## Regmi Research Series
### Cumulative Index for 1978

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Katmandu, Nepal

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Ragmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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Petition of Subba Ram Prasad Thakali

On Bhadra Sudi 2, 1943 (September 1886), Subba Ram Prasad Thakali of the Dana Customs in Thak submitted the following petition:

"In the year 1933 Vikrama (A.D. 1876), orders had been issued in the name of Subba Balabir Thakali, and his son, Kaviram Thakali, authorizing them to procure on a monopoly basis salt purchased from Tibet by the people of Barhagaun, Panchgaun, Thak, and Ghelung. This arrangement continued until the year 1942 Vikrama (A.D. 1885).

"This year the people of those areas submitted a petition to the government praying that they be allowed to sell their salt anywhere they like. The government has now issued an order directing that no restrictions whatsoever be imposed on the trade in salt.

"If I am not permitted to engage in the salt trade on a monopoly basis, how can I fulfill my contractual obligations to the government, which amounts to thousands of rupees?"

Subba Ram Prasad Thakali, therefore, prayed that the local people be ordered to sell the salt purchased by them from Tibet only to the Dana Customs, and not supply the commodity to Manang and other areas.

The petition was referred to Prime Minister Bir Shumshere by the Kausi Tosakhana. The following order was then issued:

"Orders had been issued in the years 1920 and 1931 Vikrama (A.D. 1863 and 1871) directing that no restrictions whatsoever be imposed on trade in that region. On the basis of those orders, the people of Barhagaun, Panchgaun, etc. had been permitted to sell their salt anywhere they liked. Now Subba Ram Prasad Thakali has produced a copy of the 1933 Vikrama (A.D. 1876) order in the name of Kaviram Thakali, reconfirming the monopoly that had been granted to his father, Subba Balabir Thakali, so that revenue from the Dana Customs, which then amounted to Rs 82,000 yearly, might not be adversely affected. Now the amount has gone up to Rs 97,000. The monopoly is hereby reconfirmed in favor of Subba Ram Prasad Thakali, and the order issued in the name of the local people, permitting free trade in salt, is rescinded."

Marga Badi 3, 1943 (November 1886).


**********
Revenue Settlement in Rolpa

On Jestha Badi 30, 1945 (May 1888), Jethabudha Bikram Singh Khatri Chhetri of Rolpa district in the Salyan region, submitted the following petition to Prime Minister Bir Shumsher:

"People who live in the hill region face many hardship. We have to supply charcoal to the Pyuthan munitions factory and provide porterage services for the transportation of goods toward the east and the west. We have also to transport cash from the Naya Muluk Region to Kathmandu. We also bear liability of copper and lead mines, but because no ore can be extracted, we have to pay the stipulated amount in money. In addition, we have to transport iron from the Tiluli mines to Doti, Jumla, and Dailek. We have been fulfilling all these obligations in accordance with the thak-thiti arrangements of the year 1894 Vikrama (A.D. 1837), and also paying the stipulated amount of revenue in a single installment every year.

"A fresh revenue settlement was conducted in the year 1925 Vikrama (A.D. 1868). The tax-assessments were revised, which incorporated income from judicial fines and penalties, walak levies, gharma, etc. The assessments were different for different households, but we expected a new royal order generally reconfirming the arrangements made in the year 1894 Vikrama (A.D. 1837).

"The settlement officer was subsequently sentenced to imprisonment for life on the ground that he had finalized arrangements which reduced the government's revenue. The settlement reports were invalidated.

"Because there were discrepancies in the amount of taxes payable by different households, Dhokres and Dwars appointed by Jagirdars to collect revenue on their behalf were harassing the people. Fresh royal orders reconfirming the old tax-assessment rates were issued in the names of persons who visited Kathmandu and submitted petitions to the government. However, we have received no such orders, and have been paying a total amount of Rs 2,389 and 14 annas. The breakdown is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount payable according to the 1894 Vikrama (A.D. 1837) settlement</th>
<th>Rs 2,172/1½</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Additional assessment on new villages (inclusive of asmani income, i.e. income from judicial fines and penalties)</td>
<td>Rs 217/13½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs 2,389/14½</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
"We pray, therefore, that subject to the payment of this amount, the arrangements made in 1894 Vikrama (A.D. 1837) be reconfirmed, so that:-

(1) Until another settlement is conducted, the Government will not raise the revenue on the ground that additional lands have been brought into cultivation, or new households have been set up.

(2) The ryots will not seek any remission in the revenue on the grounds that cultivated lands have reverted to waste, or that households have been depopulated.

(3) The village headmen exercise judicial authority, except in Panchakhat cases.

"Orders reconfirming the arrangements made in 1894 Vikrama (A.D. 1837) have already been issued for Rukum, Sankot, Bangaur, Pyuthan, Jajarkot, Dang-Dhukhuri, Sunar, Jumla, Doti, and Dailekh. We pray that a similar order be issued for Kolpa also on their-thiti basis."

Padma Diwaj Khatri, a private of the Mahindradal Company, signed a statement at the Adalat Goswara, according to which Commander-in-Chief General Deva Shumshere Jung Rana Bahadur had directed that orders reconfirming the arrangements made in the year 1894 Vikrama (A.D. 1837) be issued on this petition through the Sadar Dafdarshana. The Adalat Goswara then communicated the order to the Sadar Dafdarshana, directing that action be taken in accordance with current laws and regulations.

The following arrangements were then sanctioned:-

1. The stipulated amount of Rs 2,389/14 per year shall be paid through Jethabuddha Vikram Singh Khatri Chhetri every year to Jagirdars in Kathmandu Valley.

2. The ryots need not pay amount in excess of the stipulated amount; nor shall mukhiyas and ryots seek remissions for losses, if any.

3. The Jethabuddha, mukhiyas, etc, shall dispense justice in cases other than Panchakhat, impose fines according to the nature of the offense and the law, and apportion the income equally among the inhabitants of the appropriate village. If they do not do so, and appropriate the income themselves, they shall be held liable according to the law.
4. Any loss due to the depopulation of households shall be shared equally by the inhabitants of the appropriate village. Collections shall not be made in excess of the actual amount of such loss.

5. Panchakhat cases shall be disposed of according to the law by the Chief of the Salyan Adalat.

6. If any mukhiya is incapable of collecting the revenue, or resigns, an honest and capable person trusted by the local people shall be appointed to fill up the vacancy in consultation with the officials stationed in Salyan. The Jethabudha shall not dismiss any mukhiya without proper reasons.

7. If any mukhiya complains that the Jethabudha has dismissed him arbitrarily, or if ryots and mukhiyas complain that he has made collections in excess of the prescribed payments, the complaints shall be heard by the chief officers of the Salyan Headquarters Office and the Salyan Adalat.

8. Lands which have been recorded in the tax-assessment register shall not be kept uncultivated.

9. If irrigation channels are damaged, and lands are left uncultivated as a result, repairs shall be undertaken through the labor of the cultivators and the local people. If this proves inadequate, assistance shall be sought from the officials stationed in Salyan.

10. If any person who reclains waste raikar lands which have not been recorded in the tax-assessment register, and if such reclamation does not affect the easement rights of anybody, no rents shall be collected for the first three years. In the fourth year, the reclaimed lands shall be registered with the Sadar Dafdar Khana through the Jethabudha.

11. If any peasant whose holding has been included in the chet-thiti arrangements shifts his residence to cuthi, bitta, chhap, manachamal, or other lands, the Jethabudha shall reallocate his holding to another person through the mukhiya, and thus realize the amount stipulated from him.

12. Cultivate the lands that have been in your possession. Make the village populous.

13. No Diwane shall be appointed in any village.

14. The Jethabudha and mukhiyas shall not be paid emoluments or perquisites.
15. Provide porterage services for military stores and supplies belonging to the government. You need not provide Jhara labor for other purposes.

16. Provide necessary services during war. If you do not do so, severe punishment shall be inflicted according to casta status.

17. Not a single dam shall be remitted in payments due to Jagirdars even if any natural calamity occurs.

18. If any Jagirdar complains that he has not received any payment within the stipulated time-limit, these thekthi arranges may be cancelled, and revenue may be collected by Jagirdars themselves.

Particulars regarding the stipulated payment of Rs 2,399/14s were as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semra tax</td>
<td>Rs 1,026/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asmani (judicial fines, etc)</td>
<td>Rs 997/7¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunefaghu</td>
<td>Rs 69/7¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhelahi</td>
<td>Rs 53/6½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhniya-Darshani</td>
<td>Rs 222/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teledhupe</td>
<td>Rs 39/½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunemokha</td>
<td>Rs 14/2½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rs 2,421/10¼

From this amount, Rs 32 was deducted in consideration of the remission of the Semra tax on holdings belonging to members of the Thakuri community. The breakdown was as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total amount of Semra tax remitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thula-Gadakot</td>
<td>Rs 5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sana-Gadakot</td>
<td>Rs 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syurathgaun</td>
<td>Rs 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budethokigaun</td>
<td>Rs 1½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Contd...)
Kotgaun  & Rs 4\textsubscript{1} \textsubscript{4}  \\
Gairhagaun & Rs 2\textsubscript{1} \textsubscript{4}  \\
Damachaurgaun & Rs 3\textsubscript{1} \textsubscript{2}  \\
Sindhuwaun & Rs 5\textsubscript{1} \textsubscript{4}  \\
Pakhapānigaun & Rs 2  \\
Dehagaun & Eight annas.  \\
Arunawaun & Rs 1\textsubscript{1} \textsubscript{4}  \\
Total & Rs 32

The net amount collected from Rolpa through Jathabudha Rātina Singh Khatri Chhetri was thus Rs 2,389/14\textsubscript{1} \textsubscript{4}.

Kartik Sudi 15, 1945 (November 1888).


************

**Nepali Officials in Lhasa**

1. On Baisak Sudi 6, 1867 (May 1810), Ratna Singh Newar was appointed Nayak in Lhasa, with a Khangi assignment of 400 muru of rice-lands. He was authorized to exercise judicial authority over Rewari traders in Lhasa, and transit the income from fines, etc. to the Tosakhana in Kathmandu through the Taksari.  


2. There were actually two posts of Nayak in Lhasa. Both posts had previously been held by Pameju. With Ratna Singh Newar's appointment, the post were again separated. Both Ratna Singh Newar and Pameju were then directed to function as Nayaks, according to an order issued on the same date.

3. On the same date, the following order was sent to the Rewari trading community in Lhasa: "We have appointed Pameju and Ratna Singh Newar to function as Nayaks in Lhasa. Obey their orders in the customary manner. In case there arises any dispute, settle it at a meeting attended by the Nayaks, as well as all of you, without fear or favor, affection or ill-will. Transmit the income from fines, etc., to us through Nayaks Pameju and Ratna Singh Newar. Refer the matter to us if anyone treats you unjustly or arbitrarily. Engage in trade and other affairs with your own free will, and send reports to us about the situation prevailing there."

4. On Baisakh Jadi 9, 1867, Harikrishna was appointed Dittha of the Newari trading community in Lhasa. An abstract translation of regulations promulgated in his name is given below:

1. Identify persons who maintain contacts with Chinese or Tibetan officials in Lhasa with the intention of harming our interests and report the matter to us. Take action as ordered.

2. Be careful in all matters relating to our correspondence with Lhasa. Do anything that may be necessary to promote our interests. Collect information and transmit it to us.

3. If the Nayak or any Newari trader in Lhasa misappropriates revenue due to us, obtain a confession at a meeting attended by all of them, recover the amount, and punish the guilty persons.

4. If you receive a complaint that the Nayak or other person has taken a bribe and disposed of any case unjustly, dispense justice at a meeting attended by all of them, and punish the guilty persons.

5. Transmit to the Tosakhana through the Taksari all revenues from Lhasa, including fines and penalties, cheats, and customary fees, as well as amounts collected by you.

6. If the Nayak or any Newari trader in Lhasa commits any crime, dispense justice at a meeting attended by all of them, obtain a confession from the guilty persons, and inflict punishment on them according to the nature of their crime. Refer to us such cases as you cannot dispose of on your own authority through the Taksari and take action as ordered.

7. We hereby sanction Rs 325 as salaries from revenues collected there. The details are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Annual Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dittha</td>
<td>Rs 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Rs 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Peons</td>
<td>Rs 60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Divide fees and perquisites into three shares. Appropriate one share yourself, and give the other shares to the two Nayaks.

9. If the Nayaks, or any Newari trader in Lhasa, do not obey your orders in matters that will promote our interests, report the matter to us, and we shall take appropriate action.

(Rajmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 187-99.)

Contd...
In 1961, the Pahari forests were divided into three main districts. The Ministry of Forests was established to manage the forests. The forest officers were responsible for the conservation of the forests.

In 1964, the forest officers were given the responsibility of managing the forests. However, the forest officers were not able to manage the forests effectively.

In 1967, the Ministry of Forests was dissolved and the forest officers were transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture.
2. In times of war, each household in Dhulikhel shall provide one porter for the transportation of provisions on payment of wages.

Guru-Purohit Khajanchi Bamadeva Penditju was ordered to issue a royal order (lalmohar) accordingly.

Nargi Sudi 5, 1931 (December 1874).

Ragmi Research Collection, vol. 69, pp. 535-541.

On Falgun Sudi 7, 1890 (February 1834), Kaji Bulansing Kunwar had reallocated 30 muris from the 100 muris of suthi land owned by the Shekh Narayan temple in Dhulikhel for financing a festival (Srikrineha-Jatra) with 20 muris and a grail, ornaments for the deity with 10 muris every year. He had also appointed seventeen persons to sing devotional songs at the temple. Later, arrangements were made for the appointment of two temple attendants. All these persons were granted exemption from forced-labor obligations (whara, bath, begar) and the saumafagu and other taxes, except during war. An order was issued on Poush Sudi 15, 1933 (January 1877) to confirm these arrangements through a lalmohar order.

Ragmi Research Collection, vol. 69, pp. 728-29.

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Law on Land-Holding, 1854

(Continued from the December 1977 issue)

76. Even though the law prescribes that no tenant should be evicted so long as he pays the stipulated rents and other dues, if the owner or talukdar dismisses any tenant and reallotts his holding to another person, and the latter has cultivated such holding for one year on payment of the stipulated rents and other dues, and if the former subsequently complains that he was evicted from his holding, and that it was reallocated to another person even though he was paying the stipulated rents and other dues, he shall be regarded as having relinquished the holding of his own accord, because he did not file any complaint even when another person had already cultivated the holding for one or two years on payment of the stipulated rents and other dues. The holding cannot be restored to him. The owner or talukdar who had evicted him shall not be punished.

77. If the owner of birta, behk, phikdar, marwat, manachumal, chhap, jini, and other mafi (tax-exempt) lands, other than raikar and kip-lands, receives the chariam-thuki fee from the existing tenant for any year, but resumes the land for personal cultivation, and if the tenant files a complaint, the owner shall be punished with a fine amounting to ten percent of one year's rent on the land. The land shall be reconfirmed in favor of the existing tenant who had paid the chariam-thuki fee.

Contd...
78. If any person offers the chardam-theki fee to any landowner or jagirdar, falsely stating that the latter is entitled to appoint or dismiss tenants on any land, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to ten percent of the produce of the land. The owner who has thus wrongly accepted the chardam-theki fee shall not be held guilty if he is below sixteen years of age, or is a stupid or senile person. Otherwise, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to five percent of the produce of the land.

79. With effect from the year 1925 Vikrama (A.D. 1868), an minor or talukdar may, while allotting raikar lands and homesteads, accept a theki fee amounting to between eight annas and five rupees from the allottee. He shall not accept a higher fee, even if anybody is willing to pay more. If it is proved that he has accepted a theki fee of more than five rupees, the excess amount shall be recovered from him, and he shall be punished with a fine of an equal amount.

80. If any person pays the chardam-theki fee for guthi, birta, or other mejl lands belonging to others, or for taxable rice-lands or pakho lands under raikar or kipat tenure, but does not take possession of the lands even when crops are sown on adjoining lands, the owner, jimmawal, or talukdar may reallocate the lands to another person, so that such lands may not remain uncultivated. The chardam-theki fee paid by the former shall be forfeited. If he complains after the lands are used by another person, claiming that they belong to him because he had paid the chardam-theki fee for them, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to 2½ percent of one year's rent on the lands.

81. If a jimmawal, mohinaika, or other talukdar has accepted the chardam-theki fee and allotted raikar lands to any person, and if, after the talukdar's death, the allottee complains that he was actually allotted less than the area for which he had paid the Chardam-theki fee, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to half of the annual rent on the area claimed by him for having made such a complaint after the death of the talukdar who had allotted the lands.

82. While appointing any mohinaika, jimmawal, mukhiya, thani, thari, chaudhari, mokaddam, jimidar, mijhar or jhuttaival, settlement officers deputed from the Sadar Dafdarakhana shall have them sign a bond containing the following stipulation:

I hereby undertake to grant tax-exemption according to the law to any tenant who claims waste lands adjoining rice-lands and pakho lands in the area under my jurisdiction, have the reclaimed land registered at the appropriate office, and collect and transmit rents accordingly. If I do not do so, but let the tenant misappropriate the rent; or do so myself, I am willing to refund the amount...
so misappropriated, and pay a fine of an equal amount. If I obtain remission in rents by submitting a false representation to the jagirdar, or to the Sadar Dafdar Khana, that the lands have been damaged by flood or washouts, I am willing to pay the amount of rents so remitted, as well as a fine of an equal amount, and be dismissed from my position.

If it is proved that any talukdar has been dismissed otherwise, the person who has done so shall be punished with a fine of two rupees and eight annas, and the dismissal shall be invalidated.

23. If a jimmawal whose appointment has been recorded at the appropriate government office, or in the course of a revenue settlement, is dismissed while discharging his functions even though he had not committed any offence, and if he files a complaint, the person who has dismissed him shall be punished with a fine of five rupees, and the and the jimmawal shall be reinstated.

24. If any person has been functioning as jimmawal in an acting capacity in the vacancy caused by the resignation of the jimmawal whose appointment had been recorded at the appropriate government office, or in the course of a revenue settlement, refuses to continue functioning in that capacity, he shall not be compelled to do so. A statement indicating his willingness to resign shall be obtained from him, his name shall be removed from the records, and another willing person who is trusted by the villagers as well as by the appropriate office shall be appointed in his place.

25. If a mijhar of kapat land dies or absconds, his eldest son, if any, or else his brother or other relative shall be appointed by the awali as his successor. No person other than his son, brother, or other relative shall be so appointed. If the claim of a near relative is ignored in favor of a distant relative, or of an outsider; and if a complaint is filed, the person who had made such an appointment shall be punished with a fine of five rupees. The son, brother, or other relative of a mijhar (who has died or absconded) shall be appointed in the vacancy.

26. If any person dismisses the mijhar of kapat land even though he has been paying the prescribed taxes and other dues, providing the prescribed services and meeting other obligations, and who has not suppressed information about any homestead or occupant, he shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees, and the dismissed mijhar shall be reinstated. If the mijhar has defaulted in paying the prescribed services, and meeting other obligations as stipulated, he shall be dismissed, and replaced by his brother or other relative who is capable of discharging his functions. If no brother or other relative is available, any other capable local person shall be appointed as his successor.

Contd...
the cultivator on the ground of his refusal to pay a higher amount of rent on contractual or other basis, or on any other grounds, so that government work is dislocated, nor shall the owner be allowed to resume the land for personal cultivation. If any person evicts the cultivator in the manner mentioned above, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent from the land, which shall be restored to the rakam work r.

93. If private-owned guthi, birta, bakh, phikdar, marwat, machamal, chhap, jiuni, petiya-khurche, and other tax-free lands, other than lands which have been allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghansi, karmi, gola, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam, are falsely represented as having been allotted under any rakam, and the owner, consequently, prevented from evicting his tenants, the owner may resume such lands for personal cultivation, or appoint new tenants to cultivate them, as he likes. If any person who had been cultivating such lands complains that he has been evicted, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent thereon, and told that since the lands had not been allotted under any rakam, these cannot be restored to him.

94. If a person who is cultivating khot or pakho lands which have been allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghansi, karmi, gola, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam defaults in the payment of the prescribed rents or other dues, the arrears shall be recovered through the appropriate naik, mukhiya, mijhar, or other talukdar. The latter, on his part, shall evict the defaulting tenant and replace him by another person who will not default in payments, and is capable of performing the work allotted to him. If the landlord complains that the naik, mukhiya, mijhar, or other talukdar does not recover the arrears from the tenant, or pay up such arrears himself, the guilty talukdar shall be punished with a fine of five rupees, and the arrears of rent shall be recovered from him. A fee amounting to ten percent thereof shall be collectible. The five percent fee need not be paid, inasmuch as this is a fine. It shall lie at the pleasure of the talukdar who pays up the arrears of rent in this manner whether or not to recover the amount from the tenant.

95. If any person pleads inability because of lack of means to discharge the prescribed rakam service, and offer to relinquish the lands which have been allotted to him under byang, bala, bosi, ghansi, gola, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, or other rakam, the appropriate mukhiya, naik, dwarf, or pradhan shall make him sign a statement to that effect, and realot the lands to another person who is capable of discharging the prescribed rakam services. The previous rakam-holder shall have no claim to such lands in the future. If he makes such a claim, he shall be punished with a fine of two and a half rupees, and told that the lands cannot be restored to him.

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96. So long as a widow who remains chaste, or a woman whose husband has gone abroad, is willing to perform the prescribed rakam services, pay rents and other dues to the landlord and continue to cultivate khet, pakho, bost, or other arable lands which have been allotted under byang, bala, begi, ghans, barudkhan, kaqate-hulaki, chahulaki, chauki, or other rakam, she shall not be evicted from such lands. If any person evicts her, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent from the land.

97. If a person who had been cultivating lands allotted under byang, bala, begi, ghans, barudkhan, kaqate-hulaki, chahulaki, chauki, or other rakam is convicted of any crime which is punishable with degradation of caste status, life imprisonment, or death, or absconds, or dies, and his wife starts living with another man, or if both the husband and the wife die, leaving behind only sons below the age of sixteen years who are not capable of performing the prescribed rakam services, such children shall not be evicted from the lands. They shall be entitled to use the lands or payment of chardam-theki, kut, ghiukhan, sema, and other dues with the help of their relatives and friends, or by letting the land to any other person for cultivation. Such children shall not be evicted on the ground that the lands have been allotted under any rakam. If the children are below sixteen years of age, they need not provide physical labor for the discharge of the rakam services. After they reach the age of sixteen years, they shall be entitled to use the lands subject to the prescribed payment and the discharge of the prescribed rakam services as their parents had done. If any other person has cultivated lands belonging to such children on payment of the prescribed dues, then, notwithstanding the provisions of Section 37 of this law, according to which no person shall be evicted from any land if he has been making the prescribed payments thereon, the lands belonging to their parents shall be restored to the children after the come of age, inasmuch as these had been let out to another person at a time when they were minors. If any person evicts such children from their lands, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent from such lands, which shall then be restored to the children.

98. If a person who had been cultivating lands allotted under byang, barudkhan, begi, ghans, bala, gula, kaqate-hulaki, chahulaki, chauki, or other rakam is convicted of any crime which is punishable with degradation of caste status, life imprisonment, or death, or absconds, or dies, and his wife starts living with another man, or if both the husband and the wife die without leaving any sons behind, but only a minor daughter who had been living with them, and has not been married, or contracted an informal alliance with any man, and if any of her relatives on the paternal side, or other friends, are willing to cultivate the lands on her behalf, discharge the prescribed rakam services, and pay the prescribed rents and other dues, that person with whom the girl...
9. If a person to whom khet lands have been allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghansi, gola, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam uses such lands, but does not provide the prescribed hulaki, chuki, or other service, and evades such obligations, and if the person who is in charge of that rakam makes a complaint, the amount involved in such default of rakam services during a period of one year shall be realized from the defaulter, and a fine amounting to four annas for each turn of rakam duty shall be imposed. However, he shall not be removed from the register of rakam workers. But if such person has defaulted in the discharge of the prescribed rakam services for more than a year, the amount involved in such default shall be realized from him, and he shall be dismissed. The person who is in charge of that rakam shall then appoint another capable person to replace him.

10. If a person who has been enlisted under byang, bala, bosi, ghansi, gola, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam dies, and his brothers, sons, and grandsons subdivide the khet lands allotted under the rakam among themselves, while retaining the allotment order issued in the name of the deceased person, and discharge the prescribed rakam services by rotation, or if the name of only among the brothers and sons of the deceased person is recorded, but all of them subdivide the lands among themselves, and the person whose name has been so recorded states that he is not willing to discharge the prescribed rakam services, and offers to relinquish the lands, a statement to that effect shall be obtained from him. His brothers and sons shall then be summoned and told: "Your brother has indicated his unwillingness to discharge the prescribed rakam services and has signed a statement accordingly. Are you willing to take up the obligation, or not?" If they say they are willing, they shall be enlisted under the rakam. If the brothers and sons (of the person who has relinquished his rakam obligations) who had been jointly operating the rakam say that they too are no longer willing to do so, a statement to that effect shall be obtained from them. The talukdar shall then replace them by other persons who...
who are capable of discharging the prescribed rakam service. If he does so without obtaining a statement from the brother and sons of the registered rakam worker indicating their unwillingness to undertake the rakam obligations, and if the latter file a complaint, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent from the lands, which shall be reallocated to such brothers and sons who are willing to discharge the prescribed rakam services.

101. If lands allotted under byang, bala, bosí, ghansi, gola, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, chaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam, which had been jointly used for several generations, or while living in an undivided family, are later divided in the course of partition among brothers and sons, and the rakam services too were discharged by rotation, but the lands are recorded in the name of only one of then, such person shall not be entitled to claim that because his name alone has been recorded as a rakam worker, he will use the lands himself after discharging the prescribed rakam services, without letting his brothers use them. All the brothers shall be entitled to discharge the prescribed rakam services and use the lands as agreed upon during the partition. If any brother or son complains that he has been denied his share, the guilty person shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent from the land which he has unjustly appropriated, and the complainant shall be granted his due share in the land.

102. If raiker or jafati khat lands, which have or have not been allotted under byang, bala, bosí, ghansi, gola, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, chaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam are damaged by floods or landslides, or if irrigation channels on such lands are damaged, and rents are remitted accordingly, but if subsequently the lands become cultivable and are reclaimed by any person and used for the cultivation of dry (pakho) crops without paying rents to the jagirdar-landlord, the cultivator shall not be allowed to appropriate the entire produce for himself. Inasmuch as rents (kut) had previously been assessed on those lands, the person who has reclaimed them shall be permitted to use them without paying any rents for three years according to the law; thereafter, rents shall be assessed on adhiya basis. (To be continued).
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103. If khet or pakho lands that had been allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghansi, golu, barudkhana, kagato-hulaki, thaplo-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam are damaged by floods or landslides, or if irrigation channels on such lands are damaged, with the result that the lands revert to waste, and if the registered holder does not reclaim these lands, but another person makes an offer to do so and makes the prescribed payments, the registered holder shall be given the option of reclaiming the lands that have reverted to waste and making the prescribed payments thereon, or to discharge the prescribed rakam services with the remaining (undamaged) lands. The registered holder shall be given the (damaged) lands for reclamation if he is willing to reclaim them. If he is not so willing, and agrees to discharge the prescribed rakam services with the remaining (undamaged) lands, a statement to that effect shall be obtained from him, and the damaged lands shall be for reclamation to the person who is willing to do so. He shall be allowed to appropriate both the landlord and the tenant's share of the produce from such lands for the first three years according to the Law on Land Reclamation. Rents shall be assessed on the lands from the fourth year. If the person who had previously refused to reclaim the (damaged) lands has signed a statement to that effect complaining after the lands have already been reclaimed that the lands had been allotted to him under rakam tenure, or seeks to take possession of the lands, the value of the crops shall be realized from him if he has appropriated the produce, and if he has not done so, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent from the lands. He shall also be informed that the lands cannot be restored to him.

104. If any person has obtained lands allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghansi, karni, golu, barudkhana, kagato-hulaki, thaplo-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam from the rakam-holder for cultivation, but has not constructed a house on such lands, and if the rakam-holder wishes to reclaim the lands for personal cultivation, he may do so after evicting the tenant, because the lands had been recorded in his name under rakam tenure, and he had been discharging the prescribed rakam services. He may then cultivate such lands after paying the prescribed rents and other dues and discharging the prescribed rakam services.

105. No person who has obtained raj-guthi, raikar, sera, or other lands allotted under byang, bala, ghansi, and bosi rakam from the allottee shall construct a house on such lands. If he has done so with the permission of the allottee, the latter shall not be entitled to evict him on the ground that the lands have been allotted under rakam tenure. If the cultivator has constructed the house without the permission of the allottee, and the latter comes to know of such construction and says: "These lands have been allotted under rakam tenure. I have given these lands to you only for..."
cultivation, not to construct a house, " he may pay compensating the actual cost of construction as determined through a local inquiry to the person who has constructed the house, and then resume the lands. If it is proved that the cultivator has forcibly constructed the house, even though the rakam allottee had prohibited him from doing so, he shall not be permitted to sell the house, or remove the fixtures, bricks, timber, etc. The person to whom the lands had been allotted under rakam tenure shall be entitled to cultivate the lands on payment of the prescribed rents or other dues. The person who had constructed the house shall not be permitted to occupy it forcibly on the ground that he had constructed it.

106. If a person to whom raj-gutha, raikar, sera, or other lands have been allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghans, karmi, gote, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam lacks means and therefore obtains a loan from anyone, permitting him to cultivate the lands on payment of the prescribed rents and other dues, but discharging the prescribed rakam services himself, he may pay back the loan, redeem the lands that had been allotted to him under rakam tenure, pay the prescribed rents and other dues, and discharge the prescribed rakam services. After the rakam-holder pays back the loan, the creditor shall not be entitled to use the lands on the ground that the lands are raikar, and that he had himself been paying the prescribed rents and other dues.

107. If a person to whom lands had been allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghans, karmi, gote, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam obtains a loan from anyone and gives him the rakam lands for cultivation, while discharging the prescribed rakam services himself, and if, subsequently, the rakam-holder absconds or relinquishes his rakam obligations, the lands shall be reallocated to the creditor if he is willing to pay the prescribed rents and other dues and discharge the prescribed rakam services. The lands shall not be reallocated to any other person. If the creditor is unwilling to retain possession of the lands and discharge the prescribed rakam services, the talukdar shall make him sign a statement to that effect, and reallocate the lands to another person who is willing to discharge the prescribed rakam services and pay the prescribed rents and other dues. The creditor who had refused to discharge the prescribed rakam services shall not be entitled to claim that he had lent money against the security of the lands. It shall depend upon him whether or not to find out his debtor and recover his loan.

108. If a person to whom lands had been allotted under byang, bala, bosi, ghans, karmi, gote, barudkhana, kagate-hulaki, thaple-hulaki, chauki, or other rakam obtains a loan from anyone and gives him the rakam lands for cultivation, and if, subsequently, the rakam-holder dies or absconds, or is unwilling to discharge the prescribed rakam services and so relinquishes the lands, the creditor shall not be
if a person has been paying the prescribed rents and other dues and discharging the prescribed rakam services, if anybody evicts him, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rents from the lands, which shall be restored to such creditor.

109. If it is proved that any person has used rai kar or jafate lands without paying any rents thereon, an amount equal to rents payable for the period during which he has done so shall be realized from him, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. The land about which information had been suppressed in this manner shall be reallocated to the informant through a verbal allotment order indicating that he shall not be evicted from such land so long as he pays the rents.

110. If any person who has been occupying a homestead on taxable rai kar or kipat land is proved to have occupied another person's homestead and used it without making any payment, the amount of Sema tax due for the period during which he has done so shall be realized from him, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. The homestead shall then be reallocated to the informant on condition that he maintains a roof theron and makes the prescribed payments.

111. If a mukhiya or jimnawal has suppressed information about the Sema tax on pakho lands under taxable rai kar, kipat, or jafate tenure, or about the number of homesteads, or undescribes such number or represents a Hale holding as a Rodake, a Pate, or Sukumbasi (landless) holding, or a Pate holding as a Sukumbasi holding, the amount of taxes due for the period during which he has personally appropriated such taxes, or let the ryots do so, shall be realized from him, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. In addition, such mukhiya or jimnawal shall be dismissed from his position, and the informant shall be appointed to that position if he is capable of functioning as a mukhiya or jimnawal. If the informant is not so capable, a respectable person trusted by the local people shall be appointed as mukhiya or jimnawal. Because the false representation was made by the mukhiya or jimnawal, the ryots shall not be deemed to have committed any offense, and so shall not be evicted from their lands, or a kodela holding as a pate or Sukumbasi holding.

112. If a mukhiya or jimnawal has suppressed information, about the ghilikhan tax, rent, or other payments due on khet lands under rai kar, kipat, or jafati tenure, and has appropriated such payments himself, the amount of taxes and rents due for the period during which he has done so, or let the ryots do so, shall be realized from him, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. In addition, such mukhiya or jimnawal shall be dismissed from his position, and the informant shall be appointed to that position if he is capable of functioning as a mukhiya or jimnawal. If the informant is not so capable, a respectable person trusted by the local people shall be appointed as mukhiya or jimnawal. Because the false representation was made by the mukhiya or jimnawal, the ryots shall not be deemed to have committed any offense, and so shall not be evicted from their lands.
113. If any tenant or other ryot has suppressed information or made a false representation about the serma tax due on pakho lands under taxable raikar, kipat, or jafati tenure, the amount of tax due for the period during which he has done so shall be realized from him, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. But he shall not be evicted from his homestead.

114. If any tenant or other ryot has suppressed information or made a false representation about the ghiiukhane tax, but rents, or other payments due on khet lands under taxable raikar, kipat, or jafati tenure, the amount of taxes due for the period during which he has done so shall be realized from him, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. The area of khet land regarding which he has suppressed information or made a false representation shall be reassessed to the informant on condition that the taxes and other amounts due thereon are paid.

115. If tenants or other ryots who cultivate khet or pakho lands under taxable raikar, kipat, or jafati lands anywhere in the Kingdom of Gorkha, either in the Tarai region or in the hill region, falsely report that the lands have been damaged by floods or landslides, or have reverted to waste, or have been covered by sand, or rendered uncultivable for any other reason, or that crops have been damaged by drought, and obtain remissions on that ground, the amount of rents due for the period during which they have done so shall be realized from them, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. The area of land about which such false reports have been furnished shall be reassessed to the informant, on condition that he makes the payments due on such land.

116. If any mohinaik, jimmawal, mukhiya, thani, thari, subba, rai, majhiya, thekdar, chaudhari, mokaddam, jimidar, mijhar, jhuttawal, or other functionary falsely reports that any khet or pakho land under taxable raikar, jafati, or kipat tenure, which has been assigned as jagir, or retained as jogera or ukas, anywhere in the Kingdom of Gorkha, either in the Tarai region or in the hill region, has been damaged by floods or landslides, or has reverted to waste, or rendered uncultivable for any other reason, or that crops have been damaged by drought, and obtains remissions from the Sadar Dafdar Khana on that ground, and is proved to have withheld the payment of taxes on such land, and appropriated such taxes himself, or let tenants and other ryots do so, the amount due for the period during which this has been done shall be realized from the person who is guilty of such misappropriation, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed on the guilty talukdar. The talukdar shall, in addition, be removed from his position. If the informant is capable of discharging the function of tax-collection, or if he furnishes as surety a person who is so capable, he shall be appointed as mukhiya, jimmawal, mohinaik, thani, thari, subba, rai, majhiya, thekdar, chaudhari, mokaddam, jimidar, mijhar, or jhuttawal, as the case may be. If the informant is not capable of discharging the function of tax-collection, and cannot furnish as surety a person who is so capable, another person who is trusted by the local
117. If any person furnishes information to the Sadar Dafdar, the Kumarichok, the Adda Sresta Janch, or any other government office or court that anybody has:

- obtained a grant of taxable raikar, kipat, or jafate land on the basis of false particulars, or
- used such lands without a formal order and without paying rents and taxes, or
- understated the number of homesteads, or the amount of rents and taxes, or
- obtained remissions by falsely reporting that the lands have been damaged by floods or landslides,

and if during a hearing on the petition the guilty person confesses his guilt, such person shall be punished according to the law. If the guilty person is a tenant or other ryot, the area of land about which false particulars have been recorded shall be reallocated to the informant. If the guilty person is a mukhiya or jirmawal, he shall be dismissed, and replaced by the informant. A formal order shall be issued directing that the latter shall not be dismissed so long as he pays the stipulated rents and taxes, or discharges the prescribed tax-collection functions.

118. If the chief officer or any employee of the Sadar Dafdar, the Kumarichok, the Adda Sresta Janch, or any other government office or court does not reallocate to the person who furnished information that anybody has:

- understated the number of homesteads, or the amount of rents and taxes due on taxable khet or pakho lands under raikar, jafati, or kipat tenure, or
- obtained remissions by falsely reporting that the lands have been damaged by floods or landslides, or
- used such lands, without paying any rents and taxes,

the area of land about which information has been suppressed in this manner, if the guilty person is a tenant or other ryot, or, if the guilty person is a mukhiya or jirmawal, does not dismiss him and replace him by the informant according to the law, such chief officer or employee shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent from the land about which information has been suppressed. The land shall then be reallocated to the informant.

The End

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In the course of his address to the nation on the occasion of Constitution Day on December 15, 1970, the late King Mahendra announced the establishment of the Janch Bujh Kendra (Investigation Center). The objective of the Janch Bujh Kendra was to redress the public grievances arising from the acts of the administration, check the abuse of authority, and prevent any discriminatory acts on the part of officials. The main need is to make the administration people-oriented by getting rid of the shortcomings which were rampant in it. Its main function and duty is to scrutinize, analyze and assess problems arising from administrative negligence and excesses, slackness, corruption and inefficiency and submit recommendations to His Majesty for remedial measures. It can also undertake any other task assigned by His Majesty. Indeed, rather than calling the Janch Bujh Kendra a separate organ, we may describe it as a complementary body aimed at making effective the measures to be taken by the Crown in the interests of the countrymen. In addition, it plays an important role in evaluating the implementation of development programs and their impact on the public life.

It is now eight years since the Janch Bujh Kendra was established. The contributions it has rendered to the process of national development as an organ of the Royal Palace during the past seven years have to be assessed in terms of its actual performance, not of publicity or propaganda. Except a few, all employees of the Kendra are appointed on a temporary basis, and taken from different walks of life. The total number of "special officers" who have so far worked at the Kendra has reached 200. Only Nepalis are employed. In consideration of their work, they are paid remuneration which does not exceed the initial salary paid to a second class gazetted officer of HMG. Generally, experts and experienced persons are given an opportunity to work at the Kendra. Persons who have so far worked at the Kendra include journalists, social and political workers, civil servants, officers of government-owned corporations, former ministers, economists, doctors, engineers, businessmen, and technicians.

The Kendra has three sections to conduct study and research on problems. The first section supervises routine administrative functions. It scrutinizes complaints relating to red-tapism, negligence of duty, favoritism, etc., and submits suggestions to His Majesty for action.

The second section conducts research and evaluation of long-term administrative measures in order to determine whether or not any decision taken by the administration is defective, or is consistent with national policies, and what has been effect of the lack of coordination between policies and execution on the public life, and so on.

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The third is the Judicial Section. It submits judicial reports suggesting the kind of punishment or reward to persons who, in the opinion of the first or second section, are guilty, or deserve reward, according to current laws and regulations.

Teams are sent to conduct studies on any specified subject. Each team consists of three officers, who are experts in that subject, so that favoritism or discrimination may be avoided.

In the early years, the Kendra had to devote much time to scrutinizing complaints or irregularities relating to administrative measures. Of 62 cases referred to the Kendra during the first two years after its establishment, 49 were complaints relating to the administration. While scrutinizing such complaints, the Kendra does not give importance to those which seem to have been filed purely out of personal anger or malice, or which involve legal complications. It takes particular care to see whether the concerned authorities have failed to work carefully or in a manner compatible with their position, or whether the complainant or any other person has been put to hardships owing to favoritism or vague legal provisions. Thus the emphasis is on the need for removing such shortcomings from the administration as a whole, even though the subject-matter of most complaints taken up by the Kendra centers on individuals.

Another important aspect of the services provided by the Janch Bijn Kendra concerns the detection in the course of investigation into minor matters or sources, of anomalies that may have an impact at the national level, study of long-term measures which lead to reform in the formulation and implementation of policies and regulations as a result of such detection, and formulation of plans for strengthening the process of national development.

So far, the Kendra has taken up 99 cases, of which 30 relate to long-term plans of national importance. In the course of scrutiny of complaints received by the Kendra, it was felt that public grievances about the administration should be tackled through long-term measures, rather than short-term ones. Accordingly, different plans were formulated which mainly related to important fields of development such as agriculture, industry, health, forests, education, administration, and politics. These plans include Rules Relating to Promotion in the Civil Service, the Resettlement Plan, the Agricultural Development Plan, the Industrial Policy, the District Administration Plan, the Public Service Commission Consolidation Plan, the Forest Plan, the Health Services Plan, the Royal Nepal Academy Consolidation Plan, and the Training Consolidation Plan.
A characteristic how is imposed upon among the officials, experts to three long-term plans. These experts are usually from the appropriate ministry or department, once the draft is in progress, one copy thereof is sent to each of the institutions and individuals concerned with the subject of the plan to solicit their advice. After receiving their responses, a meeting is held for final discussion on the draft. The draft is then submitted to the for final decision.

Another aspect of the entire process, after the various review and evaluation of policies and systems is the drafting of the plan. Once the draft is submitted, particular emphasis is placed on the people's role in determining how it is going to be used. In contrast to prescribed policies, on what is to be done in the public area, the people are encouraged to express their view in the plan. This process of evaluation has identified a greater sense of responsibility and involvement among institutions responsible for the execution of plans, and make policies not only more participative.

During the majority's specialized schools of development projects, the center is equipped with realistic analytical and programmatic reports of development projects. With this purpose, the center periodically conducts on-the-spot visits to find out the development projects are taking place or the intention are violated, what policies are being faced in their implementation, and how the people feel about them. On the basis of these fact-finding studies, with other information, the center prepared a series of volumes entitled "Jinsha's People in the millennium" three years ago. The publication of these volumes has helped locally, as well as foreign institutions and agencies to increase interest in local affairs, to have geographical and historical facts about every district and village, as well as developments in the fields of agriculture, industry, commerce, transport, and social service.

The efforts made by highly-educated youths and intellectuals to gain needed information in the phases of planning in every part of the country, following the establishment of the Jiang Su office, are of great importance for the development of the country. Their efforts have been critical to more development activities in different areas, especially the way for balanced development of the regions and development of agriculture and industrial infrastructure to be used and study the condition of inferior areas of the country.

In addition, the center has provided a new era for urbanization in the west of development. The future of these areas is still difficult to display their capacity and ability to achieve the necessary funding of the administration.
Along with the gradual improvement in administrative procedures, the activities of the Janch Bujh Kendra are taking a new turn. In the beginning, its efforts were concentrated mainly on complaints relating to administrative irregularities. In recent years, however, it has been paying greater attention to the formulation of long-term plans and evaluation of achievement with the objective of solving the problems that appear in different fields of development.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution has made provisions for the Back to the Village National Campaign for enunciating principles in the political field and organizing and evaluating Panchayat workers. Similarly, in the absence of a suitable institution, the Janch Bujh Kendra was required to look into complaints or grievances regarding the abuse of administrative authority and irregularities within the administration. A separate institution known as the Commission for Prevention of Abuse of Authority has now been established. There will thus be no need for the Kendra to deal with such matters.

It may be asked whether the scope of activity of the Kendra is not likely to change with the growth of efficiency and improvement in the working procedure of the administration. But in the light of the fact that Nepali society is still in a transitional phase, much remains to be done to promote the quality, stability, and reliability of the services of the growing number of different organs and institutions.

Although much progress has been made in remedying the shortcomings of national policies and programs, and administrative organs are now better organized and financially more resourceful than before, the results have not been satisfactory. There are numerous instances to prove this. Hence nobody can deny that there is need for greater vigilance than before at every stage of the execution of policies and programs. It is thus obvious that only an impartial institution such as the Janch Bujh Kendra, which is responsible to His Majesty, can discharge the responsibility of watching the activities of every organ responsible for development and constantly alerting it to its responsibilities. Moreover, the open atmosphere which the Kendra creates for in-depth study and analysis of problems is hardly found elsewhere. Hence there can be no room for doubt about the importance of the Janch Bujh Kendra as a useful medium for evaluating the impact of development activities on the public life, as a watch-dog for the administrative machinery, and as a means for assessing the efficiency of the administration, conveying the people's feelings to policy-maker's, assisting different ministries and departments in evaluating the progress in the implementation of projects, and in drafting suitable plans, as well as in exploring new challenging areas in order to make the administration people-oriented.

**********
King Prithvi Narayan Shah

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the November 1977 issue).


