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

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Regulations Regarding Survey of Pota Lands, 1805

From King Girban,

To Hindu Subedar.

In 1843 (Vikrama), lands on which the Pota tax had been assessed had been surveyed all over Kathmandu Valley by Kaji Jiva Shah and Sardar Parath Bhandari. On the basis of the reports of this survey, (Pota holdings) had been confirmed in Kathmandu and Sankhu, while the excess area was confiscated.

In Bhadgaun and Patan, if Kaji (Jiva Shah) and Sardar (Parath Bhandari) had compiled a separate record of Pota lands, confirm the specified area of such Pota holdings as have been listed therein in favor of the subjects, in addition to half of the excess area, if any. Records shall be compiled of the remaining half of such excess area and produced before us.

In case Kaji (Jiva Shah) and Sardar (Parath Bhandari) had not surveyed (Pota holdings in Bhadgaun and Patan), or if you do not locate records of the surveyed lands, measure such holdings accurately.

Confirm in favor of the subjects such lands as have been included in the Pota survey records. If any excess area is detected, confiscate (words illegible); prepare records thereof and submit them to us. We hereby grant authority for these operations (words illegible). Act in accordance with these regulations. In case anybody submits a complaint against you before us (words illegible), we shall not hear only one side. We shall hear both sides and punish the offender according to the nature of his offense.

Complete this work soon. In case you make delay, you shall be held guilty. Understand this, and complete the work (words illegible).

Regulations

1. Scrutinize the Pota records and make a copy of them. Find out whether or not the Pota tax is being collected from every assessee according to these records. Also ascertain whether or not the collections are deposited in the treasury. If these are being deposited, this is good. If the collections are misappropriated before they reach the treasury, find out who is responsible for such misappropriation. Obtain a confession from him and punish him with a fine double the amount thus misappropriated.

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2. If the owner of the field does not present himself at the time of the survey, and hides himself in an attempt to cause obstruction, so that he does not give accurate particulars of his holding, confiscate it and appropriate the crop on behalf of the government. If (any owner submits false particulars), and this is exposed later, report the matter to us and award punishment as commanded.
3. If Potadar Jaisi¹ do not produce the required records and documents, hide themselves and thus obstruct the work, report the matter to us and award punishment as commanded. Appoint surveyors (dongol) and Mahanes² in necessary numbers. If surveyors do not measure lands accurately, report the matter to us and award physical punishment³ as commanded.
4. If Ukas⁴ lands are discovered, arrears of Pota tax due from the subjects, if any, shall be collected for the period between such detection and the date of remission. If such arrears are due from collectors (Tahasidar), these shall be collected accordingly. No action shall be taken if the collections have been transmitted to the palace.
5. (Expenses incurred) on clerks, peons, paper, ink, office, cloth for packing documents (basta) and salaries and rent assignments (bali-kharcha) required for the survey operations shall be met from revenue collected in the course thereof. Remission will be granted for reasonable expenditure when the accounts are audited. But no remission will be granted for unreasonable expenditure. Understand this and incur expenses accordingly.
6. Salami levy had been imposed when the new Pota tax had been remitted. Submit a report containing particulars of the rates at which this levy was collected.

Jestha Sudi 3, 1862,
Begmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 1-4.

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1. i.e. Jaisi who had been appointed as officials for the collection of the Pota tax.
 2. i.e. a local functionary who assisted in tax collection and land administration.
 3. The term used is "Sasana Garnu."
 4. Ukas means unclaimed lands.

Judicial Regulations, 1806¹

From King Girban,

To Subba Madho Sahi, Shrinath Pantha, Jagannath Ghimiriya, Ramasundar Thapa, Gajadhar Pantha, Krisnanand Lohani, Krishnanand Padhya, Ramachandra Thapaliya, Ramachandra Shiva Koti, Shrivilas Padhya, Karnabir Adhikari, Harinarayan Dotyal, Radhaballabh Padhya and Shrikrishna Pantha.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations prescribing the functions which you shall perform in the region west of the Kanaka and Tista rivers and east of the Mahakali river, duly insuring justice, not showing favor to any one or appropriating bribes or advance payments, and proving true to our salt. Conduct investigations according to these regulations. In case any person, high or low, belonging to the above-mentioned region makes any complaint or submits any report against you before us, we shall not hear only one side. We shall hear both sides, and award deserving punishment to whomsoever is proved guilty. Conduct investigations with full assurance.

Regulations

1. In case anybody has taken a bribe from any person after Falgun 1860 (Vikrama),² a confession shall be obtained from him and a fine of an amount three times the bribe shall be imposed. In case (anybody) had taken a bribe before 1860 and thereby caused loss to the king, investigations shall be conducted, a confession obtained and a fine of an amount three times the bribe shall be imposed on the person who has taken the bribe.
2. In case anybody has evicted the owner and occupied a house even when the latter has committed no offense, and no order has been issued (to take such action), documentary evidence shall be scrutinized, and the house shall be restored to the owner. Inquiries shall be conducted into (expenses incurred by) the tenant in repairing the house as well as the rent, and the balance of the rent shall be handed over to the owner. Salami fee shall then be collected from such owner and transmitted to the palace.

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1. Dinesh Raj Pant, "Swami Maharaj Rana Bahadur Shah Ko Vi. Sam. 1862 Ko Bandobast" (Administrative Arrangements Made By Swami Maharaj Rana Bahadur Shah in 1862 Vikrama (1806 A.D.). Purnima, 24, Magh-Chaitra, 2027 (January-March 1971), 238-267 pp. Footnotes added by Mahesh C. Regmi.
 2. Ex-King Rana Bahadur Shah had returned to Nepal after his self-imposed exile in Banaras, India on this date.

