Regmi Research Series
Year 18, No.6
Kathmandu: June, 1986
Edited by
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Contents

1. A Note On The Concept Of Economic Surplus ... 81.
2. Kami, Sarki, Damai, Gaine ... 84.
3. Royal Orders of Kartik 1867 Samvat ... 86.
4. Minting and Coinage ... 90.
5. More Documents From Jumla ... 92.

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A Note on The Concept of Economic Surplus

The concept of economic surplus, in the sense used in my recent book: The State and Economic Surplus: Production, Trade, and Resource Mobilization in Early Nineteenth Century Nepal (Varanasi: Nath Publishing House, 1984), has been the subject of some confusion. At least one reviewer (Dr. M.K. Dahal in The Economic Journal of Nepal, a quarterly publication of the Department of Economics, Tribhuvan University, Vol. 8 no. 3, July-September 1985, p. 84) has shown no hesitation in maintaining that "the author seems to have been susceptible to the Marxist theory of surplus value in the selection of the title." However, nothing could be farther from the truth. The common use of the term surplus should by no means be construed to imply a common connotation.

The concept of economic surplus, as used in The State and Economic Surplus, has been borrowed from Barrington Moore and Paul A. Baran. Moore does not explain it in detail, but Baran has made a distinction between actual economic surplus, that is, the difference between society's actual current output and its actual current consumption, and potential economic surplus, or the difference between the output that could be produced in a given natural and technological environment with the help of employable productive resources, and what might be regarded as essential consumption. Another study, co-authored by Baran, states: "The economic surplus, in the briefest possible definition, is the difference between what a society produces and the costs of producing it." Baran stresses the concept in its aggregate societal aspect. He regards actual economic surplus as "identical with current saving or accumulation, (which finds its embodiment in assets of various kinds added to society's wealth during the period in question: productive facilities and equipment, inventories, foreign balances, and gold hoards)." On the other hand, the concept of economic surplus is used in the State and Economic Surplus at the micro-level of the individual producer and trader to denote the net economic gain that he makes from his activity after deducting costs. Moreover, economic surplus is treated as a resource which is available for mobilization by the state for meeting its military and other needs.

My concept of economic surplus is different from the Marxist concept of surplus value. According to Marx, in a capitalist system, labor is a commodity which is purchased by the capitalist at a rate corresponding to the requirements for essential goods necessary for the maintenance and reproduction of labor. In return, the capitalist acquires the use-value of labor. The difference between this use-value and the wage-rate constitutes surplus value, which constitutes the profit of the capitalist. That is to say, "surplus value is the value created by the labor of a wage-worker over and above the value of his labour-power and appropriated without payment by the capitalist." The Marxist concept of surplus value is thus applicable only in conditions of capitalistic production where labor has assumed the form of a commodity and is available for wage-employment.
It cannot be used as a tool of economic analysis in pre-industrial conditions of production and exchange, where peasant-farming is largely a subsistence occupation, and trading the commercial equivalent of peasant farming, and where neither the peasant nor the trader accounts for the cost of his own labor.

"...it is clear that Marxism is essentially concerned with the transformation, in the process of production, of surplus value into capital. This surplus value can be derived from the labour and labour power of the workers only in the process of production, not in the process of circulation. In other words, the surplus value is derived from the commodity-form, not from the money-form.

Since we have assumed that commodities are bought and sold at their values, these acts constitute merely the conversion of a certain value from one form into another, from the commodity-form into the money-form or from the money-form into the commodity-form—a change in the state of being. If commodities are sold at their values, then the magnitudes of value in the hands of the buyer and seller remain unchanged. Only the form of existence of value is changed. To effect a change in the state of being costs time and labour-power not for the purpose of creating value but in order to accomplish the conversion of value from one form into another. The mutual attempt to appropriate an extra slice of this value on this occasion changes nothing. This labour, increased by the evil designs on either side, creates no value, any more than the work performed in a judicial proceeding increases the value of the subject-matter of the suit.