King Kamrajadatta Sen of Tanahu was a friend of Narabhup Shah. The inner Tarai region of Chitau formed part of his dominion. He was also the zamindar of the plains, later known as Ramnager, which was situated outside this region. Anyone travelling from capital of Tanahu to Chitau, had to reach Josimara, by crossing the Gandaki river at Debghat, and climb the Mahabharat hills and then land on the fort of Upardang, which was in the possession of the king of Tanahu. At that time the Chepangs, who live in the forests of Jogimara, situated in a narrow valley, used to plunder and harrass travellers. It was for this reason that the king of Tanahu desired to occupy Jogimara and set up a post there to guard this route. But it was difficult for him to fulfill this desire so long as the Lalitpur remained strong. King Kamrajadatta Sen, finding Lalitpur weak at the time, threatened to occupy Jogimara by force in case Vishnu Malla failed to accept his demand for its cession. Vishnu Malla thought it prudent to make Kamrajadatta Sen a friend, rather than an enemy, and, accordingly, agreed to cede Jogimara. (1731 A.D.).

(Note: Jogimara was situated east of the Gandaki river in the Lamidanda area, which belonged to Lalitpur. However, it was left unoccupied during the time of King Prithvi Narayan Shah even after the capture of Lamidanda. It was seized by the Gorkhalis from Tanahu during the reign of Pratap Sinha Shah (Kirkpatrick, p. 272). This shows that the King of Tanahu had already seized Jogimara from the Lalitpur. In his petition to King Pratap Sinha Shah, which was written in verse, Udayananda mentioned that Jogimara had been captured by King Pratap Sinha Shah from Vishnu Malla (Pragati, No. 13, P. 7). This proves that this area had previously been ceded by Vishnu Malla to the King of Tanahu. This account has been prepared on the basis of Kirkpatrick and Udayananda.

In his Bhasa-Vamshawali, Khardar Buddhiman Singh has given the following account of Lamidanda of the time of Vishnu Malla: "Thereafter, the King of Kantipur succeeded in bringing the Gorkhalis on his side, captured Lamidanda, which belonged to Lalitpur, and settled the Gorkhalis there. King Vishnu Malla again brought Lamidanda into his possession with the support of the Gorkhalis. "(PP. 201-202)." Buddhiman Singh is thus confused about the history of Lamidanda, hence his account lacks substance).
King Narabhpala Shah was, by nature, a weak person. Nothing, however, was wrong with the affairs of the state, because Queen Chandraprabha was in charge of home affairs. Being ignorant of the vitiated political atmosphere of the neighboring principalities, he had to depend on his ministers, Gokulavilasa, who was his preceptor, had instructed him to worship his patron goddess for the fulfillment of his desire and he wanted to do the same.

(Note: In his biography of Narabhpala Shah, Khardar Sherman Singh writes: "Gaureshwara Pandit requested that a ritual worship be performed at different temples. Narabhpala Shah vowed to perform twenty-four religious ceremonies praying for the conquest of Nepal. The ceremonies were started in an auspicious month. Gaureshwara Pandit sent his sons to the prominent places of worship. Gokulavilasa Pandit, who too had some knowledge of esoteric rites, paid a visit to Nepal and stayed at Ghyeshwari for a few days for ritual worship of the Goddess).

King Rana Jit Mall of Bhaktapur had requested Narabhpala Shah to send him troops for a war with the Kings of Kantipur and Lalitpur. In response to that request, Narabhpala Shah sent Gorkhali troops who were also spoiling for a war. But the Gorkhali soldiers could not gain victory in the war which lasted seven years. They were in a way defeated at the hands of Jagajjaya Malla. Following Kamarjeet Singh's success in capturing Jogimara, King Narabhpala Shah also planned to attack Nuwakot district, which was a part of Jagajjaya Malla's dominions, bordering on Gorkha. Maheshwara Pantha also supported the plan.

(Note: Khardar Sherman Singh gives the following account of the attack on Nuwakot: "King Narabhpala Shah commended the plan as a good idea. He started preparations for war after consultation with his Bhudars, Kaji Maheshwara Pantha and Jayanta Rana assumed the responsibility of attacking Nuwakot, and marched from Gorkha with troops. During their march from Katunyra to Sanri, they killed a few Gaile Bhotes who were subjects of the Olma Bhothe King, and reached the Trisuli river. They climbed the hill of Nuwakot and launched a fierce attack. A large number of troops then arrived from Nepal, and Kaji Maheshwara Pantha and Kaji Jayanta Rana were forced to retreat from the Trisuli river after setting its bridge on fire."

Jayanta Rana has been referred to as Kaji here. But, according to the practice followed in Gorkha at that time, the King used to have one Chautara, one Kaji, and one Sardar. The Sardar used to be appointed as a commander in the battle field. For this reason, Jayanta Rana has been described as Sardar).

Jagajjaya Malla introduced changes in the administration of Sindupalchok and Nuwakot districts, which, though outside Katmandu valley, formed a part of his dominions. These two districts were inhabited mostly by Khys and Nagar. He had first appointed the Pramanas of Kantipur as

Contd...
Mecklenburg's forces proven too strong and he concluded the war by a peace treaty with him. The terms of the treaty were settled in May, 1861, and were accepted by the Confederacy. The United States was divided into five districts, each with a military governor, and the Confederate States of America was established. Mecklenburg's military career was marked by his audacity and his ability to inspire his troops. He was a man of great courage and determination, and his leadership was a source of inspiration to his followers. Under his command, Mecklenburg's forces proved to be a formidable opponent, and his military success was a source of pride for the Confederate States of America.
(Note: An account stating that Kalu Jaisi had successfully installed a pillar on an auspicious date at the time of the invasion of Nuwakot has been discovered. It is, therefore, probable that an attempt had been made at the time of the attack to do so. Since no evidence is available of any battle at this place, it is apparent that Maheshwara Pantha had not succeeded in installing a pillar and was consequently forced to retreat after setting the bridge on fire).

Narabhpala Shah then engaged in the ritual act of propitiating his family deity, praying for the victory of the troops which had departed from Gorkha.

(Note: In his imaginary account of the attack launched during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah, Buddhiman Singh claims in the Bhasha Vangshawali (P. 302) that Prithvi Narayan Shah was engaged in the act of propitiating the deity when Gorkhali troops were advancing towards Khinchat. According to his account, however, it was customary for kings at that time to do so when they were not on the front. The account is baseless, but it cannot be said that Narabhpala Shah was not actually engaged in such an act at the time of the battle in question. He had ordered the fighting to be halted, and had yet to complete three of the twenty-four religious ceremonies he had vowed to perform).

Maheshwara Pantha went to him and informed him of their defeat. He told the King that the cause of the defeat was slackness among the Magar troops. Narabhpala Shah then dismissed Jayanta Rana even before his return. Hearing of this, Jayanta Rana left Gorkha, saying that "we have no place here". He settled down at Kotgaon, situated to the south-east of Nuwakot, while his colleagues went elsewhere.

(Note: According to Narabhpala Shah's biography, compiled by Khardar Sharan Singh, Maheshwara Pantha went to Gorkha and told Narabhpala Shah that the laziness among the Magars was the main cause of the defeat suffered by the Gorkhals. Magars then started leaving Gorkha. It is, therefore, presumed that Jayanta Rana migrated to Balkot at that time).

Saddened by his defeat in Nuwakot, King Narabhpala Shah could not properly attend to affairs in the east. However, he decided to expand his territories in the west. Accordingly, he invited Kamarajadatta Sen, King of Tanahu, to a meeting at Satighat on the banks of the Marsyangdi river, which marked the boundary between Gorkha and Tanahu. It was Narabhpala Shah's intention to capture Kamarajadatta Sen when at Satighat and then invade Tanahu. Kamarajadatta Sen accepted the invitation. On the prescribed date, Narabhpala Shah arrived at Satighat, but Kamarajadatta Sen, who had meanwhile suspected foul play, did not. This enraged Narabhpala Shah, and, taking
Kamarajadatta Sen's behavior as an act of betrayal, he ordered his troops to invade Tanahu at once. Somebody suggested that he should wait until the following day for assembling his troops and invading Tanahu. Narabhupala Shah agreed. But the double setback had already greatly saddened him, and he began to live in seclusion. (circa A.D. 1732).

(Note: Describing the state of mind of Narabhupala Shah at the time, Khardar Sherman Singh writes: "The following day, he appeared at the Gorkha Court. His anger and frustration was mounting since then. In a dejected state of mind, he even ordered Gaureshara Pandit, his preceptor, to discontinue the remaining religious ceremonies. Gaureshara Pandit, taking note of the King's growing desperation, acted accordingly." After describing the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony as well as the wedding of Prithvi Narayan Shah, Sherman Singh writes: "Since then, King Narabhupala Shah's frustration grew. One day, Dhana Jochi told him: "Your Majesty's father had aspired to fight many battles to extend his dominions, but his wish remained unfulfilled during his life-time. As a result, he felt frustrated.".)

His condition moved even Kamarajadatta Sen, who thereafter ceased harboring any thought of revenge.

(Note: This assumption is based on the psychological view that a man who is not on good terms with his brother develops pity, rather than any spirit of revenge, when the latter is in mental agony. In fact, Kamarajadatta Sen does not appear to have tried to settle scores with Narabhupala Shah.)

In A.D. 1733, Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah attained the age of eleven years. It was necessary to perform his sacred-thread-investiture ceremony at this age. Although Narabhupala Shah was keeping aloof from the affairs of state, Queen Chandraprabha was properly managing the affairs of the palace. There was, therefore, no difficulty in performing the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony. However, a family priest who could initiate Prithvi Narayan Shah into the Savitri-Mantra on the occasion of the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony had yet to be selected. The sons and nephews of Gokula Vilasa Pande, who had initiated Narabhupala Shah into the mantras, were willing to perform this task. However, the role of this initiating the predecessor of Narabhupala Shah and their brothers had been played by the Mishra family. Gokula Vilasa Pande had subsequently taken over that role through political maneuvers. People in Gorkha wondered whether Narabhupala Shah's misfortune was due to the replacement of the family priest. Queen Chandraprabha then made arrangements to have the ceremony performed by a priest named Harsha Mishra, who belonged to the Mishra family. In order to avoid any possible interference from the Pande priests, she sent Prithvi Narayan Shah to a temple at Maidhi in Dhading on a hunting expedition and had his sacred-thread-investiture ceremony solemnized there by the Mishra.

Conti...
It was the custom that any member of the royal family of Gorkha should be initiated into the Diksha Mantra only after his wedding. But Gokula Vilasa Pande had thus initiated Narabhpala Shah immediately after his sacred-thread-investiture ceremony. Harsha Mishra too initiated Prithvi Narayan Shah into the Diksha Mantra immediately after his sacred-thread-investiture ceremony.

(Note: Manusmriti, Chapter 2, Verse 30 states that the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of a Kshatriya should be solemnized at the age of eleven from the date his mother became pregnant. However, the practice customarily followed by the Gorkha Palace was to solemnize the function at the age of eleven from the date of birth. Accordingly, the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of King Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah was solemnized at the age of eleven years. (Purnima, Quarterly, vol. 11, p. 38). This is why it is believed that Prithvi Narayan Shah might have undergone the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony at the age of eleven. The ceremony could as well have been solemnized at the eleventh year effective from the date of pregnancy).

Gokula Vilasa had succeeded in his attempt to be accepted as a preceptor at the royal palace and prevent the emergence of a rival. Harsha Mishra also achieved similar success. The Aryal family, having been deprived of the opportunity to initiate members of the royal family into the Diksha for nearly two generations, lost the priesthood once for all.

(Note: In his biography of Narabhpula Shah, Khirdar Shriaman Singh writes: "When the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony was being performed, all power was in the hands of the senior Queen. At this time, Bhanu Joshi Aryal asked whether she was not going to replace Mishra in view of the discontent over the selection of a priest. The senior Queen then sent Prithvi Narayan Shah to the temples of Sri Dev and Jagannath at Maidhi on the pretext of a hunting excursion." At Maidhi, the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of Prithvi Narayan Shah was solemnized, with Harsha Mishra acting as priest. On this occasion, he was also initiated into both the Gayatri and Diksha Mantras).

However, one consolation for them was that they still retained their assignment of teaching the Vedas to the Crown Prince at the time of his sacred-thread-investiture ceremony, the charge of the treasury, and the Kharidari function at the Jaisi-Kotha. They were content with these residual functions.

(Note: In subsequent years, no Shah king appears to have been initiated by the Aryals into the Savitri or Diksha Mantras).

Contd...
Moksheshwara Joshi had taught the Vedas to Prithvi Narayan Shah and also performed priestly functions for him. Queen Chandraprabha had, therefore, appointed him as Dharmadhikari.

(Note: This is proved by the practice followed in later years).

Rajivalochna Pande was reconfirmed as Pandit. This explains why his son, Ramahriddya Pande, occupied the post of Rajapandit during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

After deposing King Bhaskara Malla of Kantipur in A.D. 1715, Jhagal Thakul placed Mahendra Simha and Jagajjaya Malla on the throne of Kantipur successively. For twenty years he continued to look after the affairs of Kantipur. Of the three sons born to Jagajjaya Malla outside the palace before he became king, the eldest, Rajendra Malla, had already died. The second son, Jayaprakasha Malla turned to be an irrepressible youth, and the youngest, Rajaprakasha Malla, was very lean and thin. Hence Jagajjaya Malla was sad. After his accession to the throne, he had two more sons, both of whom were born at Mohanchok inside the palace. When the elder of the two, Narandraprakash Malla, attained the age of thirteen years in A.D. 1735, Jayaprakasha Malla started conspiring to eliminate him as Jagajjaya Malla's successor, because the rules of succession enforced by King Pratap Malla of Kantipur provided that in case the King had several sons, the one who was born first at Mohanchok inside the palace should be the heir-apparent. Even Jagajjaya Malla and Jhagal Thakul were tired of this tussle for success. Jagajjaya Malla was on the side of Narandraprakash Malla, whereas Jhagal Thakul sided with Jayaprakasha Malla. Ultimately Jhagal's influence prevailed, and Jagajjaya Malla was compelled to recognize Jayaprakasha Malla as his successor.

Kashiram Thapa was then conspiring to place Narandraprakash Malla on the throne and occupy Jhagal Thakul's position after Jagajjaya Malla's death. On March 4, 1735, Jagajjaya Malla died in Kantipur. Kashiram Thapa was not in Kantipur at that time. According to tradition, Jayaprakasha Malla should have been crowned as King on the completion of the thirteen-day mourning period. But Jayaprakasha Malla got wind of the plot hatched by Kashiram Thapa, and, therefore, put on the Crown on March 15, that is, on the very second day after mourning was over. Hearing of this, Kashiram Thapa realized that it would be difficult to dethrone a King who had already put on the Crown, and, accordingly, called off his plans. He then sought to divide Kantipur into two parts. The western part, comprising Kantipur town, areas within the valley situated to the north-west of Kantipur, and Nuwakot, with the Tukucha stream as the eastern boundary, was to be left to Jayaprakasha Malla, while the eastern part, comprising five Mahals within Katmandu Valley, Naksal, Doopatan, Gokarna, Sankhu and Changu, all located to the east of the Tukucha stream, as well as Sindhipalchok and Dolakha, situated further to the east beyond Naldum, was to be ruled by Narandraprakash Malla. In this manner, he hoped to become all-powerful.

(To be continued).
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Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat in A.D. 1810

1. Demarcation of the Nepal-India Boundary

Royal Order to Taijaradar Laxman Giri

Jagtha Sudi 6, 1867.

Royal order to Laxman Giri: "We have received reports that the boundaries have been encroached upon in the Kharsalwar and other moujas from the Rognan (i.e. Indian) side. Check available records in consultation with the local chaudharis, kanugoyes, jaiwars, and other knowledgeable persons, and use force, if necessary, to retain control of territories which belong to us on the basis of such records. Do not relinquish even an inch of territory."

Appointment of Subedar Ranajit Bhandari and Mir Munshi Raza Khan

Baisakh Sudi 7, 1867.

Subedar Ranajit Bhandari and Mir Munshi Raza Khan were deputed to demarcate the Nepal-India boundary in the Adepur area of Bara-Parsa district. A unit of the Batukdul Company, stationed in that district, was deputed to assist in the work.

Order to Local Functionaries

Baisakh Sudi 5, 1867.

Royal order to the subba, fouzdar, chaudharis, kanugoyes, mokaddams, jaiwars, jethralyats, etc. of Raza, Parsa, and Rautahat: "We have deputed Ranajit Bhandari and Mir Munshi Raza Khan to settle the dispute relating to the boundary at Adepur. Present yourselves before them whenever summoned without any delay."

Land Grant to Mir Munshi Raza Khan

(1) Baisakh Sudi 1, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 163.

Mir Munshi Raza Khan was granted 3 khats (i.e. 300 muri) of land in Gokarna, Handigaun, Sunaguthi, and Dhudgaun under manachamal tenure.

(2) Baisakh Sudi 5, 1867.

Royal order to the subba, fouzdar, peshkar, chaudharis, and kanugoyes of Bara and Parsa: "We have granted the moujas of Dhanadi, Dhamapur, and Inarwa in the Matioun Pargonna of Bara-Parsa district as jagir to Mir Munshi Raza Khan. We have granted him exemption from all unpaid-labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar), with the exception of those meant for the royal palace."
(Mir Munshi Raza Khan was paid a salary of Rs 1,200 per year. Of this amount, Rs 400 was assigned in the form of revenue-yielding lands in Saptari-Mahottari. Raghav Singh Kindka, Janardar of Saptari-Mahottari, was ordered on Baisak Badi 12, 1867 to make arrangements for that land assignment. Regni Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 160).

Encluments of Ranajit Bhundari

Baisak Badi 1, 1867.
Regni Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 163-64.

Subba Balabhanjan Panda was ordered to disburse Rs 675 from the revenues collected in Bara and Parsa during the Vikrama year 1867 as the emoluments of Ranajit Bhundari, who had been deputed to settle the boundary dispute in Adapur and compile Jamahandi records in the district for the Vikrama year 1867.

Elephant Granted for Wedding of Mir Munshi Raza Khan's Nephew

Baisak Sudi 7, 1867.

Darogas Damodar Jaisi, Mahadev Upadhyaya, Bajavarna Thopa, Dharma Singh Bhundari, and Biradhwaj Knares of the Intissar office were ordered to grant an elephant of four cubits for the marriage of Mir Newaji Raza Khan, a nephew of Mir Munshi Raza Khan.

Boundary-Demarcation Regulations

Baisak Badi 13, 1867.

Regulations promulgated in the names of Ranajit Bhundari and Mir Munshi Raza Khan for the settlement of (Nepal-India) boundary disputes.

(Abstract translation).

1. Establish your camp at Adapur and summon the men deputed by the kanugoye. Tell them that you have been deputed by the Palace to settle the boundary dispute in Adapur.

2. If the kanugoye agrees to accept our claims to Chartul and other areas, as indicated in the course of talks held by the Mahila Guruju in Patna, settle the dispute accordingly in writing in the presence of the fouzdar, chaudhari, kanugoyes, jaiwars, and other knowledgeable people of Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat.

3. If the kanugoye does not accept our claims as mentioned above, ascertain from him why such a dispute is being raised on an issue which had already been resolved between the two governments. Try to explain the situation to him.
4. If (the kanugoye) remains intransigent, send a detailed report to the Mahila Guruju in Calcutta as well as to us.

5. If the officials deputed from the other side have already left that place by the time you reach there, do not leave that place. Remain at Adapur and invite the men of the kanugoye.

6. If all matters are settled with the exception of 50 or 100 bighas of land, do not let the dispute continue.

After the dispute is settled, ascertain the value of property looted from Chhakka Khan and others, make a list of the looters, and obtain a confession from them. If there is no dispute between the two sides on this question, this is good. Otherwise, report the matter to us.

7. If any matter comes up that is not mentioned in the order or regulations, dispose it if you two can agree in a manner that serves our interests. Otherwise, report the matter to us.

Compilation of Land-Tax-Assessment Records
Baisakhi Sudi 5, 1867.

Royal order to Subedar Runajit Chhamari: "We hereby promulgate the following regulations for the preparation of tax-assessment records (Jammabandi) on ananat basis for areas situated east of the Dariya river and west of the Adabar river in Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat, which are under the administrative jurisdiction of Makwanpur, with the exception of lands assigned as jagir to the employees of the elephant office (Hattisar).

(Abstract translation).

1. Prepare Jammabandi records on the basis of the assessment-rates for different taxes and levies as fixed in the Vikrama year 1850, and have such records endorsed by chaudhari, kanugoyes, ijaradars, mahaldars, mokaddams, etc.

2. Sanction the perquisites of chaudhari, kanugoyes, mokaddams, and ijaradars at the customary rates. Grant only such remissions as had been sanctioned in the Vikrama year 1850.

3. If it appears that revenue can be increased, but the existing ijaradar is not willing to raise the amount, appoint another capable person as ijaradar in consultation with the subba and the fouzdar. Prepare Jammabandi records accordingly.

4. If former ijaradars had collected taxes and levies from the ryots in excess of the rates prescribed in the Vikrama year 1850, obtain a confession from such ijaradars in the presence of the ryots, and then refund the excess amount so collected, and punish them with a fine of twice that amount.

Contd...
5. If the local subba or fouzdar has taken bribes or gifts and granted an ijara to any person for a lower amount of revenue, realize the shortfall from him, and punish the guilty person with a fine of twice that amount.

6. Do not reduce the amount of tax-assessment in collusion with the subba and the fouzdar. Reconfirm all allotments (Patta) of waste lands. Submit particulars of newly-settled moujas. If any person requests for the allotment of waste lands, have allotments made through the subba and the fouzdar.

7. Do not accept any bribes or gifts. We shall punish you if you take bribes and reduce the amount of revenue. Transfer all gifts and presents that may be offered to you, and take what we give.

8. Measure and prepare Jamabandi, records of all confiscated lands in Bara, Pa'sa, Rautahat, Saptari, and Mahottari, other than birta and other grants made under the royal seal. Compile particulars of revenue collected from confiscated lands by Subba Jayafar in the Vikrama year 1866, have such records endorsed by chaudharis and kanugoyes, and forward them to us.

9. Measure all lands that have been assigned in Bara, Pa'sa, Rautahat, and Mahottari as the emoluments of mechanics employed in munitions factories, grant reasonable remissions to ryots and mokaddams, and prepare Jamabandi records for the balance.

10. Prepare records of new irrigation canals constructed in cultivated moujas. Grant remissions for half of the cost, and prepare Jamabandi records accordingly. Check the expenses sanctioned by the subba for repairing the fort, and performing religious ceremonies during the Dashain and Pagi festivals, and indicate what expenses are reasonable.

11. Pay salaries as follows to your employees with funds supplied by the subba and the fouzdar:

1. Rs 125 for a clerk to maintain records.
2. Rs 20 per month each to two nausindas during the land-assessment operations.
3. Eleven annas per day each to munsiffs, nausindas, and kathets on the days when lands are measured in each Parganna.
4. Rs 12 per month each to three poons during the land-measurement operations.

Appointment of Jamadar Keshar Singh Basnyat
Justha Badi 1, 1867.

Jamadar Keshar Singh Basnyat was given the cultivate (Sanbat) mouja of Arghauta in Tokani Parganna of Bar district, on which taxes had been imposed at concessional
rates (Kamtalasi) as his jagir from Baisakh Badi 1, 1867. He was entitled to appropriate the proceeds of all taxes and levies collected in that mouja, with the exception of rajanka levies. His duty was to help in the settlement of disputes regarding the (Nepal-India) boundary.

**Appointment of Pheku Lal**

Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.  

Pheku Lal was granted the waste mouja of Gabhariya in the Mattion Parganna of Bara district as jagir from Baisakh Badi 1, 1867. He was granted exemption from the payment of all taxes and levies other than rajanka. His duties were as follows: "Keep records and other evidence ready for use by the subbas whenever there is any dispute about the boundary in the area situated east of the Bariya river and west of the Tista river."

2. **Appointment of Local Functionaries**

**Appointment of Jhumak Lal as Kanugya**

Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.  

Jhumak Lal was appointed kanugya in the Parganna of Garh Simraun and the tappa of Rautahat with the customary privileges and perquisites. The mouja of Pipili-Bhagwanpur was granted to him as his emoluments. He was directed to maintain revenue records and pay the prescribed amount of salami fee to the Palace every year.

**Reinstatement of Chaudharis**

(1) Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.  
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 211.

Royal order to Modi Rai and Bhinak Rai: "On Baisakh Badi 1, 1867, we had appointed you as chaudharis in the Parganna of Garh Simraun and the tappa of Rautahat. However, the local mokaddams and ryots have complained that they will leave the place if you are appointed as chaudharis there. Inasmuch as you have not been able to defend your case, we hereby dismiss you and reinstate the former chaudharis, Bakhat Rai, Khushilal Rai, and Gauri Rai. If you have made any collections from nanker lands, or of other perquisites and revenues, clear the accounts."

(2) Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.  

Bakhat Rai, Khushilal Rai, and Gauri Rai were reconfirmed as chaudharis in the Parganna of Garh Simraun and the tappa of Rautahat from Baisakh Badi 1, 1867. They were granted two moujas comprising cultivated lands as their nankar. They were also permitted to appropriate the customary perquisites from those two moujas on payment of the prescribed salami fee every year to the Palace through the Amil.

Contd...
**Appointment of Bhusan as Kotwal**

Justha Sud 6, 1867.

Bhusan was appointed Kotwal of Rautahat, Bara, and Parsa with effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1867. He was responsible for the recovery of stolen property in these districts. His perquisites were as follows:

**In cash:**
- One rupee from each mouja of Abal grade every year.
- Twelve annas... Doyam grade.
- Eight annas... Sim grade.
- Four annas... Chahar grade.

**In kind:**
- One maund from each mouja of Abal grade.
- Thirty seers... Doyam grade.
- Twenty seers... Sim grade.
- Five seers... Chahar grade.

**Appointment of Biran Raut as Kotwal**

Bhadra Badi 4, 1867.

Royal order to Biran Raut: "You had been functioning as Kotwal of the Pargannas of Sidmas and Naurangiya in Parsa district. However, these Pargannas were inadvertently placed under the jurisdiction of Bhusan in the Vikrams year 1867. We now reinstate you as Kotwal of these two Pargannas with effect from Baisakh Badi 1. Recover stolen property, including cows, oxen, and buffaloes, to their owners. Obtain your amolument amounting to Rs 101 every year from the Amil. We also grant the following lands to you as jagir. In the event of disturbances in the border areas, join the Amil along with your own men.

**Jagir Lands**

10 bigams (including 5 bigam of waste lands) in the mouja of Inarawa in Jalua, Naurangiya Parganna.

**Other Perquisites**

**In cash:**
- One rupee from each mouja of Abal grade every year.
- Twelve annas... Doyam grade.
- Eight annas... Sim grade.
- Four annas... Chahar grade.
In kind: One maund from each mouja of Abal grade every year.

Thirty seers ... Doyam grade.

Twenty seers ... Sim grade.

Five seers ... Chahar grade. On a anna from each tangiya (bullock-cart).

Appointment of Mehtar

Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.


Royal order to Saburam Kahar: "We hereby appoint you as Mehtar of ten Kahar families, in addition to foreign Kahars. We also assign you as jagir sixty bighas of waste lands in the mouja of Sitihar in the Fargana of Sidmas in Parsa district, with full assurance, promote cultivation and settlement on these lands, and remain in attendance along with your community. Send you gifts of seasonal produce from time to time.

Jagir lands for ten Kahar families - Fifty bighas.

- do - for Saburam Kahar - Ten bighas.

3. Supply of Saltpeter

Shrawan Badi 10, 1867.


Royal order to Kamalu Mehtariya: "We hereby grant you a seven-year contract (ijara) beginning with the Panchbirahi crops from Baisakh Badi 1, 1867 and ending with the Rabi crops on Chaitra Sudi 15, 1873, for the following:

(1) Duties on salt (nimak-sair) and mining of saltpeter (sura-mahal) throughout the whole of Bari and Rautahat districts.

(2) Land tax (mal), customs duties (sair), tax on marriages (khadani), taxes on communal facilities (sagaudha), fines and penalties (danda-kunda), and Amilan-Dastur (levies due to the revenue-collecting authority), in the following moujas, which have been included in the ijara:

Hajmaniya, Siswa-Damariya, and Simra in Rautahat district.

Ambarpattu in Basantpur Pargana.

Supply the following quantities of saltpeter every year through the Amil and appropriate income from the Revenues of the four moujas mentioned above.

Contd...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (Vilūrama)</th>
<th>Total quantity of salt peter</th>
<th>Government's share</th>
<th>Ryots' share to be purchased by the government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{Total } = 1,766 \\
\text{Average } = 140 \\
\text{Total } = 1,596
\]

Salt peter shall be purchased from the ryots, and transported to Hitaura, on payment of a total amount of Rs 2.12 per maund, thus making a total expenditure of Rs 4,463-13.

This expenditure shall be met from the revenues of the moujas mentioned above as follows:

**Moujas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (Vilūrama)</th>
<th>Hajmaniya (Rs)</th>
<th>Ambarpette (Rs)</th>
<th>Siwa-Dumariya and Simra (Rs)</th>
<th>Total (Rs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>442-11</td>
<td>637-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>442-11</td>
<td>637-13</td>
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<td>1869</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>110</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>442-11</td>
<td>637-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>442-11</td>
<td>637-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>110</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>442-11</td>
<td>637-13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With due assurance, promote cultivation and settlement in these moujas. Prepare 174 pucca maunds after twice processing 348 kaccha maunds of salt peter extracted one year previously. Load the salt peter in bullock-carts escorted by men of the Amil, on payment of one rupee for hiring each bullock, and transport to Hitaura. At Hitaura, have it weighed in the presence of the employees of the Sairdur of that place and of the Amil, seal each consignment, have it stored in the godown, and obtain a receipt. Inform the Dittha in charge of salt peter in Kathmandu that the specified quantity has been supplied in Hitaura.

*****

Contd...
King Prithvi Narayan Shah

By

Lalaram Acharya

(Continued from the February 1978 issue)

A Note on Moksheshwara

A manuscript captioned Sanatujeta (No. 3/65) in the possession of the State Library in Kathmandu mentions Moksheshwara Dharmadhikari as its author. This indicates that Moksheshwara had been designated as Dharmadhikari immediately after the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of Prithvi Narayan Shah. This practice was followed subsequently also. Thus Shaktiballabh Joshi had been given the title of Dhattacharya at the time of the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of King Rana Bahadur Shah.

Knowing full well that he lacked influence over the people of the Valley, Kashiram Thapa continued to hope against hope that they would rally to the side of Narendrapakasha Malla in the event of his accession to the throne. With this hope, he took Narendrapakasha Malla to Devapatan and crowned him King on the completion of the thirteen-day mourning period.

At this, Jayaprakasha Malla called on the Newar inhabitant of Kantipur inside Kathmandu Valley to rally under his banner. Nobody sided with Narendrapakasha Malla. Kashiram Thapa, discouraged by this, fled to Palanchok, where his family resided, leaving Narendrapakasha Malla under the protection of King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. At that time, troops from Kantipur could reach and come back from Palanchok only by passing through Patibhanjyang and moving further to the east along the banks of the Indrawati river. This was an arduous task for Newar youths. It was not, therefore, difficult for Kashiram Thapa to stay safely in Palanchok, the stronghold of the Thapa family. Because Kashiram Thapa had turned a rebel, it was difficult for Kantipur to defend Nuwakot. For that reason, Jayaprakasha Malla appointed Jayant Rana, a Gorkhali resident of Belkot, as Umrao, and entrusted him with the responsibility of looking after the military and administrative affairs of Nuwakot.

(Note: According to the bhasha Vamshwali of Buddhiman Singh, the date of Jagajjaya Malla's death was Falgun Badi 5, 855 Nepal Samvat (March 14, 1735), and the date of Jayaprakasha Malla's accession was Falgun Badi 6, 855 Nepal Samvat (March 15, 1735). These dates do not appear to be wrong. It was, no doubt, customary for the successor of a Malla King to perform the coronation (Rajatilak) ceremony on the expiry of the mourning period following the death of his predecessor. But Jayaprakasha Malla had a pressing reason for performing his coronation on the very second day following the death of Jagajjaya Malla. Although he had been proclaimed heir-apparent during the lifetime of his father, as documents...
signed by Jagajjaya Mall testify, he had to proclaim himself King hurriedly because he apprehended a dispute over the succession. At one place, the Bhaasha Vanshawali states: "Ther~after, tharis, mukhiyas, and a few kajis complained that the King was no longer showing favors on them, or inquiring about their well-being. They felt that they could not expect any favor or help from the King. They then won over Narendraprakasha Malla, the younger brother of Jayaprakasha Malla, took him to Devapattan, and proclaimed him King of Devapattan, Sankha, Changu, Okarna, and Madigram, the five villages located across the Tukucha stream. The tharis, mukhiyas, and kajis then came to the King and said: "Your Majesty has four brothers. Two of them are already dead. One brother is living happily at Lalitapattan. You too are worthy of being a King. Brothers are, in fact, rivals." The crops of the subjects were then looted, and disputes occurred frequently. After two months, King Jayaprakasha Malla became very angry, and led troops himself to fight his brother. He drove out the latter from Devapattan to Bhaktapur. Narendraprakasha Malla, feeling afraid of his elder brother, took refuge with King Ranajit Malla. Ranajit Malla put him up in the same rooms where Prince Sadashiva Malla had been kept during the time of his ancestors. He provided Narendraprakasha with food and drink. Narendraprakasha remained there helplessly."

King Narendraprakasha Malla died on Monday, Shrawan Shukla 7, 876 Nepal Samvat. His queen, Kantilaxmi, became a Sati. (Medieval Nepal, pt. 2, p. 184). It is thus clear that the bhadars of Jayaprakasha Malla rebelled by using Narendraprakasha Malla as a puppet.

Buddhiman Singh also writes: "Jagajjaya Malla had had two sons before he became King-Rajendraprakasha and Jayaprakasha. Three more sons were born at Mohanchok. Rajyaprakasha, Narendraprakasha, and Chandraprakasha. These princes were living happily with the Queen, who was called Kumudini."

However, the eldest son of Jagajjaya Malla was called only Rajendra, not Rajendraprakasha Malla. It is definite that he died while his father was still alive. Rajyaprakasha appears to have been born not at Mohancho but elsewhere before Jagajjaya Malla became King, like Jayaprakasha Malla. Narendraprakasha and Chandraprakasha appear to have been born at Mohancho, but nothing more is known about Chandraprakasha. Information is not available even about the date of his birth.

Immediately after he became King, Jayaprakasha Malla drove out Rajyaprakasha even before the period of mourning for his father's death was over. Rajyaprakasha then took refuge with King Vishnu Malla of Lalitpur, the husband of his elder sister, according to Buddhiman Singh. This account appears to be incorrect, because land grants made during the first eight years of King Jayaprakasha Malla's rule have been countersigned by Rajyaprakasha Malla.

Contd...
Buddhiman Singh's statement that Jagajjaya Malla had been distressed by the irrepressible nature of Jayaprakash Malla seems to be largely true. The bhadras supported the claim of Narendraprakasha to the throne on the ground that he was born at Mohanchok. Moreover, Jagajjaya Malla ruled for fourteen years only. Even if Narendraprakasha had been born at Mohanchok immediately after his father, Jagajjaya Malla, had been crowned king, his age would have been only thirteen years at the time of Jagajjaya Malla's death. Buddhiman Singh has not mentioned the names of the bhadras who supported Narendraprakasha's claim to the throne, but has only referred to "charis, mukhiyas, and one or two kajis." There were no kajis in the Malla period. Khas Umaros were, however, called charis or mukhiyas. It is not possible that charis and mukhiyas could hatch such a conspiracy. There seems to be no other person behind this affair except Kashiram Thapa.

According to Buddhiman Singh, Jayaprakash Malla led troops to fight against Narendraprakasha Malla four months after the latter had become king in Devapattan, and succeeded in driving him out. There was no reason why Jayaprakash Malla should have waited four months to do so. It is definite that he took action immediately after he received information that Narendraprakasha had been crowned king in Devapattan. Kashiram Thapa appears to have fled immediately on hearing the news of Jayaprakash Malla's action; because he lacked the means to offer strong resistance.

Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah was only twelve years old when these political changes were taking place in Kantipur. That was the age at which he had started formal education. In the course of his sacred-thread-investiture ceremony, he had been initiated into the Vedas by the priest Moksheshwara Joshi. It was considered necessary for him to study the Vedas. But the task of reciting the Vedic scriptures was very difficult. People, therefore, completed this formality in three or four days and then began to study such Sanskrit books as the Saptashati. Prithvi Narayan Shah had great interest in the Saptashati. He could recite it, even if he did not know the meaning.

(Note: The index to unpublished documents contained in the red box states: "Anybody who takes oath on the Saptashati but violates that oath will be doomed to have committed the crime of patricide and seven generations of his family will dwell in hell. Witnesses: the Maharaja of Lamjung, Tularam Pande, and the writer, Kulananda Juisi.")

This was written to Kalu Pande by Sri 5 Maharaja Prithi Narayan Shah on Wednesday, Magh 25, 1806 Samvat. This shows the deep reverence that Prithvi Narayan Shah had toward the Saptashati. He appears to have been able to recite it smoothly.

The following statements are contained in the Dibyan Upadesha of Prithvi Narayan Shah:
"I told him when he was about to depart that I would visit the temple of the Salynkot Goddess at an auspicious moment, as I had heard people saying that the Goddess is very powerful. I accordingly did so. I used to visit the temple every morning and evening and recite sacred hymns there."

"I crossed the Betrawati river by boat and visited the temple of Goddess Indrayani for reciting hymns. I used to propitiate Goddess Devi of Salynkot and Goddess Indrayani Bhairavi through meditation."

Those statements show that Pritvi Narayan Shah could recite Sanskrit hymns by heart.

At that time, the Shukraniti and the Kamandakiyaniti were greatly popular in the Chaubisi states of Western Nepal. Moral education was probably imparted to Pritvi Narayan Shah by orally reciting stories from these books in simple language. Such epics as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were also recited to him in the form of simple stories.

(Note: Sanskrit scholars used to recite the Puranas and the Mahabharat at the royal palace every morning and evening. This was the manner in which education was imparted in those days. At the royal palace, as well as in the village, the alphabet was taught on a board with chalk, so that the students could read and write in the mother-tongue. Readers such as those now available were not printed at that time. Royal princes were taught the alphabet in chaityagruha books in which the leaves were attached with a string. As they made progress, it was no longer necessary to attach the leaves with a string. Not only Pritvi Narayan Shah but also his brothers and sisters had to follow this practice. Accordingly, Pritvi Narayan Shah was neither very scholarly like Pratapa Sinha Shah nor barely literate like Bahadur Shah. He does not appear to have been able to study difficult subjects like grammar, because he had had to develop bravery and patience.)

Both Bhanu Joshi and Kulananda Joshi, Pritvi Narayan Shah's long-time friends, were versed in mathematics. It was, therefore, assumed that Pritvi Narayan Shah had some knowledge of practical mathematics also. In addition to formal education, he was given training in the use of weapons, as Kshatriya princes were usually given. Through such training, he learnt the use of bows and arrows, khukris, swords, spears, etc. He became skilled in horse-riding, swimming, etc. No doubt, he took keen interest in the scriptures, but he was more interested in the art of warfare. Since early childhood, he showed interest in this subject. By sheer dedication, he was able to grasp the subjects he studied, and gained proficiency in warfare. At that time, guns had not yet reached Gorkha, and bows and arrows were generally used. During childhood, he practised slingshots. Later, he gave up that practice and opted for bows and arrows.

Contd...
There were numerous rivers, streams, and ponds, both big and small, in the hill areas, and, therefore, most youths knew how to swim. Training was given in swimming during childhood. For the princes of Gorkha, the Daraundi river was the most convenient place for swimming. Along the right banks of the Daraundi is a fertile valley called Sara. During winter, the court of Gorkha used to move to a palace built in that valley. The Queens left the Serabyanol Palace and returned to Gorkha after the paddy and other crops grown on the royal farms had been taken to the Gorkha Palace.

(Note: Serabyansi refers to the point at which the valley begins, and from where streams flow downwards. The author has described the charming scenery of Serabyansi as he saw it himself. The story of Keshav Dware has been taken from the biography of Narabhsupala Shah written by Khardar Sherman Singh).

It was at this time that Prithvi Narayan Shah practiced swimming in the Daraundi river. One day, while resting after swimming, Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah saw a field of ripe sugarcane a little away from him. He took some cane from the field of Keshav Dware along with some friends. Later, he returned to Serabyansi. Keshav Dware complained to Queen Chandraprabha. The queen then called in Prithvi Narayan Shah and mildly chided him, saying, "You are going to be king. Why do you do so, instead of pleasing your subjects?" Prithvi Narayan Shah said nothing, but closed the doors of the Palace for Keshav Dware. Chandraprabha supported her son's action, lest he should feel unhappy. As he was a mere boy, aged only about thirteen years, Prithvi Narayan Shah required training in different subjects. Queen Chandraprabha was, therefore, very careful in handling him. Prithvi Narayan Shah too appeared to have studied the condition of his people when he was quite young. He also continued acquiring practical knowledge for the next years (A.D. 1734-37).

End of Chapter 2

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Contd...
Capture of Thieves

Chaitra Sudi 1, 1887.

Royal order to Taranidhi Pantha, Ambar Singh Rana, Basudeb Khadka, Dala Singh Basnyat, Narabir Pande, Jagashwar Pande, Sinhbir Thapa, Bajavarna Khatri, Nayan Singh Thapa, Renasur Basnyat, Aiman Thapa, Hiradhwaj Pande, Kalu Thapa, and Aiman Adhikari (in the eastern hill region): "We have deputed Bichari Srikrisna Padhya along with contingents of troops under the Adalat as well as of the ... Jung Company. Launch operations jointly to capture the Baranu and Gurung thieves, wherever they may be. Capture all thieves, burglars, and murderers, obtain their confessions, and despatch them to Katimandu in fatters under guard. Also apprehend their accomplices and persons who receive stolen property knowingly, and punish them severely."

(This order was sent to local officials in the Trishuli-Kali region also on the same date).

Revenue Collection

Chaitra Sudi 5, 1887,

Lt. Biraj Bista and Khadgar Dhananjaya Padhya were directed to collect the following revenues, which had been assigned to the Srinath Kampa, through contractual arrangements or otherwise:

1. Revenues from the Chitaun, Belod, Upandang, and other areas in Maryadpur district.

2. Revenues from Sincha and Kabilaspur.

3. Rs 691-3½ as pota tax on new khet lands in Sankhu.

4. Rs 501 from the contractual revenues of Rajhang, exclusive of the sum of Rs 4,500 granted to Raja Gajaraj Singh of Rajhang.

Reimbursement of Funds

Chaitra Sudi 5, 1887,

Royal order to Lt. Biraj Bista and Khadgar Dhananjaya Padhya: "We had previously assigned Rs 5,051 to the Sri Mohur Paltan, including Rs 2,050 from the revenues of Jumla. We have now made arrangements according to which revenue in the form of Patna rupees, collected in the Pargannas of Sarlahi, Brahmapur, Kodraha, and Asibhou, which had

Contd...
been assigned to the Matisar office, should be credited to the Kot-Tahabil, which will then disburse salaries to the troops in Mohar rupees. Accordingly, obtain Mohar rupees from the Kot-Tahabil for the disbursement of salaries, and reimburse the amount in Patna rupees collected in the four Pargannas mentioned above through the Amil.

Disbursement Order

Chaitra Sudi 6, 1887.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 44, p. 231.

Captain Birabhadra Kunwar was ordered to reimburse to Lt. Biraj Bista and Khardar Dhananjaya Padhyya of the Sri Nath Kampa, Kalda Patna Rs 17,255-5, which they had credited to the Kaunsi Tosakhana during the period from Ağadh Sudi 3 to Chaitra Badi 30, 1887, from the Contractual revenues collected in Saptari-Mahottari during the Vikrama year 1887.

Audit of Accounts

Chaitra Sudi 6, 1887.

Royal order to Lt. Biraj Bista and Khardar Dhananjaya Padhyya: "When the accounts of sardars, subbas, bhansaris, and rakandars who had been appointed in the hill and Tarai regions were audited by the Dafdarkhana Kumarichok, it was decided to realize certain amounts from them. These officials then signed bonds pledging their bira and bandha lands as security. The following persons have since paid up the amounts due from them, redeemed the bonds, and released the lands pledged as security: Bhakhat Giri, Sardar Bag Singh Raya, Siddhi Narayan, escheat lands received through the Adalat and Subba Kulananda Jha, and lands confiscated from Khardar Bhotu Pandé.

"Bonds relating to the following lands have not yet been redeemed, and rents on these lands have been collected through you. In the future also, the tahabil (treasury) of the Sri Nath Kampa has been placed under your charge. Collect rents and other payments due on khet and pakho lands, pasture-lands, and water mills as usual, sell the commodities thus collected, and credit the proceeds to the tahabil. If the concerned persons pay up the amounts due from them and redeem the bonds, let them do so."

