

THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENTS OF THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

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Foreword

There are a considerable number of books on urban settlements and their patterns in the Kathmandu valley. Perhaps this book is the first of its kind that tells the story of location and identification of the ancient settlements in the Valley on the basis of legends, chronicles, inscriptions and historical documents belonging to the pre-Lichchhavi period and the Malla period. Based on the technical and urban planning paradigms, the author not only describes but also analyses the impact of pre-Lichchhavi settlements, Lichchhavi proto-towns and the towns on the Malla settlement pattern.

The book concludes that legends, chronicles, and inscriptions should not be ignored, and they yield significant information for the study of the process of urbanization in the Kathmandu valley. Furthermore, it would facilitate archaeological excavations for earlier aboriginal as well as Lichchhavi remains. In addition to Appendix on place names, town elements, proper names and their reference to inscriptions, it includes illuminating charts and maps. Those of us who study and teach about the cultural history of Kathmandu valley would find this book resourceful.

Prof. Tirtha P. Mishra, Ph.D.
Executive Director

Preface

The urban culture of Kathmandu Valley is a matter of pride and national identity for us. However, the popular concept of our urban culture has been largely based on the three capital cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur. The dominant surviving architectural elements and urban form of these come from the Malla period of Nepalese history that spanned from the twelfth to eighteenth centuries. Its grandeur has often overshadowed its own developmental path. The contribution of the preceding cultural phase of the Lichchhavi period, and even the so-called legendary Kirata period, towards Malla advancements, appears to have been quite significant. High urbanism in the ancient Kathmandu valley is all too evident from the cultural practices such as the age-old towns' festivals.

Although, the Lichchhavi inscriptions have been a subject of study for almost a century, and many read and translated, analysts and analyses have mostly centered on religious, literary and chronological inferences. The location, dispersal and nature of the ancient settlements have been left to cursory perusals. On top of that even the very limited archeological explorations undertaken so far have not been analysed too from the perspective of development of urban form and urbanism. Even the locations of palaces, temples, viharas and the settlements have remained matters of speculation.

This book presents an analysis of the inscriptions made specifically to locate and describe as many of the Lichchhavi, as well as earlier, elements and settlements, as mentioned there-in, as possible. The methodology adopted is polygonal approximation of sites, as described in the inscriptions, and corroboration with legends, chronicles,

topographical features and other information from later periods. This is the first time the method of polygonal approximation has been applied and the readers can well judge the efficacy of the method from the findings. Analysis of town related terminology has provided further clarity to their location and nature. Lichchhavi inscriptions also provide a defacto confirmation of the existence of settlements and elements from before the Lichchhavi period. The Kirata settlements and their urbanism need not anymore be thought as a matter of chronicler's imagination.

This book is an adaptation of a dissertation, which I wrote for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Culture awarded by Tribhuvan University in 1995. It gives me great pleasure that it is finally coming out in print.

I am indebted and thankful to the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, and its Executive Director, Dr. Tirtha Prasad Mishra, for taking the initiative and making the publication possible.

Sudarshan Raj Tiwari
Bishal Nagar
Magh 2057 / January 2001.

"All philosophers share this common error: they proceed from contemporary man and think they reach their goal through an analysis of this man. Automatically they think of 'man' as an eternal verity, as something abiding in the whirlpool, as a sure measure of things. Everything that the philosopher says about man, however, is at bottom no more than a testimony about the man of a very limited period. Lack of a historical sense is the original error of all philosophers....."

- Nietzsche

From "**Human, All-Too-Human**"
(pp. 51. **The Portable Nietzsche** by Walter Kaufman. 1982)

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System of Transliteration

Sanskrit alphabets have been transliterated as follows:

| | | | | | | | |
|----|------|---|--------|---|--------|-----|--------|
| अ | (a) | क | (ka) | ढ | (d.ha) | र | (r) |
| आ | (ā) | ख | (kha) | ण | (n.a) | ल | (la) |
| इ | (i) | ग | (ga) | त | (ta) | व | (va) |
| ई | (ī) | घ | (gha) | थ | (tha) | श | (sha) |
| उ | (u) | ङ | (nga) | ढ | (da) | ष | (s.a) |
| ऊ | (ū) | च | (cha) | ध | (dha) | स | (sa) |
| ऋ | (rī) | छ | (chha) | न | (na) | ह | (ha) |
| ए | (é) | ज | (ja) | प | (pa) | त् | (ks.a) |
| ऐ | (ai) | झ | (jha) | फ | (pha) | त्र | (tra) |
| ओ | (o) | ञ | (ñā) | ब | (ba) | ज्ञ | (jñā) |
| औ | (au) | ट | (t.a) | भ | (bha) | | |
| अं | (am) | ठ | (t.ha) | म | (ma) | | |
| अः | (ah) | ड | (d.a) | य | (ya) | | |

Reference to inscriptions are given as DV-(number) or R-(roman numerals) and refer to inscription numbers as given in Dhana Bajra Bajracharya's 'Lichchhavi Kalka Abhilekh', 2030 and to Dilli Raman Regmi's 'Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal', 1983 respectively.

century onwards, they show a large number of place names derived from the language not at all related to the court language of the Lichchhaves i.e. Sanskrit. In about 170 such inscriptions, over 180 place names, 17 river names and a few canal names are non-Sanskrit in origin. That these names survived over five hundred years of Sanskrit speaking ruling house is ample indication that settlement of fair size and peculiarity existed before the turn of the Christian era. It also amply proves that the valley had a population that used a language different from Sanskrit and even under Lichchhavi rule continued to stay in the valley in a sizable number.

Although the prehistory exploration of Joshi of Archaeological Survey of India [Joshi RV] did not report finding any stone tool or prehistoric site in the Kathmandu Valley, Janak Lal Sharma has reported finding Neolithic tools in the area of Lubhu village about three km east of Patan; other reports indicative of development and organized social formation prior to the Lichchhavi period have since been numerous [DOA: AN, No 6, 9, 75]. So far, archeological explorations in Kathmandu have been very limited and have not been able to derive significant conclusions about settlements in the valley. The most significant find so far is from the Italian excavations at Hadigaon [Verardi G: pp 25-30], which has unearthed some built cultural remains and strata dating back to 150 BC. It has also shown that planned approach to even fringe of settlements was followed. This archeological discovery in itself would be problematic unless we push the settlement history as far back as six hundred years from the inscriptionally established date of historical beginnings. The archeological finds of Hañdigaon Satyanarayana introduces a time frame of settlement history close to that indicated by the chronicles, giving us sufficient reason to agree to the long development history of Nepal as outlined by them, although we might not agree to their mythological framework of the origins.

The location and nature of Gopālas, Mahishapālas and Kirātas capital towns are virtually unknown. Some vamsābalis however, denominate the

Gopālas and Mahishapālas as Nemmites, their seat of government being at the Matatirtha area in the south west of the valley fringe.

Only preliminary studies have been made on the settlement pattern of Lichchhavi period on the basis of inscriptional evidence. Even the locations of the palace of Mānagriha and Kailashakutbhavana have remained uncharted. The location of settlements of the Malla period is, however, quite clear. It is, therefore, proposed to investigate the location and nature of settlements in Kathmandu valley prior to Malla period and going back to immediate pre-epigraphic period, denoted as 'ancient period' for this study.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of this research is to identify and locate as many settlements of Kathmandu valley during and before the Lichchhavi period as possible on the basis of analysis of legends, chronicles, inscriptions and other relevant historical document available so far. This exploration will be primarily based on a fresh interpretive approach of analysis of the available literature focused primarily through technological and planning perspectives. Broad nature of the village or towns will be postulated both on the basis of the above information and regression of early Malla practices typified by such towns as Kirāpur, Bhaktapur, Bungmati, Panauti, Hadigaon, Devpatan, Sunakothe, Kisipidi, Harisiddhi etc. Therefore the objectives are three fold: (i) to conclude on the locations of as many general area of pre-Lichchhavi settlements as possible; (ii) to conclude on locations and nature of Lichchhavi proto-towns and towns; and (iii) to analyze and show the impact of pre-Lichchhavi settlements, Lichchhavi proto-towns and towns on the Malla settlement pattern.

Analysis of legends, chronicles, and inscriptions in technological basis has not been done purposefully from a locational perspective so far. This study approaches its subject through this very basis, as its potentials to provide a rational review of the process of urban formation in the valley

are immense. Apart from indications on urban form and content coming out of earlier studies of the inscriptions, that have been largely focused on religious, literary and political chronological issues, hints of legends and chronicles provide the hypothetical basis or points of departures for the analysis of inscriptions made in this study. It will be observed that the hints provided by the legends and chronicles is more or less expanded by the inscriptions indicating the possibility that the legends themselves may have been woven around urban facts gleaned by the chroniclers from some of these very inscriptions with additional beeing of popular memories of their times.

The importance of the knowledge gained out of the study extends beyond a matter of establishing an academic understanding of the urban phenomena of ancient Nepal. In the context of limited archeological studies done so far and also the cost of trail digs, this research is expected to facilitate archaeological test explorations for possible Lichchhavi and earlier aboriginal remains. The potential saving of time and money that conclusions from such studies can affect by guiding archaeological explorations to so established potential areas is enormous. We may also be able to delineate areas within current habitation where all new constructions may be more closely watched so that further destruction of archaeological areas does not take place.

Earlier Studies of Lichchhavi Inscriptions

With the publication of Bendall's treatise "A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Researches in Nepal and Northern India during the winter of 1884-85", which included readings and analysis of three Lichchhavi Inscriptions, the study of the ancient period of Nepal started in modern days. He was followed by Bhagwanlal Indrajai, who published the book "Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal" in 1888. S. Levi added some more inscriptions in 1905 with the publication of "Le Nepal". In the early fifties, pioneers of Nepalese history Itihassiromani Baburam Acharya and Yogi Naraharinath did some works. In 1956, R. Gnoli published his

monumental work "Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Character", which collated and added new information on these inscriptions. Meanwhile serious work of Nepalese scholars started on the leadership of Guru Nayaraj Pant and his students, Gyanmani Acharya, Dhanabajra Bajracharya, Sankerman Rajbamsi, M. R. Pant, G. B. Bajracharya and others of the Itihas Samsodhan Mandal. Mass of materials was generated through these efforts. Most of the results of these studies are available in 'Purnima' and Itihas Samsodhanko Praman Prameya. The summary publications on ancient inscriptions came twenty years later. Dhanabajra Bajracharya's 'Lichchhavi Kalka Avilekh' (2030), Hariram Joshi's 'Nepalko Prachin Avilekh' (2030) and Dilliraman Regmi's three-volume 'Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal' (1983) offered their best readings, interpretations, and summaries. Even as all the three have hurried analytical comments, yet these three works are the most complete reference for the study of inscriptions of the ancient period of Nepal. Dhanabajra Bajracharya's analysis, though not always reliable, is most quoted in recent days. Compared to Regmi and Joshi, Bajracharya is certainly more comprehensive. Being the last one to come so far, Regmi's publication possibly contains the best reading as also a summary collation of analytical conclusions made so far. Preoccupation with chronological history has however resulted in few interpretations in terms of issues related to the physical development of the time. Mary Slusser's Nepal Mandala attempts to relate the history of cultural and physical development of the Kathmandu Valley through the ancient period to modern times. But sweeping conclusions based on what she calls "surface archaeology" and overt toing of the interpretive basis and bias of Gautamvajra Bajracharya and Dhanavajra Bajracharya, makes the otherwise monumental work into a book difficult to be accepted without serious filtration. A lot of the new materials presented on the period of our concern are speculations made to sound like studied evaluation of the Lichchhavi developments. Gyanmani Nepal's "Nepal Nirukta" is another interpretive work, which deals with the period of our concern in its early chapters. Some place name analysis is also made in published books and articles by Jagadishchandra Regmi, Gautambajra Bajracharya and Kamal

Prakash Malla, but these have mostly relied on linguistic analysis assuming Newari or Sanskrit as starting points. A few have used the current Rai and Limbu dialects as a base for gauging the nature of sites.

Similarly the chronologies or vamsābalis have been studied for the sake of historical chronologies for some time now and the two most referred ones are Bhāshāvamsabali and Gopālarājāvamsābali. The chronologies of Kirkpatrick and of Wright are mostly built out of various Bhāshāvamsabalis. For this thesis only these two vamsābalis, as edited by Khanal and Bajracharya/Malla are referred to. It appears to this author that Gopālarājāvamsābali formed the basis for Bhāshāvamsabalis or others related to particular religious groups.

Legends have been translated and produced in many forms; "Nepal Mahatmya" and "Swayambhu Purana" are the major custodians of the early traditions. Folklores and stories about temples and bahals are documented in fragmented collections about Jatras and other cultural festivals. Leelabhakta Munankarmi's work is notable. Most comprehensive collection and commentary on the legends of the Buddhist bahals are to be found within John K. Locke's "Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal".

The inscriptionally dated history of Kathmandu valley is generally taken to have started from 464 AD, at the beginning of the rule of the great Lichchhavi King Manadeva, although its epigraphically substantiated history may now be taken back to 185 AD with recent finds. The Gopālarājāvamsābali [Bajracharya DB, Malla KP] also lists Manadeva as the twenty-first king of the Lichchhavi dynasty, which, it says, was preceded by the Kirāta dynastic rule spanning thirtytwo kings. The Kirātas themselves were preceded by the Mahishapālas. In their turn they had conquered the valley kingdom from its earlier rulers, the Gopālas, who were at the helm of power for eight generations. The vamsābali thus presents Gopālas as the first dynasty to rule the Kathmandu valley.

References to Gopāla sites are very limited and one legend locates their capital city at Mataūrtha area in the southwestern fringe of the valley floor. Possibly the Mahishapālas and the Kirātas also overlapped in the same general area as a starting point, differing only in their time frame. Agro-forestry base of the Kirāta economy has been suggested by some and this would demand a higher ground occupation stage of the pre-Lichchhavi population before coming down to the level of the current Matatirtha general area.

Though some doubts are rightfully expressed on the accuracy of facts and time frame of the vamsābali, yet this can hardly be baseless. "What ulterior motive would a Malla-centric document have to present a long history of non-Malla rulers?" asks Malla in his analysis of the Gopālarājāvamsābali and presents a very credible viewpoint that Kirāta rule can be substantiated on the basis of surviving place-names also:

The protracted duration of Kirāta rule apart, a few things are worth noting in the tradition. As most names are non-Sanskrit 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 Kirāta King list. ... The Kirāta occupation of the Nepal Valley is certainly not an after thought of the chronicler. The Sanskrit inscriptions ... set up in the valley by the Lichchhavis AD 464-879) contain well over 80% non-Sanskrit place-names, including names of rivers, hillocks, canals, and tax offices. [Bajracharya DB, Malla KP: pp. iv]

Such place-names found in Lichchhavi inscriptions and such protracted rule of the Kirātas not only goes well to establish the antiquity of Kathmandu Valley but also indicates that townlets were already formed before the Lichchhavis started their rule in Kathmandu. As the Lichchhavi rule started in first century BC [Sharma BC: pp. 72-76] and since the inscriptions start showing only from fifth century onwards, the place

names themselves are those, which have survived over five hundred years of Lichchhavi rule, and as such these must be well-established towns or villages. The influence of the Kirāta language on the non-Sanskrit words appearing in the inscriptions of ancient Nepal is strongly pursued by many may be because of its potential relatedness to the Newari tongue. It is however quite unstudied what the Gopāla dialect was like and what could have been its influence on the following Kirāta period. If legends were to be taken as they are, Gopālas may well have spoken a form of Sanskrit and what we are seeing in the inscriptions as "words of non-Sanskrit origin" could be a set of Sanskrit terminologies made unreadable by the long period of Kirāta degeneration, a possible reason for Lichchhavi acceptance in toto later.

Legends Highlight Proto-Lichchhavi Towns

Nepal was already an important trading partner of states in the neighborhood during the time of Buddha, as testified by the accounts of that time [Nepal GM, 1: pp. 3]. Likewise on the basis of economic treatise of Kautilya, BC 244 ca., Nepal concludes that there was a good amount of trade between India and Nepal and cottage industries based on wool was extant at that time [Ibid. pp. 3]. Such heightened economic activities are clear indicators of an organized society and as such formation of settlements of distinct urban character must have resulted along with the development of tertiary activities such as trade and industry. The time of Kautilya is very close to the built strata unearthed at Satyanarayana, Hadigaon. Buddhist and Hindu legends tend to describe earlier periods. Swayambhu Purana, pertaining to creation myth of the valley, shows to be reflecting an older period than the legend of Krishna draining off the valley as per the Nepalmahatmya. Gutschow writes:

According to Buddhist legend, the valley was once a lake called Kalihrada or Naghrada, the abode of snakes, whereas geology maintains it was kind of swampy landscape...Of importance is the legendary appearance of a lotus flower on the occasion of

Kartik Purnima - a lotus sown by Vipasvibuddha from which a self-existent flame emanated, Svayambhu. Ages later, after Manjusri had already drained the Valley, a sage felt forced to cover the pure light by a Chaitya in order to protect it against the evil forces of a decaying future. This Chaitya, called Svayambhunath Mahachaitya, remains on the hill near Kathmandu and equally symbolizes the Creation of the World with its central World Tree (yahsi), the Buddha and his dharma...There are many rituals for the annual renewal of the process of Creation. One of the prominent ones is the Astami Vrata ritual followed over the entire year, during which twelve sacred places (tirtha) along Bagmati river is visited in a fixed sequence in order to propitiate the snake-kings ending finally with the worship of Bhairava as Kotbar, the master of Bagmati gorge. [Gutschow N, 3: pp.4]

Other legends approximating later times refer to the visit of Mauryan Emperor Ashok to the town of Patan, BC 250 ca., when he is said to have built five stupas, four at the corners and one at the center of the town. These stupas are said to be the ones still extant in Patan today and "though their appearance provides no hint whatsoever in dating them earlier than sixteenth century AD" [Gutschow N, Sakya H: pp. 161], the antiquity of the town of Patan is implied. Others like Slusser take it further back into history and such a stand does not have a sound analytical basis. To quote Slusser, "Patan Ashokan stupas compare well to Mauryan stupas in size and shape and could be coeval. It is not impossible that they are even older and originated as pre-Buddhist funerary mounds which were converted to Buddhist monuments" [Slusser M, 3: pp. 96]. Slusser's surface archaeology methods are probably responsible for such a far-fetched deduction. Ashokan legends also includes mention of the founding of another town of Devpatan, by prince Devapala during the rule of the fourteenth Kirāta king Sthunko. About the same time prince Dharmadutta is said to have settled the town of Vishalnagar. The four Chaityas associated with Ashoka are also claimed by other Buddhist legends to be

the Chilancho Chaitya of Kirtipur, Swayambhu Chaitya, Chabahil Chaitya of Devpatan and Patuko mound of Patan; indeed this set is older than the four mounds around Patan and they do form a space forming square with Chintamani Tirtha of the Buddhists, currently Teku area, at its center [Herdick R: pp. 17]. The legend of the visit of Ashok and his daughter to Kathmandu valley is historically unfounded [Nepal N, 1: pp. 28-30] and Charumati also seems to be an imaginary figure. Except for Chabahil Chaitya and Swayambhunath Chaitya sites, all other so called Ashokan Stupa sites were not even remarkable Buddhist monastery site in ancient period.

Vamsābali references indicate that the Kirātas had taken the Bagmati route from the south to penetrate into Kathmandu Valley [Regmi JC, 2: pp. 20].

Popular culture of the people claiming to be of Kirāta origin associate the Patuko mound in central Patan with Kirāta ancestry and some historians have concluded that Kirāta king Patuko shifted the Kirāta royal palace from Gokarna to Shankhamul [Sharma BC]. The palace at Gokarna is popularly called the palace of Manadeva and is located at northeast end of Gokarna forest reserve. Given its natural formation and its rock cut nature, it can go for a period long before that of Manadeva and at least, it can hardly belong to Manadeva as the building development at that time was much advanced for a rock-cut palace. Even the Kirāta built up culture was already brick based since early times. The rock edifice must simply have been a stray monastic hermitage unrelated to the general building practice. Detailed archaeological scrutiny of the finds is yet to be done.

Though archeological studies are yet to be conducted, the antiquity as well as the socio-political importance of the town of Patan is further reinforced by these legendary yet plausible stories. Though if my assumption that the Kirātas use of brick and timber for their palaces and also transient building for commoners is to stand, the choice of Shankhamul as the site for the palace would be justified. The Shankhamul palace could well be located where the Patuko mound is, the site being fairly close to the

current Shankhamul confluence, which later became an early Lichchhavi religious site [Rau H].

Creation Legends of the Valley

The very many religious legends about the formation of the Kathmandu Valley and the settling of the believers therein have been woven apparently to glorify the agelessness or early practices of Hindu or Buddhist societies, depending upon which stream of legends one analyses. Though these legends are prone to one-up-manship and were meant to curtail each other's religious influence on the general public they were aiming to convert to their own folds, and thus appear contradictory and sometimes having a lot of unbelievable fat in terms of purported time frame and grandeur, yet these were basically weaving together the places of social, political and religious importance of the original settlers onto the new religion being propagated.

Early settlements and their location need to be seen in the context of lake formation in Kathmandu valley in prehistoric times. This is not to suggest that the valley was settled from the time it ceased to be a lake, that would be pushing the story line too hard upto Satya-yuga and before! The currency of the legend to me suggests possibilities of geological disturbances, which might have occurred fairly late in geological history timeframe, causing the exit to be plugged up and recreating of ponding. Along the course of Bagmati at least four locations are possible for such situation, Gokarna or Sodhani Tirtha, Gaurighat or Santa Tirtha, Chovar or Jaya Tirtha and one still further south possibly indicated by the "Setuvinna Mahatirtha" or Kotwal of the Buddhists. It is no wonder that legends similar to opening of Chovar are also narrated for the Gokarna and Gaurighat sites also.

Geological studies have amply proved this theme so often recurrent in legends relating to the creation of Kathmandu Valley settlements as facts. According to studies of surface and subsurface geology, Kathmandu Valley

basin developed in the Neocene-Quaternary time due to higher rate of uplift of Mahabharata Lekh in the south of the valley than the uplift rate in the north. It has been concluded that the initial sedimentation occurred in a fluvial basin, which developed later as a proper lake in the southern part of the basin [Matojima K]. The antecedent Bagmati River flowing to the south was dammed up giving rise to the development of a Quaternary lake in the basin. Matojima further proposes that the northern part of the valley basin continued to be fluvial right up to the cessation of the sedimentation, which probably happened due to stabilization of Mahabharata Lekh allowing Bagmati river to erode the outlet at sufficient rate to drain the lake. Manjushri used his sword with powers of an earthquake to cut the gorge at Chovar, claims Swayambhu Purana [Bajracharya M]. If this is to be noted then Chovar gorge more probably developed as a result of geological disturbance and does not indicate the natural drain off point of the Kathmandu Lake and we must look for it elsewhere. The near complete absence of early water myth in the context of spots on valley side of Chovar also indicates this possibility. With the current level formations in the valley if we imagine the lake by plugging Chovar gorge at the height of 1200 meters MSL, the fringes of the lake will appear as shown in Map No. 7. To reach a situation when the hillock of Swayambhunath would show as an island, the level of the lake would have to be raised to 1320 meters MSL and even then the Chilancho portion of Kirtipur, Adinath portion of Chovar and the hill spur of Changunarayan will show as islands or major landmass jutting into the lake. Even in this situation all the sites claimed by both the Buddhist and Vaisnavite legends stay out of water and further reinforce their likelihood. The 1200 meters MSL mapping suggests a much larger Taudaha, which probably joined up with lake Kathmandu at the location Bungamati. The association of Matsendranath and the water myths to Bungamati also thus confirms this physically highly probable natural runoff point. The lake deposits in Bungamati area certainly make it a more probable natural erosion outlet than Chovar with its Phulchoki rock group geology.

