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Mahesh C. Regmi.

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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Dom Communities

Dom, or Dum, was a generic term used to denote untouchable communities in the far-western hill areas of Nepal. The term Chokhajat, in contradistinction, meant castes and communities contact with whom did not result in the ritual defilement of members of higher castes.

Pauni was another term used to denote such untouchable castes as Tamot and Damai in Salyan2 and elsewhere. No information is available to indicate whether the terms Dom and Pauni had a common denotation in Nepal.

The following account of Dom communities in the North-West Provinces and Oudh in India, written in 1890,3 contains material relevant to Nepal:-

Dom, Domra (Skt. doma). A race of outcastes which appears in at least two and possibly three forms in these provinces.

First the race of wandering houseless thieves and vagrants who infest Bihar and the districts of the Benares Division. Secondly, the Dom of the hills. Thirdly the musician class known as Dum or Dum Mirasi.

As regards the first class they are found in these provinces in considerable numbers in Gorakhpur and Basti, and to a less degree in the districts further west. They are absolute vagrants, have not even mats or tents to cover them like the Sansi and Habura. They frequent the jungles but do not hunt or fish. They live by burglary and stealing, while their women beg and prostitute themselves. In dry weather they sleep under trees and in the rains and chill of winter they slink into outhouses and any shelter they can get. Their characteristic weapon is the banka or curved knife with which they are supposed to split bamboo for baskets which and begging are their ostensible means of livelihood. In cold weather they carry about at night an earthen pot full of hot coals which, when they are closely beset, they fling with great accuracy at their assailants often causing severe wounds.

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They will eat any sort of garbage and the leavings of any caste, but the Dhobi. They have a tradition that the Dhobis once practised some great fraud on them when they came into contact first, but the idea is more probably due to the repugnance common to all Hindus towards the Dhobi who is considered defiled by washing the clothes of women after their confinements. Their ideas of morality are very lax. Prenuptial infidelity, if the paramour be a man of the clan, is permitted: and the same is pretty much the case with married women who freely prostitute themselves. While a Dom is in jail his wife is always adopted by another man of the same clan. They divide the country into circles for begging and thieving, e.g., in Gorakhpur the river Rohini used to be the boundary between the two clans; if one of another clan trespassed on the district of another, he was promptly given up to the Police. They are generally small men with a distinctly non-Aryan look, very small black bright eyes and exceedingly dark skin. They never lay a suit in Court and never appeal. They are very drunken and have terrible fights amongst themselves chiefly about women. Most old Doms have their scalps and bodies scarred with club wounds, and cuts of the banka knife. It is not easy to classify them because many of the subdivisions have risen in the social scale and now disclaim the name of Dom.

The regular vagrant criminal Doms are the Maghaya who take their name from the ancient kingdom of Magadha. They have been identified with the Maccocalingae of Pliny. The Doms themselves are perhaps the modern representation of the Svapaka eaters of or feeders of dogs of Manu. Attempts are being made to reclaim these Maghaya Doms both in Gorakhpur and Bihar, but apparently not with much success. The Maghaya Doms were in former years notorious for dacoities and road robberies in Gorakhpur and the neighbouring districts, but they have now been in a great measure brought under Police control. In their present condition they present a very close analogy to the Cagots and Caqueux of the valleys of the Pyrenees and the plains of Bretagne Poitou and Guiume and to the Rodiya of Ceylon described by Sir E. Tennent. Besides these are the Kashiwala or Benares Doms who are the most respected. They light funeral pyres and often attain considerable wealth from the fees they receive for this duty. They have so far risen in the social scale that they will not fire brick-kilns. Next come the Banwad or rope makers who take their name from ban the fibre on which they work. The Hela are supposed to be another Division. They have turned Muhammadans and work as sweepers. The Bansphor, or breakers of the bamboo, work in bamboo, and make baskets and thatches. Also to these are the Banshinua or weavers of bamboo, who make sieves and baskets. The Dharkar (char, rope: kar, maker) is a reformed Dom, that is he has left off eating dogs, burning corpses, and other vile occupations and lives by working in reed and cane. He plays a long trumpet (singha) at marriages.

4J.W. McCrindle, Indian Antiquary, VI 337 note.
5Manu X, 38, Lassen on Indika of Khesias, Indian Antiquary XI, 321.
6Ceylon II, 187 sqq.
The Patua (pat, a leaf) makes the leaf platters used at feasts. The Dhapara are apparently the same as the Maghaya. Like many low races such as the Ceylon Veddahs, they have traditions that they are the degraded representatives of some higher caste. They have been identified with the Dom Katar or Domtikar Rajputs of Gorakhpur. Many places in Gorakhpur such as Dombiha, Domingarh, etc., are named from them. Carney connects them with the Donwar Rajputs. There are similar traditions in Oudh of an Oudh Dom kingdom. They are said to have been ousted from the fort of Domingarh by the ancestors of the present Satasi Rajas of Rudrapur and those of Bansi and Unaula. Similarly the hill Doms claim to have been once lords of the country and to have established a leathern coinage.

