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Contents

	Page
1. Bondage and Enslavement	33
2. Regulations for Khumbu	40
3. The Unification of Nepal	40

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
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Bondage and Enslavement

("Jiu masnya bechnya" (Enslavement and traffic in human beings). Shri 5 Surendrabikrama Shahadevaka Shasana-kalama Baneko Muluki Ain (Legal Code enacted during the reign of King Surendra Bikram Shah Dev). Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, His Majesty's Government, 2022 (1965), pp. 355-61).

1. If a father and his son, or daughter, or two brothers, or two sisters, or a brother and his sister, of castes which can be enslaved have worked as bondsmen or bondswomen at the house of any person since before A.D. 1857, and the two agree that one be enslaved and the other obtain freedom, and, accordingly, one of them is enslaved at any government office or court (adalat, amil, thana) the creditor, or the father who permits such enslavement, shall not be held guilty, because this was done at a government office or court.

The other person shall then sign a bond undertaking to work as a bondsman or bondswoman in consideration of the loan previously provided to the person who enslaves himself voluntarily in this manner. He shall not be enslaved.

If the chief of any government office or court permits the enslavement of any person after the enactment of this law, he shall be punished with a fine of one hundred rupees. If the creditor has enslaved that person without the permission of a government office or court, his loan shall be appropriated by the chief of such office or court. The father or mother who permitted such enslavement in consideration of money shall be punished with a fine of one hundred rupees. The person who has been enslaved shall be free.

The enslavement of a child who is below sixteen years of age by making him sign a bond to that effect at a government office or court shall not be held valid. The creditor shall not be permitted to recover his loan; the chief of the government office or court and the relative who permitted the enslavement shall each be punished with a fine of one hundred rupees, and the enslaved person shall be set free.

2. If any person belonging to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, or to a liquor-drinking caste, takes up as his wife a slave-girl owned by another person, and begets children from her, the father or other relatives of such children shall have no right to redeem them if the owner of the slave-girl is not willing to sell or redeem them. If he sells them to other persons, or is about to do so, the father or other relatives shall have the right of pre-emption at the price offered by the prospective buyer and thus redeem the children from slavery. If they are

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unable to pay the full amount immediately, and undertake to sign a bond stipulating payment within a stipulated time, they can obtain redemption only after making payment. No undertaking for the extension of time limit can be accepted.

If the father or other relatives live at a distant place and receive information about the sale only later, and then demand redemption, their demand shall be granted at any time even if the child has been taken away from the home where it was born, if it is a son; if it is a girl, she may be redeemed only before she reaches the age of eleven years. No redemption shall be allowed after she reaches that age. The pruchaser shall allow the father or other relative to redeem the child from slavery on payment of the amount that he had actually paid. After the parents, or other relatives redeem the child from slavery and set it free, they shall not be allowed to sell it to others. Such child shall be free. If it is sold, this shall be regarded as the enslavement of a free person. The money paid by the purchaser shall be refunded to him, and a fine of Rs 360 shall be imposed.

3. If any person has employed a servant on monthly wages, but no period of days, months, or years of service has been stipulated, such servant may leave his service after getting wages for the period during which he has worked. If the period of service has been stipulated, he must work during that period, and shall not be allowed to leave before it expires. He shall not be allowed to do so even if he can get higher wages elsewhere. He may leave after the expiry of the stipulated period. If he absconds before the expiry of the stipulated period, he must work without wages for the remaining period. If the employer does not pay the stipulated wages in due time when asked to do so, and if a complaint is filed, the amount of the arrears, along with an additional payment of one rupee for each month of default, shall be realized from him. It shall depend upon the pleasure of the servant whether to continue working for his employer or quit.

4. Government offices and courts shall realize the value of slave-boys and slave-girls in disputes concerning them at the rates mentioned below:

Category	Amount
Slave-boys below three years of age	Rs 20
Slave-girls do.	Rs 25

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Slave-boys aged between three years and six years	Rs 30
Slave-girls do.	Rs 35
Slave-boys aged between six years and twelve years	Rs 50
Slave-girls do.	Rs 55
Slave-boys aged between twelve years and forty years	Rs 100
Slave-girls do.	Rs 120
Slaves of either sex aged between forty years and fifty years	Rs 60
Slaves of either sex aged between fifty years and sixty years	Rs 50

If any person claims any slave-boy or slave-girl as his property, but fails to prove his claim when required to do so, he shall be punished with a fine at the rates mentioned in this schedule. One-fourth of the fine shall be collected as Jitauri fee.

