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Law On Untouchability

1. The lowest caste is that of Chyamkhalak, since (its members) take food left over by all other castes, from Upadhyaya to Pode.

2. The caste of Pode is higher than that of Chyamkhalak, since (its members) take food left over by other castes, but not by the Chyamkhalak caste. The caste of Badi is higher than that of both Pode and Chyamkhalak, since (Badis) do not take food left over by Podes and Chyamkhalaks, and maintain themselves by singing, dancing and begging at houses even of castes (contamination by whose touch must be purified) through the sprinkling of water.

3. The caste of Gaine is higher than that of Badi, because (Gaines) do not take anything from the hands of Badis and maintain themselves by singing, dancing and begging.

4. The caste of Dama is higher than that of Gaine, because (Damais) do not take food touched by Gaines, and do not maintain commensal relations with children begotten by them from Gaines women.

5. Children begotten by Sarkis from Kami women, or by Kamis from Sarki women, belong to the Kadara caste. Damais take water from their hands, but (Kadars) do not do so from the hands of Damais. The caste of Kadara is therefore higher than that of Dama.

6. Sarkis and Kamis do not take water touched by each other. However, they take other fried or roasted food (touched by each other). Customarily, they have not been taking cooked rice or water touched by Kadaras, who are born of the union of Sarkis and Kamis. The castes of Sarki and Kami are therefore higher than that of Kadara. Henceforth, cooked rice touched by this hybrid Kadara caste shall not be taken (by Sarkis and Kamis), but water may be taken, and neither Sarkis nor Kamis need undergo expiation for having taken water (touched by Kadaras).


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7. The leather-working caste of Kulu is higher than these 7 castes, because (Kulus) do not take cooked rice or water from their hands, and have not begotten any children from girls belonging to these 7 castes, and also because (Kulus) have been undergoing expiation in the customary manner in the event of their taking cooked rice and water touched by Damais, Kamis and Sarkis, or of being involved in sexual relations with them.

List Of Castes Water Touched By Whom Cannot Be Taken And (Contamination by) Whose Touch Must Be Purified Through The Sprinkling Of Water

1. Muslim.  
2. Teli of the Tarai.  
5. Dhobi.  
7. Mlechchha.  
8. Chudara.

List Of Castes (Contamination by) Whose Touch (Must Be Purified) Through The Sprinkling Of Water

1. Sarki.  
2. Sunar.  
3. Hurke.  
5. Pode.  
7. Chunara.  
8. Damai.  
10. Chyamkhalak.

8. The caste of Hindu Dhobi is higher than these castes, because (Hindu Dhobis) do not take anything from their hands and do not wash clothes belonging to these castes water touched by whom cannot be taken and (contamination by) whose touch (must be purified) through the sprinkling of water, and, moreover, because (Hindu Dhobis) go up to the rooms and stairheads of (persons) belonging to higher castes.

9. The caste of Kushle is higher than all the castes enumerated above, because (Kushles) do not take anything from their hands, sweep palaces and the houses and courtyards of members of the nobility as well as temples, and maintain themselves by playing upon musical instruments at temples.

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10. The caste of Kasai is higher than that of Kushle, because (Kasais) do not take cooked rice or water from the hands of all the other castes mentioned above, including Kushle, and because all higher castes have started taking cow's or buffalo's milk touched by Kasais.

11. In case any Kulu commits sexual intercourse with her consent with any girl, married woman or widow belonging to castes ranging from those water touched by whom can be taken to those wearing the sacred thread, both the man and the woman shall be punished according to the law relating to sexual intercourse between members of unequal castes whose touch does not require the sprinkling of water for purification. In case such sexual intercourse has been committed with a prostitute, one-third of the penalty due in the event of sexual intercourse with a married woman shall be awarded.

12. A fine of Rs 10 shall be imposed in the event of sexual intercourse between Kamis and Sarkis along with commensal relations. In the event of sexual intercourse between Kadaras on the one hand and Sarkis and Kamis on the other, a fine of Rs 12 shall be imposed on the man, and of Rs 8 on the woman.

13. In the event of sexual intercourse among castes water touched by whom cannot be used and (contamination by) whose touch need not be purified through the sprinkling of water, a fine of Rs 20 shall be imposed on the man, and of Rs 10 on the woman, and they shall be degraded to the lower caste.

14. In case any person willfully commits sexual intercourse with any girl, married woman or widow of above the age of 11 years belonging to castes water touched by whom cannot be taken and (contamination by) whose touch requires the sprinkling of water (for purification), and in case he has not taken cooked rice or water from the hands of such woman, he shall be fined with an amount of Rs 100 if he belongs to a sacred thread-wearing caste, irrespective of whether or not he involves other in the taking of cooked rice or water from his hands. The amount of the fine shall be Rs 50.00 in the case of castes other than those wearing the sacred thread who are entitled to a minimum of Rs 40 as wedding expenses (to be paid as compensation to the husband by the man with whom his wife has eloped), and Rs 25.00 in the case of castes entitled to less than Rs 40.00 as wedding expenses. The prescribed amount shall also be collected while granting expiation to those who are involved (in the taking of cooked rice and water touched by the offender). (The offender) shall then be sent to the nearest places of pilgrimage and granted expiation. There shall be no ban on the taking of cooked rice or water touched by him, if he has taken cooked rice or water from the hands of the woman, or irrespective of whether

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or not he has done so from the hands of a woman belonging to a caste (contamination by whose touch) requires the sprinkling of water (for purification) with whom he has willfully committed sexual intercourse, if he has not involved others in the taking of cooked rice or water touched by him, his property shall be confiscated and he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for one year; and if he has thus involved others, his property shall be confiscated and he shall be sentenced to imprisonment for 1 year and 6 months. In case he wears the sacred thread, it shall be taken away from him; and if he does not, a ban shall be imposed on the taking of cooked rice or water touched by him, and he shall be joined to the caste of the woman. In case any person reports in advance to a government office or court that he will commit sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to a caste water touched by whom cannot be taken and thus be degraded, or so reports after already committing such sexual intercourse and being degraded before anybody has made the report, without involving others (in the taking of cooked rice or water touched by him), and in case he is not proved to have so involved anybody, his property shall not be confiscated nor shall he be sentenced to imprisonment. He shall only be joined to the caste of the woman and let off.

