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Rebellion in Jumla

I

The people of Jumla did not accept the Gorkhali rule with docility but resorted to forequent rebellions. On Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (October 1794), Kathmandu sent the following notification to the inhabitants of Humla and Jumla:

It is five years since we occupied that region. During that period, you have created much trouble. However, we pardon you for whatever you may have done during these five years. If even now any one engages in rebellion or intrigue, we shall degrade you to a lower caste if he is a Brahman, or else enslave or behead him according to his caste. Understand this well. We shall, however, reward those who are loyal to us. (24/430).

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, p. 430.

II

On Baishakh Badi 1, 1851 (April 1794), Ranjit Kanwar was replaced by Jog Narayan Malla as Subba of Jumla.

The following royal order was then sent to Ranjit Kanwar.

You have imposed heavy fines on the inhabitants of Jumla because they had rebelled in 1793. They have come here to complain against such punishment. Whatever may have been collected in the past, the collection of fines every year has led to a depopulation of that territory. In order to check that trend, we hereby remit all arrears of such fines. Bhardars who had been deputed to the west had been instructed to kill all rebels of above the age of 12 years, but not to enslave other members of their families and let them cultivate the land. No action shall be taken in contravention of such instructions. Restore all slaves and horses that you have unjustly taken. The territory must be made populous and enjoyed. You shall be punished if you act in contravention of the regulations."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, pp. 288-92.

III

Royal order to Subba Ranjit Kanwar, Subedar Dhanjit Rana, and other military officials deputed to Jumla: "We had issued orders to all Amalidars through Jagjit Pande that all rebels of above the age of 12 years should be killed, but that other members of their families should not be enslaved, but be allowed to occupy their homesteads. We have now received reports that even then you have enslaved members of the families of the rebels. We had then ordered you to restore such slaves to freedom, but none of you have obeyed the order. You shall be punished if you do not do so even after receiving this order."

Tuesday, Shrawan Sudhi 3, 1851.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, p. 293.

IV

Jog Narayan Malla, as Subba of Jumla, was granted the following emoluments and perquisites:-

- (1) One anna in each rupee of revenue actually collected.
- (2) One-sixth of income raised from fines, penalties, and escheats.
- (3) 30 khets of rice-lands in Dumja.
- (4) One elephant.
- (5) Command of the Kalidatta Company.
- (6) (Income from) Raskot and Sanni areas.

With the revenue collected in Jumla, pay the emoluments of troops stationed there at the prescribed rates, half in cash and half in kind. Transmit the surplus revenues, if any, to the Palace. Submit accounts at the end of each year."

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, p. 288.

V

Regulations for Jumla promulgated in the name of Subba Jog Narayan Malla on Tuesday, Shrawan Suci 3, 1851 (July 1794):-

1. Have religious ceremonies of deities performed in the same manner as during the time of previous Subbas.
2. Expenses on religious ceremonies at the temple of Sri Chandan Nath during the Dashain festival will be approved as during the time of previous Subbas.
3. Expenses incurred during the Navaratra will be similarly approved.
4. Reasonable expenses may be incurred on mail-carriers (halkara) and wakils.
5. Any gifts and presents that may be received there shall be transmitted to us.
6. Rebels who are of above the age of twelve years shall be killed, their wives and children shall not be enslaved, but shall be allowed to occupy their homesteads.
7. In case any soldier or other person commits any crime, he shall be punished or killed or enslaved, according to the nature of his crime. Punishment shall be inflicted only after obtaining a confession in the presence of Panchas.

8. In case the feudatory (Thapale) rajas of that region do not join you in war, or do not obey orders, but engage in rebellion, punish them according to the nature of their offense.
9. In the event of an external invasion, the Palace is far away, and there will be no time to request for instructions. You may, therefore, meet such emergencies at your discretion, proving true to your salt and in the best interests of the state (Chungo).
10. Since you will remain far away from the Palace, and will occupy your post only at our pleasure, in case any evil person makes any complaint against you, we shall take a just decision only after hearing both sides. We shall not listen to one side only.
11. Expenses incurred on the kachahari, cushions, ink, etc. will be approved.
12. Expenses incurred on the repair of forts, as well as on Sanghus, Jholanga (bridges), and boats will be approved.
13. Rewards may be granted to any person who shows commendable performance in war and other occasions.

Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 24, pp. 209-91.

The Struggle for Kangra Fort

By

Dr. Shiva Prasad Dabral "Charan".