We may fairly surmise that the hillocks remaining out of water immediately before the drying up of the swampy valley floor and the surrounding regions were the early habitat of the aboriginal settlers. Many and varied stories and legends of serpents and serpent gods i.e. the Nagas popular among the Newars of the valley indicate the likelihood of the aboriginal settlers of the valley being a serpent worshipping totemic populace called the Nagas. Analytical look at these legends clearly indicate matriarchal social organization of these aboriginals. Nirish Nepal opines:

The tribal female deities in the form of simple unhewn stones specified as Kali, Kumari, Devi, Malika, Maiju, and Ajima are embodiments of the cultural reactions to this early matriarchal society. Forms of social organization, traditional customs, extant kinship terminologies and legendary lores of such ethnic groups as the Newars, the Kirātas, the Rajbanshis, indicate their matriarchal origins.... within the valley the last stronghold of the matriarchal institution was the Bhaktapur area. [Nepal N, 2]

One may add here that the recurrences of the Nagas in the lores associated with the Jatra of Bisket are clear indicators of their Naga origins. The nomenclature similarity between pre-Lichchhavi place names, taken in this dissertation as Kirāta on the basis of the Gopālarājāvamsābali and the place names of Tistung-Palung-Chitlang area to the south of the Chandagiri hills habited now by the Hale and Gwa caste groups of the Newar mainstream as also the place names of the Chepang area further south suggest their common origins. Linguistic relation between the Chepangs and the Newars [Hodgson BH] and between the Kirātas and the Newars also are indicators that their ancestry was common and they all could be the descendants of the Nagas.

Popular lores associate Patan among the valley towns, persistently with the tradition of Kirātas, the people who appear to have been the valley indigenes. The Newari name of Patan, Yala, is generally believed to perpetuate the name of another Kirāta King, Yellung or Yalambara. the

alleged founder of the dynasty and of the city.... The name Chyasal-tol, for example, the neighborhood of eight hundred, is popularly held to commemorate eight hundred fallen Kirātas, slain there in battle with the Lichchhavis. " [Regmi RK] However Thulung contends on the basis of current Kirāti memory that no aged Kirāta priests say that there had been skirmishes or wars between the Kirātas and the Lichchhavis " [Thulung SNM].

Lichchhavi occupation was, according to Slusser [Slusser MS, 3], and Regmi [Regmi RK], concentrated at Mangalbazar, the Patan Durbar Square, together with lands lying north and east. "In this area there were a number of gramas. And still another Lichchhavi town, not yet identified by name, almost certainly lay at Chyasal tol, clearly one of the oldest quarters of the city. It is perhaps significant that Guita and Chyasal tols are almost exclusively inhabited by the Jyapu farming community, suggesting that among the Jyapu are to be sought the closest ties with ancient Nepal". Coming from an anthropologist, this statement about the Jyapus is portentous.

Parallels between the two religious mainstreams, Hinduism and Buddhism, in claiming the same site are seen in several legends. This situation is a definite indicator that the writes belonged to periods after the establishment of these sites. However they do corroborate the importance of these sites in the settlement history of Kathmandu valley.

The site claimed to be the Chintamani Tirtha of the Buddhists, the confluence of Bagmati and Bishnumati, is also the holy ashram of sage Ne of the Hindu legends. Bhringareswor, the earliest Sivite site as per Gopālarājāvamsābali is close to Bungamati, claimed equally by Hindus and Buddhists [Locke JK, 2]. Devpatan of the Ashokan legend is located in the same area where, according to Gopālarājāvamsābali, the fifth Lichchhavi King Supuspadeva built the temple of Pashupati Bhattaraka along with a beautiful town (Sundaranirmita nagaram). Manjushri is credited by Buddhist legends to have settled a town between Swayambhu

hill and Guheswori (Manamajju) called Manjupatan, which is more likely to be a reference to the current Balaju area, the foothills of Jamacho and Ichangu of other legends. Buddhist legends state that later rulers moved from Manjupatan to Sankasya on the banks of Ikshumati, current Tukucha rivulet, and this is one and the same township of Nandisala credited to Lichchhavi rulers. Another town of Vishalnagar credited to Dharmadutta by Hindu legends extended probably from Budanilkantha to Baluatar. It should be noted here that all these areas are tar lands, which continued to be the only sites for towns and villages within Kathmandu Valley until very recent years. The process of settling on the low-lying area of the river basins is a current phenomenon.

Lichchhavi towns must have followed the Sanskrit ritual literature rules for creating a town just as they practiced the social mores and life pattern as dictated by similar thoughts. A look at early Malla towns and temples give sufficient basis for this assumption. The settlement pattern of the Indian sub-continent can therefore be taken as a standard reference base for planning of towns in the Lichchhavi period.

Rana has summarized the ancient practices in city planning and layout in the Indian subcontinent as follows:

The symbolic nature of city-plans and buildings, thus the analogy of human body has been accepted as representation of the universe (cf. Johnson 1988). This plan is commonly referred as the Vastu Purusa Mandala and represented with the Ekasiti Pada (81 squares: 9*9 grids). According to the Matsya purana (253.21) the city-plan needs to be developed in this form with the allocation of space to various divinities, e.g. Brahma is said to preside over nine squares in the center, forming an open quadrangle...The eight cardinal directions are controlled by the territorial deities as watch guards. According to the Mansara, the layout of the Hindu city is based on the 'cosmos cross', the cardinal points of which are the corners of the universe; thus the

whole city is symbolically the celestial city (Singh 1988b: 444-445). The idea of city in Hindu mythologies has been described as the spatial exposition of the cosmic representation and Manasara; prescribed plans are eight in number [Dutta: 1925, Singh: 1959]. These are Dandaka, Sarvatobhadra, Nandyavarta, Padmaka, Svastika, Prastara, Karmuka, and Chaturmukha. [Rana PBS]

The latest English translation of the source book for Sanskrit ritual literature on planning "Mayamata" consulted for this study is the one translated by Bruno Dagens and carries corroboration to the statements of Rana above as well as newer detailed insights stanza by stanza sets on diagrams, villages, towns and royal palaces along with other pertinent tools of early planning practices as per ritual dictates.

General nature of urbanization in Indian subcontinent has already been explored in some detail by Indian scholars like M. C. Joshi and their works can provide useful guidelines even as they tend to derive their conclusions from Indo-Pakistan context alone.

The Points of Departure

This thesis works on a central hypothesis that earliest settlements in Kathmandu Valley were located on higher reaches of the surrounding hills. In the course of development through history settlements moved downwards and along the hill spurs jutting into the valley floors. In early stages spurs endings at Changunarayan, Jagdol, Kapan, Tokha, Mahankal, Balaju, Swayambhu, Naikap, Bungamati, Sunakothi, Katunje, and Sanga-Tathali were settled. Still later settlements extended up to Bhaktapur, Thimi, Gothatar, Devpatan, Baluatar, Manamaiju, Kirtipur, Chovar, Okthali, Lagan, and Matitar. By early Lichchhavi period further moves into the valley floor had started and the areas now occupied by Patan, Hañdigaon and Kathmandu were finally settled. This hypothetical dispersal

of settlements in the valley over time is based on the discernible patterns in historical periods regressed over to ancient period.

The earlier the town the more likely for it to be located in higher reaches of the valley fringe. The earlier the period of settlement to Lichchhavi period, it is more likely to have a non-Sanskrit or a degenerate Prakrit name.

Lichchhavi period town pattern would be related strongly to Hindu classical approaches, as they were staunch practitioners of classical thoughts. Malla period towns simply developed over the trends of their own past adding to it a lot with their artistic sense. Thus a regression is not only a clear possibility but will also lead to reliable conclusions.

Before the arrival of Lichchhavis in the Kathmandu valley, the commonly spoken language was non-Sanskrit in its nature. This language was forerunner of the Newari language and was the Kirāta mother tongue. The Gopālas may have spoken an Indo-Gangatic language if we accept their legendry association to Gangatic plains. This might have influenced the Kirāta tongue to some extent. The early settlers were hill based and legends referring to hill areas are older than agriculture period based legends. Hinduism and Buddhism both entered the valley on the last quarter of the first millennium BC. The term to indicate the society that differed from the Lichchhavis and preceded them as a ruling house and also different from the herdsmen group of Gopālas and Mahishapālas that they succeeded has been taken as the Kirātas on the basis of literary traditions.

Some Clarifications

In this book, the ancient period is to be understood to mean the period before the Malla rule and includes the Thakuri period, the Lichchhavi period, and the prehistoric period comprising both the early Lichchhavi and the immediate legendary Kirāta periods. It should also be noted that

the location is established on the basis of polygonal approximation of sites, which are available in a limited number of inscriptions and in comparison with information available for other nearby places and the general topography of the area there about today. Location, thus, will be taken to mean only the general area of concentration of settlement and in some cases, may only indicate the regional sense. By nature of the settlement, at this time, we only mean the overall structure of the identified settlement. Since only limited information is carried by inscriptions, information for similar settlements have been generalized to arrive at a more comprehensive picture. The composite basis of inference, by necessity, demands a subjective assumption of similarity, for which I have used terminology as a primary basis. To establish the nature of the settlement, information from inscriptions have been sought to respond to questions on several physical issues such as:

- (i) Did it have a central element or zone?
- (ii) If it did have a center, what was its theme or land use?
- (iii) What sort of public services was available?
- (iv) What were the major economic activities?
- (v) What physical impact on settlements can be expected?
- (vi) What was its religious-cultural nature?
- (vii) How large was it?
- (viii) How similar or dissimilar were they to early Malla towns?

While concluding on the nature of settlements, a complete picture of the village or town is not made, as all the questions do not find plausible answers from the sources. However, mapping of the identified settlements do show a conscious pattern of regional dispersal of settlements of the Kathmandu Valley in the Lichchhavi period.

No primary archeological field data was collected for this study. Field data is limited to assessment of extant forms and elements that may be reasonably observed as coming down from the ancient days. Available raw data in the form of legends, chronicles, inscriptions etc. has been

subjected to interpretive analysis and corroboration with field observations done for selected settlements. The field data is limited to verification of only a few select locations. These locations have been primarily selected on the basis of higher occurrence of inscriptions or artifacts in the area such as Naxal and Hadigaon, Deupatan, Kisipidi etc. Specific areas of potential Kirata concentration such as Thankot, Gokarna, and Patan have been subjected to detailed comparison of current topography and the information from inscriptions.

Fixing of Location of settlements, places, and site have been attempted only for those mentioned by at least two of the so far available Lichchhavi inscriptions or related chronicles and legends. This is simply because names occurring just once do not provide sufficient ground for verification of location that may be hypothesized from such occurrence. In many cases, the occurrence is so minimally descriptive of features around that it has been virtually impossible to locate them. However, sometimes a single mention has been elaborate enough to emphatically locate it in space.

The Methodology of the Study

Places and settlements of the Lichchhavi period will be drawn out of the stone inscriptions of the period. The location of inscription per say will not be assumed as its original position unless compelling reasons to conclude so can be observed through corroboration of information contained there in or about the place. As the inscriptions are mostly charters issued for public information their location may be away from the area referred to and could relate more to the location and movement of people expected to follow the instructions. This is the reason why major charters appear located at cross roads or water spouts or temple precincts often visited by the lay people. Depending upon the content of the charter, some inscriptions may be located within specific areas like the royal palace or monasteries. Some others related to tax or land revenue collection may actually have been kept by the collector assigned.

All these factors affect the location study and these thoughts are applied to each inscription before concluding on location of places and settlement referred to there in.

After drawing up the preliminary conclusions about the likely location and nature of a settlement, the function of the settlement and the possible logic behind its location is adjudged on the basis of general principles and objectives of settling such a settlement or element. For example the likelihood of growing cotton in Thankot area is assessed before confirming the location of Thenchogram and other places around there, where the tax relief on growing and weaving of cotton is mentioned along with the ponds with irrigation potentials. Likewise wherever a Gulma is indicated, the likely defense advantage of the area in comparison to nearby sites should be confirmed from a planning perspective. A look into the location of possible aggression routes can throw meaningful corroborative possibilities. It is clear that for an agrarian society getting stronger on the basis of commerce both defense and entrepodal accessibility are important considerations of siting. Drangas of Lichchhavis, which appear as self-ruling commercial/residential units with a higher standing than gramas, thus, should correspond to sites through which major thoroughfares should go. The highway network within the valley may thus be derived. Indeed location of Dranga should clearly indicate a sizable tertiary activity of the population residing there in.

Legends and chronicles are told or written after the places and settlements tied up in these 'stories' are already in good standing. The elements existing at the time of writing or within memories of the chronicler are freely presented as age-old facts. It is thus necessary that legends and undated chronicles be taken into analysis only for spatial purposes, confirming if nothing else just the existence of such a site with broad features as described in the legends. Screening just for basic elements of the plot, as it were, must be the first approach. The socio-religious context of the period of writing/invention of the legend often strongly affects the nature of presentation of the story. Unless corroborative evidence exists,

the time frame of legends and the periods they are purported to present are screened out as irrelevant. This is necessary particularly as all legends seem to imagine the scene so far back in the past that their time frame appears clearly fictitious. Likewise supernatural happenings in the legends must be related to some physical happening that was not possible to be explained in the light of the body of scientific knowledge of that period. Such and other filters are used in the analysis of legends.

However legends are not taken as primary data source for this study and they are only used as corroborative support to inscriptional evidence. For example the legend of Makara, which turned back at the site of the son killing the father, at Narayanhiti and the legendary association of this supernatural happening to Gungvihāra, is used as corroborating Manadeva's inscription at Changu. Here the legend becomes a partial reality in that a huge religious activity was going on in Changu when his father was killed elsewhere and possibly brought there in a dead state. The Buddhist bias of the legend against the Hindu facts suggests that the legend was woven at a time when Manadeva had to be somehow discredited. As additional information, the chronicle Gopālarājāvamsābali presents a comparatively milder stand vis-à-vis Manadeva, where the chronicler says Manadeva slew his father unknowingly. Possibly both are describing a result of an intrigue within ruling house, which lead to the death of Manadeva's father.

Such an analytical basis might bring charges of intuitive religious bias against Buddhists. Closer analysis of happenings in history and even the statement of chronicles do give ample evidence that the Nepalese society and the ruling class starting with the Licchavis and others following them, including their Brahmin advisors, did not take lightly to the proliferation of Buddhism and the bias has been all too real in history and not of my making. Manadeva's father seems to have been executed because of his inclination towards sacrificial rites then associated with Buddhist Yogini sect and presumably for his deed of erecting the Dhamare Chaiya of Chabel. The situation following the arrival of Sankaracharya, the

flowering of the alternate Matsendranath tradition and the suppression of celibate monkhood in Buddhism are clear indicators of such suppression led either by the state or its elders or both. The physical indicators are also quite abundant typified by the miniature Chaityas of the Buddhists, called Chibahs, more correctly, Masiri-dega (<Mansiri-dega < Manjushri-dega) which one can see was a Buddhist equivalent of the Hindu practice of dedicating Siva linga to the dead parents. Whereas these proliferated in the early Lichchhavi period and were suppressed following the rule of Manadeva, they could resurface only briefly in the 12th century. From that time until 17th century, they were again totally suppressed even in Patan agreeably the most Buddhist of all towns of the Malla period. We could even surmise that most of the so-called Lichchhavi Chaityas do not post date Manadeva but many of them could belong prior to Vrisadeva's rule around the end of 4th century. This possibility can be projected from the following interrelation that can be projected between the Lichchhavi ruler Vrisadeva, the Buddhist monk Shantikaracharya of the Swayambhu Purana and the Gopālarājāvamsābali reportage on Vrisadeva cited below as an additional example of comparative analogy.

Vrisadeva was the great grandfather of Manadeva (Ins. No. R- I, R-CXLII) and he had taken to Buddhism (R-CXLII). He was enamored enough to erect the Swayambhu Chaitya according to the chronicle Gopālarājāvamsābali. Apparently, according to the chronicle, he was also offered as a sacrifice at a water conduit located about Swayambhu Chaitya. Incidentally Swayambhu Chaitya today has no such conduits nearby, making analysts dismiss the chronicler as heresy reporter. Swayambhu Purana says that Shantikaracharya erected the Swayambhu Chaitya to cover the spot of the primordial Lotus so that the atheists due to arrive in the Kaliyuga will not be able to efface it. Shantikara, according to the Purana, went into self-imposed internment at the Shantipura temple; much like the sacrifice of the alternate builder of the Chaitya, Vrisadeva was also self-imposed. A physical inspection of the Shantipura will show that it is built over a water conduit pit possible to be in three stages: the first stage is now circumambulatory of the temple, the lower second stage

the anteroom of the temple and the third stage, where the conduits were located, now the sanctum room, not to be accessed by anyone. This was apparently a conduit pit with seven outlets, an allusion carried by folklore that there are seven stages to the actual room of internment of Shantikara. We may rationally conclude that Vrisadeva did erect the Chaitya and the conduit he was executed at was the one that was covered by the Shantipura temple. It is only because there is no image there that it is called the temple for the void. Vrisadeva's self ordered sacrifice was apparently for peace making in the society and he seems to have earned the alias of Shantikara (= one who caused a final peace). This peace apparently also did not last very long and also it had been at a great cost to Buddhism; the Kaliyuga of the legend for Buddhism in Kathmandu is simply an allusion to the period following the death of Vrisadeva. It must have been a century later that Vrisadeva's grandson was to be similarly executed for erecting another Chaitya and Dhammardeva earned a popular alias of Dharmapala in Buddhist legends. Dhammardeva was probably executed at Sankhu, the home of the Yogini herself. The realism behind the scene must indeed make the chronicler of Gopāla vamsāvali the provider of the plot to a section of the Swayambhu Purana itself. Only Pratap Malla, who had resorted to solitary confinement of his father to gain the throne, had the urge to look around for the truth behind both the famed patricides of the Lichchavi period as if to mark the passage of a thousand years!

Data collection and Analysis

Data for the study has been collected from secondary sources and published materials, however general or specifically technical, are skimmed fully. The inscription sites are visited as far as possible but fresh reading had been resorted to only in case of conflicting indications. Some on site data has been collected for specific settlements or sites only as corroborative evidence. The current settlements pattern is drawn out of aerial photography topographic mapping of Kathmandu Valley done in 1972.

The Lichchhavi inscriptions, after the formal starting statements containing the royal titles and the statement of purpose of the edict, always include a delineation of the boundaries of the area concerned, which is very elaborate. Though such statements do not include the distance measures and use the then current landmarks around the boundary to demarcate the area, yet they use the classical directional system attributes to enhance the delineation. This is most helpful particularly as even as portions of the inscriptions might be damaged one can rather accurately infer which area of the site boundary is missing. As the land area is described starting from the north-east and going clockwise around and back to north-east section, for any inscription if one landmark is locatable several other places can be attributed an approximate location on the basis of cardinality relation with the identified object or place marker. Unless great earthquakes cause change of landmasses, rivers, hills and hillocks in the geotopology as that of Kathmandu valley do not change much over 1500 years, which is a wink, so to speak, in terms of geological time span. Thus built nature and names of places or owners of land parcels might change with cultural changes, but the geotopology remains more or less the same and a comparison with current land forms can, therefore, give further clues to locating places. Moreover as the dominant lay cultural group in the valley have been the Newars since the Lichchhavi days upto about two hundred years ago, the process of cultural changes, nomenclature changes can be studied through positive regression and conclusive arguments can result not only in locating places but also in establishing the past pattern of settlements. This thesis uses these analytical means as the central data processing technique for the purpose of locating settlements and establishing their pattern.

Legends are other sources of information and their analysis is used as a tool to arrive at corroborative evidence. As most Nepalese legends and folklore are religion centric, they are also very useful for the purpose of this thesis. Major religious change in the Newar cultural group has been the injection of Tantric thoughts into both Buddhist and Hindu religion towards the end of the 'Thakuri period' of the history of Kathmandu valley

or the end of first millennium AD. The age of the legend could be discerned using this or similar landmark changes. The places mentioned therein should either be important places at the time of writing the folklore or as remembered. Once the chaff and fat of one-up-manship is removed, the legends can be useful tools for establishing the nature of the places referred to. However the information from legends are only used as a corroboration to conclusions derivable from other means, as is the usual practice in dealing with legends as they are prone to be told differently in different cultural settings and periods.

Analysis is done on the basis of correlation of one set of data with another such as comparison of legendary association with inscriptions, co-relation of inscriptions with other inscriptions or early medieval sources, co-relation of inscriptional data with physical topography of possible locations, co-relation with extant physical attributes and built attributes. The in-situ location of steles are not necessarily assumed to be in their purported locations as political and religious upheavals in the later historical periods could have led to their dislocations. Particularly the steles located in the densely built Malla urban areas are subjects of enquiry as to their locational characteristics. Also the inscriptions related to Buddhist Bahals have been specially scrutinized, as the changeover of the monks from celibate to non-celibate in the early Malla period could have led to the shift of the monasteries from rural pristine "aramas" to urban centers.

The following discussions are divided into five sections e.g. the people, the built elements, the settlements, the terminologies and the dispersal and character of elements and settlements. The last chapter summarizes the salient findings.

Chapter II

The People

Places and Settlements are related to people. Urban pattern, structure and form are basically a result of their socio-economic, socio-religious and socio-political character. Without the knowledge of the people, it is virtually not possible to gauge the nature of their settlements. Yet this study is limited by the fact that it could not primarily delve deep into anthropological studies of the people. Basically a few of the representative works on the ancient people of the valley, the aboriginals and the immigrants, were reviewed to provide a basic backdrop to urban development. Because the Lichchhavi character is more or less defined by the inscriptions themselves, I have chosen not to reiterate them in detail here.

Chronicles uniformly suggest that the ruling houses in ancient period came from outside the valley. Lichchhavis are said to have come into Kathmandu Valley from India but can be linked up in a very tenuous way often not accepted as fact. Lichchhavis of Nepal and those of the south are separated by over 1100 years and Mani concludes that the correct assessment of the interrelation of the two is not possible due to wide gap between the two periods [Mani S: pp. 26]. Gopālas are said to have come earlier from outside the valley too. Gopālarājāvamsābali however does not indicate an immigrant status for the Kirātas and they appear as aboriginal settlers of the valley of Kathmandu. But literary and other social indicators show the aboriginals of a kind not very akin to the Kirātas. In the following

discussions various viewpoints are drawn in to establish the nature of people for whom the settlements were developed.

Gopalas

Nirish Nepal proposes a plausible developmental scenario that the original Naag tribe after turning into a pastoral community divided up into two gentes, the Gopālas and the Mahishapālas, i.e., the cow and the buffalo gentes, which with the increase of population once more broke into a number of daughter gentes and afterwards the tribe itself got separated into two tribes [Nepal N, 2]. Nepal is of the view that they "appear to be the aboriginal herdsmen of the Bagmati region and the primogenitors of the Newars.... In Newar caste hierarchy we still find a Hale or Gwa caste group, consisting of the modern representatives of the ancient Gopālas or Ahirs, which is divided into two sub-sections called Sa-pu (cow milker) and Me-pu (buffalo milker), the former being Gopāla and the latter Mahishapālas by trade." The first historical mention of trouble caused by herds of buffalos occurs at the Tistung inscription of Amshuverma and the current predomination of the Hale and Gwa caste groups among the Newars in Taukhel, Nhulu, Kunchha, Papung, Pulagaun, and Shikharkot villages of the Tistung-Taukhel-Chitlang regions indicate that they are "genuine historical folks, not mythical ones, and their historicity should not be doubted while their pedigree as enumerated in the vamsāvali is fictitious". [Ibid.]

It seems the chroniclers' memory goes to the times when the herdsmen were already divided into the two groups and gone into some sort of divergent development with sufficient differentiating results making them contest the power to rule. History even gives us many examples of power struggle between son and father or between brothers with the throne being made a matter of stake and we do not have to assume cultural differences per se for political / power struggles to develop. Memory of such situations may have led the authors of the Vamsavalis to wrongly present the Gopālas and the Mahishapālas as being two different tribes. He

proposes that these seven daughter gentes occupied the seven villages of Kathmandu valley (cf. the Jatra of Satgauns), namely, Satungal, Boshigam, Machchhegam, Taukhel (Tahakhel?), Kirtipur, Lohankot, and Nagam (Panga). The concentration of Gwas and Hales principally in these villages even today is definite pointer towards the proposed scenario.

The Jatra of Satgauns or the Festival of Seven Villages, when all the seven guardian goddesses of these villages participate and come together to culminate at their mother goddess site of Vishandevi temple on the banks of river Balkhu (or Indramati Ganga in Sanskritized nomenclature), not only indicates their matriarchal social pattern but also possibly their original habitat and settlements. The group leader for the festivities in each village is a Poda belonging to the current low caste group within the Newars. The members of the same caste group function as guardians of the Matrika temples in other parts of Kathmandu valley and in some cases, such as that of Tunaldevi Ajima in Chandol, the site of which is datable to 5th century, "they are also regarded as the husband of the goddess". It may be noted here that some analysts have suggested that the Podes are descendants of the Lichchhavi rulers [K.C. KB, 1].

