

Regmi Research Series

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Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
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Munitions Production

During the nineteenth century, Nepal depended wholly on indigenous production for supplies of arms and ammunition. The foundation of the indigenous munitions industry had been laid by Prithvi Narayan Shah in Nuwakot with technicians procured from India, but production was too inadequate and the army depended on what it was able to seize during its victorious encounters with the invading forces of the Nawab of Bengal and the East India Company, and on what it could smuggle from India.¹ Consequently, one of the major aims of Gorkhali policy during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was to procure arms from every possible source. In 1796, for instance, Subba Dinanath Upadhyaya was instructed to endorse the purchase of "200 guns of good quality and two pieces of cannon, both of British manufacture" by officials deputed from Kathmandu.² In 1799, reports were received that at least seven companies, Khas, Ranabhim, Batukdal, Simhanad, Taradal, Devidatta, and Naya Sabuj, were short of guns. A sum of Rs 2,500 was sanctioned from revenues collected in the western hill region to purchase guns for their use.³ A few weeks later, Rs 2,750 was similarly sanctioned for the purchase of guns and bayonets for twelve other companies from revenues collected in Morang.⁴ Regulations promulgated in 1813 on the eve of the Nepal-British war for Bara, Parsa,⁵ Saptari, and Mahottari districts⁶ empowered the local administrators to purchase "flintlocks, steel, and flints" whenever possible.

Munitions production on a systematic basis started in 1793, soon after the Nepal-China war, when a factory, later known as the Jangi Megjin, was opened in Kathmandu under the supervision of a French technician.⁷ Its main function was to manufacture arms and equipment needed by the army.⁸ On the eve of the Nepal-British war, the factory was expanded and employed as many as 305 technicians and other workers.⁹ In 1851, Oldfield described the Jangi Megjin as "the Government foundry for the manufacture of cannon, as well as of many other articles which are worked in the hard metals".¹⁰ During the Rana period, the Jangi Megjin also manufactured nuts, bolts, hinges, etc. for the palaces of the Ranas.¹¹

In October 1804, Kathmandu ended a seven-year lull in the campaign of territorial expansion by attacking Garhwal. The Gorkhali march toward the Sutlej region followed thereafter. The renewed campaign naturally led to a spurt in defense production. Local administrators in Majhkirat in the eastern hill region, the Marsyangdi-Pyuthan region in the west, and elsewhere were ordered to commandeer local ironsmiths, procure supplies of iron, and manufacture cannonballs.¹² The quotas were fixed by Kathmandu: 30,000 balls from Majhkirat, and 50,000 balls from the Marsyangdi-Pyuthan region, within a month. A special officer was deputed to the Tarai districts in November 1805, one of his functions being to procure technicians from India and start munitions factories where possible.¹³

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At the middle of the nineteenth century, the munitions industry appears to have been well established. Notwithstanding the derisive remarks of British observers about techniques and quality, the scale of production is truly impressive. In the words of Cavanagh:¹⁴

There is a foundry at Kathmandoo and a large manufactory of fire arms at Feutana, about 15 marches distant. The guns are of brass (copper and zinc) and bored by machinery worked by water power... The rifles and muskets in use with the Gorkha Army are of fair construction, but with rude flint locks... It is supposed that in case of emergency, the government could supply muskets and accoutrements sufficient to equip upwards of 100,000 men.

Sir Richard Temple, who visited Kathmandu in May 1876, noted: "In the vally near Kathmandu there are arsenals and magazines, with ordnance, including siege guns, stores, thousands of stands of arms, small arm and ammunition, and the like. It is remarkable that for all this they depend on indigénous manufactures."¹⁵ He also noted that "there is a large supply of ordnance of various calibres, also made in Nepal".¹⁶

In Pyuthan, rifles of Enfield model were manufactured on a large scale. Production amounted to 501 rifles a year in 1811¹⁷, which was subsequently raised to 2,101 rifles. After 1849, Prime Minister Jung Bahadur decided to operate it on a smaller scale to restore production to the previous figure.¹⁸

Around 1864, an attempt was made to manufacture rifles in Thase, a rich iron-mining area in the hill region east of Kathmandu. Initially, local iron workers were commissioned to manufacture rifles in their own homes;¹⁹ a regular factory was opened for that purpose only in 1875. However, production was suspended in 1888 for about five years. In 1893, the factory was reopened²⁰ and equipment was installed for the manufacture of nine rifles daily.²¹

If the scale of production was impressive, continuous experimentation and innovation were no less so. In 1851, Cavanagh noted that the manufacture of percussion caps for rifles "is not likely to be introduced in Nepal".²² Less than fifteen years later, however, Daniel Wright noted that percussion caps were being manufactured in the arsenal at Kathmandu with machinery imported from England.²³ Similarly, Cavanagh had mentioned that the Nepalis "are in a great measure unacquainted with the art of manufacturing fuses". He added that "General Jung Bahadur has devoted much time and attention towards making experiments in order to ascertain the exact proportions of the ingredients used in preparing the composition, but hitherto with but little success".²⁴ However, there is evidence that fuses were manufactured on large scale at Sindhuli-Gadhi during the Nepal-Tibet war.²⁵

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Of perhaps greater interest were the innovations introduced to adapt munitions production to the exigencies of mountain warfare. Again according to Cavanagh:²⁶

The Artillery attached to the Nepal Army numbers about 300 guns, of which 160 are retained at the capital... . Those at Kathmandoo are all in serviceable condition and well-adapted for mountain warfare, being chiefly of small calibre, from 2 to 6-pounders The government has lately made arrangements by separating the gun from the carriage, for transporting field pieces by means of elephants.

Munitions factories, no doubt, employed workers who were on the regular pay roll, in the form of cash salaries or jagir land assignments.²⁷ At the same time, the services of many workers, mostly unskilled, were impressed under the rakam systems. In other words, these workers worked in munitions factories without wages in fulfillment of their rakam obligations and received in return only a full or partial exemption from the payment of homestead taxes and protection from eviction from the rice-lands they tilled. The usual practice was to assign a number of adjoining villages to the factory; the inhabitants were then under obligation to provide such labor for portage and other services. For instance, when the Thos munitions factory was reopened in 1893, a total of 314 families in nine adjoining villages were enrolled as porters for transporting its manufactures to the Nakhu magazine in Kathmandu.²⁸ In 1812, the inhabitants of three villages in the Chisapani-Gadhi area were told:²⁹

There is a severe shortage of iron in the munitions factory (in Kathmandu). It has become necessary to operate mines in Mahadev-Kharka, because there is a shortage of charcoal (to operate iron mines) in Ruping. You are, therefore, ordered to provide portage services for the supply of 40 dharnis of copper every day by rotation. You are hereby exempted from forced labor obligations for other purposes.

In Pyuthan, the inhabitants of 25 villages were under obligation to pay their homestead and other taxes in the form of such materials required by the local munitions factory as sulphur and saltpeter. Because these supplies were not locally available, they had no alternative but to visit places as far as Nepalgunj, and sometimes even India, to purchase them.³⁰ The large-scale exaction of unpaid labor for munitions production is underscored by the following report which the government received from that district in 1889.³¹

The people (of Pyuthan district) are being employed in different capacities to meet the requirements of the local munitions factory. In some villages, people extract iron ore, while others transport

Contd.

the iron to the factory. Still other people procure and supply timber, charcoal, hides and skins, saltpeter, sulphur, borax, or salt. People are also employed to grind gunpowder, or construct factories and other government buildings, bridges, etc. Other obligations include the supply of stones, flints, sand, wax, baskets, oil, oil-cakes, oilseeds, etc. The people of this district have thus to remain in constant attendance at the factory all the twelve months of the year.

There is even evidence that occasionally force was used to employ unwilling or recalcitrant workers. In 1855, local authorities at Sindhuli-Madi were ordered to employ local people for the manufacture of fuses in chain gangs if necessary, if they did not offer their services voluntarily.³²

In any case, there seems little doubt that unpaid-labor services in munitions factories imposed an onerous burden on the local peasantry. In December 1812, for instance, the inhabitants of Sharlang village complained that they had no time to cultivate their lands because unpaid labor under the jhara system was exacted all the year round for work at the local sulphur mines.³³

These efforts to modernize the munitions industry ran parallel to the production of traditional weapons in the traditional manner. These included, according to Kirkpatrick, bows and arrows, "Kohras, or hatchet swords,"³⁴ and, of course, the Khukuri, "the dagger, or knife worn by every Nepaulian."³⁵ These were the weapons, in addition to matchlocks, with which local "irregular militia" were equipped.³⁶

Bows and arrows were employed by the regular army during the Nepal-British war.³⁷ In 1813, on the eve of the war, local authorities and functionaries in the Chepe/Marsyangdi-Bheri region were ordered to supply bows and poison-tipped arrows to General Amar Singh Thapa in Palpa.³⁸ Often arrows were procured as part of the peasants' obligation under the jagir system.³⁹

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The Budget System and the
Ranas

By

Mahesh C. Regmi

The Rana rulers have been criticized for their failure to develop a sound system of fiscal administration. According to one study:¹

No distinction was made between the personal treasury of Rana ruler and the treasury of the government; any government revenue in excess of administrative expenses was pocketed by the Rana ruler as private income. No budgets of the government's expenditures and revenues were ever made public.

Similarly, Subarna Shumshere J.B.Rana, Nepal's first Finance Minister after the political changes of 1951, declared in the course of his budget speech on February 3, 1952:²

During the Rana regime, the people had no hand in the affairs of state and nobody had any information about the revenue and expenditure of the country... No distinction was made between the public exchequer and the personal property of the Rana Prime Minister.

These facts cannot be disputed. Nevertheless, it will be unfair to criticize the Rana rulers for their failure to adopt a modern budget system well in advance of other contemporary states in Asia. Moreover, there is no evidence that any distinction had been made between the public exchequer and the personal wealth of the rulers during the pre-Rana period.

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The conception of the budget as the central instrument for financial direction and control is a comparatively recent development. It was chiefly the outgrowth of the demand that the financial burden be imposed upon the people without their consent expressed through their representative assembly.

During the nineteenth century, the budget system was first applied to have been adopted in any part of Asia, except Japan and British India, and definitely not in any of the princely states of India.

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STATISTICS OF THE RICE AND OTHER CROPS CULTIVATED IN INDIA

Area of rice-lands in acres.

Province	1913	1914	Total 1913-14
Bengal	4,543	495	7,238
Assam	14,407	4,751	18,858
Madras	7,763	4,331	7,594
Total	23,413	9,777	33,190

Area of land of other crops

Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Jammu & Kashmir, and other villages	7,157	0	7,157
Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Jammu & Kashmir, and other villages	15,731	472	15,653

Jhanga jholi- Tamakosi region	12,833	x	12,833.
Tamakosi-Dudhkosi region	26,875	x	26,875.
Dudhkosi-Arun region (Majhkirat)	29,873	73	29,946.
Total...	91,969	495.	92,464.

Areas West of Kathmandu

Bhimdhunga-Trishuli region (Lamidanda)	61,820	245	62,065.
Kanule-Trishuli region (Thansing, Nuwakot, etc.)	26,441	230	26,671.
Trishuli-Gandi region	17,679	20	17,699.
Gandi-Daraundi/ Bhusundi region	19,156	372	19,528.
Daraundi/Bhusundi- Chepe/Marsyangdi region	36,479	120	36,599.
Total...	161,575	987	162,562.

Western Hill Districts

District	<u>Birta lands of Brahmans</u>	<u>Guthi lands</u>	<u>Birta lands of Bhat, Jogi, etc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lanjung	78,473	115	1,180	79,768.
Tanahu	91,106	x	1,390	92,496.
Kaski	62,616	20	1,123	63,759.
Parbat	39,885	65	511	40,461.
Paiyun	12,015	x	362	12,327.
Pallo-Nuwakot	21,156	20	1,282	22,458.
Garhun	25,624	10	463	26,097.
Gulkot	7,912	x	350	8,262.

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Sataun	15,489	15	664	16,168.
Bhirkot	29,406	28	1,486	30,920.
Rising	2,378	72	x	2,450.
Chiring	1,266	x	x	1,266.
Isna	1,003	x	95	1,098.
Musikot	2,420	x	x	2,420.
Pallo-Dhading	498	x	x	498.
Total...	391,247	345	8,906	400,498.

Palpa, Gulmi, Argha, and Khanchi

<u>District</u>	<u>Birta</u>	<u>Bandha</u>	<u>Guthi</u>	<u>Total</u>
Palpa	63,744	5,687	200	69,631.
Gulmi	5,714	358	x	6,072.
Argha	4,549	387	x	4,994.
Khanchi	4,167	492	14	4,673.
Total...	78,174	6,924	214	85,370.

Grand total of all categories of abolished Birta and Guthi lands --- 774,084 muris.

Rajmi Research Collection, Vol. 16, pp. 132-34.

Dharan Town

Adapted from: Kaviraj Narapati Sharma, "Dharanko Itihasa" (A history of Dharan). Gorkhapatra, Bhadra 17, 2035 (September 2, 1978).

Dharan is situated at the foothills of the Mahabharat range between the Syauti and Sardu-Khola streams in the east and the west respectively. Until A.D. 1903, the place was covered by forests. In that year, Sahu Mehar Man, Subedar Ganga Prasad, and Subedar Sher Bahadur Karki started clearing the forests from three sides. In A.D. 1906, the Pada Hakim of Biratnagar, Jit Bahadur Khatri, started a weekly market (hat) in Dharan every Saturday.

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Before Dharan emerged as a market, Vijayapur, which is situated on a hill nearby, was the main market of that area. There was also another market on the banks of the Sardu-Khola stream, where handloom cloth known as Sardule-khandi was woven. Traders from the mountainous region of the north purchased imported goods at the Vijayapur market.

In A.D. 1934, Colonel Shiva Pratap Shumshere Thapa, Bada Hakim, arranged for the allotment of homesites in Dharan. The price of each allotment was one Indian rupee. Gradually, Marwari and other traders from India, as well as Nepalis from Kathmandu Valley, Palpa, Pokhara and different parts of the eastern hill region settled in Dharan. The population of Dharan increased considerably as a result of the influx of Nepali returnees from Assam and Burma after the second world war.

One reason for the increased importance of Dharan was the growing volume of salt imports from India. Previously, salt used to be imported from Tibet and sold in Dhankuta Bazar. But eventually it became easier to import salt from India. Dharan then became the center of the trade in Indian salt.

More Documents on the Battle of Nalapani

By

Mahesh Raj Pant

"Nepal-Angrej Yuddha Nalapanika Ladain Sambandhi Aru 6 Patra" (Six more letters on the battle of Nalapani during the Nepal-British war). Purnima, Year 1, No. 4, Magh 1, 2021 (January 14, 1965). pp. 65-82.

As we went through old letters at Bir Library, we first came across three letters describing the battle of Nalapani. It was on the basis of these letters that I had published an article on that battle in the Purnima. Later, I found six more letters at the Bir Library giving an account of the battle of Nalapani. These letters are published in this article, because they contain some additional information about the battle, and also provide details of some of the points contained in the earlier letters.

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Letter No. 1

To General Ehimsen Thapa and Kaji Ranadhoj Thapa from Krishnananda Khanduji and Dhanabir Thapa, with due blessings and obeisance.

We are all well here. We shall feel relieved if you too are well there. The situation here is good.

Budnakaji (Amara Simha Thapa) has ordered that necessary arrangements be made for Garhwal, and that ryots who had fled be reassured and resettled in their villages. We, therefore, arrived in Srinagar from the headquarters in the month of Shrawan. We are doing our best to carry out the order.

As for the situation here, a strong force of the enemy arrived at Dehradun and fought a battle against Captain Balabhadra Kanwar at the fort of Nalapani on Ashwin Sudi 11 (Kartik 10) and Kartik Badi 2 (Kartik 16). On Ashwin Sudi 11, twenty-two persons were killed, and several wounded on the enemy's side. They finally retreated to their previous garrison at Dhumbala and Ambala.

Again, on Kartik Badi 2, the enemy attacked Nalapani with a large force. In the ensuing battle, which lasted nearly twenty-two hours, 23 white soldiers and 120 native ones were killed or wounded at the gates of the fort. The dead bodies were carried away.

Thanks to the grace of His Majesty, we were victorious on both occasions. From the letter of the Bhardars, you must have received details of the victory won by Captain Bhakti Thapa in the battle of Tujhar.

We are maintaining the maximum vigilance here. Due to preoccupation with arrangements for the supply of munitions to Nalapani, there has been a delay of five or seven days in sending the ritual offering made at the Dashain ceremonies. Please forgive us for this delay. It will be reaching you soon.

Please continue favoring us with necessary instructions.

Saturday, Kartik Badi 8, 1871 (Kartik 22, 1871),
Srinagar.

Letter No. 2

To His Majesty from Brahma Shah.

Your Majesty must have received information from my earlier petition also.

Contd.

I have received a letter sent by Kaji Ranajor Thapa from Nahan, informing me that the British had blocked the route, so that he had been compelled to send a man in the guise of a mendicant through a different route to have the letter delivered. He has also sent a letter to be forwarded to Your Majesty, which is enclosed herewith. Your Majesty will get detailed information through his letter. Also enclosed is a copy of his letter to me.

From Nahan, the mendicant had gone to Nalapani and met Captain Balabhadra Kunwar. Balabhadra Kunwar too has sent a letter to be forwarded to Your Majesty. Your Majesty will get a detailed account of the situation at Nalapani from his letter.

In his letter addressed to me, he has given his own estimate of the casualties suffered by the enemy in the battle that took place on Kartik Badi 2-3 (Kartik 16-17).

Information given by our agents in the British forces indicates that one General, one Colonel, one Major, 150 white soldiers, and 200 native soldiers had been killed in the battle. The number of the wounded is not known. However, the informant has indicated that a total of about 1,000 or 1,200 men have been killed or wounded.

Balabhadra Kunwar has asked me to send arms and ammunition, including poisoned arrows and flints. We had sent arms and ammunition we had here through Kaji Rewant Kunwar. These supplies are inadequate. Kaji Rewant Kunwar has been ordered to proceed from here as fast as possible.

Some of the men on our side also were killed when they came out of the fort and attacked. I have written to Captain Balabhadra Kunwar as well as to Kaji Rewant Kunwar not to fight in this manner.

A subedar was among those who were killed in the battle of Nalapani. Hence it is likely that the number of troops will not be sufficient now.

Kartik Sudi 1, 1871 (Kartik 29, 1871),
Almora.

Letter No. 3

From Balabhira Kunwar, Ripumardana Thapa, Chandrabira Thapa, Nathu Majhi, Chemu Basnyat, Ganga Singh Thapa, Dalajit Kanwar, and Dayaram Khadka to General Bhimsen Thapa and Kaji Ranajor Thapa.

We are all well here, we will feel reassured if you too are well. The situation here is good.

Contd.

We fought two battles with the British, in which one General and eight British officers on their side were killed. A column of their troops, including sappers, appeared to the north of the fort on Kartik Eadi 30 (Kartik 28), and in the vicinity of the water spring located to the south of the fort on Kartik Sudi 2 (Marga 1) on the pretext of building a road. They attacked us from the forest. In the fighting that ensued, 8 or 10 men were killed, and 10 or 12 wounded and taken to the camp. I have given details of this in my earlier letter.

The younger sister of the fallen General arrived at the place of fighting. She is grieved over the death of her brother as well as of her husband. Accompanied by four or five British officers she looks around the fort on horseback with a telescope from a distance that is out of the range of cannon-fire.

We are told that when cannon of the size of 24x18 arrives, they will bombard us for seven days from a distance, and that, on the eighth day they will attack us. They are getting reinforcements every day.

We have received a letter from the Kaji at Nahan informing us of the despatch of Kaji Jaspau Thapa, and inquiring whether he has reached this place.

A letter from Chautariya Bam Shah, informing us that he had despatched Kaji Rewant Kunwar on Wednesday Kartik Eadi 12 (Kartik 26), and one from Kaji Rewant Kunwar, stating that he would arrive in ten or fifteen days, have reached us.

After the two Kajis arrive here, we shall consult them, maintain vigilance at the fort, and, by the grace of the Goddess, and His Majesty, kill our enemy and repulse them.

In his letter from Nahan, the Kaji has stated: Kaji Jaspau Thapa has been sent there. You should fight without venturing out of the fort, and protect it. The enemy has sent one company of troops to Kalsi. We have consulted an astrologer for an auspicious date when the company should start attacking that company.

When a company of 700 troops armed with rifles, the Kaji attacked the company positioned at Kalsi. About 700 or 800 troops of the enemy were killed, according to information received from the ranks of the enemy.

The Shyansotha Company was sent overnight to rescue the enemy. We have not received written information about this. A messenger has, therefore, been sent to verify the truth. Once we get correct information, we shall write to you accordingly.

Kindly send us necessary instructions. What more can we write?

Thursday, Kartik Sudi 6, 1871 (Marga 4, 1871),

Contd.

Letter No. 4

A report on the situation in the western front, sent by Dhanabir Thapa to His Majesty.

On Marga 13, Kaji Ranadipa Simha Basnyat arrived at a hill near Rajapur village located at a distance of three kosh to the north of Gurudwara, and of 1½ kosh from Nalapani.

In the meantime, the British left Dhamabala and took all their forces to a place near the fort of Nalapani and laid siege to it. As a result, Kaji Ranodipa Simha Basnyat could not enter the fort. He is still staying at the hill near Rajapur.

The battle of Nalapani is still going on. Cannon and gun-fire is still being exchanged.

I shall send you whatever accurate information that I shall receive morning and evening.

The Budha Kaji has sent a written message from his camp asking that the Kamins and Sayanas of Garhwal be rounded up for Jhara (forced labor) services and brought before him. Accordingly, I am planning to do so.

The Khandudu Brahmans and their relatives and followers are all loyal to Your Majesty, and are acting dutifully and promptly according to the instructions of the Bhandars.

Shivaram, Chitraman and others of the Sakanlyani clan have gone to Dehradun with their families and cattle to join the enemy. Kashiram Sakanlyani, son of Sisaram, has also fled from Nahan and defected to the British. Shivaram Dobhal, chief of the Dobhal clan, has also followed suit.

We are maintaining vigilance at all strategic points.

Your Majesty may have received other information from the petition sent from here by Kaji Bakhtwara Simha Basnyat.

The royal order regarding duties to be carried out here by us is in the possession of Jagadeo Thapa. It had been issued in response to our earlier petition.

I shall abide by whatever commands Your Majesty may graciously send me through the Budha Kaji.

Pleading for Your Majesty's gracious forgiveness for any error I may have committed.

Your Majesty's loyal servant,
Dhanabir Thapa.

Friday, Marga Badi 5, 1871 (Marga 19, 1871),
Srinagar.

(To be continued)

Contd.

Revenue Collection in India

The following regulations were promulgated on 1st July 1911 by the Government of India.

(General Provisions)

- 1. The Government of India shall be empowered to make such regulations as may be necessary for the better collection of the revenue of India.
- 2. The Government of India shall be empowered to make such regulations as may be necessary for the better collection of the revenue of India.
- 3. The Government of India shall be empowered to make such regulations as may be necessary for the better collection of the revenue of India.
- 4. The Government of India shall be empowered to make such regulations as may be necessary for the better collection of the revenue of India.
- 5. The Government of India shall be empowered to make such regulations as may be necessary for the better collection of the revenue of India.

Section 10 of the Revenue Act, 1911, No. 1, 1911.

The Government of India shall be empowered to make such regulations as may be necessary for the better collection of the revenue of India.

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Section 10 of the Revenue Act, 1911, No. 1, 1911.

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,
Kathmandu: February 1, 1979.

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Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal

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An Explanatory Note

By

Maresh C. Regmi

(Maresh C. Regmi, Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces: Peasants and Landlords in 19th Century Nepal. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd, 1978).

In chapter 7 of Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces, captioned "The Agrarian Community," I have said that the Zamindari system existed in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Nepal in both the Tarai region and the Baisi region. Further reflection has indicated the possibility that the term Zamindar did not have the same connotation in both these regions.

In chapter 5 of the same study, captioned "The Village Elites," I have written that the thek-thiti system was used in the Baisai region, as well as in such peripheral districts as Rolpa, Pyuthan, and Salyan, for the collection of taxes on both rice-lands and homesteads. Later in the same chapter I have added: "Under the thek-thiti system, the village community as a whole, represented by the Mukhiya, and not the Mukhiya in his individual capacity, was held liable for the full payment of the revenue. In matters relating to the assessment and collection of taxes in the Baisi region, the government dealt not with individual peasants, but with the community as a whole. The entire village was treated as one unit for purposes of taxation, leaving it to the headman to apportion individual shares of the total revenue assessment."

In the Tarai region, the term Zamindar meant an individual landlord whose rights extended over lands occupied by a number of persons. The Zamindar of the Baisi region obviously was not a landlord of the same category, for, in that event, the transition from the Zamindari system to the thek-thiti system would have been too revolutionary to merit credibility.

In the North-West provinces of northern India (modern Uttar Pradesh), Zamindari also meant a system of land tenure in which the whole land of the village was held and managed in common. "The rents and all other profits from the estate are thrown into a common stock, and after deducting the government revenue (malguzari) and village expenses (grama kharch), the balance is divided among the sharers according to their shares, or the law or custom prevailing in the village."

Contd.

After the emergence of Rana rule, the area of rice land under Jagera tenure seems to have increased on a significant scale. Large areas of waste lands were reclaimed in the hill regions, and large areas of birtas and other tax-free lands were brought under the raikar tax system. Moreover, Jagirdars preferred cash salaries to land assignments in outlying areas. All these factors increased the area under Jagera tenure.

Collection of revenue of Jagera lands was under the direct supervision of the central lands office in Kathmandu,² and persons who held lands on Jagera tenure were under obligation to pay revenue on such lands directly to that office.³ No local machinery existed for this purpose; hence officials were deputed from time to time on an ad hoc basis to make such collections.⁴

During the 1860s, a new office, known as Bakyauta Tahasil Adda, was created in the districts of Kathmandu Valley, the eastern and western hill regions, Palpa and Salyan for collecting revenue on Jagera lands.⁵

Apparently, Bakyauta Tahasil Addas were initially not established in the far-eastern and far-western hill regions and some areas in the central and eastern inner Terai regions.⁶ In those regions, the Thek-Thiti system was prevalent, under which the village headman was responsible for the collection of taxes on both rice-lands and homesteads.⁷ As a result, taxes on Jagera lands remained uncollected in many parts of the Karnali region. In Dullu and Dailakh, for instance, no revenue was collected on Jagera lands from 1868 to 1890, because there was no collection machinery.⁷ A similar situation prevailed in the far-eastern hill areas.

Although the function of Bakyauta Tahasil Addas appears to have been limited to the collection of taxes on rice lands under Jagera tenure, their establishment marked the beginning of a new trend in the revenue administration system of Nepal. It meant the creation of a bureaucratic machinery to discharge a function which was traditionally performed by village headman and other non-official functionaries.

Notes

1. Mahesh C. Regmi, Landownership in Nepal. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, pp. 16-18.
2. This office was known as the Sadar Dafdarkhana. "Regulations of the Sadar Dafdarkhana," Magh Badi 1, 1919 (January 1863). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 47, pp. 413-16, sec. 8.

Contd.

3. Cf. "Order Regarding Reclamation of Waste Lands in Jagir Holdings," Ashadh Badi 7, 1909 (June 1852). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 49, p. 17.
4. Cf. "Order to Tharis, Mukhiyas, Etc. in Nuwakot," Magh Sudi 12, 1907 (January 1851). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 49, p. 1; "Administrative Arrangements for Collection of Rents on Jagera and Other Lands," Falgun Badi 7, 1921 (February 1865), Regmi Research Collection, vol. 21, pp. 493-94, and Kartik Sudi 3, 1923 (October 1866), Regmi Research Collection, vol. 15, pp. 169-77.
5. "Order to Dietha Kalidas Regarding Functions of Bakyauta Tahasil Addas," Baisakh Sudi 4, 1923 (April 1866), Regmi Research Collection, vol. 55, pp. 383-84. A full list of these offices is given in: "Order to Bakyauta Tahasil Addas in Kathmandu and Elsewhere Regarding Compilation of Registers of Households Enrolled under the Thaple-Mulaki Rakam," Falgun Sudi 10, 1949 (February 1893). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 11, pp. 402-404. Regulations for the Bakyauta Tahasil Adda of Gorkha district were promulgated on Jestha Badi 4, 1959 (May 1902). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 37, pp. 197-204.
6. There were no Bakyauta Tahasil Addas in Doti, Dhankuta, Ilam, Dulekh, Dadelihura, Jumla, Baitadi, Chisapani, Sindhuli, and Udayapur. "Order to Gaundas and Gadhis in Doti and Other Districts Regarding Compilation of Registers of Households Enrolled under the Thaple-Mulaki Rakam," Falgun Sudi 10, 1949 (February 1893). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 11, pp. 395-402.
7. For a description of the Thak-Thiti system of revenue collection, see Mahesh C. Regmi, Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces: Peasants and Landlords in 19th Century Nepal. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd, 1978, pp. 72-76.

Contd.

The Hides and Skins Levy

In 1794, household of Bhote, Hayu, and other Praja communities, Sarki, and other communities which lived on hunting and took the flesh of dead cattle as food was ordered to supply two pieces of buffalo or elephant hides, or deer or tiger skins, to the munitions factory, or else pay four annas each (in the case of Sarkis), or two annas each (in the case of others). This order was issued for the following regions on Ehadra Sudi 1, 1851 (August 1794):

- (1) Trishuli-Madi region.
- (2) Trishuli-Dumja region.
- (3) Dumja-Dudhkosi region.
- (4) Kali-Madi region.
- (5) Dudhkosi-Tamor region.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 5, pp. 745-46.

The order was repeated for Bhirkot on Aswin Badi 11, 1852 (September 1795).

(Regmi Research Collection, vol. 23, p.155), and the following regions on Kartik Sudi 9, 1856 (October 1799):

- (1) Trishuli-Kali, region. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 23, p. 441.
- (2) Thak and Thini. Ibid, p. 444.
- (3) Trishuli-Dumja region. (October 1799). Ibid, p. 445.
- (4) Kali-Bheri region. Ibid, p. 445.
- (5) Dumja-Dudhkosi region. Ibid, p. 445.

Limbu, Bhote, Lapche, Yakha, Lohar, Athpaha, Khamire and Khambu households in the Chanipur region east of the Arun river and west of the Tista river, who took the flesh of dead cattle as food, were each ordered to supply one piece of hide for manufacturing scabbards and other equipment for the Gorakh Bux and Sheodal Companies. Each Sarki household was similarly ordered to supply two pieces of hide, and each Kami household twenty dhamis of charcoal. Aswin Sudi 15, 1861. (October 1804). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 2, pp. 174-75.

In the eastern Tarai districts of Bara, Parsa, and Rautahat, Sarkis were under a similar obligation to supply hides for packing saltpeter. Marga Badi 3, 1875 (November 1818). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 42, p. 436.

Gurungs and Lamas in the regions east of the Trishuli river were granted exemption from the obligation to supply hides and skins to the munitions factory when they promised to join the army under Kaji Nayan Singh and proceed to the Kangra front in A.D. 1805, respect Brahmans, and refrain from taking the flesh of dead cattle. However, they did not comply with these conditions. Penalties were, therefore, imposed upon them.

The following regulations were promulgated in this connection on that date:-

1. Gurungs and Lamas who have complied with the order issued in 1862 Samvat (A.D. 1805), respect Brahmans, and do not take the flesh of dead cattle shall not be punished.
2. They shall be punished if they have not respected Brahmans and take the flesh of dead cattle. They shall be ordered to respect Brahmans and not take the flesh of dead cattle in the future.
3. Those who take the flesh of dead cattle but respect Brahmans shall be punished. Orders shall be promulgated to the effect that those who respect Brahmans shall not take the flesh of dead cattle.
4. Those who have not complied with the 1862 Samvat order, refuse to respect Brahmans, and want to continue taking the flesh of dead cattle shall be punished with fines as follows. They shall be under obligation to supply hides and skins to the munitions factory:-

Rates of Fines

<u>Grade of Household</u>	<u>Amount of Fine</u>
Abel	Rs 5
Doyam	Rs 3½
Sim	Rs 2½
Chahar	Rs 1½

5. With the income earned from fines imposed under these regulations, salaries shall be paid to the following employees at the following rates:-

1 Tahabildar	Rs 50.
1 do.	Rs 35.
1 Bahidar	Rs 35.
6 Peons	Rs 150.

More Documents on the Battle of Nalapani

by

Mahesh Raj Pant

"Nepal-Angrej Yuddha Nalapanika Ladain Sambandhi Aru 6 Patra" (Six more letters on the battle of Nalapani during the Nepal-British War). Purnima, Year 1, No. 4; Magh 1, 2021 (January 14, 1965). PP. 65-82. (Continued from the January 1979 issue).

Letter No. 5

To His Majesty King Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah Dev from Ranadipa Simha Basnyat, Rewanta Kunwar, and Balabhadra Kunwar. Camp: Chamuwa.

We are well here. We shall feel relieved if Your Majesty is well. Thanks to Your Majesty's merit and prowess, the situation here is satisfactory.

In our earlier petitions, we had given an account of the battle against the British at Nalapani, and the manner in which we repulsed their attack.

When the report of that battle reached the camp (of the Senior Kaji), Subba Chandrabir Thapa, and the troops of the Kalanala Company and the Gorakh Paltan, and Subedar Chamu Basnyat, arrived from Nahan at the fort.

Kaji Jaspau Thapa, with three companies under his command, the Jwaladal Company under Lakshavira Shahi, and the Ranadala and Ranajung Companies commanded by Ranadipa Simha Basnyat, have arrived at Nahan from Arki.

The three companies commanded by Kaji Jaspau Thapa, and the Jwaladala Company, have reached the fort of Nalapani. Wooden palisades have been erected within firing range. They camped at a place overlooking the palisades.

The Ranadala and Ranajung Companies, commanded by Kaji Ranadipa Simha Basnyat, subsequently moved from Nahan to a village called Kyarkali.

At about noon time on Friday, Marga 11, the fort was encircled from all sides, and water supplies were cut off. We installed cannon at a place where our arrows could not reach. Eight or nine balls and two or three rounds were fired at the fort. When the bombardment was renewed, three of our men were killed. Unable to hold on, some of our men moved into the fort. As a result of the siege, I, and my two companies, were unable to enter into the fort, and had to stay at Timili.

Contd.

We then built new shelters with the debris of the walls and earth, and fired cannon from behind them. In this manner, there was an exchange of cannon and gunfire throughout Friday and Saturday.

Stone structures built as a cover for protecting the heads of men collapsed when hit by shells, causing injuries to some persons. Three pieces of cannon installed on the battlements of the fort fell outside, while one fell inside. We tried to bury the cannon that had fallen on the northern side under the grounds to the south of the fort. The cannon that fell outside just in front of us remained there. One piece of cannon had been destroyed by our own firing during the previous battle. One Garhawali cannon, and three other pieces, had become unserviceable because some stones had fallen on them. Because the enemy alone continued firing, more and more people inside the fort were wounded.

There were two days and two nights of continuous bombardment on the northern side of the fort, as a result of which part of the fort was felled to the ground. The enemy continued its unilateral cannon fire on Sunday. But we went on killing the enemy with gunfire and stones from all sides. As a result of the enemy's fire, Subba Chandrabir Thapa, Subba Nathu Majhi, Subedar Dalajit Janwar, and Jamadar Dalajit Shahi of the Maccha-Kalanala Company were killed. On the enemy's side, eight prominent British officers and about 400 British troops were killed. The enemy continued bombardment until early morning on Monday. Later, it stopped the bombardment and demanded the return of the dead bodies. We pushed down these bodies that had been lying inside the palisades. Even, thereafter, the enemy resumed firing at us, as a result of which several persons on our side were killed. Some ammunition was also destroyed. The few people that remained inside were unable to hold on and, therefore, came out one by one.

In the night of Monday, the colors of all companies were taken away. When we came to know of this, we reprimanded those who were responsible for this act, and persuaded some of them to take the colors back to the fort. Some men have deserted the fort, and some others are hiding in the forests.

On Tuesday, the enemy fired at us with cannon, while we fought with guns. The few men that remained inside the fort also came out one by one. The enemy learnt of this. As the enemy trained his cannon on us, Subba Ripumardana Thapa, Subedar Chamu Basnyat, Subedar Gaja Simha Thapa, Jamadar Bijaya Simha Khatri, Jamadar Simhabira Gharti and Jamadar Chandramani Rana have taken Captain (Balabhadra Kunwar) out of the fort. They went to a village called Dubara and stayed there overnight.

Contd.

That night, the enemy launched a surprise attack on us. A bullet hit Subba Ripumardana Thapa. Jamadar Mangal Rana killed three men with his sword, but was wounded himself with swords and bayonets.

Our troops did all they could inside the fort. They would have done more. But for five days continuously, they could not even get water, and when cannon shells razed the palisades to the ground, and they could not hold out any longer.

If even now Your Majesty orders the immediate despatch of reinforcements, we would join them and try our best to maintain the honor of this land, as we have done so far.

The survivors from among those who had come from Nahan have joined their colors.

We three persons have assembled at the foot of the Chamuwa hill at Naginisera. We shall assemble those who have dispersed, and try our best to promote Your Majesty's interests.

We request Your Majesty to issue appropriate orders soon regarding arms and ammunition that we may need now. We have also sent men to deliver to the Kaji a message seeking his instructions. We have sent a letter informing Your Majesty of the death of officers, as well as of the arrangements (for the protection) of the fort.

Resident troops have not so far been assembled. We shall send accurate information to Your Majesty after we have collected them.

Thursday, Marga Badi 12, 1871.
Camp: Chamuwa.

Letter No: 6

From Ripumardana Thapa to His Majesty.

Camp: Srinagar.

We have already sent a letter to Your Majesty giving a detailed account of how we twice repulsed the attacks of the enemy at Nalapani, and even killed eight British officers including a general, and several British soldiers were wounded. We thus won a victory thanks to the grace of Your Majesty.

Contd.

Later, the enemy procured three big pieces of cannon from Agra and mobilized troops at different places. On Friday, Marga 12, they besieged us and cut off the flow of water through Nagal, Dandagaun, Lakhwan, Asthal, Nalapani and Dehradun. They also brought small cannon from all sides. They brought the big cannon through Nagal and set up palisades within firing range. They also procured cannon balls and shells from all sides.

In the morning of Sunday, Subba Chandrabir Thapa, Subba Nathu Majhi, and Subedar Daljit Kanwar were killed in an exchange of fire between the two forces when they were climbing the walls of the fort shouting to their men as nearly half of the northern wall had collapsed. The firing lasted throughout that day. Several jamadars, huddas, and soldiers were also killed, and many others injured. In the afternoon, the enemy again started bombarding us, as a result of which many men were killed and injured on our side.

At midnight on Monday, our soldiers moved from the fort with their colors in panic, and proceeded towards Dehradun. We came to know of this at a time when the Captain, Chamu Basnyat, Gaja Simha Thapa and myself were eating raw rice. We then tried in every possible way to block their further advance. The enemy continued to fire. As a result, some who had already got out fled, while some others returned to the fort along with their colors.

On Tuesday, many men on our side were killed. The fort was razed to the ground. Our arms and ammunition were destroyed. Then we asked the men to give an undertaking in writing to the effect that they would fight to the last and die along with us. Eighty-five soldiers signed such pledge. After consultations, it was decided that we must fight to the last with our swords if the enemy again attacked us.

That same night, the Mleccha Kalanala Company secretly left along with its arms and colors, and others also followed suit.

The remaining jamadars, huddas, and soldiers came back. Our men then caught hold of the Captain and myself by the arm, and dragged us away, saying, "The fort has been destroyed and there is no place where one can hide one's head. Most of the men have already been killed or wounded. The Mleccha Kalanala Company, which had come to help us, has left. It is no use to fight and die. We must now take away our arms and ammunition and strengthen our position in the hills."

The enemy too resumed firing. On our part, we passed through the palisades and, proceeding through the Dun route, arrived at the fort built by Kaji Amrit Thapa and then at Dwara, brandishing our naked swords and firing our guns all the way.

Dwara, however, was accessible to the enemy. We sent men to occupy the hill on the pretext of fortifying the palace of Gopichand.

On Thursday, we halted at the foot of the Gopichand hill. At midnight, the enemy suddenly launched a surprise attack. As a result of firing, some of our men were killed. As the enemy approached near and was poised for an attack, we repulsed them with our naked swords. In the process, a bullet hit me in the right arm. Mangal Rana and the Jamadar were hit in the cheek. Our formation then broke up.

Our troops did not stop even at the Gopichand hill. They halted only at Chamuwa:

The next day, Kaji Rewanta Kunwar joined us.

No physician is available here. It was, therefore, decided that all the injured men be taken to Srinagar. Accordingly, Kaji Rewanta Kunwar and Captain Balabhadra Kunwar granted permission and along with the wounded men, I went to Srinagar.

Kaji Bakhtwar Simha Basnyat has arranged for the services of a physician here. Those who recover will sent back to their unit. I will rejoin my unit and discharge my duties after my wounds have been healed.

The enemy was able to cut off water supplies, move up and fire big cannon, so that the shells penetrated the walls of the fort, thereby killing many of our men. Ultimately, we lost the fort. This was due to the fact that the fort itself had not been completed, and our strength was inadequate. The loss of the fort in these circumstances has created the impression that we are doing nothing. But actually we are doing our best.

By the grace of Your Majesty, we will be able to recapture the lost territories by attacking from our hill positions. We will do anything possible to prove ourselves true to the salt. We pray for forgiveness for any fault we may have committed.

Sunday, Paush 14, 1871.

Contd.

CommentsLetter No. 1

The first of these six letters was jointly written by Krishnananda Khadudi and Kaji Ranadhwaj Thapa from Srinagar, headquarters of Garhwal, on Bikram 1871, Kartik 22. Garhwal had just been conquered by Nepal, and the British were conducting propaganda against Nepal. The local people had been influenced by that propaganda. As a result, some Garwalis had started leaving Garhwal. This naturally worried the administrators of Garhwal. Kaji Amara Simha Thapa made efforts to bring such Garwalis back home. For this purpose, he despatched Krishnananda Khadudi and Dhanabir Thapa to Srinagar from Arki, his headquarters, Shraavan 1871.

This letter refers to the victory won by Captain Bhakti Thapa in the battle of Tujhar. It is not yet known where Tujhar is located.

Letter No. 2

The second letter was sent by Chautariya Bam Shah to His Majesty from Almora, headquarters of Kumaon district, on Kartik 29, 1871, Samvat 29.

The British had blocked the main route from Nahan to Nalapani. As a result, the Nepalis could not reach Nalapani from Nahan. Hence Kaji Ranajor Thapa sent a man in the guise of a mendicant to Nalapani through a different route. That man reached Nalapani and met Balabhadra Kunwar.

Following the battle of Kartik 17, Balabhadra Kunwar requested Bam Shah for the supply of munitions. Bam Shah did not have enough arms and ammunition at the time. However, he sent some to Balabhadra Kunwar through Kaji Rewanta Kunwar. The arms and ammunition thus sent included gunpowder, shells, flints, poisoned arrows, and guns.

At that time, it was the practice to use poisoned arrows. This explains Balabhadra's request for such arrows. Flints were sought because these were used for firing guns.

Pandit Vanivilasa Pande has referred to the use of poisoned arrows by Kiratis in the encounter with Abhiman Simha Basnyat, who had been sent by Prithvi Narayan Shah to conquer the Kirat region. In a stone inscription of 1850 Samvat, which was installed by Daukal Simha Basnyat at the temple of Narayan at Narayanhiti, Pandit Vanivilasa is quoted as saying: "Kaji Abhiman Simha, brother of Kehari Simha, was a virtuous, kind,

good-looking, and intelligent (that is, one who never forgets what he has heard or seen), philanthropic, and religious-minded person. With such weapons such as spears, he exterminated many Bhillas (i.e., Kiratis), who used poisoned arrows and were intoxicated with liquor, and conquered all Kirata territories." (The inscription was published by Yogi Narshari Nath in Sanskrita Sandesh, Year 1, No. 5, pp. 7-10).

A large force is needed for fighting after coming out of a fort, while one section of the troops has to defend the fort, another has to fight outside it. Many men are killed or wounded while fighting outside a fort. Thus the Nepali troops suffered heavy casualties when they fought on coming out of the fort at Nalapani. In this letter, Bam Shah states that he had asked both Balabhadra and Rewanta Kunwar to fight without leaving the fort.

Letter No. 3

The third letter was jointly written by Balabhadra Kunwar and his aide to Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhoj Thapa on Marg 4, 1871 Samvat, from the fort of Nalapani.

With the death of Gillespie in the battle of Nalapani on Kartik 17, 1871, fighting stopped, and the British started constructing roads, and engaged in espionage activities against Nepal. The letter tells us about this situation.

