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<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Kipat Lands in Solu, Timal, and Tanahu	... 16
2. Rice-Land Allotment to Siaboli Rai	... 17
3. Mining Ijaras in Eastern Nepal	... 17
4. Ghyangs and Gumbas	... 18
5. Tenancy in Jumla	... 21
6. Supply of Elephants, A.D. 1796	... 21
7. Doti and Achham, A.D. 1814	... 22
8. Scrutiny of Sasim Land Grants in Eastern Parai...	23
9. Gadimubarakn Levy in Badegaun (Lalitpur)	... 23
10. The Rape of Garhwal	... 25

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Kipāt Lands in Solu, Timal, and Tanahu

I

Royal order to the Mijars, Gorchas, and other villagers of Solu: "We hereby reconfirm your kinuwa-kipat lands, including pasture lands (kharka) at Jedu, Salleri and Beni, hillside lands (Swagro), and wild bee-hives (mahabhir), which have been in your possession from the time of your forefathers. Lands belonging to emigrants shall not be sold or purchased, but shall be reallocated to others through consultations among the Amali and Mijhars."

Monday, Chaitra Sudi 3, 1882 (March 1826)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, p. 40.

II

Royal order to the Amalis, Dwaras, Tharis, Mukhiyas, Mijhars, Gaurungs and raitas of Timalkot, Shankhu, Rayalegaun, Eklyagaun, Saurdolgaun, Pasthanigaun, Bhalayabotgaun, Kharibotgaun, Kabhregaun, Latigaun, Dapche, and Pangu.

"During the year 1862 Samvat, the Doko-kipat rice-lands of Prajas in the country were surveyed. However, the surveys were not accurate in your villages, so that these days some people own bigger holdings than others. There has been dissatisfaction with regard to taxes and other payments as well. You, therefore, submitted petitions to Kote-Dittha Sarup Bista, which have been referred to us.

"We have now deputed Kote Rama Chandra Jaisi and Jamadar Atirup Khatri to conduct investigations. Submit full particulars of your pakho, swagro, khet, and newly reclaimed lands when they reach your village. We shall then make appropriate arrangements. You shall be punished if you do not do so, obstruct the investigations, or suppress any information."

Sunday, Jestha Sadi 14, 1883 (May 1826)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, pp. 40-41.

III

Royal order to Dhanya Mijhar of Upallo-Pipaltar village in Dordor, Tanahu district: "Your kipat rice and pakho lands, which you had been using from former times subject to taxes and services (doko-boko, tiro-bharo) had been registered during the settlement (Janch) of 1866 Samvat conducted by Vishrama Khatri. Another settlement was conducted in 1883 Samvat by Tharghars Meghanath Pance and Madan Singh Rana. During that settlement, it was found that the area (used as kipat) did not tally with the figure

mentioned in the royal order of 1849 Samvat. The lands were then measured, the area mentioned in the 1849 Samvat order was reconfirmed, and the surplus area was confiscated. We hereby issue this royal order reconfirming your 60-muri khet holding, as well as the pakh lands occupied by you from former times, as kipat. Use these lands as lipat and provide the prescribed taxes and services."

Saturday, Marga 4, 1883 (November 19, 1826)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 34, p. 48.

Rice-land Allotment to Sirboli Rai

Rice lands totalling 142 muris in area, including the area registered in the course of the revenue settlement of 1901 Samvat, located in Majhuwa, Majhkirat, were allotted to Sirboli Rai through a royal order dated Monday, Aswin Sudi 2, 1904. (September 1847)". The lands had been assigned as Jagir to Srinath kampu and Sri Rajdal kampu. The order stipulated a yearly kut-theke payment of Rs. 44 and 2 annas, inclusive of ghiukhané levy and payments for winter crops, as well as the chardam-theke levy and other customary payments. Other provisions of the allotment order were as follows :-

1. Provide loans within the limit of the value of the rent (bali), if asked by the landlord (talsing).
2. Repair irrigation channels whenever necessary through your own labor.
3. Build embankments (mach) on the rice-fields, apply manure, and sow crops.
4. Do not cut trees on the borders of rice-fields, or those along dams and irrigation channels, and sources of water.
5. Do not clear trees and bushes for bringing lands under cultivation (khoriya na phadnu).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 35, p. 328.