It may be sufficient to stress in the present context that traders would hardly engage themselves in the buying and selling of commodities if they did not derive an economic gain from the activity. The net gain made by them from trade after deducting expenses, as mentioned above, may be regarded as their economic surplus. The question of whether or not trade is a productive activity generating surplus value in the Marxist sense is therefore, irrelevant."
One other theoretical point made in Chapter 2 of The State and Economic Surplus, which differs from Marxist theory, may also be explained in this context. I have used the term commodity to denote any material product, but Marxist theory refuses to regard as commodities the products of human labor which were consumed by the producer himself or else transferred to others without involving the process of exchange. In the words of Marx:

A thing can be useful, and the product of human labor, without being a commodity. Whoever directly satisfies his wants with the produce of his own labour, creates, indeed, use-values, but not commodities. In order to produce the latter, he must not only produce use-values, but use-values for others, social use-values. (And not only for others, without more: The mediaeval peasant produced quit-rent-corn for his feudal lord and tithe-corn for his parson. But neither the quit-rent-corn nor the tithe-corn became commodities by reason of the fact that they had been produced for others. To become a commodity a product must be transferred to another, whom it will serve as a use-value, by means of an exchange.)

This means that the portion of material production that the producer transfers to the state without getting any payment in return through taxation or other means represents the products of his labor rather than commodities. This distinction between products and commodities, although indispensable for an analysis of the mode of appropriation of surplus value, has been ignored in The State and Economic Surplus, which is concerned solely with the appropriation by the state of a share in the economic surplus generated from the processes of material production and exchange. Products may become commodities only when they are actually exchanged, but the loss of economic surplus suffered by the producer is none the less real when his products are transferred to the state without any payment.

Notes


May 30, 1986

Mahesh C. Regmi

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Kami: Sarki, Lamaiysand Gaine

1. Kami

The Kathmandu Munitions Factory (Jangi Megjin) used to send peons to different parts of the hill region to collect the megjin levy.

Kaji...Basnyat complained that such peons had been sent to collect the levy on Kami households in lands owned by him under bekh tenures. He maintained that there was no precedent for such action.

An order was accordingly issued on Wednesday, Bhadra Badi 6, 1907 (August 1850) directing the peons not to collect the megjin levy from Kami households in the bekh holdings of the Kami in Lamjung if it had not been customarily collected there, and to refund collections that had already been made, if any.

Wednesday, Bhadra Badi 6, 1907 (August 1850)
Regmi Research Collection,
Vol. 64, pp. 755-6.

2. Sarki

In the year 1899 Samvat (A.D. 1842), a royal order had been issued appointing Jasya Sarki and fifteen other persons as chiefs (mijhar) of the Sarki community in the region east of the Dhobikhola river and west of the Mechi river. The Mijhars were granted authority to adjudicate in cases relating to customary sanctions in the community relating to boiled rice, water, and sexual relations, and collect the chandrayan and other levies. In consideration of such authority, they were placed under the obligation of working in the Kathmandu Munitions Factory (Jangi Megjin).
Kulbair, Gangaram, and 20 other Mijhars subsequently complained to Kathmandu that Sarkis in some areas were not obeying their authority according to the order of 1899 Samvat.

An order was issued on Thursday, Bhadra Badi 14, 1907 (August 1850) reconfirming the Samvat 1899 arrangements.

Regmi Research Collection,us
Vol. 64, pp. 756-7.

II

Royal order to Kumbhod in Indra Simha Adhikari: We had deputed Muisigya, Jiune, and Ramachandra on behalf of the 22 Sarki Mijhars of the Jangi Mogjin and the Rani-Pokhari Mogjin to collect fines and penalties from members of the Sarki community in Gorkha who were involved in cases concerning the violation of customary sanctions in the community relating to water and sexual relations. The Mijhar who had been earlier sent there for that purpose imposed an unauthorized payment of four annas (on each Sarki house-hold) and made collections accordingly as The Sarki Mijhars have now complained that he is not permitting collections (in Gorkha) until arrears of payment due to him are cleared off. They have also complained that he has taken into his custody all royal orders and other documents concerning authority to adjudicate in cases relating to water and sexual relations in the Sarki community. If their complaints are true, arrange to have those documents handed over to Muisigya, Jiune, and Ramachandra, and impose a ban on unauthorized collections, if any. If the facts are different, submit an accurate report."

