

HISTORY OF NEPAL

As Told by Its Own and Contemporary Chroniclers

Edited with a Prolegomena

BY

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As Told by Its Own and Contemporary Chroniclers
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FOREWORD

Nepal lies almost entirely within the great mass of the Himalayas, on the frontier between India and Communist China. She has a unique character fashioned by the passing of time and which the modern age has not substantially changed. That character was shaped and forged, to a significant degree, by her geographical position.

Frontiers are creative areas, whether they are the moving frontiers of missionaries, traders or freewheeling government agents consciously or unconsciously creating empire, or stationary frontiers where expansion has run against physical or human resistance. Either condition is demanding and stimulating, sharpening the wits in matters of defence, administration, and culture.

It is no coincidence that Nepal produced both Buddha and the Gurkhas. Buddha was born among the Sakays, a tribe of warrior-caste whose capital (Kaplavastu) was situated in what is now Nepal. By the 4th century the Newars in the central Nepal Valley with its main cities of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon and Kirtipur, had nurtured a remarkable Hindu-Buddhist culture. Newar woodcarving, sculpture, metalwork and religious painting were all eloquent evidence of a vigorously creative community which was to underlay the Gurkha conquest of the 18th century. By the 18th century Buddhism, with its teaching that wordly life cannot give final happiness, had spread itself far beyond the borders of modern Nepal.

The Gurkhas, on the other hand, imposed themselves, their wordly warriorlike qualities and their dynasty on Nepal so much so that the term Gurkha has been used synonymously with Nepal. Nepalese serving with the British army were described as Gurkhas. Once established in Nepal towards the end of the 18th century, the Gurkhas used Nepal as a springboard for their expansionist tendencies, and fashioned the frontiers of modern Nepal from the nucleus of the Valley of Kathmandu.

Perhaps Nepal's inhabitants and cultural achievements may best be described as tenacious and malleable. These twin characteristics were displayed in the Gurkha opposition to the British in 1814-1816, and their subsequent service in the British Army. They are also apparent in the steady progress of Buddhism throughout Asia (and beyond), and in the emergence of Mahayana Buddhism.

Today Nepal is sandwiched between Communist China and India. The confrontation between the two great powers is bringing pressures to bear upon a State of less than 60,000 sq. miles in extent. More than ever before in her

history she finds herself a frontier in every sense of the word. It may well be that these external pressures of a political nature have stimulated the Nepalese to look to their past, and to give further substance to their historical achievement from which, perhaps, they seek to draw assurance for the future.

Professor Bikrama Jit Hasrat's collection of original sources expands the dimensions of Nepalese history and adds to its texture, within the covers of one volume. It reveals the sinews which hold together the story of this vigorous and colourful country, bringing within easy reach the original sources which so many take for granted in the writing and rewriting of the history of modern India and Pakistan. This collection of documents,—the most authoritative contemporary historical account of Nepal—by adding depth to her present, establishes Nepal, more so than ever before, as a country with a past which is strong enough to underwrite her claim as an organic community in the brotherhood of nations.

Professor Hasrat has rendered a fine service to the history of Nepal by producing this volume.

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3rd May, 1970

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P R E F A C E

The suggestion for the publication of some of the basic source-material on the history of Nepal is a corollary to the present writer's endeavours to organise systematic reach in that direction during his 4 years' stay at Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu in 1962-66. A project on the political and cultural history of Nepal having been proposed to the University in 1964, led to a closer examination of the extant source-material in Nepal, India, and England. Journeys in search of new materials were undertaken, and historical surveys of Nawakot, Gorkha, Tanhoun, Kāski and the Nepal Terai were organised. Available manuscript, numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological materials in Nepal were examined; and British records dealing with Nepal, particularly, the *Select Committee Proceedings, 1756-74*; *Letters to and from the Court of Directors, 1765-1818*; and the Series of public records, *Secret, Political and Foreign 1778-1856*, together with the *Secret Letters from Bengal and India, 1778-1856*, (Series I) were closely examined in India and England. Unfortunately, the *Nepal Residency Papers, pre-1872*, and *thereafter* are not open to public inspection in the National Archives of India, New Delhi; but most of this correspondence is incorporated in the public records, and the entire *Nepal Residency Papers* are accessible at the India Office Library, London, where also is preserved the most invaluable collection on Nepal — *the Hodgson Papers*.

The political history of Nepal can be conveniently divided into five sections: (1) *Ancient Nepal*, from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. (2) *Medieval Nepal* covering the period of early and later Mallas, 1200-1768 A.D. (3) *The Rise of Gorkha Power and its Fulfilment, 1768-1837 A.D.* (4) *Nepal under the Rana Oligarchy, 1837-1901*. (5) *Nepal in Modern Times, 1900-1950*. With the recent publication of numismatic, epigraphic and local materials on Nepal, it would seem that the earlier works of Kirkpatrick (1811), Hamilton (1819), Cavenagh (1851), Oldsfield (1881) and Landon (1928) have in some respects outlived their utility, or at least, need a sober revision. With the exception, perhaps, of Silvian Levi's monumental, though still inaccessible work, *Le Nepal* (1905-8) and Luciano Petech's commendable *Mediaeval Nepal, 750-1480 A.D.*, based mostly on Bendall's *Vamśāvalī* and extensive colophon materials meticulously derived from the Darbar Library manuscripts, various other works on Nepal, particularly, Massieu's *Nepal et Pays Himalayas* (1928), Bendall's *History of Nepal and the Surrounding Kingdoms* (1805), Jayswal's *Chronology and History of Nepal, 600 B.C.-800 A.D.* (1837); Formichi's *Il Nepal* (1834), and more recent works of Tucci: *Discovery of*

the Malla (1966), of Sanwal : *Nepal and the East India Company* (1965), Ramakant : *Indo-Nepalese Relations*, Kumar : *Rana Polity in Nepal* etc. are specialised studies in their limited fields. D. R. Regmi's hefty wanderings in the realm of Nepalese history (*Medieval Nepal, 4 Vols.*) are quantitative rather than qualitative, highly lacking in correct historical approach or perspective and are mere elaborations of Bendall, Levi, Petech and others.

However, now that the history of Nepal is being written by the Nepalese themselves, the commendable works of Gynwali—*Madhakalin Nepal* (1963), *Prthvināryaṇa Shah* (1935) and *Amar Singh Thapa* etc., of Baburam Acharya—*Nepal ko Saṃkṣipt Vartānt* etc. ; of Chitranjan Nepali—*General Bhimsen Thapa re Tatkalin Nepal* (1956) ; and of Balchandra Sharma—*Nepal ko Itihasik Rūp-Rekha* have received our attention. Added to these are the commendable official publications of catalogues of numismatic, epigraphic, and manuscript materials by the Royal Nepalese Government. These supplement the researches of Bendall, Gnoli, Walsh, Fleet, Bühlar, Indrajī and others.

The present compilation is rather selective : it represents the best of the local chronicles of Padmagiri, the *Gorkha Vaṃśāvalī*, and selections from other cognate *Vaṃśāvalīs*. Padmagiri's Chronicle (*Book I*) is quite rare ; it is based partly on the *Śambhu Purāṇa* and partly on local Nepalese traditions and legends, but the narrator speaks with authority on the more well-known historic times. The *Gorkha Vaṃśāvalī* (*Book II*), irrespective of its deficiencies, has the lone distinction of being the only genealogical account of the early kings of the present ruling dynasty of Nepal. Its own deficiency in historical data is almost counter-balanced by the inclusion in it of parts of the rare and almost extinct *Thapa Vaṃśāvalī* and the *Chronicle* of General Matabar Singh (*Chapter II*).

Contemporary chronicles from the British records included are those of Campbell, Hodgson, Moira, Tickell, Nicholette and Ramsay, who wrote while the events described by them were taking shape in Nepal. Though slightly disarrayed chronologically, Campbell's *Sketch* (*Book III*) is a highly informative document on events in Nepalese history from 1764 to 1834. It is followed by Lord Hastings' account of the Anglo-Nepalese War, 1814-16 (*Book IV*) compiled from his secret despatches to the Court. Narratives of *Events at the Court of Nepal* by Tickell, Nicholette and Ramsay (*Book V*) deal with the political history, home and foreign policy of Nepal from 1830 to 1861. It would seem that these official narratives are somewhat marred by British bias, but, nonetheless, they are first-hand, authentic, and contemporary accounts ; their corroboration with the corresponding Nepalese materials, if any, will be fruitful and of great value to the scholars of Nepalese history.

It is hightime that a well-connected and well-documented history of Nepal, from the earliest times to 1950, based on extant local sources and foreign

materials, should be written to reflect the political history, administrative structure, social and economic conditions and the cultural legacy of Nepal. The present writer's *Prolegomena*—An Introduction to the history of Nepal, is suggestive in that direction. It highlights the main currents of Nepalese history and some of its problems based on Nepalese and other available sources. While the genealogical lists of the earlier dynasties, for obvious reasons, must still remain tentative, the conclusions drawn on some of the controversial aspects of Nepalese history, are the result of closer study of the subject. Some of the views might appear at variance with the prevailing opinions, but these have been based on authoritative if not conclusive evidence. It is further hoped that the publication of these rare and valuable papers will be of some assistance in clearing up the mist which still hangs over the true picture of Nepalese history.

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1st October, 1970

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Prolegomena

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF NEPAL

Nepalese Chronicles

The *Vaṃśāvalis* are genealogical lists—imperfect chronicles furnishing bare dynastic lists of kings and their regnal years, intermixed with mythological, religious and legendary tales. Nepal is the only country which possesses them in such an abundance, though their authenticity as a source of historical material is often challenged. There are two distinct sets of these chronicles—Buddhistic and Brahmanical ; the former evidently composed by the Vajrāchāryas, and the latter by the Brahmans. A common feature of these compositions appears to be their semi-historical character and dependence on traditional mythology and Nepalese lore ; they deal with profusion the pious observances and religious acts of the monarchs rather than the scant political happenings of the time.

The Buddhistic version is based on the *Śambhu Purāṇa*. It announces the appearance of the *Liṅga* of Mahādeva at Mṛgasthali, but lays greater emphasis on the *Śakti-Svayambhu*, the goddess Guhješvari, worshipped with equal fervour and veneration both by the Buddhists and the Brahmanists of Nepal. And yet, the Buddhist mythological tradition is supremely blended and interwoven with the Śaivite one, although the former is given pre-eminence in the *Nepal-Kṣetra* and the *Svayambhu-Kṣetra*. Their Bhikṣus and Vajrāchārayas appear in succession ; build their Chaityas, and most of the Tantric Buddhist goddesses—Vajra Yogini, Phanikeśvari, Dakṣiṇa Kālī and others are duly enshrined in the narrative, and their *tīrthās* established. The Brahmanical version of the chronicle mainly relies on the Śaivite legends pertaining to Paśupati-nāth. Dakṣa-Prajapati, while performing a *yajña* annoyed her daughter Sati, Mahādeva's wife, who destroyed herself by plunging into the sacrificial fire. Mahādeva went there and took out her body from the fire ; he carried it on his shoulders till it putrefied and the limbs fell on the ground. In Nepal where her *guha* (pudendum) fell, alighted Guha Devi, who was later born to the Raja of Himāchal and was given in marriage to Mahādeva with the country of Nepal as dowry. The august pair of Viśva-Śakti repaired to Mṛgasthali where they resided and other deities took Nepal for Ānandapuri and they came and settled there.

Luciano Petech¹ divides the *Vaṃśāvali* literature into two broad categories—the ancient annals written during the early 15th century under the Malla regime, and the modern ones compiled during the first three decades of the Gorkha rule or around 1800 A. D. This classification is neither superfluous nor

¹ *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958, p. i .

unwarrantable ; the older group of the *Vaṃśavalis* sharply diverge in antiquity and trustworthiness from the later group, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, which end with the advent of the Gorkha rule and its opening phases. At the same time, the ancient *Vaṃśavalis* named collectively as the *Gopālarājvaṃśāvalī* (Darbar Library, Kathmandu, MS.I. 1583.7) discovered by Bendall is incomplete, curiously archaic, and written in debased Sanskrit and Newari. It comprises of three different chronicles written during the reign of Jayasthitimalla (1382-1395 A.D.), whose eulogies are profuse in them ; two of these appearing to be a continuation of each other, while the third chronicle is supposed to be a separate treatise.² However, the individual character of each is marked by distinct style, treatment of the subject-matter, and language. The *Gopālarājvaṃśāvalī* is generally accepted as the most early and highly reliable chronicle on the early and medieval history of Nepal. Another notable *Vaṃśāvalī* among the older group is that preserved in the Kaiser Mahal, Kathmandu in the private library of the late Field-Marshal Kaiser Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana.³ This is also of fragmentary character, and written in Sanskrit, is believed to have been used by Kirkpatrick in 1793. But the information supplied by the older *Vaṃśāvalis* is incomplete, often contradictory, and intermixed with mythological, religious and legendary tales highly unsatisfactory. Besides these two *Vaṃśāvalis* no other older chronicle appears to be extant.

While the earlier *Vaṃśāvalis* are extremely rare, the later chronicles exist in numerous private collections. Of these that of Wright's⁴ and Padmagiri's⁵ claim our attention because they are full, comprehensive and authoritative. Most of the later chronicles are written in Nepali, although the *Hodgson Collection* in the India Office lists *Vaṃśāvalis* of every description, old and new, Buddhistic, Śaivite, and of mixed character, in Nepali, Newari, Hindi, Persian and even in Urdu.⁶ Both the above-mentioned *Vaṃśāvalis* substantially resemble each other,

² Petech (*op. cit.* p. 219 sq.) has provisionally published a portion of the corrupt and distortive text of this *Vaṃśāvalī*. For the portion of the text published by Bendall, *vide* *J.A.S.B.*, lxxii, p. 1-3. The narrative though partly annalistic, is elaborate ; but Petech considers the translation of such an incomplete and corrupted text hardly possible.

³ For the text of this 5-page fragment of *Vaṃśāvalī*, which is equally incomplete, corrupt and untranslatable, *vide* Petech : Appendix V, p. 213 ff.

⁴ First published in 1877 at Cambridge under the title : *History of Nepal*, and reprinted (Calcutta, 1958).

⁵ *An Account of Nepal*, Book I, *infra.*, p. 1-98.

⁶ An examination of this store-house of variegated *Vaṃśāvalī* literature, which in my opinion, is the largest single collection in the world, is recommended to the scholars of Nepalese history, *vide* F. W. Thomas' *Handlist of Hodgson Papers* (July 1927) in the India Office Library, which lists the following *Vaṃśāvalīs* in this Collection :—

27 (6) *Native Sketch of the Valley of Nepal*, Vol. 7, fol. 197-214 ; Vol. 56, fol. 29-30.

though they vary in details—Wright's *Vamśāvalī* is a Buddhistic chronicle written by Guvaju, a Newar priest of Patan, and is quite well known. The Śaivite chronicle used by Sylvain Levi was composed by one Siddhi Narayana of Devapatan. Padmagiri's *Vamśāvalī* is described as the most complete and elaborate of the papers in the *Hodgson Collection*, which seems to have been used, to a greater extent, by him in *The Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet etc.* (London, 1874).⁷

Of an altogether different category is the *Gorkha Vamśāvalī*, which according to Hodgson, was composed during 1837-42 under the orders of king Rajinder Vikram Shah.⁸ We have no information about its author. Hodgson's MS. which he names as the Rajah's *Vamśāvalī*, is a crude composition, which extends from the reign of Drabya Shah to Prithvinārāyaṇa Shah, and thence to Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah who died in 1816 A.D. It has addendums from other *Vamśāvalīs*—from the now almost extinct *Thapa Vamśāvalī*, and equally unavailable *Vamśāvalī* of General Matabar Singh, the extracts from which have been blended with sundry others, afterwards contradistinguished. At places, the narrative is broken off purposely. Simple in narrative, devoid of any literary skill, it is an archaic composition, deficient in historical facts, but ebullient in the description of mythological and fictional data relating to the early rulers of the Gorkha dynasty.

It is evident from this chronicle that Drabya Shah conquered Gorkha in

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- 27 (19) *Banśāvalīs*, 5 books : Vol. 17, fol. 1-117 ; Vol. 52, fol. 180-1.
 28 (6) *Account of Nepal Proper*, Vol. 18, fol. 27-99 ; Vol. 121, fol. 58.
 28 (7) *Chronology of Nepal*, Vol. 17, fol. 220-27.
 29 (8) *Banśāvalī*, Newari, 2 Vols. ; Vols. 9, 16, 17 and 19.
 29 (16) *Banśāvalī*, Newari, Vol. 52, fol. 7-52 ; Vol. 102, fol. 9-16.
 29 (1-6) *Gorkha Banśāvalī*, Vol. 51, fol. 4-91, 92-107 ; Vol. 55, fol. 1-4.
 30 (1) *Gorkha Banśāvalī*, Nepali and *History of Nepal*, Vol. 52, fol. 57-82 ; Vol. 74, fol. 21-23 ; Vol. 101, fol. 140-150.
 32 (1) *Vamśāvalī* etc. Vols. 50, 54, 56, 93, 95 and 104.
 32 (2) *Vamśāvalī*, Vol. 93, fol. 89 ff ; Vol. 101, fol. 158-167.
 32 (5) *Early Gorkha Vamśāvalīs*, Vol. 51, fol. 111-120.
 33 (6) *Gorkha Banśāvalī*. Roll No. 45.
 35 (3) *Story of Gorkha Conquest*, Vol. 52, fol. 108-123 ; Vol. 56, fol. 40-42 ; Vol. 74, fol. 95.
 36 (1) *Vamśāvalī—Statistics etc.*, Vols. 26, 51, 54, 74, 99, 100 and 101.
 37 (5) *Vamśāvalī*, Vol. 51, fol. 181-2.
 39 (6) *Nepal Chronology*, Vol. 7, fol. 152-170.
 39 (9) *Vamśāvalīs*, Vols. 50 and 55.

⁷ Vide. *Cat. of European MSS. in the India Office Library*, Vol. II, part (ii). No. 481, 4, ff. 27-99.

⁸ The text of which materially differs from that in the India Office Library, has since been published by Mahant Narhari Nath at Kathmandu.

the year 1560 A.D. (Śāka 1481) and set up an independent principality in the remote hills, which was destined to become the dominant ruling power in Nepal. However, Drabya Shah's 11 years' rule appears to be quite uneventful, and so are the reigns of his two immediate successors, Pourender Shah and Chhatra Shah. The account of the reign of Rām Shah is fulsome, and the chronicler introduces his *Code*, prescribing a set of rules and precepts for a ruler; an *Ordinance* on measurements; and *Rules* governing usury, witchcraft, watering the fields and measurements of agricultural lands. These are followed by *Laws* regulating the conduct of court nobility, and Gorkha Court *Regulations*. These simple and rudimentary laws governed the civil and criminal procedure in the early phases of the Gorkha rule; and the introduction of administrative and judicial reforms in the remote Himalayan region, where previously no codified laws existed, made Rām Shah and Gorkha renowned amongst the petty barons of the hills, and it became proverbial: "Whosoever be in want of knowledge may go to Kāśī; and whosoever be in want of justice must go to Gorkha."

Cognate *Vaṃśāvalīs* amongst others of little consequence appear to be the *Bhāsa Vaṃśāvalī*, the multiple *Sena Vaṃśāvalī*, the *Thāpa Vaṃśāvalī*, and the *Vaṃśāvalī* of General Matabar Singh. The last two chronicles are extremely rare—at least, I have not come across a manuscript copy of these; but Hodgson has given extracts from them (*vide*. Book II, *infra*. p. 146 ff.). The *Thāpa Vaṃśāvalī* deals with the phenomenon of Gorkha expansion from the time of Pṛithvinārāyaṇa Shah to the regency of Ran Bahadur Shah, and is of historical interest to us. General Matabar Singh's *Vaṃśāvalī* supplies us the complete genealogical list of the house of the Gorkha linking it with the Rajput dynastic line of Garh Chitor and Udaipur. It gives the names of 30 kings who preceded Yaśovarma, the Lamjung ruler and the father of Drabya Shah omitted in the *Gorkha Vaṃśāvalī*.

Of a slightly different nature is the *Bhāsa Vaṃśāvalī*⁹, a chronicle in two parts, comprising of mythological and semi-historical details of great interest. It is a curious mixture of legend, fiction and data based on religious tradition; and written in a non-descript rambling style, deals with subjects like the Creation of the Universe, the appearance of Paśupatināth and Guhjeśvari in Nepal, the Śāivite deities, the account of 65 *liṅgams* and 232 *upaliṅgams*. The narrative of the legendary kings of Nepal is intermingled with the description of numerous Nepalese deities like Mangalgaṇeśa, Chāṅgunārāyaṇa and others.

The historical portion of the *Bhāsa Vaṃśāvalī* is chaotic and without any semblance of chronological order. It deals haphazardly with the legends connected with the sage Ne and the origin of Nepal; the story of Piṅgla Rānī, followed by an account of the Gopālavaṃśīs, the Kirātas (including the Arjuna legend), and the origin of the four *varṇas* under raja Paśupuśpavarma. It ends

⁹ Edited by Nayanath Pandel (*Nepāl Rāśtriya Pustkālāya*). Kathmandu, Samvat 2020.

abruptly after narrating the copious exploits of Raja Vikramasena (?). The author of the *Bhāṣa Vaṃśāvalī* is unknown and the date of its composition undetermined. It is a poor prototype of the earlier chronicles without, however, their poise and precision in regard to chronological sequence.

The extant *Sena-Vaṃśāvalīs* are four in number.¹⁰ The *Prachīn Sena-Vaṃśāvalī* composed in V. S. 1825 deals with the genealogy of the Sena rulers of Palpa, Rajpur, Tanhoun, Mackwanpur, Lam, Piuthan, Madriya and Rising. The *Bhavadatta Sena-Vaṃśāvalī* written by one Bhavadatta in V. S. 1859 contains the genealogies of the Senas of Palpa, Vinayakpur (Butwal), and Gulmi. The *Gaṅgaviṣṇukrit Sena-Vaṃśāvalī* written by Gaṅga Viṣṇu in V. S. 1809 deals with the genealogy of the kings of Tanhoun. The fourth called simply the *Sena-Vaṃśāvalī* deals with the genealogy of the Chitorsenis, and Senas of Mackwanpur, Palpa, Tanhoun, Rajpur etc. These chronicles are merely genealogical lists of the Sena rulers, and furnish scanty details ; but they establish that different lines of the Sena Rajputs had been ruling these states in the *Chaubīsī* group for a considerable time.

2

Nepal : the Land of Gods

Nepal is the name originally applied to the Valley of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon. However, the origin of the word appears to be controversial. Earliest reference to it is made by Kautaliya in his *Arthaśāstra* ; the Chinese Buddhist records of the seventh century refer to it as *Ni-po-lo*. It is generally believed that the word Nepal was derived from Newari *Nepa*, though some identify it with *Newāra* (later *Nepāla*). This theory of the Mangoloid origin of the word is discounted by Sylvain Levi, who has assumed it to be a derivative from the *Ne*—the Aśoka tree ; at another place, he connects it with the Kirāta vocabulary, and brings out that the Lepchas gave the name *Ne* to eastern Nepal. If we accept this theory, it would mean that the word is decidedly of non-Aryan origin, although Nepali opinion veers round the two *viz.*, Nepal is derived from the Kirāta word *Nepa* or the Newari word *Newāra*.¹¹

Legends connected with the origin of the word are also many. According to the *Bhāṣa Vaṃśāvalī*, it is derived from the great sage Ne, who visited the

¹⁰ Edited by Saṅkaramān Rajavaṃśī (Bir Library, Kathmandu), Samvat 2020.

¹¹ *Vide.*, generally on the subject, Sylvain Levi : *Le Nepal*, ii, 66 ; Regmi : *Ancient Nepal*, p. 24 sq., and *Medieval Nepal*, i. p. 10 ff., wherein he has dealt copiously with the controversy ; the *Bhāṣa-Vaṃśāvalī* (Kathmandu, S. 2020) etc.

Valley in ancient times to perform devotions on the banks of the Vāgmati river. This is reported by almost all the chronicles. Wright's *Vamśāvalī* mentions that in the *Satyajuga* the country derived its name from a devotee of Ne, who instructed the people in the true path of religion and ruled over the country.¹² Padmagiri's chronicle mentions the legend of Ne Muni making the first king of Nepal a shepherd called Nepa, who gave his name to the country.¹³

The local chroniclers concur in substance if not in detail regarding the origin of Nepal *i. e.*, the present Valley of Kathmandu. According to the Buddhistic versions the Valley was originally a lake infested by a numerous class of water animals, ruled by the [serpent Karkoṭaka, the king of Nāgbās; the Brahmanical accounts associate it with Mahādeva, Lord Paśupati-nāth—Nepal being the *guptpuri*, where the Devas continued to resort for the three great ages. In the Buddhistic versions, the *Jyotisvarūpa* appears in the Lake in the form of a lotus flower, and Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist patriarch comes from Mahāchīn, to adore the flamed-type deity; he drains the waters of the lake Nāgbās and lays the foundation of the Chaitya Svayambhu, bestowing at the same time, the kingdom of the Valley on one of his followers Dharmākar.

With these Buddhistic accounts the Brahmanical versions are in sharp contrast; according to these, Nepal is the land of gods (*devapuri*), who settled there first giving it the name *Mahāpītha* and then *Śuddhāpītha*. Later, Virupakśa, the disciple of Neyomuni arrives at Paśupati-pura, renamed soon after as Suprabhā by Rajah Dharmadatta, the first legendary king of Nepal. He is the Ādi Buddha with the Buddhists; to the Brahmanists he is a cherished sage and one of the progenitors of the human race.

In both these accounts we discover an admixture of Buddhistic and Śaivite legends, each overlapping the other; and the appropriation of the sacred deities of the one by the other to embellish their individual narrative is not uncommon. The nude apex or *Churamani* of the Buddhist Chaityas closely resembles the *Liṅga* of the Śaivites; the Buddhist chronicler announces the appearance of *Liṅga* of Mahādeva at Mṛgasthāi, although he lays greater emphasis on the Śakti Svayambhu, the goddess Guhješvari, worshipped with equal veneration both by the Buddhists and the Brahmanists of Nepal. Such harmonious blending of the two divergent but vital traditions is a rare phenomenon seldom witnessed anywhere except in Nepal, where the two apparently antagonistic creeds, notwithstanding intermittent catastrophies, have existed in mutual tolerance and goodwill. Listen to the prophecy of the Buddhist monk Krakuchchanda of the legendary Nepal, discoursing to his disciples on the sacred banks of the Vāgmati:

“O ye pupils! attend whilst I relate something about futurity.

¹² Calcutta Edition, 1958, p. 52.

¹³ *Infra* p. 25, f. n. 3.

In this lovely grove eminent Siddhas, Yogis, Devatās will hereafter settle, and then this grove will be a sanctuary. Behold now how in order to worship Śrī Guhješvari, the three Deities—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa have assumed the likeness of deers and are running about. Know further that a *Linga* of Mahādeva will appear here and this grove will be named Mṛgasthali; and on both sides of the river Vāgmāti on different spots, some gods and goddesses will settle and also many Rajahs will successfully reign in this Valley, and it will be thickly populated."¹⁴

To the sage Mañjuśrī Padmagiri ascribes the founding of the first city of Nepal named Mañjupattan, 'midway between the temples of Svayambhu and Guhješvari' and 'a beautiful city surrounded with a high wall.' But although no trace of this legendary city is left now, its description is graphic :

"For the city he constructed eight gates in eight directions and in the centre of the city he built a hall Darbar or Court with four golden gates, placing on the entablature of the gates the *aṣṭamaṅgal* and the torus. The golden portals of the gates were set with rubies and emeralds and on both sides of the door were placed two images of the *viras* or demi-gods, and in front of the Court he erected a pillar crystal surmounted by a golden likeness of a lion and near it he built a temple, the windows of which were of gold and silver, set with precious stones, and adorned with the images of gods and goddesses. The roof of the temple was of gold and on the top of it was set a golden Chaitya. Again near the temple he dug out a tank and named it Padmākar and planted a garden and the city was called after his name *viz.*, Mañjupattan."¹⁵

The legendary Nepal extends from the *Satyayuga* to the *Kaliyuga*; and it is evident that in the intermediary *Dvāpuryuga*, Buddhism was the dominant religion of the Valley. Towards its close our chronicler mentions the incarnation of Lord Krishna; a crisis was at hand, and the *Buddhachārya* was depressed. The seeds of dissension are sown and the *devas* and demons fight fierce battles: "mortal arrogance, covetousness, sin and pride increased to the highest degree whilst virtue, sanctity and benevolence were extinguished." The Valley of Gods was again on the brink of being converted into a lake. Here the account is mixed up with the Brahmanical version of the Lake legend—the demi-god Bhimā Sena appears while the Valley was inundated, and after some time, Lord Krishna performs the function of drying up the city of Mañjupattan and renames it as the now extinct city of Viśāla Nagar.

The crisis having been over, our chronicler alludes to an event of great traditional and historical import, *viz.*, Gautam Buddha's supposed visit to Nepal. The Buddhist part of the chronicle narrates the occurrence in positive terms :

"Then Śākya Siṃha wandering from climate to climate and offering external salvation to the inhabitants of every country he

¹⁴ Padmagiri, p. 11, *infra*.

¹⁵ Padmagiri, p. 8, *infra*.

reached, at last arrived in Nepal, where after visiting Svayambhu he seated himself on the lion-throne made by Viśva-Karma between the Chaityas of Puchagaha and Mañjuśri and then read over to the people the *Nepalamāhātmya* and the *Śambhu Purāṇa*. The place where this occurred is called Pala Siṃha."¹⁶

The chronicle also mentions that Gautam Buddha stayed in a Vihār or monastery situated about 2 miles east of the Svayambhu mountain for two or three years. Wright's chronicle also alludes to this historic event as having taken place during the reign of the Kirāta King Jetedasti; that during his sojourn in the Valley, Buddha made 1350 proselytes and after visiting the shrines of Svayambhu, Guhješvari and the Namobuddha mountain 12 miles east of Bhatgaon, he preached his doctrine. The Buddhist *Jātakas*, however, contradict this tradition with the observation that Lord Buddha forbade his disciples to cross the sub-Himalayan region as the journey was perilous and the chain of hills infested with wild beasts and tribes. Some Nepalese scholars reject the theory with unnecessary vehemence,¹⁷ while others accept the event having taken place in the year 520 B.C.¹⁸ The tradition of Buddha's visit to the Valley still survives in Nepal.

3

Historical Dynasties

With the Gopālas we enter the reign of mortal kings in Nepal. They are followed by the Ahirs and the period of their rule ushers the beginnings of historical dynasties in the Valley. The *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*¹⁹ as also the later chronicles record the genealogies of both the dynasties in short and cursory manner, and the number of their kings vary in Padmagiri's chronicle (*see genealogy, infra*).

The dawn of the Nepalese history comes with the Gopālas as a distinctive dynasty, generally accepted as the *Chandravaṃśīs*. They are also called the Neyomunites, on whom the legendary sage Ne conferred the sovereignty of Nepal. Compared to the five rulers of this dynasty mentioned by our chronicler Padmagiri, other *Vaṃśāvalīs* enumerate eight kings of this dynasty, who are said to have ruled for about 521 years :—

¹⁶ Padmagiri, p. 20 *infra*.

¹⁷ See, for instance, Regmi's *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 127, f.n. 47, when the author dubs the *Vaṃśāvalī* accounts of the occurrence as "fantastic and inconceivably wrong inferences," to connect persons of the plains with the history of the country.

¹⁸ See, particularly, Balchandra Sharma : *Nepāl ko Itihāsik Rūp-Rekha* (Benares, 1951), p. 65.

¹⁹ *Cat. of Palm-leaf and Selected MSS. in the Darbar Library, Kathmandu, Vol. I.*, p. 1-32.

<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Kirkpatrick</i>
(1) Bhumangat	Bhuktmana-88 years	Bhurimagh
(2) Bhimagupta	Jaya Gupta-72 years	Jaya Gupta I
(3) Maṇigupta	Parama Gupta-80 years	Parama Gupta
(4) Viṣṇugupta	Bhim Gupta I-93 years	Shri Harsha
(5) Yakṣagupta	Bhim Gupta II-38 years	Bhim Gupta
(6)	Mani Gupta-37 years	Mani Gupta
(7)	Visnu Gupta-42 years	Visnu Gupta
(8)	Yaksa Gupta-71 years	Jaya Gupta II

The Brahmanical legend of Ne Muni affirms that the sage having proclaimed against the Kṣatriyas in the *Kaliyuga* installed a Shepherd Dynasty in the country after his name, with the seat of government at Mātātirthā, south of Kirtipur. According to Kirkpatrick, the Gopālas were Rajputs settled between Samroungarh and Janakpur, and their kingdom extended from the Trisūligangā in the west, to Dodkosi in the east, and from the Nilkaṇṭha mount in the north to Chilong in the south.

These shepherd kings of early Nepal as also the Ahirs who followed them after Yakṣagupta are, in my opinion, wrongly designated as the early Guptas ; at any rate, a lot of controversy exists about their existence or their supposed connection or descent from the Imperial Guptas. Levi considers them fictitious,²⁰ while Jayswal deems that they formed a branch of the Guptas,²¹ and along with Fleet assigns them a date between the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.²²

Sharp differences, however, exist about the Gopālas and the Ahirs between the local chroniclers and the modern epigraphists of early history of Nepal. Three kings of the short dynasty of the Ahirs are : (1) Varasimha, (2) Jayamatisimha, and Bhuvanasisimha—the last named king having been overrun and conquered by the Kirātas, who came from the west. Against this incontrovertible fact, the so-called epigraphic and the numismatic evidence produced, seems imaginary and erroneous.

Also to call the Ahirs as Ahir-GuPTas is a *misnomer*, and to connect them with the Imperial GuPTas, as is done by Gnoli, Fleet and others is highly conjectural. The tradition linked up with the Gopālas and Ahirs, however, indicates that they inhabited and ruled the Valley from Mātātirtha at the dawn of the Nepalese history and to date them after the invasion of the Kirātas would be highly preposterous.

²⁰ ii, 158.

²¹ *Chronology and History of Nepal*. Patna, 1937.

²² *Corp. Insc. Indic.* III (iv).

4

The Kirātas

The Kirātas according to Hodgson are the most interesting of all the Himalayan races on account of their distinctly traceable antiquity and the peculiar structure of their language.²³ According to the generally accepted theory, this race derives its name from the corrupt form of the word *Kiriath*, meaning a fort or town in the Moabite language of the Mediterranean region ;²⁴ and it is admittedly of great antiquity from being mentioned both in the Old Testament (2 *Samuel*, 15, 18) and the Assyrian legendary accounts.²⁵ Both these accounts show that their ancestors who had settlements at Nahor and Ur in Babylon, were expelled by the Hebrews ; and thence a branch came to Mesopotamia in about 2400 B.C. How they migrated to northern India and the Himalayan region is not exactly known, but there is evidence of their existence in Media and northern Persia. However, they figure in the political history of India in the epic period (*Mahābhārata*, 11, 1089) and (*Rāmāyaṇa*, vi, 584) as soldiers, warriors, and possessing several kingdoms, generally accepted as the Seven Gaṇḍakis in the Nepal Himalayas.

In Indian and Chinese semi-historical literature as also in the Nepal *Vaṃśavalis*, the Kirātas are described as uncouth and barbaric in appearance and cannibals—an estimate which is highly distorted and biased. However they seem to have possessed peculiar gifts of culture and civilization—a special form of writing, a scripture called *Mundhum*, a Supreme God named *Ningwaphuma*, and peculiar laws of marriage, social conduct, and civil and administrative codes connected with the Kirat-Ashur people in Assyria.

The Kirātas of Nepal are said to be of the same group as the Hazara tribe of Afghanistan. The first king of Central Nepal named Banashur is said to have been conquered by Bhuktaman of the Gopālavaṃśis. The legend is mixed up with mythology—Lord Krishna having sent a Yadva tribe to assist Bhuktaman to wrest the kingdom of Nepal from Banashur. The Nepalese chronicles, however, introduce Yalamba, the Kirāta ruler of eastern Nepal as having taken the kingdom of Central Nepal from Bhuvanasiṃha of the Yadvas. Yalamba is evidently a historical figure, having conquered and established a dynasty in the Nepal Proper, his capital in Yulang in the east was shifted to Thankot, his kingdom extending from the Teista of Bhutan to the Triśūli in the west. He built a town called the mystic Suprabhā found in the Brahmanical versions, near Thankot and called it Kiratāshur.

²³ *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, p. 373 ff.

²⁴ S. K. Chatterjee : *Kirat Janakriti*. Calcutta, p. 92.

²⁵ King : *The Assyrians*, p. 21 ff.

That the Kirātas came after the Gopālas and the Ahīrs is a historical fact, although the Nepalese chroniclers have, for obvious reasons, mixed up their dynastic rule with Arjuna, Mahādeva and Bhīma Sena ! Arjuna is said to have visited Nepal during Mahuti's reign, and the latter's son Jetedasti is recorded to have assisted the Kauravas in the Mahābhārata. The Kirāta tradition claims Jetedasti's forces having fought under Bhīma Sena. Another tradition, obviously Buddhist, claims that Gautam Buddha visited Nepal during Jetedasti's reign.

According to Kirāta semi-historical traditions, Jetedasti, the Kirāta king of Central Nepal was overthrown in 500 B.C. by Bhaiphuttahang, the Kirāta king of Eastern Nepal, whose descendant Perbate two centuries later (317 B.C.) helped Chandragupta Maurya in the overthrow of the Magadhan kingdom. It is said that during the reign of king Sthunko, the 14th king in Wright's genealogical list, Aśoka visited Nepal in about 265 B.C. Another important king known as Samyukhan of Eastern Nepal in the Kirāta annals is said to have overthrown Bazdeo, and the Tibetan Kirātas replaced his rule in the said region with a new capital at Libang. All this is, however, based on conjectural and oral Kirāta tradition.

Nepalese *Vaṃśāvalis*, however, record that the last Nepalese Kirāta ruler Gastee was overthrown by a Rajput dynasty, though the date 1,118 of the *Kaliyuga* (1983 B.C.) ascribed to the establishment of the Somavaṃśis may be imaginary. A list of the Kirāta kings as found in the various *Vaṃśāvalis* etc. is given below²⁶ :

*Comparative Table of the Genealogies
of the Kirāta Kings of Nepal*

<i>Padmagiri</i> (with regnal years)	<i>Kirkpatrick</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Levi</i>	<i>Others</i>
1. Ilamb (50)	Yellong	Yalabara	Yalamba	Yalambhang
2. Pambee (35)		Pavi	Pambi	Yauchihung

²⁶ *Authorities* : For the Kirātas, their history and culture *vide*. generally, Hodgson's *Essays relating to Indian Subjects* (London, 1880), I, p. 397 sq. ; Roy Chowdhry's *Political History of India*, p. 197 sq., which also gives an account of the Kirāta *Vaṃśāvalī* ; and S. K. Chatterjee's *Kirat Janakriti* (Calcutta, 1951). Other useful works on the subject are Chemjong's *Kirāta Itihas* (Kalimpong), and his *History and Culture of the Kirāt People* (Kathmandu, 1966). Much original work on the Kirātas, however, yet remains to be done. But in their relation with India and Nepal, the Kirātas cannot be treated as anthropological specimens of antiquity as Hodgson and other scholars seem to believe. The India Office Library has a rewardful material for study and research on the Kirātas and the Limbuwan, their language, religion, social behaviour, customs and historical traditions, *vide*. particularly Kaye and Johnson's *Cat. of European MSS. in the India Office Library*, ii, 485, 6 ; and F. W. Thomas' *Handlist of Hodgson Papers*, 45 (10-23), 26 (1-19).

3. Daskan	Dush Khan	Skandhara	Dhaskan	Skandhahang
4. Bulunch (19)	Ballancha	Valamba	Valamba	Balambhang
5. Mahuti	Kingly	Hriti	Hritti	Haritihang
6. Jetedasti (9)	Hunanter	Humati	Humati	Humatihang
7. Tuska (69)	Tuskah	Jitadesi	Galimja	Galinhang
8. Parab (45)	Sroopust	Galimja	Jitadast	Jitadasthang
9. Pancha (37)	Gitadestry	Puska	Tuska	Kuskahang
10. Kengkeng (38)	Punchem	Suyarma	Suyarna	Suyaswahang
11. Sonad (41)	Kingking King	Pava	Parba	Parbahang
12. Thoomka (59)	Soonand	Bunka	Pancha	Panchhang
13. Gighri (71)	Thommoo	Swananda	Kemke	Kikehang
14. Tunkey (49)	Jaghru	Sthunko	Thumko	Thaukohang
15. Sookey (53)	Janre	Gighri	Nane	Gidhrihang
16. Thoor (39)	Suenkeh	Nane	Luk	Nanyahang
17. Kesoo (31)	Thoor	Luk	Thora	Lukehhang
18. Loongo (29)	Thamoo	Thora	Varma	Thorhang
19. Gansa (32)	Burmah	Thoko	Puniska	Thokohang
20. Gananj (35)	Gunja	Varma	Gumja	Brahmahang
21. Kheboo (37)	Kuskoon	Gunja	Sunsa Sunga	Gunjahang
22. Gastee (31)	Teeshoo	Puska	Sammu	Puskahang
23.	Sooghree	Kesu	Samsu	Kesuhang
24.	Joosha	Suja	Gunam	Sungahang
25.	Gontho	Sansa	Gunja	Sansahang
26.	Khemboo	Gunam		Ganjahang

The tradition of Aśoka's visit to Nepal as recorded in Wright's *Vamśavalī* has raised the uncertain issue among the historians of the Valley's inclusion in the great emperor's empire. The chronicle asserts that Aśoka having obtained the permission of his spiritual guide Upagupta came on a pilgrimage to Nepal during the 14th Kirāta ruler Sthunko's reign.²⁷ He was accompanied by his daughter Churamati and a large number of his subjects. After having visited every sacred place including the temple of Svayambhu and Gubješvari, he built several Chaityas. One day his daughter saw an iron arrowhead being turned into stone and decided to remain in the land of miracles. The emperor, therefore, gave her in marriage to a descendant of the Kṣatriyas, named Devapāla, along with 3,600 *ropinis* of land. Churamati and her husband Devapāla are said to have founded and peopled the city of Devapatan. Churamati also built a Vihār, which still survives after her name at Chābahil north of and near Devapatan.

The tradition is disputed by some historians on the ground of significant omission in the list of countries visited by Aśoka in *R. E. 5* and *13*, and the *Ceylon Pali Chronicles*, which detail fully Aśoka's life-events and his foreign tours. The existence of Aśokan pillars at Lumbini and Niglihāba and stupas in the heart of the Valley at Patan, according to this point of view, does not justify that he ever paid a visit to Nepal.²⁸ Against this view is the authentic corroboration

²⁷ p. 66.

²⁸ See, as for instance, D. R. Regmi's *Ancient Nepal* (Calcutta, 1960, p. 205, Appendix iv) wherein the author categorically rejects the tradition on sentimental rather than historical

produced by the relics of the visit—particularly, the Rummindei Pillar Inscription and the Nagli Sagar Inscriptions in the Nepal Terai ; the inscriptions of Mansehra and Kalsi in Dehra Dun district in North U. P. Moreover, among the vassals of Samudragupta is mentioned the king of Nepal.

The controversy still rages around the extent of Mauryan influence in Nepal as evidenced by a successive chain of Aśoka relics situated from the foot of the Himalayas right into the Valley. Co-relative problems connected with the probability of Aśoka's visit are : (1) Did the Valley about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. form a part of the great emperor's empire ? If so, why don't we find any mention of it under the Kushans ? (2) Did Nepal acknowledge, in some degree, the suzerainty of Samudragupta ? If so to what extent ?

5

The Lichhavis

The *Somavaṃśīs* and the *Saryavaṃśīs* who follow the Kirātas are generally designated the Early Lichhavis, who drove the Kirātas out and established their own rule in the Valley. With the exception of the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*, none of the other chronicles specifically designate these scoins of lunar and solar races as the Lichhavis of Nepal. This significant omission as also the unsatisfactory state of their chronology makes it rather hard to give credence to the belief that both these dynasties formed a single dynastic line of rule under the name Lichhavi, which the *Vaṃśāvalīs* do not substantiate.

The Lichhavis of Nepal present three distinct problems : (1) with regard to their origin, (2) their relation with the Lichhavis of Vaiśālī, and (3) a chronological conflict between the chroniclers and earlier inscriptions. We do not know how far they were in any way related to the Lichhavis of Vaiśālī, whose own history for six centuries since the conquest of Vaiśālī by Ajātaśatru is wrapped in oblivion. We must fill up the gap between the fall of the Kirātas and the rise of the Lichhavis in Nepal—a period which for want of relevant materials is often described as the dark age of the Nepalese history. Chronological confusion is accentuated by the fact that many of the historians fix the date of the Lichhavis to about 2nd century A.D., which makes the *Vaṃśāvalīs'* year of the Somavaṃśī rule (1,118 of the Kāli era or 1983 B.C.) as highly imaginary. Mist over the time of the Lichhavi migration to Nepal yet

grounds. To admit that Aśoka ever visited Nepal would directly lead to the inference that Nepal was somehow or other a part of the historical map of India within Aśoka's empire. "On any consideration it looks most unlikely," he says, "that Aśoka had at any time visited the Valley of Nepal and could impose his suzerainty over this country. Any suggestion leading to the acceptance of the old thesis will be absolutely imaginary."

remains to be cleared. One theory is that they formed part of the Lichhavis of Vaiśālī pushed out of their kingdom by the Kushans; the numismatic evidence supporting another theory is the existence of the coins of Kadphises I and II in the Valley, which makes it possible that Nepal was under the domination of the Kushans, or atleast under their nominal suzerainty. Yet another theory seems to be the conjecture that the Nanda and Maurya rulers exercised suzerainty over Nepal.

It is therefore for the scholars of Nepalese history to establish the extent of Kushan domination over the Valley and reconstruct the chronology of the early Lichhavis about whom historical data is mostly conjectural. Even if we except Kirkpatrick's designation of the Lichhavis as *Nivesh* derived from the founder *Nimisha* (a corruption of *Lichhavi*, *Nichhavi*, *Nimishi*)²⁹, the chronological puzzle still remains unsolved. Both Padmagiri and Wright categorically state that the first raja of the Solar race, Bhūmivarman ascended the throne in 1389 of the Kāli era (1712 B. C.). The earlier inscriptions are at variance with the *Vaṃśāvalī* genealogical lists till the 8th century, when the Paśupatināth Inscription mentions that Supuśpa, a remote descendant of the Lichhavis was born at Paśupura, vaguely identified with Patliputra. He is followed by 27 kings according to Padmagiri, and 32 according to Wright. With Vāsudeva the line of the Sūryavaṃśis ends.

With Vṛikṣadeva (15) we stand on firm historical ground, for this king and his five successors, as named by Padmagiri as well as recorded in other *Vaṃśāvalīs*, are all mentioned in contemporary inscriptions.³⁰ Then comes Mānadeva (21) about whom more positive information is available from the *Chāṅgunārāyaṇa Inscription*, which is dated Samvat 386. Though this and other inscriptions of the period do not designate Mānadeva and his successors as of Lichhavi lineage, yet generally the historians accept them as such. The above inscriptions give the Samvat date, but to which era it refers, is matter of divergent opinion among the epigraphists. Is this the Śāka era, or the Vikrami era, or the Gupta era, or even a special Lichhavi era which commenced in A.D. 110? Indrajī says that it is Vikrami Samvat³¹; Fleet asserts that it is the Gupta era³²; Majmudar calls it the Śāka era, while Levi propounds the theory of a special Lichhavi era.³³ Controversy about the date, therefore, continues, but the generally accepted view is the plausibility of the date belonging to the Śāka era; if so, the inscription of Mānadeva would then be dated 464 A.D. The date of Mānadeva

²⁹ *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, p. 260.

³⁰ Indrajī and Buhler: *Inscriptions from Nepal, Ind. Ant.*, ix, p. 163 ff.

³¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, p. 98.

³² *Corp. Ins. Indic.*, iii., p. 98.

³³ ii, p. 98.

is regarded as the sheet-anchor of Nepalese history, as we do not know of any other dated event before his reign.

The existence of the Lichhavis as a political power before the time of Mānadeva is evident from the marriage of Chandragupta II with a Lichhavi princess. But we cannot say that these Lichhavis belonged to the ruling house of Nepal.

Other problems of the period waiting for a solution are : (1) Did the Lichhavis of Nepal acknowledge the supremacy of Samudragupta ? If so what is the nature, extent, and the duration of Gupta supremacy ? (2) The *Vaṃśāvalis* mention that king Vikramāditya conquered Nepal and introduced his era immediately before the reign of Aṃśuvarma (638-651 A.D.). Is the introduction of the Vikrami Samvat sufficient proof of the conquest of Nepal ? (3) The dates of the *Aṃśuvarma Charters* (32-45) have all been referred to the Harsha era. Does this mean, as it is asserted, that Harsha also conquered Nepal ? These matters are problematical. In the face of the *Vaṃśāvali* accounts, the epigraphist and the historian must need fight many a battle before they come to a final decision.*

Comparative Genealogical Tables

1. The Somavaṃśis

<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Others</i>
(1) Nimiṣa	Nimikha	Nimisha
(2) Matkaṣa	Matakasha	Matakasha
(3) Kākavarma	Kaka-barma	Kaka Varma
(4) Paśupreṣavarma	Pasuprekhadewa	Pashupresha Varma
(5) Bhāskaravarma	Bhaskara-barma	Bhaskara Varma

2. The Sūryavaṃśis

(1) Bhūmivarma	Bhumi-barman	Chandravarman
(2) Jayavarma	Chandra-barma	Brishavarman
(3) Indravarma	Chandra-barma	Brishavarman

**Authorities* : Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity, Chronology and History of Nepal*, JBORS, xxii, 1936. Levi—*Le Nepal etude historique d'un Hindou*, 3 Vols. Paris, 1956. Gnoli, R.—*Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Rome, 1956. Walsh—*The Coinage of Nepal*, JRAS, 1908, which includes epigraphic, numismatic and historical sources of the period. Regmi—*Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta, 1960. Majmudar—*The Early Kings of Nepal*, (B. C. Law Memorial Volume, I), Calcutta. Indrajī, Buhler—*Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal*, Bombay, 1885. Petech, L.—*Mediaeval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958. Bendall, C.—*A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal etc.*, Cambridge, 1886. Fleet, J. F.—*The Chronology of the Early Rulers of Nepal*, Corp. Insc. Indic. III (iv). Sharma, Balchandra, *Nepal ko Itihasik Rūp-Rekha*. Varanasi, 1951.

(4) Vriṣavarma	Barkha-barma	Sarvavarman
(5) Sarvavarma	Sarba-barma	Sarvavarman
(6) Prithvivarma	Prithwi-barma	Jeestvarman
(7) Jyeṣṭhavarma	Jyeshta-barma	Kubervarman
(8) Kuveravarma	Hari-barma	Harivarman
(9) Siddhivarman	Kubera-barma	Siddhivarman
(10) Haridattavarma	Siddhi-barma	Basudattavarman
(11) Vāsudattavarma	Haridatta-barma	Pativarman
(12) Pativarma	Basudatta-barma	Shivabridhivarman
(13) Śivavridhivarma	Pati-barman	Brishadeva
(14) Śivadevavarma	Shivabridhhi-barma	Sankardeva
(15) Vṛikṣadevavarma	Basanta-barma	Dharma deva
(16) Śaṅkararadeva	Siva-barma	Manadeva
(17) Dharma deva	Rudradeva-barma	Basantdeva
(18) Mahādeva	Brikhsdeva-barma	Udyadeva
(19) Vasantadeva	Shankaradeva-barma	Manadeva
(20) Udayadeva	Dharma deva	Gunakamadeva
(21) Manadeva	Mandeva	Narendradevavarman
(22) Guṇakāmadeva	Basantadeva-barma	Bhimadevavarman
(23) Śivadeva	Udayadeva-barma	Visnudevavarman
(24) Narendradeva	Manadeva-barma	Vishwadevavarman
(25) Viṣṇudeva	Gunakamadeva-barma	
(26) Vāsudeva	Sivadeva-barma	
(27)	Narendradeva-barma	
(28)	Bhimadev-barma	
(29)	Vishnudeva-barma	
(30)	Viswadeva-barma	

6

The Epoch of Aṃśuvarma

The Thākuris may provisionally be considered as Kṣatriya Rajputs although it is still difficult to determine their correct lineage and descent. According to the latter chronicles they are distinctly divided into three dynastic lines ; the first dynasty founded by Aṃśuvarma (*see below*) in 602 A.D., which ended in 1043 A.D., was replaced by Bhaskaradevavarma of the Vaiśya Thakuris of Nawakot who ruled from 1043 to 1082 A.D. This was followed by a second Rajput Dynasty founded by Brahma deva in 1082 A.D., which lasted till 1200 A.D. in which year Arimalla, the first king of the line adopted the title Malla. His successors ruled till 1310 A.D., in which year the reign of Anadamalla, the last king of this dynasty ended. It is not known whether these three dynasties which ruled the Valley for about six centuries were collaterals or independent of each other. Padmagiri's and Wright's *Vaṃśāvalis* merely furnish us with the lists of the kings, their regnal years and scanty details of their reigns with slight variations—which in some cases are "incorrect, fictitious, full of omissions, repetitions and misplacements". The *Gopālarājavanṣāvali* and the *Kaisar Mahal*

*Fragment lump together the names of 20 kings of the Thākuris.*³⁴

Aṃśuvarma, the founder of the new dynasty of the Thākuris was the son-in-law of Vāsudeva, the last king of the Sūryavaṃśis. With him according to the Nepalese writers, begins "the golden age of the Lichhavis." He was a great king, though Padmagiri regarding him 'very active, powerful and passionate' dismisses him with a few lines (p. 43, *infra*), and Wright's *Vaṃśavalī* (p. 78) is extremely sketchy about the events of his reign. Also it is not clear as to which line of the Lichhavis he represented. Jayadeva's *Paśupati Inscription* (IA, ix,—No. 15) omits his name altogether in the list of the Lichhavi kings. However, most of the modern historians generally accept him as the founder of a new and powerful line of the Lichhavis.³⁵ The Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang mentions him as An-Chu-Famo³⁶ and he is described as a king reigning about the year 637 A.D.

Śivadeva's *Bhatgaon Inscription* of Samvat 510 refers to Aṃśuvarma³⁷; and Aṃśuvarma's *Harigaon Inscription* mentions of a new Samvat begun by him. Acute controversy rages about the time and era of Aṃśuvarma. One significant though less acceptable theory being Levi's claim that his era is of Tibetan origin, and that it began in the last decade of the 6th century A.D.³⁸ Regmi categorically refutes this theory and considers the era of Nepalese origin and provisionally places it between 568-78 A.D.³⁹ Balchandra Sharma puts his times between 571-616 A.D., the last year being the date of Aṃśuvarma's death.⁴⁰

Numerous inscriptions and records of this great king exist, the most important being his *Harigaon Grant* (Levi, iii-13) and the *Paśupati Inscription* (IA, ix-7), which describe him a ruler of vigour and power. According to the *Vaṃśavalī*, he undertook a pilgrimage to Prayaga Tirthā (Wright, p. 79), and built a new Darbar at Devapur, where he removed his Court (Padmagiri, p. 43, *infra*).

Aṃśuvarma is described a great king and a military genius. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang observes about him : "In the time just passed there was a king called Aṃśuvarma (Yan-Chou-fo-mo) who was distinguished by the soundness of his knowledge and sagacity of his spirit. He himself composed a treatise on conaissance of sounds (*Śabdavidyaśāstra*). He esteemed knowledge and

³⁴ See, Comparative Genealogical List (*infra*).

³⁵ On the subject, see generally, Levi, ii, p. 65 ff.; Regmi, p. 121 sq.; Balchandra Sharma, p. 77 et seq.; Basik, R.—*The History of North Eastern India* (London, 1914), p. 239-302.

³⁶ Levi, i, p. 160.

³⁷ *Ibid.* iii, p. 9, 13.

³⁸ *Ibid.* ii, p. 145; 153-54.

³⁹ *Ancient Nepal*, p. 127, 131.

⁴⁰ *Nepal ko Itihasik Rūp-Rekha*, p. 92.

respected virtue ; his reputation had travelled in all places."⁴¹

Many of Amśuvarma's inscriptions describe him a *Mahāsāmanta* and a Śaivite. His coins show him a person of power and glory with the title of *Maharajadhiraja*, yet uncertainty still exists regarding his stock and lineage. Whether a Thākuri or Lachhavi, we have scanty information about his military exploits and the extent of his kingdom. From the available records he appears to be a man of learning and of generous religious disposition donating lands freely both to the Śaivite and Buddhist shrines, and "a person ever devoted to the welfare of his subjects."^{41a}

Of the "long row of shadowy kings" of the Thākuris, Guṇakamadeva (942-1008 A.D.) is described to have founded the city of Kathmandu and his rule is said to have lasted 85 years—a virtual impossibility. The Valley of Nepal was then divided into two kingdoms, one ruled by Guṇakamadeva, and the other by Narendradeva and Udaydeva jointly.⁴² Other important kings of the dynasty are Bhaskaradeva (1043-1050 A.D.), whom the Thākuris of Nawakot elected to rule on the death of Jayadeva ; Pradyumnakamadeva (1061-67 A.D.) who ruled Patan, and Vāmadeva (1082-1085 A.D.) who became the ruler of both Kathmandu and Patan. It was after Vāmadeva's death that Nanyadeva, a Karnāṭa prince invaded and conquered the Valley and became master of the three kingdoms of Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Patan.⁴³

The rule of the Thākuris came to an end after Someśvaradeva (1178-1182 A.D.). According to the *Vaṃśāvalis*, he is followed by a *Mahāsāmanta* (nobleman) named Ratnadeva, and then by an obscure ruler Guṇakamadeva II in 1184 A.D., during whose reign the Valley again seems to have been divided into the separate principalities of Bhatgaon, Patan and Kathmandu.

One salient political feature of the Thākuris appears to be the introduction of joint rule (*ubhaya-rājya*) of two or more kings in the Valley kingdom. The other being the visit of Atisha Dipankara Srijnana in 1040 A.D. to Nepal, to whom is credited the introduction of the Tantric form of Mahāyana Buddhism in Nepal.

Comparative Genealogical Table of the Thākuris

<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Gopālarajavaṃśāvali</i>
(1) Amśuvarma	Ansu-barma	Amśuvarman (43)
(2) Kritavarma	Krit-barma	Manavarman (65)

⁴¹ Beal : *Buddhist Records* etc., IA, ix, p. 419 sq.

^{41a} *Harigaon Plate Inscription*, Levi, III (III).

⁴² Petech, p. 35.

⁴³ Wright, p. 167.

(3) Krundadeva	Bhimarjuna-deva	Kṛtavarman (65)
(4) Bhīmārjunadeva	Nanda-deva	Mahipala (...)
(5) Viradeva	Bir-deva	Devaladeva (10)
(6) Narendradeva	Chandraketu-deva	Dhruvavarman (...)
(7) Varadeva	Narendra-deva	Bhīmārjunadeva (10)
(8) Śaṅkaradeva	Bar-deva	Chandradeva (...)
(9) Vardhamāndeḥa	Shankara-deva	Śivadeva (16)
(10) Baladeva	Barddauman-deva	Narendradeva (13)
(11) Jayadeva	Bali-deva	Baladeva (17)
(12) Balarjunadeva	Jaya-deva	Varddmanadeva (16)
(13) Vikramadeva	Balarjuna-deva	Śaṅkaradeva (12)
(14) Guṇakamadeva	Vikrama-deva	Vasantadeva (21)
(15) Lakṣmikamadeva	Guṇakama-deva	Rudradeva (27) 1007-1018 A.D.
(16)	Bhoj-deva	Jayadeva (42-5) 1041-1061 A.D.
(17)	Lakshmikama-deva	Vikramadeva 1020-1041 A.D.
(18)	Jayakama-deva	Narendradeva (1-6)
(19)		Guṇakamadeva (85-6)
(20)		Udayadeva (5-2) 998-1004 A. D.

The Vaisya Thākuris

The Nawakot Vaisya Thākuris

(1) Bhaskaradevavarma	Bhaskara-deva	...	1043-1050 A.D.
(2) Baladevavarma	Bal-deva	...	1050-1062 A.D.
(3) Padmadevavarma	Padma-deva	...	1062-1065 A.D.
(4) Nāgarjunadeva	Nagarjuna-deva	...	1065-1082 A.D.
(5) Śaṅkaradeva	Shankara-deva	...	1065-1082 A.D.

*The Second Rajput
Dynasty*

*The Second Rajput
Dynasty*

(1) Brahmaḍeva	Bama-deva	...	1082-1085 A.D.
(2) Harṣadeva	Harkha-deva	...	1082/85-1098 A.D.
(3) Sadasivadev	Sadasiva-deva	...	1098-1126 A.D.
(4) Mānadeva	Man-deva	...	1136-1140 A.D.
(5) Narasiṃhadeva	Narsinha-deva	...	1140-1147 A.D.
(6) Nandadeva	Nanda-deva	...	1147-1167 A.D.
(7) Rudradeva	Rudra-deva	...	1167-1175 A.D.
(8) Maitriyadeva	Mitra-deva	...	1175-1178 A.D.
(9) Arimalla	Ari-deva	...	1200-1216 A.D.
(10) Abhayadevamalla	Abhay-deva Malla	...	1216-1255 A.D.
(11) Jayadevamalla	Jaya-deva Malla	...	1255-1258 A.D.
(12) Anandamalla	Ananda-Malla	...	1274-1310 A.D.

7

The Karnāja Interregnum

The new Rajput dynasty came to an end with the invasion of Nanyadeva towards the close of the reigns of Anandamalla and Jayadevamalla who were ruling in Bhatgaon and Kathmandu respectively. According to Padmagiri (p. 50,

infra) Nānyadeva invaded the Valley and after defeating both these rulers conquered the country. The defeated rulers fled to Tirhut and Nānyadeva made Bhatgaon the seat of his government. Wright's chronicle (p. 100) gives a similar account but specifically mentions that the invasion took place in Nepal Samvat 9 (889 A.D.) or the Śāka year 811. He adds: "He brought with him the Śāka Sakhla era, and introduced it. Among the troops that were with him were Newars, from a country called Nayera, who were Brahma-putra Chheteries and Achars."

According to all contemporary authorities this Mithilāite prince, whose ancestors had been driven out of South India in the middle of the 11th century by the Chalukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas, had been a vassal of the Imperial Chalukyas at Mithilā. In or about the year 1097, he threw off the yoke of Chalukian suzerainty and declared himself as an independent monarch.⁴⁴ The theory of the Karnāṭa invasion and conquest of the Valley is challenged by some historians. Levi supports the later chronicles and observes that the founder of the new kingdom of Tirhut was able to subjugate the kings of the Valley retaining them as his vassals.⁴⁵ On the other hand, Petech observes that Nānyadeva is completely unknown to the older chronicles; that he was never a king of Nepal, and that his so-called invasion may be a raid.⁴⁶ Added to this is the extraordinary phenomenon that according to the ancient chronicles and colophon data, we find during this period the kings of the old line still ruling the Valley.⁴⁷ The Pratāpamalla's *Vaṃsagopāla Inscription*,⁴⁸ which links the genealogy of the ruling kings to the house of Nānyadeva, is silent on the point of his conquest of the Valley. It is obvious that if we accept this theory, then Nānyadeva's invasion becomes a mere raid, supposing at the same time, that the Thākuris soon after regained their kingdom. The rejection of Nānyadeva's invasion and the conquest of the Valley would, however, render his Karnāṭa successors as fictitious, and the

⁴⁴ For the origin and intrusion of the Karnāṭa kings of Tirhut in Northern India and Nānyadeva's invasion of Nepal, see generally, Levi, ii, p. 196-204; Majumdar, R. C.—*Indian Historical Quarterly*, viii, p. 282 sq.; Banerji, R. D.—*Bengal Itihasa*, i, p. 318 ff.; Regmi, D. R.—*Medieval Nepal*, i, p. 149 et seq.; Ray, H. C.—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta (1931), i, p. 203 sq.; Jayaswal, K. P.—*Contributions to the History of Mithila*, (J. B. O. R.S., ix, p. 300-310); Choudhary, R. K.—*Nānyadeva and his Contemporaries*, (Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong., 1951), p. 130 sq., and his paper *The Karnāṭas of Mithila in the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, xxxv, 1955, p. 92 ff. Petech (*Mediaeval Nepal*, p. 51-54) considers Nānyadeva and his descendants as distant relatives of Jayasthimalla, who never reigned in Nepal, except for some months as passing conquerors (p. 9).

⁴⁵ ii, p. 202.

⁴⁶ p. 52-53, *ut supra*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁴⁸ Bhagwanlal Indraji and G. Buhler: *Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal*, Bombay, 1885.

accounts of the chronicles as fabrication—a rather far-fetched suggestion.

Comparative Genealogical List of the Karnāṭas

<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Petech</i>	
(1) Nānyadeva	Nanya-deva	Nānyadeva	c. 1097-1145 A.D.
(2) Gaṅgadeva	Ganga-deva	Gaṅgadeva	1145-1175 A.D.
(3) Śaktideva	Narsinha-deva	Narasimha	1175-1202 A.D.
(4) Rāmasimhadeva	Shakti-deva	Rāmasimha	1202-1245 A.D.
(5)	Ramsinha-deva	Śaktideva	
(6)	Hari-deva		

Petech's proposed chronology of the Karnāṭa dynasty from all accounts appears to be quite authentic.⁴⁹ It is proper to discuss at this place the so-called invasion of Mukandasena, the Sena ruler of Palpa, who according to Wright's chronicle, subdued Harideva, the last king of the Karnāṭa dynasty. Mukandasena's troops are said to have been destroyed by pestilence during the invasion, and then for seven or eight years there was no king in Nepal.⁵⁰ Padmagiri's genealogy has four kings of the Karnāṭa dynasty, the last being Rāmasimhadeva, during whose reign he mentions the invasion having taken place. Raja Mukandasena, he observes, having surrounded the country with a numerous force, plundered the country and destroyed the temples and the images of the deities. The sacrilege however provoked the wrath of Paśupatināth, and a dreadful contagion broke out in his army, which was totally destroyed, and Mukandasena turned a mendicant and left the country.⁵¹ Professor Tucci's Sanskrit verse *Vaṃśavalī* corroborates fully Padmagiri's chronicle and the probable date of the invasion would then correspond to 1110 A.D.⁵²

The tale of Mukandasena's invasion, however, appears to be a pure fabrication and an impossibility from chronological point of view. If we accept the account of Wright's chronicle, Harideva's reign ended in the year 208 of the Nepal era (1188 A.D.). Palpa, the most powerful state among the *Chaubisi* group had risen to power a century earlier. The ruling Sena Rajput family had six different collateral branches as recorded in the *Sena-Vaṃśavalī*,⁵³ viz., at Palpa, Tanhoun, Mackwanpur, Rajpur, Gulmi and Rising, which controlled the entire Nepal Terai. But Mukandasena is not identified by the Palpa-Sena chronicler as having invaded the Valley. Rudrasena, Mukandasena father ruled between 1440-1475 A.D.; and his third son Bhirangi is given the date 1548-1557

⁴⁹ p. 51-54.

⁵⁰ p. 102-3.

⁵¹ p. 51, *infra*.

⁵² *Vide*. Petech, p. 193-94.

⁵³ Edited by Shankarman Rajvanshi (*Bir Library*). Kathmandu, Samvat 2020.

A.D., as ruler of Tanhoun and not of Palpa.⁶⁴ Amidst this chronological divergence, the evidence of Mukandasena's invasion of the Valley in the 12th century as given in Wright's and Tucci's *Vaṃśāvalī* appears highly improbable. Levi's opinion that *Vaṃśāvalī* accounts of the invasion and the dethronement of the last Karnāṭa ruler Harideva by the Sena ruler of Palpa are the echoes of the Khāsa invasions of 1258, which have been wrongly introduced both by Padmagiri and Wright, might offer an alternate explanation to the problem.

Luciano Petech, however, is more categorical on the point. "The tale of Mukandasena," he observes, "in which a historical kernel is overlaid with legend nearly out of all recognition, refers to some inroad from Western Nepal, from which the Tirhut rulers were the chief sufferers. And this is all that can be said about this portion of the modern *Vaṃśāvalī*."⁶⁵

8

The Oudh Sūryavaṃśīś

Having introduced a fictitious intrusion of the Palpa Senas into the Valley, our chronicler describes the rule of the Nawakot Vaiśyas who are said to have ruled Nepal for 225 years. But, he adds: "all were petty rajas, and it is not necessary to give their history."⁶⁶ However, Kantipur at this time was ruled by twelve and Patan by twenty-four rajas. Similar account is furnished by Wright's chronicle, which mentions that while Bhatgaon was ruled by a Thākri Raja, in Lalitpur every *ṭol* or quarter of the town had its own raja.⁶⁷

Except for these perfunctory references to the rule of the Nawakot Vaiśyas, the *Vaṃśāvalī* accounts furnish no further details. However, Luciano Petech has with diligence re-constructed their rule from Bhāskaradeva (1043-1050 A.D.) to Someśvaradeva (1178-1182 A.D.) from manuscript colophon data.⁶⁸ According to him, the end of the Thākuris came with the death of Someśvaradeva in 1182 A.D.

The later *Vaṃśāvalī* then introduce the Oudh Sūryavaṃśīś, when in Śāka 1345 (1323 A.D.) Harisimha, the son of Rāmasimha of Simroungarh settled at

⁶⁴ Vide. Regmi: *Ancient Nepal*, p. 30, whose author's conclusions are based on the evidence of a MS. *Achārdipika* (Cat. of Palm-leaf MSS. in the Darbar Library, Kathmandu, i, 53), written by Gaṅgaviṣṇu, the author of the *Gaṅgaviṣṇukrit-Senavaṃśāvalī* incorporated in the above mentioned (*supra* p. xix) *Senavaṃśāvalī*.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 196. However the Italian Orientalist fixes the probable date of Mukandasena's incursion during the reign of Abhayamalla (1216-1275 A.D.) !

⁶⁶ Padmagiri, p. 52, *infra*.

⁶⁷ p. 103.

⁶⁸ *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, (Rome, 1958), p. 40-70.

Bhaktapur and founded a new dynasty.⁵⁹ He is followed by three rulers according to Wright and one in Padmagiri's chronicle.

Comparative Genealogy of the Oudh Sūryavaṃśis

Padmagiri

- (1) Harisimha
- (2) Śyamasimhadēva
- (3)
- (4)

Wright

- Harisinha-deva
Matisinha-deva
Shaktisinha-deva
Shyamsinha-deva

To Harisimha Padmagiri's chronicle ascribes the introduction into Nepal of various castes, of the mysterious goddess Teleju, of the practice of buffalo eating, and of the expulsion of the Newars—originally belonging to the country of Nayar Desa, who were sprung from Brahman fathers and Kṣatriya mothers, to Tirhut.⁶⁰ These accounts are however belied by other sources, which describe Harisimha of Tirhut having fled to Nepal from his capital Simroungarh in consequence of the Muslim king *Ghiath-ud-Dīn Tughlaq's* advance in 1324-25 on his territory. Petech excludes Harisimhā's conquest of Nepal under the above circumstances, but admits of his entry into the Valley, and observes that although he remained in Nepal, his end is unknown.⁶¹

II. THE MALLAS

9

Early Mallas

The Mallas belong to the Second Rajput dynasty, who ruled Nepal from 1082-1310 A.D., after the downfall of the Vaiśya Thākuris of Nawakot. The *Vaṃśavalis* record that the founder of the dynasty was Brahmādeva (Wright : Bama-deva), a descendant of a collateral branch of Aṃśuvarma, who having gained the nobles of Lalitpur and Kantipur, made himself the master of the Valley.⁶² His grandson Sadaśivadeva (1098-1126 A.D.) is described by Wright's chronicle a great conqueror, who brought back from his conquests a great quantity of gold.⁶³ The two recorded events of his reign are the repairing of the roof of the

⁵⁹ Padmagiri, p. 52, *infra*; Wright (p. 105), who calls them Ayodhya dynasty and dates, Nepal Samvat 444 (1324 A.D.).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*; Wright, p. 107-8.

⁶¹ *Opt. cit.* p. 113. Petech's conclusions appear to be reasonably correct, because "colophons, inscriptions, and early chronicles consistently ignore him."

⁶² Wright, p. 97.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

temple of Paśupatināth, and the introduction into the Nepalese currency the silver coin *Suki*, its reverse bearing the figure of a lion. Padmagiri narrates that the 9th ruler of this dynasty, Arideva while he was engaged in wrestling, heard the news of the birth of a son : consequently, he conferred the title of *Malla* on the child called Abhaya. Abhayamalla ruled from 1216 to 1255 ; he is the first recorded king in the *Vaṃśāvalis*, who adopted the new title forsaking the old family one *Deva*. *Malla* literally means a wrestler, but the *Li-cheus* (athletes) of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist texts, or for that matter, the *bāhuyuddha-sramas* (boxers) of Vāramihira in the Nepalese medieval history appear very unwarlike and peace-loving kings, devoted more to consecrating temples and worshipping their favourite deities than pursuing a course of war and conquest.

The theory propounded earlier by Levi about the existence of the Malla princes in Nepal prior to Arideva between 700-1200 A.D. has finally been rejected by the Italian Orientalist Petech. Levi's conclusions have no historical basis, for the so-called Malla kings referred to by him evidently belong to the Khasiya rulers of Western Nepal of the 13th century.⁶⁴ Also Gnoli's allusion to a *Malakara* or tax imposed by the Mallas in an inscription of Śivadeva of the 6th century A.D. pointing to the existence of the Mallas in Nepal in that period⁶⁵ is unsubstantiated by other sources, and is quite unacceptable.

Mallas are quite well known in Indian history. In the earlier Buddhist texts they are mentioned as "a feudal confederation, whose territory was adjacent to the Lichhavi."⁶⁶ The appendage *Malla* was used by the Pallavas of Kāñchi, the Chalukyas of Kalyāni and also by the Hoysalas as a mark of prestige rather than a dynastic title. Similar seems to be the case with the early Mallas of the Valley of Nepal, and they do not seem to have any direct connection with the Indian Mallas. We have no positive information about their migration either from the Karṇāli basin or from the Tirhutian region, and if we believe Padmagiri, they originally belonged to a collateral branch of the Thākuriś. It is not possible to establish beyond any dispute as to where they ruled, and with the rejection of Levi's opinion above referred to that they held suzerainty over the Vāmgati Valley between the 8th and 12th centuries, the matter becomes highly conjectural. But the generally accepted view is that the Mallas are known in the Nepalese history from 1200 A.D. onwards when a new dynasty came into existence with Arideva.

According to Petech⁶⁷ there are three different branches of the Malla dynasty which ruled Nepal from 1200-1768 A.D. *First*, is the dynasty founded by

⁶⁴ For a very illuminating discussion on the subject, see Petech, p. 79-81.

⁶⁵ *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Character*, xxx, lvi.

⁶⁶ Petech, *ut supra*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 81-82.

Arimalla which became extinct with Jayārimalla in 1344 A.D. *Second*, is the dynastic line which started with Jayabhīmadeva in 1258 A.D. and died out with Jayarjunadeva in 1382. It is likely, he observes, that they were not at all connected with the Malla stock. *Third*, is the house of Jayasthitimalla which ruled Nepal from 1382 A.D. to the final overthrow of the Malla dynasty by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah in 1768-69. A comparative genealogical table of the early Mallas is given below :—

Comparative Genealogical Table of the Early Mallas

<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Luciano Petech</i>
(1) Arimalla	Ari-deva	Arimalla, 1200-1216 A.D.
(2) Abhayamalla	Abhaya Malla	Abhayamalla, 1216-1255 A.D.
(3) Jaydevamalla	Jayadeva Malla	Jayadeva, 1255-1258.
(4) Ānandamalla	Ananda Malla	Jayabhīmadeva, 1258-1271 A.D.
(5) Jayabhadramalla	Jayabhadra Malla	Jayasthamalla, 1271-1274 A.D.
(6) Nāgamalla	Naga Malla	Ānantamalla, 1274-1310 A.D.
(7) Nagendramalla	Jayajagat Malla	Jayānandadeva, 1310-1330 A.D.
(8) Ugramalla	Nagendra Malla	Jayārimalla, 1320-1344 A.D.
(9) Aśokamalla	Urga Malla	Jayarājadeva and Rājalladevi, 1347-1361 A.D.
(10) Jayasthitimalla	Ashoka Malla	Jayārjunadeva, 1361-1382 A.D.
(11) Yakṣamalla	Jayasthiti Malla	Jayasthitimalla, 1382-1395 A.D.
(12)	Yaksha Malla	Jayadharmamalla, 1396-1408 A.D.
(13)		Jayajyotirmalla, 1408-1428 A.D.
(14)		Jayayakṣamalla, 1428-1480 A.D.

Two very important events took place during the reign of Ānandamalla (1274-1310 A.D.) according to our chronicler, *viz.*, the building of the city of Bhatgaon, which was destined to become the metropolis of the Malla dynasty and the nerve-centre of its culture and civilization. The new city had 12,000 houses ; it boasted of a palace, and its ruler having also founded the cities of Banepā and Panauti, both situated in the connected sub-vale, and also the villages of Nāla, Dhulikhel, Khadpur, Sāṅga and Chaukot.⁶⁸

The second event of great import in Ānandamalla's reign is the introduction of the Nepal Samvat, which approximately begins in 880 A.D. Used by the Newars of the Valley since its foundation, it falls in Kārtika 1272 of the Vikrami era. Padmagiri ascribes its foundation to a Newar inhabitant of Kathmandu named Sāfā, who bribed the porters of Raja Ānandamalla carrying the sands of the Viṣṇumatī river, which at a certain day and hour had the amazing quality of transforming itself into gold dust. Sāfā induced the porters to leave the sand with him, and thus he became fabulously rich. He established a new era now known as the Nepali Samvat.⁶⁹ It is, however, puzzling as to why

⁶⁸ p. 49, *infra*.

⁶⁹ A similar story is related in the Wright's *Damṣūvalī* (p. 98-99), where however this feat is performed by a Śūdra or low-caste merchant of Kantipur, who fraudulently took possess-

the chronicler introduces an outsider instead of the ruling monarch of the time for the establishment of the new era? The issue of the founder and the time of the Nepal Samvat has raised a controversy which has not been finally settled so far. Luciano Petech calls it a Newari Samvat whose origin is obscure⁷⁰; earlier Kirkpatrick attributed its foundation to king Rāghavadeva suggesting that its commencement may bear relation to the establishment of the Simrounian dynasty in Nepal.⁷¹ Cunningham, Bendall and Levi accept this theory. The Nepalese writer Regmi's contention that the foundation of the Newari Samvat marked the end of the Lichhavi rule and the restoration of the Thākuri dynasty has been rightly dismissed by Petech on the authority of two earlier *Vamśāvalīs*, without, however, adducing a positive solution.⁷²

Sylvain Levi's theory that the Nepal era was founded to commemorate the occasion of Nepal's emancipation from Tibetan vassalage after nearly three hundred years is supported by R.C. Majumdar and others.⁷³ Levi's opinion is based on the Tibetan chronicles, which refer to the Tibetan domination of Nepal till the middle of 9th century A.D., particularly its king Srong-Tsang sGampo (620-650 A.D.) who exercised suzerainty over Nepal and married the daughter of Amśuvarma. This theory is strongly though illogically refuted by the Nepalese writer Regmi, who after long circumlocutions and digressions on the subject, half-heartedly seems to doubt the possibility of Tibetan suzerainty. He ascribes the foundation of the era to the 'pale figure' of Rāghavadeva, who founded it to commemorate the occasion of his dynasty coming into power at that time.⁷⁴

Be that as it may, we must be content to accept the fact that the Nepal era was founded during the reign of Ānandamalla. Its currency lasted till the end of the Malla rule, the Gorkhas having replaced it first by the Śāka era, and later by the present official era of Nepal—the Vikrami Samvat.

10

Jayasthitimalla

The rule of the early Mallas is singularly devoid of rich social, cultural,

ion of the sands brought from Lakhu Tiratha, situated at the junction of Bhatikhu and Viṣṇumatīi.

⁷⁰ *Opt. cit.*, p. 13 sq;

⁷¹ p. 262.

⁷² *Opt. cit.*, p. 14-15.

⁷³ *Vide.*, generally [on the subject, Levi, ii, p. 173-77; Petech: *History of Mediaeval Nepal* (Rome, 1958, p. 29); and *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta, 1939), p. 12-13; Francke: *Antiquities of Tibet*, ii, p. 58 sq.; *History and Culture of the Indian People*, iv, p. 50; Bendall: *A History of Nepal and Surrounding Kingdoms (1000-1600)*, J.A.S.B., lxxxii (1903), etc.

⁷⁴ *Medieval Nepal*. Calcutta, 1965, p. 51-79.

or architectural legacies, but it could be rightly designated as a period of comparative peace and prosperity despite intermittent political upheavals. From the beginning of the line of Arimalla in 1200 A.D. to the end of Yakṣamalla's reign in 1482 A.D., Nepal retained a semblance of political unity. The Valley kingdom remained one national unit. It survived the successive convulsions caused by the Maithili invasions of Rāmasiṃha in 1244 A.D., the Khasia predatory incursions into Nepal first by Ripumalla Khasia in 1313 A.D., during the reign of Ānandamalla, and then by Ādityamalla Khasia, who occupied Nawakot, Pharping and Patan about 1328 A.D.⁷⁵ A Simrounian invasion of Nepal by the Tirhutian raja Harisiṃha had taken place 5 years earlier. These incursions were followed by a devastating raid by Sultan Shams-ud-Dīn Ilyās of Bengal during the reign of Jayārājādeva in 1346 A.D.⁷⁶ The Muslim invasion shook the foundations of the kingdom, the invader having destroyed the city of Patan, laid waste the whole Valley of Nepal. He indulged in an orgy of mass destruction and incendiarism, plundered the towns and sacrilegged the temples of Paśupati and Svayambhunāth.⁷⁷

The devastating effects of the Muslim invasion soon faded away ; the Malla kingdom which had reeled under the shock, soon recovered and gave rise to Jayasthitimalla, one of the most illustrious rulers of medieval Nepal. Himself a figure of obscure lineage and controversy with regard to his status as a sovereign ruler (the extant records of the time describe him a prince-consort—husband of Rajaladevi or merely Śrī), Jayasthitimalla (1382-1395) was the off-spring of the Tirhutian Malla Kṣatriyas, who married the grand-daughter of Devaladevi, the masterful regent of Bhatgaon in 1354 A.D. At this time the Malla kingdom seemed to be under a process of disintegration. Devaladevi was under the tutelage of a powerful noble named Areka Rama having seceded from Malla authority. Patan had a separate monarch, a weakling named Jayārjunadeva (1361-1382), whose authority did not extend beyond the surrounding districts. The Muslim invasion of 1346 A.D. had already convulsed the core of national solidarity ; the menace reappeared in the shape of another raid by Shams-ud-Dīn

⁷⁵ For details of these invasions *vide*. Kirkpatrick, p. 264 ff. ; the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī*, Bendall VI, V¹¹¹ ; Regmi : *Medieval Nepal*, i, p. 274 sq. ; Petech, p. 108, 138 etc.

⁷⁶ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*

⁷⁷ The later *Vamśāvalīs* are silent about the invasion, but Bendall's chronicle (*op. cit.*, fol. 28b) describes the devastating nature of the invasion : "In the meantime, the Eastern Surtāna Shams-ud-dīn came to Nepal and broke into three pieces the image of Paśupati ; the whole of Nepal was ravaged by fire and the people were unhappy." This account is supported by two inscriptions—the *Patan Pim Bahal Inscription*, dated 1357 A.D. and the *Svayambhunāth Inscription*, N. S. 492, *vide*. Petech, (p. 118-19), who is of the opinion that the invasion was responsible for the disparition of all the monuments of ancient Nepalese architecture.

Ilyās in 1349 A.D. The feudal lords had become refractory. Nawakot had thrown off the Malla yoke. Banepā, Phirping and other smaller principalities were assuming an independent tone. A struggle seemed imminent between the two kingdoms of Patan and Bhatgaon, when in 1372 A.D. Jayasthitimalla is described to have taken possession of Patan. The civil war came to an end with Jayasthitimalla accepting a subordinate position under the suzerainty of Jayārjuna-deva till the latter's death in 1382 A.D. The death of his overlord gave an opportunity to Jaysthitimalla to claim the kingdom ; he was formally recognised as a legitimate ruler the same year and shifted his capital to Bhatgaon.

To Jayasthitimalla goes the credit of saving the kingdom from the throes of disintegration and confusion. He curbed the activities of the feudal lords, brought the component units of the kingdom into submission, and with a strong hand, restored order. He founded a new line of dynasty which was destined to rule Nepal for four centuries. Padmagiri makes a brief reference to him,⁷⁸ but Wright's chronicle and the extensive documents about his reign show him as a "legislator who codified the whole structure of the Nepalese society in a strictly orthodox Hindu frame."⁷⁹ These religious and social laws were codified by a Committee of five learned councillors from the ancient laws and customs of Nepal, dealing primarily with civic regulations pertaining to public and private property ; classification and measurement of land ; and the division of the caste system applicable to the whole population. The Brahmans were to have two classes and five sub-divisions, each sub-division was further divided to create new castes. The rest of the populace of Nepal was distributed into 64 castes according to profession, birth and other considerations. In this manner Jayasthitimalla laid the firm foundation of a permanent social structure in Nepal, which is in tact even today.

This great law-giver and strongman of Nepal died in 1395 A.D. After him the kingdom crumbled to pieces. His weak and inefficient successors discovered the formulae of collegial rule and remained joint sovereigns without the division of the kingdom till 1428 A.D. But the adoption of this extraordinary mode of rule by common consent proved a dismal failure ; it tended to create administrative chaos, irresponsibility and encouraged intrigue and partizanship in the councils of the government. The *mahāpātras* or the governors and their *mahāmātyas* or ministers in the feudatory districts of Banepā, Patan, Phirping, and Nawakot began to assume an independent tone.

This state of affairs lasted till 1428 A.D. when a new star appeared on

⁷⁸ p. 55-56, *infra*.

⁷⁹ Petech enumerates twenty-six extant documents pertaining to his reign (p. 131 ff.), which are supplemented by further seven by Regmi (i, 358-60). The *Hodgson Papers* (M/3/1061) in the India Office Library possess an illuminating paper : The Institutions of Jayasthitimalla for the 4 *varṇas* and 36 *jāttis*.

the political horizon of the Valley. This was Yakṣamalla, a monarch of animated and aggressive foreign policy who "extended his dominions by a distance of seven days' march."⁸⁰ Yakṣamalla curbed the activities of the refractory nobles, brought under submission the rulers of Patan, Kathmandu and Phirping, and if we accept Kirkpatrick's account, conquered Morung, Tirhut, Gorkha and wrested the district of Shikarjong from the Tibetans.⁸¹

Yakṣamalla ruled for 53 years and during his reign Nepal seems to have acquired a semblance of solidarity and stability. During this period considerable progress was made in the arts of peace—art, literature and architecture. He showed considerable zeal in the construction of buildings and temples; he made generous endowments to Śaivite temples and Buddhist vihārs. And yet, Yakṣamalla's greatness is belittled by the fact that he divided his kingdom between his three sons and struck a blow at the national unity in the Valley kingdom. After him Nepal became a house divided, the kingdom having been divided into three separate principalities of Bhatgaon, Kathmandu and Banepā. Never again Malla Nepal regained the glory and magnificence of a single state; the internal strifes and jealousies amongst the rulers of the three states, barely a few miles distant from each other, for over 150 years became the bane of the later Mallas till 1768, when Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah conquered the three kingdoms.

II

Government, Society and Religion

The character of early Malla monarchy was absolutism based on divine right of kingship. The kings assumed the title of *Viruda*, claiming to be incarnations of Viṣṇu, a little below the gods, but far superior to the mortals. In principal the kingship was hereditary, governed by the Hindu laws of primogeniture; but instances of collegial or joint rule—the *dvairājya* or the *ardharājye* are common. There are also instances of *vijayarājya* when two or three brothers are joint rulers in their own right. The institution of dual or multiple sovereignty was in all probability inherited by the Mallas from the Lichhavis, and it became a common feature of their kingship after Yakṣamalla's death. The joint monarchies of brothers or collaterals governing with equal or inferior status or rights tended to symbolise weakness rather than strength.

⁸⁰ Kirkpatrick, p. 266.

⁸¹ According to Petech, the most authoritative source on Yakṣamalla's conquests is the *Narapatijayācaryatīkā* by king Jagatjyotirmalla of Kathmandu (Darbar Library, MS. I. 1186). However, the account of his conquests of Mithila, Gaya in Maghda, and the extension of his military exploits in the east of Bengal to the south of the Ganges seem rather far-fetched. We have only Kirkpatrick's lone authority that he took possession of Shikarjong of Tibet northward, which may or may not be true.

The structure of Malla administration was feudal; and although the monarch had an inviolable divine personality, there are instances of the wilful feudal lords or the *Mahāmatyas* ruling in his name as his equals, or even without him. At times the aristocracy became quite powerful and the lawful sovereign was relegated to the background—as for instance towards the end of 1182, the *Mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva ruled without a king; Jayarudramalla who ruled in the name of Jayānandadeva in 1310; and Jayasimha Rāma in 1382 A.D. These powerful lords adopted a set of high-sounding titles—*Sāmanta* (nobleman), *Rāvuta* (feudatory ruling chief), *Pradhāna* (chief), *Mahāpātra* (court official), *Mūlami* (minister) etc. The feudatory titles appear to be hereditary, carrying with them considerable freehold land assignments, and the exercise of executive and judicial powers. The feudal aristocracy commanded considerable power and prestige at the Court, and the king selected from amongst them, his ministers—the *Mahath*, the *Mahāpātra* or the *Mūlami*. The *Mahath* was a high dignitary usually equivalent to the *Mulki Diwan* of later times; the *Mahāpātra* was a minister of lower rank or a governor of a division of the kingdom; and the *Mūlami* could be regarded a principal officer of the government equal to the Chief Secretary of the State.

Malla kings were Hindu Śaivites, deeply religious, and practiced Brahmanical ritualism in all matters, personal as well as official. They were extremely tolerant towards Buddhism, which had undergone complete transformation under the influence of Hindu cult. The later *Vaṃśāvalīs* reveal their devotion both towards Paśupatināth, and Svyayambhunāth and we find them consecrating the deities of both the religions with almost equal fervour. Buddhism was popular at the Court and amongst the people, but Śiva, Viṣṇu, Maheśa and other deities of the Hindu pantheon received priority in royal devotions. At the same time, the mass of the people were the followers of the cult of *Vajrayana*, a highly corrupt form of Buddhism, divorced from the original doctrines of *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sāṅgha* and tintured deeply with Trantricism. How Buddhism had degenerated into a non-monastic and ritualistic creed during this period in Nepal, is clear by the fact that the Śaivite and Viṣṇuite deities were freely appropriated by the Buddhist priests. Buddhism still had its celestial and mortal Buddhas, but a pantheon of deities had grown out of them, akin and familiar to Śaivism. Śaivite and Viṣṇuite gods began to be worshipped equally by the common people following the cult of *Vajrayana*, who looked upon Paśupatināth equivalent to Lokeśvara. The Buddhist monk returned to domestic life, married and became caste-ridden. The later *Vaṃśāvalī* accounts exhibit a fusion of both the sects, and the rulers and the people alike drew little line of distinction between the Buddhistic and Brahmanical ritualism and deities.⁸² The Bodhimārgis like the Śaivites adopted

⁸² This is supported strongly by epigraphic evidence of the period. We find the Malla rulers installing, as for instance, the images of *Āryatārā* (*Itumbahāḷ Inscription*, N. S. 492), of

a social system based on caste.

Along with this synthesis of the two creeds, Tantricism seems to have seeped into the core of religious practices in Nepal near about the early 10th century A.D. Many deities of that cult, particularly the eight *Kalikās*, the eight *Mātrikās*, and the eight *Kumarīs* became popularly predominant, and both the Śaivites and the Bodhimāragīs accepted the Śakti cult, and we find the reigning monarchs consecrating the images of both *Aṣṭamātrikā* and the *Dasamahāvidya* deities in Nepal.

We have scanty information about the social and economic conditions of the people under the early Mallas. Patan, the capital of the kings, was a centre of all political and cultural activities, besides Bhatgaon and Kathmandu (Yambu or Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa) both of which occupied secondary positions. Here resided the ruling monarch with his chief nobles, and the seat of the government hummed with political activity. The royal palace, the Darbar, and the principal shrines patronised by the kings were situated here. It was a town thriving with trade and craftsmanship, while Bhatgaon was famous for its agricultural products, and Kathmandu had not yet come into political prominence.

Highest on the rung of the social ladder was the aristocratic feudal court nobility above-named, which wielded considerable political power and led the life of affluence and luxury. Amongst them may also be included high government officials—the *Mahāmaṇḍalika-s* (feudatories), the *Pramukha-s* (departmental secretaries), the *Jodhāpati-s* and the *Kwāthanāyaka-s* (military commanders), the *Sachiva-s* (privy councillors) and the *Mantrin-s* (officials). We have no information about the conditions on which the feudal lords and officials held their fiefs; in all probability, land assignments to them were either *birtha* or *jagir*,⁸³ for rendering military or civil service, or mere loyalty to the Crown.

Below them in order of social priority were the Brahmans and the Kṣatriyas, who monopolized all offices of profit around the palace. Jayasthitimalla's reorganisation of social structure of Nepal based on the four *varṇas* and sixty-four sub-castes added numerous classes of society, such as the *Bhupa-s*

Buddha (*Nhaikabahil Copper Plate*, N. S. 508), of Akṣobha (*Viśvakarma Vihāra Copper Plate*, N. S. 549); and constructing the temples of Kumbheśvara (*Stone Inscription of that name*, N. S. 538), of Rajeśvarī (*Stone Inscription of that name*, N. S. 528) with equal devotion and fervour to that of consecrating the images and building the temple of Gaṇeśa (*Chikambahil Patan Stone Inscription*, N. S. 567), of Sarasvatī (*Sasukhel Patan Stone Inscription*, N. S. 567) of Viṣṇu (*Bhīmsenadhārā Image*, N. S. 615) and of Nārāyaṇa (*Labhu Stone*, N. S. 572) etc.

⁸³ A *birtha* is a perpetual land assignment for which rent is paid; while a *jagir* is a rent free tenure assignment resumable at the will of the sovereign. In Nepal both are common modes of payments to officials and soldiers since the times of the Mallas. Contra-distinguished to both of these is the *guṭhī* or land assignment for religious purpose, which is perpetual, non-resumable or seizable even for debts. Rent may or may not be paid for it.

(military Kṣatriya class), the *Vipra-s* (Brahmans), the *Kayastha-s* (scribes), the *Acharya-s* (priests or teachers) ; besides these lower castes were ordained according to professions or occupations, such as *daivajña-s*, the astrologers ; *sajakara-s*, tailors ; *supika-s*, cooks ; *nāpika-s*, barbers ; *karṇika-s*, weavers ; *gayana-s*, singers ; *māmsavikrīś*, butchers ; *nīyogīs*, menials etc.

Malla society is rightly described as primarily based on the Newar culture : predominantly Buddhist by faith, and of Mangoloid stock, constituting the trading and agricultural class, having their exclusive traditions, customs and social laws. We do not find any evidence of the existence of upper middle or middle class in medieval Nepal. The Newar *Jyāpus* constituted a hardy core of the society as hired labourers or cultivators, whose lot was not very happy. They lived on mere subsistence. The lower ranks in the caste heirarchy followed the professions of weavers, barbers, carvers, dyers, blacksmiths and butchers etc.

12

Later Mallas : A house divided

The division of the kingdom by Yakṣamalla proved fatal to the underlying unity of Nepal ; but the dogma of collegial rule was stretched to the farthest limits by his successors. This surprising phenomenon is witnessed in the sorely shrunk State of Kathmandu, where Yakṣamalla's numerous sons and one nephew are ruling jointly.⁸⁴ In Patan matters are worse confounded : part of the kingdom is being governed independently by a daughter of Yakṣamalla, whilst Kathmandu claims suzerainty over the whole. It is futile to enter into the controversy raging amongst the Nepalese historians as to whether the division of the Valley kingdom took place during the lifetime or after Yakṣamalla's death ; but Nepal in the closing decades of the 15th century was a house divided—Rāyamalla and Ratnamalla are the joint sovereigns of Bhatgaon and Kathmandu. Ratnamalla seems to retain some sort of control over Patan ; Raṇamalla is the lord of the adjoining districts of Sāṅga and Banepā ; Arimalla is an *ardharāja* or co-ruler in Kathmandu ; and Bhīmamalla, a nephew, is a *dvairāja* or joint sovereign with the others.

It is obvious that political rot has set in the Valley. The process of division of authority was the outcome of the earlier folly of Yakṣamalla : its strangest culmination took place under Pratāpamalla when during his lifetime he retired, and enjoined all his sons to reign *in turn* for a space of one year successively.⁸⁵ At Yakṣamalla's death we find Nepal split up into the principalities

⁸⁴ This is evident from the inscriptions of the time, in particular, the *Paśupati Copper Plate Inscription*, and the *Gorakhnāth Temple Inscriptions*, since published.

⁸⁵ Padmagiri, p. 76, *infra*.

of (1) Bhatgaon, whose territories are bounded in the west by the river Vagmati, in the south by the forest of Mednimalla, in the north by the Kuti Pass, and in the east by the district of Sānga; (2) Kathmandu, ruled by Ratnamalla,⁸⁶ stretched in the east close to the Vagmati, in the west its boundary did not extend beyond the Trīśuligaṅga, in the north its territories terminated at Nilkanṭha, and in the south it was barely at a distance of one mile from (3) Patan, whose territorial limits did not extend beyond a few miles. Other petty states with vaguely-defined territorial boundaries were Banepā, Phirping, Dholka and Nawakot.

The political disintegration of the Valley engendered chaos. Weak kings with diminishing territories followed in quick succession. The history of the later Mallas, therefore, is that of three separate kingdoms—Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan for 285 years or till 1768, when Pṛithvinārāyaṇa Shab conquered the Valley and all the three Malla dynasties became extinct.

Comparative Geneological Table of the Later Mallas (1842-1768 A.D.)

A. The Kingdom of Kathmandu

<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Regnal Years (A.D.)</i>
(1) Ratnamalla	Ratna Malla	1482-1520
(2) Amaramalla	Amara Malla	1530-1538
(3) Sūryamalla	Surya Malla	1520-1530
(4) Narendramalla	Narendra Malla	1538-1560
(5) Mahendramalla	Mahindra Malla	1560-1574
(6) Sadāśivamalla	Sadshiva Malla	1574-1583
(7) Śivasimhamalla	Shivasinha Malla	1578-1620
(8) Lakṣminarasimhamalla	Lakshmi-narsingha Malla	1620-1641
(9) Partāpamalla	Partapa Malla	1641-1674
(10) Pṛithvendramalla 1680- 1687 A.D.	Mahindra (Bhupalendra) Malla	... ..
(11) Bhūpālendramalla 1687- 1790 A.D.	Shri Bhaskara Malla	... ..
(12) Bhāskaramalla 1700- 1714 A.D.	Jagatjaya Malla	... ..
[13] Jagatjayamalla 1722- 1736 A.D.	Jaya-prakasha Malla	.. ..
(14) Jayaprakāśamalla 1736- 1768 A.D.	... ..	... ..

B. The Kingdom of Bhaktapur

<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Regnal Years A.D.</i>
(1) Rāyamalla	Raya Malla	1482-1505

⁸⁶ Wright's *Varṇāvalī*, (p. 124) specifically mentions that Ratnamalla's sovereignty extended over 26 towns and villages, the important ones being Lalitpur, Hari Siddhi, Phirping, Vagmati, Panga, Kirtipur, Thankot, Gokarna and Devapatan.

(2)	Svarṇamalla	Suvarna Malla	
(3)	Prāṇamalla	Prana Malla	1519-1547
(4)	Viśvamalla	Viswa Malla	1547-1560
(5)	Trilokyamalla	Trilokya Malla	1560-1613
(6)	Jagatprakāśamalla	Jagajyoti Malla	1613-1637
(7)	Jayamitramalla	Narendra Malla	1637-1644
(8)	Bhupindramalla	Jagat-prakasha Malla	1644-1673
(9)	Ranjitamalla	Jitamitra Malla	1673-1696
(10)		Bhupatindra Malla	1696-1722
(11)		Ranjit Malla	1722-1769

C. The Kingdom of Patan

	<i>Padmagiri</i>	<i>Wright</i>	<i>Regnal Years A.D.</i>
(1)	Siddhinarasiṃhamalla	Harihara Sinha	
(2)	Śrīnivāsamalla	Siddhi Narsinha Malla	1620-1661
(3)	Yogendramalla	Sri-Nivasa Malla	1681-1684
(4)	Viśṇumalla 1729-1745 A.D.	Yoga-Narendra Malla	1684-1705
(5)	Rājyapraśamalla 1745-1758 A.D.	Mahindra Sinha Malla of Kathmandu	
(6)	Ranjitmalla of Bhatgaon	Jaya-Yoga-prakash Malla	
(7)	Jayapraśamalla of Kathmandu	Shri-shri Vishnu Malla	
(8)	Viśvajitamalla 1758-1760 A.D.	Rajya-prakash Malla	
(9)	Dalmardān Shah	Ranjit Malla of Bhatgaon	
(10)	Tejanarasimhamalla 1760-1768 A.D.	Jaya-prakasha Malla of Kathmandu	
		Vishwajit Malla	
		Dalmardan-Sah	
		Teja Narsinha Malla	

D. The Kingdom of Banepā

- (1) Raṇamalla d. 1502 A.D.

Ratnamalla (1482-1520 A.D.), Yakṣamalla's second son, who ascended the throne of Kathmandu on the division of the kingdom, is the founder of a new line of the Malla dynasty. Our chronicler describes him as acquiring the throne through the intercession of the goddess Hari Siddhi, and the Kaji or minister of the twelve rajas then ruling Kathmandu. The treacherous minister, having poisoned his twelve masters to make way for Ratnamalla, was himself put to death for his perfidious conduct by the new sovereign. His regnal years are given erroneously by Wright (71 years) and Padmagiri (11 years), while the date of his death is confirmed as N. S. 640 (1520 A.D.) according to manuscript colophons.

Ratnamalla's reign seems to be eventful. He is described to have conquered Kathmandu or suppressed a rebellion therein; defeated the Thākuris of Nawakot, and driven away the Bhotia Chief Kākū, who invaded his kingdom

with the help of the Raja of Palpa ; and allowed to settle in Nepal, the Khas and Magar tribes, who in time became the dominant military classes in the Valley. During his reign the Muslims also first entered Nepal.

Ratnamalla died in 1520 A.D. We know practically nothing about his successors : Sūryamalla, (1520-1530 A. D.), Amaramalla (1530-1538 A. D.) and Narendramalla (1538-1560 A. D.). Mahendramalla (1560-1574) has numerous inscriptions ; he is also mentioned in the colophons of various extant manuscripts. His only achievement appears to be the issue of first silver coin in Nepal called the *Mahendramalli*, with the spurious legend that the Mughal emperor of Delhi allowed him to do so.⁸⁷

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One of the lustrous and most lascivious kings of Kathmandu is its poet-king Partāpamalla (1641-1674 A.D.).⁸⁸ His reign abounds with numerous vain-glorious inscriptions, documents, and relics of little historical import.⁸⁹ These furnish genealogies, abstracts from his mediocre poetical compositions and details of his fictitious conquests. In one of these he calls himself as "the king of poets" "a lion among the kings" and "proficient in all branches of learning and versatile in the use of weapons." In Nepalese history no king can match Partāpamalla, who sings his own panegyries, full of braggadocio and empty vaunting⁹⁰ : boasts of conquests of Kuti, Khasa and Kira from the Tibetans, and of having made the neighbouring kingdom of Bhatgaon his tributary.

And yet, with all his poetical flights, the chronicles describe him a young man of comely appearance and of highly amorous temperament—his concubines amounting to 3,000, and he himself having taken a vow to cohabit with 100,000 women—he actually corrupted the chastity of 30,000⁹¹ ! He was well-versed in witchcraft and addicted to ophite rites, and died *con amore* for seizing the person of the goddess Hari Siddi.⁹²

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Wright, p. 128 ; Levi, ii, p. 216, and Walsh : *The Coinage of Nepal*, J.R.A.S. (1908), p. 685.

⁸⁸ Wright's *Padmapati* erroneously gives him a reign of 50 years (1630-1680 A.D.).

⁸⁹ See, particularly, Regmi, ii, p. 97-106 ; Walsh, ii, 13 ; the *Sanskrit Sandesh*, I, 2, 3, 10-12 ; and Wright, p. 132 *sq.*, where some of these have been published. Partāpamalla's craze for inscriptions is evidenced from his multi-script inscription in 15 languages including Arabic, Persian and Roman, which he boasts he knows so well !

⁹⁰ A specimen of self-eulogy can be evidenced, amongst others, from his *Padupati Inscription* (N.S. 779), which partly reads : "There is no one like me, the pearl in the diadem of kings, neither in heaven nor in earth, nor anywhere in the ten directions, nor in the hills and forests."

⁹¹ See Wright, p. 130 ; Padmagiri, p. 76, *infra*.

⁹² Padmagiri, p. 79, *infra*.

The greatness of Partāpamalla is without any substance. He left his kingdom to minors and weaklings ; the chronicles are at variance as to who amongst his four sons succeeded him. The kingdom lost all lustre and glory, and the real power passed into the hands of a shrewd, cunning and ruthless minister of the infant king Bhūpālendramalla, named Lakṣminārāyaṇa, the alleged paramour of the queen-regent. The wily minister destroyed all rivals at the Court by ruthless intrigue and assassinations ; but the rule of the upstart came to an end when he was himself murdered in N.S. 810 (1690 A.D.).

* * * * *

The last two Malla kings of Kathmandu—Jagatjayamalla (1722-1736 A.D.) and Jayaprakāśamalla need particular mention. During the reign of the former, the Capuchin missionaries to whom we are indebted for some elaborate though inaccurate accounts of the last days of the Malla rule, were allowed to settle in Nepal ; and the latter, a weak, vain and rapacious king, who instead of joining hands with the rulers of Patan and Bhatgaon to stem the tide of Gorkha invasions, solicited British aid against Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah and ultimately lost his kingdom.

* * * * *

The later Mallas ruled by hereditary divine right ; they also claimed to be incarnations of Viṣṇu. Although in principle succession was governed by the law of primogeniture, yet there are instances in the Valley kingdoms when a daughter or a daughter's son succeeded. They adopted high-sounding titles of *Nepaleśvara* or the Lord of Nepal, *Maharajadhirāja* or *Nepālachakravartī* etc. and held absolute power over the life and property of their people. Yet their absolution was not despotic ; it was liberal and not too unoften responsive to public opinion. The local chronicles give instances of tyrannical rulers being replaced or removed.

Some rulers were quite enlightened and scholars ; all were veritable builders of monuments for their favourite deities—Paśupatināth, Guhjeśvari, Vajra Yoginī and Dakṣiṇa Kālī and Teleju. Jagatjyotirmalla is described to have composed dramas ; Pratāpamalla was a poet and wrote *Vṛstichintāmani* ; Yogindramalla calls himself as *Saṅgītārnāpārāga*,* proficient in the science of music ; Bhūpālendramalla was a poet ; Jagatprakāśamalla was a poet and well-versed in the art of music—*Gandharvavidya-guru*. Ranjitamalla wrote some works on astronomy. More kings are known as patrons of religion, art and literature.

13

The "Forty-six" States

While the Mallas were peacefully ruling and consecrating their favourite

* Walsh, V, 5, 8.

deities in their new temples, it is evident that their sovereignty did not extend beyond the confines of the Valley. Of the three kingdoms, the State of Bhatgaon remained supreme for over two centuries ; and although its limits extended as far as Dodh Kosi in the east, and the Kuti Pass in the north on the Tibetan frontier, yet Malla influence beyond the Valley was almost ephemeral or nominal. Had it not been so, the emergence of the so-called 46 States—The *Baisi* and the *Chaubisi* outside Nepal Proper cannot be explained. The Mallas were peaceful, unwarlike, and non-expansionists.

To the historians of medieval Nepal this conglomeration of ill-defined, closely-spread, and often inviable petty Rajput states—22 in the basin of the Kāli, and 24 in the Sapta Gaṇḍaki region, presents a baffling problem. We have scanty information about their origin and continued existence during the time the Mallas were ruling the Valley. Numerous lists of the *Baisi* and *Chaubisi* furnished by the *Vaṃśavalis*, and also by Kirkpatrick (1791), Hamilton (1802), Oldsfield (1860), Vansittart (1915) and others are extant ; but these are bare lists devoid of any details, and hence our knowledge about them is extremely inadequate. Apart from meagre information about their origin, their exact number varies in various lists ; some states still remain to be identified, some are stated to be part of others. Their boundaries are still vague, and except in the case of Palpa, we do not possess any genealogies or dynastic lists of these states.

It is, therefore, a *misnomer* to designate all the *Baisi* and *Chaubisi* states as viable and independent principalities. Some of these were sovereign and quite powerful *viz.*, Jumla and Salliana in the former group ; and Palpa, Lamjung and Tanhoun in the latter group ; but most of the other states in both these groups can hardly be regarded as such. The *Baisi* and the *Chaubisi* can be favourably compared with the numerous Sikh *Misals* which sprung up in northern India in the 18th century on the collapse of the Durrani empire. Both were the outcome of Muhammadan oppression though divergent in their genesis and organisation. According to the *Gorkha Vaṃśāvali*, at the time of Ala-ud-Din Khilji's investiture of Chitor, some Rajput princes took refuge in the hills, where they overpowered the native hill rajas, and set up their own petty kingdoms. Hodgson, by a novel computation, has fixed the date of Rajput immigration to the sub-Himalayan region in about 1160 A.D.⁹³, which appears to be a reasonably correct estimate. The *Thapa Vaṃśāvali* merely refers to the seizure of Kāski, Lamjung, Bhirkot, Khilong by the scions of Ayat Brahma, Rana of Chitor Garh.⁹⁴

From all accounts the list of the *Baisi* and the *Chaubisi* given below, furnished by Hamilton,⁹⁵ may be taken as authoritative :

⁹³ See, *infra*. p. 132, f.n.1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 148-49.

⁹⁵ Compiled in 1802-4, pp. 238 and 279.

- A. The Baisi*
- (1) Jumla
 - (2) Malebam*
 - (3) Galkot*
 - (4) Rugum
 - (5) Musikot
 - (6) Jajarkot
 - (7) Bangphi
 - (8) Gajal
 - (9) Dharma
 - (10) Jehari
 - (11) Satatala
 - (12) Malneta
 - (13) Salliana
 - (14) Dang
 - (15) Chilli
 - (16) Dulu
 - (17) Dailekh
 - (18) Bilaspur
 - (19) Doti
 - (20) Gajur

- B. The Chaubisi*
- (1) Lamjung
 - (2) Tanhoun
 - (3) Kaski
 - (4) Galkot*
 - (5) Parbat*
 - (6) Nayakot
 - (7) Poin
 - (8) Satahung
 - (9) Bhirkot
 - (10) Garahung
 - (11) Rising
 - (12) Ghiring
 - (13) Dhor
 - (14) Palpa
 - (15) Gulmi
 - (16) Arga
 - (17) Khanchi
 - (18) Dor
 - (19) Dhurikot
 - (20) Gorkha
 - (21) Gajarkot
 - (22) Tarki
 - (23) Musikot*
 - (24) Isma

The State of Gorkha does not appear in any other list except that of Hamilton's. According to the *Gorkha Vaṃśāvalī*, it was being ruled by a non-Kṣatriya Khanka ruler till it was conquered by Drabya Shah in Śāka 1481 (1559 A.D.). Of the *Baisi* states in the Karṇāli basin, Jumla, situated in the extreme north-west, was the largest and most powerful state ; it had 22,000 houses and its authority extended from the Kāli river right up to the confines of Nepal Proper. For several hundred years its ruling dynasty belonged to Śalivāhana descent called Salim Sahi, and the Nepalese chronicles record Doti, Jajarkot and Bajhan in the Himalayan region as its tributaries. According to unconfirmed authorities, its territories included parts of Kumaon in the east as well as parts of Tibet in the north. The second largest state in this group was Salliana, (with 12,000 houses) whose territories extended from the Mahākali to the Nārāyaṇī. It was ruled by Sūryavaṃśī Rajputs. To Doti had migrated the scions of the Śalivāhanas ; to Dang, Deokhuri, Malibam, Accham came Samal Rajputs, and to Piuthān the Chandellas. Except for stray references, we have no details of these tiny principalities carved out by Rajput princelings, who had fled from Muslim persecutions in central India during the 13th and 14th centuries.

In the Sapta Gaṇḍaki region, extending from Palpa in the west to Nawakot in the east, were situated the *Chaubisi* states ; among them Palpa,

*Common in both the lists.

Tanhoun, Lamjung appear to have been the principal ones. Materials for the study of their history and chronology, except for bare genealogical lists of some of them, do not exist. Hamilton groups these states into five categories, which without historical details appear meaningless. Amongst these, Lamjung (8,000 houses) was a leading principality in the mid-15th century, as is evidenced from its successive wars with Gorkha. Palpa is the solitary state possessing a *Vamśavalī* of its own, with 24,000 houses and comprising originally of the territories of Tanhoun, Mackwanpur and part of the Terai.⁹⁶ It appears to be a powerful state in the 14th century, and according to local chronicles, its ruler Mukandasena invaded the Valley of Nepal (*vide. supra, p. xxxv*).⁹⁷ The Sena Rajputs originally came from Chitor, and established their authority over the Terai, and later over Palpa, Tanhoun, Mackwanpur, Rising and Paiyun. According to Hamilton, the house of Palpa branched off into 4 divisions after the death of Mukandasena—Palpa, Butwal, Tanhoun, and Mackwanpur. There is no evidence that Kāski, Pokhra, and Butwal were independent states; others about whom we know absolutely nothing are Chilli, Tarki, Parthana, Jhili, Khuprikot, Bhingrikot, Deorali and Kaikho.

III. MODERN NEPAL

14

The Kinloch debacle

The last days of the Malla rule provide interesting sidelights on their waning power. The Gorkhas seriously menaced the Valley, and Pṛithvināvāyaṇa Shah had ousted Hem Karan Sen from the strategic fort of Mackwanpur in September 1762, when occurred the so-called invasion of Nepal by Nawab Mir Qasim. Little authoritative details of this Muslim incursion, which took place in 1763, are known. The *Gorkha Vamśavalī* refers to it: "Nawab Qasim Ali Khan, having sustained defeat at the hands of English in Śaka 1684, fled from Murshidabad and arrived of Bettia. He sent an army amounting to 30,000 men under the command of Gurgin Khan to Mackwanpur."⁹⁸ It is however difficult to accept the accounts of the Persian histories—the *Seir-ul-Mutākhriṇ*, the *Muzzaffarnāma*, and the *Khulasat-ut-Tawārīkh*, which term Mir Qasim's expedition of 1763 as a

⁹⁶ A *Palparājya Vamśavalī* written in 1802 A.D. is extant in the Darbar Library, Kathmandu. It describes the genealogy of the Senas of Palpa, but is sketchy and a chronicle of confusion.

⁹⁷ Padmagiri (p. 51 ff) describes the invasion of Nepal by Mukandasena as having taken place during the Karnāṭa ruler Rāmasiṃhadeva.

⁹⁸ See *infra*, p. 144.

full-fledged invasion of Nepal.⁹⁹ According to the historian of Mir Qasim,¹⁰⁰ the Nawab was lured to invade Mackwanpur because it offered a lucrative route of commerce to the Valley of Nepal which was full of gold mines. The Nawab sent a strong force in order to turn out the Gorkhas from the fortress for they had earlier routed a contingent sent by him. There is no evidence that the Raja of Mackwanpur had sent an appeal to Nawab Mir Qasim of Murshidabad for aid against Prithvinārāyaṇa Shah.

In the battle that ensued (17 December), Gurgin Khan's force was utterly annihilated in a night attack by the Gorkhas ; 1700 troops of the invader were killed, leaving behind 400-500 muskets and 1 gun.¹⁰¹ The ill-fated campaign of the Muslim intruder is best described as ill-managed, ill-judged and hasty.¹⁰²

Meanwhile, within the Valley, Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon having quarreled with the Rajas of Kathmandu and Patan, had sought the assistance of the Gorkhas, which ultimately resulted in Prithvinārāyaṇa taking possession of his kingdom. The Gorkhas had invested Patan in 1767, and Jayaprakāśamalla, the Rajah of Kathmandu, besieged by the Gorkhas, desperately sought British aid. The *Select Committee Proceedings*,¹⁰³ provide a background which prompted Mr. Varelst, the Governor of Bengal to sanction a British expedition to the Valley. It appeared that threat of recurrent Gorkhali incursions from the Terai against Bettiah, and a desire for opening a trade route through Nepal to Tibet were the main British considerations for coming to the aid of Jayaprakāśamalla. Meanwhile, Prithvinārāyaṇa Shah indicated a desire to visit Patna to counteract the move of the Raja of Kathmandu ; he agreed to accept British mediation in his quarrel with the former.

The Kinloch expedition was an ill-omened and hasty misadventure. A ill-equipped force of 2,400 men marched along the Kamala river, occupied the strategic fortress of Sindhauli, commanding the entrance to the Valley, but there it was beset with acute supply problems. The expected provisions and reinforcements failed to arrive from Kathmandu, and the half starved British contingent faced the prospect of destruction from scarcity of food and inclement weather. The account of Kinloch's debacle in Campbell's *Narrative* is cursory and misleading, but the Nepalese chronicles give an authentic account of the battle of Sindhauli

⁹⁹ See generally on the subject, Vansittart : *A Narrative of Transactions in Bengal, 1760-64*, (ii), p. 189 ; the *Seir-ul-Mutākhrin*, p. 447 ; the *Muzzaffarnāma*, p. 344 ff., and N. L. Chatterji's *Mir Qasim, 1760-63*, p. 163 sq. etc.

¹⁰⁰ Chatterji, *Mir Qasim, ut supra*.

¹⁰¹ The *Gorkha Vanśāvalī*, *infra*, p. 144.

¹⁰² *Mir Qasim*, p. 171.

¹⁰³ *Vide*. generally, for correspondence of Kinloch, Verelst. Golding and Rumbold on the subject in Vols. I, XI and XIII ; also see particularly, Campbell's *Sketch*, p. 172-3, *infra*.

and Kinloch's retreat to the Hariharpur. Two wings of the Gorkha army besieged the fortress from the north and south-west, and in the battle which was fought, the British force suffered a signal reverse with two-third of it being totally destroyed.

* * * * *

One peculiar feature of Nepalese history is the absence of the accounts of foreign travellers on contemporary political events, and the religious, social and economic life of the people. An Italian mission existed at Kathmandu and Lalitpur before the conquest of the Valley by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah, but the evidence provided by these Capuchin missionaries, as seen in the accounts of Father Ravato, Michael Angelo and Father Joseph, is mostly of negative kind.¹⁰⁴ Driven out of Peking and thence from Lhasa by the Celestial Emperor, they found a temporary shelter at Patan, till Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah expelled them in 1768. They give colourful accounts of Mir Qasim's expedition of 1763, the Kinloch adventure of 1767, the fall of Kirtipur and the siege of Kathmandu. But how far their accounts are trustworthy and accurate is a matter of opinion. These Christian missionaries had suffered from the Gorkha blockade of the Valley ; it is also positive that they had abused Nepalese hospitality by clandestinely invoking British intervention in Nepal against Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah. Consequently, on being expelled their accounts of the current happenings in the Valley are one-sided and prejudiced ; particularly, their description of Gorkha atrocities on the people of the three cities of the Nepal Valley, the maltreatment of the missionaries and their Christian converts, appear to be highly exaggerated.

The forced exit of the Capuchins after the conquest of the Valley by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah was not only symbolic but significant—it closed the Valley to the Europeans and all foreigners. It also closed the doors of the Valley to any foreign interference, and enabled Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah and his successors to obliterate with ease the *Baisi* and *Chaubisi* principalities, consolidate their position, and unite into one organic whole, the kingdom of Nepal under the Gorkha dynasty.

