1. Abolition of the Sati System ... 152
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On June 28, 1920, Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher enforced legislation abolishing the Sati system in Nepal. According to the Muluki Ain (Legal Code):

Those who fulfilled the requirements of the law had so far been permitted to become Sati. The matter was discussed in an assembly of (the royal) preceptors and priests, members of the nobility, officials and scholars and the scriptures too were consulted. (These discussions) showed that celibacy is as much as a virtue as the obligation (of a woman) to become a Sati after the death of her husband. Even in the case of women who have remained in full chastity and who sincerely desire to become Sati, (self-immolation as Sati) is forbidden if they are pregnant or in menstruation, or have minor sons or daughters. In the case of other women too, Sati is not an absolute obligation, for no sin accrues to them if they do not become Sati. (Self-immolation as Sati) is resorted to only to gain desired objectives, such as the attainment of heaven and other enjoyments. But such objectives can be attained not only by those who become Sati, but also by those who remain in celibacy. Those who are led to become Sati through the persuasion of others are not entitled to the merit of this act. Instead, they will have to undergo retribution for their sin. This is understood to be the teaching of the scriptures, and this is what the scriptures tell.

Prior to this, legislation had been enacted to enable (women) who had remained really chaste to become Sati if they so desired. (However), because of the influence of the age, people persuaded women who did not have a proper knowledge of the scriptures to become Sati even if they did not sincerely desire so, with the objective of inheriting (the women's) property, or to fulfill any other objective. Since women cannot understand the meaning of the scriptures, they were misled in this manner and accordingly became Sati. But women who become Sati in this manner do not gain the merit due to a (genuine) Sati. Instead, sin accrues to them, according to the scriptures.

Although persuasion takes a long time, only a few women in this age are prepared to become Sati. It is not possible to distinguish among women who have remained chaste and sincerely desire to become Sati and those who have been persuaded by others to become Sati. It has therefore been reported that because of the influence of the age, (the Sati system) may be of benefit to one or two women, but is harmful to many.


Contd...
(Moreover), (the practice of Sati) is not an absolute (obligation), but is, and has been considered to be, meant only to gain desired objectives. The virtues of chastity can be preserved even by practising celibacy, instead of becoming Sati. (The Sati system) may be beneficial in some respects, but it harms a greater number (of women) than it benefits. It has therefore been considered that it will be better to abolish the Sati system than to retain it.

Accordingly, all laws herebefore enacted to permit the Sati system are hereby repealed. From this time, the Sati system has been abolished all over the Kingdom of Gorkha. In case any (woman) requests permission to become Sati, the members of her family and other relatives, as well as the Jimidar, Talukdar, respectable persons of the village and all others, and, in case the request has been made to a government office, (its officials), shall explain the aforesaid provisions to her, and stop her (from becoming a Sati). In case this is not done, and any woman is permitted to become Sati in the future, and a living person is accordingly burnt to death, punishment according to the law relating to murder shall be awarded to (the person) who grants permission (to any woman to become Sati), as well as to those who burn her or assist (in this act). In case (any person) has attempted (to persuade a woman to become) Sati and thus burn her with the motive of inheriting her property, he shall not be entitled to appropriate such inheritance, even if the woman dies and (her property) accrues to him as inheritance. (Such property) shall then accrue to the nearest relative after him.

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Cont'd...
Judicial Customs In Nepal

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the government of Nepal appears to have utilized the services of local Panchas in the dispensation of justice. The following references may be of interest in this connection:

1. On Magha Sudi 11, 1868 (January 12, 1812) the Panchas of Dhorlikharka (Dhulikhel?) were directed to adjudicate in a dispute between Krishna Singh Newar, a tenant, and his landlord regarding the former's occupancy rights in a plot of land owned by the latter. They were directed to send both parties to Kathmandu if they were unable to settle the dispute themselves.¹

2. In Mahottari, local revenue functionaries, Birta owners, etc were directed on Kartik Sudi 10, 1866 (November 1810) to punish guilty people only after their confession was attested by local Panchas.²

3. In Nangle, Kathmandu, the local Dwarka (revenue collection functionary) was directed to obtain a confession from an illegitimate son of one Garudadhwaj and the daughter of Garudadhwaj's legitimate son, who had co-habited with each other in the presence of local Panchas.³

4. In Thimi, a case relating to commensal relations among some Newar families in Phujel (Gorkha) was heard by the local officials (Amali) and local Panchas on Marga Sudi 14, 1904 (December 1847). The government directed that such matters should be disposed of among Newars in the hill regions in the place where the offense was committed, and not outside.⁴

5. Regulations promulgated for Doti district on Marga Badi 14, 1883 (November 1826) directed the establishment of an Adalat at Silgadi to dispose of complaints against local officials, government contractors and Jagirdars. Punishment was to be awarded as decided upon by Panchas and Bicharis (Judges).⁵

⁵ Ibid, Vol. 43, P. 457.

Contd...
These references make it clear that Panchas did not actually dispense justice, but only acted like a Jury.

In Jumla, every offense was customarily punished with a fine of Rs 5, irrespective of its nature. An order issued on Poush Badi 4, 1873 (December 1816) abolished this practice and decreed that fines should be heavier for major offenses, and lighter for minor ones.