1. 80 murs of khet and 20 murs of pakho owned by Subba Chandrabir Thapa in Dhading under Birta tenure.
2. 100 murs of khet lands owned by Rudranidhi in Tanahu under birta tenure.
3. 219 murs of lands owned by Sardar Palabhanjan Pandé in Bhadgaun, Thimi, and Kathmandu.

Contd...
Daroga Bhawani Singh of the Elephant Office (Hattidar) in Morang was informed that the appointment of eight peons for his office had been sanctioned from the year 1887 Vikrama. Each peon was paid a salary of four rupees a month, thus making a total expenditure of Rs 304 per year. The amount was to be debited from the payment stipulated by the Daroga under contract.

Revenue Collection Contract

Ekasurya Vaidya had purchased a mouja in Siham Parganna of Bara-Parsa district from Vaidya Gajapati Raya Mishra. Ekasurya Vaidya subsequently complained that sair levies were being collected in that mouja. King Girban, therefore, exempted him from payment of those levies. The exemption was reconfirmed on Chaitra Sudi 9, 1887. (This meant that Ekasurya Vaidya was entitled to appropriate the proceeds of these levies).

Revenue Collection in the Bheri-Karnali Region

Royal order to Sardar Shatrubhanjan Sahi and Sardar Prahlad Thapa: "Retain the arrangements made by settlement officers in the region situated west of the Bheri river and east of the Karnali river during the Vikrama year 1882. Give remissions to the jimmawals and mukhiyas of each dana and village as sanctioned through royal orders, and realize whatever has been collected in addition during the period from the Vikrama year 1882 to 1887."
Regmi Research Series
Year 10, No. 4
Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat in A.D. 1810
(Continued from the March 1978 issue)

4. Problems of Revenue Collection

Cancellation of Revenue Remissions

Bhadra Badi 4, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 342-44,

Royal order to the chaudharis and mokaddams of Bara- Parsa district: "Chaudharis have signed ijara bonds for each Parganna, and mokaddams have done so for each mouja. Even then, you have obtained remissions for the Vikrama year 1866 on account of drought, expenses incurred in providing irrigation facilities and performing religious ceremonies, and loss of revenue caused by Guthi and Jagir land grants. No such remissions can be permitted in ijaras. Any profit or loss belongs to you. The amount of such remissions was not debited when Subba Jayafar's accounts were audited at the Sadar Bafdarkhana.

"Jamadar Ganga But of the Rautahat has been deputed along with his troops to recover the amount from you. Liability to refund it belongs to chaudharis and mokaddams, not to the ryots. You shall be punished if you shift this liability to the ryots. You shall be held guilty if you create any obstruction in recovering the amount. It shall be recovered from the property of the present Subba, Fouzdar, chaudharis, kanugoyas, and mokaddams who may create such obstructions.

Particulars

1. Chayvant Parganna, under the jurisdiction of Bhikha Chaudhari.

Rs 18-12 remitted as sikaha (?) from the revenues of Kumargedhi mouja.

Rs 11-4 remitted on the ground of small-pox (sitala) in the house of Mansa Guru in Sapahi mouja.

Rs 18-2 remitted as Jagir and Guthi of the priest of the temple of Sri Rajadevi.

Rs 2-5½ remitted as Guthi of the temple of Prananath on Nankar lands in Kakari mouja.

Rs 2-5 remitted as Amlan levies in Baspur mouja.

Rs 7 remitted in the account of Chaudhari Juteh Sahu of Mewa in Basantapur Parganna for sikaha (?)

Rs 22-6 remitted as half (nisaf) of the expenses incurred in constructing irrigation channels in the area under the jurisdiction of Daya Chaudhari in Bariyarpur Parganna.
Rs 31 remitted from revenues due from Chakledar Kasar Singh in Tokani Parganna.

Rs 25 remitted as sikaha (?) of Bhaluiw mouja.

Rs 6 remitted from revenues due from Kashi Krishna of Parasto mouja from an expenditure of Rs 31, of which Rs 25 has been remitted.

Rs 150 due against a total amount of Rs 200 payable as salami in consideration of the appointment of Thagmedhi, Bihari, Nandan, and Naya as Chauharis in Sidmas Parganna.

Rs 132-1½ due from Hari Chaudhari in Jagatpur, Naurangiya Parganna. The breakdown is as follows:

Rs 16 due in Parasurampur mouja.

Rs 91-10½ due in Parsauri mouja against a total amount of Rs 116-10½.

Rs 15-5 due in Damarpur mouja.

Rs 10 spent on irrigation facilities in the moujas of Shyampur, Parasurampur, Bhedihari and Tadobhiya.

Rs 189-13 due in Garaf-bakuwa under the jurisdiction of Pheru Chaudhari in the same Parganna. The breakdown is as follows:

Rs 79-13 from a total amount of Rs 184 due in the moujas of Pindari and Sikasa.

Rs 110 as salami in addition to the Jammabandi assessment in the mouja of Tulsi-Barwa.

Rs 19-3 remitted in the Parganna of Charvait, under the jurisdiction of Shikha Chaudhari, during the term of subba Dasharath Khatri in the Vikrama year 1865. The breakdown is as follows:

Rs 2-5 as Gathi for the shrine of Isanath.

Rs 15 as Vasasasti (?) of Surath Pathak.

Rs 1-14 as Amilan levies from the mouja of Baspur.

Land-Tax-Assessment Rates for Hillsmen

Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 213.

Royal order to hillsmen cultivating lands in Bera-Parga district: "We hereby reconfirm the following landholdings and land-tax-assessment rates, which had first been introduced in the (Vikrama) year 1850:..."

Contd..."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Cultivator</th>
<th>Size of Holding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abal</td>
<td>4 bighas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doyam</td>
<td>3 bighas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sim</td>
<td>2 bighas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chahar</td>
<td>1 bigha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Land-Tax-Assessment Rates**

- Irrigated land: One rupee per bigha.
- In irrigated land: Eight annas per bigha.

"Cultivate your lands with full assurance; and pay taxes at the prescribed rates every year through the subba. If you cultivate lands in excess of the figures mentioned above, you must pay taxes at the rates current in the Parganna."

**Land Measurement**

Baisakh Badi 9, 1867 (April 1810).

Royal order to the jimidars, kanugoyes, mokaddans, ijeras, and ryots of Bara and Parsa districts: "Bhikha Chaudhari and other jimidars have come to the Palace with the complaint that ryots are finding it difficult to live because taxes have to be paid on Amanat lands even though these have not been measured. We shall, therefore, send musiiffs (survey officers) to measure such lands for the crops of the year 1867 Vikrama (A.D. 1867). Cultivate your lands with due assurance. In case anybody has reclaimed virgin lands, these shall not be granted as jagir, birta, or manachamal. If such reclaimed lands are inadvertently so granted, you shall not be deprived of possession during the term of the allotment (patta). In that event, pay the taxes on such lands to the jagirdar or birtaowner, as the case may be, instead of to the subba or the foutadar."

(An order to Subba Balabhanjan Pande of Bara as well as to the local foudar and peshkar, directing them to make arrangements for the measurement of lands in the manner mentioned above, was issued on the same date, Regali Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 150).

**5. Jagir Grants**

**Jagir Grant to Gulimani Musahar**

Baisakh Badi 9, 1867 (April 1810).
Regali Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 158.

Five bighas of lands in Siripur mouja of Basantapur Parganna in Bara district had been granted as jagir to Gulimani Musahar in consideration of the services provided by him in procuring herbs and drugs for the royal palace.

The grant was reconfirmed by royal order on Baisakh Badi 9.
Royal Order to Modi Mishra

Daisakh Sudi 9, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 185-86.

Royal order to Modi Mishra: "We had granted the mouja of Hashiauli in the tappa of Rautahat to Phaku Lal. We have now received reports that you do not obey the orders of the jagirdar, but do what you like. If you want to stay on in that mouja, pay land tax at the rate of Rs 12½ per bigha. If you cannot pay the tax at this rate, shift your residence to your birta lands, not in the jagirdar lands of Phaku Lal. The Amil had given you birta land in that mouja; do not press your claim to this land."

6. Birta, Mokarri, and Other Land Grants

Mokarri Grant to Gosain Prem Giri

Shrawan Badi 10, 1867.

Gosain Prem Giri had reclaimed the mouja of Maidhi in Rautahat. The mouja was granted to him as mokarri from Daisakh Badi 1, 1867. He was authorized to appropriate the proceeds of all taxes and levies collected in that mouja, with the exception of rajanka levies, in consideration of the payment of Rs 125 through the local Amil every year.

Mokarri Grant to Jagannath Bairagi

Jagtha Badi 6, 1867.

Jagannath Bairagi was granted the mouja of Khairbati in Asibhou Parganna of Bara-Parsa under Mokarri tenure on payment of Rs 201 every year. He was otherwise granted exemption from the payment of all taxes and levies, with the exception of rajanka levies. The amount was assigned to the elephant office (Mattisor).

Mokarri and Other Grants to Mukhiyas

Kartik Badi 5, 1867.

Royal order to Subba Balabhajan Pande: "We have deputed Mukhiyas Hridaya Singh Das and Harsha Das to audit accounts in Garhwal. Hridaya Singh Das had been granted mokarri lands in consideration of his appointment as kanugoye-patwari of the Pargannas of Sidmas and Charwa. His reconfirmation of the grant at phikdar subject to a salary payment of Rs 185 yearly. Mayaram Das, Kumar Singh Das, and Harsha Das had been granted ijaras for the reclamation of virgin lands, as well as lands under mokarri tenure. We confirm all these grants during the period when these persons are on duty in Garhwal."

Conti...
Birha Grant to Santaram

Aswin Badi 6, 1867.

While in Banaras, ex-King Rana Bahadur Shah had granted the mouja of Soharishapur in the Naurangiya Parganna of Bara-Parsa as birha to Santaram through a ritual gift. Deva Sharma Ypadiyaya and Bhakti Singh Karki were ordered not to collect any fee from Santaram in consideration of the copper-plate inscription issued to him, but to measure the lands.

Phikdar Grants to Kokil Khawas

(1) Bhadra Sudi 5, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 381.

Kokil Khawas was granted 1,000 bighas of land in Bhatni, Simra, Baurwa, and Sphathaul in SDhamas Parganna of Bara-Parsa district under phikdar tenure. 955 bighas were virgin lands, while 45 bighas had been reclaimed by Kokil Khawas himself. The grant exempted Kokil Khawas from the payment of all taxes and levies, with the exception of Gadinbarak, Godhuwa, and Chumawan. The grant was inheritable.

A separate order was sent on the same date to Subba Balabhanjan Pandle, Pouzdar Narsing Bagiyat, Pashkars Bila-Lul and Khelepati Das, and the local chaulharis, kanugoyas, and jaiwars to demarcate the boundaries of these lands on payment of the customary fees. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 380-81).

(2) Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.

1,000 bighas of waste lands in the mouja of Mansahari in SDhamas Parganna of Bara district were granted to Kokil Khawas under phikdar tenure, Subba Balabhanjan Pandle of Bara-Parsa, and other local officials and functionaries were ordered to measure the lands and demarcate the boundaries.

(The royal order granting these lands to Kokil Khawas had been issued on Baisakh Sudi 5, 1867. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 169).

On Baisakh 5, 1867, the subha and other local authorities were ordered to give possession of the lands to Kokil Khawas. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 168).

Kush Birha Bitalab Grant to Radha Ballabh Vaidya

Bhadra Badi 4, 1867.

Radha Ballabh Vaidya was granted four moujas in the Parganna of Matioun in Bara district, Jagannathapur, Akarpather, Dhodiya, and Bhusaha, as Kush Birha Bitalab on a tax-free basis.

Conti...
Bekh-Buniyad Grant to Bhikha Sahu Chaudhari

Baisakh Sudi 9, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 185.

In the Vikrama year 1864, the waste mouja of Chataura in the Khesraha Parganna of Bara district had been granted to Bhikha Sahu Chaudhari on Bekh-Buniyad tenure. The grant was reconfirmed on Baisakh Sudi 9, 1867.

Bekh-Buniyad Grant to Hari Chaudhari and Dalpati Chaudhari

Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.

Royal order to Hari Chaudhari and Dalpati Chaudhari: "In the (Vikram) year 1855, our father (i.e., King Rana Bahadur Shah), had granted you as Bekh-Buniyad 201 bighas of land in Basantpur mouja of Naurangiya Parganna, which had been lying waste for more than 100 years. The order stated that the lands should not be taken away as long as you remain loyal to us. You have been using these lands until the (Vikrama) year 1866. We hereby reconfirm the grant."

Gulphul Grant to Ananda Das Bairagi

Jestha Sudi 6, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 213.

Ananda Das Bairagi Giri was granted ten bighas of waste lands in the mouja of Rampur in the Khesraha Parganna of Bara-Parsa district for use as a garden and orchard under gulphul tenure.

Reconfirmation of Birta Lands of Monastery

Aswin Badi 6, 1867.

Royal order to Mahant Nirvan Giri: "Formerly, the King of Makwanpur had granted two moujas in Bara-Parsa district, Darwa in Sidmas Parganna and Bankatwa in Naurangiya, as ritual gifts to Mahant Kripal Giri. These lands now belong to your monastery under birta tenure. When Lal Giri, the preceptor of Lal Giri, left the monastery, he took away documents with him without permission. On the authority of these documents, he appropriated the produce of these lands. We now reconfirm these lands as the property of that monastery. Our father (i.e., King Rana Bahadur Shah) had also done so. We hereby nullify the claim of Lal Giri and reconfirm these birta lands as the property of your monastery. Take custody of the documents which are in the possession of Lal Giri. Use the lands as birta according to the terms of the original grant, perform the customary religious functions, and wish victory to us."

Contd...
**Levy on Copper-Plate Inscription**

Shrawan Badi 8, 1867.

Royal order to the two Dittas who had been deputed to collect the levy on copper inscriptions of birta land grants in Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat: "We had ordered you to disburse funds to Chandrashekhar Upadhyaya and Sugaler Dikal for the purchase of goods in Banaras. We have now received reports that you have refused to make the disbursement on the ground that no such provision has been made in the regulations that have been issued in your name. Collect the levy from birtaowner at the rates mentioned in the regulations and disburse the amount mentioned in the royal order. If you make any delay in doing so, thereby disrupting work, you shall be held responsible."

7. Land Reclamation and Irrigation

**Land Grant to Bikha Chaudhari**

Baisakhi Sudi 5, 1867.

Bikha Chaudhari was granted authority to settle and reclaim waste lands in the area bounded by Maheshpokhar in the south, the Churia Valley in the north, the Tuchhi river in the east, and the Bakaiya river in the west. The lands were situated in the Dostiya Pargana of Bara district.

**Ijara Grant to Subba Jalim Singh**

Baisakhi Sudi 5, 1867.

Subba Jalim Singh was given a seven-year contract (ijara) for reclaiming the waste mouja of Sugauli in Sidmas Pargana of Bara-Parsa district from the Panch-Birahi crops of the year beginning Baisakhi Badi 1, 1865 to the Rabi crops of the year ending Chaitra Sudi 15, 1871. He was authorized to appropriate the proceeds of all taxes and levies in that mouja, with the exception of rajanka levies, in consideration of the following payments every year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mal Payment Rs</th>
<th>Increase Rs</th>
<th>Total Rs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>6-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>6-4</td>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>9-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>9-6</td>
<td>7-0½</td>
<td>16-6½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
The order added: "With due assurance, promote cultivation and settlement in the mouja. Make the stipulated payment every year to the Amil. Procure settlers from birta lands, as well as from the Moglan (i.e., the Mughal country). If you procure settlers from Mal (i.e., taxable) lands, thereby reducing the revenue, or represent cultivated lands as waste, you shall be punished. Unpaid-labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar) in the mouja have been remitted. Appropriate whatever amount you can raise in addition to the stipulated payment. If other people have started re-claiming lands in the mouja, do not disturb them. But if they have left it waste, make payments as stipulated."

**Operation of Canal**

Baisakh Sudi 9, 1867.

Ragmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 185.

Royal order to subba Dalachanjan Pande: "In the Vikrama year 1850, an irrigation canal had been constructed in the Parganna of Mewa. It was in operation until the Vikrama year 1865. In the Vikrama year 1867, Laxman Giri accomplished it. This should not have been done. If the canal irrigates both birta and jagir lands, renovate it and distribute the water equitably."

**Ijara Grant to Mahant Ganesh Giri**

Josta Badi 1, 1867.


Mahant Ganesh Giri was given a ten-year contract (ijara) for reclaiming the waste mouja of Pohhariya and Tejapagari in the Garh Simraun Parganna of Rautahat from the Panchbirahi crops of the year beginning Baisakh Badi 1, 1866 to the Rabi crops of the year ending Chaitra Sudi 15, 1875. He was authorized to appropriate the proceeds of all taxes and levies in that mouja, with the exception of rajanka levies, in consideration of the following payments every year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Payment</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2-8</td>
<td>12-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>12-8</td>
<td>6-4</td>
<td>18-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>18-12</td>
<td>14-1</td>
<td>32-13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Contd...**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mal Payment Rs</th>
<th>Increase Rs</th>
<th>Total Rs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>6-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>6-4</td>
<td>3-2</td>
<td>9-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>9-6</td>
<td>7-0(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>16-6(\frac{1}{2})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>16-6(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>16-6(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>32-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>32-13</td>
<td>16-6(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>49-3(\frac{3}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>49-3(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>18-6(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>67-10(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>67-10(\frac{1}{2})</td>
<td>16-14(\frac{3}{4})</td>
<td>84-8(\frac{1}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>84-8(\frac{1}{4})</td>
<td>10-9(\frac{1}{4})</td>
<td>95-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>95-2</td>
<td>5-15</td>
<td>101-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The order added: "With due assurance, promote settlement and cultivation in these moujas, and make the stipulated payment every year. Procure settlers from the Moglan (i.e. India), as well as from jagir and birta lands. You shall be punished severely if you procure settlers from ralakar lands. Unpaid-labor obligations (bacht, begar) have been remitted."

**Ijara Grant to Nandan Chaudhari**

Josta Sudi 6, 1867.

Nandan Chaudhari was given a ten-year contract (ijara) for reclaiming the waste mouja of Chhotki-Phulbari in the Sidmas Pargania of Parsa district from the Panchbirahi crops of the year beginning Baisakh Bodi 1, 1867 to the Rabi crops of the year ending Chaitra Sudi 15, 1876. He was authorized to appropriate the proceeds of all taxes and levies in that mouja, with the exception of rajanki levies, in consideration of the following payments every year:

- **Year**: 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876.
- **Mal Payment (Rs)**: Various amounts.
- **Increase (Rs)**: Various amounts.
- **Total (Rs)**: The total amount payable for each year.
The order added: "With due assurance, promote cultivation and settlement in the mouja. Make the stipulated payment every year to the Amil. Procure settlers from birta lands, as well as from the Moglan (i.e. the Mughal country). If you procure settlers from Mal (i.e. taxable) lands, thereby reducing the revenue, or represent cultivated lands as waste, you shall be punished. Unpaid labor obligations (jhara, beth, begar) in the mouja have been remitted. Appropriate whatever amount you can raise in addition to the stipulated payment. If other people have started re-claiming lands in the mouja, do not disturb them. But if they have left it waste, make payments as stipulated."

Construction of Canal in Rautahat

Bhadra Badi 4, 1867.

Gosain Siddha Puri had previously obtained the mouja of Madhopur in the tappa of Rautahat, located in the Parganna of Garh Simrau, with the administrative headquarters in Midnapur. The grant was reconfirmed on Bhadra Badi 4, 1867 through a royal order. The order also stated: "The area depends on rainfall for cultivation you have now offered to construct a dam there for irrigating lands in your own mouja, as well as in four or five adjoining moujas. We grant you permission to do so. With due assurance, promote settlement and cultivation in that mouja and pay the stipulated amount of tax to the Amil every year."

6. Goods and Services for the Royal Palace

Disbursements to Ram Narayan

Baisakh Badi 12, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 159-60.

Goods worth Rs 2001 and 3 annas had been bought on credit from Ram Narayan, a merchant, on Chaitra Sudi 6 and 12, 1867. Laxman Giri was ordered to disburse the amount from the ijara revenues collected in Rautahat during the Vikrama years 1866 and 1867.

Purchase of Banat Cloth

Ashadh Sudi 3, 1867.

Laxman Giri was ordered to disburse Rs 483-6 from the ijara revenues collected from Rautahat in the Vikrama year 1867 as the cost of banat cloth purchased on credit from traders. The breakdown was as follows:

Rs 115 for 20 yards of banat cloth purchased for Hanumanta Singh from Bhoj Kelwar at the price of Rs 5-12 per yard on Baisakh Sudi 3, 1867.

Contd...
Rs 124 for 15½ yards purchased from Utin Kelwar at the price of Rs 8 per yard on Jestha Badi 6, 1867.

Rs 244-6 for 42½ yards purchased from Utin Kelwar at the price of Rs 5-12 on Jestha Sudi 15, 1867.

Remittance to Banaras

Ashadh Badi 12, 1867.

Bhatta Singh Karki and Deva Sharma Upadhyaya were ordered to disburse Patna Rs 4,000 to Chandraghekhor Upadhyaya and Subedar Dhokal in Banaras for the purchase of goods from revenue collected from the levy on copper inscriptions of birta land grants in Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat.

Portage Services

Baisakh Badi 9, 1867 (April 1810).
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 150.

The chaudharis and mokaddams of the Pargannas of Cheerwant, Basantapur, Bariyarpur, Khagraha, Tokani, and Totani (in Bara district) were ordered to recruit unpaid portage services (begar) for the transportation of supplies procured for the Palace from Patna and Calcutta up to Mithaura.

9. Disbursement of Salaries

Salary of Kaji Ranadhwaj Thapa

Baisakh Badi 9, 1867 (April 1810).
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 147.

Laxman Giri, Ijaradar of Rautahat district, was ordered to pay Rs 303 as arrears of salary due to Kaji Ranadhwaj Thapa from the ijaras revenues of the year 1867 Vikrama (A.D. 1810).

Salaries of Hattisar Officials

Aswin Sudi 2, 1867.

Balabhanjan Panda was ordered to pay Rs 3,754 and 11 annas to the officials of Hattisar (Elephant Office) from the revenues collected in Bara and Parsa during the Vikrama year 1867.
King Prithvi Narayan Shah

By

Bahuram Acharya

(Continued from the February 1978 issue)

Chapter 3

Marriage and Emergence in the Field of Action
(A.D. 1737-38)

The Gorkhalis had suffered heavy losses during the attack on Nuwakot before the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah. Queens Chandraprabha and Kaushalya, and Bhanu Joshi were making efforts to recoup those losses. They realized that they lacked money, but that there was no way to get any. Prithvi Narayan Shah reached the age of fourteen years in A.D. 1737. There was also the problem of his marriage. These days there were bands of Rahman match-makers who provided information about girls who were suitable to be married into royal families. These match-makers were bringing in information from many places to Gorkha. However, Queens Chandraprabha and Kaushalya did not want a girl from an ordinary family.

Hemakarna Sen, eldest son of King Manikya Sen, was ruling over Makwanpur at that time. His territories comprised large tracts of rice-lands in the Tarai region, hence he earned much revenue from land-tax. There were also elephants in large numbers in the forests of the inner Tarai region and beyond. There was no market for timber at that time. Hemakarna Sen, therefore, used to collect fees by granting permission to the kings of Kathmandu Valley to catch elephants. He also caught elephants himself, kept good animals at his Hattisar, and sold the rest to rich Indias. He had to present the Mughal Emperor with a 14-cubit elephant every year, but because such elephants were not available, the kings of Makwanpur used to satisfy Mughal officers in Patna with a payment of Rs 10,000 or Rs 12,000 every year. The Mughal did not claim authority in the inner Tarai region. They did so only in the Tarai region, where they exacted as much tribute as possible from the king in order to keep him poor.

Hemakarna Sen had a twelve years old daughter, for whose marriage he was making proposals. In India, large sums of money used to be paid as tilak to the bridegroom. Accordingly, Hemakarna Sen wanted to give away his daughter to a prince of a Chautari state on payment of dowry only. He may have seen Prithvi Narayan Shah at the Devaghat festival and been impressed by the latter's appearance and character. Hemakarna Sen, therefore, sent a formal proposal to Queen Chandraprabha in Gorkha for the marriage of his daughter to Prithvi Narayan Shah. The proposal was accepted, because it was felt that such a matrimonial
alliance with Makwanpur would help to fulfill Gorkha's political objectives. However, Hemakarna Sen invited Prithvi Narayan Shah to come to Makwanpur for the wedding, instead of sending the Princess to Gorkha. Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, went to Makwanpur in the month of Falgun along with his retinue, and the wedding was solemnized in a festive atmosphere.

(Note: Information about the actual date of the wedding is not available).

After the wedding, Hemakarna Sen refused to send his daughter to Gorkha on the ground that she was too young. He suggested that she should go there after two years. Prithvi Narayan Shah agreed, because he did not want to displease his father-in-law. He then returned to Gorkha.

(Note: This account is based on the Pibya Upadosh. Prithvi Narayan Shah has there expressed no regret at his inability to take away the bride along with him).

The chief duty of the royal priests at the court of Gorkha was to serve the interests of the King and the Prince. The royal priests fulfilled that duty without participating in politics. Moksheshwara Joshi, the priest and preceptor of Prithvi Narayan Shah, attempted to explain the Sanatsujatiya Upakhyanu to him with his permission, because he was already married.

(Note: A manuscript of Sanatsujatiya Upakhyanu, written by Moksheshwara Joshi, is available at the State Library of Kathmandu (No. 3/65). It was completed on Saturday, Chaitra Shukla 10, 1659 Shukla era (March 29, 1738), on the order of Prithvi Narayan Shah. This means that the manuscript was written one month after the marriage of Prithvi Narayan Shah).

But the work was in the Sanskrit language and the subject was a difficult one. It was, therefore, a difficult task to explain its meaning. In those days, the court of Chautara rose for the day when lamps were lit in the evening, and the members of the royal household used to listen to recitals of interesting and instructive stories from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Puranas in the mother-tongue from the royal priest. It may have been in this manner that Moksheshwara Joshi explained the meaning of the Sanatsujatiya Upakhyanu to Prithvi Narayan Shah in the mother-tongue in a simple and interesting style. Members of the Arjyal-Joshi family of Gorkha used to work at the Jaisi-Kotha also, and so were skilled in reading and writing in the mother-tongue. The oldest letter written by Prithvi Narayan Shah was addressed to Pandit Rajivalochana of Kaski, only about eight years after the Sanatsujatiya Upakhyanu was written.

Contd...
(Note: A person who taught at a school in Pokhara, whose name I cannot remember, told me in Kathmandu that he had with him at home a letter written by Prithvi Narayan Shah to his ancestor, Rajivalochana Pandit. Later, he sent the letter to me by registered post at my request. I took out a copy and sent the letter back to him. I have lost the copy, but it has been published in the Aitihayika Patra Sangraha, Part II. The letter does not mention the year in which it was written. It only gives the date: Saturday, Magh Badi 9. Its contents show that it was written in 1802 Vikrama. The date thus corresponds to January 16, 1746. This is the earliest available letter sent in the name of Prithvi Narayan Shah).

It is only during the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah that we find such brief and diplomatic letters. Moksheshwara Joshi could have made a free translation of the Sanatsuj vaiya Upakhya into the Nepali language had he so liked. This would have made it easy for Prithvi Narayan Shah to understand its meaning, but the Sanskrit scholars of that time were narrow-minded. This was the reason why even an important work such as the Panchaśantra was not translated.

After the monsoon of the year 1738 A.D. Prithvi Narayan Shah left for Makwanpur in the month of Magh to bring his bride home and also visit Kathmandu Valley on his way back. He set up his camp at Gurujudanda. However, he was told that the bride was yet too young to be sent to Gorkha. This made Bhanu Joshi and other members of the royal entourage furious. Before the question had been settled, the Makara-sankranti festival occurred during the second week of January 1739. A fair used to be held on that occasion at Khundaghat on the banks of the Bagmati river near Hariharpur. Hemakarna Sen went there along with other members of the royal household. He invited Prithvi Narayan Shah to come there along with his retinue. Prithvi Narayan Shah accordingly went there in the hope that he would be allowed to take the bride along with him to Gorkha. He returned along with his father-in-law's retinue. An incident occurred on the way. The Gorkhalis were of sturdy build, but their clothes were ordinary and made of homespun. They were simple people. On the other hand, the royal princes and nobles of Makwanpur, whose borders extended to the plains, had been deeply influenced by the Mughal way of life. Consequently, Hemakarna Sen's son, Crown Prince Digbandhan Sen, and the Dewan, Kanak Singh Paniya, treated Prithvi Narayan Shah and the nobles of Gorkha who had accompanied him, in a rude manner. The Gorkhalis considered this a great insult. A quarrel was about to ensue, but Hemakarna Sen pacified his son with great difficulty. But this incident gave rise to differences between Prithvi Narayan Shah and Digbandhan Sen. It also affected the question of sending the bride to Gorkha.

(Note: In his biography of Narabhpulala Shah, Khudar Sherman Singh has given a fanciful account of the marriage of Hemakarna Sen's daughter to Prithvi Narayan Shah. It would be useless to refer to his account here).
The account given by his brother, Khandar Buddhiman Singh, contains some truth, but not the whole truth. In order to prove that Prithvi Narayan Shah ascended the throne at the age of twelve years, as mentioned earlier by the Panta, he has given wrong dates for Prithvi Narayan Shah's birth and coronation as 1654 Shaka (1789 Vikrama) and 1664 Shaka (1799 Vikrama) respectively. Buddhiman Singh has also mentioned that Prithvi Narayan Shah was married in the year 1664 Shaka, when he was eleven years old. He has, in addition, given the name of the Princess of Makwanpur as Indrakumari.

According to Buddhiman Singh, Prithvi Narayan Shah had the soldiers of Kanak Singh Baniya put to death at Khundaghat because they offered him salaam with their shoes on, and Digbandhan Sen sent troops to kill Prithvi Narayan Shah but the latter was saved by Hemakarna Sen. There is no truth in these statements. There is no evidence of any rule that soldiers who offered salaam with their shoes on should be put to death. Prithvi Narayan Shah was a wise person; he would not have taken such a cruel and unjust action.

The real cause of the quarrel was the Naulakhiya necklace (i.e. costing Rs 9 lakhs), and a one-tusked elephant. Hemakarna Sen and his queen had given their daughter a necklace to wear at the time of the wedding as dowry. During the marriage procession, the bride and the bridegroom were seated on a one-tusked elephant. Digbandhan Sen did not like this; hence he insulted Prithvi Narayan Shah and abused him at Khundaghat. Prithvi Narayan Shah was, therefore, compelled to declare, as he has mentioned in the Dibya Upadash, that he would use force, if necessary, to take away the bride along with the necklace and the elephant.

Prithvi Narayan Shah was not a greedy person. He would have ignored the necklace and the elephant had he been allowed to take the bride away. There is no doubt that he behaved with dignity and self-respect in insisting on those things that Digbandhan Sen refused to give him.

The necklace, according to the Dibya Upadash, was worth Rs 9 lakhs. But it was probably made of elephant-pearls, (paja-moti), not of diamonds. The term Naulakhiya was used obviously in a symbolic sense. Elephants were abundant in Makwanpur, hence it was natural that Hemakarna Sen should possess such a necklace.

Prithvi Narayan Shah left Makwanpur early the next morning without taking leave of his father-in-law. This distressed Hemakarna Sen. There was no quarrel between the two. As a matter of fact, they remained on friendly terms as long as Hemakarna Sen was alive.

Contd...
Other members of the marriage party returned to Gorkha to narrate the incident to Queen Chandraprabha and Queen Kaushalya. Prithvi Narayan Shah, according to a program drawn up in advance, went on a tour of Kathmandu Valley in the company of Bhanu Joshi, Kulananda Joshi, and some other trusted persons.

Travelling incognito in the guise of an ordinary traveller, he reached the Chandragiri Pass, via Tistung, Palung and Chitlang, and from there he had a close view of Kathmandu Valley. Kulananda Joshi and Bhanu Joshi showed to him the three towns of Kathmandu Valley and some well-known villages there, as well as the temples of Pashupati and Changu Narayan. Prithvi Narayan Shah was impressed by the verdant tracts along the banks of the Bagmati, the Vishnumati, and the Hanohara. Noting Prithvi Narayan Shah's covetous look at the valley, the Joshis told him that his ambition would be fulfilled. Prithvi Narayan Shah was taken aback. Proceeding from Chandragiri, he went back to his fortress at Dhading via Lamidanda. After a few days' relaxation at the fortress, he returned to his Palace in Gorkha. It was precisely at that time that he had made up his mind to occupy the Malla Kingdoms of Kathmandu Valley and unify Nepal.

(Note: This account is based on the Dibya Upadesha).

By the time Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah reached Gorkha from Dhading, preparations for his second marriage had already started. Queen Chandraprabha was fed up with the Sons of Makwanpur. It was felt that matrimonial relations with the ruling families of the smaller Raishi and Chaubisi principalities would bring no political or economic advantage to Gorkha. However, a marriage with a princess of Parbat, Pyuthan, or Salyan was likely to result in a repetition of the episode that had occurred in Makwanpur, for none of the kings of these principalities would be willing to send the bride to Gorkha. Hence Queen Chandraprabha proposed that a Rajput girl from the Tarai be procured for the wedding in Gorkha. The proposal was supported by Prithvi Narayan Shah. Accordingly, Bhanu Joshi was deputed to search for a bride. Couriers and messengers were sent to different places in this connection.

(Note: There does not exist any conclusive evidence to prove that Bhanu Joshi had been deputed for the purpose. However, he was the only qualified and trusted courtier at the royal place at the time. Hence the assumption that he was deputed to search for a bride).

(To be continued)
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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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Miscellaneous Notes on the Mining Industry

1. In the Baishkhani mining region (Gulmi-Daglung), a special levy was levied on each homestead in A.D. 1895. The rates ranged from Rs 0.25 to Rs 3 on each homestead. The levy was known as khani ko nagadi, or phalam ko nagadi. It was the commuted value of tax-assessment previously made in the form of metal.

2. In A.D. 1916, the closure of several copper mines in the western hill region led the government to impose additional taxes in kind or in the form of metal, to compensate the loss, and miners were permitted to exploit the mines themselves if they could. In Syangja, Pyuthan and Gulmi, the levy was assessed in kind in the form of copper, which was later commuted into a cash payment. In Bandipur, Gorkha, Salyan and Palpa, on the other hand, assessments were made both in cash and in kind, in addition to the Tababhati or Tabanikosi tax, which was apparently imposed to compensate the loss of the monopoly export contract. In Pokhara, a purchase tax of Rs 0.75 per dharmi was levied on newly-mined copper of the Baishkhani mines, in addition to Rs 0.125 on its manufacture into utensils. (Government of Nepal, Law Ministry Records, Pokhara Tahasil Regulations, Marga 3, 1992 (November 18, 1935), section 11).

3. In the Baishkhani region, levies known as khani bapat ko nagadi and tababhati were similarly levied in A.D. 1916. The rates varied according to the size and grade of each holding. Sometimes, instead of collecting the khani bapat ko nagadi in cash, the government made collections in the form of copper.

4. In A.D. 1936, a tax of 50 paisa per homestead was levied in those areas of Othaldhunga district where mines were no longer functioning. If the mines were still being operated, tax was collected at the rate of one rupee per homestead. During the A.D. 1946 Bijan settlement in that district, mining tenure was abolished, and taxes on mining lands were assessed in cash.

5. In Majhkirat and Chathum also, assessments in iron were abolished and replaced by cash assessments during the 1940s.

6. In Sindhupalchok, during the A.D. 1948 Bijan settlement, it was decided that taxes on land under mining tenure should be assessed as usual. The rates were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basi zong</th>
<th>quality of goods</th>
<th>assessment</th>
<th>Collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hale</td>
<td>1 pathi and 5 muthis</td>
<td>20 dharmis</td>
<td>Rs 5 of iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lekh</td>
<td>1 pathi and 3 muthis</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rs 3.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In certain areas, assessment was made in cash instead of in iron.
7. The 1938 Nuwakot Tax-Assessment Register contains a number of entries in which land taxes have been assessed in the form of iron according to the size and grade of each holding. A 16-muri holding was thus liable to supply 7 dharmis of iron, but a 20-muri holding only 3 dharmis.

8. In Pyuthan, taxes on mining lands used to be assessed and collected in the form of iron. According to the 1937 Pyuthan Tax-Assessment Register, payment was later commuted into cash at 12½ paisa per dharmi of iron.

9. According to an order issued on Baisakh 13, 1996 (April 25, 1939), in eleven moujas of Pakwanpur district, including Agra and Gomna, mining lands were to be measured and taxes assessed at rates ranging between Rs 1.75 and Rs 3.75 per bigha. The local people demanded lower rates. The government then amended the order and fixed the rate at Rs 2 per bigha (Rs 1.50 per bigha in four moujas), on condition that payment should be made in the form of iron whenever required by the government.

10. A notification published by the Ministry of Planning and Development in the Nepal Gazette (Vol. 2, No. 29, Falgun 26, 2009 (March 10, 1953) contained provisions for the exploitation of mines through private enterprise with liberal governmental facilities. These provisions were applicable to existing mines also.

11. A notification published by the same Ministry in the Nepal Gazette (Vol. 5, No. 19, Magh 2, 2012 (January 15, 1956), contained the following provisions:

1. If landowners have been possessing lands and homesteads subject only to the payment of khani rakam, although the mines are not being operated, the lands and homesteads shall be registered as raiker, and the khani rakam shall be abolished.

2. If the mines are not running, but khani rakam is being imposed, and no lands or homesteads have been assessed, but some other facility is being enjoyed, the concerned department will consider the matter for necessary action.

3. If any lands or homesteads are being possessed on payment of khani rakam, or if a separate tax is being paid for the land and homestead, and no additional facility is granted for the payment of khani rakam, khani rakam shall be abolished.

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Conti...

The following persons were appointed to discharge clerical functions in Garh:-

1. Mukhiya Hridaya Singh Das.

Salary at Rs 5/- per month - Rs 600 per year.
Clothes for the Dashain festival - Rs 30.
Clothes for the Fagu festival - Rs 20.
Expenses for the Dashain festival - Rs 10.
Expenses for religious ceremonies - Rs 5.
Expenses for Shradhha ceremony - Rs 15.
Funeral expenses - Rs 2.

Parakhtana fees on clearance given to revenue collectors.
Cost of one shawl while going on home leave if necessary - Rs 100.
For each Pagari - Rs 7.

One elephant of four cubits.
Cash payment - Rs 100.
Khuwa income in addition to monthly salary - Rs 60.

For Eight Nausindas

Salary amounting to Rs 160 per month - Rs 1,920 per year.
Clothes for the Dashain festival - Rs 120.
Clothes for the Fagu festival - Rs 120.
Expenses for the Dashain festival - Rs 24.
Expenses for religious ceremonies - Rs 20.
Expenses for Shradhha ceremony - Rs 56.
Funeral expenses - Rs 2.

Contd...
Amount payable to each nausinda while going on home-leave; in cash — Rs 50.

One Pagari — Rs 5.

Fees for worshipping Ganesh, to be collected while totalling the accounts of each revenue-collector, to be shared by all nausindas —

Fees to be collected from each mouja on the basis of the grade (abal, doyam, sim, and chahar) at rates prescribed by the Kaji and the Bakshi.

2. Payment of Salaries

Baisakh Badi 13, 1867.


1. Sardar Rudravir Kunwar was ordered to disburse the following amount in the name of Sardar Shrestha Thapa from the revenues of Garhwal for payment of salaries and allowances as follows:

- Bajradal Company — Rs 1,304.
- Simhanath Company, previously assigned to the Durgabux Company — Rs 1,304.

2. On the same date, Sardar Chandravir Kunwar was ordered to make the following disbursements from the amount of Rs 3,563 assigned to Chautariyas from revenues collected in that part of Garhwal which had been placed under his jurisdiction:

- Devidatta Company — Rs 1,304.
- Bardwani Company — Rs 1,304.
- Sardar Bhairav Singh Basnyat — Rs 601.

Total — Rs 3,209.

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Conti..
Land Grants in Kumaun and Garwhal

1. Birta Lands of Gangaram Shastri in Kumaun
Baisakh Badi 9, 1867.

1. Local authorities in Kumaun were ordered not to exact porterage services (bogar) and provisions (baikar) without any payment from the inhabitants of birta lands owned by Gangaram Shastri in Dhaniyakot.

2. In another royal order issued on the same day, local authorities in Kumaun were informed that all old and new birta lands owned by Gangaram Shastri in Kumaun had been reconfirmed as birta-bittirā through a copper-plate inscription, and that all taxes on those lands, including gadi-mubarak and chumwan, had been remitted.

2. Reconfirmation of Land Grants to Temple
Bhadra Badi 3, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 325.

"The former King of Garh (val) has offered the village of Mukhimghatal to the temple of Sri Trailokyamath in Mauli-Gorkha through a copper-plate inscription. We reconfirm the grant and offer the lands to the temple."

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King Prithvi Narayan Shah

BY

Baburam Acharye

(Continued from the April 1976 issue).

At the time when Prithvi Narayan Shah was in Khundagaṛh, his maternal uncle, Udjota Sen, who was the heir-apparent to King Gandharva Sen of Palpa, had gone on pilgrimage to Pashupati and Gosaikunda via Devaghat. On his way back home, he visited the Gorkha Palace.

(Note: An image of Nilakantha Mahadeva is presumed to exist within the Gosaikunda lake. However, the image is never visible, and his jata (locks) seems to move when the waters move. This is why the bathing festival at Gosaikunda is generally described as the Nilakantha festival. The Dibya Upadesha also uses this term).

In the meantime, Prithvi Narayan Shah was trying to find out some way to conquer Kathmandu Valley. However, he had not yet found any trusted advisor. He divulged his ambition to his maternal uncle and sought his advice.
Udyota Sen told him that it would not be difficult to fulfill his ambition if he could win over the King of Lamjung. This, in his opinion, was essential as a precaution against being attacked from the rear in the event of a march toward Kathmandu Valley.

(Note: This account is based on Bibya Upadeesh. The famous King of Palpa, Gandharva Sen, was the father of the maternal uncle of Prithvi Narayan Shah. The Vamshavali of the Sen Kings' of Palpa, written by Shavadatta, is now in the possession of the State Library (No. 1/135). According to this Vamshavali, Udyota Sen was the eldest son and heir to King Gandharva Sen. Mukunda Sen II was Udyota Sen's son. This shows that Udyota Sen, the maternal uncle of Prithvi Narayan Shah, had died before ascending the throne. We may assume that it was Udyota Sen who had given this advice to Prithvi Narayan Shah. Apart from Mukunda Sen II, who succeeded Gandharva Sen, another Sen King had made a land grant in Patan. A copy of the royal order in this regard had been procured, but was later lost. This lends further credence to the story of a maternal uncle of Prithvi Narayan Shah having offered him advice.)

Acting according to this advice, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent on ambaarcy to King Ripumardana Shah of Lamjung. Ripumardana was trying at that time to occupy Arghau, which belonged to Kaski. Negotiations then began for a treaty between Gorkha and Lamjung, and it was finally concluded on January 21, 1740.

(Note: Ditta Syama Raj Wanta, a nephew of Khandar Buddhiman Singh, author of the Bhasha Vamshavali, had given me permission to copy the index of documents kept in the red box (2). Rajguru Hemraj Panditju borrowed that copy from me, but never returned it. The first entry in that index mentioned a pledge signed between King Narabhupala Shah of Gorkha to King Ripumardana Shah of Lamjung. It is definite that Ripumardana Shah too signed a similar pledge to King Narabhupala Shah, but the document has not yet been discovered. I had given a copy of the abstract of the pledge to Jayaraj Panta, who published it in Purnima (Year 1, No. 4, P. 61). This is the first document connected with the history of the political unification of Nepal).

The treaty contained the following provisions:

1. There shall be amity between Lamjung and Gorkha. Each party shall consider the other's friend his own friend, and his enemy his own enemy. Both parties shall also share any benefits equally.

2. The King of Gorkha shall render assistance to the King of Lamjung in occupying Arghau, which now belongs to Kaski. After such occupation, the timber cut in that area shall be handed over to Kaski, but Arghau shall become a part of Lamjung. If Kaski does not accept these conditions, it will be invaded and vanquished.

Conti...
3. The King of Lamjung shall create no obstacle when the King of Gorkha advances toward the east.

Ripunandana Shah visited Chepeghat on the border between Gorkha and Lamjung to sign the treaty along with his nobles, while Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah did so on behalf of King Narabhpulala Shah along with Kalu Pande and other nobles. The signing of this treaty considerably enhanced Prithvi Narayan Shah’s morale.

Meanwhile, Bhanu Joshi was looking for a suitable bride for Prithvi Narayan Shah’s second marriage. Ultimately, he brought to Gorkha daughter of Thakur Dayaram Simha of Gorkha district. One month after the treaty with Lamjung was signed, the second marriage of Prithvi Narayan Shah was solemnized in Gorkha. The new Queen was given the name of Narendralaxmi (February 1740).