It is also interesting to note that only this untouchables group within the Newar caste does not practice the Yihi ceremony typical of all the rest of the Newars. In Yihi ceremony, Newar girls are ritually married off to a lump of gold called the Suvarnakumar, essentially believing that she would, then, never become a widow. She is also endowed with the right to divorce and second marriage. We may draw from this differentiating factor that Podes do not belong to the Newar group and may be descended of the aboriginal tribes. Although the Gopalas may have been matriarchal as the Jatra suggests, the central ritual role of Poda may be indicating the game of power transfer to the group of the goddesses themselves. We may even place them earlier than the Gopalas. We have to propose this because the Gopalas must have been followers of some primitive Krishna cult whereas the Podes are not. We may draw a precedence chain from the anthropological perspective as Poda > Gua

(Nanda-gopālas) > Maharjans, the representative descendant of the Kirata.

Their pre-pastoral habitat of the Gopālas and Mahishapālas is plausible to be around higher lands and their purported locations around Palung, Tistung, Satgaon etc. agrees to chroniclers' memory that the Gopāla capital, hence the key settled area, was at Matatirtha.

The Kirātas

The word 'Kirāta' occurs in the Lichchhavi Inscriptions only once and here too the word is, according to Pant, not used to indicate a tribe but as a particular type of royal household staff [Pant MR, 3]. Pant's interpretation can be challenged and proved wrong; even without such information also, the absence of the word per se alone cannot be construed as a denial that Kiratas did live in the valley prior to or during the Lichchhavi times. The only inscription, which uses a phrase with the word 'Kirata', is R-LXXXV. Here the phrase is "kiratavarsadhara" and it can be shown that it has been used to refer to a temple dedicated to the Kirata God of Rain, which could be either Indra (with a thunderbolt) or the Naga [See discussions under 'Daxinarajakula' in Chapter III]; thus substantiating not only that Kiratas were there but has their own gods and goddesses, that differed from the Lichchhavi ones. Vamsāvali references as well as occurrence of non-Sanskrit terms in the inscriptions further corroborate this as they substantiate the existence of a different group of people. These people, presumably the second group of early settlers, according to vamsāvalis, were the Kirātas. The inscription also uses the words 'chirantanam', which points to times of their arrival in the valley. They appear to have had their habitat to the eastern hills of the valley. Some vamsāvalis also state that they first established themselves in the Bagmati river valley after subduing the Gopālas and Mahishapālas.

However Slusser suggests that early inhabitants "may have drifted south from the harsh Tibetan plateau [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 8]. These immigrants

were probably ancestral to contemporary Nepalese hill tribes, the Magar, Gurung, Kirāti (Limbu, Rai).... and to the Tamangs, who were well established on the slopes within". This drift apparently happened after the arrival of the Gopālas and Mahishapālas. If such had been the case, with the rule of the Gopālas and Mahishapālas preceding them, it would not be farfetched to look for Aryan/Sanskrit mix in the so called Kirāta remnants of place names and other terms observed in Lichchhavi inscriptions. Since we do not find much of this, they seem to have been a pretty strong cultural group able to withstand significant cultural pressures.

Whereas there might be little dispute in suggesting that the Newari language may have developed out of the commonly spoken language of ancient Nepal and thus the pre-Lichchhavi language may be called proto-Newari, proper analysis of the non-Sanskrit aspect of the inscriptions is necessary. Various writers, including Slusser have suggested that the current Newars of the valley are descendants of the Kirātas [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 9]. The parallels in language stock as well as cultural traditions are cited as reasons for so being. The Kirātas worshipped the Ajima (> Yumi) or the "grand-mother" and Ajuu or Bhairab or Hathvan (> Theba) or the "grand-father", and such traditions are still living in the eastern Nepal. The pig was their animal of sacrifice. Some writers have considered the imageless piths of Kunga Ajima, Luti Ajima, and Maiti Ajima as remnants of Kirāti goddesses. Newar popular belief links the Indrachowk Akash Bhairab and Pachali Bhairab respectively to the Kirāta King Yalamber Hang and his son Pabbi [Saurav S]. That they were matriarchal too is seen from their current tilt towards worship of goddesses particularly 'Yuma sam'. One point of interest here is the complete absence of such gods or goddesses in the state recognized religious sites as indicated by the Hadigaon inscription of Amshuverma. They all must have been lumped together as 'tadnyadevakulanam' and obviously did not find favor of the ruling clans.

Two sites in Patan are of particular veneration of the current Kirātis and these are the Siddhilarxmi temple near Tyagal and the temple at Tikhel at southwest corner of Patan. [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 96]

Some scholars of Nepalese culture argue that " before the beginning of the rule of the Lichchhavis both the prominent religion of the Indian sub-continent i.e. Hinduism (Saivism, Vaisnavism, Shaktism) and Buddhism were widely practiced by the people in the Kathmandu Valley along with the Vedic and later-Vedic religions centered mainly around deities embodying or symbolizing the forces of nature and morals, yajnas and sacrifices and chants and spells which in the early medieval period grew into stereotyped religion of Tantricism." [Pandey RN, 2] These conclusions have been drawn from the assertion of the chronicles that Gopālas, Mahishapālas and Kirātas preceded the Lichchhavis. Whereas the Gopālas and Mahishapālas followed the Vedic Hinduism with Vaisnavite orientation, the Kirātas are thought to have been Sivite in their religious practices. The references of early Lichchhavi inscriptions to the Aviras and Buddhist practices can be cited as proofs for such a situation. Pandey proposes the Saiva orientation of the Kirātas and but their non-Buddhist orientation is possibly based on chronicles and literary sources. Kirāteswor Sivalinga and other proto-Lichchhavi sculptures like 'Kali' of Aryaghat are also cited as indicators by others.

The Lichchhavis

Based on Kirāta legends and folklore, Lichchhavis are suggested to be illegitimate offspring of the Kirātas by some authors (Kyapalichchha > Lichchha > Lichchhavi) [Thulung SNM]. However this position is not considered acceptable by many others, particularly in the light of the assertion of the Gopālarājāvamsābali, which does suggest displacement of Kirātas by Lichchhavis.

Inscriptional evidence certainly establishes the presence of the Sanskrit-speaking group of the Lichchhavis in the Kathmandu Valley as early as 300

A.D. A few words in one inscription may also be construed to show the presence of Vrijjis to some extent.

It is not known whether Lichchhavis and Vrijjis were Caucasoid or Mongoloid in origin [Basham AL: pp. 41]. It is not even so clear given the wide gap between the Lichchhavis of Vaisali and the Lichchhavis of Kathmandu Valley, if they are at all related [Mani S: pp. 26]. Also the former was based on a republican system whereas the Lichchhavis of Nepal were monarchial in political administration system. Gopalarajavamsali time periods and nomenclature e.g. Bimalnagari, would however show a direct link.

Lichchhavi society was formed around the Hindu verna system and appears to follow the late Vedic/Hindu practices. They were followers of Vaisnavism and its Krishna cult. The royal house seems to have been fairly liberal with religious choices. As a matter of fact, their Vaisnava affiliation appears over projected in earlier studies. The discussions in the following chapters will make such a possibility clearer.

Chapter III

The Elements

Whether the earlier group of people inhabiting the valley be the ones with the Naga totem, or the Gopālas and the Mahishapālas or whether the pre-Lichchhavi called themselves Kirāta or not, is not of central concern here. We do not have to name them; their presence, cultural difference and precedence and their urban culture is fairly indicated by the chronicles, archeological finds and inscription of the Lichchhavis themselves. Whoever they may have been or whatever their name, they definitely did not follow either the Buddhist or the Hindu religious streams to start with. The process of religious transformation apparently took almost a millennium, as the legends coming from around that period seem to forget the initial differences between the indigenous people and the new comers and their religious affiliations. Prior to the process of assimilation and annexation, they possibly worshipped nature and its elements. The nature landmarks such as hill tops, lakes, sources of water and the like must have held them in awe, as for human being elsewhere in primitive times. These very landmarks probably became their religious sites, which were to develop later as built elements as the economy and technology progressed and allowed.

The Changu-Narayana inscription of Manadeva I (464-505 AD) elucidates the existence of 'para' Vishnu temple (Swami or Hari of Doladri) there earlier and this provides support to the account of the chronicles which attribute the construction of four temples of Visnu-narayana to Hariduttaverma, an earlier ruler, in the four corners of the Valley. The

other three were most probably the Narayana of Machhegaon, Anantalingeswor and Ichangu, and do tend to form a quadrangle. But for the current analysis the locations popularly attributed to is taken as a point of study. An analysis of the legends pertaining to the "Char Narayanas" shows a strong co-relation with the legend of Manjushri popular among Buddhists, the situation pointing to the possible location of landmarks or religious sites of the earlier group of people, whom both the newly arrived religious mercenaries were trying to convert to their own fold.

The aboriginal settlers preceding the period of doctrinal propagation of both Hinduism and Buddhism in Kathmandu Valley only would be the aimed at converts in these legends. Therefore the various sites interwoven in these legends could only be sites of importance, either religious or secular, to these pre-Lichchhavi people, as the newcomers accommodated the sites of relevance to older practices. Only for this reason, the early religious sites claimed by both the Hindus and the Buddhists are one and the same. The four early sites mentioned in Buddhist legends are as follows:

| | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| Jatamatrocha | of Vipaswibuddha, current Jamacho |
| Dhyanocha | of Sikhithagata, current Champadevi |
| Phulocha | of Viswobhubuddha, current Phulchoki |
| Dhilacha | of Manjushri, current Manichurthan |

Likewise the places patronized by the early Vaisnavite legends are the four Char Narayana sites of the temples of Vishnu said to have been built by the fourteenth Lichchhavi King Hariduttaverma, according to Gopālarājāvamsābali [Bajracharya DB, Malla KP]. These are:

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| Ichangu Narayana | current Ichangu |
| Sikha Narayana | current Farping |
| Bishnkhu Narayana | current Bishankhu |
| Changu Narayana | current Changu |

The similarity in names associated such as Sikhutathagata and Sikhhanarayana, Bishankhunarayana and Viswobhubuddha are notable. The very places also do not show any traces of Narayana from Lichchhavi period are interesting and may show some relation there. From a space forming Mandala concept, the southwest Narayana could well have been Seshanarayana of Dhakasi near Macchegaon. Similarly as we find that, until NS 771, the place Bishankhu went by the name 'Bishunugung' and as Nepal Mahatmya does not say anything about this Bishankhu as a Narayana, it may be a late medieval site. We also see that Bishankhu is the only one of the Char-Narayanas, whose officiating priest is not a Rajopadhyaya. It is, thus, quite likely that Anantalingeswor or Hamsagriha, rather than Bishankhu, was the Narayana of the SE in the Lichchhavi Narayana Mandala.

It is no coincidence that the hill tops claimed as important to Buddhists as Ashrams of their sages are a little higher than the early Vishnu temples of the Hindus and they share the same hill spur differing only in levels, which appears to be a direct result of aiming to identify to the same site yet trying to physically separate from each other. These four general areas were most likely places or settlements of great socio-cultural importance before the arrival of both the Hindus and the Buddhists into Kathmandu valley. The opening statement of Gopalarajavamsabali and its reference to Bhringareswor possibly indicates an earlier period of Sivite influence. The reference to higher spots as sites of veneration in Buddhist legends suggests that the Buddhism was the earlier arriving religion in comparison to Vaisnavite Hinduism. The location of Mahadeva Pokhari, Pokhari Thumko, Pokhari Bhanjhyang and Dahachowk at these very general areas lends credence to large settlements around, for which these hill top ponds were used for water supply. On the basis of later Lichchhavi inscriptions one can show a preponderance of Kirata place names in Sitapaila-Balaju area, Thankot-Matirtha-Farping area, area east of Gokarna and Bungamati-Godavari area. The pointers of the legends, location of water supply ponds on these hill tops and profuse use of non-Sanskrit place-names in these very general area, all emphatically prove the location of

Kirāta, or at the very least pre-Lichchhavi, settlements in these areas.
[Sketch 3]

Many such sites not important enough to be woven into legends of the Buddhists or the Hindus in the formative time of these religions in the valley still survive as " the open shrines of the Gramadevis (sic) in many corners and along rural tracks " [Sharma RR]. These remnants of a maternalistic society of the past are yet to be explored in depth and their importance is rather yet to be understood. But some of them must have converted into village or town embryo for the temple towns discussed separately elsewhere.

Early organized settlers must have has a fairly peaceful period, but one has to assume that as the feudal system developed and as more outsiders start turning up in search of greener pastures or safer heavens, situations must have changed. All the available chronicles, legends, and popular folklore start from such a period of development. It is in this light that one has to look at hill sites of Kathmandu to try to understand the real reasons behind the occupation, religious colonization or settlement in such sites. Since most of our Hindu Puranic texts like the Nepal Mahatmya or their Buddhist religious counterparts like the Swayambhu Purana were written fairly late, much too long after the happening, clear tendencies to weave later developments into the lores purported to be an account of the hoary past are obvious and logical at the same time. But assignment of religious importance to a site is not always a religious matter. Often defense of the area comes as a matter of first concern in a feudal society and similar reasons can be gleaned out of the early legends. For Manjushri to settle Manjupattan, it was not only essential to drain the lake but also anoint the hill crests of Nagarkot, Phulchoki, Champadevi and Jamacho as potent and important and in addition the hillock of Swayambhu had to be there to protect the town and its inhabitants, in the ideological sense to help the continuance of Buddhism but in a mundane sense to protect them from their possible enemies. The possible points for enemy egress are just around the corner and these are the vantage points obviously. Today's

valley topography and the routes of the invaders known through chronologies are indeed very illuminating for such an analysis. [Sketch No- 03, B. Attacks and Counterattacks into and out of Kathmandu Valley Kingdom.]

The above interrelation between the places of religious potency and the location of open flanks of the topography of Kathmandu valley are not just incidental. As a matter of fact the location of the hill town/Vishnu sites of Hamsagrihadrangga, Dahachok, Changu, Ichangu also appear directly related to the passes of Sanga and Lakure, Thankot, Nagarkot and Bhedunga respectively. Bungamati and later Sikhnanarayan serves the same purpose vis a vis Bagmati river as defense outposts. Manadeva's eastward counter attack was directed against those referred to in the inscription as "satha" and these eastern feudatories were most likely the Kirātas [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 24]. Though the western march was against Mallapuri and efforts to stretch it to the Mallas far away by various authors has caused confusions, it seems most likely that the river Gandak referred as intervening in the inscription is Trisuli, approached from Sitapaila-Bhūndunga pass. It is also my presumption that the second resurgence of the Kirātas in the valley was directed from the stronghold of Lembati drangga, which has strong indicators that it might have derived its name from "Lalatabati" (= forehead + female circuit) a Sanskrit name for the river which comes into the valley and becomes Nakkhu (= Nakkukhu = temple + water). The entry of Kirātas for the second time into the valley is probably remembered by the chronicles and presented Kirātas as in migrants also.

These sites apparently served as customs check point during the peaceful time and the same time monitored the trade caravans. It is well known that the north-south trade through the valley was regulated from Thankot in the SW, Changu in the NE, Sanga in the SE and Dharamthali in the NW and is well observed through the beginning of historical period. "That traders were already making their way into the valley in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. is suggested by Buddhist accounts of the monks at Sravasti"

[S. Levi as quoted by Slusser MS, 3: pp. 5] and Kautilya's reference to woolen blankets from Nepal in his 'Arthashastra' is a solid proof of Nepalese commodities reaching pre-Gupta North India possibly as early as fourth century B.C. There can be little doubt that these references to Nepal mean the country, which had the Kathmandu valley as its central place. Still later the travel accounts of Huen Tsang and Wang Huen Che make it clear wool, musk, Chamar, iron and copper utensils were major export items of the valley and the valley within had 'more traders than farmers'. It is easily inferred that these hill top sites and settlements doubled up as trading post and defense installations. The inscriptions will amply evidence that the Lichchhavis had developed these places and their immediate lower reaches as "dranggas and gulmas" later on. At least two major highways are categorically named in the inscription as Konko-Vilva marga and Kampro-Yambi marga; Slusser even imagines a third one, which she calls Daxinakoli road although I find nothing to substantiate existence of this road [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 105]. The first mentioned linked the western post with the south eastern post of Hamsagrihadrangga (Konko) and the latter linked the western part of the drangga of Jamayambi (Indrachowk) with the north eastern port of Kapan (Kampro) on way to the exit point Bisambhara (Bharabisramanasthana). The extended Konko-Vilva road had the Daxinakoligrama drangga alongside in the middle of the valley.

It is therefore likely that these had got their 'mundane' importance from the 'pre-Krishna', 'pre-Hari' and 'pre-Manjushri' times and can be seen as developments coming down from the indigenous people, whoever they may have been. These sites were later given the 'religious' decor to reflect later times.

The incarnate images of Vishnu such as Matsya, Vamana-Trivikrama, Baraha and Narasimha were warmly worshipped by the people of the Lichchhavi period in the beginning [Regmi JC, 5: pp. 106-17]. Still earlier the Lichchhavis were worshippers of the 'para' form of Vishnu such as Hari or Svami of Changu Narayana. Later discussions will show that these

elements continued to remain important in Malla period also. Gokarna Tirtha is still taken to be an important place of pilgrimage, next to Pashupatinath alone, for the Sivites in the Kathmandu Valley [ibid. pp. 81]; but as yet, we cannot with certainty show Gokarna as a Lichchhavi Saiva site.

Lichchhavi inscriptions teem with references to towns and to types of structures that filled them- temples and shrines, stupas (sic.) and monasteries, dharamsalas, fountains, votive pillars and other architectural features [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 39]". Though the references to Chaityas and stupas are discerned with difficulty and are more conjectural than factual, yet at least the existence of the Chaityas can be agreed to on the basis of extant elements, which has been correctly presented to be of Lichchhavi origins. Apart from their stylistic nature the technology employed to polish the 'anda' is very much akin to the technology applied to inscription stones, Siva lingas and other images from the period.

Mention of 14 monasteries in the Lichchhavi Inscriptions and the Bodhisattva images of the period, one dated 591 AD [Regmi DR, 3: pp. 133] and their location in Kathmandu Valley indicate significant population practicing Mahayana Buddhism. As these were mostly of the celibate group in the beginning, these monasteries were segregated from settlements for the sake of religious requirement. It is also probable that a certain amount of segregation of population and settlements along religious lines was also made.

Taking clue from the Malla towns and villages as well as some earlier inscriptional evidence, one can safely assume that whatever be the ruling period settlements appear to have been palace or temple or some potent site centric in nature. In this study therefore an attempt to locate the palaces, temples, bahals or any other type of religious or social site is made as a prelude to establishing the location of settlements themselves.

THE PALACES

As Nepal has always been a kingdom, the role of royal palaces in evolving the pattern and nature of towns appears paramount. The Manjushri legend mentions settling the town Manjupattan with a palace for king Dharmakar. Though there is no concrete evidence to support it, it is popularly believed that this palace was located somewhere in southwest Kathmandu about current Majhepat. Others however, have speculated that this palace was at Lazimpat, mistakenly assuming that the name Lazimpat derives from Rajapattan (> Lajpat >Lazimpat), whereas it is a recent name deriving out of it being the 'lodging part of the British residency! However, Majhepat may be a more meaningful site to investigate; it is a 12 yearly Bhairava Agama (secret) ritual site and may be a potential Kirata site. Alternatively, Majhepat may simply be a reference to the town with the early palace of Lichchhavis, which was apparently called Madhyamarajakula! In the same legend, a later king, Sudhanwa, is stated to have built a new palace on the banks of Tukucha river and a new town, Shankasya by name, was built about it. We will see later, that it was between Tukucha and Dhobikhola that all the major three Lichchhavi palaces were located. However, Sankashya as a place name is apparently a mix-up with Shankhamula (= confluence of Sanko, the Lichchhavi name for Hanumante river, Shankasya = on the banks of Sanka). The same legend says a still later king Sarvananda built a new palace near Guhyesvori. Here too, we find a mix. The Palace of Sarvananda is claimed to have been located also at Guita of Patan, which fits in with the name Shankasya and Guhyesvori is, of course, a Bajrayana religious site too (e.g. the pith of Blue Tara and also the end of the stalk of the legendary lotus of Swayambhu Purana). Thus even as the story is mythical, it seems to tie up places of importance of historical times; as a matter of fact, it can be shown that the places, in the living memory of the composer of Swayambhu Purana, who lived in the middle Malla period, were important in the Transitional and late Lichchhavi periods and it is only lightly spiced with myth and a certain loss of memory. These can guide us in identifying and locating real places and elements of history.

Legends and chronicles are equivocal about the rule of the Gopālas from the Matatirtha area. As the Kirātas took over the valley from the Gopālas, they are said to have ruled first from the Thankot area itself. Later the capital was shifted to Gokarna. Kirāta king Patuka is said to have left his palace at Gokarna when attacked by the Somabamsi Rajaputs. He later built his palace at Sankhamul, where he also built his capital town. Some other vamsābalis state that the Kirātas had their last palace at Phulchoki also. Lichchhavis are said to have started their rule first from Pulchowk. King Bhaskerverma is said to have constructed his palace near Baneswor. It was his adopted heir, who shifted the palace to Hañdigaon.

These statements of the chronicles are yet to be substantiated with archaeological studies. Despite this, it could be, at the very least, taken to indicate location of settlements in these very general areas. It is interesting to note that by the time the inscriptions become available, all these areas were already places of importance with sizable settlements.

The tendency of some analysts to locate places palaces or viharas on the basis of current location of the stone stele inscriptions of Lichchhavi times mentioning their names has led to illogical conclusions and instances are many; proposed location of Daxinarajakula at Hanumandhoka, Gullatanga grama at Guita, etc. are some such examples from Bajracharya. The land grants and boundary statement of Lichchhavi steles can, if well analyzed, lead to meaningful conclusions regarding the location of the settlements and their nature. These information are the most significant in that a match up effort with existing land forms and identified settlements can lead to spatial fixing on the valley region. Location of stele per se in any place does not mean much as many of them being royal decrees may have been removed in later periods and even if they are at original places, they are more likely to have been placed at repository areas like tax collectorates or at main thoroughfares rather than the area they deal with.

In the inscriptions names of six palaces are seen. These palaces are:

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Daxinarajakula, | Mānagriha, |
| Kailashakutbhavana, | Bhadradhivasbhavana, |
| Salamburajabasaka | and Pundrirajakula. |

Daxinarajakula

The mention of 'Daxinarajakula' occurs first in an inscription issued by Srisamanta Amshuverma early on his rule and the statement makes it to have been a very old palace. It certainly was older than Mānagriha and Kailashakutbhavana, which at that time was yet to be built.

Bajracharya proposes to locates Daxinarajakula at the current Hanumandhoka palace site on three grounds: (i) his inference that the Degutale stele (R-LXXXV) is about repair of a old palace built by the Lichchhavis and that Daxinarajakula was also an old palace; (ii) his inference from another inscription located at Nhugala near Jaisideval (R-LXVI) that Daxinarajakula was about the area and to its north-east taking cue from its wordings 'daxinarajakulasya daxinapaschimena'; and (iii) the settlement of Daxinakoligrama was so called because it was located to the south of "the famous Koligrama" and the palace was also called Daxinarajakula because it was to "the south of the same Koligrama". [Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 375]. The same views are echoed in toto by others [Bajracharya GB, 1: pp. 6-9]. A closer review of the facts will show that all the three reasons cited by him are farfetched and wrong inferences and as such Daxinarajakula could hardly have been located at Hanumandhoka area. The following discussions show why all the three reasons can be rationally dismissed:

(i) The first and the last line of the Degutale inscription make it quite clear that it commemorates the renovation of a building built by the early Lichchhavis and dilapidated by the action of birds nesting as well as trees growing over it and which was overlooked by its former caretakers

(‘puratanai Vrittibhattai’). But even as the inscription does not categorically mention whether the building was a palace or a temple, we do have the words ‘puratanai Vrittibhattai’, which tells us that it is a temple and not a palace. For, if it were a palace, whatever ‘vritti’ possible must relate to its landed property and such officers should have been called ‘Vrittibhujas’, employees who made a living out of taxes from assigned land areas and their different usages [cf. ‘Blu-bhuja’ = king in R-LVII, ‘Ginung-vrittibhuja’ and ‘Digvara-vrittibhuja in R-CII]. The use of the word ‘Vritti-bhatta’ and the adjective used to qualify that post as ‘puratanai’ (= former and therefore a post no longer in currency at the period of the inscription); the new organization of the office called Bhattadhikarana (= central office administering the temples and also taxation on goods, such as sacrificial animals, etc., of ritual use to non-Lichchhavi groups) by Amshuverma (as noted by the phrase ‘asmabhir-Bhattadhikaranam’ in R-LXVIII] that caused the post of ‘Vritti-Bhatta’ to be relegated as former or ‘puratanai’, should lead to the conclusion that ‘Vrittibhattas’ were appointed to live out of offerings and other proceeds of a temple. Thus the repair is of a temple and not a palace. It is also quite clear that the temple was built by the very ancient (‘chirantanam’), or even the most ancient (‘chirantanam?’) of the Lichchhavi kings. Since the building is, thus, proven to be a temple and not a palace, Pant’s [Pant MR, 3] scholarly tracing from literary sources that the word was applied to mean a dependable royal household worker, an eunuch, is also redundant, as a temple would have no place for a royal household worker, but a priest. This priest was the ‘Vritti-Bhatta’ of the past. As a matter of fact, the surviving phrase ‘Kiratavarsadhara’ must simply be describing the godly spirit, venerated by the Kiratas, but for whom the most ancient Lichchhavi king had chosen to build a temple. ‘Varsadhara’ is simply the god who held the power to cause rains (ref. ‘varsadhara’ as used in Bhavishya Purana). In popular parlance, I would be tempted to call them the ‘Naag’, the ever-present holder of rains as per both Buddhist and Hindu mythologies of the valley.

