

NEPAL

(Continued)

by *Sylvain Levi*

European Documents

Nepal does not appear to have been visited by Europeans before 1662. Yet since 1626 a jesuit missionary, the P. Anandra, had gathered vague indications on the country. Starting from Agra in 1624 to preach the Gospel in Tibet, he came up the high valley of the Ganges, crossed the difficult passes which dominate the sources of the celestial stream and founded a church at Chaprang on the left bank of the major Sutlej. This success was of short duration; two years later, Anandra who had succeeded in penetrating into China by the highway of Rudok and of Tangut returned definitely to India. During his sojourn at Chaprang, Anandra had an opportunity to enter into relations with Nepalese artisans emigrants in Tibet. "The king of this Place (of Caparangue, i. e. Chaprang) has three or four goldsmiths, natives of a separated from here by two months of marching and subjugated to two king, each one individually more powerful than this one, but of the same religion. I gave these goldsmiths some silver to make me a cross, according to a model I showed them. They assured me that many of the same pattern were to be found in their native land, and that different sizes were made in wood and invarious metals. They were usually placed in the temples, and for five days in the year they were planted on the public roads, where the people came in crowds to adore them throw flowers and light up a great number of lamps.

These crosses were named in their tongue "Indar."¹

The name of Nepal is not pronounced here; but there is no question of another country. The very profession of the goldsmiths denote their origin; Nepal then as now excelled in the work of metals and her craftsmen as well as her products were sought by the more barbarous tribes of the North.² The distance of two months journey corresponds well to the real remoteness. The partition of the kingdom between the two sovereigns is another characteristic of Nepal. Since the close of the XVth century up to the beginning of the XVIIth, the dynasty of Kathmandu and the one the Bhatgaon reigned simultaneously on the two halves of the country; it is true that the dynasty of Kathmandu, divided itself towards 1600, and Patan became the seat of a third dynasty. But in fact, the kings of Kathmandu and of Patan formed but one branch, and one group, as is attested thirty five years after Anandra by the statement of P. Grueber. In short the said crosses designated under the name of "Indar" belong properly and exclusively to the Nepalese religion; the missionary monks installed in Nepal since the XVIIIth century have not failed in being impressed; their historian, Georgi, even gives the description and sketch in support of his theories on the Manichean origin of Buddhism.³ The word "Indar" reproduces with fair accuracy

the Sanscrit name of the God Indra (commonly Inder) in whose honour these images were made.

In 1661 two of the Jesuit missionaries installed at Peking, Father Grueber and Father Dorville,⁴ received the order to return to Europe to take from Rome the instructions of their general. The Dutch fleet blockaded the Chinese ports. They determined to travel by land. They left in June 1661,⁵ crossed through Si-ning, the Tangout, Lhasa, where they resided for two months and thence, reached India through Nepal. Dorville died on reaching Agra after 214 days of actual travelling⁶, at the beginning of the year 1662. The indefatigable Grueber continued alone henceforth his journey through Labore, the Indus the Arabian gulformus, and Smyrna. He stayed in Rome just long enough for the accomplishment of his mission. Spurred by an unprecedented success and which still remains unrivalled to-day after two and a half centuries of Asiatic explorations—he attempted to open the highways towards China, by crossing Muscovia. Compelled by circumstances to beat a retreat, he fell back on Constantinople and eventually died in 1665 on the road to China. So many intrepid journeys have unfortunately left Father Grueber no time to summarise his memories; the few informations that he managed to communicate are found scattered in several letters addressed to associates: a condensed summary by Father Athanase Kircher,⁷ and the account given from a kind of "interview" taken from Father Grueber at Rome in January 1665.

The summary of Kircher gives a fairly detailed itinerary from Lhasa to Agra. "From Lhasa or Barantola, situated by 29°6', they came in four days to the foot of mount "Langur." Mount Langur is of an incomparable height, in as much as travellers can hardly breathe on the summit, so rarefied is the air;

in summer one could not cross it without exposing one's life to danger, on account of the poisonous emanations from certain herbs. No carriage or horse can cross by this mountain, by reason of dreadful precipices and stretches of rocks, but one must make the whole journey on foot; and thus a month is taken to reach "Cuthi" the first town of the kingdom of "Necbal". Although this mountainous region is difficult to cross, nature, however, has provided with abundant streams that spurt out warm and could from the hollows of the mountains, and many fishes for men and grazing grounds for the cattle . . . Five days of journey from "Cuthi" and the town of "Nesti" is reached of the "Neckbal" kingdom, in which everybody lives enveloped in the gloom of the idolatry, without, any sign of Christian faith; however, the place abounds in all things that are necessary to sustain life, to the extent that one can readily purchase 30 to 40 chickens for half-a-crown. From here it takes six days journey to reach the capital of the Kingdom of Necbal which is called "Cadmendu, situated by 27°5'. The king who lives there is powerful; he is a pagan but not opposed to the faith of Christ. From Cadmendu, half a days journey and the town of Necbal is reached which is the seat of the whole kingdom and which is also named "Badan". From Necbal, after five days travelling one reaches 'Hedouda', market-town of the kingdom of 'Maranga' by 26°36'. From 'Hedouda' in eight days one reaches "Mutgari" which is the first city of the kingdom of Mogor. From "Murgari", it takes ten days to "Buttana", which is a town of the Bengal kingdom, on the Ganges, by 25°44'. (From Battana to Benares, eight days; Benares to Catampor 11 days; Cattampor to Agra 7 days...). Here is one of the customs of "Necbal" when a man drinks from the same cup as a woman to honour her, other persons, men or women, give them three times to drink of 'cha' (Tea) or of wine, and while they drink-

place on the edge of the cup three small lumps of butter; the drinkers takes these out and place them on their forehead'. There is still another custom in this kingdom, of monstrous cruelty; if a sick man is approaching death and leaves no hope of recovery, they carry him out of his house into the fields; he is thrown in a ditch already full of moribands; he remains there exposed to the weather, without pity nor piety, he is left to die and his corpse is thrown to the birds of prey, to the wolves, dogs and other similar animals. They are convinced that the unique monument of a glorious death, is to obtain a sepulchre in the stomachs of living beasts. The women of these kingdoms are so horrible as to resemble veritable demons rather than human beings: as a matter of fact owing to a religious thought, they never wash themselves with water but rub themselves well with an oil of very offensive smell; besides they smell with a rancid odor; and with the addition of the oil, one can hardly take them for human beings, but for ghouls.

"Besides, the king showed, the priests a remarkable goodwill, especially on account of a telescope, an object of which they knew nothing till then, and other curious mathematical instruments which interested him so much as to wish him to absolutely detain the Priests near him, and allowed them to depart only after having demanded of them the promise of a return; he promised them in the eventuality, to construct a house and to place it at their disposal, furnish them with a large income and to allow them to introduce the Doctrines of Christ in his domain.

The interview at Rome enlightens us better on the episode of the telescope and on the political state of Nepal. "From 'Barantola' Father Grueber entered into the kingdom of 'Nekpal' which has a stretch of a month's journey. There are two town-capitals in this

kingdom, "Catmandir and 'Patan', which are only separated by the river that divides them. The king of this country is called ['Partasmal' he has his residence in the town of 'Catmandir' and his brother named 'Nevagmal' (who is a young prince of nice physique) in the town of 'Patan.' He is in command of the whole militia of the kingdom; and in Father Grueber's time in that town, he had a large army on foot to oppose a little king named 'Varcam' who was disturbing him with the many raids he undertook. The Father presented the prince with a pair of magnifying eye-glass with the help of which he had discovered a sport where Varcam had fortified himself and he made the prince look in that direction; the prince seeing the place at so sort a distance ordered that the march should commence at once against the enemy, and did not understand that this approach was only an effect of the lens. It will not be easy to describe how much the prince was pleased at this present. From 'Nekpal' in five days time, he came to the kingdom of 'Moranga'; he saw no town, but straw houses or rather huttings and among others, a custom-house. The king of 'Moranga' pays a yearly tribute to the Mogul, of 250000 richedales and of seven elephants."

Regarding this latter kingdom, Kircher's memorandum, adds: "The Kingdom of Maranga" wedges in the Kingdom of "Tibet" its capitals 'Radoc' is the last station reached formerly by Father Dandrada in his journey to 'Tibet' they refound numerous indications of the Cristain faith which had been planted, in the names of men still Current: Dominic, Francis, Antony."

The geographical names mentioned in these documents are in general easy to recognize. Mount 'Langur' at four days journey from Lhasa, designates the long serie of chains which are linked up in the direction of

west-south-west, commencing from the Khamba (Kambala of the Friars) pass, which Georgi's itinerary reckons at distance of three days journey from Lhasa. Georgi, it is true, gives the name Lhangur to the first of lofty mountains which is encountered towards the east in travelling from Nepal to Lhasa, at 50 thousand paces from Kuti. The discord is too apparent, because Langur is a generic name signifying, in the Parbatiya language, "a chains of mountains." In nearing the lofty mountains which rise between Kuti and Lhasa, the Jesuits and Friars have heard at the two extreme points the same cry from their guide's lips: Langur "The mountains." Thus, while the langur of Grueber, is the Khamba-la (pass of Khamba), the Langur of Georgi is Thang-la or Nya-nyam-Thang-la (pass of Thang) "Cuthi" has only had a graphical transformation; learned influence has preserved Kuti's orthography. "Nesti between Kuti and Katmandu, is written Listi on modern maps, on account of a frequent confusion between the nasal and the dental liquid. 'Cadmendu' transcribes equally well as our Katmandou, the name of the capital; the interview discloses another form, 'Catmandir' more like Sanscrit in appearance (Kastha-mandir) and which may be a doublet of the first, if it is not the outcome of a simple error. 'Baddan' designated as the second capital of the country, cannot be Bhatgaon which would however, coincide better with the distance indicated from Katmandu. Grueber only knows of two capitals in the kingdom of Nepal and the informations which he gives on the two kings who reside there, prove beyond doubt that it is a question of Katmandu and Patan; it is even under the latter form that the second capital is designated in the interview. The alternation of Baddan and 'Patan' in the accounts of the Jesuits, in face of the indigenous word Pattan (a), seems to betray the persis-

tency of the German accent with Grueber who was born at Linz, in Austria. 'Hedonda' is modernly known Hetaura. The difference between the two words is more apparent than real; they both embody, in accentuating them in opposite ways, the sound of Indian cerebrals, intermediary between the dentals and the letter 'r', and which finds its way in the very name of Katmandu (of which the real pronunciation is very near Karmanro.)

The name of Nepal, which appears here, for the first time in Europe takes an unexpected aspect: Nekpal or 'Necbal' (with the alternance of the p and of the b, as in the case of 'Baddan and Pattan'). One is apt to be misled and believe it an error of handwriting or of printing; precisely the latter to Father Gamans bears 'Neopal'; whence Necpal might have been formed by a graphical error between the two letters 'C' and 'O'. Tavernier, Grueber's contemporary, writes 'Nupal'. Nupal on the one hand, Neopal, on the other, would seem to bring together to a common original at the same time of the sound 'u' and of the sound 'eo'. But this conjecture must be abandoned, because the form 'Nekpal'. With a serie of derivatives, reappears in several publications of the XVIIth. Century, all independent of Father Grueber's traditions and originating from the missionary Capuchin friars. However, neither a clever pronunciation nor a vulgar pronunciation of the word 'Nepal' can justify this adventitious letter it seems to be a too vigorous notation of time which follows the 'e' from the word 'Nepal (a)'. The kingdom of 'Maranga' or 'Moranga' is without the least doubt the kingdom of Makwanpur, as the Capuchin friars have well recognized it, but the name which is here given to it is surprising, because it designates in fact the eastern region of the Terrai included between the Kosi and the Tista ⁶.