Mining Ijaras in Eastern Nepal

On Tuesday, Baisakh Sudi 5, 1867 (April 1818); Chautariya Shumshere Shah (son of Siva Shah and brother of Prana Shah and Pushkara Shah) was granted an ijara for the following three copper mines in the Palanchok area of the eastern hill region":-

1. Khapakhole - Khani
2. Lipungtar - Khani
3. Theksing - Khani

" The ijara had stipulated the "supply of 251 dharnis of pure (guth) copper during the year 1866 Samvat; the quantity was now increased to 295 dharnis, to be supplied to the Munitions Factory in Kathmandu in "four installments, the "first installment in advance, and the remaining three installments in the months of Aswin, Poush, and Chaitra.

The ijara entitled Chautariya Shumshere Shah to appropriate income from homestead taxes, chak-chekul fines, and other traditional sources in the areas covered by the mines. As regards escheats, he was entitled to appropriate a maximum amount in each case, and to transmit the excess to the "royal palace. The document does not stipulate any term for the ijara.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, p. 178.

II

The same day, Bhaju Narayan was granted an ijara for copper, lead, and iron mines in the Listi area (of Sindhupalchok) for one year beginning "Saisakh Badi" 1, 1867. The terms and conditions of the ijara were the same as those mentioned above. The ijara was previously held by Darba Singh. It stipulated the supply of the following quantities of metals to the Munitions Factory in Kathmandu as follows :-

<u>Metal</u>	<u>Advance Supply</u>	<u>In Dharnis</u>			<u>Total</u>
		<u>Kartik</u>	<u>Magh</u>	<u>Chaitra</u>	
Copper	100	84	84	83	351
Lead	0	0	171	0	171
Iron	60	60	60	60	240

The ijara also prescribed: "Do not oppress the inhabitants of the mining areas unjustly. Manufacture charcoal in areas where this has been done from former times. Maintain the purity of copper, lead, and iron."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 39, pp. 177-78.

Ghyangs and Gumbas

1. Tukuche

Royal order to the Jhimuryas of Tukuche-Gumba:

"Our father (i.e. King Girban) had issued a copper plate inscription declaring that nobody shall harass you so long as you observe traditional religious practices (dharma). We hereby reconfirm that order.

"Remain faithful to your traditional religious practices. Those Jhimuryas who have left the gumba and gone elsewhere shall come back after paying the stipulated fees through Chhaitumba. It has been customary to collect a payment of Rs. 25 in case any Jhimurya who has shaved her head but not entered into the gumba is guilty of sexual intercourse. Collect such payments accordingly. If necessary, report matters concerning the gumba to the Second Queen-Grandmother through Chhaitumba. You shall be severely punished if you leave the gumba at the instigation of any Thakali other than Chhaitumba."

Wednesday, Falgun Sudi 12, 1884.

Regmi Research Collection, Vole 43, p. 288.

2. Jharkot

Royal order to the Lama of Jharkot - Gumba:

"It has been the traditional practice in the Gumbas of Jharkot, Mugakot, and Kak-kot to observe their Chhuwam separately. Subsequently, Thituwa Bista reconfirmed that arrangement and signed a document concerning the Chhuwamahali of Prosi accordingly. We hereby reconfirm that customary arrangement under the royal seal. Observe the traditional practices, remain loyal to us, collect the customary fees and perquisites, and run the affairs of your gumba."

Friday, Falgun Sudi 4, 1883.

Regmi Research Collection, Vole 43, p. 466e

3. Palchok

Rinjin Gyalbu Lama, a resident of Lekharka in Palchok, submitted the following petition to Prime Minister Bir Shumshere:-

"From the time of our ancestors, we have been functioning as priests (prohit) and providing Jajmani services to the inhabitants of Namlang in the Lekharka area of Palchok. Major Captain Dhokal Singh Thapa Chhetri, to whom the Lekharka area has been assigned as khawa (as part of his Jagir assignment), has issued an order granting us exemption from payments due on the lands occupied by us in the same manner as to other ghyangs. The landholders (Jimidar) of the village accordingly signed a document (rajinama) accepting this arrangement. We then built a ghyang in that village, installed an idol of Sri Gorakhanatha, performed religious ceremonies, and occupied our lands.