Though adhered to in principle, the policy of isolation initiated by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah, could not be scrupulously maintained. The reason being the British zeal for the establishment of commercial intercourse with the kingdom. The Kinloch debacle of 1767 had convinced them of the unwisdom of their endeavour to come to the assistance of Jayaprakāśamalla against Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah. It was realised that the Gorkha Chief had the will and means to consolidate his conquests and unite the country ; in short, he would prove a powerful and militant neighbour. Warren Hastings, therefore, reversed the policy of open

¹⁰⁴ *Vide. Asiatic Researches*, (ii), 1790 ; also Petech : *Documenti de Missionari Italiani nel Tibet et nel Nepal*, ii (2), p. 278 sq.

hostility and endeavoured to establish friendly relations with the new master of Nepal. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, on the other hand, continued to eye British professions of amicability with a friendly suspicion. This is evidenced from the probable expulsion of the Logan Mission sent to Nepal in June 1770. The presence of anti-Gorkha elements across the border, and the adjustment of Nepalese claims on the disputed areas necessitated a slightly divergent course. The Gorkha offer to Warren Hastings against Chait Singh of Benares in 1772, and the embassy of Maulvi Abdul Qadir in 1792, appear to be the outcome of this policy.

15

Indian records on Nepal

With the advent of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah and the fall of the Mallas in 1768, we enter into what may be properly described as the modern period of the history of Nepal. Indian records on Nepal begin about this time and are easily accessible to the scholars. In addition, we have abundant local genealogical, epigraphic and numismatic source-material. As these records constitute the most positive contemporary sources for the study of modern Nepalese history, it is necessary to examine them in some detail.

Indian official records on Nepal may conveniently be divided into four distinct categories : (1) The *Select Committee Proceedings*, 1756-74, and *Letters to and from the Court of Directors*, 1765-1818. (2) Public correspondence as contained in the Series of Manuscript Records classified in the India Office Library, London, as *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, 1800-1834, followed by the Series *India Secret Proceedings*, 1834-1856, the *Home Miscellaneous Series*, and *Secret Letters Received from India and Bengal* (Series I), 1778-1859. (3) The pre-1872 *Nepal Residency Papers* in (24 bound registers). (4) Private papers of Warren Hastings, Lord Moria, Auckland and Ellenborough ; and more particularly, those of Hodgson, Lawrence, Ramsay and other British Residents.

Early Indian records in the *Select Committee Proceedings* deal with the opening phases of the modern Nepalese history--the so-called invasion of Mir Qasim (1763), the Kinloch Expedition (1767), the Logan Mission (1770), the Anglo-Nepalese Commercial Treaty (1792), and Krikpatrick's Mission (1793). These papers give information on the early career of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah, the Gorkha blockade of the Valley, the fall of Kirtipur, and the capture of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. They also contain numerous letters of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah and the correspondence of Ranjitamalla and Jayaprakāśmalla with the East India Company. The second category of Foreign Department records embody correspondence on the main events of Nepalese history till 1856. These are abundant and comprehensive. What is of any substance till 1816 concerning the causes, events and the outcome of the Anglo-Nepalese War, is contained in

that highly cumbersome and colourful *Blue Book XI (2)*, 1824—*War with the State of Nepal*. The *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations* include the war papers and the Nepal Residency correspondence from 1816-1835, dealing fully with the consequences of the treaty of Sagauli, the restoration of the Terai to Nepal (1816), the Indo-Nepalese boundary question, the Court politics under Bhimsen Thapa, and his rise and fall. The *India Secret Proceedings* is a combination of *Bengal Political consultations* and *Bengal Secret Consultations* till 1856, although both the latter Series run separately. These Series contain detailed Nepal Residency Correspondence on Nepalese history, government and politics, and intelligence on political events in Nepal. Particular mention may be made of Dr. Campbell's *Memorandum on Agriculture in Nepal* (P.C. 35-38, 28 February, 1837 : P.C. 75-76, 10 April, 1837),—*Narrative of Political Relations with Nepal* (Foreign P.C. 5, 23 January, 1835 ; Foreign P.C. 71, 18 September, 1837),—*Notes on the State of Arts and Manufacture in Nepal* (P.C. 25-26, 15 August, 1836) ; Cordington's *Report on boundary between Oudh and Nepal* (P.C. 19-32, 28 May, 1830) ; and Hodgson's voluminous reports—*On the Character and Policy of Darbar* (P.C. 24-25, 26 March, 1830), *On the Trade and Commerce of Nepal* (P.C. 4-9, 19 July, 1834 ; P.C. 24, 13 November, 1834), *Researches on the internal and external policy of Nepal* (P.C. 4, 4 July, 1833), *Judicial System and Administration in Nepal* (P.C. 9, 10 December, 1830 ; P.C. 50-51 4 March, 1831 ; P.C. 21-23, 4 November, 1831), *Military Resources and discipline in the Army of Nepal* (P.C. 164-65, 12 February, 1833 ; P.C. 13-14, 24 October 1834 ; P.C. 49-50, 23 January, 1835) etc. ; and Maddock's *Summary of Events in Nepal* (P.C. 160-62, 12 February, 1853).

The *Nepal Residency Papers* contain Dr. A. Campbell's *Memoir*, which is followed by decennial reports on the *Events at the Court of Nepal* from 1830 to 1840 by S.R. Tickell, Assistant Resident at Kathmandu (Foreign S.C. 18 January, 1841) ; from 1840 to 1851 by C. H. Nicholette, Assistant Resident (Foreign P.C. 22-24, 11 November, 1853) ; and from 1852 to 1861 by G. Ramsay, Resident at Kathmandu (Foreign Political (B) 145-64, March, 1875). These narratives of *Events at the Court of Nepal*, compiled by the functionaries of British Residency in Nepal are highly informative, and first-hand contemporary accounts of the political events based on official records of the Government of India. Campbell's *Sketch* is marred by an excessive obsession of British grievances against Nepal, but it is otherwise a fulsome document. It opens with the year 1867, and for obvious reasons, Campbell skips over the unsavoury Kinloch debacle ; his short description of Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa Shah is highly prejudiced, incorrect and one-sided—and an echo of the distorted version of Father Giuseppe :

“... the Gorkha conquest of the Valley of Nepal Proper is painfully illustrative of the character of the victorious Chief Prithvinarayan. To the most consummate cunning and want of faith, he added an inhuman cruelty—murder, mangling of bodies, rape and sacrilegious plunder, were alike his practices : by

these means he triumphed, and in blood and rapine, did he found his family and tribe, as the Raja of Nepal.¹⁰⁵

Bemoaning the unfortunate failure of the Kinloch expedition, and the rise of Gorkha power in the Valley he writes :—

“The Gorkha army consisted of a few hundred ill-armed, ill-accounted and indisciplined barbarians ; and its chief had not the means of increasing it. The presence of a British force in the Valley, however small, would have animated the Newars to renewed exertions in the defence of their hearths and household gods, and ours would have been the good fortune to have saved this lovely Valley from the rapacious grasp of a rude, cruel and war-thirsty race of men, and perpetuated it in the hands of the civilized, lettered, industrious and commercially disposed people, its original inhabitants.”¹⁰⁶

And yet, notwithstanding its anti-Nepalese tenor, Campbell's *Sketch* is a highly informative document dealing with the Kirkpatrick's and Knox's missions and the political events in Nepal till 1834. The account of Anglo-Nepalese War is summarized and one-sided, though there are brief flashes on how the Nepalese Court factions in March 1814 decided to settle the issue by an appeal to arms against the English.¹⁰⁷ Campbell's pen flows with vigour and felicity, and his account is full of observations on Court politics and the key-men of the time : *Damodar Pande*—“He was not the first, or last of those usurping and ambitious ministers, who in Nepal have dragged their country and princes at the heels of the military car”—“an able and virtuous man...possessing a plain, sober understanding, moderation united with great firmness, devoid of artifice, and as a soldier unrivalled in Nepal for gallantry and conduct.” *Bum Shah*—“an honest and hearty patriot” ; “highly respected by people and having fewer of the vices of his family than usual, with much good sense and moderation.” *Gajraj Misser*—“an able and prudent man...not once suspected of double dealing with us.”—*Bhimsen Thapa*—“vigorous, ambitious and unprincipled”—“overbearing towards the ancients and best families of the country, and all engrossing of power and patronage”—“He is old, and a very few years must necessitate his retirement. There is no statesman in Nepal with a title of his weight of character or reputation to succeed him.”

Tickell's narrative of the *Events at the Court of Nepal*, (1830-40) and those of Nicholette's (1840-51) and Ramsay's (1852-61) are the decennial official reports based on Nepal Residency papers. These narratives are in strict chronological order, and are the first-hand accounts of the political events in Nepal. Tickell narates the story of the power and politics of Bhimsen Thapa and his downfall, and the ascendancy and final liquidation of the Pande faction. Nicholette

¹⁰⁵ Campbell's *Sketch*, p. 173, *infra*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*. p. 184, f.n. 2.

narrates the stirring events of his time—the return to power of Matabar Singh and his assassination, the gruesome Kote Massacre of September 1846, and the rise of Jung Bahadur to power in Nepal. Ramsay's Narrative details till 1861 the home and foreign policy of Jung Bahadur. Concise and authentic record of events in Nepal, these contemporary narratives are of great interest to the scholars of Nepalese history.

Apart from the Residency Papers, we have the most important single collection of source-material on Nepalese history and culture in the India Office Library,—the *Hodgson Papers*. Brian Houghton Hodgson, a young man of talent and varied interests, came to Nepal in 1816 as Assistant to Edward Gardner, the first British Resident, served in various capacities till 1825, when he became Assistant Resident. In 1833, he was appointed Resident, which position he occupied till 1843.

In the Anglo-Nepalese annals, perhaps, no man has contributed more than Hodgson to the knowledge of Nepalese history, culture, religions, and the understanding of its politics, trade, commerce, military and judicial systems. During his 27 years' stay in Nepal, he assiduously collected manuscripts and source material in various subjects on Nepalese life and culture, and wrote papers on its topography, ethnology, languages, religions, literature, law and antiquities. His collection of Sanskrit works, manuscripts on Buddhism, his papers on mammals and birds, his zoological collections and Nepalese antiquities are the proud possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Royal Asiatic Society London, the India Office Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the British Museum, the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, the French Institute, and other institutions of learning in Europe.

But all his historical manuscripts and private papers are in the India Office, and hence easily accessible to the scholars of Nepalese history. Briefly these comprise of 21 *Vamśāvalis*; innumerable manuscripts and documents in Newari and Nepalese; papers and monographs on kings, family history of rajas and the chiefs; papers on Nepalese institutions and customs, and administration, law, judiciary, army, revenue, trade and commerce, currency, civil lists, pays and allowances, population, prices and wages etc.¹⁰⁸

16

The House of Gorkha

The *Gorkhā Vamśāvalī*¹⁰⁹ begins with the dynasty from Yasobam Shah of

¹⁰⁸ See, *Select Bibliography*, p. 347-48, *infra*.

¹⁰⁹ *Infra*. p. 101 and 165.

Lamjung (43rd of Wright's chronicle and 31st of Matabar Singh *Vaṃśāvalī*) both of which confirm that the present ruling dynasty of Nepal originally belonged to Chitor. But although the Rajput ancestry of the house is established by Ojha, Tod and others¹¹⁰, and substantiated by the internal evidence of the *Gorkha Vaṃśāvalī* itself, when Rām Shah sends a mission to Rajputana to ascertain from the Rana of Garh Chitor (p. 113, *infra*) the *Kuldevatā* of the family and its earlier history, the precise data and circumstances of the immigration of the Sisodian Rajput princes into the central Himalayan region cannot be determined. We cannot dismiss straight away the contention that the event took place during Ala-ud-Din Khilji's reign, nor can we accept the account of Wright's *Vaṃśāvalī*, placing it during the reign of Akbar, the great Mughal, who having heard of the unrivalled beauty of Sadal, the daughter of Rana Fateh Siṃha of Chitor, demanded her hand in marriage. On refusal, the Emperor is said to have attacked Chitor, and Fateh Siṃha was killed along with the other scions of the family; 1300 ranis are said to have immolated themselves, the daughter having killed herself by leaping into a pan of burning oil.¹¹¹

It is, however, clear that whatever the circumstances, the event took place much earlier towards the closing decades of the 15th century. Wright's *Vaṃśāvalī* dates it Śāka 1417 (A.D. 1495) when Bhupal Rana entered the hills and founded a petty kingdom at Bhirkot and the adjoining areas. The *Vaṃśāvalī* of General Matabar Singh leaving it undated records that the 8th descendant since Ayat Brahma, the Rana of Garh Chitor, named Jilha Rai having quarrelled with his family came to the hills, and after a few generations, Bhupal Rai (23rd) is mentioned as the Raja of Bhirkot and Khilong; a son of Minch (25th) becomes the Raja of Nawakot; Kulnandan Shah (30th), the Raja of Kāskī, and Yasovarman (31st) the Raja of Lamjung.¹¹² The last named Yasovarman (Yashu Bam Shah of the *Gorkha Vāṃśāvalī*) was the direct progenitor of the house of Gorkha.

Comparative Genealogy of the Gorkha Rulers of Nepal

Gorkha Vaṃśāvalī

- (1) Ayat Brahma
- (2) Bada

Wright's Vaṃśāvalī

- (1) Ayutabam Rana-ji
- (2) Barabubam Rana-ji

¹¹⁰ See generally on the subject, Ojha's *History of Udaipur*, p. 87 ff., Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan etc.* The legend appears to have grown out of Jayasi's *Padmāvat*, and Ala-ud-Din Khilji's attack on Chitor in 1303 A.D. during the reign of Ratna Siṃha on account of his daughter Padmani—an episode now established as unhistorical and rather a romance. Vide. *Rajasthan Through Ages*, I, p. 663 ff.

¹¹¹ Wright, p. 168.

¹¹² *Infra*. p. 165.

(3) Kanak	(3) Kanakbam Rana-ji
(4) Yaso	(4) Yasobam Rana-ji
(5) Audambar Rai	(5) Audumbar Rana-ji Rava
(6) Bhatuak Brahma	(6) Bhattarak Rana-ji Rava
(7) Bir Bikram Rai	(7) Bir Vikramajit Rana-ji Rava
(8) Jilha Rai	(8) Jilla Rana-ji Rava
(9) Ajlah Rai	(9) Ajilla Rana-ji Rava
(10) Atal Rai	(10) Atal Rana-ji Rava
(11) Tutha Rai	(11) Tutha Rana-ji Rava
(12) Bimik Rai	(12) Bimki Rana-ji Rava
(13) Brahma Rai	(13) Hari Rana-ji Rava
(14) Hari Rai	(14) Brahma Rana-ji Rava
(15) Bakam Rai	(15) Bakhan Rana-ji Rava
(16) Manorat Rai	(16) Manoratha Rana-ji Rava
(17) Jai Rai	(17) Jaya Rana-ji Rava
(18) Jagat Rai	(18) Jagatra Rana-ji Rava
(19) Bhoj Rai	(19) Bhoj Rana-ji Rava
(20) Bhupat Rai	(20) Bhupati Rana-ji Rava
(21) Brahmanath Rai	(21) Udayban Rana-ji Rava
(22) Manmat Rai	(22) Fateh Sinha Rana-ji
(23) Bhupal Rai (<i>Bhirkot</i>) and (<i>Khilong</i>)	(23) Manmath Rana-ji Rava
(24) Minch	(24) Micha Khan (<i>Nawakot line</i>)
(25) Un-named (<i>Nawakot</i>)	(25) Jayam Khan
(26) Jayant Khan	(26) Surya Khan
(27) Surya Khan	(27) Micha Khan
(28) Micha Khan	(28) Bichtra Khan
(29) Jayadeva Khan	(29) Jagdeva Khan
(30) Kulnandan Shah (<i>Kāskī</i>)	(30) Kulnandan (<i>Kāskī line</i>)
(31) Yasovarma (<i>Lamjung</i>)	(31) Yasobam Sah (<i>Lamjung line</i>)
(32) Drabya Shah (<i>Gorkha</i>)	(32) Drabya Sah (Śāka 1481) <i>Gorkha line</i>
(33) Pourender Shah	(33) Purander Sah (Śāka 1492)
(34) Chhatra Shah	(34) Chhatra Sah (Śāka 1527)
(35) Rām Shah	(35) Rama Sah (Śāka 1528)
(36) Dambar Shah	(36) Damber Sah (Śāka 1555)
(37) Krishna Shah	(37) Krishna Sah (Śāka 1564)
(38) Rudra Shah	(38) Rudra Sah (Śāka 1575)
(39) Prithvipati Shah	(39) Prithvi-pati Sah (Śāka 1591)
(40) Narabhūpāl Shah	(40) Narabhupal Sah (Śāka 1638)
(41) Prithvinārāyaṇa Shah	(41) Prithvinarayan Sah (Śāka 1664)

The Gorkha chronicle (p. 113-14 *infra*) narrates the story how the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan conferred the title of *Sah* or *Shah* on Rām Shah. But it appears purely a myth and fabrication. In the first place, no such title exists in the list of titles conferred on eminent persons in the Mughal *ā'in* of the time; *secondly*, the official court-historian Abdul Hamid Lahori, who meticulously records similar events in the *Padshahnāma*, does not mention it; and *thirdly*, the title existed in Nepal long before its mythical conferment on Rām Shah. Kulnandan Shah (30th), who became the Raja of Kāskī, adorns his name with this title long before Rām Shah (35th) came to the throne of Gorkha.¹¹⁵ His pre-

¹¹⁵ Wright's *Vamśāvali* (p. 169) however maintains that the said Raja of Kāskī "pleased the emperor (of Delhi) in something and received from him the title of *Sah*."

decessors Yaso Bam Shah (31st), Drabya Shah (32nd), Pourender Shah (33rd) and and Chhatra Shah (34th) bear the title. The story, therefore, appears to be highly imaginary. The word *Sah* or its Persian equivalent *Shah* may be of Rajput origin designating a prince or chief ; it appears to have been adopted like its counterpart *Khan* e.g. Suryakhan, Mitchakhan and Vichtrakhan as an appendage by the hill rulers from Rajputana to give a semblance of royalty to their names.

17

Expansion and War with Tibet

From 1768 onwards, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah and his successors followed a policy of expansion till it was brought to a temporary halt in 1792 on account of the Gorkha-Tibetan war. The Gorkhas after having occupied the Valley kingdom, extended their frontier to the river Mechi in the east by annexing the territories of the Kirātas and the Limbus ; in the west they had conquered Lamjung (1784), Paiyun, Kāskī, Satahun, Bhirkot and Rising (1782-3) ; Palpa and its feudatories were conquered in 1804 ; Doti, Kumaon and Almora were overrun, and Garhwal and Srinagar occupied in 1791 ; Sirmor was taken in the south-east in 1792.

In 1788, under the command of Damodar Pande, the Gorkhalis had intruded into Tibet, and had occupied both Kerrong and Kuti. The Teshu Lama of Tibet, at this time, for unknown reasons, did not inform the Chinese Emperor, but had solicited military assistance from the Indian Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis. The British did not agree to assist the Tibetans against Nepal because Tibet was a vassal of China, pointing out that such a step would effect their trade relations with China. The Lama patched up a truce with the Nepalese, which was followed by a treaty, stipulating the payment by Tibet of an annual tribute of 300,000 rupees to Nepal and the reception of a Nepalese Agent at Lhasa. The Nepalese agreed to send a tribute mission to the Celestial Emperor every five years.¹¹⁴ Soon after, however, the Tibetans violated the treaty by their refusal to pay the annual tribute and receiving the Nepalese Agent.¹¹⁵ In the meantime, Teshu Lama died, and his brother Sumhur Lama, a claimant to inheritance, finding himself unsupported in Tibet, fled to Kathmandu to seek the support of the Nepalese. The asylum given to Sumhur Lama by Nepal further strained the Nepalese-Tibetan relations.

Added to these was the question of the gradual debasement of the

¹¹⁴ *Vide*, generally, Kirkpatrick, p. 243 ; *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, viii, 399 ; iv, 745.

¹¹⁵ Campbell's *Sketch*, p. 175-6.

Nepalese coin Mahendramalli, which was customarily current in Tibet. The Gorkhalis desired to issue pure currency, but the Tibetans, who had a considerable amount of the debased coin, insisted that it should be declared at par with the new coin for all purposes.¹¹⁶ For these reasons, the Gorkhalis invaded Tibet again, occupied the territory between Kerrong and Digarchi, and wantonly plundered the monasteries of the latter place.

The Lama of Digarchi, who was the spiritual father of the Emperor of China, appealed to the Court at Peking for aid against the Gorkhas.¹¹⁷ The wrath of the Celestial Emperor having been aroused by the sacrilegious plunder of the monasteries of Digarchi, he sent an army of 10,000 men under the command of a Manchu officer Tu Thwang. According to the Nepalese accounts, the Gorkha troops suffered a series of defeats—at Kerrong, Deorali and Syapruk. Digarchi had already been abandoned after a long siege. The Nepalese forces under Damodar Pande and four other commanders retreated and assembled at the bank of the Betravati. The Chinese forces, in the meantime had reached Dhaibang, on the outskirts of the Nepalese frontier; another Chinese contingent had entered Nepal through the Kuti pass.

Padmagiri's account of the subsequent transactions is grossly inaccurate: "When the Chinese forces had reached as far as Daibang, Ran Bahadur Shah despatched to oppose them a Gorkha army, commanded by the principal Chief Damodar Pande, who destroyed the Chinese forces and concluded a treaty favourable for the Nepal Rajah."¹¹⁸ The *Gorkha Vanśavalī* altogether omits the Chinese intrusion; however, the *Thapa Vanśāvalī*¹¹⁹ contains a brief description of the various actions that took place. It gives an account of the battle fought on the banks of the Betravati in which the Nepalese sustained defeat—at Syapruk and Deorali, and details the subsequent negotiations between the Nepalese emissaries and Tu Thwang, the Chinese commander. According to it, the Chinese commander proposed the terms of a treaty, which stipulated that the Nepalese should desist from attacks on Tibet, resume with it usual trading intercourse, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Chinese Emperor by a yearly mission to Peking. These terms were ultimately agreed to by the Court at Kathmandu.¹²⁰

It is clear that the Chinese advance had alarmed the Nepalese generals:

¹¹⁶ Kirkpatrick, p. 339.

¹¹⁷ Campbell's *Sketch*, *ut supra*.

¹¹⁸ See p. 94, *infra*.

¹¹⁹ See p. 153-56, *infra*.

¹²⁰ But comments Wright p. 159 (f. n. 285): "The Nepalese were utterly defeated, and had to conclude an ignominious treaty of peace at Noakot. This was the time when Colonel Kirkpatrick was sent by the British to intercede with the Chinese, but arrived after the treaty had been concluded."

their troops were exhausted and without supplies, and long sojourn in Tibet and successive reverses had so demoralised them that they opened up negotiations with the Chinese commander. The account of the local chronicles is somewhat baffling; Wright's *Vamsavali* supports Padmagiri's account. It reports of a large Chinese army having arrived at Dhebun, a hill north of Nawakot, where: "Damodar Pande cut the Chinese army to pieces and obtained great glory."¹²¹ But the so-called Nepalese victories at Dhaibang and Laurivina lack corroborative evidence, as does the legend of Panchmane which ascribes to the regent Bahadur Shah commemorating the rout of the Chinese army on a ridge of that name in the north west of the Valley which appears nothing but a myth.¹²²

It is evident that the Nepalese Court during this crisis desperately sought military assistance all round to expel the Chinese. It hastily concluded a commercial treaty with the British and sought their assistance, approaching at the same time, Nawab Faizullah Khan Rohilla for succour with a contingent of 2,000 troops.¹²³ Lord Cornwallis, however, declined to send any military assistance, but he offered to mediate between the Nepalese and the Chinese Governments. Meanwhile reports Campbell:—

"The Chinese army continued meantime to advance on Nepal; but little impeded by the Gorkha force dispatched to repel it, and it reached Nayakot, one day's journey from Kathmandu, when the Gorkhas were fain to pass under the yoke and make a degrading treaty with the leader of the victorious army. The precise nature of the treaty was not made known to the British Government, but intelligence of its conclusion reached Major Kirkpatrick on his arrival at Patna in progress to Nepal."¹²⁴

The assertion of the Nepalese chronicles that the Chinese sustained defeat on the banks of the Betravati and sued for peace, cannot be accepted. The original text of the treaty signed is not traceable in the Nepalese records, but its terms are well-known: the Nepalese agreed to make good the plunder from the Tibetan monasteries in full; hand over all the hostages to the Chinese commanders (Sumhur Lama having committed suicide for fear of being surrendered); Nepal agreed to accept Chinese Emperor's suzerainty over its territory, and send to Peking a five-yearly tribute mission in perpetuity. According to the agreement, the Nepalese evacuated all Tibetan territories and obtained certain trade privileges in Tibet.¹²⁵

¹²¹ p. 159.

¹²² For Bahadur Shah's inscription (Saka 1714), see the *Itihasprakash*, II, 2.

¹²³ For correspondence on the subject, see *Bengal Political Consultations* (I) 3 October, 1792, Nos. 11 and 18; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, X (Nos. 424-5, 473 and 469).

¹²⁴ p. 176, *infra*.

¹²⁵ Pudma Jung in the *Life of Jung Bahadur* (Allahabad, 1909), p. 7-8, omits the main terms of the treaty; but it is evident from the two letters addressed to the king of Nepal by the

18

Nepal under Bhimsen Thapa

The rise of Bhimsen Thapa on the political firmament of Nepal was meteoric, and his power exclusive and all-pervasive for well over 30 years. A young, dashing and ambitious man, he had accompanied the exiled king Ran Bahadur Shah to Benares in 1800, and on his return to Nepal four years later, he gained political power and became the sole arbiter of the fate of his country. His first act was the overthrow of the Pande faction, which led to the execution of Damodar Pande and his adherents. Soon afterwards, Ran Bahadur was murdered by his brother Sher Bahadur. Bhimsen obtained possession of the minor Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah's person, forced the chief rani Rajesvari Devi to immolate herself on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband, and nominated rani Tripuresvar Sundari as the regent and himself assumed the direction of all State affairs. The remnants of the Pande faction, and all those who were likely to oppose him, were mercilessly put to death.

The new premier of Nepal proved to be a vigorous man of initiative and grasp in the internal administration. He followed a policy of aggressive expansion, first in the hill valleys eastwards and westwards. Nepal had, during the preceding regencies of the queen-mother and Bahadur Shah considerably extended its dominions. It had obliterated the 46 states, the *Baisi* and *Chaubisi* in Sapta Gandaki and Karnali regions; it had conquered Kumaon and Garhwal. The Gorkha arms had entered the Doon Valley and had subjugated the sub-Himalayan region from the Jumna to the Sutlej. In 1805, the Gorkhas had extended their authority from the Sutlej, knocking at the gates of Kot Kangra, which they besieged. Bhimsen adopted a system of steady encroachments on the Indian plains and expansion towards the Saran and Gorakhpur districts, which brought Nepal into a headlong clash with the British power in India.

Lord Hastings' *Narrative of the Nepal War*¹⁸⁶ gives a fairly accurate account of the origin and progress of the Anglo-Nepalese conflict. Campbell's *Narrative* outlines briefly the circumstances leading to the war, the deliberations of the Darbar's Council at Kathmandu in March 1814, and Bhimsen Thapa's

Chinese commander Tu Thwang (see Regmi, *Modern Nepal*, p. 186-90) after the conclusion of the treaty, that the former had asked for Chinese protection; that the territories of Khasa and Kerrong were surrendered; that the Nepal-Tibet boundary was fixed at Kuti, the old line; and that the entry of the new Nepalese coin (Mohar) was banned in Tibet, declaring it at par with the older coin current in Tibet for commercial purposes.

¹⁸⁶ Vide. Book IV, *infra*, p. 247.

speech which decided the issue.¹²⁷ So far we have a few well-written accounts of the Anglo-Gorkha War—amongst them being that of Prinsep's, Wheeler's and an anonymous one, entitled : *Military Sketch of the Gorkha War in India*, published in London (1823).¹²⁸ Hastings' *Narrative* (*infra*, p. 249 *et seq.*) is one-sided, but notwithstanding its aggressive and anti-Nepalese tenor, it may still be regarded as a fairly accurate contemporary account depicting the British point of view. He refers in subdued manner to the British reverses, but dilates profusely on political settlement. We do not possess any equivalent Nepalese version of the stirring events, which convulsed Nepal in 1814-16, but brought out the finest qualities of her patriotic sons and brave soldiers, the latter having won from Major-General Ochterlony the candid approbation : "the Company's sepoys could never be brought to resist the shock of these mountaineers on their own ground."

* * * * *

Bhimsen had always treated the British with reserve and distrust ; his shrewd instinct of isolation prevented the latter from meddling with the internal affairs of the State after the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16. The treaty of Sagauli had stopped the progress of continued Gorkha expansion in all directions. Nepal lost 1/3rd of its territorial acquisitions between the Kāli and the Rapti, between the Rapti and the Gaṇḍaki, and the rivers Mechi and Teista—Kumaon, Garhwal, the Doon and Kyardah Valleys, Darjeeling, Nahan and Sabathu ; and the British acquired an unbroken chain of communications from the Kāli to the Sutlej. Sikkim in the east became a British protectorate immune from any danger from Gorkha ambitions. The valuable Terai from the Kāli to the Rapti was to be ceded to Oudh, and lands east of the Mechi to Sikkim. In short, the treaty of Sagauli sought to cripple Nepalese military power and put an effective check on its expansive activities. To give effect to the stipulations of the treaty, a British Residency was established at the Court of Nepal.

And yet, the defeat of 1816 and the humiliating terms of peace settlement failed to shatter Nepalese pride and militant energy. Gardner, the first British Resident, found the minister Bhimsen Thapa invested with complete control over the country. "In the midst of their misfortune," observes Campbell, "Mr. Gardner found the Nepalese not obsequious and slavish, but jealous, proud and insolent in their bearing, and but half determined whether they should abide by the treaty they had ratified, or break it, at once, and again try with us a hopeless contest. Early evidence of this feeling is recorded by Mr. Boileau, in his despatch

¹²⁷ *Infra*, p. 183-84.

¹²⁸ *Vide.* generally on the subject, Prinsep : *History of the Political and Military Transactions in the time of Marquiss of Hastings*, 2 Vols. London ; Wheeler : *A Short History of India etc.* London, 1880. Cox : *Papers respecting the Nepaul War*, London, 1824. Sanwal : *Nepal and the East India Company*. Bombay, 1965 etc.

to the Government of 24th April, 1916.”¹²⁹

Bhimsen adopted a “haughty and uncourteous” attitude towards the British representative, and adroitly procrastinated the full implementation of the treaty in order to render less harmful to Nepal its vicious clauses. Towards the British he assumed “a close and hostile system” by keeping a war fever at a high pitch in Nepal.¹³⁰ The war and territorial diminution had not curbed the militant spirit of the Gorkhas. Our narrator gives a graphic account of the state of Nepal after the war :

“Her armies have not been subsidized by us, nor have we borrowed her money, nor have made claims upon her. To assist her against foreign invasion we are not bound ; nor are we pledged to guaranteeing a throne, to a certain set of princes against the will and advantage of the mass of the people. Her chiefs are not dependent on us, nor is she bound to ask, or we to give council and advise on any subject whatever. In short, Nepal is a free and independent State, not according to the spirit of treaties, which in India had only an existence in name, but, she is virtually, and morally independent of British power.”¹³¹

It is also obvious that for the continued retention of absolute authority in his own hands, Bhimsen took recourse to a policy of seclusion and exclusion. He intensified Nepalese distrust of the British and all foreigners. The war had done serious damage to the national pride of the Gorkha soldier ; Nepal had lost its territorial acquisitions including the rich Terai, and now stood hemmed in on three sides by British territories. Bhimsen, therefore, kept up the martial enthusiasm of the warlike races by the singular method of recruitment by rotation in a large standing army. He maintained internal tranquillity of the country by a judicious re-organisation of the economy and revenue system. By adroit negotiations and dilatory tactics, he secured the restoration to Nepal of the eastern Terai, which brought a revenue of 12,00,000 rupees ; by a unilateral adoption of the Treaty of Commerce, Nepal paid 1/4th duties (2½%) on its exports to India, while it imposed heavy duties from 6% to 10% on Indian imports with a favourable balance of trade, which in 1831 stood at 30,00,000 rupees. To conserve foreign currency, he prohibited the re-export of Indian coin from Nepal by recoinng it into her own adulterate currency. These additional resources brought to Nepal “the pecuniary sinews of war,” which Bhimsen Thapa utilized in the expansion of Gorkha army. Says Dr. Campbell : “and having a patriotic and easily governed race of people as her subjects, she nevertheless persists, obstinately and industriously, in pursuing to the very utmost of her means, a policy, the sole and entire object of which is to perpetuate the warlike habits of her

¹²⁹ Campbell's *Sketch*, p. 220, *infra*.

¹³⁰ Hodgson, *infra*, p. 242.

¹³¹ Campbell's *Sketch*, p. 221, *infra*.

martial tribes, and to raise to the very highest point she is capable of supporting, a standing army of her brave soldiers always ready for war or plunder."¹³²

In his internal and external policy Bhimsen may well be described as vigorous, ambitious and unprincipled. Political circumstances which enabled him to take complete control of the administration were the Maharaja's minority and the confidence of the queen-regent Tripuresvar Sundari. With consummate skill and ruthless energy he excluded from political power all the original Bhāradārs and chief officers of Nepal, and filled all important civil and military offices by persons belonging to the Thapa family. He was "overbearing towards the ancient and best families, and all-engrossing of power and patronage."¹³³ With a shrewd sense of statesmanship, he followed a strictly exclusive policy beneficial to his country in political and economic matters. He kept an unequivocal attitude of alienation, if not of unfriendliness towards the British, steering clear of any embroilments in foreign wars, and strengthening the internal defences by maintaining an efficient and well-disciplined standing army. Accession of continually increasing revenues from the Terai and favourable balance of commerce had enhanced the revenues of the State to 35,00,000 rupees. His regime, though highly authoritative, was far from being oppressive : it brought strength, peace and prosperity to his country.

In his foreign policy Bhimsen vigorously eschewed toeing the British line, and steadily rejected responsible intercourse with them. He linked Nepal's foreign policy with internal politics and national interests, balancing it with a close and hostile system abroad, and the encouragement of warlike spirit of military classes at home.

Bhimsen kept the Nepalese army in a state of preparedness. Its ranks were kept in fulness and animated spirit by the adoption of a system of yearly rotation of services. Both Campbell and Hodgson have supplied us statistics of the peacetime establishments maintained by Bhimsen "under the influence of martial institutions." In 1772, Kirkpatrick was not much struck with the appearance of the Gorkha army, which he described as not superior to rabble. According to one report, its strength in 1805 stood at 80,40 men on regular pay or *birtha*, comprising of 31 companies.¹³⁴ In 1816, Gardner estimated the strength of the standing regular army of the State at 10,000. He considered this force more costly than its resources and reported that Bimsen was firmly determined to maintain his power and popularity in the martial races of Nepal by counterbalancing the loss of territory occasioned by the last war by regaining her former

¹³² *Sketch*, p. 223, *infra*.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 222.

¹³⁴ M. Scott's *Report*. Enclosure No. 10 to Secret Letter No. 2, dated 27 December, 1822 (I).

military position. Campbell writes :—

“Although weak in modern military skill, the Nepalese army is a tower of strength in the best qualities of soldiers. Its men and officers are naturally spirited, fierce and brave. War and dangerous excitement has been the nursery of the Gorkhas for the last sixty-five years. And now that the destiny of their country demands it, the ruler of it (Bhimsen) resists the pressure of the times to the utmost, cherishing and keeping warm a love for arms and conquest.”¹³⁵

In 1819, the strength of Nepalese army stood at 12,000 men ; in 1831, it rose to 15,000 men ; in 1836 to 17,000 men ; and in 1837, the rank and file of the Nepalese army amounted to 19,000 men.¹³⁶ By continued adoption of a system of annual rotation of enlistments, which required a soldier who had been on pay for a year to retire for two years, Bhimsen could muster at a short notice an efficient and well-drilled reserve twice the number of men on active army rolls—57,000 men of all arms. “To the talents and hostile disposition of Bhimsen,” comments Campbell, “Nepal is indebted for the enlarged army...Instead of encouraging his countrymen to forget the sword, and adopt the usages of peaceful people, the Minister has fostered their fondness for arms, by making everything else subservient to soldiering, and every honour compared with military ones.”¹³⁷

19

The end of Bhimsen

Tickell's decennial *Narrative* (1830-40), completed in December 1840, is a continuation of Campbell's *Sketch*. It is a precise and matter-of-fact narrative, devoid of circumlocutions of his predecessor. It describes the power and politics of Bhimsen Thapa and his ultimate downfall. The foreign policy of Nepal is discussed in a rather halting and subjective manner. The official rancour against Nepalese point of view is still there, but, in a somewhat subdued tenor. Tickell

¹³⁵ Campbell's *Sketch*, p. 229, *infra*.

¹³⁶ *Hodgson Papers* (I), Vol. 6, furnish details of the strength and distribution of the Nepal Army in 1825, 1832, 1838 and 1842. These papers give detailed statistical charts of military peacetime establishments, particulars of effective troops, pay of the officers and ranks, forts in the Nepalese territories and garrison strength. Hodgson accounts for the regular and rapid increase of Nepal's army to : *1st*, the exclusive military and aggressive genius of the Gorkha institutions ; *2nd*, the indomitable pride and prejudice of that one remarkable man (Bhimsen) who had governed Nepal with absolute power. He endows Bhimsen with the energy of internal administration, which kept the martial fervour of military classes from wearing out.

¹³⁷ Campbell, p. 226, *infra*.

refers to the various Indo-Nepalese boundary problems, and commercial matters amidst the changing politics at the Court of Nepal.

The death of the regent-queen Tripuresvar Sundri in 1832 brought about a sudden change in the internal politics of Nepal. Since the death of the young Maharaja Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah in 1816, Nepal had entered another long spell of minority, and Bhimsen Thapa had assumed with the assistance of the regent-queen full powers and wielded unlimited authority till her death in 1832. The young Maharaja Rajinder Vikram Shah, whom Bhimsen had kept in close surveillance all these years, was now 18. He was a highly ambitious though faineant and erratic youth, and stirred himself to regain regal authority by putting counterpoises to Bhimsen's power. He encouraged Ranbir Singh, Bhimsen's brother to become his rival for premiership, and won over the support of royal collaterals or Chauntrias, whom Bhimsen had deprived of all hereditary offices. Finally, the ghost of the Pandeys whom Bhimsen had extirpated twenty-seven years earlier, had arisen from the grave to claim vengeance on their deadly enemy.

Tickell describes in some detail the palace intrigues which beset Bhimsen after the death of the regent-queen. Towards the middle of 1833, the youthful Maharaja took over the judicial and financial administration in his own hands, and assumed the right of all patronage and public appointments. He sharply reprimanded Bhimsen's main supporter and nephew, Matabar Singh, for his haughty and unruly conduct, and at the *Panjani* of the same year, the annual rotation of appointments remained in abeyance. Parties opposed to Bhimsen now came out in the open, opposing the reinstatement of the minister with unlimited powers. For a while, the Maharaja favoured Ranbir Singh, but such being the awe of Bhimsen's power, that he was reluctantly nominated to premiership.

But it was evident that Bhimsen was playing a losing game. The faction opposed to him was now joined by Bakhtawar Singh, a subtle intriguer and a war veteran, who was then the governor of Palpa. Ranjung Pande, the son of Damodar Pande, was received by the Maharaja with favours. The senior queen, a valuable and assertive woman, supported the Pandes. Ranbir Singh, Bhimsen's brother and an aspirant to the office of premiership, and nearly all the Chauntrias or royal collaterals, stood against him. Against this combination of powerful forces, Bhimsen had the solitary support of his nephew Matabar Singh, and the junior queen, the second wife of the king, who aimed to grasp all political power by supporting the Thapas.

Bhimsen first struck at Bakhtawar Singh. He secured from the king, the nomination of Matabar Singh as the governor of Palpa, an office of considerable importance having a command of a strong force ; but the measure raised such a storm at the Court, that Bhimsen could not put it into execution. He then made overtures to his brother Ranbir Singh by offering him the governorship, which

step alienated Matabar Singh, who in disgust threw up his commission. Towards the close of the year 1834, Ranjung Pande petitioned the king for the restitution of his family property and honours confiscated in 1803. The youthful Maharaja received the petition in a favourable manner, which struck all with astonishment. "From that date," comments Tickell, "may be reckoned the commencement of a counter-revolution, and those intrigues of Kala Pandeys, which eventually succeeded so well in the overthrow of their rivals, and in repaying the cruelties they had suffered at his (Bhimsen's) hands."¹⁸⁸

The jealousy of the Maharaja having been aroused against the overbearing minister, he was deprived of the power of nomination to the quinquennial embassy to Peking; at the annual rotation of appointments in 1837, several of his favourites were turned out of employment. Matabar Singh was deprived of his military command. In July, Ranjung Pande was reinstated to the lands formerly belonging to his family; and a further blow was struck at the waning power of the Thapas by the king at a general parade of the troops forbidding their attendance on the Chiefs. Tickell narrates the counter-revolution set into motion by Court factions against the ascendancy of the Thapas:—

"On 24th July, the Rajah's youngest son died suddenly, and a rumour quickly circulated through the Palace that the child had fallen victim to poison intended for its mother, the Maharani. This was followed by a report that the instigator of this was Bhimsen or some of his party. The alarm soon spread from the Palace through the city, and in the confusion that issued, Ranjung was suddenly appointed Minister of State, and Bhimsen seized, ironed and thrown into prison, while the whole of his family were placed under closed arrest."¹⁸⁹

The sudden eclipse of the Thapas from political power in Nepal brought instant changes in the internal and external policy of the State. The royal assumption of army patronage entailed the cancellation of numerous military innovations introduced by Bhimsen, and the dispersal in the interior of a disproportionately large force concentrated at the capital. The strength of the garrison forces on the Indian, Tibetan and Sikkimese frontier was augmented. Ranjung Pande, the newly-appointed minister, instantly grasped power and began to foment violent dissensions in palace politics. His brother Randip Pande was confirmed as the governor of Palpa, his son Karbir Pande became the keeper of royal wardrobe, and many of his relations succeeded to important offices in the State. Matabar Singh was mysteriously allowed to leave Nepal, but he was arrested by the British on the suspicion of having been sent by the Darbar on a clandestine mission to the Court of Ranjit Singh of Lahore.

The Court factions who had employed Ranjung Pande as a counterpoise

¹⁸⁸ *Infra*, p. 295.

¹⁸⁹ *Infra*, p. 298.

to the Thapas were, however, temporarily foiled in their attempts by the party led by Raghunath Pandit, who secured the release of Bhimsen, who was pensioned off. But it was evident that the crest-fallen minister still commanded immense popularity among the army. Early in March 1839, Ranjung revived the persecution of the Thapas with utmost intensity. The Darbar demanded from the family of Amar Singh Thapa a sum of 8,00,000 rupees alleged to have been embezzled by him in the western hill districts ; Bhimsen himself was called upon to account for different sums paid to his subordinates for 30 years. A systematic campaign of fines, exactions, spoils and resumption of *jagirs* ensued.

The sordid intrigues of the Pandes culminated in an orgy of violence with the utmost rigour and barbarity. In May 1839, Bhimsen was again arraigned with the charge of having been a party to the poisoning of the younger widow of the late Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah, of having poisoned the Raja himself. Bhimsen denounced these allegations as false, and the documents produced as forgeries. He called for a confrontation with his accusers. Says Tickell : "but his defence and his appeals were alike unheeded ; not a voice was raised in his behalf throughout the Darbar ; the Chiefs sat by in dejected silence and the Rajah giving away to or fearing a burst of indignation, denounced him as a traitor, and had him hurried off in chains to prison."¹⁴⁰ The end of the grand old man is described in these pathetic terms :—

"It is needless to trace further his cruel persecutions. Like a convicted felon he lingered in his dungeon during his few remaining days ; the malice of his arch enemy refusing him the boon of wearing his irons in peace. His ears were assailed from day to day with threats of renewed torments ; with being exposed, plunged up to neck in heaps of human ordure and filth, with having his wife paraded naked through the city, till totally worn out by accumulated torments, the wretched old man anticipated further malice by committing suicide. On 20 July he inflicted a wound in his throat with a *khukri*, of which he died nine days after. His corpse was refused funeral rites, but dismembered and exposed about the city, after which the mangled remains were thrown away on the river side, when the dogs and vultures dared heed them,"¹⁴¹

Thus died in utter disgrace and oblivion one of the greatest sons of Nepal, who by his statesmanship and firmness had brought glory to his country notwithstanding internal and external pressures. After his death a decree was issued that none of the Thapa clan should ever receive public employment for seven generations. Hodgson, who had witnessed these sordid proceedings, observes : "The great and able statesman who for more than thirty years had ruled this kingdom with more than regal sway...the uniform success of nearly all his measures had been no less remarkable than the energy and sagacity which so

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 305, *infra*.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 305-6.

much promoted that success. He was indeed a man born to exercise domain over his fellows alike by the means of command and persuasion. Nor I am aware of any native statesman of recent times, except Ranjit Singh, who is, all things considered, worthy to be compared with the late General Bhimsen Thapa."¹⁴²

20

Ascendancy of the Pandes

Ranjung Pande, who had wrung the premiership for himself by ousting the Thapas, the royal collaterals and the Rajgurus, was a cunning, unimaginitive, and a violent man. Rich in intrigue, highly ambitious, he did not possess a tithe of Bhimsen's talent, ability or statesmanship. He allied himself with the senior queen, whose main endeavour was to secure the abdication of the Maharaja in favour of her son. The Maharaja, however, was suspicious of the Pande faction : he kept the main strings of government in his own hands, and tried to win over the British Resident to his side. Ranjung, on the other hand, sowed discord at home and fomented trouble abroad. He tried to appease the Maharaja by promises of wars and conquests and forged a vigorous foreign policy. Nepal sent secret missions to Herat and Ava, to Sikkim, Bhutan and China. Communications and emissaries arrived from Lahore, Udaipur and Jodhpur : letters were received from the Peshwa and Sindhia, the rulers of Hyderabad, Nagpur and Cooch Bihar. There were rumours of the impending downfall of the British in Afghanistan, Persia and Burma.¹⁴³ The sudden aggressive drift in the Nepalese foreign diplomacy is evidenced in Tickell's report : "War fever was at a high pitch at Kathmandu. It ordered the curtailment in all expenditure, reduced the rate of land assignments to troops, raised new regiments, and the frontier garrison posts were supplied with large stores of ammunition and war equipment. As the cold wealth drew on, preparations for war continued with unabated activity. The eastern, western and central divisions of the kingdom were assigned to the Thākuris, Bīšnaitis and the Pandeys respectively. Fortifications were strengthened and new armies sent along the Sikkim frontier ; rumours were afloat in the capital that the Nepalese had received promises of support from China, the Raja of Sikkim having been urged by the Nepalese to join with the Chinese and the Bhotias to expel the British from the new settlement of Darjeeling."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Hodgson to Deputy Secretary to Governor-General, 20 July, 1839—*Secret Consultation* (I) 18 December, 1339. No. 82.

¹⁴³ See generally, public correspondence in the Secret Department, particularly, of 18 December, 1839. Nos. 45, 73, 85, 87, 106, 107, 113, and 119-20.

¹⁴⁴ Tickell, p. 303, *infra*.

The Pande faction pursued an intensively anti-British policy. It formally petitioned the Maharaja to expel the British Resident at once; dodged that functionary's attempts to solve Indo-Nepalese problems, and took advantage of the difficult position with which the British were beset in Afghanistan, China and Burma. Lord Auckland, however, avoided the risk of war with Nepal, and Hodgson, the British Resident, was instructed to divert the militant attitude of the Pandes in some other direction. Clash of opinion soon occurred between the sovereign and the minister over foreign policy, when a party of Gorkha soldiery occupied 91 villages within the recently escheated zimindari of Ramnagar in the Champaran district. Instant action was taken by the British Resident, who demanded the immediate withdrawal of Nepalese troops to the boundary line fixed in 1817-18 along the ridge of the first range of Someshwar hills, and the evacuation of all lands forcibly occupied."¹⁴⁵

Hodgson's remonstrance to the Darbar accompanied by a firm declaration that unless all the Gorkha troops were instantly withdrawn from Ramnagar and the villages restored to their rightful owners, a British force would immediately advance to the frontier, brought about quick results. The Nepalese Government acceded to these demands.¹⁴⁶

Foiled in his attempt to provoke a war with the Indian Government, Ranjung created a crisis at home. For some time past, a system of extortion and injustice towards all classes had entailed the reduction of the pay of the troops. It had also violated the long established practice in the Nepalese army of enlistment by rotation—the soldiers instead of being re-enlisted or paid up, and discharged at the end of three years' engagement, were kept hanging on in service without pay over their annual terms and ousted by fresh recruits. On 21 June, 1840, a general parade having been ordered with the object of announcing the contemplated reduction of pay, over 6,000 Gurkha soldiers grounded their arms, and broke into open revolt.

Immediately afterwards, the Maharani left for Thankot. The mutineers entered the town on a ransacking spree; Ranjung Pande feigned illness in the safety of his residence, and it was suspected that the senior queen and the minister were the secret instigators of the revolt to intimidate the weak sovereign. These who desired the welfare of the State, induced the Maharaja to dismiss the obnoxious minister, and Fateh Jung Chauntria was nominated to the premiership. Nicholette sums up the state of affairs in November 1840: "... but the matters remained for the present in the same unsatisfactory state of affairs as heretofore, owing to the violent character of the Maharani, the duplicity and subservience to

¹⁴⁵ For correspondence on the subject, *vide*, generally *Bengal Secret Consultations* (1), 8, 15 and 20 June, 1840. Nos. 131,2 and 71 respectively. Nicholette's *Narrative*, under year 1840, details fully the incident, *vide*, p. 310, *infra*.

¹⁴⁶ Nicholette's *Narrative*, p. 311, *infra*.

that lady of the Maharaja, and the new minister's indecision and want of energy."

The Residency records of the subsequent two years¹⁴⁷ exhibit the constant vagaries, eccentricities and cruelties of the Heir Apparent, the pussillanimity of the Maharaja, and the dilemma of Fateh Jung. The minister and the people complained that they could not obey *two masters*, who countermanded each other's orders. On the 7th December, 1842, a committee of people drew up a petition for the protection of the legitimate rights, public and personal of the subjects, and presented it to the Maharaja, who approved and ratified it amidst loud applause.¹⁴⁸

21

The return of Matabar Singh

In April 1843, Matabar Singh, who had been living in honourable exile in the British territories for the last 5 years, returned to Kathmandu. A year earlier, the Maharaja had summoned him to the Court after annulling the decree branding the Thapa race as outcastes, and promising him the restoration of family's civil and religious privileges. Matabar Singh hesitated, remained on the frontier for some time, and ultimately came after his adherents in Nepal considered it safe and advisable for him to appear at the capital. In December, he was nominated to the premiership, and the Thapas, who since Bhimsen's downfall had lived in dire penury and disgrace, were restored to power. Sooner than anyone expected, the axe of vengeance fell heavily on the discredited Pandes. Kulbir and Kulraj Pande, Inder Bir and Ran Bum were beheaded; Ranjung Pande, the leader of the faction being on his deathbed, was permitted to die in peace. The cry for *one ruler* in Nepal was clamourously raised by the soldiery; 1500 Thapa adherents surrounded the palace of the Maharaja, who promised to abdicate in favour of his son.

In the prevailing confusion created by the Court factions led by the Heir Apparent and the Maharaja, several incidents took place, which reflected the spirit of the time. The Chiefs bewailed against the cruelties and eccentricities of the prince, the Maharaja used offensive language towards the Governor-General over a report, published in a Calcutta newspaper about the late Maharani having been poisoned.¹⁴⁹ Earlier, the difficult situation in Afghanistan had prompted

¹⁴⁷ See, generally, *Secret Consultations*—11 January, 1841 (223),—25 January (121), 15 February (72), 8 March (87), 3 and 31 May (132, 162), 1 November (78); 3 August 1842 (51, 66); and Hodgson's *Diary of Events in Nepal*.

¹⁴⁸ Nicholette, *op. cit.* p. 315, *infra*.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 313-14.

the Darbar to adopt a bellicose attitude towards the Indian Government, and the relations between the two States became highly strained over the furore created by the unsavoury episode of an Indian trader Kāśinath, who had taken asylum in the British Residency.¹⁵⁰ Amidst the factional power politics at Kathmandu, a new figure had arisen—the junior queen Lakṣmī Devi, a wilful and resolute woman, who desired to subvert her spouse's authority and that of the Heir Apparent in order that her own son should succeed to the throne.

Matabar Singh who had returned to Nepal under these conditions was not destined to remain long in office. Second to none in valour and intrigue, this patriotic son of Nepal was a good soldier, of comely appearance and wavering disposition. A spoilt favourite of his uncle Bhimsen, he had grown up haughty and arrogant, but continued exile and privation had sapped his will and energy. By long sojourn in India he had acquired a divided personality with a pro-British tendency and obligations towards his country and the sovereign. Caught in the tangle of friction between the sovereign, the heir apparent, and the junior queen, Matabar Singh changed loyalties like a weather-cock. The country was being ineffectually ruled by a triumvirate dubbed by the new Resident Sir Henry Lawrence as Mr. Nepal, Master Nepal and Mrs. Nepal.¹⁵¹ He desired the abdication of the Maharaja, felt shy of supporting the junior queen because of her intimacy with Gagan Singh, her alleged paramour, and ultimately chose to side with the heir-apparent in the hope that he would be able to control the latter and wield unlimited authority like his uncle Bhimsen. But in the triangular struggle for power, Matabar Singh miscalculated gravely.

On the 4 December, 1844, a solemn farce was enacted. The Maharaja, accompanied by the Maharani and attended by his principal Chiefs and almost all the troops, left Kathmandu for the Terai for a supposed elephant hunt. The heir-apparent and the minister had conspired to compel the Maharaja to abdicate in favour of the former. At Hetounda, the prince created an unseemly row on the issue of abdication, threatened his father to march off with troops to Benares, and moved to Bichakola. Matabar Singh followed, proclaiming that the whole army would rather obey the son than the father. The Maharaja feigned acquiescence to the demand, agreed to proclaim the prince as sovereign, and after a carnage of decapitation of 16 men on the frivolous charge of conspiring to assassinate the minister, all and sundry returned to the capital.

At the *Panjani* or annual renewal of service in 1845, Matabar Singh was re-appointed as premier *for life* and loaded with royal honours. On 17th May,

¹⁵⁰ The episode of Kāśinath is detailed in Resident to Political Secretary, 24 April, 1842—*Secret Consultation*, 3 August, 1842. No. 66. For the ugly scene just described, *vide* Nicholette's *Narrative*, p. 313-14, *infra*.

¹⁵¹ *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, i, p. 470 (London, 1872).

the unsuspecting minister was suddenly summoned to the Palace, under the pretence that the Maharani had seriously hurt herself in an accident. Our narrator C. H. Nicholette tells the gruesome tale of his assassination : "...he immediately obeyed the summons, unarmed as he was, accompanied by his maternal uncle Kaji Dal Keshwar Pande, and Captain Shamsheer Bahadur. At the foot of the stairs the latter were stopped, and the minister alone allowed to ascend to a room adjoining the Rani's where the Maharaja was standing ; and as he advanced towards His Highness, the first shot was fired and several others in rapid succession behind a trellis screen, where the assassins were stationed, one ball entered his head, and two more his body. When the first shot was fired, the minister fell at the feet of the Maharaja and begged mercy for his mother and children, but as he spoke, some one struck him from behind ; and as his hands were stretched out in supplication, one of the attendants cut him with a sword across the wrists ; the body was then lowered into the street from a window with an elephant rope, and before daylight was dragged along the ground to Paśupatinath for cremation. The road for two miles was sprinkled with the blood that trickled from the corpse."¹⁵²

Opinions differ as to who killed Matabar Singh, but it is clear that the gruesome deed was done by the connivance of the Maharaja. Jung Bahadur was later heard to say that he assassinated the minister, and the Maharaja also claimed that distinction.¹⁵³ Charges were trumped up against the victim after his death as having arrogated to himself the powers of sovereignty, of threatening to resume the lands of the Brahmans, and of having employed the soldiers as labourers.

Immediately afterwards, Fateh Jung Chauntria was offered the premiership, and the Maharaja declared that if he would not accept the ministry, he would appoint the Heir Apparent as the Maharaja and himself be his son's minister ! Ultimately to reconcile all factions, a mixed cabinet was announced with Fateh Jung as premier, Gagan Singh, Abhiman Singh and Dalbhajan Pande as members, and Jung Bahadur as minister of military affairs. The new *Lal Mohur* decreed that the Maharaja would give his orders to the prince, and the latter would pass them on to the Maharani, who would issue the same to the Minister.¹⁵⁴

But this new arrangement of government in descending scale pleased none. It soon became evident that the murder of Matabar Singh had not made the Maharaja supreme ; the Heir Apparent and his party were losing ground ; and the Maharani and her alleged paramour Gagan Singh strove hard to gain uncontrolled power. "So much blood has been shed in Nepal," wrote Henry

¹⁵² Nicholette's *Narrative*, p. 318-19, *infra*.

¹⁵³ *Secret Consultation*, 13 June, 1845. No. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Nicholette, p. 320, *infra*.

Lawrence, the Resident, "that it must continue to flow. There are so many sanguinary proceedings to avenge that I see no chance of domestic peace."¹⁵⁵

22

The Kote Massacre

On 14 September, 1846 Gagan Singh was assassinated at the secret orders of the Maharaja, who with the help of the royal collaterals intended to regain full control of the government. Maharani Lakṣmī Devī, on bearing of the death of her favourite, hastened on foot to his house and after viewing the corpse, proceeded to the Kote. She instantly summoned all the civil and military functionaries. The Maharaja and the Chiefs with the exception of Fateh Jung having been assembled, the Maharani demanded the immediate execution of Bir Kishore Pande, the suspected assassin. The king, however, declined to sanction it without full proof of guilt, and left the place. He sent premier Fateh Jung to the Kote and proceeded to the British Residency, where the Officiating Resident could not meet him due to indisposition. He then retired to his palace.

Meanwhile, Fateh Jung Chauntria on arrival at the Kote found the situation extremely tense. The Maharani demanded the execution of Bir Kishore Pande, but the premier pointed out that it could not be done without proper trial. An argument ensued, and a few shots were exchanged between the followers of Jung Bahadur and Fateh Jung. Fateh Jung, Dalbhanjan Pande, Abhiman Rana and several others were shot dead. In the blood-bath which followed fifty-five persons were slain, besides others whose names are not recorded. Jung Bahadur was appointed premier on the spot and the Heir Apparent and his followers taken into custody.¹⁵⁶

Who was responsible for the Kote Massacre? It was at that time suspected that the whole affair was a premeditated one, and that the Maharani had given orders to Jung Bahadur to wipe out the faction opposed to her interests. However, later it came out that Jung Bahadur had acted on the written instructions of the Maharaja.¹⁵⁷ Be that as it may, the gruesome September Massacre of 1846 had exterminated the remnants of the Pande faction and wiped out almost all the royal collaterals or Chauntrias, the customary aspirants to all political power in Nepal. It brought to a sudden though violent end factional strife and scramble for power between the rival groups, opening the way for a

¹⁵⁵ *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, op. cit.* p. 478, 64n.

¹⁵⁶ *Nichollette's Narrative*, p. 320 et seq., *infra*.

¹⁵⁷ *Ram say's Narrative*, p. 332, *infra*.

new chapter in Nepalese history when sovereignty became subservient to the will of the minister.

23

Jung Bahadur

The Kote Massacre ended for all times factional intrigue and recurrent political strife in Nepal. It ushered in a century of highly despotic and autocratic rule by the hereditary prime ministers who wielded unlimited power over every sphere of administration in the country. Sovereignty was reduced to cypher; the prime ministers styled themselves as Maharajas; army and civil administration, judiciary and finance, home and foreign policy, the government and the people became subservient to the will of one man—the prime minister, who though a servant of the nominal sovereign, became his virtual master. With the nomination of Jung Bahadur as premier in Nepal began the rule of the Rana Oligarchy, which kept the sovereign and the people in thralldom for well-nigh over a century.

Born in a family of military traditions, Jung Bahadur was distantly related to the Thapas. He started his career as a non-commissioned officer in the Nepalese army, soon gave it up, and came to Kathmandu in the hope that he would obtain from Bhimsen Thapa some civil or military assignment of consequence. In this he failed; but he stayed on in Kathmandu, holding minor posts, travelling into the interior of the country, and gaining political experience. At the capital he witnessed the fall of the once mighty Thapas, the ascendancy of the Pandes and their final extinction, the fate of Matabar Singh and the factional strife which followed it. In 1845, he was appointed a minister in the coalition cabinet headed by Fateh Jung Chauria.¹⁵⁸ A keen observer of the political game, Jung Bahadur learnt his lessons from current history. Highly taciturn, rich in intrigue and imagination, and utterly unscrupulous, he avoided the pitfalls which had doomed the Thapas and the Pandes. Twin obstacles in the path of one man's untrammelled rule in Nepal were the dwindling power and prestige of sovereignty and the Court factions. He determined to reduce the former to a glorious cypher, and completely extirpate the latter.¹⁵⁹

Immediately after he became premier, Jung Bahadur swung into action. He weeded out his political opponents one by one by assassinations, persecutions, and dismissed all those whom he suspected. All public offices were filled up by new appointments of his own adherents. To the queen, who persisted in urging

¹⁵⁸ *Secret Consultation*, 29 November, 1845. No. 38; Nicholette, *op. cit.* p. 321, *infra*.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 31 July, 1847. No. 204; Nicholette, *op. cit.* p. 321, *infra*.

him to put to death the Heir Apparent and his brother, he administered a stern warning. He foiled an attempt to assassinate him engineered by her soon after, by putting to death all the conspirators and ordering her out of the country.¹⁶⁰ The king who followed her to Benares and refused to return to the capital, was declared to have abdicated the throne and pensioned off. Jung Bahadur nominated the Heir Apparent Surrinder Vikram Shah to the throne and installed him as the Maharaja of Nepal in May 1847, declaring the ex-king as having vacated the *masnad* for continued absence from the country and of having exhibited indications of aberration of mind.¹⁶¹ The deposed king made an abortive attempt to recover his throne, but on entry into Nepal was made a prisoner.¹⁶²

The new regime started well. Towards the British Jung Bahadur adopted an attitude of friendship and amicability though not of trust, as is evidenced from his offer of 8 Gurkha regiments on the eve of the Second Sikh War in 1848, and his subsequent demonstration in the Terai across the border, Nepal's armed strength by an army of 10,000 soldiers and 41 guns. On a remonstrance from the Indian Government to the Darbar, Jung Bahadur hastily withdrew the troops from the Terai.¹⁶³

Jung Bahadur paid an official visit to England in 1850-51. Opinions differ as to why the Nepalese premier undertook an unprecedented sea voyage forbidden by Hindu orthodox customs, but it is generally understood that he did it to see the European social and political patterns at close quarters and to gain enlarged experience.¹⁶⁴ In England he had an audience with the Queen, met the ministers, and attended numerous social functions. He also visited France in August 1850, where he met Napoleon III, the President of the French Republic, and returned to Nepal in February 1851.

An event of considerable significance under Jung Bahadur is Nepal's invasion of Tibet in 1854. The rupture between the two Governments took place because of Tibet's ignominious behaviour towards the Nepalese mission to Peking in 1852, the numerous outrages upon Nepalese subjects at Lhasa, the expulsion

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 26 June, 1847. No. 187 ; Nicholette, *op. cit.* p. 322 *infra*.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* 25 September 1847. Nos. 154, 156. Nicholette, *op. cit.*

¹⁶³ *Secret Consultation*, 27 January, 1849. No. 62.

¹⁶⁴ For Jung Bahadur's visit to England and its background, see generally, Pudma Jung: *Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur*, Allahabad, 1909 ; Orfeur Cavengh : *The Nepalese Embassy etc.* ; London, 1884 ; and Kamal Dixit : *Jung Bahadur ki Bilayat Yattrā*; Kathmandu, 1957. Levi's observations (i, 336) on the subject appear to be correct : "Jung Bahadur hoped to double his prestige in Nepal by showing to his people his relations with powerful states of Europe, to gain his personal interest and also wished to understand the secret of British power."

of Nepalese *Vakil* from the Tibetan capital, and the imposition of heavy duties on Nepalese goods. These provocations and indignities forced Jung Bahadur to give an ultimatum to Tibet towards the end of 1854, that if the wrongs done to the Nepalese national interests were not redressed immediately, and an indemnity paid as compensation, Nepal would annex the border districts of Kerrong, Kuti and Taghla Koti.

Jung Bahadur's biographer states that Nepal was determined upon war and conquest.¹⁶⁵ Early in the Spring of 1855, three divisions of the Nepalese army entered Tibet and occupied the sub-Himalayan districts. At Kutia, however, the Nepalese column suffered a reverse. The fortress of Junga, beyond the Kerrong Pass, which the Nepalese had occupied was invested by large masses of the Tibetans. The Nepalese garrison suffered great hardships and privations from the intense cold. In July 1855, the Tibetans made overtures of peace; a Chinese official Taie Toes arrived at Kathmandu to negotiate the terms of peace, but on account of the highly exorbitant Nepalese demands—the cession of Kerrong and Kuti passes and a war compensation of 10,000,000 rupees, the negotiations broke down. Hostilities were, therefore, recommenced and the Nepalese reoccupied the border districts. Eventually, however, at the intercession of the Chinese Umbah, a treaty was agreed to between the two governments on 24 March 1856. The Tibetans agreed to pay to the Nepalese Government an annual tribute of 10,000 rupees; to restore all prisoners, guns and ammunition etc. captured during the war; to discontinue levying excessive transit duties upon Nepalese goods; and agreed to receive a Nepalese Bhāradār at Lhasa to protect the rights of the Nepalese subjects. The Nepalese on their part evacuated the border districts and promised to help the Tibetans in case of any foreign invasion of their territories.

Jung Bahadur's Tibetan adventure was a flop. It proved highly expensive and an unpopular measure, without bringing to Nepal any commercial or territorial gains. However, it satisfied Jung Bahadur's vanity and raised Nepal's prestige abroad.

* * * * *

Soon afterwards, Jung Bahadur surprised all and sundry by his sudden resignation. Although the relinquishment of the office was made under the pretence of its tiresome labour and a wish to retire into private life, it soon became obvious that the step was designed to secure absolute power in Nepal. Padma Jung admits the alleged reason as a mere fiction, but feigns to discover the real motive of this extraordinary step.¹⁶⁶ Contemporary observers, however,

¹⁶⁵ Padma Jung : *The Life of Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur*. Allahabad, 1909, p. 175, 25n.

¹⁶⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 192.

divined correctly and reported that Jung Bahadur's farce of abdication was aimed at obtaining sovereign power in Nepal.¹⁶⁷ "Jung Bahadur," reported the Marquess of Dalhousie, "will infallibly try to subvert the dynasty some day, and it is the toss-up of a rupee whether he will be Rajah or have his throat cut."¹⁶⁸ Colonel Ramsay observed that ambition was its real motive, as Jung Bahadur at once attempted to assume "a position with respect to the sovereign and the country that occasioned no little embarrassment and brought him in frequent collision with the new minister."¹⁶⁹

The "comedy of abdication" soon produced fruitful results. On 6 August, 1856, the king conferred on Jung Bahadur the title of *Maharaja*, which made him *equal* to the sovereign and *above* the minister Bum Bahadur.¹⁷⁰ A jagir of the annual value of 100,000 rupees was thrust upon him in recognition of his meritorious services; the provinces of Kāski and Lamjung were given to him in perpetual sovereignty. Above all, it was ordained that the *masnad* of *wazarat* would henceforth become hereditary in Jung Bahadur's family—that the office would go down to his *brothers* in order of seniority by age, and thence to his *sons* in the same order.

In this manner, Jung Bahadur laid the firm foundation of the rule of the Rana oligarchy in Nepal, which lasted for almost a century. In the new arrangement the sovereign became a mere figure-head, and the minister assumed supreme authority over all the affairs of the State, civil, financial, military and judicial. A *Lal Mohur* announced that the newly-created Maharaja would "advise" the minister and the king; he could even "coerce" them both and impose his will in case of a difference of opinion in all matters of State.¹⁷¹

* * * * *

There is hardly any truth in Colonel Ramsay's observation that but for his visit to England, Jung Bahadur would have gambled into a war with the British during the Indian Revolt of 1857. British official opinion gave a tardy recognition to Nepal's voluntary offer of assistance during the crisis. Padma Jung observes¹⁷² that the Darbar was sharply divided over the issue; but ultimately it offered to the Indian Government the services of 6 regiments.¹⁷³ Jung Bahadur

¹⁶⁷ Ramsay to Government, 1 August, 1856, S.C. 29 August, 1856, (I). No. 51.

¹⁶⁸ *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*. London (1911), p. 316.

¹⁶⁹ Ramsay's *Narrative*, p. 332, *infra*:

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Ramsay to Government, S. C. 29 August, 1856, No. 58.

¹⁷² *op. cit.* p. 198-99.

¹⁷³ Ramsay to Government, S. C. 25 September, 1857. No. 487.

came out with an offer of 50,000 Gurkha troops under his own command.¹⁷⁴ British military and political opinion was averse to the acceptance of such an offer, as the Gurkhas were dubbed as dangerous allies.¹⁷⁵ It was feared that the presence of Gurkha troops in India would be injurious to the morale of British Indian troops in the country. Consequently, the Governor-General declined to accept the Darbar's offer,¹⁷⁶ but when later, the situation became critical, Lord Canning half-heartedly agreed that Nepal should send 6 regiments to Lucknow.¹⁷⁷

British records impute motives to Jung Bahadur's offer of help ; that by it he endeavoured to secure British support in subverting the dynasty and becoming an independent sovereign of Nepal like Gulab Singh of Kashmir.¹⁷⁸ Others charge him with hob-nobbing with the rebels with the intention of joining them.¹⁷⁹ Nothing can be farther from truth than both these senseless allegations. Nepalese military aid to the British during the Indian revolt was substantial—it amounted to 14,000 men of all arms, advantageously employed in the occupation of Gorakhpur and the siege of Lucknow.¹⁸⁰ A contingent under Colonel Pahlwan Singh cleared the rebels from Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Chanda and Sultanpur ; another detachment protected Gorakhpur, Sagauli and Motihari. Jung Bahadur himself commanded a force of 9,000 troops, and gained a victory over the rebels at Gorakhpur in January 1858, sacked the rebel fortress of Berozpur, and occupied Faizabad before his advance towards Lucknow. Although we can safely dismiss Padma Jung's contention that but for Nepal's succour, the British would not have been able to quell the Indian revolt,¹⁸¹ we can accept with reservation Colonel Ramsay's sardonic observations :

“but their services were in a military point of view not what had been expected of them. The Maharaja who is very weak and very vain, would not allow slightest semblance of interference or check over his men, who puffed up with braggadocio and conceit covered themselves with ridicule. But had a better system of discipline been observed, and had their officers set them a better example, than they did, they would doubtless have behaved with the gallantry which is proverbially characteristic of their race. The march back to the frontier from Lucknow loaded with plunder was more like a rabble than armed force, and the British officials,

174 *Ibid.* S. C. 18 November, 1857. No. 460.

175 Secret Consultation, 18 December, 1857. No. 665.

176 *Ibid.* 25 September, 1857. No. 488.

177 *Ibid.* 18 December, 1857. No. 584.

178 Secret Consultation, 27 December, 1857. No. 423.

179 Ramsay, p. 336, *infra*.

180 *Ibid.* p. 334.

181 *op. cit.* p. 215.

who were attached to them were heartily glad when they arrived at Sagauli."¹⁸²

8 August, 1970
Hoshiarpur, Punjab, India

B. J. H.

¹⁸² Ramsay, p. 335-6, *infra*.

BOOK ONE

An Account of Nepal

Padmagiri's Chronicle in the India Office Library, London, (Hodgson Collection), is one of the finest specimens of the later Vamśāvalī literature of Nepal. It is quite rare ; and furnishes the most complete and elaborate account of Nepal Proper. Nothing much is known about the author except his name, but since the Chronicle ends with an incomplete description of the reign of Rajinder Vikram Shah (A.D. 1825), its date of composition can be determined around that time. Partly based on the Śambhu Purāṇa, and partly on the local traditions and legends on Nepal like its prototype—Wright's Vamśāvalī, the narrator speaks with authority on the more well-known historic times.

CHAPTER I

BUDDHISTIC VERSION*

1. Legendary Nepal

In the Golden Age or *Satyayuga* the present Valley of Nepal was nothing more than a deep lake, 16 miles in circumference, filled with transparent water which was inhabited by a numerous class of water animals.¹ A serpent named Kārkoṭaka was the ruler or Rajah of that lake, the name of which was *Nāgbās* or the dwelling place of the snakes. Kārkoṭaka had a wife by name Kāli, and consequently the lake was sometimes called after her name or *Kāli-hrad*. A third name of this lake was *Kaliñjal* on account of its black water, and it was beautiful as Mānasarovar. Some time after, whilst things remained in this state in Nepal and in the same age or *Satyayuga* (whose existence was computed at 80,000 years), there was a large city named Vindumati in this world, where lived a Rajah by the name Vindumas. His son Vipaśya Bhagavān,² after converting 20,000,000 of people and making them Bhikṣus,³ in his pilgrimages and whilst performing the *Chaukrama Yātra*, at last arrived in Nepal with his pupils. There surveying the lake and seeing every kind of flower except the lotus, he took a bulb of it and after pronouncing a few magical words over it he threw the same into the lake, and foretold his pupils thus: "The seed I threw into the lake will grow into a flower and the Self-Existent in the form of flame will be revealed out of it."

After thus saying he went back to his native place of residence and died there. After his demise, the existence of human beings diminished from 80,000 years to 70,000 years. A long time after this, but in the same age or *Yuga*, there lived a Rajah, in the city of Aruṇanagar, by the name of Aruṇ

* Padmagiri's *Vamśāvali* in the Hodgson Collection, India Office Library, London.

¹ See and compare Hodgson's *Illustrations of the Literature and Religions of the Buddhists*, p. 164 *et. seq.* The legend is derived from the *Sambhu Puṛāṇa* and is supported by existing physical phenomena indicating the ancient lacustrine state of the Valley, and its desiccation by the agency of earthquake. The Valley is 50 miles in circuit at least.

² The sixth Buddha upwards from Sākya Sihma.

³ *Bhikṣus* are the Buddhist monks of the mendicant order. *Vihar* is a Buddhist monastery. *Chaitya* a Buddhist temple.

Saruce. His son Sekhi Bhagavān¹ after making 16,000,000 converts (to Buddhism) and Bhikṣus, and while he was sitting in his Vihār, one day, felt of a sudden a great emotion of joy when taking his pupils with him he came to the border of Nāgbās.

2. The *Jyotisvarūpa*

There, to his great joy, he beheld the incarnation of the *Jyotisvarūpa* or the flamed-type Deity aforementioned² in the flower of lotus, and lavishing enlightenment and telling his pupils about the future history of Nepal, he disappeared or was incorporated in the *Jyotisvarūpa*. Just about this time of the appearance of the *Jyotisvarūpa* in Nepal the western mountain worshipped him and since then it has been named *Jotīnatrūch*. And, the southern mountain was thus called *Dhyānochcha* on account of being the place of Sekhi's meditation.

After man's existence had been reduced from 70,000 to 60,000 years, there was born in the city of Anuparṇa in a Rajah's family the Buddha Vipasyi, who converted 100,000,000 people to Buddhism and made them Bhikṣus and having taken them with him he arrived on the northern mountains of Nāgbās, and sitting on that high mountain he beheld the *Jyotisvarūpa* and bathing with the waters of Nāgbās, and drinking its water as *charaṇāmṛt*, he took one sack of evergreen or *dooba*-grass and offered it to the *Jyotisvarūpa*, and after praising, praying to and serving him, he prophesied respecting futurity to his followers. He thus spoke to the mountains: "O mountains! henceforth you will be called by the appellation of Phullochcha,³ and I predict that some one of the gigantic strength, and of high lineage, a Bodhisattva will come from the North, and will desiccate this Nāgbās lake, after pointing out the good of the secret form, will cause the Lotus of the Self-Existent to be made of gold and a great temple to be raised to it, and he will also build a large city, the first stone of which will be laid over your feet."

¹ The fifth mortal Buddha before Sākya Sekhi was succeeded by Viśvabhū, Krakuchchanda, Kanaka Muni, Kāśyapa after whom came Sākya.

² This is a local type of the Supreme Being or first External Buddha of the theistic school of Buddhism. The author a Buddhist, has interwoven motives of the whole famous seven Buddhas in this Sketch of the Early History of Nepal Proper. The authority followed is the *Śambhu Purāna*, seemingly a better account of Nepal than any Brahmanical Purāna contains. Nepal Proper according to Buddhistic records is coequal only with the great Valley, called by that sect as Nāgbās or the Serpent's Abode or Mañjugartha or the Hollow of Mañju, after their patriarch who desiccated the Lake. Brahmanical records give a larger and varying extent to Nepal Proper.

³ Phullochcha is now called Phulchowk. It is a high mountain forming the south-east barrier of the Valley, as mount Dhyānochcha alias Chandragiri forms the western barrier, or rather these two hills form the southern barrier in the eastern and western halves

After uttering the prophecy Vipasyi blessed the mountains and walking round the flamed-type Deity and vowing before it oft-times, he taking his followers with him, went back to his native land, where he remained performing the services of a Buddha.

3. Mañjuśri comes to Nepal

At that time, to the north of Nāgbās was situated a large country called Chīn, and in it was a great city named Mahāchīn which city was very handsome and surrounded by seven deep ditches and the same number of high walls. It was 14 miles in length by 14 miles broad and populated by numerous opulent merchants. In the city of Mahāchīn there was a fine peaked square mountain called Mañjuśri, 14 miles high and furnished with horns—the central one of which was of pearl, the eastern of *nīl*, the southern one of *pukhrāj*, the western of ruby, and the northern one of emerald. In consequence of these five horns the mountain was also called *Pañcha-sirsha*.¹ In the central horn there was a large lake filled with pure water and inhabited by water animals and fowls and full of flowers: again in the middle of that lake was a square of white stone upon which stood a temple built of precious stone and the windows of it were made of five of the same sorts of stone and pillars of it were of massy gold. In the centre of that temple was a golden *simhāsana* or throne upon which sat between his two *devīs* or wives called Keśni and Upakeśni, Mañjuśri, the incarnation of *Viśvakarma* (the architect of Gods), and gigantic man of prophecy. That Mañjuśri in his meditation called *Lokasandarśanasamādhi*, had discerned that a Golden Lotus was floating in the Nāgbās lake with the flamed-type Deity or the *Jyotisvarūpa* in it. Consequently he took these goddesses and Rajah Dharpal and also his own pupils with him, and with his sabre called Chandrahās in his right hand, and the sacred book

respectively. Phullochcha and Dhyānochcha are the Buddhist classical names, Phulchowk and Chandragiri the Brahmanical classical names; and besides these there are vernacular Newari names for these and all other chief features of the country. The literature and religion of the Newars or aborigines of Nepal are exotic and Indian; and hence the prevalence of Sanskrit names of the hills, streams and towns in a country the people of which are of the Northern stock or race, though mixed with Southern blood.

¹ The hill of *Pañcha-sirsha* is alleged by other authorities to have been in Bihar and in Assam. The latter locale is the more probable one and according to the old authorities cited by Hamilton, all Indo-China up to and inclusive of Kāmrūp or Assam, was anciently styled Cheen, Mahāchīn or China. Mañjuśri seems to have been a Tantrica Buddhist or Yogeśvar, the predecessor in Nepal of Matsyendranath, who certainly came from Assam. But the Buddhists of Nepal at the present day consider Mañjuśri a North man, a Tibetan in fact, and certainly the mass of the people of Nepal are of that stock, as is proved by their physical attributes and by their language. And as certainly they regard Mañjuśri their patriarch, whence the Valley is styled Mañjugārtha, that is, the hollow or hole of Mañju.

called Prajñā in his left, and mounting a lion, he arrived at Nawakot. He halted on the *mahāmaṇḍala* for the night and then resuming his march the next morning, arrived on the border of the Nāgbās lake. Stopping on the bordering mountains of the lake, he saw the flamed-type Deity in the Lotus, and was much pleased and gratified. His followers were much amazed at the sight and were at a loss to know what it really was. Some said it was a lamp, some alleged it to be lightning; others again affirmed that it was the full moon or *barwa* or unextinguished fire.

In the meantime, Mañjuśri offered a variety of jewels with vows and adoration to the *Jyotisvarūpa*. He planned a scheme to dry up the lake, and to build a city on the spot, by means of which the people might visit and worship the flamed-type Deity. In prosecution of this scheme, he walked about the margin of the lake to reconnoitre the hills. Accordingly, he found the southern mountains¹ lower than the rest and there he cut through with his famous sabre Chandrahās. The water which had been confined for ages ran out with alacrity and cheerful noise wherefore it got the name of *Nadi*. As the retiring water ebbed low, the proprietor of the lake, Kārkoṭaka was surprised, but soon discovered that Mañjuśri had broken the mountain.² At the same time he conceived in his mind a high idea of Mañjuśri's power and that he could not withstand him, nor yet any longer exist in the water although this place was his old abode. He therefore felt the necessity of leaving it. Accordingly, he prepared with his whole family to slide out of the lake under cover of water; but to his great mortification, he found that the passage had been stopped by Mañjuśri, who had put his sabre Chandrahās across the breach and would not let him pass. In the meantime, Mañjuśri having explained to Kārkoṭaka the cause of his severing the mountain, called the Snake King to him and having then caused the Dhandah lake³ to be made

¹ The southern barrier is composed of Phulchowk and Chandragiri which tower above the Valley 3600 to 2400 feet and consequently would hardly prove severable. In fact they recede obliquely from the Valley without continuity though subsiding Phulchowk bears marks of rupture.

² The cleft or chasm is subsequently described. It is in a low ridge running across the southern districts of the Valley, terminating in front of Chandragiri and Phulchowk, and subsequently called Chobhār or Kachapa. The chasm is narrow and deep with perpendicular sides that seem accurately to correspond with each other. The rock is slate, blue, with seams of a white colour; the dip of the stream nearly vertical and the whole presenting the aspect of sudden disrapture by earthquake. Other physical appearances support the Legend of the Lake.

³ A very small but deep natural reservoir or lake situated about a mile SW of the cleft or chasm of Chobhār. This lakelet is 1360 paces round; and further east, the small cones representing the continuation of the ridge of Chobhār in that direction is a small pit, or receptacle and spring of water. The cones or conical hillocks adverted to stand in front

deeper, Mañjuśri ordered Kārkoṭaka to stay there and, said to him thus: "O King of Snakes! the Nāgbās belonged to you and still belongs to you, and also the riches, jewels and property thereof; all are yours—but with a view to perform divine service to the Self-Existent and to redeem the people, I intend to dry up this lake and build a city on the spot. In order that the city may be well populated, you will have to cause the rains to be set in here always in due season and cherish the people; and the Self-Existent Buddha called Ne (*i.e.* the sender to paradise) will also take care and multiply the community. The Valley will be called after his name Nepal or the Cherished of the Ādi Buddha."

Having thus disposed of Kārkoṭaka, Mañjuśri went on to different places to investigate whether the water had entirely run out of the lake or not; and wherever he found the water remaining, he caused it to pass out. Just about the time of this survey he found a large quantity of jewels, gold and riches. These he deposited in that lake where Kārkoṭaka was living. He likewise in this survey discovered the prostrate stalks of the Golden Lotus and holding them in his hands he pressed them down as far as to its roots where he met with a large bubbling stream of water, with which he was much intimidated and thus said to himself: "if the water continues to spring out in this way, it will be impossible to build a city,"—to avert which he began to pray to the Self-Existent. In his prayers Guhješvari or the Secret Goddess was revealed to him, first in the shape of water, afterwards in the form all things (*Viśvarūpa*). He was greatly pleased with this revelation and continuing all night in meditation on Guhješvari, he received a boon from her.

City of Mañjupattan

Thereafter, he laid the foundation of the Chaitya-Svayambhu, or the Temple of the Self-Existent, on the very spot, and covered the Golden Lotus with mud and stones, in such a manner that human beings could go there; and on the spot where Guhješvari¹ had revealed herself, he made a temple in the form of three-leafed Lotus. Three or four days after that, midway between the temples of Svayambhu and Guhješvari, he built a beautiful

and north of Chapgaon and are called Rasu Jharwa and Bhusrasa. The ridge they indicate is continued brokenly to eastward till it links on the spur from Phulchowk. The interval south between this broken ridge through which the Vāgmati makes its exit, and the southern barrier of the Valley, is in the width from two to four miles.

¹ The goddess is equally worshipped by the Buddhists and the Brahmanists. The former call her the Śakti Svayambhu or Ādi Buddha, and the latter style her the Śakti of Paśupati, whose emblem is the four-faced Phallus. The Hindus, however, have no account of the goddess so ancient and orthodox as this Buddhist one which is taken from the *Sambhu Purāna*;

city surrounded with a high wall, and planted about it several sorts of trees. For the city he constructed eight gates in eight directions, and in the centre of the city, he built a hall Darbar or Court with four golden gates, placing on the entablature of the gates the *ashtamaṅgala* and the torus. The golden portals of the gates were set with rubies and emeralds, and on both sides of the door were placed two images of the *viras* or demi-gods, and in front of the Court he erected a pillar of crystal surmounted by a golden likeness of a lion and near it he built a temple, the windows of which were of gold and silver, set with precious stones, and adorned with the images of gods and goddesses. The roof of the temple was of gold and on the top of it was set a golden Chaitya. Again near the temple he dug out a tank and named it Padmākara and planted a garden and the city was called after his name, viz., Mañjupattan.¹

4. Dharmākara

When the city was finished, the Rajah who came with him from Māhachin, because he was endowed with ability and knowledge and was a promoter of the happiness of his subjects, and also their cherisher, and pious and virtuous, by name Rajah Dharmākara was summoned by Mañjuśri and enjoined thus : “O Fortunate, O Maharaja Dharmākara ! I entrust you with the government of our newly built city. You will reside here and perform the services and adoration of the Self-Existent and of the Inscrutable Goddess and cherish your subjects. May you be pious, virtuous, liberal, strong and meditative !” After this he gave Dharmākara a few moral and philosophical instructions, celebrated his coronation and placed him on the throne. In return Dharmākara obeyed the injunctions of Mañjuśri, daily worshipping Svayambhu and Guhješvari and cherished his own subjects—and thus Dharmākara became the first Rajah of Nepal.

Svayambhu or the Self-Existent appeared in the golden age or *Satyayuga* when man’s existence was 80,000 years. After that in the *Tretā* or silver age, the city of Mañjupattan was built when human existence was 60,000 years. After his coronation Rajah Dharmākara built a Vihār and placed in it three golden images, of the following names : Mañjuśri, Varda Devi and Muchada Devi. Subsequently to the consecrating and enshrining of these images, Dharmākara daily performing their services and cherishing his subjects continued to reign for many years.

5. Krakuchchanda of Kshemavati

When man’s existence had been reduced from 60,000 to 40,000 years,

¹ There is no trace left of this first city of Nepal which is traditionally said to have occupied the sites of Hardigaon, Nandkeshavr etc., about a mile east of the present capital. The name Mañjuśri or Mañjughosha is pure Sanskrit—a circumstance rather opposed to the Tibetan habitat of the first recorded colony of Nepal.

then Visvabhū Bhagavān departed this life. After that a Brahman, an inhabitant of the city of Kshemavati by name Krakuchchanda, who had attained *Bodhiñān* and became a Buddha, taking numerous pupils with him and leaving his Vihār at Kshemavati and after performing *Chaukrama Yātra*, came to Nepal to see and adore Svayambhu. On his way the Buddha Krakuchchanda was joined by the king of Oude with his whole staff and retinue; and Krakuchchanda also took with him to Nepal the Brahman Gaṅgadhūj and three hundred more learned Brahmans, also Abhyananda and seven hundred more of the Kṣatriyas with many persons of the Vaiśya caste; and thus attended, he gradually arrived in Nepal. Just as Krakuchchanda beheld Svayambhu from a distance, he and his followers bathed in the lake of Dhanadal,¹ and then went on to the mountain of Vajrakūṭa,² where they visited the temple of the *Jyotisvarūpa* adoring and praising him.

Krakuchchanda and his followers next went to visit Guhjeśvari where after performing her worship, all of them drank three times a handful of water (or *amṛtāñjali*). Next taking a northerly direction and making a road where none before existed, they slowly moved, all of them, until they arrived on the mountain Sāñkhu, where they made a cave with stones and halted there for the night. Early the next morning, Krakuchchanda got up and thus addressed his pupils: "O ye, my pupils! I will give you some instructions in the *āchāra* or rules of the householder, of the yogī and of the bhikṣuka." After receiving these lessons, Gaṅgadhūj with three hundred of his Brahman comrades, and Abhyananda with seven hundred of his Kṣatriya followers, all embraced Buddhism and became Bandyas.³ Not finding water there for the celebration of their initiation, Krakuchchanda resorted to the new eastern mountain when praising and calling on the names of Svayambhu and Guhjeśvari, he thrust his right thumb into the side of the rock, and immediately there gushed out a stream of pure water, which falling from precipice to precipice became a rivulet, at the sight of which his followers and pupils praised him. In the meantime, after baptising them he allowed them to adopt or retain what particular *āchār* or rule they pleased, such as Gosaiṅ, Bhikṣu, Vaiśya, Kṣatriya etc.

¹ A small, deep lake about 3/4 of a mile in circuit, situated under the Chandragiri and about 1 mile beyond the low ridge of Chobhār, and about 1/2 mile west of the Vāgmāti. The lake is called in vernacular *Tou dāha*.

² Vajrakūṭa, Satyagiri and Gopuchha are various names for the small hill now called Svayambhunāth from the noble temple.

³ The genuine title of all regular or monastic Buddhists. The Bhikṣus are a mendicant order of Bandyas. Monachism has long since ceased among the Buddhists of Nepal, and the Vihārs or monasteries now secularised, form at present merely curious vestiges of antiquity.

Krakuchchanda gave to the newly created stream the name Vāgmāti,¹ and in the very instant the Vāgmāti appeared before him in the shape of a goddess holding in her hands a conch and a lotus filled with water, and thus entreated Krakuchchanda : “O Bhagavān ! I appeared according to your orders, and now what I am to do and where to go ?” On hearing this Krakuchchanda enjoined her thus : “O Vāgmāti ! henceforth your name will be spread all over the three worlds of Heaven, Earth and Hades, and you may go wherever you please, and wherever any river shall join you in your passage, there shall be a *tirtha* or holy place of pilgrimage and particularly three parts of your body or course will be great *tirthas*, viz., your source, middle and end. Whosoever shall bathe in you, his sin shall be washed away. If any leper but touch your water, he shall be instantly cured of his disease, and you will occupy an eminent place in the *Kaliyuga*, and be known as the Ganges. And when you join with Guhjevśari, you will become Mahāgaṅga.” After hearing all these things Vāgmāti disappeared in the form of running water flowing on till she joined the Ganges in the plains and was called Hemavati.

Next Gaṅgadhūj, the Brahman and his followers resorted to the place where they were to receive from Krakuchchanda the treasure and after the ceremony, he said to his pupils thus : “O ye pupils ! take up half of the hairs and throw them up to the sky, and the remaining half scatter on the stones.” No sooner had they done the latter than there arose out of those hairs *keśachaityas* where they appear up to this day ; and the half which was thrown up to the sky on the place where it fell there sprung out from the ground a pure spring called the Keśavati. This is Keśavati² which to this day falls into the Vāgmāti.

After this Krakuchchanda continued in meditation seated on the mountain and reflecting on his works and actions, was much pleased and in the meantime thus sought to pacify the jaded mountain : “O mountain ! sitting on your back I have performed many works : you will excuse me. You are very fortunate : formerly you were excluded from human sight, there being no road for anybody

¹ This is the chief river of Nepal. It rises at Badwar on Konkkoch mountain, the northern barrier of the Valley. The Vāgmāti is a clear stream flowing over sand, and carrying nothing but sand in its bosom. Hence its overflow in the rains is marred by devastation, a layer of pure sand being spread on the rich fields on the level of which it flows. All the Valley streams have the like drawback.

² The Viṣṇumātī or Bisnumati of the present day, the source of which at Keśa Chaitya is about one *cos* west of the source of the Vāgmāti. The Vāgmāti is the chief stream of the Valley of Nepal. It flows through two fissures of low ridges—one near its source at Gotareśvar, one near its exit at Gaṇeśthan. The latter is the celebrated sword cut of Mañjuśrī which in the language of the mortals be called the shock of an earthquake. There is every appearance of the truth of the legend asserting that the Valley was originally a lake and such indeed must have been till the lower disruption took place.

to come to you nor water to drink. Now I have made a fine road, and where there was no water I have brought out a stream from your bosom for the performance of the Bhikṣu ceremony. Your form was of a *sankh* or conch, therefore, you were called Sāṅkhu Parvata : henceforth you will be named Siddh Phullochcha." Having said this he came back to Guhješvari and near it saw his newly created Vāgamati river, and also the grove which had been planted, priorly by Mañjuśri and the three golden-bodied deers with lovely eyes.

Next Krakuchchanda reclining on the banks of the Vāgmati enjoined his pupils thus : "O ye pupils ! attend whilst I relate something about futurity. In this lovely grove eminent Siddhas, Yogis and Devatās will hereafter settle, and to them this grove will be a sanctuary. Behold now how in order to worship Śri Guhješvari, the three Deities—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa have assumed the likeness of the deers and are running about. Know further that a *Linga* of Mahādeva will appear here and this grove will be named Mṛgasthalī¹ ; and on both sides of this river Vāgmati on the different spots, some of the gods and goddesses will settle and also many Rajahs will successively reign in this Valley of Nepal, and it will be thickly inhabited." Having settled all these things about Nepal, Krakuchchanda vowed oft-times before Svayambhu and Guhješvari and then taking all the Bhikṣus with him he went away to some other country.

6. Dharmapāla and others

After this Rajah Dharmapāla of Ayodhya (Oude), who had come with Krakuchchanda, obeyed his orders and went to Mañjupattan, and visited Rajah Dharmendra of that place. The Brahman Gaṅgadhūj, the Kṣatriya Abhayananda also with 1350 Bhikṣus, settled in Nepal. Some of them took their belongings in the city of Mañju, and the others, in the environs of it in monasteries or vihārs.

After this Rajah Dharmākar of Mahāchin bestowed on Rajah Dharmapāla of Ayodhya the Raj-guddi or throne of Nepal and thus enjoined him : "O Dharmapāla ! from today you have become Rajah of the city of Mañjuśri ; you must perform the services of Svayambhu and Guhješvari and also of Tri Ratna², and leaving off the ten sins and vices, and cherishing your subjects, you must settle and reign here."

Dharmākar next pacified his subjects and then having no offspring, he

¹ The grove alluded to is still forthcoming and is called Paśupatiṅgāth, the Deity whose temple, devoted to the phallic rites, forms its principal ornament, Paśupati by the Brahmans is identified with Siva, and the servants of the temple are now Bhaṭṭa Brahmans of the Deccan. Guhješvari's temple is about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of that of Paśupati, and in the same grove. The Buddhists pay the highest honours to Guhješvari as the *Śakti* of Svayambhu but not to Paśupati.

² The Buddhist triad composed of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

retired to the mountains of Vajrakūṭa,¹ where after many years passed in the worship of the Self-Existent he departed this life and has ever since dwelt in the paradise called Sukhāvati.

Mañichūra

After this a Rajah of Saketnagar called Mañichūra came to Nepal and settled on one of the mountains which was and is still called after him Mañichūr². He established and found out the following places of worship : the Mañirohani river, the Manohara river, the Mañimati river³, Mañichūr tank or lake, and Mañi Chaitya, Mañi Yoginī, Mahākāl, Mañidhāra and Mañilinga—the account at large of all of which is to be found in the *Śambhu Purāṇa*.

Gokarṇa

After this one of the Rajahs named Gokarṇa obtained a boon from a deity by serving him and constituting a Liṅga of Mahādeva after his own name—Gokarṇeśvara. Next the mountain called Chāṅgu or Charu appeared upon which Kilwar Vitrāj⁴ was placed—also the emblems of Bunchheśvara and Gartetśvara were created and placed in the temples of Mañjugartha or Nepal.

Oria Āchārāya

After this Oria Āchārāya came to Nepal and adored and solicited the goddess Ārya Yoginī and also celebrating the Minavati sacrifice, enshrined in several places the following gods and goddesses : Vajara Yoginī, Phanikeśvara, and Dakṣiṇa Kālī.⁵ While Oria Āchārāya was performing the above-named yajña, there appeared Kāmadhenu or the Divine Cow, which was much pleased and told him thus : “This mountain shall assume my shape and constantly yield milk for ages to come.”

After saying this she disappeared. After Kāmadhenu's disappearance

¹ Now called Svayambhunāth, a small hill one mile west of the capital where is the temple of the Self-Existent.

² The most easternly part of Śivapur where Vajara Yoginī's shrine stands.

³ The large feeders of the Vāgmati within the Valley.

⁴ See *As. Res.* Vol. XVI where these several petty places of worship most of them still frequented are described. Chāṅgu is a spur salient into the Valley from the north-east barrier. The Valley is called Mañjugartha or hole or hollow of Mañjuśrī after that sage.

⁵ These are Tantrica Buddhist goddesses still held in high reverence in which the Hindus ignorantly join. Hodgson enumerates the Deities of Nepal Proper common to the Buddhists and Brahmanists. These are Gaṇeśa, Kālī Kumārī, Nadi-s (rivers), Vārāhī-s, of which only the Vajra-Vārāhī is the Buddhist one; Yoginī-s, the four Nārāyaṇa-s, Mahā-Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Jayavāṅgeśvarī, Rājeśvarī, Durgā, 64 Devatā-s, Paśupati, Guhjeśvarī (Prajña of the Buddhists) Svayambhu, Dakṣiṇa Kālī. *Vide. Hodgson Papers* (I), Vol. 7, fol. 58.

Oria Āchārya by going to the northern direction along with the banks of the Vāgmāti at last arrived on the hills of Kachapa or Chobhār, where having performed his devotions, he evoked Vijñānantaka, where the deity called Gandeśvara voluntarily appeared for whom also the Āchārya built a temple. There also appeared Ānandādilokeśvara and Vikrameśvara. And thus were revealed in the country of Nepal, the eight *vitāragas* where twelve *Tirthas* or the holy palces of bathing were established.¹ First of all is the *Punyaīrtha* which was established thus : There lived of yore a very cruel serpent by name Tuchak, who had committed acts of atrocity on the innocent people of the country ; consequently he was afflicted with leprosy for the cure of which disease he performed his penance near Gokarṇa² on the banks of the Vāgmāti. Some time after when he had got better of his sickness and had laid himself basking in the sun, a Garuḍa saw him from the above and took him up in the air. After combating for a considerable time at last Tuchak overpowered the Garuḍa and brought him down into the river ; and all the time while Tuchak was distressing and ducking him, the Garuḍa called out and solicited Nārāyaṇa for his interference and help. Accordingly Nārāyaṇa there and just as he was passing his famous *Chakra* to inflict a mortal blow on Tuchak, there arrived from the heaven called Sukhāvati, on the back of a lion, Āryāvalokiteśvara.³ No sooner had Nārāyaṇa seen him than throwing away his *Chakra*, he began to adore him and instantly mounted him on his shoulders. Seeing this the serpent releasing the Garuḍa joined in the worship of Lokeśvara saying : “I was a sinner, but through your kindness now I have become virtuous.” The Garuḍa also approached when Lokeśvara, having pacified them both, and made them good friends, took up the serpent and put it around the neck of the Garuḍa and mounted on the shoulder of Nārāyaṇa ; and again Nārāyaṇa placed Lokeśvara on his shoulders.⁴

Thus all the three of them, mounted on the lion, went to the mountain of Chandragiri⁵ where after dismounting Lokeśvara announced himself as Hari Hari Hari Vahana Lokeśvara and depositing a part of his essence there, departed

¹ See *As. Res.* Vol. XVI: *Translation of the Kalyan Pañchavīngsati and Notes.* The twelve places are all in the Valley designate of true Nepal of the Buddhists.

² The grove of Gokarṇa somewhat longer than Paśupati, is situated about 3 miles ENE of Paśupati. The temple is on the verge of the upper direction above alluded to.

³ For the Devas of the Buddhists, see Hodgson's *Illustrated Religion of Nepal, op. cit.* Āryāvalokiteśvara is identified with Padmapāni, the third member of the triad, also with Matsyendranāth.

⁴ In this way the Buddhists of Nepal have appropriated many of the chief Bramanical deities.

⁵ The Chāṅgu or Chāṅgunārāyaṇa before adverted to. To Chāṅgu the populace ascribe the country's exemption from poisonous snakes.

for Sukhāvati Bhavana, and the image of triply-mounted Lokeśvara is explained thus : the Lion, the Garuḍa and Nārāyaṇa being the three vehicles.

Here we must say a few words about the *Śāntitīrtha* which is near Guhjeśvarī on the northern bank of the Vāgmati. Pārvati, the consort of Mahādeva, having quarrelled with her husband, and become angry and vexed, fled to the protection of Guhjeśvarī and by steadily performing her devotions at last so pleased Guhjeśvarī that the mystic goddess relieved her from grief ; therefore the place where Pārvati had performed her devotions was called *Śāntitīrtha*.

In this manner the twelve principal *tīrthas* were established in Nepal. And now ended the *Tretāyuga* or the Silver Age and also Kanakamuni departed this life. In the beginning of the *Dvāpurayuga* or the Copper Age, Kaśyapa Bhagavān was born at Benares ; consequently the city was called after his name Kāśī. He took with him 84,000 pupils and having left the place of his nativity came to Nepal where after seeing Svayambhu and Guhjeśvarī¹ and performing their services and devotions to them and also making the *piṇḍayatradāna*, he blessed the inhabitants of Nepal and told them a little about its future history. Then leaving this place and wandering from country to country, giving eternal salvation to the inhabitants wherever he went, he at last reached Gaurdeśa or Bengal.

7. Prachaṇḍa Deva : Śānta Śrī

On hearing of his arrival, the Rajah of the country named Prachaṇḍa Deva brought him to his own house with alacrity and pomp, and having given him a lodging in a Dharmasala, worshipped and fed him with rice and milk. He then placed Kaśyapa on the *siṃhāsana* or throne and conferred on him as gift his whole kingdom. With this act of liberality Kaśyapa Bhagavān was highly gratified and told the Rajah thus : “O Maharaj Prachaṇḍa Deva ! today is the anniversary of the *Dvāpurayuga*'s commencement and you have granted to me a very liberal gift : consequently you will be released from the *chatur-mahābhaya* or four great fears ; and moreover you will get the *chatur-vargaphala* and will be received into the favour of the of the Almighty. You should therefore go to Nepal. There are four *dvipas* or divisions in this world, namely *Purvadvipa*, *Jambudvipa*, *Upergodevari* and

¹ Guhjeśvarī is the Tantrica goddess identified with Prajñā Dharma by the Pauranics among the Buddhists, with the house of Śiva by Brahmanists who likewise worship her, as already stated and whose legend of Pārvati and Guhjeśvarī is given in the Sequel. She killed herself and the god Śiva carried her corpse about till it rotted and fell to pieces on the earth whose *guha* descended in Nepal. She or it (the *yoni*) is worshipped in Nepal. Śiva is regarded not as destroyer but Jupiter Genitor and his Śakti as Juno Genetrix.

Utterkhaṇḍa, and among these *dvipas*, the *Jambudvīpa* is the purest and it contains five *kshetas* or holy places, namely Kāśī Kshetra, Himalaya Kshetra, Nepal Kshetra and Svayambhu Kshetra ; and among the above *kshetras*, the two last are the purest, where Svayambhu himself is revealed sitting on a Golden Lotus and where also are the Guhješvari Pithā, the Asht Vitāragas and also many *tirthas* including the Vāgmati and Guru Mañjuśri Chaitya, and also that of his disciple Guṇākara Bhikṣu. Take your abode under the protection of Guṇākara Bhikṣu and after worshipping him build a Chaitya in his name, and there inteach the way of eternal salvation to everybody. In return you will get the title of a Vajra Āchārya.¹ You will stay there and will receive apotheosis.”

On hearing all this from Kaśyapa, Rajah Prachaṇḍa Deva was highly gratified and thus said to him : “Hey Bhagavān ! Hey Lord Kaśyapa ! I will obey your orders and I will go to Nepal today.” After this his son by name Śaktideva was entrusted with the government of the country by Kaśyapa, who after crowning him as king thus enjoined him : “O Śaktideva Maharaj ! from today you become Rajah ; it is therefore incumbent on you to indulge and cherish your subjects.”

After giving his son some moral instructions, Kaśyapa departed from Gour for some other place when Rajah Prachaṇḍa Deva having performed his adorations and having laid his forehead on the feet of Vireśvara, left the country for Nepal. On his way thither, he visited several *pithās* and worshipped them, also bathing in the *tirthas*, and thus he at last arrived in Nepal. Soon after his arrival he bathed at Kāpotal Tirath and had rubbed all over his body the white sandalwood powder which is grown plentifully there. He next adored and worshipped Lokeśvarnāth² again, bathed in Kalidah, then besides visited and worshipped Dakṣiṇa Kālīka and went to Dhyān mountain³ calling the images of the Dhyāni Buddhas to mind, went to Jotinatrūch mountain and paid his respects to the Chaitya there. Thence he proceeded to the mountain Sāṅkhu where having performed the worship of Keśachaitya, he next arrived on the mountain Phullochcha⁴, where paying his respects to Vasundhāra Devi, he bathed in all the *tirthas* and visited the eight Vitāragas and praising the secret deities went on until he gradually arrived at Guhješvari. After worshipping her, he departed for the hill of Svayambhu and after his arrival there he

¹ Powerful teacher : name of the learned and clerical order among the Buddhist. See Hodgson's *Illustrations of the Literature and Religions of the Buddhists etc., ut. supra.*, p. 75 ff.

² Identified with Padmapāni, the third member of the triad of the Buddhists.

³ Dhyānochcha now Chandāgiri. Jotinatrūch or Jomocho now Nagarjuna and Sāṅkhu now Sivapur.

⁴ Phullochcha, the modern Phu'chowk.

made devotion at the Mañjuśri Chaitya¹ and also at Svayambhu's, offering the Self-Existent a necklace of jewels, and praying with profound respect and submission.

In the meantime Rajah Prachaṇḍa Deva after halting at Svayambhu, Chaitya for two or three days, called on Mañjuśri's disciple Guṇākara Bhikṣu. After saluting him, he solicited him thus: "Hey Guru! you are the disciple of Mañjuśri, the Jagat Guru: accordingly to the orders of Kaysapa Buddha I have come to you to dwell under your protection. You will be so kind to convert and make a Bhikṣu of me. Without it no one can receive eternal salvation. Wandering from place to place and visiting every *pithā* or shrine, I have at last arrived here. You are generous and affable; make me a Bhikṣu. Hey Mahāmati! Hay Guru!! Mañjuśri settled you here for the purpose of granting eternal salvation to a race like me; and also you are endowed with *pañchajñān* or the five sorts of preternatural knowledge. I bow before you and finally throw myself upon your protection."

Hearing all this from the mouth of Rajah Prachaṇḍa Deva, Guṇākara was pleased to instruct and lead him on to the best way to the true faith and them gave him the *mantra*, before the shrine of Svayambhu, also teaching him the holy texts by knowing which one can obtain preternatural powers. When all these and other ceremonies had been completed, Guṇākara took Rajah Prachaṇḍa Deva to the *maṇḍala* or temple of Ādi Buddha and there read over to him the *Nāmasaṅgīti Pat* and heard him read it by himself, whereby Prachaṇḍa Deva became contented and calm, and his original name was changed to Śānta Śrī Bhikṣu. From that day Śānta Śrī commenced reading the scriptures, usually the *Pat* of *Nāmasaṅgīti* and the *Dhāraṇis*, and remaining in the *yogāchārya* or the practice of the Yoga, and also making a great many people his disciples. Thus he became *trikaljñāni* or teller and knower of all past, present and future events.

One day as Śānta Śrī was meditating on the Self-Existent, it struck him that the Golden Lotus adorned with precious stones would be liable to theft and spoilation from the wicked generation of the *Kaliyuga* when the people should neglect or reject Buddhism and Śaivism would become predominant over Buddhism, and that, therefore he would act wisely to cover the Golden Lotus and its flame-typed Deity under a stone and cause a solid hemisphere of masonry to be erected on the spot so as to form the structure into a Chaitya.

8 The Chaitya of Svayambhunāth

Having formed this resolution in his mind, he took the articles of

¹ Chaitya is a Buddhist temple.

worship with him, went to Guṇḍakara, his Guru and said thus : "Hey Guru ! what I have realised in my mind may be known to you, by virtue of your fore-knowledge : I am your pupil and request you to permit me to cover the *Jyotisvarūpa* and to build a Chaitya upon that spot."

On hearing this the Guru Guṇḍakara addressed him : "Hey Śānta Śrī ! it was foretold by Mañjuśrī that some Rajah would come to Nepal and would build a Chaitya : therefore, you may build it, but only after obtaining the degree of Vajra Āchārya." Accordingly, he was formally made an Āchārya, and in the meantime was assiduous in his devotions to Svayambhu.

Proceeding to erect a Chaitya or temple for Svayambhu *Jyotisvarūpa*, he first of all dug a hole in the ground, and afterwards put the *Jyotisvarūpa* or the Sacred Flame in it, and having placed a precious stone over the hole and bored the same in the centre, he formally began to build the Chaitya. On the report of these things the Devas Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa, and the four Mahoragas and the eight Lokapālas came to the spot, and after praising Śānta Śrī, each of them agreed to perform the service that was assigned to him. Then Śānta Śrī brought a timber equal in height to Sumeru which he fixed correctly on end in the central part of the foundation stone round which he then built the *garbha* with bricks and mud, and that done, the image of Akṣobhaya Buddha was placed on the eastward side of it—his form and posture thus : one mouth, two hands, mounted on elephant, and his colour that of the sky, his right hand touching the earth. The southern side of the Chaitya was decorated with the likeness of Ratnasambhava—his form, one mouth, two arms, mounted on a horse ; his complexion yellow, and his right hand in the act of blessing. The western side of it was assigned for the abode of Amitābha—his form, one head, two arms, mounted on a peacock ; his colour red and both hands dropped on the lap meditatively. The northern side was the place for Amoghasiddhi, who has one mouth and two arms mounted on garuḍa ; his colour dark green ; his right hand raised forbids fear. The image of Vairochana ought to have been placed in the centre, but instead of it, was fixed on the eastern side to the right hand of Akṣobhaya : his form, one mouth, two arms, color white and mounted on a lion ; his two hands raised and brought together imply that all things are contained in them. In the the four intermediate spaces were placed the the images of the four Buddha-Śaktis, viz., Lochanā, Mamakī, Paṇḍra and Aryatāra. On the top of the *garbha* or hemisphere was erected a square basement for the superincumbent spire. This basement is called the *gola* and is surmounted by a torus. On each face of the *gola* are represented a pair of eyes having between them the *tika* or frontal mark—the whole called the *Pañchachakṣu*.

Above this basement was raised the spire aforesaid, divided into thirteen grades symbolical of the thirteen highest heavens. These grades were supported by the external shaft above spoken of as the base of a wheel which supports the spokes and felly thereof; and above the highest of the grades projected the apex of the middle shaft or *Churamani*,¹ over which was spread a golden umbrella. In the north-east side of the *garbha* or hemisphere and on top, Śānta Śrī caused a hole to be made in such a position that if anything be thrown into it by the pilgrims, it is instantly conveyed into the genius. And about the cupola he erected four flags upon which were written *dhāranīs* and *mantras* or sacred texts. He also on the four sides of the Chaitya suspended Digmātās. In this manner the Chaitya of Savyambhu Bhagavāna was finished and completed by Śānta Śrī Āchārya.

He likewise built a vihār or monastery round it, and in the meantime performed the ceremony of the induction or *prāṇapratīṣṭhā* of Svayambhu presenting to him flowers, fruits and sweetmeats. And after this Śānta Śrī built Puchagha Chaitya on the hill of the same,² and on the four sides of Chaitya placed the four images of the *tathāgatas* as before explained and by the assistance of Viśvakarma he performed the ceremony of induction or *prāṇapratīṣṭhā*. Near the Puchagha Chaitya he placed the feet marks of Majñuśrī in the Mañjuśrī-maṇḍala (a round symbolic slab) close to which he fixed an image of Chura Bhiksuni and of the Devis Varundā and Machadā (or the givers of blessing and salvation). Thereafter he built five temples for devotees, namely, Vasūpura in which was placed the image of Vasundharā Devi; Vāyūpura in which was placed the image of Vāyū or air; Agnīpura in which was placed the image of Agni or fire; and Nāgapura with the likeness of the Nāga. The fifth or last Bhavana or mansion was called Guhapura.³ It was a large and square hallow quadrangle and it contained nine apartments. It had no windows

¹ The nude apex or *Churamani* which in its form resembles too much the phallus or *liṅgam* of the Śaivas, has very often caused the diminutive chaitya to be mistaken for a phallic emblem. The name *Churamani* especially applied to the top or the phallus only is generally applied to the whole superstructure or spire of the Chaitya.

² It forms the western portion of the hill on the eastern peak of which stands the principal temple, or rather, Mañju's temple stands on the peak and Puchagha in the dip or saddle between the two peaks or peaklets for the whole hill is not 300 feet high.

³ Now called Śāntipur. It is now a parallelogram simply the brick walls of which are about 10 feet high and the pentroof is of tiles. The structure covers the mouth of a subterranean cavern, where in years when the rains fail, Bandyas go to pray to the Nāgas for rain. The cavern is alleged to lead to the Lotus or Flame of Svayambhu and thence along the recumbent stalk of the said Lotus to its roots at Guhješvari, 3 miles off to the eastward stands the area of the quondom Vihār or monastery of Svayambhunāth, which is marked by an irregular chain of 2-storied buildings having the main Chaitya for their centre.

and the building was very dark. In the centre of it were placed the images of the Gupt Devatās or Secret Gods. A time will come when the former name of the building will change from Guhapura to Śāntipura. When these works were complete, Śānta Śrī came back to Svayambhu and there placed the images of the six Bhairavas in different places in the vicinity—namely, one to the south of Guhapura called Pṛthvi-Bhairava ; second to the east of Svayambhu called Ap-Bhairava ; third on the slope of the same mountain called Tej-Bhairava ; fourth at the foot of the mountain on the southern side called Uaya-Bhairava ; fifth on the western side called Akāśa-Bhairava ; sixth on the eastern road called Sūrya-Bhairava and his consort. Again he placed the images of Kāli-Nāga in the middle of the eastern road, and also two images of Gaṇeśa—one called Pūrva-Gaṇeśa and the other Dakṣiṇa-Gaṇeśa. In four of the directions, he placed the images of the four *Mahoragas* and also close to each of these he built *maṇḍalas* or sacred circles.

After long performing the sacerdotal functions at Svayambhu Chaitya on the Puṇimā or 30th of Kārtika, Śānta Śrī scattered about the hill the five sorts of grain or *pañcaviija*, and walking around the hill or *pradakṣiṇa*¹ amid the singing of the *dhāranīs* and of hymns and playing and blowing of five musical instruments, Śānta Śrī entered into Guhapura to perform his devotions and disappeared from this world.

9. The Kaliyuga

Soon after this Kāśyapa Bhagavāna departed this life at the close of the *Dvāpurayuga* or commencement of the *Kaliyuga* when Krishna was incarnated and instantly Mārcharya became powerful and Buddhāchāraya was depressed. In the meantime, numerous races of the *duityas* (demons) appeared and fought the *devatās* (gods) and seeds of dissention were sown in the Universe and mortal arrogance, covetousness, sin and pride increased to the highest degree whilst virtue, sanctity and benevolence were extinguished. When things were going on this way, the demons manifested a desire to reconvert the Valley of Nepal into a lake as it was before the time of Mañjuśrī. Accordingly, they stopped the breach which was made by Mañjuśrī to let out the water. Consequently, the Valley was inundated and the water was raised so high as to reach the middle of the Svayambhu Chaitya² so that the demi-god Bhīma Sena used to come and play on a black stone which was uncovered with water and is visible to this day

¹ Circumambulation of the Chaitya in the direction of the sun is one of the most frequent acts of Buddhist devotion. Most of the temple images of Svayambhunāth hill as described in the text, are now forthcoming and in good order, being constantly repaired.

² It stands 350 feet above its immediate base and 100 more above the present river level of the Valley. Bhīma Sena's stone is yet extant.

in the west of the Valley of Nepal and is therefore called Bhimadhūṅga or Bhīma's Stone. After some time the Valley was dried up by the god Krishna and the inundated city of Mañjupattan was rebuilt and named Viśāla Nagar.¹

10. Buddha comes to Nepal

About this time in the city of Kapilavastu in Madhyadeśa was born in the family of Śuddhodana, a raja of Saka race, Sarvārtha Siddha afterwards named Śākya Siṃha. Sarvārtha, leaving the dominions of his father arrived on the banks of the Narañjana, where having performed his devotions for six years, he then went to Buddha Gaya. There sitting under a tree called *Bodhivṛkṣa* he obtained perfect wisdom, fought and conquered Raja Namuchi Mār² with his countless hosts, got the name of Śākya Siṃha Buddha, converted 1350 individuals whom he made Bhikṣus, and having taken them with him went to Mṛgadāvana or the forest abounding with deer. At Mṛgadāvana, Śākya assuming a posture suited to meditation instructed Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa with the devatās, daityas, rākṣasas, yakṣas, bhūtas, pretas and mortals of all the 4 castes in divine science, and having explained to them everything to their satisfaction, he established the Buddhamārga. All of them obeyed his injunctions performing those charitable acts which wash away the sins.

Then Śākya Siṃha wandering from climate to climate and offering eternal salvation to the inhabitants of every country he reached, at last arrived at Nepal, where, after visiting Svayambhu, he seated himself on the Lion Throne made by Viśvakarma between the Chaityas of Puchagha and Mañjuśrī and there read over to the people and to his own pupils the *Nepalamāhtmya* and the *Śambhu Purāṇa*. The place where this occurred is called Pala Siṃha.³ After this one of the pious Rajas of Nepal built a Vihār or monastery about two miles east of Swayambhu mountain where Śākya Siṃha resided for two or three years, and then having left there three or four of his disciples and enshrined in the Vihār his statute of gold, he departed in a northern direction and ended his life in the city of Kusinagtha. The pupils whom he left in the Vihār (began) to throw the remains of their food after eating at the place where formerly the divine cow Kāmadhenu had poured a quantity of milk, whereupon

¹ There is no trace of it now, other than debris and small scattered villages supposed to represent some of the *disjecta membra*. This is the Brahmanical version of the Lake Legend.

² Buddha personification of the principle of Evil. See Granfurd's *Ind. Archipelago*, ii, Plates 21-22—Namuchi's assault on Śākya and its frustration by the meditating sage.

³ The dip or saddle of the Hill of Satya Śrī *alias* Svayambhunāth. It is a short narrow peak between the eastern and western peaks of the hill—is low and detached from Nagarjuna *alias* Patmatrechcha.

instantly the shape of the Lord of Creatures (Paśupatiṅth) had sprung out from the ground.¹

No sooner was this profanation known, than the Buddhamārgis and the Śaivamārgis became divided into two parties. After this occurrence the cities of Devapatan, Kantipur, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur were built and peopled.²

11. Guṇakāmadeva

Guṇakāmadeva became the Rajah of Kantipur. He was addicted to several pleasures, committed innumerable acts of barbarity and licentiousness and in the meantime left off performing divine service to the Triad,³ and day and night spent his time in the company of beautiful women. Consequently, he became like a wild and ungovernable elephant and left the affairs of his government to his ministers who oppressed the subjects and violated the chastity of their wives and daughters and also extorted money from them to support their voluptuous expenses. The rulers and the subjects eventually became a like set of disorderly people. Consequently, the heavenly deities were provoked and offended with them, and instantly poured down the vials of wrath on their heads and a famine of seven years occurred in the country.

One day the prime minister of the Rajah having brought a beautiful woman for his bed, she addressed the Rajah thus : "O Maharaja ! by virtue of your past actions of benevolence and compassion you were born as Rajah and so you ought to do some praiseworthy actions in this life." On hearing such advice from a woman the Rajah came to his senses, and immediately sent for his subjects, and having taken with him offerings of flowers, fruits and sweetmeats he went to the mountain of Gopuchcha,⁴ where having worshipped Svayambhunāth, he went to Guru Śānta Śrī's shrine and confessed with tears his sinful conduct. He was consoled by his sincere revelations of his sins and went to his house. The next morning he proceeded to visit all the *tīrthas* or holy places giving much wealth to the poor and needy and thus found consolation for his own past. But the country was greatly distressed for want of rains. Consequently he went again to Śāntikara's shrine and petitioned him for rains. Instantly the, Guru sent for Kārkoṭaka Nāga and his eight colleagues, when Guṇakāmadeva having worshipped them, the rains set in abundantly, and to prevent the

¹ The story as recorded in the Sequel is a significant indication of the mutual contempt and hatred of the Buddhas and the Śaivas in ancient times. The Buddhists now pretend that the profanation was and is a sacred rite.

