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Miscellaneous Notes on Nepal-India TradeNepal-Tirhut Trade, 1791

R. Bathurst, Collector of Tirhut, gave the following list of exports and imports between Nepal and India on February 2, 1792:

Exports to Nepal : Salt, white woollen cloth, muslin, malda cloth, English red cloth, Hindusthani shoes, muskets, metmegs, clove, pepper, soopari, cocoanuts, all sorts of pulse, opium.

Imports from Nepal : Gold dust, crude borax, ivory, wax, cow's tails, lead, iron, copper, cochin cloth, chints, cinnamon, honey, sallajeet, tin.

Source: P.C. Roy Chaudhury, Muzaffarpur Old Records, Patna, Secretariat Press, 1959, pp. 116-17.

According to another source:

"In 1790 the Collector reported that imports from Nepal consisted of timber, ready-made woodwork, rice and paddy, other grains, Bhutan blankets, cotton, large cardamoms, oranges, wax, madder, drugs, lac, catechu or terra japonica, frankincense, iron, rhinoceros horn and hides, mainas, parrots, and falcons.

Imports from Nepal, 1791

|                    |     |            |
|--------------------|-----|------------|
| Timber             | ... | Rs 70,000  |
| Readymade woodwork | ... | Rs 10,000  |
| Rice & paddy       | ... | Rs 150,000 |
| Other grain        | ... | Rs 50,000  |
| Bhutan blankets    | ... | Rs 1,000   |
| Cotton             | ... | Rs 3,000   |
| Large cardamoms    | ... | Rs 2,000   |
| Orange             | ... | Rs 500     |
| Wax                | ... | Rs 5,000   |
| Madder & drugs     | ... | Rs 2,000   |
| Lac                | ... | Rs 2,000   |
| Catechu            | ... | Rs 4,000   |

|                       |     |            |
|-----------------------|-----|------------|
| Frankincense          | ... | Rs 3,000   |
| Iron                  | ... | Rs 1,000   |
| Rhinoceros horns      | ... | Rs 500     |
| Hides                 | ... | Rs 500     |
| Mainas and<br>parrots | ... | Rs 1,000   |
| Falcons               | ... | Rs 500     |
| Total                 |     | Rs 304,000 |

Source: Wilson Ivilson Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 4: Districts of Monghyr and Purniah, London: Trubner & Co., 1876, p. 380.

## 2. Nepal's Trade Through Chumparun

"The principal exports of this District are timber, hides, opium, Indigo, sugar, saltpetre and grain. Vast quantities of the latter pass through Chumparun on its way from Nepal to Chumparun, Dinapore & Patna. You will observe that Chumparun is a strip of country running North-West and South-East. Its southern and south western boundary is the Gunduck, a river navigable at all times of the year. Water carriage is much cheaper than land carriage & is always used in preference. During the cold season the road leading from the Ghauts on the Gunduck into the district and Nepal are covered with carts, ponies and donkeys while the main road to Tirhoot is comparatively little used."

Source: "Letter No. 113 of 21 May 1800 from Collector and Magistrate of Saran to Superintending Engineer, Bihar Circle, Gaya," in Chumparun District Records, Bihar State Archives, Patna.

"The main trade route to Nepal lies through Chumparun ... The bulk of the trade passes through Raxaul, the terminus of the Sugauli-Raxaul branch railway. The railways are the main arteries of commerce, but the Gandak and the Burhi Gandak also carry much traffic.

Source: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 10, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1809, p. 143.

## Purnea District

"Transit dues are levied by the Nepal government on both exports and imports. The frontier is divided into a certain number of portions, known as sair mahals, which are farmed out for a term of years to contractors called Chaudharis. The duty on exports is levied either by weight