15. A woman belonging to a caste water touched by whom can be taken who permits a man belonging to a caste (contamination by) whose touch requires the sprinkling of water for purification or any other caste water touched by whom cannot be taken to commit sexual intercourse with her consent shall be sentenced to imprisonment for 2 years if she has involved others in the taking of cooked rice or water touched by her, or else to 1 year, and let off after being degraded to the lower caste. A ban shall be imposed on the taking of cooked rice or water touched by her. A woman belonging to a caste water touched by whom cannot be taken and (contamination by) whose touch requires the sprinkling of water (for purification) who permits a man belonging to a caste (contamination by) whose touch requires the sprinkling of water (for purification) to commit sexual intercourse with her shall be sentenced to imprisonment for 3 months and joined to the same caste.

16. In case a woman belonging or joined to any caste (contamination by) whose touch requires or does not require the sprinkling of water (for purification) and water touched by whom cannot be taken permits a man belonging to a caste water touched by whom can be taken to commit sexual intercourse with her and has involved him in the taking of cooked rice or water touched by her, she shall be sentenced to imprisonment for 2 years, and to 1 year in case she has not so involved him. In case she has permitted him to commit sexual intercourse by misrepresenting her caste, the penalty shall be double.

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17. A man who commits sexual intercourse being ignorant (of the caste of the woman) shall be granted expiation. But if he has taken cooked rice without ascertaining the caste of a woman belonging to a caste water touched by whom cannot be taken, he shall not be granted expiation in respect to the taking of cooked rice touched by him. In case he wears a sacred thread, it shall be taken away from him, and he shall be granted expiation only in respect to the taking of water touched by him. (Such person), if belonging to a sacred-thread wearing caste, then becomes a Shudra, entitled to a minimum amount of Rs 40.00 as wedding expenses (to be paid as compensation to the husband by the man with whom his wife has eloped). If he belongs to a caste entitled to a minimum amount of Rs 40.00 as wedding expenses, he shall be degraded to a caste water touched by whom can be taken and which is entitled to less than Rs 40.00 as wedding expenses. If he belongs to a caste entitled to less than Rs 40.00 as wedding expenses water touched by whom can be taken, he shall remain in his own caste.

18. In case (a person belonging) to a caste (contamination by) whose touch requires the sprinkling of water (for purification) commits sexual intercourse with a person belonging to a similar caste, and in case the woman is married, action may be taken at the pleasure of the husband according to law if a caste entitled to strike (with a weapon) at the adulterer in accordance with the provisions of the law on adultery. In case (the caste is not entitled) to strike at the adulterer, or in case the husband does not impose any penalty, and in case a girl or married woman is involved and she has involved her commensal members in the taking of cooked rice or water touched by her, she shall be punished in accordance with the law pertaining to the caste involved in the sexual intercourse.

19. In case a woman belonging to a caste water touched by whom cannot be taken or (contamination by) whose touch requires or does not require the sprinkling of water (for purification) permits a man belonging to a pure caste water touched by whom can be taken who has not undergone the sacred thread investiture ceremony to commit sexual intercourse with her, falsely stating that she belongs to a pure caste, action shall be taken according to law. Since she has permitted him to commit sexual intercourse before his sacred thread investiture ceremony, stating that she belongs to a pure caste, and involved him in the taking of cooked rice or water touched by her, he shall be granted expiation in respect to the taking of cooked rice or water touched by him, because of his ignorance. He shall undergo the sacred thread investiture ceremony and remain in his own caste.

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20. In case a Muslim commits sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to the Kasai, Kushle, Kulu, Dhobi and other Hindu castes whose water touched by whom cannot be taken, the wedding expenses shall be recovered from him if the woman is married, and a fine of Rs 100.00 shall be imposed if she has been involved in the taking of cooked rice or water touched by him. Otherwise, the fine shall amount to Rs 70.00.

21. In case a Muslim commits sexual intercourse with a woman belonging to the Muslim caste, wedding expenses amounting to Rs 100.00 shall be recovered from him if (the woman) had been wedded formally or through the observance of customary rites. If (the husband) declines such wedding expenses, (the adulterer) shall be sentenced to imprisonment for 11 months, in addition to being fined with Rs 100.00. In case a woman who commits adultery with one person and is again taken up (as a wife by another person) after performing wedding rites is involved (in such intercourse), wedding expenses amounting to Rs 50.00 shall be recovered (from the adulterer), and he shall also be fined with Rs 50.00. If the woman has been taken up (as a wife) without performing wedding rites, only a fine of Rs 50.00 shall be imposed (on the adulterer). The woman may live with any man as she pleases.

22. In case any other Muslim commits sexual intercourse with a woman taken up (as a wife) after performing the (customary) rites of the caste by a Chudara Muslim living in our territory, wedding expenses amounting to Rs 60.00 shall be recovered from him, and he shall also be fined with Rs 60.00. In case the husband takes away his wife, or in case the woman has not been taken up (as a wife) after performing wedding rites, wedding expenses need not be recovered (from the adulterer). He shall only be fined with Rs 20.00. Henceforth, Chudara Muslims shall not be permitted to strike (with weapons) at persons committing adultery with their wives.

23. Action shall be taken as prescribed in the law while recovering wedding expenses in the case of castes belonging to the Tarai water touched by whom cannot be taken and (contamination by) whose touch requires or does not require the sprinkling of water (for purification). If the law does not prescribe any action, wedding expenses shall be recovered (from the adulterer) at the rate of Rs 20.00 in the case of castes whose touch by whom cannot be taken and (contamination by) whose touch does not require the sprinkling of water (for purification), and of Rs 15.00 if such sprinkling is required; and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. In case the woman has not been taken up as a wife after performing wedding rites, wedding expenses need not be recovered (from the adulterer), only a fine as mentioned above shall be imposed.
In early 1923, the Government of Nepal took a number of measures to develop agriculture and promote land reclamation and resettlement in the Rapti Valley. An Agriculture Office was established in Kathmandu to implement these measures.