(Note: In his biography of Narabhpulala Shah, Sherman Singh has written: "The senior queen when sent Bhanu Joshi Arjyal to select a Rajput girl from the plains, because she did not want Prithvi Narayan Shah to marry a princess of the Baist or Chaubisi states. Bhanu Joshi went to Kashi, where he met Jayamangala Pandit. The Pandit had a Rajput friend called Ahiman Singh, who offered the hand of his daughter. Bhanu Joshi then brought the girl along with him to Gorkha, after agreeing to Jayamangala Pandit’s condition that he should be appointed as the royal preceptor in case the match was approved. Jayamangala Pandit and Ahiman Singh too accompanied Bhanu Joshi to Gorkha. Prithvi Narayan Shah told him that he would be the preceptor of the Queen. The wedding was celebrated on an auspicious day. Ahiman Singh then returned home.

However, according to a manuscript captioned "Jagwanta Bhaskarapara Nausa Samvatsara Krityaprakasha", in the Possession of the State Library in Kathmandu, which was written on Falgun Nawami, 893 Nepal era (A.D. 1773), King Pratapa Simha’s maternal grandfather was Dayaram Simha of the Bhadradwaja class (gotra), and his maternal grandmother was Amritakumari. The names Dayaram Simha’s parents were called Jyoti Simha and Duyakumari, and his grandfather was called Sukhadeva Simha. There is no doubt that the names were noted during the reign of King Pratapa Simha (A.D. 1775-77). It would not be proper to ignore these names and accept as authentic those mentioned by Sherman Singh sixty-five years later. As such, it would be incorrect to say that Queen Narendralaxmi was the daughter of Babu Ahiman Singh of Kashi.

If there was any need to look for a bride for Prithvi Narayan Shah in Kashi, his preceptor, Srijarsha Mishra, could have done so easily. The cultural background of the Brahman family of the Himalayan region was different. Although the Mishras remained royal preceptors for several generations in Gorkha and Kathmandu, they had not entered into matrimonial relations with any Purbiya or Kumain Brahman family of the Himalayan region. For the same reason,
matrimonial relations had not been established between the Rajput families of the region south of the Ganges and the Thakurs of the Himalayan region. We may, therefore, conclude that there was no such person as Ahiman Singh in history. This conclusion will have to be revised if any royal order or manuscript is found in any language describing Ahiman Singh as the father of Queen Narendra laxmi.

Nor is it possible that Prithvi Narayan Shah had accepted Jayamangala Pandit's condition that he should be appointed royal preceptor in case the bride was found suitable. How could a person who was sent to look for a suitable bride have made such a commitment? How could a person like Prithvi Narayan Shah have accepted such a condition without due consideration?

According to the Sen Vacshavali, those Sen Kings whose territories extended from the southern slopes of the Mahabharat mountains to the plains had matrimonial relations with the Rajput families of the plains. King Mukunda Sen I was the son of King Rudra Sen (the founder of the old town of Palpa) by a Rajput wife called Asanamala. Similarly, King Trivikrama Sen I of Tanahu was the son of King Hammira Sen. His mother was the daughter of Purna-ghottama Singh, also a Rajput from the plains. Prince Dharmagada Sen of Tanahu had married the daughter of Raja Prayaga Shah of Bansi”, she was the mother of Rukmangada Sen. King Trivikrama Sen II of Tanahu had married the daughter of Prince Keshari Singh of Bansi; she was the mother of King Kumaridatta Sen.

On the other hand, the royal families of Lamjung, Kaski, Bhirkot, etc., whose territories were confined to the northern slopes of the Mahabharat mountains, did not have such matrimonial relations with the Rajput families of the plains. Nor had any king of Gorkha before Harabupala Shah done so. The reason may be that the cold climate of these principalities did not suit Rajput girls from the plains. The territories of Palpa and Tanahu extended to the plains; hence their climate was suitable and matrimonial relations with Rajput girls followed. Even though Gorkha too did not have a suitable climate, it was necessary for Prithvi Narayan Shah to marry a Rajput girl from the plains. At that time, his maternal uncle, Gandharva Sen, was King of Palpa. It thus appears that Bhanu Joshi was sent to look for a bride with the help of Gandharva Sen, that he selected the daughter of Dayarama Singh, a zamindar of Gorakhpur district, and that the bride was given the name of Narendra laxmi after her marriage).

It was necessary to initiate Narendra laxmi into the diksha on the occasion of the Mahashtami festival in September 1740. Queen Chandraprabha and Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, invited Gauri, wife of Jayamangala (Poudyal) Pandit of Rising, for that purpose. Jayamangala Pandit was thereafter known as Deviguru. This was the fourth family of preceptors to the royal family of Gorkha.

contd...
(Note: During the reign of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the poet Lalitaballabha composed the chakrayavijaya, in which Deviguru Jayamangala has been mentioned after Sriharsha Mishra, the name of priest Maheshwar (Joshi), who taught the Vedas to the Crown Prince, comes next. It is possible that the term Deviguru means the queen's preceptor, or the preceptor who initiated the queen into the mantra of Devi (Kali). But queen were customarily not initiated into the diksha by men. That is why Gauri, wife of Jayamangala, was chosen for that purpose. That is the reason why Lalitaballabha mentioned the name of Jayamangala also.

According to the late poet (Kavishiraman), Lokhanath Poudyal, Jayamangala Poudal Pandit was a relative of Dhruba Pandit, preceptor of King Siddhi Narayan Shah of Kaski, and his brother, Hari Narayan Shah. However, the Poudys of Rising regard Ranganath Pandit, Jayamangala's grandson, as their relative. In my view, therefore, Jayamangala came from Rising. Poudys were preceptors of the royal family of Tanahu. Later, Grescovara Pandit was appointed in that position, and the Poudys were banished. Some of them went to Kaski, and some to Rising. King Harishamaramadatta Sen of Tanahau, who had been banished from Tanahu, went to live in Ramnagar. Because of the old connection, Ranganath Pandit lived there under his protection. Grescovara Pandit succeeded in having his son chosen as the preceptor of King Narabhumala Shah of Gorkha. Queen Chandra-prabha and Prithivi Narayan Shah, however, did not like this. When he was yet a child, Prithivi Narayan Shah was initiated into both the diksha and the savittra mantra by the Mishra Guru. It is possible that the wife of Jayamangala Pandit was invited with the objective of installing a new family of preceptors for the diksha. Gauri, Jayamangala's wife, may have been the daughter of a leading Brahman in the royal court of Gorkha, and Jayamangala's ability may have impressed Queen Chandra-prabha and Prithivi Narayan Shah during his occasional visits to his father-in-law's house. Jayamangala Poudyal later became an agni-batri; hence he appears to have been a man of good character even in his youth.

A stone inscription, installed by Jayamangala Poudyal's wife Gauri at a roadside shelter built by her in Dhaibung bears the date 1839 Samvat; that is, forty-two years after Kesharama was initiated into the diksha. The inscription describes Jayamangala Poudyal as an agni-batri. It also mentions Gauri for the first time.

At that time the mental illness of Narabhumala Shah had become more acute. He usually stayed inside a forest in the company of an attendant, Kaji Maheshwara Pantha, therefore, proposed that Crown Prince Prithivi Narayan Shah be placed on the throne. The proposal was opposed by the uncles of Narabhumala Shah, as well as by Chautara Jabangir Shah. Queen Chandra-prabha then brought Narabhumala Shah back to the palace with the help of Bhanu Joshi and placed him under control. Angered at this, Chautara Jabangir Shah

Contd...
and his supporters in the royal family left Gorkha. Queen Chandrasprabha then assumed the position of Chautara in consultation with Pritiwi Narayan Shah, and began to look after the administration under the title of "Chautara Queen". Crown Prince Pritiwi Narayan Shah assumed charge of defense and foreign affairs. Narabhpala Shah remained on the throne. A few months later, Chautara Jahangir Shah and his supporters were invited to return to Gorkha, as it was felt that their advice to retain Narabhpala Shah on the throne had been a correct one. They were granted Jagirs and allowances. Pritiwi Narayan Shah then banished Maheshwara Panta from Gorkha, because he felt that a man who had attempted to remove his father from the throne might deal with him similarly.

(Note: This account is based on Khandar Sherman Singh's biography of Narabhpala Shah. He has also given the story of Keshav Dwari, without mentioning the date. The story appears to antedate Pritiwi Narayan Shah's marriage).

In A.D. 1738, Devendra Malla was born as the illegitimate son of King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. Subsequently, his Queen, Jayalaxmi, gave birth to Biranara Simha Malla. Ranajit Malla had earlier wanted to proclaim his illegitimate son as Crown Prince, because of his concubine's insistence, as well as because the queen had not given birth to a son. Now that a legitimate prince had been born, the people of Bhaktapur wanted to have Biranara Simha Malla declared Crown Prince. Ranajit Malla's ministers too offered the same advice. But the royal concubine protested, and Ranajit Malla hesitated to accept that advice. The people of Bhaktapur remained firm on their demand that Biranara Simha Malla be declared Crown Prince. King Jaya Prakasha Malla of Kantipur was working behind the scene in this affair. This internal rift had made the position of King Ranajit Malla very difficult and the kingdom very weak. Taking advantage of this situation, King Vishnu Malla of Lalitpur attacked Bhaktapur and occupied some forts. King Jaya Prakasha Malla of Kantipur followed suit. The security of Bhaktapur town itself was endangered. Ranajit Malla was subsequently able to reoccupy the forts captured by Jaya Prakasha Malla, but differences between the Malla Kingdoms continued.

(Note: According to Thyasaphu I, which is in the Newari language, a son was born to King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur on Shrawan Badi 2, 858 Nepal era in Thimi, not in the royal palace. He thus appears to have been born to Ranajit Malla's concubine. A stone inscription found in Benepa, dated 871 Nepal era (A.D. 1751) mentions Queen Vridhahalaxmi and her son, Devendra Malla. Devendra Malla appears to have been the Prince who was born in Thimi. After Biranara Simha Malla was proclaimed as Crown Prince, Ranajit Malla sent Devendra Malla to Benepa, not thinking it proper to keep him in the capital or in such a near place as Thimi. The date when Biranara Simha Malla was proclaimed as Crown Prince is not known. According to a stone inscription found in a monastery of Bhaktapur, which...
boears the date 873 Nepal era (A.D. 1753), both Ranajit Malla and Miranara Simha Malla have been described as kings. (Bhaktapur Shilascha-such, A list of stone inscriptions found in Bhaktapur, No. 94, p. 44). But King Ranajit Malla does not appear to have arrived at a decision regarding his successor even by April 1742 A.D. (Modern Nepal, vol. 2, p. 247). A gold-plate inscription installed at the main gate of the royal palace in Bhaktapur mentions the name of his queen as Jayalaxmi (Sanskrit Sindhesh, Year 1, No. 12, P. 73). It is quite possible that Jayalaxmi was the mother of Miranara Simha Malla).

Prithwi Narayan Shah realized that it would be to his advantage in this situation to visit Bhaktapur and develop friendship with King Ranajit Malla, and, in addition, to study the situation prevailing in Kathmandu Valley. His plan was approved by Queen Chandra-prakha and the Khadars of Corkha.

In those days it was the custom to exchange turbans when friendly relations were established between kings. Narabhupala Shah was yet king, even though the administration was in the hands of Prithwi Narayan Shah. It was, therefore, necessary and appropriate that turbans should be exchanged between Narabhupala Shah and Ranajit Malla. Accordingly, Prithwi Narayan Shah left for Bhaktapur in circa A.D. 1741 with Narabhupala Shah's turban. He was accompanied by some Khadars and bodyguards.

Friendly relations had been established between Corkha and Lalitpur ever since the time of King Siddharupala Simha Malla. There was thus frequent intercourse between the two kingdoms. Prithwi Narayan Shah, therefore, came to Lalitpur through Lamidanda, the valleys of the Mahesh and Kolpu rivers, Dhalchok, and Kirtipur. He stayed a few days in Lalitpur as the guest of King Vishnu Malla. When escorts from Bhaktapur arrived, he left for Bhaktapur through Thimi. He paid a courtesy call on King Ranajit Malla. On an auspicious date, turbans were exchanged in the Mulchok wing of the royal palace in Bhaktapur in the presence of the royal priests and ministers. Prithwi Narayan Shah thus made King Ranajit Malla his "ritual father". He stayed a few days in Bhaktapur as the guest of King Ranajit Malla, whom he advised to proclaim Miranara Simha as his successor. Prithwi Narayan Shah also studied the internal situation in Bhaktapur.

(Note: Khardar Sherman Singh has written in his biography of Narabhupala Shah: "The Chautara Queen then thought that the "beneful" influence of the planets on Narabhupala Shah might be mitigated if he adopted a ritual brother. She, therefore, deputed some trusted tharthok to Bhaktapur, where the turbans of King Narabhupala Shah and King Ranajit Malla were exchanged, thereby establishing the relationship of ritual brothers between them." It is on Khardar Sherman Singh's version that this account is based. According to Sherman Singh, the relationship of ritual brothers was established so that the benefic influence of the planets Contd...
on Narabhupala Shah might be mitigated, and that only shorthocks were due to Bhaktapur. But it is definite that this relationship was established with political objectives. It is also definite that Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah too was sent to Bhaktapur, because it would not have been appropriate to send people of lower status to establish such a relationship with a king. It is on the basis of conjecture that Prithvi Narayan Shah is said to have travelled through Lalitpur, but it must be true because this would have been consistent with tradition. The geographical account is based on available information of the situation prevailing at that time).

Jaya Prakasha Malla of Kantipur knew that there had been friendly relations between Lalitpur and Gorkha since the time of Rama Shah. He had also received information that friendship had been established recently between Gorkha and Lanjung. The provisions of the Gorkha-Lanjung treaty were secret, but it was no secret that friendly relations had been established between them.

Now Jaya Prakasha Malla saw friendly relations established between Prithvi Narayan Shah and his opponent, King Ramajit Malla of Bhaktapur. Clever as he was, Jaya Prakasha Malla realized that he would be isolated if he too did not establish friendly relations with the King of Gorkha. He, therefore, sent a confidential message through a trusted emissary, expressing the desire to establish friendly relations, to Prithvi Narayan Shah. The latter did not miss the opportunity. He was already determined to incorporate the Malla principalities of Kathmandu Valley into the Kingdom of Gorkha, unify Nepal, and lay the foundation of a strong state. However, he wanted to fulfill that objective by dealing with one principality at a time. He had not yet decided which one to take up first. Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, considered it necessary to establish friendly relations with Jaya Prakasha Malla, and sent a reply agreeing to exchange turbans.

After taking leave of Ramajit Malla in Bhaktapur, Prithvi Narayan Shah visited to temple of Changunarayan, which was situated on the Bhaktapur-Kantipur border. From there the emissaries of Jaya Prakasha Malla escorted him to Kathmandu. He may have stopped overnight at Deopatan and visited the temples of Pashupati and Ghyeshwori on the way. At Kantipur, he stayed in the house allotted by Jaya Prakasha Malla. On the appointed day, Prithvi Narayan Shah exchanged turbans with Jaya Prakasha Malla in the Mulchok wing of the royal palace in Kantipur in the presence of royal priests, ministers, and pramanas, and thus established the relationship of ritual brothers. With Jaya Prakasha Malla's permission, he visited the temple of Goddess Bhadra in Bhaktapur on his way back to Gorkha. Travelling through Khinchyat, he returned to the royal palace in Gorkha. He informed his mothers, as well as the royal priests, members of the royal family, and the bhardars that he had accomplished his mission successfully (circa A.D. 1741-42).

Conti...
(Note: In his biography of Marabhupala Shah, Khadrar
Shaman Singh writes that turbans were exchanged, and
ritual brotherhood established, between "Nayak Prithvi
Narayan Shah" and King Jaya Prakash Malla. The detailed
account given above is based on this cryptic statement.
The dates have been reconstructed, as no information is
available. It has not been possible to specify even the
month).

In the course of this tour, Prithvi Narayan Shah
studied the condition of the central region of all the
three principalities of Kothmandu Valley, as well as of
Lamidanda and Nuwakot. He was thus able to ascertain their
social, economic, and political condition for future use.

(Note: This conjecture is based on the circumstances
prevailing at that time).

The Chautara queen and Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah
thereafter concentrated on the deteriorating internal
situation in Gorkha. Jayanta Rana, a former Surahi of
Gorkha, had gone over to King Jaya Prakash Malla. He
thus constituted an obstacle in the conquest of Nuwakot.
He did not come back to Gorkha even when Prithvi Narayan
Shah asked him to do so. The problem, therefore, remained
unsolved. In the meantime, Marabhupala Shah became seriously
ill. He was taken to Banglot-Shat on the banks of the
Gandi river, where he died. His youngest queen, Subhadra-
vati, became a saci.

(Note: As mentioned above, Khadrar Buddhiman Singh
has written that the coronation ceremony of King Prithvi
Narayan Shah was held in 1664 Shaka. Almost all European
writers have added 78 to this date and given the western
equivalent as A.D. 1742. According to documents written
in about the Samvat year 1634, now in the possession of
Mohar with Pande, a descendant of Lakshyati Pande, an
astrologer of the time of King Rana Bahadur Shah, Marabhup-
ala Shah died, and Prithvi Narayan Shah ascended the throne,
in the year 1799 Samvat, or 1664 Shaka, on the day of the
Ramnawami festival. This document has been published in
the Pramana-Sanshodhana-Pramana-Pramoya, part 1, p. 125.
No more authentic evidence of the date is available. This
date is equivalent to the Gregorian calendar date of Wed-
nessay, April 3, 1742).

The Pramana-pramoya also stated that Prithvi Narayan
Shah was twenty years of age when he ascended the throne,
and that he was born on Poush Shukla 1, 1799 Vikrama. On
the Ramnawami festival in the beginning of the year 1799
Vikrama, he was thus below twenty years of age. Accordingly,
as mentioned in Modern Nepal (p. 47) and elsewhere, Marab-
hupala Shah died, and Prithvi Narayan Shah ascended the
throne, on the Ramnawami festival at the end of the year
1799 Vikrama. In those days the year ended on the new moon
day in the month of Chaitra. Hence Prithvi Narayan Shah
ascended the throne when he was twenty-one, not twenty
years of age.

Contd...
(Note: According to Shri Ram Singh, a slave too immolated himself at the funeral pyre along with the youngest queen. The text as given above is based on this evidence).

A favorite slave of Narabhupala Shah also immolated himself on a separate funeral pyre. Queen Chandraprabha and three other queens decided not to become satis on Prithvi Narayan Shah's tearful entreaties.

The eldest queen, Chandraprabha, was childless. According to custom, she should have become a sati on the death of her husband. In that event, the second queen, Kaushalya, could have looked after the children. However, Prithvi Narayan Shah entreated her not to become a sati because Queen Narandralaxmi was yet a child, and also because her assistance was necessary in order to look after the affairs of state. Chandraprabha accepted the request, but not because she was addicted to the pleasures of life. It is possible that she spent the rest of her life in fasts and prayers and in serving the nation, and that the other queens, Kaushalya and Buddhini, did the same because they had to look after the children.

King Narabhupala Shah was a man of tranquil tempera-
ment. He might have been able to do something had he received proper training at the hands of his priests and preceptors. But his preceptor, Gokulavilasa Pande, did not allow him to turn his attention to the affairs of state, and, instead, inculcated in him the belief that he would realize his ambition by propitiating his chosen deity (isha-devata). That is why Narabhupala Shah became unsuccessful. Subse-
quently, he remained aloof from the affairs of state because of his mental illness. However, he was held in high esteem by the royal family and subjects of Gorkha. The inhabitants of Gorkha believed that flowers used by him would cure headache, and that water with which his feet were washed would cure leprosy, and make the dumb speak.

(Note: This account is based on the Prithvindra-
Vamanodaya by Lalitakalabha).

End of Chapter 3

******

Contd...
On Chhap Lands

1. Ceilings on Chhap Land-Holdings

On Marga Sudi 8, 1872 (December 1615), Kaji Kirti-dhwaj Pande was assigned the responsibility of implementing orders imposing a ceiling on taxable Chhap land-holdings in the hill regions and Kathmandu Valley. An abstract translation of regulations issued in his name is given below:

1. Confiscate all lands in excess of the prescribed ceiling on Chhap holdings in the hill regions and Kathmandu Valley.

2. Collect darsan-bhet fee from Chhap-holders whose lands have been reconfirmed subject to the ceiling at the rate of two jusa for each ropani of land.

3. Collect darsan-bhet fee at the following rates from each Chhap-holder:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abal</td>
<td>Rs 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doyam</td>
<td>Rs 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Rs 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chahar</td>
<td>Rs 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Depute Chaprasis to collect the tax on Chhap holdings in the hill regions and Kathmandu Valley according to the regulations.

5. Pay salaries as follows to employees deputed to collect fees and taxes and prepare registers of Chhap holdings with the income accruing therefrom:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Rs 125 per year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahidars</td>
<td>Rs 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahabildars</td>
<td>Rs 150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also incur reasonable expenses on surveyors, paper, ink, etc.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 43, Pt. 146-5.

2. Regulation of Chhap Grants

Kut rents on specified lands in Bading, Garkha, and elsewhere had been assessed in the form of turmeric powder, condensed citrus juice, and other commodities required for the royal household. Subsequently, some of these lands were granted to individuals on Chhap tenure. On Poush Badi 7, 1872 (December 1815), Bhajuman was ordered to confiscate such Chhap grants and continue the supply of commodities as usual.

Contd...
Particulars were as follows:

1. A plot of hillside (swaro) land called Jamuna in Dhading, cultivated by Satram Padhya

   ... 1 muri of turmeric powder.

2. do. in Chyangli, cultivated by Jagannath Jaisi

   ... 41 dharmis of condensed citrus juice (chuk).

3. do. cultivated by Madhav Chhimal ...

   ... 70 dharmis do.

4. do. in Gaikhur, cultivated by Dayananda Lohani

   ... 20 dharmis do.

5. Kusum-Tar in Dhurkot:

   ... 1 gelding goat of 20 dharmis.

6. 30 murus of newly-reclaimed rice-lands in Dhuwakot, Chisakhraka, Lamachour, and Dumardhad

   ... 2 gelding goats of 20 dharmis each.

7. Jaithawa-Tar in Dhuwakot:

   Turmeric powder ...
   Chillies ...
   Condensed citrus juice ...
   Dried fish ...

   ... 11 pathis.
   ... 11 pathis.
   ... 11 dharmis.
   ... 3 pathis.


3. Reconfirmation of Chhap Grant to Sintil Singh Karki

Royal order to Sintil Singh Karki: "Your ancestors had constructed embankments and reclaimed lands in Jafa under Chhap tenure. These lands were later granted to Dilaram Thapa under a royal order. Later, when both of you submitted a complaint, the lands were equally divided between you. We hereby reconfirm the grant of half of the lands under Chhap tenure."

Mash Badi 3, 1872
(January 1816)

Rogmi Research Collection, vol. 43, pp. 176-77.
Regmi Research Series
Year 10, No. 6
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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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The Eastern Hill Region, A.D. 1805-6

Supply of Chitra
Jestha Sudi 5, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 6.

Inhabitants of areas situated between Nuwakot in the west and Sindh in the east were ordered to supply five Chitra (wicker) from each household under the Jhara system for construction of the Jyannath temple in Kathmandu.

Ceilings on Kipat and Other Holdings
Jestha Sudi 6, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 6-7.

Dharmaraj Khatri and Douj Singh Khawas were deputed to the region situated within the following boundaries to impose ceilings on rice-land-holdings of the following categories:

Boundaries: Sindhu and Maldun in the west, Helmu, Listi, and Golukhambu in the north, the Daudkosi river in the east, and the Mahabharat mountains in the south.

Categories: Saba-Birta and Kipat lands occupied by people inhabiting Khalisa lands (i.e. lands not assigned as Jagir), lands assigned as khangi (Jagir) to cultivators, Kais, Sudars, and other Shards, as well as to military personnel and owners of thunga, hali-binyaal, mahanaal, and cheap lands, lands granted on ijara (contract) basis, and guthi lands of temples.

The area in excess of the prescribed ceiling was confiscated. (The document makes no reference to this area).

The order adds: "Act according to the regulations. If anybody submits a complaint against you, we shall hear both sides and punish the guilty person."

Land Survey in the Eastern Hill Region
Jestha Sudi 6, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 9-10.

Royal order to the inhabitants of Majhkirt: "We have deputed Subedar Bag Singh and Subedar Bale to survey lands and scrutinize accounts of revenue collection in that region and assign lands to military personnel at the rates mentioned in the schedule (raiand). Furnish true particulars to them, as otherwise you shall be held guilty and punished."

A separate order with the same contents was sent on the same date to the inhabitants of the area situated east of the Arun river and west of the Kanaka river. In yet another order issued on the same date, the two Subedars were instructed to operate in Majhkirt, Chainpur, the Kirat region, and the hill regions of Morang, and not cover the entire area up to the Kanka and Tista rivers for the time being.

Conti...
Eight surveyors (jangol) were deputed along with the two subadar. Each surveyor was paid wages at the rate of two attas daily. Laxman, chief of the Tusal Office, was ordered to disburse Rs 120 from the revenues collected by that office, to pay their wages during a four-month period.

On Jestha Sudi 9, 1862, the following regulations were promulgated in the names of Subadar Bale and Subadar Baj Singh Khawas:

You are hereby authorized to scrutinize documentary evidence of birta, hitalah, mayau, hell-bunyan, raikar, jagir, manachamal, guthi, kipat, nhariya, and chhip lands in the hill regions situated east of the Dudhkoshi river and west of the Kanka and Vistas rivers, including Majhkirat and Palkokirat; as well as accounts on customs and other duties (sair, blansar, jagat), market levies (golanganj, hat) and other permanent sources of revenue. Act according to the following regulations. If any person, high or low, complains against you, we shall hear both sides, not one side only, and punish the guilty person.

Regulations
(Abstract translation)

1. Allot jagir lands to the artillerymen and other personnel of the two companies stationed in Majhkirat, Sridal and Bhogvatidal, according to the prescribed shares (raibandi). Use the remaining lands for the jagirs of kajis. Take similar action with regard to the two companies stationed in Palkokirat, Shivadal and Gorakhnath, and use the remaining lands for the jagir of the gubba. Send reports to us.

2. Confiscate all lands, whether khot or rakho, which are being held as mayau, convert such lands into raikar, and assign them as jagirs to military personnel.

3. Confiscate all lands held as birta, for which documentary evidence is not available, the local people have no knowledge that the lands are birta, and the owner is unable to take oath on the karivamsha to that effect. Assign these lands as jagirs to military personnel.

4. Birta and guthi lands formally granted by reigning kings, for which documentary evidence of grant is available, shall be reconfirmed. If lands beyond the prescribed boundaries have been encroached upon, these shall be converted into raikar and assigned as jagirs to military personnel.

5. Lands formally granted by the Queen or the Crown Prince with permission of the reigning King shall be reconfirmed. All lands granted as birta, guthi, or raikar by other members of the royal family, bharadars, and Kirati jindars shall be confiscated. Birta lands which have been purchased shall also be reconfirmed.

Contd...
6. Even if no documentary evidence of the grant is available, but responsible local persons take oath on the Harivansha, the water of the Ganga, and Tulsi leaves, and state the names of the King who had made the grant and of the Brahmans beneficiary, and also specify the boundaries of the land, the grant shall be reconfirmed. If they cannot take oath in this manner, the lands shall be confiscated and assigned to the army. A notice shall be issued in advance that if any person makes a false statement, he and his family will be punished with enslavement.

7. If any person produces a document bearing the seal of a king other than the donor to claim ownership of birta, guthi, or bokh-bunya1 lands whose boundaries have not been specified, the lands shall be confiscated, converted into raiker, and assigned to the army.

8. Reconfirm the seba-birta or kapat lands of praja (subjects) who provide labor services (doko-boko) subject to the prescribed ceilings (raibandi). The excess lands shall be assigned to the army.

9. Assign lands according to the prescribed shares (raibandi) for the two companies each stationed in Majhikrat and Pallokirat, as well as for the kaji and the subba respectively, and report to us whether there is a surplus or a shortfall in both Pallokirat and Wallokirat. Act according to our orders without any delay.

10. Assign lands to the two companies stationed in Majhikrat for the year 1861 Vikrama in the same manner as Jaspau Thapa and Hemakarna Thapa had done for the years 1859 and 1860 Vikrama. In the event of a shortfall, make arrangements for additional lands through the amali. If there is a surplus, hand it over to the amali. Report to us to what extent the lands possessed by Jaspau Thapa in the year 1860 Vikrama have been deducted.

Jestha Sudi 9, 1862,
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 156-62.

Procurement of Cows and Bulls
Jestha Sudi 4 and 11, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 23-25 and 151.

Kaji Ikunda of Sikkim had supplied cows and bulls to the royal palace. The inhabitants of the region situated east of the Bagmati river and west of the Tista river were ordered to collect fodder and bring the animals to Kathmandu by relays under the Mulak system. However, they disobeyed the order, and, instead, assaulted the men who were escorting the animals. Fines as follows were, therefore, imposed on the following persons:-

Jurmi of Itan ... Rs 10.
Babu Rai of Nayakhola ... Rs 10.
Harkya Khatri of Khasam ... Rs 5.
Mohariya of Angtey ... Rs 5.
Bitalap-holders of Pujhpa ... Rs 5.
Bhose of Pouwa ... Rs 5.
... Mohariya of Khikamachha ... Rs 5.
Bitalap-holders of Borpa ... Rs 5.
Amali and villagers of Kakenje ... Rs 15.
Go. of Thudhu ... Rs 5.

The same day, a letter was sent to Kaji Ikunda informing him that five cows and bulls had been received in Kathmandu. He was ordered to take Rs 70 as the cost of the animals and their food from the revenues of the new villages established by him. The breakdown was as follows:

Two cows ... Rs 20.
Two bulls ... Rs 34.
One calf ... Rs 5.
Feed, salt, etc.... Rs 10.

Rs 78

The following documents are also relevant in this connection:

(1) Chhatrijit of Sikkim sent Jowangda to Kathmandu with presents for the King. He also sent a letter reiterating his allegiance. He was ordered to supply cows and bulls of good breed. Regarding his request for permission to reclaim forest (Kalabanjar) lands, he was told to apply through the local Amali with full particulars. In addition, Chhatrijit was told that he need not visit Kathmandu for the time being, because the monsoon was near. (Jastha Sudi 4, 1862, Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 153-54).

(2) Champa Singh Gurung was informed as follows on Jastha Sudi 4, 1862: "Ikunda has been granted permission to reclaim Kalabanjar lands in Vijayapur and Chainpur with settlers procured from Tibet and India, on condition that he appropriates for himself six annas in the rupee of the additional revenue collected and transmits the balance, of ten annas to the government through the Dittha. It was you who had brought Ikunda here; hence we appoint you as Dittha for the newly-reclaimed lands. Stay along with Ikunda and settle any disputes that may arise with the Subbas of Vijayapur and Chainpur. Keep an eye on developments in the areas bordering on Tibet, India, and Dharma (i.e., Bhutan).
Promote settlement. Supply ivory, rhinoceros horn, and other forest and wild-life products from time to time. Purchase bulls of good breed from Dharma and elsewhere and send them to Kathmandu. This is a border area; remain vigilant in all matters. We hereby sanction your salary as follows from the income accruing from the balance of ten annas in the rupee due to us:

Champa Singh Gurung ..... Rs 225.
One bahidar ..... Rs 50.

(Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 154-55).

Construction of Bridge
Jestha Sudi 14, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 31.

Jasraj Khatri was granted permission to repair the damaged bridge at Balaphi in Phulping-Besi on the main route to Tibet at his own cost.

Confiscation of surplus Lands
Ashadha Badi 2, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 56-57.

Rice-lands found surplus after the imposition of ceilings in the region situated east of the Dudhkosi river and west of the Tamor river had been granted to the Purano Swinath Company. Reports were received that the cultivators defaulted in the payment of rents due for the Vikrama year 1861: Biru Shandari, Ajaya Ditha, Nal Singh and Sirikrishna Khadka were, therefore, ordered to surrender the lands and pay rents thenceforward without creating any 'trouble. Particulars of 3,320 murus of confiscated rice-lands follow.

Ceilings on Chhap Holdings
Ashadh Badi 5, 1862
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 69.

Royal order to chhap landowners in the hill regions east of Kathmandu: "Indrabir Singh Basnyat has been granted authority to impose ceilings on chhap holdings and confiscate the surplus area. Produce documentary evidence if you occupy pachho lands on jagir, manachamal, kharka, bekh-bunyad, nayau, or other tenure."

A separate order to the same effect was issued on the same date for the hill regions situated west of Kathmandu.

On Shravan Badi 5, 1862, Hawaldar Kesar Karki was granted seven ropanis of land under chhap tenure in Panauti. The land had been found surplus after a ceiling was imposed on the chhap holding of Dattaram Bhatta.

(Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 173).

Contd...
Land Reclamation in Dhankuta
Shrawan Badi 9, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 227.

1. Waste and Kalabanjar lands in Dhankuta village in Chainpur were granted under chhap tenure to Anga Singh for reclamation and settlement. He was granted revenue and judicial authority in the newly-settled areas, on condition that he transmitted revenue from the samefagu tax and fines and penalties collected in panchkhet cases to the government.

2. A similar chhap grant was made in favor of Garja Singh Thapa, Bak Singh Thapa, and Mahindra Chharti on the same date in the Sikkarpur area of Chainpur.

(Cregmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 223).

Cultivation of Rice-Lands
Shrawan Badi 9, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, p. 227.

Royal order to Limbus, Lepchas, Loharungs, Majhiyas, Bhotas, etc. in the Chainpur region east of the Arun river: "You cultivate only paho lands, and let khet lands remain uncultivated. In the future, do not let khet lands remain uncultivated. Otherwise, you shall be severely punished."

Collection of Chhit-Chhap Tax
Shrawan Sudi 1, 1862.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 256-59.

Royal order to Urmas, dwares, Jethaludhas, talapholders, bitalap-holders, chhap-holders, and Brahmans residing in the region situated east of Sanga and west of the Dudhkoši river: "You have received reports that you collect customary taxes from Newar dyers and printers of cloth (chhipi) who live in the areas under your jurisdiction and appropriate the proceeds. We have now granted a monopoly contract (ekhatti ijara) to Mahindra Singh to collect the tax on the dyeing and printing of cloth. Let him collect the tax in the future."

**********

King Prithvi Narayan Shah

By

Baburam Acharya

According to the tradition that the throne should not be left vacant, King Prithvi Narayan Shah had ascended the throne on April 3, 1743. The formal coronation, too, was solemnized soon. The Vedic ritual of receiving ceremonial blessings from representatives of the four castes: Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra was not prevalent in those days. The King was not required to observe mourning. But mourning had to be observed for 13 days not only by members of the royal family, but also by all the people of the kingdom. The formal coronation ceremony was therefore solemnized according to Puranic procedures by the royal priests and preceptors and other dignitaries on the nearest auspicious day after the mourning period was over. The coronation of King Prithvi Narayan Shah also seems to have been solemnized in this manner.

(Note: The beginning of King Prithvi Narayan Shah's reign was a period of peace. It is, therefore, likely that he was Crowned King within a week after the 13-day period of mourning for Narahuyala Shah, during the last week of April. In his biography of King Simha Pratapa Shah (Pratapa Simha Shah), Khadiar Sharman Singh has given the names of the Brahman who performed the coronation ceremony as follows: Guru Shyamalal Mishra Pandit (Ghrita Kaushika Gotra), Guru Vrajnath Pandit (Atreya Gotra), Purohit Saktiballabha Arjyal (Atreya Gotra), Narayana Pandit (Atreya Gotra) and Jagannatha Bhattarai (Vashistha Gotra). Some time after Pratapa Simha Shah became King, Vrajnath, who had initiated him into the diksha, created tranquillity by removing the Chief Priest and the Dharmadhikar from their positions. That was the reason why only five Brahman performed the abhisheka ceremony. However, there was tranquillity during the coronation ceremony of King Prithvi Narayan Shah; hence the number may have been seven. Had his preceptor, Sriharsha Mishra, been in Gorkha, he would have put the crown on Prithvi Narayan Shah's head. But it is not definite that Sriharsha Mishra was in Gorkha at the time the coronation. However, it was customary for at least one member of the Mishra family to stay in Salang; it is definite that he performed that function during King Prithvi Narayan Shah's coronation).

At the coronation, the senior queen received the abhisheka together with the King wearing one-piece robe; she was then called the Pota-rani.


King Prithvi Narayan Shah's eldest queen, Indrakumari, was staying at her parents' home. The younger queen, Narendra- laxmi, therefore, participated in the coronation ceremony and hence became Patta-rani or Chief Queen.
In case a king had many brothers, the second brother was appointed as the royal assistant with the title of Chautara. This had been the custom for many generations in Gorkha. Accordingly King Prithvi Narayan Shah conferred this title on the very day of his coronation on Mahoddama Kirti Shah.

(Note: No information is available about the date of Mahoddama Kirti Shah's birth. In 1802 Samvat, King Prithvi Narayan Shah had described King Siddhi Narayan Shah of Kaski as his younger brother. In a letter dated Poush Sud 12, 1831, Siddhi Narayan Shah has described Kirtinahoddama Shah (Mahoddama Kirti) as his elder brother. (Itihase-Prakasha, vol. 2, pp. 86-87). This means that Mahoddama Kirti Shah was Prithvi Narayan Shah's junior by a year or so, and that he had already attained the age of sixteen years at that time.

The term Chautara is derived from the Sanskrit term Chattwara. It means a square platform of bricks or stone raised round a tree for the convenience of travellers. Such a platform was called Chautara in popular usage. The term subsequently came to be used for a square platform constructed in front of the royal palace for the king and his bhadars, even without a tree. Eventually, the chief of the royal council began to be known as the Chautara. In the Malla principalities of Kathmandu Valley, any person could be appointed as a Chautara. In the Sen principalities of the Kirat region and Makwanpur, the Chautara was appointed from among Limbus of the same family. In the Chaubisi principalities, as well as in Gorkha, the chief brother of the king was usually appointed to that post.

After the appointment of the Chautara, appointment or reinstatement of the Minister and the General (Senapati) was necessary. But King Prithvi Narayan Shah thought that prior screening was necessary for such important appointments. So these appointments were postponed.

It was essential to make an auspicious initiation of the affixature of the royal seal on royal injunctions, authorizations and decrees on the day of the coronation. In case the new seal was not ready, it was essential to fix some other auspicious day for that purpose. Prithvipati Shah had made a royal seal with emblem of a crown that could be of use to him as well as to his successors. The royal seal used by former kings up to the time of his father King Rudra Shah, bore the name of the king. Such seals used to be called Mohar. Black ink was used for the seals, hence they were called Syahamohar.

(Note: A document bearing the Syahamohar, issued during the last days of Prithvipati Shah's reign in 1772 Samvat has been published in Itihaseika Patra Sangrah, pt. 2, p. 50. No such document of the time of Prithvipati Shah's successor, Narabhupala Shah, has been discovered.

Contd...
However, it may be presumed that Narabhopala Shah had followed the example of Prithvipati Shah.

The term mohar is a corrupt form of the Persian Murh or seal. (In the Persian language, siyah means black).

The Syaha-mohar documents issued during the last days of the reign of Rudra Shah's successor, King Prithvipati Shah, contain the name and titles of the King. The seal is square-shaped, with the words "Sidurce" in the first line and "Bhawani" in the second. The name of the King is not mentioned. Both names refer to Kali, the family deity of the royal family of Gorkha. King Prithvi Narayan Shah changed the square-shaped seal to a round one, with points inside two circles, the two names of Goddess Kali below the circles, and the sword of the Goddess at the center. Red is the color of Hinduism, and also/vermilion powder with which Goddess Kali is worshipped. It was for these reasons that King Prithvi Narayan Shah chose this color for the royal seal, which then came to be known as Lal (red)-mohar (seal). The color

(Note: The author of the Bhasha-Vamshawali has written the following imaginary account: "When Prithvi Narayan Shah went to Devighat, he met Chang Chung, an envoy of the Emperor of China, who had fallen ill there on his way back from Delhi. Prithvi Narayan Shah showed due courtesy to him as the envoy of the great Emperor of China, and looked after him, so that he soon got well. Friendly relations developed between them, and Prithvi Narayan Shah asked Chang Chung whether, as the envoy of the great Chinese Emperor, he could help him to fulfill his ambitions and also gave a token of friendship on his own behalf. The Chinese envoy assured Prithvi Narayan Shah that he would do all that lay within his power. Prithvi Narayan Shah then requested that the Chinese envoy arrange permission from the Chinese emperor to have a red seal (Lal-mohar) instead of a black seal (Syaha-mohar), and from the Emperor of Delhi to mint coins in his name. As the Chinese envoy had recently visited Delhi, he know both the Emperors. From Devighat itself he sent a letter to the Chinese Emperor describing how Prithvi Narayan Shah had saved his life and praying that he be permitted to use a red royal seal. The letter was sent to China through hulak relays of mail-carriers. Similarly, he wrote to the Delhi Emperor praying that Prithvi Narayan Shah be permitted to mint coins. The Chinese envoy added in his letter that he would not leave Devighat until a reply was received. Both Emperors granted the request. In this manner, the Chinese envoy fulfilled Prithvi Narayan Shah's wishes. Both of them then took leave of each other, and the Chinese envoy left for China." (pp. 304-5).

There is no evidence in the history of either China or India that there were any diplomatic relations between the Emperors of the two countries. There was no hulak system for the transportation of mail from Devighat to
the capital of China or to Delhi. Even if a messenger was sent to the capital of China on horseback, it would have taken him more than one year to bring back a reply. There is no place in Davishet where a Chinese envoy could have stayed. It was not necessary to obtain permission from the Chinese Emperor to use a royal seal, or from the Delhi Emperor to mint coins, nor was such permission ever sought. Notwithstanding this apocryphal story concocted in the Bhasha-Vamshawali, which had been written during the reign of King Suryendra, the Chief of the National Library has, in his foreword, described the Vamshawali as an important document which help scholars greatly in their research. It is regrettable that he should have misled the public in this manner.

Immediately after the coronation was over, Prithwi Narayan Shah held consultations with his mother, and began preparations for a visit to Varanasi.

(Note: In his Bhasha-Vamshawali, Khardar Buddhiman Singh has written that Prithwi Narayan Shah's sacred-thread-investiture ceremony, and his two weddings, were held after the coronation. He then describes the invasion of Nuwakot in the following words: "Prithwi Narayan Shah then appointed Bira Thapa as Mukhtiyar and sent him to attack Nuwakot along with several other bhadars. They encamped at Khinchyat but did not cross the Trishul-Ganga river. Seeing that they would do nothing, Prithwi Narayan Shah recalled the Magars and sent another force under the command of Maheshwara Pantha, whom he appointed Mukhtiyar. The troops, led by Badi Pantha, Maheshwara Pantha, and others, crossed the Trishul-Ganga river and encamped at Nuwakot.

"Meanwhile, a mendicant (awasti) who had visited the four main places of pilgrimage (char-dham), as well as the Shrine of Nilakantha, arrived at that place, and made inquiries about the troops. He was told that the troops belonged to King Prithwi Narayan Shah, and that they had occupied Nuwakot and were preparing to attack Nepal. The mendicant said: "I am coming back from the Shrine of Nilakantha. Pilgrims have to face great hardships there. If the village of Dhaibung is granted to use for charitable (sadamarta) purposes, I shall devise some means to ensure the conquest of Nepal. Send this information to your King."

"Maheshwara Pantha and other bhadars informed King Prithwi Narayan Shah accordingly. King Prithwi Narayan Shah replied that he was engaged in a religious function (Puraschara), hence the mendicant should be kept there for a few days. However, the mendicant refused to stop there. He said he would go to Varanasi, and could be contacted there, if necessary.

Contd...
"The three cities then combined their forces to prevent Prithvi Narayan Shah from attacking Nuwakot. A fierce battle ensued and the Gorkhal forces were repulsed. They fled from that place after burning the food on the Trishul-Ganga river."

D.K. Regmi believes this account to be authentic. (Modern Nepal, pp. 47-48). However, he has mentioned Kaji Vijaya Thapa, instead of Biraj Thapa, who had been appointed mukhtiyar by King Prithvi Narayan Shah. According to D.R. Regmi, Prithvi Narayan Shah himself crossed the Trishuli river when Maheshwara Pantha did not do so, but was defeated. Sylvain Lévi has regarded this account and authentic and given a brief summary, (Lo Nepal, Eng. trans., pt. 2, pp. 302-3).

However, we have already seen how Maheshwara Pantha was removed from his post and banished while Prithvi Narayan Shah was yet Crown Prince. Prithvi Narayan Shah had been advised by his maternal uncle: "A Brahman is like an ox, whereas a Magar is slow like a tangan horse." It is not possible, therefore, that he trusted Maheshwara Pantha and Biraj Thapa so much that he sent them to fight a battle. Moreover, while one author writes that Prithvi Narayan Shah was engaged in a religious function (Purashcharana), the other writes that he was in the battlefield. The entire account thus seems to be imaginary.

