

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Kathmandu : November 1, 1980.

ISSN: 0034-348X

REGMI RESEARCH SERIES
Year 12. No. 11

Edited by
Mahesh C. Regmi

<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Ban on Enslavement, 1885 A.D. ...	161
2. Monopoly Trade in Cigarettes ...	162
3. Historical Documents on the Use of the Sacred Thread ...	164
4. Population of Kathmandu Town ...	166
5. Kulananda Jha ...	166
6. Cow Slaughter ...	169
7. The Political History of Dolakha ...	170

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal
Telephone : 16927

(For private study and research only; not meant for public
sale, distribution, and display).

Ban on Enslavement, 1885 A.D.

A translation of the A.D. 1918 Law on Enslavement and Traffic in Human Beings was given in the Regmi Research Series (Year 12, Nos. 1-2, January and February 1980, pp. 8-22). According to Section 1 of that law: "In the future, no person shall be sold or purchased as a slave even with his consent."

Inasmuch as Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere J.B. Rana (1901-1929 A.D.) was in power at the time of the promulgation of this law in 1918, it appeared to be the prelude to the final abolition of the system of slavery that he decreed in 1924. ("An Appeal for the Abolition of Slavery," Regmi Research Series, Year 4, Nos. 11-12 (November-December 1972), Year 5, Nos. 1-4 (January-April 1973)).

However, it was not Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere, but Prime Minister Bir Shumshere (1885-1901 A.D.) who appears to have taken the initial step toward abolishing the system of slavery. He assumed the Prime Ministership on Kartik Sudi 15, 1942 (November 22, 1885) after the assassination of Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh (1877-85 A.D.). Effective the following day, Marga Sudi 1, 1942 (November 23, 1885), a law was passed imposing an absolute ban on enslavement.

(Government of Nepal, "Danda Saiyako" (On Fines and Penalties), Muluki Ain (Legal Code), Naxal, Gorkhapatra Press, 1975 (1918 A.D.), Section 43).

It is interesting that Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere made no reference to this reform measure of Prime Minister Bir Shumshere in his Appeal for the Abolition of Slavery (op. cit.). Perceval Landon has similarly credited Prime Minister Deva Shumshere (March-June 1901) with having made "the first attempt to abolish slavery on any large scale" by proclaiming "that the female slaves of Kaski and Lamjung, the two large estates attached to the office of Prime Minister, were free women." (Perceval Landon, Nepal (reprint of 1918 ed.), Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1978, Vol. 2, p. 164.

Monopoly Trade in Cigarettes

Kharidar Krishna Prasad and Bhairav Prasad, residents of Bhotahiti in Kathmandu, had been granted a monopoly in the trade in cigarettes in the Rana Prime Minister's Rajya of Kaski-Lamjung for a two year period from Chaitra 1, 1959 (March 14, 1903) to Falgun 30, 1961 (March 13, 1905). The total payment stipulated by them under the monopoly amounted to Rs 100 a year.

On Marga 5, 1961 (November 19, 1904) Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere ordered that the monopoly be granted to Principal Babu Batukrishna Maitra for a three-year period from Chaitra 1, 1961 (March 14, 1905) to Falgun 30, 1964 (March 13, 1908) without inviting bids.

A supplementary order was issued on Poush 3, 1961 (December 17, 1904) waiving the legal ban on the grant of such monopolies to aliens as well as the requirement of personal surety.

Under the monopoly, Principal Babu Batukrishna Maitra was required to pay Rs 258.30 yearly, or Rs 774.80 during the three years for which the monopoly was valid.

The following regulations were promulgated in the name of the monopolist:-

- (1) In case anyother person trades in cigarettes in the area under your jurisdiction, take him to the Rakam Bandobast Adda (Revenue Administration Office). He shall be punished with confiscation of his goods for the first offense. If he repeats the offense, his goods shall be confiscated, and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed.
- (2) No duty shall be collected on cigarettes brought for the use of His Majesty, the Prime Minister, etc.
- (3) Action shall be taken as mentioned above if cigarettes are smuggled in by Nepali or British Indian post or otherwise.
- (4) Customs offices have been ordered not to collect any duty on cigarettes imported by the monopolist, Principal Babu Batukrishna Maitra. However, consignments shall be opened for customs inspection.