Sansar Chand was the most powerful ruler of the State of Katoh (Kangra). His grandfather, Ghamand Chand, had established a virtually independent state in the region situated between the Sutlej and Ravi rivers. He had also extended his rule over the northern part of the state of Kutled, the state of Chauki, the fertile valley of Palam, and the fort of Padhiyar. However, he was not able to take back the fort of Kangra, which had belonged to his ancestors, from the Mughals. His army consisted of 4,000 Rohilla, Afghan, and Rajput troops, which had struck terror among the rulers of the adjoining hill states. Ghamand Chand had constructed a town called Sujampur on the left bank of the Beas river on the other side of Alempur. He had also constructed a fort and palaces in the neighboring area of Tehra.

In 1788, the joint forces of Sansar Chand and Jaya Simha of the Kanhaiya Misl of the Sikhs drove out the Mughal army from the fort of Kangra. Jaya Simha occupied the fort through diplomacy. However, when Sansar Chand began to raid the plains areas belonging to Jaya Simha, the latter was compelled to hand over the fort to him. After occupying that fort, Sansar Chand forced the rulers

of eleven neighboring states, who were considered to be vassals of Kangra during the rule of the Mughals, to accept his authority. He ordered them to report to his palace on specified occasions offer him presents, and accompany him along with their troops during his campaigns of conquest.

Sansar Chand had constructed a large Palace at Tira-Sujanpur. His throne was placed at the center of the main hall, which contained eleven doors. The rulers of the twenty two principalities who had accepted his suzerainty used to enter into hall through specified doors. Sansar Chand had also occupied fertile valleys from the hill rulers. These valleys had earlier been under the control of the Mughals. The ruler of Chamba was killed in the battle of Rihalu Valley which formed part of his state. Sansar Chand also plundered Mandinagar, made its minor ruler, Ishwari Sen, a prisoner, and took him to Kangra. The captive ruler was confined to the fort of Nadaun. Sansar Chand handed over the Hatali Valley of Mandi state to the ruler of Suket, and the Chahad Valley to the ruler of Kullu, but annexing the fertile valley of Anantpur. He collected a tribute of Rs. 100,000 from what remained of Mandi state.

After becoming a sovereign King of the hill region Sansar Chand attempted to extend the frontiers of his state to the Southern plains. In 1803-4, he twice tried to occupy Hoshiarpur and Bijwada but each time he was defeated by Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh himself was making efforts to expand the territories of his state to the foothills of hill region. Sansar Chand could, therefore, expect to fulfil his ambitions by seizing territories only from the hill states. His grand-father, Ghamand Chand, had already annexed Chauki, in the northern part of Kutled State. Sansar Chand occupied the rest of that state also.

Sansar Chand's act of making the minor ruler of Mandi a captive and occupying Kutled state created much excitement among the rulers of the hill states. For years, Sansar Chand had been humiliating and harassing them in various ways. Now, emboldened by the presence of the victorious Gorkhals, eleven hill rulers vowed to humiliate Sansar Chand. They sent Mahachand of Kahlur, a part of whose territory had been annexed by Sansar Chand, to request Amar Simha Thapa for help. It was decided that the rulers of Guler, Jasawan, Datarpur, Siba, Chamba, Suket, Kullu, Nurpur, Bisauli, Kutled and Kahlur should march with their respective troops along with the Gorkhas when Amar Simha Thapa crossed the Sutlej with his army and encamped in the territory of Kangra.

In December 1805, the Gorkhali army crossed the Sutlej at Jibri (Suket) and Kahlur, thus laying the stage for occupation of Kangra state. There the rulers of eleven states met Amar Simha Thapa with their respective troops. Amar Simha Thapa and the eleven rulers swore that the former would retain control of the fort of Trigart (Kangra), but would not cause any trouble to those rulers who were considered subordinate to Kangra, that these rulers would maintain amicable relations with the court of Nepal, that the court of Nepal would permit them to reoccupy their respective territories, and that no part of their states would be annexed by Nepal.