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3. Conduct investigations to find out which Bhardar or Amali³ has remitted Sirta⁴ or other taxes and levies due to the government without authority, or reduced them after taking a bribe or because of nepotism and favoritism, or suppressed (information relating to such revenue), or misappropriated (the proceeds) himself. Prepare a report and submit it to us.
4. Any person who enslaves the children of the subjects in the absence of any offence or without our order shall be punished. Those who have been enslaved shall be freed.⁵
5. After the time-limit (of tax exemption) on lands reclaimed by any person has expired, the lands shall be assigned to the company.⁶ In case any person stipulates that he will reclaim lands and receives a royal order accordingly but lets government lands remain waste, conduct inquiries and collect rents every year at the rate of Rs 25 per 100 muris of lands in case these have been left waste in the absence of any obstruction from any quarter.
6. Conduct inquiries to ascertain how much income accrues from Sira⁷ lands, cattle farms, etc. which are operated directly (Amanat) by the palace and how much is actually transmitted to the palace. Collect whatever is held up and transmit it to the palace. A fine of an amount three times the amount thus held up shall be imposed on the guilty person.

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3. The term Amali means the chief administrative officer at the district, village or other level.
 4. i.e. the tribute paid by a vassal principality to Kathmandu; the term is sometimes used also to denote homestead taxes of a particular category (cf. Yogi Naraharinath, Itihas Prakash (Light on History), Vol. 2, Book 2, pp 279-281).
 5. For other orders relating to restrictions on enslavement during the nineteenth century, see Regmi Research Series, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1969, pp. 44-45.
 6. i.e. a company in the Army.
 7. Sira means lands appropriated to meet the requirements of the royal household. For additional information, see Mahesh C. Regmi, Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1963-68, Vol. II, pp. 23-24.

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7. In case there is evidence that Amalis, Ijaradars⁸ and other persons from whom revenue is due have obtained clearance from the government without making disbursements to prescribed persons and without producing receipts, the amount due shall be calculated and disbursed as prescribed. If the person to whom disbursement had been prescribed has relinquished his claim, the amount shall be collected and transmitted to the palace. The Ijaradar, and the Bhardar who has granted clearance without our order, shall be punished with a fine double this amount.
8. Conduct investigations to ascertain who has misappropriated Panchakhat⁹ revenue without any order from us. (Collect such revenue) and transmit it to the palace.
9. Conduct investigations to ascertain how much has been collected by persons responsible for the collection of the new Pota tax,¹⁰ the Salami levy, the Puchhahi tax on buffaloes, fines levied on Jaisis,¹¹ fees on copper inscriptions¹² and the scrutiny of Guthi endowments, fines levied for adulteration of milk with water, the Gadimubarak levy,¹³ fines imposed for charging a discount on exchange of currency,

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8. Ijaradar means a person to whom a contract for the collection of revenue has been granted.
 9. Panchakhat, during the nineteenth century, meant proceeds of fines imposed on persons guilty of bribery, smuggling, murder (including infanticide), physical injury resulting in the shedding of blood and cow slaughter. (cf. Appointment of Chautariya Dalamardan Shah As Ijaradar In Bara And Parsa, Ashadh Sudi 6, 1843 (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 146). Such revenues were generally reserved for the royal palace. (cf. Order Regarding Panchakhat And Other Revenues In Lamjung And Elsewhere, Ashadh Badi 10, 1848 (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 45).
 10. The Pota tax on certain categories of Birta lands in Kathmandu Valley had first been levied by King Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1772 A.D. (cf. Order Regarding Payment Of Pota Taxes In Patan, Poush Sudi 15, 1829, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 626).
 11. Cf. "The Jaisi Caste", Regmi Research Series, Year 2, No. 12, December 1, 1970, pp. 277-285.
 12. Beneficiaries of Birta grants for which copper inscriptions were issued were required to pay fees. Cf. Order Regarding Rates Of Fees For Copper Plato Inscriptions, Chaitra Sudi 12, 1863, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 157.
 13. i.e. a levy collected when a new king was crowned. See Mahesh C. Regmi, op. cit. p. 29.

Walak levies¹⁴ and Mahanta Mandali fees,¹⁵ how much they have misappropriated and how many ryots they have evicted. Obtain confessions from them, discover (and recover) misappropriated and concealed amounts, and transmit the proceeds to the palace. Those responsible for such misappropriation or concealment shall be fined with an amount three times the sum thus misappropriated or concealed.

10. Adais¹⁶ and officials of the Hitichok¹⁷ who are responsible for the management of Sira lands may have used separate and counterfeit mana and pathi measures for receipts and disbursements and thus made a profit. Realize such amounts and transmit them to the palace. Warn them that they should not use unstamped mana and pathi measures, weights and balances in the future.
11. Obtain a confession from those who have misappropriated goods procured (by the palace) and gifts and punish them. The goods which they admit to have misappropriated shall be submitted to the palace.

