

NEPAL

(Continued)

II "Chinese and Tibetan Document"

by Sylvain Leli

The voyage of Europeans to Nepal has already brought to light the links which connect this kingdom to the trans-Himalayan countries. It is from China, by the road from Tibet, that the first European travellers has arrived; it is Lhasa that the congregation of the Franciscan mission to Nepal. It is with the object of opening commercial relations with Tibet and the interior China that the British Company of East India, sent its first agent to Kathmandu. The native legend expresses the same belief. It is from China that the first colonists of Nepal arrive under the leadership of Bodhisattva Manjuceri. In fact, the first definite relations between Nepal on the one hand and Tibet and China on the other, date from the VIIth century. They commence from the very day that the tribes of Tibet emerge into civilization and become an organized state. Now interrupted, now taken up again, now held up to be again renewed, these relations have regularly left their traces in the Chinese Annals. The reports on Nepal inserted in the History of the T'Ang and in the History of the Ming are models of precision and exactitude. They reflect the practical talent of the imperial race which has kneaded and formed the Far-East with as much vigour and pleasure as the Roman talent had the Occident. The pilgrims, officials complete with their observations the official documents; all these texts, scattered over a period of thirteen centuries, light up both externally and internally the history of Nepal. Without the express

indication of Hiouentsang, the ancient chronology of Nepal would still remain the toy of whimsical speculations. The insertion of a date in the history of the T'Ang has sufficed to bring down the scaffolding of clever combinations. At modern times the war of 1792 which broke the Ghurka's expansion in the North of the Himalayas is only known through Chinese sources; the Nepalese chronicle is on its guard against entering into the details of an enterprise which only tends towards a lasting humiliation. Chinese reports reveal the underhanded dealings of the Ghurka Government even in the middle of the XIXth. Century and betray the secrets of the state which the Darbar firmly believed to be in its power of concealment. Tibetan literature, so little known even now, is certainly a store of precious informations for the researches to come; I was only able to borrow from it very few notes.

The relations of Nepal with China and Tibet, reflect in their vicissitudes, the great events of central Asia. Nepal, in fact, marks the extreme limit where Chinese influence can reach, at the height of her expansion. The great Imperial dynasties, the T'Ang, the Ming, the Mandchous; are alone able to inscribe Nepal amongst the tributary kingdoms. No sooner does the empire weaken, than her work gets exhausted and is lost on the vast stretch of Tibetanplateaus. In order to connect these documents to one another, I was consequently obliged to summarily retrace in this chapter the destinies

of Tibet, in the measure where they interest the very destinies of Nepal; but this account only aims at the re-establishment of the chain of facts in the light of Nepalese history; it is neither original nor complete, and has only for object the framing of notes drawn from Chinese or Tibetans texts on Nepal.

The famous pilgrim Hiouen-tsang, who visited the western countries from 629 to 644, seems to be the first traveller of Chinese nationality who had gathered informations on Nepal. His predecessor, Fa-hien, arriving in India two centuries earlier does not mention anything about Nepal in his short account on Bundhistic kingdoms and yet, his pious errand had led him to the very foot of the Himalays, in this Terai, half-Hindu and half-Nepalese, where abound the souvenirs of Buddha; he had adored the sacred Vestiges at Kapilavastu and at Cravasti. But he had not dealt with Nepal in his itinerary and in his researches. Hiouen-tsang did not visit Nepal¹ himself but he has had several occasions to gather informations on her, either from the monks who served him as guides between Ayodhya and Vaicali in the region bordering the Himalayas or in the monastery of Nalanda wherein he sojourned for two years and where religious men from all over India would meet, or again from the princes who sought the honour of receiving him, Harsa Cilditya and Kumara Bhaskara Varman. Kumara, king of Kamarupa, was closely in touch with Nepal; relations were thus unavoidably established between the two states.

When Narendra Deva, contemporary of Hiouen-tsang, installed in Nepal the religion of Matsyendra Natha, he brought the God "by the path of Kamarupa" according to the evidence of the Chronicle. The account of Hiouen-tsang fully confirms by its nature the express indication of the text, which he declares to be based on second hand informations. If Hiouen-tsang had visited Nepal, he would have seen

much more and better; he would have ascertained the prosperity of Buddhism, which the inscriptions place beyond doubt, and he would have verified the ancient stupas built in the valley, and firstly the famous stupa of Swayambhu Natha. Compared with the fragments of Wang-Hiuen-ts'e who was crossing Nepal at the same time that Hiouen-tsang was leaving India, the account of the pilgrim more clearly manifests its barrenness wretchedness. It reflects with fidelity, the malignant prejudices of the plain against the mountain; for the refined Hindu, the rough inhabitants of the Himalaya are coarse, ugly and uncultured brutes. Nevertheless, in spite of their imperfections, this short chapter is the key to the structure of Nepalese history, thanks to the name of the king Amcuvarman which is mentioned therein.

"The kingdom of Ni-op-lo" (Nepala) has a circumference of about four thousand leagues. It is situated in the heart of the snowy mountains. The capital has a circuit of about twenty leagues. This country offers the spectacle of a chain of mountains and valley; the soil is productive for the cultivation of grains and abounds in flowers and fruits. Red copper is found in the soil and yaks and birds named "ming-ming" (Jivamjiva) are also found in the region. Red copper coinage is used for commercial purposes. The climate is frigid; the customs and habits are stamped with faithfulness and perfidy; the inhabitants are naturally hard and ferocious; they do not consider good faith and justice as worth having and have absolutely no literary attainments; but they are gifted with skill and dexterity in the arts. Their bodies are ugly and their faces beastly. There exists amongst them heretics and the believers. The monasteries and temples of the Devas touch one another. One estimates about two thousand religious men who study at the same time the Great and the Small Vehicle. The number of Brahmans and Dissenters is not exactly known. The King

belongs to the caste of the "T'Sa-ti-li" (Ksatriyas) and is connected with the race of the "Li-tche-p'o" (Licchavis). His sentiments are pure and his science eminent. He had a sincere belief in the Buddha law. Lately there was a king named "Yang-Chon-fa-mo" (Amcuvar man) who was distinguished by the firmness of his knowledge and the sagacity of his mind. He had himself composed a Treatise on the science of sounds (Cabda Vidya castra). He had an esteem for science and respected virtue; his reputation had spread in all parts. "To the South-East of the capital there is a little pond. If fire is thrown in, a brilliant flame immediately rises up on the surface of the water; if other objects are thrown in they change their nature and become fire."

Whilst Hiouen-tsang, bound by an old agreement, was returning to China by the indirect way of Pamir, a Chinese embassy was slowly travelling towards India by the road through Tibet. Li-I-piao commanded it, together with Wang Hiuen-t'se who acted as second and twenty two other men to serve as an escort. The embassy was bringing back to India a Brahman, who had been sent as an official Guest of the Empire. The road it travelled by had not yet been crossed by man; recent and great events had almost suddenly opened it. At the end of the VIth century, uncultured and barbarous Tibet had organised herself as a nation. The second king of Tibet, Srong-tsan Gam-po, had founded Lhasa, extended his Empire far and wide, crossed over the Himalaya, attempted to demonstrate to Nepal the growing strength of his arms (weapons); conqueror, he had demanded from king Amcuvarman, the hand of his daughter. Then he turned against the Chinese, and dared to reclaim from the family of the T'ang, a princess of imperial blood for spouse, and succeeded, in having his wishes obeyed, by his continual victories. The two queens whom a common fate had brought together from the ends of the horizon under this tal-

ented barbarian had in common an ardent zeal for the Buddhistic faith; they had each brought away from their countries, their idols, their rites and their sacred books. Srong-tsan Gam-po, allowed himself to be won over by their influence, which in reality served his ambitions. Converted to Buddhism with his people, he kept on good terms with his neighbours of India and China. Henceforth a continuous road, dotted with monasteries and chapels led from the central Empire to Hindustan in passing through, Lhasa. Li-I-piao's mission at first followed the road which had been trodden by the cortege of the princess Wen-tch'eng in 641; after Lhasa it reached the Himalayas and crossed over it by the Kiron pass, which road the cortege of the Nepalese² princess had followed. Nepal was thus reached. Li-I-piao and his companions were entertained both on their arrival and departure by king Narendra Deva who took pleasure in showing his guests the curiosities among others the flaming stream, the description of which had already amazed Hiouen-tsang.