The amount stipulated by the monopolist was payable in four installments amounting to Rs 64.80 in Baisakh, and Rs 64.50 each in Shrawan, Kartik and Magh every year during the three-year period. No remission was allowed in any circumstances.

Chaitra 3, 1961
(March 16, 1905)

Meanwhile, the monopoly trade in cigarettes in other parts of the Kingdom had been given out to the following persons:

- (1) Subba Kalidas Upadhyaya for Kathmandu Valley on payment of Mohar Rs 7,000 yearly.
- (2) Bhairav Prasad Upadhyaya for the hill region, except Kaski and Lamjung, on payment of Mohar Rs 720 yearly.
- (3) Krishna Prasad Upadhyaya for the Tarai region, on payment of Kampani (Indian) Rs 2,530 yearly.

On the expiry of their term, fresh bids were invited. The highest bids were offered by Principal Babu Batukrishna Maitra. These were as follows:-

Kathmandu Valley	...	Mohar Rs 22,551.83
Hill region (Except Kaski and Lamjung)	...	Mohar Rs 1,135.28
Tarai region	...	Indian Rs 3,584.10 (annas).

On Poush 3, 1961 (December 17, 1904), Prime Minister Chandra Shumshere ordered that the monopolies be granted to the Principal. The legal restriction on the grant of such monopolies to aliens, as well as the requirements of personal surety, were waived. The monopolies were valid for a three-year term. Regulations as mentioned above in the case of the Kaski-Lamjung monopoly were made applicable to these monopolies also. The amounts stipulated by the monopolist were payable in four equal instalments every year.

Chaitra 3, 1961
(March 16, 1905)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 78, pp. 488-94.

Historical Documents on the Use of the
Sacred Thread

Royal Order to Garbhu

"Your ancestors were Bogates from Bogtan. For two or three generations, they remained indigent and began to work as barbers for a living. Consequently, they lost both their sacred thread and the caste of Bogate.

"Pleased us by your services, our father (i.e. King Rana Bahadur Shah), restored both to you on the occasion of his sacred-thread-investiture ceremony. However, no formal order was issued because of other preoccupations.

"As ordered by our father, we hereby restore the sacred thread and the Bogate caste to the sons, grandsons, and other descendants of your father, Amar. Undergo expiation on an auspicious day in the manner prescribed in the dharmashastri and perform your sacred-thread-investiture ceremony and wear the sacred thread with a Brahman as priest. Join your relatives of the Bogate caste and other persons from whom you can take cooked rice and intermarry.

Jestha Badi 3, 1857
(May 1800).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 37, p. 180.

Dullu-Dailekh

Royal order to people belonging to the Thakuri, Khadka, Thapa, Bohora, Bista, Rokaya and Budathoki communities in Dullu-Dailekh:

"It appears you had been traditionally wearing the sacred thread. In recent years, however, we have received reports that you wear it only during the sacred-thread-investiture ceremony and later put it off. We hereby grant you permission to wear the sacred thread constantly after once putting it on during the investiture ceremony. Wear the sacred thread. Perform your daily ritual functions (nitya-karma). If you discard these functions and perform evil acts, you shall be liable to severe punishment."

Magh Badi 1, 1872
(January 1816)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 42, pp. 187-88.

The Bheri-Mahakali Region

Royal order to Chautariya Babar Jung Shah: "We have received reports that chaos (bibandej) prevails in the region situated between the Bheri and Mahakali rivers because:

- (a) Castes and communities that had traditionally been wearing the sacred thread have been prevented from doing so.
- (b) Castes and communities that had traditionally not worn the sacred thread have been permitted to do so without an order from us.
- (c) Brahmans, Rajputs, Khas, Khasiya and other castes and communities use the same hookah in common.

"When you reach the district headquarters (gaunda), issue orders permitting:

- (a) Persons belonging to eligible castes and communities to wear the sacred thread, and
- (b) Brides and bridegrooms to use palanquins (dola) on the day of their wedding.