² The four towns still exist as Devapatan, Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon.

³ Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha—the Buddhist trinity.

⁴ Vajrakūṭa or Svayambhunāth as now called.

same evil in the future he took a little blood from each of the serpent's bodies and had their likeness drawn with it. The pictures are still deposited at Śāntipura which was called Gujapura before that day.

After this his son Narendradeva succeeded him in whose time there was another famine of 12 years' duration for want of rains.¹ Narendradeva taking Bandhudutta Āchārya and Fateh Singh Babu with him departed for Kāmṛūp or Assam in order to bring thence Matsyendranāth. Accordingly, Matsyendranāth was brought² and the rains and abundance were restored, in commemoration of which event the *Rathayātra* or Procession of Matsyendranāth was established in the city of Patan. At this time all the Rajahs of Nepal were Buddhists and they all united in the worship of Matsyendranāth of Kāmṛūp.³

¹ These reported famines are totally contrary to modern experience. In the last 30 years there has been one bad harvest and even then about half of the average crop was got.

² A D 437 according to memorial verses still extant.

³ Thus far the author of the *Vaṃśavali* has followed exactly and exclusively the *Śambhu Purāna*, a work, I believe, more ancient and authoritative than any the Brahmanists can refer to for Nepal Proper.

CHAPTER 2

BRAHMANICAL VERSION

1. Legends pertaining to origin

First of All there was nothing in Nepal except Paśupatināth,¹ whose beginning and end none can know or tell. In times of yore Dakṣa-Prajāpati commenced a sacrifice to which he invited his natural daughter Satī ; but in the meantime, he uttered some offensive language against Mahādeva, the husband of Satī which stung her to her heart and made her so miserable that she destroyed herself by plunging into the sacrificial fire.

On hearing of it, Mahādeva went there and took out her body from the fire, and carried it on his shoulders from region to region till it putrified by time so that the limbs were detached from the body and fell on the ground, and the fragments were worshipped as Devas, and were called after the limbs, as in Kāmruṇ, where her heart fell—Vatsala Devi ; in Nepal where her *guhya* (pudendum) alighted—Guhya Devi. This same Guhya Devi was born as daughter to Rajah Himachal and was given in marriage to Mahādeva with the country of Nepal as her dowry. The Rajah also gave the bride and bridegroom Himachal Desh and sent them to Paśupatipura, where the august pair or *Viśva-Śakti* took for their lodging a place called Mṛgasthālī.² On the notice of it the deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others were highly pleased and took Nepal for Anandpurī or the place of pleasure. They all came there and settled on commodious spots to perform their respective devotions ; therefore the *Śāstras* allege that the country of Nepal is Guptpuri and that the Devatās have continued to resort thither for three great ages on certain holy days.

In the beginning of the age *Kaliyuga* there was born in the city of Viśālā, about a mile from Paśupatipur, a Rajah named Dharmadatta, who having requested his spiritual instructor to give him an account of the origin of Nepal, his

¹ The legend is wholly Brahmanical, and by comparing the legends of the two creeds relative to Nepal it would seem that the Buddhists had the earlier and more personal knowledge and possession of the country—that is of the great Valley Proper.

² The grove of Paśupati lying on both sides of the Vāgmati which divides the grove transversely from north to south. The temple stands on the western or right bank of the river in a moderate dip or declivity ; and a bowshot of it is the temple of Guhjes'vari. The temples are at a distance of 2 miles from Kathmandu E.N.E.

Guru proceeded thus : “O Maharaja Dharmadatta ! this Nepal is a Dharmapuri or the City of Religion. All the deities have settled here and it is out of human power and understanding to tell and know all about them. Each of these deities has assumed four different names and forms, such as Gaṇeśa, who is worshipped by four different names, namely Śveta Vināyaka at Chābel,¹ Chandra Vināyaka at Chobhāl,² Sūrya Vināyaka at Bhaktapur, and Ratna Vināyaka at Paśupati. So also the four names of Kālī are Vatsalā, Mahā-Kālī, Dakṣiṇa-Kālī,³ and Guhuā-Kālī. And the names of the Kumāris are Kuāchi Bāla Kumāri of Patan, the Ṭhemi Bāla Kumāri, the Mayāti-Bāla-Kumāri and the Kumaridang Bāla-Kumāri.

“The names of four chief streams are Vāgmatī, Maṇimatī, Rudramatī and Viṣṇumatī.⁴ The four inferior streams of Nepal are called Prabhāvati, Hanumatī, Śakradānamatī and Bhānumatī.⁵

“The four Vārāhis are the Śveta-Vārāhi to the north, Nila-Vārāhi to the east, Vajra-Vārāhi to the south, and Dhantila-Vārāhi to the west.”

“The sources of the Yoginīs are Śri-Vajra-Yoginī of Sāñkhu, Nilatara Yoginī of Phirphing, and Vijeśvara-Yoginī of Kathmandu.

¹ Chābel or Chabahel is at Devapatan on the hither or western contine of Paśupati's grove.

² Chobhāl or Cho Vihār or the high convent overlooks the chasm through which the Vāgmatī flows. The low ridge in which the chasm or rupture is effected takes a round detached form and is known by the name Kachah Parvat.

³ Dakṣiṇa Kālī's temple is situated in a hollow or the southern confines of the Valley about 2 miles southeast of Phirping. Mayāti is on the banks of Dhobikhola less than one cos east of Kathmandu. Kumaridang is on the banks of Tukira.

⁴ The Vāgmatī is the chief stream of the Valley flowing through it about 18 miles. Its source is at Badwar at a considerable elevation on the Mount Śivapur or Sāñku. At Gokarṇa, and at Paśupati it passes through chasms or rents in low spurts from the mountain barrier of the Valley to the north, and then reaching the middle of the Valley, is joined by the Maṇimatī from the east and by Rudramatī from the north-east. The Viṣṇumatī rising near its source but further west, flows into it at the capital and the collected waters of the Valley then take a southern course about 4 miles to Chobhār, a low ridge that once traversed the southern region of the Valley drawing up its waters, but now exhibits a narrow fissure or rent at Gaṇeśthan through which the Vāgmatī flows ; and about 3 miles below it the Valley ends and the mountainous region begins.

⁵ Prabhāvati or Nakkukhola flows north from Lele to Chobhār. The Hanumatī flows west of Bhatgacn to Patan. Its upper feeders are the Virā, the Bhadrā and the Tamaśā. Lower down, it is joined by the Manohara from the north, and Godāvari from the south when the whole become Maṇimatī. The Śakradānamatī rising at Dehchok, flows N.S.E., 7 miles into the Viṣṇumatī. The Bhānumatī, now called Dhobikhola or Hija Khusi, rising in Śivapuri flows due south about 9 miels into the Vāgmatī at Barahi Tirtha.

“The four Nārāyaṇas with their respective *gaṇas* or followers are Śrī Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa whose *gaṇa* is Chinnamastā ; Śiṣya Nārāyaṇa whose satellite is Sishali and Ichāṅgu Nārāyaṇa whose *gaṇa* is Mahēsvārī.

“The four Mahā-Lakṣmīs are those of Khokhana of Lagantol, of Borē and of Thache Piṭha. The four Vaiṣṇavis are those of Yepia Piṭha, of Tondal, of Chāṅgu Piṭha and of Bhajaṅgu.

“The above-mentioned are the *yugade* or original deities. In the same age, Devi Jayavāgeśvārī, after having left her original abode at Mānsarovar and crossing the river Śilā, came to Paśupatipur and since then settled in the western part of it. After that event, Paramārth-Gansa came there and built Suddha-Tirtha. After that Rājarajeśvārī Devi came from Kamrūp and took lodgings on the western side of Paśupati. Next nine Durgās were brought and proclaimed, viz., 1. Vajreśvārī, 2. Koṭeśvārī, 3. Jhaṅgeśvārī, 4. Bhuvaneśvārī, 5. Maṅgaleśvārī, 6. Guhjeśvārī, 7. Vatbaleśvārī, 8. Rājeśvārī, and 9. Jayavāgeśvārī. The above-mentioned were the original Durgās in the country of Nepal. Sometimes after 64 more *devatās* came from their respective abodes and settled here in Nepal, and to give yet further lustre to the Himalayan regions, Svayambhu left his original habitation and settled here on the mountain Padmagiri.¹ Since then Nepal has been called Mahāpiṭha. Afterwards, the establishment of Paśupatināth, the Chaitya of Svayambhu², and the Masan of Karbeer caused the name to be changed from Mahāpiṭha to Suddhapīṭha ; and many of the munis and *devatās* after performing their devotions in such a holy place as Nepal, received eternal salvation.

“Some centuries after these events, a sinful Brahman named Virūpākṣa whose guru was Neyomuni,³ was instructed to perform the pilgrimage to Paśupatināth. Accordingly, he visited many holy places on his way thither, and no sooner had he arrived at Paśupatipur than he was metamorphosed into a deer, and received eternal salvation. His image in the form of a deer appears to this day at the southern gate of Paśupatināth.”

2. An intermixture of legends

After the above-mentioned discourse with his guru, Rajah Dharmadatta

¹ Śivapur, according to the Brahmanical authorities now being followed chiefly by the writer Padmagiri is the Hill of Svayambhunath.

² The Adi Buddha or Self-Existent Eternal Buddha of the Buddhists, The Chaitya or temple is that above described in detail.

³ Ne with the Buddhists is Ādi Buddha above mentioned ; with the Brahmanists, one of the sages or progenitors of the human race. Ne-pāl is the country cherished by Ne. Another legend is making the first king of Nepal a shepherd called Nepa, who gave his name to the country.

transferred his power and sway to his four sons, namely, Viraketu, Ásvaketu, Gātraketu and Raktaketu, and went himself as a devotee of Paśupatināth, where he could not get admittance without performing certain devotions. He, therefore, resided in the temple of Dharmeśvara Mahādeva, and while he was performing his devotions, Mahādeva was pleased and gave him proper instructions upon which he went to Guhjeśvari, where having performed his devotions on the day of Aṣṭami, the goddess was propitiated and gave him his *varadāna* or wish and also her own sword or Khaḍga. Having taken the Khaḍga, he came to Paśupatināth and named it Suprabhā.¹ He also caused the temples of Paśupatināth and Vasuki built very high in the form of a *Linga* or phallus and propitiated these deities by means of immense offerings. Thereafter, he built a Chaitya and also placed an image of Nārāyaṇa on the northwestern side of Paśupatināth's temple. Moreover, he built a golden fount and a golden throne, and to please Jayanageśvari, he consecrated them to her. After having performed all the above-mentioned praiseworthy acts, Dharmadatta Rajah, at last, received eternal salvation with his whole family.

After the lapse of some time, a daitya or demon named Danasur came from the plains, and took possession of the city of Suprabhā, where he ruled for a considerable time. For the amusement of his daughter Prabhāvatī, he for six years stopped the waterway of Chobhār, whereby the whole streams of the Valley were disembogued. Consequently, the Valley was rendered a lake, in which grew a Lotus floating about on water till it resettled at the temple of Svayambhu,² on which the Devatās remarked that there must be some superior deity there, and to ascertain it they resorted to that place when they actually saw Svayambhu himself. While the whole Valley was inundated, the following deities remained as they were before the flood in consequence of their temples being placed on elevated sites,³ viz., Śrī Vajra-Yoginī, Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa, the Devi of Pulchowk, Dakṣiṇa Kālī, Chobhāl,⁴ Paśupati and Svayambhu.

3. Semi-legendary figures

While these things were going on in this manner, Bhīma Sena, having left

¹ There is no trace of this city which and its Rajah Dharmadatta may be considered as the Brahmanical analogues of the Buddhist Mañjupattan and Dharmakar, *vide. ante*. Tradition says that Suprabhā stood on the site of the modern Thankot in the south or west extremity of the Valley.

² This looks like a paltry Brahmanical imitation and appropriation of the Buddhist legend of the *Sambhu Purāṇa* already given.

³ The temples named are severally about 800 and 600 and 4200 feet above the Valley. Dakṣiṇa Kālī and Paśupati are on its level, Chāṅgu about 600 and Svayambhu about 300 feet above it.

⁴ At Chobhār or Cho Vihār is Ānandādilokeśvari's temple, below which on the river side close to the chasm is the temple of Gaṇeśa.

his native country for Nepal, came in a pleasure boat to the place where Prabhāvati was playing in the water, and taking her by the neck retired out of the lake. He fixed in a prominent spot, a large stone called Bṛhmaduṅga before his retirement to commemorate the feat. Some time after this Krishna and his son Prodyamna came to Nepal and halted at Dahchowk.¹ Krishna gave his son the Chakra Sudarṣana and ordered him to clear the Valley of the water. Consequently, he went to the place where Kochak Asur was guarding the passage of the water, and having despatched him with a blow of the Chakra and opened the vent of the rivers, he thus discharged the waters out of the Valley,² and taking with him the daitya's daughter called Parbhavati, he and Krishna traced back their way to Dwarika, when all the rest of the devatas went back to their respective abodes. Thereafter, Suprabha Nagar went to decay, and long time after, a demi-god called Bhatbhatyani founded a great city named Viśala Nagar, which extended from Sañkhamut to the base of Śivapur of which Svayambhu Virata was made the king. Hearing the fame of this Prince, Vikramadiya, king of Malwa visited him in Nepal, and eventually Svayambhu Virata abdicated in Vikramāditya's favour.

Vikramāditya, after his succession to the throne of Viśala Nagar, caused many holy edifices to be built and consecrated to as many gods and also distributed alms among the poor and needy, leading a life of virtue and liberality.

In the meantime, the holy river Godāvāri, having left the Deccan and came and resided on the middle of Nilchour.³ In the same manner the Triśūlagaṅgā appeared from beneath the Himalayan mountains. Some time after, Rajah Vikramāditya having permission of the gods, went to his native Ujjain and brought from that place Hari Siddhi Tri-Śakti, and having settled her in the temple of Niltara, he constituted the yātrā or festival of Hari Siddhi dance in the honour of Hari Siddhi.⁴ After this example numerous dances were established in the country. Rajah Vikramāditya used to go daily to worship

¹ Dahchowk is a somewhat detached hill lying on the western confine of the Valley.

² This is the Brahmanical legend analogous to the Buddhist one ascribing the feat of Mañjuśrī. But it is odd that Krishna should get the honour of this exploit because the Hindus of Nepal are and appear always to have been Śaivas and Śāktas, not Vaiṣnavas. With them Nepal is Paśupati-Kshetra or the realm of Śiva, considered as Jupiter Genitor, whose emblem is the 4-faced phallus.

³ The flat or plateau beneath Phulchowk where the stream rises out which is feigned to be the Godāvāri of the Deccan. Every 12th year the festival of its appearance in Nepal is celebrated.

⁴ Hari-Siddhi is a Śaiva or rather Śakta deity; one of the terrific forms of the goddess analogous to the Vajra Yoginī of the Buddhists. Hari Siddhi is alleged to have been brought to Nepal from Central India at or near the age of the famous king Vikramāditya.

the four Nārāyaṇas, but after some time the Nārāyaṇas who were pleased with him, in order to save him the trouble of going to their temples, ordered him to place their images near his Court. Accordingly, he placed four images of the Nārāyaṇas to the west of his Court, and also built two *dhārās* or fountains near them. It is said that in one of them a koond flower having attached to it a *duba* appears annually, and that whosoever gets it will become rich and opulent. Moreover this Rajah constructed a large temple at a place called Uthulasthan, and placed in it the image of Bhovani with her *gaṇas* or attendants. To the south of the temple he built a *siṃhāsana* or throne supported by thirty-two *puttalīs* or idols. Its name was Devidatta Siṃhāsana and upon it he sat daily. Thus cherishing his subjects he continued reigning for many years. At last his old age obliged him to bequeath the throne in favour of his son Vikrama-Śrī, and himself he disappeared in the temple of Vajra Yoginī.¹

4. Vikrama-Śrī

Vikrama Śrī reigned with moderation and humanity, and constructed the Darbar of nine stories, having a large garden attached to it, in the middle of which was an image of Nārāyaṇa reposing on water. The place was called Bhandar Khal, and near it he placed Śīvamārgi deities Rāj Devī and Āgama-Devatā in whose honour he established an annual worshipping called the *Divālī*.

Sometime after, the *dhārā* or fountain which was built by his father entirely ceased to yield water, upon which he was much grieved, and reflecting that the *dhārā* had been built by his father after obtaining permission of the four Nārāyaṇas, he considered that it would be therefore better for him to obtain their sanction before repairing the fountain. Accordingly, he went to Jalāsyana shrine which is at the foot of Satya-Rudra mountain² (of yore, Śīvapuri of the moderns) to the Vaneśvar Jalāsyana, Jñāneśvar Jalāsyana, and the Avasthān Jalāsyana and addressed them thus : “O Gods, my father built a *dhārā* by your orders which has stopped. You will permit me to repair it.”

Accordingly, the four Nārāyaṇas told him to go and ask the jyotiṣis or astrologers who would tell him what to do. Instantly the Rajah sent for the astrologers and asked their advice. They having opened their books, and found something sad which they dared not utter, sat silent. The Rajah dispelled their fears and ordered them to speak out. Accordingly the jyotiṣis told him : “O Rajah ! if you are desirous of obtaining water from the stream³ which supplied the

¹ This bungling attempt to identify the famous sovereign of India with Nepal seem to imply that Nepal in ancient times was a *terra incognita* to the Brahmans.

² Both Satya-Rudra and Śīvapuri are the Brahmanical names for the mountains called Sāñkhu by the Buddhists.

³ A copious supply of good water is to this day secured for Kathmandu from the foot of Śīvapuri by means of embankment across the low level of the Valley. A small streamlet

dhara, you must offer a sacrifice of a man, who is endowed with thirty-two marks of royalty.”

5. Bhūpakesari, the patricide

On hearing this from the astrologers, the Rajah never opened his mouth to them, but at the same time formed a firm resolution to perform the sacrifice. A few days after, he sent for his son Bhūpakesari, and enjoined him on the fourth day to go to the streams where he would find a man sleeping covered with a cloth, whom he should destroy with one blow without seeing or speaking to him a word. On the appointed day Vikrama-Śrī himself went thither, and having covered himself with a cloth he slept on the spot pointed out to his son. The son having come there and seen a man sleeping under a cloth, according to the prophecy of his father, but quite ignorant that his father was sleeping there, destroyed him with one blow of his sword, and the streams immediately began to run. The son went to inspect them closely and was greatly astonished to find that the streams were running with blood instead of water, and the streams turned back their waters at the sight of a patricide.

No sooner did Bhūpakesari turn his back to go home than the streams began to run with pure water. When he arrived on the banks of the Itchamati¹ or Tukoh there he saw that the river was full of reptiles, but not knowing the real cause of it, he got home and slept. Just as he arose the next morning, he was told that the Rajah his father was found dead near the shut streams which had resumed their course. He went there reflecting in his mind that his father had deceived him in order to reopen the streams and had therefore made him commit an act of patricide, but, not revealing the secret to anybody, he performed the funeral rites of his father, and in the meantime appointing his mother as regent in his absence, he himself went to the temple of Vajra Yogini to make atonement for the crime of which he had not the least knowledge when he committed it.

No sooner had he reached the Vajra Yogini than he began to cry very lamentably. The deity having compassion on his miserable circumstances, sent her companions to pacify him. He was told that his sins would be washed off by these measures—“You will go in the western direction when you will find a bird flying : continue looking at it till it alights on the ground—there you will construct a large Buddhist temple.” After having received this advice from the yoginis he became settled in his mind, and the next morning he saw

is conducted along the top of a mound, which it perpetually breaks down, thus temporarily stopping the supply. The watercourse is about 7 miles along the city from Nilkanṭha to Jalāsyana.

¹ A streamlet running south into the Vāgmati and passing Kathmandu on the east at a distance of about a mile.

a bird flying which he followed according to his instructions ; and when it alighted, he laid the foundation stones of a Buddha-Manḍala. But in the meantime, on account of his sins the rains were so scarce that he was obliged to stop the course of the Vāgmātī to get water for the construction of the temple.

In this way, he finished it in the span of 12 years, and named it Khāsa Chaitya,¹ which appears to this day northeast of Guhješvārī. After that he went again to Vajra Yoginī, and while he was sitting before her in a submissive posture, she condescended to address him thus : “O child, I am much pleased with you. Now all your sins are forgiven : you will take the riches I gave to your grandfather Vikramāditya, and pay off the debt of the country and create a new era after his name.”

It was 3,044 years after the commencement of the *Kaliyuga*, when Bhūpakesari was thus engaged in the performance of atonements. His mother, the regent, in the meantime had built a temple in which she placed the goddess called Nausāgarā after her own name. The sculptor who carved the image of Nausāgarā lost his hands before the construction of the temple in the following manner : When he had first carved the image of Pālaṅchowka Devi,² his two fingers were cut off in order to prevent his making any similar beautiful idol for others ; but instead of sitting idle, he had made a second image at Nālā for which he had lost his right hand. This did not deter him from carving a third image called Sabha Bhagvant which was the cause of his losing the other hand ; and thereafter and when he had finished his work, Nausāgarā, the queen regent was much pleased with him and gave him so much wealth as rendered him quite independent.

6. Raja Bhoja

After this one of the individuals called Bhoja ascended the throne of Viśāla Nagar and made an attempt to place himself on the sacred throne of Vikramāditya, which was supported by thirty-two idols ; but successively each of the images having detailed the exploits and generousities of Vikramāditya ascended into the air and, last of all, the Simhāsana itself disappeared—particular account of all which may be found in the tale of *Simhāsana Battisi*.

¹ Khāsa Chaitya or Khān Chait (Boddhināth) stands pretty central on the upper level of the Valley, and is the largest Chaitya in the country though not so handsome or highly respected as Svayambhunāth. Khāsa Chaitya has long become abandoned by the Newars to the Bhotias whose *lamas* hold the sole ministry there besides sharing with the Bandyas of Nepal people in the ministry of Svayambhunāth privileges referring back to the times when political influence of the trans-mountain Tibetans was predominant on this side of the snows. To this fact the Nepalese of all sects are adverse to advert, but especially so the Buddhist.

² Pālaṅchowk is beyond the Valley about 6 *cos* east of it and north of Chaṇḍevsārī in the sub-vale of Banepā.

Sometime after, the arrogance of Rajah Bhoja provoked the wrath of Nauasāgrā Bhovani, who caused an unquenchable fire to appear from a well which was before her temple. The fire desolated the city of Viśāla Nagar,¹ and at the same time, the Rajah and a great number of his subjects were consumed in the flames, and the survivors scattered over the country, were obliged to inhabit small villages. After the depopulation of the city, a noted thief, hearing that there was a valuable gem or Parasmani under the Linga of Jñāneśvara, came to the throne and inflicted a blow with the hatchet in order to get the gem ; but to his infinite sorrow he beheld the Parasmani fly away and alight in the river Prabhāvatī. By and by one of the Rajahs of Nepal, having heard that there was a Parasmani in the Prabhāvatī, to get it caused an iron rake to be dragged along in the river by means of a cord ; but instead of getting the thing he was searching, the metal of the rake was metamorphosed into gold.

7. The legend of Piṅgala

Some years after this event, one of the Ranis of Marwar named Piṅgala, while she was slighted by her husband, saw the country of Nepal in a dream and expressed a desire to go there and place herself under the protection of Guhješvari, and accordingly she left her native country, and came to Nepal. Piṅgala propitiated Guhješvari by her devotion who granted her desire saying : “O Queen ! your hopes will be fulfilled and granted, but at the same time, you must build a Vihār at Chābahel² and reside therein, but never fail to come to me daily and put the black of my lamp in your eyes : then your husband will be submissive to you.”

Having said so, the goddess disappeared, and the Rani by the help of Guhješvari's *gaṇas* or followers having built the Vihār called Mejubahalkote³ and also four *dhārās* or fountains near it, lived after with great satisfaction. One day while she was sitting in the Vihār, the deities were amusing themselves with archery. By chance one of their arrows changed into a flat stone. On seeing this Piṅgala was much frightened, and immediately went to Guhješvari and begged the goddess to rechange the stone into some other form. To grant her request Guhješvari metamorphosed into the shape of Gaṇeśa which was called afterwards Śveta-Vināyka, the favourite Gaṇeśa of the Buddhas. Some time after this, by force of Piṅgala's severe devotions the mind of her husband

¹ There is no more trace of Viśāla Nagar than of Suprabhā in the Valley of Nepal. The legend may belong to Central India.

² At Devapatan near the Dhando Chaitya on the western and northern skirts of the Paśupati grove. Chābahel is a corruption of Cho Vihār, and the legend of Marwar would therefore seem to be Buddhistic.

³ Maiju or Meju Vihār means literally a female monastery or nunnery.

Sudanta became unsettled. He began to repent his late behaviour towards the Rani and to resolve on an apology, for the purpose of making which, he left the country and arrived in Nepal, where he found a most beautiful woman sitting surrounded by the Devatas who were just contriving to take her away to their homes, whilst the Rani was crying aloud for aid to Guhješvari and at the same time uttering his own name.

On hearing the name of Piṅgala, the Rajah was astonished and thought her without doubt to be the same Piṅgala his wife, which emboldened him to go near her. Upon which she got up and bowed before the Rajah, but at the same time, reminding him of his past behaviour and her own consequent distresses, and without uttering a syllable she went away to seek Guhješvari. The Rajah thereupon exclaimed : O Ye gods ! how dare you take away the Rani, my wife?" Hearing this the Devatas summoned him and calling him a liar and an imposter, they essayed to kill him with their respective weapons, upon which a skirmish ensued with alternate successes and defeats. At last the Rajah became wearied so that the Devatas overpowered him. when forthwith Guhješvari interposed between the combatants and assured the Devatas that the Rani certainly belonged to Rajah Sudanta. After this Guhješvari reconciled the Rajah and the Rani and they both settled in Mejukote Vihār for some time.

When things were going on in this manner, the four Bhairavas, namely, the Bhagatpur Bhairava, the Nawakot Bhairava and others, deeming that the Devatas had lost their supernatural power and consequently had confederated together to establish their power in the country, whereby they might get the blood of sacrifice goats to drink ; they reported this conjecture to the Devi of Indrāṅi-Ghat,¹ who thereon came to settle in Nepal, and has since been called Mana Magju ; and after her arrival the four Diśa-Kumaris came and settled, *i. e.* Bālakumāri of Ṭhemi east,² Bālakumari of Koochi in Patan south, Bālakumāri of Mayati west, and Bālakumāri of Maṅgalapura north. These four goddesses are considered as the supreme guardians of the country and are settled in the four quarters of Nepal.

¹ On the Triṅṅuli in the Valley of Nawakot which is 18 miles W.N.W. of the Valley of Nepal.

² Ṭhemi is a Newar town half way from Kathmandu to Bhatgaon and about 4 miles east of the former. Maitti or Mayati is on the banks of the Dhobikhola a mere shrine, and Maṅgalapura is a village north of it.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL DYNASTIES

1. The Gopālas

In the fourth or last part of the *Dvāparayuga*, when 16,000 years were remaining for its end, and then Rajah Dharmadatta had reigned in the country for 10,000 years. After his death the country remained destitute of any ruler. After Danasur had ruled for 1,000 years, again 1,000 years elapsed without any ruler. After that the Rajahs of Viśāla Nagar had the possession of the country for 2,000 years. Next Piṅgala Rani reigned about 50 years when of the *Dvāpura* there remained 950 years. Then the Gods convoked a general Council in which it was agreed, that as the commencement of the *Kaliyuga* lay at hand, it was fit to appoint human Rajahs.

Here commences the reign of human or mortal Rajahs thus : In one of the jungles called Slekhamavti¹ was buried the image of Paśupati¹ under the ruins of his temple. This image was brought to notice and dug out thus—a Brahman inhabitant of Kirtipur had a cow named Kapila, which used to go there to stream her milk on the heap, where the image of Paśupati¹ lay hidden. This was perceived by Gopāla the Brahman, who to satisfy his curiosity removed the materials of the ruined temple when he found the image of Paśupati¹, which he worshipped in a temple. Afterwards Ne Muni² came there, and bestowed the sovereignty of Nepal on Gopāla who accepted it with reluctance. He was named (1) Bhumangat. He died in 88th year of his age. While he was reigning Paśupati¹ used to assume the shape of a Kirante³ and go to amuse himself in the jungle of Slekhamavti.

Bhumangat was succeeded by his son (2) Bhimagupta who died in the

¹ This is the grove of Paśupati as now called. It is a lovely grove of *laurus folias* of *olea fragrans* and other trees about two miles in circuit.

² The saint or sage named before. This also is a Brahmanical legend. The present version of it says that the first king was called Nepa and the sovereignty that of the Shepherds.

³ The Kirantis or Kirātas are a numerous tribe of eastern Nepal called after their *Kirant Desā*. They conquered and held for a long time the Valley of Nepal Proper as subsequently narrated.

85th year of his age, and left a son and successor (3) Maṅigupta who died in the 88th year of his age, and his son (4) Viṣṇu or Viyagupta ascended the throne and died in the 92nd year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (5) Yakṣagupta.

Although the dynasty of Gopāla ruled the country for five generations, in the meantime they did not leave off their original profession of cow breeding at Mātātirtha.

2. The Ahirs

The last Rajah of the Gopālavamśis or Shepherd Dynasty died without leaving an heir to rule the country. Consequently, an Ahir or herdsman was brought from the plains and made Rajah. His name was (1) Bālāsīmha who died in the 75th year of his age. His son (2) Jayamatisīmha succeeded him after his death. Thereafter (3) Bhuvanasiīmha ascended the throne and died in the 45th year of his age. The average reign of the three above mentioned Rajahs was 70 years.

3. The Kirātas

While Bhuvanasiīmha was yet reigning, swarms of Eastern Kirantis having left their native soil, attacked and subdued Bhuvanasiīmha ; and establishing themselves in Nepal, appointed a Rajah of their own by name (1) Ilamb¹ who died in the 50th year of his age, and was succeeded by his own son (2) Pambee, who died in the 35th year of his reign. While he was alive, the era of *Kaliyuga* commenced, which was reported to him by the astronomers and afterwards proved to him by the sinful conduct of the people.

His son (3) Daskan succeeded him in the fifth year of *Kaliyuga* era, and having reigned 36 years was succeeded by his son (4) Bulunch who having occupied the throne for 19 years died, and was succeeded by his son (5) Mahuti. Arjuna, one of the five brothers of the Mahābhārata, visited Nepal in his exile and had a desperate combat with Mahādeva Kirāteśvara, and pleased him by his bravery.²

After the death of Mahuti his son (6) Jetedasti reigned for 9 years. In the battle of Mahābhārata he assisted Arjuna with his forces. He was succeeded by his son (7) Tuska who reigned 69 years, and was succeeded by his son (8) Parb

¹ Ilamb, the first Kirāta Rajah, is called by another chronicler the grandfather of Daskan who ascended the throne according to that authority in 3095 B.C. The present chronicle agrees on that head, the 5th year of the *Kaliyuga* being equivalent to 3096 B.C.

² Hauti or Bhitti, says the authority above adverted to, which makes Hauti, Tuska, Sarpast, Parb, Jit Dastri, Pancha, Keng Keng, Sorand, Thouks, Girgin, the line of succession to Hauti aforesaid. These genuinely barbarous names vouch the accuracy of the recorder who must have given them to posterity with shame and regret as the pristine kings of his own country. The Kirantis are still looked upon as unclean infidels devoted to Lamaism and beef-eating.

who died after a reign of 45 years, and was succeeded by his son (9) Pancha who died after ruling the country for 37 years, and was succeeded by his son (10) Kengkeng who died after a reign of 38 years, and was succeeded by his son (11) Sonad who reigned 41 years. After his death his son (12) Thoomka reigned 59 years, and was succeeded by his son (13) Gigreen or Gighri, who died after a reign of 71 years, and was succeeded by his son (14) Tunney or Tunkey who reigned 49 years and was succeeded by his son (15) Sookey who died after a reign of 53 years, and was succeeded by his son (16) Thoor who died after a reign of 39 years, and was succeeded by his son (17) Kesoo who died after a reign of 31 years, and was succeeded by his son (18) Loongo who reigned 29 years, and was succeeded by his son (19) Gansa who died after a reign of 32 years, and was succeeded by his son (20) Gananj who died after a reign of 35 years, and was succeeded by his son (21) Kheboo who died after a reign of 37 years, and was succeeded by his son (22) Gasteo who reigned 31 years.

The dynasty of the Kirāta Rajahs established their court or Darbar close to Gokarṇa, in a jungle. In the reign of Gasteo this Darbar was infested by jamboos or jackals.¹ One day Gasteo the king made a resolution to destroy them all : accordingly, having taken his bow and arrows, he ran after them as far as Gupteśvari, which was situated on the banks of the Vāgmati. There the jackals were protected by Mahādeva, and a place was assigned to them to reside and called after their name Jambookdal.

4. The Somavamśis

When 1,118 years of the Kālī era had passed², the above-mentioned dynasty of the Kirātas was conquered by the *Somavamśis* dynasty which came from the West and established their Court in the vicinity of Godāvari under the mountain of Phulchowk.³ Gasteo, the vanquished Kirāta Rajah retired and settled in Manjkirant, the original seat of his tribe.

The dynasty of the *Somavamśis* reigned in Nepal thus: (1) Nimiṣa, the first ruler, died at the age of 40 years, and in whose times cows and Brahmans were much revered. It has also come down to us by tradition that in the reign of this Rajah, a yogī or ascetic threw his *samarni*, *sota*, *jholī*, *tumba* and *bhabhut*⁴ into the river called Godāvari in the Deccan, and these things were brought up through the bowels of the earth in Nepal, and were seen floating in a fountain

¹ Probably the wild dog of the Himalayas.

² 1983 B.C.

³ Eight miles south of Kathmandu. Phulchowk is the loftiest peak overlooking the Valley of which it forms the southern confine.

⁴ Habiliments and paraphernalia of a *faqir*.

under the mountain of Phulchowk,¹ wherefore the place was called Godāvāri and still retains the same name.

Nimiṣa was succeeded by his son (2) Matkaṣa, who died in the 61st year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (3) Kākavarma, who died in the 76th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (4) Paśupreṣavarma, who died in the 86th year of his age. In his time was repaired the temple of Paśupati which was on the verge of falling to the ground and its roof was covered with copper gilt sheets.

In the year 1239 of the Kālī era² Paśupreṣavarma was succeeded by his son (5) Bhāskaravarma, who died in the 88th year of his age after having conquered all the country as far as Rāmeśvara in the Deccan, whence he brought an immense deal of booty of gold and jewels, all which he presented to the temple of Paśupati, at the same time, building a very rich fount or *dhārā* inlaid with gold to the west of the temple, and washing the image of Paśupati with gold dust which was thrown into the Vāgmati. Rajah Bhāskaravarma also built a new city and named it Svarṇa Nagar.

5. The Sūryavaṁśis

Raja Bhāskaravarma died without issue, but before his death he appointed a Sūryavaṁśi as his successor and named him (1) Bhūmivarma, who died in the 71st year of his age. Bhūmivarma ascended the throne in 1389 of the Kālī era (1712 B.C.) and removed his Darbar from Godāvāri to the vicinity of Vāgeśvari. Bhūmivarma was succeeded by his son (2) Indravarma, who died in the 61st year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (3) Jayavarma, who died in the 82nd year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (4) Vriṣavarma, who died in the 61st year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (5) Sarvavarma, who died in the 76th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (6) Pṛthvivarma, who died in the 76th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (7) Jyeṣṭhavarma who died in the 76th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (8) Kuveravarma who died in the 88th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (9) Siddhivarma, who died in the 61st year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (10) Haridattavarma, who died in the 91st year of his age.

He used to go daily to worship the four Nārāyaṇas, namely Chāṅgu, Sishya or Sikhor, Viśāṅkhu and Ichāṅgu. After a considerable time in his way one night he saw in a dream Jalāsyana Nārāyaṇa,³ who told him that

¹ Viz., at Nilchour afore-mentioned. The waters of the Godāvāri are conducted into the noble temple of Kumbheśvar in the city of Patan, whence they flow from a golden spout into a holy tank.

² 1862 B.C. Another chronicle says that this Rajah introduced caste into Nepal and divided the people into four primary orders of Hinduism.

³ Jalāsyana's image is that of Siṣya Nārāyaṇa which is nevertheless transformed into Nilkaṅṭha or Śiva by the Śaivite prejudices of the Nepalese Brahmans.

he need not take the trouble of going to the four Nārāyaṇas daily, but should dig up the image of the said Jalāsyana which was lying under the ground in the bed of the Rudramatī:¹ for that image was the original Nārāyaṇa of Viśāla Nagar as Haridattavarma might prove by removing the earth with which it was covered. Accordingly, the Rajah ordered the work to be commenced ; and while labourers were removing the earth, the workmen struck the image on the nose which was still damaged, and is discernable to this day, and the Rajah installed the image in a sleeping posture in a tank which he built for the purpose. He likewise built the temple of the four Nārāyaṇas².

Haridattavarma was succeeded by his son (11) Vāsudattavarma, who died in the 63rd year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (12) Pativarma, who died in the 53rd year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (13) Śivaviddhivarma, who died in the 61th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (14) Śivadevavarma who died in the 67th year of age, and was succeeded by his son (15) Vṛkṣadevavarma, who departed this life in the 61st year of his age.

Vṛkṣadevavarma

The Rajah Vṛkṣadevavarma had established a rule never to take his food without first worshipping and seeing the goddess Vajra Yoginī. One day Buddha Bhagavāna said to him thus : “O Rajah, I came here in the time of Raja Dharmadatta. Since then I have been residing in the Śuṣkarī-Vihār which was built by Piṅgala Rani. Now I hope, you will construct a Buddha Maṇḍala for me and when it is finished, you will hoard up my riches in it, and name it, Dhanadeva.

In conformity with Buddha's injunctions, the Rajah caused the temple to be built in Chabāhel and named it Dhanadeva.³ Then the Rajah reflected respecting the Brahmaical Devatās, that all of them were wont to be represented in four shapes and names, and that he should therefore do the same for the Buddhist deities. Accordingly, he built a Chaitya and also a village called Basiragaon or Bandyagram near Godāvari.⁴ Since that period the four Buddhist Nārāyaṇas were constituted in Nepal, viz., Svayambhu, Khāsa Chaitya, Dhanadeva and the deity of Banragaon.

¹ The Manohara, which with other eastern feeders of the Vāgmati becomes before the junction therewith, the Maṇimati. The chief eastern feeder is the Hanumati flowing from Bhatgaon district ; as the Manohara does from Sāñkhu district. The span of Chāñgu Nārāyaṇa divides these two districts and their waters till it ceases or subsides.

² The temples still stand in the sites recently indicated and are much frequented, the two former by both the sects, the two latter by the Brahmanists only.

³ Usually called Devapatan Chaitya being near that place on the roadside leading to Khāsa Chaitya (Boddhināth) as already stated.

⁴ Proceeding south from Patan to Godāvari, you pass through the pretty Newar towns

It is also said that in the time of this Rajah the sect of the Buddhists became very powerful and built a Vihār called *Punya-Vihār* which was inhabited by their class, who used to throw leavings of their food and drink on *Paśupatināth* every evening and that next morning remove it from his image and worship it.¹ In this way the Jainadharmis or Buddhists continued treating *Paśupatināth* for a considerable period, at the same time bringing there the image of *Lokeśvaranāth* from *Chobhār* and performing the ceremony of *Rathyātrā* annually and all the religious rites of *Paśupati* were there performed by thier sect who were the sole Pujaris in Nepal ; for the Rajahs and the people had all embraced Buddhism and plunged themselves in the ocean of *Buddhamārga*.²

6. The legend of Śaṅkarāchārya

While they were going on in their own manner the Śivamārgis made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent their throwing the *ucchiṣṭha* or leavings of food on *Paśupatināth*. But the Buddhists conquered the followers of Śiva by their powerful debates and arguments from their *Śāstras*, and drove them out of the country, thereafter keeping the temples of *Paśupatināth* which they constantly filled with their *ucchiṣṭha*. Upon this the God *Paśupatināth* reflecting that the Buddhists had become too powerful, determined to lower their pride. Accordingly he caused a Brahman widow of the southern country or Deccan to bring forth a child who was called Śaṅkarāchārya. But the widow was accused by her relations of having had an unlawful intercourse with some person or other which had caused her to be in the family way. The charge or stain was soon cleared away by *Mahādeva* himself who cried out from the womb and saved his mother. No sooner was Śaṅkarāchārya born than he became perfect master of the six *Śāstras* and having left the place of his nativity, he went to visit the sources of the Ganges, where he established an image of *Mahādeva* and came to Nepal in the 200th year of his age. On his way to the temple of

of *Hari Siddhi*, *Thaibu* and *Banragaon* in quick succession, and hardly on your left hand leave *Sanagaon* and *Lumbhu*, a parallel road south from *Patan* leads through *Sanaguthi*, *Thecho*, *Chapgaon* and *Pyang*, leaving *Vāgmati* and *Khokana* on the right. The latter road is 1 to 3 miles west of the former.

¹ *Mahadeva* is regarded by the Buddhists as one of the ten *Dikpālas* and it is their custom still. *Ucchiṣṭha* under the name of *Ucchiṣṭa-Bhairava*.

² I consider it pretty certain that in all ages the majority of the inhabitants of Nepal Proper or the Newars, were Buddhists ; notwithstanding the subjection of the Valley for 75 years to a Brahmanical dynasty, it seems certain that the *Bandhas* constitute still the majority. *Kirkpatrick* and *Buchanan* erred as to the number of the *Bandhas* by supposing that all the *Bandhas* were *Bandyas*—a palpable gross error. Every part of this Valley is covered with Buddhist monuments and temples, very many of which have been usurped by the Brahmins ; and as the deities to whom they are consecrated are *Tantrica*, a good deal of conversance with Buddhism is required to trace these usurpations of the Brahmins, and consequently to understand how almost universally prevalent in Nepal Buddhism have been

Paśupati, he was met by the goddess Guhješwari near Jñāneśvara who blessed him with a *varadāna* or wish with which he conquered the Buddhist vanguard and having dispersed their hosts reached the temple of Paśupati, where he beheld the image of the god buried under the leavings or *ucchiṣṭha*. These he attempted to remove, but in the meantime, more of the Jainadharmis arrived and prohibited his so doing without first conquering them by religious debate. The debate was accordingly commenced and in the meantime, a supernatural voice warned Śaṅkarāchārya that he was arguing with Sarasvati herself whom the Buddhists kept detained in an earthen jar.

On hearing this he immediately removed the cloth screen which was suspended in his front and actually found the jar which he took up and threw away, commanding the goddess to retire to her abode. Śaṅkarāchārya then overpowered the Buddhamārgis by his warm and powerful eloquence. Some of them fled the country, and others were slaughtered on the very instant and their sacred books were destroyed and burnt to ashes.¹ And thus was the Buddhamāga striped of its predominance and the Śaivismārga firmly established in Nepal, and since then the sacerdotal functions of the Paśupatināth have become the monopoly of the Deccani Brahmans.

Afterwārd, Śaṅkarāchārya went to Vajra Yogini in order to extirpate in the like manner her worship and followers. A debate ensued, but in the end it was settled by mutual agreement of both the religionists that henceforth both mārgas or sects should have equal access to the temple and can offer goat sacrifices.² From that day the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇavā and the Tāntrica sects became powerful, and their principles and rites came to have much influence over the practices of even the Buddhists, so that the Bandyas or orthodox Buddhamārgis were appointed to discharge their duties in the temple of the Devīs², where without the killing of the goats the deity is not pleased, though this is quite contrary to the tenets of the Bandyas.

After Śaṅkarāchārya had extirpated the Buddhists except in the northern

¹ I am much inclined to doubt if Śaṅkarāchārya ever visited Nepal, and believe the debates and struggles by the two creeds referred to in the text, have relation to what occurred in the plains of India, where the prosecution of the Buddhists was furious—root and branch eradication in fact. Nepal, I believe formed a secure asylum to the prosecuted, where the majority of them were and even still are Buddhists, notwithstanding the Gorkha conquest. I have no doubt, therefore, that the majority contrived to protect their lives and property and it is certain that the Buddhists now cover the Valley and abound in it.

² Upon the footing of mutual concession and compromise the two creeds have since existed in Nepal without causing any uproar, the common adoption by both the Brahmanists and the Buddhists of the Tāntrica rites and ceremonies appearing to have been the means of approximation. The Tāntrica authorities of the Buddhists differ from those of the Bramanists, but popular ignorance discerns not this.

region,¹ he settled himself in the coast of the southern sea. When Śaṅkarā-āchārya came to Nepal, Rajah Vṛkṣadeva had just begot a son whom he named (16) Śaṅkaradeva, who died in the 65th year of his age. This Rajah caused an iron Triśūl named Manbegi to be erected with great expense near the northern door of the Paśupati's temple and he also filled up with earth the well which was near the temple of Rajeśvari, which has the power of telling the past life of any one who presented his face over the mouth of it. He likewise established Mahādeva in the vicinity of Paśupatinath called Anahavrateśvara, and next placed a stone Nandi or Bull in front of Paśupati's western door. Śaṅkaradeva was succeeded by his son (17) Dharmadeva, who died in the 51st year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (18) Mahadeva, who died in the 51st year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (19) Vasantadeva, who died in the 36th year of his age. Vasantadeva ascended the throne of his father in 2785 of the Kālī era.² Here I quote a stanza from one of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* or Books treating with futurity. It says: "That from the beginning of the Kālī era the name of Viṣṇu will be revered for 10,000 years; for the half of that period of Gaṅgā, and again for the other half of it or 2,500 years, of those of the village deities." But it appeared otherwise in Nepal, which country being a Davapuri (holy land), the gods maintained their intercourse with mortals for three hundred years longer than is said in the *Purāṇa*.

Vasantadeva was succeeded by his son (20) Udayadeva, who died in the 37th year of his age, and was succeeded by the son (21) Mānadeva, who died in the 35th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (22) Guṇakāmadeva, who was succeeded by his son, (23) Śivadeva.

Śivadeva

Śivadeva died in the 51st year of his age; and whilst he was reigning, he left his old Darbar of Vāgeśvari and constructed a new one of nine stories in Devapatan and also brought the image of Nṛtyanāth from Śatarudra or Śivapuri mountāin,³ and placed it in the western direction of Paśupati's temple. After that he built nine *tols* or divisions of the vicinity and in each of them placed the image of Gaṇeśa by different names. He brought the image of Bhīmeśvara from the eastern country and placed it in the western part of the Paśupati's temple, and likewise placed the image of Bhairava in front of his Darbar for the

¹ *Viz.*, the sub-Himalayan regions including Nepal. We can hardly otherwise interpret the terms of the text and so interpreted, the question of Śaṅkarāchārya's violences is decided *quoad* Nepal; for they must have taken place about one thousand years ago. This would give for Rajah Vṛkṣadeva a date in the 9th century of Christ, say, A.D. 800.

² 316 B. C. This is eleven hundred years prior to the approximate date just attempted for the Rajah, 4th only in descent from Vasantadeva.

³ Northern portion of the Valley, 27 miles from Kathmandu.

safety of his numerous subjects. Once he discharged the debts of his subjects out of his pocket, and to weigh the bonds of the paid off debts, he got a stone which was afterwards worshipped as Bhairava and went by the name of Śīla-Bhairva.

Śivadeva also built a city on the four crossroads, which was named Naubali, and in which were formally placed the images of the following deities with their respective *vāhanas* or carriages and *gaṇas* or followers : 4 Gaṇeś, 4 Bhairava, 4 Nṛityanāth, 4 Mahādeva, 4 Kumāri, 4 Khaṇḍita-Buddhas, 4 Khamba, 4 Gaganāchari. He then placed at the door of each temple the image of Mahādeva to guard the entrance of it. Again he placed nine different Devis in nine directions of the city and also built and placed where required, doors, wells, streams, Nṛityanāthas etc. etc., and named the city Gullo or Svarṇapuri.¹ He also re-establishd the images of Vana-Kali and Vana-Vinayaka which lay hidden in ruins, and also to the west of Vajreśvari he built a *maṣān* (*maśāna*) or places to burn the dead.

He constituted a *yātrā* to the goddess Vajreśvari which takes place annually on Phālguna-Badi Dvādśi or Trayodaśi (or 13th) when the Kumāris or Virgins are feasted, and on the Chaturdaśi (14th) of the same month is performed the ceremony of procession or Rathyātrā while fires are kindled before the images of Mahādeva throughout the city,

Śivadeva also propitiated Paśupatināth by his devotions and also showed a resolution to offer *narabali* or human sacrifice to Vatsalādevi. Accordingly, he invited all the gods and goddesses of the country and after worshipping them formally, he shortly after, actually offered a human sacrifice to Vatsalādevi by the hands of the Āchāryas, at the same time, ordaining that the human sacrifice be offered annully to the said goddess by his successors.

He likewise appointed Āchāryas to perform sacerdotal functions in the temples of the Devis. He was told by some person that a Siddha or saint came to bathe in the Svapna-Tirtha;² and so he went to that place where he met the Siddha, and having brought him to his house and settled him close to Tāneśvara, afterwards by his advice the Rajah had painted the inner part of Jayavāgeśvari's temple with religious formality. Some time after this, the Siddha told the Rajah that he (the Siddha) was the incarnation of the Durvāśā Rṣi and had established the following Devatās, namely, Navaliṅga, the Pañchamurti and Gaṇeśa. Afterwards, the Rajah and the Siddha went to Vajra Yoginī and formally embellished

¹ Supposed to have stood on the present site of Devapatan. Gullo is the Newari name, Svarṇapuri the Sanskrit name.

² At the base of Sāñkhoccha or Śivapur where Viṣṇumati issues into the Valley.

the temple of that goddess with figurative paintings. Next the Siddha went to Godāvārī¹ and published the image of Viṣṇu there and himself disappeared. Thus was established the custom of painting the temples annually, which continued for some years and was then changed for twelve years, viz., to paint them every twelfth year. After constructing a Dharmasala close to the residence of his Guru, the Rajah died.

He was succeeded by his son (24) Narendradeva, who died in the 49th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (25) Viṣṇudeva, who died in the 47th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (26) Vāsudeva, who died in the 51st year of his age after doing the following things: first of all, he discontinued the human sacrifice which was established by his great grandfather, and in lieu of it enjoined the sacrifice of a goat. Next the Rajah established a secret worshipping of Jayavāgeśvarī² which was to be celebrated annually in the Vaiśākhśudī, Purṇimā and also placed near the Devī the following images of the Devatās, namely, Kumārī Gaṇa and Naudurgā.

¹ Godāvārī is 8 miles due south from Kathmandu, *via* Patan, Hari Siddhi, Thaibu, and Banragaon, and is situated on a petty pastoral recess under the main peak from Phulchowk from which a copious stream flows north into the Hanumatī and eventually just east of Patan or at Sāñkhamūl.

² In Devapatan within 300 yards of the temple of Paśupati and on the roadside stands the temple of Jayavāgeśvarī.

CHAPTER 4
EARLY KINGS OF NEPAL

1. The Thākuriś : Amśuvarma

Rajah Vasudeva died without male issue and was therefore succeeded by his son-in-law (1) Amśuvarma, who was very active, powerful and passionate.

The new Rajah built a new Darbar at a place called Madhyalakhu,¹ and removed his Court to that place from Devapatan. Amśuvarma had been to Prayāga (Allahabad) whence he brought the image of Prayāga-Bhairava and placed it in the vicinity of his Court, and to gratify this Bhairava the Rajah caused human flesh to be burnt before him in *dhupdāns*, which rite is in force to this day. In the time of this Rajah all the gods and Devatās disappeared.

Amśuvarma died in the 68th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (2) Kirthivarma, who died in the 87th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (3) Krundadeva, who died in the 93rd year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (5) Viradeva in 3500 year of the Kāli era.²

Founding of Lalitpatan

In the time of this Rajah a leper of the Jyāpu caste,³ who used to cut grass close to the Darbar, one day as he was busy in his work he appeared in the sight of that Rajah most beautiful and engaging : upon which the Rajah sent for him and after forming friendship with him asked the cause of his being cursed with leprosy. He replied, "O Rajah ! yesterday I went to the other side of the Vāgmati to cut grass in the Lalitvana⁴ near the Red Forest, where being thirsty I drank at a fountain and also washed my body with the waters of it ; since then I got better of my disease." The Rajah having praised the fountain and named the Jyāpu after its name Lalita gave him immense wealth with which he built a

¹ Near Devapatan to the west of it. Except for ruins, there is no trace of the place at present.

² A.D. 399

³ The cultivating or agricultural class of the Newars are so called. The word is properly *Jyā-pu* ; and well is the title earned by these most industrious and intelligent agriculturists who are by far the best *ryots* in Asia.

⁴ A place in Patan where the temple of Khumbheśvara now stands near the bank of the Vāgmati.

city called Lalitpatan or Patan.¹ But it is said by some, that Lalitpatan was built by the Rajah himself according to the orders of the deity Sarveśvara which were given in a dream to the Rajah, and he then removed his Court and family to the newly constructed city.

The same grasscutter Lalita, having driven his *nowl* (a piece of bamboo to carry burdens) into the earth, it became Kāmeśvara or Khumbheśvara and since then no one is allowed to establish an image of Kāmeśvar in Lalitpatan.

Legend of Gorakhnāth

After this Rajah Viradeva died in the 95th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (6) Narendradeva. In the reign of this Rajah the mendicant Gorakhnāth came to Nepal : but no one gave him alms ; consequently, he was much enraged with the inhabitants of the country and having resolved to punish them with a severe famine, he sent for the serpents (or the dispensers of rain) and made a seat of their bodies, whereon to perform devotion in Mrgasthali. The rains were consequently stopped altogether for twelve years successively, when the Rajah sent for the astrologers and requested them to tell him the cause of the famine. The astrologers after much investigation told him that the ascetic Gorakhnāth had made a seat of the *nāgas* upon which he was performing his *tapas*, wherefore the rains were stopped ; that if the Rajah desired to have the rains he may send for Gorakhnāth's Guru named Matsyendranāth, who was in Kāmṛp so that the Guru might appease his disciple Gorakhnāth.

The Rajah on hearing this sent for Bandhudatta Achārya, and having bestowed upon him the title of Guru, he set for Kāmṛp with him, and at last brought Matsyendranāth from Kāmṛp² with much trouble and great difficulty and also his followers Puranachandi and Minanāth. When this was effected, the Rajah informed Gorakhnāth by means of Pañcha-Kumārī of the arrival of his Guru Matsyendranāth. On hearing of his Guru's arrival from a distance Gorakhnāth having startled from his meditation went to see his Guru, and no sooner had he got up from his seat than the nine Nāgas crept away and the rains began to fall in abundance. After this the Rajah formally constituted the annual ceremony of the Rathyātrā or procession throughout the city.

¹ Still the largest and finest town in the Valley, so often in the past a metropolis of one of its three capitals. After the dominion was divided as it was, and long before the period of the Gorkhali conquest in 1768, it was a town of great importance. Patan extends south of Kathmandu at a distance of 2 miles. Though much decayed, Patan still contains 5,659 houses of 3 stories and 36,000 inhabitants.

² The Assam of Hindu geography including the Valley of Brahmaputra and the *zillahs* near to it towards Bengal and Northern Bihar. Matsyendranāth's arrival is fixed by memorial verses well known. The procession of the god from Patan to Vāgmati is still the greatest festival of Nepal.

Matsyendranāth arrived in Nepal in 3548 of the Kāli era.¹

The Rajah built two temples for Matsyendranāth, one in Patan and the other one in Vāgmāti village, in each of which Matsyendranāth resides for 6 months of every year. Gorakhnāth likewise, having left his former residence went to reside at Sañkhamūl² in the north division of the city. While the Rajah went to Kāmṛūp to bring Matsyendranāth to Nepal, Matsyendranāth had told him that Paśupati-nāth was the head and master of all the gods³ and was in the Rajah's country, and that if the Rajah would pour on Paśupati's head water of the Vagmati for the whole month of Vaiśākha he would get rain as much as he was in want of. According to the above instructions of Matsyendranāth, the Rajah established the annual Jalayātrā of Paśupati, which takes place in the month of Vaiśākha.

In the year 3548 of the Kāli era an accident occurred which put a stop to the Rathyātrā of Chobhāl Lokeśvara⁴; for while the people were pulling his Rath, one of its wheels was detached from it and fell into the bed of Danagur stream where it sunk to appear no more. Presently the Devata or image was seen floating on the surface of the water, which the people took out and saved and discontinued the Rathyātrā thereafter.

Raja Narendradeva died in the 98th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (7) Varadeva. In the reign of this Rajah the festival of Hari Siddhi was re-established. It had been stopped for some time in the interim. Also Śaṅkarāchārya visited Nepal to see whether the people were acting according to his instructions or not, but seeing that the Hari Siddhi *nāch* was re-established, he was quite satisfied and went away to his home.⁵ This Rajah died in the 23rd year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (8) Śaṅkaradeva, who died in the 12th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (9) Vardhamānadeva, who died in the 13th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (10) Baladeva, who died in 12th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (11) Jayadeva, who died in the 15th year of his reign and was succeeded by his son (12) Balārjunadeva, who died in the 17th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (13) Vikramadeva, who died after a reign of 12 years.

¹ A.D. 437. The date creates an interval of 38 years between Narendradeva and his father Vira or Vimladeva above given as corresponding with 3509th year of the Kāli.

² The point of junction of the Hanumati and Vāgmāti E.N.E. of the city of Patan.

³ This shows the close affinity of the phallic rites of the Śaivas of Nepal with the religious ceremonies introduced by Matsyendranāth who is regarded by the Buddhists as identical with Lokeśvara or Padmāpāni. The Brahmans, however, do not acknowledge Matsyendranāth though they do his disciple Gorakhnāth whose special ministrants are the Kanphata jogis whereas those of Matsyendra are the Bandyas solely.

⁴ Ānantādilokeśvara is the Buddha deity in question.

⁵ Śaṅkarāchārya again though he was 200 years old at his first visit. It is pretty certain that the celebrated man never visited Nepal and our learned Wilson holds that he was

Guṇakāmadeva

He was succeeded by his son (14) Guṇakāmadeva, fervent adorer of Mahā-Lakṣmī or the goddess of riches, who consequently was very kind to him. One night as he was sleeping, he had a dream in which he was commanded by the said deity to build a city in the shape of a *khaḍga* (sword) near the confluence of the rivers Vāgmātī and Viṣṇumātī where the God Kāmeśvara resides and the place is pure.

After the above-mentioned dream the Rajah built the city of Kantipur, where he settled the image of Lakṣmī. The city consequently became a place of trade and wealth peopled by 18,000 inhabitants.¹ It was finished in 3825 of the Kālī era. In the western direction of the city, he constituted a *masān* for the cremation of corpses, and he brought an image of Chandēśvara from the eastward and settled it in the centre of the city, also placing in the east of the city the image of Nīla-Kālī by the name of Lomri. He likewise established within and without the city the images of Naudurgā Gaṇa, and in the south direction out of the city was placed Pachli Bhairava, and in the northern direction copies of the images in the temples of Lattipiṭha and Manamaijupiṭha.²

Rajah Guṇakāmadeva likewise built the village Thāmel to the west of the city. On the other side of the Viṣṇumātī river he settled the image of Vijesvari, and constituted the Rathyātrā of the white-faced or Svetamukhya Chandra or Yamleśvara. After this, with a large force he conquered and plundered many places, and brought back immense wealth, with which he performed the worship of Paśupati for 15 days successively : some part of the wealth was expended in the construction of a golden *dhāra* or fountain called Yoginīdhārā, and in repairing the roofs of the temples of Paśupati and Vāsuki with gilded copper sheets. After defraying the above-mentioned expenditure, the part of plunder

not at all the persecutor of the Buddhists. Śāṅkarācharya is placed by the Brahmans in an age some 14 centuries later than that of Śākya Siṃha. He lived about 1,000 years back and Śākya nearly 465 years before—the latter represents the period of Buddhist ascendancy, more or less, in the plains of India. The most celebrated imperial patron of the creed was king Aśoka who ascended the throne in 247 B. C. and was the contemporary of Antiochus. If, as the Tibetans hold, Śākya died only 110 years before Aśoka's accession, Śākya's death could not have been earlier than 375 B. C. That the era of Śāṅkarācharya was synchronous with some great change, whether or not effected by that individual or in his life, seems to me certain.

1. This is the present capital, more usually called Kathmandu, and situated just above the confluence of the Viṣṇumātī and Vāgmātī streams. It was a capital before the Gorkha conquest of Nepal Proper and probably now (1844) containing from 50,000 to 60,000 people. As far as I can learn, it has 10,767 houses, and if so, the population must considerably exceed the number given above, for the houses are 3 and 4 storied and very crowded.

2 Manamaiju is a Newar village situated about 3 miles north of Kathmandu. Ladies who are married and are childless are wont to address themselves to the deity of this spot.

remaining in his hands amounted to 52 crore,¹ which he deposited in the Indrachal mountain in a large building, and in the meantime, appointed Vasu Kanrga as treasurer or kotara. While this Rajah was governing the two cities of Patan and Kathmandu, he had a dream in which Skanda Kumar appeared and said to him : "My father instructed me when I was very young to play *Siti* (or throwing stones at each other).² If you establish that usage in your country, I shall be very glad and the enemies of your subjects will be destroyed." Accordingly, the Rajah established the game which commences annually on 1st Jyeṣṭha Badi Purva and ends on Jyeṣṭha Sudi 6th. It is called *Siti Khasti*.

The Rajah died after a reign of 8 years and was succeeded by his son (15) Lakṣmikāmadeva, who died after a reign of 20 years. To dispel the fears of his subjects and to secure them from robbery the Rajah invented a trumpet in the shape of a serpent and it sounds when blown : *tutmasha, tutmasha*—the meaning of which is very mysterious.

2 The Vaiśya Thākurīs

Lakṣmikāmadeva having died without male issue was succeeded by one of the Vaiśyas of Nawakot,³ the first of whom was (1) Bhāskaradevavarma, who died after a reign of 12 years and was succeeded by his son (2) Baladevavarma, who reigned 12 years, and was succeeded by his son (3) Padmadevavarma who reigned 11 years, and was succeeded by his son (4) Nāgārjunadeva, who reigned for 3 years, and was succeeded by his son (5) Śaṅkaradeva, who died after a reign of 11 years, and who according to the orders of his Guru settled in Kantipur an image of Tanadevatā as Kuldevatā and also constructed an *agnikunḍa* in the city of Patan. At the same time, he ordered his subjects not to build their houses higher than the staples of the temples of the above-mentioned deities.

When Śaṅkarāchārya had conquered the Bandyas by religious debate, he had caused them to be slaughtered : but in the time of this Rajah, the Bandyas in revenge for the injury which their ancestors had received through the hands of the Brahmans, killed 700 of them in cold blood. Consequently their wives became *satiīs* and burned themselves with the corpses of their husbands. They cursed the Bandyas of whom a thousand died on the spot. After this the spirits of the *satiīs* began to haunt roads, so the Rajah sent for the great Pandits and taking their advice, he established a *Liṅga* of Mahādeva with the Bull Nandi

¹ Fifty-two million Pound Sterling—*Credat Indaens non-ego !*

² *Siti* is still played with the utmost zeal by the Newars who pelt each other *con amore* with clod horns and stones every evening throughout the period named. The site of the game is the bed of the Viṣṇumatī and the combatants are arranged in the opposite sides according to *tols* or municipal divisions of the city.

³ Nawakot a low land district situated 18 miles N. W. of the great Valley on the banks of the Trisuligaṅga and its upper feeders chiefly the Tādi and Tāri Nadi.

which were named Santevśara and Nandikeśvra.¹

This Rajah also constituted a yearly procession of the goddess Nauasāgarā which takes place in the month of Chaitya on 14th dark half. He also buried the image of the same goddess under ground. The Brahmans who had escaped from the hands of the Bandyas built a house with nine partitions close to Janakeśvara in Devapatan and the settled in it ; and the village where so many of their tribe were killed was called Pāpigaon or the Village of Sin. By the curse of the Brahmans that village become a desert.

3. A New Rajput Dynasty

Afterwards the dynasty of the Vaiśya Rajahs was conquered, and they were driven out of the country by a descendant of a collateral branch of the former Rajah Aiṅśuvarma, by name (1) Brahmādeva, who having gained over the nobles of Lalitpur and Kantipur, made himself king, and died after a reign of 3 years. He was succeeded by his son (2) Harṣadeva, who died in the 15th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (3) Sadaśivadeva,² who built a city on a hill to the southwest of Kathmandu and gave it the appellation of Kirtipur.³

Sometime afterwards, the shepherds of the city to amuse themselves, had constructed the likeness of a lion with clay and to complete the form they went to bring some leaves to make its ears and tongue. When they returned they were greatly confounded to find the model metamorphosed into a real lion who had actually eaten up the whole flock and has ever since been known by the name of Vāga-Bhairava.

In the year 4015th year of the Kāli era this Rajah repaired the roof tiles of Paśupati's temple with the plunder he had brought from the countries he had conquered. He also coined a silver coin valuing 1/8th of a seer called Suki on its reverse bearing a lion. He died after a reign of 21 years, and was succeeded by his son (4) Mānadeva, who died after a reign of 10 years, and was succeeded by his son (5) Narasimhadeva, who died after a reign of 22 years, and was succeeded by his son (6) Nandadeva, who established the *Rahaspuja* according

¹ A large temple on the north side of the Paśupati road.

² Another *Vanśavali* makes this Rajah the founder of Kirtipur in 914 A. D. or 4015 of the Kāli era.

³ Still extant and famous for its 7 years defence against the Gorkhas. It occupies one of the highest sites of the low ridge extending from Dahchowk to the Vāgmāti and partially running off the district of Thankot from the rest of the great Valley. The village of Chobhār stands on another part of the same ridge near the Vāgmāti. It is usually called Chobhāt or Kachap Hill. It is brokenly continued to the eastward across the Vāgmāti to a spur running out north from Phulchowk peak, thus particularly insulating the southernmost point of the Valley. The Godāvari and other streams from Phulchowk make way into the Vāgmāti by a northerly course through the clefts of the Chobhār ridge.

to the advice of Suroda Āchārya of Devapatan, and died after a reign of 21 years and was succeeded by his son (7) Rudradeva, who died after a reign of 19 years and was succeeded by his son (8) Maitriya or Mitradeva, who died after a reign of 21 years, and was succeeded by his son (9) Arideva, who was informed of the birth of his son when he was performing the exercise of Magda or Murgal : consequently he conferred the title *Malla* on the child, and thus was family name changed from Deva to Malla.

Arideva died after a reign of 22 years, and was succeeded by his son (10) Abhayamalla, who died after a reign of 19 years and was succeeded by his son (11) Jayadevamalla, who died after a reign of 13 years and was succeeded by his brother (12) Ānandamalla, who was very powerful and wise.

Ānandamalla builds Bhatgaon

Having left his throne in charge of his elder brother he went to the western direction where he founded a new city which he called Bhaktapur (now Bhatgaon), in which he erected 12,000 houses of all descriptions. When the city was built, Ānandamalla sent for Annapurnā Devī from Benares and had the goddess settled there in a fortunate hour. Next in order to rival or become equal in splendour with his brother, he went into the mountains, where having obtained the permission of Chanḍeśvārī, he founded and populated the following seven villages¹ : 1. Banepā which is situated in the vicinity of Chanḍeśvārī, 2. Punyavatī or Panauti which is situated close to Nepal Prayāga, 3. Nāla in the vicinity of Nāla Bhagvatī, 4. Dhulikhel near Nārāyaṇa, 5. Khadpur near Dhaneśvarī, 6. Choukot, and 7. Sānga close to Nasika.

Afterwards he built a place in Bhaktapur or Bhatgaon² where he beheld the nine Durgās whose images he placed in a temple. He reigned 35 years. In the course of his reign an astrologer of Bhatgaon told him to send for the sands of the Viṣṇumatī at a certain hour, and that the sand would be converted into gold dust in the course of four days. Accordingly, the Raja sent a train of Bhatgaon porters to fetch sand, and whilst they were bringing it, a

¹ Banepā and Panauti are two small connected vales situated east of the great Valley from which they are divided by a low ridge on which stands the little town of Sāngua. Dhulikhel, Nāla, Khadpur or Kharpu are small Newar towns in the immediate vicinity of Panauti and Banepā which are larger towns.

² The third principal town of the Valley situated about 8 miles east of Kathmandu and near to the south-eastern verge of the Valley. Bhatgaon is little inferior in size and superior in buildings to the present capital, and was before the conquest often the seat of a separate government. Two miles east of it is the village of Sānga on a low ridge bounding the Valley in the direction and dividing it from the sub-vales of Banepā and Panauti, in and around which are situated the seven villages founded by Ānandamalla. In 1844 Bhatgaon had 4,700 houses.

Newar¹ inhabitant of Kathmandu named Safā asked the porters what it was. They replied : "It is the sand of the Viṣṇumati which could be had on the spot from whence they came so far to take it. An astrologer, who has turned the Rajah mad of late, advised him to do so."

Hearing this Safā perceived that there must be something mysterious in the matter ; so he bribed the porters to leave the sand with him and replace it with other, which they did, and the sand thus fraudulently taken by Safā became gold dust, as had been foretold by the astrologer of Bhatgaon.

The beginning of Nepal Samvat : A.D. 880

Safā thus enriched made a resolution to establish a new era. Accordingly, he discharged the debts of the people with the value of the gold dust and gave rise to a new era called the Nepali Samvat. In the 10th year of the Nepali Samvat,² Safā died after having erected his image in front of the southern door of the Paśupatinath temple.

4. **The Karnāṭa Dynasty³**

Raja Jayadevamalla of Kathmandu and Ānandamalla of Bhatgaon were defeated and deposed by (1) Nanyadeva, who came to besiege their dominion from Carnatic with a numerous host of all castes and descriptions among which was a caste called Dwināju Newars who had kuldevatas or family gods called Dwināju with them.⁴ By the aid of these deities Nanyadeva conquered the country and took possession of Bhatgaon and settled there, when the Malla Rajahs having left the country went to settle in Tirhut.

¹ The Newar tribe are the aborigines of the great Valley of Nepal Proper. Newar is, I am told on good authority, a corruption of the word Nepali or Nepalese. We may, however, understand it in the sense as indicating a native of the country of Ne who is said to be the *genius loci* or Svayambhūth. Nepal is universally allowed to mean the country protected by Ne. So *Ne-war* may be a person belonging to the Ne country.

² A.D. 880 is equal to the 10th of the Nepal era according to Prinsep's tables but truly A.D. 890.

³ The Karnāṭa invasion according to the other *Vamśavalis* took place in Nepal Samvat 9 (A.D. 889). Nānyadeva is also said to have brought with him the Śāka Sakhala era. Among the troops that were with him "were the Newars, from a country called Nayera, who were Brahmā-putra Chetris and Achars."

⁴ The Gheumārgi Newars lay much stress on this tale insisting that their tribe derives its origin from India where its first settlement was in the Carnatic ; its second in the Concon ; its third in Simroun whence it migrated to Nepal when Simroun city was destroyed by Tughlak Shah. There may be some truth in the tradition : but that the Newars are a Tibetan race, affiliated closely to the other tribes of Nepal, is demonstrated by their faces, forms, speech and even customs. The advocates for a southern origin abominate all connection of the race with the Tibetans and allege that they came from the Naya Deś of the Carnatic and are Nayyars in fact !

Nānyadeva died after a reign of 50 years, and was succeeded by his son (2) Gaṅgadeva, who died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (3) Śaktideva, who died in the 39th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (4) Rāmasiṃhadeva. In the time of this Rajah, Rajah Mukandasena of Palpa,¹ having surrounded the country of Nepal with a numerous force in the season of harvest, the people for fear of being killed left their abodes and in the meantime buried their paddy and radish crops under ground. Mukandasena having plundered the country and demolished the temples of the deities and destroyed their images and also taken out the Bhairava from the ground of Matsyendra's Vihār or monestery carried it to his native country of Palpa where it is still to be seen. When he was proceeding with his numerous train, the inhabitants of Patan who were performing the ceremony of *Snānayatna* of Matsyendranath, hearing the shouts of his soldiers ran away after leaving the image alone. The Rajah having approached the image was much astonished by the sight of five golden serpents pouring out water from their mouths on the head of Matsyendranath. He took off the golden garland from the neck of his horse and threw it at Matsyendra, who bowed his head a little and received the same in his neck. This garland is still in his possession to this day.

The followers of Mukandasena had provoked the wrath of the god Paśupatiṅgath by their sins and cruelties. Consequently, Paśupatiṅgath caused a dreadful contagion to break out in his army which was destroyed in one week, except the Rajah, who turned a Sanyāsi and departed in mendicant's guise for his native country. After his departure when the Nepalese dug out their paddy and radishes from the ground, they were half rotten, wherefore the people gave them the appellation of *Hakua* and *Sunki* (or black paddy and putrified vegetables).²

5. The Nawakot Vaiśyas

After the disgraceful departure of Mukandasena the country became without a ruler, whereon the Vaiśya dynasty of Nawakot came and took

¹ The Sena dynasty ruled throughout the lower part of eastern Nepal from Palpa to Sikkim till the Gorkhalis expelled and reduced them. The present claimants of Ramnagar all allege their descent from Mukandasena of Palpa.

The invasion of Mukandasena of Palpa is ascribed by nearly all *Vamsavalis* as having taken place during the reign of Harideva son of Rāmadeva above mentioned, whose reign according to calculation ends in 208 of Nepal era (1198 A.D.). All this, however, is highly conjectural and perhaps imaginary. The evidence of Mukandasena's having invaded the Valley in the 12th century, as given here by Padmagiri is rather far-fetched.

² *Sunki* and *Hakua* are still favourite dishes with the Newars. However, the custom of partial fermentation of rice and vegetables originated, which the Newars say, makes the rice and vegetables more digestible. Wright (p. 103) found their smell atrocious and utterly abominable.

possession of the country, in such a manner that Kantipur was possessed by twelve and Patan by twenty-four rajahs. In the time of these petty rajahs, the demi-god Bhīma Sena of Dolka resolved to settle in Kantipur. Accordingly, having disguised in the shape of a man he came to reside with the Vaiśya of Kwaṭol in Patan. But the Rajah, having recognised him accidentally, built a temple and placed him in it. Another person also recognised the god when he was coming from Dolka and built a temple for him in the village of Phirping¹ at Sañchu.

About 30 miles west of Nepal was a city called Mahipal whence a Rakṣas or demon used to come daily to Kathmandu and cohabit with a Chipani² woman. Seeing this the twelve Vaiśya Rajahs of Nepal went to him and pacified him for the safety of their subjects by building a house for him and giving the place of his residence the name of Martupaṭol. The Rajahs also established a yatra or procession in his name called Lakiga-Yātra which is extant to this day.³

The above-mentioned Vaiśya rajahs of Nawakot reigned in the country for 225 years. But as all of them were petty rajahs, it is not necessary to give their history.

6. The Oudh Sūryavaṃśīḥ

Harisīṃha, the son of Rāmasīṃha, a Sūryavaṃśī Rajah of Oudh having left his own native country arrived in Simroungarh,⁴ and took up his lodgings in a separate fortress according to the instructions of a Rakṣas of Laṅkā. On a certain day he was ordered by the goddess to take her with him and proceed to the hills. He arrived and settled at Bhagatpur on Saturday, the 9th of Dussudi 1345 Śaka (A. D. 1323). The followers of Harisīṃha were 6 Kanauja Brahmans, 2 Ācharyas, 3 Khargis, 4 Rajikas or washermen, 5 Vaidyas, 6 Newar's, and 7 Telis or oilmen -- that is, his followers were of those several castes; and

¹ A pretty town still standing on a plateau on the west side of the Vāgmati at a distance of two to three miles above the river but cut off from the Valley. The town stands strictly under the Chandragiri ridge.

² Chipas are dyers by profession.

³ The demon is personified by an outcaste or Chamakhuluk who is carried out of the city on a sledge of reeds with much uproar of music and attendance of mischievous boys. See Hodgson's *Illus. Lit. and Rel. of Nepal*, p. 176 *et. seq.*

⁴ Simroun is in the Terai of Nepal, and when it was destroyed by Tughlak Shah in 1323, many of its chiefs and people found refuge in the hills. Harisīṃha was then the Rajah of Simroun, the last of the Hindu dynasty styled Deva. The Newars of the present day who hold the Brahmanical faith, are fond of associating their origin with the South instead with the North; and they trace their connection with the former by means of the event here recorded and the more doubtful story before narrated related to the Carnatic (idly, I imagine) there is still to be found a tribe called Newar having speech and customs similar to their own.

when he finally settled in Bhagatpur, the Rajah of that place left his throne and gave it to Harisimha, who built a temple in the centre of the Darbar and placed in it the goddess Tulja.¹

When the report of these things reached the ears of the Bhotias, they came in crowds to see the goddess; but the Rajah interrupted them so that they were obliged to go back, and where they halted, the place was called Thumtta, and is visible to this day.

When Harisimha was coming to Nepal from Simroungarh, his stock of provisions was exhausted near the borders of the jungle. In this dilemma he asked the goddess what to do. She enjoined him and his followers to eat whatever they should get sight of. By chance there was discerned a wild buffalo which they secured. The goddess again enjoined them not to kill it till they saw a man evacuating his excrements in front of the rising sun. Next morning they found a Khargi or a butcher in that predicament who killed the buffalo, when all of them devoured it and it has since been allowed them to eat the flesh of buffaloes.

Other accounts state that the Newars who originally inhabited the country of Nayar Deśa², and were sprung from Brahman fathers and Kṣatriya mothers, and called Ācharya, quitting Nayar with their deity styled Dwimaju, came north and reduced the then cities of Nepal by arms and established themselves therein. On the expulsion of the petty rajahs, they fled to Tirhut. Be that as it may,³ Harisimha of Simroun afore-named, who had received immense wealth from Dwimaju Devi whom he regarded as his Penate established a Devali Puja to her, after which Harisimha died in the 28th year of his reign.

The Newars or proper population of the great Valley are substantially of Tibetan stock; but they drew considerable supplies of southern race from 1st the Brāhmanical persecutions and the Buddhists, 2nd the Muslim conquests and their bigoted attacks on the Hindus.

¹ Tulja, Taleju or Tulsī Bhovāni, the goddess brought from Simroun by Harisimha, has a magnificent temple close to the Darbar of Kathmandu of which notwithstanding the change of dynasty, she is still held to be the tutelary deity.

² The name reminds me of the Nairs of the South among whom polyandry prevails, as it does among the Bhotias but not the Newars.

³ The memorial verses which record the coming of Harisimha from Simroun state that he was the fifth in descent from that Nanda, who it is alleged, had arrived from the same place 127 years before and whose successors are said to have reached Bhatgaon on the eastern districts till Harisimha's arrival, partly to inherit and partly to acquire a new kingdom in the hills in lieu of that which Tughlak Shah had stripped him off in the plains of Tirhut. All accounts agree that the several Rajahs from Nanda to Harisimha were of the Carnatic country originally, and some good *Vamśāvalis* allege the course of the migration of these Deccanese thus: Carnatic to Muttra, Muttra to Oude, Oude to Tirhut, and thence to Nepal. If Nanda conquered Kathmandu and Patan, his immediate descendants lost them retaining only Bhatgaon. But

He was succeeded by his son (2) Śyāmasiṃhadeva. In the reign of this Rajah a dreadful and severe earthquake was felt in the country, in Samvat 528 of the Nepal era (A.D. 1400) on Monday on the light of the 12th day of the extra or intercalary Bhādūn, and under the constellation of Utter Sara, which destroyed a considerable number of houses and living things.

Nanda's exploit is somewhat doubtful, and from the tenor of traditions it is probable that Nanda and his successors of the Deva dynasty ruled not in Nepal but Tirhut till the Muslims expelled them, and that Harisiṃha was the first of these expelled Rajahs who ruled Nepal ; whether he won his realm by the sword or was accepted voluntarily as sovereign is not known.

CHAPTER 5

THE MALLA RULERS OF NEPAL

1. Tirhutian Kṣatriyas

Rajah Śyamasimha Deva who had no son sent for a Kṣatriya Malla Rajah's offspring from Tirhut, and having given him his daughter in marriage, he died after a reign of 15 years, and his son-in-law (1) Jayabhadramalla succeeded him who died after reign of 15 years, and was succeeded by his son (2) Nāgamalla, who died after a reign of 15 years, and was succeeded by his son (3) Nagendramalla, who died after a reign of 10 years, and was succeeded by his son (4) Uggramalla who died after a reign of 11 years, and was succeeded by his son (5) Aśokamalla.

This Rajah propitiated the goddess Bālā Kumāri of Kwathechē by his devotions and conquered the 24 rajahs who were reigning in Lalitpatan or Patan. After conquering the 24 Vaiśya rajas of Patan, Aśokamalla constructed a palace close to the temple of Bālā Kumāri and having begot a son he died in the 19th year of his reign.

2. Jayasthitimalla¹

He was succeeded by his son (6) Jayasthitimalla so called owing to many laws he framed for this country.

1st- He allowed his subjects to sell or mortgage their hereditary landed property whenever occasion required it.

2nd- He distinguished and classified 36 tribes according to their trades and professions.

3rd- He annuled the custom which was established by his ancestors of punishing delinquents with beating and abusive language and in lieu of it substituted fines.

4th- He made a ceremony for the people to carry the corpse of their Rajah in a sort of litter preceded by the 36 tribes playing on different sorts of music.

¹ An inscription of this Rajah gives the date 521 Nepal era or A. D. 1401. It is difficult to reject this date, yet it conflicts with the very satisfactory one last named or that of the earthquake in Śyamasimha's day then fourth in descent from Harisimha. Jayasthiti is the most famous of the Nepal Rajahs and we have him as sixth in succession from Śyamasimha yet reigning 7 years prior to that prince.

5th- He constituted for each of the 36 tribes a separate masān or place for burning their dead and the corpses were decreed to be conveyed by four men preceded by musicians.

6th- He constituted a fine for all such persons as follow the profession of others, as if a blacksmith follow the profession of goldsmith, he shall be fined.

He built a temple on the northern banks of the Vāgmāti and placed in it the images of Labhari and Ram Chandra. He also placed the feet marks of Gorakhnāth in a temple according to the advice of a Yogī and caused the old utensils of Gokaṛaṇeśvar to be replaced with the new ones. He died in the 43rd year of his reign and was succeeded by his son (7) Yakṣamalla,¹ who appointed an under pujari or worshipper to Bhatta Pujari at Paśupatināth and died in the 20th years of his reign.

3. Ratnamalla of Kathmandu

He left three sons—the eldest of them Rāyamalla succeeded him on the throne of Bhagatpur ; the younger Ratnamalla not agreeing with his brother, took the family goddess Telju Bhovani and ran away to Lalitpur where he stayed for some time. On the *ānandayātrā* of Hari Siddhi he went to see it at the village of Vāgmāti taking the goddess with him ; and while he was attentively looking on, the principal god of the procession ordered him to proceed immediately to Kathmandu to become the Rajah of the place. Accordingly, he arrived at Kathmandu and directly went to the house of the Kāji or minister of the twelve Vaiśya rajahs who were reigning at Kathmandu and acquainted him with the orders he had received from the deity of Hari Siddhi.

Hearing this the minister gave him a private lodging in his house and having successfully poisoned the twelve rajahs, the minister next placed Ratnamalla, on the throne of Kathmandu, whereon he firmly established himself, but he presently began to reflect that a minister who had destroyed his former masters, would very probably destroy him too ; and the Rajah therefore put the minister to death.

Soon after this, Rajah Ratnamalla struck coins which are still current in the country. In his reign Nepal was attacked by the Bhotias under the command of two chiefs called Kākū and Devā whereon the Rajah sent out four Brahmans of Tirhut to the Rajah of Palpa to request his aid in expelling the Bhotias from the country. Accordingly the Rajah of Palpa furnished him with some troops with which he drove the Bhotias away.

Thenceforth for ever four classes or tribes of Khas or Khasiahs¹ from

¹ The Khas are now the dominant martial tribe of the whole Kingdom (see Hodgson's *Origin and Classification of Military Tribes of Nepal*, J.A.S.B., ii, 1833, p. 217 sq.) The Newars have good reason to commemorate their first causal appearance in the Valley as allies from Palpa. Many Parbattiahs (Khas and Brahmans) have been located in the Valley for a long time

Palpa whom the Rajah granted lands as *birtha*, and the Musalmans also were introduced into Nepal in the same year.

The Tirhutia Brahmans, who had obtained the aid of the Palpa Rajah, having received a costly dress from Rajah Ratnamalla went away to reside in their native country and the place where the Bhotia chief Kākū was defeated and killed is called to this day Kākū Shanajal. In the reign of this Rajah a Swami named Someśvarānanda, an inhabitant of the southern country was appointed the Pujari to Paśupatināth and he was allowed two assistants, Newar inhabitants of Banepā, besides two keepers of the wardrobe. After some time, the Rajah made the Swami his guru and sent him to Phirping to bring Dakṣiṇa Kālī whom the Rajah established in the southwest corner of Paśupatināth's temple.

The Swami ordered his assistants to worship annually the goddess whose image is situated near the Chaitya of Ādi Buddha while the wardrobemen were enjoined by the same Swami to perform the annual Puja or worship to the goddess Mayati Devi whose image is in the temple of Pañchaliṅga-Bhairava. After this the Swami died and a monument was built in his name close to Tana Devatā. Ratnamalla compelled the Thākuri inhabitants of Nawakot to follow the trade of *Chittrakāras* (painters) upon which they grew refractory but the Rajah conquered them and plundered their country in the Nepal Samvat 611 (A. D. 1491). Rajah Ratnamalla died after a reign of 11 years and was succeeded by his son Amaramalla.

4. Raṇamalla of Banepā

The third brother of Ratnamalla name Raṇamalla became the Rajah of seven villages.¹ In his time an inhabitant of Banepā called Mohnar Siṃha received as a present from goddess Kumārī Kundla a buffalo's head of gold, with the value of it he made a suit of silver armour set with precious stones and an Ekmukhi Rudrākṣa which he presented to Paśupatināth. The same person presented a Triśūl to Vāga-Bhairava of Kirtipur which is kept there to this day. It was in the Samvat of Nepal 622 (A. D. 1502) that Rajah Raṇamalla of Banepā died without issue.

5. Amaramalla of Kantipur

When Ratnamalla's son Amaramalla succeeded to the throne of his father, the *kumhals* or potters wished to place the image of Ānanta Nārāyaṇa in the temple of Paśupatināth which was denied to them. But they came there in

prior to the conquest, and though well treated under the Malla dyansty, they treacherously aided much to undermine it, affecting the Brahmans to consider the Newars as infidels, that is Buddhists.

¹ Forming the district of Banepā, adds another *Vaṃśāvalī*.

the dead of the night and placed the image of Ānanta Nārāyaṇa close to the temple of Vatsāla Devi which is without the temple of Paśupati-nāth.

The Rajah having received the advice of a Mulmi¹ Āchārya, the Pujari of Bhuvaneśvari established an annual Triśūl-Yātrā at Devapatan in order to propitiate Paśupati-nāth, Maṅgleśvari, Bhuvaneśvari, Jayavāgeśvari and Vatsāleśvari. The festival takes place on the 9th dark half of Aṣāḍha, but sometimes it occurs on the 8th.

In the Nepal Samvat 627 (A. D. 1507) the Āchārya was despatched to the jungles to bring immortal herbs of Mṛitsaṅjivani : he disappeared never to return any more.

Rajah Amaramalla ruled over both Kantipur and Lalitpur² and he was very fond of wise men.

6. The State of Bhatgaon

We must now advert to the separate State of Bhakatpur or Bhatgaon which was then in the possession of Svarṇamalla, the son of Rāyamalla.

In the Nepali Samvat 633 (A. D. 1513) a dreadful famine occurred which caused the inhabitants of Bhatgaon to be scattered in the country. In the meantime Rajah Svarṇamalla having quarreled with his brother was reigning in Bhatgaon and Banepā. In that very year he heard from many wise men that the Rajah of Kantipur had constituted or rather caused to be performed the Naudurgā festival. In order to outdo him, Svarṇamalla caused to be performed and established the Ikhuncha Pyakhun *nāch* and also annually a *nāch* of Mahā-Lakṣmi at Borē. He divided into two parts the villages of Ṭhemi, Nakdes, Borē, Sāñkhu and Chāñgu³, and having given one half of each to his brother, died after a reign of 15 years.

Viśvamalla

Svarṇamalla was succeeded by his son Prāṇamalla who died in the 21st year of his reign and was succeeded by his son Viśvamalla. This Rajah came to Devapatan for the purpose of obtaining the permission of the Rajah of Kantipur to establish the image of the four Nārāyaṇas⁴ in the four quarters of Paśupati-

¹ Mulmi is the name of a Newar caste.

² *Alias* Kathmandu and Patan. Bhatgaon, the third city and capital is about 8 miles east of Kathmandu.

³ All extant to this day (1844) in the eastern division of the Valley. Ṭhemi is on the high road from Kathmandu to Bhatgaon and midway between them, Nakdes and Borē stand at moderate distance on the upper level of the Valley near it. Chāñgu is at the salient point of the spur so called which shoots out 2 miles into the Valley from the north-eastern barrier then peninsulating the district and town of Sāñkhu between the spur and the main ridge.

⁴ The four Nārāyaṇas of Nepal Proper or the Valley are : *1st* Ichāñgu situated in a

nāth's temple. In the same year an image of Nārāyaṇa was found in the bed of the Vāgmati by a Brahman called Sahasra Śivananda who placed his family god on the spot where the image of Ichāṅgu Nārāyaṇa had been buried by the Bhotias of the Himalaya, and gave it the same name of Ichāṅgu. This Brahman also placed an image of his family god and his own statute at Indrachowk where they are visible to this day.

Trilokyamalla

Rajah Viśvamalla died after a reign of 15 years and was succeeded by his son Trilokyamalla. In the reign of this Rajah one of the grain venders while bringing some grain from the eastern countries discerned in a bag of *urd* a single grain of *makai* or Indian corn. He took it to the Rajah who sent for the astrologers, who after consulting their books told him that it was a bad omen of famine. The Rajah therefore sent back that grain of *makai* to the eastern countries¹ from whence it was brought, and at the same time, fed a great many Brahmans to propitiate the gods with a view to their protecting his country from famine. The ancestors of this Rajah had removed the goddess Tulja from Bhatgaon to Kathmandu. Consequently, he could not get sight of her daily as he wished and became very uneasy. One day he had a dream in which Tulja informed him that since he was desirous of seeing her, she would come to play at *tripāsa* with him on the condition that he would not allow any woman to come to see her and would establish her image clandestinely.

The Rajah agreed to the prescribed conditions, and having taken the advice of his Guru made a *yantra* or mystic diagram of diamonds in the shape of the goddess. Whilst he was worshipping it in the hope of seeing Tulja in person, his daughter Gaṅgādevī intruded in the room ; therefore the goddess did not

sub-vale to the west just beyond Svayambhunāth. 2nd Chāṅgu spoken of in the last note, the temple and the village occupying the salient end of the spur so called. 3rd Viśāṅkhu situated in a cleft of a spur/cleft of spur from the peak of Phulchowk. 4th Sikhar close to Phirping as already described. Both the last are in the southern quarter of the Valley distant about 6 miles. Chāṅgu is in the extreme east and Ichāṅgu in the extreme west, distant about 16 miles.

¹ The Valley, notwithstanding, its extreme and universal culture with the most prolific grains (rice, Indian corn etc.), still derives a portion of its supplies of food from the adjacent hilly districts, but none from the Terai. The population of the Valley (1944) cannot be now less than 25,000 which is above 625 in square miles. According to my information, the statistics of the Valley stand thus : Towns and villages 226, houses 41,829 ; inhabitants 292,803. There are 8,000 troops in the Valley ; besides, the whole civil administration of the Kingdom is all in the hands of the Parbattiahs or mountaineers attached to the Gorkhali dynasty and alien to the soil of Nepal Proper. If the Valley's area be assumed at 400 sq. miles, and its population at 300,000, the ratio will be 750 per square mile—a surprising density of population, but borne out by all the known facts of the case.

appear in person, but he saw her in his next dream in which she informed him that henceforth he would never get a sight of her nor be allowed to have a conference with her. But said the goddess : "I will present myself in the form of some girl of high caste."

Accordingly the Rajah caused a Bandyā girl to be worshipped by the name of Kumārī or virgin, which custom is still extant to this day. The Rajah also constituted a Rathyātrā to be annually performed at Bhatgaon in honour of Ādi Bhairava and the ceremony called Biskat which takes place on the day of Māgha Saṅkrānti.

Rajah Trilokyamalla¹ also established many Yātrās to many demi-gods of his dominions, and died after a reign of 15 years, and was succeeded by his son Jayaprakāśamalla.² The Rajah erected an image of Hanuman in a temple to the eastward of Bhatgaon on the bank of the Hanumatī river,³ and died after a reign of 21 years, and was succeeded by his son Jayamitramalla,⁴ who died after a reign of 21 years, and was succeeded by his son Bhupindramalla,⁵ who died after a peaceful reign of 34 years, and was succeeded by his son Ranjitamalla.⁶

Ranjitamalla

Rajah Ranjitamalla resolved to erect a stone pillar and place upon it bronze and gilded statute in honour of his father Bhupindramalla. Accordingly he had the image constructed and in order to erect the stone pillar he applied for assistance to Rajah Jayaprakāśa of Kathmandu, who commanded the oilmen of his city to go there, but hinted to them to break the pillar if they could. They having arrived at Bhatgaon and when about to erect the pillar, let it fall on the ground so that it broke into three pieces. Seeing this Rajah Ranjitamalla was grieved and displeased, but when the oilmen had joined the parts and erected the pillar, their ingenuity pleased the Rajah who presented them with dresses of honour and discharged them.

¹ A. D. 1580-1604. This date is drawn from 5 inscriptions at Bhatgaon, yet is little reconcilable with what is stated about the Rajahs following Yakṣamalla.

² A. D. 1655-7 from 2 inscriptions at Kulchakreśvari

³ The Hanumatī rising east and south of Bhatgaon, flows west about ten miles into the Vāgmati which it joins above or east of Patan. It and the Manohara are larger streams than the more celebrated Vāgmati. But all the streams of the Valley are necessarily small in as much as they all take the rise within it. The Vāgmati flows indeed over a wide sandy bed ; but that bed is nearly dry in the greatest part of its width for half of the year and even in rains is not opposite the capital above one to three feet in depth of water.

⁴ A. D. 1663 from a coin.

⁵ A. D. 1696 from a coin and 1707 from an inscription and 1712 from another.

⁶ A. D. 1722-1748 from coins.

Ṙṥthvinārāyaṇa, the progenitor of the Gorkha dynasty,¹ having served Raja Ranjitamalla for three years got his discharge and went away to his home.

This Rajah while performing the *Koṭyāhuti* sacrifice could not feel the alter, upon which he was advised to offer a human sacrifice. One of his concubines being informed of this bribed the *prohit* or priest, who having made an image of the Rajah's real son performed the requisite rites. No sooner had the *prohit* committed the image to the flames than the Rajah's son and heir Viranarasimha died, upon which the Rajah delivered his country into the hands of the Gorkhias,² and having taken his family goddess Tulja, went to Benares where he died after some time.

7. The Mallas of Kathmandu

Amaramalla

Having spoken of Bhagatpur so far and the reign of Ranjitamalla, we now revert to the history of Kathmandu and the reign of Amaramalla.

In the reign of this Rajah the festival of Hari Saddhi was revived and honoured by all classes of his subjects. But the Bandyas who are Buddhists, could not have it, and therefore they confederated together and invoked the gods to cause a scarcity of rains and when a dreadful famine visited the country, the Bandyas attributed it to the goddess Hari Siddhi and her elephant. They advised the people to celebrate instead the festival of Mahā-Lakṣmī and Ekhokhana,³ and no sooner was the change made than the crops became abundant.

Rajah Amaramalla established and celebrated the following other festivals which are extant to this day: of the Halchoke Devi, of Triśakti, of the Mana Maiju, of Pachali Bhairava, of the Naudurgā, of Lomri, of Kameśvari, of Naṥeśvari—all of which having been celebrated in the city of Kathmandu, the images are transferred to Kantipur.

¹ Ṙṥthvinārāyaṇa of Gorkha, a petty hill state 50 miles N.W. of the Valley, conquered it after a long struggle of 14 years, seventy-five years ago. The present Rajah is fifth in descent from him and the dynasty is called Shah and pretends to Sessodian blood.

² The present race of conquerors and intruders into Nepal Proper, where they may be likened to the Normans in England at the same period after conquest; and the Newars or aborigines of the Valley, to the Saxons of England. These Highlanders are called Gorkhias, because Ṙṥthvinārāyaṇa was the ruler of Gorkha when he led Khas, Magar and Gurung tribes to the conquest of the Valley. Gorkha and the Gorkhias or Parbattiahs are so called from the Yogeśvar Gorakhnāth before mentioned and who is the tutelary deity of the State of Gorkha.

³ A small town in the southern division of the Valley near the river and village of Vṣgmati.

While the *nāch* of Kanakeśvari was going on in Amaramalla's reign, an individual metamorphosed himself in the shape of a quadruped and went to see the festival. This provoked the goddess who devoured the man on the spot, and since that day this festival has been discontinued.

Some of the above mentioned festivals are performed annually, and some in the twelfth year. Amaramalla constituted an annual Rathyātrā of the following goddesses to take place every year, namely Lomri Kālī, Kanakeśvari and Sochumbhalu.

The names of the cities and villages which were in the possession of this Rajah are : 1. Kantipur or Kathmandu, 2. Lalitpur or Patan, 3. Bandyagaon, 4. Taibu, 5. Hari Siddhi, 6. Śambhu, 7. Sanagaon, 8. Sunaguti, 9. Thechu, 10. Champagaon, 11. Phirping, 12. Vāgmati, 13. Khokhana, 14. Pānga, 15. Kirtipur, 16. Thankot,¹ 17. Balumbhu, 18. Satangal, 19. Halchok, 20. Phut, 21. Dharmathali, 22. Toka, 23. Chapragaon, 24. Lēlē, 25. Dhalgaon, 26. Chukgaon, 27. Gokarṇa, 28. Devapatan, 29. Nandigaon, 30. Nandisal, and Maligaon.²

One day the Rajah enquired of his courtiers and wisemen when and by whom were founded the villages in his possession. They replied that some were given in dowry by the Brahmans to their daughters at the time of marriage ; some were founded by the gods ; and some by the former Rajahs, but the villages of Nandigaon, Nandisal and Maligaon were the remaining parts of the city of Viśāla Nagar ; that the village of Chāṅgu was founded by Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, and that of Śāṅkhu by Rajah Śaṅkaradeva and consecrated by Vajra Yoginī.

After this the Rajah established the festival of Naudurgā at Thechu and Kirtipur and died after a peaceful reign.

Sūryamalla

He was succeeded by his son Sūryamalla, who by force took possession of Chāṅgu and Śāṅkhu,² and added them to his territories and constituted and celebrated the Rathyātrā of Vajra Yoginī, which has since been annually performed on the full moon of March and continues for eight days successively.

¹ Thankot is a small town at the western extremity of the Valley under Chandragiri and 7 miles from Kathmandu. It contains 230 houses. Balumbhu, Satangal and Halchok are places on the way there from Kathmandu. Dharmathali and Toka stand in the northwest division ; Lēlē is a sub-vale south of Chapragaon and consequently in the extreme south.

² If you divide the Valley into two parts by a line drawing from Śivapur north to Phulchowk south, the enumeration of places will give all the chief towns built of burnt bricks and covered with tiles, 3-stories ; the architecture Chinese after the model of a tent, and formerly all surrounded by a wall, which, however, the present dynasty destroyed at the conquest, since which period these Newar towns have become a good deal dilapidated. The Gorkhias settled in the Valley inhabit more and in scattered mud huts.

Sūryamalla stayed for six years in his new possessions and then returned to his capital where he was much vexed at the sight of a low caste named Bālla, who having stolen the flesh of a dead man and ate it, was turned into a dreadful demon and commenced taking by violence the corpses of men on their way to the place of cremation. The Rajah devised a scheme to be rid of the demon. Accordingly he sent for an oilman who was known to be an intimate friend of Bālla. The Rajah gave the oilman much money and a sword called Manbegi with orders to kill the demon. The oilman prepared some food and fed the Rākṣas and made him drink strong wine and when he lost his senses, the oilman murdered him. In requital of this service the Rajah ordered that henceforth no one but Salmis or oilmen shall be entitled to precede the corpses of Newar tribe playing on established instruments and for which service a fee is paid.

Narendramalla

Sūryamalla died after a reign of 81 years and was succeeded by his son Narendramalla. In the reign of this Rajah a Newar inhabitant of Devapatan named Kolakha daily used to go to the temple of Chāṅgunārāyaṇa. On a certain day the river Maṇimati¹ being swollen in consequence of the rains, he could not ford it, and whilst seated on the banks of the river in melancholy, he heard a voice from heaven informing him not take the trouble daily but to make search on the bed of the river where he would find the images of Lokeśvarī Sarasvatī. He discovered these as enjoined and placed them in temple of Brahmā which is situated in Devapatan. The Brahman consecrated much land for the management of the temples which are extant to this day.

Mahendramalla

Rajah Narendramalla built a temple to Bhuvaneśvarī and died after a reign of 5 years, and was succeeded by his son Mahendramalla. The Rajah built a temple to the north and close to his palace in which he placed a liṅga of Mahādeva called after his name Mahendreśvar. He sent a present of wild fowl and hawks to the great Mughal at Delhi and obtained permission from him to coin Mahendramalli, which are half rupees (and now in value about 6 annas on account of a considerable alloy).

This Rajah permitted the Muhammadans to settle in the country and granted them lands. He used to go daily to Bhagatpur and see and worship

¹ As already mentioned this stream is larger than the Vāgmati and takes its rise in the northeast corner of the Valley, in the district of Śāṅkhu. Going therefrom to Kathmandu, you must cross it and follow it for above 3 miles that is in strictness the Manohara for the name Maṇimati applies to it in its lower course after being joined by the Hanumati.

the goddess Tulja. One day she told him that since the time of Ratnamalla she had resided in Kantipur : wherefore he need not come so far, but he would not believe her. He was then directed to build a high temple there and place her image in it. While he was building the temple, a Gosāin saint came there and showed him the proper place of the temple according to the orders of Tulja and disappeared. The goddess assumed the shape of a large black bee and entered the temple on Monday Rewati Nakṣatra 669 of Nepal era (5th January, 1549 A.D.). On this occasion the Rajah made great rejoicing and fed and gave the Brahmans considerable riches and land in *birtha*. He also allowed the people to build their houses as high as they pleased, whereas it was disallowed before that time.

The Rajah consecrated four silver serpents to Paśupatināth and also granted much land as *Guṭhī*¹ to Matsyendranāth and number of silver things, and died after a reign of 21 years.

Sadāśivamalla

He was succeeded by his son Sadāśivamalla who plunged into the vices of his profligate companions and collected a considerable number of horses which he let loose to graze the crops of his subjects, and took by force the daughters and wives of many of his subjects who were much enraged at it, and went to attack him on the banks of the Manohara where he was amusing. But he made his escape to Bhagatpur where he was confined to a house and soon after disappeared there.

Śivasimhamalla

Sadāśivamalla had an illegitimate brother named Śivasimha who was made Rajah by the people, and who being recognised took for his Guru, an eminent Brahman named Lambkarṇa Bhaṭṭa, according to whose advice he built the temples of Digoṭolah,² one in Patan and one at Kathmandu. His family priest was very ignorant and unlearned and could not pronounce Sanskrit words correctly. Therefore the Rajah sent some presents to the Rajah of Tirhut with a request that he would furnish him with four Tirhutia Brahmans to supply the place of purohits. Accordingly the Rajah of Tirhut sent four Brahmans of as

¹ *Guṭhī* is a mode of ostensible alienation in *pious usus* whereby the Newars contrive to secure their lands, to indulge in piety and love for social merry making. Feasts in honour of the gods are perpetually going on in every pleasant nook of the Valley, the costs of which are discharged in rotation by the *Guṭhiyas* or the holders of the *Guṭhī* lands. The *Guṭhiyas* are tenants in common who cannot alienate the *Guṭhī* though the gods are satisfied with a pepper corn rent or nominal service. *Guṭhī* cannot be confiscated to even by the State for high treason. It cannot be sold nor even impledged.

² Said to be the same with Kālī as an original Kuladevata of Nepal.

many classes who ever after settled in the country and received a grant of land for their maintenance. They were of the following classes, namely, 1. Bishbar, 2. Karmhal Kotic, 3. Tur, and 4. Baya. Sometime after they became the examiners of the girls designed to be married by the Rajah's family.

Śivasimha constituted a Yātrā of Pochali Bhairava¹ which takes place yearly on the fifth of Āśvina light half. He had a son called Hariharasimha who had two wives, the elder of whom had a son called Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and when the younger Lālmāti was pregnant, Hariharasimha died and Lālmāti resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. To dissuade her from this Śivasimhamalla promised that whatever offspring son or daughter she produced, would be made the Rajah of Lalitpur next after Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. In due course Lālmāti gave birth to son, who was called Siddhinarasimha. Some time afterwards, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa became insane which afflicted Rajah Śivasimha and his wife Gaṅgā and also the mother of the boy. Gaṅgā, the Rani planted some trees on a mound situated half way from the great Nilkaṅṭha² to Kathmandu and gave it the appellation of Rānivana.

When Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa was cured, his grandfather taught him the mantra of goddess Tulja and created him the Rajah of Kantipur while Siddhinarasimha was made the Rajah of Patan or Lalitpur. Sometime after the two brothers went to amuse themselves in Rānivana where having quarreled about the mantra of Tulja, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa beat his brother. Consequently, his grandfather became very angry and expelled him from the palace.

After his expulsion Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa went secretly and took asylum in the house of a washerman at Devapatan who had two daughters called Phikuncha and Paruncha whom the Rajah seduced and took to his bed with a promise to make them of a high caste on his restitution to power.

When things were going on in this way a Gosāiṅ Swami named Nityānanda came from the south and was appointed Pujari of Paśupatiṅāth by Rani Gaṅgā. Nityānanda was well acquainted with the Śāstras and he advised the Rajah to establish for prosperity and long life an image of Ummatta Bhairava which was accordingly set up in a room before the image of Raghunātha, which is in front of Paśupati's southern door and it is said that if a child be indisposed he will soon get well by worshipping Ummatta Bhairava. Rani Gaṅgā in order to propitiate Paśupatiṅāth enlarged the grove of Rajā-Rajeśvari.

¹ Pañchaliṅga Bhairava.

² A place of pilgrimage at the base of Śivapur where one of the most copious feeders of Viṣṇumatī rises. It is 7 miles north of Kathmandu. The lesser Nilkaṅṭha or Bālāju is situated 2 miles nearly from Kathmandu on the road to Nawakot.

In 705 of the Nepal era this Rani having obtained the permission of Nityānanda took off one storey of Paśupatināth's temple which had three stories and repaired it and also consecrated a Pataka or subterranean passage to Paśupatināth which had a communication from the temple to her residence at Kathmandu.¹

After this the Swami sent for Rani Gaṅgā and told her that the possession by her posterity of both the cities *viz.*, Lalitpur or Patan and Kantipur or Kathmandu was certain. Sometime after the jackals cried out so loudly in the southwest direction of Paśupati's temple that the hearers instantly became deaf, and four days after it Rajah Śivasimhamalla died and his wife Gaṅgā Rani became *sati* and burnt herself on his funeral pyre.²

8. The Mallas of Patan

His grandson Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa no sooner did he ascend the throne of Kathmandu than he enjoined his subjects to drink water from the hands of the washermen as he had given a promise to his concubines to that effect. Hearing this Lāmatī took her son Siddhinarasiṃha and went off and placed him on the throne of Lalitpur according to the agreement between herself and her father-in-law.

Siddhinarasiṃhamalla

For the safety of his reign Siddhinarasiṃha erected a village with an image of Paśupatināth and named it Śivapura, the Bālū of the vulgar tongue,³ and consecrated the same to Paśupatināth. On a certain day while Siddhinarasiṃha was gazing from the top of his palace towards Kathmandu, he discerned a blaze of fire ascending to the sky. Immediately he mounted his horse and made his way towards it ; but on arrival at Kathmandu he heard of the death of his brother. He then entered the palace and enquired from his nephew Partāpamalla whether he had received the *mantra* or mystic invocation of Tulja Devi. Partāpamalla replied that his father's sudden death had prevented it.

¹ So it is alleged that there is a subterranean communication from Svayambhunāth to Guhješvari. From the palace in Kathmandu to Paśupatināth's temple the distance is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearly due east.

² The incidence of *sati* is lower in Nepal than in any part of India. Both the Buddhists and Brahmanists alike observe this rite or custom. There may be 30 to 40 *satis* per annum throughout the Valley.

³ Every hill, stream and village has a vernacular name in the Newari or spoken dialect of the Newars, which is closely affiliated with the dialects of Murmi, Gurung and other aboriginal tribes—all of which dialects find their prototype in the language of Tibet. And in the like manner, most of the proper names the Newars themselves bear, are derived from their own speech though there has long been also a custom of coining Sanskrit and Indian

Hearing this Siddhinarasiṃha went back to Lalitpur and revealed the whole to his mother Lālmāti who told him that it was well, that the blaze he had seen ascending the sky was the very *mantra* of Tulja, and saying thus she immediately produced the image of the goddess which she had brought to Lalitpur and kept concealed in the bunch of hair on the top of her head. The Rani caused search to be made for a man who knew the mystery of the *mantra* of Tulja Bhuvani.

Accordingly a Brahman named Viśvanāth Upādhyāya, an inhabitant of Boulimatole in Patan was found, who was made Guru to Siddhinarasiṃha to instruct him in the *mantra* whilst a temple was built for the goddess. When Siddhinarasiṃha was performing the *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* or vivification of the image of Tulja on the 11th day of the light half of May on Wednesday 740 of Nepal era (A. D. 1620), a pure blaze of fire was discerned to enter the temple.

Siddhinarasiṃha was a wise and clever Rajah who added a few buildings to the palace of his ancestors and who planted a garden adjoining the Darbar which divided it into three parts each of which he consecrated to the following deities : Matsyendra, Tulja and Digoṭolah. While Siddhinarasiṃha was creating a temple for Krishna in front of his Darbar in 751 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1631), he had a dream in which Krishna told him that he should search for his image. Accordingly the Rajah did so and found the image of Krishna but its left toe was broken so that the Raja left it where it was and said that he would have a new one sculptured. But in the following night he had another dream in which Krishna told him that the wound he had seen on his toe was a veritable one caused by a huntsman and that the Rajah should take him in *status que* and put him in the temple he had built. Upon this the Rajah was much pleased

names for children as well as inanimate objects of nature. It is by close attention to proper estimate of these names as applied to the Valley, its inhabitants together with a discriminating examination of the features and forms of the people that one reaches the assured conviction of the northern origin of the aborigines of the great Valley of Nepal.

In the like manner, in estimating the prevalent Buddhist religion of the Valley, it requires much conversancy with the subject and knowledge of the fact that Buddhism adopted many of the Brahmanical symbols. But when you have a key to the signs of that faith, you may really assure yourself of its former antiquity and present preponderance and will be able to discern at a glance the numerous instances of violent appropriation of Buddhist temples by the now dominant creed of Brahmans. There are scores of instances of temples now consecrated to Hindu gods, in which, seeing the idol and its worship by the followers of Brahmanism, you might complacently conclude that these temples were unquestionably erected by the followers of the Vedas. Yet, were one to cast one's eye round the precincts, a diminutive and probably mutilated Chaitya may convince one that these shrines were all Buddhist. Nay more, if one enquires who are the acknowledged ministers of such temples, one will find that they are frequently Buddhists, though populace pushed them aside in their eagerness to fall down before any image seemingly orthodox !

and brought and erected the image of Krishna in the stone temple which he had built. But while Siddhinarasiṃha was formally sanctifying the image, the Rajah of Kathmandu, his nephew Partāpamalla and his Guru Lambkaraṇa Bhaṭṭa had assumed the shape of black snakes and resorted to Lalitpur to hinder the performance of the rites. Just as they reached the spot, their designs were fully comprehended by Viśvanāth Upādhāya, the Guru of Siddhinarasiṃha, who having secured the snakes under his seat made a vow that if anyone should come before the completion of the ceremony to take away these Kālānāgas, they should be given up, or else he would commit them to sacrificial fire. When this vow was made known to Yamuna Gubha¹ of Kathmandu, he became very uneasy for the safety of the Rajah and his Guru and devoutly implored Bhūteśvara that he would effect their deliverance. Accordingly Bhūteśvara ordered two of his *gaṇas* or attendants instantly to assume the shape of lads and go to the place where Viśvanāth was performing the sacrifice sitting on the snakes. Viśvanāth asked the lads what they wanted there and without answering they made signs to him to give them something to eat. Accordingly he gave them meat and vegetables which they ate and wanted more. Thus they went on eating and eating so far that he was astonished and asked them what they really wanted. Then they expressed signs that they wanted those serpents upon which he was sitting. The Guru having taken a solemn vow from the lads not to come there again, the Kālānāgas or black snakes were given up by Viśvanāth. When the sacrifice was completed, the Rajah granted forty-eight fields² in free gift to Vivaśnāth, who partitioned them among his fellow Brahmans. Viśvanāth was moreover created by the Rajah's orders *prohit* or family priest of the whole city of Patan, and the Pujariship of the temple of Krishna was made hereditary in his family. After this the Rajah dug a tank without the city and gave it the appellation of Yabula Pushkari.

One night as the Rajah was admiring the beauty of Krishna's temple, the god himself appeared in person when the Raja, who fell into meditation realising the impossibility of such rare an occurrence in the *Kaliyuga*, nevertheless blessed his own eyes, and deemed it proper to spend his remaining days of life in devotion.

¹ Gubha is equivalent in Newari for Sanskrit Vajrāchārya who are the Gurus and learned men of the Bandyā Buddhists.

² Four *khet* or field is technically a rice yielding arable area equal to 25 *ropinis* and is estimated to produce 100 *muri* or kachcha maunds of dhan or rice in husk. To the proprietor its annual yielding is equivalent to 100 rupees and its value in the market is now (1843) 2,500 rupees or 25 years' purchase. The *ropini* is a land measure equal to a square of 80 cubits or 20 cubits per side. A *ropini* of first class land yields 8 rupees of grass and 4 of net produce or landlord's share. A no unusual price for a *ropini* of land is 120 rupees, which is equal to 30 years' purchase. 10 years is, I am told, a fair price in the plains.

In the same year while he was celebrating the Rathyātrā of Matsyendranāth, he was afflicted to see the Rath or car immovable. A Brahman boy of 5 years old, who was attached to the temple of god told the Rajah that unless he would himself become the driver and unless Viśvanāth was caused to sit with him and unless a Brahman would hold an umbrella over his (the boy's) head, the car would not move. Accordingly the Rajah agreed to do so, when the boy chanted the mystic ślokas, the Rath moved forward. Sometime after this the Rajah proposing to unite Patan with Pulchowk¹ erected buildings and peopled a tract of land and named it Nauṭol.

After this he gave up all worldly concerns and began his devotions thus : in hot weather he would cover himself with eight or ten blankets at a time and sit close to burning fire in a small room and in cold weather would sleep in an open place uncovered and on a flat stone. He regulated his food from one *pathi* to one handful and from one morsel to one *pathi* ; at the same time he made no distinction of sorts of food—all were declared equal to him in taste and relish. Some time having passed in this way, he was much praised and beloved by his subjects and the more so, because he made many gifts of gold and silver to Paśupati, Matsyendranāth, and Krishna and so on and so on.

On the day of Matsyendranāth's Laganyātrā in 774 of Nepal era he left his country after having patched a śloka on the temple wall of Krishna and went to wander in the world. The above śloka says, "that as long as the temple of Krishna stands here, suppose me alive."

Śrīnivāsamalla

After a reign of 59 years Siddhinarasiṃha left this country and was succeeded by his son Śrīnivāsamalla. This Rajah built the Mūlchowk or chief square in the Darbar at Patan, and in the centre of it constructed a golden temple and also built a Maṇḍala of eight angles at the northeast corner of Mūlchowk in which he placed the image of Tulja which was in the temple of Digoṭolah before this time. One day being pleased with the festival of Naudurgā, he asked the advice of his Guru Marsudan, the son of Viśvanāth Upādhāya and with his Guru's sanction ordered the same *nāch* to be performed by the Bandyas of three Vihāras. He lengthened the festival of *Kṛṣṇalīla*** from 5 days to one month. It had been established by his father Siddhinarasiṃha.

¹ Pulchowk is a fine flat just west and south of the city of Patan. There is a small suburb and monastery in the western quarter of it still. Most of it is open pasture or common upon which stand some fine old Chaityas void of the spire which is so generally added in Nepal.

** Nothing can exceed the spirit and taste with which the Newars dramatise their sacred legends. It may be that there will be 200 actors at once on the stage dressed with a classic elegance quite remarkable.

Śrinivāsamalla conquered the country as far as Mackwanpur¹ by the aid and advice of his minister Bhīma Sena and soon after he died.

Yogendramalla

He was succeeded by his son Yogendramalla, who when he ascended the throne found the image and temple of Bhīma Sena in decay which he repaired and by virtue of Harināth Upādhyāya's mantras or magic the stone image of Bhīma Sena actually sneezed when a cotton wick was thrust into the nostrils and at last became so ferocious as to destroy anybody who passed before its eyes. Seeing this the Rajah requested Harināth to appease the deity which he peremptorily refused. Whereon the Rajah dismissed him and acknowledged his brother Marsudan as his Guru, who pacified the image of Bhīma Sena by his mantras.

Sometime after Yogendramalla received the *Gāytrī*³ from Vidyānand Upādhyāya, the son of Marsudan and by his advice placed a sculptured likeness of a buffalo in front of Vajra Vārāhi and also celebrated the *Lakṣāhuti* sacrifice and added three stories to the temple of Kumbheśvarnāth³ which had been of two storeys. He erected a stone pillar in front of his palace upon which he placed his own likeness and also those of his children and wife. It is admitted that Rajah Yogendramalla was an incarnation of the goddess Hari Siddhi. In support of this belief they cite the following incident: "On a certain day, the Rajah, having been to the festival of Hari Siddhi, took his dinner and retired to his bed room. While he was sleeping his uncle Partāpamalla, the Rajah of Kathmandu entered his room when to his great astonishment he saw the goddess Hari Siddhi with a sword in her hand and the blood of a demon which she had already devoured streaming out of her mouth. Seeing this the amazed Partāpamalla quickly retreated with a mental prayer for his brother and from that date everafter he received him as a deity."

Rajah Yogendramalla constructed a new temple into which he removed the image of Tulja. He also constructed innumerable temples and *dharās* parti-

¹ About 27 miles from the confines of the Valley nearly due south. It was formerly a principality ruled by the Sena family and was connected by blood with the Rajahs of Palpa. Mackwanpur was the capital of the western Senas and Vijaypur of the eastern Senas.

² The priest who gives the *Gāytrī* to a Hindu becomes his Guru or spiritual guide. The *Gāytrī* is a holy text; but not always that one called the *Gāytrī* by Colebrooke. Some persons have a *Gāytrī* Guru and a separate *Dikṣa* Guru.

³ A magnificent temple in the Chinese style of architecture which was nearly destroyed by the great earthquake of 1833. It has a series of no less than five of the salient roofs proper to its style, and these roofs are supported and connected with walls by beautifully covered lattices of wood, the frequency and elegance of which forms, by the way, the characteristic feature of Nepalese architecture.

cularly a gilt one. The Rajah of Bhagatpur could not endure the sight of Yogendra's statutes which he had placed on a stone pillar in front of his Darbar, and in mere malice, he determined to extinguish Yogendra and his race.

For this purpose the Rajah of Bhagatpur settled Koṭialiṅga near his own Darbar in order to destroy the children of Yogendramalla, and afterwards when Yogendra himself went to see the image of Chāṅgu,¹ the villain of Bhatgaon sent him a present of milk mixed with poison. Too late he perceived the nature of draught and when his strength began to fail, he sent for his courtiers and told them that the Rajah of Bhagatpur had malignantly poisoned him. By his own desire he was taken to the banks of the Vāgmati at Sāṅkhumūl where he died soon after and his ghost was afterwards seen going on a horse back towards Hari Siddhi.