Friday, Chaitra Sudi 2, 1906
(March 1850)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 64, pp. 641-3

3. Damai

The following public notification was issued in the region east of the Dhurbikhola river and west of the Mechi river on Monday, Aswin Badi 10, 1907 (September 1850).

"A royal order had been issued appointing Nagarchi Bhojya Damai as Mijhar of the Damai community, with authority to collect the Chandrayan and other levies from Damai house-holds every year and adjudicate in cases concerning violation of customary sanctions in the community relating to waterways as well as in sexual and other crimes such as incest, infanticide, sexual relations between cross cousins, or with persons belonging to the Gaine-Bhand, Chyanekhalak, or Muslim community.
"These arrangements have now been renewed in the names of Agatya Damai and Talya Lanai.

"In Tilpung, Mantali, Alampur, Chaurasi, and other areas, attempts are being made to set up independent Mijhars of the Damai community in contravention of the royal order. Those who make such attempts, and collect the Chandrayan and other levies, shall be severely punished."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 64, pp. 764-6

4. Gaine

Public notification to the Gaine community throughout the Kingdom:

"A royal order had been issued in the names of Khanari Gaine granting him authority to adjudicate in cases concerning violation of customary sanctions in the community relating to boiled rice, water, sexual relations, untouchability, infanticide, and matrimonial relations with slaves.

"Khanari Gaine's sons, Bhismesanya Gaine and Shyamasundar Gaine, have complained that many members of the Gaine community are acting in contravention of the royal order these days.

"We hereby reconfirm the authority mentioned above in the names of Bhismesanya Gaine and Shyamasundar Gaine. Cases of the categories mentioned above, involving members of the Gaine community, shall be heard and disposed of by them, not by the local Maha. We also hereby order that no Gaine shall be evicted from his lands and homestead."

Saturdays Magh Badi 7, 1906, (January 1850).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 64, pp. 552-3s

Royal Orders of Kartik 1867 Samvat
(Abstract Translations)

Contents
3. Ritual Offerings.
4. Chhap Grant.
5. Ban on Forced Labors
6. Chandrabir Thapa Summoned to Kathmandu.
7. Subedars Summoned to Kathmandu.
8. Restoration of Confiscated Property.
9. Hunting of Tigers
1. Status of Children of Freed Slave Girl

To Padmavati Brahmani: "In the presence of your brothers, you had freed your slave girl, Durgi, and given her the status of a Ghartis. You have now complained to us that Durgi has already had three sons, and that your brothers say that she alone had been freed, not the children from her womb. Once a slave girl is freed, her children too must be considered to be free. We, therefore, endorse the good deed performed by you. Rest assured that any one who opposes this act will be severely punished."

Monday; Kartik Badi 10, 1867

2. Collection of Revenue Arrears in Bara and Parsa

To Subba Balabhanjan Pande: "From 1857 to 1863 Samvat, revenues were collected in Bara and Parsa by Subba Shakti Balabha Pahyans. You are hereby ordered to realize all arrears of revenue for this period and hand over the proceeds forthwith through Vaiyakaran Pahyans.

Mondays Kartik Badi 10, 1867

3. Ritual Offerings

To Kaji Banadur Bhandari and Bakshi Dusharath Khatri: "On the occasion of Moshe Sankranti (Baisakh 1, 1867), we had made ritual offerings as follows from revenues collected from all sources in the Kingdom, except in the region between the Bheri river and Garh, and proceeds of the darshan-bhest levy collected from different companies of the army.

101 jars of water from Gangotri offered to Sra Satabandha Ramoshwara, at Rs. 66 each ... ... ... Rs. 6,666.

20 dr. at Rs. 51-12 each ... ... ... Rs. 1,035.

Ritual gifts (dakshina) to the following five Brahmins:

1. Kamalpati Tiwari Rs. 701
2. Sri Krishna Jaisi Rs. 700
3. Jayadev Tiwari Rs. 700
4. Ramaballabh Pantha Rs. 700
5. Vidyapati Pande Rs. 700

Total Rs. 3,501
Since the ritual gifts totalling Rs. 3,501 have not been paid in full, you are hereby ordered to disburse the unpaid amounts as follows to the following persons:

1. Kamalpati Tiwari ... Rs. 440-3\frac{3}{4}
2. Sri Krishna Jaisi ... Rs. 439-\frac{3}{4}
3. Jayadev Tiwari ... Rs. 439-\frac{3}{4}
4. Ramballabh Pantha ... Rs. 439-\frac{3}{4}
5. Vidyapati Panda ... Rs. 439-\frac{3}{4}

Total Rs. 2,198-6

Monday, Kartik 10, 1867.