"You are also empowered to impose penalties on both parties if anyone has sanctioned the use of the sacred thread to any member of any caste or community that has traditionally not been wearing it, as well as to those who share the same hookah with people belonging to different castes.

"We hereby promulgate the following regulations for the future:

- (1) Persons belonging to castes and communities that have traditionally not been wearing the sacred thread shall not do so without royal permission.
- (2) People shall not share the hookah with castes and communities other than their own.

Magh Badi 9, 1898
(January 1842)

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 31, p. 121.

Population of Kathmandu Towna

(Based an a census of households taken
on Jestha Sudi 2, 1911(May 1854)

<u>Tol</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Makhan	1,159	9,603	4,848	4,655
Tangal	1,311	9,322	4,923	4,399
Asan	1,256	8,910	4,893	4,017
Watu	1,169	9,603	5,051	4,552a
Wabahal	713	5,097	2,798	2,299
Maru	913	6,532	3,455	3,077
Lagan	833	5,100	2,695	2,405
Musubahal	874 a	4,372	*2,574	1,798
Suburban areas (Lazimpat, Narainhiti, Jamal, Kamalaji, Tundikhel, Tripureshwor, Budankhel, Kaldhara, Ikhapokhari-Pakmajol, etc.). a	816a	4,319	2,527	1,792
Total	9,039	62,858	33,864	28,994

Kulananda Jha

A district-level administrative system emerged only after the beginning of Rana rule. During the first part of the nineteenth century, such essential functions in areas other than Kathmandu Valley as defense against external aggression, the maintenance of law and order, and the collection of revenue were the responsibility of military authorities in far-eastern and far-western Nepal. In the hill areas around Kathmandu Valley, defense was not an issue of primary concern; while the other functions mentioned above were discharged by landlords (birtaowners, jagirdars) and ijaradars of various categories.

In the eastern Tarai region, civil administration and revenue collection were both usually assigned to revenue farmers or ijaradars. Ijaradars were not salaried officials of the government; their income consisted between what they had stipulated for payment to the government and what they actually collected from the peasantry. The ijara system, at the same time, did not mean a continual bidding for higher payments. There is evidence to believe that at times ijaradars were also appointed in consideration of their capability, experience and integrity. Consequently, an individual who possessed these qualities often discharged revenue functions under the ijara system for long periods of time without any break, albeit not in the same field.

Kulananda Jha appears to have been one of such individuals. On available evidence, his career as an ijaradar stretched over to at least 25 years, from the beginning of the Nepal-British war in A.D. 1814 to the end of Bhimsen Thapa's Prime Ministership in A.D. 1837. Even thereafter, he was granted an ijara for the collection of revenue on jagir lands of Bhimsen Thapa in the eastern Tarai districts, which the government had resumed after Bhimsen Thapa's death.

Kulananda Jha probably belonged to the small community of Maithili Brahmans in Kathmandu. Another member of this community, Hiralal Jha, also appears to have followed a similar career as an ijaradar. His career will form the subject-matter of another article.

The information tabulated below is admittedly incomplete. There is a gap between Vikrama 1881 and 1883, but one does not know whether it was in Kulananda Jha's career as an ijaradar or in the documentation. Additional information about Kulananda Jha will be presented in the Regmi Research Series if and when detected or obtained.

Vikrama

Marga Badi 13, 1871 to
Kartik Sudi 1872

Ijara for collection of rents and taxes on lands under kut tenure. (42/79)

Aswin Sudi 2, 1872

Three-year ijara for Sera lands assigned to hattisar in Tokha, Kathmandu district. (42/82)

1874

Ijara for collection of Kascharai tax on cattle grazed on both sides of the Trijuga river, as well as west of the Kosi river. (42/284)

Poush Badi 4, 1875

One-year ijara for collection of revenue from miscellaneous commercial sources in the central hill region. (42/459-64)

Bhadra Badi 2, 1875

One-year ijara for collection of nirkhi tax in central hill region. (42/352)

Jestha Badi 4, 1875

One-year ijara for collection of Kapas bhansar and other duties in the central hill region. (42/291)

Magh Badi 11, 1875

One-year ijara for revenue-collection, civil administration, etc. in Morang district. (42/477)