When discovered, the stele (R- LXXXV), was in use as a plinth stone in the temple of Degutale, built by Sivasimha Malla and since Degutale is built in the terrace of the three story palace, the misplacing of the stone must not have been a coincidence but intentional. Degutale, the tutelary brought into parallel existence along with Taleju, belonged to the Narasimha Malla clan of Keltole. An examination of the image housed in Degutale has not been possible as it is an 'agam' temple restricted to the uninitiated. The imagery on the struts indicate a an image with Siva-Shakū duality like some sort of Tantrik Uma-Maheswora; an early reference to the temple as 'Taremajū' makes it as equivalent of Srividhya or Taleju, a mother goddess; its important festive days indicate that Kumar Kartikeya is also there; and Pratap Malla's offer of six finials to the temple seems to suggest that it houses the full family of Siva: Uma, Maheswora, Kartikeya, Ganesh, Nandi and Vringgi. Tantrik association gives it a possible pre-Lichchhavi Saiva character. Some trace of the character of 'Kiratavarsadhara' god may be found in Indra/Janabaha dyo/Gorakhanath/Jamaleswora, all of whom may have developed out of 'Kiratavarsadhara' of this inscription (and also Bajreswora/ Sri Gung Daxineswora of other inscriptions) as it split into separate sets of gods to suit Buddhist and Hindu Tantrism. (See also discussions on 'Daxina' in Chapter V.)

(ii) Bajracharya's second reasoning is based on the inscription located near Jaisideval (R-LXVI). and has two basic assumptions, the inscription is at its original location and that the land area described in it is also its very location. Whereas the former may not be doubted, the latter assumption needs to be tested, because such inscriptions may also be describing land around it as well as some place else. Although the inscription is badly effaced, a careful reading, of whatever is left, still makes it clear that Line 4 to Line 13 of the statement is about the boundary of an extension (cf. 'prethula') of a land area, where the entry of officers of state (for tax collection) was banned (cf. 'ethyavaganya'). The boundary statement names bounding elements at the north-east first, followed by those at south-east, south-west and north-west sequentially (See polygonal approximation Sketch No 17). Thus middle of Line 4 to middle of Line 7

describe places on the north-east; from middle of Line 7 to middle of Line 10 places on the southeast; from the middle of Line 10 to Line 11 description of land on south-west; and Line 12, those on the north-west. Therefore, Bajracharya's translation of Line 10, '.. Daxinarajakulasya daxina paschimena ..' as 'on the south-west of Daxinarajakula' is wrong as it mixes the last element on the southeast as being that on the southwest. The proper translation would be: "the boundaries in the south-east from east to south are Bhattakshetra, the land designated for the 'pradipagosthi' of Tvegvāla Narayana Swami, to the south of the land of that institution .. of Daxinarajakula, and on the south west the said land is to the east as bounded by the .. Panchalikas to its west, ... etc.'. Therefore, if we agree to the premise that the description of land is of around Jaisideval, then we have to place the land of Daxinarajakula to the south east of Jaisideval. At best, the land of Daxinarajakula has to be pushed to the current Tripureswora. This can be confirmed to have been around the area occupied by the Eye Hospital or even to the south of the river there, as in the reading of the Line 5, 'mangalakhsetrasya' appears more like 'mandalakhsetrasya', which could be same as 'Sahasramandala' as of Ins No CXXXII. It would appear that a larger area designated by Amshuverma for gaining merits from the '..deva' (of before the time of Sivadeva I) was truncated to a smaller size when it was offered to the Bhattaraka priests associated with the new 'Sivadevesvara' of 'vasapashupata' cult, created by Sivadeva II in Tebahal. It is also apparent that within 80 years, the Tegvala area [last word of Line 6 should be read as 'Tatastvegala gra..' and not 'tatastegvala pra'] about Dharahara of today had been split into Tyedyā Gram and Tvāngva. The changing religious affiliations from 'devesvara' (Vasapashupata) in seventh century to that of Bajradhara (and his counterpart Bajrayogini) in the transitional period must have been behind the 'Sankata' (one of the Asta-yoginis associated with Vasapashupata sect) and 'Tebahal' of today.

Bajracharya's argument that Temgudi Narayana and Tegvala Narayanaswami of this inscription is the same is ruled out by himself; Temgudi Narayana was named after the place Temgudi, which derived

from the now vanished rivulet Tyamkhusi that appears to have flown from the gully between the current Inakha Tole and Bhotebahal [cf. Gopālarājāvamsābali Folio 37b: Tymbkhasidhare or bank of Tym rivulet or side of Tyamkha, where the armies of Yambu (north Kathmandu), Yangala (south Kathmandu) and Yala (south Patan) fought a war with Tripura (eastern Bhaktapur or Handigaon) and Manigala (north Patan) on 1256 AD; this was south of Ganabahal area] and not from Tegvala, where the Narayanaswami was located. But since the land of the trust created for the offer of lights to Tvegvala Narayana Swami was located in the area designated and is mentioned as an exclusion from the context, at best we may put Tvegvala Narayana Swami within the land of its 'pradipa gausthika'... We have to conclude, thus, if at all the agrahara is given to a temple, it must be of a Vyuha Narayana as indicated by the fragment of the word '..deva' in Line 1, not a Narayana Swami, who should not have been addressed as 'deva'. This 'deva', as a guess, may have been the Narayana to the north of Machali.

Therefore, it is quite clear that Daxinarajakula palace was not located to the northeast of Jaisidewal. All this inscription tells is that a land belonging to Daxinarajakula was to the south east of the agrahara created for a '..deva' temple. Bajracharya's assumptions, that the location of the stele has not changed and that it describes the place around it, however, stand verified. The agrahara area itself had Jaisidewal area at its northwest corner.

(iii) Koligrama as a settlement is not mentioned in any Lichchhavi inscription and Bajracharya's statement that it was so famous as to lead the society to name a settlement to its south as Daxinakoligrama is without base and substance. Koligrama occurs only in colophons of medieval manuscripts, pertaining to Itum Bahal and Jana Bahal and dated from 14th to 15th century, though Daxinakoligrama is observed in the inscription in several cases. We will see later that 'Daxina' is not a cardinality prefix in 'Daxinakoligrama', but a sect indicator, and also, in terms of the physical area of the settlement, that Daxinakoligrama of Lichchhavi days is one and

the same as Kelachha / Kelachhi, Koligrama/Kailigrama of medieval Kathmandu itself, with its center at Keltole of today. Thus as there was no Koligrama in Lichchhavi period at all, there can be no question of it getting famous enough to cause a palace to be so named as argued by Bajracharya. [See detailed discussions on Daxinakoligrama later on in this chapter].

Also a palace located in Daxinakoligrama could not be construed to take just prefix of the settlement and derive its name as Daxinarajakula. Daxinarajakula was not named after Daxinakoligrama. So what does the name tell?

It is to be noted that the first occurrence of the name 'Daxinarajakula' [Ins No R-LIII] is accompanied by another palace named 'Pundrirajakula'. The inscription says that a large track of land between Changu hill and Bajrayogini hillock belonging to both these palaces were reverted to the locals as a 'kotta' on advice of Amshuvarma. Since no Lichchhavi inscription has yielded a place name Pundri and the nearest occurrences are Pundatta and Punu panchali, the former possibly located at Dhumbarahi area and the latter at the same place where the land exchange is decreed in the current inscription. Pundrirajakula does not appear named after a place and we can surmise that the name is associated with rulers or their faiths of the past. "Pundrirajakula" could be stretched on legendary grounds to mean the palace of the Paundras [which was, like Kirata, a Saka tribe according to Manusmriti] or even related to a form of Saiva practice. We could accordingly associate 'Daxina', which is obviously not a place name or a proper noun, to some religious practice of the rulers or of those living around the site of its location. This gives us a reason to take that 'Daxina' here may be referring to the 'Daxina-achara', a right-handed Saiva Tantrik sect that is referred to as 'vasapashupata' in a few Lichchhavi inscriptions. [We should remind ourselves here that before popularity of the Shakti-cul/Sri-yantra cult, 'Daxina' in 'Daxina-achara' was actually called so because the practitioner of the sect faced east while worshipping and his right hand was to his

south or Daxina. With the growth of Shakti-cult, 'Daxina-achara' was applied to the Tantrik worship of Bhagavati without the use of 'pancha makara'. As a further distinction that followed, Saivachara started to refer to the original Tantrik worship of Siva, Vamachara to Tantrik worship in Chakrapuja format using all 'makaras' and Kaulachara to the sect that mixed all the practices]

Most researchers have taken Daxinarajakula to mean a South royal house [Regmi DR, 3: Vol 2, pp. 30]. Although this is a simple possibility, it still begs the question why only one of the two palaces mentioned is singled out to use the noun form of cardinality indicator 'Daxina'. We do find however that another palace of the ancient Lichchhavis was called Madhyamarajakula, presumably because it was central. Even as the nomenclature "Madhyamarajakula" is not used in inscriptions, the changeover of the ruling house and its location at Bhaktapur led at least one chronicler to refer to a place he calls "Madhyalakhu" which is a corrupt Newari form for "Madhyamarajakula" [Bhagwanlal Indraji as quoted by Pant NR, pp. 198; Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 308] e.g.

Madhyamarajakula > Madhyamalayaku > Madhyalakhu

The analysis of nomenclature of the gates of Kailashakutbhavana and its Madhyamadvara, presented shortly, confirms that Madhyamarajakula and Mānagriha were different but close by palaces. It is therefore agreeable if 'Daxina' does indeed stand as a cardinality indicator, Daxinarajakula would have to be to the south of Madhyamarajakula. This would of course also require that the physical location be south of Hadigaon [See discussions on Mānagriha and Kailashakutbhavana below].

Most important disclaimer for the location of Daxinarajakula at or about Basantapur is, therefore, its name itself. If its name refers to 'south', Basantapur can hardly be taken as south of Hadigaon. If the prefix 'Daxina' is sect indicator of the kings occupying this palace or of a place following such a practice, then we may suspect it to have been located

about Kela Tole itself. But there about, King Manadeva also seems to have installed a water conduit [Ins No R-XV] for use during cleansing according to the rites of 'Srutidharma shastra' (funerary site?) and would not have been a site for the palace.

As also because the principalities of the time appear to have been demarcated on the basis of separation by rivers, the location of Daxinarajakula must be pushed to the area south of the principality bounded by Tukucha, Dhobikhola and Bagmati river. Therefore the most likely nearest candidate for Daxinarajakula location should be Patan. And Patan is not only to the south of Hadigaon and across the bounding river Bagmati, it is also where legends and chronicles claim existence of ancient palaces. It is, therefore, doubly potential that Patan is where Daxinarajakula may also have been located.

The most likely site of Daxinarajakula would be the northeastern sector of the town, if we go by legendary and chronicler's hints. For, here was located the chroniclers' Kirata palace of King Patuk claimed to be the ruins of Patuko-don [Regmi RK]. Folklores connected with the Newar ritual of the second 'Janko' also indicate a memory of Patuko-don as the last holdout of the Kiratas. It is interesting that the folklore shows linkage to several other sites around that may be suspected to have been of Kirata association. The key content of the folklore associated with the second 'Janko' ritual is recalled below to illustrate this:

When the Kiratas were invaded, they all assembled inside the fort and palace of their king at Patuko-don. The invaders could not enter it at all. The impregnable palace of Patuko-don with Kirata forces offering resistance from inside was defeated when Tantriks converted a bewitched heap of rice deposited by the army of the invaders into a swarm of bees that entered through the crevices on the walls and killed all Kiratas save an old couple. The last Kirata couple escaped by breaking the wall from inside and fled ahead of the swarm of bees, which followed them on the heels.

They went into hiding in a large 'ghyampo' (clay container) were later discovered alive as they came out of it by breaking the shell. Thus one is told that a ritual of the second 'Junko' celebration requires the old couple to come out of a clay container by breaking the cocoon as it were. Newars, telling this story, also claim that they are the descendants of the Kiratas.

For us, more important than the lore per se is the spatial linkage; (i) the heap of rice was bewitched at the same place where Batuk Bhairava temple is presently located; Batuk Bhairava is believed to be the stony reflection of King Patuk himself and many numinous stone shrines in the area also can be surmised as Kirata stones of veneration; (ii) Batuk Bhairava site is also the site of Manjushri, the lineage deity of Kwabahal monastery, which is located next to Patuko-don; (iii) the brick ruins of Patuko-don is as much a reality that will allow its conjecture as the impenetrable fort of the Kiratas; (iv) The place Jhatapau, which is near by, remembers the grandeur of the palace in its nomenclature; the ancient royal importance of the site further highlighted by the mysterious sentinel stone monoliths there and (iv) The place where the couple took refuge in the clay container, said to be Chyasal, also has elements that seem to confirm its Kirata association.

Close by, are Guita-don, the popularly claimed location of yet another legendary palace, that of King Sarvananda, and Sankashya or Sankhamul, the location of the city of Sarvananda, according to Swayambhu Purana. Indeed from around here only King Narendradeva's edict from his interim palace of Bhadradhivasbhavana is also located. Since Daxinarajakula was much older than Bhadradhivasbhavana, it would be comparatively logical to choose Patuko-don as the site of the Daxinarajakula palace; more so as chronicles also suggest that the last palace of Kiratas and the first palace of Lichchhavis were one and the same.

The above possible location of Daxinarajakula at Patuko-don, Kiratachem or Kwalkhu, proposed on the basis that the palace may have been located

to the south of Hadigaon and its principality, thus, is supported by the chronicles, folklores and legends and also by some potential place markers extant today. The possibility is further reinforced by the fact that the area is also a known center of practice of 'Daxina Buddhism', the Kwabahal, which also claims to have been founded by Vashkerverma, an early Lichchhavi king.

We would propose that Daxinarajakula was located here because this site responds to either or both of the two possible meanings of the prefix 'Daxina'. It is to the south of Hadigaon and it has linkage to 'Daxina' traditions. Moreover, the current place name Kwalaku carries the appendage 'laku' (a corruption of 'rajakula') permitting this new site to be a valid Newar memory of a palace other than the Patan Durbar. [We can hardly take 'kwa' of Kwalkhu, which has a long sound for 'a', to be the same as 'kwo' of Kwohiti, and thus does not indicate lower part of Layaku or the town].

The line 'Daxinarajakulasya Purvadhikarana' used to refer to the authority at Hamsagriha area in Inscription No R-CXLIV possibly provides the strongest inscriptional evidence that Daxinarajakula was located in south of Hanumante and east of Bagmati. Kwalkhu, being located just about centrally in the area should clinch the issue as proved. For similar reasons, the southern boundary of the agrahara created by Amshuverma, as per Ins No LXVI, is simply referred to as the principality of Daxinarajakula. The simple wording 'Daxinarajakulasya' with out the nouns such as 'kshetram' or 'kshetra' or 'bhumi' must surely mean it as a principality. It might have been almost a state by itself!

On the ground of chronicler's information, we may suggest that Daxinarajakula became the part of Lichchhavi state at the time of Vaskerverma. It did not seem to have revolted at the time of Manadeva when he had to reacquire the eastern and the western sectors [cf. Manadeva's Ins No R-I].

Mānagriha

The palace Mānagriha is mentioned first in an inscription, R-XX, issued by King Basantadeva dated 506 AD, his first charter and which starts the phrase " Ūm Swasti Mānagrīhāt ". It is clear that the palace got its name after its builder and apparently only after his death. It is also quite clear that Manadeva also did not use Madhyamarajakula or other palaces existing then, but built a new palace. The reason for building a separate new palace building may be linked to the patricide, said by chronicles to have been committed by Manadeva, and we may thus place the start of construction of this palace around 465 AD. The folklore associated with the patricide makes out that Manadeva slew his father in front of a stone conduit near his palace and the Makara face of the conduit turned away disgusted at the sight of the act. The conduits of Hiti Dhara at Narayanhiti were apparently commissioned later to commemorate the happening.

Three years after Manadeva set up the Changu Narayana Garuda on the pillar with the inscription telling of his father's death [Ins No R-1], he has consecrated two identical images of Vishnuvikranta with similar inscriptions stating that they were set up with the heartfelt objective of increasing heavenly merit of Queen-mother Rajyavati. It does merit the question: why two consecration of the same type and intent at two different sites? Some classical sources such as 'Bishnudharmottara' enjoin those who may have got religious demerits ('paap') knowingly or unknowingly to consecrate the image of Tribikram Vishnuvikranta [Bhattarai GP: pp. 42] for atonement of the wrong deed. Cultural literature also amply indicates that Tribikram Vishnuvikranta image was usually set up to commemorate the coronation [Joshi HR, 1: pp. 19-20] also. Since Manadeva may have committed a patricide unknowingly, we may suppose that he may have set up two images: one for the coronation and one for the atonement of his crime. In such a case, we may speculate that the sites, Tilganga in the eastern bank of Bagmati and Dhobichaur to the north of Narayanhiti /western bank of rivulet Tukucha, are indicative of the sites of coronation and the site of patricide. But the folklore makes

out that the patricide took place at Hiti Dhara. We may also speculate that the image might have been relocated during the construction of the Narayanhiti and Lal Durbar palaces in 1890s.

Whatever that be, our investigation here is not to locate where the patricide occurred but to establish the location of Manadeva's palace. The topographical character of Tilganga site makes it a totally unlikely site of a palace whereas we may observe such likelihood at Dhobichour. But we have no ground to assume that coronation ceremony was held in a palace. Historical material on this is not available from Lichchhavi inscriptions, although we can note that the tradition of coronation was prevalent [Cf. 'aviseka hastinah' in Ins No LXIX of Amshuverma indicative of coronation].

The Gopālarājāvamsābali, Folio 37 and 39, can shed some light on this issue. It is stated therein that the coronation ('pattabandha') of King Sri Jayadeva was held in 1256 AD in three places: first at Menamtuthi, then at Endala and lastly at Rajalamkhu, Gvalam. It is interesting to note that the first ceremony is called 'Naga patavandhana', the second simply 'Patavandhana' and third 'Manasara patavandha'. It can be inferred that the first is a bathing ceremony followed by ceremonial tying of the Naga motif, possibly as a band on the right arm. This was done at a Menam water conduit. Since the day of the ritual appears to have the last day of one year long mourning period of the earlier King Avaya Malla, we could surmise that the wording 'Menam' refers to the site of bodily purification of the new king. The 'Patabandhana' or tying of the royal headband was done at Endala, a month later. The third ceremony, which happened six months later seems to have been named "Manasara patavandha", literally a crowning according to Mana. Incidentally also the site for the third ceremony is same as or close to the site of Manadeva's Tribikrama at Tilganga. The Tilganga location most likely commemorates his coronation, as Deupatan was seemingly the ordained site of ritual coronation for kings. But unlike Jayadeva, Manadeva seems to have done only two rituals, much after his father's death and it is more likely that the

Dhobichaur or Hiti Dhara was his purification site (or nagapatabandhana?) and Tilganga the second ritual coronation site (or patabandhana site?). Since such a tradition may have continued from before the time of Manadeva, we could conclude that the Tribikrama images are not located at the site of Managriha, but across the two sacred rivers bounding the capital of Manadeva, Brihatnadi or Tukucha on the west and Bagmati on the east. Since the palace in thirteenth century was at Bhaktapur, it follows that coronations were not done within the palace grounds. Therefore Endala, Jayadeva's 'patabandhana' site, must have acquired the role as a third but important coronation place. Endala is Hadigaon. We could suspect that this importance is also due to Manadeva's actions; this we do because the terminologies and place names used to describe the rituals at those sites hint this possibility. [cf. Menamtuthi (where Manadeva was crowned by virtue of the crime?); Manasara ritual (where Manadeva was ritually crowned?); the third crowning place may simply be where Manadeva ruled from]. That the palace of Manadeva, Mānagriha, symbolized the power to rule is more than evidenced by the facts that, for more than a century after the eclipse of Manadeva, all the royal edicts of the Lichchhavis began with a reverence to this palace with the wordings "Ūm Swasti Mānagrīhāt". It must be the immortalization of this kind that led Jayadeva to symbolically have his coronation at the very place occupied by Mānagriha. However, since it is following this coronation of Jayadeva at Endala, that the epithet "Manamanesvori-bara-labhdha-prasada" (lit. power to rule obtained by grace of Manamaneswori) gained currency of usage with the Malla kings [first used by Jayasthiti Malla ca. 1388], we may also argue that it was at the temple of Manamaneswori at Hadigaon that the Endala coronation took place. Since the chronicler of Gopālarājāvamsāhali knew about Sri Manesvaridevi (Folio 21a), his undetailed reference to the coronation site as Endala could also be taken as a reiteration that it was a visit to the palace site.

Hadigaon thus appears as a potential site of the Mānagriha palace for three reasons: (i) It is in-between the two Trivikrama images set up by

Manadeva; (ii) Jayadeva did his coronation here and (iii) Manamaneswori temple is located here.

For Manadeva, the royal tutelary should have been Vishnu, as referred in some inscriptions as 'Rajyaverdhanadeva' [R-XIX]. However, Naxal Narayanchaur [R-CXLIII] inscription shows that the Maneswora Royal Court (Mānesvararājāngan.a) was located to the southeast of the temple of "Pravardhamāneswora". The terminological similarity can lead us to suggest that the actual royal tutelary was an 'Isvara' or a Sivalinga. Although Hadigaon area has a surprisingly few Sivalingas that may be attributed to the Lichchhavi period on ground of their characteristic finish and design, one of the largest known Lichchhavi period Siva linga is located inside the temple of Manamaneswori, located to the north of Balmandir, the palace of Sita Maharani of Bhimsumsher. That this Siva linga is from the Lichchhavi period is clearly established by both the style and the technology of finish [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 115]. This could well be the Pravardhamaneswor referred to in the inscription. The deity, which is referred to as Manamanesvari, is different from this Sivalinga but is also housed in a room adjacent to that of the Sivalinga. The name includes a respectful term 'Mana' and refer to Goddess Manesvari. It is understandable that with the rise of Shakti cult and change of royal tutelary from Siva to Shakti, Pravardhamaneswora would simply be called "Maneswora" and "Manesvori" would be set up. Since when Maneswora came to be known as Maneswori or Manamaneswori is not clear. Even as Manesvori is mentioned in Gopālarājāvamsābali as set up Manadeva, it can hardly be believed because its first colophon occurrence is noticed only at 1485 AD [Vaidya J, 1: pp. 137] fully one hundred years after the first use of 'Manamanesvori-vara-labhda-prasada' as a royal epithet. We could conclude that goddess Maneswori came to be established only at the beginning of the Malla period. The coronation of Jayadeva, 1256 AD, may be the exact date "Maneswora" got its counterpart "Manesvori".