The allied forces inflicted a crushing defeat on Sansar Chand's troops near Mahal-Moria. Sansar Chand then fled toward Tira-Sujanpur. But there too he was defeated, and along with some of his troops and his family, he moved to the strong fort of Kangra. Amar Simha Thapa liberated king Ishwari Simha of Mandi who had been imprisoned by Sansar Chand, at the fort of Nadaun, and restored his state to him. He also restored to the ruler of Kutled those portions of his state that had been annexed by Ghamand Chand and Sansar Chand. The rulers of the hill states and their subjects welcomed the Gorkhali army, who had liberated them from the humiliating slavery of Sansar Chand, as if they had come as a blessing from Goa. The fame of the invincible army of Girvana Yuddha Vikram, son of Ran Bahadur Shah, spread far and wide.

According to Maularam, the rulers of Gulera and Chamba also joined Amar Simha Thapa after the latter had liberated the states of Kutled, Suket, Mandi, and Jasanjana from the slavery of Sansar Chand without much difficulty, and routed the army of Bushehar. Thereafter, Amar Simha Thapa visited the temple of Amba Devi on the Jawalamukhi hill. From there, all the hill rulers marched with their respective forces along with the Gorkhali army. Their spirits were high. They laid siege to the fort of Kangra. When the Gorkhali army which had conquered states located from the eastern to the western Himalayas reached that fort, the Sultan, who ruled the territories that lay across Alak, panicked. The Peshawaris, Lahoris, Shambhis (Dogras of Jammu), Kashmiris, Sikhs, Mughals, Pathans and Rohilla warriors who served in Sansar Chand's army fled in panic. The Marathas in the south and the white (Gore-Phiringes) were deeply alarmed. Panic gripped the people when they heard the arrival of king Girvana Yuddha Bikram's army commanded by Amar Simha Thapa, who had won victory wherever he set his foot. They believed that the victory of the Gorkhali army was inevitable and that the writ of the Gorkha king would run large through the whole of north India, and as far as Delhi.

This was the time when Amar Simha Thapa was at the pinnacle of his glory. He controlled the entire hill region from the Kali river to the Sutlej-Bas river. With the exception of Sansar Chand, all the hill rulers had accepted his suzerainty. The fame of the Gorkhali army commanded by him had spread far and wide. Everyone believed that Amar Simha Thapa was destined to win victory in every battle he fought. Amar Simha Thapa now began to live and behave like a king. He used to grant rewards to any poet who met him on hearing of his merits. Everywhere it was said of him that he had become powerful like an Emperor thanks to the power of king Girvana Yuddha Bikram, and was attending to the welfare of all.

The Gorkhali army continued its siege of the Kangra fort for three years. But Sansar Chand, his family, and his troops, who were inside the fort, did not suffer much for they had adequate provisions. But the Gorkhalis did not succeed in occupying the fort. In sheer frustration, they started looting nearby villages, and razing them mercilessly. They made it a habit to plunder innocent people. The hill rulers, who were allies of the Gorkhalis, also started raiding the villages of the Kangra state. This led to great chaos. For three years, anarchy swept the states.

To escape the daily plunder and atrocities by the Gorkhalis and the armies of the hill rulers, several people of Kangra state abandoned their hearth and home and migrated to Chamba and many others took shelter in the plains of the Jullunder-Doab region. As a result, the fertile valley of Kangra became barren. Villages and towns became desolate, with only grass now growing there. In the empty lanes of Nadain town, tigers started roaming about with their cubs.

Even such a powerful commander as Amar Simha Thapa was unable to take over the fort of Kangra. This led people to believe that he had concluded a secret treaty with Sansar Chanda. According to Maularam, when all the rulers of the western hill states defected to Amar Simha Thapa, Sansar Chanda sent a secret letter to him along with a large sum of money as bribe. The message was as follows: "If you occupy this fort of Kangra, the court of Nepal will appoint governors (Amils) to administer this region. You will be ordered to advance still further and conquer new territories. You will thus be engaged in constant fighting, so that you will not be able to rest even for one night. You will have to spend your whole life oppressing others and indulging in sinful acts. I, therefore, propose that you stay on and rule Kangra and continue issuing orders to all the hill rulers. Have some rest now, and enjoy luxury. At the same time, our two armies should feign fighting sporadically for the sake of duping others. People will then think that we are still fighting each other. Though bound by a secret alliance, we should fire cannon at random. We will thus be able to fulfil the dual task of outwardly showing mutual enmity, but secretly maintaining a cordial relationship."

Amar Simha Thapa, who had begun to taste a luxurious life after having won unlimited authority, accepted this secret plan. As a result, he spent several years comfortably while laying siege to the fort of Kangra. (The author has cited the Garh-Rajavamsa-Kavya by Maularam Tomar as evidence of this collusion between Sansar Chand and Amar Simha Thapa).