"For the Nangle-Ghyang in the Sankhu area also, an order has been issued granting exemption from payments on lands being customarily used in the same manner as in the case of the seven ghyangs of the Helambu area for performing the religious ceremonies of Sri Gorakhanatha."

Rinjin Gyalbu Lama prayed that these privileges be extended to his ghyang also.

The Commanding-General for the Southern Zone, Fatter "Shumshere Jung Rana Bahadur", referred the petition to the East No. 1 Bakyaute Tahasil Adda for inquiries.

The findings of the East No. 1 Bakyaute Tahasil Adda were as follows : "Taxes have been fully remitted for all the twelve ghyangs of East No. 1, including the Helambu -Ghyang and the Mangle-Ghyang. Nineteen persons have signed a statement to the effect that they will raise no objection if similar exemption is granted to Rinjin Gyalbu Lama of Lekharka. In the year 1923 Samvat, Major Captain Dhokal Thapa Chhetri, the Jagirdar, signed a document granting full tax exemption to Rinjin Gyalbu Lama for the year 1924 Samvat.

"The petitioner has also submitted a copy of the royal order issued in the year 1879 Samvat in the name of Chhiring Dorje Lama of the Mangle-Ghyang in Sankhu. The order is as follows: "We hereby grant you full exemption from all taxes and compulsory labor obligations, as enjoyed by the seven ghyangs of Helambu and other gumbas, on land and villages under your customary possession, as well as for your descendants and disciples, from generation to generation, and reconfirm such lands and villages in your name. Perform the regular and ceremonial religious functions in the customary manner and bless us. No revenue collecting official or functionary shall harass you in any way."

The Sadar Dafdarkhana then recommended that similar privileges be granted to Rinjin Gyalbu Lama also, although it acknowledged at the same time that there was no law or regulation which sanctioned such privileges, so that the matter depended on the discretion of the government".

This recommendation of the Sadar Dafdarkhana was endorsed by the Muluki Adda.

On Saturday, Falgun Badi 5, 1947 (February 1891) Prime Minister Bir Shamshere approved the recommendation and directed that an order (sanad) be issued granting the same privileges as to other ghyangs. An order was accordingly issued on Friday, Poush Badi 3, 1948 (December 1891) directing Guru Purohit Khajanchi Ghyaneshwar Prasad Panditju to make available a blank lal Mohar form to Naib Subba Bhakta Bahadur Rajbhandari of the Sadar Dafdarkhana for issuing the order under the royal seal, and have his assistants write down the necessary particulars on that form inside the office itself.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 53, pp.

Tenancy in Jumla

Pale Katuwal, of Chilkhagaun village in Jumla, submitted the following petition to an official to whom which conducted a revenue settlement in Jumla in 1897 Samvat:-

"We Katuwals have been cultivating lands belonging to Benu Pandit and Gajdev Pandit in Chilkhagaun village of Jumla in the capacity of kuriya (tenants). These Pandits are now demanding the same payments and services that we had been providing before their lands were confiscated, in addition to Sirto tax on the lands occupied by us. If dual obligations are imposed on us in this manner, we will not be able to stay in the village."

The petition was discussed at a meeting (Kachahari) of the settlement officers and bicharis. The local Thanis and Tharis gave assurances that they would settle the matter to the satisfaction of the Katuwals in consultation with the Amali and the officers of the army, in such a manner as to ensure that the prescribed taxes and other payments were made regularly. The settlement officers accordingly left the matter to be disposed of by the Thanis.

"The pandits, however, do not allow us to cultivate our lands. They even do not leave our daughters and daughters-in-law safe."