5. If there is no documentary evidence, but only witnesses, in a dispute concerning slaves, money, goods, jewelry, cattle, grain, etc, and both litigants agree to have the dispute settled on the basis of the evidence of the witnesses, the matter shall be noted accordingly, the witnesses made to take oath on the Harivamsha, and the dispute settled on the basis of their statements. The party which loses the case shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount of the claim, and one-fourth of the fine shall be collected from the winning party as Jitauri fee. In case the fine is not paid, (the losing party) shall be imprisoned at the rate of one month for each five rupees of the fine. The Jitauri fee shall be realized from the goods in which the claim has been upheld.

6. Creditors shall execute deeds stipulating the bondage of individuals, not families, only at courts and local bodies (amal). They shall not be entitled to claim rights over other members of the bondsman's family, even if such bondsman dies in the creditor's house or in his own house. If a complaint is submitted to the effect that any creditor had claimed rights over any member of the family of his bondsman on the latter's death, such creditor shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount claimed by him. If he defaults in the payment of such fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law.

Contd.

7. If the debtors are parents belonging to a caste which can be bonded who have both sons and daughters, no daughter shall be bonded in consideration of the loan even at courts and local bodies, because she is not entitled to a share in the paternal property. If any court or local body has witnessed such a transaction, the chief thereof shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees, and the creditor and the debtor with a fine of five rupees each. The deed of bondage shall be cancelled and converted into a personal bond in the name of the person who offered a bondsman in consideration thereof. The daughter or sister shall then be free.

8. If a slave commits a crime which is punishable with death or life imprisonment, he shall be sentenced to death or life imprisonment, as the case may be. If the crime is punishable with imprisonment, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment, If he pays money in lieu of the term of imprisonment, action shall be taken according to the law. If a slave commits a crime which is punishable with confiscation of property, he shall not be so punished, because a slave cannot be punished with confiscation of his property.

9. If parents have been freed from slavery, but their sons are still slaves in the same district or elsewhere, and if the parents redeem some of their sons from slavery, leaving others still in the status of slaves, and die in the meantime, their personal property shall be used to meet their funeral expenses. From the balance, an amount equal to what had been spent to redeem some of the sons from slavery shall be given to those sons who are still slaves, and the rest divided equally between the two. If the value of the property (left by the deceased parents) is not equal to the amount spent to redeem some of the sons from slavery, no share therein shall accrue to such sons. The entire property shall then be inherited by those sons who are still slaves. If (the deceased parents) had begotten any son after they were forced from slavery, the paternal property left after meeting the funeral expenses shall be divided equally among such sons as well as those sons who are still slaves.

10. If any person who has several members in his family has executed a deed stipulating bondage, and if through mutual consent the bondsman mentioned in the deed has stayed at home and another member of the family has gone in hist stead to work for the creditor, or if they work for the creditor by rotation, and if the person who is working for the creditor dies, the creditor may oblige the person whose name has been mentioned in the deed to work for him. If such person dies, the creditor shall not be entitled to claim rights over the person who had been working on behalf of the deceased person, or any other member of (the deceased bondsman's family). In case he does so, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to ten percent (of the amount of the loan).

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12. In case any person sells free persons (ajaputra) claiming that they are slaves, the person who writes the deed of sale to the effect that they are slaves, even though knowing well that they are free persons, the main person responsible for the sale, and the witnesses shall each be punished with a fine of Rs 100. In case these persons did not know that those who were being sold were free persons, they shall each be punished with a fine of twenty rupees. In case they do not pay the fine, they shall be imprisoned according to the law. If the purchaser knew(that those who were being sold were free persons), the money paid by him as the price shall be forfeited, and a fine of an equal amount shall be collected from him. If the purchaser did not know (that those who were being sold were free persons), the money shall be refunded to him if the seller is able to repay it; otherwise, the seller shall be let off after signing a personal bond for that amount in favor of the purchaser.

13. A person who offers or accepts children below the age of sixteen years as bondsmen shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees. A person who forcibly offers or accepts persons above the age of sixteen years as bondsmen without having the transaction witnessed by a court, a police station, or a local body shall be punished with a fine of ten rupees. The amali who signs as witness in such a transaction shall also be punished with a fine of five rupees.