Balabhadra and others were regularly despatching accounts of important events in the Nalapani area. Four days before this letter was written, they had sent a letter to Kathmandu. It has been published in the Purnima (vol. 1, pp. 60-61). The present third letter gives an account of the events that occurred after that letter was despatched.

Along with Gillespie, his brother-in-law had also been killed in the battle of Kartik 17, 1871. After the death of both her husband and her brother, Gillespie's sister went to Nalapani, accompanied by four or five commanders. She looked at the fort of Nalapani on horseback with a telescope. This information is also given in the third letter.

This letter also shows that the British were planning to attack the fort of Nalapani within eight days. They actually did so eight days later.

Kaji Amara Simha Thapa had sent reinforcements to Nalapani from Arki. These troops were then proceeding to Nalapani through Nahan. Ranajor Thapa, who was then responsible for the defense of Nahan, wrote a letter to Nalapani saying that troops were reaching there. The letter added: "Fight without leaving the fort."

The British had deployed one company of their troops at Kalsi, a town situated to the south of Nahan, with the aim of blocking the advance of Nepali troops coming from Nahan. Ranajor Thapa wrote a letter to Nalapani stating that he had consulted an astrologer about an auspicious date for mounting an assault on the British troops.

According to this letter, information was received from enemy sources that Ranajor Thapa, commanding 700 Nepali troops, had attacked the British troops deployed at Kalsi, and killed about 700 or 800 of them.

The morale of Balabhadra and his men, who were at Nalapani, was very high at the time because they had defeated the British troops and repulsed their attack. Their intention to defeat the British troops again is reflected in this letter.

Letter No. 4

The fourth letter was sent by Dhanabir Thapa to His Majesty on Marga 19, 1871 Samvat, from Srinagar, headquarters of Garhwal. One month before, Dhanabir Thapa, and Krishnanand Khandudi had sent a letter to Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhoj Thapa. (See letter No. 1 above).

The British were trying to rally the leading personalities of Garhwal to their side. As a result of their efforts, Brahmans belonging to the Sakalyani and Dobhal clans turned against the Nepal government and sided with the British government. On the other hand, as indicated in this letter, Brahmans belonging to the Khandudi clan and their friends and well-wishers were on the side of the Nepal government.

Amara Simha Thapa had made efforts to see that the inhabitants of Garhwal did not side with the British. As indicated in this letter, he had sent a letter to the leading personalities of Garhwal appealing to them to meet him, and promising to make arrangements for their welfare.

The news of the departure of Balabhadra and his men from the fort on Marga 16, 1871 Samvat apparently did not reach Srinagar until Marga 19. This shows that there were shortcomings in the communication arrangements made by the Nepalis.

Contd.

Letter No. 5

Kaji Ranadipa Simha Basnyat, who had left Arki for Nalapani for supporting the Nepali troops, but who was unable to do so because of the seige laid by the British troops around Nalapani, and Kaji Rewanta Kunwar, who had come to Nalapani from Almora for a similar purpose, and later left, met Captain Balabhadra Kunwar at Chenuwa. There the three men jointly wrote the fifth letter to His Majesty.

This letter mainly describes the battle of Nalapani. Of the three men who wrote this letter, Ranadipa Simha Basnyat and Rewanta Kunwar did not take part in the battle. As such, the letter mainly reflects the views of Balabhadra Kunwar, who commanded the Nepali troops in the battle of Nalapani.

This letter indicates that Balabhadra had not felt disheartened even after his defeat and retreat. It also indicates that both his colleagues, Rewanta Kunwar and Ranadipa Simha Basnyat, shared his desire to regroup his forces for a second battle against the British if reinforcements were received from Kathmandu.

Letter No. 6

The sixth letter was sent by Sardar Ripumardana Thapa to His Majesty from Srinagar on Poush 27, 1871. On the same date, he had sent a letter to Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhoj Thapa, which has been published in Purnima, No. 3. This letter may be considered to be a summary of the letter sent to His Majesty.

However, these two letters differ in two respects. Whereas in his letter to Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhoj Thapa, Ripumardana Thapa gives no hint of his desire to reoccupy Dehradun from the British, the present letter says that with the grace of His Majesty he would certainly do so through attacks from the hills.

In his letter to Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhoj Thapa, Ripumardana Thapa expresses happiness over his promotion. But this letter does not contain any reference to this.

At that time, Girvana Yuddha was on the throne, while the administration was in the hands of Bhimsen Thapa. Ranadhoj Thapa was assistant to Bhimsen Thapa. For this reason, one could fulfil his ambitions if one could please Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhoj Thapa.

The letter sent to Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhoj Thapa contains a clear and detailed account of the situation, whereas the one sent to His Majesty is brief. This also gives an idea of the position held by Bhimsen Thapa at the time.

Contd.

The letter jointly written by Ranadipa Singh Basnyat, Rewanta Kunwar and Balabhadra Kunwar states that troops including those under the command of Ripumardana Thapa, had persuaded Balabhadra Kunwar to leave the fort. On the other hand, in his letter to Bhimsen Thapa and Rana-dhoj Thapa, Ripumardana Thapa says that the Mlechha-Kalanel-Company had abandoned the fort. The company appears to have been formed by the Nepalis. The British used to be called "Mlechha", hence the company was so called. "Mlechha-Kalanel-Company" thus meant "the company which is the fire of death for the British."

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By

Mahesh C. Regmi

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Bondage and Enslavement

("Jiu masnya b'chnya" (Enslavement and traffic in human beings). Shri 5 Surendrabikrama Shahadevaka Shasana-Kalama Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code enacted during the reign of King Surendra Bikram Shah Dev). Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, His Majesty's Government, 2022 (1965), pp. 355-61).

1. If a father and his son, or daughter, or two brothers, or two sisters, or a brother and his sister, of castes which can be enslaved have worked as bondsmen or bondswomen at the house of any person since before A.D. 1857, and the two agree that one be enslaved and the other obtain freedom, and, accordingly, one of them is enslaved at any government office or court (adalat, amil, thana) the creditor, or the father who permits such enslavement, shall not be held guilty, because this was done at a government office or court.

The other person shall then sign a bond undertaking to work as a bondsman or bondswoman in consideration of the loan previously provided to the person who enslaves himself voluntarily in this manner. He shall not be enslaved.

If the chief of any government office or court permits the enslavement of any person after the enactment of this law, he shall be punished with a fine of one hundred rupees. If the creditor has enslaved that person without the permission of a government office or court, his loan shall be appropriated by the chief of such office or court. The father or mother who permitted such enslavement in consideration of money shall be punished with a fine of one hundred rupees. The person who has been enslaved shall be free.

The enslavement of a child who is below sixteen years of age by making him sign a bond to that effect at a government office or court shall not be held valid. The creditor shall not be permitted to recover his loan; the chief of the government office or court and the relative who permitted the enslavement shall each be punished with a fine of one hundred rupees, and the enslaved person shall be set free.

2. If any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, or to a liquor-drinking caste, takes up as his wife a slave-girl owned by another person, and begets children from her, the father or other relatives of such children shall have no right to redeem them if the owner of the slave-girl is not willing to sell or redeem them. If he sells them to other persons, or is about to do so, the father or other relatives shall have the right of pre-emption at the price offered by the prospective buyer and thus redeem the children from slavery. If they are

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unable to pay the full amount immediately, and undertake to sign a bond stipulating payment within a stipulated time, they can obtain redemption only after making payment. No undertaking for the extension of time limit can be accepted.

If the father or other relatives live at a distant place and receive information about the sale only later, and then demand redemption, their demand shall be granted at any time even if the child has been taken away from the home where it was born, if it is a son; if it is a girl, she may be redeemed only before she reaches the age of eleven years. No redemption shall be allowed after she reaches that age. The purchaser shall allow the father or other relative to redeem the child from slavery on payment of the amount that he had actually paid. After the parents, or other relatives redeem the child from slavery and set it free, they shall not be allowed to sell it to others. Such child shall be free. If it is sold, this shall be regarded as the enslavement of a free person. The money paid by the purchaser shall be refunded to him, and a fine of Rs 360 shall be imposed.

3. If any person has employed a servant on monthly wages, but no period of days, months, or years of service has been stipulated, such servant may leave his service after getting wages for the period during which he has worked. If the period of service has been stipulated, he must work during that period, and shall not be allowed to leave before it expires. He shall not be allowed to do so even if he can get higher wages elsewhere. He may leave after the expiry of the stipulated period. If he absconds before the expiry of the stipulated period, he must work without wages for the remaining period. If the employer does not pay the stipulated wages in due time when asked to do so, and if a complaint is filed, the amount of the arrears, along with an additional payment of one rupee for each month of default, shall be realized from him. It shall depend upon the pleasure of the servant whether to continue working for his employer or quit.
4. Government offices and courts shall realize the value of slave-boys and slave-girls in disputes concerning them at the rates mentioned below:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Slave-boys below three years of age	Rs 20
Slave-girls do.	Rs 25

Slave-boys aged between three years and six years	Rs 30
Slave-girls do.	Rs 35
Slave-boys aged between six years and twelve years	Rs 50
Slave-girls do.	Rs 55
Slave-boys aged between twelve years and forty years	Rs 100
Slave-girls do.	Rs 120
Slaves of either sex aged between forty years and fifty years	Rs 60
Slaves of either sex aged between fifty years and sixty years	Rs 50

If any person claims any slave-boy or slave-girl as his property, but fails to prove his claim when required to do so, he shall be punished with a fine at the rates mentioned in this schedule. One-fourth of the fine shall be collected as Jitauri fee.

5. If there is no documentary evidence, but only witnesses, in a dispute concerning slaves, money, goods, jewelry, cattle, grain, etc. and both litigants agree to have the dispute settled on the basis of the evidence of the witnesses, the matter shall be noted accordingly, the witnesses made to take oath on the Harivamsha, and the dispute settled on the basis of their statements. The party which loses the case shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount of the claim, and one-fourth of the fine shall be collected from the winning party as Jitauri fee. In case the fine is not paid, (the losing party) shall be imprisoned at the rate of one month for each five rupees of the fine. The Jitauri fee shall be realized from the goods in which the claim has been upheld.
6. Creditors shall execute deeds stipulating the bondage of individuals, not families, only at courts and local bodies (amal). They shall not be entitled to claim rights over other members of the bondsman's family, even if such bondsman dies in the creditor's house or in his own house. If a complaint is submitted to the effect that any creditor had claimed rights over any member of the family of his bondsman on the latter's death, such creditor shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount claimed by him. If he defaults in the payment of such fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law.

Contd.

7. If the debtors are parents belonging to a caste which can be bonded who have both sons and daughters, no daughter shall be bonded in consideration of the loan even at courts and local bodies, because she is not entitled to a share in the paternal property. If any court or local body has witnessed such a transaction, the chief thereof shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees, and the creditor and the debtor with a fine of five rupees each. The deed of bondage shall be cancelled and converted into a personal bond in the name of the person who offered a bondsman in consideration thereof. The daughter or sister shall then be free.
8. If a slave commits a crime which is punishable with death or life imprisonment, he shall be sentenced to death or life imprisonment, as the case may be. If the crime is punishable with imprisonment, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment. If he pays money in lieu of the term of imprisonment, action shall be taken according to the law. If a slave commits a crime which is punishable with confiscation of property, he shall not be so punished, because a slave cannot be punished with confiscation of his property.
9. If parents have been freed from slavery, but their sons are still slaves in the same district or elsewhere, and if the parents redeem some of their sons from slavery, leaving others still in the status of slaves, and die in the meantime, their personal property shall be used to meet their funeral expenses. From the balance, an amount equal to what had been spent to redeem some of the sons from slavery shall be given to those sons who are still slaves, and the rest divided equally between the two. If the value of the property (left by the deceased parents) is not equal to the amount spent to redeem some of the sons from slavery, no share therein shall accrue to such sons. The entire property shall then be inherited by those sons who are still slaves. If (the deceased parents) had begotten any son after they were forced from slavery, the paternal property left after meeting the funeral expenses shall be divided equally among such sons as well as those sons who are still slaves.
10. If any person who has several members in his family has executed a deed stipulating bondage, and if through mutual consent the bondsman mentioned in the deed has stayed at home and another member of the family has gone in his stead to work for the creditor, or if they work for the creditor by rotation, and if the person who is working for the creditor dies, the creditor may oblige the person whose name has been mentioned in the deed to work for him. If such person dies, the creditor shall not be entitled to claim rights over the person who had been working on behalf of the deceased person, or any other member of (the deceased bondsman's family). In case he does so, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to ten percent (of the amount of the loan).

Contd.

13. In case any person sells free persons (ajaputra) claiming that they are slaves, the person who writes the deed of sale to the effect that they are slaves, even though knowing well that they are free persons, the main person responsible for the sale, and the witnesses shall each be punished with a fine of Rs 100. In case these persons did not know that those who were being sold were free persons, they shall each be punished with a fine of twenty rupees. In case they do not pay the fine, they shall be imprisoned according to the law. If the purchaser knew (that those who were being sold were free persons), the money paid by him as the price shall be forfeited, and a fine of an equal amount shall be collected from him. If the purchaser did not know (that those who were being sold were free persons), the money shall be refunded to him if the seller is able to repay it; otherwise, the seller shall be let off after signing a personal bond for that amount in favor of the purchaser.
14. A person who offers or accepts children below the age of sixteen years as bondsmen shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees. A person who forcibly offers or accepts persons above the age of sixteen years as bondsmen without having the transaction witnessed by a court, a police station, or a local body shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees. The amali who signs as witness in such a transaction shall also be punished with a fine of five rupees.
15. If a person has only a daughter who is more than sixteen years old, and no son, and if the daughter signs a bond at a court, a police station, or a local body, indicating her willingness to be bonded in consideration of a loan obtained by her parents, the bondage shall be regarded as valid. It shall not be valid if the daughter who has signed the bond is less than sixteen years of age. In that case, the chief of the court, police station, or local body where the bond was signed, the creditor, and the borrower shall each be punished with a fine of five rupees. The bond shall be cancelled, and the parents shall be made to sign a personal bond for the amount.
16. If slaves of either sex belonging to any person complain before a court, a police station, or a local body that they are freemen, and if any relative confirms this claim, and agrees to undertake liability for any fees or fines that may be imposed if they win or lose the case, and if, after hearing both sides, it is held that they are freemen, the person who claims that they are slaves shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount paid for them. One-fourth of the fine shall be collected from the plaintiff as Jitauri fee and they shall be set free.

If, however, it is proved that they are actually slaves, and not freemen, the person who claims that they are freemen shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount paid for them. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law.

If no relative comes forward to confirm the claim that the complainants are freemen, and if it is found that the slaves have made such a claim of their own accord, and that they have been slaves from the beginning, their complaint against their owner shall not be heard. A Baksauni fee of five rupees per head shall be collected from the owner in consideration of the recovery of his slaves, who shall then be handed over to him.

If any person has wrongly claimed the complainants to be his slaves, so that the latter have been compelled to submit a complaint maintaining that they are freemen, the case shall be disposed of on the evidence of documents and witnesses. If they are found to be slaves, one-fourth of the fine shall be collected as Jitauri fee from the owner, and the slaves shall be handed over to him. If, on the other hand, they are found to be freemen, a fine equal to the amount paid for them shall be collected.

15. If one of several brothers who is over sixteen years of age is offered in bondage with his consent by his parents with any court, police station, or local body as witness, and if subsequently the bondage is redeemed by his parents or brothers after repaying the creditor, he shall bear his due share of loans due to other creditors obtained while living in an undivided family. But if he has obtained his freedom through his own personal property or earnings, or by winning the favor of his creditor, he need not pay loans due to other creditors. However, he shall be entitled to his share of the paternal property. Loans due to other creditors shall be repaid by the other brothers who have stayed home. Other creditors shall have no claim against the person who has been freed from bondage as mentioned above.
16. In case any person signs a bond in the presence of witnesses granting personal liberty to his slave, but not freeing him from the obligation to work, such slave shall not leave work and go elsewhere in contravention of the stipulation made in the bond; nor shall the owner be entitled to sell such slave and appropriate the proceeds. In case any person submits any complaint to the court, police station, or local body in such matters, judgment shall be pronounced to the effect that (the owner) cannot sell the slave, nor can the latter leave working for him.
17. In case any person belonging to the Brahman and other sacred-thread-wearing caste is involved in sexual, or commensal relations, or in the use of water, with a member of any caste which can be enslaved, or is untouchable, or any caste contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, and in case such person is, consequently, degraded to such caste, and subsequently commits any crime, he can neither be bonded nor enslaved. In case he is enslaved, (the person who has enslaved him)

shall be punished under the law relating to the enslavement of freemen. In case he is bonded, the loan shall be cancelled, and (the person who has bonded him) shall be punished with a fine of an equal amount.

In case the person who has been degraded to a lower caste marries a woman of an equivalent caste, and in case the children born of such a union commit any crime, they shall be punished according to the law relating to the caste of their mother.

18. In case any person has enticed, children of either sex who are below twelve years of age belonging to others to work for anybody without the knowledge of their parents, brothers, sisters, or other relatives, and in case he has denied any knowledge of the matter when such relatives seek information, a fine of fifty rupees shall be imposed if the guilty person is a man. If the guilty person is a woman, she shall be punished with a fine of twenty-five rupees. The child shall be procured and handed over to the relative.
19. In case a son born of a person who belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste which cannot be enslaved from a slave woman owned by another person commits adultery or any other crime, and in case his father, uncle, or brother redeems him and give him the sacred thread if his father belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, or sets him at liberty if his father belongs to a liquor-drinking caste which cannot be enslaved, he shall not be regarded as a gharti. Action shall be taken in the matter according to the law relating to the caste to which he belongs. In case (the father, uncle, brother, etc.) has not redeemed him, so that he remains a slave, he shall be regarded as a slave, even though he was born of a high-caste person. Action shall be taken in the matter according to the law relating to slaves.

In case the crime had been committed while such person was a slave, and action has already been taken according to the law relating to slaves, and in case, subsequently, his father, uncle, or brother redeems him and gives him the sacred thread if (his father) belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, or sets him at liberty (if his father) belongs to any other caste, the office, court, or local body which had previously sentenced him to punishment according to the law relating to slaves while he was yet a slave shall not be considered to have acted in contravention of the law.

Regulations for Khumbu

The following regulations were promulgated under the royal seal in the name of the inhabitants of the Nepal-Tibet border in the Khumbu-Ghet region north of Thodung on Baisakh Badi 9, 1867 (April 1810) :-

1. The amali shall collect the prescribed taxes, and dispense justice, in the presence of the headman (budhyauli) of the village.
2. The person who is appointed as dware there shall be supplied with provisions (manachamal) and six goats every month.
3. Conduct trade through your regular establishments (kothi) without creating any obstructions (dhesa).
4. The local people shall engage in trade as usually done in that region. The amali shall not impose any restrictions.
5. Charge interest at ten percent according to the system prevalent throughout the country. Do not charge more.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, PP. 149-50.

The Unification of Nepal

By

Baburam Acharya

(Shri 5 Badamaharajadhiraja Prithvinarayana Shaha (The Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah). Kathmandu: His Majesty's Press Secretariat, 2024 (1967), pt. 2, chapt. 5. "Nepalako Ekikaranaka Namitta Mileko Prerana ra Yojana" (Inspiration and plans for the unification of Nepal), pp. 201-20).

The exemplary character of King Shivaji of Maharashtra, who had died only 42 years before the birth of Prithvi Narayan Shah, had begun to influence Gorkha. This had further influenced Prithvi Narayan Shah during his visit to Banaras. The Peshwas of Poona were spreading the Marhatta glory throughout India by following the path shown by Shivaji. It is the influence of this very Brahman Peshawa that led King Jagatjaya Mall of Kantipur to authorise the Brahmans of Maharashtra to become the chief priests of the Pashupati temple.

(Note: The Pashupata sect, which has emerged as a special group among the ancient Shaiva communities, had succeeded the Vaishnava sect in North India by the time the Gupta empire was established there. Pashupatacharyas

Contd.

used to propagate the Pashupata sect. Following the establishment of the rule of the Licchavis in Nepal, the Pashupata community also arrived in Nepal together with the Vaishanava community. At the request of the Pashupatacharyas, an idol and temple of Pashupati was established on the right bank of the Bagmati river during the early part of the fifth century. This community had made special progress during the Licchavi period, and Kings like Anshu Varma of the later Licchavi dynasty had become follower of the Pashupata sect.

The idol and temple of Pashupati was destroyed by the Muslim invasion in 1349 A.D. during the early Malla period. However, the Kingdom of Vijayanagar was established in Karnatak, South India, in 1350 A.D. with the responsibility of protecting the Puranic religion. First of all when an exact replica of the old Pashupati idol was installed in 1360 A.D. in the newly reconstructed temple of Pashupati by the Mahapatra of Kathmandu, Jaya Simha, during the reign of Arjuna Malla, the last king of the first Malla dynasty, the tradition must have been laid down appointing the priests of the temple by inviting vegetarian Brahmans from Karnatak. Sthiti Mall and other kings of the later Malla dynasty seem to have observed this tradition. The idol of Kritimukha Bhairava south-east of the Pashupati temple seems to have been installed by the Brahman priests from Karnatak during the reign of King Yeksha Malla. That the idol of Unmatta Bhairava in front of Kritimukha Bhairava was established during the reign of the same king in 1468 by the Karnatak Brahman Narayana is stated in the stone inscription that was installed there three years later. King Pratap Malla of Kantipur later seems to have enclosed it in a room because of its obscene appearance. He also constructed Nauktimandapa and Yajnasala on the south-eastern side of the Pashupati temple. This kind of idol was not considered obscene according to earlier Tantrik tradition.

When the destruction of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1565 stopped the influx of Karnatak Brahmans from there, and their descendants in Nepal degenerated by becoming meat-eaters, the Malla kings of Kathmandu seem to have established the tradition of appointing the priests of the Pashupati temple by bringing in Sanyasis from Banaras. The houses situated on the southern side of the Pashupati temple that have so far remained the residence of the chief priest of Pashupati seem to have been built by King Pratap Malla. It is known from Thyasafu 'A' that Raghavananda Swami had lived in that house during the rule of Pratap Malla's son, King Pathivendra Malla. That Raghvananda Swami had gone to live in Lalitpur when he was insulted by the murderers of Pathivendra is stated in the Vamshavali. But other Sanyasi priests remained there this is understood from the accounts heard at the Pashupati temple. However, the Maharashtra priests state that when these Sanyasis too became defiled as meat-eaters, and as the Rajopadhyaya and Tirhut Brahmans of Nepal too were meat-eaters, Jagajjaya Malla set up the tradition of appointing the priests by bringing in Maharashtra Brahmans from Banaras. Because peace was restored in India after the

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establishment of British rule there, and the influx of Karnatak Brahmans resumed, both kinds of Brahmans can now become priests of the Pashupati temple. At the time when the new idol of Pashupati was installed, the Pashupati sect had been uprooted in India. Therefore, Karnatak Brahmans who came from there to become priests belonged to an orthodox Puranic sect. However, owing to the inability of the Shaiva Mallas to ignore the Shaiva Bhairava of the Buddhistic Tantrik sect followed in Nepal, the priests of Karnatak also were constrained to install an idol of Shaiva Bhairava. The Sanyasi priests were the monists and were not therefore followers of Bhairava. But in view of the connection that Pashupati had with Kritimukha Bhairava, they could no longer ignore it. In view of the glory attained by Banaras at the hands of Maharashtra Brahmans when Poona had witnessed the ascendancy of the Peshawa dynasty during the reign of the last Mughal Emperor, the appointment of vegetarian Maharashtra Brahmans as priests at Pashupati, instead of Sanyasis during the period of the King Jagajjaya Malla of Kantipur, was a timely-step. Although there is some Tantrik influence on the present rituals of worship followed at the Pashupati temple, most of it is purely Puranic. The tradition set by the Maharashtra priests, therefore, seems to have been maintained till now.

The secret copper plaques, palmleaf manuscripts, and other documents in the store of the Pashupati temple, if made public, may verify most of the speculations made here.)

During Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Banaras, a reputed intellectual, politician, patriot and wealthy person named Balakrishna Dikshit used to live there. He was an advisor of the Peshwas, and the Emperor of Delhi also was desirous of his favor. (Hamsha Monthly, Kashi Issue, p. 164, Banaras).

It was not impossible that Prithvi Narayan Shah had a meeting with him. Prithvi Narayan Shah might probably have acquainted himself with the contemporary situation of India by meeting the intellectuals of other provinces residing in Banaras. Right at this moment talks were held at the Delhi court on the question of incorporating well-known Hindu pilgrimage centers, such as Mathura, Gaya, and Banaras into the Peshwa kingdom. All this information reached Banaras at that time, hence Prithvi Narayan Shah set into capitalizing his designs out of this impending political unrest.

Prithvi Narayan Shah might have learnt from a deep study of the contemporary Indian situation that through pursuit of policies like keeping plans secret, refraining from hurting the religious feelings of others, and protecting farmers and craftsmen who do not participate in armed combats, as well as the women and children of even enemies, it would not be difficult to attain success.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah engaged himself in the plan of the unification of Nepal immediately after his return to Gorkha from Banaras. First of all, he had to appoint the minister or Kaji, as the appointment had been delayed because of the coronation.

(Note: A minister was called Kaji in Gorkha. The term is in no way connected to the same word in Arabic. It is connected in same degree, with the Sanskrit word Karyi meaning a functionary.)

was

Everybody/sure that Kalu Pande was a suitable candidate. He was born in the family of Ganesh Pande, the first Kaji of Gorkha. He was also a son of Bhimaraj Pande, who had been a Kaji for some time during King Narabhupala Shah's reign.

(Note: A statue of the bearded Kapardar, Bhotu Pande, is installed on the ground floor of a building situated south of the Pashupati temple. The inscription that he has installed on the Bishnumati bridge, which he had constructed, refer to his relationship with Ganesh Pande, Minister of Drabya Shah, the first King of Gorkha. The Pande Brahmans of the Upamanya clan of Khoplang in Gorkha also mention Ganesh Pande as their ancestor. Bhotu Pande was a Chhetri, his family had marital ties with Bhim Sen Thapa's family. A Brahman's son through a Khas or Chhetri wife becomes a Chhetri. It is not known whether Bhotu Pande was a Chhetri because Ganesh Pande had taken a Khas or Chhetri wife or one of his descendants had done so. Bhotu Pande's stone inscription, and documents about his lineage mention Ganesh Pande's son as Vishwadatta, and Vishwadatta's son as Birudatta. Birudatta had two sons Baliram and Jagatloka. It is not known whether they were Brahmans or Chhetris. Bhotu Pande mentions Tularam, Baliram and Birudatta respectively as his ancestors of three generations. This shows Vishwadatta also to be an historical person.

Ranajit Pande, the second son of Tularam was born in 1809 A.D. Assuming that Tularam was 27 years old at that time, he must have been born in 1782 Samvat. Allowing 25 years for each generation, Vishwadatta seems to have been born in 1707 Samvat. This means that he could not have been the son of Ganesh Pande, who was living in 1616 Samvat, when Drabya Shah was crowned King of Gorkha. In other words, the names of two more generations seem to be missing. Bhotu Pande must have mentioned Vishwadatta as Ganesh Pande's son by mistake. Birudatta's sons, Baliram and Jagatloka, appear to be Brahmans from their names. However, Tularam, Baliram's son, and Bhimaraj, Jagatloka's son, appear to be Chhetris. It is possible that Bhimaraj was Jagatloka's grandson. A deep study is required in this regard.

The genealogy mentions the name of Bhimaraj's son as Vamshidhar or Kalu. Because he was dark in complexion, he became well-known as Kalu. Kalu had three sons, Vamsharj, Ranashur, and Damodar. One document mentions Jagadhar Pande

Contd.

as Vamsharaj's nephew, but the genealogy does not mention his father's name. Possibly Bhotu Pande did not know their names, because both Jagadhar Pande and his father died early. Kalu Pande's sons and grandsons too were probably of a dark complexion, hence Mathbar Singh derisively called them Kala Pande (i.e. Black Pande). Mathbar Singh Thapa was son of the grand-daughter of Tularam Pande, hence Tularam Pande's descendants were called Gora Pande (i.e. White Pande). Moreover, Kalu Pande had already shown his diplomatic skill while negotiating a treaty with King Ripumardana of Lamjung when Prithvi Narayan Shah was yet a Crown Prince.

(Note: In Dibya Upadesh, Prithvi Narayan Shah has written: "I met King Ripumardana Shah of Lamjung at Chepe-Chat, and Kalu Pande conducted negotiations in the manner I had desired. This greatly surprised me.")

In addition, Kalu Pande had demonstrated sufficient administrative skill while working together with the senior Queen Chandraprabha, Chautara Mahoddama Kirti Shah, and Ranarudra Shah during Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Banaras.

(Note: Shri Pancha Prithvi Narayan Shah ko Jivani (Biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah) states Kalu Pande was one of the two high officials who stayed at Gorkha while Prithvi Narayan Shah had gone to Banaras. The Bhasha Vamshavali states that he had accompanied Prithvi Narayan Shah to Banaras. The statement of the Bhasha Vamshavali seems wrong).

For these reasons, Queen Chadraprabha supported Kalu Pande's name for appointment as Kaji. But during his visit to Banaras, Biraj Bakheti had sufficiently impressed Prithvi Narayan Shah.

(Note: In Dibya Upadesh, Prithvi Narayan Shah has said: "I had intended to appoint Biraj Ekheti as Kaji, However, Kalu Pande appeared wiser, so he was appointed Kaji.")

In these circumstances, Prithvi Narayan Shah thought it proper to take the advice of all the notable persons of Gorkha. On the unanimous recommendation of the nobility, as well as the common people including Bisya Damai, and the support of the friendly Baisi and Chaubisi kings, he appointed Kalu Pande to that high post.

(Note: In Dibya Upadesh, Prithvi Narayan Shah has said: "The people, as well as the Baisi and Chaubisi kings all supported the appointment of Kalu Pande as Kaji." Friendly relations had been established at that time with the kings of Jajarkot among the Baisi, and Lamjung and Palpa among the Chaubisi. Therefore, they too might have been consulted).

Prithvi Narayan Shah had already seen the fertile lands of the three principalities of Kathmandu Valley when he visited the capitals of the mutually hostile principalities of Bhaktapur and Kantipur. The King of Kantipur was an obstacle for the Gorkhalis to extend their way to Bhaktapur. The hill district of Nuwakot, which belonged to Kantipur and which adjoined Gorkha was lying undefended, and this led King Prithvi Narayan Shah and Kalu Pande to realize that it was easy to occupy it. But the principality of Kantipur was rich owing to its income from trade with Tibet. Prithvi Narayan Shah had the foresight to realize that unless Kantipur was impoverished by seizing that trade, it could not be uprooted. A portion of this trade used to be conducted through the Kerung route in Nuwakot district, but the Kuti route was more frequented. The kings of Kantipur had, therefore, occupied Sindhupalchok and Dolakha districts. Kantipur had trade relations with Tibet, which was under the control of the Chinese Emperor, and under the administration of the Dalai Lama. The latter had friendly relations with the kings of Kantipur. This trade had continued even though more than 100 years had passed since the death of Bhima Malla, who had first established these trade relations. The trade route was very long and hazardous. The Malla kings had not been able to extend their territory beyond the Himalayan ranges. As a result, the Tibetans had established trade centers in Kerung and Kuti. The Kerung trade center lay at a distance of 141 kilometers from Kathmandu, which could be covered in 8 stages. It formed part of the principality of Kantipur. The Kuti trade center lay at a distance of 131 kilometers, which could be covered in 9 stages. It was under the administrative control of the Dalai Lama. Routes running through Kerung and Kuti converged at Digarcha in Tibet, which was 19 stages and 373 kilometers from Kerung, and 16 stages and 331 kilometers distant from Kuti. From Digarcha the Tibetan capital of Lhasa lay at a distance of 11 stages and 263 kilometers.

(Note: After the 1854-55 war with Tibet, a book was written during the reign of King Surendra in 1856 on Tibet and China. In view of Prithvi Narayan Shah's efforts to establish relations with the Dalai Lama and strengthen trade relations with Tibet, a detailed account of the route as far as Lhasa, capital of Tibet, is given in that book, which is in the possession of Pandit Komal Natha Adhikari).

Yaks, sheep and Chyangra (mountain goats) are abundant in Tibet. As such, the Tibetans used to live on their meat by some unknown reason they did not eat the meat of Chyangras. They, however, wove cloth with the wool of sheep and Chyangra goats. Instead of visiting the borders of China for food-grains, it was more convenient for them to visit Kerung, Kuti, Khartang (Kirat region) and Bhutan through the upper reaches of the Trishul-Gandaki, the Sunkoshi, the Arun (Chhung) and the Tista respectively.

Contd.

But the Bhutan and Khartang routes were not used. Moreover, the Swayambhu shrine in Nepal, and the Khasa Chailtya, constructed during Pratapa Malla's reign, were popular pilgrimage centers from ancient times for the Vajrayani Buddhists of Tibet. The Kerung and Kuti routes were, therefore, open, and the salt of Tibet used to be traded with the foodgrains of Nepal through these routes.

Besides salt, ponies, yak-tails, harital, and musk, also used to come from Tibet, which Nepali traders used to resell to the traders in the plains of Oudh and Bihar. Garlic, chillies and Lapsi fruits were exported to Tibet from Nepal. Sheep and Chyangra goats constituted the main items that were sold in Kathmandu Valley. Caskets made of ivory, ivory-hilted daggers, and handicrafts made of dar wood were the main items that were exported to Tibet. Gold in crude or refined form from Mongolian mines constituted the main items imported by Nepal through Lhasa. Only silver coins stamped with the seal of the Kantipur kings circulated in Tibet. The main communities trading in both Kantipur and Tibet were Shakyas and Udas mostly of Kantipur, and a few of Lalitpur. The number of their establishments at one time reached as many as thirty-two. As such, they were known as the "Battis kothi mahajan".

Tibetan gold seems to have started to come to Kantipur during the reign of King Mahendra Malla (1560-1574 A.D.), one joint king of both Kantipur and Lalitpur, before the time of Bhima Malla. The largest quantity, however, came during the reign of King Pratap Malla (1641-1674 A.D.), the killer of Bhima Malla. The gold plates that he and his grandson King Bhupalendra Malla gave to the copper roofs of the temples of Guhyeshwari, Taleju, Pashupati, and others in Kantipur, and the statues installed there had created among the Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar the impression that there were piles of gold in Kantipur. Pratapa Malla's nephew, King Srinivasa Malla of Lalitpur, had not been able to erect a gold-plated statue owing to the small number of Lalitpur traders in Lhasa. However, one trader, Jodhaju Sakya of Lalitpur, who owned shops in Tibet, had presented him with a magnificent gilded throne. (Abhilekhasangraha, pt. 6, p. 12).

Pratap Malla's son, Yoganendra Malla, and King Bhupatindra Malla of Bhaktapur, had with the help of Kantipur King Bhupalendra Malla, gilded their statues installed on stone pillars in front of their Taleju temples. It was, therefore, natural for the Gorkhalis to be lured by the wealth of the principality of Kantipur.

After Akbar's occupation of Kashmir toward the end of the 16th century, Kashmiri Muslim traders spread all over northern India, and opened shops selling Kashmiri shawls, woolen caps, saffrons, etc. in principal towns there. One Kashmiri Muslim who had a shop at Patna came to Kantipur and opened a shop there near the city gates.

Contd.

(Note: The Capuchin priest Desideri, who had come to Kathmandu in January 1722 A.D., had seen the shops of Kashmiri traders near the Ranipokhari in Kantipur. Medieval Nepal, pt. 2, p. 1012).

This shop was later turned into a Kashmiri mosque. This Kashmiri Muslim belonged to the hill region, hence he began to earn double profits by going to Tibet and trading there.

During this very period, King Mahendra Simha, and Chautara Jhagal Thakul permitted two Capuchin priests Francois Felix and Anthony Marie, when they came to Kantipur, to propagate Christianity and establish a church there. But later because of the opposition Brahmans, both priests went to Bhaktapur, where King Bhupatindra Malla welcomed them. There the priests cured some patients of plague and converted them to Christianity. When Jagatjaya Malla was crowned King in 1722 A.D., permission was granted to them to open a branch of the Bhaktapur church in Kathmandu also. Father Horrace, who had come at this time from Lhasa as chief of the Bhaktapur church, had been able, by virtue of his qualifications and intelligence, to regain their old place in Kantipur. But King Jagatjaya Malla later felt displeased at his misbehavior and confiscated all his property, imprisoned him and employed in road construction. Horrace was a clever man. He sent a petition to Jagatjaya Malla, who later freed him from imprisonment and gave permission to propagate Christianity in Kantipur.

Lhasa was the principal base of the Capuchins. When Joachim, the chief priest of Lhasa and Horrace, the chief priest of Bhaktapur requested Rome for retirement owing to their age, Vitto was appointed as the chief for Bhaktapur. When he arrived at the Patna church, King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur sent his relative to fetch him to Bhaktapur, and gave him lodging in a house there as well as permission to erect an iron cross on the house. Later, Ranajit Malla gave him a magnificent house and garden that had been acquired as the intestate property of a noble, and also a copper-plate decree permitting him to convert the people to Christianity with their consent. (1740 A.D.)

(Note: This account is based on pp. 120-21 of the English translation of Le Nepal by Sylvain Levi. The inscription was as follows: "King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur hereby grants all European priests the right to propagate among and convert my subjects into Christianity, and also his subjects the right to adopt Christianity without fear from any authority. However, such conversion should be done not through force but on a voluntary basis. Marga 861 Nepal Samvat).

Joachim was one of the priests who had accompanied Vitto to Bhaktapur. He request King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur for permission to set up a church, Jaya Prakash Malla, however, did not grant the privilege to propagate

Contd.

Christianity among the people of Kantipur as Ranajit Malla had done in Bhaktapur. However, he granted a building and garden, and also issued a copper-plate decree (December 17, 1741) in the name of the Capuchin priests.

(Note: This account is based on the English translation of *Le Nepal*, pp. 129-30).

At this time, the Raja of Bettiah (Champaran district) had sent a request to Vitto to establish a Christian church in his territory. As a result, a church was built there under the jurisdiction of the Bhaktapur organization. (1743 A.D.).

European missionaries used to get secretly involved in the politics of Nepal in the interests of Europeans, and also rendered assistance to the Malla kings in buying guns and flints, but did not interfere in trade. The permission granted by Ranajit Malla and Jaya Prakash Malla to them to propagate Christianity in a manner detrimental to the culture and religion of their people for the sake of buying guns and flints for use in their mutual conflicts was sign of cultural degeneration. This assured Prithvi Narayan Shah of success in his mission of unifying Nepal.

(To be continued).

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The Unification of Nepal

By

Baburam Acharya

(Continued from the March 1979 issue)

When the wealthy Sanyasis of the Vana and Puri sects from Oudh and Bihar saw that Kashmiri Muslims are making huge profits through trade, they too came to Kathmandu for the same purpose on the pretext of propagating Shaivism. King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur welcomed one of these Sanyasis, Kamalavana, and sold him as much land as he wanted near the Dattatreya monastery for the establishment of a Vana monastery. The Vaneswara Shivlinga and a new monastery were thus established there. (January 20, 1744).

(Note: This monastery is now called Chikan Phale. It has no Mahanta. The former Mahanta's widow is the chief of the monastery. Purna Prasad Vana, who lost the case in which he had claimed the right of succession to this monastery, had provided transcripts of the copper-plate decree, issued for the establishment of this monastery. The date of the establishment of the monastery according to this decree is Saka 1667, Vikrama 1802, Srikali 4846, Nepal Samvat 865, Magh Sudi Sri Panchami. Nepal Samvat 865, however, does not coincide with Saka 1667. The correct figure is 866. There must, therefore, have been a mistake while transcribing the figures from copper-plate decree. The text mentions Nepal Samvat 863, Magh Sukla Sri Panchami, Monday. This date has been found to be correct.

Kamal Vana is mentioned as the founder of the Guthi. The witnesses were King Ranajit Malla's Pramanes, Yajnanarayan Chhenbhadel, Krishna Das, Jasaraj, Dhanaman Singh, Anirudra, Samarasundara, and Bhagi Singh, and the writer is Baibajnya Jayanarayan. A foreign Sanyasi could not have owned land in Bhaktapur. The mention of the names of royal officials as witnesses indicates that the endowed lands were purchased from King Ranajit Malla. The King certainly must have executed a deed of sale. However, the deed is no longer available).

Sanyasis of the Puri sect were welcomed and granted land by King Vishnu Malla of Lalitpur. They, therefore, established a monastery in Lalitpur. These Sanyasis then collaborated with the Kashmiri Muslims in hampering the trade of Shakyas and Udas with Tibet.

Kantipur's trade relations with Tibet were thus weakening. In the meantime, Prithvi Narayan Shah was preparing his plans of annexing Kantipur by occupying Nuwakot, Sindhupalchok and Dolakha, breaking Kantipur's trade relations with Tibet, and rendering that principality insolvent. This plan was prepared in four or five months, but its implementation was likely to offend the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. But there was no time to lose. Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, prepared this plan in a way that would keep the Tibetans satisfied in matters of trade.

Sale of Slaves

("Kamara Kamari Bechdako (Sale of slaveboys and slave-girls). Shri 5 Surendra Bikrama Shahadevaka Shasanakalana Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code enacted during the reign of King Surendra Bikram Shah Dev). Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, His Majesty's Government, 2022 (1965), pp. 352-54).

1. If one brother among several brothers living in a joint family sells slaves, animals, or other property without consulting his brothers, and if the other brothers complain that he has no right to sell their share of such property, the sale shall be held to be valid only in the following circumstances:-

If the property has been sold to meet the living expenses of the family, or

If the seller has sold only his share of the property.

If he has sold more than his share without consulting his brothers, and has not done so to meet the living expenses of the family, and if his brothers complain, within thirty-five days if they are at home, and within the same period after they come back home if they have gone abroad, that their brother had no right to sell the property without setting aside their shares even though they were all living in a joint family, the seller shall be made to refund the sale-price to the purchaser, and the property shall be restored to the brothers. If the price cannot be recovered from the seller, he shall be made to sign a personal bond for the amount. Fees amounting to ten percent and five percent shall be collected from the two parties.

2. If anybody sells or mortgages slaves, animals, or other property to two persons, the first transaction shall be held valid. The seller shall be made to refund the price to the second purchaser if he can do so, or else to sign a personal bond for the amount. A fine of an equal amount shall be imposed on him. If he cannot pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned at the rate of one month for each five rupees of the fine.
3. Children belonging to castes which may be enslaved shall not be enslaved even if the parents are so willing, nor shall any court, police station, or local body do so. If any person enslaves such children, the price paid in consideration thereof shall be forfeited, and both the seller and the purchaser shall be punished with a fine of Rs 100 each. If they do not pay the fine, they shall be imprisoned according to the law.
4. Any person may offer his son, who is above sixteen years of age, as a bondsman to his creditor at a court, police station, or local body, which shall ask the prospective bondsman whether he is willing to be bonded. If he says

- he is willing, he shall be made to sign a statement accordingly. He may be bonded in this manner with his consent, but not even his parents shall be permitted to offer him as a bondsman forcibly. If they do so, and if the son submits a complaint, the latter shall be set free, and the father shall be made to sign a personal bond for the loan. If the son submits such a complaint after the death of his parents, he shall himself be made to sign a personal bond for the loan.
5. If anybody falsely complains that any person has enslaved a freeman, and if an interrogation proves that the complaint is false and has been made only out of spite, the complainant shall be punished with a fine of Rs 100 if he is a man, and of Rs 50 if he is a woman. If the fine is not paid, the complainant shall be imprisoned according to the law.
 6. If anybody falsely claims children belonging to castes which may be enslaved to be his slaves, and sells them, he shall be held to have enslaved freemen and shall be punished with a fine of Rs 360. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned until the fine is remitted at the rate of five rupees for each month of imprisonment. If such person has sold (children) belonging to liquor-drinking castes which cannot be enslaved, falsely claiming them to be his slaves, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 540. If he has thus sold children belonging to sacred-thread-wearing castes, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 720. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law.
 7. If any person desires to sell slaves inherited by him or acquired by him through his own efforts, he shall inform his co-parceners of his intention and offer them the preemptive right to purchase such slaves at the price offered by other persons. If the coparceners agree to buy the slaves, they shall be entitled to do so in preference to other persons. If the coparceners live at a distant place, and the owner sells the slaves because of his urgent need, both the seller and the purchaser shall write to the coparceners accordingly. The coparceners may redeem the sale within thirty-five days at the price paid by the purchaser even if a deed of relinquishment of title (Shlipatra) had already been signed. If no coparcener offers to redeem the sale within thirty-five days, the sale shall be considered absolute even if no coparcener had witnessed it or appropriate gaurain (?).
 8. If a slave owner complains that any government officer responsible for the sale or purchase of slaves has done so at prices below those mentioned in the law, the shortfall shall be realized from such officer and paid to the owner, and the officer shall be punished with a fine of an equal amount. Half of such fine shall be imposed on each witness who has endorsed prices below those mentioned in the law in collusion with the officer. If they do not pay the fine, they shall be imprisoned accordingly to the law.