The following royal order was then issued in the names of the Amali, and the Subedar, Jamadar, and other officers of the (Chandan-Nath Battalion) in Jumla :-

"Summon both the Pandits and the Katuwals and discuss the case in the presence of the local Thanis, Tharis, and Jimmawals. Make arrangements to ensure that the Katuwals retain occupation of their land and pay the Sirto taxes assessed on such lands through the Pandits. The Pandits shall not be allowed to impose personal obligations on the Katuwals. Settle the dispute to the satisfaction of the Katuwals on the same terms and conditions as those stipulated for the Kuriyas of other daras (in Jumla).

Sunday, Kartik Sudi 9, 1888 (October 1831)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 38, pp. 222-24.

Supply of Elephants, A.D. 1796

I

Daroga Dayaram Padhya, Damodar Jaisi, Ranamardan Khawas, Jasya Khawas, Mahadev Padhya, and Bandhu Khawas were ordered to hand over two bull elephants and two cow elephants to Dinanath Padhya. The animals were meant for gifts to British officials in Calcutta.

Aswin Sudi 14, 1853
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 23, p. 57.

II

Royal order to Amalidars, Subba, Umras, birtaowners, Chaukidars, Jagat-collectors, etc. in the region west of ... and east of Pyuthan: "Elephants are being brought here from Pyuthan. You are hereby ordered to provide them with fodder, water, and foodgrains in the area under your jurisdiction. Let there be no complaint in this regard."

Aswin Sudi 14, 1853
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 23, p. 57.

III

Royal order to Subba Ranjit Kanwar of ...

"We need one large tusked elephant and one old ... for our tours and hunting expeditions. Mahouts are being sent there through Darogas. Depute four men from there to escort the animals on the way and arrange for fodder and water."

Aswin Sudi 14, 1853
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 23, p. 57.

Doti and Achham, A.D. 1814

Bhadra Sudi 9, 1871

Royal order to Nees, Rajawars, and other ryots throughout Doti: "We had ordered Vikrama Shahi to construct a fort there, but the work has been obstructed because you have defaulted in your Jhara obligations. Immediately on receiving this order, provide one Jhara laborer from each household, along with picks and hoes, and do the work allotted to you by Vikrama Shahi in the construction of the fort. He has been ordered to punish those who do not provide that labor."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 601.

Kartik Badi 9, 1871

Royal order to the Company, Dewans, and Mukhiyas of Thalahara: "We have deputed Subba Hastadal Shahi to take charge of Doti. All Dhakres in that area are hereby ordered to do the work allotted by him for our cause in fulfillment of their Jhara obligations."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 390.

A similar order was sent on the same date for Achham also. (Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 41, p. 390).

Scrutiny of Sasim Land Grants in Eastern Tarai

Royal order to birta and guthi owners in Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Sarlahi, Mahottari, and Morang: "You are hereby ordered to produce original evidence of royal orders (Syahamohar, Lalmohar) of Sasim grants (that is, grants mentioning only the boundaries and not the area). We shall reconfirm the grants after scrutinizing such evidence."

Jestha Badi 5, 1895 (May 1838)
Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 26, p. 274 and p. 280.

Gadimubarakh Levy in Badegaun (Lalitpur)

On Jestha Sudi 11, 1859 (May 1802), the Gadimubarakh levy was imposed as follows in the Badegaun area of Patan in connection with the coronation of King Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah.

1. Households of Newar, Sanyasi and Madhise traders:

(a)	Abal	...	Rs 9-11
(b)	Doyam	...	Rs 6-12½
(c)	Sim	...	Rs 4-13½
(d)	Chahar	...	Rs 2-14½

2. Households of shopkeepers:

(a)	Abal	...	R 1-15
(b)	Doyam	...	R 1-7¼
(c)	Sim	...	R 0-15½
(d)	Chahar	...	R 0-7¾

3. Households of:

(a)	Pradhan	...	Rs 3-14
(b)	Naike	...	R 1-15
(c)	Biset	...	R 1-7¼
(d)	Deswar	...	R 0-15½
(e)	kami -Naike	...	R 1-6¾
(f)	Dharmadhikar of Newar Community	...	Rs 6-0