The mission had hardly returned when T'ai-tsong, satisfied with the results obtained, sent another mission to Magadha. Wang Hiuen-t'se was in command this time, assisted by Tsang Cheu-jenn as second; accompanied with an escort of thirty cavalry men. But Harsa Cilditya died before the arrival of the embassy; the minister who had usurped the vacant throne did not scruple himself in asking the investiture from the T'ang; he mistrusts the future power which strives to intervene in the affairs of India.

He attacks the mission, massacres the escort, plunders the treasure; the envoy and his second escaped in the darkness of the night. Fortunately for Wang-Hiuen-t'se and for the honour of China, Nepal in close; Srong-tsan Gam-po, the ally of the imperial family, is quickly informed. Tibet gives Wang-Hiuen-t'se 1200 soldi-

ers, Nepal, 7000 horsemen. At the head of this little army, the Chinese envoy rushes on Magadha, disperses the Indian troops, captures the capital and the usurper and brings the latter back triumphantly into China, which he reaches in 648. Wang was further entrusted with a third mission to the "Western countries" (India) and passed once again through Nepal in 657. Returning definitely to his motherland, he published in 665 a memorandum of his journeys, unfortunately lost. Among the rare fragments preserved by citations, several deal with the wonders of Nepal and show the great attention developed by the embassy when visiting the country.

I. "The Si-Kous-hing-tchoan" of Wang Hiuen-t'se says: The second year Hiuen-King (657), an imperial order sent Wang Hiuen-t'se and others in the kingdoms of the West to offer a kasaya to Buddha. They went to Nipolo (Nepala) towards the south-west. Arriving that "p'ouo-lo-tou", they reached the bottom of a depression to the East of the village. They found there a small lake of water on fire. If the fire was taken in the hand to illuminate it, suddenly on the surface there appeared a dazzling fire which shot out from the very bosom of the water. If water is sprinkled over it to extinguish it, the water turns into fire and burns; the Chinese envoy and his attendants placed over it a pot and thus cooked their food. The envoy questioned the king of the country; the king replied to him: Once upon a time, in hitting repeatedly with a rod, there would appear a casket of gold, an order was given to a man to have it removed outside. But each time it was removed, it would punge back into the waters. Tradition says that it is the gold from the crown of "Moi-le-p'ou-sa" (Maitreya Bodhisattva) who must come to perfect and complete the road. The Naga of fire protects and defends it; the fire of this lake, is the fire of the Naga of fire."

II. "To the south-east of the capital, at a short distance, there is a lake of water and of fire. In going one league towards the east, one find the fountain "Aki-po-li" (the ya youen-tchou-jin" shows: A-ki-po-mi; same alternance as in the two essays of the History of the T'ang'). The circumference is 20 pou (40 paces). In the dry as well as in the rainy weather it is deep; it does not flow, but boils all the time. If one holds live fire in the hand, the whole pond takes fire; the smokes and the flames rise several feet in height. If water is sprinkled over this fire, the fire becomes more intense. If powdery mud is thrown in, the flame goes out but the mud turns into ashes. If a pot is placed over this fire to cook food, the food gets all cooked. At one time this fountain contained a casket of gold. A king ordered that this casket should be taken out. When it was taken out of the fire men and elephants handled it without succeeding in taking it out completely. And at night a supernatural voice spoke: Here is the crown of Maitreya Buddha; the human beings cannot assuredly get at it, since it is defended by the Naga of fire.³

"To the south of the town, at a distance of more than 10 leagues, is a mountain quite isolated and covered with an extraordinary vegetation; temples are disposed in numerous stages and look like a crown of clouds. Under the pine and bamboo trees, fishes and dragonets, tame and confident, follow man. They approach the man and receive food from him. He who hurts them in any way causes the ruin of his kindred.

"Recently the orders from the Empire passed through this kingdom and from there spread far and wide. Now it depends on Fou-fan (Tibet)."⁴

III. "In the capital of Nepal there is a construction of stories (floors) which is above 200

tch'eu in height and 80 pou (400 feet) in circuit, ten thousand men can find room underneath it. It is divided into three terraces, and each terrace is divided into seven stories. In the four pavillions, there are works of sculpture to astonish you. Stones and pearls decorate them."

Together with the Imperial court, the Buddhist church of China profited by the road that had just opened under the auspices of the two devout queens. Influenced by the example of Hiouen-tsang whom the motherland had honoured on his return, after an absence of sixteen years as a hermit and saint, led away towards the Holy Palaces of Buddhism by an outburst of fervour which evokes the memory of Europe during the Crusades, defended against the risks of a long route by the still recent prestige of a new dynasty, a host of pilgrims unknown artisans of Chinese expansion were then crossing all the paths that led from China to India.

Nepal has seen many pass and was hospitable to them. The most mysterious and greatest among them, was Hiuen-tsang; leaving China towards 640, he had travelled by Tokharestan and Tibet; the Chinese Princess whom Srong-tsan Gam-po had espoused, provided him with an escort to guide him into Northern India. Wang Hiuen-ts'ue, in the course of one of his missions had heard a good deal of proud talk about the piety of this religious man. He alluded to them in his report to the throne and he received an order to bring back Hiuen-tch'as to the capital. Hiuen-tch'as recalled by the Emperor" passed by the kingdom of Nepal; the king of this country gave him an escort which accompanied him right up to the Tibetans. He found again the princess Wen-tch'eng (the queen) who gave him many presents, treated with honour and supplied him with means to return in the country of the T'ang. "He took nine months to travel from Northern India to Lo-Yang which he reached in 664-665.

He must have crossed through Nepal at the

end of the year 663. An order from the Emperor sent him almost immediately to India; he followed this time the path which Hiouen-tsang had taken on the Western slopes of the Pamir, crossed the Indus and proceeded to sojourn at the great Buddhist University of Nalanda in Magadha. It is there that he was met, between 675 and 685, by the illustrious emulator of Hiouen-tsang, I-tsing, who was undergoing laborious and fruitful studies. But when Hiuen-tch'as thought of returning, Central Asia had suddenly changed its aspect. Islam hardly established was just entering the scene: "On the road to Kapica, the Arabs stopped the people. Tibet had fallen out with China: "On the road to Nepal, the Tibetans had gathered in mass to make an obstacle and prevent people from passing". Of all the paths of the day before, there only remained the path of the Sea. Hiuen-tch'as had no time to undertake it. He fell ill and died in Central India.

