

Ancient Towns of Kathmandu Valley A survey of Legends, Chronicles and Inscriptions

– Sudarshan Raj Tiwari

The inscriptionally proven history of Nepal starts from second half of the fifth century at the beginning of the rule of the great Lichhavi King Manadeva. However the Gopalrajabamsabali (Bajracharya, Malla 1985:121) lists Manadeva as the 21st Lichhavi King of that dynasty, which was preceded by the Kirat dynastic rule spanning thirty Kings. The Kirats themselves were preceded by the Mahispalas, who had conquered the valley kingdom from its earlier rulers the Gopals, who ruled for eight generation. Gopals are presented as the first politically organised rulers of Kathmandu Valley. Though this chronology and other similar later chronologies are doubtful in term of their accuracy and time frame, yet these can hardly be baseless. What ulterior motive would Malla - centric document have to present a long history of non-Malla rulers ? asks Malla, in his analysis of Gopalrajabamsabali, and presents a very credible viewpoint that Kirat rule can be substantiated on the basis of surviving place-

names also:

"The protracted duration of Kirat rule apart, a few things are worth noting in the tradition. As most names are non-sanskritic in the list it is highly unlikely that they were invented for the sake of filling in the gap in any fanciful chronology in a text intended to be Sanskrit. Secondly, unlike the later chronicles, there is no legendary fat or digressions in the Kirat King list. ... The Kirat occupation of the Nepal Valley is certainly not an afterthought of the chronicles. The Sanskrit inscriptions ... set up in the valley by the Lichhavis (AD 459-879) contain well over 80% non-sanskritic place-names, including names of rivers, hillocks, canals and tax offices (Bajracharya, Malla 1985:VI)."

Such place-names found in Lichhavi inscriptions and such protracted rule of Kirats not only goes well to establish the antiquity of Nepal Valley but also suggests that townlets were already formed before the Lichhavis started their rule in Kathmandu. As the

Lichhavi rule started in 1st Century BC (Sharma 2022: 72-76) and since the inscriptions started showing only from 5th Century AD onwards, the place-names themselves are those which have survived over five hundred years of Lichhavi rule and as such these must be well established towns or villages.

Legends Highlight Kirat Towns

Nepal was already an important trading partner of her neighbours during the time of Buddha, as is testified by the accounts of that time (Nepal 2040:3). Likewise on the basis of economic treatise of Kautilya (BC 244), Nepal concludes that there was good amount of trade between India and Nepal and cottage industries based on wool was extant at time (2040:3). Other legends approximating this time refer to the visit of Indian Emperor Ashok to the town of Lalitpur (Ca BC 250), when he is said to have built five stupas in Lalitpur, four at its corners and one at the centre. These stupas are said to be the same five mounds still extant in Lalitpur today and "though their appearance provides no hint whatsoever in dating them earlier than 16th Century AD" (Gutschow Sakya 1980: 161), the socio-political importance and antiquity of the town of Lalitpur is implied. Ashokan legends also include mention of the founding of another town of Devpatan, by the Prince Devapal during the rule of the Fourteenth Kirat King Sthunko. About the same time Prince Dharmadutta is said to have settled the town of Visalnagar. The four Chaityas associated with the Ashokan visit are also claimed by other buddhist legends to be the Chilancho Chaitya of Kirtipur, Swayambhu Chaitya, Chabahil

Chaitya of Devpatan and Patuko mounds around Lalitpur and they do form a space forming square (Herdick: 17) with Chintamani Tirtha of the Buddhists at its centre. Popular culture of the people claiming to be of Kirat origin associate this Patuko mound with Kirat ancestry and some historians have concluded that Kirat King Patuko shifted the Kirat royal palace from Gokarna to Shankhamul (Sharma 2022: 72-76). Though archaeological studies are yet to be conducted, the antiquity and socio-political importance of the town of Lalitpur in ancient Nepal is clear. The Shankhamul palace could well be the Patuko mound, the Shankhamul of today, the confluence being an early Lichhavi religious site (Rau: 1989).

The various religious legends about the formation and settling of the Kathmandu Valley have been woven in the past to justify the agelessness or early practice of both the Hindu and Buddhist religions. Though these legends are prone to one upmanship and were mainly meant to curtail each other by elevating one's own past and thus are contradictory and unbelievable in terms of their time frame presentation and grandeur, yet these were basically woven to show to the laymen that events and places socio-culturally important to them were related to the religion, these legends were propagating. As Kirats were not Buddhist and probably only worshipped the phallic symbols (Lingas) as representing their paternal ancestry and thus followed a kind of Shivism - the early Buddhist and Vaisnavite legends were simply trying to relate themselves to places of Kirat socio-political importance. To substantiate this logic, legends come in very handy. Some of the early sites mentioned in Buddhist legends

such as the four Jatamatrochha (current Jamacho) of Vipaswibuddha, Dhyanochha (current Champadevi) of Sikhi Tathagata, Phulochha (current Phulchoki) of Viswobhubuddha, Dhilacho (current Manichuthan) of Manjushri are parallel to the Char Narayan sites of the temple of Bishnu said to have been built by the fourteenth Lichhavi King Hariduttburma according to Gopalrajabamsabali (Bajracharya, Malla : 2030). It is interesting to note that the hill tops claimed to be sites of early Buddhists sages Asram are a little higher than the Char Narayans located on the lower reaches of the same hill e.g. Jamacho : Ichangunarayan, Dhyanocha : Sikhanarayan, Phulochha : Bishankhunarayan and Dhilacho : Changunarayan (Sketch No. 04). These four general areas are most likely, places or settlements of great socio-cultural importance to the Kirats. The location of Mahadev Pokhari, Pokhari Thumko, Pokhari Banjyang and Dahachowk Dara at these very places lends credence to large settlements around for which these hill top ponds were used for water supply. On the basis of later Lichhavi inscriptions one can show that Sitapaila-Balaju area, Thankot-Matatirtha-Pharping area, area east of Gokarna and Bungmati-Godavari area has preponderance of Kirat place names, and thus Kirat towns and villages as this paper will later on discuss. Also the site claimed to be Buddhist Chintamani Tirtha, the confluence of Bagmati and Bishnumati is also the holy asram of sage Ne of the Hindu legends. Bhringareswor, of the Gopalrajabamsabali is close to Bungmati, claimed equally by Buddhists and Hindus (Locke : 1975). Devpatan of the Asokan legend