9. If common people other than government officers have sold or purchased slaves at prices above or below those mentioned in the law through mutual agreement and have executed Parambhatta deeds (of sale) accordingly in the presence of witnesses, the sale shall be held valid. No complaint shall be entertained. If no such deed has been executed in the presence of witnesses, this shall be held to be an act of force, and action shall be taken according to the relevant law.

Thak and Thini, 1811

Discrimination in Jagat Taxation

Royal order to Thituwa Bishta of Barhagaun:

"The inhabitants of Barhagaun had submitted the following petition to our father (i.e. King Ran Bahadur Shah):
"Formerly, when Thak and Thini constituted a separate territory under the rule of Jumla, the inhabitants of those areas used to pay Jagat duties while visiting the place called Chhokar for purposes of trade. Because all these territories are now under (Gorkhali) rule, it is not proper that discrimination should be practised, so that some people have to pay these duties, whereas others are free from that obligation, in the same country."

"Our father had then abolished the Jagat duties levied at Chhokar. Subsequently, in the Samvat Year 1865, the inhabitants of Thak and Thini submitted another petition to us, complaining that because of some arbitrary actions, Jagat duties were again being collected from them from the year 1862, although not from anyone else. Another royal order was then issued reconfirming the abolition of the Jagat duties paid by the inhabitants of Thak and Thini at Chhokar.

"A delegation from Thak and Thini, consisting of Budha Chhayaram and Budha Pratiram, has now again come to us with the complaint that Jagat duties are even now being collected from the inhabitants of those areas at Chhokar. For us, all subjects are equal. Inasmuch as it is not proper that these duties should be collected only from the inhabitants of Thak and Thini, and not from others, at the same place, we hereby remit these duties. Do not collect these duties.

Contd.

"At the Jagat checkpoint of Kagbeni, we have received reports that the goods of erring traders are being confiscated. If traders commit any offense, collect only an amount twice the Jagat duty due from them. If any additional amount has been collected, refund it to them."

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867 (March 1811).
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 4-5.

Collection of Nirkhi Tax

Royal order to officials responsible for the collection of Nirkhi tax in areas west of Dana:

"Pratiram Budha and Chhayaram Budha of Thak-Thini have submitted the following petition: Formerly, the inhabitants and traders of Thak and Thini did not have to pay export duty on general merchandise (Kirana) wherever they visited beyond Dana. They only paid the following duties:

3 pathis of salt on each load supplied to the south (madhes).

6 or 7 pathis and 3 manas of salt from each dhakre trader.

However, nirkhi tax is also being collected from them at present. This is not justified."

The order stated that duties should be paid only at customary rates sanctioned through royal order. It prohibited the collection of new impositions.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 46, p. 8.

Judicial Authority of Village Headmen

Royal order to Chhayaram Budha: "In all matters concerning Rajanka levies, other taxes and levies, asmani levies, etc. hold consultations with local headmen (thelu, budha), and refer such matters to us if necessary, and take action as ordered. If you can dispose of such matters on your own authority, dispense justice accordingly, and impose penalties according to the nature of the offense. Collect such amounts, and transmit the proceeds to us, in addition to the payment stipulated earlier on thekbandi basis. We hereby order that the Adalat shall not make any collections there, and that Bicharis shall not raise any dispute. With due assurance, keep the village populous and dispense correct justice."

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 6-7.

Jurisdiction of Bicharis

Royal order to Bicharis deputed to Thini: "In the Samvat year 1867, the thalus, budhas, and ryots of Thini have submitted a petition to us, and we have promulgated administrative regulations (thiti) under royal order. Do not raise any dispute in the Theni area. Refund the amount you have collected there, if any. In case you act in contravention of the regulations we have promulgated, the matter shall be investigated and referred to us. The amali shall then impose penalties or inflict corporal punishment as ordered by us, as the case may be. The amount of such fine shall be transmitted to us, in addition to the payment stipulated on thek bandi basis, through the amali. We hereby reconfirm those regulations.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 7.

Repayment of Loans

Royal order to the debtors of Samgram Dani in Thak, Thani, Barhagaun, Mustang, Manang, and elsewhere: "Your creditor has submitted a complaint to the effect that you pay him neither the principal amount nor interests on the loans you have obtained from him. You must pay your creditor interest at the rate of ten percent on loans. We have also received reports that Bahadur Singh Newar is creating disputes with regard to transactions conducted while his elder brother was living. If the accounts of such transactions have been cleared off, he cannot raise any objection. Punishment shall be inflicted if anybody makes false claims.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1867 (March 1811).

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 3-4.

Serma Tax Rates in Palchok

On Poush Sudi 9, 1885 (December 1828), the rates of Serma tax on Pakho holdings under Raikar tenure were fixed as follows:-

Hale	R.1.
Fate	12 annas.
Kodale	8 annas.

Contd.

Holdings belonging to non-resident persons

(Fadke)

According to the area.

Pasture lands
(Kharka)

Kharchari tax.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 43, pp. 162-63.

Brahmans and the Plow

Orders were sent to local officials and other people in (1) the Marsyangdi-Kali region, (2) the Sanga/Sindhu-Tista region on Foush Sudi 14, 1869 directing that Brahmans who drew the plow should be punished. The orders added: "Relatives shall not take rice from the hands of such Brahmans, nor enter into matrimonial relations with them. In case any Brahman who had drawn the plow repents and stops doing so, and desires to rejoin his community, he shall be granted expiation by the Dharmadhikar. Any person who thereafter refuses to take cooked rice from the hands of such Brahmans shall be punished."

Marsyangdi region, and (3), the Sanga/Sindhu

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, pp. 225-26.

Cash Emoluments of Bhardars, 1851

The following is a list of the cash emoluments paid to the Prime Minister and other Bhardars during the Samvat year 1908 (A.D. 1851). Inasmuch as these persons were granted Jagir lands also, these payments do not represent their total emoluments. The figures are in the 16-anna rupee, whether Kaldar (Indian) rupees, or Mohar rupees minted in Nepal. It should be noted that the payments are often charged to specific sources of revenue, and not to the central treasury.

1. Prime Minister Jung Bahadur

Payments inclusive of compensation
for resumed Jagir lands:

Kaldar	Rs	23,568 - 8
Mohar	Rs	<u>19,762 - 12</u>
Total		43,331 - 4

2. <u>General Krishna Bahadur Kunwar Rana</u>		
Compensation for Jagir land which had been assigned twice		Mohar Rs 7 - 8
From Kapas-Bhansar (duties on cotton and yarn)		<u>Mohar Rs 70-12</u>
Total		Rs 78- 4
3. <u>General Jagat Shumshere Jung Kunwar Rana</u>		
From Kapas-Bhansar		Mohar Rs 1,835
4. <u>General Ran Uddip Singh Kunwar Rana</u>		
From Bhot-Bhansar (duties on Nepal-Tibet trade)		Mohar Rs 8,001.
From Kapas-Bhansar		<u>Mohar Rs 3,402-14</u>
Total		Rs11,403-14
5. <u>General Bhaktabir Kunwar Rana</u>		
From Kapas-Bhansar		Mohar Rs 7,660-7½
From the Kausi (central treasury)		<u>Mohar Rs 3,603-12½</u>
Total		Rs 11,264-4
6. <u>Commanding Colonel...</u>		
From Kapas-Bhansar		Mohar Rs 1,705-13
From Nirkhi-Bhansar		<u>Mohar Rs 2,166- 3</u>
Total		Rs 3,872
7. <u>Colonel Khadga Bahadur Kunwar Rana</u>		
From Palpa		Mohar Rs 809-6.
8. <u>Colonel Krishnadhoj Kunwar Rana</u>		
From Nirkhi-Bhansar		Mohar Rs 619-12
9. <u>Colonel Prithvidhoj Kunwar Rana</u>		
From Nirkhi-Bhansar		Mohar Rs 35-9
10. <u>Gunuraj Pandit Dharmadhikar</u> <u>Vijaya Raj Pandit ju</u>		
From Nirkhi-Bhansar		Mohar Rs 1,164-7

Contd.

11. <u>Guru Nagendra Raj Panditju</u>	
From Sair-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 2,522-5
12. <u>Guru Tirtha Raj Panditju</u>	
From Sair-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 1,834-6
13. <u>Chautariya Shumshere Jung Shah</u>	
From Bhainsi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 2,000
From Sair-Bhansar	<u>Mohar Rs 1,483-1</u>
Total	Rs 3,483-1
14. <u>Chautami Bhadraxmi Devi</u>	
From Sudi-Rakam (Liquor excise) in Kathmandu	Mohar Rs 421-13
15. <u>Kaji Umakanta Padhya</u>	
From Nirkhi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 905-4
From Bhainsi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 1,000
From the Pota tax in Kathmandu	Mohar Rs 1,000
From the Rukum mines	<u>Mohar Rs 1,307-9</u>
Total	Rs 4,212-13
16. <u>Kaji Kulaman Singh Basnyat</u>	
Salary	Mohar Rs 2,484-9
Compensation for resumed Jagir lands	Mohar Rs 10
do. for revenues from Chitaun	<u>Mohar Rs 696-9</u>
Total	Rs 3,191-2
17. <u>Kaji Hemadal Singh Thapa</u>	
From Bhainsi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 1,000
From the Rukum mines	Mohar Rs 1,193-7
From the Pota tax in Kathmandu	<u>Mohar Rs 400</u>
Total	Rs 2,593-7

Contd.

18. Kaji Dilli Singh Basnyat

From Bhainsi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs	769-2
From the Pota tax in Kathmandu	Mohar Rs	2,719-12
From the Sudi-Rakam, collected through the Thana:		
Banepa - Paisa Rs		27-8
Bhadgain-Paisa Rs		600
Panauti- <u>Paisa Rs</u>		12-8
Total Paisa Rs 640, equivalent to Total	<u>Mohar Rs</u>	468-5
		Rs 3,957-3

19. Kaji Dirgha Singh Bhandari

From Bhainsi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs	1,000
From the Sudi-Rakam, collected through the Thana:		
Patan - Paisa Rs		501
Kathmandu- <u>Paisa Rs</u>		171-3
Total- Paisa Rs 672-3 equivalent to	Mohar Rs	488-14
From the Rukum mines	<u>Mohar Rs</u>	1,362-4
Total		Rs 4,451-2

20. Khajanchi Shiva Prasad Arjyal

From the Pota tax in Kathmandu Mohar Rs 178

21. Bada Sardar Kirtibir Karki

From the Pota tax in Kathmandu Mohar Rs 765-8

22. Sardar Karna Singh Bokate

From the Bhainsi-Bansar Mohar Rs 1,000

From the Pota tax in Kathmandu Mohar Rs 871-15

Total Rs 1,871-15

23. Sardar Kanak Singh Mahat

From Bhainsi-Bhansar Mohar Rs 2,417-10

From revenue collected in the markets (mandi) Mohar Rs 497-14

Total Rs 2,915-8

24. Sardar Ravidhwaj Adhikari
 From Bhainsi-Bhansar Mohar Rs 1,034-9
 From the Haseli tax in
 Bhichhekhori:
 Paisa Rs 500-1½,
 equivalent to Mohar Rs 363-15
 From the Pota tax in Kathmandu Mohar Rs 1,030-10
 From the Sudi Rakam, collected
 through the Thana, in:
 panchmane - Rs 7
 Jitpur - Rs 25
 Nuwakot - Rs 61
 Paisa Rs 93 equivalent to Mohar Rs 67-10
 Total Rs 2,496-9
25. Captain Maharudra Khatri
 From Bhainsi-Bhansar Mohar Rs 1,286-1
26. Senior Lieutenant Devidas Padhya
 From the Sudi-Rakam in
 Kathmandu, collected
 through the Thana Mohar Rs 1,055-13
 Total Rs 2,341-14
27. Subedar Krishnaman Karki
 From the Pota tax in Kathmandu Mohar Rs 304-8
28. Mir Subba Ratna Man Singh Rajbhandari
 From Nirkhi-Bhansar Mohar Rs 1,556-15
29. Amin Subba Siddhiman Singh Rajbhandari
 From the Kausi Mohar Rs 1,600
30. Subba Dhanasundar
 From Nirkhi-Bhansar Mohar Rs 1,202-7
31. Subba Kashinath Padhya
 From Nirkhi-Bhansar Mohar Rs 741-

Contd.

32.	<u>Subba Chet Nath Padhya</u>	
	From Nirkhi Bhansar	Mohar Rs 1,260-13
33.	<u>Subba Shivanarsingh</u>	
	From Nirkhi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 1,199-11
34.	<u>Subba Vidyanath Arjyal</u>	
	From revenue collected in mandis	Mohar Rs 275
35.	<u>Subba Umanath Padhya</u>	
	From Nirkhi-Bhansar	Mohar Rs 1,217-14
36.	<u>Subba Rudra Prasad Pandit</u>	
	From the Kausi	Mohar Rs 175
37.	<u>Subba Birabhanjan Majhi</u>	
	From Palpa mines and mint Farrukhabadi	Rs 1,350
		Mohar Rs 450
		Total Rs 1,800
38.	<u>Subba Hridayaratna</u>	
	Salary for post of Dittha, from Kausi	Mohar Rs 784-5
39.	<u>Subba Mehar Man Singh Rajbhandari</u>	
	From the Kausi	Mohar Rs 2,000

Other cash disbursements were as follows:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Amount</u> (in Mohar Rs)	<u>Source</u>
1. Dittha Kirtiman Singh Rajbhandari	Rs 1,000	Kausi
2. Dittha Benimadhav Padhya	Rs 111-1	Sadar Dafdar-khana
3. Dittha Pradyumna Padhya	Rs 150	Kausi
4. Dittha Revatiraman Satyal	Rs 229-5	Pota tax in Kathmandu

Contd.

5. Dittha Biradhvaj Karki	Rs 263-14	Pota tax in Kathmandu
6. Dittha Abir Khadka, Thimi Gunpowder Factory	Rs 3-14	Sudi-Rakam in Kathmandu
7. Dware Kashiram	Rs 112-7	Pota tax in Kathmandu
8. Dware Aiman	Rs 198-9	do.
9. Dware Atibal	Rs 130-14	do.
10. Dware Magan Singh	Rs 270-1	do.
11. Chopdar Rabilal Jaisi	Rs 118-5	Sudi-Rakam
12. Durga Laxmi Narayan Jaisi	Rs 237-5	Pota tax in Kathmandu
13. Daroga Kirtidatta Rimal	Rs 220-5	do.
14. Chief Putwars	Rs 93-9	do.
15. Employees of Chhebbhadal (public works office)	Paisa Rs 1,118-15	Not mentioned

The following bhardars were granted the following increments for the Samvat year 1908:-

<u>Name</u>	<u>Mohar Rs</u>
1. Chautariya Shumsher Jung Shah	Rs 333-3
2. Kaji Gambhir Singh Adhikari	Rs 1,747-11
3. Kaji Dilli Singh Basnyat	Rs 1,817-8
4. Kaji Hemadal Thapa	Rs 907-5
5. Bada Sardar Kirtibir Karki	Rs 1,920
6. Sardar Ravidhwaj Adhikari	Rs 597
7. Sardar Karna Singh Bokati	Rs 535-14
8. Subba Kashinath Padhya	Rs 829-2
9. Subba Umanath Padhya	Rs 900
10. Subba Chet Nath Padhya	Rs 400
11. Subba Shivanarsingh	Rs 675-13

Contd.

12. Subba Dhanasundar	Rs 900
13. Amin Subba Siddhiman Singh Rajbhandari	Rs 2,140-1
14. Dware Magan Singh	Rs 701
15. Dware Kashiram	Rs 584-5
16. Dware Aiman	Rs 630-6
17. Dware Atibal	Rs 605-8
18. Chopdar Ravilal Jaisi	Rs 27-15
19. Dittha Revatiraman Satyal	Rs 700
20. Dittha Biradhwaj Karki	Rs 200
21. Dittha Abir Khadka, Thimi Gunpowder Factory	Rs 325
22. Daroga Kirtidatta Rimal	Rs 25
23. Daroga Laxmi Narayan Jaisi	Rs 25

Total amount disbursed to Bhardars:

(The discrepancy in the total amount is due to the fact that fractions of one anna have been ignored in the list).

Kaldar Rs	-	23,568-8
Farrukhabadi RS		1,350
Mohar Rs	-	123,018-7
Paisa Rs	-	1,118-14
Total Rs	-	<u>149,055-13</u>

Miscellaneous Documents of Magh
1856

Ijara Grant to Kulachand Sahu

Kulachand Sahu was granted a 7-year Ijara for the reclamation of Kalabanjar lands in the moujas of Bedawlia, Bhikhha and Gharmorwa in Pachrauta, Rautahat, and Kudwa and Chhapkahiya in the Parganna of Basantapur. He was under obligation to pay revenue as follows in each year:

<u>Year</u> (Samvat)	<u>Total Payment</u>
1856	Rs 25
1857	Rs 31-4
1858	Rs 46-14
1859	Rs 81-12½
1860	Rs 163-9
1861	Rs 245-5½
1862	Rs 337-5

Marga Sudi 9, 1856.

Regni Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 1.

On the same date, Nainkala was granted a similar ijara for the reclamation of one mouja of Kalabanjar land in the Khesraha Parganna of Bara district. The initial payment was Rs 5 in 1856 Samvat which increased every year to reach 67-11¼ in 1863 Samvat. (Ibid, pp. 2-3).

Wedding Expenses

Subba Dashrath Khatri and Subba Ranamardan Khawas were ordered to disburse Rs 3,000 from the Ijara revenue of Morang for the Samvat year 1856 to purchase materials for the wedding of Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah.

Marga Sudi 11, 1856.

Regni Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 4.

On the same date, Subba Dinanath Padhya was ordered to disburse Rs 2,000 for the same purpose from the ijara revenues of Saptari and Mahottari.

Contd.

Other Disbursements

Subba Gaje Singh was ordered on Marga Sudi 10, 1856 to disburse Rs 1,000 from the ijara revenues of Bara, Parsa and Rautahat as salary to priest Devidas; Rs 200 to Dada Ambar Singh Rana for the purchase of betel leaves for the palace, and Rs 26 each as salaries to five betel makers including Hari.

Bhajudev was ordered on the same date to disburse Rs 675 from the ijara revenues of Thak and Thini as salary to Subedar Bag Singh Khawas.

Regni Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 4-5.

Jhara Labor for Land Reclamation

Officials were sent to several areas in the western hill region to round up laborers under the Jhara system for the reclamation of waste lands. The laborers were required to bring tools as well as provisions for a period of five months beginning the 29th day of the month of Marga.

Information regarding these arrangements was sent on Marga 12, 1856 to local authorities in Kaski, Tanahu, Nuwakot, Rising, Garhun, Isma, Dhurkot, Paiyun, Dhor, Musikot, and Sataun.

Regni Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 9-10.

On Poush Badi 9, 1856, Balak Das, who had been granted an ijara for the operation of copper mines, was ordered to depute 30 mine-workers, called agris, from Parbat and Galkot to construct irrigation channels for the reclamation of waste lands in Kaski.

Regni Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 17.

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Notes on the Revenue System of Nepal During the 19th Century

By

Mahesh C. Regmi

Financial Stringency

From the financial point of view, the nineteenth century commenced with an adverse development. In May 1800, Ran Bahadur Shah, who had abdicated the throne in favor of his infant son Girban Uddha Bikram, left for Banaras, India to avoid a civil war. He stayed there for nearly four years. While in Banaras, Ran Bahadur Shah borrowed large sums of money from an Indian merchant. The obligation to repay these loans was assumed by the government of Nepal. Inasmuch as there was no money in the treasury, revenues from the three eastern Tarai districts of Saptari, Mahottari, and Morang were appropriated for that purpose. Even more incredibly, an agent of the Indian merchant was given an ijara for revenue collection in Saptari and Mahottari districts. The treasury was so short of cash that in 1803 the government saw no alternative but to borrow money from the same Indian merchant even to meet its internal expenses.¹ Because prospects of the government being able to repay these loans regular sources of revenue appeared to be meager, special levies were collected on an ad hoc basis all over the country to meet this additional obligation.²

Revenue Estimates

The following table gives revenue estimates from different sources in 1851-52 and 1861-62.

Table 1³
Revenue Estimates, 1852-62

<u>Source</u>	<u>Nepali Rs</u>	
	<u>1851-52</u>	<u>1861-62</u>
Land revenue	1,072,600	2,139,700 ⁴
Forests and pastures	50,900	679,600 ⁵
Commercial taxes	177,100	291,700
Mines	92,200	124,800
War levies	xx	62,300
Judicial fines	21,000	62,100 ⁶
Levies on government employees and functionaries	30,300	36,900
State trading and monopolies	33,200	36,100

Contd.

Guthi royalties	xx	34,400
Postal fees	xx	25,000
Miscellaneous		119,600
Total -	Rs	1,597,200
	Rs	3,663,600

Revenue from the Eastern Tarai Region

In normal years, the government of Nepal derived the bulk of its revenue from the eastern Tarai region. The following figures will make this clear:-

Table 2⁷
Percentage of Revenue from Eastern Tarai Region

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total revenue</u> (actual)	<u>Revenue from land taxes, market duties; timber export duties, and pasturage tax in the eastern Tarai</u> (actual)	<u>Percentage</u>
1852	729,230	651,563	89.3
1853	926,273	722,956	78.04
1854	1,012,678	758,063	74.8
1855	1,570,994	696,814	44.3
1856	1,398,611	749,836	53.6
1857	1,254,628	785,219	62.5
1858	1,005,130	567,723	56.4

Revenue figures collected in the eastern Tarai during the closing years of the nineteenth century are, of course, not available. Some idea of the amount of revenue may be obtained from the fact that in 1900 the chiefs of the revenue offices of Rautahat-Sarlahi, Mahottari, Saptari-Siraha, and Hanumannagar were ordered to transmit a total sum of Rs 1.2 million to the Tejarathi Adda.⁸

Jagir Land Assignments

According to figures available for 1852-53, the total value of jagir land assignments in that year was Rs 1,928,600, almost wholly in Kathmandu Valley and the rest of the hill region. On the other hand, the government collected only Rs 19,750 from land taxes in these regions.⁹ The districts of Udayapur, Ilam, Doti, Bajhang, Jajarkot, Achham, Thalahara,

Contd.

Dullu-Dailekh, and Jumla did not contribute a single rupee as land tax to the government in that year, while the whole of Kathmandu Valley contributed only about Rs 5,006. Birta lands in that region contributed more revenue through the Pota tax, approximately 44,000.¹⁰

In 1853, the Rana government abolished all jagir land grants in the Tarai region. That decision was promoted by the realization that "because lands in the Tarai region have granted to civil and military officials, the amount of revenue deposited in the treasury is meager".¹¹ In other words, the Rana government made an attempt to regulate the assignment of economic resources to ascriptive groups in order to maximize its own receipts of "free floating, mobile" resources.

Tax on Birta and Jagir Incomes

The Rana government's efforts to locate new resources of revenue to finance the Nepal-Tibet war revealed the taxable potential of birta and jagir incomes. In 1856, a special levy was imposed amounting to one-third of incomes from birta, guthi, and kipat lands, as well as incomes of jagirdars whose assignments exceeded 700 muris of rice-lands of homestead tax revenue amounting to Rs 80 a year, or a consolidated cash salary exceeding Rs 400 year.¹² The levy was imposed on a one-time basis only. Collections during that year in the eastern and western Tarai districts amounted to approximately Rs 300,000, or nearly one-eighth of the revenue collected from all sources throughout the Kingdom.

Table 3¹³
Revenue from Trikhandi Levy, 1856

Morang	Rs 19,312
Saptari	Rs 51,511
Mahottari and Sarlahi	Rs 112,627
Rautahat	Rs 20,436
Bara	Rs 66,985
Parsa	Rs 22,561
Butaul	Rs 5,884
	<u>Rs 299,316</u>

Contd.

Guthi Revenue

Before the emergence of Rana rule, lands endowed as Guthi by the King or other members of the royal family were actually operated and managed by private individuals, who also usually appropriated by the surplus income. Occasionally, the government collected annual royalties, or ad hoc payments, from individuals who obtained guthi lands on lease or contract,¹⁴ but there was no regular procedure for taxing the surplus income of guthi land endowments. The government even did not have a full list of guthi endowments all over the country. In 1852, the Rana government undertook a census of guthi endowments made by kings or members of the royal family. Particulars of the income and expenditure of each guthi were recorded on the basis of the original deeds of endowment. After determining the amount of the surplus income of each guthi in this manner, the government entrusted its management to a person who offered the maximum amount of royalty.¹⁵ Private guthi endowments were similarly brought under governmental control if the trustees had failed to perform the prescribed religious or charitable functions, or had sold or mortgaged the guthi lands. Thanks to these measures, the Rana government was able to exploit this potential source of revenue, and also to improve the guthi administration and management system. In 1862, revenue from guthi royalties amounted to approximately Rs 35,000.¹⁶

Revenue from some other sources in 1901 were as follows:

Table 4¹⁷
Revenue from Miscellaneous Monopolies,
1901

1. Liquor monopoly in the region between the Kosi and Trishuli rivers, and Hitaura-Indrayani	Rs 33,543
2. Chaudharai levies	Rs 13,475
3. Wax monopoly	Rs 3,908
4. Paper monopoly in the Marsyangdi-Dudhkosi region (except khinchet)	Rs 3,771
5. Monopoly in <u>Chares</u>	Rs 3,711
6. Monopoly in buffalo-horn in Kathmandu Valley	Rs 667
	Rs 59,075

Contd.

Narrow Base

The narrow base from which the government derived its revenue is the most striking characteristic of Nepal's public finance system during the 19th century. Hamilton has written that in addition to the income from Crown lands:¹⁸

The only other public revenues are the fines levied from offenders, which are sometimes considerable; the customs, which are very trifling; and some small profits arising from the mines, from elephants, and from the sale of Sal or Sakhuva timber, from the forests below the mountains.

Hamilton has noted with reference to the Majhkirat region of eastern Nepal: "The land revenue has been almost entirely granted to the different officers of the Gorkhalese government, and there is no Sayer, nor customs, so that the Raja chiefly receives the income tax (Rajangka) fines, and the profits of mines."¹⁹ The situation remained more or less the same throughout the nineteenth century.

Notes

1. Mahesh C. Regmi, A Study in Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846. New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1978 (reprint). Pp. 58-59; Chittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah (King Rana Bahadur Shah). Kathmandu: Mary Rajbhandari, 2020 (1963), pp. 68-69 and 138-39.
2. "Imposition of Levy on Military Personnel of Different Ranks." Chaitra Sudi 11, 1860 (March 1804). Regmi Research Collection (RRC), vol. 2, pp. 74-75; "Royal Order to the Inhabitants of Panchsayakhola," Kartik Badi 11, 1861 (October 1804), ibid, pp. 189-91; "Royal Order Regarding Imposition of Salami Levy in Garhwal," Chaitra Badi 8, 1863 (March 1807). RRC, vol. 5, pp. 151-52.
3. Calculated on the basis of the accounts of revenue and expenditure of the government of Nepal for the years 1908 (1851-52) and 1918 (1861-62). The figures mentioned above indicate the amounts actually received by the central government after deducting salaries of revenue-collecting personnel and other local expenditures. Accounts were then maintained in different Nepali and Indian rupee units. During the mid-nineteenth century, Indian rupee coins of different categories were in circulation in Nepal. The Nepali rupee too was not a standard unit of account. It has not been possible to ascertain the rates at which each unit was convertible into the other units. In order to facilitate comprehension and comparison, albeit at some cost to accuracy, all Indian

Contd.

- rupees, as well as all Nepali rupees, have been assumed to be standard and homogeneous units. Indian rupees have then been converted into Nepali rupees at the official exchange rate of Rs 100; Rs 123 between Indian rupees minted at the Patna mint, and Nepali mohar rupees. ("Order Regarding Rate of Exchange Between Patna and Mohar Rupees in the Eastern Tarai Districts". Ashadh Badi 9, 1912 (June 1855). RRC, vol. 56, pp. 408-9).
4. The 1861-62 accounts contain land revenue figures for the "Naya Muluk" districts of Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur only for the year 1860-61. The amount mentioned above comprises the 1861-62 figures as given in: "Land Revenue Assessment figures for the Naya Muluk Region," 1918 (1861). RRC, vol. 37, pp. 55-56.
 5. The 1861-62 accounts have omitted forest revenue figures from "Naya Muluk" on the ground that these were not available. The total amount of revenue from forests and pastures, as given above, includes the amount collected in that region as mentioned in: "Kathmahal Revenue in the Naya Muluk Region," A.D. 1861-63" RRC, vol. 37, pp. 42-46.
 6. This figure does not include the amount of judicial fines collected in "Naya Muluk", about which no information is available.
 7. Compiled on the basis of revenue and expenditure records of the government of Nepal for the appropriate years in the Regmi Research Collection.
 8. "Order to the Parsa Revenue Office Regarding Remittance of Funds", Aswin Sudi 1, 1957 (September 1800), RRC, vol. 70, pp. 469-74.
 9. "Register of Jagir and Jagera Lands, 1852-53," RRC, vol. 11, pp. 338-84.
 10. "Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of Nepal, 1852-53," RRC, vol. 16, pp. 193-228.
 11. Mahesh C. Regmi, Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces, Peasants and Landlords in 19th Century Nepal. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House (Pvt) Ltd, 1978, p. 47.
 12. "Order Regarding Collection of Trikhandi Levy in Jajarkot and Elsewhere." Bhadra Badi 5, 1913 (August 1856), RRC, vol. 30, pp. 435-37.
 13. "Revenue for the Trikhandi Levy in the Tarai Region", RRC, vol. 16, pp. 246-52.
 14. Mahesh C. Regmi, Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, vol. 4, p. 73.

15. "Order Regarding Particulars of Rajguthi Lands", Poush Badi 6, 1915 (December 1858), RRC, vol. 29, p. 264; and Magh Badi 11, 1918 (January 1862), RRC, vol. 33, pp. 437-39.
16. "Revenue and Expenditure of the Government of Nepal, 1861-62", in Regmi Research Collection.
17. "Ijara Grant to Subba Ganesh Das Ratna Das for collection of Revenue from Different Sources", Marga Badi 11, 1957 (November 1800), RRC, vol. 70, pp. 630-45.
18. Francis Hamilton, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971 (reprint of 1819 ed.), p. 218.
19. Ibid, p. 164.

The Dharmadhikar

("Dharmadhikarko", Sri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devaka Shasanakalama Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code enacted during the reign of King Surendra Bikram Shah Dev). Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 2022 (1965), pp. 378-406).

1. All castes and communities throughout the Kingdom of Gorkha, whether sacred-thread-wearing castes such as Upadhyaya Brahman, Rajput, Jaisi and Chhetri, or Europeans or Muslims or castes water touched by whom cannot be taken (by people belonging to higher castes) but contact with whom does not required purification through the sprinkling of water, or castes contact with whom requires purification through the sprinkling of water, may perform any act that they have traditionally been performing for earning spiritual merit according to their religion, but they shall not be permitted to slaughter cows. Nobody shall prevent them from doing so. In case anybody tries to prevent them from performing such acts, and a complaint is filed with the court, the person who commits any action that is likely to disturb the religious sentiments of others shall be punished with a fine of Rs 100. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law. If a clash has occurred, leading to the death of any person, life shall be taken for life, if the guilty person belongs to a caste that can be sentenced to capital punishment. If not, his property shall be confiscated according to the law, and he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for life.

Contd.

2. If any person commits adultery with a widow or married belonging to sacred-thread-wearing castes including Upadhyaya Brahman, or to any liquor-drinking caste which cannot be enslaved, or to any caste which can be enslaved, and other persons take rice or water touched by such woman without any knowledge of her guilt, the court, police station, or local body shall collect a fee of Rs 2 for persons of abal category, Rs 1-8 for those of doyam category, R.1 for those of sim category, and 8 annas for those of chahar category, and write to the Dharmadhikar for a writ of Patiya.
3. If any person other than the Dharmadhikar issues a writ of Patiya, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for 18 months. If he has only promised to do so, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for one year. He shall be released if he pays an amount double the commuted value of such sentence of imprisonment.
4. The Dharmadhikar shall issue a writ of Patiya only to persons who have committed an offense unknowingly. Such a writ shall be issued to persons who commit an offense wilfully only if an order to do so is received from the government and the Mukhtiyar, and, if such an order is issued in cases where the law forbids the grant of Patiya, only if it is confirmed under the royal sign manual. If the Dharmadhikar himself wilfully grants a Patiya to an unauthorized person without royal sanction, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 500 and dismissed from the position of Dharmadhikar. If such Patiya has been granted by his employees, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 50 and dismissed from service.
5. If the law provides that a writ of Patiya be issued to a person who is guilty of any offense which is punishable through degradation of caste status and disqualification for maintaining relations (with members of the appropriate caste), so that water touched by him can be taken by persons of higher castes, and if any officer issues such an order without punishing the guilty person with fines, confiscation of property, etc. according to the law, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 40. Such Patiya shall be granted only if the law so prescribes after inflicting the prescribed punishment on the guilty person.
6. If any government officer or local functionary, fraudulently or by suppressing documents, decrees without referring the matter to the government that a person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, who had been ostracized from offering cooked rice to members of the appropriate caste by his predecessor, prepares false documents and lifts the ostracism, and if inquiries reveal that the confession or statement obtained by the previous officer was valid, and that the guilty person should actually be ostracized from offering cooked rice to members of the appropriate caste, the officer or local functionary who has lifted the

Contd.

- ostracism shall not be degraded to a lower caste if he has not himself taken cooked rice from the hands of the guilty person, but shall only be punished with a fine of Rs 500. If he has lifted the ostracism and himself taken cooked rice from the hands of the guilty person, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 500, deprived of his sacred-thread, and degraded to a lower caste. If he does not pay the fine he shall be imprisoned according to the law.
7. If a lunatic who has no sense of prestige or propriety, nor of what he should eat or not, eats any forbidden food, or food from the hands of a person belonging to a lower or untouchable caste, godan fee shall be realized from him after he comes to his senses at the rate of Rs 5 if he belongs to abal status, Rs 4 if he belongs to doyam status, Rs 3 if he belongs to sim status, and Rs 2 if he belongs to chahar status, on behalf of the Dharmadhikar, and such person shall be made to undergo expiation.
 8. In case any person tries to commit suicide by jumping, or by cutting his own throat, or stabbing himself, or by hanging, or by taking poison on his own will because of pain or anguish, but survives after treatment, he shall pay to the Dharmadhikar godan fee from one anna to two rupees, depending on his financial status. The Dharmadhikar shall then make such person undergo expiation and issue a writ of Patiya. Such person shall not be considered to have committed any crime punishable by the local authority (amali).
 9. In case any person commits suicide by hanging, or using any weapon, or by jumping into a river, or from a hill, or into a tank, or from a roof, or by taking poison wilfully, or in case he dyes at the hands of a person belonging to a caste water touched by whom can not be taken by members of higher castes, the Dharmadhikar's godan fee shall be realized from his sons, brothers and other relatives at the rate of R.1 if he belongs to abal status, 8 annas if he belongs to doyam status, and 4 annas if he belongs to sim or chahar status. The proceeds shall be handed over to the amali. The sons, brothers, and other relatives of the deceased person shall then perform the funeral rites.
 10. If the brother, son, or any other relative of a person who has been executed on the charge of murder submits a petition for performance of his last rites, the appropriate court, police station, or Amal shall issue necessary orders, and Dharmadhikar shall issue a writ of Patiya and allow the funeral rites to be performed on payment of fees ranging from one anna to two rupees, depending on financial status.

11. In case any person who is guilty of sexual intercourse with any women who is closely related to him (had nata), or who belongs to a lower caste, or to a caste water touched by whom cannot be taken by him, or contact with whom requires purification through the sprinkling of water, or eats rice cooked by her, and who is consequently degraded to a lower caste, dies, and his sons, brothers, and nephews request for a writ of Patiya for performance of his last rites, a writ of Patiya shall be issued to the effect that such rites may be performed.
12. If a person, who had lost his caste by being degraded to a lower caste contact with whom must be purified through the sprinkling of water, or by taking cooked rice or water from the hands of a person belonging to a lower caste, dies, those persons who perform the funeral rites or arrange for such performances without obtaining expiation through a writ of Patiya shall each be punished with a fine of five rupees. In addition, the Dharmadhikar shall collect a fee of Rs 2 in the case of abal, Rs 1 in the case of doyam, 8 annas in the case of sim, and 4 annas in the case of chahar, and grant a writ of Patiya, thereby entitling (the offenders) to offer cooked rice and water (to persons of equivalent caste status).
13. If any person of either sex is guilty of murder or infanticide, and the crime subsequently comes to light, persons who have taken cooked rice from the hands of such criminals without any knowledge of the crime shall pay godan fee to the Dharmadhikar at the rate of Rs 3-8 in the case of abal, Rs 1-12 in the case of doyam, 13 annas in the case of sim, and 7 annas in the case of chahar. The Dharmadhikar shall then grant them a writ of Patiya, thereby entitling them to offer cooked rice and water (to persons of equivalent caste status).
14. In the event of the death of any person who has been punished with death or imprisonment for life, or deprived of his sacred thread and degraded from his caste, or ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water in consideration of sexual intercourse with a person belonging to an untouchable caste and degraded to that caste, the Dharmadhikar shall collect godan fee at the rate of Rs 5 in the case of abal, Rs 4 in the case of doyam, Rs 3 in the case of sim, and Rs 2 in the case of chahar and grant expiation through a writ of Patiya if the brother, son, daughter, or other relative of the deceased person makes a request to that effect.
15. If any person is accused of sexual intercourse with others and ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water without ascertaining the facts or merely on suspicion, and if it is subsequently proved that such accusation had been made out of malice, the person making such a false accusation

shall be imprisoned for a period of eleven months. He shall not be freed even if he offers money in lieu of imprisonment. If any person has done so merely on grounds of suspicion, but fails to produce evidence in the course of inquiries, and if it is found that the accused person cannot be ostracized in respect to cooked rice, the former shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees, or, in default, with imprisonment according to the law. The accuser need not undergo expiation, and his caste status shall remain unchanged.

16. If any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste commits any crime which is punishable through partial shaving of the head and is accordingly so punished, degraded to a Shudra caste which cannot be enslaved, and is granted a writ of Patiya in respect to water, the naming-ceremony, marriage, or funeral rites of his children born of his married or other wife shall be performed by Brahmans as if they belong to a Shudra caste which cannot be enslaved. In the case of children of men who have not obtained a writ of Patiya in respect to water, no rites shall be performed. Any Brahman who performs rites in the case of men water touched by whom cannot be accepted by persons belonging to higher castes, and the person who performs such rites, shall be punished with a fine of Rs 5 each, or, in default, with imprisonment for one month each.
17. If the law prohibits the grant of a writ of Patiya in respect to water to persons guilty of any offense, such as incest with prescribed categories of relatives, or with persons contact with whom requires purification through the sprinkling of water, and if such guilty person has accepted cooked rice and water from the hands of the latter, and has been degraded to a lower caste for that offense, water touched by him cannot be accepted by persons belonging to higher castes, and no writ of Patiya shall be granted to them. Persons who have been degraded to a lower caste for other offenses shall belong to the Shudra caste, but persons belonging to higher castes may take water from their hands. However, they shall not be granted a writ of Patiya in respect to cooked rice. While granting them a writ of Patiya for water, the Dharmadhikar shall collect godan fee at the rate of Rs 10 for abal, Rs 8 for doyam, Rs 4 for gim, and Rs 2 for chahar. Such persons shall be prohibited from applying tika to Brahmans, but they may offer ritual gifts and dakshina. They shall ritually offer gifts or money without applying tika. Any Brahman who accepts tika from such a person shall be punished with a fine of Rs 2½, and the latter with Rs 5. In default of the payment of the fine, he shall be imprisoned for a term prescribed in the law and then released. Any Brahman who accepts tika from the hands of such a persons out of ignorance shall not be deemed to have committed an offense.

(To be continued).

Jimmawals in the Baisi Region

The thek-thiti system of revenue-collection in the Baisi region of north-western Nepal through village-level mukhiyas has been described in: Mahesh C. Regmi's Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces: Peasants and Landlords in 19th Century Nepal, pp. 74-75. These village-level mukhiyas usually worked under the supervision of functionaries called jimmawals, each of whom had a group of villages, comprising a dara or garkha, under his jurisdiction.

"Thek-thiti Arrangements for Revenue-Collection in Salyana Garkha of Doti District," Baisakh Sudi 10, 1895. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 421-26. According to this document, village-level mukhiyas were under obligation to transmit revenues to the local administration through jimmawal Dilip Singh Bogati.

The dara or garkha-level jimmawal of the Baisi region should not be confused with the village-level jimmawal of the central hill region who collected rents and other payments on rice-lands in the central hill region on behalf of jagirdars.

Other references to the functions of jimmawals in the Baisi region are as follows:

1. "Regulations for Revenue-Collection in Jumla District," Chaitra Sudi 7, 1900. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 609-19.
2. "Arrangements Regarding Revenue-Collection in Gam Dara, Jumla District," Chaitra Sudi 7, 1900, in Yogi Naraharinarath, Itihasa Prakash. Kathmandu: Itihasa-Prakashaka Sangha, 2013 (1956), pp. 273-84.
3. "Order to Bhardars in Jumla Regarding Revenue-Collection Arrangements," Marga Badi 10, 1903. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 134.

Full collection of revenue was not possible in the Baisi region even with the help of mukhiyas at the village-level and jimmawals at the level of the dara or garkha. At times, therefore, the government appointed an ijaradar to collect revenues on a contractual basis through these two categories of functionaries. The ijaradar was authorized to collect no more than the usual payments and to deal with the peasantry only through mukhiyas and jimmawals, hence he frequently resorted to irregular practices in order to make a profit. In any case, the peasant in the Baisi region was subject to the jurisdiction of three-level of revenue-collection functionaries: the mukhiya, the jimmawal, and the ijaradar.

Contd.

"Revenue-Collection Contract in Humla, Jumla District," Poush Sudi 4, 1949. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 58, pp. 184-93.

In early 1840, the government made an attempt to abolish dara-level jimmawals in Jumla and to collect revenue directly from village-level mukhiyas. The experiment appears to have proved a failure. In 1851, the Rana government repeated the experiment in the whole of the Baisi region. However, the local administration proved itself unequal to the task of supervising the large number of village-level mukhiyas directly. Dara-level functionaries were, therefore, reappointed in 1866 as intermediaries between mukhiyas and the government. References are as follows:-

1. "Order Regarding Abolition of Jimmawals in Jumla," Poush Sudi 2, 1896. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 1, p. 813.
2. "Order Regarding Revenue-Collection and Disbursement of Salaries in Jumla," Marga Badi 3, 1903. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 1, p. 800.
3. "Revenue Regulations for the Bheri-Mahakali Region," Kartik Sudi 4, 1911. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 62, pp. 720-36.
4. "Revenue-Collection Arrangements in Areas West of the Bheri River," Falgun Badi 12, 1914. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 66, pp. 246-47.
5. "Order Regarding Revenue-Collection Arrangements in Jumla," Jestha Badi 3, 1923. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 57, pp. 517-55.

Readings in Nepali Economic History

By
Mahesh C. Regmi

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10. The Rajya of Salyan.
11. Resettlement Projects.
12. Prelude to a Banking System.

Hulak Regulations, 1828

Regulations promulgated by King Rajendra Bikram Shah in the names of Bichari Shivanidhi Padhya and Bichari Kusumakara Parsai regarding Hulak transport arrangements in the region west of the Bishnumati river and east of the Bheri river.

(Abstract Translation)

1. Find out the reasons for the slow movement of mail and government supplies under the Hulak system in that region. If the delay is due to the fact that porters who have been listed in the Hulak register do not carry the loads themselves, but hire others to do so, hold a public hearing, obtain a confession, and punish the Hulaki porter whose name has been listed in the register.
2. Have such defaulters sign a bond to the effect that in the future they will carry Hulak loads themselves expeditiously and not hire others to do the work.
3. If any registered Hulak porter says that he cannot discharge his responsibility without hiring other men, appoint another person to replace him, and refer the matter to us for confirmation.
4. Issue a notification to all Thaple-Hulaki porters in that region to the effect that they must transport guns, cannons, gunpowder, shells, flints, military equipment, etc. on an urgent basis between Kathmandu and the western regions, and that they should not provide portage services to any other person except under royal order countersigned by General Bhimsen Thapa.
5. If the number of Kagate or Thaple-Hulaki porters is too high in some posts and too low in others, or if the distance between different posts is not equal, recommend appropriate arrangements for our approval.
6. If Hulak services have been delayed, or there has been any loss in transit, because of the arbitrary behavior of the local authorities, give a hearing to both sides, obtain a confession from the guilty person, and inflict punishment according to the nature of the offense.
7. If any area has been depopulated as a result of the heavy demands of people travelling through it, persuade the fugitives to come back.