4. Chap Grant

On Monday, Kartik 10, 1867, a plot of ... (blank) ropanies of land in the Halchak area, situated east of the Chap holding of Birabhadra Kanwar, was granted on Chap tenure to Delwar Khawas.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, pp. 578.

5. Ban on Forced Labor

Royal order to soldiers (Sipahi, tilanga) travelling through Bisangaun: "Hulaki porters are living in Bisangaun Village, so we have granted them exemption from all forms of forced labor (bagar) and free supplies of provisions (baikar), except hulaki services. You are, therefore, ordered not to exact bagar or baikar from the inhabitants of that village."

Monday, Kartik 10, 1867.
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, pp. 578.

The same day, soldiers travelling through villages under the jurisdiction of Padmanidhi Upreti, as well as the villages of Chalismpali, Dhurangaun, and Bherung, were similarly ordered not to exact bagar and baikar from the local inhabitants except for the transportation of arms and ammunition, and sick persons.

6. Chandrabir Thapa Summoned to Kathmandu

Royal order to Chandrabir Thapa: "Blessings. The company under your command has now been placed under Aiman Bagati. You are therefore, ordered to hand over to him the colors of that company, as well as arms and ammunition, and other supplies, to him, and present yourself before us."

Monday, Kartik 10, 1867
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, p. 579.

7. Subedars Summoned to Kathmandu

Royal order to Subedars Upendra Simha Kanwar, Bahadur Khadka, and Krishna Upreti: "You are hereby ordered to hand over to Kaji Anara Simha Thapa all collections made in Garh, whether in cash or in kind, obtain receipts from him, and appear before us as soon as you receive this order."

Monday, Kartik 10, 1867
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, p. 579.

8. Restoration of Confiscated Property

Royal order to Laxmi Ballabh Vaidya: "In the year 1866 Samvat, charges were framed against you while you were on the front, and your lands and other property were confiscated. Subsequently, investigations revealed that there was no truth in these charges. We, therefore, restore your lands and other property. Remain faithful to us and use your lands."

Monday, Kartik 10, 1867
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, p. 580

Similar orders were issued separately on the same date to the following persons as well: Deva Kadyal, Bhawani Shankar Pantha, and Padmanidhi Upreti.


9. Hunting of Tigers

A royal order was issued on Kartik Badi 10, 1867 directing Bhimraja Sunuwar and Gajendra Sunuwar to hunt tigers, or trap them in snares and kill them, in the Bagmati-Rosi area of Panauti. They were permitted to accept voluntary contributions from the local people, and were ordered not to collect anything by force.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, p. 580

(To be Continued)
Minting and Coinage

Contents

1. Royal Order to Kulunanda Jha.
2. The Chandighisa Tax.
3. Export of Coins
4. Porterage Services for Mints
5. Minting of Gorakhpuri Coins

1. Royal Order to Kulunanda Jha

"An ijara for collection of the nirkhi tax has been granted to Hanumanta Simha for the period Shrawan Sudi 13, 1873 through Shrawan Sudi 12, 1874. Let his men collect the nirkhi tax at the customary rate on each load of copper supplied to the mints at Beni and Baglung Chaur."

Tuesday, Bhadra, Badi 5, 1873 (August 1816).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 308.

2. The Chandighisa Tax

Royal order to Bepari-Naikes Buddhara, Padmadhwaj, and Chakradhar in Latin: "We have received reports that the Panetru is demanding the Chandighisa tax at the rate of one-fourth of silver supplied by the Chinese which passes through Lutin. No such tax has been collected there; so it shall not be collected in the future. Discharge your traditional obligations as usual under the authority of Kapardhar Bhotu Pando."

Sunday, Poush Sudi 4, 1873 (December 1816)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 345.