14. Walak levies were collected twice a year in the form of ghee, oil, goats or boar from local functionaries and the common people at different rates or the commuted value of such payments. These levies were of three categories: Sauna Fagu Walak, Harsha Bismatko Walak and Kaj Kalyan Ko Walak. Cf. Order Regarding Panchakhat And Other Revenues In Lamjung And Elsewhere, Ashadh Badi 10, 1848, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 45; Order Regarding Collection Of Walak Levy In Thecho And Elsewhere, Falgun. Badi 13, 1863, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 136; Order Regarding Imposition of Walak Levies In Different Areas, Ashadh Badi 9, 1860, Regmi Research Collections, Ashadh Badi 9, 1860, Vol. 5, pp. 389-91n

15. i.e. Revenue from Judicial fines, escheats, etc. from members of monastic orders. Cf. Assignment of Mahanta Mandali Revenues To Mahanta Jayakrishna In Newly-Conquered Hill Areas, Ashadh Sudi 1, 1843. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 171.

16. i.e. functionaries who were in charge of Sira lands. Cf. Assignment of Lands At Sira In Western Hill Region, Baisakh Badi 8, 1843, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 71.

17. i.e. an office at the royal palace which was responsible for the performance of religious and other functions.

12. In case there is evidence that priests have obtained ritual gifts in cash from the palace for disbursement to other Brahmans but have not actually made such disbursements, obtain a confession from them, recover the appropriate amounts and disburse them as ritual gifts to persons to whom these are due. Persons who have misappropriated or concealed such amounts shall be fined.
13. Obtain a confession from those who have misappropriated materials meant for use in religious ceremonies at temples, as well as ornaments of goods and goddesses and temple funds, recover what has been misappropriated, report the matter to us, and transmit it to the temple. Persons responsible for such misappropriation shall be punished.
14. In case there is evidence that anybody has misappropriated the cash or other property of the Malla Kings, or retained it in his custody without spending it, a confession shall be obtained from him and the property shall be recovered and submitted to the palace. Such person shall also be punished.
15. A confession shall be obtained from any person who has kept the daughter of a Kasai, a Kushle, a Dhobi or a Kulu as his wife and (let others) use water touched by him. He shall then be punished.
16. A confession shall be obtained from any person who demolishes rest-houses, roadside shelters, temples and bridges without any order from us and uses (the materials) for his own purpose. He shall then be punished.
17. Scrutinize the accounts of income and expenditure of the Mines Office (Khani Mahal). Obtain a confession from any person who has concealed, suppressed information on or misappropriated (revenue accruing from mines). (The misappropriated amount shall be recovered) and transmitted to the palace. The guilty person shall be punished.
18. In case any person belonging to any of the four castes and thereby-six sub-castes in our kingdom violates the customs of his caste, and keeps a relative as his wife, obtain a confession from him and punish him according to the nature of his guilt.
19. Conduct accurate investigations to ascertain what taxes and levies being paid by ryots throughout our kingdom to the former king have been kept unpaid and what additional taxes and levies have been imposed by which Amali after our conquest, submit a report to us and take action as commanded.

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20. Obtain a confession from those who have been taking narcotics (bhang, charas) and indulging in gambling since 1860 (Vikrama) and punish those who had not been punished before. Issue a proclamation to the effect that in case any person takes (narcotics) or gambles in the future, he shall be sentenced to physical punishment according to caste status.
21. In case any Ijaradar or other revenue collector has imposed a fine of more than Rs. 100 and appropriated the proceeds himself, obtain a confession from him, recover the amount and transmit it to the palace.
22. In the regions situated between the Kanaka river in the east and Garhwal in the west, in case any person has slaughtered cows and bulls¹⁸ other than yaks, makes payment of fines which he had not paid before, but slaughters cows and bulls again, obtain a confession from him and produce him before us. Punish Amalis and villagers who receive information regarding the slaughter of cows and bulls but try to suppress it. Issue a proclamation to the effect that cows and bulls shall not be slaughtered in the future, and that anybody who does so shall undergo punishment on life and property. In the future, the Amali shall sentence to capital punishment those who slaughter cows and bulls.
23. In case escheat property of Magars has been lying concealed anywhere, recover it if it has not been included in Ijara grants and Jagir assignments.
24. Have surveyors (dongols) measure all Khet lands in the regions between the Kanaka river in the east and Garhwal in the west, including Palpa, Gulmi, Argha and Khanchi, which had been surveyed and assigned to the Army in 1862 (Vikrama). A report regarding the area that is found to be in excess of the prescribed allotment (Raibandi) shall be submitted to us and action taken as commanded.
25. Have surveyors survey Khet lands left after making assignments to the Army. Submit a report to us and take action as commanded.

18. The term used in the text is Go-Vadha. For further particulars regarding the ban on cow-slaughter, see Regmi Research Series, Year I, No. 1, November 1, 1969, pp. 15-19.

26. Birta, Guthi and other Khet lands, regarding which no documentary evidence of ownership is available, and for which confirmation has been obtained (by the owners) in collusion with the inspectors, representing an outsider as the owner of an adjoining land holding and making him take oath, shall all be confiscated. Such lands shall be measured with the help of surveyors (dongols) and assigned to the troops. The (official) who confirms lands in this manner and the persons who obtain confirmation and take oath shall all be punished.¹⁹

27. Confiscate lands which have been confirmed by (officials) deputed to inspect them on payment of bribes or left (without any action being taken) through nepotism and favoritism. Such lands shall be measured with the help of surveyors and assigned to the army. (The official) who has confirmed lands through bribery or favoritism shall be punished.

28. Scrutinize Khuwa²⁰ and Chhap²¹ land grants and submit a report to us.

29. In case (the beneficiary of any land grant) has encroached upon (adjoining land-holdings) beyond the four boundaries mentioned in the royal grant, the boundaries shall be examined, and the area which has been encroached upon shall be confiscated. It shall be measured with the help of surveyors and assigned to the troops. In case (any person) has utilized additional land beyond the boundaries (of his holding), he shall be punished.