1878

Assigned to scrutiny birta grants and determine boundaries in the eastern Tarai region. (43/374)

1879

Ijara for collection of nirkhi tax until Shrawan 1879. (43/346)

1879

Ijara for revenue collection, civil administration, etc. in Morang district. (43/339)

1880

Deputed to scrutinize accounts of revenue collections in Bara, Parsa and Rautahat. (33/491)

Baisakh Sudi 15, 1884

One-year ijara for revenue collection and civil administration in Saptari-Mahottari. (43/213)

Bhadra Sudi 5, 1885

Reconfirmed as do. (43/130, 153)

Chaitra Badi 6, 1885

One-year ijara for operation of mines in Chepe/Marsyangdi-Bheri region. (43/192)

1892

Chief administrator, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Saptari-Mahottari. (45/65, 198-99)

Bhadra Badi, 1894

Ijara for collection of revenue on jagir lands of Bhimsen Thapa in Bara, Parsa, Rautahat and Mahottari. (35/493-94)

Cow Slaughter

A brief note on the ban on cow slaughter had been given in the first issue of the Regmi Research Series a decade ago. (Year 1, No. 1, November 1, 1969, pp. 15-19)^a The following is an attempt to present the subject afresh in the light of additional evidence.

Cow slaughter was traditionally banned in the different territories comprising the present Kingdom of Nepal. Father Desideri, who visited Kathmandu in early 1722, noted that "the people have a most superstitious veneration for cows."¹ Another Christian missionary similarly reported from Kathmandu in 1740 that "cow killing is punished with death."² In Jumla also, a ban had been enforced on cow slaughter since before the Gorkhali conquest of that region in 1789.³

There is no evidence that the ban was effectively enforced. This was so particularly in the interior mountainous regions. Indeed, for a long time after the conquest, the government did not interfere when beef-eating communities slaughtered cows. The inhabitants of Solukhumbu, for instance, continued to slaughter cows in consideration of an annual fine, called chokho-danda, which they paid to the local authorities. This was done apparently without the knowledge of the central authorities. In 1806, when the government received reports that cow slaughter was allowed in Solukhumbu on payment of the chokho-danda fine, it sentenced the guilty persons to death or exile. A ban was imposed on cow slaughter, and any person who slaughtered cows in contravention of the ban was sentenced to death, and the members of his family were enslaved.^{4, a}

However, persons guilty of cow slaughter were lucky if they were punished only with death or enslavement. Often the punishment inflicted on them was much more horrible. In early 1806, Kathmandu received reports that a Damai Tangnam Village of the western hill region had beaten a cow with a stick, with the result that the animal died. The local administrator then convened a meeting of local people to discuss the case. The meeting acquitted the Damai. Later, however, the matter was referred to the government court, which held the Damai guilty of the crime through trial by ordeal. The case was then referred to Kathmandu for final decision. The government thereupon decreed that the local people who were present at the meeting which had acquitted the Damai should be punished with fines and the local administrator sent to Kathmandu in fetters. As for the Damai:

Cut off flesh from his back, and put a salt and a condensed citrus juice on the wounds. Make him eat the flesh himself and kill him.^a

Punishment for killing oxen was equally severe. In 1810, reports were received that some people belonging to the Pun community in Salyan had purchased an ox for two rupees and slaughtered it. The following royal order was then issued to the chief administrator of the district:

Persons who commit the heinous crime of slaughtering oxen in a Hindu land shall be flayed alive, impaled, or hanged upside down until they are dead. Their property shall be confiscated and members of their families shall be enslaved.⁶

Notes

1. Cited in D.R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Calcutta, Firma K.C. Mukhopadhyay, 1966, pt. 2, p. 1011.
2. Ibid, p. 538.
3. "Order Regarding Taxation, Judicial Customs, etc in Jumla," Chaitra Badi 6, 1885 (March 1829), Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 43, p. 189.
4. "Order Regarding Chokho-Danda in Solukhumbu," Baisakh Sudi 8, 1863 (April 1806), Ibid, Vol. 6, p. 769.
5. "Royal Order to Bichari Hirananda Tiwari," Chaitra Badi 30, 1862 (March 1806), Ibid, Vol. 6, p. 748.
6. "Royal Order Regarding Punishment for Cow Slaughter in Salyan," Bhadra Badi 3, 1867 (August 1810), Ibid, Vol. 39, p. 318.