15. If a person has only a daughter who is more than sixteen years old, and no son, and if the daughter signs a bond at a court, a police station, or a local body, indicating her willingness to be bonded in consideration of a loan obtained by her parents, the bondage shall be regarded as valid. It shall not be valid if the daughter who has signed the bond is less than sixteen years of age. In that case, the chief of the court, police station, or local body where the bond was signed, the creditor, and the borrower shall each be punished with a fine of five rupees. The bond shall be cancelled, and the parents shall be made to sign a personal bond for the amount.

14. If slaves of either sex belonging to any person complain before a court, a police station, or a local body that they are freemen, and if any relative confirm this claim, and agrees to undertake liability for any fees or fines that may be imposed if they win or lose the case, and if, after hearing both sides, it is held that they are freemen, the person who claims that they are slaves shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount paid for them. One-fourth of the fine shall be collected from the plaintiff as Jitauri fee and they shall be set free.

If, however, it is proved that they are actually slaves, and not freemen, the person who claims that they are freemen shall be punished with a fine equal to the amount paid for them. If he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned according to the law.

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If no relative comes forward to confirm the claim that the complainants are freemen, and if it is found that the slaves have made such a claim of their own accord, and that they have been slaves from the beginning, their complaint against their owner shall not be heard. A Baksauni fee of five rupees per head shall be collected from the owner in consideration of the recovery of his slaves, who shall then be handed over to him.

If any person has wrongly claimed the complainants to be his slaves, so that the latter have been compelled to submit a complaint maintaining that they are freemen, the case shall be disposed of on the evidence of documents and witnesses. If they are found to be slaves, one-fourth of the fine shall be collected as Jitauri fee from the owner, and the slaves shall be handed over to him. If, on the other hand, they are found to be freemen, a fine equal to the amount paid for them shall be collected.

15. If one of several brothers who is over sixteen years of age is offered in bondage with his consent by his parents with any court, police station, or local body as witness, and if subsequently the bondage is redeemed by his parents or brothers after repaying the creditor, he shall bear his due share of loans due to other creditors obtained while living in an undivided family. But if he has obtained his freedom through his own personal property or earnings, or by winning the favor of his creditor, he need not pay loans due to other creditors. However, he shall be entitled to his share of the paternal property. Loans due to other creditors shall be repaid by the other brothers who have stayed home. Other creditors shall have no claim against the person who has been freed from bondage as mentioned above.

16. In case any person signs a bond in the presence of witnesses granting personal liberty to his slave, but not freeing him from the obligation to work, such slave shall not leave work and go elsewhere in contravention of the stipulation made in the bond; nor shall the owner be entitled to sell such slave and appropriate the proceeds. In case any person submits any complaint to the court, police station, or local body in such matters, judgment shall be pronounced to the effect that (the owner) cannot sell the slave, nor can the latter leave working for him.

17. In case any person belonging to the Brahman and other sacred-thread-wearing caste is involved in sexual, or commensal relations, or in the use of water, with a member of any caste which can be enslaved, or is untouchable, or any caste contamination from whose touch must be purified through the sprinkling of water, and in case such person is, consequently, degraded to such caste, and subsequently commits any crime, he can neither be bonded nor enslaved. In case he is enslaved, (the person who has enslaved him)

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shall be punished under the law relating to the enslavement of freemen. In case he is bonded, the loan shall be cancelled, and (the person who has bonded him) shall be punished with a fine of an equal amount.

In case the person who has been degraded to a lower caste marries a woman of an equivalent caste, and in case the children born of such a union commit any crime, they shall be punished according to the law relating to the caste of their mother.

In case any person has enticed, children of either sex who are below twelve years of age belonging to others to work for anybody without the knowledge of their parents, brothers, sisters, or other relatives, and in case he has denied any knowledge of the matter when such relatives seek information, a fine of fifty rupees shall be imposed if the guilty person is a man. If the guilty person is a woman, she shall be punished with a fine of twenty-five rupees. The child shall be procured and handed over to the relative.

In case a son born of a person who belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste which cannot be enslaved from a slave woman owned by another person commits adultery or any other crime, and in case his father, uncle, or brother redeem him and give him the sacred thread if his father belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, or sets him at liberty if his father belongs to a liquor-drinking caste which cannot be enslaved, he shall not be regarded as a gharti. Action shall be taken in the matter according to the law relating to the caste to which he belongs. In case (the father, uncle, brother, etc.) has not redeemed him, so that he remains a slave, he shall be regarded as a slave, even though he was born of a high-caste person. Action shall be taken in the matter according to the law relating to slaves.

