

Regmi Research Series

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Mahesh C. Regmi

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### Rajabandhaki Land Policy, 1938-1949

On Bhadra 17, 1995 (September 2, 1938), Prime Minister Juddha Shumshere announced at a public meeting in Kathmandu that the government intended to redeem all lands mortgaged to individuals under rajabandhaki tenure in different districts.

On Bhadra 31, 1995 (September 16, 1938), Prime Minister Juddha Shumshere ordered that particulars of rajabandhaki lands be compiled in different districts.

Another order was issued on Baisakh 30, 1996 (May 12, 1939) directing that information be furnished from different districts regarding the total amount of money received by the government against grants of lands under rajabandhaki tenure, and the revenue that could accrue to the government in case taxes were imposed on such lands at rates current on raikar lands in the area.

On Marga 25, 1996 (December 10, 1939), the Prime Minister issued an order directing that the following rajabandhaki lands in the following districts be redeemed gradually with funds obtained from local Mal Offices :-

<u>District</u>	<u>Khet lands</u> (in muris)	<u>Pakho lands</u>	<u>Value of</u> <u>Original Mortgage</u>
Dang-Deukhuri	-	1 bigha	-
Pyuthan	1,977-10	75 muris and 19 pathis of seeds	Rs 18,029
Palpa	240	55 muris of seeds	Rs 2,867.50
Salyan	30	406 muris and 18 pathis of seeds	Rs 58,175
East No. 3	140	-	Rs 860
West No. 2	208	12 pathis and 5 manas of seeds	-
West No. 4	792	21 muris and 1 pathi of seeds	Rs 5,160
Bandipur	2,134	40 hale holdings	Rs 16,985.11

Reports from other districts showed that they had no rajabandhaki lands. However, no report had yet been received from Baglung.

On Shrawan 16, 2006 (July 31, 1949), the following arrangements were made for the redemption of rajabandhaki lands :-

- (1) The date for submission of particulars was extended by two months.
- (2) An offer made by Kharidar Harilal to detect undeclared rajabandhaki lands was accepted, and he was allowed a commission of 15 percent of the value of such lands detected by him. The commission had previously been sanctioned to the concerned government offices only.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 37, pp. 155-167.

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#### The Bigahatti Levy

On Poush 21, 1990 (January 5, 1934), orders were sent to district headquarters (Goswara) offices in the Tarai region in the name of Major Shankar Shumshere J. B. Rana, Chief of the Madhesh Report Niksari, to furnish information in the following matters in connection with the proposal to convert all district-level revenue contracts into a special levy (bigahatti) on land :-

- (1) What should be the rate of the levy if the hides and skins contract (charsa rakam) is alone taken into account ?
- (2) What should be the rate of the levy if the ganja, mahuwa, and liquor (bhatti) contracts are alone taken into account ?
- (3) Will it be appropriate to replace these sources of revenue by a bigahatti levy ?
- (4) What was the maximum and the minimum yield from these sources of revenue during the past ten years ?

Several district headquarters offices, including the Jhapa District Headquarters Office, expressed the view that a bigahatti levy, even if imposed at a low rate, would prove to be a burden on the ryots, who had not even been able to pay their land taxes.

The reports submitted by the district headquarters offices also indicated that ryots in the majority of the districts of the Tarai region were opposed to the imposition of such a bigahatti levy to replace revenue contracts.

Finally, it was realized that revenue would decline if the bigahatti levy was imposed on the basis of the minimum yield of the sources of revenue mentioned above.

The total taxable area in the Tarai region was reported to be 1,595,513 bighas. Revenues from different sources were as follows :-

Hides and skins	...	Rs 215,966
Ganja, Mahuwa, and liquor	...	Rs 441,978
Other sources	...	Rs 135,564
Total	...	Rs 793,508

If converted into a bigahatti levy, revenue from the following sources would mean the following rates per bigha :

Hides and skins	...	2 annas and 2½ paise
Ganja, Mahuwa, and liquor	...	4 annas, 1 paise 2½ dams
All sources	...	7 annas, 3 paise and 3 dams.

On Magh 7, 1991 (January 20, 1935), Prime Minister Juddha Shumshere ordered that the proposal be shelved for the time being because even land taxes were not being collected in full.

The proposal was revived about five years later, and again shelved on the same grounds according to an order issued by Prime Minister Juddha Shumshere on Bhadra 17, 1995 (September 2, 1938).

Prime Minister Juddha Shumshere issued the following order on Kartik 29, 1997 (November 14, 1940) : In case a bigahatti levy is imposed (replacing the hides and skins contract), the incidence will fall not only on those who own cattle, but also on others. Accordingly, the levy

shall not be imposed. In the Tarai region, Muslims take up the hides and skins contract. There are reports that in pursuit of their self-interests, they spread epidemic diseases among cattle. Moreover, ryots are not free to dispose of the hides of their dead cattle as they like.

Therefore, the following arrangements should be made :-

- (1) Hides and skins contracts should be granted only for the period ending Ashadh 32, 2000 (July 15, 1943).
- (2) From that date, ryots should be allowed to sell hides and skins in excess of their household needs without any restriction. Exports too should be allowed on payment of customs duty.
- (3) Revenue and district headquarters offices in all districts should be directed to recommend the rates at which customs duties should be collected on exports of hides and skins.
- (4) An offer of Rs 4,811 has been received for the horns, hides and skins monopoly in Dang-Deukhuri district for one year. No contract should be issued for the operation of the monopoly. During the current year, ryots and jimidars shall be allowed to export hides and skins on payment of the following duty on each piece in addition to the existing duty :-

Buffalo	...	R. 1
Cow or ox	...	8 annas
Calf	...	4 annas.

The rates of export duties for the next year shall be as decided upon later.

The following measures were subsequently sanctioned under the November 14, 1940 order mentioned above :-

- (1) In the hill districts, including Kathmandu Valley, a surcharge of 1 paisa in each rupee of revenue from khet and pakho lands shall be imposed after the abolition of the hides and skins contract. A report regarding the estimated amount of revenue from this surcharge shall be submitted six months before current contracts are due to expire.
- (2) In the Tarai districts, although the imposition of a bigahatti levy to compensate the loss of revenue consequent to the abolition of the hides and skins contract has been opposed, it has been decided that from Shrawan 1, 2000 (July 16, 1943), no such contracts shall be granted, and that ryots may use their hides and skins for household purposes, or export them, without any restriction. No duty shall be collected on such exports. As regards the bigahatti levy, it shall be collected at the rate of 2 annas (or 8 paisa) per bigha. (The figure has been calculated on the basis of an estimated Rs 200,000

as revenue from the hides and skins contract in the Tarai districts, divided by the total taxable area of 1,565,960 bighas), except in Palhi district, where existing contract arrangements were to be retained for the time being.

A public notification containing the above-mentioned particulars was issued on Jastha 24, 2000 (June 6, 1943).

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 37, pp. 453-466.

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King Mukunda Sen's Invasion of Kathmandu Valley

By

Mahesh Raj Panta and Dinesh Raj Pant

(Continued from the December 1981 issue)

History has a deep relationship with politics. For this reason, envoys of the empire-building British, or officials of their missions who visited Nepal took deep interest in the history of Nepal, and have left accounts of the information that they were able to compile about Nepal. They include the following :-

1. William Kirkpatrick, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, Being the Substance of Observations Made During a Mission to That Country, in the Year 1793, London: Willian Miller, 1867 Vikrama (A.D. 1811).
  2. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the Territories Annexed to This Dominion by the House of Gorkha, Edinburgh, Archibald Constable & Co., 1876 Vikrama (A.D. 1819).
  3. Brian Houghton Hodgson, Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet : Together With Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology, and Commerce of Those Countries, London : Trubner & Co., 1931 Vikrama (A.D. 1874).
- ... Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects, London: Trubner & Co., 1937 Vikrama (A.D. 1880).

In addition, several articles by Brian H. Hodgson on subjects relating to Nepal have been published in Asiatic Researches, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.



4. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, Sketches from Nipal, Historical and Descriptive, With Anecdotes of the Court Life and Wild Sports of the Country in the Times of Maharaja Jung Bahadur, G.C.B., to Which is Added an Essay on Nepalese Buddhism, and Illustrations of Religious Monuments, Architecture, and Scenery from the Author's Own Drawings, London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1937 (Vikrama (A.D. 1880), 2 vols.
5. Daniel Wright (ed.), History of Nepal with an Introductory Sketch of the Country and People of Nepal, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933 (Vikrama (A.D. 1877)).

A treaty was signed between Nepal and the East India Company in the Vikrama year 1873 (A.D. 1816). Edward Garner was then appointed British Resident in Nepal. Brian Houghton Hodgson first came to Nepal as his assistant in 1877 Vikrama (A.D. 1820). From 1889 to 1899 Vikrama (A.D. 1832 to 1842), he functioned as British Resident. (William Wilson Hunter, Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident in Nepal, London: John Murray, 1953 Vikrama (A.D. 1896). He has done considerable research on Nepal. Hodgson was able to get a Vamshawali compiled by one Padma Giri, which contained an account of events from the earliest times (Satyayuga) to 1382 Vikrama. He had it translated into English. The translation is now in the possession of the India Office Library in London. (Brian Houghton Hodgson, Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet (reprint), New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 2029 Vikrama (A.D. 1972). Introduction by Philip Denwood), It has been published under the caption: "An Account of Nepal" in Bikrama Jit Hasrat, History of Nepal, As Told by Its Own and Contemporary Chroniclers Hoshiarpur, 1970, pp. 1-98).

Daniel Wright had come to Nepal as a medical doctor at the British Residency during the time of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Kunwar Rana. He spent ten years in Nepal. Wright took much interest in Nepal. The tradition of compiling Vamshavalis on a current basis from generation to generation was long current in Nepal. (Mahesh Raj Pant, "Gopalarajavamshawali ra Bhasha Vamshawaliko Sadharanya Ka Kehi Udaharana" (Some similarities between the Gopalarajavamshawali and the Bhasha Vamshawali). Purnima, No. 31, 2031 Vikrama (A.D. 1974), pp. 162-66). Pandit Gunananda of Patan was one of these chroniclers. With his help, Daniel Wright had Mir Munshi Shivashankara Simha of the British Residency translate a Vamshawali written in the Nepali language into English. He edited the translation himself, and also wrote a detailed introductory sketch. The book was published from Cambridge in the Vikrama year 1933. It became very popular, because it contained a complete history of Nepal from the earliest times to the Vikrama year 1886, and was written in the English language.

After Nepali scholars started studying the history of Nepal, they began to pay greater interest in the Vamshavalis. In the Vikrama year 2020, Nayanath Poudel edited and published a Vamshawali on the basis of two manuscripts in the possession of the National Library and the Bir Library. Devi Prasad Lamsal carried on the work ahead. However, it remained

incomplete, and only those portions that carried the story to Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of Kathmandu were published. (Nayanath Poudel (ed.), Bhasha Vamshawali, pt. 1, Kathmandu: Nepal National Library, Department of Archeology, Ministry of Education of His Majesty's Government, 2020 Vikrama 1963). The Bir Library Vamshawali used by Nayanath Poudel and Devi Prasad Lamsal was published by the Department of Archeology of the Ministry of Education of His Majesty's Government in Ancient Nepal (No. 7, pp. 1-24; No. 8, pp. 1-24; No. 9, pp. 1-24; and No. 10, pp. 1-24 in the Vikrama year 2026, and No. 11, pp. 1-17 in the Vikrama year 2027) under the title "Nepalako Itihasa Rajabhogamala."

A similar Vamshawali was found in the possession of Subba Bhupal Man Singh Pradhan. It starts with an account of places of pilgrimage in Nepal and contains a description of events until the Vikrama year 1942 (A.D. 1885). Bala Chandra Sharma in Ancient Nepal (No. 4, pp. 3-15; No. 5, pp. 1-17, and No. 6, pp. 1-29 in the Vikrama year 2025).

A similar but more detailed Vamshawali is available at the Kaiser Library. It contains an account from the time of Creation until the Vikrama year 1947 (A.D. 1890). This Vamshawali too has been published in Ancient Nepal (No. 12, pp. 1-27; No. 13, pp. 1-24; and No. 14, pp. 1-24 of the Vikrama year 2027; No. 16, pp. 1-24; No. 17, pp. 1-11 and No. 18, pp. 1-24 of the Vikrama year 2028; No. 19, pp. 1-23; No. 20, pp. 1-24; No. 21, pp. 1-28, and No. 22, pp. 1-20 of the Vikrama year 2029; No. 23, pp. 1-10, No. 24, pp. 1-23; No. 25, pp. 1-20; and No. 26, pp. 1-14 of the Vikrama year 2030; and No. 27, pp. 1-32 of the Vikrama year 2031).

All these five Vamshawalis refer to the invasion of Kathmandu Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Palpa. As this is the main theme of the present article, we reproduce below the relevant excerpts from all these five Vamshawalis.

anandamalla ... reigned for 35 years.

Safe ... made a resolution.

He reigned 35 years. In the course of his reign an astrologer of Bhatgaon told him to send for the sands of the Visnumati at a certain hour, and that the sand would be converted into gold dust in the course of four days. Accordingly, the Raja sent a train of Bhatgaon porters to fetch sand, and whilst they were bringing it, a Newar inhabitant of Kathmandu named Safe asked the porters what it was. They replied: "It is the sand of the Visnumati which could be had on the spot from whence they came so far to take it. An astrologer, who has turned the Rajah mad of late, advised him to do so."

Hearing this Safe perceived that there must be something mysterious in the matter; so he bribed the porters to leave the sand with him and replace it with other, which they did, and the sand thus fraudulently taken by Safe became gold dust, as had been foretold by the astrologer of Bhatgaon.

Safa thus enriched made a resolution to establish a new era. Accordingly, he discharged the debts of the people with the value of the gold dust and gave rise to a new era called the Nepali Samvat. In the 10th year of the Nepali Samvat, Safa died after having erected his image in front of the southern door of the Pasupatinath temple.

Raja Jayadevamalla of Kathmandu and Anandamalla of Bhatgaon were defeated and deposed by (1) Nanyadeva, who came to besiege their dominion from Carnatic with a numerous host of all castes and descriptions among which was a caste called Dwinaju Newars who had kuldevatas or family gods called Dwinaju with them. By the aid of these dieties Nanyadeva conquered the country and took possession of Bhatgaon and settled there, when the Malla Rajahs having left the country went to settle in Tirhut.

Nanyadeva died after a reign of 50 years, and was succeeded by his son (2) Gangadeva, who died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (3) Saktideva, who died in the 39th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (4) Ramasinhadeva. In the time of this Rajah, Rajah Mukandasena of Palpa, having surrounded the country of Nepal with a numerous force in the season of harvest, the people for fear of being killed left their abodes and in the meantime buried their paddy and radish crops under ground. Mukandasena having plundered the country and demolished the temples of the dieties and destroyed their images and also taken out the Bhairava from the ground of Matsyendra's Vihar or monastery carried it to his native country of Palpa where it is still to be seen. When he was proceeding with his numerous train, the inhabitants of Patan who were performing the ceremony of Snanayatra of Matsyendranath, hearing the shouts of his soldiers ran away after leaving the image alone. The Rajah having approached the image was much astonished by the sight of five golden serpents pouring out water from their mouths on the head of Matsyendranath. He took off the golden garland from the neck of his horse and threw it at Matsyendra, who bowed his head a little and received the same in his neck. This garland is still in his possession to this day.

The followers of Mukandasena had provoked the wrath of the god Pasupatinath by their sins and cruelties. Consequently, Pasupatinath caused a dreadful contagion to break out in his army which was destroyed in one week, except the Rajah, who turned a Sanyasi and departed in mendicant's guise for his native country. After his departure when the Nepalese dug out their paddy and radishes from the ground, they were half rotten, wherefore the people gave them the appellation of Hakua and Sunki (or black paddy and putrified vegetables).

After the disgraceful departure of Mukandasena the country became without a ruler, whereon the Vaisya dynasty of Nawakot came and took possession of the country, in such a manner that Kantipur was possessed by twelve and Patan by twenty-four rajahs. (Hasrat, op. cit. pp. 49-52).

At the time when Raja Jaya-deva Malla was ruling over Lalit-Patan and Kantipur, and Ananda Malla over Bhaktapur, in the Saka year 811, and Nepal Sambet 9 (A.D. 889), on the 7th of Sravana Sudi, a Saturday, Nanya-deva Raja came from the

south Karnataka country and entered Nepal. He brought with him the Saka Sakala era, and introduced it. Among the troops that were with him were Newaras, from a country called Naya, who were Brahma-putra Chhetris and Achars. He brought two devatas with him, named Meju and Swekhu, and having defeated the Malla Rajas, he compelled them to flee to Tirhut. He established his court at Bhaktapur, and ruled over it as well as over Lalit-patan and Kantipur. The kings of this dynasty are as follows:

1. Nanya-deva reigned 50 years.
2. His son Ganga-deva reigned 41 years.
3. His son Marsinha-deva reigned 31 years.

In his reign, in Nepal Sambat 111 (A.D. 991), on the 6th of Phagun Sudi, Raja Malla-deva and Kathya Malla, of Lalit-patan, founded the village of Chapagaon, then called Champapuri.

4. His son Sakti-deva reigned 39 years.
5. His son Rama-sinha-deva reigned 58 years.

All went well in his reign.

6. His son Hari-deva.

He removed his court to Kantipur.

In the reign of Hari-deva Raja, the ministers, people and troops of Patan revolted, and the Raja with his ministers and the troops of Kathmadon (sic), going to suppress the rebellion, was defeated, and pursued as far as Thambhil.

At this time there was a Magar in his service, who, through the machinations of the ministers, was dismissed as being no longer required. This man returned to his home, and praised Nepal as having houses with golden roofs and golden pranalis (or dharas). The Raja Mukunda-sena, a brave and powerful monarch, having heard of this, came to Nepal from the west, with a large number of mounted troops, and subdued Raja Hari-deva, the son of Rama-sinha-deva. Of the Nepalese troops some were slain, and others fled. Great confusion reigned in the three cities. Through fear of the troops the people buried their radishes, and having cut their rice, stacked it and concealed it by heaping earth over it. The victorious soldiers broke and disfigured the images of the gods, and sent the Bhairava placed in front of Machchhindranath to their own country, Palpa and Butawal.

On the day that Raja Mukunda-sena arrived at Patan the priests were performing the Shana-jatra, or ceremony of bathing Machchhindranatha. Seeing the troops, they ran away, leaving the god in the Devali (bathing-place). At this moment the five Nags, which were in the golden canopy of Machchhindra, poured

forth five streams of water on the head of the deity. Mukunda-sena saw this, and, out of respect for such great power, he threw upon the image the golden chain, which adorned his horse's neck. Machchindra himself took it up, and put it round his neck, and this chain is never removed from the neck of the image.

With this Raja the Khas and Magar castes came to Nepal. These men, having no mercy, committed great sins, and the Aghora Murti (the southern face) of Pashupati showed its frightful teeth, and sent a goddess named Maha-mari (pestilence), who within a fortnight cleared the country of the troops of Mukunda-sena. The Raja alone escaped to the east, in the disguise of a Sannyasi. On his way back from thence to his own country he arrived at Devi-ghat, and died there. From this time the Khas and Magars came into the country; and sinki and hakuwa rice were made. The Karnataki Rajas reigned for five generations. In the sixth Hari-deva was subdued by Mukunda-sena, whose troops were destroyed by pestilence. For seven or eight years after this there was no Raja in Nepal.

Seeing that the throne was vacant the Vais Thakuri Rajas of Noakot came and began to rule. In Lalit-patan every tol (division or quarter of the town) had its own Raja. In Kantipur there were twelve Rajas, who were called Jhinhimathakula. Bhatgaon had also a Thakuri Raja.

Around 811 Shaka (10 Nepal Samvat) Nanya Deva arrived in Nepal from Karnataka during the reign of Jaya Deva Malla. The Malla Kings fled to Tirhut. The army of the Karnataka King consisted of people from different communities, including Newar who lived in the Nair region, and the Brahmaputra Kshetriyas. Nanya Deva made Bhaktapur his capital, from where he ruled all the three towns for 50 years. It was this king who introduced the Shaka era in Nepal. His son was Ganga Deva, who ruled for 41 years. Ganga Deva was succeeded by his son, Nara Simha Deva, who ruled for 31 years. His son was Shakti Simha Deva, who ruled for 39 years. Shakti Simha Deva was succeeded by Rama Simha Deva, who ruled for 58 years.

It was during Rama Simha Deva's rule that a brave King named Mukunda Sen came from Palpa in the west with an army of 125,000 men, and marched into Nepal. He fought fierce battles against the Kings of Nepal. Many people were killed on both sides. But the Sen king finally defeated the army of Nepal, and drove it off, after inflicting heavy losses. The victorious invaders then started a reckless plunder of the local inhabitants. They uprooted radish plants and dumped them into ditches, cut down paddy crops and stacked them in the fields. They also broke idols at various places, and lifted the idol of Bhairava, which was being displayed on the occasion of the Machchindra Nath festival. The idol of Bhairava was taken away to Palpa, where it still exists.

And Ananda Malla, bringing with him the idols of goddess Dwimaju and other goods. He fought and defeated the Kings of Nepal.

King Mukunda Sen did not care to rule the inhabitants of Nepal in a manner which would satisfy them. Instead, he let loose violence on them, plundered their crops, desecrated temples, and so on. The army of the Sen King consisted of such hillsmen as Khasas and Magars. They lacked such virtues as pity and discretion.

As a result, Pashupatinatha and other gods became angry and let loose Mahamari, Goddess of Destruction, from a tooth in the Aghora (terrible) face of God Pashupatinatha among the troops. God Pashupatinatha thus destroyed the entire invading force in one fortnight. Only the Sen King was able to escape to the east.

At the time when King Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal, Machchhindrenatha was at the bathing-place (Shanamandala) in Lagankhel. All those people who had come to witness the festival fled on hearing that the enemy was coming with a large army. Machchhindrenatha was thus left alone. Leaving his troops to besiege the town, King Mukunda Sen reached that place, took the garland on the neck of his horse, and flung it toward the god. Machchhindrenatha bowed his head and let the garland fall on his neck. For this reason, King Mukunda Sen regarded Machchhindrenatha as a powerful god and did not let him come to any harm. The garland is still on the neck of Machchhindrenatha.

People belonging to the Khasa and Magar communities started coming into Nepal since then. It was also from that time that the practice of taking Sinki and hakuwa rice started.

The Karnataka Kings were thus uprooted by King Mukunda Sen after they had enjoyed Nepal for five generations. On hearing that the Karnataka dynasty had been wiped out, Vaishyas from Nuwakot came in large numbers and many of them began to rule in the town styling themselves Kings. In Kantipur, there was one Vaishya King in each locality (tol), and they were collectively known as the 12 Thakuris.

(Devi Prasad Lamsal, Bhasha Vamshawali, pt. 2, Kathmandu: Nepal National Library, Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Education of His Majesty's Government, 2023 Vikrama (A.D. 1966), pp. 26-28).

In 218 Nepal Samvat (1019 Shaka) King Nanya Deva of Karnataka in the south entered Simraungarh in the southern plains of Nepal.

This King introduced the Shaka era. He had come to Nepal along with the idols of Nimaju and other gods, and a retinue consisting of scores of castes including Newars who lived in the Nair region, also called Nayar, sons of Brahmans, and Acharyas born in the Kshatriya caste. King Nanya Deva then fought against the Kings of Nepal. After defeating and driving them out, he began to rule from Bhaktapur. The Malla Kings fled and settled down in the northern region.

Nanya Deva's reign lasted 50 years. His son, Ganga Deva, reigned for 41 years. Ganga Deva was succeeded by his son, Nara Simha Deva, who ruled for 31 years. Nara Simha Deva's son, Vamana Deva, ruled for 39 years. He was succeeded by Rama Simha Deva, who ruled for 53 years.

During the reign of Rama Simha Deva, the valiant King of Palpa, Mukunda Sen, entered Nepal with an army of 125,000 men and conquered it. His army roamed about the towns, uprooted radish plants and dumped them in ditches, cut down paddy crops and stacked them in the fields. They then summoned all the deities, and propitiated Bhagawati and Bhairava. Later, they dismantled the idol of Bhairava installed before the chariot of Machchhindranatha, and sent it to his native land, that is, Palpa (butaul). The idol of Bhairava is still found there.

On the day when Mukunda Sen arrived at Lalitpattan, the chariot of Machchhindranatha had reached the platform of Lagankhel. His army appeared exactly at the time when Machchhindranatha was being bathed. At the sight of the King's troops, the crowds fled, leaving Machchhindranatha alone. Mukunda Sen saw Machchhindranatha bathe himself with the water flowing from the mouths of five snakes hovering over the golden crown of the deity. Realizing that Machchhindranatha was a powerful god, Mukunda Sen removed the golden chain adorning the neck of his horse and threw it at Machchhindranatha, who immediately put it around his neck. The chain is still seen on the neck of the deity.

Khasas and Magars, who were totally devoid of mercy, committed numerous sins in Nepal, thus incurring the wrath of all gods, including Pashupatinatha. From the mouth of the angry Pashupatinatha came forth a flame of fire, which let loose an epidemic (Mahamari) among the invaders. Within a fortnight, Pashupatinatha exterminated the army of Mukunda Sen. Mukunda Sen alone managed to reach a place located in the east disguised as a mendicant.

It was after King Mukund Sen's invasion that Khasas and Magars started coming into Nepal.

(The radish which had been dumped in ditches became sinki, while the paddy crops that had been stacked in the fields became hakuwa. Sinki and hakuwa are still in use).

(Bala Chandra Sharma (ed.), "Kathmandu-Upatyakako Eka Rajavanshawali" (A royal genealogy of Kathmandu Valley), Ancient Nepal, No. 5, p. 1, 2025 Vikrama (A.D. 1968).

Ananda Deva became King of Bhaktapur, including the town, on Monday, the first day of the new moon (Pratipada) in the dark fortnight of the month of Magh in 930 Vikrama. He ruled for 20 years. After his death, his son, Rudra Deva, became King. He ruled for eight years and one month in Kantipur.

Rudra Deva was succeeded by his son, Mitra Deva, who ruled for 22 years.

Rudra Deva's son, Ari Deva, ruled for 25 years and 10 months. He collected 2, people who were skilled in the art of wrestling (Mallavidya) and used to witness wrestling shows. He himself used to get instructions in the art of wrestling. He was thus very fond of wrestling. Because a son was born to him at the time when he was being instructed in wrestling, he named the child Abhaya Malla. Ari Deva then adopted the title of Malla for his dynasty.

Abhaya Malla ruled for 42 years and 6 months.

After his death, his son, Jaya Malla, ruled for 42 years.

After Jaya Malla's death, his brother, Ananta Malla, ruled for 35 years and 11 months.

During the reign of Ananta Malla, Nanya Deva, who was born in the Karnataka land of the south and had become King in Simraungarh, came into Nepal with a large army and Dwimaju and other gods. He defeated the King of Bhaktapur in a battle and drove him off to Tirhut. Nanya Deva was accompanied by the Newars of the Nair land in the south, Brahmaputra-Kshatriya (Achar) born of Brahman fathers and Kshatriya mothers in that same land, Shresthas, Jyapus, and many other castes. All of them settled in Nepal. The Malla Kings shifted to Mithila.

King Nanya Deva made Bhaktapur his capital and ruled all the three towns for 50 years. He introduced the Shaka era, which was in vogue in Karnataka, into Nepal.

Nanya Deva was succeeded by his son, Ganga Deva, who ruled for 41 years.

Ganga Deva was succeeded by his son, Nrisimha Deva, who ruled for 31 years.

Nrisimha Deva was succeeded by his son, Shakti Deva, who ruled for 39 years.

Shakti Deva was succeeded by his son, Rama Simha, who ruled for 48 years.

During Shakti Deva's reign, his son, Hari Deva, stayed in Kantipur and ruled over it.

After some time, the inhabitants of Patan left obeying King Hari Deva. On the advice of his ministers, King Hari Deva fought against them. The inhabitants of Patan chased the Kantipur troops upto Kantipur. The ministers and troops of Kantipur, unable to stay there, fled to Thababil.



King Hari Deva had been giving money to a Magar. His ministers gave him information against that Magar, who then became angry and went back to his home in Palpa. He told King Mukunda Sen of Palpa that there were roofs and water-spouts of gold in Nepal. With the desire to visit Nepal, King Mukunda Sen, accompanied by 125,000 troops, proceeded toward Nepal, conquering all countries that were situated on the way. He defeated King Hari Deva and drove him off to Tirhut.

Mukunda Sen then became King of Nepal. He ruled for 11 years. The Khasa and Magar troops who had accompanied him to Nepal were very cruel. They greatly oppressed the subjects. Out of fear, the inhabitants of Nepal uprooted radish plants and dumped them in ditches, which then became Sinki. Similarly, they stacked their paddy crops without threshing them, so that the paddy became hakuwa. The Khasas and Magars broke idols at many places, and even took away to their own country the idol of Bhairava which used to be taken out during the Machchhindranatha festival. The idol is still found in Palpa. Mukunda Sen made no efforts to improve the administration of Nepal. He had with him only Khasas and Magars who knew no compassion, nor virtue. They only oppressed the subjects without any reason. When even temples were desecrated in this manner, God Pashupatinath became angry and displayed a crooked tooth (Vikatadanta) from His Southern Aghora (terrible) face. As a result, an epidemic (Mahamari) spread among the troops of Mukunda Sen and destroyed the Khasa and Magar troops. Mukunda Sen then disguised himself as a mendicant (sanyasi) and proceeded toward the east on pilgrimage. He reached Orissa, where he visited the temple of Jagannatha. Eventually, he reached Devaghat on the banks of the Gandaki river, where he died.

Mukunda Sen had reached Nepal on the day when Machchhindranatha was being bathed at Lagankhel. On hearing the news, people who had come to participate in the festival fled to their houses and hid themselves there. No one remained at the site of the festival. One could only see water falling from the mouths of the five serpents hung on a golden canopy on the head of Machchhindranatha. King Mukunda Sen sent his troops to besiege the town and himself went to the site of the festival. He saw water falling continuously on the head of Machchhindranatha from the mouths of the serpents. Mukunda Sen then realized that Machchhindranatha was a powerful god and so offered the chain on the neck of his horse from a distance. Machchhindranatha bowed his head to accept the offering. The chain is still in existence.

After King Mukunda Sen went on pilgrimage, there was no King to rule over Nepal. On learning that there were only Khasas and Magars and no King in Nepal, the Vaishyas, and Thakuris of Nawakot won over the subjects and ruled over all the three towns. Twelve Thakuris established their rule in each locality (tol) of Kantipur. The Vaishyas and Thakuris similarly ruled over each (tol) in Patan and Bhaktapur also,

These lengthy excerpts from five different Vamshawalis which have all been published are not meant simply to fill up the pages of the Purnima. Although their contents are basically the same, they also reveal a number of differences. These excerpts will therefore prove helpful in our discussion of King Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley.

For the sake of convenience, we shall use the following abbreviations for the following five Vamshawalis :-

1. Vamshawali edited by Bikrama Jit Hasrat ... V1.
2. do. by Daniel Wright ... V2.
3. do. by Devi Prasad Lamsal ... V3.
4. do. by Bala Chandra Sharma ... V4.
5. do. by Department of Archaeology ... V5.

With the exception of V3, the other Vamshawalis do not mention the date of the invasion. We must therefore use circumstantial evidence to ascertain the date.

According to V1, Ananda Malla ruled for 35 years, and the Nepal Samvat was introduced during his reign. This Vamshawali also mentions that the man who did so installed his own statue at the temple of Pashupatinatha in 10 Nepal Samvat on the eve of his death, and that subsequently Nanya Deva defeated Ananda Malla and became King of Nepal. This event thus seems to have occurred some time after 10 Nepal Samvat (947 Vikrama). This Vamshawali, however, does not mention the exact date when Nanya Deva established his rule in Nepal Valley. Let us assume that he did so in the Vikrama year 950. V1 states that Nanya Deva died 50 years later and was succeeded by his son Ganga Deva. Let us assume that this event occurred in  $950+50=1000$  Vikrama. Ganga Deva died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son, Shakti Deva, according to V1. This event may thus have occurred in  $1000+41=1041$  Vikrama. Shakti Deva died after a reign of 39 years and was succeeded by his son, Rama Simha Deva, probably in  $1041+39=1080$  Vikrama. Since Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during the reign of Rama Simha Deva, according to V1, the event seems to have occurred toward the end of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era.

V2 gives a definite date for Nanya Deva's rule in Nepal Valley. He entered the Valley on Saturday, the seventh day of the bright half of the moon in the month of Shrawan (Shrawana Shukla Saptami), 9 Nepal Samvat (811 Shaka) during the time when Jaya Deva Malla was reigning in Kathmandu and Ananda Malla in Bhaktapur. V2 also states that Nanya Deva ruled over Nepal Valley for 50 years. That is to say, his rule lasted till  $946+50=996$  Vikrama. His son, Ganga Deva, ruled for 41 years, that is, until  $996+41=1037$  Vikrama. Ganga Deva's son, Nara Simha Deva, ruled for 31 years, that is, until  $1037+31=1068$  Vikrama. His son, Shakti Deva,

ruled for 39 years, that is, until  $1068+39 = 1107$  Vikrama. Shakti Deva's son, Rama Simha Deva, ruled for 58 years, that is, until  $1107+58=1165$  Vikrama. He was succeeded by his son, Hari Deva, during whose reign King Mukunda Sen of Palpa invaded Nepal Valley, according to V2. In other words, the invasion took place some time after 1165 Vikrama, that is, during the second half of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era.

V3 similarly states that Nanya Deva entered Nepal in 811 Shaka (946 Vikrama) during the reign of Jaya Deva Malla and Ananda Malla. The regnal years of Nanya Deva and his successors are identical in both V2 and V3, so that Rama Simha Deva seems to have been reigning in 1165 Vikrama. The two Vamshawalis then differ. V2 states that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal during the reign of Hari Deva, son of Ramasimha Deva, that is some time after 1165 Vikrama, whereas according to V3 the invasion took place while Ramasimha Deva was still on the throne, that is, some time between 1107 and 1165 Vikrama. This is what V1 also states.

V3 differs from the other four Vamshawalis also in that it gives a definite date for Mukunda Sen's invasion: 4359 of the Kali era ( $4359-3044=1315$  Vikrama). This would appear to obviate the need for adding up the regnal years of different kings. However, such a calculation would show that the invasion took place some time between 1107 and 1165 Vikrama, whereas V3 states that it took place in 4359 Kali era (1315 Vikrama), during the reign of Rama Simha Deva. As such, the date of the invasion as given in V3 is not accurate.

V4 states that Nanya Deva conquered Nepal Valley in 218 Nepal era (1019 Shaka, 1154 Vikrama), and that he ruled for 50 years, that is, until  $1154+50=1204$  Vikrama. His son, Ganga Deva, ruled for 41 years, that is, until  $1204+41=1245$  Vikrama. Ganga Deva was succeeded by his son, Narasimha Deva, who ruled for 31 years, that is, until  $1245+31=1276$  Vikrama. He was succeeded by his son, Vamana Deva, who ruled for 39 years, that is, until  $1276+39=1315$  Vikrama. Vamana Deva was succeeded by his son, Rama Simha Deva, who ruled for 58 years, that is, until  $1315+58=1373$  Vikrama. V4 states that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal while Ramasimha Deva was on the throne, that is, some time between 1315 and 1373 Vikrama.

V5 states that Ananda Deva ascended the throne on the first day (Pratipada) of the dark half of the moon in the month of Magh, 930 Vikrama, and ruled for 20 years, that is, until Magh 950 Vikrama. His son, Rudra Deva, ruled for 8 years and 1 month, that is, until Falgun 958 Vikrama. Rudra Deva's son, Mitra Deva, ruled for 22 years, that is, until  $958+22=$  Falgun 980 Vikrama. Mitra Deva's son, Ari Deva, ruled for 25 years and 10 months, that is, until Poush 1006 Vikrama. Ari Deva's son, Abhaya Malla, ruled for 42 years and 6 months, that is, until Ashadh 1049 Vikrama. Abhaya Malla's son, Jaya Malla, ruled for 42 years, that is, until Ashadh 1091 Vikrama. His brother, Ananta Malla, ruled for 35 years and 11 months, that is, until Jestha 1127 Vikrama. According to V5, it was

during the reign of Ananta Malla that Nanya Deva invaded Nepal Valley and became king. V5 also states that Nanya Deva ruled for 50 years, that is, until 1177 Vikrama (1127+50). Nanya Deva's son, Ganga Deva, ruled for 41 years, that is, until 1218 Vikrama. His son, Nrisimha Deva, ruled for 31 years, that is, until 1249 Vikrama. Nrisimha Deva's son, Shakti Deva, ruled for 39 years, that is, until 1288 Vikrama. Shakti Deva's son, Rama Simha, ruled for 48 years, that is, until 1336 Vikrama. During the reign of Rama Simha, while his son, Hari Deva, was in charge of the administration of Kathmandu, Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley, according to V5. The invasion thus seems to have taken place some time between 1288 and 1336 Vikrama.

We may now tabulate the different versions of the date of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley as given in the five Vamshavalis as follows :-

- |    |     |   |
|----|-----|---|
| V1 | ... | Toward the end of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era.                  |
| V2 | ... | After 1165 Vikrama (Second half of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era). |
| V3 | ... | (1) Some time between 1107 and 1165 Vikrama.<br>(2) 1315 Vikrama.           |
| V4 | ... | Some time between 1315 and 1373 Vikrama.                                    |
| V5 | ... | Some time between 1288 and 1336 Vikrama.                                    |

(To be Continued)

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Customs Duties on Nepal-Tibet Trade

In the Vikrama year 1944 (A.D. 1887), four new customs posts were created at trading centers on the Nepal-Tibet border: Pholeling-Myanguijang, Bandake, Changthapu, and Yerung.

Magh Sudi 3, 1944  
(January 1888)

Regmi Research Collection, vol 91, pp. 472-75.

Collection of Jagat duties at these places on goods traded between Nepal and Tibet as well as on goods sold and purchased in the Arun-Mechi region, had been given out of ijara basis for five years in Falgun 1936 (February 1880) to Colonel Indra Singh Tandan Lehere Chhetri against a payment of Rs 500 for one year. However, he surrendered the ijara in the following year because of his inability to collect the new duties. Such duties were then collected by the Ilam district administration. Later, however, collection was discontinued.

Subsequently, Simhabir Lama Gurung submitted a petition praying that the function of collecting Jagat duties at these places be assigned to him. The district administration of both Ilam and Dhankuta, when consulted, recommended that collection of jagat duties be revived there. The matter was then referred to the Kausi Tosakhana, but Simhabir Lama Gurung was unable to make any stipulation.

In Shrawan 1944 (July 1887), Laxmi Kanta Acharya of Pallokirat offered to take up that function on amanat basis on condition that he was given the rank of lieutenant. He stipulated that he would remit a net revenue of at least paisa Rs 5,000 every year to the government after paying administrative expenses, and that, in the event of his inability to do so, he would bear the staff expenses himself. His offer was accepted and the following customs tariff rates were approved. The export of arms and ammunition, saltpeter, sulfur, lead, and cows and oxen was banned.

Customs Tariff Schedule

Foodgrains	...	5 annas a load
Cloth	...	R. 1-4 do.
Sheep and goats	...	5 annas each
Buffaloes	...	R. 1-4 each
Ghee, oil	...	R. 1-4 a load
Salt	...	2½ annas do.
Tobacco	...	5 annas do.

Iron	...	5 annas	do.
Metal utensils	...	R. 1-4	do.
Woollen rugs and blankets	...	10 annas	do.
Pigs	...	5 annas each	
Lac	...	2½ annas	a load
<u>Jamr</u> and liquor	...	2½ annas	do.
Chicken	...	2½ annas	do.
Fruits	...	1¼ annas	do.
Ginger, chillis,	...	2½ annas	do.
Weapons, khukuris	...	2½ annas	do.
Iron utensils, hoes, axes	...	5 annas	do.
Pigeons	...	5 annas	do.
Fermented radish (Sinki) and vegetables (gandruk)	...	3 annas	do.
Brass, copper	...	R. 1-4	do.
Hawks	...	2 annas each	
Cumin seed, black pepper, and other spices	...	R. 1-4	a load
Other birds	...	1 anna each	
Brown sugar, molasses	...	R. 1-4	a load
Wooden vessels	...	4 annas	do.
Condensed citrus juice (chuk amilo)	...	R. 1-4	do.
Cotton	...	R. 1-4	do.

Magh Badi 3, 1944  
(January 1888)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 91, pp. 476-497.

The Copper Monopoly, A.D. 1900

In June 1900, the amanat system for the management of copper, iron, and lead mines in the Sanga/Sindhu-Mechi region in the eastern hills was abolished. The function was then assigned to Dittah Bhaktadhwaj Chhetri on ijara basis for a three-year period. The obligations of the ijaradar were as follows :-

- (1) Payment of Rs 10,301 to the government every year.
- (2) Supply of copper and lead in the required quantities to the Sadar Jinsikhana in Kathmandu at the following rates :-
 

Copper	...	...	Rs 3-12 a dharni
Lead	...	...	Rs 1-12 do.

The ijaradar was allowed to use inferior copper for the manufacture of utensils. However, he was denied authority to mint coins.

Shrawan Sudi 3, 1951  
(July 1901)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 91, pp. 823-831.

The copper monopoly in the Sanga/Sindhu-Mechi region led to a scarcity of the metal for the manufacture of utensils. The use of even scrap copper for this purpose required a permit from the monopolist, and often this entailed a journey of eight or nine days. The local coppersmiths, therefore, prayed that they be allowed to import copper from India on payment of import duties. The government, however, rejected the demand and reconfirmed the ban on imports of copper.

Ashadh Badi 11, 1958  
(June 1901)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 91, pp. 761-771.

### Collection of Sair Duties

A post had been established for the collection of sair duties at Jahadi-Pidibas in Udayapur-Gadhi on lands assigned as jagir to the Gorakha Bux Company. The function of collecting sair duties at that post had been given out on thek-ijara to Lt. Colonel Bhim Bikram Singh Thapa Chhetri.

In the Vikrama year 1934 (A.D. 1877), traders and pilgrims visiting Janakpur for the Ramanawami festival refused to pay sair duties at Jahadi-Pidibas on the ground that an order granting exemption from such payments had been issued on Magh Sudi 12, 1933 (January 1877) to Mahanta Abhilasha Giri and Mahanta Haribhajana Giri of Janakpur. Lt. Colonel Bhim Bikram Singh Thapa Chhetri then referred the matter to Kathmandu, praying that he be allowed to collect said duties at Jahadi-Pidibas as usual from traders and pilgrims visiting Janakpur.

On Aswin Badi 6, 1935 (September 1878) Prime Minister Ranodhip Singh issued an order reconfirming the 1877 exemption granted to the Mahantas. At the same time, the order added, "Such exemption shall be applicable only in the area where the Ramanawami festival is celebrated in Janakpur. Duties at Jahadi-Pidibas, which is situated at a distance of three days' journey, shall be collected according to the prescribed schedule."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 91, pp. 410-414.

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### Sale of Old Timber Stocks

Before Chaitra Sudi 12, 1938 (April 1882), chiefs of Kathmahal offices in the Naya Muluk did not have authority to sell old stocks of timber, that is timber cut before Marga Sudi 15, 1934 (November 1877), to Indian and local merchants. They were, instead, required to finalize deals with a 100 percent profit in the case of high quality timber. The figure was 50 percent for defective timber, but the Kathmahal was allowed to sell such timber even at cost if there was no alternative. The Kathmahals was required to refer such deals to Kathmandu within three days and then take action as ordered.