In the hill areas east of the Arun river, King Ran Bahadur Shah had prescribed the rates of fines for the Yakha and Khambu communities for different offenses as follows:

- **Infanticide**...
  - Rs 15

- **Incest**...
  - Rs 15 for man
  - Rs 12 for woman.

- **Intra-communal adultery** (Chak Chakui)...
  - Rs 12 for man
  - Rs 10 for woman

- **Injury involving bloodshed**...
  - Rs 5.

These rates were made applicable to the Majhi and Kumhar communities also in this region on Shravan Badi 10, 1867 (July 1810).

The general rule was that adultery with a woman of a higher caste was a punishable offense. The nature of the punishment awarded for such offenses varied according to caste status. The following table will make this clear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste Status</th>
<th>Punishment</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male Slave</td>
<td>Magar</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Slave</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Slave</td>
<td>Sunar</td>
<td>Death</td>
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Cont'd...
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste 1</th>
<th>Caste 2</th>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Punishment 1</th>
<th>Punishment 2</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Damai</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>42/161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damai</td>
<td>Kumhale</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>40/81</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damai</td>
<td>Brahman's slave</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>42/457</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damai</td>
<td>Kami</td>
<td>Enslavement</td>
<td>Enslavement</td>
<td>34/111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunar</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>39/221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunuwar</td>
<td>Kami</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>Enslavement</td>
<td>34/143</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Magar</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>,</td>
<td>42/192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Kami</td>
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<td>N.M.</td>
<td>39/274</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Khas</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>36/309</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Slave</td>
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<td>N.M.</td>
<td>42/175</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Death</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>36/309</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tilanga</td>
<td>Bhotel</td>
<td>cutting of genitals</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>42/21</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Confiscation of property less of caste, exile</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>Puratattwa Patra Sangraha, Part 2, P. 108</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Fine</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>43/263</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>Jaisi</td>
<td>Cutting of genitals</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>41/263</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>N.M.</td>
<td>41/73</td>
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(To Be Continued)
The Gupta Kings Of Nepal

A new change occurred in the history of Nepal after the rule of Amshu Varma came to an end. The Gupta dynasty played an important role in bringing about this change. Jisnu Gupta, who established his joint rule along with the Lichchhavi King Dhruva Deva, appears as an important personality.

In view of his surname "Gupta", it is clear that Jisnu Gupta belonged to the Gupta dynasty. The Thankot inscription of 59 Sambat proves that the Guptas belonged to the lunar dynasty. This inscription describes Jisnu Gupta as an ornament of the lunar dynasty. A study of contemporary inscriptions reveals the names of some ancestors of Jisnu Gupta. The Thankot inscription of the time of Jisnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva mentions that Mana Gupta Gomi was the great-great-grandfather of Jisnu Gupta. No royal titles such as Bhattaraka and Mahamahi have been used in this inscription to denote Mana Gupta Gomi. We may therefore speculate that Mana Gupta Gomi did not occupy any important position. The inscription states that Mana Gupta Gomi constructed a tank. This shows that his social and economic position was high.

In the Kewalpur inscription of Dhruva Deva and Jisnu Gupta, Jisnu Gupta has referred to Bh(a)uma Gupta as his grandfather.

Available evidence shows that Bhauma Gupta had usurped the Lichchhavi throne for some time. The Kewalpur inscription describes Bhumra Gupta as a former king. This inscription mentions Bhumra Gupta after Gana Deva. We may therefore speculate that Bhumra Gupta ascended the throne after Gana Deva. In the Lagan Tol inscription of Narendra Deva also we find that Bhumra Gupta had converted Maneshwar into state property possibly he was able to do so because he was king. The Gopala Vamshavali supports this view and describes Bh(a)uma Gupta as king.

2. Bhagavan Lal Indraji and Buhler have erroneously expressed the view that Jisnu Gupta was a son or relative of Amshu Varma. (Inscriptions From Nepal). Walsh thinks he was a son of Amshu Varma. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1908, P. 681). It is surprising that they committed such a mistake in 1908 without studying the Thankot and Handigaun inscriptions which S. Levi had published in 1905.
4. Ibid, No. 54.
5. Ibid, PP. 88-89.

Contd...
The earliest Gopala king, as enumerated in the Gopala Vamshavali, used the surname "Gupta". We cannot say whether there was any relationship between these Guptas and Jishnu Gupta and other later Guptas. References to persons using the surname of Gupta are found in inscriptions dated subsequent to 428 Shaka (506 A.D.). The Adinarayan (Thankot) inscription of Vasanta Deva refers to Virochana Gupta as Dutaka. This inscription mentions that Virochana Gupta was an Yajnika (one who performed sacrifices). In the Legan Tol inscription of Vasanta Deva, Ravi Gupta has been mentioned as Dutaka. This inscription also shows that Ravi Gupta occupied the important position of commander-in-chief and chamberlain. Kramalila, who has been mentioned in the Balambu inscription of Vasanta Deva, has been referred to as Maharaja Maha-Samanta. D.R. Regmi regards him as a member of the Gupta dynasty. However, this view is not tenable. This inscription also mentions the name of Bhauma Gupta as Pratihara (chamberlain). ThuLa Gupta and Shubha Gupta have been mentioned in the Balambu (Khadnya) inscription of Vasanta Deva.