Other religious men had still managed to cross over at the propitious moment. Between 650 and 655, a monk, native beyond China, leaving Corea, Hiuen-t'ai, crossed over Nepal to reach central India. At the same time, Tao Fang travels to Magadha by the way of Nepal; he sojourns for several years at the convent of Mahabodhi, then returns definitely into Nepal. He was still there in 690. Perhaps he loved to meet again the God of his cradle, Manjucree, venerated on the heights of the Ou-t'ai chan, in the ward of Ping where he was born, and whom Nepalese Buddhism also venerates as a kind of patronal divinity. It is also from the same district of Ping that came the religious man Taoheng- who travelled towards Nalanda, a little while before the year 650 by the way of Tibet and Nepal. On his return journey he only saw Nepal again to die at the age of 50 years. Nepal was also fatal to Matisimha, native of Tch'ang-ngan, who came to die in Nepal at 40 years of age whilst he was returning to

his mother-land, and also to Hiuen hoi, who was returning from the monastery of Mahabodhi and was only 50 years old when he died in Nepal. Undoubtedly, physically worn out by the Indian climate, they contracted deadly fevers while crossing Terai. The Nepalese monasteries also received as guests, two Chinese who were half Tibetans already; their mother was the wetnurse of the "Tibetan princess". One of them still resided in Nepal in the Civavihara, when I-tsing was in India.

As soon as Nepal had learnt the power of the Chinese Empire, she had hastened to seek the protection of the distant sovereign who was able to defend him against the covetousness of the Hindus and the Tibetans, without threatening from too near her independence. The king Narendra Deva, who had welcomed with deference the mission of Li-I-pias towards 644, sent in 651, an embassy to take to the son of Heaven his respectful gifts. India and China at that moment seemed to seek and call each other and to unite to work out in common a superior form of civilization; the patient work of the apostles and pilgrims which was carried out in central Asia for the past five centuries, was about to bear its fruits. A neighbour of Nepal, a Hindu prince who pretended to be connected with a dynasty of four thousand years old, the most powerful vassal of the Emperor Harsa Cilditya, Kumara Bhaskara Varman, king of Kamarupa, bestowed kindnesses on the Chinese who crossed over to India—were they official envoys like Li-I-pias and Wang Hiuent's'e or monks like Hiouen-tsang and Tao-cheng. In spite of his devotion to the orthodoxal doctrines of Brahmanism, he solicited from the Imperial Monarch the favour of a sanscrit translation of the works of Lao-tzen. The metaphysical mysticism of India and the vigorous realism of China placed in contact was able to create a harmonious world of worship and action in the Far-East. The Arabs and the Tibetans sprang up suddenly to annihilate this wonderful dream in

emulation of one another. Half a century had sufficed to bring the furious onslaught of Islam to the very feet of the Pamir, half a century had sufficed to establish on the frozen plateaus of Tibet a rival power to the Tang. China who was humble, retreated. It is in vain that three times, between 713 and 741, the centre and south of India pleaded for help from the Emperor for whom they still believed omnipotent, against the two enemies who threatened their frontiers. The descendant of T'ai-tsang, Hiuen-tsang was pleased to concede to the Hindu armies a title of honour. India understood this avowal of powerlessness. "From the year 760, the kings of India stopped visiting the court"⁵

On the collapse of the T'ang dynasty, at the beginning of the Xth century, relations between Nepal and China were suspended for two hundred and fifty years, but the Imperial records had preserved the informations which were gathered about the small kingdom of the Himalayas, either by official reports, or by the accounts of travellers. When the new dynasty undertook, according to the procedure, to record the history of the T'ang which it has replaced it also inserted in the geographical section a note on Nepal, drawn up by the help of these materials. The Memorandum of Wang Hiuent's'e has undoubtedly furnished the major portion.⁶

The kingdom of "Ni-po-lo (Nepal) is due west of T'ou-fan (Tibet).⁷ The inhabitants are accustomed to shave their hair to be very edge of their eye-brows; they pierce their ears and introduce in the perforation little bamboo tubes or bull's horns. It is a sign of beauty to have one's ears hanging to the shoulders. They eat with their hands, without utilizing spoon or sticks. All their utensils are made of copper.

The merchants whether itinerant dealers or established ones are numerous; the cultivators are few.⁹ They have copper coins which bear on one side the face-of-man, and on the reverse,

a horse.¹⁰ They dress themselves with one piece of cloth which covers their body. They bath several times daily. Their houses are built of wood; the walls are sculptured and painted. They are very fond of scenic sports, are pleased to blow the horn and to beat the drum.¹¹ They are fairly conversant with the reckoning of fate and in the researches of physical philosophy. They are equally smart in the art of the calendar.¹² They venerate five¹³ celestial beings and carve their images on stone; each day they wash them with a purifying water. They cook a sheep and offer it as a sacrifice.

"Their king 'Na-ling ti-po' (Narendra Deva) wears real pearls, rock-crystals, mother-of-pearl, corals and amber;¹⁴ he has golden ear-rings and jade pendants, trinkets to his waist-belt, adorned with a "Foutour" (Buddha). They sit on a seat supported by lions (Simhasana), in the interior of the hall flowers and perfumes are sprinkled.

The eminent people, the officers and the whole court are sitting to the right and to the left on the ground; on their sides are drawn up hundreds of armed soldiers.

"In the centre of the palace, there is a tower of seven storeys, covered with copper tiles. Balustrades, railings, columns, beams are all encrusted with stones and jewels. To each of the four corners of the tower is suspended a copper tube; below, dragons of gold spurt out water. On the top of the tower, water is poured in the troughs; from the dragons mouth they gush out as they would from a fountain.

"The father of 'Na-ling ti-po' was dethroned by his younger brother;¹⁵ 'Na-ling ti-po' had to flee to escape from his uncle. The T'ou-fan gave him a refuge and re-established him on his throne; he became consequently their vassal. In the Tcheng-Koan period (627-649) Li-I-pias, military officer of the Emperor sent in an Emba-

ssy to India, passed by this kingdom. 'Na-ling ti-po' welcomed him profusely; he went out with Li-I-pias to visit the pond 'A-ki-po-li';¹⁶ this pond has a circuit of about twenty paces; the water is constantly on the effervescence. In spite of its running outflow, it drags helter-skelter burning stones and the heated metal. The water does not diminish or increase in volume. If any object be thrown in, vapours and flames spurt out; if a pot be placed over it, the cooking is done in a short time.¹⁷ Later on, when Wang-Hiuen-ts'e was plundered by the Indians, Nepal despatched horsemen with the T'ou-fan; together they threw the Indians into disorder and won a success. The second year of the Youg-hnei period (651) their king "Chili Nalien-to-lo" (cri Narendra) sent again an Embassy to offer his homage and his presents,"

Isolated from China from the end of the VIIth century, Nepal remains attached to Tibet as vassal and as religious preceptor. Tibet converted to the Buddha doctrine, wishes in her zeal to know and study it entirely; she asks from the Nepalese monasteries, translators (lotsavas) initiated in the mysteries of the Tantras. But the Tibetan literature is still almost unexplored; her history is still to be entirely written. She will not however fail to enrich some day, our knowledge on the past of Nepal. The only missionary whose itinerary we can follow across Nepal, is the famous Pundit Atica who crossed over from India into Tibet in about the middle of the XIth century, Atica, the first at that date of the founders of Tibetan Lamaism came from the monastery of Vikrama Cila, in Magadha. Recalled by the king Lha Lama Jnana racmi (or Gurei), who reigned in the province of Ngari, in the extreme West of Tibet, Atica selected the road of Nepal in spite of the circuitous path it led him to, with the view of adoring the most holy sanctuary of Swayambhu Natha, in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu. He crossed over the frontier between India and Nepal near Ciudila Karama, journeys up to