These arrangements did not suit Indian marchants. They pointed out that they could not be expected to leave their business and wait until their offers were formally approved from Kathmandu.

On Falgun Sudi 3, 1938 (February 1882), therefore, all the Kathmahals of the Naya Muluk were granted authority to finalize the sale of old timber stocks and later submit reports to Kathmandu.

Baisakh Sudi 5, 1939  
(April 1882)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 91, pp. 168-176.

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Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of Nepal

(Continued from the Devenber 1981 issue)

B. Particulars of Expenditure from General Revenue (Continued)

In thousand rupees.

<u>Heads of Expenditure</u>	<u>2007</u> (1950-51)	<u>2008</u> (1951-52)
11. <u>Elections</u> :		
(1) Salaries and allowances of officers and other staff of the Election Commissioner's Office	x	20
(b) Contingency expenses	x	8
(c) Travelling and daily allowances	x	15
(d) Printing of voters' lists		255
(If mimeographed, expenditure will not exceed Rs 100,000)		
(e) Allowances to persons preparing voters' lists	x	<u>25</u>
		323

12. Population Census :

## (a) Staff of Central Office:

(i) Census Commissioner	x	40
(ii) Salaries and allowances :		
(a) Officers	5	5
(b) Clerks	3	3
(iii) Contingency expenses	x	1

(b) Field Staff :

(a) Salaries and allowances :		
(1) Officers	.11	11
(2) Clerks	80	87
(b) Travelling and daily allowances	x	150
(c) Contingency expenses	x	10
Total	90	307

## 13. Constitutional Committee

8

x

(Staff of this Committee will be absorbed into other departments)

14. Advisory Committee :

## (a) Secretariat :

(1) Salaries and allowances of officers and employees	x	10
(2) Contingency expenses	x	52

## (b) Members' allowances :

(1) (Monthly allowance at the rate of Rs 100 per month and a meeting allowance of Rs 10 per day) for 50 non-official members	x	50
(2) Travelling allowances	x	30
(3) Assignments to be performed at different places	x	90
	x	232

15. Health :

Hospitals, dispensaries and public health	853	953
New projects	x	200
(For improvement of existing hospitals and dispensaries)		
Less income	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
	843	1143

16. Embassies in Foreign Countries :

(a) Embassy in London	199	322
(b) Embassy in Delhi	121	247

(The increased appropriation is necessitated by the need for the purchase of equipment and motor-cars, and appointment of additional employees. The demand for the construction of a building for the embassy this year has not been approved)

(c) Consulate Office in Calcutta	59	103
(d) do. in Rangoon	16	50
(e) Wakil's Office in Lhasa	49	63
(f) New Consulates	<u>x</u>	<u>90</u>
	444	875

17. Hospitality :

(a) Salaries and allowances of staff	3	4
(b) Hospitality	<u>x</u>	<u>100</u>
Total	3	104

18. Council for Inter-Asian  
Relations

3	3
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## 19. Protocol

18	30
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(This department needs to be reorganized for the sake of economy)

20. Civil Aviation :

## (a) Gauchar Airport :

(a) Salaries and allowances for staff	12	17
(b) Improvement of airport	x	300

(c) Special Mechanical Section building	x	15
(d) Other buildings	x	100
(b) Survey of new airport sites	x	25
(c) New airports at different places	x	280

(Total expenditure for drainage, quarters and fencing  
at Pokhara, Simra and Behatari)

	Total	12	737
21. Telephones		161	239
New projects		x	500
(To be spent as part of a Rs 2 million telephone project)			

	Total	161	739
22. Post Offices		244	246
New projects		x	100
	Total	244	346

23. Wireless Stations :

(a) Salaries and allowances	32	32	
(b) Contingencies	x	4	
(c) Daily and travelling allowances	3	3	
(d) Gasoline for generators	6	6	
(e) Equipment and supplies	77	77	
(f) Training of staff	x	13	
(g) New wireless stations	x	500	
	Total	122	635

24. Trolleys	54	59
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(Trolleys will not be required after the ropeway is installed,  
and may be shifted to other places)

25. Railways (separate budget)

26. Electricity :

(a) Salaries and allowances	111	166
(Increased appropriation is due to the appointment of additional staff for laying transmission lines)		
(b) Maintenance of reservoirs and equipment	20	165
(The increased appropriation is due to procurement of additional equipment)		
(c) Contingency expenses	6	7
(d) New projects	x	300
Total	<u>137</u>	<u>638</u>

27. Ropeways :

(a) Main ropeway :		
(1) Salaries and allowances	99	133
(The increased appropriation is due to increments made recently)		
(2) Equipment and supplies	24	24
(3) Contingency expenses	3	3
(4) New projects :		
(a) Renovation of cables	x	42
(The existing cables are five years old)		
(b) Procurement of equipment	x	10
(b) Swayambhu Nath Ropeway	x	4
(c) Expansion of ropeway	x	668
(Nearly complete)		
Total	<u>126</u>	<u>884</u>

28. Government Buildings :

(a) Hill and Tarai areas :		
(a) Salaries and allowances, contingency expenses	58	58
(b) Discretionary Fund	10	x

(c) Repairs to be undertaken at the discretion of Bada Hakim	x	30
(d) Building fund	x	90
(e) Supplies	x	10
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	68	188

(b) Sadar Public Nikshari (Public Works) :

(a) Salaries and allowances	80	78
(b) Daily and travelling allowances	1	1
(c) Freight charges	3	3
(d) Contingency expenses	1	1
(e) Repairs	161	75
(f) New projects	x	x
(g) Equipment and tools	x	80
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	264	238

(c) Singha Durbar Secretariat Maintenance :

(a) Salaries and allowances	197	102
(b) Supplies and equipment	161	62
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	358	164

(d) Miscellaneous repairs (for the  
whole of the country)

whole of the country)	x	100
New projects	x	441

(This amount includes Rs 91,000 to be spent for extending the bungalow of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, and Rs 50,000 for building a bungalow for the Military-Secretary of His Majesty)

Total	<hr/>	<hr/>
	690	1,131

3. Road Construction :(a) Central staff :-

(1) Chief Engineer	x	12
(2) Stenographer	x	1

(3) Clerks (2)

(4) Peons (3) x 3

## (b) Road construction Division :-

(1) Technical staff 27 15

(2) Administrative staff 19 19

(3) Staff of Accounts and  
Cash Section 4 4(4) Daily and travelling  
allowances 11 11

(5) Maintenance Division 14 19

(This amount includes the annual salary of Rs 5,000 to be paid to the engineer who will be coming back from the United Kingdom)

(6) Contingency expenses for  
(1) (2) and (3) above x 5(7) Field staff (for  
maintenance) 48 48

(8) New roads x 2,500

Total 123 2,636

30. Water Supply :

(a) Operating expenses 40 41

(b) Filtration plant 300 66

(c) New projects and major  
repair works x 65

Total 340 172

31. Mines :

(a) Coal Mining Office 7 9

(b) Less income - 7

Total 2

(c) Juddha Research Laboratory 4 5

(d) Bureau of Mines 16 17

(e) Payments to Swiss and American  
experts x 95

New scientific study projects	x	25
Less income	2	2
Total	19	142
<b>32. <u>Forests</u> :</b>		
(a) Salaries of central staff, including those of the Forest Advisor's Office	824	824
(b) New projects	x	300
(To be spent for disbursement of salaries to persons who had been drawing salaries from the army and for planning and reorganization)		
Total	824	1,124
<b>33. <u>Judiciary</u> :</b>		
(a) High Court	x	80
(The Chief Justice will be paid a salary of Rs 1,500 yearly)		
(b) Reorganization	x	25
(c) Judicial Administration	694	694
Total	694	799
<b>34. <u>Police</u> :</b>		
(a) Police administration	365	365
(b) Reorganization	x	200
(c) Raksha Dal	x	3,600
(d) Intelligence Department	x	30
Total	365	4,195
<b>35. <u>Jails</u> :</b>		
(a) Jail administration	364	364
(b) Jail Reforms Committee and reforms	x	100
Total	364	464



36. Law and Order :

(a) Police operations	x	300
(b) Compensation to volunteers	x	400

(To be spent from the total sum of Rs 800,000 sanctioned by the Cabinet)

	<u>          </u>	<u>          </u>
Total	x	700
37. Department of Publicity	30	100
38. Broadcasting	x	120
39. Cinema Hall :-		
(To be leased from April 13, 1952)		
Operating expenses	211	252
Less income	339	490
Total	<u>128</u>	<u>238</u>
40. Provincial administration	733	1,100
41. <u>Food</u> :		
(a) Food supply	x	25
(b) Training	x	25
(c) (Food) subsidy to civil employees	x	900
(As sanctioned by the Cabinet)		
(d) Food procurement	x	6,000
Less income	x	6,000
Possible losses in transportation and other expenses	x	1,000
Total	<u>x</u>	<u>1,950</u>
42. (a) Agriculture	314	314
(b) Reorganization	x	50
(Accounts in this regard must be carefully scrutinized and submitted to the Finance Committee)		
(c) New projects	x	200
Total	<u>314</u>	<u>564</u>

43. Survey	x	78
(For training of 30 students and purchase of new equipment)		
44. <u>Irrigation</u> :		
(a) Salaries and allowances	x	50
(b) Operation and safety of canals	x	100
(c) New projects	x	1,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	x	1,150
45. <u>Takkavi</u> loans	x	500
46. <u>Veterinary services</u> :		
(a) Hospitals	22	22
(b) New projects	x	20
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	22	42
47. <u>Defense</u>		
(All matters connected with defense policy need a careful review)		
(a) Salaries and allowances of officers	737	300
(The reduced appropriation is due to the resignation of some generals)		
(b) Salaries and allowances for privates and contingency expenses	4,976	7,029
(The increased appropriation is due to increased salaries)		
(c) Food subsidy	2,200	2,200
(d) Uniforms	439	439
(e) Equipment and supplies	450	450
(f) Garrison units	900	900
(g) Various officers	219	230
(h) Military hospital	48	60
(i) Pension and long service allowance	69	66

(j) Training	87	87
New heads :		
(1) Training in India	x	20
(2) Books and magazines	x	5
(3) Grants for education	x	6
(4) Functions and entertainment (Ghodojatra Festival)	x	10
(5) Military movements	x	135
(6) Meals for Guard Brigade	x	40
(7) Clothing for check- post personnel	x	700
(8) Repair of barracks	x	160
Total	<u>10,125</u>	<u>12,837</u>

48. General Administration :

## (a) Cabinet :

(1) (a) Salaries	x	258
(b) House rents	x	100
(Inclusive of monthly electricity charges of Rs 100)		
(c) Furniture	x	100
(d) Gasoline	x	36
(e) Chaffeurs	x	12
(f) Motor-cars	x	168
(2) Daily and travelling allowances	x	400
(Inclusive of the travelling expenses of His Majesty and the Crown Prince)		
(3) Private clerical staff	x	122
Total	<u>x</u>	<u>1,196</u>

(To be Continued)

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Tractor Exhibition in Birgunj

On Bhadra 25, 2008 (September 10, 1951), the Ministry of Food and Agriculture of the Government of Nepal published the following notification in the Nepal Gazette (Vol. 1, No. 6) :-

With the objective of developing agriculture and encouraging a grow more food campaign, the government is paying attention to arrangements for making available at reasonable prices agricultural tools and inputs for improved cultivation. Large tracts of cultivable lands remain waste in all the districts of the Tarai region, and tractors may be used to reclaim them for large-scale cultivation and thus increase food production.

"Accordingly, the Department of Agriculture is organizing an exhibition of tractors and related equipment at Birgunj on September 26-28, 1951. The exhibition will contain the following features for the benefit of farmers and zemindars :-

1. Tractors, their equipment and functions, and plowing, furrowing, and levelling operations.
2. Cost of tractors, the method of operating tractors, and other matters relating to tractors.
3. How tractors can be used to reclaim waste lands in the Tarai region for producing different crops and thereby solving the food problem.

The management of the exhibition has been given out to an agency, which will perform the functions mentioned above.

Enterprising farmers and zemindars in both the eastern and western Tarai regions are requested to help the government in making this exhibition successful and bringing waste lands under cultivation.

Arrangements will be made at Birgunj for hotels and rest-houses for the convenience of farmers and zemindars visiting the exhibition from the eastern and western districts.

Enterprising farmers and zemindars from the eastern and western districts, and other interested persons who intend to visit the exhibition are requested to inform the Birgunj District Headquarters Office one week in advance, so that it may be possible to make arrangements for boarding and accommodation.

Notification of the Home Department, 1952

Whereas the 1951 Interim Government of Nepal Act has provided to every Nepali citizen the right to reside, acquire and dispose of property, and engage in any profession or employment anywhere in the Kingdom of Nepal, the following regulations, which are inconsistent with those provisions, are hereby repealed :-

1. No local person shall be appointed as chief or deputy chief in any government office, or as bichari in any Court
2. No government employee shall acquire lands or engage in trade in the district or area where he is assigned.
3. The chief or deputy chief of any government office shall not visit the concerned district for a period of two years after his assignment in that district is terminated.
4. Permission must be obtained from the government before any member of the Rana, Sahebjū, or Chautariya families sells or mortgages his lands, or before such lands are auctioned for the recovery of arrears of payment.

(Abstract translation of notification published by the Home Department in the Nepal Gazettee, Vol. 1, No. 2, Shrawan 29, 2008 (August 13, 1951).

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Impressions of Nepal, 1844

Major H. Lawrence was Resident at the British Residency in Kathmandu from 1843 to 1846. Journals kept by his wife, Honoria Lawrence, (John Lawrence and Audrey Woodiviss, The Journals of Honoria Lawrence, London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), contain interesting information about economic life in Kathmandu Valley during that period.

Describing the route from Bessoulia on the Nepal-India frontier to Bichakoti (Bichhakhori, later Amlekhgunj) Honoria Lawrence writes (January 18, 1844) :

This difficult path, a mere foot track over ascents and descents and along the beds of torrents is the only pass entering their country which the Jealousy of the Nepalese has hitherto allowed strangers to see. And this one road is rendered apparently as difficult as possible to deter travellers. (p. 145).

Chira Ghattee (Chure-Ghat) was "a narrow pass with perpendicular sides, just wide enough to admit one elephant." The path led to "the village of Hitaunda, which contained "a very filthy straggling bazaar." (p. 146). Between Gnitlang and Kathmandu, "our road led first up a bare precipitous hill, a zig zag path with such short turns that in places there was barely room for the dandee." (p. 146).

"From Chandagiri we descended toward Kathmandoo by a winding ravine so steep and rocky that I am afraid of seeming to exaggerate if I describe it, at the same time saying that this gorge is the sole road by which goods and travellers have admittance into the Kingdom." (p. 148).

In Kathmandu Valley (May 11, 1844) :

"There is a large class of household slaves whose work is " hewing of wood and drawing of water." Every evening we meet troops of them returning from the neighbouring hills with burthens of faggots, men and women often singing and generally looking well fed and clothed. Water drawing is not so laborious an occupation here. (p.153). The firewood grows some miles off but water runs by every man's door. (p. 154).

"Fuel and grazing are the two great wants of the poor here ... Where every inch is cultivated there is scarcely any grazing ground. ... The surrounding hills belong to certain chiefs who there cut the timber. Even were it public property, the labour of cutting and bringing it such a distance would make it inaccessible to the poor. Small branches, chaff, dried leaves, the sugarcane from which juice (p. 161) has been squeezed, straw and such like insufficient substances are the firing on which the poor people depend. (p. 162)."

Indeed, timber was so scarce that "Every timber long enough for the beam of a house is brought from the Tarai." (p. 179).

Rest-Houses for Travellers

"In the town, as all over the country, (there is) a plentiful sprinkling of small patees, a term applied to these public buildings, from the grandest of them to a mere shed. Those I speak of as so numerous are merely sheds. In these travellers stop to eat and rest and when there are no other occupants, the Brahminee bulls seem to consider themselves the rightful inhabitants." (p. 174).

"The patee is a large hollow square of brickwork. A verandah supported on wooden pillars runs round two or three of the outer sides. These seem to be for shelter to passers by and cattle. Entering the court by a handsome arched gateway, we are in a quadrangle all round which there are small rooms, neat and clean so far as we saw. Each room is inhabited by some infirm or aged person, man or woman. In the centre of the square stands a temple, and the space between this and the surrounding buildings is neatly paved." (p. 173).

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Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of Nepal, 1951

(Continued from the January-February 1982 issue)

## (b) His Majesty's Secretariat :

(1) Civil Secretary	x	60
(2) Private Secretariat	x	12
(3) Motor-car for Civil Secretary	x	12
(4) Staff	x	x
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	x	34

## (c) Prime Minister's Secretariat

x 17

## (d) Cabinet Secretariat

x 30

## (e) Government of Nepal Ministries :

(a) Salaries x 550

(b) Equipment and furniture x 300



(o) Contingency expenses	x	200
(d) Daily and travelling allowances	x	200
Total		<u>1,250</u>
(f) Advisors	x	100
(g) National Airplane :-		
(a) Purchase	x	293
(b) Operation, maintenance, and flights	x	200
Total		<u>493</u>
(h) Public Service Commission	x	70
Total of (48)		<u>3,240</u>
49. His Majesty's Privy Purse :		
(a) (1) His Majesty's Privy Purse	537	537
Additional allocation	x	264
(2) Miscellaneous	x	112
(b) (1) Personal expenses of the Crown Prince	44	44
Additional allocation	x	108
(c) Hospitality	x	100
Total of (49)	581	<u>1,165</u>
50. <u>Unproductive Expenditures</u>		
(a) Civil allowances	6	10
(b) Other allowances	874	500
(c) Grants	-	-
(d) Allowances to helpless persons	412	100
(e) Miscellaneous	900	x
(f) Miscellaneous imports	900	x
Total of (50)	3,092	<u>610</u>

51. Extraordinary non-recurring expenses x 999

52. Contingency expenses :

(a) Increments in civil salaries x 2,000

(b) Reserves x 1,500

(Inclusive of funds to be spent with the approval of the Cabinet, as well as at the discretion of the Prime Minister and other ministers).

Grand total Rs 24,687,000 Rs 52,521,000.

Special (Capital) Income and Allocation Thereof

	<u>Special Income</u>		<u>Special Allocation</u>	
	Indian	Nepali	Indian	Nepali
1. <u>Currency Support Fund</u>				
(a) I.C. notes Rs 2,327,800				
(b) Indian coins Rs 334,700				
(c) Gold (219,700 <u>tolas</u> )		Rs 21,975,000		
(d) Silver (16,023,000 <u>tolas</u> )		Rs 24,034,500		
2. Investments :				
Nepal Bank shares		Rs 1,000,000		
Interest on do		Rs 40,000		
Allocation for purchase of additional shares of Nepal Bank		Rs 288,000		
Total	Rs 2,662,500	Rs 47,337,500		

2. Exchange Management Fund

(a) I.C. notes Rs 18,985,458			
(b) New mohar coins	Rs	979,000	
(c) Nepal currency notes	Rs	35,542	
Total	Rs 18,985,458	Rs 1,014,542	

3. Development Fund :

Imperial Bank of India	Rs 12,300,000		
United Kingdom banks	Rs 5,800,000		
Nepal Bank	Rs 70,000		
Mulukikhana	Rs 6,830,000		Rs 2,400,000 (shown as loans in general budget)
Interest on above-mentioned amounts deposited with Muluki Khana	Rs 671,000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs 25,671,000</b>		

4. Budget Management Fund :

(a) Old Mohar coins		Rs 7,051,800	Rs 1,500,000 (do.)
(b) Nepali currency notes		Rs 1,620,200	
(c) Indian currency notes	Rs 1,328,000		
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs 1,328,000</b>	<b>Rs 8,672,000</b>	

5. Compensatory Funds :

## (a) Railway :

(1) Amount held in Nepal Bank	Rs 50,000	Rs 388,125
interest on do.	Rs 875	
(2) Amount held in Muluki Khana	Rs 456,614	Rs 64,021
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs 507,489</b>	<b>Rs 452,146</b>

## (b) Electricity :

(1) Amount held in Imperial Bank	Rs 450,000
interest on do.	Rs 6,125

(2) Amount held in Muluki Khana	Rs	189,199	Rs	117,133	Rs 501,000	
					Transferred to general budget)	
Total	Rs	645,324	Rs	117,133		
(c) Ropeway :						
(1) Amount held in Nepal Bank	Rs	850,000				
Interest in do.	Rs	7,216				
(2) Amount held in Muluki Khana	Rs	162,925	Rs	13,284		
Total	Rs	1,020,751	Rs	13,284	Rs 758,000	
Grand total	Rs	2,172,964	Rs	582,563		
6. Miscellaneous Investment :						
(a) Tannery			Rs	30,000		
(b) Wood works			Rs	26,233		
(c) Birgunj Cotton Mills			Rs	100,000		
(d) Cigarette Factory			Rs	150,000		
Total investments		-	Rs	306,233		
7. <u>Miscellaneous Funds :</u>						
(a) Food Subsidy Fund :-						
(1) Held in Nepal Bank	Rs	300,000				
Interest on do.	Rs	5,250				
(2) Held in Muluki Khana	Rs	469,875	Rs	5,357		
Total	Rs	775,125	Rs	5,357		

(b) Irrigation Fund	Rs 1,082,778	Rs 54,389	Rs 1,082,778	Rs 54,389
			(Transferred to the general budget)	
(c) Shivarati Fund	Rs 108,600			
Interest on do.	Rs 3,258			
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs 111,858</b>			
(d) Ayurvedic Fund	Rs 206,000	Rs 206,000		
(e) Hospital Fund	Rs 1,246,758	Rs 1,246,758		
(f) Tuberculosis Fund	Rs 1,030,000	Rs 1,030,000		
(g) Water Works Fund	Rs 29,516	Rs 29,516		
(h) Jagannath Temple Fund	Rs 7,210			
(i) Tin Sarkar Guthi Fund	Rs 755,820			
(j) Dwarikanath Guthi Fund	Rs 1,648			
(k) Batu Krishna Maitra Fund	Rs 61,800			
(l) Dhira Santati Fund	Rs 206,000			
(m) Provident Fund :				
(a) Military	Rs 2,175,000			
Interest on do.	Rs 79,250			
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs 2,254,250</b>			
(b) Civil	Rs 347,000			
Interest on do.	Rs 10,360			
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs 357,360</b>			
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>Rs 2,611,610</b>			
(n) (Benevolent and Charitable Society)		Rs 52,503		
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs 8,126,123</b>	<b>Rs 90,271</b>		

Consolidated Particulars of Income and Expenditure  
In 1000 rupees

	<u>Income</u>	<u>Allocation</u>	<u>Expenditure</u> (Estimated)
(1) General income and expenditure:			
(1) Cash balance	Rs 2,578		Rs 52,521
(2) Transferred to general budget account	Rs 3,649		
(3) Transferred from the Compensatory Fund	Rs 1,259		
(4) General revenue	Rs 30,516		
(5) Borrowings from Development Fund	Rs 2,400		
(6) Borrowings from Budget Management Fund	Rs 1,500		
(7) Deficit	Rs 10,618		
Total	Rs 51,521		Rs 52,521
(2) <u>Special Account</u> : <u>Income</u>			<u>Expenditure</u>
(a) Currency Support Fund	Rs 500,000		
(b) Exchange Support Fund	Rs 20,000		
(c) Development Fund	Rs 25,671		Rs 2,400
(d) Budget Fund	Rs 10,000		Rs 1,500
(e) Compensatory Fund	Rs 2,756		Rs 1,259
(f) Miscellaneous investments	Rs 306		
(g) Miscellaneous Funds	Rs 8,216		Rs 3,649
Deficit		x (c) to (g) credited as loans in general budget account.	Rs 108,141 (surplus)
Total	Rs 116,949	Total	Rs 116,949

(Concluded)

King Mukunda Sen's Invasion of Kathmandu Valley

By

Mahesh Raj Panta and Dinesh Raj Pant

(Continued)

We shall now discuss the views of different historians on the Vamshawali accounts relating to Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley.

During the winter of 1941 Vikrama, Cecil Bendall, a Professor of Sanskrit at the University of London, visited Mewar (Udaipur) in Rajputana in the course of a research tour of Nepal and Northern India. There he met the Court Poet, Shyamaldas, who was engaged in compiling a history of that region. Bendall has recorded that he was highly impressed by the work of Shyamaldas. (Cecil Bendall, A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India. During the Winter of 1884-5, Cambridge : University Press, 1886, pp. 30-31), Shyamaldas compiled a detailed 2,800-page history of Rajputana in the Hindi language, which was published in 1947 Vikrama (A.D. 1890) under the title of Vir Vinod. In view of the legend that the rulers of Nepal originally came from Rajputana, Shyamaldas has devoted 80 pages of his work to the history of Nepal (1809-1888 pp). (Theodore Riccardi, Jr., "An Account of Nepal from the Vir Vinod of Shyamaldas," Kailash, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1975, pp. 199-286. However, Riccardi has not been able to write anything about Bendall and Shyamaldas).

In the Vikrama year 1937 (A.D. 1880), Bhagavanlal Indraji edited 23 inscriptions from Nepal. He realized that there were important discrepancies in the chronology contained in the Vamshawalis. In 1941 Vikrama (A.D. 1884), he published a scholarly article pointing at those discrepancies. That article influenced Shyamaldas. However, he did not have the courage to reject the Vamshawalis and compile an authentic history of Nepal on the basis of authoritative documentary evidence. Accordingly, he followed an easy way. He incorporated into his work a summary of the Vamshawali mentioned by Bhagavanlal Indraji without putting any dates. The Vir Vinod contains references to King Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley. This is almost nothing but a summary of the account given by Bhagavanlal Indraji, albeit without mentioning dates. In any case, this shows that Shyamaldas had no doubts that the invasion had actually taken place.

In Vikrama 1966 (A.D. 1909), Saraya Prasad Mishra published an annotated translation of a Bengali work under the title Nepalaka Prachina Itihasa. (Bankipore : Khadgavilas Press). We do not know who wrote the original work in Bengali. But because it deals with events until the Vikrama year 1951 (A.D. 1894), and the author has expressed his desire to write a history of Nepal from the earliest times to the

present, it appears to have been written at around that time. The author has also indicated his desire to have the work published in the form of a book (p. 154), hence it appears that it was originally published in some Bengali magazine. (According to Paras Mani Pradhan, the work was published in the Navya Bharat. (Paras Mani Pradhan, Nepali Bhashako Utpatti ra Vikasa (Origin and development of the Nepali language). Kalimpong : P.M. Pradhan & Sons, 2029 Vikrama (A.D. 1972), 2nd ed., p. 19).

The anonymous Bengali author has pointed out discrepancies in the Vamshawali accounts of King Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley, mainly because the relevant chronology lacked credibility. He has written that the Nepal era was introduced in the Vikrama year 937 (Kali year 3851) during the reign of Jayadeva Malla, eighth in line after Sadashivadeva. The Bengali author has also noted that the Vamshawali dates of Nanyadeva's reign are more than two centuries earlier than the actual dates.

A three-volume history of Nepali by Sylvain Levi, a Professor of Sanskrit in Paris, was published there in 1962-65 Vikrama (A.D. 1905-8). This scholarly work, written at a time when historical materials were comparatively meager, is worth study and meditation even after seventy years. Sylvain Levi's account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley, based on new (Nepali-language) Vamshawalis, contemporary records, and old Vamshawalis (such as the Gopalaraja Vamshawalis), must be noted in the present context.

Sylvain Levi has commenced his account with an attempt to test the authenticity of the Vamshawali version that Nanyadeva invaded Kathmandu Valley soon after the commencement of the Nepal era at the time when Ananda Malla was on the throne. The Nepal era commenced in Vikrama 937, whereas Nanyadeva ruled in Vikrama 1154. Because of this discrepancy, Sylvain Levi was unable to accept the Vamshawali version. Moreover, he was unable to locate any reference to Ananda Malla in contemporary documents. Even then, he did not totally reject the Vamshawali version, but made an attempt to resolve the discrepancy in an ingenious way. He put forward the view that Ananta Malla, who is shown in contemporary records as having ruled from 1335 to 1359 Vikrama, and for 30 years according to old Vamshawalis, was none other than Ananda Malla as mentioned in the new Vamshawalis. Similarly, Levi was unable to reject totally the Vamshawali version that Mukunda Sen invaded Kathmandu Valley at a time when a descendant of Nanyadeva was on the throne. However, he put forward his own interpretation. The history of Palpa refers to a few Kings named Mukunda Sen, but not during such an early period. Accordingly, Levi could not agree that the invader was named Mukunda Sen. He made an attempt to solve the problem on the basis of the account given in the Gopalaraja Vamshawali. According to this source, the Khasa Kings Jitari Malla and Aditya Malla had invaded Kathmandu Valley in 1344 and 1384 Vikrama respectively. Levi expressed the view that the Vamshawalis had described these Khasa invasions from the



West as a Khasa-Magar invasion led by Mukunda Sen. In the same way, there is no authentic evidence to show that King Nanyadeva of Tirhut had invaded Kathmandu Valley in Circa 1154 Vikrama. However, the Gopalaraja Vamshawali mentions that a King of Tirhut did so in 1347 Vikrama. Hence Sylvain Levi has written that Nanyadeva's invasion of Kathmandu Valley, as mentioned in the new Vamshawalis, occurred in 1347 Vikrama.

Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya's Nepalako Itihasa (History of Nepal) is the first history of Nepal published in the Nepali language. It was published in the Vikrama year 1979 (A.D. 1922) for the first time. New editions were published in 1986 Vikrama (A.D. 1929) and 2004 Vikrama (A.D. 1947). At one time, this history was very popular. It too reproduces the account of King Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley as given in the Vamshawalis.

We have already mentioned above that according to Wright's Vamshawali, Harideva, who was sixth in line from Nanyadeva, the Karnataka King who established his rule over Kathmandu Valley, was occupying the throne during King Mukunda Sena's invasion. Elsewhere the same Vamshawali states (pp. 174-75) that King Harisimhadeva of Ayodhya, defeated in battle by Muslims fled to Simraungadh, from where he proceeded toward Nepal in 1245 Shaka, corresponding to 444 Nepal era or 1380 Vikrama. Wright's Vamshawali thus mentions Harideva and Harisimhadeva as two different persons. Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya, on the other hand, maintained that they were the same person, the correct name being Harisimhadeva. (Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya, Nepalako Itihasa (History of Nepal, Varanasi: Devi Prasad Upadhyaya, 1979 Vikrama (A.D. 1922), p. 1). To substantiate his contention, he has pointed at absence of any reference to the name of Harideva in authoritative chronicles, as well as to documentary evidence showing that around Vikrama 1381 Harisimhadeva, a descendant of Nanyadeva, who had come from Karnataka and ruled Simraungadh, had fought Ghayasuddin Tughlak of Delhi. According to him, although Wright's Vamshawali mentions Harideva as the King ruling in Kathmandu at the time of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley, his real name, as given later in the same Vamshawali, is Harisimhadeva. Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya says that Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley had taken place in the latter half of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era. However, he has sought to raise questions regarding the authenticity of this invasion in respect to the ancestry of Mukunda Sen. His doubts stem from the fact that the Sen Kings of Palpa claimed to be descendents of King Ratna Sen of Chittor, and that Mukunda Sen is described as seventh in the line of King Dharmapala Sen. Inasmuch as there is authoritative evidence to show that Ghayasuddin Tughlak had invaded the Kingdom of Harisimhadeva, it is clear that they were contemporaries. Nearly thirty years previously, Alauddin Khilji had invaded Chhitor, and only thereafter had the Rajputs come into Nepal. Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya believes that it was improbable, if not impossible, that (the Rajputs) could have reached the Nepal Tarai from Chittor, vanquished the Khasas and Magars, established a powerful Kingdom in Nepal, and invaded an ancient Kingdom such as Nepal within this short period.

Perceval Landon's account of Nepal published in 1985 Vikrama (A.D. 1928) is the most popular book after Wright's Vamshawali. He has described Mukunda Sen as Mukunda Deva, and given an account of his invasion of Nepal. In Landon's view, this invasion took place during the latter part of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era.

Baburam Acharya (1944-2029 Vikrama) established the tradition of studying Nepali history on the basis of authentic materials and spent many years of his life in research on Nepali history. He has shed light on many aspects of Nepali history. (Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Saket Bihari Thakur (eds.), Baburam Acharya ra Wahanka Kriti (Baburam Acharya and his works), Kathmandu : Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Triphuvan University, 2029 Vikrama (A . D. 1972). One of his scholarly articles is "Tanahuko Sen Vamsha" (The Sen Dynasty of Tanahu), published in the Bhanubhakta Memorial Volume from Darjeeling in 1997 Vikrama (A.D. 1940). The article contains a refutation of the view that Mukunda Sen had invaded Kathmandu Valley. In his opinion, Pandit Gunananda, who was the source of Wright's Vamshawali, concocted the story to please the British, and that "not even a century has passed since this apocryphal story was concocted." But accounts of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley are contained not only in Wright's Vamshawali but in other Vamshawalis as well. So Baburam Acharya is not correct in saying that the account was concocted by Pandit Gunananda. Baburam Acharya may have held this view because by 1997 Vikrama (A.D. 1940), when his article was written, only Wright's Vamshawali had been published.

Baburam Acharya has also given a summary of the account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley as contained in Wright's Vamshawali. However, the summary contains matters that are not found in that Vamshawali.

Wright's Vamshawali does not mention Mukunda Sen's caste, but only states he was accompanied by persons belonging to the Khas and Magar communities. Baburam Acharya, however, in his summary describes Mukunda Sen as a Magar King, with the original English text as "the Magar rajah named Mukunda Sen." At another place in his article, he writes, "Be it Gunananda or some other person, he has made the Khatriya King Mukunda Sen, a great son of Nepal, as Magar King, and thus slurred his pure character." It is surprising why Baburam Acharya incorrectly claimed that Wright's Vamshawali had described Mukunda Sen as a Magar King.

Wright's Vamshawali only states that when Mukunda Sen invaded Kathmandu Valley, "through fear of the troops the people buried their radishes, and having cut their rice, stacked it and concealed it by heaping earth over it." It does not mention the places where this was done. However, Baburam Acharya, in his summary of Wright's account, states that the radish was buried in Lalitpur, and the rice in Kirtipur. This was the version given by Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya, and Baburam Acharya appears to have confused the two versions.

Wright's Vamshawali states that when Mukunda Sen invaded Kathmandu Valley, Harideva, sixth in line from Nanyadeva, was on the throne. It also states that King Harisimhadeva of Ayodhya fled from Muslim invaders to Simraungadh, and then came to Nepal in 1380 Vikrama. Notwithstanding these clear statements, Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya has described Harideva and Harisimhadeva as the same person, with the correct name being Harisimhadeva. He based his argument on the fact that documentary evidence was available only about Harisimhadeva, and not about Harideva. In his summary of Wright's account, Baburam Acharya has followed in the footsteps of Ambika Prasad Upadhyaya and mentioned Harisimhadeva. Because the Gopalaraja Vamshawali has mentioned Hara Simha as King of Simraungadh, Baburam Acharya writes: "A comprehensive survey of Nepali history shows that there was no King known as Harisimhadeva at any time. The name of the sixth and last King of the Karnata dynasty was Harasimhadeva, not Harisimhadeva." Baburam Acharya then maintains that because there is no evidence to support the view that King Harasimhadeva of Simraungadh ruled over the hill region, and that his contemporaries in Kathmandu Valley were first Anandadeva and then Arimalla, it is not possible that Haradimhadeva, described as Harideva in Wright's Vamshawali, could have ruled over Kathmandu Valley.

Baburam Acharya was able to procure a gift-deed (danapatra) issued by King Rudra Sen of Palpa in Vikrama 1571. On the basis of this document, he has determined the regnal years of the Sen Kings. According to him, the Sen dynasty emerged early in the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. The first Sen King was Khama Sen, who was the grand-father of Rudra Sen, father of Mukunda Sen. In the light of this fact, he has determined the regnal years of Mukunda Sen as Vikrama 1575-1610.

Baburam Acharya has described as apocryphal the view that Harisimha Deva had never ruled Nepal Valley, that Kings other than him ruled over this area at the time he was ruling in Simraungadh, and that Mukunda Sen had invaded Kathmandu Valley when it was ruled by Harisimhadeva. He points out that the time gap between Harisimha Deva and Mukunda Sen amounted to 200 years.

Prime Minister Padma Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, being more liberal than most other Rana rulers, had thought of molding Nepal's administrative system along democratic lines. In Magh 2003, (January 1947), in the fourteenth month of his assumption of the Prime Ministership, he had sent questionnaires to the leading Bhaddars with regard to reforms in the administration. He also decided to frame a constitution consistent with democratic ideals and asked the Congress rulers of India to send Indian constitutional experts to help in this task. In response to his request, India sent Sri Prakash and Ram Ugra Sinha in 1947. They assisted the Nepal government in this task. Raghu Nath Singh, who accompanied Sri Prakash, wrote a book on Nepal, entitled Jagrata Nepal (Awakened Nepal). It was published from Varanasi

in 1947. At one place, he writes that Mukunda Sen had conquered Nepal Valley in the 13th century Vikrama when Harideva was King. Like Percival Landon, he mentions Mukunda Deva, rather than Mukunda Sen. His account shows that the conquest of Nepal Valley had taken place in the latter half of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era. (Raghunath Singh, Jagrata Nepal, Varanasi : Anubhuti Prakashana, 2007 Vikrama).

Nepal Ko Itihasa, Arthat Digdarshana (A history or outline of Nepal), published from Varanasi in Vikrama 2007, also mentions Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley. Ramji Upadhyaya, the author of this book, has given an exaggerated account of the invasion. This will be clear from a comparative study of the Vamshawali and this book. He has relied wholly on the Vamshawali account of the invasion. We have to draw attention to a particular point which distinguishes this book from other historical accounts. We need not repeat that none of the aforesaid five Vamshawalis, except V3, specifies the time of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Kathmandu Valley. Even V3 too shows a gap of nearly 200 years between the date of that invasion and the regnal years of the King attacked by Mukunda Sen. In face of this fact, Ramji Upadhyaya has claimed that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley in Vikrama 1165. We must find out on what basis he has made this assertion. As we have already noted, Wright's Vamshawali clearly mentions Vikrama 946 as the year of Nanyadeva's arrival in Nepal Valley. In Vikrama 1165, Rama Simha Deva, his great-great-grandson, was ruling Kathmandu Valley as we have already noted above. Wright's Vamshawali thus shows that Rama Simha Deva was succeeded by Harideva, his son, and it was during the latter's rule that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley. That seems to explain Ramji Upadhyaya's claim that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley in Vikrama 1165.

Bala Chandra Sharma's Nepal Ko Atihasik Ruparekha (An Outline of the History of Nepal), published from Varanasi in Vikrama 2008, has gained considerable fame in Nepal. This detailed work has been prescribed as a text-book for higher studies. It has been published in four editions by Vikrama 2033. Whatever has been stated in the Vamshawali about Mukunda Sen's invasion has been contradicted in all these four editions on the basis of the aforesaid account of Baburam Acharya with the remark: "Because the Sen dynasty had not emerged in western Nepal before the sixteenth century A.D., the view that Mukunda Sen lived in the thirteenth or the fourteenth century A.D. is completely imaginary." However, Bala Chandra Sharma has committed an error in presenting a summary of Daniel Wright's Vamshawali in this respect. According to Wright's Vamshawali, Nanya Deva had arrived in Nepal Valley in Vikrama 946 during the reign of Ananda Malla, and Mukunda Sen's invasion had taken place during the rule of his great-great grandson. Despite this obvious truth, Bala Chandra Sharma has misquoted Wright's Vamshawali as having said that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley during the reign of Ananta Malla. In doing so, he seems to have been influenced by Levi's account mentioning the name of Ananta Malla, instead of Ananda Malla.

Dilli Raman Regmi's Prachina Ra Madhyakalin Nepal (Ancient and Medieval Nepal), published from Kathmandu in Vikrama 2009, also mentions Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley. Luciano Petech has described this book as "a disappointing work in spite of the magnificent opportunities open to its author." Dilli Raman Regmi's account of Mukunda Sen's invasion is even more disappointing. Sylvain Levi has tried to connect the Khasa invasion of Nepal Valley from western Nepal with Mukunda Sen's invasion. He has also mentioned at one place that Aditya Malla had invaded Nepal Valley in 1384 Vikrama. Influenced by Levi's account, Dilli Raman Regmi has written that a certain Adit Mal known as Sen entered into Nepal Valley along with his army. In the same connection, he has also written that he was followed by Mukunda Sen of Palpa, thereby implying that these invasions occurred during the rule of Jayananda Deva, who succeeded Ananta Malla. According to Dilli Raman Regmi, Jayananda Deva ruled from 1364 to 1374 Vikrama, so that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during this period. The Gopalaraja Vamshawali mentions that Aditya Malla invaded Nepal Valley in 1384 Vikrama, but Dilli Raman Regmi maintains that this is incorrect.

Sankshipta Nepala Itihasa (A concise history of Nepal, by Prem Bahadur Limbu and Bhupendra Nath Dhungel, was published from Kathmandu in Vikrama 2011. It mainly deals with the history of the Kiratis, and contains a reference to Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley, albeit without mentioning the date. However, it is possible to ascertain the authors' opinion in this regard. Four of the Vamshawalis that we have mentioned above state that Mukunda Sen invaded Kathmandu Valley during the time of Ramasimha Deva, whereas Wright's Vamshawali states that he did so during the time of Harideva. Prem Bahadur Limbu and Bhupendra Nath Dhungel have followed Wright in recording that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during the time of Harideva. As such, it is clear that they have taken their account of the invasion from Wright's Vamshawali. According to Wright, Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley after 1165 Vikrama, that is, the latter half of the ~~twelvth~~ twelfth century Vikrama, as we have already noted previously. This means that Prem Bahadur Limbu and Bhupendra Nath Dhungel, who have based their account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley on Wright's Vamshawali, believe, as mentioned in that Vamshawali, that the invasion took place during the latter half of the ~~twelvth~~ twelfth century Vikrama.

(To be Continued)

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Hulak Arrangements, A.D. 1825-26

During A.D. 1825-26, the hulak system was reorganized in many parts of the hill region. Documents containing the names of the hulaki porters, and the area of rice-lands allotted to each, are summarized below : (Particulars indicating the name of each plot have been omitted).

"The following households shall remain in constant attendance at the ... hulak post all the 24 hours of the day and transport mail despatched from here, or received from the east (or west) without a moment's delay.

"The hulaki porters mentioned in the royal order shall be entitled to the following concessions and facilities :-

- (1) The Amali shall not evict them from their lands and homesteads, or collect any payments (dai-dastur) from them.
- (2) Each hulaki household shall cultivate the rice-lands allotted to it on adhiya tenure. Neither the Amali nor the landlord (talsing) shall reallocate such lands to other persons.
- (3) Hulaki porters have been granted exemption from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations, as well as from Serma, Saunefagu, and other miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni).
- (4) They shall pay rents to their landlords on kut or adhiya basis, as the case may be, as well as the ghiukhane and chardam-theiki levies at current rates. In addition, they shall provide loans as asked for by their landlords.
- (5) Hulaki porters shall not transport goods other than official mail. They shall be severely punished if they make any delay, or cause any obstruction, in the transportation of mail."

