the troops actually tried to stop them, Rajarajeshwari and her female servants brandished their swords. The troops therefore did not dare to arrest them, and so arrested only the bearers and porters. Rajarajeshwari and her attendants proceeded on foot and reached Chisapanigadhi. The local administrator permitted them to spend the night at that place, and informed Queen Subarnaprabha accordingly. Another company of troops was then sent from Kathmandu to capture Queen Rajarajeshwari and her entourage. The troops encountered Queen Rajarajeshwari's party at Kulekhani. The officers tried to arrest the Queen, but the soldiers welcomed her, and even carried her palanquin to Kimdol near Thankot. Queen Rajarajeshwari remained for some days at Kimdol, because she did not consider it advisable until the Bharadars came forward to welcome her.

(To Be Continued)

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## Preliminary Notes on the Nature of Rana Law and Government

By

Mahesh C. Regni.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Gorkha, a small kingdom in the central hill region, subjugated the petty principalities that existed along the southern flanks of the Himalaya mountains, some with strips of territory in the Tarai. The rulers of Gorkha, who belonged to the Shah dynasty, then shifted their capital to Kathmandu, and laid the foundation of the present Kingdom of Nepal. The frontiers of the new kingdom were stabilized after a war with the British East India Company during 1814-16, when it was left with territories in the hill region between the Mechi river in the east, and the Mahakali river in the west, and a 25 to 35-mile wide strip of Tarai bordering on India in the south.

Political unification was achieved under the leadership of the king, but the kingdom was unable to enjoy political stability for long. Internecine conflict among members of the nobility, and even those of the royal family, was the main reason for the political crises that affected Nepal throughout the concluding years of the eighteenth century. Matters came to a head in early 1799, when the king, Rana Bahadur Shah, abdicated in favor of an infant son, Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah, and went into voluntary exile in India. He returned to Nepal five years later, and assumed the office of Regent, but was assassinated in April 1806 by an illegitimate half-brother. Bhimsen Thapa, a member of the nobility who had remained loyal to Rana Bahadur Shah, then became Prime Minister. For thirty-one years, from 1806 to 1837, he ruled Nepal with virtually dictatorial authority, retaining his position even after the king, Rajendra Bikram, had attained majority. For nearly nine years after 1837, Nepal was a victim of political instability at the hands of factions headed by the king himself, his two queens, and the Crown Prince, Surendra Bikram Shah, each with supporters among the nobility. In May 1845, the Prime Minister, Mathbar Singh Thapa, was killed by an unidentified assassin. A four-member government was then formed. One of the members of that government was Jang Bahadur Kanwar. Political conflict continued, however, culminating in a massacre of leading members of the important political families on September 14, 1846, and the flight or banishment of several others. On September 15, 1846, Jang Bahadur was appointed Prime Minister of Nepal. He remained Prime Minister for thirty-one years, with an interval of a few months during 1856-57, when his brother, Bam Bahadur, was Prime Minister. Jang Bahadur laid the foundation of a political system which, notwithstanding occasional inter-familial conflicts and political conspiracies, survived until 1951.

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The rise of Jang Bahadur in Nepal's political life was in conformity with the political traditions of the kingdom. Throughout Nepal's post-1768 history, participation in the political process had become the exclusive prerogative of the Brahman and Chhetri families who had followed King Prithvi Narayan Shah from Gorkha to Kathmandu. Jang Bahadur belonged to one of the less influential section of those families, which had distinguished itself at the middle echelons of the administration and the army rather than in the matrices of central politics.

During the period from 1846 to 1856, Jang Bahadur functioned as Prime Minister in his individual capacity. The Rana family was, therefore, a mere de facto political elite which owed its status to the actual exercise of political power. Subsequently, it acquired that status through the exclusion by constitutional law of other political classes from political power, as well as through the formal institutionalization of its own privileges and obligations. In August 1856, a royal order was promulgated formally limiting succession to the Prime Ministership to members of the Rana family.<sup>1</sup> Other sections of the nobility from among whom Prime Ministers had traditionally been appointed, such as Thapas, Pandes, and Chautariyas, were thereafter excluded from the ranks of the political elite. This order closed the doors of political power to the non-Rana political classes and relegated their role to oppositional politics aimed at the restoration of the pre-1846 power structure.<sup>2</sup> The Rana family, comprising "the Vizier, and his brothers and sons,"<sup>3</sup> accordingly constituted the political elite that ruled Nepal until 1951.

In 1856, Jang Bahadur was designated as the Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung, with special powers to impose or commute capital punishment, to appoint or dismiss government officials, to declare war or make peace with Tibet, China, and the British government or other foreign powers, to dispense justice and punishment to criminals, and to formulate new laws and repeal or modify old laws pertaining to the judicial and military departments of the government. A royal order promulgated in August 1856 in this connection bestowed authority on the Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung to prevent the king himself "from trying to coerce the nobility, the peasantry or the army, or from disturbing the friendly relations with the Queen of England and the Emperor of China."<sup>4</sup> The Maharaja of Kaski and Lamjung thus exercised authority all over the Kingdom of Nepal.

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The Rana family constituted a political elite whose power was based on the control of the administration and the army, and subjugation of the Crown. It was not a ruling class in itself, because its power was not based on property ownership and inheritance.<sup>5</sup> Nor did Rana authority depend, like that of the Shah rulers, on the rights of conquest. Unlike the Shah rulers, therefore, the Ranas faced the problem of legitimation of their authority by explaining administrative measures in a language which people could understand and interpret in terms of traditional values and orientations. For instance, Jang Bahadur justified his decision to restore Birta lands to the victims of the 1806 confiscation by declaring:

The Birta and Guthi lands confiscated in 1806 have been assigned to the army. If now they are taken away from the army and restored to the original owners, the army will cease to exist. If the army does not exist, the religion of the Hindus may not be safe. Arrangements should therefore be made in such a way that the confiscated Birta and Guthi lands are restored, while also maintaining the army,<sup>6</sup> so as to safeguard the religion of the Hindus.

This traditional pattern of legitimation was, at times, supplemented by a more rational approach. For instance, when impressing labor services for transportation of food supplies to the front during the 1855-56 Nepal-Tibet war, the Rana government declared:

You know that preparations are being made for war against Tibet this year. For this war, His Majesty has spent funds from the treasury, while the troops who have been deputed to the front are risking their lives. Both His Majesty and you will be harmed if food is not supplied to these troops. It is therefore your duty to provide assistance in doing so.<sup>7</sup>

We have mentioned above that Jang Bahadur belonged to one of the less prominent sections of the nobility that had followed King Prithvi Narayan Shah from Gorkha to Kathmandu. The family originally bore the clan name of Kanwar, a Chhetri caste. Before Jang Bahadur became Prime Minister, it had no claim to a caste-status superior to that of the other sections of the

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traditional Gorkhali nobility. In May 1849, however, a royal order was issued, officially recognizing the Kanwars, or Kunwars, as they had preferred to call themselves, as the descendants of a Rajput family of Chittor in India, and conferring on them the title of Rana.<sup>8</sup> The Rana family thus attained a higher social status than the other sections of the nobility.

Legislation was subsequently enacted to confer a special status and specific obligations on the Rana Prime Minister and other members of the Rana family. It prescribed that any attempt to kill the Rana Prime Minister or overthrow the rule of the Rana family should be regarded as an act of treason.<sup>9</sup> It thus gave the Rana family the status and dignity of a royal house. The Rana Prime Minister and other members of the Rana family were prohibited "to accept tax-free land grants, except on forest lands, in the old territories of the kingdom. However, they may accept Birta grants in newly-acquired territories.<sup>10</sup> They shall not accept any contracts for the collection of revenue, or be a partner in such contracts, or provide surety for persons who take up such contracts."<sup>11</sup> This law ensured a special status for the Rana family vis-a-vis other sections of the traditional nobility.

The political and administrative organization of the pre-Rana system was feudalistic-militaristic in character. Political authority and absolute rights of landownership were vested in the king, but political and administrative functions were delegated to local administrators, revenue farmers, land assignees, and village functionaries. As such, it was these feudal lords, rather than the central government, who collected taxes. All that was left to the centre was, therefore, "what they choose, or think proper, to hand over to it."<sup>12</sup> This system led to a weakening of the political and economic authority of the central government. The Rana rulers adopted the only alternative that could check the process of this weakening. In the words of Hicks:<sup>13</sup>

Against this erosion of his power (of his economic and therefore of his political power) a strong and determined ruler will naturally struggle. But what is the alternative? There is only one alternative: he must create a civil administration, a bureaucracy or civil service.

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Rana rule marked the transition from the semi-feudalistic Gorkhali empire to a centralized agrarian bureaucracy. It succeeded in setting up a civil administration which replaced the delegated authority of local administrators and revenue farmers, thereby fostering the growth of a centralized agrarian bureaucracy. For the first time, distinct and separate organs of administration, devoted specifically to fulfilling various administrative and governmental functions,<sup>14</sup> emerged in Nepal.

The most necessary function of the newly-created civil administration was the collection of revenue.<sup>15</sup> During the early 1860s, therefore, a number of reforms were introduced in revenue administration in the Tarai districts. General administration and revenue collection functions were reorganized under separate district-level offices. A system of revenue collection through salaried functionaries of the government, rather than by contractors or revenue-farmers, was introduced.

The new district administrators were civil servants, not traders and financiers. They were given military ranks and subjected to military discipline.<sup>16</sup> Most of them belonged to Kathmandu or the hill districts; hence their property could only be impounded or confiscated, if necessary. Regulations were promulgated prohibiting them from acquiring lands or undertaking contracts in the areas where they were assigned.<sup>17</sup> They were directed "not to engage themselves in even a single dam of trade, beyond purchasing articles of daily assumption or as ordered by us."<sup>18</sup> Any official guilty of bribery or corruption was liable to be "dismissed from service, put in irons and brought to Kathmandu in a cage."<sup>19</sup> This was, indeed, a far cry from the early years of the nineteenth century, when Kathmandu had no alternative but to issue plaintive warnings to erring revenue contractors that "sin will accrue if unauthorized taxes are collected."<sup>20</sup>

One basic condition for the success of efforts to create a civil administration is that "servants should be employed to keep a watch, or check, on other servants."<sup>21</sup> The Rana rulers appears to have taken note of this need quite early in their career. Although an office for the scrutiny of government accounts is said to have existed ever since the establishment of Gorkhali rule in Kathmandu,<sup>22</sup> it was reorganized in 1848 as a quasi-judicial body under General Badrinar Singh, a brother of Prime Minister Jang Bahadur, to audit accounts of government income and expenditure and dispose of cases of irregularities and corruption. With two officers and 168 employees of

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subordinate ranks, and a salary bill of approximately Rs 2,000 every month, excluding the emoluments of the general, it was possibly the largest administrative organ of the central government at that time.<sup>23</sup> Detailed regulations were incorporated into the new legal code for the maintenance of accounts of government revenue and expenditure, as well as for audit.<sup>24</sup> In 1870, Prime Minister Jang Bahadur also formed a high-powered anti-corruption department, which was abolished by his successor, Prime Minister Ranodip Singh, eight years later.<sup>25</sup>

The formation of a central office in Kathmandu to maintain a record of government employees of all ranks, as well as of their postings, transfers and promotions<sup>26</sup> was another important step towards the evolution of a civil administration. This arrangement made it possible for the leave and other conditions of service of even district-level employees to be controlled directly from Kathmandu.<sup>27</sup>

These internal political changes almost coincided with far-reaching changes in the external political situation. Nepal's defeat in the Nepal-British war of 1814-16 had created a crisis of national identity and objectives. Efforts to enlist assistance from China to avenge this defeat proved consistently unsuccessful. Indeed, China itself had been badly humiliated by the opium wars and weakened by internal rebellions and so was hardly in a position to help Nepal, even if it had so wanted. Kathmandu realized that China was neither able nor willing to help it against the British. The extent of China's impotence became clear during the 1855-56 Nepal-Tibet war, which it was able neither to prevent nor to influence in Tibet's favor, in contrast to its role during the 1788-89 Nepal-Tibet war. These circumstances necessitated a basic change in Nepal's foreign policy. Nepal now veered away from China and tilted towards the British. Prime Minister Jang Bahadur paid a visit to England in 1854, and personally led an army to India to help the British crush the 1857 mutiny in India.

The British success in suppressing the 1857 mutiny made it an unchallenged power in the region. It also changed the entire basis of British rule. After power was taken over by the British Crown from the East India Company, "India was no longer ruled by a gang of passionate adventurers, frantic to enrich themselves."<sup>28</sup> As Barrington Moore has pointed out:<sup>29</sup>

In the middle of the eighteenth century the British were still organized for commerce and plunder in the Honorable East India Company and controlled no more than a small

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fraction of Indian territory. By the middle of the nineteenth century they had become in effect the rulers of India, organized in a bureaucracy proud of its tradition of justice and fair dealing.

Moreover, generally speaking, the internal political boundaries of India became fixed. This removed the princes' fear of expropriation, and identified their interests with those of the British. Neither Nepal nor the British now had aggressive designs on the territories of each other, with the result that there was no basic conflict in their interests, and hence nor rationale in the policy of "peace without cordiality"<sup>30</sup> that had characterized the period after the 1814-16 war.

Cordial relations with the British brought two important benefits to Nepal. One was the accretion of territory in the far-western Tarai. Under the 1816 treaty, Nepal had surrendered to the East India Company the whole of the low lands between the rivers Kali and Rapti. These territories were restored to Nepal in November 1860 "in recognition of the eminent services rendered to the British government by the State of Nepal" during the 1857 mutiny.<sup>31</sup> Nepal thereby acquired approximately 2850 square miles of territory in the present far-western districts of Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, and Kanchanpur. Jang Bahadur's policy of friendship towards the British thus helped to recoup a small part of the territorial losses which Nepal had sustained as a result of the 1814-16 war. The newly-acquired territories contained valuable forests and extensive tracts of cultivable lands.<sup>32</sup>

Tranquillity in the southern border areas was another benefit of friendly relations with the British. It enabled the government of Nepal to pursue effectively its policies of reorganizing the district administration as well as of speeding up land reclamation and administration in the Tarai without any fear of external aggression. In 1851, local authorities in far-western Nepal were instructed:<sup>33</sup>

If Chinese and English troops violate the borders and kill or loot our people, take appropriate steps to defend our territories. Refer the matter to us for instructions if there is time and act according to such instructions. If not, take appropriate steps to defend our territories and repulse the enemy.

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However, regulations promulgated for the same region in 1861 fully reflect the changed situation. These regulations directed local authorities to report to Kathmandu in the event of external aggression,<sup>34</sup> thereby implying that the government of Nepal did not apprehend such an eventuality. Similar regulations were promulgated for other parts of the Tarai region as well.<sup>35</sup> In addition, a treaty of extradition signed between Nepal and the British government in 1856, facilitated the task of maintaining law and order in the Tarai regions. The treaty required each government to extradite criminals guilty of "murder, attempt to murder, rape, maiming, thugge, dacoity, highway robbery, poisoning, burglary and arson" who escaped into its territories.<sup>36</sup> Strict instructions were sent to local administrators to comply faithfully with the prescribed extradition procedure. Officials from British India were forbidden to intrude into Nepali territory in pursuit of criminals, and Nepali officials too were directed not to intrude into British Indian territory for such purposes.<sup>37</sup> District officials were warned that their extradition could be sought under this treaty if they embezzled funds and escaped to India.<sup>38</sup>

The promulgation, in early 1854, of a legal code for the first time in the history of Nepal was one of the outstanding achievements of Rana rule. The objective of the code was "to ensure that uniform punishment is awarded to all subjects and creatures, high or low, according to (the nature of) their offense, and (the status of) their caste." For the most part, the code retained customary practices relating to land tenure, as well as traditional customs and usages of different local or ethnic communities in the country. The essence of this code was to allow an autonomous status to the customs and usages of each community within the framework of the Rana legal and administrative system. In other words, the objective was "to regulate legal activities in various spheres, thus regulating<sup>39</sup> the entire systems of social control these activities implied." At the same time, it seems to have made an attempt to introduce reforms in a few areas such as slavery, bondage, and the custom of Sati.

From the viewpoint of the present study, two features of the 1854 legal code merit special attention: its constitutional character, and its provisions for a civil administration system which could exercise a certain degree of autonomy vis-a-vis the ruling elite. The code laid the foundation of a constitutional system of government in Nepal by prescribing that "everybody, from (members of the royal family) to a ryot, and from the Prime Minister to a clerk, shall comply with the provisions of this legal code."<sup>40</sup>

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As mentioned above, the 1854 legal code contained several provisions which conferred definite powers and authority on both executive and judicial officers in the regular exercise of their official functions. These provisions debarred even the King or the Prime Minister from encroaching upon the powers and authority thus conferred on executive and judicial officers. For instance, government employees were forbidden to convert Birta lands into Jagir even on the orders of the King or the Prime Minister. The code prescribed that they would not be held guilty if they disobeyed such orders, but that obedience would be regarded as an act of guilt.<sup>41</sup> Similarly:<sup>42</sup>

Government officers shall dispense justice according to the law. They shall not obey any order of the king, the Prime Minister or the government to dispose of cases contrary to the provisions of the law. They shall not be punished on the ground that they have not complied with such orders. In case the Prime Minister, or any general, colonel, etc. orders the release of any judicial detainee, the facts shall be represented to him. If the order is repeated even then, it shall be ignored. ... Any officer who cannot detain a person about whom such an order is received shall be punished with a fine.<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, the 1854 legal code regulated administrative procedures and conferred certain rights on the citizen vis-a-vis the administration. For the first time in the history of Nepal, regular procedures were defined for different branches of the administration, thereby minimizing the scope for individual discretion. Government officials were required to specify the law and its particular section under which they made their decisions and judgments.<sup>44</sup> A definite procedure was laid down also for filing complaints against government officials and functionaries.<sup>45</sup> Anybody could now claim that the judgment pronounced on his case was at variance with the provisions of the code.<sup>46</sup> The promulgation of the code also expedited administrative procedures, for no reference to the government was permitted in matters covered by it:<sup>47</sup>

No government officer need obtain the sanction of the government in matters which have been provided for in the law while disposing of cases. In case he seeks sanction in such matters, he shall be punished with a fine.

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Nevertheless, neither the constitutional aspects of the 1854 legal code nor the autonomy that it sought to confer on the administration appears to have had any significant impact on Nepal's political system and administration. The preamble, which had sought to circumscribe the authority of the King and the Prime Minister, was subsequently repealed. Provisions which had given the legal code the status of constitutional law, as well as those which sought to confer on the civil and judicial administration a measure of autonomy vis-a-vis the political authority, shared a similar fate. The role of the legal code was thereafter limited to the fields of personal and administrative law. Legislation alone could not circumscribe the reality of the Rana Prime Minister's absolute authority. There were no constitutional safeguards to ensure that he actually complied with the spirit of the restrictive provisions of the legal code.

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#### Notes

1. Satish Kumar, Rana Polity in Nepal (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 64.
2. Bhuwan Lal Joshi and Leo E. Rose, Democratic Innovations in Nepal (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 41.
3. The phrase "the Vizier, and his brothers and sons" was apparently first used in the "Raj Kaj Ko Ain" (State-affairs Act). Information regarding the date when this law was first promulgated is not available, but its contents show that it was promulgated by Prime Minister Jang Bahadur. The earliest reference to this law available to the author contained in "Birta Land Grant to Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh." Ashadh Sudi 1, 1940 (June 1883). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 32, p. 74. The Raj Kaj Ko Ain was amended by Prime Ministers Bir Shamsheer in 1888, Chandra Shamsheer in 1906 and 1909, and Juddha Shamsheer in 1937. The consolidated text of the law was obtained from the Ministry of Law and Justice. It was repealed in 1963 by: Ministry of Law and Justice, "Raj Kaj (Aparadh ra Sajaya) Ain." Treason (Crime and Punishment) Act. Nepal Gazette, Vol. 12, No. 8 (B) (Extraordinary), Ashadh 15, 2019 (June 29, 1962). Section 11, p. 6.

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4. For an abstract translation of this royal order, see Satish Kumar, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60.
5. T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 44.
6. Mahesh C. Regmi, Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1965). Vol. II, pp. 158-59.
7. "Imposition of Rice-levy in Kuti-Mahabharat Region." Baisakh Sudi 1, 1921 (April 1864). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 30, pp. 51-56.
8. Satish Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
9. "Raj Kaj Ko Ain" (State-affairs Act), *op. cit.*, Section 21.
10. Ibid, Section 3.
11. Ibid, Section 4. This section was repealed on Shrawan 28, 1994 (August 13, 1937).
12. John Hicks, A Theory of Economic History (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 18.
13. *Loc. cit.*
14. S.N. Eisenstadt, The Political System of Empires (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 21 and 274.
15. Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
16. Cf. "Appointment of Colonel Ripubhanjan Pande Chhetri to Discharge Revenue-collection and Judicial Functions in Morang District," Marga Badi 8, 1918 (November 1861). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 10, pp. 189-91.
17. Cf. "Audit Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 7, 1918 (November 1861). Section 24. Ibid, p. 245.
18. "Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861). Section 39. Ibid, p. 28.
19. "Survey Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861). Section 21. Ibid, p. 163.

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20. Mahesh C. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846. (New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971), p. 138.
21. Hicks, op. cit., p. 19.
22. Satish Kumar, op. cit., p. 102.
23. "Appointment of General Badrinarsing Kunwar as Chief of Kumari-chok." Marga Sudi 4, 1905 (November 1848). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 33, pp. 79-82.
24. His Majesty's Government, "Rairakamko" (On Revenue Collection). Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Palama Baneko Muluki Ain [(Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 2022 (1965)]. Section 9, p. 55.
25. Satish Kumar, op. cit., p. 104; Regmi Research Series, Year 7, No. 2, February 1, 1975. pp. 32-33.
26. Satish Kumar, op. cit., p. 103; Regmi Research Series, Year 6, Vol. 8, p. 150.
27. Cf. "Order regarding Appointments in Saptari Kathmahal Office," Poush Badi 11, 1942 (December 1885). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 54, pp. 181-188.
28. John Strachey, "The End of Empire." Imprint, Vol. 1, No. 1; April 1961, p. 114.
29. Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 341.
30. Ramakant, Indo-Nepalese Relations, 1816 to 1877. (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1968), p. 78.
31. For the full text of the treaty, see Ramakant, op. cit., pp. 375-76.
32. "Revenue and Expenditure in the Naya-Muluk Region, 1917 to 1922," Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, pp. 42-46, and 55-56.
33. "Regulations for Territories under the Doti Administrative Headquarters Office," Kartik Sudi 8, 1908 (November 1851). Section 24. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 49, pp. 98-99.
34. "Regulations for Naya-Muluk Region," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861). Section 17. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 47, p. 446.

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35. "Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861), op. cit., Section 12, pp. 10-11.
36. Ramakant, op. cit., pp. 373-74, and p. 277.
37. "Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861), op. cit., Sections 2-11, pp. 4-9; "Regulations for Naya Muluk Region," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861), op. cit., Sections 2-8, pp. 440-43.
38. Cf. "Appointment of Colonel Dilliman Singh Basnyat Chhetri as Chief of Bhamarpur-Chhatauna Kathmahal Office," Poush Badi 9, 1942 (December 1885). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 54, pp. 162-70.
39. Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 138.
40. Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Palama Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code Enacted during the Regin of King Surendra). op. cit., Preamble, p. 2.
41. "Jagga Jamin Goswara Ko" (On Miscellaneous Land Matters). Government of Nepal, Ain (Legal Code), Kathmandu: Manoranjan Press, 1927 (1870 A.D.). Part I, Section 19, pp. 16-17.
42. Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Palama Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code Enacted during the Reign of King Surendra). op. cit., p. 218.
43. Ibid, p. 218.
44. Ibid, p. 173.
45. Ibid, p. 223.
46. Ibid, p. 171 and p. 220.
47. Ibid, p. 171.

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(S.B. Maharjan).

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The Hanuman-Dhoka Palace<sup>x</sup>

By

Kashinath Tamoth

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According to tradition, the coronation of King Birendra is being solemnized at the dais of Nasalchok, located at the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace. In 792 Nepal era (1672 A.D.), King Pratapa Malla had installed an image of Hanuman at the main gate of the palace. Since then, this place has been called the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace. Images of Hanuman were installed at the royal palaces of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Patan also, because the then Kings believed that Hanuman would help them to vanquish the enemies, and protect their families.<sup>1</sup>

The Kings of Kathmandu Valley proudly inscribed the words "Hanumandhoj" (with Hanuman on the banner) in their eulogy.<sup>2</sup> The fame of Hanuman-Dhoka spread only during the time of these Malla kings. However, the practice of installing images of Hanuman in royal palaces appears to have started when Ratna Malla, the second son of Yaksha Malla, began ruling Kathmandu independently from 1541 Vikram era (1484 A.D.). Previously, the administration of all the three kingdoms of the valley was conducted from Bhaktapur. Earlier, Vaishya Mahapatras had ruled Kathmandu under the suzerainty of the King of Bhaktapur, whom they called Nepala Mandaleshwara.<sup>3</sup> The Vaishya Mahapatras had traditionally been vested with authority to administer Kathmandu.

For 248 years, from Ratna Malla (1484 A.D.) to Jayaprakash Malla (1768 A.D.), the Malla kings ruled Kathmandu from Hanuman-Dhoka. From 1825 Vikrama (1768 A.D.), when King Prithvi Narayan Shah unified Nepal, to 1938 Vikram (1381 A.D.), when Surendra Bir Bikram Shah was on the throne, the Shan kings resided in the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace. The royal residence appears to have been shifted to Narayanhiti during the reign of King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Kashinath Tamot, "Hanumandhoka Nasalchokko Dabali." (The Dais of Nasalchok at the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace). Dharma Darshan (Nepali quarterly, published by the Guthi Samsthan from Kathmandu with Narahari Acharya as chief editor and Bharat Mani Jangam as editor, Magh-Chaitra 2031 (January-March 1975), pp. 71-78.

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There is no evidence that the Licchavi kings had built a palace in this area. However, a stone-inscription installed by Amshuvarma (594-621 A.D.) at Degutale temple near Hanuman indicates that not only the Licchavis but even the Kirata kings had a palace there. The stone-inscription reads as follows: "The old (palaces), built by Kirata ... Licchavi kings is being ruined due to the carelessness of old servicemen who have been assigned Jagirs.<sup>5</sup> This stone-inscription contains the earliest reference to the word "Kirata."

A stone-inscription dated 535 Vikrama (613 A.D.), located at Jyabahal on the Jaisidewal-Lagan road in Kathmandu, contains the words Dakshinrajakulasya Daksinapascimena. From this stone-inscription, Dhanavajra Bajracharya has inferred that Dakshinrajakula was a palace situated near Hanuman-Dhoka.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, the map of Kathmandu shows that Hanuman-Dhoka lies exactly to the north-east of Jyabahal, which is said to be located to the south-west of Dakshinrajakula. The palace occupied some lands also. The stone-inscription installed by Sivadeva-Amshuvarma (594-613 A.D.) refers to the grant of additional lands to Dakshinrajakula and Pundirajakula in the north-east of Gundigramakotta. Similarly, the stone-inscription installed by Jayadeva II (713-733 A.D.) in front of the temple of Narayana at Gnyaneshwara contains the words "Dakshinrajakulasya-Purvadhikarana."<sup>7</sup> The use of these words in a stone-inscription which related to judicial arrangements indicates that some of the Adhikaranas existing during the Licchavi period were located at the Dakshinrajakula palace.<sup>8</sup>

Baburam Acharya has speculated that Shankaradeva (410-445 AD.) grand-father of Manadeva (466-505 A.D.), had built the Indragriha palace circa 425 A.D., probably at Yangal, south of the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace. According to him, Yangal is the corrupt form of Indragriha. Thus we may therefore consider the Hanuman Dhoka area 1550 years old.<sup>9</sup>

One arrives at Nasalchok immediately after entering the main gate of the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace. The glorious art of ancient times has enhanced the beauty of this place. To the south of Nasalchok lies the approximately 108 feet high terrace of the Basantapur Palace, built by Prithvinarayan Shah in 1826 Vikrama (1770 A.D.). This is the highest dome of its kind in Nepal. To the south-east of Nasalchok is a bungalow with angular metal roof.<sup>10</sup> Its architectural style resembles that of the Gorkha Palace of Rama Shah." The five-storeyed temple of Hanuman-

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situated near the gate leading to Mulachok in the north eastern part, is another architectural object of its kind, in Nepal.

"In the northern corner, we see the Gaddi Baithak (Royal Hall) where kings previously held court, administered justice, and listened to religious incantations. Pictures of the Shah kings are now displayed at Gaddi-Baithak. At the main gate, one sees an image of Nrisimha, which was installed by King Pratap Malla.

During the Malla period, Nasalchok was an open royal courtyard. It appears to have assumed its present form after King Prithvi Narayan Shah built the Basantapur Palace in 1770 A.D., and Chandra Shamsheer constructed the Belayati Palace in front of the temple of Kumari, and added one building between the two palaces in 1908 A.D. during the reign of Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Deva.<sup>11</sup> The presence of water spout, which was ritually gifted by Amrit Varma in 207 Samvat (783 A.D.), indicates that a water-tap may have existed around Nasalchok during the Licchavi period. At present, one sees at this place a water-tap called Bir-Dhara, which consists of a thick pipe manufactured in Glasgow in 1880 A.D.<sup>12</sup> In 1882, Nasalchok was paved with stones on the order of King Rajendra Bikram Shah. Stones were beautifully laid also on the old dais located in the center of Nasalchok.<sup>13</sup> King Rana Bahadur Shah also had repaired Nasalchok.

The dais of Nasalchok is of great historical importance. It is approximately 20 feet square, and 2½ feet high. It is on this very dais that the coronation of all the kings of Nepal from Malla times has been solemnized. During the Malla period, many dramas were staged, and several other auspicious functions performed, on the dais. Dances were customarily staged on the dais for eight days during the Indrajatra festival. This custom is still followed. At the temple of God Nasal, in front of the Kathmandap building, Pratapa Malla has installed a stone-inscription describing how he had played the role of Narasimha and danced in a drama.<sup>14</sup> Since he resided at the Hanuman Palace, he must have danced on the dais located at Nasalchok.

The name of Nasalchok itself leads us to presume that the dais had been built to stage royal dances and dramas. Nasal or Nasara or Nasa, is the corrupt Newari word for Natyasha, or Nrityeshwar Mahadeva, that is, the God of Dance. In the opinion of some people, the Nasalchok, had been built by Pratap Malla, who was not only a lover of art but also a dancer himself.<sup>15</sup>

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After the Nepali people were liberated from 104 years of the Rana regime, some public functions were performed on the dais of Nasalchok. These included the Newari Literary conference<sup>16</sup> held in Magh 2009 (January 1953) under the auspices of Chwasapasa, and a dance competition sponsored by the Shantiraksha Swayamsevak Sangh on Ashwin 12, 2016 (September 27, 1959) with the financial assistance of His Majesty's Government.<sup>17</sup>

By tradition, the coronation of the Shah kings is solemnized on the dais of Nasalchok. The coronation of His Majesty King Birendra Bikram Shah, the tenth King of the Shah dynasty, was also solemnized on this very dais on February 24, 1975. King Prithvi Narayan Shah (1743-75 A.D.) was first crowned King in April 1743 in Gorkha on the death of King Narabhupal Shah.<sup>18</sup> But after his conquest of Kathmandu, he was crowned again on the dais of Nasalchok as King of Nepal. Baburam Acharya writes, "On an auspicious day following the capture of the palace by the Gorkhalis, King Prithvi Narayan Shah sat on the throne of Kantipur in the courtyard of the palace."<sup>19</sup> Prithvi Narayan Shah then built the Basantapur Palace. On March 21, 1770, he entered into the palace in procession carrying the throne of Gorkha. Kathmandu was then formally proclaimed the capital of the Kingdom of Nepal.<sup>20</sup>

The dates on which the Shah Kings were crowned on the dais of Nasalchok are as follows:-

<u>King</u>	<u>Regnal Years</u>	<u>Date</u>
Pratap Simha Shah	1775-77	January 25, 1775 <sup>21</sup>
Rana Bahadur Shah	1777-99	December 1, 1777 <sup>22</sup>
Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah	1799-1816	Fagun 28, 1855 Bikram <sup>23</sup> (March 11, 1799)
Rajendra Bikram Shah	1816-47	December 8, 1816 <sup>24</sup>
Surendra Bikram Shah	1847-81	May 12, 1847 <sup>25</sup>
Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah	1881-1911	December 1, 1881 <sup>26</sup>
Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah	1911-55	February 20, 1913 <sup>27</sup>
Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah	1955-72	May 2, 1956. <sup>28</sup>

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Notes

1. Naya Raj Pant, Hanuman Sthapana Garnama Hetu (Object Behind Installation of Image of Hanuman), Purnima, Vol. 1, Baisakh 2021 (April 1964), pp. 26-30.
2. T.R. Vaidya, "Kingship during the Malla Period." Journal of the Tribhuwan University, IV, June 1968, p. 19.
3. Dhana Vajra Bajracharya, Itihasa Samshodhana ma Pramana Prameya (Historical Evidence and Conclusions), Vol. I, p. 133.
4. Naya Raj Pant, "Prime Minister Ranoddip Simha," Purnima, Vol. 25, Marga 2028 (November 1971), p. 47.
5. Dhanavajra Bajracharya, Licchavi Kalaka Abhilekha (Inscriptions of the Licchavi Period), 2030 (1973), p. 374.
6. Ibid, pp. 342-44.
7. Ibid, pp. 223-35.
8. Ibid, pp. 574-75.
9. "Kiratanama", Nepali, Vol. 16, Shrawan-Ashwin 2020 (July-August 1963), pp. 27-28.
10. "Nama Ra Uchcharana Bare (On Names and Pronunciations), in Tri-Ratna Saundarya Gatha, 2019 (1962), p. 136.
11. Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma, "Introduction to Nepalese Art and Architecture, Journal of the Tribhuwan University, Vol. 2, p. 93.
12. Ibid, Vol. 5, p. 594.
13. Dhanavajra Bajracharya, Tri-Ratna Saundarya Gatha, 2019 (1962), p. 308.
15. Prem Bahadur Kansakar, "Hamro Natak Parampara" (Our Traditions of Dance), Himani, Vol. 1, No. 1, Ashwin-Kartik 2019 (October-November 1962), p. 131; Prem Bahadur Kansakar, "Ratneshwar Pradurbhava" in Jhigu Natak Parampara; 1084 Nepal era (1964), p. 3.