In case the crime had been committed while such person was a slave, and action has already been taken according to the law relating to slaves, and in case, subsequently, his father, uncle, orubrother redeems him and gives him the sacred thread if (his father) belongs to a sacred-thread-wearing caste, or sets him at liberty (if his father) belongs to any other caste, the office, court, or local body whichuhad previously sentenced him to punishment according to the law relating to slaves while he was yet a slave shall not be considered to have acted in contravention of the law.

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Regulations for Khumbu

The following regulations were promulgated under the royal seal in the name of the inhabitants of the Nepal-Tibet border in the Khumbu-Ghet region north of Thodung on Baisakh Badi 9, 1867 (April 1810):-

1. The amali shall collect the prescribed taxes, and dispense justice, in the presence of the headman (budhyauli) of the village.

2. The person who is appointed as dware there shall be supplied with provisions (manachamal) and six goats every month.

3. Conduct trade through your regular establishments (kothi) without creating any obstructions (dhesa)r.

4. The local people shall engage in trade as usually done in that regionr The amali shall not impose any restrictions.

5. Charge interest at ten percent according to the system prevalent throughout the country. Do not charge more.

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The Unification of Nepal

By

Baburam Acharya

(Shri 5 Badamaharajadhiraja Prithvinarayana Shaha (The Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah). Kathmandu: His Majesty's Press Secretariat, 2024 (1967), pt. 2, chapt. 5. "Nepalako Ekikaranaka Namitta Mileko Prerana ra Yojana" (Inspiration and plans for the unification of Nepal), ppr 201-20)r.

The exemplary character of King Shivaji of Maharastrar who had died only 42 years before the birth of Prithvi Narayan Shah, had begun to influence Gorkha. This had further influenced Prithvi Narayan Shah during his visit to Banaras. The Peshwas of Poona were spreading the Marhatta glory throughout India by following the path shown by Shivaji. It is the influence of this very Brahman Peshawa that led King Jagatjaya Mall of Kantipur to authorise the Brahmans of Maharstra to become the chief priests of the Pashupati temple.

(Note: The Pashupata sect, which has emerged as a special group among the ancient Shaiva communities, had succeeded the Vaishnava sect in North India by the time the Gupta empire was established there. Pashupatacharyas

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used to propagate the Pashupata sect. Following the establishment of the rule of the Lichhavis in Nepal, the Pashupata community also arrived in Nepal together with the Vaishanava community. At the request of the Pashupatacharyas, an idol and temple of Pashupati was established on the right bank of the Bagmati river during the early part of the fifth century. This community had made special progress during the Licchavi period, and Kings like Anshu Varma of the later Licchavi dynasty had become follower of the Pashupata sect.

The idol and temple of Pashupati was destroyed by the Muslim invasion in 1349 A.D. during the early Malla period. However, the Kingdom of Vijayanagar was established in Karnatak, South India, in 1350 A.D. with the responsibility of protecting the Puranic religion. First of all when an exact replica of the old Pashupati idol was installed in 1360 A.D. in the newly reconstructed temple of Pashupati by the Mahapatra of Kathmandu, Jaya Simha, during the reign of Arjuna Malla, the last king of the first Malla dynasty, the tradition must have been laid down appointing the priests of the temple by inviting vegetarian Brahmans from Karnatak. Sthiti Mall and other kings of the later Malla dynasty seem to have observed this tradicionn The idol of Kritimukha Bhairava south-east of the Pashupati temple seems to have been installed by the Brahman priests from Karnatak during the reign of King Yeksha Malla. That the idol of Unmatta Bhairava in front of Kritimukha Bhairava was established during the reign of the same king in 1468 by the Karnatak Brahman Narayana is stated in the stone inscription that was installed there three years later. King Pratap Malla of Kantipur later seems to have enclosed it in a room because of its obscene appearance. He also constructed Mauktimandapa and Yajnashala on the south-eastern side of the Pashupati temple. This kind of idol was not considered obsecene according to earlier Tantrik tradition.