is located in the same area where, Gopalrajabamsabali says, the fifth Lichhavi King Supuspadev built the temple of Pashupati Bhattaraka along with a beautiful town (Sundaranirmitanagaram) and is possibly referring to the same town. Manjushri is credited by Buddhist legends to have settled a large town between Swayambhu Hill and Guheswori (Manmaiju), called Manjupatana, which should obviously be referring to the current Balaju area, the foothills of Jamacho and Ichangu. Buddhist legends indicate that later ruler moved from Manjupatan to Sankasya on the bank of Ikshumati - which is probably one and the same Nandisala township credited to Lichhavi rulers.

[I have deliberately omitted reference to Gopala sites, which some Chronicles locate in the Matatirtha belt as this belt also overlaps as Kirat settlement area. The Shivite nature of Kirats is close to the Gopala religious practice and therefore the places of socio-cultural importance of Gopals might overlap with those of the Kirats physically, differing only in the time frame. Possibly from Kirtipur and Matatirtha their second stage settlements spread to Balaju - Devpatan belt.]

From Legends to Inscriptions

With the availability of Lichhavi inscription from 5th Century AD to 9th Century AD, we are on sounder ground. The trade with the southern neighbours mentioned in the legends and chronicles, cited above become facts through these inscription. By the time of the rule of Amsuvarma in the early decades of

7th Century AD, Nepal's export trade included many items in addition to iron, chamar, wool, Kusturi and copper pots (Dhanabajra (2030 : 311). This makes clear that nonagricultural exports were major customs levied items and as such by that time Nepal had a well developed mining and metal processing industries and metal craft, wool based industries and organised hunting. By the middle of the seventh century during the rule of King Narendradeva, Chinese diplomats found "more traders than farmers" in the valley of Kathmandu and general population held and enjoyed theatrical performances (Levi : 1894 as quoted in Macdonald, Stahl 1979:19). This clear evidence of nonagricultural pursuits indicate high urbanisation from early times. Taxation was imposed in Lichhavi time and these can also give clue to the major sources of earning of the people. As many as 19 Lichhavi inscriptions mention taxes (Regmi 1983:260). There was tax on land, orchards and their agricultural produce such as garlic and onion. Customs was imposed on export items (Sulka). Tax on cloth (chelakara), tax on oil, tax on shop or market or salestax (tapana, apanyakara), tax on animal husbandry (Mallakara, Mallapotakara, Sukara), tax on agricultural implements (Gohale kara), entertainment tax (goyudha kara), wealth tax ? (pindakam) were also charged. In addition to kara other levies such as Bhaga, Bhoga, Horanya, Trikara were also raised as state revenue. Fines on departure from confirmist social morals appear to form a major revenue source. The mention of fine on Adhikamasatula (false weighing scales) also indicates large volume of trading. Some of these taxes indicate sizable nonagricultural pursuit of Lichhavi populace.

The Lichhavi rule which spanned through the 1st millennium AD ending 879 AD, set the standards for the pattern of life in Kathmandu Valley and made great contribution to the development art, architecture, language and administration. As they started the system of administration through "Panchali or Panchalikas", this led the further development of dispersed settlements within the valley. The embryo of "temple towns" thus seems to have been laid. Study of inscription of this era show that near temples, canals and water conduits were built which suggests location of settlements around and these I have called temple towns. Possibly the Lichhavis followed a system of locating local administrative buildings near the temples just as their own palace towns included temples. Almost all inscriptions of this era contain either tax exemption decrees or construction/repair of temples, canals, ponds and water conduits. Some inscription contain reference to "yatras" - festivals of gods - Dwarodghatan kailash yatra (Regmi CXXXVI), Mandipi yatra (Regmi CXLIII) etc. The mention of Rajakulas (e.g. Pundrarajakula, Daksinarajakula etc.) parallel to the main palace could indicate major sub-administrative principalities.

The Kirat Town from Inscriptions

Apart from the legends quoted above which suggest location of Kirat palace/towns at Gokarna and Lalitpur, the inscriptions of Lichhavi era suggest that Kirat settlements in some form, possibly townlets, were mostly located on the upper reaches of the hillslopes around the valley. Many such settlements may

be named Ahidumgram (about Gokarna ?), Lembatidraga (Lele), Lohpring and Muhpring (east of Gokarna ?) Mathanggram (North of Bansbari ?), Kadunggram, Ferangkotta, Kichpringgram, Pasinkhya, Thenchogram and Jolpringgram (about Thankot), Stharudraga (Chapagaon), Konko (near Gundu to the south of Bhadgaon?), Khopring (Bhadgaon), Thanthuridraga (Budhanilkantha) etc. The non-sanskrit place name can only refer to settlements existing before Lichhavis took over. The recent excavations at Satyanarayan, Hadigaon, has led to concrete proof of prelichhavi built up walls (BC 167 ~ AD 1) reinforced by the name non-sanskrit "Andigram" mentioned in HSN 142 inscription. Some guesses about these towns have been made in terms of their defence role but nothing is known about their physical character. Yet many names ending in 'cho' and 'gung' are Kirat names (Bista 2039:11) for places located in a higher level. The inscriptions show many such names as Haragung, Hnagung, Vremgungcho, Lumbuncho, Kharicho, Mindicho, Mogungcho, Pahancho, Dhancho, Dhandangung, Thencho, Chhogung, Gungsikhara, Gungdimaka, Gungbihara, Kharebalgancho, etc. Of these Haragung, Hnagung, Thencho, Pahancho and Lumbuncho were located about Thankot Dahachowk; Mindicho, Kharhicho, Vremgungcho and Mogungcho were about Pharping; and Gungsikhara, Gungdimaka, Gungbihara, Kharebalgancho were to the east of Gokarna. Other Kirat place ending in -ng -pring -bram -brum -bru -bu - ambi - ammi etc. are also numerous in these inscriptions. As the inscriptions themselves are dated more than six hundred years after the end of Kirat rule many

