

the daudaha (inspection tour) system under the ranas

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Rulers in many traditional societies faced similar problems in attempting to establish and maintain control over different parts of their realms and in preventing the fragmentation of their authority. When good means of transportation and communication were lacking, local authorities sometimes became virtually autonomous leaders within their regions. To combat this diminution or even usurpation of their prerogatives, rulers in these types of societies might go out in the provinces to exercise personal supervision over local affairs. The reaffirmation of this principle of central preeminence was also accomplished through the dispatch of officials whom the ruler trusted and to whom he had granted specific duties and authority in order to conduct inspections in the districts.

Inspection tours of this kind were undertaken in Nepal during the period in which the Rana Prime Ministers, or Maharajas as they were called, wielded supreme power within the Kingdom (1846-1950). Most of the Maharajas made annual hunting expeditions (shikar) to the jungles in the southern, Tarai regions of the country. Some years they might spend two or three months in such pursuits, and while their sawaris (the Maharaja and his entourage) progressed from place to place, the Maharaja himself might entertain cases on the spot or have other business transacted as he saw fit. And of course he would review the troops stationed at different locations and be received by the government officers there.

There were however other demands on the Prime Minister's time. Important state matters were continually forwarded to the sawari's camp for the Maharaja's attention. Since the main purpose for such trips was recreation, it does not appear that systematic and comprehensive investigations into the conduct of government business and the performance of officials in these localities were carried out on these sawaris. Rather, it is more likely that the Maharaja made spot checks and personally considered only the more serious cases and complaints which happened to be brought before him.

The Investiture of Padma Shamsher J.B. Rana as Prime Minister
Nanuman Dhoka, December, 1945.

(From left to right): Northern Commanding General Agni Shamsher; Western Commanding General Babar Shamsher; Prime Minister Padma Shamsher; Commander-in-Chief General Mohan Shamsher; Eastern Commanding General Kesar Shamsher; Southern Commanding General Bahadur Shamsher.

The Daudaha or "inspection tour" evolved as a significant means of checking into all aspects of government activities and investigating specific conditions within the districts. The chiefs of the daudahas were selected by the prime minister, given charters defining the nature of their work and authority; and the daudahas submitted reports upon their return to Kathmandu. This paper purposes to describe the different types of daudahas and the tasks they were to perform. I shall discuss what these inspection teams were able to accomplish and the problems they encountered in the field. Finally, an assessment will be offered of the effectiveness of the daudaha system in the context of central-district relations. Also in the course of this paper I shall note some general characteristics of administration during those times in view of the Center's reliance upon an administrative instrument like the daudaha.

Even before the Rana period, teams were sent out from Kathmandu to perform certain administrative duties and inspect arrangements in the districts as, for example, the transportation of government goods and mail. Here, however, I shall discuss the daudaha system only during the latter decades of the Rana era. It is possible to distinguish several types of daudahas primarily on the basis of the specific assignments made or the few tasks among many which were especially singled out. There were also variations in the amounts of authority and the scope of the work entrusted to daudahas. It may be useful to think of four basic types of daudahas deriving from the general purposes they were designed to serve. Of course all daudahas had certain common features, and any one daudaha might concern itself with several of these general aims. Usually, however, there was a central emphasis or focus given to the daudaha's work. These different objectives provide a convenient way to classify daudahas.

There were intra-district daudahas which the bada hakim (chief district officials) made within the districts where they served as the head governmental official. The other types of daudahas were all organized in the Center and sent to the districts. The standard daudahas which regularly went out to the districts inspected the work of the local offices and heard grievances from the people against officials or any other individual. Then there were specialized daudahas whose primary responsibility was to accomplish one or more specific tasks, ones usually which local offices had been unable to complete. And occasionally, fact-finding daudahas were organized in order to make investigations into the general conditions and problems found within an area and to recommend to the government possible changes in procedures, local regulations or customs. In their reports the daudaha chiefs would also suggest new activities it felt the government should undertake and present ways in which they could best be carried out.

I. TOURS BY THE DISTRICT BADA HAKIM.

Sawals issued to some hill bada hakims in 1909 do not give many details about the annual district tours they were to make. Mention is made only of hearing and deciding certain complaints which were brought before the touring district chief. The bada hakim was to entertain complaints alledging that

the headmen have oppressed the people; that one or two persons have done something which has caused trouble or anguish to all the villagers; that food and provisions which cannot be taken under the laws have been appropriated and used (ie., by soldiers or officials); or that land registered in government accounts has been concealed and that the revenue for the entire plot has not been paid.¹

For other matters, the people were to be sent to the courts to file their complaints.

In the Tarai, where there was a more substantial administrative presence at this time, the bada hakims of the goswaras (head regional offices) were expected to make tours and check whether the hakims, clerks and soldiers stationed in the districts were working properly or not. Yet there were obstacles in the way of making successful district tours. At least one bada hakim complained that the staff assigned to the goswara office was not sufficient to complete all the ordinary matters of business on time, let alone to allow for regular tours of the districts. The bada hakim was thus unable to know

whether works are being done in the districts in violation of the sanads and sawals or to know whether the people are being put to trouble. (It was) out of the question to make any new arrangements for work or to carry out other inspections.²

In reply to this appeal, the Center provided two additional clerks and one elephant in order to facilitate the inspections that were to be made within the region.

It is interesting to compare the brief instructions about intra-district tours given to the bada hakims in the hills in 1909 with those issued to bada hakims in the more important hill districts about twenty-five years later. The purposes of the daudaha now were

to investigate whether the offices and courts of the area within the gaunda* have carried out their works according to the laws or not; to examine

*the name given to certain strategic regions for which a gaunda office, under the Bada Hakim's jurisdiction, served as headquarters.

whether justice has been fully given to the people or not; and check whether the village thalu* have caused the tenants and people anguish or not.³

The district tour was still to be made once a year, by the bada hakim if an order came to him from Kathmandu or otherwise by his assistant. If he failed to make a tour during the winter season, all the allowances of the bada hakim or one-third of the salary of his assistant was to be stopped.

As before, allegations that a local official, soldier, holy man (!) or any other person had used force or oppression and caused some-one great trouble were to be investigated directly by the bada hakim when a plaintiff came forward. Even though no plaintiff was identified, the touring bada hakim was to conduct an inquiry and make a decision in the following cases: For charges involving money, such as when fees collected by an office for some service had been pocketed by the officials; when illegal levies were imposed on the people; when a government worker had caused loss to the government; when contractors who collected government revenue had not worked according to their contract; and when people were not paid reasonable wages in return for carrying goods, the bada hakim could take direct testimony from a person who had no written petition. He was to investigate directly any fights in his presence or instances when those who were to be apprehended under an official order created a ruckus and resisted arrest. Another category of cases which was to be considered was official negligence: when some matter was delayed because the procedures for giving permission had not been properly followed; and the allotted time period had passed without the office taking the steps required by law.