Baisakh Badi 7, 1885.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 81-83.

Contd.

Shivanidhi Padhya was a resident of Gorkha, while Keesumakara Prasai belonged to Chainpur. Both of them had been appointed Bicharis for the Bishnumati-Bheri region on Chaitra sudi 15, 1884. They were each paid a total salary of Rs 250, and also entitled to appropriate half of the income collected through judicial fines, fees, etc. They were instructed to refer to His Majesty through the central Adalats any case which they were unable to dispose of on their own authority. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 76-77).

Identical regulations were promulgated on the same date (Baisakh Badi 7, 1885) for the Bheri-Mahakali region in the name of Captain Narasimha Thapa. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 83-86).

Other Documents on the Hulak System

1. One of the Hulak posts between Kathmandu and Thak was located at the village of Jugle. Originally, the village comprised only twelve households of Upadhyaya Brahmans. These Brahmans were, therefore, enrolled as Hulaki porters. In the Vikrama year 1879 (A.D. 1812), fifteen or sixteen Gurung families settled in that village. However, no Hulak obligations were imposed on them. The Brahmans thereupon submitted a petition to Kathmandu. An order was issued to the officials responsible for the transportation of supplies from Thak not to make any discrimination in the imposition of Hulak obligations in that village.

Marga Badi 5, 1883.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 49.
2. On Chaitra sudi 10, 1901, Laxmi Pati Padhya, a Hulak porter of Ghiring, complained that Narahari Padhya had claimed inheritance rights in his Hulak land allotment. The government ordered that no such rights could be claimed in the land as long as it was used as a Hulak allotment. (Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, pp. 19-20).
3. Kalu Padhya, a resident of Gumbabesi in Lamjung district, who owned 217 muris of rice-lands in that area, managed to have himself enrolled as a Hulak porter and, in that capacity, obtained an allotment of 60 muris of rice-lands. He cultivated 10 muris himself, and appointed a tenant to cultivate the remaining area. Dirgha Singh Dura thereupon submitted a complaint to Kathmandu. An order was issued removing Kalu Padhya's name from the register of Hulak porters and cancelling the rice-land allotment made in his name.

Kartik Badi 10, 1898.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 31, pp. 191-92.

Contd.

4. On Chaitra Badi 2, 1877, sixteen households were enrolled under the Hulak system for transporting mail between Kathmandu and eastern Nepal through the main ferry-point on the Tamor river. They were granted security of tenure as their lands and homesteads. Serma tax upto R.1 each, and the Saunefagu and other levies, as well as forced-labor obligations for other purposes, were all remitted. Their rice-land holdings, and the total amount due on such holdings as kut or Ghiukhane payments, were as follows:-

<u>Name of the Hulaki Porter</u>	<u>Rice-land Holding</u> (in muris)	<u>Total Amount Due</u>
1. Gangadhar Jaisi	65	Rs 31
2. Pashupati Jaisi	45	Rs 23-2
3. Ramu Padhya	32	Rs 13-7½
4. Shivahari Jaisi	45	Rs 20
5. Jagapati Padhya	65	Rs 32-1½
6. Tulsiram Mishra	41	Rs 17
7. Tulsiram Guragain	20	Rs 28-6
8. Rambhat Padhya	75	Rs 27-12½
9. Chhitaram Padhya	75	Rs 32-4
10. Gangaram Padhya	40	Rs 14-11½
11. Bale Padhya	25	Rs 12-9
12. Indra Singh Basnyat	96	Rs 30-8
13. Chandra Singh Basnyat	57	Rs 13-13½
14. Faud Singh Basnyat	41	Rs 13
15. Rudra Singh Basnyat	44	Rs 14-10
16. Ramachandra Khatri	47	Rs 15-2½

Chaitra Badi 2, 1877.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 38, pp. 276-78.

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Udayapur

By

Gobind Kusum

"Pyuthan-Udayapure Raja ra Kehi Mahatwapurna Lalmohara"
(The Raja of Udayapur in Pyuthan and some important royal
orders). Nepali, quarterly, published by the Madan Puraskar
Guthi, Sridarbartol, Lalitpur, Nepal, Kartik-Poush 2035
(October-December 1978), pp. 54-58.

Udayapur in Pyuthan district was one of the princi-
palities that existed in Nepal during the period before
political unification. Even after it became a part of the
Kingdom of Nepal, it enjoyed an autonomous status under
the suzerainty of Kathmandu. The Rajya of Udayapur was
ruled by Brahmans.

A list of the Brahman Rajas of Udayapur is as follows:

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1. Jasudhara. | 2. Durlabha. |
| 3. Chudamani. | 4. Devirama. |
| 5. Udayaraja. | 6. Krishna. |
| 7. Bhupala (a contemporary of king Prithvi Narayan
Shah). | |
| 8. Jaimuni. | 9. Dalaparaja. |
| 10. Icchawarama. | 11. Parsarama. |
| 12. Rudramani. | 13. Janishwara. |
| 14. Naranarayana. | 15. Damodara. |
| 16. Hari Prasuda. | 17. Shantaraja. |

The Rajya of Udayapur was abolished in A.D. 1961, when
Shantaraja was yet heir-apparent. He then shifted from
Pyuthan to Bardiya. The following documents have been ob-
tained from his son, Chandraraja.

(Abstract translations)

1. From Ditttha Bishrama Khatri to the Brahman Raja Rudramani
Karki. I have recieved a royal order (from Kathmandu)
directing that (the Rajya of Udayapur) be reconfirmed
subject to the traditional authority of (the Rajas of)
Dang and Pyuthan. Accordingly, I hereby reconfirm your
authority over the territory of Udayapur, subject to the
traditional authority of (the Rajas of) Dang and Pyuthan
and payment of the customary dues. Wish victory to His
Majesty and offer you blessings.

Wednesday, Baisakh Sudi 13, 1863.

Contd.

2. From Kaji Ranajit Kunwar to Chautariyas Atmarama Padhya and Tilakarama Padhya of Udayapur. You had proposed that during the two months of the year when rice is sown in the fields, the Kagate-Hulaki posts at two places, which have been established for transporting mail from Dhunge-Gadhi, be amalgamated. Now that the sowing season is over, restore those two posts. Also make arrangements for repairing the suspension bridge at Arthala.

Bhadra Badi 14, 1871.

3. From King Rajendra Bikram Shah, the Birta-Bitalab lands of Rudramani Karki in Udayapur, which is subject to Dang, have been proved to have been held under a valid tax-free grant. We hereby reconfirm such tax-exemption as well as your traditional rights over that territory. ... (?) to Salyan and Pyuthan in the months of Shrawan and Bhadra, bless us, and enjoy your customary authority in happiness.

Wednesday, Chaitra Badi 6, 1874.

- Countersigned by Prana Shah, Ranadhwaja Thapa, /
4. From His Majesty to the Amils of Deukhuri and Sunar. Karna Karki, a Birtaowner, has submitted the following petition: "Previously, Sair levies and Pasturage taxes (Kharchari) were not collected when we kept our cattle on taxable (mal) lands from our Birta-Bitalab territory of Udayapur. However, we are being asked to pay these taxes and levies." "If his claim that no such taxes and levies were collected in the past is true, do not make any such collections in the future."

Thursday, Poush Sudi 4, 1902.

Countersigned by Kulamana Singh Basnyat, Fatte Jung Shah, Jung Bahadur Kunwar, Jagat Singh, Umakanta Upadhyaya, and Abhimana Singh.

/Bhimsena Thapa, Dalabhajana Pande and Rewanta Kunwar.

Monthly Salaries of Military Personnel,
1910 A.D.

Particulars of cash salaries due every month from Eaisakh 1, 1967 Samvat to the personnel of different units comprising the Srinath Kampu and the Rajadal Kampu:-

<u>Srinath Kampu</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Annual Salary Bill</u>
<u>Name of Paltan</u>		<u>Rs</u>
1. Suryadal Paltan	625	55,356.65
2. Jabar Jung "	543	47,640.89

Contd.

3. Sri Gorakhnath Paltan	543	46,697.87
4. Chhyaskamini "	621	30,683.04
5. Bhairung "	551	46,464.84
6. Bhairav Dal "	56	2,879.88
7. Srinath Kampu	44	3,335.88
8. Devidatta "	n.a.	99,596
9. Ramadal "	n.a.	49,892
10. Kali Bahadur "	n.a.	228
11. Bard Bahadur "	21	1,212
12. Purano-Gorakh "	21	1,212

<u>Rajadal Kampu</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Annual Salary Bill</u> Rs
1. Narsing Paltan	761	66,396.77
2. Jagannath "	546	42,078.11
3. Bhairavanath Paltan	522	47,128.92
4. Jangi Paltan	606	37,561.44
5. Risalla (cavalry) Paltan	142	19,190.88
6. Kalidal Paltan	875	37,554.60
7. Second Jangi Paltan	606	34,077.48
8. Mule Battery "	115	10,027.92
9. Rajadal Kampu	51	3,493.20
10. Mahendra Paltan	19	1,812.96
11. Ganesh Dal "	1	61.92
12. Kali Prasad Paltan	2	159.96
13. Naya Gorakh "	1	108
14. Shamsheer Dal "	2	180
15. Sher "	1	108
16. Jagadal "	1	144

Chaitra 23, 1966 Samvat.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 16, pp. 140-41.

Hat-Bazars in the Rural Areas of
Nepal

By

Janaki Raman Thakur

Adapted from: "Nepalko Gramin Kshetrama Hat-Bazar Vikas" (Development of hat-bazars in the rural areas of Nepal). Gorkhapatra, Baisakh 22, 2036 (May 5, 1979).

Hat-bazar means a place where buyers and sellers, or consumers and producers, buy and sell commodities directly at specified places on specified days.

The number of hat-bazars in the Kingdom of Nepal is estimated at 640. The breakdown is as follows:-

Table 1

Hat-Bazars in Different Development Regions

<u>Development Region</u>	<u>No. of Hat-Bazars</u>
Eastern Region	364
Central Region	181
Western Region	81
Far-Western Region	14
Total ...	640

Table 2

Hat-Bazars in Different Zones

<u>Zone</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Zone</u>	<u>No.</u>
Mechi	12	Gandaki	1
Koshi	156	Dhaulagiri	2
Sagarmatha	79	Bheri	9
Janakpur	125	Rapti	2
Narayani	48	Seti	2
Baghmati	88	Karnali	1
Lumbini	78	Mahakali	x

Contd.

Table 3Hat-Bazars in Different Districts.

Only 43 of the 75 districts of the Kingdom have hat-bazars.

<u>District</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>No.</u>
Jhapa	70	Sarlahi	34
Morang	67	Rupandehi	30
Sunsari	49	Mahottari	27
Dhanusha	40	Taplejung	27
Nawal-Parasi	36	Saptari	23
Siraha	18	Rautahat	18
Khotang	16	Bhojpur	16
Bara	24	Parsa	15
Kapilavastu	11	Panchthar	14
Okhaldhunga	10	Ilam	11
Sankhuwa-Sabha	9	Dhankuta	9
Dolakha	9	Solukhumbu	9
Ramchhap	8	Bardiya	8
Terhatnum	7	Sindhuli	7
Nuwakot	5		

Fourteen other districts have 1 to 3 hat-bazars each. Sixteen of the 20 districts of the Tarai region have 469 hat-bazars, comprising 73.24 percent of the total number. Thirty-seven among the 55 districts of the hill region have 171 hat-bazars (27.76 percent); of which eleven districts of the eastern hill region have as many as 131.

Table 4Categories of Hat-Bazars

Most of the hat-bazars of the Kingdom of Nepal are held once or twice a week. The breakdown is as follows:

Semi-weekly	262
Weekly	259

Contd.

Bi-weekly	40
Monthly	3
Unspecified	76
Total	<u>640</u>

Table 5
Some Prominent Hat-Bazars

<u>Name of Hat-Bazar</u>	<u>District</u>
Damak	Jhapa
Sanischare	do.
Biratnagar	Morang
Rangeli	do.
Dharan	Sunsari
Dubahi	do.
Rajbiraj	Saptari
Fattepur	do.
Lahan	Siraha
Sukhipur	do.
Sakhuwa	Dhanusha
Jadukoha	do.
Gausnala	Mahottari
Jaleshwar	do.
Belbas	Sarlahi
Barhethwa	do.
Pipra	Rautahat
Jitpur	Bara
Kalaiya	do.
Bhairahawa	Rupandehi
Butaul	do.

Contd.

<u>Name of Hat-Bazar</u>	<u>District</u>
Sucyapura	do
Taulihawa	Kapilavastu
Krishnanagar	do
Gulariya	Bardiya

Table 6

Revenue from Hat-Bazars

Contract for the following hat-bazars yielded the following amounts of revenue in the Vikrama year 2035:-

Damak, Jhapa district	Rs 133,500.
Ehadrapur, do.	Rs 112,602.
Duhabi, Sunsari district	Rs 116,266.
Lahan, Saptari district	Rs 47,973
Sakhuwa, Dhanusha district	Rs 165,000
Caushala, Mahottari district	Rs 150,000
Belbas, Sarlahi district	Rs 18,000
Barhethwa, do.	Rs 70,000
Fipra, Rautahat district	Rs 100,000
Bhairahawa, Rupandehi district	Rs 90,000

The contracts are issued on the basis of the turnover, which reaches Rs 10 million. In some hat-bazars it is as low as Rs 10,000 or Rs 12,000 in small ones.

The Baise and Chaubise Principalities

By

Mohan Bahadur Malla

("Baise Chaubise Parichaya (An introduction to the Baise and Chaubise principalities). Nepali, quarterly. Published by the Madan Puraskar Guthi, Sridarbartol, Lalitpur, Magh-Chaitra, 2032 (January-March 1976), pp. 3-38).

The Karnali region is one of the three regions of Nepal. Four centuries ago (sic), when the Hindus were expanding their settlements in Aryavarta, the autochthonous tribes vanquished by them took refuge in the Karnali and Gandaki regions. These non-Aryans were forest-dwellers. They were joined thousands of years later by large numbers of Mongols from the north. The Magra or Magar community emerged from the union of those two groups in the Karnali and Gandaki zones. The Magars expanded their settlements in the Magarat region much before the Kiratas did so in the Kirat region. The Magars were a pastoral people.

Meanwhile, the Shakas, Yuchis, and Kushanas invaded India from the north-west. The Kushan empire was founded. Chhetris who inhabited the regions around Kashmir emigrated to the Karnali region through Garhwal and Kumaun during the second or third century of the Vikrama era. These Chhetris lived in villages, subsisted on agriculture, and thus had attained a higher state of civilization. The Magars followed their example and adopted sedentary agriculture.

After the death of Harshavardhana, the last Hindu emperor of India, Kanauj was ravaged by the Kings of Bengal and southern India. The Brahmans of Kanauj, therefore, took refuge with the Chhetri kings of Karnali region. Some Brahmans who had left on pilgrimage to Manasarovar and Muktikshetra similarly preferred to live under the Chhetri kings who ruled in the region between the Mahakali and Karnali rivers.

Subsequently, Kanauj was annexed by the Pala Kings of Bengal. The Pala empire then expanded toward the west. A Pala ruler of Kanauj occupied Sija, an important trade center for the hill region, the Himalayan region, and the Tarai region. Salt, which was essential for both human beings and cattle, was procured from Tibet. Gold, horses, musk, and woolen goods also were procured from there for supply to the hill and Tarai regions in exchange for food-grains, metal utensils, wooden vessels, coarse cotton cloth, and other goods. After the Ratriors subjugated Kanauj and Garhwal, the Palas of Sija became independent rulers. By that time, Chhetri settlement had reached the Bhuri river. Jads ruled in the region north of Sija, and

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Chhetris ruled in the south and the west. In the east, there were Magar principalities. All of them regarded the ruler of Sija as their overlord and paid one-fourth of their revenue to him as their tribute. Other rulers collected one-eighth of the produce as tax from their subjects.

When Delhi became the capital of a Muslim empire, the Rattors of Kanauj came under their control. Rajputs then emigrated to Sija. The Pala kings had great difficulty in finding suitable matches for their sons and daughters. Accordingly, they welcomed the Thakuris. In India, big Zamindars are called Thakur; and these Thakurs came to be known as Thakuri in Sija. Jitari, a Pala ruler, assumed the title of Malla after he conquered the Nepal Valley, and assumed the same title. The Palas ruled in Sija for 364 years, from 1053 to 1417 Vikrama. The Pala Kingdom was reunited during the reign of Punya Malla, Prithvi Malla's father. His dominions then extended to the Sunkosi river in the east, the Alakananda river in the west, the Manasarovara Lake in the north, and Lumbini in the south. Prithvi Malla had no heirs; hence he renounced the world and left for Badrinath in 1417 Vikrama after handing over the kingdom to Gajabhima Samala Shahi, a grandson of his paternal aunt. The Pala kings followed both the Hindu and the Buddhist religions. They designated their sons-in-law or nephews as kings whenever the throne of any of the Chhetri, Jad or Magar kings fell vacant.

Malevarman, who succeeded Samala Shahi, had to fight many battles with the chiefs of Vassal principalities who wanted to become independent. He constructed the Kasthamandapa building in Kathmandu and a Buddhist Vihara at Khochamath. Malevarman's son, Jagativarman or Medinevarman, designated his three sons and one son-in-law to occupy the vacant thrones of Jumla in the north, Rukum in the east, Bilaspur in the west, and Samarkot in the south. These principalities had been occupied from Jad and Chhetri kings, but the luxury-loving Jagativarman was not farsighted enough to retain them under the unitary control of Sija. This led to the establishment of the Baise principalities.

The power of Sija progressively weakened during the reign of Jagativarman's successors, Vijaya, Deva, and Yashavarman Samala Shahi. Meanwhile, the Sen kingdoms of the Gandaki region increased their strength. The weak rule of the Saiyads in Delhi was replaced by the strong one of the Lodis. This increased the threat to the existence of Sija. The Magar and Gurung rulers of the Gandaki region began to look to the Sen kings for protection. Even the Malla kings of the Nepal Valley started maintaining friendly relations with the Sen kings. These developments reduced the revenues of Sija to a considerable extent. Around 1553 Vikrama, Sikandar Lodi attacked Sija. This was the Adipala, grandfather of Prithvi Malla, also conquered the Nepal Valley

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first time that Sija suffered aggression from Delhi. The Kamali region, consequently, split into twenty-two separate political units. There were 44 Vassal principalities under the suzerainty of Medinivarma from the Sunkosi river to the Alakananda river. The number of principalities in the Kamali and Gandaki regions later reached 1846. This constitutes evidence of continuous political fragmentation.

The Palas and Samalashahis ruled Sija for a total period of 500 years, for 364 years and 136 years respectively. They made Sija a strong kingdom, with the result that for a long time the Muslim Sultans of Delhi could not disturb it. It was due to the strength of the Kingdom of Sija that Nepal had not gone under the control of Delhi by the time of Bahadur Shah.

A description of the Baise Kingdoms is given below:-

1. Jumla: Jumla is situated in the northern part of the Kamali region. It comprised the town of Sija, which gave the Kingdom its name. Sija occupied the status of an entrepot in the trade between India and Tibet in the west in the same manner as the Nepal Valley. Trade yielded a considerable amount of revenue to Sija. The Kingdom of Jumla was founded in 1461 Vikrama, when Medinivarma Samala Shahi made his son-in-law, Baliraja Kalyal Shah, King of northern Jumla. Baliraja established his capital at the village of Sunar in Jumla. The new kingdom paid tribute to Sija for three generations.

The descendants of Baliraja expanded the dominions of Jumla by occupying two Jod Kingdoms bordering Tibet. In Ashwin 1846 Vikrama, Gorkhali troops commanded by Kaji Shivanarayan Khatri and Sardar Prabal Rana occupied Jumla from Suryabhana Kalyal Shahi, the last ruler of Jumla, and annexed it into the Kingdom of Nepal.

2. Jagatipur: Jagatipur was founded by Jagativarman Samal Shahi, lies six Koshas to the south of Jajarkot, a kingdom situated on the right banks of the Bheri river. Jagati had used Jagatipur as the winter capital of Sija, just as Malavarman had made Khada-Chakra his winter capital. For six months in the year, trade was conducted in Sija on a barter basis. Gold, silver and copper were also used in transactions. By that time, silver coins minted by the Delhi Durbar must have come into circulation at Sija. Following the fall of Sija, Yashovarman, its last ruler, left Jagatipur for Jajarkot. Jagatipur then vanished into oblivion.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had entered into an amicable relationship with King Hari Shahi of Jajarkot at Varanasi. In Magh 1843 Vikrama, Kaji Jiva Shah of Gorkha reached Jajarkot by crossing the Shakhi mountain, and concluded a treaty with the King of that state. On that occasion, he also ceded an area named Khumri, which had been conquered

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by Gorkha, as a gift to Jajarkot. On its part, Jajarkot extended good support to Gorkha in the war that was fought on the western front.

3. Salyan lies to the south of the Karnali river. Samakot, which was handed over by Medini to his brother, Sumeru or Suratnavarma, is located in . The Samal Shahis of Salyan had already shifted from Samakot to Phalawang. Prithvi Narayan Shah had married his daughter, Vilasakumari, to Ranabhima Shahi, son of King Srikrishna Shahi of Salyan. Because of this matrimonial alliance, Salyan had fought on the side of Nepal in the 1844 Vikrama war against the Chaubise and Baise states. It also took part in the invasion of Kumaun in 1848 Vikrama. In consideration of this assistance, Salyan was given control of Dang. With the fall of Palpa, however, Salyan was stripped of much of its authority.

4. Rukum was a well-known kingdom. The Varmans had conquered this kingdom from the Jads. King Medini had subdivided his territories among his brothers and sons-in-law. Rukum had been given to Pitambara Varman as his share. Pitambara Varman had chosen Gotham as his capital. Jetu Varman, his son, had eight sons; of whom the first four became Kings of Rukum, Nisi Bhuj, Rolpa and Pyuthan respectively. In the course of the territorial expansion of Nepal, a Gorkhali expedition under the command of Kaji Jiva Shah occupied Dolpa on Marga 2, 1843 Vikrama, and five days later, crossed the Eheri river. Rukum did not appear to have taken part in the battle. From this it seems that it had already surrendered to the Gorkhalis. Five states of the Chaubise and Baise regions, Parbat, Galkot, Dolpa, Jahari, and Pyuthan, had seceded from Rukum, so that it appears to have occupied an important place.

5. Bilaspur is a scenic place located on the peak of a hill to the north-west of Dailekh. Medini had allotted this kingdom to his youngest brother, Sansari or Sumati Ehupa Varman. A letter written by Sutana Shahi, King of Bilaspur, in 1556 Shaka is published in Itihasa Prakasha (No. 213, P. 487). A document issued by Sangrama Shahi, another King of Bilaspur, is published in Itihasa Prakasha (No. 2, P. 123). Bilaspur subsequently disintegrated, and out of this emerged Dailekh.

6. Achham occupies a prominent place in the history of the Varman Shahis. In 1384 Vikrama, Aditya Malla invaded the Nepal Valley and brought considerable wealth to Sija. He then handed over Achham, a state situated across the Karnali river, to his daughter's son, Devachandra Varman. From then Varman Shahis started ruling in Achham. Bhima Varman, son of King Devachandra, later became the King of Sija. The Kingdom of Achham must have then passed on to his brother. At the time he was given

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the Kingdom of Achham, Devachandra Varman received the title of "Samala" from Aditya Malla. Bhima Varman, his successor, appropriated for himself the title of Shahi after becoming King of Sija. This is confirmed by the genealogies of the descendants of Ananda, who had advanced to the east from Rukum. A copper-plate inscription dated 1359 Shaka installed by Udaya Varma and Ajita Varma, Kings of Achham, has been published in Itihasa Prakasha (No. 2, P. 112). Doti, Darna and Bimkot latter seceded from Achham, and started ruling independently. It appears that Sanfe was the ancient capital of Achham. Mangal Sen must have been chosen as the capital much later.

7. Dullu is the second most important area in the Kamali region after Sija. In 1,200 Vikrama, Nagaraja split Sija into two parts, and chose Dullu as his winter capital. Dullu was then called Durlanghyanagar. Krachalla Deva occupied Kumaun from this place. It was from there that Jitari Malla, Ripu Malla, Pratap Malla, Aditya Malla, and Punya Malla had led troops to invade the Nepal Valley. In Dullu, there is a temple dedicated to the "God of Fire". So the king of Sija, who used to stay in Dullu during winter, was also called "Jwalandhari." A document of King Prithvi Varman of Dullu, dated 1644 Shaka, is published in Itihasa Prakasha (No. 2/3, P.145). In 1846 Vikrama, sardar Kalu Pande occupied Dullu, which was then said to comprise 8,000 roofs.

8. Doti was the strongest of all the Baise Kingdoms, at the time of their conquest by the Gorkhalis. Nepal had to wait some time for a war against Doti. 5000 Nepali troops under the command of Captain Golaiya and Captain Ranabir Khatri fought a fierce battle against the combined forces of Doti and Achham at Narighat. The Nepalis were victorious in this battle, and subsequently advanced up to the Mahakali river after occupying Doti and Achham also. References to two kings of Doti, Vishnu Shahi and Pahad Shahi, are available in the Itihasa Prakasha.

9. The Varman Shahis of Dailekh claimed to be descendants of Sansari Varman. Similarly, the Varman Shahis of Dullu claimed Sumeru Varman as their ancestor. This shows that the Kings of Bilaspur and Dailekh were descended from the youngest son, and of Salyan and Dullu from the third son. The Itihasa Prakasha (No. 2, P. 123) contains of an inscription dated 1490 Vikrama which mentions Pratap Shahi, Bhana Shahi, and Sangrama Shahi as Kings of Bilaspur. The last King of Dailekh, Karna Varman Shahi, was defeated by sardar Kalu Pande and Sardar Shatrusala Shahi in the battle of Surkhet. Dailekh then became a part of the Kingdom of Nepal.

(To be continued).

The Dharmadhikar

(Continued from the May 1979 issue)

18. If any woman commits sexual intercourse with any person belonging to any caste, from Brahman to Podhe, wrongly believing him to be her husband, or at a time when she had been made completely senseless through the administration of intoxicants, and if prays for a writ of Patiya on the ground that she had committed the offense out of ignorance, no such writ shall be granted to her. Ignorance shall not be considered a justification for sexual intercourse. If a man has committed sexual intercourse out of ignorance (of the caste status of the woman) he shall be granted expiation according to the law.
19. If any person commits adultery with a girl, married woman, or widow belonging to Upadhyaya or Jaisi Brahman or other sacred-thread-wearing caste, or to a liquor-drinking (matwala) caste, and the matter remains secret, and if he runs away and is not located when sought, and subsequently dies, a statement shall be obtained from persons who have any knowledge of the matter, if there are any, and expiation granted to persons who have taken cooked rice (from the hands of the girl, married woman, or widow) without knowledge (of her guilt). If no one has any knowledge (of the guilt), the necessary confession shall be obtained from the adulteress, and expiation granted to persons who have taken cooked rice and water from her hands without knowledge of her guilt.
20. If any person belonging to the Upadhyaya or any other caste or sub-caste commits adultery with any woman within the prohibited degrees of relationship, or belonging to any caste contamination from whose touch need not be purified through the sprinkling of water, takes cooked rice and water from her hands, and also commits sexual intercourse with his own wife, and lets her take cooked rice and water from his hands, and runs away before the court can question him whether or not he had informed his wife of his guilt, and if his wife subsequently submits a complaint to the effect that she had no knowledge that her husband had committed adultery with such a woman and taken cooked rice and water from her hands, and that she herself had committed sexual intercourse with her husband and taken cooked rice and water from his hands out of ignorance of his guilt, a statement shall be obtained from her to the effect that if her husband is arrested, and it is proved that he had informed her of his guilt, she should be degraded to a lower caste, and a writ of Patiya shall be granted to her. An unborn child too shall become ritually pure when expiation is granted to the mother. If the husband is subsequently arrested and it is proved after his interrogation that he had informed

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his wife of his guilt, the woman shall be degraded to a lower caste, and a writ of Patiya shall be granted to persons who have taken (cooked rice and water) from her hands. If it is proved that the husband had not informed (his wife of his guilt), the woman shall be considered pure, and cooked rice and water may be taken from her hands.

21. If any man commits the crime of sexual intercourse with a woman within the prohibited degrees of relationship (hadnata), which is punishable according to the law (with degradation from caste status), so that cooked rice and water cannot be taken from his hands (by persons belonging to higher castes), but keeps the matter secret, and subsequently commits sexual intercourse with his married wife, or any other woman from whose hands he can take cooked rice or other food, and the woman has consented to such intercourse without any knowledge of his crime, she shall be granted a writ of Patiya in respect to cooked rice and water. If sexual intercourse with her husband after he committed the crime has resulted in pregnancy, and a child is subsequently born, water may be taken from its hands, but not cooked rice. The child also shall be ritually purified when the mother obtains a writ of Patiya. But if the woman has committed sexual intercourse with her husband with full knowledge of his crime, she shall be degraded to the same caste to which her guilty husband has been degraded. The child shall have the same caste status as its mother.
22. If any person has committed sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to a caste from whose hands water cannot be taken, but contact with whom need not be purified through the sprinkling of water, with full knowledge of her caste, but has not taken cooked rice or water from her hands, and keeps the matter secret, and commits sexual intercourse with his married wife or concubine, or with a prostitute or other woman, or gives them cooked rice to eat and water to drink from his hands, such woman, who has allowed him to have sexual intercourse with her without any knowledge of the guilt the man had committed through sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to a caste from whose hands water cannot be taken, and taken cooked rice and water from his hands, and the child in her womb, or born of her subsequently, shall be deemed ritually pure through a writ of Patiya obtained by her, because the man himself can retain his caste status through a writ of Patiya. Rice may be taken from the hands of such persons. If the woman who has committed sexual intercourse with the guilty person without any knowledge of his guilt dies without obtaining a writ of Patiya, and if her children apply for such a writ, it shall be granted. If the wife has knowledge of her husband's guilt in committing sexual intercourse with a woman (from whose hands water cannot be taken, but contact with whom need not be purified through the sprinkling of water), and

has refrained from committing sexual intercourse with him, or from taking cooked rice and water from his hands, but has not been able to reveal the secret out of feelings of shame, and has let him offer cooked rice and water from his hands to commensal brethren, she shall be punished with a fine of twenty rupees for having let others take cooked rice and water from his hands even though aware of his guilt, and all the persons who have taken cooked rice and water from the hands of the guilty person without knowledge of his guilt shall be granted writs of Patiya.

23. If any person wilfully commits sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to a caste contact with whom needs to be purified through the sprinkling of water, and has taken cooked rice or water from her hands, and keeps the matter secret, and commits sexual intercourse with his married wife or concubine, or with a prostitute or with other woman, or gives them cooked rice or water from his hands, and if the woman who has allowed such husband to have sexual intercourse with her without any knowledge of the guilt he had committed (by committing sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to a caste from whose hands water cannot be taken and taking cooked rice and water from his hands) does not become pregnant, she shall not be degraded from her caste, and she shall be granted a writ of Patiya in respect to cooked rice and water. If the woman gets pregnant, cooked rice shall not be accepted from her hands, and she shall be granted a writ of Patiya in respect to water only. Water may be taken from the hands of children born of such woman subsequently, but cooked rice shall not be accepted from their hands. Children born of such women shall not be entitled to wear the sacred-thread, irrespective of whether their father belongs to the Brahman or any other sacred-thread wearing caste and shall belong to a Shudra caste, which cannot be enslaved. If the father belonged to a liquor-drinking caste which cannot be enslaved, the children shall belong to a liquor-drinking caste which can be enslaved. Children born of men belonging to a liquor-drinking caste which can be enslaved, shall belong to a lower caste in the same category. If the woman has knowledge of her husband's sexual intercourse with a woman (from whose hands water cannot be taken or contact with whom must be purified through the sprinkling of water), and has avoided sexual intercourse with him, or taking cooked rice and water from his hands, but has not been able to reveal the secret out of feelings of shame, and has let him offer cooked rice and water from his hands to his commensal relatives, she shall be punished with a fine of twenty-five rupees for having let others take cooked rice and water from his hands even though aware of his guilt, and all the persons who have taken cooked rice and water from the hands of such person without knowledge of the guilt shall be granted writs of Patiya.

24. If any person belonging to a caste which is punished for crimes through partial shaving of the head, thereby being degraded to a lower caste, has been so punished because of the malice of ministers and bhardars, although he has not caused any harm to the state, nor acted in a manner calculated to disrupt friendly relations with the emperors of the northern and southern neighbors, nor threatened the life of the king, ministers, and bhardars, nor committed sexual intercourse with the wife of another person, or committed any murder or any other crime punishable in such a manner, he shall not be granted a writ of Patiya in respect to cooked rice, and shall be granted such a writ in respect to water only. If such person asks for a writ of Patiya, claiming that he had been so punished, but had not been given any prohibited food to eat, and if the bhardars hold that he had not been given any prohibited food to eat as part of the punishment, he shall be granted a writ of Patiya and the Dharmadnikar shall grant the writ after collecting a Codan fee of Rs 25 in the case of abal category, Rs 12.50 in the case of doyam, Rs 6 in the case of sim, and Rs 3 in the case of chahar, depending on the status of such person. Such person shall then undergo: expiation and rejoin his caste.
25. If any person who has committed any of the following crimes has not been branded in the face with any letter or symbol goes to a place where fighting is taking place between his government and other persons, with determination to expiate for his crime by fighting to death, and fights accordingly, the Dharmadnikar shall grant him a writ of Patiya. He shall be pardoned if the woman with whom he has committed sexual intercourse is related to him within seven degrees. Water may be taken from his hands, but not cooked rice. Both cooked rice and water may be taken from his hands if he has committed any other crime.
- (1) In case any person belonging to a Brahman, Rajput, Kshatriya, or other sacred-thread wearing caste commits sexual intercourse with any close or clan relative, except in the case of a caste contact with whom requires purification through the sprinkling of water, or with a woman belonging to any low caste contact with whom need not be purified through the sprinkling of water, without taking cooked rice and water from her hands.
- (2) In case any person belonging to a caste from whose hands water cannot be taken and which can be enslaved commits sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to the Brahman or any other higher caste, or with close or clan relations.
- (3) In case he has used a weapon against his wife's Upadhyaya or Jaisi Brahman lover.
- (4) In case he has been partially shaved in the head and degraded to a lower caste on charges of treason.

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A Kipat Grant in the Tarai
Region

King Rana Bahadur Shah had sent elephants as presents to the Emperor of China with one of the official missions that Nepal sent to that country every five years in accordance with arrangements made after the end of the 1791-92 Nepal-China war.

Seven employees of the Elephant Office who had made arrangements to send the elephants to China received a grant of 357 bighas of forest lands in Matioun, Bara district, in appreciation of their services.

On Marga Sudi 5, 1860 (November 1803) King Girban Yuddha Bikram reconfirmed the grant and placed it under Kipat tenure.

This would appear to be one of the rare cases in which government-owned land was granted under Kipat tenure, and the only instance in which such a grant was made in a district of the Tarai region.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 19, p. 148.

The Baise and Chaubise Principalities

By

Mohan Bahadur Malla

(Continued from the June 1979 issue)

10. Raskot is probably a new name for Khadachakra, where Malevarman's capital was located. In the Karnali region, a fort was formerly known as "Kanda", and later as "Kot". Raskot could be a corrupt form of "Rajakot", or a fort where the king lived. The kings who were descended from Medenivarman Shahi probably lived in Raskot, because he had retained it under his control. There are references to Saimala Shahi as King of Raskot in Itihasa Prakasha (vol. 2, p. 132) in the Shaka year 1542, and to King Bhojanarayana Shahi (Ibid, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 400) in the Vikrama year 1922. The genealogy of the kings of Raskot describe them as descendants of Malevaman..
11. The principality of Sanni was created from a part of Dullu. This shows that it was ruled by the descendants of Sumaru. Dullu was the capital of the present principality, hence Sanni naturally occupied a secondary position. In a petition submitted to the royal palace of Nepal in the Vikrama year 1944, Raja Jaya Bahadur Shahi of Sanni wrote: "I am the descendant of reigning kings". (Itihasa Prakasha, vol. 2, no.3, p. 402). In the Vikrama year 1947, an order

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was issued in the name of the Maharani of Sanni directing the procurement of foodgrains from the village of Ujyal in Sanni. (*Ibid*, p. 401). During Bahadur Shaha's campaigns in the west, the Varman Shahi rulers of Salyan and Jajarkot had joined Nepal, while other weaker rulers of that dynasty surrendered. Sanni too must have done so.

12. Darna is situated between Achham and Rogatan. It was ruled by a branch of the Varman Shahis of Achham. King Dipa-Varman Shahi of Darna was defeated by Nepal at the battle of Narighat. Bhagirath Shahi, a brother of Dewan Narapati Shahi of Darna, had joined the Nepalis. He fell fighting at the battle of Panikhet. His brother, Narapati Shahi, received a marwat land grant from the king of Nepal in consideration of his brother's death.
13. Bimkot was similarly ruled by a branch of the Varman Shahis of Achham. It too appears to have been defeated along with Doti and Achham at the battle of Narighat.
14. The rulers of Bogatan belonged to the Malla Shahi dynasty. This principality was situated west of Darna and east of Dadeldhura. Its last King, Dipa Shahi, was defeated by the Gorkhalis.
15. Gajul was the capital of the principality of Rolpa. It was a small principality comprising 2,000 households. The third grandson of King Pitambar Varman of Rukum had become King of Rolpa, while the second grandson, Ananda, had been elected by the Magars of Parbat to become their King. The youngest grandson had similarly been elected as king of the Magar principality of Pyuthan. The Magars of Rolpa must have made the third grandson of King Pitambar Varman their king of their own will. By that time, people belonging to sacred-thread-wearing communities had settled in the Magar principalities. They did not like to have Magars as their kings. Rolpa was occupied by Nepal on Marga 2, 1843 Vikrama (November 17, 1786).
16. Like Rolpa, Khumri is situated on the banks of the Rapti river. King Prithvi Narayan Shaha had sought to maintain friendly relations with Kaski, Jumla, Salyan and Jajarkot. Bahadur Shah too followed the same policy. He married a royal princess of Palpa and concluded a treaty with that principality under which it would remain neutral when Nepal attacked the other Baise and Chaubise principalities. After Nepal extended its dominions to the Bheri river, Argha and Khanchi were granted to Palpa, Dang to Salyan, and Khumri to Jajarkot.
17. The small principality of Chhilli, situated east of Salyan, was ruled by kings belonging to the Varman Shahi dynasty. Little is known about this principality. It seems, however, that none of the principalities of Pyuthan, Khumri, Udayapur, Chhilli, Salyan, Jajarkot, Jahari, Rukum, Sanni and

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Rajkot had fought against Nepali troops. This is attributed to the fact that Siddha Bhagawanta Nath had campaigned on behalf of Nepal, while staying in Salyan as a representative of Prithvi Narayan Shah. After the conquest of the Baise principalities, the government of Nepal designated Bhagawanta Nath as chief of the Natha sect all over the Kingdom of Nepal and authorized him to collect taxes. The principality of Chhilli was later granted to Salyan.

18. The principality of Jahari is situated on the left banks of the Bheri river. Ananta, the second son of Pitambar, King of Rukum, had become King of this principality, which was ruled by kings belonging to the Varman Shahi dynasty. Kaji Jiva Shah, whose real name was Jivana, was the chief bhardar sent to invade the Baise principalities. He was the eldest son of Vishnurupa and grandson of Chandrarupa, the sixth son of King Prithvipati Shaha of Gorkha. He had reached Jajarkot via Jahari, travelling through the Shakhi mountains.
19. Dang was a Tharu principality which had been established during the Pala period. Since it was situated in a region with a hot climate, it is hard to believe that sacred-thread-wearing communities from the hill areas had settled there. Ruins of ancient temples, inns, etc. discovered in Surkhet in the inner Tarai region indicate that Dang, which too located in that region, was an ancient settlement. Kaji Damodara Pande, Kaji Jagajit Pande, Sardar Prawala Rana and Subba Phaud Singh, the bhardars of Nepal, occupied Dang on Kartik 29, 1843. Vikrama. They later granted this territory as a reward to Salyan. At that time, Dang was ruled by a branch of the Varman Shahis dynasty, which had broken away from Salyan.
20. Bajhang, a principality situated on the right banks of the Seti river, was ruled by kings belonging to the Suryavanshi Simha dynasty. It is possible that Bajhang had passed into the control of the ancestors of the Simha kings in the same way as Jumla had fallen into the hands of Baliraja. Jayaprithvi Bahadur Simha, who was mainly instrumental in the establishment of the "Gorkhali Language Publications Board" (Gorkha Bhasha Prakashini Samiti) was a raja of Bajhang. He had to go into exile because he had tried to follow the path shown by Deva Shumshere in the sphere of education. Bajhang did not participate in the battle of Narighat, situated between the Karnali and Mahakali rivers, because by then Sunnikot, which had previously seceded from it, had been restored to it.
21. Thalar, one of the Baise principalities, is located on the right banks of the Seti river south of Bajhang. It too was ruled by a branch of the Simha dynasty which had broken away from Bajhang. This principality too had not participated in the Narighat battle.

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22. Bajura, located on the left banks of the Seti river, was ruled by Simhas belonging to the Suryavamshi dynasty. When Aditya Malla handed over the principality of Achham-Charpukot to Devachandra Varman, his grandson from the daughter's side, the principalities located along the banks of the Karnali were probably under control of Thakuri rulers. The Pala Kingdom at that time faced the threat of attack from the west alone. Bajura was said to have comprised 1,700 houses. Bajura too did not take part in the battle of Narighat.

Thus, after having remained under foreign domination for 500 years, and independent for 300 years, the Baise principalities were eventually merged into Nepal.

Let us now turn to the Gandaki region before enumerating the Chaubise principalities. Our old geographers have called the Gandaki region as Magarat, and the Karnali region as Khasarat. From the viewpoint of history, it would be wrong to describe the Karnali region as Khasarat. We must first take into account the principalities of Magars, Jadas, and Chhetris in the Karnali region. We will find that there were several Magar principalities in this region. Sularshan Shahi, a king belonging to the Kalyal dynasty, had enlisted the assistance of Khasan and Jadan in building a palace. The assistance he received from Jadan was three times greater, than that from the Khasan. This shows that Khasan was a small area situated within the principality of Jumla. Chhetris ruled only in areas across the Bheri river, while the Jadas ruled in the north. This indicates the preponderance of Magars in the Karnali region as well.

The 500 years of Sija's history is of considerable importance for the Nepali people. It was here that the Nepali dialect acquired maturity, and the system of four castes and thirty-six sub-castes was introduced. In addition, the revenue system of "Battis Rakam and Chhattis Kalam" originated in this region. In the Gandaki region, these rules or customs had been introduced first by Brahmans and Chhetris.

The Magars inhabiting the Karnali and Gandaki regions had named the rivers, streams, hills, plains and villages in their own dialect. The hill areas were inhabited mostly by Magars, and the Himalayan areas by Tamangs and Gurungs. Just as Magars had named their areas in their own dialect, the Tamangs and Gurung Thakalis of the Himalayan areas gave their own names to their areas. Magars call a stream as "di". That is why we find the term "di" in the name of every river, or stream in the hill region. The term "Nga" which we find at the end of the name of every principality is also a Magar suffix. Such names as do not correspond to the Sanskrit and Nepali languages also form a part of the Magar dialect. It is necessary to analyze the meaning of this suffix.

Contd.

Gurungs had migrated to Kaski and Lamjung via Manang during the 8th or 9th century. The Chhetri rulers who had been defeated by the Palas also entered the Gandak region in force. It was at this time that the Brahmans and other castes of the Karnali region also started migrating to the Gandak region. They reclaimed the hillside lands which Magars had left waste, and started cultivating these lands in the same manner as at present, and set up villages. The Magars had no knowledge of irrigation. It was the sacred-thread-wearing people who subsequently migrated to the Gandak region who started cultivating and irrigating lands. The Magars were pleased by the farming practices of the new settlers, as it did not affect their own holdings, and, moreover, contributed to the revenue of their kingdom. The sacred-thread-wearing communities migrated to the Gandak region both from the Karnali region, and from the Sen kingdoms of the south. The Sen kingdoms did not use the Nepali language at that time, but used the Palki dialect in their documents and copper-plate inscriptions. Immigrants belonging to sacred-thread-wearing communities spread the customs and usages as well as the dialects of the Karnali region in the Gandak region. The Magars had no script or literature of their own, hence we know very little about their kings.