The kings mentioned by Father Grueber are very well known. The king of Katmandu 'Partasmal' is in reality Pratapa Malla his brother, the king of Patan 'Nevagnal' is Cri Nivasa Malla. Pratapa Malla was a singular person, imbued with poetry; more jealous of literary glory than of military glory; he took with conviction the title of 'Kavindra' 'Prince of poets'. Ambitious to immortalise his name and his works, he had these carefully carved in stone over the whole stretch of his domain. Before the passage of the priests, he heard the far-off western countries spoken of. An inscription still embedded in the facade of the palace at Katmandu which bears an invocation to the goddess Kalika, shows specimens of fifteen writings which Pratapa Malla flattered himself he knew. Amongst these writings is the 'Phiringi' writing which comes last, immediately after the 'Kaspiri' (of Cashmere). The specimen of 'phiringi' writing consists in these three words:

NE WINTERLHIVERT

AVTOM.

'Automne, Winter, L'Hiver' The inscription is dated Friday 14th. January 1654 (Samvat 774 magha cukla cri pancame cukra vare).

These three simple words, which the indigene considers a kind of Mene Tecel Phares written out in a mysterious conjuring book, evoke in their moving simple city the first entry in contact with Europe with this corner of the Himalaya; and the presence of two French words in a total of three vocabularies reminds as by an expressive symbol the universal preponderance of the French language in the XVIIth century. Who then had taught them to Pratapa Malla? Perhaps one of the Armenian merchants which Tavernier mentions and who served as an agent between the West and Upper Asia.

The narration of Father Grueber confirms

at least on one point, the exactitude of the Nepalese chronicle. The Vamcava'i gives out in detail the war in which the jesuits found themselves mixed. Since the last days of the year 1659, Pratapa Malla and Cri Nivasa Malla had joined hands to repulse the incursions of Jagat Prakaca Malla king of Bhatgaon. Suspended on November 1660, and the hostilities were resumed a year later in November 1661, and the Jagat Prakaca Malla had been defeated time after time. At last on the 19th January 1662 (18 magha sudi 782), Cri Nivasa Malla, who was in actual command of the allied forces, captured the village of Themi (Timi) from his adversary; the 20th January, Pratapa Malla and Cri Nivasa Malla returned to their respective capitals. The passage of the jesuits had then preceded, but by a few days, the date of the 20th January, and the telescope which they placed at the service of the allied kings, hastened perhaps to the detriment of the prince of Bhatgaon, the denouement of this campaign. The "little king Varcam" is without any doubt Jagat Prakaca Malla (vul. pronounciation: Parkas Malla); the change of the 'p' into 'V', by the intermediary of 'b', is constant; the alternance of the forms Nepal and Never show us another example. If Father Grueber does not speak of Bhatgaon, which, however, equalled in importance the two others capitals, it is because the war had compelled the two travellers to avoid the territory of Jagat Prakaca.

The results of the voyage of Father Grueber were soon shown on geographical maps. Nicolas Visscher seems to have been the first to place them in hand in his 'India Orientalis nec non Insularum adjacentium nova description' which is comprised in part in 'Atlas Minor sive totius orbis terrarum contracta delineatio, ex conatibus Nic. Visscher. (Amst. Bat. Apud Nicolaum Visscher) The Minor Atlas carries no date. The editor of the "Remarkable maps of the XV -- XVIIth century

who publishes this map, pretends that is derived from the "Novus Atlas" of Janson, dated 1657-1658. This assertion is unacceptable. The map is manifestly worked out on the informations from Grueber, and cannot be anterior to Grueber's arrival in Europe; it dates at the earliest 1663: Father Grueber's stages are linked up successively like an illustration of his itinerary; the names of localities have those peculiarities only attributed to Grueber the positions have been determined by his observations. The errors committed still betray the source of borrowing. "Cutlu (-kuti), the station between "Lhassa" and "Cadmenda", owes manifestly its existence to a confusion of letters created on Grueber's graphic: "Cuthi", Cadmenda is also a graphical modification of Cadmendu. There is something better: Visscher, mistaken by Father's Grueber Germanic notation, has not recognized Patna in the town of "Battana", intermediary stage between Mutgari "(Motihari) and Benares", he has shown on his map Patna and Battana even separating them by a long distance. Furthermore, obliged to include new knowledge in the traditional notes of anterior cartography, Visscher has placed Necbal between the Ganges to the West and to the East, one of the 5 streams whence "Chiamay" lake spread its waters into "India extra Gangem." The country of "Bengala" the southern limit, the country of Udessa⁹ (Orissa) to the North-West "Cirote" situated to the South of "Cadmenda", between the "Necbal" and the country of "Verma" (Burma) is the country of the Kiratas which occupies the valleys to the East of Kathmandu. "Caor" placed between "Lassa" and "Cutlu" (Cuthi, kuti) are equally derived from anterior geographies.

A little while after Grueber's voyage through Asia, the Frenchman Tavernier was taking up the sixth time, the road to the East. As a jeweller of the Great-Mogul and of his principal officers, already familiar with the lan-

guages the customs, the climate of Hindustan he succeeded in reaching the last limits of Eastern India, He was fortunate to come down the source of the Ganges, in company of another Frenchman, equally illustrious, Bergnier, who had already been for five years in the employment of Aurengzeb in the capacity of a medical man. The 13th December 1665, they were at Benares; the 20th, at Patna, the 4th January 1666, at Rajmahal. In the course of this long and slow voyage, Tavernier lost no time in gathering all informations regarding the country: judicious observer and keen tradesman, he rather fixed his attention on questions of business. He was thus the first man to gather minute and precise details in connection with the commerce between India and Tibet through Nepal. 'at five or six leagues from beyond Gorochepour (Gorakhpur) one enters the grounds of the Raja of "Nepal" which extend to the frontiers of the kingdom of Boutan (Tibet). This prince is a vassal of the Great-Mogul and sends him yearly an elephant as a tribute. He resides in the town of "Nepal" whence he takes his name. His trade and his wealth are well known. The indigenous¹⁰ informers at Tavernier's services did not fail to point him out as an abomination, the religious beliefs which distinguish these mountains populations from those of the plains "Beyond the Ganges slightly in the direction of the Naugrocot" mountains, there are two or three kings who alike their people, believe neither in God nor in the devil. Their Brahmins have a certain book which contains their beliefs and which is really filled up with moonshine (nonsense) the author of which, "Bandon" gives no reason.¹¹

Such is the first notion which reaches Europe, on Nepalese Buddhism.

The description outlined by Tavernier regarding the traffic between India and Tibet

through Nepal, is altogether so picturesque, so exact, and so little different from the actual conditions of the same traffic that it is useful to reproduce it in its entirety.

"The kingdom of Boutan Tibet is very vast, but we have not yet been able to obtain an exact knowledge. Here are a few things I have been able to learn in the several travels which I have made to India, from a few people of the country who were keen on trading; but I have learnt better this last trip than I have done before, finding myself in 'Patna' the largest town in 'Bengala' and the most famous for trading purposes, in the time the merchants from 'Boutan' came down to sell their musk. During the period of two months which I stayed there, I purchased twenty-six thousand ruppes worth of it . . . and but for custom duties which must be paid from India to Europe, a great profit would be derived on the Musk . . . As for musk itself, during the hot weather, the merchant hardly makes a profit, owing to the stuff drying up and consequently losing weight. As this merchandies usually pays twenty five per cent of duty at 'Gorrockepour' (Gorakhpur) the last town of the states of the Great Mogul on the side of the kingdom of 'Boutan', although is still stretches out another five or six leagues further, when the Indian tradesmen are in that town, they first go in search of the Customs official and they inform him that they are proceeding to the kingdom of Boutan", some to purchase musk, others to perchase rhubarb, each one declaring, the amount he intends using up which dealing is recorded by the official in his register, with the merchant's name included.

Then the merchants instead of twenty five per cent that they should give, remit only a seven or an eight per cent and take delivery of a certificate from the official or the cade, so that they will not be over charged on their

return. Should they be unable to reach a satisfactory agreement with the official, they they take another course which is really very long and awkward, owing to the snow-clad mountains, and the stretches of vast deserts in the plains. They will have to reach a height of sixty degrees then turn towards the West up to "Gabol" which lies in the fortieth and it is in that town that the caravan separates, one lot going to "Balch" and the other to the Great "Tartaries." It is those who come from "Boutan" who exchange their goods for horses, mules and camels; because their is little money in those countries. Then these Tartars being these merchandises into Persia right up to "Ardenil and Tauris" . . . One lot of the merchants who come from "Boutan and from Caboul" goes to "Candahar" and thence to "Ispahan" and these usually take away corals in grains, yellow and lapis worked out in grains whenever they can find them. The other merchants who travel towards 'Multan from "Lahor and "Agra carry away cloths, indigo, and a quantity of cornelian stones and crystal stones. Lastly those who return by Gorrockepour and who are in the Customs official good book being away from Patna and From Dacca, coral, yellow amber, and bracelets of tortoise shell and others of sea-shells with a quantity of round and square pieces of the size of our fifteen sol coin and which are also of tortois shell and of these same sea shells As I was in "Patna" four Armenians who had already travelled to the kingdom of Boutan came from "Dantzic" where they have had made a quantity of shapes of yellow amber, which represented all kinds of animal and monsters and which they were taking to the king of Boutan, who alike his people is a graet idolater, to have them placed in his pagodas. Where the Armenians can find something to gain, they do not scruple themselves about furnishing matter for idolatry, and they told me that had they been able to make the idol

which the king had wished, they would have enriched themselves. It consisted in making a head in the shape of a monster, which had six horns, four ears, and four arms, with six fingers apiece, the whole to have been in yellow amber, but that they were unable to procure pieces large enough for the work. They tried though that money failed them, because it seemed that they did not possess much, and besides, it is an infamous commerce to furnish instruments of idolatry, to this poor tribe.

Let us now dwell on the road which it is necessary to follow to convey oneself from "Patna" to the kingdom of "Boutan" which journey the caravan completes in three months. It usually starts from "Patna" at the end of December and reaches "Gorochepour" on the eighth day. This is, as already stated, the last town on this side of the Great Mogul's states and where merchants provide themselves with provisions for a part on the journey. From "Gorochepour" to the feet of the lofty mountains there is still another eight or nine days journey, during which time the caravan suffers considerably, because the country is full of forests where in roam many wild elephants. The merchants instead of taking rest at night, keep on the alert and light a big fire while firing their muskets to frighten away these animals. As the elephant moves about noiselessly, he surprises everybody by his sudden presence before they can be aware of him.

It is not that the elephant intends hurting man; he is pleased to carry away victuals which he can lay hold of for example a bag of rice or of flour or a pot of butter of which there is always considerable quantity. One can travel from "Patna" to the feet of these mountains in carriage or in "Pallekis" (Balanquin); but oxen, camels and country houses are generally made use of. These horses are, so short

in stature that a man's feet touches the ground when he is riding but they are very strong and canter very well doing twenty leagues at a stretch and eating and drinking very little. Some of these horses cost as much as two hundred half-crowns, and when one penetrates into the mountain, one cannot but use this only means of conveyance, and one must relinquish all others that would be of no use on account of the many defiles which are too narrow. Although the horses are strong and small they often find it difficult to cross the passes and it is for this reason that one has recourse to other expedients to cross these lofty mountains.

"(One crosses "Nepal" then) the caravan having reached the foot of these high mountains, known to-day under the name of "Nau-groet" and which cannot be traversed inside of nine or ten days, as these are exceedingly high and narrow with great precipices; many people come down from various places and the majority of them women and girls, who come to bargain with those of the caravan, to carry the men, the victuals, and the merchandises beyond the mountains. This is the way they get about it. These women have a pad on their two shoulders to which is attached a substantial cushion which hangs on the back on which the man is seated. Three women relieve one another to carry a man by turn, and all baggage and provisions are loaded on the back of goats who can carry up to a hundred and fifty pounds. Those who bring horses with them are often compelled, in narrow and dangerous defiles, to hoist them by ropes; it is mainly due to this difficulty, as already mentioned, that horses are not used in these regions. They give them to eat only in the morning and in the evening. In the morning a paste made of a pound of flour with half a pound of black sugar and the same quantity of butter mixed with water, serves the pur-

pose. At evening time a small quantity of peas, broken and allowed to soak for half an hour in water, is all they get, and this is the sum total of their nourishment in twenty four hours. The women who carry the men only earn two rupees for the ten days of passage, and the same amount is paid for each hundred weight carried by the goats or she-goats and for each horse that is brought up.