Bhauma Gupta

The evidence we have presented above indicates that members of the Gupta dynasty occupied important positions in the Lichchhavi administration. However, we cannot say how Bhauma Gupta and Mana Gupta were related to each other.

The Shivalinga inscription (460 sumvat or 540 A.D.) near the Pashupati temple was installed by a woman called Abhiri. In this inscription, Abhiri has referred to Bhauma Gupta as her son. This inscription was installed by Abhiri along with a Shivalinga in the name of her husband. The Shivalinga is named Anuparameswara. It is possible that the Shivalinga was named after the husband of Abhiri. This shows that Bhauma Gupta's father was called Anuparama. However, Abhiri has not referred to her husband by name. She has referred to him only as the son of Paramabhimani. The name Anuparama occurs in another inscription also, found in front of the Satya Narayan temple at Handigaun in Kathmandu. The inscription, which has been inscribed on a Garuda Pillar, contains verses meant to propitiate Vyasa. It then states that the verses were composed by Anuparama.

Members of the Gupta dynasty appear to have entered into the Lichchhavi administration since the time of Vasanta Deva. It was against this background that Bhauma Gupta also had become a government officer under a Lichchhavi king.

Bhauma Gupta appears to have entered into the administration since the time of the Lichchhavi king Gana Deva. According to the damaged inscription of Kotal Tol in Pharping, dated 479 Samvat (557 A.D.), Bhauma Gupta, whose name occurs on the top, is described as commander-in-chief and chamberlain. Bhauma Gupta's name occurs in five other inscriptions of the time of Gana Deva. These inscriptions, which are dated 482 Samvat (560 A.D.), refer to Bhauma Gupta as commander-in-chief and chamberlain. In addition, the prefix "Shri" is used before his name. These inscriptions state that king Gana Deva accepted a request made by Bhauma Gupta to the effect that government officers (Adhikarana) should not be allowed any entry into the Tequla and Kika villages of the Sitaikat area. These inscriptions show that Bhauma Gupta occupied an important administrative position during this period. Another inscription of the time of Gana Deva, inscribed on the pedestal of the image of Narihar at Tyagal Tol near the Pashupati temple, dated 489 Samvat, refers to both Gana Deva and Bhauma Gupta. However, it does not use any title to denote Bhauma Gupta. He has been described only as Paramadaivata. This term has been used also in an inscription of Vasanta Deva found at the Adinarayan temple in Thankot. In this inscription, the term has been used to denote Vasanta Deva's father, Maha Deva.

In northern India, the Gupta emperors used the title of Paramadaivata, in the Damodar copper inscription of Kumar Gupta (444 A.D.), the king has been described as Parama Daivata. Subsequently, Buddha Gupta also adopted this title, as is evident from an inscription found in the same place. On the basis of this evidence, we may say that the title of Paramadaivata was used to denote kings. Against this background, the use of this title by Bhauma Gupta indicates an important fact. Thus, by 537 A.D. (535 A.D.?), Bhauma Gupta appears to have attained a status higher than that of commander-in-chief and chamberlain.


Contd...
We have obtained all this to clarify the political situation during the 24-year period from 489 to 512 Samvat. Gana Deva's last inscription is dated 489 Samvat. The next inscription we get is dated 512. This indicates that after Gana Deva, Bhauma Gupta usurped the Lichchhavi throne and ruled during this 24-year period. All this proves beyond doubts that Bhauma Gupta ruled as king for sometime.

However, Bhauma Gupta was not able to entrench the rule of the Gupta dynasty for long. This information we get from the Budhanilakanta inscription of Shiva Deva dated 512 Samvat (590 A.D.). In this inscription, Bhauma Gupta once more appears as commander-in-chief and chamberlain during the period of Gana Deva. This shows that the power of the Lichchhavi dynasty was increased, while that of the Gupta dynasty had declined. Bhauma Gupta, who had attained royal status, had once more become a member of the nobility with his old titles. The Gopal Vamsavali also hints at this fact. It mentions that after king Bhumja Gupta ruled for 45 years, the solar dynasty once more gained ascendancy and Shiva Deva became king.

Joint Rule Of Gana Deva And Bhauma Gupta?

It is generally held that from the time of Varanita Deva to that of Bhimarjuna Deva there was a joint rule of the Lichchhavis and the Guptas (as well as of the Varmas). Gautam Vajra Vajracharya has thus stated that a form of dual rule commenced after the time of Vasanta Deva. He adds, "The Balambu inscription shows that Gana Deva occupied the royal throne in accordance with the tradition of dual ruled. However, Bhauma Gupta appears as the chief administrator of the state."

However, we do not have any evidence to prove that the dual rule had commenced so early during the Lichchhavi period. We cannot therefore accept the view that Gana Deva and Bhauma Gupta had ruled jointly.

In the inscription of Gana Deva, Bhauma Gupta appears as commander-in-chief and chamberlain. Subsequently, he was able to increase his authority, but he does not appear as a joint ruler. Moreover, there appears to be a very great difference in the personalities of these 2 persons. Gana Deva has been clearly described as Bhattaraka Maharaja. On the other hand, no such title has been used to describe Bhauma Gupta. There is no term in the inscription of Gana Deva which may help to prove that a joint rule existed at that time.

21. Purnima, No. 10, P. 6, d

Contd...
After Bhauma Gupta, it appears that the Gupta dynasty declined in influence for sometime. This is why no person bearing the surname of Gupta is mentioned in the inscriptions of Shiva Deva and Amshu Varma.