An approximate mapping of the land of the Drangga created by the order as carried by the inscription No R-CXLIII is shown in Sketch no. 12 and

13. We can see from the sketch and the description of the inscription that the Kampro-Yambi highway passed by Managriha at some distance to its west. It can be easily seen that the highway linked Kampro (Kapan of today) with Yambi (current Indrachowk). The surviving traces of the route and the mention of the river Brihadnadya, a reference to Tukucha, will make amply clear that Pravardhamanesvora was located to the north-east of Naxal, an exact corroboration that the Lichchhavi Siva linga inside the temple of Manamesvori is the very same god referred in the inscription. The centrality of current Manamesvori in the Lichchhavi scheme of the capital city of Manesvora is also reinforced by many Lichchhavi finds in the general area.

On these grounds the palace of Mānagriha is concluded to have been located at the site to the general north of Sitabawan, Balamandir and to the southeast of the current Manamesvori temple.

The above conclusion that Mānagriha was located somewhere near Manamesvori finds credence from other facts too: (i) brick wall foundation remains are common 60-70 cm below ground in the area (ii) during the foundation excavation works for a building on the Balamandir compound, a brick fragment bearing the letters Rajñāmā in early Lichchhavi characters (see Photograph 2) has been found along with pottery of the period and (iii) the inscribed image of Jayavamma that was found near by, all attests its Lichchhavi royal importance.

Kailashakutbhavana

Kailashakutbhavana, the palace of Mahasamanta Amshuvarma and the central palace of the later Lichchhavi kings, is the most referred to building of early Nepal. Its first inscriptional reference occurs in his stele dated 605 AD [R-LXVIII] from Bungamati. His earlier inscription R-LXIII, dated 598 AD, shows that the palace was already constructed and ready to be inaugurated. So far its physical remains are yet to be archaeologically unearthed.

Two inscriptions of Amshuverma are located at Dabali at the east end of Hadigaon. The first, dated 606 AD, is a "swayamägyä" charter [R-LXIX] addressed to the palace officers and clarifies through the use of a phrase "sarbatra raja prasadeshu" (= also everywhere inside the palace) that it seeks obedience from all within the palace. Such intent and purpose of the charter must demand that it should be located either in the central court of the palace or by its main gate. The other charter [R-LXXIV] fixes the amount of annual grant from the state treasury, called 'srawanika dana' to religious and administrative institutions, and mentions only one recipient from inside the palace e.g. "Sri bhattaraka padanam", and it is included purely because of its national institution status. Its original location must therefore be outside the gate dealing with "srawana kara". Even as the two steles now located together suggest physical shift of one of them at least, yet it is quite clear that both of them must have belonged in or around the palace of Kailashakutbhavana. Both must have been displayed close to the palace also because both are 'swayamägya' and no 'datukas' were needed. The location and content as well as the nature of posting of the two charters suggest that Kailashakutbhavana seems to have been located about Dabali, Hadigaon.

The first charter also contains such information that help us locate the palace more accurately. These clues can be taken out of the grants provided to the palace gates (Lines 16 through 18) and these grant amounts are noted below in the sequence as they occur in the inscription:

| | | |
|--------|------|-----------------------------------|
| Pu 3 | pa 1 | to the South Gate |
| Pu 1 | pa 4 | to (-)ta, one fore letter missing |
| Pu 1 | pa 4 | to "prätolya" |
| Pu 1 | pa 4 | to West Gate |
| Pu (-) | pa 4 | to ä(?), one back letter missing |
| Pu 1 | pa 4 | to Managriha Gate |
| Pu 1 | pa 4 | to Madhyama Gate |
| Pu 1 | pa 4 | to North Gate |

This grant distribution clearly indicates the higher status of the south gate in comparison to other gates and one can easily conclude that this was the main gate. The south and the west gates have one associated element performing the same function and I suggest that this was a security installation or a military checkpoint. The allocation to 'aa.', after west gate and '.ta', after south gate relate to similar installations and the letters could be added up to make 'aata', which means security barrier. It can thereby be inferred that no such security barriers were used in North, Managriha or Madhyama gates. Some historians have interpreted the meaning of "Pratolya" as a street outside the palace gates [Nepal GM, 1: pp.65] and that the Managrihagate refers to the gate of the palace of Managriha. [See Sketch 12: Mānagriha had three gates] This interpretation can hardly be acceptable also in the context of the inscription whose purpose was solely to record grants to temples, persons and sites of the palace. The Managrihagate must simply be the name of a gate of the palace Kailashakutbhavana, so named as it led to Mānagriha, the palace of the tutelary king. Also, the pratolya refers to either a chariot way or a covered walk linking the main Southgate to the inner courts. By the same token, the gate called Madhyamadwar would be the one that lead to Madhyamarajakula, the central palace, which must have existed before either of the two other well-known palaces was constructed. That there was a Madhyamarajakula palace can be corroborated from the report of chronicles that Amshuverma had built his palace at Madhyalakhu, which is a corruption of Madhyamarajakula (>Madhyamalayaku > Madhyalakhu).

Lichchavi inscriptions, while naming elements around a place, always followed the system of starting from the northeast corner and go clockwise as the list is presented. The gates of a palace are also perimeter elements and I would think the scribe would have followed the time-honored tradition of listing system. In this inscription, since the first perimeter element mentioned is the South gate, it should be concluded that there were no exit element in its perimeter from northeast corner to the south. Since the next gate has been called West gate, there should be

no doubt that it faces west. The sequence of presentation, therefore, makes also clear that Managriha gate was towards the north of West gate and Madhyama gate was also western side and northwards of Managriha gate. Since all the other gates must also have been named, we will have to also conclude that Kailashakutbhavana had no gate in the east. Classical texts require that a palace have a gate to the east and the fact that the palace of as learned a ruler as Amshuverma did not have such a gate must suggest that it must have been so sited that it was practically impossible to have gate facing east. That it was indeed so can be gleaned from the account of Huen Tsang that the Lichchhavi capital city had a little stream and a lake to its southeast. [Beal S: pp. Book vii.81]. That the lake was visible from the terraces of Kailashakutbhavana is reported by the then Chinese ambassador, Wang Huen Che, in his accounts of the palace. Therefore, either of these elements seems to have made an East gate out of the palace impossible.

Since we have located Mānagriha to the southeast of the temple of Manameswori, the location of Kailashakutbhavana vis-à-vis Mānagriha can positively identify the location of this palace. Kailashakutbhavana's Managriha gate was so named because it led out to Mānagriha and the clockwise listing regulation would require that Mānagriha was a little to the north of West gate. It can, therefore, be logically inferred that Mānagriha was to the west of Kailashakutbhavana and the interlinking gate was further north of the West gate, which was a public access, as it has a security barrier like in its main South gate. That there were no security barriers on the three other gates (Managriha gate, Madhyama gate and North gate) must suggest that these were for private use.

Wang Huen Che, the Chinese ambassador to the court of King Narendradeva made the following remarks about Kailashakutbhavana:

In the capital of Nepal there is a construction in storeys, which was more than 200 tch'en of height and 80 peu of circumference. Ten thousand men can find place in its upper part. It is divided in

three terraces and each terrace is divided in seven storeys. ... In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys with copper tiles... At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a water pipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons, which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through tunnels, which find its way down below, streaming like a fountain from the mouth of the golden makara.

This description makes it quite clear that the palace of Amshuverma was of a Trikuta design i.e. it had three courtyards. This explains why there are so many gates on west side whereas there is only one gate each on the north and the south. From this description and the current inscription, we can therefore conclude that the long side of the Kailashkut palace was facing west and so it could provide three accesses from each of its courts to the outside. The south court was public. The middle court led only to Mānagriha and the west side of the north court led to the still older palace Madhyamarajakula. The impressive water works observed by the ambassador is also substantiated by the fact that a water mechanic held a position of respect and importance in the court of Sri Amshuvarma as indicated by the salary allocated to the water mechanic in this inscription [cf. 'paniyakarmantika' in Line 14]. Such a water system would also demand a supply pond and a drainage ditch, and it is obvious that the drainage ditch ran parallel to the east face of the palace. The proposed location also puts Gahana Pokhari to its north and a gully formation is also visible to its east. The topography and physical features around the area south of the Gahana Pokhari fits the requirement of the inscriptional information and also to the Chinese descriptions. Therefore we can confirm that the palace was located in Hadigaon a little to the east of Manamaneswori, to the south of Gahana Pokhari and to west of Maitidyochhe at Maligaon.

Lastly, but important physically, is the recovery of a few bricks with the inscribed name of Amshuvarma from Dabali and Manamaneswori area of

Hadigaon, which we may cite as archeological trace of a major building built by him in this locality. In all probability the building was his palace.

Despite these physically extant 'proof', while admitting the difficulty of dismissing these, Slusser somehow states, "Kailashkut almost certainly lay elsewhere" [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 114]. It is indeed faulty reasoning on her part to suggest that the Kartikeya image, popularly called Garuda-bahini Bhagabati, marked the west gate of the capital town of Managriha at the same time not dismissing the Maneswori temple located not far but to the west as the tutelary of the Lichchavis ('speculated' by Levi but supported by many others including J. C. Regmi). Her reasoning that the date of issue (corresponding also to Sithi festival of the Newars) indicates need for grant for the repair of Mānagriha, thus the charter is talking of Mānagriha and not Kailashakutbhavana is simply forced. Her strongest reason for proposing location of Kailashakutbhavana at Daxinakoligrama is the location of Sithidyo there in the vicinity of the area called Kelachem in medieval times; hinting that Kelachem is a corruption of Kailashkut from a reference in a 14th century colophon, which states "Mahapratihara Sri Udayasimha, a descendant of the dynasty of Kailashakuta in Yangaladesa" [ibid: pp. 119]. This colophon just means the Mahapratihara lived in Yangaladesa and he was a descendant of the family in Kailashkut and nothing more. It seems more like a case of claiming the ancientness of Saiva practice of the Singhs among the Jyapus. Likewise linking the place name Lamjugwala with Rajakula is very far-fetched.

Kelachhachhe has been used earlier colophons too and 'Kelachha' is a reference to 'Kaula' practice. Therefore this place name is used in religious texts to refer to both Keltole and Lagantole after the Janabaha became a center of such practices. Also Slusser's anthropological reasoning based on interpretation of wordings of colophon mentions are totally denied by the physical testing of facts as presented earlier above and therefore, it is concluded that location of Kailashakutbhavana was at Hadigaon to the south of Gahana Pokhari.

Bhadrādhivāsabhavana

This palace was used for a short period of about ten years by king Narendradeva towards the end of his rule. Some people have suggested that it was used as Kailashakutbhavana may have been under a major repair. But more likely it was a temporary sojourn necessitated by revolt within Kailashakutbhavana. The long time gap seen between the uses of the two palaces does indicate a new palace could have been constructed despite the troubled nature of the period. But since the ruling house moved back to Kailashkut later, it may have been deserted. It is also obvious that during the time Narendradeva operates out of this palace, he has been attracted to Buddhism too.

The first inscription carrying the word Bhadrādhivāsa makes a veiled suggestion that the people of Patan helped in its establishment or running (Cf. R-CXXIV). The first dated inscription issued by Narendradeva in 643 AD is also categorical about a major help rendered by the people of Patan in the start of his reign period, which was made possible after a bloody internal war against the Guptas. This would also suggest a situation of his falling back on Patan at the end of his career due to revolt within Kailashakutbhavana, which appears to have led to murder of his son and heir designate. Therefore Patan, the site of ancient Daxinarajakula, appears a likely place where the Bhadrādhivasbhavana was located.

H. R. Joshi's speculative suggestion that Bhadrādhivasbhavana was located at Bhadravas village east of Gokarna is not acceptable for lack of positive corroboration. It is probably guided by the location of Viharas there about. But it can be easily seen that he had not retired to monastic life at all. Slusser also, banks on the assumed retirement to suggest, "Bhadrādhivāsa is not a separate palace, but is Kailashkut" [ibid: pp. 109]. The logic that this may be the retirement home of Narendradeva is not acceptable as his decrees testify that he had not retired from politics during his stay at Bhadrādhivāsa and he must have been forced out of Kailashkut. My suggestion that he called his shots from Cyasal assumes

significance in the light of the place name (Thais.ä)(pr)anggan.igulma also. He might have been supported by the military contingent in this possible earlier royal court. Slusser [ibid., pp. 112] is somehow categorical in saying that Patan did not serve as a capital city in Lichchhavi period. We have already shown in our discussions on Daxinarajakula how wrong this statement is.

We would suggest that the popularly remembered palace at Guita is the most likely location for the Bhadradhivasa Bhavana. The Buddhist legendary palace of King Sarvananda and the palace of Bhadradhivasa must be the same; the legend simply strongly puts the fact that Narendradeva had taken Buddhism. The Tibetan reference to Patan as 'ye-rang' is also apparently related to this association.

Salamburjabsaka

The Balambu inscription of king Sivadeva, mentions this palace. As the terminology "Nepalbhuktau" has been used in the earlier part addressing the populace, this general area is most likely outside the valley and beyond Thankot. Thus the suggestion that the palace reported to have been located at Chawkitar as per local popular belief is not acceptable. "Räjabäsaka" was an earlier nomenclature in comparison to "räjakula" and this palace possibly continued to be in use as a royal rest house during the period of the inscription.

Pundrirajakula

Possibly this was the northern palace (Cf. Pundra= northern province or the mythical city located between the two mountains Himavat and Himakuta) but little more can be said about it. We have also discussed earlier how the name might relate to some religious practice of the early Lichchhavi period. The lack of importance given to Pundriräjakula in the inscriptions suggests that these palaces belonged to a period older than the Lichchhavi period spanned by the inscriptions or even to the Kirata

period. From the available information, it is not possible to locate Pundrirajakula at all.

MAJOR VIHĀRAS

Lichchhavi inscriptions indicate existence of many Viharas; the list below shows all of them:

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Abhayaruchi vihāra | Arjikā vihāra |
| Chaturbhālatanāsana vihāra | Gum vihāra |
| Jīvavarmā vihāra | Kharjūrikā vihāra |
| Madhyama vihāra | Pus.pavatikā vihāra |
| Shivadeva vihāra | (Srikharjūrikā vihāra) |
| Srīmānadēva vihāra | (Sīmānavihāra) |
| Srīrāja vihāra | Vārta kalyān.agupta vihāra |

Bajracharya locates Srīmānadēva vihāra in Patan general area on the basis of the Yagabahal inscription of Narendradeva [Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 323-324]) and Regmi virtually agrees: "...Gullatanga village (was) probably in the modern Patan area..." [Regmi DR, 3: Vol 3 pp. 217] but he elsewhere [ibid. pp. 210] suggests that the village was located in the Pashupati area but (pp 214) "Sivadeva Vihara could be located between Pashupati and Sankhamul across Bagmati opposite to Banaswor, while all the Viharas were within Patan, perhaps on the fringe of the city" [ibid. pp 214]. The problem with this location is obvious as the approximate polygonal mapping of the inscription No R-CXXVII very clearly shows that all the monasteries were located to the north of Bagmati river [See Sketch No 01] and Patan has to be simply ruled out as a topographical impossibility. Likewise, it can be seen from the same mapping that Abhayaruchi vihāra, Chaturbhālatanāsana vihāra, Kharjūrikā vihāra, Madhyama vihāra, Shivadeva vihāra, Vārta kalyān.agupta vihāra were located in the same general area as Srīmānadēva vihāra. The mention of the Rājavihāreṅdrāmūlakayo, in the same inscription (Line 21), clearly implies the location of Srīrāja vihāra also in the same general area. The

inscription talks of a “water source named Indramulaka” of this vihara and it is therefore likely that it may have had other sources of water also, thus suggesting a comparatively larger size of monastic population within Srīrāja vihāra. [Sketch 01] The recently found inscription issued by Amshuvarma addressed to residents of Ahidūmkotta grāma [JRI: Rolamba Vol 10 No 1 pp. 34] and delimiting the tax relief area for the benefit of Srīrāja vihāra is an additional positive proof of this vihara’s location was at general north-east of Gokarna area, as reasons to doubt the location of the inscription being true are not there. The location of the water source also suggests that Srīrāja vihāra was located to there about. As a site fits as stretching from Chabel to Gokarna and a little beyond and agrees to the general topography suggested by the inscription, it is proposed that all the vihāras mentioned therein be located from Chabel to Gokarna general area. Bajracharya has given the location of Sivadeva Vihara as one and the same as Khasa Chaitya or Bouddhanath based on Gopālarājāvamsābali reference, which the polygonal approximation also supports. Even then he continues to stick to the Guita < Gullatanga theory due to his overt preoccupation with the interpretation with Newar terms alone. Pant [Pant MR, 8: pp. 43-47] has most recently suggested that Rajavihara is located at Chabel on the basis of the land deed dated NS 572, Pratap Malla’s Chabel inscription dated NS 775, and Gopālarājāvamsābali document Folio 21a. Though Pant is not clear about which Rajavihāra he is talking about: the Rajavihāra being discussed here as established by Amshuvarma as per inscription and also as per the chronicle Folio 22b or the one said by the Vamsābali as existing before Dharmadeva. The inscription at Baluwa village is a proof to latter statement of the Vamsābali; where as the earlier statement of the Vamsābali is yet to be inscriptionally substantiated. The inclusion of only one Srīrāja vihāra in Hadigaon stele casts strong doubt if another famous Rajavihara existed prior to Amsuvarma’s Rajavihāra. Even if we assume that the Hadigaon stele is talking of the vihara established by Dharmadeva and not by Amsuvarma, his choice of name for his vihara would appear most illogical. This should mean that the Rajavihara or Maharajavihara of the medieval period is not the Rajavihara this study has located at Gokarna area.

Gum vihāra is still going by the same name and is located at Bajrayogini, Sankhu [Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 323]. It is also the only vihāra that is continuing at its original site.

Arjika Vihāra by its nomenclature appears as a nunnery or may have been built by an "Arjika". The Chabel inscription (R-XII) talks of a building with paintings of Kinnarajataka and built by a lady tired of womanhood. A later Tibetan composition "The legend of the Great Stupa" (Dowman K) attributes the construction of Bauddha Stupa to a lady with sexual relation with four men and she comes like a prime candidate to learn from Kinnarijataka to follow more pious path. The Tibetan story seems to echo the inscription R-XII. Her birth in a house of the poultry farmer may also lead one see her as an 'arjika'. Indeed all the three appear referring to one and the same place and institution. The place of location in Tibetan tradition is Maguta. Given the inscriptional reference in which it occurs, as also the inscription of Chabel, which may have faced some relocation in the past, I would suggest locating this monastery at Chabel a little to the northwest of current Dhando Chaitya and may be the Chabihara itself. [See Sketch No 12]

This leaves only Jivavarmā vihāra, and Pus.pavatikā vihāra to be located. Possibly the current Bhagavan Bahal of Chardhunge Naxal is the Jivavarmā vihāra of Lichchhavi days. This is confirmed by the polygonal approximation of the inscription as shown in Sketch No 12. As Ins. No. R-CXXXIX issued by Jayadeva is also about the area close to Changu Narayana, the Pus.pavatikā vihāra can be located to the east of the other viharas near Gokarna.

The general location of all the vihāras mentioned in the Lichchhavi inscriptions can thus be credibly established. The general absence of major viharas in Patan is rather strange, given the massive concentration of medieval vihāras there. We know that by NS 40 a bahal called Mahawatischal Bihar [JRI: Rolamba Vol 1 No 2] was already established and flourishing where the current Mahaboudha temple of Wokubahal is

located. Likewise the famed Lham Bihar [ibid.] was already well established by NS 135. Some thing then must have happened which led to a near complete relocation of Buddhist monasteries. One reason could be a massive religious disturbance and the other change in the nature of the monasteries themselves. In the following paragraphs these issues are dealt with.

The seeds of discord between the Buddhist and Sivite religious mainstreams are apparent from the inscription of Anuparam at Satyanarayan, Hadigaon (R-XXVII) dated to the time of Manadeva. Regmi sees an obvious "conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism at this time but its actual nature is not clear. The popularity of Buddhism might have been more also. The words Kumatigrastaghorāndhakārè in the inscription R-VI is indicative of this overwhelming influence of Buddhism" [Regmi DR, 3: Vol 3 pp. 71]. From legends one may derive a hint that Manadeva's father himself may have been a victim of such religious circumstances. [See discussions on Mānagriha]. The veiled hints of a religious war can also be seen from scripture "Lankavatara" composed in NS 28. It seems there has been a great religious war between the two, most likely during the period following Lichchhavi rule. This seems to have led to a total relocation of Buddhist population of the area between Chabahil to Sankhu to their new domain, the Patan area.

A Vihara is a Buddhist monastery, a place where celibate monks and nuns (bhikkhu and bhikkhuni) lived, meditated upon and studied religious literature. The community of monks and nuns making this austere religious living formed in Aryasangha or Sakyasangha depending upon their school alliance. The aramas and batikas or the gardens or Mother Nature provided their environmental backdrop. In early times they were kept away from settlements to avoid too much contact with the grahasthas or the married world, which was seen as a distraction. Of all the Viharas of the Lichchhavi except two were apparently outside of urban settlements. Of these two, one had a large garden within its grounds. Though the celibate nature of Lichchhavi monks is not indicated in clear terms, they

could be inferred from this situation. All the Viharas were exclusive aryasanghas following the Mahayana school, almost all the inscriptions testify to this situation. Bajrayana as a school has been argued out of one single word in the whole corpus of inscriptions and certainly cannot be accepted to indicate a situation "clear enough to imagine the flourishing center of Bajrayana existing in Nepal" [ibid. pp. 151]. Slusser's position that Bajrayana fully flowered in the transitional period and that, "Conservative monastic life based on strict discipline and celibacy ceded to a quite different philosophy unbound by orthodox conventions" [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 48] as Tantrism increased its hold, is a certainly more acceptable hypothesis. But that hypothesis need not mean that Tantrik Buddhist practices could not have existed within the celibate Buddhism that was quite strong in Lichchhavi years. The existence of Lichchhavi Chaityas, which later came to be called Manjushri-dega (Bhu-Chaitya-Bhataraka > Manjushri > Mansiri > Masiri) or Chiba in medieval Nepal also points to currency of some sort of Tantrik Buddhism from early days.

The general disappearance of celibate monks is observed by John Locke. He writes, "By the time of the Mallas when we begin to get abundant information again, a change has taken place. We find an even greater number of viharas still inhabited by a Buddhist sangha who refer to themselves as Bare...However, we also find that those who call themselves Bare, bhikshu, Sakyabhikshu or Sakyavamsa are in fact married...by NS 213 we begin to get references to some of the inhabitants of the viharas as 'vajracarya'...masters of the tantric traditions and presumably married...By the end of Malla period it seems clear that there were no more celibate monks...it is impossible to say with any certainty that a reference to a bhikshu or even a Brahmacharya bhikshu indicates a celibate monk." [Locke JK, 2: pp. 3]

This change over led to the gradual death of the celibate establishments and the new so-called monasteries, except Gumvihara, of today are establishment made to accommodate the married ones.

As the process started, their exclusion from earlier monastery must have led to their relocation within dense settlements, which was further justified due to their mundane nature. Their claims to Lichchhavi monasteries are simply places where their ancestors belonged before they decided to marry. This also explains the shifting of various inscriptions to these late Malla establishments. The Yagabahal inscription is a clear pointer in this aspect, its counterpart in Bajraghar remaining truly at its place even now. Only the monastery associated to the Mahaboudha area appears to have stayed in its original locality as an active vihara may be because of its continued adherence to celibacy due to strong Tibetan influence or because like the monasteries about Chabel they were already engulfed by settlements in the transitional period.

MAJOR TEMPLES

The major Hindu temples mentioned in these inscriptions are shown in the list below:

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Bhr̥nggārēshvara dēvakula | Bhumalakikājalashayana* |
| Bhūvanēshvara dēvakula | Dhārāmānēshvara* |
| Dolāshikhharasvāmī* | Hansagr̥ha dēva* |
| Kailāsēshvara* | Mānadēva's Vis.n.uvikrāntas |
| Mānēshvara* | Mātin dēvakula |
| Narasimhadēva* | Parvatēshvaradēva* |
| Pashupati* | Pravardhamānēshvara |
| Rāmēshvara* | S.as.t.hūdēvakula |
| Shivagaldēvakula | Tégvalanārāyan.asvāmī |
| Vāgvatūpārādēva* | Valasoks.i dēvakula |
| Vishvēshvara | Vajresvara |
| Daxineshvara | Chandreshvara |

Of these, that the ones with asterisks (*) were of national importance can be seen from the Ins. No. R-LXXIV. With larger grant allocation as well as listing on top, Pashupati and Dolāshikhharasvāmī should be seen as being of paramount importance to the ruling house. Both the temples can be

located without doubt at the current Pashupatinath and Changu Narayana respectively. The site of Dolāshikharasvāmī predates Manadeva, as is obvious from the inscription R-I.