Besides making on-the-spot decisions in the affairs listed above, the touring bada hakim was to look into cases already filed in the various offices. He was to assess fines when cases had not been decided within their time limits and to expedite the settling of cases currently under review. The other important duties for the bada hakim were to investigate whether the revenue offices were carrying out their financial responsibilities properly or not, and whether office workers had done anything in violation of the laws or had ignored the laws and failed to take the required actions.

The revenue offices (Mal) were required to keep accurate records of the amounts collected and submitted to the government, to collect only the sums authorized under their charters, and to issue receipts for all financial transactions. The bada hakim was to examine the treasury and make certain that its inventory of money and goods was intact and tallied precisely with the account books. If there were any discrepancies, he was to have the difference made up (or the excess amount returned) and punish the responsible official

*important, influential private citizens.

under the laws. When investigating complaints that officials had not followed given procedures or had acted in ways proscribed by the laws, the bada hakim was to go over the relevant files and papers. If he found the complaint justified, the bada hakim was to take action against the official under the section of the law that covered the particular offense.

The tour of a district by its own bada hakim was thus designed to realize two main objectives. As there were few, if any, administrative institutions outside the district centers--courts, tax offices, police posts, etc.--and as there is plenty of evidence suggesting that local officials and village leaders often did ignore the provisions of the laws, the bada hakim was to function as a kind of all-purpose patriarchal judge who could consider any local case in which injustice or abuse of power was evident. He was to inflict punishment and redress the matter immediately and so restore the activities and life of the village to what was considered their proper arrangements. If there were other offices under the bada hakim's jurisdiction in these villages, his tour enabled him to check personally upon their operations and the performance of their workers. In these ways the intra-district tour by the bada hakim resembled the "standard daudaha" which came from the Center to make similar types of inquiries. When these arrived in the district, however, the bada hakim himself became subject to investigation and punishment.

II. CENTRAL DAUDAHAS TO THE DISTRICTS.

A. The Standard Daudaha

The daudaha was a regular feature of the Rana administration. The stimulus behind the formation of a daudaha could be the receipt in Kathmandu of petitions from villagers or reports by officials which described problems the district administration was unable or unwilling to resolve satisfactorily. It appears, however, that daudahas were generally sent out to each district at least once every two or three years, whatever the volume or nature of the complaints from the district.

The aims of the standard and most common type of daudaha have been set forth well in this passage of a sawal issued to the leader of such a tour:

We have assigned you to make an inspection tour (daudaha) in (the particular district) to check whether the hakims of the Goswara, Mal, Bazar, Amini, Auditor, Kathmahal, Ban Janch and other offices have carried on their works according to the laws and regulations or not; and to investigate and take decisive actions on complaints which alledge that hakims or village

influentials have acted tyrannically, charges which should all be looked into on the spot.⁴

A. 1. PRELIMINARY ARRANGEMENTS

Before a daudaha could embark, a number of preliminary arrangements had to be made. That these daudahas were not haphazard enterprises is clear from the administrative preparations that were taken prior to their departures from Kathmandu. The organization of a tour to Butaul in 1920 proceeded in the following manner. The Government Press printed copies of the notice announcing the daudaha's formation. Such announcements were to be posted in various parts of the district that the tour would visit. This notice pointed out the general aims of the daudaha (refer to the quotation above) and instructed the people

to write on petition forms any matter about which a complaint should be made including (cases in which) someone has acted unjustly or oppressively, has caused loss to the government, or has ignored the laws and regulations in working or getting work done. When (the daudaha leader) comes into the district, go and give the complaint to him. A proper investigation will be made according to the laws and regulations and true justice will be given.⁵

The eight staff members who were to accompany the daudaha chief were informed of their new assignments. Five of them were posted in Kathmandu courts, three being senior officials. Three other clerks from separate offices completed the staff. No reason is given in the records for choosing these particular officials, but it may be noted that all worked in Central offices; and most probably were residents of the Kathmandu Valley.

An order went to the personnel office for it to approve the payment of five months' salary in advance to each official. The treasury was then to issue funds to the concerned individuals. Another central office handed over the five volumes of the country's laws (Muluki Ain) to the senior court official assigned to the tour. The central post office was instructed to see to it that letters sent to the head of the tour would reach him in the district. It was to notify the district postal stations that they were authorized to receive and deliver as government mail letters which this official would write to other offices in the district.

Offices in the areas through which the daudaha would pass or which adjoined the district to be visited also received prior notification from Kathmandu. The hakims of two goswaras were reminded that should the daudaha require extra help in fulfilling its duties, they were to provide the necessary clerks and/or soldiers. A third goswara was to send a contingent of twenty-three soldiers and an

officer to assist in the daudaha's work. Another goswara was to furnish two "impressive" elephants for the use of the daudaha. Finally, two revenue offices in districts along the route of the inspection tour were to issue funds in order to cover railfare (for the trip through India) and meet miscellaneous expenses and allowances.

Besides providing additional staff for the daudaha, the district goswara office might be instructed to assist the daudaha in other ways, and particularly to finish collecting all fines the daudaha imposed during its stay and to take up the rest of the work which the daudaha had not time to complete. If one of the senior Ranas headed the daudaha, the goswara was expected to do a great deal more, as we see from these directives regarding a tour the Eastern Commanding General (third in line to succeed the Maharaja) was to make in the Tarai.⁶

That district's bada hakim was personally to supervise the repairing of roads within his area so that there were made suitable for motor vehicle traffic. As the Rana General's retinue was to consist of clerks, personal servants and body guards totaling one hundred, with another three hundred and fifty people serving as regiment soldiers, hunters and elephant drivers, the bada hakim was to make arrangements with the local traders and shopkeepers to open stores along the daudaha's route and to stock enough foodstuffs to meet the tour's daily requirements. That this involved considerable effort is attested to by the estimated daily consumption of rice alone by the daudaha: more than 1,800 pounds, nearly half of which was feed for the sixty-five elephants. Camps had to be prepared along the way; and as this was a hunting trip as well as an inspection tour, the bada hakim was to insure that enough water buffaloes were available for purchase as tiger bait. Lastly, arrangements for mail had to be planned, and temporary chowkis, which would house mail runners, were to be established between the camps and the main post offices.