1. Dabdabe Village, Nuwakot District

<u>Name of Hulaki</u>	<u>Rice-land Allotment</u> (in muris)
Prithvidhar Padhya	100
Harilal Padhya	96
Brahma Padhya	100
Gokul Padhya	100
Raghu Padhya	105
Bhagawanta Padhya	100
Shivanaran Padhya	100

Yame Padhya	100
Jayananda Bhusal	100
Gangaram Adhikari	100
Raghu Pangali	100
Deonaran Bhusal	100
Ramabhadra Bhusal	100
Paramananda Padhya	95
Icchharam Bhusal	100
Sriram Tewari	100
Ramachandra Padhya	102
Latu Padhya	100
Raghu Padhya	100
Bhatu Padhya	90
Kalu Padhya (1)	100
Kalu Padhya (2)	100
Bhagirath Guragain	100

Kartik Sudi 13, 1882  
(November 1825)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 1-4.

2. Khudi-Besi

<u>Name of Hulaki</u>	<u>Rice-land Allotment</u> (in muris)
Tikaram Balsudi	102
Dataram Kandyal	100
Makare Poudyal	87
Ravi Tewari	100
Ramananda Tewari	100
Hira Kandyal	90
Pratiman Benstola	100
Anirudra Tewari	100

Gajadhar Padhya	100
Bhaskar Tewari	80
Ranasur Rana (replacing Ratan Tewari)	100
Nandaram Adhikari	100
Sriharsha Adhikari	100
Naran Padhya	85
Kusmakhar Bhandari	62
Makaranda Adhikari	90
Srikrishna Adhikari	100
Prahlad Rana	100
Birabhadra Nara	100
Dubal Khanal	95
Srikrishna Khanal	90
Dasharath Rana	100

Kartik Sudi 13, 1882  
(November 1885)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 4-7.

3. Sarangkot Village (Hulak Post : Pokhara)

<u>Name of Hulaki</u>	<u>Rice-land Allotment (in muris)</u>
Srikrishna Padhya	100
Prem Narayan Baral	100
Jayamangal Parajuli	100
Prem Narayan Parajuli	95
Ramadatta Parajuli	80
Birbhadra Banstola	80
Shivanaran Bhattarai	80
Bamu Padhya Poudyal	100
Lata Jaisi	80



Harimadhav Padhya	80
Ramabhadra Padhya Baral	100
Mangal Padhya Baral	100
Sharmananda Koirala	100
Ramadatta Padhya	80
Dhure Padhya Parajuli	80
Ramadatta Baral	80
Srikrishna Koirala	100
Raghuram Koirala	100
Binaya Padhya Parajuli	80
Radha Pahari	80
Ramabhadra Baral	80
Hasu Padhya	100
Bhakta Padhya Sigdyal	80
Mangala Koirala	83

Kartik Sudi 13, 1882  
(November 1825)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 7-10.

(To be continued)

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Remission of Jhara Obligations  
(A.D. 1810-17)

Kathmandu

The Rhandarknal and Dangbari gardens in Kathmandu had been placed under the authority of Ranbir Khawas. Thirty-nine local households had been assigned to work in those gardens. Other unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations of these households, as well as the Sibhadel, Dhalpa, and Sahanapiwal levies, were remitted.

Marga Badi 3, 1869  
(November 1812)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 159.

Deopatan (Kathmandu)

Royal order to nine Kasai families of Deopatan, whose services had been assigned to the temple of Sri Guhyeshwari :-

"We hereby exempt you from all unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations and miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni) so long as you remain in attendance at the temple of Sri Guhyeshwari.

Bhadra Sudi 13, 1870  
(September 1813)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 346-47.

Tokha (Kathmandu)

Royal order to Dhanavanta of Tokha :

"From former times, ten households employed to prepare crushed rice (bhi-baji) had been granted exemption from the saunefagu, ghargani, and other payments (udhauni, padhauni), as well as from unpaid labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar). We hereby reconfirm these exemptions and issue this new royal order because the original one has been lost. Transmit the proceeds of judicial fines and escheats to us through the Dware of the royal palace. Supply crushed rice to the royal palace every day as usual."

These ten households belonged to Kirti Singh, Shivanaran, Dhimarani, Bhupadar Singh, Aithi Singh, Bhasingh, Sithi, Marsi, Pam Singha, and Pudhi Singh.

Baisakh Badi 10, 1874  
(April 1817)

Regmi Research Collection vol. 41, pp. 651-62.

Gokarna (Kathmandu)

Royal order to Jangabir Pande :

We hereby exempt (the inhabitants of) Koradtar Village which has been assigned to you as khuwa, in the Gokarna area from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations and appoint them as ghansis for the supply of grass to the royal stables.

Baisakh Badi 9, 1867  
(April 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 157.

Patan

King Ran Bahadur Shah had enrolled 26 households in the following villages for the supply of firewood to the Dilasal-Baithak (?) and granted them exemption from unpaid labor obligations, saunefagu, ghargani, and other miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni). These arrangements were reconfirmed by royal order on Baisakh Sudi 5, 1867 (April 1810). The names of the villages, and the number of households enrolled for the supply of firewood in each, are as follows :-

<u>Village</u>	<u>No. of households</u>
Sanagaun	9
Bode	6
Dharmapur	6
Hari siddhi	5

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 177.

Thecho (Patan)

On Kartik Suci 8, 1869 (October 1812), the inhabitants of Techo Village in Patan were granted similar concessions in consideration of the supply of one dharni of charcoal daily from each household to the Kathmandu Munitions Factory.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 136.

Patan

Seven households of tenants cultivating the Phikdar-Birta lands of Daroga Vamshamani at Sainbutar in Patan were granted exemption from jhara obligations on Magh Sudi 3, 1867 (January 1811) because their services were required for the transportation of bedding during royal tours and hunting expeditions.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 741.

Bhadgaun

Royal order to twelve households employed to look after the water-spout, water-channels, and gardens of the temple of Sri Suryavinayaka in Bhadgaun :

"From former times, you have been enjoying exemption from forced labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations and miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni). In the future, pay the saunefagu tax at half the normal rate. Unpaid labor obligations, chicken, oil during the Indrajatra festival, the Lamapathi levy, and other miscellaneous payments have been remitted. Maintain the water-spout, water-channels, and gardens, properly. You shall be punished if these are damaged.

These twelve households belonged to Jayanaran at Kwachhe Tol, Bhim Singh and Kwachhe Ram at Tochopal Tol, Shiva Khami at Thalachhe Tol, Jainarsing and Dawaram Baramu at Chasankhel, Kachhenarsing, Bhim Singh, Chandra Singh Badai, Bhajumani Dhusu, Kasiram, and Mastaram at Chochhe Tol.

Aswin Badi 1, 1871  
(September 1814)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 618.

Bhadgaun

Royal order to Khajanchi Udaya Giri :

Your grandfather had built a monastery at Bhadgaun and installed there the idol of Sri Vishweshwara. To provide services at the monastery, as well as fruits and flowers, he had bought lands at Anantalinga in Thimi, and settled there seven families of tenants from Chorpur. A royal order had been received from our great-grandfather (i.e. King Prithvi Narayan Shah) exempting these tenant families from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations and miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni). We hereby reconfirm these exemptions.

Bhadra Badi 9, 1870  
(August 1813)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 318.

Bhadgaun

Royal order to eleven Banda families of Bhadgaun :

"We hereby exempt you from unpaid-labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations during the time when you work at the mints of Beni and Baglungchaur under Subba Jabar Singh. With due assurance, perform your duties at those two mints."

The eleven Banda families mentioned above belonged to Jagadhan, Ratnabajra, Salu Singh, Gajendra Singh, and Ratnajyoti of Kwathatu Tol, Rajnarsingh of Talachhe Tol,

Uddharmani of Italachhe Tol, Tej of Gamarhi Tol, Jasodham of Dafetalachhe Tol, Bindulai of Tekacho Tol, and Gnyanavanta of Tikhachhe Tol.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867  
(March 1811)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 10-11.

Exemption from unpaid labor obligations had similarly been granted to 25 other Banda households at Thimi and Bhadgaun on Kartik Sudi 11, 1867 (November 1810).

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, pp. 613-14.

Bhadgaun

Royal order to 25 households in Bhadgaun, and 22 households in Patan town and Pulchowk, who had customarily been supplying grass for the horses of the royal stables :

We hereby grant you exemption from the saunefagu and other payments (udhauri, padhauri), as well as from unpaid labor (ijara, beth, begar) obligations, and place you under the authority of Bhajudham Jha of the royal palace. No Amali or other authority shall impress unpaid labor from you for any purpose. You shall be employed for royal palace work.

Chaitra Sudi 5, 1871  
(March 1815)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 513.

Banepa (Kabhrepalanchok)

Royal order to the Amalidar, Dware, and Naika of Banepa :

We hereby appoint 100 households to provide Hulak services for the transportation of supplies to the royal palace from the east and the west. These Hulaki households shall be exempt from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations.

Baisakh Badi 9, 1867  
(April 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 148.

Timal (Kabhrepalanchok)

Royal order to the Amali of Timal, and jamadars, huddas, and soldiers deputed to impress jhara labor in different areas :

Kharidar Prithvilal Upadhyaya has been deputed on government work. We hereby remit unpaid-labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations for his household, as well as that for the household of his caretaker. Nobody shall cause any obstruction in this matter.

Chaitra Sudi 11, 1867  
(April 1811)

Dolakha

Royal order to the 45 households of Newars in Dolakha town

The temple of Tripurasundari in Dolakha town is in a very dilapidated condition. We hereby grant you exemption from jhara obligations for one year and order you to repair the temple.

Kartik Sudi 7, 1871  
(October 1814)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 409.

Solukhumbu

Royal order to the mijhars, gorchas, and other villagers of Solukhumbu :

From former times, jhara obligations had been remitted in that area, and, instead, a levy known as makatal had been collected and included in the jagir assignment of kajis. This year, military personnel (tilanga) were sent to that area to collect a cash levy from each household in lieu of jhara obligations to finance the construction of a bridge on the Bagmati river. You have therefore complained to us that you cannot pay the makatal levy if you have to pay the jhara levy in this manner. Accordingly, we remit the jhara levy and reconfirm the customary arrangement under which you have been liable to payment of the makatal levy and remained fully exempt from jhara obligations."

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867  
(March 1811)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 10.

Eastern Hills

Royal order to officials deputed to impress jhara labor in areas situated east of Ganga ;

From former times, mine-workers (agri, mahar) in the region situated east of Ganga and west of the Dudhkoshi river have been exempted from jhara obligations. We hereby reconfirm the exemption. Mining operations must not be hampered, as otherwise the minting of coins will be dislocated.

Marga Badi 1, 1870  
(November 1813)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 372-73.

Eastern Hills

Royal order to Jamadars, huddas, and soldiers deputed to impress jhara labor in mines :

"Hanumanta Singh has complained to us that you have been impressing jhara labor from mini-workers (agri). We hereby exempt agris, mahars, and their mukhiyas in mines located in the region situated between Sanga in the west and the Dudhkoshi river in the east. from jhara obligations. Do not impress jhara labor from them. Any person who falsely claims to be an agri shall be severely punished."

The mines in which this royal order was effective were located at Nagre, Deula, Haluwa, Alampur, Khapu, Luting, Jikhujiyamire, Sikdel, Falamsangu, Chuplung, Lekh, Damtya, Sindhu, Pangu, Parijiyamire, Bulhun, Listi-Ghumabhar, Palanchok-Godhar, Puglung, Pantang, Samsathi, and Bamanchu.

Marga Sudi 8, 1871  
(November 1814)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 454-55.

Dhankuta

Royal order to Bhaskar Padhya Dahal and Nandashankhar Padhya :

We have received reports that (the inhabitants of) Simbai, Village, owned by you under Bitalab-Birta tenure, have to provide both jhara and Mulak services. In the future, provide such services only for the transportation of iron and other supplies sent to the royal palace through the Yangrup-Nagre route, as well as of military supplies to the district headquarters. Do not provide porterage services for other purposes. We reconfirm your Chhipo-Chhano obligations, but exempt you from jhara obligations.

Kartik Sudi 15, 1870  
(November 1813)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 368.

Dhankuta

A royal order was issued on Poush Sudi 5, 1867 (December 1810) in the name of the inhabitants of Chhintang and two other villages (in Dhankuta) assigning their services to Subba Achal Thapa for work at the state-operated Bhangarawa market in Saptari. In consideration of such services, they were granted exemption from the obligation to provide unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) for other purposes.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 702.

Yangrup (Terhathum)

Royal order to the Limbus and Rais of Yangrup (Terhathum) :

Because you live in a border region, you have been exempted from jhara obligations, although the inhabitants of Chainpur have been placed under the obligation to provide services during kheddah (elephant) hunts. Today, you are hereby exempted from the obligation to provide jhara labor (for the construction of a bridge on the Bagmati river in Kathmandu). Supply provisions to the Company. Collect information about Gangtok and transmit it to us through the Amali of Chainpur.

Magh Badi 13, 1867  
(January 1811)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 712.

Kathmandu-Vijayapur Region

Royal order to hulaki porters in the Kathmandu-Vijayapur region :

Provide hulak services as usual. We hereby exempt you from the obligation to provide jhara labor as well as services during kheddah (elephant) hunts. Troops (tilanga) sent from the royal palace shall not impress jhara labor from you.

Poush Sudi 10, 1867  
(December 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 707.

Kabilas (Nuwakot)

On Kartik Badi 2, 1876 (October 1867), tenants residing in the Bitalab-Birta lands of Chandrashekhara Padhya Sapkota at Kabilas were granted exemption from unpaid labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar), hulak obligations for the transportation of goods, saunefagu, and other miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni). The order added, "Settle tenants on your lands with full assurance and obtain payments and services from them."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 468.

Jhiltung (Nuwakot)

Royal order to Kaji Bahadur Bhandari :

We hereby exempt tenants (Kuriya) on your Phikdar-Birta lands in Jhiltung from jhara obligations.

Aswin Sudi 5, 1867  
(September 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 429.



Nuwakot

Royal order to the headmen (dware, mijhar, gourung) of Danuwars, Kumhals, etc, cultivating Crown (sera) lands in Nuwakot and providing porterage services for the transportation of provisions (to the royal palace):

From former times, we have employed you on Sera lands and granted you exemption from unpaid labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar) for other purposes. We hereby reconfirm your duties on Sera lands. In addition, you are hereby ordered to provide jhara, labor, along with all other inhabitants of the village, for the construction of dams and embankments under the supervision of Adai Bhawani Das. We also reconfirm the exemption customarily granted to you from jhara, beth, and begar labor services for other purposes.

Kirtik Sudi 10, 1870  
(October 1813)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 366-67.

Padelthok (Gorkha)

Royal order to Laxminarayan Newar, son of Vamsharam, at Padelthok in Gorkha :

We hereby grant you exemption from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations. With due assurances, provide services for the Company and work promptly according to the orders of the Kaji.

Aswin Sudi 7, 1867  
(September 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 432.

Gorkha

Royal order to the inhabitants of Kaphyak Village, which had been endowed as guthi for the temple of Sri Manakamana :

Our great-grandfather (King Prithvi Narayan Shah) had remitted unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations for the inhabitants of Kephyak Village. We hereby reconfirm the remission. These inhabitants shall instead provide necessary services at the temple of Sri Manakamana. The western side of the temple is being eroded; construct a strong embankment to check the erosion. Maintain the guthi buildings properly.

Magh Sudi 9, 1971  
(January 1815)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 476-77.

## Gorkha

A royal order was issued on Poush Badi 10, 1867 (December 1810) in the name of Kapardar Bhotu Pande exempting the inhabitants of Sat-Thar, Ranibhara, Sibhara, Jamure, Ampchaur, Champbot, Sikarkatyari, Katyari, Pokhara, Haledyadanda, Pharsidara, and Gairigaun villages in Gorkha district from jhara, beth and begar obligations. Instead, these inhabitants were placed under the obligation of transporting fruits to Kathmandu from Chautariya Bam Shah's orchards at Chaughara and ... ghat.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, pp. 688-89.

## Pokhara

Royal order to the families of Hirya Damai, Bhurya Damai, Bhaktya Damai, and Manya Damai, who had been employed to play on musical instruments every morning and evening at the temple of Sri Bhimasena in Pokhara.

We hereby grant you exemption from unpaid-labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar) and other household taxes (udhauni, padhauni). With due assurance, provide services to the deity."

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867  
(March 1811)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 9-10.

## Trishuli-Marsyangdi Region

On Magh Badi 14, 1867 (January 1811), Jamadars, huddas, and soldiers deputed to impress jhara labor in the region situated between the (Trishuli) Gandaki and Marsyangdi rivers were ordered not to impress such labor from peasants who had been allotted lands for reclamation under kut tenure, because royal orders had been issued to such peasants exempting them from jhara obligations in consideration of their work in reclaiming lands and constructing dams and irrigation channels.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 712.

## Baglung

On Kartik Sudi 11, 1867 (November 1810), the Birabhadra Jung Company was ordered not to impress jhara labor in villages where the inhabitants had been exempted from that obligation because their services were required at the Beni and Baglungchaur Mints.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 604.

On Falgun Badi 3, 1867 (February 1811) coppersmiths (tamot) and blacksmiths (lohar) employed at the Beni and Baglungchaur Mints were ordered to melt copper and make dies for copper coins at those mints. They were granted exemption from the obligation to provide jhara labor for other purposes, as well as porterage services for the transportation of charcoal.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 732.

Parbat

Royal order to the mukhiyas, tharis, budhas, and ryots of Kafaldanda-Ranche and three other villages (in Parbat district) :

Since the Vikrama year 1869 (A.D. 1812), the following households have been employed for the transportation of earth and charcoal required by the Beni Mint. In consideration of these services, the following terms and concessions have been prescribed :

1. You shall not be evicted by your landlords (talsing) from rice-lands cultivated by you under adhiya tenure.
2. The customary ghiukhani levy shall be paid as usual.
3. In case your landlords ask for loans, provide such loans within the limit of the yield of the rice-land.
4. The following obligations and payments have been remitted : saunefagu, payments (udhauni, padhauni) due in the month of Ashadh (June-July), the Dashain festival, and other occasions, unpaid-labor (jhara, beth, begar) and other obligations, ad hoc (farmais) payments due to the Amali and hulak obligations (i.e. obligations to provide portorage services to the government).

With due assurance, supply earth and charcoal in the quantities required by the mint and obtain receipts from the Dittha. In case supply is interrupted in any manner, the guilty persons shall be severely punished.

List of Villages and Households

<u>Village</u>	<u>No of households</u>
Malkawang	21
Kafaldanda-Ranche	17
Lopre	15
Saliya	19

Ashadh Badi 12, 1867  
(June 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 235-36. (This document also mentions fifteen households in Histan village).

Baisakh Badi 10, 1869  
(April 1812)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 88-89.

Chaitra Sudi 15, 1871  
(March 1815)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, pp. 524-25.

## Faramgaun (?)

Royal order to Subbas, Subedars, Umras, Sangutas, tilangas, and others travelling through Faramgaun :

The village of Faramgaun is the guthi property of Rajarajeshwari and Sri Laxmi Narayana. It had been depopulated in the Vikrama year 1861 (A.D. 1804) but is now being resettled. We hereby remit the obligations (of the settlers) to provide unpaid porterage services (begar) and free provisions (baikar) except for the transportation of military supplies.

Poush Badi 12, 1869  
(December 1812).

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 183.

## Jhara Exemption for Potters

On Marga Sudi 4, 1867 (November 1810), Sirjaya Kumhal, Taudhik Kumhal, Badanta Kumhal, and Balakrishna Kumhal were granted exemption from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) and miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni) in consideration of the supply of earthen pots (ghyampa, borsi, arhi) required at Dakhchok and elsewhere at the royal palace.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 668.

On Chaitra Sudi 14, 1869 (March 1813), four households of potters in Thimi, belonging to Bishnushankar, Bhajudatta, Dasarath Singh, and Taudhik, were granted exemption from unpaid labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar) and miscellaneous taxes (Rai-Rakam), with the exception of the Pota tax. They were also entitled to one slaughtered buffalo (without the head) during the Thulo-Dashain festival, and one buffalo during the Chaite-Dashain festival. In consideration of these concessions and facilities, they were placed under the obligation to supply earthen pots required at the bridge on the Bagmati river and at the Deopatan gardens, as well as those requisitioned by the royal palace from time to time.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 600.

Royal order to the Naik of Kumhales (potters) under the Itachapli (court) :

Jhara services shall be impressed from all Kumhale families in Kathmandu through the Naik for major projects only. They shall not be required to provide such labor for minor purposes. We also remove Kumhale families from the jurisdiction of all other authorities, and place them exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Naik.

Bhadra Sudi 13, 1870  
(September 1813)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 346.

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More Documents on the Jhara SystemJhara Labor for Irrigation

Royal order to tenants cultivating lands under Baun-Kut lands (i.e. lands confiscated from Brahmans in Vikrama 1862 or A .D. 1805-6) :

From former times, you have been constructing and repairing dams and irrigation channels on lands cultivated by you, and your obligations to provide jhara labor for other purposes had been waived. We hereby reconfirm this arrangement.

Marga Badi 3, 1869  
(November 1812)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 159.

Remissions for Military Personnel

A royal order was issued on Marga Sudi 4, 1869 (November 1869) exempting military personnel accompanying Kaji Bakhtwar Singh Basnyat to the front from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations. Troops (tilanga) deputed to impress such labor were ordered not to do so in their case.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 174.

On Poush Badi 11, 1869, ten households of Kushles in Bhadgaun, who had been deputed to the front along with Kaji Bakhtwar Singh Basnyat, were granted exemption from unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) obligations and miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni). These households belonged to Jahar at Bolachhe Tol, Kisnaran at Bengahite Tol, Tautinath at Taumarhi Tol, Tejanand at Sakokotha Tol, Machhindrapati at Khauma Tol, Bhaginanda at Yentachhe Tol, Jogananda at Chofale Tol, Laxminanda at Sakokotha Tol, Maninaran at Gomahiti Tol, and Jainaran at Galahiti Tol.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 182-83.

Royal order issued on Poush Badi 14, 1869 (December 1812) : "Hemanta Newar and Dhamju Newar of Fasidebo Tol in Kathmandu are accompanying Kaji Bakhtwar Singh Basnyat to the front. We hereby exempt their households from the obligation to provide unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar)."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 192.

On Aswin Sudi 9, 1867 (September 1810), a royal order was issued in the name of Subedar Ahivarna Ale granting exemption from jhara obligations for non-war purposes to persons accompanying him to the front. The order also allotted 332 muris of rice-lands to him on adhiya tenure in Bhirkot and Dhor.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 442.

The personnel of the Sridal and Bhagawatidal Companies were granted exemption from jhara obligations according to a royal order issued on Poush Sudi 10, 1867 (December 1810) .

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, pp. 707-8.

On Falgun Sudi 6, 1867 (February 1811) households of the personnel of the Shiva Prasad Company, stationed in Sikkim, were granted exemption from jhara obligations.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 741.

### Commutation of Jhara Obligations

#### Chainpur

Royal order to the inhabitants of Chainpur :

Our mother is building a bridge over the Bagmati river in the name of our father (i.e. King Ran Bahadur Shah). We had, therefore, issued an order to impress jhara labor in that area, and remit such labor-obligations for a period of five years after the bridge was completed. Now the Amali of Chainpur, Sardar Bhairav Singh, has represented to us that it takes much money to travel (to Kathmandu from Chainpur), and recommending that the jhara obligation be commuted to a cash levy. He has also pointed out that such commutation will make (the people of Chainpur) free for work relating to land reclamation. Accordingly, we have deputed the soldiers of the Kumaridal Company to collect the levy at the following rates :

#### Rates of Jhara Levy

<u>Category of Household</u>	<u>Rate of Levy</u>
Abal	Rs 2
Doyam	Rs 1½
Sim	R. 1
Chahar	8 annas

Kartik Sudi 11, 1867  
(November 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 598.

#### Baglung

1. Royal order to the Mukhiyas, Mijhar, Dwares, Chhap and other landlords, and other inhabitants of Nisi-Bhuji (Baglung) :

Our mother is building a bridge over the Bagmati river in the name of our father. Accordingly, jhara labor obligations have been imposed on the entire Kingdom, but will be remitted

for five years from the Vikrama year 1868 (A.D. 1811). Because you live in an area which is situated at a distance from the capital, we have commuted the jhara obligation to a cash levy at the following rates. Transmit payment through the collectors (Tahasildar); you need not come here to provide jhara labor. Any person who defaults in payment will be punished with a fine.

Rates of Jhara Levy

(see above)

2. Royal order to the tharis, ghatu-budhas, and other inhabitants of Nisi-Bhuji (Baglung) :

Our mother is building a bridge over the Bagmati river in the name of our father (i.e. King Ran Bahadur Shah). We had, therefore, deputed troops (tilanga) belonging to the Birabhadra Jung Company to that area with instructions to impress jhara labor from all local inhabitants, and remit such labor-obligations for the next four years. Because you live in an area which is situated at a distance from the capital, we hereby remit these obligations in your case. Instead, you are ordered to pay a levy at the following rates in lieu of jhara obligations through the Birabhadra Jung Company :-

Rates of Jhara Levy

(see above)

Poush Badi 12, 1867  
(December 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, p. 702.

Khotang (Majhkirat)

The Khotang area of Majhkirat in the eastern hill region had been assigned as jagir to the Srinath Kampu. According to a royal order issued on Chaitra Sudi 9, 1871 (March 1815), jhara obligations in that area were commuted to a cash levy at the following rates for households of all castes other than Upadhyaya Brahman :-

Rates of Jhara Levy

<u>Category of Household</u>	<u>Rate</u>
Hale	R. 1
Kodale	8 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 518.



Halesi (Majhkirat)

On Jestha Sudi 12, 1871 (Magh 1814), Newars engaged in the dyeing and printing of cloth (Chhipi) at Salyagaun village in Halesi, Majhkirat, which had been assigned as jagir to Kajis, were allowed to commute their jhara obligation to a cash levy at the rate of one rupee for each household.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 583.

Eastern Hill Region

In early A.D. 1827, royal orders were issued to local administrators, village headmen, landlords, and other inhabitants of the eastern hill region informing them that their jhara obligations had been commuted to a cash levy at the following rates :

Rates of Jhara Levy

<u>Category of Household</u>	<u>Rate</u>
Hale	R. 1
Kodale	12 annas.

Poush Sudi 13, 1883  
(January 1827)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, pp. 397-405.

Magh Sudi 4, 1883  
(January 1827)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38. pp. 463-66.

Arun-Mechi Region

On Chaitra Sudi 15, 1885 and Baisakh Badi 11, 1885 royal orders commuting jhara obligations to a cash levy at the same rates were issued for different areas in the far-eastern hill region as well.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, pp. 336-39, 267-68.

Notwithstanding such commutation, provision was made for the continued impressment of unpaid labor for the following purposes :-

- (1) Construction and repair of dams and irrigation channels, and ferries.
  - (2) Military service in times of war.
- (1bid).

King Mukunda Sen's Invasion of Kathmandu Valley

EJ

Mahesh Raj Panta and Dinesh Raj Panta

(Continued)

"Nepal Ki Kahani" (The Story of Nepal), by Kashi Prasad Srivastav, was published by Atma Ram & Sons from Delhi in 2011 Vikrama (A.D. 1954). Because it was aimed at spreading pro-Indian propaganda in Nepal, it contains such wrong statements as "the number of Madhesis and Indians in Nepal exceeds five million." According to Kashi Prasad Srivastav, Mukunda Sen of Palpa invaded Nepal Valley in 1544 Vikrama during the rule of Harideva, Nanyadeva's great-great-grandson.

Gorkha, a history of Nepal by Francis Tucker, a Lieutenant General of the British Army, was published in 2014 Vikrama (A.D. 1957). It reproduces the Vamshawali account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley. According to Tucker, a Magar serving in the court of King Harideva of Nepal Valley was dismissed by his ministers on false charges. The Magar then returned to Tansen and described the affluence of Nepal Valley before King Mukunda Sen, who was thus tempted to invade Kathmandu Valley. Tucker implies that the invasion took place circa 1157 Vikrama.

Luciano Petech's Mediaeval History of Nepal, published from Rome in 2015 Vikrama (A.D. 1958) is of special importance among scholarly historical writings. It has a compact style free from verbosity. Instead of accepting what has been written in the Vamshawalis about Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley, Petech has put forward an interpretation of his own. He has also reproduced an account of the invasion contained in an unpublished Vamshawali in Sanskrit verse. That Vamshawali has given the time of Mukunda Sen as 1032 Shaka, or 1167 Vikrama, or 4211 Kali. According to it, Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during the rule of Ramasimha, and dethroned him. However, Petech has pointed out that in 1167 Vikrama it was Nanyadeva, Ramasimha's great-grandfather, who was on the throne, hence the latter could not have been King of Nepal Valley in that year. According to the Gopalaraja Vamshawali, Ramasimha Deva, son of Narasimha Deva, was born in 1239 Vikrama. It also makes a reference at another place to Ramasimha Deva in 1301 Vikrama. Petech, therefore, concludes that Ramasimha reigned from 1262 to 1302 Vikrama.

Petech also maintains that according to a Vamshawali found by Giuseppe Tucci in Baglung, King Manimukunda Sen of Palpa was the maternal grandfather of King Jitari Malla of Dullu. Petech regards Mukunda Sen and Manimukunda Sen as the same person. Accordingly, he has placed Mukunda Sen in the beginning of the fourteenth century Vikrama, since references to his grandson, Jitari Malla, are available for the period 1344-46 Vikrama. The Sanskrit Vamshawali mentioned

above states that Mukunda Sen was reigning in 1032 Shaka, or 1167 Vikrama, or 4211 Kali, but Petech has resolved the discrepancy in his own way. He rejects the view that Mukunda Sen was reigning in 1032 Shaka or 4211 Kali, but puts forward his own argument with regard to the Vikrama year 1167. In his opinion, the Vikrama calendar was not followed in Nepal and Tirhut at that time, hence the year 1167 refers not to the Vikrama era but to the Shaka era. This means, according to Petech, that Mukunda Sen was reigning in 1302 Vikrama (1167 Shaka + 135). In that year, Abhaya Malla was reigning in Nepal Valley, and Petech therefore concludes that it was during his reign that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley.

There seems little substance in Petech's arguments. He has apparently forgotten that the Chronicler has indicated the date according to the Vikrama, Kali, and Shaka calendars, so that the question of whether or not any of these calendars was in use in any place at that time is irrelevant. The Vamshawali does not indicate which calendar was in use at that time, but gives the date according to all the three calendars. Petech himself has used the western calendar in his history of mediaeval Nepal. Will not it be ridiculous to conclude on the basis of a study of his work that the western calendar was in use in Nepal during the mediaeval period? How could a scholar like Petech arrive at such a ridiculous conclusion?

According to the Samskrit Vamshawali, Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during the reign of Ramasimha. The Gopalaraja Vamshawali has made a reference to Ramasimha in the year 1301 Vikrama. In an attempt to prove Mukunda Sen as a contemporary of Ramasimha by any means, Petech argues that the date of 1167 Vikrama given in the Samskrit Vamshawali is actually 1167 Shaka, which corresponds to 1302 Vikrama. This is ridiculous. He has relied on the statement contained in the Baglung Vamshawali that Manimukunda was the maternal grandfather of Jitari Malla. But this evidence is not reliable.

The Gopalaraja Vamshawali makes a reference to Jitari Malla in 1344-46 Vikrama. Petech therefore maintains that this date relates to Jitari Malla, who is said to have been a son of Manimukunda's daughter. He argues that since the grandson was living during 1344-46 Vikrama, the grandfather must have lived during the early years of the fourteenth century Vikrama. This argument has led him to believe that Ramasimha and Mukunda Sen were contemporaries. The Gopalaraja Vamshawali contains a reference to Ramasimha in 1301 Vikrama, hence Petech believes that Mukunda Sen, who defeated Ramasimha in a battle, must have lived during the early years of the fourteenth century Vikrama. This view appears correct at first glance.

The Jitari Malla mentioned in the Gopalaraja Vamshawali had an ancestor named Prithvi Malla, who is mentioned in the Dullu pillar inscription of 1414 Vikrama. This makes it clear that

this Jitari Malla was the grandson of Krachalla and the son of Ashoka Challa. (Dhanawajra Vajracharya, "Karnali-Pradeshako Itihasako Ek Jhalak" (A glimpse of the history of the Karnali region), Purnima, No. 6, 2022 Vikrama (A.D. 1965), pp. 15-18). According to the Baglung Vamshawali, Jitari Malla, the son of Manimukunda's daughter, was the grandson of Naga Bam and the son of Narayana Malla. (Giuseppe Tucci, Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal, Rome, 1956 A.D., p. 121). Petech has mentioned in one place (p. 197) that Jitari Malla, who invaded Nepal Valley in 1344-46 Vikrama, was the son of Ashoka Challa, but he has failed to realize that there were actually two persons bearing the name of Jitari Malla. One was the son of Ashoka Challa, and the other of Narayana Malla.

Nor is this all. In 1997 Vikrama (A.D. 1940), Baburam Acharya had published an article captioned "Tanahunko Sen Vamsha" (the Sen dynasty of Tanahu). In that article, he had referred to a document issued by Rudra Sen, Mukunda Sen's father, in 1571 Vikrama. This showed that Mukunda Sen did not live as early as the Vamshawalis have claimed. Had Petech noticed this article of Baburam Acharya, he would have dealt with the problem in another way.

In any case, Petech has not been able to put forward any definitive views on the question of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley. He has concluded his account with the following remark: "The tale of Mukundasena, in which a historical kernel is overlaid with legend nearly out of all recognition, refers to some inroad from western Nepal, from which the Tirhut rulers were the chief sufferers. And this is all that can be said about this portion of the modern Vamshawalis." (Luciano Petech, Mediaeval History of Nepal, Rome, A.D. 1958, p. 196).

Nepala Ko Aitihāsika Vivechana (An historical analysis of Nepal), by Dhundi Raj Shastri, (Varanasi: 2015 Vikrama) follows the tradition laid down by Bal Chandra Sharma in Nepala Ko Aitihāsika Ruparekha. Dhundi Raj Shastri, following Sylvain Levi, regards Ananda Malla and Ananta Malla as the same person. He writes, "Different scholars have expressed different opinions about Mukunda Sen's invasion. Baburam Acharya, however, regards the entire episode as imaginary." Like Bal Chandra Sharma, Dhundi Raj Shastri appears to have accepted Baburam Acharya's decision to reject the Vamshawali account of Mukunda Sen's invasion as outlined in the above-mentioned article. According to Wright's Vamshawali, Nanyadeva came to Nepal Valley in 946 Vikrama, when Ananda Malla was on the throne, and Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during the reign of Harideva, great-great-grandson of Ananda Malla. Even then, Dhundi Raj Shastri has referred to that Vamshawali as evidence for his claim that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley from the west during Ananda Malla's reign. Like Bal Chandra Sharma, Dhundi Raj Shastri seems to have failed to study this portion of Wright's Vamshawali carefully.

Paras Mani Pradhan's Nepali Bhasako Utpatti ra Vikasa (Origin and development of the Nepali language) has been published from Kalimpong in two editions in 2017 and 2029 Vikrama. The chapter captioned "Nepalako Itihasama Khasa Jati" (The Khas community in Nepali history) contains an account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley based on Wright's Vamshawali. However, Paras Mani Pradhan has given the date of the invasion four centuries after the time indicated in that Vamshawali. According to Wright's Vamshawali, the invasion took place during the latter part of the twelfth century Vikrama, whereas Paras Mani Pradhan has given the time of Mukunda Sen as 1575-1610 Vikrama. He has raised no doubts about the authenticity of the account contained in Wright's Vamshawali of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley, but at the same time accepted without any hesitation the regnal years of Mukunda Sen as given by Baburam Acharya, who believes that the entire episode is imaginary, because the Mukunda Sen of 1575-1610 Vikrama could not have lived so early.

In his Modern Nepal, published in 2015 Vikrama, Dilli Raman Regmi has raised the issue of Mukunda Sen's invasion, but only pointed out that while according to the Nepali Vamshawali King Mukunda Sen of Palpa invaded Patan with a big Magar army during the fourteenth century Vikrama, it had not yet been possible to identify Mukunda Sen in the context of the Palpa Vamshawali. In the second edition of his book, published in 2032 Vikrama, he has repeated the same point, and added that according to Bhawadatta's Vamshawali, the Mukunda Sen who invaded Nepal Valley was twelfth in line in the royal dynasty of Palpa.

A reference to Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley is found in Lilabhakta Munakarmi's Bhaktapurako Malla Kalina Sarala Itihasa (A simple history of Bhaktapur during the Malla period), published in 2021 Vikrama. Lilabhakta Munakarmi has referred to Mukunda Sen as Mukunda Simha and based his account largely on the Vamshawalis. According to him, the Nepal Samvat was introduced during the reign of Ananta Malla, who, he adds, was also known as Ananda Malla. The account of Ananta Malla is followed by that of Ananda Malla, and it is in the course of that account that reference has been made to Mukunda Sen's invasion. Lilabhakta Munakarmi has then pointed out that some historians regard Ananda Malla and Ananta Malla as the same person. He thus maintains that the Nepal Samvat was introduced during the reign of Ananta Malla, and that Mukunda Sen's invasion took place during the reign of Ananda Malla, whose account follows that of the former. All this indicates that in Lilabhakta Munakarmi's opinion Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley around the end of the tenth century Vikrama. In another book, Mallakalina Nepal (Nepal during the Malla period), published in 2025 Vikrama, Lilabhakta Munakarmi has repeated these same points about Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley.

(To be Continued)

## Currency System in Nineteenth-Century Nepal

During the early nineteenth century, several different monetary units were in circulation in different parts of the Kingdom of Nepal. These were the Mohar rupee, the Paisa rupee, the Gorakhpuri rupee, and Indian rupees of different categories.

### (a) The Mohar Rupee

Before the political unification of the Kingdom, the Malla rulers of Kathmandu Valley used to mint silver coins called mohar. The Gorkhali rulers continued the practice. They adopted the rupee, worth 2 silver mohars each, as the standard unit of account, hence it was officially called the mohar rupee. A mohar rupee consisted of 16 annas or gandas, each worth 4 copper coins called paisa. A mohar rupee was thus officially worth 64 paisa. However, its actual value was different in different parts of the Kingdom, depending mainly on the relative values of silver and copper. According to Hamilton: "The coin called a Mohur varies in its rate of exchange, but is commonly worth 34 paisah," so that each mohar rupee was actually worth 68 paisa or 17 gandas, in Kathmandu. It was worth 52 paisa or 13 gandas in Jumla<sup>2</sup> and 80 paisa or 20 gandas in the eastern hill region.<sup>3</sup> An attempt was made in early 1826 to standardise the conversion rate of the mohar rupee at 20 annas or 80 paisa in two-paisa (dhyak) coins, and 18 annas or 72 paisa in paisa coins.<sup>4</sup> However, the rising price of copper made such measures difficult to enforce. As A. Campbell has noted:<sup>5</sup> "In 1816, copper coin sold at 22 gundahs per rupee, now (1830) a rupee will not fetch more than 20 gundahs, a rise in copper or fall in silver of 10 percent during the interval alluded to." He adds: "Copper coin has occasionally been as high as 18 gundahs per rupee."

### (b) The Paisa Rupee

Because mohar coins were scarce, paisa coins appear to have been the sole currency in most areas of the Kingdom. In ordinary commercial transactions and tax payments, therefore, an amount of 64 paisas or 16 gandas was treated as one rupee.<sup>6</sup> It was designated as paisa rupee, an imaginary unit of account, to distinguish it from the mohar rupee. There were also paisa rupees of 20 or 22 gandas in certain parts of the Kingdom.

### (c) The Gorakhpuri Rupee

At several places in western Nepal, paisa coins were minted on the model of those minted at Gorakhpur in India. These were known as Gorakhpuri. Customarily, 48 Gorakhpuri paisa coins, and, at times, even 72 such coins, were treated as 1 Gorakhpuri rupee, another imaginary unit of account.

(d) Indian Rupees

The circulation of the mohar and paisa rupees was mainly confined to Kathmandu Valley and a few other areas in the hill region and, indeed "is far from being common even there."<sup>8</sup> Indian rupee coins were in wide circulation in all parts of the Kingdom and were actually accepted in the collection of government revenues throughout the Tarai region and in many parts of the hill region. However, the Indian rupee itself was not a standard unit during the nineteenth century. Nepali official documents mention several different units in which taxes were collected in the Tarai region. Chief among these units was the Patna rupee, the kaldar rupee, the Farrukhabadi rupee, the sicca rupee, the lathshahi rupee, the Kammani rupee, and the Rikabi rupee. Among them, the Patna rupee appears to have been in widest circulation, obviously because the bulk of Nepal-India trade through Kathmandu Valley and the eastern Tarai region was channelled through that Indian town at that time.

The actual market value of each of these Indian rupee units was different in terms of the mohar rupee. The exchange rate between Patna rupees and mohar rupees was officially fixed at 100:123 during the early years of the Rana regime<sup>9</sup> and has been used in this study for purposes of conversion during the earlier period as well for want of more precise information. During the early 1850s, the revenues of the Government of Nepal were collected in nine different currency units, namely, Patna, Farrukhabadi and Lathshahi rupees of India, mohar rupees, paisa rupees of 16-ganda, 20-ganda, and 22 ganda value, and Gorakhpuri rupees of 12-ganda and 18-ganda value. Needless to say, such a multiple currency system gave rise to considerable inconvenience.

Notes

1. Francis Hamilton, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal (reprint of 1819 ed., New Delhi : Manjusri Publishing House, 1971), p. 214.
2. "Royal Order Regarding Tax Payments in Jumla and Humla," Ashadh Badi 5, 1893 (June 1836), Regmi Research Collection (RRC) vol. 40, pp. 491-96.
3. Regmi Research Series, Year 5, No. 2, February 1973, p. 40.
4. "Royal Order Regarding Standardization of Currency Units," Magh Badi 4, 1882 (January 1826), RRC, vol. 26, p. 145.
5. Alan Campbell, "Notes on the Agriculture and Rural Economy of the Valley of Nipal," February 20, 1837, in Stiller Typescript, a typescript of Reel Three of the microfilms preserved in the Tribhuvan University Library of documents in the Archives of India, vol. 2, June 1973, p. 220.

6. AS early as 1797, a royal order to the traders of Palpa noted that "the 16-ganda paisa rupee is in circulation all over our territories." "Royal Order to the Traders of Palpa," Falgun Sudi 9, 1853 (March 1797), RRC, vol. 25, p. 322.
7. Mahesh C. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846, New Delhi : Manjusri Publishing House, 1971, p. 161. Gorakhpuri coins were minted in Palpa even before that principality was annexed by Kathmandu. "Royal Order to Harsha Narayan Regarding Minting of Coins in Palpa," Falgun Badi 10, 1889 (March 1833), RRC, vol. 45, pp. 37-38.
8. W. Kirkpatrick, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul (reprint of 1811 ed.), New Delhi : Manjusri Publishing House, 1969, p. 217.
9. "Order to General Bhaktabir Kunwar Rana and Major Captain Mehar Man Singh Rajbhandari of the Sadar Mulukikhana," Poush Badi 13, 1918 (December 1861), RRC, vol. 33, pp. 146-47.