3. Export of Coins

Separate royal orders were issued on Fulgun Badi 30, 1873 (February 1817) to officials stationed at Chisapani-Gadhi and Sindhuli-Gadhi directing them to permit traders to take away with them to the south goods as well as mohar and rupee coins of silver, asharfi coins (of gold) and paisa coins (of copper). However, exports of silver and Patna sigea and other (Indian) coins were banned.

4. Porterage Services for Mints

Royal order to the inhabitants of Galkot: "You have complained that porterage services are being exacted from you for transporting both paisa coins and stones. We, therefore, order that the inhabitants of Galkot shall provide porterage services for transporting paisa coins minted at Baglung Chaur, while those of Isma and Muskot shall transport stones. You need not provide porterage services for copper and paisa coins belonging to traders."

Saturday, Falgun Sudi, 6, 1873 (March 1874).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 36, p. 409.

5. Minting of Gorakhpuri Coins

Royal order to Hanumanta Simha: "We hereby grant you dies for minting Gorakhpuri paisa coins at the Nagro mines with scrap (patru) copper, subject to a limit of 12,000 rupees. After that limit is reached, return the dies to us. Do not let Gorakhpuri paisa coins be used here. Hand over such coins to traders for supply to the south (madhes)."

Sunday, Falgun Sudi 14, 1873 (March 1874)

(To be continued)
More Documents From Jumla
(Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903)

Previous References


Appointment of Jimmawal in Jeragaun

Royal order to Badri Shahi: "You have represented to us that your previous office has now been withheld from you. We, therefore, hereby order that the amount of revenue assessed from the village of Teragaun shall be collected by you and transmitted to the Jimmawal of the dara of Palata. We also order that you may appropriate a sum of six 16-ganda rupees from the proceeds of asmani payments collected in that village as your emoluments for discharging the functions of Jimmawal."

Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846).
Regmi Research Collection, Vols. 80, p. 510.

Appointment of Jimmawal in Khatyad

Royal order to Dhaula Shahi: "You are hereby authorized to appropriate your emoluments as Jimmawal of the dara of Khatyad, amounting to 5½ rupees of 16 gandas each, from the asmani revenue of the village of Rolsilket, Collect thek and Sirto taxes, as assessed during the revenue settlement of the Samvat year 1903, through Mukhiyas, and personally hand over revenue for the entire dara."

Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903, (August 1846).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 80, pp. 510-511.

Unauthorized Rent Collection in Sija

Jaladhar Rakaya, a resident of the village of Molpa in the dara of Sija in Jumla district, submitted the following petition to Kathmandu: "During the time of the Kalyal Kings, Mani Raj had given our grand-father, Mani Rakaya, 12 mus of rice lands at Larkim-Ahara, as well as a homeste at Gajapatal. We have been using those lands since then. The lands are now registered in my name and I am paying Sirto taxes on them. However, Mani Prasad, Haribhan, and Birchham Shahi are now demanding that I pay rents on those lands."

Royal order: "We hereby order that since the lands formerly given by Mani Raj are now registered in your name as a landholder (raiyat), you need not pay rents on those lands."

Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846).
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 80, p. 511.
Lend Reclamation in Barhabis

Akbar Ruwal of Barisati Village in the dāra of Barhabis in Jumla offered to reclaim 80 muris of rice-lands in case he was granted the right to employ the local people on Jhara basis. A royal order was accordingly issued on Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846) granting him the right to employ the inhabitants of Barisati Village on Jhara basis for the construction of dams and channels to irrigate 80 muris of lands at Pilligaun and other villages. The royal order added, "You are permitted to appropriate both the landlord's share and the cultivator's share of crops raised on these lands for the first three years after they are converted into rice-fields. From the fourth year, you may use 20 muris as your mantra chāmāl (on a tax-free basis). On the remaining 60 murīshāhā tax shall be paid at the current rate to the ādālī, in addition to the fixed amount stipulated for that dāra."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 80, p. 512.

Ban on Forced Labor in Pansaya

Royal order to government employees and military personnel travelling through the dāra of Pansaya in Jumla: "The thanīs of that dāra have complained to me that you harass them greatly by exacting portage services and provisions without any payment. We hereby promulgate this order directing that in the future the people of that dāra shall not be forced to provide free portage services to anyone except for military supplies, sick people, and supplies meant for the royal palace. They shall also not be compelled to supply provisions without any payment. In case you need provisions, pay for them at reasonable rates. In case any one forcibly exacts portage services or provisions without payment, thereby harassing the local people, he shall be held responsible."