"After crossing these mountains one has as a means of conveyance up to "Boutan", oxen, camels and horses and even "Pallekis" (Palanquin) for those who wish to travel more comfortably."

One is really unable to make out which deserves more admiration, in this long narration, whether the art or the skill of Tavernier in inquiring, whether the exactitude or the preciseness of his informations and the scrupulous faithfulness in reproducing the given informations. The oft contested veracity of the great French traveller, comes out triumphant from this trial.

French trade has not been able to profit by the roads which Tavernier had partly discovered, and partly indicated towards the Far-East and central Asia. The missionaries of Christ more enterprising and better guided did not lose sight of the regions opened out at the same time, by the zeal of Father Andrada and which the travels of Father Grueber had made more easily accessible. Tibet, with her dependences (or provinces) did not only offer a new domain to the activity of the missions. The notions gathered on the religion of the Lamas and which became more precise by the researches of the Jesuits in China, represented the Lama of Lhasa as the embodiment of antichrist. The resemblance of rites, of practices, of function, explained itself as the counterfeiting of the Catholic Church inspired by the devil himself. Each one of the

orders aspired to the honour of winning a hard victory over Satan; It was on the Capuchin friars on whom befell this heavy task.

In 1703 the Congregation of Propaganda gave over Tibet to the care of the capuchins. Of the six religious men who were sent, only two reached the destination; Father Joseph of Ascoli and Father Francis Maries de Tours. They disembarked at Chandernagor in June 1707 and set out on the way to Lhasa. Circumstances were particularly unfavourable; Tibet was restless with internal struggles; religious rivalries and political differences.

An ambitious regent in authority near the Great Lama, had confiscated the power; threatened by the Manchurian emperors and by the Chieftains of Mongolian hords who all wanted for their particular interests the spiritual power of the Great-Lama, he had dealt cleverly with them, and for a long time had succeeded in throwing them one against the other. However, in La-tsankhan, chieftain of a Mongolian hord of the khoskotes, captured Lhasa by a sudden attack, killed the usurper, and elected a new Great-Lama to replace the one the regent had established and whom he refused to recognize. But the protégé of the conqueror clashed with the resistance of one section of the Church: the Lama dispossessed, found grouping around him the adversaries of Khoskotes and the Chinese, their allies. The country was in an upheaval at Lhasa, life was so precarious that the two Capuchins had to leave the town, where food was short coming to return to India. They crossed over to Patna and thence to Bengal. Left alone and reduced to powerlessness, they appealed to Rome for help in 1712. The Propaganda decided to attach twelve religious men to the Tibetan mission with an annual grant of 1000 crowns, and to place five parishes at their disposal. "Chandernagor" in Bengal, "Pathna" in Bihar, "Nekpal" capital

of the kingdom of the same name, "Lhasa" and "Trogu-gue" in Tak-pu. "Each parish received two capuchins, except Lhasa which received four. The priests who were posted for the preaching of the Gospel "at Katmandu, in the kingdom of Nekpal" were Father Francois Felix de Moro and Father Anthony Marie de Jesi. Of the six Fathers destined for Tibet one, Father Gregory of Pedona, died on the way, at Katmandu. The five others were; Father Dominique de Fano, prefect of the mission; Father Joseph of Ascoli, Father Francis Mare de Tours, Father Francis Horace de Penna, Father Jean Francis de Fossenbrun.

Hardly had the capuchins settled down, than they had to struggle against rivals. Two Jesuits Father Desideri and Father Freyre, reached Lhasa in 1715-1716 by the Ladakh and the pass of Marian-la. The pious emulation of the two ordres did not work in good. Jesuits and Capuchins boasted with the longing of being favourably received and reckoned at an early date, glorious triumphs: in fact their zeal were spent in vain on the mocking indifference of the Tibetans. After long and weary efforts, they had only converted a small number of Nepalese who had settled in Lhasa for the sake of commerce.¹⁵ The Capuchins blamed the Jesuits for their failure and called upon Rome. The Jesuit after certain Chinese affairs, were not popular in court. Desideri received an order of recall in 1721. He came down to India by the way of Nepal, which the capuchins had taught him, crossed through Katmandu and Bhatgaon, visited India for a long time and returned to his mother-land in 1727. Released from their competitors, the capuchins nevertheless continued to miserably vegetate; the temporal power even refused them the prestige of persecution.¹⁶

In 1716 the "King of Tibet Ginghir Kha-

gn, the Tartar"¹⁷ had issued a decree which exempted them from taxes. In 1725 after the defeat of the Dzoungares, who had overthrown "Ginghir Khagn", the new king installed by triumphant China". "Telcihin Bathur" confirmed this privilege. In 1732, Father Horace de Penna who came down to Nepal, was conceded a passport which prescribed to all Customs and Excise Officer not to demand any tax from the European Lama who had come down to Lhasa, capital of the rich kingdom of Tibet, to help and work our good to everybody.¹⁸ But their success did not go beyond these official civilities of an ordinary value.

The Nepalese branch establishment of the Tibetan mission has had a more busy existence, a little less dull also. In 1715, the capuchins had founded a monastery at Katmandu; but the terrible persecution stirred up by the Brahmins" compelled them to flee for a shelter elsewhere.

They turned to their advantage the constant rivalry between the kings of Katmandu and those of Bhatgaon. Bhupatindra Malla, who reigned at the time at Bhatgaon, received them with goodwill; in 1722, the missionaries substituted officially Bhatgaon to Kathmandu as the seat of the auxiliary branch of Nepal; but they did not definitely renounce their first post. Father Horace de Penna called from Lhasa to Nepal with the title of "Prefect of the mission", succeeded by dint of skill and energy in retaking possession of the place. Arrested, thrown in prison, reduced like all other prisoners to the condition of royal slave and subjected to the hardest labours, he managed in conveying to the king of Kathmandu a catechism in the Nevar language which he had undoubtedly composed himself, since he was acquainted with Tibetan and Nevarian. The lecture of the pamphlet

removed the last vestiges of the king's pretensions; he authorized the capuchins to settle down in his capital and to preach.

Death reduced the number of Fathers. In 1727 only nine remained; three others died shortly after, followed by still another. The mission numbered in all five Capuchins, weary and aged. In 1731, Father Joachim de Santa Natoglia (of Lhasa) Father Horace de Penna, "Perfect of the Nepal mission (of Battgas)" and Father Pierre de Serra Petrona (of Chandernagore), sent an appeal to Rome for relief. In 1735 the Propaganda authorized a new despatch of missionaries, but to the number of three only. Father Vito de Recanati was designated to be the superior. The unfortunate capuchins of the Himalaya must have been surely disappointed to see themselves so inadequately helped. Father Horace de Penna who had lived 24 years, continuously in these regions embarked for Europe and arrived at Rome in 1738. He multiplied his efforts to interest good souls in the Tibetan mission, inspired several publications of propaganda, and drew up numerous notes which served later on, in the compilation of the "Alphabetum Tibenanum." Then he courageously proceeded to the battle ground once again, although past sixty years of age.¹⁹

The mission, thanks to the impulsion which he had imparted to it, had not suffered by his absence. Father Recanti had obtained from the king of Bhatgaon Ranajita Malla, the same concessions as his predecessors.²⁰ "Finding himself with two of his companions in Nepal, the capital, the gospel which they preached in connection with our Holy order, pleased the monarch to such an extent, that after having granted them by a public proclamation for their habitation a great Palace which he had confiscated from one of his chiefs he conceded again for the liberty of the con-

science, a privilege which he had published in his kingdom and which the Father Superior made over to the Father Procurator General of his order. The translation runs as follows.

"I Zaerwanegitta Malla, king of Batgaon in Nepal, grant by virtue of the following to all European Fathers to enable them to preach, teach, and convert to their Religion the people subdued to us, and women equally. We allow our subjects permission to embrace the Law of the European Fathers without of their being molested neither by us nor by those who have some authority in our kingdom. The Fathers will receive none of our loathing and will not be prevented in their ministry. However all this must be done without violence and of a pure and free will. Thus it is, Casinat, the Doctor was the writer. Grisanfrangh, Governor general confirms it. Bisorage, great priest, confirms and approves it. Given out in Nepal in the year 861 in the month of Margsies. Good-morning. Good wishes.

The opportunity even offered to Father de Recanati, to lay the foundation of a new auxiliary branch outside Nepal. The raja of Bettia who possessed a small domain at the outlet of the mountains, on the road to Hindustan, solicited by letter the establishment of a mission "written out at Battia in the year 184 in the month of Busadabi"²¹ "This letter, the decree of Ranjita Malla and other analogous documents, "were despatched to the Procurator General so that, as he accordingly did he handed them over to the Pope who received a great consolation and gave all these papers to the sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. His Holy Majesty decided to send at his own expense a few religious men. He wrote to the king of Battia a very beautiful brief (Pope's pastoral letter) ..., and He also took it as convenient to write another brief to the king of Bhatgaon in Nepal to thank him for the privilege

mentioned above and to convey to him the same exhortation. (As he did to the King of Battia?)

The mission at Battia was as a matter of fact founded in 1743 and given over to the charge of father Joseph Marei di Bernini da Garignano, who directed the affairs until the day of his death, in 1761.²⁴ The new mission was about to serve as a place of refuge to its elders. In 1745²⁵ the Chinese who were all powerful in Lhasa after having crushed the rising of 1736, inaugurated a campaign of systematic political exclusion regarding all strangers. The missionaries were compelled to fall back in Nepal and the highway from Lhasa to Kathmandu through Kuti, saw Europeans pass for the last time. The travellers of this unhappy caravan were Father Horace, prefect of the mission, Father Tranquillo of Appecchio²⁶, Father do Gargnairo (who had left Battia temporarily) and Father Paolo de Florence²⁷. They even forbade the unfortunate priests to bring away with them the indigenese they had converted. Immediately after their departure their monasteries were completely broken down. The venerable Father Horace de Penna who was for so many years the soul to the Tibetan mission, lived long enough to assist to the painful failure of his pious and patient efforts. Leaving Lhasa ill and already in a dying condition, carried on the back of men and often by his companions, through the breadth of the mountain, he arrived in Nepal on the 4th June, and forty five days after²⁸ he died at Patan, on the 20th. Of July 1745, at the age of 65. He was buried in the Christian cemetery which was located outside the walls of the town, in the North and which completely disappeared from existence without even leaving a local remembrance.

The Fathers of the mission have had engraved on the tomb a double epitaph, in Latin, and in the Nevar language; The Brahmin Bal-

govinda who was attached to the mission in the capacity of a professor of indigenese tongues, drew up the inscription in Nevarian. The "Alphabetum Tebetanum" reproduced a copy of this double text, worthy to hold the foremost rank of curiosities of the Nepalese Corpus.

In spite of their predilection for Patan, the Fathers had not then obtained the right of ownership when Father Horace died. At Kathmandu, they occupied since 1742 "a beautiful garden and an estate as large as four ordinary houses, with central courtyard." The chart of concession drawn up in the Nevar tongue, but filled with Sanskrit, is worth a reproduction here, for its particular interest and also as an excellent specimen of the over-scrupulous precision realised by the Nepalese land-surveyor.