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Hulak Arrangements, A.D. 1825-26

(Continued)

Pokhara

On Kartik Sudi 13 1882 (November 1825), several households were enrolled at Sarangkot for the transportation of goods at the Pokhara outpost in Kaski district. These arrangements were made under the hulak system (bhari-ko-hulak). The term thaple-hulaki seems to have been introduced later to denote these arrangements. These households were placed under the obligation to provide portorage services for the following categories of supplies :-

- (1) Military supplies between the capital and western Nepal,
- (2) Sick persons,
- (3) Supplies to be transported under royal orders or the orders of General Bhimsen Thapa.

A royal order issued in the name of these households stated: "Provide hulak services for these purposes day and night ... without a moment's delay through the area assigned to you. Do not provide portorage services for transporting goods belonging to any individual, be he the royal priest or preceptor, Chautariya, Kaji, Sardar, Subba, Sebedar, Jamadar, hudda, soldier (sipahi), or any other person belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes, except under royal orders or the orders of General Bhimsen Thapa. In case any person forces you to transport any supplies by falsely stating that these belong to the royal palace, report the matter to us and act as ordered."

The facilities and concessions provided to hulak porters of this category were the same as those provided to those enlisted for the transportation of mail. The royal order also stated: "Each hulaki household has been allotted a rice-land holding as mentioned below, and pay rents on kut or adhiya basis, as the case may be, as well as the ghiukhane and the chardam-theiki taxes. Hulakis shall also provide loans to their landlords in the customary manner. We exempt these hulaki household from unpaid labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar), the saunefagu tax, and other miscellaneous payments (udhauni, padhauni). Amalis and revenue functionaries shall take due note of these concessions, and not displace hulakis from their bari lands and homesteads which they have been occupying subject to payment of the serma tax. Any person who does not comply with these restrictions (bandej), shall be punished in his person and property."

List of Hulaki Households and Rice-Land Allotments

<u>Name</u>	<u>Rice-Land Allotment</u> (in muris)
Jainya Sarki	35
Kalya Sarki	32½
Jaisarya Sarki	48

Rajya Damai	30
Manarathya Damai	30
Raibirya Sarki	28
Mahatya Damai	30
Rangharya Sarki	27
Wardha Sunar	49
Dasharathya Sunar	30
Rupasingya Sarki	66
Hima Sunar	30
Banya Sunar	30
Jairanya Sarki	40
Dhanaramya Sarki	45
Jitiunya Damai	40
Sarunya Sarki	30
Rudra Sarki	30
Ramakrishna Kami	30
Ranya Sarki	39
Durga Damai	40
Balya Kami	44½
Birya Sarki	30
Ranya Sarki	30
Badhya Sarki	40
Deusingya Sarki	40
Parbatya Sarki	30
Chanya Sarki	40
Ranya Kami	43
Bahabalya Sarki	40

Ramachandrya Sarki	45
Chanya Damai	45
Ranya Sarki	40

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 10-12.

Hulak Services from Thak

Srikrishna Padhya and Gokul Padhya came to Kathmandu with the following complaint :

"Formerly, there were only twelve households of Upadhyaya Brahmans in Jugle village, who used to provide portorage services under the hulak system. No other caste lived in that village. Since 1879 Vikrama (A.D. 1812), 15 or 16 Gurung families have been living in that village. However, hulak services for the transportation of supplies are being impressed only from the Brahman households, whereas the Gurung households are exempt."

On Marga Badi 5, 1883 (November 1826), the following order was issued by General Ehimsen Thapa and Kaji Bhaktabir Thapa to military personnel (hudda, sipahi) deputed to impress hulak services for the transportation of supplies from Thak :

"In case the complaint (submitted by Srikrishna Padhya and Gokul Padhya) is true, do not impress hulak services from Upadhyaya Brahmans while letting Gurungs remain exempt. If, however, people belonging to other castes are not living in that village, act in the customary manner."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 51.

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Checkposts in the Mahabharat Region

Traditionally, the government maintained a line of checkposts along the Mahabharat range. These checkposts were manned by local households. Their functions, duties, and privileges were prescribed as follows :-

- (1) To maintain checkposts (chauki) and close tracks.
- (2) To install pikes, snares, etc. in the area assigned to each household, plant cane and thorny bushes, and dig ditches, so as to make the track unusable.
- (3) To prevent the clearing of forests specified after surveys conducted in 1372 Vikrama (A.D. 1815).
- (4) To prevent criminals and refugees, as well as local people or aliens, and beggars and mendicants, from travelling through that track, arrest them if they use force and send them to Kathmandu, or, if unable to overcome them with force, shoot at them with poisoned arrows.
- (5) Local headmen (dware, mijhar) shall conduct frequent inspection to ensure that the households assigned to each checkpost attend to their duties.
- (6) Households assigned to man these checkposts have been exempted from jhara labor services for other purposes.

On Marga Sudi 12, 1883 (November 1826), royal orders were issued specifying the number of households assigned to each checkpost, because the number originally assigned had dwindled in some cases.

The villages where the checkposts were located, and the number of households assigned to each, were as follows:-

<u>Village</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
1. Sugahachuri (Jhangajholi)	12
2. Ghyampatar (Sungnan)	8
3. Majhuwagaun (Mulkot)	8
4. Haledyakhani, Phoksingnath, Saraswatidanda, and Daiwarkhani	49
5. Kasikharka (Jhangajholi)	20
6. Rajbas (Sindhuli)	4
7. Marinkhola (Jhangajholi)	12
8. Sindhuli	19
9. Basrahidadigaun (Sindhuli)	16

10. Sindhuli	6
11. Chatuligaun (Patringa)	6
12. Hirdigaun (Dhoksila)	13
13. Ratanchuragaun (Dhoksila)	7
14. Hilekharka-Mahadeotar (Jhangajholi)	5
15. Sikharpur (Bhimkhari)	16
16. Salugaun (Dumja)	8
17. Chalisa (Jhangajholi)	8
18. Sikharpur (Sindhuli)	8
19. Kalimati	24
20. Chandaha-Madi (Tinpatan)	17
21. Bhimkhari, Manegaun, Ambalbas, Magarphadi, and Bhadaure	24
22. Tilpung	24
23. Gadamare (Tinpatan)	8
24. Katyarigaun (Sindhuli)	15
25. Bastipur (Jhangajholi)	13
26. Chandarpur-Bhotegaun (Jhangajholi)	16
27. Patringa (Jhangajholi)	29
28. Chamoligaun (Dhoksila)	21
29. Chaduligaun (Dhoksila)	37
30. Bandipur-Khaniya Kharka (Jhangajholi)	21
31. Dangikharka (Jhangajholi)	16
32. Amanogadu Kharka (Saraswatidanda, Jhangajholi)	21
33. Bhorlenigaun (Jhangajholi)	16
34. Jyamire-Bhotegaun (Dumja)	18

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 71-83.

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### The Rasad Levy

An order from Commanding Colonel Krishna Dhvaj Kunwar Rana to the landowners, village headmen, and other inhabitants of Dullu and Dailekh, issued on Poush Sudi 15, 1911 (January 1855) regarding collection of the rasad levy for meeting the food requirements of the army during the 1855-56 Nepal-Tibet war, had been given in Regmi Research Series, Year 7, No. 10, October 1, 1975, pp. 198-99. Additional information on the subject is given below.

#### Procurement in Kathmandu

The following public notification was issued in Kathmandu on Poush Badi 10, 1911 (December 1854) :

During the time of previous Mukhtiyars (i.e. Regents or Prime Ministers), unpaid-labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar) were imposed every year, thereby causing great hardships to the people. Realizing that during our term as Vizier and Mukhtiyar, it will not be good to harass people, and that people might be asked to do whatever work they can whenever His Majesty may be in need thereof, we had not imposed unpaid-labor obligations on the people from the Vikrama years 1904 to 1910.

"Today, fate has ordained that we fight a war in the north. Accordingly, the army has to depend on the ryots, and the ryots have to depend on the army. The troops must give their lives, and the ryots must provide rasad supplies from the harvest of the Vikrama year 1911."

The notification then ordered the inhabitants of Kathmandu to supply foodgrains of any of the categories mentioned below at the following rates from each household, transport such supplies to the godown at Timure, and obtain payment at the rates mentioned below before the last day of the month of Chaitra 1911 (April 12, 1855).

#### 1. Schedule of Procurement Rates

1. For tenants cultivating raikar, birta, guthi, and kipat lands :
  - (a) For tenants cultivating more than 43 muris of khet and pakho lands, irrespective of whether the homestead is of hale, pate, or kodale category
 

3 manas for each muris of khet land.
--------------------------------------
  - (b) For tenants cultivating 1 to 42 muris of both khet and pakho lands, or only pakho lands
 

16 pathis for a hale holding
8 pathis for a kodale holding.

- (c) Tenants cultivating lands measured in ropanis, even if the holding contains only pakho lands 1½ pathi per ropani.
- (d) Tenants cultivating only khet lands, and no pakho lands 3 manas per muri of khet land.
- (e) Landless peasants 8 pathis for each household.
2. For owners of birta and monastic lands of various categories :
- (a) For owner-cultivators Rates as mentioned above.
- (b) Landlords receiving rents from khet lands 4 manas per muri of khet land.
- (c) Landlords receiving money rents from pakho lands 4 manas per rupee of rent.

2. Schedule of Procurement Prices  
(at Timure godown)

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Rate (per rupee)</u>
Rice	3½ pathis
Crushed rice	4½ pathis
Parched blackgram (urd)	5½ pathis
Millet (Kodo) raw and husked	6 pathis.

Rasad obligations shall not be imposed on :

- (a) Households of jagirdars who have been deputed to the headquarters (gaunda), in case there is no male member above the age of 12 years in the family, irrespective of the area of khet and pakho lands cultivated by the household.
- (b) Persons who have not cultivated any khet or pakho lands, do not own any birta or phikdar lands, and do not have any other occupation or means of livelihood.
- (c) Households who do not have any male member capable of transporting rasad supplies. In case sufficient supplies are not available within Nepal to meet rasad obligations as mentioned above, those who



need supplies may obtain them at the rate of 8 pathis per rupee from stocks procured from the Madhesh and maintained at Bardibas.

Poush Badi 10, 1911

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 56, pp. 258-65.

Procurement in the Tarai Region

The following public notification was issued in Saptari district on Aswin Badi 5, 1912 (September 1855) :

During the time when that district was under an ijara, people were subjected to various impositions (Sawa-dotakki, do-anni, Pancha-Katti, bejgahi, besi, magani), unpaid-labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar), and levies for the maintenance of state elephants (hattisar). We realized your hardships, and, therefore, abolished these impositions and obligations. Even at the cost of revenues accruing to His Majesty, specified levies (bhairo-Patwan salami) were abolished. In order that you may be happy, the amanat system was introduced in that district.

"Today, fate has ordained that we fight a war in the north. The arrangements mentioned above will continue, the interests of His Majesty will be served, and we too shall earn a good name, if this Kingdom remains intact. If, however, this Kingdom goes out of existence, these arrangements will not continue, you will have to suffer, the cause of His Majesty will be harmed, and we shall earn a bad name.

"This is, therefore, the time when all ryots, the army, umraos, and other people, high or low, should work hard. The army depends on the ryots, and the ryots depend on the army. The troops must give their lives, and the ryots of the hill regions and the Tarai must give their wealth.

"His Majesty now does not ask for wealth from you. Your sole obligation will be to supply coarse and fine rice at an average price of 12 pathis a rupee as before, and transport such rice through a distance of four or five days' journey. Nor has His Majesty asked for your entire output. Instead, the rates of procurement have been fixed as follows :-

<u>Phikdar</u> and other <u>birta</u> owners	Rs 3 worth of rice per bigha.
Ryots of Mal lands	R. 1 worth of rice per bigha.

"Authority for the procurement of such rasad supplies has been granted to Colonel Dilli Singh Basnyat and Khajanchi Siddhiman Singh Rajbhandari. Obey their orders with promptness. Otherwise, you will learn what type of severe punishment will be inflicted on those who do not work but only create obstacles at a time when His Majesty is about to lose or gain some territory.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 56, pp. 549-551.

#### Transportation Arrangements

The following order was issued in the name of Mir Subba Ratna Man Singh Rajbhandari on Shrawan Badi 6, 1912 (July 1855) :

With the help of the personnel of the Ambar Dal Company, requisition 500 ox-carts, 2,500 oxen, and 500 ponies, wherever these may be available, locally or across the borders. Fix wages at the rate of 6 annas (Lathshahi) per sack. From the fifth day of the month of Marga (November 20, 1855), make arrangements for the transportation of rasad supplies from Hitaura to Bhainse by ox-cart, and from Bhainse to Bhimphedi by ox or pony. The carts, oxen, and ponies may also be used to transport sacks from the Madhesh up to Hitaura. In case you do not perform these functions promptly, so that the transportation of rasad supplies is interrupted, you may be reprimanded.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 56, pp. 462-63.

#### Lamjung

Order to the inhabitants of Sathar in Lamjung :

You all know that this year a war has started with Tibet. His Majesty has spent money from the treasury for the war, and troops have left for the front risking their lives. His Majesty, and all of us, will be harmed if the troops do not get enough food to eat. For this reason, the inhabitants of Nepal Valley have delivered supplies of foodgrains at Bhainse, Dobhan, and those living in the region east of the Marsyangdi river have done so at Rasuwa. You are now ordered to transport these supplies to Kerung. In case you fail to do so, you shall be punished according to martial law (jangi ain).

Baisakh Sudi 3, 1912

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 33, p. 224.

Sheopuri-Mahabharat Region

Public notification in the region situated west of the Manahara river, east of Mahesh-Dobhan, north of the Mahabharat mountains, and south of the Sheopuri hills:

You all know that this year a war has started with Tibet. His Majesty has spent money, and troops have gone to fight in Tibet risking their levies. His Majesty, and all of us, will be harmed, if the troops do not get enough to eat. You have pledged assistance in the transportation of rasad supplies. More assistance and labor are needed from you now. Supplies of foodgrains have been procured from the Tarai and stocked in Nepal. All inhabitants of the area within the boundaries mentioned above shall transport these supplies to Bhainse-Dobhan on the Betravati river by the end of Jestha (June 14). In case you are not able to do so, you shall be obliged to transport the supplies to Kerung. Any one who does not comply with this order shall be punished according to martial law (jangi ain).

Baisakh Sudi 4, 1912

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 33, p. 225.

Trishuli-Manahara Region

Public notification in the region situated north of the Bagmati river at Tripureshwar, south of Kerung, east of the Gandi (Trishuli) river, and west of the Manahara river.

(Same as above, except that inhabitants of this region were placed under the obligation of transporting supplies to Kerung by the end of Jestha, or, if they failed to do so, to Dzongka).

The notification prescribes the obligations of different classes of inhabitants to transport supplies of foodgrains as follows :-

- (1) Birtaowners (Bekh, Phikdar, Bandha, Chhap, Manachamal, Gharbari, Jiuni, Petiya-Kharacha).

(a) <u>Size of rice-land birta holding</u>	<u>No of loads</u>
Less than 25 muris	1
25-100 muris	2
100-200 muris	3
200-500 muris	5
500-1000 muris	7

1000-2000 muris	10
2000-5000 muris	15
5000-10,000 muris	20.

(b) Amount of Birta Income (on birta holdings not comprising rice-lands)

Less than Rs 25	1
Rs 25-Rs 100	2
Rs 100-Rs 200	3
Rs 200-Rs 500	5
Rs 500-Rs 1,000	7
Rs 1,000-Rs 2,000	10
Rs 2,000-Rs 5,000	15
Rs 5,000-Rs 10,000	20
Rs 10,000-Rs 25,000	25
Rs 25,000-Rs 50,000	40
Rs 50,000-Rs 100,000	60

(2) Persons who have only a homestead, but no land, no occupation, and no source of income 1 load.

(3) Persons who have no land, no occupation, no source of income, and not even a homestead, and are in the age-group 15-60 1 load.

(4) Government employees other than those engaged in the war :-

<u>Amount of Salary</u>	<u>No. of loads</u>
Less than Rs 100	1
Rs 100-Rs 500	2
Rs 500-Rs 1,000	3
Rs 1,000-Rs 2,000	5
Rs 2,000-Rs 5,000	7
Rs 5,000-Rs 10,000	10
Rs 10,000-Rs 25,000	15
Rs 25,000-Rs 50,000	25
Rs 50,000-Rs 100,000	40

(5) Private traders not engaged in government ijaras

<u>Amount of capital</u>	<u>No. of loads</u>
Less than Rs 100	1
Rs 100-Rs 500	2
Rs 500-Rs 1,000	3
Rs 1,000-Rs 2,000	5
Rs 2,000-Rs 5,000	7
Rs 5,000-Rs 10,000	10
Rs 10,000-Rs 25,000	15
Rs 25,000-Rs 50,000	25
Rs 50,000-Rs 100,000	40.

(6) Ijara or Amanat Revenue Collectors

<u>Amount of collection</u>	<u>No. of loads</u>
Less than Rs 100	1
Rs 100-Rs 500	2
Rs 500-Rs 1,000	3
Rs 1,000-Rs 2,000	5
Rs 2,000-Rs 5,000	7
Rs 5,000-Rs 10,000	10
Rs 10,000-Rs 25,000	15
Rs 25,000-Rs 50,000	25
Rs 50,000-Rs 100,000	40
Rs 100,000-Rs 150,000	50
Rs 150,000-Rs 200,000	60
Rs 200,000-Rs 300,000	80
Rs 300,000-Rs 400,000	100.

"Each person belonging to any of the categories mentioned above shall himself determine how many loads he is under obligation to transport, and shall apply for sacks for packing the rasad supplies. Such obligations shall be determined on the basis of the maximum category.

"This time, rasad obligations have not been imposed on traders, ijara or amanat revenue collectors, and birta, bekh, manachamal, phikdar, marwat, and jagir landowners in the Tarai region. Appropriate decisions will be taken in their cases later."

Baisakh Sudi 1, 1912

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 33, pp. 226-32.

The same notification was issued on the same day in the region situated east of the Manahara river, west of Sindhuli, South of Kuti, and north of the Mahabharat mountains also.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 30, pp. 51-56.

#### The End

On Falgun Sudi 3, 1915 (February 1859), Commanding General Jagat Shumshere Jung Kunwar Rana was ordered to stop the delivery of foodgrains under the rasad levy at Hitaura.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 81, p. 602.

At the end of the Nepal-Tibet war, supplies of foodgrains stocked at different places on the borders, worth about Rs 150,000, were gifted to the Tibetan government.

Falgun Sudi 2, 1915.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 81, pp. 603-5.

#### Rasad Obligations During the Lucknow Expedition

A similar obligation was imposed during Prime Minister Jung Bahadur's military expedition to Lucknow in 1857 to help the British suppress the mutiny. Supplies were accordingly delivered at Hitaura, and portorage services were impressed for the transportation of food and military stores to Lucknow.

Regmi Research Collection. vol. 29, pp. 429-30.

Kulananda Jha

Some information on the career of Kulananda Jha as Ijaradar had been given in Regmi Research Series, Year 12, No. 11, November 1, 1980, pp. 166-68. Additional information is given below :-

On Jestha Sudi 8, 1872, Subba Kulananda Jha was granted the following two one-year ijaras :-

- (1) Ijara for revenue collection in Bhadgaun town for Rs 20,001.
- (2) Ijara for collection of customs duties in Naurangiya, Sidhmas, Chisapani, Hitaura, and Parsa-Gadhi for Rs 8,701.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 652-53.

On Ashadh Badi 13, 1882, Kulananda Jha was granted a one-year ijara for revenue collection in Saptari and Mahottari districts against a total payment of Rs 76,336.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 96-99.

On Chaitra Sudi 3, 1882, Kulananda Jha was granted an ijara for the collection of the godhuwa levy in the eastern Tarai districts against a total payment of Rs 41,001.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 153-54.

In Falgun 1884, Kulananda Jha was functioning as Taksari, or Master of the Mint.

Falgun Sudi 10, 1884

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 172-73.

On Shrawan Badi 14, 1880, Subba Kulananda Jha and Kaji Hiralal Jha had taken up on possessory mortgage 900 muris of rice-lands at Jarayotar from Ghatananda Padhya Khatiwada of Bungnam for Rs 6,601. Subsequently, arrears of payment to the government fell due to the government. Guhyalaxmi, Subba Kulananda Jha's wife, and Prithvilal Jha, his son, retained possession of the lands by falsely representing them as guthi. The mortgage-deed was recovered from among the papers of Subba Kulananda Jha. The mortgage was confiscated, and the lands were placed under the control of the Sadar Dafdarkhana.

An order to this effect was issued in the name of Kharidar Bakabir of the Moth Tahabil Office on Aswin Badi 4, 1919 (September 1862).

Subba Kulananda Jha owned a house at Kilagal in Kathmandu. This house too was confiscated by the government. On Jestha Sudd 14, 1934 (May 1877), an order was issued to register the sale of the house to Lt. Dilli Bahadur Thapa Chhetri, who had offered Rs 7,301 for it. He was permitted to demolish the house and build a new one on the site.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 69, pp. 749-56.

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King Mukunda Sen's Invasion of Kathmandu Valley

By

Mahesh Raj Panta and Dinesh Raj Panta

(Continued from the May 1982 issue)

Mejor E.R. Elles of the Royal Artillery of Britain published a book under the title A Report on Nepal in 1940 Vikrama (A.D. 1883) so that it might be easy for British officers of the Gurkha Brigade to understand Nepal's geography, history, people, law, and customs. Several revised editions of the book were subsequently published. Colonel R.G. Leonard, who had once served in the Gurkha Brigade, published one edition under the title Nepal and the Gurkhas (London: Ministry of Defence, 2022 Vikrama (A.D. 1965)). In the second chapter of the book, Colonel R.G. Leonard has given an account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley according to the Vamshawalis. He writes that a Karnataka dynasty was in power in Nepal Valley in the fourteenth century, and that the Magar king Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal from the west during the reign of the last king of that dynasty, Harideva. The sixth chapter of the book is on Magars. It mentions that Magars first came into prominence about the Vikrama year 1157 (A.D. 1100) when Mukunda Sen, the Magar king of Palpa and Batoli, invaded and conquered the Nepal Valley. Thus the same book gives the date of Mukunda Sen's invasion as the fourteenth century at one place and Vikrama 1157 at another place.



The book on the Magars, written by John Hitchcock, an American anthropologist, also merits mention in this context. In this book, published in Vikrama 2023, Hitchcock writes that the Magars had plundered Nepal Valley around the twelfth century Vikrama. This appears to be a reference to Mukunda Sen's invasion. In other words, Hitchcock felt that Mukunda Sen's invasion had taken place around the twelfth century Vikrama.

Luciano Petch's description of Dilli Raman Regmi's Ancient and Medieval Nepal, published in Vikrama 2009 (A.D. 1953), as "a disappointing work", made it clear to the latter that he could not hope to gain reputation in the community of scholars through such works. Dilli Raman Regmi, in fact, completely lacked knowledge of old scripts, languages, and sciences, so essential for success in writing an authentic history of Nepal. Preoccupied as he was mainly with politics, he could hardly study such matters seriously before attempting to write the history of Nepal. So he found an easy way to gain fame abroad as a research historian without ever actually studying new historical materials. He improperly started plagiarizing the findings of Samshodhana-Mandala published by the disciples of Naya Raj Pant under his guidance after 2009 Vikrama (A.D. 1953), being greatly impressed by these works, (Abhinandana-Grantha of Itihasa Samshodhana) Kathmandu 2015 Vikrama (A.D. 1958), p. 24). Dilli Raman Regmi thought that since these historical findings published in the Nepali language, were not known to anyone outside Nepal, he could gain fame as a research historian abroad if he presented them in English (Dilli Raman Regmi, Ancient Nepal, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya 2017 Vikrama (1960 A.D.), Vidya-Raksha (Protection of knowledge) Vol. 3, edited and published by Naya Raj Panta, 2017 Vikrama (1960 A.D.); Dilli Raman Regmi, Medieval Nepal Vols. 1-3) Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 2023 Vikrama (1966 A.D.); Samshodhan Mandala, Sawadhan-Patra (A Letter of Warning) No. 17; 2023 Vikrama (A.D. 1966); Shankar Man Rajavamsi, Sri Dilli Raman Regmiju Le Hamro Sampatti Pheri Chornubhavo (Dilli Raman Regmi has again stolen our property), Purnima, No. 11, 2023 Vikrama (A.D. 1966), pp. 17-24); Hamro Vaktavya (our statement), Purnima No. 11, pp. 101-118); Dilli Raman Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Vol. 4, Patna, Dilli Raman Regmi, 2023 Vikrama (A.D. 1966); Nepal Ka Buddhi jibiharule Nispakshya Bhai Vichara Garidinuparvo (Let the Intellectuals of Nepal Think Impartially), authored and published by Itihasa Samshodhana Mandala, 2024 Vikrama (A.D. 1967); Hamro Baktavya (Our Statement), Purnima, No. 13, 2024 Vikrama (A.D. 1967); pp. 91-98); Itihasa Samshodhana, Nos. 64-65; Samshodhana Mandala, 2024 Vikrama (A.D. 1967); ibid, Nos. 66-68, 2025 Vikrama (A.D. 1968);

Even then, Dilli Raman Regmi could not gain reputation abroad. This is evident from the remarks of foreign scholars. According to Dhuswan Sayami :

I asked Prof. Petech for his comment on Dr. Regmi's works. For some unknown reasons, he did not appear satisfied with Regmi's works. In this context, he referred to the Itihasa Samshodana Mandala. It was clear that he took interest in the activities of the Mandala. He reads Purnima as well as other works published by this institution. He welcomed the Mandala's criticism of his work entitled Medieval Nepal. He promised to rectify his errors in the next edition of his works, and added that every one interested in the history of Nepal should work for compiling historic materials in the way Samshodana Mandala was doing, and that a Nepali should work within his own country rather than abroad if he wanted to pursue a research on the history and culture of Nepal.

Dhuswan Sayami, Hamro Itihasa, Prof Petech, ra Samshodana Mandala (Our History, Prof Petch, and Itihasa Samshodana Mandala), Gorkhapatra, Shrawan 21, 2024 (August 6, 1967).

Peter Burleigh writes: Special attention must be paid to the newly-published four-volume work by the Nepali scholar, Dilli Raman Regmi. The work is entitled Medieval Nepal. Regmi's earlier work in the period, according to Petech, was "a disappointing work in spite of the magnificent opportunities open to its author." The newer work, at least the extended chapter dealing with the Kingdom of Patan, is much better, although still disappointing. Regmi has used many of the available sources, and he has done future researchers a great service by printing, in the third and fourth volumes, the texts of stone and copper inscriptions and those of four important Thyasufus (Newari generic term for folded book). In all candour, however, two major criticisms must be levelled against Dr. Regmi. First, his organization of the material leaves much to be desired. For example, in studies of regnal chronologies, the date should be presented in chronological order; he often fails to do so. Second, his command of written English is not adequate. It is therefore often difficult to understand what point is being made.

Peter Burleigh, A Chronology of the Later Kings of Patan, Kailas Vol. 4, 2033 Vikrama, (A.D. 1976) p. 27).

Dilli Raman Regmi has almost repeated in his Medieval Nepal the Vamshawali account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley. But this too does not settle the issue pertaining to that account. Indeed, he has not given much thought to this matter. The summary of the Vamshawali as given by Regmi was plagiarized by him from the one published by Bhagawan Lal Indraji in 1941 Vikrama (A.D. 1884). This will be come evident when one compares Indraji's article with Regmi's. This explains why he has overlooked Daniel Wright's account in which the latter has mentioned Shrawan Sudi 7, 811 Shaka, and Nepal Samvat 9 (A.D. 889) as the date of Nanya Deva's arrival in Nepal as referred to in

the Vamshawali. (Daniel Wright, History of Nepal, p. 167). At the time when Raja Jaya Deva Malla was ruling over Lalit-Patan and Kantipur, and Ananda Malla over Bhaktapur, in the Shaka Year 811, and Nepal Sambat 9 (A.D. 889), on the 7th of Sravana Sudi a Saturday, Nanya-deva Raja came from the South Karanataka country and entered Nepal."

It is because Regmi has followed in the footsteps of Bhagawan Lal Indraji that he has repeated the latter's mistake in mentioning the year as A.D. 890.

According to the summary of the Vamshawali given by Regmi, a total period of 219 years had elapsed from the year when Nanya Deva entered Nepal to the last year of his great-great grandson Rama Simha. ( $50+41+31+39+58=219$ ). Inasmuch as the Vamshawali mentions the date of Nanya Deva's arrival in Nepal as 811 Shaka, or Nepal Samvat 9 (946 Vikrama), Rama Simha must have died in 1165 Vikrama ( $946 \text{ Vikrama} + 219$ ). The summary also indicates that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley during the reign of Hari-deva who had succeeded Rama Simha. It follows that the invasion must have taken place some time after 1165 Vikrama. On the other hand, Regmi says that the Vamshawali gives 1145 Vikrama as the year of Mukunda Sen's invasion. According to his own summary of the Vamshawali, a total of 161 years had passed between the year when Nanya Deva entered Nepal and the last year of his great grandson, Shakti Deva ( $50+41+31+39=161$ ). As the Vamshawali mentions 946 Vikrama as the year of Nanya Deva's arrival in Nepal, Shakti Deva's reign could have ended in 1107 Vikrama ( $946 \text{ Vikrama} + 161 = 1107 \text{ Vikrama}$ ). Regmi's summary of the Vamshawali shows that Rama Simha, Shakti Deva's son, had reigned from 1107 Vikrama to 1165 Vikrama. This proves that it was Rama Simha, and not his son, Hari Deva, who was reigning in 1145 Vikrama. Dilli Raman Regmi's statements that Mukunda Sen's invasion took place in 1145 Vikrama, and that Hari Deva was reigning at that time, show that he has not made a deep study of the subject.

We have already shown how weak Petech's arguments are when he says that Mukunda Sen's invasion probably took place during the reign of Abhaya Malla. Petech believes that "the invasion of Mukunda Sen (of Palpa) probably took place during (Abaya Malla's) reign". Dilli Raman Regmi has expressed doubt about Petech's view and said: "Petech thinks that during Abhaya Malla's time Mukunda Sen of Palpa probably invaded Nepal. But I doubt if there is any basis for such a statement as we have absolutely no authoritative information about this event." (Dilli Raman Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965, pt. 1, p. 221). However, Dilli Raman Regmi does not have the capacity to show on what grounds Petech's view is wrong. He has raised doubts about Petech's arguments and said: "In place of the

repeated invasions of the Khasias from the west, the later chronicles had introduced Mukunda Sen of Palpa as invader." Dilli Ramani Regi adds: "Levi thinks that the reference was to the Khasa invasions mentioned in the ancient chronicles. This is very much true." (ibid, p. 239).

Devi Prasad Lamsal, editor of the second part of the Bhasha Vamshawali, published in 2023 Vikrama, does not appear to believe that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley. He has captioned the appropriate section in that Vamshawali as "Legend of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley." He has also given a note seeking to disprove the Vamshawali account of the invasion. He has given some reasons for holding that view. It appears that Devi Prasad Lamsal has been unable to accept the Vamshawali account of the invasion because the well-known King Mukunda Sen reigned in Palpa circa 1600 Vikrama, and because no evidence has yet been discovered to show that Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal Valley in 1315 Vikrama. On the other hand, the Vamshawalis contain no reference to the invasions of Nepal Valley by Jitari Malla and Shamshuddin, for which evidence is available. This is another reason why Devi Prasad Lamsal feels doubtful about the Vamshawali accounts. He concludes with the observation that "the account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley apparently relates to the invasion by Jitari Malla or Shamshuddin."

Bikram Jit Hasrat, editor of the Vamshawali of Padma Giri, which was published in 2027 Vikrama, does not believe the Vamshawali account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley. He has concluded that "chronologically the account seems to be baseless and imaginary." We have already mentioned that according to Padma Giri's Vamshawali, edited by Hasrat, the date of Mukunda Sen's invasion was some time after 1080 Vikrama. We have also seen that according to the unpublished Sanskrit Vamshawali cited by Petech, Mukunda Sen reigned circa 1167 Vikrama. Both these Vamshawalis state that Mukunda Sen invaded and conquered Nepal Valley during the reign of Rama Simha. While giving a summary of the account of Mukunda Sen's invasion as contained in Padma Giri's Vamshawali edited by him, Hasrat has written: "Prof. Tucci's Vamshawali, which is in Sanskrit verse, fully checks with Padma Giri's Vamshawali, and the invasion probably took place in 1167 Vikrama." This shows that because the accounts of Mukunda Sen's invasion contained in the Sanskrit Vamshawali and Padma Giri's Vamshawali are identical, and because the Sanskrit Vamshawali mentions the date of Mukunda Sen's reign as 1167 Vikrama, this would be the date of the invasion as described in Padma Giri's Vamshawali also. Thus, according to Hasrat, the date of Mukunda Sen's invasion must be accepted as 1167 Vikrama on the basis of Padma Giri's Vamshawali. But even while not doubting the version of Padma Giri's Vamshawali, according to which Mukunda Sen's invasion took place around the end of the

eleventh century Vikrama, Hasrat has used the Sanskrit Vamshawali as the basis and conjectured that the invasion, as described in Padma Giri's Vamshawali, took place in 1167 Vikrama. One is therefore compelled to remark that Hasrat has not made a deep study of the Vamshawali that he has himself edited.

According to Bikrama Jit Hasrat, Wright's Vamshawali states that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during the reign of Harideva, who was defeated and consequently lost his throne in 208 Nepal Samvat or 1145 Vikrama. We have already mentioned that according to Wright's Vamshawali, Rama Simha Deva, Harideva's father, reigned from 1107 to 1165 Vikrama, and that he was succeeded by Harideva. Even then, Hasrat implies that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley in 1145 Vikrama during the reign of Harideva. This shows that Hasrat has properly studied the Vamshawali of neither Padma Giri nor Wright, and has blindly followed Dilli Raman Regmi.

In this connection, Hasrat has written that Rudra Sen, Mukunda Sen's father, reigned from 1440 to 1475 A.D., and cited Dilli Raman Regmi's work as evidence. In his Modern Nepal, Dilli Raman Regmi has written that Rudra Sen reigned from 1440 to 1475 A.D. It seems that he has done so on the basis of Babu Ram Acharya's article, "Tanahuko Senavamsha" (the Sen dynasty of Tanahu) published in the Bhanubhakta Smaraka Grantha (Bhanubhakta Commemoration Volume). (Dilli Raman Regmi, Modern Nepal, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 2018 Vikrama, p. 28).

In that article, Baburam Acharya has reproduced a gift-deed of Rudra Sen, father of Mukunda Sen, dated 1571 Vikrama, and concluded on that basis that Rudra Sen reigned from 1540 to 1575 Vikrama. But because of a printing error, the date was given as 1440-75 circa. A difference of one century was the result. It can easily be understood that because Kham Sen, Mukunda Sen's great-grandfather, reigned from 1500 to 1530 Vikrama, and Mukunda Sen from 1575 to 1610 Vikrama, and the gift-deed of Mukunda Sen's father, Rudra Sen, is dated 1571 Vikrama, Rudra Sen commenced his reign in 1540 Vikrama, instead of in 1440 Vikrama as wrongly printed. The blunder is the result of Dilli Raman Regmi's incapacity to detect the discrepancy. He has committed another mistake by giving Baburam Acharya's Vikrama dates as dates of the western calendar. Baburam Acharya previously used Vikrama calendar dates, but later switched over to the western calendar. (Nayaraj Pant, "Aitihāsika-Shiromani Shri Baburama Acharya-Jiu Sanga Prarthana" (A request to the great historian, Baburam Acharya), Purnima, No. 9, 2023 Vikrama, p. 81, and No. 15, 2024 Vikrama, pp. 217-218-229). The article that we have mentioned above was published in 1997 Vikrama. Dilli Raman Regmi has committed another mistake by regarding the Vikrama calendar date as a western calendar date. Hasrat has then repeated Dilli Raman Regmi's mistake.

Hasrat has cited Levi's view that the Vamshawali account of the attack made by the King of Palpa on Harideva, the last King of the Karnata dynasty, and his dethronement, as an echo of the Khasa invasion of 1315 Vikrama. Hasrat has then pointed out that this may be alternative explanation of the issue. This statement creates the wrong impression that Levi has mentioned a Khasa invasion in 1315 Vikrama. Levi has cited the Gopalrajavamshawali account according to which in 1384 Vikrama the Khasa king Aditya Malla invaded Nepal Valley, and expressed the view that the author of the Vamshawali regarded the Khasa invasion from the west as having been made by Mukunda Sen with Khasas and Magars. We have to see why even then Hasrat has cited Levi as having written that there had been a Khasa invasion of Nepal Valley in 1315 Vikrama.

Dilli Raman Regmi writes: "In place of the repeated invasions of the Khasias from the west, the later chronicles had introduced Mukunda Sen of Palpa as invader. ... Levi thinks that the reference was to the Khasa invasions mentioned in the ancient chronicles. This is very much true." Regmi has also written: "The Chronicle group B2 gives the date of the invasion as Kali 4359= 1315 Vikrama." He thus seems to have referred to the date of Mukunda Sen's invasion as given in the Bhasha Vamshawali. Hasrat, however, did not understand this, but wrote on the basis of Regmi's account without studying Levi's book that Levi has described the Khasa invasion of 1315 Vikrama as Mukunda Sen's invasion.

(To be Continued)

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Chaudharis and Jimidars

During the nineteenth century, there existed a class of landed gentry in the eastern Tarai districts of Nepal to which the reference made to "a rural class other than, and standing above, the peasantry," made by Irfan Habib in the context of Mughal India, may be applied.

According to Buchanan<sup>2</sup>, the term Chaudhari was used in the eastern parts of Purnea district as a synonym of zemindar and we may presume that this was the practice followed in the eastern Tarai region of Nepal as well. Buchanan has described the zemindars of Purnea district as "proud,, ignorant and slothful." Buchanan adds<sup>3</sup> :

(They) live with much less splendour in everything but equipage, delight more in a crowd of parasites and religious mendicants, are more grossly defrauded, act more meanly and oppressively toward their tenants, and are more devoid of politeness towards strangers."

Chaudharis or zemindars usually did not play a direct or supervisory role in the collection of rents, but farmed out the rents to intermediaries called mastajirs. These mastajirs "often let out their bargains to underrenters, who still rent their portions to others, and these settle with the tenants, each making an agreement with such as have no leases, or taking a sum of money to decline all investigation for the term of his engagement."<sup>4</sup>

The Rana government early realized the fact that Chaudharis were all-equipped to undertake the new tasks that the reorganization of the revenue-collection system and the opportunities for agricultural expansion and development brought in their wake around the middle of the nineteenth century. There is evidence that Chaudharis were even unable to discharge their tax-collection functions satisfactorily. To the unwieldy size of the parganna, which comprised a number of villages, was added such other problems as lack of incentive to invest capital and enterprise in agricultural expansion.<sup>5</sup>

During the early 1850s, therefore, the Rana government appointed functionaries known as jimidars at the level of the mouja in the eastern Tarai region.

The main responsibility of the jimidar was to collect land and other taxes, promote land reclamation and settlement, and discharge specified police and other administrative functions in the mouja under his jurisdiction. Regulations promulgated in A.D. 1861 contain detailed provisions regarding the role that jimidars were expected to play in land reclamation, irrigation, and credit supply.<sup>6</sup>



If any local or non-resident cultivator is unable to cultivate his registered holding because of lack of resources, he may hand it over to the jimidar of the village during the appropriate season. The jimidar, on his part, shall render all possible assistance to such cultivator in the form of seeds or oxen, so that he may not have to vacate the holding. If even then the cultivator voluntarily relinquishes his holding, the jimidar may reallocate it to another person.

The introduction of the jimidari system at the level of the mouja was followed by measures aimed at undermining the power and influence of parganna-level Chaudharis. During 1853-54, their nankar lands were resumed, and their cash perquisites were abolished? Instead, they were granted uncultivated lands, which they were expected to reclaim. In districts such as Mahottari, where uncultivated lands were not available for such grants, Chaudharis were paid emoluments in cash.<sup>8</sup> Such a policy, however, further eroded their position as a landed gentry.

The 1861 regulations contain no reference to Chaudharis, but nevertheless their role in the revenue system appears to have remained unchanged. This is proved by arrangements made toward the end of the following year to standardize the rates of emoluments made to these functionaries. A Chaudhari who was responsible for the collection of revenue not exceeding Rs 10,000 in his parganna was granted 100 bighas of land or Rs 3 a bigha if lands were not available, while a jimidar who was responsible for the collection of revenue not exceeding Rs 100 in his mauja was entitled to a commission of 5 percent in cash, or else in the form of land.<sup>9</sup>

The 1861 regulations give the impression that the Rana government desired to use the jimidari system as a means to create a new elite group in the Tarai region to provide sustenance to its political and economic authority. This impression is substantiated by the provisions made in the regulations regarding the appointment of jimidars. Preference in such appointments was given to people of hill origin. Next in order of preference came "honest and well-to-do men of property belonging to good families, who have settled in our territories along with their wives and children, thus providing opportunities to immigrants from northern India."<sup>10</sup>

Unlike Chaudharis, the new jimidars did not possess a traditional social and economic base in the mauja. Rather, they owed their power and status to the government, which limited their role to specified functions in the area placed under their jurisdiction. Unsatisfactory performance was punishable with dismissal. As the regulations state,<sup>11</sup>

A jimidar who does not complete revenue collection in full even within one month after the expiry of the year, or who is held guilty of collecting arbitrary payments from the ryots and of oppressing them, shall be dismissed with our approval.

The jimidari system marked a compromise between the traditional and capitalist modes of production. In a situation where the man-land ratio was high, "the conditions required for capitalist production did not yet exist. A class of people was required who were accustomed to work for hire.<sup>12</sup> Jimidari, as "a transitional ... system combining the features of both the corvée and the capitalist systems," was thus "the only possible system of economy."<sup>13</sup>

#### Notes

1. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 141.
2. Francis Buchanan, An Account of the District of Purnea in 1809-10, Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1928, pp. 450-51.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Mahesh C. Regmi, Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces: Peasants and Landlords in 19th Century Nepal, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd, 1978, pp. 75-76.
6. "Revenue Regulations for the Eastern Tarai," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861), sec. 31, Regmi Research Collection (RRC), vol. 10, pp. 22-23.
7. "Order Regarding Cash Salaries of Chaudharis," Shrawan Sudi 4, 1919 (July 1862), RRC, vol. 29, p. 473.
8. "Order Regarding Emoluments of Chaudharis and Kanugoyes," Baisakh Sudi 2, 1915 (April 1858), RRC, vol. 81, p. 263.
9. "Order Regarding Emoluments of Chaudharis," Aswin Sudi 6, 1919 (September 1862), RRC, vol. 29, p. 542; "Regulations Regarding Land Assignments to Chaudharis, jimidars, etc.," Kartik Badi 10, 1919 (October 1862), ibid, p. 612.
10. "Revenue Regulations for the Eastern Tarai," op. cit. sec. 42, pp. 29-30.
11. Ibid.
12. V.I. Lenin, "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," in Collected Works, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964, vol. 3, p. 193.
13. Ibid, p. 194.