Ritual Gift for Recitation of Vedas

A royal order had been issued in the names of Thanī Devidas Acharjya and Thanī Harihar Acharjya entitling them to a yearly ritual payment of Rs. 30 from revenue assessed for the village of Pairegaun in the dāra of Chandhabis in Jumla district in consideration of recitation of the Vedas at the temple of Chandanath. Another royal order was issued on Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846) reconfirming this arrangement. It stated, "As before, recite the Vedas 15 times every day throughout the year, and appropriate 30 rupees of 16 gandas each from the revenue assessment of the village of Pairegaun in the dāra of Chandhabis as ritual gift. Receive the balance of the revenue from Mukhiyas and hand it over personally to the Jimmawal of Chandhabis."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 80, p. 514.
Moratorium on Mahadeva Padhya’s Loans

Mahadeva Padhya of Bohragaun in Jumla submitted the following petition to Kathmandu: "At the time when Jumla was conquered (by Gorkha), my father, Siru Padhya, accompanied the Thani to the royal palace (in Kathmandu) as well as the district headquarters (gumda). For this, he had to borrow large sums of money. My father is now dead, and the creditors have seized everything, including lands and household utensils. They also charge interest at more than 10 percent a year. How then can I sustain myself in Jumla?"

A royal order was then issued on Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846) directing Mahadeva Padhya’s creditors not to demand repayment for a period of ten years, and start collecting their dues in installments only thereafter. Mahadeva Padhya was ordered to pay taxes on his lands and remain in Jumla.

Regmi Research Collection Vol. 80, pp. 514-515.

Complaint Against Exaction of Unpaid Labor Services

Shankar Bhandari, Pounale Bhandari, Bhumane Bhandari, and Kali Kathayat, residents of Mopala Village in the darsa of Sija in Jumla, submitted the following petition to Kathmandu: "Rakal and others are claiming that we were their plowhands during the time of the Kalyan Kings. They demand that either we vacate their lands or obey their orders. They have thus greatly harassed us. Rakal has even evicted us from 30 muris of rice-fields."

The following royal order was then issued on Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846): "Once the landownership rights of the cultivator have been confirmed, no one is entitled to compel him to work. The cultivator shall be given back the 30 muris of rice-fields and he shall pay the prescribed sirto tax thereon."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 80, p. 509.

Land Reclamation in Khatyad

Gajadhar Jaisi and Dayaram Jaisi offered to reclaim 200 muris of land as rice-field in the Upallo-Khatyad area of Jumla in case they were granted authority to exact Jhara labor from the inhabitants of a few villages.

A royal order issued on Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846) granted them authority to exact Jhara labor for that purpose from the inhabitants of Upallo-Khatyad. The order added: "Appropriate both the landlord’s share and the cultivator’s share of the produce of these lands for the first three years. From the fourth year, you may use 100 muris of the reclaimed lands as your mana chamal. On the remaining 100 muris, pay the pota tax at rates current in the darsa to the Amali every year."

Regmi Research Collection Vol. 80, pp. 515-516.
Irrigation in Jumla

Mandhir Padhya and Gelya Rokaya submitted a petition to Kathmandu offering to convert 300 muries of land at Jhimrichaur into rice-fields by constructing an irrigation channel from Chaines Khare if they were granted authority to exact Jhara labor from the inhabitants of the Dara of Sija in Jumla. A royal order was then issued on Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846) granting them such authority. It warned the thanis, tharias, jimmaivals, mukhiyas, and ryots of Sija that pata tax for 300 muries of rice-fields would be realized from any one who did not provide Jhara labor for the construction of the irrigation channel.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 30, p. 516.

Thek-Chhap Grant in Gam

On Sundays Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903 (August 1846), Mukti Ohhatyal was granted a reikar homsite in Papugaun in the Dara of Gam on Thek-Chhap tenures. He was entitled to receive a sum of nine 16-ganda rupees every year as emoluments from the local mukhiyas in his capacity of jimmaivals and transmit the balance of the revenue assessment to the Amali every year.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 30, p. 517.