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The Rape of Garhwal

By

Dr: Shiva Prasad Dabaral "Charan"

We shall now present an account of the events that occurred in Garhwal after the 1849 Samvat (A.D. 1792) treaty was signed with the Gorkhalis.

The Gorkhalis had signed the treaty, which stipulated payment of a tribute amounting to only Rs. 3,000 a year, because of the crisis they were facing as a result of the Chinese invasion. At that time, it was not possible for the Gorkhali army to be involved in a protracted war for the conquest of Garhwal. But as soon as the crisis was over, Gorkhali military commanders started acting in contravention of the treaty. The government of Nepal had signed two treaties with the East India Company in similar circumstances, which it violated at the first available opportunity. If the government of Nepal could deal in that manner with the powerful East India Company, the Kingdom of Garhwal, weak and torn by internal dissensions, could hardly expect a better treatment.

According to Maularam ("Rana Bahadur Chandrika", unpublished MS.), the Gorkhalis were able to occupy Garhwal only after nine years of continuous fighting. This means that they had started violating the terms of the treaty about two years after it was signed, that is, around A.D. 1794. The Gorkhalis made repeated attempts to occupy Langurgarh, but without success. Their commanders in Kumaun encouraged their troops to make frequent raids into Garhwal's territories. Records available at the District Magistrate's Office at Paudi show how the Gorkhali raiders ruined the country, massacred the inhabitants in a barbarous manner, or sold them as slaves. They set fire to houses and destroyed villages.

It was not possible for the King of Garhwal, Pradyumna Shah, to station troops all along the frontier. Because of the chaos prevailing in the kingdom, and the depredations of Parakrama Shah, he had very few troops left. Consequently, the inhabitants of the border areas had no alternative but to make their own security arrangements. They had frequent encounters with the Gorkhalis, with much cruelty on both sides.

The annual tribute of Rs. 3,000 stipulated in the A.D. 1792 treaty was soon raised to Rs. 9,000 on various pretexts. The King of Garhwal had also to bear the expenses of the Nepal Wakil and his staff. Nepali officials frequently visited places of pilgrimage in the Himalayan region, and stopped at Srinagar in order to receive gifts befitting their rank. All this raised the amount paid to the Court of Nepal to about Rs. 25,000 a year, according to Edwin T. Atkinson.

Because of this heavy economic burden, a terrible famine ravaged the Kingdom of Garhwal in A.D. 1795. Thousands of people died, and thousands more sold themselves into slavery. The famine further worsened the economic condition of Garhwal and there

was delay in payment of the annual tribute to Nepal. There was no money even to meet routine administrative expenses. Captain Hardwick, who visited Srinagar in 1796, has recorded that Pradyumna Shah had become so poor that he had no money even to meet his personal needs and was wearing ordinary clothes. Extensive areas had become desolate. Pradyumna Shah was even mortgaging villages in Garhwal to borrow money from the Badrinath temple fund or from moneylenders. Even then, there is no evidence that his financial condition improved.

Even before the second Gorkhali invasion (A.D. 1803), Garhwal had fallen into utter anarchy. A virtual civil war raged in the capital and the adjoining areas. Maularam has given an eye-witness account of the situation in his work Ganika-Nataka. He has recorded that Parakrama Shaha's atrocities had reached their climax from early A.D. 1800. He increased the size of his army and struck terror in the minds of Pradyumna Shah and his ministers. Pradyumna Shah was unable to protect his subjects from the atrocities of Parakrama Shaha. Any one who mentioned Pradyumna Shah's name became an object of Parakrama Shaha's anger. Parakrama Shah began to issue his own orders, superseding those of the King. He took away any beautiful girl who attracted him, and looted gold and other wealth from any house he liked. He thus ushered in what was virtually Ravana-Raj in Srinagar. Parakrama Shah considered loot and adultery a prowess. No woman was safe from him, irrespective of her caste or status. If any person was found to be keeping a concubine, she was taken away from him as a punishment. Moreover, his property was confiscated, and members of his family were enslaved. Maularam had a beautiful concubine named Laxmi, who had lived with him for seven years. For that offense, his property, including his jagir, comprising fourteen villages, were confiscated. Laxmi was taken away, and he was imprisoned. Maularam's petitions, which he submitted to Parakrama Shah from jail, were ignored. He was freed only after spending about six months in jail and paying a fine. However, his concubine was not restored to him.

Parakrama Shah severely punished any person who was a supporter of the King, Pradyumna Shah. Ministers who supported Pradyumna Shah were thus afraid that Parakrama Shah would have them murdered whenever possible. Accordingly, they began to recruit troops on Pradyumna Shah's instructions. Pradyumna Shah's supporters included Ramapati Khandudi, Dewan Mohan Simha, three Negi clans, and their followers, whereas Shishram Sakalani and his brother, Shivaram Sakalani, Radha Guru, Chitramani, Srivilasa Nautiyal, and Dhaukalananda were the Chief supporters of Parakrama Shah.

Parakrama Shah told Pradyumna Shah: "This Kingdom (Garhwal) belongs to me. I have acquired it by killing Jayakirti Shah. Our father had given you the Kingdom of Kurmachala (Kumaun). Why do not you go there? I have tolerated many things because you are my elder brother. If you do not do what I say, I will deal with you in the same manner as with Jayakirti Shah." With great cleverness, Parakrama Shah took possession of the royal palace and began to live there. Consequently, Pradyumna Shah was unable to come out of the palace and meet his supporters. Once he tried to come out, but was stopped by Parakrama Shah.

Pradyumna Shah's supporters then tried to contact Raj Kumar Sudarshan Shah, a brave and courageous youth of 16 or 17 years of age. Ramapati Khandudi sent him a secret message informing him that his father was being kept in confinement by Parakrama Shah and requesting him to come out of the palace and meet his supporters. He also promised to place Sudarshan Shah on the throne. Sudarshan Shah then secretly left the palace and met Ramapati Khandudi. He then sent a message to Parakrama Shah asking him to leave the royal palace, or else meet his nephew (i.e. Sudarshan Shah) on the battle-field.

Parakrama Shah, however, remained in the royal palace, while his supporters, and those of King Pradyumna Shah and Raj Kumar Sudarshan Shah, fought with each other. Each side started plundering the houses of the other side. If they could not get in, they would pull down the roof and gates and set them on fire. They also fought with bows and arrows at several places. This continued for two months. According to Maularam, thousands of people were killed on both sides. In the beginning, Sudarshan Shah was victorious in the Srinagar region, but Parakrama Shah remained in control of the royal palace. Some of his troops encamped at Ranihat across the Ganga river, from where they used to conduct surprise attacks on the forces of Sudarshan Shah. Finally, the two sides fought a pitched battle at a place near Srinagar. Many among Parakrama Shah's troops were killed, and the rest fled to Devaprayag, with the troops of Sudarshan Shah pursuing them. The Gorkhali troops who had been recruited in Pradyumna Shah's army fought bravely, and so did his Rohilla troops, and his Commander Miza (Khan). The Rohilla troops used to open concerted fire with their muskets, which emitted a pall of smoke in the battlefield. The battle was won by Sudarshan Shah. Many soldiers of Parakrama Shah who tried to cross over to their camp at Ranihat across the Ganga river were washed away by the river when the suspension rope was cut. Some fled to the forests, while others fled to Devaprayag and Hardwar. The others were encircled by Sudarshan Shah's forces. Finding no way out, Parakrama Shah approached the king in tears and requested him to restrain his soldiers. He begged for pardon and promised to obey the king in the future. Pradyumna Shah was a simple-minded man, so he pardoned Parakrama Shah and ordered fighting to be stopped.

But when Sudarshan Shah and his forces left, Parakrama Shah summoned his troops from Ranihat at midnight to Srinagar and laid sieze to both the town and the royal palace. He told Pradyumna Shah that the troops would continue to do so unless the latter sentenced his ministers to death and gave him territories extending from Badrinath to Hardwar on the right banks of the Alakananda river, leaving territories on the left banks of the river to Pradyumna Shah. Powerless to resist, Pradyumna Shah accepted the partition plan and ordered that necessary documents be prepared. It was also decided to levy a nazarana payment amounting to 25 rupees for each Jyula of land. A list of soldiers who were to be sent for collecting the levy was also compiled.

Parakrama Shah ordered Srivilasa Nautiyal to mint coins in his name, but dies were not available. Maularam was then ordered to make dies and mint coins. He made the dies but expressed his inability to mint coins, and requested that his concubine, Iaxmi, be restored to him. Parakrama Shah accepted the dies but did not return the concubine.

Parakrama Shah took away Pradyumna Shah to Ranihat, and then ordered the rope bridge on the river to be cut. He also started making arrangements for the administration of the country. Fearing a danger to his life, Pradyumna Shah secretly sent a messenger to contact his supporters in Srinagar. He advised them to strike a bargain with Parakrama Shah and secure his release. Ramapati Khandudi and other ministers, on receiving this message, met Sudarshan Shah and discussed means to cross the river and reach Ranihat.

Meanwhile, the Gorkhali Wakil, whose name was Chanchaladhara according to the Garh Rajya Vamsha-karya, reached there. He said he had been sent by the king of Nepal to mediate in the dispute between Pradyumna Shah and Parakrama Shah. The Nepali Wakil also threatened to banish or sentence to death or imprisonment, any one who disobeyed his orders.

In addition, the Nepali wakil sent a message to Parakrama Shah asking that the rope bridge on the Alakananda river be reinstated, so that he might cross the river. Parakrama Shah did so and invited the Wakil to a meeting with great cordiality. The Wakil read out a royal order which said, "We have granted the Kingdom of Garhwal to Pradyumna Shah. You have not done well by imprisoning him. Release him as soon as you receive this order. Otherwise, our troops will vanquish you and reinstate Pradyumna Shah on the throne." Parakrama Shah, however, warned the Nepali Wakil that the Gorkhals would find it difficult to stay on in Kumaun if they opposed him. He denied that he had kept Pradyumna Shah in confinement, and claimed that both he and Pradyumna Shah had been driven out of the capital by the ministers.

Thanks to the mediation of the Nepali Wakil, an agreement was concluded among Pradyumna Shah, Parakrama Shah, and the ministers. Both sides disbanded their troops, Pradyumna Shah returned to Srinagar. Those who had fled from that town also returned there. The Nepal Wakil then left for Kumaun.

Notwithstanding the agreement, the tussle between Parakrama Shah and Pradyumna Shah's ministers continued. Parakrama Shah once more collected troops and laid siege to the royal palace. The King's party then sent a message to Bam Shah requesting him to send back the Wakil to Srinagar. Bam Shah did so and asked Pradyumna Shah to meet him at Badhan Gadhi. Pradyumna Shah and his minister, Mohan Singh, accompanied by their troops, reached Badhan-Gadhi. Bam Shah too reached there from Kumaun. Harshadeva Joshi's son, Jaya Narayan Joshi, seems to have been imprisoned along with his Garhwali troops at Johar a few days earlier. Pradyumna Shah had no hand in sending them there, but they had proceeded to Johar through Garhwal and had tried to organize a

rebellion in support of Ram Bahadur Shah in Doti. However, Bam Shah suspected Pradyumna Shah's involvement in the affair because Jaya Narayan Jishi was accompanied by Garhwali troops, and also because Harshadeva Jishi had introduced himself to Cherry and other officials of the East India Company as Wakil of the King of Garhwal. Bam Shah angrily told Pradyumna Shah, "We had conquered your Kingdom in 1850 Samvat (A.D. 1793), but had retained you on the throne at our will. We will now defend our territory ourselves. There is no need why you should maintain an army. We shall drive them out. Go to Garh and enjoy life there.

Pradyumna Shah came to the conclusion that the Court of Nepal wanted to establish its authority over Garhwal. He was even afraid of his life. Accompanied by his minister, he, therefore, left Badhan-Gadhi for Srinagar secretly at midnight. He decided to leave Srinagar for some safe place before the Gorkhali army reached there. Next morning, the Garhwali troops were surprised to find that both the king and the minister had fled. Bam Shah told them: You did not fight in defense of the kingdom or for its expansion, but only obtained your salaries. Whatever may have happened in the past, we have now occupied your kingdom. If you want to save your lives, leave this place at once. Otherwise, you will have to repent. Your property will be plundered and you will be sentenced to death. Frightened at this, the Garhwali troops left Badhan-Gadhi for Langur.

Before Pradyumna Shah reached Srinagar, Parakrama Shah had left for a meeting with Bam Shah through Salan. Probably near Dwarikhal he received information that Pradyumna Shah's troops had arrived there. He proceeded to Langur, and there won over the troops to his side by giving them some money. It seems that the Rohilla, Pathan, and other mercenaries did not hesitate to betray their master for money.

At Srinagar Pradyumna Shah was told that Parakrama Shah had already left for Langur. He wanted to inform Parakrama Shah that the Gorkhalis were planning to occupy the kingdom of Garhwal, and to discuss their own plans for the future. Pradyumna Shah, therefore, sent Ramapati Khandudi to Parakrama Shah requesting him to come to Srinagar after disbanding his troops. Ramapati Khandudi reached the village of Ramdi Phalinda near Langur where Parakrama Shah was staying. Both Ramapati Khandudi and Dharanidhar Khandudi were supporters of the King, Pradyumna Shah. Sudarshan Shah had been able to prevent Parakrama Shah from occupying the Kingdom of Garhwal as a result of Ramapati Khandudi's active cooperation. Parakrama Shah and Rampati Khandudi were, therefore, not on good terms with each other. Rampati Khandudi spent the night in the company of a prostitute, and was assassinated there by Parakrama Shah's men. The prostitute went to Parakrama Shah to save her own life. Parakrama Shah was very pleased to see her and began to caress her. He then advanced toward Srinagar along with his troops. He wanted to assassinate Dharanidhar Khandudi also. The latter's influence in the Court of King Pradyumna Shah had grown when in A.D. 1792 he had succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the King of Nepal and securing freedom of the enslaved inhabitants of Salan. Parakrama Shah, and his supporters, including Shishram, Shivaram, and Dhaukalananda were, therefore;

jealous of Dharanidhar Khandudi and were conspiring to have him assassinated. Even before reaching Srinagar, Parakrama Shah had this done through Dhaukalananda. It is said that Dhaukalananda told Dharanidhar Khandudi that Pradyumna Shah had summoned him. Dharanidhar Khandudi immediately accompanied him unarmed. Dhaukalanand suddenly attacked him with a sword at a place called Shitala-Ki-Reti on the banks of the Alakananda river, and beheaded him.

(To be continued.)

(Source: Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan", Uttarakhanda Ka Rajanaitika Tatha Samskritika Itihasa, Part V: Kumaun, Garhwal, Aur Himachale Par Gorkhali Shasana, Samvat 1847-1872 (A.D. 1790-1815), Dogadha, Garhwal: Vir-Gatha Prakashan, 2030 (A.D. 1973), pp. 107-117.

* * * * *

Hastadal Shahi

Hastadal Shahi was an illegitimate son of Birabahu Shah, and grandson of Chandrarup Shah. The latter was a grand-uncle of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. Bam Shah and Rudravir Shah, who occupied prominent position in district administration during the last years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century, were Hastadal Shahi's older and younger brothers respectively.

(Perceval Landon, Nepal,
("Genealogical Table of the Reigning (Shah) Family of Nepal,"
at the end of Perceval Landon's Nepal, Vol. 2).

HastadalShahi was appointed chief administrator of Garhwal on Shrawan Badi 8, 1867. References are as follows :-

1. "Royal Order Regarding Appointment of Hastadal Shahi as Amanat Administrator of Garhwal", Shrawan Badi 7, 1867. Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 288-89.
2. "Royal Order to Sardar Chandrabir Kanwar And Others Regarding Appointment of Hastadal Shahi as Administrator of Garhwal", Shrawan Badi 7, 1867, Ibid, pp. 280-81.
3. "do. to Mahant Hari Sevak and others," do, Ibid, p. 280.
4. "Regulations for Tarai Areas of Garhwal in the Name of Subba Hastadal Shahi," Shrawan Badi 7, 1867, Ibid, pp. 281-88.
5. "Royal order to Subba Hastadal Shahi Regarding Confiscation of Jagir and Manachamal Lands in Doon", Shrawan Badi 8, 1867, Ibid, p. 290.

6. "Royal Order to Subba Hastadal Shahi Regarding Settlement of Grievances of Inhabitants of Bheri-Doon Region", Shrawan Badi 10, 1867, Ibid, pp. 291-92.

(Abstract translations of these documents will be included in the next issue of the Regmi Research Series).

Abstract translations of three other royal orders concerning Subba Hastadal Shahi are given below :-

I

Royal order to Hastadal Shahi: "In the Vikrama year 1862 (A.D. 1805), Pūran Shahi had surveyed lands in the Tarai, hill, and Himalayan regions of Doti, and made assignments to different companies. Now the inhabitants of Doti are coming to us with complaints.

"You are, therefore, ordered to go to Doti, and ascertain their grievances in consultation with the local Amali. Make assignments according to the prescribed schedules to the companies. If there has been any loss of revenue as a result of the settlement of 1862 Samvat, prepare accurate particulars of such loss, submit them to us, and take action as ordered.

"Also report what amount is assessed during the first year after virgin lands (Kalabanjar) are brought under cultivation, and how much the amount is increased in subsequent years, and submit recommendations for a new schedule. We shall affix the royal seal thereon."

Thursday, Shrawan Badi 10, 1867 (July 1810)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 303-4.

II

The same day, the Subedar and other officers and men of the Mlechha Kalanala Company were informed that the Company had been placed under the command of Subba Hastadal Shahi.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 309.

III

Royal order to Hastadal Shahi: "You had drawn a sum of Rs. 4,200 from Achal Thapa against a remittance order (hundi) issued by Hari Krishna Das, and debited the sum from the payment due from Sarup Pari against revenues collected in Vijayapur during the year 1862 Samvat. Achal Thapa has complained that the money has not been refunded to him. Meanwhile, Sarup Pari died. When the claim was transferred to his disciple, Ganga Pari, it appeared

that Pratap Puri had furnished surety. Both Ganga Puri and Pratap Puri have absconded. You are, therefore, liable to repay the sum of Rs. 4,200, along with interest amounting to Rs. 2,600, thus making a total amount of patna Rs. 6,800. You are ordered to sell the following lands and houses of Ganga Puri and Pratap Puri and repay the amount due to Achal Thapa. If Ganga Puri and Pratap Puri later disclaim liability for the amount, you must produce necessary documents to prove that the amount had been debitted from payments due (from Sarup Puri). If you cannot do so, you must release the property of the Gosains. If, however, you are able to make them acknowledge the liability, the property shall be confirmed in your name. However, you must restore it when the Gosains offer payment of Patna Rs. 6,800.

Particulars

Lands and Houses of Sarup Puri

- (a) One house at Balkhu-Tol in Kathmandu.
- (b) 40 muris of rice-lands in Bakhundol (Kathmandu) and Bhedgaan.

Lands and Houses of Pratap Puri

- (a) One house at Kel Tol in Kathmandu town, currently occupied by Balabhadra Padhya.
- (b) One house at Mangal Tol in Patan.
- (c) 173 muris of rice lands at Kupandol, Imadol, Jawalokhel, Manohara, Bhaimal and other places in Patan.
- (d) 120 muris of rice-lands at different places in Bisankhu.
- (4) One homestead (dihi) at Sisneri.

Joint Property

One house at Ikhachhe-Tole in Patan jointly owned by Sarup Puri and Pratap Puri.

Monday, Shrawan Sudi 6, 1867
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 310-12.

The Royal Family of Jumla

I

Royal order to the Subba of Pyuthan: "Allot lands for cultivation to Nara Narayan Shahi, son of Raja Suryabhana Shahi of Jumla and his relatives, and also construct houses for them in the Kot area. We hereby sanction a sum of one rupee daily as

maintenance allowance (pot-kharcha) for the Queen (Rani) and the Prince (Saheb). Pay eight annas a day to the Raja of Jumla from the time he came to Pyuthan from Jajarkot. These payments shall be debitted from accounts of revenues collected in Pyuthan."

Tuesday, Jestha Badi 11, 1850 (May 1793)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 50.

II

Royal order to kaji, Sardar, kapardar, Subba, Subedar, and the entire 52 lakh people belonging to the 36 castes: "In the Vikrama year 1849 (A.D. 1792), Sobhan Shahi entered into Jumla and started a rebellion there. The inhabitants of Jumla then rebelled against Ranajit Kanwar. Their families were, consequently, enslaved. Since we have not granted authority over them to any one, return all persons who have been enslaved in this manner, irrespective of whether you have brought them to your homes, or sold them to others. Any person who does not return such enslaved persons shall be deemed to have committed an offense."

Tuesday, Jestha Badi 11, 1850 (May 1793).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, pp. 50-51.

Five Documents on The Military Jagir System

The following Jagir land assignments were made on Bhadra Sudi 7, 1850 (August 1793):-

I

Ramdhvaj Shahi and Haribhakta Shahi of Narja (in Nuwakot), sons of Gajendra Shahi, and grandsons of Rama Chandra Shahi, were granted 16 khets of rice-lands, previously held by Manadhar Khawas, long with the appropriate Amali perquisites under Jagir tenure. In consideration of that grant, they were placed under the obligation of equipping 10 men with khunda swords, 2 men with muskets, and 8 men with bows and arrows.

II

Nahar Gurung Dhungyal of Gorkha, son of Sri Krishna Gurung, and grandson of Bali Gurung, was granted 14 khets of rice-lands in Balewa thum, previously held by Puran Shahi along with the appropriate Amali perquisites, under Jagir tenure. He was required to equip 11 men with khundas, and the same number with bows and arrows.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 21.

III

Biru Gurung Lamichhane of Gorkha, son of Karung Gurung and grandson of Baran Gurung, was granted 14 khets of rice-lands in Balewa thum as Jagir in the capacity of Amali. He was required to equip 11 men with khundas and an equal number with bows and arrows. The Jagir was previously held by Puran Shahi.

IV

Ambar Lama of Dagsing, son of Dalapati Lama, and grandson of Pihuwar Lama, was granted 12 khets of rice lands in Balewa thum as Jagir in the capacity of Amali. He was required to equip 9 men with khundas and an equal number with bows and arrows. The Jagir was previously held by Puran Shai.

V

Chasnu Basnyat khaptari of Chobhar, son of Khadga Singh Basnyat, and grandson of Jekhu Basnyat, was granted 6 khets of rice-lands, along with the appropriate Amali perquisites as Jagir, in the thum of Harmi. He was required to equip 5 men with khundas, and an equal number with bows and arrows. The Jagir was previously held by Vikram Rana.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, pp. 20-22.

Revenue Settlement in Dang, A.D. 1838

Royal order to Chaudharis, Guruwas, Mukhiyas, and ryots of raikar, bandha, birta, and guthi lands in Dang:

"In the Vikrama year 1866 (A.D. 1809), a settlement had been made in Dang under the royal seal through Subba Rudravira Shahi. You have now complained that ijaradars have violated the terms and conditions stipulated in the settlement.

"Accordingly, we hereby promulgate the following regulations:-

1. Pota tax assessed on each plow-teams (Hal) shall be paid through the Jimmawal.
2. Expiation (Samriti Prayaschitta) for offenses committed by any member of the Tharu Community shall be performed in the traditional manner.
3. In the case of Panchakhat crimes, including incest (had-phora, dudh-phora), infanticide, and physical injury to any person ~~through~~ the use of a weapon, fines shall be collected at the following rates :-

(a) Chaudhari household:

Man	...	Rs. 14
Woman	...	Rs. 11

(b) Mahato household:

Man	...	Rs. 10
Woman	...	Rs. 10

(c) Peasant (Kisan) household:

Man	...	Rs. 7½
Woman	...	Rs. 7½

(d) Mudihatka (slave) household:

Man	...	Rs. 6
Woman	...	Rs. 6

(e) Plowhand (haruwa) household:

Man	...	Rs. 5
Woman	...	Rs. 5

The fee payable to dhunga, as well as the ten percent fee (dasaundh) shall be shared equally by the Jimmawal and the Mahto of each mouja.

4. In cases other than Panchakhat, including judicial fines and penalties (danda-kunda), adultery (chak-chakui), and escheats (aputali), fines shall be collected at the following rates. The proceeds shall be included in the revenue stipulated (thek) for each mouja. The surplus or shortfall, as the case may be, shall be apportioned equally among the inhabitants of the mouja according to the number of plow-teams (Hal) owned by each.

(a) Chaudhari household:

Man	...	Rs. 11
Woman	...	Rs. 9

(b) Mahoto household:

Man	...	Rs. 7½
Woman	...	Rs. 7½

(c) Kisan household:

Man	...	Rs. 6
Woman	...	Rs. 6

(d) Mudihatka household:

Man	...	Rs. 5
Woman	...	Rs. 5

(e) Haruwa household:

Man	...	Rs. 4½
Woman	...	Rs. 4½

5. Income from fines and penalties collected from plow-hands who have been purchased with money shall belong to the peasant (kisan), except in the case of Panchkhat crimes.
6. Income from fines and penalties, chak-chakui fines, and escheats, collected from the inhabitants of bandha, birta, and guthi moujas, shall belong to the owner of the village.
7. In the event of partition among brothers of Chaudharis, Guruwas, Mahtos, and ryots, property shall be divided equally among all brothers in the presence of Panchas. Fees shall be collected at the following rates :-

Rates of Fees to be appropriated by Chaudharis, Panchas, and Mahtos during subdivision of property among the brothers of a Tharu family :-

(a) Chaudhari:

- One buffalo.
- One bullock.
- One buffalo-calf.

(b) Mahto:

- One calf (male or female).

(c) Puruwa:

One plow-team from each household, in Jagir moujas as bethi in the month of Ashadh.

One laborer from each household in Jagir moujas as bethi in the month of Margashirsha.

10 annas on each banauti (?) mouja.

2 annas on each kesofa (?) mouja.

Each household shall supply khar grass and construct the roof of the Guruwa's house.

(d) Panchas:

- One cow, bullock, or buffalo.
- Exemption on plow-teams owned (by the Pancha) in non-theek moujas.
- One bullock during partition in a Tharu family.
- Any amount that may be paid voluntarily by cotton growers.

8. Ryots of each of the four pargannas of Dang shall supply oil to Salyan Kot and the Hattisar (Elephant Depot) at the rate of 4 dharms a rupee. In case the Amali needs oil, he shall purchase it at the current rate without using force.

- Goats, sheep, and lambs shall also be supplied at the prescribed rates.

Particulars of Materials to be Supplied

(a) For Salvan-kot

Oil ... Rs. 65

(b) For the Hattisar

Goat ... 10 annas each.

Lamb ... 8 annas each.

Sheep ... 12 annas each.

Oil ... Rs. 20.

10. During elephant-hunting expeditions, each household of each parganna shall supply one man. Half of the men shall provide Jhara labor, while the other half, shall transport supplies. No person shall be burdened with dual obligations.
11. Free porterage services shall be provided only for the transportation of military supplies, sick persons, and elephant-chains. Such services shall not be made available to any civil or military employee or functionary. In case any person forcibly exacts porterage services, the goods shall be auctioned.

Persons living in raikar, bandha, birta, or guthi lands shall observe the provisions of the 1806 Samvat settlement with full assurance. Any amali or owner of raikar, bandha, birta, or guthi lands who acts in contravention of these regulations, shall be severely punished.

Thursday, Magh Sudi 5, 1894 (January 1898)
Regal Research Collection, Vol. 38, pp. 31-36

Currency Regulations, A.D. 1826

The following regulations were promulgated under the royal seal on Friday, Magh Badi 4, 1882 (January 1826) for enforcement throughout the kingdom :-

1. One Mohar rupee shall be treated as equivalent to 20 annas in dhyak-paisa coins, and 18 annas in small paisa coins.
2. Sarafis and merchants shall change paisa coins into Mohar rupees at the rate of 20% annas in dhyak-paisa coins, and 18% annas in small paisa coins, for each Mohar rupee.
3. In case any one does not change coins at these rates, a complaint may be filed at the Adalat. The offender shall be severely punished.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, p. 145.

Selected Documents of Ashadh 1874

License for Water-Operated Mill

On Tuesday, Ashadh Badi 4, 1874, Rajendra Newar, a resident of Tyaud Tol in Kathmandu, was granted permission to construct a water-operated mill (ghatta) on his birta rice-land in Ichdol with the water of the Manamati river. A salami fee of Rs 8 was collected in consideration of such permission through Hanumanta Singh. Rajendra Newar was also required to supply 15 pathis of wheat flour every year to the Dhansar.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, p. 8.

Exemption from Godan Levy

On Tuesday, Ashadh Badi 4, 1874, the Subba, Fouzdars, Kanugoyes, Chaudharis, officials sent to collect the godan levy, and those sent there to scrutinize accounts of revenue collections in the parganna of Mahottari were informed that the Godan levy had been remitted in the case of four moujas owned by the third royal consort (Sri Sahinli Bhitryani Bajrajju), namely, Hardi-Tegardh, Gorgama-Lakhwar, Made-Ugripotte, and Ratwar-Kokaila.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, p. 5

Supply of Peaches From Jumla

Royal order to Subba Rudravira Shahi: "We have received reports that peaches (aru) of the Chuniya and Kasiya varieties are available in large quantities in Jumla. Prepare 100 or 120 saplings in earthen pots and send them to us during the rainy season. Also send saplings of other excellent fruits."

Tuesday, Ashadh Badi 4, 1874

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, pp. 5-6.

Procurement of Khandi Cloth

Public notification in the Dudh Kosi- Arun region: "We have deputed Major Tulsi Ram Upadhya with a sum of Rs. 1,200 to purchase khandi cloth for the lining of military uniforms (kurthi) and for dyeing such cloth in the kharwa color. Make arrangements for the procurement of thick khandi cloth of full length and width and for dyeing it according to sample, and deliver it to the Major. Cloth procured in this manner shall be transported expeditiously through Hulak porters to the Dafdarkhana (headquarters) of the army (kampu). Those who do not obey this order shall be severely punished."

Tuesday, Ashadh Badi 4, 1874
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, pp. 7-8.

Hulak Services in Hetauda

Royal order to the Ditttha, Mijhars, and others in Hetauca: "We have received reports that you are demanding Hulak services from the Sairdar (customs collector) of that place for the transportation of goods transported through Hetauda. Such goods must be transported through the Jhara labor of the local inhabitants (Praja). Do not harass the Sairdar in this matter."

Tuesday, Ashadh Badi 4, 1874
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, pp. 8-9.

Land Grant to Carpenters in Banepa

On Wednesday, Ashadh Badi 5, 1874, thirty carpenters in Banepa, including the leader (naike), Math Singh, were granted a plot of 8 ropanis of newly-reclaimed land on the banks of the Afal-Khola. Income from the land was to be used for religious ceremonies at the temple of Sri Chandeshwari and holding a feast on the occasion of Chandi-Purnima (in the month of Baisakh).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, p.9.

Payment of Salaries

On Thursday, Ashadh Badi 6, 1874, Sardar Bakhat Simha Basnyat was ordered to pay the salaries of 15 peons (halkara) under the command of Jamadar Dhamabir from revenues collected in Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat on a recurring basis.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, p. 9.

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd

Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

Telephone: 4-11927

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Kipat Lands in Solu, Timal, and Tanahu

I

Royal order to the Mijars, Gerchas, and other villagers of Solu: "We hereby reconfirm your kinuwa-kipat lands, including pasture lands (kharka) at Jedu, Salleri and Beni, hillside lands (swarro), and wild bee-hives (mahabhir), which have been in your possession from the time of your forefathers. Lands belonging to emigrants shall not be sold or purchased, but shall be reallocated to others through consultations among the Amali and Mijhafs."

Monday, Chaitra Sudi 3, 1882 (March 1826)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, p. 40.

II

Royal order to the Amalis, Dwares, Tharis, Mukhiyas, Mijhars, Gaurungs and raitis of Timalkot, Shankhu, Rayalegaun, Eklyagaun, Saurdolgaun, Pasholigaun, Bhalayabotgaun, Kharibotgaun, Kabhregaun, Latigaun, Dapche, and Pangu.

"During the year 1862 Samvat, the Doko-kipat rice-lands of Prajas in the country were surveyed. However, the surveys were not accurate in your villages, so that these days some people own bigger holdings than others. There has been dissatisfaction with regard to taxes and other payments as well. You, therefore, submitted petitions to Kote-Dittha Sarup Bista, which have been referred to us.

"We have now deputed Kote Rama Chandra Jaisi and Jamadar Atirup Khatri to conduct investigations. Submit full particulars of your pakho, swarro, khet, and newly reclaimed lands when they reach your village. We shall then make appropriate arrangements. You shall be punished if you do not do so, obstruct the investigations, or suppress any information."

Sunday, Jestha Sadi 14, 1883 (May 1826)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, pp. 40-41.

III

Royal order to Dhanya Mijhar of Upallo-Pipaltar village in Dordor, Tanahu district: "Your kipat rice and pakho lands, which you had been using from former times subject to taxes and services (doko-boko, tiro-bharo) had been registered during the settlement (Janch) of 1866 Samvat conducted by Vishrama Khatri. Another settlement was conducted in 1883 Samvat by Tharghars Meghanath Pande and Madan Singh Rana. During that settlement, it was found that the area (used as kipat) did not tally with the figure

mentioned in the royal order of 1849 Samvat. The lands were then measured, the area mentioned in the 1849 Samvat order was reconfirmed, and the surplus area was confiscated. We hereby issue this royal order reconfirming your 60-muri khet holding, as well as the pakh lands occupied by you from former times, as kipat. Use these lands as kipat and provide the prescribed taxes and services."

Saturday, Marga 4, 1883 (November 19, 1826)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, p. 48.

Rice-land Allotment to Sirboli Rai

Rice lands totalling 142 muris in area, including the area registered in the course of the revenue settlement of 1901 Samvat, located in Majhuwa, Majhkirat, were allotted to Sirboli Rai through a royal order dated Monday, Aswin Sudi 2, 1904. (September 1847). The lands had been assigned as Jagir to Srinath kampu and Sri Rajdal kampu. The order stipulated a yearly kut-thek payment of Rs. 44 and 2 annas, inclusive of ghiukhané levy and payments for winter crops, as well as the chardam-theki levy and other customary payments. Other provisions of the allotment order were as follows :-

1. Provide loans within the limit of the value of the rent (bali), if asked by the landlord (talsing).
2. Repair irrigation channels whenever necessary through your own labor.
3. Build embankments (mach) on the rice-fields, apply manure, and sow crops.
4. Do not cut trees on the borders of rice-fields, or those along dams and irrigation channels, and sources of water.
5. Do not clear trees and bushes for bringing lands under cultivation (khoriya na Phednu).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 35, p. 328.

Mining Ijaras in Eastern Nepal

On Tuesday, Baisakh Sudi 5, 1867 (April 1818), Chautariya Shumshere Shah (son of Siva Shah and brother of Prana Shah and Pushkara Shah) was granted an ijara for the following three copper mines in the Palanchok area of the eastern hill region :-

1. Khapakhole - Khani
2. Lipungtar - Khani
3. Theksing - Khani

The ijara had stipulated the supply of 251 dharnis of pure (guth) copper during the year 1866 Samvat; the quantity was now increased to 295 dharnis, to be supplied to the Munitions Factory in Kathmandu in four installments, the first installment in advance, and the remaining three installments in the months of Aswin, Poush, and Chaitra.

The ijara entitled Chautariya Shumshere Shah to appropriate income from homestead taxes, chak-chekul fines, and other traditional sources in the areas covered by the mines. As regards escheats, he was entitled to appropriate a maximum amount in each case, and to transmit the excess to the royal palace. The document does not stipulate any term for the ijara.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 178.

II

The same day, Bhaju Narayan was granted an ijara for copper, lead, and iron mines in the Listi area (of Sindhupalchok) for one year beginning Baisakh Badi 1, 1867. The terms and conditions of the ijara were the same as those mentioned above. The ijara was previously held by Darba Singh. It stipulated the supply of the following quantities of metals to the Munitions Factory in Kathmandu as follows :-

<u>Metal</u>	<u>Advance Supply</u>	<u>In Dharnis</u>			<u>Total</u>
		<u>Kartik</u>	<u>Magh</u>	<u>Chaitra</u>	
Copper	100	84	84	83	351
Lead	0	0	171	0	171
Iron	60	60	60	60	240

The ijara also prescribed: "Do not oppress the inhabitants of the mining areas unjustly. Manufacture charcoal in areas where this has been done from former times. Maintain the purity of copper, lead, and iron."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 177-78.

Ghyanas and Gumbas

1. Tukuche

Royal order to the Jhimuryas of Tukuche-Gumba:

"Our father (i.e. king Girban) had issued a copper plate inscription declaring that nobody shall harass you so long as you observe traditional religious practices (dharma). We hereby reconfirm that order.

"Remain faithful to your traditional religious practices. Those Jhimuryas who have left the gumba and gone elsewhere shall come back after paying the stipulated fees through Chhaitumba. It has been customary to collect a payment of Rs. 25 in case any Jhimurya who has shaved her head but not entered into the gumba is guilty of sexual intercourse. Collect such payments accordingly. If necessary, report matters concerning the gumba to the Second Queen-Grandmother through Chhaitumba. You shall be severely punished if you leave the gumba at the instigation of any Thakali other than Chhaitumba."

Wednesday, Falgun Sudi 12, 1884.
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, p. 288.

2. Jharkot

Royal order to the Lama of Jharkot - Gumba:

"It has been the traditional practice in the Gumbas of Jharkot, Mugakot, and Kak-kot to observe their Chhuwam separately. Subsequently, Thituwa Bista reconfirmed that arrangement and signed a document concerning the Chhuwamahali of Prosi accordingly. We hereby reconfirm that customary arrangement under the royal seal. Observe the traditional practices, remain loyal to us, collect the customary fees and perquisites, and run the affairs of your gumba."

Friday, Falgun Sudi 4, 1883.
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, p. 466.

3. Palchok

Rinjin Gyalbu Lama, a resident of Lekharka in Palchok, submitted the following petition to Prime Minister Bir Shumshere:-

"From the time of our ancestors, we have been functioning as priests (prohit) and providing Jaimani services to the inhabitants of Namlang in the Lekharka area of Palchok. Major Captain Dhokal Singh Thapa Chhetri, to whom the Lekharka area has been assigned as khuwa (as part of his Jagir assignment), has issued an order granting us exemption from payments due on the lands occupied by us in the same manner as to other ghyangs. The landholders (Jimidar) of the village accordingly signed a document (rajinama) accepting this arrangement. We then built a ghyang in that village, installed an idol of Sri Gorakhanatha, performed religious ceremonies, and occupied our lands.

"For the Nangle-Ghyang in the Sankhu area also, an order has been issued granting exemption from payments on lands being customarily used in the same manner as in the case of the seven ghyangs of the Helambu area for performing the religious ceremonies of Sri Gorakhanatha."

Rinjin Gyalbu Lama prayed that these privileges be extended to his ghyang also.

The Commanding-General for the Southern Zone, Fattu Shumshere Jung Rana Bahadur, referred the petition to the East No. 1 Bakyaata Tahasil Adaa for inquiries.

The findings of the East No. 1 Bakyaata Tahasil Adaa were as follows: "Taxes have been fully remitted for all the twelve ghyangs of East No. 1, including the Helambu -Ghyang and the Wangle-Ghyang. Nineteen persons have signed a statement to the effect that they will raise no objection if similar exemption is granted to Rinjin Gyalbu Lama of Lekharka. In the year 1923 Samvat, Major Captain Dhokal Thapa Chhetri, the Jagirdar, signed a document granting full tax exemption to Rinjin Gyalbu Lama for the year 1924 Samvat.

"The petitioner has also submitted a copy of the royal order issued in the year 1879 Samvat in the name of Chhiring Dorje Lama of the Wangle-Ghyang in Sankhu. The order is as follows: "We hereby grant you full exemption from all taxes and compulsory labor obligations, as enjoyed by the seven ghyangs of Helambu and other gumbas, on land and villages under your customary possession, as well as for your descendents and disciples, from generation to generation, and reconfirm such lands and villages in your name. Perform the regular and ceremonial religious functions in the customary manner and bless us. No revenue collecting official or functionary shall harass you in any way."

The Sadar Dafdarkhana then recommended that similar privileges be granted to Rinjin Gyalbu Lama also, although it acknowledged at the same time that there was no law or regulation which sanctioned such privileges, so that the matter depended on the discretion of the government.

This recommendation of the Sadar Dafdarkhana was endorsed by the Muluki Adaa.

On Saturday, Falgun Badi 5, 1947 (February 1891) Prime Minister Bir Shumshere approved the recommendation and directed that an order (sanad) be issued granting the same privileges as to other ghyangs. An order was accordingly issued on Friday, Poush Badi 3, 1948 (December 1891) directing Guru Purohit Khajanchi Ghyaneswar Prasad Panditju to make available a blank lal Mohar form to Naib Subba Bhakta Bahadur Rajbhandari of the Sadar Dafdarkhana for issuing the order under the royal seal, and have his assistants write down the necessary particulars on that form inside the office itself.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 53, pp.

Tenancy in Jumla

Pale Katuwal, of Chilkhagaun village in Jumla, submitted the following petition to an official team which conducted a revenue settlement in Jumla in 1897 Samvat:-

"We Katuwals have been cultivating lands belonging to Benu Pandit and Gajdev Pandit in Chilkhagaun village of Jumla in the capacity of kuriya (tenants). These Pandits are now demanding the same payments and services that we had been providing before their lands were confiscated, in addition to Sirto tax on the lands occupied by us. If dual obligations are imposed on us in this manner, we will not be able to stay in the village."

The petition was discussed at a meeting (kachahari) of the settlement officers and bicharis. The local Thanis and Tharis gave assurances that they would settle the matter to the satisfaction of the Katuwals in consultation with the Amali and the officers of the army, in such a manner as to ensure that the prescribed taxes and other payments were made regularly. The settlement officers accordingly left the matter to be disposed of by the Thanis.

"The pandits, however, do not allow us to cultivate our lands. They even do not leave our daughters and daughters-in-law safe."

The following royal order was then issued in the names of the Amali, and the Subedar, Jamagar, and other officers of the (Chandan-Nath Battalion) in Jumla :-

"Summon both the Pandits and the Katuwals and discuss the case in the presence of the local Thanis, Tharis, and Jimmawals. Make arrangements to ensure that the Katuwals retain occupation of their lands and pay the Sirto taxes assessed on such lands through the Pandits. The Pandits shall not be allowed to impose personal obligations on the Katuwals. Settle the dispute to the satisfaction of the Katuwals on the same terms and conditions as those stipulated for the Kuriyas of other daras (in Jumla).

Sunday, Kartik Sudi 9, 1888 (October 1831)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, pp. 222-24.

Supply of Elephants, A.D. 1796

I

Daroga Dayaram Padhya, Damodar Jaisi, Ranamardan Khawas, Jasya Khawas, Mahadev Pachya, and Bandhu Khawas were ordered to hand over two bull elephants and two cow elephants to Dinanath Pachya. The animals were meant for gifts to British officials in Calcutta.

Aswin Sudi 14, 1853
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 23, p. 57.

II

Royal order to Amalidars, Subba, Umras, birtaowners, Chaukidars, Jagat-collectors, etc. in the region west of ... and east of Pyuthan: "Elephants are being brought here from Pyuthan. You are hereby ordered to provide them with fodder, water, and foodgrains in the area under your jurisdiction. Let there be no complaint in this regard."

Aswin Sudi 14, 1853
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 23, p. 57.

III

Royal order to Subba Ranjit Kanwar of ...

"We need one large tusked elephant and one old ... for our tours and hunting expeditions. Mahouts are being sent there through Darogas. Depute four men from there to escort the animals on the way and arrange for fodder and water."

Aswin Sudi 14, 1853
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 23, p. 57.

Doti and Achham, A.D. 1814

Shadra Sudi 9, 1871

Royal order to Neus, Rajawars, and other ryots throughout Doti: "We had ordered Vikrama Shahi to construct a fort there, but the work has been obstructed because you have defaulted in your Jhara obligations. Immediately on receiving this order, provide one Jhara laborer from each household, along with picks and hoes, and do the work allotted to you by Vikrama Shahi in the construction of the fort. He has been ordered to punish those who do not provide that labor."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 601.

Kartik Badi 9, 1871

Royal order to the Company, Dewans, and Mukhiyas of Thalahara: "We have deputed Subba Hastadal Shahi to take charge of Doti. All Dhakres in that area are hereby ordered to do the work allotted by him for our cause in fulfillment of their Jhara obligations."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 390.

A similar order was sent on the same date for Achham also. (Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 390).

Scrutiny of Sasim Land Grants in Eastern Tarai

Royal order to birta and guthi owners in Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi, Mahottari, and Morang: "You are hereby ordered to produce original evidence of royal orders (Syahamohar, Lalmohar) of Sasim grants (that is, grants mentioning only the boundaries and not the area). We shall reconfirm the grants after scrutinizing such evidence."

Jestha Badi 5, 1895 (May 1838)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 26, p. 274 and p. 280.

Gadimubarakh Levy in Badegaun (Lalitpur)

On Jestha Sudi 11, 1859 (May 1802), the Gadimubarakh levy was imposed as follows in the Badegaun area of Patan in connection with the coronation of King Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah.

1. Households of Newar, Sanyasi and Madhise traders:

(a)	Abal	...	Rs 9-11
(b)	Doyam	...	Rs 6-12½
(c)	Sim	...	Rs 4-13½
(d)	Chahar	...	Rs 2-14½

2. Households of shopkeepers:

(a)	Abal	...	R 1-15
(b)	Doyam	...	R 1-7¼
(c)	Sim	...	R 0-15½
(d)	Chahar	...	R 0-7¾

3. Households of:

(a)	Pradhan	...	Rs 3-14
(b)	Naike	...	R 1-15
(c)	Biset	...	R 1-7¼
(d)	Deswar	...	R 0-15½
(e)	kami -Naike	...	R 1-6¾
(f)	Dharmadhikar of Newar Community	...	Rs 6-0

- (g) Bosi-Naike ... R 0-15½
- (h) Mohi-Naike ... R 0-15½
- (i) Chhipi-Naike ... R 1-3½
- (j) D ngol-Naike ... R 1-7¼
4. Rice-Lands per khet (100 Muris):
- (a) Bitalab lands ... Rs 3-6¼
- (b) Talab lands ... Rs 2-2
- (c) Bandha lands ... Rs 2-6¾
- (d) Jagir lands ... R 1-7¼
5. On commercial taxes (Jagat) other than Bhainsi, Kirana, and Kapas:
3 paise per rupee.
6. Households of Salmi ... Rs 2-4
7. Dhakre households of Brahmans, Jogis, Sanyasis, Bhet, and Paunipat :-
- (a) Abal ... R 0-7¾
- (b) Doyam ... R 0-3¾
- (c) Sim ... R 0-1¾
8. Dhakre households of Soldiers, Newars, and Bhotas :-
- (a) Abal ... R 0-15½
- (b) Doyam ... R 0-7¾
9. One-sixth of the pota tax.
10. R 0-2½ per ropani of rice-lands under Chhap tenure.
11. Mijhar of Lohars and karmis ... Rs 2-4
12. Households of Sunars and Damais... Rs 3-0
13. do. of Dhobis ... Rs 3-0
14. do of Kumhals ... R 1-8
15. do. of hawkers (Foubanjar) ... R 0-8
16. do. of tailors (Sujikar) ... Rs 3-8

17.	do. of Chhipis	...	Rs	2-4
18.	do. of liquor merchants	...	Rs	2-8
19.	do. of Kushle Pradhan	...	Rs	2-8
20.	do. of Middlemen (<u>dalal</u>)	...	Rs	7-8
21.	do. of Tathe-Naike	...	R	1-15
22.	do. of Tol Mahane	...	R	1-0
23.	do. of Chitaidar of Gardens (<u>bari</u>) and Ponds (<u>Pokhari</u>)	...	R	1-8

Jestha Sudi 15, 1859

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, pp. 534-36.