Next come the hill Doms. They are supposed to be relics of the original inhabitants of the country corresponding to the Dhiyar or are smelters of Jammu, the Bitali of the Kashmir valley, the Bem of Ladakh, the Nawar of Nepal. In Garhwal they appear to have been enslaved by the immigrant Khasias. Under the name of Dom they are described in Jammu as "dark in colour, small in limb, and their countenance is of a much lower type than that of the Dogras generally, though one sees exceptions due no doubt to an admixture of blood, for curiously the separation of them from the ordinary daily life of the others does not prevent an occasional intercourse that tends in some degree to assimilate the races." In our hills the Dom has been recognised as a descendant of the Basayus of the Vema, who held upper India before the advent of the Naga or Khasa races. In Garhwal they are artisans and workmen of various kinds, and have none of the vagrant and predatory habits which characterise the eastern Maghaiyas. They have various sub-divisions; the Koli (who in the plains is a Chamari) weave cloth, keep pigs and fowl, and work in the fields; the Tamota or Tangra, who represent the Thathera of the plains, and work in brass copper and gold and also at agriculture; the Lohar or blacksmith; the painted and carpenters; the Darhi or musician. Next comes the Bhul or Barwa, who represents the Telri of the plains makes oil and does field work; the Chanyara like the Kharadi of the plains is a turner in wood; the Ruriya workers in bamboos; the Agari, Agariya miners and smelters.

7Idem II, 452.
9Notes 24.
10Oudh Gazetteer I, 539.
11Madden, J.A.S.B. 1848, P. 604:
13Drew's Jammu, P. 56.

Contd...
of whom a tribe of the same name and engaged in the same trade is found in south Mirzapur, (they take their name from Agar Skt. akara, a mine), the Pahri, Pahriya or Paheri (pahra Skt. Prahara, a turn at watching) village messengers and drudges; the Malla or Dhunar agriculturists; the Darwa village sorcerers; who conjure away hail storms and the like, and receive dues of grain in Jeth (May - June); the Chamar who call themselves Bairswa, and never acknowledge the name of Chamar; the Padi (Skt. vadin, a speaking) Nesfield14 erroneously identifies with the Bhat. He plays on various instruments and signs at festivals, begs from door to door, lampions people who refuse to give him alms and snare fowl and fish; the Hurkiya (so called from the Huruk or Huruka a small drum which he carries) never takes to agriculture and wanders about with his women who dance and sing. In the plains he has a very low position being generally the nameless bastard of some prostitute; the Darzi called also Auji and Suji lives by tailoring and agriculture; the Dholi, so called from his beating the drum called dholak by way of incantation to cause spirits and ghosts to enter or leave the person of any one, and so induce that person to give money to the performer. The name of Haliya was given to those employed as ploughmen and Chyora to the domestic slave who lived on his master's means and had to obey every order, and eat the leavings. "Their montane and non-Brahmanical origin is sufficiently shown by the names of the deities worshipped by them, Ganganath, Bholanath, Yasen, Khabish, Goril, Kshetrapal, Salm, Airi, Kalbisht or Kalwa, Chaum, Badhan, Haru, Latu, Bheliya, the Katyuri Rajas, Runiya, Balchan, Kalchan-bhausi, Chhumal. Doms do not wear the sacred thread or the bracelet (rakhi), nor do they have caste marks or wear as a rule the top knot (sikha), and in a rough way they imitate the customs of the better classes, especially those who have made money in their contracts with Government. Their offerings to deceased ancestors (shraddha) when made at all are performed on the amawas or last day of the Kanyagat of Kuar. The sister's son, younger sister's husband or son-in-law (a curious survival of the rule of female descent) act as Brahmons on the occasion and receive gifts as such. Doms eat the flesh of all animals, use their skins, and eat food from all classes except the Bhangi, Musalman and Christian. There is no fixed time for marriage. When an elder brother dies the younger takes the widow to wife whether she has children or not, hence the proverb mal bhir adhari ber, talai bhir men onchh, when the upper walls fall they come on the lower wall, when the elder brother dies the burden falls on the younger. The elder brother cannot however take to wife the widow of a deceased younger brother, and contracts a stain if even her shadow crosses his path. He transfers her to some other of the brotherhood, but during the lifetime of her second husband, if he or she be dissatisfied, another may take her by paying the cost of her marriage. This may be repeated several times. The prohibited degrees are only a daughter, sister, uncle, aunt, brother, and these they cannot eat or smoke with."15

14 Brief View, 49.
15 Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer III, 448.

Contd...
△play. They sometimes abbreviate the title Mirashi into Mir as though they

Next come the Dum or Dom Mirasi. The word Mirasi is derived from the Arabic miras, "inheritance", in the sense that this caste are a sort of hereditary bard or minstrels to the lower tribes as the Bhat is to the Rajputs. They are also known as Pakhawaji from pakhawai the timbrel which they were Sayyids. The men are musicians and the women dance and sing, but they only perform in the presence of females and are reputed therefore to be chaste. They are said to eat with and intermarry with the Dharhi, and both adopt the common name of kalawant (kala, skill, in the sense of "accomplished") or Qawwal (one who speaks well). The instruments they use are generally the small drum (Dholak) the cymbals (majira) or the lute made of gourds (kingri). They are as a rule Muhammadans and are said to have been converted in response to an invitation from the poet Amir Khusru who lived in the reign of Ala-ud-din-Khilji (1295 A.D.). The most famous of them in recent times was Raji-ud-daula who ruled the Court of Oudh.