Nor was it possible at that time for the three Halla kings of Kathmandu Valley to have resisted the Gorkhalis unitedly.

(Note: Buddhiman Singh appears to have concocted the account of the first invasion of Nuwakot to prove that Prithvi Narayan Shah visited Varanasi with the purpose of meeting the mendicant. The biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah does not state that the mendicant visited Gorkha or Nuwakot. It only quotes (p.6) the mendicant, when Prithvi Narayan Shah met him in Varanasi, that he would come (to Gorkha) during the festival at the shrine of Goseinthan. The two authors have given divergent account because the entire episode is imaginary. The mendicant was an imaginary person like Abhiman Singh Rajput. The point will be clarified later).

The direct purpose of the visit was pilgrimage. The kings of all principalities of the Himalayan region, whether big or small, used to visit Varanasi to bath in the Ganges and offer obeisance at the temple of Vishwanath. But before the bath they used to purify themselves by shaving their heads at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna rivers in Prayag. In A.D. 1669, Emperor Aurangzeb had destroyed the image as well as the temple of Vishwanath, built near the present Gananwapi well, during the reign of Emperor Akbar. However, because of the holy Ganges, the importance
of a pilgrimage to Varanasi had not declined. Pilgrimage was thus the main and declared objective of Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Varanasi. But the real objective was to collect resources for the unification of the Malla principalities of Kathmandu Valley. Prithvi Narayan Shah also regarded Varanasi as an important place for the study of the political and economic situation of Bihar and Oudh, which were situated near Gorkha and other Chaubisi principalities as well as the principalities of Kathmandu Valley. He had established friendly relations with the King of Kantipur and Bhaktapur, the principal leaders of Kathmandu Valley, and concluded a treaty with the King of Lamjung, which adjointed the territories of Gorkha, with deeper political objectives. In addition, Prithvi Narayan Shah had established matrimonial relations with the King of Makwanpur. There was thus no threat of invasion from any quarter. Prithvi Narayan Shah took advantage of this favorable opportunity to make preparations for a visit to Varanasi.

(Note: The biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah states that pilgrimage was the sole objective of the visit to Varanasi. Nearly forty years after the biography was written, Khadar Buddhiman Singh wrote that Prithvi Narayan Shah went there to meet the (Awasti) menicant. The objectives of the visit, as mentioned above, have been reconstructed from the situation facing King Prithvi Narayan Shah at that time).

The main problem was, of course, money. The royal party would consist of about 100 persons, including the royal preceptor, the royal priest, an astrologer, a physician, the treasurer, bharadars, bodyguards, and porters. It was necessary to collect Rs 15,000 or Rs 20,000 for the journey, which was expected to last four months, as well as to buy military equipment and supplies. The mineral resources of Gorkha were insignificant, and the Gorkhalis, who were soldiers, did not know anything about trade. Land tax was, therefore, the main source of revenue. Most of the cultivated area had been alienated as Sora, Khangis of Jagirdars, or Rajabandhak, with the result that very little cash flowed into the royal treasury. The Gadimubarak tax had been collected in that year according to tradition during Prithvi Narayan Shah's coronation ceremony from each household in Gorkha. But because the number of households was only 12,000, not more than Rs 6,000 could be raised. It was, therefore, necessary to meet expenses with the gold reserves of the royal treasury and with the proceeds of additional taxes. But because the Gorkhalis were loyal to their King, they believed that they would share in the religious merit that he would gain through the pilgrimage. They were accordingly willing to contribute according to their means. This appears to have been the way in which the problem of money was solved.

Contd...
(Note: According to the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, Khajanchi (Treasurer) Bhanu Joshi, Chetrabhuja Pantha, and two other persons had succeeded in collecting between Rs 80,000 and Rs 100,000 from the Tosakhana, as well as from some creditors and from their own pockets. In view of the economic situation prevailing at that time, it does not appear possible that such a big sum was collected. The more probable figure has been mentioned above. The biography has given the number of members of the royal entourage as sixty excluding porters; the number, including porters, has been given above as approximately one hundred).

(To be continued).

Miscellaneous Documents of 1894 Samwat

Guthi Endowment in Sheorai
Jestha Badi 30, 1894

The Chand Kings of Pyuthan had endowed lands at Ramuwapur village for providing Salavarta facilities at a local Shiva temple. This order was issued reconferring this endowment in favor of Goshin Swarup Puri.

Revenue Settlement in Kattike and Other Villages
Baisakh Badi 7, 1894.

Revenue from Kattike and five other villages (in Dhaling district) was fixed at Rs 32.34 per year. The amount stipulated for Kattike village was Rs 22.4, collected through Mijhar Karma Singh. The breakdown was as follows: Mahaul (Rs 20), Saunefagu (Rs 1.4), eight bamboo-leaf rain-covers (ghum) (½ rupee), and one goat (R. 1). Tax-assessments in the other five villages were also made similarly. Each village, other than Kattike, supplied one goat for the Dashain ceremonies at the royal palace in Nuwakot, and hence received a remission of R. 1 each thus making the net revenue Rs 318.4. The six villages were also under obligation to supply 250 loads of firewood, Walkat levies, judicial fines, labor services on lands assigned to the royal household (sara), etc. were additional obligations.

Revenue Settlement in Thaiba Village
Baisakh Sud 14, 1894.
Regmi Research Series, vol. 34, pp. 293-95.

Revenue from Pakho lands and homesteads from Thaiba village in Lalitpur was fixed (Thiti-Bandej) at Rs 257, inclusive of Mahaul fees collected from the village Nakes,
Fadhanis, and Mahaner. Walak and other royal-palace levies, judicial fines, supply of charcoal, etc., were additional obligations. Two years' tax-exemption was granted on newly-reclaimed rice-lands.

Thek Settlement in Sheoraj
Jestha Badi 30, 1894.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 314-17.

Revenue from a village in Sheoraj was stipulated on contractual (Thek) basis for a one-year period at Rs 1,601, excluding central levies, and including levies collected from occupational costs, transit duties, pasturage taxes, judicial fines, etc. in favor of Chaulhari Jivan-narayan. The amount was paid through Chaulhari Gurules to the district administration.

Thek Bandi Settlement
Jestha Badi 30, 1894.

Mahato Prasoti was given a one-year contract for (Thek-bandi) for the collection of land and other revenues, excluding central levies, but including judicial fines, in Badhara village in the Sheoraj area for Rs 78. "If the actual collection exceeds this amount, the excess shall be shared equally among the local inhabitants. The shortfall, if any, shall also be borne equally, and unpaid portage services shall be provided only for military stores, elephants' equipment, etc. Three years' tax-exemption shall be granted on newly-reclaimed lands."

Collection of Mahapatr-Jajmani Levy in Sheoraj
Jestha Badi 30, 1894.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, p. 317.

Beche Tiwari was given a contract for collecting the Mahapatr-Jajmani levy in Sheoraj. The contract amounted to Rs 45 for the year ended Aswin 1895.

Land Allotment in Paiyun
Jestha Badi 30, 1894.

Dhanabir Gurung was granted 80 maris of uncultivated rice lands in Paiyun for reclamation, with tax exemption for the first three years. From the fourth year, he was directed to pay 16 maris of paddy to the Badarkhana every year. In addition, "1,400 maris of rice lands belonging to the Sabuj Paltan, which you had reclaimed previously along with others, shall be divided equally (Raiband) among the villagers. These lands shall not be granted to any outsider."
Supply of Cardamom
Jestha Badi 30, 1894.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 322-23.

Gajabal Gurung was granted a ten-year contract for the supply of 115 dharnis of cardamom a year from seven cardamom plantations in Kaski district. He was permitted to appropriate income from 110 muris of rice lands, and Rs 4/13 from Serma and Saunepau, in areas covered by the contract.

Forest Protection
Ashadh Badi 14, 1894.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, p. 332.

Public notification prohibiting the cutting of sal timber in Tandrang (Gorkha), Jita (Lamjung), Thansing (Nuwakot) etc., except for governmental requirements and construction of bridges (targhat).

Thek Thiti in Jumla
Falgun Badi 3, 1894.

The Mukhiyas of different villages in Jumla district were under obligation to collect revenue under the Thek-Thiti system. They appropriated the proceeds of taxes on both rice lands and homesteads, as well as of miscellaneous other taxes and levies, with the exception of reserved taxes and levies. With the proceeds, they paid a fixed amount to the local Amali each year through the Jimmawal-Thani.

Justice was dispensed by an open court composed of the Jimmawal, the local Mukhiya, and the local people. The Jimmawal, the Mukhiya, and the Bahidar appropriated one-fourth each of the judicial fines, and the balance was apportioned equally among the villagers.

If actual revenue collection fell short of the stipulated revenue, the shortfall was shared by the villagers equally.

Newly-reclaimed lands were recorded for tax after three years, and payment was made in addition to the Thek.

Moneylenders were ordered to accept redemption of mortgages, not to foreclose mortgages, and not to enslave debtors.

Complaint of Majhis
Magh Badi 11, 1894.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 516-17.

Karna Majhar and Ramakrishna Gourung were headmen of Majhis who provided ferry services at Syalpa-Ghat. They submitted the following petition: "We are under obligation
to provide ferry services for the transportation under the hulak system of mail received from the eastern regions and despatched to those regions from Kathmandu without a moment's delay. We have also to transport goods moved through those routes. We do not get any fiscal concessions. At other places, Majhis have kipt lands. Our lands at Senitar have been washed away by floods on the Kosi river. Because of inadequate means of livelihood, four Majhi families have shifted to Risku-Madi. We are now only seven families here. The number is not sufficient to enable us to stay on here and operate ferry services."

The government thereupon evicted tenants who cultivated 240 muris of jagir lands in Khurkot and reallocated the lands to the seven Majhi families subject to the payment of rents on kut or adhiya basis and other dues. The Majhis were exempted from the obligation to provide unpaid-labor services (jhara, both, begar) for other purposes, as well as from payment of the Jogi-mandal levy.

Revenue Collection on Lands Previously Assigned to Bhimsen Thapa

On Bhairab Badi 11, 1894, a notification was issued in the name of Ranganath Pandit to revenue-collection functionaries on jagir lands of Bhimsen Thapa in Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, and Mahottari informing them that an ijara (contract) for the collection of revenue from these lands had been granted to Subba Kulananda Jha.

The same day, Subba Kulananda Jha signed a bond stipulating the payment of Rs 27,374 and 4 annas (Patna Rs 22,872 and 8 annas, Mohar Rs 4,501 and 12 annas) yearly for these lands, which covered a total of 27 moujas.

Collection of Jagat Duties
Magh Sud 14, 1894.

Chandrabir Khatri was granted an ijara for the collection of Jagat duties at Khurkot for a total annual payment of Rs 1,461. He was ordered to collect the duties at customary rates, and warned that he would be held responsible if traders complained that collection had been made in excess of those rates.

Royal Order to the Limbus of Pallokirat
Bhairab Sud 8, 1894.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 35, p. 231.

Royal order to the Limbus, Subbas, Rais, Yekhas, Majhiyas, etc. of Pallokirat: "You have complained that jhara levy is collected even from depopulated households as well as from the households of people who have emigrated to Sikkim or India. From the year 1894 samvat, therefore, we have remitted the jhara levy on households of these categories."
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Kathmandu: July 1, 1976

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Year 10, No. 7

Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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### Population Census in Bhadgaun

Census of houses, population, etc. in Bhadgaun town compiled during a period of 16 days from Bhadra Sadi 8, 1910 to Bhadra Sudi 10, 1910.

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<tbody>
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<td>(a) Tile-roof houses</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof houses</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>137</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
## (b) Male population
- Male: 436
- Female: 412
- Total population: 848

## (c) Gardens and homesites
- Total: 34

## (d) Temples and shrines
- Total: 3

### 5. Khaubha Tol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof houses</td>
<td>118</td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardens and homesites</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temples and shrines</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6. Tekhacho Tol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof houses</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardens and homesites</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temples and shrines</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7. Tulachhe Tol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof houses</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardens and homesites</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temples and shrines</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8. Ghakha Tol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male Population</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof houses</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Male population  ... 339
   Female   ... 300
   Total population  ... 639

(c) Gardens and homesites  ... 23
(d) Temples and shrines  ... 4

5. Malachhe Tol

(a) Tile-roof houses  ... 183
   Straw-roof houses  ... 13
   Total  ... 196

(b) Male population  ... 558
   Female   ... 564
   Total population  ... 1,122

(c) Gardens and homesites  ... 78
(d) Temples and shrines  ... 8

6. Yanlachhe Tol

(a) Tile-roof houses  ... 167
   Straw-roof houses  ... 6
   Total  ... 173

(b) Male population  ... 606
   Female   ... 565
   Total population  ... 1,171

(c) Gardens and homesites  ... 33
(d) Temples and shrines  ... 4

11. Taumadihi Tol

(a) Tile-roof houses  ... 226
   Straw-roof houses  ... 64
   Total  ... 310

(b) Male population  ... 793
   Female   ... 781
   Total population  ... 1,574

(c) Gardens and homesites  ... 59
(d) Temples and shrines  ... 23

12. Chichhe Tol

(a) Tile-roof houses  ... 293
   Straw-roof houses  ... 21
   Total  ... 314

Contd...
| (b) Male population | ... 889 |
| Female             | ... 861 |
| Total population   | ... 1,750 |

(c) Gardens and homesites ... 88

(d) Temples and shrines ... 11

13. Kalachehe Tol

| (a) Tile-roof houses | ... 166 |
| Straw-roof houses    | ... 30  |
| Total                | ... 196 |

(b) Male population ... 674

| Female             | ... 628 |
| Total population   | ... 1,302 |

(c) Gardens and homesites ... 72

(d) Temples and shrines ... 9

14. Ilacho Tol

| (a) Tile-roof houses | ... 164 |
| Straw-roof houses    | ... 72  |
| Total                | ... 236 |

(b) Male population ... 646

| Female             | ... 633 |
| Total population   | ... 1,279 |

(c) Gardens and homesites ... 97

(d) Temples and shrines ... 7

15. Kwatando Tol

| (a) Tile-roof houses | ... 256 |
| Straw-roof houses    | ... 25  |
| Total                | ... 281 |

(b) Male population ... 775

| Female             | ... 738 |
| Total population   | ... 1,515 |

(c) Gardens and homesites ... 127

(d) Temples and shrines ... 13

16. Golmadhi Tol

| (a) Tile-roof houses | ... 299 |
| Straw-roof houses    | ... 87  |
| Total                | ... 386 |
(b) Male population  ...  1,214  
Female  ...  1,148  
Total population  ...  2,362  

(c) Gardens and homesites  ...  122  
(d) Temples and shrines  ...  12  

17. Tauchapal Tol  

(a) Tile-roof houses  ...  302  
Straw-roof houses  ...  16  
Total  ...  318  

(b) Male population  ...  884  
Female  ...  836  
Total population  ...  1,720  

(c) Gardens and homesites  ...  81  
(d) Temples and shrines  ...  14  

18. Yanchhe Tol  

(a) Tile-roof houses  ...  241  
Straw-roof houses  ...  35  
Total  ...  276  

(b) Male population  ...  748  
Female  ...  775  
Total population  ...  1,523  

(c) Gardens and homesites  ...  122  
(d) Temples and shrines  ...  9  

19. Jela Tol  

(a) Tile-roof houses  ...  160  
Straw-roof houses  ...  49  
Total  ...  209  

(b) Male population  ...  637  
Female  ...  612  
Total population  ...  1,249  

(c) Gardens and homesites  ...  68  
(d) Temples and shrines  ...  3  

20. Chasakhal Tol  

(a) Tile-roof houses  ...  227  
Straw-roof houses  ...  20  
Total  ...  247  

Contd...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Male population</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telachche</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>1,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. *Telachche Tol*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. *Kwachhe Tol*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. *Cachhe Tol*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. *Paumchhe Tol*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tile-roof</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straw-roof</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Male population
Female
Total population

(c) Gardens and homesites

(d) Temples and shrines

Grand Totals

(a) Tile-roof houses
Straw-roof houses
Total

(b) Male population
Female
Total population

(c) Gardens and homesites

(j) Temples and shrines

*********

Hulak Services Between Kathmandu and Garhwal

Aswin Badi 14, 1867.


Local authorities, landowners, ferrymen (majhis), etc. in the region between Dharmathali and Sirmure were ordered to arrange for the uninterrupted transportation of military and other supplies under the Hulak system. They were warned that punishment would be inflicted on their life and property if supplies were held up at any point. The order added: "The Subedar of Pyuthan shall provide an escort for the porters up to Salyan. The bhadrars stationed in Salyan shall do so up to Dullu-Dailekh. The company stationed in Dullu-Dailekh shall do so up to Doti. The company stationed in Doti shall similarly provide an escort up to Kumaun. The bhadrars stationed in Kumaun shall do so up to Garh. The bhadrars stationed in Garh shall do so up to Doon, and those stationed in Doon shall do so up to Sirmur."

**********

Conti...
Saltpeter Production

Royal order to the Amalidar of Doti: "Employ experts to locate saltpeter deposits in the areas under your jurisdiction and arrange for their extraction. Impose a ban on exports of saltpeter, and make efforts to procure that material from the territories of other Kings. We shall punish you if you are not able to produce saltpeter even if there are deposits in the areas under your jurisdiction. Also make efforts to exploit saltpeter deposits, if any."

Magh Sudi 7, 1856 (January 1800).
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 89.

The same order was issued to the Amalidars of the following districts also on the same date: Pallekirit, Achham, Bara-Parsa, Kumaun, Dullu-Dailakh, MajhKirat, Saptari-Mahottari, Chitaun-Belod, Pyuthan, and Morang.

Production of Metals

On Magh Sudi 7, 1856, a royal order was issued to mine workers belonging to all castes and communities throughout the kingdom (from Kumaun in the west to the Kanaka and Tista rivers in the east) directing them to resume work in copper, lead, iron, and other mines. The order added: "We shall grant you exemption from forced-labor (jhara) obligations, except for essential purposes. Increase production from existing mines, and locate new mineral deposits. Since you cannot come to the Palace immediately, we have deputed Sri Kanta Upadhyaya and Laxman Chaudhari to make necessary arrangements in this regard. Work according to their instructions, and represent your hardships and grievances through them. If you please us, we shall grant you suitable rewards. If you do not work the mines properly, you shall have to undergo punishment on your life and property. Understand this, and work the mines."


Purchase of Copper

On Falgun Badi 3, 1856, Bhajudev was ordered to disburse Rs 1,166 from the amount due under a contract for the collection of revenue in the Thak-Thani region for the purchase of copper, iron, and other metals.

Munitions Production in Pyuthan

Royal order to the Amalidars of Pyuthan: "Assemble all blacksmiths (Loher) available in that district, including those employed in the army, and arrange for the manufacture of one rifle and bayonet (kundo) everyday."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 91.

The same order was issued to the Amalidars of Achham, Pallokirat, Vijayapur, Jumla, Kumaun, and Majhkirat on the same date.

Supply of Wicker Goods

1. Royal order to Ramachandra Thapa and Naraj Gurung to purchase the following wicker goods required by the gunpowder factory with revenue amounting to Rs 26 and 12 annas from the sauneigau and other taxes in Gyalthum and two other villages under their jurisdiction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Rate (each)</th>
<th>Total Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manglo</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2 annas</td>
<td>Rs 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandro</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4 annas</td>
<td>Rs 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balnu</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2 annas</td>
<td>Rs 6-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalo</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3 annas</td>
<td>Rs 4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Rs 26-12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Falgun Badi 1, 1856.

2. On Falgun Badi 3, 1856, the dwares of Ranchsayakhola were ordered to supply 200 wicker sheets (chitra) for roofing the building of the gunpowder factory in Nuwakot.


Supply of Firewood

On Falgun Badi 3, 1856, owners of birta and chhap lands in the region situated between the Bishnumati river and Bhimdhunga, including Kirtipur, were ordered to supply one manload of firewood every eight days for casting cannon at the munitions factory. They were granted exemption from unpaid-labor obligations (jhora, keth, begar) for other purposes.

Supply of Charcoal

1. Royal order to the dāwars, mahanes, and naikes of Thacho village: "Supply ... dharnis of charcoal to the magazine every day. Pay only half of the saunefāgu tax. You need not provide unpaid-labor (jhara) services for purposes other than the supply of charcoal. Pay rents on adhiya or kut basis, as well as other dues, on the rice-lands cultivated by you. Landlords shall not evict you unless you damage the lands or commit any other offense. ... you shall be punished if you do not comply with this order."

Falgun Badi 3, 1956.

Similar orders were sent to the dāwars, mahanes, and naikes of Benepa and Sankhu villages also on Falgun Badi 3, 1956.


2. Royal order to the dāwars, mahanes, and naikes of Lele village: "You have only been storing charcoal so far. In the future, only fifteen households in that village shall do so and make stacks; the other households shall manufacture and transport charcoal, and supply ... dharnis to the munitions factory every day. Pay only half of the saunefāgu tax. You need not provide unpaid-labor (jhara) services for purposes other than the supply of charcoal. Pay rents on adhiya or kut basis, as well as other dues, on the rice-lands cultivated by you. Landlords shall not evict you unless you damage the lands or commit any other offense. ... you shall be punished if you do not comply with this order."

Falgun Badi 3, 1856.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 110.

3. Royal order to the dāwars, naikes, and mahanes of Dhulikhel (except twenty households), Khadpu, and Chaukot: "Bhotas and Newars shall provide portage services for the supply of charcoal. Birta and chhap owners of all categories shall do so for the supply of timber required for the manufacture of cannon, rifles, etc. Supply ... dharnis of charcoal to the munitions factory every day. Pay only half of the saunefāgu tax. You need not provide unpaid-labor services (jhara, beth, bogar) for purposes other than the supply of charcoal and transportation of mail and other materials (hulak). Pay rents on adhiya or kut basis, as well as other dues, on the rice-lands cultivated by you. Landlords shall not
Mining Tools

On Falgun Badi 3, 1856, Kapardar Dhanajit Khadka was ordered to disburse Rs 1,000 from the amount due under a contract for the collection of revenue in Thimi for the manufacture of tools required by miners employed in copper and iron mines. The amount was to be disbursed to Sri Kanta Padhya and Laxman Chaudhari.


Purchase of Saltpetter

On Falgun Badi 3, 1856, Rajaman Singh was ordered to disburse Rs 3,000 from the amount stipulated by him under a contract (ijara) for the collection of revenue in Bhadgaun for the purchase of saltpetter. The amount was to be disbursed as follows:

- Ramachandra Thapa, Dittha of the gunpowder factory ... Rs 1,000.
- Ranajit, a private of the Khas Company ... Rs 2,000.


Amanat Operation of Mines

1. Royal order to mine-workers in the region situated east of the Bheri river and west of the Kali and Modi rivers: "You have been subjected to great injustice and oppression because mines were given out for operation under the ijara system and placed under the jurisdiction of local Amalis. Nor were the mines operated efficiently. Realizing that you will no longer be subjected to injustice and oppression and mines too will be operated efficiently if the Amanat system is introduced, we hereby place mines all over that region under Amanat operation. Operate the mines by all means at your disposal. Sri Kanta Padhya and Laxman have been deputed to oversee these arrangements. Operate mines as directed by them. They will also hear all cases of oppression committed by former ijardars and Amalis. If they themselves indulge in any oppression, report the matter to us and we shall dispense justice. You need not function under the local Amali, but will

Conti...
remain under the direct authority of the Palace. We have provided you with an opportunity; work hard with courage and initiative."

Falgun Badi 13, 1856.

This order was sent separately on the same date to several other regions in the eastern and western hills, including Kathmandu valley.

2. On Falgun Badi 13, 1856, separate orders were sent to government officials, military personnel, birtacowners, ijaradars, etc. in both the eastern and western hills informing them of the decision to operate mines of all categories through the Amarat system under Sri Kanta Upadhyaya and Laxman. The order added: "Hand over to those officials whatever you may have collected since that date. Lands and villages customarily included in mining areas, as well as the authority to collect taxes and levies of all categories and dispense justice, and forests allotted for mining operations, have all been removed from the jurisdiction of the Amali. Let these officials prospect for mineral deposits in lands of all tenure-categories: jagir, birta, kipat, mayau, chap, or bandha."


Salt peter Mines

On Falgun Badi 13, 1856, the amali, dware, and mijhars of Jharlang were informed that Ramachandra Thapa had been deputed there to prospect for sulphur deposits. They were ordered to extend all possible cooperation and assistance to him in that work.


Ramachandra Thapa was granted 2,400 muries of rice-lains at Lakuwa-thum, and the village of Barkha, which fetched revenue amounting to twenty-five rupees, as jagir for his services in operating the sulphur mines.

Supply of Buffalo Hides

The ditthas of gunpowder factories were ordered to requisition the hides of buffaloes sacrificed on behalf of the Palace at different temples within a distance of one day's walk from the factory. People who did not supply hides in this manner, but consumed them along with the meat, were required to pay a fine of five rupees for each hide.

Falgun Badi 13, 1856.
Services for Gunpowder Factory

1. The Amali of Thimi was ordered to impress the jhara labor of all local households, other than two households allotted to the gunpowder factory, for the transportation of timber required for the construction of a godown for the factory from Kangur.

Falgun Bali 13, 1856.

2. The jhara services of the following households in the following villages were impressed for work at the gunpowder factory through a royal order issued on Falgun Bali 11, 1856:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total no. of households</th>
<th>No. of households impressed for work at the gunpowder factory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thimi</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakalesh</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bole</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanegaun</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunpuni and Chahale</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubachaur and Lamagaun</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gyalthum (half only)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halchok</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thigani</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musmu-Bahal Tol</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>844</strong></td>
<td><strong>281</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(To be continued)

************
King Prithvi Narayan Shah

By
Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the June 1978 issue)

Gorkha had no coins of its own, but used coins minted by the Malla Kings, as well as by the Mughal Emperor from Patna. Patna rupees were in circulation in the areas around Patna and Varanasi. It was difficult to exchange Malla coins, or sell gold, and collect Patna rupees. The danger of being robbed on the way had also to be considered. However, one of the preceptors accompanying the royal party had his house at Misrapokhara near Varanasi. He assumed the responsibility of collecting Patna rupees and remitting the money to different places through bills (hundi). This removed the danger of being robbed on the way.

(Note: The list of members of the royal entourage, as given in the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, does not contain the name of the Kishra Guru. As will be mentioned later, Prithvi Narayan Shah's preceptor, Sriharsha Mishra, was skilled in politics also. In the last year of his reign, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent him along with Brahaspati Panjat as envoys to the English Governor-General, Warren Hastings, in Calcutta. It is not possible, therefore, that Sriharsha Mishra was not included in the royal entourage during King Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Varanasi. Even if he had not been included, one of his relatives must have been, and once King Prithvi Shah reached Varanasi, other members of the Mishra family must have helped him. We have, therefore, conjectured that Sriharsha Mishra helped King Prithvi Narayan Shah in the risky task of remitting funds).

It is possible that a horse and a tent were procured for the royal tour to carry the royal emblems. A turban was procured for King Prithvi Narayan Shah, and caps with flaps covering the ears for the other members of the royal entourage. Such caps were worn in those days in Varanasi also. Strings attached to these flaps were tied around the chin in the morning and evening to keep out the cold from the ears, while in the day the flaps were turned round the head. All the members wore blouses (bhotra) inside, and tunics (labeda) with wide sleeves, and a piece of cloth around the waist (patuka). Brahmans wore shawls on their shoulders and dhotis to cover the lower parts of the body, while people belonging to other castes wore...
trousers. Everybody had shoes made of raw leather. The Gorkhalis must also have had khukuris tucked on the waist, in addition to swords for officers, and swords, bows and arrows, and spears for bodyguards.

(Note: According to the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the royal party also carried a palanquin. But even during the time of King Rana Bahadur Shah, the chaupala (tent), rather than the palanquin, seems to have been in use. (Aitihasik Patrika-sangrah, pt. 1, p. 36). The biography correctly states that caps with flaps covering the ears were worn in those days. That account has been followed, because the practice was current both in Varanasi and in the hills. The cloths worn by Brahmans have been described on the basis of conjecture. The horse has been mentioned because it was natural for a royal entourage to have one. Other bhandars too may have had a few horses.

The biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah lists the members of the royal entourage during his visit to Varanasi as follows:-

1. Vishnu Shah.
2. Chandraprakas Shah.
3. Tula Shah.
5. Murundhar Shahi.
7. Gunanidhi Panta.
9. Ramakrishna Joshi Arjyal.
10. Shaktiballabh Pandit Arjyal.
15. Shivarama Basnyat.
17. Physician Maheshwara Joshi.
18. Manikantha Rana Basal.
20. Ramakrishna Thapa.
22. Jaskarna Bohra.
23. Gangadhar Panta.
25. Debu Rana.
27. Biraj Bakheti.
29. Mudhya Thapa.

Contd...
31. Dware Angal. 32. Dware Thunya.
33. Dware Naicharam. 34. Dware Satai.
35. Dware Bhadal. 36. Garjamani.

In his Bhasha-Vamshawali, however, Khendar Buddhiman Singh has given the names only of the following persons:


He has, in addition, stated that the royal entourage included other necessary persons also. He has thus mentioned three names that have not been included in the other list: Kalu Pande, Devarishi Padhya, and Birabhadra Padhya. Most of names given in these two lists are mentioned in documents of the period of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. Buddhiman Singh may have omitted the other names because he found no references to them in contemporary documents. Bhanu Joshi, Kulananda Joshi, Jaya Bania, and Biraj Bakheti have been mentioned in both lists, but even then we cannot say with certainty that they had accompanied King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Varanasi. Shaktibalab Arjyal was less than fifteen years of age at that time; hence it is not possible that he had joined the royal entourage and kept accounts. The list given in the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah was compiled 7 years after his visit to Varanasi, and, therefore, is not reliable. For this reason, a list of members of the royal entourage has not been given in the text.

Neither the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah nor the Bhasha-Vamshawali contains the names of members of the family of the Mishra Guru. At the time when the biography was being written, the British Resident, Brian H. Hodgson, was branding the then Guru, Krishnaram Mishra, as a supporter of the anti-British Kala Pandes. For that reason, the bhardars and writers of Kathmandu were then afraid of mentioning his name. The author of the biography must, therefore, have deliberately omitted the name of the Mishra Guru. The Bhasha-Vamshawali was compiled thirty-five years after the downfall of the Mishras. That was another reason why the name was omitted.

(To be continued)
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11.3

Mines and Munitions, A.D. 1800
(Continued from the July 1978 issue)

1. Mining Contracts

Ijara to Janakiram Newar

On Shravan Sudi 11, 1851, Janakiram Newar was granted a three-year contract (ijara) to operate copper, lead, iron, and other mines in the region situated west of the Chape and Marsyangdi rivers and east of the Thulo-Bheri river. The ijara was previously held by Jitaram Newar. It had been held by Kashiram Thapaliya also at one time. The ijara was permitted to appropriate income from all taxes and levies customarily collected in the mining areas, and also to exercise judicial authority over miners and other inhabitants. The annual payment stipulated under the ijara was Rs 7,001 for the year 1851 and Rs 8,001 each for 1852 and 1853.


Orders to Local Officials

Royal order to the subba of Pyuthan: "All mines in the area situated west of the Chape and Marsyangdi rivers and east of the Thulo-Bheri river have been placed under the authority of Janakiram. You are hereby ordered to let him take possession of the Gajuri, Aite, Bhandhunga, and Dhaiban mines. You shall be held guilty if you do not do so."

Shravan Sudi 11, 1851.


Royal order to the mukhiyas of mines: "Janakiram Newar has been granted an ijara for all mines from Ashadh Sudi 2, 1851. Hand over all supplies of copper to the ijara. You shall be held guilty if you sell copper to others."

Shravan Sudi 11, 1851.


Ijara to Neptya Budha

Royal order to Neptya Budha of Majhikrat: "We hereby grant you a three-year ijara for copper mines at the following seven places, and iron mines at the following ten places, for the three-year period beginning Baisakh Sadi 1, 1855."

Cont'd...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copper Mines</th>
<th>Iron Mines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hatipaila</td>
<td>1. Palu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bhalu</td>
<td>2. Lekh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Majhe</td>
<td>5. Thakle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ramche</td>
<td>7. Basyanhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dharapani</td>
<td>8. Dharapani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The ijaradar may appropriate income from judicial fines and penalties and escheat not exceeding Rs 100 each, ore from the mines, homestead levies (ghargani), saunefagu, and walak levies. He shall supply 1,000 dharnis of copper by the month of Chaitra at the rate of 350 dharnis every year. He shall function under the jurisdiction of the palace, not the local amali."

Palgun Badi 5, 1855.

Mineral Deposits in the Eastern Hill Region

Royal order to Jain Sahi: "We have granted authority to Srikanta Padhya and Lachhuman Chaudhari for prospecting and exploiting mineral deposits, both new and old, in the east. Depute two pattis of troops, headed by a Jamadar, to make collections, send messages, etc., as ordered by them. If you do not supply troops, so that their work is hampered, you shall suffer punishment on your person and property."

Chaitra Badi 7, 1856.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 164:

Lead Deposits

On Aswin Badi 13, 1851, Narain Budhathoki was granted authority to prospect for lead deposits in the region between the Kali river and the western boundary, extract metal, and supply it to the government.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 396.
The same day, Narain Budathoki was granted an ijara for one year to extract lead from the Phenam, Gyaji, Piluwar and other mines (in Gorkha?), collect taxes and levies from the inhabitants of the mining areas, exercise judicial authority, and supply 401 dhamis of lead to the government.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 400.

Ijara to Jahar Singh Thapa

On Shrawan Sudi 11, 1851, Jahar Singh Thapa was granted a three-year ijara for five lead mines in the eastern hill region. The ijara was previously held by Hardam Khawas. The ijara was permitted to appropriate income from all taxes and levies customarily collected in the mining areas, and also to exercise judicial authority. He was required to supply 1,061 dhamis of copper to the government every year during the three-year period.


Porterage Services for Lead

Royal order to the amali, mijhar, and mukhiya of Bungnam (East No. 3): "From former times, you have been providing porterage services for lead produced from the Pangu mines. Provide such services now for lead produced there in the (Vikrama) years 1857 and 1858. You are hereby directed to provide such services every year. As soon as the ijara of the Pangu mines informs you, bring the lead to the palace."

Kartik Badi 4, 1859.

2. Saltpeter

Ijara to Basudev Mehatari

Royal order to the subba, fouzdar, chaudhars, kanugyes, mokaddams, owners of behk-bunyad, istimar-mokarri, and birta lands, and ijaradars in Mahottari district: "We have granted Basudev Mehatari authority to operate the sara-mahal (saltpeter depot) in Mahottari district from Baisakh 1, 1859. Let him start factories (kotha) where suitable earth is available. Do not cause any obstruction. In case you do not let him do so, you shall be held guilty."

Shrawan Sudi 12, 1859.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 597.

Contd...
Ijara to Sonai Mehatarl

On Falgun Sud 11, 1856, Sonai Mehatarl was granted a five-year ijara for the procurement and supply of saltpeter and khariya salt (sora-mahal) from three Pargannas of Mahottari district: Mahottari, Koradi, Khesraha, and Barahagama. The ijara was previously held by Basudev Mehatarl. The ijadar had authority to extract saltpeter and khariya salt from both birta and jagir lands.

Three moujas in the Pargannas of Mahottari, Bardaha, Bela, and Saharigama were assigned to the sora-mahal. The ijadar was permitted to collect taxes and levies in these moujas: land tax (mal-jahat), customs duties (sair-jahat), kul, hububat, amilan levies, etc.

The ijadar was directed to procure saltpeter and khariya salt, and allot shares as follows to the ryots, in the following manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Government's share</th>
<th>Ryots' share</th>
<th>Share in khariya salt and salami</th>
<th>Increase in saltpeter</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The order added: "Purchase the ryots' share of the saltpeter, pack it in bags, and transport it to Sindhuli at the total price of Rs 3 and 4 annas per maund."

To finance the purchase of the ryots' share of the saltpeter, the following revenues collected from the three moujas mentioned above were allocated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bardaha Rs</th>
<th>Bela-Saharigama Rs</th>
<th>Total Rs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>256 ½</td>
<td>357 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>256 ½</td>
<td>357 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>256 ½</td>
<td>357 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>256 ½</td>
<td>357 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>256 ½</td>
<td>357 ½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
The order concluded: "Prepare 163½ maunds of pucca saltpeter after twice processing 327 maunds of kaccha saltpeter every year and submit accounts to the kapardar. Promote cultivation and settlement in these moujas and use the revenue collected there for the procurement of saltpeter."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 139-41.

Orders to Local Officials

On the same date, the Umrao of Sindhuli was informed of the ijara granted to Sonai Mehatari, and ordered to accept delivery of 163½ maunds of pucca saltpeter and issue receipts.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 141-42.

Royal order to Harimadhav Das, Kartik Badi 4, 1859: "Sonai had been granted an ijara for the supply of saltpeter (sora-mahal) from Mahottari district for the (Vikrama) years 1857 and 1858. Find out how much saltpeter has actually been supplied under this ijara, and how much is outstanding. Take delivery of the balance left after deducting the quantity supplied to the Umrao of Sindhuli. Bring that saltpeter along with you when you come here in the month of Marga."


3. Gunpowder Factories

Gunpowder Factories in Kathmandu Valley

Royal order to the ditthas of all gunpowder factories of Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley): "We hereby order you to produce one muri of gunpowder every day from year to year. Arrangements have been made for the supply of the following materials for this purpose:

Materials required for producing 1 muri of gunpowder every day

1. saltpeter (refined three times) ... 1 muri.
2. saltpeter ... 6 dharnis.
3. firewood ... 20 loads of 10 dharnis each.
4. bark ... 3 loads of 4 dharnis each.
5. charcoal ... 3 loads of 3 dharnis each.

Contd...
Wicker supplies required for one year

30 mandro (sheets).
30 nanglo (winnower).
30 chelno (sieves).

These supplies shall be purchased with the proceeds of the saunefagu and chhala levies collected in the villages of Dubachaur, Gyalthum, and Lamagaun.

Supplies to be used until they become unserviceable

300 silauta (grindstones) of hard stone.
300 stones for grinding (lohoro).
4 big wooden drains.
2 copper sieves.
300 big earthen pots (bhiunt).
200 flat earthen pots (kahatara).

The skins of all buffaloes sacrificed on behalf of the royal palace at different places during the Dashain festival shall be requisitioned for use by gunpowder factories.

The services of three potter (kumhael) families assigned for the supply of earthen pots.

The following persons from the following villages have been assigned for work at the gunpowder factories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>No. of villages</th>
<th>Total no. of workers</th>
<th>No. of workers to be employed daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thimi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakadesh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bode</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanegaun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpani-Chhahare</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubachaur and Lamagaun</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
Gyalthum  
Half  15  5

Halchok  
1  15  5

Thigani  
1  24  8

Musbahal Tol  
1  33  11

Total  12 11/2  844  281

These workers shall be employed in the following manner every day:

7 workers for grinding gunpowder-materials into small grains.
3 for grinding agar (?).
15 for transporting firewood.
2 for boiling saltpeter.
4 for grinding sulphur.
3 for supplying bark.
6 for grinding saltpeter.

The remaining workers shall be kept in reserve to replace those who are unable to attend because of sickness, death in the family, etc.

Funds for purchasing saltpeter shall be obtained from Bara, and for purchasing weights from Saptari and Mahottari, every year.

Chaitra Bali 8, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 162-64.

Supply of Gunpowder

Royal order to Subba Dhanraj Rana of Pyuthan: "We have deputed Sarjar Bhakti Thapa to Kumaun. Supply five muris of gunpowder to him as soon as you receive this order. Remission shall be granted when the accounts of the gunpowder factory are scrutinized."

Shrawan Sudi 10, 1851.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 313.

(On the same date, Dhanraj Rana was ordered to supply three muris of gunpowder to the new company deputed to Kumaun under the command of Ajar).

Conti...
4. Wax Procurement

Ijara to Narayan Newar

On Shrawan Sud 11, 1851, Narayan Newar was granted a monopoly ijara for the procurement of wax all over the kingdom. He was required to supply 255 dharnis of wax to the government every year. Private trade in wax was banned. The ijara was previously held by Chamu Khawas.


Procurement Arrangements

On Shrawan Sud 11, 1851, Bhanu Lama, Kalu Khawas, and Jasu Gurung were deputed for the procurement of wax in the region situated west of the Gandi river and east of the Marsyangdi river. Local functionaries and other people were forbidden to sell their wax to others.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 325.

On Kartik Badi 4, 1859, a contract with Madho Singh Rana for the supply of 40 dharnis of wax and 50 dharnis of honey from Dhamrachok was reconfirmed.


Ban on Exports

On Kartik Badi 7, 1859, bhardars and local officials in the region situated east of the Dhoikhola river and west of the Kanaka and Tista rivers were ordered to make sure that checkpost employees and tax-collector (jagati, bhansari) examine the baggage of people travelling to the plains and confiscate wax, if any. The order added: "If employees of the wax-contractor (main-bhansari) visit that area, collect all available supplies of wax and hand these over to such employees on payment of prices current there. If the employees of the main-bhansari do not visit that area, send supplies of wax to Nepal."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 616-17.

Manufacture of Candles

On Kartik Badi 7, 1859, a royal order was issued granting exemption from unpaid-labor obligations (jhara, buth, degar) to Manakrishna of Yanchhe Tol in Bhadgaun and Hawa Tol in Kathmandu, who had been employed in the manufacture of wax candles.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 616.

Contd...
Extracts from regulations promulgated in the name of Bhotepanda, Kapardar of the royal household, on Jestha Sudi 11, 1859:

**Section 1:** Appointments in gunpowder factories, saltpeter depots, etc. all over the kingdom are hereby placed under your authority.

**Section 8:** Appoint the ditthas, peons, etc. of gunpowder factories at Nuwakot and Kathmandu. Do not appoint bad people in those factories, but select good ones. Arrange for the early supply of gunpowder, saltpeter, and sulphur. Keep a careful watch on gunpowder stocks, and do not let them be used for wrongful purposes. Employ the inhabitants of the villages assigned for the gunpowder factories, and make arrangements to replace their jagir lands if so necessary because of allotment for other purposes.

**Section 9:** Appoint mehtars in the sora-mahals (saltpeter depots) of Mahottari and Bara districts.

**Section 15:** Procure lead from mines all over the kingdom, and prohibit sales without the permission of the royal palace. Inform the kajis of the quantities of lead procured from different parts of the kingdom.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 539-44.

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**King Prithvi Narayan Shah**

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the July 1978 issue)

In those days, people in northern India generally travelled in winter and returned home in the middle of the spring season. Tihar was a popular festival among the people of Gorkha and the Chaubisi principalities. In that year, the Shaitika, the last day of the Tihar festival, occurred during the last week of October. King Prithvi Narayan Shah spent the rainy season in collecting money and supplies for his journey. He then left Gorkha for Varanasi toward the end of October.

Contd...
King Prithvi Narayan Shah took the direct route from Gorkha to Patna through Devaghat. He climbed the Mahabharat hills, proceeded along the banks of the Gandak river, bathed at the confluence of the Ganga and Gandak rivers, and performed worship at the temple of Harihara. He then crossed the Ganga river and reached Patna via Digha Ghat. Patna was the capital of the province of Bihar at that time and was known as Azimabad. It was a commercial center also. Prithvi Narayan Shah must have stayed a few days in Patna and studied its political situation as well as its commercial activities.

(Note: Prithvi Narayan Shah's bath at the confluence and his visit to the temple of Harihara have been described on the basis of conjecture, because this was the proper thing for him to do. At that time, one had to cross the Ganga river by boat while travelling from Hariharakrishna to Digha Ghat on the way to Patna).

One could travel from Patna to Varanasi also by boat, but the land route was more suitable for the Gorkhalis. The Brojpur (West Bihar) route was very popular at that time, because it provided direct access to Varanasi through a stone bridge over the Ganga. Prithvi Narayan Shah seems to have arrived in Varanasi, together with his entourage, through this route.

(Note: The traditional route for a pilgrim visiting Varanasi lay through Vindhyavasini and Prayag. But the festival at Prayag would commence on the Makara-Sankranti day, and Prithvi Narayan Shah obviously did not want to wait there till then. That is why it has been conjectured that he proceeded directly to Varanasi).