The Chaubise principalities of the Gandak region had been established by Thakuri kings in the same way as the Baise principalities of the Karnali region. The Sen kings had first created the three principalities of Palpa, Tanahu and Rishing in the south of the Gandak region. In the west, the Varman Shahis established the principalities of Parbat, Galkot and Pyuthan. In the central region, the Kanas occupied the principalities of Garhunkot, Bhirkot, Dhor, Sataunkot, Nuwakot, Kaski, Lamjung, and Gorkha. The Simhas seized the principalities of Musikot, Gulmi and Isma, located around Badi-Gad. The Malla Shahis occupied Argna, Khanchi and Dhurkot. A Karki Brahman family ruled Udayapur. The Trishuli-Nuwakot region was ruled by the Chhetris of Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley. The tiny principality of Paiyun situated on the banks of the Krishna-Gandaki river was under the rule of Sen Thakuri kings, who came from Bansi, not from Palpa.

We shall now describe the Chaubise principalities of the Gandak region:

1. Trishuli-Nuwakot was the oldest of the principalities ruled by Chhetri kings in the Gandak region. It must have been occupied by Chhetri kings from Magars much before the time of Manadeva. The only route leading to Nepal Valley via Devaghat on the banks of the Trishuli river lies in the vicinity of Nuwakot. The first Buddhist Bhikshu of Kapilavastu travelling to Nepal Valley must have passed through this route Manadeva might have passed through the same area in the course of his campaign to conquer Mallapuri. Since ancient times, Nuwakot and Nepal Valley have been maintaining close links. For Nepal Valley,

Contd.

Nuwakot, in fact, remained the principal gate-way to the western region. The kings of the Valley had a vassal in Nuwakot when they were powerful. The same vassals acted like kings when the Valley was weak.

The entire region watered by the Tadi-khola, the Khani-khola, and the Rapti-kholá may be called the Gandak region. Inasmuch as the principalities of the Gandak region were called Chaubise states, Trishuli-Nuwakot is listed here as one of them.

In Ashiwin 1801 Vikrama, Trishuli-Nuwakot was conquered by Gorkha from Shankar Rana, who was under the control of King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur.

2. Chhetris and Brahmans were not on good terms with the Khadga-Magar kings of Gorkha. That is why they aided Dravya Shah, the second son of King Yashovarman Shahi of Vikrama. Two years later, Yashovarman was succeeded by his eldest son Narahari Shahi, as King of Lamjung. Narahari Shahi invited Dravya Shahi to come over to the banks of the Marsyangdi river to perform rites on the first anniversary of their father's death. Dravya Shahi accordingly left for Lamjung. However, he learnt from the son of his nurse that Narahari Shahi planned to assassinate him. Dravya Shahi thereupon returned to Gorkha. Narahari Shahi started preparations to occupy Gorkha, on the ground that it had been occupied through Lamjung's strength and wealth. To avert war between her two sons, Queen Chhampavati stipulated that the Chepe river should be the boundary between Gorkha and Lamjung. She declared that anyone who encroached on this boundary would be ruined. Thus the area located between the Chepe and the Marsyangdi rivers belonged to Narahari Shahi. After the death of his mother, however, he invaded Gorkha. The descendants of Narahari Shahi considered it their duty to fight against Gorkha. It was because of endless provocations from Lamjung that Gorkha, surrounded by powerful principalities, developed a love for war. King Prithvi Narayan Shah, a great statesman, provided effective leadership to the battle-seasoned Gorkhalis. After 31 years of military campaigns, Gorkha was able to expand its frontiers to the Kankai river in the east.

3. The south-western part of Garhankot adjoins Ridi Bazar located across the Kali river, which flows from the north to the south, and from the west to the east of Ridi. Exactly in the area where the Kali river makes a swift curve are located Kaskikot and Lasarka. Around 1552 Vikrama, Rana Bhupal came over to Lasarka and settled there. He installed the idol of his family deity there. At that time, Palpa was ruled by Rudra Sen, and Parbat by Dimba Karman Shahi. Rana Bhupal had gone to Lasarka under the protection of the Sen kings. It is

/Lamjung to become king of Gorkha in 1616

Contd.

probable that he was either a son-in-law or nephew. In the meanwhile, both Palpa and Parbat were getting stronger. Rana Bhupal defeated the Magar rulers of Garhankot and Bhirkot and annexed these territories. He chose Bhirkot-Khilim as his capital. His two sons are the well-known Khancha and Micha. Khancha, the elder son, occupied Dhor from its Magar ruler. The second son, Micha, conquered Syangja, Nuwakot and Sataunkot, which too were ruled by Magar kings. After the death of his father, Khancha became the ruler of Garhaun, Bhirkot and Dhor, while the second son, Micha, ruled over Syangja, Nuwakot and Sataunkot. Both the brothers then assumed the title of "Khan". At that time, the Mongol Emperors called themselves "Khan".

Khancha had two sons, named Surya and Dasharatha. Surya became King of Bhirkot, and Dasharatha of Dhor. Mahepati Khan was the great-great-grandson of Dasharatha. He had two sons, Karna and Dasharatha, who were made rulers of Garhan and Dhor respectively. Following the battle of Makaidanda in Lamjung, Bhakta Khan, a descendant of Karna Khan went to war with Gorkha, Kaski and Syangja. It then enjoyed a long period of peace. At the time of Gorkhali thrust into Sataun, Sri Bhakta, the infant king of Garhankot, was taken by his bhardars to his maternal home at Thorba in Gulmi. Gorkha latter brought Sri Bhakta back from Thorba and installed him as a Vassal King of Garhankot.

4. Khancha Khan conquered Dhor from its Magar ruler and annexed it into Garhankot. Dhor again seceded from Garhaunkot when it was allotted to Dasharatha and Garhankot/to his elder brother, Karna Khan. It was at Dhor that in Magh 1828 Vikrama the Chaubise principalities including Parbat, laid a 14-day siege on the Gorkhali troops who had run away after their defeat in the battle of Sirwari in Sataun. The position of the Chaubise principalities located across the Kali river, however, became precarious after the battle of Makaidanda in Lamjung. Later, Kaji Abhimana Simha Basnet took the rulers of Sataun, Bhirkot, Rising and Dhor to Kantipur, where they received recognition as Vassal kings from King Rana Bahadur Shah.

5. There is a high hill called Khilim, which rises above the confluence of the Andi-Khola and the Darain-Khola. It was at this place at which Rana Bhupala had built his capital. Bhirkot, the name of his principality, went into the hands of the descendants of Jaihu Khan; the eldest son of Khancha Khan. On Falgun 12, 1827 Vikrama King Prithvi Narayan Shah ordered Gorkhali troops commanded by Vamsha Raj and Kehar Simha to occupy Tanahu and advance farther to the west. In the Grihakot battle of Jestha 25, 1828 Vikrama, the King of Bhirkot, Indra Bhupala Khan, was defeated by the Gorkhali troops. He then fled.

/when it was allotted

(To be continued).

Panchsanyakhola, 1897

In A.D. 1897, the Panchsanyakhola area of Nuwakot district formed part of the Jagir assignment of General Bhim Shumshere J.B. Rana, Commanding General of the Eastern Zone.

In 1855, a royal order had been issued according to which the inhabitants of ten villages of that area were placed under the obligation of providing Hulak services. The inhabitants of other villages were similarly ordered to work at the local gunpowder factory and help in the collection of Jagat duties on goods imported from Tibet. The ten villages included Syafru and Timure.

Because these inhabitants possessed no rice lands, the following special facilities were provided to them in consideration of these duties:-

(1) The inhabitants of the ten villages who were under obligation to provide Hulak services were granted exemption from the payment of Jagat duties on salt procured by them from Tibet.

(2) The inhabitants of other villages who were under obligations to work at the local gunpowder factory were granted tax-exemption on the Pakho lands that they had converted into rice fields. In both cases, they were granted exemption from payment of taxes on pasture lands (kharchari), bee-hives (maha-bhir), newly-reclaimed lands (birhauto), etc.

These tax-exemptions were withdrawn on the following grounds in 1897:-

(1) There had been from time to time that the inhabitants of these villages had suppressed information about taxable lands.

(2) In 1891, when imports of salt had been banned, they had smuggled that commodity from Tibet in contravention of the Nepal-Tibet treaty.

In the course of a revision of the revenue settlement in that area, the total assessment had been fixed at Rs 12,749-6½. The amount was reduced by Rs 2,000 for the inhabitants of the 10 villages who provided Hulak services, so that the actual amount was Rs 10,749-6½.

However, in consideration of their unpaid-labor services:-

(1) The inhabitants of the 10 villages who provided Hulak services were allowed to procure as much salt as they could procure from Tibet without paying any Jagat duty.

Contd.

(2) The inhabitants of the other villages who worked at the gunpowder factory were each allowed to procure 5 manloads of salt from Tibet every year without paying any Jagat duty.

Jestha Badi 4, 1954 and Ashadh Sudi 7, 1954. Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 70, pp. 30-47.

The number of villages in the Panchsayakhola area whose inhabitants were under obligation to provide Hulak services had increased from 10 in 1855 to 21 in 1897, mainly as a result of subdivision of families and immigration. The inhabitants of all these villages were later granted the right to procure as much salt as they could from Tibet without paying any duty.

Poush Badi 7, 1954. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 70, pp. 633-37.

Selected Documents of 1856 Vikrama

1. Exemption from Unpaid-Labor Obligations

On Marga Sudi 10, 1856, the Dware of Deopatan in Kathmandu was informed that twelve persons, including eight temple functionaries (Achar, Besit) and twelve tenants had been granted exemption from unpaid-labor obligations (Jhara, beth, begar) during the period when they were employed to renovate the painting of the Sri Jayavagishwari temple. The Dware was also ordered to supply them with timber, straw, firewood, etc. needed for the work.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 7-8.

2. Exodus of People from Listi

On Marga Sudi 12, 1856, the following royal order was sent to the inhabitants of Listi in Sindhupalchok district: "We have received reports that you have fled to different areas to escape the oppression of the former Amali. Come back and reoccupy your lands and live according to your traditional customs and usages. We hereby commute Jhara obligations for the year 1856 Vikrama in consideration of a Salami payment of Rs 500.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, p. 8.

Contd.

3. Reallotment of Lands in Tinpatan

The following royal order was sent to Vamsharaj Thapa on Poush Badi 9, 1856 Vikrama: "Lands assigned as Khangri to Ditha Balwant Rana in Tinpatan had been allotted (raibandi) to members of your clan (thar). You are hereby granted permission to reclaim 101 khets (i.e. 10,100 muris) of surplus lands north of the Mahabharat mountains which have now been included in the district of Saptari, except the Parganna of Bahadura. With the income from these lands, maintain 191 soldiers equipped with bows and arrows. Pay Rs 47 and 12 annas as Darshan-Bhet fee every year. The person who reclaims the lands shall appropriate the entire produce for a period of five years. Thereafter, he shall pay half of the produce according to the custom followed in that area. This arrangement shall be valid for a five-year period. Send such articles as the former Amali used to send here, and also information about that area.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 14-15.

4. Tax Exemption

Six Moujas in the Bariyarpur Parganna of Bara district, Barewa, Banauli, Tegachhiya, Pipra, Balirampur and Haridiya, had been assigned as Jagir to Miya Karim Sen. A royal order issued on Poush Badi 9, 1856 granted him exemption from the following taxes and duties in these Moujas:-

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Jalakar</u> | - | Taxes on water and water resources. |
| 2. <u>Banakar</u> | - | Taxes on forest products. |
| 3. <u>Sair</u> | - | Customs duties. |

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 16.

5. Supply of Commodities to Taleju Temple

On Poush Badi 9, 1856, customs and transit duty collectors (Jagati, bhansari, dalali) at different points were ordered to release the following supplies to the Taleju temple in Bhadgaun once every year (obviously without charging any customs and transit duties):-

Male buffaloes	-	25.
Ghee	-	200 dharnis.
Goats	-	200.
Cotton	-	10 loads.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 16-17.

Contd.

6. Land Reclamation in Kaski

On Poush Badi 9, 1856, Balak Das, Ijaradar of copper mines, was ordered to depute 30 mine-workers (agri) each from Parbat and Galkot to reclaim lands and dig irrigation channels in Kaski under the supervision of Shamsheer Shahi and Madho Shahi.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 17.

7. Land Reclamation in the Eastern Tarai Region

On Poush Badi 9, 1856, the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams and ryots of Bara, Parsa and Rautanat districts were informed that four officials (mukhtiyar) had been deputed to reclaim Kalabanjar lands in those districts. A royal order issued in this connection added: "Pay land taxes at rates fixed by them. Have those lands which had been previously brought into cultivation, surveyed and measured, and pay taxes on such lands at rates current in the Parganna."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 17-18.

8. Appointment of Revenue Functionaries

A royal order was issued on Poush Badi 9, 1856 appointing Hari Chaudhari and Shankar Chaudhari as Chaudharis of the Parganna of Basantapur in Bara district. The Mouja of Bhawanipur was assigned to them under Nankar tenure. They were also appointed as Mokaddams of the Mouja of Itahar.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 18.

9. Ijara Grant for Land Reclamation

According to a royal order issued on Poush Badi 9, 1856, Surabir Rana, who occupied the position of a dada (presumably in the royal household), was granted a seven-year Ijara to reclaim six Kalabanjar Moujas in the Dostiya Parganna of Bara district. The Moujas were Panaura, Maulapur, Kursahi, Sitalpatti, Gogdauli and Bansbariya.

The schedule of payments was as follows:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u> (in Rs and annas)
1856	30
1857	37-8
1858	56-4

Contd.

1859	98-7
1860	196-14
1861	295-5
1862	405-15

In consideration of these payments, the Ijaradar was allowed to appropriate the proceeds of the following taxes and levies:-

1. Mal-jihat, or land taxes.
2. Sair-jihat, or customs duties.
3. Kul-hubabat, or judicial fines and penalties.

The order also provided that the government would not collect any special levies (bheti, salami), or provisions (sidha, farmaisi), or forced labor (beth, begar) in those Moujas.

The Ijaradar was instructed to see that peasants cultivating lands in the northern areas (sira) did not obstruct the supply of water for irrigating lands in the southern areas (bhetha). He was forbidden to attract cultivators from Raikar lands, so that such lands might not revert to waste, but to procure settlers from Birta, Jagir and Nankar lands, as well as from India (Moglan).

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 21-22.

Similar Ijaras for land reclamation in different Pargannas were granted on the same date to Mudhu Khan (3 Moujas in Sidhmas, Parsa district), Dware Dubli (1 Mouja in Matioun, Bara district) and Kashi Nayak Brahman (1 Mouja in Sidhmas, Parsa district).

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 22-27.

11. Appointment of Chaudhari in Sheoraj

On Poush Sudi 5, 1856, Sahasram Chaudhari was appointed Chaudhari of the Parganna of Sheoraj, replacing Laskari Chaudhari. The Kalabanjar Mouja of Sankharpur in Sheoraj was granted to him as his Jagir.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 32.

(To be continued).

The Dharmadhikar
(Continued from the June 1979 issue)

26. A person belonging to a caste contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, who has committed sexual intercourse with a person of a lower caste contamination from whose touch needs to or need not be purified through the sprinkling of water, and on whose face letters indicating his degrade caste status or sentence of life imprisonment have been branded, or a person who deliberately takes cooked rice and water from the hands of any person water touched by whom cannot be taken by members of higher castes, and contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, who has been degraded to that caste status and his property confiscated according to the law, because even though belonging to a caste water touched by whom can be taken by persons belonging to higher castes, he had committed sexual intercourse with a person belonging to a caste water touched by whom cannot be taken by persons belonging to higher castes, shall not be restored to his usual caste or allowed to offer cooked rice to other members of that caste. If such persons go to a place where a battle is being fought and actually take part in the fightings, their crime shall be pardoned, but they cannot be restored to their usual caste, or allowed to offer cooked rice and water to members of that caste.
27. If any person of either sex belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes commits any crime which is punishable through life imprisonment, and is accordingly branded on the face and sentenced to life imprisonment escapes, their children shall belong to the Pataki caste and shall not be deemed to have committed any offense if they take as wives with mutual consent women belonging to any caste from whose hands water cannot be taken, or contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, provided they do not take cooked rice and water from the hands of such women. They shall only be punished in the same manner as if any man who belongs to a caste contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water takes as his wife a woman belonging to any caste water from whose hands can be taken.

In case anybody takes cooked rice and water from the hands of a person belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes who is guilty of sexual offenses or of having taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a person belonging to a low caste, even though he had himself seen the offense being committed or had knowledge thereof, but has not offered cooked rice and water to other persons, he shall be degraded to the caste of the person from whose hands he had taken cooked rice and water. No fines shall be imposed, nor shall his property be confiscated.

But if such person, having taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of a person who is guilty of the offenses mentioned above), allows his relatives to take cooked rice touched by him, or offers water from his hands to other persons, his share of the property shall be confiscated according to the law and he shall be degraded to the caste of the person from whose hands he had taken cooked rice and water.

If his wife allows him to have sexual intercourse without any knowledge of his guilt, and his sons and other members of his family have taken cooked rice and water from his hands out of similar ignorance, a writ of patiya shall be issued to them for expiation from offenses committed out of ignorance.

If, however, his wife has allowed him to have sexual intercourse with her with full knowledge of his guilt, and others too have similarly taken cooked rice and water from his hands, they shall be degraded to the (same) caste (as the actual offender), but a writ of patiya shall be issued to innocent children below twelve years of age. After the property of the chief offender is confiscated, the other members of the family too shall not be punished with confiscation of property.

In case a person belonging to any caste which can be enslaved takes cooked rice and water (from the hands of a person who is guilty of the offenses mentioned above), but does not let his relatives take cooked rice and water, and other persons take water, from his hands, he shall be degraded to the caste (of the actual offender). No fine shall be imposed, nor shall his property be confiscated. If, however, he has let his relatives take cooked rice, and other persons to take water, from his hands, he shall be degraded to the caste (of the actual offender) and enslaved.

If his wife allows him to have sexual intercourse with her without any knowledge of his guilt, and his sons and other members of his family similarly take cooked rice and water from his hands, a writ of patiya shall be issued to expiate them from an offense which they had committed out of ignorance.

If, however, his wife has allowed him to have sexual relations with her with full knowledge of his guilt, and others too similarly take cooked rice and water from his hands, they shall be degraded to the caste (of the actual offender) if they are above twelve years of age, and granted a writ of patiya in case they are below twelve years of age. After the chief offender has been enslaved, other members of his family shall not be enslaved.

29. If any person belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes, while away from home or abroad, falls ill, falls from a height or otherwise sustains any injury, or is attacked or bitten by animals, and thus

becomes helpless, and, because nobody of appropriate caste status is available there, takes cooked rice from the hands of a person belonging to a lower caste than himself, and water from the hands of a person belonging to a low caste water touched by whom cannot be taken by members of high castes, and if such a person, after he becomes well again, voluntarily reports that he had taken cooked rice and water from the hands of such persons while lying ill and helpless, then, because the latter had offered (cooked rice and water) with philanthropic motives at a time when the former was lying in a helpless condition and no other person of appropriate caste was available, (the low-caste person who had offered cooked rice and water to him) shall not be deemed guilty. The person who has taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the low-caste person) shall be granted expiation.

If the person (who had taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a low-caste person) voluntarily reports the matter, but dies before receiving expiation, such expiation shall be granted his sons, brothers, or other relatives.

If any person has taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a person belonging to a lower caste while lying in an ill and helpless condition, but neither of them reports the matter and thus keeps it secret, and it is subsequently reported by another person, then, because they had failed to report the matter, the person (who has taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a low-caste person) shall be deemed to have done so of his own will. The (low-caste person) who had offered him (cooked rice and water) shall be punished with a fine of twenty rupees. The former shall not be granted a writ of patiya. If he offers cooked rice to other persons who do not have any knowledge of his guilt, he shall be punished with a fine of forty rupees. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law.

30. In case the parents have been degraded to a lower caste because they have committed sexual intercourse or taken cooked rice and water from the hands of persons water touched by whom cannot be taken by high-caste people, and contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, and children born to them before such degradation have remained with them and taken cooked rice and water from their hands, and in case the relatives of such children on the paternal or maternal side, or any other person close to them, submit a petition before the children have attained the age of twelve years, praying that (the children) are of pure birth and they are willing to take cooked rice and water from their hands if a writ of patiya is granted, such children shall be granted expiation.

In case, however, the children have no relatives, and between the ages of twelve years and sixteen years when they have developed their senses, have refrained from taking cooked rice and water from the hands of their parents, and subsequently submit a petition praying that inasmuch as they were innocent children no one had offered to look after them, and so they had lived with their parents, and should now be granted expiation, they shall be deemed to have (taken cooked rice and water from the hands of their parents) out of ignorance. Inquiries shall be conducted if they approach any government office or court, or any local body, with this request, or, even if they do not do so, such information is received from other sources, and they shall be granted expiation.

Children (of parents as mentioned above) who continue to take cooked rice and water from their hands even after they have attained the age of sixteen years shall not be granted a writ of patiya. In case any government official issues a writ of purification in the case of water, maintaining that they are eligible for expiation, even though he knows their pollution full well, his share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated according to the law, his sacred thread shall be taken off if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, and he shall be degraded to the same caste (as the children).

In case any thari or mukhiya says that water can be taken (from the hands of such children), he shall be punished with a fine of twenty rupees each, and every respectable person who functions as a member of the kachahari with a fine of five rupees each. No fine shall be imposed on persons who have not functioned as a member of the Kachahari. In case the relatives of the guilty person who take cooked rice and water from his hands, and members of his family pray for a writ of patiya, declaring that he will not have any commensal relations with him, such a writ shall be granted to them.

31. In case any person belonging to the Upadhyaya Brahman or any other sacred-thread-wearing caste is shaved in the head and degraded to a lower caste on the charge of committing incest with a hadnata relative, other than his own mother and his own daughter, or on charges of treason, children born of such criminals before they have obtained a writ of petiya shall be granted such a writ in respect to water, and shall be degraded to the Shudra caste which cannot be enslaved.

(To be continued).

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Cash Reward to Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere

On Jestha 8, 1960 (May 21, 1903), orders were issued to several revenue offices in the districts of the Tarai region to remit a total sum of Indian Rs 600,000 to the Nepali Naib Wakil in Calcutta. The orders stated that the amount had been granted as a reward (bakas) by King Prithvi Bir Bikram to Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere.

The revenue offices ordered to remit the funds, and the amounts sanctioned from each, are given below:-

<u>Revenue Office</u>	<u>Amount</u> (In Indian Rs)
Morang	Rs 100,000.
Saptari-Siraha	Rs 50,000.
Mahottari	Rs 50,000.
Bara-Parsa	Rs 200,000.
Palhi	Rs 50,000.
Majhkhand	Rs 50,000.
Khajahani	Rs 50,000.
Banke .	Rs 50,000.
Total	Rs 600,000.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 77, pp. 276-79.

The Baise and Chaubise Principalities

By

Mohan Bahadur Malla

(Continued from the July 1979 issue)

On Jestha 31, 1828 Vikrama, Gorkha conquered Bhirkot, Garhaunkot, and Paiyun. However, in the battle that was fought at Shirwari in Satyan on Poush 27, 1828 Vikrama, Gorkha defeated by Parbat, and thereafter the Chaubise principalities across the Marsyangdi became independent. Among these principalities Bhirkot surrendered again after the defeat of the Syangja-Nuwakot forces by Gorkhali troops under the command of Dalajit Shah on Ashad 2, 1842 Vikrama King Indra Bhupala Khan of Bhirkot, who had received recognition from Gorkha, was dismissed in 1849 Vikrama and replaced by Hari Khan as ruler of Bhirkot.

6. Syangja-Nuwakot had been conquered by Micha Khan, the youngest son of Rana Bhupala, from its Magar King in 1561 Vikrama. Micha Khan also conquered Sataun, which too was ruled by a Magar ruler. His youngest son, Vichitra Khan, occupied Kaski from its Gurung ruler around 1570 Vikrama. After the death of Micha Khan, his eldest son, Bhakti Khan, became King of Syangja-Nuwakot, and his second and youngest sons, Shivarama Khan and Vichitra Khan, became Kings of Sataun and Kaski respectively. Nuwakot continued to be ruled by Bhakti Khan's descendants.

Kulamandana, grandson of Vichitra Khan, King of Kaski, assumed the title of "Shahi". The descendants of Micha Khan then called themselves Shahi. At that time, Delhi was ruled by Ibrahim Shahi, the last ruler in the Lodi dynasty. A political tussle was going on between Bahadur Shah and Kirti Bam of Parbat. Nuwakot was the first casualty of that conflict. When Parbat became quiet, Bahadur Shah sent six battalions of troops under the command of Kaji Naru Shah to attack Nuwakot, and Kaji Abhiman Simha Basnet sent five battalions to invade Palpa. Tanahu, which had been conquered by Bahadur Shah, later slipped out of Gorkha's control. Queen Rajendra Laxmi thereafter started following Bahadur Shah's advice in military matters. Whatever Bahadur Shah accomplished under the control of an unimaginative queen was commendable. One cannot indeed help praising Bahadur Shah, a master strategist. He had shown great foresight in going into a war against Syangja, Nuwakot and Palpa. On Falgun 20, 1840 Vikrama, Kaji Naru Shah occupied Nuwakot in the battle of Bir Pagmi (sic). Nuwakot again declared itself independent after Naru Shah was forced to move to Makaidanda in Lamjung, where the forces of Kaski and Parbat had assembled. About a year later, that is, on Ashadh 2, 1842 Vikrama, Gorkhali troops commanded by Dalajit Shah fought against Nuwakot. Syangja-Nuwakot was then merged into the Kingdom of Nepal.

7. Sataunkot consisted of 2,000 roofs. Though a tiny principality, it has had a glorious history. Shiva Bam Khan, the second son of Micha Khan, became King of Sataun around 1575 Vikrama. Sataun was ruled by his descendants for eleven generations. In 1828 Vikrama, Gorkha conquered Tanahu, Rising, Dhor, Bhirkot, Garhaunkot, and Paiyun. Then followed the battle of Sirbari in Sataun. 2,000 troops from Parbat, who had come to assist Sataun, took up their position near Thanabari on the Dahare mountain. On Poush 27, 1820 Vikrama, Gorkhali troops commanded by Sardar Kehar Simha Basnet, Kaji Vamsha Raj Pande and Prabhu Malla launched a two-pronged attack on the Parbat troops from Paiyun-Dhuwakot and Bhirkot. However, the Gorkhals were badly defeated in this battle. More than 500 Gorkhali troops were killed and about 1,500 wounded. Sardar Kehar Simha Basnet was killed in the battle, and Kaji Vamsha Raj Pande was wounded and taken prisoner. The fleeing Gorkhali troops sought shelter in the fort of Bhirkot. There too they were defeated by the troops of Parbat.

From there the Gorkhali troops fled to Dhor. But Dhor too sided with the Parbat. Troops from Bhirkot and Garhaunkot then besieged the Gorkhali troops in Dhor. As a result, Prabhu Malla and Ranashur Pande surrendered. It was only on the fourteenth day of the battle that the remnants of the Gorkhali troops, who barely constituted ten percent of the original strength of the army that had come from Gorkha, were able to escape. This was the biggest defeat ever suffered by Gorkha. The Gorkhali troops lost a greater number of their men in this battle than in the battle fought against Kirtipur in 1814 Vikrama.

The six principalities that were conquered in 1828 Vikrama remained independent till Ashadh 7, 1842 Vikrama. On that day, King Dirgha Shahi of Sataun declared his allegiance to Gorkha. The same day, the bhardars of Gorkha moved to Rajasthal, the capital of Sataun, which was then merged into the Kingdom of Nepal.

8. Kaski is a scenic area in the Gandaki region. The lakes, valleys, hills and mountain peaks of the Pokhara area have always attracted foreigners. No historical evidence is available to determine how long Gurungs had ruled over this area. Around 1570 Vikrama, Vichitra Khan, the youngest son of Micha Khan, conquered Kaski from the Gurungs. After the death of his father, Vichitra Khan became King of Kaski. Jagadeva was his son, and Jagati or Kulamandana was his grandson. Kulamandana assumed the title of "Shahi". His second son, Kalu Shai, was made King of Lamjung. But the old ruling family of Gurungs treacherously murdered him. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Yashovarman, as King of Lamjung.

Among the Chaubise principalities situated east of the Kali river, Kaski, Lamjung, Tanahu and Bhirkot were most powerful. Prithvi Narayan Shah had tried to establish relations with Kaski. In Falgun 1838 Vikrama, Ganesha Malla, Dilaram Karki, and others of Parbat had looted the royal palace of Kaski because they had been angered by Kaski's refusal to participate in the battle of Siranchok, in which the Gorkhals had been defeated. King Siddhi Narayana Shahi of Kaski had then fled, crossed the Marsyangdi river and sought asylum in Gorkha. He was treated with great honor there. In Ashwin 1840, Vikrama, Gorkha concluded a treaty with him and restored to him the throne of Kaski in the company of Sardar Ambar Simha Thapa.

Viramardana Shahi, who had fled from Lamjung in Kartik 1839 Vikrama and was staying at Beni in Parbat, was preparing for a battle. This was the reason why the above-mentioned treaty contained a provision which debarred Siddhi Narayana from opposing Lamjung. However, under the pressure of Parbat, Siddhi Narayan repudiated the treaty, and threw the copper plate in which it had been inscribed at the Gorkhali camp in Nuwakot. In the battle of Makaidanda (Ashadh 12, 1841 Vikrama), Kaski fought

with all its might. Troops from Parbat, Sataun, Paiyun, Galkot, Musikot, and Isma had taken part in this battle. Gorkha emerged victorious in this battle. However, after this victory, Gorkha remained quiet for more than a year. This indicated that palace intrigues might have assumed a serious form at that time. Bahadur Shah, who was still unmarried, was conducting the military campaign from Bettiah, and sometimes from Kathmandu. He had left the royal palace of Kathmandu on Baisakh 22, 1840 Vikrama. Meanwhile, the Gorkhali military campaign was being intensified. In Baisakh 1842 Vikrama, Palajit Shah seized Rupakot and Arghau without any bloodshed. On Poush 7, 1842 Vikrama, he captured Sarangkot after a minor battle. King Siddhi Narayana Shahi fled to Dhurkot. Kaski was then annexed by Nepal.

9. No evidence is available to show when Gurungs had taken over control of Lamjung from Magars. Gurungs had spread in the Gandaki region after then had been initiated into Lamaism. They had come from Tibet via Manang and then migrated to the colder areas of Kaski and Lamjung, probably in the early tenth century. Yashovarman Shah became King of Lamjung without any difficulty, hence it is likely that Brahmans and Chhetris had settled there in large number by that time. These sacred-thread-wearing communities used to irrigate their fields. At first the Gurungs mistook this practice for fish-farming.

Narahari Shahi was the third Thakurí King of Lamjung. He had ascended the throne around 1618 Vikrama. The conflict which had started between Lamjung and Gorkha since the time of Narahari Shahi finally ended during the rule of his descendants in the eleventh generation. Most of them continued harassing Gorkha.

In the winter of 1836 Vikrama, Harakumara Datta Sen, backed by Palpa and Parbat, drove out Gorkhali troops from Tanahun after defeating them in the battle of Jyamruk. Perhaps encouraged by this victory, Lamjung attacked Siranchok in Gorkha with the assistance of Parbat in Magh 1838 Vikrama. This attack roused the Gorkhali out of their slumber. On behalf of the King, Queen Rajendra Laxmi wrote a letter to Bahadur Shah, who was then staying at Bettiah, informing him of Gorkha's victory in the battle of Siranchok. She wrote: "We had abandoned the territories across the Kali river, and had been defeated in the battle of Jyamruk. We have thus been compelled to quit Tanahun. Seeing the split in our house, Lamjung too struck at us. However, thanks to the grace of Goddess, we repulsed the enemy and killed his troops, thereby overcoming the threat from the Chaubise principalities."

The reference to the split in the house of Gorkha indicates that there was dissension in the royal palace at the time. The Gorkhalis realized that they could not live in peace until they had vanquished Lamjung, the main source of their troubles. They, therefore, concluded a treaty with Tanahun. By virtue of this treaty, Dalamardana Shahi sent Gorkhali troops across the territory of Tanahu, and landed them in the southern part of Lamjung.

In Jestha 1839 Vikrama, the Gorkhali troops fought a fierce battle against the combined armies of Parbat and Lamjung at Tarkughat. The Parbat-Lamjung army was jointly commanded by Sardar Balabhanjan Malla of Parbat and Kaji Bhakti Thapa of Lamjung, while the Gorkhali army was commanded by Sardar Ambar Simha Thapa and Sardar Pratiman Rana.

Gorkha emerged victorious in this battle. Both Balabhanjan Malla and Bhakti Thapa were taken prisoner by the Gorkhalis. In Kartik 1839 Vikrama, the Gorkhali troops besieged the capital of Lamjung from three sides. King Viramardana Shahi of Lamjung fled to Beni in Parabat, travelling through Muktinath in Manang.

While in Beni, Viramardana Shahi requested the rulers of Parbat and other principalities for help in regaining Lamjung. Troops from Parbat, Kaski, Sataun, Paiyun, Galkot, Musikot and Isma participated in the battle fought at Makaidanda in Lamjung on Ashadh 12, 1841 Vikrama. Their total number was estimated at 8,000. On the side of Gorkha were 9,000 troops, of whom 6,000 were stationed in Nuwakot and Palpa 1,000 were based in Gorkha under the command of Balabhadra Shah, 1,000 had been sent from Kantipur under the command of Swarupa Simha Karki, and another 1,000 were brought from different places. The Gorkhalis were victorious in that battle. Only ten percent of the Parbat troops survived the battle. Ganesha Malla, a commander of the Parbat troops, was captured. Following the battle of Makaidanda, Viramardana Shahi went to Rajapur in the territory of King Harakumara Datta Sen. Later, Jung Bahadur was given the title of Raja of Kaski and Lamjung.

10. Tanahu is an ancient hill principality which was once ruled by Sen kings. Tula Sen, who came from Prayag, had first occupied the principality of Rajapur. Later, he occupied Rising from Magars. Tanahu might have formed a part or Rising at that time. Afterwards, the Sen kings conquered Makwanpur, and Tutha Raya occupied Rindikot. Rudra Sen (1540-75 Vikrama) made Tansen in Palpa the capital of his principality. During the reign of Muni Mukunda (1575-1610 Vikrama), his youngest son, Lohanga Sen, annexed areas east of Makwanpur to the banks of the Kamala river. To the west of the Kamala river, the new principality extend to Gulmi and Khanchi. The Sen kingdom thus comprised both Tarai and hill areas. Muni Mukunda Sen then divided the Sen kingdom into six parts and allotted them to his

sons, grandsons and nephews. His sons were Manikya, Vinayaka, Vihanga or Bhringi and Lohang who were allotted Palpa, Butaul, Tanahu and Makwanpur respectively. Rama Sen, a nephew of Muni Mujunda, was allotted Rising and Chandra Sen, a grandson, was made the ruler of Rajapur.

Bhringi Sen made Sur the capital of Tanahu. Rajapur was merged into Tanahu during the reign of Damodar Sen, its fifth ruler. Tri Vikrama Sen, the eighth King, was imprisoned by Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1810 Vikrama. Kamaridatta, his son, committed suicide when the Gorkhali troops laid siege to Sur. The Gorkhali proclaimed Harkumara Datta, his brother, as the ruler of Tanahu, and concluded with him a military pact which permitted them to garrison their troops in Sataun. It was from Sataun that the Gorkhali troops occupied Rising, Dhor, Bhirkot, Garhaunkot, and Paiyun. Advancing from Sataun, they fought a battle against the armies of Sataun and Parbat at Sirbari. They were, however, defeated in that battle. They got a respite only after they crossed Satighat and reached Gorkha on Magh 15, 1828 Vikrama.

On Magh 25, 1835 Vikrama, Bahadur Shah received the following letter from the royal palace: "On Sunday, Magh 21, our troops crossed the Marsyangdi river at Dhukurdighat and Maryanghat. You are ordered to make such arrangements as will help to achieve our aim." This letter was written by Queen Rajendra Laxmi on behalf of the King. It belies the argument that Bahadur Shah had seized power after jailing his sister-in-law. A close study of the letters sent from the royal palace to Bahadur Shah, which have been published by Dinesh Raj Pant in the Purnima (Nos. 17, 20 and 21), reveals that Bahadur Shah had never imprisoned Rajendra Laxmi. Had he done so, he would not have left the capital and proceeded to the battle-front of Tanahu.

There is yet no reliable information about the circumstances that led to Harkumara Datta's flight from Tanahu.

11. Rising is a Magar name. The Magars are a simple and peace-loving community. Hence it might not have been difficult for the Chhetris, who had fled from India after being defeated by the Muslims, to occupy Rising. Being ignorant of the intricate game of politics, the Magars seem to have welcomed victorious Rajpur rulers. The Gurungs of Lamjung had murdered Kalu Shahi, but there is no evidence of the Magars having ever revolted against their Rajput overlords. The sacred-thread-wearing communities used to call Bhotes as Jad, and the area from Sija in Jumla to the northern regions inhabited by Jads as Jadan. The Vamshawalis indicate that Jads used to harass the Rajput kings from time to time.

In 1610 Vikrama, Muni Mukunda Sen went to live an ascetic life at Devaghat after having divided his kingdom into six parts. Rising was given to Rama Sen, his grandson. According to the Vamshawalis, Rama Sen had no children, so that Rising eventually merged into Tanahu. However, there is evidence to show that Rising remained an independent identity much longer. It was eventually occupied by Gorkhali troops on Falgun 22, 1827 Vikrama. They appointed Atibala Bista as the administrator of Rising. Atibala Bista later left Rising and returned to Gorkha on Magh 14, 1828 Vikrama. Harakumara Datta Sen, who had fled from Tanahu, latter went to Ramnagar. Ambar Pratap, his grandson, died issueless. Prahlada Sen then came from Rising to become King of Ramnagar. In Kartik 1839 Vikrama, the King of Lamjung fled to Parbat. He was accompanied by Harakumara Datta Sen. Only thereafter did Gorkha occupy Tanahu and Rising. Ghiring, being a part of Rising, cannot be listed as one of the Chaubise principalities.

12. Paiyun, located on the left banks of the Kali-Gandaki river, was a tiny principality extending from the north to the south. It comprised 2,000 roofs. The Vamshawali of the Sen Thakuri kings of this principality traces their origin to a place called Bansi. They had become rulers of Paiyun with the support of Khan Shahi. This indicates that the Sens were relatives of the Khan Shahi kings.

This tiny principality was thrice defeated by Gorkha. In the first battle, which took place on Jestha 31, 1828 Vikrama, the Gorkhali troops occupied Bhirkot, Garhaunkot and Paiyun. The second battle was fought in 1840 Vikrama. In this battle, troops commanded by Naru Shah occupied Syangja, Nuwakot and then defeated Paiyun as well in the Dhuwakot battle. The defeated Paiyun troops joined the Parbat army when it took up a position at Thana on the Dahare mountain. Gorkhali troops then quit Paiyun and advanced toward Nuwakot. They left Nuwakot as well when the battle of Makaidanda was about to start and headed toward Lamjung in six columns. Paiyun then became independent again. The third battle was fought on Ashadh 2, 1842 Vikrama. In that battle, Dalajit Shah fought against the troops of Nuwakot and came out victorious. Gorkhali troops did not have to fight any more battles against the Chaubise principalities situated to the west of the Kali-Gandaki river. But on Ashadh 16, 1842 Vikrama, Gorkhali troops entered Garhaunkot and two days later moved into Paiyun. The last ruler of Paiyun went to his gunpowder store at night along with a servant and committed suicide by setting fire to it.

In 1842 Vikrama, the Gorkhali forces assembled on Pokhara leaving behind some troops to look after the newly-conquered territories. Kaski and Nuwakot had not yet got tired of fighting the Gorkhalis. Moreover, there was the possibility of Siddhi Narayana Shahi instigating

Parbat and invading Kaski. Bahadur Shah, therefore, made military preparations in Pokhara, where he had deployed troops under the command of Dalajit Shah and Naru Shah. He kept Balabhadra Shah in Gorkha. He had learnt a good lesson from the mistake he had committed in the battles of Sataun, Shirbari, Tanhaun and Jyamruk.

13. Palpa was the leading principality of the Sen kings. It has had such wellknown Kings as Rudra Sen and Muni Mukunda. Had Lohanga Sen concentrated his might on Nepal Valley, instead of the eastern Kirat region, he could well have become King of the whole of Nepal. Muni Mukunda thus wasted a considerable part of his strength.

Palpa from the time of Rudra Sen, and Parbat from the time of Dilipa or Diruba Shahi, had become the most powerful among the Baise and Chaubise principalities. Palpa comprised extensive areas in the Tarai region, hence it was prosperous. Parbat too was prosperous because of its mines and its trade with Tibet. Palpa had a warm climate, while Parbat was a cold region. The troops of Parbat were, therefore, sturdy. Soldiers were then required to be of strong physique, swift and bold, since the principal weapons used in war were swords and shields.

King Narabhupala Shah had married Kaushalyavati, daughter of Kamaraja Sen, who was Crown Prince of Palpa at that time. Prithvi Narayan Shah was her son. King Pratapa Simha and Bahadur Shah had married the daughters of Mukunda Sen II.

Prithvi Pala, the last Sen king, placed the crown on the head of Girvanayuddha Bikram Shah on Falgun 27, 1855 Vikrama. On Chaitra 23, 1861 Vikrama, however, Prithvipala was imprisoned at the Patan palace. Two days later, Amara Simha Thapa and Dalabhanjana Pande were sent to occupy Palpa. King Prithvipala was executed during the massacre of Baisakh 20, 1863 Vikrama after the assassination of King Rana Bahadur Shah.

14. Gulmi was a rich principality comprising areas both to the east and the west of Badigaun. Thakuris belonging to the Simha dynasty who ruled Gulmi also ruled Isma and Musikot. The Thakuri rulers found it hard to find suitable matches to keep their dynasty pur, hence they used to visit India to look for brides. For this reason too, the Thakuris seized the principalities under Magar rulers and set up their own nephews and sons-in-law as rulers.

Queen Rajendra Laxmi died on Shrawan 2, 1842 Vikrama. Bahadur Shah was thereafter free to conduct the war as he liked. He gradually developed into a mature leader. On Magh 10, 1842 Vikrama, when he was 28 years of age, he married the youngest sister of King Mahadatta Sen of Palpa in a simple ceremony. A secret agreement was then signed between Gorkha and Palpa, under which the latter promised not to intervene if Gorkha invaded areas west of the Kali river in return for a share of the conquered territories.

The sacred-thread-investiture ceremony of King Rana Bahadur Shah was solemnized in the month of Magh 1842 Vikrama after Bahadur Shah returned to Gorkha from Palpa. The Pajani of that year was completed in Gorkha. All persons who had previously gone into exile voluntarily or otherwise, or had been dismissed from service, were reinstated in some post or other. On Shrawan 11, the day when Bahadur Shah was proclaimed as Regent (Nayab), he won popularity by abolishing the tax of one rupee traditionally levied on each loom. After pleasing all Jagirdars in the course of the Pajani, Bahadur Shah started his campaign of territorial conquest in the west.

On the auspicious day of Chaite Dashain, Gorkhali troops were sent to conquer the Chaubise principalities across the Kali river under the command of Jiva Shahi, Kaji Shiva Narayan Khatri, Sardar Amar Simha Rana, Sardar Parath Bhandari and Subba Yoga Narayan Malla. The Gorkhali troops led by Kaji Jiva Shah assembled at Karkikot in Garhaun. On Jestha 10, 1843 Vikrama, the Gorkhali troops crossed the Kali-Gandaki river at Ridighat and entered into the territory of Gulmi. The same night, the King of Gulmi fled. On Jestha 11, Gulmi was taken over by Gorkha. The troops of Gulmi, stationed in Kesunga and Ajunga, were repulsed by Gorkha.

15. Malla Shahi Thakuris ruled in Argha. The same dynasty ruled over Khanchi and Dhurkot also. There was a sacrificial post in Argha, where the king had to offer blood in an argha (vessel) on the auspicious day of Bada Dashain and Chaite Dashain. People believe that this was the reason why the kingdom was called Argha.

After spending nearly 3 months in Gulmi, the Gorkhali troops moved towards Argha on Bhadra 25. Argha was conquered the next day. Troops from Parbat had been stationed at Tosh in Argha. The king of Argha fled to that place. The Parbat troops moved toward Argha to fight the Gorkhalis. A fierce battle took place between the two sides, and Gorkha became victorious. Argha then became a part of Gorkha.

16. Khanchi also was ruled by the Malla Shahis. There was a Magar principality called Balhdyang to the south of Khanchi and west of Palpa. During the rule of King Ambara Sen of Palpa, the three kingdoms, Palpa, Gulmi and Khanchi, had unitedly conquered Balhdyang and divided it among themselves. A small part was given to a Karki Brahman who had helped them during that campaign. That part was later known as Udayapur. On Bhadra 27, the King of Khanchi fled following the conquest of Argha by the Gorkhalis. The Gorkhalis occupied Khanchi the next day. Subba Yoga Narayana Malla was stationed there and the Gorkhali troops led by Jiva Shah moved ahead. In the meantime, Ambara Simha Rana occupied Chandrakot. Thus in the month of Bhadra, Argha, Khanchi and Gulmi were taken over by Gorkha.