Political Condition In Nepal After Amshu Varma

After the fall of Bhauma Gupta, Shiva Deva I ascended the throne. Amshu Varma was a very influential officer during his rule. By the time Shiva Deva died, Amshu Varma had considerably increased his power. The result was that he himself became king after Shiva Deva's death. There is no truth in the views that Amshu Varma and Shiva Deva ruled jointly.

In some inscriptions installed during the rule of Amshu Varma, we find references to Yuvaraja Udaya Deva. This has led Babu Ram Acharya to think that Udaya Deva was the son of Amshu Varma. However, we cannot regard Udaya Deva as Amshu Varma's son. This view is disproved by the Pashupati inscription of Jaya Deva II, which describes Udaya Deva as belonging to the Lichchhavi dynasty. The use of different surnames also indicates that there was no close relationship between Udaya Deva and Amshu Varma.

It is possible that Udaya Deva became king for sometime after Amshu Varma because he has been described as Yuvaraja (hier-apparent) in the inscriptions of Amshu Varma. However, no clear historical evidence is available to prove this theory. According to Chinese sources, Narendra Deva's father was ousted from the throne by his brother. This possibly means that Udaya Deva was dethroned by his brother, Dhruva Deva. This evidence too indicates that Udaya Deva ruled for some time.

Dhruva Deva became king after ousting his elder brother, Udaya Deva. However, the inscriptions installed during his rule refer to Jishnu Gupta as joint ruler. We may speculate that Dhruva Deva gave this status to Jishnu Gupta in appreciation of his cooperation in the conspiracy organized against Udaya Deva.

Joint Rule Of Jishnu Gupta And Dhruva Deva

After Udaya Deva was ousted, the joint rule of Dhruva Deva and Jishnu Gupta commenced. This was the first joint rule in the history of Nepal.

But contemporary inscriptions contain no evidence to prove that the two rulers shared powers equally. We may even say that Dhruva Deva was no more than a nominal ruler, and that the entire affairs of the administration were conducted by Jishnu Gupta. Six inscriptions installed during the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Dhruva Deva are available. Figures indicating the date have been worn out in 4 of these inscriptions. The other two inscriptions are dated 48 and 49 Samvat. The last date of Anshu Varma for which evidence is available is 45 Samvat (621 A.D.). Accordingly, there appears to be a gap of merely 2 years between the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Dhruva Deva and the last date of Anshu Varma. The Chhinnamasta temple inscription of Patan is dated 48 Samvat (624 A.D.). This date may be regarded as the first year of the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Dhruva Deva.

The inscriptions of the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Dhruva Deva were issued in the name of "Bhattaraka Maharaja" Dhruva Deva from Kusagriha. They also refer to Jishnu Gupta in the "Kailasha-Kuta-Bhawana." This shows that during the joint rule, the Lichchhavi king Dhruva Deva issued orders from his ancestral palace, while Jishnu Gupta did so from the Kailasakutabhaavana.

No inscription has given any of the usual royal titles to Jishnu Gupta. He has been given only the title of "Bhagavat Pashupati-Bhattaraka-Padanudhyato-Bappa-Padanudhyota" used by Anshu Varma. But though he had not adopted any royal title, Jishnu Gupta occupied an important position in the contemporary balance of power. This is proved by the reference in contemporary inscriptions to Vishnu Gupta as Yuvaraja. It is undoubtedly important that even during the joint rule, Jishnu Gupta has declared his son, Vishnu Gupta, as Yuvaraja.

No information is available to indicate when this joint rule came to an end. Inscriptions of this period are available only until 48 or 49 Samvat (624 or 625 A.D.). There is evidence that the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva commenced in 55 Samvat (621 A.D.). On the basis of this date, we may conclude that the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Dhruva Deva came to an end in 54 Samvat (630 A.D.) as the latest.

**Bhimarjuna Deva And Jishnu Gupta**

The joint rule of Dhruva Deva and Jishnu Gupta was thus followed by that of Bhimarjuna Deva and Jishnu Gupta. We cannot say how Bhimarjuna Deva was related to Dhruva Deva. Possibly, he was a son of Dhruva Deva. Three inscriptions installed during the period of this joint rule are available. Two of them are dated 55 and 59 Samvat (631 and 635 A.D.). The figure mentioning the

27. Ibid., No. 50.
28. Ibid., Nos. 55, 56 and 58. Contd...
date has been worn out, in the third inscription. On the basis of this date, we know that the joint rule of Bhimarjuna Deva and Jishnu Gupta commenced around 55 Samvat or sometime earlier. Jishnu Gupta's power appears to have remained unchanged even during the period of his joint rule with Bhimarjuna Deva. In the inscription mentioned above, Bhimarjuna Deva has been described as "Lichchhavi-Kula-Ketu" and "Bhattaraka Maharaja." However, Vishnu Gupta continued to be described as Yuvaraja. There is evidence that the joint rule of Bhimarjuna Deva and Jishnu Gupta did not continue long. The last inscription issued during the period of this joint rule, which is available at Tankaot, is dated 59 Samvat (635 A.D.). In that year, Jishnu Gupta removed the Lichchhavi king from the throne and started ruling alone. This shows that Bhimarjuna Deva did not rule for many years.