This Raja constituted the Yātrā of Bālakumāri and of the Kālī of Siku Bhalel, and the horse race which takes place on the 14th dark half of February, and also the Liṅgayātrā which is celebrated on the day of Māgha Saṅkrānti and the Yātrā of Vajra Vārāhī which takes place on the full moon of Chaitya or March.

Successors of Yogendramalla

Viṣṇumalla succeeded Yogendramalla and granted an immense deal of land in *birtha* to the Brahmans, and constructed and consecrated a silver fount to Pasupatināth, and died without issue after a reign of 19 years. He was succeeded by the son of Jagatamalla of Kathmandu named Rājyaparkāśamalla. This Rajah was very mild and worshipper of Śaligrām. He was blinded by the six Pradhānas² or the principal inhabitants of the city, and died after a reign of 15 years.

The Pradhānas then made Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon the Rajah of Patan, and sometime after deposed him and drove him out, when the Rajah of

¹ At Chāṅgu the Brahma-nists worship Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. The Buddhists call the hill Charu and the deity Hari-Vahan-Lokeśvar, a form of Padmapāni. It is one of the numerous places which the dominant creed has seized and appropriated, though in general and at present toleration is much and carefully observed by the Gorkha dynasty.

² These were chiefs claiming hereditarily to principal powers of the government, and whose factious violence and frequent making and unmaking of kings were the main cause of the fall of the Malla dynasties of the Valley. To this day such proceedings bear in Nepal the sobriquet of "*Patan Shāhī*." The chiefs were called Khume Pama analogous to the Thārghar of the Gorkhias. They were distinct from the deliberations in the Mani Mandap above spoken of, who were called the Peithan Jaisi, and whose location was authoritatively to declare the binding customs of the realm. They were also registrars of land and house transfers.

Kathmandu, Jayaprakāśamalla claimed the throne of Patan, and accordingly took possession of it fourteen months afterwards. He was deposed and driven out by the six Pradhānas who created Viṣṇujitamalla as the Rajah. Sometime after his accession, Viṣṇujitamalla ravished the daughter of one of the six Pradhānas, whereon they all confederated together and murdered him in cold blood.

They then went to Nawakot and brought from there Dalmardan Shah, the brother of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah,¹ whom they created Rajah of Patan. Sometime after, not agreeing with him, they also drove him out, and placed on the throne, a son of an obscure Thākuri and named him Rajah Tejanarasimha of Patan. But in the forty-seventh month of this Rajah's reign Pṛthvinārāyaṇa entered Nepal and took possession of the country and of the six Pradhānas, one of whom escaped, but the rest were beheaded and their widows burnt themselves with them. As for Tejanarasimha he took asylum with the Rajah of Bhatgaon.

¹ The Gorkha conqueror of Nepal.

CHAPTER 6
THE MALLAS OF KANTIPUR

Lakṣmīnārasimhamalla

We now revert to the events of Kantipur or Kathmandu. In the time of Lakṣmīnārasimhamalla at the time of Indrayātrā, one of the Siddhis or saints perceived that the tree called Kalpa-Vṛkṣa had assumed the form of a man and had come to see the Yātrā or festival. The saint brought him out of the crowd and obtained a promise from him not to leave the capital until salt and oil were sold at one rate ; and at the same time obtained from him four timbers with which the Siddhi constructed a building and gave it the appellation of Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapa or Edifice of Wood, of which word Kathmandu is a corruption. And when the occupants of this edifice celebrated the annual Pujah of the building,¹ they called out loudly that salt and oil were not sold at one price to that day.

The building was erected in 715 of the Nepal era (1595 A.D.). Rajah Lakṣmīnārasimhamalla had a Kājī or minister named Bhīmalla of Rajput origin, who established 32 *kothīs* or commercial houses at Kathmandu and himself went to Bhote to establish communication with that country which was beneficial to the government of Kathmandu. He likewise obtained half of the frontier towers of Kuti and Kerrong² by virtue of that treaty.

When Bhīmalla was in Bhote, some worthless persons told the Rajah that Nityānanda, the Swami, did not bow his head before any of the gods and was an infidel. Hearing this the Rajah went there to make trial of it. But before his arrival there the slander had become known to Nityānanda by means of his

¹ It stands in the Darbar and is an edifice in the usual cut and style of the Chinese with exceedingly large projecting roofs which are latticed with ante rooms, holding a swarm of jogis, men and women who live there, a tax called *Jogī-paisa* is raised to support them. The deity they serve is Gorakhnāth before mentioned.

² Respectively the eastern and western passes into Tibet or Bhote at a distance of 10 to 11 marches from Kathmandu. The advantages alluded to were lost to Nepal by the unjustifiable attack on Digarchi directed by the Gorkhas in 1787-90. The Kuti Pass is open early all year, but it is more tedious and protected less than Kerrong, which on the other hand is liable to much larger interruption. To the Tibetans travelling without loads, the Kuti Pass is open all the year round.

sanctity. On the appearance of the Rajah there the Swami pretending to be ignorant of the deity Kāmādeva which instantly broke into pieces. Then he made his bow before the Dharmāśila which also broke and again he bowed before a third deity whose image was shattered like the former two. Just as the Swami entered the temple of Paśupati-nāth to bow before the Deity, the Rajah laid his forehead on the Swami's feet and requested him not to do so.

Sometime after this the Swami departed to assume his seat in Svarga or paradise. Bhīmalla having completed his commission in Bhote or Tibet returned to Nepal, but when he arrived in the city of Bhatgaon his astronomers advised him not to appear before the Rajah till three days inauspicious for him had passed by. Consequently, he halted there and came to pay his devotions to Paśupati-nāth where he found the Dharmāśila in a dilapidated state which he covered with copper sheets and went back to Bhatgaon. Then the inhabitants of that place wrote a long letter to the Rajah that Bhīmalla had brought immense wealth from Bhote and aspired to the throne. On the receipt of this letter the Rajah issued a secret communication for the murder of the ungrateful minister, who was accordingly assassinated. When his wife was about to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband she exclaimed: "Whosoever does good for this Darbar will be murdered in the same manner."

After the murder of Bhīmalla the Rajah repented sorely, and built a monument in his name. Sometime after Rajah Lakṣmīsiṃha was confined by his own son aided by the son of Bhīmalla where he died.

Pratāpamalla

Rajah Pratāpamalla ascended the throne in 719 of the Nepal era. Although the Rajah did not receive the *mantra* or the mystic invocation of Tulja Bhuvānī, yet he was very wise, learned and powerful. He married a woman who was brought from Tirhut and re-established the Rathyātrā of Lokeśvarnāth which had been stopped by the Thākuri Rajahs.¹

This Rajah assembled foreign Pandits in his Court and learned from them fifteen sorts of letters which he caused to be engraved on slabs and put them up on the walls at different places. They are to be seen to this day. Sometime after Pratāpamalla who hoarded up four crores of rupees, buried the treasure and for the further security of the riches constructed two edifices upon the hills of Mohanchowk and Sunderchowk, in which he placed many images of the deities. He likewise for the security of his Darbar built a gate called Hanuman Dhoka, the panels of which are of giltwork, and to the left side of the door he

¹ Persons of the Newar tribe and Śaiva religion who pretend to royal blood are called Thākuri, which is equivalent to Rajput or scion of royalty. Malla, Sēna, Khan etc. are other similar races.

placed the image of Hanuman, and in the threshold the image of Narasiṃha and of the 5-faced Hanuman. He also erected the large building which is still called Nasālchowk and repaired the temple of Nṛtyanāth and close to it built a *pāti* or carvanserai which he named Karindrapur. He repaired the image of Pañchaliṅga Bhairava and also covered some parts of it which were indecent. He planted a garden adjoining his palace and called it Bhandārkhāl in which he constructed a tank desiring to place in the middle of it an image of Jalāsyana.

Accordingly, he went to obtain the permission of the deity, the greater Nilkaṇṭha,¹ but could not get it, and therefore, brought the old image of Jalāsyana from near Jñāneśvara and kept it in the tank of Bhandārkhāl. Wishing to supply the tank with the waters of the Nilkaṇṭha, he caused a canal to be dug from Nilkaṇṭha to Bhandārkhāl ; but he failed. He then made a solemn vow that unless he could supply the tank with the waters from Nilkaṇṭha, he would not move from his seat ; and in the end he became a yogi. He never changed his resolution or posture for a whole year, after the expiration of which period on the first day of Naurātri, the water of Nilkaṇṭha appeared in the tank which gratified the Rajah beyond description ; but the Rajah was enjoined not to appear there and to prevent his successors from going, for that, if any of the royal family should make the attempt, he would instantly die.²

Sometime after this the Rajah found an image of Bhīma Bhairava in one of the tanks near his Darbar which he placed in a temple to the west of his Darbar near the Viṣṇumati river. He also dug out from the ruins of Viśāla Nagar an image of Nārāyaṇa riding on a Garuḍa and placed it in one of the areas of the palace called Sunderchowk, but afterwards removed the image of Garuḍa from his house and enshrined it in a temple at a place since then called Nārāyaṇa Hathi.³

This Rajah had two wives each of whom had two sons, namely by the elder Pṛthivendramalla and Nirūpendramalla, and by the younger wife Mahipendramalla and Chakravartendramalla. While he was enjoying the throne of his forefathers, a Swami named Jñānānand having come from the Deccan was residing at Paśupati, where the Rajah went in person and appointed the Swami as the High-Priest of Paśupatināth and by his advice and direction constructed a golden umbrella and consecrated one of the same metal to Paśupati.

Sometime after, the Swami constituted a ceremony and named it Pavitra

¹ As opposed to the lesser inshrined at Bālāju, 2 miles north of Kathmandu, the greater being 7 miles away.

² On like penalty the Rajahs of Nepal are prohibited from visiting Nāgdāh, a little lake beyond Chobhār before-mentioned.

³ A holy fount or *dhārā*, half a mile E.N.E. of the city.

Rohana Chaturdaśi which takes place on the 14th light of half of July. For the accommodation of the Swami the Rajah built a house proximate to Paśupati's and by his advice the Rajah bestowed his kingdom on his four sons, each of whom was enjoined to reign by turn for a space of one year successively.

When the turn of Nirūpendramalla came, he succeeded to the throne and consecrated a golden suit of armour to Paśupatināth. When the turn of the youngest son arrived, he was placed on the throne which he enjoyed for twenty-four hours when he died: his name was Chakravartendramalla. His coins have a miraculous power, for when any woman is troubled with protracted delivery, if you make her drink some water in which has been washed Chakravartendramalla's coins (the insignia of which are the arrows, trident bow, cord and ankus or iron hook of the deity) she will instantly make an easy delivery. This custom is still extant among the inhabitants of Nepal.¹

After the death of Chakravartendramalla his father expended much money in the construction of a reservoir and supplied it with the waters of all the *tīrthas* or holy pilgrimages and consecrated it in his name, and named it Rāni Pokhri.

Rajah Pratāpamalla learned the rites of the Buddhists from a Vajrāchārya or Gubal named Yamlu and repaired Śāntipur and deposited there a book of his own compositions which he named *Vṛṣṭichintāmaṇi*. He also built two temples of Nārāyaṇa close to the Chaitya of Svayambhu and named them Kaven-drapur and also placed in the middle of the two maṇḍalas a golden thunder-bolt and consecrated it to Svayambhunāth.²

Pratāpamalla made a vow to cohabit with 100,000 woman; but when he had corrupted the chastity of 30,000, one night a virgin was brought to his bed who was too young and died by the force of his lust. Rajah much repented and to atone for the crime he performed a *Koṭyāhuti* sacrifice to Paśupatināth for three months and also placed in a round temple a crore of lingas and mounted a new stupa on the temple of Paśupatināth. He also placed in front of the temple's southern door his own likeness and that of his whole family and granted for the use of cows a considerable tract of land called Bhandārkhāl. He likewise constructed some temples along the road leading from Kathmandu to Paśupatināth,³ and also constructed a Phutaka or subterranean passage communicating from his Darbar to Paśupatināth's temple.

Sometime after this by the advice of Lambakarṇa Bhaṭṭa he placed his own statute in front of his Darbar on a stone pillar and covered the roof

¹ The coins are very rare and according to other *Vaṃśāvalīs* have the Samvat 789 inscribed on it and allege that their issue caused the death of the young king.

² All these are still forthcoming close to the Chaitya.

³ Many of them still exist and are all on the model of Orissan Jagannāth.

of Digoṭolah with gilt copper tiles. After this in the same year one of seven Nāgas or Snakes of Chobhār stopped the waters of the Vāgmātī and consequently inundated the country so far that flood reached the temple of Paśupati¹. Under cover of the inundation the Nāga got into the Bhandār or treasury of the Deity where he stole the Ekmukhi Rudrākṣa² but was perceived by Vasuka Nāga, the treasurer who jumped into the water and searching out the thief, killed him and replaced the Ekmukhi Rudrākṣa in the temple of Paśupati. The recovered Rudrākṣa was consecrated anew by a Gosāin through the hands of Mohan Siṃha, the Newar merchant.

When the waters passed off from the Valley, the murdered Nāga was found proximate to the Rājesvarī temple by the Rajah and Lambkarṇa Bhaṭṭa. The temple of Vasuki was repaired and a golden *gajura* was mounted upon it and to support the musicians of Paśupati a suitable Guṭhī or grant of land was made and it was called Dharamapaṭṭī Guṭhī.

In the latter part of Pratāpamalla's reign, one of the Brahmans named Narasiṃha Thākur, a devotee of the deity Narasiṃha, came to Nepal and lodged himself near Pañcha-Bhairava. When the Rajah was apprized of his arrival, he went to pay his respects and sometime after by the advice of Narasiṃha the Rajah searched out the place and position of Guhjeśvari. According to the directions of Mahākāl Saṅgita (a famous Tantra) this was found in the grove Islamantak by a sword-bearer and Telkar who accompanied the Rajah. When the Rajah had found the marks of Guhjeśvari-Kuṇḍa, he covered it with some wrought iron beams and again placed upon them the images of Naudurgā, Gaṇeśa, Narasiṃha and Bhairavas, surrounding the whole with a wall. A house adjoining it was added and also a stone pillar surmounted by the likeness of a lion—all of which may be seen today.

When Narasiṃha Thākur was thus working and examining the gods, he had a dream in which he was enjoined by Guhjeśvari to search for the Piṭha in southern direction which the Bandyas had profaned and hid underground.

¹ This temple is not on the higher but the lower or river level of the Valley : but of course, there is slight general declivity in the direction of the general vent of the waters of the Valley so that a flood which should reach Paśupati at the distance of 5 or 6 miles from that vent, would be severe in the intermediate lower level. The upper and lower levels of the Valley are about equal in extent, the difference of elevation being 50 to 150 feet, greatest near the mountains and least towards the general point of union of the streams. The edges of declivity from upper to lower level are rugged and precipitous exhibiting a numerous series of their layers horizontally disposed and consisting mostly of sand, gravel, and a hardened turfy substance on a greasy brittle loam used as manure.

² Rudrākṣa is the seed of *Eleocarpus ganitrus* used in making rosaries. The seed has generally from two to eight divisions and a seed having one division is a rarity. There are two such Ekmukhi or one division rākṣas in the Paśupati's temple.

Under the orders of the goddess Bhairavi the position was explored and the deity found there has been since called Dakṣiṇa Kālī or Narasiṃha Bhairavi. The Bandyas were driven off from that place and went to perform the worship of the Vajra Yoginī of Mahāṅgu.

Narasimha Thākur also opened the road to the shrine of the Devi of Phulchowk¹ situated on the high mountain of the same name. In the year 774 of the Nepal era (A.D. 1654) Narasimha Thākur having taken his leave of the goddess Guhješvari went to Benares and died there.

Raja Pratāpamalla appointed Viśvanāth Upādhyāya as the manager of the festival of Hari Siddhi and afterwards accompanied by Jamnu Gubha² went to Phulchowk where having obtained five stones from the goddess deposited them in a hallow underground in the city of Patan in Laganṭol. The shrine is called Jamatung by the Newars, and when the rains become scarce in the country the Bandyas enter the place and worship there till rains set in.³

This Rajah was well versed in witchcraft. On the 14th day of Ghantakarṇa, the Rajah, Lambkarṇa Bhaṭṭa and Jamnu Gubha saw some snakes performing the Puja of the Piṭhas or Devis whom they overpowered by the superiority of their mantras or witchcraft, and consequently disabled them from proceeding to their respective homes. The next day when they came again there they found these transformed women in the guise of snakes. Some of these were of respectable families ; therefore they withdrew the force of their charms and let them go to their homes.

This Rajah exhumed the image of the three original Gaṇeśas which were buried underground by the lapse of time. Their names are Chābal Vināyaka-situated in the vicinity of Kathmandu, Chandra-Vināyaka in the vicinity of Patan and Sūrya-Vināyaka in the vicinity of Bhatgaon.⁴

¹ On the peak of the mountain which is some 8,800 feet above the sea and 4200 feet above the Valley stands the shrine of the goddess or rather the site of her worship, for there is no temple. From Godāvari at the base of the mountains, the ascent is severe. Phulchowk is the highest peak round the Valley. Next to it is the opposite one of Śivapuri, and next Chandragiri on its western flank which last is 3,632 feet above the Valley.

² Gubha is the title in Newari of a *Vajrāchārva*.

³ The ophite rites or worship of snakes are very prevalent in Nepal Proper which the sacred legends allege to have been, so long as it continued to be a lake, the exclusive realm of Kārkoṭaka, the king of snakes. Whenever the rains are deficient, secret and mysterious rites are performed at Śantipur of Syambhunāth to propitiate the Nāgas, as dispensers of rain. Yet snakes are rare in Nepal where not one deadly species exists—an exemption ascribed by tradition to the deity of Chāṅgu hill, who is Viṣṇu with the Brahmanist, Hari Vikāra with the Buddhists

⁴ Gaṇeśa is a very popular deity among the Buddhists who offer to him bloody sacrifices according to the Tantrica ritual of their creed.

This Rajah having invited the two images of Bhīma Sena, one called Tana-Murti and the other Santa-Murti, into his house offered to them at every step while proceeding to his house, the goat, swan and buffalo sacrifices. When they reached his house, he caused their marriages to be celebrated with the image of Droupadī Vyāsa and then deposited them in the temples where he placed the image of Droupadī, between the two images of Bhīma Sena.¹

It had been established by Gaṅgā Rani to give red lead and beetle nut to women who were going to burn themselves with corpses of their dead husbands. But Rajah Pratāpamalla added to these a piece of silk called atlas and one rupee, which custom is extant to this day. There had been placed in front of Paśupati's door a Nandi or Bull of copper by one of the Rajahs, which was removed by Pratāpamalla and a new one of silver substituted in its place. This silver Bull began to graze in the cornfields of the inhabitants of Devapatan when the Rajah had it removed and kept in it the treasury of Paśupati and the old one was replaced.

When the Rajah of Patan Yogendramalla was performing the *Koṭyāhuti* sacrifice in the temple of Khumbheśvar, the Rajah of Kathmandu Pratāpamalla assumed the likeness of a black snake and went there. This trick was perceived by Vidyānanda Upādhāya, who immediately secured him and wished to put him in the sacrificial fire. But Jamuna Gubha assumed the form of a Garuḍa and snatched the disguised Rajah Pratāpamalla from the hands of Vidyānanda Upādhāya and conveyed him to his own capital.

While the festival of Hari Siddhi was being performed in Kathmandu, Rajah Pratāpamalla having disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, went to see it. But in the meantime Hari Siddhi assumed the shape of a beautiful woman and was amusing herself among the spectators. The Rajah no sooner saw her than he fell in love with her, and seized her, upon which she showed him marks of her divinity, or some spots of blood which he did not understand, and attempted to seize her again. Then the goddess became furious, remonstrated against his licentious behaviour and confounded him by bidding him prepare for his immediate death. The Rajah fainted and began to vomit blood from the mouth. He was conveyed to his palace and died in the course of two hours. This occurred in 780 of the Nepal era (A.D. 1660).

Pr̥thivendramalla

His son Pr̥thivendramalla ascended the throne of Kantipur. His first act was to prohibit the performance of the Hari Siddhi dance at Kathmandu and to order it to be performed at Devapatan. Pr̥thivendra's minister Sen

¹ Bhīma Sena the demi-god of the Mahābhārata, is another popular god in Nepal whom the Buddhists as well as the Śaivas honour, but in what light it is difficult to understand.

Khual having obtained his permission constructed a golden khamba and toran¹ and consecrated them to Paśupati^{nāth} and also granted some lands for the management of the annual *Mahāsnāna* which occurs on the full moon of October, light half. In the time of this Rajah the former Highpriest of Paśupati^{nāth} took leave to go to his country, when the Rajah appointed Vimlānanda Swami in his place. The Rajah placed a copy of *āngas* of the southern image of Paśupati to the westward of his temple to avert the fear of hailstorms which had fallen yearly and done much damage to the crops.² He also granted a Guṭhī for the management of the worship of that god. The Rajah repaired with the aid of his subjects the temple of Paśupati (which was damaged) in the course of twenty-four hours.

In his reign one of the Tirhutia³ Brahmans named Dharma committed a murder of one of his kinsmen. Consequently his whole property amounting to three lakhs of rupees was confiscated. Being a Brahman's property, the Rajah did not think it proper to put the same in his exchequer; he therefore ordered it to be expended for charitable purposes. Accordingly he caused to be built a stone temple in the centre of which he placed the *līnga* of Bhuvāneśvara and for the management of it he granted an immense deal of land in Guṭhī. The Rajah also expended some part of the confiscated property in repairing the Svayambhu Chaitya and having removed the five stone images of the five Buddhas which were situated at the four sides of the Chaitya, he supplied their vacant places with many gilded images of the same Buddhas. He established the *Kailāsa-Kuṣmarohan* Puja of Paśupati which is still annually performed and to defray the necessary expenses a suitable Guṭhī was granted. The Puja is performed according to the *Śivacharaṇa Chandraṛika* (a famous book of the Tantrikas) to atone for trifling sins. With more of the confiscated wealth the Rajah repaired the decaying temples of Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa, Vajra Yoginī and Jayavāgeśvarī and fed a considerable number of Sadhus and Brahmans. But still a surplus was in his hands which he buried in the temple of Bhuvāneśvar.

¹ The toran is most analogous to the trigonal elevation above an entablature in classic architecture. The shape too is essentially trigonal and it is lavishly adorned in many instances being in fact a mere field for the display or ornament.

² Hail in autumn is specially dreaded owing to the brittleness of the stalks by which the grains of rice are suspended for the rice crop is the staff in the Valley. But hailstorms are more common in spring than autumn and the vernal crop of wheat is less liable to damage from these.

³ Tirhut now a British *zillah* in north Bihar, is the Mithila of the Maitihāl Deś of the Hindus. Simroun or Suivagarh whence the Deva dynasty was expelled by the Muslims in 1323, was the Hindu capital of Tirhut. It had formerly very close relations with Nepal Proper. The extant ruins of Simroun with those of Janakpur attest the ancient high fertility of that tract now commonly called the Terai.

On a certain day in the reign of Pṛthivendramalla a thief entered the temple of Jayavāgeśvari with an intent to rob the movables of the deity. He did so, but when he came out, he could not move from the spot where he stood and the next morning was apprehended by the Rajah whose officers executed him and the jewels were restored to the deity. Although the natural brother of this Rajah named Nripendramalla had died only a day before the Naurātri, yet was the Rajah so mild that he did not prevent his subjects from performing the necessary Puja of the goddess.

While Swai Jai Singh Roy of Jaipur was celebrating the *aśvamedha* sacrifice at Benares, Raja Pṛthivendramalla sent him some presents of Nepalese things with a view to partake in the merit of the sacrifice. In the same year Lala Jha Tirhutia consecrated a suit of armour to Guhjeśvari in the company of the Rajah, which is annually put on the deity on the day of Bāla Chaturdaśi.

In the time of this Rajah, a Bandya¹ by the name of Samanta Bhadra, a devotee of the goddess Guhjeśvari, went to Tibet, where while about to drink a cup of tea in company with the great Lama, he perceived by his supernatural powers that his own house at Kathmandu was on fire. He immediately sprinkled the tea towards Nepal which ascending the sky of Lhasa descended in the shape of a heavy shower of rain over his house at Kathmandu at Laganṭol and quenched the fire. But when Samanta Bhadra was sprinkling the tea, the Lama enquired about the cause of it. The Bandya revealed to him what he had seen in Kathmandu when the Lama also divined by his *dhyāna* (meditative abstraction of mind) and said it was very true.

Sometime after Samanta Bhadra having come back from Bhot went to Benares, where some of the Buddhists having built a Chaitya were in search of a man to perform the ceremony of consecration. Samanta Bhadra's fitness having been presumed, he was requested to do it. But instead of performing the rites, Samanta Bhadra took up a handful of Ganges water and having sprinkled it on the newly built Chaitya, said it was done. The constructor of the Chaitya did not believe him unless he saw the rites performed before him. So he again requested Samanta to perform them formally. But Samanta in a passion clapped his hands and the Chaitya ascended into the sky and descended on the spot where it is still situated and goes by the name of Kathia Svayambhu with the highlanders of Nepal, and Sigodeb among the Newars.²

¹ Bandya or Bandhya, a word derived from *bandhana*, to make reverence or obeisance.

² Newars are the people of the Valley, as contradistinguished from all the other tribes of the kingdom who are called the Parbattiahs. The latter especially imports the highlanders who are really or ostensibly within the pale of Hinduism or the Khas, Magars and Gurung.

Bhūpālendramalla

Ṙṥthivendramalla died in 807 of the Nepal era (A.D. 1687) and in the 27th year of his reign and was succeeded by his son Bhūpālendramalla. In the reign of this Rajah Vimlānanda Swami the Highpriest of Paśupati, having established in his place Swami Rāghavānanda and himself gone to Benares, there caused himself to be buried alive. Swami Rāghavānanda established the Dharmarohan Yātrā of Paśupati and for the yearly management of it and of the Avitara Rohan he paid from his own salary.

One of the inhabitants of Kathmandu named Kuchli who used to go daily to see the goddess Lute Indrayāni, one day beheld the Vatsāla Devi sitting there and informed the Swami who established a yearly Sandhūr Yātrā of Vatsāla. Sometime afterwards Rāghavānanda buried himself alive on the northern banks of the Vāgmati and since then a Swami has ceased to be appointed as the Highpriest of Paśupati.

Four years after the establishment of Sindhur Yātrā the Rani of Bhupālendramalla had a dream according to which the Rajah and the Rani having worshipped Paśupatināth and obtaining his permission established a yearly festival of Śveta-Vināyka by Chābhel and to defray the expenses of it assigned some lands as Guṥhi. According to the supplication of the *rajakas* or washermen, this Rajah constructed a well for their use.

Bhāskaramalla

In the year 819 of the Nepal era (A.D. 1699) after a reign of 12 years, Rajah Bhūpālendramalla departed this life and was succeeded by his son Bhāskaramalla, a boy of 14 years. This Rajah had a great passion for hunting and shooting in the high jungles. He caught seven very large elephants whereon the Pandits conferred upon him the title of Gajapati Mahendramalla.

This Rajah gave much land to the Brahmans when going to the Terai for elephant hunting in order to ensure his safe return home, and also granted some lands to the Thārūs¹ and the title of Bhavana. Mahendramalla reigned for some time at Patan and appointed Brahmans of Gabekal as priests of Kantipur. He granted much land to the Brahmans in his own hereditary possessions.

This Rajah had two wives and two concubines with whom he had been enjoying his time in a house which was built up for the purpose near Svayambhunāth at a place called Kindol. When he attained the age of twenty-two

¹ A peculiar race of men, proper to lowlands between the Trisūli and Kosi rivers, in the last of which are found the Cocch, another peculiar race. Are these tribes the *disjecta membra* of the ancient population of India displaced by the modern Brahmanical stock ?

years, the Mahāmāri or pestilence broke out in the country which continued for two years, and from thirty to one hundred and eight persons died of it daily. It was becoming more and more destructive and in the meantime two dreadful teeth became visible in the mouth of Paśupati^{nāth} and the image of Naugraha or nine planets upset themselves. The inhabitants of the city deserted it and the Rajah with his two wives and one servant went to hide themselves in Kindol Vihār, and were supplied their expenses by the minister Jhagull Thākuri. The corpses of the Śreṣṭhas¹ became so numerous that the tribe was obliged to hire Jyāpus to carry them to the bank of the rivers and since then it had become a fixed use with the Newars.

In the same year the personator of the goddess Kumāri of Kathmandu died of the same disease and a new one was constituted in her room. When the cholera was thus ravaging the country, two unknown Yogis came and told the minister of the Rajah that the disease would not cease unless he should feed a large number of foreign as well as native yogis and Brahmans. The Kāji² accordingly fed the yogis and Brahmans for four days successively and the disease actually began to abate.

One day in the course of it a Jyāpu³ who was employed in the culture of his fields in the vicinity of the house in which the Rajah had hid himself with his wives, and discerned by the Rajah from the window asked the news of the city. He informed him that the cholera had begun to subside; whereon the Rajah jumped out of the window and made his way as fast as possible towards the Darbar which he had not visited for six months. When he had reached home and gone to bed to sleep with his concubines, he was seized with cholera and soon after died without heir.

Jagatjyamalla

His subjects began to lament for him, but his wives and concubines consoled them and created a Rajah of the female line named Jagatjyamalla

¹ Śreṣṭhas are of the highest caste of the Jivamārgi Newars, though some of them are Buddhist. The prime divisions of the Nerwar race are: 1st Brahmans or Bandyas according to faith; 2nd Śreṣṭha; 3rd Udyas; 4th Jyāpu; and 5th Kāmi. The last four may be rendered by gentlemen, merchants, agriculturists and craftsmen. Bandyas are tonsured Buddhists.

² Ministers of State are so called in Nepal, from Kāj, business.

³ See preceding note and reference. The cultivators and the agricultural population of the Newar tribe are called Jyāpu. In the past years the cholera has amounted to a scourge only once or in 1822. In that period also once, and only once raged with the severity of plague. In general, more deaths occur from it than from cholera, which like liver complaint, consumption, and other prime diseases of hot and cold climes takes its due. Venereal diseases and small pox are the worst among the race. Dyspepsia is commonest; next goitre, dropsy, ophthalmia; leprosy is rare.

and went to burn themselves with the Rajah. When half of their bodies were consumed in the flames, the elder Rani got up on the burning pile and addressed the standers thus : "O ye subjects of this childless Rajah who had committed innumerable sins by killing so many birds : consequently his two Ranis are thrown into the hell and he is buried there under the plumes of the birds which his two concubines are removing but cannot extricate him. I therefore request you all to build a Dharmaśāla in his name and some riches be sent to Benares to be distributed among the Brahmans and the poor. And now the Somavamśis have ceased to reign in Nepal and shortly a new dynasty will come from the western countries and their title is Sah¹ who will rule in this country."

After saying this she expired and the cholera soon afterwards ceased. According to the list of Jhagull Thākuri 18,764 souls were carried off by pestilence in the course of three years. In conformity with the injunctions of the departed Satī, Jhaghull Kāji constructed a large temple of Jagannāth and granted land as Guṭhi ; and built a Satal² and a Dhārā at Āsanṭol and sent down some money to feed the Brahmans at Benares.

Before the accession of Jagatjayamalla he was told by Guhjeśvari in a dream that he would be created Rajah, the particulars whereof he would hear from a Tirhutia Brahman. Accordingly he met a Tirhutia Brahman who explained to him the meaning of the dream and in the meantime gave him instructions and told him he would ascend the throne of Kathmandu in four days.

The Brahman then departed, but ever after that Rajah revered the Tirhutia Brahmans and granted them lands at Nawakot as *birtha*. He also established a Rathyātrā of Guhjeśvari in the 832nd year of the Nepal era which annually takes place on the 10th of the light half of November.

Before his ascending the throne the Rajah had two sons—Rajendraprakāśamalla and Jayaparakāśamalla, and after ascending the throne he begot three more, namely, Rājyaparakāśamalla, Narendraprakāśamalla and Chandraprakāśamalla. Nine years after his accession to the throne his elder son died for whom he was much grieved and consequently left his palace and wandered from place to place. During his wanderings he met with four Khasia³ sepoy who

¹ A prophecy of the conquest of Nepal by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa of Gorkha whose family name is Sah or Shah.

² A Dharamaśāla or carvanserai with temple attached is Satal. *Dhārā* is a fountain. The immense number of these works for the convenience of the travellers forms a most striking feature of Nepal Proper and even of the hills around it.

³ The present dominant soldier tribe under the house of Gorkha as already stated. The Khas are a mixed breed, from Brahman and Kṣatriya fathers and mothers of hill tribes. They wear the thread and are accounted good Kṣatriyas in Nepal. The other martial tribes

having consoled and soothed him, the Rajah opened his heart to them, upon which they said that if things were so they would advise him to create his third son Rājyaprakāśa as his successor. But all these conversations were carried to the ears of Jayaprakāśa who thenceforward ever manifested an enmity towards the race of the Khasias. Sometimes after these transactions Chandraprakāśamalla died and in his name a tank was dug to the east of the city.

In the time of Jagatjyamalla a thief entered the temple of Guhješvari and took away the ornaments of the goddess, for which a search was made for three months, but without success. At last the people supplicated to the deity who presented herself in the person of a Bandyā's daughter 5 years old, and told the supplicants that the thief was in a Pati or carvanserai at Handigaon¹ where they found him in the precise predicament described by the goddess and the thief was slaughtered. The Rajah built temples to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Mahā-Viṣṇu in front of his Darbar and for their repairs and management granted suitable lands as Guṭhi.

In consequence of some jealousy the Thāri² had plundered the houses of Tirhutia Brahmans whereby the rains were denied to the country; to propitiate the Brahmans and the gods the Rajah established an annual Mahābali of Paśupati and granted a Guṭhi to defray the expenses of it.

Sometime after the period just spoken in reference to domestic affairs, the Gorkha Rajah Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah encroached upon the possessions of the Kathmandu Rajah in Nawakot and settled himself there. Rajah Jagatjyamalla thereon said to his courtiers: "In my reign the Brahmans have been plundered and my possessions begin to dwindle. I rather wish to die than to be spectator of such things." Accordingly he asked for the advice of his friends how to contrive a speedy death. A worthless Bandyā, an inhabitant of Ilam Vihār told¹ him to perform the yātrā of Mañjuśrī which would cause his death. He did so and died three months after in 852 of Nepal era (A. D. 1732).

are Magar and Gurung; and a census taken by government in 1837 gave 16,000 grown males for these three tribes, who have now spread over the whole Kingdom from Sikkim to Kumaon. But the Sapta Gaṇḍaki is their more special locale.

¹ A small town situated 1 mile E.N.E. of Kathmandu or somewhat above half way to Paśupati.

² Persons of certain tribes who are hereditarily attached to the royal service. Thār is clan and Thāri or Thārghar household clan. So it was among the Newars and now is among the Gorkhas analogous to the state of things under feudal regime of Europe. Thārghar is Parbattia name, Khumopama the Newari.

CHAPTER 7

THE GORKHA CONQUEST OF NEPAL

1. Jayaprakāśamalla

He was succeeded by his unfortunate son Jayaprakāśamalla, who first of all discharged all persons of the Khasia, Jaisi, Bhanil and Rajlawant tribes¹ from his service and kept them off his person as well as his court, and in the meantime, contrived a scheme to seize and confine his brother Rājyaprakāśa, who had taken timely notice of it, and made his way towards Patan. Rājyaprakāśa being detained in the way on account of an inundation of the Vāgmati,² sent a word to the Raja of Patan Viṣṇumalla, who instantly came and conveyed him across the river on an elephant and gave out that having no children he would put Rājyaprakāśamalla on the throne.

Sometime after this the Thāris rebelled against Jayaprakāśamalla and induced his brother Narendraprakāśamalla to do the same, and accordingly, he took possession of five townships without blood, namely, Sāñkhu, Gokarṇa, Chañgu, Nandigram and Devapatan.³ Four months after this Jayaprakāśamalla besieged him with his numerous forces and drove him out of Devapatan, when he took refuge with the Rajah of Bhatgaon and died there in obscurity in the palace of the Rajah. Jayaprakāśa satisfied himself by killing some of the rebels and punishing others.

Sometime afterwards the Thārī Khasias⁴ wished to depose Jayaprakāśamalla and place his son Jyotiprakāśamalla, a child 18 months old on the

¹ The first named are Parbattiahs as just explained ; the other three belong to the Newar race. Jaisis are Mongrel Brahmans, Bhani or Bhanil a subdivision of Śreṣṭha ; and the Rajalwant are royal bastards or illegitimate progeny of all or any Newar princes.

² The period must have been the height of the rains when alone and at floods the river is not easily fordable. There is now (1843) a large bridge across it on the way to Patan, built by the late Queen Regent Tripura Śundarī.

³ This would imply possession of the whole central and eastern districts of the Valley.

⁴ That is Khas men of the household and government of Rajyaprakāśamalla. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa of Gorkha, the conqueror of Nepal was of the race of these men, whose treachery much promoted the ruin of the Malla dynasty which they served.

throne. They broached the subject to Rani Devavati who consented to it, and the Khasias drove the Rajah out of the city and placed his son on the throne. The Rajah remained eight months in the vicinity of Mātātirtha,¹ but being pursued there, he left the place and went to live near Godāvāri. When his wife Devavati was informed about the new place of his residence, she requested the six Pradhānas or administrators of Patan to drive him off from that place. He then went to reside at Gokarṇa, but the inhabitants of that place would not keep him there from fear of the Rani ; so they drove him off and he took refuge in the temple of Guhjeśvari. Sometime after he met a Yogī who granted him a Khaḍga or sword and told him to prosper.

Two years and six months after his deposition while he was sitting in the temple of Guhjeśvari, one of the Bandyas entered the shrine and when he saw the forlorn Rajah, tears stole down his cheeks. The Rajah perceived it and taking aside the Bandyā told him that his daughter had been constituted the Kumāri of the year—whereupon he hoped that the Bandyā would kindly allow him to worship her. The Bandyā accordingly brought his daughter, the Kumāri Devi in the dead of the night, covered her with his sheet, and having seated her in the vicinity of Nārāyaṇa Hati, informed the Rajah who went thither and having offered her a dakṣiṇa of a hundred and fifty Mohari Rupees,² represented to her his deplorable circumstances.

The Kumāri assured him of his future good fortune and gave him a flower which was on her head and ordered him to attend at Kathmandu four days after. She then departed for her abode and the Raja went back to Guhjeśvari. On the fourth day, the Thāris who had deposed the Rajah could not think themselves safe unless they took some troops and proceeded to drive him off from the temple of Guhjeśvari. But he had timely notice of it and prepared himself for the crisis. He went to supplicate the deity at whose temple he found a fish floating in the kuṇḍa or pit of Guhjeśvari, which he took up and instantly devoured. Then having seized the Khaḍga or sacred sword in his right hand, he mounted his favourite horse Purāsani and went forth to meet the traitors.

No sooner had they beheld him than it appeared to them (by the power of Guhjeśvari) that he had with him an innumerable host which made them

¹ About 4 miles west of Kathmandu under the Chandrāgiri mountain and in Thankot district of the Valley. Just north of it in the open plain stood Stangol and Balambhu which are Newar towns, but small though larger than Mātātirtha. From Mātātirtha to Godāvāri via Chobhār is about 10 miles S. E.

² The current silver coins of Nepal, the origin of which has been explained *ante*. Two Mohars make one Mohari rupee, worth about 12 annas. The word Mohari is an abbreviation of *Mahendramalli*, that is the coin of the royal race of Malla.

instantly fly. The Rajah pursued and killed many of them and made his entry into the city where he found Mimadhan Pradhana, the paramour of his concubine whom he cut into pieces. He then entered the palace where his wife Devamatt was sitting with Jyotiprakaśa in her lap. The Rajah snatched the child out of her arms and placed him on his own knees. He then caused her to be seized and punished all disaffected and ungrateful persons among his courtiers, some of them escaped torturing by committing suicide. He also caused the death of a Brahman called Dhanajuju,¹ who was the paramour of his treacherous wife Devamatt and shut her up in a black hole or room without door or opening where she died in great anguish. Thus the Rajah cleared the Darbar of his enemies.

He then went to dislodge the Gorkhas from Nawakot which they had wrested from his father, and having fought and defeated them he took Nawakot. Eight years after this event, when Nawakot had again fallen into the hands of the Gorkhas under Pṛthvīnarāyaṇa Shah, some person told Jayaprakaśamalla that it was Kaśīram Thapa of Bhomal who had invited the Gorkhas and betrayed Nawakot into their hands. Without making any investigation about the truth Jayaprakaśa at once seized the person of Kaśīram on the day of Janeyapurjima near Gouru Ghat and immediately murdered him notwithstanding his prayers and supplications to recover the possession of Nawakot which he pledged himself to do in four days.

This Kaśīrām was a brave and intriguing fellow. On the report of his murder Pṛthvīnarāyaṇa caused a salute to be fired at Nawakot. Pṛthvīnarāyaṇa Shah deprived thirty-two Tirhutia Brahmans of their property and possessions at Nawakot and they came to settle at Kathmandu. From the day of Kaśīram's tragical death, the affairs of Jayaprakaśa became worse and worse. He had a secret enmity towards the six Pradhanas or Chiefs of Patan, who had blinded his brother Rajyaprakaśamalla, the ruler of Patan, and was actually in search of some pretext to punish him when he heard that one of them named Bhiukhoa Dhan had declared before some people that he would neither submit himself to Jayaprakaśamalla nor Pṛthvīnarāyaṇa Shah; thereon Jayaprakaśa invited him to come to him and dispel the fear of treachery on his part, giving him a promise that he would do fairly by him.

Accordingly Bhiukhoa the minister came to Kathmandu in company of Devanand Upadhaya. On his arrival he was ordered to be confined at a place where he died by poisoning himself. Sometime after his death by some means or other he prevailed upon the six Pradhanas to come to Kathmandu, whom he detained there and put on them dress of females and made them beg from door

¹ *Juju* is a term of great respect among the Newars who express a less degree of reverence by *Ju* simply, of which *Juju* is a reiteration.

to door. When their wives came to see their captive husbands, they were seized and dishonoured, and afterwards sent away to Patan. Ever after the Pradhāns entertained a bitter hatred towards Jayaprakaśa and his reign. On the news of this Pṛthvinārāyaṇa caused a salute to be fired and gave out in open Darbar that Jayaprakaśa must have lost his senses to make men like the Pradhānas of the State as his foes.

This Rajah built Guhješvari Ghat¹ and also a Dharamsala near it. By the advice of some of the inhabitants of Bhatgaon, Jayaprakaśa turned the course of the Vagmati from east due south which was considered by his subjects as an unfortunate act. He also made some additions to the puja of Guhješvari, which had been established by his father. He established 21 *dharas* or founts at Balaju² where the water first collected in a reservoir, thence issued out of the mouths of sculptured heads of animals; and he also built some houses for visitors near them. Sometime afterwards, a mountain having fallen, a great deal of Śaligramas or ammonites were brought down through the 21 *dharas*; these the Rajah collected and deposited in the Paśupati's temple to be worshipped there. Some of these were given to those who solicited them.

In the same year a thief entered the temple of Jayavagesvari and robbed the goddess of her ornaments, but Gaṅgadhara Jha, the minister, apprehended the thief and replaced the ornaments in the temple. Three months after this event, the Rajah of Bhatgaon, Ranjitamalla sent some thieves to commit robbery in the temple of Guhješvari, where they entered and secured the ornaments of the goddess. When going back to Bhatgaon they became blind and left the chief piece of the deity in the adjoining wood where it was found six months after and replaced in the temple.

Jayaprakaśamalla invited Hari Siddhi to Kantipur and gave the goddess a temple with roof of copper plated with gold.

When the news of the revolt of the six Pradhānas of Patan reached the ears of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah, he came into the Valley with innumerable forces and established his quarters in the vicinity of Naikop.³ In the meantime

¹ A bridge over the cloven ridge of rock through which the Vagmati, there flows. The cleft that of Gokarna two miles higher up and that of Gaṅgadhara of Chobhar 6 or 7 miles lower down, must be ascribed to the agency of earthquake. Guhješvari Ghat and temple are situated about an arrow's flight north of the temple of Paśupati. There is a pretty ghat at Gokarna below the chasm of the ridge giving passage for the river that is at the lower end of the chasm, the two sides of which the bridge connects in both cases, but at the upper and lower extremities respectively of these chasms at Guhješvari and Gokarna.

² A pretty spot 2 miles north of Kathmandu on the road to Nawakot.

³ Naikop is a small Newar town occupying the ghat or passage over that low ridge which cuts off the western district of Thankot from the rest of the Valley. It is about half

Jayaprakāśa went with his forces to oppose his progress ; when the two armies met, a battle was fought which lasted for two hours. In the action Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's brothers Sūrpratāp Shah lost one of his eyes and Kālū Pande was killed and forces of both parties sustained great and equal loss. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was, however, in this action finally defeated and was coming on the backs of a Patwar and Kasai,¹ who thenceforward remained with him and retained his confidence.

In the meantime Rajah Jayaprakāśa caused a salute to be fired and came back to his capital. But that in this supposed triumph he was deceived, the events will show. The annual *yātrā* of Hāthikhāl of Kāṅgeśvari was re-established, and the Rajah constructed a house called Kumārīchowk² for the accommodation of the goddess Kumārī and established a Rathyātrā or procession of her which yet annually takes place on the 14th August light half.

His son Jyotiprakāśa was carried off by smallpox. Four Thāris who were jealous of the Tirhutias on account of their being in Jayaprakāśamalla's confidence went to Nawakot and invited Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah to take possession of Kantipur, which he accordingly did. Some time after Jayaprakāśamalla took into his service the Nāga Gosāins and to pay them he took out of the temple of Paśupatināth the silver water vase. He also broke open the god's secret treasury and took away the riches. He likewise took the ornaments of Jayavāgeśvari and when the people remonstrated against these acts, he pacified them by saying that he would refund the double of it after his conquest of the Gorkhias. Whilst in this way he plundered the temples of some deities, he offered to others. He performed the Pṛthvi-Puja, repaired the temple of Tulja, and also celebrated the *yātrā* of all the deities of Nepal. He recreated the spire of Svayambhu, the former one being then rotten.

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa occupies Kathmandu

In the year 887 of Nepal era (A. D. 1767) on the 10th day of light half June, a severe earthquake was felt in the country of which the shocks were repeated 21 times in the course of one night.³ On the day of Māgha Saṅkrānti

way from Kathmandu to Thankot when the Valley terminates in westernly direction. Thankot is 7 miles from the capital nearly due east.

¹ Respectively the carriers and butchers of the Newar tribe. The Rajahs of Nepal are still wont occasionally to ride on men's back and many of its proud chiefs consider themselves honoured by thus being turned out into horses.

² Kumārīchowk is now (1843) Accountant General's office under the auspices of the goddess, who has her separate apartment, a building close to the palace.

³ Slight earthquakes are of frequent occurrence in Nepal, but in the course of 27 years since the Residency was fixed up at Kathmandu, there has been only one severe shock and that one, though it destroyed many buildings and some lives, was not attended by any of the

Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa came to see and worship the Liṅga of Paśupati and made a grant of lands which is extant to this day. And this is the only act of charity performed by Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa.

Eight months after this, on the 14th day light half of August 888 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1768), Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa Shah made his entry with his innumerable forces into the city of Kathmandu while Jayaprakāśamalla was sitting in the temple of Tulja. Jayaprakāśa made a faint effort to oppose and expel the conqueror, but to no purpose, and at last in despair he spread some gun powder on the floor of the temple and ran away to Bhatgaon and there remained with Ranjitamalla, the Rajah of that place.

While the Gorkhias entered the palace, Tularām Pande was ordered to fire a salute : while he was firing it a spark fell on the powder scattered by Jayaprakāśamalla whereby the Pande and his soldiers were blown up.

Next day or full moon of August light half, Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa having received the prasāda of the Kumārī,¹ seated himself on the throne of Kantipur and was proclaimed king. Afterwards the six Pradhānas of Patan came to invite him to take possession of Patan ; but Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa who was well acquainted with their treachery and ungrateful behaviour, put them off with an injunction to meet them at the confluence of the Viṣṇumati and the Vāgmāti rivers² the next day. One of the Pradhānas was very sensible ; he immediately guessed the drift of this and accordingly distributed to the poor all his property and prepared himself for the appointed meeting. At the appointed hour the six Pradhānas came to visit Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa who made a sign to his soldiers to apprehend them. They were seized, all but one, who being very swift, escaped and made good his way to Benares. The other five were hanged and their wives burnt themselves in the funeral pyre.

Gorkha conquest of Patan and Bhatgaon

Thus ended the puppet of six Pradhānas of Patan at the hands of Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa Shah, who went to Patan, took possession of the throne, and proclaimed himself the Rajah of that place. About eight months after the conquest of Patan, Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa made an attack on the city of Bhatgaon

most tremendous phenomenon and was in fact a trifle in comparison with the Lisbon earthquake or the recent one in the French West Indies.

¹ The Tulja or Taleju just mentioned and who was under the Newar dynasty of Mallas, the tutelary deity of the royal family. With the usual easiness of a polytheist, the conqueror though of another race, and even creed, mounts the throne under her auspices as the *genius loci* of his new realm.

² Close to the south-western suburbs of Kathmandu which city extends on the Viṣṇumati, but near the junction of the two.

and was wounded in the leg. Jayaprakāśa the ex-Rajah of Kathmandu had already taken refuge with the Rajah of Bhatgaon when driven off his throne. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa entered the Darbar and set fire to the building where some Bhotias were placed to oppose him but were all the while soliciting Ranjitamalla to obtain his orders to sally out of the palace. But the Rajah was so much intimidated and confounded as not to send them any orders till they had perished in the flames.

In the meanwhile in company with his five brothers, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah, the king of Gorkha entered the palace where the three ex-Rajas were sitting—namely Tejanarsimha of Patan, Jayaprakāśa of Kathmandu and Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon. When Pṛthvinārāyaṇa saw them he laughed heartily and pointed them out to his own five brothers. At this rudeness Jayaprakāśamalla got up and addressed Pṛthvinārāyaṇa with a loud voice: “O ye Gorkhias! remember that my people became ungrateful, and you are rogues, and thus I lost my country; otherwise I would have convinced you of my strength and abilities. But now I am dying of my wound: therefore, I give this parting advice that you will take great care not to place confidence in Bhaimalis² who are traitors and have reduced me to this condition. As for the Tirhutias I recommend you to confide in them because they are loyal and grateful subjects and would adhere to their trust at the risk of their lives.”

These words of Jayaprakāśa saved the Tirhutias³ from general slaughter and confiscation of property. Rajah Jayaprakāśamalla was sent to Āryaghat in the vicinity of Paśupatiṇāth where he died of his wound two hours afterwards; Rajah Ranjitamalla was sent to Benares to spend the remaining days; and Rajah Tejanarasimha was thrown into prison at Lakṣmīpur where he expired.

Chastisement of Kirtipur

Thus in the course of one year Pṛthvinārāyaṇa of Gorkha took the territory of the three Rajahs. He chose for the capital of his newly founded kingdom the city of Kathmandu or Kantipur where he constructed a large conical building called Basantpur⁴ and appointed Kasais to perform the menial functions in the temple of Guhješvari.

To avenge the loss of his brother Sūrpratāpa's eye which he had lost by

¹ This is quite true: the wretched incessant disputes of the three petty princes of the Valley alone enabled Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah to reduce it. He was 14 years engaged in those efforts in intrigue and force which led to the catastrophe.

² Inhabitants of the village Bhaimal which is about 2 cōs east of Kathmandu. They were and are of the Khas tribe chiefly, or Parbattiahs, not Newars; many are Brahmans.

³ People of the plains and their descendants, immigrants from Tirhut.

⁴ A division or portion of the present palace.

an arrow when laying siege to Kirtipur, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa went there on the 3rd day light half of March 886 of the Nepal era, sent for the inhabitants who were beyond the age of 12 years and ordered their noses to be cut off. 865 persons were thus mutilated whose noses were afterwards weighed and found to be twelve *dhārnīs*,¹ one seer and six tolas—or 37½ seers *katcha*.

The Bhotias who had been commissioned to cut off the noses of the Kirtipurians were executed, because they had done the job with excessive zeal. The inhabitants of Kirtipur had opposed the forces of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah for 7 years.

One of the four ministers of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa named Ram Krishan Kawaṛ during this reign paved the road from Guhjeśvari to Paśupatiṇath with stones and the Rajah constructed a bridge over the Rudramati.

Extension of Gorkha Power

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah despatched an army under one of his chiefs Kahar Singh Biśnait to take possession of the eastern country as far as Vijayapur and its Terai of the west as far as the Sapta Gaṇḍaki, and of the north as far as Kerrong, all of which were accomplished.³ After a reign of 7 years and a half in Nepal, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shāh died on the day of Māgha Saṅkrānti 895 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1775) on the banks of the Trisūla Gaṇḍaki, close to Mahāntīrtha.

He was succeeded by his son Pratāpasimha Shah who established the Indra-Yātrā which continues for 8 days and commences on the 12th day light half of August and under the 4th dark half of September. To meet the expenses of the festival, Pratāpasimha assigned some lands as Guṭhī. The Rajah performed the annual Puja of Tulja Devi in company of the Āchāryas and died after a reign of three years, in 898 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1778).

¹ 3 seers make a *dhārnī*.

² Sub-divisions of the Khas or Khasia tribe. These sub-divisions are very numerous and each has lesser distinctions or sections, as Thapa, Pande, Biśnait etc., styled *thār*. These patronymics, as in the case of the second and third named, often being drawn from Brahmanical and Kṣatriya male blood of such *thār*. In case of the Thapas and many others, it is less easy to assign the reason of the name.

³ Vijayapur was the capital of the Eastern Sena dynasty and Mackwanpur that of the Western Senas. Sapta Kosiki is the country between Dumja and Sun Kosi, which is some 36 miles east of the Nepal Proper and Sikkim. Kerrong is a pass of the Himalayas into Tibet. Vijayapur is situated to the south of Sapta Gaṇḍaki in the eastern half and extends south to the plains. Again the Sapta Gaṇḍaki extends westward from Nawakot to Śretagṇaga or 2/3rd of the western portion of the present Kingdom. The country of Seven Gaṇḍaks was chiefly occupied by the petty principalities called the *Chaubisi* and *Bāisi*; and the country of Seven Kosis by the Kirāta tribe chiefly. But Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah's conquests in the above context were partial as shown by the subsequent narrative.

In the same year a *yātrā* of Bhīma Sena of Patan was constituted. Rana Bahadur Shah, the son of Pratāpasimha Shah succeeded him. This Rajah was powerful and violent. His first act was to accuse the Āchāryas as sorcerers who had reduced the age of his father by the force of their spells and accordingly seized and slaughtered them close to the temple of Indrānī. He consecrated a silver *Jalahari* to Paśupati^{nāth}. He also caused Vansrāj Pande to be assassinated in the Darbar. In his reign was conquered the western country of 24 Rajahs or Chaubisis and in the meantime, he made the English Government shiver at the sound of his name. He sent Kāji Sarūp to conquer the eastern country which was subdued as far as the Kirāta Rajah's territory. In confederation with Siarmarpa Lama, Ran Bahadur caused his forces to plunder the city of Digarchi in the dependent territory of the Chinese Empire, whence his general brought immense wealth.

The aggression on the part of Ran Bahadur Shah enraged the Emperor of China beyond description who sent a numerous army in command of a Thomtham and a Dhuliu. When the Chinese forces had reached as far as Daibang¹ in the Nepalese territory, Ran Bahadur despatched to oppose them a Gorkha army under the command of his principal Chief called Damodar Pande, who destroyed the Chinese forces and concluded a treaty favourable for the Nepal Rajah.²

Ran Bahadur had confined Bahadur Shah his uncle who was an able statesman, and when in power during the Rajah's minority measured all the lands of Nepal and thus brought much additional lands under tax.³ The Rajah was very fond of feasting Brahmans and Gosāiṅs and also used to distribute food to faqirs residing in the temple of Paśupati^{nāth}.

Sometime after his accession Rajah Ran Bahadur Shah laid the foundation of Jagannāth's temple which he left unfinished at his death. He did not

¹ Daibang is a short march north of Nawakot up the Trisuligaṅga. Nawakot is 18 miles W. N. W. of Kathmandu.

² The contest was severe but the Gorkhas had the worst of it and were compelled to pass under the yoke, to sue for peace by becoming tributaries of the Emperor to whom they still send a quinquennial embassy of tribute. But the dependence is light and willingly borne by Nepal as a supposed shield from British aggression.

³ No change was made in the tax: but the lands were carefully measured and all land that had been fraudulantly withheld from the tax by false and short entry, was discovered and assessed. Under the Malla dynasty there was no land tax. The Gorkhas established it. The basis is a land measure called *ropini*, which is square of 48 cubits per side or 1/5th of a Bigha, and all lands are divided according to their fertility into 4 classes, upon the 1st of which is a tax 12 annas Katcha. On the 2nd 8 annas; on the 3rd 6 annas, and on the 4th 4 annas. This tax does not exceed a 12th of the gross produce which is reckoned at 8 rupees per annum on net or first class.

pay anything to those employed in the construction of it so much even to support their own lives. Consequently, hundreds of them starved to death. The image of Jagannāth and his attendants which had been sculptured to be placed in the temple is still preserved in the Mulchowk of Patan.¹

Ran Bahadur Shah placed a large head of brass showing the face of the Bhairava and a large bell before the Darbar and some while thereafter by the advice of evil councillors he seized a Brahman's daughter by force as a concubine. By her he had a son named Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah.² When the son had attained the age of eighteen months, Ran Bahadur abdicated the throne in his favour and changing his own title from Rajah Ran Bahadur Shah to Swami Parama Nirguṇānanda, he went to reside at Devapatan, where he planted a large garden, and consecrated it to Paśupatinath fully compensating thirty-two of his subjects whose lands he took for the plantation of the garden.

By reason of his cohibition with a female of a sacred caste or a Brahman's daughter, his senses left him and he became mad. He was very fond of bull fighting and killed innumerable monkeys and vultures. Three months after his abdication he removed his residence from Devapatan to Lalitpur or Patan.³ He was a handsome man and an expert singer, and while residing at Patan he suddenly said one day that Damodar Pande, the Premier had become traitor and disloyal, wherefore he would remove him from the office. In supposed prosecution of this purpose he sent away the infant Rajah and Damodar Pande to Nawakot. But meanwhile he fell into open dissension with his Bhāradārs or chiefs and destroyed and polluted the temples as well as the images of the deities and murdered the Vaidyas or physicians because they could not cure his concubine against the will of Providence.

While all this was happening at Kathmandu, Damodar Pande, convoked a general council of the Chiefs at Nawakot, in which it was debated and resolved to seize the person of Ran Bahadur, and put him in fetters, because he had conceived a desire at that time to resume the reins of government into his hands, and to destroy one by one the chiefs who had opposed and were still contriving to oppose his insane and tyrannical mandates. However, Ran Bahadur had

¹ The temple itself, which was very large and after the model of the celebrated Orissan pagoda, was destroyed by the great earthquake of 1833. But out of its debris an elegant Grecian-looking edifice was erected in 1941; but it has been left roofless owing to the presumed displeasure of the heaven.

² Father of the present Rajah Rajindra Vikram Shah, whose eldest son Surrendra Vikram Shah is now 14 years of age.

³ Patan means a city. Devapatan is the holy city so called from its vicinity to Paśupati; while Lalitpatan is the delightful city and is the finest town of the Valley about 2½ miles S. S. W. from Devapatan.

timely notice of what had passed at Nawakot, and accordingly he fled to Benares when the Mahila Rani became regent.

In the course of her regency she constructed a temple with a quadrangle in which she set up a liṅga of Mahādeva and gave it the appellation of Nandkeśvara,¹ assigning lands for the management of the temple and charitable purposes. After 4 years' residence at Benares Ran Bahadur returned to Nepal. No sooner was Damodar Pande apprized of his arrival at Thankot than he took a set of silver fetters and a few chiefs of his own party, and proceeded thither to take him in custody. But the chiefs when they came face to face with Ran Bahadur, deserted the minister and went over to him. In a moment the minister was surrounded and brought to Kathmandu as prisoner.

When Ran Bahadur arrived at Kathmandu he beheaded a considerable number of Bhāradārs² and oppressed the subjects with additional assessment on landed property,³ and seized and resumed the lands of Brahmans and temples. To keep his son from the contiguity of persons affected with small pox he ordered all such infants as had not the disease to be taken out of the city. In this manner hundreds and hundreds of helpless people lost their offspring.

This Rajah intimidated Rajah Sansar Chandra of Kangra by an invasion of his territory. When the mind of Ran Bahadur Shah was engaged in the preparation of war, the inhabitants of Bhaimal whose lands had been resumed by him addressed to him a *śaloka* of which the meaning is this : O Maharaja ! the poison is not poison because it kills only the one who eats it ; but the property of Brahmans is more venomous because it destroys the whole family of him who takes it." But Ran Bahadur did not pay attention to their complaints and sent them away. This Rajah instituted the gold coins called Bakla and Palta.

¹ About $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of Kathmandu on the road to Pasupatinath. It is a handsome 2-storied brick and tile structure in the Chinese style, the temple occupying the centre of the open square, the enclosing quadrangular screen forming an ample abode for ministering priests as well as for such travellers as from time to time want temporary quarters. There are hundreds of such temples in the Valley, so that a floating population half as large as the fixed population could readily find a good lodgings ; and thus in fact are housed the numerous annual pilgrims and traders from Tibet and from India as well as the highlanders of Nepal having business in the Valley.

² Bhāradārs are ministers of state so called for sustaining the *bhar* or the burden of affairs.

³ There was no new rate, but fresh measurement and further discovery of fraudulantly exempted lands. As already explained, the land tax is both fixed and moderate, for the rate, besides being low, is levied in paisa currency of 16 gundas per rupee. Thus the nominal 12 annas become 10 annas which is within a fraction of $\frac{1}{14}$ th of the gross produce or a 6th to a 7th of the landlord's share. When there is no proprietor, the government takes the share or a half ; but rent and revenue are never confused in Nepal. Rent is commonly a half ; revenue at most $\frac{1}{12}$ th if worth respectively 16 or 8 rupees, and now at the market price 20 or 10 rupees.

In 926 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1806) the 7th day of the light half of April, a jackal entered the city in the day time, and the same night Ran Bahadur Shah was killed in the open Darbar by his brother Sher Bahadur. After the Rajah's destruction very many Bhāradārs were slaughtered.

Then Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah became the sole master of the throne. His first act was to give back the resumed lands of the Brahmans to the owners. This Rajah was religious, mild, affable and paid much attention to the injunctions of the *Śāstras* and the Brahmans. He consecrated the entire revenue of Devapatan to Paśupatināth on the day of Śivarātri. When he had attained the knowledge of the *Śāstras*, he became too mild and merciful as to leave off shooting and also prohibited the people the use of *gulels* or crossbows.

This Rajah bestowed the title of General on Bhimsen Thapa and created him Prime Minister. He also constructed a large gate and row of houses at Tundikhel,¹ and a *kot* for the soldiers to pile their arms in, and threw a bridge across the Vāgmati and Viṣṇumati and on the former he placed a brass image of a lion on a stone pillar.² He likewise paved the inner part of Paśupati's temple with silver tiles and consecrated a Nandīgaṇa to Paśupatināth.

In 928 of the Nepal era, on the first day of light of May, a severe earthquake was felt in the country which lasted 21 *pals* and destroyed many lives and houses. This Rajah caused a door of Hanuman Dhoka to be gilded and also paved the floor of Nasālchowk with square stones. Sometime after he built a powder magazine close to the British Residency ground, and also stamped the dhak pieces of coin. The Rajah had a war with the British Government and saved his country by a timely peace and agreed to have a Resident ambassador at his Court.

In 936 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1816), smallpox became so virulent in the country that hundreds and thousands of men, women and children, old and young, were swept away. The rivers, tanks, and canals were crowded with dead and dying; and in the streets a man had scarcely room to walk and the dogs dragged away the neglected and putrified corpses and vultures died with surfeit of human flesh.³

¹ Tundikhel is a plain immediately east of the capital now converted into a parade ground.

² The bridge over the Vāgmati is a curiosity. It is 605 feet in clear open, yet no arch resting on numerous triple series of *sal* timbers. The roadway is about 9 feet wide and made of edgewise inserted tiles, but a carriage, and of course, a horseman may cross it safely.

³ This brief but terrible picture is a literal translation of the original text and may vie with anything in Thucydide's account of the plague at Athens. Small-pox and venereal disease are the great scourge of Nepal, whose temperature and equable climate very alike that of the coast of the Mediterranean, renders inflammatory and violent diseases.

In 937 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1817), on the day of Māghabadi Amāvas, the sun was eclipsed, and the next day Girvan Yudha, the Rajah, was carried off by the disease in the 20th year of his reign.

His son Rajindra Vikram Shah¹ was placed on the throne. This Rajah repaired the old roofs of Paśupati and Guhjesvarī and also erected a new spire² at Svayambhunāth, the old one having been thrown away in a gale of wind. His minister Bhimsen Thapa consecrated a pair of silver doors to Paśupatināth. The three ranis of Ran Bahadur Shah built the temples of Mahādeva on the banks of the Vāgmāti.

Raja Rajindra Vikram Shah built a fine and large cantonment at Balchattra for the regular soldiers.³ In 944 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1824), Mahāmāri or cholera broke out in Nepal and swept away daily from 100 to 150 souls.

In 945 of the Nepal era (A. D. 1825), in the month of September, the rains fell so abundantly that many houses and villages skirting the banks of the Vāgmāti were carried away by the current. Again in the month of January 946, the rains did much damage to the bridges and the Kāli Gaṇḍaki was swollen so much that many houses were covered with its waters; and when the waters subsided, many people found gold and silver ornaments and also brass and copper pots. In the same year, in the month of October, slight earthquake occurred 17 times in the course of 24 hours.

¹ The present sovereign.

² The spire is now conical, formely it was tetragonal. If crusty Buchanan had had a more catholic spirit he would have surmised the probability of change from the action of ordinary propensities instead of taxing Kirkpatrick with want of eyes.

³ This cantonment built after the mode of that of Behrampur exceeding it considerably in size, stands to the west of the city opposite to it on the bank of Vāgmāti but somewhat removed therefrom. At its western extremity is a fine magazine or arsenal stored with all the ammunition of war. This is a store house only; the workshop or working magazine is on the east verge of the city close to Bhimsen's house and is a spacious, well arranged pukka building, the several parts of which are workshops for blacksmiths, whitesmiths, casters of cannon and muskets, borers, carriage and stock-makers, curriers etc. quite in European style. You may see case and sperical and chainshot and bomb manufaturing on all hands, and in some special hands, a flowing piece or two promise to be worthy of Birmingham at least.

BOOK TWO

Rise And Fulfilment of Gorkha Power

Compared to the ancient chronicles on Nepal, the Gorkha Vaṃśāvalī is both simple and chaotic. Composed during 1837-42 under the orders of king Rajinder Vikram Shah, by an unknown author, it has the lone distinction of being the only genealogical account of the kings of the present ruling dynasty of Nepal. It is a crude composition, written in a matter-of-fact style, and curiously blended with other now extinct Vaṃśāvalīs. Extremely deficient in historical data, profuse in irrelevancies and often skipping over unpalatable facts, it is the only local chronicle available beginning with the reign of Drabya Shah and ending with that of Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah, who died in A.D. 1816.

CHAPTER 8

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GORKHA RULE*

1. A Brahmanical Prophecy

The Genealogy or the *Vaṃśāvali* of the Gorkha Rajahs commences thus :—

Yashu Bam Shah was the Rajah of Lamjung and had three sons viz., Narahari Shah, Drabya Shah and Narapati Shah. At that time Nārāyaṇa Pandit, the offspring of a Bhatāchārya, who had received a gift of a place and a land grant from the Rajah of Isma in *gurudakṣiṇa*, intending to visit Gosāiñthān marched from Khilong, his native place, and arrived in Lamjung. He encamped to pass the night in the house of a Brahman named Hari Siddhi Saptakota, and after taking his meals he desired to retire for the night, but his host came to him and began to converse in all wisdom. Nārāyaṇa Pandit was greatly impressed with his learning and the next morning he reported the matter to the Rajah of Lamjung, advising him at the same time to consult Hari Siddhi about the horoscopes of his three sons. The Rajah then called the learned Brahman and after showing him the horoscopes of his three sons—Narahari Shah, Drabya Shah, and Narapati Shah desired to know what the future held in store for them.

Accordingly, the Brahman after consulting the stars reported : “Mahārāj-ādhirāja’s two sons, that is the first and the second will be Rajahs, but the youngest or the third son is destined to become the guardian of your lineage.” Thereon Yashu Bam Shah went to his wife and related the Brahmanical prophecy. The Rani was greatly astonished to learn that both of her two sons would rule one small state. Hari Siddhi Saptakota was called again but he assured them that the two brothers would rule different states, and if it proved otherwise, he would throw away his books and discard the Brahmanical thread.

After this Nārāyaṇa Pandit took leave of the Rajah of Lamjung and set out for Gosāiñthān. He soon reached Chapragaon where he went into the house of a Pokhriyal Brahman to pass the night. At this house the Pandit found another Brahman named Gaṇeś Pande, the reason of whose settling there is described thus : At the time when Mukandasena of Palpa was conquering from village to village, this Pande was with him and he as well as some of his nobles who fell sick, came to this village, and in consequence of a close friendship

*Gorkha *Vaṃśāvalis* in the Hodgson Collection, India Office Library, London.

thus originating with the Brahman, had settled there seven or eight years previously.

Gaṇeś Pande finding Nārāyaṇa Pandit well-instructed to give him the *dichha* which was performed in a fortunate hour, but the gold and silver presented by Gaṇeś Pande to Nārāyaṇa Pandit in *gurudakṣiṇa* was not accepted. Then the said Pandit having related everything which had happened in Lamjung said thus : “It is rumoured that the inhabitants of Gorkha do not like their Rajah and are in want of a Kṣatriya ruler ; now I wish you so to manage matters so as to enable us make Drabya Shah Rajah of that place. This is the thing I want in *gurudakṣiṇa*.” Gaṇeś Pande expressed his readiness to do his best, and Nārāyaṇa Pandit accepted the pledge and gave his blessings and proceeded to Gosāiṅthān, where after the fair of Dushera he engaged himself in performing the *puraṣacharṇa* for Drabya Shah. After 49 days when he had perceived some signs of succeeding in the matter, he marched towards Nepal to visit the temples of Paśupatiṅath and Guhjeśvari.

While Nārāyaṇa Pandit roamed about in Nepal, Drabya Shah’s mother called his eldest son and said : “It is my wish to see you remain in peace with your brothers.” And with the eldest son’s consent she sent Drabya Shah towards Raginas and Narapati Shah towards Postang to take care of the affairs of those districts.

Meanwhile, Gaṇeś Pande having been irritated by the unjust Rajah of Gorkha—who was of Khanka tribe, persuaded all the principal chiefs of Gorkha to replace him with a rajah of the Kṣatriya race. He himself took the daughter of one of the Panths of Lamjung in marriage which enabled him to remain there. Thus he frequently met Drabya Shah and disclosed to him the intentions of the Gorkha subjects. Drabya Shah readily agreed and Gaṇeś Pande began to perform *puraṣacharṇa* in order to accomplish his object.

2. Conquest of Gorkha

When matters had proceeded thus far, Nārāyaṇa Pandit arrived in Lamjung, and according to the wishes of Drabya Shah he visited Chapishghat to perform the worship of a certain goddess ; after which he came to Chhaprag and met Gaṇeś Pande, who expressed his conviction as to the truth of his prophecy. Then Nārāyaṇa Pandit consulted the stars and fixed a fortunate hour. Then he sent Gaṇeś Pande and Gaṅgarām Rana to bring Drabya Shah from Lamjung and stated their purpose to Yashu Bam Shah, who without loss of time sent Drabya Shah together with Bhagirath Panth and some Soharas, Khanals, Murlis and Khawas etc. to Chhaprag via Raginas. This force arriving there attacked Liglig on the day of Vijay Dassain, that is, the 10th of Āṣvina light half, and took possession of the village. Then they proceeded to Gorkha where they fought continually for 15 days but without success.

On the night of the 15th day, Drabya Shah together with Gaṇeś Pande, Buselnārāyaṇa Arjal, Bhagirath Panth, Gaṅgarām Rana, Murli Khawas, Sarveśvar Khanal, Gajanand Bhat Rae and several others came upto Gorkha, where both armies met with fresh fury. At length Drabya Shah taking his drawn sword in his hand, proceeded towards the Darbar of Gorkha, where he encountered the Rajah whom he cut down, and then ascended the *gaddi* of Gorkha on the 1st of Bhādra Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa or the dark half, on Wednesday in Rohini Nakṣtra, at midnight on which solemn occasion the officers were rewarded with *khilla'ts*.

3. Drabya Shah

After his coronation Drabya Shah taking his army advanced towards Upplikot where he met with success. After this he took the *dichha* from Nārāyaṇa Pandit on the 8th of Āṣvina dark half, and bestowed on the Pandit all needful things in the world as *gurudakṣiṇa*. While these events were taking place Narahari Shah, the elder brother of Drabya Shah wrote a letter to him saying, "I being the eldest son, am heir to the throne. You are an officer of mine and the lands you have conquered do not belong to you but to the Rajah : therefore, you must deliver to me the lands conquered by you." In reply Drabya Shah wrote back : "You have not afforded me a single soldier in conquering Gorkha ; but I have taken it with the power of my sword : therefore, you have nothing to do with the matter."

This haughty answer caused Narahari Shah great disappointment, and he now wanted to destroy his brother, but their mother who was alive at that time prevented him from doing so. She assigned the river Nand Chipya as the boundary between the territories of the rival brothers and into it poured her milk and said : "Those who will not obey me shall reap the fruit of disobedience."

When the matter was settled, Drabya Shah sent a large force to take possession of the neighbouring districts. Accordingly the officers took possession of Sirāñchowk and Ajirgarh. But when the queen-mother departed from this world, Narahari Shah, who intended to put to death his brother Drabya Shah wrote to him : "The day of *śraddha* of our father is at hand ; I intend to perform it, and desire that you should join me." When he received this letter Drabya Shah consulted his Bhāradārs and wrote that their meeting should be without arms ; but the Bhāradārs of Lamjung treacherously carried hidden arms to that place with an intention to assassinate Drabya Shah at dinner time.

At last on the appointed day Drabya Shah with his Bhāradārs, but without arms, came to the fixed place ; and after the *śraddha* of his father, he and his entourage prepared to take their dinner. At that moment one of the slave girls of Drabya Shah began to cry aloud and hinted to his master to flee and save his life. So under the pretext of obliging call of nature Drabya Shah fled from the

place, but he was pursued by the Sardars and the soldiers of Lamjung down to Liglig, where, however, he totally defeated the Lamjungiah troops.

4. Pourender Shah

Rajah Drabya Shah died in Śāka 1492 after a reign of 11 years, and was succeeded by his son Pourender Shah. Nothing could exceed the joy that was diffused among the people at his accession all of whom lived in peace and plenty during his reign. Soon after his accession the Rajah of Lamjung sent his army in order to capture Liglig belonging to the Gorkha Rajah. Pourender Shah on hearing the arrival of the enemy on his borders, assembled his army and marched to oppose them. While both armies lay in sight, there ensued a battle in Liglig. The Gorkhas fought with their bows and arrows which at first galled and surprised the Lamjungiahs; but soon they came to closer fight and the Lamjungiahs with their swords and *khukris* committed great slaughter and after defeating the Gorkhas, took possession of the place. But Pourender Shah without loss of time sent another body of troops to reattack and reconquer the place. In this second expedition the Lamjungiahs were totally routed and fled. The Gorkhas then took possession of Liglig and plundered the enemy of much wealth, which they presented to their master, Pourender Shah, who complimented them for their bravery.

When these sad tidings reached Lamjung, the Rajah collected a large host and made a second irruption in which the Gorkhas were entirely defeated with the loss of many of their men, whom the Lamjungiahs took prisoner, and set out in triumph towards Lamjung. On the way, they encamped on the other side of the Drondi river in Chitar or Chipator near Boharak Byasi. At this time all the Gorkhia subjects in this neighbourhood used to cultivate their fields in the day and during the night, in consequence of the fear of the enemy, were wont to retire on the peak of an adjacent mountain which since has been known by the name of Hallithum. While the Lamjung army was encamped there, Pourender Shah came upon them with a chosen body of troops, and in the battle which ensued, they were completely defeated and fled.

Flushed with this success Pourender Shah determined at once to attack Chagiah and Surtan, the joint Rajahs of Barpak. He sent a force under the command of an able officer to conquer the place. On hearing this news those two brothers who were well instructed in archery, together with their troops came in sight, and though at first they sustained great reverses, yet in a second attempt they defeated the Gorkhas, who were obliged to retire to their own kingdom. From that day the Rajahs of Barpak put a stop to the export of salt and *pankhī* (a kind of woolen cloth), which obliged the Gorkhas to eat their dinner without salt. During this calamity the Rajah of Tanhoun, being constantly injured by the Rajah of Lamjung, sent an elephant as a present to the Gorkha Rajah whom he considered more powerful than the others.

The Gorkha Rajah having examined the elephant—an animal hardly found at that time, accepted it with pleasure, and finding himself unable to cope with Chagiah and Surtan, while aiding the Tanhoun Rajah, he sent them words of peace to the effect that if friendship should exist between them, all the petty rajahs would tremble with fear, while if Gorkha and Barpak continued strife both might lose their kingdoms. Thus peace and friendship were restored between Barpak and Gorkha.

After some time Pourender Shah wrote a letter to the Rajah of Barpak, mentioning that he had received an elephant from the Rajah of Tanhoun and thinking it a curious animal for these hills, he invited him to come and see it. Accordingly these two brothers with some attendants arrived in Gorkha and at the sight of this animal were astonished and enquired what it ate. Pourender Shah replied that the animal lived only on salt which he was unable to procure ; on hearing this those two brothers promised to supply the animal with 21 *muris* (42 maunds) of salt annually, and after a week's festivities at Gorkha they returned home and fulfilled their promise without any excuses and also ordered the re-export of *pañkhi*.

Pourender Shah now having no fear of any other, made an irruption towards Salliana and brought it into his own possession with considerable plunder. He then made an attempt towards Khuri and Maghi and the troops of both were totally routed. The Gorkha Rajah having thus obtained possession of these above-mentioned districts sent his victorious army to conquer Dhading where also they met with some success.

Rajah Pourender Shah died in 1527 Śaka, in the days of Jahangir who filled the Delhi throne after a reign of 35 years, and was succeeded by his son Chhatra Shah who was equally generous and honest.

5. Chhatra Shah

Chhatra Shah's first attempt was to conquer the garhi of Lingoong belonging to the Rajah of Barpak ; and he sent an army under the command of an able general, on whose approach the Rajah of Barpak came forward to oppose them, but being unable to meet their fury was defeated and fled to Barpak. The Gorkhas plundered the garhi of much wealth which they presented to their master. With the conquest of Lingoong before which his predecessors had trembled, both the Rajah and his troops were puffed up and orders were given to make two kettledrums or *nagārās* and to prepare for the conquest of Nepal, beating the kettledrums on elephant on the way. But Chhatra Shah's intentions were cut short by his sudden death which took place in 1528 Śaka after a reign of seven months.

6. Rām Shah

Chhatra Shah died leaving the *gaddi* without any heir, but his widow who was at her father's home at Salliana, just after the Rajah's death brought forth a child. On hearing this news the minister and nobles of Gorkha intended to bring the child with the mother from Salliana, but the widow hearing the dreadful news of her husband's death anticipated them, and came to Gorkha together with her son called Rām Shah, who ascended the *gaddi* of his father in infancy. Rām Shah was a fortunate child and no mischief happened during his reign and his subjects lived in peace.

When Ram Shah attained majority, his counsellors obtaining permission from him went towards Palpa and Mackwanpur in search of a bride and finding the daughter of Raj Mall (a Rajah of the hills), handsome and full of lucky marks, arranged his marriage. On the appointed day Rajah Rām Shah with good pomp together with his army reached Raj Mall's abode, but perceiving that the bride's father was by no means of equal position and status, refused to marry his daughter and marched back to Gorkha. While he was on his way he met Partapnarain Mall, the Rajah of Galkot, who knowing that Rām Shah was the great grandson of Drabya Shah (towards whom the deity of Gorakhnāth was very kind) said to Rām Shah, "My sister who was married in Musikot, has a daughter whom I have brought up and who is in my house. I trust that your Highness shall marry her."

Rām Shah with his companions then marched towards Galkot and after examining the marks and beauty according to the custom of the country, he married her and remained there till *Chaturthi*,¹ during which time Partāpnarain Mall advised him to perform a *tapas* for the increase of his own wealth and dominions.²

Rām Shah's tapas

Thereon Rām Shah enquired about the manner and place for performing the *tapas*, but Partāpnarain Mall said, "You have married just now—don't think anything about it at the present, but pass time in luxury—thereafter I will initiate you."

After the ceremony of *Chaturthi* Rām Shah together with his bride and the riches which he had obtained as her dowry, marched towards Gorkha and the Chiefs of that place came forward, and joining together carried him into the Darbar.

¹ A ceremony performed on the fourth day after marriage.

² The Rajah is said to have intended to visit the temple of Jagannāth, but on a certain night he saw in his dream Jagannāth himself saying to him not to visit that place but establish his image in his own city and worship it daily, which was done by him.

Sometime after on a certain night Raja Rām Shah saw a beautiful girl in his dream who said : “O Rajah ! a well instructed Brahman named Nanda Misser has returned from Muktināth and intends to visit Paśupatināth, but in consequence of being tired, he is now in your city. If you take the *mantra* from him, it will be good for you.” Early next morning when the Rajah arose, he commanded a search to be made for a foreign Brahman in the city. Accordingly his people searched out the Brahman and brought him to his Darbar. The Rajah first tested his proficiency in the *Śāstras* and then acquainted him with the particulars of the dream and begged him to grant him the *mantra* or *dichha*. But the Brahman replied that he could not give him the *mantra* till he also saw the same dream and returned to the city. That night, however, he saw the same girl in his dream who gave him the *mantra* written on a talpatra and said : “O Nanda Misser ! go and give this *mantra* to Rajah Rām Shah.”

Next morning when the Brahman awoke from his sleep, he thought the *talpatra* was still in his hand, but there was nothing ; so he said to himself : “without doubt Rajah Rām Shah is the incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is no harm in giving the *mantra*, as the *Sāstras* permit the *mantra* to be given to a person who is worthy of it.” Reflecting on these words he came to the Rajah and informed him of what had happened to him in the night. The Rajah was told to prepare for receiving the *mantra*, and he ordered his pandits to fix a fortunate hour for the ceremony. At last on the appointed day after performing the *Kelāśapūja* and *Gaṇeśapūja*, Rām Shah took the *mantra* from the said Brahman presenting him gold and silver in *dakṣiṇa*¹ and performed *Aṣṭāṅgudaṇḍavai*² to his guru.

Sometime after taking the *mantra* he received a letter from Partāpnarain Mall, his father-in-law to come to Galkot without loss of time. After receiving the letter he called all the Bhāradārs and soldiers into his presence and ordering them to take care of the country, proceeded to Galkot, and joining Rajah Partāpnarain Mall went towards the mountains with him. When they had found a solitary place they covered it with leaves to prevent the dew of the night and purified the Maṇḍala or circle with *mantras* to prevent the approach of uncleaned spirits.

Precepts for a ruler

Then subduing their senses and paying attention to holy things and turning their faces towards the north, they sat *Svastikāsana* for the *tapas* and after performing the *Bhūsidhhi* and *Bhūtasiddhi*, and performing the *Mātrikā-nyāsa* became absorbed in the devotion of their Lord Divine *Iṣṭadevatā*. At the end of three months one night Raja Rām Shah saw in his dream that his *tapas* was

¹ Reward to a Brahman for performing religious ceremonies.

² Profound prostration, laying the whole body flat on the earth.

accepted. This he stated in the morning to Partāpnarain Mall who had also seen the same dream and told Rām Shah that their hopes would soon be fulfilled. Hence Rām Shah and his father-in-law derived resolution to persevere in the *tapas* with sincerity.

Once it happened that after performing their daily rites as usual they laid down for the night, but for a long time they could not sleep. At last Rām Shah told Partāpnarain Mall to relate some story who thereon began to speak thus : “A person becomes not a Rajah by birth but by acquiring a just sense of ethical and political wisdom. I will acquaint you with the chief principles which are requisite for a Rajah—*1st*, to take due heed of the flight of time ; *2nd*, to enquire about the state of his kingdom and that of others ; *3rd*, to make friends and enemies ; *4th*, to take a daily notice of the treasury ; *5th*, not to forget the lineage from which he succeeds.

“If you will ask what is the need of all this to a Rajah, I will tell you. *1st*, by recollecting the quick lapse of time you will become more alive to the distress and care of the subjects which will afford you assistance in judging whether justice or injustice prevails in the country. *2nd*, by enquiring into the state of your country, whether flourishing or decayed, you will be able to know whether the minister is active or slow ; and by enquiring into the state of another country you will be accustomed with the customs and manners of that country which will help you in conquering it. *3rd*, when you are able to make friends and enemies, you will realise the truth of the proverb—‘*that an enemy and fire are terrible when their turn comes.*’ *4th*, if you daily examine the treasury, you will be acquainted with the income and expenditure and will then know how much money is expended in good actions (which are of two kinds : one for one’s soul’s welfare and the other for fame), and how much in evil things. *5th*, by dwelling on the lineage, you will acquire great benefit, for instance, you are descended from a noble family, and if you will recollect it always, your inclinations will sway you to associate with the learned and avoid the ignorant and sensual, whence much good will arise to your country and family.”

Story of “a good companion”

Partāpnarain Mall continued : “Now hear the story of a merchant, who had his life saved owing to a good companion. There once lived a certain Mahajan (merchant) in a city who possessed everything in the world. But a demon who bore great enmity towards him on account of his great wealth and good name, transformed himself into the shape of a man, and intending to kill the Mahajan, went there and presenting himself before the Mahajan said : “Having heard of your fame from afar, I have come to you and hope that you will give me service which will cause me to pass my remaining days in comfort.” The merchant asked him about his accomplishments, and he answered, “Wherever

you send me, there I will go and come back soon ; but I will serve you on condition that you will not let me sit idle at any time." The merchant began to send the demon here and there. But the demon wherever he went, came back in a moment with the task accomplished, whatever the distance, and again asked his master what he was to do next. At last the merchant was disturbed as he had no time to rest or sleep whether day or night which caused to lose his strength. One day it so happened that a learned man, who had been his companion for some days, came to him and after enquiring about his health and happiness said, "O friend, what is the reason of your growing so weak, though God hath bestowed upon you every comfort in this world ?" The merchant then related the story of his servant, when the learned man advised him thus : "When the man comes next tell him to bring a large piece of wood together with an iron chain, and when he has brought them tell him to fix the wood in the ground, then so you tie the chain to his waist and to the wood on a block by a sliding string and order him to ascend and descend on it as long as he lives." This good advice was acted upon by the merchant when the demon becoming shortly distressed said to him, "I am a Rākṣas and had intended to kill you but now I beg your pardon." The Mahajan then released him on the promise that whenever he summoned him, he would report to him without loss of time. O Rajah Rām Shah ! now see the advantages of having a good companion, which saved the life of the merchant and brought the demon into his power." After finishing this story both of them fell into sleep.

While the Raja of Gorkha was thus engaged in the *tapas*, Lakhan Thapa had made himself acquainted with the public affairs. He is said to have been as sincere and wise a servant of Rām Shah as Lakṣmaṇa was to Śrī Rām Chandra in the *Tretāyuga*. At the end of the fourth month, the two Rajahs who were performing the *tapas* perceived signs of perfection, and Partāpnarain Mall told Rām Shah that in former times Sijapati, the Rajah of Jumla in that very place had performed penance and after receiving some signs like theirs had returned to his capital, and by virtue of his *tapas* had conquered several districts and the system of throwing rouka on the day of Karka Saṅkrānti prevailed. By like means, Rajah Mukandasena also had met with the same success. But the signs which he (Rām Shah) had observed were much more than theirs. Therefore, he added, his conscience told him that he would conquer several countries, and that his race would reign for a long time.

On hearing this, Rām Shah deeply engaged himself in the *tapas* till the end of the sixth month, when he himself perceived that their intentions had become fulfilled, and after saying their prayers they came to Galkot where in order to complete their *tapas* they began to perform the *homa*. This *homa* was performed with as much pomp as that with which the rajahs of ancient time used to celebrate the *Rājsaiyajñā*. Brahmans from far and near together with

six Rajahs were invited, and while the former began to read the Vedas, the six Rajahs with Rām Shah sat on *simhāsanas* and Rajah Partāpnarain Mall related the good signs which Rajah Rām Shah had received during the *tapas*. This caused the other Rajahs to tremble with fear, and each one of them descending from his *simhāsana* stood before Rām Shah and said that though he had not conquered any place up to that time, yet they felt great satisfaction in hearing that he had performed the *tapas* which, by the favour of the Almighty had reached perfection. The Rajahs thereon proclaiming Jaleśvara, Dehleśvara and Gorakheśvara gave Rām Shah the *tikā* and vowed whatever His Highness might command they would obey it with all their hearts.

Ordinance on Measurements

Just as this declaration was made, the nobles of Gorkha together with an army arrived there to conduct Rām Shah back home from Galkot. Before departing His Highness turning towards all the Rajahs there said: "Let all the former measurements and weights such as *Bans ka*, *Nali ka ahli* be abolished, for, in consequence of their use there prevails great injustice in the country, as the shopkeepers and dealers are wont to give more to one and less to another. And instead of these let the *Mana* (a copper pot containing 10 handful of rice or any other corn), the *Pathi* (a pot of above metal containing 8 *Manas*, and the *Muri* (20 *Pathis* make a *Muri*) be established. And the *Lal* or *Kurjanni*, the *Masha*, (equal to 10 *Lals*), the *Tola* (of 10 *Mashas*), the *Pal* (equal to 18 *Tolas*), the *Bori* (equal to 27 *Tolas*), the *Bisawali* (equal to 4 *Bori*), the *Dharni* (equal to 2 *Bisawalis*) be fixed for measuring all articles."

Five Ordinances

Besides these weights and measures Rām Shah then established these five undermentioned *Rules* for the benefit of his subjects:—

First—If anyone borrows money from another bearing interest at 10% per annum, and the debtor being unable to pay the principal sum or interest for 10 years, then the creditor shall not after the expiration of that period take the principal and interest at that rate, but only double the principal, though it be 100 years, and in the same manner for grain lent that only becomes as much as the original loan, shall be payable.

Second—If anyone complains regarding any woman being a witch, then, after examination, if the woman be found guilty, she shall be turned out of the country; otherwise, she shall be rewarded and the plaintiff fined five rupees.

Third—Not to hear the complaints of the water carriers, the oilmen and the persons who fight about the conduits and ducts carrying water into their fields from running streams, because everyone of them has equal need of these; therefore, let them do according to their custom and need.

Fourth—To account the measure of fields by *ropints* (which is equal to 4 *catāhs* of Akbar and 1/5th of a *bigha*).

Fifth—If any one violates these rules he shall be fined by touching the *Dhunga* or stone, which represents the image of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa after worship.

On hearing these *Rules* all the Rajahs who were present there observed that though Sijapati, the Rajah of Jumla and Mukandasena, the Rajah of Palpa had conquered several hill states, yet they had not fixed any rules for the benefit of the country, whereas Rajah Rām Shah had done so without conquering a single state. From this it is apparent that his successors will conquer all countries of the *Baisi* and *Chaubisi* Rajahs.

After pronouncing these ordinances Rām Shah marched from Galkot to Gorkha, and on the outskirts of Galkot he dismissed the Rajahs and others who had come with him from Galkot. When he arrived near Gorkha, all the inhabitants of the town came to receive him. Rām Shah then performed the *Sinduryātrā* and the *Kailāsapūja*, and entered the palace. Sometime after, all the *Baisi* and *Chaubisi* Rajahs sent envoys with letters and presents to His Highness to compliment him for establishing such rules for the benefit of his subjects as would cause his name to be remembered till the day of Judgement. Rām Shah read the *kharitas*, and bestowed on them *khillat's* and dismissed them.

Laws regulating the Nobility

Soon after Rajah Rām Shah seated with his counsellors in the royal Court at Gorkha, said to them : “I wish to fix some rules for you also because all of you are the offspring of the chiefs and nobles who were present at the time when Drabya Shah, my great grandfather, conquered the State.” All the counsellors assenting, His Highness established the following rules relating to the duties and rank of the nobles :—

1st—On the Pandeys, Panths, Arjals, Ranas and Boharas he bestowed the title of the six *Thārghar*, and their profession was declared to be to prevent the Chauntrias, the Kājis etc. should they attempt to overthrow the *gaddi*. It was at the same time ordained in favour of these six *Thārghar* that their rank and privileges should be perpetual and heritable in their several families, being forfeitable for heinous crimes.

2nd—*Chauntria ka Jhhari*, that is wherein the Rajah intends to bestow *guhṭī* on a *Devatā*, or *birtha*, on a Brahman, then it is necessary for the Chauntria to be present because the Chauntria is the nearest relation and by his presence will obtain the fruit of *samkalpa* according to the *Śāstras*.

3rd—*Kājī ka Binti*, that is, the profession of Kājī is to lay any matter before the Rajah after judging it either good or bad.

4th—*Pañch ka Sān*, that is, whenever anyone gets a *jagir*, then the above-

mentioned six *thārs* together with other *Pañchas* shall visit the place, assign limits to the grantee, by erecting four posts and fix the rent at whatever rate they deem proper.

5th—If anyone cuts trees or brushwood near the springs, or on the sides of the road, he shall be fined five rupees.

6th—In every village there shall be left some uncultivated place for the grazing of the cows (*gauchar*), because if the cows receive any injury, the sin falls on the Rajah.

7th—If the Chautrias or other near collaterals of the sovereign commit a crime punishable by death, they would instead be turned out of the kingdom—there shall be no *gotrahatyā*. If a Brahman commit such a crime, he also shall be turned out of the country after his head has been shaved off. All others who commit such crimes shall be put to death.

8th—None shall wear gold ornaments down to the feet except the Rani. Because Viṣṇu wore the *kanchanagiri* from head to foot, so the Rajah, being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, his Rani shall wear them without order, and from head to foot. The Chautrias shall not wear them without order, and their children only in infancy ; besides these, all other classes shall wear gold only down to the neck, and down to the hand only after seeking permission.

9th—The title of *Prohit* shall be given only to three *thārs*, i.e., 1st. Arjal who are divided into two classes—of whom the right to make *homa* or sacrifice shall belong to one, and the duty of *Āchārya* to the other. 2nd. Khanal to whom shall belong the profession of *Brahmakarma*. 3rd. Bhatriyan having the profession of performing worship to Gaṇapati. So long as the *balidāna* (sacrifice) is not performed in the temple, it shall be performed in the Darbar.

10th—The office of Dādā Kāji shall belong to Granja Thapas and Granja Ranas, and that of the Treasurer to the Pandeys, Panths and Arjals. The services of the *Dharmādhikāra* (Chief Judge) and of the *Kharidār* shall belong to the Arjals.

Gorkha Missions

After all this Rām Shah sent the above mentioned *thārs* together with some presents and *kharitas* to the Rajahs of Nepal proposing that when they would have no offspring, he would govern their country, or if otherwise, they might govern his. When the envoys arrived in Nepal they presented one of the *kharitas* and other gifts to Siddhi Narasiṃhamalla, the Rajah of Patan, who on its perusal was very happy for he had received such a letter from Rām Shah, the most powerful ruler in the mountains. In return he sent twenty-four merchants with valuable presents to Gorkha. They were presented before His Highness, and after obtaining permission settled there in Kathiathoke near the Darbar.

Rām Shah then selected six persons from each of the six *Thārs* and several others, who were of comely appearance, couragous, eloquent and well armed, and ordered them to proceed to the Court of His Majesty the King of Delhi with some rarities and *kharitas*. He also ordered them to visit Ranarathore, Handa, Kushhwa, Chitor, Odeypore, Jaypore, Jodhpore, Kota and Bundi with *kharitas* for the Rajahs and surbangs, musk, chauris etc. in order to ascertain the *Kuladevatā* or family deity of the Shah tribe, and inform those princes that the time when a battle was fought between the Rajah of Chitor and the king of Delhi on the beauty of Padmani, Mainga, the ancestor of Rām Shah fell in the battle. But his ranis with the infants having escaped had found refuge in the hills. Those children of Kṣatriya race on attaining majority had collected an army and had overpowered the native hill rajahs. They were now on the *gaddi* of Gorkha and other places in the hills. The mission was likewise instructed to state that whereas a Brahman without *tapas* or knowledge, a Rajah without battle and peace, a bania or shopkeeper without traffic, and subjects without husbandry are at last thoroughly ruined, therefore it was necessary for a Rajah to keep friendship with other Rajahs in order that when his enemies assail him, he might find assistance from his allies.

The mission having heard these orders marched from Gorkha and arriving at Garh Chitor presented the *kharita* to the Rajah, and set themselves to conduct enquiries regarding the Shah family as commissioned by their master. The Rajah of Garh Chitor acquainted them with the *Kuladevatā* of their race, observing that all the Ranas, who had dispersed in the plains, had long been reunited, but the two or three ranis together with their children, who had fled towards the hills, had not been found; but now having heard that they were Rajahs in the hills, he was much pleased. The Rajah thus treated the mission with great kindness and kept them there for some time, during which period the envoys daily attended the Court.

Sometime after, they asked the Rajah about the truth of the title (of the Shah family), and His Highness told them that it was a true title, but in consequence of being a Rajah in the hills, the Rajah of Gorkha should make an alteration in its beginning—but no one can alter it except the king (of Delhi). Thereafter the Rajah of Garh Chitor bestowing rich *khilla'ts* on them dismissed them.

When they marched from Garh Chitor, they decided after some consultations that half of them should go to Nawakot to enquire about the customs of the Rajahs there, while the other half should proceed to Delhi, and on their return, should join the former at Nawakot before returning to Gorkha. Accordingly, three *Thārs*, viz., Pande, Panth and Arjal, together with others, marched to Delhi. On the day of their arrival at that place they heard about the *sawaree*

(cavalcade) of His Majesty, and after consultations, they armed themselves with sword, shield, khara, khukree, bow and arrows, and stood far from the crowd holding the *kharita* and valuable presents. When the *sawaree* arrived, the Emperor observed them from afar and enquired about them. Thereat they performed their salutations and presented the *kharita* and other valuable gifts and declared themselves as the ambassadors of the Gorakheśvar Mahārāja. But the Emperor was quite surprised at the sight of their bows and arrows and enquired about their proficiency in archery. He then summoned his own archers and ordered them to exhibit their marksmanship on a *tawa*, but a few of them could hit the target. Then His Majesty turned towards the Gorkha emissaries and ordered them to show their skill. They begged that they be allowed to aim at a Patna rupee. Then one of them adjusted his bow and drawing three or four arrows from his quiver struck at the mark correctly. The King was highly pleased, and after bestowing a rich *khilla'ts* on him returned to his palace.

Next morning they were summoned to the palace, and the Emperor invited them to settle in India. To this they replied most respectfully that if they did so without their master's permission they would be perfidious and miserable always. The Emperor was pleased at this answer and enquired them about the number of subjects in their country. To this they answered 12,000. His Majesty observed that it must be a small country and asked them of the reason of their coming to Delhi. But they wisely replied, that the whole population was not only 12,000, but each tribe in their country was 12,000 strong, therefore it was called Baranagari, and expressed the matter about the title of the Shah family which the Rajah of Chitor had advised them. On hearing this His Majesty called for the pandits and after altering some words of its beginning, writing this title together with *kharita* dismissed them :

स्वस्ति श्री-गिरिराजचक्रचूडामणि-नरनारायणेत्यादि-विविधबिहृदावत्ली-विराज-
मान-मानोन्नत-श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमत्त्रामशाहदेवानां सदा समरविजयिनाम् ॥

Gorkha Court Regulations

The Gorkha envoys left Delhi and marched homewards. On their way they joined with the other three *Thars* who had gone to enquire the manners and customs of the Rajas of Nawakot and Palpa. On arrival in Gorkha, they presented the *kharitas* and other rarities which they had brought from the Rajah of Garh Chitor and His Majesty the King of Delhi, and narrated their brave conduct in the presence of His Majesty and showed the *khilla'ts* which they had received there. After all this narration they recounted everything about the regulations and behaviour at the Court of the King of Delhi and that of the other Rajahs which they had observed. Accordingly, Rām Shah also established the undermentioned regulations for his own Court :—

1st—If the Chauntia and other relations come in the presence of the Maharaja, the Maharani or the Yuvaraja Sahib, they ought to perform compliments and salutes by lifting up their hands, and the Brahmans saying Śri Mahārājādhirāja with their joined hands. Besides these two, every one else ought to perform it by lifting up their hands regularly twenty or thirty times.

2nd—Instead of saying *Khudāwand* be fixed Mahārājādhirāja, and for the Rajah *Gharībparwar*, and *Bandanawāz* for the Chauntias; and *Sāhib* for the children of the Chauntias, and *agayan* for the Kājis, Sardars and Bhāradārs etc. etc.

3rd—If the Rajah be on the *gaddi* and anyone among his relations coming there, performs his salute once; if otherwise, *i.e.* he is not on the *gaddi*, twice. If the Maharaja's grandfather comes there, then both the Rajah and the Rani must perform *dhoke* to him; and if the Maharaja's Guru happens to come there and His Highness performs *dhoke* to him, then everyone present there must perform the same to the Guru.

4th—None should come or depart showing their backs to the Rajah.

5th—None should sit in the presence of His Highness putting one leg over the other.

6th—When the Maharaja sits on the *gaddi*, his Guru must sit beforehand, while the Chauntia on the right and the Bhāradārs and Kājis on the left, and others not to sit without order.¹

7th—When the Rajah is alone in the Vaikuṅṭha, no one ought to go there without asking the Dwāriah, and this office was given only to the Khānzādas.²

Sometime after, Rajah Rām Shah got a son, and after performing a yajña, he named him Damber Shah. About the same time all the *Baisi* and *Chaubisi* Rajahs were quarreling among themselves, and at last sent him a word to mediate. This His Highness performed without partiality. From that time it has become proverbial: "Whoever be in want of knowledge must go to Kāśī; and whoever be in want of justice must go to Gorkha."³

Administrative Measures

About this time a foreign Rajput who was well acquainted with the practices of Bunaty, Bank, Putta, Cheri, Bichhova, Phurri, Gatka, Katar etc. had

¹ Reversed in Bhimsen's time: Khas and other soldiers on the right, and Chauntias on the left.

² Khānzāda (son of a Khān or prince) although a footnote says: "child of a slave *alias* Khawās.

³ *Bidya haraii Kāśī janū,*
Nyaya haraii Gorkha janū.

arrived in Gorkha from whom His Highness acquiring all these practices in the course of one year, intended to enlarge his kingdom and finding these five villages *viz.*, Lokang, Mirkote, Ghiurali, Dhuānkote and Chāngli (formerly subject to the Rajah of Lamjung) independent, brought them under his own control, and fixing the boundaries of each district, he employed several persons to collect the revenue and ordered them to attend the Court of Gorkha together with their arms whenever they were called.

War with Lamjung

When the Rajah of Lamjung heard about it, he joined the neighbouring Rajahs and besieged all the above mentioned villages as well as Liglig (which was conquered by Pourander Shah). Intelligence of this was speedily conveyed to the Gorkha Rajah, who despatched his army to oppose them, but when he learnt that the enemy had attacked with a larger number of troops than his own, he became much perplexed and said to the Rani: "The Lamjungiahs who had often injured my forefathers, have come with a large army to attack me, but I am unable to oppose such an army. Now how would you advise me about this?" Then she assured him observing that although the enemy had a large number of forces, yet they would be defeated as they had forsaken their Dharma. While Rām Shah was thus engaged in conversation in Gorkha, his troops in Lokang perceived that a girl with a sword in her hand and a man in yellow garb with a *mālā* of Photick on his neck, were assisting them. Then they expelled fear from their minds and taking courage fought with great slaughter and astonished the enemy. Fifty Gorkha soldiers with drawn khaḍgas charged the centre of the enemy's position and the rest of the troops followed suit fighting with their Khoras and stones. At last the Lamjungiahs were defeated and were taken prisoners to Gorkha.

Chagiah and Surtan

In the same manner, in other villages the Gorkhas met with success, and taking all the prisoners they came triumphantly to Gorkha and everyone was bestowed with rich *khillat's*. Since that time so long as Rām Shah ruled, the Lamjungiahs never lifted their heads. The Rajah of Lamjung, however, informed Chagiah and Surtan that he and his confederates having made an irruption on Liglig and other villages belonging to the Gorkhas, had been unable to resist the fury of Rām Shah and had been totally routed. It was possible that after some time he would destroy them also. Therefore, he advised them to attack or kill him at the first opportunity.

Accordingly, the two brothers Chagiah and Surtan employed two or three persons for the purpose, who marching from Barpak, came to Rajah Rām Shah at Gorkha and said that as their master had turned them out of the country, they wanted to settle there. Then the Maharaja ordering them to wait for a

week, held a Council of all the Bhāradārs to enquire about the matter. His Highness said : "They are the inhabitants of Bhote, and it is out of their custom to settle in another country leaving their own, therefore, I think perhaps they have been secretly sent by some enemy to inquire into the state of my Court." At this the Bhāradārs replied that it may be very proper that the Rajah ought not to take any foreigner into service without full investigation. Then Rām Shah ordered his Bhāradārs secretly to inquire their intentions. While the Bhāradārs were making these enquiries, these men knowing that the inhabitants of Gorkha had become acquainted with their intentions, reported the matter to their masters at Barpak. They received an answer from Chagiah and Surtan saying not to live in Gorkha, but in the jungles together with 8,000 men whom they had ordered there. Some of them, they were told, must go to Gorkha in beggar's disguise to take notice of the Court, and whenever Rām Shah comes to hunt in the jungle, immediately to put him to death.

When they received this message, they left Gorkha and proceeded towards the jungle where they met the other 8,000 men. It came to pass on a certain day that His Highness intending to hunt marched towards Balooah Bayasi (a Bayasi full of sands), and also these 8,000 men being acquainted with this marched towards the same direction. When His Highness reached the place, he kept 10 or 12 slaves with himself and sent the remainder in search of hunt. The enemy finding him alone poured down on him and began to aim with their arrows ; but Rām Shah although he was alone, was a descendant of the Kṣatriya race, did not turn his face, but standing surrounded by the enemy, began cutting their arrows with his sword, and when they came closer, he cut them to pieces. The remaining were taken prisoner by His Highness' troops.

On arrival at Gorkha, His Highness asked the prisoners who they were. Then fearful of their lives they told him the truth. Rām Shah finding no fault with them dismissed them. When they returned to Barpak they narrated to their masters their defeat and subsequent treatment by the Rajah of Gorkha. At this the two brothers Chagiah and Surtan were both astonished, because notwithstanding their treachery, Rām Shah still thought them as his friends and had let off the prisoners without any punishment. Therefore they sent a *kharita* to His Highness in which they begged pardon for their perfidy and renewed offers of friendship which subsisted between Gorkha and Barpak.

When the *kharita* was made known, to the Bhāradārs and Sardars of Gorkha, they advised Rām Shah to meet both Chagiah and Surtan to renew the friendship on a certain day at Balooah Bayasi without arms. An invitation having been sent and accepted by both the brothers, the Gorkhas hid their arms in Balooah Bayasi, and on the appointed day taking with them a Chauhan impersonating Rām Shah, they marched thither and stood at the place where they had hidden their arms. The two brothers being ignorant of the impending trea-

chery, came to the place, where the Gorkha Bhāradārs with a fake Rām Shah waited for them, and after enquiring about their health and happiness, they cut off the head of Chagiah and his Bhāradārs, but his brother Surtan and other Bhāradārs escaped.

The Gorkha Bhāradārs returned in triumph along with the Barpak prisoners and narrated to Rām Shah about the flight of Surtan and the death of his brother Chagiah. Then His Highness ordered them to search for him. He asked the captured Bhāradārs of Barpak what they intended to do since they had lost their Rajah. They wisely answered : “Your Highness has only taken possession of the two villages, viz. Barpak and Surtan, but it would not be an easy task to conquer the other villages belonging to Barpak and Surtan. We therefore humbly beg that your Highness be pleased to release us—we would then readily bring the 1800 *kholas* under your submission.”

Rām Shah released them on these terms and sent them alongwith the six *Thars* of Gorkha on this mission. They first went to Barpak and Surtan to settle affairs there, and then collected the chiefs of 1800 *kholas* and said ; “Though we attacked Rām Shah of Gorkha treacherously but to no effect. Now he has assassinated our Rajah and has taken possession of Barpak and Surtan, and it is likely that he would make an irruption in your territories. It is advisable to submit to him before suffering hardships as he is reckoned one of the most powerful Rajahs of the time.”

This good advice of the Bhāradārs of Barpak was accepted by all the chiefs of the 1800 *kholas* and each one of them took surbang, musk, chounry etc. as token of submission, marched for Gorkha and presenting them to His Highness yielded to his authority.

Gorkha reverse at Kerrong

Once Rajah Rām Shah held a general Court, and while all the Chiefs of Gorkha, Barpak and Surtan together with those of the 1800 *kholas* were present there. His Highness ordered Bhuvani Pande and Penhore Rana to proceed with an army towards the newly conquered villages to settle the affairs and quell the spirit of rebels either by peaceful means or war. Accordingly, they left Gorkha and obliged the rebels to submit to their arms. Then they carried arms down to Rooi Bhot, and from thence marched forward and arrived on the borders of Kerrong, a Bhotia territory. The inhabitants of that place at first submitted, but when the Gorkha army had proceeded as far as Kukur Ghāt, the chiefs of Kerrong collected a large army and advanced to meet them. The Gorkhalis had a smaller number of troops than the enemy, and though they fought with great slaughter, they were completely routed and both their commanders killed. The victors cut off their heads and sent them to the Rajah of Digarchi ; the remainder of the Gorkha troops sought safety in flight towards Rooi Bhot,

from which place they reported the news of disaster to their master. Rām Shah sent them orders to remain there till further orders.

Affairs of Surtan

Now we must turn our attention to Surtan who had effected his escape from Balooah Bayasi, where his brother Chagiah had been treacherously put to death. The Sarki who had gone in search of him informed Rajah Rām Shah that he had taken refuge in Busihari, a village belonging to the Rajah of Salliana. On receiving this information His Highness placed Gaṇeś Pande at the head of an army and sent him towards Salliana to conquer it. But the Gorkha troops sustained defeat, and began dispersing in different directions. Gaṇeś Pande, their commander, in order to restore confidence, valiantly jumped into the enemy line alone and was slain. The Gorkhals fled speedily towards Gorkha, and on their arrival there Rajah Rām Shah became extremely angry and ordered them back to the field of battle.

Then the crestfallen Gorkha commanders, Kishan Pande and Gadadhar Pande beseeched their master to put under their command a larger number of troops for the conquest of Salliana. They took along with them Durlab Jaisi, the Court astrologer and marched towards Salliana. But the enemy had removed all the ferry boats from the Gaṇḍaki to prevent the crossing of the Gorkha troops. The Gorkha force on arrival there found no means of crossing it. They encamped there and looked towards Jaisi to tell the fortunate hour. At last the royal astrologer found it, and piercing a stone with the dagger he ordered the troops to cross the river without fear. The stone still lies on the bank of the Gaṇḍaki river with the hole made by the dagger preserved !

Now the Gorkha troops arriving at Salliana gave battle to the enemy in which they were victorious and reported to their master. After this Surtan was likewise put to death by the same persons who had been sent to locate the place of his hiding.

Conquest of Phirkoyap and Tanhoun

At this time two districts of Khayri and Maydhi conquered by Pourender Shah shook off the yoke of Gorkha, and when the news of revolt reached Rām Shah, he sent a chosen body of troops and conquered them in which also fell their Rajah. Then the victorious army proceeded to Charangiah, which they laid siege to and obliged the starved inhabitants to eat oxen and buffaloes. At last they came forth and were totally routed. From thence they proceeded to Nibharchowk belonging to the two dacoits of Chote viz., Rangiah and Gangiah, who likewise shared the same fate. Then they marched towards Dhading and took possession of the city. Then the victorious army took possession of Phirkoyap and Tanhoun and returned to Gorkha.

After the return of this army, Rām Shah sent an order to the force stationed at Rosi to come directly to Gorkha. It was at this time that the inhabitants of Rosi Bhote were ordered to send goats and *pañkhī* at Dussera as their tribute—a custom which still prevails. Rām Shah summoned Durlab Jaisi and told him that he was well-versed in astrology because whatever was written in his horoscope had come true. He was granted as *jagir* the village of Tandrang, and also two other villages for arranging the army to cross the Gaṇḍaki without the aid of ferry boats. Likewise the Sarki who had killed Surtan, got the superintendency of Baloo Khola and this service still belongs to his family. It is sufficient praise of the Rajah to say that he was worthy of his subjects ; and of the subjects that they were worthy of the Rajah.

Death of Rām Shah

On a certain night Rām Shah saw in a dream Gorakhnāth addressing him thus : “Now you have come to the point of death ; do not delay in bestowing riches on the poor.” Rām Shah then rose from his bed and informed his Rani about it. She told him to acquaint his son Dambar Shah with all the regulations to govern the country. So His Highness acquainted him with the requisite rules for a Rajah, and after some time, His Highness called at the houses of his Bhāradārs and Sardars to pay his last visit, and performing *bhīḍāra*, *gīḍāra*, *anulāra* and so on, came to the junction of the Marsyangdi and Darroundi rivers, where he was afflicted with colic and delivered his soul to his Creator.

When the dreadful news reached the Rani, she prepared herself to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. She proclaimed Dambar Shah as the successor, and after placing the *tīkā* with her own hand, delivered him to the chief Bhāradārs and Sardars. Thereafter she burnt herself with her husband. Rām Shah died in the 27th year of his reign, in 1555 Śāka, in the days of Shah Jahan, the King of Delhi.

CHAPTER 9

SUCCESSORS OF RAM SHAH

1. Dambar Shah

When these Dreadful News spread abroad, Tulasena, the Rajah of Tanhoun elated with the report threw off the yoke of Gorkha. Dambar Shah, who was busy performing the obsequies of his father, on hearing the report was disturbed, but he could do nothing. As soon as these were over, he marched against the Rajah of Tanhoun ; but his Bhāradārs beseeched him to return to Gorkha and themselves led an army against Tanhoun. They crossed Suthighat and met the enemy and obliged him to flee to Rising.

Sometime after it dawned on the mind of Dambar Shah that he would not live long in this world, therefore, he did not engage himself in conquests, but occupied himself in the worship of the deities, particularly Gorakhnāth and Manukāma. During the rainy season he wrote the *Durgā Kānc* and gave it to the Brahmans. He built a kotha near his Darbar which he called after his name.

The Rajah died in 1564 Śāka after a reign of 9 years in the days of Shah Jahan, the King of Delhi.

2. Krishana Shah

Rajah Dambar Shah left four sons viz., Krishana Shah, Śānkara Shah, Pitambar Shah and Balbhadrā Shah, but there is nothing remarkable to record during his reign. He died after a peaceful reign of 16 years in Śāka 1580 in the days of Aurangzeb, the King of Delhi.

3. Rudra Shah

He was succeeded by his son Rudra Shah, who had four sons from his senior Rani viz., Pṛthvipati Shah, Madhukar Shah, Atibal Shah and Jayant Shah, and only one Chaturbhuj Shah from his junior Rani. The senior Rani was said to be so wise that His Highness never did anything without her advice. After erecting a Chaughara or a house with four partitions he died after a reign of 11 years in Śāka 1591, and was succeeded by his son Pṛthvipati Shah.

4. Pṛthvipati Shah

When Pṛthvipati Shah ascended the throne of Gorkha, the offspring of

Chagiah and Surtan in Barpak prepared to revolt and regain their independence. The young prince took up the challenge. He marched with a chosen body of troops to Balooa Bayasi of Thimial, where the enemy was encamped. He sent Amar Singh Pande and Śiva Rana to Barpak to ask them to submit and they readily agreed to do so.

This Rajah established the images of Kālika, Paśupati and Hanuman in his Darbar and the Pāduka of Gorakhnāth in the cave of Gorkha and in the jungle of Hanuman Bhujang. Besides these he established the images in the *Chaughara* erected by his father. He also caused a Pokhri to be dug out in the vicinity of which he established the image of Gaṇeśa, Manukāma, Buckreśvara, Mahādeva and fixed a large Guṭhī for the maintenance of these temples.

Pr̥thvipati Shah had six wives, among whom from five he had twelve sons and two daughters, and from the sixth he had no issue.¹ The service of *Chautria* His Highness had bestowed upon his own brother Madhukar Shah and that of *Kājī* on Atibal Shah, who declined it saying that whenever he would please the Rajah, he would ask for a reward. The office of *Kājī* was given to Jayant Shah and Biraj Thapa and that of *Sardar* to Pande and Panth in rotation.

Battles of Liglig

In 1602 Śāka, His Highness placed his own *śalig* or image in front of the temples erected by him. It was at this time that the Rajah of Lamjung combined with all the Baisi and Chaubisi Rajahs and made a bold attempt at Liglig and the neighbouring villages. Pr̥thvipati Shah was unable to expel them and in the course of nine years the Gorkha Rajah sustained eleven successive defeats, and the Lamjungiahs fixed the Darroundi river as their boundary. All this time Pr̥thvipati Shah seethed with rage and calling all the Bhāradārs cursed them and said: "All of you are the offspring of the officials whose bravery was well known during the days of my ancestor Rām Shah. Why can't we expell the Lamjungiahs from whom we have sustained defeats these nine years?"

These words having aroused the wrath of the Gorkha Chiefs, they collected all their subjects who were over 12 years and under 80 years in age, and arriving at Liglig set the Garhi on fire, and whosoever came out of it was delivered to the sword. Thus they conquered all the villages in one night and the Lamjungiahs were completely routed. When the news of the victory was conveyed to Pr̥thvipati Shah, he performed the *Sandūryātrā* and bestowed rich *khilla'ts* on his

¹ From the first wife he had two sons—Bir Bhadara Shah and Ran Dal Shah; from the second two—Dal Shah and Bhupinder Shah; from the third four—Udut Shah, Chandrarūp Shah and Saṅgrām Shah; from the fourth two—Narsingh Shah and Surtan Shah; from the fifth three—Bir Kumar Shah, Sheriban Shah and Santrūp Shah; and two daughters—Bhagat Kumāri and Chukor Rekha.

officers and posted some of them for garrison duty in the newly conquered districts.

Six years after this, the Rajah of Lamjung assembled a still more numerous army, and attacked Liglig, where he routed the handful of Gorkha troops posted there. At this defeat Pṛthvipati Shah became so full of despair that he made up his mind to wander from country to country, but Ran Dal Shah, his son advised him to turn out all his brothers and sons out of the country so that they might endeavour to reconquer Liglig and the neighbouring villages which had fallen into the hands of the Lamjungiahs.

This advice was followed by Pṛthvipati Shah, who expelled his sons and brothers from Gorkha. They readily came to the camp of the Rajah of Lamjung and said : "Our Rajah has lost his senses and has turned us out without any fault ; therefore, we have come to your camp for freedom and safety. Now do as you please."

On hearing these words the Rajah of Lamjung received them with honour. Soon after he appointed Ran Dal Shah as the governor of Liglig and the neighbouring villages and himself returned to Lamjung. No sooner did he depart for Lamjung than Ran Dal Shah wrote to his father Pṛthvipati Shah to send a force and reoccupy the villages. A Gorkha army marched to Liglig and all but the partisons of the Gorkhalis were slain. From that time onwards, the Lamjungiahs made four attempts to dislodge them but without success. But on the fifth attack they overcame the opposition of the Gorkha garrison and took possession of the Garhi and massacred all the Gorkha commandants. The Rajah of Gorkha then vowed not to shave his head or cut nails till he could find means to drive the Lamjungiahs out. This was soon accomplished by his son Chandra-rūp Shah, who forced the Lamjungiahs to leave the place.

Aid for Mackwanpur

While the Gorkhas were engaged in a continual struggle with Lamjung, the Rajah of Mackwanpur being unable to expel the Nawab of Murshidabad, who had invaded his territory with an army of 12,000 men, requested Pṛthvipati Shah for aid. The Gorkha Rajah notwithstanding his preoccupation with the Lamjungiahs, appointed Atibal Shah, his brother at the head of a force of 220 chosen veterans of war and sent them to Mackwanpur. On arrival there, they donned twigs of trees on their heads so as to distinguish themselves from the enemy and at night marched towards the enemy's camp. They let loose a few horses and the enemy got so confused and panic-stricken that they began fighting among themselves and fled from the place.