"Hail The king Jaya Prakasa Malla -his head is dusty from the pollen of lotus which are the feet of the divine Pacupati; the saintly Manevari, his favourite divinity, has conceded him the favour of his graces which raises his dignity to the highest point of splendour; he is the decendent of the Rama race, he is the grain of beauty of the solar dynasty, he bears Hanumat as his standard, he is sovereign of Nepal, king sovereign of the great Kings, emperor and conqueror consents to assign as an establishment for the Padris Kapucinis (Capuchins) a beautiful garden located in the Cromtu Tol, at Sithali, in an unoccupied spot and furthestmost a quadrangular mansion with two stories (floors also). The boundaries of the plot are to the West of the house of Jaya Dharma Simha, to the south of the houses of Dhumju and of Curyadbana and of Purencvara, to the East and North of the great highway. And here is the extent of the land assigned for the house itself, the measurement usually fixed for four houses, plus 16 cubits (arm's length) 7 fingers in width and for the yard in interior of the house, three-fourths of the ordinary space of a house, plus 22 cubits and a half excluding a

path of acres, private, which measures the three-fourths of the superficial area of a houses, 22 cubits. For the garden, the area allotted is equivalent to that of 13 houses and three-fourths, plus 3 cubits and 4 fingers in width. These are the limits. Was a witness Rajya Prakaca Malla Deva, year 862, month margacira, fortnight clear, 10th day."

It was only twelve years later, in 1754, that the Fathers could obtain the same favour at Patan, under the short reign of the unfortunate Rajya Prakaca Malla, who had actually been a witness in the previous act. By virtue of a chart dated in the year 874, in the month of caitra, drawn up by the astrologer Kotiraja, with Candra Cekhara Malla Thakura as witness, the king Rajya Prakasa (to the same titles as above) "grants for the establishment of the Paoris Kapucinis a beautiful garden located in an open plot, outside and above the fountain of Tanigra Tol and also a quadrangular house of four stories. The boundaries are: to the West of the Route of the Char (of Matsyendra Natha) to the North of the path of Tava Bahal, to the East of the plot of Kayastha Kacingla, south of the house and grounds of Amvarasin Babu. In all, for the house, the area of 6 ordinary houses plus 38 square cubits and for garden, the area of 14 houses plus 21 cubits"²⁹

Fortune seemed to smile to the Capuchins; the catastrophe, however, was near at hand. The political revolution of 1768 which overthrew the small dynasties of the three capitals and which handed over the power in the hands of the Ghurkas was as much detrimental in consequence to the Nepalese mission as the revolution of Tibet to the Lhasa mission, by the application of the same political system. When the Ghurka's king Prithi Narayan besieged Katmandu, Fathers of the Mission were: Father Seraphin de Come, Father Mi-

chel-Ange of Tabiago, Jean-Albert de Massa and Father Joseph de Rovato. They must have already evacuated Patan where their house was too exposed to the fire of the besiegers. Once sheltered at Katmandu, the Fathers and their christians had not to suffer the rigours of a severe investment; Prithi Narayan allowed the entry in the town of victual necessary for their living: he paid back by this privilege the medical services rendered by the missionaries. Father Michel-Ange had succeeded in curing the very brother of Prithi Narayan, Surupa ratna, of a wound received in the storming of Kirtipur. This Father was besides son amicable terms with a son of Prithi Narayan. He had attempted but unsuccessfully to intervene on behalf of the inhabitants of Kirtipur, when the ferocious monarch had given the order to cut the nose and the lips of the whole population, irrespective of sex or age. All he could do was to attend with his associates in attending the wounds of the unfortunate victims of this barbarous vengeance.

The interference of the British in Nepal's affair, the despatch of a column under Major Kinlock, altered the dispositions of the Ghurka king with regard to the missionaries, he mingled in the same suspicion all European, began to intercept all letter addressed to the Fathers³⁰ and when became the master of the whole of Nepal, in 1769, he commanded the capuchins to leave the country with their converts. This final exode led the last remnants of the Tibetan mission. Bettia, beyond the Terrai, on the threshold of Hindustan. The mountain was closing up far ever behind them.³¹ After so many efforts carried on for sixty years, the pastors were bringing away a ludicrously small number of sheep. Captain Alexander Rose who visited the mission at Bettia towards the middle of the year 1769, found the prefect surrounded by "two miserable families which he

called his converts.³³

The result of sixty years of predications, expenses of voyages between Rome and the Himalaya, was at least, ordinary. Science had not advanced more than had religion. The Capuchins had found an exceptionally favourable position under the dynasty of the Malla, the road of Lhasa opened, Nepal welcoming, Buddhism flourishing, the country prospering, science and art respected, literature well received. So many advantages however, remained fruitless. To measure what it has cost science the unskilfulness and thoughtlessness of the Capuchins, one must only recall the circumstances where towards 1820 the Englishman Hodgson undertook his works on Nepal.

The country conquered by the Gurkas was strictly closed, Buddhism disgraced and fallen; suspicion, violence, brutality were all powerful; the ruins of the plunder continued as an impediment to the town which was ransacked; and however, the persevering toil of one man alone, undertaken and pushed ahead under such difficult auspices, revealed to Europe the literature, the religion, a considerable chapter of human history. A strange fatality which is perhaps not disconnected with the disastrous negligence of Franciscan communities, has again been intent on the few monuments of their mediocre activity. Father Horace de Penna, the best gifted of all "had translated in Italian, Tibetan books transmigration and composed books in Tibetan, as well as in the Newar writing or Nepalese, to know a dictionary Tibetan-French of 35000 words, with a dictionary French-Tibetan an adaption of the Manuel of Cardinal bellarmin and of the Treasures of Christianity by Turlot,³³ there exists³⁴ only the letters on Tibet, so precious by the way, gathered and published by Klapproth.³⁵ Father Constantion d'Ascoli had

compiled in 1747 "Remarks on a few customs, sacrifices, and idols of the kingdom of Nepal, which was still preserved in Rome in 1792 in the library of the Propaganda."³⁶ The Manuscript which was ornamented with drawings has since disappeared.

Mr. de Gubernatis, who has searched for it without success, has found in the Library, Victor-Emmanuel, an abstract of this document, reduced to a simple index of chapters he has had it published with the help of the documents of Marco della Tomba.³⁷ Father Joseph of Ascoli and Father Francois de Tours who were the first to enter Lhasa in 1707-1709, had written a summary of their voyage³⁸ Father Tranquillo d'Appecchio who was Prefect of the mission in 1757³⁹, had also drawn up a diary of the track.⁴⁰ The summary and the diary have been lost. Father Cassien de Macerata had gathered "abundant notes on Nepalese and the Tibetans, their customs, their literature their religion,⁴¹" these notes have been lost.⁴² The only work sprung up directly from the Nepalese mission and which has been preserved for us, is the "Description of the kingdom of Nepal Father Giuseppe, Prefect of the Roman mission.,

This was handed over by John Shore to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in the second volume of the "Asiatic" Researches" in 1790.⁴³ The Description was drawn up after the Capuchins had left Nepal; The author bears testimony to his being an ocular witness in the setting up of events which has prepared and brought about the conquest of the country by the Gurkas up to the capture of Patan. We then gained, he adds, that we had to withdraw with all the christians in the British possession." Father Giuseppe de Garignato, to whom one often attributes this version is forcibly without reason; we know through Father Marco

della Tomba that he died in 1760, ⁴³ in the mission of Bettia which he had founded. The person ordinarily designated as Father Guiseppe, at the head of the "Description" is without any doubt Father Joseph de Rovato ⁴³ one of the four missionaries who witnessed the final disaster and brought away into India the remnants of the mission.

Father Joseph was no man to interest himself in the antiquities of the country: he did not believe playing with the demon. Captain Rose has drawn up a cruel description. "I met by chance the few Italian missionaries who were recently expelled from Nepal. I flattered myself in being able to obtain useful informations from them; I was badly deceived; their prefect, who seemed to be the cleverest, was not able to give me the slightest information on a locality or an object situated outside the town wherein he lived. And yet had lived in the country for twelve years. But, to show me his missionary zeal he told me that he burnt 3000 manuscripts during his sojourn there. It is a lucky fortune that the poor Capuchin has not had the occasion to exercise any longer on the Nepalese collections his pious ravages. The meeting of Father Joseph and of Captain Rose on this corner of forlorn earth, contrasted in a sharp episode the two tendencies of the XVIIIth. Century - Rose represented the Encyclopaedia and foretold the generation, in the near future of the first "Indianists." Busy with a topographical chart of the Terrai, he had immediately attempted to snatch from the still mysterious past of India a part of her secret. I found among the mountaineers" he wrote to a friend, "several manuscripts among others a history 3000 years old. I am convinced that in order to find out the real ancient history of the country, one must perforce refer to the books written in the language of the country: I am valiantly attempting at present to translate several

"Father Joseph would have condemned these words, but William Jones would have willingly countersigned them.

Father Joseph wrote outside Nepal but on personal recollections. Father Marc della Tomba had only for treaties on Nepal and of Tibet, those informations gathered and communicated by the other Capuchins of the mission. Reaching India in 1756, Eather Marc remained attached to the house at Battia from 1758 to 1768; he had already left when the christians from Nepal came in search of a shelter. In spite of his keen desire to visit Nepal, to which place he was destined as early as 1762, he was obliged to stop on the promised-Land without the happiness of entering into it. He would have been useful to science, since he loved to instruct himself and had not vowed to the manuscripts that ultra-republican hatred of Eather Joseph's. He read and analysed a certain number of Indian works, chosen with good taste or pleasure; one of these texts, interesting for the study of Nepalese Buddhism; the Buddha Purana, is only known to-day by the account of Father Marc. From Bettia he proceeded at first to Patna, then to Chanderngore there he embarked in 1773. In 1774 he reached Paris whence he returned to Rome. His documents preserved in the Museum Borgia have been recovered and published by the head of "Indianism" in Italy, Mr. A. de Gubernatis.

But it is an Austin friar, residing at Rome, to whom is due the credit of having arranged the informations on Nepal and Tibet obtained from the Capuchin missionaries. Father Georgi has compiled them in that strange war machine directed against Manichaeism, which bears the surprising name of "Alphabetum Tibenanum" a polyglot medley, where in the linguistic resemble an obscure language, or scholasticism handles and falsifies

erudition. It is in this disconcerting medley that one discovers a complete tract-chart from Chandernagore to Lhasa through Nepal and a number of details, thrown in according to the controversy at the time, in connection with the divinities and the worship of Nepal.

From Chandernagore to Patna, the itinerary is double, one by land and the other by water. The missionary or the traveller, arriving from Europe lands at "Calcutta" and travels to Chandernagore where he re-embarks on a smaller boat to travel up the Ganges. The stages are worth mentioning one by one; they are really not connected, it is true with our subject but this chain of names bears the same eloquent melancholy as the ruins. It condenses in sharp outlines, the capricious game of nature and of politics on the soil of India. It has only needed one century and half to break down all these grandeurs. What will there remain in another century and a half, of the splendours of to-day?

Chandernagore, French colony, was a parish of the Jesuits; but a decree of the Propaganda had also conceded a convent and a Church to the Capuchins for their affairs with the Tibetan missions. From there to "Cionciurat" (chinsurah) Dutch colony, with a convent and a church of Austin Friars; then 'Bandel' and the fort of Hugli, once a Portuguese possession with a ruined monastery of Austins; "Saedabat" (Sayyidabad), French settlement; Calcapur, Dutch settlement; Casimbazar, British settlement (to-day deserted). "Moxudabat" (Maksudabad often called Murshidabad) residence of the Nabab, flourishing market-town with a population of 150000 inhabitants to-day 4000 inhabitants; the river has ceased to flow in the bed of the Bhagirathi; "Bagankola" (Bhagwangola higher up stream one joins the present bed of the Ganges,

then 'Godagari' magna accel euris' (a village of small boats); Mortusahanadi, "Raggmol" (Rajmahal) at the border between the Nabab of the Hugly and the Nabab of Behar; "sacrigal" (Sikrigali), fortress on the frontier of the kingdom of Bengal; "Galigali", in Behar; "Bhagalpur" (Bhagalpur); "Giankia"; "Gor-gat" impetu pene dirutum"; confluent of the Bagmati; "Mongher" (Monghyr); "Sita Kun" "Sive sitae Kunnus" (Sitakunda); "Surrggaraha" (Surajgarha); "Deriapur"; "Caladira" "Oppidum incolis frequentissimum" below stream of the confluent of the "Kandok" or "Kandak (Gandaki), which comes from Turrut (Turhut); "Patna", with a monastery of Capuchins, French factories, also English and a population of 1 million souls. In all 900 M. P. (milliers de pas-thousand paces; 8 days of navigation to come down 40 days to go up Chandernagore.