Earlier arguments made in course of the location of Mānagriha would require that Pravardhamānēshvara and Mānēshvara be one and the same and the temple would have to be located at the current Manamaneswori site west of Maligaon. S.as.t.hidēvakula was obviously located within the palace grounds of Kailashakutbhavana. The temple of Valasoks.i (dēvakula) was also located somewhere to the northeast of Kailashakutbhavana. Going by its nomenclature the deity housed in this temple is somehow related to water or water body. For this indication, two reasons can be forwarded, e.g.:

(i) That the prefix "Vala" stands for water can be seen from other contemporary example such as Valabala > Balambu and Valabala > Valamkhu > Balakhu. This degeneration pattern clearly shows replacement of "Vala" by "Ambu", "Lamkhu" and "Khu" [Malla KP, 1], which all meant water in Sanskrit, the then common tongue and old Newari tongue respectively.

(ii) The term 'sokshi' in Valasoks.idēvakula is speculated by some to indicate a water lily plant. This is mainly spurred by speculation on the current jatra of Satyanarayana, which is a rather colorful chariot festival and each of the three chariots is an elaborate water lily and stalk done in wood. The ceremonial bathing of the stalk seems to translate 'valasokshi' rather too exactly. The festival belongs to the pre-wheel period much like the other chariot festivals of Deupatan and Hadigaon. But the jatra is a festival of Narayana supported by both Siva and Brahma and displays clearly the supremacy of Narayana. Also the Satya Narayana of Handigaon does not participate in this festival at all. Since the inscription does not tell of the Satyanarayana, which was certainly existing about the same place and which should have been referred as a 'deva' and not as a 'devakula', it must have been a Kirata deity. This festival is, therefore, not about

'Valasokshi devakula' goddesses at all. Therefore, Valasokshi could not have referred to a waterlily. It is more likely that "Sokshi" indicates some type of tree near a water source such as a spring. It may have essentially conveyed the same meaning as the tree that is worshipped as 'Vala-Si-Ma' in Handigaon today.

(iii) It is also of interest to note that popular belief current among the people of the seven villages about Kirtipur is that the Ajima or Torandevi of Hadigaon (Temple at Chandol and Dyochhe at Dathutole of Hadigaon) was brought to its current site from a field called Layaku near Kirtipur and thus its name "Valasokshi devakula" could well have been derived.

The polygonal approximation Sketch No 13 clearly indicates that the temple was located where the current temple of Satyanarayana is located. It is also clear from the sketch that Brihaagrama refers to the Jayabageswori and its northern sector and Maninagaattika is the grass-covered midden referred by Newar farmers of Deupatan as "mani" or "manilakhu". Manilakhu appears as medieval name of the place to the south of Pashupati ghats and could have been a replacement of Maninagaattika. In such a case that Balasokshidevakula is a likely reference to another important temple located at the Satyanarayana of Hadigaon gains strength. Likewise Bhuvaneshvara devakula was also located at Maneswora, which was the name of the capital city of Hadigaon.

Some historians have suggested locating the image referred to in Hadigaon inscription as 'Bhumbhukkikajalashayana' at current Budanilkantha on the basis of its late medieval Newari popular name. The Newari name for the Narayana at Budanilkantha, "Bhuyujasi", cannot be the degenerated version of this long Sanskrit name [Bhumbhukkika > Bhuyu is very unlikely even as Jalasayana > Jasi is possible]. Though one would readily agree that the Newari name is just for the image as the word "Bhuyu" in Newari is equivalent to brown color which could be a the reference to the color of stone or as it also means white, which might have been applied to the lime suspended water in that area. Though this only

explains the name and is hardly an argument to prove that Bhumbhukkikājalashayana is Budanilkantha. The confusion created by the chronicler of Gopālarājāvamsābali should be noted here. As there was an image of Vishnu reclining in the waters of a pond at "Narashimhasthan at the base of the northern hills" and as the chronicler of Gopālarājāvamsābali could have possessed the information contained in the Ins. No. DV-117 and DV-118 but being unaware of Ins. No. 77, he could well have put the two together as facts. With Narashimhapanchali mentioned in the inscription thereabout, it is very likely that the general area was still going by the name Narashimhasthan by his time. It is also to be noted here that the stone used for the Budanilkantha image (dark granite) is not only available as terrace deposits in Kotkhu as well as other areas south of Patan, but similar deposits are available right at Budanilkantha also. Thus there is no reason for anybody to ask the populace to drag the stone all the way from the south of the valley to make an image at Budanilkantha. Therefore one could hardly agree to the guesswork of some researchers that this is the very same image sculpted for Mahasamanta Vishnugupta. [Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 446] The two inscriptions recording pleasure of the king and certain allowances to part of Daxinkoligramadrangga and Bhringaragram panchali for pulling the large stones for the image of Jalasayi Vishnu most likely do not refer to the one and the same happening, and certainly are not about the image at Budanilkantha.

All of these cannot be one and the same as proposed by [Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 444-446]. The latter images of Vishnu reclining in waters was established by Vishnugupta more than thirty years after the mention of the image of Bhumbhukkikājalashayana and 20 years after the eclipse of Amshuvarma. Therefore Bhumbhukkikājalashayana could be the one at Budanilkantha but the other images installed by Vishnugupta were both located elsewhere. I would locate these two Vishnu images at or about Bringareswor and at or about Yangal sector of Daxinokoligrama drangga, as it would be most logical to assume that the villagers of the locality where the image was intended to be installed would be the ones who

would be asked to drag the stone for it. A reference to '...svaraswami' [R-XCEX] is found in a nearby inscription addressed to Gitapanchali, which butted on to Daxinakoligrama/Lanjagvala. Until we discover these two images again one cannot say much more than this. The inclusion of the words Parimitajalāshayoddēshatayā in the inscription of Sivadeva at Bringareswor is sufficient proof for the possibility of a site. The use of the terms Toyāshayé suggests the use of a platform inside the pond to house the image.

Regmi [Regmi DR, 3: vol 3, pp. 146] suggests that the word 'Bhumbhukkikā' stands for "the jewel of the world" in Karnata Sanskrit parlance but this is belabored and also the reading itself needs to be changed. Even though Regmi has found a meaning for the term Bhumbhukkikājalashayana, it seems more of a misreading. I have made an attempt to see if there are other possible readings. What has so far been read as Bhumbhukkikā jalashayana is better read as Bhumalakkikā jalashayana. It is logical to assume that the scribe in his efforts to compact all the letters, 'Ma' and 'La' got joined up and this has been read as 'Mbhu'. Bhumalaka could well mean a variety of stone (malaka) on site (bhu) and the reference is to the image of Jalashayana cut out of the natural rock outcrop in the site. The word appears in a similar context in Ins. no. R-LIII Line 19, e.g., Tadudāmalaka sētu [the correct reading here being Tadadūmalaka sētu], which is same as saying 'the Malaka bridge on that slope'. A more concrete proof that Malaka is a variety of stone is found in the inscription R-CLVI with the words ...davalokitvėshvarāmalakapās.ān.amityad bhūtam.

Therefore, the reading should be Bhumalakkikājalasayana and the image is certainly possible to be the one at Budaniikantha, which is the only Vishnu-jalasayana that is unlikely to have been carved out a stone brought from a great distance.

Mānadēva's Vis.n.uvikrāntas at Tilganga is at its original site and therefore must be located there only. However, although the Lazimpat location is

also appropriate, we may suspect that the Lazimpat location may be a shift from Hiti Dhara on the south of Narayanhiti palace. It's more suitable location before the construction of Lal Durbar could have been Hiti Dhara area. (See also discussions on Managriha)

Bhr̥nggārēshvara dévakula can be conveniently located at Sunakothi village without dispute. Likewise Hansagr̥ha déva can be relegated to the site of Anantalingeswor to south of Suryabinayak.

Some have made suggestions that Vāgvatīpārādēva is the current so-called Ram temple on the east of Bhasmeswor, Aryaghat. As the name itself is place specific, the image must have been located to the east of Bagmati river. It could not be referring to the Vis.n.uvikrānta of Manadeva as the latter was either commemorating a coronation or atonement of a patricide and it could hardly have gained a national status. The Vajresworamandala was another temple circuit situated on the other bank of Bagmati near Pashupati. The god enshrined here as indicated by 'Vāgvatī pūrvakulé bhagavadvajrēshvara man.d.lyām' (inscription R-CXXI of the time of Narendradeva) was an 'Iswara' and not a 'Deva'. That there was a Siva there about popular until seventeenth century is evident from the Patan Durbar Sundari Chowk list of Sivalingas. In this list, Srivajreswor, which occurs between Sri Gokarneswor and Sri Kirateswor, one of the six listed in-between and it is potentially the same as the Vajreswora of the Lichhavi inscription. Therefore must be Saivachara Vajreswora. The association of Vajreswora to rain, thus to Gorakhanath/Matsendranath, is given away by the prescribed ritual of playing music of rain [cf. 'varsakala vaditra' in R-CXXI]. Therefore, it is unlikely that the Bagvatiparadeva is Vajreswora. It is possible that the Sri Gung Daxinesvara was referred to as Parvatesvaradeva by Amshuverma. The double suffix of Isvara and Deva might indicate an Indra, as we also find a mention of a dedicated land for Indra Gosthika thereabout [R-CXXVIII and R-CXXXIX: 'Lohpringga gramendra gausthika']. As all the other alternatives known to have existed near by to the east of Bagmati river do not fit the name, Vagvatiparadeva,

we will have to accept the Rama temple as the best possible option of locating it.

On the basis of the possible location of Narasimha panchali in area adjacent to Budanilkantha, Bajracharya tends to locate Narasimhadéva there. The possible closer location is suggested as Vishnu Paduka Phedi. A misreading of this inscription has led to the conclusion that the settlements near Budanilkantha were composed of two panchalies named Anglabasapita and Narasimha. The reading for the earlier named Anglabasapita is drawn from the misreading of the letters "agneyatalasahita". As the flat farmlands were located to the southeast of this Panchali, we would have to place Narasimhadéva to northwest of Budanilkantha. That the temple was close to Budanilkantha is made clear by Gopālarājāvamsābali in Folio 22, where it states that Budanilkantha was at 'Narasimhasthan'.

The logic of locating Maneswora at Hadigaon will mean also locating Sāmbapuradéva about Naxal and Lazimpat.

To some extent clues towards locating Tégvānārāyan.asvāmī are available. We have discussed earlier why the inscription in which this name occurs is not related to the site described by that inscriptions. The reference is only to the site of the 'pradipa goshika' land of the temple. Alternatively, the temple of Tvegvāla Narayana Swami could also have been at the place Tegwan (Te-gung) of inscription (R-XXXVII) at Pharping or Tegvala grama of Shitatikatala (R-XXXVIII) or even at Tegwal panchali of another inscription (R-CXL) at Patan. The current Tyagal, which was called Tegwal until about 1000 AD (NS 132), is located in east Patan and can be confirmed to have been Tegwal panchali of R-CXL. This Tegwal is an unlikely place for a Tvegvāla Narayana Swami, as the latter place was a non-Lichchhavi domain. [The Rajavamshis of Svotha Narayana of Patan, however, do claim that their Narayana was brought there from Sundhara area, which was Matingrama in those days.] Locating Tegwal Narayana Swami temple in the Tegvalagrama of Shitatikatala appears logical too

because of its name itself. We have shown in later discussions under Shitatikatala that it was located to the south of Balkhu river, east of Kisipidi and west of Bagmati river. Here we find the current place Tyangla, which may be identified as the Tegvalagrama of R-XXXVIII. Teggwang, the place in the southwest of Pharping, appears to be indicating the same Tegvalagrama. The place was an important tirtha going by the name "Tyanga" as late as AD 1670 as indicated in the Ranipokhari inscription of Jayaprakash Malla. Both "Tyanga" and "Tyangla" could be the degenerate form of Tegwala. Therefore, we suggest that this temple was located at Tyangla near Tribhuvan University.

Shivagaldévakula of Ins No. R-CXVII and Shivakadévakula of Ins No. R-XX are one and the same and was located at Kä on the northwest of Jayapallikā grāma village. The temple could be the same as Chandrabharateswora of Mahadev VDC (see Sketch no 02). We can still see many Kirata numinous stones around the temple. The terminology 'devakula' used here must make it a temple belonging to faiths outside of the Lichchavis and we infer that it is Kirata.

Mätin dévakula has been suggested by some authors to be located at Patan on the ground of the location of the inscription carrying the reference there. Later discussions on Matingrama does however substantiate the possibility that Mätin dévakula did indeed belong to current Patan Sundhara area or there about. Since the use of the term 'devakula' is indicative of Kirata affiliation, I am tempted to equate it to Mahalaxmi Dyo-chhe of Tyagal and locate it at the same site.

The cases of Dhārāmānēshvara, Kailāsēshvara, and Vishvēshvara are not clear. Kailāsēshvara is suggested to have been established by Amsuvarma and was the reason to the naming of his palace [Misra T: 2030]. If such be the case this temple should be located in the palace grounds; the inscription R- LXIX however does not mention any such temple and this should be sufficient reason to dismiss Misra's argument.

Pant has suggested that Rāmēshvara is the natural sivalinga near Tikabhairab and Parvatēshvaradeva is proposed to the North-East of Pashupatinath and North of Baudda [Pant MR, 5: pp. 10-18]. Both siting are guided by Puranic sources. It is notable that for this temple the god is referred to as 'Isvaradeva' as different from other Sivalangas, simply referred to as 'Isvara'. We should therefore be looking for an 'Isvaradeva' or a shrine different from a 'deva' as well as an 'Isvara' shrines. Therefore it would be more appropriate to look for a god image, which has both Saiva and Vaisnava characters. As 'ardha' would have to be expected if this was a reference to 'Keshava+Shankara', I would suggest this god was either an Indra [different from Indra-divakara or a Surya in Ins No R-X]. The polygonal plotting of R-CXXVII also shows a temple, called Sri Gum Daxineswora, that would have to be located northeast of the Pashupatinath also but on the hill on the south of Bagmati river (thus at Gorakhanath area). Since Sri Gung Daxineswora and Bajreswora were almost contemporary, they must also have been different, even as the early Indra would also have carried a 'Bajra'. Thus it appears to refer to Parvatesworadeva of the earlier Lichchhavi period. Thus it can be located at Vishwaroop area of Mrigasthali, i.e. north-east of Pashupatinath but south of Boudha. This calls for a revision of Pant's positioning as far as Parbatesvoradeva is concerned.

With the location of Daxineswora and Chandreswora at Nala itself, we conclude the discussion of location of all the temples mentioned in the inscriptions.

Chapter IV

The Settlements

The findings of prehistoric tools in explorations in and around the valley [DOA: AN, no 6, 7, 75] do prove that it has been inhabited from early times. Earliest claim of organized settlement comes from the chronicle, Gopālarājāvamsābali, the acceptance of which would push back the settlement history of Kathmandu to about 1000 BC.

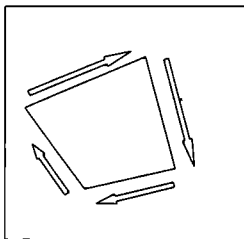
Though legendary claim and popular belief locate the last palace of the Kirāta and thus their capital town at Patan, inscriptions of Lichchhavi era collectively suggest that Kirāta settlements in some form, possibly townlets, were mostly located on the upper reaches of hill slopes of the Kathmandu Valley. Some of these settlements were named Ahidumkottagrama around Gokarna, Lembatidrangga at Lele, Lohpring and Muhpring east and northeast of Pashupatinath, Mathanggrama west of Thamel, Kadunggram, Ferangkotta, Kichpringgram, Pasinkhya, Thenchogram and Jolpringgram all about Thankot, Konko near Gundu to the south of Bhadgaon, Thanthuridrangga about Budanilkantha, etc. These and other non-Sanskrit place names can only refer to settlements existing before Lichchhavis took over the valley and where the original inhabitants still dominated the town or village. The recent archaeological excavation at Satyanarayana, Hadigaon, has unearthed pre-Lichchhavi brick walls (167 BC ~ 1 AD) giving concrete proof of pre-Lichchhavi remains. The discovery of a stone water tap tray (Jaladroni), which names the place as Andigrama, has potential to substantiate that the site belonged to the Kirata settlement of Andipringga. [Verardi: find no. HSN 142].

In current Kirāta nomenclature and possibly also in those days, the place names ending in 'Cho' and 'Gung' indicate places located in a higher level. Inscriptions give many such names e.g. Haragung, Hnagung, Dhandangung, Chhogung, Lumbuncho, Pahancho, Dhancho, Thencho, Kharebangancho, Khahricho, Mindicho, Mogungcho, Vremgungcho. Other names starting with 'Gung' are also observed e.g. Gungshikhara, Gungdimaka, Gungvihāra, etc. Of these Haragung, Hnagung, Thencho, Pahancho and Lumbuncho were located about Thankot and Dahachowk; Mindicho, Kharicho, Vremgungcho and Mogungcho were about Pharping; Lohpringga and Mhupringga to the plateau east of Pashupatinath; and Gungshikhara, Gungdimaka and Gungvihāra were to the east of Gokarna.

As the inscriptions themselves are dated more than six hundred years after the end of the purported Kirāta rule, some of these place names could well have been degenerated forms suited to new Sanskritised tongues unless the older language continued strongly as a language of daily use over all these years. The later possibility is certainly more attractive to those who propound that the current Newari language owes its origin to the language in use in the valley before the induction of Sanskrit into the valley by the Lichchhaves. Whichever be the case the place names combining both 'Gung' and 'Cho' or starting with 'Gung' are probably later names in comparison to those having only 'Gung' or 'Cho' as suffixes. All names that cannot be traced to Sanskrit origins naturally should belong to places of pre-Lichchhavi days or were settlements dominated by the population of people belonging to the original inhabitants.

Other place names ending in 'Ng', 'Prang', 'Bram', 'Brum', 'Bru', 'Bu', 'Ambi', 'Ammi' etc. are also numerous in these inscriptions. Such place names could be related to hill based springs or other water bodies or riverside settlements, going by extant Kirāta usage of these and similar suffixes. Spring fed ponds and hill top ponds, natural or manmade were important to Kirātas as they settled on higher lands. Even the Lichchhaves continued the tradition of using these as water supply for the towns and later on Mallas picked it up in their urban culture again centuries later. It

is worth noting here that King Narendradeva proudly took his visitors to show a perennially bubbling pond [Regmi G C, 3: pp. 177-78].



Lichchhavi System of Demarcating the Boundary.

Many Lichchhavi inscriptions have boundaries of villages, agraharas, and other land grant sites stated therein while giving tax relief or other administrative authority to such sites. For the current study these are the most importance evidence of settlement pattern and a detailed analysis of such portions of the inscription is first presented. As these give bounding elements of land areas, a simple principle of surveying would demand that they be closed polygons. The inscriptions, however, do not give any indication of the area covered or the lengths involved and only directional association is clearly mentioned. This problem could be resolved through approximations as we are only intending to locate places and settlement or location of elements. Since the sites are also delineated using place names or place markers of that period, it is not of much use if no marker is identifiable at present: for only thus could we test our approximations. However the boundary markers include semi-permanent topographical elements such as landforms, hillocks, river names and sometimes identifiable temples or sites and these have potentials for identification of other sites within the polygon by using the directional relationship. Analysis on this method is done for all the inscriptions, which show the site boundaries. Since the Lichchhavi system of indicating boundary of any site always start with the mention of the elements on the North-East and go round the site in a clockwise fashion, even inscriptions with portions of the boundary statements damaged have potential for use. This pattern of naming the boundary as per classical dictates is the key to the success of the method

used in this study. In the following discussions, some such inscriptions are presented.

The first drawing is the representation of the first of such charters known today, Ins. No. R-XX, and relates to a grama located about Thankot. This inscription shows the following particulars about Jayapallikagram, for which a 'Kotta-maryada' was created.

Jayapallikagram was located to the south-west of the hill to the west of the river that formed the western boundary of Shitatilguma and to the south-west of the highway on the south of Navagrama, to the south-east of the waterway to the south of Shivaka devakula, to the south of the highway (Mahapath) south of Thenchogram. Further east of the river to the east was a hill formation, the river to the east also went round to bound its south, and had a Hastimarga (path for elephants) to the southwest and a hill crest to the west. The village included half of the hill slope to its east as well as half the hill slope to its west.

Conclusions so far made about Thenchogram being current Thankot appears to be close and the location of Thencho should be Thankot. The Sivakadevakula by its nomenclature should be a proto-Saiva Kirata temple still remembered as Chandrabharateswora of Mahadevgaon. The Highway referred to the south of Thencho appears to have skirted the foothills to the south of the current highway. The river referred to appears as Balkhu and its tributary to the west of Bathali. The Gulma of Shitati was sited at Kisipidi village. [Sketch 02]

Another inscription that gives an idea of another village to the north or northeast of the village of Jayapallikagram is R-XXIV, located at Sitapaila. Also issued by Basantadeva some years after the above inscription recalls the grant of his father (Mahideva) as also a stone conduit set up by his sister Jayasundari of the above Jayapallikagram. This inscription is rather too damaged to fully convey the message, yet its section giving land boundaries of this village (name effaced) start from line 7 and goes onto

line 11 and as the system sequence starting from NE and going clockwise is followed some idea of the land can be formed.

The revised reading from the facsimile for the section is

".....yus.madiyagrāmah pūrvén.a tottara ...parvata shikharétat daks.in.am
cha pashchimidishichamārggāt pshchiména rājabhūmé...
pashchimamuttarén.āpi hārāgung shukhara... ..ta . pūrvvaméva "

The tenuous link with the earlier village site of Jayapallikagrama is provided by the mention of the conduit built by Jayasundari for the heavenly benefit of herself and Mahideva, her father. This is meaningful in the sense that conduit appears to the southwest of this area and probably adjoined the Jayapallikagrama thereabout somewhere close to Sivakadevakula of the inscription K-XX.

Further possibility of interrelating the sites is offered by the inscription, R-CVI, jointly issued by Bhimarjunadeva and Jishnugupta in AD 633, about 127 years after the creation of Jayapallikagrama. The boundary given applies to a hilly site north of Thencho grama and has a strong potential of linking up with the both the above sites at the same time. This is the only time the Managuptagomi is mentioned in the inscription and it is not clear how he was able to waive the 'chailakara' (tax on woven clothes?), and also it is not clear as to when the land ceded to the state. The polygonal approximation is shown in Sketch 05.

Another inscription dealing with the area thereabout was also issued by Bhimarjunadeva and Jishnugupta in AD 631. This inscription, R-CII, also relieving the 'chaila' tax to residents of Jolpringgrama shows the land boundary as in Sketch 06.

A plotting of the land, as per inscription no. R-XXXVII, gives an idea that the area had hills on all sides except the northeast and is clearly Pharping area. It seems that Chaukhei Danda of today was named Mogungcho,

Nāṅgedanda was Bremgungcho and Danda to the south of Daxinakali was Kharycho/Mindicho. [Sketch 07]

Though the inscription, R-LII, is much too damaged to be of use for chronological and social history yet its polygonal approximation has the potential of physically fixing the site of Makhodulu. The above mapping shows that the confluence of the rivers Sanko and Sanjara is to the south of the settlement delineated by the charter. A place name Shanggā grāma [R-LXXV, AD 608] occurs in an inscription of a few years later and could well be Sanka in Sanscritized form. The confluence of the river that originates from Sanga and flows to Bhaktapur to meet Tabya Khushi is the current Hanuman Ghat to the southeast of current Bhaktapur. The polygonal approximation talks of the Isvara of the confluence and the current site is a major Mahadeva site, fitting in well with the Lichchhavi usage of 'Isvara' for Siva-linga shrine. It is also known that the eastern palace of the bi-polar Bhaktapur of early Malla period was at Tacapal area, the place where this inscription is located and east of which there is a concentration of Kumhales (who are claimed as descendants of the Kirātas just as the Awahs of Cyasal in Patan). Also the mention of 'devimarga' and the location of Navadurga, the remains of the ancient matriarchal setup also add to the likelihood that the area south of Tacapal is Makhodulu of this inscription and the river confluence mentioned herein is Hanumanghat. It is also to be noted that the 'desa pradixina yatra' (going round the Malla town ceremony) excludes this area as outside of town of the period remembered [Gutschow, N., 1: pp. 69]. A medieval land deed document dated NS 599 mentions "Pāthalabhung" as an area close to Tavachapadiole (current Tachapal tole) and sounds very close to Fuhulva (the word may also not be a proper noun if read as a word meaning 'expanded area' or 'prethula') seen in this area as per this inscription if Makhodulu is sited to the north of Hanumanghat. [SM: Purnima, No 58, pp. 20] "Pāthalabhung" occurs again in another land deed dated NS 666 also where it is clear that it was to the North of the Ghat [ibid. pp. 31]. As a corroboration another land deed document dated NS 653 mentions that to the north of Sivaglasthan of

Except Verardi archaeological excavation finds in Satyanarayana, Hadigaon, remains of Lichchhavi or pre-Lichchhavi built culture has not been found, although many sites and artifacts are known. Stray finds like the inscribed brick of Amshuverma from Manamaneswori and another inscribed brick from a near by site, in my collection (See photograph sheet 2), are indicative of possibilities and potentialities of Hadigaon, Maligaon and Tangal areas and there can be little doubt that sizable settlement of relatively higher urban polish did exist. The lack of much more material evidence is more a result, firstly, of little archaeological excavations made so far, and secondly, of the pattern of continuous development over the same area. As a result many such townships have either taken the current shape or are in ruins under the current habitation areas. Stray indicators of Lichchhavi, or rather certainly pre-Malla structures are however strewn all over. Slusser [Slusser, 3: pp. 12] suggests that most of the exclusive Newar villages of the valley, some thirty-five of them, date back at least to Lichchhavi times! The suggestion that these be dated to times earlier than Lichchhavi is possibly on the basis of their non-Sanskrit nomenclature.