Contd...

14. Shankar Man Rajavamshi, Kantipur Shilalekha Suchi (List of Stone-Inscriptions of Kantipur), p. 107.
- Lilabhakta Munakurmi, Mallakalin Nepal (Nepal during the Malla period), 2025 (1961), p. 115.

A book written in 789 Nepal era (1669 A.D.), which is in the possession of the National Archives in Bhaktapur, contains a picture depicting Pratapa Malla dancing while on pilgrimage, and being followed by women carrying wine jars.

16. Pasa, 1: 13, Jestha 2010 (May 1953), p. 88.
17. Ibid, 14, p. 33.
18. Baburam Acharya, Sri Panch Badamaharajadhiraj Prithvi Narayan Shah Sankshipta Jivani (A Short Biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Part 1, pp. 159-60. Yogi Narahari-Nath writes: "The coronation of Prithvi Narayan Shah was solemnized by the Gorkha people through Vedic rites on Chaitra Shudi Ramnavmi, 1664 Shaka, at the age of 20. He occupied the throne of Rama Shah at the Kailasakuta Bhavana." Divya Upadesh, pp. 4-5.
19. Baburam Acharya, Prithvi Narayan Shah, Part 3, p. 503.
20. Ibid, Part 3, p. 519.
21. Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Sankshipta Britanta (A Concise History of Nepal), p. 72. On January 25, 1775 after Bahadur Shah performed the funeral rites of his father while in detention, Pratapa Simha Shah was crowned King.
22. Ibid, p. 77. (1) "Rana Bahadur Shah was crowned King one month after the death of Pratapa Simha Shah on December 17, 1777." (2) "Rana Bahadur Shah ascended the throne on Jestha 27, 1851" Baburam Acharya, "Gorkha Bijaya Kalka Ghatana." (Events of Gorkha's campaign of conquest). Purnima. 27, Aswin 2029 (October 1972), p. 171.

Contd...

23. Purnima, Baisakh 2022 (April 1965), Picture on front page; see also p. 171 of Baburam Acharya's work mentioned in 23 (2) "King Girvana was crowned King on Falgun 28, 1855 Vikrama at the age of 1½ years." "King Rana Bahadur Shah solemnized the coronation of Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah at the age of 18 months through the King of Palpa, Prithvi Palsen, on Falgun 2, 1855 Vikrama." (Dhundi Raj Bhandari, Nepalko Aitihāsik Vivechana (An Historical Analysis of Nepal) 2015 (1958), p. 2. "Our grandfather (Rana Bahadur Shah) solemnized the coronation of our father, Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah, at the age of 2½ years, and dedicated himself to God." Tri-Ratna Saundarya Gatha, p. 309. Although Rajendra Vikram Shah has given King Girvana's age as 2½ years, the evidence mentioned above indicate that Girvana was actually crowned at the age of 1½ years.
24. Bal Chandra Sharma - Nepalko Aitihāsik Ruprekha (Historical Outline of Nepal) 2015 (1958), p. 278. "After the death of Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah on November 20, 1816, of small-pox, his infant son, Rajendra Vikram Shah, ascended the throne of Nepal on December 8, 1816."
25. Ibid, p. 318. "The 18-years old Crown Prince, Surendra Vikram Shah, was declared King of Nepal on May 12, 1847." In the night of Jestha Sudi 13/14, 1815 Vikrama (May 12), Surendra ascended to the throne, and Rajendra stepped down." Baburam Acharya, Rajendra Vikram Shahko Shasan (Reign of Rajendra Vikram Shah). Purnima, 27, p. 177.
26. Ibid, Bal Chandra Sharma, p. 346. "Because Crown Prince Trailokya Bir Bikram Shah had already died, Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah ascended to the throne on December 1, 1881."
27. Ibid, p. 358. "On December 11, 1911, Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah died, and his only son, Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah, was crowned King on February 20, 1913."
28. (a) "Coronation Radio Week Program," p. 22. Running commentary from the Narayanhiti palace to the Hanumandhoka palace on May 2, 1955 (Baisakh 12, 2013). (b) Dharmodaya, 9: 7. Rajyavishek Samachar, Baisakh-Jestha 2013 (May, June 1956), p. 457."

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Selected Documents of Kartik-Marga, 1887.

(Abstracts)

(Continued from the previous issue)

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Repair of Temples in Bhadgaun

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/122)

The temples of Sri Narayan and Sri Kumari in Bhadgaun town were placed under the management of Dhirjya for a seven-year period. He was under obligation to pay Mahsul royalties amounting to Rs 40 on the Guthi lands of the Sri Narayana temple, and Rs 6 on those of the Sri Kumari temple. He was directed to repair and maintain these temples in a proper condition, have the customary religious ceremonies performed, and appropriate the surplus income for his own use.

Suna Birta Grant

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/122-23)

Royal order to Bhimalaxmi, a woman of the Banda caste living at Chabahal in Nhaikantala, Kathmandu town: "Your father was killed when an accident occurred at the gunpowder factory in Thabahil. Since you are his sole heir, we hereby permit you to use the Guthi lands held by him. The Birta house of your father is also granted to you as Suna Birta, with full rights of transfer."

Allotment of Shop in Guthi Building

(Kartik Badi 8, 1887) (44/123-24)

Royal order confirming possession of a shop-site in a building owned by the Sri Narayan Guthi at Makhantol in Kathmandu by Dayaram Newar, with obligation to finance the burning of lamps during the Indrajatra festival and religious ceremonies at the temple on the full-moon day of November.

Contd...



Accounts of Srinath Kampu

(Kartik Badi 9, 1887) (44/124)

Lt. Biraj Bisht and Dhananjaya Padhya were given charge of the cash revenue and equipment and supplies of the Srinath Kampu. They were directed to submit accounts every year.

Repair of Gunpowder Factory

(Kartik Sudi 5, 1887) (44/125-26)

The inhabitants of Maidhi and Kallari (in Dhading district), other than Jaisis and Upadhyaya Brahmans, were ordered to provide Jhara labor for four months to repair the gunpowder factory at Nuwakot. They were also required to bring along with them necessary tools and provisions.

Erosion in Morang

(Kartik Badi 13, 1887) (44/124-25)

Royal order to Prayag Datta Jaisi, Subba of Morang: "The Rangeli headquarters office (Kachahari) is located in a thatched hut. The area is also being eroded by the Bakraha river. Construct new office buildings and barracks for the troops with brick walls and tile roofs at a suitable place in Rangeli with mechanics from Nepal and the Madhesh. The expenses incurred therein shall be debited from your accounts.

Appointment of Subedar

(Kartik Sudi 5, 1887) (44/126-27)

Royal order to Subba Prayag Datta Jaisi of Morang for abolishing the posts of Fouzdar, Jamadar, etc. and utilizing the resultant saving to create the post of a Subedar to work at the Morang district headquarters office.

Tosakhana Purchases

(Kartik Sudi 5, 1887) (44/127)

Captain Birabhadra Kenwar was ordered to disburse Patna Rs 3,000 from the contract revenues collected in Saptari and

Contd...

Mahottari for the year 1887 Vikrama to Jamadar Ghamanda Raut for purchasing goods required by the Tosakhana in Patna.

An order with the same contents was sent on the same date to Sardar Jahar Simha Baniya in Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat. (44/127-28).

#### Construction of Munitions Factory in Pyuthan

(Kartik Sudi 5, 1887) (44/129)

Royal order to the village headmen and other inhabitants of Salyan, impressing their Jhara services for the construction of a munitions factory in Pyuthan. They were directed to bring their own provisions, as well as pick-axes, axes, and other tools.

#### Payment of Salaries

(Kartik Sudi 5, 1887) (44/130)

Kaji Bakhtwar Simha was ordered to disburse Rs 345 and 6¼ annas as salaries to Mukhiya Gajendra Dhvaj Jaisi and his staff from revenues collected in Palpa.

#### Inspection of Travellers

(Kartik Sudi 7, 1887 (44/131)

Lt. Bhawani Singh Khatri was appointed to inspect people who travelled through the Chitlang-Markhu-Kulekhani-Chisapani-Dhursing-Bhimphedi-Bhainse route.

#### Repair of Irrigation Canal

(Kartik Sudi 8, 1887) (44/131-32)

The Kalijang Paltan was ordered to impress Jhara labor from the inhabitants of Kaski, Nuwakot, and Limi, other than Kagate-Hulaki and Thaple-Hulaki porters, and Upadhyaya and Jaisi Brahmans, for repairing the Pardi canal. (According to another order issued on the same date, Jhara labor for this purpose was impressed in the areas situated east of the Kali and Madi rivers, and west of the Madi river).

Contd...

Appointment of Rais

(Kartik Sudi 10, 1887) (44/133-34)

Royal order to Khusiyal Raya and Bharthi Raya: "Chintamani Jha had been appointed Rais in the Parganna of Mahottari in Mahottari district. However, his activities were not in keeping with the Panchashala revenue-collection system. We have therefore removed him from that position, and appointed you to succeed him, with the mouja of Pakariya in Inarwa as your Nankar, in addition to other perquisites. Remain in attendance at the Kachahari (office) of the Amil (revenue-collection officer for the district), and dispose of disputes relating to landownership and land revenue pay a fee of Rs 15 on your Nankar land every year as Khatami Salami."

Appointment of Mailcarriers

(Kartik Sudi 10, 1887) (44/134).

Eight peons had been appointed in Baisakh 1886 to transport mail between Bheri (Jaleshwar) and Bhardah (Saptari). They were each sanctioned a yearly salary of Rs 24.

Appointment of Subedar and Fouzdar

(Kartik Badi 10, 1887) (44/135)

Two Fouzgars were appointed in Saptari and Mahottari on a yearly salary of Rs 300 each, and one Subedar in Saptari on a monthly salary of Rs 500, for revenue collection. The existing posts of one Fouzdar (Rs 400) and one Jamadar of the Devidatta Company (Rs 205) were then abolished.

Salaries of Personnel of Devidatta Company

(Kartik Sudi 10, 1887) (44/136)

Salaries and land-assignments of 192 officers and men of the Devidatta Company. Total amount: Rs 11,125.

Contd...

Remittance Permitted

(Kartik Sudi 10, 1887) (44/137)

Kaji Bakhtwar Singh Thapa was ordered to permit the remittance of Rs 4,000 from revenues collected in Palpa for meeting the expenses of the royal household (Hitchcock).

Ijara for Operation of Mines

(Kartik Sudi 11, 1887) (44/137-38)

Harikrishna was granted a one-year Ijara for the operation of mines in specified areas of the far-eastern hill region for Rs 3,001. The Ijara included income from taxes, levies, judicial fines, etc. collected from mineworkers. Lead was to be sold to the government munitions factory, and iron and copper to anybody.

Chhap Land Grant

(Kartik Sudi 14, 1887) (44/139-40)

Buddhibal Rana was granted Chhap lands at Dhurakot in Dhading. The lands had previously been held by Anirudra Shahi on the same tenure.

Expenses of Mint

(Marga Badi 1, 1887) (44/140)

Royal order to Subba Kulananda Jha, "Expenses incurred in the construction of a mint at Bhujinchhe, amounting to Rs 4,606½, shall be met from the revenues of the Beni-Baglung mines and mint."

Salaries of Military Personnel

(Marga Badi 1, 1887) (44/140-41)

Sardar Jahar Simha Baniya was ordered to pay Rs 4,507 as the salaries of military personnel stationed in different eastern Tarai districts from the Thek revenues of Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat.

Contd...

Gift of Elephants

(Marga Badi 2, 1887) (44/141-42)

Dittha Ravidhwaj Adhikari and other officials of the Elephant Office were ordered to make available four elephants to Chautariya Ranodyot Shah for ritual gifts during pilgrimage to Gaya and Prayag (in India).

Disbursement Order

(Marga Badi 4, 1887) (44/142)

Chautariya Pushkar Shah was ordered to pay Rs 500 to Subba Chaturbhuj Malla from revenues collected in Doti for meeting Wakil's expenses.

Jhara Labor Services

(Marga Badi 5, 1887) (44/142)

The inhabitants of Panchsayakhola in Nuwakot were ordered to provide Jhara labor services for the construction of a road along the Trishuli river under the supervision of Kaji Birakeshor Pande. People who were under obligation to work at the gunpowder factory were exempted.

New Market-Town in Mahottari

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/143)

Royal order to General Bhimsen Thapa to construct a new market-town, Pithiya Bazaar, on his Birta lands in the Thadi-Lohana area of Khesraha in Mahottari district.

Supply of Sulphur

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/143-44)

Kishandhar Newar was granted a one-year Ijara for operating copper and sulphur mines, and collecting specified homestead and other taxes, in the Jharlang area. He was required to supply 2,501 dharnis of refined sulphur every year to the gunpowder factory.

Contd...

Appointment of Chaudhari

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/144-45)

Jaktabir was appointed Chaudhari (of the Newar community), replacing Shyamakrishna. His obligations were to supply goats every day to the royal household, and pay Rs 401 every year to the Tosakhana.

Information regarding Jaktabir's appointment as Chaudhari was sent on the same date to areas situated east of the Gandaki river and west of Sindhu, as well as to areas situated east of Sindhu and Dhulikhel and west of the Mechi river. (44/147).

Two orders issued on the same day to local authorities and common people in the regions east of the Dhobikhola river and west of the Bishnumati river, directed them to supply goats to Jaktabir's agents on payment of the price. (44/145-46).

A similar order was issued for areas south of Thankot, directing that no Jagat duties be collected on 2,600 goats to be supplied by the Chaudhari to the royal household every year. (44/146).

Transit Duties

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/145)

Royal order directing the payment of Jagat (transit) duties on commercial goods moved through Syafru, Timure, and Goljung.

Collection of Sahanapal Levy

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/146-47)

Jaktabir was also granted authority to collect the Sahanapal levy, replacing Shyamakrishna. "Capture all stray cattle which graze on crops and take them to the royal cattle farm. Stray horses shall be taken to the royal stables. Stray goats shall be handed over to the Chaudhari. Beat up the cowherds who let cattle loose. Collect the customary Sahanapal levy in the following areas: Kathmandu, Kirtipur, Bungmati, Nakadesh, Harisiddhi, Dharmathali, Khokana, Thecho, Badegaun, Sunaguthi, Tokha, Pharping, and Bode.

Contd...



Persian Correspondence

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/148)

Bahadur Singh was appointed to assist Lt. Hira Pratap in conducting correspondence in the Persian language. He was paid a salary of Rs 25 per month.

Land Allotment in Chisankhu

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/148-49)

Homestead lands under Jagir tenure in Chisankhu were allotted to Ranajit Rai under Thek tenure against payment of Rs 15 every year.

Land Redistribution

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/149)

Royal order to Bhaju Thaku of Chisankhu, cancelling all allotments of Jagir lands assigned to Kajis that had been made subject to the payment of Kat rents, and directing him to make fresh allotments in such a manner that each allotment comprised waste, damaged, newly-reclaimed, and other rice lands.

Chhap Grant in Gulmi

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/149)

Lands in Gulmi granted as Chhap to Dalabir Khatri on payment of Rs 16 every year. The lands had been occupied on Chhap tenure by a person who had subsequently emigrated to Ramnagar.

Rice-Land Allotment in Kaski

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/150)

165 muris of rice-lands under Jagir tenure in Kaski, previously allotted to Bamshu Padhya on payment of a Thek rent of Rs 36½, was reallocated to Ballabh Parajuli. The Thek rent was increased to Rs 50.

Contd...

The Patan Clock

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/151)

The Amalidar of Patan town was ordered to remit taxes and labor obligations due from the following persons, and pay them an annual salary of Rs 24 each, in consideration of their services in looking after a clock at Patan by rotation:-

1. Kirtiraj Jaishi of Balkhu Tol.
2. Sadashiva Jaishi of do.
3. Bhakta Jaishi of Tapalakhu Tol.
4. Rasta Jaishi of Tlaru Tol.
5. Devi Singh of Tengal Tol.
6. Dhanaman Jaishi of do.
7. Deva Jaishi of Yachhu Tol.
8. Pratap Jaishi of Ikhalkhu Tol.

Pasture Lands in Galkot

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/152)

Royal order to eighty families of Rohanis in Galkot: "You have been occupying pasture lands under Raikar tenure for grazing your cattle on payment of Kharchari tax. When Tilapa Padhya trespassed on these lands, the case was referred to the Parbat Adalat. Tilapa Padhya lost his case. Subsequently, he obtained an order from General (Bhimsen Thapa) by representing false particulars, and again laid claim to those pasture lands. The Rohanis then shifted to other areas. The matter was referred to General (Bhimsen Thapa) through Subba Kulananda Jha. A fresh order reconfirming the Rohanis' possession of those lands was then issued. Even then, Tilapa Padhya did not give up his claim. We hereby reconfirm your possession of these pasture lands, and direct you to come back and reoccupy them, pay the customary taxes and levies, and continue to provide porterage services for the Mint as before."

(To Be Continued)

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King Rana Bahadur Shah<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the previous issue)

\*\*\*\*\*

After Captain Knox arrived in Nepal, Raghunath Pandit studied the situation and found out the causes of conflict between the Pande and Basnyat families. He liked to stay in Kathmandu, but Gajaraj Mishra did not let him do so. Therefore Raghunath Pandit left Kathmandu along with the copper-plate inscription in the name of the Swami Maharaj (Rana Bahadur Shah) from King Girban. The inscription stated that Rana Bahadur would be granted Rs 80,000 a year from the revenues of Morang and Pallokirat and that he would have to live as a recluse. Captain Knox did not involve himself in efforts to have this agreement approved by the Nepal Government. He thought that the Bharadars would certainly raise objections to it. In fact, the Bharadars were greatly disturbed by this agreement. Captain Knox concentrated his attention on the political influence of China in Nepal. Dr. Hamilton, who had accompanied Captain Knox to Nepal, collected documents sufficient nearly half of the materials required for a book on the geography, history, and social systems of Nepal. The Bharadars had not agreed to approve the agreement even after Queen Rajarajeshwari started living at Kimdol. But the condition of the royal court was worsening. Queen Subarnaprabha and Bakhtwar Singh, therefore, affixed the royal seal on the agreement and handed it over to Captain Knox for self-preservation.

Both Subarnaprabha and Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat were of weak character, whereas Sher Bahadur Shahi and Tribhuvan Khawas were cunning persons. Bam Shah and Damodar Pande were loyal Bharadars. The royal treasury was empty, because there was no proper control of expenditure. The Swami was also in debt since

<sup>x</sup> Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal), Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi," 2022 (1966), pp. 114-

Contd...

the amount of Rs 80,000 had not all been released. In the meantime, Sardar Subuddhi Khadka absconded with the jewels of the treasury. Subarnaprabha was discomfited, and went to stay at Pashupati in saffron robes, taking King Girban with her. She declared that she would go to Banaras. Now the Bharadars had no alternative but to invite Rajarajeshwari. Sher Bahadur Shahi, Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat, and Damodar Pande went to Kindol, brought Queen Rajarajeshwari to the palace with great honor, and placed King Girban on her lap. Rajarajeshwari, on her part, called back Subarnaprabha, forgetting the differences of the past, and started working as before. Because of the agreement, on which the royal seal had already been affixed, she could not remove Subarnaprabha.

Captain Knox clearly realized that China did not have any influence in Nepal by the time Rajarajeshwari came back to power. Therefore, he tried to exert pressure on Nepal after the agreement had been approved. He urged on the Nepal government to repay the loans taken by the Swami from the merchants of Kashi. Since the money that had been remitted earlier had been misappropriated, Queen Rajarajeshwari deputed Subba Hastadal Shahi to repay the loans from revenues of the Tarai. The allowance for two years, amounting to Rs 160,000, due to the Swami remained outstanding. Rajarajeshwari also arranged for its payment. Captain Knox was creating unnecessary obstructions; hence she also expelled him from Kathmandu without showing any respect. Captain Knox crossed the border after procuring porters and conveyances from Bettiah after reaching Makwanpur. Rajarajeshwari then tried to invite the Swami back to Kathmandu, and keep him in detention with honor. But the British Government refused to send him back until the loans were repaid. When this was done, the British Government announced the abrogation of the treaty and released the Swami in January 1804. The Swami then started living outside Banaras city.

Captain Knox had requested for a place in Kirtipur to live and open his office when he was trying to create difficulties for the administration of Rajarajeshwari. But none of the Bharadars agreed to his proposal. That is why Rajarajeshwari sent him back. Since the business-minded British Government had not violated the treaty she had not been able to dissolve the Council of Bharadars. The administration was not running well,

Contd...

because of the large number of ministers. Eventually, Rajarajeshwari dissolved it and appointed Bidur Shahi as Chautara, Damodar Pande as Chief Kaji, Randhir Simha Basnyat as second Kaji, and Balwant Rana and Narsing Gurung as third and fourth Kajis respectively. She dismissed Chautara Sher Bahadur and others, and kept Queen Subarnaprabha, Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat, and Bam Shah in detention.

The loans of the merchants of Banaras were repaid, and the Swami was living at a place situated outside the town after his release by the British Government. Meanwhile, Sher Bahadur Shahi, in collusion with Bhimsen Thapa and Ranganath Pandit, started making attempts to take over the administration from Rajarajeshwari and Damodar Pande in the name of the Swami Maharaj. Money was required for this plan. But Rajarajeshwari had allowed Hastadal Shahi to spend money only for visiting Kathmandu and going back. This put them to difficulty. Ranganath Pandit obtained a loan of Rs 40,000 from an Indian trader against the surety of his preceptor. Since the Swami had paid interest at two percent monthly on the loan of Rs 60,000 obtained by him from one Dwarikadas, another merchant also had offered a loan on similar terms.

In Banaras, Ranganath Pandit and Bhimsen Thapa were conspiring against Rajarajeshwari. In the meantime, Sher Bahadur Shahi managed to run away from Kathmandu when Amar Simha Thapa, Tribhuwan Khawas, Ranakesar Pande and himself were about to be arrested. The other Kajis were arrested and kept in detention for 19 days.

The Swami Maharaj then left for Kathmandu after making necessary preparations. Kaji Narsing Gurung was deputed along with troops to bring him to Kathmandu in detention. When Narsing Gurung had just crossed Chisapanigadhi, there were discussions in Kathmandu on where the Swami should be kept in detention. Tents were pitched at Tundikhel near the temple of Lumadi for his stay on the day of his arrival and it was decided that he should be shifted to another place later. Arrangements were also made for materials required for worship at the Lumadi temple. These arrangements were made because the Swami was not supposed to enter the capital because he was a Sanyasi. Queen Rajarajeshwari and Damodar Pande were still unaware of their destiny after the arrival of the Swami.

Contd...



Bhimsen Thapa, who had accompanied the Swami, had already won over Narsing Gurung to his side. The Bharadars, including Damodar Pande, went to Thankot to receive the Swami with troops and elephants. King Girban and Rajarajeshwari stayed at the palace, since the status of the King was higher than that of the Swami.

When Ran Bahadur Shah crossed the Thankot pass, Sher Bahadur Shahi had accompanied him. Damodar Pande and Prabal Rana were arrested on the order of Rana Bahadur Shah, since the troops led by Narsing Gurung had already gone over to him. The Swami, Bhimsen Thapa, Ranganath Pandit, and Sher Bahadur Shahi took shelter at Lumadi, and Damodar Pande and Prabal Rana were detained at the rest-house there. The Swami worshipped at the temple, and released Subarnaprabha, other Bharadars, including Bam Shah, Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat and Ranjit Pande, and reinstated them in their posts. Bhimsen Thapa and his father were appointed as Bharadars, and Jaspau Thapa was dismissed.

Prabal Rana advised Damodar Pande to escape. But Damodar Pande refused to do so, Parbal Rana then escaped. A Jamadar and a soldier were sentenced to death on the charge of allowing him to escape. Damodar Pande and one other Bharadar, who were expected to be sentenced to death were kept under strict detention, while Rajarajeshwari was kept in detention at the royal palace.

(To Be Continued)

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(S.B. Maharjan).



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Mahesh C. Regmi

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The Fakirana Levy

The Fakirana levy was collected at the rate of one paisa from each household in Kathmandu Valley. The proceeds were utilized to feed visiting fakirs. The levy was first introduced in Chaitra 1848 (March 1792). Khwaja Bux Shahi was authorized through a royal order issued in that year to utilize the proceeds of the levy in that manner and appropriate the surplus amount for his own use.<sup>1</sup> In Marga 1928 (November 1871), the order was reconfirmed in favor of Khawaja Bux Shahi, Mehboob Bux Shahi, as the original document was destroyed by fire.<sup>2</sup>

In the eastern Tarai districts, tax-free lands granted to members of Islamic religious sects were known as Fakirana. For instance, in Baisakh 1843 (April 1786), King Rana Bahadur granted a mouja of waste lands in Mahottari district to Rahman Khan, a fakir, as "Sarba-Anka-Bitalab Fakirana."<sup>3</sup>

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1. "Royal Order to Khawaja Bux Shahi," Chaitra Badi 5, 1848 (March 1792). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp.71-72.
  2. "Commander-in-Chief Ranoddip Singh's order to Dittha Kalidas of the Sadar Dafdarkhana," Marga Badi 9, 1928 (November 1871). Ibid, vol. 55, pp. 189-91.
  3. "Sarba-Anka-Bitalab Fakirana Land Grant to Rahman Khan in Mahottari," Baisakh Sudi 1, 1843 (April 1786). Ibid, Vol. 5, p. 151, Ijara grant to Chautariya Dalamardan Shah for Revenue Collection in Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, and Sarlahi Districts." Ashadh Sudi 6, 1843 (June 1786). Ibid, Vol. 25, p. 146.

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The Dharma Kachahari

A brief note on the Dharma Kachahari, an anti-corruption court established by Prime Minister Jang Bahadur, had been given in the Regmi Research Series (Year 7, No. 2, February 1, 1975, pp. 32-33). The full designation of the court was "Sri 5 Gorkha Sarkarko Umraole Imandar Heri Dharma Garai Pancha Rakhyako Dharma Kachahari." (The Dharma Kachahari, consisting of judges chosen from among persons of integrity, and administered oaths of office, by the nobles of the royal court of Gorkha).<sup>x</sup>

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<sup>x</sup>"Order from the Dharma Kachahari to the Sadar Dafdarkhana." Kartik Badi 7, 1928 (November 1871). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 55, pp. 188-89.

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Landholding, Trade, and Revenue Collection  
in Solukhumbu

By

Mahesh C. Regmi.

In a recent article,<sup>x</sup> Mark Oppitz has stated that the first ancestors of the Sherpa immigrated into Solukhumbu during the middle of the sixteenth century, presumably around 1533. The next wave of immigration occurred from about the middle of the eighteenth century, when people who had lived in the surroundings of Dingri, the adjacent area north of the main Himalayan range, started immigrating, almost exclusively to Khumbu.

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<sup>x</sup>Mark Oppitz, "Myths and Facts: Reconsidering some Data concerning the Clan History of the Sherpa," in Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf (ed.), Contributions to the Anthropology of Nepal. (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1974). pp. 232-43.

Contd...

Sherpas in the Solukhumbu have owned lands under the Kipat system. The following document sheds some light on the process whereby their immigrants ancestors acquired these lands.

From King Rana Bahadur,

To the Mijhars of Solu,

Your great-grandfathers had bought lands in Solu against payments in money from the great-grandfathers of Sunuwars and Kiratis. . . . We hereby reconfirm these purchases. Use these lands with full assurance and maintain them properly. Pay taxes and provide labor services.

Ashadh Sudi 12, 1843

(June 1786)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 168.

The term "great-grandfather" should not be taken literally. Obviously, it is used in a loose sense to denote "ancestors." In any case, this document clearly shows that the ancestors of the Sherpas who came from Tibet during the middle of the sixteenth century purchased lands which the autochthonous Sunuwar and Kirati communities were holding under communal tenure. The term Kipat itself may not have been in use at that time.

The following documents also refer to the "Kinuwa Kipat," or Kipat lands purchased by the Sherpas in the Solu area:-

1. "Thek-Thiti Arrangement for Revenue Collection in Lapcha Parganna of Solu District." Kartik Badi 7, 1886.  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 27, pp. 20-23.
2. "Thek-Thiti Arrangement for Revenue Collection in Khimti Parganna Solu District." Kartik Badi 7, 1886.  
Ibid, pp. 24-28.
3. "Complaints of Sherpa Kipat-owners of Solu-Khumbu."  
Aswin Sudi 3, 1949. Regmi Research Collections,  
Vol. 57, pp. 13-21.

Contd...

In the Sherpas of Nepal (Calcutta and Delhi: Oxford Book Co., 1964, pp. 117-18), Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf has given a brief description of the revenue-collection system in Khumbu. The following document gives additional information on the subject.

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Ganba Karma Tenduk, and the eight Mijhars and villagers of Khumbu.

From the time of your fathers and grandfathers, you have been in possession of lands in the area bounded by Khambalung in the east, Larcha-Dobhan in the South, Rolwaling in the west, and Tambalangur in the north.

On these lands, you have been making the following payments:

Sirto	...	Rs 750
Mejmani	...	One goat
Rice	...	One pathi

For the Dashain festival - Four goats. Pagari fees from Mijhars:-

Rs 10

One goat (Paltiboka)

One pathi of rice

Saunefagu	...	Four manas of salt from each household.
Provisions for the Dware	...	Two pathis of salt and eight annas for curry (Tihun) from each household.

Contd...

From the (Vikrama) year 1885, in order to encourage you to promote settlement and make the area populous, we hereby reduce the quantity of salt supplied by each household (for the Dware) from two pathis to one pathi and four manas.

We hereby confirm the (lands) purchased by you from those persons who keep yaks, obtain fodder from their pastures, and provide labor services (doko-boko), out of the Kipat lands traditionally used by you within the four boundaries mentioned above.

Lands of persons who have emigrated from Khumbu, as well as other lands, have been customarily used on a communal (Sājai) and equitable (Sahalahasanga) basis. For the future also, we confirm individual holdings of pasture (Kharka), homestead (Suwārā) and other (Chisā) lands, and order that lands of persons who have emigrated from Khumbu, as well as other lands, shall be used as before on a communal and equitable basis.

The pasturage tax (Kharchari) has customarily not been collected from persons who occupy lands within the four boundaries mentioned above, pay the Sirto and other taxes and levies, and provide labor services. The pasturage tax shall not be collected from them in the future also.

Traditionally, trade has been regulated by the Amali. In the future also, the inhabitants of that area shall conduct trade during the period from Baisakh to Kartik in the markets specified by the headmen (Pagari) and Dware of Ghat-Khumbu. The Amali shall impose fines on persons who trade in areas other than such markets.

From Marga to Chaitra, the inhabitants of Ghat-Khumbu may conduct trade wherever they like.

The Dware shall not engage in trade.

Those persons who have fled across the mountains (langur kāti) for fear of their creditors shall be persuaded to come back. The creditors shall recover the principal amount of their loans in installments in the presence of Ganbas and Mijhars.

Contd...



In case the emigrants do not come back, their lands and homesteads shall be reallocated to new families, and taxes and levies (Sirto) shall be collected, and labor services obtained from them.