or ad valorem, and payment in kind is seldom received. A cart load of ghan, or unhusked rice, pays a fee of 9 annas, or 1s. 1½d., before leaving Nepal; a cart-load of raw jute pays 5 annas, or 7½d., and the same quantity of raw cotton Rs 1.4.0. or 2s. 6d. A coolie-load of ghan or of cotton is subjected to a duty of one anna per load, which generally weighs under 1½ mans. Rice or cotton carried on pack-ponies pays a duty of one anna in the rupee, or 6¼ percent. In the case of ghi, mustard, tobacco, and ginger, a duty of 1½ annas is levied per rupee (93/8 percent). Gunny and cloths pay half a rice or 3/16d., on each piece. These are the rates fixed by the Nepali Government, but they are frequently exceeded, as the farmer is practically under no control. At some places, the subdivisional officer of Krisnaganj found that the rate on mustard, jute, ghi, tobacco, rice and paddy was the same, namely, six pice, or 2½d. on every two shillings worth purchased. In other parts, rice and paddy paid at the rate of one anna on the rupee. The duty on exports from Nepal is paid at the time of purchase in the local market, and the purchaser is there furnished with a pass or char chitta. The goods are only examined on the frontier, to see if the description on the Pass corresponds with the article exported. Smuggling, if detected, is punished by the levy of double duty.

Source: W.W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 4: Districts of Monghyr and Purniah, London, Trubner & Co., 1876, pp. 382-83.

"The trans-frontier trade with Nepal (through Purnea) is carried by carts, coolies, and pack-animals, the principal imports from Nepal being rice and paddy, jute, gunny bags, mustard seed, and timber, and the chief exports salt, sugar, kerosene oil, cotton twist, and piece-goods.

Source: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 20, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, p. 417.

### 1. Kathmandu-Patna Trade, 1811-12

"The only commerce that can be called external is a little with Nepal. Some merchants of Patna send broad cloth, muslins, silks, spices and Manihari goods and bring back bees wax, borax, gold dust, Thibet bulls tails, musk, the woollen cloth called tush, and many medicinal herbs. Some merchants of Nepal trade in nearly the same articles to nearly an equal extent. The whole trade of Nepal however, does not come this way, especially the timber from their lower provinces, and I presume a good deal of grain, both of which must be purchased by traders in Gorakhpur, Betiya and Tirahut, and very considerable sums must be paid by those who feed their cattle in the Nepalese woods. The elephants caught there must also come annually to something considerable. All however is not adequate to pay for the goods sent from Patna, and silver coin to about 2000 rupees is supposed to be sent in balance. The Raja has a kind of factory at Patna

for supplying his court with luxuries, but the agents sell some of the productions of their country, such probably as the Raja has received as presents. It is probable that a considerable portion of the balance against Nepal arises from the purchase of fire arms and nitre, although this is of course most carefully concealed."

Source: Francis Buchanan, An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1814-15, Patna, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, n.d., bk. 3, p. 682.

"In the District of Patna, the principal mart is Patna City, a place of considerable importance as a commercial depot. Its central position at the junction of the three great rivers, the Son, the Gandak and the Ganges, where the traffic of the North-Western Provinces meets that of Bengal, and where the traffic branches off to Nepal, gives it in this respect great advantages."

Source: W.W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XI: Patna and Saran, London: Trubner & Co., 1877, p. 154.

However, the direct trade carried on by Patna with Nepal was not considerable. During the 6-month period ended March 1876, Patna despatched to Nepal 4,587 mds (168 tons), including spices and condiments (36 %), of copper and brass manufactures (16 %), and betel nuts (11 %). This did not include European cotton goods (Rs 87,025) and miscellaneous native goods (Rs 10,935).

Ibid, p. 179.

#### Nepal-India Trade Through the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh

"Mirzapur was the great centre of trade, owing to its position on the Ganges. Here came merchants from the Deccan and Bundelkhand, with raw cotton and indigo, shawl merchants from the west and traders from Nepal, taking away piece-goods, raw silk, and spices from Bengal, and tin and copper imported from overseas."

Source: Imperial Gazetteer of India (Provincial Series), Vol. 1: United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1908, Vol. 1, p. 84.

"The value of the imports from Nepal has risen from 57 lakhs in 1880-1 to 59 lakhs in 1890-1 and 81 lakhs in 1900-1. The principal items and their value in 1900-1 were: grain 35 lakhs, chiefly rice, ghi 11 lakhs, oilseeds 7 lakhs, timber 3 lakhs, gums and resins 1 lakh, and spices 1 lakh. The exports have risen from 32 lakhs in 1880-1 to 34 lakhs in 1890-1 and 43 lakhs in 1900-1; including cotton goods 27 lakhs, salt 4 lakhs, sugar 3 lakhs and metals 2 lakhs. In 1903-4 the imports were valued at 115 lakhs and the exports at 45 lakhs."

Ibid, p. 88.