place names degerated to suit new tongues. And all names that cannot be traced to Sanskrit origin, naturally should be thought as prelichhavi or derived from prelichhavi nomenclature existing in the valley. Indeed the place names ending in -bram -brum -bru -bu - ambi - ammi could be related to hill base springs - though at this stage more research is needed on this. Spring fed ponds, hill top ponds, natural or mandade were important to Kirats - even Lichhavis continued this tradition and the later Mallas picked it up in their urban culture again centuries later. It is worth noting that King Narendradeva proudly took his visitor to show a perennially bubbling pond (Regmi 2026 : 177-78).

Location of Lichhavi Town

The existing Kirat Palace in Lele possibly became the nucleus of the first Lichhavi Palace town, though legends suggest King Nimish built his palace there. Except Verardi excavations finds in Hadigaon, remains of Lichhavi townships have yet to be found. This is because firstly little archaeological excavations have been made and secondly many of such townships have taken the current shape or are in ruins under the current habitation area. The tendency of some historians to locate palace/biharas or towns on the basis of the current location of the stone inscriptions of Lichhavi times mentioning their names (Daxin Rajakula : Bajracharya 2030: 375, Sanday 1979: 57 and Rajabihara : Bajracharya 2030:505) has led to unbelievable and illogical statements. Take for example Yagabahal inscription of Narendradeva (Regmi CXVII) from which Dhanabajra concludes that

the current Guittole of Patan is Gullatangram of Lichhavi times and that the boundary shown in the tablet indicates north eastern area of Lalitpur and that Rajbihara, Madhyamabihara, Chatur-bhalatasanabihara, Kalyanaguptabihara were all located about Guittole (2030:505) ! Yet the same inscription gives the outer boundary of the area in Gullatangram starting from NE and clockwise indicating place markers to its east, south, west and north. One can very easily see that all these biharas were situated to north of Bagmati river (rough translation of line 11 and 12 would read: Its boundary from the northeast the source of water system for the Bihara, from there going southwards to Gomi's land in Dhenchopradesa then following the Bagmati river reach up to the confluence of the Got canal from there go north etc. ...). The land maps of the grant of inscription no. Regmi CXXVII (Figure 2) and no. Regmi CXXVIII (Figure 3) and the recent discovery of a new inscription (Rolamba : Vol 10 : 1990 no. 1) all go to show that Gallatanga and all the Biharas mentioned in these steele were located about Gokarna. This makes sense because the source of water supply to the stone conduit, for whose maintenance the land grant was given, should be to the north of Pashupati area and also should be close to the base of the valley hills to the north so as to allow natural source of water.

The land grants and boundary statement in Lichhavi steeles can, if well analysed, lead to meaningful conclusions regarding the location of the settlements and their nature. Superficial evaluations based more on the location of steele than on their content can mislead us and we will continue to believe that Patan was the site of most Lichhavi Biharas. We will continue to

believe that Daxinarajakula was at Hanumandhoka because there is a stone steele (used later as a plinth stone in the temple of Degutale) mentioning a dilapidated Kirat palace and because it was situated to the south of Koligram, it was called Daxinarajakula (Bajracharya 2030:375) and because the current location of the Jaisidewal steele is to the southwest of Basantpur and the steele is about a landgrant to the southwest of Daxinarajakula (Dhanabajra 2030: 344). Shall we so easily close our eyes to other indicators ? Concluding on the basis line 10 of an inscription (Regmi LXVI) and forgetting line 12 of the same inscription can lead to such conclusions and find gullible followers (Sunday (1979: 57). Can we imagine Parbatbhumi (bill) to northwest of Basantapur ? Can we imagine parbatbhumi to its west ? The closer and better site marker Kesbati (Bishnumati) river would not be left out as easily. And where is Tegwal ? Is this the same as Teggwan of inscription at Pharping and is not it then to the north of Mindicho ? (Regmi XXXVII). Is Tegwal panchali of inscription no. Regmi CXL, Tyagaltole as suggested by Dhanabajra (Bajracharya (2030: 546) ? Irrigation channel originating from a forest near Yupagram (Patan) can not simply be brought to Tegwal in Kathmandu. One can not agree that the Tegwal panchali of inscription no. Regmi CXL is in Patan and Tegwal Narayan is located southwest of a land which is to the southwest of Basantpur. Very clearly either Daxinarajakula was not at Basantpur or Tegwal panchali is not current Tyagal to say the least. I could hazard a better guess - Daxinarajakula was not located at Basantpur, Tegwal panchali extended from Panga to Bagmati to its east the

plain land southwest of Jhamsikhel and formed a part of Sitati area (inscription no. Regmi XXXVII : Tegwal gram). The Jaisidewal inscription, Regmi no. LXVI, is simply not located at the site of the landgrant and as the inscription has words preceding 'Daxinarajakulasya' damaged and as the land indicated is in the midst of agricultural land with hills to its west and north, and as Bharatasram is mentioned adjoining this land, we should relegate this site to the foothills. Likewise Nepal (2040: 38) may be closer to truth in saying Brijakarathya was not in Navagriha but at Nandishala (Andigrama - Nandigram/ Nandishara - Nandigala - Nandala - Nandara). The Devapattan placename in Lichhavi Inscription is remarkable by its absence.