It was planned to open 2 demonstration farms, one each in Kathmandu and the Tarai. Arrangements were made to clear forests in the Rapti Valley area (Suanari to Kathmandu north to south and Dardara to Makwanpur west to east) under the supervision of the Rapti Forest Office and resettle peasants there under the supervision of the Agriculture Office.

Under this resettlement program, preference in the allotment of lands was given to peasants inhabiting the hill areas of Chisapani-Gadhi. Military officers and personnel came next in the order of preference, according to the date of their applications. Arrangements were also made to resettle about 150 peasants from Sindhuli in areas west of the Rapti river, if they did not accept allotments east of the river. Military officers, Talukdars and other respectable persons were entrusted with the responsibility of bringing in settlers. In consideration of such services, each such person was granted 20 bighas of land for himself as Jirayat after reclaiming 100 bighas. The balance of 80 bighas was then registered in the name of the settlers. Each settler received as much land as he could reclaim, according to the size of his family and the availability of land.

A maximum amount of Rs 20.00 per bigha at a time was supplied as credit to each settler. Landless peasants who desired to settle down in the resettlement area too were entitled to allotments and credit facilities, even if they were unable to furnish any security. Recovery of the loans was started after the third year. Land tax exemption was granted for an initial period of 7 years. Thereafter, land tax was assessed in kind at the rate of one-seventh of the produce from the eight year, and at one-sixth of the produce from the eleventh year.

A sum of Rs 1,000.00 was sanctioned for procuring rice and other supplies and selling them to the settlers on a no-profit basis, Rs 100.00 was sanctioned for the supply of quinine and other medicines.


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A British Account Of Gorkhali Rule In Dehradun.

A pirthi Narain, King of the small principality of Gurkha in Nepal, occupied Kathmandu in 1768 and died in 1775, when he was succeeded by his son, Sinha Partap Sah. The latter died in 1776 and his son, Ran Bahadur, being a minor the reins of state were left in the capable hands of the rani Indar Lachmi. In 1779 the queen regent was murdered by Bahadur Sah, the uncle of the young king. He continued the aggressive policy of his predecessor, and in 1790 the Gurkhas turned their attention to Kumaun and after a brief campaign occupied Almora in 1790. Garhwal was their next objective, and though the Gurkhas were effectively checked at Langurgarhi, the feeble young raja was persuaded to pay the large tribute of Rs 25,000 a year. In 1803 however the border fights which had not ceased when the nominal peace was concluded between the Garhwalis and the Gurkhas developed into open war, Pradhuman Sah abandoned his capital but made a stand at Barahat, whence he was driven into the Dun, closely pursued by the victorious Gurkhas who occupied Dehra in October 1803. Pradhuman Sah then took refuge in the plains and through the good offices of the Gujar raja, Ram Dyal Singh of Landheura, was enabled to collect a force of some twelve thousand men, with whom he entered the Dun resolved to make one attempt to recover his kingdom. In this he was unsuccessful, and in an action fought in January 1804 at Kharbara near Dehra perished with most of his Garhwal retainers. Pritam Sah, the brother of Pradhuman Sah, was taken prisoner and sent in custody to Nepal, but Sudarshan or Sukhdashan Sah, the eldest son of the deceased Raja, escaped to British territory, and Farakran Sah took refuge with Sonsar Chand in Kangra. Amar Singh, with his son Manjor Thapa as deputy, held the administration of both Kumaun and the newly-annexed territory in their own hands during 1804, whilst preparations were being made to extend the Gurkha conquest westward.

The notorious rigour of the Gurkha rule almost reduced the Dun to a desert. Most of the inhabitants emigrated and the little cultivation that still lingered began to disappear. After a time mahant Har Sewak was reinstated in the Dun and some improvement took place, which was farther increased when Hasti Dev was recalled from Kangra and took an active part in the management of affairs. Mr. Williams tells us that: "Raids from Saharanpur and the Punjab had been brought to an abrupt termination by the fulfilment of a threat to burn one village for every plundering party that entered the Dun."

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A band of Sikhs once had the temerity to set the new government at defiance and, as in the days of yore, sacked a village, carrying away several women and driving off the cattle. The Nepalese commandant, receiving intelligence of the outrage, sent two hundred men in pursuit of the marauders whose own dwellings were surrounded and set on fire. Every man, woman or child attempting to escape was massacred in cold blood, except a few of the handsomest females, whose beauty purchased their life. This signal example had the desired effect. From Raper's account of his journey to survey the Ganges, in 1864, we gather a few more particulars. He met Hasti Dal Sah at Hardwar and describes him as a man of about forty-five years of age, of middle stature, pleasing countenance and desirous in every way to aid him. A few days afterwards Raper was introduced to Hasti Dal's successor, Bhairo Nath, who is described as the very reverse of friendly and only anxious to impede his progress, though eventually they parted good friends. Raper also notices the excessive rigour of the Gurkha rule in Garhwal and writes: At the foot of the pass leading to Har-ka-pairi is a Gurkhal post, to which slaves are brought down from the hills and exposed for sale. Many hundreds of these poor wretches, of both sexes, from three to thirty years of age, are annually disposed of in the way of traffic. These slaves are brought down from all parts of the interior of the hills and sold at Hardwar at from ten to one hundred and fifty rupees each. Mr. J.B. Fraser computed the number sold during the Gurkha occupation at 200,000, but possibly this is an exaggeration. Where delinquents were unable to pay the fine imposed, the amount of which rested entirely at the arbitrary discretion of the Gurkha officer in charge of the district, he was sold into slavery together with his family. Parents driven to desperation sold their children and, in certain circumstances, uncles sold their nephews or nieces, and elder brothers their younger brothers and sisters.

Mr. Fraser writes of the Dun: "Under the Garhwal Rajas it yielded to Government a revenue of a lakh of rupees a year; but the Gurkhalis, having much ruined it, never realized more than Rs 20,000 per annum." On his march thence to the sources of the Ganges the general appearance of the country was that of one that had been subject to all the horrors of war. Deserted and ruined villages lined the road and frequent patches of terrace cultivation now becoming overgrown with jungle alone showed where hamlets had once stood.