The Rape of Garhwal

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabara "Charan"

(continued)

Pradyumna Shah was deeply grieved to know that both Ramapati Khandudi and Dharnidhar Khandudi had been assassinated, and that Parakrama Shah was approaching Srinagar along with his troops. He was also afraid that a man who could assassinate the loyal Brahman brothers could treat his King in the same manner. Pradyumna Shah, therefore, reported these matters to Bam Shah and appealed for help. According to Nepali sources, it was at this time that the Nepali envoy in Srinagar, Dalabir Rana, rebelled against his government. Maularam has made no reference to this event, but has only recorded that the Gorkhali troops sided with Sudarshan Shah in his struggle against Parakrama Shah. It is possible that these troops were the bodyguards of the Nepali envoy. King Pradyumna Shah had been making delay in the payment of the annual tribute to Nepal for some years past. Bam Shah reported the matter to his government. This provided a favorable opportunity to execute the plan to take over Garhwal in order to resolve the financial crisis facing the government of Nepal and also keep the army engaged.

A terrible earthquake occurred in Garhwal and Kumaun at about 1:30 A.M. on September 8, 1803. Tremors continued for a week. Garh was more seriously affected by the earthquake than Kumaun. Many buildings in Srinagar were severely damaged, including the royal palace. There was also considerable loss

of life and property. The general belief was that the calamity had occurred because of the assassination of the two innocent Brahmans, Ramapati Khandudi and Dharanidhar Khandudi.

On his return from Badhan-Gadhi, Pradyumna Shah decided to flee from the capital, Srinagar, before the Gorkhali troops reached there. Thinking that the Gurkhalis would occupy only the territories adjoining the Alakananda river, he planned to take refuge in Doon. Emperor Aurangzeb had granted the Doon valley and the parganna of Chandi to Pradyumna Shah's ancestors. Fouzdar Ummed Singh of Doon was Pradyumna Shah's son-in-law, and the Gujar ruler of Landhaur, Ram Dayal Singh, was his friend. Moreover, Pradyumna Shah had granted territories in Doon as Jagir to the Raos of Khedi, Sakharanda, and Raipur. Miyan Dulel Singh of Prithivipur, Surajan Singh of Dhalanwela, and several other influential persons of the Doon Valley were specially devoted to Pradyumna Shah. He may have believed that he would be able to stem the Gorkhali advance with the help of these persons. Pradyumna Shah, therefore, collected important documents from the state archives, which included firmans issued by the Mughal Emperor, with which he could substantiate his claim over the Doon valley, the parganna of Chandi, and the Kingdom of Garh. It is possible that he sent away the royal throne, ornaments of the Badrinath temple which he had obtained on loan, and other valuable objects through his brother, Pritam Shah, his sons Sudarshan Shah and Devi Simha, and other trusted persons to the Doon valley by way of Kanihat across the Alakananda river. It may be noted that there were royal palaces at Nawaga and Dehra also.

Meanwhile, Parakrama Shah and Pradyumna Shah remained in Srinagar. Harikrishna Ratudi, in his work Garhwal Ka Itihasa (Hindi), writes that Parakrama Shah's wife had left for Handur a few months previously to join her brother, Ram Sharan Das, while Pritam Shah was not yet married. However, Harikrishna Ratudi has wrongly reported that Pradyumna Shah's wife had already died. His Chief Queen, Mandaraliji, who was also known as Kumauni Rani, was the mother of Sudarshan Shah. She remained alive for several years after his coronation. Sudarshan Shah had built a separate house for her near his palace in the capital, Tehri. The house was long known as "Mandaraliji-ka-Kotha." The Bichitra Shah Library in Tehri is in possession of a document which contains the names of people with whom Sudarshan Shah used to correspond. The list mentions "Bandaraliji", instead of "Mandaraliji". Pradyumna Shah had two other queens besides Mandaraliji. One of them was the daughter of Ajab Singh Guleriya, while the other was the sister of Kamal Miyan. They must have accompanied Mandaraliji had they been alive at that time. There must also have been some slaves of both sexes.

Sudarshan Shah was seventeen or eighteen years old at that time. He was brave, ambitious, and sagacious. In contrast, Devi Singh whom Harikrishna Ratudi has described as Pradyumna Shah's illegitimate son, and Miyan Prem Singh (Guldast - Tabarikh Kot Tihri-Garhwal), as his son born of a slave girl, was a peace-loving person. The

two brothers were of about the same age. Devi Simha and Pritam Shah do not seem to have played an active part in the conflict between Parakrama Shah and Sudarshan Shah. But Devi Simha proved a sincere and trusted well-wisher of Sudarshan Shah during his life in exile.

In those days, the ladies of high-class families travelled in palanquins. Accordingly, dozens of porters and soldiers must have accompanied the ladies of the royal family. Pradyumna Shah had raised about Rs. 150,000 by mortgaging the ornaments of the Badrinath temple, and an additional Rs. 50,000 by selling some of them. He is not likely to have paid the full price for those valuable objects in view of his misfortunes. Because gold was cheap at that time, the total weight of those objects must have been five or six maunds, and dozens of armed men must have accompanied the royal family for transportation and safety.

No information is available about the top-ranking persons and officials who accompanied the royal family during the flight. On kartik Sudi 15, 1865 (November 1808), Sudarshan Shah issued a document in the name of his cook, Hiramani, which shows that none of those persons whom Pradyumna Shah had favored with tax-free land grants and official posts stood by him at his hour of misfortune. The Gorkhali troops had not yet reached Srinagar by the time when Pradyumna Shah fled. Pradyumna Shah was in control of the state and it is likely that the intended flight was known to many people. It is, therefore, possible that some top-ranking persons and officials had accompanied him, and had dispersed after he was defeated in the battle of Badahat, or after he was killed in the battle of Khadbuda. Hiramani, the cook, had accompanied the royal family, as also Kishen Singh, Pradyumna Shah's favorite attendant. There may have been some others too in the royal party, but nothing is known about them.

It is likely that the royal party reached the Doon Valley from Ranihat through the Maletha-Takoli-Diul-Tiri route. At Tiri or Tipri, there was a suspension bridge on the Bhagerathi river. The route then passed through Chamuwakhal and Saklana, before crossing the Song river at Asthal, where the famous fort of Nalapani was located. The route then continued in the direction of Nawada and Dehara. The headquarters of the Doon valley was previously located at Nawada, but was later shifted to Dehra. It was, therefore, impossible for the royal fugitives to take shelter at either place. According to Miyan Prem Singh, they finally stayed at Nalagadhi (Nalapani), about six miles east of Dehra. The fort of Nalapani was situated in the midst of a dense forest. The royal fugitives would be able to stay there only with adequate arrangements. It is possible that they stayed there only for a few days.

The Kingdom of Garh had been ravaged by famine, civil war, and earthquakes. The Court of Nepal considered this a favorable opportunity to occupy that Kingdom. Gorkhali troops reached Srinagar about three weeks after the earthquakes (September 8, 1803). Nepal wanted to conquer the entire mountain region up to Kashmir. Amara Simha Thapa had been appointed as the Gorkhali Commander on the western front. He had under his command about 3,000 regular troops, and an equal number of irregular troops. Chautariya Hastidal was appointed as his deputy, and Kaji Ranadhir Simha Basnyat as assistant.

The Gorkhali troops advanced toward Srinagar from three directions. The first unit advanced from the east, possibly through the Chandpur route, and the second unit, which was led by Bhaktibir Thapa and Chandrabir Kunwar, through the Langurgarh route. The third unit had proceeded to Johar to suppress Jaya Narayan Joshi and his Garhwali troops, and had by that time occupied the Himalayan territories of Kumaun. It reached the valley of the Pindar river through Danpur and finally marched to Srinagar.

When the Gorkhali troops reached Srinagar, Pradyumna Shah held consultations with his ministers and courtiers. Parakrama Shah too came to his senses and joined the king. His troops lacked the courage to face the Gorkhalis. Amara Simha Thapa sent a letter from the Nepal Court to Pradyumna Shah, who then fled across the Alakananda river along with Parakrama Shah and joined their families in the Doon Valley.

The inhabitants of Chandpur, Lohwa, and Salan were already well-acquainted with the cruelty of the Gorkhalis. Stories of their oppression were widespread. The Gorkhalis unleashed a reign of terror immediately after they reached the capital. People in the northern areas fled to the forests along with their cattle, while the people of Salan fled to the plains. Extensive areas were rendered desolate, for no one remained to cultivate the land and protect the crops.

The Gorkhalis, when they learnt that both Pradyumna Shah and Parakrama Shah had escaped, probably sent search parties toward Rishikesh through Devaprayag, as well as to the Bhagirathi Valley through Ranihat. The Gorkhali troops spread all over the Kingdom in search of the fugitives. The Garhwali supporters of Pradyumna Shah tried to check the Gorkhali advance at Badahat, but their efforts were of no avail before the well-trained Gorkhali troops. The Gorkhalis reached the Doon Valley in a few days, leaving a trail of plunder, devastation, and rape behind them. Finding himself unsafe at Nalagarhi (Nalapani), Pradyumna Shah decided to take refuge in the territories of the East India Company. In Aswin 1860 (October 1803), the Gorkhalis occupied the Doon Valley. A few days before Amara Simha Thapa occupied Dehra, Colonel Burn of the East India Company's forces had occupied Saharanpur.

When the Gorkhali troops reached Dehra, Pradyumna Shah left for Saharanpur through Khedi-Ghat (now Mohan-Ghata), along with his family. One of his ancestors, Lalit Shah, had given two villages in the Doon Valley as jagir to the Rao of Khedi. The Gorkhalis had occupied these villages also, so the Rao naturally felt sympathy for Pradyumna Shah.

In those days, the foothills of the Siwalik range from the Yamuna to the Kali river were inhabited by two Muslim fighting communities known as Hedi and Mewati. They used to offer their mercenary services to any one who could afford them. Pradyumna Shah began negotiations with the Hedi chiefs, but the Hedis stole everything they could lay their hands on at the royal camp. They even began to kidnap Garhwali boys and girls, as well as prostitutes, for sale in the plains. All this left Pradyumna Shah, Sudarshan Shah, and Parakrama Shah helpless.

Pradyumna Shah, accompanied by his family then took refuge with his priest (panda), Kuparama. According to Harikrishna Ratudi, he had done so at Jwalapur. Miyan Prem Singh, on the other hand, gives the name of that place as Kanakhal. The royal priests of Tehri, who now reside at Hardwar, originally did so at Kanakhal. It is possible that they later built a house at Jwalapur. In 1803, Hardwar was a small settlement. Even by 1808, it had not developed much. In fact, it was only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs long along a 15 feet wide street. After it was occupied by the East India Company, Henry Wellesley built the bridge at a distance of about three miles. He also built an inn for traders who visited Hardwar during festivals, as well as some other buildings. However, security arrangements were not made. A Gorkhali checkpost was located near the ghat on the road from Hari-Ki-Pairi. Pradyumna Shah, therefore, could not remain safe in Hardwar.

Jwalapur, which was also known as Dhogpur, was a small village inhabited by cattle-farmers. It was neither convenient nor safe for the royal fugitives to take refuge at such a place.

In those days, Kanakhal was a prosperous town, with ghats made of slabs of stone. The main road of the town was very beautiful and proceeded parallel to the river from north to south. Affluent Brahmans and merchants had built palatial houses on both sides of that road, as well as elsewhere in the town. The residents of Kanakhal were regarded as important and influential. Most of the houses were made of brick and lime. Their front was decorated with portraits of different people, including English men. Some of those houses are still in existence at Kanakhal. Between 1803 and 1808, Dilbeli Singh, a Saraf of Nazibabad, Raja Hira Singh Gujar, and many Gosains built durable and beautiful houses at Kanakhal with bricks and stone slabs. In 1803, Hardwar, Kanakhal, and Jwalapur were all under the control of the East India Company. Kanakhal was thus a very appropriate place of refuge for the royal fugitives. So Miyan Prem Singh's version appears to be correct.

In subsequent years, Jwalapur too expanded, and some time before 1815 Sudarshan Shah began to live there. When he returned from Delhi in 1815, his family was living in Jwalapur, but they used to live at Kanakhal until 1814. It was in that year that Harsey, William Fraser, Burton, Ross, and Alexander had met him. However, the author has not been able to identify the buildings that the royal fugitives occupied in Jwalapur and Kanakhal.

According to Miyan Prem Singh, the priest (panda) with whom Pradyumna Shah took refuge at Kanakhal was called Kriparama. However, inquiries at Kanakhal, Jwalapur, and Hardwar revealed that he was actually called Sardar Mayaram, because he was the Chief (Sardar) of the local pandas. Avinash Kumar, a descendant of Sardar Mayaram, told the author that when Sudarshan Shah received the state of Tehri, he made a grant of 1500 bighas of land to Sardar Mayaram at Khara and Pradipnagar. The Khara lands have been acquired by the Forest Department, but the Pradipnagar lands are still in the possession of Sardar Mayaram's descendants, who are still priests of the Tehri royal family. Kriparam and Mayaram refer to the same person, or are father and son, or brothers.

(To be Continued)

After occupying the Doon Valley so easily, Amara Simha Thapa started making arrangements for strengthening its defense and administration. Ummeo Singh was previously Fouzdar of the Doon Valley. Some time before the Gorkhali conquest, he was planning to go over to the king of Sirmur. It is not known what he did after the Gorkhali conquest of the Doon Valley. The Valley was situated at a long distance from Srinagar. Many influential people in the Doon Valley supported Pradyumna Shah. They included Mahant Harasevak, Khedi and Raxhel, where Pradyumna Shah took refuge, were not very far from the Doon Valley. For that reason, Amara Simha Thapa made arrangements for defending all the three main routes of the Doon Valley, namely, Timli, Khedi (Mohan), and Kansro. After spending a few months in the Doon Valley, he returned to Srinagar in 1861 Vikrama (April 1804).

It was easy for the patriotic people of Garh to flee to the forests or the plains with their cattle and few possessions to escape the Gorkhali terror. But the position of government officials, who owned much property in the capital, was different. They had all been distressed by the conflict between Pradyumna Shah and Parakrama Shah and the factionalism it had brought in its wake. There was no hope that their fugitive king would ever regain his kingdom.

(To be Continued).

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd

Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

Telephone: 4-11927

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Appointment of Basanta Bagati as Subba of Dailekh

Royal order to Basanta Bagati: "You had been appointed Subba of Dailekh by the Chautara and Sardars. We hereby confirm that appointment. Take proper care of forts and other installations (Gadhi, gaunda) and make necessary arrangements for the administration of that region in consultation with the bhardars stationed in Kumaun, in such a manner that our interests are served and you get credit."

Shrawan Sudi 15, 1854. (July 1797).
Regmi Research Collection Vol. 25, p. 544.

A Kipat Grant By King Prithvi Narayan Shah

Royal order to the villages of Nagarkot, Nuwagaun, Nayagaun, and Gahirigaun.

"During the conquest of Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley), our great grand father (i.e. King Prithvi Narayan Shah) had granted khet and pakho lands to you as kipat. We hereby reconfirm that grant. These four villages shall appropriate what has been customary, and use the lands as kipat subject to doko-boko services and payments."

Saturday, Poush Sudi 4, 1857 (December 1800)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 19, p. 25.

Gorkha During the Licchavi Period

By

Dinesh Raj Pant

(Dinesh Raj Pant, Gorakhako Itihasa (A History of Gorkha), Kathmandu: the author, 2041 (1985), Vol. 1, pp. 3-10).

The Licchavi period is of great importance in the history of Nepal. There are many reasons for such importance. One main reason is that Nepal's authentic history begins from the Licchavi period.

King Manadeva's place in the history of the Licchavi period is of great importance. So far, about 200 inscriptions of the Licchavi period have been found, the earliest being the changu inscription of King Manadeva. Manadeva thus installed the earliest inscription found so far in the history of the Licchavi period. It was in the Vikrama year 1937 that publication of Licchavi inscriptions started for the first time. In that year, Bhagawanlal Indraji published 15 inscriptions of the Licchavi period. During

the subsequent 102 years, (that is, until 2039 Vikrama), about 200 Licchavi inscriptions have been found. Even then, it is interesting and surprising that the Changu inscription of Manadeva remains the earliest Licchavi inscription. It bears the date Jestha 386 Samvat (522 Vikrama). Since this inscription indirectly concerns Gorkha also, which is the main subject of our study, we shall say a few words on it.

When king Dharmadeva died suddenly, his son, Manadeva, ascended the throne. He was quite young when he became king, so feudal chiefs (Samanta) in the east and the west did not obey his orders. Manadeva, who was skilled in the science of arms, could not tolerate such behavior. He planned to suppress those feudal chiefs with the help of his maternal uncle. Those in the east were easily suppressed, but the feudal chief of the western areas across the Gandaki river proved more obdurate. Manadeva, therefore, crossed the river with his troops, horses, and elephants, defeated the feudal chief of Mallapuri, and returned to the capital.

In his inscription, Manadeva has used the plural number for the feudal chiefs of the east. This means that there were more than two chiefs in that area. On the other hand, the inscription refers to only one feudal chief in the west. This shows that Manadeva's father, Dharmadeva directly ruled over the territories extending to the Gandaki river, and that the territories on the other side of the river were under the jurisdiction of a feudal chief.

This shows that the Gorkha region, which is situated on the eastern side of the Gandaki river, was one of the territories that was ruled directly from the capital. Thus there is an indirect connection between Gorkha and the earliest inscription of the Licchavi period.

Manadeva thus succeeded in suppressing the rebellion which had started immediately after he ascended the throne. He ruled for more than 41 years without any challenge to his authority. He was succeeded by his son, Mahideva, who ruled for about a year. He was succeeded by his son, Vasantadeva, who was a minor. Vasantadeva was, therefore, unable to rule with a firm hand. It was from his time that the tradition of bhardars playing a prominent part in the administration started. The tradition continued throughout Vasantadeva's long reign, as well as that of his successor. Vasantadeva was succeeded by Manudeva, Vamanadeva, Ramadeva, and Ganadeva, in that order. During Ganadeva's reign, Bhaumagupta became more influential than the other bhardars. We are not in a position to say whether or not Manudeva, and the other kings who succeeded Vasantadeva were his descendants. The Licchavi dynasty proceeded from father to son during the reigns of Vrishadeva, Shankaradeva, Dharmadeva, Manadeva, Mahideva, and Vasantadeva, but no authoritative evidence is available to show what happened thereafter. Bhaumagupta's influence started during the reign of king Ganadeva and remained unchanged during the reign of king Gangadeva as well. Bhaumagupta, who is mentioned in

King Shivadeva's first inscription, was removed through the joint efforts of Shivadeva and Amshuvarma. The latter then occupied his place. Amshuvarma gradually strengthened his position, and, after Shivadeva, became the supreme ruler. He started a new era, a knowledge of which is essential for understanding the history of Gorkha.

After Amshuvarma, Udayadeva of the Licchavi dynasty, whom he had designated as Yuvaraja, became king. Udayadeva, however, did not reign long, and was succeeded by Dhruvadeva. Like the Licchavi kings who reigned before Amshuvarma's time, Dhruvadeva came under the influence of a bhardar, Jishnugupta. Dhruvadeva was succeeded by Bhimarjunadeva. Like Dhruvadeva, Bhimarjunadeva remained under the influence of Jishnugupta, and his son, Vishnugupta.

Narendradeva then became king after removing both Bhimarjunadeva and Vishnugupta. He was succeeded by his son, Shivadeva II, who in turn was succeeded by his son, Jayadeva II. All these three kings actually wielded supreme power. Among Narendradeva, Shivadeva II, and Jayadeva II, the last two are intimately connected with Gorkha. We have therefore to say something in this regard.

The last available inscription of king Narendradeva, found at the Pashupati Vajraghar, is dated Jestha 103 Samvat. It does not identify the era. Different scholars have expressed different opinions about the era introduced during the time of Amshuvarma. According to the Sumatitantra, a work on astrology compiled in the valley of Nepal between 633 and 936 Vikrama, the era.*/It has already been proved that the era used during the Licchavi period had Kartik as the first month of the year. The inscription thus belongs to 737 Vikrama, for $103+633 = 736$, and 1 must be added because the month is Jestha. This shows that Narendradeva was reigning until Jestha 737 Vikrama. The inscription refers to Shivadeva as dutaka.

The Lagantol (Nala) inscription of Jestha 118 Samvat (752 Vikrama) mentions the name of king Shivadeva. It was installed by Dhruvashila and his brother, Anangashila, of Nala village. The inscription shows that Shivadeva II had already become king at some time between 737 and 752 Vikrama.

Shivadeva II had thus already ascended the throne by 752 Vikrama. An inscription installed by him four years later, that is, in 122 Samvat, has been found inside the Gorakhnath Cave at the Gorkha Palace behind the big bell installed by the Queen-Mother, Rajendralaxmi, in 1840 Vikrama. The inscription has been installed at the place where barley is sown during the Dashain festival. Because of the big bell, it is very difficult to make a copy of the inscription. The inscription has 31 lines. It contains the words "Maharajadhiraja ... vadeva". We have seen that Shivadeva II had already ascended the throne by 118 Samvat (752 Vikrama). The Balambu inscription of 129 Samvat (762 or 763 Vikrama) mentions Shivadeva II as king. There is, therefore, no doubt that the king referred to as " ... vadeva" in the 122 Samvat inscription is none else than Shivadeva II. The inscription mentions only

*/ beginning 663 Vikrama is the Manadeva era.

the year, 122 Samvat, but not the month. It belongs to $663+122=755$ 756 Vikrama. It was issued from the Kailasakuta-Bhawana. The word "... nudhyata" follows. On the basis of other inscriptions of the Licchavi period, including those installed by Shivadeva II himself, it is obvious that the text should read "Bappa-Padamudhyata" (favored by the feet of his father). The title "Parama-Bhattaraka-Maharajachiraja", used by Narendradeva and his Licchavi successors, follows. It is unfortunate that the words that follow are illegible. Had they not been so, it would have been possible to know the name by which Gorkha was called at that time. Because those words are illegible, the question by what name Gorkha was called at that time must remain unanswered for the time being.

The inscription next contains the words "Vajra-Bhairava-Bhattaraka." This makes it clear that there was a deity called Vajra-Bhairava in Gorkha at that time. Vajra-Bhairava is a Buddhist deity of the Vajrayana sect. There is a shrine of Vajra-Bhairava even now at Upallakot, above the Gorkha Royal Palace. The priest of the Vajra-Bhairava shrine functions as priest of the Gorakhnath shrine also. Even now, ritual offerings are sent on ceremonial occasions from the Gorkha Royal Palace for worshipping Vajra-Bhairava. The term Karana-Puja means a religious ceremony performed on a special occasion. This shows that special religious ceremonies were also performed at the shrine of Vajra-Bhairava.

The word "Bhumi" occurs in the next line of the inscription. This indicates that lands had been endowed as guthi to provide for religious ceremonies.

The inscription refers to "Pana" and "Purana" at many places. These terms denote coins used at that time. It is clear that provision had been made for money also to finance religious ceremonies at the shrine of Vajra-Bhairava.

The term "Vaditra" has been used twice. This shows that arrangements had been made for playing on musical instruments during religious ceremonies at the shrine of Vajra-Bhairava.

The term "manika" is also used at several places in the inscription. This shows that provision had been made for grains for religious ceremonies at the shrine of Vajra-Bhairava. Both money and grains had thus been provided for such ceremonies. Had the inscription not been damaged, we would have been able to know for what purposes provision for money and grains were made.

The inscription contains the term "Pancharanga Chitra Karmana", which shows that the idol of Vajra-Bhairava was painted in five colors. References to ritual food offerings (naivedya) and holy water (jala) follow.

There is no doubt that the inscription would have shed much light on Gorkha had it not been damaged. We should, however, be grateful that an indirect evidence can be had from the inscription of Manadeva in the beginning. There is no reason why we should not feel satisfied at having been able to find this inscription, the earliest found in Gorkha, in whatever form it may be.

The latest inscription of Shivadeva II found so far is located at Balambu. It is dated 129 Samvat, the fifth day (Panchami) of the lunar month, but the month is illegible. The inscription was thus installed in 762 or 763 Vikrama. This makes it clear that Shivadeva II was reigning until 762 or 763 Vikrama. The earliest inscription of Jayadeva II found so far is dated Jestha 137 Samvat (771 Vikrama) and is found at Chyasaltol in Patan. Jayadeva II thus seems to have ascended the throne some time between 762 or 763 Vikrama and 771 Vikrama.

At Hanuman-Bhanjyang, east of the Gorkha Royal Palace, there are several idols at the same place. They include ancient idols of the Shiva family, as well as a modern Saraswati idol. There is a Licchavi inscription also at that place, which was installed by King Jayadeva II. It is even more damaged than the inscription of King Shivadeva II. The first 14 lines alone are somewhat legible, but the date cannot be read.

Like the above-mentioned inscription of Shivadeva II, this inscription was also issued from the kailasakuta-Bhawana. Among the titles of Jayadeva II, only the following portions are legible: "Licchavi-Kulambara-Chandra" (The moon in the firmament of the Licchavi dynasty), "Bhaguvat-Pashupati-Bhattaraka-Padanugrihita" (Blessed by the feet of God Pashupatinath), and "Maharajadhiraja-Parameshwara." Jayadeva is mentioned thereafter. The inhabitants of Gorkha are described as "Janapadalokan". The words before "Janapada" are not legible, so that we cannot know by what name Gorkha was called at that time.

The inscription mentions "Sarvadeva", that is, Mahadeva. This shows that there was an idol of Mahadeva at that place. References have been made to "Bhumi" and "Manika" as well, thus indicating that lands had been endowed and that the rents were used to finance religious ceremonies. If the inscription of Shivadeva II showed that an idol of the Buddhist deity, Vajra-Bhairava, had been installed in Gorkha, Jayadeva II's inscription shows that an idol of Mahadeva had also been installed.

The Pashupati inscription is the last inscription of Jayadeva II found so far. It is dated Kartik 157 Samvat (790 Vikrama). Jayadeva II was succeeded by Vijayadeva. No inscription of Vijayadeva has been found so far; so there is no evidence to show when Jayadeva II's reign came to an end. It is thus not clear when the Gorkha inscription was installed. But it cannot have been installed before 762 or 763 Vikrama, and may have been installed a few years after 790 Vikrama.

The inscriptions of both Shivadeva II and Jayadeva II are thus in a greatly damaged condition. We have thus been deprived of much of what we could otherwise have learnt. But in any case the inscriptions show that both Buddhism and Shaivism were followed in Gorkha.

The outline of the history of the Licchavi period until Jayadeva II is somewhat clear, but the subsequent history is shrouded in darkness. Some inscriptions of the Licchavi period after Jayadeva II have been found, but they shed no light on the subject of our study, the history of Gorkha.

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Morang, 1785 A.D.

Aswin Badi 10, 1842 (September 1785): Gangaram Thapa and Jasya khawas were appointed Joint Subbas in the Kanaka-Tista region with the Hanumandatta Company under their command.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 1.

Poush Badi 13, 1842 (December 1785): Jasya khawas was replaced by Bali Thapa as Co-Subba in the Kanaka-Tista region, comprising the districts (Jilla) of Patharghatta, Hattighisa, Dhajjan, Madanpur, Chakchaki, and Saryasikatta on Amanat basis. He was empowered to collect revenues from different sources in these districts from Baisakh Badi 1, 1842 (April 1785), pay the emoluments of troops stationed there, and transmit the surplus to the treasury (khajana). He was also authorized to appropriate the perquisites (qastur) of the Subba of Vijayapur.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, pp. 19-20.

The same day, the following royal order was sent to Gangaram Thapa, "We have replaced Subba Jasya khawas by Subba Bali Thapa. You two brothers shall now jointly collect revenue and administer justice. Submit accounts of collections. Hand over to him half of whatever may have been collected there so far."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 20.

Bali Thapa was also granted the three moujas of karwana, Amgachhi, and Bhadwa in Morang district, previously held by Benudhar Jaisi, for paying the emoluments of troops stationed at Nizam tara fort.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, pp. 20-21.

In addition, Bali Thapa was concurrently appointed as subedar of the Naya Sri Warahadal Company, replacing Jasya Khawas, and granted Jagir lands in Naulpur and elsewhere.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 21.

On Poush Badi 13, 1842, the Jagir lands of the Naya-Sri Warahadal Company in Rajgadh, Jhapa, in the Kamala-Mechi region, were placed under the jurisdiction of Bali Thapa, replacing Jasya Khawas. He was empowered to appropriate revenue from all existing sources on those lands.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 21.

The same day, the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams, and ryots of the Bhotgaun area were informed of the replacement of Jasya Khawas by Suoba Bali Thapa and ordered to provide him with necessary assistance and cooperation.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 21.

The Rape of Garhwal

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabaral "Charan".

(Continued)

Twelve years previously, when the Gorkhalis had invaded the eastern part of Garh and Langurgarh, no Garhwali had been willing to side with them against his own king. But now Garhwali officials were convinced that the Garhwal royal dynasty had come to an end. They believed that this was the result of the curses of the queens of Salim Shah (Suleiman Shukoh) and Jaya Kirti Shah, murder of the Brahman brothers Ramapati Khandudi and Dharanidhar Khandudi, and oppression of the people, and that the Gorkhalis were only an instrument. Garhwali officials accordingly started extending cooperation to the Gorkhalis. All leading officials had received land grants from the state on a tax-free basis. They obtained free labor and cash income from these lands, so that they were able to live in comfort. These lands would have been taken away from them had they not extended cooperation to the Gorkhalis. Moreover, they could be charged with treason for not extending such cooperation. Amara Simha Thapa summoned all officials, Sayanas, Kamins, and other respectable people (phala manush) and directed them to maintain law and order in the Kingdom. He also reconfirmed their land grants. This shrewd step on the part of Amara Simha Thapa made it necessary for them to invite refugees back home and persuade them to continue cultivating their lands.

Hardly had the Gorkhalis finalized necessary administrative arrangements in Srinagar than they received reports from the military commander of Doon that Pradyumna Shah had reached there with his troops. Pradyumna Shah had left his family at Kanakhal and proceeded to Saharanpur. There he raised a sum of Rs. 150,000 by mortgaging his throne, and an additional Rs. 50,000 by mortgaging the ornaments and other valuable objects of the temple of Badrinath. With the help of the Gujar, Sardar Ramadaya Singh of Landhaur, he assembled a force of about 12,000 men composed of Ramghads, Pundirs, Gujars, and Rajputs. A Gorkhali force led by Amara Simha Thapa, Bhaktibir Thapa, and Ranajit Kunwar meanwhile reached there from Srinagar. On May 22, 1860 (January 1804) a fierce battle was fought in the plain of Khaabuda, about half a mile away from the palace of Guru Rama Raya. Pradyumna Shah's two brothers, namely, Parakrama Shah and Pritam Shah, and his two sons, namely, Sudarshan Shah and Devi Simha, were present in the battlefield. Pradyumna Shah's Chief attendant (Chopdar) received three sword wounds, and his head was practically cut into two through another sword thrust from the left cheek to the right ear. Pradyumna Shah stood his ground bravely, with Shaligrama and the Gita in his arms. He was on horseback near his c.m.p talking to Miyan Dulal Singh of Prithvipur when he was struck by a shot fired by Ranajit Kunwar. His troops then began to run away from the battlefield. The battle thus came to an end.

It seems that Parakrama Shah, Pritam Shah, Sudarshan Shah, and Devi Simha remained safe. Parakrama Shah then left immediately for his father-in-law's place at Hindur (Nalagadh) without any care for the funeral rites of Pradyumna Shah, whereas Sudarshan Shah and Devi Singh escaped to Kanakhal along with some faithful servants.

Amara Simha Thapa showed due respect for the body of Pradyumna Shah. He covered it with a shawl and sent it to Hardwar under the escort of Surajan Singh Rawal of Dalanwala and other persons. It is possible that the escort included some Gorkhali soldiers also. Because Sudarshan Shah and Devi Simha could not be found, the last rites were performed by Devi Simha. Pritam Shah was grieving the loss of his brother and the disappearance of his nephew, but was captured by the Gorkhalis and sent to Nepal.

According to Hari Krishna Ratudi, the Gorkhali Sardars sent Pradyumna Shah's body with great honor to Sudarshan Shah in Hardwar, and the body was cremated with great pomp. Bhaktadarshan following Ratudi, says that the cremation took place at Jwalapur in Hardwar. Miyan Prem Singh's version, however, is more credible. It is possible that the body of Pradyumna Shah was cremated by Pritam Shah at Hardwar. After the cremation, Pritam Shah was captured by the Gorkhalis. Sudarshan Shah and Devi Simha too could have been captured had they been present there. Pradyumna Shah had at least one queen and some slaves with him at Kanakhal. Had Pradyumna Shah's body been sent to Sudarshan Shah, one or two of them would certainly have become a Sati. But no evidence is available to show that this happened.

Panic spread in the Doon Valley as soon as the news was received that Pradyumna Shah had been killed. People left their villages and fled to the mountains. The Gorkhals tried their best to lure them or intimidate them to go back to their village but no one did so. The Gorkhals started looting the Doon Valley, so that the entire region became desolate. For full one year, no one returned to his home, and no land was cultivated. The Gorkhals, thinking that Mahant Harasevak was a supporter of Pradyumna Shah, imposed restrictions on his movements and confiscated the lands of the Guru-Darbar.

Back in Srinagar, the Gorkhals tried to enlist the cooperation of prominent people and top-ranking officials. Maularam was a reputed poet, philosopher, painter and ideologue of Srinagar. His fame had spread even to Kantipur, the capital of Nepal. Chautariya Hastidal Shah and other Gorkhali commanders tried to win him over to the Gorkhali side. They asked him to describe the origin of the royal dynasty of Garh and the events that took place during the reign of the important kings. Chautariya Hastidal Shah, Amara Simha Thapa, and other Gorkhali bhardars were very pleased to hear his accounts. They reconfirmed Maularam's Jagir village, as well as the allowances he used to get from the Kingdom of Garh. They assured him that he would be able to ^{to} forcibly taken away Maularam's concubine, Laxmi. Amara Simha Thapa promised to find her out and restore her to Maularam. However, the poet refused to accept her back. Amara Simha Thapa, pleased at this, presented him a horse and also honored him with robes, weapons, and a gold head dress with his own hands. The Gorkhals won over Maularam in this manner and consulted him in important matters.

^{to}live happily in the Gorkhali Kingdom. Parakrama Shah had After the assassination of Ramapati Khandudi and Dharanidhar Khandudi, the influence of the Saklani brothers, Shishram and Shivaram, started growing. They received the villages of Salenani, Deuri, Athoor, Kotpudiyar and Sonargaon as Jagir. The Saklani, collaborated with the Gorkhals in the beginning. According to Miyan Prem Singh, Jwalaram Saklani turned traitor after the battle of Khadbuda and became a collaborator of the Gorkhals. However, during the Nepal-East India Company war, Shivaram went over to the East India Company's side.

The sons of Ramapati Khandudi and Dharanidhar Khandudi, namely, Gajadhar Khandudi and Krishnadatta Khandudi, and their brothers, namely, Krishnananda and Harshapati, collaborated with the Gorkhals like the Saklanis. All these four persons were appointed as Dafdari in 1861 Vikrama (A.D. 1804). Amara Singh Thapa wrote to the court of Nepal that these Khandudis had been given the task of pacifying the peasantry, collecting the revenue, bringing back the peasants who had fled to the plains, restoring lands to cultivation, resettling depopulated villages, and maintaining land revenue records, and that they were performing their duties faithfully. However, on the eve of the Nepal-East India Company war, the Khandudis had developed contacts with Rutherford.

All officials of the kingdom of Garh, high or low, Sayanas and Kamins, influential people, and sycophants thus offered active cooperation to the Gorkhalis and succeeded in retaining their Jagirs and other privileges. Some of the Garhwali troops joined the Gorkhali army. Garhwali officials started running the administration according to the orders of the Gorkhalis. The independence of the kingdom of Garh and the Garhwali people thus came to an end.

Bandha Land Grants During Bahadur Shah's Regency

In June 1785, Bahadur Shah assumed power in Kathmandu in the capacity of Regent. The following bandha lands were made a few months thereafter:-

- (1) On Aswin Badi 10, 1842 (September 1785), 14 khets (1,400 muris) of rice fields at Ikhadol and elsewhere, along with homesteads, were confirmed as bandha in favor of Shaktiballabh Bhattacharya on payment of Rs. 1,421. "The mortgage shall be redeemed when the money is paid back."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, pp. 1-2

- (2) On Kartik Badi 7, 1842 (October 1785), one dihi (homestead) in Markhu Valley, previously held by Chhatra Simha Pradhan, was granted as bandha to Shiva Narayan Khatri on payment of Rs. 201. "The mortgage shall be redeemed when the money is paid back."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 4.

- (3) On Kartik Badi 7, 1842 (October 1785), 96 ropanies of land and the attached homesteads at Paknajol and Thabahil in Kathmandu were granted as bandha to Ranabhanjan Pande on payment of Rs. 1501. "The mortgage shall be redeemed when the money is paid back." The lands were previously held by Balakrishna Jaisi and Harilal Pandit.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 4.

- (4) Poush Sudi 13, 1842 (December 1785): 200 muris of rice-fields held by Kuber Padhya and Srikrishna Padhya, along with the attached homesteads, were confirmed in their possession under bandha tenure on payment of Rs. 878. "The lands shall be returned when the money is paid back."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 22.

- (5) Falgun Sudi 2, 1842: 240 muris of rice-fields and attached homesteads, previously held by Tikaram Padhya, Jivur Jaisi, and Dasharath Tiwari, to Tikrama Pantha for Rs. 3,513. (RRC, Vol. 25, p. 33).

- (6) Falgun Sudi 2, 1842: 590 muris of rice fields and attached homesteads, previously held by Karunakar Adhikari, to Bhagirath Jaisi and Bishen Jaisi for Rs. 3,501. (RRC, Vol. 25, p. 33).
- (7) Falgun Sudi 2, 1842: 300 muris of rice fields and attached homesteads, held by Gajadhar Tiwari, were granted to him on bandha tenure for Rs. 775 in Taklung (Gorkha). (RRC, Vol. 25 p. 35).
- (8) Falgun Sudi 15, 1842: 50 muris of rice-lands, confiscated from Chamu kakryal in Deurali, were granted on bandha tenure to Gobinda Pantha. (The figure is not legible). (RRC, vol. 25, p. 48).
- (9) On Chaitra Sudi 11, 1842, Gobinda Pantha was similarly granted 50-muris of rice-fields along with the attached homesteads and forests in Deurali on bandha tenure on payment of Rs. 121. (RRC, Vol. 25, p. 52).
- (10) Falgun Sudi 15, 1842: Mahadev Upreti of Chainpur was granted 120 muris of rice-fields (held by Tularam Jaisi) and attached homesteads (held by Patharam Pathak and Jagatmani Basnyat) on bandha-bitalao tenure on payment of Rs. 637 and 8 annas. (RRC, Vol. 25, p. 48).

Kut-Thek Allotments in the Eastern Hill Region

1. Rawa

Rice-lands situated in the Rawa area (of Majhkarat), which had been assigned as jagir to the Srinath, Devidatta, Kalibux, and Purano-Gorakh kampu/Paltan, had remained uncultivated because irrigation channels were damaged. The tenants (mohi) left the area, so that the Jagirdars could not get their rents.

Kashidatta Padhya then submitted the following petition to Kathmandu: "For two or three years, we have been paying rents on these uncultivated lands from our own property. We have now repaired the irrigation channels and reclaimed the lands through our own labor. After we reclaimed the lands in this manner, another person obtained an allotment of 77 muris in his name. ... It is not proper that lands which we have reclaimed through our own labor should be allotted to another person."

The following royal order was then issued through General Jung Bahadur Kunwar in the name of Kashidatta Padhya on Saturday, Magh Sudi 4, 1902 (January 1846);

"The previous allotment is hereby cancelled, and the rice-lands, totalling 208 muris in area, are reallocated to you from the harvest of the year 1903 Vikrama on payment of a thek rent of Rs. 74 and 1 anna, in addition to levies on winter crops, the ghiukhano levy, the chardam-theki levy, and other customary payments. Pay the

prescribed rents to the Jagirdar every year. If no Jagirdar has been designated, pay the rents to the headquarters (Dafdarkhana) of the appropriate Paltan through the local Chitaidar. Do not cut trees standing near dams and irrigation channels. Do not clear scrub-land for cultivation on the borders of rice-fields. Damaged irrigation channels shall be repaired collectively by the tenants (mohi). No remission shall be granted in the rents if you keep the lands uncultivated. With full assurance, pay the prescribed rents and use the rice-lands:

<u>Particulars</u>		
<u>Area</u> (In muri)		<u>Thek Rent</u> (Rs/Annas)
30	...	Rs 11-12
26	...	Rs 10-4
26	...	Rs 10-4
26	...	Rs 10-4
23	...	Rs 7-13
77	...	Rs 23-12
<u>Total: 208 Muris</u>		<u>Rs 74-1</u>

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 62, pp. 523-25.

2. Khotang

Royal order to Vishnubhakta Padhya and Vrajajal Padhya:

"Rice-lands in the Khotang region, totalling 287 muris (including 28 muris of additional lands detected in the holding), which have been assigned as Jagir to the Srinath, Devidatta, Kalibux, and Purano-Gorakh Paltans, are hereby allotted to you from the harvest of the year 1903 Vikrama on payment of kut-Thek rents amounting to Rs. 135 (including Rs. 7 for the additional area of 28 muris). The previous allotment has been cancelled. Pay Chardam-theki and other levies, and provide loans, to the Jagirdar-landlord (talsing) in the customary manner. In case dams and irrigation channels are damaged, repair them through your own labor. Construct embankments, apply water and manure, and cultivate the rice-fields. With full assurance, pay the prescribed kut rents and use the lands."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 62, pp. 525-26.

Royal Orders of Kartik Badi 8, 1865

Water-Mill in Patan

A water-mill (ghatta) at Bahaphal in Patan, as well as 5 ropanis of Pakho lands at Dukhanjol, were granted to Machhindra Khawas.

Land Grant to Dilaram Gurung

"The Swanro lands known as Sairang had belonged to you, but was granted by the Amali to Chamu Lama. We hereby restore these lands to Warchok. Pay the customary dues and provide the customary services."

Adhiya Land Allotment

100 muris of rice-fields in the village of Ekangsyardu, as well as pasture lands at Deurali, were allotted to Atal Khadka on adhiya tenure. He was also required to pay the kharchari tax on pasture lands, and chardam-theke and ghiukhane levies on rice-fields, at current rates, as well as loans to his landlord up to the value of the adhiya rent.

(1) Chhap Grants

The chhap lands granted to Kaji Chamu Bhandari in the Macchegaun area of Kathmandu were reconfirmed.

(2) To Nain Simha Budha

"We hereby cancel the chhap grant made to Bamsha Khatri in Thaiba and grant the lands to you as chhap."

(3) To Agam Simha and Umer Simha

A tract of land situated north of the Mahabharat Mountains, south of the Manik-Daha Lake, east of the Bakuwa-Khola river and west of the Baijani-Khola river in Khotang, had been granted as chhap to Jokhan Thapa and Vidya Thapa. The grant was cancelled and the lands were granted on chhap tenure to Agam Simha and Umer Simha on payment of Rs. 41 a year.

(4) To Rama Krishna Khadka

Lands at Betali (Chisankhu) being occupied by Rama Krishna Khadka were granted to him on chhap tenure. The owner's (mukhiya) homestead was exempted. Revenue from taxes on other homesteads in the holding was made payable to the local kot.

(5) To Indra Simha Budha

Rituvarna Thapa and Nayan Simha Thapa's chhap lands in Tokha were reallocated to Indra Simha Budha on the same tenure.

(6) To Laxmipati Upadhya

Manaram Lama's chhap lands across the Raghupatal-Khola river were reallocated to Laxmipati Upadhya on the same tenure.

(7) To Ranajit Thapa

Masadal Shahi's chhap grant in Salyan was cancelled, and the lands were granted to Ranajit Thapa on the same tenure.

The Kascharai Tax

Royal order to collectors (amala, amani, ijaradar) of the Kascharai tax in Morang district: "The Kascharai tax had been waived on cows from the Vikrama year 1850 (A.D. 1793). We have now received reports that (local authorities) are collecting a Salam levy in consideration of that exemption. We have granted authority to Rama Krishna Jaisi Chapagain to impose a fine on those who have made such unauthorized collection."

In a separate order, the fine was commuted to a one-time (khatami) payment of Rs. 501.

Jagir Assignment to kaji Jaspau Thapa

From Baisakh Badi 1, 1866, the mouja of Dharmapur in Mahottari district, previously assigned to Jebar, was included in the Jagir of kaji Jaspau Thapa. The mouja yielded an annual income of Rs. 1,350, exclusive of raja-anka (crown) revenues.

Jhara Labor in Bheri-Mahakali Region

Royal order to Brahmans, Chuni ryots, Jogis, Sanyasis, Bhats, and other inhabitants in the Bheri-Mahakali region: "You are hereby ordered to provide Jhara labor for the repair and construction of Sanghus, forts, rest-houses, ferry-points (ghat), tracks, etc. in that region. Fighting is going on at the front, and if the tracks are not kept open, you shall be severely punished."

The Macchindranath Shrine

A sweeper at the shrine of Sri Macchindranath at Patan died. Mohinaike Lakhe, a resident of Kayaguthi tol, was appointed his successor with a khangi of 14 ropanis of rice-fields. He was also granted exemption from the saurefagu and other taxes, as well as from forced labor (Jhara, bath, begar) obligations. The order added, "If you do not provide regular and punctual services, you will be dismissed. If you remain regular and punctual, the position will belong to you and your descendants."