When the destruction of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1565 stopped the influx of Karnatak Brahmans from there, and their descendants in Nepal degenerated by becoming meat-eaters, the Mall kings of Kathmandu seem to have established the tradition of appointing the priests of the Pashupati temple by bringing in Sanyasis from Banaras. The houses situated on the southern side of the Pashupati temple that have so far remained the residence of the chief priest of Pashupati seem to have been built by King Pratap Mallan It is known from Thyasafu 'A' that Raghavananda Swami had lived in that house during the rule of Pratap Malla's son, King Pathivendra Malla. That Raghvananda Swami had gone to live in Lalitpur when he was insulted by the murderers of Parthivendra is stated in the Vamshavali. But other Sanyasi priests remained there this is understood from the accounts heard at the Pashupati temple. However, the Maharastra priests state that when these Sanyasis too became defiled as meat-eaters, andmas the Rajopadhyaya and Tirhut Brahmans of Nepal too were meat-eaters, Jagajjaya Malla set up the tradition of appointing the priests by bringing in Maharashtra Brahmans from Banaras. Because peace was restored in India after the

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establishment of British rule there, and the influx of Karnatak Brahmans resumed, both kinds of Brahmans can now become priests of the Pashupati temple. At the time when the new idol of Pashupati was installed, the Pashupata sect had been uprooted in India. Therefore, Karnatak Brahmans who came from there to become priests belonged to an orthodox Puranic sect. However, owing to the inability of the Shaiva Mallas to ignore the Shaiva Bhairava of the Buddhistic Tantrik sect followed in Nepal, the priests of Karnatak also were constrained to install an idol of Shaiva Bhairava. The Sanyasi priests were the monists and were not therefore followrs of Bhairava. But in view of the connection that Pashupati had with Kritimukha Bhairava, they could no longer ignore its In view of the glory attained by Banaras at the hands of Maharashtra Brahmans when Poona had witnessed the ascendancy of the Peshawa dynasty during the reign of the last Mugal Emperor, the appointment of vegetarian Maharashtra Brahmans as priests at Pashupati, instead of Sanyasis during the period of the King Jagajjaya Malla of Kantipur, was a timely-step. Although there is some Tantrik influence on the present rituals of worship followed at the Pashupati temple, most of it is purely Puranic. The tradition set by the Maharashtra priests, therefore, seems to have been maintained till now.

The secret copper plaques, palmleaf manuscripts and other documents in the store of the Pashupati temple, if made public, may verify most of the speculations made here.)

During Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Banaras, a reputed intellectual, politician, patriot and wealthy person named Balakrishna Dikshit used to live there. He was an advisor of the Peshwas, and the Emperior of Delhi also was desirous of his favor. (Hamsha Monthly, Kashi Issue, p. 164, Banaras).

It was not impossible that Prithvi Narayan Shah had a meeting with hims Prithvi Narayan Shah might probably have acquainted himself with the contemporary situation of India by meeting the intellectuals of other provinces residing in Banaras. Right at this moment talks were held at the Delhi court on the question of incorporating well-known Hindu pilgrimage centers, such as Mathura, Gaya, and Banaras into the Peshwa kingdom. All this information reached Banaras at that time, hence Prithvi Narayan Shah set into capitalizing his designs out of this impending political unrest.

Prithvi Narayan Shah might have learnt from a deep study of the contemporary Indian situation that through pursuit of policies like keeping plans secret, refraining from hurting the religious feelings of others, and protecting farmers and craftsmen who do not participate in armed combats, as well assthe women and children of even enemies, it would not be difficult to attain success.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah engaged himself in the plan of the unification of Nepal immediately after his return to Gorkha from Banaras, First of all, he had to appoint the minister or Kaji, as the appointment had been delayed because of the coronation.

(Note: A minister was called Kaji in Gorkha. The term is in no way connected to the same word in Arabic. It is connected in same degree, with the Sanskrit word Karyi meaning a functionary.)

Everybody was sure that Kalu Pande was a suitable candidate. He was born in the family of Ganesh Pande, the first Kaji of Gorkha. He was also a son of Bhimaraj Pande, who had been a Kaji for some time during King Narabhupala Shah's reign.