The Gurkhas next came into contact with the British arms. In consequence of a series of aggressions upon our territory culminating with the barbarous murder of a police officer in the Gorakhpur district Lord Hastings declared war in 1811, and determined to attack Nepal simultaneously from as many quarters as possible. Major-General Harley was given the command of 8,000 men in Bahar and ordered to march at once on Kathmandu the capital. In Gorakhpur a force of 4,000 men was entrusted to Major-General J.S. Wood.
Major-General Ochterlony was to attack the enemy's position on the extreme west between the Satlej and the Jumna. To Major-General Gillespie with 3,500 men was assigned the task of reducing the Dun. The operations of the Dehar and Gorakhpur columns were characterized by carelessness and failure. Generals Gillespie and Ochterlony were however men of a different stamp, and it is to the efforts of the latter alone that the credit of the happy issue of the campaign in the Dun is due. The operations of General Gillespie were most unfortunate but they were not disgraceful, for he showed himself a brave and zealous soldier. His instructions were to enter the Dun and having reduced the forts in the valley, either to proceed through Jumna and assist Ochterlony by falling on Amar Singh's left between Bilaspur and Simla or to proceed westward and take Nahen, then held by Ranjor Singh Thapa, and so separate the Gurkha forces. The British force entered the Dun in two columns by the Mohan and Timli passes and united again at Dehra on the 24th October. The enemy was found in the Kalanga fort, on the highest point of a low spur about three and a half miles north-east of Dehra. There were some three or four hundred regular Nepalese troops and a number of Garhwal levies under the command of Balbhadra Singh Thapa, nephew of Amar Singh Thapa, the military governor of Garhwal. Colonel Mawby made an attempt to capture the fort by assault, but after a few rounds had been fired from two 6-pounders and two howitzers mounted on elephants, the British force retired on Dehra giving up the task as impracticable. General Gillespie arrived on 26th October and took command of the force. A careful reconnaissance of the enemy's position was made, and orders were given for an assault, for which four separate parties, numbering in all 1,798 men with a reserve of 139 were prepared. The defences of the fort were not completed but the enemy had done everything possible with the men and materials at his disposal, gaps were filled with stones, stockades were erected along the lines of approach, and at a wicket, open but cross-barred, a gun was placed enfilading the principal side of attack.

The attack began with a bombardment by the British guns, which however were too light to do any execution. The signal was then given for the simultaneous assault by the four storming parties, but either the signal was not heard, or, if heard, was not understood, for only Colonel Carpenter's column and the reserve under Major Ludlow were seriously engaged. The stockades were easily carried, but on approaching the walls the British suffered severely in both officers and men. No scaling ladders were immediately available, and the General leading the assault in person was shot through the heart. The command now devolved on Colonel Mawby who decided to retire to Dehra and there await reinforcements. Five officers were killed and fifteen wounded, of whom seven subsequently died; twenty-seven non-commissioned officers and men were killed and 213 wounded. On the 24th November a battering train arrived from Delhi. The fort was shelled, while

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a battery of 18-pounders erected within 300 yards of the wall was pronounced practicable early in the afternoon of the 26th. Another assault was ordered, but the storming party failed to effect an entrance and retired with a loss of four officers and 33 men killed, and seven officers and 635 men wounded or missing. Thus the disastrous results of the first attack were repeated, and it was only now discovered that there was no water within the fort, and that the besieged were obliged to supply themselves from a spring at some distance from the walls. Arrangements were at once made to cut off the water, and the fire from the batteries recommenced the next day, doing great damage from the unprotected state of the garrison and the shattered condition of their defences. On the night of the 30th November, only three days after the adoption of the measures which would have been equally feasible a month earlier, had they been adopted, Balbhadra Thapa with seventy men, all that remained of his garrison, evacuated Kalanga. The Gurkhas cut their way through the chain of posts placed to intercept them, and escaped to a neighbouring hill closely pursued.

The seventy men who escaped from the fort were joined by some three hundred others who had been seen hovering about the neighbourhood endeavouring to find a way into the fort. Major Ludlow was sent after these with some four hundred of our troops and succeeded in attacking their camp by night and dispersing them, killing fifty. The British loss amounted to two officers and fifteen men wounded. In the meantime Colonel Carpenter had taken measures to guard the entrance to the hills at Kaisi and sent Captain-FAST with a detachment to occupy some positions above that town, which resulted in the surrender of the fort of Baira on the 4th December. The following day the troops marched to Rampur Mandi to join the force under Major-General Martindell, who had orders to attack Nahan. Balbhadra Singh Thapa with the remains of his party threw himself into the fort of Jaunghach and defended himself successfully against a force despatched against him under Major Baldock. He subsequently joined the Gurkha force at Jaithak, and on the surrender of that place entered the Sikh service, where he and all his followers perished in a war with the Afghans. The Dan force together with that under General Martindell were ordered to attack Nahan, where Ranjan Singh, the son of Amar Singh Thapa still held out with more than two thousand men to support him. On the 21st December Nahan was occupied by the British troops, the Gurkhas retiring on our approach to Jaithak, a fort and strong position a little to the north, 1,600 feet above the town and nearly 5,000 feet above the sea. The fort was attacked without loss of time, but unsuccessfully, and the British troops were repulsed with a loss of between four and five hundred men, so that General Martindell attempted no active operations for nearly three months. After this succession of reverses at many points it is satisfactory to have to record proceedings of a different character.