There seems reason to believe that some at least of the gypsy tribes of Europe are akin to the Maghaya Dom and a connection has been traced between the two languages. "The word Rom in all the gypsy dialects of Europe has a two-fold meaning signifying "man" and "husband" as well as "gypsy". A satisfactory connection has still to be found for it, that connected with Rama the incarnate Vishnu of the Hindus being disheartened by the authority of Professor Ascoli of Milan. By a curious and unexplained coincidence the identical word Rom or Rome occurs with the meaning of "man" in modern Coptic and according to Herodotus (II, 143) belonged also to the language of the ancient Egyptians. Although this isolated fact in no way affects the general bearings of the question it is worth noting as an etymological curiosity, It is not improbable that among the primitive element of the Aryan mother tongue may have existed a root ro or rom expressive of power, the survival of which we can discern in the Greek rome strength, the Latin robur and perhaps in the illustrious name of Rome itself." There seems however very little doubt that the word Romani is derived from Dom or Domra.

The Dom race has produced one great author Nabhaji a Vaishnava who wrote the Bhakta mala or roll of the Bhagats. He lived in the reign of Jahangir and was a contemporary of Tulasi Das.

17. Sleeman, Journey I, LXI.
18. G.A. Grierson, Indian Antiquary XV, 14 sq. XVI 35 sqq.

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Revenue Functionaries In The Eastern Tarai Districts

The system of revenue collection followed in the eastern Tarai districts at the time of their conquest by Gorkha around the last quarter of the eighteenth century was based on the system introduced in northern India by the Pathan rulers before the emergence of the Mughal Empire. An Indian historian has described the Pathan system of revenue administration in the following words:

"During the pre-Mughal period in India, the Parganna was an important administrative unit, because it was here that the government came into direct contact with the peasant. The main officials included the Amil, a mushrif also known as Amin or Munsif, and a Qanungo. The Amil was the chief executive officer and the head of the Parganna administration. The mushrif was the chief assessment officer. The Qanungo maintained records of produce and assessment. The Chaudhari was appointed to represent the peasants and keep the administration informed of their condition and demands. The village, which was the basic unit of administration through its headman. The Patwari kept records of cultivation, produce, assessment and payment of the State demand."

The Parganna was a group of villages comprising a unit of revenue administration.

The hierarchy of revenue collection functionaries in the eastern Tarai districts during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may schematically be represented as follows:

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1 I.H. Qureshi, "Islamic Political Theory, Administrative Organization, Law and Legal Institutions". In K.M. Munshi (ed), The History And Culture Of The Indian People, Vol. 6: The Delhi Sultanate, PP. 453-456.
The Subba was the chief administrator of the district appointed by the government. The Munsiff was a district-level official responsible for land measurement, as well as for reclamation and settlement. His responsibilities included the compilation of revenue assessment records with the assistance of Chaudharis and other functionaries.\(^2\) At the Parganna level, the Chaudhari collected land and other revenues. The same person could be appointed as Chaudhari for more than one Parganna.\(^3\) The Chaudhari was directed "to look after the affairs of the Parganna, promote settlement and submit accounts of revenue and expenditure."\(^4\) He was thus responsible for the collection of revenues on the basis of assessment records prepared by the Munsiff and approved by the Subba, as well as for their disbursement in the prescribed manner.\(^5\) The Kanugoye, also a Parganna-level functionary, was responsible for the preparation of annual land and revenue records.\(^6\) In Mughal India, the Kanugoye (Qanungo) was "the permanent repository of information concerning the revenue receipts, area statistics, local revenue-rates, and practices and customs of the Parganna."\(^7\)

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\(^2\)Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, PP. 605-609.

\(^3\)Vol. 5, P. 461.

\(^4\)Vol. 5, P. 301.

\(^5\)Vol. 5, P. 428t.

\(^6\)Vol. 5, P. 261.

\(^7\)Iftikhar Habib, The Agrarian System Of Mughal India, P. 289.
In India, the Mokadam was a village-level functionary in charge of settlement operations and the allotment of uncultivated lands in the village. In Nepal, his primary responsibility was to assist in the collection of revenues. Thus in December 1793, local officials in Saptari and Mahottari districts were directed to insure that "Mokadams do not make collections in excess of the prescribed rates."9 The Mandar (or Mandal) of Morang district appears to have performed essentially the same functions.10 The Patwari was appointed to maintain accounts of revenue assessments and collections at the village level. Often the same person was appointed both as Kanugoye and as Patwari.11

Chaudharis, Kanugoyes and Mokaddams were generally appointed on the basis of their ability to promote land reclamation and settlement and collect revenues.12

The Jethraiya appears to have been the senior-most ryot of the village, who helped the functionaries mentioned above in their contacts with the peasantry.