19. Birta and Guthi lands lacking documentary evidence of title had been confiscated during 1862-63 Vikrama. Cf. Land Survey Regulations, Separate regulations for different regions in the hill districts, including Kathmandu Valley, were promulgated on different dates between Baisakh and Poush, 1862. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 162-192; Vol. 19, pp. 257-421; Vol. 20, pp. 216-359). Regulations for the scrutiny of particulars collected in the course of these surveys were promulgated on Baisakh Badi 2, 1862, with addenda on Baisakh Sudhi 3, 1862. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 501 and 514). Similar regulations were promulgated for the eastern Tarai districts on Poush Badi 30, 1862 and Shrawan Badi 30, 1863. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 695 and 858).

20. Khuwa meant Pakho land assignments which yielded a cash income to Jagirdars.

21. i.e. land grants made generally on a life-time and exempt basis.

30. Khet lands being utilized by individuals on the ground that these have been mortgaged by former Kings shall be measured with the help of surveyors and the particulars scrutinized. A report indicating the excess area that has been utilized, the actual area mortgaged and the sum invested shall be submitted to us and action taken as commanded.
31. In case (officials) deputed to inspect Khet lands are proven to have retained such lands on the pretext of Sera, these shall be measured with the help of surveyors and assigned to the troops.
32. Submit accurate reports regarding the amount of Salami appropriated from the owners by (officials) deputed to inspect Khet lands in consideration of the confirmation thereof and act as commanded.
33. In case complaints are received that any (debtor) has defaulted in the payment of amounts actually due to creditors who are in possession of bonds, or that (creditors) have oppressed ryots and exacted interest at more than ten per cent, these shall be heard and disposed of. The amount exacted (as interest) in excess of ten per cent shall be deducted from the principal amount. One-fourth thereof shall be transmitted to us²².
34. Compile particulars of Khet lands confiscated since 1861 and 1862 separately for each thum,²³ town and villages. Ascertain who has appropriated rents on such lands during these two years, to which company the lands have been assigned, entitling the assignee to appropriate rents during the current year and who other than companies have appropriated (the rents) and submit a report to us. In case anybody has appropriated (rents) without an order from us, a fine of an amount double (the value of such rents) shall be imposed on him.

22. Rana Bahadur Shah thus anticipated the credit provisions of the 1964 land reform program by 158 years. According to Section 45 (a) of the 1964 Lands Act: "In case the creditor has exacted interest at more than ten per cent in cash or in kind, such amount of interest as exceeds this percentage shall be deemed to have been deducted from the principal." Nepal Gazette, Vol. 14, No. 18, (Extraordinary) 5 Marga 1, 2021 (November 16, 1964).

23. i.e. sub-division of a district.

35. In case Brahmans and Chhetris have taken liquor, remove them from their caste and confiscate their property. Members of Tagadhari²⁴ communities other than these two shall be sentenced to severe punishment (for this offense) and removed from their caste.
36. In case any person has utilized Khet lands assigned as Jagir during the time of the Malla Kings, paying Pota tax thereon after our conquest and claiming that these are Birta, he shall be punished. The lands shall be confiscated and assigned to the company.
37. In case complaints are submitted to the administrative court (Sresta Adalat) to the effect that Amalis anywhere in the kingdom have committed injustice, hear them, obtain confessions and dispose them of. The fines and Jitauri fees levied (from the losing and winning side respectively) shall be transmitted to us.
38. (In case anybody) has remitted compulsory and unpaid labor (Jhara) due to the king and exacted money, the amount shall be ascertained and transmitted to us.
39. In case anybody has falsely represented as Suna Birta²⁵ after our conquest lands belonging to the government granted by the Malla Kings as Jagir or Manachamal,²⁶ and utilized such lands after paying the Pota tax thereon, a complaint shall be instituted against him, a confession obtained, and the lands resumed. Fines too shall be imposed. Such action shall be taken with our prior approval.

24. The term Tagadhari denotes sacred thread-wearing communities. Members of these communities were prohibited from taking liquor, chicken, beef, buffalo-meat and other foodstuffs. Cf. "Madapan Achhuti." (On Untouchability And Taking of Liquor)." In His Majesty's Government, Shri 5 Surendra Vikram Shah Devka Shasankalma Baneko Muluki Ain, (Legal Code Enacted During The Reign of King Surendra Vikram Shah Dev): Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 2022 (1965), (Reprint), Section 4, p.369

25. i.e. Lands sold as Birta by the State to private individuals in Kathmandu Valley during the Malla period. For additional particulars, see Mahesh C. Regmi, op. cit. pp. 19-20, 39-40.

26. Land grants similar to Chhap, Ibid, pp. 30-31.

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40. (In case any person) has removed goods from the palace without any order from us, inquiries shall be conducted, a confession obtained and (the goods) transmitted to us.

Sunday, Baisakh Badi 3, 1863,
(Chaitra 26, 1862 Vikrama,
April 8, 1806 A.D.).

The document bears the following counter-signatures on the reverse:-

Bhimsen Thapa

Sher Bahadur Shah

Bahadur Bhandari

Pran Shah

Balanarasing Kunwar

Ranadhvaj Thapa

Ranajit Pande

Narasing.

Kirat Influence On Lichchhavi History¹

By

Dhanabajra Bajracharya.