Disbursement Order

Dittha Jabardast Sen was ordered to make the following disbursements from revenues collected from mines during the Vikrama year 1865:-

Shortfall in the <u>khangi</u> of the Kalicatta Company	...	Rs. 308-1½
Income for three years from lands which were included in the Purket-Guthi	...	Rs. 15-0
		<hr/>
		Rs. 323-1½
		<hr/>

Hides and Skins

Royal order to Jagirdars, Birtaowners, and landowners and functionaries of all categories (Guru, Purohit, Bhaiyad, Gotiya, Chantariya, Kaji, Sardar, Kapardar, Khajanchi, Subba, Subedar, Najiki, Jesthabudha, Birtaowners, Bitalab-holders, Mohariya-holders, Chhap-holders, etc.) in the region situated west of the Kali (Gandaki) river and east of the Bheri river, except in Nisi, Bhujji, and Athgaun, which have been assigned as khuwa to kaji Bhimsen Thapa.

"Each bhote, hunter, and sino-eating family in the areas under your jurisdiction shall supply one piece of buffalo-hide, or tiger, bear, or deer skin, and each Sarki family shall supply two such pieces. If they cannot do so, they shall make payment in cash at the rate of 2 annas a piece. Transport the hides through the Jhara labor of people inhabiting the area under your jurisdiction and deliver them to the Dittha of the Magazine (Munitions Factory at Kathmandu) every year."

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd.

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Telephone: 4-11927

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Garhwal Appointments, A.D. 18051. Appointment of Khatri Brothers as Subbas

I

Dhaukal khatri, Surabir khatri, and Ranabir khatri belonged to Kaski district. They were sons of Shiva khatri and grandsons of Chasmu khatri. On Thursday, Ashadh Badi 1, 1862 (June 1805) they were appointed Subbas of one-third of the Madhesh, hill, and Bhot territories of Garh. They replaced Ranadhir Basnet.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 46-47.

II

Letter to Surabir khatri and Ranabir khatri: "Your ancestors too had worked faithfully in the cause of this state (ahungo). Last year, when action began in Garh, we had appointed the Basnyats in Pyuthan and deputed them to the front. But because they could not proceed from Pyuthan in time, we have appointed you to replace them. You know at that time that kaji Ambar Simha Thapa had been sent there in the capacity of Mukhtiyar. Angad has written to Tribhuwan that because they could not agree, Ranadhir left Srinagar. Whatever might be the state of personal relations, he should not have acted in such a manner in our cause. Because Ranadhir has behaved in an improper way, we hereby appoint you three brothers to replace him as Subbas for one-third of the territories of Garh in the Madhesh, the hills, and the Bhot. Dhaukal has taken charge of shawls and pagaris here. Share the emoluments (khanggi) of Subba equally, and assign lands according to the prescribed schedule to the company that has been placed under your command. Ranabir khatri has already left (for Garh), and Surabir khatri shall do so quickly after handing over charge of the arms and ammunition in Pyuthan to Sardar Rana Gunj and Rudravira. Act in all matters according to the advice of kaji Ambar Simha Thapa and remain faithful to us. You will know about other matters from the letter of Dhaukal.

"While this letter was being written, we received your report and noted its contents. We shall look after affairs in Pyuthan from here. Proceed quickly to Srinagar as soon as you receive this order."

Ashadh Badi 2, 1862

Regmi Research Collection Vol. 6, pp. 53-55.

III

Letter to Sardar Rana **gunj** and Rudravira: "We have transferred Surabir khatri, Ranabir khatri, and Dhaukal khatri from Pyuthan to Garh. Dhaukal khatri has taken charge of shawls and pagaris. **An order** has been sent to Surabir khatri to proceed immediately to Garh after handing over arms and ammunition to you in Pyuthan. Take over charge from him accordingly, and let him proceed to Garh quickly. Because lands available for assignment are not adequate in Pyuthan for a Subba, as well as for four companies and a gunpowder factory, it has been decided not to appoint a Subba in Pyuthan. You are, therefore, ordered to construct irrigation channels and reclaim rice-fields.

"Bhoj Khawas and Ahiman Bogati had been previously sent to Kaski. They have now been appointed as Subedars, and ordered to proceed to Pyuthan immediately. They have also been told that the bhardars will assign lands according to the prescribed schedule. After they reach there, arrange for assigning lands to the two companies despatched to Garh, as well as the two companies retained there, without affecting the operation of the gunpowder factory. The assignments should be made in a just manner, so that lands in the Madhesh, the hills, and the Bhot are apportioned equally. We have delegated to Kaji Ambar Simha Thapa the power of Pajani in the case of the two companies that have been despatched to Garh. Appointments of the two Subedars will be made from there.

"While this letter was being written, a report was received from Surabir Khatri saying that if the copper-plate grant made to the Raja of Salyan is implemented, the boundaries will contract by 80 or 100 yards. We shall, therefore, fix the boundaries later. Assign lands to the four companies without affecting the operation of the gunpowder factory, and report to us whether there will be a surplus or shortfall. We shall fix the boundaries only thereafter. Act according to these orders without the slightest delay.

Ashadh Badi 2, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 49-52.

2. Pyuthan Affairs

Letter to Bhoj Khawas, and Ahiman Bogati: "Surabir Khatri, Ranabir Khatri, and Dhaukal Khatri have been transferred from Pyuthan to Garh. Because lands available for assignment as Jagir are not adequate in Pyuthan for a Subba, as well as for four companies and a gunpowder factory, it has been decided not to maintain a Subba there. Sardar Rana Gunj and Rudravira have been ordered to assign lands for the four companies without affecting the operation of the gunpowder factory. You have been appointed Subedars of the two companies of Pyuthan on a permanent basis. We have also sent swords, which will reach you in due time. Pay darshan-bhet levies. Proceed to Pyuthan as soon as you receive this order. The Subedars of the two other companies have been deputed to join Ambar Simha Thapa on the western front; he will be in charge of their Pajani. You had been deputed to construct irrigation channels and reclaim rice-fields in Kaski. Submit particulars of the total area irrigated and reclaimed. Also recommend the names of persons who may now be given the responsibility. As soon as you receive this order, assign lands according to the prescribed schedule (raibandi) and form two companies. Recruit only good people from areas east of the Marsyangdi river. Report on whether or not the companies stationed there have cannon. If they do not have any, we shall send it from here."

Ashadh Badi 2, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 49-50.

3. Subba Chandrabir kunwar

I

Another one-third of the territories of Garh was placed under the charge of Subba Chandrabir Kunwar, of Bhanwarkot, on the same date. Chandrabir kunwar was the son of Jaya Krishna Kunwar, and grandson of Ahiram kunwar. He replaced Subba Hastadal Shah.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 42-43.

II

(Subba Chandrabir kunwar was transferred to Doti about two years later. (Regmi Research Series, Year 18, no. 12, December 1986, pp. 185-86). He was later sent back to Garhwal, and died there in early 1871 Samvat (A.D. 1814). (Regmi Research Series, Year 3, no. 1, January 1, 1971, pp. 3-5).

III

Letter to Chandrabir Kunwar: "We have received reports that the bhardars sent (to Garh) were not on good terms with each other. We have, therefore, appointed Surabir khatri, Ranabir khatri, and Dhaukal khatri to replace Ranadhir. Ranabir khatri is still along with the troops. We have sent an order to Surabir Khatri; he too will join the troops soon. We have appointed you to replace Hastadal. We have ordered Bal Kunwar to take over charge of shawls, pagaris, and the letter of appointment (patta) on your behalf; these will reach you in due time. Kaji Ambar Simha Thapa is old and mature, and also true to his salt. Act according to his advice. Proceed to Srinagar quickly and make necessary arrangements for the administration of that territory in consultation with the Kaji and other bhardars. We shall send other instructions later."

Ashadh Badi 2, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 55.

Gorkha After The Licchavi Period

By

Dinesh Raj Pant

(Dinesh Raj Pant, Gorkhako Itihasa (A History of Gorkha), Kathmandu: the author, 2041 (1985), Vol. 1, pp. 10-14.

The Manadeva era, which had started in the Vikrama year 633, came to an end after 304 years in the month of Aswin 937 Vikrama. The use of the Nepal Samvat then started.

We do not have authentic evidence to show the condition of Gorkha after the Licchavi period. For that reason, we are not in a position to say anything clearly about Gorkha at that time. At the same time, we do possess materials that shed indirect light on this matter. We shall, therefore, present our views in this regard.

A manuscript of Ashtasahasrika Prajnyaparamita, transcribed in the Vikrama year 1055 during the joint rule of King Narendradeva and King Udayadeva,² is in the possession of the Sakya monastery in Tibet. The colophon of the manuscript shows that it was transcribed by Suner Ranaka, a resident of Gandi-Gulma.³ Gulma denotes a checkpost. The checkpost located on the banks of the Gandaki river was known as Gandi-Gulma. It thus seems that Gandi-Gulma was situated in the area of modern Gulmi.⁴ That is to say, in the Vikrama year 1055 Gulmi was ruled by the central government of Nepal. We can, therefore, say that Gorkha too was similarly under central rule.

A manuscript of Ashtasahasrika Prajnyaparamita, transcribed during the reign of King Harshadeva in the Vikrama year 1150, is also in the possession of the Sakya monastery in Tibet. Its colophon shows that it was transcribed by Jivadhara Simha Kayastha, a resident of the Gandi-Gulma area (Vishaya).⁶ The existence of an area known as Gandi-Gulma Vishaya leads one to presume that Gorkha too formed part of a Vishaya (district).

A manuscript of Ashtasahasrika Prajnyaparamita, transcribed in the Vikrama year 1221 in Gandi-Gulma, is in the possession of the Cambridge University Library.

On the basis of the evidence supplied by these manuscripts in the Vikrama years 1055, 1150, and 1221, we can say that the Gorkha region had been ruled from the center till then.

A manuscript of Ashtasahasrika Prajnyaparamita, transcribed in the Vikrama year 1126 during the reign of King Shankaradeva, is in the possession of the Ngor monastery in Tibet. The colophon of the manuscript shows that it was transcribed by Ganga Ranaka of Lamjugunga. It is clear that lamjugunga means Lamjung.⁸ There is thus a clear reference to the central ruler in a manuscript transcribed in Lamjung in the Vikrama year 1126. This constitutes additional evidence to prove that Gorkha too was under central rule at that time.

The evidence that we have cited above contains no direct reference to Gorkha. Even then, it is clear that Gorkha was under central rule at that time.

Notes.

1. Dinesh Raj Pant, Licchavi Kalama Chaleka Samvat (Eras used during the Licchavi period), Kathmandu: Punya Bahadur Shrestha, 2038 (1981), pp. 3 and 44-45; Dinesh Raj Pant, Nepali Itihasaka Kehi Pana (Some pages of Nepali history), Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan, 2038 (1981), pp. 15-16.

2. Dinesh Raj Pant, "Dwairajya" (Dyarchy), Purnima, year 8, no. 2, Chaitra 2030 (March-April, 1974), pp. 135-38.
3. Ibid, p. 137.
4. Mahesh Raj Pant and Aishwarydhar Sharma, The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions From Nepal, Kathmandu. Nepal Research Center, 2034 (1977), pp. 19-20.
5. Luciano Petech, Mediaeval History of Nepal, Rana: 1958, p. 50.
6. Ibid, p. 64.
7. Gautam Vajra Vajracharya, "Newari Bhasha ko Tamang Bhasha Tatha Limbu Bhasha Sengako Sadrishya" (similarities of the Newari Language with the Tamang and Limbu Languages), Purnima, year 1, no. 2, Shrawan 1, 2021 (July 16, 1964) p. 44.
8. The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions ... (see no. 4), pp. 16-17.

From the Yamuna to the Sutlej

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan".

(Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan", Uttarakhand Ka Rajanaitika Tatha Samskritika Itihasa, Part V. Kumaun, Garhwal, Aur Himachal Par Gorkhali Shasan, Samvat 1847-1872 (A.D. 1790-1815), Dogadha, Garhwal; Vira Gatha Prakashan, 2030 (A.D. 1973), pp. 120-25).

Soon after his return from Banaras, Ram Bahadur Shah gave orders for the conquest of the hill principalities in the west. This order set off a wave of jubilation in the Thapa faction and the army. Soldiers were paid full salaries during a campaign, and also expected to profit from plunder. Amara Simha Thapa had been given supreme command of the forces despatched to occupy the Kingdom of Garh, with Chautariya Hastidal as deputy, and Ranadhir Simha Basnyat as Hastidal's assistant. After Garh was occupied, Amara Simha Thapa was ordered to leave its administration in the charge of Hastidal Shah and invade the principalities in the west. He was also ordered, "Destroy those who oppose you, but give refuge to those who seek it. Occupy the fort of Kangra as quickly as possible, and then make plans for the conquest of Lahore and Delhi." (Maularam Tomar, Garh-Rajya-Vamsha-kavya (unpublished)).

The hill country between the Yamuna and Sutlej rivers was then divided among numerous small and weak principalities, so it was not difficult to defeat them. Sansar Chand, ruler of Kangra west of the Sutlej river, had annexed many of them. He possessed large and well-trained army, modern weapons, and several strong forts.

These forts included Kangra, which had witnessed several invaders during the past eight centuries, including Mahmood Ghazni and Adine Beg Khan. Amara Simha Thapa consulted Maularam about the expedition to Kangra, and also wanted to know the geography of the area. Maularam prepared a map of Kangra for him. The Gorkhali force was marching forward, separated from its homeland by hundreds of miles, defeating the hill principalities situated on the way and making enemies of their inhabitants through gross oppression. Maularam warned Amara Simha Thapa that a ruler could make his authority durable only by keeping the people happy. This warning was vindicated within only ten or eleven years.

After making preparations for the campaign in the west, Amara Simha Thapa stationed his son, Ranjor Thapa, and his grandson from the daughter's side, Birabhadra Kunwar in Kumaun, and Birabhadra Kunwar's father, Chandrabir Kunwar, and Subba Surabir Khatri in Garh, with a few troops. With the remaining troops, which included Gorkhalis, as well as people belonging to Palpa, Jumla, Doti, Kumaun, and Garhwal, Amara Simha Thapa then proceeded toward the west.

The conquest of the kingdom of Garh had extended the frontiers of the Gorkhali kingdom to the Yamuna river. The kingdom of Sirmur was situated on the other side of that river. The Gorkhalis soon had an opportunity to occupy that kingdom. In the Vikrama year 1850, (A.D. 1793), the ruler of Katoch (Kangra) state invaded the state of Kahlur (Bilaspur), which was ruled by Maha Chand, and occupied forts situated on the northern banks of the Sutlej river. Maha Chand asked King Dharma Prakash of Sirmur for assistance and offered to make payment of Rs. 100,000. Accompanied by his vassal chiefs, and King Rama Simha of the state of Hindur, Dharma Prakash went to the help of Maha Chand. Their combined forces reached a place called Charadhi, situated on the northern banks of the Sutlej river in the state of Katoch. Sansar Chand reached there along with his troops to drive out the aggressors. In the battle that followed, Dharma Prakash, King of Sirmur, was killed by Sansar Chand.

Dharma Prakash had no son, so his brother, Karma Prakash, ascended the throne of Sirmur. Top-ranking officials did not like the new King and, therefore, hatched a conspiracy to install his brother, Kunwar Ratna Simha, on the throne. They besieged the King, Karma Prakash, in a fort called Kangar, situated at a distance of 32 miles from Nahan. A man named Cholu Miyan, who resembled Karma Prakash, was killed in the course of the fighting. The rumor then spread that King Karma Prakash had been killed. In the confusion that followed, Karma Prakash, accompanied by his family reached Kalsi through Panoru. Ratna Simha ascended the throne of Sirmur with the title of Ratna Prakash. Karma Prakash then approached Ranajor Thapa, Amara Simha Thapa's son, for assistance. The Gorkhalis took immediate advantage of this opportunity. They invaded Sirmur and drove out Ratna Prakash. However, instead of handing over the kingdom of Sirmur to Karma Prakash, they annexed it to Gorkha. After the Battle of Kangar, the Thakur Jagirdars of Kota, Ramgarh, Lalarpur, Morni, Pinjor, and Jagatgarh severed their links with Sirmur and declared themselves independent. Later, they were compelled to accept the suzerainty of Gorkha.

The Gorkhals did not face any particular difficulty in occupying the state of Jubbal, which was situated to the north of Sirmur. As soon as the Gorkhali troops reached there, Risal Simha, Thakur of Khalete, fled to Buschar and took refuge there. The invaders immediately occupied his principality. The Gorkhals then overran several small principalities on the way, including Bilsan, Kyonthal, Tharoch, Ghund, Kotkhai, Thiyog, and Kotgarh, and marched forward Busehar. The inhabitants of these principalities accepted the Gorkhali to domination out of panic, but in Busehar the Gorkhali were strongly resisted by both the people and the army.

Even then, the Gorkhals succeeded in reaching up to Hattu. The king of that principality, who had not yet come of age, fled to Kamrun. The invading army occupied the forts of Hattu, Kuran, Baghi, Naogarh, Sungri, and Bahali, and stationed some troops in each of them. The Gorkhali troops once succeeded in reaching as far as Rampur, where they plundered the town as well as the state treasury and set fire to state documents. However, they were unable to maintain their occupation of Kanaur for long. A Gorkhali force was despatched for the purpose of plundering the state treasury of Kamrun. It established its camp near the village of Chugaon (Tholang) on the banks of the Chholtu river, but was attacked by the Kanauris in the night. The Gorkhals were unable to get food supplies anywhere, and so were compelled to go back.

The Gorkhals then occupied the principalities situated west of Sirmur, including Solan, Dagsai, which belonged to a powerful and ambitious ruler named Ram Sharan. He had extended his territories from Palsi to Matiana. In the east, his territories comprised the fort of Ajmar on the banks of the Yamuna river. Ram Sharan had not been able to occupy the principality of Sirmur, but Dharma Negi, Chief of the fort of Sabathu, which belonged to Sirmur, had already acknowledged him as overlord. The Gorkhals marched through the villages of Malagarh and reached Ram Sahar, but met with stiff resistance. Unable to occupy Ramsahar, the Gorkhals laid siege to that fort and blockaded the supply of essential commodities. However, considerable quantities of food and water had already been stored inside the fort, so that the siege continued for three years. Ram Sharan finally fled to Bishauli in Hoshiarpur, from where he went to Palsi after three or four months. For the next ten years (A.D. 1804-14), he spent his days in the forts of Palsi, Baddi, and Gullarwala, while the Gorkhals occupied the rest of his territories. Because of the Gorkhali oppression, many families from the hill areas of the state of Hindur shifted to the Palsi Valley.

Before the Gorkhali invasion, there were 18 small principalities (Thakurai) under the state of Keonthal, They were as follows:-

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Koti | 2. Ghund | 3. Thyog |
| 2. Madhan | 5. Mailog | 6. Kuthar |
| 7. kunihar | 8. Dhani | 9. Tharoch |
| 10. Sangri | 11. Kumharsen | 12. Rajan |
| 13. Kharantu | 14. Maihili | 15. Khalasi |
| 16. Bageri | 17. Tingthali | 18. Ghat. |

At the time of the Gorkhali invasion, the principality of Kumharsen was under Keonthal. As soon as the Gorkhali forces reached there, the ruler of Keonthal, Rana Raghunath Sen, fled to the principality of Suket, where he died. His son, Sansar Sen, was born while his father was in exile. He was later granted the principality of Keonthal by the East India Company.

The inaccessible hill territory of Punar was only nominally under the control of the Rana of Jubbal, for its inhabitants acknowledged no authority, and paid no taxes. They lived in large villages and produced large quantities of food. However, they lived on plunder in the neighboring areas, and were skilled in guerilla fighting. They could assemble even 1000 armed fighters at a moment's notice. The Gorkhalis were, therefore, unable to bring the inhabitants of Punar under their control for several years, even after occupying Sirmur and Jubbal. Finally, the Gorkhalis defeated the Panaris in a battle that was fought at a place called Matil in which many people were killed. The Gorkhalis then unleashed a reign of terror in the villages of Punar. Rana Jagat Simha of Baghal was defeated by the Gorkhalis and fled to Hindur (Nalagarh). He remained there for seven years.

The principality of Rawaigarh comprised the valleys of the Pawar and Tons rivers. Before the Gorkhali invasion, it was a part of Garh. On the eve of the Gorkhali invasion, when the size of the army of Garh had declined because of the mischief of Parakrama Shah, Rana Himmat Simha of Busahar had occupied Rawaigarh. The ruler of Jubbal made assistance available to him in that effort, so the King of Garh was unable to liberate Rawaigarh from the invader. Rana Himmat Simha had died prior to the Gorkhali invasion, so Amara Simha Thapa placed his brother, Runa, on the throne of Busahar under Gorkhali suzerainty. Himmat Simha's son, Uchhuwa, had fought along with Amara Simha Thapa in the Kangra campaign.

The conquest of Nalagarh extended the territories of Gorkha to the eastern banks of the Sutlej river. Kangra, which was ruled by Sansar Chand, was situated across the river. Intoxicated with success, a Gorkhali force crossed the Sutlej river and invaded the territories of Sansar Chand, but was defeated. Amara Simha Thapa then signed a treaty with Sansar Chand, according to which the Sutlej river was recognized as the boundary between Nalagarh and Kangra. At this time, certain events occurred in Nepal, which slackened the pace of Amara Simha Thapa's advance.

On his return to Nepal, Ran Bahadur had banished his Queen, Rajarajeshwari Devi, to a place called Helmu on the charge of disloyalty. Queen Subarnaprabha had already gone to Deopatan. During Damodar Pande's rule, King Prithvipal Sen of Palpa had helped the opponents of Ran Bahadur. Ran Bahadur Shah had not forgotten this. He summoned Prithvipal Sen to Nepal on the pretext of marrying his sister, but placed him in detention. Ran Bahadur Shah then married Chandravati, a sister of his beloved Queen Kantimati. When Chandravati failed to please him, Ran Bahadur married Lalita Tripura Sundari. Meanwhile, a smallpox epidemic broke out in Kathmandu valley, and Ran Bahadur ordered that all children be sent elsewhere. The order had been issued with the aim of saving them from death, but it imposed severe hardships on the people.

Much dissatisfaction prevailed among the people as a result of such steps as confiscation of the birta lands of Brahmans, the banishment of Queen Rajarajeshwari Devi, and the expulsion of children. It is believed that King Prithvipal Sen of Palpa and Ran Bahadur's step-brother, Sher Bahadur, hatched a plot to take advantage of this dissatisfaction. Sher Bahadur was leader of the Chautariya group. The Thapa faction had become strong because Bhimsen Thapa was Prime Minister, and Amara Simha Thapa, Chief of the army. Getting information about the plot, Ran Bahadur ordered Sher Bahadur to depart for the western front. When Sher Bahadur refused to obey the order, Ran Bahadur Shah ordered that he be arrested and beheaded. Sher Bahadur, however, attacked Ran Bahadur with his sword and wounded him seriously. Balanarasimha, the king's bodyguard, immediately killed Sher Bahadur.

Before his death, Ran Bahadur placed the infant king Girban Yuddha Bikram under Bhimsen Thapa's protection in the presence of all bhardars and appealed to them to continue supporting him. This event took place on Baisakh Sudi 7, 1862 (April 1805).

When Ran Bahadur died, Bhimsen Thapa had the royal palace surrounded by troops loyal to him. He took full advantage of the situation to dispose of his powerful opponents. He had every opponent of the Thapa faction killed. These included 50 top-ranking officers of the army, as well as kaji Narasimha, kaji Tribhuvan, Chautariya Bidur Shahi, and king Prithvipal Sen of Palpa, and his soldiers and officers. Bhimsen Thapa then deputed his father, Amara Simha Thapa, to occupy the kingdom of Palpa. He compelled Queen Rajarajeshwari Devi to become a Sati, and thus put an end to potential opposition from her side. Bhimsen Thapa, in addition installed Queen Tripurasundari, who is said to have been his lover, as Regent of the infant king. With the aim of keeping the Thapa faction and the army satisfied, and diverting the attention of the people, Bhimsen Thapa did not let the military campaigns in the west and the south slacken in any way.

Ran Bahadur was a pleasure-loving, arbitrary and hot-tempered ruler. However, he was also a well-known and generous patron of poets, scholars, and artists. Maularam had visited Kathmandu shortly before Ran Bahadur's assassination in the hope of getting a large gift of money. He composed the Rana Bahadur Chandrika in praise of Ran Bahadur, which contains eulogies of Ran Bahadur, and his son, Girban Yuddha Bikrama. Like modern Nepali writers, Maularam believed that Ran Bahadur was a great statesman. He received gifts from Ran Bahadur and returned happy from Nepal.

Jajarkot

I

Puran Shahi, Laxmides Pantha, and Karna Sinha were deputed to the raiya of Jajarkot to revise the revenue settlement. They fixed the amount of revenue assessment in the raiya at Rs. 7,101.

a year. A royal order was issued to Raja Dip Narayan Shahi of Jajarkot stipulating payment of that amount on thek-bandi basis in four equal installments (Baisakh, Shrawan, Kartik, Magh) every year. The amount was to be transmitted to the Rana Shardul Company.

Tuesday, Jestha Badi 12, 1864
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, p. 324.

II

Public notification in Jajarkot, Tuesday, Jestha Badi 12, 1804:

"The entire territory of Jajarkot has been ruined because of the indiscriminate exaction of unpaid labor and provisions, as well as highhandedness and oppression. In the future, unpaid labor shall be exacted only for the transportation of military supplies, sick people, and coins. Any person who exacts such labor for other purposes shall be punished."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 23, p. 325.

An Error in Colonel Kirkpatrick's Account of Nepal

Kirkpatrick writes:

The Turryani of Nepaul, confined between the Gunduck and Teesta, is divided into Soubahs or governments; that under Zorawar Singh, which stretches from the former of these rivers easterly to the Kousi, and which may be distinguished by the appellation of the Western Turrye or Turryani, consists of five Zillahs, or districts, sub-divided into twenty-seven pargunnahs. These Zillahs are:

1. Suptuni, bounded to the eastward by the kousi.
2. Mohtuni, west of Suptuni.
3. Rhohutute, or Rohtut, in which Huttioul is included, it is situated to the westward of Mechtune.
4. Bharah.
5. Persa, which extends to the westward as far as the Turryani of Tannohi.

Kirkpatrick thus states that:

- (1) The tarai areas of Saptari, Mahottari, Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat comprised a single administrative district.
- (2) Zorawar Singh was Chief (Suboa) of this administrative unit in 1793.

Contemporary Nepali documents show that Kirkpatrick was wrong on both points. The correct position, according to administrative regulations promulgated by the government of Nepal on Thursday, Kartik Sudi 15, 1848 (approx. November 1791), was as follows:

- (1) Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat comprised one administrative unit, with Zorawar Khawas and Bharat Khawas as joint Subbas.
- (2) Saptari and Mahottari comprised a separate administrative unit, with Sahadeva Padhya and Manik Raj Khawas as joint Subbas.

References:

1. Colonel Kirkpatrick, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul (reprint of 1811 ed.), New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1969, pp. 40-41.
2. "Administrative Regulations for Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat Districts in the Names of Subba Zorawar Khawas and Subba Bharat Khawas", Kartik Sudi 15, 1848 (November 1791), Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, pp. 77-78.
3. "Administrative Regulations for Saptari and Mahottari Districts in the Names of Subba Sahadeva Padhya and Subba Manik Raj Khawas," Kartik Sudi 15, 1848 (November 1791), Ibid, pp. 76-77.

Night Patrols in Kathmandu

On Friday, Ashadh Badi 6, 1864, the following companies were ordered to patrol the streets of Kathmandu town from 12 ghadis (4 hours and 48 minutes) after sunset to 4 ghadis (1 hour and 36 minutes) before sunrise. The order added, "If any person, high or low, is found walking in the streets during these hours, arrest him and hand him over to the Itachapli (Court). If he resists arrest and uses force, retaliate in kind."

Companies

1. Srinath, Kalibux	...	4 nights.
2. Sri Mehar Company	...	1 night.
3. Sri Viradel Company	...	do.
4. Sri Birabhadra Jung Company	...	do.
5. (Illegible) Company	...	do.
6. Devidatta Company	...	do.
7. Gurubux Company	...	do.
8. Sri Batukdal Company	...	do.
9. Sri Kalidatta Company	...	do.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, p. 401

Land Assignments to Sabuj Company

The following lands and khuwa revenues were assigned for meeting the shortfall in the emoluments of the additional personnel recruited for the Sabuj Company.

Raginas Mouja in Lamjung District

<u>Cultivator</u>	<u>Area of Rice-land</u> (in muris)
Bisu kadyal	17
kantu Thapaliya	130
Umya Damya	30
Gorya Karadiya	60
Randhar kriparam	148
Bhanu Parajuli	70
Ramanand kadyal	105
Laxmi Pathak	200
Padmya Lohani	87
Padmya Chulwal	60
Shobharam Chulwal	180
Gunya Doliya	100
Chanya	20
Nandram Bichhural	20
Sahalok Babarangi	30
Chhabilel Karadiya	70
Benuram Karadiya	80
Gunya Auliya	20
Ram kadyal	5
Chhitaram	104
Nandaram	110
Jasodhar Karadiya	70
Dataram Chanya Thapaliya	110
Bhagirathi Bicchuryal	280
Total	<u>2,107 muris</u>

Ranche Mouja in Satahun District

Shivanand Chapagain	60
Mangal Dhakal	160
Lacchiram Tewari	44
Jaya Narayan Tewari	42
Total	<u>286 muris (sic).</u>
Grand Total	2,393 muris.

Khuwa Revenue

1. Sangru Mouja in Rising District	...	Rs. 82-8
2. Tanahu	...	Rs. 7-0
3. Pallo-Nuwakot	...	Rs. 11-12
4. Serma of Badi households in Rising	...	Rs. 15-12
5. Arghau Mouja in Kaski District	...	Rs. 63-14
(Dhungana Households	...	Rs. 13-6
Lamicchane Households	...	Rs. 50-8)

Sunday, Ashadh Badi 1, 1864

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, pp. 402-3

Slave Traffic in Garhwal

Royal order to Chautariya Ram Shah on Ashadh Badi 10, 1864:
 "We have received reports that the territory of Garh has been ruined because Subbas, Amalis, Subedars, Fouzdars, etc. take away the wives, sons, and daughters of the ryots themselves, and also sell them in the Madhesh. We, therefore, order that from the year 1864 Vikrama:

1. Ryots shall not offer their wives, sons, and daughters in lieu of payments in money. They shall, instead, pay the amounts due from them in cash.
2. Subbas, Amalis, etc shall collect all dues from the ryots in cash. They shall not accept the wives, sons, and daughters of the ryots in lieu of such payments.

"In case any person does not comply with these orders, arrest him, and refer the case to us. In addition, restore the person who has been accepted (in lieu of cash payments)".

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, p. 404.

Appointments in the Jamuna-Sutlej Region

On Aswin Sudi 2, 1862 (September 1805), the following persons were appointed to the following positions in the territories of Kullu, Sirmur, Handur, and Kangra:

- (1) Angad Khawas, son of Kalu Ghale, and grandson of Dambar Ghale, belonging to Maidhi (Dhading), was appointed Sardar for one-third of the territories of Kullu. His emoluments amounted to Rs. 3,600 a year. The royal order of appointment added, "We shall send you one piece of cannon for each of the five companies under your command, each company comprising 101 musketeers. Appoint Subedars, Jamadars, etc. on the prescribed

khangis. Allot lands against the khangis. After lands have been allotted against the khangis of the four companies, as well as of yourself, spend the surplus revenue for such of our purposes as payment of allowances, arms and ammunition, funeral expenses, rewards, and religious ceremonies and festivals. Any amount that may still be left after meeting these expenses shall be used to recruit additional musketeers."

Sardar Angad khawas was also ordered to send manuscripts, weapons, and other valuable objects found in the state of Kullu; or at the royal palace, to Kathmandu.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6. p. 508-9.

- (2) Another one-third of the territories of Kullu state was placed under the authority of Hastadal Shahi, son of Birabahu Shah and grandson of Chandrarup Shah, on the same terms and conditions on the same date (Aswin Sudi 2, 1862).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6. pp. 512-13.

The royal order does not mention Hastadal Shahi's designation. Information about the person appointed for the remaining one-third of the territories of Kullu state is also not available.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 512-13.

- (3) The state of Sirmur was divided into two administrative units. On Aswin Sudi 2, 1862, these units were placed under the authority of Sardar Bhotu (son of Kirtimahoddam Shah of Nuwakot) and Parashuram Thapa (son of Mahendra Thapa and grandson of Mahasimha Thapa of Bhadgaun). Four companies of troops were placed under the command of each of these Sardars, and they were promised one piece of cannon for each of these companies. Their emoluments amounted Rs. 3,600 a year each. Other terms and conditions were the same as those for Sardar Angad khawas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 510-12.

- (4) The state of Handur was placed under the authority of Kaji Randhir Simha Basnyat (son of Bhokal Simha Basnyat and grandson of Shivaram Simha Basnyat of Kathmandu). He was granted emoluments amounting to Rs. 5,000 a year, with three companies of troops under him. Other terms and conditions were the same as those for Sardar Angad khawas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 514-15.

- (5) The state of Kangra was placed under the joint authority of Kaji Ambar Simha Thapa and Kaji Nayan Simha Thapa, with twelve companies of troops under their command. As in the other cases mentioned above, they were promised one piece of cannon for each of these twelve companies. Other terms and conditions were the same as those mentioned above. However, no reference has been made to their emoluments.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 515-16.

Troop Movements, A.D. 1805Achham

One company of troops stationed in Achham, comprising 150 musketeers, had already been sent to Garhwal, leaving another company, also comprising 150 musketeers, for the defense of Achham. On Bhadra Sudi 15, 1862, royal orders were issued deputing 125 of them to Garhwal, thus leaving only 25 musketeers in Achham. Subedar Chagumal was appointed to command that truncated company. The Subedar was informed that Bishram Khatri had been ordered to allot lands and khuwa revenues to that company according to the prescribed schedule.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 425-27.

Bajhang and Bajura

On Bhadra Sudi 15, 1862, Subedar Nirbhaya Simha Thapa of Bajhang and Bajura was informed that the Ranabam company of Bajhang and Bajura had been deputed to Garhwal, and that Subedar Kirtibir Thapa had been sent to Bajhang and Bajura along with the Ramban company. Nirbhaya Simha Thapa was ordered to proceed immediately to Garhwal, leaving only one patti of the Ranabam company in Bajhang and Bajura in order to collect rents on its jagir lands.

A royal order was sent to Subedar Kirtibir Thapa on the same date instructing him to proceed to Bajhang and Bajura immediately.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 428-29.

Dullu-Dailekh

The Jwaladal Company of Dullu-Dailekh, commanded by Subedar Haribhakta Shahi, was deputed to Garhwal. Subedar Jayapati Padhya of the Dalamardan Company was then sent to replace him in Dullu-Dailekh. Haribhakta Shahi was ordered to proceed immediately to Garhwal, leaving only one patti of troops behind in order to collect rents on its Jagir lands.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 429-30.

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Rebellion in Jumla

I

The people of Jumla did not accept the Gorkhali rule with docility but resorted to frequent rebellions. On Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (October 1794), Kathmandu sent the following notification to the inhabitants of Humla and Jumla:

It is five years since we occupied that region. During that period, you have created much trouble. However, we pardon you for whatever you may have done during these five years. If even now any one engages in rebellion or intrigue, we shall degrade you to a lower caste if he is a Brahman, or else enslave or behead him according to his caste. Understand this well. We shall, however, reward those who are loyal to us. (24/430).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, p. 430.

II

On Baishakh Badi 1, 1851 (April 1794), Ranjit Kanwar was replaced by Jog Narayan Malla as Subba of Jumla.

The following royal order was then sent to Ranjit Kanwar.

You have imposed heavy fines on the inhabitants of Jumla because they had rebelled in 1793. They have come here to complain against such punishment. Whatever may have been collected in the past, the collection of fines every year has led to a depopulation of that territory. In order to check that trend, we hereby remit all arrears of such fines. Bhardars who had been deputed to the west had been instructed to kill all rebels of above the age of 12 years, but not to enslave other members of their families and let them cultivate the land. No action shall be taken in contravention of such instructions. Restore all slaves and horses that you have unjustly taken. The territory must be made populous and enjoyed. You shall be punished if you act in contravention of the regulations."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, pp. 288-92.

III

Royal order to Subba Ranjit Kanwar, Subedar Dhanjit Rana, and other military officials deputed to Jumla: "We had issued orders to all Amalidars through Jagjit Pande that all rebels of above the age of 12 years should be killed, but that other members of their families should not be enslaved, but be allowed to occupy their homesteads. We have now received reports that even then you have enslaved members of the families of the rebels. We had then ordered you to restore such slaves to freedom, but none of you have obeyed the order. You shall be punished if you do not do so even after receiving this order."

Tuesday, Shrawan Sudi 3, 1851.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, p. 293.

IV

Jog Narayan Malla, as Subba of Jumla, was granted the following emoluments and perquisites:-

- (1) One anna in each rupee of revenue actually collected.
- (2) One-sixth of income raised from fines, penalties, and escheats.
- (3) 30 khets of rice-lands in Dumja.
- (4) One elephant.
- (5) Command of the Kalidatta Company.
- (6) (Income from) Raskot and Sanni areas.

With the revenue collected in Jumla, pay the emoluments of troops stationed there at the prescribed rates, half in cash and half in kind. Transmit the surplus revenues, if any, to the Palace. Submit accounts at the end of each year."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, p. 288.

V

Regulations for Jumla promulgated in the name of Subba Jog Narayan Malla on Tuesday, Shrawan Suci 3, 1851 (July 1794):-

1. Have religious ceremonies of ~~deities~~ performed in the same manner as during the time of previous Subbas.
2. Expenses on religious ceremonies at the temple of Sri Chandan Nath during the Dashain festival will be approved as during the time of previous Subbas.
3. Expenses incurred during the Navaratra will be similarly approved.
4. Reasonable expenses may be incurred on mail-carriers (halkara) and wakils.
5. Any gifts and presents that may be received there shall be transmitted to us.
6. Rebels who are of above the age of twelve years shall be killed, their wives and children shall not be enslaved, but shall be allowed to occupy their homesteads.
7. In case any soldier or other person commits any crime, he shall be punished, or killed or enslaved, according to the nature of his crime. Punishment shall be inflicted only after obtaining a confession in the presence of Panchas.

8. In case the feudatory (Thapala) rajas of that region do not join you in war, or do not obey orders, but engage in rebellion, punish them according to the nature of their offense:
9. In the event of an external invasion, the Palace is far away, and there will be no time to request for instructions. You may, therefore, meet such emergencies at your discretion, proving true to your salt and in the best interests of the state (chungo).
10. Since you will remain far away from the Palace, and will occupy your post only at our pleasure, in case any evil person makes any complaint against you, we shall take a just decision only after hearing both sides. We shall not listen to one side only.
11. Expenses incurred on the kachahari, cushions, ink, etc. will be approved.
12. Expenses incurred on the repair of forts, as well as on Sanghus, Jholanga (bridges), and boats will be approved.
13. Rewards may be granted to any person who shows commendable performance in war and other occasions.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, pp. 209-91.

The Struggle for Kangra Fort

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan".

Sansar Chand was the most powerful ruler of the State of Katoch (Kangra). His grandfather, Ghamand Chand, had established a virtually independent state in the region situated between the Sutlej and Ravi rivers. He had also extended his rule over the northern part of the state of Kutled, the state of Chauki, the fertile valley of Palam, and the fort of Pedhiyar. However, he was not able to take back the fort of Kangra, which had belonged to his ancestors, from the Mughals. His army consisted of 4,000 Rohilla, Afghan, and Rajput troops, which had struck terror among the rulers of the adjoining hill states. Ghamand Chand had constructed a town called Sujampur on the left bank of the Beas river on the other side of Alampur. He had also constructed a fort and palaces in the neighboring area of Tehra.

In 1788, the joint forces of Sansar Chand and Jaya Simha of the Kanhaiya Misl of the Sikhs drove out the Mughal army from the fort of Kangra. Jaya Simha occupied the fort through diplomacy. However, when Sansar Chand began to raid the plains areas belonging to Jaya Simha, the latter was compelled to hand over the fort to him. After occupying that fort, Sansar Chand forced the rulers

of eleven neighboring states, who were considered to be vassals of Kangra during the rule of the Mughals, to accept his authority. He ordered them to report to his palace on specified occasions offer him presents, and accompany him along with their troops during his campaigns of conquest.

Sansar Chand had constructed a large Palace at Tira-Sujanpur. His throne was placed at the center of the main hall, which contained eleven doors. The rulers of the twenty two principalities who had accepted his suzerainty used to enter into hall through specified doors. Sansar Chand had also occupied fertile valleys from the hill rulers. These valleys had earlier been under the control of the Mughals. The ruler of Chamba was killed in the battle of Rihalu Valley which formed part of his state. Sansar Chand also plundered Mandinagar, made its minor ruler, Ishwari Sen, a prisoner, and took him to Kangra. The captive ruler was confined to the fort of Nadaun. Sansar Chand handed over the Hatali Valley of Mandi state to the ruler of Suket, and the Chahad Valley to the ruler of Kullu, but annexing the fertile valley of Anantpur. He collected a tribute of Rs. 100,000 from what remained of Mandi state.

After becoming a sovereign King of the hill region Sansar Chand attempted to extend the frontiers of his state to the Southern plains. In 1803-4, he twice tried to occupy Hoshiarpur and Bijwada but each time he was defeated by Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh himself was making efforts to expand the territories of his state to the foothills of hill region. Sansar Chand could, therefore, expect to fulfil his ambitions by seizing territories only from the hill states. His grand-father, Ghamand Chand, had already annexed Chauki, in the northern part of Kutled State. Sansar Chand occupied the rest of that state also.

Sansar Chand's act of making the minor ruler of Mandi a captive and occupying Kutled state created much excitement among the rulers of the hill states. For years, Sansar Chand had been humiliating and harassing them in various ways. Now, emboldened by the presence of the victorious Gorkhals, eleven hill rulers vowed to humiliate Sansar Chand. They sent Mahachand of Kahlur, a part of whose territory had been annexed by Sansar Chand, to request Amar Simha Thapa for help. It was decided that the rulers of Guler, Jasawan, Datarpur, Siba, Chamba, Suket, Kullu, Nurpur, Bisauli, Kutled and Kahlur should march with their respective troops along with the Gorkhas when Amar Simha Thapa crossed the Sutlej with his army and encamped in the territory of Kangra.

In December 1805, the Gorkhali army crossed the Sutlej at Jibri (Suket) and Kahlur, thus laying the stage for occupation of Kangra state. There the rulers of eleven states met Amar Simha Thapa with their respective troops. Amar Simha Thapa and the eleven rulers swore that the former would retain control of the fort of Trigart (Kangra), but would not cause any trouble to those rulers who were considered subordinate to Kangra, that these rulers would maintain amicable relations with the court of Nepal, that the court of Nepal would permit them to reoccupy their respective territories, and that no part of their states would be annexed by Nepal.

The allied forces inflicted a crushing defeat on Sansar Chand's troops near Mahal-Moria. Sansar Chand then fled toward Tira-Sujanpur. But there too he was defeated, and along with some of his troops and his family, he moved to the strong fort of Kangra. Amar Simha Thapa liberated King Ishwari Simha of Mandi who had been imprisoned by Sansar Chand, at the fort of Nadaun, and restored his state to him. He also restored to the ruler of Kutled those portions of his state that had been annexed by Ghamand Chand and Sansar Chand. The rulers of the hill states and their subjects welcomed the Gorkhali army, who had liberated them from the humiliating slavery of Sansar Chand, as if they had come as a blessing from God. The fame of the invincible army of Girvana Yuddha Vikram, son of Ran Bahadur Shah, spread far and wide.

According to Maularam, the rulers of Gulera and Chamba also joined Amar Simha Thapa after the latter had liberated the states of Kutled, Suket, Mandi, and Jasanjana from the slavery of Sansar Chand without much difficulty, and routed the army of Bushehar. Thereafter, Amar Simha Thapa visited the temple of Amba Devi on the Jawalamukhi hill. From there, all the hill rulers marched with their respective forces along with the Gorkhali army. Their spirits were high. They laid siege to the fort of Kangra. When the Gorkhali army which had conquered states located from the eastern to the western Himalayas reached that fort, the Sultan, who ruled the territories that lay across Alak, panicked. The Peshawaris, Lahoris, Shamoris (Dogras of Jammu), Kashmiris, Sikhs, Mughals, Pathans and Rohilla warriors who served in Sansar Chand's army fled in panic. The Marathas in the south and the white (Gore-Phiringes) were deeply alarmed. Panic gripped the people when they heard the arrival of King Girvana Yuddha Bikram's army commanded by Amar Simha Thapa, who had won victory wherever he set his foot. They believed that the victory of the Gorkhali army was inevitable and that the writ of the Gorkha king would run large through the whole of north India, and as far as Delhi.

This was the time when Amar Simha Thapa was at the pinnacle of his glory. He controlled the entire hill region from the Kali river to the Sutlej-Boss river. With the exception of Sansar Chand, all the hill rulers had accepted his suzerainty. The fame of the Gorkhali army commanded by him had spread far and wide. Everyone believed that Amar Simha Thapa was destined to win victory in every battle he fought. Amar Simha Thapa now began to live and behave like a King. He used to grant rewards to any poet who met him on hearing of his merits. Everywhere it was said of him that he had become powerful like an Emperor thanks to the power of King Girvana Yuddha Bikram, and was attending to the welfare of all.

The Gorkhali army continued its siege of the Kangra fort for three years. But Sansar Chand, his family, and his troops, who were inside the fort, did not suffer much for they had adequate provisions. But the Gorkhalis did not succeed in occupying the fort. In sheer frustration, they started looting nearby villages, and razing them mercilessly. They made it a habit to plunder innocent people. The hill rulers, who were allies of the Gorkhalis, also started raiding the villages of the Kangra state. This led to great chaos. For three years, anarchy swept the state.

To escape the daily plunder and atrocities by the Gorkhals and the armies of the hill rulers, several people of Kangra state abandoned their hearth and home and migrated to Chamba and many others took shelter in the plains of the Jullunder-Doab region. As a result, the fertile valley of Kangra became barren. Villages and towns became desolate, with only grass now growing there. In the empty lanes of Nadain town, tigers started roaming about with their cubs.

Even such a powerful commander as Amar Simha Thapa was unable to take over the fort of Kangra. This led people to believe that he had concluded a secret treaty with Sansar Chand. According to Maularam, when all the rulers of the western hill states defected to Amar Simha Thapa, Sansar Chand sent a secret letter to him along with a large sum of money as bribe. The message was as follows: "If you occupy this fort of Kangra, the court of Nepal will appoint governors (Amils) to administer this region. You will be ordered to advance still further and conquer new territories. You will thus be engaged in constant fighting, so that you will not be able to rest even for one night. You will have to spend your whole life oppressing others and indulging in sinful acts. I, therefore, propose that you stay on and rule Kangra and continue issuing orders to all the hill rulers. Have some rest now, and enjoy luxury. At the same time, our two armies should feign fighting sporadically for the sake of duping others. People will then think that we are still fighting each other. Though bound by a secret alliance, we should fire cannon at random. We will thus be able to fulfil the dual task of outwardly showing mutual enmity, but secretly maintaining a cordial relationship."