## King Mukunda Sen's Invasion of Kathmandu Valley

(Continued from the June 1982 issue)

Ayodhya Prasad Pradhan, in his book Palpako Eka Parichaya (An Introduction to Palpa), published by the Royal Nepal Academy in 2030 Vikrama, mentions two Mukunda Sens: one the historical Mukunda Sen and the other the Mukunda Sen of legend. The historical Mukunda Sen became King of Palpa circa 1575 Vikrama, and controlled the territory from the Gandaki to the Koshi, according to Ayodhya Prasad Pradhan. He has described the Mukunda Sen who invaded Nepal Valley according to the Vamshawalis as a legendary figure. In addition, Ayodhya Prasad Pradhan has written that there is a controversy about Mukunda Sen's invasion as described in the Bhasha Vamshawali, and that the Gopalarajavamshawali does not mention the event at all. He adds: "According to the Vamshawalis, Nanyadeva came to Nepal in 811 Shaka (946 Vikrama). By the time of Ramasimha Deva, his descendant in the fifth generation, 219 years had passed. Ramasimha Deva thus seems to have reigned until  $946+219=1165$  Vikrama. According to the Vamshawalis, Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley during the reign of Ramasimha Deva. Some historians have, therefore, expressed the view that Mukunda Sen's invasion took place circa 1100 A.D. or 1157 Vikrama."

In his book Hanumandhoka Rajadarkar (The Hanumandhoka royal palace), published in 2033 Vikrama, Gautamavajra Vajracharya has referred to Mukunda Sen's invasion at two places. At one place, he has written that during the invasion, Mukunda Sen has pitched his headquarters at Itumbahal, as depicted in a scroll there. He has also quoted some sentences from the inscription on that scroll. At another place, Gautamabajra Vijracharya has written: "According to a well-known legend, King Mukunda Sen had invaded Nepal. During the invasion, the inhabitants of this area buried paddy, radish, and other produce underground and fled to the forests. When they came back later, they saw that the paddy had turned into hakuwa, and the radish into sinki. Since then, the inhabitants of Nepal Valley have learnt how to make hakuwa rice and sinki." He concludes: "This legendary invasion by Mukunda Sen is not proved by historical evidence, but it certainly recalls the practice of burying property underground and fleeing to the forests."

We have now discussed the views of a large number of historians about the Vamshawali account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley. One thing strikes us at this stage, on which a few words may be appropriate.

Reputed historians such as Sylvain Levi, Baburam Acharya, and Luciano Petech, who have tried to write on the basis of original evidence, and their followers, have not fully believed in the Vamshawali account, but have presented strange interpretations of their own, or have described it as purely imaginary. On the other hand, historians who lack the capacity to study original sources have raised no doubt about the Vamshawali account. This becomes clear from their views as discussed above.

But even though historians who lack the capacity to study original sources have raised no doubt about the Vamshavali account of Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley, and mentioned the event in their works by regarding it as authentic, historians who have made a deep study of the subject have made no reference at all to the event in their works.

For instance, Nepalako Samkshipta Itihasa (A concise history of Nepal) by Totra Raj Pande and Naya Raj Panta, and another book with the same title by Jagadish Chandra Regmi, contain no reference to Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley.

During the 105 years between 1301 and 1406 Vikrama, Nepal Valley was invaded several times. The invaders included Doyas from Tirhut in the south, (Dhanavajra Vijracharya, "Doyaharu Ko Hun?" (who are the Doyas?), Purnima, No. 4, 2021 (A.D. 1964), pp. 20-31). Khasas from the West, (Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasa" (A history of the Karnali region), Purnima, No. 6, 2022 (A.D. 1965), pp. 14-29; Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Aitihāsika Ruparekha" (An historical outline of the Karnali region), in Karnali Pradeshha Eka Bito Adhyayana (A study of the Karnali region), Jumla: Samajika Adhyayana Samudaya, 2028 (A.D. 1971), pp. 23-39), and Sultan Shamsuddin from Bengal in the east. (Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Shamsuddinko Akramana" (The invasion of Shamsuddin), Purnima, No. 8, 2022 (A.D. 1965), pp. 6-13); Baburam Acharya "Nepalama Bhayeko Musalmani Akramana" (A Muslim invasion of Nepal), Purnima, No. 27, 2029 (A.D. 1972), pp. 154-61).

Sthiti Malla was married to Rajalla Devi, a royal princess, in 1411 Vikrama. Thanks to that alliance, he was able to have a hand in affairs of state. Gradually, he displaced the ruling dynasty and eventually became King. (Dhanavajra Vajracharya, Ramji Tewari, Devi Prasad Bhandari, Bhola Nath Poudel, Shankar Man Rajavamsi, Gautamavajra Vijracharya, Mahesh Raj Panta, and Naya Nath Poudel, Itihasa Samshodhanako Pramana-Prameya, Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashana, 2019 (A.D. 1962), pp. 32-37); Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Shaktishali Bharadar Ramavardhanaharu ra Tatkali Nepal" (Ramavardhana and other powerful Bharadars and contemporary Nepal), Purnima, No. 7, 2022 (A.D. 1965), pp. 12-36). Historians believe that no external invasion of Nepal Valley took place after Sthiti Malla became King. (Naya Raj Panta, "Sthiti Malla," Purnima, No. 31, 2031 (A.D. 1974), pp. 188-89; "The fourteenth century has a special significance in the history of Nepal. The first half was characterized by repeated raids into the valley by the Kings of western Nepal and of Tirhut. It has been suggested that during this troubled period Nepal may have at least nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of Alauddin Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, perhaps as a diplomatic maneuver

in the hope of warding off a possible invasion by the latter. But the country was not destined to escape the Muslim invasion, which appeared, with devastating effects, in 1349/50, led by Sultan Shamsud-Din Ilias of Bengal. Thus, the repeated incursions by the Tirhutias, the Khas tribes and the Muslims may together have destroyed the majority of the magnificent buildings which had once impressed the Chinese ambassador, Wang Hsuan-Tse. . . . This prolonged exposure to external invasions considerably weakened the political machine, and internal dissensions and intrigues became rampant due to the perennial jealousies and rivalries of the feudal aristocracy. It was not until the last quarter of the century that there appeared in Nepal an iron-fisted King, the powerful Sthiti Malla, who became the undisturbed monarch, in 1382." (Pratapaditya Pal: The Arts of Nepal, Part I: Sculpture, Leiden, 2031 Vikrama (A.D. 1974), pp. 8-9).

(To be Continued)

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Rates of Saune and Fagu Levies, A.D. 1819

Royal order to Dware Jagajit:

We hereby grant you authority to collect the Walak tax in the hill and Himalayan regions situated between the Mahakali river in the west and the Kanaka and Tista rivers in the east on amanat basis. Make collections at the rates prescribed below, and do not collect additional amounts. Use the proceeds to meet the prescribed expenses in the royal household on a regular basis. Do not cause any dislocation in this matter. Submit accounts to the Dafdarkhana at the end of each year and obtain clearance. Rs 1,800 has been sanctioned as the salaries of collectors (Tahasildar), clerks, peons, mobile cashiers (dauraha tahabildar) and storekeepers (Bhandare). Disburse this amount, as well as expenses for paper and ink, from the proceeds. These expenses will be debitted during audit.

Schedule of RatesDescriptionRateBirtaowners :

Saune

2 annas in lieu  
of ghee from each  
household

Fagu

do.

Amali, Umra:

Saune and Fagu

4 annas for each  
100 muris (1 khet)  
of rice-land in  
lieu of one  
gelding goat.One boar and one  
besra, or Rs 3 in  
lieu thereof.Jamadars, Majors, Adjutants and Kotes

Saune and Fagu

one gelding goat,  
one boar, and one  
besra, or Rs 2  
in lieu thereof.Common people:

Saune

1 anna on each  
household in lieu  
of ghee.

Fagu

do. in lieu of oil.

Bitalab-holders who have been paying the saune and fagu levies shall continue to do so at the rate of 4 annas from each household.

Birtaowners and other landlords, as well as the common people, shall pay the Harsha-Bismat-ko-Walak at the rate of 2 annas on each household.

Ashadh Badi 13, 1867  
(June 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 246-48.

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Administrative Measures in the Naya Muluk,  
A.D. 1860-61

On Kartik Sudi 15, 1917, the following persons were appointed for the collection of revenue in the following districts of the Naya Muluk :

- (1) Lt. Dinanath Upadhyaya for Bhagawanpur, between Baghaura Tal and the Rapti river. (47/421).
- (2) Fouzdar Jivanarayan for Kanchanpur, between the Karnali and Mohana rivers. (47/436).
- (3) Lt. Pran Upadhyaya for Padnaha, between Mannara and the Karnali river. (47/437).
- (4) Lt. Bahadur Rana for Naraharipur, between the Mohana and Mahakali rivers. (47/437).
- (5) Subba Padmanabh Joshi for Banke, between the Rapti river and Mannara. (47/438).

On Kartik Sudi 15, 1917, judicial regulations were promulgated for Adalats in the following districts in the name of the following persons:-

- (1) Dittha Manadhvaj Thapa for Rajahat (47/485).
- (2) Dittha Shiva Prasad Upadhyaya for Kanchanpur. (47/494).

On Kartik Badi 10, 1917, Kathmahal regulations were promulgated as follows:-

- (1) Lt. Udaya Bahadur Khatri for two Kathmahals on the Karnali river at Malawar, and on the Geruwa river at Padnaha. (47/495).
- (2) Lt. Bagdal Thapa for one Kathmahal on the Mohana river at Kanchanpur. (47/504).
- (3) Lt. Chandra Bir Bista for one Kathmahal on the Rapti river at Rajahat. (47/505).
- (4) Lt. Bakhat Bahadur Khatri for one Kathmahal on the Babai river at Padnaha. (47/505).
- (5) Debu Rana for one Kathmahal on the Mohana river at Kanchanpur. (47/505).

On Marga Badi 12, 1917, Major Captain Dalamardan Thapa Chhetri and Major Buddhiman Singh Basnyat were appointed survey officers for the Naya Muluk Regulations were promulgated in their names for the compilation of Jammabandi records. Sardar Siddhiman Singh Rajbhandari was placed in overall control of the operation. (47/417).

On Marga Badi 6, 1918, fresh revenue regulations were promulgated in the name of Subba Padmanabh Joshi for Banke district (Baghaura Tal-Mannara). (47/439-85).

Provision was made for a Bandobast Kachahari at Banke to recommend measures relating to policy and planning in the entire Naya Muluk region. (47/439).

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### Indebtedness and Insolvency

1. Royal order to the creditors of Haridatta Padhya, father of Yagnyeshwar Padhya and Devadatta Padhya:

You are hereby ordered to gather together and share the moveable and immoveable property of these Brahmans on a proportionate basis. In case you do not agree to do so, wait for ten years so as to enable them to accumulate wealth. In case you do not allow them to do so, and, instead, use force against them, you shall be judged guilty.

Jestha Sudi 8, 1866  
(May 1809)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 40, p. 43.

2. Royal order to the creditors of Laxmi Mahajan of Bhadgaun :

Laxmi Mahajan's business has collapsed. Consequently, he has been ruined, and your money may be lost. In order, therefore, to place him in bankruptcy (tat), and arrange for the repayment of your loans, the government has granted a time limit of nine years for the bankruptcy. On the expiry of this period, Laxmi Mahajan shall repay his loans to all his creditors, who, on their part, shall not use force in the meantime. Any creditor who uses force will have to take custody of Laxmi Mahajan's assets and repay his loans to all his creditors.

Jestha Sudi 8, 1866  
(May 1809)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 40, pp. 43-44.



3. Ramadeo Majhi of Dolalghat submitted the following petition to the government :

I had proposed to my creditors that my property, as well as my children and grandchildren, be sold off at rates determined in consultation with local people (Panchakriti) and that the proceeds be deposited with one of the creditors and subsequently divided among all of them on a proportionate basis. However, my creditors have not agreed to this proposal. What then am I to do ?

The following royal order was then issued in the names of the dwares, bicharis, jetha budhas, tharis, and mukhiyas of Palanchok on Chaitra Badi 14, 1882 (March 1826) :

When the debtor is unable to pay his debts in full, creditors must share his assets on a proportionate basis. Assemble all the creditors of Ramadeo Mijhar and arrange for the division of his assets among them on a proportionate basis. In case they do not agree to this arrangement, they must wait until the debtor becomes able to pay his debts. In that case, we hereby direct that no creditor should demand repayment for 20 or 25 years, and that they accept repayment one by one.

Chaitra Badi 14, 1882  
(March 1826)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 150-51.

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Chak-Chakui Fines and EscheatsBarhagaun

Royal order to Khas, Magar, and other castes liable to Chakui fines in Barhagaun :

"From former times, you have been liable to the payment of chakui fines. Moreover, escheat property from your caste was liable to accrue to the state. With effect from today, we commute both these liabilities for the sacred-thread-wearing (Tagadhari) Khas caste and the Magar caste.

"In case (a woman belonging to) a liquor-drinking (Matwala) caste (is guilty of illicit sexual relations within the community) and so is liable to be punished as a chakui, the husband may take her back if he is so willing and the adulterer shall be punished with a fine of twenty rupees, which shall accrue to the Amali.

"If the husband does not take the woman back, the adulterer shall pay him fifteen rupees as (compensation for) marriage expenses, and keep the woman after paying twenty rupees to the Amali.

"If neither the husband nor the adulterer is willing to accept the woman, the parents of the woman may take her on payment of twenty rupees to the Amali, and the adulterer shall then pay fifteen rupees to the husband.

"Persons guilty of incest shall be punished with a fine of forty rupees and enslaved if they are unable to pay the fine.

"No person shall be enslaved if he is unable to pay fines imposed on him, because such a practice has ruined the country. In case any person is forcibly enslaved, he may come to us, and we shall punish the guilty person.

Bhadra Badi 3, 1867  
(August 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 324-25.

(This order was issued on the same date in the name of Khas, Magar, etc. in Phalawang town and Malneta as well. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 324-26).

Salyan

A royal order had been issued previously according to which, in Salyan :

- (1) Sacred-thread-wearing (tagadhari) Khas were granted exemption from the payment of chak-chakui fines, as well as from the obligation to surrender escheat property to the state, and
- (2) The enslavement of Magars punished with chak-chakui fines for illicit sexual relations was prohibited.

"Such exemption had been granted by (the former King of) Salyan to the following clans (thar) of high-ranking people as well as untouchables (pauni). We herely reconfirm those exemptions.

List of Exempted Thars1. Bangaun

1. Magar Kanwar in Sangrigaun.
2. Basnyat in Katthagaun.
3. Rokaya in Sapiyagaun.
4. Sunar.
5. Tanota.
6. Kami-Katuwal.

2. Sangkot

1. Karki
2. Raul.
3. Bohara
4. Bhandari
5. Batha
6. Pun in Dithigaun
7. Gharti in Malneta
8. Thapa.

3. Salyan Town

1. Sahu
2. Chaurati-Kanwar
3. Budathoki
4. Bhandari
5. Bagyala Thapa
6. Hingulya Thapa
7. Saund
8. Tiruwa
9. Kandaro
10. Chandara
11. Tamota
12. Damai.

4. Khairawang

Budathoki

Bhadra Padi 3, 1867  
(August 1810)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 326-27.

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Miscellaneous Documents on the Timber Export Trade

On Bhadra Badi 13, 1932 (August 1875), Colonel Fatte Bahadur Kunwar Rana of the Shamsheer Dal Paltan was reconfirmed as Chief of Kathmahal operations in the region west of the Tribeni river and east of the Mahakali river. These operations were currently yielding a revenue of Rs 41,549-14 a year. Apparently in appreciation of his success in increasing revenue from that source, his jagir emoluments were increased from Rs 4,154 to Rs 6,400 a year. The increment was to be effective only during the period of the assignment.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 67, pp. 163-171.

On Poush Sudi 13, 1938, Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh ordered an inquiry into unauthorized clearing of protected forests and elephant-poaching in the Tarai region east (91/139) and west (91/143) of the Kosi river, as well as in the Haya Muluk (93/117).

On Marga Badi 5, 1940, Lt. Simha Bahadur Thapa Chhetri, was placed in charge of timber sales from forests on the Lirta lands of Shri 3 Bada Maharani. He was ordered to spend not more than 10 percent of the sales proceeds for payment of salaries to employees appointed for that purpose.

Baisakh Badi 30, 1943  
(April 1886)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 77, pp. 532-41.

On Poush Sudi 2, 1940, the following order was sent to Major-Captain Harilal Upadhyaya of the Mahottari Revenue Office:-

- (1) Timber on the birta lands of Shri 3 Rani Saheb (i.e. wife of Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh) shall be cut and transported through private merchants on Khuski basis as far as possible.
- (2) If no private merchant makes an offer, an amount not exceeding Rs 4,000 in installments of Rs 1,000 each shall be issued to Lt. Simha Bahadur Thapa Chhetri to cut the timber, since the lands cannot otherwise be brought into cultivation. The amount shall be reimbursed from the proceeds of the sale of timber.

No private merchant made an offer to cut timber from the forests. Accordingly, Rs 2,000 was issued to Lt. Simha Bahadur Thapa Chhetri for that purpose.

Baisakh Badi 11, 1943  
(April 1886)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 77, pp. 488-499.

An agreement had been signed with private merchants for the sale of timber from the Tribeni-Dwar Kathmahal in Nawalpur. The timber was to be cut from the local forests on tipeta basis, i.e. on government account. To supply the stipulated quantity in full, the chief of that Kathmahal, Major-Captain Bakhan Singh Basnyat Chhetri, was permitted to cut timber from the prohibited forests of Tamaspur and Thakre-Khola.

Baisakh Sudi 7, 1942  
(April 1885)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 77, pp. 560-66.

Commander-in-Chief General Jit Jung owned a birta forest in the Kamala-Khunja area of Saptari district, which he had inherited from (Ganga) Maharani, a Princess of Cuttack in India whom Prime Minister Jung Bahadur had married. On Magh Sudi 15, 1942, a one-year ijara was granted to Jujumen of Bhaktapur for the export of wax, honey, pipala mul, piper longum, and terminalia chebula from that forest for a sum of Rs 363. (77/713).

On Magh Badi 30, 1942, Captain Dharmadatta Upadhyaya, chief of the Koshi-Pachhuwari Kathmahal in Saptari district, was ordered to credit the sale proceeds of timber from birta forests of Shri 3 Kanchha Maharani (i.e. wife of Prime Minister Bir Shumshere) in the accounts of His Majesty and transmit the amount to the appropriate Revenue Office.

Baisakh Badi 12, 1943  
(April 1886)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 77, pp. 503-509.

Dry timber from forests under the jurisdiction of Mahakali and Guwari Kathmahals in Kanchanpur district, as marked by the Forest Inspection Office (Ban Janch), was sold to Gopal Das, a merchant. He was expected to lift the timber within the stipulated time-limit on payment of the stipulated price and duties (mahasul).

Baisakh Sudi 2, 1943  
(April 1886)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 77, pp. 548-549.

An agreement had been signed with Brigadier Colonel Ran Singh Sijapati Chhetri for the sale of dry timber from the Babai-Dwar Kathmahal in Bardiya district. The timber was to be marked by the Ban Janch for that purpose. The quantity stipulated under the agreement could not be supplied in full, hence the advance payment made by the Brigadier-Colonel was refunded.

Baisakh Sudi 7, 1943  
(April 1886)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 77, pp. 566-578.

Fees on Copper-Plate Inscriptions of  
Birta Grants

Birta grants to influential persons were often inscribed on copper plate, and fees were collected in consideration of such inscriptions. The rates of such fees, according to a royal decree of 1807, were as follows :

Fees on Copper-Plate Inscriptions of  
Birta Grants, 1807

Hill Region

Rice-lands	Rs 7½ per 100 muris.
Pakho	Rs 5 per 100 muris in Kathmandu Valley.
	Rs 2½ do. in other areas.

Tarai Region

R. 1 per bigha of cultivated lands.

8 annas do. waste lands.

In addition to these fees, which accrued to the government, separate fees were collected on behalf of the kapardar, the Taksari, and other functionaries. (5/157). These fees were often waived for top-ranking beneficiaries of birta grants, such as royal priests. (5/364).

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King Mukunda Sen's Invasion of Kathmandu Valley

(Continued from the July 1982 issue)

Condensed from : Mahesh Raj Pant and Dinesh Raj Pant, "Nepalakhaldoma Palpali Raja Mukunda Senako Hamala" (Invasion of Kathmandu Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Palpa), Purnima, No. 45, Jestha 2037 (May-June 1980) pp. 1-24),

A palm-leaf manuscript in Newari script is available at the Kaiser Library in Kathmandu (No. 369). It contains the text of the Dharmashastra work Naradasmruti. Its colophon shows that it was transcribed in 1567 Vikrama by an astrologer named Ratna Simha, who lived in southern Kathmandu during the reign of King Ratna Malla.

The first folio of the manuscript contains the following account. The dates have been given as calculated in : Naya Raj Pant and Dinesh Raj Pant, "Nepala-Khaldoma Palpali Raja Mukunda Senako Hamala Sambandhi Dinaka Ganana." (Calculation of dates relating to the invasion of Kathmandu Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Palpa), Purnima, No. 42, 2036 Vikrama (A.D. 1979), pp. 67-100).

"On Monday, Magha Krishna Shasthi, 645 Nepal Samvat, (corresponding to Falgun 19, 1581 Vikrama Samvat), Thankot, Sinkwatha, and Aglagama were set on fire. Mukunda Sen, Vikrama Sen, Bhuwana Sen, and Rudra Sen, all of whom were Magar Kings of Palpa, came along with others, making a total of eleven persons. On Falgun 22, they set fire to Kirtipur. The next day (Falgun 23), fines were collected all over Nepal. There were about 20 soldiers. 201 people were taken into custody. ... (On Falgun 20), there was a battle at Chandragiri."

Another folio of the same manuscript contains the following account :-

"On Marga Krishna Tritiya, 470 Nepal Samvat (1406 Vikrama Samvat), Shamsuddin Sultan conquered Nepal. On that day, Pashupati, Simbhu, Bhadgaun, Patan, Yangla (southern part of Kathmandu town) were set on fire. (For the identification of Yangla and Yambu with the southern and northern parts of Kathmandu town respectively, see Gautamavajra Vajracharya, "Yangal, Yambu," in Contributions to Nepalese Studies, published by the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies of the Tribhuvan University, Year 1, No. 2, 2031 Vikrama (A.D. 1974), pp. 90-98).

"On Wednesday, Falgun Krishna Dashami, 646 Nepal Samvat (1582 Vikrama Samvat), the Magar King Mukunda Sen conquered Kirtipur. The next day, he laid siege to Patan, and, on the following day (Friday), Bawa (Chapagaun) fell. (For the identification of Bawa with Chapagaun, see Shankar Man Rajvanshi, "Siddhinarasimha Malla Bhandha Agadika Patanaka Shasakaharuka Kehi Tadapatra" (Some palm-leaf inscriptions

and Yambu (northern part of Kathmandu town)

of Kings of Patan before Siddhinarasimha Malla), Purnima, No. 12, 2023 Vikrama (A.D. 1966), p. 20). Many soldiers were captured. There were 51 Magars. On the new moon day (Aunshi), they went to Pashupati for a bath. The next day, they set fire to Thimi and Bode. Two Magars were captured from Changu, and two others from Patan. The troops besieged Yangla and Yambu for three nights and four days from Tuesday, Chaitra Shukla Saptami (Chaitra 24). They set fire to Simbhu, Thamel, Naksal, and Dharmasthali. The Magars fled four days later. Eight attempts to set fire to Khusibahil failed."

(This translation had first been published in : Mahesh Raj Pant and Dinesh Raj Pant, "Nepalakhaldoma Palpali Raja Mukunda Senako Hamalako Pramanavakya (Anuvadasahita)", (Documentary evidence of the invasion of Kathmandu Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Palpa, along with a translation), Purnima, No. 42, pp. 101-2. Some inaccuracies in that translation have been corrected here).

It is clear that these notes were inserted 14 or 15 years after the manuscript of Naradasmriti was originally transcribed.

Before commencing our account of King Mukunda Sen's invasion of Nepal Valley in 1582 Vikrama, it is necessary to say a few words about Shamsuddin's invasion as mentioned by the author of the manuscript, an event which occurred nearly 175 years earlier.

Sultan Shamsuddin Iliyas of Bengal invaded Nepal Valley in Marga 1406 Vikrama. In order to vanquish the enemy, he had followed the policy of setting fire everywhere in the course of this invasion. His success in implementing this policy can be ascertained from the following statements contained in contemporary documents :

"The whole of Nepal was turned into ashes." (Gopalarajavamsawali, Folio 28B).

"Fire raged everywhere." (Ibid., Folio, 52A).

"All the towns of Nepal were destroyed by fire." (Inscription of Meghapala at Pimbahal in Patan, 1414 Vikrama).

"Nepal was razed to the ground and destroyed by fire everywhere." (Stone inscription of Rajaharsha at Simbhu, 1429 Vikrama).

Not even holy shrines such as Pashupati and Swayambhu were spared during Shamsuddin's invasion. Evidence contained in contemporary documents shows that the linga of Pashupati was broken into three fragments, and that the Swayambhu Chaitya was set on fire. As a result :

"Panic spread among the people, and the people of Bhaktapur suffered greatly." (Gopalarajavamshawali, Folio 28B).

Since this account was written by a victim of the invasion, it can easily be imagined how terrible it was.

There is evidence that the memory of this invasion lasted for a long time afterwards. The stone inscription installed at Swayambhu after its renovation in 1652 Vikrama states: "Greatly distressed by contamination at the hands of the Turks, the King renovated the Stupa of the Buddha." (Dhanavajra Vijracharya, Purnima, No. 6, pp. 11-12).

The above-mentioned note (in the copy of the Naradasmriti was inserted nearly 70 years before the renovation of Swayambhu. It is clear that the author of the note had not been able to forget Shamshuddin's invasion, since he has mentioned it before describing the invasion of Mukunda Sen.

Not only Shamshuddin, but Doya-s and Khasa-s too had invaded Nepal Valley before Mukunda Sen. As a matter of fact, Shamshuddin had invaded Nepal Valley only once, whereas the Doya-s and Khasa-s had done so repeatedly. Even then, Shamshuddin's invasion left a longer impact, and this must be the reason why the author of the note has mentioned that invasion alone. Although the Vamshawali account of Shamshuddin's invasion is in general terms, it is clear that the effect was most felt in Bhadgaun, Pashupati, Swayambhu, and Pimbahal in Patan. The account creates the impression that Shamshuddin committed depredations in the shrines of Pashupati and Swayambhu, situated outside the town of Kathmandu in the east and the south respectively, but did little inside the town itself. The present note, written nearly 175 years after Shamshuddin's invasion, shows that he attacked not only Pashupati, Swayambhu, Bhadgaun, and Patan, but both the northern and southern parts of Kathmandu town as well.

The Gopalarajavamshawali states that Shamshuddin attacked Bhaktapur on Marga Shukla Nawami, 1406 Vikrama. According to the stone inscription of Rajaharsha, he attacked Simbhu the next day. Again, according to the Gopalarajavamshawali, he set fire to different places for seven days after Marga Shukla Nawami, 470 Nepal Samvat (1406 Vikrama Samvat). (Purnima, Vol. 8, pp. 8-9). The present note, however, shows that Sultan Shamshuddin continued his depredations in Nepal Valley for more than seven days.

The terrible invasion of Nepal Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Palpa is described in several Vamshawalis. Even then, there is a difference of several centuries between the dates they have mentioned and the actual date of the invasion. Consequently, serious historians had come to the conclusion

that Mukunda Sen's invasion was not an actual historical fact. Now our research has led to the discovery of contemporary and authoritative evidence of the invasion. It is now clear that even though the authors of the Vamshavalis had been unable to give the authentic date of Mukunda Sen's invasion, they retained the memory of that invasion.

We shall now comment on the contents of the note concerning Mukunda Sen's invasion (contained in the manuscript of Naradasmriti).

During his invasion of Nepal Valley, King Mukunda Sen of Palpa was accompanied by Vikrama Sen, Bhuwana Sen, and Rudra Sen. The note states that there were a total of eleven persons, including these four, but it may be presumed that these eleven persons were commanders, and that the size of the invading force was quite big. We do not know anything about Vikrama Sen, Bhuwana Sen, and Rudra Sen, and how they were related to Mukunda Sen. But because of the common clan name of Sen, we may presume that they were all relatives. Mukunda Sen's father too who called Rudra Sen, but the Rudra Sen who accompanied him during his invasion of Nepal Valley appears to be a different person.

On Monday, Magh Krishna Shasthi, 1581 Vikrama (Falgun 19), the invading Palpa force set fire to Thankot, Sin Kwatha, and Aglagama, according to the note. The next day, there was a battle at Chandragiri, and the number of soldiers has been given as twenty. This shows that Mukunda Sen launched his invasion first in the Thankot area. We do not know the identity of Sinkwatha and Aglagama, but we may presume that these villages were located around Thankot. At another place, the note mentions Singwatha instead of Sinkwatha, and Agragama instead of Aglagama. After thus setting fire to Thankot and the adjoining villages on Falgun 19, the Palpa force clashed with local troops the next day (Falgun 20) at Chandragiri. The note states that there were about twenty soldiers, but does not indicate which side they belonged to.

Because Thankot and the adjoining villages suffered the first blows during Mukunda Sen's invasion, and also because the two sides clashed at Chandragiri, Mukunda Sen's force seems to have descended into Nepal Valley through Chandragiri.

On the third day after the clash at Chandragiri, that is, on Falgun 22, the note states that the invading Palpa force set fire to Kirtipur.

In addition, the note mentions that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley and collected a fine from the local inhabitants. The Doya and Khasa invaders too had done so. (Purnima, No. 4, pp. 21-22, 25-26, and 28; No. 6, p. 26; Kamali Pradeshha Ek Biti Adhyayana (Studies on the Karnali Zone), p. 34).

The note then states that 200 persons were captured, but does not indicate which side they belonged to.

We also learn from the note that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley for the second time after thirteen months. Jitari Malla had similarly invaded Nepal Valley every year for three successive years. (Purnima, No. 6, pp. 21-23).

The note states that on Wednesday, Falgun Krishna Dashami, 1582 Vikrama (Chaitra 11), Mukunda Sen. conquered Kirtipur, and that on the following day he laid siege to Patan. On Chaitra 13, Chapagaun was freed, and many soldiers were captured. This shows that the local troops defeated the invading force and reoccupied Chapagaun, and many soldiers of Palpa were captured.

The note states that there were 51 Magars, who went to Pashupati for a bath on the new moon day. This appears to have been the day of the Ghodejatra festival.

The next day, the invading force set fire to Thimi and Bode. Two Magars were captured in both Changu and Patan.

On Chaitra 24, Mukunda Sen's force laid siege to both the southern and northern parts of Kathmandu town. The siege lasted three nights and four days. The invaders set fire to Simbhu, west of Kathmandu, Thamel in the north, Naksal in the east, and Dharmasthali, located north of Tokha at a comparatively greater distance from Kathmandu. The Magars then fled four days later. This shows that Kathmandu was able to break the siege after three nights and four days. Mukunda Sen's troops then fled across the Vishnumati river, for the note states that they made eight abortive attempts to set fire to Khusibahil, which is located on the western banks of the river on the way to Tahachal.

The note makes it clear that Mukunda Sen's troops did not refrain from setting fire even to such an ancient Buddhist shrine as Simbhu.

The well-known Vihara of Thambahil, now known as Bhadgawan Bahal, seems to have given its name to the entire locality, Thamel. During the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era, the Tibetan Bhikshu, Dharmakirti, had resided at Thambahil. (HMG and UNESCO, Kathmandu Valley : The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage, A Protective Inventory, Vienna, 2033 Vikrama (A.D. 1975), Vol. 2, p. 13). This is claimed to be the earliest reference to Thambahil, but the Nilavamsawali of Tibet mentions that Dipankara Shiginya (Atisa), who visited Nepal Valley around the end of the eleventh century Vikrama, built the big shrine of Thambahil. (George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2006 Vikrama (A.D. 1949), p. 24). Mukunda Sen's troops thus set fire even to the Buddhist shrine of Thambahil, which had been well-known during the past five centuries.

The area which is now known as Naksal was called Nilishala during the rule of Amshuvarma in the Licchavi period. (Licchavi Kalaka Abhilekha, p. 354). Amshuvarma's inscription at Gairhidhara in Nakshal describes a water-spout there as "Nilishalapanali." We may presume that Naksal is a corrupt form of Nilishala. The manuscript of Saurasamhita, transcribed in the Vikrama year 998, mentions "Ninishala," obviously meaning Naksal. (Har Prasad Shastri, A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, vol. 1, p. 44). During the time when Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley, that is, around 1582 Vikrama, this place was thus called Nanisal, and it was set on fire by his troops. (According to the Gopalarajavamshawali, Narendra Deva's successor, Shiva Deva, built a Vihara at Mandishala).

The village of Dharmasthali had already been settled during the Licchavi period, for Shiva Deva and Amshuvarma had installed an inscription addressed to the inhabitants of that village in 517 Samvat (653 Vikrama Samvat). Since the inscription is broken, it is not clear what the ancient name of that village was. (Licchavi Kalaka Abhilekha, pp. 257-58). The note shows that Mukunda Sen's troops set fire to the village of Dharmasthali also.

In addition, the note states that Mukunda Sen's troops made eight abortive attempts to set fire to Khusibahil, located on the Bhimsenthan-Tahachal road on the western banks of the Vishnumati river. The HMF-UNESCO inventory of ancient temples and viharas in Nepal Valley does not note the earlier reference to this Vihara. It only states that the earliest available reference is dated 1738 Vikrama (Vol. 2, p. 107). It is, therefore, possible that the present note (in the Naradasmriti manuscript) is the earliest reference to Khusibahil.

The note states that Mukunda Sen's troops set fire to Thimi and Bode in the Bhadgaun area, but does not mention that they invaded Bhadgaun town. It is thus clear that they were not able to enter into that town.

All this shows that like the Tirhut, Khasa, and Muslim invaders who preceded them, the Palpa invaders followed the policy of setting fire to different places with the objective of defeating the local rulers and inhabitants.

(References : Purnima, No. 4, pp. 25-26; No. 6, pp. 22-23, 25-26; No. 8, pp. 8-10).

Since Shamshuddin was a Muslim, there is evidence that he devastated both Shaiva and Buddhist shrines. Not even the well-known Shaiva temple of Pashupati was spared, and the Muslims broke the linga into three fragments. Shamshuddin's troops also destroyed the famous Chaitya of Swayambhu. The Khasas believed in both Shaivism and Buddhism (Karnali Pradesh Eka Bito Adhyayana, pp. 58-61), hence, unlike the Muslim

invaders, they did not destroy temples and shrines even while setting fire to villages. Instead, they worshipped at the shrines of Pashupati, Swayambhu, and Rato Machhindra. (Purnima, No. 6, pp. 22-23). During their last invasion of Nepal Valley, in 1368 Vikrama, the Doya-s, although not following a different religion, set fire to temples and shrines, destroyed them, and confiscated temple property. (Purnima, No. 4, pp. 26-27). Since the Palpa invaders who visited Pashupati for a bath set fire to Buddhist shrines such as Simbhu, Bhagawan Bahal, and Khusibahil, it is necessary to give some explanations in this regard.

(To be Continued)

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Fiscal Policy of King Prithvi Narayan Shah

By

Mahesh Chandra Regmi

"Shri 5 Prithvi Narayana Shaha ra Unako Artha (Rajaswa) Niti" (King Prithvi Narayan Shah and his fiscal policy), Manakamana, published by the Village Reform Committee, Manakamana, Bakrang, Bhogteni, in Gorkha on the 260th birth anniversary of Prithvi Narayan Shah on Poush 27, 2038 (January 11, 1982), edited by Shivahari Marahatta, Year 1, No. 1, pp. 65-70.

In A.D. 1775, when King Prithvi Narayan Shah died, the western frontier of the Kingdom of Nepal did not cross the Marsyangdi river. The Kingdom encompassed Pallokirat in the east, the eastern Tarai region in the south, and a few areas in the inner Tarai region. The three Kingdoms of Kathmandu Valley had been uprooted, and the capital had been transferred from Gorkha to Kathmandu. In the west, the principality of Jajarkot, beyond the Bheri river, had acknowledged Gorkha's suzerainty.

Lack of economic sources was the main problem that Prithvi Narayan Shah faced in the campaign of unification of the Kingdom of Nepal. Gorkha was neither a large principality nor one abundantly endowed with resources. It was not listed among the Chaubisi principalities of the Gandaki region, and,

in fact, was not of much importance because of the lack of trade, mines, and other economic resources. For this reason, the kings of Gorkha borrowed money from their subjects from time to time. Such loans long remained unpaid. Krishna Shah (1642-58) had borrowed Rs 320 from a Brahman and stipulated interest at the rate of 25 percent. Because the loan remained unpaid, his grandson, Prithvipati Shah (1669-1716) signed a new bond. A loan of Rs 320 thus remained unpaid for nearly 75 years, thereby illustrating the economic condition of the Kingdom of Gorkha at that time.

The situation does not appear to have improved even by the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah. As a result, he had to borrow money to finance his early campaigns of conquest. He had thus borrowed money from one Kamala Vana for the battle of Nuwakot. Because he was not able to repay the loan within the stipulated time-limit, he wrote to Kamala Vana in A.D. 1745: "There has been delay because we were waiting for a letter from the Gosain. Routes were closed, and our man could not make the trip. Moreover, there were other preoccupations also. Accordingly, we expect the Gosain to forgive us. When there has been so much delay, there should be no difficulty in waiting for two months more. From the month of Falgun, we shall definitely start repayment. So we need patience for two months more."

Similarly, Prithvi Narayan Shah appears to have borrowed money for his conquest of the principality of Chaudandi (Majhkirat) in the eastern hill region from a Brahman called Harinanda Pokhryal. On Falgun Sudi 15, 1830 Vikrama, Abhimana Simha and Parath Bhandari wrote to Harinanda: "You had submitted a petition to Nuwakot promising to help in the conquest of the Kirat country, including the hill and Tarai regions, in case troops were sent there. You had also sent a clod of earth from the territory of the King of Chaudandi. His Majesty (King Prithvi Narayan Shah) is greatly pleased at this, and sent the clod to the treasury. You then made arrangements for crossing the Dudhkosi river when we came there with troops on His Majesty's orders. When salaries were paid to the troops at Halesi in the month of Bhadra, Sardar Ramakrishna Kanwar took Rs 3,558 from you. ... The principality of Chaudandi was thus conquered. We have received Rs 7,466 from you from time to time for paying salaries to the troops, thus bringing up the total amount borrowed to Rs 11,051. ... His Majesty is very pleased with the services rendered by you in sending a clod of earth from the Kirat country, inviting our troops, fomenting discontent among the Parbate people and Umras with the Kiratis, and thus bringing the Chaudandi country in the hills and the Tarai under our control." However, Prithvi Narayan Shah did not have to repay this loan, for Harinanda instead received birta lands in Majhkirat and Saptari.



Indeed, the problem of financial stringency remained unsolved till the last days of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. In the eastern hill region, almost the entire cultivated area was controlled by the Rais and Limbus under the Kipat system and yielded no revenue to the government. Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat in the eastern Tarai region remained in the hands of the East India Company until 1771. The districts of Saptari and Mahottari yielded revenue, but very little because of administrative problems. According to a royal order issued in the names of Abhimana Simha and other Bhardars on Aswin Badi 30, 1831: "Pay the salaries of troops, and meet other expenses, with revenues collected in the Tarai areas under Ambarpur and Vijayapur. We have received the surplus amount of Rs 200, transmitted by you." The eastern Tarai region was mostly under forest at that time, because the rulers of Chaidandi and Vijayapur had refrained from encouraging land reclamation from considerations of security. The cultivated area in that region expanded after that region was incorporated into the Kingdom of Nepal. Even then, land was not a major source of revenue, because it was used mainly for tax-free birta, jagir, and guthi grants.

Because of administrative problems, sources of revenue were limited in Kathmandu Valley as well. Even in Bhaktapur, adjoining the capital, almost all sources of revenue had been assigned to local administrators. A royal order issued on Kartik Badi 5, 1830, appointing Khur Simha Rana and Kalu Khadka as joint Amalis of Bhaktapur, assigned to them the proceeds of all sources of revenue, with the exception of dalal, tusal, and bhansar which had not been included in ijara.

Because sources of revenue were limited in this manner, it was natural for the government to explore new sources. But there is no evidence that such efforts had attained success by the time Prithvi Narayan Shah died. On the basis of available evidence, we may enumerate steps taken with the objective of increasing revenue on a permanent basis as follows :-

The Malla kings of Kathmandu used to sell lands to their subjects on a tax-free basis against payment in money. Such lands were known as Suna-Birta. In 1829 Vikrama, Prithvi Narayan Shah sought to increase revenue by levying a tax known as Pota on such lands. The following royal order was issued on Poush Sudi 15, 1838 on the question of collecting the Pota tax in Patan, Bhaktapur, and Kathmandu in the names of the local Pradhans and other functionaries, and other inhabitants:

"We have sent men to procure particulars of Pota taxes paid by you since (18) 29 Vikrama. Submit full particulars of such payments. The tax money should remain either in the hands of the subjects or be paid to us. Others are only entitled to what we grant them. We have, therefore,

sent men to scrutinize what you have paid, and what we have received. Furnish full particulars without concealing anything."

Occasionally, however, rents on Adhiya (crop-sharing) basis, rather than the pota tax, were collected on Suna-Birta lands. According to a royal order issued on Kartik Badi 5, 1851 in the names of the inhabitants of Bungmati village:

"You have no birta lands, nor any jagir. Accordingly, our grandfather (King Prithvi Narayan Shah), and our father (King Pratapa Simha Shah) had issued orders to the effect that you may continue tilling your Suna rice-lands, and pay rents and other dues to jagirdars, and that jagirdars shall not evict you so long as you make such payments. We hereby reconfirm this order."

According to the Gorkha-Vamshawali, Prithvi Narayan Shah, after his conquest of Kathmandu, imposed a new tax known as chardam-theke. But both the Pota and chardam-theke taxes had a narrow base, and their yield was small. The rates of the Pota tax ranged from 4 annas to 12 annas per ropani according to the grade of the land. In 1910 Vikrama, after the commencement of Rana rule, the tax yielded Rs 15,194 and 6 annas in Kathmandu. It is difficult to imagine that revenue from the Pota tax was even one-third of this amount eighty years previously, in 1829 Vikrama. Similarly, the chardam-theke tax was collected at the rate of 5 paise on each plot of rice-land, hence it cannot have been much important from the viewpoint of revenue.

There is no evidence to show that King Prithvi Narayan Shah had initiated any other step to raise revenue after his conquest of Kathmandu Valley. We should not also forget that one major source of revenue exploited during the Malla period disappeared after the commencement of Gorkhali rule. The traditional trade with Tibet slackened after the Gorkhali conquest of Kathmandu Valley. As a result, King Prithvi Narayan Shah was unable to get customs and other revenue traditionally derived from that source. Letters sent from Khasa on Shrawan Badi 12, 1826 by Nepali Bhardars who had been sent for talks with Tibet make it clear that Nepal-Tibet trade had come to a stop. They wrote, "The Tibetans do not let even a handful of salt trickle (to Nepal). It was also from that time that Kathmandu lost both the right to mint coins for Tibet and profits derived from the exercise of that right.

The Divya Upadesh shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah had well realized the weak economic condition of his newly-acquired Kingdom. Had the policies and principles laid down by him there actually been implemented, there seems little doubt that there would have been lasting improvement in the economy. "Do not let foreign merchants come beyond Parsa Gadhi. In case they come here, they will make our people destitute. ... Ban the use of foreign cloth. Train our

own weavers by showing them samples, and make them weave cloth according to such samples, so that our money may not flow abroad. Export herbs, drugs, and other indigenous commodities, and thus draw money. The palace will become strong if the subjects are fat. The king's store-house is the people. ... If there are villages on lands containing minerals, shift the villages elsewhere and operate the mines. If there are houses on lands which can be converted into rice fields, shift the houses elsewhere, dig irrigation channels, and convert the lands into rice-fields."