A. 2. THE DAUDAHA CHIEF

We have mentioned that a number of civil officials from Kathmandu accompanied the daudahas and that local workers might also join the staff when inspection tours reached the districts. Naturally the selection of the daudaha chief was an important matter, for success depended in part upon the personal prestige of this individual and the respect he could command despite his being an outsider who was to stay in the district only a short time. Usually a man holding a military rank of lieutenant colonel or above was

chosen, and often he was a Rana.*

Status and prestige considerations were crucial, since many of the bada hakims, whose activities the daudahas were to investigate, were themselves Shamsher Ranas. It is probable that the non-Rana colonels and lieutenant colonels who were appointed to head daudahas went to districts where non-Ranas or Ranas of lower ranks served as bada hakim. It was not unknown for a Rana uncle to visit a district where one of his nephews was bada hakim, or even for a nephew to find himself calling his own uncle on the carpet! That the daudaha chief was sent as the personal emissary of the prime minister, to whom alone he was accountable, added greatly to his stature.

A member of the Rana family has recalled his meetings with two central officials after his selection to head his first daudaha.** One clarified for him certain legal and administrative points; a colonel, who had made tours before, gave him the following advice:

do not take bribes; do not listen to what other people say but give judgments according to your own sense of justice; do not go into the niceties of the laws when a decision is called for; and take care (not to antagonize) the "thula-thalu" (such as the local landlords, traders, temple priests, village headmen, et. al.).

To the extent that this advice represented "official thinking", one may discern certain expectations about the role of a daudaha leader. He was to be personally honest and rely upon his own conceptions of what was right. This would prevent him from falling under the influence of local people who might seek to promote their own interests by offering inducements or speaking deceitfully. The daudaha leader in effect was to decide cases on their substantive merits in the light of his own ethical and religious values.

Yet there was also in this advice the frank recognition that justice was not dispensed in a vacuum and that other factors had to be taken account of. Powerful, entrenched local interests could not

*By 1900 the Shamsher Ranas had come to dominate the top administrative positions in the state. The Maharaja came from this branch of the family. There were other Rana families, however, such as the Jang Ranas, Narsingh Ranas, Bikram Ranas, and Dhoj Ranas. Their members also served in the army and administration but were not allowed to advance to the higher positions which were the prerogatives of the Shamsher Ranas.

**The author promised confidentiality to those who consented to be interviewed for his research.

be ignored, for the administration of the districts, to say nothing of the preservation of the regime itself, depended in no small measure upon the support or at least the acceptance of the government by these local influentials.

A. 3. THE DAUDAHA'S WORK.

We have still to consider in a more detailed way the various tasks the standard daudaha was called upon to perform. All district offices were subject to daudaha inspection, and their staffs could be held accountable for the neglect or improper discharge of office duties. The impressive and detailed formulation of administrative regulations and the issuing of comprehensive office charters could not, of course, guarantee that local officials would abide by these provisions in practice. District administration labored under many difficult conditions not of its own making, but official incompetence, high-handedness, abuse of power, and pursuit of personal interests sometimes seem to have been just as serious problems.

Treasuries were, not surprisingly, prime targets for inspection. In Tarai districts the courts, revenue, forest, and customs offices all maintained treasuries. The disposition of court cases was to be examined to see if they were settled according to procedures and within the stipulated time limits. The general instructions given to the daudaha required it to determine whether each office in the district was satisfactorily carrying out everything it was assigned to do. This implied that the daudaha could look into files, account books, case decisions, registers, in short, could check any office records it wished. At the same time that it evaluated the functioning of local offices, the daudaha was to take necessary disciplinary actions against government employees. Officials had little chance to offer excuses or shift the blame when mistakes were found. The office charters and the head officials' promissory bonds (agreements) specified clearly the staffs' responsibilities.

Not all daudahas were given the authority to dismiss office hakims out-right; the more common requirement was for the daudaha to inform Kathmandu when it found grounds for dismissing any official above clerical level. For less serious offenses, when actions had not been taken or collections not made in time by offices, the daudaha was to "prepare papers" about these incidents and have the officials responsible sign them. The daudaha was to fine office staff members who committed irregularities. It usually received some such general instructions as these to

make inquiries into and investigate the complaints lodged against the hakims, bada hakim, clerks and workers of the offices. If it seems that papers should be prepared, or, from an inspection of the files regarding works in progress in the treasuries or in the jails, if statements or confessions should

be obtained, have the concerned people brought in and have the statements (etc.)... taken.⁷

As noted above, landlords and the village magnates came under the daudaha's purview; if complaints against such persons were found justified, the daudaha was to "seize, detain and/or shackle (the culprit) immediately" and turn them over to the court. If such a person had caused "great injustice or suffering" however, the daudaha could bring him to Kathmandu and have him presented before the Maharaja.

Often misconduct could be detected from an examination of the offices' documents; petitions from the people alerted the daudahas to possible cases of wrong-doing. Yet through cleverness, collusion, or intimidation, the local elite and the "liars and cheats" might seek to conceal their shenanigans. So the daudaha was to employ another tactic:

After you reach the district, make secret investigations into whether or not there are cunning people in the offices ... who take up cases for others and in so doing cause dissention among the people and carry on such mischievous activities. (If) there are such men ... write a complete description of them and submit it.⁸

This technique was also used to gather information about the more important government officials as well:

Investigate what can be investigated through secret means about the behaviour of the office hakims in the districts and how their work is being done. Report to us secretly well what you have found.⁹

The same idea was elaborated in greater detail to another daudaha:

Conduct an exact and secret investigation into whether or not the bada hakim of the district gaunda and the hakims and officers of the Mal, Adalat (court), and other offices have performed their work according to the laws, regulations, and sanads by which they have been given authority. Investigate whether they have given unnecessary trouble to the people and caused them hardship or not. What is the rest of (these officials') behaviour like? (Do they show) bad intentions (ie., are their motives questionable?) in getting their work done?¹⁰

Besides looking into the past actions of the offices and checking into the behavior and motives of district officials, a second important job of the general daudaha was to expedite, sometimes in effect to take over itself, the work of local offices. Daudahas were to attend in particular to unresolved cases in the courts and revenue offices. A daudaha would obtain lists of these pending cases and give special attention to completing the procedures and deciding those cases which had not been cleared within the prescribed time period.

Some standard procedural requirements were modified to allow the daudaha to take quick action. For example, it was the general practice when issuing a summons to give the respondent between seven to fifteen days to present himself at court. The daudaha was to give only a three to seven day period. Normal regulations required people to submit their complaints in writing on officially stamped forms. But the daudaha could take verbal statements from those who, for some reason (extreme poverty, ignorance of how to make a written petition) came forward without a petition in hand. The daudaha could be granted more authority over certain types of cases than the local courts possessed, or it could temporarily assume certain powers of the goswara office to reduce the number of steps necessary for granting approval. About some matters which normally had to be referred to the Center, the daudaha itself was to reach a decision.