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8 Ibid, PP. 129-133.
9 Vol. 5, P. 261.
10 Vol. 5, P. 753.
11 Vol. 6, P. 453.
12 Vol. 5, P. 751.
Even before their conquest of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, the Gorkhalis had subjugated many villages in Kathmandu Valley. Water must be brought from the Bishnumati river near the temple of Shobha-bhagavati on Poush Shukla Saptami (seventh day of the bright half of the moon in late December or early January) every year to perform religious ceremonies at the temple of Seto Machhindranath in Kathmandu. Several rites have to be performed on the river-bank before bringing water. But in 1822 Vikrama (1765 A.D.), because of the panic created by the Gorkhalis, water from the Bishnumati river was brought secretly without performing the prescribed rites on the spot. This shows that the Gorkhalis had already established their hold in the Swayambhu area across the Bishnumati river by that time. Prithvi Narayan Shah had arrived in Balaju 11 days before his conquest of Kantipur.

Why were not the Malla Kings able to repulse the Gorkhalis even when the latter were so near? And why was it so difficult for the Gorkhalis to enter into the capitals of the three Kingdoms of Kathmandu Valley?

These days the construction of a bridge on the Bagmati river has facilitated communications between Kathmandu and Lalitpur. Bhaktapur too is not so isolated as it was formerly. Kathmandu town is situated on an elevation, so that all streets leading outward from it slope downwards. Similar is the case with Bhaktapur town. Traces of a moat built on the northern side are still visible, as are ruins of gates and walls built around the town. Such ruins are found in Lalitpur also.

According to a 1510 Vikrama (1453 A.D.) inscription of Yaksha Malla installed on the outer wall of the royal palace in Bhaktapur, this king enlisted the cooperation of his subjects to convert Bhaktapur into a strong fort. A moat, and then a wall, were constructed on all sides of the town. There were gates at several points leading to the town, each

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1Dhanabjara Bajracharya, "Malla Kalma Desh Paksha Ko Vyavastha Ra Tyagpreti Praja Ko Kartavya." (Defense Arrangements During The Malla Period And The Obligations Of The Subjects). Purvima, 2, Shrawan 2021 (July 1964), 20-33 PP.

2Shantisafu manuscript available at Machhindrabahal, Kathmandu. According to this manuscripts, King Jaya Prakash Malla deputed troops to guard the temple attendants while they were taking water from the river.
of which located a fortress (Lankwath). Streets leading to the town sloped either downwards or upwards. The entire inhabitants of Bhaktapur town worked on a compulsory basis to defend the town. Default in the fulfillment of such obligations was punished with fines. The inhabitants of each locality were responsible for its security. They cleaned the moat and repaired walls in their area. Each gate-fortress was under an official called Kwathanayak. It was repaired when necessary with the labor of the local inhabitants. Such repair and cleaning operations were performed on Jestha Shukla Shasthi (sixth day of the bright half of the moon in the month of May), before the advent of the monsoon. The Kwathanayak was fined 12 dramma in case the operations were not performed satisfactorily in the area under his jurisdiction. The fort and its walls were inspected on Aswin Krishna Ashtami (eighth day of the dark half of the moon in the month of October). Any person who attempted to damage any part of the fort was fined 9 dramma. A fine of 1 dramma was collected for each brick or piece of wood taken out from it.

Lalitpur too was organized like a fort. It had a moat along with walls. Trees were planted on the sides of the moat. There were fortresses at different points on the wall. Information about the defense system of Kathmandu is not available, but it may be presumed that the system was similar to that followed in Bhaktapur and Lalitpur.

The three kingdoms of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur comprised many small towns, which too had been organized like forts. The ruins of Nala fort, situated at a distance of approximately 4 miles from Bhaktapur, can still be seen. Nala was under the kingdom of Bhaktapur, but it was repeatedly subjugated by the Gorkhals. It was therefore necessary to make arrangements for the security of the town, which is situated on level terrain with hills in the northern side. A wall had been constructed around the town, which still stands on the northern and north-western sides. Beyond the wall, a moat had been dug on the hills, traces of which are still visible. No such arrangements had been made on the eastern side.

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3 This occasion is now celebrated by Newars as the Sizhi festival. Wells are cleaned on this day.

4 Information about the defense system of Lalitpur is contained in the Kirtipataka, a poem composed by Pandit Kunu Sharma during the rule of King Shrinivas Malla.

5 For references to the walls and gates of Kathmandu town, see Itihas Samshodhan Ko Praman Prameya, PP 277 and 280; Aitihasik Patra Sangrahana, Part 2, P. 32.
southern and western sides; which comprised territory ruled by Bhaktapur. However, the territory beyond the northern hills belonged to Kathmandu.