The Political History of Dolakha

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Dolakhako Aitihasika Ruparekha (Historical outline of Dolakha), Kirtipur: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2031 (1974). Chapter II: "Rajanaitika Itihasako Ruparekha" (Outline of political history), pp. 14-50.

(Continued from the October 1980 issue).

Economic Prosperity and Circulation of Silver Coins

Had Indra Simha Deva confined his efforts to securing greater autonomy for Dolakha, thereby bringing about a split in the state of Nepal, this in itself would not have been important. He had also made interesting efforts for advancing the economic prosperity of Dolakha. At that time, trade with Tibet was one of the main sources of revenue. Such trade had been started during the Lichhavi period and was going in during the medieval period also. The rulers of Dolakha tried

to control ~~the~~ trade. As indicated ~~above~~, Ujota Deva was the first Dolakha ruler to have initiated efforts in this regard. Indra Simha Deva appears to have achieved considerable success. This is confirmed by his ability to circulate his own silver coins.

Nepal's historical record regarding an independent coinage system has been rather poor. During the medieval period, the rulers of most regions of Nepal used Indian coins. In Kathmandu Valley, Mahendra Malla was the first Malla ruler to bring silver coins (Mohar) into circulation. This explains why the mohars in circulation at that time were customarily called Mahendra Malli coins. However, according to Mohan Prasad Khanal, Indra Simha Deva had circulated his own Mohar coins long before Mahendra Malla did so. (Nepalaka Kehi Mallakalina Abhilekha. (Some inscriptions of Nepal during the Malla period), pp. 12-13. This view would appear to be correct if one is to take into account the gap between the reigns of Mahendra Malla and Indra Simha Deva. Narendra Malla ruled Kantipur until 668 Nepal era. (Shankar Man Rajvamshi, in Purnima No. 3, pp. 29-37). Although Mahendra Malla functioned as an assistant to his father long before that year, he could not mint coins in his own name so long as his father was alive. It has been proved that Mahendra Malla had died in 694 Nepal era. (Dilli Raman Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Vol. 2, p. 42). From this it becomes clear that Mahendra Malla had circulated coins in his own name sometime between 680 and 694 Nepal era.

On the other hand, inscriptions relating to Indra Simha Deva are available only up to 668 Nepal era. After that year, Dolakha was ruled by his sons. The view that Indra Simha Deva had minted his own coins long before Mahendra Malla is reinforced also by the absence of any reference to the year in the coins of both Indra Simha Deva and Mahendra Malla. In our view, Indra Simha Deva must have circulated his coins in 666 Nepal era, inasmuch as an inscription of that year available at the Rani Durbar calls him "Rajadhiraja" (Aitihasika Samagri (Historical materials, No. 16). Alternatively, he must have minted the coin after the conclusion of the well-known Treaty of Pashupati, that is, in 668 Nepal era.

Nepal had to import silver from India to mint silver coins, because it did not have any silver mine of its own. It had to pay for silver in gold. At that time, Nepal obtained gold usually from Tibet. Indra Simha Deva of Dolakha imported gold from Tibet and silver from India. In this context, it is worth remembering that Prithvi Narayan Shah too had minted silver coins in his own name. With the consolidation of his victory in Nuwakot, he controlled the trade route to Tibet via Kerung. When Dolakha was annexed to Nepal, it became easy to establish commercial inter course with Tibet through the Kuti route as well. Prithvi Narayan Shah then established relations with the Lamas of Tibet. This enabled him to import gold from that state, and maintain contacts with traders from the plains through whom silver was procured from India. This is now Prithvi Narayan Shah was able to mint silver coins in his own name. Several documents shedding light on this fact have already been published. (Ramji Tiwari et. al, Aitihasika Patrasangraha, pt. 2, pp. 78-86).

Similarly, Indra Simha Deva was able to circulate silver coins of his own by virtue of his success in promoting trade with Tibet. The geographical location of Dolakha helped him considerably in this regard. The traders of Dolakha found it convenient to trade with Tibet through such routes as Bigu, Kuti and Lamabagar, and with India through Sindhuli-Madi which they reached by travelling along the banks of the Tamakoshi river.