The Lichchhavi period was a golden age in Nepal from many points of view. This is proved by its systematic administration, well-organized public life, high level of learning and attractive art. But in order to understand the Lichchhavi period properly, we must pay attention to the preceding period also. The reason is that the Lichchhavi had not become so advanced all of a sudden. Its progress was the result of gradual evolution. But we do not have authentic material for the pre-Lichchhavi period, or even for the early Lichchhavi period. We can only arrive at some tentative conclusions in this regard.

The Gopalarajavamshavali and other Vamshavalis, as well as the Swayambhu-Puran² and the Himavat-Khanda³ tell us that Nepal Valley was originally a lake and that human settlement started here after the water was drained out. The valley was covered with forests in the beginning. Later, Gopals or cattle-farmers inhabited it, followed gradually by other settlers.

The Gopalarajavamshavali was compiled during the first half of the 15th century according to the Vikrama era during the reign of Sthiti Malla. It contains brief particulars of important historical events from the beginning till the reign of Sthiti Malla. Until 2 or 3 centuries before Sthiti Malla, the particulars are quite authentic. But this cannot be said of particulars belonging to the earlier period. Even then, the Gopalarajavamshavali depicts the ancient mythological tradition. Proper research would yield much valuable material from this source. Moreover, the Gopalarajavamshavali was the source of later Vamshavalis. These later Vamshavalis, however, although describing many things about several Lichchhavi Kings, have even forgotten that they belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty. Even during the time when the Gopalarajavamshavali was compiled,

1. Dhanabajra Bajracharya, "Lichchhavikal Ko Itihasma Kiratakalako Prabhav." (Influence of Kirat Period on the History of The Lichchhavi Period). Purnima, 17 Baisakh-Ashadh 2025 (April-June 1968), pp. 1-8.
2. According to the Swayambhu-Purana: "During the time of Vipashchi, the Nepala-Mandala was covered with water. It was known as Kali-Rhada (Lake). It was 7 Kosh long and equally broad." From the Swayambhu-Purana published by the Asiatic Society, pp. 38-39.
3. According to the Himavat-Khanda: "At the time when I shall be known in the form of light (Jyoti), this region will be called Naga-Hrada. The course of the Bagmati river will be blocked. After it is opened, the Nepala-Mandala shall be covered with forests." From the Himavat-Khanda edited by Yogi Naraharinath, pp. 180-181.

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many events of the Lichchhavi period had come down in the form of legend. Not all of them are accurate, but it appears that the compiler of the Gopalarajavamshavali possessed much knowledge about the Lichchhavi period. As such, we cannot say that the account of the pre-Lichchhavi period as given in the Gopalarajavamshavali is wholly incorrect. It is necessary therefore to pay attention to what the compiler of the Gopalarajavamshavali has said.

The Gopalarajavamshavali begins as follows:-

"At the beginning of the Kali age, there were Gopalas (i.e. there was a settlement of cattle farmers) in the land situated on the lap of the mountains and covered with forests. ... There were 8 Gopala Kings. The Gopala Kings were then defeated by Mahishapala Kings (i.e. buffalo farmers). There were 3 Mahishapala Kings. Kiratas then defeated the Mahishapala Kings and began to rule. ... There were 32 Kirata Kings. These Kiratas (now) inhabit the regions between the Tamakoshi and Arun-koshi rivers. ... Then, because of the influence of the solar dynasty, the Lichchhavi dynasty vanquished the Kirata Kings and began to rule in Nepal."

The compiler of the Gopalarajavamshavali has thus recorded the popular belief that human settlement commenced in Nepal Valley after the beginning of the Kali age, that is, nearly 5,000 years ago. The Gopalarajavamshavali also describes how Gopala Kings and then Mahishapala Kings ruled here, and how the Kiratas were displaced after a long rule by the Lichchhavis. It lists the names of the Gopala, Mahishapala and Kirata Kings in chronological order and also gives the duration of the reign of each. In view of the lack of evidence, it is not possible to determine these chronologies are authentic. But this account at least constitutes evidence that Kiratas ruled here before the Lichchhavis. This is indicated also by the names of government offices (Adhikarana), taxes and the forced labor system (Vishti) as well as settlements, streams and rivers, ponds and irrigation channels and hills and mountains in and around Nepal valley. It is therefore necessary to discuss the matter.

Many Adhikaranas appear to have been established during the Lichchhavi period to conduct the affairs of administration. There were mainly 4 of them, according to contemporary inscriptions. The Jaisidawal inscription thus states:⁴

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4. This inscription, which is broken at places, has been published by Bhagavanlal (No. 3) as well as by Gnoli (No. 13). It has been published also in the Sanskrit-Sandesh (Year I, No. 9).^o

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"Bhattaraka-Maharaja Shri Vasantadeva sends greetings to ... officers of ... all the four Adhikaranas from Managriha and directs ... Lingwala ... Kuthera ... "

Similarly, the Chaukitar inscription states:⁵

/privilege that the
Kuthera Adhikarana and
the

"Bhattaraka-Maharaja Shri Ganadeva sends greetings to ... all householders from Managriha and orders: Former kings had favored you with the Shuli Adhikarana shall not enter (into your settlement) ... we hereby direct that the Lingwala Adhikarana and the Mapchok Adhikarana shall not enter (into your settlement) in matters connected with the five principal crimes (Panchaparadha). This stone inscription is installed accordingly."