Traces of a fort are visible in Kirtipur, with a moat around it, as well as in Lubhu, Pharping and elsewhere. A stone inscription at the Mahalaxmi temple in Thankot, a reproduction of which is available at the Bir Library in Kathmandu, states that the Thankot fort was renovated by Jaya Ratna Singh and others during the rule of King Jaya Rajyasprakash Malla.

An inscription installed by King Shrinivas Malla of Lalitpur at the Rato Machhindranath temple in 1729 Vikrama (1672 A.D.) states that the king may exact labor on a compulsory basis from his subjects in the construction and repair of forts, walls and bridges as well as in war. Default was to be punished with fines, binding with ropes or exile, as appropriate. Even the king was not entitled to grant exemption to anybody from these obligations. In addition, the people were under obligation to pay taxes to the king, as well as to the royal official (Praman) appointed to administer the area and the local functionary (Dvare). The Praman was not authorized to exact anything without payment from the people, nor to increase the number of troops.²

The Malla Kings did not have a large standing army. Panchas and the common people too had therefore an important role in the defense system. The common people fought as soldiers when necessary. After they repulsed the enemy, they obtained gifts from the king, which they utilized to perform religious ceremonies at local temples. The king sometimes gave feasts to the people and fulfilled their demands on such occasions.

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6 Published in Abhilekh Sangraha, Part 10, PP. 9-11.

7 cf. Identical copper inscriptions issued by King Ranjit Malla of Bhaktapur for Nakadesh and Bode villages. Ibid, Part II 9 PP. 16-17.

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Aitih9.sik Patra S angraha, PP. 281-282 •

113.

Around 1787 Vikrama (1730 A.D.), Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Gorkha jointly occupied the fort of Obhu from Bhaktapur and established an outpost at Somalinga. The people of Bhaktapur and such other towns as Thimi, Nakadesh and Bode then drove out the enemy and reoccupied Obhu. King Ranjit Malla then offered gifts of gold and elephants to several persons. 8

People had to work on a compulsory basis also in the construction of irrigation channels, in default of which they had to pay a fine of 3 dams. 9

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8 Aitihasik Patra Sangraha, Part 2, PP. 52-57.

The Dolaji System

The Dolaji system, under which persons who had no sons could designate a daughter as their heir, was prevalent among Newars in Kathmandu Valley. The daughter thus designated as Dolaji performed the funeral rights of her parents and inherited their property.

The Muluki Ain (Legal Code) of 1866-67 contains the following provisions relating to the Dolaji system:

1. The son of a Dolaji woman shall not be entitled to inherit the property of their father, in case the letter has other sons (born of another woman). However, he is entitled to his lawful share in the property of his mother.

2. In case the father of a son born of a Dolaji woman has no other sons (from another woman), his property shall not be inherited by his brothers. The sons of a Dolaji shall be entitled to perform the funeral rites of their parents and inherit the property (of the father).

3. A Dolaji shall inherit the property of the person who has designated her as such, not of his brothers.

The 1952 edition of the Muluki Ain prescribes:

1. (A person) who has no sons but only a daughter may designate (such daughter) as a Dolaji in the manner prescribed by law, even if he is entitled to adopt a son. The person who takes a Dolaji woman as his wife shall have no claim to her movable and immovable property. He shall be entitled to inherit his own father's property.

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2. In the caste where the Dolaji system is prevalent, in case (a Dolaji) daughter has no issue, so that no direct heir to the property is available, such property shall accrue to the nearest relative according to law of the family which had designated the Dolaji. In case (a Dolaji woman) has only a daughter, such daughter may use the property as a Dolaji herself, but only in case her mother has handed over to her the original Dolaji deed, and executed a separate Dolaji deed entitling her to do so. No relative shall have any claim (to such property). In case no such deed has been executed, (the daughter of the Dolaji) shall be entitled only to marriage expenses as well as 10% (of the property) as her dowry, while the balance shall accrue to relatives.

3. A Dolaji woman may take up a man of higher or equal caste as her husband according to her choice. In case she takes up a man of lower caste as her husband, her designation as a Dolaji shall be null and void. Relatives shall then be entitled to appropriate the property. In case a Dolaji woman has neither sons nor daughters, her husband may get her property in case she executes a deed to this effect after she attains the age of 45 years.

4. ... A daughter who is designated as a Dolaji shall be entitled to the entire rights due to the father ... who designated her as such.

These provisions have been retained in the 1963 edition of the Muluki Ain, but with one minor change - that a girl may be designated as a Dolaji only before her marriage. However, there is evidence that this only represent a clearer definition of the traditional custom, and not a substantive amendment.

After the Gorkhali conquest of Kathmandu Valley in 1768-69, the new government saw no reason in interfering with the Dolaji system. Royal approval was necessary for designating a girl as Dolaji, although this does not appear to have been a Gorkhali innovation.