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At the end of October 1814, General Ochterlony with about six thousand men entered the hills on the left bank of the Satlaj, with the view of dislodging the Gurkhas from the strong positions which they held between Bilaspur on that river and the outer hills above the Pinjor Dun. The enemy force consisted of about three thousand men, and was commanded by Amar Sinha Thapa, the most skilful of all the Gurkha officers and a captain of high reputation in the former wars of his nation. Meanwhile the column operating of Kumaun under Colonel Nicolls had been more successful. On 27th April 1815, Almora was occupied and the British and Nepalese commanders signed a convention. The terms of this convention included the evacuation of Nahan and Jaithak by Amar Singh. Amar Singh at first held out manfully but in the end, recognizing that his communications with Nepal were severed and weakened by desertions, he surrendered his positions to General Ochterlony. The British thus came into possession of all the territories of the Gurkhas between the Kali and the Satlaj and a resolution of Government, dated the 17th November 1815, ordered the annexation of Dehra Dun to the Saharanpur district.
Regulations On Transportation Of Cannon From Kathmandu To Kumaun

Asadha Badi 7, 1862

1. Local officials (Amalis, Dwaras) of areas where cannon sent to Kumaun is held up for more than 2 nights shall be given a warning, so that no such delays may be caused in the future.

2. Damaged bridges and ferry services in areas between the Bishnumati river and Kumaun shall be repaired through the labor of the local people. 100 persons shall be assigned to provide Hulak (porterage) services in every area. Particulars of such personnel at each area shall be reported to the government.

*Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, P. 73.*
On March 22, 1406 (Vikrama), Sultan Shamshuddin of Bengal invaded Kathmandu Valley. The Nepal Vamshavali, which was compiled nearly 40 years later, during the reign of King Sthiti Valla, contains the following description of this invasion:

"On the full-moon day in the month of Baisakh in 1469 Nepal Samvat (corresponding to 1106 Vikrama), King Jayaraj Dev offered his treasury to Shri Pashupatinath. Later, Sultan Shamshuddin came to Nepal from the east and broke (the image of) Shri Pashupatinath into three pieces. The whole of Nepal was burnt. Panic swept over the people. (The people of) Bhaktapur underwent much suffering on the ninth day of the bright half of the moon in the month of Marga, 1470 Nepal Samvat (1406 Vikrama)."

A stone inscription found at Pimbahal in Lalitpur indicates that it had been destroyed by the Muslim Sultan Shamshuddin and subsequently renovated by Shri Bhatta in 1477 Nepal Samvat (1414 Vikrama). The inscription also states that the Sultan "destroyed the whole of Nepal." Another stone inscription, found at Swayambhu, says, "On Thursday, on the tenth day of the bright half of the moon in the month of Marga, 1470 Nepal Samvat (1406 Vikrama), Sultan Shamshuddin entered into Nepal with a large force of Bengalis, and wrought destruction everywhere in Nepal." Swayambhu was renovated 23 years later by Mahaputra Rajaharsha Bhallok.

At that time, Bhaktapur was the capital of Kathmandu Valley. The town was thus attacked first. The Muslim army thereafter sacked Kathmandu, broke the image of Pashupatinath into three pieces, and then raided Swayambhu and set it on fire. Lalitpur met with the same fate. The rulers and people of Kathmandu Valley were unable to put up any resistance. Sultan Shamshuddin left Kathmandu Valley after 7 days.

King Paja Dev occupied the throne at that time, but real power was in the hands of Devala Devi. This arrangement continued even after the Muslim invaders departed. However, in his "Medieval History of Nepal",

*Condensed from: Dhanabajra Bajracharya, "Shanshuddin Ko Akraman."
Purnima, 8, Nag 2022 (January 1966), 7-13 PP.

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Luciano Petech writes: "In unhappy Nepal, without a ruler and threats, a thunderbolt fell from the blue sky ... In the meantime the Eastern Suratana Samsadina (Sultan Shamsud-din) came to Nepal and ... the whole of Nepal was ravaged by fire and the people were unhappy. ... This happened in 467 Margasira Sukla guru. (PP. 116-119). However, as mentioned above, the invasion actually took place in 470 Nepal Samvat. Petech is therefore wrong in maintaining that "the danger from the Muslims had not yet disappeared. Shams ud-din Ilyas seems to have carried out another raid, which lasted 7 days; the date of this event is 470 Margasira Sukla 9 (= November 19th, 1349)." For is it true that Kathmandu Valley ... "without a ruler" at that time. King Aniruddha had died in Aswin 1401 (Vikrama) and Raja Dev had ascended the throne in Shravan 1401 (Vikrama), after an interregnum of 3 years.
Who Are The Doyas?

The Gopal Vamshavali refers to a number of raids conducted by Doyas into Kathmandu Valley. According to one reference, Nara Malla Dev "cut the Doyas with his sword" on Marga Badi 7, 1168 (Vikrama). However, no further particulars of this incident have been given. The Gopal Vamshavali also states that on Jeevana Badi 1, 1301 (Vikrama), Doya invaders, led by King Ran Singh, were defeated in the Khandadhar hills by King Anargha Malla Dev. The latter king has not yet been identified.

Doyas invaded Kathmandu Valley on Marga Sudi 7, 1302 (Vikrama) also. They came through Kampa (Kapan) up to Bhoyothali (Bhumthali), both in the Gokarna area of Kathmandu, but were again defeated.

However, Doyas appear to have established their power in Kathmandu Valley for some time 50 years later. They assisted one side in a civil war that was going on here, and thus were able to influence the administration briefly. According to the Gopal Vamshavali:

"In the night of Poush Badi 15, 1356 (Vikrama), Doyas came to fight at Asanimam. They fought successfully until Jagh Badi 2, and occupied Tipur and Asanimam. On Falgun Sudi 5, they advanced from Khandakhuri, occupied Khapithali, and advanced further to occupy Mitili. The next day, they tried to enter into Chunigal, but failed. Seven Doyas were killed at Badyanimam Jaladhuni, and three at Tyankhadoi. (Subsequently), they occupied Balunkha Jaladhuni and entered into Brahmapur. Tipur then paid a fine, Mandrapal raised 6 drammans and 3 drammans per ropani of land, and 4 drammans from every family, and handed over the proceeds to the Doyas, who went back on Chaitra Sudi 7. They had been invited by Pandit Jayaju of Salachhe, Jayashakti Dev of Banepa and Ananta Malla Dev."

* Dhana Bajra Bajracharya, "Doya Haru Ko Hun?" (Who are the Doyas?) Purnima, 4, Magh 2021 (January 1965), 20-31 PP.
Most of the places mentioned above have not been identified. Thapiti was situated near modern Bhaktapur.