This was the factor behind the relative success of Dolakha in achieving economic prosperity. Some of the inhabitants of Dolakha became rich. This is indicated by Indra Simha Deva's inscription located at Kotchhen. It describes Dolakha town as "beautiful and inhabited by several wealthy persons". (Aitihasika Samagri No. 15). This gives us an idea about the extent of economic prosperity gained by Dolakha during the rule of Indra Simha Deva. The increased level of economic prosperity was bound to have an impact on cultural life also.

Matrimonial Relations

Indra Simha Deva appears to have established matrimonial relations with some well-known royal dynasty. This is apparent from his coins as well from his inscriptions. On one side of his coins are continued these words: "Dolakhadhipati Sri Sri Jaya Indra Simha Deva." The other side reads: "Patta Mahadevi Sri Vijaya Laxmi." The inscription of Queen Vijaya Laxmi's name along with his own in his coins suggests that he had been able to enhance his influence by virtue of being the husband of Vijaya Laxmi. The inscription found at Kotchhe also gives importance to Vijaya Laxmi (Aitihasika Samagri, No. 15). However, it is not yet established whose daughter Vijaya Laxmi was. One can only say that the rulers of Dolakha maintained matrimonial relations with the Sen and other dynasties.

Faith in Buddhism

The Buddhist religion had been extensively propagated in Dolakha, specially during the rule of Indra Simha Deva although religious harmony existed there for a long time. For the same reason, Ujota Deva installed an image of the Buddha in Patan. However, the inscriptions show clearly that Buddhism had spread in Dolakha during the rule of Indra Simha Deva mainly because of the growing intercourse between Dolakha and Tibet.

The Pashupati Treaty

Though Indra Simha Deva had proclaimed himself Rajadhiraja and minted his own coins, he was no more than a noble man (Bharo) in the eyes of the Malla Kings at the center. The Treaty of Pashupati, concluded in 668 Nepal era (1605 Vikrama) make this clear. At the same time, the treaty prevented the center from interfering in the affairs of Dolakha. It thus enabled the

rulers of Dolakha to secede, if they so wanted. In order to understand this point clearly, it is necessary to discuss the circumstances in which the treaty of Pashupati was concluded.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the center, several areas, including Lalitpur and Dolakha, were attempting to detach themselves from central rule. On the other hand, the Malla rulers at the center were not much worried over this situation. They were preoccupied with efforts to serve their own transient interests. Prana Malla attempted to consolidate his personal position in Bhaktapur, the center, but his attempt was collectively resisted by his uncle and brothers. This opposition group was led by Narendra Malla, King of Kantipur. Finally, in 1665 Vikrama, a treaty, valid for nine years, was concluded, with the signatories taking oath on the Dharmashila of Pashupati. It was signed by Bira Malla and Jita Malla, uncle and brother respectively of Prana Malla, and others on behalf of Bhaktapur and by Vishnu Simha Bhara on behalf of Lalitpur. The Phyaku Rawuts of Pharping also had taken part in the signing ceremony. The treaty explicitly recognized the autonomy of Lalitpur, Dolakha, etc. which had freed themselves from the center's domination and established an independent administration. In particular, the treaty underscored the independence of Lalitpur. In addition, the treaty contained an explicit commitment not to interfere in the administrations of the various states established at the time. It was specifically directed against Prana Malla, hence it explicitly stated that no other ruler shall establish relations with Bhaktapur. One clause of the treaty explicitly enjoins Indra Simha Bhara, Narayana Simha Bhara, and Rama Raya Simha Bhara of Dolakha not to join hands with and trust the center (Bhaktapur). Finally, the treaty stated that Indra Simha Babu, Samara Simha Bhara, and others shouldering the reins of administration to abide by its provisions firmly. (D.R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, pt. 3, pp. 108-111).

The 668 treaty thus effectively put an end to the center's writ over Lalitpur, as well as over Dolakha. In this context, the term "Bhara" attached to the names of the rulers of Dolakha merits attention.