Bhim Laxmi Udas, of Talachhe Tol in Kathmandu, had been designated as a Dolaji by her father, Bhaun Singh Udas, "with the royal palace as witness" through an official of the Chhebhadel office on payment of a fee of Rs 51 as

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Contd...
Panphul. This action was contested by the relatives of Bhau Singh Udas in the court, but unsuccessfully. In 1879 Vikrama (1812 A.D.), the claimants were fined and the Dolaji was confirmed on payment of a fee (Salami) of Rs 2,000. Bhim Laxmi Udas, the Dolaji, was then permitted to appropriate the entire movable and immovable property bequeathed to her by her father, perform the funeral rites of her parents and observe the traditional customs and usages of the family.

A son born of a Dolaji woman was joined to the caste of his mother, not his father. Sirpati Banda, of Lagan Tol in Kathmandu, has designated his daughter, Subarna Laxmi, as a Dolaji. Subarna Laxmi later married Dhanjay Padhya (Dhananjaya Upadhyaya), obviously a Brahman. A son named Dhaju Mani was then born to the couple. Dhaju Mani requested the government to recognize him as a member of the Bandu caste. The government granted the request, on the ground that "according to the traditional custom prevalent in Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley), (the son of a Dolaji woman) joins the caste of his mother."

The Dolaji system may be regarded as evidence of the fact that the Newars were once a matrilineal community.

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5litg betel and flowers.
6Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 43, PP. 327-328.
In 1856, Prime Minister Jung Bahadur conducted the first population census of Nepal. Particulars compiled for Kathmandu Valley in the course of this census on Marga Sudi 8, 1913 (December 1856) are summarized below:

### Population of Kathmandu Valley, 1856

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathmandu (Urban)</th>
<th>No. of Houses</th>
<th>No. of Inhabitants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Newar Houses</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Houses</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorkhalis, government employees, non-governmental persons, slaves etc</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>340,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kathmandu (Rural)</th>
<th>No. of Houses</th>
<th>No. of Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of houses</td>
<td>3,513</td>
<td>19,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>340,000</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No particulars obtained from 91 villages in Teku, Dharmathali, Paknajol Dhumbarahi, Naksal, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patan (Urban)</th>
<th>No. of Houses</th>
<th>No. of Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Newar Houses</td>
<td>22,000²</td>
<td>154,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorkhalis, government employees, non-governmental persons, slaves etc.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>160,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Regmi Research Collections Vol. 1, PP. 842-846.

²This is exclusive of 2,000 houses depopulated as a result of a smallpox epidemic.

Contd...
Patan (Rural)

Particulars obtained from 157 villages in Lubhu, Chitlang, Tistung, Palung, etc:—

No. of houses ... 9,913
No. of inhabitants ... 60,257

No particulars obtained from 39 villages in Dhapakhel, Jaulakhel, Dhopighat, Sinamugal, Kirtipur, Thankot, etc.

Bhagaun (Urban)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>No. of Houses</th>
<th>No. of Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Newar Houses</td>
<td>11,500</td>
<td>92,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorkhalis, government employees, slaves, etc.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,500</strong></td>
<td><strong>98,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bhadgaun (Rural)

Particulars obtained from 151 villages in Dhulikhel, Khadpu, Chankot, Panauti, Bihabar, Banepa, etc:—

No. of Houses ... 5,181
No. of Inhabitants ... 32,503

3 This is exclusive of 500 houses depopulated as a result of a smallpox epidemic.
Payment Of Debts Of Members Of Rana Family

Gorkhapatra, Ashadh 16, 1971 (June 30, 1914)

On Ashadh 13, 1971 (June 27, 1914), His Highness the Prime Minister (i.e., Chandra Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana) paid off the debts of all members of the Rana family from his personal treasury. Ranas who had lived frugally and had not incurred debts received Rs 1,000 each. Minor children of Ranas too received Rs 1,000 each. The total amount thus disbursed is said to have amounted to approximately Rs 300,000.

Installation Of Telephone Lines

Gorkhapatra, Ashadh 20, 1972 (July 4, 1915)

Telephone lines have been installed from the Tundikhel, Kathmandu, to Birganj over a distance of 72 miles.

Passports To Visitors From India

Gorkhapatra, Jestha 17, 1984 (June 3, 1927)

Previously, passports to visitors from India were issued in Birganj. Now a railway link has been established between Birganj and Amlekhganj. Passports may now be obtained at Amlekhganj. The following public announcement was issued on Baisakh 30, 1984 (May 13, 1927) in this connection:

Previously, passports were issued to visitors from India to Kathmandu, Nepal, at Birganj if it was proved that they were genuine visitors. As railway lines have been laid between Birganj and Amlekhganj, genuine visitors can get passports at Amlekhganj. Henceforth, the Passport Office at Amlekhganj will issue passports to Nepali citizens, to Indians who have shops and trading establishment in Kathmandu or are employed by the Government, and to pilgrims in accordance with appropriate legal provisions. The Birganj District Headquarters Office too will issue such passports. Persons other than those mentioned above should file an application with the Birganj District Headquarters Office if they want to get passports to visit Kathmandu. The Birganj District Headquarters Office shall issue passports to such persons only if so deemed proper.
Bhupatindra Malla was one of the famous Kings of Bhaktapur. Many monuments still extant in that town bear testimony to his love of architecture. Bhupatindra Malla was also an expert administrator.