Ananta Malla was the reigning king at that time. Jaya Shakti Dev was the son of the Crown Prince, Jayaditya Dev. It is thus evident that the Doyas were supported by the king and the royal family. Ananta Malla succeeded Jaya Sisna Malla. Jayaditya Dev, son of Jaya Bhim Dev, was designated heir-apparent. Crown Prince Jayaditya Dev was senior to King Ananta Malla by 8 years. He was thus able to wield some influence on the administration. He apprehended some threat to his position from his brother, Ananda Dev. Accordingly, he arrested Ananda Dev and imprisoned him at Palanchok. Crown Prince Jayaditya Dev died in Falgun 1347 (Vikrama). 5 months thereafter, Ananda Dev escaped from imprisonment. Jaya Shakti Dev then reached Palanchok and again imprisoned his uncle, Ananda Dev. The Gopal Vamshavali does not mention when and how Ananda Dev came out of imprisonment subsequently.

This shows that internal conflict was prevailing in the royal family during this period. King Ananta Malla appears to have been a man of weak temperament. He had not been able to control other members of the royal family, or members of the nobility. After the death of Jayaditya Dev, his son, Jaya Shakti Dev, became influential. King Ananta Malla seems to have sided with the Doyas through his influence.

Again, 10 years later, Jaya Shakti Dev invited the Doyas and created panic in Kathmandu Valley. According to the Gopal Vamshavali, the Doyas entered into Lalitpur on Magh Badi 11, 1367 (Vikrama). They occupied the area from Thambibhi to Manigal. Brahmans and members of the nobility were imprisoned. Forts and other places were destroyed. The Doyas then exacted a tribute from the people in order to finance their expenses. Annapurna was set on fire. The Doyas gave asylum to Betana Dev, Jaya Shakti Dev, Kesh Chandra and Dhwaka Raut. They had been invited by Jaya Shakti Dev. On Kartik Sudi 12, 1368 (Vikrama), all temples were set on fire and destroyed. The entire treasury at Lopatan (of the Pashupatinath temple?) was emptied by the Doyas. Thereafter, they proceeded towards Sanga. They killed some people from Banepa to Tari (Tarai?). On Falgun Sudi 8, 1368 (Vikrama), the Doya nobles went back as they were unable to rule here.

This shows that the Doyas entered into Lalitpur in 1367 (Vikrama) and established their domination. But the nobles and people of Lalitpur did not accept their domination readily. As a result, the Doyas imprisoned the entire nobility of Lalitpur and imposed fines on the people. They occupied Lalitpur for more than 1 year. But they do not appear to have desired to rule here permanently. That is why they destroyed temples and plundered temple funds.

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The Khas Kings of the Karnali region in the west also had raided Kathmandu Valley. They too did not desire to rule here. They were satisfied only with imposing a tribute. The Doyas followed a similar policy. But there exists a big difference between the raids conducted by the Khasas and by the Doyas. The Khasas set villages on fire, but did not destroy temples or plunder temple funds. On the contrary, they performed religious ceremonies at the Pashupatinath, Swayambhunath, Machhindranath and other temples. The Doyas, however, destroyed temples and plundered temple funds during their raid in 1366 (Vikrama). King Ananta Malla had already died at that time. He was succeeded by Aranda Dev, the old enemy of Jaya Shakti Dev. It thus appears that Jaya Shakti Dev invited the Doyas to take revenge against Aranda Dev.

The question now arises, who were the Doyas? We have already mentioned above that in Magh, 1367 (Vikrama), the Doyas raided Lalitpur. According to another edition of the Gopal Vamshavali, available at the Kaiser Library, persons belonging to Tirhut raided Lalitpur in the same month and year. This indicates that the Doyas and the Tirhutes were the same. The Gopal Vamshavali refers to King Nunya Dev of the Tirhut as a "Doya". It also states that Ram Simha Dev, son of Nar Simha Dev, a "Do Thakur", was born on Chaitra Sudi 13, 1240 (Vikrama). There is no doubt that this was the same Ram Simha who invaded Kathmandu Valley in 1301 (Vikrama), as mentioned above. This proves that Nunya Dev and his successors who ruled over Tirhut were known as Doyas in Kathmandu Valley.

These raids have led the compilers of several Vamshavallis to state that Nunya Dev, Hari Simha Dev and other Kings from Tirhut had established their rule over Kathmandu Valley. Pratap Malla and other Malla Kings have committed a similar error by stating in their inscriptions that after the Muslim forces had destroyed Simraungadh, Hari Simha Dev had occupied and ruled over Bhaktapur. But this is not true. In 1381 (Vikrama), Sultan Chyasuddin Tuglaq of Delhi returned to Delhi after suppressing a revolt in Bengal. King Hari Simha Dev of Simraungadh thought that the Muslim forces were going to attack his kingdom. He therefore came out to fight them, but the Muslim forces defeated Hari Simha Dev and destroyed Simraungadh. Hari Simha Dev then fled to the hill areas of Nepal along with his son, ministers and nobles. He died at Timpatan in the Dolakha area on Magh Sudi 1382 (Vikrama). His son and ministers were imprisoned by the nobles of Raja Gram, who also appropriated his entire property. Clear evidence with regard to these events is supplied by the Gopal Vamshavali. It is therefore wrong to state that Hari Simha Dev fled from Simraungadh and ruled over Bhaktapur.
A Firman From The Mughal Emperor

The problem of the Tarai region from the Tantār Parganas to Paria had already been solved by the beginning of 1771 A.D. But the problem of Amberpur still remain unsolved. Its solution required the cooperation of the Calcutta Council of the East India Company. The Council on its part required the cooperation of King Prithvi Narayan Shah to check the depredations of Sanyas.

On March 12, 1771, King Prithvi-Narayan Shah received a firman from the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II. The firman addressed him as Maharaj Prithvi Narayan Bahadur Shamsher Jung.