As their inscriptions have shown, Indra Simha and other rulers of Dolakha had assumed such titles as Rajadhiraja and Prabhu Thakura Deva indicating their full independence. But in the eyes of the Malla Kings at the center, Indra Simha and others were no more than "Bhara" (that is, a nobleman). Vishnu Simha, who signed the treaty in the capacity of ruler of an independent state, is also designated as "Bhara". This indicates that the rulers of Lalitpur and Dolakha outwardly professed allegiance to the central rulers even while enjoying full independence.

The term "Babu" used in the treaty in describing Indra Simha Deva also merits attention. At that time, children born to a King from concubines were called "Babu". Since Indra Simha Deva has been called a "Babu", it has been assumed

that he was illegitimate. However, nothing further is known in this regard. We can only say that Indra Simha's brothers belonged to the patra clan inasmuch as they themselves called "Patradhipatra".

Joint Rule of Jaya Narayan Deva and Jita Deva:

Besides, Indra Simha, Narayan Simha was one of the prominent persons who participated in the signing of the Treaty of Pashupati on behalf of Dolakha. It has already been said that after Indra Simha, his brothers had jointly ruled the state. This shows that Jaya Narayan Deva was the brother, not son, of Indra Simha. In the Kotchen inscription, Indra Simha names Samara Simha Deva, Suratrana Deva and Simha Deva as his first, second and third son respectively. There is no mention of Jaya Narayana Deva among his sons. (Aitihasika Samagri, No. 15).

Thus after Indra Simha Deva his brothers, not his sons, jointly ruled Dolakha. In the beginning, Jaya Narayana Deva wielded greater influence than others because at the time of the conclusion of the famous treaty of Pashupati, he had played a leading role in securing recognition for the state of Dolakha.

Construction of the Dharmadhatu Chaitya

When his influence was rising, Jaya Narayana Deva built the magnificent Dharmadhatu Chaitya at Listitol in Dolakha. He also installed a stone-inscription to commemorate this event. However, the upper portion of this stone-inscription has worn out to a great extent, and only the middle portion is legible. A reading of this portion indicates that Jaya Narayana Deva ruled jointly with Raja Deva and Jita Deva. The inscription also contains the words "... Dhiraja Sri Indra Simha Deva." (Aitihasika Samagri, No. 18). This indicates that Indra Simha Deva had been alive till 1606 Vikrama (According to Mohan Prasad Khanal, Indra Simha had died on Magha Shukla 3, 1605 Vikrama. (Nepalaka ... op. cit. p. 75). However, it was Jaya Narayana Deva whose influence had been growing at the time, as is evident from the inscriptions in the Subarna Chakrawali found in the same Buddhist Chaitya. In these inscriptions, only Jaya Narayana Deva is addressed as Dolakhadhipati. (Aitihasika Samagri, Nos. 20 to 24). The main Dharmadhatu Chaitya had been built by Jaya Narayana Deva and his wife. The Subarna Chakrawali found in the Chaitya, however, had been installed by Jaya Narayan Deva's brothers Rayadeva and Vasudeva, his nephew, Uddhava Simha, as well as by his courtiers. The Buddhist Chaitya is built along the style of the famous Swayambhu temple, and it had been ritually installed through the cooperation of the Vajracharyas of Kantipur. This is an indication that Dolakha had established close links with Kantipur. As already indicated above, the Buddhist religion had further spread in Dolakha as a result of contacts with Tibet. Such intensified propagation of Buddhism was bound to have an impact. The above-mentioned inscription shows that Buddhism had left a great impact

on Jaya Narayana and his wife. The significance of Pancharakscha in the Mahayani Buddhist scriptures has remained very high. It comprises the Mahamayuri. Jaya Narayana Deva and his wife once observed the Mahamayuri fast. They built the Dharmadhatu Chaitva on the final day of that fast.