Nepal; then he travels to the west towards Palpa, for the purpose of giving his homages to the Sovereign king of Nepal, who held his court. The king received him with great pomp and made him a present of his own elephant and gave him an escort of 425 people to accompany him upto lake Manasa (Manasarovar), probably by the passes of Mastang.¹⁸

The anarchy which tore Tibet up till the XIIIth. century had interrupted the political relations with Nepal; the organisation of Lamaism towards the middle of the XIIIth century consumed the religious separation of the two countries. The Nepalese clergy, jealous of its privileges and prerogatives, repulsed with energy the authority of the Great-Lama of the monastery of Sa-skya which the grand-son of Gengis Khan wished to exert over the Buddhists. The monarchical interest might have influenced the Mogul Khoubilai khan to create a kind of Pope; Nepal was far enough to safeguard her religions as well as her political independence. The ruin of the Moguls and the advent of a national dynasty in China in 1368, swept away the system of religious politics established by Khoubilai. The Mings worked vigorously towards the undoing of a power which eventually ended up by being detrimental to the temporal power; they multiplied the dignities and honours on the Grand-Lama's side in order to weaken his prestige and to stir up rivals. The founder of dynasty, Hong-won (1368-1399) seems to have raised to the same rank as the Lama himself, three other Tibetan pairiachs; the second of his successors, Young-lo (1403-1425), conferred the title of king (wang) to eight lamas from Tibet.

Nepal could have served the schemes of the Chinese politics: the direct relations between the two countries had, it is true, ceased for long centuries, but the Mogul pan Buddhism had drawn the attention on the last survivor of the Buddhistic kingdoms of India. Just then, the

rumour circulated that "their sovereigns were all bronzes" it was still another rival to pit against the Lhasa. Sixteen years after the expulsion of the Moguls, the Emperor Hong-won "ordered the bonze Tcheu-Koang to proceed to Nepal in order to convey to the king, a sealed sanction which conferred on him an official investiture also a letter, and silk goods, and to also proceed to the kingdom of (Ti) Young-ta, vassal of Nepal".

Serious and grave reasons must have been at stake to decide the Son of Heaven to set out beforehand and honour a small potentate with a friendliness which had not been solicited. "Thanks to the great knowledge he had of Buddhistic books, Tcheu-koang was able to reply to the intentions of the Emperor and to manifest his virtue. The king of Nepal named "Ma-ta-na-le-mo" sent an ambassador to the court to carry presents consisting of little gold pagodas, sacred books of Buddha, renowned horses and productions of country. This ambassador arrived at the capital on the twentieth year of Hongwon (1387). The Emperor was very pleased and concerned on him a silver seal, a stamp made of jade, a letter, amulets and silks." The lack-thought of Hong-won was clearly marked with the title of "Lo-mo" Lama, which the annals tack on to the name of king Ma-ta-na; but the sovereign of Nepal must have been surprised, since the dynasty to which he belonged prided itself in orthodoxy and Brahmanic purity. In 1390 another ambassador went to convey the tribute. The Emperor gave him as a present a seal made of jade and a red dais. During the last years of Hong-won, only one ambassador came for a period of several years. The Emperor Young-lo followed his grandfather's example. "He ordered the bonze Toheu-koang to return in an embassy to Nepal this country sent her tribute the seventh year (1409). The eleventh year, the Emperor ordered Yang-san-pas to go and offer as presents, to the new king of

Nepal Cha-ko-sin-ti and to the king of (Ti) Young-t's, kopan, letters, and gifts in silver and silk. The following year (1414) Cha-ko-sin-i having sent his ambassador to convey his tribute, the Emperor conferred on him the title of king of Nepal (Ni-pa-la Kouowang) and handed him as a gift, a diploma embodying this investiture a seal of gold and another of silver. The sixteenth year (1418) Cha-ko-sin-ti having sent again an ambassador conveyor of his gift, the Emperor ordered the enrich Teng-tch'eng to proceed to Nepal and offer a seal and silk goods and satin goods. Teng-tch'eng distributed presents to the princess of the different countries he crossed. "The second successor of Young-lo, Hiuen-te (1426-1435) attempted to continue the tradition. "The second year (1427) the eunuch Heou-hien was sent again to carry gifts consisting of silk goods and cotton goods to the king of Nepal." But the court of Peking waited in vain for a reciprocation of civility." Since then no other ambassador came to the court and no tribute offered."¹⁹

This was due to Central Asia, perpetually in effervescence, again going through a series of crisis. The spiritual descendant of Atica, Tsong Kha pa (1335 to 1417 about) had just completed the reform of the Tibetan Church, in creating the caste of the Yellow Bonnets; accomplished heir of the two civilizations which had made him he had founded on the metaphysical dogma of the transmigration, a hierarchical constitution of the clergy which combined in a harmonious agreement the contradictory advantages of the election and of heredity: two popes, one at Lhasa, the other at Tachi-loun-po, shared under different titles, the supreme authority over the whole clergy.

The organization attempted by the Koubilaïs, laboriously overthrown by the Mings, was getting re-constituted outside the imperial control, ready to rebel against it. The Mings, already weakened, were obliged to come to an

agreement with this new power. The eight emperor of the dynasty, Tch'eng-hoa (1465-1487), conferred the sanction and seal on the two pontifs of the Yellow Bonnets and recognized in them a right of supremacy over the other dignitaries of the Church. He hoped to obtain at this price either their help or their neutrality, whilst a rebellion was taking place on the Northern boundaries of Tibet, on the banks of the Yellow Stream. But the sovereignty conceded to the two Great-Lamas, raised objections; the sect of the yellow Bonnets eclipsed by the school of Tsougkha-pa, had not, however, disappeared in the face of her Young rival; it had recourse to the secular power, and had no pains in gaining the Tibetan feudality, threatened by the same adversary. Civil war spread over the whole stretch of the region. It still raged when the Jesuit Andrada reached Chaparangue, in 1625, and when the Fathers Grueber and Dorvills passed through Lhasa in 1661; it was still continuing when the first Capuchins arrived in Lhasa in 1709. But it had then got mingled and complicated owing to foreign interference.

The Moguls, subdued by the Ming and exiled into the Land of Grasses, had not forgotten their former grandeur; they were waiting for revenge. The help of the Tibetan clergy appeared to them as a decisive point; they solemnly ranged themselves under the authority of the Great Lama in 1577 and declared themselves as the champions of the Church at the same time against the rebels and against the Chinese. The Emperor Wang-li (1573-1620) hastened to despatch to the Great-Lama an embassy, and conferred on him titles and a considerable amount of honours; his haste betrayed his powerlessness. In 1644, the last of the Ming, surrounded in his own palace, committed suicide. For ten years already, the Maudchurian chieftain, T'ai-tsong had usurped the imperial title. The Dalai-Lama of Lhasa watched with interest the progress of the now power which surged on the horizon in the neighbourhood of the vanishing.

ed Monguls. In 1642, even before the fall of Peking, an embassy came to Moukden to honour Fai-tsong the Mandchu (Manju) under the name of Manjucri: flattery played an ingenious part. A quibble or play upon words which seemed the echo of Fate, raised the conqueror to the highest rank of the Buddhistic pantheon.