If the emigrants come back and seek to reoccupy their lands and homesteads after these have been reallocated in the manner mentioned above, their request shall not be granted by evicting the newly-settled families. Instead, such returnees shall occupy the lands allotted to them by Ganbas and Mijhars.

Chak-Chakui (fines collected for adultery) and Maryo-  
aputali (escheat property) have traditionally been exempted  
in that area. The exemption shall continue.

Raja-Anka (royal) levies, and other taxes which may be  
imposed at a countrywide basis, shall be paid through the Amali.

Payments due according to the previous royal order (Lal-  
mohar) shall continue to be made.

In consideration of their assistance to the Dware in the  
discharge of his function, the eight Mijhars have customarily  
been enjoying 50 percent remission on the Sirto tax due on  
an Abal homestead. The remission shall continue.

Promote settlement in the villages under your jurisdiction.  
While performing work that may be necessary at any time, the  
Ganbas, Namchhimbya and the other seven Mijhars shall remain  
in attendance before the Amali.

We hereby promulgate this new royal order, withdrawing  
the royal order issued in the (Vikrama) year 1881. With due  
assurance, act according to this order.

Chaitra Sudi 15, 1884  
(April 1828)

Regmi. Research Collections, Vol. 27, pp. 74-76.

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A Correction

Mahesh C. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846. (New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971).

Page 99. "In certain hill regions in both eastern and western Nepal, regulations were promulgated from time to time prescribing the rate of interest at 22% on cash loans and 25% on in-kind loans."

The correct figure is 10 percent on cash loans. The difficulty in interpretation arose from the use of the Nepali word "bāiso" to indicate the rate. "Bāis," of course, means twenty-two, but the figure does not indicate the percentage. Amounts were calculated in multiples of twenty (Bis), and "Bāiso" means that Rs 22 was to be paid back on a loan of Rs 20. This meant the traditional rate of 10 percent.

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Kipāt Lands of Chepangs

On the banks of the Chumakhole in the Pinda area of Chisapanigadhi, several Chepang families owned lands under Kipāt tenure. Around 1837 A.D., they converted a part of these lands into rice-fields. The area thus reclaimed totalled 70 muris.

In 1854 A.D., survey officers deputed by the government measured these rice-fields and recommended the assessment of taxes, in effect converting these lands into Raikar tenure.

A delegation of the Chepang Kipāt-owners then visited Kathmandu and submitted a petition protesting against this action. They maintained that they were paying taxes on their homesteads and providing unpaid labor services to the government, and that they had no rice-fields other than the seventy muris they had reclaimed after 1837 A.D.

Contd...

Their statements were corroborated by knowledgeable residents of the Pinda area, including Pandit Jivanath Upadhyaya Lamichhane. It was also stated that the Chepangs had been occupying the lands for twenty or twenty-two generations.

The government thereupon cancelled the assessment of taxes on the lands of the Chepangs, and reconfirmed the status of these lands as Kipat.

Source: "Order to Sadar, Dafdarkhana Office Regarding Kipat Lands of Chepangs in Pinda." Baisakh Sudi 4, 1926 (April 1869). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 55, pp. 485-90.

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Revenue Collection in Bara and Parsa

From King Girban,  
To Dasharath Khatri.

We hereby grant you authority for revenue collection under the Amanat system in the area situated east of the Bariya river and west of the Adhbara river, in the districts of Bara and Parsa with headquarters at Makwanpur, with effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1864 (April 1807). With due assurance, appoint employees, collect revenues and transmit the proceeds to the Tosakhana Office. Appropriate emoluments as follows. Submit accounts on the basis of Jammabandi records compiled by the Munsiff, and obtain clearance:-

		<u>Yearly Emoluments</u>
Subba Dasharath Khatri	...	Rs 2,000
Two Fouzdars	...	Rs 450
One Peshkar and two Nausindas	...	Rs 400

Shrawan Badi 8, 1864  
(July 1807)  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 20, p. 447.

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Minting of Gorakhpuri Coins

From King Girban,

To Raja Siddhi Pratap Shah of Gulmi.

We hereby grant you authority to install a mint to produce Gorakhpuri paisa coins with copper mined throughout your territories. Mint paisa coins and bring them into circulation with full assurance.

Falgun Sudi 7, 1860

(March 1804)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 20, p. 14.

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Selected Documents of Aswin 1842

(Abstracts)

Restoration of Property of Tharghars in Kaski

(Aswin Badi 5, 1842 (25/1))

Public notification directing that all slaves of Bhima Shah, and all property of the Tharghar families left unconfiscated on the fifth day after the conquest of Kaski, had been restored to them.

Reconfirmation of Birta Lands in Raginas

(Aswin Badi 10, 1842) (35/1)

Royal order to Taranath Lohani reconfirming his Birta lands in Raginas (Lamjung).

Appointment of Subbas in Vijayapur

(Aswin Badi 10, 1842) (25/1)

Appointment of Gangaram Thapa as Joint Subba of (the territories of the annexed Kingdom of Vijayapur in the far-eastern hill region) situated between the Kanaka and Tista rivers, along with Jasya Khawas.

Contd...

Restoration of Bandha Lands

(Aswin Badi 10, 1842) (25/2)

Royal order to Shaktiballabh Bhattacharya: "Your Bandha lands had been obtained as Birta by Brajanath Pandit, but your money had not been refunded. Now lands totalling 1,400 muris are reconfirmed as Bandha in your name on payment of Rs 1,421. The lands will be resumed whenever the money is paid back.

Jagir Land Reassignment

(Aswin Badi 10, 1842) (25/2)

Royal order to Abhiman Khatri and Manya Roka directing them to relinquish possession of 200 muris of lands, which they had been using as Jagir, to Narasing Khatri. (Abhiman Khatri and Manya Roka appear to have been Dwares of Raginas in Lamjung).

Capture of Elephants

(Kartik Sudi 1, 1842) (25/2)

Royal order to ... Singh Rana directing him to organize a Khedah (elephant-capturing) expedition through Jhara labor.

Panchakhat Crimes

(Kartik Sudi 4, 1842) (25/2-3)

Royal order to Madho Singh Rana authorizing him to dispose of cases relating to Panchakhat crimes, and use the income to pay the salaries of Umras and other officials.

Refundment of Paddy

(Kartik Sudi 7, 1842) (25/3)

Royal order to Adai Jasya Khawas directing him to return paddy worth Rs 211½ which Kulananda Chaudhari had used for the royal household.

Contd...

Rescission of Punishment

(Kartik Sudi 7, 1842) (25/3)

Royal order to Subedar Singh Rana to restore the goods which he had seized from Ramachandra Tiwari on some charge. Ramachandra Tiwari had also been granted exemption from payment of the Kusahi-Bisahi levy.

Bekh Land Grant in Gorkha

(Kartik Sudi 7, 1842) (25/3)

Pasture lands granted as Bekh to Shiva Narayan Khatri in Dhungagadya-Bhanjyang village of Gorkha.

Guthi Land Grant

(Kartik Badi 7, 1842) (25/3)

Eighty muris of rice lands as well as unirrigated (Dihi) lands, at Chepeghat, endowed as Guthi for a temple there, were assigned to Kulananda Pande for operating religious functions. The lands were previously held by Lachhya Koirala.

Orchard Granted to Dhanabir Lama

(Kartik Badi 7, 1842) (25/4)

Unirrigated (Dihi) lands held by Hanya Karki were granted to Dhanabir Lama for the cultivation of fruits and flowers. Dhanabir Lama was directed to supply the produce to the government.

Land Mortgages

(Kartik Badi 7, 1842) (25/4)

1. Lands in Markhu valley were mortgaged by the government to Shiva Narayan Khatri on payment of Rs 201. "The mortgage will be redeemed whenever the money is paid back."
2. Ninety-six ropanis of land at Thamel and Paknajol in Kathmandu were mortgaged by the government to Ranabhanjan Pande on payment of Rs 1,501 on the same terms.

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Selected Documents of Marga-Poush 1887

(Abstracts)

Land Allotment

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/152)

Forty ropanis of land (in Kathmandu?), under the jurisdiction of the Tusal-Dhansar Office, were granted to Gaja Simha Thapa on payment of a ground-rent (Mahasul) amounting to eight annas per ropani.

Increase in Rent on Rice Lands

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/154)

Chautariya Fatte Jung Shah was granted authority to increase rents wherever possible on rice lands and homesteads assigned as Jagir to the Gurubux Company in the region situated between the Dudhkosi river and Pyuthan. Lands assigned to Rakam workers were exempted from such increase.

Appointment of Priests

(Marga Badi 9, 1887) (44/154-55)

Three documents appointing Naranarayan Acharya, Ramanarayan, Jagannath, and Naga Jardanath Jogi as priests of temple in Argha, Sarangkot (Kaski), and Bhirkot respectively.

Closure of Tracks in Palung-Bhainse Area

(Marga Badi 11, 1887) (44/155-57)

Order to Lt. Bhawani Simha to erect obstructions in tracks leading through the Palung and Bhainse areas to the south.

Appointment of Chaudharis

(Marga Badi 14, 1887) (44/157)

Kirparam, Shivadayal, and Bahori were appointed Chaudharis in Khalisa Parganna of Saptari district, with Nankar land assignments.

Contd...

Construction of Irrigation Channel

(Marga Badi 14, 1887) (44/157-58)

Royal order to Bhavanath Chaudhari and Devanath Chaudhari: "Construct channels from the Geruwa and other rivers to irrigate lands in Pakari Parganna (of Saptari district) with the income from Haseri (?) levies collected in that district. Punish any person who attempts to breach these channels."

Payment of Salary

(Marga Badi 30, 1887) (44/158)

Royal order to Sardar Jahar Simha Baniya: "Disburse a sum of Rs 3,196, being the shortfall in the emoluments (Khangri) of Dada Sardar Ranabir Rana, from the contract revenues of Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat for the (Vikrama) year 1887."

Murderer Punished

(Marga Sudi 4, 1887) (44/159)

Royal order to Subedar Bag Singh Khadka: "Dhamsingya Chappang has killed many people, and thus rendered the village desolate. Take him to the main road and hang him in the presence of everybody till he is dead."

Revenue Collection

(Marga Sudi 4, 1887) (44/159)

Receipt for revenue collected from Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat through Sardar Jahar Simha Baniya for the year 1887, totalling Rs 1,108 and two annas. The breakdown was as follows:-

66 <u>asharfi</u> coins of different kinds ...	Kaldar Rs 1,104 and two annas.
Expenses paid while despatching asharfi coins from Patna ...	Rs 4
Total ...	Rs 1,108 and two annas.

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King Rana Bahadur Shah<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the Previous issue)

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Rana Bahadur Shah remained quiet for some days when his friends, who had accompanied him from Kashi, were leaving. After they were sent back, Rana Bahadur Shah put off the dress of an ascetic, and put on royal robes. He then entered the royal palace. Damodar Pande was beheaded at a place near Lumadi. His son, Ranakeshar Pande, Taksari Bhim Khawas, his three sons, and two or three other persons, were also beheaded. Dware Saman Simha, Subedar Shankhadev, Subedar Mandhan, and Sardar Indra Man Khatri shared the same fate.

When a new Bhardari was organized, Ranadhwaj Shah, Sher Bahadur Shahi, Pran Shah, and Bam Shah were appointed as the first, second third and fourth Chautariyas respectively. Bhimsen Thapa could have become the first Kaji at that time, because the reorganization had been arranged by himself and Sher Bahadur Shahi. He, therefore, did not think it appropriate to occupy the position of first Kaji in the very first stage. He appointed Kaji Ranajit Pande, father-in-law of his brother who danced to his tune, to that post, Bhimsen Thapa himself ranked as a Kaji of the second grade. Bhimsen Thapa, his father, Amar Simha Thapa, and his brother Nayan Simha Thapa, were also appointed in the same position. Kaji Amar Simha Thapa (senior), and his sons were won over to the Thapa group. Bakhtwar Simha was appointed as the fourth Kaji, and Narsing Gurung as the fifth. Ranganath Pandit and Vidyakar Bhatta were appointed Gurus, their status being above that of a Chautara. Ranganath Pandit also obtained the portfolio of foreign affairs. Subarnaprabha was not designated as the Queen-Mother. Her son, Ranadyot Shah, was allowed to continue in the office of chief Chautara.

<sup>x</sup> Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Brittantā (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi." 2022 (1966), pp. 119-26.

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Arrangements were made for arresting Prithvipal Sen, King of Palpa, in a deceitful manner. A letter was sent to him in the name of King Girban to come to Kathmandu along with his sister to arrange for her wedding with Rana Bahadur. But Prithvipal Sen sent his sister along with his brother Chautariya Rana Bahadur Sen. King Girban sent another letter telling Prithvipal Sen to come himself, since it was not proper to solemnize the wedding through Rana Bahadur Sen, who was junior to King Rana Bahadur Shah. Prithvipal Sen then came to Kathmandu, although unwillingly. He was arrested along with his brother and his personal guards on the way, and was kept in detention at the Lalitpur Palace. Bhimsen Thapa subsequently occupied the entire hill territories, and two-thirds of the Tarai territories of the Kingdom of Palpa by sending troops under the command of Kaji Amar Simha Thapa (junior) and Dala Bhanjan Pande. The youngest brother of Prithvipal Sen was then in Palpa. He reached Gorakhpur along with his sisters-in-law, occupied a place south of Butaul, called Silon, and thus settled under the British.

Rana Bahadur Shah did not have any power after the formation of the new Bhardari. He was neither a minister nor a King. The ministers obeyed his orders only when they considered it proper to do so. But he was quite satisfied, because the Bhardars did not oppose him.

Bhimsen Thapa had deputed Amar Simha Thapa to Garhwal, thinking that Garhwal should be occupied before Palpa. He sent the troops of Palpa to Garhwal, so as to make Prithvi Pal Sen powerless. Some time previously, an earthquake had occurred in Garhwal, causing the death of the queens. Fifteen percent of the population was killed, and landslides had taken place. Lands were therefore left uncultivated. The King of Garhwal had quarrelled with his son, and the Bharadars were divided into two groups. The King of Garhwal could not face the situation, and so fled across the border. The Nepali Vakil deputed there was a supporter of Damodar Pande. He had fought against Amar Simha Thapa in support of the King of Garhwal. But he was defeated, arrested, and beheaded. Even then, Pradyumna Shah, King of Garhwal, sold his throne for Rs 60,000 in order to reoccupy his Kingdom. He recruited troops in India, and fought against Gorkhali troops in Dehradun. But he was defeated, and subsequently killed. His son and brother fled across the border. His youngest brother was also arrested and detained in Kumaun. In this way, the Kingdoms of Palpa and Garhwal were annexed by Nepal.

Contd...

At that time, there was a civil war in the Kingdom of Sirmur, situated west of Garhwal, and the King, Karma Prakash, was dethroned. His uncle, Krishna Simha, then set up his own infant son on the throne. Amar Simha Thapa sent a small force to help the dethroned King Karma Prakash when the latter came to Garhwal. But the troops sustained a defeat. At that time, there were about twenty-one petty kingdoms in the present Simla district, of which Sirmur, Kahlur and Handur were prominent. Sansar Chandra, King of Kangra, was seeking an opportunity to occupy these small kingdoms. Mahachandra, King of Kahlur, planned to invade Kangra through the cooperation of the Nepal government. When Bhimsen Thapa sent information that Nepal would send troops, Amar Simha Thapa removed Krishna Simha from Sirmur and restored Karma Prakash to the throne. The other small kingdoms, including Kahlur, then came under the control of Nepal.

At the time when the invasion of Kangra was being planned, Bhimsen Thapa did another hateful deed. He removed Queen Rajrajeshwari, along with her attendants, from the royal palace, and kept her at a public house in Narayanhiti, which had been confiscated from Ranabir Simha Basnyat. After some days, she was sent to Helambu, and 100 army men were deputed there to look after her.

Bhimsen Thapa thereafter made plans to confiscate the houses of the grandsons of Mahoddam Kirti Shah and the sons of Dalamardan Shah. None of them had committed any offense which could be proved. Pahalman Shah, eldest son of Mahoddam Kirti Shah, had three sons, Birabhadra Shah, Bhima Pratap Shah, and Bhimarudra Shah. Since Pahalman Shah had died, all of them were living together in his house. Balabhadra Shah was childless, and had died in Rautahat. After the death of Shrikrishna Shah, younger brother of Balabhadra Shah, at Hariharkshetra, his sons, Bir Bahadur and Kul Chandra, had been living together with their cousins. They had a big house, with a large compound, south of the Tundikhel. Bhimsen Thapa charged Balabhadra Shah of collusion with Queen Rajrajeshwari in order to grab his houses. Dalamardan Shah's house was located on the main road leading to the present New Road from Indrachok. A part of that house can still be seen there. Although the house had no compound, a considerable amount of rent was collected from cloth merchants. Dalamardan Shah had already died, and his son, Kulachandra Shah, who was ten years old,

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lived there with his mother. Bhimsen Thapa levelled false charges against Dalamardan Shah, detained all of them at Bhandarkhal, and occupied the big house located near Tundikhel which was owned jointly by the five persons including Birabhadra Shah. Sher Bahadur Shahi had actively helped him, as he wanted the house of Dalamardan Shah. But a quarrel ensued when Bhimsen Thapa wanted to give that house to Ranganath Pandit. After two days, Ranganath succeeded in occupying the house. Bhimsen Thapa had detained Rajrajeshwari at Helambu lest she should create any obstruction in depriving these persons of their property.

There was a split between Bhimsen Thapa and Sher Bahadur Shahi when Ranganath Pandit obtained the house of Dalamardan Shah in Indrachok. Previously, when Rana Bahadur Shah came from Kashi, Rajrajeshwari had arrested Ranajit Pande, Amar Simha Thapa, (senior), Tribhuwan Khawas and other persons, since they were opposed to her as well as to Damodar Pande. Sher Bahadur Shahi also opposed Rajrajeshwari, but he was not in detention, since he was a Chautara belonging to royal family. Therefore, he instigated troops in Kathmandu against Rajrajeshwari and Damodar Pande. He also won over Narsing Gurung, who then occupied a ministerial position, ousted the government of Rajrajeshwari and Damodar Pande, and established that of himself and Bhimsen Thapa. That is why Sher Bahadur Shahi had claimed the house of Dalamardan Shah.

Meanwhile, the plan to invade Kangra was underway. Nayan Simha Thapa, brother of Bhimsen Thapa, reached Simla by crossing the Yamuna river with troops and met Amar Simha Thapa (senior). The petty kingdoms situated on the way were easily occupied. It was easy to cross the Sutlej river through the hill region. Amar Simha Thapa sent troops there and occupied the Kingdom of Handur. But he was checked by the British while occupying the Tarai territories belonging to that kingdom. The Gorkhali troops crossed the Sutlej river at two points, defeated the commander of Sansar Chandra's troops at the battle of Mahalmori, and extended Gorkha's territory up to the Byasa river, except the district of Kangra. Sansar Chandra had to face a defeat because the petty kings driven out by him had gone over to the Nepali side. Sansar Chandra himself was staying safely inside his fort.

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Preparations for another adventure were underway in Kathmandu. After the return of Rana Bahadur Shah, the King of Palpa had been kept in detention, because Rana Bahadur Shah had to marry again to provide a regent to the infant King Girban. But Rana Bahadur Shah was actually married to another girl, not to the sister of the King of Palpa. Pindas were offered to Kantavati and Chandravati in the course of the Sraddha ceremony of Rana Bahadur on the seventh day of the bright half of every month according to the lunar. Rana Bahadur seems to have married Chandravati first after his return from Kashi. It is not known when she died. In Falgun 1862 Vikrama, Rana Bahadur Shah was appointed regent through the joint signature of Bhimsen Thapa and Sher Bahadur Shahi, and under the royal seal. The manner in which Bhimsen Thapa and Sher Bahadur Shahi made Rana Bahadur Shah regent, thereby lessening their own powers two years after their return from Kashi is mysterious. The marriage of Rana Bahadur Shah with a girl named Tripuri is also mysterious. After twenty days of his regency, Rana Bahadur Shah arrested Kaji Tribhuwan Khawas at night and detained him. The property of Tribhuwan Khawas was confiscated on the charge of misappropriating Rs 18,000 from the old treasury. Rana Bahadur made house of Tribhuwan Khawas his own residence. On the same charge, Tribhuwan Khawas was banished across the Bishnumati river. But Tribhuwan Khawas sent a petition to Rana Bahadur Shah demanding a hearing in the presence of the Bharadari. Tribhuwan Khawas was brought back and kept in detention. It was planned to involve Sher Bahadur Shahi by putting Tribhuwan Khawas into a trap. It is not sure how Tribhuwan Khawas and Sher Bahadur Shahi were connected with each other. In my opinion Sher Bahadur Shahi was the sister's son of Tribhuwan Khawas.

When the petition of Tribhuwan Khawas was presented to him, Rana Bahadur Shah convened a full court at the residence of Tribhuwan. The house had already been granted to Chitravati, mother of Kirtiman Simha. Rana Bahadur Shah had taken his supper in the same house on the day when the meeting was held. The meeting was called at midnight. Such meetings were mostly called for sentencing people to death. Vansha Raj Pande was sentenced to death at the same meeting. Sher Bahadur Shahi was called to attend the meeting held at night on Baisakh 14, 1863. Orders were issued to bring him by force if he refused to come. Sher Bahadur Shahi attended the meeting. Rana Bahadur blamed Sher Bahadur Shahi and Narsing Gurung with having colluded with Tribhuwan Khawas in misappropriating funds.

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He asked how the money had been spent. Rana Bahadur Shah charged them that they had misused the money in driving him out to Kashi, and permitted the British to open an office in Kirtipur to prevent his return to Nepal. Tribhuwan Khawas could not present accounts of the money. None of the Bharadars had supported the proposal to open the British office in Kirtipur. That is why royal assent had not been granted to the treaty even for a year. Tribhuwan Khawas and Sher Bahadur Shahi might have agreed to do so, since they were supporters of Subarnaprabha. Sher Bahadur, Narsing Gurung, and Tribhuwan Khawas alone were arrested, ignoring the role of others. Sher Bahadur Shahi was frightened, and asked Rana Bahadur whether he too would be charged on this account. Rana Bahadur replied in the affirmative. The meeting was being held on a varandah in the southern wing, and jugs of water and other vessels were kept there. Sher Bahadur Shahi was nervous, and he took two jugs of water. Rana Bahadur Shah said that he had realized his guilt. Sher Bahadur Shahi again took a jug of water, came in front of Rana Bahadur and struck him with a sword on the neck. But Rana Bahadur was hit in the stomach, and fell down. Sher Bahadur Shahi then run away after extinguishing the lights. When Rana Bahadur asked Balanar Simha and Chautara Bam Shah for help, they were able to catch Sher Bahadur. Sher Bahadur Shahi was killed at the hands of Balanar Simha. Bam Shah sustained injuries. At that time, Bhimsen Thapa was taking his supper. He came to the Varandah with a light, and found Rana Bahadur lying on the ground. It was 10:00 P.M. It was decided to summon the troops. Bhimsen Thapa then issued a strict order to everybody not to quit the place. Two slaves were found in the Varandah, who had come to help Sher Bahadur Shahi. They were killed on the spot, and their dead bodies, including that of Sher Bahadur were thrown from the Varandah. Rana Bahadur Shah was taken down stairs, but he died immediately. His dead body was sent to Aryaghat for cremation. Possibly, Bam Shah lit the Pyre.

Meanwhile, Bhimsen Thapa ordered the arrest of Tribhuwan Khawas and Narsing Gurung and their detention at the barracks of the royal palace. Balanar Simha Kunwar, Kaji Ranajit Pande, Kaji Bahadur Bhandari, Ranganath Guru, and Bhimsen Thapa reached the royal palace under the protection of troops. After reaching there, Bhimsen Thapa sent men to detain Bidur Shahi at his own residence, while King Prithvi Sen of Palpa and Chautara Rana Bahadur Sen were detained at the Patan palace, where they were staying. He sent horsemen to Rajarajeshwari with instructions to become a Sati on the banks of the Shali river in Sankhu.

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Next morning, Bidur Shahi, Tribhuwan Khawas, Narsing Gurung, the King of Palpa, and Chautara Rana Bahadur Sen were beheaded at Bhandarkhal. The same day, eighteen guards of the King of Palpa were also beheaded. On the following day, thirteen persons, including Jagat Khawas, were beheaded at the Bishnumati. On the ninth day of the death of Rana Bahadur Shah, Queen Rajarajeshwari and fourteen concubines became Satis. On the fifteenth day, his concubine of Kashi followed suit. Sixteen women thus became Satis, and 77 were beheaded, after the assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah. In this way 93 persons lost their lives.

Bilas Kumari, daughter of King Prithvi Narayan Shah and Queen of Salyan, came to Kathmandu on hearing the report of the assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah. She started talking that Bhimsen Thapa had had a hand in the massacre; hence Bhimsen Thapa sent her back to Phalawang in Salyan, after providing an allowance of Rs 1,400 per year. The Kingdom of Salyan was merged into Nepal. Moreover, the Birta lands granted by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to her were confiscated.

Kumaun was also affected by the massacre. Kaji Rituvama Thapa was chief administrator in Amora. Birabhadra Thapa, grandfather of Bhimsen Thapa, was also there as Chautara. His rank was above that of Rituvama Thapa. Birabhadra Thapa sent Rituvama Thapa to Doti, and had him beheaded there. Bhimsen Thapa then became the all-in-all in Nepal. He managed to get a royal order ordering all Kajis and Chautaras to obey him.

Girban remained King, and Tripuri was designated as Queen-Mother under the name of Lalitasundari. A Suki coin was brought into circulation in her name. Bhimsen Thapa was called minister. The King, the Queen-Mother, and the minister became the leading components of the state.

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(S.B. Maharjan)

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Social Changes during the Early Shah Period<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya

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We shall now commence a discussion of the changes that occurred in the Nepali society during the period from King Prithvi Narayan Shah to King Rana Bahadur.

Language is the most important factor affecting the social structure. Five or six centuries before Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Khas people had settled in the western regions of modern Nepal, as well as in Kumaun and Garhwal farther to the west. These people had established petty principalities in these regions. Their march toward the east was checked by the Malla rulers of Nepal when they reached Pyuthan. After Jayasthiti Malla, however, the Khas were able to cross the Sakhi-Lekh mountains and enter the Magar region. Their dialect was then called Khas-Kura; to which the modern Nepali language owes its origin. This dialect was capable of evolution like other Aryan languages. Consequently, it was understood easily by Magars, Thakalis, and Gurungs. Previously, social intercourse among these communities had been hampered by difficulties of communication. But now the Khas-Kura provided a common bond, and thereby laid the foundation of national unity.

The Khas proceeded farther toward the east, and ultimately succeeded in establishing the Chaubesi kingdoms in the Kali-Gandaki region. Gorkha was the twenty-fifth Kingdom in that region. The main task before these states at that time was to propagate the Khas-Kura among Magars, Thakalis, and

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi," 2022 (1966). Chapter 21: "Tin Shahrajaharuko Samayama Samajma Bhayeko Parivartan ra Prabandhako Tulanatmak Lekhajokha." (A comparative evaluation of the social changes and arrangements during the time of three Shah Kings). pp. 127-51.

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Gurungs, thereby strengthening unity among them. Magars had embraced the Sanatana religion of the Khas. This had led to a close affinity between these two communities. Thakalis, and Gurungs did not adopt the Sanatana religion because they had already embraced Buddhism, and made Lamas their spiritual leaders. It was only during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah that Khas had been able to establish close relations with Thakalis and Gurungs.

The three Malla states situated to the east of Gorkha were inhabited mainly by Newars, who cultivated only paddy, not dry crops. Newars faced no shortage of rice; hence it was not necessary for them to grow such crops as maize and millet on unirrigated (Pakho) lands. Pakho lands were occupied by Murmis, who called themselves Tamangs. They cultivated Pakho lands, and raised such crops as millet and maize.

The Malla Kings did not permit any community other than Newars to stay overnight within their walled cities and villages.

After expanding their settlements to Gorkha and Tanahu, the Khas entered into the Malla states also. They originally settled on Pakho lands, because the Newars did not let them cultivate irrigated lands. Gradually, the Malla Kings allowed them to occupy irrigated lands, and requisitioned military services from them. Murmis, Sherpas, and Newars then began understanding or learning the dialect spoken by the Khas, and there was greater cooperation among these communities. The Khas-Kura became a medium for promoting unity among these communities. Even Kamis and Sunuwars living in Dolakha began to understand this dialect, and thus strengthened unity among themselves.

At that time, the Khambus of Kirat, whose number was estimated at 100,000, spoke about ten or twelve dialects. Different sections of the Khambu community spoke different dialects. The dialect spoken by one section was not understood by the other. Khambu families belonging to different sections, however, maintained marital relations among themselves. Husbands and wives usually experienced difficulty, because they did not understand each other. Gradually, the Khas settled in the areas inhabited by Khambus. The language difficulty experienced by husbands and wives came to an end

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when all Khambus began to understand the Khas dialect. Khasas later crossed the Arun-Koshi river and settled down in Pallo-Kirat also. As a result, the Limbus of that region also learnt the Khas dialect. Like the Khambus, Thamis, and Hayus of Kirat, Limbus also contributed in strengthening national unity.

Among the Kirat communities of the eastern region, Sunuwars had embraced the Sanatana religion only during the reign of King Rajendra. Thamis, Hayus, Khambus and Dhimals adopted neither Buddhism nor the Sanatana religion. They still do not worship any idol, but pray to their own deities. However, they have adopted the Khas dialect and rendered contribution in strengthening national unity.

Khasa-Kura, or the Nepali dialect, used by Prithvi Narayan Shah in his letters, was pure and hence cannot be compared with the modern Nepali language, which contains Hindi as well as Urdu words. The Gorkhalis started polishing and refining their language. The first letter written by Prithvi Narayan Shah is dated 1803 Vikrama. The language used in that letter was still pure. This indicates that the task of improving the Khas dialect had begun before Prithvi Narayan Shah, and continued till the reign of King Rajendra. Efforts to refine the Khas dialect were concentrated in Gorkha. This language helped Prithvi Narayan Shah greatly to unify Nepal.

The Union of three communities, namely, Khasas, Gurungs and Magars, was another factor contributing to the unification of Nepal. At first, Prithvi Narayan used to appoint only the Magars and Khasas of Gorkha in his army. He ignored Gurungs, who inhabited Lamjung. Khasas and Magars, not Gurungs, were appointed as commanders. Some Gurungs were, of course, recruited as soldiers, but none of them attained the status of Sardar. It was only after the annexation of Lamjung during the reign of Queen Rajendra Laxmi that Gurungs began to be recruited in large numbers in the army. The military organization that comprises these three communities later proved to be highly powerful.

Prithvi Narayan Shah enlisted Gurungs for his eastern campaign. Bhainse Gurung had proved himself a capable officer in defeating the troops commanded by Kinloch when they advanced to Sindhuli. Narsing Gurung was one of the four ministers appointed during the reign of King Rana Bahadur Shah. All

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this was the contribution of the Khasa language. Brahmans, Thakuris, Thapas, and Basnyats began to speak in this language.

Brahmans were divided into two sub-groups, Upadhyaya and Jaisi, Thakuris considered themselves Kshatriyas. Thapas and Basnyats did not recognize Thakuris as Kshatriyas, since the latter had never been rulers. One section of Thakuris wore the sacred thread, while another did not. Thakuris not wearing the sacred thread were called Matwali, because they took liquor. Vaishyas did not form part of the Khas community. Matwali Khasas were regarded by Brahmans, Thakuris, and Kshatriyas as pure Khasas. Matwali Khasas regarded themselves as Kshatriyas. There was, indeed, no community or caste which did not regard itself as pure. Even Magars considered themselves to be Vaishyas. Brahmans, however, regarded them as Shudras, even though Magars regarded them as spiritual leaders or priests.

Gurungs were not divided into different castes, because they were Buddhists. The same was the case with Hayus, Limbus, Khambus and Thamis belonging to the Kirat community.

Brahmans were responsible for imparting education, but they did not want to teach in the Khas language, which was the national language. Instead, they used Sanskrit books to teach Brahman boys alone, while others were made to recite verses from the Chandi and other texts. They recited epics such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana in the national language. Teachers used to be employed in the royal palace. No provision was made for imparting education to the public. However, all but Brahmans had realized the importance of providing education through the medium of the national language. The wife of Kaji Vamsha Raj Pande had employed a Pandit to teach her sons, and had the Panchatantra translated into the national language. Brahmans were granted Birta lands with obligations to impart education to the public. Accordingly, they taught pupils who came to their house for education.