**Jishnu Gupta And The Lichchhavi Kings**

In a joint rule, it is almost impossible for both rulers to share power equally. In other words, it is natural that one of them should be a nominal ruler while the entire powers of the administration should be vested in the other. This was true during the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta with both Bhimarjuna Deva and Dhuvara Deva.

Lichchhavi kings have been described as "Bhattaraka Maharaja" in inscriptions. This title was used since the time of Vasanta Deva, Gana Deva and Shiva Deva I. Dhuvara Deva and Bhimarjuna Deva also followed this tradition. Shiva Deva I also used the title of "Lichchhavi-Kulatilaka." However, he did not use the title of "Bappa-Padanudhyata" which indicates the unbroken tradition of Lichchhavi rule and the king's devotion to his paternal ancestors. This must have been so because these rulers usurped the throne from the real heir, Udaya Deva.

In contradistinction, Jishnu Gupta did not use any such royal titles. He is described in all inscriptions only with the prefix "Shri" before his name. It should be recalled that around 39 Samvat (615 A.D.), Amshu Varma too renounced the title of "Maha-Samanta" and used only "Shri." Even then, he had been able to emphasize his royal status. Jishnu Gupta too followed the example set by Amshu Varma and used only the prefix "Shri" before his name. Moreover, he also described himself as "Bhagavat-Pashupati-Bhattaraka-Padmanabha-grihita", "Bappa-Padanudhyata" and "Kushali" as Amshu Varma had done. These titles have not been used by Dhuvara Deva or Bhimarjuna Deva. Jishnu Gupta imitated Amshu Varma in many matters because both of them had occupied an almost similar position in contemporary politics.

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29. Ibid, No. 560
30. Ibid, P. 56.

Contd...
These inscriptions also show that even though the Lichchhavi kings used respectful titles, their position in the administration was not important. The inscriptions invariably contain orders issued by Jishnu Gupta but the Lichchhavi king is mentioned first. They contain verbs in the singular number. It should also be noted that Vishnu Gupta, who also was a member of the Guptar dynasty, occupied the position of Yuvaraja. Moreover, there is no connection between the Lichchhavi king and the substance of the inscription issued during the joint rule. This is proved in particular by the Kewalpur and Thakot inscriptions. Accordingly, it is clear that both Dhruba Deva and Bhimarjuna Deva were kings only in name. At the same time, it is noteworthy that Jishnu Gupta had no alternative but to refer to the appropriate Lichchhavi king in all of his inscriptions.

All this bears testimony to the great influence which Jishnu Gupta enjoyed during the period of joint rule. He was able to suppress the Lichchhavi kings effectively. A few years after the beginning of his joint rule of Bhimarjuna Deva, he even refused to acknowledge the Lichchhavi king, according to contemporary evidence.

Jishnu Gupta Assumes Full Authority

The joint rule of Bhimarjuna Deva and Jishnu Gupta came to an end in 59 Samvat (635 A.D.). Thereafter, Jishnu Gupta started ruling alone. The Maligam inscription of 59 Samvat (635 A.D.) contains several expressions which help us to speculate that a major change had occurred in contemporary politics even though the name of the king has become illegible. The order contained in this inscription was issued from the Kailasha-Kuta-Bhawan. If it had been issued during the joint rule of Bhimarjuna Deva and Jishnu Gupta, it would have been promulgated from the Managriha according to tradition. This makes it clear that the inscription was not issued during the period of the joint rule. This fact is proved by the script used in the inscription as well as by its structure. It may therefore be correct to conclude that this inscription was issued during the period when Jishnu Gupta ruled alone. We have, moreover, pointed out above that the joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva came to an end in 59 Samvat (635 A.D.).

32. Ibid, No. 57f.

Contd...
Two inscriptions found on the idol of Chhatra-Chandeshwar in Pasupati,\textsuperscript{33} the Bodh inscription\textsuperscript{34} and copper coins on which the word "Jishnu Gupta"\textsuperscript{35} has been inscribed also constitute concrete evidence of the fact that Jishnu Gupta had been able to introduce a one-man rule of his own. In the first inscription, which was installed south of the Ashupati temple by Acharya Pranardana Pranakaushika of the Shaiva sect on the occasion of the installation of an idol of Chhatra-Chandeshwara, there is a clear reference to the fact that Jishnu Gupta was king at that time. Had the Lichchhavi king too been in power at that time, Pranardana would have mentioned his name also. The other two inscriptions also mention only Jishnu Gupta. However, the date has become illegible in all these 3 inscriptions. According to the Maliguau inscription, we know that Jishnu Gupta's one-man rule commenced in 59 Samvat (635 A.D.). The joint rule of Jishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva commenced in 64 Samvat (640 A.D.). This makes it clear that his one-man rule had come to an end by that time.