The relations between the Great-Lama and the first Maudchurians were limited for a long time to an exchange of civilities; the new chieftains of China were too busy at home to worry about Tibet. An audacious minister went so far as to conceal for fifteen years the death of the Dalai-Lama, engaged, as he explained it, in a supernatural mediatation and under this cover, he exercised without any disquitude an absolute power, (1682-1697). He profited in the meantime by causing friction between the Mongolians in a holy war against China, and to support, without compromising himself, the great rebellion of the Dzoungares. But the Emperor K'ang-hi, the illustrious contemporary of Louis XIV (1662-1722), succeeded in weakening his formidable enemies. However, before personally intervening in Tibet, he rushed the prince of the Khoskhotes, his ally Latsan Khan, on the capital of the Lamas. The town was captured and the usurping minister killed. (1706); a few years later, the Capuchins established their Nepalese mission. (1707-1709). A new movement of the Dzoungares, brought the direct intervention of the Empire: the troops of K'ang-hi, to the number of 180000 men, occupied Lhasa. The spiritual power was allowed to remain in the hands of the Dalai-Lama; but a council-board of Government was given over charge of the administration under Chinese control. Tibet was losing her autonomy; China extended to the very frontiers of Nepal.

The three kings who shared Nepal thought it expedient to be on good terms, as soon as possible, with the dangerous neighbour." During the ninth year Young-toneng (1731), the

three tribes which composed the country of 'Pa-lo-pu' (Nepal), those of 'Ye-leng (Patan), of 'Poi-Yen' (Bhatgaon), and of 'K'ou Kou Mow' (Kathmandu) addressed each of them a petition to the Emperor, written on gold leaves and offered as a gift the products of the country.²⁰ "The Chinese Resident in Tibet, informed the court of Peking that "the three khans of beyond Tibet desired to send the tribute." The Emperor replied that owing to the length of the journey, matters had to be settled in Tibet.²¹ Seven years later a new official report announced "that the three khans of Nepal were at war."²²

Commercial relations connected Nepal and Tibet since the beginning of the XVIIIth century. Towards the year 1600, when Civa Simha Malla reigned at Kathmandu, the journey from Nepal to Lhasa was still a thing of great difficulty. But under his successor, Laksmi Narasimha Malla: Bhim Malla, member of the royal family and minister of State, sent tradesmen to Tibet, then he went himself in person, and he despatched quantities of gold and silver to Kathmandu. He even negotiated a kind of commercial treaty by virtue of which the properties of Nepalese deceased in Lhasa had to be returned to the Government of Nepal. Finally he placed the town of Kauti under the jurisdiction of Nepal.²³

Trade became so brisk that towards 1650, the pious Siddhi Narasimha Malla, king of Patan, busied himself to regulate by a special method the purification of indigenous merchants who returned from Tibet soiled by a journey outside orthodoxal countries and by the contact of a race which the Brahmans declared to be impure. Nepal became the coiner of Tibet: Mahendra Malla, king of Kathmandu had obtained from the Mongolians of Delhi (towards 1550-1560) the authorization to stamp silver coins; the coins stamped to his effigy or copied on that type became, under the name of "Mahendra-malla, the only coinage

occurrent in Tibet. Nepal exchanged her coins with raw metal and profited thereby considerably. The last king of Bhatgaon, Ranajit Malla, "who was wise and skilful, sent to Lhasa great quantities of coined silver, and received in exchange great quantities of gold and silver." Tempted by the bait of an easy profit, he did not fear of debasing the value of his coins.

The conquest of Nepal by the Gurkhas (1765-1768) suddenly interrupted this profitable business. The New chiefs of the king distrusted their subjects as much as they did strangers; they were compelled to remain under arms and the natural resources of the country were inadequate to support a multitude of soldiers. Prithi Narayan levied crushing taxes on transactions; under the plea of most frivolous pretexts, merchants were punished with heavy fines. The wandering religious men (Gosains) who convey the goods between Hindustan and Tibet, were expelled from the kingdom; the great business men of Nepal hastened to search elsewhere a more accommodating motherland. In 1774, only two Cashmerean houses remained in Nepal which carried on the trade with Tibet; to prevent them to desert in their turn, the Gurka king only allowed them to go out of the country under caution. The few merchants who henceforth risked entry into Nepal only drudged fruitlessly. Prithi Narayan had their ears cut and then expelled them out of the country. The Teshu-Lama of Ta-chi loun-po, the second of the Dalai-Lama, could write to the king of Nepal: "All the merchants, Hindu as well as Musulmans, are afraid of you; nobody wants to enter in your country." Other paths were searched for between India and Tibet; and the route of Sikkim was restored once again which commerce had deserted since Nepal had opened; but it was decidedly too insalubrious; it had to be relinquished. Besides, Sikkim, in her turn, fell under the Gurkha's domination. Bhutan was in the theories of dissen-

sions and did not undertake a regularity in her trading. Warren Hastings, who wished to make Bengal the maritime market of Central Asia, sent George Bogle in 1774, on a mission to Ta-chi-loun-po, for the purpose of negotiating a commercial agreement between the Company and Bhutan and Tibet.

Prithi Narayan took cover; he foresaw "his revenues diminishing. He addressed an official letter to the Tibetan authorities: "He proposed the establishment at Kuti, Kerant, (Kirata or Kirong?) and in another place, on the frontiers of Nepal and Tibet, of settlements, whence the merchants of Tibet would be able to purchase the products of Nepal and Bengal; he would allow the carriage across his kingdom of ordinary articles of commerce with the exception of glass and other curiosities. He desired in return that Tibet should hold no relations with the Fringhis or the Moguls and to forbid their entry into the country, as this was the old procedure and as he was himself determined to carry out: a Fringhi was just then near him, at that moment, in connection with an affair, but he had the intention of sending him away as soon as possible. "The rest of his message dealt on a question more intimately concerning him: Chieftain of Nepal, he had gathered all the coins in circulation, had melted them to re-stamp others in his name, and had hastened to send his new rupees to Tibet; he intended to follow up for himself, the processes of exploitation inaugurated by the Mallas. But the merchants of Tibet had refused the new coinage, the conqueror had too often shown proofs of his bad faith and of his brutality to justify their distrust and to provoke retaliatory measures. They offered as a transaction to exchange the rupees of the Gurkhas for those of the Mallas which were circulating in Tibet. Prithi Narayan gained nothing by this combination. He declared that the coins of Ranajita Malla, were debased, were not worth

the value of his own and rejected the arrangement. The trade between the two countries ceased. The death of Prithi Narayan in 1775 did not ameliorate the relations between the two states; the Teshu-Lama took the initiative of new overtures which were all of no avail.⁸⁴

Nepal did not move; but the Teshu-Lama had compromised himself. He had welcomed as a friend the agent of Warren Hastings and of the British Government; he busied himself to open Tibet to foreign trade and even to the English trade. He acted as an independent chief as if he had forgotten the events which took place since 1750. The Chinese undertook to remind him of them. A final and formidable revolution had cost Tibet the last vestiges of her autonomy; two Chinese commissaries resided at Lhasa and watched the ministers of the Lama, whom they had re-established in temporal power; a Chinese garrison occupied a suburb of Lhasa; Chinese posts guarded all the passes on the frontiers. The Teshu-Lama, guilty of imprudence was too venerated a personage, for anyone to have acted brutally against him. The Emperor k'ienloug imagined an ingenious subterfuge, worthy of his political skill. He alleged his great age and asked in pressing terms to the Teshu-Lama to bring him with his benediction the sublime instructions of the holy doctrine. The lama excused himself for a long time; but he eventually gave in, left his monastery in 1779, reached Maudchuria by the shorter and more arduous path of Koukou-nor, followed the Emperor from Jehol to Peking, he was treated more like a god than a man and died suddenly in the imperial capital in 1780, either of small-pox or of poison, while waiting for the child to come to age in which child he had re-incarnated himself, as was usual among the Lamas, the court confided the direction of affairs of Ta-Chi-loun-po to a brother Teshin-Lama, who had accompanied him to Peking and who offered the surest guarantees.