The road by land bifurcates at Casimbazar, passes through (Moxudabat" M P 11, "Saraidivan" XIV, "Aurangabad" XXII, "Sarcebad" XVI "Raggmol" XIV, "Sacrigalid" XVII, "Sanbad" XVIII, "Colson" XXIV (Colgong), "Basalpur" XXIV (Bhagalpur), "Sultan-sense XVII, "Safiesevad" XVIII, "Navabgansa" XXVIII, Tersanpur" XXVI, "Bahr" XX, "Daicentpur" X (Baikantpur), Patna X; in all 350 thousand paces.

From Patna starts the road of Nepal and of Tibet. At first one goes up the "Kandak" (Gandaki) by boat for a whole day up to "Singhia" (Singeah) on the left bank of the Gandaki, Dutch settlement. The rest of the journey is done by land. At a thousand paces from Singhia, "Lalganj"; then "Patara" VII, Dubiaj VI, Shain XIV (Maisi, on the right bank of the Buri Gandaki). The Capuchins took five days to reach this place from Patna. It is the last town in Hindustan when one crosses over to Nepal. The raja of Bettia possesses the town and pays a tribute of 10,000-

rupees To the Moghul. (Georgi wrongly identifies it with Motigar of Grueber's itinerary, owing to Mutigar being Motihari situated to the N. N. W.) Then "Kalpaghur" XIV; "Barrihua" XVI, which is the frontier of the Mogul Empire.⁴⁵ One crosses after this on the territory of the rajah of "Maquam-pur"; and through a thick forest of 28 thousand paces in width, and 100 in length from E. to W; Elephants, rhinoceroses, tiger and bisons roam in there and many other wild animals so that one really runs the risk of death. At night big fires are carried on the four corners of the Palanquin, shouts, beating of drums, musket shots are resorted to, to frighten away the tigers. But the carriers and the guides who are idolaters makes use of superstitions figures and of magical charms. The hunting of the wild animals give the rajah of Manquampur a profitable income. In the depths of the forests one discovers a number of ruins; they are, so rumour says, the remains of the great and antique town of "Scimangada." Many stories have been woven on this town, and a plan engraved on a stone on the great square at Batgas (Bhatgoan) is still there to be shown one. Old coins are also found, but rarely, which resemble her in construction in the shape of a labyrinth.

(Scimangada is the town of Simraun or Simaraun Garh where king Harisimha reigned before conquering Nepal, and whence he was expelled by the Musulmans)

"Hetonda" or "Hedonda" is a famous town and a garison on the limit of the kingdom of Maquam-pur. The country of "Maquam-pur" all forests, extends from E W between the two kingdoms of "Nekpal" and "Bettia."

"Giorgium" (Jurjur) at the foot of the mountains of Maquam-pur XV.

The chariots and the muleteers stop there.

For the purpose of carrying goods and all other materials of the journey, only porters or carriers can be used right up to the limit of the Tibetan kingdom. They are called "Baria" in Hindustani. Every year, during April, a sickness named "Olla" (Aoul) attacks (prevails) the indigene as well as on the foreigner. It spreads over the whole country from Hindustan to the frontiers of Nekpal; it completely vanishes at the end of November. Many people, especially those inhabiting the low lying lands and swampy regions, die of this disease; all night one must remain indoors with closed windows and during the duration of the scourge, emigrate elsewhere and climb high enough on the mountains to breath a more salubrious atmosphere. In spite of all these precautions one sometimes does not escape the evil; there are some people who in spite of a charge of sojourn and of better skies, carry with them the morbid germ and are eventually infected. Those who have escaped once, can, with impunity live in the country in all seasons and move about on the roads during the full strength of the epidemic. The first symptoms of the disease are a violent ague, deprivations of all strength; then one suffers with a very violent headache; hemorrhages follow and the end is not distant.⁴⁷

Besides the kingdom of Nekpal is subject during the whole year, to epidemics of small pox or measles, indigenous tongue "Sizila." To prevent the contagion from spreading into Tibet, the Governor of the neighbouring province takes drastic measures, because the disease once introduced, plays ravages in this population which is not naturally subjected to it.

All along the route one sees monkeys peacocks, parrots, doves, and green pigeons and other birds that please the eye and mitigate the difficulties of the road. One should take care not to kill monkeys; to kill a monkey is a sacrilege, likewise in the killing of a cow;

to expiate for its death, the life and blood of the murderer must be given.

"Posse": Aldea. VI.

"Maquampur" is outside the track at 10 thousand paces from

"Posse". "Her plane harridum"

"Thegain: castrum. X

This is the boundary of the rajah of Maquampur's domain.

"Bagmati": Sacred river of the Nekpal kingdom

"Kakoku": Watercourse

"Khua": village which is dependent on the rajah of patan. XIV. One can compare the construction of buildings and walls with our style at Home.

The kingdom of "Nekpal" is entirely divided into three dynasties: "Patan", "Batgas" and "Katmandu". The three kings reign each on their own territory proper; but they hate one another so intensely that they continually wage war and bear implacable enmity to one another. The tradesmen and other travellers who arrive from Hindustan in crossing through "Khua". With the intention of going to "Batgas" are warned by the "Pardan" (Pardhana) who is the mayor, proceed towards "Patan". The people of Patan hope to "carry on" in this way during war time and protect public security and the entry of taxes. Between Khua and Batgas the road is an easy and comfortable one, through charming hills.

There are six turrets along the track to Patan, with guard-houses.

Father Marc traces another itinerary which also leads to Nepal, but starting from Bettia. "One travels towards the N. E; for

three days one travels through a region of tall grasses, which is the large of tigers, bears, rhinoceroses and bisons. No large roads are met with, but little tracks which are hardly recognizable. One reaches last the foot of the hills where stands a small mountain fort called "Parsa", which is on the forests; it is there that travellers must pay the revenue. From Parsa still more forests have to be crossed and "Bisciacor" is reached in the evening, which stands at the place where a stream comes down the mountain sides; the night is spent here to be safe from tigers; to this effect great fires are lighted and a sharp look-out is kept. The mountains begin from there. A halt is made at "Etonda" on the second night, where ends the kingdom of "Mecnampur", which one leaves on the right. It is there that in 1763, the army of Casmalican, proceeding furtively for the conquest of Nepal, mistook one road for the other. At Etonda they went to the right found themselves in Macnampur, assailed one of the three fortresses which defend Macnampur. They could not capture it because one man only and two women who were in it defended themselves valiantly. With stones only they compelled men to retire. Two days later five more men and a month after another five men entered the fort. Then these twelve men alone made a night sortie, fell on the Musulman outposts and killed a thousand persons; others threw themselves in precipices to such an extent that the army of Casmalican lost on that night 6000 persons of the bravest and was compelled to fall back on the following day, without any harm be falling them from these people: they assured them that if they evacuated the mountains within three days well and good, but if they delayed any further, nobody would escape, because they would close the defiles and massacre them all.

"From Bettia to Nepal, the Journey takes eight days. (Father Marc traces in derail the

dangers of malaris which makes the crossing of the Terrai impossible from mid March to mid-November) From "Etonda" which consists of a few huttings for the protection of the said spot and whence comence the kingdom of Nepal, in persueing the jouruey, there is no other path than that of the bed of a stream which comes from the North and flows to the west; this stream, or rather this ditch which runs in and out of the lofty escarpments, is only two feet wide in the dry season; at other seasons, in is impracticable. It is filled with rocks and large stones which fall down daily from the heights above the waters are very rapid. A whole day must be spent in the bed fo this stream crossing and recrossing it thirty five times. At the end of the stream one climbs a mountain in the midst of which stands the first spot of Nepal, called "Bimpedi" and on the summit of the said mountain stands another fort called "Sisapani" where flows a very cool and limpid stream which the people have named "Eau de plomb" (lead water). Then ascending for two days the last spot of the mountains is reached, named "Tambacani" (copper mines in considerable quantities), strong and difficult place to cross and well fortified to attentively observe the travellers; the position is such that ten men can easily repulse with stones only, 20000 other men. After crossing several more small mountains well covered with trees, the valley of Nepal extends to the view."⁴⁸

The road from Hindustan to Nepal has, since the days of the Capuchins, been fairly often travelled over by Europeans; the road from Nepal to Tibet has remained, on the contrary, obstinately closed to Europeans since the passage of the missionaries. The informations they have left behind on this part of the track are then particularly precious and beserve to be gathered carefully. It is Georgi's compilation which has embodied the essential portion,⁴⁹ the notes borrowed by Father Marc from the diary of Father Tranquille have only a passable interest.

From "Kathmandu" to "Sanku", XII. One thousand paces. All those who wish to travel from Hindustan to Tibet, must perforce pass by "Sanku" ("Thus Sanku is the bone of contention between the hings of Nepal", says Father Cassien). From "Sanku" to "Langur" (a villa) VIII M. P. (thousand paces). The track drawn up towards the N. -E. is very difficult, the river of "Koska" must be crossed by boat (evidently the Malamcha or Indravati, the most western of the seven kuis, "Koska" is perhaps or Kancikal). From "Langur" to "Sipa" (a farmhouse) XVIII M. P. (Ciopra is certainly as error of writing for the word Ciotra, viz, Chantara or Chantariya, first stage after Sipa), One crosses the river of Kitzhik (Mangdia Kola of Kirkpatrick's map (or chart) and one reaches the bungalow of "Nogliakot", XX. M. P., One meets many "caityas", many stones on which is engraved the formula "Om mani padme hum", and a pagoda where a pious Buddhist woman turns the wheels of Prayer.

Then Paldu at VIII M. P. (Thousand paces), the road goes more to the North. Lastly "Nesti" (Listi), bungalow, for and garison on the boundary of Nepal, VI. M. P.

Then a country inhabited by Tibetans, at the feet of the mountains, 11 M. P. Two miles from there, one has to climb up and descend narrow ladders made of stones and moving, all along the lofty rock sides and constantly on the edge of a dreadful precipice. Below, valleys, pasture-grounds, swampy fields where rice is cultivated. Then 'Dunna', bungalow (Dhoogna of Kirkpatrick's, Tuguna of the indigenous itineraries), XIV M. P. The track goes directly North. The roads are very narrow on abrupt (or steep] slopes, and circle constantly round the extremely lofty mountains. Often remote and detached rocks are connected by over changing bridges without any lateral support. One must cross these small and shaky bridges of poles and branches, twelve times. The terror of the traveller

is increased by the sight beneath, of immeasurable" abysses and the hearing of the thunder of the waters that flow at the bottom amongst stones. There is one particular spot which is difficult, which strikes terror in the heart of the timid or the novice, so much the fear of falling increases for them the risk of a fall. It is a projecting rock on a frightful declivity opening over the precipice, of about 16 feet in length, and ever so much more slippery by the waters, trickling from above, washing and polishing it. Hollows have been scretched and hewn into the rock at every foot, which the travellers can place if not the whole foot at least the ball of the foot.