Bhupatindra Malla was born on Kartik 23, 1731 Vikrama (November 8-9, 1674) to King Sumati Jitamitra Malla and Queen Lalmati. Available evidence indicates that Jitamitra Malla associated Bhupatindra Malla in the administration of the kingdom as soon as the latter came of age.

A Suki coin minted during the reign of Bhupatindra Malla bears the date Bhadra Badi 11, 816 (Nepali era). This shows that the coin was minted on the occasion of the coronation of Bhupatindra Malla. During the coronation of King Ranajit Malla also, coins had been minted indicating the date and month in full. In Falgun 816 (Nepali era, 1752 Vikrama) a treaty was signed between Jitamitra Malla and Yogendra Malla. This shows that Jitamitra Malla was occupying the throne of Bhaktapur at that time. Bhupatindra Malla thus ascended the throne of Bhaktapur on Aswin 11, 1753 (Vikrama). However, Bhupatindra Malla appears as king even five years previously. An inscription dated 811 Nepali era (1748 Vikrama), found at Dathupahale in Thimi states that King Bhupatindra Malla constructed a rest-house as well as a water spout in accordance with the command of his father, Jitamitra Malla. The Tarabhakti Sudharnava, available at the Bir Library, which was written in the Nepali era 812 (1749 Vikrama) mentions Bhupatindra Malla as King. Similarly, a copy of the Yogavali belonging to Bhupatindra Malla, also available at the Bir Library, mentions him as Maharajadhiraj in Kartik 816 (Nepali era). These references make it clear that Bhupatindra Malla had occupied the position of a king even before he formally ascended the throne. Jitamitra Malla appears to have done so in order to give his son experience in the administration of the kingdom.


In Lalitpur, a conflict had arisen between Srinivas Malla and his son Yognarendra Malla. The conflict was resolved only after Srinivas Malla abdicated in favor of Yognarendra Malla. Jitamitra Malla regarded Srinivas Malla with respect. He was present at the abdication of Srinivas Malla. This is probably the reason why Jitamitra Malla gradually conferred administrative powers on his son, Bhupatindra Malla. Bhupatindra Malla had therefore already become an experienced administrator when he formally ascended the throne in 1753 Vikrama. No Chautara (Prime Minister) or other official was able to exercise any influence over him. Even Chautara Bhagiram, who was powerful during the reign of King Jitamitra Malla, was not able to retain his power after Bhupatindra Malla became king. In fact, no other official was able to retain his power long during the reign of Bhupatindra Malla.

Jitamitra Malla, an illegitimate member of the Malla royal family, became Chautara for some time. But he could not attain the position enjoyed by Bhagiram. On the beginning, Bhupatindra Malla was assisted by his uncle, Ugra Malla. But even Ugra Malla had not been able to exercise much influence over Bhupatindra Malla. Thus, as a result of the wise step taken by Jitamitra Malla, no political conflict occurred during the reign of Bhupatindra Malla.

At that time, the three Malla kings of Kathmandu Valley were each trying to obtain the assistance of the other to suppress the third. King Yognarendra Malla of Lalitpur was of an aggressive disposition. He thus came into frequent conflict with Bhupatindra Malla. However, Bhupatindra Malla never succumbed to the pressure of Yognarendra Malla. On the other hand, Bhupatindra Malla was able occasionally to exercise influence over Yognarendra Malla with the help of other kings. In 1758 Vikrama, a treaty had been signed between Yognarendra Malla and Bhupatindra Malla. The treaty provided that in case Lalitpur sought assistance from Kathmandu without consulting Bhaktapur, the four kingdoms of Bhaktapur, Gorkha, Makwanpur and Tanahu should collect a fine of Rs 40,000 from Lalitpur. It shows that Bhupatindra Malla had been able to exercise influence on Yognarendra Malla with the help of other kings. It also indicates his desire to prevent a collusion between Kantipur and Lalitpur. However, 18 months later, Bhupatindra Malla signed a treaty with King Bhaskar Malla of Kantipur against Lalitpur. According to this treaty, Kantipur should never leave the side of Bhaktapur, and should be given priority in assistance. The treaty provided for a pledge of 36,000 mohars. Similarly, Bhaktapur undertook not to open roads for Lalitpur without the consent of Kantipur.

Because of all these reasons, Yognarendra Malla was displeased with Bhaktapur. On Bhadra 29, 1762 Vikrama, Yognarendra Malla himself led a force to occupy the well-known fort of Obhu in Bhaktapur. The forces of Lalitpur besieged Obhu on 3 sides. Even then, the fort did not surrender. Yognarendra Malla directed the battle from Changu. He did not go back to Lalitpur even during the Dashain festival. Bhupatindra Malla therefore shifted to Baraha along with his son. Meanwhile, Yognarendra Malla died suddenly in Changu.

Contd...
He had been poisoned by somebody belonging to Bhaktapur. After the death of their king, the forces of Lalitpur called off the siege and returned to Lalitpur. Thus Yognarendra Malla had to lose his life in the course of his conflict with Bhupatindra Malla.