Bareilly District

"Grain, oilseeds, and spices from Nepal are carried largely by a branch of the railway which terminates on the frontier close to Nepalganj, and piece-goods, metals, salt, tobacco, and sugar enter Nepal from the same place. ... The total traffic with Nepal is valued at 25 to 30 lakhs."

Ibid, Vol. 2, p 413.

At Bahramghat, on the road from Lucknow to Gonda, there is still a large traffic in timber and grain from Nepal. ... Timber is sawn here, and there is a small manufacture of furniture."

Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 447.

"Bareilly handles much of the trade with Nepal and the hills. (In 1900), imports from Nepal amounted to 1,294,445 maunds, including 555,839 of grain and pulses, 118,241 of wood, and large quantities of metals, salt, stone and lime, oils and piece-goods. There is still a considerable amount of road traffic, though much of the trade which was formerly borne by roads has been gradually absorbed by the railways as the two systems have extended."

Source: H.R. Nevill, District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. 13, Bareilly, Allahabad, Government Press, United Provinces, 1911, p. 69.

Pilibhit District

"In former days timber was an important article of trade, but the business received a severe setback with the session of the best sal forests to Nepal. ... In connection with trade ... perhaps the most important feature is the large through traffic with Nepal, a very considerable proportion of which passes through Pilibhit."

Source: H. R. Nevill, District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. 18, Pilibhit, Allahabad Government Press, United Provinces, 1909, p. 73.

"The imports from Nepal comprise for the most part ghi, rice, oilseeds, hides, drugs, and various foodgrains, while in former days timber was an important item. Other articles include cattle, dyes, turmeric and oilcake. The principal exports on the other hand are European and Indian cotton goods, petroleum, foodgrains and fruit, notably the pineapples for which Pilibhit is famed. The balance of trade is largely in favour of Nepal, for during the five years ending in 1907 the imports amounted on an average to 53,841 maunds of goods and 9,500 cubic feet of timber annually, the estimated value being Rs 7,01,832; while the exports average 12,777 maunds, the registered value being Rs 68,704. This trade is steadily on the increase. ... In 1877 ... the total value of the imports was Rs 1,20,500, while that of exports was no more than Rs 14,500."

"For the Nepal trade the chief roads are still the roads leading to Pilibhit from Tanakpur, Male-Ghat and Mundia Ghat."

Ibid, p. 74.

### 3. Nepal-India Trade, 1893

"Farther east, the Independent State of Nepal cuts off direct intercourse with Tibet for a total length of nearly 700 miles, bordering the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Bihar. Little trade is allowed to filter through Nepal, to and from Tibet (amounting in value in 1890-91 to Rx. 119,017 for both imports and exports), yet a very large traffic is everywhere carried on along the frontier between the Nepalis and British subjects. The Nepal government levies transit duties impartially on all commodities; but it is asserted that their fiscal tariff is not intended to be protective, and does not in fact operate as such. Markets are held at countless villages along the boundary, for the exchange of rural produce and articles of daily consumption; and many cart tracks cross the line from our side, to lose themselves in the Nepal tarai. The principal trade route is that which starts from Patna, and proceeds nearly due north through Chumparun District to the capital of Khatmandu; but even this is not passable throughout for wheeled traffic. From Khatmandu, two routes branch off over the central range of the Himalayas, which both ultimately come down into the Valley of the Tsampu, or great river of Tibet.

"In 1877-78, the registered trade with Nepal (which is doubtless below the truth) amounted to a total of Rx. 1,687,000, of which more than two-thirds was conducted by Bengal. The imports from Nepal were valued at Rx. 1,054,000, the principal items being foodgrains and oilseeds, cattle, / figure prominently in the returns are musk, borax, Chireta, madder, cardamoms, Chauris or yak-tails, ginger, balehar or scented grass, furs, and hawks. The Indian exports to Nepal in 1877-78 were valued at Rx. 633,000, chiefly European and native piece-goods (of cotton, wool, and silk), salt, metals, raw cotton, sugar, and spices. To these may be added the miscellaneous articles which may be usually found in a pedlar's pack. In 1890-91, the total imports from Nepal into the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Bengal amounted to Rx. 1,841,145, and the exports from British India to Rx. 1,308,518, grand total Rx 3,149,663.

Source: Sir Willian Wilson Hunter, The Indian Empire, its People, History and Products, London, W.H. Allen & Co., 1893, p. 691.