Bir Bhadara visits Nepal

The Gorkha force returning from the field of battle informed the Rajah

of Mackwanpur of the defeat and flight of the enemy. This unexpected success of the Gorkha troops astonished the six *Thars* and the inhabitants. At this time Bir Bhadara Shah, the eldest son of the Rajah, intending to visit the temple of Paśupatināth and enquire about the affairs of the Rajahs of Nepal, took Biraj Thapa with him and marched from Gorkha, and after visiting the above deity came to Patan, where he was honourably entertained by the Rajah of that place. From thence he went to Bhatgaon, where also he was received in the like manner. After some time the Rajahs of Kathmandu and Patan wrote to Bhupindramalla, the Rajah of Bhatgaon not to keep Bir Bhadara Shah any longer there ; so the latter bestowing a *khilla't* of shawl dismissed him. Now the shawl which he had received was poisoned, and Biraj Thapa suspecting this hinted to him not to put it on without examining it. It was put over a dog who instantly died. Then Bir Bhadara Shah hastened towards Gorkha, but in the way he felt sick. He summoned his brother Chandrarūp Shah and informed him that his wife was pregnant and requested him to take care of her. He then marched for Gorkha but died in the village of Gundy.

5. Narabhūpāl Shah

Soon after the death of Bir Bhadara Shah, his wife who was at Tanhoun, gave birth to a son Narabhūpāl Shah. Biraj Thapa brought both the mother and the child to his house where they lived. Four or five years after this event, Rajah Pṛthvipati Shah died after a reign of 47 years and a dispute regarding succession arose among his sons and brothers. Chandrarūp Shah, Biraj Thapa, Bhimrāj Pande, Gaṇeśvar Panth, Biśeśvar Panth and other Sardars joined together and placed Narabhūpāl Shah, the son of Bir Bhadara on the *gaddi*. On his accession to the throne Narabhūpāl Shah amply rewarded those who had helped him, but expelled from the country all the pretenders to the throne together with their families.

The Rajah's mother in her distress at Tanhoun had given a promise to Goreśvar Panth that if her son would assume the *gaddi* of Gorkha, she would make him take *dichha* from him. Now the time of marriage of her son having come, she fulfilled her promise. On hearing this, the offspring of Nanda Misser were enraged and the Rani explained to them the whole matter and satisfied them with *birtha* or grant of land.

After this, the Rajah was married to the daughter of the Rajah of Kāñchi, where the Rajah of Palpa, a guest of the Rajah of Kāñchi, tried to bar his entry to the place, but Surtan Shah, the Rajah's uncle made an entrance by force. On their return to Gorkha Narabhūpāl Shah said to his uncle Surtan Shah : "You have offended the Rajah of Palpa, but it is not proper because he has more power than us. Therefore it is advisable that you go there and please him by any means."

Accordingly, Surtan Shah marched for Palpa where he was honourably received. Sometime after, the Nawab to whom the Rajah of Palpa paid revenue for the land which he held near Gorakhpur, came to Butwal with an army of 10,000 men, and demanded three times the land revenue previously paid to him. At this the Rajah of Palpa became much disturbed and asked Surtan Shah for his advice. The Gorkha Chief, contrary to the advice of his officers, took 40 fully armed horsemen and came to the camp of the Nawab when he was sitting alone in his tent and at the point of sword he forced him to write thus : "I will not demand more than before." He then came back to Palpa and received a rich *khilla't* from the Rajah. Soon after he returned to Gorkha where he was rewarded for his valiant action.

About this time the Lamjungiahs had again taken possession of Liglig, but they were soon routed by Chandrarūp Shah, the Rajah's uncle. Now Narabhūpāl Shah sent an army to conquer Bhote, but finding the time inopportune, they encamped at Kukar Ghat.

Marriages and offspring of Narabhūpāl Shah

Upto this time Narabhūpāl Shah had no sons ; therefore, his wife and Bhāradārs advised him to marry again. Accordingly he was married to the daughter of the Rajah of Palpa. Also his Bhāradārs found for him two more wives—one the daughter of a hill Rajah, and the other the daughter of the Rajah of Tanhoun. Six months after his wife from Palpa became pregnant. On a certain night she saw in her dream that she had swallowed the Sun and told her husband. Narabhūpāl Shah on hearing it began to beat her in consequence of which she passed the night crying. In the morning he told her that he did so in order to keep her awake all the remaining night. At last at the end of the seventh month she gave birth to a son who was named Pṛthvināryāṇa. From the second wife *i.e.* the rani from the hills, Narabhūpāl Shah had also a son, Binod Keśvar, who died soon after birth.

Narabhūpāl Shah had no issue from his first wife, but from the Palpa princess he had three sons—Pṛthvināryāṇa Shah, Dalmardān Shah, and Pṛthvipāl Shah, and two daughters—Padma Kumārī and Bisaul Budna. From the hill princess, his third wife, he had two sons—Brindakeśvar Shah and Sūrpratāp Shah, and four daughters—Padmabudna, Inderabudna, Sarasvatī and Hemavati Kumārī. From the Tanhoun princess, his fourth wife, he had two sons—Kīrti Shah and Daljit Shah, and three daughters—Suchhamavati, Padama Netra and Surt Kumārī. From his two illegitimate wives he had five sons—Rām Rudra Shah, Bhīm Datt Shah, Kāśī Madan Shah, Raṅsūr Shah and Jagatjit Shah, and two daughters—Prakāśna and Bindubāsna.

One day His Highness remembered that it was foretold to Rām Shah that his seventh successor would conquer Nepal. Narabhūpāl being the sixth succ-

essor to Rām Shah asked the advice of his Guru Gureśvar Panth how to proceed in the matter. He however advised him to first perform the *arādhna* of the deities and then think of the conquest of Nepal. Accordingly, His Highness sent his sons and relations to different parts of the country to perform the above rite. Gokul Bilas Pandit was sent to Nepal to the temple of Guhješvari, where he performed the worship of the goddess and thereafter he went to Dakṣiṇa Kālī, Vajra Yoginī and saw in a dream a girl addressing him : “What are you doing here ? Go away. Nepal will not fall into the hands of the Gorkhas till the seventh successor of Rām Shah.”

Next morning he marched for Gorkha and on arriving there told Narabhūpāl Shah his dream, and after three or four days, His Highness also saw in his dream an orange tree loaded with fruit from which he could not get a single orange. In the morning he was informed about the explanation of his dream that he would not be able to conquer Nepal.

At this time the Rajah of Lamjung again combined with the Baisi and Chaubisi Rajahs and came down to Liglig, but the inhabitants of the village having no time to report the matter to their master, fought with the enemy and expelled the combined forces of Lamjung and the Baisi and Chaubisis. On hearing this Narabhūpāl Shah summoned them to Gorkha : he rewarded them for their valiant action but, for not informing him even after the battle, they were fined five rupees and this fine was named *Shishniyah Daṇḍa*.

Sometime after this, Biraj Thapa the minister died and his office was entrusted to Ram Kishan Thapa, but two or three years after this Maheśvar Panth and Bhānu Jaisi reported to Narabhūpāl Shah that he should call back his uncles who were wandering from place to place and deliver the service of ministership to them because Ram Kishan Thapa was a Magar—and persons belonging to that tribe do not think good of anyone except themselves. Accordingly, Narabhūpāl Shah dismissed Ram Kishan Thapa and the service was delivered to Maheśvar Panth. Then he allowed his uncles to return, and they came to the Darbar and presented him a written *Dharmapatra* pledging not to intrigue against the State.

Expedition against Nawakot

Soon after this, a large force was sent under the command of Maheśvar Panth and Jayant Rana to conquer Nawakot. The army marching from Gorkha encamped at Catunja where they were treacherously slaughtered. But in the next attempt they took possession of the village, thus conquering the lands as far as the Triśūligāṅga. Here they met the Nepalese army by whom they were totally defeated.

This defeat made Narabhūpāl Shah very angry, but Maheśvar Panth, his minister informed him that the defeat was in consequence of the non-coopera-

tion of the Magar sepoys and officers. The Magar tribes on hearing this left the country and went to different places in Nepal. Then again His Highness saw in his dream a girl saying : "O Rajah, why are you attempting to conquer Nepal ? You will not be able to conquer it." At this Narabhūpāl Shah became despondent and he desisted from pursuing the matter any further.

Now Narabhūpāl Shah engaged himself performing the rite of the *yagyopavīta* (Brahmanical thread) of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, and it was decided that he would take *dichha* from Misser Guru. At that time the Rajah of Jumla who was proceeding to Jagannāth came to Gorkha. Soon after the Rajah of Tanhoun expressed a desire to meet Narabhūpāl Shah at Sthān Ghāt ; and when on the appointed day Narabhūpāl Shah visited the place, the said Rajah did not turn up. Narabhūpāl Shah became very angry and ordered his Bhāradārs to march along with him to Tanhoun to punish the Rajah. The Bhāradārs tried to persuade him to return to Gorkha, but His Highness would not listen ; he plunged his sword into the belly of one of the *Doliahs* who refused to march. Then the Bhāradārs requested Sādaśiva Upādhāya to prevent His Highness from going towards Tanhoun. Accordingly, the Upādhāya begged His Highness not to do so ; he took him to his own house to spend the night and in the morning they came back to Gorkha.

Marriage of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was married to the daughter of Hemakaraṇa Sena, the Rajah of Mackwanpur. At the time of marriage, Hemakaraṇa had given a *Chandrahāra* (a diamond necklace) to his daughter for the purpose of astonishing the Gorkhas, and after consulting his wife he had decided not to send his daughter for two or three years as she was quite a child. When this decision was conveyed to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, he was quite perplexed, for it would mean humiliation for him to return to Gorkha without his bride ; he therefore, consulted his Bhāradārs and demanded from his father-in-law the *Ekdante* (one toothed) elephant as dowry.

Then on a certain day when Hemakaraṇa was in his Court, he sent word to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa that he would not send his daughter to Gorkha for two years. Then Kālū Pande and Bhānu Jaisi Arjal demanded the above-mentioned dowry, which the Rajah refused. Then Pṛthvinārāyaṇa along with his Bhāradārs marched back to Gorkha, though Kanak Singh Bania, whom Hemakaraṇa had sent, tried to persuade him not to do so. On arrival at Gorkha Pṛthvinārāyaṇa explained everything to his eldest mother who sent Bhānu astrologer to the plains in search for another bride for him.

At this time the army which Narabhūpāl Shah had sent to conquer Bhote came back to Gorkha without success, and Goreśvar Pande, the Guru of Narabhūpāl Shah divided his riches and property among his sons and went to Benares.

Bhānu astrologer who had gone in search for a bride for Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, was wandering from place to place when he met Jaymal Pandit. The astrologer promised that if he could procure a bride for Pṛthvinārāyaṇa he would be made Guru of the Rajah's family. Then the said Pandit took a bride from the family of Abhiman Singh Rajput and came to Gorkha and was made the Guru of the princess whom he had brought from the plains.

At this time Narabhūpāl Shah turned mad and begin to wander from place to place. Then some of the Bhāradārs having no master thought it proper to choose Pṛthvinārāyaṇa as their sovereign, but others opposed it. At this time, the Chiefs of Gorkha were divided into three camps—*1st*, of Narabhūpāl Shah headed by Dal Shah and Santrūp Shah ; *2nd*, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa with his two or three brothers and Bhāradārs ; and *3rd*, of those Chiefs who were neither on one side nor the other. The senior Rani realised that some sort of friendship would cure Narabhūpāl Shah ; hence she came to Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon to secure his friendship for Narabhūpāl. Likewise his son Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was united in alliance with Jayaprakāśamalla, the Rajah of Kathmandu. After this Narabhūpāl Shah fell sick and died at Bhongkote Ghat after a reign of 26 years, and his junior Rani burnt herself with him.

6 Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah

Narabhūpāl Shah was succeeded by his son Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, who soon after his accession to the throne took his army and Bhāradārs *viz.*, Kāji Maheśvar Panth, Kāji Rudar Sahi, Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah, Bissan Shah, Jahāngir Shah, Kālū Pande, Daljit Shah, Sūrpratāp Shah, Dalmardān Shah, Sardars Chander Prakash Shah, Lachmi Nārāyaṇa Pande and others, and marched eastwards and arriving at Khinchet on the banks of the Triśūli (close to Nawakot) encamped there. He then divided his army into three parts, and putting each division under a separate commander *viz.*, Kālū Pande, Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah and Chauntia Dalmardān Shah, despatched them by different routes to Nawakot, where they met with success in Śāka 1666. Thus he conquered Belkote, Gairithum, Raginas and Siranchowk, which was conquered in Śāka 1667 on the 14th of Āṣāḍha, dark half on Saturday.

Some years after he collected a numerous army and marched towards Nepal ; and at first met the Rajah of Kirtipur, where after great slaughter, he lost four Bhāradārs, who were accomplished masters of arms *viz.*, Kālū Pande, Jiwan Thapa, Chamu Sahi and Satta Khatri, and besides these men several others. Thus again in Śāka 1681, on the midnight of 21st Jyeṣṭha, he arrived at Śivapuri, a hill situated nearly 4 *cos* north of Kathmandu, and erected two forts and encamped there. Still there are some remains of these forts on the top of that hill.

Following is the list of places conquered by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah :

*List of Places Conquered by Pṛthvinārayaṇa in
the Valley of Nepal and its Environments*

<i>Samvat Year</i>	<i>Date and Month</i>	<i>On what day</i>	<i>At which time</i>	<i>Name of the Place</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. Śāka 1683	30th Vaiśākha	Monday	After passing 17 <i>pals</i> , 4 <i>gharis</i> of night	Chaukot	... ..
2. Śāka 1684	9th Śrāvaṇa	Saturday	At 2 <i>gharis</i> of night	Mackwanpur	At this time Mir Qasim invaded
3. ditto	2nd Bhādon	Monday	At 28 <i>gharis</i> of night	Haripur Garhi	... ..
4. ditto	22nd Aghana	Sunday	At 2 <i>gharis</i> of day	Perukot	... ..
5. ditto	28th Aghana	Saturday	At 21 <i>gharis</i> of day	Kabilaspur	... ..
6. Śāka 1685	10th Āṣāḍha	Saturday	At 14 <i>gharis</i> of day	Dhobikhola	... ..
7. ditto	11th Āṣāḍha	Sunday	Morning	Choukot	... ..
8. ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Panauti	... ..
9. ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Khurpu	... ..
10. ditto	14th Āṣāḍha	Thursday	At 2 <i>gharis</i> of day	Banepā	... ..
11. ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Sanga	Jahāngir Shah Chauntria fell in the battle
12. ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Ranikot	... ..
13. ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Nala	
14. ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Phirping	
15. ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Chobhāl	
16. Śāka 1686	20th Śrāvaṇa	Tuesday	...	Ponga	
17. ditto	4th Śrāvaṇa	Sunday	At 12 <i>gharis</i> of day	Kirtipur	Without success
18. ditto	1st Vaiśākha	Friday	At 2 <i>gharis</i> of day	Sutikot	
19. Śāka 1690	1st Vaiśākha	Sunday	At 22 <i>gharis</i> of night	Kathmandu	Jayaprakāśa-malla the Rajah of that place fled to Bhatgaon
20. ditto	24th Vaiśākha	Friday	At 24 <i>gharis</i> of day	Patan	

21. Śāka 1691 29th Āśvina Thursday In the day Bhatgaon Jayaprakāśa-malla was shot and sent to Paśupatināth according to his own request and Rajah Ranjitamalla, Rajah of Bhatgaon to Benares

7. Successors of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa after taking possession of the above-mentioned places died in the year 1696, and was succeeded by his son (11) Singh Pratāp Shah, who got a son in Śāka 1697 whom he named Ran Bahadur Shah. In order to increase his wealth he made the Rajah of Bhote his friend from whom he procured a large quantity of silver with which he struck coins in several years, viz., in 1697 of 1320 tolas of silver, in 1698 of 6,710 tolas of gold, and in 1699 of 26,510 tolas of silver. After extending the line of his dominions towards the south-west as far as Sūm, a boundary close to Ramnagar in Champaran, he died in Śāka 1700.

He was succeeded by his son (12) Ran Bahadur Shah, but in consequence of his being too young, his mother Rājindra Lakṣmi Devī was at the head of affairs for nine years, in which period she took possession of Tanhoun, Lamjung and Kāski. After this she departed from this world delivering her son Ran Bahadur Shah to his uncle Bahadur Shah, who conquered down to Garhwal and met the Chinese army with success. Some time after this he concluded a treaty with the Emperor of China. Thereafter Bahadur Shah said to his nephew: "Now you are able to do everything; therefore, I will ask your leave for performing the *tīrthās*." So he was ordered to go and died thus wandering from place to place.

At this time Ran Bahadur Shah got a son named (13) Girvan Yudha Bikram Shah, in whose favour he abdicated, fearing that after his death (a danger to his life having been foretold by the astrologers) there would be a contest for succession, he ordered that the Bhāradārs should not be changed for 12 years. The new Rajah ascended the *gaddi* in Śāka 1701, after which Ran Bahadur fearing that the Bhāradārs would put an end to his life, left for Benares, where he was accompanied by the distinguished Bhimsen Thapa, one of the wisest among his companions.

This Bhimsen Thapa after some time said to Ran Bahadur Shah: "Now your ill days are gone; be pleased to march for Nepal and punish the rebellious." So Ran Bahadur Shah returned to Nepal and gave the service of *Mukhtārī* to the said Thapa. While Ran Bahadur was thus engaged in searching for the person who was the cause of the revolution, his step brother, Sher Bahadur,

fearing that he would be found out and cut to pieces, went on a certain night to Ran Bahadur and plunged his sword in his belly of which he died.

At this time Bhimsen had conquered down to Kangra situated in the west, for which service he received the title of General. Girvan Yudha Bikram Shah, died in the year 1738 (1817 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son (14) Rajinder Bikram Shah, who was married at the age of 11 years to two brides who were brought from Gorakhpur, and from one of them His Highness had a son named Surrinder Bikram Shah, the present heir-apparent.

*List of the Rajahs and the Ranis of Nepal
from Drabya Shah to Girvan Yudha Bikram Shah*

<i>Name of the Rajahs</i>	<i>Name of the Ranis</i>
Drabya Shah	Sumudavati
Pourender Shah	Satyavati, Ambavati
Chhatra Shah	Susirakavati
Rām Shah	Muhimavati
Dambar Shah	Barnavati Roomavati Gaṅgāvati Manmutavati
Krishana Shah	Śakuntalavati Romilavati
Rudra Shah	Purnavati Dumantivati
Pr̥thvipatī Shah	Jaganavati Bichhumavati Kulangavati Satrūpavati Herkavati Ilavati
Bir Bhadara Shah	Siddhasūravati Malikavati Jaya Kumāri Jita Kumāri
Narabhūpāl Shah	Chanderprabhāvati Konkavati Subhadravati
Pr̥thvinārāyaṇa Shah	Inder Kumāri Narender Lakṣmi
Singh Pratāp Shah	Rajinder Lakṣmi

Ran Bahadur Shah

Rāj Rājeśvari Devī
Kantavatī
Chandravatī
Amar Rajeśvari
Lalit Tripureśvari

Girvan Yudha Bikram Shah¹

Siddhi Lakṣmī Devī
Gorakh Rajya Lakṣmī

¹ Girvan Yudha Bikram Shah died in 1816 A.D. Rajinder Bikram Shah is still living and young—that is 15 Rajahs in 283 years or 19 years less a fraction per reign. Take the 25 descendants prior to Drabya Shah, and the result is, at the same average for each reign, that this immigration of the Hindus from the plains took place about 1085 A.D. Muslim bigotry drove the Hindus into the hills, whether they came from Chitor or elsewhere. The average of 10 reigns from Drabya Shah to the Conqueror is 16 years, and at this rate the immigration would stand in 1160 A.D. taking 25 descendants as before.

CHAPTER 10

HISTORY OF PṚTHVINĀRĀYAṆA SHAH*

1. Early life and marriage

At the time of the *Yagyopavīta* or the ceremony of the wearing of the Brahmanical thread of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, his mother along with the head Chauntaria and others acquainting him with the words of agreement which had been made between Rām Shah and Anand Misser, sent for Harakh Misser (the offspring of Anand Misser) from Benares, and made him His Highness' Guru. Now Pṛthvinārāyaṇa taking *dichha* from Harakh Misser intended to turn his arms against Nepal for which purpose he took his ministers with him and went to seek his mother's advice. But she said: "Now you are quite a child and unmarried, and there is no doubt of your taking possession of Nepal, yet first you ought to perform your marriage and you can then undertake any business you like."

After this Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was married to the daughter of Hem Karan Sen, the Rajah of Mackwanpur, and after a year, when His Highness went to take away his bride, some chiefs of that place *viz.*, Digbandhan Sen and Kanak Singh Bania opposed it on the ground that she would not go to Gorkha till she brings forth a child. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa therefore stayed at Mackwanpur. Meanwhile Hem Karan Sen together with his wife and Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah visited the fair of the Vāgmāti river. While they were returning from the fair, one of the servants of Kanak Singh Bania performed his respect or salutation to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa without taking off his shoes, whereupon His Highness ordered one of his men to cut off his head.

At this occurrence Kanak Singh Bania joining with Digbandhan Sen sent an armed force against Pṛthvinārāyaṇa to take revenge. When Hem Karan Sen heard the news he threw his turban before them asking them to pardon him on behalf of his only son-in-law—this was at last accepted and the force sent for the purpose was asked to retire. When Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah heard about the matter, he was highly enraged and wanted to put an end to the existence of Digbandhan Sen but the good advice of his ministers prevented him from doing so.

* A *Vanāśvalī* of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah till the Siege of Kirtipur.

After a year's halt at Mackwanpur once Pṛthvinārāyaṇa sent word to his father-in-law seeking his permission to take Kanak Singh Bania into his own service. He also asked for the gift of an elephant of one tusk and a diamond necklace, but both were refused. Then on the pretext that he was refused these gifts, he left Mackwanpur and came back to Gorkha after having a view of Nepal from the mount called Chandragiri. Then having brought a bride from a Rajput family in the vicinity of Benares, he performed the ceremony of marriage.

2. Aims towards Nepal

Now intending to conquer Nepal, he sent an army under the command of Biraj Thapa to Nawakot, but being unable to cross the Triśūligāṅga, it encamped at Khinchet. On hearing the news Pṛthvinārāyaṇa sent another body under the command of Bali Pande and Maheśvar Panth, who having crossed the said river met a Siddhi or Yogi, who having performed the *tīrtha* of Nilkaṅṭha was going back to Benares. The Siddhi told them that if the Gorkha Rajah gave him Diabun as *birtha* or freeland, he would assist him in taking possession of Nepal. So they wrote to their master, who wrote to them to stop the Siddhi for some time, but before the arrival of the answer he marched for Benares directing them that he would meet the Siddhi at that place.

At this time, a large army sent by the Rajahs of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon to oppose the Gorkhas at Nawakot obliged them to retire. Meanwhile, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was on his way to Benares. He was accompanied by Kālū Pande, Biraj Bakhati, Bhānu Jaisi, Deva Rikhi Upādhāya, Bir Bahadur Upādhāya and others. On arrival at Benares, he bathed at Munikarni Ghāt and performed the *pinḍa* of his forefathers and then entered the city. Thus one night he began to introspect on his chances of taking possession of Nepal. He would throw himself into a well called Lolock : If he would come out alive, it would signify that he would succeed, or else he would sink in it. Next morning, he dressed fully and taking up his arms repaired to the well ; after pronouncing the name of his *Iṣṭadevatā*, he jumped into it and came out alive. Thereafter he searched the residence of the Siddhi with the help of one Jaimaṅgal Pandit and found him. To him he promised that Diabun would be given to him as *birtha* if he could conquer Nepal.

The Siddhi then gave a sword to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa saying that if he or his successors would keep it in any battle, they would meet with success.

3. Concourse with Palpa

Then Pṛthvinārāyaṇa marched back for Gorkha, and on arrival at Tanhoun he assured its Rajah that no harm would come to him. Back at Gorkha he was prompted by Kulānanda Jaisi to conquer Nepal saying : "I will

find a fortunate hour for your Highness to march for Nawakot, which will certainly fall in your Highness' hands." But Pṛthvinārāyaṇa did not give ear to Jaisi's words, at which the said Kulānanda left Gorkha and went to Lamjung. Two years after this, the Rajah of Palpa, (an offspring of Mukandasena), and a maternal uncle of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa returning from Gosāiñthān and Paśupatiñāth halted at Gorkha. One night when Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was with him he asked: "O uncle, now I want to test my prowess in battle with the eastern Rajahs. How would you advise me in this matter?" And he answered: "First you ought to conquer or make a treaty with Lamjung because he sits on your head. Whenever you will be engaged with others, he will surely overcome you." After saying this he went back to Palpa.

Sometime after this, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa along with his ministers went to the queen-mother and explained his intentions regarding Nepal. He also wanted to appoint Kālū Pande as the commander-in-chief of his army; this gratified her and with her approval the said Pande having procured the consent of all the officers and soldiers took charge of that office. Soon after Pṛthvinārāyaṇa sent *Lalmohar* to Kulānanda Jaisi at Lamjung who presented himself before His Highness. Then Pṛthvinārāyaṇa recollected the advice of his maternal uncle and sent words of peace to the Rajah of Lamjung. Then on a fixed day both the Rajahs met to tie the bonds of friendship, promising to come to each other's aid in time of need. Thereafter the Lamjungiahs presented to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah all the villages situated west of the Sindhu river, and in return, he also gave them the villages lying east of Arghaun.

Soon after this treaty the Lamjungiahs intending to take possession of Arghaun, asked for the aid of the Gorkha Rajah who immediately sent 200 men under the command of his own officers, but the Lamjungiahs were defeated. Sometime after this Pṛthvinārāyaṇa also asked the Rajah of Lamjung to assist him, so he sent an army of 200 men under the command of his own officer named Muhiman Sardar without a moment's delay.

4. Investiture of Nawakot

On arrival at Gorkha His Highness divided his army into two wings, one of which he kept in Gorkha under Rudra Sahi and Maheśvar Panth to protect it; with the other—together with Chauntrias Mahodam Shah, Dalmardān Shah, Sūr Pratāp Shah, Bishan Shah, Jahāngīr Shah, and Kājl Kālū Pande, Tularām Pande, Bali Panth, Sardar Chander Parkash Shah and Bisu Panth—he marched towards the east and arriving at Khenichet, encamped there.

Sometime after this, Kulānanda Jaisi having found a fortunate hour told Pṛthvinārāyaṇa that anyone capable of putting a *killā* (a pin) into the Mahāmaṇḍala of Nawakot would take possession of it. When no one came forward, he offered his own services saying: "You may blacken my face and turn me out

of the country. Then pretending to be a victim of your oppression, I will defect to the enemy's camp and accomplish the task."

Accordingly, he was expelled from the Gorkha camp and cursing Pṛthvinārāyaṇa he came to Nawakot where he was kindly treated by the Nepalese. He narrated his ill treatment by the Gorkha Rajah, and on a fixed day finding an opportunity went into the Mahāmaṇḍala (situated at the top of the mountain of Nawakot) and performed his task. At midnight he left Nawakot and after crossing the Triśūligāṅga arrived in the Gorkha camp. For this achievement he received from Pṛthvinārāyaṇa the village of Dhar Khurk as *birtha* or free land.

In Sāka 1666, on the night of 15th Āśvina, on Saturday, according to the advice of Kulānanda Jaisi, who had proclaimed the hour as fortunate, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa crossed the Triśūligāṅga and encamped on the other side. He divided his army into two portions, and after leaving a small force to guard the encampment, one of it was ordered to march by the route of Gerku under the command of Chauntia Dalmardān Shah, Kāji Kālū Pande, Sardar Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Pande, Sardar Bisi Panth; while the other was sent via Dharmapāni under the command of Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah, Chauntia Bisan Shah, Kāji Sūr Partāp Shah, Kāji Tularām Pande and Sardar Chandraprakāśa Shah. After a bloody battle in the Mahāmaṇḍala, Nawakot fell into the hands of the Gorkhas and cannons were fired on the Asthān of Bhairava and Jayant Rana ran away from Nawakot.

When Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was thus reigning at Nawakot, once he observed the fort of Belkot which overlooked the mountain. He enquired about its owner, but hearing that Jayant Rana had taken refuge there, he marched with an army towards it, and after a severe battle in which he lost several officers, took away Jayant Rana to Nawakot where he was severely punished.

Soon after the battle of Belkot a Bhāṭ or bard came to the Darbar of Gorkha and read this kabit :—

तुण्डविकराली राव घोर घहराली मदरुधिर पियाली अति रसना रसाली हैं ।
 मोहत कपाली कर हाड जयमाली उर धारे रुण्डमाली सीस केश विघुराली हैं ।
 नाचत वेताली युद्ध दे दे कर ताली भूत नैना रत्नाली लेत हाथ करवाली हैं ।
 अभय वरदाली सदा सेवक प्रतिपाली अवरासि महाकाली तोय नित्य रक्षपाली हैं ॥
 काली गोरष भंरवी महिषमर्दिनी व्रीश्र्गरौ की अशिष नित्य नित्य शुभतोश ॥

Then Pṛthvinārāyaṇa enquired about his name and residence and said thus : "O Raghunāth ! if I will take possession of the three cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, I will dismiss you with a *khilla't* of 1,25,000 rupees. The Bhāṭ replied ; "I am a *Kalīputra*, and bless you. You will surely succeed in your mission." And he remained with His Highness.

5. Battle for Nawakot

Thus one after another Pṛthvinārāyaṇa took possession of Nawakot, Belkot, and Saidha at which the Rajahs of Nepal were disturbed and were ready to send a force under the command of Raṅbhīm Thapa. But Kāśīrām Thapa extolled his own virtues, thereby impressing them himself took over the command of an army 8,000 strong, and marched to oppose the Gorkhas. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa arrived at Gairthum and collecting his principal chiefs addressed them thus : "Now Kāśīrām Thapa at the head of an army of 8,000 men has arrived to turn me out of Nawakot. Therefore it is advisable that some of you may take the Sāhibji and others to the other side of the river, but I will not move west of Nawakot till there is a spark of life left in me."

Accordingly he sent Singh Partāp Shah to the opposite bank of the Trisūligaṅga, but his Rani remained with him. After this Pṛthvinārāyaṇa collected his men and encouraged them by words and giving them the *tikā* with his own hands despatched them towards the field of battle. But some of his officers doubted his word for he had sent his son to the other side of the river, and believing that he would himself flee thither, were hesitant to advance. On hearing this Pṛthvinārāyaṇa took up his sword and assured them thus ; "If I have descended from Narabhūpāl Shah I will never turn my face from Nawakot."

When both the armies came face to face, the Nepalese were defeated and their commander Kāśīrām Thapa fled from the field of battle. He came back to his own house, and because of fear and humiliation, did not meet his Rajah, Jayaprakāśamalla, who afterwards sent for him. On the Pūrṇima of Śrāvaṇa while Jayaprakāśa was going to Guhješvari, he saw Kāśīrām Thapa in Kotu Bahal near Devapatan. He went to him and said : "O Kāśīrām, you are the person who having imprisoned Raṅbhīm Thapa had gone to oppose the Gorkhas, and having lost my men, you ran away to your house and did not inform me anything about it." He then cut off his head and that of the other sardars who were with him. Then he came back to his Darbar and released Raṅbhīm Thapa.

6. Battle of Naldum

Now Pṛthvinārāyaṇa realised that without taking possession of Bhatgaon, it would be impossible to move eastwards. He intended to invade it, but thinking it improper because the Rajah of that place was a friend of the Lamjung Rajah, asked for peace, and thereafter assisted him in conquering Naldum and Mahādev Pokhrī, belonging to Jayaprakāśamalla. He bestowed the former on Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon, and retained the latter in his own possession. These two places were conquered in Sāka 1668, on the 17th Bhādra, on Wednesday, and Pṛthvinārāyaṇa leaving a small force there, ordered the rest of his troops to retire to Nawakot.

This friendship of Ranjitamalla with the Gorkha Rajah caused great distress to Jayaprakāśamalla, who having heard that all the Chaubisi Rajahs were ready to combine and attack the Gorkhas, considered it opportune to seize both Naldum and Mahādev Pokhri, which the Gorkhas had taken possession of earlier. He joined hands with the same Ranjitamalla, the Rajah of Bhatgaon and sent an army of 12,000 men and then recovered both the places from the Gorkhas. Chauntia Jahāngir Shah and Devrikhi Upādhāya both fell in the battle and the remainder of the force retired to Nawakot. When this miserable news reached Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, he became very angry, and in order to compensate the loss of these two places, he sent a strong force under the command of Tularām Pande to Dahchowk (belonging to Jayaprakāśamalla), which readily submitted. Another force was then sent under the command of Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah and Kālū Pande to conquer Naldum, and after a battle, in Śāka 1676, on the 21st of Śrāvaṇa, after lapse of 13 *katcha gharis* of the night of Thursday, the Gorkhas reoccupied the place.

7. Battle of Siranchowk

At that time all the Baisi and Chaubisi, as also the Gorkhas were accustomed to perform the Holi festival, but the Rajah of Parbat (Malibum)¹ had the privilege of performing it by a *cheer* of one *Chhatra*; and if anyone else dared perform it in the similar manner, he was punished. But in that year (Śāka 1676) Pṛthvinārāyaṇa to vex the Rajah of Parbat performed the Holi festival by a *cheer* of three *Chhatras*. When he heard about it, the Rajah of Parbat intended to punish the Gorkha ruler, but having Lamjung in the middle, he was unable to do anything. Therefore, he first cultivated the friendship of the Rajah of Lamjung, then uniting his forces with that of Lamjung, he marched and invested Siranchowk. The Gorkha garrison commanders—Sardars Bhandu Sahi and Boral Dwāria informed Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah. When their *urzee* arrived at Nawakot, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa sent a force under the command of Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah and Kālū Pande; another force marched from Gorkha under Rudra Sahi to assist them. It is said that when they came in sight of the enemy, they fought with great bravery and turned the seal of triumph in Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's favour. There was so much scarcity of food that Rudra Sahi's wife having procured eleven *bhārī* of rice by her sword, sent it to them. The battle took place in Śāka 1677, on the 16th Śrāvaṇa, and all the Lamjunghias except Bhajan Sardar were obliged to go under a *dhoī* as the sign of disgrace and submission.

8. March towards the East

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa now ordered Kālū Pande with an army to proceed towards the east. But the said Pande expressed thus to His Highness: "This

¹ Parbat is the name of a place situated nearly 30 miles north from Palpa.

is not the time to move eastwards because the Lamjunghias will again lift their head." He was however pushed to undertake this business and obliged to undertake the journey. Meanwhile Mahiman Khawās, who had come to assist the Gorkhas, presented himself before Pṛthvinārāyaṇa and told him that he was under orders of his Rajah to inform him when the Gorkhas intended to cross the Siddh river. So he left for Lamjung. On his arrival at Burra Tar, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa called back Kālū Pande to whom he related the incident. Kālū Pande on hearing this information requested to be relieved of his command, and giving the *pugri* to Rudra Sahi implored that he be sent towards the east to oppose the Lamjunghias. So His Highness sent Rudar Sahi towards the east and kept the Pande with him.

At this time Pṛthvinārāyaṇa had a dream in which he observed that he had drunk the ocean. In the morning he called his Prohit Ram Krishan and told him about it. The Prohit said that the dream was very bad and that he would have the sickness of the bath. On hearing this, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa flew into rage and summoned Saklibalabh Jaisi, who told him that his dream indicated that would take possession of Nepal. At this His Highness made him his Prohit and dismissed Ram Krishan. After this Jaimaṅgal Pandit of Benares came to Gorkha and Pṛthvinārāyaṇa having remembered that by his assistance he had met the Siddhi, was overjoyed and he appointed him as the Guru of his son.

About this time Pṛthvinārāyaṇa heard from his senior wife, the Mackwanpur princess, pleading in a letter that she had committed no fault ; and Pṛthvinārāyaṇa considered her blameless, and despatched his son Singh Pratāp Shah and the chief Bhāradārs to bring her from Mackwanpur. On arrival there Singh Pratāp Shah found that the Rajah still refused to send his daughter ; but ultimately, he sent her to Gorkha with considerable wealth and property which pleased Pṛthvinārāyaṇa.

9. Gorkha mission to Nepal

Now Pṛthvinārāyaṇa realised that it was not an easy task to take possession of Nepal without first gaining full information about the country. Therefore, he sent Tularām Pande, Jay Kishan Thapa, Dev Raj Kotwal, Ranjit Thapa, Bali Panth and others to Kathmandu on a mission pretending peace. On arrival at Kathmandu, they were honourably received by the Rajah and were ordered to remain there for a week of two. During this time they secretly became busy in their own business, and when Jayaprakāśamalla was informed that they had not come on a mission of peace but to gain secret intelligence, he imprisoned them all. Then all of them were taken to the *asthān* of Bhairava for sacrifice, where burning lamps were put into their ears. Two of them, *viz.* Dev Raj Kotwal and Ranjit Thapa shook their bodies and were put to death,¹ and their

¹ This is a custom of Nepal that when anyone was going to perform *bali* of a goat, if the animal did not shake his body after performing the *saukalpa*, it was not put to death.

arms were hanged in Mūlchowk. Jay Kishan Thapa did not shake his body and hence they did not put him to death, but sent him to be imprisoned in Lachhmipur Jail. As he was being taken there, near the great drain of Dhokadhul, the said Thapa pushed his escort and fled by the drain, which is joined in the Viṣṇumatī river, and reached safely Kahulia Thana in Gorkha territory. Bali Panth being a Brahman was not put to death but was imprisoned.

Tularām Pande, on the other hand, escaped death by agreeing to become a Nepalese minister, and promising that he would send for his family from Gorkha. He took an oath to this effect in the temple of Tulja, after which he attended the Darbar daily, and often informed Jayaprakāśamalla that his family would soon arrive from Gorkha. In the meantime, he cultivated the friendship of Dhanwant Kāji of Patan, whose assistance he sought in escaping to Gorkha. This was readily forthcoming, and one night he left Kathmandu and was conveyed to Nawakot with the assistance of Dhanwant Kāji of Patan. Bali Panth, who was in confinement was at the point of death ; he expressed his last desire to see once more his Rajah Pṛthvinārāyaṇa. So he was allowed by Jayaprakāśamalla to go, but died at Belkot on the way.

10. Diplomacy and subterfuge

Now]Pṛthvinārāyaṇa when he realised that all his measures to take possession of Nepal were of no avail, he wrote a letter to the principal chiefs at the Court of Nepal, professing it to be an answer to their letter (which he had never received), saying : "I have received your letter and I am happy to say that I shall not fail to act in the manner you have suggested ; but you should wait till then." He sent this letter secretly and in a manner that it should fall into the hands of Jayaprakāśamalla. When this happened, Jayaprakāśamalla became very angry towards his Bhāradārs, and summoning them he first acquainted them with the contents of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's letter, and then ordered them to be put to death, notwithstanding their pleadings that they had not committed such perfidy.

When Pṛthvinārāyaṇa heard this news, he sent a similar letter to Jayaprakāśa's mother, on the perusal of which Jayaprakāśamalla began to suspect his mother as his enemy. Now he summoned eight Jaisis of Nawakot and Belkot, and after giving them some lands as reward, asked them to go to Chisapāni pretending to hunt wild boars and lure Singh Pratāp Shah thither. So the Jaisis went to Nawakot and took out Singh Pratāp to Chisapāni, where Jayaprakāśamalla had sent 1200 of his men to seize the young Gorkha prince.

At the same time, Jageśvar Jaisi and Rāghunanda Koirala, who were sent by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa to gain intelligence in Nepal, met Dhanwant Kāji of Patan. He asked them as to why they were wandering in the streets, while some of the Jaisis had been sent by Jayaprakāśa, the Rajah of Kathmandu to take away Singh Pratāp Shah to Chisapāni, where his men awaited to seize him and compel the Gorkhas to recross the Trisūligāṅga. On hearing this, they took off their caps

and having dressed like Newars came to Dhachowk and informed Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah what the Kājī of Patan had told them.

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa despatched forthwith his principal Sardars to bring back his son. They soon overtook him, and Śivabhat Pawa narrated to Singh Pratāp Shah the artifice of the Jaisis and brought the young Prince back to Nawakot. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa also arrived there, and enquired from them about the trickery of the Jaisis. They found one of the Jaisis—Jagat Pande, who when confronted with the punishment that awaited him, divulged the names of his seven accomplices. All of them having been summoned, denied their guilt, but one of them put an end to his own life by plunging a dagger into his bosom, and the remaining were brutally put to death. From that day it has been ordained to offer *salām* to the Jaisis instead of *pranām*. This custom still prevails here.

11. Gorkha reverse at Danchi

Meanwhile, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa received a letter from Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon seeking his permission to reoccupy Naldum, but this was refused on the plea that he would not be able to retain it. However, a promise of Chāṅgu in place of Naldum was held out to him. This gratified Ranjitamalla, who wished to send Parśurām Thapa at the head of an army to assist the Gorkhas in taking possession of Chāṅgu. The said Thapa however warned him, that the Gorkhas would never deliver it to him, and that he would lose face before the Nepalese Rajahs. As he was under orders to march, he alerted beforehand the Rajahs of Kathmandu and Patan, that Bhatgaon and Gorkha had joined hands to take possession of Chāṅgu and that they should take care about that.

Then on the appointed day, he marched from Bhatgaon but treacherously stopped in the way. He failed to arrive to join his force with that of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah, who after waiting a long time, marched alone. On arrival at Danchi, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa encountered a vast number of Nepalese force and sustained total defeat. In the battle he lost his *doliahs*, and was obliged to flee riding on the back of a Newar to Bhatgaon. En route he met Parśurām Thapa near Talikot, and on arrival at Bhatgaon, he narrated to Ranjitamalla the treachery of Parśurām Thapa and his own defeat. He stayed at Bhatgaon for about a year, and during his residence there, Rajah Jayaprakāśamalla of Kathmandu wrote several times to Ranjitamalla that Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was an enemy of Nepal, and that since he had come into his house, he should imprison him. But Ranjitamalla did not do so. Thus after a year, performing *Dassain* and *tika*, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa came back to Nawakot whence he wrote to Ranjitamalla to deliver unto him Parśurām Thapa, who had deceived them in the battle of Danchi. But Ranjitamalla refused to do so.

12. Treachery towards Tanhoun

At this time Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's concubine, whom he had brought from

Patan during his sojourn at Bhatgaon, fell ill and he sent her to Kāśibās for a cure. While on her way, she reached Devaghāt, and Til Bikram Sena, the Rajah of Tanhoun committed the sin of peeping at her by lifting the curtain of her *dāndī* or sedan. When Pṛthvinārāyaṇa heard of the affront, he burnt with impatience for revenge. He summoned Goreśvar Pandit (the Guru of Til Bikram Sena and also of Narabhūpāl Shah), and sent him to Tanhoun inviting Til Bikram Sena to a conference down at the Triśūligāṅga. The Pandit arrived at Tanhoun and delivered the message, but Til Bikram Sena suspecting treachery said to the Pandit thus : "O Guruji ! you should not place reliance in the words of the Gorkha Rajah, as he is a treacherous fellow ; he does not call me to consult me regarding Nepal, but intends to take revenge as I had seen his unlawful wife at Devaghāt while she was on her way to Kāśibās." The Pandit therefore returned to Nawakot to make further enquiries, but Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah assured him that he meant no treachery ; that Til Bikram Sena was like his father and he sorely needed his advice. At this the Pandit again returned to Tanhounkot saying that neither of them would bring their arms at the place of meeting.

And yet, a day before the date fixed, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa ordered his troops to hide their arms under the sand of the Triśūligāṅga, and the next day, both of them met without arms. When their enquiries about each other's health and happiness were over, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa gave a signal to his men, who took up their swords and cut the Tanhounian escort to pieces. Til Bikram Sena being taken as prisoner, was made to march from that place. He met his Guru on the way and observed : "Guruji, it is all your kindness which has brought me to such a state." The Guru hung his head in shame and remained silent ; but on arriving at Gorkha, he pleaded several times for Til Bikram Sena, and then performed *dharna* but without success. At last Pṛthvinārāyaṇa ordered him to leave Gorkha along with his family and go to Tanhounkot.

Thereafter, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa intending to punish Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon for his refusal to send Paśūrām Thapa, sent Kāji Klāū Pande with an army to meet Ranjitamalla at Pālanchowk, but the said Kāji came back empty handed. Ranjitamalla suspecting treachery did not come to Pālanchowk, but had gone back from Banepā. At this Pṛthvinārāyaṇa became very angry with Kāji Klāū Pande.

13. Battle for Kirtipur

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa intending to attack Kirtipur asked the advice of his Bhāradārs, and among them Kāji Sūrpratāp advised him to undertake the engagement, but Kāji Klāū Pande said that it was not the time to undertake such operations. He further advised him to consult Kulānand Jaisi and Hari-bans Upādhāya who had long been at Dahchowk and were well acquainted with the affairs at Kirtipur.

Accordingly, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa came to Dahchowk and enquired from both of them. They forbade him to proceed in the matter saying that the time was not opportune to undertake such a business, and that the three Rajahs of Kantipur, Patan and Bhatgaon had combined against him. This advice angered Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah and he summoned Balkishan Jaisi and ordered him to fix a fortunate hour. At this Kulānand left Gorkha and went to Lamjung.

The three Nepalese Rajahs having heard that the Gorkhas were ready to launch an attack on Kirtipur, had combined. They thought Kirtipur as the gateway to Nepal, and should the Gorkhas enter it, they would find no opposition in occupying the three cities. Hence they were determined to assist Kirtipur with all their forces.

In Śāka 1679, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa paid no heed to the advice of those around him, and pushed Kālū Pande upto the front line. He taunted him thus : "I know you are afraid of death." Then Kālū Pande delivered his son to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa and pronounced these words : "If Your Highness will be satisfied with my death, I am ready to embrace it." He then marched with a large army to Kirtipur and there fought a battle near the Pokhri or tank situated southwest of the town. Rajah Jayaprakāśamalla of Kathmandu attacked the rear of the Gorkha army, while the Patan and Bhatgaon forces were in the front ; and after a bloody battle, the Gorkhas were completely routed and lost their brave and wise commander Kālū Pande, whose head was cut off by Jayaprakāśamalla and was hung together with his sword and shield in the temple of Vāg-Bhairava—the two latter of which are still in the temple at Kirtipur.

At this signal reverse Pṛthvinārāyaṇa began to lament for not listening to the advice of Kālū Pande. He himself escaped riding on the back of Jay Kishan Thapa, and came to Dahchowk, and from thence retired to Nawakot. From that date he remained silent for two years ; after that he called Kulānand Jaisi from Lamjung, and according to his advice he sent an army to Śivapuri hill, in Śāka 1681 and took possession of it on 21st Āśāḍha.

14. Conquest of Mackwanpur

In the same year, the victorious army was sent towards the East and brought Palanchowk and Kabhraya into his power. In the year 1685, Chaukot also submitted to his arms. About this time Jaysrām Thapa, having been offended by Jayaprakāśamalla of Kathmandu, was on his way to Benares. He touched Dahchowk where he was detained by Harbans Upādhāya, who informed Pṛthvinārāyaṇa about the matter. At His Highness' orders he was sent to Nawakot where he was honourably received by the Gorkha Rajah, who enquired from him the ways and means to overcome the Nepalese. The Thapa advised him that without subduing Nawakot, it was well-nigh impossible for him to conquer Nepal. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa realised the truth of this statement, and sent his Bhāradārs

to Mackwanpur, and demanded from his father-in-law the dowry (diamond necklace and *Ekdante* elephant) which he wanted at the time of his marriage. Digbandhan Sen, his brother-in-law, refused it and with a haughty answer sent back the Gorkha Bhāradars empty handed.

In 1684, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa sent an army under the command of Chauntia Dalmardān Shah, Kāji Daljit Shah, Kāji Sūrpratāp Shah and Kaji Bansrāj Panth to Mackwanpur, and after a battle, on the 9th Bhādra, brought it into his own possession. The royal family of Mackwanpur along with Kanak Singh Bania fled to Hariharpur ; and the Gorkhas having pursued Hem Karan Sen to Hariharpur inflicted another defeat on him.

15. Rout of Nawab Qāsim Ali

While Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was thus happily conquering the suburban districts of Nepal—Sidhlikot, and Timal etc., Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān, having sustained defeat at the hands of the English in Śāka 1684, fled from Murshidabad and arrived with a large army at Bettia. He sent an army amounting to 30,000 men under the command of Gurgin Khan to Mackwanpur. The said Khan on arriving there, besieged the fort on the 8th *Māgha Badi*, and after 7 or 8 days when the news was conveyed to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, he sent an army under the guidance of Kāji Bansrāj Pande, Harkaya Panth, Jiva Shah, Nahar Singh Biśnait, Kehar Singh Biśnait, Ram Krishan Kunwar, Bangya Biśnait, Durlab Khatri and others to assist Nāndū, who commanded the force at Mackwanpur. This army on arriving there first defeated the enemy with a night attack, and the next morning coming to Nawakot, routed them. 1700 men of the Nawab's army fell in this battle, and the remainder leaving 3 guns and 400-500 muskets in the field of battle, fled towards the plains. The Gorkha casualties were only two Sardars and 30-40 sepoys.

When the news of this success reached the Gorkha Rajah, he felt pleased, but did not give *darṣana* to his troops because they had cut a small number of the enemy. Sometime after this when Pṛthvinārāyaṇa visited Mackwanpur, he was astonished at the sight of the *chulahas* (or fire-places) of the Nawab's army ; then Bangya Biśnait observed in good time that the number of the Nawab's army was three times as large as estimated at that time.

In the same year again Pṛthvinārāyaṇa acting upon the advice of Sūrpratāp Shah, sent a body of troops to conquer Dhulikhel, and met with success on the 10th Kārtika. On the next day Chaukot and Panauti submitted to his arms. In Śāka 1688, the *Chaubisis* again made an irruption on Gorkha, but their pride was soon humbled as they were defeated leaving behind 20-30 prisoners.

When the Nepalese Rajahs heard about the defeat of the *Chaubisis* by the Gorkhas, they realised their inability to oppose the power of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa.

Shah. One of their Kājis (an inhabitant of Tirhut), advised them to seek the help of the English, who having defeated Qāsim Ali Khan at Buxar, were encamped at Patna. Accordingly, at their request a body of troops was sent by the English under the command of Mr. Hearsay through Sindhauligarhi of which they took possession. To oppose them the Gorkha Rajah sent two armies ; one under the command of Bansu Gurung and the other under that of Bansrāj Pande and Harkhaya Panth, who arriving there defeated the English and their commander Mr. Hearsay having been wounded, fled from the field. In this battle the Gorkhas plundered the English and took possession of their muskets and wealth, with which the following regiments or *Paltans* were formed *viz.*, Sabz Paltan, Bardban and Purana Gornek.

After this battle Kāji Sūrpratāp Shah intending to attack Kirtipur asked Kulānand Jaisi to name a lucky hour to undertake the business, but he replied that he could not find one in the near future. Then Bāl Krishan Jaisi was consulted, and he fixed a time and the Kāji marched towards Kirtipur with a large force. As it was a walled city, each one of them took a ladder with themselves, by the assistance of which they reached the entrenchments. But the enemy broke up their ladders, and Sūrpratāp Shah being struck by an arrow into his left eye, was obliged to return to Dahchowk.

CHAPTER 11

EXPANSION OF GORKHA POWER*

1. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah

In the time of Narabḥupal Shah, his commanders Maheśvar Panth and Jayant Rana attempted the conquest of Nawakot but failed, and having burnt the bridge over the Triśūligāṅga, returned back. But when Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah succeeded to the throne, he left Kāji Maheśvar Panth and Kāji Rudra Sahi in charge of Gorkha, and proceeded towards Nawakot attended by all his principal Chiefs : Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah and Daljit Shah, and Kāji Kālū Pande, and Chauntias Kishan Shah and Girvan Shah, and Kājis Surpratāp Shah, Tularām Pande and Bāli Panth, and Sardars Chandra Prakāsh Shah and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Pande with Thārghar and many inferior chiefs, and pitched his tent at Khenichet.

Then Kāji Kālū Pande and Kāji Surpratāp Shah and Kāji Tularām Pande advanced against Nawakot by way of Asobari, and Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah and Sardar Chandra Prakāsh Shah by way of Dharmapāni, and Chauntia Dalmardān Shah and Sardar Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Pande by way of Girkhu. There was a great fight and Chauntia Dalmardān Shah, at the age of 12, first flashed his sword. A victory was gained and Nawakot was conquered in Śāka 1666.

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah entered Nawakot by the Tindhārā road. Next attended by his Bhāradārs, Nazdikis, Thārghar and Omra, and a large army, he attacked Belkot. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah himself joined the battle, and a victory was gained. Belkot was taken, and its ruler Jayant Rana was taken prisoner. Next Kāśīrām Thapa of Gairthum advanced against the Gorkhas from that place with a large force. Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah and Kāji Kālū Pande and āji Tularām Pande with the Thārghar and Nazdikis opposed Kāśīrām. There

* Extracts from the *Thapa Vaṃśāvalī*, which apart from being a mere genealogy, gives a somewhat detailed account of the various battles fought by the Gorkhas in their expansion towards the east and west during the reigns of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah, Singh Pratāp Shah, and the regencies of the queen-mother Rajindra Lakṣmī and Bahadur Shah. In a simple and matter-of-fact narration the *Vaṃśāvalī* records the obliteration of the major Baisi and Chaubisi states, their absorption into Gorkha empire, and the further expansion of Gorkha power into Garhwal, Kumaon etc., and a somewhat constricted account of the war with Tibet. The main characters and Nepalese leaders who carried the Gorkha arms to these places are brought into limelight.

was a great fight and the Gorkhas conquered and took Ghrikot, Kāsīrām Thapa fleeing. Next Chauntia Kirti Mahodam Shah and Bansgopāl Panth and Sardar Bhadra Sahi with the Thārghar and Omra advanced against Raginas. On the way there were fights at Ghursapa and at Salina, and victory assuring, Raginas was taken possession of.

Next Lakhajung was taken and surprised, and forty of the enemy with two of their sardars taken prisoners. At Sirāñchowk there converged a force under Rudra Sahi from Gorkha ; and another from Nawakot under Kirti Mahodam Chauntia, Kāji Kālū Pande and Sallyan Dwāria, Amar Pande and Kalai Dwāria with the Thārghar and Omra. There was a great contest, and Rudra Sahi's wife through her *ketīs* (domestic female slaves) conveyed 11 loads of rice to her husband of which there was great need. Amar Pande and Kalai Dwāria were slain, but a victory was gained and the Lamjung Sardar Paidkar and others were made to pass between the legs of the drummer. Sirāñchowk was conquered in Śāka 1677, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the 14th day.

Next preparations were made for the conquest of Nepal Proper and the following officers were detailed for service¹ : Kirti Mahodam Shah and Daljit Shah, Kāji Sūrpratāp Shah, Chauntias Dalmardān Shah and Jakanji Shah, Kāji Kālū Pande and Tularām Pande and Bansrāj Pande and Jagatjit Pande and Raṅsūr Pande and Damodar Pande and Raṅjit Pande and Vrajbāsi Pande and Bhotu Pande and Bāli Panth and Śrī Ballab Panth and Bir Bhadra Panth and Śrīdhār Panth, Śrī Harakh Panth and Bakhshi Nahar Singh Biśnait and Bakhshi Kehar Singh Biśnait and Bakhshi Abhimān Singh Biśnait and Bakhshi Dhokal Singh Biśnait and Jyotashi Kulānand Dhokal and Sardars Chandra Prakash Shah and Bhadra Shah and Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa Pande and Nandu and Viśva Panth.

Treaties and contacts having been established with twenty to twenty-two places by Kālū Pande and Kharidār Bāl Kriṣṇa Jaisi and by Gurung Bhānu Jaisi and by Gurung Gaṅgadhar Panth and Gurung Rāmdās Panth and Yaśodhra Panth and Gurung Chamu Pande and Gurung Dhanan Jay Upādhāya Panth and Gurung Nainānand Khanal and Gurung Haridatt Dhukal and Gurung Pṛthvidhar Upādhāya and Gurung Lakṣminārāyaṇa Pandit and Gurung Viśeśvar Upādhāya and Nazdiki Deva Rana and Nazdiki Pratimān Rana and Nazdiki Chandra Śekhar Pande and Nazdiki Durlab Khatri and Nazdiki Balbhadra Khatri and Nazdiki Ranbir Pande and Nazdiki Biraj Bakhati and Nazdiki Haribans Adhikāri, and by Jeṭha-buddhas Amar Singh Thapa and Rām Kishan Kowar and Jagatya and Bir Bhadra Upādhāya—who under the first named Chief Kālū Pande

¹ The Gorkha hierarchy of civil and military officials according to the *Thapa Vaṃśāvalī* consisted of (1) the Chauntias, (2) the Kājis, (3) the Sardars, (4) the Bakhshis, (5) the Kharidārs, (6) the Gurungs (this appears to be a military title as opposed to caste or race), (7) the Nazdikis, and the Jeṭha-buddhās. In this respect the *Vaṃśāvalī* in the following few pages furnishes the names of all the officials of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah.

with the Thārghar and Omra were sent to subdue Nepal Proper. The above-named are those who took part in the conquest of the Valley or who fell in the various battles before it was subdued as detailed below :

In Śāka 1679, on the 19th of Jyeṣṭha there was a great fight at Kirtipur, before which the following chiefs of the Gorkha army were slain—Kāji Kālū Pande and Jiva Thapa and Chamu Saila and Lata Khatri and Jasrām Rana and Soka Banwa besides many of the cannon were lost.

In Śāka 1681, on the 21st Āṣāḍha a position was established on the mount Śivapur ; and on Māgha the 1st another position was established at Kularia. In Śāka 1683, Jyeṣṭha the 30th Choukot fell. In Śāka 1684, on Bhādra the 9th Mackwanpur was conquered and Nawab Qāsim 'Alī Khān killed. In Āṣvina the same year Timal was conquered and position was established before Sindhauli (9th Āṣvina), and on 20th Āṣvina it fell, and the Englishman (Kinlock) was killed (*sic* !). In the same year and on the 22nd of the same month at night Hariharpur was reduced. In the same year Priwakot and Kabilāśpur were acquired. In Śāka 1685, Kārtika the 10th Dhulikhel was acquired ; and on the 11th, the stronghold of Choukot was seized, and on the same day, Panauti and Khauru fell. On the 14th fell Banepā and Sāṅga ; many Nangas were killed, and on our side Chauntia Jahāngīr Shah was slain. On the 15th Ranikot was reduced ; Nālā having been entered the previous day. On the 20th a victory was gained at Phirping, and on the 22nd Bisāñkhū was entered. In Śāka 1686, Bhādra the 2nd Chobhār was reduced as well as Paṅga. In the month of Asuj (24th day) defeat was sustained before Kirtipur.

In Śāka 1687, Jyeṣṭha the 1st, positions were gained at Talhatikot and the fort there reduced the same day. On Chaitra the 3rd, half of Kirtipur was gained in a night attack, and the other half fell before morning. In Śāka 1690, Āṣvina the 13th at night Kathmandu was entered, and Rajah Jayaprakāśamalla fled to Bhatgaon. In the same month on the 24th day, the city of Patan was reduced.

In Śāka 1691, Kārtika the 29th a battle raged for 3 days at Bhatgaon, at the end of which the town surrendered. Jayaprakāśamalla of Kathmandu was wounded and soon after died at Āryātirtha and Ranjitamalla of Bhatgaon retired to Benares. So fell Nepal Proper.

Kāji Bansrāj Pande and Sardars Kehar Singh Biśnait and Prabhu Mall now pledged themselves to reduce all the country to the Kālī river with the aid of Lamjung and Tanhoun and proceeded to Bhandāri Dihī in Kāski. Thence collecting their troops on the banks of the Sweti and having crossed the river they went via Marsyangdi to Nawakot. There was a great fight at Thekhan where the Gorkhas were repulsed from a breast-work. Kāji Bansrāj and Prabhu Mall established themselves on the Rohati stream and Kehar Singh proceeded via Tanhoun towards Rising and Ghiring both of which he occupied. He then advanced to the Keladi Ghāt of the Kālī wherein his warriors washed their bloody

khoras. Thence he went on to Kinhong of Bhirkot where there was a battle and Bhirkot surrendered to him. In the midst of these successes, the Tanhounian allies proved treacherous. They were destroyed at Ghriyakot, which fell to Gorkha arms.

Next Kehar Singh advanced with his army against Payung and Dhuwankot and conquered both the places. When Kāji Bansrāj and Sardar Prabhu Mall joined Kehar Singh at Dhuwankot, the whole Gorkha force was assembled at Syaugja. Soon after the Baisi and Chaubisi Rajahs collected a large army in Sathoun, when the Gorkha columns advanced by three different routes to assault them. There was a fierce battle in which the Gorkhalis sustained a defeat, Kehar Singh was slain and Bansrāj Pande wounded and taken prisoner. The remnants of the routed force retired to Bhirkot, where the Gorkha allies deserted them and joined the Chaubisis. There they were surrounded by the Chaubisis for twenty-four days. Kāji Harakh Panth was despatched to Nepal to ask for reinforcements. He had reached Salti Ghāt of the Marsyangdi when the surrounded force made good their escape and joined him.

2. Singh Pratāp Shah

In this Rajah's reign Kāji Abhimān Singh Biśnait and Kāji Sarūp Singh with Śrinagar Company reduced the forts of Someśvar and Kabilās in Śāka 1696. He reigned 2 years and 9 months and was much addicted to the study of the *Śāstras*. Nothing of importance happened in his reign. His brother Bahadur Shah was his Chief Minister. Seven *ketīs* (female slaves) and two illegitimate wives became *satī* with him. Another such wife, the mother of Sher Bahadur was prevented from becoming *satī* but she became so as soon as Ran Bahadur was born. His legitimate wife Rajindra Lakṣmi survived him. She was the mother of Ran Bahadur, the next sovereign who ascended the throne in Śāka 1699 and Newari era 898.

3. The Queen-mother's regency

Ran Bahadur was but 3½ years old when his mother became regent, and governing like a woman she caused much confusion. She affected masculine ways and dressing her *ketīs* like men armed and mounted them on horses and elephants. In the queen regent's time Sardar Bali Bania and Sardar Rām Kriṣan Kuwar with two companies were fixed at Jyamruk of Tanhoun, when the Baisi and Chaubisi forces advanced against them with a view to seize Balithum. When Bansrāj Pande heard about it, he sent two companies under Parat to reinforce the Jyamruk detachment. On its arrival the Gorkha Sardars attacked the enemy but were defeated and Bali Bania was slain. Part of the garrison force retired to Gorkha and the rest returned to Kathmandu.

Peace prevailed for some time, but in Śāka 1703, the Chaubisis having seized Singjung entrenched themselves there. Chauntia Jiva Shah and Kāji

Balbhadra Shah and Sardars Amar Singh Thapa and Pratimān Rana with all the Thārghar and Omras were sent to establish themselves in Adjigarh, whence Kājis Deva Dutt Thapa and Chandra Rana advanced as outposts into the Serabyasi Darbar ; and Kāji Damodar Pande and Jagatjit Pande, and Subadar Bhim with Śrināth Company were fixed at Harni, and lastly Sardar Amar Singh Thapa with three companies went to Chisapāni. Fieldworks were made at Chipliyati and Jyamruk, and the troops at Adjigarh and Harni and Serabyasi were all moved to Serāñchowk. Sardar Amar Singh Thapa gained an advantage at Chipliyati.

The Gorkha troops having been assembled, surrounded the enemy. There was a great fight in which the enemy was routed. Our troops returned to Gorkhabyasi when the Chaubisi, crossing the Chepiya, seized Kāski. The Rajah of Kāski fled by the Kholaghāt and after having an interview with our chiefs at Gorkhabyasi went to Nepal.

Thereafter Abhimān Singh Biśnait and Śri Ballab Panth were appointed to reduce Lamjung in 100 days, but they failed and were replaced by Kāji Bansrāj Pande and Dharnidhar Panth and were ordered to conquer both Kaski and Lamjung. Chauntia Jiva Shah and Kāji Deva Datt Thapa and Kāji Bandu Rana and Sardar Pratimān Rana and Sardar Amar Singh Thapa were directed to assist them. They crossed the Dhukardi Ghāt in conjunction with their Tanhounian allies and with 3 companies and the Thārghar and Omra, fixed themselves at Dor Dor. Amar Singh Thapa with 6 companies went to Khankagaon and Damodar Shah to Harni. From Dor Dor the troops advanced to Jyamruk when Pratimān Rana took up a post at Kalimarang. The Lamjung and Parbat Chiefs having usurped Kyaming belonging to Tanhoun, proceeded to Taruka and our troops went in pursuit of them. We conquered but Bhakti Thapa and Balbhujang Mall died of wounds sustained in the battle. Our chiefs came to Manikchowk and Sardar Amar Singh Thapa having settled affairs at Kāski, joined them there. Kāji Deva Datt Thapa was sent by the Chiefs to Nepal with the casualties.

Orders having been received to seize Lamjung forthwith, Kāji Damodar Pande and Kāji Deva Datt Thapa and Sardar Pant Bhandāri came with reinforcements from Nepal and joined the troops at Manikchowk when the whole army proceeded by various routes thus : Kāji Deva Thapa with the old force via Bhotia Ar, and Kāji Damodar and Sardar Pant by the Raginas way, and Dalmardān Shah by Chitti and Amar Singh and Pratimān Rana by the old Lamjung Road. The Rajah fled without a blow and Lamjung thus fell in Śāka 1704.

In the same year Kāji Sarūp Kuki was sent to conquer Kāski. In Śāka 1705 Bansi Pande for some fault with regard to the reduction of the Chaubis was beheaded. In proceeding to the conquest of Palpa Kāji Abhimān Shah, Sardar Amar Singh Thapa, Sardar Bilochan and Sardar Pant Bhandāri, going the town way and having passed the Kāji by a ford, pitched their camp at Dagcha. Thence

they reached Bhirkot and seeing a strong force of the enemy in the Ar of Bakung, Sardar Amar Singh and Bilochan with two companies were sent via Purcha Khola to seize Tahung and Bakhung, and Kāji Abhimān Singh with the main body attacking at the latter place, a great victory was gained. Amar Singh, a *Jamadar* of the Barak Paltan was voted to have gained the palm for bravery.

During these events, Kāskī and the Chaubis united against the Gorkhalis, who deemed it expedient to retire from Palpa. Messages having been sent to Nepal, Kāji Sarūp Singh arrived with reinforcements and the Gorkhalis repulsed the enemy at Makar Dawia. The army then returned from Nawakot and encamped at Tanahung Sur. A second expedition against Nawakot and Palpa having been proposed, the commanders proceeded by two roads—Kāji Balbhadra in order to conquer Nawakot went to Jaya Bisouna, and Kājis Nar Shah and Deva Datt Thapa with all the Thārghar and Omra encamped at Sangmi. Half of the Kristi Khola was occupied by the enemy and there they were attacked and completely vanquished when Nawakot again fell into our hands. Leaving Kājis Nar Shah and Deva Datt there, a force under Sardar Pratimān Rana and Suba Jog Mall attacked Payung. There was a great fight at Dhuwankot, and at night 700 men launched another attack, and got possession of Payung.

Next year in Śāka 1708, Chauntia Daljit and Kāji Sarūp Singh and Kāji Dokal Siṃha arrived from Nepal and encamped at Pauwar when the troops from Tanhoun and Galai Khola having been summoned to their banner, they re-conquered Kāskī. After a victory at Thegan Ar, Nawakot was again reduced and Satahoun, Bhirkot and Rising confirmed to their old possessions. Kāji Abhimān Singh with the Thārghar proceeded to Nepal, and the rest of the Bhāradārs collected at Darbung of Bhirkot, made the *Panjani* and established pickets and thereafter all came and settled at Pokhra. When all this was happening news arrived from Nepal of the death of the Queen Regent.

4. The regency of Bahadur Shah

The Court proceeded to Gorkha, and the regent to Palpa to form a matrimonial alliance, which completed, he repaired to Gorkha when *Panjani* was made. Again war was determined on, and the Kājis Jiva Shah and Śivanārāyaṇa Khatri, and Sardars Parat Bhandāri and Amar Siṃha Rana and Suba Jog Mall with the Thārghar and Omra and seven companies of regulars proceeded to Kāskī Kot. Then crossing the Kālī, this force conquered Gulmi and Amar Siṃha Rana with a Company went to Chandrakot and Suba Jog Mall to Khanchi, and the Kāji with the main force reduced Arghoun and Rising and then encamped at the latter place. Meanwhile Parbat was preparing to seize Kowria, Syarthang, Salliana, Kuathia, and no succour arriving from us Kowria fell and the Dwāria Sawal Sahi and Narrāj Lama were wounded and taken prisoner by Parbat. The reinforcements arrived too late and returned to Rising. In Argha and Torma

the enemy had a strong force : one company was left to watch them and the rest of the force quartered in the town of Argha.

In the morning the enemy attacked us in the town and a great contest ensued in which we gained a victory, and the state of Argha fell to us. There was next a great fight for Isma which also was reduced. A company was posted there, and Sardar Amar Simha Rana from Chandrakot, and Suba Jog Mall from Khanchi, were sent together to Baleva and Baglung. On their arrival Kājis Damodar Pande and Jagjit Pande with 2 companies joined them there, when a great fight ensued. The victory was ours and a bridge was forthwith commenced at Beni with a view to the conquest of Parbat, which was ultimately taken by the force from Baleva and Baglung. After that Kāji Śiva Narain Khatri returned to Nepal.

Next Kājis Damodar Pande and Jagjit Pande and Sardar Parwal Rana proceeded via Dhorkot to Piuthan, which was reduced without a blow and thence they advanced into Dang, which was also reduced and attached to Salliana. At the same time Kāji Jiva Shah and Sardars Amar Singh and Pant Bhandāri went by the Sakhi heights and arriving at Jakuri washed their swords in the Bheri river, and then took possession of Jajarkot after which they returned. Both forces united at Piuthan when Kājis Damodar and Jagjit proceeded to Nepal. After their departure the subdued chiefs tried to make head at Bhangora, where two companies under Hast Dall Sahi sent against them dispersed them.

Next in Śāka 1709, Kāji Śiva Narain and Sardar Parwal Rana with two companies advanced in Jumla via Muktiñāth and subdued it. Next Dailekh was conquered by Sardars Kālū Pande and Satar Sal with two companies aided by the Dwāria of Kāskī with the Thārghar and Omra. After two engagements at Surkhet and Dailekh, these warriors having washed their swords in the Karnāli returned to Kathmandu.

Next Captains Golaiya and Ranbir Khatri with ten companies marched to Achham and Doti, and after the contests of Duwrakot and Narain Ghāt, reduced both places and washed their swords in the Mahākāli.

Next Kāji Jagjit Pande and Sardar Amar Singh, and Captains Golaiya and Ranbir Khatri, and Subas Jog Mall and Fauj Singh with the Thārghar and Omra crossed the Kāli and established themselves at Dhouli in Kāli Kumaon. At this post they were attacked by Rajah Mahendra Chandra and we sustained a reverse ; Dhouli, however, was retained, and the enemy attacking us in our entrenchments there was ultimately defeated. We then advanced forth under Kāji Jagjit Pande and Sardar Amar Singh to Almora, which was reduced at once. Jog Mall was made the Suba of Kumaon and our force advanced at once against Garhwal. It fell without a blow and we could cross the Alaknandia.

Next Prithiman Shah taking a large force and advancing against Langur

Garhi, placing Suba Kālū Khawās in Srinagar, proceeded towards Salang Garhi. Thence we sent Amar Singh Thapa to take possession of Kichakhal and the commanding post of Sirmur. Nevertheless, Prithiman Saha assembled in force at Salang Garhi and a great battle ensued. The Dwāria of Liglig, Ram Krishna Khatri, the Bārāhas and Omras fell. Meanwhile at Kaurial, where the enemy attacked, Sardars Amar Singh Thapa and Bhakti Thapa with Thārghar and Omra repulsed him. Sri Mohar and Kahlur and Hindur next with a large force attacked us at Langur Garhi—there was a great fight outside the fort, and victory was ours. Sri Mohar succumbed and Prithiman Saha fled, and our troops having washed their swords in the Ganges returned to Srinagar.

Meanwhile our enemies within or east of the Mahākāli resorting to treachery, Kālū Pande and Jagjit Dwāria were sent back with 10 companies with all speed, to reopen our communications and suppress the insurrection, which was effected and they returned to Srinagar.

5. War with Tibet

During the same period the Chinese attacked Nepal and came as far as Dhaibung when the whole of the western troops were summoned by *Lal Mohar* (royal mandate). A peace was patched up with Garhwal and the troops came to Kumaon and the rest of the troops came to Nepal.

To the eastward also where since Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's time our frontier had reached only to the Kirants at this period, the regent sent commanders and armies which conquered to the Kanak Triṣṭa. To the northwards our conquests were extended by the regent thus: *First*, in Śāka 1710 in Aṣāḍha, the 7th, Chauntia Sri Krishan Shah and Kāji Ranjit Pande conquered Kutī and Kerrong and thence proceeded towards Sikarjong, which we reached but were obliged to retire to Kutī. Sri Krishan Shah was appointed its administrator, when after sometime the Kerrong Bhotias rose in revolt and seized Bhotu Pande. When this news reached the regent, Balbhadra Shah was despatched with a force to settle the matter; he rescued Bhotu Pande and brought the insurgents in chains to Nepal. But a compromise was nevertheless made, and Kutī and Kerrong were left to their own governance as also Jhunga. *Second*, after the occurrence of Bhotia revolt, the Shamarpa Lama came to reside at Chasachet. The regent by the advice of Shamarpa again extended his views to conquests in Tibet, and an army was prepared when Kājis Damodar Pande and Deva Datt, Captain Bum Shah, Sardars Parwal Rana and Pratiman Rana, and Taksari Nara Sinha with the Thārghar and Omra proceeded via Kutī. Another force under Kāji Kirtiman Sinha, Kālū Pande and Madhu Suba proceeded via Kharta. There was a great fight at Jhunga, and we were defeated and retired. The Kharta force had to fight in a quicksand and conquered there and also there was a fight at Thimijung where we got a victory and remained.

At Kuti our commanders had an interview with the Bhotia Kāji, whom they sent to Nepal on an idle embassy of peace, and themselves set out for Digarchi *via* Sikarjong. They could not open the Jhunga way, but by the 10th they succeeded in marching through Kuti to Digarchi which they plundered. There, they made spoil of many sacred books when the Bhotias fell on them in a night attack and forced them to retire. We crossed the snows by the Kharta pass. The Bhotias applied to the Emperor for aid. Our troops were starved with cold and hunger, and being assailed by the Bhotias in the snows, lost most of the spoil and many of them perished. They made fires of the richest cochins and finery and after incredible sufferings reached Chainpur and thence came to Nepal. Amongst those who had suffered by our plunder of Digarchi was a Moslem merchant located at Kathmandu. He applied to our Darbar in vain for redress and then determined to appeal to the Emperor. He went to Peking for the purpose and was well received. He was asked the particulars of the Gorkali aggression on Tibet as well as the state of Indian affairs. An army was allocated and sent to Nepal to which the Moslem merchant was attached. This army reached Kemaihal in due course and passed it by Kukerghat near Kerrong in Śāka 1713.

In Nepal they were engaged at this time in counting their spoils won at Digarchi. When the news of Chinese advance reached Kathmandu they forthwith sent Kāji Damodar Pande and Bum Shah and Balbhadra Shah with many other chiefs with a large force to go and stay the invasion. The Kāji made the *Panjani* in the chour of Thamel and the force set off; and having crossed the Betrāvati halted at Dhaibung. When the Chinese came near, it was deemed proper by the Kāji to cross the Betrāvati and to encamp in an entrenchment on the heights.

In Śāka 1713, Sardar Parwal Rana and Ran Keshava Pande and Bhaskar Rana and Jagbar Sahi with four companies attacked the enemy at Syapruk and were defeated. Some while after, in another engagement Subadars Bhaskar Rana and Jagbar Sahi with two companies were wholly cut up at Deorali. The same day, Kāji Damodar and Sardars Parwal and Bharat with the Thārghar and Omra engaged the Chinese at Dhunchhe and were defeated and retired to Kabhre, where they were joined by Sardar Satra Sal Sahi and Chauntrias Sri Krishan and Bum Shah and Kāji Abhiman Singh who commanded another portion of our force. Next the Kāji with Parwal Rana and Bharat and Suba Zorawar with the Thārghar and Omra and five companies entrenched themselves at Chokde. Next Sri Krishan and Bum Shah and Kāji Nar Shah and Satra Sal Sahi entrenched themselves at Lachang, while Kāji Kirthman Biśnait and Deva Datt Thapa and Sardars Pratiman Rana and Jaswant Bhandari and Bakhtawar Singh Biśnait with others of the Thārghar and companies stockaded themselves at Gerku. The Chinese commander, Tu Thwang had advanced with 17,000 Chinese and Bhotia troops and entrenched himself at Dhaibung.

Meanwhile in the Darbar some of our chiefs counselled war and some were for peace. At last it was decided to send Kappardar Bhotu Pande and Kāji Ranjit Pande and Nar Sinha Gurung to sue for peace. But when they arrived at the Chinese camp. Bhotia dogs were set upon them, and Ranjit Pande suggested a return but they were arrested by the Chinese commander. Immediately there was a cessation of fighting with the Chinese, whose commander proposed to us to change his place of encampment for one where water could be better had and named Gerku-tar for the new camp.

Kāji Ranjit Pande was sent to our Darbar with this proposal when it was decided that there could be no safe peace with the Chinese till they had been beaten, and that their present proposal be used to draw them into an ambuscade when they should be attacked. Ram Das Pande and Mani Ram Lama were selected to accomplish this scheme. Accordingly these Chiefs proceeded to lead the Chinese by difficult ways to the alleged camp. But the Chinese suspected the ruse and seized Ram Das Pande, who called on his party to resist and lay on. They fired a volley and then drew their swords, and a severe fight ensued, and many of the enemy were killed and we lost Ram Das who was slain. The Chinese came towards the Betrāvati and got into bad ways when we attacked and slew many of them. We pursued them to the bridge of the Betrāvati, where their own commander preventing their crossing so that many of them threw themselves into the stream and were carried away. Disease likewise assailed the Chinese force, and thus at last Tu Thwang became disposed to sue for peace. He proposed an exchange of prisoners and we gave up Dharing Kāji and other prisoners of distinction, who were dismissed by the Darbar with all honour and the Chinese did the like. Four Chinese Sardars came to Kathmandu with whom it was agreed that Nepal should desist from attacks on Tibet and that the usual trading intercourse with it by Nepal should be resumed ; that Nepal should acknowledge the Emperor's supremacy by a yearly mission to Peking, but should be independent and the guardian of the Empire towards India so as to prevent the English entering from the south.

Then the Chinese retired ; and Kāji Nar Sinha Guring and Sardar Madu Sahi were sent with presents to take the treaty to Peking. They arrived there safely, and prevailed upon the Emperor to change the annual Nepalese embassy to a quinquennial one, which was agreed to and still prevails.

When the news of the Chinese invasion first reached Nepal, the Darbar had sent a letter to the Governor-General with an appeal for aid and Col. Kirkpatrick was sent to Kathmandu to negotiate. He came accordingly, and having stayed for some while in Nepal was at length dismissed by the Darbar, the Chinese having been got rid of as follows : the envoys to Peking returned to Nepal in Śāka 1716 in Śrāvaṇa ; four Chinese Sardars came with them and brought a letter from the Emperor. This letter the whole Court went to Bālāju to receive,

and here also the Chinese Sardars had audience and having been invested with rich *khilla'ts* were dismissed.

6. Ran Bahadur Shah

Thereafter, the Maharaja made another marriage, and in the same year he caused to be made and erected the great golden head of Bhairava that stands against the palace wall. It was consecrated in Śrāvaṇa and lands were assigned to support an annual supply of spirits which is ejected from the mouth of the idol at the Indrāyātrā. In the Nepal Samvat 917, in Māgha Jagannath's temple was commenced, but its progress was obstructed by many causes, among them a dissension between the Maharaja and Bahadur Shah, in the course of which the latter was imprisoned where he died. All the world began to say that the ex-regent had thus perished for the sin of measuring the lands of the Valley which had offended the gods. He likewise replaced the secret treasure of the Darbar, which Jayaprakāśa had partly removed, established the Gaeati music at the temples of the gods, and reappointed Lambkaraṇa's descendant as Pujari of Digaṭole, whose rites he caused to be celebrated with great splendour in all the three cities.

In the year Vikram 1853, Śāka 1719 and Nepali 917, on Āśvina the 12th a son was born to the Rajah. Next year His Highness gave 325 *ropinis* of land as grazing ground, situated behind Paśupati's temple, and several times performed the *Sahasra-godāna*. In the Nepal Samvat 918 in Śrāvaṇa the Rajah consulted his Chiefs about abdicating in favour of his son, Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah. There was much difference of opinion but in Nepal era 919 in Phālgua, the abdication was completed by proclamation. In this document the Rajah declared that he had resigned in favour of the son of his younger wife, and that during his minority, the senior Rani should act as regent. Himself he took the title Śrī Parama Mahānirvāṇa Ānanda Swami and devoted himself to religion and went to dwell at Paśupatināth's temple, where he built a garden and paid for the lands taken from the people for the purpose. There the Swami employed himself in fattening and fighting the bulls till the month of Jyeṣṭha when his wife was taken ill. He then went to live at Patan. It was observed that his temper now became changed and he did many most strange acts.

In Āśvina he repaired to Kathmandu and there had rites performed by the Brahmans, Āchāryas and Grabhas for the recovery of the rani. Nevertheless she improved not and the priests and physicians were punished therefor, and all the monkeys and vultures were destroyed as the cause of sickness. Feasts were given to the Brahmans, but all in vain. The rani died in Kārtika Sudi the 4th at Āryā Ghāt of Paśupati's temple. The Swami then performed all sorts of extravagancies, such as destroying the Kabir Masan and grinding the goddess Sitla at Svayambhu to powder with filth. At last in Vaiśākha the Chiefs took the

Rajah (the Swami's son) to Nawakot. The Swami wanted to follow but was prevented ; there was talk of confining him, but he got wind of the scheme and appealed to the people and resumed his royal functions at Patan, and made preparations of war. He released the people of several taxes and became very popular, but in the end in 1854 Samvat on 10th Vaiśākha was obliged to retire to Benares. The senior Rani and Three Bhitaryanis followed him. The Rajah was then brought from Nawakot to Kathmandu by the Chiefs and the Mahila Rani was made regent and issued coins hearing her own name. She became attached to a low person called Subuddhi and raised him to ministry in Nepal era 921, when the senior Rani and Balbhadra Shah coming from Benares reached Mackwanpur. Troops were sent to drive her back and she retired to Katebana.

Meanwhile the Mahila Rani oppressed the Chiefs at Kathmandu. In Nepal Samvat 922 in Chaitra, Bum Shah Chauria and Damodar Pande invited Major Knox to Nepal, and fixed him near Svayambhu. The Englishman stayed in Nepal a while and then went away. Many attempts were next made to expel the senior Rani from the Terai but without success, and at length she set out for Nepal and forced her way to Kathmandu, the soldiers refusing to oppose her. The Mahila Rani removed the Rajah to Paśupati but soon after was obliged to give him up and resign her power to the senior Rani, who confined her in Nepal Samvat 923 in Āśāḍha in Sunderchowk. Bum Shah Chauria also was imprisoned along with Kāji Bakhtawar Singh and Hem Karan Thapa with three or four others.

In Nepal Samvat 924, on Māgha badi the 8th, the Swami's daughter was married to the son of Tanhoun Chief. Meanwhile the Chiefs at Benares became anxious to bring back the Swami to Nepal, and at length this was effected by the talent and spirit of Bhimsen Thapa, despite the best efforts of those who wished to prevent his return. The Swami arrived at Kathmandu in Nepal Samvat 924 Phālgua badi the 5th. The confined Chiefs were released and the others confined.

In Vikram Samvat 1860, Bhimsen Thapa was made Prime Minister ; Sher Bahadur and Pran Shah were made Chaurias, and Dalbhajan Pande, Jaher Singh Biśnait and Nar Singh Gurung were made Kājis. In Vikram Samvat 1861 in Chaitra the 2nd, Damodar Pande and his son Rakesar Pande and Kāji Bhim were beheaded as traitors ; one of Kāji Bhim's sons had his eyes put out and the other was confined. Parwal Rana and Ranbir Pande escaped by flight ; another of Damodar's son named Gaj Kesar was subsequently caught and beheaded. The Swami thereafter gave dresses of honour to the Chiefs of his party, viz., Sher Bahadur, Bum Shah, Ranjit and Bakhtawar Singh Biśnait and Hem Karan Thapa. Bhimsen was the Swami's adviser in all these matters, and proved himself a most able minister.

7. Chronology of Gorkha Conquests— I*

In Śāka 1677, the Chaubisis reduced Seranchowk. In Śrāvaṇa, the same year, a post was established at Kanichia. The same year and month the Gorkhalis retook Seranchowk from the Chaubisi despite Lamjung.

In Śāka 1679, in Jyeṣṭha there was a fight at Kirtipur and Kāji Kalu Pande and Chamu Sailu were killed.

In Śāka 1681, in Aṣadha the 1st Gorkha entrenchments were established at Śivapur. In the same year and month of Magha another position was established at Kaviria.

In Śāka 1683, Choukot was conquered in the month of Chaitra.

In Śāka 1684, Mackwanpur was taken. In the same year, in Āśvina Timal was taken and in the same month, a position was established at Sindhauli, and in course of the month the fort of Sindhauli was entered. In the same month and year Hariharpur was taken, and in December of the year Parivakot was taken. In the same month Kabilas was reduced.

In Śāka 1685, in Kartika Dhulikhei Kot was entered ; in the same year in the month of Aghana Choukot was reduced. In 1685, in Kārtika Panauti was reduced, and in the same month Khaurpu and Banepa and Saṅga and Nalā and Ranikot and Phirping and Bisāñkhu.

In Śāka 1686, in Bhādra Chobhār was entered, and in the same month Pāṅga (near Kirtipur). In Āśvina a fight occurred at Kirtipur.

In Śāka 1687, in Jyeṣṭha a post was established at Lutikot and the enemy defeated. In the same year and month of Chaitra half of Kirtipur was gained ; and after a momentary treaty, the other half.

In Śāka 1690, in Āśvina Kathmandu was entered. In the same year and month Patan.

In Śāka 1691, in Kartika, after a fight of three days, Bhatgaon was gained.

8. Chronology of Gorkha Conquests— II*

In Śāka 1666, 15th Āśvina, on Saturday, the Mahamaṇḍala of Nawakot was taken—Chauntia Dalmardan Shah and Kāji Kalu Pande and Chandra Prakash Shah and Tularam Pande and Kulananda Jaisi with the Thārghar and Omra effected it.

In Śāka 1668, Bhādon 17th, Wednesday, the Gorkhas in alliance with Bhatgaon took Naldum and Mahadeo Patan. In Śāka 1676, Śrāvaṇa 21st,

*Compiled by Kulananda Jaisi.

**Compiled by Dhakal Major.

the Gorkhas took the above two places a second time without the aid of Bhatgaon.

In Śāka 1677, Jyeṣṭha 16th, the Chaubis Rajahs seized Seranchowk and on Śrāvaṇa 10th, the Gorkhalis fixed a post at Ram Dhan. Same year on Śrāvaṇa 14th, the Gorkhas took Seranchowk from the Chaubis despite of Lamjung.

In Śāka 1679, Jyeṣṭha 19th, the Gorkhas were defeated before Kirtipur and Kalū Pande and many others slain.

In Śāka 1681, Aṣāḍha 21st, the Gorkhas fixed their banner on Śivapur. In the same year, Māgha 1st, Jabrua was taken.

In Śāka 1683, Jyeṣṭha 30th, Choukot fell.

In Śāka 1684, Pauṣa 28th, Kabilas was taken. In the same year, Bhādon 8th, a position was established at Mackwanpur, and next morning the fort was taken by Chauntria Kirti Mahodam Shah and Daljit Shah and Sūrpratāp Shah. In the same year, Āśvina 2nd, a position was established before Sindhauli, and one day after Timal fell to the Gorkhas and the Mackwanis fled with a loss of 300 men. Same year and month, the 22nd, Hariharpur was taken; and in the same year, in Pauṣa, the 22nd day, Parivakot. Same year and month, the 27th, Qasim Ali, the Nawab attacked Mackwanpur and was repulsed with his great army by Bansrāj Pande on 10th, of following Māgha.

In Śāka 1685, Chaitra 9th, the Chaubisi came to La Kang and there was a fight. We got the victory and the troops of the enemy were drowned in the Marsyangdi besides 80 slain. In the same year, Kārtika 10th, Dhulikhel was entered and next morning Choukot, and the same day Khanupu, and on the 14th Banepā and Saṅga and Nālā. Same month, the 15th, Ranikot fell and on the 20th Phirping, and on the 22nd Bisañkhu.

In Śāka 1686, Āśvina 4th, Kirtipur was attacked without success. In Bhādon, the 2nd, Chobhār fell to us and also Pañga.

In Śāka 1688, Jyeṣṭha Salliana was taken without contest. Same year Bhādon 13th, a position was established on Chihau heights. In Āśvina 6th, Bansrāj Pande took Lakhjung and brought Parat Bhandari with 20 of his followers as prisoners to Gorkha.

In Śāka 1689, Āśvina 9th, the Englishman Hardy Sahib (*sic*!) entered Sindhauli, and on the 15th of the same month, the Gorkhas attacked him there, the English commander was beaten and some 500 muskets were obtained. Bansrāj Pande and Harakh were our commanders.

In Śāka 1690, Bhādon 22nd, Thamel was entered and in Āśvina 13th, the city of Kathmandu—some 15-20 men being slain on both sides. Same year and month, the 14th day, Patan fell.

In Śāka 1691, Kārtika 28th, Bhatgaon was taken after 3 days of fight and

the slaughter of 1700 and the Rajah fled. The Choukot Darbar took fire of itself and 40 men of our side were burnt to death therein.

In Śāka 1692, Phālgūṇa 11th, Maupung of Tanhoun was taken, and on the next morning Chang. On the same day the six Pardhānas of Patan were beheaded for treason. On the 22nd of Phālgūṇa, the Gorkhas conquered all the four stockades of Durungchang. Next morning Manmul was taken as also Pañch Bhaiya.

In Śāka 1693, Vaiśākha 22nd, Rangrung and Jyamiria were taken. Same year and month, the 27th day we were firing on a position at Kahulia and a heavy storm of hail made the enemy decamp. Same year in Jyeṣṭha 25th, Grihakot was taken and the Bhirkotwalas fled. On the 26th the Gorkhas invested Kyangming and the Bhirkot people fleeing, 96 of them were slain. On the 31st, Bhirkot, Garhung and Payung were taken. The same year on Pauṣa 5th, the Gorkhas were severely beaten in an attack of Satahoun. 500 of our men fell with Kāji Keher Singh and many more were wounded, among them Bansrāj Pande who was also made prisoner. The same year, the 22nd of Māgha the Chaubis having invested Dor, which called for aid from Gorkha. Sardar Prabhu Mall and Kāji Ransūr Pande with the Thārghar and Omra and Bārāhā were surprised. On the 13th, the same month the Gorkhas returned from Bhirkot and Garhung and Payung and Rising, and the next day from Tanhoun crossing to this side of the Marsyangdi.

In Śāka 1695, Bhādon 13th, the Gorkhas crossing the Dudkosi and taking Rawa and Chisankhu, conquered Dinla and Arun as our frontier.

In Śāka 1696, Śrāvaṇa 4th, passing the Arun we seized the Chaudandi. Same month, the 5th, Chayanpur fell to us as also Vijaypur. In Āśvina, the 13th, we took Ilam without contest and made the Kanka our boundary.

In Śāka 1699, Śrāvaṇa the 3rd, we took Kabilash and on the 26th, Someśvar fort.

In Śāka 1700, Māgha 21st, we crossed the Marsyangdi and re-entered Tanhoun, and on the 29th when the Chaubis were to establish a stockade in Balithum, we resisted them. We were beaten with great slaughter—70 or 80 of our men were killed and many more wounded. In the same year, Chaitra 3rd, we again gave up Tanhoun and crossed the Marsyangdi. On the 10th, we also gave up Someśvar and retreated.

In Śāka 1701, Vaiśākha 13th, Someśvar, Tanhoun, Palpa and Larhat sought aid of the hill people, but failed to get it, and the people of the plains were seized by us.

In Śāka 1703, Pauṣa 22nd, Lamjung and Parbat leading the enemy, established a post in Lingjung, but failed. One Gorkhali was killed and 100 escaped. In the same year, Māgha 25th, the enemy having established a *thana* in

Jymriah, we attacked and took it and killed 200 of the enemy, 12 of our men lost their lives. In the same year and month, the 28th, the Chaubis abandoned the stockade at Lingling and fled.

In Śāka 1705, Āṣvina 18th, we established a *thana* at Khorang. Same year and month, the 24th, Salliana, Lakhajung and Raginas opposing us, we gained an entrenchment of the Chaubis. Same year, Kārtika 17th, we conquered Chithi and Chisapāni and next day subdued Taiku and Lamjung without contest. Our leaders were Bansrāj Pande, Jagjit Pande and Devi Datt Thapa. Same year, Phālgua 21st, Kristi and Nawakot were subdued. Naru Sahi, Devi Datt and Parat Bhandārī led the Gorkhalis. Same year and month, 29th day the Kāli river was crossed by us, and Tarcha reduced without a battle. Kāji Abhimān Singh and Sardar Amar Singh Thapa and Bibisham Khawas and Pratiman Rana were our leaders. In the same year, Chaitya 1st, we reduced Silwa Pilwa. On the 25th of the same month, we conquered Batu and killed 30 of the enemy. The same day Tahung and Huming and Prabhas were gained; on the 26th Palpa was reduced without contest, Rajah Maha Datt Sen fleeing. On the 25th of Jyeṣṭha Kājis Naru Sahi and Devi Datt Thapa and Pratimān Rana abandoned Nawakot.

In Śāka 1706, Āṣāḍha 12th, Kāskī and Parbat leading the Chaubis, established a *thana* at Makai Daura, but failed to get possession of Lamjung, which we forced them to retire from.

In Śāka 1707, Jyeṣṭha 30th, we acquired Rupakot. In the same year, Āṣāḍha 25th, we gained Mukandpur and Gairiakot without a stroke. On the 31st of Jyeṣṭha we conquered Raginas and Arhung from the Chaubisi. On the 1st of Āṣāḍha we reduced Kāskī and Sirankot without battle, the enemy retiring, and next day we got Nawakot having beaten the enemy. On the 7th we conquered Satahoun.

In Śāka 1708, Jyeṣṭha 10th, we passed the Ridhi Ghāt on the Kāli. Same month, the 16th Damodar Pande declared war to reduce Parbat. We reached Argha, and the same day the enemy tried a night surprise on us; but we were aware of it and beat them severely. Same year, 2nd of Āṣvina, we reduced Ilam after a great contest, and on the 4th we fought a great battle and reduced Deopur, our leaders were Kājis Damodar Pande and Jagjit Pande. On the 13th of same month, we reduced Parbat and on the 18th Bandikot and on the 19th Piuthana.

In Śāka 1710, Āṣāḍha 17th, Sri Krishan Shah set out, and on the 24th this leader with Harakh Pant and Ranjit Pande and Nahar Singh Bisnait proceeded to conquer Bhote. In Bhādon, the 9th, we conquered Jhunga. On 22nd Āṣvina, Śri Bhadra Shah and Jagatjit Pande and Dhokal Singh Bisnait and Ajaib Simha were despatched and in Kārtika, the 2nd, there was a great fight under these

leaders at Kerrong and sixty-five of the enemy were killed. In the same year, Āsāḍha the 10th, Kuti was taken. Amar Singh Thapa set out to attack Kerrong and on the 11th it fell before his arrival. On the 31st the Gorkhas failed to take Shikarjung and retreated with some loss.

In Śāka 1713, Śrāvaṇa 2nd the treaty with Bhote was dropped and Damodar Pande was ordered to set out and fight.

In Śāka 1713, Śrāvaṇa 14th, the Chinese beat us at Deorali in a great fight, Banku Rana and 20 Companies were cut to pieces. In Bhādon, the 8th, we had a great fight at Girkhu with the Chinese and killed many Bhotias, Damodar leading us. Āśvina the 24th, the Chinese evacuated and paid us 50,000 rupees and retired.

9. Notices on the early life of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa*

Rajah Narabhūpāl Shah's elder wife Chandra Prabha was the daughter of the Rajah of Kanchi. She having no children Narabhūpāl married a daughter of Palpa, and this marriage likewise proved fruitless ; he married for a third time the daughter of the Parbat Rajah ; and without offspring he took a fourth wife from Tanhoun. At last the youngest wife proved pregnant, and soon after the second wife produced a son in 7 months. Chandra Prabha was much pleased and celebrated the occasion with great festivities. The son was called Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah. When 11 months of pregnancy were completed, the youngest wife produced a son who was named Sri Mahodam Kīrti Shah. Thereafter the third wife also bore a son.

Here are the details of the offspring of Narabhūpāl Shah :—The Mahila Rani bore 2 daughters and 3 sons—Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, Dalmardān and Pṛthipāl ; the Sahila Rani bore 1 daughter and 2 sons—Binod Kesar and Sūr Pratāp ; and the Kanchi Rani bore 3 daughters and 2 sons—Mahodam Kīrti and Daljit. Such being the state of things, confusion arose in Gorkha about the succession. At this time Narabhūpāl Shah became unsettled in mind and his senior Rani summoned the Chiefs and asked them what was the meaning of Bhūpati. They announced it to mean 'lord of the earth' when the Rani observed that the child which first saw the light on the earth was evidently its lord—and thus Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's priority was established.

Chandra Prabha continued to act as regent, and when Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was 12 years old, Narabhūpāl was partially restored to sanity, and with his leave the Rani procured for Pṛthvinārāyaṇa partial exercise of regal powers. Time for his marriage arriving, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was married to the daughter of Hem Karan of Mackwanpur. A year or two after he went to fetch his bride, but the brothers of the Rajah with the advice of Kanak Singh Bania opposed the

*A continuation of the *Gorkha Vanśāvalī*.

removal of the lady and Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was obliged to return without her. The senior Rani then advised him to marry in the plains and he married a wife brought from Benares called Narendra Lakṣmi.

Soon after Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's own mother died and Dalmardān Shah performed her obsequies. Then the senior Rani died and Pṛthvinārāyaṇa performed her obsequies. Thereafter Narendra Lakṣmi who was considered to be the Rani dreamed that she had swallowed the sun. She told her husband who boxed her ears when she wept all night. Next morning Pṛthvinārāyaṇa seeing her in great grief, comforted her and told her that she had seen a true dream, and that the sun typified the three cities (Patan, Kathmandu and Bhatgaon), which her son was destined to rule over. The same month she proved *enceinte* and in due course produced a son who was named Siṃha Pratāp. From this day wherever Pṛthvinārāyaṇa fought he conquered. Soon after he made the conquest of Nawakot. He had three daughters and three sons—Siṃha Pratāp Shah, Vedhum Shah and Bahadur Shah.

After the conquest of Nawakot Pṛthvinārāyaṇa deliberated with the Rani about appointments. It was settled that all *on-roll* Chiefs should belong to him and all *off-roll* Chiefs to her. The Rani was to entertain the *Dakheriahs* at the annual festival of Daussain and give them clothes and pocket money. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, however, objected to having two separate exchequers, but the Rani said: "Your *on-roll* men will serve you and you will have a second set of servants in the *off-roll* men whom I will satisfy with a mere bellyful (*mana choul and chap*).” Thus the *Dakheriahs* are at the disposal of the Rani, who looked after them as long as she lived; and the wisdom of the policy thus gave the state a double set of servants which is yet preserved. She died at Nawakot.

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa was preparing to return from Benares. Fearing to be surprised, he dressed one of his attendants Kehar Singh Bania in the royal robes replacing him in a *palki*, himself attended on foot till the frontier was crossed. There he halted, and assembling his Chiefs proposed the conquest of Nepal Proper.

Kulānanda fixed a lucky hour and declared that if on crossing the river a fish leapt into the boat, the omen would be auspicious. Accordingly, in the passage it came to pass and Nawakot fell, Dalmardān Shah bearing the ball for bravery. Sankhmani Rana retiring from Gorkha reached Belkot; he was ordered to come to camp out, and disdaining the imputation laid on him he threw away his life in the battle at Belkot. Lama Daura was taken and a post established at Dahchowk, whence Mackwanpur was taken. Digbandhan Sen of that ilk was brought prisoner and Mackwanpur was given to Kehar Singh Biśnait, who conquered southwards to Jaleśvar. A post was established at Kahulias, Śivapuri and Dariagaonda and Sandhukot were taken and given to Narain Singh. Thereafter there was a fight at Deopar and Naldum in which the Gorkhalis were

defeated and fled, and the Maharajah hid himself at Bhatgaon.

With the aid of the Bhatgaonese he was more successful, and Panauti and Satgaon were taken. Dhulikhel was next taken and given to Ram Krishan Rau. Next Ranikot and Biśāñkhukot fell and were given to Prabhu Mall ; and a post was established at Jawalakhel. The people of Patan tried to defend themselves by hurling bricks, but could not and fled and were pursued to Kirtipur, where we in our turn were beaten and Sūr Pratāp Shah lost an eye and Kālū Pande his life. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa returned to Dahchowk and remained there for three years. Thereafter he established a close siege over Kirtipur which was starved into surrender. All the males over 12 year had their noses cut off. Next posts were fixed at Madikhu and Jitpur and Hari Khanka and Jay Gurung, the commanders of the enemy in the neighbourhood were taken, of whom one was beheaded and the other imprisoned. Toka was taken without any trouble and a post established at Gajdol near it. Toka was given to Sri Krishan with orders to make prisoners all Kathmandu people and turn them into *kummarus* or slaves. Many were thus treated. Gokarṇakot was next taken and given to Bir Bhadra ; and Deopatan was taken and given to Śivananda Upādhāya ; and a post was established at Battisputli. Next Chāñgu was taken and given to Atibal Biśta with orders to collect 5% from Brahman's free land. Sāñkhu was next taken and made over to Gajbal Dwaria. Next Dolka was taken and the Khas tribe, there put to death—the males were put to death and the females made slaves. Durga Biśnait and Kehar Singh Thapa made the following doggerel : *Khas khoji, Magar roji ; Brahman ko gora nēl, Khas ko thapa tēl ; Brahman ke chāla, thum thum khāla*. "Khas hunted and Magar promoted. Brahman in irons and Khas made slaves of. Brahman's lands all confiscated. They all went to the plains."

The army returned from Dolkha and invested Kathmandu, Jayaprakāśa was engaged in Indrayātrā when he heard that the enemy had entered the town, and fleeing by the Bhandārkhāl, he went to Patan, and three days after to Bhatgaon. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa seduced the Patan Chiefs to an interview and killed them all and thus took possession of Patan without a blow. Tejanarasimha, the Rajah was imprisoned and put in chains, and Patan committed to Kālū Siṃha Biśnait. A post having been fixed at Auting, Ṭhimi and Borē fell and were given to Sūr Pratāp Shah. Bāñsbārī and Jitpur fell and their defenders had their ears and noses cut off. In Dandipakh a post was fixed and another at Ghwangghūng-pathi. Sri Krishan Pathak was shot. A post was established at the Yekate gate of Bhatgaon and the town surrendered. After a fight of three days and rivers of blood spilt amidst earth-quakes and portents of other kinds, Bhatgaon fell. Kālū Kappudar set the Darbar on fire to facilitate the conquest. The Kathmandu Rajah who was there, died of his wounds. The Bhatgaon Rajah was sent to Benares. Kālū Siṃha was made the governor of the town.

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa sent for a talkative fellow and asked him, "How many

Rajahs of note have you seen ?” He answered, “Mahendramalla, Rām Shah, Jayasthitimalla—and these I have not seen but heard of.” As Pṛthvinārāyaṇa returned to Kathmandu, the Nagar Kotia made his bow in his shoes when the offender and all others of the place were slain. Sūr Pratāp vexed at not getting Bhatgaon went off to the West, where he was slain at Dampati. Next Kehar Singh was ordered to reduce the West and was invested with the supreme command. He took Tanhoun, Rising, Ghiring and Bhirkot. At Satahoun, a great fight occurred in which Kālū Siṃha fell and all the troops fled across the Marsyangdi, leaving behind their arms. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa made them pay for their arms and much more in fine and declared them incapable of serving the State. Phataksila and Thum were given to Kehar Singh’s family as *murawat* (gratuity). Abhimān Siṃha was sent to reduce the Kirātas. Atal Rai, the ruler of Maajkirānt fled across the Aran in further Kirānt, whose ruler was Buddhi Karan Rai. He was taken prisoner and brought to Kathmandu and our frontier was extended to Bijapur.

The Rajah Pṛthvinārāyaṇa then went to Nawakot and soon after died.

10. The House of Gorkha*

The Rajahs of Nepal of the house of Gorkha are the descendants of (1) Ayat Brahma, Rana of Garh Chitor and Udaipur, whose son was (2) Bada, and whose son was (3) Kanak, and whose son was (4) Yaso, and whose son was (5) Audambar Rai, who was followed by (6) Bhatuak Brahma and (7) Bir Bikram Rai. Bir Bikram Rai’s family quarrelled and one of them called (8) Jilha Rai leaving Chitor came to the hills. He was followed in succession by (9) Ajilah Rai and (10) and Atal Rai (11) and Tutha Rai and (12) Bimik Rai (the 12th from Ayat aforesaid) and (13) Brahma Rai and (14) Hari Rai and (15) Bakhām Rai (16) Manorat Rai and (17) Jai Rai and (18) and Jagat Rai (19) and Bhoj Rai and (20) Bhupat Rai (who came to Lasarga) and (21) Brahmanath Rai and (22) Manmat Rai and (23) Bhupal Rai (who became the Rajah of Bhirkot and Khilong), and (24) Minch (24th from Ayat), one of whose four sons and (25) became the Rajah of Nawakot and (26) Jayant Khan and (27) Surya Khan and (28) Micha Khan and (29) Jayadeva Khan and (30) Kulnandan Shah (who became Rajah of Kāskī, and the first who has the name of Shah) and (31) Brahma or Yasovarman (whobecame the Rajah of Lamjung and the direct progenitor of the house of Gorkha).

Yasovarman aforesaid is the 31st from Ayat Brahma. He had 3 sons, the second of whom called (32) Drabya Shah became the king of Gorkha by the general consent of the people, who expelled their Khanka Rajah and substituted the Kṣatriya Drabya Shah aforesaid in Śāka 1481. He is the first Gorkha king who reigned 11 years. His son (33) Pourender Shah succeeded him and reigned

*Extracts from the *Vanśāvall* of General Matabar Singh.

35 years. His son (34) Chhatra Shah succeeded him in Śāka 1528 and reigned only 7 months. His brother (35) Rām Shah succeeded him in 1528 and reigned 27 years. He was a very wise prince who made many laws and regulations for the good of his people and encouraged trade and brought traders from Patan to settle at Gorkha by agreement with Siddhinarasiṃha, the Rajah of that place. He was succeeded in Śāka 1555 by his own son (36) Dambar Shah who reigned 9 years and his son (37) Krishna Shah succeeded him in Śāka 1564 who reigned 16 years.

In Śāka 1580 (38) Rudra Shah, his son succeeded and reigned 11 years. In Śāka 1591 (39) Pṛthvipati Shah his son ascended the throne and reigned 47 years. In Śāka 1638 his son (40) Narabhūpal Shah succeeded who reigned 26½ years. He had two wives and a concubine called Kālī Dhae, who was his great counsellor and had entire control over him. By his younger married wife he had a son called (41) Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, who was born in Śāka 1645, and from his childhood showed that he was destined to be a famous man. He succeeded his father as Rajah in Śāka 1664. He reigned 32 years and made many conquests.

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa had five brothers viz., Kirti Mahodam, Daljit, Dalmardān, Sūr Pratāp and Rudra, the last by the concubine above-named. When the time came to give Pṛthvinārāyaṇa the sacred thread, Harakh Misser of the family of Nandram Misser, the hereditary spiritual counsellor of the royal family was sent for from Benares and from Pṛthvinārāyaṇa received the *dichha*. Next Pṛthvinārāyaṇa set out for Nepal Proper and paid a visit to the Sūryavaṃsi Rajah of Bhagatpur, who was much pleased with his cleverness and encouraged an intimacy between him, and his son Birnarasṃha.

While at Bhatgaon, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa cultivated the society of the learned Brahmans, one of them told him the story of Bhāskaravarma, an ancient sovereign of the country, who having conquered as far as the southern sea, had brought immense wealth to Nepal. He made gifts to Paśupati and called that temple Svarṇapuri. The Brahman told Pṛthvinārāyaṇa that he had knowledge of the secret *mantra* of Bhairavi and Tulja, which he would communicate to him. Then he performed the mystic rites, and on the annual festival of Kumārī, the goddess gave the blue lotus not to the Rajah of Bhatgaon but to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa. At this all the folks began to remark that the goddess had committed the country to the stranger from Gorkha.

The Rajah himself confirmed the general remark and told him that he would surely be the future ruler of the land. He then narrated to him the legends of the goddess of Simraoun and how Jayabhimadeva having no heir had adopted Harisiṃha of that place who had succeeded him, and how the goddess had told the said Harisiṃha that his posterity would reign for 27 generations when

another royal race from the West would acquire the sovereignty. He told him other tales leading to the same end, until Pṛthvinārāyaṇa became convinced that he was the destined ruler, and in that conviction returned to Gorkha. He told all this to his mother and asked her advice when she told him that he would doubtless be what he wished in time but at present had better think of marrying and recommended the daughter of Hem Karan Sen of Mackwanpur whence, she added that Nepal might easily be conquered. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa married there accordingly, and a year after went to fetch home his wife, halting at Hariharpur with Digbandhan Sen and Kanak Singh Bania, both of whom objected to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa removing his wife until he had had a child.

BOOK THREE

Campbell's Sketch

The first of the series of contemporary narratives on Nepal, Campbell's Sketch based on the Residency records, deals with British political relations with Nepal from 1767 to 1834. It highlights the Kinloch debacle, the Kirkpatrick's and Knox's Missions, the infructuous Commercial Treaties, the Anglo-Nepalese War, followed by Hodgson's observations on the Nepalese Camp, Court, and Politics till 1839. The Sketch outlines the rise and fall of the strong-man of Nepal—Bhimsen Thapa, and gives an eye-witness account of the events of his time. Campbell's pen flows with vigour and felicity; notwithstanding his persistent anti-Nepalese obsessions and chronological disarray, his observations on the key-men of the time are almost accurate and refreshing. As a contemporary and authoritative narrative, the Sketch is of great interest to the scholars of Nepalese history.

A SKETCH OF POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH NEPAL*

1. Early Intercourse

In Tracing our relations and intercourse with the Government of Nepal it must be kept in mind, that the possessors of the Great Valley, situated in the hills forming the northern boundary of Tirhut and Saran, and having Kathmandu for its capital city, have been from the period of our first acquaintance with this region, dominated the rulers of Nepal. It is with Kathmandu, strictly speaking, that our relations have existed, and that without reference to the varying amount of territory that has from time to time become appended to or detached from it, even at the time the great Valley was divided into three separate possessions, we regarded the Prince of Kathmandu as the ruler of Nepal, although the Princes of Bhatgaon and Patan, each held a portion of the Valley nearly equal in extent to that belonging to Kathmandu.

The nature of our first intercourse with Nepal, had nothing political in it. It consisted merely of commercial transactions between our subjects of Bengal and Bihar and the Newars of the Valley¹, with occasional correspondence between our Commercial Agent at Bettiah and the Newar Rajahs; there is not to my knowledge much of this correspondence recorded. But its existence may be presumed from the tenor of Mr. Golding's (Resident at Bettiah) letters addressed to the Chief of Patna at the time of Gorkha invasion of Nepal, wherein he solicits the attention of the Government of that time to the importance of our trade with Nepal, and to the advantages we at that time derived from our peaceable intercourse with the Nepal Rajah, "all of which (he says) should the Gorkhalis succeed, be must unavoidably be given up."

*Compiled by Dr. A. Campbell, Assistant Surgeon, British Residency, Kathmandu, in 1835, from the Residency records. *Vide. Bengal Political Consultations*, 23 January and 6 April, 1835; 1 September, 1837—Nos. 49-50, 45 and 67-73 respectively in the India Office Library, London.

¹ Aborigines of the Valley, Mongolians in physical form, and in religion at the present day, Buddhists and Beshnait Hindus, in the proportion of 2 of the former to 1 of the latter. The Newar Rajahs, at the time of Gorkha conquest were all Hindus, and wished to show that they had their origin from the Sūryavaṁśī race of the Kṣatriyas, who had formerly held possession of Simroungarh in the Terai.

The important trade and peaceable intercourse was most probably carried on to the advantage of both parties, without the aid of treaties or other political obligations, and the circumstance is easily explained by our knowledge of the peaceful and industrious habits of the Newars who have ever, as now, been devoted to quiet usages, and who have made great advances in the useful arts of life than in the destructive ones of strife and warfare.¹

The rise and progress of the Gorkhas disturbed our peaceful intercourse with Nepal, and the invasion of the Valley by Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, the chief and leader of that tribe, commences the first era of our political relations with this State. In the first part of the year 1767, the Newar Rajah of Kathmandu, then, and for long previous, sorely beset by the Gorkhas, solicited our aid for the relief of his possessions from the arms of the invaders; and after a discussion by the Select Committee then holding the reins of the Indian Government, as to the propriety of adopting the Rajah's cause, it was decided to afford the required aid. The grounds on which this resolution was come to, are best explained by quoting the sentiments of the Committee as communicated to the Home Government on the 25th September, 1767 :

“We need not inform you that for many years an advantageous trade has been carried on between the province of Bihar and the rich country of Nepal by which considerable quantity of gold, and many other valuable commodities, were imported. The Rajah now being dispossessed of his country, and shut up in his capital by the Rajah of Gorkha, the usual channel of commerce has been obstructed, and these provinces are deprived of the benefits arising from the former intercourse, at a period when decline of trade render it of greatest importance that every spring of industry should flow freely and without interference.”

The Committee, after thus detailing its views, announced the despatch of an expedition for the relief of Nepal. Captain Kinloch was sent in command of a small force, for this purpose, and reached the hills in the middle of the rainy season of 1767. After suffering greatly from sickness induced by the unhealthy nature of the Terai and lower hills, and from want of provisions, he was obliged to return from the fort of Hariharpur, and the Gorkha Chief, thus relieved from the fear of a British force, found little resistance to his arms.

2. Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah

1768

Accordingly, in the month of September 1768, Pṛthvinārāyaṇa Shah completed the conquest of Nepal and perpetrated a series of unparalleled cruelties and enormities by the extinction of every person of distinction connected with

¹ The entire cultivation of the great Valley is carried on by the Newars, and in a style of efficiency far surpassing anything to be seen in the Gangetic provinces of our Empire. All the tradesmen of Nepal, are Newars, many of them cunning workers in gold and silver.

the Newar dynasties. Thus commenced the sway of the Gorkhalis over the finest portion of the region, the sway of a fierce and turbulent race, ignorant of arts and commerce, and devoted to war and plunder.

The narrative of a European witness¹ of the Gorkha conquest of the Valley of Nepal Proper is painfully illustrative of the character of the victorious Chief Pṛthvinārāyana. To the most consummate cunning and want of faith, he added an inhuman cruelty—murder, mangling of bodies, rape, and sacrilegious plunder. By these means he triumphed, and in blood and rapine, did he found his family and tribe, as the Rajah of Nepal.

The failure of Kinloch's expedition may be considered as most unfortunate, and is one among many instances, of the little information we possessed regarding the natural obstacles that existed in our progress in the earlier days of power in India. The serious and lasting consequences of its failure were not, and could not have been, at that time anticipated.

The Gorkha army consisted of a few ill-armed, ill-accoutred and indisciplined barbarians, and its Chief had not the means of increasing it. The presence of a British force in the Valley however small, would have animated the Newars to renewed exertions in the defence of their hearths and household gods, and ours would have been the good fortune to have saved this lovely Valley from the rapacious grasp of a rude, cruel and war thirsty race of men, and perpetuated it in the hands of the civilised, lettered, industrious and commercially disposed people, its aboriginal inhabitants.

3. Trade with Tibet and Nepal

1776

It is impossible to ascertain correctly the value of Nepal and Tibet trade as it existed at the time of Kinloch's expedition. It is, however, sufficient to

¹ Father Giuseppe's *Account of Nepal* in the *Asiatic Researches*, ii, p. 307. A writer in the *Agra Akhbar* describing some portion of the Western hills near Simla says: "All who saw these hills after the Nepal War agree in stating that the condition of the few inhabitants was much pitiable. Now (1835), they appear to be better off than any peasant I have seen in India. The Gorkhas were indeed the most merciless, brutal and grasping conquerors that have disgraced the name of man in any age, and all the execrable atrocities committed in the southern portion of the new world sink into insignificance compared with the villianous treatment of the people by these treacherous tyrants." This is strong language, but I fear, that the course of Gorkha conquest westward was marked by greater atrocities than its commencement in the Valley. Success makes the savage lose the little reflection which resistance brings to his mind. I have heard from the natives of the Western hills that the Gorkha conquerors had added greatly to the usual horrors of conquest among rude people by making it a frequent pastime. The bellies of pregnant women were cut in cold blood, and aged prisoners whose services as slaves could not be considered as worth-enforcing, like Hindu conquerors, generally, and savages always, they claimed the life of all prisoners of war. When life was spared, the individual was almost always made a slave.

know that its continuance was considered important enough to warrant a direct interference on our part to the extent of arms for its protection ; and that at a later date, this trade was in equal estimation, is seen from the mission of Mr. Boyle to Tibet in 1774, and that of Mr. Turner in 1783 which were exclusively undertaken for the purpose of extending British protection to that region for the better ascertaining of the nature of its productions and of opening new sources of commerce to our provinces.

After the failure of Kinloch's expedition and the consequent establishment of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa's authority over the Valley of Nepal, our intercourse with that State does not seem to have been noticed by any authority to which reference can now be made. Our Government, however, acknowledged, the Gorkha Rajah of Nepal ; a notice to that effect being contained in an account of the origin, progress and terminatoin of the expedition of Captain Kinloch to Nepal in 1767 as follows :

“It would seem therefore that the Gorkha Chief succeeded in establishing authority over Nepal before any second enterprise could be attempted, and that the British Government restored the lands seized by Kinloch in the Terai of Bettiah to the Gorkha Chief now become sovereign of Nepal.”

With the exception of this recognition of the Gorkhas as a ruling people there is no trace of connection with Nepal from the period of conquest until the administration of Lord Cornwallis, when certain negotiations (opened by Nepal under the pressure of political exigency to be presently revealed) were entered into with it, through Mr. Duncan, the Resident at Benares, which terminated in the Commercial Treaty between us and Nepal, dated March 1792.

This our first treaty with Nepal is a purely commercial one. It stipulated for the strict observance on the part of Nepal, and of the British Government of the following points :

“That a two and half per cent shall reciprocally be taken, as duty on the imports from both countries, such duties be levied on the Invoices accompanying the goods. The *zamindars* of either State shall be compelled to make good the amount of property (belonging to merchants) stolen within their respective bounds. The fixed amount of duty shall be levied at stations within the frontier of either State, and after having once paid duties and received a *Rawanuah* thereon, no other or further duty shall be payable throughout each country or dominion respectively.”

The remaining provisions of the treaty are subordinated to the above, and intending for the facilitating by every possible means, the carrying on of a free trade between the two countries.

In consequence of the crafty policy of the Gorkha Government, and its decided aversion to such a close connection with our Government as the proximity

of situation actually indicates, the treaty so wisely intended failed in producing that degree of unimpeded commercial intercourse, and general amity, for which alone we earnestly thought, and things were fast relapsing to their former condition when a sudden event unforeseen furnished an opportunity favourable for accomplishing the desired objects, and this was no less an occurrence than an invasion of Nepal by the forces of the Emperor of China.