From the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah to the war with the British, Nepal was preoccupied with the campaign of territorial expansion. As a result, not much progress was achieved in the field of education. Even then, there were many Sanskrit scholars during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Previously, there was no well-known Sanskrit scholar in Gorkha, while Kaski

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had several famous scholars. Most of them shifted to Kathmandu after the conquest of Kaski, and started working for the dissemination of knowledge. Poetry appears to have begun to be composed in the national language only during the reign of King Pratap Simha. Poems were written during the reign of King Prithvi Narayan Shah also, but these mostly bore the imprint of Hindustani, and could not, therefore, be said to have been written in the national language. During the reign of Pratap Simha, two brothers named Radha Ballabh Aryal and Shakti Ballabh Aryal, who came of a priestly family, began writing poems in the national language. There are only a few poems written by Radha Ballabh Aryal, while the number of those composed by Shakti Ballabh Aryal is large. Shakti Ballabh had also written a Nepali drama entitled Hasyakautuka.

Education in Sanskrit was imparted in Nepal to some extent. But this was done more out of selfish considerations than of any consideration of national interest. For Nepal, Sanskrit education is essential. Hindu culture cannot survive in the absence of Sanskrit education. No nation that does not have a culture of its own can become strong. At that time, it was difficult to popularize English education, which is now considered necessary for inculcating national consciousness among the people. Arrangements could have been made then to arouse national consciousness by imparting instruction in the national language. But Sanskrit scholars did not care to do so. The Joshis who conducted official correspondence in the national language since the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah expressed their ideas effectively in the national language. They could have written books in the national language to spread national consciousness had they so wanted. But, in an age in which Sanskrit occupied a dominating position, writing in the national language was considered to be disgraceful. They confined themselves to retelling stories concerning religion, society, and politics from such Sanskrit epics as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana in order to enlighten their audience. They were afraid that they might be deprived of their means of livelihood if they wrote books on religion, society and politics in the national language. As a result, education could not be imparted in the national language during that period. However, one drama was written in the national language, and one or two Sanskrit dramas and books on mathematics were translated. A few ordinary poets also wrote poems in the Nepali language. However, their poems were in the nature of a sample only, and were not useful for teaching purposes. The importance

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of English education was realized by the Nepalis only after the war with the British. The British tried to obstruct the spread of free education in Nepal, and distorted the very history of Nepal. This is why, since the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah, Nepal has been facing numerous obstacles in the way of developing education.

Religion was an important aspect of the Nepali society. Nepalis had full faith in the Sanatana religion. Prithvi Narayan Shah was a devout adherent of this religion. At the same time, he respected other religions, and had faith in Buddhism also. The policy of religious tolerance had been followed in Nepal since the time of the Malla Kings. This policy was continued during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors. They opposed religious reforms, which they regarded as a sin. They desired the continuance of the traditional religious customs, and faithfully followed the scriptures and Tantric rites. Brahmans, Thakuris, and Khasas, also did the same. They recited religious scriptures in Sanskrit, though they did not understand them. They recited the Chandi. Magars, who had been educated nearly to the same level as Sanskrit, as they had been converted to Buddhism by the Lamas of Tibet. Gurungs, Sherpas, Murmis, and Thakalis lagged behind in learning Nepali, because they adhered to Buddhism.

Slavery was practised for a long time. Prithvi Narayan Shah initiated steps to abolish this evil. An anti-slavery campaign was sweeping at that time in Europe also. Such a campaign had been started in Europe because the establishment of new factories there had rendered slavery unnecessary. The situation was quite the opposite in Nepal. Not a single piece of machinery operated in Nepal, and there existed only dhikkis and grinding-stones. Even so, Prithvi Narayan Shah realized that it was a barbarous practice to allow transactions in human beings. Before conquering Kathmandu, he had emancipated one Newar of Lutikot from slavery. During the last years of his reign, Prithvi Narayan Shah liberated the slaves of the royal palace as well as of the nobles. He even recruited capable freed slaves in the army, and appointed some of them as Subedars. Prithvi Narayan Shah wrote a letter to Sardar Ramkrishna Kunwar, asking him to have his young slaves recruited in the army. This letter appears to have inspired other nobles also to free their slaves. /Kshetriyas, also recited the such texts and followed Tantric rites. Gurungs had no knowledge of

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During Prithvi Narayan Shah's reign, bribery and gambling were prohibited, and income from judicial fines was not allowed to be utilized for meeting the expenses of the royal palace. During the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah, however, gambling was revived, bribery was encouraged, and judicial fines were credited to the royal treasury. Prithvi Narayan Shah had tried to put an end to slavery. But it was not as easy to abolish slavery as it was to ban gambling, because such a measure was likely to lead to an upheaval in society. That was the reason why Prithvi Narayan Shah's attention was directed toward preventing new enslavement. Rana Bahadur Shah, however, enslaved even the wives and children of persons involved in the incidents that took place at Golpuchhepar a year before his accession to the throne. Thereafter, the practice of enslaving people was continued on a large scale. During the administration of Bhimsen Thapa, there was hardly any Gorkhali soldier deputed to Kumaun and Garhwal who did not return with one or two slaves. In particular, men and women (other than Brahmans), who were convicted of incest were enslaved. As a result, the number of slaves increased rapidly. Slavery has now been abolished, and has become a story of the past.

Ram Shah, King of Gorkha, had enacted a brief law for the State. This law did not meet the requirements of the State ruled by Prithvi Narayan Shah, inasmuch as the new state was several times bigger than Gorkha. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore enacted comprehensive laws. These laws, however, could not be actually enforced during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah himself. Hodgson, who was appointed as British envoy to Nepal during the reign of King Rajendra, took away some files containing old Nepali laws to the India Office Library in London. The files were marked "Laws Enforced during King Pratap Simha's reign." Pratap Simha reigned only three years. That period was marked by the resistance offered by the Kings of the Chaubisi states. It was, therefore, impossible that those laws had been drafted during such a short period. It is more likely that these laws were enacted during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah, and enforced also during the reign of his successor. These laws were not compiled in the form of a book, as is the common practice today. At that time laws were written on sheets of paper joined together. Each law was recorded separately. By the time of Bahadur Shah, the frontiers of the Kingdom of Nepal stretched from Sikkim to Kumaun. As the customs and

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usages in different areas varied, and as the law enforcing authorities held different views, it was not possible to apply these laws uniformly in the country. During the military administration that was run at the time of Bhimsen Thapa's regime, the sanctity of the law was undermined. It is probable that Jang Bahadur had made extensive additions in the laws enforced during the rule of Pratap Simha. Later, Bir Shamsheer abridged these laws. Anyway, thanks to the impact of the British rule in India, the sanctity of the law was respected during the Rana regime. Thus codified law originated during the reign of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, and their sanctity won increasing acceptance during the Rana regime.

It was extremely difficult to build roads in Nepal, because it was a predominantly hilly country. It was even more difficult to construct bridges and culverts on rivers and streams. Prithvi Narayan Shah had made Kipat land grants to Tamangs, Khambus, and Limbus, who were not recruited in the army, in order to impress portage and labor services from them for war as well as for road construction. A track was actually constructed from Gorkha to its eastern frontier. After the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Gorkhals were able to conquer the Chaubisi states situated to the west of Gorkha district. In that area, however, roads were built through Jhara (forced labor), because no provision for Kipat land grants could be made there. It was through these roads that the Gorkhals were able to advance as far as Kangra. By the end of the rule of Rajrajeshwari Devi, Damodar Pande had begun making arrangements for running a mail service. Not only documents but also goods were despatched by mail. Such post offices, however, were operated exclusively for official purposes. Mail carriers were not paid salaries in cash, but they were exempted from homestead taxes. Some mail-carriers were also exempted from the obligation to provide unpaid labor services, and their duty was to transport mail only.

The economic policy followed by Prithvi Narayan Shah was remarkable. It was his desire that the country should be economically prosperous, and that every ordinary peasant, artisan, and trader should become affluent. He did not like soldiers to become rich, however, for he believed that a soldier who is obsessed by wealth lacks the courage to undergo any sacrifice for the country. However, soldiers were well fed, and their children were properly looked after.

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There was much land, but too few men to cultivate it. Hence people had no reason to feel worried as to whether they would be able to get enough land. Facilities were made available to encourage settlers to reclaim lands. Before Prithvi Narayan Shah's rule, it was a customary practice to grant Dhunwa Birta lands to settlers. A homestead from which smoke was emitted was registered as Dhunwa Birta (Dhunwa: smoke). In this manner, people were encouraged to resettle on Raikar lands in order to make the country prosperous. This policy not only contributed to agricultural growth but also helped to promote arts and crafts.

Cloth had been manufactured since before Prithvi Narayan Shah. Cotton was cultivated and spun in the country. In fact, the handloom had reached an advanced stage during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Arts and crafts continued making progress till the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah. Though political upheavals occurred occasionally, these did not have any impact on the society, which was making progress step by step.

Prithvi Narayan Shah was well-known for his thrift. At the same time, he was large hearted. Although poets have eulogized him as a philanthropist, his temperament was such that he did not allow a single pice to be squandered. Evidence of his thrift is furnished by his strictures against the revenue-farming system. Prithvi Narayan Shah also wanted accounts of government funds to be maintained accurately. He believed that if administrative and revenue-collection functions were discharged by officers appointed by the government, government servants would get work, the profits going to revenue-farmers would be saved, and work would be done properly. In addition, Prithvi Narayan Shah believed that the government's revenue would increase if trade was developed. He never forget that trade is the source of affluence. This was the main reason why he chose Kathmandu as his capital. Tibet used to import gold from the mines of Mongolia. Kathmandu was the center through which this gold passed on to Bihar and Bengal. For this reason, Prithvi Narayan Shah reluctantly made Kathmandu his capital.

(To Be Continued).

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A Licchavi Inscription at Lazimpat, Kathmandu<sup>x</sup>

By

Dhanavajra Bajracharya

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There is a mound-like historical site known as Dhobichaur in Lazimpat, Kathmandu. There inscriptions belonging to the time of King Manadeva have been found there. One of these inscriptions is translated below. The inscription is contained on the front of a Shivalinga. It is dated 388 Samvat. The translation is based on a copy of the inscription in the possession of the National Archives. This text is complete, unlike that given by R. Gnoli. (No. 4).

Acting in a pure manner, he ... conquered and ruled through bravery and statesmanship. By the order (of Manadeva), who was endowed with good intellect, his dutiful servant, Nara Varma, installed a suitable linga along with a temple here, on Jestha Shukla Chaturdashi, 388 Samvat with the object of achieving general well-being.

Explanation

Parts of this inscription have been disfigured, and are, therefore, illegible. Some of the missing portions can now be read in the photocopy of the original inscription in the possession of the National Archives. This photocopy indicates that the inscription had started cracking up about thirty or forty years ago. If steps are not taken for the safety of this inscription, its condition may further deteriorate in the future.

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<sup>x</sup>Dhanavajra Bajracharya, Licchavi Kalko Abhilekh (Inscriptions of the Licchavi Period). Kirtipur. Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Ashadh 2030 (June 1973). pp. 31-33.

Contd...

This inscription mentions the Samvat year 388. The portion containing the name of the King is broken. However, it is definite that the King referred to in this inscription is none but Manadeva, for all inscriptions belonging to the period from 380 to 427 Samvat mention only his name.

It is not considered appropriate for a good King to dominate others through brute force. Nor does it behove a King to resort only to diplomatic tactics. Hence, according to Kalidas, a King should follow a policy of balance between force and statesmanship. The first line in this inscription indicates that Manadeva followed such a policy.

This inscription had been installed by Nara Varma after installing a Shivalinga on the orders of King Manadeva. In this inscription, Nara Varma describes himself as a servant of Manadeva. This indicates that he was an officer dependent on the favors of King Manadeva.

Although the Shivalinga installed by Nara Varma is still intact, not even the ruins of the temple built by him can be seen now. Ancient temples, palaces and houses in Kathmandu Valley have not survived because of frequent and major earthquakes.

Shaivism occupies an important place among the religious sects which have been followed continuously in Nepal since ancient times. This explains why Shivalingas installed by devout Kings, as well by common people, are scattered everywhere in the valley.

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Jitamitra Malla<sup>1</sup>

By

Bholanath Poudel

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At the beginning of the fifth century of the Vikrama era, there were three kings in the Nepal Valley, Pratapa Malla, Srinivasa Malla, and Jagatprakasha Malla. These three kings were in constant conflict with each other.

King Jagatprakash Malla of Bhaktapur died in Poush 1729 Vikrama.<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded by his eldest son, Jitamitra Malla. Another son of Jagatprakasha Malla was Ugra Malla, who then came to be known as "Mirahma Juju," or junior king. Jitamitra Malla was a mere boy when he ascended the throne. One Bhagirama Pradhananga was, therefore, able to attain the influential position of a counsellor.<sup>3</sup> His position was strong, because the King was inexperienced. However, he continued to be strong even when Jitamitra Malla came of age. Accordingly, there are more references to Bhagirama Pradhananga than to Ugra Malla and Bhupatindra Malla, Jitamitra Malla's son, in the inscriptions of Jitamitra Malla's time.

In 1730 Vikrama, when Ugra Malla was married, King Shrinivasa Malla of Lalitpur stayed five days in Bhaktapur as a guest.<sup>4</sup> No information is available about the state of Jitamitra Malla's relations with King Pratapa Malla of Kantipur.

Nearly six weeks later, in Chaitra 1731 Vikrama, Pratapa Malla died. He was survived by three sons, the youngest of whom had been designated as heir-apparent. But this decision was ignored after Pratapa Malla's death. For a long time, the question of succession could not be decided. Thanks to the efforts of King Shrinivasa Malla of Lalitpur, the oldest surviving son of Pratapa Malla, Nripendra Malla, was crowned King in Ashadh 1731 Vikrama. Both Jitamitra Malla and his brother, Ugra Malla, participated in the coronation celebrations.

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Bhupatindra Malla, the eldest son of King Jitamitra, was born in the same year (1731 Vikrama).<sup>5</sup> On the occasion of Vijaya Dashami in the year 1733 Vikrama, King Jitamitra Malla was invested with the Diksha.

Shrinivasa Malla of Lalitpur was the most mature among the three kings of the Nepal Valley at that time. He, therefore, considered himself to be the overlord of the entire valley of Nepal and had himself described as such in his inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> For this reason, King Jitamitra Malla of Bhaktapur wanted to strengthen his relations with King Shrinivasa Malla. In 1734 Vikrama, the Etachok (the present Kumari-chok) building sustained damages. Jitamitra Malla requested Shrinivasa Malla to send him supplies of stone to renovate the building. Shrinivasa Malla complied with this request or his nephew, Jitamitra Malla. This event is recorded in an inscription installed at that building.<sup>7</sup>

King Jitamitra Malla had amicable relations also with King Nripendra Malla of Kantipur as long as the latter was alive. Nripendra Malla died in Ashadh 1737 Vikrama. Fourteen days later, his brother, Parthivendra Malla, was crowned King. Both King Jitamitra Malla of Bhaktapur and King Shrinivasa Malla of Lalitpur participated in the coronation celebrations.<sup>8</sup>

In 1741 Vikrama, King Shrinivasa Malla of Lalitpur crowned his son, Yoganarendra Malla, as King.<sup>9</sup> Jitamitra Malla was present at the coronation. Shrinivasa Malla died two years later, in 1743 Vikrama.<sup>10</sup> Jitamitra Malla could not maintain the same amicable relations with Yoganarendra Malla that he had maintained with Shrinivasa Malla.

Jitamitra Malla's relations with Kathmandu were more or less amicable during the reign of King Parthivendra Malla also. In Ashadh 1744, Parthivendra Malla was poisoned. His son, Bhupalendra Malla, then ascended the throne. Laxmi Narayan Joshi became powerful, with the full support of Jitamitra Malla. It was, in fact, Jitamitra Malla who pacified the people of Kantipur, for they had gathered at the gates of the royal palace demanding that the assassin be punished. Jitamitra Malla also invested Bhupalendra Malla with the Crown.<sup>11</sup> Notwithstanding such support, Laxmi Narayan Joshi later made an attempt to curb the influence of Jitamitra Malla with the

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help of King Yoganarendra Malla of Lalitpur. They advised Jitmitra Malla to dismiss his minister, Bhagirama Pradhananga, if he wanted to maintain amicable relations with them.

At that time, Jitmitra Malla considered himself to be the seniormost among the three kings of the valley. Accordingly, he did not agree to dismiss his old and influential minister, Bhagirama Pradhananga, who had committed no offense. Thereupon, the joint forces of Kantipur and Lalitpur invaded Bhaktapur. The troops of Bhaktapur were not able to resist the joint attack. The people of Bhaktapur had, therefore, to undergo much suffering. The agents of Laxmi Narayan Joshi incited them with the propaganda that their troubles would come to an end if Bhagirama Pradhananga was dismissed. Some people then reached the royal palace and made an attempt to capture him. When they did not find Bhagirama Pradhananga at the royal palace, they went to his house. However, they did not find him there too. They therefore looted his house and set it on fire. Bhagirama Pradhananga fled and thus saved his life. The mob then proceeded to the royal palace and compelled the King, Jitmitra Malla, to go to Kathmandu.

Seeing no alternative, King Jitmitra Malla went to Kathmandu and was taken to the royal palace. Laxmi Narayan Joshi then invited King Yoganarendra Malla of Lalitpur also to come there. The three kings of the Nepal Valley then signed a treaty, which provided for unrestricted communications among the three towns. However, the treaty did not remain effective for long.

The treaty also provided that Kantipur should transfer some territory to Lalitpur. However, Kantipur subsequently refused to comply with this provision. Angered at this refusal, King Yoganarendra Malla of Lalitpur summoned Bhagirama Pradhananga, who was staying at Kalleri at that time. Yoganarendra Malla eventually sent Bhagirama Pradhananga back to Bhaktapur. Jitmitra Malla reinstated him as chief minister, and restored to him whatever property had been left from the loot of his residence.

In Falgun 1746 Vikrama, therefore, the joint forces of Bhaktapur and Lalitpur attacked Kantipur.<sup>12</sup>

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In Falgun 1752 Vikrama Jitamitra Malla and Yoganarendra Malla signed a treaty which provided for non-interference in each other's affairs. A copy of the treaty has been inscribed at the Mulchok courtyard of the royal palace in Bhaktapur.<sup>13</sup> In Bhadra 1753 Vikrama, King Jitamitra Malla died. He was helped by his mother, Lalamati, and his uncle, Ugra Malla, in running the administration.<sup>14</sup>

All this shows that King Jitamitra Malla was able to do little to enhance the political importance of Bhaktapur compared with his father, Jagatprakasha Malla, and his son, Bhupatindra Malla. Jitamitra Malla tried his best to maintain amicable relations with Kantipur and Lalitpur, but did not prove himself capable of diplomacy.

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#### Notes

1. Bholanath Poudel, "Jitamitra Malla," Purnima, Year 1, No. 1, Baisakh 2021 (April 1964), pp. 20-25.
2. Aitihāsik Ghatanaṅvali, p. 5.
3. According to a copper-plate affixed on the wall of the Bhagavati temple in Nala, one Devarama was Chautara (chief minister) of King Jitamitra Malla in 1732 Vikrama.
4. Aitihāsik Ghatanaṅvali, p. 6.
5. Itihas Prakash, Vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 568.
6. Ibid, pt. 6, p. 19.
7. Ibid, pt. 7, p. 24.
8. Itihas-Samshodhanko Pramana-Prameya, pp. 239-40.
9. Ibid, p. 198.
10. Aitihāsik Ghatanaṅvali, p. 18.
11. Itihas-Samshodhanko ... , pp. 276-78.

Contd...

12. Ibid, pp. 277-82.
13. Abhilekh-Sangraha, pt. 11.
14. According to Satya Mohan Joshi (Nepali Rashtriya Mudra, p. 95), coins minted by Bhupatindra Malla in 816 Nepal Samvat (1753 Vikrama) are available. A suki coin is inscribed "Samvat 816 Bhadra Ba 11." This shows that Bhupatindra Malla was crowned King in Bhadra 1753 Vikrama.

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Selected Documents of Marga 1842

(Abstracts)

Bitalab-Birta Grant

(Marga Sudi 1, 1842) (25/4-5)

Royal order to Mahant Prem Giri: "The King of Makwanpur had granted the mouja of Padari in Cherbant Parganna of Bara district as Sarba-Anka-Bitalab-Birta in order to propitiate God Shiva. We hereby reconfirm the grant. Perform Sadavarta functions with the produce of these lands, appropriate the surplus income, and bless us." (Similar reconfirmation for the mouja of Dumariya in Rautahat district on Poush Badi 2, 1842 (25/5).

Appointment of Mijhar

(Marga Sudi 1, 1842) (25/5)

Royal order to Bhotya Lohar: "We hereby confirm your one-fourth in the Mijhari for the areas situated west of the Kanaka river and east of the Marsyangdi river. In addition, we designate you as Mijhar of the Lohar, Sunar, Mahar, Chandera, and Kadera communities in the newly-conquered territories west of the Marsyangdi river."

Contd...

Bitalab Land Grant for Guthi Endowment

(Marga Badi 2, 1842) (25/6)

120 muris of rice lands, as well as homesites, were granted to Tularam Jaisi for endowment as Guthi for a rest-house.

Restoration of Manachamal Land Grant

(Marga Badi 2, 1842) (25/6)

Rice lands in Deurali-Besi, granted as Manachamal by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Kashiram Acharya's father, were restored to him.

Reconfirmation

(Marga Sudi 2, 1842) (25/6-7)

1. Brihaspati Padhya Dahal was reconfirmed as a priest, with a homestead and twenty muris of rice lands at Jiling in Nuwakot district.
2. Birta lands and homesteads of Ramananda Pantha in Chainpur, granted to him by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, were reconfirmed in his favor.

Restoration of Lands

(Marga Sudi 2, 1842) (25/7)

Royal order to Jayanta Khawas: "During the reign of the Malla kings, you owned a house and fifty ropanis of rice lands in Chaukot (Kabhrepalanchok). (After the Gorkhali conquest), the rice-lands of the inhabitants of Satgaun had been confiscated. We now restore to you your Suna-Birta Guthi lands as in the case of ... (words missing) Khawas."

Confirmation of Landholdings

(Marga Sudi 2, 1842) (25/7)

To the Amalidars of Chapagaun, Thecho, and Khokana: "People who have been obligated to supply fodder for elephants have been assigned rice lands and homesteads as Jagir, subject to the payment of rents on Adhiya basis. We hereby reconfirm these assignments. Get these lands back from persons who have obtained them through Chhap grants. If you cannot do so, order (the recipients of Chhap grants) to supply fodder themselves."

Contd...

Payment of Emoluments

(Marga Sudi 2, 1842) (25/7)

Royal order to Adai Devahari Padhya: "Supply one hundred muris of paddy to Jagabal as his emoluments from the produce of Sera lands under your jurisdiction."

Punishment for Adultery

(Marga Sudi 2, 1842) (25/7-8)

Royal order to Ramaram Pande: "On the basis of the allegation that Gangaram Pande had committed adultery with the wife of Debu Pantha, Bhardars, without investigating the case, have confiscated Gangaram Pande's share of his ancestral property. When the case was subsequently investigated by Kalu Pande, Imbar Sim Rana, and other officials, Panchas reached the decision that this is a question of abduction (Jari), and that punishment should be inflicted by the Mukhiya in offenses committed by other persons, and by the government in offenses committed by the Mukhiya. We hereby endorse that decision, and restore to you the property that had been confiscated from your brother.

Exemption from Pota Tax

(Marga Sudi 2, 1842) (25/8).

Royal order to Dhanabir Khawas: "Chakranarsimha had mortgaged 35½ ropanis of rice lands and two plots of unirrigated lands (bari) to our maternal uncle for Rs 300. You have now paid this amount to the government. Use these lands as your Suna Birta. We hereby remit the Pota tax on these lands."

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Mining Regulations

On Baisakh Sudi 7, 1892 Vikrama, Bhajudhan was granted an Ijara for copper-mining in the area situated south of Pharping, north of Phulchoki, west of the Bagmati river, and east of Kulekhani for one year, from Jestha Sudi 15, 1892 to Jestha Sudi 14, 1893 Vikrama.

In addition to the copper mined in that area, Bhajudhan was also granted authority to collect and appropriate the proceeds of homestead tax and miscellaneous levies in that area and dispense justice. However, he was permitted to appropriate judicial fines and escheat property in the area placed under his jurisdiction only up to Rs 100 in each case. The excess amount accrued to the government.

Under this Ijara, Bhajudhan was under obligation to supply sixty dhamis of pure (guth) copper every year to the government operated munitions factory through the chief (Dittha) of the Mining Office.

Source: "Ijara Grant to Bhajudhan for Copper Mines in Pharping Phulchoki Area." Baisakh Sudi 7, 1892 (April 1836). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 45, pp. 73-74.

Bhajudhan was granted similar Ijara for iron mines in Dhading and ten other places.

On the same date (Baisakh Sudi 7, 1892 Vikrama), the following regulations were promulgated in the name of Bhajudhan prescribing his functions as Ijaradar for operating copper mines in the regions situated east of Sangu-Sindhu, west of the Mechi river, and iron mines and minting paisa coins in the regions situated east of the Arun river.

(Abstract Translation)

1. Confiscate smuggled copper and punish the offender. Affix your seal on copper brought by traders.
2. Purchase copper from traders at reasonable prices fixed through mutual consent. In case any mine-worker sells copper illicitly to other persons, confiscate the copper

Contd...

punish the offender. Do not abuse your monopoly (Ekahatti) to harass traders and mine-workers.

3. Collect payments from mine-workers at the customary rates. Do not commit injustice, or harass the people. Dismiss mine-workers who do not obey your orders.
4. Supply the stipulated quantity of copper to the palace through Hulak porters, and obtain receipts.
5. Punish those workers (Mahar) who mix impurities in the copper. In case any person makes counterfeit coins through unauthorized dies, he shall be severely punished.
6. In the regions situated east of Sanga and west of the Mechi river, prospect for new copper mines, and extract copper from old mines, and operate mints with the metal thus produced. The Mukhiya of mines shall appropriate the customary perquisites.
7. Smiths (banda) deputed from Bhadgaun and Patan to the Nagre mines in Dhankuta to make dies for minting coins shall be exempted from forced-labor obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar).

Source: "Mining Regulations in the Name of Bhajudhan", Baisakh Sudi 7, 1892 (April 1836). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 45, pp. 75-76.

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(S.B. Maharjan).



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Ranajit Kunwar's Letter to Bhimsen Thapa

By

Dinesh Raj Pant.

From Ranajit Kunwar,  
to Kaji Bhimsen Thapa.

Greetings. All is well here, and I wish the same there. The news here is good.

Information about the situation prevailing here had been given in the previous letter. The enemy, who had proceeded through Panthajada, has not advanced farther. Our Sardars and companies are making preparations to attack him. The position of the western kingdoms remains the same as before. As regards the Madhesh region, we have received reports that Ranajit Singh has vacated the fort as well as the territories (Parganna) that he had occupied, when the British made a request to that effect on the basis of a complaint submitted by Baghal Singh. Ranajit Singh is now trying to organize a united front of the Marhattas, the Sikhs, and the hill Rajas, on the ground that otherwise the British will assume supreme authority. The hill Rajas, on their part, want to start a quarrel with us. I shall report on whatever developments take place.

I have learnt from the letter sent by the boys that Rewanta Kunwar has been graciously deputed to Kumaun. We could have accomplished everything through the grace of His Majesty and your support. We tried to act according to royal orders, not to please other people. In Kumaun, Rewanta was becoming a victim of intrigue, and that was why we had petitioned for his transfer. We are here acting according to the orders of the Budha Kaji (Amara Simha Thapa), as we had been directed under royal instructions.

Rewanta writes, "Not to talk of increasing the strength of the Barakh Company by four platoons (Patte), even the two existing platoons that have been created are not being able to receive their emoluments. Because ... in his battalion (Paltan), no order has been issued to charge our increased

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allowances (on the revenues of) Kumaun. The Kaji has clearly stated that he has not received any order to allot lands in this region. Because of the large number of Sardars, it is not proper for us to remain in the army like ordinary persons.

I have represented my problems before you, and will do whatever you advise. Hoping that you will continue giving me advice, and informing me about your welfare.

Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 11 (1867)

Camp: Sugathor.

Source: Dinesh Raj Pant, "Bhimasena Thapalai Ranajit Kunwarale VI. Sam. 1867 Bhadra 26 Gate Lekheko Patra." (Letter written by Ranajit Kunwar to Bhimsen Thapa on Bhadra 26, 1867 Vikrama). Purnima, Year 7, No. 1, Marga 2028 (November-December 1971), pp. 9-13.

#### Explanation

Sardar Baghel Singh seems to have played an important role in the Punjab before the rise of Ranjit Singh. See Joseph D. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs (1966 ed.), Pp. 102-11; Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, pp. 173-80.

Not much information is available about the battle of Panthajada. A letter written by Sardar Shumsher Rana and Sardar Dhokal Simha Khatri to Budha Kaji Amara Simha Thapa on Ashadh Sudi 3, 1867 (June 1810), and the Bhasha Vamshavali, contain the following information:

Nepal was defeated in the battle of Nagini. During the rainy season of 1867 Vikrama, the Rajas of the Barha Thakuri principalities seized the opportunity to besiege the Nepalis at Panthajada. They had been able to win over the local ryots and Zamindars to their side. Some troops had been stationed at Panthajada under the command of Subba Basanta Bogati and Birabahu Simha of Musikot. The Nepalis were compelled to surrender the fort after four days. Hearing of the siege, Buda Kaji Amara Simha Thapa sent the Tripuradal and other companies to Panthajada under the command of Sardar Shumsher Rana and Sardar Dhokal Simha Khatri. By the time these troops reached Panthajada, the enemy had entrenched himself in four positions in the hills, and was launching an attack on Jada. Because

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of the limited forces at their disposal, the Nepali commanders had not been able to finalize a strategy. Meanwhile, the enemy took up two more positions. The commanders then wrote to Budha Kaji Amara Simha Thapa on Ashadh 23, 1867 Vikrama for advice.

Subsequently, according to the Bhasha Vamshavali, the Nepalis defeated the enemy and reoccupied Panthajada.

Rewanta Kunwar was Ranajit Kunwar's son.

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Social Changes during the Early Shah Period<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the August 1975 issue)

Prithvi Narayan Shah himself appears to have conducted trade. After a war with China, Khasa situated on the left banks of the Sunkoshi river had been merged into Tibet. Prithvi Narayan Shah had appointed consuls at Khasa, directing them to send him information about the quantity of gold which might reach Khasa from Lhasa. He also advised them to buy the gold, and not let it fall into the hands of others. Prithvi Narayan Shah collected as much gold as possible, and sold some gold to the people of India also. It was also his desire to develop agriculture in the country. He stressed the need for reclaiming lands which could be irrigated, and prospecting for mines even if this required the evacuation of settlements. A mine, once its operation was started, yielded substantial income for generations. Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, did

<sup>x</sup> Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Sankshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi," 2022 (1966). Chapter 21: "Tin Shahrajaharuko Samayama Samajma Bhayeko Parivartan ra Prabandhako Tulanatmak Lekhajokha." (A comparative evaluation of the social changes and arrangements during the time of three Shah Kings). pp. 127-51.

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not want to leave any mine unexploited. He made effective arrangements for the development of agriculture and mining.

Prithvi Narayan Shah permitted the export only of herbs and elephants to India. Trade in elephants was a government monopoly, whereas herbs were allowed to be exported by private traders. Elephants abounded in the Tarai forests, but it was not easy to capture them. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore laid special emphasis on the need for capturing and exporting elephants. Herbs were available in abundance and perennially. Prithvi Narayan Shah accordingly gave full freedom to export herbs. However, he stressed that people should import only gold and silver. He prohibited the import of manufactured foreign goods, particularly textiles and luxury goods. He earnestly desired his subjects to become affluent. He desired to increase agricultural production, and expand cotton cultivation in order to develop the indigenous textile manufacturing.

During the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah, not much was spent on the administration. Economy was practised even during war. During the Kirat war, Prithvi Narayan Shah obtained a loan of Rs 8,000, and later of Rs 5,000, from a Brahman. After the conquest of Saptari, he redeemed the loan by assigning some Birta and Jimidari lands. At that time, paddy sold at one rupee per muri in the Kirat and Tarai regions. Other goods also were very cheap. For all these reasons, not much cash expenditure was necessary. Inasmuch as civil servants (Jagirdars) were given land assignments in lieu of cash emoluments, monetary revenue from customs, taxes, and market levies was credited to the state treasury. There was, therefore, no shortage of money during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah. But much of the money saved during his reign was squandered during the rule of Bahadur Shah, when Nepal was engaged in series of military campaigns. However, the treasury had not yet become empty. In fact, the Nepal government had asked the Company government for authority to purchase muskets from the British, and permission for its troops to go to Danapur to take delivery. Until then the Nepal government was in a strong financial position. Both the state and the subjects appear to have been affluent at that time. Although the offers of the state dwindled during the rule of Bahadur Shah as a result of the war with China, his administration must be admitted to be one of growth, in view of the expansion of the territory of Nepal. Bahadur Shah was not as thrifty as Prithvi Narayan Shah. Bahadur Shah was prone to extravagance, with the result that he was unable to pay arrears of salaries and allowances due to the

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troops at the end of the war. He had, no doubt, tried to increase the revenues of the state, while incurring increased expenditure. However, revenues did not increase at the same pace as expenditure, with the result that the treasury became wholly empty in 1833 Vikrama. During the war, forced labor (Jhara) was exacted on a larger scale than before, and, consequently, people had not enough time to attend to farming and crafts. This was also one factor contributing to the paucity of funds at that time.