/ timber, and horns. Other articles of import which do not

"Trade with Nepal fluctuates, but without making any considerable advance from year to year. A large proportion of this trade does not pass into or from Nepal proper at all, but is trade between the Tarai, which was ceded by the British Government to Nepal after the Mutiny, and the adjoining British Districts."

Source: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 3, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907, p. 300.

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### Prices in Kathmandu, 1905

|                  |     | Prices per rupee                                |
|------------------|-----|---|
| Tauli paddy      | ... | 4 <u>pathis</u>                                 |
| Tauli rice       | ... | 1 <u>pathi</u> , 7 <u>mana</u> , 5 <u>muthi</u> |
| Bleckgrand (urd) | ... | 1 <u>pathi</u> , 6 <u>mana</u>                  |
| Maize            | ... | 3 <u>pathis</u>                                 |
| Salt             | ... | 7 <u>mana</u> , 5 <u>muthi</u>                  |
| Mustard oil      | ... | 54 <u>paisa</u> per <u>kuruwa</u>               |

Prices current in Kathmandu on Jestha 2, 1962 (May 15, 1905), reproduced in the Gorkhapatra, Bhadra 27, 2037 (September 12, 1980).

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Appointment of Chaudhari in Phena,  
Bardiya District

Phena is a revenue-devision (tappa) situated in the district of Bardiya in the far-western Tarai region. The entire district was owned by the Rana family under birta tenure. There was a separate revenue office (mal) to collect revenue on behalf of the birtaowners.

The collection of revenue in Phena was the responsibility of a Chaudhari, Sheo Prasad Tharu, under the supervision of the Bardiya Mal Office. Some time during 1937 Vikram (AD 1880), Sheo Prasad Tharu was imprisoned because he was unable to pay up arrears due from him.

Two petitions were then submitted to Kathmandu for appointment to that office:-

- (1) Chaudhari Dalajit Raya, in his petition, offered to pay up arrears due from Sheo Prasad if he was so appointed. He prayed that he also be permitted to administer justice in Phena and appropriate income from fines and penalties.
- (2) Subba Thagairam of the Bardiya Mal Office prayed that his cousin, Baijanath Tharu, whom he had already deputed to collect revenue in Phena, be appointed as Chaudhari. On behalf of Baijanath Tharu, he too offered to pay up arrears due from Sheo Prasad.

On Ashadh Sudi 6, 1941 (June 1884), the government sent the following instructions to the Bardiya Mal Office:-

- (1) According to the Administrative Regulations (Kitapi Sawal), neither revenue-collection officers (amali) nor their relatives are entitled to be appointed as Chaudharis. The regulations also prescribe that hillsmen be appointed as Chaudharis and Jimidars so long as they are available. As such, Baijanath Tharu, who is a brother of Subba Thagairam, cannot be appointed as Chaudhari.
- (2) As regards the petition of Chaudhari Dalajit Raya, action may be taken according to the law and regulations. So far as his request for the right to administer justice is concerned, notifications have already been issued that this function will be discharged by the jimidar of each mauja, and that cases that the jimidar is unable to dispose of, or appeals against his decision, shall be heard and disposed of by the Court (Adalat). The Chaudhari, therefore, cannot be empowered to administer justice in the Parganna.

If Chaudhari Dalajit Raya accepts this condition, and if he is willing to pay up arrears due from Sheo Prasad in a single installment, he may be appointed as Chaudhari of Phena.

This order was duly communicated to Chaudhari Dalajit Raya. However, he refused to receive the appointment on the following grounds:

- (1) The right to administer justice has not been granted.
- (2) Inquiries have revealed that several maujas of Phena have been depopulated, and that the full amount of revenue cannot be collected from most of them. As such, I may lose Rs 400 or Rs 500 every year if I take up the appointment.

Subba Thagairam then reported to Kathmandu:

Baijanath Tharu is my fourth cousin. Our families have lived separately for four generations part. Only one-fourth of the population of Bardiya district is perhaps not related to me. Some are Chaudharis, others are jimidars, while yet others are cultivators or even plow-hands.

Subba Thagairam also reported that Sheo Prasad, the former Chaudhari, had meanwhile died in jail. He added, "Because no new Chaudhari has been appointed in Phena, the jimidars of a few villages have offered their resignation."