It seems that Maularam was correct. Amar Simha Thapa closed all gates leading to Kangra fort, but left open the route toward the river. Supplies continued to move to the fort through that route.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa sent a new army under the command of his brother Nayan Simha Thapa, for the conquest of Kangra. This army reached Kangra through Kumaun, Garhwal, Keonthal, Hindur, and Kahlur. Nayan Simha Thapa's arrival struck terror in the minds of the people. The inhabitants of village situated along the route through which he passed fled to the jungles. The Gorkhali army led by Nayan Simha Thapa reinforced the siege of Kangra. Amar Simha Thapa had been bribed by Sansar Chand to keep open the route leading to the fort through the river. Through that route, supplies accordingly continued to reach the fort. Nayan Simha, however, closed that route. Food sufficient for twelve years had already been stocked at the fort, but large quantities had been misused. Consequently, the

closure of the route by Nayan Simha Thapa created panic among the inhabitants of the fort.. No one was brave enough to leave the fort and break the siege. For four months, the inhabitants of the fort were forced to subsist on vegetables. Finally, Sansar Chand decided to escape from the fort in the night.

Amar Simha Thapa was feeling very jealous at the arrival of Nayan Simha Thapa along with reinforcements, for the latter's success in occupying the fort of Kangra would have brought him discredit.. Amar Simha Thapa, therefore, sent a letter secretly to Sansar Chand, advising him not to feel afraid of Nayan Simha Thapa's attacks. He assured Sansar Chand that he would not assist Nayan Simha Thapa. Sansar Chand felt encouraged when he read the letter. He again sent some money to Amar Simha Thapa. Encouraged by the in-fighting among the Gorkhali commanders, Sansar Chand vowed again to defend his fort to the last drop of his blood.

Nayan Simha Thapa ardently desired that the credit for the conquest of Kangra should go to him. He was not bothered by the lack of cooperation from Amar Simha Thapa. He ordered his army to advance to occupy the fort. Amar Simha Thapa, however, advised him to keep away from the fort in order to avoid being hit by shells. There was a brief quarrel between the two commanders on this issue. Finally, Nayan Simha Thapa reached close to the fort along with his troops, whereas Amar Simha Thapa and his officers did not do so.. Nayan Simha Thapa and his troops attacked the troops of Kangra and reached close to gates of the fort.. But suddenly a shell fired from the fort hit Nayan Simha Thapa, and he fell down. This led to panic among the Gorkhali troops. On getting news of this, people inside the fort started beating drums in jubilation. Nayan Simha Thapa suddenly got up, but blood started flowing from his wounds. The efforts of the army physicians to save his life proved unsuccessful, and he died on the third day.

Amar Simha Thapa was both distressed and satisfied at the failure and death of Nayan Simha Thapa. He was distressed because of the death of a relative.. However, he was feeling afraid lest the truth should reach Nepal and he should be branded as a traitor.

After Nayan Simha Thapa's death, Amar Simha Thapa intensified his efforts to occupy the fort of Kangra. However, the court of Nepal did not trust him as before.. It, therefore, sent a new force led by Chautariya Rudravir and Dalabharjan Pande for the conquest of Kangra.. Rudravir proceeded to Kangra from Srinagar in 1863 Vikrama (A.D. 1806). Terrified by the fierce attacks of the new Gorkhali army, Sansar Chand requested Maharana Ranjit Singh for assistance and offered a gift of Rs. 5,000. Sansar Chand had earned the enmity of Ranjit Singh by twice attacking his territories in the plains.. However, Ranjit Singh was now afraid lest the Gorkhali campaign of territorial expansion should have a detrimental impact on his own ambitions.. Twice he proceeded to Kangra with his troops, but returned before reaching that fort.. It is said that Amar Simha Thapa persuaded him to do so by paying the amount of Rs. 5,000 which Sansar Chand had stipulated.

Terrified by the fierce attacks of Chautariya Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pande, Sansar Chand became ready to hand over the fort of Kangra to the Gorkhalis. It was agreed that he should pay to the court of Nepal a tribute of Rs. 500,000 if he was allowed to depart safely from the fort along with his family, his troops, and his property. Sansar Chand also agreed to pay an annual tribute for the territories he would retain under his control, and to offer the hand of his daughter in marriage to the king of Nepal. According to Raper, Sansar Chand had agreed to pay the sum of Rs. 300,000 only.