The Mughal Empire of India had collapsed by that time, and provincial governors were becoming independent. The Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah, was only a titular emperor. The provincial governors used to pay him a small portion of the provincial revenue as tribute, and were otherwise autonomous. They even signed treaties with other rulers. The center of India had been transferred from Delhi to Poona, capital of the Peshwas. The Peshwas were trying to establish a Hindu Empire in India by occupying the Mughal throne. Bihar was under the control of the Nawab of Bengal, and Varanasi and the adjoining districts were under Saadat Khan, Nawab of Oudh. Saadat Khan had granted the Zamindari of Varanasi and the adjoining areas to a
Bhuminhar Brahman named Balwant Singh, who had been invested with the title of Raja by Muhammad Shah. He was thus the lord of Varanasi. As a Zamindar, he harassed the common people, but was afraid of and even in collusion with hooligans and the marauders. Because of political unrest, the city of Varanasi had become a den of hooligans, imposters, cheats, etc., and their agents used to harass pilgrims. As it was a holy place for Hindus, many high-ranking Hindus of northern India and Maharashtra were building houses there. Discourses on the scriptures by scholars were held there. Pilgrims from all over India exhibited their erudition by assembling there during the winter. Newsmen from several provinces used to stay and disseminate news. Therefore, although Prithvi Narayan Shah had difficulty in acquiring information about political, economic, and cultural developments of India at Varanasi, the task was made easy through the help of the Mishra brothers.

(Note: This account is based on a study of the situation prevailing in India at that time).

On arriving at Varanasi, Prithvi Narayan Shah performed religious rituals like baths at Manikarnika and the Ganga, and worship at the temple of Vishwanatha. He then studied the causes and effect of the political, economic, and cultural upheavals in India.

(Note: The Bhasha-Vamshawari of Khadjar Budi Him Singh does not mention that King Prithvi Narayan Shah visited the temple of Vishwanatha. The biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah contains the following account):

"Thereafter, (Prithvi Narayan Shah) visited the temple of Vishwanatha. The Raja of Sirmur had come to Varanasi for the same purpose. The people of Varanasi, including the hooligans of that city, regarded King Prithvi Narayan Shah with great awe. Even notorious among those hooligans stopped moving about in the lanes of Varanasi with weapons for fear of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. They cleared the way for him when he visited the temple. He made offerings of money at the temple, performed religious ceremonies, and came back. On the other hand, the Raja of Sirmur found it difficult to visit the temple of Sri Vishweshwara because of the crowds of people belonging to the plains. King Prithvi Narayan Shah saw this and sent messengers to make inquiries. The Raja sent the reply that he was the Raja of Sirmur and had come to perform worship at the temple of Sri Vishweshwara. The people of the plains withdrew when they saw the twelve or fifteen Gorkhali messengers. The Raja of Sirmur was thus able to enter the temple easily. He was very surprised when he saw the awe with which the local people regarded the Gorkhali soldiers and sent a message requesting King Prithvi Narayan Shah for an audience. The request was granted.

Conti...
"After exchanging courtesies, the Raja of Sirmur said to King Prithvi Narayan Shah: "Both of us are foreigners, but the local people regard Your Majesty with such awe as they do not show toward us. While Your Majesty was visiting the temple of Sri Vishwanatha, the people cleared the way when they saw twelve or fifteen of your men, and it was easy to offer worship at the temple easily. This has greatly surprised us. Your Majesty is the Raja of Gorkha, and has royal paraphernalia and some soldiers. I, too, am the Raja of Sirmur, and am accompanied by 1,200 or 1,500 soldiers, along with royal paraphernalia. We are not here as ordinary persons. Even then, the people of the plains do not show any deference toward us. If the people of another country do not feel any awe even when they see a king and his soldiers, such a king does not gain in fame, nor will he be able to retain his kingdom. This is what has happened to me.

"On the other hand, a king who commands the awe and respect of the people of another country gains in valor and extends his territories. It seems as if Your Majesty's luster has struck the whole of the city of Kashi with awe. We too have been struck with awe at seeing Your Majesty and members of Your Majesty's entourage. We feel that if we remain in the company of Your Majesty, not even the God of Death can approach us. We feel that Your Majesty will become as illustrious as King Prithu and that many kings will come under Your Majesty's sovereignty. I would, therefore, like to maintain friendship with Your Majesty."

King Prithvi Narayan Shah then told the Raja of Sirmur: "Kings establish friendly relations with each other, not with others. If any king does not do so, it is likely that he will lose his kingdom. If any king acts according to the advice of an evil-minded minister, he will surely be vanquished by his enemies. A king must, therefore, always remain alert and vigilant and distinguish between good and bad people, as well as between faithful people and traitors. It is not enough to be a king. A king who wants to earn fame in the world must act with great wisdom."

The Raja of Sirmur felt very happy when he heard these words. He said: "We do not think that Your Majesty lacks in any virtue or quality, or in wisdom and valor. Your Majesty is indeed possessed of a divine quality." He then requested King Prithvi Narayan Shah to grant him a formal document of friendship (dharma-patra). King Prithvi Narayan Shah granted his request, and the Raja of Sirmur then left for his kingdom.

"When he heard this news, the Raja of Doti, who too was living in exile in Kashi, requested King Prithvi Narayan Shah for protection, because his subjects had wrongfully sided with his brothers. King Prithvi Narayan Shah granted a dharma-patra to him also."
Baburam Acharya comments on this account given in the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah:

"At that time, there was no idol of Vishwanatha, nor a temple, in Varanasi. Perhaps the story was current, then as now, that God Vishwanatha had jumped into the Jnyanawapi (well) and was hiding there, and pilgrims may have been offering obeisance at the well. It was not likely that there would be a crowd at the well. As such, the account given in the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, as excerpted above, is like the raving of a lunatic. The name of the Raja of Sirmur has not been mentioned. How did King Prithvi Narayan Shah grant a dharma-patra to a king whom he did not know even the name? The account is thus wholly baseless. It is certain that King Prithvi Narayan shah only offered obeisance at the Jnyanawapi well, thinking that God Vishwanatha had concealed himself there.

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Land Reclamation in the Eastern Tarai Region

Appeal to Runaway Chaudharis

Royal order to the chaudharis, kanugoyes, mokadiams, and jethraiyats of Saptari and Mahottari who had fled to India: "You have fled to India to escape the injustice of amils (i.e. revenue-collection officials and functionaries). We have, therefore, deputed Kaji Abhiman Singh to reclaim virgin lands (kalabanjar) in those districts and promote settlement. With due assurance, apply to him for permission to reclaim such lands and pay land taxes at the rates prescribed by him. He will collect arrears of revenue due from you on easy installments and hand over the proceeds to the amils."

Falgun sud 15, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 146-47.

This order was issued on the same date to chaudharis and other local functionaries in the districts of Rautahat, Bara, Parsa, and Morang also.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 147.

Appeal for Cooperation

Royal order to Kamal Chaudhari, Dhaul Chaudhari, Majhuram Chaudhari, Sarbajit Chaudhari, and other chaudharis of Saptari district: "We have deputed Kaji Abhiman Singh to reclaim and promote settlement on Kalabanjara.

Contd...
lands in that district. Render all possible cooperation to him in this task. As instructed by him, persuade all chaudharis, mokaddams, and ryots who have fled to India to come back. Represent your hardships and grievances, if any, through Kaji Abhiman Singh, and we shall take suitable action."

Falgun Sud 15, 1856.

Information to Local Authorities

1. Royal order to the Subba and Pouzdar of Morang, Bhotegaun, and Nizamtara: "We had previously deputed Kapardar Dhana Singh Khaika to reclaim and settle all Kalabanjar lands in that district. We have now deputed Kaji Abhiman Singh for the same purpose. He will settle Kalabanjar lands which are not included in your ijara. Do not make any claim to such lands."

Falgun Sud 15, 1856.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 150.

2. Royal order to the Subba and Pouzdar of Saptari and Mahottari: "We had previously deputed Benuihar Jaisi and Benejatta to reclaim and settle Kalabanjar lands in those districts. We have now deputed Kaji Abhiman Singh for the same purpose. He will settle Kalabanjar lands which are not included in your ijara. Do not make any claim to such lands."

Falgun Sud 15, 1856.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 150.

Administrative Arrangements

1. Royal order to Jagat Pande: "We have deputed Kaji Abhiman Singh to reclaim and promote settlement on Kalabanjar lands throughout the Kingdom. Render all possible cooperation to him in this task. If you have any grievances of your own, represent them through him, and we shall take suitable action. With due assurance, make arrangements for the reclamation and settlement of Kalabanjar lands."

Falgun Sud 15, 1856.

2. On Falgun Sud 15, 1856, Srikrishna Upadhyaya and Jayamangala Upadhyaya were informed: "Kaji Abhiman Singh has been deputed to reclaim and settle Kalabanjar lands in all parts of the Kingdom. Join him and do everything necessary according to his instructions to promote such reclamation and settlement."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 149.
3. On Falgun Sudi 15, 1856, the jamadars of forts in Saptaari, Mahottari, Morang, etc. were informed that Kaji Abhiman Singh had been deputed to reclaim and settle Kalabanjar lands in the Tarai region. They were ordered to render all possible cooperation to him in this task and act according to his orders. They were assured that their services would be duly appreciated if they completed the task successfully.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 149-50.

4. On Falgun Sudi 15, 1856, Jayanta Shahi was informed that a new company with 101 rifles had been formed and placed under the command of Kaji Abhiman Singh for the reclamation and settlement of Kalabanjar lands. "The Kaji has already reached Chaudandi; send the troops there. The company shall obey the orders of Kaji Abhiman Singh, and not go anywhere without his permission."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 149.

5. On Falgun Sudi 15, 1856, three persons were appointed as nausindas for clerical work relating to Kaji Abhiman Singh's assignment to reclaim and settle Kalabanjar lands. They were paid emoluments totalling Rs 31½ per month, in addition to miscellaneous perquisites.


Financial Arrangements

1. On Falgun Sudi 15, 1856, the Subba of Morang was ordered to disburse Rs 5,000 from revenue payments due for the year 1857 as emoluments of Kaji Abhiman Singh for that year.


2. On Falgun Sudi 15, 1856, the Subba and Fouzdar of Bara and Parsa were ordered to disburse Rs 1,000 from revenue payments due for the year 1857 to Kaji Abhiman Singh for providing credit (bhot, tagari) to settlers and for constructing irrigation facilities.


3. On the same date, the Subbas and Fouzdars of the following districts were ordered to disburse the following amounts in the name of Kaji Abhiman Singh for the same purposes:

- Morang ... Rs 2,000.
- Saptari-Mahottari ... Rs 1,500.


Contd...
Schedule of Tax-Assessment Rates

Royal order to the birtaowners, jimidars, chudharis, kanugoyes, mandars, gachhiers, and other local functionaries in Morang, including Bhotegaun and Nizamtaur under the administrative jurisdiction of Vijayapur, Saptari and Mahottari, and Bara, Parsa and Rauptahat:

"We have deputed Kaji Abhiman Singh with authority to reclaim and settle Kalabanjar and other waste lands, other than lands already under cultivation (sanbati). Obtain allotment-certificates (patia) from him against payment of taxes at the following rates. All allotments previously made by Benudhar Jaisi and Benudatta are hereby reconfirmed, and we shall issue certificates under the royal seal accordingly.

"Continue cultivating the lands that are already under cultivation, and retain their cultivators there as usual, so that revenue may not decline. Attract settlers from birta and jagir lands, as well as from the Moglan (i.e. India), and reclaim and settle Kalabanjar lands.

"If cultivators on cultivated raikar lands willingly take up Kalabanjar lands for reclamation, so that revenue from raikar lands does not decline, they shall be permitted to do so.

"Revenue from Kalabanjar lands reclaimed and settled by you shall be credited directly to the accounts of the Tosakhana (in Kathmandu) every year, and not included in (payments due under ijara) from the subba.

(To be continued).

*************
Regmi Research Series
Year 10, No. 9
Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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Land Reclamation in the Eastern Tarai Region
(Continued from the August 1978 issue)

Schedule of Tax-Assessment Rates (Continued).
(For each mouja)

1. Five-Year Allotments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Land Tax</th>
<th>Increment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>6 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>6/9</td>
<td>3/2</td>
<td>9/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>9/6</td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td>15 1/6/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>16/6/2</td>
<td>16/6/2</td>
<td>32/13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Seven-Year Allotments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>32/13</td>
<td>16/3/2</td>
<td>46/3/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>49/3/2</td>
<td>18/7/2</td>
<td>67/11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Ten-Year Allotments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>67/11</td>
<td>16/13/3</td>
<td>84/9/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>84/9/3</td>
<td>10/9/1</td>
<td>95/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth</td>
<td>95/3</td>
<td>5/15</td>
<td>161/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the third year, each thatched house shall pay one rupee.

Each plow with two oxen shall pay:

One rupee from the fourth year.
Rs 2/4 from the fifth year.
Rs 2/10/2 from the sixth year.
Rs 3/4/2 from the seventh year.
Rs 4/4/2 from the eighth year.

From the ninth year, taxes according to the area cultivated shall be paid at current rates.

Contd...
Schedule of taxes for moujas covered by revenue-collection lianas:

Rs 14 on each mouja of abal grade yielding a minimum income of Rs 100.

Rs 11 on each mouja of sim grade yielding a minimum income of Rs 75.

Rs 8 on each mouja of doyam grade yielding a minimum income of Rs 50.

Rs 6.5 on each mouja of chahar grade yielding a minimum income of Rs 25.

10 annas on each mouja yielding a minimum income of Rs 5.

In case any allottee dies and is not survived by relatives within three generations, his property shall accrue to the government.

No unpaid labor (both, igar) shall be exacted, nor shall ad hoc (femaoral) levies be collected.

Singarhat, bihedani, sagaulha, etc. shall be paid after five years at rates prescribed by the kajis.

Falgun Sudi 15, 1856.


Regulations in the Name of Kajl Abhiman Singh

Falgun Sudi 15, 1856.


Regulations regarding reclamation and settlement of Kalabanjar lands in the districts of Saptari, Mahottari, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, and Morang.

(Abstract translation)

1. You are hereby granted authority to issue allotment certificates (patti) to ryots subject to the tax-assessment-rates (raibandi) mentioned in the royal order. We shall confirm these certificates under the royal seal.

2. People who live across the border in India and desire to cultivate lands on this side shall be permitted to do so. However, they shall be told that allotment-certificates will be issued to them only if they construct huts after one year. Such certificates may be issued to any ryot who is willing to construct a hut immediately.

Contd...
3. One or two maujus of Kalabanjar lands shall be allotted for reclamation and settlement to each birtshowner and jagirdar according to his capacity. Taxes on such allotments shall be collected every year even if they do not bring the lands under cultivation.

4. Make arrangements to establish hut markets wherever possible in the reclaimed areas on payment of appropriate levies.

5. The royal seal may be affixed through you on certificates of allotment of Kalabanjar lands. No other person shall be allowed to issue such certificates without your permission. Do not delegate this authority to any person.

6. We shall issue orders confirming appointments of chaudharis and kanugoyes made by you for the reclaimed areas.

7. Expenses on the construction of government irrigation facilities will be sanctioned as certified by the local omil.

4. One or two maujus of Kalabanjar lands shall be allotted to each chaudhari, kanugoye, mahaldar, or other respectable person.

9. Obtain the sanctioned funds from subbas and incur reasonable expenditure on supply of credit (bhoti, tagari), construction of irrigation facilities, and payment of salaries to the nausindas.

**********

Kumaun Affairs, 1797

On Magh Badi 14, 1853 (January 1797), the following royal order was issued in the name of Chautariya Man Shah:

You have recommended that the post of subba of Kumaun be abolished and replaced by an Amali Adda, so that the interests of His Majesty may be promoted, and the surplus amount left after meeting local expenses may be deposited at the Tosakhana. Accordingly, we have dismissed Prabal Rana from the post of subba and summoned him to Kathmandu. We now grant you authority to wage war, conclude treaties, and conduct a revenue settlement of that region. Do what is necessary to promote our interest and bring you credit,

Contd...
so that the ryots remain satisfied and no complaints reach here, and the region too becomes prosperous. Understand that the credit or blame will belong to you.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. IA, p. 45.

Amar Singh Thapa, with his deputy, Gobind Upadhyia, was in charge of the civil administration in Kumaun in 1795. In 1796, they were replaced by Prabal Rana and Maya Krishna Thapa respectively. Subsequently, in 1797,

The intrigues at court brought the Chautara Party once more into temporary power and Ram Sah with his brother Kuldhan Sah as deputy supplanted the Thapa faction in the civil administration at Almora. Their short tenure of office is said to have been heralded by the imposition of a new tax of five ruppes per jhulu (i.e. from six to thirteen acres according to the custom of the place) of cultivated land held by Brahman which had hitherto been exempt from the payment of revenue, but as this tax was very seldom collected, it may be held to have been merely a measure intended to keep the more refractory and intriguing members of that caste in order. So long as they gave no trouble to the authorities it was not levied, but if the Brahman landholders were suspected of paying more attention to political affairs than to the cultivation of their holdings, the tax with arrears was at once demanded. Ajab Singh and Shreshtha Thapa, who had previously held office in 1794, relieved Ram Sah and his brother.


******

Contd...
Kashmiri and Gosain Traders

In 1774, George Bogle, was deputed by the East India Company to explore the possibilities of developing trade between India and Tibet. He reported from Lhasa that in Nepal:

The merchants, subject to heavy and arbitrary fines upon the most frivolous pretences, and obliged to purchase the protection of a tyrannical government by presents scarcely oppressive, quitted a country where they could no longer enjoy that freedom and security which are the life of commerce. The Gosains, who had formerly very extensive establishments in Nepal, having incurred the Gorkha Raja's resentment by the assistance which they afforded his invasions, were driven out of the kingdom and many of the most wealthy inhabitants being stripped of their possessions, or exposed to the extortions of a conqueror, likewise deserted it. Only two Kashmiri houses remain, and the Rajah, afraid of their also abandoning him, obliges them to give security for the return of such agents as they have occasion to send beyond the boundaries of his dominions.


George Bogle never visited Kathmandu; hence his account is second-hand. It is also inconsistent to say that Prithvi Narayan shah drove out the Gosain traders but felt afraid of the Kashmiri traders also leaving Nepal. No Nepali source materials are available to substantiate Bogle's statements.

There is evidence that prithvi Narayan Shah was on good terms with at least a few of the Gosains and Kashmiris:


(2) Prithvi Narayan Shah had guaranteed protection to a Kashmiri trader named Sodulla Mojamji in 1722 (A.D. 1765) even before the conquest of Kathmandu. The assurance was reiterated in 1736 (A.D. 1779). (Nayara Pant et al., shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shah ko Upadeha (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah). Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.i., pt. 2, pp. 1057-60).

(3) After Sodulla died, his Kashmiri co-traders gave cash and property worth Rs 5,800 to his wife, Hamula Badi. This was confirmed through a royal order in 1840 (A.D. 1791).

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 5, p. 43.
(4) Sadulla was survived by two sons, Sunaulla and Mohammed Ali. In 1848 (A.D. 1791) a royal order was issued in the name of their creditors providing for a moratorium of three years for repayment, so as to enable them to continue their trading operations.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 5, p. 44.

(5) In 1851 (A.D. 1794) a royal order was issued in the name of Sunaulla reconfirming his possession of lands and public buildings near Ranipokhari in Kathmandu. The lands and buildings were previously in the possession of his father (Sadulla) Kojamji. (Nayaraj Pant, op. cit., p. 1059).

(6) On Marga Sudi 14, 1851, ten Rogers of land near Ranipokhari in Kathmandu were granted to Rizab Ali, a Kashmiri trader, in lieu of a sword which had been purchased from him. The sword was sent as a present to the Chinese Emperor with the Damodar Pande mission.


(7) In A.D. 1831, Brian H. Hodgson reported that merchants from Benares had established at least ten flourishing commercial houses in Kathmandu, while "the Cashmirians of India have had Kothees there for ages past". (Brian H. Hodgson, "On the Commerce of Nepal", in Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet. London: Trubner & Co., 1874, p. 96.

These documents show that Kashmiris continued to live in Kathmandu and conducted trade even after Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of Kathmandu Valley.

Gosain and Bairagi traders too continued their operations not only in Kathmandu Valley but also in the hill districts:

(1) A royal order issued in 1847 (A.D. 1790) refers to "the Bairagi and Newar traders" of Gorkha.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 5, p. 27.

(2) There were "madhise, Newar, and gosain traders" in the eastern hill region between the Dudhokosi river and the Kanaka-Tista rivers (Ibid, vol. 5, p. 150), in the western hill region between the Trishuli and Marsyangdi rivers (Ibid, vol. 5, p. 560), and in Bhadgaun (Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 219-20) during 1861-63 (A.D. 1804-6).

**********

Contd...
Selected Lalmohar orders of samvat 1888

Payment of Salaries
Baisakh Badi 1, 1888.

Subba Hiralal Jha was ordered to pay from revenues collected in Sharadgaun during the samvat year 1888:

(1) Rs 1462½ against salary due to Sandar Ranabhadra Basayat.
(2) Rs 300 as salary of Vishwapriya, a nurse, for the samvat year 1888.

Disbursement of Revenues from Nagre Mines
Baisakh Badi 4, 1888.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 44, p. 239.

Subba Kulanand Jha, who had been granted an ijara for the operation of the Nagre mines, was ordered to pay:

(1) Rs 120 as salary to Guhyanaran for 1887.
(2) Rs 300 as salary to Ajit Kanwar for 1888.

Allowance to Descendant of King Yogarajendra Malla
Baisakh Badi 1, 1888.

The amali of Patan was ordered to pay an annual allowance of Rs 100 to Harasimha Malla, a descendant of King Yogarajendra Malla (1685-1705).

Purchase of Banat Cloth
Baisakh Badi 6, 1888.

Chautariya Pushkar Shah was ordered to disburse Rs 1,750 for the purchase of banat cloth for the shirts (kurthi) of the soldiers of the Barakh Paltan.

Dancers and Musicians at the Royal Palace

Four separate letters of appointment:

1. Prakash Patariya, a dancer, at Rs 175 a month.
2. Shankar Singh, a musician (vocal), at Rs 160 a month.
3. Jamuni, a dancer, at Rs 175 a month.
4. Gillojan, a dancer, at Rs 225 a month.

End...
The Tosakhana office had borrowed Mohar Rs 5503-15½ from Subba Kulananda Jha, Patna Rs 1989-7½ and Mohar Rs 159-3 were due to him because an audit of the accounts of revenues deposited by him under an ijara for revenue-collection in Bata, Parsa, and Rautahat during the samvat year 1884 had revealed that he had deposited more money than actually due under the ijara. These amounts were paid to him from the revenues collected on contract (theek) basis in the Rampur, Pihar, and Mahisoth Pargannas of Saptari district during the year 1887.

Subba Kulananda Jha had also collected customs and other duties on Nepal-Tibet trade (Bhet-Bhansar) on amanat basis during the years 1882 through 1886. An audit of the accounts had revealed that Rs 8874-3 was refundable to him. Bishnu Singh, who had been granted an ijara to operate the Parbat mines and the paisa mints in Beni and Baglung-chaur during 1887, was ordered to disburse the amount in favor of Subba Kulananda Jha.

Ijara for Collection of Customs and other Duties
Baisakh Badi 6, 1888.


Bhawani was granted a one-year ijara from Poush Badi 12, 1886 to Poush Badi 11, 1887 for collecting the following revenues and operating the following monopolies (Ukhettri):

1. Customs duties (bhansar) on goods imported from India (madhesh).
2. Jagat duties on the routes leading to Tibet.
3. Duties on stamping chint cloth.
4. Monopolies in borax, gur, and indigo.
5. Nazrana duties at Sindhuli.
6. Chaudhari levies on traders from the madhesh.
7. Duties on goods brought from the east, the west, the north, and the south.
8. Jagat duties at Charange-Pokhari and Shankhu.

Contd...
11. Monopoly in hides and skins.


13. Customs duties on goods brought by dalal and Khepuwa traders.

14. Stamping duties on metal utensils exported to Tibet.

15. Tax on vermillion powder manufactures in Kathmandu and Patan, with the exception of Banepa and Sankhu.

16. Duties on the printing of chint cloth in Bhadgaun.

17. Duties on salt (Nun-bhansar).

18. Duties (Bhansar, dalal) in Nuwakot, comprising areas east of Bhimdunga, west of Changu, Kathmandu Valley and Khinchet.

19. Chaudhari duties from Newars living in the region west of the Marsyangdi, Gandi, and Chepe rivers and east of the Bheri river, including Tanahu, Lamjung, Kaski, Nuwakot, Dhor, Paiyun, Garhun, Parbat, Dhurkot, Isma, Pyuthana, Galkot, Rukum, etc. including dalal and bhansar duties, judicial fines and penalties, and escheats, and levies on jagir lands occupied by Newars residing on bitalab lands.


21. Fees for inspecting and stamping cloth and other merchandise imported by traders of all categories from Tibet and the mahesh.


23. All revenues collected in Thak.


26. Monopolies in chares, wax, and cardamom.

27. Duties on copper despatched from mines.

28. Stamping duties on chint cloth printed by Khepuwa traders and other printers.

29. Taxes levied in Thak.

30. Taxes collected from Newars residing on bitalab lands; including dalal duties.

The value of the ijara was previously Rs 69,705; it was now increased to Rs 72,705, payable at the Tosakhana Office. Rs 7,200 was payable in advance; the balance in three equal installments of Rs 16,376 and Rs 16,377 in the final installment.

...
Note:- The history of this ijara goes back to at least 1842 (A.D. 1785). Available references are as follows:—


(2) "Ijara Grant to Shyam Sundar ..." Marga Sudi 5, 1860. RRC, vol. 19, pp. 158-61.

(3) "Ijara Grant to Mahindra Singh ..." Shravan Sudi 14, 1862. RRC, vol. 6, pp. 308-13.

(4) "Ijara Grant to Hanumanta Singh ..." Poush Badi 4, 1873. RRC, vol. 36, pp. 339-43.

Harihar Singh Newar held the ijara before Shyam Sundar, and Kulananda Jha before Hanumanta Singh.

Ijara for Collection of Bhainsi-Bhangar Levies
Baisakh Badi 6, 1838.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 44, pp. 245-47.

Bhawani was granted a one-year ijara from Aswin Badi 15, 1868 to Aswin Badi 10, 1869, for the collection of the following taxes and levies:—

(1) Taxes on the sale and purchase of buffaloes in Kathmandu, Patan, Bhadgaun, and elsewhere in the Kingdom.

(2) A tax on the sale of buffalo-meat.

(3) Jagat duties on buffaloes at Charangiya, Khopari, Dolalghat, and Bhaiseghat.

(4) Levies of vendors of milk and curd in Bhadgaun and Patan.

(5) Penalties for injuries caused by buffaloes.

(6) Levies from Chitrakaris in Bhadgaun.

(7) Judicial fines and penalties, as well as escheats, from Podes in Kathmandu.

(8) do. from Kasais, up to a limit of Rs 100 in each case; the surplus shall be transmitted to the palace.

The value of the ijara was previously Rs 20,002; it was now increased to Rs 21,502. The following remission shall be granted:—

Contd...
(1) Rs 810 and 12 annas as arrears due from each village in a year (unclear).

(2) Milk and curd for offerings to the temple of Sri Taleju at Patan, at the rate of 2 annas daily, making a total amount of Rs 45 in a year.

(3) 25 male buffaloes for the temple of Sri Taleju in Bhadgaun worth Rs 50 a year.

The total amount of remissions was thus Rs 905.12.

Rs ..., as the cost of meat to be offered to the temple of ... in Kathmandu every day, shall also be deducted.

The balance of Rs 20,596 and 4 annas shall be credited at the Tosakhana in cash and in kind as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial payment</th>
<th>Rs 2,425.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aswin</td>
<td>Rs 5,575.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kartik-Marga</td>
<td>Rs 2,525.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poush-Magh</td>
<td>Rs 2,525.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falgun-Chaitra</td>
<td>Rs 2,525.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baisakh-Jestha</td>
<td>Rs 2,525.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashadh-Bhadra</td>
<td>Rs 2,496 and 4 annas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rates of taxes and levies were prescribed as follows:

(1) Transit duty at Rs 1½ on each buffalo; but the rate shall be doubled if smuggled buffaloes are apprehended.

(2) Levy on the sale and purchase of buffaloes in all parts of the Kingdom with the exception of Thimi.

(3) Rs 2 for each buffalo which is slaughtered for meat.

Other references to the ijara for the collection of Bhainsi-Bhangar levies are as follows:

Bhawani was granted a one-year ijara, from Jesta Badi 9, 1888 to Jesta Badi 8, 1889, for the following:

(1) Monopoly (ekahatti) in cotton, both raw and ginned, and cotton yarn, and collection of Jagat and bhansar duties on these commodities, in the region situated east of the Kali and Modi rivers and west of the Kanaka and Tista rivers, including Kathmandu Valley, the hills, and the Tarai, with the exception of Thimi.

(2) Jagat duties on cotton, both raw and ginned, at Barmandi, Thankot, Pharping, Bhimdunga, and Satighat.

The value of the ijara was previously Rs 27,151; it was now increased to Rs 27,651, from which Rs 1,350 was deducted as follows:

(1) Jagat duties on bhupra (?) at Barmandi - Rs 400.
(2) Bhansar duties on general merchandise (kirana) at Ambapur - Rs 400.
(3) Panauti and Chakalkhani - Rs 450.
(4) Bodhe - Rs 150.

The amount actually due under the ijara was thus Rs 26,301.

The royal order added: "Traders shall sell their cotton only to the ijaraadar. If they sell it to others, he may collect fines and penalties from them."

Other references to the ijara for the collection of Kapas-Bhansar duties are as follows:

(1) "Ijara-Grant to Melhuma Banda for Collection of Kapas-Bhansar Duties". Jesta Badi 2, 1826. RRC, vol. 5, pp. 654-55. The ijara was previously held by Taudhik Singh Newar.

(2) "Ijara Grant to Taudhik Singh Newar..." Bagra Sudi 4, 1857. RRC, vol. 19, pp. 20-21.

(3) "Ijara Grant to Harihar Singh..." Magh Sudi 12, 1860. RRC, vol. 5, pp. 456-57. The ijara was previously held by Bhaujan.

(4) "Ijara Grant to Shyam Sunder..." Bhagra Badi 1, 1862. RRC, vol. 6, pp. 305-8.

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Because of his preoccupations in Varanasi, King Prithvi Narayan Shah had to postpone ritual shaving of the head and other ceremonies at the Triveni confluence in Prayag. A few days before the Makara-Sankranti festival (January 11, 1764), he left Varanasi for Prayag by land route. After performing religious ceremonies at the Triveni, he returned to Varanasi through Vindhyachal, where he performed religious ceremonies at the temple of Vindhyavasini.

(Note: It is not possible that King Prithvi Narayan Shah, who had gone to Varanasi on pilgrimage, did not ritually shave his head, and visit the temple of Goddess Vindhyavasini. But both his biographer and bardar Buddhiman Singh, author of the Bhashavamsahawali, are silent on this question. Even according to Khadrar Sherman Singh, biographer of King Narabhupala Shah, the main purpose of King Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Varanasi was to meet the Avasti mendicant. He has done so apparently to highlight the importance of Jayamangala Pandit (Poudyal), and created the fictitious character of the Avasti. In Serman Singh's words:

"Jayamangala Pandit has greatly pleased the Avasti mendicant of Kashi. The mendicant had the power to curse or offer boons to anybody. Jayamangala Pandit visited Gorkha along with the bride, planning to tell Prithvi Narayan Shah about the mendicant, particularly because Prithvi Narayan Shah was at that time starting a campaign of conquest. On hearing Jayamangala's account, Prithvi Narayan Shah's desire to bathe in the Ganga river and visit the temple of Sri Vishweshwara was further strengthened."

The biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah contains the following account:

"At Jayamangala Pandit's request, Prithvi Narayan Shah met the Avasti and told him what his ambition was. The Avasti promised to help him fulfill his ambition. Prithvi Narayan Shah then performed religious ceremonies to gain the Khedgasiddhi (i.e. success with the sword). After the ceremony was over, the Avasti presented him with a sword. He said, "If you fight with this sword, or go to a battle with it, you will be able to kill your chief enemy. If not, at least you yourself will sustain no physical harm." Prithvi Narayan Shah thus received the consacrated sword. The Avasti said he would visit him on his way to the Goseinthan festival to see his ambitions fulfilled."

Contd...
In his Bhashavamshawali, Khardar Buddhiman Singh writes: "Prior to Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Varanasi, the Awasti mendicant visited Gosaithan after touring the four sacred places of pilgrimage (in India). He sent a message to Prithvi Narayan Shah promising to devise some means for enabling him to conquer Nepal, if the Dhaibung agra was granted to him for financing a sadavarta (i.e., a place where raw or cooked food is supplied free to mendicants, pilgrims, etc.) for the benefit of pilgrims visiting Gosaithan."

Khardar Buddhiman Singh adds: "When he reached Varanasi, prithvi Narayan Shah made a search for the mendicant who had previously visited Nuwakot. In the meantime, he met Jayamangala Pandit, with whom he talked about the mendicant. The Pandit said he knew the mendicant and would bring him to Prithvi Narayan Shah. He accordingly did so. On the request of the mendicant, King Prithvi Narayan Shah made a ritual gift of Dhaibung at the Manikarnika (on the banks of the Ganga river). The mendicant presented him with the sword called "Jumbir", saying that it would bring him and his descendants victory in war. The wife of the Pandit was the mendicant's disciple, and he handed over to her Dhaibung, which he had received as birta, on condition that she install there an idol of Sri Ramachandra, perform daily and ceremonial religious functions there, provide food and accommodation to pilgrims on the way to Gosaithan, and appropriate the surplus income on an inheritable basis."

This account is surprising. At the time when Prithvi Narayan Shah ascended the throne, Dhaibung was a part of the principality of Kantipur. It would have been foolish on the part of Prithvi Narayan Shah to make a ritual gift of a territory which did not belong to him. He could not have acted so foolishly. However, many families known as the gurujs of Dhaibung lived at Mahabauliha in Kathmandu. The house built by Jayamangala for his residence in Kathmandu was probably located there. All of these families described themselves as his descendants. However, they used the lands in Dhaibung not as the sadavarta-guthi of the temple of Sri Ramachandra but as Kush-birta. Tenants brought foodgrains from Dhaibung to them in Kathmandu. The birta appeared to have been granted by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, but only after his conquest of Kathmandu. The temple of Sri Ramachandra also exists, but it is located not on the Dhaibung hill but at the foot of the hill in the north on the confluence of the Trishuli and Bagmati rivers. The idol seems to have been made some time after King Prithvi Narayan Shah. Pandit Hirnath, a descendant of Jayamangala Pandit, was unable to furnish any evidence of the birta grant. If the Lalmuhar grant is found, and if it contains a reference to the Awasti, he can be regarded as an historical person.

Conti...
The *Nepal-sanskrit-sangraha*, an anthology of Sanskrit literature, published by the Nepali Bhasa Prakashini Samiti in the Samvat year 2020 (A.D. 1963) for use as a text-book in English schools at the S.L.C. level, contains a Sanskrit poem by Pandit Harinath Dhungel entitled: "Shri 5 Maharajadhajasya Prithvinarayanasya Khadge-siddhih" (Consecration of the Sword of King Prithvi Narayan Shah) (pp. 169-72). The contents of the poem are as follows:

"There once lived a Brahman called Chandrakara, who belonged to the Agasti gotra, in the village of Mahabung near Nuwakot. His father used to call him by the name of Galabram. He went to Kashi to spend his old age there, and was known as Siddha-Agasti. In the Vikrama year 1800, he visited the four places of pilgrimage (chardhams) in India. He then visited the shrine of Nilakantha (at Gosainthan?) and came to Nuwakot out of affection for his old home. He was then 84 years old. Seeing troops there, he asked whom they belonged to and where they were going. General Maheshwara told him that the troops belonged to Prithwi Narayan Shah and planned to attack Nuwakot and Nepal. The General then prayed for his blessings. The Siddha said: "I shall consecrate his sword if your King grants the village of Mahabung as birta for a salavarta-guthi at the temple of Sri Ramachandra. Your king's ambition will then be fulfilled." Prithwi Narayan sent a message in reply directing that the Siddha be kept there for a few days, as he was engaged in a religious function. However, the siddha refused to wait and left for Varanasi. On hearing this, Prithwi Narayan Shah left for Varanasi along with his troops. In Varanasi he requested Jayamangala Pandit to locate the Siddha. The Siddha then consecrated Prithwi Narayan Shah's sword and said: "So long as this sword remains in your possession, and in that of your descendants, you will have no fear of your enemies and will succeed in war and other missions." Prithwi Narayan Shah, on his part, granted him the village of Mahabung through a ritual ceremony performed at Manikarnika. The Siddha, who did not desire the birta for himself, installed an idol of Sri Ramachandra at Mahabung and placed the village in the charge of the wife of Jayamangala Pandit, who was his disciple. She was instructed to perform regular and ceremonial religious functions at the temple, provide food and accommodation to travellers and pilgrims visiting Gosainthan, and appropriate the surplus income on an inheritable basis."

The author of this poem, Harinath Dhungel, himself belonged to the Agasti gotra. It is clear that he has imagined the Awasti mentioned by Kharier Sherman Singh, the biographer of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, and Kharier Bishwan Singh to be the same as Chandrakara Dhungel, who was born in Dhauibung and was also known as Tulab Ram.

Several years ago, when the author had visited Gosainthan, he had seen a stone inscription at a roadside shelter in Dhauibung hill. The inscription mentioned...
the names of a Brahman woman who had built the roadside shelter and her several sons. The author cannot recollect these names. But he remembers that the name of a relative called Lokanath was also mentioned in the inscription. Jayamangala's son was Vrajanatha, whose son, Ranganath, is well-known in the history of Nepal. It was possible that Lokanatha was Vrajanath's brother, and their mother the preceptor of King Prithvi Narayan Shah's youngest queen, Narayani Laxmi.

Subsequently, the author was able to procure a copy of the inscription, which was written in the Sanskrit language in the Shaka year 1704. The month is not mentioned. The date corresponds to A.D. 1782 or 1783. The main points contained in the inscription are as follows:

"Jayamangala was a scholar and an agnihotri. He had five sons by his wife, Gauri. The eldest son, Vrajanath Sharma, was well-versed in the scriptures. The second son was Raghunath Sharma, who was a devotee of Sri Ramachandra. The other sons were Jagannath Sharma, Lokanath, and Hari (nath). Gauri built a roadside shelter at Rampur where water was supplied to travellers and pilgrims, and offered it to Sri Narayana. She consecrated the shelter on Thursday, on the fifth day of the full moon, in the Shaka year 1704. May Sri Narayana be propitiated through this act."

Because the second son, Raghunath, was a devotee of Sri Rama, it seems that he installed an idol of the god on the banks of the Betrawati river and sought to rename the village of Dhaibung as Rampur. Five years previously, Vrajanath had been degraded from his caste and banished. Even then, because he was the preceptor of Queen Rajendra Laxmi, he was being received with respect in Varanasi. Gauri was thus an influential person at the time when the stone inscription was installed. Her other sons too were obviously occupying positions of honor at the royal palace. Jayamangala Pandit was already dead at that time, and Raghunath was the head of the family. He built a small temple on the banks of the Betrawati river, installed an idol of Sri Ramachandra there, and renamed the village of Dhaibung as Rampur. The inscription does not show that the village of Dhaibung had been endowed as a guthi for pilgrims visiting Sainthnath. Only a roadside shelter where water was supplied to travellers was built. There is no mention at all of the siddha Awesti or Agasti. There is no evidence, therefore, that King Prithvi Narayan Shah had granted the village of Dhaibung as birta to the siddha Awesti for endowment as a guthi. The Awesti was, in fact, a fictitious person. Some of the descendants of Gauri in Dhaibung informed the author that the priest of the temple of Sri Ramachandra on the banks of the Betrawati river was given 15 or 20 muls of paddy yearly. It is possible that this was done from the lands allotted to the temple by Raghunath from his share of the ancestral property.

(To be continued).
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Jung Bahadur
By
Baburam Acharya

(Purnima, 27, Aswin 2029 (September-October 1972), p. 178).

Ahiram

Ramakrishna (Sardar)

Ranajit (Kaji)  Nayan Simha Thapa (Kaji)

Balanara Simha (Kaji)  Ganesh Kumari

Jung Bahadur

On Wednesday, Magh Badi 9, 1902, King Rajendra appointed Jung Bahadur as General, with the Dadarkhana Kumarichok, the Basantapur Tahabil, and the Bhandarkhal under him.

On Wednesday, Aswin Badi 11, 1903, King Rajendra appointed him as Mukhtiyar and Commander-in-Chief.

On Kartik Badi 11, 1903, King Rajendra announced that he would leave for Kashi. He directed that both civil and military officials should act according to the orders of Jung Bahadur, and that the junior Queen and her sons should be prevented from coming back to Nepal, and punished if they committed treason.

On Thursday, Kartik Sud 10, 1903, King Rajendra wrote a letter to Surendra as follows: "I am leaving for Kashi. Ascend the throne if I am imprisoned. Otherwise, do so when I attain the age of forty years."

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Contd...
Nepal: strategy for survival

By Leo E. Rose

Reviewed by Radhir Subba


The title of Leo E. Rose's book "strategy for survival," which was published in 1972, sheds light on its subject: mastering the long-term methods and strategy adopted by Nepal for its survival. Leo E. Rose has written this book after several years of study and research on Nepal's foreign policy during the past two centuries. His diligence must be appreciated. But a thorough study of the book compels one to conclude that it was written with preconceived notions, and that the author's attention has gone only to those events, that underscore those notions. No reference has been made in this book to those historical events that refute his preconceived notions. Whatever any reference has been made, their meaning has been distorted.

This article seeks to comment on the conclusions of the author. Leo E. Rose has refrained from directly writing that Nepal was not a sovereign state and only indirectly hinted at this. In order to refute that hint, it is essential to think over some historical events.

After the present kingdom of Nepal was founded 200 years ago, Nepal has been constantly vigilant and successful in maintaining its identity. As a result of the 1757 Plassey War, the British Empire was founded in India. It began to spread in northern India, and within a few decades, the whole of northern India, except Punjab and Kashmir was incorporated into the British Empire. Later, Punjab, Kashmir and other states in southern India too were incorporated. But Nepal was successful in safeguarding its independence and sovereignty. The main criterion of sovereign independence is freedom to maintain foreign relations and determine an independent foreign policy.

Prior to the Nepal-British War of 1814-16, Nepal had relations with both China and Britain. According to the then prevalent custom, foreign relations were maintained through exchange of envoys from time to time. Nepal had a foreign policy of its own to regulate relations with these countries.

The Sugauli Treaty of 1816 did not take away this freedom of Nepal. Nepal's foreign relations thus remained unhindered, and Nepal did not lose the freedom to determine its own foreign policy. The treaty gave Nepal-British relations a written form, but did not create any obstacle contd...
in Nepal's relations with China and Tibet. Indeed, these relations continued as before. Contacts were maintained later also with Afghanistan and Burma. In 1855-56, the Nepal-Tibet War occurred, and for nearly 100 years afterwards, Tibet abided by its treaty with Nepal.

Nor is there any substance in the view that because of the 1792 Nepal-China treaty Nepal lost or limited its sovereignty. That every five years a goodwill delegation used to go to China from Nepal to offer presents to the Chinese Emperor is only one aspect of the eastern world attitude. The concept of sovereignty as is prevalent these days originated in the West. The western concept of sovereignty has been adopted by the entire world these days. According to the modern concept, a nation which enjoys the right to establish foreign relations is sovereign. That Nepal sent presents to the Chinese Emperor every five years cannot mean that Nepal lost its sovereignty. Even after signing the 1792 treaty Nepal fought and concluded treaties with Tibet, as well as with the British Empire. Nepal's freedom to maintain foreign relations and determine policies governing these relations remained intact.

Let us now discuss Leo-E. Rose's conclusions. He has mainly tried to stress two points:

(1) From the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah Nepal had requested Chinese help to fight the British Empire but it never received any.

(2) Economic factors are important in determining a country's foreign policy. It is due to economic factors that Nepal had to fight with Tibet frequently and maintain relations with China. It is for this very reason that in today's context Nepal needs to maintain full cooperation with India. Nepal should formulate its foreign policy accordingly.

It is on this basis that Leo E. Rose has criticized the nonaligned policy of Nepal. This policy has been propounded primarily in the context of the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. It aims at non-alignment in relations with them. Leo E. Rose regards Nepal's exposition of the nonaligned policy in its own context to maintain equal friendship with both India and China is an unrealistic and untimely. He has even made sarcastic comments on these principles propounded by Nepal.

Leo E. Rose's first conclusion is erroneous. That Nepal never received any help from China when it sought such help against British-India is historically correct. But what was China's condition during the past two centuries? China itself was weak and exploited by imperialist powers at that time. Nearly 175 years ago Napoleon had said: "China is a sleeping lion."
Let us now discuss the second point. The author concludes that the arguments used mainly present a section of the population that is not sufficiently concerned with the supply line of all essential commodities. He asserts that we should not only be aware of these factors, but also of the historical events that have shaped them. He believes that the economic factors have a direct effect on a country's health and that they have a direct impact on the health of the people. He argues that these factors are not always related to the general welfare of the country.

In his analysis, the author emphasizes the importance of having a balanced perspective on the supply of essential commodities. He mentions the historical events that have shaped the supply system and how they have affected the health of the people. He argues that these factors are not always related to the general welfare of the country.