The social structure, as well as food habits, changed considerably during the sixty-two or sixty-three years between Prithvi Narayan Shah and Rana Bahadur Shah. Previously, Brahmans and Chhetris used to wear dhotis, and take their food in separate kitchens. But during the war they took meals with their usual clothes on, because the enemy could launch an attack while they were eating. Chhetris and Magars were permitted to eat together wheat cakes cooked in ghee without taking off their clothes. People belonging to untouchable castes were segregated, but people belonging to other castes maintained intimate inter-communal relations, and even matrimonial relations, with one another. Only Brahmans were employed as cooks, because they were not engaged in military duties. Close inter-communal relations and cooperation among different communities belonging to the pure castes promoted social unity.

Architecture during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah was based on the Rajput style. There is not much difference between the Mughal and Rajput styles of architecture. During the rule of the Malla Kings, Nepali architecture was patterned after the Mughal style, which reflected Muslim influence, whereas the Rajput style was based on Hinduism. The Hanuman Dhoka Palace, built by Pratap Malla, reflected the influence of the Mughal style. This palace was plastered with lime during the rule of Jang Bahadur. As a result, the old Mughal art in the palace has been covered up. The Rajput style of the palace built by Prithvi Narayan Shah at Basantpur is still visible. The Mughal style of the palaces built by the Malla kings of Patan and Bhadgaun was also effaced, because these too were plastered with lime. But the last palace built for Jaya Prakash Malla, which was patterned after the Moghul style, was not so plastered. That is why the Mughal architectural style of that palace is still intact. The big poor-house constructed at Deopatan during the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah was based on the Rajput style. It was the last building constructed during his reign. A sanatorium had also been built there for the use of Queen Kantavati. It too depicted the Rajput style.

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The Rajput style of architecture disappeared after the end of Rana Bahadur Shah's reign as a result of the growing popularity of European architectural styles after the emergence of Bhimsen Thapa.

Among the forts and temples built in Nepal from the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah to that of Rana Bahadur, the Lal Killa (Red Fort) built by Bam Shah at Almora proved to be the strongest during the war against the British. These forts and temples were built by the Newar artisans of Kathmandu Valley according to the new Nepali style of architecture. Small roofing tiles (Jhingati), which was popular in Kathmandu at that time, were used in the region from Kirat to Kumaun. Houses with roofs of such tiles were constructed in the Tarai also. This resulted in a big gain. Amar Simha had the temple of Rama in Janakpur roofed with Jhingatis. After the war with the British, both sides agreed to demarcate the boundary on the basis of actual occupation. The inhabitants of villages, which were under the actual occupation of Nepal, suppressed the receipts issued to them by the Nepal government, and defected to the British, because the Nepali administration at the time followed a strict policy against them. This reduced the territories of Nepal, with the result that in Sarlahi the boundary came to be located near the Chure range. But Janakpur was held to be within Nepal's line of control, because the temple had a roof with Jhingati tiles. Thanks to the use of Jhingatis in that temple, the plain areas far to the south of the Chure range within Mahottari district were held to be under Nepal's control. The Nepali style of architecture in the temple of Janakpur thus helped to safeguard the territorial integrity of Nepal.

Let us now discuss the condition of handicraft at the time of the wars fought during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah. On an auspicious date, Prithvi Narayan Shah cut a bamboo to make a new bow for the Nuwakot campaign. In view of his victory in Nuwakot, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent a sentry to protect that bamboo thicket. A sentry was posted there until 1980 Vikrama. However, he used to stay at the district headquarters office near the Gorkha palace, which was located at a distance of about two miles from the bamboo thicket.

Indian dancers and musicians had been employed at the royal palace during the Malla period. But Prithvi Narayan Shah encouraged Nepali dancing and music. He prohibited the entry

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of Indian dancers and musicians into Nepal, because he felt that they might understand the state secrets. At that time, the Newari language was used in dancing and musical performances. Dramas were written in Newari, but Khas-Kura, Hindustani, Bengali, and Maithili were also used. As a result, Nepali dramas survived and are now making progress.

Gambling and theft were rampant in the eastern and western regions, as well as in the Malla kingdoms, during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Later, Prithvi Narayan Shah introduced some steps which led to a decline in theft. He imposed a total ban on gambling. He made several efforts to stop bribery, although it was difficult to do so. He appointed Thakuris as Dittha, and Magars as Bichari, because he regarded them as less corruptible. He also appointed Pandits in courts to prevent tampering with justice. He utilized the income from judicial fines for charitable purposes, instead of crediting such income to the royal treasury, because he believed that its use for other purposes would not bring religious merit. Prithvi Narayan Shah also believed that it would not be a sin to kill anyone who was found to have offered or accepted bribes, but he did not actually sentence such persons to death. Gambling, although banned by Prithvi Narayan Shah, was revived nineteen years after his death, that is, during the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah. This was done on religious grounds. The Gorkhalis had defeated the Chinese troops on the eve of the Tij festival during which Shiva and Parvati are worshipped. People were permitted to engage in gambling during the Tij festival to celebrate that victory. Later, gambling was permitted during the Tihar (Panchak) festival as well. During the Rana regime, gambling had crossed all limits. Gambling was permitted even during minor festivities. During the rule of Dev Shamsheer, gambling was permitted on numerous occasions. Prithvi Narayan Shah realized that gambling is a social disease. Gambling was totally banned during his reign, thus fully eradicating its evil consequences. No attempt was made to ban gambling during the Rana period, although people often used to commit suicide when they lost.

Prithvi Narayan Shah did not like the custom of Sati. A junior queen of King Narabhupal Shah had become a Sati on his death. Traditionally, the eldest wife, and the other childless wives, if any, became Satis on the death of their husband. Even then, Prithvi Narayan Shah had been able to persuade his step-mother, as well as his own mother, not to become Satis on

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the death of King Narabhupal Shah. Prithvi Narayan Shah might have desired that his wives should not become Satis on his death. His eldest queen had already died. If his youngest queen Narendra Laxmi had not become a Sati, the twelve years old conflict in the royal court would not have taken place. But she became a sati because there was nobody after the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah who could change her mind. Rajendra Laxmi, a queen of King Pratap Singh Shah could not become a Sati, because her son was still an infant. The eldest queen of King Rana Bahadur Shah faced no difficulty in becoming a Sati, because her daughter had already been married, and she herself was in detention. She also believed in the tradition that the soul of the husband dying an untimely death would be liberated if his wife became a Sati. On the death of King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah, his eldest queen was still young and she also had an infant son. However, she was forced by Bhimsen Thapa to become a Sati. Thereafter, no queen of Nepal became a Sati. The custom of Sati become gradually obsolete in the royal family. It became unpopular among the people too, and finally disappeared during the Rana period.

The size of the army was increased in 1805 AD in order to attack Kangra. Salaries were paid not in cash but in the form of land assignments at that time. There was no alternative but to confiscate Birta lands to increase the size of the army for expanding the state territories, because Raikar and Jagera lands were not available for such assignment. The Kush Birta lands of Brahmans and the Guthi Birtas of temples were confiscated, with the assurance that they would be restored later. These lands were then converted into Raikar. However, the Birtas of military families such as Thakuris, Chhetris, and Magars were not confiscated. Among Brahmans too, partiality was practised by not confiscating the Birtas of Ranganath Pandit and others. Bhimsen Thapa too confiscated Birta lands in the same way for purposes of war. The entire blame for such confiscation and partiality was laid on King Rana Bahadur Shah, although the truth was that he could neither grant nor confiscate Birtas. The question of restoring the confiscated Birtas was raised after the the Kangra Campaign was over. But this did not happen. The question was raised also after the Nepal-British war. However during the last days of King Rajendra Bikram Shah, Pakho lands which had been granted as Birta were restored.

The Gorkhali military organization played an important role until the rule of Bahadur Shah. It took 57 years to develop this organization, from the beginning of Prithvi Narayan Shah's rule to the final days of the administration of Bahadur Shah. The Malla Kings of Nepal maintained standing

armies (sic). During war, they utilized the services of their subjects and collected arms. They later began to organize armies by recruiting their Khas and Magar subjects under commanders called Umraos. They also used to invite Khas and Magars from Gorkha and Tanahu for military assistance.

One hundred permanent troops were maintained under the command of one Sardar at the Gorkha palace. There were two forts to the east of Dhading and Salyan for defending Gorkha from the attacks of the Kings of Kathmandu Valley. The objective of these fortifications was to attack the Malla Kings. The Raginas Gadhi fort was constructed to check the attack of the Lamjung King in the West. The Siranchok Gadhi fort was constructed for the supervision of these forts. Able-bodied persons of neighboring areas were recruited during the winter, and given leave during the monsoon. An Umrao was appointed to train them, he used to provide training at these forts by rotation.

Many troops were recruited during the reign of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. However, there was no standing army. Troops were recruited at times of need and later demobilized. They were armed with Khukris and swords, as well as with bows and arrows. Officers carried shields. The Gorkhalis felt the need for using the guns looted during the invasion of Mir Kassim in Makwanpur. But flints necessary for the use of guns were not available in Nepal. It was also difficult to purchase flints from the Europeans. Mir Kassim had established a factory for producing guns and flints. However, the factory closed down when he lost his territories.

Because flints were not available, Prithvi Narayan Shah introduced the practice of igniting muzzle-loading guns with paper wicks. Thereafter, he formed two companies of rifle-men, Kalibux and Srinath. Kalibux was named after the Goddess Kalika, and Srinath after Siddha Gorakh Nath. In the beginning, each company had one hundred soldiers and seven officers. There were no more than five permanent companies during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Each company had no more than 150 troops. The five companies must have had about 750 guns. With the help of these guns, the eastern territories of Nepal were annexed.

Paper wicks were being used instead of flint for firing guns. Guns needed frequent repairs. Prithvi Narayan Shah employed three Muslim fugitives from India for repairing guns, and allotted Kipat lands to them. They not only repaired damaged



guns, but also manufactured new ones. In Europe, guns were manufactured by machinery. However, the Gorkhalis manufactured guns by using iron mould. These guns were of low quality. During the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah, guns looted from the troops of Mir Kassim and the British were sufficient. The practice of purchasing guns was started during the period of Bahadur Shah. But when Subba Dinanath tried to send 500 guns from Calcutta to Nepal, the British Governor-General refused to give permission. However, the British sent a gun of good quality to pacify the Nepal government.

The Gorkhalis procured guns from the Nawab of Oudh, the Sikhs, and some Europeans other than the British, at the time when Nepal maintained 100 companies of troops and its frontiers extended from Sikkim to Garhwal. An arms factory was opened in Nepal during the last year of the rule of Bahadur Shah with the help of French technicians.

The Malla Kings, the Kings of the Baisi and Chaubisi states, and the Kings of Kumaon and Garhwal also used to purchase guns. But they could not purchase many guns, because their revenues were inadequate. They could not match the might of Nepal.

The frontiers of Nepal extended to Garhwal during the period of Bahadur Shah. The Nepali army had been fully equipped with guns by that time. Bows and arrows had proved useless during the fifty years of the Gorkhali military organization. Since Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Gorkhali army had become invincible. It is so famous that Nepal is known in Europe after Gorkha.

Khas, Magar and Gurung have jointly made the Gorkhali army famous for its bravery. The Gorkhali army will lose its strength if any other community is recruited. Even the Khas, Magars and Gurungs of Gorkha are not given preference for recruitment in the army. They are selected from areas situated between Tanahu and Lamjung on the one hand to Gulmi and Argha on the other. Kashi district is situated in the center of this region. The headquarters of Kaski, Pokhara, has become the center of the Gorkhali army, because large numbers of Khas, Magars and Gurungs live there. Kaski has become the second important place of Nepal after Kathmandu Valley.

Prithvi Narayan Shah used to do everything with proper deliberation. His steps were therefore long-lasting. But the steps taken by Bhimsen Thapa and Jang Bahadur proved short-lived. The victory of Bhimsen Thapa was transient. He conquered modern Simla and attacked Kangra. But Nepal subsequently lost Kangra, Simla, Garhwal, Kumaon, and Sikkim during his rule.

In contradistinction, achievements of the Prithvi Narayan Shah were so deep-rooted that the enemy could not thwart them despite repeated efforts. The tasks completed by Bahadur Shah were not as deep-rooted. As a result, Kumaun and Garhwal were lost. However, the territories extending from Palpa and Parbat to Doti and Baitadi are still under the sovereignty of Nepal, because feelings of Nepali unity had spread there. The territories conquered by Prithvi Narayan Shah still remain a part of Nepal because he believed that people in the conquered areas should be won over by spreading feelings of nation-alism.

It seems that Kumaun and Garhwal were lost, because the policy of trying to retain control of conquered territories through force created dissatisfaction among the people. The lack of such modern weapons as those possessed by the British was also one factor behind the defeat of Nepal. Be that as it may, Nepal had to lose several territories because it renounced the policy of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Bows, Khukris, Knives, and swords were the main weapons at the beginning of the rule of Prithvi Narayan Shah. The Gorkhali army began to use guns also after the guns of Mr Kassim were looted in the battle of Makwanpur. Most of the Gorkhali troops were equipped with guns at the time of the war with the Kiratis. The five companies formed at that time were equipped with five hundred or seven hundred guns. There were about 1,500 or 2,000 troops equipped with bows. All the troops had been equipped with guns during the wars with Tibet and the western states. Surplus bows were distributed among the Khambas and for defense after the Gorkhali troops were equipped with guns. The Gorkhali troops had become very efficient by the time. Half of the troops that accompanied Damodar Pande's mission was lost in the snow while returning from the monastery of Tashi Lama in Digarcha. Captain Kirkpatrick had advised the British government to follow a policy of conciliation, rather than of confrontation, because he was impressed by the efficiency and discipline of the Gorkhali troops.

The Gorkhali troops of that time wore black turbans on their heads, black labeda (blouse) and Suruwal and (trousers) leather belts. They used Khukris and muzzle-loading guns equipped with bayonets. During the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah, the Samarjang company was allowed to use silver badges also.

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The number of troops was increased two or four times during the administration of Bhimsen Thapa before he became General, and companies were renamed Paltan. Silver badges were granted to the Paltan troops, and golden ones to subedars and captains. The Nepali army was composed half of Paltan and half of company troops. The discipline which had been maintained all the period of Bahadur Shah had been weakened during the administration of Bhimsen Thapa. During the war with the British, large numbers of troops fled to Lahore and joined the Sikh army, while others surrendered to the British. The troops cannot be wholly blamed for such conduct. Shortage of weapons and supplies was the main reason why they did so. Those who surrendered to the British were able to obtain assurances that they would not be forced to flight against Nepal. The British were very clever; hence they retained these Gorkhali troops so long as the war continued. After the treaty was signed, they founded the British Gurkha army and recruited the Gorkhalis. After this war, Maharaj Ranjit Singh of the Punjab also founded a Gurkha brigade and appointed the famous captain Balbhadra Kunwar as its Commander. During the period from Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Gorkhali army was well-disciplined. Later, because the troops had to be stationed at distant places, they became slack. The officers too became fond of life of luxury. Naturally, therefore, discipline became lax.

During the period from Prithvi Narayan Shah to Bahadur Shah, dress styles changed considerably. During the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah, rich people wore cloaks (jama) and caps. Ordinary people wore ghaleks and caps, while middle-class people wore blouses (bhoto) and loincloths. Well-to-do persons were fat and healthy. People wore coarse clothes according to their caste and occupation, as laid down by Jayasthiti Malla. But only domestic servants and slaves were actually following that tradition. However, the costumes of people living in the hills were different. Prithvi Narayan Shah tried to remove the differences. He made arrangements for separate types of caps and tilak according to caste and occupation, as Shaktiballabh has described in his drama Jayaratnakaranataka. Conservatism was discouraged, because Prithvi Narayan Shah brought about uniformity in dress styles and food habits. However, sacred-thread-wearing castes never took liquor. The drinking habit was discouraged among other castes also. These traditions were observed until the reign of King Rajendra.

(To be continued)

Srimanavihara<sup>x</sup>

By

Hariram Joshi

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Most scholars believe that Srimanavihara had been constructed by the famous Licchavi King Manadeva. They cite as evidence the fact that the Vihara itself is called Srimana, and that the Gopalavamshavali states that Manadeva constructed it in order to atone for his sin in murdering his father, Viswadeva or Vrisadeva.

This view is not tenable, however. The inscriptions of Manadeva show that he believed in Hinduism, not in Buddhism. It is not likely, therefore, that he would have constructed a Buddhist Vihara. Moreover, the Changunarayan inscription of Manadeva, and the Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II, show that Vrisadeva was the great-grand-father of Manadeva, not his father.

It appears more correct to presume that Srimanavihara was constructed by King Vrisadeva, who was a Buddhist. Jayadeva inscription of 157 Samvat uses the honorific word "Sriman" to describe Vrisadeva. This proves that Srimanavihara was so-called after Vrisadeva, not Manadeva. The word "Sriman" has been used to describe Amshuvarma also, but he could not have constructed that Vihara. Amshuvarma's Handigaun inscription of 32 Samvat mentions Srimanavihara as one of several Viharas, thereby showing that it was already in existence at that time.

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<sup>x</sup> Adapted from: Hariram Joshi, "Srimanavihara Ek Samkshipta Adhyayan." (A Brief Study of Srimanavihara). Madhuparka (Nepali, Monthly, published by the Gorkhapatra Corporation). Year 8, No. 3, Shrawan 2032 (July-August 1975), pp. 11-15.

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Selected Documents of Marga-Poush, 1887Chhap Land Grant

Marga Sudi 5, 1887 (44/160)

Nahar Singh Basnyat was granted lands in Nuwakot on Chhap tenure on payment of Rs 4½ every year. The lands had been previously granted to Dalabir Gharti on Chhap tenure on payment of Rs 4 every year.

Jagir Land Grant

Marga Sudi 5, 1887 (44/160)

Two moujas in Mohottari, one of Kalabancar (i.e. virgin forest) were granted as Jagir to Chaudhari Khedu Singh Pande effective Baisakh Badi 1, 1888.

Purchase of Gold Coins

Marga Sudi 6, 1887 (44/161)

Royal order to Subba Prayag Datta Jaisi directing him to remit Kaldar RS 60,000 to the firm of Baijnath Sahu in Patna for the purchase of gold coins (asharfi) from the contract revenues of Morang for the year 1887 Vikarama through Captain Birabhadra Kunwar of the Kaleshwar Kachahari office.

Purchase of Military Supplies

Marga Sudi 6, 1887 (44/161)

Sardar Jahar Singh Baniya was ordered to remit Kaldar RS 32,000 directly to the firm of Baijnath Sahu in Patna as part payment for uniforms and other supplies required by the Srinath Kampu which had been obtained by Jamadar Jodha Singh Mahat and Kote Manu on credit from the Calcutta branch of that firm.

Panditraj Ranganath Pandit Leaves for Banaras

Marga Sudi 8, 1887 (44/162)

Revenue officials in Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat were ordered to disburse Rs 2,000 every year as allowance to Panditraj Ranganath Pandit, who had gone to Banaras to spend his last days there.

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On Marga 11, 1887, an order was issued to Amalis in areas situated between Kathmandu and Naraharigunj to make arrangements for accommodation, provisions, etc to Panditraj Ranganath Pandit who was on his way to Banaras. (44/163).

#### Construction of Embankments

Marga Sudi 9, 1887 (44/162-63).

Royal order to Amalidars in areas east of Sindhu, Kahule and Bhimdhunga, west of the Pandi river, Barlang-Ghat, and Banighat, and north of Talti and Kiranchok, directing all inhabitants of these areas, other than Upadhyaya and Jaisi Brahmans, Mulaki porters, and Goles (i.e. people who were under obligation to supply charcoal for the needs of the government) to provide Jhara labor for the construction of embankments in Nuwakot valley. They were also required to take along with them foodgrains and other provisions sufficient for four months, as well as implements for constructing the embankments.

#### Irrigation Channel in Gadkhar

Marga Sudi 12, 1887 (44/163)

Royal order to the tenant-cultivators (Kuriya) of Gadkhar; "Because you have to repair and maintain the irrigation channel of that area, all lands heretofore cultivated by outsiders shall be cultivated by local persons in the future as allotted by the local headmen."

#### Khet Land Grant in Khotang

Marga Sudi 13, 1887 (44/164)

316 muris of Jagir lands in the Khotang area of Majhkirat, previously allotted to another person on Adhiya tenure, were reallocated to Lal Giri on Kut tenure on payment of Rs 171½ as Thek and Ghiukhane every year.

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Chhap Land Grant in Tilpung

Marga Sudi 13, 1887 (44/164-65)

Jagir lands in Tilpung, assigned to Jamadars of the Srinath Kampu, had been allotted on Thek tenure to Taranidhi Jaisi and his two brothers on payment of Rs 70 every year. In consideration of that payment, Taranidhi Jaisi and his brothers had been permitted to appropriate the proceeds of Serma (i.e. homestead tax) and other taxes and levies, but Raja-Anka levies, (i.e. royal palace levies) had been payable in addition. The lands were reallocated to Daladam Thapa, Sanman Thapa, and Jitman Thapa on payment of Rs 75 every year under Chhap tenure.

These lands had been confiscated from Brahmans (in 1806).

Hulak Land Allotments

Marga Sudi 13, 1887 (44/165)

Royal order to Kaji Balnarshingh Kunwar: "In the year 1877 Vikrama, lands in Chaubisi had been allotted to Kagati Hulaki porters in Dharapani and elsewhere. However, the porters shifted to other areas. Because the lands were not allotted, and Hulak services were disrupted, according to representations made here by Asman Rai and Manobir Rai. You are, therefore, directed to reallocate these lands to Kagati Hulaki porters in such a manner that the amount of Thek revenue assessed in 1884 Vikrama does not decline, and the services too are not disrupted." /properly, Thek payments remained uncollected,

Construction of Fort

Poush Badi 1, 1887 (44/166).

Royal order to Sardar Shatrubhanjan Shahi and Sardar Prahlad Thapa: "Construct a big fort in Dailekh, at the site of the old fort, by utilizing Jhara labor from the inhabitants of the Karnali region as well as the labor of the personnel comprising the two companies under your command. Complete the project quickly. Utilize revenue from Darshan-Bhet fees collected from the personnel of the Sri Bhawani Bux and Sri Jwaladal companies to purchase construction materials and pay wages to carpenters, etc."

Contd. ...

Payment of Salary

Poush Badi 2, 1887 (44/166-67).

Royal order to Subedar Tula Singh Karki, Megh Nath Pande, Madan Singh Rana, and Frajapati Parsai, directing them to disburse salaries amounting to Rs 1,125 for the year Vikrama to the following five persons from the revenues of Jumla for the year 1887 Vikrama:-

Subedar Tula Singh Karki	Rs 675.
Two Majors	Rs 250.
Two Clerks (Bahidar)	Rs 200.

Collection of Sair Duty

Poush Badi 11, 1887 (44/167-68).

Royal order to the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, and Thekdars of the army: "Sairdar Hari Charan Chaudhari has reported to us that you have refused to pay Sair duties on the ground that no such duty had been payable before 1886. You are hereby directed to make such payments immediately to the Sairdar. Pay duty also on the elephants sold by Chaudharis in India."

Forest Protection in Kafaldanda and Other Areas

Poush Badi 11, 1887 (44/168)

The Jamadars and other officials of the Gurubux Company were directed not to permit the inhabitants of Kafaldanda and other areas (in Nuwakot district) to reclaim forest lands and use tracks that had been closed previously. They were also directed not to permit the reclamation of lands situated along main tracks.

Cross-Cousin Marriage in Salyan

Poush Badi 11, 1887 (44/169).

Royal order to the Jaisi Brahmans of Panchthapala of Salyan district: "You have submitted a petition to Captain Narasing Thapa praying that since the custom of marrying or eloping with the daughters of maternal uncles is prevalent in



Salyan, but not in Panchthapala, a law (thiti) should be promulgated in this regard. We therefore decree that in the future Jaisi Brahmans shall neither marry nor elope with the daughters of their maternal uncles. Any person who does so shall be inflicted punishment according to his caste status. Anybody who willfully shares commensal relations with persons who do so shall be required to undergo expiation according to customary (Niti) or statutory (Smriti) rites."

#### Chhap Land Grant In Nala

Poush Badi 30, 1887 (44/169-70).

Lands in Nala, previously granted at Chhap to Dharma Raj Thapa Godar, and as homesteads to Bhadrpadhya were reallocated to Dware Bhuban Singh.

#### Chhap-Thek Land Grant

Poush Sudi 3, 1887 (44/170-71).

A plot of land in Katuwalgaun had been granted to Surbir Karmi and Meghvarma Thapa as Chhap on payment of Thek revenue amounting to nine rupees in addition to eight annas every year to the Chaprasi Company. In the year 1885, Vikrama, Sadananda Bhatta and Chandrabir Thapa were granted that land when they stipulated a payment of Rs 3½ every year. Surbir Karki and Meghawarne Thapa then submitted a petition complaining that they had been rendered homeless. They were therefore reconfirmed in their possession of other lands under Chhap-Thek tenure for which they had previously been paying nine rupees. However, the amount was now increased to nineteen rupees. They were also granted judicial authority over the inhabitants of these lands, entitling them to collect fines, etc.

#### Perquisites of Lumber Workers

Poush Sudi 6, 1887 (44/171-72)

This order was issued in the name of Bosis (i.e. lumber-workers) in Panqa village. King Rana Bahadur had ordered the deduction of miscellaneous taxes and levies paid by

Contd. ...

the Bosis of seven villages in the Balambu area from the wages due to them. These taxes and levies were as follows:-

Payments during the month of Ashadh.

Payments during the Dashain festival.

Saune Fagu.

Gharani (homestead taxes).

Fees payable during the Tihar and Indraajatra festivals.

Fruits, vegetables, etc. supplied for Shraddha ceremonies in the Amali's house.

However, the 213 households of Bosis in Panga Village did not enjoy these benefits, nor were they paid wages. They, therefore, submitted a complaint to the government.

Accordingly, the Bosis workers of Panga Village were granted the following ex-emptions, with the exception of the Fota tax on the Birta lands held by them, and fines payable in consideration of offenses committed by them :-

Half a mana of oil, and one perunga during the month of Shrawan.  
do, during the month of Falgun.

One mane of oil, and two perungas during the Dashain festival.

One goat during the month of Shrawan.

One goat and one rupee during the month of Falgun.

Walak payments on the occasion of the Maghe-Sankranti, Shrawam-Sankranti, Tij, and Tihar festivals.

Tiko presents during the Dashain festival.

Fruits, vegetables, etc. for Shraddha ceremonies at the Amali's house.

Forced-labor obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar),

Bosis shall not demand wages in the future, nor shall the Amali demand any perquisites.

Privileges of Time-Keepers in Bhadgaun Town

Poush Sudi 11, 1887 (44/172)

The Amali of Bhadgaun was ordered to grant the following facilities and privileges to time-keepers (Ghadiwal) to eight house holds of Jaisi Brahmans:-

Exemption from miscellaneous homestead taxes and levies (Ughauni, Pughauni).

Exemption from forced-labor obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar).

Reconfirmation of  $14\frac{1}{8}$  ropanies of land being cultivated by them.

Emoluments in cash amounting to Rs 105 and fourteen annas from the revenues collected in Bhadgaun town from the year 1887 Vikrama.

These eight households were required to remain in attendance for marking the time all the twenty-fours of the day.

Thek Land Grant in Fanauti

(Poush Sudi 13, 1887 (44/173).

The village of Madanbas in the Fanauti area had been assigned as Khuwa to the Srinath Kampu. Thek revenue from that village had been fixed at eighteen rupees. Revenue collection in that village was now granted to Kirtibir Khatri on payment of nineteen rupees every year.

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The Gomi Community

By

Shankar Man Rajvamshi.

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(Shankar Man Rajvamshi, "Prachin Jati Abhiravamshi Gomi." (The Ancient Abhira Gomi Community). Gorkhapatra, Bhadra 28, 2032 (September 13, 1975), p. 7.

The Anuparameswara Sivalinga stands at a site west of the temple of Vatsala in the Pashupatinath temple area in Kathmandu. It was installed there by an Abhiri woman in the name of her husband, Anuparama. There is an inscription on the pedestal of the Sivalinga. According to that inscription, the Abhiri woman had installed the Sivalinga with the desire that the religious merit of her deceased husband should increase, and that her son, Bhaumagupta, should be healthy and live long. She had also endowed lands as Guthi for that Sivalinga. The Abhiri woman has called herself Gomi in that inscription.

The text of the inscription was first published in the Sanskrit Sandesh (Year 2, Nos. 1-3) by Ramji Tewari, Devi Prasad Bhandari, and Shankar Man Rajvamshi. It was later reproduced by R. Gnoli (No. 16). Dhanavajra Bajracharya has also given the text of the inscription in his book Licchavi Kalka Abhilekh (pp. 170-74) along with an explanatory note. The inscription bears the date of Licchavi Samvat 462. In my view, this corresponds to the Vikrama Year 575. In this article, I shall discuss the meanings of the terms Abhiri and Gomi.

Sita is called Janaki, because she was a princess of Janakpur. Ramachandra's mother was called Kausalya, because she was a princess of Kosala. Bharata's mother, Kaikeyi, was so-called because she was a princess of Kaikeya. The mother of the Kauravas was known as Gandhari, because she was a princess of Gandhara. Abhiri was similarly given that name because she belonged to the Abhira community.

Abhira is the corrupt form of Ahira. After Krishna's death, Arjuna escorted his concubines from Dwarika to Indraprastha according to his order. On the way, he was defeated by Abhiras. The latter then abducted the concubines of Krishna, according to the Mahabharata. This shows that during the Mahabharata period, Abhiras inhabited the region north of the Narmada river.

According to ancient writings, Indians used to go to the Himalayan region to practise penance. Nepal is situated in the Himalayan region. According to the Srimadbhagavata and the Visnu Purana, King Bharata practised penance at Pulahasrama on the banks of the Gandaki river, now in Baglung district of Nepal. Viswamitra, a risi, who was like a preceptor to Rama, belonged to the Kausika clan. His hermitage was located on the banks of the Kosi river. In fact, the river is so-called after him.

Geological evidence shows that Kathmandu Valley was a lake in ancient times. That lake was called Nagahrada. In the course of time, it dried up, and human settlement began. A sage called Nemuni then set up his hermitage on the banks of the Bagmati river. Some Abhiras also came along with him and settled at this place, which thus became a village. It was populated mostly by Ahiras and Gwalas (cowherds). They had large cattle-farms, and so called themselves Gomis, or owners of cows. According to the Amarakosa, the owner of cows is called Goman or Gomi. The settlement, therefore, came to be known as Goloka.

The cowherds (Gwala) of Goloka daily grazed their cows. The pasture lands then became known as Gauchar, the site of the modern Gauchar airport.

A brown cow daily offered her milk at a mound. The Gwalas found this act, and started digging the mound. They then discovered the Jyotirlinga of Pashupatinath, according to the Gopalavamshavali. Ahiras or cowherds are also called Gopalvansi.

Subsequently, Nemuni organized the inhabitants of Goloka into a community and installed a Gupta of the Ahira family as King. The first King of the Ahira dynasty was Bhumigupta. According to the Gopalavamshavali, the Ahiras ruled for eleven generations. The kingdom was named Memapala after Nemuni, or Nepala Goloko.

The settlement gradually extended toward the east and the west. Many temples were constructed there. It was therefore known as Devapattana, which has corrupted to the modern Deopatan.

Contd...



Goloka is the ancient name of Deopatan. Before the commencement of the Nepal Samvat, during the reign of King Manadeva III, father of King Raghavadeva, one Harsachandra had a treatise on medicine compiled under the title of Sahotratantras. According to the colophon of that treatise, its author was Vasuvarma, a physician of the Ganadeva Rajakula of Goloka. This manuscript is now in the possession of the Kaiser Library. The colophon has been published in Dhanavajra Bajracharya's Licchavikalka Abhilekh (p. 599), and Shankar Man Rajvamshi's Licchavi Samvatko Niskarsa (p. 14). It bears the date 301 Ansuvarma Samvat, corresponding to 911 Vikrama Samvat. It substantiates the view about the ancient Goloka.