Prior to this, King Prithvi Narayan Shah styled himself "Shriman Maharajadhiraj Shri Shri Shriman Nirpa Prithvi Narayan Shah", or "Shriman Maharajadhiraj Shri Shri Shriman Prithvi Narayan Shah." The title "Shri Shri Shriman Maharajadhiraj Shri Shri Shri Shriman Nripa Prithvi Narayan Shah", in a royal order issued to local functionaries in Dolakha, and "Shriman Maharajadhiraj Shri Shri Shri Shriman Prithvi Narayan Shah", in a royal order issued to the inhabitants of that town. The commercial treaty signed with King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu mentions "Swasti Shriman Maharajadhiraj Shri Shriman Nripa Prithvi Narayan Shah Dev."

After the above-mentioned firman was received from the Mughal Emperor, King Prithvi Narayan Shah invariably styled himself "Shri Shri Shri Maharaj Prithvi Narayan Shah Bahadur Shamsher Jung." The words "Bahadur Shamsher Jung" were removed from the royal titles by King Mahendra in 1962.

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2These regions had been under British occupation since the Kinloch expedition of 1767.

3In Saptari district.

4Nripa (Sanskrit) means "King".
A Brief Political History Of The Lichchhavi Period

By
Jagadish Chandra Regmi.

The Lichchhavis entered into Nepal during the first Century A.D. According to the Gopal Vamshavali, the Lichchhavi defeated the Kirat Kings and began to rule over Nepal.

Stone inscriptions are the only sources which provide us with material for a study of the history of the Lichchhavi period. However, Lichchhavi inscriptions are available only after 464 A.D. The history of the early Lichchhavi period is therefore not clear. The genealogy of the early Lichchhavi Kings may be traced from the Pashupati inscription of Jaya Deva II and the Changu Narayan inscription of Mana Deva I.

The genealogy of the Lichchhavi Kings, as given in the Pashupati inscription of Jaya Deva II, begins from the Sun God. The inscription refers to names of the solar dynasty which are mentioned in the Puranas. They are: Manu, Ikshwaku, Vikukshi, Vishwagasla, Sagara, Dilipa, and Asamanjasa. The names of Lichchhavi Kings are enumerated thereafter. The names of Kings who reigned after the Lichchhavis are omitted, and the inscription then refers to Supushpa. The names of 20 successors of Supushpa are again omitted. The Pashupati inscription thereafter, mentions Jaya Deva I, but not his 11 successors, and finally mentions King Vrisha Deva.

The Changu Narayan inscription begins its genealogy from King Vrisha Deva.

Vrisha Deva was succeeded by his son, Shankar Deva. The names of Dharm Deva and Mana Deva I occur thereafter.

Mana Deva I was the first Lichchhavi King to mint coins and install stone inscriptions in Nepal. The Changu Narayan inscription is the first stone inscription of the Lichchhavi, as well as of Nepal. 14 inscriptions of Mana Deva's period have so far been discovered, the first of which is dated 306 Shaka Samvat (464 A.D.) and the last 427 Shaka Samvat (505 A.D.). Mana Deva I thus appears to have ruled for 41 years.

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2In his The Vakataka Gupta Age (P. 130), Ramesh Chandra Majumdar says that the Lichchhavis entered into Nepal during the 2nd century A.D. However, in his The Age Of The Imperial Gupta (P. 8), Rakhal Das Bannerjee says that they did so during the early medieval period.

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According to the Pashupati inscription of Jaya Deva II, Mana Deva was succeeded by his son Mahi Deva. However, no inscription issued by Mahi Deva has so far been discovered. Since the first inscription of Vasanta Deva (successor of Mahi Deva) is dated 427 Shaka Samvat, it may be assumed that Mahi Deva ruled for a few months between 427 and 428 Shaka Samvat.

Vasanta Deva then ascended the throne. Nine stone inscriptions of his period have been discovered. The dates mentioned in them show that Vasanta Deva ruled for 26 years between 428 and 454 Shaka Samvat (506-532 A.D.).

Vasanta Deva was succeeded by Yamana Deva. Only one inscription issued during his time is available. It is dated 460 Shaka Samvat (538 A.D.). The actual period of his reign cannot be ascertained. He was succeeded by Rama Deva. Two stone inscriptions of Rama Deva's period are available, of which one bears the date 469 Shaka Samvat (547 A.D.). The date in the other inscription has been illegible.

Gana Deva ascended the throne in 479 Shaka Samvat (557 A.D.). On the basis of 8 inscriptions installed during his reign, which bear different dates from 479 to 489 Shaka Samvat (557 to 567 A.D.), he appears to have ruled for a period of 10 years.

Then begins the reign of Shiva Deva I. Sixteen stone inscriptions installed during his reign have been discovered. These inscriptions indicate that Shiva Deva I ruled for a period of 14 or 15 years (between 590 and 604 A.D.).

Almost all the early inscriptions of Shiva Deva I mention the name of Amshu Varma as "Samanta" or "Mahasamanta." He is described as "Maharajadhiraja Shrisamanta" in an inscription issued during the last phase of the reign of Shiva Deva I. This may be regarded as evidence of Amshu Varma's growing influence on the administration. Amshu Varma became king after Shiva Deva.

The surname "Varma" suggests that Amshu Varma did not belong to the Lichchhavi dynasty. The fact that he was a top-ranking official during the reign of Shiva Deva I also indicates that he was not a Lichchhavi. However, the reason behind the change of dynasty is not known. Nor is any information available with regard to the year when his reign commenced, he used a new era in his inscriptions. Nevertheless, he seems to have occupied the throne after 526 (Shaka Samvat), (604 A.D., the year mentioned in the last inscription of Shiva Deva I).

A broken stone inscription dated 479 Shaka Samvat, presumably installed during the reign of Gana Deva has been discovered at Kotalchol in Pharping (Abhilekh Sangraha, Vol. 9, P. 3).

Banepa stone inscription, R. Gnoli, P. 44.

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Scholars regard Amshu Varma as a member of the Thakuri family, on the basis of the evidence contained in the Bhasha Vaamsavali, which had been compiled during the 18th or 19th century. However, no inscription issued by Amshu Varma refers to him as a Thakuri. Thence is in fact no evidence that Amshu Varma was a Thakuri.