Inscriptions with similar contents have been found in Balambu and Kisipidi also. These inscriptions show that Kuthera, Shuli (or Sholli),⁶ Lingwala and Mapchok were the principal offices (Adhikarana). None of these four names is of Sanskrit origin. All inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period are in the Sanskrit language. In fact, Sanskrit was then the national language. In these circumstances, it is worth noting why these four terms are of non-Sanskrit origin. The Lichchhavi rulers, who were able to have everything written in Sanskrit, could have treated the names of these four Adhikaranas also in the same language. Subsequently, we find the names of some offices such as Paschimadhikarana and Purvadhikarana given in Sanskrit. Similarly, the inner royal court was described as Antarasana or Paramasana, both of which are Sanskrit words.

The names of a number of taxes too are in non-Sanskrit local languages. The following extract from the Thankot inscription⁷ will make this clear:-

"Bhattaraka Bhimarjunadeva and his representative, Shri Jishnuguptadeva, have ordered: Exemption had been granted from payment of Chailakara (a tax on cloth) known as Chokhpara in the hill situated to the north of the village for (the maintenance) of the tank constructed by Managupta Gomi, our eldest great-grand-father. ... We, pleased for certain reasons, have granted another special favor to the householders living in your village. Half of the tax payable on a holding which can be plowed with one ox-team (Go-Hola) for bull-fights (Go-Yuddha) in Dakshinakoligrama (village) has been remitted. Those who paid 1 Karsapana as Sinkara tax shall now pay only 8 panas; those who paid 8 panas shall now pay only 4 panas."

5. Purnima, 10, pp. 1-4.

6. See the inscription as published by Cmoli.

7. Purnima, 8, pp. 1-3.

Contd...

The terms Chokhpara and Sim, used here to denote taxes; are not of Sanskrit origin. They belong to popular dialects then current. It is probable that the term Sim means wood as in the Newari, Tamang, Limbu and other languages at present.⁸ Cho even at present means a hill. The Newari language at present uses the words Gun (a wooded hill), Bu (a rice-field), Kicha (Kisi or elephant) and Tilamaka (irrigation channel) with the same meanings these had during the Lichchhavi period.

The practice of exacting unpaid labor on a compulsory basis from the subjects for meeting governmental requirements is known as Vishti (Jhara). The terms used in inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period to denote Vishti labor of different categories are not always of Sanskrit origin. According to the Bhringareshwar inscription of Sunaguthi:-⁹

"Bhattaraka-Maharaja Shri Bhimarjunadeva and his associate, Shri Vishnugupta, have, with due respect for future kings of Nepal, shown them the way. ... The Panchalikas of Bhringaragrama (village) ... contributed Kashasthi Vishti (labor) with great pleasure ... for transporting stone suitable for ... a marvellous image of (Vishnu) ... privilege that ... shall not enter ... "

Similarly, the Balambu inscription states:¹⁰

"Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Shri Shivadeva ... hereby orders: This village, which has been granted the privileges of a Kotta (fort), is assigned for supervision and possession by the inhabitants of the Shitati Dranga, along with its outskirts (Tala). No Chatabhata (official) may enter into (this village), and the Jhalandu Vishti has been remitted.

The term Kashasthi and Jhalandu used in these inscriptions clearly do not belong to the Sanskrit language.

An inscription installed by Bhimarjunadeva and Jishnugupta in Kewalpur refers to the remission of obligations such as Dangkhattardha. This term does not belong to the Sanskrit language.

8. Cf. Vaidya Panna Prasad Joshi, Samkshipta Nepalabhashashabdakosha (concise Newari Dictionary), p. 255; Iman Singh Chemjong, Limbu-Nepali-Angreji Shabdakosha (Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary), p. 296; Purnima, 2, p. 47.

9. Purnima, 16, pp. 358-359.

10. Gnoli, No. 76.

11. Published by Yogi Naraharinath and Gnoli.

Vastu meant a category of in-kind taxes. The terms used to denote Vastu taxes also do not appear to have been of Sanskrit origin. According to the Sanga inscription of Amshuvarma:¹²

"Shri Mahasamanta Amshuvarma sends greetings to headmen and other householders in Shanga (i.e. Sanga) village and orders: Realizing your hardships, we remit in Hahmu vastu, 12 jars of oil and the five Hahmu vastus with effect from today. Understand this, and do not make payments in the form of these vastus and oil in the future to anybody. Functions to be performed by the oil-mill (Tailyashala) ... have been removed from the jurisdiction of ... office (Adhikarana).

Hahmu possibly means sesame. The modern Newari term for this commodity is Hamo.

The Handigaun inscription of Amshuvarma¹³ contains a reference to the payment of 3 Puranas and 1 pana (coins) to runners called Gechchhimjaka. Obviously, this term is not of Sanskrit origin. An inscription found at Narayanchaur, Naksal,¹⁴ mentions officials (Dauvarika) known as Rogamachau and Sindriva.

In this context, it is also necessary to discuss the names of settlements, streams and rivers and hills and mountains in and around Nepal Valley. A close study of Lichchhavi inscriptions would reveal that more than 80 per cent of such names belong to popular languages other than Sanskrit. We shall refer to these names only briefly, as the citation of excerpts from these inscriptions will take up much space.

The Changu inscription of Manadeva¹⁵ contains the terms Khakampring and Domman. Two inscriptions installed by Ratnasangha¹⁶ during the reign of Manadeva refer to such place-names as Dulang-Grama, Khopring-Grama, Duprang-Grama, Hmaspring-Grama, Yupa-Grama, Viliviksha, Bemna, Khainashpu, Prangpring, Maishing, Votavorusho, Sitati, Jolpring and Prayittikha.