But the deceased had another brother who lived in Tachi-loun-po, and who was known as a bad head: he was called "Cha-mar-pa" "The Ren-Bonnet", either because he belonged to that sect or through disdain. When he heard of the death of the Lama, Cha-mar-pa laid hold of the treasures of the temple and fled into Nepal; there, he described to the amazed Churkas a fanciful Tibet with a soil filled with precious metals and with temples overglowing with wealth. There was no need of so much to inflame the insatiable cupidity of the Gurkhas: a strong force, some say, of 7000 men, crossed the passes unawares in April 1790, under the pretext of forestalling an imminent attack from the Tibetans, to demand a monetary compensation, as a protest against an increase in the Custom's rates and the bad quality of the salt supplied by the Tibetans: too many reasons, and too many unintelligible reasons to be meant seriously. They advanced by forced marches and appeared under the walls of Shikar-kong, half-way to Lhasa. The Tibetans terror-stricken attempted in vain to relieve the place. The Chinese commissaries greatly perturbed of their responsibility, wished to settle affairs at any cost before the Emperor came to hear about it. They promised the Gurkhas withdrew and took up their positions at kuti, at Kirong was chosen as the seat of negotiations. The Gurkhas demanded a was indemnity of five million rupees or the surrender of all the territory they had conquered to the South of mount Langour, or an annual tribute of 100000 rupees. After prolonged delays, the 'K'ou-po' (wishers) Tibetans, yielded to the Gurkhas threats and to the pressing demands of the Chinese commissaries; they solemnly promised an annual tribute of 50,000 rupees (or 15000 taels). The first annuity paid, the Gurkhas evacuated the passess and returned into Nepal. To safeguard themselves against an eventual retraction, they hastened to send to the Emperor, two ambassadors with an escort of twenty five persons, under the pretext of offering the tribute and to solicit the official

investiture of the kingdom. K'ien-loung received them, subscribed to their demand and further sent to the king of Nepal a magnificent costume. The embassy returned to Nepal after an absence of fourteen months.

But, whilst the Chinese commissary Tchoung-pa victoriously announced to the Emperor, the submission of the enemies and represented the Gurkhas embassy as an act of humiliation, the Dalai-Lama refused to consent to the agreements undertaken. The Gurkhas frustrated, reclaimed the execution of the treaty to us avail; they complained to the Chinese commissary who, true to his tactic, intercepted the complaint and took care not to inform the Government of Peking. The emboldened Gurkhas took up arms and once again marched on Tibet (1791), crossed into Tibet through the Kuti pass and marched straight on Ta-Chi-loun-po, Terror-stricken, the Chinese Resident wished to evacuate Tibet. He did not even attempt to defend the temple (coment) of Teshu-Lama. The Teshu Lama, who was still very young, owed his life to a precipitous flight; a Chinese official was captured and sent to Nepal. The Gurkhas sacked the convent and fell back to place their booty in security, without taking advantage of the general panic which opened to them the road to Lhasa. The Emperor, however, had summoned the Gurkha Government by a special messenger, to hand over the bonze Cha-mar-pa, held in captivity as the instigator and author of these troubles. The Chinese envoy was treated most uncivilly; without respect to the complicated rites of Chinese etiquette, an ordinary sheriff's officer took the delivery of the imperial letter. The cap was overflowing (January 1792). K'ien-loung ordered the 5000 soldiers of the principalities and military colonies of Kin-tchoan to rally to the help of the 3000 regulars in garrison at Tibet; and to oppose to the (tested) tried valour of the Gurkhas, strong adversaries, he raised amongst the faithful Manchurians, a force of 2000 men recruited amongst the war-like tribes

of Solon, on the boundaries of Argoun; time had to be gained; they were taken through the path of Kou-Kou-nor, shorter by thirty days than the path of Ta-t sien-lou, but bristling with difficulties and impediments. In May 1793, the three contingents were united under the leadership of Fou-Hang; the Chinese army comprised only 10000 men, to the testimony of the Chinese historians; the Tibetan Relation (Chronicle) attributes it 70,000 men, divided into two divisions.

A first encounter took place at Tingri Meidan, between Shikarjoung and Kuti; the Gurkhas vanquished after a terrific struggle, fell back in retreat; Fou K'ang occupied without a struggle, the Kirong pass (July 1793) but the mountain cost the invaders more men than battles; the avalanche and the precipice were more deadly than the Gurkhas. One by one the Gurkha positions fell in the hands of the Chinese; Fou-K'ang had at his disposal a light artillery which worked wonders, leather canons which fired five or six bombs which burst afterwards. Finally the Chinese army appeared on the height of Dhebang above Nayakot at a day's journey from Kathmandu (30 kilometer) on the 4th September 1792. The massed Gurkhas attempted a supreme effort; but Fou-K'ang rushed his troops on them helped and supported by his artillery which he had placed on the rear according to the Chinese method, against the enemies and against the runaways. Nepal was definitely vanquished; there only remained as a last resource to appeal to the hated neighbours who occupied Bengal. The Gurkhas king solicited help from the British; but Lord Cornwallis, on the 15th September, refused armed intervention; he advanced the plea of the company's peaceful inclinations and the interest of the English commerce at Canton. He however, offered to mediate between the two adversaries and announced the despatch of an authorized representative (Kirkpatrick), Nepal had only to

choose between the enemies of her independence; she preferred to arrange matters with the Chinese. Fou-K'ang was not very unreasonable; his army was reduced in numbers, exhausted by both the climate and fatigue, winter was approaching, which would close the passes; once blocked (cut off) in Nepal, without means of re-victualling and without a base for operations, his soldiers were doomed. The Emperor, it is true, had at first intended to divide Nepal in several principalities, in the way of the countries of Tartary and in accordance with the traditions of the country. Fou-K'ang did not have recourse to this expedient: the Gurkhas returned the conventions signed in 1790 and disavowed by the Dalai-Lama, the riches: jewels, gold seals, gold balls from the pinnacles of the pagodas, which they had carried away in their sack of Tibet and also two lamas Tantsing and Pan-tchou-eul, whom they had made prisoners. Cha-mar-pa had poisoned himself whether of his free will or compelled by force; his corpse was handed over to the Chinese. Finally the Gurkhas offered as a tribute, domesticated elephants, native horses and musical instruments, asking that they should be allowed to live eternally under the Chinese laws. The Emperor profited by the victory to strengthen the Chinese authority in Tibet: he established a regular garrison of 300 indigenous soldiers and 1000 Chinese and Manchurian soldiers: Chinese posts were arranged all along the frontier under the pretext of watching the fair-dealing of exchanges, but with the real intention of preventing the entry into the country of Europeans or even their Asiatic subjects. A new order on the election of the Great-Lama still more restrained the feudal powers of the Church. The Chinese success cost more to Tibet than to Nepal. The Emperor had learnt through official reports, the indomitable courage of the small tribe who had dared to oppose him. The Ambassador (Macarthey) sent by the British to the court of Peking "to carry the tribute" in 1795, confirmed and completed these informati-

ons. K'ien-long held firmly to this belief. On the point of abdicating after a reign of sixty years (1736-1796) he recommended to his successor not to interfere without absolute necessity, into the Ghurkas affairs.²⁵