In a few instances, these standard daudahas were also to take over some of the functions of a local office for as long as they remained in the area. Among these, the Center probably was most concerned about the task of making arrangements for the collection of land revenue. In areas where local functionaries signed agreements to deliver specified amounts of taxes to the local revenue office, it sometimes happened that these revenue collectors defaulted or were unwilling to continue under the specific terms of their contracts and so resigned. The Mal Office itself then had to undertake direct collections which, for a number of reasons, it usually was ill-equipped to do. Thus a daudaha might be instructed to solicit applications and make appointments of village tax collectors (generally referred to as "talukdars" or jimmewals") on the most favorable terms possible for the government.

Another good source of income resulted from the sale of timber in the Tarai, so daudahas to that region were to try and sell off whatever timber on deposit the forest offices had not been able to dispose of. In these ways the daudahas were expected to conclude successfully certain on-going assignments which local offices had been unable to complete.

Peculiar problems in the districts might also arise, usually of a law and order nature, to which the local authorities were not responding satisfactorily. After World War II, goods like salt, kerosene, and sugar were often bought and sold under government

control, and some daudahas were to investigate official indulgence in tolerating black market transactions. It was also at this time that organized political opposition to the Rana regime began to prove troublesome.

Word has reached us that pensioners and soldiers (Nepalese serving in the British army) in (India) are regularly attempting to disrupt the peace by giving talks and spreading leaflets to incite the people in Butaul district (in Nepal). Make good, secret investigations into who is responsible and what they are doing...¹¹

Another special problem once assigned to a daudaha concerned a report about the melting and smuggling of Nepali coins to India.

Are coins being taken away in this way or not?
Who is doing the exporting, how, from what places,
and how much money is involved? ... Consider how
we can keep on the lookout for this business ...
and how the practice can be stopped.¹²

Other more common areas into which a daudaha might probe and come up with new suggestions included constructing irrigation facilities and roads (in the Tarai), bringing fallow and jungle lands under cultivation, and the question of how to exercise better control over contractors who tried to extract unreasonable amounts of land revenue from the people. It is apparent from the instructions given to daudahas about these kinds of situations that while Kathmandu did have some idea of what the local problems and challenges to effective administration were in the districts, it was much less clear (or reluctant to trust what reports it did receive) on the specific dimensions of the problems and what should be done about them.

A final aim of these daudahas was to make a general evaluation of present administrative conditions in the districts. Of course, much of this information was implicit in the daudaha's reports, but sometimes a daudaha was to focus specifically on an organizational problem in broader terms. One inspection team was to examine the placement of police posts in relation to the works of the court, forest and customs offices. The chief was to recommend whether it was desirable to continue to maintain all the present posts, to open new ones, or to increase expenditures allotted for them. It does not appear, however, that other daudahas going to different districts were also to consider this same question as part of a plan to examine the distribution of these "chowkis" throughout the country. My guess is that generally a matter was explored only after the Central authorities received some report about it, and then it was approached as a problem particular to that district. Thus, changes might be introduced in one district but not in an adjoining one, although their problems could be quite similar.

These, in summary, were the general functions which the standard daudaha performed: to complete routine work which the offices had left unfinished; to speed up the handling of pending business; to investigate the records of office transactions and the behavior of government workers, and to impose penalties when required; to gather information about and make arrangements for solving particular problems which involved violations of the law, but which the local administration was unable (or unwilling) to manage; and to evaluate and make suggestions for the improvement of specific administrative arrangements or procedures. The other two types of daudahas can be distinguished from this general inspection tour by the more limited and specific nature of their assignments.

B. The Specialized Daudaha

Instead of going to investigate all the works of district offices and to look into other general problems, there were teams sent out primarily to accomplish only one particular task. When the Center considered it vital to get a matter of local business taken care of and it felt the local office was not competent to attend to this, or after the authorities in the district had been given their chance to act but had failed to meet their responsibilities, a "specialized daudaha" might go out to take charge of the situation. Or the daudaha might be told to investigate and/or make arrangements for a particular kind of problem. Actually some of these missions could better be described as surveys. Various kinds of feasibility studies were also conducted in which teams from central offices investigated the possibilities for proposed agricultural or construction projects in the districts. It is justifiable, I think, to include these several kinds of assignments under the category of "daudaha," as such visits to the districts also represented central efforts to intervene directly into district administrative matters and accomplish central objectives.

The accumulation of arrears in large amounts and the confused state of land administration matters were probably the most important factors behind the organization of a specialized daudaha. In the preface to its sawal, a daudaha in 1930 was directed to look into and settle all outstanding cases and requests which had been in the district offices for longer than five months. Additionally, as an amount of 409,392 rupees in cash that the district court should have collected was in arrears, the daudaha was to collect and bring back what it could of this amount.¹³

The loss of land revenue also disturbed the government and prompted it to detail a team because

there is revenue outstanding among the amounts that should be collected by (five district) Mals. It has been reported that there have been losses in (3 of these districts), and even though the

survey (assessment) rate in the maujas (areas of land within districts) has been greatly increased, the Mals were not able to realize much of this.¹⁴

In these cases the teams functioned, in effect, as tax collecting agents for the Center.

The land survey teams which went to the districts sometimes had to correct the mistakes of past surveys. One official had previously visited an area to make lists of surplus lands as well as to collect outstanding revenue. But it was discovered later that

in (maujas) where there was fallow and unproductive land, more land was recorded (in the register than actually existed) since there was a change in the measurement criteria; and hence collections could not be made nor jimidars engaged.¹⁵

So that same officer was again sent to the district where he had "fixed the rates improperly and increased the amount of land by the survey." There are also records showing that many officials who made these land surveys were subsequently dismissed from office when their improper activities (accepting bribes, falsifying land records, etc.) came to light.¹⁶

C. Fact-Finding Daudahas

Daudahas were sent to many parts of the country in 1933 to investigate a broad range of local conditions. Evidence of similar tours in other years has not come to the author's attention, but there is no reason to suppose that this sort of "fact-finding tour" was not organized at other times as well. The general objectives of these daudahas were to

investigate whether the current practices, customs and conventions are promoting the happiness and comfort of the people in (the particular region) or whether they are causing hardship and discomfort.¹⁷

For these daudahas, a good deal of preparatory work had been done before the team departed from Kathmandu. The goswara first had solicited suggestions from the talukdars, businessmen, and "gentlemen" of the area about new arrangements that needed to be made in local affairs. The offices then wrote their own opinions on these statements and sent them to a central office. Taking these papers with them, the daudahas were to make further inquiries in the districts and hold public meetings to investigate these matters as necessary.