Jaya Narayana Deva had also a strong sense of religious harmony. Upon the death of Queen Vitta Laxmi, who had helped him build the Chaitya, he installed the temple of Umamaheshwara in 674 Nepal era (1611 Vikrama) in her memory. This is clear from the inscription of Tindhare (Aitihasika Samagri, No. 26). It states: "May the merit accruing from the installation of the temple of Umamaheshwara earn the late Vitta Laxmi the status of Sukhawati Bhuwana." According to Mahayani Buddhism, the abode of Akshobhya Buddha is called Sukhawati Bhuwana. To every ordinary Buddhist, Sukhawati Bhuwana is synonymous with heaven. There is thus no contradiction whatsoever in the inscription praying for the status of Sukhawati Bhuwana by virtue of the religious merit accruing from the installation of the idols of Uma and Maheshwara.

As hinted above, because of the absence of a clear-cut division of powers in spite of joint rule, the cleverest co-ruler was able to increase his influence or to monopolize power. This was true of the joint rule in Dolakha also. For some years, Jaya Narayana Deva wielded much influence. Later Jita Deva increased his power. This is evident from the inscription of 689 Nepal era as well as other inscriptions found at the Narayana temple of Listitol in Dolakha. It mentions Jita Deva, Raya Deva, Jaya Narayana and Vasudeva as the joint rulers of Dolakha at the time. Although it mentions Jaya Narayana as one of the rulers, it clearly shows a decline of his influence, inasmuch as it vests seniority to Jita Deva, who is mentioned as Dolakhadhipati (Aitihasika Samagri, No. 28).

The gold-plate inscription at Bhimeshwar Bhandar, which is dated one year earlier, also testifies to the growing influence of Jita Deva and the declining influence of Jaya Narayana Deva at the time. (Aitihasika Samagri, No. 27). It sheds some light on the joint rule in Dolakha, the eulogy of the rulers of Dolakha, and the rules enforced by them. The list of rulers of Dolakha who were called Maharajadhiraja at the time includes Jita Deva, Raya Deva, Jaya Narayana Deva, Basudeva and his nephew, Gusaya Simha, and sons Bhaguju and Samara Simha. This means that Dolakha was ruled by seven persons jointly at that time. Just as Bhima Malla, son-in-law of Yaksha Malla, had managed to become co-ruler at the center (that is Nepal Valley) at that time, Gusaya Simha had become co-ruler in Dolakha. It is not known whose son Gusaya Simha was. But the joint rule of uncles and nephew certainly represented a strange phenomenon in medieval administrative practice.

The inscription also sheds some light on the eulogy of the rulers of Dolakha. In their eulogy, the Malla rulers of the Valley called themselves "servants of Pashupati." In the same way, the rulers of Dolakha called themselves "servants of Bhimeshwara." They have also claimed descent from the lunar dynasty (Somavamshavatara). Even though they designated themselves as Maharajadhiraja, they called themselves Vamshanuvamsha Patradhipatra. This is a significant indication that the rulers of Dolakha belonged to the Patra dynasty enjoying hereditary rights. This inscription thus helps to shed some light on the rulers of Dolakha.

This gold-plate inscription also mentions some rules in force at the time. People were required to pay a levy known as Bisti in the form of unpaid labor whenever the rulers of Dolakha undertook a tour. The inscription contains an announcement to the effect that the public shall be exempted from all levies except Jathwam and Kethwam in the event of a religious or official tour by the rulers.

The inscription on the mace of Bhimeshwara Bhandar also attests to the increasing influence of Jita Deva (Aitihāsika Samagri No. 29). Another inscription at that place indicates that Vasudeva also had been able to increase his influence at one time. It mentions only Vasudeva as Maharajadhiraja (Ibid, No. 31). It does not mention the year, however.

At that time, the rulers of Dolakha were involved in an internal rift. To some extent, shortcomings had begun to creep into their internal affairs. No progress appears to have been made in the cultural field in Dolakha district during that period. On the contrary, some decline appears to have been noticed in this field.

Meanwhile, Kantipur had an able ruler, Mahendra Malla. Such rulers of Kantipur as Ratna Malla and Narendra Malla had strengthened its political position. However, they had not paid much attention to the task of economic progress and the administration. Mahendra Malla made up for this shortcoming. He not only brought about social reforms but also paid attention to economic development. He circulated coins which came to be known as Mahendra Malli. He also appears to have made efforts to promote trade with Tibet and India. These efforts appear to have left an impact on the economic condition of Dolakha also.

(To be Continued)