He concludes that the only way to ensure the well-being of the people is to balance the supply system. He emphasizes the importance of balancing the supply of essential commodities and how they have affected the health of the people. He argues that these factors are not always related to the general welfare of the country.
Every country takes its national interests into consideration. Is there any enlightened man who will remain indifferent to the dignity, independence, and sovereignty of his country? In the present age, no nation can abandon its sovereignty merely on grounds of its geographical and economic constraints. As Leo E. Rose himself has noted, Nepal has remained highly alert on this question for the past two hundred years. We cannot forsake freedom to formulate our own stand on international issues keeping the national interests in view, and for anyone to express any reservations on this question is to insult the Nepali people.

If any Chinese journalist write in a newspaper that the people of Lhasa descend to Kathmandu during the winter, as if it was their winter capital, the Nepalis will only feel amused. But actually, 5,000 Indian tourists visited Kathmandu during this summer because of the sweltering heat in India, and an Indian correspondent even remarked that they seemed to have treated Kathmandu as though it was their summer capital. Thus the writings of Chinese and Indian journalists on an identical issue evoke different reactions. This is probably because the British used to shift their summer capital from Calcutta to Darjeeling and from Delhi to Simla.

In 1971, Pakistan disintegrated, and Bangladesh emerged as an independent nation. But the tussle among different forces did not end even with that event. Thousands of people were killed even after the creation of Bangladesh. Ultimately, Mujibur Rahman himself was assassinated. Nobody can predict the shape of things in Bangladesh, for the struggle between the forces that were behind its emergence and those that murdered Mujibur Rahman, are still strong. It hardly need be pointed out that both forces represent external powers, not the people of Bangladesh.

Another change was the overthrow of King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan in a coup d'état. In that coup, one of his own relatives Daoud, was proclaimed Head of State. There was another coup d'état in 1978, in which the entire Daoud family was murdered. Now a Marxist regime has been installed in that country. The new rulers of Afghanistan have reopened the issues of Pakhtoonistan and Baluchistan in Pakistan. What factor has inspired the new rulers of Afghanistan to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan?

A tussle has started in Afghanistan. Nobody knows what the future has in store.

Leo E. Rose has discussed events until 1969 only in his book. He probably wrote the book in 1970 and published it in 1971. At that time, Mr. Kissinger had not visited Peking, nor had the U.S. President done so. The table tennis tournament had not been held at Nagoya in Japan, and Sikkim had not been "merged" into India.

Contd...
Many developments have taken place in South Africa since 1971: Ethiopia, Somalia, Congo, South Yemen, Zaire. The conclusion might have been different had Leo E. Rose written a book on Nepal's long-term strategy for survival with due consideration to the international situation in the light of all these developments.

*****

Nepal's Defeat in the Nepal-British War

By

Mahesh Raj Pant


The Nepal-British war of 1871-72 Samvat is an important event in the history of Nepal and India. It put a stop to the campaign of territorial conquest that the Nepali people had started in 1801 Samvat. Nepal was compelled to sign a treaty with the British surrendering one-third of its territory. The British also suffered much loss in the war, even though they had been attaining easy success through intrigues.

(Note: Their victory in the Battle of Plassey in 1814 Samvat enabled the British to impose their domination in Bengal. Nawab Sirajuddaula of Bengal assembled a force of 50,000 to fight the British, who had only 3,000 troops. It was, therefore, difficult for the British to defeat Nawab Sirajuddaula in the battle-field. But the British attained an easy victory, because they had already won over Mir Jafar and Roy Darlabh, generals of Sirajuddaula, to their side.

(This account is based on Ishwari Prasad and Sharad Kumar; Arvachina Bharat Ka Itihasa (A history of modern India), p. 73.

In his book Bharatmen Angreji Rajya (British rule in India) (1st. ed., p. 946), Sundarlal writes: "The British were badly defeated by the Nepali forces at several places. Some British generals proved themselves to be very incompetent and cowardly and so were dismissed by the Governor-General. The Nepal war was the fiercest and bloodiest war fought by the British until that time in India."

Contd...
Similarly, in his *Britishkalin Bharatak Itihasa* (A history of British India) (PP. 219-20), P.E. Roberts writes: "The first Nepal war, started by Lord Hastings, was quite different from the big wars he fought with the Marathas. Lord Hastings has been blamed for his inability to understand the intricacies of war. But Nepal is the most difficult country in the world from the viewpoint of warfare. The Gorkhalis are braver than any other Indians, except the Sikhs. We must realize that the troops engaged in this war had no experience of fighting in mountainous terrain. Generals, with the exception of Ochterlony, proved the incompetence. The Gorkhalis had not been able to muster more than 12,000 troops, whereas the British invading force consisted of 34,000 men. Even then, the British suffered much loss of life and property. General Gillespie, of the Battle of Java fame, was stopped at the first round of fighting at a hill fort and was killed. General Martindell was repulsed when he launched an attack on Jyathak. Ochterlony alone was able to maintain his position in the attack on western Nepal."

On Kartik 18, 1871, Samvat, Lord Hastings, Governor-General of the East India Company, declared war on Nepal from Lucknow. War then started formally. British troops had, however, entered Nepal in the west twelve days previously.

(Note: The diary of Daivajnyashiromani Laxmipati Pandé, which is in the possession of Mohan Nath Pandé, contains the following entries. The words written in parentheses have been added to explain the meaning.

On Aswin Sudi 7, 1871 Samvat (Kartik 6), British troops intruded into Khusyalpur, which is situated in Nepali territory. From there they reached Dehra on Aswin Sudi 9 (Kartik 8), and Nalapani on Aswin Sudi 11 (Kartik 10). Captain Balabhadra Kanwar was in command of the Nepali fort at Nalapani. There was an exchange of fire at six ghalis after sunrise (about 8:30 A.M.), and nine men of the enemy were killed. Two men lost their lives on our side. The enemy then withdrew to Dehra.

Taking advantage of the most important festival of the Nepalis, the Dashain, the British had actually started the war eight days before it was formally declared. 34,000 British troops then advanced in five sectors with the objective of occupying the entire area from Morang in the east to Handur in the west.

In this war, the British were defeated by the Nepalis from the Koshi region to the Karnali region. In the Jamuna region, the Nepali were not able to defeat the British, but at least defended themselves. However, they could not even defend themselves in the Gangetic region.

Contd...
It is not easy to identify the reasons for Nepal's defeat in this war, because the reasons were many.

1. Since the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era, the Renaissance in Europe had led to considerable development in technology. This development eluded India. Consequently, Nepal's weapons were inferior to those used by the British.

(Cf. Jawaharlal Nehru: Glimpses of World History, chapter captioned "Renaissance or Reawakening"; Jayachandra Vidyaratna: Itihasa Pravesha (An introduction to history), chapter captioned "Uyana-Jagrici-ka Abhava" (Lack of knowledge and enlightenment); and Surya Bikram Chyangwalli: Amarsimha Thapa, chapter captioned "Harka Karan" (Reasons for defeat).

2. Through pressure and intimidation, the British obtained a loan of Rs 25 million from Nawab Ghaziuddin of Oudh for the Nepal war. With this money, they recruited troops and procured military equipment and supplies. The Nepalis did not have so much money, nor were they in position to borrow from any source. Consequently, they have fewer troops and less equipment and supplies than the British.

3. In 1849 Samvat, Kirkpatrick visited Nepal as the envoy of the Company government. He wrote a book on whatever he saw and knew about Nepal and presented it to the high-ranking authorities of the East India Company. The book was published in 1867 Samvat.

In 1859 Samvat, Hamilton remained in Kathmandu for one year along with the British Resident, Knox. He employed several persons to collect information about Nepal. After he was forced to leave Nepal, he stayed two years in the border areas and collected further information. Hamilton thus made strenuous efforts to collect secret information about Nepal. In 1876 Samvat, he published his book on Nepal and dedicated it to Wellesley, who was Governor-General of the East India Company at the time he was in Nepal.

In Nepal, on the other hand, the tradition of education in politics was absent. Consequently, the Nepalis were unable to collect information about the country or to acquire the secrets of the British.

4. After returning to Nepal from Kashi, the Swami Maharaj, Ran Bahadur, summoned King Prithvipala Sen of the Vassal Kingdom of Palpa and put him in jail. Palpa was then annexed by force, when Ran Bahadur was assassinated by his half-brother, Sher Bahadur. Prithvipala Sen was accused of being an accomplice in the crime. Bhimsen Thapa had been killed in cold blood on this charge. This action naturally undermined the trust of the Vassal States in the government of Nepal. Consequently, some of them went over in support of the British during the Nepal-British war.

Contd...
(Note: It is true, of course, that the British offered many allusions to the prominent generals of Nepal and even promised to make them rulers of areas under their control in an attempt to win them over. But the bhardars of Nepal, who had been taught the lesson of patriotism by Prithvi Narayan Shah, did not succumb to the temptation. They did not attempt to become rich by rebelling against their country.

(Based on the chapter "Jwalanta Deshabhaktira Swarthatyaga" (Shining patriotism and spirit of sacrifice) in Amara Simha Thapa).

5. During the war, the British conducted much propaganda to undermine the morale of the Nepalis. For Nepali officials, on the other hand, it was necessary to acquire information about developments in another province from the spies of the British. These are the main reasons for Nepal's defeat in the Nepal-British war. There are several other reasons as well. A separate essay is necessary to discuss them thoroughly.

The present essay intends to discuss the fifth reason in detail.

A letter written by Chautariya Bam Shah, administrator of Garh and Kumaun, and his colleagues to the government of Nepal is interesting in this context. The letter has never been published before, hence the full text is given below (in translation):-

"We had already submitted a report from the place where the dead body of (Chautariya Hastadal Shah, who was killed in the battle of Gannath on Baisakh 13, 1872 Samvat) was cremated. We then transported supplies and ammunitions across the (Maha) Kali river on four elephants and 600 porters. Some supplies are still being transported.

Hearsey was captured. When he was defeated in the battle, Gardner reported to the Governor-General (Lord Hastings) that he was being besieged by 24,000 Gorkhalis. Previously, when fighting started, they had 22,000 or 23,000 troops in all at different places. When that report was received, they assembled 30,000 or 32,000 troops equipped with flintlocks. The figure includes 14,000 or 15,000 in Kali-Kumaun, as well as some in Pali and Almora. At Pilibhit, in the Tarai region of Boli, 5,000 or 6,000 troops have been stationed at important points. However, he is talking about stopping the fighting everywhere, even on my side. I have deputed Sardar Jasmardan Thapa and Subedar Jayakrisha Thapa to Almora to study the situation and submit a report.

Contd...
Colonel Gandhi has sent the following message:

"On the western front, you have lost Sepoy Haridas, Captain Khetri Thapa, Subedar Santayi Chandra Thapa, and one other Sepoy. One was killed in the battle, one Ajender Pithri who was wounded in the battle of Jyotah-Thuul and was captured, while Captain Santayi Kesar was killed, only one was killed in both sides. 700 (cockrell) troops went over to the rebels. There is a large scarcity of food at the place where the Sabha Jali (Amar Samik Bhapa) and Subedar Narayan Thapa (Jaisi) died. There's also no ammunition. The army is hungry.

"In exchange of communications twice, once by mail and once by telegram, after a reply is received as well as urgent supplies and ammunitions, as well as further troops, come here.

"The son of Jai Ram of Chuna has brought the following information from his parents: "I am (Ajender) Gandhi and I am a doctor. I heard that the captives were being held by themselves. As far as the situation here is concerned, only one person has ever been captured. When I asked them whether they would agree to come, they said, 'Loquat the order to the police, if you are going to maintain such relations with our country, then agree to come.'

"So, I am trying to maintain a friendly relationship with our country, but due to the political situation, I am unable to agree.'"

"I saw the reports about the army's presence on Ahmar, and Ravi calls the police to avoid any trouble. When we informed him about the strange cases, he stayed on in the police. On hearing this, Gandhi expressed desire to meet him. Because we were unable to take action on Santayi, we asked him to go to a police station and take his case to a higher authority. But the police said that it would be submitted to the police.

"Colonel who is accompanying us, is a colonel. He has first class experience when the kingdom started. The leader has come as a governor, with an army to hold negotiations and administer the territory. Colonel Gandhi, you, and 20 or 30 other officers, only 100 military officers are staying in Allahabad-Chunar to look after us.

"With greetings from me, Chand, Chau, Narada, and Anal.

Baltiah Tuesday, Allahabad rail 8, 1917 (evening to leave tomorrow).

(The original document is in the possession of local council).
(Notes: In 1869, Captain Hearsey, disguising himself as a mendicant, had infiltrated into Garh-Kumaun by eluding Nepali guards. He was captured by them and handed over to Chautariya Bam Shah, who was administrator of Garh-Kumaun at that time. Bam Shah had released him with the permission of the government of Nepal. (Aitihasika- patra sangrah, Pt. 1, pp. 104-10). On Chaitra 22, 1871 Samvat, Chautariya Bam Shah's brother Chautariya Hastedal Shah, defeated Captain Hearsey in Kali-Kumaun. Hearsey was wounded and became a prisoner of the Nepalis. (Badridattee Pande, Kumaunka Itihasa (A history of Kumaun), pp. 417-18).

The British used to distribute leaflets containing propaganda about the tyranny of the Nepalis and their own liberality in order to incite Nepali subjects. These leaflets were different according to conditions on the eastern and western fronts. The text refers to such a leaflet distributed by the British in Kumaun.

On Poush 2, 1872 Samvat, the British government issued the following leaflet in the name of the inhabitants of Kumaun:

"The British Government has long been receiving distressing reports about the tyranny and atrocities of the Gorkhalis. It is acquainted with the situation that is prevalent under Gorkhalis rule. So long as there was friendship between the Gorkhali government and the British government, and their relations were regulated by a treaty, it was the duty of the British government to maintain friendship with the Gorkhali government.

"For that reason, the British Government had no choice but remain a silent spectator to the reign of Kumaun under Gorkhali rule. However, the Gorkhalis have now unjustly invaded British territory without any provocation. The British government has been compelled to fight against the Gorkhalis to save its prestige and protect its rights. It gladly utilizes this opportunity to liberate the people of Kumaun from the hands of tyrants. The British government has, therefore, despatched troops to drive out Gorkhali troops and authority from Kumaun for ever. In this great task, the people of Kumaun must help the British government by every possible means, and obey its orders peacefully. Under the benign and impartial rule of the British, the legitimate rights of the people of Kumaun, and their life and property, will be fully protected."

This leaflet was circulated widely. As a result, the Pathans whom the Gorkhalis had recruited in their army defected to the British.

(A History of Kumaun, pp. 409-10).
The leaflet maintains that the British government was compelled to fight against the Gorkhalis because they unjustly invaded British territory without any provocation. This is a blatant lie.

The British were eager to occupy territories in the Himalayan region for British settlements. However, they were hesitant to fight against the Nepalis because Napoleon's influence was growing in Europe and he was working against them. Napoleon was finally defeated in 1815 at Vicksburg. Only after that did the British start the war against Nepal.

(British Rule in India, pp. 928-32, and chapter captioned "Napoleon" in Glimpses of World History).

Bam Shah's letter shows how the British tried to undermine his morale with the report that Balabhadra Kunwar had been killed at the battle of Gythak-Garhi. However, Balabhadra Kunwar did not lose his life at that battle.

Balabhadra Kunwar had shown to the British at the battle of Nalapani that the Nepalis fought bravely. The British had to strive very hard to capture the small fort of Nalapani, Gillespie, who had earned fame at the Battle of Java, lost his life at Nalapani. Balabhadra Kunwar and his men fought to the last; they evacuated the fort only after the supply of drinking water had run out. The British forces had withdrawn in the battle of Gythak-Garhi, and Balabhadra Kunwar had not been killed there. In fact, he did not lose his life during the Nepal-British war. After the war, he went to Lahore, capital of the Punjab. King Ranjit Singh of the Punjab appointed him in his army.

During the Sikh-Afghan war of 1879 samvat, the Nepalis had fought bravely on the side of the Sikhs. It was in this war that Balabhadra Kunwar was killed. Bhimsen Thapa had sent men to Lahore to collect information about this war. The Nepalis who had been appointed in the Punjab army by Ranjit Singh sent a letter to Bhimsen Thapa, some excerpts from which are as follows:-

"Greetings from Subedar Banamali Pantha, Subedar Umed Singh Thakur, Subedar Bhawani Singh Khatri, Subedar Dal... and other Jamadars... The men whom you had sent to find whether Giridnari is alive or dead have come here..."

"There was fighting at Neushera in Peshawar with Azim Khan on the third day of the month of Chaitra... Captain Balabhadra Kunwar, Subedar Ram Singh Khadka, Jamadar Aiman Khawas, Jamadar Rup Singh Khadka, Jamadar Jivan Singh Tura, and 50 soldiers were killed on our side."

Lahore, Thursday, Magh Sud 13.

Contd...
This shows that Balabhadra Kunwar was killed at Naushera in Peshawar on Chaitra 3, 1879 Samvat.

In his letter to the government of Nepal, Bam Shah said that he had crossed the Mahakali river and encamped in Baitadi, because there was no point in trying to fight the British in Kumaun, and also because the British too wanted to end the war.

Bam Shah was thus the first person to accept defeat in the Nepal-British war. He has not asked for reinforcements so that he might attack Kumaun. This shows that British propaganda had already undermined his morale.

But the blame does not lie on British propaganda alone.

Bhimsen Thapa's influence in the government of Nepal started increasing after he accompanied the Swami Maharaj, Rana Bahadur, back to Nepal toward the end of 1860 Samvat from Kashi, where they had gone in 1857 Samvat. Rana Bahadur Shah was assassinated in Baisak 1863. He was succeeded by a minor, hence Bhimsen Thapa wielded considerable power. On the charge of being the accomplices of Sher Bahadur, Rana Bahadur Shah's assassin, Bhimsen Thapa removed many old bhardars from the scene. Many bhardars were exiled to distant areas on one pretext or another. Bhimsen Thapa was thus able to monopolize power. This policy of Bhimsen Thapa had hurt the feelings of Bam Shah, who belonged to the royal family, and was already advanced in years.

(Note: A document dating back to the time of Laxmipati Pandit shows that Bam Shah was born in 1812 Samvat).

This may have been another reason why Bam Shah was not eager to continue fighting. He even appears to have toyed with the idea of defecting to the British if Bhimsen Thapa took strong action against him on the charge that he crossed the Mahakali river and went to Baitadi.

(Note: The British offered many allurements to persuade Bam Shah to defect to their side when they came to know that Bam Shah was dissatisfied with Bhimsen Thapa. However, Bam Shah, notwithstanding his dissatisfaction with the Thapa, had no desire to become rich by acting as a traitor to his country. (A History of Kumaun, p. 410, and Kumaun, p. 120).

There is no doubt that for some time Bam Shah was undecided about his future course of action, because his brother was killed in the war, he had received reports that Nepal had been defeated on the western front, and he was not happy with Bhimsen Thapa's policy.

Contd...
neer, true to the promises of arterial serum, such as he remained a patient to the last, being taught his own life as soon as the idea that was why he did not take any stronger action against the band.

The story of this is well illustrated by the following extract:

On November 17, 1670, Major, was such suppression, over his name, on November 19, 1670, Major, in the same town, and later the same year, the suppression of colonial defense, a few days later, sostantial authority did not come into Churapid, as told Gardner. I as feeling very apprehensive about the reaction, I will not take advantage of the reaction of my healing entrance. In which on the suppression of Nadum, will lay the entire blame on for the examination of Nadum. The image of Nadum, this is the byword now that has been used.

For the reaction will follow in what seems with stage style, and put my life in danger. This, of course, is a far-off question, but I ask for my service to be well received in Nadum. If the matter is considered wisely, they will realize the importance of uniting the view, which led me to act, without any procrastination by immediately proceeding up and down across the Kail river, his majesty has affection for me, but is in the words of my master, I shall not feel deserted, suffer, if the way is ordered so that I do not, for that reason, I order to say, to do, no, not in Nadum until it is received from you.

Colonel Gurney gave instructions to Capt. Clark and ordered him to his personal capacity not to live here, but to try to defeat the enemy. He also advised him to come the Kail river, occupy both, and commence at that region. The sailing vessel called Great Standard, told nine who ordered not cold, and caught the sailing vessel Great Standard than sailing Great Clark is attributed to the author Gurney of the British command would duly take, since he was not on good terms with the admiral of Nadum.

Further, as seen, relevant with Capt. Gurney's letter of June 11, 1672, was:

The plan intended to leave Nadum, cross the Kail river, call for assistance, and act the advice of his brother, ex-territorial chief, in the letter of June 8 and 10, 1672, and that the Governor-General ordered the proposed that Captain Gardner had made with regard to lots and agreed to render financial and military assistance to the band.

Subsequently, General Gardner, administrator of Nadum, sent the sailing vessel Great Standard, and subsequent stage style, to sail the stage and cross (Standard) the first time, and indicate him along the second time.
When Edward Gardner raised the question of Loti, they said they would act according to his proposal only if they had no other alternative. They said so without much enthusiasm.

(Amara Simha Thapa, pp. 159-61. The western calendar dates have been converted into equivalent samvat dates).

Bam Shah had no information about the progress of the war in the western and eastern sectors. He was thus compelled to depend on information supplied by British agents. That was the reason why he crossed the Mahakali river and went to Baitadi. Such events may have taken place in other sectors also.

W. may conclude that one important reason for Nepal's shattering defeat in the Nepal-British war was the inability of the officials of one province to know what was happening in other provinces and the adverse impact of the British propaganda on their morale.

***

Pagari-Salami Levy in Chitaun

Umanidhi Pantha had been granted authority to reclaim virgin forest lands in Chitaun, Belaun, Dasjhot, Gadikhar, and Maryadpur.

A sum of Rs 15 was collected as Pagari-Salami from newly settled moujas. The rate was the same for existing moujas also.

Both the ijaradars who had been granted contracts for reclamation and settlement and the settlers were dissatisfied with this payment, which they considered too high.

On Jestha Sudi 8, 1866 samvat, therefore, a royal order was issued revising the rates of the Pagari-Salami levy for newly-settled moujas in these areas as follows:-

First year ... Rs 6 on each mouja.
Second year ... Rs 8 "
Third year ... Rs 12 "
Fourth year ... Rs 15 "

Regmi Research Collection,
Vol. 40, p. 45.

*******  Contd...
Prices of Essential Commodities
A.D. 1852 and 1900

Prices of a number of essential commodities stipulated under contract for supply to the royal household in A.D. 1852 had been given in Regmi Research Series, Year 8, No. 1, January 1, 1976, p. 19.

Similar figures are now available for A.D. 1900 also.

A comparative table of the two sets of figures is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1852 Quantity</th>
<th>1900 Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masino rice</td>
<td>22 mana</td>
<td>9(\frac{3}{4}) mana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsi rice</td>
<td>30 mana</td>
<td>11(\frac{3}{4}) mana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tauli rice</td>
<td>32 mana</td>
<td>13(\frac{3}{4}) mana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas pulse (husked)</td>
<td>30 mana</td>
<td>12(\frac{1}{4}) mana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugi pulse</td>
<td>12 mana</td>
<td>11 mana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt:</td>
<td>10 mana</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5(\frac{3}{4}) mana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5(\frac{1}{2}) mana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chee</td>
<td>1 dharni</td>
<td>Rs 2 and 11 annas per dharni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turmeric powder</td>
<td>28 mana</td>
<td>15(\frac{1}{2}) annas per pathi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*****
Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Kathmandu: November 1, 1977

Regmi Research Series
Year 9, No. 11
Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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The salt Trade in Dana

In early A.D. 1860, a contract for the collection of customs duties at Dana in Thak had been given out for Rs 44,501 to Captain Hanakarna Khadka Chhetri. Subsequently, a higher bid was offered by Chyalpa Thakali. Ultimately, however, a new contract was given out to Lt. Champa Singh Khadka Chhetri, Captain Hanakarna Khadka Chhetri's son on an annual payment of Rs 55,501.

Lt. Champa Singh Khadka Chhetri recruited three local people to work for him: Subba Balabir Thakali, Ramashanker Thakali, and Dhana Prasad Thakali.

Chyalpa Thakali, who had been unable to obtain the contract, then persuaded Ramashanker Thakali and Dhana Prasad Thakali to resign. Subba Balabir Thakali, however, refused to join them.

Chyalpa Thakali and his associates then prepared the following plan: "The sale of foodgrains from Thaksatsae to Panchgaun and Barhagaun will not be permitted. This will stop foodgrain exports to Tibet, with the result that no salt will be available in exchange. Once salt imports are disrupted, the Dana customs will collapse, and the condition of Thaksatsae will improve." They then announced that the inhabitants of Thaksatsae would hold a public meeting at Purang to discuss the plan, and that any village headman (mukhiya) who did not attend the meeting would be fined one rupee, and other persons eight annas, every day.

Some Thakalis put their signature on the notice circulated by Chyalpa Thakali and his associates for holding the meeting, whereas others refused to do so. The notice also declared that any inhabitant of Thaksatsae who sold foodgrains would be punished with a fine of three hundred rupees.

Subba Balabir Thakali was one of those who refused to sign the notice. He said: "Everyone should be free to decide whether or not to sell his foodgrains. I am willing to sign any notice if the proposal is to approach the royal palace for the promulgation of appropriate regulations. But I will not sign any document proposing a ban on the sale of foodgrains."

A quarrel ensued between Chyalpa Thakali and Subba Balabir Thakali. However, other persons prevented them from coming to blows. The proposed meeting could not be held. These events took place in the month of Shravan (July-August).
In certain instances, it appears that the government was seeking to suppress certain events, possibly through the use of the Secret Service. The report suggests that a plot to suppress a certain event was thwarted.

The president of the board of directors, Mr. Smith, stated that the board was concerned about the public's reaction to the recent events. He emphasized the importance of maintaining public trust in government affairs.

Senator Green in a speech in the Senate also voiced his concern about the recent events and the need for transparency in government operations.

The following extract from the governmental report highlights the need for increased transparency in government operations:

"The organization of this simple measure of governmental control was initiated to ensure the transparency of government actions. It has been observed that the events in recent history have highlighted the need for increased oversight. By developing a system to control the movement of goods, we are able to ensure that goods are not shared among unauthorized individuals. In 1960, this system was tested in Arkansas, and the movement of goods was monitored closely to prevent unauthorized sharing. The test was successful, and it is now clear that the subject of good control remains an essential component of our governmental operations."

Note: A 774 page report summarizing the findings of the commission, 1979, p. 250.
In 1866 Vikrama (A.D. 1809) the annual contractual payment was fixed at Rs 15,000, and Seema Bhawani Dotra Thapa was authorized to collect it.


The contractual payment of Rs 15,000 yearly was reduced to Rs 13,000 after a few months.


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Law on Land-Holding, 1854

(Continued from the October 1977 issue)

2. If a landholder who has been occupying a homestead on raiker land dies without leaving any heirs behind, or emigrates, and no other person is available who is willing to occupy the vacant homestead and keep the roof intact, and if the homestead has been reallocated to another person who is using it in addition to his own and paying the taxes due thereon, and if later any person offers to set up a roof on the land, the former shall be given the land. If he had not signed any bond, or given any undertaking in the presence of witnesses, that he will relinquish the land (if another person later offers to construct a roof on the land), and had taken up the land for cultivation at a time when it was about to remain uncultivated, and had also been paying rents and other dues on the land, he shall not be evicted, and the land shall not be reallocated to another person who is willing to set up a roof thereon. If anybody evicts the occupant on such land and reallocate it to another person, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to one year's rent on the land, and the land shall be reconfirmed in the possession of the existing occupant.

9. If a landholder who has been occupying a homestead on raiker land dies without leaving any heirs behind, or emigrates, and no other person is available who is willing to construct a roof on the land and occupy it, and any other landholder belonging to the same area, or to another area, has been occupying the homestead in addition to his own, and if another person subsequently offers to set up a roof on the land, the small, dwarf, thari, or mulknya shall reallocate the land to the latter, because the former had been occupying it in addition to his own without paying any rents and other dues. If any landholder complains against such reallocation, he shall be punished with a fine of two and a half rupees, and informed that he cannot be permitted to continue occupying the land.
50. If a landholder who has been occupying a homestead or land under raikar or jafate tenure dies or emigrates, with the result that the homestead or land remains unoccupied, and no other person is available to occupy it and keep the roof intact, and if the amali, thari, mukhiya, or other talukdar has reallocated the homestead or land to another local landholder in addition to his own, the latter shall not again reallocate the homestead or land to another person without the concurrence of the amali, thari, mukhiya, or other talukdar. If he has accepted churam-thedi fees in consideration of such reallocation, he shall be fined with an equal amount, and the talukdar shall again reallocate the land.

51. A landholder may continue to live in the area where his raikar holding is situated, and give it out for cultivation to another person because of lack of means, or affection or charity, or after obtaining a loan in money, or on payment of the amount of rent due on the land or even without obtaining any payment in money. Such land cannot be reallocated by the jimmawal, mohindika, or other talukdar to another person.

If it is proved that with effect from the year 1925 Vikrama (A.D. 1868) any landholder who has shifted his residence to another area has relinquished his land to another person after obtaining payment in money, or on payment of the amount of rent due on the land, or even without obtaining any payment in money, such relinquishment shall not be regarded as valid. The appropriate jimmawal, mohindika, or other talukdar may reallocate the land to any person who is willing to make the prescribed rent and other payments. It shall lie at the pleasure of the previous occupant whether or not to recover the money paid by him.

52. No tenant who is occupying a cultivating homesteads or rice lands under mali tenure of any category, including Guthi, Birha, bhok, plukdor, marwat, chhap, manachmal, and gotiya-kharcha, after paying churam-thedi fees to the owner, shall reallocate such homestead or rice lands after appropriating churam-thedi fees himself thron without the consent of the owner. Such reallocation shall be regarded as valid. Any tenant who makes such reallocation shall be required to refund the amount of churam-thedi fees that he has appropriated, and punished with a fine of an equal amount for having appropriated such fees without any authority. It shall lie at the pleasure of the owner whether or not to let such tenants retain possession of the lands...

Contd...
If a landholder who had been occupying a homestead on raikar land dies without leaving any heirs behind, his nearest relative may offer chardam fees, but not their fees, to the appropriate jimmawal or other talukdar within thirty-five days offering to take over the homestead and rice-lands of the deceased person, keep the roof intact, and pay the prescribed rents and other dues. If (the talukdar) allots (the homestead and rice lands) to another person even when the nearest relative (of the deceased person) had made such an offer, and the latter submits a complaint to that effect, the former shall be punished with a fine amounting to ten percent of one year's rent on the land. The homestead and lands shall then be realotted to such relative.

If no relative makes such an offer within thirty-five days, the smali, jimmawal, or other talukdar may reallot (the homestead and lands) to any other person who is willing to keep the roof intact and pay the prescribed rents and other dues. No (relative) who makes an offer (to take up the homestead and rice lands) after thirty-five days shall receive the reallocation.

If a landholder who had been occupying a homestead on raikar land migrates, and if a childless widow relinquishes her homestead and goes to the home of her parents at another place, they shall not be permitted to reallocate the homestead and rice-lands to another person. If the nearest relative makes an offer within thirty-five days to take over the homestead and rice-lands on payment of the prescribed rents and other dues and to keep the roof intact, and if he pays chardam-theki fees to the jimmawal or other talukdar, the homestead and rice-lands shall be realotted to him. If (the talukdar) reallocates them to another person even when (the relative) has made such an offer, and if the latter submits a complaint to that effect, the former shall be punished with a fine amounting to ten percent of one year's rent on the land. The homestead and rice-lands shall then be reallocated to such relative.

If no relative makes such an offer within thirty-five days, the smali, jimmawal, or other talukdar may reallocate (the homestead and rice-lands) to any other person who is willing to keep the roof intact and pay the prescribed rents and other dues. No (relative) who makes an offer (to take up the homestead and rice-lands) after thirty-five days shall receive the reallocation.

Contd...
55. If a childless widow who had been occupying a homestead on raikar land takes up a lover, she shall not be allowed to keep him in that homestead. If the nearest relative makes an offer within thirty-five days to take over the homestead and rice-lands on payment of the prescribed rents and other dues and to keep the roof intact, and if he pays chanda-thuki fees ranging between eight annas and five rupees to the jimmawal or other talukdar, the homestead and rice-lands shall be reallocated to him. If (the talukdar) realots the homestead to another person even when the nearest relative has made such an offer, and if the latter submits a complaint to that effect, the former shall be punished with a fine amounting to ten per cent of one year’s rent, and the homestead and lands shall then be reallocated to such relative.

If no relative makes such an offer within thirty-five days, the small, jimmawal, or other talukdar may realot (the homestead and rice-lands) to any other person who is willing to keep the roof intact and pay the prescribed rents and other dues.

56. If a widow who had been occupying a homestead on raikar land takes up a lover, leaving in that homestead children below sixteen years of age, and if friends and relatives say: "we shall bring up these children, occupy and cultivate their homestead and lands, pay the prescribed rents and other dues, and, after they come of age, let them occupy and cultivate the homestead and rice-lands left by their parents," then such friends and relatives shall be made to affix their signature on a stipulation to that effect, and allowed to occupy and cultivate the homestead and rice-lands. No person shall evict them and realot the homestead and rice-lands to others. If he does so, he shall be punished with a fine of twenty rupees in the case of a homestead, and of one year’s rent in the case of rice-lands. The homestead and rice-lands shall be restored to the persons who bring up the children.

If the child prefers to live with its mother, the widow shall not be permitted to occupy the homestead along with her lover for looking after the child. She may, however, occupy the homestead and pay the prescribed rents and other dues if she is willing to abandon her lover and look after her child there.

57. If a widow who had been occupying a homestead on raikar land remains chaste to her husband, and continues to live there, keeping the roof intact, and paying the prescribed rents and other dues, no person shall deprive her of such homestead and rice-lands on the ground that she is a widow. The widow shall be permitted to occupy and cultivate
the prescribed routes and other areas. If any person
shall pay the prescribed rates and other areas, and any person
shall pay the prescribed rates and other areas, he shall
be liable for the payment of the prescribed rates and other areas.

The second section of this act, entitled "The
prescribed routes and other areas," shall be
repealed and the prescribed rates and other areas,
shall be paid for the property of such persons as may
be assessed therefor. The rate shall be assessed
on the basis of the assessed valuation of the property.

The third section of this act, entitled "The
prescribed routes and other areas," shall be
repealed and the prescribed rates and other areas,
shall be paid for the property of such persons as may
be assessed therefor. The rate shall be assessed
on the basis of the assessed valuation of the property.

The fourth section of this act, entitled "The
prescribed routes and other areas," shall be
repealed and the prescribed rates and other areas,
shall be paid for the property of such persons as may
be assessed therefor. The rate shall be assessed
on the basis of the assessed valuation of the property.
duty, the owner shall not be permitted to evict them and
reallot lands to other persons, unless the payment of
rents and other dues is defaulted, and until the children
reach the age of sixteen years. However, the owner may
eject them if they default in the payment of the prescribed
rents and other dues.

If the owner ejects (the wife, son, or daughter of
a person cultivating mei lands of the above-mentioned
categories who is killed in war, or dies while on official
duty) even when they continue paying the prescribed rents
and other dues, he shall be punished with a fine amounting
to one year's rents on the lands, which shall be restored
to (the wife, son, or daughter of the deceased person).

After the children reach the age of sixteen years,
the owner may eject them, even if they have not defaulted
in the payment of the prescribed rents and other dues,
to cultivate the lands himself, or give them out to other
persons on higher rents according to the law. He shall
not be deemed to have committed an offense if he does
so. Any tenant who submits a complaint against the owner
for having resumed the lands for personal cultivation,
or for giving them out to other persons on higher rents,
after the children reach the age of sixteen years, shall
be punished with a fine of two and a half rupees, and
informed that the lands cannot be restored to him.

C1. If a landholder who has been residing on raiker or jafati
lands commits any crime and absconds along with his family,
a notice shall be affixed at his house prescribing a time-
limit of thirty-five days. If he does not come back and
reoccupy his homestead and rice-lands within that time-
limit, and if his relative makes an offer within the pres-
scribed time-limit to keep the roof intact and occupy the
homestead and rice-lands on payment of the prescribed rents
and other dues, these shall be reallocated to him. If no
relative makes such an offer within the time-limit of
thirty-five days, the homestead and rice-lands shall be
reallocated to any other person who is willing to keep
the roof intact and pay the prescribed rents and other
dues. The absconder shall not be permitted to claim the
homestead and rice-lands subsequently.

(To be continued).

***************
King Prithvi Narayan Shah

By

Baburan Acharya

(Continued from the July 1, 1977 issue)

Chandra Prabhavati and Kausalyavati were on good terms with each other. Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah was kept and educated inside the royal palace until he was six or seven years old. Physical development is essential along with the development of education. This was the reason why the two co-wives started impart training to Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah in sports in a playground on a hill near the royal palace. In those days, hide-O-khar, Dandiyo, football, and wrestling were the main hill sports. In addition, Dunrayikhel and Lukamari (hide-and-seek) were also popular.

Every year in winter after the Dashain Festival, the royal family used to shift to a palace in the valley of Pokhari thok. The Crown Prince must have started practising horse-riding at the age of eight or nine years, because there were horses in the royal stables. He must also have been proficient in the game of football because the grounds there were extensive. The market of Pokhari thok used to flourish in winter. There were idols of Gorakhnath in Gorkha and Kathmandu only in the region east of Doti, Brahmanas and Thakuris, and Chhetris of that region, therefore, encamped at Pokhari thok during their pilgrimage to Gosainkunda and Pashupatinath. They used to visit Gorkha to pay their respects to Gorakhnath, who was a devotee of Goddess Manakamana, because Manakamana was a center of pilgrimage for the people of Kathmandu and also for Nagers inhabiting the region from Pyuthan to Dhading. The shrine had been installed by Siddhi Lakhan Thapa. In this manner, the market of Pokhari thok in Gorkha was visited by people from many places in winter. The pilgrims wore different costumes and spoke different languages. During his stay at Pokhari thok, the Crown Prince had an opportunity to study their ways of life. He did not lose this opportunity. He also continued his studies.

(Note: This account is based on a study of the contemporary situation).
Queen Chandragrabha had the main hand in building the character of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. The queen created hatred in the mind of the Crown Prince for luxury when she saw the princes of the Chaubisi principalities spoiled by luxurious living. This is why the Crown Prince did not have the slightest intention of living a luxurious life. He developed a good character and became courageous, perseverant and industrious from his very childhood thanks to the moral education he received from the queen.

(Note: This account is based on a study of the character of King Prithvi Narayan Shah).

Some months before the birth of Crown Prince Prithvi Narayan Shah, Jagajjaya Malla had become King of Kantipur, and Yogaprakash Malla of Lalitpur, on the terms as had been stipulated before, when Mahendra Sinha, King of Dolkha, Kantipur, and Lalitpur died. Jagajjaya Malla did not allow Nilanarayan, son and heir-apparent of Mahendra Sinha, to become King of Dolkha. He drove Nilanarayan out of Dolkha, which he annexed to Kantipur. King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur was angry with Jagajjaya Malla because of this action. He had given asylum to Nilanarayan Malla. But it was beyond Ranajit Malla's power to restore the throne of Dolkha to Nilanarayan. Therefore, Ranajit Malla did not make active efforts to do so. Nilanarayan Malla went out of Bhaktapur in disguise with the intention of regaining the throne of Dolkha through the support of the Kings of Lamjung, Tanahu, and Makawanpur. When he reached Naladum-Godi accompanied by thirty-two bodyguards from Dolkha, the officials who had gone there from Kantipur for protecting the fort killed sixteen persons, including Nilanarayan, with the help of the inhabitants of Sankhu. Seventeen of the thirty-two bodyguards were captured and sent to Kantipur. Jagajjaya Malla rewarded his officials and the inhabitants of Sankhu for their achievement (in early December 1724 A.D.).

(Note: This account is based on the copper inscription of Rupal Sambat 845 found at the temple of Vajrajogini in Sankhu. The inscription does not clearly mention the killing of Nilanarayan Malla. But it does not refer to his fate. As such, there is no doubt about his killing).

King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur became angry at the assassination of Nilanarayan and asked military assistance from King Narabhpal Shah of Gorkha to punish Jagajjaya Malla. Troops had to be despatched from Gorkha to Bhaktapur in disguise because Kantipur and Lalitpur had prohibited movement through their territories. King Yoga Prakash Malla of Lalitpur and Jagajjaya Malla had reached an agreement by this time; hence it had become difficult for Ranajit Malla to attack them. Even then, the troops of Bhaktapur

Contd...
and Gorkha occupied an area in Lalitpur which adjoined the southern border of Bhaktapur. But King Ranajit Malla was placed in a difficult position when the Gorkha troops sided with Yoga Prakash Malla and evacuated that area. It was for this reason that King Ranajit Malla ran over Jagajjaya Malla by making a grant of money, so that he might be able to isolate Yoga Prakash Malla. But Jagajjaya Malla and Yoga Prakash Malla soon joined hands again, and succeeded in isolating Ranajit Malla himself. As a result, Ranajit Malla was forced to sign an agreement to pay compensation. The Gorkhalis received Rs 3,000 as their share. A few months after the conclusion of this agreement, the troops of both Kantiapur and Lalitpur occupied some areas of Bhaktapur to the east of Katmandu Valley, hence prevailed in these areas for three years when Jagajjaya Malla evacuated the occupied areas by accepting two elephants and some money.

(Note: These accounts are based on the Bishnu Vamanwali of Khadur Buddhiman Singh. According to this work: "The King of Bhaktapur was left alone in 845 Vikrama. He occupied Hisunkhu in the month of Bhandu with the help of troops from Gorkha. King Yoga Prakash Malla of Lalitpur re-occupied Hisunkhu after winning over the Gorkha troops to his side in the month of Kartik. The King of Bhaktapur offered an elephant and an amount of Rs 13,000 to the King of Kantiapur, and succeeded in isolating Yoga Prakash Malla. After a few days, Jagajjaya Malla sided with Yoga Prakash Malla. Again, after a month, the three Kings of Kantiapur, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur met at Kotsawar, and the King of Bhaktapur offered two elephants and Rs 24,000, which King Jagajjaya Malla, King Yoga Prakash Malla, and the Gorkhalis shared among themselves. The Kings of Kantiapur and Bhaktapur worshipped Mahindranath by paving the area around the temple with stone in the month of Baisak 846.

Subsequently, the Kings of Kantiapur and Lalitpur joined their forces to attack Bhaktapur and occupied Phulbiri, Ramada, Decha, and Kahho. The King of Kantiapur obtained two elephants and Rs 8,000 from the King of Bhaktapur. King Yoga Prakash Malla died on Shadra Krishna 12, 849. He was succeeded by Vishnu Malla. Jagajjaya Malla and Vishnu Malla jointly attacked Bhaktapur in the fifteenth year of his reign (Poush 851). They succeeded in occupying six villages, including Malagram, and obtained a share of three villages each. King Vishnu Malla settled Gorkhalis in the villages that fell to his share. All the three Kings, then held a meeting and the King of Bhaktapur returned home after signing a bond to offer elephants and money to free those villages. Later, when the bond was not fulfilled, the other Kings became angry and set up a fortress at Chorpur, and later even in Bhaktapur. The King of Bhaktapur procured troops from Tanahu, Lamjung, and Makwanpur, and drove out the invaders. He reoccupied the villages and captured 120 Gorkha soldiers. King Ranajit Malla thereafter gained the support of King Vishnu Malla by paying him money."
As the original home of Buddhiman Singh was Lalitpur, the account of this principality given previously by him is almost identical with available thyasafus. It is, therefore, possible that the account is largely correct, but all his writings are incomplete, and accounts based only on his work, although obscure, cannot be ignored. If more thyasafus are later discovered, additional information may be obtained.

King Yoga Prakashu Mallas died after a rule for seven years (September 1729), King Jagajjaya Malla then gave his daughter in marriage to Vishnu Malla, the heir-apparent. Later, the Gorkhalis supported the two Kings when they jointly invaded the areas lying outside Bhaktapur Valley. Since King Ranajit Malla was left alone, the Kings of Tanah, Lumbini, and Makawanpur despatched troops to his aid in order to defend his principality. As a result, the troops of Lalitpur and Kantipur were forced to withdraw. The 120 Gorkhali soldiers were released when they surrendered. (Circa A.D. 1731).

(Note: The King of Bhaktapur, Ranajit Malla, had to spend seven years in difficulties after he started a war with the Kings of Kantipur and Lalitpur. This led to a heavy loss of life and property, though not of territory. Nevertheless, he has installed a copper plate inscription at the main courtyard of his palace, boasting that he had succeeded in driving out the troops of Kantipur, Lalitpur, and Gorkha. In that inscription, he has eulogised himself as "Nepala Mahamandalakhandala, Shri Shri Jaya Ranajit Malla Deva." The Kings of Lalitpur and Bhaktapur were not known as Nepaleshwa as long as King Pratapa Malla of Kantipur was alive. After the death of King Pratapa Malla, King Shrinivasa Malla of Lalitpur appears to have been eulogised as Nepaleshwa. After his death, his successors had not dared call themselves Nepaleshwa. The Kings of Kantipur always eulogised themselves as Nepaleshwa. King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur alone appears to have assumed the title of Nepalamandalakhandala only in this copper plate inscription. A village which lies beyond the southern border of Bhaktapur was known as Obhu at that time. The troops of Kantipur, Lalitpur, and Gorkha, who had come to occupy it, must have been repulsed by the troops of Bhaktapur. But this was quite a minor event. The victory at Obhu does not appear to have recouped the loss suffered during the seven-year war in any way. This copper plate inscription appears to have been installed at the main courtyard, so that posterity might not know the fact that Bhaktapur had suffered a defeat at the hands of Kantipur, Lalitpur, and Gorkha).