(To be continued).

Kumarichok Employees, 1832

On Bhadra Badi 1, 1889 Vikrama (September 1832) Sardar Ganja Singh was appointed chief of the Kumarichok with 2 bicharis, 1 khardar, and 1 tahaluwa (attendant) under him. Their salaries and perquisites were as follows:-

	<u>Bichari</u>	<u>Khardar</u>	<u>Tahaluwa</u>
Annual salary (Khangi)	Rs 450	Rs 200	Rs 40
Clothing allowances:			
Dashain festival	Rs 30	Rs 9	Rs 8
Fagu festival	Rs 30	Rs 8	Rs 7
Winter	Rs 30	Rs 8	Rs 7
Total	Rs 540	Rs 225	Rs 62

The employees were expected to raise their salaries from the fines and other payments they collected in the course of the discharge of their official functions. No separate allocation was made from the central treasury for that purpose.

In addition, these employees were entitled to a 10 percent share in the fines and other payments collected while disposing of cases filed at the Kumarichok. Similarly, income from the beri and karpan fees was divided into three parts and appropriated by the Sardar and the two bicharis.

Hegmi Research Collection, vol. 27, pp. 158-59.

According to Brian H. Hodgson, the beri fee was collected at the rate of one rupee each from both the plaintiff and the defendant. The karpan fee was similarly paid at the rate of five rupees each by either party. (Brian H. Hodgson: "Some Account of the Systems of Law and Police as recognized in the State of Nepal." Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. vol. 9, 1834, p. 266).

Ban on Birta Grants

Royal order to the Bhardars of the Sadar Dafdarkhana. "For a ten-year period from Sunday, Falgun Badi 5, 1895 Bikrama (March 1839), lands shall not be actually allotted to anybody who may receive a Birta grant. Instead, payment shall be made in cash in consideration of ritual Birta grants at the rate of Mohar Rs 500 in the case of the Royal Priest, and Paisa Rs 500 in the case of other recipients, for each 100 muris (i.e.; 1 khet)."

Falgun Badi 4, 1895.

The Dharmadhikar
(Continued from the July 1979 issue)

32. If any man of above the age of twelve years belonging to any of the five castes, and thirty-six sub-castes is guilty of sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to a caste contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, or to a caste water touched by whom cannot be taken by persons belonging to high castes, or of incest with a hadnata relative, or has taken forbidden food, or is guilty of homosexuality, and if the guilt remains secret, and the man subsequently marries a girl belonging to an appropriate caste, and the guilt is thereafter revealed, the woman whom he has married shall be granted a writ of patiya in respect to cooked rice and water if she stipulates that she will not live with the man and not take cooked rice and water from his hands, and if she has not been made pregnant by him. If she is pregnant, she shall be granted a writ of patiya in respect to water only. If the mother has been granted a writ of patiya in this manner water may be taken from the hands of her children as well. If the woman is later guilty of sexual intercourse with another man, the husband shall not be entitled to kill the lover. If he does so, life shall be taken for life.
33. If any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste willfully takes cooked rice and pulse from the hands of a person belonging to a low caste cooked rice touched by whom cannot be taken, or from a kitchen which has been polluted by contact with such a persons, he shall not be entitled to patiya, which shall not, therefore, be granted to him. However, this provision shall not be applicable in the case of rice cooked in milk (khir). If he takes cooked rice and pulse from the hands of a person belonging to low caste cooked rice touched by whom cannot be taken, or from a kitchen which has been polluted by contact with such a person, and if he willfully lets his caste members take cooked rice from his hands, his share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated according to the law, and he shall be degraded to the caste of the person from whose hands he has taken cooked rice. He shall not be granted patiya in respect to cooked rice.
34. If any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste other than Upadhyaya Brahman, or to a liquor-drinking caste, has taken as his wife a girl of equivalent caste from whose hands he can take cooked rice, then, after the girl is initiated into the diksha in the case of those families where such initiation has been customary, the man who has taken her as his wife, and his relatives, shall be under obligation to take cooked rice from her hands. If they do not do so, and a complaint is therefore filed with any government office, court, or local body, it shall impose a fine of Rs 10 each on such persons, and force them to take cooked rice from the hands of the girl. However, relatives shall not be under any obligation to take cooked

rice from the hands of a widow or married woman, who has been taken as a wife, even if she is of equivalent caste from whose hands cooked rice can be taken, if they do not want to do so. While subdividing property, if a properly married wife gets a three-fifth share, such a wife shall get only a two-fifth share.

35. Sacred-thread-wearing caste, including Brahman, or to any liquor-drinking caste which is customarily invested with the diksha, shall be initiated with the mantra by their preceptors and recite such mantra ritually, according to the procedure followed from the time of their ancestors. If they do not do so, and, instead, follow the Buddhist path, or atheism, or the Jhanna-Panna doctrine, they shall be punished with a fine of Rs 500. If they have taken cooked rice from the hands of a member of the Jhanna-Panna sect, and have allowed others to take cooked rice from their own hands without any knowledge of their guilt, their share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated according to the law. They shall also be deprived of their sacred thread and degraded to a lower caste.
36. A householder (grihastha) belonging to the Brahman or Rajput caste, or to any sacred-thread-wearing Chhetri caste, shall not be invested with the diksha mantra by a preceptor belonging to the Sanyasi, Bairagi, Nanak, Kanphatta, Jogi, Jangam, Sewada or any ascetic sect who has renounced the life of a householder. If he does so, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 50. If he has taken cooked rice from the hands of such a preceptor, and has allowed others to take cooked rice from his own hands without any knowledge of his guilt, he shall be punished according to the law relating to the taking of cooked rice from the hands of an unauthorized person. If any person, man or woman, who is not living the life of a householder, receives the diksha mantra from a preceptor who belongs to any ascetic sect, no offense shall be deemed to have been committed.
37. If a person who is not entitled to wear the sacred thread falsely claims to belong to a high caste and wears the sacred thread while living in his own country or while staying abroad, and allows other persons to take cooked rice from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt, then, if he belongs to a caste which cannot be enslaved, his share of the ancestral property and wedding expenses shall be confiscated. His sacred thread shall be taken away from him, and he shall be imprisoned for a term of one year. If he belongs to a caste which can be enslaved, the sacred thread shall be taken away from him and he shall be enslaved. Any person (who takes cooked rice from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt) shall be granted a writ of patiya. If he has remained inside the country, and has only worn the sacred thread and not let others

take cooked rice from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 60. If he wears the sacred thread while staying abroad, and subsequently comes back to the country, but has not let others take cooked rice from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 20. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned at the rate of one month for every Rs 5 of the fine.

38. If any person has committed sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to any caste from whose hands high-caste people cannot take water, and contamination from whose touch need not be purified through the sprinkling of water, such as Mussalman, Mleccha, Kushle, Kasai, Kalwar, Dhobi and Kulu, but has not taken water from her hands, and if the same person subsequently commits sexual intercourse with his wife, children born of such wife, if any, shall be purified through a writ of patiya granted to the father.
39. If any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste is guilty of sexual intercourse with a hadnata or other relative, and is, therefore, degraded to a Shudra caste which cannot be enslaved, children born to him thereafter shall not be entitled to wear the sacred thread. They shall belong to a Shudra caste which cannot be enslaved. However, high caste people may take water from their hands.
40. A person belonging to any sacred-thread-wearing caste other than Brahman may wash the feet of a daughter born to him of a girl or widow of equivalent caste status whom he has taken as a wife, and drink the water used for that purpose. Such a person shall not be deemed to have committed any offense if he washes the hands of a daughter born to him of a wife from whose hands he cannot take cooked rice or other food, and drinks the water used for that purpose. However, if he has washed the feet of such a daughter and taken the water used for that purpose, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 2½, and made to undergo expiation on payment of a fee of eight annas. If any such persons washes the feet of a daughter born to him of a prostitute belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste or a liquor-drinking caste, or of a woman from whose hands he can take water, irrespective of whether she belongs to a caste which can be enslaved or not, and drinks the water used for that purpose, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 5 and granted a writ of patiya on payment of a godan fee amounting to one rupee.
41. Friends and relatives may only wash the hands of the bride and the bridegroom during the wedding of a girl born to a man of Upadhyaya Brahman caste or a widow of the same caste, or a girl or widow of any other sacred-thread-wearing caste, who has been taken as a wife with or without the rites of marriage. If such friends and relatives only wash the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and drink the water used for

that purpose, they shall not be deemed to have committed any offense. If, however, they wash the feet, and drink the water used for that purpose, they shall be punished with a fine of Rs 2½ each and made to undergo expiation on payment of a godan fee of eight annas. If they have washed the feet of the bride and the bridegroom, and taken the water used for that purpose, during the wedding of a girl born (to an Upadhyaya Brahman) of a prostitute belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing or liquor-drinking caste, or of a woman from whose hands he can take water, irrespective of whether she belongs to a caste which can be enslaved or not, they shall be punished with a fine of Rs 5 each and made to undergo expiation on payment of a godan fee of one rupee.

(To be continued).

Ban on Cow Slaughter, 1809

The following regulations, which were promulgated in December 1809 for enforcement from the Tamakosi river to the Tista river in the eastern hill region, illustrate the policy followed by the government of Nepal on cow slaughter during the early years of the nineteenth century¹:

1. In the month of Falgun 1860 (February-March 1804), legislation had been enacted which prescribed that any person who slaughtered cows in our Kingdom should be punished with death, and his accomplices with fines. In case any person has contravened the ban and slaughtered cows, but not yaks and jhopas, after that death, a confession of his guilt shall be obtained from him. Such a person is a heinous criminal. He shall be despatched to the royal court in fetters.
2. Confessions shall be obtained from persons who are accomplices in the crime of cow slaughter. They shall be punished with a fine of fifty rupees if they are guilty of the second degree of the crime as accomplices, of thirty-five rupees if they are guilty of the third degree of the crime and shared the meat, and of twenty rupees if they are guilty of the fourth degree of the crime and willfully suppressed information about it.
3. Any person who confesses that he has taken away cows or oxen from our country for sale at places where they are slaughtered shall be punished with a fine of three rupees for each household.
4. In case any amali has collected fines from persons guilty of cow slaughter, and appropriated the proceeds, a confession shall be obtained from him regarding the period for which he has done so, and a fine of double the amount which he has thus appropriated shall be collected from him.

5. Among the Limbu community living in areas across the Arun river, a married woman is retained at the home of her parents, instead of being sent to her husband's house. Her maternal relatives then sell children born to her through another man claiming that they are slaves. However, such children are free persons, and their maternal relatives shall not be entitled to sell them as slaves and appropriate the proceeds. In case a complaint is received in such matters, obtain a confession in the presence of the complainant and impose fines on the sellers. Such children cannot be enslaved, but shall be restored to the status of free persons (Prajā).

6. In case a complaint is received that any Limbu has suppressed information and recorded false particulars while officials were sent in the year 1862 Vikrama to complete records of lands and homesteads, obtain a confession in the presence of the complainant, and impose fines on the guilty person.

7. The salaries of the officials employed for this purpose shall be as follows:-

3 Tahasildars (collectors)	-	Rs 180.
1 Tahabildar (cashier)	-	Rs 50.
1 Bahidar (clerk)	-	Rs 50.
6 Peons (pyada)	-	Rs 120.

Many castes and communities in the hill regions, although not guilty of slaughtering cows, customarily ate the flesh of dead cattle, or sino. These castes and communities included Bhote, Rai, Majhi, Murmi², Gurung³, Chepang, Sunuwar, Hayu, Paheri, Baramu, and Thansi⁴.

Initially, the practice of sino-eating was banned along with cow slaughter and fines were imposed on each household of sino-eating castes and communities. According to a petition from Pyuthan⁵:

In the western parts of the Kingdom, people belonging to our caste are still taking the flesh of dead cattle. However, in Pyuthan Kaji Rewanta Kunwar banned this practice and imposed a fine of R. 1½ on each sino-eating household. (Subsequently), Subedar Ratan Singh Thapa collected eight annas from each such household. The total payment due from 3,000 sino-eating households in Pyuthan thus amounts to Rs 1,500.

The sino-eating people of Pyuthan, therefore, offered to pay two annas every year from each household in lieu of hides required by the government munitions factory and a Salami fee on a one-time basis if they were allowed to continue following the customary practice of sino-eating.

The government appears to have realized the impracticability of attempts to abolish such a widespread practice. It also possibly realized that sino-eating could not be regarded as a crime of the same nature as cow slaughter. A royal order was, therefore, issued in July 1810 lifting the ban on sino-eating in Pyuthan. At the same time, the order warned that cow slaughter would not be permitted under any circumstances, and that the inhabitants of villages where such a crime was committed might be collectively punished with death or enslavement.⁶

Notes

1. "Regulations in the Name of Sheoraj, Kashiram, and Rishi Padhya for the Tamakosi-Tista Region," Poush Badi 9, 1866 (December 1809). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 40, pp. 165-68.
2. "Royal order Regarding Supply of Hides and Skins from the Sanga/Sindhu-Dudhkosi/Bahadura Region," Ashadh Badi 4, 1874. (June 1817). RRC, vol. 43, pp. 6-7.
3. "Regulations for Gurungs and Lamas in Areas East of the Trishuli River," Poush Badi 12, 1867 (December 1810). RRC, vol. 38, pp. 696-97. For a full translation of this document, see Regmi Research Series, Year 11, No. 2, February 1, 1979, p. 22.
4. "Regulations Relating to Sino-Eating Communities," 1862 (1805). RRC, vol. 6, p. 180. For a full translation of this document, see Regmi Research Series, Year 3, No. 2, February 1, 1971, p. 31.
5. "Royal Order to the Sino-Eating Communities of Pyuthan, Shrawan Sudi 7, 1867 (July 1810). RRC, vol. 39, pp. 312-13.
6. Ibid.

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A Debtor's End In Junla

Dayaram Simkhada asked his debtor, a Dum boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, who had taken a loan of two rupees, to work as a porter during a trip to Tibet. When the boy refused, Dayaram Simkhada beat the boy's mother, and also kicked the boy severely in the neck with shod feet. Unable to bear the agony, the boy jumped into the Karnali river and died.

When the case was referred to the government, it decreed that the creditor was merely entitled to get his money back, not to beat up his debtors. It, therefore, directed that Dayaram Simkhada be punished and that the loan be cancelled. The nature of the punishment was not specified, however.

Bhadra Badi 2, 1885 (August 1827).
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 43, p. 120.

Ban on Cow Slaughter in Solukhumbu

The following regulations were promulgated for the Solukhumbu region in November 1805:

1. We have received reports that the inhabitants of Solu, Khumbu, and Chankhu slaughter cows. If this crime is to be punished with death or enslavement, many people will be put to death or enslaved. All persons who are guilty of cow slaughter since our conquest of that region and their wives, sons, daughters, and bondsmen shall be sold as slaves. If they have committed this crime after Falgun 1860 (February 1804) they shall be sentenced to death or sold as slaves.
2. In the case of persons who are guilty of complicity in the crime of cow slaughter, they and their wives, sons, daughters and bondsmen shall be sold as slaves.
3. People who have neither slaughtered cows nor become accomplices in that crime shall not be punished.
4. Lesser punishment shall be inflicted on persons who knowingly visit places where cows are being slaughtered or participate in feasts and other functions (where beef is served).
5. Issue a general notification to the effect that any person who commits the crime of cow slaughter in the future will be sentenced to death or enslavement, and that any person who does not report any such crime committed in any part of that region that has come to his knowledge will also be punished.

6. The inhabitants of villages in Solu, Khumbu and Chankhu shall not slaughter cows. They shall also not reduce the amount of revenue that they have been paying so far. Record this arrangement in writing with their consent. The fine collected as chokho-danda for cow slaughter shall be remitted.

7. The inhabitants of Solu, Khumbu, and Chankhu who have been charged with the crime of cow slaughter have recorded a statement to the effect that: "We are not alone in slaughtering cows; the inhabitants of other villages also have done so. We can make them confess the crime." Conduct inquiries through them as well as on your own initiative, obtain confessions from the accused persons and thus identify the guilty persons, report the matter to us, and take action as ordered.

Marga Badi 9, 1862.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, pp. 663-65.

Restrictions on the Use of
Opium, 1909

The following law was promulgated under the seal of Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere and Commander-in-Chief Bhim Shumshere in Chaitra 1965 Vikrama (March-April 1909).

The following law is hereby promulgated with the objective of checking the spread of addiction in Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley) and the hill region, and this notification is published accordingly.

Persons who hold stocks of opium in Nepal and the hill region shall report to the police station (Thana) in Kathmandu, and to the district headquarters office (Gounda), and where no such office exists, to the local court (Adalat) in the districts, within thirty-five days after the publication of this notification, when such stocks will be exhausted. In the future, they shall use opium subject to the provisions of the following law. Any person who contravenes these provisions shall be punished according to the law. Complaints regarding such offenses shall be entertained by district headquarters and other offices.

The following law has been enforced to regulate the use of opium in Nepal and the hill region from Baisakhi 1, 1966 (April 13, 1909):

1. In the future, no person shall hold stocks of opium for a period exceeding three months, or deal in it, without obtaining a permit from the appropriate district headquarters or other office. In case any person, even after obtaining a permit, contravenes rules relating thereto, or hold stocks of opium for a period exceeding three months, the material shall be confiscated and he shall be punished.
2. Medical practitioners and dealers in medicines may hold stocks of opium not exceeding one dharni each for medicinal purposes after obtaining permits from the appropriate police station, district headquarters office, or court.
3. Persons who are addicted to the use of opium, other than by means of a flame, shall present themselves within a period of three months at the appropriate police station or district headquarters office, sign a bond stipulating that they will gradually renounce the habit during a three-year period, and obtain a permit for holding stocks of opium sufficient to last that period at a rate not exceeding 2 masas daily. They shall not give away such opium to others.
4. Except when permits have been issued under Sections 2 and 3, any person who is in possession of stocks of opium must take them elsewhere or sell them within a period of three months after the publication of this notification. No person shall keep opium in his possession after the expiry of that period anywhere in Nepal and the hill region.
5. Medical practitioners must use the opium that they are allowed to keep in their possession under permits only for medical purposes. They shall either dispense the required quantity themselves to any person who needs it for medical purposes, or write a prescription entitling him to procure the same from a trader. They shall not dispense or arrange for the supply of opium to any person except for medical purposes.
6. On receipt of the prescription, a trader who has obtained a permit to deal in opium shall supply it only to the bearer thereof or to addicts who have obtained permits in the quantity mentioned therein. He shall not supply opium to any other person.
7. Any person who needs to take opium for medical purposes may obtain it from a medical practitioner, or from a trader who has obtained a permit to deal in opium against a prescription issued by a medical practitioner. No other person shall obtain supplies of opium.
8. The chief of the police station or district headquarters office, or else of the court, shall issue permits from his office under his seal after conducting necessary inquiries. In case any person is proved to have acted in contravention of the law, action shall be taken according

to its provisions. Punishment in such cases shall not be inflicted by other offices or local bodies (Amal). They shall only hand over the guilty person to the concerned office.

9. Any person who keeps opium in his possession, or supplies it to others, without obtaining a license, shall be punished with a fine of Rs 500. Any person who procures and takes opium without a permit shall be punished with imprisonment for a term of three months.

10. After the promulgation of this law, no person shall inhale opium through a flame, or otherwise smoke it, or assemble at an opium den. If such a den is raided by the police, and any is arrested and proved to have been guilty of opium-smoking, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for twelve years if he has inhaled opium through a flame and banished to the Tarai region if he has deliberately assembled at the opium-den.

(The editor is indebted to Dr. Sherry B. Ortner, Department of Anthropology, 221 Angell Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan-48104, U.S.A., for a photo-copy of this printed notification).

The Dharmadhikar

(Continued from the August 1979 issue)

42. A Brahman may receive the tika (on his forehead) from the hands of persons belonging to any caste whose touch does not pollute water, including sacred-thread-wearing castes. He may also accept ritual or other gifts of money, food, etc. from such persons. Neither side shall be deemed to have committed an offense if this is done. However, no Brahman may receive the tika, or accept ritual gifts of money, food, etc. on which water has been put by persons belonging to castes whose touch pollutes water, and contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water. If any (Brahman) does so, the gifts shall be confiscated and a fine of twenty rupees shall be imposed. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law. But no offense shall be deemed to have been committed by either side if any person belonging to a caste whose touch pollutes water offers such pure items as foodgrains, money, lands and slaves without performing a ritual ceremony (Sankalpa) and without putting water on them.

43. If any person belonging to any caste from whom water can be taken receives the tika from the hands of a person belonging an untouchable caste whose touch pollutes water, both of them shall be punished with a fine of five rupees each. The higher-caste person who receives the tika shall be granted a writ of patiya on payment of a godan fee of eight annas.
44. A person who falsely claims to belong to the Upadhyaya caste, and lets other take water with which his feet has been washed, shall be imprisoned for six months if he is a Jaisi, and for eighteen months if he belongs to any other caste. Such persons shall not be released before the expiry of their term of imprisonment, even if they offer money in lieu thereof. They shall, however, be released if they pay an amount which is double the payment due therefor.
45. A person who falsely claims to belong to the Upadhyaya caste, and offers the tika to others, and lets them worship him, shall be imprisoned for four months if he is a Jaisi, and for twelve months if he belongs to any other caste. He shall be released if he pays money in lieu of such imprisonment according to the law.
46. If any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste takes rice or other food cooked in the kitchen after sunset though it had been cooked in the morning, or after sunrise though it had been cooked the previous evening, or whether or not the cook had stayed in the kitchen, he shall not be deemed to have committed any offense provided no person from whose hands he cannot take cooked rice had touched the kitchen in the meantime. Such person need not obtain a writ of patiya or be punished with a fine. He shall remain in his usual caste.
47. If any person takes rice cooked in milk in a cowshed and brought or kept by a person of equivalent caste, which has been left overnight and touched by a person from whose hands cooked food cannot be taken, he need not obtain a writ of patiya, or be punished with a fine. He shall remain in his usual caste.
48. If any person belonging to sacred-thread-wearing caste takes rice cooked by a person wearing a blouse (Labeda) and trousers (Suruwal) not containing any material of leather, from whose hands he can take cooked food, or if he does so while wearing these clothes not containing any material of leather himself, neither of them need obtain a writ of patiya, or be punished with a fine. They shall remain in their usual caste.
49. On Saturday, Poush Sudi 1, 1917 Vikrama, the Bhardari Council made the following decision: "People belonging to the Mecha caste in the Tarai district of Morang take the meat of buffaloes, pigs and chicken, hence (people belonging to higher caste) take water from their hands

neither in India nor in our country. The question of whether or not (high-caste people can take) water from the hands of people belonging to the Meche caste was, therefore, discussed at a meeting of the Bhardari Council. The Council has arrived at the decision that inasmuch as in our country (high-caste people can take) water from the hands of Newars, Magars, Gurungs, Bhotas and Lepchas, who take the meat of buffaloes, pigs, chicken, cows and elephants, that in former times water could be taken from the hands of Meches as well, and their children used to work as slaves in the royal palace, that Meches do not take water from the hands of people belonging to untouchable castes and of Muslims, that they worship Shiva as their God and so belong to the Shivamargi sect, therefore, (high-caste people may) take water from their hands.

Accordingly, from today, (high-caste people may) take water from the hands of people belong to the Meche caste. Any person belonging to any Parbate or Tharu caste who does not take water from the hands of Meches shall be punished with a fine of five rupees, and imprisoned according to the law if he does not pay the fine.

50. From now onwards, people belonging to the sacred-thread-wearing Khas caste have been granted the title of Chhetri. In documents, their personal names shall be written first, followed by the clan name and then the title of Chhetri.
51. If a woman who has been sentenced to life imprisonment on the charge of murder, or a man who is immune from capital punishment but who confesses before a court, a police station, or a local body that he is guilty of murder, and has, therefore, been ostracized in respect to water, but has not yet been branded, is granted a writ of patiya, the chief of the court or police station, or the bhardar, of any district headquarters or other office, or the dittha, bichari, amali, dware, mukhiya, or jimmawal who helped them obtain such a writ, or the dharmadhikar who granted the writ, shall be punished with a fine of fifty rupees if he has not taken water or cooked rice from the hands of the guilty person. If he has taken only water, he shall be punished with a fine of sixty rupees and grant a writ of patiya in respect to water. If, however, he has taken cooked rice (from the hands of the guilty person), (such official or functionary) shall be punished with a fine of fifty rupees, and degraded to a lower caste after being deprived of his sacred thread if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, and without doing so if he belongs to any other caste.

If (such official or functionary) takes cooked rice (from the hands of the guilty person) and lets other persons do so from his own hands without any knowledge of his guilt, his share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated according to the law, and he shall be

degraded to a lower caste after depriving him of his sacred thread if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste and without doing so if he belongs to any other caste.

If persons present at the kachahari have willfully taken cooked rice and water from the hands of (such official or functionary) because their chief himself had done so, they shall be punished with a fine of thirty rupees if they have taken only cooked rice, and twenty rupees if they have taken only water, and granted a writ of patiya in respect to cooked rice and water.

If the chief (of the office, Adalat, etc.) had not granted a writ of patiya (to the person convicted of murder), and the employees themselves had willfully taken water from the hands of the latter, the person who had taken the initiative in doing so shall be punished with a fine of fifty rupees, while the others shall be punished with a fine of twenty rupees each, and granted a writ of patiya in respect to water. If they have taken cooked rice, the person who had taken the initiative in doing so shall be punished with a fine of fifty rupees, and degraded to a lower caste after being deprived of his sacred thread if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, and without doing so if he belongs to any other caste. If he has let other persons take cooked rice and water from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt, his share of the ancestral property shall be confiscated according to the law, and he shall be degraded to a lower caste after depriving him of his sacred thread if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, and without doing so if he belongs to any other caste. If other persons have willfully taken (cooked rice and water) from his hands, they shall not be degraded to a lower caste because the chief culprit has already been punished. Each of them shall be punished with a fine of thirty rupees and granted a writ of patiya in respect to cooked rice. Persons who have taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person) without any knowledge of his guilt shall be granted a writ of patiya in respect to cooked rice and water. After the person who has been sentenced to imprisonment for life is arrested, the sentence shall be executed according to the law.

52. If an informer makes the accusation that any person has committed an act which is punishable through degradation of caste status and ostracization in respect to cooked rice, but the latter has not confessed, and in the meantime any person takes cooked rice and water from the hands of the accused, and if, subsequently, the accused confesses his guilt, the person who had taken cooked rice or water from his hands before he had made the confession shall be punished with a fine of thirty rupees or of ten rupees respectively, and granted a writ of patiya.

(To be continued).

The Role of the Dharmadhikar

Kirkpatrick, in his An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, writes:¹

The Dhurma-Udhikar is the chief criminal judge, whose business is to pronounce sentence in all cases cognizable by the tribunal, in which he presides on the part of the Rajah, by whom, however, such sentence must be approved before it can be carried into execution. The under judges, in every part of the Kingdom excepting the formed districts, hold their appointments from him, and in most cases they require the seal of his confirmation to render the judgments they pass valid. The Dhurma-dhun, or fees of this department, are said to be very great, and I have reason to think, that it is principally on this account, that the farming governors usually stipulate for the privileges of commissioning their own officers of justice. Most offences, according to the Dhurma Shaster (which is the foundation of the civil code of Nepaul), being punishable by amercement, and the catalogue of crimes of this description being extremely long, it is easy to conceive that such penalties constitute a considerable source of emolument.

Hamilton² has similarly recorded that "if the cause was important, or required severe punishment," criminals were punished in consultation with "an officer called Dharm'adhikar, or owner of justice, who pointed out the law". He adds:

There were two kinds of fines: Prayaschitta for the neglect of ceremonies, and those inflicted as punishments for crimes. The latter went to the Raja, and do so still. The former went to the Dharm'adhikar, or chancellor; but having been enormously multiplied since the Gorkha government, their amount is divided into eight shares, of which the Raja takes one, the collector (Gomastash) one, the Dharm'adhikari one, and one goes to each of the five families of Brahmans, named Pangre, Pantha, Aryal, Khanal, and Agnidanda.

There were, therefore, two categories of law in Nepal: canon law and secular law. The administration of canon law was traditionally the responsibility of the Dharmadhikar, whereas courts, officials or functionaries empowered by the government were responsible for the administration of secular law.

The legal system of Nepal thus resembled the Islamic system in many respects. According to one study:

In almost every Islamic country there developed at one time or another the characteristic parallelism of law codes, one the unalterable shar³, the canon (sic) law in the systemization of one of the four

recognized law schools, the other a code of "secular" origin, be it that of the conquering Mongols in Persia or a code arising gradually from custom and royal decisions, as in Egypt and Turkey. In practice the tendency has always been to confine the application of the shar' to matters of personal statute, so as to make the call for restoration of the shar' to full authority over all provinces of the legal life of the community a regular part of the program of conservative reformers.

Islamic influence on Nepal's legal system is apparent also from the fact that writs issued by the Dharmadhikar were known as patiya. The term is obviously a corrupt form of the Arabic fatwa, meaning "a religious injunction, or an order issued in writing by a person versed in canon-law".⁴ The term has also been defined as "a judicial sentence, a judgment; but more usually applied to the written opinion of the Mohanmadan law officer of a court".⁵ However, inasmuch as in Nepal writs of patiya were issued only in the name of the Dharmadhikar, there seems little doubt that the term was used synonymously with the Arabic fatwa to mean "a religious injunction".

It is also significant that Hindu India, at least in recent times, did not have a statutory religious authority such as the Dharmadhikar of Nepal. Indeed, the Dharmadhikars of India were primarily caste functionaries with no claim to statutory authority. According to one study:⁶

In some castes in northern India there is a regular official, no doubt normally if not always a Brahman in this case, who is called dharmadhikari ('religious preceptor'), whose duty it is to fix the punishment and who, in Garhwal at any rate, purifies the out-caste for readmission to caste.

The functions of the Dharmadhikar were defined for the first time in the 1854 Legal Code (A full translation of this law is being published serially in the Regmi Research Series). The following account, therefore, relates to the situation existing before 1854. The main function of the Dharmadhikar was to grant expiation for offenses against caste and sexual morality. These offenses included prohibited sexual intercourse⁷, commensal relations out of ignorance with persons guilty of murder⁸, or taking water from the hands of women who were guilty of sexual intercourse with men of lower caste.⁹

Notes

1. W. Kirkpatrick, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul. (Reprint of 1811 ed.), New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1969. P. 201.
2. Francis (Buchanan) Hamilton: An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. (Reprint of 1819 ed.), New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971. P. 102.

3. G.E. Von Grunebaum, "Islam in a Humanistic Education," in Stewart Robinson, The Traditional Near East. New Jersey; Prentice Hall, 1966. P. 48.
4. Muhammad Mustafa Khan "Maddah," Urdu-Hindi Shabdakosha (Urdu-Hindi Dictionary), Uttar Pradesh, Publications Division, Department of Information, 1959, p. 390.
5. H.H. Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and of Useful Words Occurring in Official Documents Relating to the Administration of the Government of British India. (Reprint of 1855 ed.). Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968, p. 158.
6. E.A.H. Blunt, The Caste System of Northern India, cited in J.H. Hutton: Caste in India, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 98.
7. "Royal Order Regarding Collection of Chandrayan fees in Vijayapur," Marga Sudi 15, 1872. (December 1815). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 42, p. 152. A full translation of this document is given below: "To the four Dharmadhikar Brahmans. Fees collected as Chandrayana for the crime of sexual intercourse between a Brahman's slave and a Damai in Bunchan mouja, Khalisa Parganna, Chainpur district, were used to pay salaries (bali) and allowances (Petiya-Kharcha) to the troops recruited in Morang, as well as ritual gifts during religious ceremonies conducted at the temples of Sri Kalika and Sri Pindeswara, through Colonel Bhaktabir Thapa. With this exception, collect other fees (rakam) when appropriate by joining the army at Vijayapur from Aswin Sudi 10, 1872."
8. "Royal Order Regarding Chandrayana Expiation," Baisakh Sudi 15, 1875. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 28, pp. 506-507. A full translation of this document is given below: "To the Amalidars and Tharis of Guyadi. In the area under the jurisdiction of Sri Mehar Paltan, Ratnya and Deumanya beat up and murdered a Brahman woman called Chhyaki. They underwent trial by ordeal (nya) in a court presided over by Bichari Kantu Padhya, and lost. Before they could be punished for that crime, Deumanya died. Persons who had taken cooked rice from his hands have come here to request that they be granted expiation (prayaschitta). Deumanya is dead, hence his sons, and Ratnya, who offered cooked rice to other persons by hiding their crime, shall be punished. Persons who have taken cooked rice from their hands (without knowledge of the crime) shall be made to undergo the Chandrayana ritual through the Dharmadhikar."
9. "Royal Order Regarding Expiation for the Offense of Taking Water from the Hands of Gaiwes," Shrawan Badi 10, 1867. Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, p. 302. This order was addressed to all castes and communities in areas between Kathmandu and the Dudhkosi river who customarily not take water from the hands of members of the Gaiwe community.

It states: "Purna Shahi's wife has committed the crime of sexual intercourse with a Gaine. Accordingly, the Chandrayana ritual must be performed in consideration of taking water polluted by touch. Pay ritual gifts (dakshina) at the following rates through the Dharmadhikar, Daivajnya Keshari Pandit, obtain expiation through writs bearing his seal, and thus make yourselves ritually pure. Anybody who does not undergo expiation in this manner shall be ostracized in the use of water. If he violates such sanctions, he shall be punished." The fees amounted to one rupee each for the first offender, eight annas each for any person who took water from his hands, four annas each for offenders in the third category, two paise each for other offenders, and one paise each for government employees and servicemen.

Notification Regarding Transport of Electric Equipment
from Bhimphedi, 1911

You are aware that the government has started a project to supply electricity from Pharping to Kathmandu town. Electric supply will make it possible for several factories to be started in the town, thereby ensuring its progress in every field.

Supplies and equipment have been procured from abroad for the execution of this project. It is necessary to transport these supplies from Bhimphedi to Pharping and Kathmandu without any delay through porters. It is not possible to transport all these supplies only through porters on payment of wages. Accordingly, it is necessary for the inhabitants of areas situated east of the Bishnumati river, west of the Bagmati river, south of Bansbari and Balaju, and north of the Bagmati river to extend help in this task.

Each household in these areas shall, therefore, be under obligation to provide the services of two porters at Bhimphedi to transport the supplies to the prescribed destinations. Those households who cannot make available the services of porters in this manner shall pay Rs 4, at the rate of Rs 2 for one porter. Regulations to this effect have already been promulgated, and a separate office has been established.

In other countries, the municipality collects taxes for financing water supply, sanitation, roads, etc. No such taxes have been imposed here. Nor has any tax been imposed on residential sites, while water supply and sewerage facilities are free.

Moreover, the present levy has been imposed not on individuals but on households. If any household is so indigent, that it can neither supply porters nor pay the levy, it shall be exempt from the obligation.

If any household has only widows, or minors below the age of 16 years, or old persons above the age of 60 years, it shall similarly be exempt from the obligation.

In Nepal, no regular taxes have been imposed, but only labor services have been impressed from each household in this manner when necessary. If, even then, you do not provide such services when called upon to do so, you will remember how in the Vikrama year 1860, forced-labor (Jhara) services were impressed in both the east and the west for the construction of a bridge over the Bagmati river, and how an annual tax has been levied since then on all households in the east on the ground that they did not provide such services. If, therefore, you do not provide portage services in the present instance, an annual money tax may similarly be imposed. Understand this, and provide porters, or make cash payments in lieu thereof, to the officer designated for that purpose, and obtain receipts thereagainst.

(Source: Gorkhapatra, Falgun 10, 1966 (February 21, 1911)).

The Baise and Chaubise Principalities

By

Mohan Bahadur Malla

("Baise Chaubise Parichaya" (An introduction to the Baise and Chaubise principalities). Nepali, quarterly, published by the Madan Puraskar Guthi, Sridarbartol, Lalitpur, Magh-Chaitra, 2032 (January-March 1976), pp. 3-38. Continued from the August 1979 issue).

7. The kings of Dhurkot called themselves Malla. Since members of the same dynasty called themselves Shahi or Malla, the term Malla Shahi has been used here. Malla and Shahi were two different administrative parties in the Karnali region. The post of Malla was occupied by the Pals, and of Shahi by Raithors. Posts can be changed, but to change the gotra is difficult. The gotra of Kashidas Raithor, who came in Jumla was Atri. Their descendants have not been able to change it. The gotra of the Varman Samala of 16 principalities in the Karnali region and 3 in the Gandaki region is the same. Gorkhali troops conquered Dhurkot on Thursday, ASwin 2, 1843 Vikrama.

18. Isma, which was ruled by the Simha dynasty, is situated to the north of Gulmi and on the left banks of the Badigad river. Magars predominated in this hill region also.

In this context, it is necessary to know something about the life of Bahadur Shah, who ran the administration of Nepal at the time. Bahadur Shah was born in 1814 Vikrama from Narendra Laxmi, the younger queen of Prithvi Narayan Shah. He was the second son of Prithvi Narayan Shah. At the time of his parents' death, he was aged 17 years. At this very age, he was granted the title of Chautariya by his brother, King Pratapa Simha. But 16 months later, that is, in 1833 Vikrama, he was banished to Tanahu. He spent 5 months in Tanahu and 2 months in Palpa. Later he moved to Bettiah to lead an ordinary life. When he had been there for 10 months, Pratapa Simha died. He was then recalled by his sisters-in-law. On Marga 25, 1834 Vikrama, he returned to Kantipur. However, he was compelled to work under the tight control of his sister-in-law.

On Magh 27, 1835 Vikrama, Bahadur Shah personally commanded the Gorkhali force and conquered Tanahu. But because of palace intrigues, he went back to Bettiah in Ashwin 1836 Vikrama.

In the month of Poush 1836 Vikrama, King Harakumara Datta Sen, who was then staying at Rajpur, attacked the Gorkhali troops stationed at Jyamrak in Tanahu, and drove them off. Rajendra Laxmi then remembered Bahadur Shah and entrusted the entire responsibility for war preparations to him. During a period of three years, from 1839 to 1942 Vikrama, Bahadur Shah annexed all principalities up to the Kali river. Bahadur Shah had to make his own arrangements for his marriage. This gives an idea about his position. He did not have the initiative while he remained under strict control of his sister-in-law. But after he was given freedom, the Gorkhali army suffered no defeat in any battle.

On Ashwin 4, 1836 Vikrama, a fierce battle was fought in Isma between the Parbat and Gorkhali forces. At least 1000 men were killed in this battle. The Parbat troops, which suffered a defeat in this battle, crossed the Badigad river, and concentrated its attention on strengthening its fortifications in western Parbat. Isma was then annexed by Nepal.

19. Parbat, now situated in the Dhaulagiri zone, had 16,000 roofs. It was with the support of Parbat that Lamjung usually displayed arrogance toward Gorkha. Medini Varman, ruler of Sija, had granted the principality of Rukum to his second son, Pitambara. Jaitur Varman, Pitambar's son, had eight sons. His second son, Ananda, was accepted as ruler of Parbat by the people of Nisi and Bhuji. Dimba, his grandson, expanded the territories of Parbat by conquering Takum, Pula, Jyamruk, Rakhu, Galkot, Chandrakot, Biunkot, Dandakot, Bajungkot and Mustang. Pratapi Narayana, Dimba's grandson, split Parbat into two parts. Galkot (2,000 roofs)

and Parbat (16,000 roofs). Galkot was granted to Jitari Varman, the eldest son, while Parbat went to Raja Varman, the second son. Before the partition of Parbat, its ruler used to run its affairs usually from Dhor, and sometimes from Takum. After it was partitioned, its rulers stayed mostly at Dhorthana, and only occasionally at Dhor. Beni was the center of trade between Tibet and the hill region, like Sija in the Karnali region-Tansen (Palpa) and Beni (Parbat) gained much fame in trade. The last three rulers of Parbat, Mala Varman, Shaha Varman and Kirti Varman, used to stay at Beni or Dhorthana for eight months, and at Takum for four months in the year. During the rule of its last ruler, Kirti Varman, Parbat fought many battles against Gorkha as Lamjung did.

After their victory in the battle of Isma on Aswin 4, 1843 Vikrama, Jiva Shah, Shivanarayana Khatri and Paratha Bhandari moved into Parbat from the west. Two days earlier, Kaji Damodar Pande and Kaji Jagajit Pande had reached Parbat from Kaski after crossing the Modi river. The Parbat forces were watching the movement of the Gorkhali troops from Bajung and Durlung. The Gorkhali troops clashed with the Parbats two or three times, but could not advance further. The Gorkhalis were bogged down on the western front as well. Seeing this, Yoga Narayana Malla, who had occupied Khanchi, along with Ambar Simha Rana, who was then at Chandrakot, reached Baglung through Thanthap and Balewar. This area was unprotected. At this, the Parbate troops stationed in Durlung and Bajung rushed to Beni. In the night of Aswin 13, 1843 Vikrama, King Kirti Varma fled through Dhor along with his family. The next day, the Gorkhali troops, led by Yoga Narayana Malla and Ambar Simha Rana, reached Beni. Troops led by Kaji Damodar Pande were at that time constructing a bridge on the Kali river. Kaji Jiva Shah's men were the last to reach Beni. The Gorkhalis celebrated the Dashain festival at Dhorthana.

Around 1546 Vikrama, Dimba conquered Galkot and amalgamated it with Parbat. Around 1631 Vikrama, Pratapi Narayana gave away Galkot to his eldest son, Jitari Varman; who was succeeded by eight kings: Parthiva, Bibhu, Sripati, Sridatta, Prithvipati, Narayana, Srinivasa, and Jagat Varman. It was during the reign of Jagat Varman that the Gorkhals came to Galkot. Galkot entered into alliance with Parbat and sent its forces at Arghatos. The Gorkhals had arrived in Galkot at the time of the sowing season. According to another version, they had reached the Bheri river on Marg 7, 1843 Vikrama, but had not occupied Galkot till then. Hence the Gorkhals might have entered into Galkot only towards the end of Jestha 1844 Vikrama. The principality of Galkot was very weak. Moreover, there was the need to make a show of force before other principalities. This was probably the reason why the Gorkhals quickly took over Galkot.

During the Prime Ministership of Jung Bahadur, it was the policy of his government to appease the rulers of principalities by making some territorial concessions through royal charters. Accordingly, in 1924 Vikrama, Jung Bahadur had a royal charter issued to King Prithvi Bam Malla confirming him as Raja of Galkot.

21. Located on either side of the Badigad river, Musikot was a small principality ruled by the Simha dynasty. When the king of Gulmi, the strongest principality under the Simha dynasty, fled, the Simhas could not unitedly fight against the Gorkhalis. Musikot appears to have joined Parbat in the battle of Isma. After that battle, both Isma and Musikot were occupied by the Gorkhalis. Musikot did not have the necessary strength to resist the Gorkhali troops. Bahadur Shah, however, followed the liberal policy of reconfirming the position of the ruler of any principality which declared allegiance to Gorkha.
22. Pyuthan was a big principality containing 12,000 roofs. In 1461 Vikrama, Jagati Simha Varman or Medini Varman, ruler of Sija, gave away the principality of Rukum to his younger brother Pitambara. A grandson of Pitambara was accepted by the Magars of Pyuthan as their king around 1515 Vikrama. Since then, Pyuthan began to be ruled by Varman or Samal Shahi kings. After celebrating the Dashain festival of 1443 Vikrama at Dhorthana in Parbat, the Gorkhali commanders marched toward Dhurkot to invade Pyuthan. The commanders were Kaji Damodar Pande, Kaji Jagajit Pande and Subba Faud Singh, who commanded altogether twelve battalions. On Kartik 29, 1843 Vikrama, Manichandra Shahi, the ruler of Pyuthan, fled from his principality and settled in Sheoraj.
23. Udayapur was ruled by Karki Brahmans. These Brahmans had been granted dispersed tracts of territory left after Palpa, Gulmi and Khanchi had divided among themselves the territories conquered from the Magar principality of Buldyang. Syarta was possibly the old name of Udayapur. The clever Karki Brahmans sided with Salyan when they saw that it, along with Palpa, had tilted towards Gorkha.

According to the Bhasha Vamshawali: "The post of Kaudya was being guarded by troops belonging to Syarta and Salyan. Parbat attacked Kaudya and occupied it before reinforcements could be rushed there.

Dware Sawal Simha Sahi and Naraj Lama were wounded and taken prisoner, and later taken to Parbat. Guhari returned to Resunga. The enemy's troops were stationed in strength in Arghatosh at the time. Only one company of troops was left there, and the remaining forces were concentrated in Argha. In the morning the enemy, entrenched in Arghatosh, attacked the Gorkhali forces stationed in Argha. A fierce battle ensued. Argha was occupied by the Gorkhalis. Another major battle was fought in Isma, and that principality too was occupied."