Chautariya Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pande did not consult Amar Simha Thapa while giving consideration to these proposals. According to Raper, Sansar Chand considered it below his dignity to negotiate with a low-caste khas like Amar Simha Thapa and so concluded the treaty with Rudravir Shah, who belonged to a high caste. Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pande sent the treaty to the court at Kathmandu through a special courier on military escort, and removed the Gorkhali troops from the route leading from the fort to the river in order to enable Sansar Chand to evacuate the fort. Sansar Chand, however, was not prepared to surrender the fort to the enemy. He used to send unnecessary supplies from the fort during daytime, and procure food in the night. One night, he left the fort in disguise along with his family and reached Tera-Sujanpur, after charging his commander, Naurang, with the responsibility of defending the fort.

Amar Simha Thapa immediately reported to Kathmandu that Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pande had been paid a big sum of money as bribe, for which they had withdrawn the siege of Kangra fort, and thus made his efforts go in vain. Amar Simha Thapa also requested that they be summoned back to Kathmandu, pledging that he would then immediately occupy the fort. Both Raper and Maularam have given the same version of the event.

Rudravir and Dalabhanjan Pande were accordingly summoned back to Kathmandu. Parashuram and Bhairav Bali were then sent to Kangra in 1865 Vikrama (A.D. 1808), and Birabhadra Kunwar in 1866 Vikrama (A.D. 1809).

Birabhadra Kunwar reached Srinagar in Falgun 1866. He carried an official letter from Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa to Maularam. The letter informed Maularam that his Jagirs, villages, gardens and houses had been restored to him. After celebrating the Holi festival in Srinagar, Birabhadra left for Kangra with his army.

After the recall of Dalabhanjan Pande and Rudravir Chautariya, Amar Simha Thapa again planned to occupy the fort of Kangra so as to win the credit. Ranjit Singh also wanted to occupy Kangra. He was closely watching the activities of Amar Simha Thapa. The rulers of the Sikh and Muslim principalities located on the eastern banks of the Sutlej feared Ranjit Singh, hence they concluded treaties with the East India Company, for protection. In 1809, Ranjit Singh and the East India Company signed the Treaty of Amritsar, which prevented him from intervening in the affairs to the Sikh and Muslim protectorates of the Company situated on the eastern banks of the Sutlej. The treaty also prevented Ranjit

Singh from stationing more troops than were needed for administration even in areas on the eastern banks of the Sutlej which were under his control.

On hearing that Amar Simha Thapa planned to reoccupy the fort of Kangra with the help of the rulers of Kahlur and Kullu, who were enemies of Sansar Chand, Ranjit Singh informed the British military commander in Ludhiana, Lt. Col. Ochterlony, that he wished to take his troops through territories on the eastern banks of the Sutlej which were under his control in order to check the advance of the Gorkhalis. Ochterlony was opposed to Ranjit's proposal, for he feared that the East India Company might not be able to occupy for itself the territories which it was coveting if Ranjit Singh defeated the Gorkhalis and occupied the territories under Gorkhali control west of the Kali river. However, the Governor-General was not ready to disturb the East India Company's relations with Ranjit Singh. He informed Ochterlony that Ranjit Singh was quite free to do so and that no obstacle should be placed in his way.

Apprehending an attack from Ranjit Singh, Amar Simha Thapa deferred his plans to launch a fresh attack on the fort of Kangra. As a result, both Gorkhalis and Ranjit Singh remained in control of some territories in Nadaura. Sansar Chand entered into friendship with the East India Company with the aim of recovering these areas and asked it for assistance in fighting the Gorkhalis and Ranjit Singh. The Governor-General, however, turned down his request. The Nepal government despatched its envoy, Chandra Shekhar Upadhyaya, to the Governor-General and invited him to join its campaign of territorial conquest in the region east of the Sutlej. The Governor-General turned down this proposal too.

The prestige of the Gorkhali army considerably diminished as it failed to occupy the fort of Kangra even after subjecting it to a protracted siege, and also lost one of its commanders, Nayan Simha Thapa. Those rulers who had sided with Amar Simha Thapa in the beginning became aware of the weakness of the Gorkhali army, as well as of the infighting among its commanders. They, therefore, started ignoring him. Amar Simha Thapa was very glad to receive a fresh reinforcement of troops commanded by Birabhadra, his grand-son, from the daughter's side.