4. War with Tibet

1792

For several years previous to 1792, the Gorkhas had been directing their views to the conquest of Tibet ; and with an admixture of force and strategy in the successful employment of which they were great adepts, they had pushed their arms, and in a great measure their authority, to a considerable distance beyond the Himalayas and into the plains of Eastern Tibet. Alarmed by the encroachments of these plunderers, the Lama of Digarchi (who was the spiritual father to the Emperor of China) applied to the Court of Peking for its aid against the Gorkhas. The desired aid was not at once conceded, and the Tibetans being little used to arms, fell an easy prey to the rapacity of the Nepalese, who instigated by the love of plunder, and territorial aggrandizement, advanced into Tibet as far as Digarchi, where they plundered the sacred temple of the place.

Incensed at this daring sacrilege, the Emperor of China despatched a force (as it is said) of 70,000 men towards Nepal, for the purpose of bringing condign punishment on to *robber*, as he justly designated the Nepal Rajah. The Nepalese becoming seriously alarmed at the advance of the Chinese army, and conscious of the severe treatment to be meted out to them, should it reach Nepal, sent a deputation to Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India, soliciting the aid of our arms against the Chinese invaders. To this application His Lordship made answer on the 15th September, 1792 to the effect that the relations then existing between the English Government and the Emperor of China precluded the possibility of our affording assistance to the extent of an armed force but he says,

“Desirous that harmony and peace should be preserved among those who are the friends of the Company, I shall be very happy if my amicable interference can in any shape contribute to re-establish these between the Rajah of Lhasa and you, and shall be ready to use it in the way of a friend and mediator between you.

5. Kirkpatrick's Mission

The season of the year admitted not of the immediate dispatch of an envoy to the Chinese Camp, for the purpose of negotiations of peace between Nepal and China, but Major Kirkpatrick was selected for this service, and was instructed to hold himself in readiness to start from Patna as soon as the state

of the Terai would safely admit of his doing so. The Chinese army continued meantime to advance on Nepal, but little impeded by the Gorkha force dispatched to repel it, and had reached Nawakote, one day's journey from Kathmandu, when the Gorkhas were fain to pass under the yoke and to make a degrading treaty with the leader of the victorious army. The precise nature of the treaty was not made known to the British Government (to which the Gorkhas never voluntarily communicated a syllable of their affairs) but intelligence of its conclusion reached Major Kirkpatrick on his arrival at Patna in progress to Nepal. The ostensibly sole object of his mission was now at an end ; but as many important subjects of discussion existed between our Government and Nepal, rendering his advance to Kathmandu extremely desirable to us, the wish was communicated to the Nepal deputies who accompanied him and accordingly, after a short delay, he received the invitation of the Nepal Rajah to proceed.

6. Failure of British Mission

1793

Major Kirkpatrick thereon proceeded, and on the 1st of March, 1793, he reached the Darbar of the Gorkha Rajah, he and his party being the first Englishmen, who had visited the Nepal dominions.

The detailed instructions to Kirkpatrick I cannot find recorded, but the general tenor of them is ascertained from the portion of his correspondence printed with the *Account of Nepal* by that gentleman. The primary object appears to have been the care of the Commercial Treaty of 1792, and the obtaining through it all those commercial advantages, which a solid and cordial connection with Nepal was capable of inducing. For the accomplishment of the object of his mission Col. Kirkpatrick delivered to the Darbar a paper entitled "Heads for the improvement of the Treaty of Commerce with the Government of Nepal" in which he dwells earnestly on :

"the anxiety of his Government for the co-operation and assistance of the Rajah of Nepal in promoting the extension of the woollen trade into such parts of Tibet as shall appear more accessible through the territories of Nepal, also for the Rajah's protection and favour towards such British subjects as from time to time sojourn at Kathmandu in prosecution of the said trade, and finally to consent to the residence of an English gentleman, and suitable retinue in Nepal, for the combined purpose of facilitating and aiding the operations of the traders, of watching over and controlling their conduct, of endeavouring to extend the general commerce, of improving the friendship and beneficial connection so happily commenced between the Maharaja and the Company's Government."

For the attainment of these ends Colonel Kirkpatrick made every possible exertion consistent with his situation as an Envoy. He pointed to the readiness with which Lord Cornwallis adopted the only means in his power consistent with

faith to China, for the adjustment of the unhappy disputes between the Maharaja and the authorities of Lhasa. He represented the advantages that would accrue to both States and in particular to Nepal, by proper encouragement of the trade between India and Tibet, and he made the most unreserved professions of friendship on the part of our Government for that of Nepal. All this was met on the part of Nepal by want of confidence in our professions, by ingratitude for the readiness manifested to mediate between it and China, and by a determination to avoid all close alliance with us. The result of his mission is expressed by Kirkpatrick in a very few words he says in a despatch to Lord Cornwallis, dated Kathmandu, the 19th March, 1793, after his last interview with Bahadur Shah, the Regent in the minority of Ran Bahadur :

“I had now ascertained with sufficient certainty that my residence at this Court was not to be hoped for. It therefore, I conceived, only remained for me to consider upon what footing, and in what manner, it was most advisable that my mission should be closed.”

Thus terminated our first mission to the Gorkha Court, undertaken in sincerity, and friendship, dismissed not as then supposed, from caprice and jealousy, but by deeply fraudulent designs which it required the lapse of 20 years to fully reveal to us. The semblance even of concurrence in our views was not preserved beyond the moment when the exigency producing it ceased to press upon the Darbar.

7. Overthrow of Bahadur Shah

1795

The Government of Nepal remained in the hands of Bahadur Shah (the Regent at the time of Kirakpatrick's mission) till 1795, when Ran Bahadur, the young Rajah and his nephew forcibly assumed the management of State affairs, and destroyed his uncle. For a period of five years he ruled with intolerable tyranny and was at last compelled to abdicate in 1800, leaving one of his Ranees as Regent with Damodar Pande and Bum Shah Chauntria as leading ministers of the State. On his abdication, he proceeded to Benares, where he was well received by our Government, and had Captain Knox appointed to attend him as Political Agent.

8. Treaty with Nepal

1801

The presence of the Rajah of Nepal within our territories, and the circumstance of his living there under our protection, was deemed favourable for renewal of attempts towards forming closer alliance with the Nepalese. On the part of the Government of Nepal, during the exile of the Rajah, we found a readiness to admit of such attempts previously not vouchsafed to us, negotiations were set

on foot with that Government, and they terminated in the Treaty of Commerce and Alliance of 1801, by the 7th article of which the complete fulfilment of the Treaty of 1792 was provided for, and in addition to this, it was agreed by the Government of Nepal to receive a permanent Resident at Kathmandu, for the better consolidating of the friendship then existing between the two States.

9. Instructions to Knox

In the month of October 1801, the instructions of Government to Captain Knox (who was the officer selected) are dated, and they show clearly and fully, the views of Government at that time regarding the expediency of cultivating and maturing a connection with this repulsive people, then rapidly rising into importance as a frontier power.

The sanction by Nepal to the establishment of a permanent Resident at her Court, was deemed (and just so) a concession of most importance and was hailed by us as the harbinger of future friendship. The general sense of this advantage is thus expressed in the Instructions of Government to its first Resident Envoy :

“Independently of these considerations which suggest the general policy of forming a close connection with the neighbouring and contiguous states, the local situation of the territories of Nepal, skirting considerable part of the northern portion of Bengal and Bihar and the whole north-eastern limit of the province of Oude, renders an intimate alliance with that State a subject of peculiar importance to the political interests of the Company.”

The instructions then proceeded to point out more specifically the objects of the mission : they were both political and commercial, the latter occupying a prominent place.

The policy of Ran Bahadur dictated solely by a rage of arms and conquest, and pointed to aggression on Tibet no less than on our provinces, had interfered much with the trade formerly carried on between India and Tibet, and nullified the benefits we expected to arise from the Commercial Treaty of 1792. Consequently, the utmost exertions of our first Resident at Kathmandu, were to be directed to “the advancement and protection of our trade with Nepal and Bhote.” So ran the instructions :

“It will be the primary object of your attention to cause complete effect to be given to the operation of the Treaty of Commerce concluded between the Company and the Nepal Government in 1792. You will likewise direct your attention to the means of effecting an improvement of the stipulations of the Commercial Treaty tending to promote the commercial interests of the Company.

“You will also avail yourself of every opportunity which may offer, to encourage the Government of Nepal to revive the commerce with Bhutan, which the erroneous policy of the former Government has injudiciously annihilated.”

10. Existing Indo-Nepalese Problems

The political considerations influencing our Government at this time in its anxiety to become responsibly connected with Nepal although made subordinate to the commercial ones, were weighty and important. The Gorkha power in the space of thirty years had risen from being a small band of plundering soldiers to be the possessors of a tract of country lying along the frontier of our central and richest provinces, to the extent of five or six hundred miles with its authority firmly established throughout this space, and with a considerable army of hardy and bold soldiers, trained from birth to war and plunder, and finding in the conquest of petty and disunited states of the hills, the strongest incentives to an application of a somewhat similar course of cunning and rapacity to purposes of encroachment on the plains likewise.

Its frontiers afforded shelter to the plunderers and robbers of our provinces, and of those of Oude, and incessant disputes on boundary affairs, even at the early period, disturbed the tranquillity of our frontier and rendered the property of our subjects insecure. To our wishes for its co-operation in delivering into the hands of justice the disturbers of public peace, it lent a deaf ear, and its authority was ever withheld when required for the fair adjustment of boundary querrels. On this subject the Government of 1801 remarks to Captain Knox :

“The territory of Nepal adjacent to that of the Company has on various occasions afforded an asylum to the turbulent and refractory from the pursuit of justice, and in the defective state of our connection with that country, the British Government has not possessed the means of exciting the exertions or of influencing the disposition of the Government of Nepal to apprehend and surrender such dilynquents. Various territorial disputes have frequently arisen between the subjects of the Company and those of Nepal, on the frontier of Purnea and Tirhut, and exist at this time, on the border of the latter district, which a more intimate connection and intercourse between the two States might have affected the means of adjusting ; and the administration of justice has been frequently impeded by the ready asylum afforded in the contiguous territory of Nepal to robbers and bandits. It is therefore an object of great importance to the Company to possess the means of influencing the exertions of the Government of Nepal for the apprehension and surrender of fugitives, and receiving the co-operation of its authority for the equitable adjustment of boundary disputes, and of bringing criminals to justice.’

The presence of the Resident was the sole means by which these desirable objects were likely to be obtained, and the difficulties raised by the Nepalese against this step, towards responsible intercourse were in exact proportion to their dislike of having any such connection with us, owing to a predetermination fraudfully to encroach and to save themselves the necessity of effectual explanation and adjustment of claims.

1. Jealousy of Nepalese Government

From their origin almost as a power, their policy towards us was the same, and to this day, the sentiment is in a strong though latent operation. In fact, this studied realisation, though not the cause of it was familiar to our Government of 1801, which whilst showing its anxiety for the desired alliance, recorded its conviction that the prospect of its attainment was but a poor one, and that this second sending of an envoy to Nepal, was like the first one, brought solely as a temporary expedient, and was not the result of a sincere wish to mingle with us in good faith and amity. To the newly appointed Resident it says :

“You are well aware of the jealousy and alarm with which the Government of Nepal, and the body of its inhabitants, have ever contemplated an intimate connection with the British Government, and of the solicitude, with which the reigning power has always discouraged every attempt on the part of the government to improve the political relations between the two States. The consent of the present Government of Nepal to conclude the terms of an improved connection with the Company, is not to be ascribed to any diminution of the spirit of jealousy in the government or the people of that country, to confirm by the credit of an alliance with so powerful a neighbour, an authority, which is endangered by the influence and intrigues of an opposing faction and to prevent the British Government from employing its power for the reinstatement of the abdicated Rajah on the *masnad* of Nepal.”

12. Termination of Knox's Mission

1802

Too true was the opinion of our Government. The Resident arrived at Kathmandu in the month of April 1802, where for a short time he was treated with decent consideration, but the return from Benares, of one Ran Bahadur's (the abdicated Rajah) wives and the removal from power of the Regent Rani, to whom our Resident was accredited, opened a door for the expression of the true feelings of the Darbar towards us. The conduct of the Nepal Government became insolent, and overbearing, and the Rani now at the head of the affairs, carried her hate to such an extent, that says Hamilton :

“She stirred up to destroy us a certain Masan Kant, who had under him many thieves and robbers with whom he had plundered the borders. We received however timely warning and our guard being all night under arms, no attempt was made, although the sentries saw hovering around, parties of men, who no doubt had come in the expectation of finding some unguarded part.”¹

¹ This happened when Knox was on the frontier in progress to Kathmandu. He was met at Kucharwa by Damodar Pande, Bum Shah and others, and while in discussion with these chiefs about his progress to the capital. Ran Bahadur's Rani arrived in the neighbourhood

The repugnance shown by Nepal during Captain Knox's stay, to enter into terms of friendship with us, was so manifest, that after 12 months' residence, he was recalled, and accordingly in March 1803, terminated our second mission to this wily and hostile Court.

13. Return of Ran Bahadur

Shortly after Knox's departure, the Rajah returned from Benares, and received by his subjects with favour, and submission to his tyrannical yoke. His arrival was a note of warning to Damodar Pande and the Chiefs who ably governed Nepal in his absence, and who with many others, became a victim to the incorrigible cruelty of Ran Bahadur. Along with the reinstatement of this savage Prince, Bhimsen Thapa appeared on the theatre of Nepal politics, and as he will occupy a prominent place in the future narration of our relations with this State, he is thus early introduced to notice in the character awarded to him at that time by Hamilton, who in summing up the enormities of Ran Bahadur says : "his counsellor was a young man named Bhim Sen, vigorous, ambitious and unprincipled as himself."

14. Drift towards hostilities

After the recall of Captain Knox from Kathmandu in 1803, until the two years preceding the war of 1814, our intercourse with Nepal was of a very negative and most unsatisfactory kind. It consisted solely of remonstrances on our part, against flagrant cases of aggression on our territories by the Gorkhas, throughout the entire line of our frontier, from Rangpur to Rohilkhund, and of fruitless endeavours to induce their frontier officers to give an active co-operation, in the suppression of daring robberies and dacoities. A compliance with such requests and appeals on our part, when a contrary course could be pursued with impunity, consisted not with the policy of the Gorkhas, which has already been indicated and will be more fully explained as it comes into more extended operation by the enlargement of coterminous limits of the two States successfully to the Jumna and the Sutlej.

On the other hand, it was contrary to the well-being of the British Government, at the time of its own and Gorkha progress westwards, to involve itself in squabbles with Nepal, when it was possible to avoid such ; and consequently we shall see that the aggression of the Nepalese on the lowland possessions of our *zamindars* on their frontier were, as far as might be, overlooked, nor ever effectively noticed till we were forced to perceive that they formed part of a system of determined but stealthy encroachment which was commenced as soon as 1787, and never knew a year's intermission till it issued in the war of 1814.

from Benares and first gave out that she was to accompany our Envoy to the capital and be there reinstated. After this she must have adopted the line of conduct mentioned by Hamilton.

1804-1805

Some of the more prominent cases of this fraudulent aggression may be noticed. As early as 1804, the Nepalese had seized on the *pargannas* of Butwal and Sheoraj under the pretext of their having belonged to the possessions of the Palpa Rajah, recently subdued by them. But our Government, finding that both these places were included in the cession of territory previously made to us by Oude, resisted the assumption, and Sir George Barlow in November 1805, accordingly, demanded the evacuation of these places by the Nepal authorities. This demand was not listened to, and Nepal kept possession.

1808

In 1808, the Gorkha governor of Morung seized the entire *zamindari* of Bhimnagar situated on the frontier of Purnea ; but this case was so atrociously flagrant that our Government determined on resenting it in good earnest, and in the month of June 1809, a British detachment was sent to the frontier, with orders to resume the *zamindari* at the point of bayonet. This decided measure, was sufficient, and the Gorkhas not being yet willing to measure their swords with the English, evacuated the lands in 1810.

15. Boundary Commission

1811-1813

In 1811, the Gorkhas again crossed our frontier and at nearly the same time took possession of some lands, on the Butwal and Bettiah boundaries. This aggression was forcibly resisted by the people of Bettiah frontier, and gave rise to the first border skirmish between us and the Nepalese in which their leader named Lachmangir was defeated and killed. In consequence of this affray, an officer, Mr. Young on our part was deputed to the Saran frontier. The result of his investigation into this affair, and innumerable other similar ones, induced Lord Minto to appoint a special Commissioner, who should along with Commission from Nepal, enter on the task of adjusting all the matters then in abeyance between the two States. Major Bradshaw was accordingly deputed as our representative, and in conjunction with the Nepal agents, commenced the settlement of the frontier disputes in the Gorakhpur Terai, in the cold season of 1812-13. The extent to which we had patiently borne with the encroachments of Nepal may be seen from the report of the Magistrate of Tirhut, drawn up at this period in which he says that "between 1787 and 1813, upwards of two hundred villages had been seized by the Nepalese, on one or other unjustifiable pretext."

The Commissioner met the Nepal deputies, and the result of his investigation, was a clear proof of the invalidity of the Gorkha claim, to the lands seized on by them, on the Gorakhpur frontier in 1804. Major Bradshaw was

therefore directed by our Government to demand the evacuation of Butwal and Sheoraj, the two *pargannas* then in the occupation of the Nepalese. The Commissioners of Nepal would not abide by the result of investigation, and returned to Kathmandu for further orders. Vexed at the conduct of these persons, and feeling the justice of our claim to Butwal and Sheoraj, Lord Minto addressed the Rajah of Nepal in June 1813, demanding immediate evacuation of the above places. To his letter, there was no reply for upwards of six months, and when one was sent, it was couched in the most evasive language in all respects except in declaring "the right of Nepal to Butwal and Sheoraj as having been already established by the result of the investigations of the Commissioners."

After the unsatisfactory termination of Major Bradshaw's first investigation into the subject of dispute, he was directed to proceed to the frontier of Saran, and along with the Nepal deputies, to reopen the enquiry regarding the Nepal claims, he (Major Bradshaw) being ordered to insist on the evacuation by the Gorkhas of 22 villages seized by them, as a preliminary measure. This surrender of the villages was, after much trouble and evasive conduct, agreed on, and the enquiry recommenced, when suddenly the Nepal Commissioners were recalled by their Government, and ours was left alone on the border. The immediate cause of this conduct on the part of Nepal was most probably a determination to abide the issue by a war, tho' we had no proof of this determination having been come to for some time later. At all events, the recall of the Commissioners was issued subsequent to the receipt by the Nepal Government of a letter addressed to the Rajah by the Marquis of Hastings, wherein His Lordship made a peremptory demand for the evacuation of the disputed lands, stating at the same time, that orders have been issued to the Magistrates of Gorakhpur, to direct a body of British troops to proceed and forcibly occupy the said lands :

"Should an order of evacuation from the Rajah not be received at Gorakhpur within twenty-five days from the despatch of the Governor-General's letter from the latter place."

The prescribed time having terminated without the receipt of any such orders from Kathmandu, three Companies of our sepoy were marched to occupy forcibly the whole of the disputed portions of Butwal and Sheoraj. They met with no opposition from the Gorkhas, and established our authority therein about the middle of April 1814.

16. War

1814

Things were now rapidly approaching an inevitable crisis. About the end of March 1814, the question of peace and war with the English was debated in full Darbar at Kathmandu. The Rajah was then a minor, and Bhimsen Thapa held the whole virtual authority of the State. His opinion in the Council

of Bhāradārs,¹ as delivered on the occasion, has been preserved and is here introduced to show the sentiments of the hostile party, and as good specimen of the overwrought opinion of the Nepalese at that time of their military power.² The deliberations of the Council ended in a resolution to abide the fate of a decision by arms, and on the 2nd April, orders were issued to the Nepal commanders to prepare for war. Soon after, on the 27th May, 1814, a party of Gorkha troops under a leader named Munraj, committed the first act of open hostilities against our power. He led his party to the police *thana* established by us at Butwal and attacking the thanedar and his chowkidars, he killed 18 men, and after the head Darogah had surrendered, Munraj ordered him to be butchered in his presence.

The season of the year prevented the advance of a British force on Nepal at this crisis,³ and notwithstanding the commencement of hostilities by Nepal, Lord Hastings was still anxious to give that Government the option of disavowing the act of its agent. His Lordship consequently addressed a letter to the Rajah of Nepal (in June 1814), requesting him to punish the perpetrators of the murder of our police officers, and hoping that peace and amity might still be restored between the two States. Compliance with our wishes was refrained from, and preparations for war by Nepal commenced actively along the whole line of her frontier.

It was our duty also to prepare; we did so most reluctantly. At the proper season Lord Hastings issued a Proclamation to our subjects and a Notification to native powers of India of the causes compelling us to war with Nepal, and at the same time, publicly declared war against the Gorkhas. After summing up our grounds of complaints, and the constant determination on the part of Nepal to increase rather diminish them, His Lordship adds :

¹ Ministers of State as are called in Nepal.

² The deliberations of the Council commenced with a set of questions from the Rajah on the expediency or otherwise of coming to war with the British. His Highness says, "In my judgment an appeal should be made to arms," and as he was then a minor, and as Bhimsen Thapa was his chief adviser, the question and opinion were most probably framed and written by him. However, here is the opinion of Bhimsen as the first Chief of the State: "Through the influence of your good fortune and that of your ancestors no one has been able to cope with the State of Nepal. The Chinese once made war on us, but were reduced to seek peace. How then will the English be able to penetrate into our hills? Under your auspices, we shall, by our own exertions be able to oppose them, a force of fifty-two lakhs of men with which we shall, expel them. The small fort of Bharatpur, was the work of man, yet the English being worsted before it, desisted from the attempt to conquer it. Our hills and fastnesses are formed by the hand of God and are impregnable. I, therefore, recommend the prosecution of hostilities. We can make peace afterwards as may suit our convenience." The concluding words are well deserving of attention as illustrative of the whole scope of that crafty seclusion and secrecy in which the Darbar seeks to wrap itself.

³ The malaria season had now set in the Terai, and the Gorkhas anticipated that we would rush blindly upon disastrous failure through that cause.

“The British Government has long borne the conduct of the Nepalese with unexampled patience, opposing to their violence, insolence and rapacity, a course of proceedings uniformly just and moderate. But forbearance and moderation must have their limits; and the British Government having been compelled to take up arms in defence of its rights, its interest and honour, will never lay them down, until its enemy shall be forced to make ample submission and atonement of its outrageous conduct, to idemnify it, for the expense of war, and to afford full security for the future maintenance of those relations, which he has so shamefully violated.”

Here is the effect of innumerable aggressions alluded to in this *Sketch*, the deliberate character of which we were slow to perceive, and when we had perceived, were most unwilling to incur the enormous and disproportionate expenses of the war.

All which the Gorkhas had anticipated, and in that express view had ever withheld from us every other means of explanation and satisfaction. The proclamation of war, indeed, talks of idemnification, but that was soon found to be delusion. Now if we look back upon the cost and difficulty of the contest, need we be surprised that the Darbar when it had reduced us to this remedy, or none at all, relied on our continued acquiescence in its crafty encroachments rather than adopt it. This is the key to its studied seclusion and rejection of our Resident in 1792 and 1802—the fears and jealousies continually alleged to us having been a mere fraud and falsity.

The declaration of war is dated, Lucknow November 1st, 1814. An account of the contest even outwardly would be foreign to this Memorandum of relations—the more so as Prinsep’s History of Lord Hastings’ Administration contains a full and generally accessible account of it.

It must suffice therefore to observe in this place, that the Gorkhas, who opposed us, for the first time in our Indian warfare with inferior numbers, resisted with unexampled bravery; foiled us during a whole campaign at every point save one; and there before they gave way, drew from the veteran Ochterlony (confidentially communicated to Lord Hastings) that the Company’s sepoys could never be brought to resist the shock of these energetic mountaineers on their own ground. It must be indeed confessed that they felt like patriots and fought like patriots, proving themselves beyond a question the best soldiers in India, devoted to their country, and resolutely united by that sacred bond.

17. Peace Negotiations

1815

The termination of our first campaign against Nepal ultimately left us possessors of the hills west of the Kālī but without peace. Our success, however, although tardy, had changed the face of affairs at Kathmandu, and consequently,

negotiations were opened by that State with Major Bradshaw, our Political Agent for Nepal on the Saran frontier, in the month of May 1815, and in the month of June with the Honourable Mr. Gardner, Governor-General's Agent and Commissioner for Kumaon.

The terms on which these officers had been directed to receive overtures for peace were : *1st.* The perpetual cession of all the hills westward of the Kālī ; *2nd.* A similar cession of the whole of Terai to the base of the lower range of hills, along the entire line of the remaining possessions of Nepal. *3rd.* That the Gorkhas should relinquish all claims to the lands usurped by them within the territory of Sikkim Puttee Rajah. *4th.* That accredited ministers from either State (with a suitable retinue attending our Resident at Kathmandu) should reside at the Court of each other. And *5th.* That Nepal should not give service to Europeans and Americans without the sanction of our Government.

Major Bradshaw first received overtures from Kathmandu, through Raj Guru Gajraj Misser, who was invested with full powers for the adjustment of all affairs, but he rejected as entirely inadmissible the preliminary step of ceding the whole of the Terai lands, and returned immediately to Kathmandu. In the month of June, Chountria Bum Shah (of the Rajah's family) and Chamu Bhandari crossed the Kālī, and opened negotiations with Mr. Gardner with the object of obtaining permanent peace. The conditions of our Government as above mentioned were explained to them, but although Bum Shah was most anxious to bring about peace, he would not listen to the cession of the Terai, as preliminary to any treaty of peace. He says to Mr. Gardner on this occasion :

“Never will we consent to give up to you the Terai ; take the Terai, and you leave us without the means of subsistence, for the hills, without it, are worth nothing. The Terai is of no use to you, because your people cannot live in it, or keep it, and in wresting it from your hands we will devastate your provinces down to the Ganges.”

Mr. Gardner's orders were peremptory, so the Chountria returned across the frontier without having made any advance towards the adjustment of differences.

18. Politics at Kathmandu

At this time, the Darbar of Kathmandu was disturbed by party quarrels. Bhimsen Thapa and his family filled all the great offices of the State, kept the young Rajah in close bondage, and excluded from power the original Bhāradārs and Chief officers of Nepal. The Thapa faction had originally brought on the war, and says Bum Shah to Mr. Gardner : “rather than emancipate our sovereign from thralldom, or admit any of his family to power, they will prosecute it to the annihilation of Nepal.”

We were without any means of ascertaining correctly the state of parties,

and to overtures made by the royal family, with the view of interesting us directly in their cause against the Thapa faction, the Governor-General would not listen. At a later period we offered Bum Shah and his brother our protection, and guaranteed, in the event of their declaring themselves independent rulers of the province of Doti. But like Amar Singh under similar circumstances, they scorned the idea of deserting in time of need, their lawful sovereign and native country.

The cession of the Terai not being procurable, and our Government being anxious for peace, the Governor-General sanctioned further negotiations, agreeing to pay in exchange for it, the then estimated yearly value of the Terai, amounting to about 2 lakhs of rupees¹ to the Nepal Government.

19. Further negotiations

In August, the Guru again sought our Agent, but finding that we were unyielding on the subject of the Terai, he returned to Kathmandu declaring "that the Gorkha Chiefs would never accede to the cession of the Terai which was the main source of their subsistence."

A second campaign appeared to be inevitable when Lord Hastings made further attempts, and some concessions. He drew out the draft of a treaty, stipulating for the cession of the Terai between the Kāli and the Gaṇḍaki, and the matter was again discussed with the Nepal agents on the frontier, who requested permission to return to Kathmandu for further instructions, promising to bring back the treaty signed by the Rajah of Nepal after 12 days, at the same time, showing reluctance to cede any portion of the Terai whatever.

At the expiration of a month, the Raj Guru returned from Nepal and formally signed the treaty at Sagauli on the 28th November, 1815, stipulating that the signature of the Rajah under Red Seal would be obtained and that the treaty be delivered thus ratified on the 12th December following. In spite of all the experience we had had of the total want of honour in the Gorkha Government, our faith in them was strong, and immediately on the receipt of the treaty signed by the Guru, our Government ratified it, celebrated the event by the usual rejoicings, and issued orders for the disposal of extra grain and camp equipage which had been collected for the army, pending the result of the negotiations going on with Nepal. On a broken reed we leaned; the Gorkhas by protracting the negotiations had gained time that was to us invaluable, and after some discussions on the nature of the treaty signed by the Guru, the ratification of it by the Government was refused, and active preparations for a re-commencement of the war entered.

¹ This ultimate result of our ignorance and of the Gorkhali fraud was a most erroneous one. The capacities of this anciently famous and fertile tract eluded our careless scrutiny in a way, which we may yet have reason to expect.

20. The Second Campaign

Our eyes were now opened to the full extent of the baseness of our enemy, and instant orders were given for the advance of an army (previously collected under Sir David Ochterlony) upon the Valley of Nepal, intimation of the movement being given to Nepal Government, along with a warning of the consequences that might follow.

Ochterlony advanced, and in the Terai he met an agent from Nepal with a formal announcement of the Darbar's determination to stand the result of a second war. Proceeding with the advantage of ample experience, Ochterlony entered the lower hills, and turned the posts of the Gorkhas on the Churia Ghati range one by one, with unlooked for rapidity and success. After an action before Mackwanpur, in which one brigade of the army was engaged with a considerable force of the enemy, he on 3rd March (little more than a month from his entrance into Nepal) received the treaty of Sagauli, signed and sealed by the Rajah ; the Nepalese at length convinced of our resolution to have satisfaction and atonement at whatever sacrifice of treasure and blood, and that our celerity had baffled their reliance on the malaria of the Terai.

21. Treaty Stipulations

1816

The treaty of Sagauli, bearing the date 2nd November, 1815, and delivered to General Ochterlony on the 4th March, 1816, stipulates :

“For the unconditional cession by Nepal of the whole of lowlands, up to the first range of the hills extending from the river Kālī on the west to the river Teista on the east with the exception of Butwal Khas, and of such portions of the Terai, lying between the Gaṇḍaki and the Kosi, into which the British authority had not been introduced, or was in actual course of introduction. For the like renouncement by Nepal of all claims to the hill countries west of the Kālī ; for the like renouncement of the hill country east of the river Mitche ; for the due observance of the rights of Sikkim Putti Rajah, and for submission to British Government all disputes for arbitration arising between Nepal and Sikkim or the subjects of the States ; for the admission of an accredited British Minister at the Court of Nepal ; for the paying by the British Government of two lakhs of rupees, annually as pensions to such chiefs of Nepal as the Rajah might point out (the same being an idemnification for the loss sustained by said Chiefs, on the cession of the Terai lands) ; and finally, the Rajah of Nepal not engaging to serve him, the subjects of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.”

The acceptance of the treaty by Sir David Ochterlony was accompanied by an intimation of the impossibility of our granting such concession to Nepal as Colonel Bradshaw had been authorised to hold out hopes of in the event of the

treaty having been ratified at the time first agreed on. This intimation was acceded to in writing, the treaty unconditionally ratified by Nepal, and from that moment, it became the basis of our relations with the State.¹

All concessions made by us after that date having been granted by the British Government and received by Nepal, strictly as a boon, an earnest of our anxiety to make the alliance as palatable to Nepal as circumstances which led to it, would admit of, we must be understood to have reserved the power of recalling the said concessions on the want of co-operation by Nepal for the furtherance of the objects of the alliance.

The delivery of a duly signed and sealed treaty by Nepal, as has often before this been recorded, did not guarantee the immediate execution of the stipulations contained in it. A series of delays and evasions in giving up the Terai lands, was commenced and followed up for years, with a pertinacity and faithlessness, a Nepal Government alone could have thought of, or practiced, and with which the temper and patience of our first Resident (Mr. Gardner) was amply tried, and the forbearance of the British Government, put to the severest test.

Our Political Agent (Captain Latter) on the extreme east of the Nepal dominions, as soon as he received intelligence of the delivery of the treaty of peace to Sir David Ochterlony, demanded the evacuation by the Gorkha troops of the different posts held by them within the hills to the eastward of the Mitche river, but the Nepal officers in charge directly refused compliance to his demands, stating that they had not received any orders to that effect, nor any intimation of peace having been concluded from their government. The evacuation of the fort Nagree as a post east of the Mitche river within the hills, had been expressly stipulated for in the fifth clause of the 3rd article of the treaty. To Captain Latter's repeated demands for its evacuation, were returned evasive answers. At length he directed a detachment towards Nagree.

On the 13th of April the post was evacuated by the Nepalese, and with it, the whole of the hill country east of the Mitche in the hills, made over to Lieutenant Weston, who in reporting the same to Captain Latter says, "I cannot conceive any other cause for the Soobah's delay in evacuating the place than the desire of receiving the orders of his government, of whose displeasure he is still very apprehensive."

¹ After some hesitation it was determined by us to avoid in this treaty all allusions to the former commercial treaties between the two States, which were supposed by us to have lost their obligation by mutual neglect, tho' they had, in fact, been readily observed on our side. They had continued and are still in unilateral operation, an advantage to the foreigner against our own trade and produce to the extent of 4 to 1. (The treaty in question was really dissolved by Lord Wellesley in 1804).

The hill lands east of the Mitche were made over to Sikkim Rajah ; the Terai lands between the Mitche and Teista, ceded to the Company, and a portion of them subsequently given to the Sikkim State.

22. Sikkim-Nepal Boundary

In 1821, the boundary between Nepal and Sikkim (so far as guaranteed by the treaty) was examined and fixed, but not with the accuracy applied elsewhere to the demarcation of the limits. Disputes have subsequently occurred, and will so again.

Last year, it became a question between Sikkim and Nepal to whom belonged the tract lying between the old and new beds of the Mitche below the bifurcation—which being referred to us was settled by Mr. Hodgson, who succeeded in showing that Nepal had no right to the disputed tract. Nepal had agreed to relinquish its claims to this spot but has since preferred others to the lands situated immediately above it. These latter are unadjusted ; and the frontier line between Sikkim and Nepal, within the hills is considered by Mr. Hodgson to be yet but ill-defined. In a letter to Government dated December 27th, 1833, he says, "the whole boundary of Sikkim and Nepal should be carefully inspected, and an officer should be nominated annual inspector with the authority and under the instructions formerly in use there, and still elsewhere."

Our object of guaranteeing the Sikkim State was to retain a barrier against the progress of Nepal eastwards. But says Mr. Hodgson, "unless the barrier were complete, it is obvious that the object could not be affected ; hence my conviction that the framers of the treaty presumed that the Mitche had its origin in the Himalayas. So far as I can learn, that river rises far south of the snows,¹ and if so, the barrier of the treaty is incomplete, though the Sikkim territories should in fact extend, as I suspect they do, to the Himachal."

23. The Terai lands

1817-19

Such uncertainty on the Gorkha borders ought not to exist a single day. The cession of the Terai lands under the Treaty of Sagauli gave rise to much trouble. The difficulty correctly ascertaining the extent of their being in our possession, or in which our authority was in the actual course of introduction, at the time of the ratification of the treaty, having opened a fertile source of objections on the side of Nepal. These objections induced our Government to resume its former intentions of granting a portion of the Terai to Nepal, the same to be considered by it as a boon and gratuitous concession on our part. Accordingly, the 4th article of the treaty by which we were bound to pay two lakhs of rupees a year in pensions to the Chiefs of Nepal, was annulled, in

¹ Captain Lloyd has since confirmed this conjecture and reported that the Mitche rises from the first great range or that nearest to the plains.

consideration of our gift of Terai lands. On the basis of this, the establishment of a good frontier line was commenced.

From the Kali to Rapti, the lands were wholly exacted from Nepal and made over to Oude in March 1817. Possession however, was kept by Nepal, long after the cession to Oude had been formally made by the British Government. Nor, until after innumerable evasions, and after the delivery of orders for their surrender to our Resident by the Nepal ministers, was their final evacuation and the demarcation of the frontier line, completed in November 1820. During the progress of this settlement, the Nepalese tested our utmost forbearance; they advanced troops from Doti into the disputed lands, and on more than one occasion, forcibly ejected the subjects of Nawab of Oude located there. Our Government now declared their sentiments, on the construction put by Nepal, generally, on that part of the treaty stipulating for the evacuation of the Terai. Where spurs of hills ran into the plains, the Nepalese insisted on drawing the frontier line from the plainward extremity of our spur to the same point of the next one. The British Government says in a despatch to the Resident of Lucknow, dated 3rd June, 1819 :

“The construction of the treaty now attempted by the Nepalese must of course be resisted. Although it was not the intention of the Government to deprive the Nepalese of the entire Terai west of the Kosi, yet the cession of the whole of it, quite to the foot of the hills, was distinctly exacted, and any part which might subsequently be left to the Nepalese was to be received by them as a gratuitous boon from this Government, admitting of no discussion. Our Resident in Nepal was directed (19th June, 1819) to address a formal demand to the Rajah for the immediate recall of the Gorkha troops now forcibly occupying the disputed lands on the Oude frontier, and continues the despatch : ‘In the event of your not meeting with sufficient attention to your demand, you will intimate the Darbar that continued contumacy will lead to the application of the strict principle of the treaty to the whole eastern portion of the Terai, and you will be prepared to receive the Governor-General’s orders for withdrawing from the Court.’”

The frontier line along Gorakhpur was defined and marked by pillars in 1817. Here we made some retrocessions of low lands to Nepal. The line of frontier in the Saran district was marked by pillars and finally settled in December 1817. At this point, and eastward from it to the Kosi, we made the greater part of our retrocessions, in exchange for the pensions stipulated to be paid to the Chiefs of Nepal.

Soon after the establishment of the Residency, we made an offer of paying these pensions, but the acceptance of them was deferred by Nepal in the hope of our consenting to give back the whole or part of the lowlands.

With the hope of rendering the Darbar sensible of the disinterestedness

of our views in seeking a permanent and responsible connection with it, the eastern Terai was ultimately restored, after we had called on our frontier officers to report its annual value. The whole amount of revenue at which it was estimated by them did not exceed two lakhs of rupees, but the Gorkhas well knew the extent to which we had under-rated it ; and in the midst of discontent and faithless regard to the fulfilment of the cessions to the westward, we gave them a tract of country, worth now about 12 lakhs a year and which is capable of yielding twice that sum.¹ It is the mine from which they draw their chief net monied resources ; being with the exception of the Valley, the best jewel in the Gorkha crown. The final demarcation of the frontier of Tirhut and Purnea eastward to the Kosi, was completed in March 1817.

24. Boundary Settlement

From the Kosi east to the Mitche river, the boundary was fixed in the month of February 1818. The boundary line throughout was marked and determined on by Commissioners appointed for the purpose from both States. Special Superintendents for the frontier were nominated by us with orders to correspond on all subjects connected with their office with the Resident at Kathmandu, and although the duties of those Superintendents have been transferred to the Magistrates of our frontier *zillahs*, whose other avocations preclude the possibility of giving much attention to the boundary inspections and disputes, the vigilance and care of our Resident here, brings prompt investigation to the settling of all quarrels, and, by this means border broils are rare, and we keep clear of such entanglements, as in former times, cost us a war with Nepal.

It would be useless giving a review of the innumerable cases of boundary disputes, that have occurred. The principle on which they are settled is, that subjects of the Company having disputed claims on those of Nepal, will make representation of the same to Nepal and subjects of Nepal so situated shall, through their own authorities, seek redress from our's. In 1825, disputes and quarrels on the Saran frontier had become rather common. On one occasion a party of 50 men crossed from Nepal into the

¹ Mr. Hodgson estimates the revenue of the Terai (independent of the large assignments in land to the Sardars) at 10 lakhs per annum ranging it under the following heads :

Net revenue of land	...	...	6,00,000
Timber			3,00,000
Elephants and Ivory	...	...	71,000
Drugs, Dies and Sundries	...	...	20,000
Total	...	...	9,91,000

In 1838, Krishna Ram Misser, the Rajah's Guru told me that the revenue of Nepal could not be rated at more than 30 lakhs per annum, of which he allowed, only 6 lakhs for the Terai. This I presume to have been exclusive of the assignments to the Sardars.

Betteah district, and under assumed charge of theft, forcibly entered and searched the house of a small landlord, producing at the same time from some part of the house, goods which it was afterwards proved, had been previously secreted there by emissaries of the Nepalese party. Mr. Gardner on this occasion addressed to the Nepal Darbar as he says, "with more formality than usual," and found it professedly ready to use its authority for the future prevention of like occurrences. An order under the Rajah's Red Seal was issued on 5th April, 1825 to Nepal authorities throughout the whole Terai, declaring that "whoever of our subjects (having disputes with those of the Company) proceeds to redress his own wrong, will be punished with confiscation of his goods, and imprisonment during our pleasure."

Here may be recorded Mr. Gardner's opinion, on the disposition of Nepal to co-operate with us in keeping a quiet frontier. On the 8th April, 1825, after the issue of the above order by the Rajah to the Terai authorities and landlords, Mr. Gardner reported to the Government :

"The state generally of tranquility and order which had for the last 8 or 9 years prevailed throughout the whole of the frontier, which divides the territories of this State from the British possessions, has been remarkable, and does credit, I think, at once, to the fidelity of the government to its engagements, and to the vigilance and efficiency of its local police; and in the recent instances of petty border disputes that have occurred, there cannot exist a suspicion, I imagine, that either the government itself or its local officers who were disposed to encourage such proceedings through immediate authorities in the Terai, may have relaxed in their watchfulness over such matters. This may or may not be true, but at all events, no one could then or now deny Bhim Sen Thapa, the ruler of Nepal, all credit as a vigorous and successful administrator."

As to the fidelity of this Government to us, lauded by Mr. Gardner, before admitting it, it may be as well to recollect that the Resident's presence at Kathmandu renders the old object in protracting of boundary disputes no longer attainable; that, at this time, we were awkwardly situated with the Burmese power; and that Bhim Sen's amity has never been more than a prudent waiting upon Providence. Nepal *may* have intentionally relaxed for the time an authority over her Terai police, which for the most part, is too vigorous to admit of any neglect of duty by the subordinate executives, and which was questionless always relaxed in the older times for purely political purposes. The order for the abolition of the appointment of military officers, to the duty of superintending the line of boundary on the frontier of Gorakhpur, Saran, Tirhut, Purnea and Rangpur, is dated 22nd December 1826. The quiet state of the frontier then, indeed, induced the Government to put the duty in other hands, a measure of questionable advantage. The military men had ample leisure to devote to the

duties ; the Magistrates have not ; and the Resident's care had thence become doubly needful. The reduction of these local corps, which were formerly stationed along the frontier, has rendered a revival of the office of military superintendents less convenient ; regular troops having only partially taken the place of irregulars, and the periodical relief of regular corps with the frequent change of their commanding officers making it impossible to secure that attention and local knowledge, which the commanders of the irregular corps possessed.

The annual inspection of the boundary pillars and other marks is performed by our Magistrates, and a report of their state is regularly forwarded by them to the Resident here, who calls the attention of the Darbar to all such cases as the Magistrates have failed to arrange satisfactorily in communication with the Nepalese local functionaries. At present, there do not exist (save towards Sikkim) any other than trivial, current subjects of dispute.

In the concluding part of my Narrative it appears fitting and expedient to advert to the stress laid by both States, from first to last, on the establishment of a permanent Residency, with grounds of resistance by Nepal, and our anxiety for the measure. The day which saw the Gorkha dynasty predominant within the hills, saw it look greedily on the rich plains that spread below them. A policy was at once adopted towards the rulers of the plains by Nepal, suited to the insatiable ambition and limited power. A Government like ours would be slow to discover and slower to resent, trivial encroachments ; for three-fourths of the year, the malaria would prevent hostile access to the hills ; and during the short season of operations, promises, excuses, repentances could be tendered, which would go for nothing so long as there was a representative of our Government at Kathmandu to test their worth and to insist on a definitive explanation. At the worst, the hills formed a citadel strong by nature ; and the English would find it impregnable, without a knowledge of its entrances. To keep us totally in the dark, therefore, as to whatever transpired within the mountains, to refuse all effectual explanation of differences ; and to find and make opportunities of aggression, too small individually to kindle into actual flame of our anger, was the policy matured by the Gorkhas so soon as 1787. And with such great success was it applied to us for nearly 30 years, that it is no wonder they believed it to be infallible ; and that they, even yet, think there is no other comparable with it, notwithstanding that a rash reliance on it, on one signal occasion, brought severe punishment upon them. On the other hand, the British Government, whose rich domains were confined for from 600 to 800 miles by an unruly neighbour, ignorant of arts and commerce, and looking to war only and aggression on us, as the prime purpose of its existence, could not but feel her increasing desire to effect such permanent connection with this neighbour as should enable us gradually to bias the habits of the Nepalese towards peace and quiet, or, at least to procure from the Court of Kathmandu such attention to the frontier police as might

prevent our provinces from being overrun with dacoits ; and such explanation of boundary disputes as would protect us from an interminable series of petty encroachments leading to a war, at once the most expensive and uncompensate to which we were liable.

25. Re-establishment of Residency

Earnestly and long, we strove to accomplish our end by the establishment of a Residency. As earnestly, from directly opposite views, did the Gorkhas resist this cardinal measure. Political exigency in 1792, and again in 1801 led the Darbar to a seeming consent, which was retracted (as we have seen) the moment their object was served. But it is most characteristic of the Darbar's obstinate adherence to its old policy, notwithstanding its circumvallation by our territories by the result of the war, that it as earnestly sought to avoid this only means of a securely peaceful intercourse between the hills and plains, in 1816, as it had done before. The option, however, no longer lay with Nepal ; and most wisely, though perhaps with needless sacrifice to the object, did we make the admission of the Resident *sine qua non* of peace at the period. Ochterlony at Mackwanpur, by Lord Hastings' express commands, said to the Gorkha vakils that "all other points of the treaty were, more or less, open to subsequent discussion, *but they must take the Resident or war.*"

Reluctant consent followed, and Ochterlony lost not a moment in sending to Kathmandu from his Camp, Lieutenant Boileau as *locumtenens* of that office pending the Resident's arrival. The gift of the Terai, in the sequel, had this purpose in view, to satisfy the Nepal Court that in seeking the only effectual means of trustworthy intercourse with it, territorial aggrandizement was not at all our object. It was a splendid present, and worthily or unworthily, I fear bestowed ; but it is certain it could have been given for no purpose of greater utility to us, in reference to this State. Such as it still is, and must long continue to be, for, so long as the existing false basis lies upon its institutions and habits, so long will it never cease to crave after those former opportunities of fraudulent, unexplained encroachments on our territories, which the Resident's presence at Kathmandu effectually precludes.

CHAPTER 13

INDO-NEPALESE TRANSACTIONS, 1793—1812

1. 1793-1812 : A Review

The Nature of our intercourse with Nepal from the time of Kirkpatrick's Mission until a short time previous to the war of 1814-16, not having been as yet traced and connectedly detailed, it is my wish in as far as records are within reach, to illustrate this period of the political connection, and more especially that portion of it which will embrace the residence of the Nepal Rajah Ran Bahadur at Benares, and Captain Knox's Mission to Kathmandu ; the extent of time to be reviewed in a general way is from 1793 when Kirkpatrick left Nepal till 1812, when the discussions were terminated and Lord Hastings' war originated—a period of 19 years. The period of special notice extends from the abdication of Nepal throne in 1800, by Rajah Ran Bahadur, and his subsequent domiciliation at Benares to the formal dissolution of the connection of the British Government with Nepal by Lord Wellesley in 1804.

Kirkpatrick's published *Memoir* has put us in possession of the circumstances, which led to his mission to Kathmandu and to his speedy abandonment of the great object in view of his Government with reference to its desire of connecting itself permanently and responsibly with Nepal by having a British envoy at the Court. These may be briefly dated to have been as follows :

2. Prelude to Kirkpatrick's Mission

In 1792, the Gorkhas, previously under the ban of the Chinese Empire for their unwarranted and rapacious aggressions on the lands of Digarchi and Lahsa sought through Mr. Jonathan Duncan, our Resident at Benares, to form a connection with British Government in the hope that doing so ever ostensibly might prove a powerful means of deterring the Chinese from visiting them with punishment they were so able to inflict, and which was so well deserved. The immediate result of these overtures made under apprehension of political difficulties was the conclusion of our first treaty with Nepal—a commercial one only it is true in all its stipulations, but the character of the Gorkha Government, since has pretty clearly shown that more was made under the garb of anxiety for the promotion of unrestricted trade than the provisions of the agreement take notice of. The next consequence of these overtures was a further advance by the Gorkhas in the form of an application for our armed assistance for the

repelling of the Chinese, now in the field, and advancing rapidly on Nepal. This was met by Lord Cornwallis by an anxious desire to avail himself of the opportunity it afforded of conciliating the Nepalese Government, and improving the nature of our connection with it just previously formed. But the necessity of caution in adopting any plan for the relief of Nepal, from which the Chinese were likely to take umbrage, and from which the Company's trade at Canton could not as his Lordship thought fail to have been inconvenienced or interrupted, deterred him from doing more than offering his mediation in bringing about a peace between Nepal and China. This was accepted by Nepal, and Colonel Kirkpatrick was appointed to proceed via Kathmandu to the Chinese Camp, and there to mediate between the generals of the Celestial Empire and the Rajah of Nepal.

Ere Kirkpatrick had reached the Nepalese frontier, the Gorkhas, sorely worsted in several encounters with the Chinamen beyond the Himalaya, and driven with much loss of life through the snowy passes into their own country, were obliged to yield, and a peace of no honourable sort to Nepal was concluded with the Chinese generals within a few marches of Kathmandu.

Next to getting rid of an invading army, nothing was so important to the Gorkhas as to prevent the arrival at Kathmandu of an English functionary, although on his journey to use the influence of his Government in saving Nepal from imminent danger, if not complete destruction. A deputation was therefore immediately sent to announce peace and arrest the further advance of Mr. Kirkpatrick; it met him at Patna, where after a reference to the Governor-General, who was anxious that he should proceed to Nepal, for the purpose of arranging sundry matters with that Court in connection with the stipulations of the Commercial Treaty, he received the permission of the Rajah to come to his Court.

3. Failure of the Mission

On Kirkpatrick's arrival, he was treated with a show of courtesy and kindness, but soon as he took measures to fulfil the purpose of his embassy, and intimated the wish of his government for the residence of permanent representatives at the courts of one another, he was met by the most determined objections and persevering evasions, which ended in his quitting the country after a few days' sojourn, and in the breaking off of all connection between us and Nepal except such as the Treaty of Commerce formed: a dead letter, as it must have been, without any agent of ours on the spot to see the fulfilment towards our trade of its well designed stipulations.

From March 1793 when Kirkpatrick quitted Kathmandu until the year 1800, our intercourse with Nepal, was restricted in a great degree to occasional complimentary letters between the Rajah and the Governor-General, and to the annual presentation by Nepal of tribute in elephants "due by that State to the

British Government, as acknowledged, superior of the cultivated lowlands which had formed a portion of the Mackwanpur Raj." It is worthwhile to notice the origin and nature of this tribute.

4. 14 Cubits of Tribute

In 1771, a detachment commanded by Major Kinloch (the officer who in 1767 had advanced to Hariharpur for the relief of the Newar Rajah of Nepal then invaded by the Gorkhas) and employed in keeping possession of the Terai, on the Saran and Tirhut frontiers, having been withdrawn in consequence of the great fatality among the men, from the unhealthiness of the climate, Dinanath Upadhaya was deputed by the Nepal Darbar to wait on the British officer (Major Kelly), commanding at Darbhanga in Tirhut, for the purpose of making an arrangement with our Government regarding the Terai lands of Mackwanpur. Major Kelly referred the Upadhaya to the Chief of the Committee at Patna, to whom it was stated, that, as the hill country of Mackwanpur had come into the possession of the Nepal State, the cultivated lowlands also belonged to it by the same title, and that Nepal was willing to pay whatever tribute had been paid by the Rajah of Mackwanpur to the British Government. The Rajah of Mackwanpur it appears, was used to pay annually tribute "an elephant fourteen cubits in height." The Nepal Agent agreed to a conformation to those terms. During three years, an elephant fourteen *hāths* high was regularly presented as tribute. But in 1774, an omission having occurred in sending the tribute (apparently on account of the immense size of the required elephant), Dinanath was again sent to Patna to negotiate with the English Chief there for a new scale of tribute, when it was agreed that the standard height of the elephant should be "fixed at twelve *hāths* and a half, of twelve *tumsooks* each."

This tribute continued to be paid to us by Nepal for about 30 years, when it was relinquished by us in an article of the treaty of Commerce and Alliance of 1801. The primitive and simple character of these circumstances are interesting as showing the nature of our earliest connection with the Gorkhas, as also indicating that from their origin as rulers of Nepal, their attention had been keenly directed to taking advantage of every possible opportunity for extending their influence into the plains of India. Within the short period of 3 years from their subjugation of the Valley of Nepal, we find them coming into possession of a very large tract of the cultivated lowlands on the easy terms of furnishing to the Company's Commissariat one elephant per annum !

As soon as the first political affair with the Company was settled, we find that in 1774 "the Rajah of Nepal meditated war in the westward as well as to the eastward against the Limbus and the Kirantis ; and Kāji Abhimān Singh having rapidly established the Nepalese authority in the whole territory between Kathmandu and the Kosi, the Kirantis were subdued, and their Rajah took refuge in the Company's dominions."

The Rajah of Nepal now felt himself under considerable embarrassment, for the Rajah of Krantis having offered the English authorities at Rampur permission to establish a factory at Bijapur, and the management of his country on the condition of their defending it from the Nepalese, and paying to him (the Kiranti Rajah) 6 annas only out of each rupee of the revenue. It became evident in Nepal that the Kiranti's overtures would be accepted ; in which case it would be extremely difficult for the Gorkhas to keep possession of this newly acquired country. Again a deputation was sent to our Government for the purpose of negotiating this business.

Dinanath Upadhaya visited Mr. Hastings at Calcutta in the beginning of 1775, where, after remaining five months, and being very kindly treated, it appears that he managed to prevent our taking advantage of the Kiranti Rajah's offer ; it seems that all further allusion to the Kiranti country ceased, and that soon after Dinanath's visit to the Presidency, our Government has entered into an agreement with the Nepal Rajah for the prevention by him of the inroads of a band of armed dacoits called Naquis, which "at that time used to come in a body from Hardwar through the Terai to the eastward as far as Dinapur, and ravage the Company's territories every year."

This arrangement would appear to have been entered into by the Gorkhas, and accepted by us on conditions of our having nothing to do with the grievances of the Kiranti Rajah. How far the Gorkhas kept their part of the engagement, does not appear on any of our records, but it is well known that up to the peace of 1816, and for ten years after it, the Nepalese Terai was ever the safe refuge and the hotbed of dacoits and thugs, who from their forest fastnesses repeatedly spread devastation on our proximate provinces, and carried their inequitable trade beyond them. Exemption on this second occasion from our interference in regard to the eastern Terai conquests of Nepal would appear to have been purchased at as cheap and easy a rate as that which terminated in the elephant tribute. These two instances are fair samples of the losing bargains driven by us, at that period, and persisted in with the same unaccountable difference to our own interests and the formation of the Nepalese empire up to the breaking out of the war ; and it may, I fear with justice, added after the peace, and up to this present date. It is time, however, to cut short this digression, and return to the thread of discourse.

4. Ran Bahadur Shah

1775

Rajah Ran Bahadur, who succeeded to the Gorkha throne as an infant in 1775, and whose abdication and refuge at Benares comes now to be noticed, ruled Nepal for 20 years as a minor under the joint regency of his mother, Śrī Rajindra Lakṣmī, and his uncle Bahadur Shah, both persons of great talent, and the latter, a Chief of most enterprising, ambitious and active disposition.

In 1795, Ran Bahadur as yet barely major, having suspected a design of his uncle's to keep him in lasting pupilage, if not, to seize the government, suddenly deposed the regent, and took on himself at once all the cares and responsibility of state affairs. How long he was enabled to hold this enviable sovereign position uncontrolled, by the influence of a powerful and usurping minister, does not clearly appear, but the period was not of sufficiently long duration to entitle him to the distinction of an entirely independent Prince, and relieve him from the fate which attended every Gorkha Rajah of Nepal from the time of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa their first Prince, down to that of the present one Rajinder Vikram Shah.¹ However, in 1800, five years from his assumption of the reigns of government, we find him forcibly driven from his throne and country, by his then all powerful and all able minister Damodar Pande, who aided by a general feeling of aversion among a section of the Chiefs to a continuance of Ran Bahadur's rather tyrannical rule, and uncontrollably violent temper, and under the plea of previously sworn allegiance to an infant son in whose favour Ran Bahadur had been constrained to make a formal abdication, took up arms, and being joined by the major part of the army at the capital, and having assurances of support from the inhabitants of the western districts, succeeded in defeating Ran Bahadur in sundry skirmishes within the Valley, and in driving him forth to seek a life of exile on the banks of the Ganges.²

5. Arrival at Benares

Accompanied by General Bhimsen Thapa, Guru Raghunath Pandit, Krishna Ram Pandit, Dal Bhajan Pande, Ek Deo Baid, the Royal Physician, Balnar Singh Kunwar and several other chiefs of rank and distinction, their families and dependants, Ran Bahadur arrived at Benares in the latter end of 1800, when he was received by our Government with every mark of kindness and distinction, extending to the advance of large sums of money for the supply of his exigencies, and to the appointment of an officer as Political Agent to insure him facility in communicating with our Government, and for enabling us to open negotiations in his behalf with the Government of his own country.

¹ This system in its origin and continuance in circumstances highly favourable to weakness in the sovereigns, or any unusual usurping disposition in the chiefs. Ran Bahadur was an infant on his accession to the throne. Girvan Yudha was also a child, when Ran Bahadur was slain, and the present Rajah was only 5 years old when his father died in 1808. Such a long continuance of minority (from 1775-1835) has greatly favoured the rise and eminence of such men as Damodar Pande and Bhimsen Thapa.

² Lest Damodar Pande be here accused of failing in the loyal spirit so strong among the Gorkhas, it is only necessary to state that Ran Bahadur had previously abdicated and placed his son as Rajah on the throne. This afterthought of assuming the *masnad* was probably brought about by some of his ambitious adherents. Besides, at this time Ran Bahadur was decidedly insane.

The money incurred by Ran Bahadur to our Government, and the unwillingness of the Nepal Darbar to settle on its exiled sovereign the means of its liquidation, and his own future support, led to the opening of negotiations between us and Nepal, in circumstances highly favourable to the formation of a stable connection with that State, and offered promises of the attainment of that desirable object more fair than had at any previous time presented themselves.

These circumstances arose out of the becoming necessity we were under of seeking to relieve ourselves from the heavy charges incurred by our reception of a foreign Prince, left destitute of the suitable provision promised by his own country on the abdication of its throne, in favour of his own son, and out of the natural fears of the Nepal Government (increased by the representations of Ran Bahadur and his friends) lest at the urgent instigation of Ran Bahadur, advantage should be taken by us of the possession of his person, and the distracted state of the then administration of Nepal, either to assist the exiled prince to the regaining of his throne, and consequent destruction of the power of those at the helm, or on our own account to the subjugation of the country.

6. Knox's negotiations

For the combined purpose of getting the Nepal Darbar to make suitable provision for the discharging of Ran Bahadur's debt to us, for the settlement of a becoming allowance on the abdicated prince, and for the formation of an improved style of connection between us and Nepal, Captain Knox, the Agent in attendance on Ran Bahadur was deputed by our Government to the Nepal frontier to meet a deputation from Kathmandu, empowered fully to treat with him on the above subjects. Previous to Captain Knox's departure from Benares, he had been waited on by Gajraj Misser (the Guru of the young Rajah of Nepal) deputed on the part of Nepal Government, for the purpose of entering into preliminary discussion on matter connected with his deputation, and attended by Gajraj Misser in this capacity, and by Raghunath Pandit on the part of Ran Bahadur, he arrived at Baragaon in the Saran district on the 13th May, 1801.

In the novel character of a British mediator between an exiled Nepal Rajah, and the regency of his infant son, and as a special agent of his own government in bringing about an alliance with a Court, which had hitherto most studiously evaded every approach to the friendly connection with us, Knox's duties became of a very delicate nature. On this occasion it was his policy to play off the advantage he held as negotiator for Ran Bahadur, on the indecision and evasions of the Nepal Court, and as is usual with the Asiatic politician in general (and perhaps with European ones also) when measures calculated to elicit the fears can be urged in season, he was eminently successful in the attainment of his objects.

On reaching the frontier, Gajraj Misser (the Nepalese Agent) informed him of the receipt of letters from Damodar Pande, Bum Shah and the principal members of the Nepal administration expressing their most earnest desire to contract such engagements with the British Government as might be productive of a real, substantial and durable friendship, and at the same time, intimating that as the conditions by which this desirable object might be best secured, were best known to him, and that reposing the most perfect confidence in his integrity they vested him with sole and absolute authority to settle the stipulations of the Treaty they promised to ratify whenever sent for their confirmation.

Thus, vested with plenary powers to treat, the Misser requested Knox to dictate the terms of the new alliance, requesting only that he would not insist on such points as might occasion a dread in Nepal that the views of the British Government extended farther than a system of friendship. These professions, it would appear, were to be received with some qualification, and hence, the adoption of Knox's line of conduct, he immediately made use of Raghunath Pandit's (Ran Bahadur's agent) assistance in the mode detailed below.

Says Captain Knox :

“Although the former shuffling conduct of the Misser has deprecated the value of his assertions, yet I think he will now endeavour to atone for past behaviour, and aim at regaining the confidence and favour of Government. With a view, however, of impressing him with an apprehension that a combination may be formed in the event of further delay, unfavourable to his party, and also with the expectation of acquiring intelligence, I have directed Raghunath Pandit to proceed to Ramnagar on the northern boundary of this district. The Rajah of Ramnagar, besides having a very considerable estate in the Company's territories, has possessions in Nepal. His niece is Ran Bahadur's principal Ranees, and his connections in Nepal by blood and marriage, are numerous and respectable. Fortunately the Rajah's Guru is Raghunath Pandit's uncle, and to visit his relation will be the pretext, though the Misser will easily comprehend that it is not the real object of his journey.”

7. The Draft Treaty

This measure at once seems to have secured the Misser's sincerity, and that of the Nepal Court, for in ten day's time he obtained from Nepal a draft of a treaty to be submitted to the Governor-General, embracing not only stipulations for the conclusion of an alliance with us, with the reception of a Resident by Nepal and the confirmation of the Commercial Treaty of 1792—but also, making a handsome promise for the future maintenance of Ran Bahadur, to be secured by a *jagir* settled on him under the guarantee of the British Government. Nor have we ever after cause to complain of Gajraj's unwillingness to aid our legitimate views in opposition to the obstinate and blind perversity of his less enlightened and more suspicious associates in the Nepal Darbar.

The draft submitted to the Governor-General's consideration underwent one very important alteration. Article 3 of that document proposed an offensive and defensive alliance with us. This sort of concession with a State so prone to aggression as Nepal, was wisely declined by Lord Wellesley, and the Treaty of Commerce and Alliance with the separate article regarding Ran Bahadur's *jagir* was tendered to the Nepalese, and accepted by them as it now stands. The only provision of real value to us in this treaty, was that for the establishment of a permanent political representative at Kathmandu—but this circumstance so highly and justly prized at the time was, as may be presently seen, countervailed and lost to us by the position we had fallen into of guarantee for the payment by Nepal, of the stipulated provision to the Rajah. It was Captain Knox's desire to avail himself of the opportunities which then offered our obtaining influence in the Nepal Darbar. With this view he intimated to Government during the preliminary description of the treaty that the disposition of the Nepal administration to contract an alliance, corresponding with the views of the Governor-General to be exclusively attributed to Damodar Pande, Bum Shah Chauntria, and Guru Gajraj Misser, that these persons were inclined to devote themselves entirely to British interests, in the hope of their services being acknowledged by the grant of *jagirs* or pensions; he considered it expedient to conform to their expectations by settling on them a total allowance of 24,000 rupees per annum.

This measure was not adopted by Government, probably with reference to the insecure tenure of office and influence by these individuals. While at the very same time it bound itself as guarantee to Ran Bahadur, for the fulfilment by Nepal of the separate article providing for his maintenance. The sequence of this guarantee, without our having any hold on the individual administrators of the Nepal Darbar, or any other means of enforcing it to keep its engagements, was such as might have been reasonably expected. Factious opposition to the rulers with whom we had made a treaty, and for whom we had become guarantee in the payment of a large sum of money almost immediately arose; when we sent a Resident to Kathmandu, a part of whose duty it was to demand the payment of the stipulated money, he found himself without influential and self interested allies in the Darbar, and without any means of holding the Court to its pledged faith in Ran Bahadur's favour. With Damodar Pande and his colleagues bound to us by their interests, he might have managed to fill his station as guarantee, but relying solely on the faith of a supposed State contract, which was really but the agreement of individuals forced into it as a means of keeping their own power and places, he found himself involved on his arrival at Kathmandu, in unavailing discussion with the Court, which could not, or would not pay a tithe of the stipulated dues, and after twelve months' squabble, he withdrew from Nepal, breaking up a connection, which, but for this one-sided act of interference on

our part, promised permanency, and was well designed in every other particular.

8. Allowance for Ran Bahadur.

The separate article bearing the date 27th October, 1801, settled on Ran Bahadur Shah an annual income amounting to Patna Sicca Rupees 82,000, of which 72,000 were to be paid in cash and 10,000 in elephants, half male, and half female to be valued at the rate of 125 rupees per cubit of height ; and for the purpose of supplying this income, the *pargannah* of Bijapur was settled on the Swamiji. In the event of his residing within the Company's territories, the Nepal Government agreed to make the revenue collections from the said *jagir* and to remit the stipulated income. In limiting the allowance to 82,000 rupees per annum, Gajraj Misser declared that sum to be the utmost the Nepal revenues could afford, as the receipts of the treasury at that time fell short of five lakhs of rupees per annum. The smallness of the net revenue he accounted for "by the custom which obtained of discharging services of every nature, civil, military, or even the household establishment of the Rajah, by grants of land held during the performance of such services." This intelligence was corroborated by the ex-Rajah of Palpa and other persons in communication with Knox, and although it need not be relied on as strictly true, it was then, as it is now, accurately expressive of the manner in which public services are remunerated by Nepal Government, the power and resources of which are not to be at all estimated by the amount of its money revenues.

9. State of affairs in Nepal

Ere entering on Knox's mission to Kathmandu, in pursuance of the terms of the treaty, it will not be uninteresting to notice some particulars of the state of affairs in Nepal at that time, and of the character of some of the ruling chiefs. It has been already mentioned that Ran Bahadur came to the throne as an infant under the regency of his uncle Bahadur Shah and his mother Rajindra Lakṣmi. Jealousies and quarrels, soon after, arose between the guardians and occasionally rose so high as to endanger the peace of the country, until the death of the Rani left Bahadur Shah in full and undisputed possession of the young prince's person, and of all the powers of the government. It was not in the interests of the uncle regent whose ambition it was believed extended to a retention in his own hands of the reins of government to train the young sovereign to strength of mind and manly virtues. We find that Ran Bahadur received little, or no education from his guardian, but he was allowed to indulge in every vice, surrounded by minions and young profligates of the Court. These not only assisted him in the pursuit of low vices, but encouraged his natural propensity to cruelty, and the outrageous displays of uncontrolled ferocity and passion, which were at the early age of 20 vented on his guardian to the taking away of his life.¹

¹ Ran Bahadur Shah was not openly killed, but was thrown into the prison, where a few days after he died as was then supposed by his nephew's hand.

Ran Bahadur's first wife was a daughter of the Gulmi Rajah. "A virtuous and highminded lady," she was childless, and her bed was easily deserted for the arms of others. His next wife was the daughter of a Zamindar of Gorakhpur, and the mother of Randut Shah, and the Rani to whom the regency was entrusted on Ran Bahadur's abdication, and the same to whose government Knox was accredited in 1802, and who is designated by Hamilton erroneously first as "a common slave girl" and afterwards, as "the Slave Regent." The mother of the young Rajah in whose favour Ran Bahadur abdicated, was the daughter of a Brahman, and consequently not his wedded wife. This seduction or ravishment of a Brahman's daughter cost Ran Bahadur his crown. To propitiate the priesthood, and to console him in some degree for the early and sudden death of this woman, his beloved favourite, Ran Bahadur was worked upon to secure the throne to her son, and the exclusion of his legitimate son. Under a temporary insanity and dread of death prophesied by the astrologers, Ran Bahadur determined to end his days at Benares. The illegitimate son was placed on the throne, all ranks sworn allegiance to him; Ran Bahadur's second wife was appointed regent, and her son Randut Shah two years older than the young Rajah who was but four years old, was nominated Chauntia or chief adviser of the crown. Chauntia Sher Bahadur was appointed guardian and regent for this juvenile minister.

Ran Bahadur's chief Rani accompanied him to Benares, where remaining for sometime, she was so insulted and disgraced by her lord, that she resolved on returning to Nepal for the double purpose of having a suitable provision made for her, and urging her lawful right of being made regent to the young Rajah. It is the progress of this lady from the frontier to the Valley of Nepal despite the armed forces despatched by the regent to interrupt her, that is detailed by Hamilton, and which it will be necessary presently to allude to more fully. She succeeded in upsetting the regency to which Knox was accredited, and soon after in driving him from Kathmandu and bringing about the return of Ran Bahadur to Nepal. In after time she was joint regent with Bhimsen, and it was said had a nearer and dearer sort of connection with him. She lived and held great influence in Nepal until 1832.

10. Key-men of the time

Under the regent Rani at the time of concluding the treaty of 1801, Damodar Pande exercised a preponderating influence in the Nepalese councils. This individual although not the first or the last of those usurping and ambitious ministers, who in Nepal "have dragged their country and its Princes at the heels of the military car" was by all accounts here, an able and virtuous man and is described by Knox "as possessing a plain, sober and understanding moderation united with great firmness, void of artifice, and as a soldier, unrivalled in Nepal

for gallantry and conduct.”¹

Of Bum Shah who came next in influence to Damodar, it need only be said that his character in the war of 1814-15 when he governed Kumaon, entitled him to the designation of an honest and hearty patriot then, and to a belief in Hamilton's notice of him in 1802 as being, “highly respected by the people and having fewer of the vices of his family than usual, with much good sense and moderation.”

Of Gajraj Misser, it is not to be denied that he was an able and prudent man. He was not suspected for double dealing, and uniformly gave all aid in his power to the objects we had considered essential. His services to us were well rewarded, and handsomely acknowledged on more than one occasion by our Government.

11. Overtures of Butwal Rajah

At the time of Ran Bahadur's residence at Benares, the Rajah of Butwal was still in possession of a considerable tract of the hill country, but in consequence of the growing power of the Gorkhas, he was anxious to preserve his country from the general conquest by becoming a guaranteed and dependant and tributary of the British Government. With this object he made overtures to Captain Knox, and afterwards Gajraj Misser also felt and advocated the adoption of the Butwal Rajah's propositions. Says Knox :

“In my daily conversations with the Misser, he never fails to impress upon me the expediency, nay indeed the necessity of attaching the Rajah of Butwal to our interests. Among the people of Nepal, no engagements, however solemnly contracted, are considered binding when a deviation from them can be committed with a prospect of impunity..... As the treaty has certainly been the offspring of fear... and this principle will no doubt continue in force as long as Ran Bahadur may remain under the protection of our Government. But, as his flight, or his death, would absolve this tie, the Misser considers another hold over Nepal to be particularly necessary..... This service the Rajah of Butwal is fully able to perform, his country opens the easiest access into theirs, the most accurate information would be obtained from him and his people, respecting the roads and passes; and his troops not inferior to their own in quality, and in number, be more than sufficient to take those duties, which cannot be performed by men unaccustomed to make their way through pathless woods and over precipitous mountains.”

Our countenance of the Butwal prince would have sufficed to keep the Gorkhas steady to every engagement they had contracted then, but the Governor-

¹ Bahadur Shah, son of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa and regent in Kirkpatrick's time, was first of these military ministers; Damodar Pande the second, and Bhimsen Thapa the third and not as yet the last. The circumstances which have favoured the appearance of such characters in Nepalese history have been previously noticed.

General declined taking advantage of this security. It is well worthy of remark that while almost in every native State of India we have been sufficiently careful to secure our own interests and the redemption of our pledged faith against all possible disadvantages arising out of faithlessness and treachery, we have invariably left our general interests in connection with Nepal, and on one occasion, our pledged faith at the mercy of the caprice of her united rulers, or factious intrigues of her opposite parties.

The fact mentioned by Knox regarding the small military power of the Gorkhas in his time contrasted with its state during the war 14 years afterwards, and its present standard displays the wonderful rapidity and success which attends the formation of their dominions and the revival of their affective means after the loss of western hills by war to us.

CHAPTER 14

KNOX'S MISSION AND ITS FAILURE, 1802-3

1802

1. Instructions to Knox

The objects of the Government in appointing a political agent with the abdicated Rajah of Nepal having been fulfilled by the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance between our Government and Nepal State, that agent was chosen to fill the situation of the Resident at Kathmandu. Lord Wellesley sent Captain Knox to Nepal to further and watch British interests. The views which he had formed in endeavouring to establish an improved connection with Nepal were considered under the heads of commercial and political interests. Commercially Knox was to endeavour to give effect to the operation of the Commercial Treaty of 1792, which stipulated for the payment of 2½ per cent respectively on all goods imported from the Company's territories into Nepal, and *vice versa*, facilities for free trade, and an unimpeded intercourse between the two countries. He was to direct his particular attention to the means of opening a beneficial trade with the countries of Bhutan and Tibet, either by a direct channel, or through the merchants of Nepal, which the erroneous policy of Ran Bahadur's Government had injudiciously annihilated.

The political interests to be secured, and the manner in which the subject is discussed by Lord Wellesley in his instructions, shows the importance attached to the prospect of an improved connection with the Gorkhas. The manner in which the encroachments of the Nepalese on our frontier were overlooked from 1804 until we were driven into war with them, must be regarded mainly as the result of a designed purpose to avoid so far as practicable a collision with the rising people, while our own arms were employed in westward against the Marathas (1805), and at a latter period, against the Dutch in the Eastern Islands (1809-11). It is also in some degree to be attributed to our want of correct information on the plan of settled and persevering encroachments laid down and worked out so successfully by the Gorkhas in every direction against their neighbours, of which those on us, which issued in the war were but a part.

2. Politics at the frontier

Knox marched from Patna for Nepal early in 1802, accompanied by a staff selected on account of their scientific attainments for the purpose of collecting

information regarding the country previously almost unknown to the European world.¹ It had been previously arranged by Gajraj Misser with the Nepal Darbar that a deputation composed of the first persons of the country should meet the embassy on the frontier. A deputation consisting of Damodar Pande, Bum Shah Chauntria, and Tribhuvan Singh Bisnait, having arrived at Kutchurun on the 11th of February, 1802, the mission proceeded from Captain Knox's camp at Ghorosains to arrange matters for the meeting and ascertain the disposition of the Nepal Darbar and the power of the deputies.

The mission having conferred with the deputation jointly and severally, found them much at variance with respect to matters of domestic arrangement in Nepal and especially as to the mode of providing for Ran Bahadur's principal Rani and her adviser Balbhadra Shah (one of Ran Bahadur's uncles), who was universally and deeply hated by all ranks in Nepal, whom they wished to be removed permanently into the Company's Provinces, so as to relieve the Rani then at the head of affairs, from all anxiety on account of her rival's attempt to lay hold of the regency. The principal Rani having quitted Benares suddenly, was now within a few miles of Knox's camp, and as afterwards appeared, it was her purpose to gain to her cause, Damodar Pande, then a member of the deputation from Nepal, but for some time previous at variance on some points with the governing Rani. The deputies, however, expressed to the Misser their united conviction that a faithful adherence to the treaty formed with our Government could alone preserve their country from the calamity of civil disturbances. The Nepal Darbar had been terrified by reports that Ran Bahadur was to accompany Knox in disguise, and that his principal Rani was through his means to be placed at the head of the Nepal administration in place of the governing Rani.

After some days, Knox marched onwards, and was met on the boundary line by the Nepal deputation with every mark of respect and distinction. But he found that the deputies conversed with reserve and embarrassment, and that they indicated considerable uneasiness of mind. This the Misser explained to be the consequence of much disagreement among themselves; and to reconcile the jarring interests of the deputies and bring them to an amicable settlement of their disputes, he was occupied in these endeavours for several days. The most difficult and important point which the Misser had to carry was the reconciliation of Bum Shah and Damodar Pande, and though apparently on good terms, had for some time previous been at secret variance with each other.

¹ Captain Crawford for his abilities as a surveyor, to obtain a geographical knowledge of the county. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton to illustrate botanical wealth and statistics, and Mr. Blake from "his ability and skill in the department of mineralogy, chemistry and general science to assist in investigating the natural products of the country."

The Rani's return, it was then believed, would lead to Ran Bahadur's restoration, although so ill treated by the Swami, she was anxious to recommend herself once more to his favour, in the hope of bearing him a son who should succeed to the throne. Damodar Pande taking advantage of his present position in the deputation to obtain redress of wrongs from the governing Rani, protracted the discussion with the Misser and Knox as to the latter's progress to Kathmandu to such a period as had well nigh prevented his getting to the capital that season.

At length, after nearly a month spent by the Misser in endeavours to arrange feuds of the deputies, and by Knox in soliciting from them a pledge to give fulfilment to the treaty, the promised support of Damodar Pand and Bum Shah was gained, and in assurance of its sincerity, and in guarantee of the Nepal Government's adherence to the treaty, Lachman Shah son of Bum Shah, Kabir Pande son of Damodar Pande and Kachur Singh son of Inderbir Bisnait were despatched to Patna with a letter to the Governor-General, and to be retained by His Lordship as hostages, pending the fulfilment of the treaty by Nepal. Said Bum Shah :

“These three youths being sent as a testimony that the families to which they belong, and in which is centered the whole power of Nepal pledged themselves to the faithful execution of the treaty concluded with the British Government.”

It was Gajraj Misser, with the distrust always shown by him in the faith of his countrymen, who demanded and obtained these hostages, previous to taking on himself to recommend Knox's advance to Kathmandu.¹ Damodar Pande having entrusted Bum Shah and Gajraj Misser with the settlement of certain conditions with the governing Rani which he deemed essential to his safety, remained behind on the frontier, the mission proceeded under the guidance and countenance of Bum Shah, and arrived at Kathmandu on the 10th April, 1802, two months after its arrival on the frontier. The unsettled state of affairs in Nepal and the distracted state of administration anticipated by Knox, and confirmed on his arrival at Kathmandu, was first clearly revealed to him at the last conference with the deputies. He says :

“From what they explicitly declared at this conference, and from what incidently fell from them, it is clear that the Nepal government is in a miserable state of weakness, and that the loss of our support would certainly involve the whole country in general disturbance, the result of which will in all probability be the dismemberment of Nepal into a number of petty separate states.”

¹ These youngmen were treated with great distinction by our officers at Patna and latterly Mr. Llyod, Secretary to Knox was directed to attend on them. Our government

Assuredly, the withdrawal of our support at the moment might have involved the downfall of the then Nepal administration, and made way at once for the return of Ran Bahadur and his party to power, but the particular spirit and national detachment evinced during the last war by the Nepalese Chiefs in refusing all our offers of guarantee on throwing off their natural allegiance, instructs us to doubt the accuracy of Knox's conclusions. The Nepal chiefs might have to open strife among themselves for the possession of official dignities and power under the Crown, but there is not an instance on record of the Gorkhas as a nation of a Chief setting himself in open defiance to the sovereign, for the purpose of establishing an independent power within the dominions.¹ The Chiefs at the period Knox talks of were nearly as they now are, the possessors of authority derived directly from the Rajah, and continued to them at his discretion, not the holders of tracts of country, with the annexed powers of government therein, on conditions of feudal service to the State.

3. Report from Knox

A month after his arrival at Kathmandu, Knox reported that the uncertainty he had felt respecting his continuation there from the unsettled state of affairs and from the warm opposition made to his permanent residence by persons of credit at that Court had rendered it prudent to forbear making the requisite representations respecting the cases of breach of frontier in Tirhut with an adjustment of which he was charged, and also from doing more than making some enquiries respecting the settlement on Ran Bahadur contained in the treaty. Gajraj Misser, he said, stood almost alone in the Darbar, in advocating the confirmation of the treaty, and then only succeeded in inducing the Court to order temporary buildings to be erected for the accommodation of the mission during the rains. As to the speedy payment of Ran Bahadur's stipend, Knox was obliged to confess that his hopes rested on a very weak foundation.

The ceremonial part of his reception was however in every particular highly creditable to the Gorkhas.² A change in the councils of the Rani about

allowed Lachman Shah as the highest rank 5001 rupees a month, and the other two, 4001 rupees each. They were allowed to return to Nepal in January 1804 on the dissolution of the alliance.

¹ The recent unresisted and noiseless overthrow of Bhimsen Thapa, by the Rajah yet a youth, is most striking additional instance of attachment of the Gorkhas to their hereditary prince.

² Knox's camp was pitched at the hill of Svayambhunath, a mile west from the city, to which he had been led by Bum Shah and Tribhuvan Singh, members of the attending deputation on the 12th April. In the afternoon of the 13th, conformably to an engagement previously settled, the eldest son of the governing Rani (Randut Shah, a boy of 7 years of age), Chauntria Sher Bahadur, and others of high rank came to his tent and conducted him to the Palace, at the outward door of which he was received under a salute of cannon by the

the middle of June, held out some hope to Knox of bringing the Darbar to a reasonable consideration of its pledges to us. Tribhuvan Singh who had been equally in the Rani's confidence at the time of his deputation to the frontier was now displaced, and his office conferred on Amar Singh Thapa (the gallant commander of Malown against Ochterlony). Other changes in the administration occurred tending to a removal of Damodar Pande's influence, which it was thought would introduce efficiency and regularity in the conduct of affairs, and matters progressed far well towards a settlement of the mode of payment of Ran Bahadur's *jagir* in reinbursement for the pension to be paid to him at Benares. A month however had not elapsed before the settlement above noticed became of no effect from the decline of influence of the minister by whom it was made, but Knox received assurances from those who succeeded him that another mode of settlement was under consideration.

The Misser who was still in the ministry, finding his colleagues dead to a correct sense of what was due from them, withdrew from the Darbar, determined not to return until the leaders could regulate their conduct on rational basis. This however had the contrary effect on the Darbar, for, in addition to its determination not to come to an agreement about the articles of the treaty, a series of insults and annoyances towards the Resident were commenced by the soldiers of the honourary guard in attendance, and carried to such an extent, that Knox felt it necessary to quit the Residency, and withdrew himself treatment unworthy to be borne by a person in his situation.

From his tents, the Resident addressed the Rajah (on 30th September, 1802) stating that he had three days previously informed the ministers of the

Maharaja, borne in the arms of a confidential servant. His Highness after leading him to a chair was placed upon the throne at the right of which were seated his half brothers (the sons of the governing Rani) on a *masnad* of lower elevation and of less splendored elevation.

Exclusive of the members of the British party, the only persons who had chairs were Bum Shah, Sher Bahadur and Gajraj Misser. On the following day an entertainment consisting of grain of all sorts, spices etc., and a plate of 428 Nepalese gold Mohurs was sent to the envoy's tents, and two days afterwards, his visit was returned by the Maharaja in person, attended by his brothers, and the whole of principal officers, when the envoy presented suitable presents in the name of the Governor-General.

In modern times, the Rajah does not honour the Resident with a personal visit, that being deputed to the prime minister, who makes two visits of ceremony annually at the Residency, and when the Resident goes to the Court, he is received at the outer Palace gate by the minister who conducts him to the Rajah, at whose right he is seated, His Highness descending from the throne to receive him. On court days now, all the civil officers of the first rank such as Chautrias, Kājis, Sardars, military officers of the grade of Captain have chairs in the Rajah's presence. In the Rajah's ceremony hall, the entrance *masnad* is raised about a foot from the ground placed at the end of the room, the Chiefs sitting on felts laid along the walls. The chairs of the Chiefs and guests are ranged on both sides along the wall, the military officers of the State occupying those on the right side, the civilians the left.

insulting conduct of the sepoys, that no measures having been taken to correct it, he had been necessitated to take shelter in camp, whence he expected His Highness' reply. This probably alarmed the Maharani, for a deputation was sent to inform the Resident that until the arrival of his letter she had been quite ignorant of the insolent conduct of the soldiers, expressing her high indignation at the negligence of her ministers, threatening severe punishment on the offenders, and earnestly requesting him to return to the garden. Knox again took possession of his quarters and the leading ministers came to agreement with the Misser for the payment of 20,000 rupees on account of Ran Bahadur's stipend. The money was not paid however, despite all promises.

The chief Rani of Ran Bahadur, still on the frontier, now succeeded in informing the Court of a considerable party favourable to her designs on the regency. Alarmed at the rising popularity of this lady's claims among her own adherents, and fearful lest the British Government should feel disposed to countenance the advent of her rival, the regent found it at length necessary to secure to herself the goodwill of our government. On 17th November, 1802, Knox reported that the governing Rani by her decided conduct put down all opposition so long kept up against the treaty concluded with us. She had a declaration drawn up, which concluded by an announcement that its engagements ought to be strongly and religiously adhered to. To this declaration all persons of note in the country, with the exception of Amar Singh Thapa and few others of little consideration, attached their signatures in full Darbar.

The Rani's devotion to the British alliance did not expend its intensity on this public demonstration, no more than the efforts of her rival were relaxed towards displacing her. She dismissed Amar Singh Thapa, and conferred his office on Subadar for his steady support of the treaty. She intimated to Knox that having given the most convincing proofs of her determination to fulfil the treaty, she trusted that he would manifest his disposition towards herself and her children by such token as would engage her confidence. It was her earnest wish that he should adopt her eldest son as his brother. Knox in reporting his compliance with this request observes, that it was with real pleasure he found it attainable the confidence of the Rani by means so innocent and so effectual. The ceremony of adoption was performed at the Resident's bungalow and Knox exchanged turbans and shawls with the eldest (Randut Shah) and presented him with some presents.

4. Return of the senior Rani

This state of affairs was but of ephemeral duration, for presently after the completion of the above arrangements, intelligence was received at the Darbar that the principal Rani of Ran Bahadur had left the frontier and was proceeding post haste to Kathmandu. On the receipt of this alarming news, the governing

Rani sent an armed detachment to stop her wherever found and send prisoners to Kathmandu. The party marched with great celerity, and meeting the Rani in a heavy jungle to the east of Hitounda, in the lower hills, punctually executed their orders and forwarded the prisoners in irons to the capital.

On their arrival, the governing Rani sent a deputation to the Resident to acquaint him that she considered it necessary to her own safety to keep the Rani at a distance from the Court; she was willing to settle a suitable maintenance upon her provided she would abide in the Company's territories, and as the Rani would no doubt require that the settlement should be made through the Resident, the governing Rani requested his friendly offices on the occasion. Knox declined taking any part in the business until the Darbar should consent to grant what he would not be ashamed to offer. After some delay the Darbar consented to offer 18,000 rupees per annum, a house at Patna, and some minor advantages to the Rani, and with this proposal, the Resident despatched a trusty native officer to the banished queen. The Rani in the meantime, had ascertained that the troops in Nepal were almost to a man, disposed to espouse her cause, and replied to the proposal that, as every kind of outrage had been already committed on her, there was nothing but the loss of life to fear and that could not prevent her making her way good to the capital.

1803

She accordingly set out from her jungle residence, and found that the sepoys so far from offering any interruption to her progress, contended with each other for the honour of carrying her palanquin over the difficult passes. The Rani's advance and the conduct of the troops no sooner did reach the Darbar, than fresh detachments were despatched to oppose her advance, but the governing Rani had the mortification to hear that on meeting her rival, they had surpassed their predecessors in zeal and devotion for her service. The Rani had now reached Thankot within the Valley, seven miles from Kathmandu, and measures having been adopted to gain over the troops still at the capital to the governing Rani's cause, or to conciliate the advancing queen, they openly declared their resolution to oppose all schemes of violence and force. Thus circumstanced the governing Rani's party became at length conscious of the necessity of the new line of conduct, but their authority was now so low that they had reason to dread the rejection by the Rani of any terms proposed by themselves alone. Damodar Pande who had influence of character and reputation with the troops was now importuned for mediation. After much submissive solicitation on their part and a sufficient display of importance on his part, the Pande proceeded to Thankot to negotiate with the Rani.

Damodar Pande however had scarce reached Thankot ere the governing Rani giving way to despair fled from the palace, and taking the young Rajah and

all the officers of government with her, took sanctuary in the temple of Paśupati-nāth. This step decided her fate, the Rani moved on rapidly to Kathmandu with Damodar in her train and avowed her purpose of assuming the vacant regency. Her authority was instantly and universally acknowledged, the ministers hastened from the sanctuary to receive her commands ; the Rajah was taken by her orders from the charge of the now deposed Rani, replaced on the throne under her regency ; Damodar Pande made sole minister under the title of *Diwan-i-Mulk*, and several changes involving the appointment of the Pande's adherents speedily carried into effect. The chains and imprisonment designed for the Rani by the deposed one, became now in general opinion, became her own due. But ultimately, the ex-regent having executed a deed of formal surrender of her late office, received a solemn promise of exemption from all trouble on account of her past conduct.

5. Knox's threat

The government to which Knox had been accredited was now no longer in existence ; soon after her possession of the regency, the Rani ordered the ministers to make an immediate payment on account of the arrears due to our Government, but orders produced nothing but promises. Knox therefore intimated to the Rani that it was his intention, in the event of the Darbar's delaying much longer to fulfil their promises, to prepare for his return to the British territories. This produced some alarm, but on 21st February 30,000 rupees on account of Ran Bahadur's pension were paid to Knox, and 6,000 rupees on account of debt to our Government.

6. Exercise in dilatoriness

This one act of good faith by the new regent's government gave such credit to the promises then made to Knox. Affairs now being to all appearances on a proper footing, and the travelling season nearly over, the Resident requested the passports of two officers of his staff then at the frontier, and documents connected with the *jagir* of Ran Bahadur to be delivered to him. But the Darbar delayed upon different pretences, the sealing and delivery of these papers, until the safe season for the coming to Nepal of the Resident's staff had expired. Knox wearied out by false promises was compelled to fix a day for quitting the Court and the country.¹

The announcement, however, on this occasion, did not produce the desired effect. The Darbar was now torn asunder by domestic dissensions, and

¹ This falsity and faithlessness as a characteristic of the Gorkhas must be understood to apply to them in the character of politicians and especially in the management of their external relations. "Keep no faith with heretics" is not older in Europe than "Don't trust or keep faith with Europeans" is a standing political maxim in Nepal.

no two of its members could be induced to sacrifice their personal jealousies. The Rani proposed to bring about the restoration of Ran Bahadur; and herself opposed the sealing of the agreement regarding her husband's *jagir*. Damodar Pande still held the premiership, and backed by Bum Shah and Sher Bahadur, advocated an adherence to their engagements. But Damodar was wholly opposed to the restoration of Ran Bahadur; he and his adherents were daily losing the confidence of the Rani, who with much fickleness of purpose at this time, allowed herself to be worked upon and advised by persons out of palace with known sentiments of dislike to the British alliance, and the continuance of Damodar Pande as chief minister.

Such was the state of party fued in the Darbar that except in a general feeling of anxiety to break off the connection with us, there was not unanimity enough among its members to enable any question of moment to be decided. It being apparent to Knox that the Court individually and collectively was averse to a continuation of his presence, he announced his determined purpose of taking leave of the Court. At the end of March 1803 he took his leave of the Gorkhas, informing the Governor-General that the conduct of the Nepal Government had been at such direct variance with the assurances given to him, that it appeared to him necessary, to take leave of the Court. Gajraj Misser, disgusted with the conduct of his own Court, and dreading the displeasure of the Rani and her advisers for having been so instrumental in bringing about the alliance with the British, quitted Nepal with Captain Knox. Damodar Pande and his adherents, about the same period, became alarmed, lest the withdrawal of the Resident, and the agitation at Kathmandu of Ran Bahadur's friends should lead to the release by us of that Prince, or his escape from Benares. Kāji Amar Singh Thapa, and the son of Jaswant Bhandari had been thrown into irons. Ran Bahadur too had become importunate for our permission to quit our territories, and reinstate himself to power at Kathmandu.

Accordingly on the 24th January, 1804, Lord Wellesley addressed the Rajah of Nepal on the nature of the existing connection between the two States, and taking a survey of all the proceedings which terminated in the British Resident being compelled to quit Nepal, concluded with a formal dissolution of alliance between the two States. The dissolution of alliance as it then existed involved the abrogation of the old commercial treaty, the observation of which had been provided for by the of treaty alliance, and left us in regard to the Gorkhas in the state we had been previous to 1793.

7. Downfall of Damodar

Ran Bahadur was now addressed by Lord Wellesley and permission given to him to quit our territories for whatever quarter he might think proper. Thus released, the Swami accompanied by his companions proceeded post haste to Nepal, where he was cordially received by the regent Rani, his faithful but ill

used wife. On his approach to the capital Ran Bahadur was met by Damodar Pande at the head of a large force, apparently with the intention of opposing his advance, although it is said that he was prepared to oppose, or countenance the coming Prince, as might turn out most advisable for his continuance of power. Bhimsen Thapa, then a young man, largely in the confidence of the Swami, and exercising much influence over him, urged his master to instant action for the overthrow of the Pande, and obtaining the suffrage of the army for his own cause. Ran Bahadur, quiet of thought, and well knowing the loyalty of the soldiery to the house of the Gorkha, advanced fearlessly to meet the opposing column, and tossing his royal bonnet high into the air exclaimed: "Now my Gorkhas who for the Shah, and who for the Pande?"

The appeal acted magically on the troops, the whole of them joined him leaving the gallant Pande and his son to be bound, and carried in chains in the rear to the capital. "Ran Bahadur," says Hamilton, "finding that the oath of fidelity to his son had still a considerable influence among the troops contented himself with the Swami, and merely acted as regent to the young Rajah. Although on all occasions he did not hesitate to assume sovereign powers and continued to do so till his death."

Damodar Pande, his son and several of their adherents were soon after beheaded, many of the chiefs fearing lest their connection with the Pande might be made a pretext for their ruin, entered into a conspiracy with Sher Bahadur (brother of Ran Bahadur) for the purpose of ridding the country once more of the Swami. But, Ran Bahadur acting under the advice of Bhimsen Thapa, well nigh proved too dextrous for them, and sending for his brother into the Darbar proposed that he should quit the capital and join the armies of the State engaged on the conquest of the western hills. Sher Bahadur to this proposition having given an insulting reply, was ordered for instant execution by the Swami, but with the speed of lightning and ere any one could interpose assistance, he drew his sword, and mortally wounded the regent, whose death was probably previously designed.

8. Bhimsen Thapa

Bhimsen Thapa now obtained possession of the young Rajah's person, and forced the Rani who was regent at the time of Knox's arrival in Nepal, and who was averse to his claims to the premiership, to immolate herself on the funeral pile of the deceased Swami. Aided and countenanced by Ran Bahadur's chief Rani, the Thapa assumed the chief direction of affairs, and continued to hold it thenceforward, until the conclusion of the period of time under notice, and has continued to do so up to the present day.

It is said by Hamilton that during the first days of Bhimsen's Government,

he caused to be put to death a great number of Chiefs, under pretence of their having been connected with Sher Bahadur in the conspiracy against Ran Bahadur, but in reality to relieve himself of all from whom he anticipated opposition to his ambitious views. On this occasion, Bibur Shah, one of the Chauntrias, Nar Singh Kāji, Tribhuvan Singh Bisnait, and about fifty other military officers are said to have been put to death by his orders, and on the same day, the Rajah of the Palpa, previously inveigled on some pretext to the capital, met the same fate, when his dominions were annexed to Nepal, and the Government had them bestowed on Chota Amar Singh, Bhimsen's father. This amount of enormity of course is denied by Bhimsen's friends and Hamilton's source of information was probably not to be relied on ; it is no doubt somewhat exaggerated. Bhimsen's rule although an iron one to all the old favourites of the State, has not been at all a menacing one.

9. Catalogue of misdeeds

1804-12

After the dissolution of the alliance, until 1812 when this Narrative closes, our transactions with Nepal consisted entirely of unavailing remonstrances against the most insolent aggression on our frontier throughout its entire length, and in fruitless attempts to induce the Gorkhas to aid our officers in the suppression of dacoities and robberies along the frontier. In 1804, when the Palpa Rajah's dominions within the hills were annexed to Nepal, the Gorkhas seized Butwal and Sheoraj in Gorakhpur under pretext of their having previously belonged to the Palpa Chief. Our right to them was however proved by the fact of their having been included in a cession of territories to us by Oude, and Sir George Barlow in 1805 demanded their evacuation by the Gorkhas.

In 1808 again they seized a large tract in Purnea, but the proximity of this inroad to our territories probably aroused our authorities to unwonted firmness with the Gorkhas, and they were driven from it into the mountain fastnesses at the point of bayonet in 1810. In 1811 they seized on some lands in the Butwal and Bhattia frontier. This led soon after to the appointment by Lord Minto of Major Bradshaw as joint Commissioners with officers from Nepal to investigate the numerous cases of frontier dispute then pending between the two States. Lord Hastings on his arrival in India in 1813, found this Commission still employed on these duties ; the well known result of this investigation in the Nepal War does not concern the objects of this *Memorandum*, and is fully detailed elsewhere.¹

The conclusion of this Summary suggests two very remarkable subjects of attention. *First*, the deep-rooted and implacable aversion of the Gorkhas to the formation and continuance of an alliance with our Government ; *second*,

¹ For details of Gorkha aggressions, see Prinsep's *Transactions etc.*, London (1825).

the unexampled conduct of our several governments, in quietly permitting a people so situated in regard to our dominions, to reject by the most faithless and capricious practices, an efficient connection, acknowledged on all hands to be not only desirable but highly essential to the interests of the Company. Again a *third* and a still greater change occurred in the councils of Nepal on Ran Bahadur's return from Benares. This prince and his followers into exile were not only received by us with every mark of respect and distinction, but the treasury of our State was largely drawn on for four years to supply means of honourable existence denied by his own nation. Yet was his return marked by an avoidance of all friendly intercourse with his benefactors, but he was scarce seated on the regent's chair ere aggressions on our frontiers were committed by his armies. The murder of Ran Bahadur brought a *fourth* change in the Government of Nepal. With it commenced Bhimsen's rule, under whose guidance we were forced into an enormously expensive war, and from whom it may be safely said, we have since experienced the utmost intensity of Gorkha hate, and from whose hands we have seen vividly displayed the workings of a system grounded on fraud and deeply tinged with unchangeable and bitter jealousy.

CHAPTER 15

THE SUPREMACY OF BHIMSEN THAPA

1. Gardner's Residency

1816

The Foregone Summary of the leading events which have occurred during our intercourse with this country, leads to some more general observations on the nature of our strictly political relations, the objects of the alliance, the policy foreign and political of Nepal, and that of our Government towards it. The commencement of our permanent political intercourse with Nepal in 1816 found the present minister Bhimsen Thapa invested with complete control over the country ; and the first British representative (The Honorable Edward Gardner) at this Court continued in the office for not less than 14 years. The latter enjoyed the fullest confidence of his Government, and with it casted to fix the style and degree of our intercourse, public and private, with the Darbar. Gardner came to Nepal peculiarly situated : he was the representative of a mighty power whose arms had just then deprived a warlike ally, of one third of her territories and hemmed in the remainder on all sides by ours or those of our protected allies. In the midst of their misfortunes, Mr. Gardner found the Nepalese not obsequious or slavish, but jealous, proud, and insolent in their bearing, and but half determined whether they should abide by the treaty they had ratified, or break it, at once, and again try with us a hopeless contest. Early evidence of this feeling is recorded by Mr. Boileau (Locumtenens pending the Resident's arrival) in his despatch to the Government of 24th April, 1816. Haughty and uncourteous, indeed, the Darbar was towards us, both personally, and politically, as much so as in 1739 and 1803, when the prevalence of such feelings caused the retirement of our representatives from the Court ; and such in a good measure it yet continues to be under the exclusive direction of that same Bhimsen Thapa of whom Mr. Boileau thus writes two months after his arrival in Nepal :

“A Company of *sipahees* have been ordered by Bhimsen to be dispersed between my house and the city during all hours, and to apprehend any person who may be thought to hold communication with me ; and it has been given out in the city that any one so offending shall be punished.”

That a State whose whole external policy had from its origin borne a character of unsociality and aggression in reference to the masters of the rich plains of India, should at once adopt in personal and public regards, a social line was not to be expected. Time alone, aided by extreme prudence and forbearance, could reconcile the Gorkhas to the presence of those who had humbled their pride; prescribe impassible limits to their future indulgence in wars of aggression; and who, whilst they might hope eventually to open the eyes of the Darbar to the use and value of peaceful international intercourse, could yet have no immediate public function but that of avowed keepers of peace amongst those who loved so little as peace. Such were, originally our grounds of forbearance and acquiescence with the Darbar's (i.e. Bhimsen's) anti-social humours in respect of public matters; and as for personal discourtesy, that too was put up with from pretty similar considerations—the effect of which was prolonged and sustained by the minority of the Rajah—a minority not yet declaredly expired.¹ Other circumstances have contributed to our forbearance; and by exempting us from the necessity of meddling with the internal affairs of the State, have relieved us at the same time, from all such entanglements with Nepal as have, elsewhere in India, proved so destructive to the independence of native powers. Her armies have not been subsidized by us, nor have we borrowed her money, nor had claims upon her. To assist her against foreign invasion, we are not bound; nor are we pledged to the guaranteeing a throne, to a certain set of princes against the will and advantage of the mass of the people. Her chiefs are not dependent on us, nor is she bound to ask, or we to give, council and advice on any subject whatever. In short, Nepal is a free and independent State, not according to the spirits of treaties, which in India, had only an existence in name, but, she is virtually and morally independent of the British power.

The policy proposed originally by our Government, however, has not been the cause of this state of things. In 1801, it proposed to grant pensions to Damodar Pande and Bum Shah, who possessed prepondering power in the Government. Again in 1816, our Government wished to pension certain Nepalese Sardars, but on both occasions the plan was rejected by the Darbar. So that to the independent principles or suspicious temper of her own rulers does Nepal, in some degree, owe the fortunate circumstance of our being without any influence in her internal administration. To her own views, however, she owes not the *whole* benefit; and although negative virtues are not the most admirable in political life, some praise is certainly due to the men, who have conducted our affairs at this Court, and by judgment and forbearance, have avoided acquiring an influence in the domestic affairs of the government. That opportunities

¹ The present Rajah was but two years old when he succeeded his father, who died 6 months after Mr. Gardner's arrival.

are ever present, by taking advantage of which our Resident could obtain such influence here, is most manifest, on a review of the circumstances that have existed, and now exist, at this Darbar.

2. Politics of Bhimsen

When Mr. Gardner arrived here, the Rajah was an inexperienced youth, and the whole power of government was usurped by Bhimsen, a man of but recent notoriety in the State, and of different family and tribe from the prince. He was overbearing towards the ancient and best families of the country, and all engrossing of power and patronage ; consequently there existed much secret cause of discontent. He treated the British Residency with reserve and distrust ; yet our representative did not attempt to cultivate the intimacy or gain the good-will of the oppressed and discontented, but keeping in mind the fatal consequences of foreign interference, he stood aloof from all party spirit, and lent but a deaf ear to the overtures for favour and countenance of those who carried promises of greater civility.

The young Rajah Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah, father of the present Prince, died in his 18th year, 6 months after Mr. Gardner's arrival ; so that at the very time when the minister must have expected a change in the nature of his viceregal power, he found himself entering on a fresh minority, the favourite of the minor's mother, and but little opposed by any of the Chiefs of the State. On the occurrence of this event, the Rajguru made direct overtures to Mr. Gardner, to the effect, that if he would declare to the Darbar his wish for the appointment of the said Guru to the ministry, there could be no doubt as to the result in his favour.

Mr. Gardner declined ; and on the investment of the minor Rajah (who was but two years of age) with the regal dignity, Bhimsen was announced as minister, with the ostensible concurrence of the Bhāradārs, and real countenance of the Rani mother. The Rajah died on the 20th November, 1816 ; and from that date until the month of April 1832, when the Rani died, the present minister enjoyed uninterrupted and complete power, undisturbed by faction or intrigue. At the death of the Rani some faint hopes were entertained by the Chiefs that the young Rajah might succeed in throwing off the thralldom of Bhimsen ; but want of energy in his friends as well as in the Chiefs, generally, coupled with our strict neutrality, has enabled the minister to keep up, to this hour, his power undiminished. To the affairs of the State he gave, and still does, his whole time and energies ; and with good talents, and a firm determination to carry into effect a particular course of domestic and foreign policy, he has raised Nepal, although deprived of a third of her territory in 1816, to as strong a military position on our frontier as she ever held ; while her internal resources, under the management and benign influence of peace and alliance with us, have nearly doubled since the conclusion of the last war.

3. Nepal after the War

As the termination of the War of 1816 hemmed Nepal in on three sides by the territories of the British Government (the Himalayas being the fourth), so ought it to have changed a policy founded solely on views of conquest to one having peace and improvement of her internal resources alone for its object. It had not had this effect. She has hitherto, and does now, wilfully shut her eyes to the necessary consequences of her physical situation with regard to us, whose power she is alone in contact with on this side of the Himalayas. Well aware, from the known policy of China, her only other neighbour, that peace may be for ever hers, which the harmless insolence of the Celestial Emperor is unnoticed ; and having a patriotic and easily governed race of people as her subjects, she nevertheless persists, obstinately and industriously, in pursuing to the very utmost of her means, a policy, the sole and entire object of which is, to perpetuate the warlike habits of her martial tribes, and to raise to the very highest point she is capable of supporting, a standing army of her brave soldiers always ready for war or plunder.

This extravagance is the work, in a great degree, of one man ; and that one is the present minister. We who alone, as a neighbouring power, are concerned in it, look quietly on, confiding in our might ; and with a forbearance, perhaps, unequalled in the intercourse of great nations with small, we put up with insolence to our Residency and jealousy of our Government, rather than engage in such acts as would produce for us a different conduct on part of the Darbar, though perhaps not without the hazard of interference.

That our forbearance has been abused, is unfortunately true. The minister and the sole ruler insinuated to the Nepalese Chiefs that intercourse with the Residency must inevitably lead to the formation of a discontented faction in the State, and that treaties expressly forbade such intercourse.¹ While under these pretexts he debarred one and all the privilege of personal intercourse with us, he had little difficulty in persuading the Nepalese vulgar, great and small, that he alone was fit to cope with us in politics. He found it too easy to persuade us too that through him and him only could we manage to deal in peace and amity with the alleged hostile disposition of the Nepal Chiefs to the British Government.

The records of the Residency contain innumerable evidences on this latter head. The Resident did so often express to Government his firm conviction of the favourable disposition of Bhimsen towards us, and so often did we feel, did we hope, that he might continue in undiminished power. This was all in the face of annual additions to the Nepal army ; in the midst of the most Chinese-like

¹ To our shame be it said, an article of the abrogated treaty of 1801 actually countenances the minister's allegation.

jealousy of our presence within his dominions ; and in the daily witness of the determination by Nepal to derive all the advantages arising from a close connection with the plains of India ; while she obstinately refused any reciprocal ones to us. Not only was all intercourse with Residency by natives of Nepal strictly prohibited, but the British merchants sojourning at Kathmandu were debarred access to the representative of their own Government. And while our courtesy to Nepal extended so far as to afford every possible facility to her Chiefs in travelling through broad India,¹ exempt from custom duty and search, our Resident was deprived of the innocent gratification of moving through the Nepal dominions, and until a few months ago, the supplies for his table and his personal apparel were regularly searched and examined on entering the Nepalese territory. The delusion has well nigh passed away, and now the minister of Nepal is represented to our Government, as he really is, an able administrator of his country, an usurper of all the rights of his sovereign and compeers, and the author of almost all that is hostile to us in the policy of Kathmandu.²

The firm adherence by Nepal to her old war polity, although so completely circumscribed by us, and the able manner in which Bhimsen has managed her resources, has falsified the rational expectations we held at the conclusion of the last war. By depriving her of a third of her territory, and girding her on all sides by our provinces, we imagined that of necessity she would gradually abandon her thirst for arms and conquest ; turn her thoughts and resources to the peaceable arts of commerce and agriculture, and ere long be changed from a hostile power, which skirted our dominions for about 800 miles, to a less powerful, quiet and peaceably inclined neighbour and ally. The reverse of this is the case ; and at this time, Nepal holds a station of offensive power to the full as great as she did in 1814, as may be seen from the following cursory statement of facts.

¹ The value of this boon to the Nepalese is incalculably great. Our provinces include all the places most sacred and dear to the Hindus. To visit Benares and Jagannath is indispensable to the holiness of a good Hindu ; the Parbattlah who can succeed in getting the daughter of a Rajput of the plains for his son, is most highly distinguished among his fellows. The two Ranis of the present Rajah are the daughters of landholders in our neighbouring zillahs.

² It may be mentioned here that Bhimsen is not the first case of mighty mayors of the Palace or that all of them have pursued somewhat similar line of conduct towards their Prince. Prthwinārtyāra the first Rajah, an energetic man, led his own armies in person and governed his own kingdom. Ran Bahadur's reign gave occasion to the dictatorship first of all of Bahadur Shah as regent, during whose reign Kirkpatrick's mission was knocked in the head. Then followed Damodar Pande whose power drove the Rajah to Benares, and then came Bhimsen Thapa, who has ruled unmolested during a period of Ran Bahadur's reign. The reign of Girvan Yudha, the minority of Rajindra Vikram Shah and as much of the minority of His Highness' reign as has elapsed—the Rajah is now (1836) 24 years ; his majesty's reign ought to have commenced in 1832, when the last regent Rani died.

4. Nepal Army, 1816-36

In 1816, Mr. Gardner estimated the standing regular army of the State at 10,000 men, an amount of force, he observes, greatly larger than is required for the duties of the State, and more costly than its resources can afford to maintain, but the reduction of which he thought at that time could not be safely attempted by the minister, in consequence of the temper of the Chief officers of it, and the impossibility of at once changing the military habits of the people by reducing the army to a due standard. Mr. Gardner's opinion at this time shows his belief in the desire of this government to disarm, and a firm determination by the minister to swell to the utmost of his power, an army then unduly large. He writes to the Government (May 14th 1817) :

"There has been some talks of a reduction in the ranks of the officers of the army ; but such a measure, must, I think, be dangerous and impolitic one for the minister to touch upon in the present feelings of that body, the members of which are naturally much dissatisfied and discontented with their fallen condition ; and this temper not unfrequently breaks out, though it has not hitherto shown itself in any very serious way. I suspect, the Government is, not a little embarrassed on this account ; for it must be sensible that the military force is greater than the State now requires, or can conveniently maintain, at the same time, from the nature of its constitution, the minister have not the hardihood, perhaps, to attempt effect the requisite reductions."

The attempt might have been unpopular but it was not made, for, in 1819, it appears, by a calculation of Mr. Wellesley's that the regular army amounted to 12,000 men.¹ From that date it gradually increased up to 1831, when Mr. Hodgson estimated it at 15,000. This latter is the present peace establishment of troops, which is in constant pay and under great discipline ; but is only one-third of the force that Nepal could at any short notice call into the field, and that in a most efficient condition, well drilled, well armed with muskets and bayonets, and tolerably well accoutred.²

¹ In Kirkpatrick's time 1792, the Gorkha army was estimated at about 8,000 men. The Colonel was not much struck with the appearance of this army, it would seem, for he did not consider men of it "superior to the rabble ordinarily dignified with the title of *sipahis* in the service of the generality of the Hindoostan power."

² At Dussahara of 1836, an additional regiment was added to the above number of troops, so that now the number of men *on the roll* amounts to upwards of 16,000 men. The new corps is to be 1,700 strong ; when complete, the army may be estimated to 17,000. There has been some addition to the strength of the artillery since 1834, but I do not know its precise amount. On February 24, 1837, a second regiment (the Hanuman Bakhsh Dall), 1200 strong has been raised. Besides this addition the high paid Chiefs have been directed to entertain at their own cost (out of their salaries of office) suitable military servants. The Rajguru and the head of the Chauntria family have each engaged 100 men. The standing army at this date may be estimated 18,000 men.

The system of army establishment is one of annual rotation ; the usage of Government requiring an entire change of the whole army every year from full pay to no pay. Now supposing this usage to be kept up, as it has hitherto been, the Government has always in its power to treble the amount of its army without losing much of its efficiency ; for, the quickly recurring periods at which the men are restored to pay and discipline, and the abhorrence of all the military tribes in Nepal to engaging in another pursuits than that of arms, assures the *Dakheriah* (soldier *off the roll*) but little wanting in his proper accomplishments as an efficient soldier.

Here then we have Nepal after 18 years of peace and alliance with us, more powerful to annoy our power than ever, and as firmly bent on keeping up an army as she was, when it was her only thought, how she could best add to her dominions, and increase her store, by plunder and rapine. To the talents and hostile disposition of Bhimsen, Nepal is indebted for her enlarged army, and to the wrong-headedness of the same individual she will probably some day have to lay a heavy account of misfortunes. The ranks of her army are full to bursting. Instead of encouraging his countrymen to forget the sword and adopt the usages of peaceful people, the minister has fostered their fondness for arms by making everything else subservient to soldiering and every other honour compared with the military ones. Himself the first man of the State, he has adopted the military name of General ; his brother as second to him, is dubbed with the same title. And such is the influence of this man over his countrymen, and so strong is his power, that before him the name of the Rajah has nearly vanished,¹ and that of General is associated with all notions of greatness and excellence.

5. Increased resources

The means by which Nepal has been enabled under the heavy loss of territory occasioned by the last war, to regain her former military position, have been derived from the following resources ably managed by the minister. *First* and the most fruitful of these is the Terai country restored by us to Nepal. From being a tract nearly depopulate previous to the war, it has become, under the benign influence of peace and commerce with our provinces, a source of net revenue to the amount of 1,000,000 rupees a year. The resort of cultivators to it is encouraged by Nepal ; and as it bears marks of having been at some former time,² a thickly inhabited country, so may it ere long be again ; and

¹ The minister has adopted a singularly happy stratagem for directing the attention of the vulgar from his usurpation of power. He teaches the people to regard the Rajah as a demi-god whose sole functions ought to be the getting of heirs to throne, and who has been born to be worshipped by them. This however is not new in the world ; but not the less suitable where ignorance and barbarity prevail.

² The ruins it contains are some of the finest in India ; and the express language of the

what we regarded as not worth-retaining in 1816, now yields a noble revenue, and has capabilities of affording three times that amount. The *second* source of increased means is the resumption by the Government of a large number of the rent-free tenures of the Brahmans, and of grants made to religious establishments. This was commenced during the last war with us, and done with the usual address and tact of the General, who called on the Brahmans holding such lands to come forward with their produce for the good of the State then in trouble, promising that the exigency past, he would put them in possession of their tenures. Fear or patriotism induced the holy orders to give up their lands, but not to be again held by them. A *third* source, and one capable of much further increase, is the custom duties. In 1816, the revenue under this head did not exceed 80,000 rupees, while now it amounts upwards of 250,000 rupees—a clear increase of two-thirds in the space of 18 years. The *fourth* source has been an accidental one, and is now in a fair way of being dried up. Rajah Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah, who died in 1816, at the early age of 16, left but one son, the present Rajah; and from that date until now, the minority of the present prince had been taken advantage of to avoid all unnecessary ostentation and expense.

The amount of the increased means of Nepal may be pretty correctly stated by a reference to the strength of her army in 1814, and its present strength, keeping in mind her loss of all the hills west of the Kālī. The peace establishment before the war broke out may be reckoned at 14,000 men, 4,000 of which were maintained by the revenues of the western provinces. Amar Singh Thapa, on this head, in noticing the proposal to the Darbar to cede the western hills after the first campaign of the last war, says: “the numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy, yield a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of four thousand men.” Now 10,000 was the estimate of the army in 1816, and 15,000 is the real strength of it at present. We have, therefore, 5,000 men kept up on the increased means, and the Kathmandu treasury has good store of wealth at this moment. At all events, the army is not a day in arrears of pay. Magazines, arsenals have been built and filled since the war, and a handsome cantonment for 6,000 men has been erected at Kathmandu. Cannon are daily in the process of making; muskets are annually stored here and at Palpa; gun powder, shot and all other ammunitions of war are manufactured to a much larger amount than is necessary for the purpose of drill and practice; and to crown the military mania and manifestations of hostile feeling in Nepal, her ruler is now building, as a witness of folly, a new fort to complete a chain of such defences along the lower range of hills facing our provinces.

Ramayana attests the unrivalled fertility of a tract which ages of contention between the Hindus and Muslims alone sufficed to convert into a malarious wilderness. It has been wonderfully resuscitated since the peace and alliance.

6. Gorkha army compositions

The materials composing the Gorkha army are well known; our experience of the bravery of its men in the last war has been confirmed by the conduct of the same class of the people in our own hill corps.¹ And as the passion for arms that has existed among the military tribes of Nepal from our first acquaintance with them, still exists in its fullest force, we may still award them the praise which Ochterlony bestowed in confidence to Lord Hastings in 1815. He said, "that the Company's sepoys could not be brought to match with the Gorkhas."

The army consists solely of foot soldiery.² The infantry is embodied into regiments of about 600 strong, officered by a colonel-in-chief and one battalion captain, with two lieutenants and non-commissioned officers in the same proportion as obtains in our army. The manual and platoon exercise is taught out of Dundas and Torrens; the words of command are all given in English; the bugle sounds are exactly ours, the dress and accoutrement of the men are taken from us, and the battalion manoeuvres are as closely copied from ours. The manual exercise is performed by the battalions fairly and with

¹ During the last siege and storming of Bharatpur, the Gorkhas from Sabathu and Deyrah were highly distinguished for good conduct and undaunted bravery. Even during the Gorkha War, a detachment of the Mullye local corps marched ahead of the Europeans to the storm of Hariharpur with equal fidelity and gallantry.

² The Nepal artillery is by no means efficient or formidable. The number of men trained to this arm does not exceed 1,000, and, although the Nepalese are duly impressed with the superiority in this department, and one (like most other native powers) inclined to believe that with our artillery alone we ever match them, they are too wise to devote too much time or trouble to this arm to the detriment of their infantry. Their ordnance amounts perhaps 300 pieces of all kinds. The Gorkha means of artillery transport are admirably suited to efficiency in a mountainous country. Their gun carriages are so constructed as to admit of being taken to pieces, and put again, and their component parts made of a weight having strict reference to what can be easily carried by human transport over the most hilly parts of the country. For the purpose of transporting guns, their carriage and ammunition, a subordinate body of men like our Lascars is disciplined for transport purposes, and permanently kept up and attached to the artillery corps. The mode of transport is as follows: The gun, a 3 or 4-pounder is lashed to an elastic pole about 12 feet long the ends of which being placed on the shoulders of 8 men, enables them to bear a gun to any portion of the hills accessible to man. When the gun is of a larger size than a 6-pounder, the number is increased by a simple and easy process as follows: To each end of the long bearing pole two subsidiary short ones are joined laterally to each of which 4 men are attached. The long pole to which the gun is lashed now bears on the ropes connecting it with the subsidiary poles swinging easily enabling the men to go at a trot when the ground is all level. There is always two sets of carriers attached to each load, a 9-pounder or a 6-pounder requiring 16 men, a heavier piece of ordnance 32 men. In the like manner with the gun is the carriage being taken into pieces carried. Shot and shell are sometimes carried in this fashion, the powder always in boxes of light well-seasoned wood made to carry 100 to 150 lbs.

tolerable precision, but compared with our regular native corps, there is an awkwardness in handling the musket and unsteadiness in changing front, that on close inspection shows an inferiority in the Gorkhas. Their advance in line is for the most part irregular and unsteady ; and that erect bearing and expansion of chest, which our setting up gives to the soldiers, is entirely wanting ; so that the portion of drill which they have succeeded best in copying, is advantageously contrasted with the badly-made dress and slouching carriage of the men. The arms are precisely the same as ours, with the exception of two battalions which have Khukhri instead of a bayonet, an innovation apparently not an improvement, the instrument being too broad and giving top-heaviness to the musket.

Their firing is unquestionably the best performed part of the drill. In file as well as in volley-firing they are quick and exact. It is said that at target practice also they excel. The battalion exercise is the one chiefly practiced, brigading their troops with efficiency is not within the compass of their skill, nonetheless, they essay occasionally some movements with large bodies and are most anxious to acquire this, the difficult and mathematical part of our military service. Although weak in modern military skill, the Nepal army is a tower of strength in all the best qualities of soldiers. Its men and officers are naturally spirited, fierce, and brave. War and its dangerous excitement has been the nursery of the Gorkhas for the last 65 years. And now that the destiny of their country demands a change in their character, the ruler of it (Bhimsen) resists the pressure of times to the utmost, cherishing and keeping warm a love for arms and conquest.