The important role the daudaha's members played in this process of review is clear from this set of instructions:

(For those arrangements which local people have requested) you investigate and consider whether what they have asked for is reasonable or not and how it appears to you. If you find it unreasonable, tell them that this request, for such and such reasons, has been found unacceptable or is something that cannot be done.¹⁸

If the people refused to accept this judgment, however, the chief was to report what the request was and how the daudaha members had evaluated it. For requests the tour found acceptable, it was then to describe in a report

what advantages and convenience will result when (implementing) that request; when this involves work that must be carried out at government expense, (state) the amount of expenditure to be incurred.¹⁹

Requests that lands be made available for cultivation or that bridges and roads be built were likewise to be discussed in a public meeting. In all these matters the daudaha was to draft recommendations "through investigating the practices and conditions of the district and the behavior and shortcomings of the people."²⁰

There were three significant topics about which this tour was to conduct inquiries. One area included changes in the tasks and methods of account-keeping done by district offices. The local hakims were to be present during these inquiries, and the details of suggestions for improving the accomplishment and recording of administrative business were to be noted. Secondly, the possibilities for having government-supported cloth weaving "industries" established in the districts were to be explored. Lastly the question of a new land survey in the district was to be considered, the last one having been made forty years before. The daudaha was to determine to what extent problems had arisen due to the lack of a more recent survey or to the abuses committed by the contractors of land revenue. The tour was to submit a report that answered the following questions:

Under what arrangements would a land survey contribute to the comfort of the people? In order to have a survey made that will be accurate, how do people say that it should be carried out? How many men and how much expense would be needed for the survey so that the work would be completed?²¹

III. DAUDAHAS IN THE FIELD

We now shall consider how the daudahas actually operated in the field. What problems, according to the available evidence, did the daudahas encounter and what successes did they achieve? Is it possible to evaluate how effectively the daudahas carried out the kinds of work they were assigned? Were they able to fulfill the objectives set by the central administration? Only fragments of the historical record are available in this regard, but what is at hand does, I believe, give a consistent view of how these daudahas functioned.

A. Notifying Kathmandu and Taking Permission.

Despite the rather extensive sawals given to the daudahas or perhaps because officials were expected to inform their superiors of even those matters over which they had been granted authority, the daudahas included many routine matters in their reports to the Center. Even more, they asked for directives in some cases where there seemed no reason why normal procedures should not be followed. The Center, in turn, acknowledged the daudahas' letters, gave instructions regarding pending matters, and also saw to it that central offices carried out any necessary business that related to the daudahas' work in the field.

These letters appear to contain a rather complete account of the various tasks the tours were engaged in at the time of their writing. Very ordinary matters of business are referred to: reminders have been given to local offices to complete pending matters; an appointment of a minor worker has been made; cases have been decided in such and such ways, etc. The Center then replied that "it was good" that the daudaha had taken those particular actions, or it simply reminded the daudaha to continue the collections or investigations according to the procedures of the laws and regulations. Reporting such items seems to have been largely a formality, as no new instructions were sought or given.

Quite different were those cases whose details the daudahas presented to the Center through their letters. Certain matters required special consideration either because the daudahas lacked the authority to take final actions or because the provisions of the laws did not adequately cover the particulars of a case. In one such situation, the head of a daudaha was informed that the Maharaja had ordered him

to seize immediately the Mahottari Goswara Assistant Naib Subba, shackle him, and send a wire that he has been so arrested. Until someone arrives to take his place, have the acting (monastery) manager carry on the work. (names omitted).²²

At other times daudahas were told to decide bribery cases against hakims and clerks "according to what (evidence) is found and under the (regulations of the) laws." When a daudaha found culprits guilty of great injustices, it often would seek approval to inflict the maximum penalty the law allowed or permission to award an even greater punishment.

With the information provided by these letters the Maharaja and the Mukhtiyar, who functioned as de facto head of the civil administration, were able to coordinate the dispatch of business which required action by central offices as well. Sometimes work in the districts lagged because of delays in receiving approval from central offices. At the Maharaja's order, reminders would be sent through his own office (Khadga Nishana Adda) or the Muluki Adda. The central authorities at times accepted recommendations in the reports they received from the tours and modified existing regulations.

Not infrequently, Kathmandu initiated correspondence with a daudaha. The flow of petitions into the Center was continuous, and if one arrived in Kathmandu from an area where a daudaha was presently touring, it was forwarded, usually with the instructions to "investigate what must be investigated in (the petition) and take actions under the regulations and sanads regarding what the daudaha is to do."²³ For other matters, which may or may not have come to the government's attention through petitions, the daudaha might be asked to make and submit estimates on suggested projects, or to investigate and file a report about them after its return to the capital.

B. Accomplishments and Investigations in Progress

Besides containing information about requests the daudahas made and instructions the central authorities issued to them, the letters also give examples of problems the daudahas had already acted upon, punishments they had awarded, and investigations which were still under way. The communications reveal the great variety of matters with which the daudahas in fact became involved. In a reply to a daudaha chief, Kathmandu summarized the report of the basically routine accomplishments of that daudaha to date:

You (the leader of the daudaha) reported that during the 36 days you were in Biratnagar, 701 petitions were received and that in these matters nothing has been left unfinished; they were decided and reports sent in. You checked the jail and settled cases which you could decide ... You unshackled and freed those (prisoners) whose terms had expired (but who had not been released) and released those who had been shackled without cause ... It is good that you made

efforts to expedite and have others expedite the works that remained in assigning and cancelling lands and in collecting arrears that needed to be collected ... You wrote that you put under full control those who lie and make intrigues in the district. Since if complaints were left unresolved there would only be further contention, you went from house to house and settled matters.²⁴

Reports about what was found during the inspection of local offices and what actions the daudahas took as a consequence often reveal negligence of both minor and serious proportions: a person who fed an elephant kept by a customs office had not received the payments due him, so this amount was made up; the treasury of one court was found to be 80 paisa short, and the daudaha had that sum restored.²⁵ In another court, many cases were discovered which had never been settled, including a murder case which had been filed twenty-five years before! Under suspicion as the person responsible for these violations, the Lieutenant (the head) of the court was shackled, while other complaints against him were also being examined. They included charges that

in a case involving the death of "X", 50 men were formally charged and (the Lieutenant) took bribes of 40 rupees from each person. In a case of theft, it is alledged that he took 200 rupees as a bribe from "Y" 26 (names omitted)

Fines were a common punishment the daudahas resorted to against local authorities, though as pointed out earlier, they could also dismiss lower officials. Office hakims seemed to have been fined as a matter of course. There are records of bada hakims themselves being fined, although it is not clear how frequent an occurrence this was.