According to stone inscriptions, Samvat 29 was the first year of the reign of Amshu Varma. Samvat 45 was the last year of his rule. It would thus seem that Amshu Varma had ruled for a total period of 16 years.

Scholars are not unanimous as regards the origin of the Samvat era mentioned in Amshu Varma's inscriptions. Foreign scholars are of the opinion that this represents the Harsha era. They consider Amshu Varma to be just a vassal of Emperor Harsha. Indian and European historians of earlier periods have accordingly designated Nepal as a vassal state of Harsha. But modern historians do not subscribe to this view. Nonetheless, nobody has yet come out with definite evidence regarding the background and origin of this era. While it is not possible to be exact in explanations, the factors leading to the initiation of this era, an idea can be formed about the period during which it originated. As already indicated above, the name of Amshu Varma is frequently mentioned in the stone inscriptions of Shiva Deva I. Hence it may be assumed that the period of the rule of Shiva Deva corresponds roughly to that of Amshu Varma. 604 A.D., which was the last year of the rule of Shiva Deva, probably corresponds to Samvat 29, the first year of the rule of Amshu Varma. Supposing that the rule of Amshu Varma had commenced in 605 A.D., this Samvat era probably started in 576 B.C. This view corresponds to the subsequent chronology. The Amshu Varma era was used in later stone inscriptions also.

Amshu Varma held the title of "Maha Samanta" for some time, though the stone inscriptions also describes him as a king with full authority. He had assumed this title because he belonged to a different dynasty and had usurped the Lichchhavi throne. However, in the stone inscriptions installed after Samvat 39, he has used only "Shri" before his name. Toward the end of his reign, he assumed the title of "Maharajadhiraj." A coin issued by him contains "Maharajadhiraj" on the reverse and "Shri Amshu" on the reverse. In the stone inscriptions of Dharma Deva and Jishnu Gupta, who became kings after him, Amshu Varma is described as "Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraj."

5Bhagan Lal Indiraji and Gnoli have read the year as Samvat 34 in the stone inscription of Amshu Varma located at Bungmati. The Itihas Shambhulal Mandal has now identified it as Samvat 29.

6Since the portion of Bibhu Varma's inscription indicating the Samvat era is wornout, there is doubt whether the date is 45.

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A major change occurred in the politics of Nepal after the death of Amshu Varma. In view of the growing influence of the Guptas, Dhruva Deva, who belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty, was obliged to offer the position of joint king to Jishnu Gupta. It is yet unclear how Dhruva Deva became king. Some inscriptions of Amshu Varma refer to Udaya Deva as Heir-Apparent. Accordingly, Udaya Deva should have ascended the throne after the death of Amshu Varma. Amshu Varma has designated him as Heir-Apparent, even though Udaya Deva was not his son, and not even a member of his family. It is possible that Udaya Deva ruled for a short time after the death of Amshu Varma. But there is no evidence available to substantiate this hypothesis. According to Chinese sources, Narendra Deva (Na-Ling-Ti-Po) fled to Tibet after his brother removed his father from the throne. This indicates that it was Udaya Deva who had been deposed in this manner. It may also be presumed that Dhruva Deva, who occupied the position of joint king along with Jishnu Gupta, was the brother of Udaya Deva. In any case, the joint rule of the Lichchhavis and the Guptas started after the death of Amshu Varma.

5 inscriptions installed during the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Dhruva Deva are available. 2 of them bear the Samvat date 48 and 49, the date has become illegible in 3 other inscriptions.

The joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Dhruva Deva was followed by that of Jishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva, according to available inscriptions. 3 inscriptions installed during this period have been discovered. The date has become illegible in one of these inscriptions. The two other inscriptions contain the Samvat dates 55 (631 A.D.) and 59 (635 A.D.). There is evidence that Jishnu Gupta alone ruled for some years thereafter. Vishnu Gupta, son of Jishnu Gupta, then established his joint rule along with Bhimarjuna Deva. He had obtained his authority from his father. 2 inscriptions dated the Samvat years 64 and 65 (640 A.D. and 641 A.D.) have been discovered from this period.

At this time, Narendra Deva was living in exile in Tibet. However, he was making efforts to reestablish his authority in Nepal. According to Chinese sources, he enlisted the help of the rulers of Tibet, attacked Vishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva defeated them and thus became King of Nepal. This event marked the end of the joint Lichchhavi-Gupta rule in Nepal. The Lichchhavi dynasty alone began to rule the country.

12 inscriptions issued during the reign of Narendra Deva have been discovered. The earliest inscription bears the date of Samvat 39 (645 A.D.), while the latest one is dated Samvat 103 (679 A.D.). Narendra Deva thus appears to have ruled for 34 years.
Narendra Deva was succeeded by his son, Shiva Deva II. 7 inscriptions installed during the reign of Shiva Deva II have been discovered. The earliest date in these inscriptions is Samvat 109 (685 A.D.), while the latest is Samvat 125 (701 A.D.). Shiva Deva II thus appears to have ruled for 16 years. He was succeeded by Jaya Deva II. There is only one inscription belonging to his period, which is dated Samvat 157 (or 159). 4 other inscriptions, which are now damaged, also are ascribed to him. 2 of them bear the dates of Samvat 137 and 147. On this basis, Jaya Deva II appears to have ruled for 20 years.

The history of the Lichchhavi kings becomes unclear after Jaya Deva II. The 4 damaged inscriptions mentioned above refer to Vijaya Deva as Yuvaraj (Heir-Apparent) during the reign of Jaya Deva II. It is thus possible that Vijaya Deva became king after the death of Jaya Deva. But no inscription belonging to the reign of Vijaya Deva is available. It is therefore difficult to say how long he ruled. Nor is any evidence available in inscriptions to indicate who became king after Vijaya Deva. Vamshavalis, however, list the names of certain kings after Vijaya Deva.

Hana Deva II is the last Lichchhavi king mentioned in inscriptions. The inscription which contains his name bears the date of Samvat 180 (756 A.D.).

This marks the end of the Lichchhavi period, which may be described as the ancient period in the history of Nepal.

(S.B.M.)