(To be continued)

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Land Grants in Sungragram

Falgun Sudi 8, 1887 (44/217)

Royal order to the Peasane and Rural Brahmans of Sungragram (Sindhiuli district): "You have complained that rice-lands in your district have been granted to outsiders through royal orders, with the result that you have been displaced. We, therefore, cancel those grants, and hereby direct that jagirdars to whom rice-lands cultivated by you under Jafati tenure have been assigned shall allot them only to the local people, and that the tenants, on their part, shall pay but rents and other dues to their landlord, and also supply loans whenever so asked."

Appointment of Kotwal

Falgun Sudi 8, 1887 (44/217-13).

Natu Dutt was appointed Kotwal with all mal and jagir lands in Rautahat district, and the Parganas of Dostiya and Matilwan in Bara district, under his jurisdiction. The appointment was effective Baisakh Badi 1, 1887. His duty was to recover stolen property, including cows, buffaloes, and oxen, and restore them to the owners. He was under obligation to pay Salami fees of Rs 500 each to the local administration and the army. His perquisites included the following levies on each mouja every year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade of mouja</th>
<th>Cash levy</th>
<th>In-land levy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mal</td>
<td>One rupee</td>
<td>One maund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doyam</td>
<td>Twelve annas</td>
<td>30 seers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Eight annas</td>
<td>20 seers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chahur</td>
<td>Four annas</td>
<td>10 seers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kotwal was also permitted to collect a levy of four annas on each tangiya (ex-curt?) as usual.

Mokarri Land Grants in Rautahat

Chaitra Badi 4, 1887 (44/219).

Ichcharam had been granted an allotment (patta) of ten bighas of land in Bhadiyali, Rautahat district, on payment of ten rupees, at the rate of eight annas per bigha every year on mokarri tenure. He was exempted from the payment of all other taxes, with the exception of raj-anka (royal palace levies). The allotment, first made by the local administration (amill) had been reconfirmed in 1885 Vikrama by General Bhusan Thapa, and was again reconfirmed under the royal seal on Chaitra Badi 4, 1887.
Irrigation Dispute in Mahottari

Chaitra Badi 6, 1887 (44/219-20).

Royal order to Captain Prabhadra Kunwar: "A dispute had occurred on the question of water for purposes of irrigation between peasants cultivating jajir lands of the army in Mansi village and tenants cultivating the bitta lands of General Bhimsen Thapa in Kanuk village, both in Lendi parganna of Mahottari district. In the course of the clashes, Bhikham Rait, Hanik Mander, and Harakh Rait of Kanuk village beat Sahab Mander of Mansi village to death with wooden clubs. They have been put in irons and imprisoned for six months. They shall now be released on payment of heavy fines, out of which the Kachabari shall collect the tiko fine, and the balance shall be transmitted to the hirtoowner. The hirtoowner shall inflict punishment on those among his tenants who had taken part in the clashes."

Complaint of People of Dullu and Dailek

Chaitra Badi 7, 1887 (44/220-21).

Royal order to the amali, bharlars, companies, jagirdars, jimmawals, and ryots in Dullu and Dailek: "The Amalal company, while collecting revenue for the Vikrama year 1887, reduced the price of thitawa (blankets) to twenty annas each, and thus caused great hardships to the people. A complaint to this effect was submitted to Chauturia Pushkar Shah, who informed General Bhimsen Thapa accordingly. The complaint has now been referred to us. We hereby promulgate the following regulations in this regard:

1. Amalis and other jagirdars who collect rents on rice-lands shall receive payment half in mohar rupees, and the other half in 16-anna rupees and thitawa (blankets). Tenants and jimmawals shall make payments accordingly.

2. In the future, thitawa (blankets) shall not be commuted at twenty annas each.

Landholding in Doti

Chaitra Badi 7, 1887 (44/221-22).

Royal order to Naran Rosyera: "Formerly, the village of Chhoisgan in the Bankot gakh of Doti had been granted to your ancestors by the King of Doti through a copper-plate inscription. The lands were subdivided in your family, and the prescribed peta tax was duly paid. Subsequently, Jyam Rosyera and Pirwaa Rosyera died without leaving any heirs behind, and a dispute arose among the other brothers about their share of the lands. It was eventually decided that you should cultivate the lands by rotation. In the year 1882 Vikrama, the lands were registered in the course of a revenue settlement in the name of Naran Rosyera. We hereby issue this order under the royal seal reconfirming the lands in your name. Pay the prescribed taxes through the appropriate jimmawal and mukhiya and use the lands as your property (bepati)."
Unaudited Return

Chaitra Badi 8, 1887 (44/222-23).

Royal order to Captain Mirabhadra Kunwar: "We have received complaints that you have demanded payments at the rate of four rupees and five annas according to the rate current in that area on each bigha from tenants cultivating the Birta lands of Dinenath Pandya in Madara, Katniya, and Chandiya. Drahamnda Pandya, a sightowner, had made allotments (patta) prescribing a rate of four rupees on each bigha, under paddy, thus reducing the rate by five annas. The rates for other crops were fixed at a still lower level. The ryots say that they are willing to pay taxes at these rates. Make collections at these rates from the year 1886 Vikrama. If you have made any excess collections, refund the balance."

Disbursements

Chaitra Badi 9, 1887 (44/224).

1. Kulananda Jha had been granted a contract (ijara) for the operation of mines in the region east of Sanga and Simha, including the Nagro mines. He was ordered to disburse a total amount of Rs 1,100 from the contractual payments due for the year 1886 Vikrama. The breakdown was as follows: Mahindra Khatri = = = Rs 500; Cuman Singh Panta = = = Rs 300; and Jhari = = = Rs 300.

2. Sahib Jhar Singh Baniya was ordered to disburse Rs 4,900 from the thik revenues of Bera, Parse, and Raitihat for the year 1887 Vikrama to repay the cost of goods borrowed by Colonel Mathbar Singh Thapa from the Tosakhana.

Appointment of Mahanta in Chatra

Chaitra Badi 10, 1887 (44/225).

Royal order to Shuka Deo Bharthi: "Your preceptor, Mahanta Brahma Bharthi, violated his duty and committed sexual intercourse with a woman of the Barai caste. We, therefore, hereby remove him from the post of Mahanta of the Chatra Asthan (monastery). Appoint Vishnu Lal Bharthi as kurobati (manager). Perform the religious and other functions of the Asthan according to custom and tradition. Appoint and dismiss functionaries according to need. Keep royal orders issued by us (Lalmohar), and those issued by the Makwani Kings (byamohar) in your own custody."

Drought in Saptari and Mahottari

Chaitra Badi 10, 1887 (44/226).

Royal order to Captain Mirabhadra Kunwar: "You have sent mouja-wise reports of the extent of damage to crops caused by drought in Saptari and Mahottari during the year 1887 Vikrama. We hereby direct that:
(1) One-third of the loss shall be borne by the revenue contractor.

(2) Another one-third shall be borne by the appropriate jagirdar.

(3) The remaining one-third of the loss shall be remitted.

Construction of Tank
Chaitra Sud 11, 1887 (44/227).

Captain Birbal Rana Kunwar was ordered to disburse Rs 1,000 from the thick revenues of Septari and Mahottari for the year 1887 Vikrama in the name of the third royal concubine (mahila bhatryad bijyaju) for the construction of a tank.

Privileges of Airiccowner
Chaitra Sud 13, 1887 (44/227-28).

In 1849 Vikrama (A.D. 1792), King Rana Bahadur Shah had granted the mouja of Ramaban in Shringar to Devadatta Thapa under Shekh-Bunjyad tenure. The grant provided for exemption from the payment of all taxes on the mouja, including sair and farruyat. However, later sairs, subbas, and jagirdars collected sair duties on this birta holding. Devadatta Thapa then submitted a complaint to the royal palace. The tax-exempt native of the grant was, therefore, reconfirmed.

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Corrigendum

1. Regmi Research Series, September 1, 1977. The page numbers of this issue should be 129 to 144, not 113 to 128.

2. Regmi Research Series, October 1, 1977, p. 133. The figure in the last line of the second paragraph should be 180, not 80.

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Year 10, No. 12
Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

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The Northern Border Trade in Humla

By Devi Chandra Shrestha


A study of the economic history of Nepal reveals that from ancient times its economy has been balanced through trade, particularly trade with Tibet. This trade was conducted mainly through Kathmandu Valley. It was, therefore, natural that it should have attracted the attention of students of history as well as of the rulers. However, from the viewpoint of the national economy as a whole, there are many areas and regions whose economy was dependent on the northern border trade. Humla is one of such areas.

The trans-Himalayan trade conducted through Humla forms only a part of the trade through the Karnali region of Nepal and western Tibet. The history of this trade goes back to the eleventh century A.D., when Sinajpuri (modern Hat–Sinje) was established as the capital of the Khasa Kingdom. It was the trade between the Karnali region and western Tibet that the extensive Khasa Kingdom flourished in the Himalayan region for about 350 years. The border trade through Humla, on which the economy of that area depended, formed a part of this historical legacy. The Khasa Kingdom later split into the Baisi Kingdoms, and Humla came under the control of the Kalyal Thakuris. These Thakuris naturally started dominating the northern border trade through Humla.

In 1846 samvat, the Kingdom of Jumla was incorporated into Nepal, and administrative control of the northern border trade passed into the hands of the central government. Such control continued until 2015 samvat. The border trade was then affected by the political changes that had occurred in Tibet.

Traditionally, goods were exchanged freely between Humla and western Tibet through four points, which are as follows, from east to west:

1. Tanke–Bhanjyang

This route proceeds along the banks of the Loti–Kholai river through Tanke–Bhanjyang in the Changla–Himal range. Naphko is the last village in north-eastern Humla on this route. The village now forms a part of the Melchham Village Panchayat of Humla district.

Contd.
2. Chumwokhola-Bhanjyang

This route proceeds through the Chumwokhola glacier. Dojam, the last village on the Nepali side, is now a part of the Bargain Village Panchayat.

3. Lepcha-Bhanjyang

This route proceeds through Limi, a collective term used to denote three villages in north-western Humla: Bol, Halja, and Jodh. These villages now constitute a separate village Panchayat.

4. Nara-Bhanjyang

This route proceeds along the banks of the Hulma-Karnali river through Nara-Bhanjyang. The last village on the Nepali side is Yari, now in the Muchu Village Panchayat. There is a Nepali Police checkpoint in Muchu.

The first three routes have remained closed for the past several years. Only the Nara-Bhanjyang route is now used. It passes through Khochnath and reaches Taklakot in Purang. Taklakot is open for Nepalis throughout the year. However, trade is conducted there only during the period from mid-Ashad to mid-Bhadra (July-August). There is no communication between Humla and Taklakot during the winter season.

Taklakot has long been the main trading center in Tibet for the Karnali region of Nepal. The Chinese administration has retained this historical legacy, albeit to a limited extent. In view of the new political system that has been introduced in Tibet, it is natural that the Tibetans should not be allowed to conduct foreign trade as freely as in the past. Border trade conducted on barter basis is also a part of foreign trade. As such, it has been brought under governmental control. Tibetan traders are required to hand over their goods to a governmental agency. They are forbidden to deal directly with Nepali traders. The latter too are required to hand over their goods to the same governmental agency, which fixes prices and supplies them with what they need. Our traders then return to Nepal with goods supplied to them in this manner. Traders not only from Humla but also from Bajhang and Darchula visit Taklakot in Tibet for purposes of trade.

Nepali traders take mainly foodgrains to Taklakot, including rice, barley, barley flour, wheat, wheat flour, and uwa. These are transported on the backs of sheep, chyangra goats, and gelding goats, which are called jakha, packed in bags of skins which hang on both sides. These bags are called lukal. The inhabitants of the Limi area of Humla also take to Taklakot artistic wooden vessels called phumru and chiruwa (juniper) wood on the backs of yaks. The inhabitants of Bajhang similarly take goods in doko baskets made of nigalo skin (choya).
Salt is the main commodity which Nepali traders purchase in Taklakot, and wool is another. However, neither commodity is now available there in adequate quantities. Our traders also get some quantities of cloth, shoes, cigarettes, and other goods of Chinese manufacture. The balance due to them is credited to their account in Chinese currency. There is no competition on the basis of demand and supply as before. The official trading agency itself arranges for the supply of specified items. Problems have, therefore, arisen for Nepali traders. Nepal and China should undertake joint studies of such problems.

One of the main problems is that the trading season in Taklakot is brief and covers only two months in the year. Formerly, the market used to be shifted from one place to another in Nepali or Tibetan territory according to the season because the border was open. For instance, there used to be markets (hat) at Yari, Yelbang and Limi in Humla, and Majule in Limi. But now Tibetan traders are not allowed to visit Nepal, so that these markets have stopped functioning. The brief period of time now available for trade in Taklakot cannot lead to the expansion of bilateral trade.

Commercial information is almost totally unavailable to Nepali traders. They do not know what quantity of salt they will get in exchange for their goods when they reach Taklakot after a journey of about eight or nine days. Nor is there any way they can know in advance whether or not they can get there the goods they need. Most of them do not know what prices will be fixed for their goods. They have to return with whatever salt and other goods the Chinese trading agency supplies to them.

There is no agency in Taklakot which represents Nepali traders. It is necessary for His Majesty's Government to station a trade agency there, which may furnish necessary information to Nepali traders. Goods will then be exchanged between the official agencies of the two countries, which will make it easy to calculate profits on the border trade.

Because of currency problems, trade between Nepal and Tibet is still conducted on barter basis. Arrangements have been made for payments in convertible currency for Kathmandu's trade with Tibet. If an official agency is established in Taklakot, the same procedure may be followed for barter trade as well. The par value of the Nepali rupee has been fixed by IMF, but China is not a member of that body. The Soviet Union, which is a communist country like China, is also not a member of IMF, but it has announced the par value of the rouble. Consideration should be given as far as possible to the question of fixing the exchange value between the Nepali and Chinese currencies.
Both governments should make efforts to diversify the border trade commodity-wise. There are no forests in the Tibetan plateau, hence there is a big demand there for timber and firewood. In Humla, on the other hand, there are dense forests from which we can supply these commodities to Tibet, in addition to sawn timber and furniture. Similarly, cottage industries would revive in Humla if the supply of wool from Tibet was restored. Nepal can also import some manufactured consumer goods from Tibet, which could raise the standard of living of the inhabitants of our northern border areas.

The volume of trade that was once conducted between Humla and western Tibet before political change in Tibet is now a thing of the past. The trade is now conducted only in a nominal volume, which has dislocated the economy of the entire Humla region. Agriculture is not an attractive occupation in this region and now trade too is in a neglected state. In order to give a new dimension to trade between Nepal and the Tibetan region of China, therefore, both sides should make efforts to expand border trade between Humla and Purang on new lines.

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King Prithwi Narayan Shah

By Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the November 1978 issue)

Guns had begun to appear in the Malla principalities of Kathmandu Valley 50 years before King Prithvi Narayan Shah's coronation. Then guns were used also for war. They were procured from Indian traders residing in the Malla principalities. By the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah's coronation, the number of guns was probably less than 150. Prithvi Narayan Shah had realised that if guns were used properly in war, other weapons like bows and arrows, spears, swords, khundas, etc. would be rendered useless. Therefore, he had thought of buying some guns during his trip to Varanasi. During his visit to Patna, Prayag, and Varanasi, he had seen increasing use of guns throughout India. Formerly, European traders used to manufacture guns and cannon in their factories, later, the Mughals and Marathas too established gun and cannon foundries by employing European mechanics. But minor kings were unable to establish such factories on their own, and use cannon; hence they had to buy whatever guns they needed from the European traders. These guns were actually flintlocks, and hence flints were essential. But the European traders did not sell flints easily, and when
flints were not available, the flintlocks were worthless. Instructors and mechanics also were essential for the operation and repair of these flintlocks. King Prithwi Narayan Shah had realized the importance of flintlocks for the unification of Nepal. But the cost of a flintlock at that time was about Rs.60. It was also difficult to procure Indian instructors and mechanics and settle them in Gorkha. However, King Prithwi Narayan Shah seems to have purchased through agents some flintlocks, tents and other materials essential for war. He also brought along with him a Muslim who could work both as instructor and mechanic.

(Note: According to a Christian priest who had visited Kathmandu Valley, Prithvi Narayan Shah had brought along with him from Varanasi a Muslim who knew how to make guns. I do not remember the source. This possibly meant that Prithvi Narayan Shah had purchased some guns in Varanasi. It was obviously meaningless to bring a mechanic if no guns had been purchased. The mechanic appears to have gone back because the guns could not actually be used. According to the Dibya Upadesha, three Muslims who could manufacture and repair guns had come to Nuwakot from Lucknow and taken service with Prithvi Narayan Shah. These Muslims were employed to train the troops after guns were seized from the army of Kasim Ali Khan in Makwanpur. According to the biography of Prithvi Narayan Shah (f. 16), a porter who was carrying newly-purchased tents lost his way when Prithvi Narayan Shah reached Butaul. Most of the stories contained in that biography are baseless, but the reference to tents appears to be true. It was natural that Prithvi Narayan Shah should have brought other minor supplies of war along with guns and tents.)

While returning to Gorkha from Varanasi through his maternal grandfather's house in Palpa, Prithvi Narayan Shah had planned to inspect routes and study situation in the Chaubisi principalities that lay on the way. Therefore, he left Varanasi and proceeded through Gorakhpur. On the way, a customs official, despising Prithvi Narayan Shah as a petty hill king, asked him to open his baggage for inspection. During his tour of three or four months, Prithvi Narayan Shah had gained sufficient understanding of the disturbed political situation and the corrupt tendencies of the local officials. Such arrogant conduct on the part of a minor customs official was not tolerable to the self-respecting Gorkhalis. They regarded it as an insult and gave a fitting reply. A dispute ensued, and the customs officials started beating up the Gorkhalis. This was quite intolerable to the self-respecting Prithvi Narayan Shah, and he killed some of the officials through his bodyguards.

This rash action of the youthful King Prithvi Narayan Shah naturally led the local police to take action. Prithvi Narayan Shah then tried to evade them and reach Butaul.

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As he knew that local hooligans were capable of evading the police, in those days, gangs of Naga and Bairagi hooligans used to roam around almost everywhere, including Oudh, Bihar and Varanasi. Although they were called as ascetics, they occasionally used to rob travellers and traders behind the backs of the police. Prithvi Narayan Shah found out a leader of such ascetics and urged him to help him to reach Butaul safely by evading the police. The leader promised to help, but demanded much of money in return. Prithvi Narayan Shah did not have so much money. Even then, he promised to give the leader the sum he demanded. The latter then helped Prithvi Narayan Shah to arrive safely at Butaul by evading the police.

(Note: This untoward incident has been described in another way in the Sanskrit inscription installed on a stone slab at the royal palace in Nawakot twenty-one years later in A.D. 1762. According to that inscription: "Who will not appreciate the qualities of (Prithvi Narayan Shah) who killed Muslim kings whose customs officials wanted to create obstructions on his way back from Varanasi? The inscription does not mention where the incident occurred. This is the first such reference to that incident.

The second reference is contained in Hamilton's An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, which was written forty years later. Hamilton (P. 245) writes: "When a very young man, he (Prithvi Narayan Shah) visited Banaras, and having met with what he considered insolence at some (Chauki) custom-house, instantly put the officers to death. He was concealed from the police by a (Vairagi) person dedicated to religion, who, induced by most abundant promises, conveyed the highland chief in safety to his cousin, Makunda Sen, Raja of Falpa."

Hamilton too does not mention the place where the incident occurred. At another place, Hamilton has mentioned Prati Nidhi Tiwari, a bhardar of Falpa, as one of his informants. It appears that Hamilton obtained this account too from the Tiwari, although he has not said so explicitly. The account seems to be reliable.

Ninety-five years after the incident occurred, it was described in the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah in the following words:

"(King Prithvi Narayan Shah) then left the city of KashI at an auspicious moment on his way back home. When he came out of the city and reached the customs-post on the Varuna, the madhist officials wanted to examine his baggage. Prithvi Narayan Shah told them: "We have come here on pilgrimage. We are not traders, so we will not let our baggage be examined." The officials remained intransigeant and even tried to use violence. They caught hold of the horse which King Prithvi Narayan Shah was riding. Some of them tried to match the swords of Lakshmi Narayan Pande, Gunanidhi Panta, Biraj Bakhtati, and Ramakrishna Thapa, who were in front of Prithvi

Contd.
Prithvi Narayan Shah. King Prithvi Narayan Shah then signed to them to use their swords. Gunanidhi Panta then said: "We are Rana Rajputs. We have no merchandize with us." Prithvi Narayan Shah, on his part, said: "since you do not accept what we say, let us show you what we have," and struck at the madhises who was trying to seize his sword on the right. Prithvi Narayan Shah similarly struck at another person who was trying to seize the swords of the four men; he too was killed. At that time, the sword of King Prithvi Narayan Shah looked like the sky illuminated with lightning. The madhises, decapitated on all sides with that sword, looked like Namuchi and other daityas who had been killed by Indra with his vajra.

"When King Prithvi Narayan Shah's sword fell from his hands, the following persons started killing the madhises: Vishnu Shah, Tula Shah, Bhadru Shah, Chandraprakash Shah, Muralhara Shah, Laxmi Narayan Pande, Gunanidhi Panta, Ramekrishna Thapa, Granza, Biraj Bakheti, Nandu Padya Kedaraya, Jayakrishna Thapa, Chamu Khetri Ojha, Jasivantha Rana, Debou Rana, Sotegabamuwa Thapa, Jusakarna Bohera, Hudhya Thapa, Shivarama Basnyat, Chamu Mokaya, Daware Angada, Daware Thunya, Daware Sate, Mani Kantha Rana Bushal, Dware Naicharama, Dware Dajiamani, and Sardar Balibhanjana Malla. Many madhises were thus killed. When the Gorkhalis struck at the madhises with their swords, it looked like lightning flashing in sky overcast with clouds; the madhises were like clouds, and the sun's rays, falling on the khunras and krukuri of the Gorkhalis, looked like lightning. King Prithvi Narayan Shah looked like an elephant surrounded by tigers.

"The Gorkhalis thereupon left the place, after killing several madhises, and wounding several others. The inhabitants of the villages through which they passed fled on their approach. King Prithvi Narayan Shah then told his followers: "The King of Kashi is a powerful king. He will surely pursue us when information about the fighting at Varuna reaches him. If he sends his troops against us, others may say that they are pilgrims. But I cannot say so. We must look after ourselves." King Prithvi Narayan Shah then ordered that Biraj Bakheti be placed on the palanquin, and taken away as if he were the king. His followers accepted the plan, but suggested that Jaya Baniya be sent instead of Biraj Bakheti, because he looked more like Prithvi Narayan Shah. The King agreed, and Jaya Baniya was taken away on the palanquin as if he were the king.

"Meanwhile, King Balabandan Simha received the report that a hill king had killed many madhises at Varuna. He sent troops to check the report. These troops reached the checkpoint at Varuna and saw what had happened there. They proceeded a few miles, but did not come across King Prithvi Narayan Shah's party. They then recalled how King Prithvi Narayan Shah had brought the
hoodlums of Varanasi under his control, and came to the conclusion that he was a man of great valor. King Bala-
bandan Simha's troops accordingly felt very afraid and reported to him that they had not been able to intercept
King Prithvi Narayan Shah's party.

"In the meantime, King Prithvi Narayan Shah had proceeded 25 or 30 kgs. Jaya Baniya had been disguised
as the king, lest the troops of King Balabandan Simha
should come across them. Since the danger had passed,
he cast off his disguise." (pp. 12-14).

The fourth account of the incident was written 134
years later in the Bhasha VamshaVali of Khadar Buddhiman
Singh (p. 303). It is as follows: "(King Prithvi Narayan
Shah) then took leave of the mendicant and left (Varanasi)
at an auspicious moment. When he reached the Comati river,
the guards stationed at that place created trouble. (King
Prithvi Narayan Shah), unable to tolerate this, signed
to his followers to use their swords. He then reached
Tanahu." This is the first untoward incident that took place
in the life of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. It is, therefore,
necessary, to determine the place where it occurred.
According to the biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah,
the incident took place at the Varuna checkpost. The
Varuna river flows in the north of Varanasi city. The
city is thus situated on the right bank of the river,
while the Zamindari of Balawanta Simha was situated on
the left bank. It is possible that there was a checkpost
at that place where duties on goods exported from the
city were collected. The Comati river marked the boundary
between the Zamindaris of Balawanta Simha and Sheikh
Abdulla of Ghazipur. Both zamindars owed allegiance to
Nawab Sa'adat Khan of Oudh. It is possible that there
was a checkpost on the banks of the Comati river between
the two zamindaries where duties on goods imported into
Ghazipur were collected. The stone inscription at the
Nuwakot palace states that Muslims had been killed. This
might mean that the incident took place at the checkpost
located on the bank of the Comati river. However, the
inscription too is not very reliable.

It appears that the incident took place because
King Prithvi Narayan Shah could not tolerate the insolent
and violent manner in which the officials of the check-
post demanded that the baggage be opened for inspection.
The provocation does not seem to have been ordinary.

Where were the Mishras, who had been helping King
Prithvi Narayan Shah, at that time? It is possible that
they saw no special need for help on the way back, and
so took leave of King Prithvi Narayan on the right bank
of the Varuna river. Alternatively, they might have been
with him at the time of the incident, arranged for help
from the Bairagis, and accompanied him up to Budaun.

(End of the note).

Contd.
King Gandharva Sen of Palpa had died several years previously, and his grandson, King Mukunda Sen II, was on the throne of that principality. He was a few years older than King Prithvi Narayan Shah. The Kings of Palpa used to spend the winter in Butaul. King Mukunda Sen was in Butaul when King Prithvi Narayan Shah arrived there. King Mukunda Sen was happy that King Prithvi Narayan Shah had returned safely from Varanasi. They exchanged courtesies and spent a few days more in Butaul.

All the men accompanying Prithvi Narayan Shah to Varanasi, and the supplies he had purchased, were also safe. Prithvi Narayan Shah then left Butaul after taking leave of Mukunda Sen. Crossing the Kali-Gandaki river at Ridi-Ghat, he made a general study of the routes and the situation in the Chaubisi principalities of the Andhikhol region, and arrived at Gorkha around the end of March, and thus made his mother happy.

(Note: The biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah contains a ridiculous account of what happened when he reached Butaul. It says: "The day after he reached Butaul, King Prithvi Narayan Shah went outside to relieve himself. He broke wind noisily, and the madhise soldiers of the Prince of Palpa reported to their lord that this had happened because the indigent king of a small principality had eaten bad food. Taking this as an insult, King Prithvi Narayan Shah had sixty or seventy of the madhise soldiers killed."

In the first place, this account is ridiculous. Secondly, the biographer's imagination that King Prithvi Narayan Shah could have sixty or seventy men killed on the pretext of such an incident is regrettable and surprising. King Prithvi Narayan Shah was a human being, not a tiger, hence he could not have conducted such a massacre. The biographer did not realize that his false praise of King Prithvi Narayan Shah actually implied a strong condemnation.

The biography also contains the following account: "Jagneswar Josi Aryan made curry for King Prithvi Narayan Shah by boiling stones from the rivers. The curry tasted like fish, King Prithvi Narayan Shah felt very pleased."

It is true that indigent Munnis boil small pebbles from streams during the dry season, and add salt and chillies. They take this curry along with hominy, because it tastes like fish. The imagination of the biographer in having King Prithvi Narayan Shah taste this curry deserves thanks. He has described King Prithvi Narayan Shah as the sister's son of King Gandharva Sen, and described King Gandharva Sen's dead son as still alive. A biographer who was not aware even of the relationship between King Prithvi Narayan Shah and King Gandharva Sen cannot be described with words available in the Nepali language.

Conti.
The author of the Shasna Vamshavali makes no reference to King Prithvi Narayan Shah's meeting with his maternal relatives in Butauli. He states that he reached Tanahu direct, accompanied by the King of Doti, and that the latter left King Prithvi Narayan Shah in Tanahu. However, Tanahu does not lie on the way between Varanasi and Doti. It has already been shown that the account of King Prithvi Narayan Shah's meeting with the King of Doti is imaginary. (End of note).

End of Chapter IV: Coronation and Visit to Varanasi

**The Mutarfa Tax**

On Asadh Sudi 9, 1943 Samvat (July 1786), an ijarā for the collection of revenue in the districts of Bara and Parsa was granted to Chautariya Dalsmaridan Shah, a brother of King Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 25, pp. 142-49.

Mutarfa was one of the taxes that the ijarāder was allowed to collect. Nepali documents shed no light on the meaning of this tax.

In his *Economic History of India* (Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1963 (reprint of 1882 ed.), vol. II, pp. 118-19), Ramchandra Dutt writes: "The Mutarfa tax: Speaking about Indian industries it is satisfactory to note that the oppressive and harassing Mutarfa Tax on trades and professions had been abolished by 1853 all over India, except in the United Province of Malwa. The Madras Native Association in their Petition to the House of Commons described the Mutarfa as a "tax upon trades and occupations, embracing weavers, carpenters, all workers in metals, all scribes, whether possessing shops which are also taxed separately, or vending by the roadside, & c., some paying impost on their tools, others for permission to sell — extending to the most trifling articles of trade and the cheapest tools the mechanic can employ, the cost of which is frequently exceeded six times by the Mutarfa, under which the use of them is permitted." And the Association went on to state that "it falls more heavily upon the indigent than upon the wealthy, while the discretionary power under which it is collected affords a wide field for the perpetual practice of inquisitorial visits, extortion and oppression, as suits the pleasure or the cupidity of the irresponsible collectors, with whom it is no unusual thing to resort to imprisonment and fetters in order to compile their exaction."

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The Battle of Nalapani

By

Mahesh Raj Pant

(Continued from the November 1978 issue)

Meanwhile, the scarcity of water created a panic inside the fort. Because the walls had collapsed, cannonballs fired by the British started reaching the interior of the fort. Many men were killed or injured. The remaining men became demoralized.

On Marga 16, four of the commanders, including Kalabhadra Kunwar, made the troops sign a bond pledging to be killed inside the fort after killing the enemy, but not to desert. 85 men signed the pledge.

The Kalanala company had been stationed at a small fort near Nalapani. Seeing the predication of the fort at Nalapani, it left that fort and proceeded toward Dehradun along with its weapons and colors in the night of Marga 16. Several men at the Nalapani fort who had promised not to desert followed the Kalanala company. Consequently, only 50 or 60 men were left at the Nalapani fort. The Nepali commanders in the fort felt greatly disheartened at these developments.

In the night of Marga 16, 1871, they abandoned the fort of Nalapani, resolving to defend the hills even if Dehradun had been lost.

Three pieces among the eight at Nalapani had been installed on the walls of the fort. They had fallen outside when the walls collapsed. Two other pieces had been unusable, so that only three were in operating condition. The Nepalis left them along with 2 or 3 murals of gunpowder at the fort, but took away all other weapons.

On seeing the Nepalis abandon the fort, the British attacked them. The Nepalis resisted the attack but continued to advance. They reached Dvara in the morning of Marga 17, 1871 and stayed there the whole day.

Kalabhadra sent a courier to the British with the following message: "We had handed over to you your dead and injured soldiers on your request. We now request you to hand over our injured soldiers to us." The British replied that they would look after the injured (Nepali) soldiers themselves. Accordingly, they treated the 180 injured soldiers at the Nalapani fort.

The next day, Marga 16, 1871 Samvat, the Nepalis left Dvara for the Gopichand Hill, where they had decided to build a fort. Dvara was not considered suitable for that purpose.
The Nepalis spent the night at the Copichand hill. At midnight, the British forces started bombarding their camp. The Nepalis retaliated. Meanwhile, Sardar Ripumardana Thapa sustained an injury in his right arm from an enemy shell. He was unable to walk, and so was helped by his janadar to climb the hill. However, he could not go on and was forced to stop. The other Nepalis continued to ascend the hill.

(Note: According to Kira Balabhada (P. 12), by Surya Bikram Ouyawali, this battle occurred at a place called Dhubigaun or Dabaragaun).

The next day, Marga 19, (1871 Samvat), men sent by Balabhada carried Ripumardana to Chamuwa. Kaji Kanadipa Simha Basnyat also had arrived at that place. On Marga 20, Kaji Rewanta Kunwar reached there.

The Nepalis had not made any arrangements for medical treatment at Nalapani or any other nearby place. There was a physician only at Srinagar, headquarters of Garhwal. Hence Ripumardana Thapa and 74 other injured persons were sent to Srinagar for treatment.

Leaving Kaji Kanadipa Simha Basnyat at Chamuwa, Kaji Rewanta Kunwar and Captain Balabhada Kunwar went to Jaunt-Gashi.

Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat, who was in command at Garhwal, made adequate arrangements for the treatment of the wounded Ripumardana Thapa.

In this manner, the Nepalis resisted the British at Nalapani even though they lacked several basic facilities and thus showed their bravery.

**Ripumardana Thapa's Letter**

A letter sent by Ripumardana Thapa to Kathmandu, which contains a detailed account of the battle of Nalapani, is given below:

From Ripumardana Thapa to General Bhimsen Thapa and Kaji Ranadhwaja Thapa, blessings.

All is well here. I shall be happy if all is well there. I have received your kind letter and noted its contents. The news here is good. You have written well.

There was heavy fighting with the British at Nalapani on Kartik 10 and Kartik 17. Eight British officers, including a general, a colonel, a collector, a major, and a captain, and 1,000 or 1,200 British and native troops, were killed. 1,700 or 1,800 others, including Parigan Saudhk(?) were injured, according to porters who came here to receive the dead bodies. I have already reported the matter.
(The British) then came to build roads in Nalapani and Nagul. We sent troops to attack them. 20 or 25 men were killed on both sides, and some were injured. (The British) then withdrew. I have already reported this too.

From Nahan, the following reinforcements were received at Nalapani: Subba Chandravira Thapa and the Kahanala Company, Kaji Jasapau and 3 pattis of troops, 2 pattis of the Gorakh, one patti of the Ranapur, and Subedar Chamu Basnyat and the Samarusarbijung Company.

Nowhere else had the British had so many casualties as at Nalapani. This undermined their morale. Their troops were insufficient, because they had sent the dead bodies of the eight officers to Calcutta and also sent escorts along with the injured men. Moreover, they had despatched one paltan of troops each to ... Chat and Kali for fear that (the Cokkhals) would attack Nahan. Had we possessed the necessary strength, we could have made a surprise attack. However, our troops too were insufficient, because reinforcements had not yet arrived, and several men had been killed or injured at Nalapani.

From Jaunpur (in Tehri) Kaji Ranodip Simha sent information that he was coming (to Nalapani from Nahan). He sent soldiers (Tilanga) to ask him to come quickly, travelling day and night. He then reached Rajpur (east of Nahan; near Dehradun). Meanwhile, (the enemy) laid siege on us. (Kaji Ranodiipa Simha), consequently, could not reach (Nalapani), and so encamped near Sarungaun.

The British procured three big pieces of cannon from Agra. (According to Bira Balabheda, these were procured from Delhi). They assembled their forces and, on Marga 12 (1871 Samwat), proceeded from Gurudvara to attack us from four sides: the Nalapani route, the Danda-Dankri route, the Nagal route, and the Asetl route. They brought 20 or 25 pieces of cannon and installed them in eastern pill-boxes within firing range in the east and north. Their shells demolished the stones we had added on the unfinished walls of the fort, but the portions that had earlier been constructed with lime mortar remained intact. Their cannon fired on us without interruption day and night, so that the walls were demolished. Half of the walls on the northern side collapsed, and then the enemy attacked in the morning of Sunday, (Marga 15, 1871 Samwat), We retaliated with guns, arrows, and stones. The enemy then tried to climb to the fort under fire over through the palisades, but we were able to kill them and throw them down the walls of the fort. Meanwhile, Subba Chandrabir Thapa, Satnu Majhi, and Subedar Dalajit Kanwar were killed by enemy fire. We fought in this manner all day long, and, about two hours before sundown, the attack was stopped, but the bombardment was resumed.

Cont'd.
Next morning, a Brahman employee of Naran Das, who had gone over to the British, came with the request that the dead bodies be handed over to him. When he asked how many men had been killed during the attack on the previous day, he replied that Richard, who had brought the cannon from Agra, six other British officers, and 400 British and native soldiers had been killed, and 540 injured.

The supply of water had been cut off from the outside. 100 or 120 earthen vessels had been filled with water and kept in the portico constructed by Captain Angell. 20 or 25 shells hit these vessels and broke them. Many men were also hit and killed or injured. The walls in the east and the north were razed to the ground.

At midnight on Monday, the men left at the fort became desperate. They came out of the Palisades and lit fires (Dehra) run with their colors. At that time, Captain (Balshandra Kunwar), myself, Chama Basnyat and Ganja Simha Thapa were taking uncooked rice. When we heard the men leaving and came out to see what was happening, we saw that they had already left along with their colors. We shouted to them to come back, or else face punishment on their person and property. Meanwhile, the enemy died, and some of the men went away. The others returned to the fort. The night passed in this manner.

The next day, Tuesday, many men were killed or wounded. The walls of the fort had all been demolished, and there was no water. Seeing the casualties resulting from the enemy fire, the men felt disheartened. The Captain and I proposed: "It will now be appropriate for us to die inside the fort. Let us have the men sign a pledge undertaking to remain with us, face whatever may happen, and die with their swords in their hands if the enemy attacks." Chama Basnyat and Ganja Simha Thapa supported the proposal. A total of 84-jagirs and dhakre soldiers signed a pledge to this effect.

The Mleccha-Kalanala Company had been stationed at a portico in the east, at a place called Dhalpur, where palisades had been erected. On Marga 17, (1871 Samvat), the company left for (Dehra) run at midnight along with their guns and colors. Some of the men who had signed the pledge also accompanied them. Only 50 or 60 men, including jamadars, huddas, and soldiers, remained in the fort, intending to die with our swords in our hands in the event the enemy attacked us.

The men then told us: "The Mleccha-Kalanala Company had left, and the men had deserted. There was no place where we could sit safely, because of the enemy bombardment. We have not been able to hold the fort. The guns and colors that we had are not in the run fort. Even now we can hold the hills. What purpose will be served if you
too get yourself killed? Come, let us go." They then caught hold of our hands, dragged us (Captain Balabhadr Kunwar and Dipumardana Thapa), and took us outside the palisades on the way to Dun. The enemy, who were stationed outside, fired on us. We then came out of the palisades, brandishing our swords and shouting, moved to the position built by Kaji Amrita Simha Thapa, and reached Dwara in the early morning of Wednesday.

The enemy demanded that the dead bodies of their men be handed over to them. We returned the dead bodies accordingly. At the same time, we demanded that all the wounded men of our side be returned. We sent two men to the enemy with the intention of receiving the wounded men for treatment. But the enemy replied that they would treat these persons themselves. Subedar Dayerama Khadka, who had been confined to the palisades after being hit in the thigh, informed that the enemy was collecting the wounded men, numbering 180, and treating them within the palisades, and that our men had been refused entry. We, therefore, remained at Dwara that day.

The following day, we inspected the place to see whether we could set up our camp there. The place, however, was found to be unsuitable. Its location was such that the enemy could easily bring its cannon there from the north. On Thursday, we departed from Dwara, planning to entrench ourselves on the peak of the Gopichand hill. We crossed the river and sent four pattis of troops to reach the peak of the Gopichand hill. We encamped on the foot of the hill.

At night, our sentries informed us of the arrival of the enemy. The enemy then started firing at us.

The field on which I was encamped was spacious. The enemy reached the place below my camp where the Captain was encamped. We unsheathed our swords and tried to attack them. But hardly had I moved one or two steps, than a bullet hit my right arm. All our troops then climbed toward the peak. I was escorted by my men for some time, but soon I said I could not move further and would stop some what may. Our troops, including Jamedars, then moved away, while I stayed behind.

The jamedars had brought my shield, sword, and khukuri. I felt that if the enemy captured me, along with these weapons, I must strike at him with stones, or else he might kill me. Hence I kept four stones with me and spent the whole night without sleeping.

However, the enemy did not come that night, and at dawn, I got up and left the place, because I feared that I might be taken to the enemy if anybody saw me. Through strenuous exertion, I managed to reach the peak of the Gopichand hill in the afternoon. I found that our
and the men got up early at the post. A little later, I moved across the camp to see Captain Jackson. They carried me on their shoulders, and took me to Captain Jackson's tent at Cossacks. The following day, Rajji went to market to join us.

As there was no physician here, it was feared that all the news might be related to the doctors. Fortunately, we had two medical officers, one from the 3rd Artillery and one from the 2nd Artillery.

In the course of the conversation, it was found that the work of our soldiers was very rough. It was difficult to make them see the importance of thoroughness. After discussing it, we decided to write a letter to them.

We communicated the idea, and soon saw them in a circular letter. They were pleased at the idea, and said they would immediately begin the work of their own.

Of course, for the hill region, the information to which we are to give, by our officers, is not altogether the same. A hill is a hill, as we see. On the hill, there is no place to carry on the work of the army. Therefore, in the hill region, we have to rely on the work done by our men, which we have had in a very short time. As the work is not yet done, we should do it in a systematic way. The work is not yet completed, but we shall continue it. The work is not yet done, but we shall continue it. The work is not yet done, but we shall continue it. The work is not yet done, but we shall continue it.
Under my command were three Janjatras and had been discharged two years ago and not paid any allowances. Six soldiers, and one cook, of one of these Janjatras, were killed at the fort and our Janjatras three soldiers and one cook were arrested. Only Janjatras at the Thana have gone out unmolested.

Respecting these, my brother, has written a letter informing me that the majority has appointed the Janjatras of order and gives up the command of the company to one of them, and that he will join the fort soon. I am prepared for the honor practically bestowed on us through appointment or otherwise.

We shall remain out to our salt and actually have done our best to fulfill our orders, and will continue to do so in the future. I shall be guided if I am advised with necessary instructions.

Peter Maye, Swarna Pali 12, 1674 Swast, Manidat.

LIST OF WEAPONS

A list of the weapons abandoned by the enemy at the fort or elsewhere is given in full below, and which I list in my following:

Carts of local manufacture for the transport of cannon

- 8 pieces
- 10 pieces
- 7 pieces
- 4 pieces

1. 40-mm. shells

2. 30-mm. shells

3. 50-mm. shells

4. Powder of local manufacture

5. 485 pieces

The following royal order, sent to the Bakbhar House, Dinka, Bham, Klinkerm Hall, andcole, Bakbhar Duka, Bakbhar Gadda, Sahar Duka, a Sonig Khat, Babab Duka, and Babab Duka (Bhuri) on Thursday, 9th July, 1674 (Irtila- Shakti, Vol. 4, p. 23), states that the Bakbhar housemen had formed a company to fight against the English.

You have been well to form a company and get organized on the post of Bakbhar through Bakbhar Duka, on account of the assistance created by the British to the council.
country by constructing forts, guarding important points, and thereby strengthening our position. We shall grant jajirs to any person who works hard in our cause according to his efforts. With due assurance, join Kaji Hakhtwor Simha Basnyat and do what is necessary."

Comments on Ripumardana Thapa's Letter

This letter was sent by Ripumardana Thapa, from Srinagar after being wounded in the battle of Kalapani, in which the Nepali side was defeated. It sheds light on that battle, as well as on the state of mind of the commanders who took part in the battle.

A Fajuri of the bhardars was held every year. The letter shows that Ripumardana Thapa was afraid lest he should incur the wrath of the government once the news of the defeat of his forces, and their retreat from Kalapani, reached Kathmandu. This is the reason why he has tried to prove that he had fought the British very hard.

Ripumardana Thapa has asserted that the Nepali troops could have driven the British off through a surprise attack had reinforcements reached them exactly at the time when the British troops were demoralized after the killing of Gillespie, and that further reinforcements might have enabled them to attack the British troops who were trying to move cannon to Kalapani.

The British troops were equipped with three pieces of big cannon and about 20 pieces of small ones, whereas the Nepali side had only eight pieces of cannon. Ripumardana Thapa rightly attributes Nepal's defeat at the battle of Kalapani to the shortage of both men and weapons.

Just as the message sent by the NepaI government to Jagjit-Pande, Amara Simha Thapa and others has enabled us to get a detailed account of the Nepal-China war of 1819 Samvat, similarly the letter sent by Ripumardana Thapa to Kathmandu helps us to understand the battle of Kalapani from the Nepali perspective.

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