7. Means to draw off militarism

To lead Nepal from her present war policy to one of peace and to rid ourselves of the danger that may beset us from the undue amount of troops maintained by her has occupied, for some time past, the attention of the present Resident. As early as 1825, it was proposed by Sir Edward Paget, the Commander-in-Chief to augment the Gorkha Battalions then in our service by recruiting from the Nepal dominions. The Government of that day countenanced the plan and directed Mr. Gardner to report upon the propriety or otherwise, for general service, of the Nepalese military tribes. Mr. Gardner is in favour of our opening the ranks of our army to the surplus soldiery of Nepal ; his opinion of their high qualifications and value to us have been submitted in detail to Government. The admission of Gorkhas into the ranks of our regulars, or their being formed into separate corps, would increase the efficiency of our army.

That the enlistment of Gorkhas would tend to thwart the war policy of Kathmandu, may be admitted to a certain extent. But if she has 30,000 spare men : and if 5 or 6,000 would be the amount of drain, it becomes questionable how efficacious the plan would prove. The preponderance of would-be soldiers

among the Parbattiahs over the cultivators of the land is so great in Nepal, that she would have no difficulty, after we were served, in finding as many men to fill her ranks as she had land or money to give for their services. But could we shake Bhimsen's obstinate adherence to old war policy, and inducing him to think of a system more conformable to the present situation of his country in reference to wars of aggression, the drawing off of the *existing* surplus soldiery into our ranks, would come recommended by consideration of sound policy. Its efficacy would depend mainly on the description of persons who would seek our ranks, in preference to awaiting their turn of service in Nepal.

The *second* means for quieting the passion for arms among the military tribes of Nepal, is due attention on our part to the encouragement and increase of commerce. Our first missions to Nepal were instituted exclusively for this purpose, but our anxiety about the trade alarmed the Nepalese, then ignorant of commerce and peaceful arts. Now, however, they know better the public wealth and private comfort flowing from that source, and we ought therefore to resume our attention to that most successful of all means in turning the attentions of men from the thirst of war and conquest to the peaceful arts of internal improvement and love for peace. The supineness of Mr. Gardner permitted the Nepalese to infringe regularly and systematically on the provisions of the Commercial Treaty of 1892, by which she was bound to admit all articles, the produce of our Indian provinces or of Europe into Nepal at a custom duty of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ *ad valorem* on the invoice price. Instead of this, the duty has been generally as high as from 6 to 10% of the invoice price; and thus, she has derived all the benefits of the said treaty; for the treaty binds us, to admit all produce of Nepal into our territories on payment of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$, as *ad valorem* duty on the invoice price. Thus we have given, for upwards of 40 years, a clear advantage of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ to Nepal produce over the same description of commodities, the produce of our lands. We should therefore endeavour to obtain by every fair means the co-operation of Nepal in removing from the trade with India such restrictions as she persists in burdening it with.¹

The next in importance to custom duties, if not equal to it, is the adulterated state of the Nepal coin, and its consequent non-currency in our territories. Another obstacle is a prohibition by Nepal to export from hence the current coin of the plains, in which her Terai revenue is paid, and which she removes from circulation by recoining into her own adulterate currency. Added to these imposed restrictions, is the want of means to make remittances by bills, in consequence of Nepal being in great degree from its situation removed from the circle of general exchanges.

¹ Nepal is but consciously secure in her mountains, her malaria and her poverty. Nor is there any person here wholly ignorant that while reliance on these barriers has led her to incessant aggression on us, we have never ever attempted aggression on her.

The estimated amount of imports over exports at Kathmandu, is, according to Mr. Hodgson's tables drawn in 1831 upwards of 400,000 rupees per annum ; her Terai from its fertility, exports grains to an immense amount into our Provinces ; the entire population of the Terai is agricultural, there being no unproductive classes whatever. The surplus grain of the Terai exceeding 600,000 rupees may be probably included in the exports of Nepal. We may, therefore, very safely assume that the agricultural produce of the Terai furnishes more than sufficient means of keeping the general balance of trade, besides affording the Nepalese of rank and the Government especially the wherewithal to purchase such goods of the plains, as the ordinary commercial products of the hills would be insufficient to pay for. For this the Terai, yielding an annual revenue of 1,200,000 rupees (assignments included), Nepal is indebted to our generosity. By its assistance she is enabled to carry on a trade with the plains to the amount in imports and exports of about 3,000,000 rupees a year, and one which is capable of vast extension.

At present, a large proportion of the people of Nepal is clothed by the produce of our looms, English and Indian ; and the necessity for our manufactures is so great that, with an unshackled trade, we might clothe two-thirds of her entire population. Existing circumstances favour the attainment of the above object. The chief part of the foreign trade is in the hands of the merchants from Benares, our subjects, who have been long domiciled at Kathmandu ; and well acquainted with the capabilities for increased trade, and have abundant of capital and credit in the plains, to carry it on to the fullest extent, could they be but relieved from the injudicious restrictions which now retard their progress, and were the markets open to all comers and trade left to work its own advancement free from the caprice of a despotic minister, and the trammels imposed by an ignorant and jealous government.

For domestic purposes, Nepal could not require 3,000 armed men,¹ so that we have here atleast 12,000 troops *on the roll* with two reserves of 15,000 each, for no other purpose, than being ready, should occasion arise, for war and plunder. Mr. Maddock says, 2nd December, 1832, when noticing the encouragement given by Bhimsen to the naturally warlike spirit of the military classes : "The idea of war has exclusive reference to a rupture with us, and at any period since the pacification of 1816, nothing would have been more popular with, and nothing would now give greater satisfaction to the military classes. The strength of Bhimsen's usurping hands keeps this creation of his own quiet and in good order ; and while the ranks of the Nepal army are at their present fulness and animated spirit, and his rigorous administration (as long as we are

¹ The employment of armed men for the collection for revenue, is unknown in Nepal under the vigorous administration of Bhimsen, a blessing in strong contrast with the usual practice in Native States in India, as well as over the major part of Asia.

not in any trouble) is our best safeguard against such annoyance.

Thus situated, *two* alternatives are before us in carrying on the connection with Nepal. *Either* to look indifferently on, as heretofore, with the knowledge that a perseverance by Nepal in her present plan of supporting a large and to her useless army will inevitably lead to renewed contest with us, after or during Bhimsen's administration. *Or* by indirect means, to try or induce a change in his policy, from one exclusively warlike and hostile to one of peace. Mr. Hodgson, taking into account the danger that menaces Nepal, and alive to the inconveniences and disadvantages that would follow another rupture with this State (to conquer which would bring us directly in contact with China),¹ has advocated the adoption of our *second* alternative. May 31st 1834, he says to Government : "Nepal is now as formidable as ever ; mere chance *may* certainly dissipate without harm to us the undue military force which she has amassed in sheer defiance as it were of her circumvallation by our frontiers. Mere time may certainly wear out the martial propensity of her population, before it has precipitated her into renewed hostility with us."

8. Who after Bhimsen ?

Whatever may have been the prudence of our indiscriminating indifference heretofore in respect of the policy of this State, there is some reason to doubt the wisdom of its continuance. The minister is now old, and must ere long rendered by infirmity incapable of the entire administration, civil and military, of this country. And it may be safely asserted that if his present unnatural system be left in *status quo* till his death or retirement, a crisis will occur which, whether it issue in civil war or in aggression on us, cannot fail most injuriously to effect our interests. There is not a Chief in Nepal with a title of Bhimsen's talent or energy ; and without an equally capable successor, it is more than probable that the Army, constituted as now, and animated with the spirit already described, would with great difficulty be kept in due obedience to the deliberate will of the State. The Darbar or rather its head, Bhimsen, therefore,

¹ The commercial relations of the Nepalese with Lahsa are very considerable. Several hundred Newars from the Valley are domiciled there, and few have residences at Kerrong and Kuti, both frontier towns of the Bhotias under Chinese protection. Besides, the Nepalese territory and that of Bhote, are in juxta position at the passes along the line of the Himalayas. I consider Mr. Hodgson's opinions on this head capable of modification for many reasons. First of all there cannot be any doubt that a British Government in Nepal could manage the intercourse with Bhote to the full as well as the barbarian Gorkhas. Secondly, there are four passes through the snowy mountains leading from Garhwal to Bhote, along which a trade between that district, the plains of Rohilkhund and Bhote is carried on, with disturbance or annoyance, and again there is the Barinda pass, as a channel of commerce on the extreme west of our hills, besides the road into Bhote along the bed of the Sutlege. Through Sikkim too a trade is carried on. Why should it not flourish through the Nepal passes of Kerrong or Kuti ?

ought, if possible, to be indirectly induced, and without further delay, to changing his system, or the spirit in which he adopted and has retained it, allowing it to be replaced by one more capable of being administered by ordinary hands, such as most necessarily take it up when he is compelled to let go the reins, as well as more suitable in regards to us.

Two things are deserving of note in reference to this matter. *First*, that the whole circumstances of the past and present being well known to the shrewd minister of Nepal, Mr. Gardner's acquiescence for 14 years ingratuitous sacrifice for the benefit of Nepal, which she repaid, before his face, with unmitigated alienation and obstruction, must have bred an injurious delusion in the mind of the minister. *Secondly*, that the recent enquiries which have been conducted into the economical wants and means of Nepal, lead to prove that both the commercial and political advantages anticipated from a free and favoured trade with Nepal in days of yore were no less feasible than desirable subsequent to 1816.

Should the Government hesitate as to the efficacy of indirect means intending to obviate prospective ills ; and should the undue amount of hostile preparations on our central frontier seem to demand the direct remedy for existing evils, the resumption of the Terai presents a legitimate medium of obtaining it. A threat to resume this valuable gift of ours as well as to annul the high commercial privileges heretofore enjoyed by her, would, most likely, be enough to induce the Darbar's abandonment of its hostile spirit towards us. But, as Nepal, though she does not value her rash and ruinous policy, yet it would not certainly give up the Terai without a war.

CHAPTER 16

CAMP, COURT, AND POLITICS OF NEPAL*

1. The aftermath of the treaty

The preceding Narrative leads us to the conclusion that our alliance with Nepal since the war has not been so happy in its effects as its eminently legitimate character and admirable spirit of moderation in which it has been uniformly conducted, entitled us to anticipate. There is no stipulation of treaty requiring or authorising the slightest degree of internal interference with the Darbar on our part; and we have steadfastly stood aloof from all transactions which might have had the practical consequence of inducing it. Nay more, we have consented to waive our own disputable rights, ceremonial or substantial, in deference to the supposed fears and jealousies of the Nepalese Government and people, whilst we have lent our willing aid towards giving the utmost beneficial scope to that intercourse of Nepal with the plains which is essential to her comfort and prosperity, and by virtue of which she has, in fact in less than 20 years, recovered from the losses of the war.

The causes of our disappointment with Nepal it is proper to seek with a view to remedial expedients. The causes are obviously three: *1st*, the exclusive military and aggressive genius of the Gorkha institutions, habits and sentiments. *2nd*, the indomitable pride and prejudice of that one remarkable man who has governed Nepal, with absolute power, from the pacification to this hour (1834). *3rd*, our undue and indiscriminating acquiescence in all his proceedings. With reference to the well known history and characteristics of the Gorkhas, I cannot but suppose that when in 1816, we prescribed mere territorial bars to their future indulgence in wars of aggression, with a perfect and enduring indifference to the correspondence or otherwise of their habits and sentiments with their new destiny, we did so, either in the belief that we had annihilated the military power of this nation, or from the conviction that no such moral agency was available to us without trenching on its independency.

2. Nepal's pecuniary sinews

The records indeed of this office distinctly indicate that when we

* Abstracts from Hodgson's *Recorded and Unrecorded Notes (1814) in the Nepal Residency Papers (I)*.

restored to Nepal the Eastern Terai we had no conception that we were giving back that which only needed a continued state of border security and tranquillity with full access to our markets to render it doubtly, quadruply more valuable pecuniarily than the Western hills—yet such was the fact! So likewise when we so cautiously shunned, in 1816 and afterwards, the quiet but efficient aid of commerce towards disposing the Gorkhas to cultivate the arts and habits of peace, we little imagined that Nepal then was, and has been for 26 years, paying one-fourth of the duties laid by us on our produce, by virtue of those commercial treaties which we then feared to name even; yet such again was the fact! Had we imagined that the pecuniary sinews of war could not be wanting to Nepal under the new settlement, we must have convinced her by her history and ruling passion that the moral sinews would always abound, if great pains were not immediately taken and preserved by us, a new bias on her character. And again, had we adverted to the actually existing unilateral operation of the commercial engagements of 1792 and of 1801, merely economical considerations must have predisposed us to attempt of making a free and favoured trade between the hills and the plains effectual towards gradually harmonising the sentiments and habits of the Nepalese with their circumstances. It appears, however, that no such accurate information relative either to the Terai, or to the commercial treaties, was possessed or made available for any purpose by us at that era (1816). The natural, perhaps the inevitable consequences now are that whilst habit is as uniform and sentiments as enthusiastic in favour of arms at Kathmandu as these were in 1814, the State is now master of a newly created revenue greatly larger than that which she lost by the result of contest with us; that her army is as numerous as ever, and much more efficient in regard to arms and all other munitions. And that she has a treasure of 40 lakhs, which is yearly added to, whilst none of her establishments are even a day in arrears! A good deal of this resuscitation of military energy might, assuming our entire acquiescence and indifference, have been anticipated by due advertence to the uniform career and propensities of the Gorkhas, from their origin as a nation; but its extraordinary and rapid completion is no doubt the casual consequence of one able and vigorous minister's plenary control over the country, under a minority which has not yet been declaredly terminated; because in this, as in every other respect, we have left Bhimsen entirely to himself.

3. Bhimsen's "all-engrossing usurpation"

Meanwhile, the delusion in regard to Nepal and the Minister who presides over her councils, is complete. Because the energy of her internal administration has precluded the least necessity of our meddling with it, and because the Residency has sufficed to protect our border districts in the plains from the old habitual encroachments, and our provinces generally, from the periodic visits of dacoits, harboured in her forests, we have been and are disposed to regard Nepal

as a well-inclined, or, at least, harmless neighbour. No sufficient notice has been taken of the regular and the rapid increase of her army ; of the circumstances of its being totally useless save for aggression on us ; of the studied avoidance of every voluntary emotion of goodwill, of the enormous pains increasingly bestowed to prevent the natural current of peaceful events from wearing out the martial fervour of the military classes, or from building the hills and plains together through an unimpeded exchange of their products.

It is time that these things should be thoroughly understood, since the critical position of Nepal with respect to our best and central provinces, renders her offensive means and disposition matters of highest importance to us. Unquestionably, then, she is now possessed of as formidable means of assault upon us as she ever had, and is animated (quoted by her Minister) by as hostile a spirit as ever. Nor is there any room to doubt that the old allegation "of fears and jealousies" in respect to us, is a fraud and a falsity. Such an allegation when applied to a people, may always be justly suspected, more especially in the East ; and whatever may have been the case formerly in Nepal in regard to the influential few, always, more or less, constituting or guiding the government, it is now pretty certain that they, as a body, entertain neither fears nor jealousies of the British Government—a result for which we are indebted partly to ample experience of our honourable conduct, partly to all-engrossing usurpation of the Minister, who has alone wielded the whole powers of the State from 1816 to the present time, not without aiding that usurpation by frequent ostentation of the hostile designs of our Government till the pretence has become, very generally, both odious and ridiculous. The soldiery, or military tribes, are at the present day, the only class of persons in Nepal, high or low (unconnected with Bhimsen's family) capable of being entirely deluded by this falsehood. Nepal is but too consciously secure in her mountains, her malaria and her poverty, nor is there any person here wholly ignorant that while these causes have led her to incessant aggression by fraud or force upon us and we have neither had motive or disposition to attack her save in self-defence.

4. Aversion to responsible intercourse

Her steady rejection of responsible intercourse with our Government as long as she had the power to reject it, never had other cause than the crafty rapacity of her rulers ; nor is Bhimsen's abiding aversion to that intercourse other than to a craving after the old licence of fraudulent unexplained encroachment upon us, with the further license of secretly maturing the means of open attack whenever it may be safely ventured on. If we advert to the success with which Nepal pursued the former object from 1787-1813, and to the advantage she would possess if uncontrolled by our presence here of repeating it and for entertaining the latter project, we shall be able to perceive, why under the influence of exclusively martial institutions, she still adheres to a policy which her situation

in regard to us must at first view seem too rash and ruinous to be upheld by so able a Minister as her's. Meanwhile, however explained and justified to himself and others, since 1816, Bhimsen's alienation and hostility towards us, may now not be safely said to command the sanction and approval of his compeers at Kathmandu, in whose perception its impolicy has perhaps been quickened by domestic wrongs.

It required, of course, some time to satisfy us of the ultimate scope and tendency of Bhimsen's policy, as well as to convince us that it was his especially, and not rather the general sentiment of the Chiefs; and after we had no further room to doubt on either head, still the energy of his internal administration together with his prudent actuation of chances of war with us, might well content us in a Nepalese minister, so long as we had no means of counter-action without trenching on the independent sovereign rights of this State.

5. The Terai trade

Time has now placed such means in our hands, and has revealed the real and ultimate tendency of Bhimsen's views in regard to our Government. The Terai, now so valuable to Nepal, is purposely excluded from her limits of the treaty; we have a right to close her Terai produce, or at least, her extensive duties on Nepalese produce with frontier *chowkis* to collect them; embargo on her trade, and the resumption of the Terai. Of our full rights to retaliate on Nepal by the immediate enforcement of all these measures, (should she refuse our pending tender of '92), there can be little doubt. But, as she would certainly not yield up the Terai without a war, we have a right to close our markets now so indispensable to the sale in particular of her Terai produce, or at least, her extensive and increasing commerce with us may be divided at our pleasure, the advantage of merely nominal duties. And the question for solution, therefore, is not whether we are to acquiesce in the all but avowed hostility of Nepal or commit ourselves to interference with her rights and independence, but whether such acquiescence is expedient when the means of redress are resumable favours grossly abused.

It would seem more expedient first to essay the effects of energetic remonstrance upon the general subject of commercial obligations of Nepal to us dating from 1792, and perhaps, of the further measure of claiming full and fair access to the communication with the sovereign of Nepal and his natural advisers—a communication from which we are now excluded, in defiance of usage and decorum, for obvious purpose of fraudulent misrepresentation.

6. The hostile alienation

The success of first of these steps, probably, and that of both, certainly would suffice to place our relations with Nepal upon a more satisfactory footing; and whatever may have been the wisdom of our heretofore unlimited acquie-

scence in Bhimsen's close and hostile system, there is this most intelligible reason why that acquiescence should now cease. He is himself at present 62 years old, and there can hardly be a question that his system could not be transferred in its entirety of excessive hostile preparation and prejudice to any hands in Nepal out of his without speedily producing a domestic crisis, in the vortex of which we must be, more or less involved. It is well deserving of attention that while the Minister has continued to manifest towards us as unequivocal symptoms of alienation as he dared to show, we have all along conceded to Nepal and still do, the frankest and fullest measure of advantage from the alliance, as will be perceived at once by a cursory allusion to the latter, or our means of counter-action.

When we restored the Terai to Nepal, she earnestly entreated us that it might be included in her limits by treaty ; this we declined, and gave her fairly to understand that it must remain on the footing of a reasonable boon, subject to the fulfilment by her of good faith and amity, to which she had pledged herself. Border security, and the command of our markets for its produce, have quintupled the value of the Terai since 1816. It now yields 12,00,000, and is the only medium through which Nepal is enabled to command silver for her currency, or maintain the balance of her trade with our provinces. Again the general sense of security diffused by the peace and alliance with our power has so increased her trade since 1816, that her customs now yield three times the sum they did in 1814, and notwithstanding her total neglect of the corresponding obligation to us, we have all along permitted her, and still do, to drive this trade with our provinces at merely nominal duties. By virtue of the Commercial Treaty of 1792 (confirmed by that of 1801), she has been subject to a custom duty of only 2½% for upwards of 40 years, without any equivalent rendered to us, and the trade which has thus fostered, at the sacrifice of crores of revenue, has now become a material item for her resources and indispensable to the comfort of all classes of her subjects save the poorest. Advantages such as these have not been continued to Nepal under an alien and hostile administration without tending to breed delusion in the mind of Bhimsen who has thence been led to suppose possible the reconciling the concurrent maintenance of a most intimate and beneficial intercourse with the plains, with avowed hostile alienation towards the masters of the plains.

Had the option been tended to the Minister, 10 years ago, of equal responsible intercourse between the two countries, or none at all, it seems difficult to suppose that he would have elected the latter. But if delay in making this tender has been prejudicial in some respects, it had been beneficial in others, time having so matured and extended the peaceful dependence of Nepal upon us that whether our demand of reciprocation be now accepted or refused by her, the means of legitimate *redress* are equally in our power. And the question of solu-

tion now is not whether we are to acquiesce in all-but-avowed hostility of Nepal to our Government or commit ourselves to interfere with her rights and independence, but whether such acquiescence be expedient when satisfaction may be had by the resumption of the highest favours grossly abused.

7. Prelude to retaliation

Of our just title at once to retaliate on Nepal by full or double duties on her trade, and by the resumption of the Terai, there can be as little doubt as of the efficiency of such measures in half disarming her hostility towards us. But as she would not yield up the Terai without a war, the enforcement of other measures would not suffice to render her anger impotent, while it would exacerbate her humours and cut off all hope of security. It would seem more expedient before resorting to retaliation, to place in a formal manner before the Minister, the full extent of Nepal's present dependence on our goodwill, to let him know distinctly that our forbearance and patience are exhausted, and unless he is prepared to observe for the future a more equitable conduct towards us, he must expect the withdrawal of those advantages which have been heretofore accorded without equivalent.

We consider the obvious and ruinous rashness of Bhimsen's unnatural system towards us, the excessive prosecution of it by himself without concert of his sovereign or compeers, his false position with respect to them in relation to domestic rights or the efficacy and justice of our means of retaliation whilst this Minister guides the helm of this State. An efficient administration, a frontier unencroached on and well policed, are the advantages for which we are indebted to Bhimsen, and it is beyond a question that as long as he continues Minister of Nepal, and the British Government maintains its vantage ground, the Residency will be adequate, by securing these advantages to keep us free from the peculiar evils of the past. Bhimsen is too sagacious a man to resume under the eye of the Resident that system of furtive encroachments on our frontier, which succeeded so well in 1780-1813. No one more eagerly than himself would resume these ancient and favourite tactics of the State, were the chances but the same as of old. Able as he is, he is still but a native, ready at the imperious promptings of prejudice and of habit to risk all upon a series of cunning devices where success seems possible, and detection and punishment remote. So that if he were a young man and gave promise of a longer life, it might be perhaps upon the whole to best plan to rest satisfied, with our present perfectly efficient means of preventing another contest induced like the last, and with the further advantage, upon the actual occurrence of any adequate crisis, to join the opposite party in the Darbar, and make its sentiments prevail, which however is not the case.

Bhimsen is old, and a very few years must necessitate his retirement.

There is no statesman of Nepal with a tithe of his weight of character or reputation to succeed him ; and it is here the general and just opinion that a feebler successor would soon behold a masterless soldiery defying the deliberate will of the State, when we should become at once exposed to the hazard of precipitate assault, and to the almost certain loss of the existing advantages of the alliance.

Are we, then, with such a proximate prospect before us—aggravated by the present incumbency of 30,000 hostile troops upon our central frontier, ready to be poured down upon us from any quarter whilst he retains his place, quietly to acquiesce in the various risks ? Or, are we, without delay and effectually to essay the means to divert the Minister from his present suicidal policy, to the adoption of a system more consistent with Nepal's obligations to us. *Après nous le deluge* is Bhimsen's avowed sentiment ; but the expediency of our unqualified acquiescence in it may perhaps be doubted. It would seem to be our duty immediately to place before the Minister's eyes the full extent of Nepal's present dependence on our goodwill, and to insist on the spirit and the letter of the treaty of 92, in such a manner as to make it produce on both sides an equal and unshackled commercial intercourse between the two countries.

8 Bhimsen's "folly"

We must render Nepal a *permanently* safe and friendly neighbour. That part of Bhimsen's policy towards us which consists in tricking us out of all the advantages of the alliances whilst he reciprocates none, we have but to announce our determination peremptorily to stay, in order to induce him perhaps to sacrifice his practiced Chinese maxim rather than lose the great and increasing benefits of that highly favoured intercourse with our dominions. Nor is it wholly unreasonable to conclude that the anti-social branch of his policy being thus necessarily abandoned, he would desist from his rash and ruinous straining after hostile preparation and without further hindrance would suffer the natural current of peaceful events gradually to undumine the old martial prejudices, and bind the countries together through the medium of their natural wants. His position with respect to his own sovereign and compeers is not one which leaves him at full leisure to devote all his energies to wanton and unjust opposition to our legitimate aims.

Should the Minister resolutely set his face against concurrence with us in these views, and should all direct appeal to the Rajah and his natural advisers on this, or any other subject be still objected to, it must then I conceive at once become necessary to resort to the first of the series of retaliatory measures already enumerated—the happiest and most probable consequence of which procedure on our part would be to convince Bhimsen of his folly, by raising a popular cry against the bitter fruits of his unintelligible secret and perverse schemes in relation to our Government.

1834

9. *Quid pro quo**

When we came here, and several years afterwards, neither the advantages of the alliance for Nepal, nor her implacable hostility were very remarkable ; now both are strikingly so. Her perfect command of our markets has enabled her to triple her Terai revenues, and triple her customs. She has thus more than increased her ancient revenues, and with the Terai in particular ; twenty years more of the same secure access to our territories, her sales and purchases will raise a financial ability far above her former standard. Heretofore she has turned in every rupee of these new revenues into a means of prospective hostility towards us.

Her Terai is one resumable gift, and her commerce is cherished at the expense of our own produce by merely nominal duties. What is our reward ? That inspite of her now ample experience of our integrity and friendliness she continues year after year, to threaten us with most undue and continually increasing military fore. In Mr. Gardner's time, she wanted experience of our political integrity ; she exhibited by no means the existing undue amount of overt hostility.

The circumstances now are not the same. Year after year, as her resources derived certainty from the alliance have increased, she has added to her army and her warlike stores and equipments, and with increasing proofs of injustice and animosity, she has gone on accumulating fresh means again to assault us. Without internal need for a thousand soldiers, and without no possible external adversary but ourselves, she has gradually raised her army upto the standard of 1814. When we gave back the Terai, we expressly refused to let it be included within her limits of the treaty. The consideration of the gift was friendship, and the exclusion of it from the treaty boundary avowed privilege of resumption on breach of the consideration. Secondly, command of our markets, and exemption from duties have raised the value of this gift from 2,00,000 to 12,00,000 rupees in 20 years since the war.

Was there even a more evident proof of the benefits of peace and friendship offered by one nation to the other ? In the same period by the same causes, the customs of Nepal have been raised from 80,000 to 2,50,000 rupees, and to favour the commerce which has thus been productive of revenue, we have charged her goods with only a fourth of the duty which we have levied on own. Assuming the revenue of Nepal to be 35,00,000, rupees 15,00,000 nearly, or one-third are now the sheer result of our amity and friendship and our markets have become,

* Abstracts from a private letter (20 December, 1834) written to Lord Auckland—*Hodgson Papers* (I).

both for the sale and purchase vitally indispensable to Nepal. Is an ally thus pre-eminently favoured, to continue *sine die*, overtly to threaten our central frontier with hostile aggression? Is it to be permitted to continue drawing from our bosom the principal means of assault on us? The accession of revenue from the Terai and from commerce having gone on with a continually increasing ratio, measuring by their increase that of the hostile means of Nepal.

Neither the favours bestowed by us, nor the ungrateful abuse of them, were in his (Gardner's) time, conspicuous and unquestionable, as now; and the hope was still entertained that peace and experience of its advantages would turn the Darbar from the further persecution of its ancient system of alienation and hostility towards us. Every fresh resource resulting from peace has been forged into a weapon of war. Have we not long enough acquiesced in this abuse of our generosity? It is an old and accredited observation respecting us that in our foreign relations we are far less wise than honourable. Never was one nation so favoured by another as Nepal has been since the war by us. Looking at the result, it is more apparent that something more like equivalency should have been our aim from the first, yet that it should be so now. Twenty years have been given to the experiment. In future it is expedient to adopt the *quid pro quo* system both in matters of courtesy and in matters of subsistence.

10. Political scene (1837)*

1837

The Gorkhas are eminently national and united, that their union is recent, illustrated by splendid success in arms, and supported by the unsophisticated simplicity of their highland character. They have neither arts nor literature, nor commerce, a rich soil to draw off their attention from arms; and they have that lusty hardihood of character and contempt for drudgery which make war especially congenial.

I have often said, and now repeat, that when in 1816 we drew a line round the territory of these men, leaving them no outlet save upon ourselves, we should either have crippled them effectually or have insisted on a change in their institutions, giving the surplus soldiery employment in our own armies. We did neither, we did nothing then or subsequently, and we now see the fruits of our mistakes and indifference. Rulers are apt to fancy that, when they make a great effort, the crowning work has been achieved once and for all, and calmly and justly as Lord Hastings characterised the people and the war before and pending its progress, no sooner was it over than he inostensibly stole to that conclusion.

In the twenty years that we have been here since the war, we have seen nothing but drills and parades, heard nothing but the roar of cannon or the clink

* From a confidential report by Hodgson (1837) prepared for Lord Auckland, *Hodgson Papers* (I).

of the hammer in arsenal or magazine. Soldiers have been and are heads of the law and finance at Kathmandu, and administrators of the interior. Soldiers have been and are everything, and they are and have been headed by a plenary viceroy (Bhimsen) of that old stamp which must support its habitual aggression at home by pandering to the soldiery, and teaching them to look to aggression abroad. It is a remarkable fact, moreover, that since we had first to do with this Darbar in 1792, we have had to deal exclusively with a man having, by the essential tenure of his station, one hand against his prince and the other against his neighbours. The Rajah or head of outs is young himself, has two young wives and seven young children. Reasonable indulgence and addiction to pleasure of various kinds may be expected from them, though not from their old and iron-minded opponent. And if a young Court once gave way to recreation, there would soon be a diversion of funds inconsistent with the past and existing sacrifices of all things to an inordinate and useless army.

* * * *

But there is no probability of a contest between the parties, and would not their cutting each other's throats be a sufficient security for us? I do not expect any strike in the shape of civil war, through the chiefs may, *more majorum*, draw their swords on each other. Nor do I deem it a safe presumption that a civil war, if it occurred, would benefit us. Civil wars have rather a tendency to feed than to quench martial spirit and power, and if one broke out here, I should expect it to be diverted *per fas et nefas* upon us before it had raged three months. But there is no probability of its occurrence. The unsophisticated character and eminent nationality of the Nepalese soldiery, as they have ever stayed domestic wars in the past times, so they doubtless will in the future. There is no instance of it in the turbulent history of the people and, cypher as the Rajah has been and still seems to be, and omnipotent as the Minister has been and still seems to be, no one here doubts, that if the former willed the death of the latter, the Minister's head would be as speedily off as was that of Damodar Pande (the Bhimsen of his day) in 1802. I, therefore, neither expect civil war, nor think it could possibly be of advantage to us if it occurred. In all human probability it would speedily afford occasion for the turbulent and reckless to assault us, come what might of the struggle.

So long as order prevails, so long I think we could, if we deemed it expedient, by coming forward distinctly to countenance the weaker party at present, give it the preponderance. But I would not advise such a proceeding unless the Minister were clearly seeking to drive things to extremity with us, because he felt that quiet must undo him at home. This sort of crisis expected, I would continue looking on merely as heretofore until the expected change occurs; or, until having occurred, it produce no amendment or promise of amendment. If the change come not soon or come without improvement,

I would take the first fair occasion of a reckoning with Nepal: If the change seems to tremble in balance, wanting but a simple manifestation on our part in favour of the legitimate head of that State, that manifestation should be made by-and-by and under a distincter probability of quiet efficacy than now exists. In the mode there need be no interference so called. For we are certainly entitled to have our general views and purposes fairly stated in the Darbar, and a civil letter from the Governor-General to the Rajah saying that his Lordship had for sometime past expected the agreeable news of his Highness majority, would under many probable phases of party, suffice.

* * * *

11. Politics of Ranjung Pande*

1839

Even now, though Ranjung is not yet confirmed in the premiership, and perhaps may not, after all, be so, yet under his predominant secret influence many severities, are inflicted and more apprehended and the great body of chiefs is extremely disgusted and discontented. The senior Rani's irregular and violent ambition is said to find a ready tool in Ranjung for the accomplishment of her particular purposes, on the condition she prove herself (as she professes to be) equally pliant in regard to his particular ends. She wants revenge on his numerous enemies; and the Rajah, though he dreads with reason both the one and the other, and thus continues to withhold the confirmation in the premiership from Ranjung, yet gradually gives way to his imperious spouse, seduced by extravagant promises of the mighty things, which Ranjung is to achieve against the Company, when he has the complete direction of affairs. Meanwhile, every step he makes to power is marked by actual or threatened retaliation and severity at home, and by secret instigations of every species of covert hostility abroad.

He appears not in any matter but he really guides all through the senior Rani, and he it is who so often marred the Rajah's better purpose when His Highness was ready to lay aside severities at home and intrigues on the plains. All persons of mark now look to the Company's Government, and earnestly hope that the Governor-General will ere long be led to address the Rajah in such terms as may frighten him into justice at home and abroad and redeem him from the toils of the Rani and Ranjung Pande, whose unjust and irregular ambition threaten equal mischief to the State in its domestic and its foreign relations.

Several times the Rajah has been made to hesitate and draw back from

* From a letter dated 14 April, 1839—Hodgson Papers (1)

his meditated injustice. The junior Rani dreads that her children will be sacrificed to the jealousy of the senior Rani, their eyes being put out or their lives made away with by foul practices, and she is meditating some possible means of appeal to the Resident.

12. Court Intrigues

The court physicians have destroyed themselves because banishment proved no protection to them, and they were loaded with irons and otherwise oppressed after they had been again spared and even sent to their destination. The Court has therefore the blood of these Brahmans upon its head, and all persons anticipate misfortunes to the kingdom therefrom. Bhimsen's brother has turned *faqir* to escape from perpetually renewed alarms, and Bhimsen considers himself safe only because his nephew Matabar Singh is beyond the Darbar's power, and would join the English and open the way to their armies to Kathmandu if Bhimsen were presently made away with. The Darbar earnestly desires to get back Matabar Singh and also Randut Shah to Nepal and the Governor-General should take good care that neither of them yet returns, for whilst they are below, the Darbar will never dare to come to extremities with the Company.

The Rajah's temper is spoiled and soured, so that the most respectable Chiefs are reportedly subjected to coarse abuse or to actual or threatened extortions, upon pretence of bribery and malversation in office under the long administration of the Thapas. Meanwhile, secret intrigues with the plains with a view to excite discontent among the Company's subjects and conspiracy amongst its dependent allies are going on as actively as ever.

There are now at Kathmandu secret envoys from all the following states: Gwalior, Satara, Baroda, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotali, Bundi, Rewa, Panna and the Punjab (Dhian Singh); and the intercourse thus set afoot the Darbar is determined to maintain. Meanwhile partly in order to be ready fully to meet the expected opportunity of open rupture, hostile preparations of all sorts continue to be actually made.

Between fear and hate, the Darbar suffers not itself to have a moment's rest, but so little is it governed by prudence in its proceedings, that at the very moment when it would fain break with the Company, it scruples not to misuse and alarm in an extreme degree the great majority of those Chiefs who alone could second its wishes in the event of war. A rash and violent woman aiming at uncontrolled sway governs the Darbar, and all men of experience anticipate the worst that can happen unless renewed dread of the Company should speedily recall the Rajah to safer counsels and more resolution in abiding by them.

7

BOOK FOUR

War with the English

Lord Hastings' Narrative of the Nepalese War, summarized from his numerous Secret Letters to the Court, is a masterpiece of style though not of precision. It is loaded with superfluous details and an army of enclosures ; but notwithstanding its aggressive and anti-Nepalese tenor, it may still be regarded as a fairly accurate contemporary account of the origin and progress of the Anglo-Nepalese conflict. Hastings refers in subdued manner the British reverses, but dilates profusely on political settlement. We do not possess any equivalent Nepalese version of the stirring events, which convulsed Nepal in 1814-16, but brought out the finest qualities of her patriotic sons and brave soldiers, the latter won from Ocherlony the candid approbation : "the Company's sepoy could never be brought to resist the shock of these mountaineers on their own ground."

CHAPTER 17

WAR WITH THE ENGLISH, 1814-1816*

1. Preliminary review

I Proceed to Submit to your Honourable Committee a connected view of the origin and progress of the war with the State of Nepal. The detailed and comprehensive reports which have been submitted from time to time to the Honourable the Court of Directors, concerning the discussions in which the British Government has been for several years engaged with the State of Nepal, originating exclusively in the rapacious and insatiable spirit of that State, will not relieve me from the necessity of recapitulating in some detail the events and transactions which preceded the actual commencement of hostilities. I would review the course of events whence we have been placed in a state of hostility with a nation, which notwithstanding the contiguity of its territories to those of the Honourable Company, of the Vazier, and the protected territory beyond the Jumna, throughout the extensive line of frontier comprehended between the Teista and the Sutlege, scarcely appeared to enter into the system of our political relations.

It is not necessary to recur to the events which led to the mission of Lieutenant-Colonel Knox, which terminated in the conclusion of a treaty of amity with the State of Nepal; to the anterior embassy of Major-General Kirkpatrick, or to the still more remote transactions connected with the expedition of Captain Kinloch in the year 1767. The details of those events do not effect the origin or causes of the present war. It may be sufficient to remark, that one of the objects of disputes which have given rise to the war owes its remote origin to the consequences of Captain Kinloch's expedition; and that the ulterior objects of Kirkpatrick's and Knox's missions, were defeated by the enmity and jealousy of a party, which subsequently acquired the exclusive power of the State, and has by its violence, injustice, and rapacity, produced the existing contest, and whose blind obstinacy, there is reason to believe, presents the only obstacle to pacification.

The jealousy of the Government of Nepal manifested itself not only during the negotiations of the treaty concluded by Knox, but in the anxiety evinced for his departure from Kathmandu; and the total absence of every

* Abstracts from Lord Moira's *Secret Letters to the Court—BISL (I), 1778-1859 (Series I)*.

semblance of cordiality compelled the Governor General-in-Council, at an early period, to declare the treaty dissolved. From that period, no intercourse or communication of any moment took place between the two Governments, until the encroachments of the Nepalese in the Terai of Butwal compelled the British Government to remonstrate, and afterwards to advance a force in that direction in support of its rights.

2. Nepalese encroachments

In these encroachments commenced that series of discussions and controversy, which was continued at intervals through a period of ten years, marked on the part of this Government by unexampled moderation, and on that of the Nepalese by increasing audacity, insolence and rapacity, the impunity and success of which tone at length emboldened them to venture in an open and avowed outrage. Every district of the Honourable Company's dominions, throughout the extensive line of the frontier has been the scene of their encroachments. These encroachments were also extended below the hills lying between the Sutlege and the Jumna into the Sikh territory. I shall proceed to advert to each of these cases of aggression.

Purnea and Tirhut. In the year 1808, an officer of the Nepalese Government stationed in the adjoining province of Morung, seized the zamindari of Bhimnagar in the district of Purnea. This aggression had taken place several years before ; and had been the subject of correspondence with that Government. The Nepalese showing no disposition to relinquish the territory, the British Government resolved to recover the lands by force. Injuries of a different description have been experienced from the Nepalese Government. Morung had been for years an asylum for robbers, who issuing from that district, have after committing depredations on the subjects of the Honourable Company, retreated beyond the pursuit of our police officers into the Nepalese territory, where they have received systematic and effectual protection. The encroachments of the Gorkhas in the district of Tirhut appear to have been of every considerable extent. From a report of the Magistrate of Tirhut, prepared under the orders of the Governor General-in-Council, it appears that at different periods between 1787 and 1812, more than two hundred villages have been usurped by the Nepalese.

Khyreegarh etc. The scene of encroachments committed by the Gorkhas in the *zillah* of Bareilly was the *parganna* of Khyreegarh, a tract of considerable extent divided by the rest of the district by the river Gogra. Of the eight *taluks* of which Khyreegarh is composed, the Gorkhas had occupied five, namely, Buns Burdea, Setawal, Seek Pakolee, Mahalwara and Pulunha. The three first were usurped previously to the occasion in 1801, and the other two since the year 1807.

The extension of encroachments had not attracted particular notice

until the year 1811, when the construction of a fort by the Gorkhas in the recently usurped lands, drew the attention of the Magistrate of Bareilly. The Governor-General's Agent in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces addressed Bum Shah, the Subadar of Almora, on the subject and a report from the collector left no doubt that the whole of the five *ta'luks* had been unjustly seized by the Nepalese. The Gorkhas laid claim to a considerable tract of territory in the district of Moradabad, consisting of the *pargannas* of Ruderpur, Kashipur, Nanuck Mahtah, Subra, and Belhari. The claim was founded on the alleged fact of the lands having belonged formerly to the Rajah of Kumaon, whose mountain possessions having been conquered by the Gorkhas, they pretended to derive from that circumstance a right to these lands also. The claim was refuted with the exception of the *parganna* of Kelpoory.

Between the Jumna and the Sutlege. The next instance of encroachment occurred in the territory between the Jumna and the Sutlege. In the month of May 1813, Amar Singh Thapa, the Gorkha commander in that quarter, invested four villages situated below the hills and belonging to Rajah Ram Saran, the expelled chief of Hindur, a district in the hills which had been conquered by the Gorkhas. Ram Saran applied for the protection of the British Government, to Major-General Ochterlony, who proceeded to remonstrate with Amar Singh against the violation of the boundary which had been adopted for that quarter by mutual consent. To explain this last observation, it is necessary to revert to the correspondence and proceedings of 1810.

In the month of December 1809, Amar Singh applied to Major-General Ochterlony, for the aid of the British Government in reducing the fort of Kangra, belonging to Rajah Sansar Chand, in the siege of which he was engaged. A representation was, at the same time made by Dewan Mohkam Chand, on the part of Ranjit Singh, with a view to secure our neutrality. Major-General Ochterlony declared that the British Government, consistently with the principles which it had uniformly professed, would abstain from taking any part in the contest. Amar Singh was apprized that he could not be permitted to extend his conquests below the hills. At this time Amar Singh entertained an intention of reducing and occupying the fort of Pinjore, situated below the hills, and Major-General Ochterlony pointed out to him the necessity of desisting from this enterprise, which was accordingly relinquished. These transactions must have served to convince the Government of Nepal our resolution to protect the territory below the hills. In the month of April 1813, however, he laid claim to four villages situated below the hills, invested them, while two others, Mundla and Betowly were seized by the Gorkha troops commanded by his son Ranjor Singh. These proceedings formed the subject of immediate remonstrance on the part of Major-General Ochterlony, and after much correspondence with Amar Singh, the discussion terminated in the retreat of Gorkha troops and the relinquishment

of claims to the villages.

Butwal and Sheoraj. In 1804, a claim was brought forward by the Government of Nepal to the management of the low lands of Butwal, to which that Government stated itself to be entitled, as representing its former tributary, the Rajah of Palpa. At the same time, the Nepalese appeared disposed to assert this inadmissible claim by force, and a considerable body of troops was assembled on the frontier, with the apparent design of occupying the low lands ; while proclamations were issued by the Nepalese officers in Palpa, declaring the authority of the Rajah of Nepal to be established in Butwal, and a formal transfer of lands there, formerly held by the Rajah of Palpa, was made to the Rajah of Gulmi, another Hill Chief. A party of Nepalese troops about the same time entered a village in the Honourable Company's possessions, and seized the persons of some Nepalese subjects residing there, whom they carried away. On these transactions becoming known to the Government, the Governor-General addressed a letter to the Rajah of Nepal on the 18th August, 1804, remonstrating against these unwarrantable proceedings, requiring him to withdraw his troops from the menacing position which they occupied on the frontier ; to adjust the matter amicably ; and to liquidate the arrears of the revenue of Sheoraj, calling on the Rajah at the same time to produce proofs of his claims to the possession of Sheoraj.

In his reply to the Governor-General's letter, the Rajah denied the right of the British Government to interfere with respect to Sheoraj ; asserted his right to the management of the *zamindari* of Butwal, by virtue of his succession to all rights of the Rajah of Palpa, and promised to pay the revenue for which the latter engaged regularly to the British Government. In the month of November 1805, the Gorkhas occupied two-thirds of the district of Butwal situated to the west of the Terai. On a full view of these proceedings, the right of the British Government both to Butwal and Sheoraj, derived from cession by the Vazier, appeared to Sir George Barlow to be incontestably proved, and he resolved to demand the instant relinquishment of the former by the Nepalese Government, determining at the same time, with a view to conciliate the Nepalese Government, to transfer to it the *ta'luk* of Sheoraj.

Towards the end of 1811, further aggressions took place without the slightest pretence of warning, and were pushed even beyond the Terai, in an eastern direction in the district of Palee, and extended from Sheoraj into the adjoining *tuppah* of Debrooah. I mention rather an instance of the arrogance and insolence to which they had now arrived, than as a matter of importance, that a *faqir* appeared at a burial place of some Muhammadan saints within the limits of the Honourable Company's territory, with a grant from the Rajah of Nepal of the offerings made at the shrines of the saints ! When remonstrations were made to Amar Singh Thapa against the encroachments of Palee and Debrooah,

they were not only disregarded, but further encroachments were made.

3. Proceedings of the Commissioners

The serious aspect which the encroachments now assumed, induced the Governor General-in-Council to reconsider the whole question, with a view to regular discussion and adjustment. The Rajah's Vakil at the Residency was told that the Government was determined to repel by force the recent encroachments, or any attempts to new ones, leaving the former questions for amicable adjustment. The reply of the Rajah was received acquiescing to the proposed mode of procedure, and declaring his intention to appoint Commissioners to meet those of the British Government after the close of the rainy season. Major Bradshaw was accordingly appointed Commissioner on the part of the British Government, and proceeded to Butwal, where he was met by the Nepalese Commissioners. At the particular desire of the Rajah, the Nepalese Vakil, Kishan Pandit, who had so long resided at the Presidency, and who was acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, joined the Commissioner on the frontier. His brother, Raghunath Pandit, Guru or spiritual guide of the Rajah, also repaired to Butwal and to be present at the conference.

In order to preserve the continuity of the narrative, I shall submit, as shortly as possible, a view of their tenor and the result of the proceedings. With regard to Butwal, the deposition of the witnesses failed in establishing the points which they were brought to prove; but had they succeeded, it is not obvious that the claim of the Nepalese Government would have derived any support from it, since the circumstance of the Butwal lands being held rent-free by Prithipal Singh would not have any weight, unless it was proved that he held them from the Nepalese Government by an undisputed grant. With respect to Sheoraj, the long occupation of this district antecedently to the cession, was admitted, though the right of the Nepalese to hold it in sovereignty, at least, was always resisted. By the books of the Kanungoes of Bansi, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw established, that out of sixteen years antecedent to cession during which the Nepalese held Sheoraj, the revenues of ten years had been paid to the officers of the Vazier's Government. He therefore maintained the claim of the British Government to Sheoraj.

The proceedings of the Commissioners being closed, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw called on the Commissioners, and the two Pandits, who conducted the investigation on the part of the Government of Nepal, to admit the just claims of the British Government, and to direct the Nepalese officers to withdraw from the disputed lands, and to obtain the Rajah's orders to that effect. At the same time, however, the Governor General-in-Council formed the resolution of resuming by force the disputed lands, if the perverse counsels of the Rajah should lead him to refuse the just demands of the British Government; and the

necessary communication was made to the Commander-in-Chief, in order to being prepared for such a procedure.

With respect to the question of the twenty-two villages of Nunnore, the Gorkhas rest their claim to them on a decision of Mr. Hastings, in 1783. The following statement of fact will show the entire fallacy of this ground of claim. After the failure of the expedition of Captain Kinloch to Nepal in 1767, that officer was employed to reduce the Terai of Mackwanpur, for the purpose of indemnifying to the Honourable Company the expenses of the expedition. After retaining the Terai and making the collections during two years it was restored to the Gorkhali Rajah, who had now established his authority over Nepal and Mackwanpur. The *parganna* of Simroan was composed of the *tuppahs* of Nunnore and Rotechut, of which the former was retained by the Company at the time of restoration. The Nepalese being dissatisfied with this decision, Mr. Hastings in 1783 reconsidered the case, and pronounced Rotechut to belong to the Nepalese Government, and Nunnore, the other division of the *parganna* Simroan remaining as before in the possession of the Honourable Company, and no difference or question of any kind being arisen respecting the boundary, until the violent proceedings of the Nepalese Government commenced in June 1811.

The case of the villages of Narkuttia is almost equally flagrant. These lands had been in the possession of the proprietors of Narkuttia, subjects of the Honourable Company for a period of forty years, when they were suddenly seized and the villages burned by the Nepalese Subadar Dasrut Khetre. Some disputes regarding the boundaries of the villages of Bhowra and Bhowree appear to have occurred between the subjects of two Governments in 1785, when the parties agreed to settle it by arbitration. The boundary so fixed was adhered to without question till the year 1808, when fresh disputes arose, and a tract of land within the boundary was claimed by the Nepalese, by whom it was forcibly seized in 1811. These disputes show the uniform violence and injustice which have characterised the proceedings of the Gorkhas for some years past, and the systematic design of that people to extend their frontier at the expense of the Honourable Company and its subjects, without the slightest regard to justice or even decency.

The death of Subah Lachungir has been dwelt on with peculiar earnestness by the Nepalese Government as a proof of the aggressive spirit of our subjects. In fact it has not been made out which party was the immediate aggressor in which Lachungir was slain. The probability appeared, indeed, rather against the people of Bettiah, but there is no doubt that, whatever may have been the misconduct of the people of Bettiah on that particular occasion, in the commencement of the affray, the provocation which they had received, and the absence of the support of their own Government, constitute strong grounds for an indulgent consideration of their behaviour. The Government of Nepal could have no

tenable claim to expect that they should be brought to trial for what it was pleased to consider as an offence against it. Subsequent discoveries have placed the guilt of Subah Lachungir beyond all doubt. They establish his deliberate intention of seizing by force the twenty-two villages, and that if he had not been resisted and lost his life, they would have been seized in 1811.

4. Demand for restoration

On the whole, we were satisfied that the utmost that the Nepalese could fairly expect was, that Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw and the Nepalese Commissioners should meet for the purpose of discussing the question on the spot, on the basis of the investigation actually closed, and of supplying any deficiencies in that investigation by further local enquiry. Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw was instructed to invite the Commissioners to meet him for that purpose and to proceed to make a formal demand of the renunciation of their pretensions to the twenty-two villages of Nunnore, and of the surrender of the lands on the Saran frontier, which were still in their possession. He was instructed to address this demand either to the Commissioners or to the Rajah, and to accompany it with an implicit but moderate declaration, that if it were not complied with, the British Government would be compelled to enforce its right.

On the receipt of these instructions, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw addressed a note to the Commissioners and the Vakil Kishan Pandit, proposing a meeting for the purpose of examining and discussing the former proceedings. In reply the Commissioners addressed a long letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw declaring that they would not meet him, nor hold any communication with him; and revoking the conditional transfer of twenty-two villages, demanded that Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw should instantly quit the frontier. This insulting and unprovoked declaration and conduct of the Nepalese Commissioners, could be ascribed to no other motive than a previous determination not to fulfil the obligations of justice, the force of which they could not contest, and left to the British Government no other course than to do itself that right which was refused by the Government of Nepal.

It was determined that I should address a letter to the Rajah, reviewing the conduct of the Commissioners, stating that the rash and hasty proceedings on their part rendered all other proceedings of the nature of enquiry or investigation fruitless; requiring the Rajah to withdraw his officers from the lands and renounce his claims. Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw was informed of our resolution, and instructed to proceed, in the event of either a refusal or an evasion of our demand, at once to resume the usurped lands still held by the Nepalese officers, and to declare the twenty-two villages of Nunnore annexed to the dominions of the Honourable Company. By a previous arrangement with the Commander-in-Chief, a force, consisting of three companies of regular infantry

and three companies of the Bettiah local corps, was prepared to support the operation. To this force was afterwards joined two field-pieces, with their proportion of artillery-men, and a squadron of Gardner's irregular horse.

The answer of the Rajah of Nepal contained a refusal to surrender the disputed lands and an assertion that his own right to them had been established by the result of Mr. Young's investigation. On receipt of this letter we instructed Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw to proceed to execute the orders, which he had previously received; and they were accordingly carried into effect, and our authority re-established throughout the disputed lands without opposition.

5. The Ultimatum

About this time we conferred the military command of the Bettiah frontier on Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw. We had thus no choice but to proceed to carry into effect the measures we had determined. Previously, however, to taking the final and decisive step, we determined to make one more attempt to effect an amicable adjustment of the affair, and a letter was addressed to the Rajah urging him to transmit to his officers in Butwal and Sheoraj immediate orders to surrender these lands. I informed him, at the same time, that the Magistrate of Gorakhpur had been instructed, in the event of his refusal or delay beyond a limited time, to direct the troops to occupy the lands, for the consequences of which the Rajah's Government alone would be responsible. The term of 25 days from the date of despatch of my letter from Gorakhpur was fixed, as the period awaiting the Rajah's reply. An arrangement had been concerted with the Commander-in-Chief for holding in readiness at Gorakhpur, a force adequate to the expected service, and a detachment of seventeen companies of Native Infantry, with two guns, was formed at Gorakhpur for the purpose, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson.

The Rajah's answer to my letter was received on the 4th of May. It entirely evaded the true merits of the question, declaring that no settlement had been effected by Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw and expressed an intention to depute an agent to Calcutta for the adjustment of depending differences. The letter could be regarded in no other light than a peremptory refusal to surrender the lands. The specified period of 25 days having expired, the Magistrate of Gorakhpur (Mr. Martin) directed the persons whom he proposed to establish as police officers in the resumed lands to advance and establish their thanas. The Nepalese officers having resisted this proceeding, the Magistrate's thanadars retired, and, the troops which had been advanced to Lowtun, marched into the disputed lands, which they occupied without opposition, the Nepalese troops retiring as ours advanced.

6. Nepalese counter-attack

In consequence of the advanced period of the season when this measure

was determined on, there was a necessity for withdrawing the regular troops as soon as possible, on account of the sickness to which they would have fallen prey. On the whole, when the necessity of early retirement of the troops was represented by the Commander-in-Chief, it was judged best to hazard the consequences of their being withdrawn. An attempt having been made on the thana of Sheoraj, we authorised the repair of a small ghari or fort at that place for the accommodation and defence of the police officers. On the morning of 29th May, three of the thannas in Butwal were attacked by a large force of the Nepalese headed by Munraj Faujdar, an officer of the Government, who succeeded in driving out the police officers, killing eighteen and wounding four of them. Among the former was the thanadar of Chilwa, who was murdered in cold blood with circumstances of cruel barbarity, by Munraj Faujdar, after having surrendered himself as prisoner. The whole of the lands of Butwal which had been resumed from the Nepalese were thus re-occupied by their arms. This unwarrantable and atrocious procedure was capable of no interpretation, but a determined intention of resting the issue of the lately depending questions on an appeal to the sword. The Nepalese Government was therefore necessarily considered to have placed the two States in the relation of war.

7. Gorkha "passion" for war

A connective narrative is more necessary, on account of the professions impudently advanced by the Nepalese Government of its solicitude to settle every thing by amicable adjustment. In the whole extent of the voluminous correspondence and laborious enquiries which those discussions have involved, it does not occur to my recollection that anything in the shape of evidence produced by the Nepalese can for a moment weigh against the clear, authentic and irrefragable proofs of the right adduced by the British Government. Indeed, such was the overweening opinion of themselves, which a long course of uninterrupted success had given to the Gorkhas, and so inaccurate were their notions of our resources, that they would not have shunned immediate rupture, had they not thought that their schemes for extension of territory were more secure of realisation, without expense, by their keeping up the show of amity.

I have already adverted to the grounds for believing that the Nepalese had formed the determination of opposing, even at the hazard of the war, the resumption of the disputed lands, which they had probably become convinced we should require them to yield. That their encroachments originated in a deliberate system, pursued and supported by the Government of Nepal, may be justly inferred from the singular uniformity which prevails throughout the declarations and letters of the officers of that Government in every quarter. This system is deliberately adopted and resolutely prosecuted. The communication between the

Court and distant provinces appears to be frequent and regular. It is impossible for me, therefore, to refer to the extraordinary enmity of action and argument in support of their proceedings, which marks the conduct of the local officers of the Nepalese Government, to any other origin than the instructions of the administration of Kathmandu.

8. Gorkha military strength

The concurring tendency of all information received by me relative to the condition, population, and resources of the enemy's country precluded the supposition that they could long successfully oppose the efforts of our arms. An accurate account of their military force was, of course, not available ; but the tenor of my information indicated that the regular force was distributed in the following manner :—

West of the Jumna	...	4,000
Between the Jumna and the Kali	...	2,000
East of the Kali	...	6,000

This force was for the most part armed, clothed and disciplined in the imitation of our sepoys ; the Gorkhas being sedulous in copying our military system and institutions. The soldiers were known to be courageous, active, robust, obedient, and patient under great privations, as well as intelligent and quick of apprehension ; but their principal advantage consisted in the natural strength of the country, their aptitude for that species of warfare, and in the choice of positions, which their occupation and knowledge of the country about to become the scene of war enable them to make with judgment.

It is perhaps, fortunate that the rupture has occurred. The passion of the Gorkhas for war and conquest had been inflamed, but not satisfied with the success of their arms over the Rajahs of the hills, in the course of which they had met with no check, till the result of their attack on Kot Kangra, and the successful opposition of Ranjit Singh, restrained their advance in that direction. Meanwhile, they were consolidating their strength and improving their military resources, towards which the possession of a portion of the fertile countries of the plains greatly contributed. Encouraged by the easiness with which their encroachments were submitted to, the military renown of the British in India would have appeared to them ascribed to a Government, which permitted them to seize without resistance considerable portion of its territory. Hence it may reasonably be presumed, that they would have chosen for a more formidable attack on us, at a time when the occupation of our arms in another quarter would have left our Northern Provinces at their mercy.

9. Preliminary measures

I now proceed to submit a statement of proceedings of our Government towards the Government of Nepal. The insalubrity of the climate and the

advanced period of the season, had obliged us to withdraw the troops from the Terai of Butwal. These considerations also precluded any more extended system of operations. All that could be done was to prevent the Gorkhas from extending their usurpations. The post at Gorakhpur was strengthened ; in Saran the frontier was secured. The only measure of general nature which we adopted was to prohibit all commercial intercourse between the Honourable Company's Provinces and Nepal ; a measure which would cut off his principal means of supply for military stores of primary utility. We instructed Mr. Rutherford to remove the factories and establishments of the Honourable Company in the Gorkha provinces of Kumaon and Garhwal ; we acquainted the Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton of the actual state of our relations with Nepal, and you have had the satisfaction to learn from the Select Committee that our operations against Nepal are calculated to produce an effect favourable, rather than otherwise, on our relations and intercourse with the Chinese Government.

On the 14th of June I addressed a letter to the Rajah, exposing the insolence and duplicity of the combined proposition and menace which the Rajah's letter conveyed. I urged him to reflect on the moderation and good faith of the British Government, and on the evasion and deceit which characterised his own during the whole course of operations, and especially on on the atrocity of murders with which the treacherous attack on our *thannas* had been consummated. I stated my fear that we must regard the State of Nepal as having wantonly made war on the British Government. I did not receive the Rajah's reply till my arrival at Patna on the 12th August. Your Honourable Committee will not fail to remark the singular obstinacy and perverseness with which the Rajah repeats and urges his claim to the lands, and demands that Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw be instructed to restore the twenty-two villages belonging to the Government of Nepal. To a letter so entirely evasive, unsatisfactory, and insulting, no motive for making a reply could exist, either in sense of propriety or in hope of advantage.

10. The Plan of War

I now proceed to state the system of military operations and political arrangements with which my attention was occupied during my progress up the river. The immense extent of the Nepalese frontier, the exposed condition of our own, offering no natural or artificial obstacles to an advancing enemy, the singular character of the Gorkha empire, composed of the territories of a variety of petty states, subdued at a period more or less remote by his arms, the uncommon strength of the country, the character of the people, the novelty of the service to our troops, all conspired the formation of the plan of the war, a subject of most serious and anxious deliberations.

I had adopted every means at my command for obtaining information to the strength and resources of the enemy, their natural and artificial means of defence, the military features of the country, its political conditions and relations. On a full view of all the circumstances bearing on the case, it appeared to me to be decidedly advantageous to attack the enemy's possessions in several different quarters, by divisions of troops so composed as to be adequate not only to oppose and overcome the force which might be brought against them, but to prosecute their operations in a manner that would ensure their supporting each other in the accomplishment of such ulterior objects as the course of war might suggest. With this in view, I determined to assemble four separate divisions of troops for the purpose of invading the Nepalese territory at the following points, as soon as the season should admit of active operations.

The principal division was to be assembled on the frontier of Saran, and was destined to act directly against the enemy's capital by the route of Mackwanpur. Another division was to be assembled at Gorakhpur, for the purpose first of resuming the usurped lands of Butwal and Sheoraj, and afterwards menacing the Nepalese province of Palpa. A third division was to be assembled at Saharanpur, for the purpose of penetrating the passes of the Deyra Dhoon, and occupying that valley and other positions in Garhwal, of seizing the passes of the Jumna and the Ganges; thus preventing the retreat in an easterly direction of the enemy's troops serving in their western provinces, and of subsequently aiding operations projected against Kumaon or co-operating with the fourth division destined to act against the enemy's western army. This army was understood to be composed of the flower of the Gorkha troops. Its reduction and the annihilation of the Gorkha influence and authority in the countries between the Jumna and the Sutlege, were to be effected by a fourth division, to be formed of the corps stationed at Karnal and Ludhiana. Besides these principal attacks, it was my wish to prepare a force for the early reduction of Kumaon. But the limited force at my disposal precluded the practicability of making the provision, without weakening the other divisions.

With the operations of the troops it was my determination to combine a system of political arrangements, calculated to promote and secure the objects of the war. The basis of this system was to engage in our cause the expelled Chiefs of the ancient hill principalities reduced by the Gorkhas, and thereby to draw over to us their former subjects. It was my intention to exclude for ever the power of the Gorkhas, and to re-establish the ancient line of Princes under the guarantee of the British Government.

11. Military arrangements

I now proceed to state more particularly the several measures and arrangements, military and political, connected with the formation and destination of the different divisions of the army above described. The division intended to

act against the Western provinces of the Gorkhas and force under Kaji Amar Singh Thapa was placed under the command of Colonel (now Major-General) Ochterlony and consisted, of the strength stated below :

Original Strength

Artillery, European and Native including gun-lascars and drivers	...	950
Native Infantry	...	4,778
Poineers	...	265
		5,993
Total	...	5,993

Ordnance

Two 18-pounders	Two 5½-inch mortars
Ten 6-pounders	Two 5½-inch howitzers.

Augmented Strength

Artillery, European and Native including gun-lascars and drivers	...	1,061
Native Infantry	...	5,735
Poineers		316
		7,112
Total	...	7,112

Ordnance

Two 18-pounders	Two 5½-inch mortars	Two 5½-inch howitzers
Ten 6-pounders	Four 4-inch mortars	Two 4½-inch howitzers

The principal object of the operations of this division, was the reduction or dispersion of the Gorkha army commanded by Amar Singh Thapa and the expulsion of the Gorkhas from their conquests between the Sutlege and the Jumna. This object was to be attained by a movement of Major-General Ochterlony's division, which combined with the occupation of the Dhoon, and the passes of the Jumna and the Ganges would either ensure the defeat of Amar Singh Thapa, or compel him to surrender or disperse. It could not be clearly foreseen, at that moment, what would be the precise course of operations which Amar Singh Thapa would adopt ; it was natural to imagine, that when he found himself pressed by us, he would endeavour to break away, and retire upon the provinces beyond the Ganges.

With a view to the possible event of Amar Singh determining to maintain himself in the strongholds which he possessed between the Jumna and the Sutlege, Major-General Ochterlony's division was provided with all the materials requisite for the siege of fortified places. It soon appeared that Amar Singh had taken the resolution of defending the territory which he actually occupied, and Major-General Ochterlony's operations were accordingly made to the reduction of his forts and stockaded positions.

I adverted to Rajah Sansar Chand of Nahun, whose enmity to the

Gorkhas is well known, and it seemed likely to excite him to take an active part against them. But no movement was made by the Rajah. He probably acted under the influence of Ranjit Singh, whose policy it was to avoid for a time taking any overt part in the approaching contest between the British Government and the Gorkhas, and to await the result of their contending efforts. All practical means were placed at Major-General Ochterlony's disposal to enable him to avail himself with effect the services of the Hill Chiefs and their former subjects. He was authorized to make advances of money or to supply them with arms and ammunition.

Information had reached me, that afforded reason for believing that Amar Singh Thapa, notwithstanding his zealous devotion to the cause of his country, was secretly disaffected with the ruling administration of Nepal, and that he might be induced to withdraw from the service and surrender the Gorkha army and possessions within his command. Subsequent events have indeed shown this information to have been completely unfounded. I furnished Major-General Ochterlony with secret instructions to encourage any overture which might be made by Amar Singh to the effect above stated, and with authority to promote, in the name of the British Government, an asylum in our provinces, and a permanent provision for Amar Singh and his family, on the condition of surrendering with his army, and putting us in possession of the country which he occupied.

I also directed Major-General Ochterlony to impart to Ranjit Singh, previously to his march from Ludhiana, the general object of his movement, and to convey to him such assurances as should satisfy his mind that the proposed measures were entirely unconnected with any thing that could effect his interests. I entertained, indeed, no suspicion that Ranjit Singh should take advantage of the absence of the force from Ludhiana. At a later period of the war, when repeated disasters had rendered the issue of the contest doubtful, the movements of Ranjit Singh were of a nature to demand my particular attention. There can be no doubt that he, in common with the other Chiefs and States of India, was anxiously observing the progress and events of the war. Whatever might have been Ranjit's disposition, his experience and knowledge of our character induced him to be careful against a premature indication of any unfriendly feeling.

The whole of Major-General Ochterlony's preparations being completed, and the plan of operations and political arrangements to be pursued determined on, he proceeded to Rupar, where the force was assembled, and from whence he was to commence his march into the hills.

The force originally assembled under the command of Major-General Gillespie is stated below :

Original Strength

Artillery, Native and European including gun-lascars and drivers	...	247
Infantry (His Majesty's Fifty-third)	...	785
Native Infantry	...	2,343
Pioneers	...	138
	Total	3,513

Ordnance

Two 12-pounders Eight 6-pounders Four 5½ inch howitzers

Augmented Strength

... 10,422

Artillery, Native and European including gun-lascars and drivers	...	810
European Infantry (His Majesty's Fifty-third)	...	856
Native Infantry	...	8,492
Pioneers	...	164
Skinner's Horse	...	100

Ordnance

Four 18-pounders Two 8-inch mortars Two 4½-inch mortars
 Six 6-pounders Two 5½-inch mortars Two 5½-inch howitzers.
 Two 4½-inch howitzers

After the occupation of the Deyra Dhoon with the passages of river and the completion of the arrangements for intercepting the eventual retreat of the armies of Amar Singh and Ranjor Singh it was intended that Major-General Gillespie's division should proceed to Kyardah Dhoon and reduce the fort of Nahun (Jyetuck), the principal stronghold of the enemy in the south-east quarter of their possessions beyond the Jumna. The force under the command of Major-General Gillespie was assembled at Saharanpore by the middle of October, and marched towards the Dhoon shortly after.

The impression derived from information which had reached me, that the permanent occupation of the provinces of Srinagar or Garhwal would be advantageous to our interests in a commercial point of view, as securing the command of the great roads of the Tartary and consequently the trade with that country, with a view to obtain information calculated to enable me to decide on this point, Mr. Frazer was deputed to Hardwar with instructions to endeavour to excite the inhabitants of the northern districts of Garhwal to cut off the retreat of the Gorkha army through the mountain passes, and to collect information which might enable me to determine whether the country of Srinagar (Garhwal) or any adjacent country, would be expeditiously annexed to the British dominions. A proclamation, addressed to the people of Garhwal, affording the entire exclusion of the Gorkhas in future and the utmost regard for the rights, privileges, and usages of the inhabitants, was transmitted to Major-General Gillespie for announcement at such time as he might judge most expedient. It appeared to be highly expedient, even in the earliest stage of the

war, to make such measures as might be practicable, in furtherance of my contemplated purpose of wresting Kumaon from the dominion of the Gorkhas. I had earlier directed Mr. Ruthurford, to collect information on many points connected with the intended military operations. As the season for active measures approached, I selected Mr. Gardner for the duty, as possessing all the requisite qualifications in an eminent degree.

Rajah Lal Singh, of the ancient family of the Rajahs of Kumaon, however, was not the legitimate heir because his father had obtained the Government by usurpation. He possessed a defected title, and had alienated the regard of Kumaonese from the branch of the ruling family, and it would neither have been just nor politic to employ our power, in order to restore an obnoxious individual or family on the people of that country. On the other hand, it was greatly asserted that Chauntia Bum Shah, who exercised the Chief authority of the Nepalese Government in Kumaon, though a Gorkha, had by his mild and equitable rule acquired the goodwill of the people. He was moreover known to possess a disposition favourable to the British character, and had just cause of resentment against the present administration at Kathmandu through whose violence and intrigues his relations and connections had been destroyed, his influence subverted and himself removed to an honourable exile from the capital. This state of things suggested the expediency of exciting Bum Shah to throw off his allegiance to the Gorkha Government, and to establish himself under our guarantee, in the independent possession of Kumaon. However, it appeared that the establishment of Bum Shah, a foreigner and a Gorkha would be extremely repugnant to the wishes of the people. Having, moreover, now become satisfied of the inability of retaining the whole of Garhwal or Srinagar, and being convinced that the possession of Kumaon would secure all the advantages in a political and military point of view, I determined to occupy this country, with the intention of annexing it permanently to the dominion of the Honourable Company.

My instructions for the guidance of Mr. Gardner, then, were framed on the basis of this resolution. Although I had determined not to establish Bum Shah in Kumaon, it appeared nevertheless to be highly probable that he might be induced to surrender the province, on being assured of an asylum and a permanent provision for his family. Mr. Gardner's early efforts were directed to the opening a communication with Bum Shah, and commencing a negotiation with him for this purpose. Hast Dall Shah, the brother of Bum Shah, was the Governor of the adjoining province of Doti, and there was reason to believe that he participated in the supposed disposition of his brother. A very expedient mode of contracting the limits of the Gorkhas and providing for the family of Bum Shah and his brother, presented itself in allotting to them a part or whole of the province of Doti.

The division intended to act in the direction of Butwal and Palpa, was ordered to be assembled at Gorakhpur, and placed under the command of Major-General John Sullivan Wood. Its objective was to recover the Terai of Butwal and Sheoraj, to menace the enemy's frontier, create a diversion in favour of the division advancing on Kathmandu, and penetrate, if practicable, the hills, so as to occupy Palpa and Tonsein, the principal station and depot of the Gorkhas in that quarter. The strength and composition of this division is stated below :

Original Strength

Eighth Regiment Native Cavalry	...	114
Artillery, European and Native including gun-lascars and drivers	...	457
European Infantry (His Majesty's Seventeenth)	...	958
Native Infantry	...	2,875
Pioneers	...	90

Total 4,494

Exclusive of European officers

Ordnance

Four 6-pounders	Three 3-pounders	Three 4½ inch mortars	Two 4½ inch howitzers
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Strength after alteration

... 4,698

Ordnance

Two 18-pounders	Eight 6-pounders	Three 4½ inch mortars	Two 4½ inch howitzers
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Irregulars :—A Hill corps, consisting of 900 men.

Major-General Wood arrived at Gorakhpur on the 15th of November, his division having been assembled there about the same period. I deemed it expedient to commit to Major-General Wood the conduct of the political negotiations and arrangements to be combined with the operations. The basis of these arrangements was similar in spirit to the instructions issued to Major-General Ochterlony: the restoration of the ancient line of the Hill Chiefs of those countries which might be wrested from the Gorkhas by our arms, under our guarantee for the perpetual exclusion of the Gorkha power and influence. Major-General Wood's attention was particularly drawn to the situation and circumstances of the exiled Rajah of Palpa and his family residing at Gorakhpur. There was no reason to doubt that utmost exertions of the family would be employed in aiding the operations of our troops. He was empowered to make such disbursements to the Rajah, as should enable him to bring forward and arm his followers, and to take them into the pay of the British Government at proper and reasonable rates.

The principal division and that on the operations of which I necessarily calculated for making the more effectual impression on the enemy, was destined to march directly on Kathmandu, by the route lying through Mackwanpore. This division consisted of the force stated below and was commanded by Major-General Marley :

Artillery, European and Native including gun-lascars and drivers	...	868
European Infantry (His Majesty's Twenty-fourth Regiment)	...	907
Native Infantry	...	5,938
Pioneers	...	276
		<hr/>
	Total ...	7,989
		<hr/>

Ordnance

Four 18-pounders	Four 3-pounders	Eight 4½ inch howitzers
Four 6-pounders	Two 8 inch howitzers	Two 5½ inch mortars
	Two 4½ inch mortars	

This force was principally assembled at Dinapore, and the troops at that place were to cross the Ganges as soon as possible after the 15th of November and Major-General Marley was directed to march from Dinapore, to push forward a reinforcement to join Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who occupied a position in the disputed lands on the frontier, and advance the line of his posts, and if practicable, take possession of the whole of the Terai and establish British authority throughout the tract.

The first point at which Major-General Marley's corps were to be finally assembled, was the occupation of Hetounda, the reduction of the forts of Hariharpore and Mackwanpore. All the information regarding the routes and passes into Nepal which had been collected was communicated to Major-General Marley. He was instructed to detach a force for the reduction and occupation of Hariharpur, while his principal column, he advanced directly to Hetounda, and proceeded to the reduction of the fort of Mackwanpore, and the occupation of the valley of that name, opening a communication with the column directed against Hariharpore. The forts of Mackwanpore and Hariharpore reduced and occupied by adequate garrisons, together with Hetounda depots for the supply of the army during and after its further advance, it was my intention that Major-General Marley should advance into the Valley of Nepal by whatever route he might prefer, and march with his collected force and the whole of his artillery upon Kathmandu, or the enemy's principal military position. The early events of the war to the west suggested the advantage of placing a battering train in a position in the rear of the line ; a train was accordingly sent from Cawnpore, by the direct route to Bettieah, Major-General Marley's principal depot.

A separate provision was made for the protection of that part of our northern frontier which lies to the eastward of the river Kosi. The defence of

this line of frontier was entrusted to the charge of Captain Latter, commanding the Rungpore Battalion, between the Kosi and the Teista, which latter river forms the eastern limit of the Nepalese possessions. Eastward of the river Teista our frontier joins that of the Deb Rajah and further east that of Assam. The arrangements entrusted to Captain Latter's conduct were in principal defensive ; but not so exclusively so as to preclude him from attacking any of the enemy's posts within his own frontier.

12. Political arrangements

I now proceed to lay before you a view of the political arrangements which it was my desire to combine with the contemplated advance of the division under the command of Major-General Marley to Kathmandu. Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw was to advance with Major-General Marley's division into Nepal and conduct these arrangements in the character of Political Agent in the event of a successful campaign and negotiations of peace between the two States.

Bradshaw was instructed, as soon as the Terai was occupied, to publish proclamations inviting the inhabitants to consider themselves as the subjects of the Company and to pay their revenue to the British Government. In pursuance of the general system of restoring the exiled chiefs to such of the territories conquered from the Gorkhas, I detemined to combine with the reduction of the forts of Mackwanpore, and the expulsion of the Gorkhas from that country the restoration of the ancient ruling family in the person of Rajah Ude Partap Singh, its legitimate representative. Bradshaw was authorised to signify to him my intention to reinstate him in the territory of the hills formerly possessed by his ancestors. I directed Bradshaw's attention to the employment of the Rajah's agency, in drawing from the Gorkha army such of the inhabitants of Mackwanpore as might be in its ranks. He was authorised to make such pecuniary advances as he might find necessary for enabling the Rajah of Mackwanpore and his adherents to act with effect.

The situation of Rajah Tej Partap Singh of Srinagar formed the next subject of instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw. This person was the representative of the family which formerly possessed the hill territory of Tanhoun. Expelled from that country the family retired to Ramnagar, in the territories of the Honourable Company. The defects of his personal character, produced a wavering and undecided conduct, which frequently assumed the appearance, and unavoidably excited the suspicion of deceit and duplicity. Bradshaw was directed to watch his conduct strictly. There was reason to suppose that Ramnagar presented a favourable access to the hills, and the position of Tanhoun containing the roads of Gorkha proper, rendered the Rajah's friendship of some moment. I determined therefore, to reinstate and confirm him to the possessions of the ancient dominions of his family.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw had communications with Rum Bum Pande and his brothers, the nephews of late Domodar Pande, who formerly possessed a distinguished share of power and influence in the administration of Kathmandu, was the leader of the revolution by which Rajah Ran Bahadur was dethroned and expelled, and lost his life on the return of Ran Bahadur to power. These two persons, had proposed, with the assistance of their relations and adherents, to endeavour to effect the overthrow of the power of Bhimsen and the deposition of the Rajah. Without reposing implicit confidence in their declarations regarding their remaining influence in Nepal, it remained sufficiently probable that their exertions might be productive of benefit and that if they succeeded in obtaining a share of power, I authorised Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw to conciliate and encourage these persons.

The situation of the Rajah of Sikkim appeared to me to be extremely desirable to establish a good understanding and correspondence. This Chief had maintained a spirited resistance to the Gorkhas, and though they ultimately possessed themselves of the greater portion of his territory, he still saved a part and they found it convenient to admit him to a sort of joint possession of some particular posts, among others of the fort of Nagpore near the frontier of Morung. The Rajah of Sikkim is closely connected with the Lamas of Lhasa and Bhutan ; there could be no doubt that his restoration to his former territory would be acceptable to the people both of Lhasa and Bhutan.

Mr. David Scott, the Magistrate of Rangpore was employed in the proposed negotiations with Sikkim. My instructions to Mr. Scott were, that he should endeavour to open negotiations with the Rajah of Sikkim, and invite him to attempt the recovery of his possessions from the Gorkhas. He was further to urge the Rajah's efforts to prevail on any other Hill Chiefs or tribes for the same purpose.

I deemed it proper to advert to the possible case of an interference, on the part of the Chinese Government ; a loose rumour prevailed, that the Rajah of Nepal had applied to the Chinese Government for support, on the ground of his being nominally a dependent on that empire ; and it seemed possible that an army might be met by a Chinese officer, stating that Nepal was under the Emperor's protection and requiring that we should desist from our enterprise. In this event Major-General Marley was instructed that he could not suspend the operations ; that whatever opposed him in the field must be considered as a Gorkha force.

Such was the general scope of my political views and arrangements with the immediate operations of Major-General Marley's corps. From the advance of that division, combined with the calculated success of other enterprises, I cannot conceal my having formed the highest expectation of a brilliant and rapid termination of the war. The Gorkha Government, flattering itself that the artifice

which had succeeded with them innumerable times might be equally effectual for once more, relied that its offer of sending a vakil to treat would soothe the just indignation of our Government. In this hope, and deluded by not perceiving the preparations which we were making with secrecy, they thought they might delay the expense of a war establishment, and they were thence really in a most unprovided state when our troops marched against them.

13. An "infamous" design

Your Honourable Committee will learn with indignation that instead of any manly and honourable attempt to expel our troops and recover the disputed lands, recourse was had by the Gorkhas to the infamous and detestable act of endeavouring to destroy our troops and our innocent subjects on the frontier, by poisoning the water of wells and tanks. The providential and timely discovery of this infamous design prevented its success. The proof of this act so justly abhorred and execrated by every civilised people lies in the bags containing the deleterious substance—a vegetable poison well known in Bengal under the name of *mitha, umrit* or *khet-bish*, taken from the tanks and wells. This act was distinctly traced to Dasrut Khetree, the Gorkha officer commanding on the frontier, and undoubted evidence was obtained of his having acted under instructions from the Court of Kathmandu. On receipt of this information, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw to put to death without hesitation or delay, in the most public manner, any person who might be taken in the act of poisoning the wells and tanks, or with the means of effecting it, whatever might be his rank or condition.

14. Delusive negotiations

Lientenant-Colonel Bradshaw received information of the arrival at Burhurwa of an officer of the Nepalese Government, named Chander Shekhar Upadhaya, said to be despatched with instructions to make overtures of a conciliatory tenor. On being apprized of the matter, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw to signify to the Vakil of the Nepalese Government, that in view of the entirely unjust and violent conduct of his Government, no amicable intercourse could be maintained with that Government or any Nepalese Agents without full powers to adjust all depending differences on a permanent and satisfactory basis. Chander Shekhar, retired to Burharwa, where he remained until the capture of that post in November, and was made a prisoner and his papers fell into our hands. It became manifest that his mission was an attempt to lead us into another delusive negotiations. He addressed a letter to the Rajah reporting the circumstances attending his own capture, pointing out to the Rajah the perilous situation in which he had placed himself, and suggesting that Bhimsen Thapa should meet Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw. The reply to this letter was wholly unsatisfactory. Chander Shekhar was allowed to remain in Liutenant-Colonel Bradshaw's camp until he was allowed at the request of Guru Gajraj Misser to proceed with him to Kathmandu.

15. *Feelers from Amar Singh Thapa*

I now proceed to state the substance of certain communications which passed between Major-General Ochterlony and Amar Singh Thapa, for the re-establishment of the relations of amity. The first communication from him was accompanied by an *arzee* to my address. In both these communications he entered on a defence of the conduct and proceedings of his Government. I stated to Major-General Ochterlony this opinion of Amar Singh Thapa, as it appeared to me, dictated at the Court of Kathmandu, and informed him, that I should not, under any circumstances, have deemed it fitting to render Amar Singh Thapa the channel of negotiations. A short time after Major-General Ochterlony received another letter from Amar Singh stating that he had received orders to depute an agent to meet the Governor-General and hinting that it might be a means of bringing a reconciliation. It was reported to Major-General Ochterlony that Amar Singh Thapa had received a letter from the Rajah, directing him to depute his son, Ranjor Singh to the Governor-General. It was my belief that these proposals were designed merely to throw us off our guard, and induce us to relax our preparations, by holding out a hope of accommodation.

Major-General Ocheterlony had then commenced his march to Nalagarh. Ranjor Singh addressed a letter to Mr. Metcalfe expressing his surprise at the invasion of the country of the Gorkhas, who were considered as disciples of the English, and observing that no good would result to either party from the war. This communication from Ranjor Singh led me to suppose that he would speedily depute an agent to Delhi, with a view either to negotiate an accommodation of the differences between the two States, or to effect an arrangement for his own and his father's interests.

If it should appear, in the progress of operations, that the people of the hills, and their hereditary Chiefs obeyed the call and entitled themselves to the advantage of the proclamation, I then proposed, in addition to such lands as would probably, under any circumstances, be at our disposal, to confer on Amar Singh and his family a *jagir* in some other quarter or a pension in money. These were the principles on which were based my instructions to Mr. Metcalfe, but no opportunity occurred of their being carried into execution. On the receipt of these instructions Mr. Metcalfe intimated to Ranjor Singh his readiness to receive an agent. Amar Singh addressed a letter to me stating that he had received authority from the Rajah to depute an agent to me for the adjustment of boundary disputes. I replied that the questions now depending between the two States no longer referred to boundary disputes, but involved interests of the greatest magnitude ; that the British Government had reluctantly entered into the war ; and that agent whom Amar Singh might depute would be received and his proposition heard.

Major-General Ochterlony meditated the movement which compelled

Amar Singh to change his position on the heights of Ramgarh ; after the repulse of the enemy's attack an Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson's post near Deboo, on the 29th December, he addressed a letter to Amar Singh, intimating that he had received my authority to communicate on the subject of any propositions which Amar Singh might desire to offer. The tenor of Amar Singh's answer was boastful and exulting in the highest degree, and was evidently the effect of our recent failings before Jyetuck. He declared his firm intention and that of the other Gurkha Chiefs to oppose us to the last extremity. On the following day, Major-General Ochterlony received a letter from Amar Singh, stating his wish to send a confidential person with a paper bearing the red seal of the Rajah.

To the proposal contained in the paper communicated by Amar Singh no answer could be given because it was totally unsatisfactory and inadmissible, having been rejected before the hostilities commenced. After the disasters, both at Jyetuck and on the frontier of Saran, Major-General Ochterlony had, on the success of his movement, which compelled Amar Singh to take up his position on the heights of Malown, opened a new communication with him through the medium of that Chief's son Randoz ; but no result from it ensued ; and with this all correspondence with Amar Singh referring either to peace between the two States or to his private interests ceased.

CHAPTER 18

MILITARY OPERATIONS

1. British failure at Kalunga

I Now Proceed to Lay before you a statement of the military operations and events of the campaign, and of such of the transactions connected with them as will properly find a place in this part of the narrative. The campaign commenced by the seizure of the Timley Pass into the Deyra Dhoon on the 20th October, by Lieutenant-Colonel Carpenter, who was detached for that purpose by Major-General Gillespie. Major-General Gillespie entered the Dhoon on the 24th by the Kerree Pass, and marched on Kalunga or Nala Panee, while detachments occupied the passess and ferries of the Jumna. It will not be necessary for me to impose on myself the unpleasent task of detailing the circumstances which attended the unfortunate failure of the attempts to carry Kalunga by assault on the 30th of October. The details of that melancholy affair are already before your Honourable Committee.

The regret occasioned by the failure and the loss of lives with which it was attended, was deeply aggravated by the untimely death of Major-General Gillespie, who was shot at the wicket of the fort, while gallantly cheering the men, and encouraging them by his language and example to advance to the walls. The unfortunate issue of this first attack on the enemy could not fail to produce the most disheartening effect on the operations of the war ; and the discomfiture of our troops in another attempt, on the 27th November, to carry the place after a practicable breach was made in the wall, tended to discourage our troops, while it raised the spirit and augmented the hopes and exertions of the enemy extravagantly. The last attack was made under the direction of Colonel Mawbey, of His Majesty's Fifty-third Regiment of Foot, who had succeeded to the temporary command of the division after the death of Major-General Gillespie. The extraordinary circumstances of the second failure on an attempt to carry a place, certainly of no great strength, necessarily excited in my mind feelings of the utmost anxiety and uneasiness.

2. Occupation of Nahun

The fort of Kalunga was evacuated by the garrison on the 30th November, three days after the assault ; a step which it was compelled to take, by the effect

of the shells thrown from our batteries and the interruption of their supplies of water. The garrison was pursued in its retreat by a detachment under the command of Major Ludlow, of the Sixth Regiment of Native Infantry. The Dhoon and the neighbouring positions being now in our possession, Colonel Mawbey marched with his division for Nahun. The enemy still retained possession of Srinagar and several strong and commanding positions in Garhwal, some of which were seized by our troops in the course of subsequent operations ; but it was not possible to occupy that part of the province lying to the eastward of Bagirthi, which remained in the enemy's possession until it was evacuated under the provisions of the conventions of Almora and Malown.

After the death of Major-General Gillespie, I had appointed Major-General Martindell to the command of the division, which he assumed while it was in progress to Nahun. On his approach to the town it was evacuated by the enemy, who withdrew to the lofty mountain of Jyetuck, on the summit of which stands the fort of that name, and strengthened his position, already strong by nature, by extensive and sustained stockades and breastworks on different parts of the mountain. The enemy's force in this quarter was commanded by Kaji Ranjor Singh Thapa, the son of Amar Singh Thapa, and amounted, after being joined by reinforcements from Garhwal to about 2,200 fighting men.

Major-General Martindell having occupied Nahun and established magazines and depots there, resolved on a combined movement, with a view of seizing two important positions, situated respectively on the western and eastern sides of that of the enemy, by which means he expected to cut them off from their principal watering-places, and to intercept the communication of the garrison from the surrounding country. Two detachments were accordingly formed, under the command respectively of Major Ludlow and Major William Richards. The latter, after a fatiguing march by a circuitous route, arrived at the point of his destination on the morning of the 27th of December, and seized the position which he was ordered to occupy. Major Ludlow with his column advanced on the same morning to the destined point of attack on the west side of the fort, unfortunately failed in an attempt to carry the stockade ; and the enemy rallying and renewing the attack, our troops were compelled to retire with considerable loss. The failure of the attack conducted by Major Ludlow, induced Major-General Martindell to send order to Major Richards to return to camp from the position occupied by him. At the close of the day, after the whole of his ammunition was expended, and the troops had been obliged to employ stones in their defence, Major Richards retreated at night with much confusion and heavy loss.

Major Ludlow ascribed his failure mainly to the backwardness of a part of his own battalion. I have, in another place, attempted to account in part a

circumstance almost unheard of in the Bengal army. No such defection from duty occurred with Major Richard's division.

3. Tardiness before Jyetuck

Major-General Martindell came to the resolution of endeavouring to reduce the fort by blockade ; no grounds existed for the adoption of that resolution to batter and storm the stockades. His resolution to reduce the fort by blockade was not taken till 26th of March, just three months after he sat down before Jyetuck, and thirty-six days after the junction of his reinforcements, up to which time the enemy's communication with the whole surrounding country, except on the sides towards Nahun, had been free and uninterrupted, though I repeatedly enjoined the cutting off the enemy's means of communication. When he at length decided on the plan of blockade, I was entitled to expect that it should be pursued with energy ; but the tardy means adopted by him for the purpose have partaken of that character. I became apprehensive that Ranjor Singh would evacuate the fort and stockades, and endeavour to withdraw across the Ganges and Jumna, a measure which would have greatly embarrassed us in the operations in Kumaon. At a later stage, when the operations before Malown appeared to be drawing to a successful close, I deemed it absolutely necessary to direct Major-General Ochterlony to proceed as soon as Malown should be reduced to Nahun, to assume command of Major-General Martindell's division. The course of events did not require the execution of either of these measures. I am far from wishing to subject Major-General Martindell to your censure ; but it is incumbent upon me to account for the langour of an operation, to the success of which I attach the greatest importance. On the speedy reduction of the force under Ranjor Singh depended the ulterior project of mastering Kumaon, and tardiness of progress before Jyetuck might be the extinction of that hope.

4. Assault on Ramgarh

Within a few days after Major-General Gillespie entered the Dhoon, the division under the command of Major-General Ochterlony penetrated the hills in the direction of Nalagarh, and opened batteries against the fort, which surrendered on the 5th of November. Its surrender was followed by that of Taragarh, a small hill fort in the neighbourhood. They were garrisoned immediately by small parties of troops, and a depot was established at Nalagarh, which became the means of keeping Major-General Ochterlony's communications with the plains open and undisturbed.

Amar Singh in pursuance of the plan which he now appeared to have adopted, of defending the territory under his authority, instead of attempting to retire upon the eastern provinces, moved with his whole force on Irki, and took post on a lofty and almost inaccessible ridge of mountains, where he strongly stockaded himself, with his right resting on the fort of Ramgarh and his left on a

high and fortified hill. The ridge on which he was posted extended to the right beyond Ramgarh, and was defended by several forts of considerable strength. In the rear of this range, and running in a direction nearly parallel, was another lofty and rugged ridge of hills, on which stood the forts of Malown, Ratangarh and Surajgarh. Between these ridges flowed the river Gumber, which falls into the Sutlege near Bilaspur.

Amar Singh, leaving garrisons in Irki, Sabathu, and other forts in the interior, concentrated his force on the heights of Ramgarh, to the number of about 3,000, the flower of their army. He derived assistance from the Rajah of Bilaspur, who possesses lands on both sides of the Sutlege; and he drew most of his supplies from Bilaspur. The possession of the ridges of Ramgarh and Malown, enabled him to preserve his communications with Bilaspur, a body of Bilaspur troops also acted under his orders.

Major-General Ochterlony, after establishing his depots in Nalagarh, advanced to the enemy's position at Ramgarh; but finding it to be utterly inaccessible in front, he moved to the rear, where he took up a secure position, and applied himself in intercepting the enemy's communication with the country. The extraordinary ruggedness of the country with the consequent implications to the transportation of ordnance and stores rendered this movement, one of uncommon labour. On his arrival on his new ground, he speedily selected a spot from which he conceived he might be able to bring his guns to bear on one of the enemy's stockades. A battery was erected there, but was found too distant, and the elevation of the work at which the guns were to be directed too great. It became necessary to chose a more advanced position. But a party of the enemy attacked, which brought on an affair between the detachment in our battery and a considerable body of the enemy, who sallied from their stockades. The result of this unequal contest was, that our party was driven back with some loss. Major-General Ochterlony soon after projected another attack on the enemy's posts in front of his right, but the intelligence of the failures of Jyetuck which had occasioned a high degree of confidence in the enemy and despondency in our troops, made him widely forego the attempt. An additional battalion was on its march to join him, and he determined to await its arrival.

The second battalion of the Seventh Native Infantry and the eighteen-pounders joined Major-General Ochterlony on the 27th of December, and on the same evening, as soon as it was dark, the reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, moved to attack a chosen point in the enemy's position, which he reached on the morning of the 28th. Early the next morning he was attacked in his position by the enemy in considerable force. They were completely repulsed and the stockade which was abandoned by them was taken possession of by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson. The enemy, however, speedily evacuating all his positions on the left of Ramgarh, took up a new one on the opposite side of the

fort, which by a change of front was still on his right.

4. Amar Singh retires to Malown

Major-General Ochterlony still kept his attention fixed on the means of intercepting the enemy's supplies and destroying his direct communications with Bilaspur. He now meditated a movement which would compel Amar Singh to change his position or risk an engagement. He marched with the reserve of his division on the 16th of January across the Gumber river, to a position on the road to Irki and near the extremity of the Malown Range. The effect of Major-General Ochterlony's movement was, as he foresaw, to compel Amar Singh to quit his position, and he marched to Malown with his whole force. The principal stockades evacuated by the enemy were occupied by Colonel Arnold commanding the brigade, who took up a position at Ratangarh, directly between Malown and Bilaspur. Lieutenant Ross of the Sikh Regiment had sustained an attack from a considerable body of the Bilaspur troops, whom he repulsed and defeated with loss. The movements being effected, Major-General Ochterlony, with the reserve, took up a position on the right bank of the Gummroa, nearly opposite to the centre of the range on which the enemy was posted. The eighteen-pounders were carried up the ridge and opened on Ramgarh, which speedily surrendered on terms. The other posts being successfully reduced, Ramgarh was converted into a principal depot. Owing to the difficulties presented by the nature of the country, these operations occupied a period of six weeks of incessant exertions. It was not till the 1st of April that Lieutenant-Colonel Cooper's detachment was placed in the position assigned to it before Malown.

After the movement of Amar Singh to Malown, the country of Bilaspur was left entirely at mercy of our troops. Major-General Ochterlony experienced the greatest difficulty in retaining the followers of the Hindu Rajah from gratifying their spirit of plunder and revenge at its expense. He however offered terms to the Rajah, who placed himself under British protection, withdrew all connection with the Gorkhas; the British protection, on its part guaranteed to the Rajah his possessions on the left bank of the Sutlege.

6. Wood's failure

Major-General John Sullivan Wood arrived on the 15th of November at Gorakhpur, where his division was assembled, considerable aid having been received from His Excellency the Vazier, Major-General Wood advanced; and having occupied the Terai, he endeavoured to penetrate the hills in the direction of Butwal. He was induced to change the point of his attack, and to resolve on forcing a pass to the westward, close to a stockade of the enemy, named Jitgarh which commanded the pass. A good deal of firing took place. The bodies of the enemy opposed to them were put to flight with severe loss; the post might have been carried, but Major-General Wood apprehending that the superior force

of the enemy would have prevented him seizing the hills beyond it, directed the troops to return and abandoned the enterprise. He then turned his attention to a pass to the eastward of Butwal, which however he did not judge it advisable to attempt. He then proceeded in a westerly direction. After moving for a short distance in that direction, he was induced to return towards the central part of the district, and the enemy encouraged by the failure at Jitgarh, made incursions into the Honourable Company's territory. These incursions were not confined to Gorakhpur, but extended to the neighbouring districts of the Vazier.

I deemed it proper to explain to Major-General Wood the error into which he appeared to me to have fallen by adopting a system purely defensive. Having relinquished all active operations, I determined to withdraw from his division His Majesty's Seventeenth Regiment of Foot for joining the force assembled on the frontier of Saran. The importance of depriving the enemy of the resources which they might draw from the Terai of Butwal and Sheoraj and the declared inability of Major-General Wood to prevent them from availing themselves of those resources, induced me to adopt a policy with reluctance, and only under a firm conviction of its expediency—I mean the destroying the crops on the ground, and preventing the country, which would have become the granary of the hills, from being cultivated the following season, in the event of the war being protracted to another campaign. The Eighth regiment of Cavalry was employed in destroying the crops and villages in the Terai, from which the Thārus (as the original inhabitants of the Terai are called) had agreed to migrate to a more southern tract of the country.

Towards the close of the season, in which it is practicable for troops to remain in the Terai without suffering from sickness, Major-General Wood marched again upon Butwal with his collected force, but without producing any effect. He now retired towards Gorakhpur, and having, under my instructions made the necessary arrangements for the defence of the frontier. The failure of the principal objects of the formation of this division precluded the adoption of any measures connected with the proposed re-establishment of the exiled hill Rajahs. My regret at the failure of the principal objects was deeply aggravated by the utter and more signal abortiveness of the sanguine hopes which I entertained of the success of the division under the command of Major-General Wood.

7. Capture of Terai of Saran and Tirhut

Major-General Marley was to pass the Ganges about the 15th of November, and all the corps proceeding from Dinapore, and destined in the first instance to form his division had actually crossed by the end of November. He had previously detached the six companies of the Ramagarh Battalion under the command of Major Roughsedge, to reinforce Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw's detachment. Major Roughsedge was instructed to move

forward and possess himself of the Terai of Tirhut. He therefore proceeded with the troops under his command to attack Burhurwa. Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw was enabled through the unaccountable supineness of the Gorkha commander, by a rapid movement to surprise the post, and after a very short contest to rout and nearly destroy the force. The effect of this affair was to give us immediate possession of the Terai of Saran ; and had the success been rapidly followed up, the Valley of Mackwanpur, and perhaps the forts, would have been occupied without opposition. About the same time, Lieutenant Colonel Bradshaw, after making a disposition of his small force to defend the country thus acquired, applied himself to making arrangements of the security and the realisation of the revenues, and the civil government of the country.

8. Marley's ineffectual movements

Major-General Marley had arrived on the frontier with nearly his whole force on the 11th December. He unfortunately formed the resolution of not advancing until he should be joined by the battering train, and could not reach Bettieah till towards the end of December. This delay, unaccountable and injurious, encouraged the enemy to undertake enterprises, their success in which relieved their apprehensions and elevated their spirits. What was still worse, the fatal influence of the events on the mind of Major-General Marley paralysed the operations of the British division, and sided by circumstances, occasioned the total failure of every object of its formation.

Major-General Marley had taken up a position at Lowtun, about twenty-five miles from his advanced posts at Pursah and Summundpur, forty miles asunder, together with an intermediate one at Barra Garhi, equidistant from the two. Both these posts, left naked of any defence from entrenchments, though close to the fortress of the enemy, were simultaneously attacked by considerable bodies of the Gorkhas on the morning of the 1st January, and completely overpowered and driven in with great loss, the commanding officer of each being killed. An attack intended on Barra Garhi was however relinquished. These disastrous events produced an entire change in the state of affairs on that frontier. Major-General Marley instead of endeavouring by some active and vigorous enterprise, to restore confidence in his army, after moving in the direction of Pursa, turned his march towards Bettieah, for the declared purpose of favouring the junction of the battering train. After effecting the purpose, and moving in different directions without any definite purpose, he returned to the vicinity of his former position.

The consequence of such retrograde and ineffectual movements convinced the enemy that we were unable to act offensively, and to invite him to invade our territories. Such, indeed, was the actual consequence, and with the exception of the country immediately protected by our posts, the whole of the Terai again

fell into the enemy's hands, and their incursions were extended even into our territories. Orders were issued for reinforcing the division to the utmost practical extent. Apprehensive that nothing might be concluded in the Western Hills before the rains should set in and put a stop to operations, I ordered the supply of great additions to the force. The strength of the division after the reinforcements joined it stood at 13,424 men and 35 guns.

9. The Terai resources

On Major-General Wood's advance towards Janakpur, and it being ascertained that enemy had withdrawn from the plains, the Magistrates at Tirhut and Saran were signified that the Terai might be made over to the charge of those officers, which was accordingly done, and it was declared to be permanently annexed to the British dominions. I have not yet received any report of the probable resources of these lands; a statement received formerly exhibited their annual revenue at 1,65,800 rupees, is, I am persuaded, remarkably erroneous. The concurring testimony of all who have visited the Terai is in favour of its soil, climate, and production, and the information satisfy me that it is a most valuable and improvable possession.

10. Transactoins of Captain Latter

The arrangements formed for the defence of the northern frontier of the British possessions east of the Kosi river have, under the able and judicious conduct of Captain Latter, been not only successfully pursued with reference to their immediate object, but with further advantages of no immaterial amount. He has not only effectually protected the frontier from injury and insult, but has wrested from the enemy a considerable portion of the valuable province of Morung. His prudent negotiations with the Rajah of Sikkim, have laid the foundation of an arrangement, which cannot fail to be beneficial, whether the war be protracted, or an early peace concluded. The principle on which Captain Latter's negotiations with the Rajah of Sikkim and his adherents were conducted, was to abstain from inciting them to any efforts against the Gorkhas, which might involve them in hazardous consequences, but to afford them every practicable degree of support in any measure which they might spontaneously resolve to undertake in common cause. Acting on this principle, Captain Latter, found the people of Sikkim determined and anxious to make efforts to recover their former possessions from the Gorkhas, and recommended to them an attack on the fort Nagree. Nagree was occupied jointly by a Gorkha and a Sikkim garrison, and the Dewan of the Rajah, who resided there, proposed a sudden attack to overpower the Gorkha garrison and seize the fort. Owing to a premature attempt, however, this plan failed; and the Gorkha garrison, after suffering some loss, succeeded in shutting itself up in the fort, which was

immediately blockaded by the troops of Sikkim. They were however not able to force the garrison to surrender, when the approach of rains obliged them to relax in the strictness of blockade.

11. Gardner in Kumaon

The occupation of Kumaon had been no less an earnest, than an early object of my attention. The local advantages of that extensive province were of a nature to be turned by us to important account, and there were circumstances which rendered its fortified passes less formidable than they appeared to a cursory view. Through the address of Honourable Edward Gardner, a secret correspondence was opened with the men of the country. They professed their disposition to facilitate our progress if we would invade the territory, and to contribute such aid as might be in their power towards the expulsion of the Gorkhas, and they made the precise stipulation, that the family of their ancient Rajahs should not be restored, and they spontaneously bargained to be retained under the Company's Government. Deficiency of means prevented my making an effort against Kumaon, simultaneously with the operations against Amar Singh and Ranjor Kaji. The season was wasting fast. Our correspondents were terrified lest their negotiations should be discovered, and urged us to their delivery with anxious representation. Beyond all, the frustration of hopes to the eastward, and the doubtful appearance of affairs west of the Jumna held forth a discreditable issue to the campaign as probable.

Under the difficulty of allotting any regular troops for this service without rendering other points vulnerable, I was driven to the experiment of employing a body of irregulars well commanded under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, who after having raised a body of such troops, entered the hills on 15th February. Having occupied the Chilkeea Pass, Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner advanced by an indirect route to Almora. The enemy withdrew from his frontier posts, which were occupied by Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner; our troops rapidly advanced and established themselves at a hill called Kompore, in front of which the enemy's retiring troops, reinforced from Almora by nearly the whole strength of the garrison, strongly stockaded.

Several skirmishes took place; Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, however, hesitated to attack in front an enemy so strongly posted; and awaited the junction of a body of one thousand irregulars, which had been raised in the Doab and had been ordered to proceed to Kumaon to reinforce him. Immediately on their arrival he made an assault on the position. The enemy hastily broke up and abandoned his stockade, leaving a part of his arms and baggage behind, and withdrew to a strong position in front of Almora, called Katar Mul, which they abandoned on approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner's main body, and posted themselves on the ridge on which stands the town of Almora.

12. Debacle before Katulgarh

While Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner advanced on Almora from Chilkeea, by the route of the Cossillah, Captain Hearsey was directed to penetrate the hills with his battalion of Nujeebs by the Timely pass, near the Gogra, with a view to create diversion. He secured the Timely pass and the forts which commanded it; advanced and occupied Chumpawat, the capital of Kāli Kumaon, and laid siege to the strong fortress of Katulgarh. A force of the enemy's crossed the Gogra and attacked one of his posts. The Gorkhas were repulsed with great loss and retired across the river. Hast Dal Shah, the enemy's Commander in Doti, speedily again crossed in greater force at a ghāt somewhat higher up than Captain Hearsey's position. On hearing of this movement, Captain Hearsey advanced with all his force; the enemy's force being superior in number, and Captain Hearsey's troops failing in their duty, he was overpowered, and was wounded and taken prisoner. Hast Dal immediately attacking the party before Katulgarh, dispersed and nearly destroyed it. The remainder of our Nujeebs having hastily abandoned the posts they occupied, fled to the plains. The objects of this expedition being thus completely frustrated, Hast Dal then advanced on Almora, carrying with him Captain Hearsey, who was released on the subsequent fall of the place.

Notwithstanding Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner's successful advance, it became very doubtful whether, with a force of the composition under his command, he would be able to reduce the capital. No hopes remained of effecting an arrangement with Bum Shah or any of Chiefs of the Almora. Mr. Gardner had conveyed to him a proposition to return with his troops across the Kāli, and pointing at an arrangement for his benefit, but it was not encouraged. On the other hand, the importance of occupying Kumaon became everyday more apparent. Impressed with these sentiments I determined to make an effort to collect a regular force for the purpose of supporting and completing the operations so happily commenced by Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner. A detachment of about two thousand regular troops, with 26 guns was accordingly formed. I fixed upon Colonel Nicolls of His Majesty's Fourteenth Foot, Quarter-master-General of the King's troops in India, to command the detachment, which was further reinforced with two additional native battalions.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner had established himself at Katar Mul, before Almora; the addition of regular troops placed the issue of the contest upon fairer terms than those on which it previously stood. Gardener prudently spurned the temptation of assaulting the city before Colonel Nicholls should come up.

13. The fall of Almora

Colonel Nicholls arrived at Katar Mul on the 8th of April; and as soon

as the regular force was assembled, he sent out a detachment, under the command of Major Patton to a position situated to the north-west of Almora, in which direction a body of the enemy under the command of Hast Dal, having proceeded. Major Patton, having come up with the enemy, instantly attacked him in his position ; and after a conflict, completely routed and dispersed the enemy with considerable loss. Hast Dal was mortally wounded, as was also the second in command, and several other Gorkha officers were killed and wounded in the affair.

This defeat, and the loss of their principal military commander, produced an impression on the mind of the enemy's troops in Almora ; and on the following day, the 25th of April, Colonel Nicholls attacked and carried by assault, in the most rapid and brilliant manner, the fortified heights and town of Almora, and commenced operations against the forts which were still held by the enemy. On the night of that day an attempt was made by the enemy to recover the positions from which they had been driven ; but although the attack was made with extraordinary resolution, the enemy was completely repulsed with great loss. The rapid and decisive success convinced the enemy of the hopelessness of further resistance to our troops. An offer was received from the Gorkha Chiefs to surrender all forts, and wholly evacuate the province, if permitted to retire unmolested with troops, across the Kāli. Colonel Nicholls and Mr. Gardner, after the decisive success of our arms, drew up a Convention on the foregoing basis, which was signed by the principal Gorkha Chiefs on the 27th April. The forts of Almora were immediately surrendered to our troops, and orders sent, which were punctually obeyed, for the surrender of other fortresses in the province. Thus was the authority of the British Government completely established throughout the province of Kumaon.

The Convention led to confidential communications between Colonel Nicolls and Bum Shah, who expressed an earnest desire to restore peace between the two States, and in proof of it, proposed that he should address Amar Singh Thapa and Ranjor Singh, to withdraw with their troops across the Kāli. Bum Shah also proposed that the Gorkha force in Srinagar should be admitted to the terms of the Convention of Almora ; a proposition which was acceded to, and the Gorkha troops accordingly retired into Doti.

14. Operations before Malown

I now resume the narrative of Major-General Ochterlony's operations before Malown. After the fall of the forts of the Ramgarh range, Major-General Ochterlony continued to straiten Amar Singh in his position by establishing posts which should command all the avenues to it. This operation was checked for a moment by a successful sally made by the enemy against a body of our irregulars, who occupied a strongly stockaded post. The enemy having destroyed the stockades, retreated again to their position, and the disaster was speedily repaired.

Major-General Ochterlony having now obtained an accurate knowledge of the whole of the ground, and having discovered the points in which the enemy's chain of positions could be most easily penetrated, concerted a plan of combined attack on it, which was carried into effect with the most complete success on the 14th and 15th April. The object of this movement was, by a combined attack on different points of the enemy's positions, to distract his attention, and obtain an opportunity of establishing ourselves on the height, in such a manner as to break the continuity of his chain of posts, and to force him to confine himself to the fort of Malown and its immediate outposts, while the footing obtained by the British troops on the ridge should afford means of operating directly against the fort. The plan was completely successful. After a desperate attack made on the morning of the 16th, by nearly the whole of the Gorkha force, headed by the principal commanders, Amar Singh and Bugtee Thapa on the post occupied by the reserve under Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, in which they were repulsed with very severe loss, the enemy withdrew from all his posts to the left of Lieutenant Colonel Thomson's position, and concentrated on Malown and the detached works which formed a part of its defence.

In this attack on the morning of the 16th, Major-General Ochterlony's troops displayed distinguished intrepidity in the repulse of the enemy, who suffered severely in killed and wounded, among the former of whom was Bugtee Thapa, whose loss diffused a serious gloom throughout the enemy's battalions. So decisive and brilliant victory against an enemy of remarkable courage and resolution, could not have been expected to be obtained without considerable loss on our part ; many brave officers and men fell on this memorable occasion including Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson and Captain Lawtie.

15. Terms to Amar Singh

The effect of this success was soon perceived, in increasing distress of the enemy, and in numerous desertions, which spoke the depression of spirit suffered by the garrison. Amar Singh, however, still continuing to hold out, Major-General Ochterlony pushed his operations against the fort, and having obtained possession of one of the outworks, the whole of the remainder were abandoned by the enemy, who came over in a body to Major-General Ochterlony's Camp leaving Amar Singh confined to the body of the fort, with a garrison reduced to about two hundred men. All the outworks, stockades, and the redoubts were occupied by our troops, and the early surrender of Amar Singh and the remnant of his garrison became inevitable. The importance of combining with this surrender of all the other strongholds within the range of Amar Singh's command, and the evacuation of the whole of the Gorkha territory west of the Kumaon, induced Major-General Ochterlony to listen to terms of capitulation, which had the surrender of Malown alone been the object contended for, would have been extravagant and inadmissible. Conceiving an early termination of the campaign

on account of the near approach of the rainy season and the slow progress of the operations against Jyetuck, he continued his preparations for battering the fort, and brought his eighteen and twelve-pounders to a spot within a short distance of the walls, and granted to Amar Singh the following terms of capitulation :—

1st. That all the forts and possessions of the Gorkhas west of the Jumna should be immediately surrendered to the British troops.

2nd. That orders for the evacuation of all forts and possessions of the Gorkhas in Garhwal should be immediately despatched to the Gorkha commanders in that quarter, and that the troops should be permitted to retire by the Kumaon route across the Kālī.

3rd. That Amar Singh, with the remaining garrison of Malown should be permitted to retire across the Kālī, with their arms, private baggage, and families and with two guns.

4th. That Ranjor Singh should be permitted, in like manner, with two hundred men of the garrison of Jyetuck, and with one gun, and three hundred unarmed followers, to retire across the Kālī.

These terms were afterwards strictly performed ; and I have lately received advices of the arrival of Amar Singh and Ranjor Singh and their followers in the province of Doti. As soon as these arrangements were concluded and the forts surrendered, the necessary measures were taken for breaking up the division employed before Malown and Jyetuck, and sending the corps to their allotted stations. In concluding the Narrative, I cannot refrain from offering my most cordial congratulations, to your Honourable Committee on the successful termination of the Campaign, the expulsion of the Gorkhas from the whole country to the west of the Kālī, and annexation to the British dominions of the important province of Kumaon, with an extensive, fertile and valuable tract in the Terai. The active season has terminated in the loss to the enemy of half of the geographical extent of his empire, comprehending the most valuable part of his possessions, with the curtailment, in the same proportion, of his military strength and resources.

16. Plan of settlement.

A detailed exposition of the settlement which I propose to make of the conquered territories is unnecessary ; it is, indeed in principle precisely conformable to my original plan of political arrangements at the commencement of the war. I propose to retain, for the present, the forts of Malown and Sabathu ; with these exceptions, the territories west of the Jumna will revert to the hereditary Chiefs, subject to the specified conditions. A special arrangement is necessary for Sirmor, in the government of which will be placed the minor son of Rajah Karam Parkash ; the Kardya Dhoon will remain in our possession, and a British garrison will occupy Jyetuck and Nahun. The countries lying between the Jumna and the Sutlege will be under the military command and political control of Major-General Ochterlony, whom I have appointed to be

Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent of the Governor-General in the Territories of the Sikh and Hill Chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlege.

In Garhwal, my intention is to retain the Dehra Doon, and the passes of the Ganges and Jumna, also all the country to the eastward of the Bagirthi—the last mentioned tract will be annexed to Kumaon. The remainder of Garhwal I propose to restore to the Rajah, who will hold it on the conditions already stated. I have desired Mr. Frazer to assume the designation of Commissioner for the Settlement of Garhwal. It is my hope that the resources of the territories west of the Kāli will defray the expense of the establishments. I have also stated the great defection of the Gorkha troops, forming the garrisons of Malown and Jyotuck and the other forts, from the service of the State. The whole number did not fall much short of 5,000 men of all classes; I have deemed it expedient to sanction the formation of three battalions of the strength and composition stated in the document recorded on the proceedings.

Mr. Gardner has furnished a statement of the revenues derived from the province by the Gorkhas; but he is of opinion that a considerable increase may be expected, the Gorkha Government having kept down the demand of actual rent. There are in Kumaon mines of iron, lead and copper, but the mines have been miserably managed, and I am willing to hope that European skill and perseverance may render the metallic produce an important branch of profit. Hemp of an extraordinary superior kind is cultivated in Kumaon, and I am informed, may be furnished to any extent. By the possession of Kumaon, we possess a direct and not difficult road into the Oondes, or the country producing the animal which bears the shawl-wool, and to the vast regions of Tartary. Finally, Kumaon is to be considered with reference to its advantages in a political and military point of view. The Kāli forms a well-defined boundary from the Snowy Mountains to the plains, and though narrow, it is deep and rapid. The snowy range inclining towards the south, reaches its extreme point in the direction where it touches the eastern confines of Kumaon. Hence this is the shortest, and consequently the most defensible line of frontier. As an advanced position, properly defended, Kumaon will afford a complete barrier to any extension of Gorkha power in a western direction, a bulwark to the whole country in the rear.

17. Conclusions

By the possession of Kumaon, the Dhoons of Deyra and Kyarda, of Nahun, Sabathu and Malown, and the passages of the river, we have in our hands a continued and unbroken chain of communications in the hills, from the Kāli to the Sutlege, while the whole of the country beyond it, as far back as the Snowy Mountains, is possessed by feudatory and dependent Chiefs, enjoying our guarantee and looking to us as their common guardian and protector. It is an advantage of no small moment, to have substituted in these regions such an order of things, instead of the domination of a people animated

with the spirit which has shone forth in the Gorkhas.

The comprehensive details embraced in the foregoing Narrative, leave me little necessity for offering any general observations in elucidation of the facts and arguments adduced. I shall, therefore, conclude by expressing my confident hope that your Honourable Committee will perceive sufficient grounds for deciding :

1st. That the war with the Gorkhas was unavoidable and forced upon the Government by a series of unjust and unprovoked aggressions.

2nd. That the utmost efforts of conciliation and persuasion were employed to avert that extremity, even after the commission of the acts that immediately led to it.

3rd. That every practicable effort was made for bringing the war to an early and honourable termination, by a vigorous and efficient plan of military operations, combined with a system of political arrangement.

4th. That notwithstanding partial failure, the campaign has, in some important branches, been eminently successful.

5th. That the expulsion of the Gorkha power from the country between the Kālī and the Sutlege, and the establishment throughout that tract either of the British authority or of friendly and dependent States have converted a probable source of danger into a means of strength and security.

6th. That the acquisition of Kumaon and the lowlands will constitute an indemnification for the charges of the war.

7th. That the plan of settlement for the countries from which the Gorkhas have been expelled is framed on principles calculated to secure the genuine interests of the Honourable Company ; that by the reduction which has been effected in the power and resources of the enemy, we shall be enabled either to command and secure and honourable peace, or if the war be prolonged by his obstinacy, to prosecute another campaign with the certainty of complete success.

BOOK FIVE

Events at the Court of Nepal

Free from Campbell's rancour and Hodgson's grumblings, Events at the Court of Nepal are the decennial official narratives compiled by S. R. Tickell, C. H. Nicholette, and G. Ramsay of the British Residency at Kathmandu. These narratives are based on official Residency papers in strict chronological order, and are the first-hand accounts of political events in Nepal. Tickell (1830-40) narrates the story of power and politics of Bhimsen and his downfall, and the ascendancy and final liquidation of the Pande faction. Nicholette (1840-51) narrates the stirring events of his time—the return to power of Matabar Singh and his assassination, the gruesome Kote Massacre of September 1846, and the rise of Jung Bahadur to power in Nepal. Ramsay's narrative details till 1861 the home and foreign policy of Jung Bahadur. Concise and authentic record of events in Nepal, these contemporary narratives are of great interest to the scholars of Nepalese history.

CHAPTER 19

DECLINE AND FALL OF BHIMSEN THAPA*

1. Indo-Nepalese Boundary

1830

Nothing of Note is Reported as characteristic this year, but the growing inclination on the part of some of the Nepalese Chiefs and especially of the minister Bhimsen for British luxuries and costumes, a gradual withdrawing and cessation of suspicion and distrust between the Nepalese and the people of the plains of India, and the increase of commerce, especially the importation of Indian and European articles to the exclusion of those of Bhutan and China.

In the early part of this year, the boundary between Nepal and India was laid down by Captain Cadrington.

2. Case of Ahemad Ali

1831

In May of this year, the Residency had submitted to the Government, for establishing some permanent understanding with Nepal in regard to the delivery of offenders against that State, refugees, within our territories, who might be charged with crime of a petty nature, no clause of the treaty of 1815 providing for such cases. In June one Ahemad Ali, a Kashmiri merchant trading in Tibet, was seized by the authorities there as a spy, but actually released and remanded to Kathmandu for dismissal to the plains. He petitioned Government for remuneration for his grievances, alleging that he had been employed by the Government in Lord Hastings' time there by Mr. Moorcraft to collect commercial information respecting Tibet, in so doing had perilled life and limb, besides incurring the loss of all his property. The Government disclaimed ever having employed him in such a capacity, and he was afterwards obliged to confess he has never been so deputed but urged his claim for secret services during the Nepal War, for which no reward had as yet been given him. At Kathmandu, he petitioned and strongly remonstrated against being obliged to end his trade there until the season became favourable for so doing. But the Darbar decreed according to his request to be allowed to remain so long, professing incapacity to

**Events at the Court of Nepal—1. 1830-40*, compiled by S. R. Tickell, Assistant Resident at Kathmandu, dated 21 December, 1840—*Foreign Secret Consultation*, 18 January, 1841. No. 74.

neglect the wishes of China as to his speedy removal, and in July, by the express order of the Tibet Jumla or Amhu, to whom reference had been made on this point, he was compelled to proceed on to Hindustan inspite of the unhealthy time of the year.

1832

On the 6th of April died Maharani Tripuresvari. She had been regent since the death of the late and during the minority of the present Rajah, and throughout had continued a firm ally of Bhimsen and supported him against the jealousy and rivalry of his brother Ranbir Singh, at that time General Commandant of the Nepal Army. The present Rajah had then reached his 16th year, and began to turn some attention to the advice and suggestions of Ranbir Singh, in his endeavours to balance the role of uncontrolled power which Bhimsen had over the affairs of the State.