- (g) Bosi-Naika ... R 0-15½
- (h) Mohi-Naika R 0-15½
- (i) Chhipi-Naika ... R 1-3½
- (j) D ngol-Naika ... R 1-7¼
4. Rice-Lands per khet (100 Muris):
- (a) Bitalab lands ... Rs 3-6¼
- (b) Talab lands ... Rs 2-2
- (c) ~~Bandha~~ lands ... Rs 2-6¾
- (d) Jagir lands ... R 1-7¼
5. On commercial taxes (Jagat) other than Bhainsi, Kirana, and Kapas:
- 3 paisa per rupees
6. Households of Salmi ... Rs 2-4
7. Dhakre households of Brahmans, Jogis, Sanyasis, Bhet, and Paunipat :-
- (a) Abal ... R 0-7¾
- (b) Doyam ... R 0-3¾
- (c) Sim ... R 0-1¾
8. Dhakre households of Soldiers, Newars, and Bhotas :-
- (a) Abal ... R 0-15½
- (b) Doyam ... R 0-7¾
9. One-sixth of the pota tax.
10. R 0-2½ per ropani of rice-lands under Chhap tenure.
11. Mijhar of Lohars and karmis ... Rs 2-4
12. Households of Sunars and Damais... Rs 3-0
13. do. of Dhoobis ... Rs 3-0
14. do of Kumhals ... R 1-8
15. do. of hawkers (Foubanjar) ... R 0-8
16. do. of tailors (Sujikar) ... Rs 3-8

17.	do. of Chhipis	...	Rs	2-4
18.	do. of liquor merchants	...	Rs	2-8
19.	do. of Kushle Pradhan	...	Rs	2-8
20.	do. of Middlemen (<u>dalal</u>)	...	Rs	7-8
21.	do. of Tathe-Naike	...	R	1-15
22.	do. of Tol Mahane	...	R	1-0
23.	do. of Chitaidar of Gardens (<u>bari</u>) and Ponds (<u>pokhari</u>)	...	R	1-8

Jestha Sudi 15, 1859

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, pp. 534-36.

The Rape of Garhwal

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan"

(Continued)

Pradyumna Shah was deeply grieved to know that both Ramapati Khandudi and Dharnidhar Khandudi had been assassinated, and that Parakrama Shah was approaching Srinagar along with his troops. He was also afraid that a man who could assassinate the loyal Brahman brothers could treat his King in the same manner. Pradyumna Shah, therefore, reported these matters to Bam Shah and appealed for help. According to Nepali sources, it was at this time that the Nepali envoy in Srinagar, Dalabir Rana, rebelled against his government. Maularam has made no reference to this event, but has only recorded that the Gorkhali troops sided with Sudarshan Shah in his struggle against Parakrama Shah." It is possible that these troops were the bodyguards of the Nepali envoy. King Pradyumna Shah had been making delay in the payment of the annual tribute to Nepal for some years past. Bam Shah reported the matter to his government. This provided a favorable opportunity to execute the plan to take over Garhwal in order to resolve the financial crisis facing the government of Nepal and also keep the army engaged.

A terrible earthquake occurred in Garhwal and Kumaun at about 1:30 A.M. on September 8, 1803. Tremors continued for a week. Garh was more seriously affected by the earthquake than Kumaun. Many buildings in Srinagar were severely damaged, including the royal palace. There was also considerable loss

of life and property. The general belief was that the calamity had occurred because of the assassination of the two innocent Brahmans, Ramapati Khandudi and Dharanidhar Khandudi.

On his return from Badhan-Gadhi, Pradyumna Shah decided to flee from the capital, Srinagar, before the Gorkhali troops reached there. Thinking that the Gurkhalis would occupy only the territories adjoining the Alakananda river, he planned to take refuge in Doon. Emperor Aurangzeb had granted the Doon valley and the parganna of Chandi to Pradyumna Shah's ancestors. Fouzdar Ummed Singh of Doon was Pradyumna Shah's son-in-law, and the Gujar ruler of Landhaur, Ram Dayal Singh, was his friend. Moreover, Pradyumna Shah had granted territories in Doon as Jagir to the Raos of Khedi, Sakharaunda, and Raipur. Miyan Dulel Singh of Prithivipur, Surajan Singh of Dhalanwela, and several other influential persons of the Doon Valley were specially devoted to Pradyumna Shah. He may have believed that he would be able to stem the Gorkhali advance with the help of these persons. Pradyumna Shah, therefore, collected important documents from the state archives, which included firmans issued by the Mughal Emperor, with which he could substantiate his claim over the Doon valley, the parganna of Chandi, and the Kingdom of Garh. It is possible that he sent away the royal throne, ornaments of the Badrinath temple which he had obtained on loan, and other valuable objects through his brother, Pritam Shah, his sons Sudarshan Shah and Devi Simha, and other trusted persons to the Doon valley by way of Ranihat across the Alakananda river. It may be noted that there were royal palaces at Nawada and Dehra also.