The modern history of Nepal shows quite well that these policies and principles are of great importance for the lasting economic development of the country. But Prithvi Narayan Shah died only five or six years after his conquest of Kathmandu Valley, hence economic prosperity for him remained an unfulfilled aspiration.

Falgun 14, 2035  
(February 26, 1979).

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#### Saptari and Mahottari Affairs, A.D. 1810-11

During 1810-11, the government was confronted with serious administrative problems in Saptari and Mahottari districts of the eastern Tarai region. These two districts comprised a single administrative unit at that time.

On Marga Badi 9, 1866 (November 1809), Subba Achal Thapa had been appointed chief of the state-operated Bhangaruwa market in Saptari. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 40, p. 136). His functions and duties were as follows. (Abstract translations of relevant sections) :

1. Procure merchants from India and have them settle at Bhangaruwa.
2. Encourage traders and merchants from the hills and the Tarai to buy and sell commodities at Bhangaruwa at current prices . Do not use force while doing so.
3. Use revenue (from specified sources) to buy commodities at Bhangaruwa. Submit accounts at the end of three years, indicating the profit made through the buying and selling of commodities, and obtain clearance.

4. Collect taxes and other dues from the inhabitants of the villages assigned to the Bhangaruwa market at the customary rates. Do not increase the rates and oppress the subjects.
5. While supplying commodities required by the palace from time to time, send a note indicating the actual cost. Do not seek to make any profit on such supplies.
- 6-7. Reasonable expenses incurred in purchasing commodities from different areas, or in supplying commodities to the palace, as well as in paper, mattresses, lamps, etc. for the establishment, shall be debited.
11. No duties (sair) shall be collected on commodities purchased inside the Kingdom; expenses incurred in packing and transporting commodities imported from India shall also be debited.
13. You shall be held personally liable for any losses that may result in case you encroach on lands and villages not assigned to the market.
14. Administer justice in the market and the lands and villages assigned to it, collect fines, penalties, and escheats, and credit the proceeds to the accounts.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 40, pp. 141-45.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Subba Achal Thapa was warned not to interfere in the collection of revenue from raikar lands in Saptari and Mahottari. The warning added, "In case revenue declines as a result of your oppressive actions, the loss may be realized from you, and you may also be punished with fines."

Regmi Research Collection vol. 41, p. 11.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Royal order to Subba Achal Thapa :

" A letter sent by Ganga Prasad Giri to Raghav Singh has been referred to us. According to that letter, the ryots of Saptari are fleeing to India, and the country is being ruined, because you have been collecting the following unauthorized levies and payments :

- (a) A tax of three rupees from the owner of a draft ox.
- (b) Ghee worth five rupees for each buffalo from dairy-farmers.
- (c) One maund of oil for each oil-press from oil-men.
- (d) Five rupees from each vendor operating with a capital of ten rupees.

(e) A levy of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  annas on each ryot.

(f) Forced and unpaid labor (begar) on raikar lands.

"We have granted no authority to you to make such collections. Nor have we authorized you to prevent the local inhabitants from procuring goods from India. On the contrary, we had granted you authority only to collect a levy of one anna in each rupee worth goods purchased by Indians beyond a radius of five or six kos from the Bhangaruwa market, and to act according to the regulations in other matters.

"But now it seems that you have collected payments in contravention of the regulations and thus ruined the country, refund all such unauthorized collections, and make purchases on behalf of this market at current prices."

The royal order then gave the following instructions to Subba Achal Thapa:

- (1) Let those who visit the market for buying and selling goods do so at current prices.
- (2) Let ryots who procure salt, gur, etc. from India at their own cost do so.
- (3) Supply goods to traders at reasonable prices for purposes of trade.
- (4) Do not collect any tax on commodities bought by the local inhabitants for personal consumption. Collect such tax only from those who buy commodities for purposes of trade.
- (5) Bring back all the ryots who have fled from your oppression.
- (6) The Subba shall dispose of complaints submitted at his Kachahari by any merchant. Do not take over such complaints yourself.
- (7) Do not visit the villages to dispose of disputes among merchants. Do so only if complaints are submitted to you. The Subba shall not encroach upon your jurisdiction in this regard."

The royal order concluded: "Both the market and the country belong to us. Function in consultation with the Subba in such a manner that revenue is collected and the market too is operated. Do not impress forced and unpaid labor from the inhabitants of mal lands. Employ only the inhabitants of birta and jagir lands for work required by the market. You shall be held responsible if your oppressive measures ruin the country."

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Royal order to the Subedars, J~~am~~adars, Huddas, and soldiers of the Bhagawati-Dal and Sri-Dal Companies:

"We have appointed Subba Achal Thapa to discharge functions relating to the market of Bhangaruwa in Saptari-Mahottari. We now appoint Subba Jayafar to discharge functions relating to raikar-mal lands. Both of them belong to us. In case any dispute arises between them in the course of the discharge of their functions, do not quarrel with the employees of Subba Jayafar or with the ryots of raikar-mal lands on the plea that you are under the command of Subba Achal Thapa."

The royal order added: "We have exempted the inhabitants of raikar lands from forced and unpaid labor obligations. As such, do not create any trouble on such lands. In case the ryots flee because of your actions, so that the country is ruined, and complaints are accordingly submitted to us, and in case you quarrel with Subba Jayafar and his employees, you shall be severely punished. In case any dispute arises between the two Subbas, report the matter to us, and we shall dispense justice after hearing both sides."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 14-15).

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Royal order to Subba Jayafar and Subba Achal Thapa : We exempt the ryots of raikar-mal lands in Saptari from forced and unpaid labor obligations. Impress such labor from the inhabitants of birta and jagir lands to transport goods bought for the (Bhangaruwa) market, and those procured for the palace. Any one who impresses forced and unpaid labor from ryots on raikar-mal lands will be punished.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 16.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Royal order to the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokadans, Jethraiyaats, ryots, sairdars, Mahaldars, Ijaradars, and others of Saptari and Mahottari :

"We have received reports that because unauthorized levies and payments (as described above) have been collected from you in the name of the (Bhangaruwa) market, and forced and unpaid labor has been impressed from the inhabitants of raikar-mal lands, you have gone over to India.

"We have sent orders to Achal Thapa forbidding him to collect such unauthorized levies and payments. Come back and reoccupy your lands with full assurance. In case you suffer from any oppression in the future, represent the matter to us through Subba Jayafar Adhikari, and we shall take appropriate decisions. Have no doubts on any account.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 17.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Royal order to ryots inhabiting raikar lands in Saptari and Mahottari :

"Any person who vacates his raikar holding and shifts to birta, jagir or other lands shall be under obligation to pay taxes due on the raikar holding vacated by him. We hereby reconfirm the remission of taxes on 2 kathhas for each bigha of cultivated lands as stipulated in the 1850 Vikrama (A.D. 1793) settlement, in addition to other remissions as stipulated therein."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 18,

Chaitra Badi 9, 1867

Jayafar was assigned an ijara for the collection of revenue in Saptari and Mahottari for a three year period from Balsakh Badi 1, 1868. He succeeded Raghava Simha.

The ijara entitled Jayafar to appropriate revenues from all available sources in these two districts, with the exception of the following sources :

- (1) Emoluments and perquisites of Chaudharis and Kanugoyes.
- (2) Chanda-Chiraki tax (collected on Brahman priests from India).
- (3) Salami levy from the heads (Mahanta) of monasteries.
- (4) Fines, fees, and penalties collected on cases referred to the palace.
- (5) Fines and penalties collected on Panchakhat cases.
- (6) Treasure-troves.
- (7) Levies collected on behalf of the Crown (Raja-Anka).

The ijaradar was also allowed one-sixth of income accruing from escheat property. He was required to supply rhinoceros horn, baby rhinoceros, and bison (gaurigai) horn to the palace. In addition, he was required to meet all expenses on the local administrative and military establishments.

Net payments stipulated by the ijaradar to the government every year were as follows :

<u>Vikrama Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1868	Rs 62,001
1869	Rs 62,501
1870	Rs 63,101

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 31-33.

Chaitra Badi 9, 1867

Royal order to the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mahaldars, Mokadams, Jethraiyaats, and ryots of Saptari and Mahottari :

"The districts of Saptari and Mahottari, so far administered by Raghava Simha Khadka, have now been placed under the authority of Subba Jayafar. All your allotments, rights and privileges, etc. have been reconfirmed. With due assurance, work together with the Subba and make the country populous and prosperous. Persuade all Chaudharis, Mokadams, and ryots who have left the districts to come back and reoccupy their lands, and pay your taxes through the Subba. Represent your grievances, if any, through him, and we shall redress them."

Regmi Research collection, vol. 41, p. 33.

Jestha Sudi 5, 1867

Disputes on the question of jurisdiction had arisen between Subba Achal Thapa and Subba Jayafar Adhikari's predecessor, Raghava Simha Khadka, also. On Jestha Sudi 5, 1867, the following royal order was issued in the name of Subba Achal Thapa:

"Raghava Simha Khadka's men have complained that revenue from sair duties has declined as a result of the monopoly (ekahatti) granted in the sale and purchase of commodities in the district of Saptari. You are, therefore, ordered to function in such a manner that Raghava Simha Khadka does not incur any loss, and the business of (Bhangaruwa) market too is not obstructed.

"Revenue from the Ehusahat levy has been included in your assignment. Issue a receipt allowing remission for the amount collected from this source to Raghava Simha Khadka."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 207-8.

(To be Continued)

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King Mukunda Sen's Invasion of Kathmandu Valley

(Continued from the August 1982 issue)

According to the Gopalraja Vamshawali, when Jitari Malla invaded Nepal Valley in Poush 1344 Vikrama, the local inhabitants killed 800 of the Khasa invaders at Simbhu and fled to the forests. This shows that the Simbhu forests constituted a forest-fort at that time. (Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Vanadurga" (Forest forts), Gorkhapatra, Magh 22, 2026 (February 4, 1970). Since the note contained in the manuscript of Naradashriti states that Mukunda Sen's forces set fire to Simbhu, it may be presumed that they did so in order to break into that forest-fort.

Bhadra Shukla Dwadashi reminds us every year of the lay-out and extent of Kathmandu town in ancient times. The inhabitants of Kathmandu go round the town in the evening of Vamana Dwadashi, two days before the Indraajatra festival, scattering flowers and grains of rice, burning wicks and incense, and reciting prayers in the memory of relatives who have died during the year. This is known as Banegu. The Banegu procession passes through a definite route, which helps us to understand the old boundaries of Kathmandu town. The northern most point on the route is Thamel, so that there is no doubt that it was located outside the town. In former times, a wall had been constructed round the town to protect it from enemies. Consequently, the Gorkhalis had been able to occupy Thamel on Bhadra 22, 1825 Vikrama as it was located outside the walls of the town, but were able to enter into the town only on Aswin 13. (Baburam Acharya, Shri 5 Badamaharajadhiraja Prithvi Narayana Shaha Ko Samkshipta Jivani (Brief biography of the great King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Kathmandu: His Majesty's Principal Press Secretariat, 2024-26 Vikrama (A.D. 1967-79), pp. 500 and 523; Naya Raj Pant, Devi Prasad Bhandari, Gautamavajra Vajracharya, and Dinesh Raj Pant, Shri 5 Prithvi Narayana Shah Ko Upadesha (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, 2025 Vikrama (A.D. 1968), pp. 877-80). We may presume that Mukunda Sen had set fire to Thambahil, a well known Buddhist shrine located outside the town in the north, in an attempt to enter into the town.

Khusibahil is situated outside Kathmandu town across the Vishnumati river in the west. Mukunda Sen's troops may have set fire to this place out of anger at having been forced to quit Kathmandu. Since eight attempts to set fire to this place failed, we may presume that it was strongly built, possibly as a fort like Itumbahal.

On Shrawan Shukla Dwadashi every year, significant objects in each Bahal are put on public display for a week; the practice being known as Bahi Boya in the Newari language. In the course of the Bahi Boya at Itumbahal, a Pouwah (Scroll) is exhibited, which contains an illustrated account in Vamshawali style and in the Newari language of King Mukunda Sen's invasion. (Daniel wright, History of Nepal, pp. 167-70; a photograph of the scroll is in the possession of Ian Alsop). The account is as follows :-

"King Mukunda Sen ... set fire to a number of places ... All the inhabitants of Nepal ... fled. The Magar King Mukunda Sen assembled his troops and decided to stay at Itumbahal ... without damaging it. ... When he saw its golden roof."

This account shows that King Mukunda Sen had put up his camp at Itumbahal. According to the Gopalarajavamshawali, Itumbahal had long been used as a fort. (Gautamavajra Vajracharya, Hanumandhokako Rajadarbar (The Royal Palace of Hanumandhoka), Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2033 Vikrama (A.D. 1976), p. 38). According to Maharganivarna (Control of Deerness) (Devi Chandra Shrestha (ed.), Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2030 Vikrama (A.D. 1973), p. 17, which was originally written in 1949 Vikrama (A.D. 1892), "during the rule of the former Nepali kings, Itumbahal was the place where the army assembled." This shows that the fact of Itumbahal having been used as a parade ground during the Malla period had long remained alive in people's memory. It may be noted that Itumbahal has been constructed as a military fort like the royal palace during the Malla period. Itumbahal was thus important from both religious and strategic viewpoints. According to legend, therefore, Mukunda Sen occupied Itumbahal. The above-mentioned pouwah, however, shows that it escaped destruction at his hands.

There is also the legend that Mukunda Sen had offered an umbrella for the idol of Dipankara Tathagata at Itumbahal. The rod of the Umbrella is still in existence at Itumbahal, and is known as "Mukunchhatra" (Hemraj Shakya, Samyak Mahadana Guthi, Kathmandu: Jagatdhar Tuladhar, 2036 Vikrama (A.D. 1979), p. 217.

If these legends are to be believed, Mukunda Sen was not anti-Buddhist, but revered Buddhist deities. It would also appear that he set fire to Simbhu, Bhagawan Bahal, and Khusibahil not out of religious considerations, but because of military needs.

Of course, there are also legends that he destroyed several Buddhist shrines.

For instance, it is said that he raided Yatkha-Bahal, another important Bahal situated to the west of Itumbahal, and that the Palpa troops took away an idol of the Buddha from there. (Hemraj Shakya, Sribhaskara Kirti Mahavihara Yetkhabaha: Chhagu Adhyayana, Kathmandu: Aryanamasangiti Guthi, 2035 Vikrama (A.D. 1978), pp. 26-27).

According to another legend, a Magar King invaded Nepal Valley and carried away the idol of Seto-Machhindra. (Raja Shakya, "Bhay Wa Itihasaya Pauwah Janabahadyo," Jah (Newari), published by the Nepal Bhasa Sahitya Pala of the Trichandra Campus in Kathmandu in 2036 Vikrama (A.D. 1979), pp. 171-72).

We may here recall the Vamshawali accounts of how Mukunda Sen, in the course of his invasion, demolished temples, destroyed the idols of deities, and took away the idol of Bhairawa, displayed during the Machhindranatha festival, to Palpa. These accounts give us the impression that like the Muslims, Mukunda Sen did not hesitate to demolish temples and destroy idols. The Vamshawalis also state that Mukunda Sen also intended to raid the shrine of Machhindranatha, but did not do so because he saw the power of the deity, and, instead, offered a garland of gold.

Contemporary evidence shows that Mukunda Sen set fire to such Buddhist shrines as Simbu, Bhagawan Bahal, and Khusibahil, but visited Pashupati, a Shaiva temple, for a bath. This leads us to wonder whether Mukunda Sen was anti-Buddhist. The evidence contained in the Vamshawalis shows that he did not belong to any particular religion, but, like the Muslims, was an iconoclast. But contemporary evidence shows that he attacked only Buddhist shrines, whereas according to legend he paid his respects at other Buddhist shrines. In any case, available evidence is not adequate to enable us to form a definite opinion on this question.

As mentioned previously, Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley in Magh 645 Nepal Samvat (1581 Vikrama) and in Falgun 646 Nepal Samvat (1582 Vikrama). He seems to have attacked Kirtipur, Patan, Chapagaun, Thimi, Bode, Kathmandu, Simbu, Thamel, Naksal, Dharmasthali, Thankot, Sinkwatha, Aglagrama, and Chandragiri. His Magar forces visited Pashupati for a bath, and two of them were captured at Changu. The invasion thus extended to all the three towns of Nepal Valley, Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur.

The account does not mention who were ruling Nepal Valley at the time of Mukunda Sen's invasion. Let us now see whether there is any other evidence to shed light on this question.

Let us first consider the case of Kathmandu.

King Ratna Malla of Kathmandu died in 1577 Vikrama. (Itihasa Samshodhanako Pramana-Prameya, p. 140). He was succeeded by his son, Surya Malla, who died in 1586 Vikrama. (Shankar Man Rajvamsi, "Narendra Malla ra Amara Malla Ekai Vyakti Hun," Purnima, No. 3, 2021 Vikrama (1964 A.D.), p. 31). There is thus no doubt that Surya Malla was on the throne in Kathmandu during Mukunda Sen's invasion in 1581-82 Vikrama.

Let us now turn to Bhaktapur.

An inscription found at Thaiba, bearing the date Bhadra 644 Nepal Samvat (1581 Vikrama) mentions Jita Malla and Prana Malla as the rulers. (Medieval Nepal, pt. 2, p. 207).

A commentary on the Shrimadbhagavata, written in Bhadra 648 Nepal Samvat (1585 Vikrama), mentions Prana Malla as the ruler. (Ibid, p. 207).

A commentary on the Khanda Khadya, written in Kartik 654 Nepal Samvat (1590 Vikrama) mentions Jita Malla and Prana Malla as the rulers. (Dinesh Raj Pant, "Ashcharya Tutha Uttara" (Surprise and reply), Marvada, published by the Balmiki Campus of the Institute of Sanskrit Studies of the Tribhuvan University, No. 13, 2034 Vikrama, pp. 88-90).

All this shows that Bhaktapur was ruled jointly by Jita Malla and Prana Malla at the time of Mukunda Sen's invasion in 1581-82 Vikrama.

We shall now take up the question of Patan.

An inscription at the big Chaitya in Kirtipur, dated Jestha 635 Nepal Samvat (1572 Vikrama), mentions Ratna Malla, Rana Malla, and Rama Malla as the rulers of Patan. (Itihasa Samshodhanako Pramana-Prameya, p. 8).

The Subahal inscription of Baisakh 656 Nepal Samvat (1593 Vikrama) mentions the Pradhan Mahapatra Vishnu Simha as the independent ruler of Patan. (Ibid, pp. 11-12).

All this shows that Patan was ruled by Mahapatras during Mukunda Sen's invasion in 1581-82 Vikrama.

It is thus clear that during Mukunda Sen's invasion, Surya Malla was King in Kathmandu, Jita Malla, and Prana Malla were joint rulers of Bhaktapur, and Mahapatras were similarly joint rulers of Patan.

In 1605 Vikrama, King Narendra Malla (Amara Malla) of Kathmandu, dissatisfied elements in the royal family of Bhaktapur, the Mahapatras of Patan, the Ravutta of Pharping, and the Bharos of Dolakha concluded a treaty of alliance against King Prana Malla of Bhaktapur. (Dhamavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Dolakhako Aitihāsika Ruparekha (Historical outline of Dolakha), Kathmandu : Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2031 Vikrama, pp. 32-33). The treaty contains a reference to Magars. A translation, as given by Dhamavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, is as follows :-

"If Magars come through Nuwakot or elsewhere, we shall remain united and offer resistance with due consideration to their strength." (Copper-plate inscription at the Pashupati temple dated 1605 Vikrama, Dhamavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Nuwakotko Aitihāsika Ruparekha (Historical outline of Nuwakot), Kathmandu : Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2032 Vikrama, p. 46).

This reference shows that the rulers of Dolakha had been harassed by Magars owing to their frequent invasions.

Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha have given the following interpretation of the treaty :

"The treaty makes a reference to Nuwakot. This was not necessary, inasmuch as Nuwakot had become a part of Kathmandu during the rule of Ratna Malla. Even then, it was natural that Narendra Malla should remain alert lest his enemies should reassert their influence in the Nuwakot area, in particular by inciting the Magars of the Gorkha area through Nuwakot, or by providing help to them. For that reason, the treaty stipulates that "if Magars come through Nuwakot or elsewhere, we shall remain united and offer resistance with due consideration to their strength."

"Dravya Shah had not become King of Gorkha at that time; in fact, he became King only in 1616 Vikrama. But the Pashupati treaty hints that the Magars of Gorkha already apprehended an invasion by Dravya Shah. The Magars may even have given a hint to the rulers of the Valley that they would solicit assistance if necessary. The treaty also hints that the Bhaktapur side should not be able to ask for assistance from the Magars against Kathmandu. Be that as it may, the treaty shows that the rulers of the valley had maintained some kind of political relationship with the Magars of Gorkha through Nuwakot."

(Nuwakotko Aitihāsika Ruparekha, pp. 46-47).

Thus, in the opinion of Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, the Magars belonged to Gorkha. However, they have not been able to produce any evidence to substantiate their conclusion. Further research is therefore necessary to establish the identity of the Magars.

Notes on a Kamākanda manuscript in the possession of Amoghavajra Vajracharya may help us to settle this question. These notes contain particulars of events which occurred between 1048 and 1826 Vikrama. One entry mentions the visit of King Mukunda Sen of Palpa in 666 Nepal Samvat (1603 Vikrama). This would appear to indicate that Mukunda Sen invaded Nepal Valley in 1603 Vikrama also. This entry, and the above-mentioned sentences in the Pashupati treaty, seem to refer to Mukunda Sen's invasion.

We may conclude that the Vamshawali account of Mukunda Sen's invasion is not fictitious, but that it took place in 1581 and 1582 Vikrama, rather than on the date mentioned by them.

(Concluded)

Ban on Begar Labor

Royal order to Sardars, Subbas, Subedars, Companies, Amalodars, etc. in eastern Nepal :

"We have received reports that the ryots are suffering great hardships because you impress forced and unpaid labor from them. In the future, you are forbidden to impress such labor for your personal needs, except for the transportation of military supplies. If we again receive complaints that the ryots have been put to hardships because of your oppression, you shall be held responsible."

Magh Badi 4, 1872  
(January 1816)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 42, p. 186.

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Collection of Kut Revenue, A.D. 1815

On Aswin Badi 30, 1872 (September 1815), Bhajumani Newar was granted a one-year ijara for the collection of revenue from rice-fields under Kut tenure. The ijara was previously held by Kulananda Jha. No reference has been made to the area covered by the ijara; presumably it encompassed the entire hill region east of the Bheri river.

The ijaradar was empowered to collect saunefagu, Chaudhari, mihari and mandali levies of kut lands, as well as fines and penalties collected in the course of the administration of justice, and escheat property not exceeding Rs 100 in value in each case.

Payment stipulated on the ijara amounted to Rs 11,424-6 during Kulananda Jha's term; it was now increased to Rs 11,525-10. A sum of Rs 310 was debitted for expenses, leaving the net amount at Rs 11,215-10.

Other obligations of the ijaradar were specified as follows :-

- (1) Supply of five English-made flintlocks.
- (2) Settlement of 50 new homesteads.
- (3) Reclamation of 200 muris (2 khets) of rice-lands.

The following instructions were given to the ijaradar :

- (1) Keep kut lands under cultivation, collect revenues thereon at the prescribed rates, and deposit the proceeds at the Tosakhana. Submit accounts at the end of the year and obtain clearance.
- (2) Do not seek remissions on the grounds that rents are collected on adhiya basis rather than on kut basis in respect to any land.
- (3) Do not increase assessment rates, and do not harass the people.
- (4) Conduct on-the-spot inquiries in case lands are damaged by floods or washouts, or in case crops are damaged by hailstorms, submit reports to us, and appropriate remissions will be sanctioned.
- (5) Do not let cultivated lands revert to waste; convert uncultivated tracts into irrigated rice-fields.
- (6) Do not oppress the people, or commit injustice, so that complaints are submitted to us.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 42, pp. 79-80.

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#### Salami Levy on Sunuwar Households

On Jestha Sudi 10, 1875 (May 1818), Chak-Chakui fines for adultery were abolished for the Sunuwar community in the region situated between the Trishuli and the Mechi rivers. In addition, the state relinquished its right to appropriate escheat property from members of that community.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 42, p. 320 .

In consideration of these concessions, a salami levy was imposed on all Sunuwar households in that region. The following regulations were promulgated on Jestha Sudi 11, 1875 for the collection of the levy :

- (1) Ascertain the number of Sunuwar households in the Trishuli-Mechi region and determine their grade as abal, doyam, sim, or chahar, as the case may be.



- (2) Collect the salami levy from each Sunuwar household at the following rates :

Abal	...	Rs 5
Doyam	...	Rs 4
Sim	...	Rs 2
Chahar	...	R. 1.

In addition, tip tax shall be collected from each household at the rate of 1 paisa.

- (3) No birtaowner or jagirdar shall be entitled to claim that revenue from the salami levy belongs to him.
- (4) No Sunuwar household shall be granted exemption from payment of the salami levy on any grounds whatsoever.
- (5) The following salaries shall be paid from the proceeds of salami levy to the following employees appointed for its collection :

Balawant	...	Rs 300
Jayakrishna	...	Rs 200
Bahidar Rama Sharma Padhya	...	Rs 40
Peons	...	Rs 60
		Rs 600

Jestha Sudi 11, 1975  
(May 1818)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 42, pp. 318-19.

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Rates of Chandrayan Fee, A.D. 1811

Royal order to the inhabitants of Chhathar, Phedep, Phakphok, Terthathar, and elsewhere in Chainpur.

We hereby prescribe Chandrayan fees at the following rates, for offenses involving expiation through customary rites (niti). Pay these fees and remain pure in caste and commensal matters.

<u>Particulars</u>	<u>Rate of Fee</u>
1. Household guilty of offenses violating ritual purity	Rs 5
2. Households drawing water from the same source	8 annas each
3. Other households contaminated through contact in any way	2 annas each

Chaitra Badi 9, 1867  
(March 1811)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 35.

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Jhara Levy in Khotang, A.D. 1814

Royal order to dwares, hitalab, talab, chhap, and mohariya landowners, jimidars, Rais, dhakres, tharis, mukhiyas, guthiyars, mijhars, and other ryots residing in lands and villages assigned as jagir to Srinath Kampu in Khotang, Majhkirat.

"You are hereby ordered to collect the jhara levy from each household at the following rates and deposit the proceeds at the Dafdakhana of Srinath Kampu by the last day of the month of Marga every year. Labor obligations under the jhara and hulak systems have been remitted.

<u>Category of household</u>	<u>Rate of Jhara Levy</u>
Hale ...	One rupee
Kodale ...	Eight annas

"Upadhyaya Brahmins shall be exempt from payment of the jhara levy."

Chaitra Sudi 9, 1871  
(March 1815)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 518-19.

A similar order was issued on Jestha Sudi 12, 1871 in the name of Newar dyers (Chhipi) residing in lands and villages assigned as jagir to Kaji's in the village of Salyagaun in Halési, Majhkirat. They too were required to deposit the proceeds of the jhara levy to the Dafdarkhana of Srinath Kampu.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 583.

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#### Monopoly Trade in Gur

On Magh Badi 4, 1871 (January 1815), Hanumanta Singh was granted a monopoly (ekahatti) in the trade in gur in the Vishnumati-Trishuli region. The monopoly was valid for a one-year period from Magh Badi 1, 1871 to Poush Sudi 15, 1872.

In consideration of the monopoly, Hanumanta Singh was required to supply 301 dharnis of sugar to the government.

Hanumanta Singh was ordered to purchase gur from traders at reasonable (wajbi) prices, and collect fines from any person who sold the commodity to others. At the same time, he was warned not to harass traders by purchasing gur from them at unduly low prices, thereby compelling them to submit complaints to the government.

Magh Badi 4, 1871

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 469-70.

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A Short History of Nepal

By

Baburam Acharya

(Devi Prasad Bhandari, "Ai. Shi Baburama Acharyale Rachana Garnubhayeko Nepalako Sankshipta Itihasa" (A short history of Nepal compiled by Baburam Acharya, the historian-laureate). Chapters 1-2, Purnima, Year 8, No. 3, Marga 2031 (November-December 1974). pp. 151-57).

Devi Prasad Bhandari's Note : "This work was dictated to me by Baburam Acharya at the Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti (Nepali Language Publications Bureau) between Bhadra 2006 and Marga 2008 (September 1949 and November 1951). It contains an account of the history of Nepal until the death of King Girvan in 1873 Vikrama. The original copy of this work had been submitted to the Samiti; the present version is based on the draft copy which I had kept in my possession."

Chapter 1  
Geographical Features

1. The history of every nation or country is shaped by its geographical features. Our country, Nepal, is situated on the lap of the Himalayas, that is, the mountain-range situated between the Tibetan plateau and the plains of northern India. The Tibetan plateau is situated at an altitude of 11,000 or 13,000 feet above sea-level, and the northern areas of the plains of northern India of 1,000 or 1,200 feet. The remaining height of 11,000 or 12,000 feet is covered by these mountains stretching in three layers east to west. The mountain system adjoining Tibet in the north is the highest in the world. Its peaks are always covered with snow, hence it is known as the main Himalaya range. This range branches off in the south to form two other mountain systems, which too are considered part of the Himalayan mountain range. The central mountain-range is of medium altitude, while the southernmost range is of very low altitude. The central mountain-range consists principally of the Mahabharat and Teliya mountains, while the southern most range is known as Chure and Siwalik.
2. The rivers and streams originating in Tibet as well as in these mountain-ranges have cut valleys of different shapes and sizes at different places. These valleys have been centers of human habitation from pre-historic times. The altitude of valleys situated between these mountain-ranges, and their climate depend on the altitude of the ranges. The valleys situated at the foot of the snow-covered mountains of the main Himalayan range ranges between 8,000 and 12,000 feet. Because of the snowy climate, these valleys

are known as Himal. The altitude of some of the broader valleys in the central mountain-range varies from 4,000 to 7,500 feet; these valleys are known as Pahar. In the case of valleys in the southernmost mountain-range, the altitude varies between 1,250 and 3,000 feet. These broad valleys are known as Tarai. The Tarai valleys are situated both north and south of the Chure or Siwalik range. These are known as the inner Tarai and the outer Tarai respectively.

3. The climate is very cold in the Himalayan region, and very hot in the Tarai region. Consequently, it is very difficult for the inhabitants of the Himalayan region to live in the Tarai region during the monsoon, and for the inhabitants of the Tarai region to live in the Himalayan region during the winter. The climate of the Pahar region is temperate and healthy, so that the inhabitants of both the Himalayan region and the Tarai region can live there comfortably throughout the year, and the inhabitants of the Pahar region too can live in the other two regions. In this manner, the Pahar region has maintained the unity of the Himalayas by encompassing both the Himalayan region and the Tarai region. For this reason, the main Himalayan settlements such as Kathmandu, Dorjeling, Simla, and Srinagar, are all situated in the Pahar region.
4. The Himalayas are shaped like a sword, with the Kashmir mountains as the hilt and the mountains north of Assam as the end. The physical features of half of the 700 mile section of the back of this sword, from Barha-Thakurai (Simla) to Dorjeling, are different from those of the rest. Consequently, this section encompasses national unity in respect to religion, language, etc. Because of political factors, however, only about a 525-mile section comprises the Nepal of today. The northern boundaries of Nepal consist mostly of Himalayan passes, which are actually the geographical boundaries as well. However, the Himalayan settlements of Kerung and Kuti, which are situated on either side of the Gosainthan range, were joined to Tibet in A.D. 1792, hence the boundary in that area passes along a new line south of the natural boundary. In A.D. 1816, the Singtla mountains in the hills, and a small stream known as the Mechi in the Tarai region, were recognized as the boundary in the east. There is no natural boundary in the south, hence an artificial boundary-line has been demarcated by incorporating a part of the outer Tarai south of the Chure or Siwalik. At Thori and Koilabas, the boundary runs along the Chure mountain range. Accordingly, the outer Tarai region is not of uniform width everywhere. In the same year (A.D. 1816), the Mahakali river was recognized as the western boundary. The area of the modern Kingdom of Nepal within these boundaries is 54,000 square miles, and the population is estimated at 7.5 million.
5. Nepal may be divided into four natural regions : Kirant, Sesant, (a corrupt form of Shleshmantak as mentioned in the Nepala-Mahatmya), Magarant, and Khasant. These regions are separated by three passes situated on the Mahabharat

range : Sindhuli, Upardang, and Dahaban. The region situated east of Sindhuli is known as Kirant. The Dudhkosi and Arunkosi rivers, which flow through the Himalayan and Pahar regions east of the Likhu river, divide those regions into Wallokirant, Majhkirant, and Pallokirant. The Arun is the main river of the Kosi system. Two of its tributaries, the Tamor and the Sunkosi, join it in the foothills of the Mahabharat range and flow on to the Tarai as the Kosi river. The river thus divides the Tarai region of Kirant into two parts. The eastern part is known as Morang and the western part as Saptari.

6. The Sesant region encompasses settlements in the Himalayan and Pahar regions north of the Mahabharat mountains between Sindhuli and Upardang, as well as those in the Tarai in the south. In the eastern part of the Sesant region, the Sunkosi river, the main river of the Kosi system, flows down from Tibet toward the south, and takes an eastward turn after reaching the foothills of the Mahabharat mountains. In the west, the Trishuli river is known as the Bhotekosi at the point of its origin. It is joined by rivers known as Gandaki in the west, and hence it too is known as the Gandaki river. The Bagvati is a separate river flowing from the mountains between the Kosi and Gandaki rivers, which, cutting through the Mahabharat mountains, reaches the Tarai. The valley near the source of the Bagvati river has remained the center of Nepal from ancient times, hence the river has become a sacred place of pilgrimage. The three main towns of Nepal, Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, are all located in this valley. In the inner Tarai, Makwanpur and Chitwan are the main settlements. South of Makwanpur, in the outer Tarai, Parsa, Bara, Rautahat, Sarlahi, and Mahottari are well-known settlements. Inasmuch as the boundary line passes along the Chure range (Thori) south of Chitwan, the outer Tarai region farther southward has gone out of Nepal's control since the seventeenth century.
7. The Magarant region comprises settlements north of the Mahabharat mountains from Upardang to Dahaban, as well as settlements in the south. A sub-range of the main Himalayan range branches off from the Dhaulagiri toward the southwest and touches the Mahabharat range at a point known as the Sakhiko-Lek, and this branch forms the western boundary of Magarant. The Budhi river, originating in the main Himalayan range west of the Trishuli river, was formerly known as the Gandi. Accordingly, three other rivers flowing in the west, the Marsyangdi, the Seti, and the Kali, are also known as Gandaki. The Kali, the main river of the Gandaki system flows toward the south as far as Ridighat, and then turns toward the east and joins the Trishuli river at Devaghat. It then cuts through the Mahabharat mountains and flows on as a single Gandaki river. The Budhi, the Marsyangdi, and the Seti also join the Trishuli river near Devaghat. The southern course of the Kali-Gandaki river has separated the hill regions of Magarant into two parts. The eastern part

- comprises Gorkha, Lamjung, Kaski, Tanahu, Bhirkot, etc., and the western part, Palpa, Parbat, Pyuthan, and other well-known settlements. Nawalpur in the inner Tarai is situated on the right bank of the Gandaki river. But in this part of the Tarai region, the Chure mountains gradually lose altitude and mingle in the plains, hence the division between the inner Tarai and the outer Tarai is not marked in the area west of Nawalpur. The entire Tarai area is there called Butwal. This part of the Tarai comprises such well-known settlements as Parasi, Bhairahawa, Taulihawa, and Sheoraj.
8. Settlements situated on both the northern and southern sides of the Mahabharat and Teliya mountains in the region west of Dahaban up to the Mahakali river are collectively known as Khasant. The Karnali is the main river of this region, with the Bheri in the east, and the Seti and the Mahakali in the west, as its tributaries. The Seti river has divided the Khasant region into two parts. The hill region of the eastern part comprise such important settlements as Salyana, Jajarkot, Dailekh, Achham and Bajhang. (Bajhang is situated on the western banks of the Seti river in the eastern part, and Chauki-Garkha on the eastern banks, in the western part. The main settlement of ~~that~~ Garkha, Silgadi, forms a part of Doti). Toward the north the Karnali has two tributaries the Mugu and the Humla, and settlements in that area, which form a part of the western region, comprise Junla. The Himalayan and Pahar regions west of the Seti river are known as Doti. The main settlements of this part are Silgadi, Dadeldhura, and Baitadi. In the Tarai region, the boundary line runs along the Siwalik range (Koilabas) in the east, hence only the inner Tarai areas of Dang and Deukhuri comprise Nepali territory, and Nepal has no Tarai territory in that area. Because this inner Tarai territory is mostly covered by forests, population is very thin. In the outer Tarai region on the western side, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, and Kanchanpur are well-known settlements. These are all districts, and density of population is low in the last two districts.
9. There are a number of main routes running from east to west in both the Pahar region and the outer Tarai region throughout the length of Nepal. For the inhabitants of each region of Nepal, trade with the adjoining areas of Tsang and Ngari in Tibet and Bihar and United Provinces in India is more essential than with other provinces. To travel to Tibet, one has to take advantage of the rivers flowing from that region in order to cross the lofty Himalayan mountains. There are several passes situated along the banks of these rivers which serve as main routes between Nepal and Tibet. It is not possible to enumerate the inaccessible passes used by salt traders through the sources of rivers originating in the Himalayas. The main passes are as follows :-
- (a) The Arun is the only river which flows from Tibet to the Kirant region. As such, there is a major pass at the source of that river. There is a settlement known as Khartang on the other side of the border,

in Tibet, hence the route is known as the Khartang route. On the Nepali side, there is a settlement known as Hatiya, hence it is also known as the Hatiya route.

- (b) There are three main passes in the Sesant region. One is the Phalak route, so called after the Tibetan settlement of Phalak along the banks of the Tamakosi river. Dolakha town has been established to take advantage of trade flowing through this route. The Kuti pass, situated on the banks of the Sunkosi river, and the Kerung pass, situated on the banks of the Trishuli river, are more popular. Traders from the capital of Nepal use these two passes.
- (c) In the Magarant region, there is only one route through Mustang near the source of the Kali-Gandaki river. But it is not much used because it is not suitable for horses.
- (d) In the Khasant region, a route proceeds along the banks of the Karnali river up to Yari-Bhanjyang, and then to the well-known settlement of Taklaxhar on the Tibetan side. The route is therefore known as the Humla route.

The Mahabharat and Teliya mountains, which constitute the boundary between the Pahar region and the Tarai region, are not inaccessible. Even then, passes have been opened at convenient points on these mountains linking them with those (on the Nepal-Tibet route) mentioned above. The Hatiya Pass, for example, is connected with Sanguri-Bhanjyang on the banks of the Arun river in the Kirant region. Sindhuli-Bhanjyang is connected with the Phalak and Kuti passes, and Upardang with Kerung, all located in the Sesant region. In the Magarant region, Nuwakot-Gadhi is connected with the Mustang pass, and in the Khasant region, Malika-Bhanjyang and Ranimatta-Bhanjyang are connected with the Humla pass. Because these passes are situated at a distance from the western part of the Khasant region, there are two other passes. Jorayal and Satkatta. The pass leading from the capital of Nepal across the Mahabharat mountains is situated on the banks of the Bagvati river. But because the Nigale-Bhanjyang pass (Chisapani-Gadhi) was opened subsequently, it has fallen into disuse. Routes through these passes lead to the outer Tarai through the Chure or Siwalik range.



10. No gold or silver deposits have been discovered in Nepal. However, some quantities of gold are extracted from the sands of rivers flowing from the main Himalayan range. Deposits of copper, iron, lead and manganese are found everywhere in the hill region. Deposits of a valuable mineral called cinnabar are found in the Magarant region. There are forests everywhere, hence durable timbers such as agrakh and sissai and thousands of varieties of medicinal herbs are found. Rice is grown to some extent only in the Jumla area of the Himalayan region. Elsewhere, Uwa, barley, Karu, and other crops are grown in limited quantities. People therefore live mostly on yak-meat and mutton. Wool is used to weave cloth. Musk and yak-tails are exported. The Pahar region abounds with animals of different kinds, foodgrains, oil-bearing materials, fruits, tubers, jute (pat) and cotton. There are no mineral deposits in the Tarai region, but rice and other foodgrains are grown in large quantities. Since everything necessary for life is produced locally, people do not have to depend upon other countries.

End of Chapter I

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Saptari and Mahottari Affairs,  
A.D. 1810-11

(Continued from the August 1982 issue)

Administrative Regulations

Royal order to Subba Jayafar Adhikari : We hereby promulgate the following regulations for ijara functions in Saptari and Mahottari districts from 1868 to 1870 Vikrama.

1. In case an enemy intrudes into our frontiers from any quarter, and in case there is no time to obtain instructions from here, recruit additional troops and repulse the enemy, and thus defend the country. Report the matter to us. After the enemy is repulsed, pay salaries to the troops and disband them. Obtain receipts for such payments; remissions will be granted accordingly in the course of audit.
2. Recommend steps which will promote our interests and bring prosperity to the country. We shall sanction such steps if we consider them appropriate.
3. In case any ryot, jimidar, mahaldar, mokaddan, jagirdar or birtawar from the districts submits any complaint against you, we shall not listen to one side alone. Rather we shall listen to both sides, and inflict punishment according to the nature of the offense on any one who confesses his guilt.
4. In case any person is guilty of homicide, burglary, cow slaughter, rebellion, or lawless activities, and in case he confesses his guilt before the local adalat, refer the matter to us, and inflict punishment as ordered.
5. Offer hospitality to any English official, envoy (wakil) of any Nawab or Raja, or any other respectable person, who may visit the district for any purpose to our interest, and transmit to us the gifts and presents that he may bring. Reasonable expenses incurred for such hospitality shall be remitted.
6. In case a thief is caught and confesses his crime, refer the matter to us, and behead him, hang him, amputate his limbs, or brand him, according to the status of his case as ordered by us.
7. Do not allow unpaid labor (beth, begar) to be impressed indiscriminately in the country. For the requirements of the palace, impress such labor from the inhabitants of jagir, birta, manachama, and bekh-bunyad villages. Do not permit others to impress unpaid labor.

8. Reconfirm the land allotments and the land tax assessment rates that had been sanctioned in 1850 Vikrama. Make Arrangements for the reclamation of waste and forest lands. Procure ryots from India, as well as from jagir and birta villages, for this purpose, and settle them on such lands. Make five-year allotments according to the nature of the land, submit drafts of allotment certificates accordingly along with your signature, and we shall affix our seal thereon.
9. You may dismiss any Chaudhari, Kanugoye, mokaddam, mahaldar, ijaradar, or jamadar of the two forts who does not obey your orders, or fails to deliver supplies, and replace him by another person who obeys your orders and can deliver supplies. We hereby grant you authority to make such dismissals and appointments.
10. In case any Chaudhari or kanugoye in the districts who has been assigned lands under Phikdar or bekh-bunyad tenure does not obey your orders or fails to deliver supplies, report the matter to us along with the versions of both sides. We shall listen to both sides and punish such Chaudhari or kanugoye in case you are able to obtain a confession from him.
11. In case the owner of birta, jagir, or bekh-banyad lands had encroached upon raikar lands, make an inquiry in the presence of the Chaudhari, the kanugoye, the jaiwar, and respectable persons, confiscate the area that is proved to have been encroached upon, refer the matter to us, and take action as ordered.
12. The boundaries of the districts of Saptari and Mahottari had been demarcated by kazis in 1850 Vikrama. In case any person has obtained a royal grant of jagir, birta, chhap, manachamal, or ijara by making a false representation of these boundaries, do not let him take possession. Refer the matter to us and take action as ordered.
13. In case our boundaries in Saptari and Mahottari districts have been encroached upon from the Indian side, consult knowledgeable persons, as well as old documents, and in case it is proved inhabited areas or forest lands have been encroached upon, make inquiries there and report the matter to the palace. Do not let the boundaries to be encroached upon in the future, and do not do so from our side.
14. In case we make any birta, jagir, bekh-bunyad, or manachamal grant in these districts after the Vikrama year 1868, we shall issue orders in your name; apportion such lands from villages other than those assigned for the supply of porters to transport our goods, the nankar lands of Chaudharis and kanugoyes, and forest land allotments on which the initial period of tax-exemption has not yet expired. We shall grant remissions in the payment due on your ijara for the lands so apportioned on the basis of statements signed by Chaudharis, kanugoyes and jaiwars, in the same manner as granted to Raghav Singh Khadka in the years 1866-67 Vikrama.