12. Purnima, 7, pp. 9-10.

13. Levi (No. 13); Gnoli (No. 35).

14. Purnima, 16, p. 361.

15. The text of this inscription as given in Gnoli (No. 2) omits several names. The text as given above has been obtained from the inscription itself. The script used in this inscription and its form indicates that it is a part of Manadeva's famous pillar inscription. See Purnima, 8, p. 7.

16. The text of the inscription of 399 Samvat has been published in Gnoli (No. 6). It has been published also in Itihas-Samshodhanko Pramanprameya (p. 264). The text of the other inscription is given in Gnoli (No. 10). A copy of this inscription, preserved at the Bir Library, is more legible. This shows that the inscription was installed by Ratnasangha.

The Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva¹⁷ mentions Brangbra, Shulmu, Tepul and Thencho.

The Chaukitar inscription of Ganadeva¹⁸ mentions Tegwala-Grama.

The Golmadhi-Tol (Bhaktapur) inscription of Shivadeva and Amshuvarma¹⁹ mentions Makhomprimko; the Tulachhe-Tol (Bhaktapur) inscription²⁰ mentions Khripung-Grama; the Budanilakantha inscription²¹ mentions Anglavakas-pita; the Satungal inscription of Narasimha mentions Khadung-Grama; the Khopasi inscription²³ mentions Kurppasi; the Changu inscription²⁴ mentions Gung-dimaka-Grama, as well as to Promjambu, Prongniprang, Promprobang, etc. Other inscriptions too contain place-names of non-Sanskrit origin.

Let us now discuss the names of streams and rivers, ponds, tanks, irrigation channels, bridges, etc. The Changu inscription of Shivadeva and Amshuvarma mentions the Burdumbradul river; the Tokha inscription²⁵ mentions the Jnyatikhrin river; and the Lagan (Kathmandu) inscription²⁶ of Shivadeva II mentions Tenkhu. The Changu inscription referred to above also mentions the Udamallaka and Ripshinko bridges and the Vilhinkho stream. The Vajradhara inscription at the Pashupati temple²⁷ mentions the Pashin-pral streams and the Balambu inscription²⁸ mentions the Lulju stream. Another inscription found in Balambu²⁹ mentions the Kamshukhana and Osthana tanks. The Vajradhara and Lagan inscriptions mention the Mekandidul and Chishimanda irrigation channels.

17. Purnima, 14, p. 126.

18. Gnoli (No. 19).

19. Bendall (No. 1); Gnoli (No. 24).

20. Levi (No. 9); Gnoli (No. 25).

21. Bhagawan Lal (No. 5); Gnoli (Nos 27).

22. Gnoli (No. 28).

23. Levi (No. 12); Gnoli (No. 31).

24. Gnoli (No. 34).

25. Levi (No. 29).

26. Purnima, 14, p. 122.

27. Purnima, 14, pp. 119-121.

28. Gnoli (No. 27).

29. Gnoli (No. 25).

Similarly, the Thankot inscription mentions the Pahuncho and Lumbacho hills. The Pharping inscription³⁰ contains the names of Midicho, Khahricho, Brenguncho and Mogumcho.

Such examples can be multiplied, but those we have mentioned above are sufficient. Even commonsense would tell us that such names as Dulang, Duprang, Hmaspring, Prangpring, Maishing, Jolpring, Promjambu, Prongni-prang and Promprobang belong to the Kirata language. It is of course difficult to make a definite assertion in this regard before ascertaining the meaning of these terms from the viewpoint of linguistics. But in view of the popular tradition that the Kiratas ruled here for a long period, and since more than 80 per cent of local place-names are found to belong to Kirata languages, there seems adequate basis to maintain that these places had already become known by these names during the Kirata period. Since these had already become current, the question of changing them did not arise. These names therefore continued to be used during the Lichchhavi period. Several of these names are still in use. These include Khopring - Khopa (Bhaktapur), Kurpasi - Khopasi, Shanga - (Sanga), Tegwala - Tygal, and Tenkhu - Teku.

As in the case of places, streams and rivers, the Lichchhavi rulers did not deem it appropriate to change the names of such offices as Kuthapa, Shuli, Lingwala and Mapchok; as well as terms used for in-kind taxes (Vastu) and forced labor (Vishti) obligations which had been used during the Kirata period. Thus though they adopted Sanskrit as the national language and brought it into common usage, the Lichchhavi rulers appear to have continued to use these terms.

This proves that the foundation of the administrative system during the Lichchhavi period had been partly laid during the Kirata period. This proves to some extent the popular tradition that the Kiratas ruled (in Nepal Valley) before the Lichchhavis. This theory can be authoritatively proved if systematic research is undertaken through scientific excavation and other means.

30. Abhilekh-Sangraha, No 9, pp. 19-20.

Allowances Of Military Personnel In Kumaun And Garhwal

1. From King Girban,

To Chautara Bam Shah and Hastadal Shahi.

We hereby sanction the disbursement of allowances totaling Rs 25,370, granted to military personnel in Kumaun before and after 1866 Vikrama. Make disbursements accordingly. The accounts shall be debited against receipts of disbursements.

(1) Barakh Company	...	Rs 1,304
Ramadal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Samarasur Company	...	Rs 1,304
Bajradal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Yuddhzbhairav Company,	...	Rs 1,304
Khalakajit Company	...	Rs 1,304
Arjunaban Company	...	Rs 1,304
Ranabhim Company	...	Rs 1,304
Tripuradal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Simhanath Company	...	Rs 1,304
Amaradal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Hanumandhwaj Company	...	Rs 1,304
Dalamardan Company	...	Rs 1,304
Sardar Avimardan and Nirbhaya Sing Thapa	...	Rs 600
Kaji Ranajit Kanwar	...	Rs 1,000

(2) Allowances in lieu of land assignments:-

Contd...