Amar Simha Thapa, who had begun to taste a luxurious life after having won unlimited authority, accepted this secret plan. As a result, he spent several years comfortably while laying siege to the fort of Kangra. (The author has cited the Garh-Rajavamsha-Kavya by Maularam Tomar as evidence of this collusion between Sansar Chand and Amar Simha Thapa).

It seems that Maularam was correct. Amar Simha Thapa closed all gates leading to Kangra fort, but left open the route toward the river. Supplies continued to move to the fort through that route.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa sent a new army under the command of his brother, Nayan Simha Thapa, for the conquest of Kangra. This army reached Kangra through Kumaun, Garhwal, Keonthal, Hindur, and Kahlur. Nayan Simha Thapa's arrival struck terror in the minds of the people. The inhabitants of village situated along the route through which he passed fled to the jungles. The Gorkhali army led by Nayan Simha Thapa reinforced the siege of Kangra. Amar Simha Thapa had been bribed by Sansar Chand to keep open the route leading to the fort through the river. Through that route, supplies accordingly continued to reach the fort. Nayan Simha, however, closed that route. Food sufficient for twelve years had already been stocked at the fort, but large quantities had been misused. Consequently, the

closure of the route by Nayan Simha Thapa created panic among the inhabitants of the fort. No one was brave enough to leave the fort and break the siege. For four months, the inhabitants of the fort were forced to subsist on vegetables. Finally, Sansar Chand decided to escape from the fort in the night.

Amar Simha Thapa was feeling very jealous at the arrival of Nayan Simha Thapa along with reinforcements, for the latter's success in occupying the fort of Kangra would have brought him discredit. Amar Simha Thapa, therefore, sent a letter secretly to Sansar Chand, advising him not to feel afraid of Nayan Simha Thapa's attacks. He assured Sansar Chand that he would not assist Nayan Simha Thapa. Sansar Chand felt encouraged when he read the letter. He again sent some money to Amar Simha Thapa. Encouraged by the in-fighting among the Gorkhali commanders, Sansar Chand vowed again to defend his fort to the last drop of his blood.

Nayan Simha Thapa ardently desired that the credit for the conquest of Kangra should go to him. He was not bothered by the lack of cooperation from Amar Simha Thapa. He ordered his army to advance to occupy the fort. Amar Simha Thapa, however, advised him to keep away from the fort in order to avoid being hit by shells. There was a brief quarrel between the two commanders on this issue. Finally, Nayan Simha Thapa reached close to the fort along with his troops, whereas Amar Simha Thapa and his officers did not do so. Nayan Simha Thapa and his troops attacked the troops of Kangra and reached close to gates of the fort. But suddenly a shell fired from the fort hit Nayan Simha Thapa, and he fell down. This led to panic among the Gorkhali troops. On getting news of this, people inside the fort started beating drums in jubilation. Nayan Simha Thapa suddenly got up, but blood started flowing from his wounds. The efforts of the army physicians to save his life proved unsuccessful, and he died on the third day.

Amar Simha Thapa was both distressed and satisfied at the failure and death of Nayan Simha Thapa. He was distressed because of the death of a relative. However, he was feeling afraid lest the truth should reach Nepal and he should be branded as a traitor.

After Nayan Simha Thapa's death, Amar Simha Thapa intensified his efforts to occupy the fort of Kangra. However, the court of Nepal did not trust him as before. It, therefore, sent a new force led by Chautariya Rudravir and Dalabharjan Pande for the conquest of Kangra. Rudravir proceeded to Kangra from Srinagar in 1863 Vikrama (A.D. 1806). Terrified by the fierce attacks of the new Gorkhali army, Sansar Chand requested Maharana Ranjit Singh for assistance and offered a gift of Rs. 5,000. Sansar Chand had earned the enmity of Ranjit Singh by twice attacking his territories in the plains. However, Ranjit Singh was now afraid lest the Gorkhali campaign of territorial expansion should have a detrimental impact on his own ambitions. Twice he proceeded to Kangra with his troops, but returned before reaching that fort. It is said that Amar Simha Thapa persuaded him to do so by paying the amount of Rs. 5,000 which Sansar Chand had stipulated.

Terrified by the fierce attacks of Chautariya Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pance, Sansar Chand became ready to hand over the fort of Kangra to the Gorkhalis. It was agreed that he should pay to the court of Nepal a tribute of Rs. 500,000 if he was allowed to depart safely from the fort along with his family, his troops, and his property. Sansar Chand also agreed to pay an annual tribute for the territories he would retain under his control, and to offer the hand of his daughter in marriage to the king of Nepal. According to Raper, Sansar Chand had agreed to pay the sum of Rs. 300,000 only:

Chautariya Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pance did not consult Amar Simha Thapa while giving consideration to these proposals. According to Raper, Sansar Chand considered it below his dignity to negotiate with a low-caste khas like Amar Simha Thapa and so concluded the treaty with Rudravir Shah, who belonged to a high caste. Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pance sent the treaty to the court at Kathmandu through a special courier under military escort, and removed the Gorkhali troops from the route leading from the fort to the river in order to enable Sansar Chand to evacuate the fort. Sansar Chand, however, was not prepared to surrender the fort to the enemy. He used to send unnecessary supplies from the fort during daytime, and procure food in the night. One night, he left the fort in disguise along with his family and reached Tera-Sujanpur, after charging his commander, Naurang, with the responsibility of defending the fort.

Amar Simha Thapa immediately reported to Kathmandu that Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pance had been paid a big sum of money as bribe, for which they had withdrawn the siege of Kangra fort, and thus made his efforts go in vain. Amar Simha Thapa also requested that they be summoned back to Kathmandu, pledging that he would then immediately occupy the fort. Both Raper and Maularam have given the same version of the event.

Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pance were accordingly summoned back to Kathmandu. Parashuram and Bhairav Bali were then sent to Kangra in 1865 Vikrama (A.D. 1808), and Birabhadra Kunwar in 1866 Vikrama (A.D. 1809).

Birabhadra Kunwar reached Srinagar in Falgun 1866. He carried an official letter from Prime Minister Shimser Thapa to Maularam. The letter informed Maularam that his Jagirs, villages, gardens and houses had been restored to him. After celebrating the Holi festival in Srinagar, Birabhadra left for Kangra with his army.

After the recall of Dalabhanjan Pande and Rudravir Chautariya, Amar Simha Thapa again planned to occupy the fort of Kangra so as to win the credit. Ranjit Singh also wanted to occupy Kangra. He was closely watching the activities of Amar Simha Thapa. The rulers of the Sikh and Muslim principalities located on the eastern banks of the Sutlej feared Ranjit Singh, hence they concluded treaties with the East India Company, for protection. In 1809, Ranjit Singh and the East India Company signed the Treaty of Amritsar, which prevented him from intervening in the affairs to the Sikh and Muslim protectorates of the Company situated on the eastern banks of the Sutlej. The treaty also prevented Ranjit

Singh from stationing more troops than were needed for administration even in areas on the eastern banks of the Sutlej which were under his control.

On hearing that Amar Simha Thapa planned to reoccupy the fort of Kangra with the help of the rulers of Kahlur and Kullu, who were enemies of Sansar Chand, Ranjit Singh informed the British military commander in Ludhiana, Lt. Col. Ochterlony, that he wished to take his troops through territories on the eastern banks of the Sutlej which were under his control in order to check the advance of the Gorkhals. Ochterlony was opposed to Ranjit's proposal, for he feared that the East India Company might not be able to occupy for itself the territories which it was coveting if Ranjit Singh defeated the Gorkhals and occupied the territories under Gorkhali control west of the Kali river. However, the Governor-General was not ready to disturb the East India Company's relations with Ranjit Singh. He informed Ochterlony that Ranjit Singh was quite free to do so and that no obstacle should be placed in his way.

Apprehending an attack from Ranjit Singh, Amar Simha Thapa deferred his plans to launch a fresh attack on the fort of Kangra. As a result, both Gorkhals and Ranjit Singh remained in control of some territories in Madaur. Sansar Chand entered into friendship with the East India Company with the aim of recovering these areas and asked it for assistance in fighting the Gorkhals and Ranjit Singh. The Governor-General, however, turned down his request. The Nepal government despatched its envoy, Chandra Shekhar Upadhyaya, to the Governor-General and invited him to join its campaign of territorial conquest in the region east of the Sutlej. The Governor-General turned down this proposal too.

The prestige of the Gorkhali army considerably diminished as it failed to occupy the fort of Kangra even after subjecting it to a protracted siege, and also lost one of its commanders, Nayan Simha Thapa. Those rulers who had sided with Amar Simha Thapa in the beginning became aware of the weakness of the Gorkhali army, as well as of the infighting among its commanders. They, therefore, started ignoring him. Amar Simha Thapa was very glad to receive a fresh reinforcement of troops commanded by Birabhadra, his grand-son, from the daughter's side.

Saheb Singh, ruler of Kahlur on the eastern banks of the Sutlej river remained firm on his friendship with Amar Simha Thapa. But other rulers who had struck friendship with Amar Simha Thapa now began to harass him. These rulers included those of Sirmur and Handur. The rulers of the Barha Thakurai states, who had previously joined Amar Simha Thapa, now prepared to fight him jointly. Amar Simha Thapa sent Ranjor Thapa and Kunwar Birabhadra to occupy the fort of Morni from Sirmur, for this was the center from which the Barha Thakurai rulers were organizing their military preparations.

(To be continued)

A History of Gorkha

By

Dinesh Raj Pant.

(Dinesh Raj Pant, Gorkhako Itihasa (A History of Gorkha), Kathmandu: The author, 2041 (1985), Vol. 1, pp. 15-25).

.I

Gorkha Under the State of Sinja

The process of disintegration of the state of Nepal gradually intensified after the Licchavi period. The process gained additional momentum in subsequent years, and by the twelfth century of the Vikrama era, three states emerged in Nepal. The first was the central state of Nepal, which was preserving what remained of its territories with great difficulty. The second was the state of Simraungadh which had been established in the south-eastern part of Nepal by Manjadeva, while the third was the state of Sinja founded by Nagaraja in the western part of Nepal.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Panchali Shasana-Padhatiko Aitihāsika Vivechana (An historical account of the Panchayat system of government), center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2035 Vikrama (A.D. 1978), p. 114).

Among these three states, the state of Simraungadh, which had been founded in the south-eastern Tarai region, does not seem to have had any connection with Gorkha, the main subject of the present study. The Central State, on the other hand, had an indirect connection with Gorkha, since its territories were gradually contracting. The third state, the Khasa state of Sinja, seems to have had a direct connection with Gorkha. We shall now say something on this subject.

The state founded by Nagaraja around the twelfth century of the Vikrama era gradually expanded. His territories included Guge in western Tibet. Krachalla, the great-great-grandson of Nagaraja, was a great conqueror. He conquered Kumaun and Garhwal and annexed them to his state. His son, Ashokachalla, was also an effective ruler. Jitarimalla, Ashokachalla's son, took greater interest in expanding toward the east. His ancestors had laid greater emphasis on expansion toward the west and the north-west.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihāsako Eka Jhalak" (A glance at the history of the Karnali region), Purnima, year 2, no. 2, Shrawan 1, 2022 (July 16, 1965), pp. 19-21).

King Jitarimalla, who thus laid emphasis on expansion toward the east, is directly connected with Gorkha.

We have already made it clear that until the Vikrama year 1221 Gorkha was ruled directly from the center.

(Dinesh Raj Pant, "Gorkha After the Licchavi Period", trans. in Regmi Research Series, Year 19, no. 4, April 1987, p.49).

In the absence of evidence, we are not yet in a position to say how long this situation continued.

According to the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali, Jitarimalla invaded the valley of Nepal every year during 1344, 1345, and 1346 Vikrama and committed depredations. But this victory of Jitarimalla was short-lived. He only raised some taxes and went back.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka", pp. 21-23).

In those days, the Tirthutes of the south and the khasas of the west were in a way competing with each other in invading the valley of Nepal and deriving some economic benefit. They did not remain long in the valley as rulers. The tirthute invasion of 1367 Vikrama is, however, an exception. At that time, the Tirthutes entrenched themselves in the valley of Nepal for about a year. But they did so only on the request of one of the two factions ruling the valley at that time.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Doyaharu ko Hun ?" (Who are the Doyas ?), Purnima, year 1, no. 4, Magh 1, 2021 (January 14, 1965), pp. 26-28, trans. in Regmi Research Series, year 2, no. 3, March 1, 1970, pp. 67-69).

Even though Jitarimalla did not occupy the valley of Nepal and the adjoining areas at that time, he seems to have occupied territories in the Gorkha region. This will become clear if we make a close study of the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali.

The descriptions of the first two invasions of Jitarimalla start from within the valley of Nepal so they shed no light on this question. But the description of the third invasion contained in the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali makes this clear. It begins with Jitarimalla's invasion of Nawakwatha (Nuwakot).

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka", p. 22).

This sheds important light on the issue. Jitarimalla had already occupied the Gorkha region during his first invasion of 1344 Vikrama. The description contained in the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali shows that no further reference to the issue was necessary. Jitarimalla thus appears to be the first king of Sinja to establish his Sway in the Gorkha region.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tak Bahadur Shrestha, Nuwakot ko Aitihaska Raparekha (Historical outline of Nuwakot), Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2032 Vikrama (A.D. 1975), p. 31).

Further evidence, when available, will make this more clear. In the year 1384 Vikrama, when Adityamalla, Jitarimalla's son, invaded the Valley of Nepal, he first invaded Nuwakot. This constitutes additional evidence to support our view.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka, " p. 25).

Rudramalla, who was born in 1352 Vikrama, died in 1383 Vikrama at the age of 31. He was an impressive personality in his time.

(Devi Prasad Bhandari, "Rudramalla ra Unako Janmatithi" (Rudramalla and the date of his birth), Purnima, year 1, no. 1, Baisakh 1, 2021 (April 13, 1964), pp. 8-13).

According to the Gorkha - Rajavamshavali, he ruled over the whole of Nepal up to Nuwakot. This means that the central government had already lost control over territories to the west of Nuwakot, and that it had accepted the situation. This reinforces the view that Jitarimalla had brought the Gorkha region under his control.

There is a gumba called Taghwai in Atharasayakhola, situated on the foothills of the Larke Himal in Gorkha district. A copper plate inscription about this gumba, issued by Adityamalla in the Vikrama year 1378, has been found. In that inscription, Adityamalla has ordered the bhaddars despatched by him to the east to allow the Lamas of the Taghwai and subordinate gumbas to perform their religious ceremonies in the traditional manner. The order also mentions that any one who does not allow them to do so will be punished.

The rulers of Sinja felt proud of assuming such titles as Parama Saugata (A great devotee of Buddha), Pravaramahayanuyayi (a follower of the excellent Mahayana sect), Hevajracharanaravindamak-arandamadhukara (a bee sucking the juice of the lotus-feet of Hevajra), and Garudadhwajavatara (an incarnation of Vishnu).

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka", pp. 19-21, 26-27).

Adityamalla too liked to show himself off as a religious-minded king. On the eve of his eastern campaign, he apparently wanted to ensure that the Lamas were not disturbed in any way. Thus this copper-plate inscription constitutes authoritative evidence to prove that Gorkha was at that time a part of the state of Sinja.

After Pratapamalla, grandson of Adityamalla, Punyamalla, who belonged to the Gela dynasty, was placed on the throne of Sinja. Punyamalla too is closely connected with Gorkha. (Ibid).

A copper-plate inscription issued by Punyamalla has also been found in the gumba of Faghwai. It is dated 1394 Vikrama. Like the inscription issued by Adityamalla, it directs the bhardars despatched to the east not to disturb the Lamas in any way. Punyamalla liked to style himself as Paramasaugata and Garudadhvajavatara. In this inscription too, he describes himself as a religious-minded king. This is consistent with the religious policy followed by the kings of Sinja. According to the Gopala-Rajavamshavali, the Khasas had invaded the Valley of Nepal three years earlier. This inscription shows that Punyamalla was planning to invade the Valley again.

These two inscriptions of 1378 and 1394 Vikrama which have been found in Gorkha thus prove conclusively that Gorkha was at that time a part of the state of Sinja. In 1383 Vikrama, when he died, Rudramalla, ruler of the central state, was described as having ruled over the whole of Nepal up to Nuwakot. This shows that the Trishuli river formed the boundary between the Malla States of the center and Sinja. In Aswin 1801 Vikrama, before Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of Nuwakot, the Trishuli river formed the eastern boundary of the state of Gorkha.

Punyamalla was succeeded on the throne of Sinja by his son, Prithvimalla. The glory of Sinja increased constantly during the rule of Prithvimalla and Abhayamalla. Accordingly, even though direct evidence is not available, it would seem that Gorkha remained a part of the state of Sinja during the rule of Prithvimalla and Abhayamalla also.

II

Gorkha Under Yakshamalla

The Narapatiyacharya - Swarodaya - Tika, composed in the name of King Jagajjyotirmalla of Bhaktapur, a descendant of Yakshamalla, mentions that Yakshamalla had brought Gorkha under his control.

(Ancient Nepal, No. 6, p. 34).

This work was completed nearly 150 years after Yakshamalla, so it does not appear credible at first sight. Yakshamalla, however, had turned Bhaktapur his capital, into an impregnable fort in the year 1510 Vikrama.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Mallakalama Desharakshako Vyavasthara Tyasprati Prajako kartavya" (Defense arrangements during the Malla Period and the obligations of the subjects), Purnima year 1, no. 2, Shrawan 2021 (July 1964), pp. 20-23, trans. in Regmi Research Series, year 2, no. 5 May 1, 1970, pp. 110-113).

In that year, Yakshamalla seems to have worked against Champaran, adjoining the Tarai region of Nepal, as well as against the state of Lohabar, which adjoined the Tarai region of Nepal in the east.

1. Gnyanamani Nepal, Nepala Nirukta, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2040 Vikrama (A.D. 1983), pp. 180-81.

2. Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Srestha, Dolakhako Aitihasika Ruparekha (Historical outline of Dolakha), Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2031 Vikrama (A.D. 1974), pp. 21-22).

All this makes it clear that Yakshamalla was a great conqueror.

Moreover, a reference is available to show that Yakshamalla had conquered Nuwakot.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Nuwakotko Aitihasika Ruparekha (Historical outline of Nuwakot), Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2032 Vikrama (A.D. 1975), pp. 44-45).

This appears to substantiate the claim made by Jagajjyotirmalla that Yakshamalla had conquered Gorkha, which is adjacent to Nuwakot. It may be noted that the Vamshawali found by Kirkpatrick also mentions that Yakshamalla had brought Gorkha under his control.

(Kirkpatrick, An Account of the kingdom of Nepal, p. 266)

It thus seems that during the time of Yakshamalla, Gorkha once more came under central control, and that Yakshamalla took back Gorkha, which Jitarimalla had detached from the center.

III

Gorkha Under Mukunda Sen

The Sen Kingdom of Palpa had been founded some time during the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. Rudra Sen was ruling there around the year 1571 Vikrama. This is proved by a grant made by him in that year, which is now available. Mukunda Sen, son of Rudra Sen proved to be a great hero.

The Valley of Nepal did not remain in its usual condition after Yakshamalla. Yakshamalla's kingdom was divided into several fragments. The three kingdoms of Bhaktapur, Kathmandu, and Patan emerged thereafter. Around 1581-82, Jitmalla and Pranamalla were ruling jointly in Bhaktapur and Suryamalla in Kathmandu, while Patan was being ruled by the Mahapatras. Taking advantage of this situation, Mukunda Sen invaded the Valley of Nepal twice in 1581 and 1582 Vikrama. Contemporary writings described Mukunda Sen as a Magar. There is also a reference to show that Mukunda Sen invaded the Valley of Nepal again in 1603 Vikrama.

The Pashupatinath Temple Treasury is in possession of a treaty signed by King Narendramalla (Amaramalla) of Kathmandu, some discontented members of the royal family of Bhaktapur, the Mahapatras of Patan, the Ravutta of Pharping, and the Bharos of Dolakha against King Pramamalla of Bhaktapur. The treaty placed the contracting parties under the obligation of offering joint resistance in the event Magars came through Nuwakot or any other route. The references to Mukunda Sen's invasion of 1603 Vikrama, the description of the Sens as Magars in contemporary writings; and apprehensions of a Magar invasion in 1605 Vikrama, show that the treaty was aimed at the Sens. Since a Sen invasion was apprehended through Nuwakot, this shows that the Sens had brought the Gorkha region under their control.

According to the Gorkha - Vamshavali :-

"Ganesh Pande, who had come along with Mukunda Sen, to Gorkha, was staying at Belbas in the Chhoprak area of Gorkha."

The Gorkha - Rajavamshavali similarly states:-

"Narayan Pandit stayed at the house of a Pokhryal Brahman in Chhoprak. A Pande Brahman named Ganesh, who had accompanied Mukunda Sen during his campaign of conquest, had left him and stopped there to treat a very great man who had fallen ill. Ganesh Pande had thereafter stayed at the house of that same Pokhryal Brahman for five or seven years."

These references too prove that Gorkha was then under the control of Mukunda Sen.

References

Mahesh Raj Pant and Dinesh Raj Pant, "Nepal khaldoma Palpali Raja Mukunda Senko Hamala" (Invasion of Nepal Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Palpa), Purnima, year 12, no. 1, Jestha 2037 (May 1980), and year 12, no. 2, p. 19

(To be Continued)

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A History of Gorkha

By

Dinesh Raj Pant

(Continued)

I

Gorkha Under the Khadka Kings

As noted previously, Mukunda Sen invaded the valley of Nepal in the year 1603 Vikrama. This shows that Mukunda Sen was ruling until 1603 Vikrama.

The Gorkha-Vamshavali and the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali state that Drabya Shah conquered Gorkha from a Khadka King. After Mukunda Sen, his extensive kingdom split into several fragments. Just as Yakshamalla's sons could not maintain their control of all his territories, Mukunda Sen's sons too were unable to do so. It seems that Gorkha too freed itself from Sen control and came under the control of local rulers.

The Vamshavalis, while referring to Drabya Shah's attack on Liglig, state: "The present king (of Liglig) is strong and has been ruling there for ten or twelve years." Liglig is situated at a distance of about 3 kos from the headquarters of Gorkha. The Vamshavali account thus helps us to ponder over the issue. It may be noted that according to the Vamshavalis, different Kings were ruling Liglig and Gorkha at the time when Drabya Shah founded his kingdom.

Since there is a clear reference to Mukunda Sen in 1603 Vikrama, and since Drabya Shah conquered Gorkha in 1616 Vikrama, there is a gap of 13 years between these two events. References are available to show that Liglig was conquered during the Dashain festival, and Gorkha in Bhadra 1616 Vikrama. For this reason, Liglig could not have been conquered after 1615 Vikrama. There is a gap of twelve years between 1603 and 1615, thus corroborating the Vamshavali version of "ten or twelve years". This means that after the influence of the Sens declined, that of local rulers increased in Gorkha.

Ganesh Pande, Mukunda Sen's man, had seen how local rulers raised their heads after his lord's kingdom was fragmented, and also knew their weaknesses. He seems to have been able to make an attempt to remove the Khadka King of Gorkha easily.

II

The Time of Yashobrahma Shah

Drabya Shah, a son of King Yashobrahma Shah of Lamjung, conquered Gorkha. For this reason, it is clear that Yashobrahma Shah is connected with Gorkha, the subject-matter of our study.

No contemporary document of Yashobrahma Shah's time has been found so far; nor do current Vamshavalis make any reference to his time. It is thus clear that these sources shed no light on the subject. Even then, it is not that there is no basis for discussing the question of Yashobrahma Shah's time. We shall, therefore, write a few words on this subject.

According to a Vamshavali found in Lamjung, Yashobrahma Shah became King of Lamjung in the month of Ashadha, 1550 Vikrama. References to the date, the day according to the lunar calendar, the week-day, the Zodiac sign, etc. contained in that account give an impression of authenticity at first glance, but the dates do not check. Moreover, the event is said to have antedated Drabya Shah's coronation in the Vikrama year 1616 by 66 years. Such a big gap in one generation is not possible. For this reason, the Vamshavali account does not seem to be authentic.

During the reign of King Rajendra, Major Krishneshwar Dhakal submitted a document containing the regnal years of the Gorkhali kings. According to that document, Yashobrahma Shah became King of Gorkha in the Vikrama year 1616 and that he reigned for 17 years. But it is Drabya Shah who is believed to have ascended the throne of Gorkha in the Vikrama year 1616. It is obvious that Major Krishneshwar Dhakal regarded the Vikrama year 1616 as the year of the coronation not of Drabya Shah but of Yashobrahma Shah, and the latter as king not of Lamjung but of Gorkha. The regnal period of Yashobrahma Shah as mentioned by Major Krishneshwar Dhakal accordingly does not appear to be authentic.

A petition submitted by Jahar Simha Bhandari and Kedar Simha Bhandari contains the names of the kings of Lamjung from Yashobrahma Shah to Biramardan Shah, as well as of members of the Bhandari family during their reign and after Lamjung was merged into the kingdom of Nepal. It mentions the regnal years of Yashobrahma Shah, but not of the other kings of Lamjung. According to the petition, Yashobrahma Shah became king of Lamjung in the Vikrama year 1595. Since Drabya Shah became king of Gorkha in the Vikrama year 1616, there is thus a difference of 21 years between father and son. This version, therefore, seems to be more authentic.

There are two pieces of cannon at the Kalikasthan Palace in Lamjung. One of them bears the inscription "Bhadra Badi 1598 Samvat". This shows that by that year the state of Lamjung had already been founded, and cannon too manufactured. This evidence too substantiates Bhandari's version of the date of Yashobrahma Shah's reign.

Notes:

1. A reference to the account contained in the Vamshavali of Lamjung has been made in Voice of History, year 3, p. 29. "The King of Lamjung was crowned on Sunday, Ashadh 15, 1550 Vikrama/1415 Shaka, on the tenth day of the lunar calendar, at 9 ghadis and 25 palas after sunrise."

The same date of Yashobrahma Shah's coronation has been given in "Gorkhavamshayali", Itihasa Prakasha, vol. 2, part 3, p. 417

However, the particulars do not check, for Ashadh Badi 10, 1550 falls on Ashadh 13, 1550.

2. The following unpublished document (No. 506, Bundle No. 3) is now in the possession of the National Archives. It was formerly in the possession of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:-

Petition submitted by Jahar Singh Bhandari and Kahar Singh Bhandari

(Abstract translation)

Jitaram Bhandari came to Lamjung from Jumla. Because he did not want to live under a Ghale King, he sent Dara Ghimire to Nuwakot and invited Kal Shahi to occupy the throne. However, Kal Shahi was assassinated by the Ghale. Jitaram Bhandari then procured Jasbam Shah and placed him on the throne in the year 1460.

The names of the kings of Lamjung and of contemporary members of the Bhandari family were as follows:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| King Jasbam Shah: | Jitaram Bhandari, and his son, Bardeo Bhandari. |
| King Narahari Shah: | Bardeo Bhandari, and his son, Ransingh Bhandari. |
| King Chura Shah: | Ransingh Bhandari, and his son, Devdas Bhandari. |
| King Achindra Shah: | Devdas Bhandari, and his son, Sire Bhandari. |
| King Narindra Shah: | Sire Bhandari, and his son, Mane Bhandari. |
| King Naraj Shah: | Mane Bhandari, and his son, Ananta Bhandari. |
| King Keharinarayan Shah and king Dabadal Shah: | Ananta Bhandari, and his sons, Umme Singh and Gora. |
| King Raksheshor Shah and king Bhima Shah: | Umme Singh and Gora, Umme Singh's sons kunjar, kalu, Angad, Jaisingh, and Hari, and Gora's sons Ganapati; Ganapati's sons Nethu, kalu, Parath, and Indraman. |

Kunjar, kalu, and Parath belonged to the reign of king Ripumardan Shah. These three bhandaris were invited by His Majesty to Gorkha. Thus only Jaisingh, kunjar's brother, remained in Lamjung during the reign of king Biramardan Shah.

Kunjar's son was Dhokal. We two (Jahar Singh Bhandari and Kahar Singh Bhandari) are sons of Dhokal.

Kalu and Parath were sons of Ganapati and grandsons of Gora. Kaji Chamu Bhandari is Kalu's son, while Jasiwanta Bhandari and Ghanashyam Bhandari are sons of Parath.

During the conquest of Nepal, Kunjar Bhandari was granted rewards two or three times.

Among our relatives, Hari Bhandari was killed in Bhadgaun, Mane Bhandari in Langur, Jairam Bhandari in Gilug, Karbir Bhandari in Jhamtagadhi, and Beoal Singh Bhandari in Parsa-Gadhi. All their orphaned children are living with us.

We are now engaged in attendance at the royal palace up to 12 or 15 ghadis in the night in the hope that we Bhandaris will be assigned to some district. We are not allowed to enter into the palace, and have no one to represent our case. We are suffering for lack of food and clothing.

The Struggle for Kangra Fort

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan".

(Continued)

The ruler of Patiala, Saheb Singh, wanted to join the Gorkhali army with the objective of deriving advantage from the conquest of Sirmur. In particular, he wanted to occupy some villages of Sirmur which were situated in the hill region and adjoined his state. Saheb Singh had already signed a treaty of subsidiary alliance with the East India Company. For that reason, he informed Ochterlony: "My relations with the Gorkhalis are close and friendly. The Gorkhalis are preparing to invade Sirmur, and I want to join them". However, Saheb Singh had to drop his plan because of the Governor-General's opposition.

The Gorkhalis soon laid siege to the fort of Morni. The troops of both sides attacked each other with muskets, cannon, swords, javelins, khukuris, khundas, and other weapons. Birabhadra jumped into the midst of the army of Sirmur with his sword in his hand. The hill soldiers fled when he brandished his sword. They were powerless before such brave Gorkhali commanders as Ramasundar Thapa, Renajor Thapa, Bali Simha Adhikari, Dalajit, Ripumardan Thapa, Arimardan Thapa, Chandrabir Thapa, Bhagawanta Adhikari, Jaya Krishna Thapa, Bir Umrao, and Minaraj Thapa. Ratna Prakash too fled, leaving his family behind. The ladies of his household were forced to follow him on foot. His subjects fled to the forests.

The Gorkhalis displayed extraordinary bravery and cruelty in the battle. They cut off the nose, ears, hands, and feet of many of the enemy. They surrounded the women of the town in their houses and raped them, or stripped them naked for public display. Maularam has written a very graphic account of the battle.

Ranajor Thapa then assumed charge of the administration of Sirmur. He brought people back to their towns and villages, and the people of Sirmur accepted him as their new lord. Ranajor Thapa appointed officials known as Bichari and Achari to run the administration. Ranajor Thapa used to sit on a balcony listening to the petitions from people in the courtyard below. In Sirmur, Ranajor Thapa began to live like a King. He honored Brahmans with gifts, and no poet or artist was allowed to leave empty-handed. Pleased with a poem composed by Maularam in his praise, Ranajor Thapa gave him a horse, a pair of gold bangles, and the village of Pawatagaun.

The conquest of the fort of Morni, and the reoccupation of Sirmur, led to an increase in the Gorkhali reign of terror. Amar Simha Thapa then summoned Birabhadra Kunwar and launched a fresh attack on the fort of Kangra. Sansar Chand then appealed to Ranjit Singh for assistance, pointing out that the Gorkhali conquest of Kangra would open up the way for their conquest of Kashmir, Lahore, and Peshawar. Sansar Chand also pointed out to Ranjit Singh that once the Gorkhalis controlled the hills, and the British the plains, he would not be able to expand his own territories. Sansar Chand even offered to hand over the fort of Kangra to Ranjit Singh, thinking that he would be able to get it back later.

Ranjit Singh's army reached Kangra in August 1809. Amar Simha Thapa tried to bribe it to go back. However, Ranjit Singh was determined to drive out the Gorkhalis from the region. Accordingly, he rejected Amar Simha Thapa's offer. Meanwhile, Sansar Chand called off his negotiations with Amar Singh Thapa. When Ranjit Singh reached there, the rulers of the hill states deserted the Gorkhali side and joined him. They began to stop the supply of food to the Gorkhalis. On Shrawan 5, 1866 Vikrama, Sansar Chand and Ranjit Singh held a meeting at the temple of Jwalamukhi and took oath not to deceive each other. Sansar Chand agreed to hand over the fort of Kangra to Ranjit Singh on the condition that the Gorkhalis were driven out.

Meanwhile, the Gorkhali forces were suffering from a shortage of ammunition as well as from an epidemic. Ranjit Singh advanced toward the fort of Kangra along with his army and began bombarding the Gorkhalis. It was by no means an easy task to resist Ranjit Singh's army. Even then, according to Nepali authors, the Gorkhalis stood their ground for five days. In the beginning, many men of the Sikh force were killed, but soon the Gorkhali forces were surrounded on all sides by the enemy. Many Gorkhali soldiers were sick or injured. Supplies of food and ammunition were almost non-existent. The inhabitants, of Kangra were waiting for an opportunity to take revenge upon the Gorkhalis. It was in these circumstances that Amar Simha Thapa proposed a treaty with Ranjit

Singh. The latter received a sum of Rs. 100,000 from the Gorkhalis and ordered them to go across the Sutlej river. He threatened to drive them out by force if they refused to do so. Amar Simha Thapa had then no alternative but to withdraw his forces from Kangra.

Riding on the same elephant, Ranjit Singh and Sansar Chand reached the gates of Kangra fort. Sansar Chand ordered Naurang in writing to hand over the fort to Ranjit Singh. The latter occupied the fort in Shrawan 1866 (24 August 1809). The defeated Amar Simha Thapa then laid siege to the fort of Malakada, but the Sikhs drove him toward Charbagh. Amar Simha Thapa was then forced to cross the Sutlej river.

Amar Simha Thapa informed the court of Nepal that Ranjit Singh had occupied the fort of Kangra and ordered the Gorkhalis to confine themselves to the eastern side of the Sutlej river. Amar Simha Thapa also wrote, "We were unable to resist the massive army of Ranjit Singh, which desires to conquer territories up to Kashmir, Multan, and Khorasan. Our hold is firm on the territories east of the Sutlej river. Ranjor Thapa has been given charge of the administration of Sirmur, Kunwar Balabhadra of the Doon Valley, and Bahadur Shandari and Dasharath Khatri of Srinagar-Garhwal. I am waiting for orders."

Bhimsen Thapa and King Girvan Yuddha Vikram felt very angry when they received this letter. They deputed Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat to lead the campaign on the western front.

After providing for necessary troops and supplies at Kangra fort and receiving a tribute (nazarana) from Sansar Chand, Ranjit Singh returned to Lahore. He left 1000 troops at the fort of Nadaun. Ranjit Singh also ordered Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala to remain in Bijwada along with his troops and maintain a close watch on the movements of Amar Simha Thapa.

Amar Simha Thapa did not give up his plans of conquest even after being defeated and driven across the Sutlej river. He began to plan to reorganize his forces in the Cis-Sutlej region in order to occupy the hill regions of the west. He constructed new forts in the state of Baghal and strengthened old ones. He also built the well-known fort of Jagatgarh (Jutoggarh) near modern Shimla. Strong forts were constructed in the states of Sabathu and Dharmo on his orders. Amar Simha Thapa also renovated a large number of small and big forts in the hill valleys of the Jamuna-Sutlej region and made Arki his capital. In addition, Amar Simha Thapa started giving his troops nutritious food in order to enable them face the Sikhs. The Gorkhali troops then began to eat up goats from the Himalayan villages in such large numbers that the price of each animal increased to thirty rupees.

Their defeat in Kangra, and their expulsion to the Cis-Sutlej region had greatly undermined the prestige of the Gorkhali army as well as of Amar Simha Thapa. The rulers of Busahar and three other adjoining states then decided to drive out the Gorkhalis in the same manner as in Kangra. In Shrawan 1867

(August 1810), Amar Simha Thapa was forced to withdraw his troops from Rampur, the main town of Busahar. The Gorkhali army then set up its headquarters at a place called Jaaapantha. There the ruler of Busahar and his three allies besieged the Gorkhalis during the month of Shrawan (July-August) when the rivers were flooded. According to Maularam, the Gorkhalis had ten companies there with about 1000 troops, while the hill rulers had assembled a force of 12,000 fighters. The Gorkhali Commander, Shumshere Jung Rana, and his troops were terrified. On the advice of Harku Padhya, an astrologer, the Gorkhalis attacked the enemy with their khukuris on the seventh day of the month of Shrawan and slaughtered about 700 hill fighters. The Gorkhalis then succeeded in reaching a safe place.

But this victory did not help Amar Simha Thapa and the Gorkhali army retrieve their position. The Chand and Panwar rulers of Kumaun and Garhwal had eliminated the chiefs of those forts centuries before. After those rulers were defeated, there was no local lord either in Kumaun or in Garhwal who could lead the people's resistance against the aggressor. There were many principalities in the region west of the Jamuna river whose rulers or princes were ready to fulfill that role. The first half of the Gorkhali rule of about ten or eleven years in Himachal Pradesh was one of victory, terror, and glory. But the second half witnessed a progressive decline, opposition to the Gorkhali rule by the local rulers and their subjects, growing disobedience, and delays in payment of taxes.

Nepal's expansion toward the east had been checked by the East India Company on the frontiers of Sikkim. Ranjit Singh similarly checked it on the Sutlej river. The Himalayas were an effective deterrent to expansion toward the north. Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa, therefore, began to make plans for expansion toward the Bhabar and Tarai areas in the south. Amar Simha Thapa made attempts to occupy Pinjor, Narayangadh, and Laharpur, which once belonged to the states of Nahan and Sirmur. He made similar attempts to occupy Budhiya and Palasi, which once formed a part of the territories of the state of Hindur.

However, the East India Company had already incorporated the states in the plains of the Jamuna - Sutlej region into its system of protectorates. The British Commander in Ludhiana, Ochterlony, warned Amar Simha Thapa that the East India Company would not tolerate any attempt to extend Gorkhali control to territories situated in the sub-montane region east of the Sutlej river. The Governor-General endorsed Ochterlony's line. The East India Company did not want the fertile valley of Pinjor to pass into Gorkhali hands and enrich them. Amar Simha's defeat in Kangra had greatly damaged his prestige, and he did not want it to be further harmed by suffering a defeat at the hands of the East India Company as well. For these reasons, he agreed in A.D. 1810 to withdraw his troops from Pinjor.

But soon thereafter the Gorkhals occupied four villages in the Batauli area of the state of Patiala. Ochterlony wanted to punish them, but was not allowed by the Governor-General to take any action. Amar Simha Thapa knew that his position in Himachal Pradesh had become very weak. He was, therefore, determined to maintain friendly relations with the East India Company at any cost. He withdrew the Gorkhali troops from these four villages and informed the Company that he was prepared to vacate not only four but even twenty villages in the interests of friendship.

Amar Simha Thapa's position had, in fact, become very shaky. When Ranjit Singh reached Kangra, the rulers of the states west of the Sutlej river left the Gorkhali side to join him. Amar Simha Thapa's hold on the states east of the river was also not strong. There were apprehensions that in the event of relations with the East India Company worsening, all the hill rulers would go over to its side and oppose the Gorkhals. Amar Simha Thapa, therefore, began to make special efforts to maintain amicable relations with the East India Company. In Kartik 1870 Vikrama (November 1813), he sent rare hill birds, musk, and other articles as "a humble present from the hill region" to Ochterlony through Bhakti Thapa. Bhakti Thapa informed Ochterlony that if the East India Company promised not to interfere, Amar Simha Thapa intended to attack Kangra again. He also conveyed Amar Simha Thapa's desire to meet Ochterlony.

A meeting was held between Amar Simha Thapa and Ochterlony near Pinjor on November 10, 1813. They expressed their desire to develop amicable relations, although both knew that these relations could erupt into hostility at any moment. Amar Simha Thapa did not let relations with the East India Company be harmed. He sent several letters to Ochterlony requesting for military assistance to free Kangra from Ranjit Singh's control. He wanted that relations between the East India Company and Ranjit Singh should deteriorate, thereby enabling him to entrench his position in the hill region. Amar Simha Thapa also believed that if the Sikhs, Marathas, and Gorkhals united, they could defeat the British.

But the Gorkhali empire between the Kali and Sutlej rivers was built on sand. The Gorkhals had alienated the local people through their oppressive behavior. In 1805, General Lake, while in pursuit of Amir Khan Rohilla, had crossed the Beas river and encamped at Jelalabad. His troops did not procure a single grain from the local people without payment. No one, high or low, had been oppressed, or employed to work without wages. The Gorkhali behavior was just the opposite. The unfortunate period of Gorkhali rule in Kangra and Himachal Pradesh can never be forgotten.

(Concluded)

Ran Bahadur's Expenses in Banaras

The 1801 Treaty

On October 26, 1801, a treaty was signed between the government of Nepal and the East India Company stipulating an annual payment of Rs. 72,000 in cash, and elephants worth Rs. 10,000 every year to Ran Bahadur Shah so long as he remained in Banaras or elsewhere in the territories of the East India Company. The treaty also stipulated that "the Pergunnah of Beejapoor (i.e., the eastern Terai district of Morang), with all the lands thereunto attached (excepting rent-free lands, religious or charitbale endowments, jaghires and such like as specified separately in the account of collections) be settled" on Ran Bahadur Shah,

C.U. Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sunnuds Relating to India And Neighboring Countries, Calcutta: Bengal Printing Co. Ltd., 1863, Vol. II, pp. 203-5.

Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Gaja Simha Khatri

In October, 1802 (Kartik Badi 4, 1859), Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Gaja Simha Khatri were granted an ijara for revenue collection in Morang for a three-year period. A royal order issued in their names in January 1803 (Magh Badi 9, 1859) specifically mentioned that "the ijara has been granted to you so that you may send funds to (Ran Bahadur Shah) in Banaras." However, the Khatri were not able to discharge their assignment faithfully. Indeed, they even sent a false report to Kathmandu that they had remitted funds to Banaras. They were, therefore, severely reprimanded, and ordered to send Patna Rs. 38,000 to Kathmandu for remittance to Banaras.

References

1. Revenue regulations for Morang in the name of Subba Gaja Simha Khatri and Subba Dasharath Khatri, Kartik Badi 4, 1859.

Regmi Research Collection Vol. 6, pp. 631-636.

2. Royal order to Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Gaja Simha Khatri, Magh Sudi 9, 1859.

Regmi Research Collection Vol. 20, p. 6.

Because of their unsatisfactory performance, Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Gaja Simha Khatri were dismissed in April 1803 notwithstanding the fact that the ijara had been granted to them for a three-year period.

("Royal Order Replacing Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Gaja Simha Khatri by Hastagal Shahi as Ijaradar of Morang", Chaitra Sudi 15, 1859, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, p. 25).

Dasharath Khatri was then assigned the task of promoting settlement in the Koshi-Tista region.¹ In Jestha 1862, he was functioning as Subedar of the Devidal Company in Vijayapur.² On Shrawan Badi 9, 1864, he was sent to Bara and Parsa to collect revenues on Amanat basis.³ Two days later, on Friday, Shrawan Badi 11, 1864, he was concurrently granted the responsibility of collecting revenue from jagir, birta, bekh-bunyad, manachamal and mokarri lands in the eastern Terai districts of Morang, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Saptari, and Mahottari, with the exception of (1) lands which had been restored through royal orders, and (2) those who had been included in the revenue-collection ijara for the concerned district.⁴ On Falgun Badi 10, 1865 (February 1865) Subba Dasharath Khatri was dismissed from his assignment in Bara and Parsa.⁵ He then seems to have been assigned to Garhwal.

References

1. Adalat regulations for Morang in the names of Umanidhi Pantha and Jayanta Khatri, Jestha Sudi 14, 1862, Sec. 14, Regmi Research Collection Vol. 19, p. 64.
2. Royal order to Subedar Rudra Simha Khadka of the Barahadal Company and Subedar Dasharath Khatri of the Devidal Company in Vijayapur, Jestha Sudi 13, 1862, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 29.
3. Amanat regulations in the name of Subba Dasharath Khatri for Bara and Parsa, Shrawan Badi 9, 1864, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, pp. 459-461.
4. Royal order to Subba Dasharath Khatri, Shrawan Badi 11, 1864, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, pp. 462-463.
5. Royal order replacing Dasharath Khatri by Jayafar as Subba of Bara and Parsa, Falgun Badi 10, 1865, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 218.
6. Edwin T. Atkinson, The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1884, Vol. II, p. 619.

Subba Hastadal Shahi

Subba Hastadal Shahi, who belonged to the royal family of Gorkha¹ was sent to Morang on a three-year ijara on April 1803. (Baisakh Badi 11, 1860). Payment due under the ijara amounted to Rs. 67,001 in 1803, Rs. 72,003 in 1804 and Rs. 79,003 in 1805. Hastadal Shahi was ordered to remit these funds to Ran Bahadur Shahi in Banaras in installments every year.² According to regulations promulgated in his name on that date:³

If you are unable to remit funds to our father in Banaras in the prescribed installments, we shall dismiss you notwithstanding year three-year term as soon as we receive letters from there.

However, Hastadal Shahi too appears to have been unable to work satisfactorily, and was soon replaced by Subba Sarup Puri.⁴

References

1. Regmi Research Series, Year 19, No. 1, January 1987, pp. 6-8.
2. Ijara grant to Subba Hastadal Shahi for revenue collection in Morang, replacing Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Gaja Simha Khatri, Baisakh Badi 11, 1860, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, pp. 44-46.
3. Revenue regulations for Morang in the name of Subba Hastadal Shahi, Baisakh Badi 11, 1860, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, pp. 48-52.
4. Documents relating to the appointment of Sarup Puri as Subba of Morang are not available. However, there is evidence that Sarup Puri was functioning in that capacity until Vikrama 1862, when he was replaced by Ravilal Jani. (Royal order to the Subedars of the Devidal and Barahadal Companies in Vijayapur regarding the appointment of Ravilal Jani as Subba of Morang, replacing Sarup Puri, Poush Badi 3, 1862, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 676-678.)

Ravilal Jani's Ijara

On Monday, Poush Badi 3, 1862, Subba Sarup Puri was dismissed and replaced by Ravilal Jani, an agent (Gumasta) of Sahu Dwarikadas. Ravilal Jani was appointed as Ijaradar of Morang district for a five-year term, that is, until the year 1867 Vikrama. According to regulations promulgated in his name:

"Remit funds as follows from 1863 to 1867 Vikrama to pay off debts incurred in Banaras as well as (in Nepal) through Sahu Harikrishnadas.