It is piquant to place opposite these facts the account of the Ghurkas chronicle. "The king Rana Bahadur Shah, having learnt the different particulars of the Northern country from Syamarpa Lama personally whom he had summoned, sent troops to Sikharjun who sacked Digarcha and did not respect the Chinese authority. The Emperor of China, being unable to tolerate this insult, sent a large army under the leaderships of Kaji Dhurin and of the minister Thumthan. This army reached Dbebur; then the king ordered a certain Lakhya Banda of Bhinkahe Bahal to an expiatory ceremony (puraccarana) whilst Mantrinayak Damodar Pande was cutting the enemy into bits and was gaining a big victory. After this, the Emperor of China, thought it better to live amicably with the Ghurkas, and arranged a peace with them."²⁶

The treaty of 1792, is still in force, and Nepal has not ceased paying the tribute to China every five years. The Ghurkas have drawn from this vasselage a source of vanity as it connects them to an empire of which they have an exaggerated idea of the actual power, without any other charge but that of an indifferent formality. Their business aptitude has known how to derive from it a benefit.

Every five years, Nepal is obliged to send to Peking an embassy composed of several high dignitaries assisted by an escort. The embassy pays respects to the Bodhisativa Manjucris in the person of the Emperor and deposits between the "five claws of the Dragon" a petition written on gold leaves together with different gifts. The number of persons composing the embassy is fixed and constant; it must not

sin either through shortcoming or excess. If by an unfortunate accident one of the members of the mission falls frievously ill in route, he is not allowed to stop or abandon the journey but is carried on a planquin and if one is not available, is tied to the saddle of his horse. The journey must be completed in a given time, by determined stages. The difficulty of organizing relays all along this vast stretch of ground explains this intransigent severity. Besides the path is made easy as far as possible, even agreeable. Distractions are found of a most intimate order and the members of the mission do not disdain them. In twelve stages, the mission reaches the frontier of Tibet at Kuti (or Nilem) of which the Ghurkas are masters since 1853. A Chinese officer then takes care of the convoy and directs it in twenty eight stages to Lhasa through Tingri and Shigatze. There is a halt of one month and half at Lhasa. The imperial commissary proceeds to the inventory of the gifts, ascertains that they are consistent with the stipulations of 1792 and has them carefully packed. He then instructs the delegates of the rites to follow in the presence of the Emperor, hands them their indemnity of the journey; and also little presents of a personal nature (silk, satin, padded clothes). The delegates in return give him, and the Dalai Lama the personal gifts of the Nepalese king. From Lhasa the delegates are directed to Ta-t sien-lon fronteir, of China and Tibet, in 64 stages, by Detain dzong, Gya-la, Gyamdo doong, Tag yab, Artsa, Lhari, Alamdo Chor-kong-la; Lhatse, Maganda, lagong. Tohamdo, Tag yab. Nyeba, Bating and Litang; The escort which came from Lhasa stops at Ta-t sien-lon, and the mandarins of Sse-tchaon then take the direction and the responsibility of the embassy. In seventy two stages, it reaches peking through Honan, after eight long months of journeying. The embassy sojourns forty five days in the capital and its chiefs are allowed to prostrate themselves once before the Emperor in person. Then it returns by the same way, but it crosses over the Himalayas by the Kirong pass.

The barbarous soil has soiled the Ghurkas envoys: they are obliged to stop for three days at Nayakot to undergo the ritual of expiations which will return them, together with the legal purity, the lost caste. As a public consecration of their recovered purity, the king offers them water some his own ewer. A state procession goes then to receive the imperial missive which the embassy has brought back. The king leads the way, accompanied by fifty nobles on horseback; the cancellors of the king are riding on elephants; three thousand soldiers surround the cortege. At a league from the capital, the king comes down from his elephant; he takes the missive which the envoy carries round his neck, hanging in a sheath covered with brocade; a cannonade salutes this solemn moment. The king hangs back the letter to the neck of the envoy. The envoy then gets on an elephant and takes in his turn the lead; till the entry to the palace.

The honour of going to Peking is keenly sought. It is not that the passion for travelling exists in Nepal; but the Ghurkas, who have practical minds, appreciate another advantage. The members of the mission are entertained, during the eighteen months of absence at the expenses of the Chinese treasury, lodged, nourished, carried free; and further are exempt from all duties on their baggage, in going as well as in returning: it is an opportunity for a lucrative traffic. One of the articles which allow of a great profit, is the conch from India; these shells are not cumbersome and are paid their weight in gold, between 3000 or 4000 francs. They are especially used in lamaseries (Buddhist religious societies presided over by a lama-Dr Anandale's oncise Eng, Dict): the spirits of storme are believed to be residing in them.

To be continued

FOOT NOTE

1. Stanislas Julien (Preface of the "Vie de Hiouen-tsang-Life of Hiouen-tsang", p. XXXII) has had the privilege of mentioning and exposing to the full light, the decisive phrase of Ki-tsan, Eulogy of Accounts (of Hiouen-tsang) which enables the clear perception of those countries visited by the pilgrim in person and on those he describes from informations from others. "When the text employs the word "hing"-to walk, it means that Hiouen-tsang himself explored the country; when it employs the word "toheu" -to go - it means that he relies on traditions and hear-says" - (Japanese wording)- According to the bibliographical narration on the Si-Yu-Ki drawn out from the catalogue of the K'ienlong library which Julien has translated at the head of the memoranda (I XX-III Sqq), the Ki-tsan has for author the monk Pieu-ki, contemporary of Hiouen-tsang, who lived in the same monastery and whom catalogues designate as the "Editor" of the Accounts composed by Hiouen-tsang. Pieu-ki was better qualified than the others to give a precise worth of the admitted articles in the text. Besides Julien; in the list he drew up at the end of the life (p.463 Sqq) and in which he bases himself on this principle of criticism to distinguish the two sections of the articles inserted in the Memorandum, sets aside Nepal (No. 76) amongst those kingdoms personally visited by Hiouen-tsang. He, however, adds: "From Fo-li-chi, Hiouen-tsang returned to Fei-che-li and arrives at Mo-Kia-to" Fo-li-chi (No 75), i. e. country of the Vrijis immediately precedes Nepal and Fei-che-li i. e. Vaicali

(No 74) precedes Fo-li-chi. If Julien thought that Hiouen-tsang had really been to Nepal, he would not have omitted mentioning it by an analogous formula to that which he employs in such similar case (Nos.94, 108, 113, 125, 127, 138): "From there, Hiouen-tsang returns to Fo-li-chi" and to Fei-che-li"; he would not have taken up the itinerary behind Nepal, at Fo-li-chi, I am then led to believe that Julien has erred inadvertently and that he in reality, wished to designate Nepal, in capital letters, as one of the countries not visited by Hiouen-tsang. As usual, the error consecrated by the eminent authority of Julien has prospered. In the list Cunningham drew up in his turn (Ancient Geography of India p. 563) he mentions Hiouen-tsang's entry into Nepal from the 5th to the 15th of February 637. I have in my turn, repeated the so precise assertion of Cunningham in my "Note on the chronology of Nepal (Journ. asiat; 1894, 2 p 57)" at the risk of destroying by the same the rectified chronology that I was proposing (Key.p. ex Kichhorn. "A list of inscriptions of northern India" in the "Epigraphica Indica. vol. V, Appendix, p. 73. Note 3). The examination of the text of the Memoranda of Hiouen-tsang, definitely sidetracks this semblance of difficulty. Whilst the road of Vaicali is indicated in these terms. Thence he walked (hing) 500 leagues and arrived at "Vrijji", for Nepal the characteristic "hing" is omitted: Thence 1400 leagues to the north-west, passing mountains and entering a valley, one arrives (tcheu) in Nepal. "The absence of the work "Hing"