In the following pages all the settlements or place names appearing in the Lichchhavi inscriptions are attempted to be located within available base data. The reference is to the inscriptions of the period as published and only limited attempts to read the original inscription, again not in-situ but from available facsimile, have been resorted to in some cases. Such changes are shown as 'own reading'. The major tool used for locating the places is nomenclature analysis, legendary corroboration and physical mapping of available information.

Adhashälä pañchälî: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. The name, a derivative of 'ardhajalasala', indicates that the Panchali was concerned with the cremation rites and could indicate the southeastern area of Pashupatinath. But going by the location of the inscription, which appears true, this appears located at the point of entry to Pashupatinath with reference to the settlements to its west

(Brihatgrama). Alternatively, in Lichchhavi times, funerary rites must have been performed all along the slopes to Pashupatinath, as the ghats may not have been organized as we see today. The restriction of Paschimadhikarana interference in the locality suggests that it fell within the jurisdiction of this collectorate. Still another alternative to the naming of the place might be suggested as related to the setting of Ardha-Keshava-Shankara thereabout by Svamibarta. From this argument, the place name Ardhasala > Adhasala may simply be said to refer to the crossing, where the inscription is located (Daxinamurti area).

Ahidümkota gräma: Ahidumgram was possibly to its northwest of Gokarna below the hillock area where the source of water for Rajavihāra was located (in between current Jagdol and Kapan). This position can be argued on the basis of the location of Rajavihāra and Indramulaka derived out of polygonal plotting of the Yagabahal inscription of Narandradeva juxtaposed with this inscription giving the name of Ahidümkota gräma.

As the inscription appears unrelocated it is fair to assume that it was located between Mahankal and Gokarna. Other authors have read the name itself as Ahindukotta [Misra MM] and for lack of facsimile, I am not able to confirm this but if it is so, the name itself is portentous as this seems to indicate the village of non-Hindus, which is rather logical as this area had the concentration of many other Buddhist viharas including the Srīrāja vihāra. The location of large Buddhist population in the general area is confirmed by Ins no. R-CXXVII and Ins no. R-LXXXVI also. But the use of the term 'Hindu' is quite unlikely for this period.

Ambu tīrtha: As this Tīrtha is not located on a river bank and must be, by way of nomenclature, a religious waterbody, it is proposed to be a spring source or pond fed by some such source. The land names Nimbru and Mittambu seem to indicate flat lands over the hilly formation and Ambu Tīrtha seems located about such a site. The occurrence of Brahma Tīrtha confluence of rivulet Sambedyā on the river Bagmatī should not, however, be confused with the current Brahma Tīrtha at the confluence of

Chandrabhaga river and Bagmati near Gokarna. If the two were the same, then not only the agrahara area would have to be located at Thali/Chalnatar, which would be too far for the Devagarta settlement of Pashupatinath to have any meaning, and the topography there also does not have any features to parallel Shresthidula/Sri Gung ridges. It is also important to remember that areas down east from Gokarna could not be logically linked with a water supply system for Pashupatinath. Therefore the Brahmātūrtha of the inscription would have to be located somewhere further downstream and the polygonal approximation places it around Gaurighat. That would make us locate Ambu Tirtha at Guheswori itself. (See discussions on Mhupringga below and also Sketch 11)

An.dī grāma: This place name occurs in an archeological find at Hadigaon Satyanarayana [Verardi G: HSN 142] and this is a name applied to Hadigaon, a part of the Lichchhavi capital. That it was earlier called Andipringga is given away by the fact that the festival of Andipi took place here. (Ref. Andipi Yatra in Ins. No. R-CXLIII, line 38). Andipi is a degenerate form of Andipringga (cf. Mehpi and Mashapringga). Later An.dī grāma appears to have been renamed Maneswora. See Kailāshkut Bhawan in earlier chapters.

Ānglāvaka(spitā), Āgnāyatalsahitā: This is not a place name. The reading is revised as Angeyatalsahita and the word itself is categorical that it is a reference to the agricultural land located to the south east of Narasimha pañchālī, which was located about current Budanilkantha. See Narasimha pañchālī later.

Araghatta: This watermill appears located between current Maligaon and Maitidevi.

Ārāmkhar predesha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Ashingko pradesha: This may refer to the area south of current Guita. This suggestion is made on the basis of a land deed document, of Patan and dated NS 674, where in a land area called "Gutashinko Kshetranam pradesha" is said to be situated to the east of Manigal. [SM: Purnima no 85, pp. 34] In this reference, the two adjoining places are obviously Guita + Ashingko, one referred to current Guita and the other to the place in discussion. Another land deed document dated NS 596 gives a place name Jyathashinko Vatika [ibid.] about the same area. This can be broken as Jyath + Ashinko. Thus we can place Ashinko between Guita and Jyatha toles of Patan. It is therefore concluded that Ashinko pradesha was about Nugabaha of today.

Atmanattn.aka: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Bémnä, Bémä gräma , Bémpä: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Bhāra visraman.a sthāna: Definitely the current Visambhara village to the east of Sankhu is this place. It got its name because of it being the last port of call in the valley before moving on to Tibet for trade. For some time the misreading of inscription as 'Bhāravī sraman.a sthāna' had created the confusion that it may relate to some sage practicing Buddhism. Regmi toes the Bajracharya interpretation adding that "it appears that Bharavi had become a monk later and founded a sthana where he lived" [Regmi DR, 3: pp. 76]. It is common knowledge that the trade route to Tibet entered the valley at Thankot and exited between Kattike Danda and Nagarkot and here the loads (Bhara) must have been rested (Visramana) for customs check-up or such like activity. It is apparent that the components of the name got reversed in the process of degeneration (Bhara Visramana > Visramana Bhara > Visam Bhara). That the area has Lichchhavi cultural layers was also clearly seen in the recent road construction (1992) cutting when an inscription with Lichchhavi characters have also been found but remains unread and is

reportedly kept in the pati next to the irrigation dam a little above the site. Current Newari reference to this place is made as Biswombhara [JRI: Rolamba Vol 11, No 1, pp. 21] in the document Balibidhi. Here the worshipping landmarks of Sakwa or the Sankhu Circuit is shown as: Swambhu Chaitra > Biswombhara > Pi bi. > Chapasi Kwa > Sara kha > Sapali khu > Dumaju. This is clearly a re-Sanskritization attempt but does confirm the reversal of the nomenclature elements in the past.

Bharatāsrama: The polygonal approximation (Sketch No 17) would suggest that this place was located about Mahankal at Tundikhel.

Bhāsaks.étra: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Bhr̥ynggāra grāma, Bhr̥ynggārēshvara pañchāli: The site is obviously Sunakoṭhi village as both the inscriptions are truly located and the temple of Bhr̥ynggārēshvara is still to be seen.

Bhūya grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Brahma tīrtha: The location of Brahma tīrtha, where the rivulet Sambedyā meets river Bagmati is towards the general Northwest of Ambu tīrtha or Guheswori. Therefore this location should be at Gaurighat. In the discussions under Ambu Tirtha above we have already shown how the current Brahma Tirtha at the confluence of Chandrabhaga river and Bagmati near Gokarna cannot be the Brahma Tirtha of this inscription. See Ambu tīrtha above.

Br̥hadgrāma: From the polygonal approximation, it can be observed that this settlement was located to the south of Arjika Vihara proposed to be located between Kutu Baha area and its north to Cha Bihar. It is therefore proposed that Brihatgrama refers to the village of Jayabageswori and its northern sector and Maninagaattika is the grass-

covered midden referred by Newar farmers of Deupatan as "mani" or "manilakhu". Before the capital city of Maneswora and its other administrative centers of Tamrakuttasala etc. were carved out of it, the western boundary of Brihatgrama seems to have extended to Tukucha river, which was called Brihad Nadi apparently because of Brihadgrama itself. (R-CXLIII, Line 63: 'Brihannadi')

Chhogum: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. Joshi's suggestion that 'chhogung' stands for "the hill with wheat" [Joshi HR, 1: pp. 385] is not at all acceptable as 'gung' stand for afforested hillock and the plantation of wheat in such a situation is not possible.

Chuhungpéd, Chuhuñgrapédä, Chuhvanggabhümi: All the references appear to have been to Chuhvanga and possibly indicate a cultivated area on top of a hillock. The polygonal approximation indicates that this place would fall in the ridge to the southeast of the course of Bagmati and about the northern end of the old runway of Tribhuvan airport. This is close by to the area north of Puranogaun of Mulpani VDC. See Sketch 11 and also discussions on Naraprin grama.

Chullamkhü: The inflexion of name may be Chu + Lamkhu (cf. Cho > Chu and lamkhü > river). Within the available information, this place appears named after some river possibly located on hilltop at Dhivoläsa pradésha, which is current Dhulikhel. It can be concluded that this place was located within the principality of Dhulikhel.

Chustung gräma: The place was located outside the valley.

D.ichichadimryédésha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Daks.in.a koli gräma, Daks.in.akoligräma drangga: Bajracharya suggests that this drangga was to the south of Koligram, current Keltole

area. This 'grama' was a quarter of the whole Dranga. He further suggests, "that Koligram was famed with this name in Lichchhavi and upto later times. The place to the south of it called Daxinakoligram was still more populous. The place was named such because of the 'Kolīs' residing there" [Bajracharya, D. B., I: pp. 173, 221]. However this position is doubtful as Koligrama does not show in any inscription nor it is likely that the presumed population of the Kolīs would be divided into two villages next to each other. Indeed the presence of Kolīs in the valley in Lichchhavi period is presumed on the ground of the availability of the name "Daks.in.a koli grāma" in these very inscriptions. The migration of the Kolīs to Kathmandu has not been substantiated in any other way and therefore needs to be discarded. It is also to be noted that 'Koligrama' appears only three hundred years after the Lichchhavi period as evidenced by its first occurrence in the colophon of the manuscript 'Pingalamata' dated July 15, 1193 AD. It has been found to occur twice more, the last one dated to 1358 AD. All the associated documents relate to Bajrayana as influenced by the 'Kaula' practices [Kaula-achara is Tantrik worship using all the five so-called 'Makaras'; it is like Vamachara but defies all its rules. As different from this, Daxinachara is applied to Tantrik worship of Bhagavati without the use of the 'Makaras'] possibly popularized in Nepal following the visit of Sankaracharya and also as a reaction to it. It is important to note that one of the medieval references is to "Kaulagrama" and not "Koligrama". It can, therefore, be concluded that name 'Koli' derives out of 'Kaula' (cf. Kaula-bazi as opposed to Samaya-bazi of Newar ritual food, distributed after a Samaya-achara worship by the Karmacharyas, who are Tantrik priests of the left-hand practice) or Daxina, (Daxina-achara is a ritual practice of the right-hand and when applied to worship of Siva is also called Saivachara) and Koligrama is a medieval simplification of the earlier name Daks.in.a koli grāma. [See Rao:1983 for detailed description and nuances of the seven later Tantrik cults]

From medieval sources, some researchers have shown that 'Daxinakoli' could by itself mean 'Kaula' sect [JRI: Rolamba Vol 1 No 2 Colophon 1].

But the use of the double prefix may actually indicate the habitation of a sect, following a ritual practice, which was 'right of the right-handed' and thus a left-handed one, as the Karmacharyas are. The fact is also affirmed that the sect associated with Jamaleswora was also of the left-handed branch; as is evidenced by the reference to the Jamaleswora Mahadeva as Vammeswora or the god of the left-handed ritual practitioners. Therefore the use of duplicate prefixes of similar meaning in the name of the settlement, Daxinakoligrama, is because of the sect association and not because Koliyas lived there. Therefore, in this context, 'Daxina' does not appear to be a directional prefix of Koligrama; even as the use of both the short and long forms of 'i' in these inscriptions is not helpful. A twelfth century colophon reference to the locality as "Daxina tol" [Shakya, HR and Vaidya, TR: 1970] without the doubling of the suffix must suggest that the place was now taken over by the 'Daxina' practice sect. A continued use of the term with double suffixes would have meant some other sect occupation. It must have been about this time that Jamaleswora and Gorakhanatha of Kathmandu came to represent Samaya-achara (Saivachara) as they were excluded from their original place. These must be the very same as 'vasapashupata' sect. The absence of "Koligram" in Lichchhavi inscriptions may thus be explained. Thus Daxinakoligrama or Koligrama is one and the same village and generally covered the area from Keltole to Lagantole, although the sect affiliation got apparently reversed after the Transitional period. That "Koligrama" simply did not exist is also amply clear from the naming of a drangga as Jamayamvi grāma and naming one of the main highways as Kampro-yambi mārga. Jamayamvi grāma extended from Indrachowk to Jamal and upto Tukucha. Yambi section of the drangga was co-terminus with Indrachowk (cf. Yambidula of Gopalarajavamsavali, Folio 42: it must suggest that Yambi did not extent out to Bishnumati and Yambidula was a separate place).

Vaidya's [Vaidya, TR: 1990] discussion on Daxinakoligrama or Kathmandu generally toes the views of D. B. Bajracharya [1: 2030]. Based on the Newar festival of "city circuit" an idea of the nature of boundary for the medieval Kathmandu may be formed and this appears to exclude

Jamal. Bhasa Bamsabali mentions that King Gunakamadev founded the town in the form of a Khadga between the two rivers- Bagmati and Vishnumati as per the dreamt advice of Mahalaxmi Goddess. Wright's Bamsabali also has a similar story except that the town was settled around an existing image of Kantiswara, which may be the reference to Jamaleswora itself. Padma Giri's Vamsavali gives the residing deity as Kameswara. As Gunakamadev ruled between 942 to 1008 AD, the legends of the dreams were simple attempts to legitimize the move of the capital to Kathmandu. Recognition of tantric practices (associated with male personal gods) precedence in Kathmandu area prior to Gunakamadeva is indirectly hinted by the statements of the existence of Kameswora/Kantiswora prior to him. The legends at best can be taken as corroboration for the amalgamation of Yambi and Daxinakoligram and possibly also exclusion of Jama or Jamal from the capital district. The existing Kampro-Yambi Marga appears to have formed the central line of the 'ritual sword mandala'. Vaidya adds "the epigraphic evidences prove that the two terms - Yangal and Yambu replaced the old names Daxinakoligrama and Koligrama respectively" but this statement assumes existence of Koligrama prior to Yambu and is not acceptable. As a period reference, Yangal/Yambu duo has little to do with the principalities of the Lichchhavi period. It is possible that Yangala derives out of Lanjagvala (current Lagan). It is also obvious that Yambi became Yambu and as such the suffix "bu" has nothing do with old Newari, it has more to do with pre-Lichchhavi "bi".

Sayami suggests that Vangah means confluence and hence name for Indrachowk, as it is believed that the place was in the past the confluence of Bagmati and Bishnumati rivers. Subscription to this thought should challenge the Yangala and Yambu idea of the bipolarity of the town of Kathmandu. As the general geology of the area between Bagmati and Bishumati is a delta formation, the likelihood of the creation myth regarding Indrachowk is not improbable. It is also to be noted that the name Vangah comes from Vanghala (the ritual worshipping jars located in a courtyard a little to the east of the Akash Vairab temple and north of

Naumugal). In either case, they have no relevance to the period we are looking at.

Dan.d.anggun: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Dattan.adalpa: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Dävākotta: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Däyambī: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Ddädhringän.t.hako: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Dhañchau (cho?)pradésha: Possible location is near Bagmati to the south of Jorpati VDC, currently called Pambu phant, as the polygonal mapping indicates. The reading itself is however forced and the letter 'dha' is not so clear and 'cho' appears to be actually 'chau'. The place, therefore, is not a hillock at all. (Sketch 01]

Dhvolaväsa pradésha: This Sanskrit name obviously means the land of the rising sun and thus should refer to a location east of Kathmandu valley. Medieval name Dhavalasrota for Dhulikhel has been used in the treatise "Charakasamhita" dated NS 303 and Dhavalasrotapura in treatise "Kriyakalagunottara" dated NS 304. This must be referring to one and the same locality. Thus Dhvolaväsa pradésha is certainly Dhulikhel.

Dolädrau, Doläshikhara, Doläsuréndra ks.itidhara shikhara: This reference is obviously for Changunarayan hill spur (Adri = shikhara). See Doläshikharasvämi in earlier chapters.

Dovagrāma desha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. Slusser [Slusser MS, 1: pp. 105] is stretching her intuitive judgment too far by suggesting poor scribing and reading this name as Devagrama. In the current inscription, the village is the site of land grant and not the site where the Linga is located. The use of the suffix desha is a clear indicator that it was away from the capital region.

Drisr̥ynggā: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. This could be a reference to hill tops to the west, North and East of Ichangu valley.

Dunlamgrāma, Dunlang grāma pradēsha, Du..ggrāma: Purely from the nomenclature possibility this village could have sat astride an inner roadway [Vaidya JL, 2] of the valley may be a trade route leading off to Rasuwa on to Tibet. Further Dunlamgrāma subjected to Newar tongue degeneration could form itself into 'Duram', and then into 'Dharam'. Thus this place could be Dharamthali proper and the agricultural land about it.

Dunprang grāma pradēsha, Duprang gāma, Du..ggrāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Dürigvala: It has been suggested that this is the name of the village to the west of Deupatan and included Kutubahal and Chabel Ganeshthan area.

Étang grāma: It is possible that this village was at an elevated land and included the place Lahugvala within it. Since Lahugvala is Lubhu, this village must have covered an area around Lubhu.

Gammé: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Gamprohdin, Gamprondring grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Gan.idung grāma: This is a misreading and the proper reading is Gan.idula grāma. Location is not possible to be argued within available information. But its location outside of Thankot in the immediate valley is abundantly clear from the inscription itself. (Note: medieval reference of Ganidula as applied to Gangula, Patan under Gangula, which follows next)

(Gāngshul) Gāngula: Misread by many as Gāngshul, but read more correctly by Bagawanlal, the place name is Gāngul. From the inscription itself it is quite clear that it was located about Patan, adjoining Thambu. With reference to line 20 of the inscription (R-XCVII), as Mulabatika can be located to the south of Sundhara (see location of Mulabatika later) and Thambu was located close to the site of the inscription itself (see under Thambu later), we can place it in-between. This agrees well with the reference to Chiyasal as Gangulagulma by another inscription, R-CXXVI. Since the name suggests that Gangula extended to Bagmati (Gangula = Ganga = Bagmati in Kathmandu) and line 20 suggests it was to the east of Kupondole (See Kadapringgadula later), we could conclude that Gangula referred to the area from Mangalbazar to Shankhamul.

Gāngkūtālānga as a place name is seen in a colophon dated NS 144 [JRI: Rolamba, Vol 1 No 4]. The Gulma of Gangula seems to have been called Ganigulma in later periods. This is seen from two colophons [JRI: Rolamba Vol 1 No 3, Colophon 10, Vol 3 No 1, Colophon 59].

Gautama āsrama: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Gūgvala pañchālī: It was located within the drangga of Yupagrama but its precise location is not possible to be argued further within available information. It may be that this place was located to the east or north of current Tyagal. This is suggested assuming that the panchalis may have been named in this inscription in a clockwise manner starting from NE direction.

Gītā pañchālī: That it was located within Daxinakoligram is clear from the inscription itself and the location of inscription at Minnarayan appears true. It is possible that a Narayana (named .jasesworaswami), forerunner of the current temple, was sited in there earlier to Jishnugupta's time. It may be located to the west of Brahmatole.

Got.na ks.étra: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Gudanduluntra pradésha: This 'pradesha' was located to the north of Gudandula and the suffix 'dula' does suggest the lower reaches or basin of a hillock. Gudan as a place must have been over a hillock as the use of suffix 'dula' indicates. A topographical as well as nomenclature possibility for Gudandulu is Gundu. (<Gudandu < Gudandulu).

Gullamtangga grāma: That the parcel of the agrahara land extended from Chabel and included areas south and southwest of Kapan can be seen from the land diagram for the inscription carrying this name. (See Sketch no. 01) In all likelihood the name itself stands for a village located higher than Gullam. Bajracharya wrongly concludes from the Yagabahal inscription of Narendradeva (R- CXXVII) that the current "Guittole of Patan is Gullatangagram of Lichchhavi times and that the boundary shown in the tablet indicates north-eastern area of Patan and that Rajvihāra, Madhyamavihāra, Chaturbhalatasnavihāra, Kalyanaguptavihāra were all located about Guittole" [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 404, 505]. Bajracharya's inference, drawn from the location of the stele and the place name Guita, also assumes that the area described was Gullamtangagrama. His inference has been accepted generally by all, also wrongly, as we see from the Sketch no 1.

However the same inscription states that the proceeds of the agrahara was to be used by Sri Sivadeva Vihara towards the maintenance of the water conduits and canal system constructed by Narendradeva at Pashupatinath area. It is quite clear that the area delimited is of the agrahara and not of

the settlement of Gullamtanga only. As the inscription itself gives the outer boundary of the area decreed as the agrahara starting from its NE and clockwise indicating place markers to its east, south, west, and North and one can see that the village as well as all the above vihāras were situated to the north of Bagmati river (See Sketch no 1). That it could simply not be an area of Patan is established. Thus Guita as well as Yangu bahal cannot be part of Gullamtanga. The inscription of Amshuvarma addressed to Ahidumkottagram [JRI: Rolamba, Vol 10, No 1] along with these mapping, can, with definite certainty, place Gullatangaram about Pashupatinath and all the vihāras mentioned in the above inscription between Chabel and Gokarna. This makes sense also because the source of water supply to the conduit, the canals and other upstream elements as related to Narendradeva's conduit of Pashupatinath, 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. In addition Gullatanga should be further up the water vein along the same ridge spur, for gravity flow was near universally used in Lichchhavi times for water channeling. It can be seen that the other agrahara area (ref. R-CXXVIII and Sketch no. 11) was also likewise upstream of Pashupati but on the other eastern side. But the village referred to in the second inscription is Devagarta grama, possibly the settlement around Pashupati temple proper.

Mary Slusser in "Nepal Mandala" suggests on the basis of an extant painting there that it derives the name from a nine tiered agam temple of a bahal located in that place but elsewhere she has gone round to state that Guita is a corruption of Gullatanga! It is definitely true that the place was called "Gutashinko Ksetra" in medieval times and current name Guita is derived out of this. [Pant, M. R., 4: pp. 34] The earlier reference to the area as "Nava varn" indicate that the number 9, and not 9-tiered structure, is at the root of the current name of Guita.

Gullattanga therefore refers to Gvala or higher Deupatan and is a part of Brihatgrama.

Gumpadshum pradésha , Gumpadvrým: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Gungdimaka grāma: Gungdimaka is a place near Changu. The polygonal mapping concludes this positively. The area was bounded by the hills to north, east and south and was to the east of the confluence of Manimati to the southwest of Bisamvara.

Guñshikhira: It was outside the valley and about the place of the inscription.