Physical Aspects of Lichhavi Towns

Many palaces, temples, biharas, water conduits were built by the Lichhavis in and around towns of which a few names we have already discussed above. If we analyse the stone inscriptions about Kailashkuta palace (inscription no. Regmi LXIX and LXXV) we can see that the palace was built within a major settlement possibly at Hadigaon (Nepal : 2040 : 66). The palace precinct have had more than four temples and the ground enclosure had gates in cardinal directions. These gates also served as administrative and tax offices for different parts of the valley and/or administrative works of separate nature was given responsibility to a gate. The Tang Annals description of Kailashkuta palace is indeed grand but Wang Huen Che does not notice the temples. Either the temples were not

magnificent structures or they simply did not form a focal point in the square or court. It was only during the Malla period that temples became major elements in the capital city palace square. However the case of other Gramas and Drangas was different as there were many settlements where temple was the central element e.g. Bungamati, Bhringaragram, Narasimhagram etc. Some others had tax offices as their central place e.g. Stharudranga, Kichpringgram, etc. As time went on outlaying townlets continued to polarize around the temples and tax offices and often had both the elements as the central duo by the early Malla period. Often the major urban service element "the stone water conduit" was also built into this complex. Pedestrian and wheeled traffic path interlinked the various settlement (e.g. Mahapath, Brihatpath, Marga, etc. are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions). Unlike the Kirat townships, located as they were in lower slopes of the mountain which had easy access to water sources, the townships of the Lichhavi located in the ridges and other high lands of the valley floor were away from hill sources and in areas with very low subsurface ground water. This led to the development of ponds with deep wells as reservoirs and depressed pit conduits for water supply. The level of the water source and its distance from the water spout decided the depth of the pit (Tiwari : 1989, 78-80). The beauty of the Dhara near Manimandap in Patan Durbar, Dhara at Naxal Bhagabati and others at Ratnapark, Hadigaon, Naxal, Jaisidewal and at Su-Bahal stand testimony to the Lichhavi builders process in providing water to urban area - some of these including the oldest known

are still working ! The Lele inscription of 604 AD record grants to many other services required for urban area such as Home for the recovery of health (Arogyashala), Body for maintenance of lighting (Pradeepa Gosthika), Troupe of wrestlers (Malla Yuddha Gosthika), Body for supply of water (Paniyasala), Body for maintenance of canals (Pranali Gosthika) etc. Goyuddha (Bull fights) was also a popular pastime. By the time Mallas established themselves, many religious festivals were taking places in these towns. Kathmandu had grown to a town of 1800 houses. By 1130 AD the concept of satellite town was possibly forced by towns growing too big e.g. Kirtipur town was established as a satellite to Patan and Kathmandu.

Religious/Cultural Basis of Lichhavi Towns

From a closer study of Lichhavi inscription it can be seen that population at that time was largely Hindu following the hierarchical caste systems and several other ethnic groups such as Abhirs, Shakyas, Vrijjis and Kirats also inhabited the different parts of the valley. Of these Kirats were the aboriginal settlers of the valley and all others migrated to the valley from the south. Brahmins formed a major group in some settlements e.g. Daxinkoligram, Nilisala, Jayapallikagram, Bhringaresworgram, Hamsagrihadranga, Narasimhagrama etc. Jayadeva inscription of Pashupati is very categorical in showing Brahmins as a major population group. They enjoyed a very important social status and occupied important position from royal palace to towns and villages (Nepal 2040 : 121). The concurrent

development of Buddhism and associated Biharas led to a good ethnic and religious mix and set the process of Hindu-Buddhist religious ethnic harmony into motion and this was later to become the most important cultural feature of the valley society. We have already seen that Goyuddha, kailashyatra, mandipiyatra, varahayatra and similar other religious processions and festivals were organized and celebrated. Mandapi yatra is possibly still current in the form of Tunaldevi Jatra of Hadigaon (Tiwari 2040: 86). Lichhavi inscriptions show almost a total lack of reference to temples of Mother Goddesses or Bhagabatis. Of the exception – Matara DV 53, Sridevi DV 72, Sasthidevi DV 72, Bhagabati Bijayeswori DV 16, Umatirtha DV 145 - Sridevi and Sasthidevi were within Kailashkutabhawan precinct, Bhagabati Bijayeswori is at Palanchowk, Umatirtha is possibly a confluence/ghat - only the Matara of Sikubahi, Shankhamul remains. Even the image here is not of the Mother Goddesses. This is difficult to explain particularly because in the context of Bangdel's contention that early sculptures of Nepal are of Mother Goddesses and the worship of Mother Goddess has been extremely popular since remote times till today (Bangdel : 1989 : 405). He cites Gaja-Laxmi of Chyasaltole, Srilaxmi of Kotaltole, Mother goddess of Haugal Bahal, Kumari of Changu and many others from Patan, Balkhu, Kirtipur, Deopatan, Maligaon etc., all dated earlier than 3rd Century AD. Not so surprising though and more important is their location sites with strong probability of being Kirat towns. Major Vaisnava sculptures of the same time are also located in these very areas e.g. Hadigaon and

Patan. The Saiva sculptures of the same period have been found at Balkhu, Balambu and Kirtipur. From these finds I would surmise that temples of Goddess and or Pithas were common though they were not then focal divinity in any Lichhavi Gramas or Dranga. As there were not Vaisnavite or Sivite temple these were deliberately omitted in records for posterity.