Meanwhile, Parakrama Shah and Pradyumna Shah remained in Srinagar. Harikrishna Ratudi, in his work Garhwal Ka Itihasa (Hindi), writes that Parakrama Shah's wife had left for Handur a few months previously to join her brother, Ram Sharan Das, while Pritam Shah was not yet married. However, Harikrishna Ratudi has wrongly reported that Pradyumna Shah's wife had already died. His Chief Queen, Mandaraliji, who was also known as Kumauni Rani, was the mother of Sudarshan Shah. She remained alive for several years after his coronation. Sudarshan Shah had built a separate house for her near his palace in the capital, Tehri. The house was long known as "Mandaraliji-ka-Kotha." The Bichitra Shah Library in Tehri is in possession of a document which contains the names of people with whom Sudarshan Shah used to correspond. The list mentions "Bandaraliji", instead of "Mandaraliji". Pradyumna Shah had two other queens besides Mandaraliji. One of them was the daughter of Ajab Singh Guleriya, while the other was the sister of Kamal Miyana. They must have accompanied Mandaraliji had they been alive at that time. There must also have been some slaves of both sexes.

Sudarshan Shah was seventeen or eighteen years old at that time. He was brave, ambitious, and sagacious. In contrast, Devi Singh whom Harikrishna Ratudi has described as Pradyumna Shah's illegitimate son, and Miyan Prem Singh (Guldest - Tabarikh Kot Tihri-Garhwal), as his son born of a slave girl, was a peace-loving person. The

two brothers were of about the same age. Devi Simha and Pritam Shah do not seem to have played an active part in the conflict between Parakrama Shah and Sudarshan Shah. But Devi Simha proved a sincere and trusted well-wisher of Sudarshan Shah during his life in exile.

In those days, the ladies of high-class families travelled in palanquins. Accordingly, dozens of porters and soldiers must have accompanied the ladies of the royal family. Pradyumna Shah had raised about Rs. 150,000 by mortgaging the ornaments of the Badrinath temple, and an additional Rs. 50,000 by selling some of them. He is not likely to have paid the full price for those valuable objects in view of his misfortunes. Because gold was cheap at that time, the total weight of those objects must have been five or six maunds, and dozens of armed men must have accompanied the royal family for transportation and safety.

No information is available about the top-ranking persons and officials who accompanied the royal family during the flight. On Kartik Sudi 15, 1865 (November 1808), Sudarshan Shah issued a document in the name of his cook, Hiramani, which shows that none of those persons whom Pradyumna Shah had favored with tax-free land grants and official posts stood by him at his hour of misfortune. The Gorkhali troops had not yet reached Srinagar by the time when Pradyumna Shah fled. Pradyumna Shah was in control of the state and it is likely that the intended flight was known to many people. It is, therefore, possible that some top-ranking persons and officials had accompanied him, and had dispersed after he was defeated in the battle of Badahat, or after he was killed in the battle of Khadbuda. Hiramani, the cook, had accompanied the royal family, as also Kishen Singh, Pradyumna Shah's favorite attendant. There may have been some others too in the royal party, but nothing is known about them.