A total of eight battalions of Gorkhali troops marched from Karkikot via Ridighat. Two of them were despatched to Chandrakot under the command of Ambar Simha Rana, one was sent to Khanchi under the command of Yoganarayan Malla, and one was stationed at Resunga. The remaining four battalions was commanded by Jiva Shah, Parath Bhandari and Shiva Narayan Khatri in Argha. The Parbat troops, which were staying in Arghatosh, reached Argha in the morning to fight the 2,000 Gorkhali troops stationed there. The number of Parbat was no less small. The Gorkhali troops had good weapons, including guns and cannon. Moreover, they were trained, and many of them were experienced in warfare. On the other hand, the Parbat were mostly raw recruits, who fought principally with arrows and swords. They were not experienced in the art of warfare either. They fought primarily by relying on their own physical strength.

The post of Kaudya appears to have been located in Udayapur. It was jointly guarded by the troops of Syarta and Salyan. Sawal Simha Sahi was the ruler of Salyan, and Naraj Lama of Syarta or Udayapur. The Lama must have belonged to the Gurung community. The people of Udayapur had received officially sealed weights and measures. This indicates that Udayapur was an ally of Salyan at that time.

24. Mustang is a Bhote principality located to the north of the Muktinath area. The rulers of Mustang claimed to belong to the Pal dynasty. The inhabitants of Mustang subsist on trade between Tibet and the hill region and on livestock breeding. Mustang is a Himalayan principality, which is practically devoid of vegetation. Around 1550 Vikrama, it used to pay tribute to Parbat. Mustang had been occupied by Naga Malla, son of King Dimba of Parbat. Some years later, King Malebam Malla of Parbat imprisoned the Jad King of Mustang at the Kagbeni fort of Parbat. Probably with the aim of freeing him, Jumla later invaded Parbat, but was repulsed. Mustang's trade was mainly controlled by the ruler. Since the time of Dimba, it used to pay tribute to Parbat and trade with it. During the rule of Rajabam, however, Jumla succeeded in occupying Mustang from Parbat. When Gorkha invaded Jumla in 1846 Vikrama, Mustang helped the Gorkhali troops to reach Tibrikot in Jumla through the Narsing-Khola and Chharkagaon routes, and even actually participated in the battle on their side. In consideration of this gratuitous assistance, Gorkha, on Jestha Sudi 9, 1847 Vikrama, granted additional territories to King Wangyal Dorje of Mustang through a treaty inscribed on a copper plate. Since then, Mustang has been paying Rs 929 and five horses annually as tribute to Gorkha.

I have presented an account up to the time of the merger into Nepal of the Baise principalities of the Karnali region and the Chaubise principalities of the Gandaki region. With the exception of a few with whom treaties had been concluded, all these principalities and vassal states were abolished in 2016 Vikrama (A.D. 1960). After 1848 Vikrama, several new principalities appear to have come into being by splitting existing ones, so that it is difficult to identify the original Baise and Chaubise principalities. There is some doubt about the existence of Bimkot and Bogati located across the Karnali river. But there is no doubt about the identity of the remaining 44 principalities.

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sale, distribution, and display).

On Bicharis and Adalats

1. Jurisdiction of Bicharis in Thak and Theni

Royal order to bicharis deputed to Theni and Panchagaun: "From Baisakh 1, 1866 Vikrama, we have placed that area under the thekbandi system. Accordingly, you are hereby ordered not to discharge the functions of Adalat in Theni and Panchagaun. Leave that area."

Jestha Badi 30, 1866.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 40, p. 36.

Particulars regarding the thekbandi system introduced in Theni and Panchagaun are contained in another royal order issued on the same date in the name of Dayaram Budha, Tawa Budha, and other headmen and inhabitants. These are as follows: "From Baisakh Badi 1, 1866 Vikrama, no bichari will be deputed to Theni from the royal palace. You shall no longer remain under the jurisdiction of the Thakalis. Taxes due from the inhabitants of Theni and Panchagaun who have migrated to other areas, collections made according to regular tax-assessments, judicial fines and penalties, and escheat property not exceeding Rs 100 in value in each case shall be adjusted against the amount stipulated for payment (under the thekbandi arrangement), and the excess amount shall be transmitted separately to the royal palace. Inclusive of the commission of one-sixth of the revenue actually collected, we hereby make a thekbandi arrangement for the payment of Rs 3,001 every year. Transmit the amount in installments as follows to the Tosakhana (at Kathmandu) through the local amil, and obtain clearance from him. Do not harass and oppress the people, and do not submit false complaints. Interest as paid by traders shall be paid if payment is not made when installments become due.

Installments

Baisakh, Jestha, Ashadh	-	Rs 600.
Shrawan, Bhadra, Aswin	-	Rs 800.
Kartik, Marga, Poush	-	Rs 1,000.
Magh, Falgun, Chaitra	-	Rs 601.
		Rs 3,001.

Jestha Badi 30, 1866.
Regmi Research Collection, vol. 40, pp. 37-38.

2. Bicharis in Majhkirat

On Jestha Sudi 11, 1871 (June 1814), Bicharis were deputed to hear complaints against amalis and dwares submitted by the inhabitants of villages assigned as Jagir to the Srinath Kampu in two thums of Majhkirat: Halesi and Kharpa. They were also granted authority to dispense justice in Panchakhat crimes committed by those inhabitants. The Bicharis were ordered to dispense justice only on the basis of complaints, instead of sending peons to the villages to arrest people.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 43, pp. 583-84.

3. Bicharis in Pallokirat

Royal order to Kaji Jaspau Thapa: "Appoint two bicharis to dispose of complaints filed by (the inhabitants of) areas assigned to the Srijung Paltan in the region east of the Arun river. Dispense justice without fear or favor and refer to us any case that you cannot dispose of on your own, and take action as ordered. Pay salaries as follows from the income collected in the course of such judicial functions. Divide 10 percent of the income accruing from fines and the Jitauri fee (collected from the winning litigant) into four equal parts, and grant two parts (to the two bicharis), and transmit the balance, along with other income, to the royal palace. Submit accounts of income and expenditure and obtain clearance.

Salaries

1 Bichari	-	Rs 175 yearly.
1 Bichari	-	Rs 175 yearly.
1 Tahabildar	-	Rs 60 yearly.
1 Bahidar	-	Rs 60 yearly.

Baisakh Sudi 4, 1882.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 2-3.

4. Bicharis in the Far-western Hill Region

Royal order to Subbas, Rais, thekdars, mukhiyas, and mohis cultivating lands assigned to the Srinath Kampu in the Chainpur region east of the Arun river: "We had previously issued a royal order directing that complaints (from the inhabitants of) areas assigned to the Kampu shall be heard by the Bichari of the Adalat, not by the Bhardar stationed in Dhankuta.

"From the year 1891 Vikrama, payments due on the Khuwa and Khet lands of the Kampu, as well as the Jhara and Megjin levies shall be collected by Kaji Narsing Thapa, and the proceeds deposited at the headquarters office (dafdarkhana) of the Kmpu. He shall so hear complaints filed by (the inhabitants) of areas assigned to the Kampu and dispense justice. Make the payments stipulated on contractual basis for Khuwa and Khet lands, as well as the Jhara and Megjin levies, through Kaji Narsing Thapa as installments fall due, and obtain receipts thereagainst. If you default in payments due to the Kampu, fines will be imposed. If you have any complaints and grievances, represent them to Kaji Narsing Thapa, who will redress them in an equitable manner.

Falgun Sudi 7, 1890.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 497.

5. Functions of Adalat in Doti

Royal order to the Mukhtiyar and Bhardars stationed in Doti issued through Chautariya Pushkar Shah and Kaji Bhaktabir Kunwar: "Take steps to ensure that traditional customs and usages are followed throughout the territory of Doti. If any base custom is followed there, have it replaced by a good custom consistent with practices followed in our kingdom and sanctioned by the scriptures (dharma-sastra). Propagate good customs and usages there according to decisions taken on the basis of the scriptures in cases which may be filed there.

"If, while any case is disposed of by the Adalat, the decision is in contravention of practices sanctioned by niti (i.e. the customs and usages of the community) or samriti (i.e. those sanctioned by the scripture), and any litigant is therefore not satisfied with such decision, and submits a petition accordingly, refer the petition to the Mukhtiyar and the Bhardars, and have it discussed at a meeting of the Bhardari council. Arrive at a decision which is consistent with the practices followed in our kingdom and sanctioned by the scriptures, and thus satisfy the petitioner.

"We have deputed Kashinatha Upreti to take steps to ensure that the provisions of the Sastras are applied strictly in that region and that nothing is done contrary to religious tradition (Dharma). We hereby command you to act in consultation with him.

"We have sanctioned a yearly of Rs 200 to Kashinatha Upreti in consideration of these services. Disburse the amount from the allocation made for office (masaland) and religious (mamuli) expenses. The expenditure shall be debitted against receipts during audit."

Chaitra Sudi 4, 1890.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, p. 508.

6. Judicial Administration in Jumla

On Kartik Sudi 3, 1903 (November 1846), Fatte Singh Thapa was appointed Sardar in Jumla, with the Chandan Nath Company under his command. The same day, a royal order was issued authorizing him to appoint one bichari, one tahabildar, and one bahidar to dispose of complaints filed at the headquarters office (dafdarkhana) of the Chandan Nath Company at Chhinasim in Jumla. He was also authorized to use the income collected from this function, as well as from the disposal of cases relating to Panchakhat crimes in different areas of Jumla district, to pay salaries as follows to the employees mentioned above:-

1 Bichari	-	Rs 175 yearly.
1 Tahabildar	-	Rs 75 do.
1 Bahidar	-	Rs 75 do.
	Total-	<u>Rs 325 yearly.</u>

Sardar Fatte Singh Thapa was ordered to transmit the balance of the income to the Kumarichok office in Kathmandu.

Kartik Sudi 3, 1903.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 26, pp. 118-19.

Preliminary Notes on the System of Commercial Law in Nineteenth-Century Nepal

By

Mahesh C. Regmi

The Gorkhali conquest of the three principalities of Kathmandu Valley, which led to the establishment of the new Kingdom of Nepal, meant the subjugation of essentially trading states by a military-agrarian political system. The primary concerns of the new government in the economic field were the extension of state control over the land and collection of revenue. A voluminous corpus of administrative regulations and orders was created to give effect to the government's powers and prerogatives in these two fields. In contradistinction, little attention was paid to the rights of the individual in respect to property or contract. In the words of John Hicks:¹

The legal institutions of the non-mercantile economy, which are on the whole the institutions that a conqueror might be expected to bring with him, are by no means suitable to the needs of the merchant. If the merchant is obliged to make use of such unsuitable institutions, his development will be hampered... Even though the King had been willing to make use of the merchants, he would not have understood their wants (nor would his judges and administrators have done so). They would have been driven back... to make their own arrangements. They would, therefore, have been deprived of the advantage of making use of a regular legal system, being shut up within the confines of such arrangements as they could make for themselves.

These observations are an accurate description of what seem to have happened in Nepal during the period after political unification. The political, legal and administrative system that evolved in subsequent years failed to pay any attention to protect the rights of property and contract. The merchant who wished to enforce a contract or recover a debt had no institutional legal means at his disposal.

Hamilton's observations, made in 1809-10, show how the absence of appropriate commercial legislation caused difficulties to traders. He writes:²

Although the government (of Nepal) itself has, in some cases, had the honor to discharge its debts, and even to assign for the purpose some of its most valuable districts, the collections from which were delivered into the hands of our merchants until they were paid, yet it is totally inconsistent with the nature of their government to attend to complaints for the recovery of money from their subjects. The losses of our merchants by bad debts are therefore heavy.

Consequently, trading communities often had to join together for arbitration by another merchant rather than by judge in disputes concerning contracts.³ This was the reason why "domestic Panchayats" in Kathmandu "especially among merchants, whose wealth attracts the cupidity of the courts, and the community of whom can, on the other hand, always furnish referees or Punchmen".⁴ Hodgson has similarly referred to "some domestic courts, such as the Panchayat or brethren or fellow-craftsmen".⁵

Such arrangements, however, presuppose the existence of intra-communal cohesion and harmony of interests to an extent which could seldom be matched by other scattered and inarticulate trading communities in different parts of the country. This conclusion would appear to be substantiated by the disabilities which even the Newar trading community,

/of merchants were said to have been "very popular".

so influential and articulate in Kathmandu, suffered elsewhere. Two instances may suffice: Until the early 1830s, the Newar trading communities in Palpa and Pyuthan were denied property rights in commercial sites.⁶ Consequently, they were unable to build permanent structures for their trading establishments. In the Ankhu-Gandaki area of the western hill region, the Newar community, which depended mostly on trade for its livelihood, was denied inheritance rights. That is to say, sons were not entitled to inherit their deceased father's property, nor was a father entitled to appropriate his deceased son's property. In both cases, the property accrued to the state.⁷

It would be incorrect, nevertheless, to arrive at the conclusion that the trading community suffered from anarchic conditions. The evidence of contemporary British officials suggests that such was far from being the case. For example, Kirkpatrick recorded in 1793:⁸

Notwithstanding the narrow spirit which directs the commercial concerns of this people, the government affords, on the whole, considerable protection to foreign merchants, rendering them in all cases, it would appear, as strict and as prompt justice as the imperfect nature of its general policy will admit.

Nearly four decades later, in 1831, Brian H. Hodgson similarly observed:⁹

Do (the mercantile class of Calcutta) not know ... that Nepal is now subject to a wise and orderly Native Government; that owing to the firm peace and alliance between that Government and the Honorable (East India) Company's, the Indian merchant has full and free access to Nepal, that the confidence inspired by the high character of the native administration, and by the presence of a British Resident at the Court, has led the native merchants of Benares to establish several flourishing Kothees at Kathmandu...?

The foundations of commercial law were laid in Nepal with the enactment of the first legal code of the Kingdom in early 1854. The code contained a number of provisions relating to property, inheritance and contract, and insolvency.

In case any one has borrowed money from the government, or from any individual, with or without a bond, he shall repay the loan from his wealth, if has any, or else (through the sale of) his houses, lands, cattle, and other property. If he has no such property, he shall sign a bond stipulating repayment of the loan in installments.¹⁰

Any amount outstanding in the course of business transactions, for which no bond has been signed, shall be settled on the basis of the accounts maintained by the two parties.¹¹

Any dispute between two merchants in the course of business transactions shall be settled on the basis of the documents in the possession of both, if they are still alive. If they are dead, and any person makes claim against their sons, it shall be settled on the basis of the accounts and records maintained by both parties, as well as the evidence of people who had knowledge of their business transactions. If no evidence or witnesses are available, the claim shall be dismissed.¹²

The legal code of 1854 thus marks the transition from a legal system dominated by considerations of a lord and peasant economy to one which took into account the intricacies of commercial relationships. A single instance may be sufficient to illustrate the nature of the charge. Ever since the time of King Rama Shah (1606-36) the Gorkhali rulers had set 10 percent as the maximum annual interest that a creditor could charge from his debtor on money loans. In cases of default, he was entitled to collect no more than twice the amount of the principal in settlement of his claim.¹³ Such a regulation was perhaps justified in an agrarian society where the borrower was usually a poor peasant who needed the loan for consumption and the period of repayment was determined by the process of the slow-moving cycle of agricultural production. However, the regulation did not take into account the credit needs of a faster-moving mercantile economy in which both profits and risks operated at a much higher level than in agriculture. The 1854 legal code resolved this conflict of interests between the needs of subsistence agriculture and commerce in an ingenious way through a distinction between interest and profits. Whereas it fixed the maximum rates of interest on all categories of money loans at the traditional figure of 10 percent yearly, it set no limit to the amount of profits that a creditor could claim on commercial loans.¹⁴

In case any person engages in trade with capital borrowed from a creditor stipulating in writing the payment of a stipulated share of the profits, he may recover the principal amount and profits as stipulated. But if he has stipulated payment of interest, not of profits, he shall be liable to pay only 10 percent as interest.

It is not possible on the basis of available information to determine how effectively these measures were actually enforced. Nevertheless, there seems little doubt that such legislation at least established norms of commercial behavior which made possible recourse to the courts.

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12. "Sahu Asamiko" (On creditors and debtors), sec. 11, ibid, pp. 98-99.
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Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi and Mahottari Districts
in 1948-49

(Excerpts from a survey report prepared by the Department of Industrial and Commercial Intelligence of the Government of Nepal during 1948-49 A.D.).

The Tarai districts of Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi and Mahottari are situated between latitudes 26'35" and 27'25" N and longitudes 84'37" and 86'10" E. Statistics of area and population are as follows:-

<u>District</u>	<u>Area</u> (Sq. miles)	<u>Population</u>
Bara	428	178,624
Parsa	434	104,820
Rautahat	378	168,226
Sarlahi	563	129,944
Mahottari	843	330,999
Total ...	<u>2,646</u>	<u>912,613</u>

Density of population per square mile is thus 344.9.

Although several rivers flow through these districts, agriculture depends mostly on rainfall. Masonry dams have been built on the Manusmara and the Kakuti rivers.

The number of hospitals, Ayurvedic clinics and private dispensaries is as follows:-

<u>District</u>	<u>Hospitals</u>	<u>Ayurvedic</u> <u>clinics</u>	<u>Private</u> <u>dispensaries</u>
Bara	1	x	4
Parsa	x	x	x
Rautahat	1	x	x
Sarlahi	1	1	5
Mahottari	1	3	x

The government operates one vernacular school (Pathshala) each in Bara, Parsa and Rautahat, 2 in Sarlahi, and 3 in Mahottari. There is also one basic school in Mahottari. The number of public schools is as follows:-

<u>District</u>	<u>High Schools</u>	<u>Secondary Schools</u>
Bara	x	1
Parsa	1	1

Rautahat	1	1
Sarlahi	x	1
Mahottari	1	4

There are railway lines from Amlekhgunj to Maxaul, from Jayanagar to Janakpur, and from Janakpur to Bijelpura. The Janakpur-Bijelpura line is closed during the monsoon. There are no hard-surface roads.

Birgunj town is developing day by day because it is situated on the main route connecting Kathmandu with India. Other important settlements are Thori in Parsa district, Gaur in Rautahat district, Malangwa in Sarlahi district, and Janakpur in Mahottari district.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. Agricultural lands are of two categories: dhanahar (irrigated) and bhith (unirrigated). The minimum rates of land tax on lands of these two categories are Rs 5 and Rs 3 respectively in Indian currency. During 1948-49, a special levy has been imposed in Bara, Parsa and Rautahat districts at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of paddy on each bigha of land. The levy is payable in cash at the conversion rate of Rs 8 in Indian currency per maund. In other districts, the levy amounts to Rs 1 and 12 annas per bigha.

Tobacco is cultivated on a large scale in Mahottari district, particularly in the Godar region. The average yield is 10 or 11 maunds on each bigha. Each maund of tobacco fetches a price of Indian Rs 100. Cotton is not generally cultivated, but in recent years the government has made arrangements to supply seeds to farmers through local revenue offices. However, people are not paying much attention to the cultivation of the crop. Mustard is growing on a large scale in the Chitaur and Thori areas. People from the adjoining hill areas bring ghee and mustard for sale in Thori and take back salt, iron and spices. At present, exports of mustard have been banned. The current market price is Rs 21 in Indian currency per maund. Linseed is cultivated on a large scale in Bara and Parsa, as well as in Rautahat and Sarlahi. Sesame and castor are also grown to some extent.

The cultivation of ganja has become very popular these days. The local price is Indian Rs 10 to Rs 15 per seer, whereas in India the commodity can be sold easily at Indian Rs 40 to Rs 50, although there is a strict ban on its sale in that country. There is a ban also on the sale of opium, but its cultivation is very profitable. The local price ranges between Indian Rs 80 and 160, whereas in India it can be sold easily at between Indian Rs 200 and Rs 250 per seer. Opium is cultivated extensively in Bara and Rautahat districts.

Average prices of agricultural commodities, compiled on the basis of 10 principal markets in the region, were as follows in 1940 and 1948:-

<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Unit</u>	Indian rupees and annas	
		<u>1940</u>	<u>1948</u>
Paddy	Maund	Rs 2-12	Rs 10-8
Rice	do	Rs 4- 6	Rs 18
Gram	do	Rs 2-12½	Rs 12-8
Rahar pulse	do	Rs 4-8	Rs 16-8
Khesari pulse	do	Rs 3-8	Rs 10-8
<u>Mas</u> pulse	do	Rs 3-8	Rs 17-8
Maize	do	Rs 4-8	Rs 14-8
Millet (Kodo)	do	Rs 3-4	Rs 10-8
Mustard	do	Rs 5	Rs 21
Linseed	do	Rs 4-8	Rs 19
Tobacco	do	Rs 15-8	Rs 99-8
<u>Ganja</u>	seer	Rs 10	Rs 20

Prices of selected goods imported from India were as follows:-

<u>Description</u>	<u>Unit</u>	Indian rupees and annas	
		<u>1940</u>	<u>1948</u>
Sugar	Maund	Rs 9-8	Rs 15
Matches	Gross	Rs 2	Rs 6-12
Soap	Maund	Rs 16	Rs 44-4
Kerosene oil	Tin	Rs 4	Rs 18-8
Dhoti	Pair	Rs 2-8	Rs 8-8
Sari	Pair	Rs 2-8	Rs 9-

Per capita availability of paddy is as follows:-

<u>District</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Cultivated area (bigha)</u>	<u>Total Paddy production (maunds)</u>	<u>Per capita (maund)</u>
Bara	178,624	122,365	2,447,300	8
Parsa	104,820	65,651	1,313,020	10
Rautahat	168,226	94,174	1,883,480	10
Sarlahi	129,944	139,193	2,783,860	15
Mahottari	330,999	53,115	1,062,300	10

The following factories are being operated in this region:-

1. Birgunj Match Factory: The factory was started on November 14, 1938 with a capital of Indian Rs 175,000 subscribed entirely by 15 Nepali shareholders. There are 72 workers. The factory produces 100 to 200 gross match-boxes in a 9-hour shift everyday. All but four of the workers and employees are Nepalis. Wood is procured locally, while paper and chemicals are imported from India. The manager complains that the machinery has become worn-out.
2. Birgunj Cotton Mill: The mill was started in 1943 with a capital of Rs 700,000. It has 250 workers and employees, of whom 14 are aliens. The mill requires 1,250 bales of cotton and 1,620 tons of coal every year, which are imported from India. About 2 bales of yarn are produced daily in a 10-hour shift. The yarn is consumed inside Nepal.
3. Birgunj Electric Supply Corporation: This concern has just been opened and has not yet started supplying power. It plans to generate 225 k.w. of power through diesel engines.
4. Birgunj Cigarette Factory: Machinery is still being installed in this factory for the production of low-grade cigarettes.
5. Birgunj Ceramics Factory: The factory had been started in 1942 with a capital of Rs 100,000, but is now closed. Efforts had been made to float additional shares worth Rs 75,000, but the response was poor.
6. Kailas Rice and Flour Mills in Birgunj: Capital: Rs 250,000. Capacity: 400 maunds of paddy daily. Employment: 132.
7. Jagadamba Rice and Flour Mills in Birgunj: Capital: Rs 70,000. Capacity: 100 maunds of paddy daily. Employment: 21.
8. Gorakhnath Rice and Oil Mills Ltd in Malangwa, Sarlahi district: Capital: Rs 190,000. Capacity: 500 maunds of paddy daily. Employment: 50.
9. Mahalaxmi Rice, Oil and Flour Mills Ltd in Bishnupur, Sarlahi district: Capital: Rs 300,000.
10. Sitaram Rice and Oil Mills in Kalaiya: Capital: Rs 350,000. Capacity: 300 maunds of paddy daily. Employment: 300.
11. Sitaram Rice and Oil Mills in Mahinathpur, Mahottari district: Capital: Rs 250,000. Capacity: 500 maunds of paddy daily.
12. Janaki Rice and Oil Mills in Janakpur: No particulars are available.

The Nepali currency is not in circulation anywhere in these five districts.

Revenue Settlement in Tinthapaula, 1825, A.D.

The Tinthapaula area of Chharkabhot comprised nine villages, each of whom had a headman known as Tolpa. These headmen collected revenue from the local inhabitants and transmitted the proceeds to the district administrator (amali) through a functionary called Jimmawal.

On Poush Badi 2, 1882 (December 1825), a royal order was issued revising the revenue settlement in these nine villages under the thek-thiti system. The 56 households comprising the nine villages were made liable to the following payments on a non-remissible basis:-

<u>Sirto</u>	...	Rs 1,684½
<u>Asmani</u>	...	Rs 111½
Total	...	<u>Rs 1,796.</u>

From this amount, the Tolpas were allowed a commission of Rs 7½, thereby reducing the tax liability to Rs 1,788½.

In consideration of that payment, the Tolpas were allowed to retain the proceeds of the following taxes and duties:-

- (1) Sirto, a tax collected from each household.
- (2) Jiya-dastur, literally, a tax collected from each individual.
- (3) Duties on the calves of yaks and stud horses.
- (4) Saunefagu, a tax collected on each "roof".
- (5) Banaulo tax on forests.
- (6) Chudo. The meaning of this term is not known.
- (7) Danda Kunda, or fines and penalties collected in the course of the administration of justice.
- (8) Marvo-aputali, intestate property.
- (9) Chek-Chakui, i.e. fines collected from persons of non-sacred-thread-wearing communities guilty of adultery.
- (10) Amilan-Rakam, or payments due to local administrators.
- (11) Mal-Pota, tax on agricultural lands.

The following sources of revenue were reserved for the government under the thek-thiti arrangements:-

- (1) Raja-Anka, or royal levies.
- (2) Kalyan-Dham, or treasure troves.
- (3) Fines and penalties collected from persons guilty of the following crimes:-

- (a) Homicide.
 - (b) Cow slaughter.
 - (c) Armed assault.
 - (d) Incest with hadnata relatives, and with those belonging to the same gotra.
 - (e) Incest with relatives within five generations among Brahman, Hitau, and sacred-thread-wearing Khas castes.
 - (f) Sexual intercourse with women belonging to the castes mentioned in (e) by slaves.
 - (g) Sexual intercourse between members of dum (untouchable) and chokha (pure) castes.
 - (h) Sexual intercourse with Brahman women by persons belonging to other castes.
- (5) Rahata, or dry riverbeds.
 - (6) Bahata, or lands damaged by floods or washouts.
 - (7) Iron, lead, copper, manganese, cinnabar and gold deposits.
 - (8) Provisions (mejmani) and presents (walak) for the Amali.
 - (9) Levies (mamuli) for religious functions at local temples.
 - (10) Payments due to (the Raja of) Mustang.

The royal order also contained the following instructions:-

- (1) Do not collect unauthorized payments, thereby compelling the local inhabitants to submit complaints.
- (2) Reclaim lands and make the country populous.
- (3) The Amali shall not collect anything in excess of the stipulated amount, nor shall the people offer any such payment.
- (4) If the Amali or the Jimmawal collect any additional amount, report the matter to us.
- (5) Jimmawal and mukhiyas shall attract settlers from outside to reclaim virgin (kalabanjar) lands.
- (6) Such settlers shall make no payment on the reclaimed lands for a period of three years. From the fourth year, Sirto tax shall be assessed on homestead lands at rates current in the village. The proceeds of this tax shall be transmitted through the Amali in addition to the amount stipulated under this thek-thiti arrangement.
- (7) The Tolpa shall himself transmit the revenue due from his village to the Amali. He shall not use Hulak porters for this purpose.
- (8) In case fines and penalties are collected in excess of the amount stipulated for payment as Asmani, the excess amount shall be apportioned equally among the inhabitants of the village. The shortfall, if any, shall be shared equally.

- (9) Tax-collectors shall be supplied with free provisions (bare-baiker) only so long as collection is not completed. Such provisions shall not be supplied to any visiting government employee or other person.
- (10) The inhabitants of these villages shall provide porterage services by rotation for military supplies, sick persons, and cash and supplies meant for the royal palace. They shall not provide porterage services to other persons. If anyone forcibly employs them as porters, the matter shall be reported to us.
- (11) Comply with orders issued by the local Amali and Bhardars in connection with official business.
- (12) Do not reopen tracks and paths that have been closed. Arrest people who used such prohibited tracks and paths and hand them over to the local Amali and Bhardars.
- 13) If any person visits that area from outside to collect information, report the matter to the local Amali and Bhardars.

The people of these nine villages had submitted the following complaint to the settlement officers (Janchaki):-

"Thekdars (revenue farmers) and Jimmawals employ our men, horses and yaks without any wages on the two-month journey to Ladakh. They do not make any payment for any loss or damage. They also take our horses, yaks and Jhowas at half-price. We are suffering much from such practices."

The royal order, therefore, forbade such practices. It decreed: "In the future, visit Ladakh only to procure goods specified by us in orders sent through the Jimmawal. Do not provide porterage services to other persons for their trade. Horses, yaks and Jhowas shall be paid for at prices specified by Panchas. Force shall not be used in such transactions."

With regard to trade, the royal order prescribed: "Traders shall engage in trade only in areas customarily assigned to them (rekh). Outsiders shall not forcibly encroach upon such rekh rights."

The order concluded: "Any person who acts in contravention of these arrangements and regulations (thiti-bandej) shall be punished according to his caste status."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 34, pp. 676-81.

Kathmahals in the Tarai and Inner Tarai Regions
at the end of the Nineteenth Century

<u>Kathmahal</u>	<u>District</u>
1. Kosi-Purwari	Morang
2. Kosi-Pachhuwari	Saptari
3. Kamala	do.
4. Bhanwarpura	Mahottari
5. Tinpatan	Sindhuli
6. Chhatauna	Rautahat
7. Jamuni	Bara
8. Chhapkaiya	Parsa
9. Riumadi	Chitaur
10. Tribeni	Butaul
11. Banaganga	do.
12. Dunduwa	Dang
13. Rapti	Banke
14. Babai	Bardiya
15. Karnali	Kailali
16. Mohana	do.
17. Mahakali	Kanchanpur
18. Gusari	do.

(Kathmahal means an establishment for the export of timber of twelve main varieties, including sal (*shorca robusta*) and sisso (*dalbergia sissou*), with a diameter of more than three feet. The export of timber of smaller sizes was handled by separate establishments known as Thinguri-Mahal).

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal
Telephone: 16927

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A Supplementary Note on the Ukhada System

Landownership in Nepal (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) contains a brief section on the Ukhada system of landownership in the western Tarai region of Nepal (pp. 112-14). A report of revenue settlement in the adjoining Indian district of Basti sheds additional light on the origin of this system. (J. Hooper, Final Report of the Basti District, Allahabad: North-Western provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1891, pp. 36-39).

It appears that the Ukhada system owes its origin to the halbandi system, under which the tax paid by a tenant was assessed not on the actual area contained in his holding but on the number of plows.

For instance, a village will be divided into 32 ploughs; plough rate is Rs 25 per plough, and each tenant pays at that rate according to the number of ploughs, or the fraction of a plough, which he holds, and the total rental is Rs 800.

The report adds:

In most halbandi villages there is more or less 'ukhra', that is, extra rent paid for land not included in the plough holdings. This generally consists of small plots of koerar or poppy land, in and about the dih. Sometimes it is a large plot of outlying land, which was supposed to be unculturable when the halbandi was made, and has only recently been brought under cultivation.

There seems little doubt that the Ukhada system of the western Tarai region is the same as the 'ukhra' system prevalent in Basti district as described above.

Sair Duties

By

Mahosh C. Regmi

The basic customs duty on imports from India was known as sair during the nineteenth century. Sair is a term of Arabic origin, which, in nineteenth-century India, denoted "all other sources of revenue accruing to the government, in addition to the land-tax, from a variety of imports, as customs, transit duties, licenses, fees, house-tax, market-tax, etc".¹

Sair duties were collected according to different schedules on goods imported from India into different regions of the Kingdom. The present state of our knowledge does not permit us to make a detailed and comparative study of schedules applicable to different regions, hence we shall limit ourselves to a brief description of the system of sair taxation for imports from India into Kathmandu Valley and the golas of eastern Nepal.

During the last years of the eighteenth century, an attempt had been made to regulate the rate of customs duty on goods traded between Nepal and India through Kathmandu Valley. A commercial treaty, signed between Nepal and the East India Company in early 1792, stipulated that "2½ percent shall reciprocally be taken, as duty, on the imports from both countries".² However, the arrangement remained unimplemented, because the faction that dominated the political scene in Nepal after 1794 was opposed to any extension of relations with the British.³ Official British sources claimed that while the British side scrupulously complied with the provisions of the treaty, the government of Nepal collected duties on goods imported from India at almost 10 percent instead of the stipulated 2½ percent.⁴ The differences dragged on for more than four decades. Finally, in June 1836, the East India Company government decided to exempt all imports from Nepal from payment of customs duties in India. The government of Nepal, on the other hand, continued to collect duties on goods imported from India.⁵

Although contemporary British sources have recorded that customs duty on goods imported into Kathmandu Valley from India was collected at an average rate of a 6 percent⁶, there is evidence to suggest that this estimate covered not only sair but also nirkhi, kapas and kirana duties. Before 1865, the total amount of these taxes was Rs 10-5¼ on each bakkuload of 32 dharnis of cotton, Rs 2-15½ in the case of cotton textiles, and Rs 3-11¼ in the case of other goods. There were also "zamindari duties" payable on goods imported into Kathmandu Valley from India at Chitlang and Thankot.⁷ The rates were 2 annas in Chitlang, and 4 annas in Thankot, on each manload of goods. Moreover, sair was a specific duty, rather than an ad valorem payment. During the early 1830s, the rate of sair duty amounted to Rs 2 on each bakkuload of goods,⁸ irrespective of its category.

The total payment on each bakkuload of goods imported into Kathmandu Valley from India, inclusive of sair and miscellaneous other duties and taxes such as kapas, nirkhi and kirana was fixed as follows in 1866:⁹

Customs and Transit Duties on Imports from India
into Kathmandu Valley

In 16-anna Mohar Rs.

(On each bakkuload of 32 dharnis)

<u>Description</u>	<u>Sair</u>	<u>Kapas</u>	<u>Nirkhi</u>	<u>Kirana</u>	<u>Total</u>
Cotton	Rs 1-2	Rs 4-4	2 annas	8 annas	Rs 6.
Cotton textiles and other goods	Rs 1-8	4 annas	---	12 annas	Rs 2-8.

It is significant that a bakkuload of raw cotton paid as much as Rs 6, whereas cotton textiles and other goods paid only Rs 2-8. In other words, import duties were higher on raw materials than on manufactured goods.

Revenue from sair duties on imports from India into Kathmandu Valley during the period from 1813 to 1859 are given in the following table:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sair Revenue on Imports India into Kathmandu Valley</u> Revenue (In 16- <u>anna</u> Mohar Rs)
1813	Rs 11,501 ¹⁰
1815	Rs 8,501 ¹¹
1851	Rs 8,000 ¹²
1852	Rs 8,451
1853	Rs 9,540
1859	Rs 24,827

The rates of sair and other duties on goods imported from India, as mentioned above, were applicable only to trade conducted through Kathmandu Valley. The rates were different on goods imported from India through the golas of eastern Nepal.

Selected entries from the customs tariff schedule for goods imported from India through the golas of eastern Nepal are given below to illustrate both the composition of trade and the level of sair duties:¹³

Sair Duties on Goods Imported from India Through the
Gola of Vijayapur, 1861

<u>Description</u>	<u>Rate of Sair Duty</u> (In 16-anna Mohar Rs)
1. <u>Sidra</u> fish	2 paise per seer.
2. Tobacco (<u>surti</u> , <u>tamakhu</u>)	2 paise do.
3. Fine cloth	$\frac{3}{4}$ paise do.
4. Coarse cloth	$\frac{1}{2}$ paise do.
5. <u>Kirana</u> goods	1 anna do.
6. Pigs	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ anna each.
7. Crushed rice	2 paise per seer.
8. Rice	2 paise do.
9. Sweetmeats	$\frac{3}{8}$ paise do.
10. Flour	1 paise do.
11. Oil	2 paise do.
12. Onion, garlic	2 paise do.
13. Coral	1 anna per tola.
14. Gelded Goats	1 anna each.
15. Paddy	2 paise per 4 seers.
16. Brass, copper and bronze utensils	$\frac{3}{4}$ paise per seer.
17. Salt	1 paise per seer.
18. Soap	$\frac{3}{4}$ paise do.
19. Goats	8 annas each.
20. Buffaloes	11 annas each.
21. Calves	8 annas each.
22. Male buffaloes	1 rupee each.
23. Female calves	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ annas each.
24. Horses	11 annas each.
25. Dry fish	$\frac{5}{16}$ paise per seer.
26. Dry meat	$\frac{5}{16}$ paise do.
27. Ducks	$\frac{1}{4}$ paise each.
28. Pigeons	1 paise per pair.
29. Tin	$\frac{5}{16}$ paise per seer.

30. Bire and Sindhe salt		‡ paisa per seer.
31. Wooden vessels for storing oil (Kuppa):		
	Big	1 anna each.
	Medium	$\frac{3}{4}$ paisa each
	Small	$\frac{1}{2}$ paisa each.
32. do. for storing ghee (Kuppi)		‡ paisa each.
33. Catechu		1 paisa per seer.
34. Zinc		3 paisa do.
35. Manganese (Rang)		$\frac{1}{2}$ paisa do.
36. Coconut narghiles		$\frac{1}{4}$ paisa each.
37. Pearls (Pakka)		1 anna per <u>masa</u> .
38. do. (Kaccha)		$\frac{1}{4}$ paisa do.
39. Gunpowder		$\frac{1}{2}$ paisa per seer.
40. Hides and skins		1½ anna each.
41. do. pieces		$\frac{3}{4}$ paisa each.
42. <u>Fetya</u> (?)		$\frac{3}{4}$ paisa per seer.
43. Ganja		$\frac{3}{4}$ paisa do.
44. <u>Lutkera</u> (?)		$\frac{3}{4}$ paisa do.
45. Sugar		$\frac{1}{2}$ paisa do.
46. Gram flour (Besan)		2 paisa do.
47. Pulses		2 paisa do.
48. <u>Kurhin</u> (?)		1 anna do.
49. Boxes		1 anna each.
50. <u>Nirso</u> (?)		1 anna each.
51. Yarn		$\frac{1}{2}$ paisa per seer.
52. Cotton (Kapas)		2 paisa do.
53. Raw cotton (Ruwa)		$\frac{3}{8}$ paisa do.
54. <u>Kamda</u> (?)		‡ paisa do.
55. <u>Kamabahi</u> (?)		$\frac{1}{2}$ paisa do.
56. Alum		1 paisa do.
57. Guns (Banduk)		8 annas each.
58. Pistols		8 annas each.

Footnotes

1. H.H. Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968 (reprint of 1855 ed.), p. 454; Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 243.
2. For the full text of this treaty, see Ramakant, Indo-Nepalese Relations. Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1968, pp. 358-59.
3. Leo E. Rose, Nepal: Strategy for Survival, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 75.
4. Ramakant, op. cit., p. 119.
5. Ibid, p. 126.
6. B.H. Hodgson, "The Commerce of Nepal," in Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, Varanasi: Bharat-Bhariti, 1971, (reprint of 1874 ed.), p. 93.
7. Ibid, p. 100.
8. Ibid, p. 99.
9. "Order to the Kathmandu Bhansar Goswara Regarding Collection of Sair and Other Duties," Ashadh Sudi 10, 1923 (June 1866). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 63, p. 8.
10. "Ijara Grant to Nandalala Sukal for Collection of Sair Duties in Chisapani, Hitaura, Parsa, Etc.," Jestha Sudi 13, 1870 (June 1813). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, p. 278-79.
11. "Ijara Grant to Kulananda Jha for Collection of Sair Duties in Chisapani, Hitaura, Parsa, Etc.," Jestha Sudi 8, 1872 (May 1815). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 39, pp. 652-53.
12. Figures of sair revenue for the years 1851, 1852, 1853 and 1859 have been obtained from accounts of the revenue and expenditure of the government of Nepal for the appropriate years.
13. "Regulations Regarding Trade and Customs in the Eastern Tarai Districts," Marga Badi 6, 1918 (November 1861). Regmi Research Collection, vol. 10, p. 213, schedule appended to sec. 8.

Selected Documents of 1856 Vikrama
(Continued from the July 1979 issue)

1. Appointment of Chaudhari in Sheoraj

Royal order to Jhunga Chaudhari and Mansukha Chaudhari:
"You had previously been granted exemption from bunda-gayari(?). We hereby reconfirm the exemption in favor of the descendants of Santoshi Chaudhari. Make arrangement for the settlements of ryots in Sheoraj. Prove true to your salt and promote land reclamation and settlement. We also grant as iagir the kalabanjar mouja of Mahadeva in the territory of Sheoraj under the jurisdiction of Jhunga Chaudhari. Settle ryots there. Appoint peons (sipahi) in proportion to the income accruing from that mouja. Also appropriate half of the perquisites of the Chaudhari in the Parganna of Sheoraj."

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 32.

2. Appointment of Bichari in Pyuthan

Royal order to Rama Rana: "We hereby appoint you as Bichari of Pyuthan, replacing Bhagiratha. Do not commit injustice in that territory, and dispose of cases in a just manner. Do not bring complaints to the royal palace."

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 33.

3. Land Reclamation in the Far-Eastern Hill Region

Royal order to Prithvidhar Padhya and Siddhikarna Padhya Ghimire making a grant of waste and kalabanjar lands at Syamban east of the Arun river: "Reclaim these lands, dig irrigation. Settle people on the lands so irrigated. Any person who reclaims land and converts it into rice-fields shall, after the expiry of the stipulated period (bad karar), report to us how much land he has thus converted. As elsewhere in the Kingdom, such person shall remain secure on the basis of adhiya tenure, and shall not be evicted from the land. He shall make payments at rates current in the area (khola). You shall be held responsible if irrigation channels are not dug, and if lands are not reclaimed as rice-fields."

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 33.

Similar grants were made on the same date to (1) Bharath Padhya in the Chewathum area east of the Arun river, and (2) Balabhadra Padhya on the banks of the Tamor river, north of the Adhyari river and south of the Piguwa river.

4. Royal Order to Dittha Gaja Singh

Dittha Gaja Singh had been sent to the western hill region to enforce the law prescribing the rate of interest at a maximum of 10 percent on loans. He was informed that 8 families in the Pokhara area had been appointed to weigh copper supplied to the government for the use of the mint. The order added, "These families have made a payment of Rs 60 as panphul in lieu of fines to which they may be liable for having charged interest in excess of 10 percent. Do not demand any additional payment from them."

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 39.

On the same date, Dittha Gaja Singh was informed that the moneylenders of the Rui-Bhot area had similarly paid Rs 100 as panphul. (Ibid, p. 40).

5. Land Measurement in the Tarai Region

Sardar Ganjya, Benidatta Thapa and Bhajan Das were instructed not to take any action in respect to the birta-lands of Dinanath Padhya while surveying lands and installing boundary markers in the Tarai region. The order adds: "Conduct necessary inquiries on the day Dinanath Padhya arrives there. In case the area held by him is found to be in excess of the area granted, we shall reconfirm only the area actually granted. Until then, take no action. If you have made any collection, refund the entire amount collected."

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 40.

6. Appointment of Kotwal

Laxman and Rathya Toli of Nuwakot were appointed as Kotwals in Nuwakot and Limi. They were ordered to perform the customary functions of the Kotwal as directed by the local amali. However, they were informed that they would be under the control of the royal palace, not of the amali, in matters concerning their appointment. They were, in addition, empowered to appropriate the customary perquisites and jagir emoluments.

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, p. 40.

7. Rhinoceros Hunting

The Subba of Saptari and Mahottari was ordered to requisition the services of all hunters in the areas under his jurisdiction to hunt rhinoceros, but only to capture the male animals and send them along with other wild animals to the royal palace every year. The killing of female rhinoceros was prohibited.

The order was sent also to the Subbas of Majhkirat, Morang, Bara-Parsa, Pallo-Kirat and Chitaun-Belaun-Sajaut, and the amalidars of Tinpatan and Patringa.

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 41-42.

8. Perquisites of Tharthoks

The following royal order was issued on Poush Badi 3, 1856 in the name of the Pande, Pantha, Arjyal, Khandal, Rana, and Bohora families, collectively known as the Tharthok families, as well as to surveyors (bubhadel) and measurers (dongal) of birta lands: "We have received reports that you charge fees and perquisites as much as you like while demarcating the boundaries of birta lands. We hereby decree these regulations (bandej) for the future. Collect only the fees mentioned below. Birtaowners, on their part, shall pay these fees. Any person who acts in contravention of this bandej, and charges or pays more than the fees mentioned below, will be punished according to the provisions of the copper-plate inscription."