Officials were subject to other punishments depending upon the nature of their offense. Misappropriation of funds or the failure to account satisfactorily for money entrusted to them brought strict reprisals: regarding the amounts owed by a khadar and others, a daudaha chief reported he had taken possession of their land worth ten to twelve thousand rupees and other properties and realized these dues.²⁷ Talukdars who had defaulted in making revenue payments or who were found to have cheated the government of tax money had their property appropriated and auctioned off by the daudahas to make up the losses the talukdars had caused the government.

Some actions referred to in the correspondence between the daudahas and Kathmandu were preparatory steps toward punishments that must have ensued. Taking officials into custody when discrepancies in the records were discovered is one example. Shackling of officials when evidence of their misconduct came to light is an-

other. When there was strong evidence that flagrant violations had occurred and/or that the daudaha would not be able to complete its investigations in the district, the suspect might be taken away to the capital, as the jimidar mentioned below was, and have his fate decided there.

7 cases have been filed from complaints of the people against the oppressions of jimidar "X". Some have been completed and some are pending. 52 or 53 other people have made complaints against this same jimidar, but there will not be time to decide and terminate these cases in the district ... May I have permission to bring that jimidar to Kathmandu in the care of an officer...?28

Once permission was given by Kathmandu regarding those whom the daudahas had found or would likely find guilty of offenses, we can infer that actions were taken against them shortly afterwards. For in these letters permission to act was couched in the form of orders.

Since the jimmewals have been troubling the people, when they are to be fined from 1 to 50 rupees under Section 35 of "Jagga Pajani" (in the Ain), you are to fine them the maximum amount of 50 rupees I.C. for each case ...29

When, instead of general findings, specific names and details were furnished to Kathmandu, the subsequent instructions were just as explicit:

... Regarding those about whom permission for additional punishment was requested, we have given that permission, for so punishing the individuals listed below ... You are to act accordingly.30

Some daudaha investigations were instigated at the request of Kathmandu which had sent reports or files to the daudaha on certain cases. When it was a routine matter, the daudaha was to complete its investigation and then give a decision according to the evidence and under the relevant section of the law. In more important cases the Center might reserve to itself the right to make the final decision. When, for example, a daudaha was looking into cases lodged against a bada hakim, who was a Jang Rana, and a lieutenant in the same district, it was told to question these two if anything had to be asked of them and to submit the details of what it had found in all the cases against the two officials without delay.31

There are two other subjects which deserve brief mention, for they claimed the attention of a good many daudahas. These were the problems arising from lawlessness (dacoity) and from landlord-tenant relationships. The letters contain several references to robbers

who inhabited jungle areas in the Tarai, and reports even implicated local notables who were said to maintain their own gangs of hooligans. The daudaha chief made use of soldiers assigned to him to apprehend such thieves.

Supervising the landlords was another recurring problem for the administration. As noted above, the daudaha was to consider complaints against the "thalu", and landlords were conspicuous members of the local elite. A Rana official whom I interviewed stated that the great majority of petitions given to his daudaha dealt with abuses of the jimidars or landowners. There were a host of ways by which a landowner could cause grief to his tenants, and many strategies he could adopt in order to profit at their expense or evict them from the land. Money lenders, often the jimidars themselves, would ignore the legally sanctioned interest rates and advance loans at deceptive terms which, in effect, worked out to interest charges of five hundred per-cent and more a year.

Another fact which testified to the landlords' dominance in the Tarai areas which this Rana official visited on his tour was that three-fourths of the crops the cultivators harvested were appropriated by the landowners. By dint of persuasion and perhaps implied threats as well, the Rana chief got the jimidars to reduce their claims to two-thirds of the yield and to provide seeds to the cultivators as well. A compromise was also reached at this time on the question of building canals; at first, the landlords refused to assume any responsibilities for this work. In the end, though, they agreed to meet half the costs. The daudaha leader promised the government would meet the remaining expenses and provide an engineer to supervise the work. As an important concession to the landlords, the assessment rates on lands benefitting from the new irrigation facilities were not to be revalued for twenty years. These incidents well-illustrate the power and conservatism of the landed interests at that time. One should also note how face-to-face bargaining between members of the local gentry and a high-ranked official of the central government brought about a settlement in which the details of new arrangements were worked out and agreed to by both parties.*

C. Obstacles Before the Daudahas

Before attempting a general evaluation of the daudahas' accomplishments, we should indicate a few problems which daudahas themselves mentioned in their reports to central authorities. It appears that daudahas often did not have enough time either to finish all their work in one location or to reach all the areas they had been directed to visit. The situation facing one daudaha was described in this way:

*The daudaha chief had to submit the details of this plan in a report, and the Maharaja's approval of the agreement was necessary.

We (ie., officials of the Muluki Adda through the Mukhtiyar) informed His Highness that 1,541 petitions have been given (to your daudaha), and that if you stayed on to investigate them all and give decisions it would take a long time. Since the hot weather is approaching (you reported that) you were considering finishing up the cases in which actions have been undertaken, going to Sarlahi, and then coming to Nepal (Kathmandu).³²

Another daudaha which was to visit four districts complained that

if our daudaha goes on to (the districts of) East Nos. 3 and 4, it will require two or three (more) months and the progress being made in the work (in the district where the daudaha was at present) will come to an end.³³

Given the number of petitions the tours had to review, the many affairs they were expected to consider, and the obstacles in the way of taking effective administrative actions in the districts, it is no wonder that daudahas felt pressed for time.

It may be recalled that one means the daudaha could avail itself of in coping with such a burden of work was the use of local office staff. Yet perhaps these local workers were as much of a hinderance as a help to the daudahas. Even if these men were competent enough, their motives could be questionable as the Center acknowledged in this letter.

You (the daudaha leader, reported that) if you take officials of the same district to consider matters and cases, they know or recognize everyone (who is a party to these disputes). So it would be better if people were assigned from the Center and came (to the daudaha).³⁴

But to rely on additional central staff meant delays. At least one week would have passed in this instance after the daudaha's report was received before the two new men the Center assigned could have joined the daudaha in the field.

Although with the available written records we cannot estimate how often this happened, some daudahas surely faced difficulties in checking upon the district administration. One clash is recorded between a district goswara and a daudaha, each one issuing orders and trying to impose fines for non-compliance on the other.³⁵ In another case, a bada hakim had attempted to prevent people from filing petitions with a daudaha by making threats of reprisals against those who came forward. Daudahas often must have had to go about their tasks without the full cooperation of local officials.