15. Transmit three installments, in addition to the initial advance payment, to the Tosakhana in silver Patna rupees; make payments from the fourth installment to the bearers of disbursement orders. Such persons shall have no claim to amounts due on the first three installments, but shall be paid only from the amount due on the fourth installment.

Chaitra Badi 9, 1867.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 37-41.

Appointment of Chaudhari

- (1) Royal order to Subba Jayafar Adhikari :

Ankidas had been appointed as Chaudhari of the parganna of Jagdar-Sodhpur in the district of Saptari from the Vikrama year 1867 under a Phikdar order. Subba Achal Thapa reported that he died without leaving any heirs. We had therefore appointed Kamal Chaudhari as his successor from the Vikrama year 1868. If Kamal Chaudhari has assumed charge of his post, and started discharging his functions, confirm him in that post. Otherwise, select one of his nephews who is more capable, either Kamal Chaudhari or Dhaul Chaudhari, and appoint him as Chaudhari from the Vikrama year 1868.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 15-16.

- (2) Royal order to Dhaul Chaudhari :

Because you were dismissed from the post of Chaudhari with an entitlement of bunyad lands, and because our officials (amil) oppressed you in different ways, you have fled to India. Have no doubts on any account, but comeback and reoccupy your bunyad lands with full assurance. Subba Jayafar Adhikari will reinstate you as Chaudhari. Represent your hardships and grievances, as well as measures which will encourage settlement in the country, through the Subba, and we shall take appropriate action.

Chaitra Sudi 11, 1867

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41. p. 59.

Unpaid Labor

Royal order to Subba Jayafar and Subba Achal Thapa :

We hereby exempt ryots belonging to the raikar villages of Saptari and Mahottari from the obligation to provide unpaid labor (jhara, beth, begar) services. In case such services are required for the transportation of commodities purchased by the (Bhangaruwa) market, or of supplies procured

by us from abroad, impress them from the ryots of jagir, birta, manachamal, and bekh-bunyad lands. Any person who impresses such services from the ryots of raikar lands shall be punished.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 16.

Administrative Highhandedness

1. Royal order to Subba Achal Thapa :

We have assigned the moujas of Gobindpur and Mahuwa in the Jagdar-Sodhpur Parganna of Saptari district as jagir to Dware Bhawananda. Because you have exacted Jabtana payments at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  annas each from the inhabitants of these moujas, impressed unpaid labor (beth, begar) indiscriminately, and also collected daily payments (roj talabana) on behalf of the (Bhangaruwa market), many of them have fled to India, while others have come here to submit complaints through Dware Bhawananda. We have not granted you authority to collect such payments or impress such labor. Instead, we have only permitted you through regulations issued in your name to collect 1 anna in the rupee from the purchaser on the basis of the value of commercial transactions other than those meant for personal consumption. Refund all unauthorized collections to the ryots, and do not make such collections in the future. Do not oppress the ryots in any way, lest such complaints should again reach us.

Chaitra Sudi 6, 1867

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 55-56.

2. Royal order to the Subba, Fouzdars, Peshkars, Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, companies under the control of functionaries of the Bhangaruwa gola, and the Daroga, Rauts, and Mahawats of the Hattisar in Saptari and Mahottari districts.

"If you need to purchase any goods from traders, merchants, hawkers, and others who visit Janakpur in Mahottari district during the Sri Rama Nawami festival, do so at reasonable prices. In case any one does not pay reasonable prices for his purchases, but forcibly appropriates goods, he shall be punished."

Chaitra Sudi 11, 1867

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 58-59.

Irrigation Problems

Royal order to royal priests, Chautariyas, Kazis, Sardars, Khajanchi, and owners of birta, jagir, bekh-bunyad, and manachamal lands :

We have received reports that you are holding up water on your lands in Saptari and Mahottari districts, and do not make it available for irrigating raikar lands. You have no right to withhold irrigation water from raikar lands in this manner. In the future, make such water available to all lands, jagir, birta, and raikar, according to the area. In case any one holds up the supply of water to raikar lands, he shall be liable to compensate the loss of revenue from such lands, and shall also be punished.

Chaitra Sudi 11, 1867

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 58.

Labor Obligations in Baglung

During the revenue settlement of 1893 Vikrama (A.D. 1836), the Mukhiyas of Baglung had submitted the following complaint :

Jaisi Brahmans have been granted exemption from the obligation to provide Hulak (portage) services for the transportation of goods. Subsequently, a royal order was promulgated ordering the Khas and Jogi inhabitants of Baglung to construct (buildings for) the Baglung Mint, and Praja inhabitants to provide Thaple-Hulaki services for the transportation of goods at the Bihun outpost. As such, dual obligations have been imposed on the same households."

The complaint was forwarded to Kathmandu by the survey officials.

The following royal order was then issued in the names of Mukhiyas Harkadeo Khadka, Sriharka Bhandari, and Janmya Rokaya of Baglung.

"The inhabitants of Baglung, including, Praja, Khas and Magar, and all (tenants) of Khuwa (villages), shall work in the construction of (buildings for) the Baglung Mint. The inhabitants of Bihun, and Pauni (untouchable) households, shall provide porterage services at the Bihun Hulak outpost."

Bhadra Sudi 12, 1895  
(August 1838)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 590-91.

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### Forest Protection

#### 1. Bhadgaun

Vrishadhvaj Thapa of Bhadgaun submitted the following petition to the palace : "A royal order had been issued previously for the protection of forests at Tindol in Bhadgaun. The order is now lost, hence the forest is being indiscriminately destroyed."

A royal order was therefore issued appointing Vrishadhvaj Thapa as caretaker of the forests in the area (boundaries specified) north of Maligaun. The order authorized him to protect the forest, seize the weapons and tools of poachers, and inflict appropriate punishment on them.

Marga Sudi 3, 1886  
(November 1829)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, p. 41.

#### 2. Sisneri

(1) The following royal order was issued in the names of specified Brahmans of Sisneri Village in Lalitpur on Chaitra Sudi 15, 1884 (March 1828) :

"Protect forests carefully on your birta lands in Majhuwa as well as on raikar lands in Patale in order to conserve water for irrigating Sera (Crown) lands in



Lubhu as well as for protecting black pheasants (Kalij) and black partridges (titra). Do not let black pheasants be hunted with dogs, hawks, snares, etc. Any person who kills hen birds shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees; the fine shall amount to five rupees if he kills the chicks, and 2½ rupees if he destroys the eggs. Similarly, a fine of ten rupees shall be imposed on any person who cuts a tree, and of five rupees per load on any person who cuts firewood. Protect the forest with full care."

The order was addressed to Dinakar Padhya, Ranganath Padhya, Shiromani Padhya, Brajmohan Padhya, Ekasurya Padhya, Shiva Padhya, Harivansha Padhya, Nilakantha Padhya, Govinda Padhya, Ramu Padhya, Prayag Datta Padhya, Raghunath Padhya, Biju Padhya, Ganapati Padhya, Chhambu Padhya, Shrilal Padhya, and other members of the Poudyal clan.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 78-79.

(2) Another royal order was issued on the same day in the names of the following Poudyal Brahmans of Sisneri:

Dinakar Padhya, Ranganath Padhya, Shiromani Padhya, Brajmohan Padhya, Ekasurya Padhya, Shiva Padhya, Nilakantha Padhya, Harivansha Padhya, Govinda Padhya, Ramu Padhya, Prayag Datta Padhya, Laxminarayan Padhya, Raghunath Padhya, Ramadatta Pandit, Shrilal Padhya, Biju Padhya, Ganapati Padhya, Purnabhadra Padhya, Dinanath Padhya, Dasharath Padhya, and Bhawanishankar Padhya. The order permitted them to cultivate their iafati lands (i.e. birta lands which had been made taxable in A.D. 1806 and protect forests in Sisneri on the following terms and conditions :

1. Pay rents on kut or adhiya basis, as the case may be, to your landlords, and also a share of the wheat crops and the ghiukhani tax and the chardam fee.
2. Provide loans to your landlords, if so asked, upto the value of rents.
3. Jagirdar-landlords shall not evict Poudyal Brahmans from their iafati rice-land holdings.
4. Protect the Majhuwa-Patale forest carefully in order to conserve water for irrigating Sera lands in Lubhu.
5. Do not let anyone kill black pheasants and black partridges, or cut trees.
6. Apportion the rice-lands among yourselves for cultivation.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 79-80.

3. Tanahu, Lamjung, and Kaski

On Kartik Sudi 14, 1888 (October 1831), Shobhananda Banda was granted authority to protect forests in the region situated west of the Chepe river and east of the Kali (Gandaki) river, north of Gaighat and south of the Tingaun hills. He had earlier submitted a petition to the palace complaining that Sal and Sallo trees were being cut indiscriminately in Tanahu, Lamjung, and Kaski, so that timber might become scarce for meeting governmental needs and for the construction of roadside shelters, fords, and forts. A royal order issued in the name of Shobhakar Banda warned that any person who cut trees without permission would be severely punished.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 116-17.

4. Sarangkot (Kaski)

The Saunepani forest in Kaski district had been reserved for the supply of timber to construct embankments along the Pardi canal. A chitaidar (caretaker) was appointed for that forest, with authority to cut timber for this purpose and impose a fine of five rupees on any person who did so forcibly for his personal use. The chitaidar was paid remuneration in the form of five muris of paddy every year from rents on lands assigned for that purpose.

Poush Badi 30, 1890  
(December 1833)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 245-246.

5. Bhirkot

- (1) On Poush Badi 3, 1889 (December 1832), Shakti Padhya was granted authority to protect the Kharibote forest (boundaries specified) at Khilung in Bhirkot, as well as a bamboo grove at Phusremata. Timber and bamboo from that forest were allowed to be cut only for the construction of embankments on dams and irrigation channels meant for irrigating jagir lands of the army, as well as of fords on streams and rivers.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, p. 252.

- (2) Ranbir Khatri, Bahadur Srinaru, and Ravidatta Rana of Bhirkot submitted the following petition to the royal palace:

"At Jharkhang-khola, Sima-khola, Chyangra-khola, and other (specified) places in Bhirkot, forests had been protected formerly for the supply of bows, quivers, etc. to the government every year, and rice fields too were under cultivation. These days trees are being cut

indiscriminately, with the result that bamboo plants have died, and rice-fields have been damaged by landslides. Moreover, sources of water have dried up, no timber is available for the construction of dams and irrigation channels, and the supply of bows, quivers, etc. to the government has stopped."

A royal order was then issued granting authority to the petitioners to protect the forests,

Magh Badi 11, 1894  
(January 1838)

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, p. 497.

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## A Short History of Nepal

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the September 1982 issue)

### Chapter II

#### People and Languages of Nepal

1. The people of Nepal are divided into two main racial groups: Aryans and Mongolians. The Aryans are divided into two groups. People of Mongolian origin reveal some admixture of Tibeto-Burman blood. Because of the impact of the varna or jati (caste) system of the Aryans, a number of castes have emerged among the Mongolian people as well, hence the well-known saying "Four varna-s and 36 castes." The four varnas obviously refer to the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra castes of the Aryans, but in actual life there are more than 100 castes, rather than only 36. All of them remain separate from each in matters relating to commensal and marital relations. The 7.5 million people of Nepal speak more than 40 languages and dialects. The main castes and the languages spoken by them are as follows.

2. There are two types of Brahmans in all parts of the hill region. One of them, belonging to the upper level, is known as Upadhyaya, whereas the other, belonging to a lower level, is known as Jaisi. Likewise, there are two types of Kshatriyas. Descendants of the Kings of the medieval period are known as Rajput, and those of Kshatriyas of the ancient period are known as common Kshatriyas. Rajput Kshatriyas are regarded as belonging to a higher level, than common Kshatriyas. Khasas are left only in Khasanta region. Jaisis and Kshatriyas had settled among the Khasas, hence the Brahmans and Rajputs who came there some time later called them Khasa Brahmans and Khasa Kshatriyas respectively. The name Jaisi was given to the lower level of Brahmans some time later. Since these Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Khasas belonged to the Aryan race, they speak the dialects of the Aryan language. There are differences in their dialects due to geographical factors. The dialect of Doti is called Dotyali. In eastern Khasanta, there are six types of Purbiya dialects. The Parbatiya dialect is spoken in other areas. It has now become the national language and is now known as the Nepali language.
3. Some Brahmans and Kshatriyas belonging to the hill region have settled in the Tarai region as well. But most of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas in the Tarai region have come from the Madhesh.

(Footnote : Around the first century, the plains region on the banks of the Ganga and Jamuna rivers up to Prayag used to be known as Madhyadesha (central region). Since the plains region of Oudh and Bihar looked similar, the Nepalis seem to have included them in the Madhyadesha. It is clear that Madhesha is the developed version of Madhyadesha.

These Brahmans too are divided into two levels like Upadhyayas and Jaisis. The upper level consists of two types: those living in the region east of the Bagvati river belong to the Maithili category, and those living in the region west of that river belong to the Sarabariya category. Bhumihar Brahmans belonging to the lower level are found everywhere in the Tarai region. All Kshatriyas migrating from the Madhesa are called Rajput. Among them, the Danuwar Rajputs living in Saptari say that their original home is Karnataka.

The Nithar Baji community, which belonged to the ancient tribe known as Vriji or Vajji, lives in the Tarai region of Nepal (also in the adjoining Madhesh). Though the Tharus of the region call Brahmans and Kshatriyas as Baji, yet the latter do not seem to have any connection with the old Vriji tribe. Among the Bajis, Kurmi is the main community. They claim themselves to be descendants of the old Kshatriyas.

(Footnote : There were Licchavi Kshatriyas too among the Vrijis. The Manusariti describes the Licchavi and Khasas as descendants of those Kshatriyas who have not gone through the sacred thread investiture ceremony.

Other groups of this community are Dhanuk, Koiri, Kewat, Anat, Bin, etc. Kayasthas and Ahirs too seem to have mixed with the Bajis. Since the above-mentioned Madhishe Brahmans and Kshatriyas were Aryans, and since Bajis too bear a heavy admixture of Aryan blood, they speak Aryan dialects. It is because of geographical factors that those inhabiting the region east of Bagvati river speak Maithili, those inhabiting the region from Bagvati to Butwal speak Bhojpuri, and others inhabiting the region farther to the west speak Awadhi.

4. One community living in and around the capital of Nepal is called Newar. Sarbariya and Maithili Brahmans later integrated themselves into this community, hence they do not want to be called Newars. The Malla Rajputs who subsequently merged themselves into this community also hesitate to call themselves Newars. The other Newars are divided into two categories known as Bharo and Bhao. The Bharos have assumed the prestigious title of Shrestha, and have conferred the lower status of "Jyapu" (that is, one who works in a rice-field) on Bhaos, who are predominantly peasants.

(Footnote: The title of Shrestha has been assumed only by Bharos who adhere to the Sanatana sect of Hinduism not by those having faith in Buddhism).

Newars whose occupation is pottery have totally assimilated themselves into the Jyapu community. Bandas and Udasas who are engaged in the occupation of metal and wood work, occupy a status higher than that of Jyapus, while Gatha (or Malis) who work as petty artisans, and Kau (blacksmiths) belong to the lower category. The physical appearance of all these Newars mostly contain Aryan features.

(Footnote : Formerly, anyone who practised celibacy and performed a penance in a Buddhist monastery or Bahal used to be called a Banda or Bandini. Bhotiyas or Murmis too could join in such penance. Women (Bandinis) born of illicit sexual relations among them were accepted by Gubhajas, while the children of Bandas were taken into the Udasa caste. This explains why the physical appearance of all these three communities is largely Mongolian).

But Newari, the mother tongue of all Newars, is just a dialect of the Tibeto-Burman family.

5. The southern part of the hill region is inhabited by Magars. Their settlements extend to the Koshi river in the east on either side of the Mahabharat range. Their physical characteristics are wholly Mongolian. Their dialect is a branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

6. Gurungs inhabit the region north of the Magar areas. Syarpas similarly inhabit the Himalayan part of Sesant, and Murmis the hilly part of that region. Dura, a small community, which appears to have separated from the Gurung community, inhabits a region located on the banks of the Marsyangdi. All these four communities adhere to Buddhism as practised in Tibet and therefore respect Lamas and use the Tibetan calendar. They are generally Mongolian in appearance. Gurungs, however, have less clearly marked Mongolian features than the other three communities, because they also have Aryan blood. The different dialects spoken by the four communities belong to the Tibeto-Burman family.
7. Thamias inhabit the hill areas located to the east of Sesant, as well as the inner Tarai. Sunuwars, a small community, are found on the banks of the Khumati-Khola, located across the Tamakoshi river. Thamias want to be equated with Sunuwars. On the other hand, Sunuwars consider Thamias to be of inferior status. Thamias speak a dialect belonging to a Mongolian family. Until a year ago, the dialect spoken by Sunuwars contained traces of that dialect also; now it has been cast on the model of the Tibeto-Burman family.
8. A small community called Hwayu inhabits the lower Kirat region (Wallo-Kirat). The Khambu community, which is divided into several groups, inhabits both Wallo-Kirat and Majh-Kirat. One of these groups, called Chaurase, inhabits Pallo-Kirat also. Yakhas and Yakathumbas live in the north and south respectively of Pallo-Kirat. Dhimals live in the Tarai area of Morang district. Both Khambus and Yakthumbas were previously called Rais. Now-a-days, only Khambus are called Rais. Yakthumbas are now called Limbus. Both these communities consider themselves to be of equal status and hold Yakhas in contempt. Hwayus consider themselves equal to Khambus in status, whereas the latter look upon the former with contempt. Both Hwayus and Dhimals are inferior in status. The physical appearance of all these five communities is Mongolian in character. The various groups of the Khambu community speak some twenty dialects, while each of the remaining four communities speak a single dialect. All these dialects belong to the Mongolian family. The total number of Khambus is probably not more than 200,000, yet surprisingly they are divided into different groups speaking about twenty dialects, each group not knowing the dialect used by the other.
9. Tharus inhabit all parts of the Tarai region from the Mahakali river to the Koshi river. The Tharus inhabiting the Tarai located in the Khasanta region are divided into two communities called Rana and Dangoria. Ranas inhabit Kanchanpur district, while Dangorias have Dang as their ancestral home. Tharus have spread to Kailali district and Butaul in the east. In Butaul, we see settlements of Tharus belonging to the Katheriya group. But there exists a marked difference in the manners as well as the farming practices of these two groups of Tharus.

In Chitaur, Tharus are called Chitauri Tharus. Malapuchhana Tharus live in Parsa, and Kuchila Tharus in Bara. Settlements of Kuchila Tharus extend as far as Morang district. But Tharus belonging to other categories also are found here and there. In the eastern part of Morang district, we find a small community called Meche. Meches have Mongolian features and speak a dialect belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family. Wherever they live, the Tharus use the dialects and customs of Bajis. A community called Rajavamshi also lives in Morang. Rajavamshis too have a Mongolian physiognomy, and speak a corrupt form of Bengali. They are a small branch of the Koch community that has immigrated from Cooch Behar. Gangain and Tajapuri branches of the same community also inhabit this area.

10. The Sauko community inhabits the Byas-Himal area of Doti and the Thakali community in the Thak-Himalayan area of Parbat. Both these communities are affluent, because they trade in wool and salt. The Dangalis trade in wool and salt, but they are a nomadic community. They always move about in the Khasant region. Only in the monsoon do they live in tents at one place. A community called Raut roams about in the forest areas of the same region, subsisting on wild roots and hunting wild animals and birds. They mostly hunt monkeys. A similar tribal community, called Kusundo, is found in the Magarant region. Some Rauts visit populated areas and earn money by working in wood. On the other hand, Kusundos visit villages only to beg alms. In the Sesant region, there lives a semi-tribal community called Chepang, who cultivate drylands on a limited scale. They use fire more than cloth to keep themselves warm. In the Magarant area, there is another community called Baramu, who are as backward as Hwayus. Other small backward communities found in the Magarant region are Raguwa, and Ruwani both of whom have Mongolian characteristics. They speak different dialects of Mongolian origin. Dangalis, Rauts, and Kusundos have not been counted in the course of census operations, because they do not live in houses. The number of people belonging to other small communities too is very small.
11. Sanyasi, Banda, and Udas communities comprise people born from those who renounced worldly life but later returned to a household life. Ghartis are children of freed slaves. There are also several untouchable communities; Teli, Kalwar, Sudi, and Dhobi of the Tarai, and Kasai and Kushle, belonging to the Newar community, belong to the upper stratum of the untouchable community. Those who are converted into Islam are called Muslims, who belong to the upper category of the untouchable classes. In the medium category come the Musahar, Batar and Dhangar of the Tarai. Damai, Sarki and Kami of the hill region, Poda and Chyame belonging to the Newar community, and the Dum, Dusadh, etc of the Tarai occupy the lowest place among untouchable groups. Ghartis speak the Nepali language, while Bandas, Udasas, Kasais, Kushles, Podes and Chyames speak Newari. In the Tarai, Musahars and others belonging to the

medium category in the untouchable caste as well as other untouchables of the lowest category, speak the dialect used by the Bajis. But the intonation is different. Communities belonging to the upper category (of untouchables), such as Teli, however, have the same intonation as the Bajis. Their physiognomy has mostly Aryan features. Untouchables of the medium category, such as Musahar, have the same physiognomy as that of Mongolian communities in India. It is hard to determine the physiognomy of untouchables belonging to the lowest category, because of the high degree of miscegenation among them.

## End of Chapter II

### Land Grants of 1874 Vikrama

#### Baisakh Badi 10, 1874

On Marga Sudi 1, 1873, when King Girban died at Aryaghat near the Pashupati temple, several ritual land grants (sankalpa) were made in his name to Brahmans. Royal orders confirming these grants were issued on Baisakh Badi 10, 1874, by his successor, King Rajendra. These grants included the following :-

- (1) 23 muris of rice-fields and a homestead in Jiunpur (Dhading) to Punyashila Pandit. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, p. 320).
- (2) 20 muris of rice-fields and a homestead comprising 4 muris of land at Ichundol in Kathmandu to Harikrishna Padhya Dawadi. The 4 muri homestead was later replaced by 2 muris, 13 pathis, and 3 manas of rice-lands (i.e. 25 percent less).  
(Ibid., p. 323).
- (3) 20 muris of rice-fields and a homestead to Trilochana Padhya. A royal order for demarcating the boundaries of this grant was issued on Ashadh Badi 11, 1874.

(Ibid., p. 331).



Baisakh Badi 10, 1874

The village of Selang was granted as bekh to Dharmaraj Khatri in appreciation of his services in operating the Pyuthan Munitions Factory and manufacturing muskets.

(Ibid, p. 321)

Baisakh Badi 10, 1874

Ramadayal Gosain had mortgaged his house at Chokhache, Indrachok (Kathmandu) to Waha Ali, a Kashmiri, for Rs 1000. The money was repaid to the latter's son, Azizullah, and the mortgage was redeemed. A royal order was then issued granting the house as birta to Bastiram Madhise, a mechanic.

(Ibid, p. 322).

Baisakh Sudi 12, 1874

- (1) The third concubine (Sri Mahila Bhitri Bajya) of King Ran Bahadur Shah had constructed the temple of Sri Laxmishwar Mahadeva on the banks of the Bagmati river in Kathmandu. On Chaitra Sudi 9, 1872, King Girban had made a ritual (sankalpa) guthi grant of 140 muris of lands to finance the repair and maintenance of that temple. The lands were located at Saraswatikhel in Thimi.

(Ibid, pp. 324-25).

- (2) On Chaitra Badi 14, 1969, King Girban had granted 260 muris of rice-lands to finance regular and ceremonial religious functions at the above-mentioned temple.

(Ibid, pp. 327-28).

Copper-plate inscriptions for both these grants were issued by King Rajendra on Baisakh Sudi 12, 1874.

Baisakh Sudi 12, 1874

On Aswin Sudi 12, 1868, birthday of King Girban, 400 muris of rice-lands had been granted to Icchavati Brahmani as a ritual (sankalpa) gift, along with a homestead at Patan.

(Ibid, pp. 325-27).

Jestha Sudi 13, 1874

King Prithvi Narayan Shah had granted lands at Naldum to (Jiva Shah) under Chhap tenure. These lands were now reconfirmed in favor of Jiva Shah's son, Prana Shah, under bekh-bunyad tenure on an inheritable basis.

(Ibid, p. 328).

Ashadh Badi 4, 1874

On the thirteenth day of the death of King Girban, on Marga Sudi 13, 1873, 20 muris of rice-lands had been granted through a sankalpa gift to Haradatta Jha. The lands were located on the banks of the Manahara river in the Changu area.

(Ibid, p. 329).

Ashadh Badi 4, 1874

King Girban's sacred-thread-investiture ceremony was performed on Baisakh Sudi 10, 1865. On that occasion, 40 muris of rice-lands had been granted as a ritual (sankalpa) gift to Brahma Padhya Adhikari and Harivamsha Padhya Adhikari.

These two Brahmans had received a similar grant on Marga Sudi 1, 1873, when King Girban died.

On Ashadh Badi 4, 1874, King Rajendra issued a copper-plate inscription for both grants, in addition to a 16 muri homestead.

(Ibid, p. 330).

Ashadh Badi 11, 1874

The first anniversary of the death of King Ran Bahadur Shah was observed on Baisakh Sudi 7, 1864. On that occasion, his successor, King Girban, made a ritual gift of 100 muris of rice-lands. A royal order to demarcate the boundaries of these lands was issued on Ashadh Badi 11, 1874. The beneficiary was Vidyananda Pandit.

(Ibid, pp. 331-32).

(To be Continued)

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A Short History of Nepal

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the October 1982 issue)

Chapter III  
The Pre-Historic Period

1. Around 10,000 B.C., the Himalayas had already assumed their present form, but the climate was colder. The rivers and streams did not flow as deep as they do today, and the valleys were broader. Primitive communities of Mongolian origin inhabited the Himalayan valleys, and agriculture and animal husbandry were unknown. People lived on wild roots and fruits, and the meat of the wild animals they hunted with weapons of stone or wood. Because they lived in the midst of wild animals, they used to save themselves from tiger, bear, and other beasts of prey by climbing trees quickly. They protected themselves from the cold by wearing the skins of the animals they hunted. Such communities of Mongolian origin lived in Tibet as well as in the forests of the northern Indian plains.
2. Settlements of these Mongolian communities in the Himalayan valleys did not adjoin each other. Rather, like islands in the sea, they took the form of isolated villages with thatched huts inside forests in those valleys. These villages were not permanent, but were shifted to places where wild roots and game were available, albeit within a radius of 30 or 40 miles. These villages did not live in amity, but fought with each other from time to time. As a result, it took thousands of years for any important invention to reach from one end of the Himalayas to another. Bows and arrows were invented in some country of the west circa 7000 B.C. Later, the potter's wheel was also invented. These two inventions opened up the path of progress before world, and eventually reached the warring Mongolian communities. The use of bows and arrows greatly facilitated both hunting and warfare. After pottery became known, people began to cook wild roots and meat. They also started wearing coarse cloth made of plant fiber, instead of the skins of animals.
3. One of the Mongolian groups belonging to the Himalayan region lived in the Sindhuli area on the southern side of the Himalayas. It moved rapidly on the path of progress. Khasas who came there later gave that group the name of Magar. The Magar community had links with the Mongolian groups inhabiting the Tarai region. Around this time, Mongolian groups inhabiting the forest areas of Timhut had taken up a sedentary life and started agriculture, animal husbandry, and the weaving of cloth. Magars too learnt these skills from them and started

living a sedentary life. They were unable to prepare rice-fields in the hill region, but began to cultivate maize, millets, mustard, and other crops on hillside lands. The Magar population then gradually increased and their settlements reached Dahaban. Magars spread to the interior areas of the hill region and established villages there. The autochthonous communities of that region, Chepang and Baramu, were relegated to a secondary place, while the Kusundas took refuge in the forests. Many other similar communities were wiped out. At this time, a branch of the Tibeto-Burman group came from the east and disturbed other communities of Mongolian origin.

4. Most areas of Tibet and Burma are inhabited by people belonging to a single racial stock, hence they are known as Tibeto-Burmans. Groups living elsewhere, or those with mixed racial descent, are neither Tibetans nor Burmans. The original home of the Tibeto-Burmans is the Huang area of China, which adjoins Tibet, as well as the valleys situated on the upper reaches of the Yangtse-Kiang river. During circa 3000 A.D., the Tibeto-Burman population of these regions increased to such an extent that there were successive waves of migration to other areas. This trend continued for thousands of years. Many groups of emigrants reached Burma through the banks of the Irrawady river and settled there. Another group crossed the Himalayas through the gorge of the Brahmaputra river and supplanted the Mongolian population of Tibet. Yet another group reached Assam along the banks of the Brahmaputra river through the pass of Prabhuthaku and then spread to East Bengal also. A few groups crossed the Himalayas and proceeded toward the western mountain region. There was a large number of such small groups, which, in the course of movements spread through several thousands of years, brought about a drastic change in the condition of the Mongolian population.
5. There was not much difference in the physiognomy of the Tibeto-Burmans and the Mongolians of the Himalayas, for both of them were of Mongolian stock. However, the Tibeto-Burmans were somewhat taller. Accordingly, the two groups mixed with each other. The new immigrants were limited in number, hence they adopted the language of the Mongolians as their mother-tongue. But the latter assimilated hundred of words from the Tibeto-Burman language, especially numerals. The degree of admixture was not uniform in all cases. It is possible that the Magars did not allow any such admixture. Because of variations in the degree of admixture between the Tibeto-Burmans and various Mongolian groups, a number of dialects emerged, each for a separate group. The Tibeto-Burmans were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry, and were acquainted with the use of copper and other metals. The sheep was their main domestic animal, which they brought along with them into the Himalayas. They also taught the Mongolian groups the art of weaving cloth, as well as the mining of copper and the manufacture of metal utensils.

Consequently, the Mongolian groups started living a sedentary life, set up villages, and gave up hunting. The exceptions are a few groups of Mongolian stock who are still living a nomadic life as hunters in Nepal and elsewhere in the Himalayan region.

6. Several groups of Arya stock had started settling in the regions between the Ganges and the Volga circa 300 B.C. Because they lived a nomadic life, their original home is not known. At that time, there were two groups of Aryas in the plains of northern India, Aida and Manava. Aida settlements extended to the Punjab and the Ganges-Jamuna plains, while the Manavas inhabited the region now known as Oudh. Modern Kashmir was known as Idavrita in ancient times, and people who moved from there to the plains were known as Aida. There were some differences in the languages and life-styles of the Aidas and the Manavas, although both claimed to be Aryas and inhabitants of Aryavarta, and followed the Vedic religion. There was open social intercourse between Aidas and Manavas, and their political life too was almost similar. Bharata and Yudhishthira were prominent Aida Kings, while Bhagawan Ramachandra was a prominent King of the Manavas. Aidas had well-known Kingdoms in the region east of Oudh and south of the Ganges, known as Magadha, while there were Manava Kingdoms in Mithila or Videha in the north. The Videha Kingdom was small in extent, hence the Kingdom of Magadha dominated the whole of modern Bihar. The Mongolian groups inhabiting that region took to the forests and lived an isolated life, although some of them remained with the Aryas and became agricultural laborers called shudras. Yet others formed Dum, Chamar, and other untouchable communities, serving both the Aryas and the Shudras. A few of them became domestic slaves of Aryas and Shudras. All of them renounced their dialects and started speaking the Arya language. Similar developments occurred in the western regions as well.
7. One Aida group inhabiting Idavrita or Kashmir was known as Khasa. The original meaning of the term was King or Kshatriya (warrior). The term Khasa also gave its name to Kashmir. Aidas who migrated to the plains attained a civilized status because of their skills and brawn. Eventually, they relegated their Khasa brethren in the mountains to a lower status. For this reason, Khasa is a derogatory term in the Nepali language. However, Khasas were wise and brave. In circa 2000 B.C., one group of this community migrated to the far-west and set up their own Kingdom in modern Iran, displacing the Sami community. They ruled with great glory for five centuries (1746-1180 B.C.). In Iran too they spoke the Arya language and worshipped such Vedic gods as Indra, Varuna, and Mitra, as well as an Ice Goddess (Himadevi) named Sivaya Shimaliya.

8. At about the same time, another Khasa group crossed the Sutlej river and moved toward the east. This wave of migration continued for thousands of years. These Khasas moved along the hill region, rather than toward the Himalayas or the Tarai. They took great care to ensure that there was no admixture of Mongolian blood in their community, hence they treated the Mongolian communities they came across on their way as Dom and other untouchable groups. Eventually, these Khasas reached the valley of the Bheri river. Some freedom-loving Mongolian groups then shifted to the Tarai region and joined the Tharus, while others crossed over the Himalayan region and maintained a separate existence. Chief among the latter is the Sauko community of Nepal. At Sakhiko-Lekh the Khasas encountered Magars. Unable to overcome the Magars, the Khasas stopped their migration in the valley of the Bheri river.

These Khasas remained farmers. Millet (kodo) had been cultivated from ancient times in the hill regions they conquered. The Khasas introduced new crops such as barley, wheat, and sesame. It was at the time of their eastward migration that the use of iron became known in the world. The Khasas used iron for the first time for agricultural purposes in the Himalayan region. They worshipped Vedic gods, but did not observe caste distinctions such as Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya. Because they had left their original home before the alphabet was invented, they suffered a gradual decline. They followed a republican (Lokhabhar) system of government. Polygamy and Polyandry were common, and were additional factors in the decline of this community.

9. During the time when the Khasas were suffering a decline in the hill region between the Sutlej and the Bheri, the Aida and Manawa Aryas of the plains advanced toward the Koshi region in the east. They established new Kingdoms in the extensive Aryavarta plains and achieved gradual progress. Intoxicated by power and health, the Aryas fought in the civil war between Yuthisthera and Suyodhana at Kurukshetra (circa 1425 B.C.). That war witnessed the end of the nomadic life of the Aryas and they started reclaiming forests in the areas they had occupied. Old royal dynasties became weak and were supplanted by new ones. New Kingdoms and republics thus emerged. By circa 600 B.C., the states of Anga, Vriji, Malla, and Koshala, east to west, had been established in the territories comprising modern Nepal. Anga was a Kingdom. After the end of the Janaka dynasty of Videha, that Kingdom and the Licchavis merged to form the Vriji republic. The Vriji republic was bounded by the Gandaki river in the west. Farther westward was the Malla republic. The territories comprising modern Oudh formed the old Kingdom of Koshala, while the Magadh Kingdom of the Aidas continued in southern Bihar. There were two other small republics of Mallas and Shakyas between the Malla republic and the Kingdom of Koshala.

10. The Aryas of Aryavarta followed the Vedic religion before the Kurukshetra war. They worshipped Indra, Varuna, and other gods as presiding deities of natural forces so as to derive benefits from such forces, and offered foodstuffs to these gods through fire. This ritual was known as yagnya or yaga. After the Kurukshetra war, prime importance was given to yagnyas, and the gods began to be regarded as subservient to these rituals. Because yagnyas became progressively more ornate and complex, a group of rishis and munis started opposing such rituals, and, instead, explored the Brahma-Vidya. Many Kshatriya Kings followed in their footsteps. The Janaka royal dynasty of Videha became well-known among the Brahmavadis. These Brahmavadis eventually introduced the idea of monotheism, but many atheistic groups also emerged. Yet another group followed the path of purifying the soul through penance and attaining salvation (moksha). This religious ferment continued for nearly 800 years. After the Buddha propagated the Buddhist religion, some of these sects disappeared, while others changed their form.

The territories of the Shakya republic comprised modern Butwal and other areas to the west. The capital was possibly located in Kapilavastu. Siddhartha was the son of Shuddhodana, elective King of that republic. In 624 B.C., his queen gave birth to Siddhartha in a village called Rumin in Butwal while coming back home from her parents' house. From his very childhood, human suffering caused grief to Siddhartha. At the age of 28 years, he renounced the worldly life in search of the true path to rid mankind of death and other sufferings. He practised penance for six years in a forest and then attained enlightenment and was known as the Buddha. Because he belonged to the Gautama clan, he became famous by the name of Gautama Buddha. He first preached his new path at Kashi and was able to gather a few adherents. Buddha was an atheist. He was opposed to yagnyas and penance. The gist of his teaching was good conduct. He preached this message for 45 years in some areas of what are now Bihar and Oudh to princes and paupers alike. He used to teach people of all castes, irrespective of sex, hence thousands of people became his followers. Gautama Buddha died in 544 B.C. at the age of 80 years. His disciples continued to preach his message, which eventually assumed the form of the great Buddhist religion.

11. The Shisunaga dynasty emerged in the Kingdom of Magadh circa 700 B.C. The fifth King of that dynasty, Bimbisara, and his son, Ajatashatru, were contemporaries of Gautam Buddha. Both of them revered him. Bimbisara conquered the Kingdom of Anga and annexed it to Magadh. The ancient Kings used to retain defeated royal dynasties as vassals. Bimbisara, however, removed the royal dynasty or leaders of the republic and expanded the territories of his own Kingdom. Ajatashatru instigated dissensions between the Vijis of Videha and the Licchavis and annexed the Vriji republic (circa 540 B.C.). His successors continued that policy and gradually incorporated the Kingdoms of Awadha and the Ganga-Jamuna region into the



Magadh Kingdom. In circa 366 B.C., the Shishunaga dynasty was removed by Mahapadmananda, who then founded a new royal dynasty. The new dynasty, however, lasted only two generations. Mahapadmananda uprooted the remaining Kingdoms and created the very powerful Magadh empire comprising the territories of the modern United Provinces, Rajputana, Malwa, Bihar, and Orissa. This was the first empire of northern India. Before the new empire had been fully established, during the time of the last Shishunaga Kings, the first Kingdom of Nepal was founded, thereby marking the beginning of Nepali history.

End of Chapter III.

Land Grants of 1874 Vikrama

(Continued from the October 1982 issue)

Ashadh Badi 11, 1874

On Magh Badi 30, 1874, King Rajendra made a ritual gift (sankalpa) of 50 muris of rice-lands, along with a homestead, to Dineshwara Adhikari in Patan on the occasion of a solar eclipse. A royal order for demarcating the boundaries of these lands was issued on Ashadh Badi 11, 1874.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, p. 332.

The same day, royal orders were issued for demarcating the boundaries of the following ritual land grants made on the death of King Girban on Marga Sudi 1, 1873 :-

- (1) 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Bhadgaun to Sribhakta Aryal.
- (2) do. to Udayananda Neopane in Bhadgaun.

Ibid, pp. 334-35.

Ashadh Badi 11, 1874

- (1) On Chaitra Badi 7, 1868, King Girban had made a ritual land grant (sankalpa) of 100 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Kathmandu to Lokanatha Pande on the occasion of the consecration of a bridge on the Bagmati river.

(2) Ritual land grants had been made to Shankha Narayan Tiwari on the following occasions :-

- (a) 40 muris of rice lands during a solar eclipse on Magh Badi 30, 1869.
- (b) 10 muris of rice lands during a lunar eclipse on Marga Sudi 15, 1871.
- (c) 20 muris of rice lands during a lunar eclipse on Marga Sudi 15, 1872.

Each of these grants included a homestead as well.

The total area of rice lands thus granted as sankalpa-birta was 70 muris. Of this, 58 muris had been allotted in Kartik 1873. A royal order for demarcating the boundaries of the remaining 12 muris was issued on Ashadh Badi 11, 1874.

Ibid, pp. 335-36.

Ashadh Badi 12, 1874

A guthi land grant of 40 muris of rice lands, along with a homestead, and the area around a roadside shelter at Chakhewa, was made to Tulasiram Upadhya on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Jesta Badi 30, 1874.

Ibid, p. 337.

Ashadh Sudi 4, 1874

In the Vikrama year 1846, King Ran Bahadur Shah had appointed Dalabhanjan Pande's father (Jagajit Pande), as Subba of Makwanpur. He had granted four moujas in Matiwani Farganna of Bara-Parsa, then under the administrative control of the Subba of Makwanpur, under bekh-buniyad tenure. The royal order confirming the grant was subsequently lost, hence a new royal order was issued on Ashadh Badi 4, 1874 in the name of Dalabhanjan Pande.

Ibid, p. 337.

Ashadh Sudi 4, 1874

Three ropanis of pakho land at Athbis in Bisankhu was granted as birta to Sarup Bista, who held the office of Kote, to extend his homestead.

Ibid, p. 338.

Ashadh Sudi 5, 1874

Royal orders for the demarcation of the boundaries of sankalpa birta grants made on Marga Badi 1, 1873 on the occasion of the death of King Girban :-

- (1) 50 muris of rice lands and a homestead to Laxmi Nath Bhattarai, a priest. He later preferred to receive 40 muris out of his 60-muri jagir holding at Bhimdhunga.
- (2) 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead to Sharnghadhar Padhya Dhakal.

Similar royal orders were issued in that day for demarcating the boundaries of the following birta grants also :-

- (1) 40 muris of rice lands and a homestead granted as sankalpa birta to Balakrishna Padhya Devkota on Marga Badi 13, 1873 for taking the ashes of King Girban to Kashi.
- (2) 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead at Deopatan granted as sankalpa-birta to Jayanarayan Padhya on the same occasion.
- (3) The following sankalpa birtas granted to Tikaram Pandit on the following occasions :-
  - (a) 20 muris of rice lands granted on Chaitra Badi 9, 1862 on the occasion of the congregation of four planets.
  - (b) 20 muris of rice lands and homestead granted on Marga Sudi 1, 1873.

Ibid, pp. 340-43.

Ashadh Sudi 5, 1874

1 khet (100 muris) of rice lands and a homestead in Deupur (Kabhrepalanchok) were granted as sankalpa birta to Rama Chandra Ghodasaini by King Girban on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Marga Sudi 15, 1872.

Ragmi Research Collection, vol. 28, p. 343.

Ashadh Badi 4, 1874

- (a) 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Deopatan were granted as sankalpa birta to Mahadeva Jha on Marga Sudi 1, 1873 (when King Girban died).

Ibid, p. 344.

- (b) On the same day, 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Deopatan were granted as sankalpa birta to Maheshwar Aryal.

Ibid, p. 347.

Shrawan Badi 12, 1874

- (a) 30 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Pharping were granted as sankalpa birta to Purushottam Pandit on Marga Sudi 13, 1873 (13th day after the death of King Girban).

Ibid, p. 345.

- (b) On the same day, 100 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Pharping were granted as sankalpa birta to Ekasurya Vaidya.