Saheb Singh, ruler of Kahlur on the eastern banks of the Sutlej river remained firm on his friendship with Amar Simha Thapa. But other rulers who had struck friendship with Amar Simha Thapa now began to harass him. These rulers included those of Sirmur and Handur. The rulers of the Barha Thakurai states, who had previously joined Amar Simha Thapa, now prepared to fight him jointly. Amar Simha Thapa sent Ranjor Thapa and Kunwar Birabhadra to occupy the fort of Morni from Sirmur, for this was the center from which the Barha Thakurai rulers were organizing their military preparations.

(To be continued)

A History of Gorkha

By

Dinesh Raj Pant.

(Dinesh Raj Pant, Gorkhako Itihasa (A History of Gorkha), Kathmandu: The author, 2041 (1985), Vol. 1, pp. 15-25).

I

Gorkha Under the State of Sinja

The process of "disintegration of the state of Nepal gradually intensified after the Licchavi period. The process gained additional momentum in subsequent years, and by the twelfth century of the Vikrama era, three states emerged in Nepal. The first was the central state of Nepal, which was preserving what remained of its territories with great difficulty. The second was the state of Simraungadh which had "been established in the south-eastern part of Nepal" by Nanyadeva, while the third was the state of Sinja founded by Nagaraja in the western part of Nepal".

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Panchali Shasana-Padchatiko Aitihāsika Vivechana (An historical account of the Panchayat system of government), center for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2035 Vikrama (A.D. 1978), p. 114).

Among these three states, the State of Simraungadh, which had been founded in the south-eastern Tarai region, does not seem to have had any connection with Gorkha, the main subject of the present study. The Central State, on the other hand, had an indirect connection with Gorkha, since its territories were gradually contracting. The third state, the Khasa State of Sinja, seems to have had a direct connection with Gorkha. We shall now say something on this subject.

The state founded by Nagaraja around the twelfth century of the Vikrama era gradually expanded. His territories included Guge in western Tibet. Krachalla, the great-great-grandson of Nagaraja, was a great conqueror. He conquered Kumaun and Garhwal and annexed them to his state. His son, Ashokachalla, was also an effective ruler. Jitarimalla, Ashokachalla's son, took greater interest in expanding toward the east. His ancestors had laid greater emphasis on expansion toward the west and the north-west.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalak" (A glance at the history of the Karnali region), Purnima, year 2, no. 2, Shrawan 1, 2022 (July 16, 1965), pp. 19-21).

King Jitarimalla, who thus laid emphasis on expansion toward the east, is directly connected with Gorkha.

We have already made it clear that until the Vikrama year 1221 Gorkha was ruled directly from the center".

(Dinesh Raj Pant, "Gorkha After the Licchavi Period", trans. in Regmi Research Series, Year 19, no. 4, April 1987, p.49).

In the absence of evidence, we are not yet in a position to say how long this situation continued.

According to the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali, Jitarimalla invaded the valley of Nepal every year during 1344, 1345, and 1346 Vikrama and committed depredations. But this victory of Jitarimalla was short-lived. He only raised some taxes and went back.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka", pp. 21-23).

In those days, the Tirthutes of the south and the khasas of the west were in a way competing with each other in invading the valley of Nepal and deriving some economic benefit. They did not remain long in the valley as rulers. The tirthute invasion of 1367 Vikrama is, however, an exception. At that time, the Tirthutes entrenched themselves in the valley of Nepal for about a year. But they did so only on the request of one of the two factions ruling the valley at that time.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Doyaharu ko Hun ?" (Who are the Doyas ?), Purnima, year 1, no. 4, Magh 1, 2021 (January 14, 1965), pp. 26-28, trans. in Regmi Research Series, year 2, no. 3, March 1, 1970, pp. 67-69).

Even though Jitarimalla did not occupy the valley of Nepal and the adjoining areas at that time, he seems to have occupied territories in the Gorkha region. This will become clear if we make a close study of the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali.

The descriptions of the first two invasions of Jitarimalla start from within the valley of Nepal so they shed no light on this question. But the description of the third invasion contained in the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali makes this clear. It begins with Jitarimalla's invasion of Nawakwatha (Nuwakot).

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka", p. 22).