At that time, there was rivalry among the 3 Malla kings of Kathmandu Valley on the question of procuring elephants from the Tarai in association with Makwanpur. Bhupatindra Malla did not lag behind in this field. According to the Vyayanirdesh, a copy of which is available at the Bir Library, Bhupatindra Malla conducted elephant-catching operations in Falgun 828 (Nepali era, 1764 Vikrama) in the company of King Manik Sen of Makwanpur. The Taleju Kisiidutayavidhi, a copy of which is available at the Bir Library, mentions that King Bhupatindra Malla caught an elephant in Makwanpur and offered it to the temple of Taleju in 834 Nepali era (1771 Vikrama).

Bhupatindra Malla constructed several forts with the cooperation of his subjects. According to the Vyayanirdesh, he led the foundation of a fort in Poush 827 Nepali era (1763 Vikrama). It also mentions that he renovated the fort of Kolapa in Bhaktapur in Kartik 830 Nepali era (1766 Vikrama).

Following the example of his father, Bhupatindra Malla trained his son, Ranajit Malla, in the affairs of the administration. An inscription available at Kwalakot Tole in Thimi, dated 841 Nepali era (1778 Vikrama) refers to the reign of King Bhupatindra Malla and Ranajit Malla. Similar references are available also in an inscription found at Tachapa Tole in Bhaktapur, and a copy of the Vidyavilap drama available at the Bir Library.

A coin minted during the reign of Ranajit Malla bears the date Baisak Sudi 15, 842 (Nepali era). According to a document in the possession of Chandraman Joshi, Ranajit Malla ascended the throne on this date. This makes it clear that this was the date when the reign of Bhupatindra Malla came to an end.
From King Rejendra,
To Laxmi Sundar.

With effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1885 (April 1827), we appoint you as Naike of Newar traders and merchants in Lhasa, replacing Shiva Newar with due loyalty, obtain Rs 1001 as emoluments for the men (working) with you, as well as for yourself. Collect customary payments from the Thakali, as well as from the traders, merchants and retail shop-keepers belonging to the Battiskothi (in Lhasa). Discharge your functions justly, keep the traders and merchants pleased and satisfied. Appropriate one-sixth of whatever is collected, and remit the actual balance to us. Submit accounts every year and obtain clearance. Do not commit injustice and do not harass traders and merchants. Prove true to your salt and always remain prompt regarding matters which will benefit us.

Baisakh Sudi 1, 1885
(April 1, 1827)

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1Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 43, P. 90.

2The head of the Newar mercantile community in Lhasa.

3lit. 32 commercial establishments. The Newar mercantile community in Lhasa was collectively so called because of the 32 commercial houses said to have been first established there during the reign of King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu. (1641-1674 A.D.).
A Glossary Of Revenue, Administrative And Other Terms Occurring In Nepali Historical Documents

(Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhusawan</td>
<td>(1) A levy collected in the eastern Tarai districts to provide husk for the landlord's cattle, often incorporated into the governmental tax assessment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihadani</td>
<td>A levy collected on marriages in the eastern Tarai districts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budha</td>
<td>A village headman in Thak, Thimi and elsewhere in north-western Nepal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budhyauli</td>
<td>(1) A village functionary in Ruikhola and elsewhere in north-western Nepal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) A member of the Limbu village council in the far-eastern hill districts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chak-Chakui</td>
<td>Fines imposed on members of Bhoite, Chepang, Darai, Majhi, Hayu, Danuwar, Kumhal, Pahari, Sarki, Sunar, Chunar, Hurke, Damai, Gaina, Badi, Bhat, Pode Chyamkhalak and other castes for adultery within their respective castes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauda Chira</td>
<td>A payment collected by heads of monasteries in the eastern Tarai districts from visiting Indian priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaudinghisa</td>
<td>Duty on silver imported from Tibet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauga (Chyanga)</td>
<td>A coarse variety of homespun cotton cloth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chari</td>
<td>Pasturage tax in the Tarai districts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaudhari</td>
<td>(1) A landlord or Zamindar in the Tarai districts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) A functionary responsible for revenue collection at the parganna level in the Tarai districts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
(3) Headmen of Newar communities in the hill districts.

Chhaurahi

A levy imposed on sacred thread investiture ceremonies in the Tarai districts.

Chhit-Chhap

A tax collected from dyers and printers of cloth.

Chumawan

A levy collected to finance the sacred thread investiture ceremony of a royal prince.

Chuni

Ryots whose names were listed in the tax assessment records.

Chhebhadel

The Chhebhadel according to Brian Hodgson, was a tribunal for the settlement of all disputes relating to houses which did not possess criminal jurisdiction. The chief of this office Chhebhadel collected taxes and payments as well from the inhabitants of Kathmandu, as well as from traders visiting the town from outside. He was in charge of the supply of fuelwood to the royal palace. He also caught cattle, goats, sheep and horses which were let loose in the fields, and handed them over to the royal cattle sheds.

To Be Continued