However, as most of the rulers followed Vaisnavite or Sivite religious practice and the state was run on the basis of puranic and vedic doctrine and also as Brahmins played major administrative and decisive roles and as the religious images themselves were based on vedic principles (Bhattarai : 2041), it is very likely that new towns or newer developments of older towns were laid out on the regulatory basis of these very doctrines. Information on such planning process of the Lichhavi times has been scanty (Shrestha et al 1986: 25). Yet what was the purpose of the Gopalrajabamsabali chronicler in choosing the word 'beautiful' to qualify the town built by King Supuspadev ? The description of temples are very few in these inscription and these are not very helpful. DV 3 mention a temple suitably related to the lingam (Prasadsamsthmanurupamiha), DV 4 describes the temple for Visnu as built in the form of Laxmi (Laxmibatkaryitwa Bhabanamiha) and DV6 describes the temple for Lingam as strong and good looking (Shreematsamsthanarupambhabanamiha). The DV 4 temple was in the shape of Laxmi - as laxmi shape is not to be found in classical temple types - this is probably just a metaphor for the female nature assigned to the temple building. The recently excavated temple

foundation at Satyanaransthan in Hadigaon (Verardi : 1988 : 35, S21) presents a perfect square shape planned on the principle of odd pada mandala similar to those seen in Malla temples and thus can be easily concluded to have been based on Vastupurushamandala (see Tiwari : 1989 : S35). Verardi's excavation plans (1938: 20) show very clearly that the building layouts followed cardinal directions. The northerly axial line of the temple structure is 26 degree east of north and is very close to perceived north suggested by other considerations. Such digression in major street crossing of Lalitpur is 24 degrees east of north (Gutschow Sakya 1980 : 161). Orientation of other excavated buildings are either parallel to this north or at right angles to this direction. (May be this is related to winter solstice apparent movement of sun ?). Possibly the same system was followed in layout of larger towns - because the direction in inscriptions are almost always indicated in reference to cardinal directions. Religious landmarks and rituals formed the central theme of the plan of Kirtipur which was settled at the transitional period between Lichhavi and Malla times and shows strong links to doctrinal plans (Herdick : 32 - 38). Panauti, settled towards the end of 13th Century, also shows strong religious determinism (Barre et al, 1981 : 91). Something that followed the doctrinal rules was probably seen as 'beautiful' by the chronicler.

Planning simply tries to put up an ordered framework of 'nodes' so that at a given time or at a perceived future time, the town will still be in order (Tiwari, 1989:86) and in vedic system these nodes and spaces formed by these nodes were occupied by gods so as to ensure the

welfare of the inhabitants. For this purpose specific location of gods were prescribed within the towns (Kramrisch 1976 : 233-236).

Though only one Lichhavi inscription describe movement within settlement area e.g. DV 149 (Figure 5) over twenty inscriptions describe the boundaries of settled areas. I have picked up three more e.g. DV 22, DV 133 and DV 134 as these have some definite indications to make to the topic under discussion. Rough polygons formed by land indicated in these steles have been shown in Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3 respectively. These are not to scale and can hardly be indicative of exact form as orthogonal elongation or shortening is very likely due to the lack of distance measure in these inscriptions. Also easterly, southerly, westerly and northerly directions have been in many instances shown as true east, south, west and north respectively, again for lack of clarity in the inscription or for lack of true interpretation. Yet from these one can see that temples were located cardinally related to the settlement (Figure 1 and Figure 2), Towns tended to be near hill bases (Figure 3 and Figure 1). Water conduits were common inside or around settlements (Figure 5) and indicated by water canals in the fringes of settlements. The location of smanan or burning pyre to the east in Figure 5 and to southeast in DV 110 are similar to those found in early Malla towns (Tiwari 1989 : 87). The location of waterbody nearby (Tenkhu source and a pond in DV 110) clearly point to planning response to funeral practice similar to those of current times. Within settlements the intersection of streets were often marked by temples. The location of

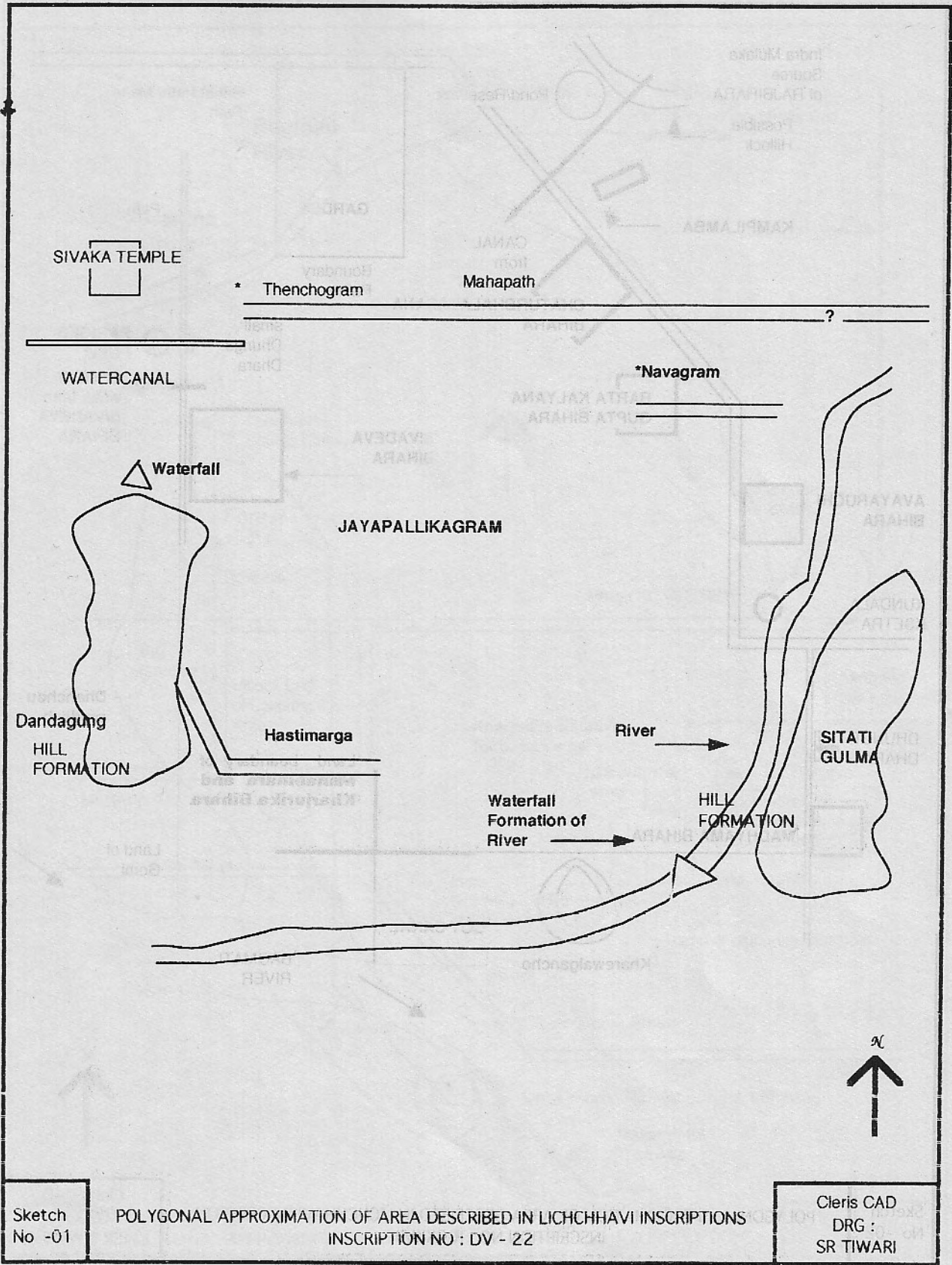
large gardens inside or near settlements indicates a practice different from Malla times. This and the location of temples close to water bodies or hills seems to follow the Brihatsamhita literally (Kramrisch 1976: 1-4):