"The river "Nohotha" suddenly springs out impetuously between two mountains. The bed is 100 feet large and even more. One crossed by a bridge of long chains which is very strong. People step on the platform with security supporting themselves, on the right and on the left with the help of two chains solidly made fast to rocks on both sides. But the motion of undulation, especially when it combines with frequent jerks as is the case when several persons cross at the same time without keeping the same step, some going, some coming, inspires a hardly bearable terror.

"Khanša", bungalow (khasa, khangsa) XVI M. P. The road goes straight to the North, as narrow as on the eve and still more dreadful. Twenty nine foot-bridges to cross on enormous crevices of rocks, and the sides of clamber are as dizzy and still more numerous. Here begin the mountains covered with snow. (The treaty of 1792 between China and Nepal had fixed the frontier at this point on the road to Kuti).

"Scinscha" or Chuscha "locality of about twenty families (chosyang). Very cold region it is watered by a river on the eastern

bank of which is a gushing stream of warm water; the warm water gathers up in several ditches or hollows, like in thermal baths. The indigenes plunge and remain long in them, to warm up their frozen limbs. The track is, as on the eve, steep and exposed to dangers, because one climbs up continuously barren and snow-clad mountains, with the river Nohotha" flowing at the bottom amidst rocks. Finally one reaches "Kuti" or even perhaps "Kuti", the limit and northern garrison of Nepal. She once belonged to the kingdom of Nepal,⁵⁰ but the three petty kings have yielded her to the Tibetans when the road to Hindustan through Nepal was opened.

At one time; the road to Tibet "Bramascion" (Sikkim], and this old track was easier and more comfortable. The people from Hindustan could cross with their beasts of burden and carry by a shorter path their goods into Tibet. But the travellers died in greater numbers from the attacks of the 'Olla' [Acut, malaria] which raged in epidemic form at all seasons. The path opened by Nepal permits one to escape this danger four or even five months in the year from November to April. The carriers who return from Nepal are made to bring away a fixed quantity of salt, in the interest of the country, owing to the scarcity of salt.⁵¹

From 'Kuti' one travels on beasts of burden or on horseback although in nearing Lhasa, the heights always keep ascending towards the North. The only difficulty which exists is due to the extreme altitude which affects the beasts as well as the people each time one crosses a chain of mountains; but the valleys are spread verdant and populated.

One month's journey takes one from "Kuti to Lhasa"⁵²

The description of Father Marc, according to Father Tranquille, neglects the indications of stages and emphasizes on the dangers of the

Journey; "From Nepal to proceed to Lhasa, capital of the Great-Tibet, and where we had a monastery the track extends towards the N.-E. through mountains, rivers and forests so difficult in crossing that neither bullocks nor asses can pass. This is the reason why the merchants of Nepal who correspond greatly with Lhasa have no other means of carrying their goods than on their own backs, or on certain goats that are big and that carry a passable weight. Mountains are ascended and descended and streams crossed with difficulty, which streams, among such mountains, are gushing torrents, filled with large rocks and stones, particularly at one spot where one has to cross a chain of those badly connected here and there, from one rock to another, whilst the torrent flows at a depth which make one dizzy to look at. Well certain travellers blindfold themselves and have themselves tied to a plank which is well fastened to the chains, and thus they cross over by the dexterity of an expert indigene. In rambling thus for ten days and finding only a few inhabited spots one arrives eventually at a town named "Cuti" situated on a barren mountain where ends the territory of Nepal and commences that of Tibet." At this place a complete and sudden change of climate; intense cold suddenly prevails and snow and ice form. Another month's rambling from this spot, through other mountains covered with snow the whole year round, but by an easy and inhabited road, so that every way one finds inhabited spots where one can procure himself with all essentials and one can travel comfortably at little expense.

One must, however, take great care of the waters, which ordinarily cause dropsy; this is why they must first be boiled or mixed with any liqueur or (sprit) "

Besides the old path from India to Tibet through Sikkim, mentioned by Georgi, the missionaries knew of another path through the country of the Kiratas. "Several of the older mis-

onaries has been through it several times, "From evidence by Father Marc; "but they have left an account of it in writing, that the road is a very difficult one unknown and full of dangers and that was the main reason of it having been neglected for many years. "It most probably concerns the Hatia pass through which the Aran enters into Nepal or the more Easterly pass of Wallanchun, also called Tipta-la. But the Capuchins seemed to have completely ignored the Kirong pass (Tibetan "Kyi-ron" dog's neck) which has, by the way never been crossed by any explorer, be he European or Indian. The pass is, however, reputed of being the easiest between Katmandu and Lhasa, It only rises to a height of 3000 metres and is even practicable to horses. The Nepalese Embassy who every five years carries the tribute to the Chinese court crosses kuti on his departure and kirong on his return to enable him to bring away into katmandu the ponies offered as a gift by the Emperor of China, It is also through the kirong pass that the Chinese troops, already in possession of kuti, penetrated into Nepal in 1792. The reciprocal distrust between the Nepalese and the Tibetans has mutually agreed to close this pass, by reason of its accessibility, in order to avoid and prevent on both sides, too easy ventures.

The death of Prithi Narayan, in 1775, eight years after the expulsion of the Capuchins, did not change one iota of the severe policy of isolation adopted by the Ghurkas. From Bettia, their retreat, the missionaries watched uselessly the revolutions of the palace which were succeeding at Kathmandu. They longed for opportunity persisted in concealing itself. One day, however, the Fathers thought they had discovered it. Bahadur Sah, who was acting as regent during the minority of his nephew Rana Bahadur Sah, grand-son of Prithi Narayan, was overthrown by a court intrigue and retired in exile in Bettia. He took an interest in mineralogy and in metallurgy owing to the Practical advantages

which he hoped to derive. The Father offered to instruct him, provided he became a Christian. He replied, with sarcastic good humour, that his rank absolutely forbade him to accept this condition, but that he was willing to give as a compensation two or three men who would, after all make as good Christians as he would. The Fathers in their turn refused the exchange; and the regent surmised that they had intended to dupe him whilst boasting of a science of which they knew nothing.⁵⁴

Twenty four years have elapsed without a single European being admitted to visit Nepal. However, the British Company of the Eastern Countries of India, already holding full sway over an immense kingdom and all powerful in the Hindustan since the ruin of its French rival, was pre-occupying itself with the mysterious kingdom which held control over the defiles between India and Tibet and which on vague rumours was understood to be "a new El Dorado".⁵⁵ Already a first attempt at intervention had failed; in 1768 the three kings of Nepal threatened by the Ghurkas had solicited British help; but the detachment sent to their aid under the orders of captain Kinloch, decimated by malaria from the Terra, rambling without guide in the labyrinth of the first valleys was eventually obliged to a disastrous retreat. Warren Hastings the first and the most glorious of Governor Generals in India, aspired to open out to British trade Central Asia, without having recourse to force of arms; he set up diplomatic relations with Bhutan and Tibet. Nepal remained impenetrable.

Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) set himself to the task of continuing Hasting's work. In 1792, a first result was obtained: the British resident at Benares, Jonathan Duncan, signed, together with the representative of the Nepalese Darbar, a treaty of commerce, des-

igned to always remain a dead letter. (1st March 1792).⁵⁶ The goods crossing from one of the countries to the other had to pay a customs duty of 2 and a half per cent. Shortly after this, war broke out between Nepal and Tibet; the Dalai Lama called to his help the Emperor of China, his temporary defender. The Ghurkas had to fall back in the face of a vast army gathered from Tartary and implored the help of the Bengal Government. Lord Cornwallis was perplexed. He saw with satisfaction the humiliation of the Ghurkas and the weakening of a power he dreaded; but he cared much about the disappearance of a buffer state and the Chinese authority settling on the very boundary of the British possession; in short he feared of compromising by too active an intervention, the Anglo-Indian trade with canton. He decided on a moderate course. He instructed Captain Kirkpatrick to proceed to Nepal and act as a mediator between the two adversaries. But the Chinese and the Ghurkas was equally repugnant to the idea of having a third party in their quarrels; they hastened to conclude peace in September 1792. Kirkpatrick's mission was not even on its way.

Lord Cornwallis not wishing to lose all the benefits of the opportunity which had offered itself summoned the Ghurkas to officially receive his plenipotentiary, in return for the good disposition he had shown during their distress. The Ghurkas vainly attempted to drag the controversy as long as possible; they had to abide by it. On the 13th February 1793, Kirkpatrick entered Nepalese territory accompanied by a guard of honour under the commandment of Bhima Sah and Rudra vira Sah, members of the royal family. He proceeded by small stages towards Nayakot, where the king resided in his winter quarters; sojourned from the 2nd to the 15th of March, crossed afterwards into the valley of Nepal; camped from the 18th to 23rd at

Syambhunath near Katmandu; took on the 24th the road to return, and entered the British possessions at Segowli on the 3rd of April 1792. He remained a month and a half on Nepalese territory; of these fifty days, were spent in travelling, and twenty at different places; fifteen at Nayakot and five at Syambhunath-Katmandu. His personal including himself, comprised lieutenant Scott, assista lieutenant W. D. Knox, commander of the military escort,

lieutenant J. Gerard attache, surgeon Adam Freer and of Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan who had already taken part in the preparation of the commercial treaty of 1792, and residing for that purpose at Katmandu. The Company had in its service so fortunate that the mission was able to bring away from this short visit a treasure of substantial and precise informations. The work in which they have been compiled only appeared eighteen years later, in 1811, and under conditions that risked to prejudice it; Kirkpatrick returning to England in 1803 had handed over his rough and unpublished notes to an editor who gave them to the care of a learned man for the compilation of a book.⁵⁷ The learned man died before the impression of the volume, Kirkpatrick did not see the proofs. The editor, Miller, had to manage alone. However, in spite of evident errors that disfigures especially the propernames, the work still holds a considerable value, it demonstrates a popular curiosity, the

sagacity of observation, the sure course of information. It embraces all questions relative to Nepal: religion, language, social institutions, administration, history Geography, it gives an inventory of knowledge which has unfortunately disappeared since, and the worth of which was made evident by subsequent researches. It further contains an itinerary, drawn up and described with care, of the routes followed in going and returning, and a map of Nepal, traced by lieutenant Gerard partly on the informations from the mission, partly from the indications of indigenes. The path to the mission is clearly visible on this map: in going it is at first parallel to Georgi's itinerary which it closely follows, crosses over the Terrai in the vicinity of the ruins of Simraun-garh, passes through Jhurjbury (Giurgiar of G.), Makmampur-mari, then it rejoins at Etonda (Hetaura) the itinerary given by Father Marc. and follows it up to chitlong and the pass of Chandragiri, but instead of descending in the valley of Nepal, it extends to the west, runs alongside (on the outside" of the line Gandak; and ends up at Noakota (Nayakot) from there by an easy path it enters in the valley of Nepal crosses it from north-west to south through Katmandu, Patan and Phiphing, takes the exterior curve of the valley in the centre, rejoins, at Marku the road that leads up, and mingles then with the road actually in use up to Segauli. in the British possessions.