<u>Year</u>		<u>Amount</u>
1863	...	Rs. 15,000
1864	...	Rs. 18,000
1865	...	Rs. 18,400
1866	...	Rs. 17,800
1867	...	Rs. 17,000

"So long as you fulfill the conditions stipulated by you, we shall not dismiss you before the expiry of your five-year term, even if any other person makes a higher offer."

Poush Badi 13, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 684-686.

Information to Local Companies

I

Royal order to the Subedar of the Barahadal-Company and the Devidal Company in Vijayapur.

From the year 1863 Vikrama Samvat, Ravilal Jani, an agent (gumasta) of Sahu Dwarikadas, has been appointed as Subba of Morang district, replacing Sarup Puri. The two companies stationed at Vijayapur have traditionally remained under the command of the Subba to help him in collecting revenue, operating checkpoints, and performing guard duties. Depute one patti of musket-men, as well as one jamadar, from each company to function under the gumasta appointed by Ravilal Jani, to perform functions relating to collection of revenue, safety of the treasury (khajana), and escort consignments of coins, without causing any adverse effect on duties at the fort. Provide services to Ravilal Jani's employee in matters relating to revenue collection and security as ordered by him in matters that promote our interests. You shall be held responsible if you make any complaint or raise any obstruction in this regard and disobey his orders, so that work is harmed, and if the gumasta of Ravilal Jani submits a complaint to us. If you appoint additional soldiers to perform the duties assigned to you, their salaries will be deducted from your emoluments. Understand this, and act as ordered.

Monday, Poush Badi 3, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 676-78.

II

Royal order to the Subedars Jamadar, Hudda, and Soldiers of the Company stationed at Chisapani.

Permit cash and goods sent to the plains (Madhesh) by Ravilal Jani, gumasta of Sahu Dwarikadas, and the men escorting them, as mentioned in the passport, to pass without any restriction. Also permit cash and goods received from the plains, and men, to come here on the basis of identity documents issued by Ravilal Jani. Permit mail sent from here to pass if these bear the seal of Kaji Bhimsen Thapa. Do not open such mail. Do not open or hold up any mail received from the plains. Send the couriers here along with an escort of your musketmen. Have such mail inspected and opened in the presence of of the Sahu and the kaji. Do not make the slightest delay there. You shall be held responsible if you make any delay and work is adversely affected here.

Monday, Poush Badi 3, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 678.

Ravilal Jani Replaced by Harikrishna Das

As mentioned above, Ravilal Jani had been appointed as Ijaradar of Morang for a five-year term beginning April 1806. However, he was replaced in May 1808 by Sahu Harikrishnadas, another gumasta of Sahu Dwarikadas, apparently at the initiative of Sahu Dwarikadas himself.¹ Payments stipulated from Sahu Harikrishnadas during a three-year period from 1808 to 1810 were as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1808	... Rs. 96,159
1809	... Rs. 100,656
1810	... Rs. 103,958

It is significant that Sahu Harikrishnadas was ordered "to deposit payments due under the Ijara to the treasury" every year rather than to remit them to Sahu Dwarikadas in Banaras.

References

1. Royal order to Ravilal Jani informing him of his replacement by Harikrishnadas as Ijaradar of Morang, Baisakh Sudi 14, 1865, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 80.
2. Letter of appointment to Sahu Harikrishnadas, Jestha Badi 13, 1865, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, pp. 90-92; Regulations in the name of Sahu Harikrishnadas, do, Ibid, pp. 92-96.

Chandrabir Thapa Appointed Subba

The five-year ijara granted to Sahu Dwarikadas's nominee expired in Chaitra 1867 (April 1811). Subba Chandrabir Thapa was then appointed as Subba for revenue collection in Morang on Amanat basis.¹

However, arrears of revenue for the year 1810-11 were still due to Sahu Harikrishnadas. Since his ijara authority had already come to an end, Kathmandu deputed two Subedars, namely Devendra Padhya and Shashidhar Padhya, to realize them and transmit the proceeds to the Sahu.²

References

1. Royal order to Subba Chandrabir Thapa of Morang regarding collection of arrears of revenue, Magh Sudi 3, 1867, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, pp. 722-723

2. Regulations in the names of Subedar Devendra Padhya and Subedar Shashidhar Padhya regarding collection of arrears of revenue in Morang on behalf of Sahu Hari Krishnadas, Marga Sudi 4, 1867, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, pp. 678-681; see also royal orders to the two Subedars, and to Kaji Balabir Rana and Sardar Gaja Simha Khatri, on Magh Sudi 3, 1867, Ibid, pp. 718-720.

Reappointment of Harikrishna Das

Chandrabir Thapa's tenure, however, seems to have been short-lived, for there is evidence that Harikrishnadas was again appointed as Ijaradar of Morang. On Sunday, Chaitra Sudi 3, 1869 (March 1813), Anup Simha Adhikari and Dhokal khawas were appointed Subbas of Morang, and the letter of appointment clearly states that they were to succeed Harikrishnadas. Their appointment was effective for a five-year period from Baisakh Badi 1, 1870 to Chaitra Sudi 15, 1874. Although it was on Amanat basis, they stipulated a payment of Rs.127,001 a year, against Rs. 115,001 stipulated by Harikrishnadas.

(Royal order appointing Anup Simha Adhikari and Dokhal khawas as Subbas of Morang, as well as regulations issued in their names, Sunday, Chaitra Sudi 3, 1869, Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 562-568.

(To be Continued).

Miscellaneous Documents of Chaitra Sudi 14, 1869

1. Kushle Musicians at Vajrajogini Temple

Royal order to Tejapat Kushle: "Your family has been enjoying the privilege to play on musical instruments during regular and ceremonial religious functions at the temple of Sri Vajrajogini, as well as every morning and evening. However, your services were interrupted for one or two years. We now reconfirm your traditional privilege. With full assurance, play on musical instruments every morning and evening, and enjoy your jagir."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 585-86.

2. Management of Guthi Endowments

I

In the year 1867 Vikrama, Bamshidhar Chaudhari had been given charge of the management of a Sadavarta endowment in Patan town. The assignment was reconfirmed on Chaitra Sudi 14, 1869.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 586.

II

Pratiman Khatri was given charge of guthi endowments made for the temple of Sri Gokarneshwar. The royal order added, "The Bhatta priest and the Bhandari attendant shall work under your control. Income from the guthi endowments shall be used to finance customary regular and ceremonial religious functions at the temple and appropriate emoluments for the Bhatta and the Bhandari. You may appropriate for yourself any surplus income that may be left after meeting these expenses."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 586.

3. Appointment of Auditors

Royal order to Dittha Pitambar and his elder brother: "We hereby grant you authority effective Marga Sudi 13, 1869, to scrutinize documents from all over our kingdom. Show no fear or favor to any one, high or low, do not take bribes, and act justly. Your emoluments shall be as follows:-

- (a) Rs. 1,500 a year from income collected by you while discharging your functions
- (b) Farakhtana fees shall be collected from revenue functionaries at the rate of five rupees on each Rs. 1,000 cleared off. Half of such income shall be transmitted to the government, and the other half shall be shared by the Dittha and the Mukhiya."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 586-87.

4. Appointment of Tahabildar

Bishwanath Upadhyaya was appointed as Tahabildar of the Dafdarkhana effective kartik Sudi 15, 1868 with the responsibility of safe-keeping its documents, stores, and cash. He was given a monthly salary of Rs. 12½.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 587.

5. Disbursement Orders

- (a) Subba Gajabal Baniya of Chitwan - Belod was ordered to disburse a sum of Rs. 335 to Shyamlal Panta as part of his emoluments from payments due for the Vikrama year 1870.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 587-88.

- (b) The Ditthas of the four Adalats were ordered to disburse the following amounts to Chhatrapati Das, a clerk at the Nasarchok - Baithak Tahabil, from the Adalat revenues: (1) Rs. 15 a month as salary. (2) Rs. 30 for clothes during the Dashain festival. (3) Rs. 4 as Dashain expenses. (4) Rs. 5 for Shraddha expenses. (5) Rs. 1½ for Dwat Puja ceremonies.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 588.

- (c) Subba Rudravir Shahi was ordered to make the following disbursements from the 1870 Vikrama revenues of Salyan: (1) Rs. 4 for marriage expenses of Chautariya Pran Shah's daughter. (2) Rs. 300 for marriage expenses of the daughter of Chautariya Pran Shah's brother, Shumshere Shah.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 588.

- (d) On Poush Sudi 15, 1868, Gosain Hulas Giri had supplied banat robes worth Rs. 7,000 to the Palace. Payment was made to the Gosain as follows: (1) Rs. 3,000 from Ijara revenues from Rautahat for the Vikrama year 1870, according to a royal order issued to Subba Sukhalal Giri, and (2) Rs. 4,000 from the sale of four bull elephants and five cow elephants, according to another royal order issued to Daroga Damodar Joshi and other officials of the Hattisar.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 588-89.

- (e) Subba Gajabal Baniya of Chitwan - Belod was ordered to disburse a sum of Rs. 140 from the Ijara revenues of the Vikrama year 1870 as emoluments of Ranabir Baniya. Of that amount, Rs. 130 was in lieu of 520 muris of rice lands, and Rs. 10 as (Khuwa) revenue from Kumhalgaun village, which had been assigned as Jagir to Ranabir Baniya.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 30, p. 590.

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd

Lezimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

Telephone: 4-11927

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Ran Bahadur's Expenses in Banaras

(Continued)

Checks on the Ijaradar's Authority

The ijara granted to the gumasta of Sahu Dwarikadas to collect revenue in Morang district and transmit the proceeds to Ran Bahadur Shah in Banaras, and also to perform several other administrative and security functions, was subject to a number of checks. These may be listed as follows:

- (1) Establishment of an Adalat in Morang.
- (2) Despatch of official teams to discharge functions relating to land reclamation and settlement, and assignment of the newly reclaimed lands to newly recruited troops.

Establishment of an Adalat in Morang

In May 1805 (Jestha Sudi 13, 1862) an Adalat was formed for the Kosi-Tista (Morang) region with Umanidhi Pantha and Jayanta Khatri as Ditthas.

The Adalat's jurisdiction encompassed the region situated east of the Kosi river, west of the Tista river, south of Leute, and north of Moglan (India). Umanidhi Pantha was granted an annual salary of Rs. 900 to be raised from income collected by himself. The royal order of appointment added, "Dispense justice according to the regulations. Do not commit injustice, and do not take bribes. Show no fear or favor while dispensing justice. If any one complains to us against you, we shall hear both sides, and punish whoever is guilty. With full assurance, prove true to your salt, and act expeditiously. You shall be punished severely if you make any delay.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6 pp. 28-29.

Umanidhi Pantha of Tanahu was the son of Gunananda Pantha and the grandson of Tularam Pantha of Tanahu. On Baisakh Sudi 5, 1826 (April 1869), his father, Gunananda Pantha, had received birta and Bandha lands in the Chok area of Tanahu from King Trivikrama Sen of that principality.

(Maheshraj Pant, "Tanahunka Raja Tribikrama Senaka Dasha Aprakashita Patra" (Ten unpublished letters of king Trivikrama Sen of Tanahu), Purnima, No. 52, Bhadra 2039 (August-September 1982), p. 51).

The following royal order was issued in the name of Umanidhi Pantha on Baisakh Sudi 5, 1862:

You had previously taken the salt of the state (dhungo) of Tanahu, and proved true to it. Today, you need not remain at

home. We shall give you both work and emoluments. As soon as you receive this order, proceed on an auspicious day and come to us. Do not make any delay. Come here immediately by all means.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, p. 226.

A royal order was also issued in the names of the Subba, Fouzdars, and other officials and functionaries and the common people of Morang informing that an Adalat had been formed for that district with Umanidhi Pantha and Jayanta Khatri as Ditthas. The step was justified on the ground that "there is much injustice and oppression in that district, and no subject, high or low, gets justice."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 29.

On Asadh Badi 14, 1862, Umanidhi Pantha and Jayanta Khatri were assigned one patti each, headed by a Jamadar, from the two companies stationed at Vijayapur, namely, the Barahadal Company and the Devidal Company, to assist them in discharging their Adalat functions. They were also empowered to appoint 8 peons on a monthly salary of Rs. 3 each. The money was to be appropriated from the income of the Adalat.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 65.

Adalat Regulations

The following regulations for the Adalat were issued in the names of Dittha Umanidhi Pantha and Dittha Jayanta Khatri on Tuesday, Jestha Sudi 14, 1862.

1. In case any ryot complains that the Subba or any other local authority or functionary has made collections at rates in excess of those prescribed in the Vikrama year 1850 (A.D. 1793), hear both sides. If the complaint is found to be true, refund the excess amount to the complainant and punish the person who has made the unauthorized collection.
2. In case any person residing in any birta, jagir, fakirana, bekh-bunyad, or other mouja throughout the district complains that any revenue-collecting authority (amala) has treated him unjustly, hear both sides, and inflict appropriate punishment on the person who confesses his guilt.
3. In case any person is found to have sold the sadavarta or other guthi lands of temples, confiscate such lands, convert them into raikar, and place them under the jurisdiction of the Subba. Submit a statement of income accruing from such lands.

The purchaser shall be told to claim (his money) from the seller. A mathdhari (i.e., member of a monastic order) who has kept a wife shall be punished.

4. In case a complaint is received that a moneylender has collected interest in excess of 10 percent on cash loans, and 25 percent on loans in foodgrains, after the date when regulations controlling (rates of interest) were promulgated, hear both sides, and punish the person who had collected interest in excess of (the prescribed rates). The loan shall be repaid after adding interest (at the prescribed rates), and a fee of 10 percent shall be collected.
5. In case no confession can be obtained in cases which the Subba and the Fouzdar cannot dispose of, or in complaints of injustice by the Amali or other functionary, even after hearing both sides, and in case even Panchas are unable to ascertain the truth, conduct a trial by the ordeal of fire and water. Do not interfere in sources of revenue that have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Subba.
6. Scrutinize accounts of collection of the following fees and taxes, and realize arrears, if any:
 1. Gadimubarakh.
 2. Fees on copper-plate inscriptions of birta grants.
 3. Goddhuwa.
 4. Salami.
7. Grant rewards or expenses, if necessary, to any person in the course of the business of the Adalat, and transmit the salami fee to us. Reasonable expenses incurred for cushions, paper, files, oil, ink, etc. for the Kachahari will be debitted in the accounts.
8. Escheats and panchakhat incomes not exceeding Rs. 100 in each case have been included in the patta of the Subba transmit such incomes to him. Income from these two sources in excess of that figure, and treasure - troves (kalyanadhana) shall be transmitted to us separately. Do not let leases for reclamation of virgin lands (kalabanjar) be terminated before the expiry of the prescribed term.
9. Allow the Subba, the Fouzdar, Chaudharis, Mokaddams, and Mahaldars to exercise their jurisdiction only as defined in their respective pattas. In areas which have received irrigation facilities from former times, arrange for the equitable apportionment of such facilities. Let not the supply of irrigation water be held up by force, thereby leaving lands uncultivated.

10. In case two royal or other orders have been issued for the same land, decide the dispute in the presence of Panchas, confirm the order that is appropriate, and cancel the order that has been unjustly issued. If you cannot arrive at a decision, refer the matter to us.
11. After you reach that territory, study the situation, and recommend what you consider appropriate, and we shall endorse it under the royal seal.
12. Schedules of khangi assignments (raibandi) for the two companies stationed in Vijayapur, namely, the Barahadal Company and the Devidal Company, had been approved in the Vikrama year 1861. Check whether or not the Subedars have recruited men according to those schedules, and whether or not the men have received assignments accordingly. If any money has been misappropriated, recover it, and hand it over to the concerned soldier. If any unfit soldier has been recruited, tell the Subedar that he is unfit and will be useless in war, and have him recruit a good soldier. Do not let the prescribed number of men be reduced.

13. The following staff has been sanctioned for the Adalat:

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Total Khangi</u>
Bichari	4	Rs 800
Nausinda	2	Rs 232

Any employee of the Adalat who is guilty of bribery, favoritism, or injustice shall be punished.

14. Dasharath khatri has been sent (to Morang) to reclaim Virgin lands (kalabanjar). Find out what arrangements he has made, and how many villages he has settled; and also how many villages have been settled on kalabanjar lands through the Subba. We have received reports that the Subba and Dasharatha khatri quarrel with each other. Ascertain the facts, and take whatever decisions you can. Refer to us matters which you cannot decide yourself.

Tuesday, Jeastha Sudi 14, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 19, pp. 59-64.

Additional Regulations

On Saturday, Aswin Badi 13, 1862, Dittha Umanidhi Pantha and Dittha Jayanta Khatri were given the following additional instructions:

- (1) The Subba has been granted the right to appropriate a maximum amount of RS. 100 in each case of cheats and Panchekhat crimes. The excess amount, as well as treasure troves (kalyanadhana) shall be transmitted to us.

(2) Regulations promulgated in your names had authorized you to dispose of the following cases:

(a) Cases which the Subba and the Fouzdar are unable to dispose of; and

(b) Complaints of injustice by the Amil.

Do not take up cases which lie under the customary jurisdiction of the Ijaradar; let him dispose of all such cases. If you dispose of any case lying within the jurisdiction of the Ijaradar and collect fines not exceeding Rs. 100 in each case, hand over the income to the Ijaradar. If the fines and penalties are in excess of Rs. 100 in each case, deduct one-sixth of the amount, and transmit the balance to the Ijaradar.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 486-87.

Investigation Into Complaints Against Dasharath Khatri

Gosain Sarup Puri submitted a complaint to Kathmandu through Raghunath Puri making the following charges against Dasharath Khatri :-

- (1) He has shifted cultivators from mal lands to Kalabanjar lands on concessional (kamsaraha) terms, thus reducing revenue from mal lands.
- (2) He has arranged for the cultivation of lands which had been left uncultivated since 1804-5 by representing them as kalabanjar lands.
- (3) He has displaced cultivators whom we had settled on kalabanjar lands.
- (4) He has sent cultivators of mal lands to the Moglan, and is seeking to bring them back again for reclaiming kalabanjar lands.
- (5) He has greatly harassed the people by collecting unauthorized taxes and payments.
- (6) He claims that he had been granted judicial authority and is disposing of complaints of the people before the Dittha of the Adalat has reached here.

Sarup Puri's letter to Raghunath Puri containing these complaints was sent to Dittha Umanidhi Pantha and Dittha Jayanta Khatri on Wednesday, Bhadra Badi 13, 1862 (August 1805). The two Dittas were ordered to investigate these complaints and submit a report to Kathmandu.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 349-350.

Subsequent Assignments

On Saturday, Chaitra Sudi 2, 1865 (March 1809), Umanidhi Pantha was appointed Amanat administrator of Chitwan.¹

Jayanta khatri was appointed Subedar and granted authority to promote settlement in the region east of the Kamala river. He was retained in that capacity at least from 1810 to 1826 A.D. and succeeded in settling many Lepcha communities in that region.² (R/74/76, 98).

References

1. Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, pp. 249-50.
2. "Land Reclamation and Settlement"; Regmi Research Series, Year 16, No. 5, May 1984, pp. 76-80; "A Lepcha Settlement in Eastern Nepal", Ibid, Year 16, No. 7, July 1984, pp. 98-99.

Settlement and Recruitment

On Wednesday, Jestha Sudi 7, 1865 (May 1808), the day when Ravilal Jari was replaced by Sahu Harikrishnadas as Sahu Dwarikadas's gumasta for operating the ijara for revenue - collection in Morang, Sardar Bhairav Simha khawas was deputed to Vijayapur. Regulations promulgated in his name defined his functions as follows:

1. To assign jagir lands to the Devidal and Barahadal Companines and have the assignments approved from Kathmandu.
2. To promote settlement on surplus virgin lands assigned for that purpose, and arrange for the formation of a new military company with the newly-reclaimed lands.
3. To station the newly-recruited Company at the fort of Samari.
4. To report on the number of dhakre households in Vijayapur, their duties, and their jagirs, if any.
5. To attract settlers in the Mechi-Tista region from India as well as from birta lands, within the Kingdom.
6. To report to Kathmandu after the area of such newly-reclaimed lands becomes sufficient for the recruitment of yet another military company.
7. To send men (halkara) for collecting information from the south and the east.
8. To promote settlement only in areas outside the grant made to Ekanda and Indra Simha Karki, and the ijara of Vijayapur.

9. To report on any other necessary matter. (36/170).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 170

Sardar Gaja Simha Khatri's Mission

Seven months later, on Monday, Poush Sudi 2, 1805, Sardar Gaja Simha Khatri was sent to Vijayapur to perform the following functions outside the jurisdiction of the Ijaradar, Sahu Hari-krishnadas:-

1. To inspect the Vijayapur fort and repair and renovate if necessary through the Jhara labor of the local people, including dhakres and kiratis.
2. To inspect the arms and ammunition of the (Barahadal and Devidal) companies, and arrange for repairs, if necessary; not to let any vacancy remain unfilled in those companies.
3. To reprimand the Subba, Fouzdars, Zamindars, and birtaowners if they commit injustice and ruin the country, and make them take just steps; to report to Kathmandu if they do not do so.
4. To apprehend thieves, dacoits, and murderers, obtain a confession from them in the presence of the Amil, and inflict appropriate punishment.
5. To pay emoluments to the personnel of the two companies with income from the lands allocated for this purpose in areas east of the Kamala river, and meet the shortfall, if any, with funds obtained from Subba (Harikrishnadas); to transmit the surplus income, if any, to Kathmandu.
6. To remove encroachments by jagirdars, birtaowners, kiratis, and Bhotes on lands assigned to the two companies; to promote settlement on virgin (Kalabanjar) lands, and sanction emoluments (khangis) to persons who supply credit (bhota, tagavi) and settle people.
7. To send back people who enter into our territories after creating intranquillity across the borders; to expell them by force if they cannot be persuaded to leave.
8. To inspect areas (settled) by Sardar Bhairava Simha, but not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the Ijaradar Sahu (Harikrishnadas); to submit report about the area of lands outside the jurisdiction of the Ijaradar.
9. To confirm the khangis granted under the royal seal to Ekunda on lands reclaimed by him after the intial tax exemption period is over and submit a statement of the surplus lands.

10. A royal order had been issued granting a sum of Rs. 350 and as much virgin lands as they can reclaim to the dhakres of Vijayapur. Apportion income from the reclaimed lands equitably and keep them ready for duty.
11. In case Lapchas, Limbus, Kiratis, etc. who have settled in the Terai region of Vijayapur, capture rhinoceros calves, and collect rhinoceros horn or ivory, these shall be presented to us.

Monday, Poush Sudi 2, 1965.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 205.

(See also: "A Special Assignment for Sardar Gaja Sing khatri", Regmi Research Series, Year 16, No. 6, June 1984, p. 81).

Taxation in Chainpur

I

Royal order to Yakha, Khumbu, Bhote, Murmi, Kumhal, Majhi, Lohar, kami, and Sarki households through the region (anchal) of Chainpur.

"Two annas is being paid to the munitions factory (at Kathmandu) from each household of Majhkiret every year. We hereby order you to make a similar payment of two annas each."

Tuesday, Chaitra Badi 9, 1867.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, pp. 34-35.

II

Royal order to all those who pay the Saune-Fagu levy in the form of goats throughout the Chainpur region.

"You have been paying one rupee in lieu of goats as Saune-Fagu levy. You may continue to do so in the future as well."

Tuesday, Chaitra Badi 9, 1867.

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

III

A royal order issued on the same day prescribing the rates of Chandravan fees in Chhathar, Fedap, Phhakphok, Tarhathar, and other areas in the Chainpur region is given in Regmi Research Series, Year 14, No. 9, September 1982, p. 137.

Enhancement of Jagir Rents, A.D. 1813-14

I

A royal order was issued on Wednesday, Bhadra Sudi 13, 1870, cancelling all adhiya allotments of rice-fields assigned to the Bajrawani Company as Jagir. The following new arrangements were then made:-

1. The rice-lands assigned as Jagir to the Bajrawani Company shall be allotted to cultivators on a de novo basis under adhiya or kut tenure, whichever may be appropriate.
2. New cultivators may be appointed from the Vikrama year 1871, except where the lands are cultivated by Ghansi or Gole workers.
3. If a cultivator who had received an allotment under adhiya tenure on payment of the Chardam - Theki fee to the previous landlord is willing to pay the enhanced kut rent offered by others, his tenure shall be reconfirmed. Otherwise, land shall be reallocated to the person who is willing to pay the higher kut rent.

Wednesday, Bhadra Sudi 13, 1870,
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 347.

II

Royal order to cultivators of lands assigned as Jagir to the Kumaridal Company: "Huddas and soldiers of the Kumaridal Company have been deputed to inspect lands assigned as Jagir to that Company and fix kut rents. You are hereby ordered to present yourselves before them, divide lands into the four grades and fix rents on the basis of an average of the previous three years' yield. Cultivators who accept the kut rent fixed by the landlords for the year 1870 shall be reconfirmed, whereas those who do not do so shall be evicted. Any cultivator who makes false statements about the previous three years' yield shall be severely punished."

Tuesday, Marga Badi 1, 1870.
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 371.

III

Royal order to the Jamaadar and other officers and men of the Gorakh Paltan: "In the future, men who are recruited to that Paltan shall sign a bond pledging that they will accept the khang allotted to them according to the prescribed schedule, and not leave the Paltan on any pretext, unless they are dismissed. Those who accept these conditions on their recruitment, but subsequently make any complaint or raise any pretext, shall not join the Paltan at all. Experienced soldiers who have become efficient in executing commands or in parades shall not be dismissed."

Those who join other companies after once accepting their khangis according to the prescribed schedule, and deserters, shall be punished through amputation of their nose and ears. Remain alert while executing commands as well as during parades and accept your khangis assignments according to the prescribed schedules. Those who accept the prescribed conditions in the beginning, but later make complaints and raise pretexts, and leave the Paltan, shall be punished through amputation of their nose and ears.

"An order containing these instructions has been sent to Kaji Ranjor Thapa. He will inflict punishment as commanded."

Thursday, Baisakh Badi 10, 1871.
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, pp. 543-44.

A separate order containing these instructions was sent to Kaji Ranjor Thapa the same day.

IV

Order to the Subedar and other officers and men of the Kalidatta Company: "Royal orders had been issued prescribing rents under the kut system on rice-lands assigned as your khangis. Because the order provided that the cultivators should not be evicted, they neither furnished loans nor sold their paddy in order to pay their rents. This has caused much loss to the Company. From the Vikrama year 1814, therefore, you are empowered to enhance kut rents on your jagir lands and allot them to cultivators. Do not let the fields remain uncultivated. Any person who allows fields to remain uncultivated will have to bear liability for the rents.

Wednesday, Baisakh Sudi 1, 1871.
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 547.

Dharma - Bhot Affairs

Royal order to the inhabitants of Dharma- Bhot in Kumaun: "Blessings. You have submitted a petition through Kaji (Amar Simha Thapa) that you have suffered great injustice at the hands of the Amalis who have been appointed there, that villages have been ruined, and that no one is listening to your grievances. The petition has been referred to us. Because you had never submitted any petition before, we were confident that the bhardars had made appropriate arrangements. Last year, Vijaya Simha Budha of Juhar - Bhot had submitted a petition, and we had summoned him. He appeared before us, and left after we sanctioned new arrangements (thiti). If you are satisfied with the arrangements made by the bhardars who have been sent there, it is good. If not, let a capable and knowledgeable person who can make decisions regarding payments and other matters come to the Palace in time and we shall make appropriate arrangements.

Understand this, and, with full assurance, bring back the ryots who have left the area and let them reoccupy their lands and homesteads. Those who have remained there should engage in cultivation or trade as usual without any care. You will learn about all this from Vijaya Simha Budha personally."

Sunday, Chaitra Sudi 7, 1867.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, pp. 55-56.

II

Royal order to ryots who have fled from Dharma- Bhot to Garh : "We hereby confirm the arrangements made for you by Kaji Ranjor Thapa for the year 1869. Come back to your villages with full assurance and engage in cultivation or trade as usual. Do not reduce the payment of Rs. 7,000 due under the thebandi arrangements."

Saturday, Baisakh Badi 1, 1869.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 80.

Enslavement and Capital Punishment

I

A royal order was issued on Thursday, Poush Badi 12, 1882 to Bichari Shivanidhi Padhya and Bichari Parath Khadka prescribing punishment as follows to the following persons:

1. Rambhadra khatri of Simpani had employed Shivamaya, wife of Harilal Subedi of Dahachok, as his cook. He had sexual relations with her from Aswin 20, 1881 to Jestha 1882, when he fled to India. For this crime, Rambhadra khatri's share of his ancestral property, after apportioning the shares of his brothers and sons, shall be confiscated.
2. Jasbhan Damai had sexual relations with Basundhari, a Kami girl residing in the kush lands of Gangaram Jaisi in Dingla, in Magh 1881. Both shall be enslaved.
3. Bhote Kami, a resident of Dorpagaun village in Majhuwa, had a quarrel with Daulat Chuhan of the same village. They started abusing each other on the road. Sarba Budathoki then asked Bhote Kami why, being a Kami, he was abusing a Bista in that manner. At this, Bhote Kami took out his khukuri and hit at Sarba Budathoki, chopping off half of his ear and wounding his cheek. For this crime, Bhote Kami shall have his right arm amputated. His share of the **ancestral** property shall be confiscated, after apportioning the shares of his brothers and sons.

4. During the Dashain festival of 1882 Vikrama, while they were intoxicated with beer (janr) and were singing and beating on drums (madal) from door to door, Santare Rai, Hirkarna Rai, Heswa Rai, and Gambhir Rai caught hold of Gaje Lirati and ... on the pretext that he had abused Chaku Singh kirati. For this crime, these four persons shall be enslaved, and their property shall be confiscated.
5. Chaku Singh Rai and Foud Rai, who beat up Gaje kirati with fists and kicks, thereby causing his death, shall be hanged in a public place until they are dead. Their share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated, after apportioning the shares of their brothers and sons.
6. Durga Sunuwar, a bondsman of Nayanand Joshi of Dumre had sexual intercourse with Dirpi, daughter of Rame kami of khamtel, on the second day of Ashadh 1979 and had children by her. Even then, he let his relatives take cooked rice from his hands, and other people water. For this crime, he shall be hanged in a public place until he is dead. His property shall be confiscated after apportioning the shares of his brothers and sons. Dirpi kami and her sons and daughters shall all be enslaved.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, pp. 141-43.

II

Lacchman, a slave of Subba Ramachandra khatri, had sexual relations with the daughter of Jasman Rana, a Magar. The woman was also accused of infanticide. Both of them confessed their crime in the presence of tharghars, and the case was then referred to Kathmandu. On Thursday, Ashadh Sudi 15, 1865, a royal order was issued in the names of the tharghars, namely, Gajabal khatri, Atibal Bogati, Bhujabal Basnyat, Dasya Bania, Sirapati Pandit, and Kirti Singh Rana, directing that the slave, Lacchman, be beheaded for the crime of sexual intercourse with a Magar woman, while the latter should be enslaved.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 128.

Nepali Coins

By

Kamal Prasad Gnyawali

("Taksara Vibhagabata Utpadita Sikka ra Asharfi: Kati ra Kasta" ?
(Sikka and asharfi coins produced by the Mint Department: How many and of what type ?), Gorkhapatra, Baisakh 26, 2044 (May 9, 1987).
The author is connected with the Mint Department).

The Mint Department was established in the Vikrama year 1989 (A.D. 1932) by Prime Minister Bhim Shumshere during the reign of King Tribhuvan. In that year, the Department started its operations with one-rupee dabal coins, as well as paisa coins of the denominations of 50 paisa and 20 paisa. In the Vikrama year 1992 (A.D. 1935) it also started minting 2-paisa coins. Minting of 1-paisa coins started in the Vikrama year 1995 (A.D. 1938).

During the first decade of its operations, from 1989 to 1999 Vikrama (A.D. 1932-42), the Mint Department minted coins of a total value of Rs. 25,854,112.91. For the next decade, from 1999 to 2009 Vikrama (A.D. 1942-1952), the figure was Rs. 66,052,667.56.

On Kartik 21, 2007 (November 7, 1950), Prime Minister Mohan Shumshere placed Prince Gnyanendra Bir Bikrama Shah, the second grandson of King Tribhuvan, on the royal throne of Nepal. One-rupee dabal coins, as well as 50-paisa coins, were then minted in his name. But only a small number of these coins were minted, so they did not come into circulation.

After democracy was introduced in the Vikrama year 2007 (1950-51), King Tribhuvan made radical changes in the minting system. One-rupee dabal coins, as well as paisa coins of the denominations of 50 paisa, 25 paisa, 10 paisa, and 5 paisa, were then brought into circulation.

When the late King Mahendra ascended the throne in 2011 Vikrama (A.D. 1954), the Mint Department minted 2-tola, 1½-tola, and 1-tola asharfi coins in his name.

During the coronation of King Mahendra in the Vikrama year 2013 (A.D. 1956), asharfi coins of dabal, mohar, and suki denominations, as well as commemorative coins of the denominations of one rupee, 50 paisa, 25 paisa, 10 paisa, 5 paisa, 2 paisa, and 1 paisa were minted.

During the decade from 2010-2019 Vikrama (A.D. 1953-63), the Mint Department minted coins of a total value of Rs. 32,417,033.83, that is, 50.92 percent less than during the previous decade. The decline was due to fluctuations in the value of the coinage.

On the request of FAO, Nepal minted "Food for All" commemorative coins of a special design in the denomination of Rs. 10 in the Vikrama year 2025 (A.D. 1968) and gifted 2000 such coins to FAO. Nepal won the first place among the countries minting such commemorative coins.

After King Mahendra's death on Magh 17, 2028 Vikrama (January 30, 1972), His Majesty King Birendra ascended the throne. The Mint Department minted 10-gram, 5-gram, and 3.5-gram asharfi coins on that occasion, as well as other coins of the denominations of one rupee, 50 paisa, 25 paisa, 10 paisa, 5 paisa, 2 paisa, and 1 paisa. On the occasion of His Majesty King Birendra's coronation

in the Vikrama year 2031 (A.D. 1974), the Mint Department issued a Coronation Set consisting of 25-rupee, 1-rupee, 50-paisa, 25-paisa, 10-paisa, 5-paisa, and 1-paisa coins. It also minted asharfi coins of 10 grams, 5 grams, and 2.5 grams each.

During the decade from 2010 to 2019 Vikrama (1953 to 1962), the Mint Department minted coins of a total value of Rs. 15,363,969.92 only.

During the Vikrama year 2031 (A.D. 1974), the Mint Department minted the following commemorative coins:-

- (1) FAO commemorative coins of 10 paisa and 5 paisa.
- (2) On the request of the World Wildlife Fund, it minted a gold coin bearing the effigy of a rhinoceros, a 50-rupee coin bearing the effigy of a bear, and a 25-rupee coin bearing the effigy of the damphe pheasant.

In the Vikrama year 2032 (A.D. 1975), International Women's Year, coins of the denominations of 20 rupees, one rupee, and 10 paisa were minted. These coins bore the effigies of both His Majesty King Birendra and Her Majesty Queen Aishwarya.

In the Vikrama year 2036 (A.D. 1979), International Year of the Child, 100-rupee coins, as well as 2-tola asharfi coins, were minted through the U.S. Mint.

In the Vikrama year 2036 (A.D. 1979), the Mint Department minted 50-rupee and 10-paisa coins bearing the legend "Rural Women, Awake, and March Toward Progress" on the request of FAO.

In the Vikrama year 2037 (A.D. 1980), again on the request of FAO, the Mint Department minted 5-rupee coins, as well as asharfis of 10 grams, 5 grams, and 2.5 grams.

In the Vikrama year 2038 (A.D. 1981), the tenth anniversary of His Majesty King Birendra's accession to the throne, the Mint Department minted 250-rupee coins, as well as 28.5-gram asharfis. In the same year, the Silver Jubilee of the Nepal Rastra Bank was commemorated through 5-rupee coins, and the International Year of the Disabled through 50-rupee, 50-paisa, and 25-paisa coins. For FAO, 100-rupee, 2-rupee, 50-paisa and 25-paisa coins were minted in the same year.

On the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Mint Department in 2039 Vikrama (A.D. 1982), the following coins were minted:-

- (1) 50-rupee coins bearing the legend: "Mechanization of the Mint."
- (2) 250-rupee coins, and 15.98-gram asharfis, on the 75th anniversary of the International Scouts Movement.

During the decade from 2030 to 2039 Vikrama (A.D. 1973 to 1982), the Mint Department minted coins of a total value of Rs. 69,849,212.03.

On Marga 15, 2040 (November 30, 1983), the Mint Department was transferred from the Ministry of Finance of His Majesty's Government to the Nepal Rastra Bank. The commemorative stamps minted thereafter are as follows:-

2041 Vikrama (A.D. 1984-85)

(1) A 25-rupee coin marking the Silver Jubilee of the Auditor General's Department.

(2) 5-rupee and 25-paisa coins for the Nepal Family Planning Association.

(3) 2-rupee, 1-rupee, and 25-paisa coins commemorating the National Population Year.

2042 Vikrama (A.D. 1985-86).

(1) A 25-rupee coin commemorating the Silver Jubilee of the Panchayat system.

(2) A 5-rupee coin commemorating the International Social Service Day.

(3) A 5-rupee coin commemorating the International Youth Year.

2043 Vikrama (1986-87)

(1) A 5-rupee coin commemorating the 15th World Buddhist Conference.

(2) A 5-rupee coin for FAO with the legend "Food for All".

(3) A 300-rupee coin commemorating the first Scout Jamboree.

Such commemorative coins are minted according to designs and weight, and in the number approved by His Majesty's Government.

Similarly, the Mint Department produces medals, decorations, seals, etc. for different agencies according to specimens furnished by them.

Since Poush 18, 2042 (January 1, 1986), the Mint Department has minted the following asharki coins:-

6286 coins of 10 grams each.

6172 coins of 5 grams each.

These asharki coins are being sold to the public. The gold required for minting such coins is purchased from customs offices.

To meet the growing demand for small coins, the small coins section has been working from 6:00 AM to 6:00 PM in two shifts daily since Kartik 4, 2043 (October 21, 1986). It is minting coins of the denominations of 50 paisa, 25 paisa, 10 paisa, and 5 paisa worth Rs. 35,000 every day.

During the fiscal year 2042-43 (1985-86), the Mint Department minted small coins as follows:-

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Value</u>
50-paisa	Rs 216,784.50
25-paisa	Rs 3,014,479.25
10-paisa	Rs 870,774.10
5-paisa	Rs 196,756.65
Total	<u>Rs 4,298,794.50</u>

For the six-month period between Kartik 4, 2043 (October 21, 1986) and Baisakh 4, 2044 (April 17, 1987), the figures are as follows:-

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Value</u>
50-paisa	Rs 811,966.50
25-paisa	Rs 1,417,501.50
10-paisa	Rs 1,771,667.00
5-paisa	Rs 137,301.50
Total	<u>Rs 4,138,436.50</u>

These coins are handed over to the Banking Office of the Nepal Rastra Bank at Thapathali, from where they are distributed all over the Kingdom.

Drabya Shah

By

Dineshraj Pant

(Gorakhako Itihasa, Part I, pp. 46-64. Condensed).

According to the Gorkha-Rajavamshawali, King Yashobrahma Shah of Lamjung had three sons, namely, Narahari Shah, Drabya Shah, and Narapati Shah. However, the Bhasha-Vamshawali mentions only two, Narahari Shah and Drabya Shah, while, according to the Gorkha-Vamshawali, Drabya Shah was the third and youngest son of Yashobrahma Shah.

At Chhoprak, Narayan Arjyal, the astrologer who had predicted that Narahari Shah and Drabya Shah would become kings, met Ganesh Pande, who once belonged to Mukunda Sen's army. They decided to replace the Khadka King of Gorkha and install Drabya Shah on the throne.

The Court of Lamjung had given Drabya Shah the charge of defending Raginas. From Raginas, Drabya Shah maintained contacts with Ganesh Pande in Chhoprak. Ganesh Pande married the daughter of a Panta of Lamjung in order to provide a pretext for his frequent visits to that state. Ganesh Pande and Drabya Shah then jointly planned to take over Gorkha.

On the advice of Narayan Arjyal, Ganesh Pande and Gangaram Rana went to Lamjung with an invitation to Drabya Shah. Drabya Shah came to Chhoprak along with Bhagirath Panta, Sarveshwar Khanal, Keshav Bohra, and Murali Khawas. They decided to start their campaign with an attack on Liglig.

According to the tradition followed in Liglig, the man who could reach Liglig-kot first in a race on the Vijaya Dashami day would become King for that year. The incumbent king had been the winner for 10 or 12 years consecutively. Drabya Shah attacked Liglig-kot at the time when the Ghaes were choosing their king. Liglig-kot was occupied after a brief fight.

It is not possible to say how this account, based on the Vamshawalis, is true. There is no doubt, however, that Liglig was the first territory that Drabya Shah occupied.

According to the Bhasha-Vamshawali and the Gorkha-Vamshawali; Narahari Shah was King of Lamjung at the time when Drabya Shah became king of Gorkha. The Gorkha-Rajavamshawali, on the other hand, maintains that Yashobrahma Shah was still King of Lamjung at that time. However, the Gorkha-Rajavamshawali itself later mentions Narahari Shah as King of Lamjung at that time. This version, therefore, appears to be more plausible, although it is difficult to be certain.

Drabya Shah next attacked Gorkha, but was unable to occupy it even after fifteen days of fighting. Ganesh Pande, Narayandas Arjyal, Bhagirath Panta, and Keshav Bohra then took Drabya Shah to Tallokot in Gorkha in the night. They called on the Khadka king to surrender, but the negotiations failed. Thereafter, they launched an attack through Darhagaunda. The Khadka king was killed at the hands of Drabya Shah, and Gorkha was conquered.

The Shasha Vamshawali implies that Drabya Shah conquered Gorkha before conquering Liglig, but this version lacks credibility.

According to the Vamshawalis, Drabya Shah's coronation was solemnized at midnight on Wednesday, Bhadra Badi 8, 1616 Vikrama, but contemporary evidence is not available. The correct date, according to records maintained by Laxmipati Pande between 1849 and 1870 Vikrama, seems to be Friday, Bhadra 25, 1616 Vikrama.

Drabya Shah next defeated the Ghale king and conquered Upalokot.

Meanwhile, Narahari Shah of Lamjung, jealous at the success of his brother, Drabya Shah, started quarrelling with him. Their mother, therefore, made them accept the Chepe river as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

According to the Gorkha-Rajavamshawali, Gorkhali troops led by Ganesh Pande then occupied Sirhanchok, situated to the north-west of Gorkha across the Daraundi river, and Ajirgadh. Ajirgadh seems to have formed a part of the territory of the principality of Warpak, which was then ruled by Surtan.

King Narahari Shah of Lamjung is said to have conspired to assassinate Drabya Shah after the death of their mother. He invited Drabya Shah to a place near the Chepe river to perform jointly the Shradha ceremony of their father, Yashobrahma Shah. Drabya Shah accepted the invitation on the condition that both sides should come without weapons. Narahari Shah agreed, but had his men hide weapons on the sandy banks of the river. Drabya Shah received information of the plot from his nurse's daughter, and succeeded in crossing the Chepe and escaping to Gorkha. Narahari Shah and his men pursued him up to Gurungthok near the royal palace of Gorkha, but was repulsed by the Gorkhalis.

Neither Gorkha nor Lamjung thereafter observed the Chepe river as their boundary, but began to attack each other from time to time. Their enmity ended only after Lamjung was merged into the kingdom of Nepal in 1839 Vikrama.

Various dates have been given for Drabya Shah's death: 1627 Vikrama according to the Vamshawalis, 1626 Vikrama according to records in the possession of Ishwari Prasad Sapkota of Charanga, 1631 Vikrama according to an almanac of 1849 Vikrama, and 1645 Vikrama according to records in the possession of Major Krishneshwar Dhakal. It is not possible to say which of these dates is correct.

The Use of Firearms

According to Hamilton, one reason for the military successes of Prithvi Narayan Shah was "the introduction of firelocks, which until his time was totally unknown among the hills." But this observation cannot be substantiated by available evidence. With the possible exception of the very small principalities who lacked the means or the motivation to acquire firearms, their use seems to have been known in several states of the Himalayan region.

In the state of Lamjung, adjoining Gorkha, cannon seems to have been in use during the early sixteenth century.²

During Prithvi Narayan Shah's campaign for the conquest of Nuwakot in 1744, Kathmandu's forces which were defending the fort against the Gorkhalis used firearms against the Gorkhalis.³ These firearms were certainly not of local manufacture, but there is evidence that gunpowder was manufactured locally. The gunpowder spread by King Jaya Prakash Malla on the steps of the Taleju temple at Kathmandu before he took refuge at Bhadgaun in the face of the Gorkhali attack in September 1768, which later exploded and killed a Gorkhali commander, was also of local manufacture.⁴ A royal order issued to the inhabitants of 37 villages in Kathmandu valley and the adjoining areas in 1797, during the reign of King Ran Bahadur, states that they had been supplying saltpeter to a gunpowder factory in Kathmandu since before the Gorkhali conquest.⁵

States that had political and commercial relations with the rulers of northern India seem to have been able to acquire firearms on a fairly large scale. Makwanpur, which held the Tarai territories of Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat under the suzerainty of the rulers of Bengal, was one of such states. When the Gorkhalis conquered Makwanpur in 1762, they were able to seize as many as 700 muskets, as well as other arms and ammunition.⁶

Notes

1. Francis Hamilton, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal (reprint of 1819 ed.), New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971, p. 246.
2. Dineshraj Panta, Gorakhako Itihasa (A history of Gorkha), Kathmandu: the author, 2041 (1985), pt. 1, p. 27.
3. Yogi Naraharinath (ed.), Gorakha - Vamshawali, Varanasi: Aryavirasangha, 2021 (1965), p. 184.

4. Daniel Wright (ed.), History of Nepal (reprint of 1877 ed.), Kathmandu: Nepal Antiquated Book Publishers, 1972, p. 231.
5. "Royal order to Inhabitants of Patan, Bhadgaun, and Other Areas Regarding Supply of Saltpeter", Monday, Aswin Badi 13, 1854 (September 1797), Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 1A, p. 9. The order reconfirms the obligation, dating back to the time of the Malla kings, to supply saltpeter for a gunpowder factory at Kathmandu.
6. Nayaraj Panta et. al., Shri 5 Prithvinarayana Shahako Upadesha (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, no date, p. 844.