"The Gods always play where forests are near and also near river, mountains and springs. And also in towns with gardens."

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SIVAKA TEMPLE

* Thenchogram

Mahapath

WATERCANAL

*Navagram

Waterfall

JAYAPALLIKAGRAM

Dandagung
HILL
FORMATION

Hastimarga

River

SITATI
GULMA

Waterfall
Formation of
River

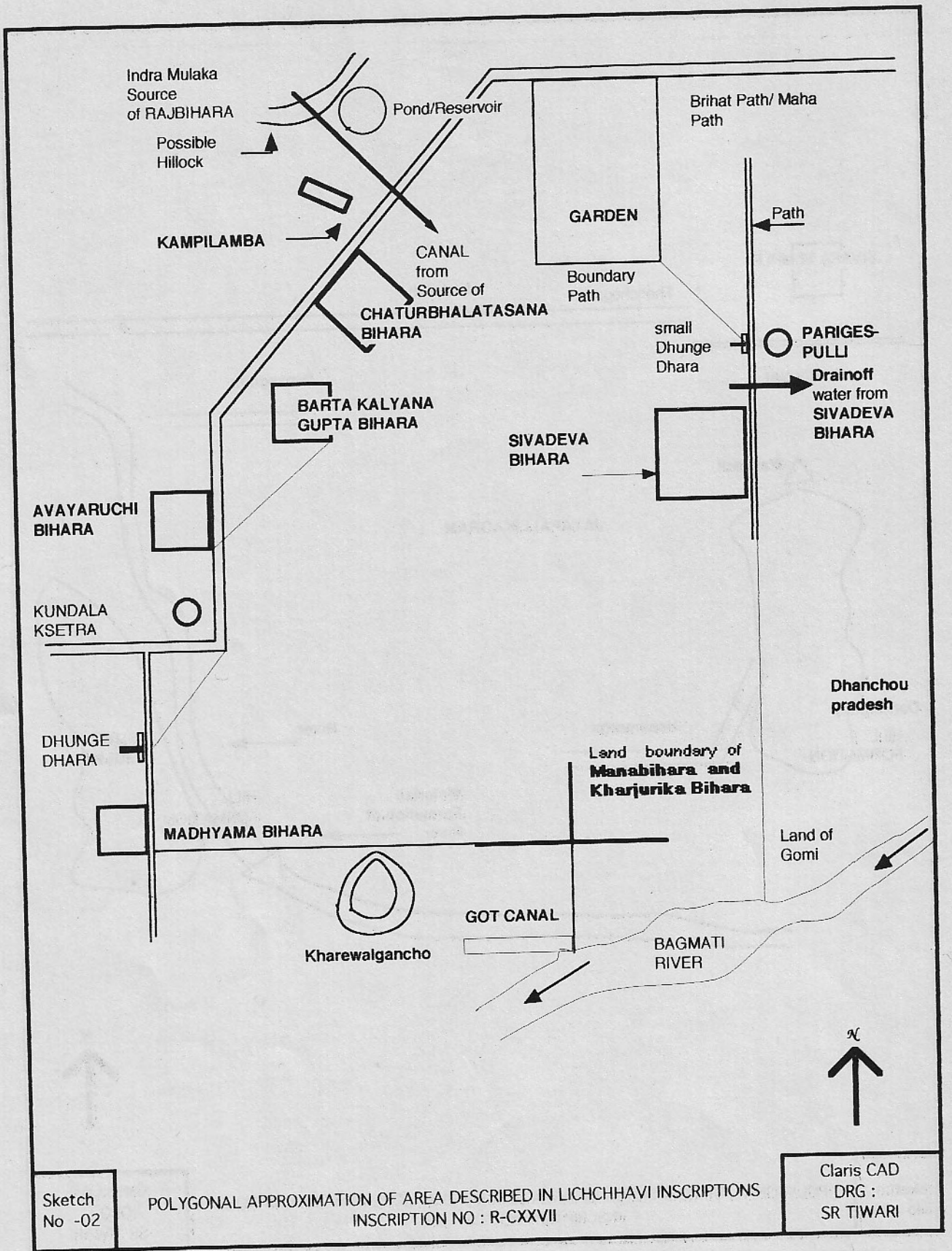
HILL
FORMATION

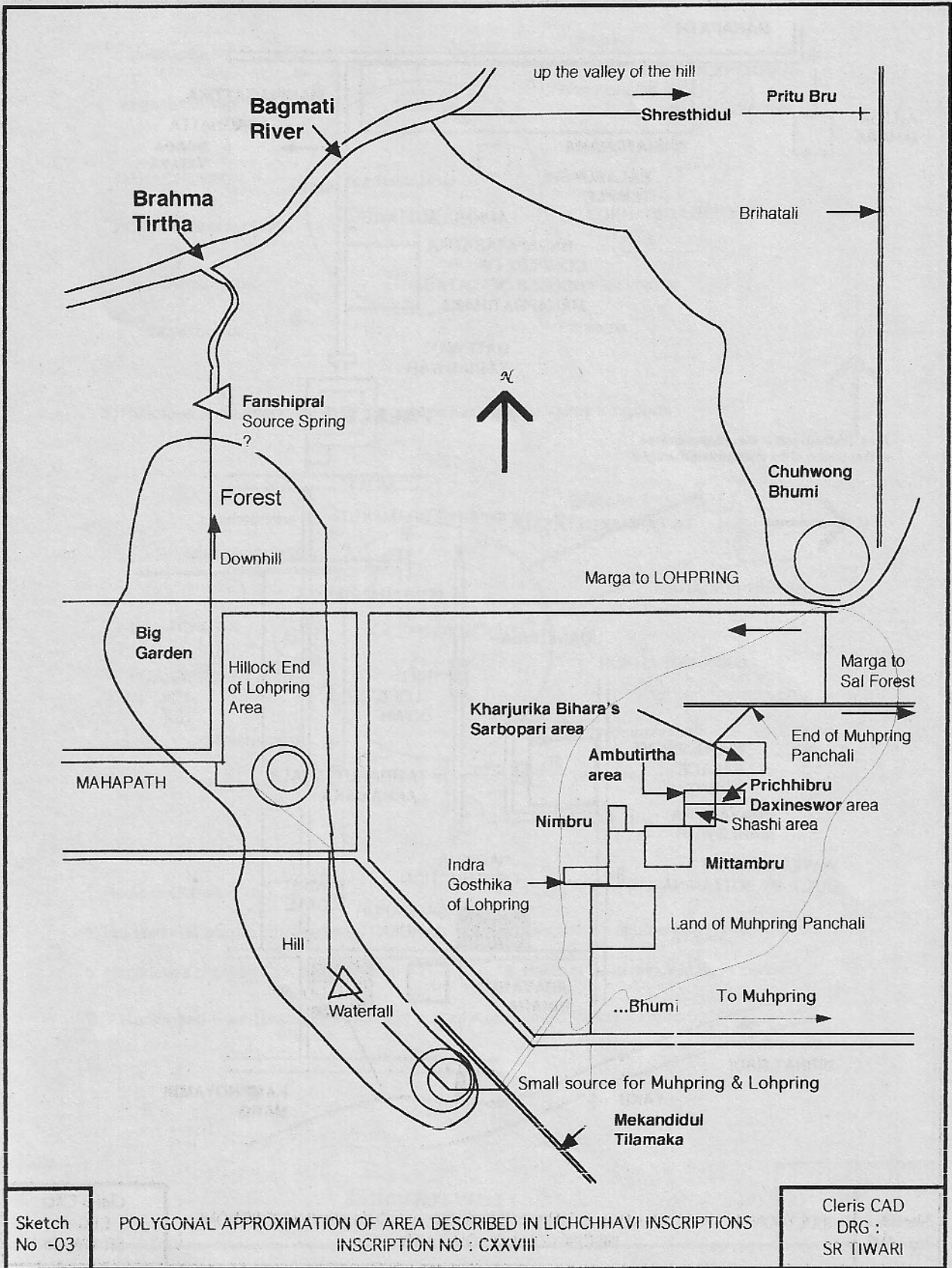


Sketch