Meanwhile, Raghu Chaudhari, son of Sheo Prasad Tharu, submitted a petition praying that he be appointed Chaudhari of Phena from 1941 Vikrama (A.D. 1884). The petition stated:-

- (1) Our family has been functioning as Chaudhari of Phena for four or five generations past from the time of the Nawabs and the British. After the far-western Tarai region was incorporated into the Kingdom of Nepal, my father, Sheo Prasad Tharu, was reconfirmed as Chaudhari.
- (2) Until the Vikrama year 1935 (A.D. 1878), my father made revenue collections in full. During 1936 Vikrama (A.D. 1879), he was able to collect only 50 percent. Meanwhile, the government sent an order in the name of Subba Thagairam to the effect that Chaudharis who had not been able to make collections in full should be dismissed. At that time, arrears amounting to Rs 2111-9 $\frac{3}{4}$  had become due from my father. Subba Thagairam informed him that he would be reconfirmed in his post only if he paid up the arrears. As he was unable to do so, or even to furnish surety, our property was auctioned. The proceeds amounted to Rs 601-12, thus still leaving Rs 1509-13 $\frac{3}{4}$  as arrears. My father, Sheo Prasad Tharu, was then imprisoned. He died in jail.
- (3) I hereby undertake to pay up the amount of Rs 1509-13 $\frac{3}{4}$  mentioned above. I also undertake to pay up in installments approximately Rs 1800 due for the year 1938 Vikrama (A.D. 1881) which had fallen into arrears when crops failed in that year because of drought, and which Subba Thagairam has paid personally. In addition, I undertake to pay up by the end of 1941 Vikrama (A.D. 1884) all arrears due for the Vikrama years 1939-40 (A.D. 1882-83).

The Madhesh Bandobast Adda recommended that Raghu Chaudhary  
might be accepted in the existing circumstances, even though  
current regulations prescribed that the sons and grandsons  
of defaulting Chaudharis and jimidars should not be appointed  
as their successors. This recommendation was endorsed by  
Prime Minister Ranoddip Simha on Baisakh Badi 11, 1942  
(April 1885).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 51, pp. 1012-35.

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### Export of Hides from Dang District

Bidulal, a resident of Chillu in Dang district, submitted  
the following petition to Chief Colonel Lok Bahadur Thapa  
Chhetri:

Hides are being exported from Dang district only  
on payment of duties (sair). At times, foreign  
chamars (i.e. leather-workers) purchase hides in  
Dang and smuggle the commodity to India through  
prohibited tracks.

Bidulal, therefore, offered to pay Rs 500 to the government  
every year for a three-year period if granted a monopoly  
to purchase hides at current prices in Dang district and  
export the commodity to India.

Chief Colonel Lak Bahadur Thapa Chhetri referred the  
petition to Kathmandu with the following recommendation:

A monopoly has been introduced in the export of  
hides to India in Butaul and other districts.  
Inasmuch as Bidulal has offered to pay Rs 500  
every year for a three-year period if granted  
a monopoly in such export trade, bids may be  
invited to ascertain whether another person  
will offer a higher payment. I hereby refer the  
matter to the government because this would  
mean exploiting a new source of revenue.

On Poush 6, 1942 (December 1885), Chief Colonel  
Lok Bahadur Thapa Chhetri was ordered to provide additional  
information on the proposal. His report was as follows:-

A monopoly has been introduced in the export  
trade in hides in Dailekh, Surkhet and Butaul.  
In Butaul the monopoly includes horns also. This  
will be a new source of revenue for Dang district.  
It will cause no hardships to the people, because  
traders have so far been purchasing hides from them  
without paying anything to the government.

The matter was then referred to the Madhesh Bandobast Adda (Tarai Administration Office)s Its recommendation was as follows:

Bidulal has offered to purchase at fair prices hides that the people of Dang district sell willingly, and pay Rs 500 every year for a three-year period in addition to export duty if given a monopoly. Arrangements may, therefore, be made to ascertain whether another person is willing to offer a higher payment in consideration of such monopoly. The Chief Colonel may be instructed accordingly.

This recommendation of the Madhesh Bandobast Adda (Tarai Administration Office) was endorsed by Prime Minister Bir Shumshere on Chaitra Sudi 7, 1942 (March 1886)s.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 51, pp. 580-89.