To be Continued

FOOT NOTE

1. Voyages into Tibet undertaken in 1625 and 1626 by Father Anandra and in 1774, 1784 and 1785 by Bogle, Turner, and Pournuir, translated by Parrand and Billecoq. Paris, in the years IV; p. 65 (Relation of the second voyage of Father: Anandra).
2. Cf. Huc, II. p. 262 mentioned lower down, on the Pe-bound of Lhasa.
3. Alpha Tibet p. 203.
4. The letter to P. J. Gamans bears, instead of Derville, "Albert de Bouville.
5. This is the date mentioned by Kircher's summary. The letter to father Gamans fixes the date of departure from Pekin on the 13th April 1661.
6. And eleven months elapsed since the departure from Pekin, from, the same letter. Their arrival at Agra then falls in March 1662. Kircher's summary says, elsewhere, that taking into consideration the stoppages of the caravans, it will need at least one year and two months from Pekin to Agra.
7. "China illustrata", Ch. 11, 2nd. part. -The various documents relating to the voyage of Grueber are assembled in the "Relations of various curious Voyages . . . given to the public by the cares Melchisedec" Thevenot. Paris, 1663, - 1672, I. 11. 2nd. part.
8. Hamilton, p. 151. Father Horace de Penna mentions "Maronga and Nekpal" as forming the western limit of the kingdom of "Bramashor" (Sikkim) (Brief notes of the kingdom of Tibet). In reality "Moran" is like Terai a generic term given to the lowlands which border the Himalays in the South; but Morang is rather in use in the Eastern part and Terai in the central part, - If it is difficult to explain why the name of Maranga is attributed in our text, to the country of Makwanpur, it is impossible to understand how a misunderstanding could have arisen between this country and the kingdom of Radoc (Rutock) evangelised by Adrada. Whoever be the author responsible for this confusion, whether Grueber personally or Kircher his interpreter, it is nevertheless disconcerting.
9. "Udeza, the riconosce per luogo pin celebre Iekandar" Tosi Delle India Orientale descriptione . . . Rome, 1666 p. I. p. 45.- Iekandar, is in reality the famous temple of Jagannath; as Udeza as Udessa, is the approximative reproduction of "Udadeca". Udessa" is here, as is frequently the case at the same period, distinct from the Orixia, another designation for the same country.
10. "The six voyages of Jean-Baptisti TAVERNIER . . . at paris; MDCXCII, 2nd. part, Ch. XV.
11. "Ib", Ch. XIV, end,- The mountains of Naugrocot are the Himalayas. Naugrocot,

under its modern form. Nagarkot, is a temple and a famous pilgrimage of the country of Kangra, which is situated to the west of Simla, in the South-East of Cashmere. In the XVIIIth century the name is extended to the whole chain which separates India from Tibet.

12. Only recently (1902) a Jeweller of Paris has fashioned an object of worship intended for the Great-lama of Tibet and made of coral from Nepalese. The object has been exposed in the Guimet Museum.

13. In default of special indications, the informations on the mission of the Capuchins in Tibet are borrowed from the following work.. (This is not French)..-

I am indebted for the communication of this very rare volume to the amiable obligingness of Mr. Cordier, professor to the School of Eastern Languages. -The German text is the translation of an Italian original, which has for title. (This is Italian..) neither a compositor's nor an editor's name. -My friend, Mr. Felix Mathien, has very willingly examined for me the exemplary of this work which is now at Grenoble, Bibl (Library) of the town, G. 1491 (Catal. 2nd vol., No. 20438) and to establish the agreement of the two compilations on points that interest me.

14. Several of the dates that I give, differ from those given by Mr Markham in the excellent introduction of his volume on 'Tibet'. According to Mr. Markham, Desideri must have remained in Lhassa up till 1729. This is certainly an error, because the extract from his diary mentioned by Mr. de Gubernatis, shows that he left Katmandu in returning from Tibet to enter definitely into India on the 14th January 1722, which agrees well with all the other informations. - On the other hand, Mr. Markham shows the arrival of

Father Horace de Penna and his associates at Lhasa in 1719, by the way of Nepal. I ignore from where this date comes from, but I am aware that the epitaph of Horace de Penna bears that he died in 1747, "after 33 years of sojournment in these regions" which determinates his arrival in 1714. Likewise the "Missio Apostolica" mentions the return of the same Father in Rome in 1738, after twenty years of apostelship practice, which bears again on the same date of departure: 1714: In short according to the same works, the monastery of Katmandu was founded by the Capuchins in 1715.

15. "Missio Apostolica"..., II, p. 49 and also p. 172.

16. On Desideri's travels, see. Puni, "Rivista Geographica Italiana" December 1900

17. Ginghir Khagn (Gengis Khan) is none other than Latsan Khan, chieftain of the Khoshotes, mentioned a little above. V. Koepfen, "Die Religion des Buddha", II, 190. n. I- Telcihin Bathur (Teldjin Bagathur) was an ex minister of this prince Cf. KOEPPEN II, 196, n. 3.

18. The whole passport is published in "(This is Italian)" 12 pages small in- 4.- I have not seen the original work; my quotations are borrowed in the almost entire translation inserted in "Nouvelle Bibliotheque on Histoire litteraire des principaux ecrits qui se publient "T. XIV, January, February, March, MDCCXLIII, at the Haye, at Pierre-Gosse. p. 46-97. - The small book, Published through the care of the propanganda by the help of furnished informations by Father Horace de Penna had for its object, like the "Missio Apostolica" mentioned above, the attraction of subscriptions to the Tibetan mission. Father Cassien shows how these easily conceded privileges really worked-out in practice. The king of Tibet had given

to the small troupe of Fathers which was going to Lhasa a requisition which authorised them to provision themselves with fuel and fodder everywhere and at everybody's house, exempted or not exempted, privileged or not privileged. But, in practically all the localities the Fathers crossed, they found chi-fan equally in possession of authentic and explicit documents which exempted them expressly from all obligation in connection with requisitions; such was the case that from Kuti to Lhasa, the Fathers were provisioned only six or seven times.

19. He brought back with him a squad of new missionaries: Father Cassiano da Macerata, Father Floriano da Jesi, Father Innocenzo d'Ascoli, Father Tranquillo of Appecchio, Father Daniele da Morciano, Father Giuseppe Maria de Bernini da Gargnano, Father Paolo di Firenze. Leaving in March 1739 from Lorient, they arrived at Pondichery in August, at Chandernagore, the 27th September, at Patna in two groups on the 8th and the 16th December, at Bhatgaon on the 6th February 1740. Father Horace had to wait for Tibetan passports till the 4th October; he then proceeded on his way and reached Lhasa on the 6th January 1741. (*Memorie Istoriche*, p. 3-16)

20. According to what Father Cassien says, the king of "Batgao" had sent one of his relations to the house in Patna to ask for capuchins. Father Joachim da Santa Natoglia and Father Vito da Recana had come to his request and had "reopened the monastery abandoned for several years" in 1739. In 1740, he authorised the Fathers to erect on the "facades" of their houses, an iron cross. The Fathers of the house were then Vito da Recanati and Innocenzo of Ascoli, together with Father Liborio da Fernao.

21. The month of Margies or otherwise Marg-

acirsa in the year 861 (passed according to the usage), corresponds nearly to November 1740. The name of the king, Zaeryanegitta Malla, transcribes rather faithfully Jaya Ranajita Malla. - I have borrowed this document and the quotation which precedes it from the "Relazione del Principio e stato Presente."

22. The date of 184 is clearly in connection with one of the two eras built by Akbar and which commences from the day of his accession, era Fazli or era Ilahi. One and the other gives as equivalent 1740-1741 A.D.

23. "Relazione del principio..., etc.,"

24. The events that brought about the laying of this foundation are told in detail by Father Marco della Tomba. (Foreign tongue) on the Superior of the mission, the works of Father Cassien which I have already quoted under the abbreviated title of "Memorie istoriche" The full title is..., (Foreign... may be Italian) It is equally due to the extreme good-will of Mr. Cordier to whom I owe the communication of this work so difficult to find. Father Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano had arrived in India with Father Cassien in 1739. He resided for six months in Nepal, in the course of the year 1745, in coming down from Tibet, but without learning the indigenous language. He died at Battia on the 17th of January 1761. It was Father Marco della Tomba who attended him to the last. Father da Gargnano had desired to translate the four "Bed" (Vedas), but he was unable to procure them, He then translated "Adi adma Ramahen" (Adhyatma Ramayana), the Lhalec (? who described the eight incarnation of Visenu); the Vishnu Purana (Visnu Purana) and the Ghian Sagher (Jnana Sagara).

25. Father Cassien (*Relazione inedita*) gives precise dates: the 13th of August 1742 in

the face of the bad-will of the Tibetan king, the prefect of the mission decided to send away a few priests; three missionaries, with Father Cassien returned to Nepal. New exigencies compelled the rest of the mission to leave Lhasa on the 20th April 1745; The travellers reached Pattan on the 4th June 1745. Father Cassien repeats the same dates in his "Memorie Istoriche, p. 43- Marco Della Tomba gives a date very slightly different. "Prima avevamo un ospizio aperto in Lassa, dopo il 1744 non l'abbiamo piu. Nell' anno dunque sopradetto il Re Del Gran Tibet, vicino alla sua morte, volle rimettere la corona al primo de' suoi figli etc. "Outside the date, all the details noted down by Della Tomba are perfectly correct. The king in question is P'o-Io-nai otherwise also named Mi-wang, who died in 1746 and who had in fact as heir his second son in default of the elder who had declined the throne, as tells us della Tomba. According to Mr. Markham (Ioc. land., p. LXVI) the Capuchins were expelled from Lhasa, "in about 1760". However, the "Relation of" Bogle published by Mr. Markham himself, contains that the Teshu Lama, in a conversation with Bogle in April 1775 "told that the missionaries were expelled from Tibet about forty years ago, on account of some disputes with the fakirs. "(p. 167). It is true that the Capuchins must have attempted more than once to re-enter Nepal. Georgi (p.441) seem to clearly imply it; "Kal. novembris 1754, quo amo Lhasam adibant Pater Cassianus alique missionaru ex ordine Capuccinorum..."

26. Father Tranquillo had drawn up an itinerary of Nepal and of Tibet which Marco della Tomba made use of (Father Tranquillo Che molto a percorse quelle parti da Nepal at Tibet..., p. 55) After his expulsion from Lhasa, he remained for eighteen years in Nepal, and only left the country in 1763 to

return to Europe. (Marco della Tomba, p. 19)

27. "Memorie Istoriche p. 46.

28. The Latin inscription published by Georgi and which I reproduce on page 107 indicates as the date of the death of Father Horace: XX July MDCCXLVII. The Nevar writing on the other hand shows Samvat 865 asa 8 badi 6 agam, words that are translated by Georgi as follows: "Anno a solutis debitis 865, cycle (aacha) 8 LUN. deficient. 6 November (quo du Balgobinda scritis)" The last words, in parenthesis, are an annotation purposed to eradicate the evident contradiction of dates on one side and another. - But the date shown in indigenous computations seem to me unintelligible as well in the text as in Georgi's translation. It does not seem to me doubtful that one should read in the text itself: asadha. Badi 6. Instead of: asa 8. The letter Dha could have easily been taken for the figure 8 which closely resembles it in the devanagari writing of Nepal. The date must then be translated; Year 865, month asadha, 6th. tithi of the fortnight (black) - Now the month of asadha generally corresponds to July. The indication of the month coincides well on one side and the other. But Samvat 865 of Nepal cannot correspond to the year MDC-CXLVII; There exists here an express contradiction; 865 passed away (the years in Nepalese eras being generally counted as such) answers to the year comprised between October 1744 and October 1745; asadha 865 touches roughly to July 1745. The error, a priori, seems attributable rather to the Latin text, than to the Nevarian text, since the transcriber was more apt to modify the signs which were more familiar to him. But we can do better than only reach a probability. The Latin text expressly states that Father Horace was born in 1680 (MDCLXXX

Natus) and that he died in the course of his 65 th year (LXV an ageno); 65 years added to 1680 make 1745 of J. C. There is then no doubt that one should read MDC-CXLV instead of MDCCXLVII. - Besides Father Cassien (Relazione inedita et Memorie Istoriche) gives as a date, the 20 th July 1745. However this date of 20 th July also raised a difficulty; in 1745, the 20 th July corresponds to Saturday, 3d. thi-thi of the fortnight, clear of the month of Cravana, whereas the 6 th: asadha badi corresponds to the 8th July.