**Joint Rule of Vishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva**

It appears that the joint rule of Vishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva commenced after the death of Jishnu Gupta. According to the Yengahiti Lagan Tol inscription of 64 Samvat (640 A.D.),\textsuperscript{36} as well as the Sunaguthi (Bhringaveshwar temple) inscription of 65 Samvat (641 A.D.),\textsuperscript{37} the name of Vishnu Gupta is followed by that of the Lichchhavi king Bhimarjuna Deva. This shows that Bhimarjuna Deva had once again become king. As we have mentioned above, the name of the king has become illegible in the Maliguau inscription. However, Shridhara Gupta has been mentioned as Yuvaraja. We have already mentioned that the Maliguau inscription was installed by Jishnu Gupta. Shridhara Gupta has been mentioned as Yuvaraja also in the inscriptions installed during the joint rule of Bhimarjuna Deva and Vishnu Gupta (64 and 65 Samvat). Because of the identical surname, we may regard Shridhara as the son of Vishnu Gupta. It is important that in the Maliguau inscription Jishnu Gupta has referred to Shridhara Gupta instead of to Vishnu Gupta as in his previous inscriptions. It was contrary to the policy of Jishnu Gupta, father of Vishnu Gupta, that Vishnu Gupta should have started a joint rule with Bhimarjuna Deva, who had been rendered powerless by Jishnu Gupta. This makes it clear that Vishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva had started conspiring against the one-man rule of Jishnu Gupta. This is possibly why Jishnu Gupta removed Vishnu Gupta from the position of Yuvaraja and appointed Shridhara Gupta instead.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid, Nos. 59, 60.

\textsuperscript{34} Purnima, No. 13, P. 7.

\textsuperscript{35} A. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, P. 117.

\textsuperscript{36} R. Gnoli, op. cit. No. 61.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, No. 62.
The system of administration followed during the joint rule of Bhimarjuna Deva and Vishnu Gupta was not different from that followed during the time of Jishnu Gupta. Bhimarjuna Deva resided at the Managriha, and Vishnu Gupta at the Kailash-Kuta-Bhavana. Although Vishnu Gupta occupies the second place in the inscriptions, he actually wielded greater authority than Bhimarjuna Deva. Accordingly, he had made Shridhara Gupta, his son Yuvaraja. Both inscriptions installed during the period of this joint rule refer to Shridhara Gupta as Yuvaraja. We do not know how long the joint rule of Vishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva continued. Inscriptional references to this period are dated only 64 and 65 Samvat (640 and 641 A.D.). After that, in 69 Samvat (645 A.D.), we get an inscription of Narasimha Deva. We may therefore speculate that the joint rule of Vishnu Gupta and Bhimarjuna Deva continued for sometime between 64-65 and 69 Samvat (645 A.D.).
The Origin Of Changu Narayan

(The sage) Jaimini asked:

Who are the gods that dwell in the Shleshmantaka forest and where do they live? O fortunate one, tell me everything, for I desire to hear this.

(The sage) Markandeya replied:

There are many sacred places in the holy Shleshmantaka forest area. The entire gods, who grant boons to their devotees, live there. Even then, I shall describe some of the main sacred places there. On the Dolagiri hill, (the god) Hari, who has (an effigy) of (the bird) Garuda on his flag and who is gracious towards his devotees, came out of a Champaka tree. The recitation of his name will render even the most poisonous snake harmless.

Jaimini (then) asked:

How did Garudadhwaja come out of a Champaka tree? Tell me, O fortunate one whose wealth consists in penance, for I desire to hear this.

Markandeya said:

Listen to me attentively, you whose wealth consists in penance! There once lived a pious hermit named Sudarshana, who was of a very choleric temperament. He had made an excellent hermitage. He had a brown cow, which was like another Kamadhenu cow. The hermit, who practised self-restraint, and who worshipped his guests, performed religious performances for propitiating his gods and ancestors and also maintained himself with the milk of this cow.


2. Shleshmantaka is the name of the wood near the Pashupati temple in Kathmandu.

3. Dolagiri is the hill on the northeast of Kathmandu where the temple of Changu Narayan is situated.

4. Hari, Garudadhwaja, Madhusudana, Vishnu, etc are names of God Narayana.

5. Garuda is the bird on which God Narayana rides.

6. Kamadhenu is the name of the cow of the gods.

Contd...
Once the cow, while roaming about, entered into the Champaka grove. Then a handsome man emerged from the (trunk of the) Champaka tree, drank the milk of the cow and then disappeared inside the tree. The hermit tried to milk the cow but to no purpose. Every day the cow used to go to the grove, and the man drank her milk there. When the hermit could not get any milk from the cow for seven days, he became very angry, and said, "If I am the repository of (merit accruing from) penance, I will cut off the head of the foolish person who drinks my cow's milk, which is meant for religious performances (to propitiate) the gods.

The Brahman then stealthily followed the cow, which disappeared inside the grove of Champaka trees. The man again came out of the tree and drank the milk of the cow. Hardly had the man finished drinking the milk and gone back into the tree than the hermit, furious with anger, cut his head off with his sword. The body of the decapitated person then assumed a conch (Shankha), a wheel (Chakra), a club (Gada) and a lotus (Padma). When the hermit saw the headless body seated on Garuda, he felt very distressed. "What have I done?" He cried again and again, censuring himself and fainted. Reviving he decided to immolate himself in order to atone for (his sin).

Hearing such good words from Narayana, the hermit immediately lost his fear, and with folded hands, said, "O God, what an irony that you should grant a boon to a person who has done you such a great injury? O Madhusudana! I am a sinful and despicable person, who has become a Chanda through his action. Kill me with the Sudarshana-Chakra. O Madhusudana! I have beheaded Him not even the hair of Whom could be removed in war by the gods supported by the Gandharvas, Asuras and human beings."