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### Political History of Dolakha

(Continued from the September 1980 issue)s.

By

Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha

#### Uddhava Deva and Nanda Deva

Taking advantage of the strife at the center arising from the feud among the sons of Yaksha Malla, the Samanta rulers of Dolakha began to raise their heads. This is clearly indicated by the stone-inscriptions found in Dolakha. Stone-inscriptions relating to the Samanta rulers of Dolakha date back to the period following the death of Yaksha Malla. Of course, two small stone-inscriptions bearing the dates 580 and 590 Nepal Samvat have also been found in Dolakha; (Aitihasika Samagri (Historical materials), Nos. 1-2) but they do not mention the local rulers. Inscriptions mentioning the local rulers are found only for the period following the death of Yaksha Malla. For instances, we may refer to the stone-inscriptions of Uddhava Deva (611 Nepal Samvat) and of Nanda Deva (632 Nepal Samvat) (Ibid, Noss 3-4). Both these inscriptions are fragmented. But one can read the year as well as the names of the rulers in them. The inscription of 611 Nepal Samvat, (1548 Vikrama) describes Uddhava Deva as ruler of Dolakha (Dolakhadhipati)s. It makes no mention of the Malla Kings at the center. Local rulers assumed the title of Adhipati if they sought to become

independent. When the Samanta ruler of Manigal (Lalitpur) tried to secede, he assumed the title of Manigaladhipati. (Samshodhan Mandal, Itihasa Samshodhanako Pramana-Prameya, p. 12). The fact that Uddhava Deva, the Samanta ruler of Dolakha, had assumed the title of Adhipati clearly indicates that he had tried to secede by taking advantage of the quarrel among the sons of Yaksha Malla. An additional indication is that he also styled himself "Deva". Moreover, like the Malla rulers, he called himself "Thakura".

Uddhava Deva was the son of Kirti Simha. According to the Vamshawali, he was born on the twelfth day of the bright half of the lunar month in 1517 Vikrama at Dhungaltol in Dolakha. He was only 14 years of age when he became the ruler of Dolakha in 1531 Vikrama. He had installed the images of Dashavatara (Mohan Prasad Khanal, Nepalaka Kehi Mallakalina Abhilekha (Some inscriptions of Nepal during the Malla period), pp. 5-6). The stone-inscription of Uddhava Deva mentioned above had been installed along with an image of Krishna.

Nanda Deva's inscription of 632 Nepal era (Vikrama 1568) does not mention the name of any Malla King at the center. It only mentions his name as the ruler. His titles are illegible because the inscription is damaged. The inscription states that Nanda Deva had performed a Kotihoma ceremony and built a temple.

The attempts of Dolakha's Samanta rulers to achieve independence had thus not been fully successful until the conclusion of the treaty of Pashupati in 668 Nepal era. But they were able to continue exploiting the weakness of the center. Lalitpur was able to become independent after the death of Ratna Malla. Dolakha followed suit. Lalitpur and Dolakha then entered into an alliance.

### Ujota Deva

It was Ujota Deva who not only consolidated the political position of Dolakha but also developed it in the cultural field. Nine stone-inscriptions dating from 640 to 653 Nepal era, all installed during Ujota Deva's rule, have been discovered, eight of them in Dolakha itself, and the remaining one at Hiranya Varna Bihara in Patan. The inscriptions testify to the steadily growing authority of Ujota Deva. Brief particulars of the inscriptions installed at temples built by him are given below.

1. The Bhimsenthan Inscription, (Aitihāsika Samagri, Inscription No. 5), dated Chaitra 640 Samvat. It refers to the establishment of the temple of Uma-Maheshwarāa to mark a religious fast undertaken by Ujota Deva's wife. It calls Ujota Deva only as "Thakura", and does not use the title of "Dolakhadhipati".