1. According to the narration of Father Cassien (Memorie Istoriche p. 20) the king of Katmandu had solicited the establishment of a "Monastery" when Father Joachim da Santa Natoglia had crossed the town in coming down from Lhash to convey the Holy Father a reply from the king of the Great-Lama. "Father Joachim dared not to refuse, through fear of exposing to sure perils the missionaries of Tibet, because the Fathers of the mission had to cross through Nepal, as also would, the wine, essential for mass, and many other indispensable things, He therefore assigned Father Innocent to Ascoli in charge of the monastery; and the king of the country gave the Fathers a house, a well, and a garden and had his donation gift engraved in copper, to render it irrevocable.

29. It is Hodgson who discovered these two charts at Dr. Hartmann's Catholic bishop of Patna and who had them published in the "Jour of the Bengal As. Soc. c. XVII, 1848, p. 228. As this volume is fairly difficult to find, one will perhaps not be thankful for my reproduction here of the texts of the two charts, as they were given by Hodgson.

1.- Svasti crimat pacupati carana kamala dhuli dhusarita ciroruha criman Nanecvaristadevatavaralabdhaprasada dedipyamana manonnata cri Raghuvamcavatara ravikula-

tilaka Hanumaddhvaja Nepalecvara maharajadhiraja rajendra sakalarajacakradhicvara nijestadevadevecvarikripakatakasapalita-vikramoparjita palanakarasarasudbhuta gajendrapati cri cri Iaya jaye prakaca Malla deva parama bhattarakanam samaravijninam pravuthakulasana vanarayata sacodam padrikapucini akraktatrocitibane nama prasadikrtam cromtutolasithalilannattajabaghanama samjnakam Jayadharma simhapanaganapaccimatah Dhumju curyadhana purnevarathava patiyahnasyagrhana daksinatah marganr purva uttaratah etesam madhye thvatecatraghatanadu saptamgulisardnasodacahastadhika catuh khaparimitam cukapatala sardhadvadacahastadhikatripadaramita lavopatala dvavimcati hastadhika tripadarimita pusavatika caturamguli trihastatripadadhika trapodacakhaparimitam amkato vicchaka 4 ku 16 angula 7 cukapatala cula 3 ku 12 lavopatala cula 3 kn 22 kavakha 13 cula 3 ku 3 amgu 4 tuthisovogulollprattaita cri cri navakasisaprsannajuya tatra patrarthe drstasaksi cri cri Rajya prakaca malla Deva Samxat 862 margacira cudi 10 cubham /

11- Svasti (protocle comme ci-dessus jusqu'a) Hanumaddhvaja Nepalecvara sakalarajacakradhicvara maharajadhiraja cri cri jaya Raja prakaca Malla Deva paramabhattarakanam sada samara vijayinam prabhuthakurrsana banarayata sacodam padrikapucini cvakravamgre gochidane namne prasadikritam Tanigratola iti phusacakalamcautajavagrhasamjnakam rathamargena paceimatah tabavahara one margana uttaratah kacimгла kayastyaya bhunya purvatah amvarasim vavuya grhabhunya daksinatah etesam madhye thvate carra ghatana dustatrimsabastadhika sasthikhaparimitam pusavatika ekavimcati hastadhikacaturdakhaparimitam amkato pi chekhasu 6 kusuyacma 38 kevakhaclaram api 14 kuniyache-

21. *bate yulo pratitacricrinavakasisaprasannajuya atra patrarthe dristasaksi cri candra cekhara Malla Thakura sam 874 caitra badi daivajne Kotirajena likhitam cubham.*
30. "Ib"., p. 25.
31. In 1857, Two French missionaries Messrs. Bernand and Desgodine attempted to obtain the authorization to pass through Nepal to reach Tibet; they solicited to this effect, the brother of the maharja who was at Darjeeling with them. The young prince replied bluntly. "For the time being it is impossible" He refused to give any reason for his refusal. "Tibet according to the correspondence of missionaries", by C. H. DESGODINS 2nd ed. Paris 1885 p. 35.
32. ROSE, "Briefe uber das Konigreich Nepal 1. 111 des Beitrage zur Volker und Landerkunde hersgbb. von. J. R. Froster und M.C, Sprengel". Leipzig 1783. 12- The letter that I am giving herewith is the second one. It is dated from Muradabad. "Bengale 20 th August 1769".
33. "Missio Apostolica", 11, p. 80-81- Georgi mentions the dictionary p. LVIII: "Lexicon.. Nekpal,"
34. Besides the translation of a little treatise on the paths of sagacity inserted in the publication of 1638; "alla sacra congregazione..."
35. Journal Asatique 2ud. series. vol. XIV.
36. Father Paulin de Saint-Barthelemy mentions one ms. in the "Examen Historic-criticum... Fide 'Rome, 1792. Before him, Amaduzio in the preface of the "Alphabetum Brahmanicum, Rome, 1771 equally mentions this ms. "At hos dein.... benemerentissimus" (P. XVIII)
37. "Gli Scritti" p. 300-304.
38. The author of the "Missio Apostolica" knew this document and had it in hand. He mentions in vol. 11, p. 5 his intention to have it published at the head of the third volume, which has never appeared.
39. Gli Scritti, p. 3.
40. Father Marco della Tomba makes use of this diary to describe the road from Bengal to Lhasa. "Gli Scritti" p. 55.
41. In testimony of Georgi. "Alph. Feb., p. 11.
42. Mr. Alberto Managhi has recovered a part in the communal Library of Macerata. The Manuscript has for title *Giornale di Fra.... in dne libri*. It was composed of two books; but only the first one remains, which particularly dealt with the itinerary between India and Lhasa, with a few indications on the habits and festivals of the Tebetan capital; the manuscript is decorated with drawings and water-colour paintings which represent object and practises of the Tibetan worships and of a map which shows the relative position of the three capitals of Nepal. It is from Father Cassien that Georgi has borrowed the illustrations of his "Alphabetum". *Tibenanum* The second book contained another series of notes on Tibetan customs (habits), the narration of the persecution which drove the Capuchins out of Tibet and the description of Nepal with the religion and the customs of the country. Unfortunately this book which would have particularly interested our researches, has disappeared. Mr. Managhi has partly analysed and partly cited the first book in the "Rivista Geographica Italiana", Nov, 1901 May 1902 under the title "Relazione inedita di un viaggio at Tibet."
43. Langles in the bibliographical note which he has added to the memorandum in the

Franch translation of the Asiatic (*Recherches asiatiques* vol. 11, p. 348) mistakes the "Description du Nepal" with the "Notizie laconiche" of Father Constantino d'Ascoli, which he only knew by the informations of Father Paulin de Saint-Barthelemy. The error has since often been repeated, in spite of even the evidence. The title of the "Notizie", brought away by Father Paulin, shows that they were gathered in 1747; the "Description" gives the events that took place between 1765 and 1769.

44. "Gli Scritti", p. 12.

45. The author of the "Description" says he made in Patan "a sojourn of about four years" and that "Delmerden Sah" governed the town when he arrived in Nepal. Dala Mardana Sah reigns in Patan from 1761 to 1765: Now Father Marc (*Gli Scritti*, p. 19) teaches us that in December 1763, Father Michel-Ange left Bettia for Nepal with the Father Prefect (*Tranquillo Appecchio*) and Father Joseph de Rovato. The mission had to evacuate Patan during the siege of this town to withdraw on Kathmandu in the course of the year 1767 (before the disastrous intervention of captain Kinloch, October - December 1767). The number of years that has passed coincides well with the time mentioned by the author of the "Description". The twelve years sojourn mentioned by captain Rose comprised probably the time spent by Father Joseph de Rovato at Bettia.

46. Father Cassien writes: Barikua. To the testimony of Father Cassien (*Riv. Geogr. Hal.*, 1901, 614), the itinerary of this region had for its main object the avoiding of Customs officials, "who attempted to extort as much as possible from the Nepalese, each time they came down to Hindu-

tan; no wonder the brothers carefully avoided all inhabited places to escape the severity of the *cioki* (customs); but in each place they passed, they always met them there, and it was then a case of endless contestations.

47. To vouch Georgi's evidence, one must read the description of the Great Forest and of the aoul which ravages the region, as is reported by Father Desideri (mentioned in " *Gli Scritti*" p. XCIII, XIX). Father Desideri crossed the Terrai in January and February 1722. Father Marc has also depicted the formidable dangers of the region (*Gli Scritti*, p. 48); he knew those dangers by experience, since he was nearly a victim. For having crossed the Terrai in December, in order to rejoin Major Kinloch who sent word to him with insistence (1767) he caught a putrid fever that held him sick for six months and from which he thought of never recovering (*Gli Scritti*, p. 25). The precautions he gives are worth mentioning: One must not drink the water from the region; one must keep a lump of camphor in the mouth. Besides, the country has not visibly changed since the XVIIIth century; but thanks to the British one can travel faster and thus remain less longer exposed to the dangers of the journey.

48. *Gli Scritti*", 46-50

49. This section of the itinerary is translated by Georgi almost exclusively from the " *Relazione*" of Father Cassien; The original is a little more elaborate, but without additional importance.

" *Riv*" *Geogr. Ital.* 1901, page 623 to 627

50. In fact, the Nepalese had secured Kuti under the reign of Laksmi Narasimha Malla, in the thereabouts of the year 1600, see, *Vamca.*, p. 211 212 and 237.

51. The "Relazione" of Father Cassien gives here, precise and important details on the commerce of Nepal and Tibet which Georgi had not gathered. "In order to close the road of Brhamascis, they have levied a customs charge of 1/10, so that if a merchant passes through Brhamascis with ten packages of merchandise, the customs officer takes one of those as duty paid, "ad placitum" without however opening it; such a heavy charge added to the danger of dying from the Olla, has definitively established the road of Tibet through Nepal; and owing to this charge of route, the Nepalese have given Kuti to the king of Tibet, under numerous advantageous conditions for both, such for example to tax all carriers (baria) who proceed, of a mandarmcli (The value of a mahendramalla of salt, which article is not found in Nepal; also that the Nepalese would install at Kuti, Gigaze, Gianze and Lhasa, an exponent of their religion for each of the three respective kingdoms of Nepal, who will Judge the civil cases of the Nepalese of their respective kingdoms, viz. one from Kathmandu, one from Batgao and one from Patan; that the coinage of Nepal be stamped silver which will be current in Tibet; and other similar conditions, especially that the king of Nepal will choose the chiefs of the regions between Nepal and Kuti, although the governors of Kuti have attempted to usurp this privilege especially for the regions on the side of Kuti beyond Nesti. The king of Nepal is pleased to confirm the nomination of the governor of Kuti by further nominating him as chieftain and by taking away as much as he can, it being understood that the situation of lands does not render possible the use of force, since the raising of a bridge or the removing of a foot-bridge suffices to sever all communications from one nation to another.
52. Temples of Manjucri and of Sarasvati on the slope of Mount Mahades-pokhri, built, so they say, on the spot where Manjucri stopped in coming from China.
53. Thus, at the time of Father Tranquille's passage, the frontier of Nepal went beyond "Nesti", indicated by Georgi as the limit of the kingdom, and reached "Kuti",
54. Kirkpatrick, 120,- However, in 1802, Hamilton on his arrival found "The Church reduced to an Italian priest and to a Portuguese indigene, who had been enticed from Patna by adequate promises, which promises were not kept, and who would have been too pleased to have obtained authorization to leave the country." (account of Nepal. p.38)-And Cf. inf. p 149, note,
55. Kirkpatrick, p. 111.
56. The collection of Sir Charles Aitchison, "Treaties and Engagements" (ed. 1876, vol. 11, p. 159) gives the date, always and everywhere reproduced, of the 1st. March 1792. However, the additional articles proposed by Kirkpatrick and printed in appendix to his work (p. 377-379) bear twice the indication "The commercial treaty of March 1791".
57. "An account of the kingdom of Nepal being the substance of observations made during a mission to that country in the year 1793 by Colonel Kirkpatrick. Illustrated with a map and other engravings. London. 1811, 4 printed for Milliam Miller, Albemarle Street.