In the Newari language, the term Goloka, denoting Deopatan, has corrupted to Gola, and the Newars of that place are called Golmi. "Mi" is usually suffixed to the place-names to denote their inhabitants in the Newari language. Similarly, the inhabitants of Dolakha are called Dolakhami, while those of Banepa (Bhon in the Newari language) are called Bhomi. Dhaukhyami is used to denote the inhabitants of Dhulikhel, Sangami of Sanga, Khopami of Bhaktapur (Khopa), Themmi of Then, Yenmi of Kantipur (Yen), Kyapami of Kirtipur, Pangami of Panga, Thakwami of Thankot, Nokwami of Nuwakot, and Tokhami of Tokha. There is, therefore, no doubt that the term Gomi refers to the Newars of Goloka (Deopatan).

There are Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras among the Newars. Deobhajas are Newar Brahmans. They are still functioning as priests in Deopatan. Similarly, there were Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Judvas among the Gomis. This will be clear from the following chart:-

<u>Reference</u>	<u>Inscription</u>	<u>Licchavikalka Abhilekh</u> (Page No.)
1. Punya Gomi, a Brahman	Aryaghat (452 Licchavi Samvat, or 565 Vikrama)	141
2. Dutaka Bhogavarma Gomi	Tulachhe, Bhaktapur (516 Licchavi, 629 Vikrama)	254

Contd...

3. Dutaka Vipravarma Gomi	Tokha (519 Licchavi, 632 Vikrama)	267
4. Dutaka Laccha Gomi	Dhapasi (526 Licchavi, 639 Vikrama)	280
5. do.	Lele, do.	383

In his Deopatan inscription (39 Amsuvarma Samvat, 648 Vikrama), Amsuvarma has described Bhogavarma as the son of his sister. (Licchavikalka Abhilekh, p. 357). This shows that the Abhiri Gomi who installed the Anuparameswara Sivalinga was a Newar woman of Deopatan (Gola).

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Social Changes During the Early Shah Period<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the Previous issue)

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The Birta system had become a social evil. Prithvi Narayan Shah discouraged the tradition of granting Birtas. However, sons of those Bhardars or servicemen who were killed in war were granted Marwat Birtas. But after they attained maturity, the Birtas were converted into Khangis. Anticipating a social upheaval if Birtas were totally confiscated, Prithvi Narayan Shah reconfirmed old Birta grants.

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Premod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966). Chapter 21: "Tin Shahrajaharuko Samayam. Samajma Bhayeko Parivartan ra Prabandhako Tulanatmak Lekha-Jokha." (A Comparative Evaluation of the Social Changes and Arrangements during the Time of Three Shah Kings). pp. 127-51.

Contd....

It was necessary to organize the land system properly in order to organize the social system. The land system that existed in the petty principalities was more or less the same. Prithvi Narayan Shah imposed a tax of four paisa or four dam from every household, because he realized the need to collect statistics of all households in the country. He began to collect statistics of lands also. There was no time to survey the entire cultivated area. He therefore followed the custom of assessing land taxes on the basis of the statements of the landowners regarding the size of their holdings. He began to administer territories from Gorkha to Majhkirat across the Arun river in the east from the capital, Kathmandu, and appointed one Subba in each of the districts constituted in Pallokirat, and from Parsa to Morang in the Tarai.

Prithvi Narayan Shah also made new arrangements regarding the Kipat land tenure system. Although it is commonly believed that the Kipat system was introduced by the Kirat Kings, it was in fact a gift of Prithvi Narayan Shah. There is no doubt about this. The Kipat system originated in Gorkha. In Gorkha, Brahmans were granted Kush Birtas, Chhetris, Man-Marwat Birtas, and military personnel, including Magars and Gurungs, Khangis lands. Other communities, who were not recruited in the army received Kipat lands. Kipat was thus a form of Seba Birta. Kipat lands were granted to four Muslims who were employed for repairing guns. These lands continued in the possession of their descendants for a long time. Kipat lands were granted particularly to Tamangs. Kipat holders had to work as porters during wars and other occasions.

Among the Khambus, only those who did not resist Prithvi Narayan Shah were granted Kipat lands. As a result, the area under Kipat tenure was not large in Majhkirat. These lands too were abolished during the rule of Chandra Shamsheer. The kings of Vijayapur had granted Leba Birta lands to the Khambus of Pallokirat. The grants provided that "your Jagirs will be increased if your services are satisfactory." The Khambus are even now using these lands under Kipat tenure. However, after Jang Bahadur, a person who wanted to be appointed as a Subba was required to surrender some Kipat lands as Raikar. Because of that policy, the area under Kipat tenure has been declining, while that under Raikar tenure has been increasing.

Prithvi Narayan Shah granted lands under Chhap tenure to important Jagirdars in lieu of pensions. The cultivated area at that time was limited, and the incidence of taxation on Raikar lands was low, amounting to only about four annas per ropani. Agriculture was the main occupation. Crown lands constituted a separate category. These lands were known as Sera. Sera lands were cultivated through the unpaid labor (Jhara) of the local peasantry. Darshan-Bhet levies were collected from officers, and Salami from ordinary Jagirdars, to meet the expenses of the royal household. Rents on lands which had not been assigned to Jagirdars accrued to the government, and were deposited in the royal treasury. The territories of the kingdom had expanded to a considerable extent by the time of Bahadur Shah. Many military companies were therefore formed, and a large number of officers were appointed. At the same time, revenue was collected on large areas of lands that had not been assigned as Jagir, and so the reserves in the royal treasury increased. The main sources of the revenues that were deposited in the royal treasury were customs and mines.

Land surveys commenced during the time of Bahadur Shah. It was not possible to complete within only seven years surveys in the entire region from Pallokirat to Kumaun. Accordingly, the surveys were completed only four or five years after the rule of Bahadur Shah came to an end. But the surveys were not accurate. They were conducted in a rough and ready manner by military personnel. Even then, this was an important achievement for that time. People blamed Bahadur Shah for having tried to find out the secrets of the Earth.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had appointed forest guards to protect forests. Adequate arrangements had been made for the protection of forests, inasmuch as their destruction would lead to a decline in rainfall and undermine the productivity of the soil. Forest-protection arrangements were excellent also during the time of Bhimsen Thapa.

During the Malla period, women were greatly hated. The Malla Kings procured Rajput bridegrooms from the Bihar region for their daughters. The bridegrooms were then included in the gotra of their wives' parents, while the wives did not become satis in case their husbands died before them. Kings had innumerable wives. When King Yoganarendra Malla of Lalitpur died, thirty-one women became satis. Polygamy was prevalent among the Chaubisi kings as well. King Damodar Sen of Tanahu had sixteen married wives. Child marriage was also common. Girls were married

when they were seven or eight years of age. They had no choice but to become satis if they were widowed in their youth. Child marriage was common particularly among Brahmans and Chhetris.

On the other hand, both Prithvi Narayan Shah and Pratap Simha Shah were married when they were about sixteen years of age. But Rana Bahadur Shah, Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah, and Rajendra Bikram Shah were married when they were quite young.

Magars and Gurungs married the daughters of their maternal uncles when they reached a marriageable age. Brahman and Chhetri women were not given any education with the exception of a few royal princesses. Literacy among women was considered harmful. People were ignorant of the evils of the Sati system.

However, the glory and patience seen among women declined after the abolition of this system. During the time when the Sati system was in vogue, the wife of one military commander of Gorkha, Ranarudra Shahi, along with other women of Gorkha, repulsed the attack of Lamjung in the absence of her husband by mobilizing the local population. The wives of Gorkhali troops saved the lives of their husbands by selling their ornaments and carrying bags of rice through forests while they were besieged by the enemy at Jhyamtagadhi in Sirmur. It would have been very good had the system of Sati been abolished, and education provided to such brave women. Nepal would then have been different. The Sati system was abolished not by Hindus, but by the British foreigners. Although a trend toward the abolition of this system had started during the period of Prithvi Narayan Shah, his heirs did not make any special effort in this regard. Nepal only emulated the example of the British after they abolished the Sati system in India.

The lack of education among women, and their consequent weakness, caused a big setback to the development of Nepal. But the queen of Narabhupal Shah, Chandra Prabha, was an extraordinary lady. That is why Prithvi Narayan Shah, who had grown up under her care, became so extraordinary. The youngest queen of Prithvi Narayan Shah, Narendralaxmi, was also of extraordinary nature. She continuously assisted her husband in handling state affairs. Thanks to her guidance, her daughter-in-law, Rajendralaxmi, became so strong that she even succeeded in dominating Bahadur Shah. When Narendralaxmi suggested that retired Jagirdars be paid allowances, Prithvi Narayan Shah raised objections on the ground that this would cause heavy expenditure. Narendralaxmi replied that retired Jagirdars



could be reemployed at times of need. Prithvi Narayan Shah was pleased by this reply. Narendralaxmi became a Sati when Prithvi Narayan Shah died. Rajendralaxmi was a courageous queen, although she lacked the virtues of Chandraprabha. She could not imbue her virtues in her son, Rana Bahadur Shah. Rana Bahadur Shah was only ten years old when she died. Due to the lack of education, women could not inspire other people with their virtues. Only a handful of extraordinary women, such as Chandraprabha, could do so.

Prithvi Narayan Shah not only expanded Nepal's territories, but also consolidated the state apparatus. Prior to the conquest of Kathmandu Valley, his territories extended to Dudhkoshi in the east and the Indian borders in the south. With the increased revenue of the state, the number of Chautaras, Sardars, etc. was also increased, and it became easy also to set up a judiciary. Thanks to an effective state apparatus, Prithvi Narayan Shah succeeded in annexing the three principalities of Kathmandu Valley within fifteen months, and thus consolidated the foundation of the new state of Nepal. This enabled him, as well as his successors, to proceed toward the east and the west.

Prithvi Narayan Shah did not permit any state function to be conducted on contract basis. Arrangements were made for the proper scrutiny of accounts. Jagirdars were granted lands as Khangi, so that they might not find it difficult to make both ends meet. They were happy, since their family could cultivate the lands and utilize the produce, while they themselves could remain engaged in their official duties. Big Jagirdars did not cultivate their lands themselves. They appointed tenants, because lands situated at great distances were also assigned as Khangi. During the period of Bahadur Shah, military personnel were paid salaries in cash, because the size of the army had increased considerably.

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Selected Documents of 1948 Vikrama

(Abstracts)

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Revenue Collection in Doti

Magh Sudi 1, 1948 (53/1-7)

Padma Dhvaj Shahi, a brother of Raja Dambar Dhvaj Shahi, had been given a three-year Ijara for Rs 4,267 to collect Asmani, revenues on newly reclaimed lands, etc. in Doti. The Ijara was cancelled in 1948, and orders were issued to survey such lands.

Jajarkot Rajya

Falgun Sudi 3, 1948 (53/11-13)

Three divisions (dara) of Dailekh, Thala, Andurkot, and Mujkot, had been incorporated into the Rajya of Jajarkot some time before 1948.

Land Surveys in Dullu and Dailekh

Shrawan Badi 10, 1948 (53/14-20)

Arrangements for a land survey in Jumla and Dullu-Dailekh were made in 1946.

Dailekh Administration

Ashadh Sudi 1, 1948 (53/20-21)

Executive administration in Dailekh district was handled by the central office of the Jwaladal Company, which was located in the same district. Until 1943, the Dailekh Adalat too functioned under that office. In 1948, functions relating to revenue collection contracts were transferred from the Dailekh Adalat to the Jwaladal office, according to an order of the Adalat Goswara in Kathmandu.

Ghardar in Ilam

Aswin Badi 5, 1948 (53/21-37)

A Ghardar enumeration of homesteads, on the basis of their classification as Hale, Pate, Kodale, and Sukumbasi, was conducted in Ilam in 1945.

Kagate Hulaki Holding in Pokhara

Aswin Badi, 1948 (53/37-43)

In 1866 Vikrama, Kagate Hulaki porters were enrolled in Raginas, Lamjung. In 1948, there were 25 Kagate Hulaki households. One of them, belonging to a Brahman woman, comprised 80 muris of rice lands, on which Kut rent was payable. The Brahman woman surrendered the holding, because her husband was dead, and there was no male person in the family to provide labor services. The holding was then reallocated to another local Brahman, who also obtained exemption from payment of the Serma tax on his homestead.

Rakam Services

Marga Sudi 9, 1948 (53/52-57)

In the Korbang area of Salyan, the inhabitants of three villages had been assigned to work in copper mines, while four villages had been placed under the Thaple-Hulak Rakam. Rice lands were allotted to all these Rakam workers.

Salyan Adalat

Shrawan Badi 8, 1948 (53/57-64)

The establishment of the Salyan Adalat led to the conflict of jurisdiction between the Adalat and the Sarbangamafi Rajya of Salyan. The conflict was resolved in the following manner: (1) Original jurisdiction shall lie in the Rajya, and appellate jurisdiction in the Salyan Adalat. (2) The Rajya shall have no authority to dispose of Panchayat cases.

Life-time Land Grants

Marga Sudi 2, 1947 (53/71-74)

The West No. 4 Bakyauta Adda was ordered to cancel Bhatta, Manachamal, Petiya, Barkhasan, and Jiuni land grants or cash allowances if the recipients were dead. In the future, all such allowances were to be made, and assignments made, against Tirja documents.

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Issue of Stamped Receipts

Aswin Badi 11, 1950 (53/82-85)

All Gaunda and Bakyauta offices were ordered to issue receipts on printed and stamped forms (Lifa) in the future.

Labor Services

Jestha Badi 7, 1943 (53/91-93)

The inhabitants of areas between Bhaktapur and Kodari were ordered to provide the following services for Thaple Hulaki posters and military men who were transporting cash from Tibet: "Supply provisions to them at prices current in the village. Repair roads and fords on the route. Otherwise, you shall be punished according to the law."

Revenue-collection Contract

Jestha Badi 6, 1943 (53/93-96)

A three-year contract (Ijara-Thek) was issued, stipulating payment of Rs 636 yearly, on the Khuwa lands of General Indra Shamsheer Jang Rana. The Ijaradar, Major-Captain Narabir Basnet Chhetri, also enjoyed judicial authority.

Exchange Transactions

Jestha Badi 6, 1943 (53/96-99)

The Palpa Tin-Sancha Tahabil was ordered to convert Gorakhpuri paisa coins into Mohar coins at a favorable rate.

Checkposts

Baisakh Badi 10, 1943 (53/99-105)

At Chisapani-Gadhi and other points in the Churia range, there were eight checkposts (Chauki) and fifty-two roadblocks (Sola). The local inhabitants were under obligation to maintain these checkposts and roadblocks. They were exempted from labor services and other obligations for other purposes.

Contd...

Revenue-Collection Contract

Ashadh Badi 1, 1943 (53/110-14)

Collection of revenues, including Kut rents on rice lands, but excluding royal palace and other reserved levies, was given on Ijara-Thek contract for two villages which had been assigned as Farmayasi to a royal princess in the eastern hills. Amount: Rs 2,269 yearly.

Lokabhar Arrangement

Jestha Sudi 12, 1943 (53/114-19)

The village of Sangramtar had been assigned as the Khuwa of Tej Shamsheer Jang Rana Bahadur. The local inhabitants complained that revenue-collection contractors were making progressively higher bids every year, and exacting provisions for several persons. They prayed that they be allowed to deposit the contract amount of Rs 100 on Lokabhar basis. The request was granted.

Forest Protection in Kathmandu Valley

Jestha Sudi 7, 1943 (53/120-27)

Until Kartik 1940, military personnel were appointed as forest guards in protected forests. In that year, these guards were removed, and the local village functionaries (Dware, Thari, Mahane, etc.) were made responsible for forest protection. This arrangement was extended in 1943 to forests in the Nagarkot area which had previously been granted as Birta to General Padma Jang Rana.

Kagate Hulaki Services

Ashadh Sudi 1, 1943 (53/128-33)

In one village of Achham, Kagate Hulaki postmen were transporting mail, for which one rupee and two annas of Serma had been remitted. They were also exempted from other labor obligations. Subsequently, a system of imposing fines was introduced, with the result that their agricultural work was affected. Moreover, they were ordered to transport foodgrains to Silgadhi in Doti. This additional obligation was abolished when they protested.

Operation of Mines

Ashadh Sudi 1, 1943 (53/133-42)

Majhkhand Khani Goswara Adda: "Under the Amanat system, advance payments (Dadni) are made to mineworkers (Agri) for the production of copper and iron. Half of the production is appropriated by the government, and the mineworkers retain the rest, but they are under obligation to sell it to the government at eight dharnis of iron per rupee, and two rupees per dharni of copper. The actual market price is four dharnis of iron per rupee, and 2½ rupees per dharni of copper.

Mines were operated under two systems: Amanat and Thek Ijara.

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Guthi Land Endowments in MahottariA. Sri Kapileshwaranatha Asthan

From King Girban,

On Saturday, Jestha Badi 8, 1827 (Vikrama) Samvat, our great-great-grand-father (King Prithvi Narayan Shah), gifted lands to Sri Kapileshwaranatha in the mouja of Bikrampur in Kodari Parganna with the words "Sarba-Anka Bitalab." On Poush Badi 5, 1928, Shivarama Giri was given possession of these lands.

In the year 1834 (Vikrama), our father (sic) reconfirmed the gift of these lands. In the year 1863 (Vikrama) we similarly reconfirm the gift, after making necessary inquiries, in favor of Gaiba Giri.

In the year 1867 (Vikrama), Udaya Singh Basnyat and Ganapati Padhya were sent to survey and measure these lands for issuing a copper-plate inscription.

We now issue this copper-plate inscription, reconfirming the lands and revenues which had customarily been appropriated in that mouja, with the exception of sair duties on river traffic.

Contd...

The Mahant of this Asthan shall reclaim and settle these lands, and observe the rules. He shall operate the traditional religious and Sadavarta functions, and the worship of Sri Kapileshwaranatha, wish victory to us, and bless us.

When the Gadimubarak, Goddhuwa, and Chumawan levies are imposed, the Mahant shall make payments personally at the palace. The Subba and revenue collection officials shall not cause any harassment.

The Mahant of the Asthan shall not encroach upon Raikar lands. He shall not make any violation or omission in the religious and Sadavarta functions. In case he does so out of greed or covetousness, he shall be punished severely.

In case any person confiscates land gifted by himself or by others, he shall be reborn as a worm and live in human excrement for 60,000 years.

Falgun Badi 1, 1869  
(February 1813)  
Regmi Research Collections,  
Vol. 9, p. 221.

B. Matihani Asthan

From King Surendra,

To Mahant Ramaraksha Das.

You have submitted the following petition: "201 bighas of waste lands in the mouja of Pritipur has been endowed for propitiating Sri Laxminarayana of the Matihani Asthan. The lands have been measured, and the boundary markers have been affixed. However, a Guthi-Birta grant has not yet been made."

Accordingly, we hereby grant 201 bighas of waste lands in the mouja of Pritipur in Kodari, Mahottari, as Guthi Birta Bitalab for propitiating Sri Laxminarayana of the Matihani Asthan, during the forty-seventh year of our life. (Particulars of the boundaries follow).

Contd...



"We also remit all taxes and levies on these lands, including royal levies, buried treasure, and fines collected from persons convicted of Panchakhat crimes. With due assurance, reclaim and settle these lands, perform religious ceremonies at the Asthan with the produce, and appropriate the residual income along with your disciples on an inheritable basis. (Names of survey officials follow).

Do not encroach on lands beyond the above-mentioned boundaries. The lands shall not be confiscated unless an offense is committed. Any person who violates these provisions shall incur sin as mentioned below: In case any person confiscates land gifted by himself or by others, he shall be reborn as a worm and live in human excrement for 60,000 years. The religious merit of preserving what has been gifted by others is twice that which accrues from making a gift oneself. In case any person does not preserve what has been gifted by others, he shall obtain no religious merit from what he gifts himself. Ramachandra greets all future kings and humbly makes the following request: This is the normal religious duty of kings, which you must fulfill.

Jestha Badi 12, 1934  
 (May 1877)  
 Regmi Research Collections,  
 Vol. 9, pp. 945-48.

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Punishment to Liquor-Drinking Khas

From King Girban,

To Puran Jaisi and Parath Khadka, Bicharis in the regions situated east of the Dadhkosi river.

We have received the following reports from you: "Sacred-thread-wearing (Tagadhari) members of the Khas community in those regions have accepted a Sanyasi named Nageshwara Puri as their spiritual preceptor, and take liquor (Janr) as ritual offering made during the worship of the Goddess (Devi). When the case was heard, many persons confessed that they had done so, while several others absconded. Some persons also demand trial by ordeal (Nya). What action should be taken against them?

"What portion of the ancestral property should be given to the following categories of persons:-

- (a) Children of a father who is guilty of illicit sexual intercourse with a woman, begotten before the father had committed the crime, and
- (b) Children born of a father who is guilty of the above-mentioned crime, begotten from his married wife after he committed that guilt."

The matter has been represented to us through Sardar Bag Simha Raya.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations to deal with such cases. Take action as prescribed in these regulations:-

1. In case any sacred-thread-wearing member of the Khas community willfully takes liquor, and confesses that he has done so, he shall be deprived of his sacred thread and degraded from his caste. His property shall be confiscated.

Contd...

2. In case any such person claims that he has not taken liquor, and demands trial by ordeal, or absconds, they shall be apprehended, and a trial by ordeal shall be conducted at the appropriate time in the presence of the complainant.
3. In case any person belonging to any liquor-drinking caste is guilty of inciting a Khas to take liquor, or suppresses such information, and lets other persons involve themselves (in commensal and other relations with the guilty persons), he shall be enslaved if he belongs to a caste which can be enslaved. In case any person who belongs to a caste which does not take liquor suppresses information regarding the consumption of liquor (by a member of the sacred-thread-wearing Khas community), he shall be severely punished.
4. The Bhare in the ancestral property of the following persons shall not be confiscated:-

Sons begotten by parents before taking liquor.

Brothers living in an undivided family who have not been involved in liquor-drinking.

Kartik Badi 5, 1879  
(November 1812)  
Regmi Research Collections,  
Vol. 43, pp. 368-70.

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The Rasad Levy<sup>x</sup>

From Commanding Colonel Krishna Dhvaj Kunwar Rana,

To the landowners, village headmen, and all other inhabitants of Dullu and Dailekh.

From 1904 to 1910 Vikrama, no forced-labor obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar) had been imposed on the people, inasmuch as such obligations had caused considerable hardships to the people in the past. It had then been decided that such obligations should be imposed only when actually needed by the government.

Preparations are now being made for war in the north. Since the troops are putting their lives at stake, the ryots must supply provisions (Rasad) from the harvest of the year 1911 Vikrama.

The Mukhiya shall make arrangements for the collection of the Rasad levy at the following rates from the local people, and personally deliver the collections, as well as his own dues, at Chhinasim in Jumla before the month of Chaitra. He shall obtain payment for these supplies at the current rate of ten pathis a rupee. Reserves are being maintained at Chhinasim because Mugu is snow-bound during this season. After the troops leave Galfe and proceed toward the north, supplies shall be delivered at Mugu, not at Chhinasim. Any person who defaults in the fulfillment of this obligation shall be severely punished.

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<sup>x</sup>Abstract translation from: Yogi Naraharinath (ed.), Itihas Prakashma Sandhipatrasangraha. Dang: the editor, 2022 (1966), p. 387.

Rates of Rasad Levy

<u>Particulars</u>	<u>Rate of levy</u>
1. Households holding more than 43 muris of Khet or Pakho land ...	2½ manas per muri of land.
2. do. 1-42 muris:	
Hale ...	13 pathis each
Pate ...	10 pathis each
Kodale ...	7 pathis each
3. Households who have no lands, and who maintain their livelihood by trade ...	8 pathis each
4. Owner-cultivating households ...	3 manas per muri of Khet land.
5. Birta-owning households ...	4 manas per muri of Khet land.
	4 manas per rupee of income from Pakho lands.

Poush Sudi 15, 1911  
(January 1855).

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Preparations for War With Tibet, 1929<sup>x</sup>

From Commander-in-Chief Bhim Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana,  
To Jang Bahadur Shah, Raja of Dullu.

Inasmuch as Tibet has violated the provisions of the existing treaty as well as traditional customs, it has become necessary for the government of Nepal to declare war with the government of that country. Accordingly, arrangements must be made for the transport of supplies and for the recruitment of troops.

In accordance with your stipulations, you are hereby ordered to keep the following recruits and porters ready, and report the arrangements you have made through the War Office (Jungi Bandobast Office) within twenty days.

1. Maintain fifteen soldiers and twenty porters with supplies procured by the government, which shall be paid for by you.
2. Arrange for 2,581 recruits and 2,340 porters in accordance with the terms stipulated by you for your Rajya.

Kartik 11, 1986  
(October 27, 1929)

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<sup>x</sup>Abstract translation from: Ibid, pp. 395-96.

(S.B. Maharjan).



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Miscellaneous Documents on the Bheri-Mahakali Region<sup>1</sup>  
(Abstract translations)

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1. Revenue from Bajhang<sup>2</sup>

From Sardar Shatrubhanjan Malla to Bhupati Padhya, Sire Padhya, Jalo Padhya, and Tula Adhikari.

We have received a sum of Rs 5,000 from you, being the revenues collected in Bajhang. We have scrutinized the accounts, and granted you clearance.

Sunday, Falgun Badi 2, 1847  
(February 1791)

2. Remission of Kusahi-Bisahi Levy<sup>3</sup>

From Captain Kalu Pande to Mahadev Padhya, Chakhu Padhya, and Lalmani Padhya Pokhryal.

King Jitari Malla of Malebam had granted Birta lands to your ancestors. A royal order had been issued reconfirming the grant, and remitting the Kusahi-Bisahi levy in your favor. We hereby reconfirm the grant according to that royal order. No person shall make any claim on these lands.

Monday, Jestha Sudi 1, 1848  
(May 1791)  
Camp: Mangalsen.

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1. Yogi Naraharinath, Itihasa Prakasha (Light on History).  
Kathmandu: 2013 (1956), Vol. 2, NO. 2.

2. Ibid, p. 1.

3. Loc. cit.

Contd...

3. Collection of Taxes and Levies<sup>4</sup>

From Sardar Amar Simha Thapa to Mani Kantha Padhya.

We hereby assign (revenue from) the Pichhahi tax (levied in a newly-conquered area) on each homestead of Jairudra Thapa. Mahadeo Padhya has obtained a royal order assigning him part of the proceeds of the Mudahi levy (on slave-owners), and also granting him exemption from the Kusahi-Bisahi levy. Banarsi had collected sixty rupees from that levy, which has now been refunded. The amount will be defitted when the accounts are scrutinized. Transmit the balance to us.

Friday, Baisakh Badi 9, 1850  
(April 1793)  
Srasthan.

4. Kush Birta Grant<sup>5</sup>

From King (Rana Bahadur Shah) to Subedar Balabhadra Upadhya.

The Raja of Achham had granted twenty muris of lands, as well as the homesites attached to these lands, as Kush Birta to Shankar Padhya Neopanya of Jumla through a copper-plate inscription. We hereby reconfirm the grant, and remit the Kusahi-Bisahi levy, as provided for therein. We have received reports that you have confiscated that copper-plate inscription. Return it, and let (Shankar Padhya Neopanya) take possession of the lands.

Tuesday, Shrawan Badi 8, 1850  
(July 1793)

5. Guthi Land Endowment<sup>6</sup>

From King (Rana Bahadur Shah) to Brihaspatinath Jogi.

From the time of the former Kings of that area, the services of the inhabitants of Dhamigaun had been impressed for keeping the temple of Padukasthan clean, lands and revenues in that village had been endowed as Guthi to that temple, and you had

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4. Ibid, p. 2.

5. Ibid, p. 2.

6. Ibid, pp. 2-3.

Contd...

been appointed priest. We hereby reconfirm these endowments and assignments, as well as your appointment as priest. Perform the traditional religious functions, both regular and ceremonial, without any interruption, and, with due assurance, wish us well and bless us. Appropriate the surplus income.

The local Amali, and visiting civil and military personnel of all ranks, shall not exact forced labor from, plunder, or otherwise oppress the inhabitants of the village assigned to the Jogi.

Monday, Bhadra Sudi 15, 1852

(September 1795)

Kantipur, the capital.

6. Bitalab Birta Grants<sup>6</sup>

From King Rana Bahadur Shah to the Brahmans within the Panchakosi areas as mentioned below:-

Jagannath Acharya, Mahadeo Padhya, Ranu Khanu (?), Bhaudas Padhya Rijal, and Pashupati Padhya of Dallu.

Churu Padhya of Dangargaun.

Manupadhya Nepal and Supari Padhya Nepal of Dahthan, Hurmyagaun.

Chandu Padhya Nipal, Siru Padhya Pokhryal, Indramani Padhya Pokhryal, Sadhu Padhya Lamsal, Budha Dahel, Gangu Padhya, and Parma Padhya Rimal of Simgaun.

Jayabhadra Padhya Bhattarai, Golu Padhya Koirala, and Mani Kantha Padhya Bhurtyal of Patharnyaula, Bayalkot.

Shivadas Jaisi Bastakoti and Bali Padhya Sapkota Kharel of Jaisibando.

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6. Ibid, pp. 3-4.

King Jitari Malla of Malebam had granted Bitalab Birta lands to your ancestors through stone and copper-plate inscriptions with Sri Shirasthan, Sri Nabhisthan, Sri Padukasthan, and Sri Jwalabhairav as witnesses. We hereby reconfirm these grants, which have not been confiscated by former kings, within the existing boundaries, as actually possessed by you so far.

Show allegiance to the Amali of that area in the same traditional manner as to the former kings. With due assurance, use these lands as your Bitalab Birta. Wish us well, and bless us.

Friday, Adhika Bhadra Badi 13, 1852  
(August 1795)  
Kantipur, the capital.

7. Taxation in Jumla<sup>7</sup>

From King (Rana Bahadur Shah) to the Subba and the Subedar of Jumla.

The priests (pujahari), traders and Gosains of that area have submitted petitions complaining that traditional customs and usages are not being followed.

We had issued a royal order fixing the rates of taxes to be collected from traders. Collect taxes only at these rates.

So far as the Guthi lands of the temple of Sri Chanadanant<sup>h</sup> are concerned, we hereby reconfirm these endowments as scrutinized and confirmed by the Bharadars who had been posted there previously.

Tuesday, Falgun Badi 1, 1852  
(February 1796)

(To Be Continued)

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7. Ibid, p. 4.

Notes on the Changunarayan Inscription<sup>x</sup>

By  
Dhanavajra Bajracharya

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The inscription is contained in a stone pillar on the right side of the famous temple of Changunarayan, installed on the stone image of a tortoise. The inscription does not appear to be complete. It is possible that a broken column in front of the temple once formed a part of the pillar. This column too contains some words.

This is the first inscription of Nepal. It contains evidence relating to dates, names of kings, etc. It sheds light on the contemporary political history, customs and usages, religious beliefs, progress of education, etc. It is therefore of special importance in understanding the history of the Licchavi period.

The inscription bears the date Samvat 386. Pandit Bhagwan Lal, who first published this inscription, is of the view that this is the Vikrama Samvat. Fleet, however, considers this to be the Gupta Samvat. There is a gap of 376 years between the Vikrama and Gupta eras. Thus, in the opinion of Fleet, Manadeva's year 386 means 762 Vikrama (386+376=762). According to Sylvain Levi, the era used in this inscription is the Licchavi Samvat, which started 167 years after the Vikrama era. Baburam Acharya regards the Samvat as Shaka, which commenced in 135 Vikrama. Thus different historians have put forward different views about the era used in Licchavi inscriptions.

This Samvat appears to have been used not only in the Changunarayan inscription, but also in the inscription of 526 Samvat, installed by Shivadeva-Amshuvarma at Lele. However, a different Samvat appears to have been used after Amshuvarma's Bungmati inscription, which is dated 29 Samvat. Amshuvarma has thus had connections with both eras.

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<sup>x</sup>Dhanavajra Bajracharya, "Changunarayanasthanako Manadevako Abhilekha." (Manadeva's inscription at the temple of Changunarayan), in Licchavi Kalka Abhilekha. (Inscriptions of the Licchavi period). Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, 2030 (1973).

Contd...



The account of Hsuan-chuang, the famous Chinese traveller, indicates that Amshuvarma had died sometime before his arrival in Nepal. Hsuan-chuang had begun his travel of India in 686 Vikrama, and returned to China in 702 Vikrama. This broadly determines the time when Amshuvarma lived.

Amshuvarma lived between the two Samvats used during the Licchavi period. It is therefore necessary to establish the connection between the two.