2. The stone-inscription of Simbhutol, dated Saisakh 640 (Ibid, No. 6). It describes the installation of the image of Madhava Narayana during the rule of Ujota Deva, whom it calls "Dolakhapattanadhipati Prabhu Thakura." It contains the words "during the victorious reign (Uijaya rajye) of Ujota Deva ..." The inscription thus depicts Ujota Deva as an independent ruler.
3. The stone-inscription of 643 Samvat at Dwakolungatol (Ibid, No. 7). It was installed during the rule of Ujota Deva after the installation of the image of Saraswati. The inscription is small and damaged. It, therefore, does not help us to understand the situation prevailing at the time. But it describes Ujota Deva as "Prabhu Thakura."
4. The stone-inscription of 643 Samvat at Dhungaltol (Ibid, No. 8). Ratna, a bhardar, had ordered the installation of this stone-inscription after installing the image of Akasha Bhairava during the rule of Ujota Deva. It describes Ujota Deva as "Dolakha Pattanadhipa."
5. The inscription of 644 Samvat near Bhimsenthan. Ujota Deva had installed this small inscription after installing the image of Gopinarayana along with Laxmi. Rulers at that time used to decorate themselves with titles with reference to some Narayana, such as Asura Narayana and Vira Narayana." One well-known of such titles was Daitya Narayana. This inscription shows that Ujota Deva also used the title of Daitya Narayana. It thus alludes to the growing power of Ujota Deva.
6. The inscription of Tindhare Narayansthan, dated 644 Samvat. (Ibid, No. 10). It was installed by Jivasimha Bharo, the Pradhan of Ujota Deva, after installing an image of Gopi Narayana. In this inscription, Ujota Deva is called "Dolakhadhipa, Sri Daitya Narayana Prabhu Thakura". The Chief Minister was then called Pradhan or Pradhananga. This shows that there existed a Council of Ministers in Dolakha to assist Ujota Deva in running the administration.
7. The inscription of 644 Samvat at the temple of Narayana (Ibid, No. 11). The Ujota mentioned in this inscription was not the ruler, but might have been a relative of Harsha Raja, a bhardar, inasmuch as it does not contain any royal titles. But it certainly belongs to the rule of Ujota Deva.
8. The inscription of Palchoki (Ibid, No. 12). It was installed after the installation of an image of Inara. It does not mention the date but clearly contains the words "Jajamana, Sri Jaya Ujota Deva Thakura." This indicates that the inscription must have been installed by Ujota Deva himself.

9. The inscription of 653 Samvat at Hiranyavarna Vihara (Ibid, No. 13). During his visit to Patan, Ujota Deva offered one gold image and two bells to this well known Buddhist Vihara, and then installed this inscription there. The inscription is of religious significance, for it shows that Ujota Deva had believed in the Vaishnava sect. However, he had faith in other religions, such as Buddhism also.

### Visit to Lalitpur

Ujota Deva had not visited Lalitpur with religious motives alone. The aims behind the visit were more political than religious. If his sole aim was to pay a pilgrimage to a Buddhist Vihara, he would have gone to Kantipur, rather than to Lalitpur, because Swayambhu Nath in Kantipur was more famous than Hiranya Varna Vihara in Lalitpur. Moreover, the Shrine of Swayambhu has remained a place of attraction for Buddhists since ancient times. From this it is apparent that Ujota Deva's visit to Lalitpur was motivated by factors other than religious. In order to have an understanding of these factors. We must discuss the situation of Lalitpur at that time.

As stated above, Ratna Malla and his brothers had expanded their influence after having detached Lalitpur from the control of the center, that is, Bhaktapur. The Mahapatras of Lalitpur became alert and tried to take advantage of this situation. In the meantime, Ratna Malla died. His successor, Surya Malla, was not as active as he was. For this reason, Surya Malla was unable to extend his influence in Lalitpur. The situation in which the center (Bhaktapur) lost control of Lalitpur was favorable to the administrators of Lalitpur. Vishnu Simha, one of the Mahapatras of Lalitpur, gradually consolidated his power and finally established an independent Kingdom in Lalitpur. To achieve his aim, he had to accomplish two tasks, to free himself from the influence of the Malla Kings, and then get rid of other Mahapatras, who then jointly administered Lalitpur. He skillfully accomplished both tasks (Inscriptions found in Lalitpur after 656 Nepalera indicate that Vishnu Simha had already started ruling there independently. The Subahal inscription at Patan describes Vishnu Simha as Pradhana-Mahapatra, but prays that his independence may last long. Itihasa-Samshodhana-Pramana Pramcya, p. 11).