No -01

POLYGONAL APPROXIMATION OF AREA DESCRIBED IN LICHCHHAVI INSCRIPTIONS
INSCRIPTION NO : DV - 22

Cleris CAD
DRG :
SR TIWARI

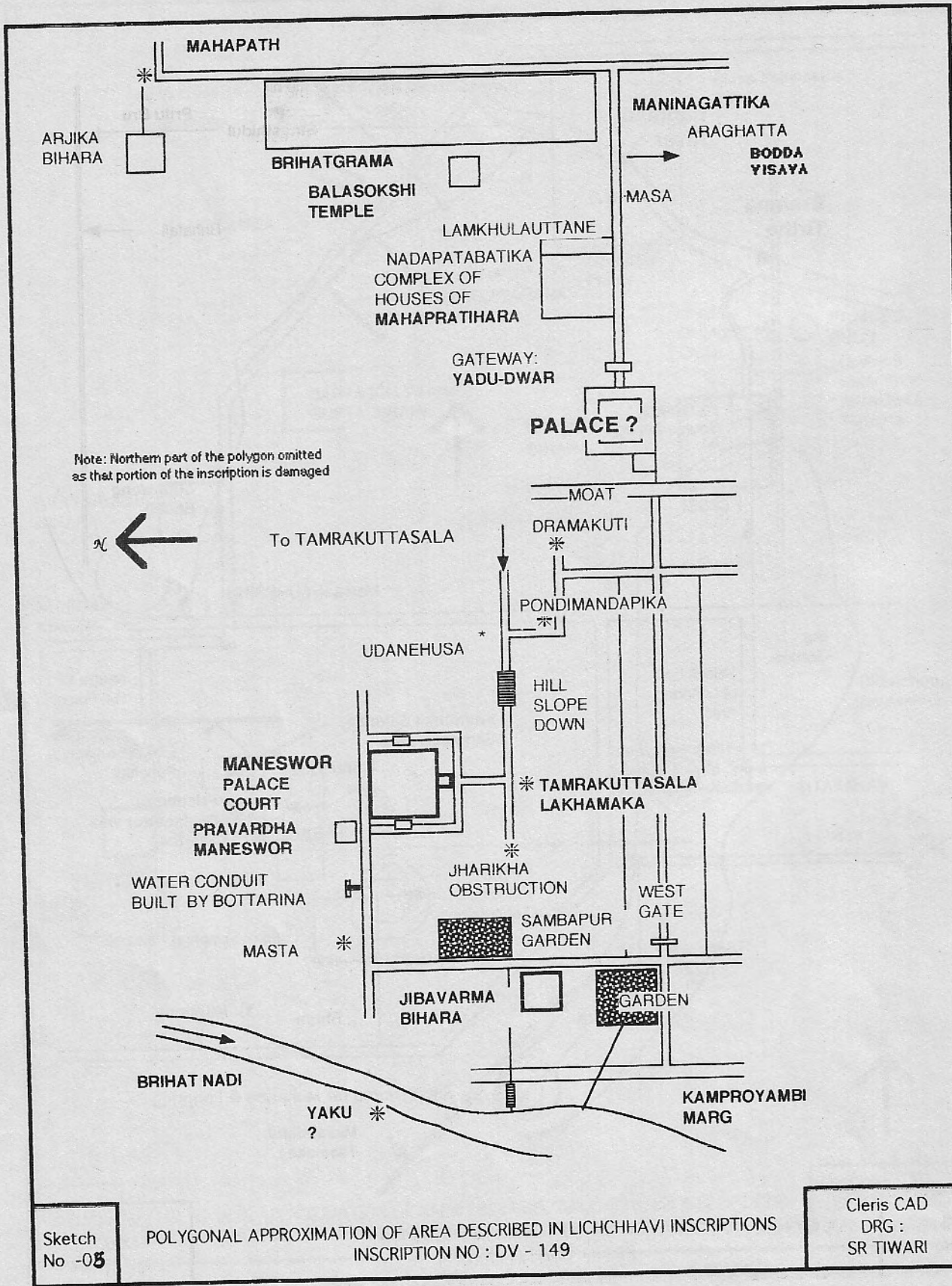


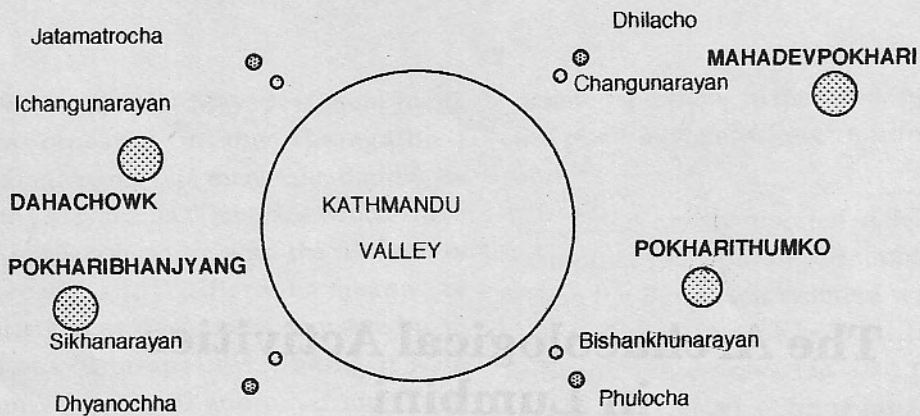


Sketch
No -03

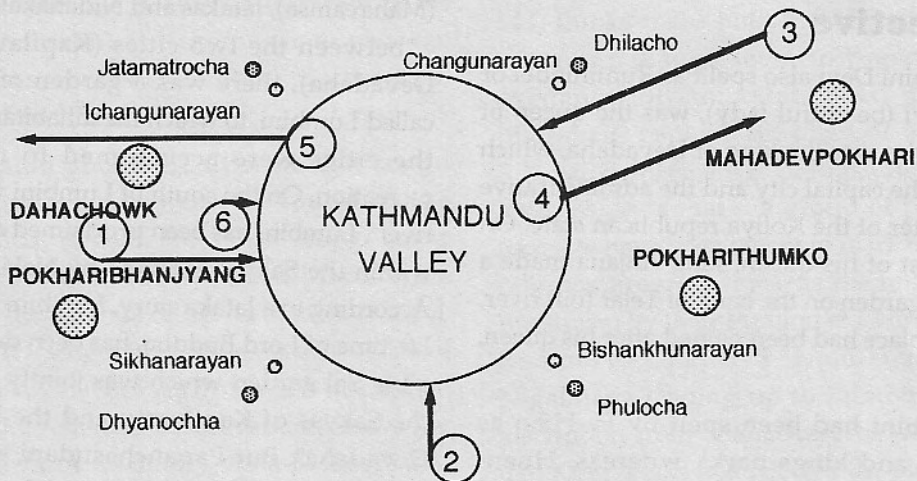
POLYGONAL APPROXIMATION OF AREA DESCRIBED IN LICHCHHAVI INSCRIPTIONS
INSCRIPTION NO : CXXVIII

Cleris CAD
DRG :
SR TIWARI





A. Religious and Legendary Determinants of Kathmandu Valley Kingdom.



- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Route of Gopala Entry | 2. Route of Kirat Entry |
| 3. Possible infiltration in Dharmadeva's time | 4. Manadeva's counterattack route to East |
| 5. Manadeva's counterattack route to West | 6. Route of Doya attack in Malla period |

B. Attacks and Counterattacks into and out of Kathmandu Valley Kingdom.

Sketch
No -04

KATHMANDU VALLEY
RELIGIOUS AND DEFENCE DETERMINANTS

Cleris CAD
DRG :
SR TIWARI