This sheds important light on the issue. Jitarimalla had already occupied the Gorkha region during his first invasion of 1344 Vikrama. The description contained in the Gorkha-Rajavamshavali shows that no further reference to the issue was necessary. Jitarimalla thus appears to be the first king of Sinja to establish his sway in the Gorkha region.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tak Bahadur Shrestha, Nuwakot ko Aitihāsika. Rāparekha (Historical outline of Nuwakot), Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2032 Vikrama (A.D. 1975), p. 31).

Further evidence, when available, will make this more clear. In the year 1384 Vikrama, when Adityamalla, Jitarimalla's son, invaded the Valley of Nepal, he first invaded Nuwakot. This constitutes additional evidence to support our view.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka, " p. 25).

Rudramalla, who was born in 1352 Vikrama, died in 1383 Vikrama at the age of 31. He was an impressive personality in his time".

(Devi Prasad Bhandari, "Rudramalla ra Unako Janmatithi" (Rudramalla and the date of his birth), Purnima, year 1, no. 1, Baisakh 1, 2021 (April 13, 1964), pp. 8-13).

According to the Gorkha - Rajavamshavali, he ruled over the whole of Nepal up to Nuwakot. This means that the central government had already lost control over territories to the west of Nuwakot, and that it had accepted the situation. This reinforces the view that Jitarimalla had brought the Gorkha region under his control.

There is a gumba called Taghwai in Atharasayakhola, situated on the foothills of the Larke Himal in Gorkha district. A copper plate inscription about this gumba, issued by Adityamalla in the Vikrama year 1378, has been found. In that inscription, Adityamalla has ordered the bhaddars despatched by him to the east to allow the Lamas of the Taghwai and subordinate gumbas to perform their religious ceremonies in the traditional manner. The order also mentions that any one who does not allow them to do so will be punished.

The rulers of Sinja felt proud of assuming such titles as Parama Saugata (A great devotee of Buddha), Pravaramahayanuvayi (a follower of the excellent Mahayana sect), Hevajracharanaravindamak-arandamadhukara (a bee sucking the juice of the lotus-feet of Hevajra), and Garudadhwajavatara (an incarnation of Vishnu).

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshako Itihasako Eka Jhalaka", pp. 19-21, 26-27).

Adityamalla too liked to show himself off as a religious-minded king. On the eve of his eastern campaign, he apparently wanted to ensure that the Lamas were not disturbed in any way. Thus this copper-plate inscription constitutes authoritative evidence to prove that Gorkha was at that time a part of the state of Sinja.

After Pratapamalla, grandson of Adityamalla, Punyamalla, who belonged to the Gela dynasty, was placed on the throne of Sinja. Punyamalla too is closely connected with Gorkha. (Ibid)".

A copper-plate inscription issued by Punyamalla has also been found in the gumba of Taghwai. It is dated 1394 Vikrama. Like the inscription issued by Adityamalla, it directs the bhardars despatched to the east not to disturb the Lamas in any way. Punyamalla liked to style himself as Paramasaugata and Garudadhvajavatara! In this inscription too, he describes himself as a religious-minded king. This is consistent with the religious policy followed by the kings of Sinja. According to the Gopala-Rajavamshavali, the Khasas had invaded the Valley of Nepal three years earlier. This inscription shows that Punyamalla was planning to invade the Valley again.

These two inscriptions of 1378 and 1394 Vikrama which have been found in Gorkha thus prove conclusively that Gorkha was at that time a part of the state of Sinja. In 1383 Vikrama, when he died, Rudramalla, ruler of the central state, was described as having ruled over the whole of Nepal up to Nuwakot! This shows that the Trishuli river formed the boundary between the Malla States of the center and Sinja. In Aswin 1801 Vikrama, before Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of Nuwakot, the Trishuli river formed the eastern boundary of the state of Gorkha.

Punyamalla was succeeded on the throne of Sinja by his son, Prithvimalla! The glory of Sinja increased constantly during the rule of Prithvimalla and Abhayamalla. Accordingly, even though direct evidence is not available, it would seem that Gorkha remained a part of the state of Sinja during the rule of Prithvimalla and Abhayamalla also!

II

Gorkha Under Yakshamalla

The Narapati-jayacharya - Swarodaya - Tika, composed in the name of king Jagajjyotirmalla of Bhaktapur, a descendant of Yakshamalla, mentions that Yakshamalla had brought Gorkha under his control.

(Ancient Nepal, No. 6, p. 34).