In these tasks, Vishnu Simha appears to have enlisted the cooperation of Ujota Deva, Dolakha's Samanta ruler, Trade with Tibet was possible only if he succeeded in winning over Dolakha to his side. It is probable that Ujota Deva visited Lalitpur in response to an invitation from Vishnu Simha. It was in Ujota Deva's own interest to maintain relations with Vishnu Simha. Such a relationship would help Dolakha to detach itself from the control of the center in the same way as Lalitpur had done. Indeed, the independence of Dolakha and Lalitpur was closely linked with the alliance with Kantipur.



(The well-known Pashupati treaty of 668 Nepal era recognized both Dolakha and Lalitpur as independent Kingdoms. Subsequently, King Shiva Simha of Kantipur conquered both Dolakha and Lalitpur, thereby substantiating the point made above):

#### Govinda Deva

Ujota Deva appears to have been succeeded by Govinda Deva as the ruler of Dolakha. Inscriptions belonging to his rule have not yet been discovered, but according to one old document "Govinda Deva, ruler of Dolakha, died in 1591 Vikrama. Four women became Sati on his death. For three days, no religious function was performed. Later, Indra Deva Simha became ruler of Dolakha." (Mohan Prasad Khanal, Nepalaka Kohi Mallakalina Abhilekha (Some documents of Nepal relating to the Malla period, p. 11)) Ujota Deva had visited Lalitpur in 1590 Vikrama. This indicates that he was alive till that year. Govinda Deva died one year after the visit, thus indicating that his rule was short-lived. This might be the reason for the absence of any inscription during Govinda Deva's rule.

#### Indra Simha Deva

According to one record, Indra Simha Deva became the ruler of Dolakha in 1590 Vikrama. However, inscriptions installed during his rule date back to 1601 Vikrama only. Indra Simha Deva appears to have devoted himself to the task of consolidating his position during the early years of his rule. He occupies a special role in the history of Dolakha. It was Indra Simha Deva who first styled himself "Rajadhiraja" of Dolakha. Indra Simha Deva apparently realized that political gains were not important in themselves unless there was progress in the economic and cultural fields. Though there is still lack of materials shedding light on his rule contemporary inscriptions coins etc. give some idea in this regard.

#### Joint Rule

The strife and weakness at the center, that is, Kathmandu Valley, resulted from the system of joint rule. The Samanta rulers of Dolakha proclaimed themselves independent rulers by taking advantage of this situation. But they themselves committed the same blunder. Indeed, they introduced the system of joint rule in Dolakha also. As the eldest brother, Indra Simha Deva, no doubt, retained some special powers, and he even minted coins in his name. At the same time, he proclaimed his brother's as co-rulers. This is evident from contemporary inscriptions. The first inscription pertaining to Indra Simha Deva discovered in Dolakha is dated 665 Nepal era. It is located at Dungal Tol (Aitihāsika Samagri, No. 14) This inscription was installed by a woman named Amitalaximi after installing the image of Hathwan (Akasha Bhairawa) with prayers for peace to the soul of her departed son. It contains the words "Sri



Dolakhasthane Sri-Sri Jaya Indra Simha Deva Paramukha Panchobhaya Thakurasa Paryawasa." The word "Panchobhaya" mentioned in this inscription is apparently confusing. Of course, Panchas played some role in local administration during the medieval period and this was more or less the case with Dolakha also, but the word "Panchobhaya" used in this inscription does not actually refer to Panchas. The term was used to denote "five persons". The term "Panchobhaya" was used to mean five persons in the same way as "Ubhaya" meant two persons, "Tribhaya" three persons, and "Chavavaya", four persons. It is thus, definite that the term "Panchobhaya" occurring in the inscription refers to the joint rule of five persons though it does not name them.

The idol of Akasha Bhairava installed by Indra Simha Deva in memory of Hemalaxmi, who had become a Sati, is located at Rani Durbar. The inscription contains the following words: Rajadhiraja Sri Sri Jaya Indra Simha Pramukha Phunkiya Thakuratwan" (Ibid, No. 16). These words also testify to the joint rule of Indra Simha Deva and his brothers. Inscriptions at Buddhist Chaitya at Listitol, at the temple of Narayana, and elsewhere identify Indra Simha Deva's brothers as Jaya Narayana Deva, Jita Deva, Raja Deva and Vasu Deva. (Ibid, Nos. 18, 21, 24, 27 and 28). These five brothers jointly ruled Dolakha at that time, but there was no clear-cut division of powers among them. Such a situation was bound to result in a conflict, and this was what actually happened.

(To be Continued)

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