D. Efforts by the Center to Keep the Daudahas Under its Control.

The Center was not unaware of the pressures a tour could be subjected to and sought to keep its members faithful to their responsibilities and loyal to the Maharaja. It did this by issuing warnings, bestowing praise, and encouraging hopes of reward for work well-done. The very process of selecting a daudaha team can be examined in light of certain psychological factors that would be brought into play and tend to strengthen the loyalty of the leader to the Maharaja and the loyalties of team members to the leader. Proximity and/or access to the Maharaja was seen as vital in furthering one's career and protecting if not extending whatever benefits of service one had been able to accumulate. A man chosen to head a daudaha would consider it a sign of the Maharaja's favor; the proper discharge of his duties as an opportunity to please the Prime Minister and continue in his favor. At the same time, a person so singled out could not help feeling somewhat anxious, for failure to meet his responsibilities could arouse the Maharaja's anger and might lead to unpredictable and personally disastrous results. Daudaha staff members were also presented with what was a unique chance to work in close contact with a senior officer in the government. If a common clerk worked energetically and could catch the eye of a Rana daudaha leader, that favorable impression could result in a recommendation that the clerk be promoted or receive a raise the following year.

Prior to setting out on his tour, the daudaha leader might be given a warning about misusing his powers or neglecting his assigned duties:

If complaints against what you have done or had done (during the tour) are filed later on, and it is found that a person who should not have been punished was punished, or that one who should have been was not but let off scot free, you must realize that this will not be a good thing.³⁶

On the other hand, the Maharaja did not overlook the positive effect that an expression of confidence could have upon the chief's outlook:

As a member of a previous daudaha also you put an end to (incidents of) robbery, and since we are assigning a brother such as you (to make another tour), we feel you will make all the required arrangements ... We think that whatever you find that needs to be corrected will be corrected. You are to bear this in mind.³⁷

Once in the field, the daudahas could be caught in the midst of contending parties and subjected to acute pressures. The Center might then remind the chief of his primary obligations in words such as these:

His Highness has sent you on this daudaha so that all may be properly known about the works and actions in which (two high-ranked local officials under suspicion) have acted improperly. Do not overlook any matter in which they have brought anguish to the people. You are to investigate everything well and bring back (the results of) what you have found.³⁸

The Center also received reports on how the daudaha was going about its work. It might admonish the team if questions were raised about its conduct and warn the daudaha officers against losing control of the situation.

It has been reported to us (the Maharaja) that the father-in-law of the daudaha's Colonel and the local "thalus" and liars are allowed to come and go daily into the daudaha's camp. Among these characters, one Mr. X from Nepalgunj takes his meals with the Colonel. Upon investigating this, it has been found that (these people) make false complaints regarding those against whom they harbor grudges, as (these mischief-makers) think that now they have a good chance to take revenge on their enemies ... Why are you (the daudaha chief) letting such things go on?³⁹

Officials who demonstrated attentiveness to duty and whose reports gave satisfaction to the Maharaja could receive words of praise like these:

In seeing the reports you had sent in (various subjects are listed) ... and seeing that you have worked with full attention to all matters, His Highness was pleased and said that you have done well and worked according to the intentions we had in sending you. It seems to us that in whatever work remains, you will carry on in the same way.⁴⁰

There are also accounts showing that leaders of survey teams were rewarded financially as well at the end of their missions if the Maharaja was pleased by their accomplishments. Thus, there were several incentives for members of inspection tours to fulfill their duties.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Unfortunately, if final reports daudahas submitted to the Maharaja still exist, they have not yet been located. In any attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the daudaha system, then, one has to make inferences from the records that do exist and to speculate on the basis of what is known about the district "administrative

environment." With this caveat in mind, let us review the fundamental objectives of the daudahas and in very brief and general terms discuss what the daudahas were able to achieve and the factors which limited their accomplishments. Daudahas were formed in Kathmandu to serve a number of purposes. They were to see that the business of government was being carried on in the districts according to provisions framed by the Center. Land being a primary source of revenue and an asset over which the government retained ultimate control, the regime had a particular interest in matters of land management and tax collection. Kathmandu also was very much concerned with keeping watch over the work of district level offices. Delay and inefficiency would frustrate the handling of routine administrative affairs and hinder the implementation of whatever orders the government might issue. Central authorities could hardly view official corruption in the districts with equanimity. Through cheating the government and misappropriating funds, local officials in effect were depriving the Maharaja of income; for it was the prime minister's prerogative to make use of state revenues as he chose. Secondly, corruption could enable local officials to aggrandize power and resources for themselves, or enable local elites to "buy out" and manipulate district officials. Either case could pose a threat to claims of support and loyalty that the central authorities made and could undermine their objectives and control in district affairs.

Corruption would also pervert the administration of justice. One of the obligations laid upon the Maharajas by the notion of "dharma" was to insure that justice was done. There is good reason to believe that the Maharajas took this duty seriously and spent considerable time listening to the complaints of those who felt they had not received justice at the hands of courts or offices. Today it is easy to be cynical about this and assume that political expediency must have dictated every decision. But there is no justification for thinking that imparting justice is always politically disadvantageous! It can be argued that in ordinary cases it would be to the Maharaja's benefit to see that the common man was not subject to official arbitrariness. Establishing such personal contact with his subjects when appeals were considered and acting so as to reconfirm the wide-spread belief that the ruler would correct injustices--these were significant means for maintaining public acceptance of the Maharaja's position. Similarly, there was always the possibility that villagers who had been victimized by unscrupulous officials or unjustified administrative actions would become disaffected with the regime itself. For these reasons daudahas had a vital role to fulfill as a means of Central supervision of district administration.

It appears that the daudahas had little trouble in thoroughly inspecting the activities of district offices. After all, the staff on tour were office workers themselves who were familiar with clerical procedures and the conduct of official business. In these matters daudahas were dealing with items which could more easily be

checked and verified: treasury balances; case deadlines; proper accounting procedures, etc. Daudahas also seem to have come up with good information about the performance of local officials. The inspection of records and files revealed a lot; petitions from the people and other officials were another source of information and the daudahas' own secret agents provided further information. The prestige and connections of some Rana bada hakims no doubt put them in a strong position to hamper the work of a daudaha if they were so inclined, but they would be playing a risky game. For the daudaha chief was there as the Maharaja's representative and might be a powerful figure in his own right. And the Maharaja himself, through the daudaha's reports, was a spectator to these events and apt to interpret examples of dissembling and abuses of power as acts of personal disloyalty.