Bandha Land Grants in Tanahu

Six bandha land grants made by King Trivikrama Sen of Tanahu between 1800 and 1821 Vikrama (A.D. 1743 and 1764) have been published in: Pant, Maheshraj, "Tanahunka Raja Trivikrama Senaka Dasha Aprakashita Patra" (Ten unpublished letters of King Trivikrama Sen of Tanahu). Purnima, year 13, no. 4, Bhadra 2039 (August-September 1982), pp. 47-51. These grants stipulate that "the mortgage will be redeemed when the money is paid back." These grants are as follows:-

- (1) 1 khet of ricefields along with the attached homestead at Purkot mortgaged to Ramakrishna Dhauladi for Rs 367. Baisakh Sudi 10, 1800.
- (2) 180 muris of rice-fields along with the attached homestead in the Madi area (on the banks of the Radikhola) mortgaged for Rs 900 to Bishwarup Acharya. Magh Sudi 5, 1809.
- (3) 240 muris of rice-fields in kalru thum, along with the attached homestead, to Hira Pantha for Rs 981. Thursday, Magh Sudi 11, 1815.
- (4) 460 muris of rice-lands in Purkot and elsewhere along with the attached homestead, to Gunananda Pantha for Rs 743. Friday, Jetha Badi 14, 1816.
- (5) 160 muris of rice-lands in Purkot, along with the attached homestead, to Krishnadeva Pandit for Rs 601. Tuesday, Baisakh Sudi 14, 1817.
- (6) 200 muris of rice-fields, along with the attached homestead, to Jadhupati Pokhariya for Rs 330 and 5 dams. Chaitra Sudi 10, 1821.

The following is another bandha land grant made by king Trivikrama Sen in Tanahu.

Royal order to Maniram Tewari: "King Trivikrama Sen had granted 240 muris of rice lands in the village of Kategaun to you as bandha-bitalap on payment of Rs 1,381. We hereby confirm the grant. You shall comply with any arrangement that may be made subsequently regarding Mohariya grants of the 8000 households of Tanahu."

Ashadh Badi 10, 1845
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 716.

Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal

By

Kaviraj Shyamaldas

(Source: Vir Vinod, by Kaviraj Shyamaldas, Court Poet of Maharana Sajjan Singh (1874-1884) of Mewar, Rajasthan. The 2800-page work was printed in folio size in a limited edition in Udaipur around 1890. Facsimiles of Folios 1809-88, along with an introduction, have been published in Theodore Riccardi, Jr., "An Account of Nepal from the Vir Vinod of Shyamaldas", Kailash, Vol. III, No. 3, 1975, pp. 199-286. The translation given here covers the text from Folios 1831-34, corresponding to pp. 229-32 of Kailash.)

Systems of land tenure and taxation in Nepal are as follows:

In the Kingdom of Nepal, peasants whose lands do not yield paddy pay tax at the rate of one rupee per household every year if they possess yokes of oxen. There is no limit to the area of land which such households may cultivate. Such peasants pay only one rupee even if they possess fifty yokes of oxen. If a peasant has only one ox, he pays tax at the rate of twelve annas a year. A peasant who does not possess any oxen of his own, but borrows oxen from others to plow his fields, pays a tax of only eight annas a year. Peasants of these three categories are known as Hal, Pate, and kudala respectively.

In addition, every peasant household pays two annas a year as Saune-fagu, and one anna as Sarvachandrayan. The Sarvachandrayan tax is paid to the Dharmadhikari Pandit appointed by the king, who sends his men to villages and localities with a scrip, known as patiya, containing a verse in Sanskrit absolving the payee of sins according to the scriptures. The Dharmadhikari issues similar scrips in cases relating to adultery, which contain a detailed account of the offense on payment of fees as follows:-

Rs 3½ from persons who take food from the hands of adulterers.

Rs 1¾ from persons who take food from the hand of those mentioned above.

14 annas from persons who take food from the hands of those mentioned above.

Payment of such fees results in absolution.

A person who takes water from the hands of a woman who had sexual relations with a person whose touch pollutes water (rendering it unfit for use by persons belonging to higher castes) may receive absolution on payment of half the fees mentioned above.

Absolution is granted on payment of one rupee and twelve annas to a person who has tied a cow in such a manner that it dies.

Fees are similarly collected for absolution from several other offenses as well. So long as offenders or polluted persons do not obtain such scrips of absolution, they are not entitled to share water or food with other persons belonging to their caste.

On rice-lands, half of the crop is collected as tax. On the occasions of the sacred-thread investiture ceremony of the eldest royal prince, as well as of a royal coronation, additional taxes are collected as follows:-

Hal	...	One rupee
Pate	...	12 annas
Kudale	...	8 annas.

A similar tax is collected on the occasion of the wedding of the eldest royal princess.

Whenever a new King ascends the throne, weights and measures (dhak, pathi, kuruwa, mana) are stamped again on payment of a fee of eight annas from each household.

These taxes are collected from free-hold landowners and merchants as well, but only at the discretion of the vizier.

Ordinary ryots, whether or not they are government employees, pay the Sarvachandrayan tax at the rate of eight annas per household.

In times of war, a levy known as rasad is collected in kind from peasant households at the following rates:-

Hal	...	16 pathis, that is, slightly more than 1½ maunds.
Pate	...	12 pathis, or 1¼ maunds.
Kudale	...	8 pathis, or 30 seers.

Payment for these foodgrains is made at 150 percent of the current rates, and the peasants are obliged to deliver them at the prescribed place. A peasant who grows 200 maunds of rice has to supply 5 maunds, and the rates are proportionate to the

output. Tax-free landowners are required to make payments in cash equivalent to one-third of their total output. Such landowners own lands under birta, bekh, phikdar, marwat, jiuni, manachamal, petiya, and chhap tenures.

Birtas are granted to Brahmans through copper-plate inscriptions.

Bekh is granted to Kshatris and others.

Tax-free land grants made to Shuoras are known as phikdar. The reason is that the king spits betel-juice on the document recording the grant.

Marwat lands are granted to the children of persons who are killed while discharging their official duties.

The king cannot resume lands of the four categories mentioned above. The lands are inheritable and salable.

Life-time land grants are known as jiuni. Manachamal grants are made to meet living expenses, which are listed in detail in the document recording the grant.

Petiya lands denote lands granted by the state to foreigners for their maintenance.

Chhap lands are granted to persons of high social status.

No taxes are collected from merchants in the beginning of a war. Collections are made from them at rates based on their capacity.

Common people everywhere have to supply 16 pathis or 1½ maunds of paddy from each household and obliged to transport it to the prescribed destination. They are, of course, paid for the supplies at the rate of eleven or twelve annas each, but the obligation to transport such supplies to distant destinations through hilly terrain is a source of considerable hardship. In remote areas in the hills, horses or other pack-animals cannot be used, so that everything has to be transported through porters.

The inhabitants of villages through which government supplies are transported have to provide portage services for such supplies up to the next village.

On lands located near the big towns, half of the produce is taken as rent, irrespective of the type of the crop.

In the Tarai region, land taxes amount to between two rupees and five rupees on each bigha according to the grade. The people of that region are also required to pay all the other taxes mentioned above, with the exception of Sarvachandrayan. As regards the rasad levy, it is collected at the discretion of the vizier.

Gorkhali Rule in Garhwal

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabaral "Charan".

From A.D. 1803 to 1815 (1860 to 1872 Vikrama), Amar Simha Thapa kept himself preoccupied with plans to expand the Gorkhali empire to Kangra, Jammu, and Kashmir after overrunning several principalities in Himachal Pradesh. His mercenary troops from Doti, Kumaun, and Garhwal, who numbered twice the Gorkha troops, kept shedding their blood for the sake of making the people of Himachal Pradesh slaves of the Gorkhals on the orders of the Gorkhali commanders.

No detailed study has been made so far regarding the way Doti, Kumaun and Garhwal were administered at that time. Doti is now a part of Nepal. Gorkhali rule over Kumaun was generally described as "Gorkhyol", which we will describe in the history of Kumaun. In this chapter, we will describe the main features of Gorkhali rule over Garh, known as "Gorkhyani".

The King of Nepal directly ruled over Kumaun for nearly 25 years, and over Garh for 12 years. The Gorkhali authorities were required to remain in constant touch with the Palace in Nepal. They regularly received orders bearing the royal seal from the Palace. It was necessary for them to receive prior permission from the Palace for executing any important plan. Occasionally, they were transferred after a short period on the orders of the Palace. However, no contemporary register, document, diary, or record providing coherent and detailed information about the authorities who ruled the regions to the west of the Kali river, and about their work is available in Kumaun, Garh, Himachal Pradesh, or Nepal.

Materials shedding light on this subject may be available in the private libraries of reputed families in Nepal. However, efforts of scholars of Nepal, India and foreign countries to acquire them have not yet been successful. The rule of the Rana family, who must have possessed such materials, came to an end in 1951. No effort has been made since then to search, compile, preserve, edit, and publish those materials.

So far the following materials on Gorkhali rule in Garh written in the Gorkhali language have been found.

(1) Letters written by the Gorkhali authorities to the Kamins of Gujadu and Dhangu, including the orders of Hastidal Chautariya, Kaji Randhir Simha Basnyat, Bhaktibir Thapa, Tularam Adhikari, and others. These documents are in the possession of the descendants of Kamins Vishnu Simha, Gorla Rawat, and Autar Simha Rawat.

(2) Copper-plates dating back to the reign of Ran Bahadur Shah and Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah, which are preserved at the Kamaleswar Temple of Srinagar, the Kedarnath Temple, the Ukhirmath and other temples. Some other copper-plates referred to by Traill, which, according to Atkinson, were in the possession of the District Office at Pauri, but are said to have disappeared.

(3) Sanads issued by Gorkhali officials to individuals and temples, which are mentioned by Traill.

(4) Documents on land tenure arrangements, issued by Gorkhali officials particularly, Kaji Bahadur Shah Bhandari and Bakshi Dasharath Khatri, in favor of several kamins. On the basis of those documents, Traill had made a preliminary land settlement in Garhwal.

Maularam's Works

The works of Maularam, a contemporary writer, particularly Rajavanshakavya, Ranabahadur Chandrika and Shumshere Jung-Chandrika, and his miscellaneous poetry selections, provide much important and interesting information about the Gorkhali conquests and administration of the western hill region. In 1867 Vikrama (A.D. 1810), Kaji Bakhtawar Simha Basnyat, who had been sent by the Nepal Palace to the western front, reached Srinagar. At his request, Maularam described to him in detail the Gorkhali administration since 1861 Vikrama (A.D. 1804). Pleased with him, Bakhtawar Simha Basnyat gave him 61 gold sovereigns, a horse, a robe, and weapons as a reward. He also restored to Maularam his jagir villages, and the daily allowances which had been suspended by his predecessors.

Maularam composed the Bakhtawar Yasha-Chandrika, and dedicated it to Bakhtawar Simha Basnyat. The work dealt with the past, present, and future of Gorkhali rule over Garh. Maularam probably revised this work after the end of the Gorkhali rule. Like the Garhrajya-Vamshakavya, this work predicted that Gorkhali rule in the region west of the Kali river would eventually collapse. I have tried hard to find this work, but so far I have not been able to do so. Manmathasagara and one other book written by Maularam, are also said to shed some light on contemporary politics. However, not only Manmathasagara but also six other works of Maularam have mysteriously disappeared. In the form of answers to questions by Maniram Bairagi, Maularam has also described in a separate poem the political changes which had resulted in the destruction, in 1875 Vikrama (A.D. 1818) of Srinagar, which had been a thriving city in 1812 Vikrama (A.D. 1755). Only one page of this work has been discovered so far.

During Gorkhali rule, Captain Raper, Lt. Webb, Captain Hearsey, Colebrooke, and Moorecroft had toured Kumaun and Garh and collected vital information. Rutherford and Hodgson also had tried to gather information from different sources. Shortly after the Gorkhali rule, Fraser had toured Tehri and Garhwal and recorded much interesting information.

Other Sources

Information made available by Harshadeva Joshi regarding Gorkhali rule to Cherry, Graham, Fraser and Hearsey, materials compiled by Traill on the basis of documents concerning the Gorkhali administration, accounts of Garhwal and Kumaun, written by Moorecroft and others in the early days of British rule, reports of Beckett, Batton, Poe and others, documents preserved in the archives of Tehri state, and the pre-mutiny British records preserved in Pauri, Dehraun and Almora, provide important information about Gorkhali rule in Garhwal. During the Gorkha war, letters written by some Gorkhali commanders, as well as by several Garhwalis passed into the hands of employees of the East India Company. These letters contain interesting information about the contemporary situation. Several contemporary documents are preserved, albeit in scattered form, in the Uttar Pradesh State Archives in Allahabad and the National Archives in Delhi.

Military Rule

As in Kumaun, the Gorkhali rule in Garh state was essentially military in character. In this state, the Gorkhalis had three battalions of troops each comprising five companies. These troops were paid emoluments from the local revenues. The number of troops stationed in each garkha depended on the amount of revenues collected there. Thus, according to a letter written by Sardar Bhakti Bir Thapa in March 1807 (Chaitra 14, 1864), revenues in Dhangu Garkha were used to pay emoluments to 25 soldiers. The responsibility of collecting revenue and handing over the same to the Sardar was entrusted to kamins. Any delay in this regard was not tolerated by the troops. Kamins were entrusted with the responsibility of handing over a sum specified in a written order issued by the Sardar immediately after receiving it. The presence of Gorkhali troops in every garkha turned the Gorkhali rule into a most cruel one and reduced the subjects of Garhwal to the status of slaves forced to supply provisions to the army. They could be sold as slaves in case they failed to pay their taxes.

Although Kumaun and Garh were both under Gorkhali military rule, there was a notable difference between their administrative systems. During their 14-year rule from A.D. 1790 to 1804 (1847 to 1861 Vikrama) the Gorkhali governors of Kumaun initially treated the subjects brutally, but later started improving relations with them. Due to the absence of any new campaign of military conquests during that period, they had, thanks to the active cooperation of opportunists like Joshi, gradually shaped the administration of Kumaun in a way which helped to bring the rulers and the ruled closer to each other. On the other hand, the Gorkhali commanders in Garh had had to engage in a continuous campaign of conquests in the western region immediately after their occupation of Garh. They were competing with each other for getting as much credit as possible in that campaign. They were no less attracted by the wealth accumulated by the unorganized principalities of Himachal through generations, as well as by the prospect of satisfying their sensual and other desires.

The governors assigned to Garh usually stayed away from that state in order to be able to continue their campaign of conquest in the Himachal region, or to maintain their siege of Kangra fort. They delegated their functions in Garh to their assistants or representatives, who were called Bichari (judge) or Achari (deputy administrator). These Bicharis and Acharis considered themselves representatives of the governor and exercised all his powers at their own discretion.

These days, high-ranking authorities are subjected to criticism if they appoint their relatives in important posts. But during the Gorkhali rule, the authorities had full freedom to do so. Indeed, the state itself accepted such a practice as justified. Many of the officials stationed in the conquered territories to the west of the Kali river belonged to the Thapa family. The top authorities appointed Bicharis and Acharis as their representatives usually from among their relatives, since they were regarded as more trustworthy. It was believed that such representatives would never do anything that might harm the interests and prestige of the top authorities who were their own relatives.

In Garh, as in Kumaun, administrators with the ranks of Subba, Naib Subba and commander (Senapati) were appointed. The Subba was the Chief Officer of the province or state. There were one or more Naib Subbas under him who managed the affairs of different administrative units. The commander (Senapati) was the chief military officer of the army deployed in the state. According to his orders, companies of Gorkhali troops assisted in maintaining order and security as well as in the collection of revenue. It is difficult to say anything about the exact nature of the relationship among Subba, Naib Subbas and commanders (Senapatis). Traill, who took over the administration of Kumaun and Garhwal shortly after the end of the Gorkhali rule, did not find any definite clue in this regard.

In modern times, the authorities of the state are divided into two main categories: civil and military. Authorities belonging to the two categories have separate jurisdictions, powers, and duties. But no such arrangement existed during Gorkhali rule. No restrictions were imposed on the conduct of these state functionaries, who were directly appointed by the Nepal Palace. It was not necessary for these functionaries to be educated and civilized. Nor did any age limit apply to them. They were usually transferred according to the orders of the Nepal Palace, and were all responsible to it.

Relations among some of the authorities of the state were not good. They sent reports about each other's faults to their superiors as well as to the Nepal Palace. They did not have a clear-cut policy regarding the way they should deal with the subjects. For instance, a criminal punished or imprisoned by one officer could be freed by another if the latter so desired. They also followed contradictory policies in dealing with foreigners.

During British rule, Garhwal was made just a pargunna or Tahasil of Kumaun. Even after Garhwal was up-graded to a district in 1839, Kumaun remained the headquarters of all government departments stationed there, and remains so. Garhwal was subsequently upgraded to the status of a division with a Commissioner, but the headquarters of government departments have been retained in Kumaun. During Gorkhali rule, Kumaun and Garhwal were administered as separate and independent units. Accordingly, Subbas, Naib-Subbas and commanders (Senapatis), were separately appointed for the two units. The whole of Garh state (including Tehri and Doon) was considered part of Garhwal. The state was divided into three Tahasils, namely, Srinagar, Langur (or Dhangu), and Kainyour (or Chandpur). Srinagar was the headquarters of the state.

Military Leadership of Amar Simha Thapa (1804-15)

On his return from Kashi, Ran Bahadur Shah appointed Amar Simha Thapa as military commander in the region west of the Kali river. Amar Simha Thapa was a brave, courageous and dedicated planner and successful commander. The troops had boundless faith in him. They were ready to participate in any battle under his command. Both soldiers and civilians believed that victory always smiled on him. He had a moustache, kept his beard and hair long. He used to wear an iron helmet and an iron shield. Amar Simha Thapa was fair in complexion. He was handsome and strong. His eyes were deep and impressive. Certainly he was the greatest military commander of Nepal, for he had sent the flag of Nepal flying as far as the fort of Kangra across the Sutlej river. From A.D. 1804 to 1815 he remained the supreme military governor of the conquered territories, stretching from the Kali river to the region beyond the Sutlej. The Subbas, Naib-Subbas and commanders appointed by the Nepal Palace were required to act as ordered by Amar Simha Thapa. The Nepal Palace acted according to his advice in matters concerning the administration of the conquered territories to the west of the Kali river. Only those persons in these areas whose loyalty was confirmed and commended by Amar Simha Thapa were granted Jagirs by the Nepal Palace.

During 1860-61 Vikrama (A.D. 1804) when the Gorkhali army was engaged in a campaign to conquer the valleys of the Alakananda and Bhagirathi rivers, and the Doon region, after defeating Pradyumna Shah, Amar Simha Thapa was the supreme military commander in both Kumaun and Garhwal. Hastidal Chautariya was appointed Naib Subba, and Kaji Ranadhir Simha Basnyat as commander for Garh under him. So far, I have not found the original texts of orders issued by Amar Simha Thapa with regard to the administration of Garh. But a document issued by Hastidal Chautariya and Kaji Ranadhir Simha is available. It contains the seal of Hastidal. The two men jointly issued it to the landowners of Sanglakoti.

There was one special reason for despatching Hastidal Chautariya and his brothers to the western front. At that time, an intense power struggle was taking place between the Thapa and Chautariya factions. After the assassination of Ran Bahadur Shah by Sher Bahadur Chautariya, Bhimsen Thapa, Prime Minister,

obtained a good pretext for eliminating the Chautariya sardars, who were powerful foes of the Thapa faction. He immediately had Sher Bahadur, Narasimha Kaji, Tribhuwan Kaji and Bidur Shahi who were prominent Chautariyas, executed. But it was not possible to wipe out all powerful Chautariya sardars. Bhimsen Thapa removed many of them from their posts, and confiscated their Jagirs. Anticipating strong opposition to any attempt to execute Brahma Shahi (Bam Shah), an uncle of the king, and his two brothers, Hastidal Shahi and Rudravir Shahi, Bhimsen Thapa deputed them to the western front. There was little possibility of these Chautariya Sardars raising the banner of revolt once they were posted in distant Kumaun and Garhwal, where Amar Simha Thapa, a close confidant of Bhimsen Thapa, was chief military Commander.

At the time of the Gorkhali attack on Garh state a majority of the rural people of Salana, who were familiar with the atrocities of the Gorkhalis, had fled to the plains in panic. The inhabitants of the central part of this area had shifted to pasture areas along with their livestock. Several villages, where none stayed to look after crops or cultivate farms, became depopulated.

It was in this manner that villages in Doon valley became depopulated. Anarchy prevailed in the Tarai areas in the south of Kumaun and Garhwal. Oppressed by their administrators, the local people fled to the hills or to the plains, but nowhere did they find security. Archibald Seton, British Commissioner of Kashipur, has given a description of the state of anarchy that prevailed in Kumaun under the administration of Rudravir Shahi. His description applies to Garh as well. A terrible famine ravaged Rohilkhand, Moradabad and the southern regions of Kumaun and Garhwal in 1860 Vikrama (A.D. 1803). Public life became insecure in those regions because of the depredations of Hedi, Mewali, and other lawless elements. It was in this situation that Amar Simha Thapa made an attempt to restore order and tranquillity in Garh with the help of the former officials.

Amar Simha Thapa made preliminary administrative arrangements in Srinagar with the cooperation of former Defdaris, Kamins, and other functionaries and respectable people. He tried to enlist the cooperation of Maularam and other prominent and influential persons. He left the traditional land system of the state unchanged. As before, Kamins remained responsible for the collection of revenue in the village. Nor was any change made in the practice of collecting duties at ferry-points. Land endorsements made by the Kings of Garh to temples were reconfirmed. Amar Simha Thapa did not interfere with the Jagirs and allowances of those officials who cooperated with the new rulers. Accordingly, they pledged their cooperation. Amar Simha Thapa appointed Ranjit Kunwar, Angad Sardar, and Sardar Parashuram Thapa, his deputies, as chief of the three revenue divisions of Garh, namely, Srinagar, Langur, and Kainyour (Chandpur).

(To be Continued)

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Sahu Dharmanarayan Newar

The business house of Dharmanarayan Harshnarayan seems to have become prominent during the time of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur.

During 1856-57, Sahu Dharmanarayan held separate ijaras for the following:- (1) Collection of Chaudhari levies and other payments in Gorkha and other areas in the hill region. (2) Duties on exports from Kathmandu (Nikasi Rakam).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 81, pp. 510-11.

1859: At the end of the Nepal-Tibet war, Sahu Dharmanarayan was assigned the responsibility of finalising arrangements for the collection of customs duties on Nepal-Tibet trade at different points on the border. Previously, such duties were collected at the Tibetan town of Kuti.

Falgun Sudi 2, 1915 (February 1859)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 81, pp. 603-5.

1861: According to regulations promulgated on Marga Badi 11, 1918 (November 1861), Dharmanarayan was granted a monopoly in the opium trade in the eastern Tarai and Chitwan.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 10, pp. 273-85.

In 1864, the British Resident in Kathmandu, G. Ramsay, reported to his government: "The trade in tobacco has for some time past suffered by its having been put into the hands of that grasping but ingenious individual, Soobah Dhumnarain, who is permitted by the darbar to control, in the most mischievous manner, nearly the whole of the internal trade of the country... The entire profits of the trade are vested in himself, instead of being available to all who choose to embark on it."

(Cited in: Satish Kumar, Rana Polity in Nepal, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967, pp. 136-37n).

1865: On Ashadh Badi 3, 1922, (June 1865) Sahu Dharmanarayan Newar was granted a contract for the transportation of ammunition, and iron sheets, from a military godown at Hetauda to the Kathmandu Munitions Factory (Jangi Megjin). The godown was under the jurisdiction of Major Captain Maharudra Khatri Chhetri. Dharmanarayan was paid 7 paisa per dharni of supplies transported from Hetauda to Kathmandu under the contract.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 32, pp. 368-69.

1865: Prime Minister Jung Bahadur's order to Sahu Dharmanarayan: "We have sent an order to Captain Jitman Singh Khatri Chhetri at Lhasa to receive the monthly salaries of his staff, as well as of himself, through your establishment (kothi) at Lhasa. You are directed to make disbursements accordingly. The amounts so disbursed will be refunded to you from the Kausi Tosakhana."

Ashadh Badi 7, 1922

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 32, pp. 384-85.

In his book *Indo-Nepal-Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Calcutta: Firma KIM Private Ltd., 1977, p. 99), Jahar Sen reports:

Currency notes were not in much demand on the border. In and around Kathmandu they were prized as a means of remittance and fetched a premium according to the state of the market from 3 to 5 per cent. Till 1873 the bills of the trading firm of Dhurm Narain Hurk Narain, who acted as the State Bankers of Nepal and who had Corresponding Houses at Patna, Benaras, Kanpur and Calcutta were purchased at higher prices than the above.

The Dolalghat Bridge

In October 1901, Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere procured materials from India for the construction of an iron bridge at Dolalghat.

Village functionaries were ordered to supply rice, pulses, salt, oil, and vegetables at current rates to the civil and military personnel deputed for the construction of the bridge. Such orders were issued because "there is no market in the village."

Kartik Sudi 9, 1958 (October 1901)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 200-206.

Colonel Rana Jung Rana Bahadur's

Birta Villages

The wife of Colonel Rana Jung Rana Bahadur (a son of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur) owned the village of Ghimiregaun in the Bihabar area of kabhrepalanchok district under birta tenure.

(1) In the year 1957 Vikrama, Bani Bilas Sapkota, a resident of Bhiralichaur village in Bihabar, obtained a thek-ijara for collection of revenues from this birta village for the sum of Rs. 253. His surety was Captain Krishna-Dhwaj Khatri of the Rifle Battalion. The thek-ijara was renewed for the year 1958 Vikrama for the same amount.

Bhadra Sudi 3, 1958

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 26-40.

The thek-ijara was renewed in favor of Bani Bilas Sapkota on the same terms and conditions for the year 1959 Vikrama also.

Baisakh Badi 9, 1959

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 699-705.

(2) Colonel Rana Jung Rana Bahadur similarly owned Agra village in the Chisapani-Gadhi area under birta tenure. A thek-ijara for that birta yielded Rs 600 a year in 1957 and 1958 Vikrama. The thek-ijara was held by Gajendra Thapa Chhetri of Sainbu in Lalitpur.

Aswin Badi 9, 1958

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 87, pp. 81-92.

Drabya Shah's Successors

By

Dinesh Raj Panta

(Gorkhako Itihasa, Pt. 1, pp. 65-81. condensed).

Drabya Shah was succeeded on the throne of Gorkha by his son, Purna Shah. Since the exact date of Drabya Shah's death is not known, it is also not possible to determine the date of Purna Shah's accession to the throne.

Most Vamshawalis have given the name of Purandara Shah to Drabya Shah's son and successor. However, the following sources, which may be regarded as more authentic, give the name as Purna Shah:-

- (1) Raja-Vamshawali, compiled by Chetrevilasa during the reign of Ram Shah.
- (2) The manuscript of Devadasa-Prakasha, transcribed in the Vikrama year 1689 during the reign of Ram Shah.
- (3) Goraksha-Raja Vamshawali, which contains an account of the royal dynasty of Gorkha till the reign of Ram Shah.
- (4) Prashasti - Ratnavali and Vagvati-Stambha - Lekh composed by Pandit Vanivilasa Pande in 1841 and 1868 Vikrama respectively.
- (5) Jayaratnakara, a drama composed by the Royal Priest, Shaktiballabh Arjyal, in 1849 Vikrama.
- (6) Rajakalpadruma, compiled in the name of King Rajendra.

According to the Vamshawalis, Gorkha had to fight incessantly with Lamjung during the time of Purna Shah also. Lamjung occupied Liglig, which was one of Drabya Shah's first conquests, and Purna Shah then regained it. This is corroborated by a fragmentary (unpublished) Vamshawali in the possession of the Foreign Ministry.

The Vamshawalis also describe how Purna Shah made an unsuccessful attempt to subdue Warpak, and how the latter stopped the movement of salt and woollen blankets to Gorkha. According to this account: "Lamjung frequently harassed Tanahu also. The King of Tanahu, therefore, sent an elephant as a gift to Gorkha in the belief that an alliance with Gorkha would make it easy for him to resist Lamjung. Purna then made an offer of friendship to Warpak, which was accepted. The King of Warpak allowed the elephant gifted to Gorkha by Tanahu to proceed to Gorkha at the latter's request. He even went to Gorkha and stayed there with his retinue for eight or ten days. He came to know that elephants need salt, so he lifted the embargo on the movement of salt and woollen blankets to Gorkha."

Tanahu, although a hill state like Gorkha, obtained elephants from its Tarai territories in Ramnagar, as well as from its inner Tarai territories in Chitwan.

According to a fragmentary Vamshawali in the possession of the Foreign Ministry, Gorkha proposed that the two sides (Gorkha and Warpak) meet at Baluwa-besi without arms in order to negotiate a treaty. The Warpakis agreed to that proposal. But the Gorkhalis concealed arms there before the meeting was held. On the stipulated date, both King Purna Shah and the King of Warpak went to Baluwa-besi. The Gorkhalis proposed that the Warpakis retain Warpak, but leave other territories to Gorkha. The Warpakis did not accept that proposal. The Gorkhalis then took out the concealed arms and overpowered the unarmed Warpakis. The King of Warpak was killed, and Warpak was brought under Gorkhali rule.

According to the Gorkha-Raja Vamshawali, Gorkha annexed Salyan, Khari, Maidhi, and Dhading during King Purna Shah's rule. Documents in the possession of Jagannath Timsina of Tilakar in Salyan Kot, an order sent by Jung Bahadur to the Tharis of Salyan in the year 1906 Vikrama, and a communication sent by the Koteling Adalat to Dharanidhar Timsina in the year 1914 Vikrama, confirm that Purna Shah had conquered Salyan. He thus extended the territories of Gorkha to the Trishuli river.

Different sources have given different dates for the death of Purna Shah. In the absence of authentic evidence, it is not possible to give a precise opinion on this subject.

For the same reason, it is not known when Chhatra Shah, Purna Shah's son, ascended the throne of Gorkha.

According to the Gorkha-Rajavamshawali, Chhatra Shah occupied Simjung-Gadhi, which had belonged to Warpak. He even contemplated an invasion of Nepal valley, but died before he could do anything. There are still two drums at the Royal Palace in Gorkha, one of which contains an inscription of Chhatra Shah. According to the Vamshawalis, he had had these drums made in preparation for an invasion of Nepal valley, but died soon thereafter. The inscription bears the date 1531 Shaka or 1666 Vikrama.

Although different sources have given different dates for Chhatra Shah's death, the inscription mentioned above shows that he was alive at least until 1666 Vikrama. An inscription of 1671 Vikrama is available for his brother and successor, Ram Shah, so Chhatra Shah must have died some time between 1666 and 1671 Vikrama.

The Danuwars of Satgaun

A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846 (New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971, p. 120), contains the following statement:-

In 1773, Prithvi Narayan Shah issued an order prohibiting Danuwar moneylenders in Satgaun village of Salyan district from bonding or enslaving the children of their debtors in settlement of loans.

The statement was based on a royal order issued in the name of King Rajendra Bikram on kartik Badi 8, 1830 (November 1830) which makes a reference to the A.D. 1773 edict. The royal order has been published in: Chittaranjan Nepali, Janaral Bhimsen Thapa ra Tatkalin Nepal (General Bhimsen Thapa and Contemporary Nepal), Kathmandu, Nepal Samskritik Sangh, 2013 (1956), p. 187.

A full translation of this document is given in "Documents on Slavery", Regmi Research Series, Year 1, No. 2, December 1, 1980, p. 45.

There has been an error in identifying the geographical location of Satgaun. The term does not refer to a thum of that name situated in Salyan. (Government of Nepal, Nepalako Janaganana (Population Census of Nepal), Kathmandu: Sankhya Vibhag, 2014 (1957), Table 7, p. 44). Indeed, Salyan did not form a part of the territories of Gorkha in A.D. 1773. (Triratna Manandhar, "Salyani Raja Ranabhima Shahko Padachyuti" (Ouster of King Ranabhima Shah of Salyan), Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 11, No. 2, April 1984 (Baisakh 2041), pp. 85-92. Trans. in Regmi Research Series, Year 18, No. 7, July 1986, pp. 102-109).

The term Satgaun mentioned in King Rajendra Bikram's order of A.D. 1830 actually seems to refer to an area now located in the district of Kabhrepalanchok adjoining Kathmandu Valley. It

was used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to denote a group of seven villages (sat = seven; gaun = village) in that area. These villages were as follows:-

1. Banepa.
2. Dhulikhel.
3. Khadpu.
4. Chaukot.
5. Panauti.
6. Sanga.
7. Nala.

(Nayaraj Panta, et. al., Shri 5 Prithvinarayana Shahko Upadesha (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur, Jagadamba Prakashan, no date, pp. 1040-41).

An additional point is that there were probably no Danuwars in Salyan at that time. Dor Bahadur Bista (People of Nepal, Kathmandu: Department of Publicity, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, 1967, p. 117) writes:

Danuwars (are scattered) throughout the low hills of eastern Nepal and in the Tarai, besides those found in Kathmandu Valley. Very few are found in the areas west of Kathmandu.

Bandha Land Grants

I

On Thursday, Chaitra Sudi 9, 1802 (March 1746), King Prithvi Narayan Shah made a bandha land grant to Sadashiva Upadhyaya at Kamditar in Chyangli, Gorkha on payment of a sum of Rs 134. The grant was made subject to the condition that "the lands shall be returned on the day when the money is paid back."

(Pant, Dineshraj, "Sri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahako Aprakashita Patra" (An unpublished letter of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Purnima, no. Bhadra 2038 (August - September 1981), pp. 41-43).

II

On Sunday, Jestha Sudi 4, 1817 (May 1760), Prithvi Narayan Shah reconfirmed on bandha-betalab tenure rice-lands and homesteads occupied by Indramani Jaisi on payment of Rs 2,950. "The lands shall be returned when the money is paid back."

(Nayaraj Pant, et. al., Shri 5 Prithvinarayana Shahako Upadesha (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d., pp. 983-85).

III

In his Gorakhako Itihasa (History of Gorkha), Kathmandu: the author, Marga 2043 (November 1986), pt. 2, pp. 451-52, Dinesh Raj Panta has listed the following bandha land grants made by Prithvi Narayan Shah's predecessors in Gorkha:

(1) On Magh 8, 1759 Vikrama, King Prithvipati Shah granted lands in Ludi and Nibuwachaur on bandha tenure to Shivahari Jaisi on payment of Rs 800. Of this amount, Rs 600 was paid back to Shivahari Jaisi on Magh Sudi 9, 1769.

(2) On Jestha 9, 1783 Vikrama, King Narabhupala Shah granted bandha lands to Hari Dhanwal at Nibharchok on payment of Rs 530.

IV

Baburam Acharya has given the following list of bandha land grants made by King Prithvi Narayan Shah:-

<u>Vikrama Year</u>	<u>Beneficiary</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1805	Balabhadra Naharki	Rs 1165 and 8 annas
1809	Vidyadhar Upadhyaya	Rs 240
1811	Bhavadev Jaisi	Rs 325
1812	Sheikh Zorawar	Rs 1801
1817	Lichhuman Thauni	Rs 4001
1817	Jayapati Jaisi	Rs 187
1820	Rajivalochan Pandit	Rs 1801
1821	Tularam Pande	Rs 1101
1821	Chhotu Upadhyaya	Rs 2258
1825	Damodar Pande	Rs 501

(Baburam Acharya, Shri 5 Badamaharajadhiraja Prithvi Narayana Shah. Kathmandu: His Majesty's Press Secretariat, Royal Palace, 2026 (1969), pt. 4, pp. 671-72).

V

From Regmi Research Collections

A list of bandha land grants made by King Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors compiled from the Regmi Research Collection is given below. Some of the entries are mentioned in Baburam Acharya's list as well.

- (1) 1760 Vikrama: Jagyadhar Lohani was granted the Thansing area as bandha on payment of Rs 51.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

(The grant seems to have been made during the reign of King Prithvipat Shah).

- (2) 1805 Vikrama: 80 muris of rice lands and the attached homesteads at different places were granted on bandha tenure to Balabhadra Naharki on payment of Rs 1165 and 8 annas. The lands included those occupied by Balabhadra Naharki himself, as well as by Hridaya Tiwari.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 197.

- (3) 1809 Vikrama: 60 muris of rice lands, and the attached lands and homesteads, at Luti (Balaju), being occupied by Vidyadhar Upadhyaya, were granted as bandha to him on payment of Rs 241.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 189.

- (4) 1811 Vikrama: Bhavadev Jaisi was granted lands and homesteads at Chaynglitar, occupied by Ramachandra Upreti and Hridayaram Upreti, as bandha on payment of Rs 325.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

- (5) 1812 Vikrama: 120 muris of rice-lands, occupied by Lakshu Katarya, were granted as bandha to Himananda Padhya on payment of Rs 405 and 8 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 197.

- (6) 1812 Vikrama: The following rice-lands, along with a homestead, were granted to Sheikh Zorawar on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 1801:-

- (a) 120 muris of rice lands owned as birta by Laxminarayana and occupied by Zorawar Shahi.
- (b) 100 muries of rice lands owned as birta by Dharmaraj and occupied by Abhi Shahi.
- (c) 120 muris of rice-lands occupied by Ain Dhaduwati.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 196.

- (7) 1814 Vikrama: 443 muris of rice-lands at three places (location not mentioned) were granted as bandha to Ramaram Pandit on payment of Rs 2507 and 8 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

- (8) 1817 Vikrama: 100 muris of rice lands at Liglig (Gorkha), found surplus in the holding of Benudhar Pandit, along with the attached homestead, were granted as bandha to Ripukhandan Malla on payment of Rs 500.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

- (9) 1817 Vikrama: 180 muris of rice lands, and the attached homestead, occupied by Laxmiballabh Pande, were granted to him on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 981.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

- (10) 1817 Vikrama: Archali Chaur and Silchaur, occupied by Ratan Padhya and Sudarshan Padhya, were granted as bandha to Jayapati Jaisi on payment of Rs 187.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

- (11) 1817 Vikrama: 800 muris of rice lands at Serabesi and elsewhere, along with the attached villages, occupied by Lichhuman Thuniya, were granted to him as bandha on payment of Rs 4001.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, 192.

- (12) 1817 Vikrama: Devarishi was granted 127 muris of rice lands at Dukhantar, in exchange for his lands in Lalyong as well as homesteads occupied by Birabhadra Ale, as bandha on payment of Rs 641 and 8 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 193.

- (13) 1817 Vikrama: 420 muris of rice-lands in Mirkot as well as the attached homesteads and village, occupied by Prithidhar Padhya, were granted to him as bandha-bitelap on payment of Rs 2420.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 196.

- (14) 1817 Vikrama: Birabahu Shah and Jiva Shah were granted 3 khets of rice-lands in their possession at Lakuwa (Dhad) along with Pakho lands, pastures, and homesteads, as bandha-bitalap on payment of Rs 1540 and 8 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 194.

- (15) 1817 Vikrama: Nathu Giri was granted 350 muris of rice lands, homesteads occupied by Bahadur Ale, Khasram Thapa, and others, and Swanro lands in the Salyan area (of Dhad) on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 1,734.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, pp. 187-88.

- (16) 1818 Vikrama: 220 muris of rice-lands occupied by Kesho Bhatta, and a homestead occupied by Ram Thapa, were granted to Rana Simha Khatri on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 500.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 196.

- (17) Chaitra Sudi 3, 1819: Gnyanakar Banda was granted 180 muris of rice-lands, along with homesteads, on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 901.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 187.

- (18) In the Vikrama year 1820, a total of 360 muris of rice-lands on the banks of the Gerku river and elsewhere in Nuwakot, as well as the attached lands and homesteads which were being occupied by Rajivalochan Pandit, were granted to him as bandha on payment of Rs 1801. In the Vikrama year 1834, a part of these rice lands, amounting to 140 muris, were resumed by the government, but the proportionate amount, Rs 700, was not paid back. The total value of rents for 12 intervening years, along with that amount, was calculated at Rs 1400. The total payment on the remaining bandha lands thus amounted to Rs. 2,500.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 190.

- (19) In the Vikrama year 1820, Sura Pratapa Shah was granted rice-lands and homesteads in Darbung, Gorkha, on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 404. The lands had previously been held on bandha tenure by Dhaneshwar Newar.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 431.

- (20) 1821 Vikrama: 360 muris of rice lands, as well as villages and pastures occupied by Chhotu Padhya were granted to him as bandha-bitalap on payment of Rs 2,258.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 192.

- (21) On Baisakh Badi 1821, a total area of 160 muris of rice lands, along with the attached homesteads, was granted on bandha tenure to Rana Simha Shah in Phirkap (Dhading) on payment of Rs 789.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 430.

- (22) Ashadh Sudi 2, 1821: Rana Simha Shah was granted 160 muris of rice lands and the attached homesteads in Khinchat, Nuwakot, on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 601 and 6 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 188.

- (23) 1821 Vikrama: 120 muris of rice-lands, along with the attached lands and homesteads, were granted as bandha to Manu Pande on payment of Rs 601. (The location is not mentioned).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 190.

- (24) 1825 Vikrama: Rice lands at Balang Besi, along with the attached lands and homesteads, which had been found to be surplus from the land grant made to Nathu Simkhada, were granted as bandha to ... on payment of Rs 501.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, 189.

- (25) 1828 Vikrama: The following rice lands and homesteads were granted as bandha-bitalap to Bale Padhya Rijal and Ratnamani Dharyal: 350 muris of rice lands, and the attached homesteads at Ratomate and elsewhere, occupied by Hiramani Dharyal, Jagye Pokhariya, Bishwamitra Jaisi, and Ram Dharyal, and homesteads occupied by Sumanta Jaisi and Bali Ghale, Total payment: Rs 2329 and 12 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 193.

- (26) Ashadh 1830: Bandha land grant to Mukunda Pantha in Phujal, Gorkha (160 muris of rice lands and homesteads on payment of Rs 1732 and 10 annas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, 188.

- (27) Kartik Badi 14, 1831: 65 muris of rice lands at Maidhi (Dhading district), previously occupied by Chandramani Tewari and Tikaram khadal, were granted as bandha to Narad Pandit on payment of Rs 325.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 189.

- (28) 1832 Vikrama: Shaktiballabh Pandit was granted 70 muris of rice lands, forming part of the holding of the Devotee family in Phujal, along with Pakho lands and homesteads, as bandha-bitalap on payment of Rs 657.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 194.

- (29) 1833 Vikrama: 160 muris of rice lands along with the attached lands and homesteads at Taruka, occupied by Jansu Katuwal and Ramachandra Jaisi, were granted as bandha-bitalap to Jethabudha Bishweshwar Padhya.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 191.

- (30) 1834 Vikrama: 100 muris of rice-lands at Gauribesi in Phirkep, occupied by Vaneshwar Padhya Rimal, were reconfirmed on bandha tenure on payment of Rs 501.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 192.

- (31) 1834 Vikrama: Damodar Pande received a bandha grant of 240 muris of rice-lands at Khanchok (Gorkha) on payment of Rs 1201. The lands were occupied by Benudhar Pandit.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 189.

- (32) 1834 Vikrama: King Simha Pratap Shah had granted 120 muris of rice-lands at Kabilas as bandha to Kusi Karki on payment of Rs 601. Arjun Karki subsequently transferred the grant in favor of Jasram.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 194.

- (33) 1843 Vikrama: 100 muris of rice-lands in Naubise, (Dhading) along with the attached homestead, were granted as bandha to Ranajung Baniya on payment of Rs 600.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 195.

Miscellaneous Documents of 1862 Vikrama

1. An Assignment for Bhimsen Thapa's Brothers.
2. Gurungs and Lamas.
3. Procurement of Goods.
4. The Buffalo Tax.
5. Emoluments of Kaji Jaspau Thapa.
6. Subba Torandhwaj Shahi.
7. The Pota Tax.

1. An Assignment for Bhimsen Thapa's Brothers

On Ashadh Sudi 1, 1862, Kaji Randhoj Thapa and Kaji Amrit Thapa were granted overall authority to supervise revenue, judicial, and other affairs in the districts of the eastern Tarai region. Local administrators in the region were instructed to obey only those orders that were issued to them through these two Kajis.

Amrit (Simha) Thapa (A.D. 1785 - 1808) was a brother of Bhimsen Thapa, and Randhoj Thapa, a half-brother.

(Shumshere Bahadur Thapa, Ranbir Simha Thapa (A biography of Ranbir Simha Thapa, a brother of Bhimsen Thapa), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, 2023 (A.D. 1966), p. 10 .

The order mentioned above was sent to the following local administrators on Ashadh Sudi 8, 1862 (June 1805).

- (1) Subba Sarup Puri, Ijaradar of Morang.
- (2) Umanidhi Pantha and Jayanta Khatri of the Morang Adalat.
- (3) Dasharath Khatri and Bhotu Khawas, who had been sent to Morang for collecting the Salami levy.
- (4) Nain Simha (Khawas), Ijaradar of Saptari and Mahottari.
- (5) Laxmi Narayan Pandit of the Saptari-Mahottari Adalat.
- (6) Shaktiballabh Padhya, Ijaradar of Bara and Parsa.
- (7) Mana Ojha and Tularam Bista of the Bara - Parsa Adalat.
- (8) Jalim Simha Khawas, Ijaradar of Rautahat.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 282-83.

2. Gurungs and Lamas

I

Royal order to Bishram Khatri: "We had sent men to the region situated west of the Chape and Marsyangdi rivers with powers to collect fines from Gurungs and Lamas. We now remit these fines. If you have already collected the fines from any one, refund the amount. Instruct the collectors that the fines need no longer be collected.

"Orders have been sent for recruiting one man from each household to accompany Nayan Simha Thapa to Garhwal for action on the western front. Those who have not received orders to this effect from Rudravir Shahi shall not be exempted from the fines."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 477-78.

II

Royal order to Ballabh Pande, Vishnu Sharma Pantha, Ramachandra Khadka, Bali Basnyat, Dharmaraj Rawal, and others who have been deputed to the region west of the Trishuli - Ganga river to collect fines from Gurungs and Lamas:

"Because action has started on the western front, we have sent Gurungs and Lamas there. Refund fines which may have already been collected from those who proceed to the front, and do not make any collections from them if you have not already done so. Those who go to Garh shall obtain passes signed by Rudravir. Those who obtain such passes but do not proceed to Garh shall be punished with double the amount of the fine. Prepare a statement

of the Gurungs who have already left for the front. If it is proved that they have actually done so, do not collect fines from their households. Collect fines according to the regulations from those who have not gone to Garh, and transmit the income to us."

Aswin Sudi 4, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 528-29.

III

Letter to Rudravir Shahi: "We have issued orders under the royal seal remitting the fines imposed on Gurungs and Lamas and instructing them to send one man from each household to the western front. Issue orders under your signature to all those who proceed to the western front accordingly. Exemption from the fines shall be granted on that basis."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 478.

IV

Royal order to troops (tilanga) sent to impress Jhara labor for the construction of irrigation channels in Kaski and the Chisapani fort:

"We have ordered Gurungs and Lamas in the region west of the Chape and Marsyangdi rivers to join Kaji Nayan Simha Thapa on the western front on Jhara basis from each household. Do not seek to exact Jhara labor from those who proceed to the western front according to that order."