- proves that Hiouen-tsang did not enter Nepal. One can observe, furthermore, that the life of Hiouen-tsang leaves Nepal on one side and directly leads the pilgrim from the kingdom of Cancus to Vaicali and from Vaicali to Magadha. Julien himself mentions this omission and completes the itinerary, in a note (p. 136) by the help of Memoranda which he has given thus: "From there, at 1400 or 1500 leagues to the North-West one crosses over mountains and enters a valley and then reaches Nepal. "I do not wish to make a condition in my favour of the form employed here by Julien: "One crosses over... One enters... One reaches..." because he also makes use of it in the case of the kingdom of Vrjji, whereas the text expressly employs the word "hing".
2. To the testimony of "Bodhimor", the great Nepalese accompanied the princess upto the town of Dschirghalangtu of the Mangjul country, and then returned" (transl. Schmidt, p. 335) Mangjul is according to Jaschke and Sarat Chandra Das, the country wherein is to be found the Kirong pass. (Tibet. Dict. s. v. Man-yul).
 3. Missions of Wang... Fragment IV, drawn from the "Fa-Youen-tchou-lin, Chap. XVI p. 15g, col. 17.-I have since found the same passage literally reproduced in the "Tchou-king Yas-tsi, by Tao-che, author of the "Fa-Youen-tchou-lin" Jap. edot. XXXVI. 1, p. 5a.
 4. The fragments 11 and 111 are not expressly quoted under the name of Wang-Hiuen-ts'e, but there is little doubt that they have been borrowed from them by the "Fa-Youen-tchou-lin, chap. XXI, p. 96, col. 14 and the Cheu-kia-fang-tchi, chap. 1. p. 97, col. 13. Cf. "Missions of Wang"..., p. 440 sqq; also for the indentifications. I think that the hill described is the one of Svayambhu. The pond is perhaps known to-day by the one of Taidah, to the S. w. of the valley. Cf (or key) "wright", p. 178 n. "During present reign an unsuccessful attempt was made to draw off the water with the view of getting the wealth supposed to be sunk in it. "But the superstition of hidden wealth is to be found everywhere in Nepal. "Cheu-Kia-fang-tchi, as mentioned above.
 5. Ma Toan-Lin, 'Notice or account on India', trans Stanislas Julien, in 'Journal Asiatique'. 1847.
 6. I reproduce here the translation which I have already published in my 'Note on the chronology of Nepal', in the 'Jourasiat; 1894,2. p. 65. The annals of the T'ang exist in two editions, respectively known as the old and New History. I have translated the text which is given by the "Old history, chap. 221. Of the annals, the account on Nepal had been recorded with a few alterations in the T'oug-tien and in the encyclopaedia of Ma Toan-lin; Remusat has translated the text of this compiler in his 'New Asiatic medley, t. 1, p. 193. I shall indicate in the notes the alterations of the "New history", and also those of T'oug-tien drawn up in the Xth century and copied by Ma Toan-lin.
 7. The New history inserts here: "In the valley of Lo-ling, in that country, one finds in abundance, red copper and the yak, "key-Hiouen-tsang, sup. p. 154.
 8. The 'T'oug-tien' omits "the bull's horn".
 9. The "New hist. adds:" Since they do not know how to plough the earth with the bulls",
 10. The "New hist. Changes the meaning by reason of an erroneous punctuation; "They

- have copper coins which bear on one side a man's face and on the aversé a horse and a bull, which have no holes pierced through them."
11. The 'New History, the 'T'ong-tien and Ma Toan-lin, canc-cels this last proposition.
 12. The "New History" only says: "They understand how to reason, to measure, and make the calendar."
 13. The "New hist." omits the word "five"
 14. The 'T'ong-tien replaces this wording by these simple words: "The king wears a great number of ornaments, of precious stones and of pearls.
 15. The text of the "New hist.;" proves that it concerns the younger brother of the father of Narendra deva. The "New hist. substitutes to 'tchouen' "rebellions usurper" The word "Cha" "to put to death".
 16. The 'T'ong-tien bears 'A-ki-po-mi'. key. Wang Hiuen-ts'e sup. p, 158.
 17. The "New. hist." makes no allusion to the affair of Wang Hiuen-ts'e and intercalates here: "The 21st year (647) he despatched an ambassador to present (objects which I am unable to identify or 'decipher', 7 figures) In the period of Yang-hoei..., etc."
 18. A little while after the fall of the T'ang, towards the end of the Xth century (964-976) a last mission of Chinese priests still crossed into Nepal. Ki-ye; leaving in company with three hundred cramanas, in the research of sacred texts in India, arrived at Patliputra, Vaicali, Kucinagara; then from the village of To-lo after crossing over several ranges of mountains, he arrived in the kingdom of Moyu-li (the country of Mayurata of the inscription of Svayambhu Natha, 'Wrigot' p.230) crossed over snowy mountains, reaches the temple San-ye, and rejoins the route of Khotan and Kach-gar. V. Edonard Huber, 'the itinerary of the pilgrim ki-ye' in India in the Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extreme Orient, 11, 3,256 sqq).
 19. Since the passage "the sovereigns of Nepal were all bonses", the extracts quoted are taken out from the "Annals of Ming", chap. cccXXI (=Pien-i-tien', ch. LXXXV). I reproduce in general the translation given by M. C. Imbault-Huart, in a note of his "History of the conquest of Nepal" in the "Journ. Asia", 1878,2,p. 357, m. 1. - Mr. Bretschneider has also given a translation of this account in "Medieval researches from Asiatic sources". 1888 (London, Trubner's series), vol. 11, p.222.
 20. 'History of the conquest of Nepal', trans. Imbault-Huart, '10c. laud.'
 21. 'Nepal and China', by E. H. Parket; in Asiat. Quart. Review, 1899. p. 64.82.
 22. Ib. key. 'Vamcas'; 197: At this time (Nepal sam. 857=1737 AD) the rajas of Bhatgaon, Lalit-Patan, and Kantipur were on bad terms with each other.
 23. Vamcar; 209 and 211.
 24. Most of the details are borrowed from the "Relation of George Bogle" published by M. Markham in the volume already quoted: Tibet, etc; in particular; p. 127-159.
 25. The history of the war between Nepal and China is based on: 1st. Kirkpatrick, appendix 1 (Ghurkas account); 11 (Tibetan account and Lord Gornwallis, correspondence with the Dalai-Lama and the Raja of Nepal); 2nd, Turner "Embassy to Tibet". p 4373rd markham. Tibet. p. LXXX-LXXXVII (based on the souvenirs of Hodgson who had enquired from Bhim Sen Thapa); 4th. Cheng-ou, Ki'transl. Imbault Huart, 'loc. laud': 5th. Parker; 'Nepal and China' (according to Chinese documents), 'loc' laud' - Hamilton is alone in pretending (Nepal; p. 249) that the Ghurkas had to hand over to the Chinese, fifty young girls and victuals for the journey, and that they retained their booty.
 26. Vamcav; 260-1.