A second general objective of the daudahas was to expedite the completion of office assignments. Here success probably depended in large measure upon the nature of the tasks at hand. It was easy to dispose of cases whose investigations had already been completed but were still pending only because the office staff was over-worked or the responsible official was negligent. Doing routine administrative matters (like sending reminders) also presented no problems. But in other areas the daudahas' efforts could not have met with much success, for they were confronted by the same difficulties as the local offices. Teams on tour also had a relatively brief period of time in which to take actions. Consider for example, the problem of unpaid taxes. Many revenue offices were chronically behind in their collections, and sometimes arrears amounted to tens of thousands of rupees. The daudahas could make little headway in realizing these sums, however, due to the same reasons which accounted for their accumulation in the first place. Talukdars had died or defaulted or were contesting the amounts they owed. Some peasants were unable to pay the current year's taxes, much less turn over what was due from previous years as well. In court cases where investigations were complete but a party was absconding, the daudaha was as helpless as the local adalat in bringing the case to an end.

As for the daudahas' successes in redressing injustice and oppression, it is difficult to know how one could draw general conclusions about the daudahas' effectiveness. Certainly there is evidence that some individuals were punished and the burdens of others lightened through decisions daudahas rendered. But we do not know very well what political leaders and daudaha chiefs considered "justice" to be in the particular situations they encountered. The social and religious notions of that time sanctioned social practices and fostered a set of social relations that vastly differ from some of those held up today as basic to a just order of society. Secondly, it is impossible to quantify these matters and determine how many instances of the "total amount" of injustice ever came to the daudahas' attention. While individuals who committed unjust

acts were no doubt punished on occasions, the daudahas could do practically nothing (nor were they expected to) about changing basic inequalitarian conditions which encouraged the leading social and economic elements to dominate the weak and poor.

Even when daudahas received complaints from aggrieved persons, there were practical problems in disposing of them properly. A great number of petitions were usually received. Some made baseless charges; others dealt with trivialities; and the time for considering such appeals was very limited. There were obstacles in the way of making full investigations, such as locating the parties and obtaining good evidence. In this as well as in other areas too, a great deal depended upon the dedication of the daudaha chief, and the approach he took toward this work. There is no question, however, but that these petitions submitted to Kathmandu and the daudahas directly served as a very important source of information about district affairs; and on the basis of them the central government could better hold its officials and other local functionaries responsible for their actions.

A final objective of the daudahas was to examine certain conditions in the districts, provide Kathmandu with detailed information and make recommendations for changes. What factors were responsible for office inefficiencies? What were the possibilities for increasing agricultural output and what steps should be taken toward this end? What were the difficulties in revenue collection? What things were the people complaining about, and what opinions did the other villagers offer as to what should be done to improve the situation? These were some of the types of questions the daudahas were to explore.

It is fair to assume that daudahas were able to transmit useful reports to the central authorities on these topics. But until examples of daudaha reports come to light, the thoroughness with which these investigations were made and the feasibility and merit of the daudahas' recommendations remain matters for speculation. Nor in the absence of more complete records is it possible to assess the impact of findings by the tours upon subsequent governmental actions. Presumably these findings were put to some use; at the very least the fact that data of a particular kind was sought by the Center gives some interesting clues into the perceptions and concerns of administrative authorities. That these problems were then entrusted to the daudahas for them to study shows that the inspection tours were regarded not only as a means of supervision over the districts but also as a vehicle for administrative change and reform.

Note: The author wishes to express his gratitude to officials in the Finance Ministry and in Kumari Chowk Goswara Tahvil for the permission granted to consult the records quoted in this paper, and for their cooperation in making them available. Recognition and thanks are also due Mr. Ganesh Gurung, who laboriously copied the documents, and Mr. Bhuvan Lal Pradhan, who gave so much time and assistance in translating them.

Footnotes

1. Sawal to the bada hakims of Eastern and Western Districts Nos. 1-4, Kartik 16, 1966 V.S.
2. Order to the Hakim of Madhes Bandobast, Phalgun, 1964.
3. Palpa Gaunda Sawal, Section 18, Baisakh 16, 1992.
4. Sawal to Lt. Col. Gambhir Jang Thapa, Marg 22, 1977.
5. Istihar (notice), Chaitra 11, 1975.
6. Order to Col. Budda Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Marg 9, 1997.
7. Sawal to Maj. Gen. Lalit Jang Rana, Chaitra 11, 1975.
8. Sawal to Western Commanding General Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Section 13, Marg 15, 1998.
9. Sawal to Maj. Gen. Lalit Jang Rana, op. cit., Section 12.
10. Sawal to Col. Ganga Bahadur Basnet, Section 13, Paush 4, 1979.
11. Sawal to Maj. Gen. Megharaj Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Phalgun 19, 2005.
12. Ibid., Section 14.
13. Sawal to Lt. Col. Gambhir Jang Thapa, Paush 18, 1986.
14. Sawal to Maj. Gen. Bamb Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Marg 24, 1968.
15. Sanad to Maj. Gen. Khamba Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Marg 10, 1968.
16. In 1939 A.D., for example, 40 staff members of a survey in eastern Nepal were found guilty of violations and dismissed from service. Cf., Kitab Khana Darshan Phant Bat Lage Bali Jawan ko Janau, 1996.
17. Sawal to Maj. Gen. Ram Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana Marg 30, 1990.

18. Ibid., Section 4.
19. Ibid., Section 5.
20. Ibid., Section 8-9.
21. Ibid., Section 12.
22. Order to Maj. Gen. Hari Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Magh 21, 1979.
23. Letter from the Commander-in-Chief to Maj. Gen. Lalit Jang Rana, Baisakh 13, 1976.
24. Letter to Col. Ganga Bahadur Basnet, Magh 23, 1976.
25. Letter to Capt. Tek Narsingh Rana, Magh 17, 1976.
26. Order to Col. Kirti Man Khatri, Chaitra 17, 1976.
27. Letter to Col. Ganga Bahadur Basnet, op. cit.,
28. Order to Lt. Col. Netra Jang Thapa, Phalgun 10, 2006.
29. Letter from Shri 3 Maharaja to Lt. Gen. Kesar Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Magh 13, 1979.
30. Letter to Maj. Gen. Hari Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Phalgun 1, 1979.
31. Letter to Capt. Tek Narsingh Rana, op. cit.,
32. Letter to Maj. Gen. Hari Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Phalgun 21, 1979.
33. Letter to Lt. Col. Anand Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Phalgun 7, 1988.
34. Order to Maj. Gen. Megharaj Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Chaitra 9, 2005.
35. Order to the hakim of Pacchim Milsiya Daudaha, Ashadh 20, 1989.
36. Order to Maj. Gen. Sher Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Marg 24, 1976.
37. Idem.
38. Order to Capt. Tek Narsingh Rana, Phalgun 3, 1976.
39. Letter to Lt. Col. Riddi Bikram Rana, Jestha 2, 2007.
40. Letter to Col. Ganga Bahadur Basnet, op. cit.,