If the Samvat used in the Changunarayan inscription is to be regarded as the Vikrama, as Bhagwan Lal has done, the Shiva-deva-Amshuvarma inscription at Lele will be dated 526 Vikrama. This means that Amshuvarma lived 160 years before Hsuan-chuang's visit. Thus this view does not correspond to Hsuan-chuang's account, which says that Amshuvarma had recently become the King of Nepal. The script used in the Changu inscription too does not support Bhagwan Lal's view. If the Samvat is regarded as the Vikrama, this would mean that Manadeva was a contemporary of Samudra Gupta, Emperor of India. But the script used in the Changunarayan inscription originated later than the one used in the inscription installed by Samudra Gupta on a pillar in Prayag.

If, as Fleet asserts, the Samvat used in the Changunarayan inscription is to be regarded as the Gupta Samvat, the anomaly would be still greater. According to Fleet's view, the Lele inscription would be dated 902 Vikrama ( $526+376=902$ ). If this view is accepted, one would have to say that the Chinese traveller who had let out for travel to India in 686 Vikrama had merely made a prophesy about Amshuvarma.

Levi's view also is not correct. According to him, the Lele inscription is dated 693 Vikrama ( $526+767=693$ ). According to other inscriptions, Amshuvarma was still alive fifteen years after 693 Vikrama. If he was alive, on what basis did Hsuan-chuang describe him as a former king?

The references made in Sumatitantra have not been questioned by any one. Hence it is appropriate to determine these dates on the basis of these references. Accordingly, the first Samvat was the Shaka one, and the second was the Manadeva Samvat, which was introduced in 498. (633 Vikrama). The Changunarayan inscription is thus dated 521 Vikrama ( $386+135=521$ ).

Contd...

Vaishnavism was one of the cults followed in Nepal during the Licchavi period. This cult had come into being long before Manadeva. The deity of Changunarayana occupied a special place among the Vaishnavas. Amshuvarma's inscription at Handigaun mentions Pashupati and Dolashikharaswami (Changunarayan) as the two most prominent deities, who received the major portion of funds allocated for temples in Nepal. This indicates that Changunarayana occupied a prominent place among the deities worshipped by the Vaishnavas of Nepal.

The pillar-inscription of Changunarayana begins with an eulogy of the deity. This has created the impression among some historians that the image of Changunarayana had been installed by Manadeva. But a comparative study of the inscription and the other inscriptions installed by Manadeva would show that this is not true. Manadeva had installed the image of Vikranta Vishnu at Pashupati across the Tilaganga river, as well as at Lazimpat. In these inscriptions, Manadeva has clearly stated that he had ordered the installation of the image to earn religious merit for his mother. Manadeva had installed a shivalinga at Thantunridranga, situated on the foot of Vishnupaduka near Budhanilakantha. There too he has left an inscription clearly stating that the Shivalinga was installed by him. If he had actually installed the image of Changunarayana, he would have made a statement accordingly. But he has not done so at the Changunarayana temple. Instead, the Changunarayana inscription indicates that the image of Changunarayana had been installed long before the reign of Manadeva. X Manadeva had simply installed the image of Garudadhwaaja (a pillar with the Garuda on the top) after ritual worship and gifts following his victory over feudal overlords. At that time, it was a custom to install the image of Garuda to commemorate any victory over enemies.

The image of Changunarayana is seated on a Garuda. Inscriptions of the Malla period describe Changunarayana as "Garudanarayana." But the inscription does not contain any reference to Vishnu seated on a Garuda. It only describes Vishnu as a god with an elegant body, and engaged in supervising the affairs of all the three worlds.

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X Itihas Samshodhana Pramana Prameya, pp. 73-74.

Contd...

In this context, it is necessary to discuss the term "Doladri" occurring in the inscription. "Dola" means "a swing." In the Newari language, this place is called "Changu." The Gopala Vamshavali and the inscription at Changunarayana also describe this place as "Changu," which literally means a hill resembling a swing. This indicates that the terms "Doladri" and "Changu" are synonymous. Similarly, "Yupagraha" appears to have been called "Yala", and Navagriha "Gwalan." This gives us an idea of the rule followed in former times to name places.

The noted shrines in Kathmandu Valley were usually located at places which were known as forest fortresses (Vanadurga). The shrines of Swayambhunath, Pashupatinath, Adinath (Chobhar) and Bajrayogini (Gumbihar) were forest fortresses. With the exception of Pashupatinath, these temples are all located on hills. The temple of Changunarayana is similarly located on a hill. It is worth finding out why temples were established on hilltops. The main consideration behind the establishment of such temples was security. Substantial funds were offered to well-known temples by both kings and commoners. It was necessary to prevent the looting of temple wealth. This is why temples were constructed on hill. Even in temples located within urban settlements, weapons were stored for their safety. For example, one may cite the temple of Sweta Matsyendra located in Kathmandu. Weapons such as bows and arrows are still stored in the main room of the middle storey of the temple.

The inscription of Changunarayana contains an account of kings from Vrishadeva to Manadeva. It thus sheds some light on the political history of the Licchavi period.

Special reference is made to Vrishadeva in the Changunarayana inscription, as well as in the inscription installed by Jayadeva II at Pashupati. The Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva mentions Vrishadeva after Jayadeva I, without any reference to the twelve kings who reigned during the interval. It describes him "Rajottama" (an excellent king). Jayadeva II ordered the mention of only those kings who had enhanced the glory of the Licchavi dynasty. It is not just a coincidence that Manadeva gave an account of Licchavi kings beginning from Vrishadeva, and Jayadeva also had given importance to Vrishadeva. There was a special reason for doing so. It appears that Vrishadeva's rule was politically important. However, there is not much evidence to shed light on his rule.

Contd...

When Samudragupta established a strong empire in India, this had an impact on Nepal also. Although Nepal was not then a part of the Gupta empire, and was only a border state (Pratyanta), the Licchavis were required to pay tributes to Samudragupta in the interests of their own security. This is indicated by the pillar-inscription installed by Samudragupta at Prayag. The inscription, which is in the Sanskrit language, describes the states adjoining the Gupta empire as follows:

"The kings of such border states as Samatata, Dawaka, Kamarupa, Nepal, and Kartripur, pay tributes of all kinds to, and obey the commands of Samudragupta, thus accepting his strict laws."

The rulers of Nepal regarded this situation as "a crisis", and therefore wanted to extricate themselves from it. As they were looking out for a suitable opportunity to do so, Samudragupta died, and this led to some trouble in India. Nepal then became free from the meager Gupta influence, and maintained its independence. This is apparent from the fact that none of the Gupta kings who succeeded Samudragupta claimed to have made Nepal a Vassal State. The credit for having freed Nepal from the temporary influence of the Gupta empire goes to Vrishadeva. This is why both Manadeva and Jayadeva II have described him as "unique" (Anupama) and excellent (Rajottama).

The inscription at Pashupati describes Vrishadeva as "Sugatashasanapakshapati," thus indicating that he had deep faith in Buddhism. The pillar inscription also describes him as a king who had little interest in fighting. The Gopala Vamshavali mentions that several Chaityas, including the Chaitya of Swayambhu, were built during the rule of Vrishadeva. It says, "King Vishwa (Vrisha) deva installed the Chaitya of Sinaguvihara (Swayambhu)." The Gopala Vamshavali calls Vishwadeva as Vishwadeva. The names of other kings also have been similarly distorted in the Gopala Vamshavali. The Chaitya of Chabahil had also been constructed at the time of Vrishadeva.

The Changunarayana inscription states that Vrishadeva had several sons, who had undergone proper training and were brave. It adds that Vrishadeva was succeeded by Shankaradeva, one of his sons. However, it does not indicate clearly whether Shankaradeva ascended the throne by virtue of his being the eldest son of Vrishadeva, or of his own genius. Nor does the inscription of Jayadeva, located at Pashupati, shed any light in this regard. It simply states that Vrishadeva was succeeded by Shankaradeva.

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(To Be Continued)



Some Confusions<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya

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It is necessary to study the circumstances in which Prithvi Narayan Shah created the state of Nepal. Similarities can be found between the character of Prithvi Narayan Shah and Shivaji. Both spent their childhood and acquired education in similar circumstances. Shivaji was educated by his mother, Jijabai, and also from Dadaji Kondev. Prithvi Narayan Shah could get no education from his father, Nara Bhupal Shah, since he was of unsound mind. The task of educating Prithvi Narayan Shah fell upon his eldest step-mother, Chandraprabha. She inculcated the spirit of valour, patience and other virtues in Prithvi Narayan Shah by telling stories from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and other ancient texts. It seems that Bhanu Aryal later became his tutor. Prithvi Narayan Shah used to seek his advice in important matters. Prithvi Narayan Shah learnt the value of efficiency. This was necessary to execute plans successfully.

King Bhaskar Malla of Kathmandu who died seven years before the birth of Prithvi Narayan Shah, was very weak. He had invited some Muslims from across the borders for his security, because he was helpless before his courtiers and even his queens. But his minister, Jhagal Thakul, ousted Bhaskar Malla and these foreign Muslims, and merged Dolakha into Kathmandu by inviting its childless King of Dolakha, Mahindra Simha, to occupy the throne of Kathmandu. The King of Bhaktapur decided to control the route to Kuti by occupying Sindhupalchok. Making this as a pretext, Jhagal Thakul retained Sindhupalchok under Kathmandu and thus foiled that attempt. In such a situation, King Dhruvendra Malla of Bhaktapur abandoned the idea of occupying Sindhupalchok. Two years after King Mahindra Simha's accession to the throne of Kathmandu, the throne of Lalitpur fell vacant. The ministers of Lalitpur therefore began to accept Mahindra Simha as their King. Mahindra Simha died after ruling Kathmandu for seven years, and Lalitpur for five years. Jagajjaya Malla then became King of Kathmandu through the efforts of Jhagal Thakul. The territory of Kathmandu then extended to the Dudhkoshi, because Dolakha had also been merged into it. The balance of power among the Malla kings collapsed, inasmuch as Kathmandu became more powerful than the other Malla states. Bhaktapur became apprehensive of an attack by Kathmandu.

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After the death of Jagajjaya Malla, his son, Jaya Prakash Malla, became King of Kathmandu. In the meantime, Kashiram Thapa was administering Nuwakot on behalf of Kathmandu. When a brother of Jaya Prakash Malla, Narendra Prakash Malla, claimed the state of Kathmandu, Kashiram Thapa sided with Narendra Prakash Malla. Jaya Prakash Malla then took refuge with the King of Bhaktapur, and Kashiram Thapa went to his home in Palanchok. There was a fort at Naldum to the north of Nagarkot for the administration of Sindhupalchok. An officer of Kathmandu was posted there. The brother of Kashiram Thapa, Parashuram Thapa, was the Umrao of Bhaktapur. Sindhupalchok was predominantly inhabited by Khasas. Parashuram Thapa advised King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur to occupy Sindhupalchok with the support of the Khasas. King Ranajit Malla approved the plan. Parashuram Thapa occupied Sindhupalchok and the Naldum fort with the help of Khas troops and forced the Newar troops to retreat. The territories of Bhaktapur increased considerably when Sindhupalchok, as well as Dolakha, came under its control. Prithvi Narayan Shah was Crown Prince at that time in Gorkha.

Keeping in view the weakness of Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan Shah began to formulate plans to wrest Nuwakot, which adjoined Gorkha, from Kathmandu. He concluded a treaty with Lamjung, which permitted him to occupy the eastern territories of Kathmandu. He visited Kathmandu in disguise by travelling through Chandragiri. He also arranged to make his father a ritual brother of King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. Prithvi Narayan Shah did not let this opportunity go waste. He annexed Makwanpur, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, and Lalitpur, and thus laid the foundation of a strong and unified Nepal.

The special position that Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied, compared with other kings, was the chief reason behind the success of Gorkha in unifying Nepal. The kings of Lamjung, Tanahu, and other Chaubisi states, and the Malla kings, were uneducated. Lack of political education among royal princes was one of the principal causes of the weakness of their states. Royal princes were given ordinary education in Gorkha. Chandraprabha had provided oral political education to Prithvi Narayan Shah. It seems that Prithvi Narayan Shah did not have proper education. He used to recite the Chandi with great devotion. Gorkhali scholars used to tell stories from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other epics. Prithvi Narayan Shah succeeded in grasping such oral education because he was very talented. But his brothers failed to do so.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah knew how to use the education acquired by him at the right time. It was his policy not to oppress his subjects, and to work according to the need of the time. He was not bigoted in religious matters.

When Prithvi Narayan Shah sat on the throne placed at the square in front of Jaya Prakash Malla's palace after occupying Kathmandu in the night, Jaya Prakash Malla fled to Lalitpur along with his troops. As soon as Prithvi Narayan Shah received this report, he sent one of his brothers as his representative and led the procession of Kumari to Hanumandhoka. Prithvi Narayan Shah followed the tradition of the Malla kings by putting his forehead on the feet of Kumari, and received Tika from her. He did not insult the Kumari as the daughter of a Banra. Instead, he continued the tradition of worshipping the Kumari. He would not have enjoyed the support of the local people had he violated the tradition, and the Malla culture would also not have survived.

It is not necessary that the son of an educated father should also be educated. However, the eldest son of Prithvi Narayan Shah, Crown Prince Pratap Simha Shah, was well versed in the Sanskrit language, and he was also interested in poetry. But he lacked political acumen. He died after only three years' reign, because he had weakened himself physically and mentally by following the Tantric cult. Thanks to the military power organized by Prithvi Narayan Shah, Chitaur was conquered from Tanahu during Pratap Simha Shah's reign.

Prithvi Narayan Shah faced great difficulties in educating his sons, because of the lack of teachers. Queen Narendralaxmi was unable to teach Pratap Simha Shah in the same manner as Chandraprabha had taught Prithvi Narayan Shah. Pratap Simha Shah failed to acquire practical education either because Narendralaxmi lacked the time or he himself lacked interest. Prithvi Narayan Shah was too preoccupied with war and politics to give practical education to his sons. He employed scholars for that purpose, who taught Pratap Simha Shah only literature. This may be the reason why Prithvi Narayan Shah did not let Bahadur Shah be taught by these scholars.

In his Divya Upadesh, Prithvi Narayan Shah directed that Khasa and Brahmans from the east and the west should not be allowed to enter the royal palace. He may have done so because he saw that the Crown Prince, Pratap Simha Shah, had developed

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a weak character from his bodyguard, Sardar Swarup Simha Karki, an easterner, and his preceptor, Pandit Brajanath, who came from the west.

Prithvi Narayan Shah has also deprecated the low intelligence of the inhabitants of Kathmandu, and the conspiratorial atmosphere of the place. He had planned to construct his palace at Dahachok. But he seems to have realized this only after constructing a palace in Kathmandu. Dahachok's climate would have suited the hill people better. Prithvi Narayan Shah also thought that if the royal palace was constructed in Kathmandu, members of the nobility would build their houses around it, thereby reducing the cultivated area and causing a decline in foodgrain production. But no one wants to climb the hills after once residing in the plains.

Pratap Simha Shah and his successors retained their capital in Kathmandu, and the town gradually expanded. The Gorkhalis then slowly imbibed the bad qualities of the Malla kings, as well as of the kings of the east and the west. These included internal conflicts in the royal family. To resolve such conflicts, Chandraprabha had granted Jagir and allowances to estranged members of the royal family. But because these old members were dead, and his own brothers were being estranged from him, Prithvi Narayan Shah had been able to control the situation with great effort.

Prithvi Narayan Shah's maternal uncle had advised him not to recruit Thakuris in the army. He therefore recruited only Khas, Gurung, and Magar soldiers. He sent his brothers on both civil and military assignments. Prithvi Narayan Shah had brought all his brothers along with him during the conquest of Kathmandu. But during the conquest of Bhaktapur, he sent them to Nuwakot to perform religious functions at the local Bhagawati temple. However, his youngest brother, Sura Pratap Shah, disobeyed his orders and took part in the battle of Bhaktapur. Sura Pratap Shah was subsequently accused of firing upon the civilian population, and placed in detention in Gorkha. However, he escaped from detention and spent the rest of his life in Dullu. Prithvi Narayan Shah faced great difficulty in controlling his brothers, but was able to utilize their services from time to time. He even appointed Dalajit Shah, one of his brothers, as a minister.

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Conflict among royal princes culminated during the reign of Pratap Simha Shah. His youngest uncle had gone to the west and disappeared. But there were still three other uncles. In addition, there was his own brother, Bahadur Shah. Pratap Simha Shah revealed his weakness by stating that it was difficult to deal with these persons. Taking advantage of this weakness, his ministers sent troops to arrest Bahadur Shah and others. Bahadur Shah, who was then mourning the death of his father, was arrested. The property of Dalajit Shah was confiscated, as he had absconded. Mahoddam Kirti Shah fled from Kathmandu and sought the shelter of Siddhinarayan Shah, King of Kaski. Dalamardan Shah was ordered to leave Nepal when he was proceeding toward Kathmandu to see the new King. Bahadur Shah was also later asked to leave Nepal. However, there was an exchange of letters between Pratap Simha Shah and these men. This indicates that Pratap Simha Shah had no malice towards them, but had only differences of opinion. There is reason to believe that these men were paid allowances while living abroad.

At the time when there was a conflict between Kaski and Lamjung, Bahadur Shah wrote a letter to Pratap Simha Shah, advising him not to miss the opportunity of occupying Chitaur at once, because the British were trying to take over that area. Pratap Simha Shah accordingly sent troops to occupy the Tarai area of Chitaur. By that time, there was not much conflict among the brothers. But their conflict became serious when Queen Rajendralaxmi took over the administration. With the aim of eliminating her opponents, the Queen recalled Bahadur Shah, who was living in exile at the time. She placed him in detention as soon as she had achieved her objective. If Rajendralaxmi had an affair with Bahadur Shah, her brother-in-law, she would have sent him to live in Gorkha or elsewhere and the conflict would not have become serious. But the Queen, who was illiterate, imprisoned Bahadur Shah with the help of her new minister, Sarvajit Rana. Later, when Gajaraj Mishra came from Banaras, and tried to secure the release of Bahadur Shah, she did so on the condition that he would live in exile. But he was not immediately banished.

In the meantime, Rajendralaxmi, accompanied by her maid servants, ventured out of the palace, and rode on horseback through the streets although she had yet to complete one year of mourning. As this was an improper act on her part, Kaji Harsha Panta was annoyed with her. He circulated the rumor

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that the Queen was having an affair with Sarvajit Rana. Bahadur Shah took advantage of this situation, and with the help of the male servants of the palace, had Sarvajit Rana executed and Rajendralaxmi imprisoned. As a matter of fact, Queen Rajendralaxmi was innocent. It was a major blunder on the part of Bahadur Shah to level false accusations against her.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had established the rule that no Bhardar should be murdered. Bahadur Shah violated this rule and beheaded Sarvajit Rana, thereby setting up the tradition of assassination of Bhardars. This tradition reached its climax during the rule of Bhimsen Thapa. Bahadur Shah had beheaded Sarvajit Rana although he was innocent. He thus committed a major blunder by beheading an innocent Bhardar. Moreover, the cause of the quarrel between Bahadur Shah and Rajendralaxmi, his sister-in-law, was a minor one. Bahadur Shah wanted to annex the western states, but Rajendralaxmi was reluctant to be dragged into such a conflict. She thought that her son would undertake the task of extending the frontiers of the kingdom after he came of age. She imprisoned Bahadur Shah in order to restrain him from undertaking any such venture. She apprehended that Bahadur Shah might become all-powerful and crush her son if the army was placed under his command. Sarvajit Rana had merely executed the orders of the Queen. He was, therefore, quite innocent. At that time the Bhardars avoided involvement in quarrels among members of the royal family. They obeyed whoever was in power, and worked in the interests of the country.

After imprisoning Rajendralaxmi, Bahadur Shah invaded Tanahu. He personally commanded the Gorkhali troops in that campaign. He had given charge of the royal palace to Balabhadra Shah, son of his uncle, Mahoddankirti Shah. Balabhadra Shah, however, colluded with Queen Rajendralaxmi and recalled his father from Banaras to help him free her. The aged Chautara returned home and extended his support to Rajendralaxmi. All the Bhardars accepted her, and power thus reverted to her. Under these circumstances, Bahadur Shah fled abroad, abandoning Tanahu which he had already conquered.

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(To Be Continued)

x. Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966). Chapter 22: "Kehi Bhranta Dharanaharuko Khandan ra Tatkalin Prashasakaharuko Tulanatmaka Vishleshan." (Refutation of Some Misconceptions and a Comparative Analysis of the Contemporary Rulers). pp. 152-169.



Selected Documents of 1887 VikramaKut-Thek Land Grant in Rising

Poush Sudi 13, 1887 (44/173)

359 muris of rice lands in Rising, which had been assigned to the Srinath Kampu, were allotted to local peasants on Kut-Thek tenure on a total payment of Rs 113 and 10½ annas, excluding the levy on winter crops, and the customary Chardam-Theki levy. The peasants were required to provide loans to the Jagirdars whenever asked to do so.

Revenue Collection Contract in Sheoraj

Magh Badi 9, 1887 (44/174-75)

A contract for the collection of revenue in Sheoraj, a mouja in Pyuthan district, had been given to Shiva Bux Puri for Rs 17,004. Reclaimed waste lands (Kalebanjar) at two places, which had been confiscated from Balabhadra Kunwar, were joined to that mouja, and a revenue settlement was conducted in the Vikrama year 1882.

Revenue collection for these areas was now given out on contract to Subba Dharmaraj Khatri for one year, commencing Baisakh Badi 1, 1888, for Rs 19,004.

Of this amount, Rs 11,502 was allocated for the payment of salaries to the mechanics employed at the Pyuthan munition factory, and the personnel of the Srinath Kampu and the Shiv Company. Subba Dharmaraj Khatri was ordered to transmit the balance of Rs 7,502 to the Tosakhana in Kathmandu.

Subba Dharmaraj Khatri was ordered not to collect unauthorized payments from the peasantry, or otherwise oppress them, thereby leading them to submit complaints to Kathmandu. He was, in addition, ordered to promote land reclamation and settlement in the area under his jurisdiction.

The sources of revenue which were included in the contract were as follows:-

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1. Mal-Sair (land revenue).
2. Kathmahal (income from the sale of timber).
3. Khair and Sal (catechu and sal timber).
4. Chari (pasturage tax).
5. Sundhuwai (levy on gold-miners).
6. Jalkar (levies on river-borne traffic).
7. Gurau (levy on witch-doctors).
8. Mahapatra (levy on Brahman priests).
9. Gaun-Pajani (?).
10. Bethi (levy in lieu of unpaid labor).
11. Levies (salami) on Nankar lands.
12. Gaun-Dekhauki (?).
13. Levies on boats.
14. Bheti-Salami (cash payments to visiting dignitaries).
15. Mejmani (provisions for visiting dignitaries).
16. Levies on oilmen (Teli).
17. Bhedabhar (?).
18. Danda-Kunda (judicial fines).
19. Maryo-Aputali (escheat property).
20. Chak-Chakui (fines collected from persons guilty of sexual offenses).
21. Amilan Rakam (payments due to local administrators and revenue functionaries).

Contd...



Revenue from the following sources was excluded from the contract :-

1. Raja-Anka (royal levies).
2. Kalyan-Dhan (buried treasure).
3. Dharmadhikar (fees paid for expiation).
4. Mahant-Mandali (levies paid to Sanyasis).
5. Fines collected from persons guilty of murder and cow-slaughter.
6. Rahata-Bahata (arrears of revenue).
7. Ivory, rhinoceros hide, horns of bison (gaurigai).

#### Diversion of Cultivators

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/175-76)

Royal order to Chaudharis of elephant-depots (Hattisar), and local revenue functionaries (Chaudhari) Kanugoye, Mandar, Mokaddam, Gumasta, Jethraiya) of Birta, Jagir, and Hattisar lands (i.e. lands assigned for elephant-depots) in Morang district: "Previously also, an order had been issued forbidding you to divert cultivators from Mal (i.e. lands on which taxes accrued to the government) and Jagir lands to Birta and Hattisar lands. We have now received reports that cultivators go to India during the monsoon, but later return to Morang, and accept allotments of new Jagir, Birta, and Hattisar lands, at concessional rates of taxation (Kamsaraha) and get credit facilities (Bhota Pota) from local functionaries (Amil) and contractors (Thikedar), on the pretext that the Panchashala revenue-collection system that has been introduced in Morang does not cover newly-reclaimed (Bajra-Bita) lands. Revenue on Mal lands goes down as a result. You are hereby forbidden to let the cultivators do so in the future. If you do so, you will have to meet the loss."

Contd...

Construction of Buildings

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/176-77)

Royal order to Sardar Jahar Singh Baniya and Subba Nayak Shubhakama Giri and Gauri Singh to construct administrative buildings (Kachahari) at Kadarbana in Rautahat district, as well as in Bara, Parsa, and Sarlahi districts. The order adds: "The district headquarters offices of Alau and Kadarbana are located near the border. You are therefore, directed to construct administrative buildings and barracks (Tilangako Kot) with bricks in a durable manner. Employ artisans from Nepal and India (Madhesh) for that purpose. Also construct small administrative buildings in Bara and Bishnupur, and a temple for Sri Kankali Devi. We shall sanction the expenditure required for these purposes."

Appointment of Mijhar

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/177)

Royal order to Musya Lohar appointing him Mijhar (headman) of all members of the Kami (blacksmith) community residing on Mal, Jagir, Bekh-Bunyad, and Mana-Chamal lands in Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, and Sarlahi with effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1887 Vikrama. The position was previously held by Darbya Lohar. It carried authority to adjudicate in cases relating to communal and sexual offenses in the Kami community. The Mijhar was permitted to appropriate customary payments from members of the community.

Chhap Land Grant in Doti

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/178)

Chhap lands at Tikha in the Chauki sub-division (Garkha) of Doti district, previously granted to Foud Singh Bogati, were now granted to Narapati Kathayat. He was under obligation to pay the prescribed taxes on these lands to the Barakh Paltan.

Appointment of Mukhiya in Achham

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/178-79)

In 1882 Vikrama, Ratan Pandit had been appointed Mukhiya of Biprata village in the Satsayapatti area of Achham. Because

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of his death. Dana Singh Malla and Gajendra Malla were appointed to that position with effect from 1887 Vikrama. They were ordered to collect taxes in the village and transmit the proceeds to the army.

Copper Mines in Dailekh

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/179)

A newly-discovered copper deposit in Kadha-Simta, part of Dailekh which had not been assigned as Jagir to the army, was granted on contract (Ijara) for one year commencing Baisakh Badi 1, 1887 Vikrama, to Mahuwa Khadka on payment of Rs 101. The amount was payable to the Tosakhana in Kathmandu.

Appointment of Jimmawal

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/179-80)

Royal order to Bhupal Bogati and Salibahan Bogati: "The ryots of Bogtan have gone to the headquarters of Doti district to demand that the name of Bhupal Bogati also be registered as Jimmawal in the Tallo-Bogtan and Upallo-Bogtan areas of Doti district, because only the name of Salibahan Bogati was so registered during the revenue settlement of 1882 Vikrama. Chautariya Pushkar Shah has referred the matter to us. Accordingly, we hereby appoint both of you as Jimmawals of these areas with effect from the year 1887 Vikrama."

Payment of Salaries

Magh Badi 12, 1887 (44/180)

Dittha Kanak Singh Basnyat was ordered to pay Rs 300 as salary for the year 1887 Vikrama to Garuda Dhvaj Karki, an attendant (Baithake) at the royal palace, from the income made by the four Adalats during the year 1888 Vikrama.

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(S.B. Maharjan).

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Miscellaneous Documents on the Bheri-Mahakali  
Region<sup>x</sup>

Jagir Land Grant to Ferry Men

From King (Rana Bahadur Shah, to Luhajit Majhi of Rakhamghat and Kuchinghat on the Karnali river.

You have been in possession of two villages with fifty households, 2,500 muris of rice lands, and homesites attached thereto, from former times. We hereby reconfirm these lands in Dullu and Achham as your Jagir. Pay one suki (i.e. one-fourth of a rupee) for each household to the local Amali during Ashadh, the Dashain festival, Shrawan, and Falgun. Provide portorage services for government supplies and military stores through the areas under your jurisdiction. We hereby grant you exemption from other compulsory-labor obligations (Begari). Provide ferry services without any interruption, both during winter and during the monsoon, when troops have to be moved. If you make any delay or obstruction, you shall be punished. Provide faithful services and use the lands as Jagir with full assurance.

Friday, Magh Sudi 14, 1853  
(January 1797).

Obligations of Birta-Owners

From King (Rana Bahadur Shah) to Subba Jog Malla of Achham.

We have received reports that Nartam Padhya Devkota has Birta lands in Achham. Collect only such payments from the Birta-owners of that area as have been customarily collected. Do not collect extra payments from them. Permit them to put up stores for hawks as usual, and collect customary payments thereon.

Bhadra Sudi 15, 1856  
(September 1799)

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<sup>x</sup>Itihas Prakash, Vol. 2, Book 2, pp. 4-9.

Contd...

Taxes on Hawks in Jumla

From (King Rana Bahadur Shah) to Nartam Padhya Devkota.

Collect taxes (Puchhahi) at the following rates on hawks captured in the Barhagaun area at the following rates and transmit the proceeds to us:-

<u>Category of Hawk</u>	<u>Hawks captured in shares on Birta lands</u>	<u>do. on government lands</u>
Shahi	Rs 2	Rs 4
Jurra	R. 1	Rs 2

Ashadh Sudi 12, 1856 (July 1799)  
Tax Exemption for Rajputs

From King (Girban) to Rajputs all over the Kingdom.

We hereby remit all homestead taxes and levies, as well as compulsory labor obligations, due on the Raikar lands occupied by you and your slaves, servants, tenants, etc. to the palace, and remain constantly prepared to obey our commands. We also restore to you your remaining property, slaves, etc. other than property confiscated during the conquests, or slaves freed by the Bhardars.

Monday, Magh Sudi 5, 1857  
(January 1801)

Revenue Assignment for Temple in Jumla

From Subba Ranajit Kunwar to Alidatta Jaisi of Sija.

Previously, homestead taxes (Kachho Sirto) and judicial fines (danda-kunda), collected from seven households in Lek-porgor village, except fines collected from persons guilty of crimes against the state (Kula-danda), had been assigned to the temple of Sri Kanaka Sundari. This assignment was subsequently withdrawn by the local administrator (Amali). We hereby restore the assignment during our term for performing religious ceremonies at the temple of Sri Kanakasundari.

Chaitra Sudi 5, 1857  
(April 1801)

Contd...



Tax Exemption

From Subba Ranajit Kunwar to Palakya Mahat of Badgaun village.

The former Subba had granted you remission from payment of two rupees as Sirto tax on your homestead. We reconfirm the remission during our term.

Chaitra Sudi 7, 1857  
(April 1801)

Land Allotment

From Subba Ranajit Kunwar to Sire Padhya and Narottam Padhya.

Birta lands of a Brahman in the village of Bhoragaun had been occupied by the grand-father of Nilerya Dharala, who is now dead. These lands, including homesites, forests, and rice lands requiring one muri of seeds, are hereby allotted to you. Pay one rupee every year as Theki fee for these lands to the Tosakhana at Chhinasim.

Jestha Badi 1, 1858  
(May 1801)

Appointment of Priest

From King (Girban) to Mahadeo Pandit and Shivaram Padhya.

Surti Shahi (former King of Jumla), had appointed you as priests of the temple of Sri Kanakasundari. Because of the disturbances that occurred subsequently, this arrangement was interrupted. We hereby restore the arrangement made during the time of the Kalyal kings. Perform regular and ceremonial religious functions at the temple of Sri Kanakasundari and pray for our victory. Use the lands as Guthi. We also restore lands belonging to the people of Kafalya that had been confiscated during the term of Ranajit Kunwar in 1851 Vikrama (1794).

Shrawan Sudi 2, 1859  
(July 1802)

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Some Confusions<sup>x</sup>

By

Babyram Acharya

(Contd)

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The involvement of Bahadur Shah in the assassination of Sarbajit Rana was due to inadequate education. He could have come back to power had he tolerated his detention for some time as before. Rajendralaxmi would have no alternative but to recall Bahadur Shah in the event of aggression from the Chaubisi states. Rajendralaxmi too lacked proper education. Her association with Queen Chandraprabha during her childhood had made her courageous. She therefore succeeded in repulsing the Chaubisi aggression. However, the extension of the frontiers of Nepal was suspended for some years because of the removal of Bahadur Shah.

Persons like Balabhadra Shah succeeded in extending the state frontiers in the process of beating back invaders. It was a great weakness of Rajendralaxmi that she could not control her temper. Only Prithvi Narayan Shah was capable of doing so. He could suppress his anger and thus win over his opponents. Even when fighting against Ranajit Malla, Prithvi Narayan Shah called him his father. Although Prithvi Narayan Shah had enmity toward Jaya Prakash Malla, he treated the latter as a friend. But Rajendralaxmi could not tolerate Bahadur Shah even when he was living in Patna. She called Vansharaj Pande from Bettiah to assist in the invasion of Kaski.