3. Offence of deepest dye

Towards the end of July, some ferment in consequence of a *mehtar* or sweeper, belonging to the Residency having had connection with a Nepalese Hindu woman, was caused, and this event also served in some measure to widen the breach already forming between Bhimsen and Ranbir Singh. The minister's brother tried every means to inflame the minds of the Chiefs against the Residency owing to this affair, but his endeavour appeared to have no effect than to estrange him with the minister, who opposed his violent councils, and the business concluded by a negotiation of the Resident's right to try and punish subjects of his own government according to British regulations. The trifling incident of the *mehtar* is merely mentioned in illustration of the concession made by Bhimsen to our rights and usages, for the offence committed by the man, was and is considered by the Nepalese, as one of the deepest dye. The *mehtar* was on conviction sentenced to 5 years hard labour in irons, and sent to the plains to undergo the punishment.

In a former discussion of this subject, the Darbar had expressed a wish that the Resident should try a British subject or a follower of the Residency, but on conviction, punish him according to Nepalese custom, and that the Darbar itself would punish a Nepalese offending against a British subject, but according to British regulations. However, in answer to a suggested treaty, proposed by the Resident, the Darbar added a clause by which a Gorkha soldier should take the same vengeance on a British subject as he was permitted by the laws of his country, or a Nepalese, if convicted by adultery intercourse with his wife (*i.e.* cut his head off on any opportunity offering). The incompatibility of this clause with our ideas of retributive justice, suspended for a time, the negotiations.

4. Court politics

In September Bhimsen Thapa was invested with the premiership for the ensuing year. Ranbir Singh continuing his endeavours to curtail his power by directing the attentions of the Rajah to his own affairs, found an opportunity to quarrel with Matabar Singh, nephew of the minister and a young man of talent and of great grasping ambition, but who was becoming common with his uncle, an object of common alarm to Ranbir and his faction. Matabar Singh irritated at finding himself for first time foiled in some of his views, resigned his appointment, and endeavoured to obtain leave to visit the Terai, but was refused permission. In September also the quinquennial Gorkha mission to Peking, which had at some time previously gone there, was heard of at Digarchi, which place it had reached safely.

The warlike spirit of Gorkhas, carefully bred by Bhimsen, whose martial spirit in itself inimical to any friendly intercourse between Nepal and the British Government, has been fully dealt with in Dr. Campbell's *Memoir*, had remained perfectly undiminished up to this period ever since the Peace of 1816. The amount of troops on the peace establishment in 1825 was 11,710. It had now increased to 14,530. And the military stores and arsenals, which had been left in constant state of activity now furnished arms and ammunition for 44,000 men. The project also was formed this year of replacing the old post of Mackwanpur, by a regular system of fortification, and a competent force left Kathmandu to superintend the operation in November.

1833

After much discussion relative to the treatment of British subjects convicted of adultery with Nepalese females, the Darbar refused to enter into any treaty by which it would waive its right of punishing them pursuant to its own usages. Discussion in the Cabinet and much intriguing continued and the home policy of this year is chiefly marked by increased efforts at resistance to Bhimsen's uncontrolled power. The Maharani in January endeavoured indistinctly to obtain the Resident's co-operation with this view. The Rajah himself appearing averse to interfere and occupied rather in amusements than in the affairs of the State, awakened towards the middle of the year from this apathy, and seriously turned himself towards judicial and financial business especially in having the patronage of appointments in public offices, which had hitherto solely rested with Bhimsen. His attention was also directed towards Matabar Singh's haughty and unruly conduct; and the latter was compelled under pains of His Highness' severe displeasure, to resume the command he had resigned. In the meantime, after the period of *Panjani* and annual rotation of appointments had expired, all public business remained in abeyance owing to the delay in appointing a new minister, parties being strongly opposed to the reinstatement of Bhimsen

with the unlimited power he sought for. Eventually however, the Rajah though with much reluctance reinstated him to premiership.

Another leading Chief opposed to Bhimsen, at this time, appears to have been Bakhtawar Singh, who joined himself in close league with Ranbir, and notwithstanding the premier's popularity with the army, these two had managed to attach a considerable portion of the troops to their own interests. One of the first acts of Bhimsen's resumption of reins of government was to procure the nomination of his nephew Matabar Singh to the governorship of Palpa, a post of considerable importance and embracing the command of a strong force, detached from the capital, and in great measure independent, from its isolation and strength of events and acts of intrigue at the Court. This place however, owing to the indignant remonstrance of Bakhtawar Singh, then governor of Palpa himself, was not carried into execution. The party opposed to Bhimsen gradually and steadily increased in strength; but the minister stiffly resisted all measures of curtailing his ambition and influence and rejected to divide some of the emoluments and power of office with Ranbir and Bakhtawar Singh. He was eventually induced to give his consent to the promotion of the former to the rank of Lieutenant-General commanding three battalions, and the governor of Palpa, whereupon in disgust and anger, Matabar Singh and another Chief Dal Bahadur threw up their commissions.

5. Foreign Affairs

The foreign policy of Nepal this year claimed notice as being marked by the renewal of intrigues with other Courts and States in the British dominions, which had hitherto lain comparatively dormant. This increase appeared to have been level with the rumours of Russian and Persian invasions, which had now begun to attract attention of Nepal. In the early part of the year, an experienced spy was despatched to visit Lahore and Tehran; and attention was attracted to much secret intercourse between Nepal and the Rajah of Bharatpur. Early in September the news reached the Court of the return of the embassy to China, and the Rajah himself proceeded on the 2nd October two miles out of Kathmandu to receive and express homage to the letter of the Emperor. No other increase appears to have been made in the army this year, except the raising of a new battalion called Singh Nath, to the command of which Matabar Singh succeeded. The close of the rains and summer was marked by a dreadful earthquake occasioning much loss of life and property. Great scarcity also from drought was felt and disease became greatly prevalent.

6. Nepal-Sikkim boundary

Dispute relating to the boundary between Nepal and Sikkim, owing to the doubtful source and course of the Mechi river, the origin of which dispute has been noticed in Dr. Campbell's *Memoir*, remain still unadjusted. Towards

1834

the close of the year report was received from Major Llyod, political employ in the Sikkim provinces, of the invasion of that country by one Ekalthop, a refugee who laid claims to the sovereignty to that State, and who was stated to have crossed over from Nepal with a party of Gorkhas to enforce his pretensions. The report on this subject appeared on further enquiry to have been exaggerated. Discussions are still continued with regard to the frontier between Nepal and Tirhut.

During July several dacoits who had committed most daring robberies within the British territories, sought refuge in the Nepalese district of Morung, and much distress arose relative to their delivery by the authorities there. The Darbar alleged they were Nepalese subjects and refused to give them up unless similar concessions were made on our side.

7. Dialogue on commerce

Negotiations also continued this year respecting the Commercial Treaty of 1792. The minister and his party secretly endeavouring to quash further discussion on the subject, and proving themselves openly aroused to measures which would bring less restraints in a commercial point of view on the intercourse between the British Government and that of Nepal.

An amicable relationship resulting therefrom being at variance with Bhimsen's exclusively martial policy, his conduct throughout this year towards the Residency in general, and especially in regard to the above mentioned boundary disputes and the dacoity question, is represented as most unsatisfactory. The inimical temper and views of the Darbar about this period towards the British Government appeared to have been strengthened by reports prevalent at Kathmandu, of our having marched the whole of our available force to the westward against Man Singh of Jodhpur, and thereby having left our territories on Nepal frontier unprotected.

This feeling was however quickly crushed by the news of the capitulation of Jodhpur, which produced a marked change in the manner of the Darbar. They remained however much excited by the rumours of operations on a very vast scale about to be carried by our Government in a new remote quarter, and the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief at Allahabad excited the greatest curiosity and eager watching of the result of whatever movements appeared to be in contemplation.

The discussions referred to concerning the Commercial Treaty of 1792 closed in November by the Darbar declaring to recognise the validity and proposing another one comprising the following clauses :

1. The produce and manufacture of Nepal and Tibet to pay a duty of 4% *Kaldar ad valorem* in the British provinces, and the British and Hindustan produce an import duty in Nepal of 5% Mahendra Malli rupees *ad valorem* according to the market rates

in Nepal. 2. No other or future duty to be paid in either State on any condition. 3. The entire duty above-mentioned to be levied and paid at once. 4. Proposed a limited number of custom houses in either States, of which a list is given, 17 in British India and 21 in Nepal. 5. Provides for the punishment of any custom officers infringing the provisions of clause 2nd. 6. Speedy justice to be available to merchants of either State on any ground of complaint arising from extortion of custom officers in British India or Nepal. 7. Appeal from the decision of the collectors or custom officers in British India or Nepal. 8. List of the produces of either State to be prepared and authenticated by the Governor-General and Rajah of Nepal, and goods hitherto-free of duty to remain so. 9. The treaties of 1792 and 1801 A.D. to be considered rescinded. In addition to the above, an attempt was made but ineffectual to induce the Darbar's sanction to the export of British Indian coin—an impediment which has hitherto caused much inconvenience to our traders. All the coins imported into Nepal are taken to the mint and recast in Mahendra Malli rupees, which contain much alloy as to preclude carrying into our provinces. This treaty was forwarded for the consideration of Government in March of the succeeding year.

8. Matabar Singh

In the commencement of the year under review, we find Bhimsen and his family in possession of every provincial command throughout Nepal, with the exception of the government of Doti, which was held by a Chauntia, a collateral of the royal family. Matabar Singh for some time continued acting the part of an offended and annoyed among the Gorkha soldiery, that on his resigning the command of the two battalions formerly under him, the whole of them would lay down their arms, refusing to serve under any other leader. This divided spirit on the part of the troops led to the Rajah's adopting a conciliating tone towards Matabar Singh who seized the opportunity of increasing his demands. Nothing now but three battalions under his command, and the *Panjani* or patronage of the four Chief Courts of Justice would control him. In February he suggested to the Darbar the resumption of all the lands granted as *birtha* to the Khas (or ruling clan) on the ground that such gifts were only due to the Brahmans, and unfit for soldiers, who had been unjustly allowed to retain them although the Brahmans have already been deprived of such advantages. A proposition so startlingly at variance with the popularity Matabar Singh sought for and enjoyed amongst the soldiery struck all with astonishment. Matabar Singh was appointed in November General Commanding the Eastern Districts and 3,000 troops—the old and new Gorkha, the Shrijung and Penthana Battalions.

9. Ranjung Pande

It was during the close of this year that Ranjung, the son of Damodar Pande petitioned the Rajah for the restitution of his family property and

honours, confiscated in 1803. The sudden revival of claims surely extinct for 31 years, and after so complete an extirpation as the Kala Pandes had undergone through success of the very man, now paramount in the State, struck all with astonishment ; together with the favourable manner in which the Rajah received the petition, augured the claimants having previously secured the support of a faction, already noticed as striving to curtail Bhimsen's authority, and who had succeeded more than once in rousing the jealousy of the Rajah against the overbearing minister. From that date may be reckoned the commencement of a counter-revolution, and of those intrigues of the Kala Pandes, which eventually succeeded so well in the overthrow of their rivals, and in repaying the cruelties they had themselves suffered at his hands.

During the cold season, two envoys arrived at Kathmandu from Zaman Shah of Herat and Ranjit Singh of Lahore, merely it is supposed, to return a like former embassy to those places from Nepal.

On the 13th June the powder Magazine at Kathmandu was struck, during a violent storm by lightning, two thousand maunds of powder exploded, completely destroying the buildings, killing 13 men and wounding 15 more. The accident occurred during the night or the loss of life would have been far greater. Cholera had again been very prevalent during the summer months.

1835

Very little worth-mentioning appears in the records of this year. Negotiations between the Darbar and the Residency being confined to petty border disputes and in settling the complaints of Magistrate of Purnea against the Nepalese Morung authorities for harbouring dacoits within their frontier.

The Sikkim boundary still remained unadjusted and report was sent by Major Lloyd of the aggression in that country by the Nepalese.

With advertance to the immunity enjoyed by certain castes, by the law of Nepal, from suffering death for capital crimes, a proclamation was issued in August by the Darbar to all its *amils* in the villages and in *zillahs* of Subterai and Mahaterai, rescinding this exemption, and warning its subjects residing on the frontier, that on conviction of any crime, the offender should be punished according to the extent of the crime, with loss of life and property, without reference to caste or sect.

10. Mission of Matabar Singh

In November, a complimentary mission to the Governor-General, headed by Matabar Singh, set out for Calcutta. The Rajah had desired that one of the most distinguished Chiefs of Nepal should be allowed to proceed to England as a traveller, and Matabar Singh was proposed for the occasion having already thrice performed the tour of our British possessions in India. The Resident

could of course offer no objection, and subsequently, the Rajah was desirous of sending a splendid complimentary mission to the Governor-General. Matabar Singh with a retinue consisting of a regiment of 650 picked troops with numerous followers and 60 horses started accordingly on 27th November accompanied by Dr. Campbell, and taking charge of letter and presents for the Governor-General and the King of England.

Ten years had elapsed since a mission of this nature had been sent to the Governor-General and it may be safely presumed that this spontaneous expression of friendship was put into the Rajah's mouth by Bhimsen Thapa as a cloak for some ambition desired to be effected through the agency of his nephew, who shall thus have the benefit of direct communication with the Sovereign of England or his Viceroy in India. And it became easily perceptible, and Bhimsen being apprised that Matabar Singh's voyage to England would never be countenanced as the medium of any political communications but purely and solely as that of a traveller, that both uncle's and nephew's unusually ardent desire to satisfy a laudable curiosity faded away.

1836

The mission and Matabar Singh himself returned on the 28th March to Kathmandu. The manner of its reception at Calcutta had given the Nepalese much satisfaction. But the affair ended, without in any way conducing to change for the better in their jealous and unfriendly policy towards us.

An offer tendered to Nepal by the British Government of ensuring free commerce between the States was rejected by the Darbar's unwillingness to make any suitable concession with regard to the duties levied by it on our commodities. For the same reason negotiations were dropped respecting mutual arrangements to the jurisdiction and punishment of either States offenders. Numerous dissensions had from time to time arisen with the Darbar on account of the shelter afforded by the jungles within the Nepalese territories to bodies of thugs, whom the local Nepalese authorities refused to surrender. The Darbar at length agreed, on certain conditions, to deliver the thugs on reciprocal basis.

In spite of the distinction gained by Matabar Singh in his selection for the charge of the late mission, the faction against the Thapas kept secretly and strongly making head. And in October Ranjung Pande, who had the boldness to petition in 1834 for restitution of his confiscated rights, continued to procure the open accusation of Matabar Singh, who was publicly arraigned for cohabiting with his late brother's widow. The enquiry was dropped, but the accuser escaped scatheless, for his charges were probably not too well founded.

The Rajah's family had now increased to six children, fast growing up, and of whom one was merely marriageable. To meet the increasing expenses of

the royal household, measures of retrenchment and economy were seriously put in contemplation. In August the Darbar first turned its attention to payments of public servants, who as in all Asiatic states held land on service for ten years instead of receiving monied stipends from the Government. These lands had been allotted for such purpose 50 years ago, and had now become of nearly double value. The reduction of the several grants to the holders was therefore considered feasible, and measures were commenced for putting the project into execution. The Rajah was himself actively employed investigating financial affairs, and it is said 14 lacs of surplus revenue was brought to light. With this sum it was reported His Highness intended raising a *Khas Paltan* or bodyguard of 1,700 men.

11. Bhimsen overthrown

1837

During this year the instant and violent commotions which attended the first overt acts of Bhimsen's enemies, and which had they occurred amongst a people less simple minded and loyal than the Gorkhas, would have rent the country into two hostile factions and plunged it in civil war. This absorbed all attention, and left little scope for the despatch of ordinary business. We have seen the beginnings of resistance to Bhimsen's undivided sway in 1832, in the remonstrances his brother Ranbir, who missed no opportunity of urging the Rajah to assume his royal dignity and assert his independence of the control of his minister. We have also seen the favourable reception of Ranjung Pande's petition to be restored to the rights confiscated by the very man then in the zenith of his power, and the willingness of the Rajah to counterbalance the irksome influence of his minister by giving some show of countenance to his bitterest enemies. And from that date it is not difficult to perceive the slowly gathering strength of that faction whose plans had now become sufficiently ripe for open demonstration.

The year 1837 is marked by measures calculated to mortify and humble Bhimsen, and to show that the long discarded Kala Pandes were becoming the objects of consideration. By the secret machinations of the latter, the viceroy of Lhasa required that the quinquennial embassies to Peking from Nepal hitherto conducted by Bhimsen should be despatched by the Rajah himself, and solicited for the next visit, the appointment of the chief of the house of Damodar Pande, notorious as warm partisan of the Rajah's against the minister. However, in July was despatched one of the collateral branch of the royal family by name Pushker Shah Chauntia, on the mission.

In February, during the *Panjani* or annual rotation of appointments several of the minister's favourites were turned out of employ. Matabar Singh was also deprived of the command, and he was succeeded by Ranjung and

Babrjung Chauntia's brother. Ranbir Singh having acquiesced to the measures was permitted to remain in office ; a month or two after he was currently appointed to premiership on its annual vacation. Ranjung Pande had for some time foreseen the results of Bhimsen's blind ambition, but as on this and other subjects his advice appear to have been little consulted, and as hitherto all presents had been monopolised by the soldiery, he had remained devoid of official employment and altogether in the background. The injustice of excluding civilians from appointments in the government had now however attracted attention and the office of the Chief Justice, hitherto always held by a Captain or Lieutenant in the army, was assigned to a Brahman of legal knowledge and talents.

In July Ranjung Pande was reinstated to the lands formerly belonging to his family and sundry creatures of the minister, who held fraction of them, were turned out. Alterations were likewise made in the channels of intercourse with the Resident and those whom Bhimsen had deported in that capacity, were supplanted. Ranjung also now gave himself out avowedly and with impunity as the accuser of Matabar Singh in the charges recently brought against him, and another blow was shortly given to the waning power of the Thapas by the Rajah at a general parade of the troops, ordering the new officers to discontinue their attendance on the Chiefs.

On the 24th July, the Rajah's youngest son died suddenly, and a rumour quickly circulated through the Palace that the child had fallen a victim to the poison intended for its mother, the Maharani. This was followed by a report that the instigator of this deed was Bhimsen or some of his party. The alarm soon spread from the Palace through the city, and in the confusion that issued, Ranjung was suddenly appointed minister of the State and Bhimsen seized, ironed and thrown into prison, while the whole of his family were placed under close arrest ; Matabar Singh shortly afterwards was dealt with in the same manner as his uncle. The physician who attended the child was condemned to torture, and denounced Bhimsen, implicating also the Raj Baid and other physicians. The Raj Baid himself, on being questioned, is said to have made important revelation, the nature of which however never transpired, and shortly after the physician who had poisoned the child, was tortured to death.

12. Raghunath Pandit

In the meantime in view of his sudden nomination to the premiership, Ranjung was appointed Kāji and *Mulki Diwan*. But while these convulsions were eagerly seized upon by the Kala Pandes to bring themselves into power, a feeling of alarm at the probable results of their succession to authority seized the minds of many. Of this faction, the most prominent was Raghunath Pandit. The senior and the junior Ranis fetched Jung Chauntia and Prabhu Shah ; of these the first mentioned pleaded hard for the premiership, securing for himself the co-operation of the senior Rani. And the whole party strove to bring about the

liberation of Bhimsen and his family.

The prayer was at first only accorded with respect to the latter, who were released from surveillance ; and the Raj Baid, who had been branded and outcasted was restored to favour. But shortly afterwards both Bhimsen and Matabar Singh were released, and the former brought into full Darbar, where the old man fell on his face at the Rajah's feet, and was forgiven with the restoration to him of his garden house which had been confiscated during the late commotion, and the settlement of a pension of 3,000 rupees.

This step was followed shortly after the election of Raghunath Pandit to the premiership with power equal to Bhimsen, and the command and patronage of a regiment 1,000 strong, formerly held by the latter. Raghunath's public investiture did not taken place at the time, but a day was fixed for the ceremony. On the 16th Bhimsen conducted by Raghunath had an audience with the Rajah, and both the Ranis. And again the next day he was presented in full Darbar with a dress of honour and a caparisoned horse. He returned to his garden house followed by crowds of soldiers and people of the city. Matabar Singh, and Shamsheer Jung (Bhimsen's adopted son) had also audience in full Darbar, were presented with dresses of honour and horses, and were restored to their confiscated property. On their dismissal they returned home through the most public streets in triumph, warmly greeted by the *off-roll* soldiers and populace, crowds of whom attended cheering them at their thresholds.

Depressed and alarmed by the reinstatement of the Thapas, and the public manifestation of favour and unshaken popularity, Ranjung solicited permission to return to Benares, but the Rajah had sufficient experience to distrust the result of his absence from the scene, and the want of his counter-influence in opposition to the Thapas, his request was refused. The Rajah consoled him with promises of speedy remuneration, hinted to him how his services would be required in forming a check to the still latent ambition of the Thapas, and in fine, induced him to remain as the recognised leader of the opposing faction.

In the meantime Raghunath continued in charge of the current duties of the State, but patronage of the army the Rajah assumed entirely to himself. On public occasions, popular exhibitions, the Thapas exclusively retained personal and immediate attendance on the King.

Bhimsen's dismissal led to the cancelling of many military innovations introduced by him. The disposition of the army throughout Nepal was remodelled, the disproportionate force formerly concentrated at the capital, 3,000 infantry with artillery were marched off to other military stations in the interior. The posts of Sindhauli, Hariharpur, Mackwanpur and Salliana were reinforced, and those on the Sikkim frontier augmented. The post at Salliana (Oude frontier) formerly consisting of 3 companies, was increased to a regiment 300 strong. The fort of Mackwanpur now received 600 men and additional

guns. Iullaghat on the Kumaon frontier formerly manned by 600 was now placed under 1,000 rank and file. Illumghari on the Sikkim border the post formerly consisting of two companies infantry, was now augmented to 500 men with four guns. The total augmentation of the frontier posts amounted to about 2,000 infantry, and about 10 guns. In the commencement of the year, another new regiment was raised called the Hunuman Tankah 800 strong, and in March the amount of soldiery in the Nepalese army known on the roll was 19,000 rank and file.

In the commencement of the year under review another mission left Kathmandu for Lahore professedly of a merely complimentary nature. And in December passports were requested by the Darbar for an envoy to Herat. An intercourse between that place and Nepal now subsisted for four years, at first through means of horse dealers and such covert media of communications, later openly and officially.

13. Intrigues of Ranjung

1838

The opening month of this year passed without any particular attempt to review the convulsions of the previous one, and this calm appears to have been successfully employed by Ranjung in gaining over the interest of the Maharani to his cause. He professed himself indifferent to the premiership and accepted the general command of the troops in him, a part in which for a time he promised to be popular on account of the military force of his father Damodar Pande. His appointment also gave satisfaction to the soldiery, who had become much discontented at the reductions in their pay made by the temporary minister Raghunath Pandit. At the same time, Ranjung's brother Randip was confined to the governorship of Palpa, and his eldest son Kabir Pande appointed as the keeper of the royal wardrobe. Many others also of his relations succeeded to offices in the State.

Bhimsen and Matabar Singh continued at large though out of employ, and were permitted to attend Darbar both public and private. Their popularity with the army continued unabated, and 8 commissioned officers and 80 men of the Shernath Regiment (formerly Bhimsen's own) took their discharge and called themselves as private followers to Matabar Singh; many off-roll soldiers also followed their example.

As early as February, the success of Ranjung's intrigues with the Maharani was revealed in breaking out of violent dissensions in the palace between the royal family. The junior Rani advocating Bhimsen's restoration, and the Maharani insisting on the succession, of which dissensions she furiously left the palace declaring she would never return unless her will was obeyed, and retired to Paśupatināth, about 3 miles from the city, attended by Ranjung during her stay there; the Court attended daily, with the Rajah himself on

her. This is the first mention of similar vagaries, with which this headstrong woman has up to this day continued to be the torment of the whole Court.

14. Matabar Singh

In March Matabar Singh was permitted under the ostensible pretext of catching elephants to repair to the Terai jungles, and took the opportunity to proceed into the plains, from whence it was rumoured he intended prosecuting his way to Lahore and obtaining service under Ranjit Singh. Matabar Singh proceeded on to Benares, where he waited for further orders from the Darbar, or at least from the Rajah or Bhimsen, and shortly after, two spies or news-writers, and a Brahman of Allahabad by name Har Parshad were despatched from Kathmandu, with presents, and a picture of the Nepal Rajah for Ranjit Singh. Occasional letters were received from Matabar Singh during his progress, and in May, the news of his arrest in his attempt to cross the Sutlej at night reached Kathmandu and excited considerable sensation.

In the meantime, a letter reached Nepal, written by a jamadar of Matabar Singh's party, who had effected his escape, and yet gone to Lahore, when, he stated, he had been most kindly received by Ranjit Singh and sent back with presents, and advised to escape from his arrest by any means. News was also received of the safe arrival of all the letters addressed to the Maharaja from Nepal. And he was heard to remark, "that as the English and the Muslims (alluding to Shah Shuja's restoration) had united, it was for the Hindus to look to themselves."

Towards the close of the year, Matabar Singh was permitted by Government to proceed on his journey. The news of his release caused great surprise at Kathmandu, and Bhimsen failed not to seize the opportunity of proclaiming that it had been brought about by his influence with the British.

Meanwhile party feeling and internal commotion ran high in Nepal, and the Maharani in addition to her determination to promote Ranjung to the ministry was suspected of plotting the deposition of the Rajah and placing her own son on the throne, and the expulsion of the Residency from Nepal. In July she was nearly gaining her point with respect to Ranjung, who would have been made premier but for the dissuasion of Raghunath Pandit, who warned the Rajah that in nominating him he would cause disgust and drive Matabar Singh, Randut Shah and many other Chiefs, openly to seek protection from the English.

These dissuasions of the Rajah's best advisers were however listened to but for a short time, and served to redouble family dissensions. The Rani again left Kathmandu and declared that she would never return unless the throne was abdicated in favour of her son, and Ranjung made prime minister. Raghunath Pandit seeing no hopes of support from the Rajah, or the ungovernable temper of this woman, resigned the premiership. All the Chiefs held meekly aloof from

proferring advice or assistance, and to add to the Rajah's torments, he was assailed by imposters, who so effectually wrought on his fears as to compel him to quit the Palace.

15. Foreign policy

The year is ripe with intriguing communications from the Darbar to all parts of India. The Nepal mission to Herat was retarded for further and secret instructions, and a new one despatched. In January, three persons disguised as *faqirs* brought the intelligence at Kathmandu of a rupture between the British and the Court of Ava, which excited the most eager interest ; and Captain Kumar Singh, a clever and intelligent man with the attendants was directed to proceed to Burma *via* Sikkim in the territory of the Deo Dhumna Raja, have an interview with its rulers, and collect information about the roads leading to Bhutan through Sikkim and Tibet. From thence he was to proceed to Assam and finally to Burma to see the state of affairs there.

About the same time as the departure of this mission, parties arrived from Udaipur and Jodhpur with letters and presents to which returns of the like nature were made by the Maharani. In April, the envoy to Lahsa returned to Kathmandu ; he had been charged by letters and verbally to direct the attention of the Chinese Government to the encroachments of the English on Nepal, and to state that the Sikh conquest of Ladakh, and that of Deo Dhumna by a treacherous Subah of that State, had been performed entirely at their instigation. Letters were also received about this time from the Peshwa and from Sindhia. By the month of May, it had been ascertained that since the commencement of this year emmissaries charged with letters, and without passports, had been despatched to Jodhpur, Gwalior, to India, to Hyderabad, Burra Nagpur and Cooch Bihar.

Numerous communications had been sent to the Punjab. Bhupal Singh, a Nepalese soldier in Ranjit Singh's service, who arrived at Kathmandu early in the year on a visit, was nominated to the governorship of Doti. Bhimsen who since his downfall had proposed great friendship for the British Government, privately sent intimation to the Resident that the Darbar was prepared for hostilities in October should the accounts received from Ava, Pekin and Lahore be favourable by that time, and as reports reached the Darbar of affairs and proceedings unfavourably for the British in Ava, Kabul and Persia, the symptoms of a desire to bring matters to issue increased, and the Rajah was formerly petitioned by a body of Chiefs-in-Council to expel the Resident at once—a proposition to which he tacitly listened.

The Darbar in the meantime remained actively employed in curtailing all expenditure, and reducing the rate of assignment in lands to the troops—the new regiment Hanuman Dal Paltan was to be paid half in land and half in cash. The frontier posts were also supplied with large stores of ammunition, and 3,000

rolls of powder and cannon shots despatched for the purpose.

By one of his emissaries to Jodhpur, the Rajah is said to have asked Appa Sahib's assistance to fight the English and to have obtained not an unsatisfactory answer. Strange Lahore news reached the Darbar that the English were much alarmed at Dost Muhammad's league with the Persians, and that Ranjit Singh had dictated high terms to them, respecting the passage of the Company's troops through the Punjab; this intelligence was communicated by Matabar Singh. Rumours also were prevalent of the Nepalese having received promises of support from China. In September Pushkar Shah returned from his embassy to Peking, unattended by any Chinese deputies. He brought two letters, the contents of which were not known. Shortly after his return, the premierships before stated as having been resigned by Raghunath Pandit, was bestowed on him in partnership with Ranjung Pande.

As the cold weather drew on, reports of a British force assembling on the Nepal frontier created a great sensation, and the utmost precautions were taken to meet any movements of hostility from that quarter. Preparations for war continued with unabated activity. The different commanders of frontier posts were ordered to their stations. The military charge of the Eastern Division of the Kingdom was assigned to the Thākuris, the Western to the Bīsnaitis, and the Central parts to the Pandes. Fortifications were also strengthened and new armies sent along the Sikkim frontier, and the Rajah of that country urged by the Nepalese, in unison with the Chinese and the Bhotias to expel the English from the new settlement of Darjeeling.

This gross and faithless system of intrigues could not of course but excite the serious attention of the British Government, and remonstrances were frequently made by the Resident to the Darbar on the subject. These were met with usual excuses, professions of ignorances and promises of satisfactions. In September, the Darbar issued the royal mandates recalling several of its emissaries from the Courts to which they had been deputed. But almost at the same time, fresh spies were sent out to Jodhpur, Muthura, and Cawnpur. However, a change in the tenor of reports from beyond the Indus, the rumours of the retreat of the Persians from Herat, and the views of Ranjit Singh having openly dissolved all the negotiations with Nepal, appeared in lowering the tone of the Darbar.

In October, the Darbar admitted the invalidity of its claims against Kapilashi, a tract of country involved in the still unadjusted dissensions on the Sikkim boundary, and volunteered a fresh investigation on the subject. On the 28th October the Darbar sent a written promise to the Resident assuring in future the administration of impartial justice to British subjects—traders in Nepal. These persons having for a long time been complaining of the treatment they met with in the courts of Nepal.

16. Internal affairs

The Elaborate System of intrigues noticed throughout the last year, and the unabated efforts of the Gorkhas to disseminate unfavourable opinions about the British, and the prophecies of their downfall, were seconded at home. The public expenditure was restricted by the greatest parsimony, and the treasury reimbursed by the most tyrannical exactions. Ranjung, now as high in favour at Court as he was feared and detested by the people, first directed the attention of the Rajah towards a system of retrenchments, falling little short of open robbery, by giving up to the State ostentiously his own lands, which he held on rent free tenure, and the act was followed by a summons to all *jagirdars* to do the same. There commenced a series of queries multiplied on the most frivolous pretexts, for acts so long past as to have been almost forgotten, or as settlement of flaws in accounts never before thought worthy of investigation.

During February 800,000 rupees were demanded from the family of late Amar Singh for alleged defalcation in the western hill districts. 200,000 were required from Oma Kant, the treasurer, for defalcation said to exist in the treasury. A fine of 25,000 rupees was levied on Balram Kowar for having instigated Parbhu Shah to intercede for Bhimsen and his family when in chains. Bhimsen himself was called upon to account for and refund different sums paid to his subordinates for 30 years. In short, all the Chiefs were threatened with mutations. All free lands given since Ran Bahadur's time were to be resumed. And soldiers were scattered over the country, enforcing these exactions, should there be the slightest demur in complying with them. A bond of 300,000 was also demanded from Kulanand Jha, the farmer of the Terai.

17. The persecution of the Thapas

In March, the persecutions of the Thapas were revived, and the charges of poisoning again set in agitation. The Court physicians were seized on the first blush of proceeding and questioned in the hope of further implicating Bhimsen. Indeed it was supposed, that nothing but the resentment of Matabar Singh, whom the Rajah and Kala Pandes feared would openly go over to the English in that event, prevented his head being cut off. It was reported about this time, that the Darbar had hired secret agents to poison Matabar Singh in the Punjab. None dared now to lift a voice in favour of the unfortunate minister, who was reduced to the most abject and affecting appeals to the Resident for protection and aid of the British Government. The accusations preferred against the Court physician were of poisoning the Maharani; they were urged to confess their guilty motives and to implicate Bhimsen; the Rajah himself had an interview with the Resident on the subject, who expressed to him his opinion that sufficient proof had not been elicited against the parties. In April, the Majhila Guru resigned his situation of manager of affairs between the Residency

and the Darbar. Shortly after this, Ranjung was made the sole minister and Raghunath made subordinate to him to the disgust of all the Chauntrias and other influential Chiefs. This step was attended by the vehement revival of the poisoning question, and the Court physicians, anticipating a worse destiny, destroyed themselves in despair. The junior Rani, towards whom the jealousy of the Maharani had been for some time turned, was in the greatest apprehension for her children, who were said to be in danger of being deprived of sight, and Bhimsen's brother, as a measure of precaution, turned *faqir*.

These disgusting persecutions continued throughout the ensuing month with increased rigour and barbarity. The family and relations of the royal physician (who was crucified last year) were seized, five had their noses cut off, and eleven after being tortured in the hope of extorting confessions criminating certain chiefs were given to perpetual slavery as outcasts. The physicians Ekdev and Eksuriya were also tortured for the same purpose and Bhimsen again confined in his house, which was surrounded by soldiers. It was now no secret that these persecutions arose solely from the machinations of Ranjung Pande and the Maharani. The latter scrupled not almost publicly to avoid her determination to prove the Rajah's abdication in favour of her eldest son; and the minister was supposed to be devising every means to lure Matabar Singh back to Nepal.

By the 18th May, the persecutions of the unfortunate ex-minister appeared to have reached their climax. He was formally arraigned on the strength of certain papers purporting to be confessions of the physician Ekdev Baid, which alleged that he had at Bhimsen's suggestion poisoned the younger widow of the late Raja Girvan Yudha Vikram Shah. Another paper, alleged to be from the widow of Bhimsen's brother Bakhtawar Singh, accused him of having poisoned the Rajah himself. And a third paper was produced, as written by Bhimsen's younger brother Ranbir Singh (governor of Palpa) solemnly cautioning the Rajah and the Rani against Bhimsen's well known malpractices. The old man thus beset, courageously defended himself, and demanded why if such charges had really been made, they had not been produced against him on his first arrest in 1837? He denounced the papers as forgeries and called for confrontation with his accusers. But his defence and his appeals were alike unheeded; not a voice was raised in his behalf throughout the Darbar; the Chiefs sat by in dejected silence, and the Rajah giving away to or fearing a burst of indignation, denounced him as a traitor, and had him hurried off in chains to prison.

18. The end of Bhimsen

It is needless to trace further his cruel persecutions. Like a convicted felon he lingered in his dungeon during his few remaining days; the malice of his arch enemy refusing him the boon of wearing his irons unheeded and in peace. His

ears were assailed from day to day with threats of renewed torments ; with being exposed, plunged up to neck in heaps of human ordure and filth, with having his wife paraded naked through the city, till totally worn out by accumulated torments, the wretched old man anticipated further malice by committing suicide. On 20th July he inflicted a wound in his throat with a *khukri*, of which he died nine days after. His corpse was refused funeral rites, but dismembered and exposed about the city, after which the mangled remains were thrown away on the river side, where the dogs and vultures dared heed them.

The unwearying cruelty which Bhimsen had thus in part foiled by a voluntary death, now turned to exhaust itself on his kin and posterity. A decree was issued that none of the Thapa clan should ever receive public employment for seven generations. His family and immediate relations, who had been banished to Bhote, where they were treated with utmost rigour, were removed still further eastward among the snows ; all rent-free tenures granted by Bhimsen were to be resumed ; also all lands granted by the regent Rani during and after Ran Bahadur's sojourn at Benares.

The odious persecutions of the Thapas were accompanied by the same system of extortion and injustice towards all other classes. While the means of providing sinews of war were blindly grasped at, the curtailment of the pay of the troops was insisted on. In August the new Gorkha Paltan, whose pay had been reduced to 40 rupees a year per man, exhibited signs of discontent. In December, owing to the machinations of the unwearying Maharani, all roads leading into the plains were stopped—egress was barred to every Nepalese of consequence, and the Chiefs who were deprived of their lands, were forced to sign declarations that they had of their own free will given them up to the State. Added to this, a decree was issued requiring all public functionaries to serve two or three years without pay in return for the excessive emoluments they formerly enjoyed.

Disgust and discontent prevailed throughout Nepal ; such was the alarm entertained at one period of the year by the Chiefs and indeed by the mass of population, that men openly expressed their wishes for the speedy commencement of that war, to which the Darbar appeared hurrying and which all hoped, would give to the British the mastery of Nepal. In the meantime, the odium of all this system of tyranny, Ranjung strenuously strove to throw on the Rajah. And it began to be rumoured that both the former and the Rani were thus endeavouring to make him unpopular to ensure the abdication of the throne.

19. Foreign policy

Leaving the wearying details of fraud and villainy at home, it remains now to trace the tenor of the Darbar's intercourse abroad, resuming the link of mass of intrigues, which were industrially continued throughout the Rajputana states by the Nepalese religious emissaries, who were disseminating throughout

our provinces prophecies of the coming downfall of the British power. To this incentive was added that of the expedition across the Indus, which the Darbar imagined would drain our provinces of all available troops, especially as it was industrially rumoured that the army there was involved in difficulties and meeting with reverses.

During May rumours were ripe of intrigues between Nepal and Bhutan and Sikkim instigated by the ex-Peshwa, two of whose secret emissaries came to Nepal and from there these went to Burma. Emissaries from Nepal were actually employed tampering with the Kassiyans, Manipurians and others. Deputy Inbadar Umir Khatri retired via Doti from Kabul, where he had effected an interview with Dost Muhammad, from whom he brought letters. From Lahsa the Darbar received a complete rebuff to all its advances, and about the same time, authentic intelligence reached Kathmandu of the fall of Kandahar.

In the meantime, the Darbar continued to press on the Resident the matter of the marriage mission to Rewa which after much debate ended by passports being issued for a limited deputation on stringent conditions. This was followed shortly after by a most unlooked for complimentary *kharita* from the Rajah to the address of the Governor-General tendering the services of the Gorkha armies in such a way as might be required. The motive of the complimentary *kharita* was doubtless alarm at the extent of the Darbar's intrigues throughout India which events abroad had now in great measure closed to encourage.

The transmission of the *kharita* was eagerly pressed by the Darbar, and this gave rise to the renewal of negotiations to which hitherto the Court had turned a deaf ear. The Resident pointing to the unbounded professions of amity contained in the *kharita* as totally at variance with the actual state of things at Kathmandu, refused not only to forward the *kharita* but withheld the Rajah's wishes about the deputation of marriage mission. The negotiations continued for three months when on 6th November a written engagement was gained from the Nepalese Court which promised the cessation of all intrigues whatever by letter or messenger with our allies or dependents throughout India; that judicial and civil cases were to be heard and decided in whichever State they might arise in¹; and the redress on all occasions to British subjects residing in Nepal as its own subjects were entitled to.

The solemn engagement entered into by the Darbar in November seems to have little effect on the continuation of intrigues of which they had pledged the cessation. During the same month the Darbar was busily engaged in arrangements for communicating with Central Asia via the trans-Himalayan route, as offering

¹ The Darbar had practiced much cruelty by compelling British subjects residing in Nepal to plead in the courts of Nepal to transactions belonging entirely to our province.

less means of detection than the direct one through the plains. Circulars were distributed among the Nepalese Chiefs and throughout the country generally setting forth the difficulties the British were labouring under in Kabul, Satara, Hyderabad etc., and that Naunihal Singh had imprisoned his father Kharak Singh for allowing passage of British troops through Lahore.

Towards the close of the year, a mission with a present of horses arrived covertly from Lahore. About this time, the Kala Pande faction was overjoyed by rumours of the death of Matabar Singh. When Bhimsen and his family had been swept away, and some time after the lull that occurred for want of fresh victims, a vile conspiracy broke out, in which the Maharani accused the junior Rani of criminal conversation with a Captain in the Gorkha army, one Ganjan Singh, who was imprisoned. The charge, however, fell to the ground, but he was accused of treason ; which attack threw her into the greatest distress and fear for her life and induced her to appeal secretly to the Resident to British Government. Karbir Pande and Kodraj who were appointed chief justices at the time of Ranjung's accession to the premiership, continued to discharge their offices in ways which excited universal hatred and fear, and such were the exorbitant proceedings they carried on in their Adawlat, that they ended, in December, by the murder of one of the administrative officers in the open court.

Towards the end of April the disputed relations to the boundary of Sikkim and Nepal ended by the question being decided by the Resident in favour of the latter. The arsenal equipments and levies of troops kept pace as may be imagined with the accumulation of the treasure and other preparations for hostility which continued in such activity throughout the year. Among the additions made to the military stores were 64 cannon of four six P calibre, and in April mention is made of 200 cannon of brass, the latter being under manufacture, and 10,000 maunds of powder and one lac of round shot ordered to be prepared as soon as possible. In June the arsenals were ordered to furnish 18 lacs of musket balls and also muskets at the rate of five per diem. A census of the population fit to bear arms *i.e.* of "persons between 12 and 60 years, was also made by Ranjung which is stated to have produced a return of 400,000 souls. The increase in the regular army is noticed during this year.

CHAPTER 20

DOWNFALL OF PANDES AND RISE OF JUNG BAHADUR, 1840-1851*

1. Court politics

1840

On the Tenth Day of February of the year under review Ranjung Pande was appointed to the premiership. Notwithstanding the solemn engagement into which the Darbar had entered, on the 4th of November of the previous year, foreign intrigue was carried on perseveringly as heretofore. The news of our discussions with China induced the Darbar to address a letter to the viceroy of Lhasa, of a tenor most hostile to the British, and thoroughly demonstrative of the animus of Nepal; to this communication, a reply of a pacific nature was received. Passports were solicited by the Darbar for persons about to proceed to Lahore and Gwalior with invitations to the Heir Apparent's wedding, but were with a few exceptions, refused by the British Resident, in consequence of the indulgence of free access to our territories having been abused on former occasions.

In the early part of this year Bhopal Thapa (son of famous Amar Singh) for some years past an officer in the French Legion of the Sikh army, arrived in Nepal to obtain recruits for a Gorkha corps about to be raised by the Sikhs. He was detained by the Darbar, and nominated to a civil charge on the extreme western frontier. Letters for Lahore on the part of the Darbar were transmitted through the channel of Bhopal Thapa, and his brother Arjun Thapa, holding a situation in the Lahore army. A secret mission left Nepal charged with presents of jewels and intriguing letters from the Nepal Darbar to the Court of Lahore. The mission failed by the vigilance of the British representative at this Court, whose timely notice to the authorities at Benares secured the arrest of the emissaries.

Much correspondence passed during this year with the Darbar relative to the co-operation of Nepal in the measures adopted by us on this frontier for the suppression of thuggee and dacoity, and stringent orders were issued by the Darbar to its western functionaries enjoining them to afford the required aid.

On the 4th of May the marriage of the Heir Apparent was celebrated, but shortly after the ceremony, the British Resident was suddenly summoned to the

**Events at the Court of Nepal II, 1840-1851* by C. H. Nicholette, Assistant Resident, Nepal Residency, Kathmandu, dated 30th September, 1853. *Foreign Political Consultation*, 11 November, 1853, No. 3. 22-24 (1)

Darbar, where, he had an interview with the Maharaja, who declared that the marriage of their son must be dissolved, as certain ill-omened marks on the bride had been discovered, which prevented the prince from approaching them. It is generally believed that this palace fracas was got up by the Maharani to keep the Maharaja in perpetual distress and induce his resignation in favour of his son, under whom, as regent, the Maharani and her creature Ranjung Pande would possess uncontrolled power over the kingdom.

2. Violation of frontier

The 12th of April of the year is marked as the date on which a gross violation of British territory took place within the escheated *zamindari* of Ramnagar. Between 50 and 100 Gurkhas, acting under the orders of the Darbar, presented themselves at the annual fair of Suhoodra Ustan, situated in the Ramnagar forest, and 8 miles due south of the Someshwar range of the hills, which forms the boundary of the two kingdoms. After collecting the bazar duties, they proceeded to the village of Mungarala, where they held a Kutchery, and summoning the inhabitants informed them that their villages had been resumed by the Nepal Government, and ordered them not to pay their land and other revenues to the British authorities. In each of the 91 villages thus forcibly seized, Gurkhas were stationed. In fact, a large tract of country had been entirely cut off from the British dominions. For this unwarranted aggression, the British Government demanded the instant withdrawal of every Nepalese, without exception, from all the lands of Ramnagar to the south of the Someshwar ridge. The Darbar was further informed that if these demands were not promptly complied with, a British force would immediately advance to the frontier to vindicate the honour and protect the subjects of the British Government. After much procrastination, evasion and subterfuge, the Darbar acceded to the demands of the British Government, and the villages were restored to their rightful owners, with full compensation.

3. Grievances of soldiery

On the 21st June a grand parade was ordered, the object of which was the announcement of a long contemplated reduction of pay. The soldiers did not wait for the intended proclamation, but at once grounded their arms and insisted on the redress of their grievances. These were, that during the last two years, instead of being re-enlisted as paid up and discharged at the end of their year's engagement, according to right and custom, they had been kept hanging on in service for 8 to 10 months over their annual terms, under perpetual liability to be ousted, without pay for this broken period, by fresh recruits who, although coming in near the end of the year, were entitled by the usage of this state to draw the entire year's pay.

The mutineers, after ransacking the house of Chountria Pushkar Shah, proceeded to the city, where they continued their devastation till 2 o'clock in

the morning. The Maharani set out for Thankot, declaring she was going to the plains ; and throughout that anxious night, the minister Ranjung Pande, although present in the city, never quitted his house under pretext of illness. But strange to say, he did not make any attempt to suppress the mutiny ; indeed, it is supposed, that he even pointed out to their ringleaders the most fitting objects of their vengeance. On the morning of the 22nd the Maharaja accompanied by the whole of the troops proceeded to Thankot to bring back the Maharani.

In the afternoon of that day the royal pair returned to Nepal, and the soldiery, having been fully satisfied on the matters of their pay and enlistment, returned to their usual habits of obedience. The sardars whose houses had been plundered and the privacy of whose females had been invaded, received neither satisfaction nor compensation, nor were any of the mutineers punished. There is every reason to believe that the Maharani and her favourite Ranjung Pande, the minister, were principal, although secret instigators, and who, for furtherance of their own ambitious aims, did not fail to alienate the chiefs and to intimidate the weak and vacillating Rajah, under cover of the revolt of the soldiery.

Dismissal of Ranjung Pande

Much correspondence is detailed in the records of this year on the denial of justice by the Darbar functionaries to the British subjects. The remonstrations and warnings of those who desired the welfare of the State, and a continuance of peace induced the Maharaja at length, to dismiss from his councils the minister Ranjung Pande, the alleged leader of a faction hostile to the British Government, and on the 1st of November, Fattah Jung Chauntria was renominated to the premiership, but matters remained for the present in the same unsatisfactory state as heretofore, owing to the violent character of the Maharani, the duplicity and subservience to that lady of the Maharaja, and the new minister's indecision and want of energy.

Towards the end of the year, the British Government deemed it expedient to place on the frontier, a corps of observation to watch the movement of the Nepalese, and to protect the interests of the British subjects. The force was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Oliver, and consisted of a squadron of the 6th Light Infantry, the 12th, 40th and 56th Regiment of Native Infantry, a detail of Artillery, and a detachment of local horse. The commander was directed to place himself in communication with Mr. Hodgson, the British Resident at this Court. The station of Gorakhpur was at the same time strengthened.

4. Sundry affairs

1841

The opening of this year is marked by the Darbar's reiterated expressions acquiescence in the friendly councils of the Governor-General. The force on the frontier was retained. About this time, 94 chiefs of the opposite factions

entered into a solemn engagement with the British Resident to maintain friendship and good faith with the British Government.

The Maharani, who for a series of years had taken such an active part in the politics of the country, finding all her schemes defeated, and her party completely ousted from power, set off for Hetounda, declaring her intention to proceed on a pilgrimage to Benares. She was shortly followed by the Maharaja and the Heir Apparent. The friendly and firm admonitions of the British Resident at length induced the royal party to return; and on arrival at Kathmandu, the first act of the Maharani was to summon to her presence her favourite Ranjung Pande, the lately discarded minister.

On the 6th October, Her Highness the Maharani died of malaria fever "*Owul*" which she is supposed to have contracted during her sojourn at Hetounda. Suspicions were at one time entertained that poison had been administered to her, but it was subsequently proved that these surmises were groundless. The Misser Guru having signified a desire to retire to Benares, a passport was readily granted to him. His absence from Nepal being considered most expedient, for it was apprehended that in his position of spiritual preceptor, he possessed too great an influence over his royal master. After leaving the country, however, he lingered on the frontier, and evinced so much reluctance to pursue his journey, that the Maharaja sent him a peremptory mandate to proceed forthwith to his destination.

In the early part of this year two emissaries arrived from Ladakh, to request the aid of the Darbar in support of the pretensions of the two sons of the late Rajah. The Darbar referred the appeal to Lhasa, and secretly informed the viceroy of the Darbar's readiness to put troops into motion in that direction, provided the Chinese Government could be induced to sanction the measure. In reply the viceroy stated that the Chinese Government had no title or desire to interfere with the politics of Ladakh, and that the Darbar would do well to confine itself to the established circle of communications. With reference to the attack made on Tibet about this time by the Sikhs under one Zorawar Singh, the Gorkha governor of Jumla counselled the Darbar as to the expediency of making simultaneous incursion into Tibet from Jumla for the purpose of seizing by a "*coup de main*" a rich gold mine on the borders of that province. The Maharaja, it was alleged, intended sending secret despatches to Zorawar Singh at the lake of Mansarowar; but the signal defeat, and almost total destruction of the Sikh force by the Chinese, frustrated the Darbar's contemplated movement in that direction.

On the 28th of May, the British Resident accompanied by the officers of his suite, was present at the marriage of the Maharaja's second son when it was generally noticed as strange that the Heir Apparent preceded His Highness the Maharaja in the cortege. Much correspondence passed with the Darbar at

different periods during this year, regarding the tardy administration of justice to the British subjects, and want of readiness to co-operate with the British functionaries in the apprehension of dacoits. Orders in consequence were sent to the governor of Palpa for the immediate delivery to the British authorities of the large gangs of dacoits reported to have found asylum in the Nepal Terai.

Letters and petitions were frequently received during this year from Matabar Singh, whose family together with those of his uncles Bhimsen and Ranbir Singh, continued as heretofore in wretched poverty. The widow of Bhimsen having died, her body was burned without any rites, pursuant of the savage decree which rendered the whole Thapa race outcastes. Subsequently, however, the Maharaja rescinded the portion of the decree by restoring the family to enjoyment of civil and religious privileges.

It appears from the records of the year that much ill-feeling was exhibited towards Fattah Jung and his colleagues in the shape of placards posted on the walls of the city by unknown parties, who even went so far as to threaten the life of the minister. It is generally believed that the placards emanated from the Pande faction, which was constantly at work to undermine the Chauntria's ministry.

5. An ugly scene

1842

The Maharaja having satisfied the British Government of the sincerity of his expression of friendship by the offer of his troops to co-operate with the British in Ava and Afghanistan, and also by the adjustment of several long pending cases of denial of justice to British subjects, the Governor General-in-Council at the earnest request of His Highness ordered the withdrawal of the force under Colonel Oliver, which had been sent to the frontier towards the close of 1840 to watch the movements of the Nepalese. But notwithstanding the establishment of these amicable relations, a scene shortly took place, when the Maharaja gave utterance to sentiments quite at variance with his late peaceful professions. A report which had appeared in one of the Anglo-Indian newspapers to the effect that the late Maharani's death had been caused by poison, having come to the knowledge of the Maharaja, excited much indignation on his part, and led to the enactment of the most disgraceful and rather ludicrous scene between the Maharaja and the Heir Apparent. The former having desired a conference with the Resident, Mr. Hodgson, who started for the palace, but much to his astonishment, he had scarcely reached the Residency gate, when he saw the Maharaja and the Heir Apparent standing on the road attended by several Chiefs. The Rajah demanded whether the Resident had despatched his letters to the Governor-General relative to the late Maharani's death; the Resident replied in the affirmative, and assured the Rajah that every exertion would be

made by the Governor-General to discover the author of the slanderous tale. Upon this the Maharaja became extremely violent, and exclaimed with much anger : "Tell the Governor-General that he must and shall give him up. I will have him and flay him alive and rub him with salt and lemon till he die ; further tell the Governor-General that if this infamous calumniator is not delivered up there shall be war between us."

The Heir Apparent commenced abusing his father whom he struck repeatedly. This scene was reacted in the Guru's garden. For the undignified and highly offensive expressions made use of by the Maharaja on these occasions, a full apology was subsequently made to the British Government.

On the 28th of May, the second Rani of the Heir-Apparent died. It is generally believed that this unfortunate lady fell victim to the incessant brutal usage she received from her cruel and tyrannical husband. The records of this, and indeed of the preceding years, abound with the constant vagaries, eccentricities and cruelties of the Heir Apparent, who appears to have been encouraged in his savage acts by his pusillanimous father, who deemed it impious to check his youthful son, as the astrologers had declared that he was an 'Incarnation' and destined at no remote period to extirpate the *frangis*. The Rajah now expressed a serious intention of abdicating in favour of his son, and as a preliminary measure requested the British Resident to address his son as Mahārājadhirāj.

About this time, a strong reaction appears to have taken place in favour of the Pande faction, who now appeared publicly in Darbar in attendance on the Heir Apparent, and were re-admitted to confidential intercourse with the Maharaja. One of the party, Jagat Bum Pandey was nominated to the charge of the periodical mission to Peking, and left Kathmandu on the 3rd of July. The Maharaja and the Heir Apparent followed the mission to Nawakot in order to prepare without observation the secret despatches for delivery at Lhasa and Peking. These letters, however, were detained by the viceroy of Lhasa, pending instructions from his imperial master. Kulraj Pandey, another member of this faction daily amused the Heir Apparent by setting up mock fights—Gurkhas against English, in which the latter, represented by low caste tribes dressed in British uniform, with their faces painted white, were most despicably treated, after invariable defeat and depression.

6. Fateh Jung's dilemma

The incessant cruelties and insults of the Heir Apparent towards all classes together with the Maharaja's continued acquiescence therein, rendered it impossible for any one to know who was the responsible occupant of the Gaddi, and led the premier Fateh Jung to declare that so long as the Rajah continued to evade the responsibilities of his throne without resigning it, the premier could neither answer to foreign governments nor the suffering people for the conduct

of the Darbar. There was an universal movement throughout the Valley, and several meetings were held on the Tundikhel Parade Ground to discuss the affairs of the State. The people complained that they could not obey two masters, adducing numerous instances in which the Rajah had allowed them to be punished by his son for obedience to his own commands, whilst for all the murders, maimings, beatings, and insults perpetrated by the Heir Apparent, the Maharaja had evaded authorising prevention or making atonement in a single instance. At one of these meetings, where about 8,000 persons were present, a committee was named to draw up a petition for presentation to the Maharaja for the due protection of the legitimate rights, public and personal of all his subjects. The petition being approved by the country was ratified by the Maharaja on the 7th of December amidst the loud applause of the assembled multitude. An attempt was made, on the night previous to the ratification of this compact to get a reaction, and seize the leaders of the movement, but the design was frustrated.

7. The return of Matabar Singh

1843

on the 2nd of January, a deputation consisting of Chauria Gur Parsad and Kājīs Ranjur Thapa and Jung Bahadur waited on the Resident to inform him that Her Highness Lakṣmī Devi, the sole surviving wife of the Maharaja had been established in her full rights as queen, and had been invested with some political powers. This is the first mention in the Residency records of Jung Bahadur, who was destined to take so distinguished and prominent a part in the subsequent political transactions of his country.

It is most difficult to follow, with any degree of certainty, the very complicated domestic politics of the Darbar during this period, owing to the restless and vacillating characters of the Maharaja and Heir Apparent, the constant dissensions among the Sardars, and the ambitious aims of Maharani Lakṣmī Devi, who was plotting to set aside the rights of the Heir Apparent (under the plea of his supposed insanity) and to substitute in his stead the elder of her two sons, as successor to the Gaddi.

At this crisis, the Maharaja became desirous for the return of Matabar Singh Thapa, who since 1838 had remained in honourable exile in the British territories. This wary chief, however, did not immediately avail himself of the Maharaja's invitation, too well knowing, from past experience that little reliance could be placed on the word of his royal master. He remained on the frontier watching the fluctuations of palace intrigues, until his adherents in Nepal considered it safe and advisable for him to appear at the capital.

On the 17th of April, accompanied by a deputation which proceeded to Gorakhpur to wait upon him, he entered Kathmandu, and had an immediate audience of the Maharaja, when he demanded instant confrontation with his

accusers, the Kala Pandes, who for so many years had persecuted his race with such unwearying vengeance and full judicial confession of the falsity of charge of poisoning, under cover of which the Thapas had been crushed in 1839. Matabar Singh was restored to his family honours and property and the Maharaja caused his entire innocence to be proclaimed throughout the country.

On the 26th of December Matabar Singh was nominated to premiership with the full concurrence of all the Chiefs, thus nullifying the decree which was issued in 1839 to the effect that none of the Thapa clan should ever receive public employment for seven generations. Kulbir and Kulraj Pande, Inder Bir and Run Bum Thapas, and Kanch Singh were decapitated. Budhman Karki was deprived of his life and Bansraj Bisnait of his nose. Ranjung Pande, the leader of this faction being on his death bed, was permitted to die in peace, and through the generosity of Matabar Singh, his body was burnt with funeral rites.

At an interview with the minister, the Resident was sounded as to the possibility of the Governor-General's extending indulgence towards Nepal, either by some modification of the boundary opposite Champaran, or grant of passage for the troops of Nepal through Sikkim to attack Bhutan.

The numbers of soldiery borne on the rolls of this year was 16,920, showing a numerical reduction of 2,080 men since the year 1837, when the strength was 19,000. This force, it was supposed, could be doubled in three, and trebled in six months. The number of guns including those mounted at Mackwanpur and other strongholds is now about 300, and 35,000 stands of small arms at the different magazines.

Towards the latter end of the year Mr. Hodgson, the Resident, whose policy and measures did not give satisfaction to the Governor-General, was superseded in his functions by the Major (now Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry) Lawrence.

8. Home politics

1844

On the 1st of January, a commotion took place amongst the soldiery, induced by Matabar Singh, and again on the night of 22nd, 1,500 of his adherents surrounded the palace and clamourously demanded that there should be but one ruler in Nepal. The Rajah pacified them, under the pretext that he would abdicate the next day in favour of his son. Early in the morning, the Maharaja called a Darbar at which many Chiefs were present, but the minister Matabar Singh sent a message to say that he could not attend as he was detained a prisoner by the troops who wished the Rajah to come among them and redress their grievances, which were, that they wanted one master, and as they had now for the first time a General at their head since the death of Bhimsen, they must have "all else as in his time."

The violences of the Heir Apparent, the pusillanimous vacillations of the Maharaja, the overbearing, rash and incautious demeanour of Matabar Singh, and the absurd contradictory orders daily issued from the palace, at length quite exhausted the patience of the Chiefs, and a national movement similar to that of 1812 was contemplated ; but the Chiefs, whilst they agreed with the army in wishing that there should be but one ruler in Nepal, were unwilling that Matabar Singh's hands should be strengthened. He was accused of desiring to arrogate to himself supreme power, but he declared that although he was ready to obey either, he could not carry on business with both father and son, adding, that he was impelled in four directions by the Maharaja, the Heir Apparent, the Maharani and the British Government. If he acted against the Maharaja, it would be called ingratitude ; if against the Heir Apparent, it would draw down his wrath from which the Maharaja would not protect him ; that the Rani was anxious for herself and her two sons ; and that he did not know what the British Government might say at any revolution.

By some of the Sardars it was proposed that both the Maharaja and the Heir Apparent should be confined, and the best of the other three princes should be raised to the Gaddi under the regency of the Maharani, to whom it was alleged that a *Lal Mohur* had been given by the Maharaja to the effect that if the Heir Apparent continued to beat the Brahmans and the cows to the effusion of their blood, and that if he (the Maharaja) participated in these acts, she was authorised, on the 4th occasion of such cruelty, to put aside himself and the Heir Apparent, and take the management of the government in her own hands. On the 4th December, the Maharaja and the Heir Apparent accompanied by the Maharani and her two sons, and attended by the minister, the principal chiefs and almost all the troops, left Kathmandu for the Terai, ostensibly on an elephant catching excursion, but it is well known that arrangements had been made before quitting the capital by the Heir Apparent and his partizans, to compel the Maharaja, if possible, during his absence from Kathmandu to resign the reins of government into the hands of the prince.

On arrival at Hetounda, the prince told his father that as he had not fulfilled his oft-repeated promise of abdicating in his favour, he the prince would now proceed to Benares with the Sardars and troops. He then moved off in the direction of Bichakola, the minister followed, observing that the Maharaja being unable to keep his son in order, and the whole army obeying the prince, he too must submit to his authority. The Maharaja feigned acquiescence to the demands of his son, who was in future to issue all orders and to share the Gaddi with him. Kāji Jung Bahadur, nephew of the minister, and who is supposed to have taken an active part in the political movement, was despatched to Kathmandu to inform the British representative that the prince had been elected Mahārājadhirāj, and that the Chiefs and the Army had sworn allegiance to him.

Before leaving Bichakola the Heir Apparent ordered 16 men to be decapitated for attempting to assassinate the minister Matabar Singh. These persons are said to have been instigated by Abhiman Rana and Gaggan Singh, the latter the Maharani's favourite and alleged paramour. Notwithstanding the solemn farce just enacted in the Terai, upon the return of the Court to the capital, the former bickerings and dissensions were resumed with even greater violence than before ; and Matabar Singh, the minister appears to have fallen into the grave error of attempting to arrogate to himself the uncontrolled power of the kingdom, thus following the same dangerous line of policy which undermined his uncle Bhimsen's authority and led to his ultimate downfall.

Forty-four adherents of Kulbir and Kulraj Pandes, who were beheaded in August last, were banished from Nepal for having forged letters from the Government of Lhasa offering certain gold mines and other advantages to the Maharaja. The letters are reported to have been brought by the last ambassador to China, Kāji Jagat Bum Pandey, who fled to plains in November last year on hearing of the execution of his kinsmen. In the early part of this year Fattah Jung Chauria and his brother Gur Parsad left Nepal for Palpa, whence they subsequently proceeded to Gorakhpur.

9. Assassination of Matabar Singh

1845

At the *Panjani* or annual renewal of service, Matabar Singh was reappointed to the premiership. A *khill'at* of honour was conferred on him, and the Maharaja in acknowledgement of his past services, and as a mark of His Highness' confidence in his future zeal named him minister for life—an unheard of proceeding in Nepal, where all appointments are annually renewed. The Maharaja on this occasion with all the cunning and disingenuousness threw a veil over his own treacherous designs, by loading with favour and honour his intended victim.

On the night of the 17th May, only four months after the above honours had been conferred on him, the unsuspecting minister was suddenly summoned to the palace, under the pretence that the Maharani had fallen and seriously hurt herself ; he immediately obeyed the summons, unarmed as he was, accompanied by his maternal uncle Kāji Dal Keswar Pande and Captain Shamsheer Bahadur. At the foot of the stairs the latter were stopped, and the minister alone allowed to ascend to a room adjoining the Rani's where the Maharaja was standing ; and as he advanced towards His Highness, the first shot was fired and several others in rapid succession behind a trellis screen, where the assassins were stationed, one ball entered his head, and two more his body. When the first shot was fired, the minister fell at the feet of the Maharaja and begged mercy for his mother and children, but as he spoke, some one struck him from behind ; and as his hands were stretched out in supplication, one of the

attendants cut him with a sword across the wrists ; the body was then lowered into the street from a window with an elephant rope, and before daylight was dragged along the ground to Paśupatināth for cremation. The road for two miles was sprinkled with the blood that trickled from the corpse.

The present minister General Jung Bahadur, has of late years been heard to say that he assassinated Matabar Singh, and justifies this act of treachery and murder on the plea that he had received the royal mandate for its execution. In contradiction to this statement, we find in the records, his positive denial to the Resident of that day, of having participated in the assassination. It is also on record that he and his brothers proceeded to the palace well armed on that eventful night, in the hope of saving his kinsmen, and moreover, that he assisted the son of Matabar Singh to escape from the Valley, sending one of his own brothers to escort him several stages on the road. The Maharaja *claimed* that he had put Matabar Singh to death with his own hands ; but from the Rajah's well known timidity, no reliance can be placed on this assertion. Gaggan Singh and Kulman Singh are generally believed to have been the principal actors in this sanguinary deed, the Maharaja gratifying his hatred by mangling the lifeless body of his late minister—the charges against whom were, *first*, for arrogating to himself the powers of sovereignty ; *secondly*, for threatening to resume the lands of the Brahmans ; *thirdly*, for employing the soldiers as labourers ; *fourthly*, for proposing to set up the second prince on the *masnad* ; and *lastly*, for killing the previous December at Hetounda 16 soldiers.

The day before the assassination, several of the Chauntrias who had been for some time absent from the Darbar, visited the Maharaja, as did Matabar Singh's uncle, Faqir Ranbir Singh. It is, therefore, supposed that they were in the Rajah's confidence. It is obvious that several chiefs and officers must have been cognizant of the intended murder, and the troops were under arms immediately after the perpetration of the deed at the Darbar.

Three months before his death, Matabar Singh was heard to say that he had returned to Nepal with the intention of setting up the Rani as regent ; and that Gaggan Singh and Abhiman Rana had been in league with him in the matter ; but although they had intended conceding to him the post of the minister, they proposed taking all authority into their own hands in consequence of which he had abandoned the scheme, thus accounting for the enmity of the Rani and her friends.

Immediately after the death of Matabar Singh, stringent orders were sent to the Chauntrias and Gurus in the plains to return to Kathmandu without delay ; the Maharaja declaring that if Fatteh Jung Chauntria would not accept the ministry, he would place the Heir Apparent on the Gaddi and "himself be his son's minister."

Kāji Jung Bahadur was ordered temporarily to act as minister. The

permanent appointment was offered to him but he advised the Maharaja to nominate Fattah Jung Chauntria to the premiership, and expressed his own readiness to take command of the army. The *Lal Mohar* given to the Heir Apparent in December last was cancelled, and a new one was issued decreeing that the Maharaja was to give his orders to the Heir Apparent and that the latter would pass them on to the Maharani who would issue the same to the minister. On the 23rd of September a ministry was formed with Fattah Jung as premier, Gaggan Singh, Abhiman Singh and Dalbanjan Pande as members, and Jung Bahadur was appointed 5th or military member, retaining his rank of General and office of Chief Judge which he held under his uncle Matabar Singh. On the 4th of June, Captain Bum Bahadur was appointed *Vakil* at Calcutta and Captain Dilli Singh proceeded with presents to the Governor-General.

10. The Kote Massacre

1846

In the commencement of this year we find the Maharani, whose secret wish had all along been to secure the succession for one of her own sons, in possession of uncontrolled powers of the kingdom, which she exercised through her favourite Gaggan Singh, who from an obscure menial in her household had been suddenly raised to the position of confidential adviser to Her Highness. The Heir Apparent now found himself completely in the background, and was compelled for a time to submit to the authority of the determined party; whilst the Maharaja, who at different periods appeared to yield now to one party and now to another, succeeded as heretofore in making all factions subservient to the realisation of his own wishes.

On the night of 14th of September, General Gaggan Singh was assassinated. The Maharani on hearing the death of her favourite, hastened on foot to his house, and after viewing the corpse and uttering loud lamentations, proceeded to the Kote, where she ordered the immediate attendance of all civil and military functionaries, and despatched a messenger to inform the Maharaja of the murder. So sudden and unexpected were the summons that the Chiefs appeared mostly unarmed.

On the arrival of the Maharaja, and when the Chiefs had assembled, with the exception of the Prime Minister Fattah Jung Chauntria and his family, the Maharani ordered the immediate execution of one Bir Kishore Ghora Pande, whom she suspected of being the assassin, but the Maharaja refused to sanction this deed without full proof of guilt, and declaring that the matter could not be properly investigated without the presence of Fattah Jung. His Highness himself proceeded to the Premier's house, whence he sent the Chauntria with his sons, brothers and relations to the Kote.

The Maharaja then proceeded to the neighbourhood of the Residency, and sent for the Officiating Resident to speak to him on the Parade Ground,

but the severe indisposition of that officer prevented him to comply with the Maharaja's request. He therefore returned to the Kote, but being unable to gain entrance there, went on to his own palace.

When the Prime Minister joined the assembly of the Chiefs at the Kote, he concurred in the opinion already expressed by the Maharaja, adding that, their business was to discover the guilty and not to destroy the innocent. Upon this the Rani became most violent, and endeavoured to kill Kishor Pande with her own hand, but was prevented by the Premier and others. A severe altercation then ensued during which shots were fired. The Prime Minister Fattah Jung Chauntria and Dalbanjan Pande, one of his colleagues, fell dead, and Abhiman Rana, another member of the ministry was wounded and exclaimed : "*Jung Bahadur has done this treacherous act.*" He was immediately despatched by a brother of Jung Bahadur, as was also Fattah Jung's son. A party of soldiers, armed with double-barrelled rifles, usually in attendance on Jung Bahadur, then commenced firing on the assembled Chiefs, thirty-one of whom were slaughtered. The Maharani appointed Jung Bahadur on the spot, and received his *nazzar* of acknowledgement. The Heir Apparent and his brother, the Mahila Sahib were kept in confinement by order of Her Highness, who urged Jung Bahadur to destroy them, and place the elder of her two sons on the Gaddi, but he evaded her commands. The Maharani finding that Jung Bahadur was not as she had anticipated, a tool in her hands, offered the premiership to Bir Dhurj Bisnait on condition that he would compass the death of Jung Bahadur.

11. Jung Bahadur becomes all-powerful

Accordingly, on the 31st of October he was despatched by the Maharani to summon the minister to her presence in the Kote, when a regiment under the command of a son of late Gaggan Singh, was ready to destroy him. But Jung Bahadur, who had received timely warning, left his house with his partizans all well armed, and on the road to the city met Bir Dhurj, who, on delivering his message, was shot dead at a signal from the new minister. Jung Bahadur then proceeded to see the Maharaja, and placing his turban at His Highness' feet, requested that he might either be dismissed or vested with full authority to destroy all the enemies of the Heir Apparent. The Maharaja embracing him said, "the enemies of my beloved son are my enemies," and immediately granted him the power he demanded. Before night fell, 16 Bisnaites suffered death, and the Maharani and her two sons received orders to leave the country.

Her Highness decided on proceeding to Benares and subsequently, the Maharaja declared his intention of accompanying her, as he said it was necessary that he should perform a pilgrimage to the holy city to expiate the massacre of the 14th of September. Delegating his authority to the Heir Apparent during his absence, the Maharaja left Kathmandu on the 22nd of November with the

Maharani and her two sons.

With regard to the authors and causes of the assassination of Gaggan Singh, which led subsequently to the general massacre at the Kote, the Heir Apparent, when he became the king stated that at the instigation of his father, who pointed out to himself and his brother, too close intimacy existing between Gaggan Singh and the Maharani, his brother Mahila Sahib proceeded to the house of the Premier Fattah Jung, where it was arranged that Gaggan Singh should be put to death by one Lal Jah, whose death-bed confession fully corroborated the prince's statement.

12. Accession of Surrinder Vikram Shah**1847**

After having visited all the shrines His Highness the Maharaja left Benares on the 23rd of February *en route* to Nepal and arrived at Sagauli on the 25th of the ensuing month. During His Highness' march numerous exiles and refugees joined his Camp, and their evil councils had the effect of arresting his onward progress to Nepal. His Highness was constantly urged by the two princes and the minister Jung Bahadur to return to the capital, but their appeals were unavailing and only served to elicit replies from the Maharaja in which the most frivolous pretexts were advanced to account for His Highness' protracted absence from Kathmandu.

The inconsistencies of the Maharaja's conduct rendered it impossible that confidence could be longer reposed in him, and the discovery of plots against the lives of the minister Jung Bahadur and those in office with him, determined the Sardars to raise the Heir Apparent to the Gaddi. The astrologers having fixed upon the 12th of May as an auspicious day, the Heir Apparent was inaugurated as sovereign of the country in full Darbar, and proclamation was made to the effect that Maharaja Rajinder Vikram Shah, having taken up his residence abroad, and having exhibited manifest indications of aberration of mind, he was to be considered as having abdicated the Gaddi, and Maharaja Surrinder Vikram Shah had accordingly succeeded him as ruler of Nepal. It was intimated to the Maharaja that there was no intention whatever of excluding him from the country, and that, should His Highness prefer remaining beyond the limits of the country, a handsome income would be assigned to him.

The refugees seemed to have gained over His Highness entirely to their own views, and in pursuance of their advice accompanied by Guru Parsad, Jagat Bum Pande, and between 1,500 and 1,600 men of all sort, His Highness entered Nepalese territory, and encamped in the vicinity of Allao, where the party was attacked by a force under the command of Captain Sunuk Singh. The Maharaja was made prisoner, and Jagat Bum Pande and Guru Parsad fled to the plains; 50-60 of His Highness' followers were killed, and the remainder dispersed. His Highness was escorted to the Valley of Nepal, where stringent

measures were adopted to prevent his occasioning any further mischief to the State.

The present strength of the army numbers from 9,000 to 9,500 men of all sorts. The regular local corps amount to about 5,000 men distributed in the several forts and posts. The number of guns are about 150 and 35,000 muskets. Annual revenue of the country 30,00,000 to 32,00,000 Company's Rupees of which about two-thirds are in the Tunkha Jagir.

On the 30th of November, a son and heir to the throne was born.

1848

Little worthy of notice is to be found in the records of this and the succeeding year. Some disputes took place between the zamindars of villages in the Nepalese and British territory consequent on a slight change of course made by the Kunda stream during the last rains. The case was satisfactorily settled by the Magistrate of Tirhut, and full compensation made for the damage proved to have been done on either side.

In December of this year, the Maharaja accompanied by the principal Sardars, 12 or 15 regiments, and 41 small guns left for the Terai on a grand hunting and shooting excursion, but after a few days absence the party returned owing to sickness having broken out in Camp to an alarming extent. The minister amongst others being completely prostrated by *Oul*.

There was an interchange of presents between the British and Nepal Governments during this year. The Darbar offered the services of its troops to cooperate with the British in the Punjab.

13. Widow of Ranjit Singh

1849

A change in the revenue management of the Nepal Terai occurred substituting the ministration of government salaried collectors, for the system of farming to the Subahs, now in force. It was proposed to fix the senior government functionary at Kurrurbuna, situated near the Vāgmati river. These measures were, however, only partially carried into effect during the present season.

On the 29th of April, the Maharani Chundar Kouwar of Lahore, who had escaped from Benares reached Nepal. Her presence at Kathmandu was both unexpected and undesired, but the Maharaja out of respect for the memory of the late Ranjit Singh considered it incumbent on him to grant her asylum in his country. A house was assigned to her with a small income sufficient for her maintenanc, but at the same time measures were adopted to prevent her carrying on intrigues against the British Government and the Darbar pledged itself responsible for her safe keeping.

A strange desire was expressed, at the latter period of this year by the Maharaja that some of his chief Sardars should visit England to see and bring back intelligence respecting the greatness and prosperity of that country, and to carry a complimentary letter for Her Majesty, the Queen.

Some correspondence passed with the Governor-General's Agent at Benares relative to the cash and property belonging to the ex-Maharani of Nepal and her three sons in exile at Benares. It was determined that the property should be deposited in the treasury at that station until the young prince should attain the age of 25 years and that 25,000 rupees per annum should be allowed for the expenses of the Maharani's establishment.

14. Nepalese Mission to England

1850

The Governor-General having acceded to the request of the Maharaja relative to the despatch of Nepalese Mission to England, the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief Jung Bahadur accompanied by the several individuals attached to the Mission, left Kathmandu on the morning of the 15th of January in progress to Calcutta. During the absence of Jung Bahadur his brother General Bum Bahadur was appointed to act as Minister and Commander-in-Chief.

On the receipt at Kathmandu of letters from General Jung Bahadur written shortly after his arrival in England, the officiating Minister at an interview with the British Resident intimated that he was directed by the Maharaja to communicate the high gratification it had afforded to him by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, as likewise by the friendly welcome accorded to his Excellency by the Honourable the Court of Directors and Her Majesty's Ministers. The fact of General Jung Bahadur having been the first Hindu nobleman who had crossed the seas to present the Queen of England the homage of his sovereign was considered by the Darbar as an additional cause of satisfaction.

The Maharaja on one occasion expressed a strong desire that Rani Chundra of Lahore should appear in open Darbar to tender her acknowledgement for the hospitality she had received in Nepal. He was however dissuaded from granting her this public reception by the British Resident, who pointed out the impolicy of such a proceeding. Shortly after this six or seven Sikh agents were arrested and sent back from the frontier by the Officer Commanding the Fort at Chisapani, when attempting to reach Kathmandu to open communications with their late Mistress the Rani Chundra, and a *hundi* was found on the person of a Brahman from the plains, who was seized by the Gurkha guard whilst endeavouring to gain access to the Rani's residence. Although no positive evidence could be brought against the Rani's complicity in the intrigues, it was nevertheless deemed expedient by the Officiating Minister to remind her of the conditions under which alone an asylum had been granted to her in Nepal, namely, that she would not carry on any intrigues with the enemies of the British Government

under the penalty of being given over to that Government in case it should be proved that she had broken the covenant.

On the 22nd of October the senior Rani of the Maharaja died.

1851

The minister General Jung Bahadur reached Kathmandu on his return from his mission to England on the 6th of February, on which occasion the Maharaja accompanied by the ex-Maharaja proceeded to the opposite bank of the Vāgmati river to do honour to Her Majesty's *kharita*, of which the minister was the bearer. On the 8th of this month, a grand Darbar was held, and upon the presentation of the Queen's letter to the Maharaja, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired. The Maharaja intimated to the Resident that the peculiar satisfaction afforded him by the friendly expressions of the Sovereign of Great Britain towards the Government of Nepal, adding that the long existing ties of amity between the two States would be still further strengthened by the happy issue of the late mission to England.

One of the minister's first acts after his return to Nepal was to remodel the Penal Code with a view to modify its severity. Capital punishment was abolished, except for murder, and the entire abrogation of mutilation under any circumstances whatever, was decreed. These merciful amendments to the Code have, however, been partially carried out, but the right of retaliation in favour of the injured husband to take the life of his wife's seducer, and the rites of Sati could not be interfered with.

15. Plot against Jung Bahadur

A plot to assassinate the minister was frustrated through the timely warning of his brother General Bum Bahadur, who at midnight on the 15th of February hastened to the residence of the Minister to inform him that there was now only just time to save his life, which it was proposed to take the following day on his way to the Maharaja's Darbar. The principals in this plot were the Mahilla Sahib, the younger brother of the Maharaja, General Badrinar Singh (own brother to the Minister), General Jay Bahadur (first cousin to the Minister), and Kājī Karbir Khatri—all of whom were immediately arrested at their several residences and confined at the Kote. A State Council was convened at which the Maharaja presided and the guilt of the conspirators having been fully established by their own confessions as well as by the discovery of condemnatory documents, at first they were sentenced to suffer death, which sentence was afterwards commuted to deprivation of their eyesight. The minister alone objected to either of these modes of punishment, and proposed soliciting the friendly aid of the British Government to imprison the conspirators until they should respectively reach the age of 60 years. It was subsequently arranged

between the two Governments that the three chief conspirators should be confined in the fortress of Allahabad for the space of 5 years. Kaji Karbir Khatri was merely deprived of his caste and confined in Nepal.

With regard to the causes of the contemplated assassination, it is believed that General Jay Bahadur was the originator of the plot, he having been long suspected of carrying on intrigues against General Jung Bahadur. The unnatural conduct of Badrinar Singh in plotting against his own brother's life arose from his having taken a bribe of 12,000 rupees to obtain the restoration to his office of a Subah in the Terai who had been removed for peculation. The disgrace attendant on the discovery, and exposure of this transaction, determined Badrinar Singh to join the conspiracy. The Mahila Sahib appears to have been displeased with the Minister for not granting better provision for his maintenance, and Kāji Karbir Khatri entertained ill feeling towards General Jung Bahadur in consequence of the minister having brought a charge against him for embezzlement of Government property—this individual carried his hatred so far as to circulate a report throughout the Valley to the effect that General Jung Bahadur had forfeited his caste whilst in Europe by committing acts unbecoming a Hindu.

Overtures were made to Bum Bahadur by the conspirators to join them, under the promise, that in the event of success, he should obtain the office either of the Premier or Commander-in-Chief. He wisely feigned to acquiesce in their designs until he became acquainted with all the particulars of the contemplated assassination, when as already stated, he hastened to warn his brother of the coming danger. The discovery of this plot and punishment of the conspirators did not in any way effect the tranquillity of the State.

Grief for the death of the Maharani, mother of the Heir Apparent is supposed to have led His Highness the Maharaja to entertain a strong desire to withdraw from the cares of public life, and accordingly, in March of this year he expressed a serious intention of abdicating the Gaddi in favour of his son, but His Highness was dissuaded from taking this step by the remonstrances of the minister and the friendly advice of the British Resident.

During this year some correspondence passed between the British representative and the Darbar relative to the international surrender of fugitives, but no definite arrangement was entered into.

CHAPTER 21

NEPAL UNDER JUNG BAHADUR*

1852-53

1. Plot against Jung Bahadur

But Little Occurred at the Court of Kathmandu during the years 1852-53 deserving of special mention. The new compliance by the frontier Magistrates with the requisitions of the Nepal Government for the surrender of fugitive criminals, whilst in all cases fugitives were given up readily to our local authorities, caused much soreness at the Darbar, and General Jung Bahadur on the part of his government again urged that some definite engagement should be entered into between the two States upon the subject; a treaty based upon a system of strict reciprocity, for the surrender of heinous offenders only which may be dissolved at any time at the option of either party, is now in the course of negotiation, and will probably be concluded in the course of a few weeks.

A plot to assassinate General Jung Bahadur was discovered during the cold season of 1852-53, and several persons of comparatively low rank were tried and punished for it. It is probable however that more influential men were at the bottom of the affair, but that they have not yet been detected.

In the Summer of 1853 the minister attended by several of his brothers and by some of the principal Sardars visited the shrines of Badrinath and Kedarnath in Kumaon, and on his return to Nepal, he was informed by Dall Bahadur, formerly a Captain in the Nepalese army, that one Keshu Singh, a sepoy who had lately taken his discharge from the Nepalese service had been instigated by Rajindra Vikram Shah (commonly called the Sahila Sahib), the elder of the princes now residing with the ex-Maharani at Benares, to assassinate him, but upon investigation no evidence was adduced tending to implicate the young prince. The death of Bum Bikram Chauria, the party chiefly implicated in the affair, prevented a complete investigation into it, but sufficient transpired to satisfy the Darbar of the innocence of the young prince.

* *Events at the Court of Nepal III. 1852-61.* The *Narrative* from 1852-1861 is continued by Major G. Ramsay, Resident at Kathmandu dated 13 October, 1861, part of which entitled *Supplementary Note* referring to the Events at the Court of Nepal is dated 30th April, 1854. *Foreign Department Political B-No. 145-164, March 1875 (I).*

2. Sundry affairs

1853

In the Spring of this year the Maharaja received a flattering mark of favour from Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, who presented him with a portrait of herself and Prince Albert as a recognition of compliment paid to our Government by the Embassy under General Jung Bahadur which visited England in the year 1851.

Towards the end of the year, a formal application was made to the British Government to relinquish the custody of the State prisoners who had been confined in the fortress of Allahabad since 1851 for conspiring against the minister's life ; they were at once given up to the custody of a Nepalese party who escorted them to Nepal. General Jung Bahadur still possesses supreme power. His brother who holds the chief military commands, appears to be faithful to his interests, and with the exception of General Bum Bahadur, who first took part in, and afterwards revealed the plot for his assassination in 1851, he reposes great confidence in them.

In a few days a marriage will take place between the eldest daughter of the Maharaja, a child of 6 years of age, and the eldest legitimate son of the Minister, a very unequal and unprecedented alliance ; and other marriages are being arranged to connect closely the minister's family with that of the exiled Chaurias, amongst others, the minister's own marriage to a sister of Fatteh Jung who fell in the Kote massacre, which will be celebrated on the 15th of May.

3. Treaty of extradition

1854

The negotiations for a new treaty between the two Governments for the mutual surrender of refugees, which were being carried on during the early part of this year, were continued. After some discussion, however, the Darbar consented to the terms proposed to it, provided that an addition to be made to its 6th article declaring that British subjects, not attached to the British Residency, who might commit crimes beyond its limits, should not be allowed asylum therein. With this modification, the engagement was mutually agreed to and concluded, though not formally signed until the 10th of February, 1855.

The conditions were as follows : The two Governments to act upon a system of strict reciprocity. Neither Government to be bound to surrender civil offenders, or any person not charged with a heinous crime. Evidence of criminality to be adduced, according to the laws of the country in which the accused shall be found. The expenses of extradition to be borne by the Government making the requisition. British subjects, residing within the Nepalese territories and committing crimes beyond the Residency boundaries, not to be allowed asylum therein, but to be given up to the Nepalese Government for trial and punishment.

During the discussions upon this question, a case occurred, which, had the Minister Jung Bahadur persisted in his first intention, formed in the heat of moment, might have occasioned great embarrassment and ill-feeling. Late one evening he sent a party of police to the immediate vicinity of the Residency lines with a message to the Resident to inform him that a woman of consideration, the wife of one of the Baidis or Court physicians, had taken up abode within the Residency limits with the Mir Munshi, and that he demanded her "formal surrender." The woman was found upon the Munshi's premises, but as it was proved that she was a person of notoriously profligate character and had been living openly with other persons since she left her husband's roof some years before, the Resident refused to comply with the demand, but observed that as it was contrary to rule that such persons should be introduced into the Residency lines or permitted to live in them, she should be summarily ejected, and the Munshi punished.

4. War with Tibet

A rupture took place during the latter part of the year between the Nepalese and the Tibetan Governments, which ought perhaps be noticed in a *Memorandum* of this nature. It is impossible to trace the exact cause of this misunderstanding, so many different reasons for it having been given to the Resident by General Jung Bahadur; but there can be no doubt that it was provoked in one way or the other by the Sino-Tibetan Government. The Resident is of the opinion that indignities offered to the Nepalese Mission that left Kathmandu for Peking in August 1852, had much to say to it. The Mission came back at the end of the year under the charge of a subordinate officer, whose superiors were reported to have died upon the road and its return to the capital was simultaneous with that of a small force, which had a short time previously been secretly despatched towards the Tibetan frontier. Jung Bahadur inconsistently confessed of assisting the Imperial Government of China against the Pae Ping rebels, under which pretext, the preparations of war were made; the Minister alleging that he had been invited by the Chinese Umbah at Lhasa to send an army into the country to support his Imperial master's dynasty. Jung Bahadur avowed that their object was to chastise the Tibetans for numerous outrages upon Gurkha subjects at Lhasa; for insults offered to the Nepalese Government in the dismissal of its *Vakil* from that city without just cause; for denying all justice or redress for grievances to Nepalese subjects in Tibet; for exacting from them heavy and unauthorised duties; and for contemptuous disregard of the Darbar's letters and remonstrances.

To narrate the operations of the war, or to describe the curious discussions between the two countries detailed in the Resident's despatches of the period, would be out of place in this short Sketch; it will therefore suffice briefly to notice them.

By the end of the year the Darbar's arrangements had so far progressed that intimation was sent to the Tibetan Umbahs that if its demands for redress were not immediately acceded to (justice to Gurkha subjects residing in Tibet, and the payment of a large sum of money in atonement of past wrongs and insults to the Nepalese Government), their country would be invaded in the following Spring and its frontier provinces annexed to Nepal.

1855

In February, a Lama who represented himself as the treasurer of the Grand Lama at Lhasa, made appearance on the frontier and was at once permitted to come to Kathmandu, where he was treated with courtesy and consideration. He had been deputed to treat with the Darbar; to promise that justice should for the future be accorded to all its subjects in Tibet; and at the same time to remonstrate against the Nepalese armies crossing the boundary. But the Darbar's demands had now become so preposterous; the payment of a crore of rupees, and the cession of the trans-Himalayan provinces of Kerrong and Kutia; and they were so firmly adhered to, that the Lama returned to Lhasa disappointed. The Darbar, however, did not expect, nor did it wait for a reply, but the moment the snows had melted, and the passes were accessible, the Gorkha troops were put into action, and moved through them.

Only three divisions of any strength actually entered Tibet. One of these columns occupied Tuglakar or Tuglakot for a short period, but afterwards fell back within its own frontier. Another column took possession of the fortress of Joouga, a few marches beyond the Kerrong pass, where it remained on the defensive until the war was over. The third column occupied Kutia, a small entrenched village at the northern end of the pass of that name. After meeting with a few trifling successes, this column encountered a very severe reverse and was driven out of Kutia with 117 killed and 75 wounded; the post being suddenly attacked by large bodies of Tibetans, who captured all the Gorkhali guns, ammunition and stores and two months' provisions. The Gorkhas behaved very ill in this affair, so much so, that one of the regiments was immediately disbanded by Jung Bahadur. The place was certainly recaptured in the course of a few weeks, but the Gorkhas did not consider it prudent to retain it, so they entirely destroyed it, and withdrew through the pass and occupied a position in Nepal at its southernmost extremity. The fort of Joouga was also invested for many months, and its garrison suffered great hardships and privations from the intense cold and from the severe fatigue attendant upon repelling the frequent attacks of the Tibetans.

In the month of July, a Chinese official styled as Tale or Taie Toos, a subordinate of the Chinese Umbah at Lhasa, reached Kathmandu and he too, failed in coming to an understanding with the Gorkhas, who rejected in 1850 the

terms he proposed to them. In fact, the whole of the year was occupied in fruitless negotiations between the contending parties ; the demands of the Gorkhas being so unreasonably large as to preclude the Tibetans from assenting to them, even had they wished to do so. But the disaster at Joouga by large masses of Tibetans had evidently so disheartened Jung Bahadur, who soon perceived the hopelessness of attempting to penetrate for any distance into the country, and abandoned all real intention of doing so, through his language continued to be very menacing, and he still threatened the entire subjugation of Tibet in order to obtain better terms for his own government than had been offered to him.

5. Terms of Peace

1856

Overtures for peace made by the Tibetans at the commencement of the year, were at first rejected by the Darbar, but the Nepalese army was becoming disgusted, and the people of the country discontented at the long continuance of the war, which obliged the imposition of enormous taxes upon all parties ; so after a few threatening and insulting letters had passed between the Mahārājadhirāj and the Chinese Umbah, a treaty of 10 articles was agreed to, which afterwards received that functionary's sanction, in which the Tibetans agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 rupees to the Nepalese Government ; to discontinue levying transit duties upon goods and property of Gorkha subjects trading with Tibet ; to encourage trade between the two States ; to permit the establishment by the Darbar of a trading factory at Lhasa ; to restore all prisoners, guns, ammunition stores etc. captured during the war ; and to give up to the Gorkhas the whole of the remaining Sikh captives in Tibet, survivors of Zorawar Singh's disastrous expedition to that country in 1841. It was agreed that a Bhāradār would reside at Lhasa as the representative of the Nepalese Government, in communication with whom all disputes between the Gorkhas and the Tibetans shall in future be settled.

The Gorkhas on their part agreed to withdraw their troops immediately from the country and promised to give all the assistance in their power to the Government of Tibet, "if any other Rajah invade that kingdom." The first year's tribute was promptly paid by the Tibetan Government, but it is now considerably in arrears. The fort of Joouga was evacuated, and all Nepalese detachments returned to Kathmandu ; a Nepalese Sardar was at once despatched to Lhasa to represent his government at the Umbah's Court. The Sikh captives reached Kathmandu at the end of the year. Forty-five of their number who had left wives and families in Tibet, having inter-married with the people of that country, were allowed to return there, but fifty-six individuals were forwarded through the British provinces, at Maharaja Gulab Singh's expense, to Kashmir, to their former homes.

6. Jung Bahadur resigns

A very important political change took place in Nepal this year in the sudden resignation of the ministership by General Jung Bahadur, and the appointment to that office of his next brother General Bum Bahadur, a shrewd, wily Gorkha, who had never been considered to be well-disposed towards the British Government. Jung Bahadur declared that his sole object in resigning his former post was weariness of its labour and a desire to retire into private life ; but it very soon became apparent that ambition was its real motive, as he at once attempted to assume a position with respect to the sovereign and the country, that occasioned no little embarrassment and brought him in frequent collision with the new minister, with whose acts he often attempted to meddle, but who resisted his interference with what he asserted to be his own legitimate authority.

A few days after this event occurred, a scene was described to Major Ramsay at the Palace *viz.*, the reluctant acceptance by General Jung Bahadur of a *jagir* of the annual value of a lac of rupees and some high title of distinction in recognition of his eminent services, the ex-king declaring that he had saved his life during the disturbances in 1846, the Ranis adding that but for him, their husband would have been murdered by his step mother, who wished to put one of her other sons upon the Gaddi. In the course of all this, an often suspected though never fully confirmed fact was disclosed. It came out that the bloody massacre at the Kote in 1846, was a premeditated one, and planned and carried out under written instructions sent by the ex-Maharaja to Jung Bahadur. Soon after, Jung Bahadur suddenly drove up to the Residency and communicated to Major Ramsay all that had lately taken place, and asked his private advice, for the king had taken a solemn oath that he would abdicate his throne, if he (Jung Bahadur) would not accept the honour offered to him ; and also promise to control the more important affairs of the kingdom. He at once proceeded to state that he had consented to advise the Maharaja and the minister upon all important matters, and held an authority to call in the assistance of the soldiery to enable him to enforce his advice.

A day or two after this visit, a grand parade of troops at Kathmandu took place, at which the King announced to the Sardars and the soldiery, the honours about to be conferred upon the ex-Minister, who was then formally invested with the title of a Maharaja and was presented with the *sanads* of the two provinces of Kāskī and Lamjung in Central Nepal, yielding an annual revenue of a lac of rupees, the perpetual sovereignty of which was bestowed upon himself and his descendants.

Several very anomalous circumstances, coupled with Maharaja Jung Bahadur's new position, entirely disconnected from the government of the country, but assumed to be equal to the king and *above* the minister, General

Bum Bahadur, were reported in the Resident's despatches of the period, but no serious inconveniences resulted from them. Bickerings took place occasionally between the newly-created Maharaja and his brother Bum Bahadur, but the influence of the former almost invariably enabled him to carry out his own measures, even when they were opposed to the latter's views and wishes.

Towards the end of this year Maharaja Jung Bahadur issued an order to the Hindustani merchants of Kathmandu, British subjects, to quit the country, and to return to the plains of India—a measure which would have been most prejudicial to British subjects; but the order was cancelled on the Resident's remonstrating upon the injury and injustice it would certainly occasion. Cholera and typhus fever raged in the Valley during the hot weather of this year. Of the former disease alone about 16,000 persons are calculated to have died. The epidemic disappeared towards the end of July when heavy rains set in.

7. Internal affairs

1857

In the early part of this eventful year Mr. Herman Schlagitweit, one of the members of a scientific mission "Magnetic Survey of India" was permitted by General Bum Bahadur, the Minister to visit Kathmandu to take angles of the survey peaks that are visible from the Valley and from the tops of the surrounding mountains. This may be considered to have been a liberal concession on the Minister's part, as it was certainly opposed to the general policy of the Government, which had never before permitted any strangers to enter Nepal for the purpose of scientific enquiry. The General also, about the same time, allowed parties of British native troops and police to cross the frontier north of Oude, in pursuit of the notorious free-booter, Fazal Ali, who was attacked and killed and his followers dispersed in the Valley of Dookur.

8. Jung Bahadur resumes office

The death of General Bum Bahadur occurred during the month of May of this year. He was the first minister of the country who died a natural death during the present century. Though barely forty years of age, his constitution was worn out by long continued debauchery and dissipation. His duties were temporarily assumed by his next brother General Krishan Bahadur, but it was evident from the first that Maharaja Jung Bahadur, feeling the anomaly of his own strange position, intended to resume the office, and he soon afterwards did so.

Nepal is so completely cut off from all social communication with the plains of India, and so few of the inhabitants of the Valley, even of the city of Kathmandu, care for or concern themselves with what is passing below. The outbreak of rebellion in Hindustan created very little sensation among the people generally or even in the Gorkha army. When the intelligence of the mutiny at Meerut, of the massacre at Delhi and afterwards of the occurrences at Lucknow

and Cawnpur reached Jung Bahadur's ears, his course appeared to be taken without the least hesitation. He admitted the seriousness of the crisis, but had no misgivings as to the eventual turn affairs would take. The Raj Guru of Nepal, determined to support our cause.

On the 2nd of June a serious event was expected at Kathmandu, owing to the state of feeling which was supposed to exist in the *sipahis* of Gurung class, and the measures which the Darbar intended to adopt should they hesitate in pronouncing sentence of death upon a Gurung Jamadar, who had confessed being engaged in a conspiracy to assassinate Maharaja Jung Bahadur. It had been decided to attempt to annihilate 1700-1800 men, (52 guns had been placed in position for the purpose) should they not promptly pass the sentence of death that was required of them. Happily, the Resident succeeded in inducing the Minister to change his plans and a bloody struggle was averted, which, had it taken place, might have led to a revolution and a total change in the Nepalese policy towards the British Government.

9. Nepal offers help

It being decided by the Government in July that the Darbar's offer of services of a body of troops for the succour of the besieged garrison at Lucknow should be accepted, Major Ramsay was directed to move Maharaja Jung Bahadur immediately to despatch a strong column towards that place. This requisition was promptly acceded to ; some British officers were detailed to meet and accompany the expedition from Sagauli, and in the course of a few days, a column of about 3,000 horses under the command of Colonel Pulwan Singh Bisnait left that station, a small detachment under Lieut. Hira Singh being at the same time hastened from Palpa for the relief of the station of Gorakhpur, which was seriously threatened. This column halted at Gorakhpur, and occupied the station until its abandonment early in August. Towards the end of the year, Maharaja Jung Bahadur having earnestly offered to move down to the plains of India, at the head of a larger force to co-operate with the Commander-in-Chief ; the Governor-General was pleased to signify that a body of 8,000 men (swelled afterwards to about 14,000) with a due proportion of artillery, might be advantageously employed in the occupation of Gorakhpur, and possibly in the future siege of Lucknow.

The army accordingly assembled at Sagauli during the month of December. Colonel Macgregor, Agent to the Governor-General at Murshidabad, was appointed to accompany it in the position of Military Commissioner with the rank of a Brigadier-General, and a large number of staff officers also joined it, and were attached under his orders to the different brigades and regiments. It broke ground from Sagauli on the 21st of December. Several parties of Europeans, including four ladies, who had escaped from various outposts in Oude during the mutiny, took refuge in the Nepal Terai in the course of this year and were hospit-

ably and kindly treated by the authorities by the orders of the Darbar, but the Maharaja would not hear of their passing through the hills to Kathmandu.

On the 28th of July, the Resident reported the mutiny of the portion of 12th Irregular Cavalry, then stationed at Sagauli, who murdered their commanding officer the gallant Major Holmes, his wife, Dr. Gardner (the Surgeon of the regiment), in fact, the whole of the small European community. The Minister at once offered to send troops to occupy the post and to keep open the communications with Kathmandu, and their services were accepted. Two regiments were accordingly sent down into the Champaran district, which were shortly afterwards attached to the field force under Brigadier Rowcroft, with which they did good service and took part in several engagements.

A second plot for the assassination of Maharaja Jung Bahadur and his brothers and the overthrow of their party was happily discovered and defeated towards the close of the year, and five persons were seized and decapitated at the five principal entrances to the city of Kathmandu.

10. Force under Jung Bahadur

1858

A detail of mere military operations of Maharaja Jung Bahadur's force is not within the scope of this *Memorandum*, but a very brief outline will be given of them. It first marched towards Gorakhpur, which district was wrested from the rebel Nazim Muhammad Hussain, who held it in the name of the rebel king of Lucknow. The Nazim himself escaped but his deputy Musharaf Khan was captured and hanged, and the district was handed over to civil authorities. Several unimportant actions were fought in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur. Here, the Gorkha army was detained owing to the determination of Jung Bahadur to change his carriage. Even after quitting Gorakhpur, the movements of the army were still dilatory. It crossed the Gogra by a bridge of boats near Burrarae, and marched immediately upon Lucknow. It reached Lucknow on the 11th March, at once moved into its allotted position, and took part in the siege of that city. On the 23rd of March, the Maharaja accompanied by Brigadier-General Macgregor returned via Allahabad, Benares and Gorakhpur to Nepal. He chose this route to have an interview with the Governor-General, who was then at Allahabad. His Lordship announced to him his intention of conferring a large tract of territory upon the Nepalese Government, in consideration of the services rendered to the British Government during the rebellion.

There can be no doubt that the presence of the Gorkha army in the British provinces under Maharaja Jung Bahadur's command had a fine moral effect, but their services were in a military point of view not what had been expected of them. The Maharaja, who is very weak and very vain, would not allow the slightest semblance of interference or check over his men, who puffed up with braggadocio and conceit covered themselves with ridicule. But had a

better system of discipline been observed, and had their officers set them a better example, than they did, they would doubtless have behaved with the gallantry which is proverbially characteristic of their race. The march back to the frontier from Lucknow loaded with plunder was more like a rabble than armed force, and the British officials, who were attached to them were heartily glad when they arrived at Sagauli.

From the moment he reached Gorakhpur, on his march towards Lucknow, Maharaja Jung Bahadur, by his own account, was in communication with the rebel leaders, who offered to make him the king of Lucknow if he would join their cause and turn upon the British army. This had an ill-effect upon the Gorkha soldiery, many of whom openly gave out that they would return to the plains during the next cold season to annex certain of our districts. This however was mere bravado. The Resident is of opinion that their expedition strengthened our prestige immensely throughout the Nepalese dominions, and that the Gorkhas have a far higher appreciation and respect for our power *now* than they *ever* entertained before.

The cost of equipping the Gorkha troops engaged in the British provinces during the rebellion was defrayed by the British Government ; the whole of their expenses were paid, and a most liberal addition was made to the pay of officers and men ; all received handsome salaries, except Maharaja Jung Bahadur and the other generals with his force, who begged that they might be permitted to decline accepting any pecuniary compensation in return for their services.

11. Demand for Ramsay's recall

It must be briefly mentioned that whilst at Allahabad, Maharaja Jung Bahadur requested the Governor-General to remove Colonel Ramsay from his post of Resident at the Court of Nepal, and accompanied his request by a paper containing a series of frivolous complaints. He had previously written in strong complimentary terms to the Resident. After hearing Colonel Ramsay's defence, His Lordship informed the Darbar that he had satisfied himself that no blame attached to Colonel Ramsay's official conduct as Resident, and that he would resume his functions as representative of the British Government at the Court of Nepal with the full confidence of the Governor-General.

In the month of May, immediately after his return to the capital, the Minister suddenly communicated to the Assistant Resident, then in charge of the duties of the Residency, the pardon of his brother General Badrinar Singh¹, the Maharaja at the same time announced that he had appointed his brother to be the Nazim of Butwal and of Palpa—a bold and a very strange step on his part,

1. One of the conspirators condemned to death or deprivation of sight in 1851, for having planned Jung Bahadur's assassination, but whose punishment was afterwards commuted to imprisonment at the fortress of Allahabad, from which he was released in November, 1853.

for, the General was his inveterate enemy and would take his life at the first opportunity. Another attempt was made in June to expel the various merchants, who might be British subjects, from the Valley of Nepal, but the Assistant Resident requested Maharaja Jung Bahadur to suspend his orders until a report could be made on the subject to his own Government. To this the Minister agreed. There were some negotiations in the Spring of this year to establish a timber agency upon the frontier. Whilst Maharaja Jung Bahadur was at Allaha-bad, he encouraged the project and promised it his support, but, after many evasions and excuses the negotiations fell to the ground.

The official announcement of the Governor-General's intention to bestow upon the Mahārājadhirāj, the tract of territory which was ceded by Nepal to the British Government in 1816, after the war, was made over to His Highness through Maharaja Jung Bahadur in May of this year, and the appointment of His Excellency to be a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath was announced in the London Gazette, though no mention of this honour was, at this time, for obvious reasons, made by the Indian Government.

The intelligence of the assumption by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria of the Government of the British territories in India, in November this year, was received by the Nepalese Government with evident pleasure. Complimentary letters passed between His Excellency the Viceroy and the King upon the subject, and a grand parade was held at Kathmandu at which a royal salute and *fou-de-joie* were fired in honour of Her Majesty and the Proclamation of November the first was explained to the assembled Sardars and the soldiery.

12. Indian rebels in Nepal

1859

At the commencement of this year Colonel Ramsay returned to his post, and, contrary to expectation, he was cordially received by the Minister, who expressed his regrets at what had passed, hoped that by-gones might be by-gones, and instigated the Mahārājadhirāj, who is a mere machine in his hands, to express in a letter the satisfaction which His Highness and all the Sardars would feel for as long as that officer might continue to represent the British Government at his Court. A few days before Colonel Ramsay rejoined his post, the remnants of the rebel forces flying before Lord Clyde's divisions entered the Nepal Terai. The Begum of Oude with her son Barjis Qadr, and accompanied by many of the surviving rebel leaders were amongst them. In accordance of the proffered permission of the Darbar, they were, in some instances, pursued beyond the border by our troops. A force under Brigadier Horsford closely followed the Begum, attacked and dispersed her followers, commanded by her paramour and general, Mannu Khan, and captured 14 of their guns near Sithaghat at the entrance of the south of the Valley.

The Begum Hazrat Mahal had no sooner entered the Terai, than she solicited an interview with Maharaja Jung Bahadur, who at first proposed to go down into the Chillouree Valley to meet her but afterwards deputed a Sardar to do so. Her object was to throw herself on Gorkha protection, to urge their espousing the rebel cause, or if she could not succeed in doing that, to make the best terms for herself and for her son and their followers. The infamous Nana Sahib and his brother Bala Rao, the perpetrators of crimes at Cawnpur, Devi Deo of Nasirabad Brigade, Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, Muhammad Hussain, Raja Drig Bejay Singh, and other leaders too numerous to mention, had all by this time reunited their hitherto scattered and dispirited followers, and had organised large bodies of men, the remnants of the mutineers, and located them in various parts of the Terai, where it was quite evident that the local authorities played into their hands, furnished them with provisions, and gave them such other assistance as they stood in need of.

Occasional small detachments entered the Terai, chiefly Sikh *sowars* and infantry, throughout the year, but they received no assistance or information from the local authorities, who from time to time charged them with committing most serious and wanton acts of oppression and violence. A good deal of correspondence passed upon this subject, for as soon as the Resident had rebutted one series of charges, another was made ; to which Jung Bahadur gave or affected to give implicit credence and pressed upon the British Government in the most bitter tone. The conditions of the general amnesty proclaimed by the Governor-General on the 1st of November, 1858, and extended to those rebels in 1859 were explained to their leaders upon several occasions this year by Sardars who were sent to their camps by the minister, but there was evident collusion between the former and them.

13. Rebels rounded up

The Nana, Mannu Khan and other bloodstained wretches were plainly told, by His Lordship's orders, that no hope of mercy could be extended to them, but that, if they surrendered themselves, they would be placed upon their trials for the crimes attributed to them. It was of course to the interest of these miscreants to delude their followers, as much as possible, and to buoy them up with the belief, that when the rains were over, the Gorkhas would move down to their assistance. This hope kept masses of the rebels together, who though suffering severely from dysentery, fever, and other diseases, were still congregated in various parts of the Terai and the lower hills. With the ensuing cold weather Maharaja Jung Bahadur proposed to organise a campaign to sweep the Terai with a large army, and to drive the rebels from it. His plans were encouraged, and having been duly matured, about 10,000 men took the field in the month of November into the Butwal district under Jung Bahadur's personal command. The rebels flocked from all quarters to the Gorkha Camp, evidently induced by

promises of assistance to believe that the tide had turned into their favour, and that the Nepalese had joined their cause. They found themselves surrounded ; saw that all resistance was hopeless, and in the course of a few days, most of the leaders and some thousands of their followers had either given themselves up or were captured by the Gorkha troops.

The deaths of Bala Rao and his brother, the Nana had been reported to the Residency by Maharaja Jung Bahadur some months before. The Resident saw no reason to discredit the report, but of the death of the Nana, he from the first entertained strong doubts. As this question has been made the subject of late special reports to the Government, it will not be referred to in this *Memorandum*. Early in this year Begum Hazrat Mahal and her son, Barjis Qadr were allowed to take up their residence in the fort of Nawakot above Butwal and some weeks later, the ladies of the Nana's and Bala Rao's families were escorted to Tara Garhi, a small hill fort in the outer range of the hills in the direction of the Deokur Valley.

Much correspondence took place in 1859 respecting a number of Christian captives, chiefly Europeans, who were ascertained to be in the rebels' camps, where it was also stated that there were two English ladies. Maharaja Jung Bahadur upon being applied to, at once offered to do all in his power. An officer in the Minister's confidence, was deputed to the Terai, and through his exertions some twenty individuals and their families were recovered from the rebels' camp and sent to our provinces, but no trace could be found out of the English ladies.

The minister again, in September of the year, renewed the charge he made against the Sahila Sahib (3rd Nepalese prince at Benares) in 1853, of having tried to compass his death. The ex-Maharani, and her paramour Dall Bahadur were his informants upon this occasion, who produced a paper bearing Sahila Sahib's seal, conveying a promise to pay 2,500 rupees to the intended assassin if he succeeded in his object. The case was fully investigated, and the Agent to the Governor-General at Benares agreed with the Resident that the affair was a mere conspiracy to injure the young prince.

A sum of between 400,000-500,000 rupees was paid as donation Batta to Maharaja Jung Bahadur's army and to various bodies of Gorkha troops that were engaged in assisting in the suppression of the rebellion in the British provinces, and gratuities in lieu of pensions were given to the families of all officers and men who had been killed in action. It was also decided that Indian Mutiny medals with clasps for Lucknow should be given to all fighting men who by the rules of our own service would be entitled to them.

In October, the Resident delivered to Maharaja Jung Bahadur at a grand Darbar the Insignia of a Knight Grand Cross, Military Division, of the Order

of the Bath, accompanied by a letter of compliment from His Royal Highness, Prince Albert, the Grand Master of the Order. About the same time, arrangements were made for the appointment of Commissioners for both Governments for the demarcation of the new boundary between the two States. In the correspondence that took place upon this subject, Mahārājadhirāj proffered a request that the district of Khyreegarh in northern Oude, yielding an annual revenue of *not more* than a lac-and-a-half of rupees, might be added to the lately promised concession, but the request was civilly refused.

The Government have in the course of this year again called the Resident's attention to the question of Irakee and other native merchants of Kathmandu (British subjects), which resulted in the Minister's withdrawing the harsh restrictions he had imposed upon these merchants and placing them upon precisely the same footing, with respect to their dealings in the country and their access to the local courts of justice, from which he virtually debarred them.

14. Oude Boundary

1860

During the early part of this year the Commissioners from the two Governments met at Bhugoratal in northern Oude, and made a careful survey of the old line of boundary between that province and Nepal. Two trifling modifications and exchanges proposed by the Government were at once demurred to by the Darbar ; at least the Minister observed that although he would make no formal objections to them as we were the donors and his government the recipient of a free gift. Shortly after this occurred, he suggested that a slip of territory north of Toolsipore, should be included in the new cession, in order that the Gorkhas might have a passage below the hills in that quarter connecting their new territory with the Butwal Terai. A new treaty in settlement of the question was proposed to the Nepalese Government and instantly acceded to.

Its *1st* article confirms all existing treaties between the two Governments. In the *2nd* article, the British Government bestowed upon the Mahārājadhirāj, in full sovereignty the whole of the low lands between the rivers Kālī and the Raptee, and between the Raptee and the district of Gorakhpur, which were in possession of Nepal in 1815, and were ceded to the British Government in December of that year. Its *3rd* and last article declares that the boundary line lately surveyed by the British Commissioners shall henceforth be the boundary between the British province of Oude and the territories of the Maharaja of Nepal.

15. New arrivals at Kathmandu

Early in the year, whilst Maharaja Jung Bahadur was in the Terai, supposed to be on a sporting tour, the ladies of the Nana's and of his brother Bala Rao's families with several attendants, in all 13 persons, suddenly arrived at Kathmandu. The Officiating Minister said he knew nothing about them, but that they had

come up the Valley on the strength of a pass from General Badrinar Singh, who, he hinted, must have sent them upon his own responsibility. They were shortly followed by the Begum Hazrat Mahal of Lucknow and her son Barjis Qadr with 28 of the male attendants. The Maharaja addressed a curious letter to the Resident, observing that he had sent the Begum and her party to Nepal, because if they had continued to reside at Nawakot, it would have been difficult to prevent their keeping up a communication with the British provinces. With reference to the family of Nana, the Maharaja vaguely observed that General Badrinar Singh having sent them to Nepal, they would not consent to return to the British provinces.

The Heir Apparent was married to another daughter of Maharaja Jung Bahadur in the April of this year. The widow of Bala Rao (Nana's brother) died of cholera in July. Another plot for the Minister's assassination was fortunately defeated in October of this year, in which four persons were implicated; three of the conspirators were sentenced to death, but the fourth, a Brahman, upon whom capital punishment could not be inflicted, was sentenced to be deprived of caste, *i.e.* defiled and banished from the country.

16. The rani of Lahore

Several disputes occurred during this year between Maharaja Jung Bahadur and the ex-Rani of Lahore, Maharani Jindan, the mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh. After her escape from the fortress of Chunar in 1849, that lady sought an asylum in Nepal, which was granted to her by the Gorkhas, and was respected by the British Government. But she is a woman of imperious disposition who could not brook with patience the restrictions imposed upon her, and several scenes occurred between herself and the Minister during her residence in Nepal, in which each seems to have given way to temper to have addressed the other in very insulting language. The Maharani was accompanied to Nepal by an old paramour Jeeta (*kahār* or bearer by caste), who here assumed the name of Sardar Jumghat Rai. The man was expelled from the Valley in the month of April, much to the Rani's annoyance, and in October the Minister informed the Resident that *that* lady had dismissed the whole of her Indian attendants, as she could not trust them, and requested that they might be replaced by natives of the country.

Towards the end of the year, it was signified to the Rani that her son was about to return to India, and that he had obtained permission for her to visit him in Calcutta; she was at the same time offered a handsome maintenance by the British Government provided she chose to reside in the British provinces, under a proviso, also, that she should not visit or live in any place to the westward of Mongher. She accepted the offer, and at once prepared to rejoin her son in Calcutta, whom she accompanied to England early in 1861.

The Minister made a long sporting tour in the Terai in the cold season of

1860-61, and wished to pass the extreme eastern limits of Nepal through Darjeeling to the banks of the Mechi river, but his request was refused, and in consequence of the outbreak in Sikkim, it would have been impossible to provision his Camp ; the whole of the supplies which that part of the country could afford being required for the troops composing Sikkim expedition. His Excellency took the refusal in good spirits and at once retraced his steps from the frontier. A few days before he started upon his tour, the Maharaja communicated to the Resident his intention of sending a party of 30 sepoys to Sahode and Purnea district to be stationed there as a guard over a timber agency belonging to the Darbar, but Col. Ramsay objected to the measure as being most unusual and most unprecedented, and His Lordship, the Governor-General approved of his conduct in the matter.

Prince Upendra Bikram Shah, the King's next brother having obtained the permission of the Government to reside at Benares, left Kathmandu on the 30th of December. His position here since he was released from confinement at Allahabad was most anomalous and humiliating one ; indeed he had passed most of his time as a *faqir*, and latterly had resided in the little town of Deo Patan near the temple of Paśupati, taking no part in public business or attending public Darbars, nor even appearing to be recognised as a person of consideration.

17. Sundry affairs

1861

There has been no correspondence of any particular interest between the two Governments during the course of the present year. The two young princes, the King's youngest brothers who had been residing with their mother, the ex-Maharani at Benares since Maharaja Jung Bahadur succeeded in subverting that lady's power, had been permitted to take up their residence with the Maharani of Udaipur. One of these princes is accused by the Darbar of attempting to practise an imposition in the King's name upon the young Raja of Chirkari in Bundelkhand with reference to a matrimonial alliance with one of his own daughters, but the case has not yet been investigated.

A good deal of interest and some little excitement occurred at Kathmandu during the summer, with reference to the expected approach to Lhasa of a party of travellers from China, *via* the Yaungtse river, under Colonel Sarel and Captain Blakiston. The Minister sent orders to the Nepalese *Vakil* or representative at Lhasa to supply them with money and to afford every reasonable assistance. Unfortunately, however, these gentlemen were compelled to return from the Western border of China without having been able to reach the confines of Tibet.

It has hitherto been the policy of the Nepalese to render the communications between Kathmandu and the plains of India as difficult as possible, the pass into the Valley of Nepal is one of the most rugged, steep, and difficult that

can be imagined ; and the Valley of the Raptée through which the river flows, is for many months of the year almost impassable. The Maharaja has now determined (if the expense be not too heavy) to bridge that river in from 8 to 12 places, and to make a good road from Beecheakoh at the foot of the lowest or outer range of hills to Bhimpedee, a village at the foot of the ascent of the first steep mountain—a vast improvement if duly carried out, and one which will afford great facilities to trade, provided the narrow-minded views of commercial policy entertained by the Minister and Government in general do not accompany the measure by further heavy imposts.

18. Population, revenue and army

Of the population of Nepal it is impossible to form even a tolerably correct estimate. There is literally no data to go upon. So very little is known of the interior of the country that speculations upon the subject would be wild in the extreme. If a reference be made to the Resident's letter No. 29 of August 1856, it will be seen that unofficial documents in Nepal and in the discussions of the Darbar, the mass of the people is usually referred to as the "*Bawan Lac*"—52,00,000. and that it has also in one proclamation been alluded to "*Chhappan-Lac*"—56,00,000. A statistical return received by the Resident from the Foreign Secretary in 1855, sets it down at a little less than 19½ lacs or 19,50,000, which is probably nearer the truth, as no dependence can be placed upon the Darbar's calculations upon this head. The city of Kathmandu contains 30,000-35,000 inhabitants ; the Minister once stoutly contended with the Resident that it has 300,000 inhabitants, a population half as large as that of the city of Benares, which is quite absurd. The area of the Kingdom may *now* be roughly computed about 54,000 square miles.

Of the revenues of the country nothing certain is known, nor is it possible in these days when all power is firmly centralised in Maharaja Jung Bahadur, to obtain access to any sources of information upon the subject. Many years ago, when the State was divided into parties, when opposite factions were contending for power, the Resident observed that he could obtain almost any paper from the Darbar's *daftar* that he chose to name, but the case is now altered, and without the Minister's permission no one will open his mouth upon any official matter connected with his Government. At a Darbar some years back, the Minister told the Resident that the annual revenue of Nepal was between 70,00,000 and 80,00,000 of rupees, and on the latter's expressing his surprise at the statement, and observing that he had generally supposed it to be not more than 40,00,000, he repeatedly said that it certainly was not less than 70,00,000, but a few months afterwards he admitted that from 36,00,000 to 40,00,000 was the average. In 1837, Mr. Hodgson on the strength of Nepalese documents of which he had copies, estimated the revenue at nearly 43,50,000.

The standing army of Nepal, at *this* time, consists of about 17,000 men, certainly not more than 18,000 ; which number in the event of a war might almost immediately be trebled, as in consequence of the *Panjani* or system of enlistment for a period of one year only, there are but few Gorkhas who have not been trained as soldiers and who could not at once be called upon to take up arms. But this power of annually weeding the troops is very sparingly exercised, and the Minister not long ago informed the Resident that at the *Panjani* at Kathmandu, not more than 500-600 men are annually changed, or about 5½% upon the number stationed at the capital and adjacent cantonments.

The last Sketch Map of Nepal was prepared in the Surveyor-General's office in 1856, to which reference is requested ; as also the map of the new line of the frontier, which was prepared by the Boundary Commissioners in 1860.

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