This work was completed nearly 150 years after Yakshamalla, so it does not appear credible at first sight. Yakshamalla, however, had turned Bhaktapur his capital, into an impregnable fort in the year 1510 Vikrama.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Mallakalama Desharakshako Vyavasthara Tyasprati Prajako kartavya" (Defense arrangements during the Malla Period and the obligations of the subjects), Purnima year 1, no. 2, Shrawan 2021 (July 1964), pp. 20-23, trans. in Regmi Research Series, year 2, no. 5 May 1, 1970, pp. 110-113).

In that year, Yakshamalla seems to have worked against Champaran, adjoining the Tarai region of Nepal, as well as against the state of Lohabar, which adjoined the Tarai region of Nepal in the east.

(1. Gnyanamani Nepal, Nepala Nirukta, Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2040 Vikrama (A.D. 1983), pp. 180-81a

2. Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Dolakhako Aitihasika Ruparekha (Historical outline of Dolakha), Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2031 Vikrama (A.D. 1974), pp. 21-22).

All this makes it clear that Yakshamalla was a great conqueror.

Moreover, a reference is available to show that Yakshamalla had conquered Nuwakot.

(Dhanavajra Vajracharya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Nuwakotko Aitihasika Ruparekha (Historical outline of Nuwakot), Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, 2032 Vikrama (A.D. 1975), pp. 44-45).

This appears to substantiate the claim made by Jagajjyotirmalla that Yakshamalla had conquered Gorkha, which is adjacent to Nuwakot. It may be noted that the Vamshawali found by Kirkpatrick also mentions that Yakshamalla had brought Gorkha under his control.

(Kirkpatrick, An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, p. 266)

It thus seems that during the time of Yakshamalla, Gorkha once more came under central control, and that Yakshamalla took back Gorkha, which Jitarimalla had detached from the center.

III

Gorkha Under Mukunda Sen

The Sen kingdom of Palpa had been founded some time during the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. Rudra Sen was ruling there around the year 1571 Vikrama. This is proved by a grant made by him in that year, which is now available. Mukunda Sen, son of Rudra Sen proved to be a great hero.

The Valley of Nepal did not remain in its usual condition after Yakshamalla. Yakshamalla's kingdom was divided into several fragments. The three kingdoms of Bhaktapur, Kathmandu, and Patan emerged thereafter. Around 1581-82, Jitmalla and Pranamalla were ruling jointly in Bhaktapur and Suryamalla in Kathmandu, while Patan was being ruled by the Mahapatras. Taking advantage of this situation, Mukunda Sen invaded the Valley of Nepal twice in 1581 and 1582 Vikrama. Contemporary writings described Mukunda Sen as a Magar. There is also a reference to show that Mukunda Sen invaded the Valley of Nepal again in 1603 Vikrama.

The Pashupatinath Temple Treasury is in possession of a treaty signed by King Narendramalla (Amaramalla) of Kathmandu, some discontented members of the royal family of Bhaktapur, the Mahapatras of Patan, the Ravutta of Pharping, and the Bharos of Dolakha against King Pramamalla of Bhaktapur. The treaty placed the contracting parties under the obligation of offering joint resistance in the event Magars came through Nuwakot or any other route. The references to Mukunda Sen's invasion of 1603 Vikrama, the description of the Sens as Magars in contemporary writings; and apprehensions of a Magar invasion in 1605 Vikrama, show that the treaty was aimed at the Sens. Since a Sen invasion was apprehended through Nuwakot, this shows that the Sens had brought the Gorkha region under their control.

According to the Gorkha - Vamshavali :-

"Ganesh Pande, who had come along with Mukunda Sen, to Gorkha, was staying at Belbas in the Chhoprak area of Gorkha."

The Gorkha - Rajavamshavali similarly states:-

"Narayan Pandit stayed at the house of a Pokhryal Brahman in Chhoprak. A Pande Brahman named Ganesh, who had accompanied Mukunda Sen during his campaign of conquest, had left him and stopped there to treat a very great man who had fallen ill. Ganesh Pande had thereafter stayed at the house of that same Pokhryal Brahman for five or seven years."

These references too prove that Gorkha was then under the control of Mukunda Sen.

References

Mahesh Raj Pant and Dinesh Raj Pant, "Nepal Khaldoma Palpali Raja Mukunda Senko Hamala" (Invasion of Nepal Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Palpa), Purnima, year 12, no. 1, Jestha 2037 (May 1980), and year 12, no. 2, p. 19

(To be Continued)