Aswin Badi 11, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 476.

3. Procurement of Goods

Royal order to Ijaradar Sarup Puri of Morang: "You are hereby ordered to make a disbursement of Rs 1000 for the purchase of goods required by (third concubine of Ran Bahadur Shah) Sri Sahinla Bhitriani Mumaju from Ijara revenues due for the Vikrama year 1862. You shall be severely punished if you held up this disbursement on the plea that many such disbursement orders are pending."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 5, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 443.

On the same date, similar orders were sent to the following persons for disbursement of the following amounts to purchase goods required by the following:

- (1) Ijaradar Sarup Puri of Morang: Rs 1500 for goods required by the junior concubine (Shri Kanchha Bhitrani Mumaju) of Ran Bahadur.
- (2) Ijaradar Nain Simha Khawas of Saptari and Mahottari: Rs 1000 for goods required by the second concubine (Shri Mahila Bhetrani Mumaju) of Ran Bahadur.
- (3) Ijaradar Jitaram Newar of Kagbeni-Barhagaun and the Beni Mint: Rs 1700 required by the Palpa Queen (i.e. Princess of Palpa married to Ran Bahadur).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 444-45.

4. The Buffalo Tax

A public notification was issued on Aswin Badi 5, 1862, according to which an ijara had been issued to Rajman Singh Newar for the collection of the Bhainsi-Puchhahi (tax on buffalo-tails) from Bhadra Sudi 3, 1862. The tax had been collected under the amanat system until then. The rates were as follows:-

<u>Description</u>	<u>Rate per head</u>
1. Milk buffalo	2 annas.
2. Dry buffalo	1 anna.
3. Buffalo calves (male or female)	2 paisa.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 458-59.

5. Emoluments of Kaji Jaspau Thapa

Royal order to Kaji Ritudhwaj Khawas, Sardar Angad Khawas, and Haradatta Jha: "From the general revenues of the district of Kumaun, other than the stipulated land tax revenue, you are hereby ordered to make a disbursement of Rs 2500 to Kaji Jaspau Thapa in part payment of his emoluments. The amount shall be debitted from the accounts of revenue collection in the course of audit."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862.

On the same day, Jitaram Newar, Ijaradar of Kagbeni-Barhagaun and the Beni Mint, was similarly ordered to make a disbursement of Rs 2500 to Kaji Jaspau Thapa.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 477.

6. Subba Torandhwaj Shahi

Royal order to Rudravir Shahi: "We have appointed Torandhwaj Shahi as Subba and deputed him to the western front. We have granted him 3 khets on manachamal tenure as due to a Subba. Assign suitable lands in Pyuthan from lands (confiscated) in the course of survey."

Thursday, Aswin Badi 11, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 478-79.

7. The Pota Tax

I

On Bhadra Badi 14, 1862, Subedar Hindu was granted 2 khets of rice-lands out of unclaimed (Ukas) lands detected by him in Patan, Bhadgaun, and Thimi. The grant was made under Manachamal tenure.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol.6, p. 360.

The same day, Subedar Hindu was permitted to appropriate a sum of Rs 675 as his emoluments from the proceeds of the newly-imposed pota tax in Patan, Bhadgaun, and Thimi.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 361.

II

On Bhadra Badi 14, 1862, Subedar Hindu was informed that in Patan, Bhadgaun, and Thimi, the Pota Tax had been remitted for eleven years out of the 20-year period from 1843 to 1862 Vikrama. He was, therefore, instructed to collect the tax in these areas for the remaining nine years only. In consideration of this gesture, a Salami levy was collected from the concerned landowners at the same rate as in Kathmandu.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 356.

Ferry-Points (Ghats) in Western Nepal

A.D. 1805

During the campaign on the western front in A.D. 1805, ferry services were organized at the following points on the following rivers:-

<u>Ghat</u>	<u>River</u>
1. Devighat	Trishuli
2. Tarukaghat	"
3. Budhasingghat	"
4. Kallerighat	"

5. Adamghat	"
6. Pipalghat	"
7. Gojurighat	"
8. Parewaghat	"
9. Arughat	Gandi
10. Borlangghat	"
11. Bumkotghat	"
12. Benighat	"
13. Jyamireghat	"
14. Kurringhat	"
15. Tarkughat	Marsyangdi
16. Chepeghat	"
17. Satighat	"
18. Kholaghat	"
19. Majhuwaghat	"
20. Gopsing-Ghat	"
21. Sarang-Ghat	Seti Nadi
22. Damaulighat	"
23. Wairenighat	"
24. Patharghat	"
25. Shilaghat	"
26. Khaniyaghat	Kali-Gandaki
27. Purlighat	"
28. Ridighat	"
29. Darpughat	"
30. Andhighat	"
31. Kaladighat	"
32. Gargabighat	"

Aswin Badi 12, 1862. (September 1805).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 473-74.

References to ghats on the Bheri and Karnali rivers are also available (Ibid, pp. 474-75), but the names and locations are not known.

Rights and Privileges of Kipatowners in
Majhkirat

The Rais, Majhiyas, Jimidars, and other inhabitants of Majhkirat, situated east of the Dudhkosi and Bahadura, and west of the Arun river, submitted the following petition to His Majesty through the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, General Jung Bahadur Kunwar:-

"In the year 1877 Vikrama, a royal order specifying our rights and privileges (thiti-ko-lalmohar) had been issued to us. However, that royal order was withdrawn in the course of the revenue settlement of the year 1893 samvat. Newly-reclaimed lands (birbauta-birhauti) in our kipat holdings were resumed, and taxes were assessed on homesteads which we had constructed on Pakho lands which had already been taxed at the rate of four rupees on each homestead. Moreover, taxes are increased every year. How then are we to fulfill our labor obligations (doko-boko) and maintain local functionaries (Janchhari, Pagari)? We shall be able to do so only if the previous arrangements (riti-thiti) are restored."

A new royal order was then issued on Monday, Jestha Badi 3, 1904 (May 1847), which entitled kipat-owners (kipatiya Praja) who provided doko-boko services to retain occupation of the following categories of lands:-

(a) Lands reconfirmed in their names after making deductions in the course of the revenue settlement conducted in the year 1893 Vikrama by Akal Singh and Ishwari Khatri.

(b) Lands reconfirmed in the same year by Dittha Ramnath Upadhya.

(c) Lands reconfirmed in the course of the revenue settlement conducted in the year 1901 Samvat by Subedar Shivedal Khadka and Jamaadar Alman Khatri.

The following categories were required to be registered with the Sader Dafdar-khana:-

(a) Lands reclaimed by people belonging to non-kirati communities such as Murai and Dhakre.

(b) Lands reclaimed through Jhara labor.

The royal order of Monday, Jestha Badi 3, 1904 contained the following additional provisions. (Numbers and paragraphs supplied by translator).

1. Provisions (manachamal) shall not be supplied to visiting revenue-collection functionaries (rakani, tah sildar) from each household. They shall only be provided with food so long as they remain in the thun or village. Such functionaries on their part, shall not take unnecessary people along and demand food for them, nor shall the people (raiti) make food available for such unnecessary people.

2. Amali-Jagirdars shall collect only such payments, as are customary. If they make unauthorized collections, the local people shall submit complaints to us.
3. According to the custom traditionally followed in your caste (jat), a fine of Rs 15 is collected from a person guilty of sexual relations with another man's wife (chak). Of this amount, Rs 5 shall be given to the aggrieved husband (khaduk), while the balance of Rs 10, along with the fine of Rs 12 collected from the woman guilty of adultery (chak) shall accrue to the Amali.
4. If any person (prais) wants to make payment for the woman (chakui) after he has wounded or killed the adulterer with a weapon (jar hanyako), the Amali shall collect a sum of Rs 35 from him.
5. If any person has caused physical injury to another, resulting in the shedding of blood, without using weapons, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 5.
6. Crimes (birau) committed by a child who has not yet shed its milk teeth shall be pardoned.
7. Hunters shall provide one leg of venison to the Amali for each day of hunting, irrespective of the number of deer actually killed, as Sisahar. No such obligation shall be due for birds or animals captured in traps or snares.
8. The pasturage tax (kharchari) on kipat pastures (kharka) shall be paid at the customary rate.
9. Transactions in mahabhir (hillside areas where wild bees have made honey-combs), cardamom-farms, and agricultural lands under kipat tenure, conducted with the Jimidar, shall not be regarded as an offense.
10. The Jimidar shall permit dhakres to settle on kipat lands on payment of the theke levy. Dhakres shall not forcibly occupy kipat lands.
11. The Kipat-owning Jimidar shall appropriate buffaloes that die a natural death on his kipat holding.
12. Porterage services for coins and other government supplies shall be provided up to the next village. No such services shall be provided for the personal or commercial goods of government employees and functionaries (rakami).
13. Advance notice shall be given while installing traps or snares in forests. If any person inadvertently falls into such traps or snares and dies, the person who has installed them shall make a payment of five rupees to the Amali. If such person merely sustains an injury, and does not die, a sum of two rupees and a half shall be paid.

14. A praja widow who wishes to remain chaste shall be allowed to do so. She shall not be forcibly given off to another man. In case such widow voluntarily takes up another husband in consultation with her relatives, the relatives of the deceased husband shall be entitled to realize the expenses incurred in the wedding, and the man shall be allowed to keep her. If she takes up another husband without consulting her relatives, and pays the amount spent by the latter, the man shall be allowed to keep her. If, however, she cannot pay the amount spent by her relatives, she shall not be allowed to take up the new husband. The Amali shall impose a fine of 7½ rupees, pay 2½ rupees as the share of the aggrieved party (khaduk), and appropriate the balance of five rupees, as well as a Chekui fee of two rupees.
15. The Rai or Majhiya of the village shall be entitled to the services of five laborers from each household (during the year).
16. So far, atonement for the death of cows and bulls inadvertent or by falling into snares has been observed according to riti (customary) rites by some, and according to smriti (official) rites by others. In the future, everyone involved in such inadvertent death shall obtain patiya (expiation). The matter shall not be kept secret. If it is kept secret, the Amali shall impose a fine.
17. A Doko villager shall not obtain appointment as Rai (Rai-Pagari) from the Amali or Dware of the village. Anyone who wants a new appointment as Rai shall approach the royal palace. If it is held, in consultation with the incumbent Rai, that a new office of Rai should be created, a fee (dastur) of fifty rupees shall be paid to us through the Dafdarkhana and the appointment obtained.

"Any person who acts in contravention of these regulations (thiti-riti) shall be punished according to the nature of his offense.

"Do not engage in rebellion. Do not slaughter cows and bulls. Remain faithful to us, provide the prescribed payments and services (doko-boko), and occupy your kipat lands with full assurance.

Monday, Jestha Badi 3, 1904 (May 1847).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 35, pp. 315-18.

Revenue Settlement in Jumla and Humla

On Wednesday, Chaitra Badi 8, 1886 (March 1830), a survey team headed by Tul Simha Karki was appointed to conduct a revenue settlement in the Jumla-Humla region. The team included Tharghar Meghanath Pande, Tharghar Mardan Simha Rana, and khardar Prajapati Prasai. (Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, pp. 52-53).

The survey team was ordered to perform the following functions:-

- (1) Inspect rice-lands and homesteads, make appropriate arrangements for revenue assessment on thekbandi basis; set aside rice lands and homesteads assigned to the army and resume the surplus, if any; measure raikar as well as jafati (confiscated) rice-lands in the hill (pahad) and mountainous (Bhot) areas of Jumla and Humla, and prescribe taxes on kut-thek basis according to productivity.
- (2) In case owners of guthi or marwat lands have encroached upon raikar lands, determine the area so encroached upon on the basis of available documentary evidence and in the presence of prominent local persons, measure the area if any one so requests, resume such area, and impose fines accordingly.
- (3) Inspect rice-lands and homesteads being used on chhap or mana-chamal tenure. If the owners are those that may be useful, reconfirm such lands, or make deductions, as appropriate and submit drafts of reconfirmation orders for our endorsement. In case it is found that lands are being used as chhap or mana-chamal without any documentary title, or by persons who are of no use, confiscate their lands.
- (4) If any person represents his grievances, summon the defendant and dispose of the matter in a kachahari. If the defendant does not appear when summoned, arrest him and produce him for the hearing. The Bicharis shall inflict punishment according to the nature of the offense if there is a confession. Withdraw all previous royal and other orders, and submit drafts of new orders in such a way that the people remain satisfied and our interests are not harmed. We shall affix the royal seal on such drafts.
- (5) Inspect records of Kuriya (tenants) prepared by the local Thani, Thari, or Hitan in each dara. Assess Sirto tax on such kuriyas at the same rate as in the case of other landholders (raiti).
- (6) Inspect khet and pakho lands throughout Jumla and Humla, compile separate records for raikar and jafati (confiscated) lands, and assess kut-thek and sirto taxes at the same rates as on raikar lands. In case any person is found to have suppressed information about homesteads, khet or pakho lands, or any tax or other payments, since 1862 Samvat (A.D. 1805), collect the amount due for three years, assess kut-thek and sirto taxes, and assign them to the military.
- (7) Locate copper, iron, lead, cinnabar, or other deposits in different daras, whether old or new, and assess kachho-sirto payments. Scrutinize such sources of revenue as the puchhai tax on falcons, the 20 percent (pachawat) tax on mask, the Chhapai tax on cloth, nikasi and dalali duties on horses and falcons, the Sundhuwai tax on gold-mining, the wax monopoly, duties on falcons, duties on salt, borax, sheep and chyangra goats, blankets, yaks, and jagat duties, and determine the amount of thek payments.

- (8) Assess thek and sirto payments on the inhabitants of Jumla, Humla, Mugu, Karan, Tibrikot, and other Himalayan (Bhotanta) areas on the basis of their income (paidabar) from trade.

In Mugu, Karan, Tibrikot, and Humla, record assessments from the following customary sources in such a manner that the current amount of revenue does not decline:

Saunefagu, blankets, sheep and chyangra goats, yaks, yak-milk, walak, dzoba and sheep wool, copper paid as sirto, levies on gold and falcons, etc.

- (9) On Dum households cultivating khet and pakho lands in Jumla and Humla, assess kut-thek rents on the khet lands, and sirto and saunefagu on the pakho lands, according to the size of the holding.

- (10) The following salaries are sanctioned for the employees deputed to conduct the settlement:-

2 Dhakre Majors	...	Rs 250
2 Bahidars	...	Rs 200
		<u>Rs 450</u>

This amount, as well as stationery and other expenses, shall be disbursed from income collected in the course of the survey.

- (11) Inspect water-operated mills (ghatta) throughout Humla and Jumla and assess thek tax on them on the basis of their income (paidabar).

Take nine surveyers (dangol) along with you for measuring khet lands.

- (12) Submit accounts of income and expenses and deposit the surplus at the Tosekhana (treasury).

Chaitra Badi 8, 1886. (March 1830)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, pp. 54-58.

Gorkhali Rule in Garhwal

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan"

(Continued)

Amar Simha Thapa had arrested Kunwar Pritam Shah and sent him to Nepal, while Parakrama Shah fled to Hindur (Nalagarh). Sudarshan Shah fled from Khudbuda and took shelter with the priest Kriparam at Kanakhal. Pradyumna Shah's chief chamberlain, Kishan Singh, assumed charge of his protection. He had been with Pradyumna Shah in the battle of Khudbuda. A Gorkhali soldier had caused him a deep wound from the left ear to the right through his nose. He had somehow managed to bandage the wound and accompanied the royal family to Kanakhal. Amar Simha Thapa did nothing for the maintenance of the royal family. Even those Garhwali officials and others who extended their support to the Gorkhalis did not like this policy of Amar Simha Thapa.

Meanwhile, the displaced ruler of Sirmur, Karmaprakash, requested Ranjor Thapa, Amar Simha Thapa's son, for assistance in regaining his kingdom. Amar Simha Thapa took immediate advantage of this situation to make a success of the Gorkhali campaign of territorial expansion in the region west of the Jamuna river. He placed Ranjor Thapa in the military command of Kumaun and Garhwal and marched toward Sirmur accompanied by Bhaktibir Thapa, Hastadal Chautariya, Randhir Simha Basnyat, and other military officers.

Amar Simha Thapa remained engaged in the military campaign on the western front from that time till 1868 Vikrama (A.D. 1811). He had, consequently, no time to attend to the administration of Garhwal. However, from 1869 to 1872 Vikrama (A.D. 1812-15), we find both Amar Simha Thapa and his son, Ranjor Simha Thapa, taking special interest in the administration of Garhwal. Both the father and the son issued orders making numerous jagir assignments during this period.

The Gorkhalis had arrested Jayanarayan, Harshadeva Joshi's son, in Johar, and sent him to Nepal. After the death of Pradyumna Shah, Harshadeva Joshi had left for Kanakhal out of frustration. It now became difficult for him to take an active part in politics. Direct opposition to the Gorkhalis would have been dangerous for his son, who was being kept as a captive in Nepal. Harshadeva Joshi was seeing the hardships of the Gorkhalis sold as slaves by the Gorkhalis at Hardwar near Kanakhal. He had himself invited the Gorkhalis to invade Kumaun, his motherland, and rendered them all possible help in subjugating Kumaun and Garhwal. He now repented his misdeeds. He sent several letters to the East India Company's representative in Delhi, Frazer, describing the atrocities perpetrated by the Gorkhalis on the people of the hills. On the other hand, he very much desired that the situation in Nepal should be favorable to Ran Bahadur Shah, with whom he had regular correspondence. His hopes collapsed when Ran Bahadur Shah was assassinated in Baisakh 1863 (April 1805). Harshadeva Joshi then maintained contacts with Sudarshan Shah.

Ranjor Simha's Administration, A.D. 1804-5

Ranjor Simha has been described as a man of excellent character. He was not as severe and cruel as other Gorkhali administrators, He wanted the subjects to be treated with justice. The Garh-Rajavamsha - kavya does not describe Ranjor Simha's administration in Srinagar. It is possible that such a description was contained in Bakhtwar-Yasha-Chandrika. The Garh-Rajavamsha-kavya highly praises Ranjor Simha's administration in Sirmur. According to Maularam, towns and villages which had become depopulated revived under his administration. The Bicharis and Acharis appointed by Ranjor Simha were polite and just. He had also set up an advisory council consisting of top-ranking officials. Ranjor Simha was a patron of men of arts and letters, such as Maularam, who has described him as a very generous person. People used to say that the son (Ranjor Simha) excelled the father (Amar Simha). Maularam's account may be exaggerated, but Fraser's account shows that Ranjor Simha was a benevolent administrator who wanted to maintain order and tranquillity.

However, Ranjor Simha's subordinate officials were very harsh and cruel. As conquerors, they looked upon the subjects with contempt. They freely plundered villages situated near the capital, insulted respectable people, and raped women. The Gorkhali civil and military officials abducted the wives and daughters of the people or paid a few rupees for them, and kept them as concubines for as long as they liked. Instead of winning over the hearts of the subjects, these officials believed that severity and cruelty were the only means to subdue them. The tradition of oppression and plunder that began in Garhwal during the time of Ranjor Simha continued till the end of Gorkhali rule.

Changes were introduced in Garhwal's traditional systems of taxation and the administration of justice. New taxes were imposed in addition to the land tax, such as taxes on ghee, looms, salami, and saunefagu, for the sake of revenue. New methods of trial by ordeal were introduced. Fines and penalties began to be collected according to the financial capacity of the guilty person. Revenue from taxation was deposited at the state treasury, while fines and penalties were appropriated by the officials. Those who were unable to pay their taxes in time were auctioned as slaves along with their families.

Panic spread in the Doon Valley as soon as the news spread that Pradyumna Shah had been killed. The Gorkhalis plundered the villages and town thoroughly. The Gorkhali authorities deprived Mahant Harasevakarama of the Guru-Mandir of his positions because they believed that he was a supporter of Pradyumna Shah. He was also accused of murder. Since the Mahant refused to confess, and since no witness could be found, the Amil of the Doon Valley, Sisaram Sakanyani, took resort to trial by the ordeal of boiling oil according to Gorkhali custom. The Mahant's hand was put in a cauldron of boiling oil and was badly burnt. This was taken to mean that Mahant Harasevakaram was guilty, so he was punished with a heavy fine. The Mahant's jagir villages in the Doon Valley were ruined. Other villages too remained uninhabited.

It was Kaji Amrit who, for the first time, took steps to check the plunder and prevent the Doon Valley from being completely ruined. Hastidal, Ranjor's successor, also did praiseworthy work in this regard.

After their conquest of Kumaun, the Gorkhals had constructed a track from Kathmandu to Almora. After the conquest of Srinagar, it was considered necessary to extend that track to Srinagar, and then to Dehradun. According to Traill ("Sketch of Kumaun", Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16, p. 142) kos-stones had also been installed on that track. It is not known when construction of the track started and when it was completed. It is possible that the project was begun during the time of Ranjor Simha. Gorkhali officials and troops travelled to Kangra through Almora and Srinagar along this track.

Like the inhabitants of Juhar in the Himalayan region of Kumaun, the inhabitants of Niti in the Himalayan region of Garhwal did not voluntarily accept Gorkha's sovereignty. The rulers of Garh had offered the village of Managram to the temple of Badrinath. It was therefore contrary to the policy of the Gorkhals to collect revenue from that village. There were many exaggerated stories about the wealth of the inhabitants of Niti valley, and the Gorkhals were eager to make large revenue collection there. A Gorkhali force proceeded to Niti valley, but the local inhabitants checked their advance by destroying the suspension bridge on the Rini (Rishiganga) river. But the winter trade between Niti valley and the lower valley, was also dislocated as a result. The inhabitants of Niti valley had, therefore, no alternative but to accept Gorkhali rule. A Gorkhali force was stationed in the valley, and the cost of its maintenance was raised from the local inhabitants. (Traill: "Report on the Bhotiya Mahals of Kumaun," Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16, p. 30). Gorkhali military personnel collected the revenue themselves, and their treatment of the local inhabitants was oppressive. The Gorkhals soon raised the amount of the revenue to such a figure that many people were forced to leave their villages.

Ranjor Thapa had to leave for the western front after about one year. Even when he was in Srinagar, he had to pay special attention to the supply of men and materials for the western front. The date when Ranjor Thapa left Srinagar is not known. His name is not found in the list of Gorkhali officials in Srinagar in the Vikrama year 1862. The list mentions the names of Chandrabhanu Kunwar, Vijayananda Padhya, and Gaja Simha only. They were probably responsible for revenue collection in different divisions. It was during those days that Maularam composed Rana Bahadur Chandrika. Rana Bahadur had not yet been assassinated, so he received a reward from the royal court of Nepal.

Hastidal Chautariya's Administration, A.D. 1805-8

The Thapa faction, which controlled the government of Nepal as well as the army on the western front, regarded the Chautariya Sardars with suspicion. When ruthless officials severely oppressed the people of Garhwal, and compelled them to leave their villages,

it was felt necessary to appoint an administrator of moderate temperament such as Hastidal Chautariya. Meanwhile, Ritudhwaj Thapa, Vijaya Simha Shahi, and Hardatta Simha Ojha had been sent to kumaun to revise the revenue settlement and redress the hardships of the people. In the Vikrama year 1862 (A.D. 1805), the royal court of Nepal sent Hastidal's brother, Rudravir Shah, to relieve him in the siege of Kangra fort. Hastidal was then appointed administrator of Garh.

Hastidal Chautariya was 43 or 44 years of age at that time and of medium height and stout build. He was of polite temperament and his appearance was imposing. He gave much importance to agriculture and tried to improve the condition of the peasantry. He was a generous man who usually forgave minor mistakes. He tried to keep the people satisfied.

Immediately after assuming charge of the administration of Garh, Hastidal Chautariya took up the problems of the Doon valley, which had been ruined as a result of oppression by the army and revenue collectors. (Williams, Memoirs of Dehradun, pp. 118-20). Most of the people of the valley had gone to other areas, and the cultivated area was diminishing rapidly. Hastidal Chautariya reinstated Mahant Harasevakaram in his post and also restored his privileges and perquisites. The Mahant was the only Jagirdar in the Doon Valley who had some influence among the people. He used his influence to bring back people to their villages and made every possible effort to develop agriculture. Thanks to these efforts, the condition of the Doon Valley began to improve. Its revenue had declined from Rs 100,000 a year during the rule of the kings of Garh to only Rs 9,000, but increased to Rs 16,000, and then to Rs 18,000, within two or three years. (State Papers, Judicial Series, p. 52; English Pre-Mutiny Records, Saharanpur, Vol. 23, pp. 117-126).

During the rule of the kings of Garh, the Doon Valley was frequently plundered by the Ranghads, Jats, Gujars and Rohillas of Saharanpur, and the Sikhs of Punjab. Their depredations continued during the Gorkhali rule. It was at this time that the East India Company stationed a native cavalry regiment and an infantry battalion to protect Saharanpur from the marauding Sikhs. This step checked the Sikhs in the region west of Saharanpur district, but had no effect on the Doon Valley. The Gorkhali administrator of the Doon Valley, therefore, announced that as many villages of the marauders would be set on fire as the number of their bands raiding the Doon Valley. In defiance of this announcement, a band of Sikhs raided the Doon Valley and carried away a large number of women and cattle. The Gorkhali administrator sent 200 troops in pursuit. These troops reached the villages of the bandits and set them on fire. Anyone who tried to escape was killed. Only a few women were able to save their lives because of their beauty. This method of checking the banditry, although barbarous, was effective, and the number of raids on the Doon Valley declined.

Amrit Kaji and Harasevakaram did commendable work in resettling villages and promoting agriculture in the Doon Valley. Hastidal Chautariya took several steps with these objectives. He gave liberal taccavi loans to peasants in the newly-settled villages and fixed the land tax on entire villages at a figure which was as low as five rupees a year in the name of Sayanas. He made land allotments subject to the payment of one-twelfth or even one-sixteenth of the produce as tax. These measures made it possible for the paraganna of Kalyanpur, in particular, to attain a level of prosperity which remained unmatched even during the period of British rule.

Bam Shah in Kumaun

In the Vikrama year 1862 (A.D. 1805), Ritudhwaj Thapa, Vijaya Simha Shahi, and Haradatta Simha Ojha were revising the land settlement in Kumaun. Ritudhwaj Thapa was recalled from Kumaun the following year and sentenced to death for some crime in Doti. He was replaced by Bam Shah, Hastidal Shah's brother, as Subha of Kumaun. Bam Shah remained in that post until 1815. Like Hastidal Shah, Bam Shah was a liberal ruler. He initiated administrative reforms in Kumaun and succeeded in enlisting the cooperation of several Brahmans and other influential people. As a result, he was able to thwart the feeble attempts of Lal Simha and his associates to spread intranquillity in Kumaun. Bam Shah also took steps to protect the property of the people. Jagir grants made by former rulers were restored. Efforts were also made to reform the judicial system. The practice of selling the families of people who were unable to pay their taxes as slaves was stopped.

As before, Garh remained divided into three tahasils and 84 pattis for purposes of revenue administration as before during the time of Hastidal Chautariya. His chief assistants were Ashtadal Thapa, Kaji Ram Bahadur, and Parashuram Thapa. Hastidal's brother, Rudravir Shah, was in command of the siege of Kangra on his behalf. According to a document dated Chaitra 14, 1804 (March 1808) of the time of Hastidal Chautariya, revenue from Dangu was appropriated for the emoluments of 25 Gorkhali troops. The area had been placed under the jurisdiction of Sardar Bhaktibir Thapa.

The success that Bam Shah attained in improving the condition of the people of Kumaun eluded Hastidal in Garhwal. In Garhwal, any person who was unable to pay his tax or fine was deprived of his moveable and immoveable property, and both he and other members of his family were sold as slaves. If any other person made such payments, he was entitled to appropriate them as slaves. Otherwise, the slaves were sent to the Gorkhali post near Bhimgoda on the road leading to Har-ki-pairi in Hardwar. At that place, slaves from all over Garhwal, ranging in age between three years and thirty years, were auctioned. In those days, a Punjabi camel fetched 75 rupees in Hardwar, and an ordinary horse 250 to 350 rupees, but the unfortunate Garhwalis were sold by the Gorkhali officials for no more than 10 to 150 rupees each. (Asiatic Researches, Vol. 11, p. 459).

In addition to those auctioned in the slave market, Gorkhali military men kept Garhwali women as concubines, and Garhwali children as slaves. Their officers did not object to such practices. The soldiers were accompanied by their slaves and concubines wherever they went. No provision was made for pack-animals to transport food and military supplies, so this work was done by the slaves and concubines. The Gorkhalis took along with them thousands of Garhwali women and children on their march to the western front. They also took many of them to Nepal when the war was over.

The Nepal-Almora-Srinagar track was of great importance for the movement of civil and military employees, as well as for the transportation of military supplies. The Hardwar-Badrinath track was also important for pilgrimage, as well as for the slave traffic. Hastidal Chautariya repaired the track from Devaprayag to Srinagar. This was the easiest track in the whole of Garhwal, which was kept in repair through the compulsory labor (begar) of the inhabitants of the adjoining villages. (Traill, "Sketch of Kumaun", Asiatic Researches, Vol. 16, p. 142).

In 1795, Maulvi Abdul Kadir, who had been sent to Nepal by the East India Company, reported that direct trade with Tibet would be much more profitable than through Nepal. In 1803, Captain Knox had suggested that the East India Company acquire Almora (Kumaun) from the Gorkhalis anyhow, so that direct trade with Tibet through the Himalayan passes might be possible. Thereafter, several employees of the East India Company, as well as other persons, began to collect geographical and other information about Kumaun, Garhwal, Doon, and Sirmur. They included Crawford, Buchanan, Colebrooke, Hearsey, Richards, and Rutherford, Chief of the East India Company's factory at Kashipur.

In A.D. 1808, the East India Company sent Captain Raper along with Lt. Webb and Captain Hearsey to Garhwal with the permission of the government of Nepal. Their formal objective was to identify the source of the Ganges. In April 1808, Raper reached Hardwar. He saw the Gorkhali post at Bhimgoda where Garhwalis were auctioned as slaves. With a Brahman from Kumaun, named Harabalam, as his guide, Raper reached the village of Khadkhadi on April 20, where he met Hastidal Chautariya. It is said that Hearsey had once saved Hastidal's life by treating him of injuries inflicted by a bear, so Hastidal felt grateful to him. Hastidal informed the Englishmen that he had been replaced by Bhairav Thapa as Chief administrator of Garhwal. For that reason, Hastidal was unable to give much help to Raper.

Maularam obtained a reward from the royal court of Nepal for his work Ranabahadura-Chandrika. He also composed poems eulogizing Ran Bahadur's son, Girban Yuddha Bikrama Shah. Pleased at this, the royal court of Nepal reconfirmed his jagir villages in 1865 Vikrama (A.D. 1808). It also restored his daily allowance which had been stopped by the bhardars of Srinagar.

Rudravir Chautariya, a brother of Hastidal and Bam Shah, had been deputed to the Kangra front in 1863 Vikrama (A.D. 1806) along with Dalabhanjan Pande. These two Gorkhali bhardars were persuaded by Sansar Chand to leave the fort along with his family and property. But Sansar Chand did not hand over the fort to the Gorkhals. At this, Amar Simha Thapa complained to the royal court of Nepal that Rudravir Chautariya and Dalabhanjan Pande had lifted the siege because they had been bribed by Sansar Chand. The court then recalled the two Gorkhali bhardars. Hastidal too became a victim of the royal anger. He was removed from Garhwal in A.D. 1808. Bhairava Thapa was then appointed as his successor.

Bhairav Thapa's Administration, A.D. 1808-11

Bhairav Thapa was not a liberal administrator like Hastidal Chautariya. In fact, his behavior was harsh and cruel toward the subjects. He looked upon foreigners with suspicion and raised all sorts of obstacles before Raper and his colleagues, who had been granted permission by the royal court of Nepal to tour Garh. Bhairav Thapa's subordinate bhardars, namely, Chhanna Bhandari, Buddhi Thapa, Parashuram Thapa, and Jamadar Inti Rana Gurung, were also harsh and cruel.

Soon, however, the Nepal Court deputed Bhairav Thapa, Buddhi Thapa, and Parashuram Thapa to the siege of Kangra fort. Bhairav Thapa's duties were taken over by his son, Shishta (Shrestha) Thapa, who had already worked in Kumaun. The Kamin records of Dhangu contain the names of several Gorkhali officials who drew their emoluments from revenues collected in that area.

These Gorkhali officials, not content with their emoluments, extorted extra taxes and other payments from the subjects. For instance, they collected fines and penalties according to the financial status of the offender. Every kamin was required to provide three buffaloes and two goats during the month of Chaitra, and four buffaloes and two goats in the month of Aswin, for sacrificial purposes during the Dashain festival. Payments had to be made to the Subedar and the Fouzdar when they were on tour. These officials also exacted a 3-anna silver coin called timasi from each family along with taxes. People had also to supply ghee to each bhardar or military officer.

As a result of such oppression and exploitation, villages became depopulated and lands went out of cultivation. According to Hearsey, the Gorkhals sold more than 30,000 Garhwali men, women, and children in the slave market for their failure to pay taxes, fines, and penalties. About 80,000 other Garhwals fled to the plains to escape the Gorkhali terror. These figures may be exaggerated, but are not wholly baseless.

Maularam sent a letter to Bhimsen Thapa through a trustworthy person recounting Garhwal's sufferings. When Bhairav Thapa came to know about that complaint, he confiscated Maularam's jagirs and stopped his daily allowance. (1866 Vikrama/A.D. 1809). Maularam appeared before the royal court of Nepal with a poem eulogizing the King. Bhimsen Thapa then restored his jagirs and allowance. However, nothing was done to improve the condition of Garhwal.

In 1866 Vikrama/A.D. 1809, Bhimsen Thapa sent Kunwar Birabhadra to the Kangra front. Birabhadra was the son of Kunwar Chandrabir. His mother was a daughter of Amar Simha Thapa. Birabhadra reached Srinagar in the month of Falgun. He carried a royal order restoring Maularam's houses, orchards, and jagirs; and his daily allowance of one rupee. One month later, Amar Simha Thapa sent him to occupy the fort of Morani along with Ranjor Thapa.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the East India Company government made repeated efforts to send its commercial products to Tibet through Kumaun and Garhwal and also deal in the products of the mountainous region. With that objective, it had established a factory at Kashipur. In 1804, duties on goods sold in the fairs and markets of the mountainous region were abolished. Rutherford, manager of the Kashipur factory, started supplying advances to the farmers of Kumaun and Garhwal for the supply of hemp. This step encouraged the khas peasantry to grow hemp in large quantities in the Chaugarkha area of Kumaun, particularly in Lakhanpur, Daron, Rongad, Salam, Badaro, Assi, Chaubisi, Achhyuru, Mahrur, Gunces, Dhyannirau, and Talla-Chaukot. Peasants of the Pabila community in the Bachan, Lobha, Chandkot, Chandpur, Dhanpur, and Dewalgarh in Garhwal were similarly encouraged to grow hemp. This helped them to mitigate to some extent the heavy tax burden imposed by the Gorkhali rulers. Not only the peasantry, but kamins, sayans, and other influential people of Kumaun and Garhwal as well, and even Gorkhali bhardars, started making profits from the trade in hemp fiber and cloth, hemp seeds, and chares.

Rutherford also obtained permission from the royal Court of Nepal to extract and collect resin from the abundant chir trees found in Kumaun, Garhwal, and Doti. The Governor-General had written to Nepal on April 10, 1809 requesting such permission. The resin was used to manufacture pith and turpentine, which were of better quality than those procured from Britain. Trade in hemp and resin was so important for the East India Company that it made no protest when a Gorkhali bhardar constructed a fort at Kheri in the East India Company's territory and stationed troops there in 1811, when relations between Nepal and the East India Company had begun to deteriorate.

(To be Continued).

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd.

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Subba Ramachandra khatri of Jumla

On Aswin Sudi 15, 1862, Ramachandra Khatri of Gorkha, son of Akbar khatri and grandson of Ranjan khatri, was appointed Subba of Jumla. He succeeded Parashuram Thapa and Dirgha Simha Adhikari.

Ramachandra khatri was given emoluments amounting to Rs 2,000 a year. He was also given command of the Chandananath and Bhairavanath companies, with a total of 324 officers and men. They were granted emoluments totalling 680 khets of land and Rs 590 in cash a year.

The order contained the following instructions:-

1. Do not reduce the prescribed emoluments of the officers and men of the two companies in any way.
2. Incur reasonable expenses on religious ceremonies and other matters.
3. Maintain the cannon and rifles of the companies in perfect condition. Let not any problem arise in this regard.
4. Construct new forts, if necessary, and repair existing ones in a durable manner.
5. Do not collect extra taxes from the people or oppress them, but keep them satisfied.
6. If any shortfall in revenues assigned (to the companies) is detected by officials sent from here for that purpose, report the matter to us, and we shall make good the shortfall. The surplus, if any, shall be reported to us.
7. Remain prepared for providing your services during war or other emergencies, as well as during parades, etc, and remain loyal to us.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 19, pp. 185-86.

On Kartik Badi 5, 1862, a royal order was sent to Subba Parashuram Thapa and Subba Dirgha Simha Adhikari that they had been replaced by Ramachandra khatri as Subba of Jumla.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 19, p. 301.

On Kartik Badi, 1, 1862, Ramachandra khatri was granted 3 khets of land in Kathmandu Valley as manachamal.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 19, p. 289.

Gorkhali Rule in Garhwal

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabara "Charan"

Since oppression and exploitation by the military ruined Kumaun, the royal court of Nepal sent a mission headed by Kaji Rewanta there. Kaji Rewanta studied the hardships and grievances of the people and took a number of steps to redress them. However, he was unable to deal with the basic problem, that is, payment of emoluments to the military. Military personnel accordingly continued oppressing and exploiting the inhabitants of the villages that had been assigned to them for their emoluments. In the Vikrama Year 1866 (A.D. 1809), Subedar Bam Shah, therefore, introduced a completely new land system in Kumaun. The system continued until the end of Gorkhali rule in Kumaun. A similar situation in the Himalayan Valleys of Kumaun resulted in the introduction of a new land system by Captain Bhakti Thapa, which mitigated the burden of the people to some extent. But no such step was taken to mitigate the sufferings of the people of Garh.

In the beginning, revenue was assessed in Garhwal on the basis of the estimated income from all sources in each village, rather than from the land alone. The assessment was fixed at such a high figure that the sayanas of most villages were unable to discharge their fiscal obligations.

The Gorkhali soldiers, who were entitled to collect revenues from the villages assigned to them against their emoluments, severely harassed the kamins, sayanas, and other people, looted their movable property, and even sold their women and children as slaves. There was no one to stop such oppression. As a result, the people of Garhwal at some places even put up an armed resistance. Such sporadic outbursts of violence were suppressed by the Gorkhalis with great barbarity. This led to the progressive depopulation of villages. The Gorkhalis believed that violence and oppression were the only way in which they could collect revenues from the impoverished peasantry of a ruined territory and that they were entitled to enslave men and women for default in payment of revenues. But the more the oppression, the more the country became ruined. There was, consequently, delay in payment of revenues, and arrears accumulated. Because of the armed resistance of the peasantry and delay in collection of revenues, the Gorkhalis sent many petitions to the royal court of Nepal. Imminent conflict with the East India Company made the court alert and it started paying attention to the proper management of the revenue system in Garhwal, so that the emoluments of the troops could be collected regularly.

For this purpose, the royal court of Nepal sent Kaji Bahadur Bhandari and Bakshi Dasharath Khatri to Garhwal in the Vikrama Year 1867 (early 1811 A.D.). They were accompanied by Subedar Simhabir Adhikari and Bakhwar Simha Basnyat.

Maularam, in one of his writings, has recorded that Ranadhvaj Thapa, Balenarasimha, Bhim Bahadur, and Gat Bahadur had been posted in Srinagar at this time. According to a document dated Monday, Poush Sudi 2, 1868, in the possession of the temple of Kameleshwara in Srinagar, Kaji Bahadur Bhandari was the chief administrator of Garhwal, with Bakshi Dasharath Khatri, Subedar Ajav Bhandari, Daftari Krishnananda Khanduri, Jamadar Harku Gurung, and Hawaldar Bagdar Khatri under him to revise the revenue settlement. Sardar Bhairava Simha was military commander of Garh at that time.

Kaji Bahadur Bhandari classified lands in all villages of Garh into five categories, namely, Abal, doyam, sim, chahar, and sukhabasi, and assessed revenues on the basis of the yield. A more or less similar system was adopted during British rule as well. Revenue records compiled on this basis, known as Lal Dhadda, were then approved by the royal court of Nepal.

Meanwhile, the Gorkhali army was being rapidly expanded in order to continue the campaign of territorial conquest, maintain strict control over the conquered states, and provide for the imminent war. The royal court of Nepal had to mobilize new resources in order to pay the emoluments of troops and bhardars stationed in extensive territories. Land ritually gifted to Brahmans in Kumaun had already been confiscated. Bahadur Bhandari and Dasharath Khatri scrutinized jagir land grants made by the kings of Garh, and cancelled almost all of them. The grants were renewed only in a few cases under the signatures of Bahadur Bhandari and Dasharath Khatri. Those whose jagir grants were renewed in this manner included the sons of Ramapati Khanduri and Dharanicharu Khanduri, namely, Gajadhar Khanduri and Krishnadatta Khanduri, as well as their brothers, namely, Krishnananda Khanduri and Harshapati Khanduri. Lands granted to temples by the kings of Garh were similarly scrutinized, and renewed under the seal of King Girban Yuddha Vikram. However, Kaji Bahadur Bhandari confiscated the jagirs of Maularam, even though these had been reconfirmed under the royal seal, and reduced his daily allowance from one rupee to half a rupee.

Because the military were allowed to continue collecting their revenues directly from the villages, these measures did not mitigate the sufferings of the people of Garh. The tax burden, no doubt, declined in the Doon Valley and some other areas, but elsewhere villages became depopulated and the military were unable to persuade the fugitives to come back. Many influential persons who opposed the Gorkhali policies were exiled or put to death, and several others left Garh of their own accord. In the Vikrama year 1869 (A.D. 1812), Kaji Bahadur Bhandari was recalled to Nepal, while Dasharath Khatri remained in Garh for some time more.

Amar Simha Thapa had extended the frontiers of the Gorkhali kingdom to the Sutlej river. On Chaitra Badi 3, 1868 (1812), he was granted the title of Kaji. This was the highest honor that could be conferred on a person who did not belong to the royal family. Amar Simha was about 60 years of age at that time. He had spent his entire life in the battle-field. It was his ambition to extend the territories of his king up to Kashmir. Because he had become senile, his goal was further conquests, rather than the proper management of the territories that had already been conquered.

Amar Simha Thapa had great faith in the predictions of astrologers. Shivadatta Roy was one of such astrologers. He was born of a Tibetan father and had settled down in the state of Bilaspur. His predictions about the Gorkhali conquests had earned him the trust of Amar Simha Thapa as well as the royal court of Nepal. Amar Simha Thapa kept Shivadatta Roy along with him during the campaign on the western front and consulted him frequently. It is said that Shivadatta Roy had foretold the invasion of the Yamuna-Ganga basin by the East India Company.

Meanwhile, the prospects of a war between Nepal and the East India Company were increasing. Amar Simha Thapa sent several letters to the Governor-General through Ochterlony. He tried his best to maintain amicable relations between Nepal and the East India Company. Hastidal was appointed in Doti, and Bam Shih in Kumaun, while Amar Simha Thapa, and his son, Ranjor Thapa, remained in charge of the administration of Garh, as well as the territories between the Yamuna and Sutlej rivers.

In May 1811, Amar Simha Thapa conquered the southern part of Busehar. He adopted a liberal attitude in the administration of that territory. The main trade route between the valley of the Sutlej and Tibet passed through Busehar. Thanks to centuries of trade, the inhabitants of that state had become cultured and were not willing to bow down before the invader. That was the reason why Amar Simha Thapa adopted a liberal policy toward them. But the inhabitants of Garh were unruly, turbulent, and pugnacious. Amar Simha Thapa's rule in Garh was, therefore, harsh and ruthless. The Gorkhals were never able to consolidate their hold on Busehar. During their brief rule, they had neither the time, nor the means, nor even the courage to ruin Busehar's villages and kill or drive out its inhabitants. To be sure, they destroyed a number of forts in Busehar, but the havoc they wrought in Garh has no parallel.

During the period from 1812 to 1815, the following persons administered Garh as representatives of Amar Simha Thapa:-

1812: Fouzdar Padmaram, Shrestha Thapa, Badhu Thapa, and Bhakti Thapa. The kamin of Dhangu possesses documents listing many other Gorkhali bharoars and military officers.

1813: Subedar Tularam Adhikari, Sardar Bhairava Simha, and Ranajor Thapa.

1814: Subedar Tularam Adhikari, Subedar Hikmat Simha, Subedar Ramakrishna, Fouzdar Kalu Pande, Fouzdar Hari Rana, Kaji Arjun.

1815: Subedar Tularam Adhikari, Bhaktwar Simha Basnyat, Sardar Bhairava Simha, and Fouzdar Sawayan (Som) Giri.

Jagir grants were made to several persons by Amar Simha Thapa in 1869-70 Vikrama (A.D. 1812-13), and in 1871 Vikrama (A.D. 1814) by Ranajor Thapa. One such grant was made by Subedar Hikmat Simha also in 1871 Vikrama (A.D. 1814).

In A.D. 1812, Moorecroft and Captain Hearsey travelled to Tibet through Kumaun and Garhwal in order to gain information about shawl wool. Hearsey had travelled to Badrinath along with Raper in A.D. 1808. In A.D. 1811, he had purchased the Parganna of Chandi and the Doon Valley from Sucarshan Shah, son of King Pradyumna Shah of Garh. During the 1812 expedition, Hearsey was in charge of locating the route with the help of a compass and recording accounts of the journey. The party included Gulam Haider Khan and Harakdeo Pandit. The Pandit was responsible for ascertaining distances on the route by counting the number of footsteps. Two of his steps were equal to four feet. Moorecroft and his companions were dressed as Gosain pilgrims. They had also about fifty porters from the hills along with them.

On May 9, 1812, Moorecroft and his party reached Kumaun through Ramnagar, and, travelling through the valley of the Ramaganga, reached Karnaprayag. On May 24, they reached Joshinath. Two years previously, Colonel Colebrooke had used the same route to visit Kumaun. On June 4, Moorecroft and his party reached Nitigaon. They returned from Mansarover on August 8. On their back, Moorecroft and Hearsey put on European clothes. In October, Bandhu Thapa, the Gorkhali Bhardar of Chandpur, inquired why they were travelling without permission in Gorkhali territory in disguise. He was told that the Tibetan government did not let any European visit Tibet, so it was necessary to be disguised as Gosain pilgrims. Bandhu Thapa was also told that thousands of Nepalis visited the territories of the East India Company every day without any hindrance, so the Gorkhali government should raise no objection if Europeans visited its territory. These explanations apparently satisfied Bandhu Thapa, but on October 15 Gorkhali bhardars on the border arrested them. They were released on November 5 on the orders of Subba Bam Shah of Kumaun. Hearsey has written an interesting account of his travels in Kumaun and Garhwal.