Hearing these words of Sudarshana, Narayana said, "Listen, O tiger among hermits, to the story of the person who has beheaded me. In days of yore, there was a Danava named Chanda, of great valor. A great worshipper of God Shiva, accompanied by his consort Uma, pleased with the Danava came before him and said, "O great Danava ask a boon for whatever you like." The great Danava whose wealth consists in his penance, then asked that he might not be killed by any living being except a woman.

7. God Narayana has the Shankha, the Chakra, the Gada and the Padma on his four hands.
8. Gandharvas are celestial musicians, a class of demi-gods.
9. Asura, Danava, Daitya, etc refer to the enemies of the gods.
Sumati, who was devoted to religious deeds, was a very handsome person. He was a pupil of Shukracharya and Parashurama and was skilled in the science of archery. He was an intimate friend of Chanda. They were so intimate that they moved about, ate and drank together. Through the boon of Shiva and the favor of Sumati, Chanda, the Danava, ruled over the entire three worlds. He then started oppressing the gods. The gods, led by Indra, thereupon went to Kshirasagara and prayed to God Vishnu. Pleased with their prayer, Vishnu said to Indra, "Tell me why you have come. I will do it at once." Indra, hearing these words of Vishnu said, "O Purushottama! fight against Chanda, the Daitya."

Markandeya continued:

Vishnu, the enemy of Daityas then said, "Let that be so", and started for the kingdom of Chanda along with other gods, to fight against the brave lord of Daityas.

When Chanda heard that the army of the gods was coming, he became angry and came out of his kingdom along with numerous Daityas. Then a fierce and hair-raising battle started between the gods and Daityas, both of whom used different kinds of weapons. There flowed a fearsome river of blood in the battle-field. The wheels of chariots looked like crocodiles in the river and lumps of flesh looked like mud. The river of the battle-field was filled with bodies separated from heads, and the hairs on them looked like aquatic plants. The arrows were comparable to dreadful waves, capable of destroying both gods and Asuras. Those who were brave crossed the river, while cowards were drowned. The army of the gods was badly defeated by the valor of the Daityas.

I then engaged myself in a fight with the brave Daityas. The army of the Daityas was killed in large numbers with the arrows discharged from my bow. When Chanda, the lord of the Daityas, accompanied by a large and terrible army, saw his army being killed, he came straight to me to fight. The noise of his chariot shook the earth. He covered me with showers of arrows, thus showing the skill of his hands. Then the battle assumed a very terrible form between us, who looked like two rain-clouds. The lord of the Daityas pierced my brow with 3 arrows and my heart with 7. He pierced Garuda with 60 arrows. I too pierced his heart with 5 arrows and vital points on his brow with 10. Then the angry Daitya shot at me 3 arrows. He pierced Garuda too with 8 arrows. Much blood flowed out the body of Garuda. When I saw Garuda injured, I became furious. Then I tore his flag with my arrows and beheaded his chariot-driver with one arrow. I killed four horses of the wicked Daitya with four arrows, penetrated his armour with one arrow and aimed five arrows at his heart. Then Chanda, with his chariot broken, his armour destroyed ...

10. Kshirasagara is the ocean of milk where God Narayan lives

Contd...
his horses and driver killed, became very perturbed and began to fight on foot. Seeing him injured and frightened with my arrows, Sumati, disciple of Parashurama, who was highly skilled in the science of archery and the favorite disciple of Shukra in the science of Mantras, became very angry and because of his great affection for Chanda, pushed him away and came before me in his big chariot.

Then we too fought a fierce and noisy battle like two lions fighting in a jungle. Even heaven became frightened at seeing our battle. When I discharged the Agneyastra (fire-missile), Sumati retaliated the Parjanyastra (rain-missile). I then discharged Vayavyastra (wind-missile), whereupon he threw at me the Parvatastra (mountain-missile). When I discharged the Sarpastra (serpent-missiles), he threw at me the Garudastra (Garuda-missiles). After piercing my heart with seven dreadful arrows, and Garuda with ninety arrows, Sumati, the brave Brahmana began to roar.

Garuda, injured in the vital parts of his body, vomitted blood and fell senseless like a tree. When Garuda thus collapsed, I began to fight on foot. Then the gods became very much afraid and cried with fear. Even though of a forgiving disposition, I felt ashamed and angry because this had happened in the presence of the gods. Realizing that a serious situation was likely to arise, I discharged my sharp and dreadful Sudarshana Chakra (wheel) weapon upon him. I thus cut the head of the Brahmana off. Thus I committed the sin of killing a Brahmana.

Shukracharya then came to the battle-field. Furious with anger, he cursed me. He said, "O Vishnu! Since you have beheaded my disciple, a Brahmana may you be beheaded by his descendants." I received this dreadful curse from Shukracharya. I then traveled in various countries, with the burden of the sin caused by the killing of a Brahmana. But I could not get peace anywhere. Overwhelmed with my sin, I dwelt inside the Champaka tree on the Dolagiri hill. You cut off my head because of the curse of Shukracharya, and you are not to blame for this. Freed from this curse, I shall stay here. O Sudarshana! worship me here. Persons who worship me with devotion on the twelfth day of the moon or on full moon day, as well as Wednesday will definitely reach heaven (Vaikuntha).