(Note: A statue of the bearded Kapardar, Bhotu Pande, is installed on the ground floor of a building situated south of the Pashupati temple. The inscription that he has installed on the Bishnumati bridge, which he had constructed, refer to his relationship with Ganesh Pande, Minister of Drabya Shah, the first King of Gorkha. The Pande Brahmans of the Upamanya clan of Khoplang in Gorkha also mention Ganesh Pande as their ancestor. Bhotu Pande was a Chhetri, his family had marital ties with Bhim Sen Thapa's family. A Brahman's son through a Khas or Chhetri wife becomes a Chhetri. It is not known whether Bhotu Pande was a Chhetri because Ganesh Pande had taken a Khas or Chhetri wife or one of his discendants had done so. Bhotu Pande's stone inscription, and documents about his lineage mention Ganesh Pande's son as Vishwadatta, and Vishwadatta's son as Birudatta. Birudatta had two sons Baliram and Jagatloka. It is not known whether they were Brahmans or Chhetris. Bhotu Pande mentions Tularam, Baliram and Birudatta respectively as his ancestors of three generations. This shows Vishwadatta also to be an historical person.

Ranajit Pande, the second son of Tularam was born in 1809 A.D. Assuming that Tularam was 27 years old at that time, he must have been born in 1782 Samvat. Allowing 25 years for each generation, Vishwadatta seems to have been born in 1707 Samvat. This means that he could not have been the son of Ganesh Pande, who was living in 1616 Samvat, when Drabya Shah was crowned King of Gorkha. In other words, the names of two more generations seem to be missing. Bhotu Pande must have mentioned Vishwadatta as Ganesh Pande's son by mistake. Birudatta's sons, Baliram and Jagatloka, appear to be Brahmans from their names. However, Tularam, Baliram's son, and Bhimaraj, Jagatloka's son, appear to be Chhetris. It is possible that Bhimaraj was Jagatloka's grandson. A deep study is required in this regard.

The genealogy mentions the name of Bhimaraj's son as Vamshidhar or Kalu. Because he was dark in complexion, he became well-known as Kalu. Kalu had three sons, Vamsharj, Ranashur, and Damodar. One document mentions Jagadhar Pande

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as Vamsharaj's nephew, but the genealogy does not mention his father's name. Possibly Bhotu Pande did not know their names, because both Jagadhar Pande and his father died early. Kalu Pande's sons and grandsons too were probably of a dark complexion, hence Mathbar Singh derisively called them Kala Pande (i.e. Black Pande). Mathbar Singh Thapa was son of the grand-daughter of Tularam Pande, hence Tularam Pande's descendants were called Gora Pande (i.e. White Pande). Moreover, Kalu Pande had already shown his diplomatic skill while negotiating a treaty with King Ripumardana of Lamjung when Prithvi Narayan Shah was yet a Crown Prince.

(Note: In Dibya Upadesh, Prithvi Narayan Shah has written: "I met King Ripumardana Shah of Lamjung at Chepe-Ghat, and Kalu Pande conducted negotiations in the manner I had desired. This greatly surprised me.")

In addition, Kalu Pande had demonstrated sufficient administrative skill while working together with the senior Queen Chandraprabha, Chautara Mahoddama Kirti Shah, and Ranarudra Shah during Prithvi Narayan Shah's visit to Banaras.

(Note: Shri Pancha Prithvi Narayan Shah ko Jivani (Biography of King Prithvi Narayan Shah) states Kalu Pande was one of the two high officials who stayed at Gorkha while Prithvi Narayan Shah had gone to Banaras. The Bhasha Vamshavali states that he had accompanied Prithvi Narayan Shah to Banaras. The statement of the Bhasha Vamshavali seems wrong).

For these reasons, Queen Chadraprabha supported Kalu Pande's name for appointment as Kaji. But during his visit to Banaras, Biraj Bakheti had sufficiently impressed Prithvi Narayan Shah.

(Note: In Dibya Upadesh, Prithvi Narayan Shah has said: "I had intended to appoint Biraj Bkheti as Kaji, However, Kalu Pande appeared wiser, so he was appointed Kaji.").

In these circumstances, Prithvi Narayan Shah thought it proper to take the advice of all the notable persons of Gorkha. On the unanimous recommendation of the nobility, as well as the common people including Bisya Damai, and the support of the friendly Baisi and Chaubisi kings, he appointed Kalu Pande to that high post.

(Note: In Dibya Upadesh, Prithvi Narayan Shah has said: "The people, as well as the Baisi and Chaubisi kings all supported the appointment of Kalu Pande as Kaji." Friendly relations had been established at that time with the kings of Jajarkot among the Baisi, and Lamjung and Palpa among the Chaubisi. Therefore, they too might have been consulted).