Naya Gorakh Company	...	Rs 2,102
Kaji Ambar Singh Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
Kaji Ranajor Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 4,102

(3) (Allowances) Payable To (Companies) Stationed In Kumaun

Jabar Jang Company (against a total of Rs 978)	...	Rs 434
Bhawanibux Company	...	Rs 978
Chautara Bam Shah (part payment)	...	Rs 1,304

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Rcgmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 195-196.

2. From King Girban,

To Kaji Anar Singh Thapa.

We hereby sanction the disbursement of allowances totaling Rs 38,078 as follows to Bhardars and military personnel from Darshan-Bhet and other revenues collected in Besahar and other areas situated west of the Jamuna river. Make disbursements accordingly every year as long as (these Bhardars and military personnel) remain on the front:-

1. Allowances Required For Eight Companies At The Rate Of Rs 4 Each

Naya Sabuj Company	...	Rs 1,304
Aridaman Company	...	Rs 1,304
Ranaban Company	...	Rs 1,304
Maibux Company	...	Rs 1,304
Bhimadal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Kalijang Company	...	Rs 1,304

Contd...

Ranasardai Company	...	Rs 1,304
...	...	Rs 1,304
Total		Rs 10,432

2. Allowances Required For Six Companies At The Rate Of Rs 3 Each

Ranabam Company	...	Rs 978
Jwaladal Company of Dullu	...	Rs 978
Ranajang Company	...	Rs 978
Ripumardan Company	...	Rs 978
Nainabux Company	...	Rs 978
Chandanath Company	...	Rs 978
Total		Rs 5,868

3. Allowances Required For Eight Companies At The Rate Of Rs 2 Each

Mandabux Company	...	Rs 652
Ishwaribux Company	...	Rs 652
Devibux Company	...	Rs 652
Samarasarabh Company	...	Rs 652
Gauribux Company	...	Rs 652
Samarasar Company	...	Rs 652
Krishnadal Company	...	Rs 652
Shyamadal Company	...	Rs 652
Jwaladal Company	...	Rs 652
Total		Rs 5,868

Contd...

4. Allowances Required For Three Captains Of Ten Companies In Garh (wal):

Rs 652 for ten companies, at the rate of Rs 2 each	...	Rs 6,520
Rs 500 for 3 captains	...	Rs 1,500
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 8,020

5. (Allowances) Payable In Sirmuri:

Kaji Amar Singh Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
Kaji Ranajor Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 2,000

Baisakh Sudi 10, 1868,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol 40, pp. 196-1980

Collection Of Walak Levies

From King Girban,

To Dware Jagajit.

We hereby grant you authority to collect Walak levies in the regions situated east of the Mahakali river and west of the Kanaka-Tista river, inclusive of the hill and mountainous regions in the north (Pahad Sesanta Bhotanta), on Amanat basis. Make collections at the rates prescribed below. Do not take anything in excess. Make arrangements to meet expenditure charged on Walak revenues morning and evening. Do not cause any obstruction. At the end of the year, submit accounts to the Dafdarkhana (office) and obtain clearance. Expenses incurred on the salaries of collectors (Tahasildar), clerks, peons, cashiers and storekeeper of Walak revenues, as well as on tours, paper and ink shall be debitted from Walak revenues. Remission shall be granted in the course of audit of accounts.

Schedule of Rates

<u>Particulars</u>		<u>Rate of Tax</u>
1. On each homestead belonging to a Birta owner:-	...	(a) 2 annas in lieu of 1 <u>man</u> of ghee as <u>Sauno</u> (b) 2 annas of ghee as Fagu.
2. Amalis and Umras of Thums	...	(a) 4 annas per 100 <u>muris</u> of paddy-lands (<u>Khet</u>) in lieu of gelding goats as <u>Saune Fagu</u> .
3. Janadars	...	(b) Rs 3 or 1 boar or <u>Besra</u> (Rs 2 and 4 annas in lieu of gelding goat, boar or <u>Besra</u> on <u>Adhiya</u> lands.
4. Adj ut ants	...	Rs 2 do
5. Major	...	Rs 2 do
6. Kote	...	Rs 2 do

Contd...

7. Private individuals belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes

... (a) 1 anna in lieu of 1
mana of oil as Saune.

(b) 1 anna in lieu of 1
mana of ghee as Fagu.

8. Bitalab landholders who have been paying Saune Fagu shall continue doing so. Those who have not been paying it shall now make payment of Saune Fagu at the rate of 4 annas on each homestead.
9. The rate of Harsha-Bismat-Ko Walak (Walak levy payable on occasions of jubilation or mourning) shall be 2 annas each for Birta, Chhap, Talab, Bitalab and other beneficiaries of land grants under the royal seal, as well as for all private individuals belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes.
10. We hereby sanction Rs 1,800 for paying the salaries of clerks, peons, collectors, storekeepers and cashiers as well as for meeting traveling expenses while collecting Walak levies in the regions situated between the Mahakali river in the west and the Kanaka-Tista in the east.

Fulfill your duties proving true to your salt under this Jagir, which shall continue as long as there is work.

Jostha Sudi 8, 1866,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 48-51.

(S.B.M.)