Shrawan Badi 30, 1874

On Baisakh Sudi 7, 1864, the death anniversary of King Ran Bahadur Shah, 167 bighas of cultivated lands and 334 bighas of waste lands had been granted as sankalpa birta to Guraju ... This order was issued for allotting these lands in Rautahat.

Ibid, p. 348.

Shrawan Sudi 9, 1874

Separate royal orders were issued to demarcate the boundaries of the following sankalpa birta grants :

- (1) 40 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Deopatan granted by King Girban to Khardar Balabhadra Pandit on Marga Sudi 1, 1873.
- (2) 50 muris of rice lands and a homestead near the Bagmati river in Kathmandu granted by King Rajendra to Ramakanta Pandit on the thirteenth day of the death of King Girban on Marga Sudi 13, 1873.
- (3) 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Patan granted by the eldest royal consort (Jetha Nani Sahab) to Laxman Padhya Silwal on Poush Badi 9, 1873.
- (4) 30 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Patan granted by the eldest royal consort to Paramasukha Dube who was employed to carry the ashes of King Girban for immersion. The grant was made at Aryatirtha (on the banks of the Bagmati river near the Pashupatinath temple) on Poush Badi 9, 1873.

- (5) 30 muris of rice lands granted by the Senior Queen to Sadu Padhya Sapkota on Marga Badi 1, 1873, and 20 muris and a homestead granted on Marga Sudi 1, 1873, at the end of the obsequies performed for King Girban. The lands and homestead were located in Patan.
- (6) One khet of rice lands and a homestead in Patan granted by the Senior Queen to Nilagrivananda on Marga Sudi 15, 1862 on the completion of a religious ceremony (Purashcharana) at the Pachali-Bhairava temple in Kathmandu.

Ibid, pp. 349-52.

Shrawan Sudi 15, 1874

Separate royal orders were issued to demarcate the boundaries of the following birta grants :

- (1) A house at Yangal in Kathmandu, granted as birta to Vishnumaya Brahmani by the Queen Grandmother on Magh Sudi 11, 1873.
- (2) A house at Yetkha Tol in Kathmandu (previously occupied by Hussain Bux), granted as Char-birta by the Queen Grandmother to Gauridatta Mishra, a physician, on the completion of the funeral ceremonies of King Girban on Marga Sudi 13, 1873.
- (3) 30 muris of rice lands had been granted as sankalpa birta on Marga Sudi 13, 1873 to Laxminath Bhattarai by the Queen Grandmother, and 20 muris, along with a homestead, by the Queenmother, on Marga Sudi 1, 1873. These lands homestead were located at Bhimdhunga in Kathmandu.

Ibid, pp. 352-56.

Bhadra Badi 9, 1874

Royal order for the demarcation of a birta grant of 8 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Pharping granted by King Rajendra to Ekasurya Vaidya as sankalpa birta on the occasion of the convergence of five planets on Aswin Badi 30, 1873.

Ibid, p. 356.

(To be Continued)

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## The Nature of Jagir Obligations

### Obligation to Maintain Troops and Cannons

Jagir assignments to high-ranking jagirdars during the early years of the nineteenth century involved the obligation to maintain the prescribed number of facilities and military equipment, and also to impress the compulsory labor of the jagir tenants to transport military supplies during war. In addition, they were required "to remain in constant attendance during war or hunting expeditions, as well as during parades or other special occasions as commanded, whether by day or by night."

Chaitra Sudi 15, 1855 : Amar Simha Thapa (father of Bhimsen Thapa) was appointed as Sardar with a Khangi of 71 khets of rice-lands and a khuwa revenue of Rs 1600. He was placed under the obligation of maintaining 22 fusiliers and one piece of cannon. (Chittaranjan Nepali, Janaral Bhimsena Thapa ra Tatkalina Nepal, (General Bhimsen Thapa and contemporary Nepal), Kathmandu: Nepal Samskritik Sangh, 2013 (1956), pp. 253-54.

Baisakh Sudi 7, 1861 : Bhimsen Thapa was appointed as Kaji with a Khangi of 116 khets of rice-lands and a khuwa revenue Rs 3,500. He was placed under the obligation of maintaining 45 fusiliers and two pieces of cannon. In addition, he was required to impress compulsory labor from his jagir tenants to transport cannon and other military supplies during war.

Ibid, pp. 252-53.

Kartik Badi 2, 1881 : Bakhat Simha Basnyat, son of Badal Simha Basnyat and grandson of Birabhadra Basnyat, was appointed Sardar with the command of Sri Aridaman Company. His obligations were to maintain 22 fusiliers and 1 piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, pp. 20-21.

Magh Sudi 7, 1881 : Bhaktabir Thapa, son of Ambar Simha Thapa and grandson of Bhimsen Thapa, and Ripumardan Thapa, son of Ranadhvaj Thapa, were appointed Kajis with command of the Haya Sri Gorakh Company. Their Khangi assignment consisted of 116 khets of rice-land and Rs 3500 as khuwa revenue. They were required to maintain 45 fusiliers and 1 piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 28.

Marga Sudi 11, 1881: Bakhatwar Simha Thapa, son of Ambar Simha Thapa and grandson of Birabhadra Thapa, was appointed Kaji with command of the Sabuj Paltan. His Khangi assignment comprised 116 khets of rice-land and khuwa revenue amounting to Rs 3500. His obligations included the maintenance of 45 fusiliers and one piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, pp. 25-26.

Magh Sudi 12, 1881: Jan Shah and Daksha Shah, sons of Bam Shah, were appointed Chautariyas with the command of Sribarakh Paltan. Their Khangi assignment consisted of 125 khets of rice-lands and a khuwa revenue of Rs 4001. They were required to maintain 46 fusiliers and 1 piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 30.

(The appointment was renewed on the same terms on Magh Sudi 12, 1883. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, pp. 332-33).

Marga Badi 4, 1883: Ranabir Simha Basnyat was appointed Sardar with the command of Aridaman Company. His Khangi assignment consisted of 80 khets of rice-lands and a khuwa revenue of Rs 1,600. He was required to maintain 22 fusiliers and one piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, pp. 311-12.

Falgun Badi 3, 1883: Ajambar Pantha, grandson of Bali Pantha and son of Dubal Pantha, was appointed Kaji, with command of Sri Simhanath Paltan. His Khangi assignment consisted of 116 khets of rice-lands and Rs 3500 as khuwa revenue. He was required to maintain 45 fusiliers and 1 piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 33.

Falgun Badi 3, 1883: Dirgha Simha Bhandari, grandson of Kalu Bhandari and son of Chamu Bhandari, was appointed Sardar, with command of Sri Shardul Jung Company. His Khangi assignment consisted of 80 khets of rice-land and khuwa revenue amounting to Rs 1,600. He was required to maintain 22 fusiliers and one piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, pp. 33-34.

Chaitra Sudi 11, 1883: Balabhanjan Pande, son of Bhotu Pande was appointed Sardar with a Khangi of 80 khets of rice-lands and a khuwa revenue of Rs 1,600. He was required to maintain 22 fusiliers and 1 piece of cannon.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 333.

#### No Obligations For Officers of Lower Ranks

On the other hand, the jagir assignments of officers of lower ranks carried no such obligations.

Marga Sudi 1, 1883: Simhabir Pande, son of Jagajit Pande and grandson of Tularam Pande, was appointed Captain in Srinath Kampu. His Khangi assignment consisted of 40 khets of rice-lands and khuwa revenue amounting to Rs 3,000. His duties were only "to remain in constant attendance during war or hunting expeditions, as well as during parades or other special occasions as commanded, whether by day or by night, and obey promptly the orders of General Ehimsen Thapa."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 317.

Marga Eadi 4, 1883: "Appointment of Bhaktiram Thapa as Subedar in Ranabhim Company."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 313.

Kartik Sudi 3, 1881: "Appointment of Karbir Pande as Captain of Sri Ranabhima Company."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 17.

Marga Eadi 6, 1881: "Appointment of Birabhadra Kunwar as Captain of Kalijung Company."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 20.

Magh Sudi 30, 1881: "Appointment of Ranabir Simha Thapa as Commanding Colonel in Srinath Kampu."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 27.

Magh Sudi 30, 1881: "Appointment of Mathbar Simha Thapa as Colonel in Srinath Kampu."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, pp. 26-27.

Falgun Badi 1, 1881: "Appointment of Balabhanjan Pande, as Captain of Sri Chandan Nath Paltan."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 32.

Chaitra Badi 1, 1881: "Appointment of Ranabir Simha Thapa as Commanding Colonel in Srinath Kampu."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 35.

Chaitra Badi 1, 1881: "Appointment of Mathbar Simha Thapa as Colonel in Srinath Kampu."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 35.

Chaitra Badi 1, 1881: "Appointment of Sher Jung Bahadur Thapa as Captain in Srinath Kampu."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 36.

### New Policy

In any case, the practice of using jagirs as military fiefs entailing the obligation to maintain troops and cannon appears to have come to an end after Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa.

Chaitra Badi 11, 1899: Abhiman Simha Rana, son of Shamshere Rana and grandson of Bhaskar Rana, was appointed Kaji with a Khangri assignment of 116 khets of rice lands and a khuwa revenue of Rs 3500. His duties were specified as follows: "Remain in constant attendance during war, as well as wherever so commanded, and remain true to our salt."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 87.



Chaitra Badi 11, 1899: Deriyawar Simha Basnyat, son of Badal Simha Basnyat and grandson of Birabhadra Basnyat, was appointed Sadar with the command of Sri Chandannath Company (in Jumla). His Khangi assignment comprised 80 khets of rice lands and a khuwa revenue of Rs 1600. His duties were the same as those mentioned above for Abhiman Simha Rana.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 87.

Chaitra Badi 1, 1898: "Appointment of Ranabhadra Simha Basnyat as Sardar."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 49.

Ashadh Sudi 15, 1899: "Appointment of Dalakesar Pande as Kaji."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 60.

Falgun Badi 30, 1899: "Appointment of Dalabhanjan Pande as Kaji."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 80.

Chaitra Badi 1, 1899: "Appointment of Dal Bahadur Shah as Sardar."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, p. 68.

Falgun Badi 4, 1900: Jan Shah was appointed Chautariya with 125 khets of rice-land and Rs 4,000 as khuwa revenue in his Khangi assignment.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 13.

Falgun Badi 4, 1900: Gapan Simha, grandson of Bhotu Bhandari, and son of Jagajit Khawas, was appointed Kaji, with 116 khets of rice-land and khuwa revenue amounting to Rs 3,500 as Khangi assignment.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 11.

Falgun Badi 4, 1900: Trivikrama Simha Thapa, grandson of Ambar Simha Thapa and son of Bakhatwar Simha Thapa, was appointed Kaji with Khangi assignments as mentioned above.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 12.

Poush Sudi 4, 1902: Hima Bikram Shah, Jung Bahadur Kunwar and Kalu Shahi were appointed Kajis, each with 116 khets of rice-lands and khuwa revenue amounting to Rs 3,500 in his Khangi assignment.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, pp. 37-41.

Magh Badi 4, 1901: Sarat Simha Pantha, grandson of Dubal Pantha and son of Ajambar Pantha, was appointed Kaji with 116 khets of rice land and khuwa revenue amounting to Rs 3,500 in his Khangi assignment.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 28.

Poush Sudi 4, 1902: Biravrinda Parakrama Shah was appointed Chautariya with 125 khets of rice lands and khuwa revenue amounting to Rs 4,000 in his Khangi assignment.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 42.

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#### Collection of Jagir Revenues in the Tarai Region

On Chaitra Badi 7, 1893 (March 1837), the following instructions were issued in the name of Sardar Balabhanjan Pande regarding collection of revenue on jagir lands assigned to Bhardars, as well as to the Srinath Kampu and the Letter Paltan, in the districts of Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi, Saptari, Mahottari and Morang :

1. The outgoing thikedar (revenue-farmer) shall be allowed to continue if he is willing to make payment at the higher rate offered by another person.
2. In case the outgoing thikedar is not willing to make payment at such higher rate, the person who has made the offer shall be appointed as his successor, provided that he assumes liability for arrears due from the former.
3. If the outgoing thikedar is not willing to make payment at the higher rate offered by another person, and the newcomer is unable to accept the position because of the highhanded behavior of the former, investigate the actual reasons, and report the matter to us. Take action as ordered by us.
4. Royal orders had been issued in your name, as well as in the names of Subba Kulananda Jha and Fouzdar Birjadatta Mishra, to investigate the extent of damage to crops caused by drought. However, a full report has not yet been received, nor is there any information when the investigation will be completed. As a result, jagirdars have been unable to receive payments due to them for the Vikrama year 1893, and so represented the matter to us.

Inspect carefully all lands, whether irrigated or not, or waste, and submit statements for each mouja in such a manner that neither the jagirdar nor the ryot suffers losses.

5. If collection of revenue from ryots for the Vikrama year 1893 is held up because of your actions, you shall be held personally liable for the loss.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, pp. 91-92.

After reports on the extent of damage to crops in each mouja, as mentioned above, were submitted, royal orders were issued on Baisakh Badi 7, 1894 for these district prescribing that jagirdars, thikedars, and ryots should each bear one-third of the total loss. A notification in this regard was published in the name of jagirdars holding jagir lands in these districts on the same date.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, pp. 631-33.

Sardar Balabhanjan Pande submitted reports recommending arrangements for the collection of revenue on jagir lands in the eastern Tarai districts for the year 1894. The following instructions were sent to him in this connection on Baisakh Badi 7, 1894:

"Make appropriate arrangements in such a way that arrears are realized and current instalments are collected as they fall due. Give due assurances to the ryots, so that they may cultivate their lands and make the country populous. Retain existing thikedars as far as possible if they can make payments from their own pocket, if necessary. Otherwise, appoint new thikedars for the year 1894. ... We shall duly endorse these arrangements. If, however, the thikedars appointed by you are unable to make collections, and, instead, ruin the country, you shall be held personally liable for any shortfall."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, pp. 630-31.

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# A Short History of Nepal

by

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the November 1982 issue)

## Chapter IV The Kirat Kingdom

(C. 400 B.C.-100 A.D.)

1. Among the three Mongolian communities inhabiting the three regions in the east of modern Nepal, only the Magars came into contact with the Arya civilization through the Khasas of the west. The Khasas, however, followed the policy of exterminating Mongolian communities, hence the Magars did not welcome their civilization. Around the same time, the Malla and Shakya republics became more populous, so only the Mahabharat mountains separated the Magars from them. Because these mountains were not impregnable, there were frequent contacts between the Magars on the one hand and the Mallas and Shakyas on the other. Mallas and Shakyas were of Manava Arya stocks and so were liberal. But the Magars, who had been frightened by the Khasas, did not let Mallas and Shakyas visit their settlements. Nor was there any need for the Mallas and Shakyas to cross the Mahabharat mountains and fight the Magars in the Pahar region. Even then, contacts between the two groups introduced the Magars to Arya civilization and taught them the value of unity. Strengthened by such unity, the Magars were able to check the Khasas beyond the Sakhiko-Lekh for several centuries. There may have been some petty principalities among the Magars, but documentary evidence is lacking.
2. The Vriji republic was situated south of Sesant at a great distance from both the Mahabharat and the Chure ranges. The Videhas inhabited a part of the district of Mahottari in the outer Tarai region; the rest of that region comprised stray settlements of Tharus. The Bajis gradually pushed the Tharus toward the north. The passes of Sindhuli, as well as those along the banks of the Bagvati river, were open at that time, but were covered by forests and infested with wild animals and so inaccessible.

One group of Tharus living on the banks of the Bagvati river in the Tarai region as fishermen was known as Danuwar. The Danuwars gradually penetrated through the Chure and Mahabharat mountains and reached the valley on the upper reaches of that river. They had borrowed the Aryan civilization from Magadh and adopted the Magadhi language, forgetting their own Mongolian language. These Danuwars introduced the light of Arya civilization in the Bagvati Valley. The inhabitants of this valley began to visit the capitals

of Vriji and Magadh in the company of Danuwars. They called themselves Nepar. At that time, the people of Magadh pronounced r as l, hence they began to describe the inhabitants of the valley as Nepal. The term eventually came to signify the country.

3. After assimilating the Arya civilization, the Nepars developed national unity, and established a Kingdom of their own in circa 400 B.C. This was the first Kingdom in Nepal. At that time, the Aryas of India used to describe Mongolian groups as Kirant. Because the Nepars were of Mongolian stock, they too were regarded as Kirants. For this reason, the Nepar Kingdom is known as the Kirant Kingdom. Yelam was the first of 32 Nepar Kings. We cannot say that all of them were Kirant Kings, for it is not possible that there were so many Kings in a single dynasty. Even in times of uninterrupted peace, a royal dynasty usually comes to an end after six or seven Kings. Accordingly, it is possible that these 32 Kings belonged to five or six dynasties. In circa 100 A.D., the Nepar Kingdom came to an end. No information is available about the political condition of this Nepar Kingdom, which lasted five centuries.
4. The valley of the Bagvati river, bounded by the four passes of Shivapuri, Chandagiri, Sanga, and Bhimdhunga, was the original home of the Nepars. This region was cooler at that time than it was now, with more than half of the total surface area under forest. The Nepars were of Mongolian stock, hence they had a Mongolian physiognomy. They spoke a Mongolian dialect without any script. They worshipped local gods and sacrificed birds and animals to gain their ends and ward off evils. They selected a priest from among themselves. The Nepars used herbs and drugs for medical purposes and cultivated maize, millet, etc. They kept buffaloes for meat, their staple diet. After ghee began to be exported to the Tirhut region, they started using milk as well. It is possible that they did not keep cows. Sheep and pigs were domestic animals. They spun the wool of sheep and wove blankets in crude looms. They also manufactured a black dye. Blankets of black color woven by Newars, which were water-proof, were sold as far as Pataliputra (Patna), capital of India.
5. In Magadh, the Shishunaga dynasty was followed by the Nanda dynasty, and then by the Maurya dynasty. The first three Maurya emperors, Chandragupta, Bindusara, and Ashoka, were great conquerors. They extended the frontiers of the Maurya empire almost throughout the whole of India. They paid no attention to Nepal, a small Kingdom located in the midst of forests. Ashoka later gave up the campaign of military conquest and followed the policy of bringing other countries within the sphere of his influence by propagating the Buddhist religion. Accordingly, in the course of his tour of Buddhist places of pilgrimage, he visited Rumin, birthplace of Buddha, and installed a pillar there (248 B.C.). His religious envoys reached different places in India, as well as Burma and the Yavana Kingdoms of the east. Thanks to their efforts, the

small Buddhist sect established by Gautama Buddha was transformed into the great Buddhist religion. However, Ashoka sent envoys of medium rank to propagate that religion in the Himalayan region only toward the last days of his life. These envoys reached Nepal a few years before or after Ashoka was ousted from the throne (236 B.C.). The Nepars adopted the Buddhist religion with reverence, but not the neighboring Magars, Marmis, Syarpas, and Thamis.

6. Buddha taught the lesson of purity of mind, speech, body, and action. He made atheism and non-violence the fundamental tenets of the Buddhist religion. The Nepars were able to understand sermons on good conduct, but found it difficult to practise them. Even then, they tried their best. It was not difficult to understand the essence of atheism, but it was a formidable effort to forget the traditional gods and renounce violence. Even then, the Nepars gradually forgot their old gods. They found it impossible to stop the practice of slaughtering animals, and so continued doing so. Buddha died of indigestion after eating pork. For that reason, Indian Buddhists abjured the consumption of pork, and the Nepars too followed suit. The Kirant Kings had already accepted Buddhism. This religion might not have spread had it not been accepted by Kings. By the second generation, the Nepars had become stanch Buddhists. Five stupas or Chaityas were then constructed in Lalitpur, the then capital. These still survive in the form of mounds and are known as Ashoka's stupas.
7. The Buddhist missionaries who visited Nepal were generally Bhikshus (mendicants). They practised celibacy. Buddha had laid down the rule that one could become a Bhikshu even in youth and resume a worldly life if one so wanted. Women too could do so. Usually, only female Bhikshus could visit the inaccessible areas of Nepal. The influx of Bhikshus of both sexes continued till 187 B.C. In that year, Pushyamitra Sunga overthrew the Maurya dynasty and founded a new royal dynasty. He began to persecute Bhikshus, as a result of which many of them came to Nepal from the plains. It was against the laws of Nature for young Bhikshus, male or female, to practise celibacy. Accordingly, they mixed with the local Nepar population, thereby joining Mongolian blood with Arya. Mixed marriages of this type improved the physiognomy of the Nepars. But because the Bhikshu men and women came to Nepal in small groups, they began to speak in the language of the Nepars rather than their own. Consequently, unlike the Tharus, the Nepars did not forget their language. At the same time, the influence of the Arya language wiped out Mongolian traces in their language, which gradually assumed the form of a Tibeto-Burman language.
8. Thanks to the Buddhist religion, there was increasing intercourse between the Nepars and the Aryas of India. Such intercourse had had a profound impact on their social and religious life, as well as on their economic condition. Wooden huts were gradually replaced with houses built with baked bricks and

tile roofs. Modern Lalitpur, the then capital, developed into a town with brick buildings. The Nepars, who used to wear cloth made of wool or bhangra, began to wear cotton cloth. New cereal crops, including rice, and fruits were introduced from the plains. Iron mines were worked, and iron tools and weapons were manufactured for war and agriculture. Copper and other utensils began to be used. In addition to woolen cloth, medicinal herbs and drugs began to be exported. However, the use of bows and arrows, and of pottery, did not decline. The Newars of those days did not shave their heads. Only members of the royal family used ornaments of gold and silver.

9. The territories of the Kirant Kingdom did not comprise more than 250 square miles. This small Kingdom, situated in a hill area, became the nucleus of the big Kingdom of the future. In the east and the west, there were six other principalities inhabited by people of Mongolian stock. Information about their political conditions is not available, because they were not converted to Buddhism. There seems little doubt that the economic improvement achieved by the Nepar Kingdom had an impact on these principalities as well.
10. Around the time when the Kirant Kingdom was being established in central Nepal, there was increasing intercourse of Brahmans and Buddhists into the Khasanta region from Koshala or modern Oudh. Khasa settlements extended to Kumaun and Garhwal, which accordingly came under the impact of Koshala's civilization. Consequently, Khasa principalities emerged there. The Khasas of those days wore their hair long, hence the civilized Aryas of the Ganga-Jamuna region considered them to be degraded Kshatriyas.

End of Chapter IV



Irrigation in the Tarai Region

Revenue regulations promulgated for the districts of the Tarai region on Baisakh 13, 1992 (April 25, 1935) made the Mal Adda (Revenue Office) of each district responsible for the construction and maintenance of irrigation facilities. The Chief of that office was required to prepare a detailed plan for the development of such facilities in the district in consultation with the local jimidars and other landowners.

The regulations added :

In case irrigation channels are damaged, or fields are damaged by floods or washouts, the local cultivators or tenants shall undertake necessary repairs themselves or through collective efforts ... In case a new irrigation channel must be constructed in any mouja, or a damaged one must be repaired, a levy shall be collected from each jimidar, birta-owner, or other landowner whose lands will be irrigated through such channel, and labor too shall similarly be impressed for that purpose. In case any landowner is unwilling to provide such labor, their obligation shall be commuted to a cash payment at current wage-rates.

"In case local jimidars and landowners are unable to construct irrigation channels through collective efforts as mentioned above, an amount sufficient to meet the estimated cost of the construction or repair project shall be raised through a levy on jirayat, birta, and other lands, and placed under the custody of the local jimidar or other responsible person. The project shall then be executed through wage labor under the supervision of the jimidar, as well as the gumasta and the jethraiti of that mouja. The surplus amount, if any, shall be kept in reserve with the jimidar to finance necessary repairs from time to time.

"No new irrigation dam shall be constructed within a radius of 100 chain-lengths from an existing dam on a perennial stream, or in such a way that supply of water through the existing dam is affected. A dam may be constructed on the upper reaches of a stream if the existing dam, built on the lower reaches, cannot supply sufficient water.

"If the Chief of the Revenue Office finds that the jimidar and landowners of any mouja are not capable of collecting funds in advance and mobilizing labor in the manner mentioned above, and that both the government and the people will suffer if no dam is constructed there, he shall report the matter to the District (Goswara) Office. Arrangements may then be made to supply interest-free loans for the construction of the dam under the liability of the local jimidars. Such loans shall be recovered after crops are harvested.

Plans for the construction and repair of dams and irrigation channels must be finalized before the last day of the month of Magh (February 11) and implemented before the last day of the month of Jestha (June 14) each year.

"Local jimidars shall be ordered to repair immediately any damage to dams and irrigation channels resulting from floods and submit reports accordingly. . . . As soon as the month of Aswin (September 17) commences, officials of the District Office and the Revenue Office shall be deputed to each mouja to arrange for the repair of damaged dams and irrigation channels.

"The Revenue Office shall exercise supervision to ensure that jimidars use available irrigation facilities properly. Priority in such use shall be given to those landowners who have contributed money and labor for the construction of such facilities. Those landowners who have made no such contributions shall be allowed to use the irrigation facilities thereafter on payment of a proportionate share of the cost, and an additional fee of one rupee for each bigha.

"Since dams will be more durable if reinforced with beams, permits may be obtained from the local Kathmahal Office for the necessary quantity of non-commercial timber, which shall be cut and transported through the labor of the local people.

"In case the Revenue Office needs additional staff to discharge the functions mentioned above, it shall procure such staff from the local District Office.

"Crops cannot be cultivated without water, and dams and irrigation channels cannot be constructed in all moujas. At some places, water cannot be brought from streams and rivers, so that it is necessary to use run-off water for irrigation. Accordingly, in districts where there are no canals and permanent dams, it is necessary to construct dams and irrigation channels during the appropriate season for utilizing such run-off water. Otherwise, irrigation facilities will not be available when needed. South of the Chure range, the Tarai region slopes toward the south. North-south irrigation channels must, therefore, be constructed on both sides, east and west, of each mouja, from the northernmost point (Siraha) to the southernmost (bhatha), so that all lands under the jurisdiction of the Revenue Office are irrigated."

The following regulation was enforced on Magh 2, 1998  
(January 15, 1942) :

"In case dams and irrigation channels cannot be constructed through the efforts and contributions of jimidars and landowners alone, so that governmental assistance is essential, the local Bada Hakim is empowered to provide interest-free loans subject to the limits mentioned below. Such loans shall be recovered after the new crop is harvested. The District Office shall be held liable for arrears, if any.

<u>District</u>	<u>Amount</u> (in Indian Rs)
1. Jhapa	Rs 5,000
2. Biratnagar	Rs 7,500
3. Hanumannagar	Rs 6,000
	(Only for areas not irrigated by the canal, which has a command area of 25,000 or 30,000 bighas).
4. Siraha	Rs 5,000
5. Mahottari	Rs 7,500
6. Sarlahi	Rs 5,000
7. Rautahat	Rs 5,000
8. Bara	Rs 5,000
9. Parsa	Rs 4,000
10. Palhi	Rs 4,000
11. Majhkhand	Rs 5,000
12. Khajahani	Rs 6,000
13. Sheoraj	Rs 2,000
14. Dang-Deukhuri	Rs 2,000
15. Banke	Rs 3,000
16. Bardiya	Rs 3,000
17. Kailali	Rs 2,000

18. Kanchanpur	Rs 2,000
19. Makwanpur	Rs 1,000
20. Udayapur	Rs 1,000
21. Chitaur	Rs 1,000
22. Surkhet	Rs 500.

"The Chief of the Revenue Office shall check, personally or through a trusted employee, whether or not dams and irrigation channels are in proper condition, and whether or not irrigation facilities have been made available to landowners according to the regulations. In case any damage is detected, he shall make immediate arrangements for repairs. In case any landowner submits a complaint, the Chief of the Revenue Office shall make water available to him according to the regulations. In case he neglects these duties, and the landowner submits a complaint accordingly, he shall be held to have failed to make necessary arrangements regarding irrigation facilities, and be punished accordingly."

Source : Government of Nepal, Madhesh Malko Sawal  
(Revenue regulations for the Tarai region), Kathmandu :  
Gorkhapatra Press, n.d., secs. 94-105, and 107, pp. 42-48.

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"Manifesto of the Nepali Congress, 1950"

By

B.P. Koirala

(Full translation of the manifesto as reproduced in the Rastra Pukar Weekly, Aswin 28, 2039 (October 14, 1982) and Kartik 4, 2039 (October 21, 1982).

It is more than a century since the present system was established in Nepal. This system is also known as Rana regime. The history of the past century is one of horrible political, economic and social consequences. This family rule had been established by Jung Bahadur through treachery and conspiracy. It has confined His Majesty, the real ruler of Nepal, to the royal palace, as if he was a political prisoner. The Rana regime remains a barrier between the King and the people. The Rana Prime Ministers have no affection for the people. In reality, they are ruling the country without any mandate from the King. They are far removed from a sense of responsibility and dutifulness toward the country and the people, as might be expected from a capable ruler. It is, therefore, natural that the people should have no goodwill at all toward such a despotic system. The constitutional rights which the peoples of other countries have wrested from their rulers are still a day-dream for the Nepali people. The basic feature of this system is the despotism of its rulers. Such a system has always been unpopular in every country.

The Rana rulers have never accepted Nepal as their motherland. No foreign regime has exploited a country so intensively, as the Ranas have done. During the past hundred years, several countries in the world have achieved remarkable progress. Europe has long entered into a new era after having extricated itself from a feudal system. A wholly new civilization is emerging in Europe thanks to industrial progress. India was unable to make as much progress as Europe, because it had been under the clutches of foreigners. But, compared with Nepal, India has achieved remarkable progress. The history of the past century shows that self-ruled nations have been able to achieve glorious progress in every field. On the other hand, the Nepali people are still groaning under an anachronistic and medieval feudal rule.

Every Nepali has a vivid knowledge of the consequences of the century-old Rana regime. Our country has not succeeded in achieving industrial progress even in this modern age. Investments in industry and agriculture amount to less than Rs 20 million. It is a matter of anguish that not more than Rs 20 million has been invested in the production of essential commodities required by the ten million people of Nepal. Nor has the government implemented any plan in the field of agriculture. As a result, food production has

been declining to an astonishing extent. Fertile lands have been expropriated from toiling peasants and allotted to the birthowners and other landowners who dance to the tune of the Rana rulers. The condition of the country is now so pitiable that nearly 75 percent of the total population of the hill region finds it hard even to make both ends meet. The condition of the people of the Tarai region is even worse. Because of backwardness in both the agricultural and industrial fields, over 10,000 Nepalis daily leave for India in search of food. The major portion of the country's wealth has become the chief of the Rana rulers. As a result, economically the country has now two classes: the ruling class, which owns vast wealth, and the poor subjects, who are plundered daily.

The Rana regime spends as little of the national revenue as possible on administration, and deposits the money thus saved with foreign banks in the name of the Rana Prime Minister. Government servants are paid nominal salaries. This is the main cause of the bribery rampant in government offices. The position of army-men is even more pitiable. It is almost impossible for them to get two square meals a day. The Rana Prime Ministers increase their bank balances even at the expense of their own civil employees and army-men. It is estimated that they save over Rs 25 million every year. During the past century, Nepal's Prime Ministers have accumulated at least Rs 1,000 million in foreign banks with the intention of never bringing it back to the country. Who can ever forget this heinous crime of exploiting the blood and sweat of the Nepali people? The foundation of the present Rana regime is injustice, and its real strength lies in repression. It is, therefore, no wonder that this regime should carry on the policy of keeping the countrymen impotent. People can be educated only when there are as many schools and colleges as possible. But the first target of the rulers of this country has been the field of education. It is a great pity that only eight high schools have so far been opened in this country, which has a total population of 10 million. Primary schools (Pathshalas) are almost non-existent. The country has only one college, the Tri-Chandra College. The ruling class regards any expenditure on education as a misuse of its own property. That is why Nepal remains the most backward country in the world in the field of education. When the poor countrymen seek to open new schools with their own money, they incur the wrath of the rulers. Whereas other countries and governments make constant efforts to educate their peoples, the government of our country is following an anti-people policy in the belief that it can perpetuate its despotic rule over the countrymen only by keeping them ignorant.

The goal of the Nepali Congress is clear. It wants to establish a government responsible to the people under the constitutional leadership of His Majesty. The despotic Rana regime has deprived His Majesty, like other people, of personal freedom, thereby denying him his rights. We want to maintain

His Majesty in the supreme post of Chief of the State by releasing him from such a restricted life. It should, however, be mentioned that we shall provide His Majesty only with those rights that a constitutional ruler should have, so that His Majesty too may not become despotic, and autocratic in the future. The government will function in his name under laws framed by the representatives of the people. The reins of state power will be in the hands of persons elected by the people. His Majesty will form a Council of Ministers from among elected representatives of the people, and rule the country under its control. We are not in favor of an absolute monarchy. A responsible government is our basic demand. The rule of a government responsible to the people means a responsible government. It also means that the government should justify all its actions before the people. If people do not like its program, the government can be ousted immediately. Once a responsible government is established, the rulers will not be able to act in an arbitrary manner, and the government will be compelled to function according to the will of the people. Even if the government is run in the name of the King, all laws and regulations will be framed by the representatives of the people. The functions of the Council of Ministers will only be to enforce those laws and regulations. People will have the right to like or dislike the Council of Ministers. In short, responsible government means that all rights are vested in the people.

Once the present regime is put to an end, the Nepali Congress will convene an assembly or conference of the representatives of the people elected through adult franchise. This assembly or conference will be given the full responsibility of framing a constitution or rules regarding the functioning of the state.

All this sheds light on the political aspects of the objectives of the Nepali Congress. We shall now explain other aspects also.

As mentioned above, the Nepali Congress will not be satisfied with political reforms alone. It will also make efforts for the economic upliftment of the people by introducing economic reforms in Nepal. From the economic point of view, the existing social structure is highly inequitable. The entire strength of the society has been undermined by the gulf between the rich and the poor. The society envisioned by the Nepali Congress will have no place for exploitation. That is to say, the rich will not be able to exploit the poor on the strength of their wealth. The Nepali Congress expects to reconstruct the entire society on the basis of equality and justice. Keeping in mind the history of many democratic countries, the Nepali Congress has come to the conclusion that it is baseless to talk only about democracy. The real interests of the people cannot be served by political change alone. It is true that hollow slogans of democracy may stand sweet to the Nepalis, who have been oppressed by the despotic

regime, and any idea of compromise in regard to democracy will have no interest for us. But the history of democratic countries has taught us that so long as the society is not restructured on an equitable basis, its all-round development is impossible. If economic exploitation persists, even when democracy is established, happiness and prosperity of the people will be undermined. The Nepali Congress, therefore, regards democracy based on political as well as economic equality as its ideal. For example, 5 percent of the total population control the major portion of the nation's economic resources, whereas 95 percent are landless. The Nepali Congress considers this situation unjust and strongly opposes it. In its opinion, land should be equitably redistributed. As agriculture is the basis of Nepal's economy, equitable distribution of land will mean the biggest economic revolution for Nepal. The Nepali Congress calls on the Nepali people for such a revolution. It believes that existing land system is the primary reason for the poverty of the Nepali people, and so should be changed as early as possible. The Nepali Congress wants that the lands of jimidars and birtaowners should be redistributed to hard working peasants, and workers. The economic condition of the people of Nepal is connected with land, and the Nepali Congress, as the representative of the entire Nepali people, considers itself a friend and sole representative of the toiling peasants and agricultural laborers.

Large mills and factories have not been developed in Nepal. The Nepali Congress has made its policy in this field quite clear. Vested interests have not yet emerged in/established in the near future, the government will have to undertake due responsibility for industrial development. The Nepali Congress believes that after a people's government is established, the government will industrialize the country under a comprehensive program. The Nepali Congress will provide for equitable wages to workers employed in factories or elsewhere. It is not necessary to mention here that the Nepali Congress, which is struggling for democracy, will allow full freedom to all categories of workers to establish their own organization or unions on the basis of democratic principles. /this field in Nepal. When a government of the people is

In today's scientific age, all nations of the world are tied together by bonds of mutual relations. Therefore, the foreign policy of any nation is considered to be of special importance. The Nepali Congress considers itself to be a staunch protector of the full independence and sovereignty of Nepal. Safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of Nepal, it supports measures to establish diplomatic relations with other nations of the world. Nepal has traditional religious, cultural, political and economic relations with India. Accordingly, we wish all possible prosperity to India and desire to maintain close relations with that country. Nepal will never wish ill of India. Due to geographical proximity, it will never be beneficial to



have any conflict between these two nations. We can never think that India, which is going to be independent in the near future, will ever wish ill of Nepal. Unless there is a threat to the independence and prestige of Nepal, or the interests of the nation are likely to be undermined in any way, the Nepali Congress will accept in their original form all treaties signed by the present despotic regime with India. Alternatively, the democratic government to be established in the future will conclude new treaties with the interests of both Nepal and India in mind.

In contrast to other nations, Nepal has special intimacy with India. Therefore, relations between democratic Nepal and other nations will be consistent with the interests of India. Nepal has traditional friendship with China also. People's aspirations have exploded in the recent Chinese revolution. The Nepali Congress has friendly feelings for the newly-formed Chinese government.

The Nepali Congress does not support any type of foreign, military or economic interference in Nepal. The present despotic regime, with the objective of sustaining itself in power, has welcomed foreign forces, and has followed the policy of getting maximum assistance from them. The Nepali Congress strongly opposes interference by foreign forces in Nepal.

In the opinion of the Nepali Congress, Nepal must obtain the membership of the United Nations. We support the view that Nepal should be included in any international organization formed with the objective of establishing peace in the world. World peace will be the basis of our entire foreign policy.

Nepal has special strategic importance in Asia. Therefore, we bear a great responsibility towards the liberation movements of Asian countries. We strongly oppose foreign rule in Asian countries. We sincerely hope that foreign domination, interference and feudalism will come to an end, and democracy be established, in all Asian countries.

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Royal Order Regarding Reports From  
Districts, A.D. 1837

The following royal order was sent to all district administrators and other officers on Ashadh Badi 5, 1894 soon after Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa was removed from his post :

"So far, you have not been submitting reports to us regarding different matters, both small and big, as well as news and other information. In the future, submit such reports in writing to us regularly."

This order was sent to the following administrators :

1. Chautariya Jan Shah, Silgadi.
2. Kaji Narsing Thapa, do.
3. Captain Kanak Simha Pande, Dadeldhura.
4. Captain Ranamardan Shah, Mallas (?)
5. Subba Chaturbhuj Malla, Jhulaghat.
6. Captain Gajaraj Karki, Dullu.
7. Sardar Badriban Shahi, Dailekh.
8. Captain Gaja Kesar Khatri, Jumla.
9. Lt. Nar Bahadur Pande, Pyuthan.
10. Captain Sher Bikram Simha Thapa, Palpa.
11. Sardar Prahlad Thapa, Palpa.
12. Captain Bhawan Simha Khatri, Chisapani.
13. Lt. Ranabir Mahat, Makwanpur.
14. Captain Bakhtwar Bhandari, Dhankuta.
15. Lt. Hemadal Thapa, Sindhuli.
16. Lt. Dalasur Thapa and Sobha Simha Thapa, Ilam.
17. Sardar Balabhanjan Pande, Jaleshwer Kachahari.
18. Subba Kulananda Jha.
19. Wakil Lokaraman Padhya, Calcutta.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, pp. 655-56.

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Land Grants of 1874 Vikrama

(Continued from the November 1982 issue)

Royal orders for demarcation of the boundaries of the following birta grants were issued on the following dates :

- (1) 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead at Jhiltung in Dhading granted as sankalpa birta to Govinda Pandit on Marga Sudi 13, 1873 during the funeral ceremony of King Girban; Bhadra Badi 7, 1874.
- (2) 100 bighas granted by the third Queen-Mother at Aryaghat on the Bagmati river near the Pashupati temple on Ashadh Badi 2, 1861, and 100 bighas granted during the funeral ceremony of King Rana Bahadur Shah on Jestha Badi 4, 1863, as sankalpa birta to Balabhadra Pandit, in Parwanipur mouja of Tokani Parganna and Sakhwa mouja of Sidhmas Parganna in Bara-Parsa; Bhadra Badi 1, 1874.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, pp. 357-58.

- (3) 2 khets of rice land and a homestead in Patan granted as sankalpa birta to Indirananda Bhaju and Vimalananda Bhaju by the Senior Queen at Aryaghat on Poush Sudi 9, 1873 during the funeral ceremony of King Girban; Bhadra Badi 1, 1874.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, p. 359).

- (4) 12 khets (1,200 muris) of rice lands were granted as sankalpa birta as follows to Purohit Yadunath Pandit Arjyal on Marga Sudi 1, 1874, the first anniversary of King Girban's death :
  - (a) 10 khets granted by King Rajendra.
  - (b) 2 khets granted by the Senior Queen.
- (5) 5 khets granted as sankalpa birta on the first anniversary of the death of the Junior Queen on Poush Badi 12, 1874 by King Rajendra, and 1 khet by the Senior Queen.
- (6) (a) 1 khet granted as sankalpa birta during King Rajendra's birthday on Marga Sudi 15, 1874.
  - (b) do. during the tuladan ceremony the same day.
- (7) 40 muris of rice lands granted as sankalpa birta by King Rajendra during a solar eclipse on Sunday, Kartik Badi 30, 1874 to Haradatta Jha and Shankha Narayan Tewari.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, pp. 360-61.

- (8) During the convergence of five planets on Jēstha Sudi 2, 1874, King Rajendra made a sankalpa birta grant of 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead at Katuwalgaun to Ramachandra Padhya Arjyal. Marga Sudi 11, 1874.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, p. 362.

- (9) Marga Sudi 11, 1874: King Shiva Shah of Kaski had granted 180 muris of rice lands as guthi to Gangarama Vairagi Siddhi at Ramaghat. Subsequently, Gangarama died, and the lands were washed away by floods. During the reign of King Siddhi Narayan Shah, 80 muris of rice lands had been given in replacement. After the Gorkhali conquests, the lands were given away as jagir to the army, but the guthi was restored during the revenue settlement of Vikrama 1852, and confirmed through royal order on Marga Sudi 11, 1874.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, p. 363.

- (10) During a solar eclipse on Friday, Jēstha Badi 30, 1874, King Rajendra had made a ritual grant of 40 muris of rice lands and a homestead as guthi to Tulsi Ram Padhya for the maintenance of a roadside shelter (Pouwa) at Chakhawa. A royal order was accordingly issued on Marga Sudi 11, 1874.
- (11) Marga Badi 11, 1874: 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead at Ruping (Nuwakot) had been granted as sankalpa birta to Bise Padhya Bagle during the convergence of five planets on Saturday, Aswin Badi 30, 1873.
- (12) Poush Badi 14, 1874: 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead in Dhadgaun had been granted as sankalpa birta to Sribhakta Arjyal by the Senior Queen-Mother at Aryaghat on Marga Sudi 1, 1873 (on the death of King Girban).
- (13) On the first anniversary of King Girban's death (Marga Sudi 1, 1874), King Rajendra granted 60 muris of rice lands, and the Queen granted 40 muris, along with homesteads at Nachhegaun in Kathmandu as sankalpa birta to Khardar Indibar. A royal order for demarcating the boundaries was issued on Poush Sudi 3, 1874.
- (14) 20 muris of rice lands and a homestead at Pinda had been granted as sankalpa birta to Trilochana Padhya Nepal on Marga Sudi 1, 1873 (on King Girban's death). A royal order for demarcating the boundaries was issued on Poush Sudi 10, 1874.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, pp. 364-70.