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Prithvi Narayan Shah had already seen the fertile lands of the three principalities of Kathmandu V lley when he visited the capitals of the mutually hostile principalities of Bhaktapur and Kantipur. The King of Kantipur was an obstacle for the Gorkhalis to extend their way to Bhaktapur. The hill district of Nuwakot, which belonged to Kantipur and which adjoined Gorkha was lying undefended, and this led king Prithvi Narayan Shah and Kalu Pande to realize that it was easy to occupy it. But the principality of Kantipur was rich owing to its income from trade with Tibet. Prithvi Narayan Shah had the foresight to realize that unless Kantipur was impoverished by seizing that trade, it could not be uprooted. A portion of this trade used to be conducted through the Kerung route in Nuwakot district, but the Kuti route was more frequented. The kings of Kantipur had, therefore, occupied Sindhupalchok and Dolakha districts. Kantipur had trade relations with Tibet, which was under the control of the Chinese Emperor, and under the administration of the Dalai Lama. The latter had friendly relations with the Kings of Kantipur. This trade had continued even though more than 100 years had passed since the death of Bhima Malla, who had first established these trade relations. The trade route was very long and hazardous. The Malla kings had not been able to extend their territory beyond the Himalayan ranges. As a result, the Tibetans had established trade centers in Kerung and Kuti. The Kerung trade center lay at a distance of 141 kilometers from Kathmandu, which could be covered in 8 stages. It formed part of the principality of Kantipur. The Kuti trade center lay at a distance of 131 kilometers, which could be covered in 9 stages. It was under the administrative control of the Dalai Lama. Routes running through Kerung and Kuti converged at Digarcha in Tibet, which was 19 stages and 373 kilometers from Kerung, and 16 stages and 331 kilometers distant from Kuti. From Digarcha the Tibetan capital of Lhasa lay at a distance of 11 stages and 263 kilometers.

(Note: After the 1854-55 war with Tibet, a book was written during the reign of King Surendra in 1856 on Tibet and China. In view of Prithvi Narayan Shah's efforts to establish relations with the Dalai Lama and strengthen trade relations with Tibet, a detailed account of the route as far as Lhasa, capital of Tibet, is given in that book, which is in the possession of Pandit Komal Natha Adhikari).

Yaks, sheep and Chyangra (mountain goats) are abundant in Tibet. As such, the Tibetans used to live on their meat by some unknown reason they did not eat the meat of Chyangras. They, however, wove cloth with the wool of sheep and Chyangra goats. Instead of visiting the borders of China for food-grains, it was more convenient for them to visit Kerung, Kuti, Khartang (Kirat region) and Bhutan through the upper reaches of the Trishul-Gandaki, the Sunkoshi, the Arun (Chhung) and the Tista respectively.

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But the Bhutan and Khartang routes were not used. Moreover, the Swayambhu shrine in Nepal, and the Khasa Chailtya, constructed during Pratapa Malla's reign, were popular pilgrimage centers from ancient times for the Vajrayani Buddhists of Tibet. The Kerung and Kuti routes were, therefore, open, and the salt of Tibet used to be traded with the foodgrains of Nepal through these routes.

Besides salt, ponies, yak-tails, harital, and muskt also used to come from Tibet, which Nepali traders used to resell to the traders in the plains of Oudh and Bihar. Garlic, chillies and Lapsi fruits were exported to Tibet fro Nepalt Sheep and Chyangra goats constituted the main items that were sold in Kathmandu Valley. Caskets made of ivory, ivory-hilted daggers, and handicrafts made of dar wood were the main items that were exported to Tibet. Gold in crude or refined form from Mongolian mines constituted the main items imported by Nepal through Lhasa. Only silver coins stamped with the seal of the Kantipur kings circulated in Tibet. The main communities trading in both Kantipur and Tibet were Shakyas and Udas mostly of Kantipur, and a few of Lalitpur. The number of their establishments at one time reached as many as thirty-two. As such, they were known as the "Battis kothi mahajan".