It is likely that the royal party reached the Doon Valley from Ranihat through the Maletha-Takoli-Diul-Tiri route. At Tiri or Tipri, there was a suspension bridge on the Bhagerathi river. The route then passed through Chamuwakhal and Saklana, before crossing the Song river at Asthal, where the famous fort of Nalapani was located. The route then continued in the direction of Nawada and Dehara. The headquarters of the Doon valley was previously located at Nawada, but was later shifted to Dehra. It was, therefore, impossible for the royal fugitives to take shelter at either place. According to Miyan Prem Singh, they finally stayed at Nalagadhi (Nalapani), about six miles east of Dehra. The fort of Nalapani was situated in the midst of a dense forest. The royal fugitives would be able to stay there only with adequate arrangements. It is possible that they stayed there only for a few days.

The Kingdom of Garh had been ravaged by famine, civil war, and earthquakes. The Court of Nepal considered this a favorable opportunity to occupy that Kingdom. Gorkhali troops reached Srinagar about three weeks after the earthquakes (September 8, 1803). Nepal wanted to conquer the entire mountain region up to Kashmir. Amara Simha Thapa had been appointed as the Gorkhali Commander on the western front. He had under his command about 3,000 regular troops, and an equal number of irregular troops. Chautariya Hastidal was appointed as his deputy, and Kaji Ranadhir Simha Basnyat as assistant.

The Gorkhali troops advanced toward Srinagar from three directions. The first unit advanced from the east, possibly through the Chandpur route, and the second unit, which was led by Bhaktibir Thapa and Chandrabir Kunwar, through the Langurgarh route. The third unit had proceeded to Johar to suppress Jaya Narayan Joshi and his Garhwali troops, and had by that time occupied the Himalayan territories of Kumaun. It reached the valley of the Pindar river through Danpur and finally marched to Srinagar.

When the Gorkhali troops reached Srinagar, Pradyumna Shah held consultations with his ministers and courtiers. Parakrama Shah too came to his senses and joined the king. His troops lacked the courage to face the Gorkhalis. Amara Simha Thapa sent a letter from the Nepal Court to Pradyumna Shah, who then fled across the Alakananda river along with Parakrama Shah and joined their families in the Doon Valley.

The inhabitants of Chandpur, Lohwa, and Salan were already well-acquainted with the cruelty of the Gorkhalis. Stories of their oppression were widespread. The Gorkhalis unleashed a reign of terror immediately after they reached the capital. People in the northern areas fled to the forests along with their cattle, while the people of Salan fled to the plains. Extensive areas were rendered desolate, for no one remained to cultivate the land and protect the crops.

The Gorkhalis, when they learnt that both Pradyumna Shah and Parakrama Shah had escaped, probably sent search parties toward Rishikesh through Devaprayag, as well as to the Bhagirathi Valley through Ranihat. The Gorkhali troops spread all over the Kingdom in search of the fugitives. The Garhwali supporters of Pradyumna Shah tried to check the Gorkhali advance at Badahat, but their efforts were of no avail before the well-trained Gorkhali troops. The Gorkhalis reached the Doon Valley in a few days, leaving a trail of plunder, devastation, and rape behind them. Finding himself unsafe at Nalagarhi (Nalapani), Pradyumna Shah decided to take refuge in the territories of the East India Company. In Aswin 1860 (October 1803), the Gorkhalis occupied the Doon Valley. A few days before Amara Simha Thapa occupied Dehra, Colonel Burn of the East India Company's forces had occupied Saharanpur.

When the Gorkhali troops reached Dehra, Pradyumna Shah left for Saharanpur through Khedi-Ghat (now Mohan-Ghata), along with his family. One of his ancestors, Lalit Shah, had given two villages in the Doon Valley as jagir to the Rao of Khedi. The Gorkhalis had occupied these villages also, so the Rao naturally felt sympathy for Pradyumna Shah.

In those days, the foothills of the Siwalik range from the Yamuna to the Kali river were inhabited by two Muslim fighting communities known as Hedi and Mewati. They used to offer their mercenary services to any one who could afford them. Pradyumna Shah began negotiations with the Hedi chiefs, but the Hedis stole everything they could lay their hands on at the royal camp. They even began to kidnap Garhwali boys and girls, as well as prostitutes, for sale in the plains. All this left Pradyumna Shah, Sudarshan Shah, and Parakrama Shah helpless.