The southern boundaries of the territories conquered by Nepal touched the territories of the East India Company and its protectorates. Border clashes soon began in the Terai, where the boundaries of those imperialist powers touched each other.

When efforts to resolve such disputes in a peaceful manner failed, the Governor General, Lord Minto, wrote a strongly-worded letter to the King of Nepal on June 4, 1813. This increased the possibilities of war. Lord Minto's successor, the Marquess of Hastings (Lord Moira), assumed office on October 4, 1813 as Governor-General and Commander. Relations between Nepal and the East India Company progressively worsened, and, on November 1, 1814, the East India Company declared war. The borders between Nepal and the East India Company in the Garh region were not in dispute, but from the viewpoint of military strategy it was necessary for the East India Company to occupy Garh and separate the Gorkhali army into two parts. For that reason, the forces of the East India Company invaded the Doon Valley on October 22, 1814.

The administration of Garh remained in the hands of Subedar Tularam Adhikari until April 1815. Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat was sent there only a few days before the war ended. When the East India Company occupied Kumaun in May 1815, Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat returned to Nepal along with the bhardars and military officers of Srinagar.

King Rama Shah

By
Dinesh Raj Panta

Gorakhako Itihasa (A history of Gorkha), Kathmandu: the author, 2041 (1985), pt. 1, pp. 82-111 (Condensed).

After the death of Chhatra Shah between 1666 and 1671 Vikram, his brother, Rama Shah, ascended the throne of Gorkha.

Rama Shah visited Parbat to marry the daughter of King Raja Malla. However, the wedding did not take place because of the disrespect shown to Rama Shah by King Raja Malla. On the way back to Gorkha, Rama Shah met Narayana Malla in Galkot, who offered him the hand of his niece, a princess of Musikot. The wedding accordingly took place at Galkot.

In his Malladarsha, Premanidhi Panta has described King Raja Malla of Parbat as the son of King Narayana Malla of Galkot. Narayana Malla had divided his kingdom among his three sons.

The eldest son, Jitari Malla, became king of Galkot, while the second son, Raja Malla, received the kingdom of Parbat. It seems that Narayana Malla was living with his eldest son in Galkot, rather than with his second son in Parbat. Apparently dissatisfied with the behavior of his second son, Raja Malla, and with the aim of maintaining amicable relations with Gorkha, he seems to have offered the hand of his niece in marriage to Rama Shah.

Some time after the wedding, Rama Shah was invested with the diksha-mantra by a Brahman of Kashi named Nanda Mishra. According to the Vamshawalis, this took place on Baisakh Sudi 3, 1655 Vikrama (April 1598). Rama Shah also directed that the descendants of Nanda Mishra be designated as royal preceptors. A reference to Nanda Mishra is found in a letter sent by Prithvi Narayan Shah to Shyamalal Mishra's sons in 1828 Vikrama.

Some time thereafter, Rama Shah visited Galkot on the request of Narayana Malla. The two persons engaged in religious meditation for six months at Takam in Parbat. They then returned to Galkot and performed a religious ceremony, at which five other kings had been invited. Rama Shah then returned to Gorkha. In 1671 Vikrama, he built the temple of Muralidhara-Narayana at Pokharitko and installed his first inscription there.

According to the Vamshawalis, Rama Shah sent a delegation to Rajputana to ascertain the genealogy and family deity of the Shah family. The delegation visited Chittor (Udayapur) and Delhi, where the Emperor made certain changes in the eulogy used by the king of Chittor for King Rama Shah. This Vamshawali account cannot be dismissed as wholly imaginary, but needs further investigation. In fact, the eulogy mentioned in the Vamshawalis has been used in a manuscript of Meghaduta prepared for Rama Shah in Poush 1675 Vikrama. The event accordingly seems to have taken place some time before that year.

According to the Vamshawalis, Rama Shah visited King Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan in 1663 Vikrama and signed a treaty. The date, however, seems to be wrong, as Siddhinarasimha Malla had ascended the throne of Patan only in 1677 Vikrama. Rama Shah may thus have visited Patan some time after that year.

By that time, the thums of Liglig and Harmi had already become incorporated into the Kingdom of Gorkha. The other five thums, namely, Lakang, Mirkot, Deurali, Dhunwakot, and Chyangli, had once been under Lamjung but had since remained independent. Rama Shah succeeded in occupying all these thums through diplomacy.

Rama Shah also occupied Majhuwa, but this led to retaliation from Lamjung, which attacked Liglig, Lakang, Chyangli, and Mirkot. Lamjung, however, was defeated. Lamjung then incited Warpak to rise against Gorkha. The people of Warpak actually planned to assassinate Rama Shah. Some of them went over to Gorkha pretending that they had been exiled by their king. However, they fled after some time when they realised that neither Rama Shah nor his bhardars believed their story.

The people of Warpak then thought of a plan to assassinate Rama Shah while he was on a hunting trip. Some of them accordingly disguised themselves and remained waiting near the Gorkha palace as well as in an adjoining forest. They attacked Rama Shah while he visited Baluwa-Besi for hunting, but some of the attackers were themselves killed, while the rest were arrested. Their interrogation revealed that the attack was instigated by Lamjung. Rama Shah then released them on the condition that Warpak continued its old friendship with Gorkha.

Their release by Rama Shah left a very good impression on the people of Warpak. Both sides then agreed to assemble at Baluwa-Besi without arms and sign a treaty. But the Gorkhalis concealed arms at Baluwa-Besi before the meeting was held. They then fell upon the unarmed representatives of Warpak. The King of Warpak was killed, but his brother escaped. The other dignitaries of Warpak were persuaded to surrender both Warpak and Syartan to Gorkha.

Warpak had already been conquered by Gorkha during the reign of Purna Shah. It, therefore, seems that Warpak had subsequently reasserted its independence.

Attharasayakhola was the next target. Some people of that area, acting on the advice of Warpak, offered to merge into Gorkha, but others did not want to accept Rama Shah as their king. A combined force of Warpak and Gorkha, led by Bhawani Pande and Pihwar Rana, then attacked Attharasayakhola and defeated it at a place called Tasalya.

The Gorkhalis thereafter occupied Ruibhot and Kerung, and reached Kukurghat. But the forces of Kerung attacked them from the rear. The Gorkhali force was defeated, and both Bhawani Pande and Pihwar Rana were killed. The remaining Gorkhali troops entrenched themselves at Rasuwa, where they built a fort, and later returned to Gorkha. Warpak was given a share in revenue from Ruibhot.

Evidence to corroborate this Vamshawali account of Rama Shah's invasion of Tibetan territory is not available. But a treaty signed between Nepal and Tibet in 1832 Vikrama, as well as a letter sent by King Ran Bahadur Shah to Tibet in 1854 Vikrama, show that Rama Shah had signed a treaty with Tibet.

The Gorkhalis, thereafter, invaded Salyan, where the brother of the deceased King of Warpak was said to be in hiding. But they were defeated, and their commander, Ganesh Pande, was killed. A bigger force led by Srikishna Pande and Gadadhar Pande then invaded Salyan and defeated it. The brother of the King of Warpak was killed. Khari, Maidhi, and Dhading (where Rohidas Ghale was King) were also annexed. These territories had been annexed during the reign of Purna Shah, but had subsequently reasserted their independence.

Charange (two of whose kings were called Ramgya and Gangya), Nibharchok and Phirkep came next in the list of Gorkha's conquests. The eastern boundary of Gorkha then touched the Trishuli river at all places. The Gorkhalis also attacked Tanahu, whose King, Tula Sen, fled to Rising. The Gorkhali force looted Tanahu and then returned to Gorkha.

In 1693 Vikrama, Rama Shah built the temple of Rameshwara-Mahadeva at Pokharithok, according to an inscription installed at the temple.

Different sources have given different dates for Rama Shah's death. The Rameshwara-mahadeva temple inscription mentioned above shows that he was alive in 1893 Vikrama. The colophon of a manuscript dated Kartik 27, 1699 Vikrama refers to King Dambar Shah. We may, therefore, conclude that Rama Shah died some time between 1693 and 1699 Vikrama.

Doon Valley Affairs, A.D. 1809

Royal order to Sardar Bhakti Thapa, Sardar Chandrabir Kunwar, and Subba Shrestha Thapa: "We have granted authority to Mahant Harasevaka, Harsha Raut, Hari Simha, Incramani, and Surjan Negi to bring back tax-paying ryots of the district of Doon in the Tarai region of Garh who have gone over to the Moglan, and, in addition, bring kalabanjar lands into cultivation. You are now directed to appoint a Fouzdar in Doon through mutual agreement for collecting revenues according to the assessment registers and apportioning the amount according to your jurisdiction.

"Let not there be injustice in any matter. We had sent orders previously also banning the sale of the children of the subjects, but it seems that the practice has not been abandoned. You are, therefore, ordered to maintain checkpoints and do whatever is necessary to put an end to the practice. Any person who is caught while trafficking in human beings shall be punished according to the previous order."

Baisakh Sudi 3, 1866 (April 1809)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 998-99.

The Chisapani Fort - I

I

On Shrawan Badi 5, 1862, separate royal orders were issued to the inhabitants of the following areas to provide Jhara labor for the following purposes:-

- (1) Lamjung, for construction of a fort at Chisapani.
- (2) Liglig, do.
- (3) Kaski: In the Vikrama year 1861, half of the jhara laborers of Kaski had been employed for construction of a fort in Palpa, and the other half for land reclamation and irrigation in Kaski. For the Vikrama year 1862, those who had been employed for construction of the Palpa fort were sent for construction of the Chisapani fort. Those who were employed for land reclamation and irrigation in Kaski were placed under the authority of Sardar Shatrubhanjan Malla and Dittha (Tharthok) Shiva Rana.
- (4) Salyan, for construction of the Chisapani fort.
- (5) Dhading, do.
- (6) Maidhi, do.

The Jhara laborers were also ordered to take along with them tools and implements, as well as food for six months. Hulakis were exempt from the obligation to provide Jhara labor.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 175-180.

II

Sunday, Shrawan Badi 14, 1862

The inhabitants of the following villages, other than Gole, Hulaki, and Chauki workers, were ordered to proceed to Chisapani along with spades, axes, and sickles, and food sufficient for six months, reach there by the 15th of Shrawan, and provide Jhara labor for construction of the Chisapani fort :-

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Solping | 2. Malha |
| 3. Simri | 4. Kalchyaban |
| 5. Sukhaura | 6. Baguwa |
| 7. Sibad | 8. Makalpaku |
| 9. Lamutar | 10. Ipadol |
| 11. Abuwas | 12. Sangu |

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 13. Kurula | 14. Keldan |
| 15. Gahara | 16. Pyutar |
| 17. Singbol | 18. Thansingtar |
| 19. Nijgadh | 20. Khaireni |
| 21. Ratanpur | 22. Apang |
| 23. Dardara | 24. Chainpur |
| 25. Pawas | 26. Dulung |
| 27. Tusal | 28. Tungan |
| 29. Gimning | |

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 244-46.

III

Shrawan Badi 6, 1862

Dittha Dataram Bhatta and Dittha Ati Thapa were ordered to disburse the following amounts as emoluments to the following persons, who had been employed in the construction of the Chisapani fort, from revenue collected through fines from Jaisis in the region east of the Trishul-Ganga river :-

1. Ritubar Lama	...	Rs 1000
2. Ransur Rana and his 13 kinsmen	...	Rs 700
3. Eight Dhakres of Salyan	...	Rs 200
		Rs 1900

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 216-17.

IV

Bhedra Sudi 5, 1862

The inhabitants of the following areas, other than Hulakis, were ordered to proceed to Chisapani through Bumkot-Ghat on the Gandi river and Gajuri-Ghat on the Trishuli river, Naukhande, and Palung and provide Jhara labor for construction of the Chisapani fort. They were expressly forbidden to pass through Nepal (Kathmandu Valley).

1. Raginas and Lakha Jung.
2. Khari.
3. Nibherahok.

A separate order was issued to the chaukidars and ghatwars of Bumkot-Ghat and Gajuri-Ghat to let Jhara laborers from the following areas pass through those ghats, and also to let them return home only against pass-ports signed by Subedar Niranjana of Chisapani:-

1. Lamjung, including Raginas and Lakhajung,
2. Tanahu, including Bandipur, but excluding the southern areas.
3. Dhading
4. Half of Kaski
5. Salyan
6. Liglig
7. Khari
8. Maidhi
9. Nibharchook

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 379-80

V

Bhadra Sudi 5, 1862

The inhabitants of the following areas were ordered to reach Chisapani by the 25th day of Bhadra and provide Jhara labor for the construction of the Chisapani fort. They were told to take along with spades, axes, and food. In addition, they were told to proceed to Chisapani through the following route: Panauti - Khirauti - Bhardeophedi - Babiyogaun - Kulikhani.

1. Dolakha
2. Palanchok
3. Listi
4. Timal
5. Timalkot
6. Thangpal
7. Namlang
8. Lagarcha
9. Ma ...
10. Thulo-Paloti
11. Phulping
12. Taharpu
13. Sangachok
14. Helmu.

Chaukidars of checkposts in the region east of Panauti were ordered to let these Jhara laborers proceed to Chisapani along the prescribed route. They were also ordered to let the laborers return home only if they produced passports signed by Subedar Niranjana of Chisapani.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 377-79.

VI

Royal order to the Subedar of Khotang: "The Jamadar and soldiers of the Sri Bhairav Dal Company had been sent to the Dudhkosi - Arun region to impress Jhara labor from the local inhabitants for the construction of the Chisapani fort. You are hereby ordered to expedite the mobilization of such labor. Send all the local inhabitants, along with tools and provisions, to join Subba Pihubar Lama and Subedar Nirranjan at Chisapani. If there is any delay, you shall be liable to punishment."

Kartik Badi 7, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 614-15.

VII

Royal order to the Jamadar and Soldiers of the Sri Bhairav Dal Company, which had been sent to the eastern region to mobilize Jhara labor: "You had been ordered to send all inhabitants of specified villages in the eastern region to the fort of Chisapani within the month of Aswin 1862 in order to provide Jhara labor for the construction of the fort. However, there has been considerable delay. You are, therefore, ordered to send the Jhara laborers without any further delay. Otherwise, you shall be punished."

Kartik Badi 7, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 618.

VIII

Poush Badi 11, 1862

The following royal order was sent to the inhabitants of the following villages :-

- (a) Liglig, Aginchok, and 13 other villages in the west.
- (b) Jhangajholi and 67 other villages in the east.
- (c) Halesi, Majhuwa, and 5 other villages in Majhkirat.

"We had sent orders to you to proceed to Chisapani and provide Jhara labor for construction of a fort there. However, it seems that not all of you have done so. You are now ordered to proceed to Chisapani on Jhara basis without any exception, and send documents signed by Chautariya Bam Shah and Subedar Ati Khawas to your families. Any one who is unable to produce such a document shall be severely punished."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 693-94.

IX

Poush Sudi 1, 1862.

Royal order to Ditttha Jasya khawas: "You had obtained an order permitting you to impress Jhara labor from the whole of Majhkirat for an elephant-hunt. As a result, the supply of Jhara labor has become insufficient for construction of the Chisapani fort. Jhara labor in Majhkirat is, therefore, apportioned as follows:-

(a) For Construction of Chisapani Fort

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Halesi | 2. Siri |
| 3. Jatanpur | 4. Rawa |
| 5. Damare. | 6. Khamtel |
| 7. Majhuwa | 8. Chuichumba |
| 9. Sunpani | 10. Dingding |
| 11. Sungnam. | |

(b) For Elephant-Hunt

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Tinpatan | 2. Khotang |
| 3. Ampchok | 4. Chaudandi |
| 5. Hetuwa | 6. Pauwa |
| 7. Phali | 8. Dingla |
| 9. Pallokirat | 10. Chainpur |

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 707.

X

On Wednesday, Shrawan 9, 1864, Subba Dasharath Khatri was ordered to disburse a total sum of Rs 2755 and 14½ annas to the Ditttha who was supervising the construction of the Chisapani fort. The breakdown was as follows:-

1. Provisions for Mechanics

Rice ...	Rs 1687 - 8
Pulses...	Rs 225 - 0
Oil ...	Rs 5 - 0
Tobacco...	Rs 25.00
	<hr/>
	Rs 1942 - 8

2. Religious Functions

Goats	...	Rs 20 - 0	
Buffaloes	<u>Rs 60 - 0</u>	
			Rs 80 - 0

3. Construction Materials

Gur	...	Rs 250 - 0	
Black Gram..		Rs 100 - 0	
Salgum	...	Rs 166 - 12	
Jute	...	Rs 150 - 0	
Linseed Oil	...	<u>Rs 66 - 10½</u>	
			Rs 733 - 6½

Grand Total - Rs 2755 - 14½

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 20, pp. 471-72.

XI

Aswin Sudi 5, 1864

Royal order to the Jamadar and other officers and men of the Shardul Jung Company: "While impressing Jhara laborers for construction of the Chisapani fort, grant exemption in consultation with the local Amalidar to 30 or 35 families providing hulak services for the transportation of supplies (bhari-ko-hulak), in addition to those providing hulak services for the transportation of mail (Chithi-patra-ko hulak) and those where the men have left for Kangra."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 1047.

XII

Royal order to the dhakres, dwares, and barahas (?) of Liglig; "It is necessary to complete construction of the Chisapani fort this year. All skilled barahas of that area are, therefore, ordered to leave for Chisapani fort on Jhara basis on the auspicious occasion of the Dashain festival and work there on the orders of Kaji Bahadur Bhandari and Dittha Lexmi Narayan. We shall grant you jagirs or expenses as appropriate in due time."

Aswin Sudi 7, 1864
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 1049.

The Khawas Community

The khawas community appears to have gradually assumed a prominent place in the Gorkhali army, as well as in the administration before the Nepal-Britain war.

The term khawas is of Arabic origin, meaning a slave-girl in the royal palace. (Muhammad Mustafa Khan "Maddah", Urdu-Hindi Shabdakosha (Urdu-Hindu Dictionary), Allahabad, 1959, p. 151) The term Khan-Khawas was used to denote their children, who were also slaves. ("Royal order to Rajputs", Magh Sudi 5, 1857 (January 1801), Itihasa-Prakasha, Vol. 2, bk. 2, p. 6).

H.H. Wilson, in his Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms (P. 284), defines khawas as "in the West of India, the Children of a female slave belonging to a Charan or Rajput, the property of the owner of the slave, but treated as a member of the family." The 1801 order cited above refers to "khan-khawas belonging to Rajputs". We may, therefore, assume that khawas denoted slaves born in the households of Rajputs, including the royal household.

In his Account of the Kingdom of Nepal (p. 20), Hamilton writes:

There is a considerable number of a tribe called khawas, who are slaves, and accompanied the Chief as his domestic servants, having been in slavery at Chitaur. They are reckoned a pure tribe, and their women are not abandoned to prostitution like the slaves of the mountain tribes called keti. The khawas adhered to the chiefs of the Chitaur family, and were employed in confidential offices, such as stewards."

Hamilton thus implies that the khawas of Nepal originally belonged to Rajasthan in India.

This view seems to be wrong. The reasons include the following :-

- (1) The 1801 order, addressed to Rajputs all over the Gorkhali kingdom, refers to their Khan-Khawas. Khawas immigration from Rajasthan on such a large scale is not plausible.
- (2) There were khawas in areas where the chiefs are not attributed by tradition to Rajasthani origin. For instance, there were khawas in the territories of the Kingdom of Kathmandu before the Gorkhali conquests. They included jayanta khawas, a resident of Chaukot in the present district of Kabhrepalanchok. The lands of the inhabitants of Chaukot and other villages of the Satgaun group were confiscated, but those belonging to the Khawas were later restored.

("Order Regarding Restoration of Lands of Jayanta Khawas Marga Sudi 2, 1842 (November 1785), Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 25, p. 7).

(3) Evidence is available of first-generation khawas. For example:-

(a) Subedar Kalu Khawas was the son of Basudev Bhandari and the grandson of Maheshwar Bhandari.

(Chittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah, p. 120).

(b) Sardar Angad Khawas was the son of Kalu Ghale and grandson of Dambar Ghale. (Ibid, p. 121).

(c) Ajav Khawas, once Subba of Kumaun, was the son of Achar Thapa and grandson of Jagdev Thapa. (Ibid, p. 120).

References to khawas before the Gorkhali conquest of Kathmandu Valley are meager. They include the following:

(1) Murali Khawas was one of the men who accompanied Drabya Shah from Lamjung during the attack on Chhoprak and Liglig in Gorkha in A.D. 1559.

(Dineshraj Panta, Gorakhako Itihasa (A History of Gorkha), pt. 1, pp. 48-50).

(2) Prithvi Narayan Shah forces during the invasion of Nuwakot in A.D. 1744 included the following khawas: Angad Khawas, Thunya Khawas, Naicharem Khawas, Satai Khawas, Gajamani Khawas and Sridhar Khawas. (Yogi Naraharinath, ed., Gorakha-Vamshawali, Varanasi: Aryavirasangha, 2021 (1964), p. 175).

Available information about khawas who occupied leading positions in the central government, the army, and provincial administration before the Nepal-Britain war is summarized below. (The list is in alphabetical order. Figures within parentheses refer to the volume and page numbers in the Regmi Research Collection.)

1. Abhaya Simha Khawas: Fouzdar, Saptari and Mahottari, 1780 along with Garbhu Khawas. (5/596); Daroga of Hattisar, 1792 (25/224, 280).
2. Ajav Khawas: Commander in the Dhaibung front during the Nepal-China war (25/204); Dittha, 1798 (25/497); Signed pledge of allegiance to king Girban in 1799; Subba of Kumaun,
3. Akarbhui Khawas: Ijaradar of Tauthali, 1786. (25/169).
4. Ambhoj Khawas: Subedar, Purano-Gorakh Company, participated in Nepal-Tibet war, 1792, on eastern front. (Somadhvaj Bista, Sahi Sainik Itihasa (A History of the Royal Army), 2020 (1963), p. 53.

5. Angad Khawas: Probably different from the Angad Khawas who participated in the 1744 invasion of Nuwakot; son of Kalu Ghale, grandson of Dambar Ghale, of Maichhi in Dhading, signed pledge of allegiance to King Girban in 1799; posted as Sardar in Kullu, 1805 (6/407, 484, 508, 25/601)
6. Antya Khawas: Subedar in Bhaugaun, 1805 (6/569, 584).
7. Badal Khawas: Granted jagir lands at Buchasing (Dhading) and elsewhere. (25/300).
8. Bag Simha Khawas: Subedar in Gorkha, 1797 (25/314); deputed to scrutinize land grants in Majhkirat along with Bal Simha Khawas, 1805 (19/55).
9. Bal Simha Khawas: See No. 8 above.
10. Bamsharaj Khawas: Subedar, Sri Kalimehar Company in Morang, 1786 (25/165, 19/375).
11. Bandhu Khawas: Daroga of Hattisar, 1797 (25/357).
12. Bhairav Simha Khawas: Sardar in Kumsun 1802 (24/571); deputed to Morang, 1808 (36/110).
13. Bhajudev Khawas: Ijaradar in Chitwan (25/371), transferred as Ijaradar in Thak-Thani, 1797 (25/492); deputed to Jumla to revise revenue settlement along with some Khawas, 1805 (6/254).
14. Bharat Khawas: Co-Ijaradar of Bara, Parsa, Rautahat 1791 along with Zorawar Khawas. (5/77) (R/87/56).
15. Bhaskar Khawas: Granted Chhap lands in Chobhar, 1785 (25/12)
16. Bhayananda Khawas: Granted elephant in lieu of emoluments, 1792. (25/280).
17. Bhima Khawas: Ijaradar of Sankhu, until 1786. (25/117).
18. Bhimsen Khawas: Deputed as assistant to Bishram Khatri in surveying lands and recruiting troops in areas west of the Mersyangdi river, 1805 (6/169), (6/446) with the rank of Dware (19/247).
19. Bhoj Khawas: Deputed to Chisapani, 1792 (25/299).
20. Chandra Simha Khawas: Personal attendant of Ran Bahadur, 1805 (19/376).
21. Chaturban Khawas: Deputed to inspect hulak lines in eastern Nepal along with Jag Simha Khawas, 1786. (25/139).
22. Chhibire Khawas: Najiki, 1805, deputed to Bhaugaun for inquiry (19/81) with regulations (6/102), Subedar, 1805 (6/368) deputed to Jajarkot, (6/554).

23. Dalapur khawas : Subedar in Bhadgaun, 1805 (6/389, 407, 534).
24. Daman khawas: Saltpeter supply, 1805 (6/190).
25. Dhanabir khawas: Redeemed lands mortgaged by Chakranarsi 1785. (25/7); his ancestral birta lands in Lubhu were restored. (25/26).
26. Dhanju khawas: His ancestral birta lands in Patan town were restored in 1785. (25/25).
27. Dharmananda khawas: Subedar, 1807. (6/1009).
28. Dharma Simha khawas: Granted elephant in lieu of emoluments, 1792. (25/280). Granted manachamal lands in Lubhu, 1805. (6/455).
29. Dhokal khawas: Ijadar of Morang in 1796 (25/341). Najiki until 1805 (6/296) sent to collect Salami (6/407) in Thimi.
30. Foad Singh khawas: Subba (of Mahottari), 1785, (25/23).
31. Gajendra khawas: Collector of kut revenues, 1797 (25/349) scrutiny of land grants in Patan, 1804. (19/44).
32. Gandharva khawas: Sardar, deputed to scrutinize revenue settlement in Morang along with Bishnu Pachya, 1805 (6/600, 609).
33. Garpu khawas: Fouzdar of Saptari & Mahottari along with Abhaya Singh khawas, 1780 (5/596); and Subba, 1790 (19/475) Subba of Morang, 1797 (25/351).
34. Golaiyan khawas: Granted Chhap lands in kirtipur, 1786 (25/186), in charge of recruitment in western hills, 1786 (25/177); Captain, 1792 (25/236); appointed Sardar 1797. (25/127).
35. Haridatta khawas : Personal attendant of Rana Bahadur, 1805 (19/376).
36. Indra Singh khawas: Commander, western front, 1786 (25/167) (25/176), Subba, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, 1796 (23/193).
37. Hamsamani khawas: Subedar of Bhairav Company, 1786. (25/139), deputed to Palpa, 1805 (6/563), then for collection of Saltpeter (6/170) along with Daman khawas, 1805).
38. Hridaya khawas: Caretaker of government building in Bhangaruwa, 1792 (25/248).
39. Jagajit khawas: Military Officer during Nepal-Tibet war (5/13).

40. Jagbir Khawas: Najiki, 1805 (6/296), replacing Dhokal Khawas.
41. Jalim Simha Khawas: Subba of Bera, Parsa, Rautahat (20/17, 24/606, 24/610) until 1805 (6/602).
42. Jasya Khawas: Adai in Royal Palace (25/3) Co-Subba of Morang (kanaka-Tista), 1785 (25/1), replaced by Bali Thapa, (25/20). Granted pasture lands in Changu, 1786. (25/125), Daroga of Hattisar, 1797 (25/357).
43. Jaya Simha Khawas: Daroga of Hattisar, signed pledge of allegiance to king Girban in 1799.
44. Jayanta Khawas, of Chaukot. His Sunabirta guthi lands, granted by the Malla kings, were restored in 1785. (25/7) Dittha, Morang Adalat, 1805 (6/28, 19/57) along with Umanidhi Pantha, in charge of revenue settlement in eastern Nepal, 1810-26 (R /84, 76, 98).
45. Kalu Khawas: Son of Basudev Bhandari, grandson of Maheshwar Bhandari, Subedar; signed pledge of allegiance to king Girban in 1799.
46. Karna Simha Khawas: Subedar, deputed to Salyan, Jajarkot etc. along with Laxmidas Pantha and Upendra Kanwar to scrutinize land grants, 1805 (6/349).
47. Kokil Khawas: Granted waste lands as jagir in Rautahat, 1792. (25/195).
48. Kripa Khawas: Deputed along with Khadga Khatri to expedite transportation of cannon from Kathmandu to Kumaru, 1805 (6/73) and inspect hulak services. (6/346).
49. Mahima Khawas: Co-Ijaradar, Saptari, along with Brahmanda Padya 1800 (19/12). Chaudhari in Khalisa (Saptari), (19/120), replacing Madhuri Chaudhari (19/132).
50. Manik Raj Khawas: Munsiff, Saptari and Mahottari, 1780, along with Biru Padya (5/605). (5/608, 609) Co-Subba of Saptari and Mahottari along with Sahadev Padya, 1791. (5/76-77).
51. Meghavarna Khawas: Daroga of Hattisar, 1786. (25/180) (25/224-229). Granted jagir moujas in Sidhmas parganna (25/238).
52. Musya Khawas: Granted Chhap lands, 1786. (25/189).
53. Nawal Simha Khawas: Personal Attendant of Ran Bahadur, 1805 (19/376).
54. Nayan Simha Khawas: Deputed to scrutinize jagir land assignments in Parbat and Kaski, 1792 (25/282), in Morang, 1805 (6/64), Ijaradar, Saptari-Mahottari (20/279) until 1807.

55. Raghav Khawas: Kapardar, 1804 (19/170).
56. Ram Simha Khawas: Granted jagir, 1805 (6/350).
57. Ranadal Khawas: Subba of Arun-Tista region until 1796 (25/341).
58. Ranadhvaj Khawas: kaji, deputed to kumsun, 1805 (6/120) to scrutinize birta and other land grants (6/129).
59. Ranajit Khawas: Appointed caretaker of royal palace in Nuwakot, 1792 (25/283). Son of Maniraj Khawas, Chauhari of Khesraha and Bahadura Pargannas of Mahottari, succeeded his father to that post, 1792 (25/285).
60. Ranamardan Khawas: Daroga of Hattisar, 1797 (25/357); Ijaradar, Rautahat, 1805 (6/602, 604, 19/309).
61. Rangela Khawas: Caretaker of Sera lands in Lamjung, 1786 (25/69) (25/177).
62. Ritudhwaj Khawas: kaji, Deputed to kumaun, 1805 (6/483) (6/98) (6/409) along with Haridatta Ojha to revise revenue settlement.
63. Sang Khawas: Subedar, Deputed to conduct revenue settlement in Jumla along with Bhajudev Khawas, 1805 (6/254-55); collected darshanbhet and gadimubarak in western hill region (6/264).
64. Sobhit Man Khawas: Granted Chhap lands west of the Vihnumati river in Kathmandu, 1785. (25/29).
65. Srikrishna Khawas: Granted elephant in lieu of emoluments, 1792 (25/224).
66. Vilochan Khawas: Sardar, participated in 1785 invasion of Palpa (Somadhvaj Bista, p. 44).
67. Tribhuvan Khawas: kaji, beheaded in the aftermath of Ran Bahadur's assassination, 1806.
68. Zorawar Khawas: Ijaradar of Alampur, 1785 (25/18); Bara and Parsa (25/17), Co-Ijaradar in Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat along with Bharat Khawas, 1791 (5/77); Daroga of Hattisar, 1792 (25/280); Co-Ijaradar of Saptari and Mahottari along with Sahadev Padhya, 1792 (25/244); Ijaradar in Morang (24/413).

The list is by no means an exhaustive one, nor are the biographical data complete. Even so, the evidence is clear that the Khawas community occupied a prominent place in the Gorkhali army and the administration. Several members of the community were appointed as kajis, Sardars, Subbas/Ijaradars of districts, and Subedars.

It is significant that even the khawas who were appointed in such top-ranking positions remained technically slaves. At times, they were also described as gulam, another Arabic term meaning slave.

khawas or Gulam who were freed by the king were given the title of khatri. The following royal order, issued on Chaitra Badi 30, 1864 (March 1808), in the name of Gajakesar, son of Gaja Simha Khatri, makes this clear.

We hereby free you from the status of a slave (gulam). You shall now be a khatri. Wear the sacred thread with full assurance; and join your caste and community.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 19, p. 371

In the present state of our knowledge, it cannot be said with certainty that khatriis were invariably freed khawas or gulam. There seems little doubt, however, that Gajakesar's father, Gaja Simha Khatri, was himself a former Khawas. His assignments included the following: Subba-Ijardar of Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, 1797 (25/566,632), and in Morang along with Dasharath Khatri, 1802 (24/631), and again in Morang as Sardar in 1808 (36/205).

Bajhang Documents

I

From King Ran Bahadur Shah to Samudra Simha of Bajhang: "We hereby reconfirm you as Jimidar of the territories that had been granted to you previously. Pay a sum of Rs 501 to us every year, and, like the 5.2 million people, attack and defend according to circumstances. With full assurance, use those territories as your Jimidari.

Wednesday, Marga Sudi 3, 1850 (November 1793).

II

From King Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah to Raja Samudra Simha of Bajhang: "When the Rajas of Bajhang and Bajura complained to us that territories had not been divided equally between them, the matter was discussed at the royal court in the presence of both. It was then held that Bajura had been allotted newly-conquered territories, so its share had become larger. Orders were issued for an equal division of territories between Bajhang and Bajura, and Subedar Ranabir Thapa was assigned the task of demarcation. He allotted Thalahara to Bajura, and Chhannu to Bajhang. However, Bajura forcibly occupied Chhannu. We now reconfirm the allotments made by

Subedar Ranabir Thapa and place Chhanmu under your authority. Determine the burden (of taxation) that the territory can carry and pay a sum of Rs 5, 370 every year to the company in money and commodities. Even though Bajhang now forms part of our dominions, rule that territory as your Rajya with full assurance.

Wednesday, Poush Badi 6, 185.... (December 179).

III

From Sardar Puran Shah, Jethabudha Laxmi Das Pantha, and Sardar Karna Simha to Dewan Madhav Simha of Bajhang: "Pay a sum of Rs 4,301 every year under the Thekbandi settlement for Bajhnag. Make the territory populous and remain loyal to His Majesty."

Wednesday, Jestha Sudi 11, 1863. (May 1807).

(Source: Yogi Naraharinath, (ed), Itihasa Prakashana Sandhipatra-sangraha (A Collection of Treaties and Documents in Light on History), Dang: The editor, 2022 (1966), pp. 570.71).

Ferry Services in Western Nepal

Royal order to Mijhar Arjun of Budhighat: "A tract of land at Budhitar, north of the Trishul-Ganga river and east of the Jeudikhola, which has been occupied from the time of your grandfather and great-grandfather, is hereby reconfirmed as kipat, on the condition that you proceed to Kangra.

"These lands were previously under the jurisdiction of an Amali, but now we assign it for the supply of black gram to bulls kept at Basantapur (in Kathmandu).

"The following payments shall be made for these lands every year:-

Mahsul tax	...	5 rupees.
Jalkar tax	...	10 annas.
Darshanbhet tax	...	4 rupees.
Total		<u>9 rupees and 10 annas.</u>

"Supply 4 muris, 16 pathis, and 2 manas of black gram to the Basantapur bull-shed every year in lieu of these payments, the rate of conversion being 10 pathis a rupee.

"Maintain watch at the ghat. With full assurance, use these lands as your kipat."

Tuesday, Jestha Badi 12, 1864
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 895-96.

Identical orders were issued on the same date to Mijhars at the following ghats. The amount of payment was different, but the rate of conversion was the same.

<u>Ghat</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1. Darbung-Ghat	10 rupees.
2. Thaguwa-Ghat	9 rupees and 6 annas.
3. Sisa - Ghat	19 rupees.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 897-98.

II

A similar order was issued to the Majhis of Satighat on Baisakh Sudi 1, 1864 (Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, p. 877).

III

Royal order to Majhis guarding ferry-points (ghats) at different places west of the Vishnumati river, from the Sanghu on the Trishul-Ganga river to Gaighat and Deoghat, as well as ghats on the Gandi, Chepe, and Marsyangdi rivers: "So far, you had been allowing people to pass through on the basis of passports signed by Bakhat Simha Basnyat. In the future, recognize only those passports that are signed by Chautariy Pran Shah and Sardar Anirudra Baniya. Other existing orders and regulations in this regard are hereby reconfirmed. You shall be severely punished if you allow any one to travel without passports."

Shrawan Badi 5, 1862

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 6, pp. 173-74.

A Land Grant By King Parthiva Malla

Royal order to Prem Narayan kandyal and Gauripati kandyal: "King Parthiva Malla of Galkot had granted lands as birta-bitlab to your grandfather, Madhav Padhya kandyal. We hereby (reconfirm that grant). You shall be entitled to appropriate income collected from (the inhabitants of) these lands through judicial fines and penalties, including Panchakhat penalties, as well as escheats and chak-chakuri fines (for adultery). Fines and penalties collected from tenants (kuriya) shall accrue to the mukhiya, while those collected from mukhiyas shall accrue to the royal palace.

"Bring walak levies to the royal palace during weddings and sacred-thread investiture ceremonies, as well as one gelded goat and one jar of ghee every year. One of you shall remain in constant attendance at the royal palace. With full assurance, use these lands as your birta-bitlab."

Bhadra Badi 5, 1848
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 5, p. 11.

Selected Documents of Aswin 1862

Subedar Birabhanjan Bohra Deputed to Palpa

The Durga Bux Company of Palpa was sent to Kumaun. Subedar Birabhanjan Bohra was then deputed to proceed to Palpa along with his company. He, in turn, was replaced by Mahabir Bista.

Monday, Aswin Badi 1, 1862
RRC, Vol. 19, p. 248.

Purchase of Muskets

Royal order to Mahant Banamali Das: "Send a trusted person to purchase between 100 and 500 muskets and have them delivered at your monastery in secret. Report the deal to us and we shall send the money. If you do not make wholehearted efforts to purchase muskets, you will fall from our grace."

Aswin Badi 3, 1862
RRC, Vol. 19, p. 248.

Cow Slaughter in Solu

Reply to letter sent by Balakrishna Pathak, Padma Dahal, and Balijaisi: "You have sent the statement made by the Bhotes. Find out who among them actually wielded the knife, and who instigated them to do so. If they do not confess, you may torture them, ascertain the truth, and report to us."

"You have reported that there are 8 or 10 Dwares belonging to the khas community in that area who say that they can obtain confessions and collect fines from the Bhotes if provided with peons by Srikrishna Khadka. Provide troops (tilanga) to them to arrest (the Bhotes). So far as peons for collecting fines are concerned, request Dalasur for soldiers (Sipahi) and he will provide them."

"We have received the money, as well as the royal order and the copy in the possession of Bahadur Thapa. When Bahadur Thapa and Ishwar Khatri conducted investigations into cases of cow slaughter in Solu, revenues included in the Khangis of bhardars were affected. An order had been sent to you not to conduct any investigation that may affect the khangis of bhardars. Locate that order and send it back to us."

"You have reported that there are men in Khumbu who undertake to obtain confessions regarding the slaughter of yaks (Chaunri). You need not conduct investigations into the slaughter of yaks."

Aswin Badi 3, 1862
RRC, Vol. 19, pp. 249-50.

The Bhainsi - Puchhahi Tax

In the Vikrama year 1861, the bhainsi - puchhahi tax on buffaloes had been collected under the amanat system. On Bhadra Sudi 3, 1862, an ijara was granted to Rajaman Singh Newar for collection of the tax.

The rates of the bhainsi - puchhahi tax were as follows:-

Milk buffalo	...	2 annas each.
Dry buffaloes	...	1 anna each.
Buffalo calves	...	2 paisa each.

On Aswin Badi 5, 1862, separate royal orders regarding the ijara grant to Rajaman Singh Newar were sent to the following places:-

- (1) Kathmandu valley, including the old towns of Patan, Kathmandu, and Bhaugaun.
- (2) Sunkosi - Dudhkosi region.
- (3) Dudhkosi - Arun region.
- (4) Arun - Kanaka/Tista region.
- (5) Trishuli - Marsyangdi region.
- (6) Marsyangdi - Kaligandaki region.
- (7) Kaligandaki - Karnali region.
- (8) Karnali - Mahakali region.

RRC, Vol. 19, pp. 250-51

Judicial Income from Bhadgaun!

Royal order to Bichari Jagyanidhi Padhya and Bichari Bale Padhya: "Actual revenue assessments (wajbi) from Bhadgaun amount to Rs 16,000 or Rs 17,000. Individuals obtain ijara for Rs 27,000 or Rs 28,000 after adding about Rs 8,000 or Rs 10,000 to that amount in consideration of judicial fines and penalties, and escheats. If judicial fines and penalties are collected directly by the royal palace, Ijaradars will not be able to pay the amount stipulated by them, and there will be loss of revenue

"You are, therefore, ordered not to interfere in the traditional (judicial) functions of the ijaradar. Let the ijaradar himself discharge such functions. If you dispose of any dispute within the jurisdiction of the ijaradar, and collect fines amounting to more than Rs 100 in each case, hand over such amount to the ijaradar. If the ijaradar has collected fines and penalties amounting to more than Rs 100 in each case, let him retain one-sixth of such amount, and realise the balance from him.

"If a complaint is received that the ijaradar has acted in an unjust manner, summon the ijaradar and dispose of the complaint. If the ijaradar has taken a just decision, leave the complainant to be dealt with at his discretion. If the ijaradar is found to have acted in an unjust manner, punish him with fines, and collect such fines.

"Do not hear complaints against the Amali and the Ijaradar on your own initiative. Do so only if complaints are received."

Aswin Badi 6, 1862
RRC, Vol. 19, pp. 251-52.

Jagir Grant to Miya Karim

Twelve moujas in the Bariyarpur, Basantapur, and Charbant pargannas of Bara and Parsa were granted as jagir to Miya Karim. He was entitled to appropriate a sum of Rs 3,000 from revenues collected from different sources in these twelve moujas. These sources have been listed as follows:-

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Mal-Jahat | 2. Sair-Jahat |
| 3. Jalkar | 4. Bankar |
| 5. Bihadani | 6. Segaudha |
| 7. Singarhat | 8. Danda-kunda |
| 9. Maryo-apatali | 10. Katihari |
| 11. Hat-Dastur | |

Aswin Badi 7, 1862
RRC, Vol. 19, pp. 252-53

Manachamal Grants

A royal order was issued on Aswin Badi 13, 1862 to Ramananda Padhya and Musya Thapa to allocate the following areas of rice-lands on manachamal tenure to the following bhardars who had been deputed to the western front:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Area of Rice-lands</u> (in muris)
1. Subba Hastadal Shah and Rudravir Shah	700
2. Kaji Jaspau Thapa	500
3. Kaji Ranadhir Simha	200
4. Sardar Bhotu	400
5. Sardar Indra Simha Thapa	200
6. Sardar Parashuram Thapa	500
7. Subba Chandrabir Kanwar	300
8. Khardar Shankar Simha	200
9. Surbir Khatri, Ranabir Khatri, and Dhaukal Khatri	340
10. Sardar Angad (Khawas)	200
11. Sardar Ranajit Kanwar	200
Total	3,740 muris

RRC, Vol. 19, p. 254, and Vol. 6, p. 483.

On Aswin Sudi 4, 1862, the following chamberlains (baitheke) of the Nasalchok wing of the royal palace were granted 120 muris rice-lands each in Tokha under manachamal tenure. The lands had previously been granted as manachamal to Bag Simha Khawas and Jahar Khawas:-

- | | |
|------------|------------------|
| 1. Jagajit | 2. Shanker Simha |
| 3. Ahiman | 4. Suryanarayan |

Another baitheke, Chame, received only 20 muris of rice-lands as manachamal.

RRC, Vol. 6, pp. 519-20.

Jagir Lands of Bhawani Bux Company

2,110 muris of rice-lands, occupied by karna Padhya Dhakal and his brother, in Pandebesi, Harmi (Gorkha) were assigned as jagir to the Bhawani Bux Company. The assignment was meant (1) to meet the shortfall in the raibandi land assignments of that company, and (2) to replace lands held by it which had been granted as birta or guthi.

RRC, Vol. 6, p. 520.

Chhap and Manachamal Grants

Aswin Badi 30, 1862.

- (1) 24 ropanis of pakko lands and homesites (in Lamjung ?) to Subedar Biru Gurung.
- (2) do. in Raginas, to Uddhav Gharti. The lands were previously used by Kalu Padhya Kadariya under Chhap tenure.
- (3) The Chhap holding of Subedar Kalu Gurung in Kaski was replaced by pasture (kharka) lands for sheep farming. The Subedar was required to supply 2 dharnis of bikh to the royal palace every year.
- (4) 24 ropanis of pakho lands at Khadkagaun in Kaski district, previously owned by Madhav Gurung as Chhap, were reallocated to Subedar Chandramani Gurung under the same tenure. Rice-lands were specifically excluded from the allotment.
- (5) Subedar Ritu Padhya was granted 24 ropanis of pakho lands at Tandrang in Lamjung under Chhap tenure. The lands were previously used by Vilochan under the same tenure.

These documents mention a 240ropani allotment as the standard for Chhap grants.

RRC, Vol. 6, pp. 492-94.

- (6) Rudravir Shahi and Bishram khatri, who had been deputed to confiscate invalid birta and other land grants in Pyuthan, Darma, Jahari, and other areas, were ordered on Aswin Badi 13, 1862: "Allocate 3 khets of rice-lands confiscated by you to Subba Torandhwaj Shahi, and 6 khets to the Three Subedars, making a total area of 9 khets, under manachanal tenure. In addition, allocate chhap lands to them from (confiscated) Mohariya lands, as well as other lands, in such a manner as to cause no loss to the company, according to the schedule (raibandi) of chhap grants prescribed for the hill region."

The same day, a separate royal order was issued in the name of Subba Torandhwaj Shahi granting him the prescribed area of shhap lands, as well as 3 khets of rice-lands as manachamal, within specified boundaries in Pyuthan.

RRC, Vol. 6, pp. 491-92.

Appointment of Mijhar

On Aswin Badi 3, 1862, Dhanaramya Lata lohar was appointed Mijhar of the following communities in Gorkhali territories situated west of the Mahakali river: Lohar, Sunar, Tamauta, Bong (?) and Badi. As Mijhar, he was entitled to collect 8 annas from each household of these communities, in addition to other customary dues.

RRC, Vol. 6, p. 492.

Purchase of Steel

I

Sri Krishna Padhya and Jayamangal Padhya had been sent to Calcutta to purchase steel with a sum of Rs 9,250 drawn from the revenues of Morang district. They supplied 153½ dharnis of steel through Gangadhar Padhya to the kausi Tosakhana. The steel was then handed over to the Kapardar and a receipt was issued on Aswin Sudi 3, 1862.

RRC, Vol. 6, p. 518.

II

An additional 220 dharnis of steel was similarly supplied on Aswin Sudi 12, 1862.

RRC, Vol. 6, p. 563.