Tibetan gold seems to have started to come to Kantipur during the reign of King Mahendra Malla(1560-1574 A.D.)t the joint king of both Kantipur and Lalitpur, before the time of Bhima Malla. The largest quantity, however, came during the reign of King Pratap Malla (1641-1674 A.D.), the killer of Bhima Malla. The gold plates that he and his grandson King Bhupalendra Malla gave to the copper roofs of the temples of Guhyeshwari, Taleju, Pashupati, and others in Kantipur, and the statues installed there had created among the Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar the impression that there were piles of gold in Kantipur. Pratapa Malla's nephew, King Srinivasa Malla of Lalitpur, had not been able to erect a gold-plated statue owing to the small number of Lalitpur traders in Lhasa. However, one trader, Jodhaju Sakya of Lalitpur, who owned shops in Tibet, had presented him with a magnificent gilded throne. (Abhilekhasangraha, pt. 6, p. 12)t

Pratap Malla's son, Yoganarendra Malla, and King Bhupatindra Malla of Bhaktapur, had with the help of Kantipur King Bhupalendra Malla, gilded their statues installed on stone pillars in front of their Taleju temples. It was, therefore, natural for the Gorkhalis to be lured by the wealth of the principality of Kantipur.

After Akbar'ts occupation of Kashmir toward the end of the 16th century, Kashmiri Muslim traderstspread all over northern India, and opened shopstselling Kashmiri shawls, woolen caps, saffrons, etc. in principal towns there. One Kashmiri Muslim who had a shop at Patna came to Kantipur and opened a shop there near the city gatest

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(Note: The Capuchin priest Desideri, who had come to Kathmandu in January 1722 A.D., had seen the shops of Kashmiri traders near the Ranipokhari in Kantipur. Medieval Nepal, pt. 2, p. 1012).

This shop was later turned into a Kashmiri mosque. This Kashmiri Muslim belonged to the hill region, hence he began to earn double profits by going to Tibet and trading there.

During this very period, King Mahendra Simha, and Chautara Jhagal Thakul permitted two Capuchin priests Francois Felix and Anthony Marie, when they came to Kantipur, to propagate Christianity and establish a church there. But later because of the opposition Brahmans, both priests went to Bhaktapur, where King Bhupatindra Malla welcomed them. There the priests cured some patients of plague and converted them to Christianity. When Jagatjaya Malla was crowned King in 1722 A.D., permission was granted to them to open a branch of the Bhaktapur church in Kathmandu also. Father Horrace, who had come at this time from Lhasa as chief of the Bhaktapur church, had been able, by virtue of his qualifications and intelligence, to regain their old place in Kantipur. But King Jagatjaya Malla later felt displeased at his misbehavior and confiscated all his property, imprisoned him and employed in road construction. Horrace was a clever man. He sent a petition to Jagatjaya Malla, who later freed him from imprisonment and gave permission to propagate Christianity in Kantipur.

Lhasa was the principal base of the Capuchins. When Joachim, the chief priest of Lhasa and Horrace, the chief priest of Bhaktapur requested Rome for retirement owing to their age, Vitto was appointed as the chief for Bhaktapur. When he arrived at the Patna church, King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur sent his relative to fetch him to Bhaktapur, and gave him lodging in a house there as well as permission to erect an iron cross on the house. Later, Ranajit Malla gave him a magnificent house and garden that had been acquired as the intestate property of a noble, and also a copper-plate decree permitting him to convert the people to Christianity with their consent. (1740 A.D.)

(Note: This account is based on pp. 120-21 of the English translation of Le Nepal by Sylvain Levi. The inscription was as follows: "King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur hereby grants all European priests the right to propagate among and convert my subjects into Christianity, and also his subjects the right to adopt Christianity without fear from any authority. However, such conversion should be done not through force but on a voluntary basis. Marga 861 Nepal Samvat).

Joachim was one of the priests who had accompanied Vitto to Bhaktapur. He request King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur for permission to set up a church, Jaya Prakash Malla, however, did not grant the privilege to propagate

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Christianity among the people of Kantipur as Ranajit Malla had done in Bhaktapur. However, he granted a building and graden, and also issued a copper-plate decree (December 17, 1741) in the name of the Capuchin priests.

(Note: This account is based on the English translation of Le Nepal, pp. 129-30).

At this time, the Raja of Betttiah (Champaran district) had sent a request to Vitto to establish a Christian church in his territory. As a result, a church was built there under the jurisdiction of the Bhaktapur organizationt (1743 A.D.)t

European missionaries used to get secretly involved in the politics of Nepal in the interests of Europeans, and also rendered assistance to the Malla kings in buying guns and flints, but did not interfere in trade. The permission granted by Ranajit Malla and Jaya Prakash Malla to them to propagate Christianity in a manner detrimental to the culture and religion of their people for the sake of buying guns and flints for use in their mutual conflicts was sign of cultural degenerationt This assured Prithvi Narayan Shah of success in his mission of unifying Nepal.

(To be continued).

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