Pradyumna Shah, accompanied by his family then took refuge with his priest (panda), Kuparama. According to Harikrishna Ratudi, he had done so at Jwalapur. Miyan Prem Singh, on the other hand, gives the name of that place as Kanakhal. The royal priests of Tehri, who now reside at Hardwar, originally did so at Kanakhal. It is possible that they later built a house at Jwalapur. In 1803, Hardwar was a small settlement. Even by 1808, it had not developed much. In fact, it was only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs long along a 15 feet wide street. After it was occupied by the East India Company, Henry Wellésley built the bridge at a distance of about three miles. He also built an inn for traders who visited Hardwar during festivals, as well as some other buildings. However, security arrangements were not made. A Gorkhali checkpost was located near the ghat on the road from Hari-Ki-Pairi. Pradyumna Shah, therefore, could not remain safe in Hardwar.

Jwalapur, which was also known as Ehogpur, was a small village inhabited by cattle-farmers. It was neither convenient nor safe for the royal fugitives to take refuge at such a place.

In those days, Kanakhal was a prosperous town, with ghats made of slabs of stone. The main road of the town was very beautiful and proceeded parallel to the river from north to south. Affluent Brahmans and merchants had built palatial houses on both sides of that road, as well as elsewhere in the town. The residents of Kanakhal were regarded as important and influential. Most of the houses were made of brick and lime. Their front was decorated with portraits of different people, including English men. Some of those houses are still in existence at Kanakhal. Between 1803 and 1808, Dilbeli Singh, a Saraf of Nazibabad Raja Hira Singh Gujar, and many Gosains built durable and beautiful houses at Kanakhal with bricks and stone slabs. In 1803, Hardwar, Kanakhal, and Jwalapur were all under the control of the East India Company. Kanakhal was thus a very appropriate place of refuge for the royal fugitives. So Miyan Prem Singh's version appears to be correct.

In subsequent years, Jwalapur too expanded, and some time before 1815 Sudarshan Shah began to live there. When he returned from Delhi in 1815, his family was living in Jwalapur, but they used to live at Kanakhal until 1814. It was in that year that Hearsey, William Fraser, Burton, Ross, and Alexandar had met him. However, the author has not been able to identify the buildings that the royal fugitives occupied in Jwalapur and Kanakhal.

According to Miyan Prem Singh, the priest (panda) with whom Pradyumna Shah took refuge at Kanakhal was called Kriparama. However, inquiries at Kanakhal, Jwalapur, and Hardwar revealed that he was actually called Sardar Mayaram, because he was the Chief (Sardar) of the local pandas. Avinash Kumar, a descendant of Sardar Mayaram, told the author that when Sudarshan Shah received the state of Tehri, he made a grant of 1500 bighas of land to Sardar Mayaram at Khara and Pradipnagar. The Khara lands have been acquired by the Forest Department, but the Pradipnagar lands are still in the possession of Sardar Mayaram's descendants, who are still priests of the Tehri royal family. Kriparam and Mayaram refer to the same person, or are father and son, or brothers.

(To be Continued)

After occupying the Doon Valley so easily, Amara Simha Thapa started making arrangements for strengthening its defense and administration. Ummed Singh was previously Fouzdar of the Doon Valley. Some time before the Gorkhali conquest, he was planning to go over to the king of Sirmur. It is not known what he did after the Gorkhali conquest of the Doon Valley. The Valley was situated at a long distance from Srinagar. Many influential people in the Doon Valley supported Pradyumna Shah. They included Mahant Harasevak, Khedi and Parakhel, where Pradyumna Shah took refuge, were not very far from the Doon Valley. For that reason, Amara Simha Thapa made arrangements for defending all the three main routes of the Doon Valley, namely, Timli, Khedi (Mohan), and Kansro. After spending a few months in the Doon Valley, he returned to Srinagar in 1861 Vikrama (April 1804).

It was easy for the patriotic people of Garh to flee to the forests or the plains with their cattle and few possessions to escape the Gorkhali terror. But the position of government officials, who owned much property in the capital, was different. They had all been distressed by the conflict between Pradyumna Shah and Parakrama Shah and the factionalism it had brought in its wake. There was no hope that their fugitive king would ever regain his kingdom.

(To be Continued)*