Fees Payable to the Palace

Fees (<u>dastur</u>) payable to the palace through the <u>bubhadel</u>	- Rs 4 for the four boundaries.
Baksauni fee payable to the palace through the <u>bubhadel</u>	- 8 annas.

Fees Payable to Functionaries (dasturiya)

For Tharthoks on each <u>khet</u> (i.e. 100 <u>muris</u>) of rice-land as well as homestead (<u>ghadyari</u>)	- Rs 7½
For the <u>budhadel</u>	- 8 annas for each <u>kush</u> (<u>birta</u>).
For the measurement-rod (<u>tanga</u>)	- 2 annas do.
Fee for the <u>dangol</u>	- R. 1 and 2 annas for each <u>khet</u> .
Fee payable to the local <u>amali</u> or <u>thari</u>	- R. 1
Total	Rs. 10

"If any discrepancy is subsequently detected, the local amali or thari shall report the matter. In no circumstances shall (the birtaowner) be allowed to use land in excess of the area within the prescribed boundaries."

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 42-43.

9. Ban on Export of Wax

On Magh Badi 9, 1856, a royal order was sent to local authorities, functionaries and landowners (amali, subba, dware, ijaradar, umra, talab, bitalab-holders, mohoriyars) in the region east of the Dhobikhola river up to the Kanka and the Tista not to permit the export of even a single tola of wax to the South (madhes). The order added, "Employees of the Main bhansari (i.e. the individual responsible for the procurement of wax on a compulsory basis) have been sent there. Supply them with wax at current rates against immediate payment in cash. Any person who wants to export wax to the South shall first bring his supplies to Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley). If, however, he exports wax directly to the South, or if anybody permits him to do so, appropriate punishment shall be inflicted."

A similar order was issued on the same date for the region west of the Bishnumati river up to the Bheri river.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 29-70.

10. Receipt of Revenues

On Poush Sudi 5, 1856, the following revenues were credited to the Central Treasury (Tosakhana):-

1. Partial payment of amount due under ijara for the districts of Bara, Parsa and Rautahat for the Vikrama year 1856 by Subba Gaja Singh Khatri -- Rs 5,079-3 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. do. do. -- Rs 11,975-0 $\frac{1}{2}$
3. do. for the district of Morang for the Vikrama year 1855 by Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Rana-mardan Khawas -- Rs 18,138-5 $\frac{1}{2}$
4. do. for the Vikrama year 1856 do. -- Rs 20,014-0 $\frac{1}{2}$
5. do. Saptari and Mahottari for the Vikrama year 1856 by Subba Dinanath Padhya -- Rs 9,702-4
6. do. Bhaktapur for the Vikrama year 1856 through Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah -- Rs 3,071-6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 47-49.

11. Disbursement Orders

The following disbursement orders were sent to the following persons the same day (Poush Sudi 5, 1856):

1. Bhajudev Newar was ordered to disburse Rs 675 as salary to Subedar Parsya, and Rs 2,000 to the magazine for the purchase of metals and other supplies from the ijara revenues of thek-theni for the Vikrama year 1856.
2. Subba Dasharath Khatri and Subba Ranamardan Khawas were ordered to disburse Rs 5,000 for the living expenses of Raja Prithvipal Sen of Palpa from the ijara revenues of Morang for the Vikrama year 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 49-50.

12. Construction of Palace at Deopatan

On Thursday, Falgun Sudi 2, 1856, King Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated in favor of his infant son, Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah, and left Kathmandu for Deopatan in the Pashupatinath temple area. (Chittaranjan Nepal, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah, Kathmandu: Mary Rajbhandari, 2020 (1963), pp. 34-35).

A new palace appears to have been constructed at Deopatan for the residence of the ex-king. The palace was described as a "Phulbari Baithak", that is, a garden-house.

Thirty-four potters (Kumhale) were procured from Patan to make bricks (awal) for the palace. 24 lumber-men (bosi) were similarly procured from the villages of Tistung and Palung for the supply of timber.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 24, pp. 71-72.

13. Appointment of Subba in Majhkirat

On Ashadh Badi 14, 1856, Jayawanta Sahi was appointed Subba of Majhkirat, succeeding Trilochan Thapa. He was placed in command of the Bhagawatidal and Sridal companies. These two companies previously had 306 rifles (nal); the number was increased to 407.

Jayawanta Sahi was empowered to collect taxes on rice lands and homesteads (ghargani) and transmit a sum of Rs 1,500 every year to the Central Treasury (Tosakhana) from the amount so collected. Revenues from the following sources were reserved: (income from) fakirana lands, dharmadhikar levies, sub-soil resources (kalyandhan), transit duties on general merchandise (kirana), buffaloes

(bhainsi), and cotton (kapas), the monopoly trade in wax (main-bhansar), revenues collected from Saptari, and darshan-bhet levy collected from military personnel.

The rice-lands, and the balance of the revenues, were to be used to pay salaries and assign khangis to the personnel of the two companies. The Subba was permitted to appropriate the surplus income as his emoluments.

Other instructions issued in the name of Subba Jayawanta Sahi were as follows: "Do not refer complaints relating to khangi assignments to the palace. Do not make collections in excess of the prescribed rates, thereby harassing the local people and compelling them to bring petitions to the palace. Make arrangements for the reclamation of land into rice-fields where irrigation facilities can be made available. Despatch troops wherever they may be needed. Use them to guard the territories, or perform other duties, to which they may be assigned. Do not permit any exchange or transaction in rifles belonging to the companies.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 23, pp. 343-44.

14. Ban on Castration of Bulls

Royal order to the inhabitants of Namdu and 107 other villages in the eastern hill region: "Previously, you used to castrate bullocks. Do not do so in the future, but use uncastrated bulls to draw the plow without castrating them. If you require castrated bullocks for agricultural and other work, use those that had been castrated in the past, or those that are procured from abroad. In the future, any person who castrates bullocks in our dominions shall be punished with amputation of the hand."

Bhadra Sudi, 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 23, pp. 381-82.

15. Passports

1..Royal order to majhis, mihars, and other villagers of Dolalghat in Palanchok: "You are hereby entrusted with the responsibility of guarding the route through Dolalghat. Close all unauthorized tracks. Maintain a watch on people who pass through such tracks after committing any crime, and remain at your post on the main route. Permit only those people to pass through who produce passports (rahdani). Ferry them across the river only after properly scrutinizing such passports. Let local villagers cross the river only after identifying them. If any person seeks to cross the river without a passport, arrest him and bring him to the palace. If you act in contravention of these regulations, so that any criminal is able to escape, punishment may be inflicted on you and your families. So long as you perform these duties, you need not provide jhara labor services for other purposes. Perform these services until another royal order is issued to cancel them."

The same order was issued to the majhis, mihars, and villagers of Kapinghat in the Pharping region on the same date.

Shrawan Sudi 3, 1856.

Regmi Research Collection, vol. 23, pp. 359-60.

The Dharmadhikar

(Continued from the September 1979 issue)

53. If any person who has committed a crime which is punishable through shaving (mudine), and is accordingly, shaved and ostracized in respect to the use of water and cooked rice touched by him, steals the printed form (lifa) of the Dharmadhikari used for issuing writs of patiya and forges, such a writ on that form, and if another person believes the writ of patiya to be authentic and takes water and cooked rice from the hands of the former, he shall not be degraded to a lower caste, because he had done so after perusing the writ of patiya, although without ascertaining its authenticity. He shall be punished only with a fine of Rs 20 if he has taken cooked rice from the hands of the ostracized person, and of Rs 10 if he has taken water. A writ of patiya shall then be issued to him.
54. If any man or woman belonging to any sacred-thread-wearing caste of below the age of twelve years who has received initiation for performing ritual functions (karma chalyaka) take any forbidden food so that they are liable to lose their caste, and accordingly have been ostracized in respect to cooked rice, subsequently beget children and die without obtaining a writ of patiya, and if their funeral rites have been performed after obtaining a writ of patiya in respect to ritual purification (Kriya-Shuddha).
- and if their children or any other relative submit a petition as follows: "This person had been ostracized in respect to cooked rice for taking such and such forbidden food, thereby losing his caste, at a time when he was below twelve years of age. He died before he could obtain a writ of patiya, and his funeral rites were performed after obtaining a writ of patiya in respect to ritual purification. Their children cannot be deprived of their caste simply on this ground. Their ostracization in respect to cooked rice must, therefore, be lifted,"
- and if their relatives, respectable persons, and local functionaries (amali) certify that the parents (of the children) had taken forbidden food at a time when they were below the age of twelve years, not thereafter, their statement shall be accepted.
- Since the parents had obtained a writ of patiya in respect to ritual purification, no other such writ need be granted. (The children) shall become ritually pure after their sacred-thread-investiture, wedding, and other ceremonies are performed according to the customs and usages of the caste to which they belong. They shall not lose their caste, and (their relatives) shall take cooked rice from their hands.

55. If any chief officer (hazim, dittha, bichari), of any government office (adda), district headquarters office (gaunda), court (adalat), or police station (thana), or the head (amali, dware) of any local body (amal) has ostracized in respect to water any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste or any other pure caste from whose hands people belonging to higher castes can take water, on the ground that such person has taken cooked rice or water from the hands of a person belonging to a caste from whose hands higher-caste people cannot take water, and contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, or committed sexual relations with a woman belonging to such (low) caste,

and if the successor of such chief officer or head fraudulently, or by suppressing documents relating to confession in such cases, arranges for the promulgation of a royal order or an administrative order or notice, or a writ of patiya, falsely representing that (the guilty person) has not been ostracized in respect to water, or has done so without authority, falsely representing that he had referred the matter to higher authorities and obtained an order accordingly, without actually referring the matter to the government,

and if subsequent inquiries reveal that the previous chief officer or head had actually obtained a confession, and ordered the ostracization (of the guilty person) in respect to water,

then such chief officer or head shall be punished only with a fine of five hundred rupees. He shall not be deprived of his caste status if he had not taken water from the hands (of the guilty person).

But if such officer or head has taken water from the hands (of the guilty person); he shall be punished with a fine of five hundred rupees, and deprived of his sacred-thread if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, or, if he belongs to a non-sacred-thread-wearing caste, ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water.

If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned at the rate of one month for every five rupees of the fine. If the chief officer who lifted the ostracization in respect to water has not taken water from the hands (of the guilty person), but is proved to have been contaminated by contact with other who have done so, he shall not be deprived of his caste, but shall be granted a writ of patiya.

56. If anybody takes cooked rice and water from the hands of any person knowing full well that the latter has been sentenced to imprisonment for life (damal), or has been degraded to a lower caste by giving him water to drink

from the hands of a low-caste person, or that he has taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a low-caste person, or committed sexual intercourse with such person,

and if (the person who has taken cooked rice and water) from the hands of the guilty person and has offered cooked rice and water to others who were not aware (of his contamination), his share of his ancestral property shall be confiscated according to the law.

If, however, he has not let others take cooked rice and water from his hands, he shall be degraded to the lower caste and let off. His relatives and other people who have taken cooked rice and water from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt shall be granted a writ of patiya in consideration of such contamination act of ignorance, but shall not be punished.

57. If the head of any office (hakim) or local body (amali), or the Dharmadhikar, grant an order or writ of patiya to any person knowing full well that the latter has been sentenced to imprisonment for life, or has been degraded to a lower caste by giving him water to drink from the hands of a low-caste person, or that he has taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a low-caste person, or committed sexual intercourse with such person,

then such hakim, amali or Dharmadhikar shall not be degraded to a lower caste if he has only issued an order or writ of patiya, and not taken cooked rice and water from the hands of the guilty person. He shall only be punished with a fine of five hundred rupees.

If, however, such hakim, amali, or Dharmadhikar has not only issued an order or writ of patiya but also taken cooked rice and water from the hands of the guilty person, and then offered the same to other persons, his share of his ancestral property shall be confiscated according to the law. If he has not offered cooked rice and water to other person, he shall be degraded to the lower caste, but his share of the ancestral property shall not be confiscated. His relatives and other people who have taken cooked rice and water from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt shall be granted a writ of patiya in consideration of such contamination out of ignorance, but shall not be punished.

58. If anybody takes cooked rice and water from the hands of a person without knowing that the latter has been sentenced to imprisonment for life, or has been degraded to a lower caste by giving him water to drink from the hands of a low-caste person, or that he has taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a low-caste person, or committed sexual intercourse with such person, and that the act of taking cooked rice and water from his hands is punishable with loss of caste, then the former shall be granted a writ of patiya because he had committed the offense out of ignorance.

No penalty shall be imposed on him. However, if anybody has offered cooked rice and water to another person without letting him know about his guilt, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for life.

59. A person who has deliberately engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to a caste from whose hands high-caste people cannot take water, and contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, and who takes cooked rice and water from her hands without engaging in sexual intercourse, and does not report the fact that he has done so, and subsequently engages in sexual intercourse with his married wife, or concubine, or a prostitute, or lets them take cooked rice and water from his hands without any knowledge of his guilt, and if such woman does not become pregnant, she shall be granted a writ of patiya in respect to cooked rice and water. She shall not be deprived of her caste. If, however, she becomes pregnant, she cannot be purified in respect to cooked rice, but shall be granted a writ of patiya for water only. (High-caste people) may take only water from the hands of children born of such woman, not cooked rice. Such children, even if they belong to a Brahman or other sacred-thread-wearing caste, shall not be entitled to the use of the sacred thread, but shall be regarded as members of a Shudra caste who cannot be enslaved. If the father belongs to a matwali (liquor-drinking) caste which cannot be enslaved, the children shall be regarded as members of a caste of lower status which can be enslaved. If the woman knows that her husband has engaged in sexual intercourse (with a low-caste woman as mentioned above) and taken cooked rice and water from the hands of the latter, or only taken cooked rice and water without engaging in sexual intercourse, but has herself refrained from engaging in sexual intercourse with him and taking cooked rice and water from his hands, and only failed to report the matter because of shame, so that other relatives have taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person) out of ignorance, she shall be punished with a fine of twenty-five rupees because she suppressed the information and allowed other people to take cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person) without any knowledge of his guilt. Such persons shall then be granted a writ of patiya because they had committed the offense out of ignorance.

(To be continued)

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal
Telephone: 16927

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Situation in Kumaun, 1810 A.D.

On Marga Sudi 4, 1867 (December 1810), the government of Nepal took a series of measures to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry in Kumaun.

The inhabitants of the Darma-Bhet and Byas-Bhet areas submitted the following petition to Kathmandu: "Every year, the amount of the revenue is raised, but no arrangements are made for the welfare of the ryots. Moreover, there is no Fouzdar to maintain control. Consequently, the ryots have fled to Jumla, Besahar, Garh, or other areas. Those who remain here are feeling dissatisfied. If some remission is made in the revenue, and if Radhapati Pande is appointed as Fouzdar, the ryots who have left the area may come back, and we who remain here may also be able to pay our dues to the government."

The petition was forwarded to Kathmandu by Chautariya Bam Shah and Subba Hastadal Shahi, who were incharge of the local administration in Kumaun at that time. The government thereupon issued the following order:

"The sum of Rs 13,312½, as assessed previously, shall be paid every year to the military companies stationed in that territory according to schedules approved by Bhardars appointed for the administration of Kumaun. The breakdown is as follows:-

Darma-Bhet	...	Rs	5,156½ in cash.
	...	Rs	5,156½ in kind.
Byas-Bhet	...	Rs	3,000 in cash.

Total - Rs 13,312½

"Ryots who have fled to Besahar and other areas shall be brought back and resettled in their previous holdings.

"Radhapati Pande shall be appointed as Fouzdar for Darma-Bhet and Byas-Bhet for a five-year period on ijara basis."

A letter of appointment as Fouzdar was accordingly issued to Radhapati Pande on the same day. He was placed under the obligation of bringing back the fugitives and arranging for the collection of Rs 13,312½ in cash and in kind as mentioned above, and for the transmission of the proceeds to the appropriate military companies.

A separate order was issued to the budhas and sayanas of Darma-Bhet and Byas-Bhet in Kumaun informing them of these arrangements and directing them to help the newly-appointed Fouzdar in discharging his duties.

A notification was issued in the name of the ryots of Darma-Bhet and Byas-Bhet who had fled to Besahar, Jumla, Garh, and elsewhere similarly informing them of these arrangements and directing them to come back and reoccupy their holdings. The notification added, "We have also issued a royal order in the name of your creditors, directing them to recover their loans according to customary practices. Do not feel dissatisfied on any account. Come back and reoccupy your holdings and pay your dues through Fouzdar Radhapati Pande."

The following royal order was issued to money-lenders who had supplied loans to the ryots of Darma-Bhet and Byas-Bhet: "We have received reports that because you have charged interests in excess of the customary rates, ryots have fled to Jumla, Besahar, Garh, and other areas, and lands have remained uncultivated. In the future, collect interest at ten percent yearly according to the system that has been customarily followed everywhere. If you collect interest in excess of this rate, thereby depopulating the area, you shall be punished severely."

Meanwhile, the ryots of Phaldakot, another area in Kumaun, submitted the following petition to Kathmandu: "In the (Vikrama) year 1862, revenue from this area had been assessed at Rs 7,000. Lands yielding a revenue of Rs 831 and 1 anna were subsequently assigned to the magazine, as well as jagirs to several persons. Bhitan Das then imposed a new levy called tanka and thus raised the amount by Rs 2,500 so that it reached Rs 8,668 and 15 annas. We are still liable to pay this amount as revenue, even though the company has been disbanded. As a result, several ryots have fled, and lands have remained uncultivated. We who still remain here will no longer be able to do so and continue paying our dues if the amount arbitrarily increased by Bhitan Das is not remitted."

The government thereupon issued the following order in the name of the Kamis, Sayanas, Pradhans, and other Jimidars of Phaldakot: "Out of the amount of Rs 2,500 increased by Bhitan Das, a sum of Rs 1,285 and 3 annas shall be remitted. The total amount payable on the basis will then be Rs 7,383 and 14 annas. The breakdown is as follows:-

Revenue assessed in the Vikrama year 1862	...	Rs 7,000.
Saunefagu	...	Rs 115 and 2 annas.
Adhanni levy	...	Rs 268 and 12 annas.
Total -		Rs 7,383 and 14 annas.

"This amount shall be transmitted to the Naya Corakh Company stationed in Kumaun.

"Bring back the ryots who have fled to other areas and resettle them in their previous holdings."

The following order was then sent to Chautariya Bam Shah and Kaji Rewanta Kanwar:

"In the Vikrama year 1862, the sum of Rs 7,000, assessed as revenue from Phaldakot, had been allocated for the payment of salaries to the personnel of the seven units (Patti) of the Naya Gorakh Company stationed in Kumaun. Subsequently, lands yielding a revenue of Rs 831 and 1 anna were assigned to the magazine, as well as Jagir to different persons. Bhitani Das then imposed a new levy called tanaka and raised the amount of revenue by Rs 2,500, thus making a total amount of Rs 8,668 and 15 annas. The amount of revenue remained unchanged even after the Company was disbanded. Because the amount was more than the territory could bear, ryots fled and lands remained uncultivated. As a result, the troops are not receiving their salaries. The ryots who remain are also feeling discontented. Since we have received reports to this effect, we have reconfirmed the revenue assessed in the Vikrama year 1862 at Rs 7,383 and 14 annas on the basis and assigned the territory of Phaldakot to the Naya Gorakh Company. We have issued orders to the ryots to make payments accordingly every year."

Chautariya Bam Shah and Kaji Rewanta Kanwar were then informed that Kaji Amar Simha had been ordered to make disbursements as follows:-

Rs 11,025	...	Salaries of the Naya Gorakh Company, including seven newly-recruited Pattis and other ranks (Lajima).
Rs 798	...	Allowances to do.
Rs 7,304	...	Allowances to the four old Pattis and other ranks.
Rs 1,000	...	Part payment against Rs 2,000 allowance of Kaji Amar Simha Thapa.
Rs 1,000	...	do. of Kaji Ranjor Thapa.
<hr/>		
Total-Rs 15,127		

To meet this expenditure, funds were as follows:

Revenue collected from Phaldakot	...	Rs 7,383 and 14 annas.
do. Dhaniyakot	...	Rs 1,830 and 11 annas.
do. Uchakot	...	Rs 1,557
do. Phota	...	Rs 4,355 and 7 annas.

Total- Rs15,217

The Dharmadhikar

(Continued from the November 1979 issue)

60. If a man or woman belonging to any pure (Chokho) caste, from a sacred-thread-wearing caste to one whose touch does not defile water, takes cooked rice and water from the hands of any person, or engaged in sexual intercourse, knowing full well that the latter has been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water for having taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a person belonging to a caste whose touch defiles water and contamination through contact with whom must be purified through the sprinkling of water,

and if the former has been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, because a confessional or statement of his guilt was obtained from him, or even before such a confessional or statement was obtained from him or her, he or she reported the matter on his or her own initiative,

and if any officer, functionary (Hakim, Ditttha, Bichari, Anali, Dware, Thekdar, Ijaradar, Thari, Mukhiya, Jimmawal, Mihar, Gourung, Jethabadha, Chaudhari, Mokaddam, Theni) or other respectable person, who is a local person or who has come from another area but knows that such person has been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, does not peruse the confessional statement, or does not understand or ignores the fact that he or she has already confessed his or her guilt and been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, or suppresses such confessional statement out of favoritism or fraud, or arranges to have a royal or official order, or a grant of Patiya, or other document, issued with false particulars, or to have an official order or a grant of Patiya issued by falsely stating that he has received sanction to do so, or that he has had the matter confirmed by the government without actually doing so, or that the offense had been committed out of ignorance, and has lifted the ostracization,

and if the case is later discussed at the Kachahari and it is held that the confessional statement that had been obtained previously is valid, and that (the guilty person) should remain ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water,

then the person who is mainly responsible for having the ostracization lifted shall have his share of his ancestral property confiscated according to the law, deprived of his sacred thread, if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, degraded to a lower caste, and branded with one letter of the name of such caste if he has lifted the ostracization (of the guilty person) in respect to cooked rice and water, personally taken cooked rice and water willfully from the hands (of the guilty person), or from the

hands of a person who has done so, and then offered cooked rice and water to members of his family and other relatives without informing them of his guilt.

However, if (such officer or functionary) has only himself taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person), and has not offered cooked rice and water from his hands to members of his family and other relatives, his share of the ancestral property shall not be confiscated, nor shall he be branded in the manner mentioned above. He shall only be degraded to a lower caste, and also deprived of his sacred-thread, if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste,

If (such officer or functionary) has not willfully taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person), or from the hands of a person who has done so, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 500, but shall not be degraded to a lower caste.

If any officer or functionary (Amali, Hakim) receives information about any case in which his predecessor had lifted ostracization in respect to cooked rice and water, but fails to dispense justice because of negligence or favoritism, and subsequently lifts such ostracization for other persons in similar cases, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 250 and granted a writ of Patiya for having allowed the use of cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person) on the ground that his predecessor had done so, and himself taken cooked rice and water from the hands of such a person. The guilty officer or functionary shall not, however, be degraded to a lower caste.

Other persons, including Tharis, Mukhiyas, Jimmawals, and respectable persons who are present at the Kachahari, who sign a statement to the effect that cooked rice and water can be taken from the hands (of the guilty person), and themselves taken cooked rice and water from his hands, maintaining that though (the guilty person) had been previously ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, no action would be taken against the officer or functionary for having issued an order (lifting the ostracization) or granting a writ of Patiya, whereas (the Tharis, etc.) should have maintained that (the guilty person) should be ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water even though the officer or functionary had issued an order lifting the ostracization, shall be granted a writ of Patiya, and persons who have taken cooked rice and water from their hands, or from the hands of other persons who have done so, shall not be degraded to a lower caste. Each such functionary (Mukhiya, Jimmawal, Thari, Mijhar, Gourung, Jethabudha, Chaudhari, Mahato, Thekdar, Ijaradar, Thani, etc.) shall be punished with a fine of Rs 100 if he has signed the statement, or of Rs 50 if he has only stated orally that the ostracization should be lifted. Persons who had only said orally that the ostracization should be

lifted, without signing a statement, shall each be punished with a fine of Rs 10, and granted a writ of Patiya in respect to cooked rice and water. They shall not be degraded to a lower caste.

If persons who have signed a document in a fraudulent manner after deciding that the ostracization in respect to cooked rice and water should be lifted, but have not actually taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person), and if the matter is reported in the meantime, the person who had the document prepared shall be punished with a fine of Rs 100, the person who wrote it with a fine of Rs 50, and other persons who were present at the Kachahari on that occasion with a fine of Rs 10 each.

If any person has taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person) without any knowledge of the guilt, a writ of Patiya shall be granted in view of his ignorance. No fine need be imposed.

Any person who does not pay the fine imposed on him shall be imprisoned according to the law.

61. If a man or woman belonging to any pure (Chokho) caste, from a sacred-thread-wearing caste to one whose touch does not defile water, takes cooked rice and water from the hands of any person, or engages in sexual intercourse, knowing full well that the latter has been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water for having taken cooked rice and water from the hands of a person belonging to a caste whose touch defiles water and contamination through contact with whom must be purified through the sprinkling of water,

and if the former has been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water because a confessional statement of his guilt was obtained from him, or even before such confessional statement was obtained from him or her, he or she had reported the matter on his or her own initiative,

and if any officer, functionary (Hakim, Dittha, Bichari, Amali, Dware, Thekdar, Ijaradar, Thari, Mukhiya, Jimawal, Mijhar, Gourung, Chaudhari, Mokaddam, Thani) or other respectable person, who is a local person, or who has come from another area but knows that such person has been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, does not peruse the confessional statement, or does not understand that he or she has already confessed his or her guilt and been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, and lifts the ostracization through an official order or a writ of Patiya on payment of a bribe or other illegal gratification,

and if subsequent inquiries reveal that the confessional statement that had been obtained previously is valid, or that (the guilty person) had confessed his guilt on his own initiative and been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, and that the ostracization cannot be lifted,

then the person who is mainly responsible for having the ostracization lifted on payment of a bribe shall have his share of his ancestral property confiscated according to the law and deprived of his sacred thread, if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, degraded to the lower caste, and branded with one letter of the name of such caste on the left cheek, and the bribe taken by him shall be confiscated, if he has lifted the ostracization (of the guilty person) in respect to cooked rice and water, personally taken cooked rice and water willfully from the hands (of the guilty person), or from the hands of any person who has done so, and then offered cooked rice and water to members of his family and other relatives without informing them of his guilt.

However, if (such officer or functionary) has only himself taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person), and has not offered cooked rice and water from his hands to members of his family and other relatives, his share of the ancestral property shall not be confiscated, nor shall he be branded in the manner mentioned above. The bribe taken by him shall be confiscated, and he shall be deprived of his sacred thread, if he belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, and degraded to the lower caste.

If (such officer or functionary) has not willfully taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person), or from the hands of a person who has done so, the bribe taken by him shall be confiscated, and he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 500, but shall not be degraded to the lower caste.

If any officer or functionary (Amali, Hakim) receives information about any case in which his predecessor had lifted ostracization in respect to cooked rice and water, but fails to dispense justice because of negligence or favoritism, or because he has been bribed, and subsequently lifts such ostracization for other persons in similar cases, the bribe shall be confiscated, and he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 250, and granted a writ of Patiya for having allowed the use of cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person) on the ground that his predecessor had done so, and himself taken cooked rice and water from the hands of such a person. The guilty officer or functionary, however, shall not be degraded to the lower caste.

Other persons, including Tharis, Mukhiyas, Jimmawals, and respectable persons who are present at the Kachahari, who sign a statement to the effect that cooked rice and water can be taken from the hands (of the guilty person), and themselves take cooked rice and water from his hands, maintaining that though (the guilty person) had been ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water, no action would be taken against the officer or functionary for having issued an order (lifting the ostracization) or granting a writ of Patiya, whereas (the Tharis, etc.) should have maintained that (the guilty person), should be ostracized in respect to cooked rice and water even though the officer or functionary had issued an order lifting the ostracization, shall be granted a writ of Patiya, and persons who have taken cooked rice and water from their hands, or from the hands of persons who have done so, shall not be degraded to the lower caste. Each such functionary (Mukhiya, Jimmawal, Thari, Mijhar, Gourung, Chaudhari, Mahato, Thekdar, Ijaradar, Thani etc.) shall be punished with a fine of Rs 100 if he has signed the statement, or of Rs 50 if he has only stated orally that the ostracization should be lifted, and the bribe he has taken shall be confiscated. Other persons who were present at the Kachahari and who had signed the statement lifting the ostracization shall each be punished with a fine of Rs 50, and the bribe they have taken shall be confiscated. They shall be granted a writ of Patiya in respect to cooked rice and water and not degraded to the lower caste.

If persons who have signed a document in a fraudulent manner or on payment of a bribe after deciding that ostracization in respect to cooked rice and water should be lifted, have not actually taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person), and if the matter is reported in the meantime, the main person responsible for having the document prepared on payment of a bribe shall be punished with a fine of Rs 100; the person who wrote it with a fine of Rs 50; and other persons who were present at the Kachahari with a fine of Rs 10 each, and the bribe taken by them shall be confiscated.

If any person who has taken cooked rice and water (from the hands of the guilty person) without any knowledge of the guilt, a writ of Patiya shall be granted in view of his ignorance. No fine need be imposed.

(To be continued).

The Kathmandu Valley Entrepot Trade

By

Mahesh C. Regmi

For several centuries, a large share of the commerce between northern India and central Tibet was channelled through Kathmandu Valley. Indeed, the comparative affluence of this region has traditionally been associated with its position in a well-developed trans-Himalayan trade system.¹ We shall here make an attempt to discuss the background of this trade, the nature of the commodities that were exchanged, and the policies and measures that successive governments during the nineteenth century adopted with the objective of exploiting it as a source of revenue.

We may commence this discussion with an enumeration of the factors that contributed to the status of Kathmandu as a center of entrepot trade. A glance at the map will show that the Nepal Himalayas comprise about 18 passes leading to the Tibetan plateau, two of the most accessible of which are situated athwart Kathmandu Valley and lead to the Tibetan border trading centers of Kerung and Kuti. Whereas most of the other passes are situated at an altitude of more than 17,000 feet and hence are snowbound almost through the year, the passes leading to Kerung and Kuti have an altitude of between 13,000 and 14,000 feet and are "usually not totally impassable in winter".² The Kerung and Kuti routes were thus the shortest and most convenient routes between northern India and Tibet. The towns of Kathmandu Valley and of Patna in Bihar were the main links in the trade that was conducted along those routes.

There was yet another reason why Kathmandu was preferred as a center of the entrepot trade. Under a treaty signed between Kathmandu and Tibet during the reign of King Pratap Malla (1641-74), traders from Kathmandu were permitted to open establishments in Lhasa and conduct trade free of any duties or other charges. Tibet also agreed that all trade with India should be channelled through Kathmandu Valley in preference to other routes. Provision was made that coins for circulation in Tibet should be minted in Kathmandu, and that Tibet would either provide the silver required for their minting or pay in gold.³ The treaty thus strengthened the position of Nepali traders vis-a-vis their rivals from different parts of India as well as economic links between Kathmandu and Tibet.

Newar Traders

The Newar traders of Kathmandu Valley who were engaged in trade with Tibet constituted a well-organized community. In Lhasa, the community was headed by one of its senior members, called thakali, who acted as its chief spokesman.⁴ There was also an official called naike to collect taxes from the

traders on behalf of the government of Nepal.⁵ The naike assisted another official, known as dittha, to exercise judicial authority over the Newar trading community, for the courts of Nepal had no jurisdiction over Newar traders in Tibet.⁶ Overall control and supervision of trade between Kathmandu Valley and Tibet was exercised by an official called the Taksari, or "superintendent of the mint".⁷ The term taksar means a place where coins are minted, and Taksari master of mint. The association of the Taksari with the Kathmandu-Tibet trade obviously dated back to the period when silver coins were minted in Kathmandu for circulation in Tibet. The Taksari was the final authority for the settlement of business and domestic disputes among Newar traders engaged in trade with Tibet. He also presided over the infra-communal Panchayats which settled disputes among traders of all categories in Kathmandu Valley.

Kashmiri and Gosain Traders

In addition to the Newars of Kathmandu, two categories of traders from India were actively engaged in the entrepot trade between northern India and Tibet through Kathmandu Valley. They were Muslim traders from Kashmir and the Gosains of northern India. The Kashmiris had their headquarters in Banaras or Patna. They carried on trade not only between India and Tibet through Kathmandu but also between Tibet and China. Indeed, they had extensive commercial interests throughout India and East Asia and had establishments in Lhasa and all the principal towns of Tibet. The other group of Indian traders engaged in the Kathmandu Valley entrepot trade consisted of Gosains, who had "very extensive establishments" in both Nepal and Tibet. The Gosains were actually members of an ascetic sect and so have been described as the trading pilgrims of India.⁹ Kathmandu was thus an important center of commerce for traders from different parts of India, Tibet, and, of course, Nepal itself. As Ippolito Desideri, a Capuchin priest who travelled through Kathmandu in early 1722 on his way back to Rome from Lhasa, has recorded:¹⁰

The city of Kathmandu, situated on a 'plain,' is large, and it contains many hundred thousand inhabitants and has a few handsome buildings. There is much commerce in this places, as many Tibetans and Heathens from Hindustan come here to trade, and merchants from Cascimir have offices and shops in the town.

The Kathmandu Valley entrepot trade was thus confined to a small body of traders operating from a small area. The 1830s perhaps represented the peak period in the growth of that trade, for, according to Hodgson, the volume of Nepal's trade with India and Tibet increased by nearly 300 percent during the 15-year period following the Nepal-British war. But even at that time, less than 100 traders appear to have been engaged in the entrepot trade. As Brian H. Hodgson has recorded:¹¹

It appears then that at this present time there are, in the great towns of the valley of Nepal, fifty-two native and thirty-four Indian merchants engaged in foreign commerce, both with the South and the North. ... A third of such of these merchants as are natives of the plains have come up subsequently to the establishment of the Residency in 1816.

Trade Routes

Although the Kerung and Kuti routes through Kathmandu Valley met the needs of the trade between northern India and Tibet to a considerable extent, the nature of the terrain through which these routes passed, and the virtual absence of any effort to improve their condition, made the entrepot trade through Kathmandu Valley an arduous and hazardous undertaking. The Kerung route lies westward from Kathmandu through Balaju and Jitpur across the Kakani hill to Rasuwachok on the border and from there to the Tibetan town of Kerung. From Kathmandu, Kerung lies at a distance of 141 kilometers, which then was usually covered in eight days. The route to Kuti was shorter by ten kilometers, but was more arduous and so required one day more. It lies eastward from Kathmandu through Sankhu and Listi to Kodari on the border in Sindhupalchok district, and from there to the Tibetan town of Kuti. After travelling 19 days from Kerung, and 16 days from Kuti, traders reached the town of Digarcha, from where Lhasa lies at a distance of 273 kilometers, which could be covered in 11 days more. A journey from Kathmandu to Lhasa thus required about 38 days through Kerung and about 36 days through Kuti.¹²

It may be worthwhile to summarize the observations and experience of some Jesuit missionaries who travelled through these routes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1661, Father Grueber, a Jesuit priest working in Peking, passed through Kuti and Kathmandu on his way to India. He describes a hill "of unsurpassed altitude, so high that travellers can scarcely breathe when they reach the top, so attenuated is the air"; and adds:¹³

In summer no one can cross it without gravely risking his life because of the poisonous exhalations of certain herbs. Neither carts nor horses can pass this way because of the terrible precipices and the stretches of rock path. The whole journey has to be done on foot.

Another Jesuit missionary, Father Desideri, who travelled through Kuti about half a century later, similarly speaks of the "frightful precipices" on the Kuti route and mentions additional hazards:¹⁴

The road skirted frightful precipices, and we climbed mountains by holes just large enough to put one's toe into, cut out of the rock like a staircase. At one place a chasm was crossed by a long plank only the width of a man's foot, while the wooden bridges over large rivers flowing in the deep valleys swayed and oscillated most alarmingly.

Indeed, the Kuti route has been described as "one of the most dangerous in the whole Himalayan range".¹⁵ The Kerung route was somewhat less arduous, but still "steep, loose, and difficult".¹⁶

The routes leading from Kathmandu Valley to the south were, of course, less hazardous because of the nature of the terrain, but even then subjected traders to considerable hardships. Kathmandu Valley was then connected with the south through two routes. One route lay through Sindhuli-Gadhi east of Kathmandu, and the other through Chisapani-Gadhi in the south. The Sindhuli-Gadhi route¹⁹ appears to have gradually fallen into disuse early during the nineteenth century.

The other route from Kathmandu toward the south lay through Thankot, Chitlang, Chisapani, Bhimphedi, Hitaura, Bichakhori, and Parsa.¹⁸ Between Parsa and Hitaura, the road was "very good for loaded cattle",¹⁹ and "passable by bullock-carts during the dry season".²⁰ From Hitaura to Kathmandu, however, the road was "utterly impassable during the periodical rains".²¹ As Hamilton has noted: "The road over this mountain called Chisapani, is on the whole fatiguing; nor will it admit of any load being transported by cattle".²² Porters were, therefore, the only means of transportation.²³ It usually took three or four days for a porter to reach Kathmandu from Hitaura.²⁴

Hitaura was the main center for the movement of goods between Kathmandu Valley and India.²⁵ In 1661, Father Grueber had described Hitaura as possessing no permanent buildings, though there were many straw-built huts and the office of the tax-gatherer.²⁶ In 1792, Kirkpatrick described Hitaura, "though a place of such occasional resort on account of its being the center of all the commerce carried on between Nepaul and the Vizier's as well as the Company's western possessions," as "but a miserable village, containing from fifty to sixty houses".²⁷ More than four decades later, Hitaura was still nothing more than "a considerable village" in the cold season, because "the place is almost deserted from April to November on account of the aoul, or malarious fever, which is deadly to all except the natives of the Tarai".²⁸

By the early years of the nineteenth century, however, the road between Bhimphedi and Hitaura had been sufficiently improved to permit the transportation of goods on the back of oxen up to Chisapani.²⁹ During the 1860s, it was improved

and bridges were constructed at several places.³⁰ Beyond Bhimphedi, however, it remained "a mere Pag-dandi or foot-path over the hills, impassable for laden beasts of burden".³¹

Goods imported into Kathmandu Valley from India were, therefore, transported through porters. They were packed in loads of 32 dharnis each. Each such load was called a bakku. In Kathmandu, the goods were repacked in bakku load of 16 dharnis each for onward transit to Tibet "owing to the extreme difficulties of the road, which will not permit a man to carry more than that weight upon his back".

The general condition of the routes through which trade was conducted between northern India and Tibet through Kathmandu Valley was thus deplorable. As Wright wrote in 1877 with an understandable measure of exaggeration, "As long as the roads between British India and Nepal, and between Nepal and Tibet, remain as they are at present, any trade with the last-named country I conceive to be impracticable."³³ Entrepot trade was, therefore, confined for the most part to articles of great value and small bulk.

Composition of Kathmandu Valley Entrepot Trade

In a report prepared in 1830-31, Brian H. Hodgson has given a detailed account of the entrepot trade between northern India and Tibet through Kathmandu Valley. The following tables have been compiled on the basis of that account:³⁴

Particulars of Goods Imported from India and Reexported to Tibet Through Kathmandu Valley, 1830-31

	<u>In Mohar Rs</u>
1. Pearls, corals, amber, etc.	Rs 183,500.
2. Cotton, silk, and other goods	Rs 113,700.
3. Sugar, spices and tobacco	Rs 15,700.
4. Indigo	Rs 12,000.
5. Otter and other skins	Rs 3,100.
6. English glassware, cutlery, looking-glasses, etc.	Rs 2,700.
7. Opium	Rs 2,000.
8. Other goods	Rs 24,200.
	<u>Rs 356,900.</u>

Goods imported into Kathmandu Valley from Tibet and reexported to India were as follows:

Particulars of Goods Imported from Tibet and Reexported
to India Through Kathmandu Valley, 1830-31

	<u>In Mohar Rs</u>
Gold	Rs 175,000.
Musk	Rs 70,000.
Silk, woolen and other goods	Rs 27,400.
Borax	Rs 13,000.
Harital	Rs 12,000.
Tea	Rs 2,500.
Other goods	Rs 6,200.
	<hr/>
	Rs 306,100.

Commodities of Nepali origin which were exported to Tibet included iron and rice, coarse cotton cloth, copper,³⁵ and, before the Gorkhali conquest, minted coinage.³⁶

In 1860 nirkhi duty on goods exported from Kathmandu Valley to Tibet yielded Rs 4,456, while kirana duty yielded Rs 6,028.³⁷ It

may be correct to assume that these amounts represent the proceeds of nirkhi and kirana duties on goods of Nepali origin that were exported to Tibet. Taking the general rate of nirkhi duty at $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent ad valorem,³⁸ and of kirana at 2 percent,³⁹ the total value of Nepali goods exported to Tibet may be estimated at approximately Rs 300,000 in that year.

Entrepot Trade as a Source of Revenue

The Kathmandu Valley entrepot trade has traditionally been an important source of revenue for the rulers. Indeed, the absence of any reference to other sources of tax revenue in the three kingdoms of this region before the Gorkhali conquests possibly indicates that it constituted by far the most important source of revenue.⁴⁰ The situation, of course, changed after political unification, but Nepal-Tibet trade remained an important source of revenue throughout the nineteenth century.

As noted previously, Newar traders in Tibet were under the jurisdiction of the government of Nepal, rather than of the Tibetan government. The latter had no authority to collect any taxes from them. On the other hand, the government

of Nepal collected customary fees and payments from "traders, merchants, and retail shopkeepers belonging to all the 32 commercial houses" in Tibet through the chief of the Newari trading community there. That functionary kept one-sixth of the proceeds for himself and transmitted the balance to Kathmandu.⁴¹ The government of Nepal, in addition, appointed a judge to adjudicate in disputes among the Newari trading community in Lhasa; the fines and penalties collected by that official while dispensing justice constituted yet another source of revenue.⁴²

A special tax was collected from Newar traders on their return home from Tibet,⁴³ at pausa Rs 3 each.⁴⁴ Kirkpatrick⁴⁵ has recorded that "all merchants, natives of Nepal, on returning thither after a residence for any time at Lehassa, Diggerbah, or other parts of Tibet" paid a tax of seven tolas of gold each. However, the information lacks creditability. Kirkpatrick has himself noted at another place that the official procurement price of gold was Rs 8 a tola.⁴⁶ A tax of seven tolas of gold thus meant a payment of at least Rs 56. It is difficult to believe that a Newar trader was obliged to pay such a big amount as tax each time he visited his home.

Finally, metal utensils manufactured in Kathmandu Valley were officially stamped before they were approved for export to Tibet, and fees were collected from the exporters in consideration of such approval. Similar stamping fees were collected from importers before cloth or merchandise imported by them from Tibet were released for sale.⁴⁷ However, no information is available about the rates of these fees.

Customs duties were levied on goods imported into Kathmandu Valley from Tibet, but no information is available about their rates. In 1861, such duties yielded a revenue of Rs 5,489.⁴⁸ There were also transit duties on such goods, known as Jagat. These duties were collected at various points on the routes between Kathmandu and the Tibetan border, including Sankhu and Listi on the Kathmandu-Kuti route, and Syafru and Timure on the Kathmandu-Kerung route.⁴⁹

Taxation was not the sole means through which the government traditionally sought to absorb the economic surplus generated by traders. Monopoly trade in specified goods imported from Tibet constituted a supplementary source of revenue. These monopolies included at least three items imported from Tibet: silver, gold, and borax. With regard to silver, Kirkpatrick writes:⁵⁰

All the silver brought into Nepal from Tibet, in the way of commerce must be carried to the mint at Khatmando, no silver bullion being allowed to pass into Hindustan. In exchange for his bullion, the merchant receives Nepal rupees, the government deriving profit of twelve percent, from the transaction; four percent being charged an account of coinage, and eight arising from the alloy of the rupee.

In subsequent years, an attempt was made to place the monopoly and eventually abolish it. In 1860, for instance, traders were allowed to obtain the entire quantity of silver they required from Tibet on payment of a duty of 4 percent to the state.⁵¹ However, the experiment was short-lived and the monopoly was restored. In 1867, according to Hodgson, "silver is still necessarily sold to the Emperor and is received at the same weight, paid for at the same rate, or almost weight, as before."⁵² The trade in gold imported from Tibet was under a similar monopoly. Kirkpatrick has reported that the government "buy[s] the traders from Tibet to sell it at the rate of 100 taels of silver paper per tael, whereas the market rate is the current price of 100 taels paper to 100 taels" by 1871, however, the monopoly had been practically abolished, and traders were allowed to import any quantity from Tibet in payment of a duty of 1 percent on the value.⁵³ Hence, trade was reported from Tibet mainly for purposes of India⁵⁴ has been brought under a government monopoly at least since 1797.⁵⁵

(to be continued).

Notes on Sources for Tibet

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