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966). Chapter 22: "Kehi Bhranta Dharanaharuko Khandan ra Tatkalin Prashasakaharuko Tulanatmaka Vishleshan." (Refutation of Some Misconceptions and a Comparative Analysis of the Contemporary Rulers). pp. 152-169.

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Swarup Singh Kaski had fled to Palpa and sided with the King of Palpa, Mukunda Sen, and the King of Parbat, Kirtibam Malla. The widow of King Karna Sen of Chaudandi and Bijayapur had adopted the son of Mukunda Sen II, Dhvajabir Sen. Swarup Singh Karki was considered a rebel in Nepal, because he had gone to Calcutta with Dhvajabir Sen with the purpose of soliciting British assistance. However, they could not obtain such assistance, and Dhvajabir Sen was assassinated by a Gorkhali soldier. Swarup Singh Karki was thereafter moving about aimlessly in the border areas. Rajendralaxmi called him to command the troops invading Kaski, and granted him a large holding of Birta lands in Mahottari. She instigated a quarrel between Vansharaj Pande and Swarup Singh Karki, and had Vansharaj Pande beheaded one night in the garden of Bhadarkhal after holding a brief court. Taksari Bhim Khawas was then Chief Minister. Balbhadra Shah had been relegated to a lower position. Rajendralaxmi then invited Bahadur Shah to attend the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of Rana Bahadur Shah in Gorkha. Bahadur Shah went to Gorkha in response to the invitation. After the ceremony was over, Bahadur Shah, along with Rana Bahadur Shah and Rajendralaxmi, came to Kathmandu.

Rajendralaxmi called back Dalajit Shah, who had fled eighteen months previously during the reign of Pratap Simha Shah, and appointed him Chautara. Dalajit Shah, Swarup Singh Karki, and Abhiman Simha Basnyat had already been commissioned to occupy Kaski, Bhirkot, and other principalities across the Kali-Gandaki river. Rajendralaxmi was suffering from tuberculosis. Apprehending that Rana Bahadur Shah would be safe if Bahadur Shah was kept in detention, she detained him in Pharping. Rajendralaxmi died shortly thereafter. The death of Rajendralaxmi created disturbances in the royal palace. Bhim Khawas tried to run the administration himself, but because of the opposition of the other Bhardars, he fled to India along with his three sons and other relatives, as well as his entire property. Nobody prevented him.

The funeral rites of Rajendralaxmi were presumably performed by Balbhadra Shah. Bahadur Shah was released from detention when the Gurus and Purohits who supported him pressed for his release to perform rituals on the eleventh day of the death of Rajendralaxmi. Later, he took over the administration with unanimous support. By that time, Dalajit Shah and Swarup Singh Karki had conquered Kaski. As the kings of Satahun, Garahun, and Rising had accepted the suzerainty

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of Nepal, Abhiman Simha Basnyat was returning to Kathmandu along with them. As soon as Bahadur Shah took over the administration, he sent a royal order in the name of Rana Bahadur Shah to behead Swarup Singh Karki, who was in Kaski at that time. Swarup Singh Karki was beheaded in Kaski. It is not known what happened to Dalajit Shah, since he had gone underground by that time. Bahadur Shah also dismissed Balbhadra Shah during a Pajani. However, he retained the old Bhardar, Kapardar Kalidas Khandka, who had served under both Prithvi Narayan Shah and Rajendralaxmi.

Because of the lack of education, Rajendralaxmi beheaded Vansharaj Pande without any reason, and tried to harm Bahadur Shah. Bahadur Shah was also semi-educated. But thanks to his courage and bravery, he conquered several territories in the west when Vansharaj Pande's brother, Damodar Pande, was functioning as Kaji.

Among the Chaubisi principalities west of the Kali, only Palpa, Parbat and Pyuthan were powerful. Such Baisi principalities as Dullu and Dailekh, and distant principalities such as Doti and Kumaun, were so weak that they could not check the advance of the Gorkhali troops. As such, Gorkha's territories extended to Garhwal. A minor defeat sustained by the Gorkhals in Garhwal had created much apprehension. However, Gajaraj Mishra forced the King of Garhwal to accept the suzerainty of Nepal, because he concluded a trade treaty with the British and put British pressure on the King of Garhwal. Nepal's defeat in Garhwal was the result of the violation of the policy of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Prithvi Narayan Shah never started wars on two fronts. Nepal had to lose Kerung and Khasa during a war with Tibet, which later led to a war with China. This earned a bad name for Bahadur Shah. The troops wanted to rest for sometime, because they had become tired of war. All Bhardars and military officers consulted among themselves that it would have been better had the young King Rana Bahadur Shah taken over the administration.

Bahadur Shah committed a great mistake by not providing education to Rana Bahadur Shah, because he did not realize the importance of education. Rana Bahadur Shah's character became corrupt when he was seventeen or eighteen years old as a result of his association with such evil and uneducated persons as Bidur Shahi, Sher Bahadur Shahi, and Tribhuwan Khawas. However, Rana Bahadur Shah's way of thinking was profound. He thought that Bidur Shahi and Sher Bahadur Shahi

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were not responsible for the low caste of their mother, and so he appointed both of them as Chautaras. He used to calculate gains and losses while worshipping gods and offering prayers. As regards political affairs, he thought that his ministers would handle them, and serve the interests of the nation, and so he spent his time in entertainments and dances.

Till then, nothing had gone wrong. But he began to harbor bad feelings toward Bahadur Shah, and dismissed him from office. Bahadur Shah would not have died a premature death had he gone to India soon after his dismissal. Instead, Bahadur Shah tried to go to China without royal permission. He petitioned for a passport directly to the Chinese Ambans in Lhasa. But the Ambans sought the approval of Rana Bahadur Shah without giving any reply to Bahadur Shah. Rana Bahadur Shah kept quiet. In the meantime, a new Emperor ascended the throne of China. Bahadur Shah again requested the Ambans for permission to go to China to pay his respects to the new Emperor. When the Amban contacted Rana Bahadur Shah, the latter became furious and sent Kaji Sarbajit Pande to Lhasa with several charges against Bahadur Shah. He then arrested Bahadur Shah and imprisoned him in a fort of Kathmandu for about three months. Rana Bahadur had then Bahadur Shah assassinated secretly through the cooperation of Bidur Shahi and Sher Bahadur Shahi.

The assassination of Bahadur Shah created great panic throughout the country. The Bhardars now began to remain vigilant, although they could say nothing. It was natural for them to feel frightened on account of the assassination of Bahadur Shah by his own nephew, Rana Bahadur Shah. In such a situation, Kirtiman Simha Basnyat persuaded Rana Bahadur Shah to give up power with the motive of himself becoming all-powerful. There was no need for Rana Bahadur Shah to do so. Rana Bahadur Shah did not realize that he could not regain the throne once he relinquished it. It was a major blunder on his part to think that the Bhardars would continue to respect him as usual even after he relinquished the throne. This belief enabled Kirtiman Simha to send Rana Bahadur Shah to Kashi and himself become all-powerful. Some Bhardars, including Bidur Shahi, became jealous of Kirtiman Simha Basnyat, and so they had him assassinated. This assassination enabled Sher Bahadur and Bam Shah to win the favor of the second queen for sometime. The eldest queen then took over charge of the administration. Power assumed in this manner is never lasting, and the Bhardars' involvement in such intrigues indicates their lack of education.

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Kirtiman Simha Basnyat had concluded an agreement with the British to detain Rana Bahadur Shah in Banaras with the purpose of taking advantage of the internal rift in the palace. But the agreement was concluded only after Kirtiman Simha Basnyat was killed. The British emissary, who later visited Nepal, thus came to know of the weaknesses of the Nepali people. The British also came to know of the secrets of Nepal when the policy of Prithvi Narayan Shah, Bahadur Shah and Rana Bahadur Shah of not allowing the British to enter Nepal was violated. In view of the growing influence of the British throughout India, it was very difficult to check their advance into Nepal. Even then, it would not have been more harmful had the Bhardars tried to keep secrets from the British emissary. It was necessary to treat the first British resident in the same manner as Bhimsen Thapa did after the war with the British. The eldest queen expelled the British resident, Knox, and recalled Rana Bahadur Shah from Banaras, out of anger.

Rana Bahadur Shah had been completely dominated by Bhimsen Thapa and Ranganath Pandit. He used to do what they said. Bhimsen Thapa and Ranganath Pandit brought Sher Bahadur Shahi also in their group through another conspiracy. Bhimsen Thapa had hatched that conspiracy, because he was uneducated, and belonged to an ordinary family. He could not realize the impact of conspiracies on the nation, but gave priority to only his own interests. Ranganath Pandit wanted to become Rajguru through any possible means, as he was tired of living in exile. He thus joined Bhimsen Thapa and Sher Bahadur Shahi. They entered Nepal with violent motives, and Bhimsen Thapa became all-powerful in Nepal by murdering Damodar Pande and others, and imprisoning Rajrajeshwari. The tradition of violence which had started with the murder of Sarbajit Rana was not to end without a major massacre. When Bhimsen Thapa tried to restore tranquillity by murdering Sher Bahadur Shahi, Tribhuvan Khawas, and others, Rana Bahadur Shah himself was murdered. About seventy-five persons, including children, were killed in retaliation. An outward calm was then restored. But the nation's strength declined gradually due to the murder of old Bhardars, and the plans prepared by Prithvi Narayan Shah became unsuccessful after the murder of Rana Bahadur Shah. The plans formulated by Bhimsen Thapa were immature. The size of Nepal was reduced within ten years after Bhimsen Thapa came to power. Prithvi Narayan Shah's plan to establish Greater Nepal sustained a severe setback.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah's opinion about the Christian missionaries was very interesting. He did not denounce any religion. But the activities of the Christian missionaries compelled him to treat them rudely. The Christian missionaries had begun to spread their religion throughout Asia during the sixteenth century. They usually moved through Nepal and Tibet while visiting India and China. They carried with them copies of the Bible, and bags of medicines, wherever they went. They propagated religion among the people, and distributed medicines free of cost. They undermined the civilization and culture of the countries which they visited, and tried to impose their social and political systems there. The Christian missionaries had been spreading their activities in China, India, and other countries of Asia with such very motives. They became successful in leaving their impact on the people because of their efficacious medicines and cleanliness. They used to be followed by traders with different goods and guns. Their ultimate aim was to occupy the countries they visited by promoting trade relations.

The Christian missionaries had been successful in establishing their influence in Kathmandu during Pratap Malla's reign. They went to Lhasa also from Kathmandu. Pratap Malla had installed an inscription written in fourteen or fifteen scripts, including the Roman script, at the royal palace of Kathmandu. The Christian missionaries were disliked by the Tibetans, and so were expelled from Tibet, and their belongings were confiscated. They established their center in Kathmandu after being expelled from Tibet. They went to Bhaktapur when they were not allowed to live in Kathmandu. Later, they established their center outside the western gate of Lalitpur.

The kings of all the three principalities of Kathmandu began to try to please these Christian missionaries when Prithvi Narayan Shah encircled these principalities. The Christian missionaries had advised the kings of Patan and Bhaktapur to seek the military assistance of the East India Company in India in order to remove the blockade imposed by the Gorkhalis. They had also convinced the British of the need for such assistance. They had sent reminders to the British not to miss the opportunity, by highlighting the prospects of trade with Tibet from Bengal and Bihar. When the British were holding consultations, the Gorkhalis occupied Kirtipur. This made the defense of Kathmandu very difficult.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah did not interfere in religious matters. He did not prevent pilgrims from visiting Kathmandu on the occasion of the Shivratri festival, even when he was blockading Kathmandu Valley. He also allowed the missionaries to move about in Kathmandu Valley. Taking advantage of this religious tolerance, Jaya Prakash Malla had sent two emissaries to the British in disguise. The Christian missionaries used to act as couriers because they were not searched, on the assumption that they were not interested in politics but only in propagating religion and medicines. Prithvi Narayan Shah realized this role of the Christian missionaries only after Kinloch's attack. When Prithvi Narayan Shah besieged Bhaktapur after occupying Kathmandu and Lalitpur, the Christian missionaries visited him. On that occasion, Prithvi Narayan Shah told them to leave Nepal along with their property. They were thus forced to leave Nepal. The missionaries, along with about fifty Newar converts, then shifted to Churi in Bettiah.

The Christian missionaries who had been expelled from Nepal left no stone unturned in assailing the Nepali government. The army had mutinied when Warren Hastings behaved cruelly with Raja Chet Singh of Banaras in 1780 A.D. Chet Singh was taking refuge in Bijayagarh. When the wife of Warren Hastings requested Nepal for military assistance through Subba Dinanath in Patna, a military unit was kept ready. But Nepal's military assistance became unnecessary when Chet Singh fled. The Christian missionaries living in Bettiah had said that the Nepalis proposed to assist Chet Singh. But Warren Hastings came to know the truth from his wife.

Bahadur Shah had honored the Christian missionaries in Kathmandu because they had given him refuge in Bettiah. On the eve of his downfall, a missionary had published an article on Prithvi Narayan Shah in the famous Asiatic Researches journal in 1796, describing Prithvi Narayan Shah as barbarous. He had written that the troops of Prithvi Narayan Shah had killed the Kings of the countries they occupied, and looted the local people. He also asserted falsely that Prithvi Narayan Shah cut the ears and noses of all the inhabitants of Kirtipur. The Europeans still consider this as true. All European writers, including Sylvain Levi and Landon too have made this assertion. Lalitaballabh, a poet contemporary to Prithvi Narayan Shah, had written that the ears and noses of some persons had been cut. Twenty-seven years after the conquest of Kirtipur, Captain Kirkpatrick, who had visited Kathmandu, had seen a noseless

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inhabitant of Kirtipur. He should have seen many noseless persons had the noses of many persons been cut. As soon as Prithvi Narayan Shah received the news of the conquest of Kirtipur, he granted some lands for operating the Guthi of a Buddhist Chaitya. The Guthi is functioning even today. Prithvi Narayan Shah would never have reconfirmed the Guthi had he been angry with the inhabitants of Kirtipur. There are two royal orders of different dates which indicate Prithvi Narayan Shah stayed in Kirtipur after a few months of the conquest. He would never have lived there had he cut the noses of all inhabitants.

According to Sylvain Levi, Prithvi Narayan Shah had cut the noses not only of the inhabitants of Kirtipur, but also of the seven royal princes of Bhaktapur, who were Ranajit Malla's illegitimate sons. They were known as Sat Bahales because Ranajit Malla had constructed one house with a courtyard (bahal) for each of them. One of them was imprisoned, and his property confiscated, when he fought against the Gorkhalis from Jaya Prakash Malla's side. When Prithvi Narayan Shah granted the house and other property confiscated from him to Sardar Ram Krishna Kunwar, the latter endowed them as Guthi to supply food to pilgrims on the occasion of the Shivaratri festival. The property of the six other princes had been reconfirmed. None of them lost his ears and nose. The imprisoned person was released when Ranajit Malla said that he would like to take him to Banaras along with him. That prince lived for two years with Ranajit Malla in Banaras until the latter's death. Later, he tried to attack Nepal with the support of the British in Patna, by claiming that he was entitled to the throne of Bhaktapur. Among the Sat Bahales, he was the only one who eventually disappeared.

There is an anecdote in Gorkha which seems to be true. A minister of Patan, who was in charge of the defense of Kirtipur, informed Sura Pratap Shah of his willingness to surrender if the levies of the inhabitants were spared, when nobody came to his rescue. Prithvi Narayan Shah accepted this offer. But the minister of Patan requested Sura Pratap Shah to enter the town in the night, lest the people should get excited. By the following morning, the town was already under the control of the Gorkhalis. A few hooligans then attacked the Gorkhalis in the night and killed eight or ten Gorkhalis. When Sura Pratap Shah asked Prithvi Narayan Shah what punishment should

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be inflicted upon the hooligans, the latter ordered that they be banished from Kirtipur, and their ears and noses cut, since he had already promised to spare the lives of the inhabitants of the town. The Gorkhalis maintain that Prithvi Narayan Shah visited that town soon after this incident. But the Christian missionaries had tried to make a mountain of a molehill. Sylvain Levi had even attempted to portray Prithvi Narayan Shah as even more barbarous. Landon followed in his footsteps. Other Europeans also are following this tradition. The truth will come to light if the royal orders issued by Prithvi Narayan Shah, and the writings of Lalitaballabh, are published.

THE END

Notes on the Changunarayan Inscription<sup>x</sup>

By

Dhanavajra Bajracharya

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The Changunarayan inscription states that Shankaradeva ruled in a commendable way, that the country was prosperous during his rule, and that he gained much fame by displaying bravery. Beyond this nothing is known about Shankaradeva.

Shankaradeva was succeeded by his son, Dharmadeva, who also ruled the country properly, and made it more prosperous. Dharmadeva was a man of religion, and he organized many religious functions. The Changunarayan inscription also mentions that he was skilled in the art of warfare, and that he personally initiated his son, Manadeva, in that art.

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<sup>x</sup>Dhanavajra Bajracharya, "Changunarayanasthanako Manadevako Abhilekha." (Manadeva's inscription at the temple of Changunarayan), in Licchavi Kalka Abhilekh. (Inscriptions of the Licchavi period). Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, 2030 (1973).

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The Changunarayan inscription also states that Dharmadeva had won the hearts of his subjects through "Rajarshicharita." It is necessary to explain the meaning of this term. In the sixth chapter captioned Rajarshibritta of his Arthashastra, Acharya Kautilya has described the duties of an able ruler. He defines royal virtues (Rajarshicharita) as control of the senses, acquiring learning by association with scholars, collection of information through spies, industriousness, humility, work for the well-being of all, avoidance of greed and association with other women, a balance between morality and temporal affairs, observance of royal dignity, and so on. Thus Rajarshicharita literally means the character of an ideal King. King Manadeva has thus tried to project his father as an ideal King.

The Changunarayan inscription indicates that Dharmadeva died suddenly. However, it does not indicate how he died, and where. The relevant portion of the pillar-inscription reads as follows: "Dharmadeva died when his queen, Rajyavati, was engaged in a religious ceremony at a temple. This caused panic among the royal attendants. Queen Rajyavati immediately stopped her prayers and returned to the palace, overwhelmed with grief. Manadeva was informed of the death of his father by his mother." In any case, the cause of Dharmadeva's death appears to be mysterious. The Gopalvamshavali and other sources have even concocted the story that Manadeva had unwillingly murdered his father.

The custom of sati was prevalent at that time. However, it was not compulsory. This is evident from the fact that Rajyavati, Manadeva's mother, Abhiri, Bhauma Gupta's mother, and Vatsadevi, mother of Jayadeva, had not become satis on the death of their husbands. The Vishnudharmottara, Narada-smriti and other writings enjoin on women either to become satis or lead pious lives after the death of their husbands. These instructions were followed during the Licchavi period, as this pillar-inscription indicates. Queen Rajyavati had at first expressed her determination to become a sati on the death of Dharmadeva. But she changed her mind when her son, Manadeva, pressed her not to do so. Rajyavati then led the life of a pious widow. (Sativrata) Abhiri and Vatsadevi too opted for pious widowhood.

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The history of the Licchavi period becomes clearer and more authentic as we reach the time of Manadeva, who possessed all the virtues of an independent ruler. Several inscriptions mentioning specific dates, coins, etc of his time have been discovered.

Let us first discuss the references contained in this pillar-inscription itself. Manadeva performed the funeral ceremony of his father according to traditional rites. Rajeshwari observed a fast, praying for peace to her deceased husband's soul.

At that time, feudal lords of vassal states tried to become independent whenever any weakness appeared at the center for any reason. Failure to subdue such vassal states meant the disintegration of the state itself. Manadeva also was confronted with a similar situation. On hearing of the death of Dharmadeva, and the accession of Manadeva, the feudal kings of neighboring vassal states attempted to secure their independence. They did not present themselves at the palace on hearing of the death of Dharmadeva and the accession of Manadeva. Manadeva, however, was not a weak man. He had already been trained in the art of war and in handling weapons. Hence he resolved to suppress these feudal rulers so as to maintain the integrity of the state inherited by him from his father. He made necessary arrangements in this regard. At this time of crisis, he received full support from his maternal uncle.<sup>x</sup>

With the permission of his mother, Manadeva proceeded toward the east along with his troops. It was not difficult for him to subdue the feudal lords of that region. Before long, they accepted the supremacy of Manadeva, who thereupon confirmed them in their status as chiefs of vassal states. The Changunarayan inscription describes them as "Shatha,"

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<sup>x</sup>It is not known who Manadeva's maternal uncle was. Manadeva is quoted as having said, at the time of his invasion of Mallapuri: "Dear uncle, please cross the Gandaki river today. I too shall cross the river along with my troops and join you." This seems to indicate that Manadeva's maternal uncle had come with his own troops. This leads us to assume that he was the ruler of some state in India. This is confirmed to some extent by the references made in the pillar-inscription to Manadeva's mother. She is described in the inscription as "born in a pure dynasty."

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a disparaging term. This leads one to assume that the feudal rulers of the eastern region were Kiratas. In his description of Kirata kings, the author of the Gopalavamshavali writes: "There were thirty-two Kirati kings. Kiratas are now inhabiting the region between the Tamakoshi and the Arun." The Gopalavamshavali indicates that some Kiratas moved toward the east after the Licchavis established a state of their own by driving them out. However, in the absence of further evidence, nothing can be said for certain in this regard.

After subduing the feudal rulers of the eastern region, Manadeva headed toward the western region. His success in the eastern region had boosted up his morale. The Changunarayan inscription also says: "As fearless as a lion waving its mane, Manadeva headed towards the east." However, Manadeva was not successful in his western expedition to the same extent as in the east. The feudal ruler of Mallapuri, situated in the western region, refused to accept the suzerainty of Manadeva. Manadeva had summoned him for negotiations, but he openly defied Manadeva. This angered Manadeva, and he resolved to subdue the feudal ruler of Mallapuri. Mallapuri was situated across the Gandaki river. It was not easy to cross that river. Even so, Manadeva made preparations to invade Mallapuri. He first requested his maternal uncle to cross the Gandaki river with his troops. Later, he too crossed the river along with his troops, and invaded Mallapuri. The feudal King of Mallapuri was unable to resist the invasion, and finally accepted Manadeva's suzerainty.

It is necessary to discuss how Manadeva crossed the Gandaki river. According to the account given in the Changunarayan inscription, Manadeva's army possessed hundreds of elephants. Some historians have doubted this, saying that the presence of elephants in a hilly region is inconceivable. However, there exist elephants of one type in hill areas. According to Kautilya's Arthashastra, there are two types of elephants, those that inhabit the areas situated in the vicinity of rivers, and those that live in the hill region.

Other Licchavi inscriptions contain references to elephants. Amshuvarma's inscription at Handigaun states that the King mounted on an elephant during his coronation. There still exists a settlement called "Kisipindi" between Thankot and Balambu. A Licchavi inscription calls this settlement

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"Kichaprinchi." The inscriptions found in this area frequently refer to "Hastimarga" while specifying boundaries. For example, we may cite the inscription installed by Vasantadeva at Thankot. It shows that elephants were kept in this area during the Licchavi period. Nar'endradeva's inscription at Taleju-Chok in Patan indicates that elephants were kept in Lalitpur also during the Licchavi period. For this reason, the view that Manadeva's army had elephants also cannot be dismissed as imaginary.

In ancient times, elephants were used to cross rivers. The poet Kalidasa thus describes the victory procession of Raghu: "Raghu formed a bridge of elephants to cross the Kapisha river along with his troops. After crossing the river in this manner, he headed towards Kalinga, as he had been shown the way by the Utkalas."

Kautilya has emphasized the utility of elephants in these words: "Elephants are employed for such purposes as construction of roads, shelters, and ferries in areas where there exist none."

In the light of all this, it may be assumed that Manadeva had formed "a bridge of elephants" to cross the Gandaki river. (See also Purnima, No. 24, pp. 223-26).

Some historians appear to be confused with regard to the location of Mallapuri conquered by Manadeva. They argue that Manadeva could not have conquered Mallapuri, situated across the Gandaki river, inasmuch as it was his own vassal state. They claim that Manadeva had defeated the Malla kings of Gorakhpur in the course of his campaign of territorial expansion.

In the Changunarayan inscription, Manadeva has described his position clearly. According to this inscription, Manadeva did not launch the campaign for the sake of conquering new states. He merely sought to preserve his state because of the attempts made by some feudal rulers to secede after the sudden death of his father. In the eastern region, he did not have to fight any battle at all. In the western region, he had to fight against the feudal ruler of Mallapuri alone. The inscription clearly shows that the ruler of Mallapuri was not an independent King, but had occupied a vassal status since the time of Manadeva's predecessor. Had it not been so, none

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could have described the King of an independent state as a vassal state. Had the feudal ruler of Mallapuri been an independent King, he would not have readily accepted Manadeva's suzerainty, and it would have been absurd for Manadeva to feel infuriated at the former's failure to appear before him on his command.

Moreover, there is no evidence that there existed any Malla state, or any territory known as "Mallapuri", in the Gorakhpur area. Buddhist writings, including the Mahaparinivvansutta, say that there existed a Sangha Rajya in the Gorakhpur region at the time of the Buddha. But this state was 1,000 years older than Manadeva. During the rule of Manadeva, Gorakhpur was a part of the Gupta empire. This is confirmed by the inscription discovered at Kahabama in Gorakhpur. In this inscription, which was installed during the reign of Skandagupta, and is dated 141 Gupta era (517 Vikrama), Samudra is quoted as having said that he had uprooted all the kings of Aryavarta. Let us cite the Mahaparinivvansutta, the pillar-inscription of Prayag, and the inscription of Kahabama.

"Please go, Ananda, to Kusinara. The Lord has attained Nirvana. Please ask the Mallas of Kusinara to do what is dictated by the situation." (From the Mahaparinivvansutta).

"His influence spread after he eliminated by force several kings of Aryavarta, such as Rudradeva Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarma, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyutanandi and Ballavarma, etc." (From the Pillar Inscription of Prayag).

"The place where he (Skandagupta) takes salute is swept by the wind that blows when hundreds of kings bow their heads before him. Tranquillity reigns in the empire of Emperor Skandagupta, whose fame had spread far and wide, who is blessed with good fortune, and who is like Indra. At the village rendered sacred by the presence of good men, and having the famous name of Kakuva (Kahabama), in the month of Jestha 141 Gupta era (517 Vikrama). (From the Kahabama inscription).

Manadeva ruled nearly forty-one years. Had he sought to conquer new territories, he would have done so only after consolidating his own Kingdom and his position. He would not have embarked on such a venture at a time when he had hardly consolidated his position after the death of his father and his uncle.

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All this proves that Manadeva did not conquer new territories, and that he had merely tried to defend his ancestral Kingdom, because the vassal states had tried to become independent taking advantage of the slight commotion prevailing at the center.

The actual location of Mallapuri is still a subject of research. The Kali-Gandaki river is the best known among the seven tributaries of the Gandaki river. The areas situated along this river are also important from the historical viewpoint. The word "Gandaki" mentioned in the Changuanarayan inscription probably refers to the Kali-Gandaki. Moreover, two Licchavi inscriptions, discovered in Gorkha, indicate that area was not a feudatory state, but was directly administered from the center.

This possibly means that the Gandaki crossed by Manadeva was the Kali-Gandaki. For this reason, exploration across the Kali-Gandaki may help to locate "Mallapuri."

Manadeva returned to his capital after subduing the feudal ruler of Mallapuri. He was very happy, because he had been able to meet the threat he had faced immediately after his accession to the throne. In fact, the state of Nepal would have disintegrated at that time had he failed to suppress the rulers of feudatory states in both the eastern and western regions. That is why he made ritual gift on his return to the capital and had his mother, Rajyavati, also do so. Since the inscription is incomplete, the reference made therein in regard to such gifts is illegible. However, the broken inscription on the pillar standing in front of the temple of Changuanarayan does indicate that Manadeva also endowed lands as Guthi for the worship of Narayana. This possibly means that he had ordered the installation of the "Garudadhvaj" pillar.

Some foreign historians have maintained that the frontiers of Nepal were confined to Kathmandu Valley and some adjoining areas since ancient times, on the basis of some texts written during the time when Nepal was divided into several states. Some Nepali historians are also supporting this view. But this is not true. The inscription of Changuanarayan indicates that Nepal was bigger in size during the period of the Licchavis. The inscription describes how Manadeva controlled the feudal kings of the east and the west, who had wanted to become independent after the sudden death of Dharmadeva. This shows that the Koshi region in the east, and the Gandaki areas in the west, formed parts of Nepal at that time.

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The inscription of Samudragupta in Prayag sheds enough light on the frontiers of Nepal during the Licchavi period. It mentions that Nepal's boundaries were situated east of Kumaun and west of Assam. This has already been mentioned above. Licchavi inscriptions have been found from Dolakha and Mulkot in the east to Gorkha in the west. More inscriptions of this period may be found in other areas too if explored properly. The "Mananka" coins of Manadeva have been found in western Baglung. Mud-built Chaityas with inscriptions in the later Licchavi script have been found in the Lamathada caves in Jumla. This shows that Nepal was bigger during the Licchavi period.

The description of the Chinese traveller, Hsuan-chuang, sheds light on the frontiers of Nepal at that time. He writes: "Nipolo (Nepal) lies on the lap of the Himalayas. It has an area of 4000 li. It is surrounded by mountains. Its capital has an area of twenty li." One li is equal to one-third of a mile, and thus 4000 li are equal to 1172 miles. This shows that the length of Nepal was 400 miles, and its breadth 200 miles. There is other evidence also to indicate that the size of Licchavi Nepal was equal to that of modern Nepal.

The Changunarayan inscription also sheds light on the condition of the people during the Licchavi period. Manadeva has proudly described himself as a Kshatriya. The inscription also contains a description of the grants made by Manadeva and his mother, Rajyavati, to Brahmans. This shows that the caste system was observed at that time.

The Licchavi rulers pursued the policy of creating a society based on the caste system. The inscription of Balambu can be cited as evidence. The Licchavis felt proud of their success in maintaining the caste system.

Brahmans occupied a respectable place in the society during the Licchavi period. Kshatriyas also occupied a leading position because of their special role in politics. References have been made to Rajputras (Kshatriyas) in many Licchavi inscriptions. The inscription of Sikubahi (Shankhamul) mentions the names of Rajputra Vajraratha, Babhruvarma, and Deshavarma. Babhruvarma and Deshavarma were "dutakas" during the reign of Ganadeva and Amshuvarma respectively. The inscription of Sanga mentions the name of Rajputra Vikramasena, who was a "sarva-dandanayaka." The inscription of Deopatan mentions Rajputra

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Shurasena, and the inscription of Adeshwar mentions the Rajaputras Nandavarma, Jishnuvarma and Bhimavarma. This shows that the number of Kshatriyas was large in the Licchavi period, and that they occupied top posts.

The Chinese account says that the number of traders exceeded the number of farmers in Nepal. This shows without doubt that there were Vaishyas in the Licchavi period. In the Tebahal inscription, Grihamitra calls himself a "Vanik" (trader), a Vaishya caste. The inscription of Narendradeva at Anantalingeshwar indicates that different communities, including Brahmans and Chandalas, lived together at Hamsagrihadranga. Chandala is a Shudra sub-caste. This shows that there lived Shudras too during the Licchavi period.

Different communities had been living here from ancient times. These communities included those who did not observe the caste system. The Licchavi inscriptions therefore contain references to "the four Varnas and eighteen castes." The inscription of Vasantadeva at Thankot contains this term.

People enjoyed religious freedom during the Licchavi period. They could profess any religion they liked. However, people were not granted freedom of occupation. They could engage in the occupation pertaining to their caste. A separate office called "Bhattadhikarana" was established to supervise whether or not this rule was followed.

The Changunarayan inscription naturally contains a lengthy eulogy of Manadeva. Such a eulogy tends to be one-sided. However, it sheds light on the personality and character of Manadeva to some extent. Several inscriptions have described Manadeva as handsome and wheat-complexioned, with broad shoulders and large eyes. The Changunarayan inscription describes Manadeva as a youth. It also shows that Manadeva was skilled in the use of weapons, experienced in dealing with people, brave, and religious-minded.

The Changunarayan inscription is important from point of view, not only of history but also of scholarship. The name of the author of the text of the inscription is not known. However, he seems to be a scholar, well-versed in the Sanskrit language. He has given the dialogue between Manadeva and his mother Rajyavati in a very profound manner, when the latter was preparing to become a Sati. The style of other inscriptions of Manadeva is also beautiful and scholarly. This shows that during the period of Manadeva, scholars flourished in Nepal.

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