Vishnu then emerged from the Champaka tree on the charming hill of Dolagiri and lived there with his head separated from his body with Sudarshana as his worshipper. Seeing Vishnu living on the Dolagiri hill, serpents became harmless by the grace of Garuda, O Jaimini, greatest among sages.
1. In 1879 Samvat (1812 A.D.), an order was promulgated prohibiting reclamation, manufacture of charcoal for non-military purposes and destruction of forests around Kathmandu Valley, including Kahule, Kakani, Manichud, Sindhu-Bhanjyang, Mahadev-Pokhari, Raniban, Phulchoki, Champadevi, Chandagiri, Panauti, Banepa, Nala, Chaukot, Dhulikhel, Bihabar, Dhumkharka, Hattiban and Siseneri. The boundaries of these forests were demarcated and forest guards were appointed.

Subsequently, several persons received royal grants to clear and reclaim lands in these forests. All such grants were withdrawn on Baisakh Sudi 11, 1890 (May 1833) and arrangements were made for the appointment of forest guards in adequate numbers. Village headmen and other local functionaries were made responsible for apprehending offenders and handing them over to the authorities in Kathmandu. The government directed that timber should be cut in these forests only through the special permission of Prime Minister Bhimsen Thapa.¹

2. At one place in Liglig, Gorkha district, peasants cultivating Jagir lands complained on Falgun Badi 13, 1895 (March 1839) that deforestation had led to the drying up of sources of water and thus rendered their lands uncultivable. The government appointed two local persons as caretakers of the forests. Arrangements were made to cut timber for the construction of palaces, bridges and roadside shelters, as well as for the requirements of the local people, only through their permission.²

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¹ Regmi Research Collections, Vol 26, P. 296.
² ibid, P. 393.
3. At Pokhre village in Sipa, Sindhupalchok district, a Birta owner complained on Chaitra Badi 11, 1899 (March 1843) that forests on his Birta lands were being indiscriminately destroyed by the local people, so that the village was being ruined and Jagir lands were being rendered uncultivable. The government thereupon issued an order prohibiting the cutting of green timber and land reclamation in the forest. It directed, in addition, that timber should be cut only through the permission of the Birta owner in such a manner that the forest was not destroyed. The Birta owner himself was appointed caretaker of the forest, with powers to apprehend offenders and hand them over to the authorities.3

3. Ibid, P. 530.
### A Glossary of Revenue, Administrative and Other Terms Occurring in Nepali Historical Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cola</td>
<td>Market; market duties.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gram-Khascha</td>
<td>A levy imposed in the eastern Tarai districts in 1793 to finance the perquisites of local officials and functionaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guruwa</td>
<td>A medicine-man in the Tharu community; appointed by the state to look after the welfare of the local community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guthi</td>
<td>Endowment of lands, income or revenue to finance religious and charitable functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasil</td>
<td>A tax collected from weavers and poultry-farmers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hat</td>
<td>Levies collected from traders who sold their goods at periodic fairs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hattidana</td>
<td>Tax collected from Newar to finance the supply of fodder for royal elephants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hel</td>
<td>Tax collected from persons who reared cows in Kathmandu Valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilar-Kharcha</td>
<td>A tax collected in Thak and elsewhere. No information is available about its meaning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagat</td>
<td>Inland transit duties on goods.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jaisi-Danda</td>
<td>Fines collected from Jaisis for performing the priestly and other functions of pure Brahmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalkar</td>
<td>Tax collected from members of the Majhi community in the form of cash or black gram; tax on fishing rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammabandi</td>
<td>Tax assessment records.</td>
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Contd...
A village headman in Chharka and other hill areas.

Compulsory labor obligation.

A landowner; a functionary responsible for revenue collection.

A levy; the meaning is not known.

Revenue from judicial fines, escheats, etc from mendicants of the Jogi sect, as well as from a tax of 1 anna imposed on every household of the Majhi, Kumhale, Darai, Danuwar, Newar, Kushle, Tharu, Pahari, Dhami, Hayu, Sunuwar, Chepang, Kusahari and Jolaha communities.

Paddy-field or Khet land. Term used in Jumla and other Himalayan regions.

Ore of iron or copper; a tax payable in this form in the mining areas of the hill region.

Virgin forest lands in the Tarai.

Killed sicca coins minted in India.

A revenue functionary in Kumaun with Pradhans under him.

Land tax assessment at concessional rates in the eastern Tarai.

A Pragnana-level functionary responsible for the preparation of land and revenue records in the Tarai.

Revenue from transit duties collected on cotton and yarn.

A tax imposed on cattle grazed on pasture lands in the Tarai.

Revenue from sale of timber in the Tarai.

Contd...
Tax paid by barbers, blacksmiths, curd-vendors, oil-vendors, liquor-vendors, etc in the Tarai.

The officer-in-charge of the Central Treasury in Kathmandu.

A tax levied on buffaloes in Morang and elsewhere in the eastern Tarai.

A tax collected from persons cultivating Pakho holdings in the hill regions. On mining lands, it was collected in the form of metal.

A form of customary communal land tenure prevalent among Limbus, Rais, Sherpas, Danuwar, Sunuwars, Majhis, Newars and other communities in the hill regions including Kathmandu Valley.

An official appointed in the eastern Tarai districts to recover stolen property or else compensate the owner.

Tenants occupying homesteads on Birta lands.

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(To Be Continued)

(S.B.M.)