Gvala : See Dürigvala

Hansagrīha drangga: Bajracharya locates this drangga to the south of Suryabinayak, Bhaktapur, where the Anantalingesworsthan is situated. It was to the east of Gudan. "Here used to be a developed settlement going by this name. It had some villages under it and was probably inhabited by all the four castes. Important and large-scale religious festivals indicate a developed settlement. [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 219]" This location is correct.

Härägung shikhara: Possibly the current Indradaha and Dahachowk Dara. See polygonal approximation for Ins R-XXIV.

Hasvimavillī grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. The suffix 'villī' is possibly derived from 'palli'

Hmapringa grāma: The possible location is Mhyepi pith area [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 54]. The polygonal plotting of the inscription gives a clear possibility that the seven dranggas around the palace extended from the ridge rising to the west of Dhobikhola in the east to the ridge rising to the east of Bishnumati in the west and Gyaneswor to the south. The northern boundary is lost but since the undamaged portion contained the dranggas of Maneswora, Tamrakuttasala, Sambapura and

Jamayambī only it is fair to assume that Hmapringa grāma, was to the north. It is usual for "pringa" to degenerate as "pi" and the current name sound is very close to this [Pradhan, B. L., 1: pp. 11]. Locating this village to Mhyipi therefore fits the bill. But it should be added that its major concentration should be toward Thamel and Lainchowr section. The current hillock is too small to be the total grama referred to in this inscription.

Hlapringga: Polygonal mapping of the inscription indicates the location of this place to the hilly forest west and south of Guheswori area and may refer to area from Tilaganga, the Golf course upto the northern part of Tribhuvan Airport complex. Hlapringga/ Lopring seems to have included western part of Mrigasthali hill (west of Gorakhanatha).

Hmuprim pañchālīka ks.étra, Hmupring: The location of this place was to the east of Hlapringga as can be seen from the mapping of the area based on this inscription. The area is to the east of Gorakhanatha and within Khorsanibari of Gothatar and Mulpani village. Mulpani as a name seems to owe its origin to its older name of Hmupringga itself. [Hmupringga > Mhupin > Mupi > Mulpani as Nepalized?, See Sketch no. 11].

Hrimko pradésha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Husprin: The reading of the inscription is mistaken and my proposed reading "konkoviḷva margamvashṭhitya gramavir agraha" indicates no such place at all.

Hyasmingr̥y grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Jāj̥jē pañchālī: This panchali must have been located in south of Patan but its location could have been anywhere from Jawalakhel to Tyagal.

Jamayamvī grāma: The place name consists of two sub-settlements **Jama** and **yamvī** both of which were located to the north of Daks.in.a koli grāma and included current Jamal and Indrachowk area. It may have extended upto Narayanhiti on the Tukucha rivulet. Kamalachhi (Medieval name Kramalachhi = en route street) was obviously included.

Jayapallikā grāma: Polygonal approximation of Ins DV 22 shows that accepting Thenchogram as current Thankot the village Jayapallikā grāma must have been located between the current Thankot and Kisipidi. Its earlier name was Jolpring and this place name was reverted to again after a hundred years or so. Jayapallika seems to have been used as a place name in-between the period. It is possible that the Brahmins deserted the place later.

Jolpring grāma: As the place referred to is cotton growing land, had a series of ponds to south, west and north and also had hill formation to the west and had a Sal forest planted to protect the water shed of a water supply conduit system, it was apparently not serviced by rivers. Taking a clue also from the other inscription of Thankot, which waives the population of tax on 'cotton cloth', this village was possibly located to the northwest of Thankot. The similarity between the areas designated as Jayapallikagram by Vasantadeva in AD 507 and Jolpring of AD 631 as also the reference to Managupta Gomi almost certainly indicates that the two are related and Jisnugupta appears to have corrected the "wrongful" act of Vasantadeva in creating Jayapallika out of land pledged for the maintenance of Gomikhataka prior to Vasantadeva by the ruling house of the Guptas. That the place name was Jolpring to begin with is clarified by the inscription R-IX, where Sitati-Jolpring is mentioned. Apparently it was renamed Jayapallika by Basantadeva. The Sanskrit name "Jayapallika" was apparently again changed over the years to Jolpring to simply suit local tongue and at the same time as a discredit to Vasantadeva. K. P. Malla wrongly suggests that the Newari name 'Jala' of Harisiddhi is a degenerate form of Jolpring. [Malla, K. P., 1]. Actually Jala is degenerate form of

Harisiddhidevi's Newari name 'Jataramdevi' and has nothing to do with Jolpring. [SM: Purnima No 47, pp. 10]

Joñjonding grāma: From the inscription itself it is clear that the village was located near Nīśhālā or Tamrakuttasala. Therefore, it should be placed between Gairidhara and Bhagvati Bahal in Naxal.

Kadampring pradēsha: Location can be argued from within the information contained in the inscription. This place should have been a hillock with a village to the west of Gangula village. But Patan area to the west of Gangula does not show hillock formation unless we go far enough to Pulchowk Stupa area. This is possible as the "west" direction in Patan is skewed by 24 degrees North of West as directed by the main road. The current place name Kupandol (Newari Kapūdol) could be what is left of Kadampringgadula or the slopes of the town sited on the crest of Kada. The degeneration of the name seems to have taken the path Kadampringgadula > Kadapimdul > Kadapudul > Kapudol. It is therefore concluded that the place name Kadampringa was used for Akseswor Bihar hillock in Pulchowk in Lichchavi period.

Kādung grāma: This is a misreading and actual reading is Kādula grāma. Kadula was another settlement in the slopes of the area called "Kā". This area 'Ka' together with 'Shitati' formed Shitatikatala. Most likely it is lower Satungal itself. This is suggested, as Ka was higher to Kadula, sanskritization of 'Ka' would make 'Katunga' and degeneration of 'ka' into 'kha' to 's.a' and then into 'sa' is quite likely.

Kalopi grāma: The place is located at Dhvolavāsa pradēsha and therefore Dhulikhel.

Kāmbilamprā, Kampilambā : Due to misreading this had been assumed as Kāmbilamprā. But from a fresh reading spurred by the guidance of polygonal mapping, it is clearly read as Kampilambā. Possible location is near Gokarna as can be seen from the polygonal mapping of

the inscription and is definitely the Kapan area of today. What the suffix 'lambā' stands for is not clear, but Sanskrit interpretation as equivalent to "perpendicular to" Kampi suits the physical formation of the Kapan hillspur. Thus the place name refers to the eastern spur of the hillock as it bifurcates at Kapan (= current Jagdol). As this is a later inscription compared to R-I, the place name Kampring grāma mentioned therein appears to have degenerated into Kampi already. Kampring (grāma) > Kampro (grāma) > Kampi. By the time of Gopālarājāvamsābali, the name had further degenerated into Kampa and into Kapan, this name continuing to the present day.

The use of lambā as a suffix is also observed in one more place name, e.g., Sataumālamba and probably indicates the perpendicularity of some sort.

Kampring grāma pradesha: This is Kapan. See Kampilambā above.

Kampro-yambī mārḡa: This main road linked the two settlements Kampro and Yambī and clearly ran between Kapan and Indrachowk of the present day. The polygonal approximation indicates this. The medieval remains of the highway is still to be discerned and the possible route was from Ason, (Kramalachhi= Kamalachhi), Jamal, Naxal, Hadigaon, Dhumarahi, across Dhobikhola to Mahankal and then on to Kapan. See Sketches No- 01, 13 and 14.

Kangkāvattikha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. But it would be located somewhere to the northwest of Lazimpat.

Kangkovilva mārḡa: This main road linked the two places Kangko and Vilva. A village named Konko was located to the west of Hansagrīha drangga as per inscription R-CXXII. Context rules out the possibility of Kangko referring to Kangkāvattikha, which is at the same time a rather too conjectural a reading to be of much value. Vilva is not referred to

anywhere else. Since we have a reference to as Lahugvala and Lunsri to Lubhu, it is proposed that Vilva refers to a place east of Lahugvala. Cf. Bilvonh > Vilva; Lvonh > Lhun > Lun or Lhu > Lahu. It appears that this highway was named after its exit point in the southeast of the valley. One could guess from a general standpoint that the road in context extended across the valley and ran along the south of Daxinakoligrama drangga too. The inscription in question talks of three agraharas but these are not 'Konko', 'Bilvamarga' and 'Husprindung' as interpreted by Bajracharya [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 465] but the Avira agrahara villages between Daxinakoligrama and the Konkobilva Road (possibly Gita, Lanjagvala and one other settlement). The popularly remembered "Kirāta Rajmarga" [Sthan Naam Kosa: dictionary, RNA] which led out of Cyasal to Lubhu and beyond could well be a reference to the eastern sector of this route.

Kangkulam pradésha: Possibly the region of the Kongko village. See Kangkobilva marga above. The associated inscription could however be meaning a place closer to Patan.

Kékhā: Place was located about Pharping area.

Khährýcho: This hillock was located about Pharping area.

Khainas.pu pradésha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Khärévälgañcho: Possible location is near about Maiju Bahal, Chabel. The suffix 'cho' indicated a hillock formation of this name, obviously a comparative association with Bagmati river. (Sketch No.01)

Khätampalli: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Khopr̥yng gr̥āma pradēsha: This is the eastern region of Bhaktapur. The Newars still use the name "Khvapa" for Bhaktapur city. Other inscriptions e.g. DV 61 and 62 give other names such as Makhopring and Khrepung; while Khrepung appears same as Khopryng, Makhopringga was to its west. Of these Khrepung was an older village, as inscriptional reference itself provides such proof. Khr̥ymp̥r̥yṃbrum is mentioned as a place name in the colophon of a manuscript dated NS 159 [JRI: Rolamba, Vol 2 No 1 Colophon 21]. This sounds as the circuit of Khrepung and was apparently in use until the beginning of Malla period.

Khr̥yng pradēsha: It could be a variation of Khopryng gr̥āma pradēsha. The reference to Bhaktapur as Khr̥ymp̥r̥yṃbrum in NS 159 colophon reinforces this possibility.

Kh̥ulpring gr̥āma, Khupr̥yng gr̥āma: Possibly same as Khopryng gr̥āma. See Khopryng gr̥āma pradēsha above.

Kichpriching gr̥āma: As the inscription itself is categorical that the village was located within Shitatikatala. The current name of the village Kisipidi is an obvious degenerate form of this name. It has also been argued by some that 'Kichpriching' and 'Kisi' both mean elephant and the place got its name because of the tradition of keeping elephants in the hill forest thereabouts. Some inscriptions show 'hasti-marga' or routes for elephants in the same area. It has also been observed that Kisipidi was called Hastinapur [Slusser, 3: pp. 86] in the transitional period. One NS 668 copper plate gives the name 'Kishippande' [Regmi, D. R., 1: Part III, pp. 109].

Kongkobilva m̥ārga: See Kangkobilva marga

Kongko gr̥āma: This village was located about Hansagr̥y̥ha drangga and, based on lines 6 and 7 of the inscription, a location to its west of it is more likely. A site close to the current Gundu, called Gudan, could have been close by, as it has the potential for being an exit point towards sector

south east of the valley. The popularly remembered "Kirāta Rajmarga" or Konko-Vilva marga, which led out of Cyaśal to Lubhu and beyond passes through this area.

Kun.dala ks.étra: The polygonal mapping suggests that its location was about Ramhiū, Mahankal to the north of Bodhnath Chaitya, Bauddha. Kundala Ksetra appears as some sort of a religious site, possibly related to the cult of Gorakhanatha. This location has been suggested on two grounds: (i) The Kampro-yambi road appears to have gone eastward from Dhumbaharahi, where the remains of the path going down wards is still observed to the south of the temple and it appears to have gone to Mahankal chowr as popularly remembered by those in Dhumbarahi; and (ii) Bodhnath Chaitya fits the location for Madhyama Vihara of the inscription. It should be remembered that the current Maiju Bahal does not carry any Buddhist trace and is located in-between Bodhnath and Dhamare Chaityas. I would suggest that Maiju Bahal is a mixed up reference to Arjika Vihara (Arjika > Maiju), which was later also named as Cha Bahil. The actual Cha Bahil might have been around the same area; folk memory of Charumati's linkage to it simply being a rehash of the lady, who built that Vihara [R-XII]. It is for such reasons that Madhyama Vihara needs to be located at Bodhnath area. Slusser however does not differentiate between Maiju (Manju) Vihara and (Maha) Raja vihara and attributes both at Dhamare Chaitya Chabel. Raja Vihara was located elsewhere, as already discussed.

Kurpāsa: **Kurppāsi grāma:** Derived from the Sanskrit word meaning cotton cloth [Regmi JC, 2: pp. 38], the place referred to is without doubt the current Khopasi village. Kurpasa mentioned in Ins. No. R-CXL does not however appear as a place name.

Lahugvala: Place names Lüñmhu and Lvahvam applied to current Lubhu is seen in a copper plate of King Siddhinarasimha Malla dated NS 771. 'Lahu' seems to have survived as 'Lva' uptill late Malla period and thus this

place is most likely the same as Lubhu. Cf. Cf. Vilvonh > Vilva; Lvonh> Lhun > Lun or Lhu > Lahu.

Langkhä grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Lañjagvala pañchāli: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. It is possible that the place now called Lagan formed part of Lanjagvala itself. Earlier, the first syllable seems to have been dropped and the place went by the name Yangala.

Lémbatī drangga: To the south of Kathmandu Valley, the current Lele area had this name in Lichchhavi period. This was a highly developed settlement where various kinds of urban services like water, light, road, health, recreation etc. It is also my presumption that the second resurgence of the Kirātas in the valley was directed from the stronghold of Lembatī drangga. It might have derived its name from "Lalatabatī" (= forehead + female circuit) a Sanskrit name for the river which comes into the valley and becomes Nakkhu, which has similar nomenclature likelihood (= Nakkukhu= temple + water). Lembatipatane has been used for Lembatī drangga in the Colophon no 260 [JRI: Rolamba Vol 11 No 4, pp.20]. This classical name of Lele appears to have been in use upto 462 NS.

Léndupradésha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Loprin, Lopring grāma: See Hlapingga above.

Lumbañocho: This hillock was located about Pharping area.

Lunsrī pradésha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. From the context of the inscription, it may be guessed that the reference is to the Lubhu area apparently named after the Mahalaxmi

there. Cf. Bilvonh > Vilva; Lvonh> Lhun > Lun or Lhu > Lahu. See discussions under Lahugvala also.

Mägvala grāma: Magwala gram has been speculated to be Malatar [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 406].

Maisinjjdēsha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Mākhodulu(m): "Dulu" suffix appears as the forerunner of "Dol" and if such were the case the place referred to by this nomenclature would be in the lower reaches of "Mākho". By the same logic the following place name Mākhoprŷn stands for the higher reaches of "Mākho", "prŷn" here meaning higher reaches as equivalent to "tar". As a corroboration we may cite a medieval land deed document [ISS: Purnima No 85, pp. 28] dated NS 653 mentions that to the north of Sivaglasthan of Srikhapwambrum is a place called (da) Makhadwala, which appears as Makhodulu of earlier times. It would seem that Makhodula extended eastwards to the slopes south of Khopringga also.

Mākhoprŷn: This place located within Khopriŷng grāma pradēsha is clearly a pre-Lichchhavi settlement or a settlement inhabited by the aboriginal settlers. Makhoprim Dranga was larger than Khopriŷng. As the prefix 'Ma' is west, we will place it to the west of Khopringga as a place. The name seems to have further degenerated into Khauma of today.

However since two charters were issued in the same year, it should be inferred that Makhoprim drangga and Khripung grama were two different settlements at least administratively; the region being named after the older settlement. Also the use of the adjective "Āsūryavidhvadyā" for Khripung alone possibly indicates a much older and very special settlement within the drangga.

Mallapuri: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. It was outside the valley.

Man.inägättika: Polygonal approximation of this inscription indicates that this place was located to the south of Brihatgrama, southeast of Balasoksi devakula and to the northeast of Boddabisaya. The Sanskrit terms combined to form this name can be broken as " Man.inäga + Attika ". From this it can be inferred that it was a high checkpoint, which had " Man.inäga " on its side. The use of term "naga" relates to a water body and it is therefore concluded that it was a dam. Therefore it is argued on the basis of polygonal plotting and the siting of Arjika vihara that Brihatgrama refers to the village west of Jayabageswori and included it as well as its northern sector upto Chabel Ganesh. This would mean that Maninagaattika is the grass-covered midden referred by Newar farmers of Deopatan as "mani" or "manilakhu". During the time of Gopalarajavamsavali, Folio 37, the place appears referred to as 'Rajalamkhu' as from the context it can be seen that Rajalamkhu was outside Deupatan. I would therefore conclude that Maninagaattika is an older name of the Manithumko to the south east of Deupatan. The possibility of reference to a dam to its east on the river Bagmati, may be for taking off an irrigation canal (cf. Got canal in its upper reaches) is there and thus the name.

Magah or Maligaon should also be analyzed to rule out that it is not Man.inägättika. The festival of Maitidevi is linked to Maligaon, as it seems to remember existence of a dam there too. A dam burst is still living in the folklore as a popular memory and a section of the festival seems to display a ritual. The current land formation to the west of Magah substantiates the dam interpretation as a clear possibility. The magical pond described by Chinese visitor could indeed be this dammed up water. The place name Man.inägättika therefore appears fitting to Magah also. However, even as the place name Magah (< Man.inäga) could be a degenerated form of Man.inägättika, the name Magah seems to have been derived from Matigvala. This is learnt from a Colophon of the book "Namasangita"

dated to NS 263. The actual phrase used in the Colophon, e.g. "srisyambrunaya matigvala purbata vidyama sthana" correctly recognizes Maligaon or Magah as located to the west of Vidyamasthana, which is the Bodda Visaya of the inscription in question. Therefore we must conclude that Man.inägättika is not Magah but a place east of Bhandarkhal of Deupatan.

Mänang gräma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Mänëshvara: This drangga appears to have got its name due to location of the temple of Maneswora as well as Managriha within the area. Earlier discussions of Managriha and Maneswora as well as the polygonal plotting of the Narayanchowr inscription places this place at the current Balamandir locality including the current Manamaneswori temple. This general area is a scene of many Lichchhavi period finds. Bajracharya makes a conflicting suggestion that Maneswora was in Lazimpat. [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 324] His proposition that Lazimpat as a name comes from Rajapattana is totally unfounded as Lazimpat is a recent degenerate form of the "Lodging Part of the British Residency".

Mänëshvara räjänggan.a: This was the forecourt of the palace of Maneswora, which was, after the death of Manadeva, christened Mänagriha. See discussions on Mänagriha.

Mähä: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Mastä: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. Its apparent location is about Goma Ganesh of Gairidhara.

Mäthang gräma: This was most probably a village located at the west (Mä = west) of "Thang" area. In medieval times Thamel was called Tham also. So the inscription location is correct and Sri Ghah bahal area was

Mathang grama. From the Narayanchowr reference one may add that it fell within the drangga of Mahampringga.

Māting grāma: Location is not possible to be argued from within available information from inscriptional sources. Some others have suggested its location at the spot of the inscription and to its south, and there are positive grounds for so doing. Such a view is held by Slusser, "Matingrama, was at Sundhara tol, a short distance east of the Durbar Square" [Slusser, 3: pp. 97]. A later reference from NS 617 [ISS: Purnima No 85, pp. 22] talks of a place called "Matilam Ksetra" to the north of Sri Jyathavihara or Jyatha Baha of today located at Jyathatole of Patan. The name suggests the validity of Slusser's hunch. Thus, on the strength of this land deed document, it may be concluded that Matingram was located at Sundhara area of Patan.

Mékan.d.idul: This was the name of a canal and may be also a place. If it represents a place it must have been in the lower reaches of a hillock as indicated by its suffix 'dul'. The polygonal mapping gives its location about the northwestern end of Tribhuvan airport or Tilganga source area. The reference 'tilamaka' might have been applied to Tilaganga itself. [Mekand and E dula: Cf. E Chowk village in the upper reaches of Tilganga]

Mindicho: From the inscription itself it can be concluded that this hillock was located about Pharping area. (Sketch 07)

Mingko(bhü): Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Mittambrü: Approximate location can be seen from the polygonal mapping for this inscription. The place appears to be a central flat land as suggested by the suffix 'bru'. It was right in the same area as Gorakhanath at Mrigasthali. (Sketch 11)

Moguncho: From the inscription itself it can be concluded that this hillock was located in Pharping area.

Mūlavātikā grāma: According to Slusser this area was probably just west of the Durbar square "where lay the three villages of Gansul, Mulabatika and Thambu, the latter surviving as a toponym in western Patan at least into the seventeenth century" [Slusser, 3: pp. 97]. While this position is correct for Thambu, the same conclusion does not apply for this settlement. Line 19 of the inscription, which shows the wording "Mūlavātikā grāmasyottaratah ashinkopradéshé " clearly indicates that this place was to the south of Ashinko pradesa which, as discussed and concluded earlier, is about Nugabaha area to the south-east of Mangalazar. It is therefore concluded that Mulabatika grama was to the south of Nugabaha.

Nad.apat.ā vātika: Polygonal mapping shows this garden (or rather a thicket of Nadapata or Narakat) as located to the west of Dhobikhola. Taking clue from the usual habitat for Narakat, I would say it was the fall of the Gyaneswor-Hadigaon tar. (Sketch 12)

Naraprin grāma: Taking stock of the Newar name of Hadigaon Narah, Malla proposes location of Naraprin grama at Hadigaon [Malla, K. P., 1]. Although Narah also appears to be derivable from Narapring on linguistic grounds, the more plausible ethno-linguistic derivatives would be Narapi (like in Mehpi) / Narapim (like in Phanapim)/ Narapa (like in Khopa). It is totally unlikely that Narapring was located about the area if a spatial analysis is done. Narapring was in the "Chuhvahung peda" area [R-CXVIII]. Through polygonal approximation of ins. No. R-CXVIII, the place Chuhvangabhūmi can be located in the area northwest of Mulpani near Puranogaon. (See Sketch 11). Therefore it is suggested that Narapring was located about Puranogaon itself.

Narasimha pañchāli: The settlement near Budanilkantha seems to have commanded a large agricultural area also, cf. Agneyatalasahita. The place

was until late called Narasimhastan as can be seen from Gopālarājāvamsābali Folio 22. This place therefore can be located about Budanilakantha.

Natidul: From contextual possibility, it is suggested that this place, which lay on the slopes of the hill to the south east of Lumbanchausthal, so far wrongly read as Taidosthala, be sited between Naikap and Kimsi.

Navagrāma: Polygonal approximation of Ins DV 22 shows that accepting Thenchogram as current Thankot the village Navagrāma must have been located about the current Naikap. Later reference to the slopes at its northwest is seen as Natidul.

Navagr̥ya: It is now generally agreed that this name applies to Nabali tol of Deupatan. Bajracharya quotes a colophon dated NS 523 to show that Navagriha was within Devapattana [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 476]. A little later in NS 572, another reference suggests that it was within the Pashupati area [ISS: Purnima No 85, pp. 11]. On the basis of medieval sources, therefore, we can put Navagriha as located at current Nabalitol of Devpatan.

Navagr̥hamandala: This place was somewhere to the south of Changu and was possibly a riverside fort.

Nhāgun: This is a misreading and possibly a reading Haragun is more true to context. The reference is to Dahachowk Dara to the north of Balambu. Others have said that Nhagun was near Balambu [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 422].

Nhuprim pañchālīka ks.étra: This is more likely Mhuprim or Mhupring.

Nilishālā pran.ālī: From the context of the inscription the water conduit system called Nilisalapranali was in Jonjondingram. Nilishala as place

name was in use upto NS 385. The earliest reference to Nilishala date back to NS 61 [JRI: Rolamba Vol 1 No 3, Colophon No 6]. (See discussions under Vryjikkarathya below).

Although the inscription appears to be at its original site, given the topography of the area and the depth of the pit, it does not seem likely that the supply canal to this conduit could come from Naxal. From the inscription R-CXLIII, it can be shown that its canal actually was built by 'Votta labor' (labor from Tibet or related to trade with Tibet) and came from the pond near Tamrakuttasala. Therefore, Nilisala reference may have been applied to the copper works rather than to a Siva temple bull. The same inscription also clarifies that the channel was running along a street on the surface; the restriction on the plying of animal drawn carts is thus explained. It is also possible that the medieval references are actually to Nilisala as applied to Tamrakuttasala and not Naxal. Therefore, this Nilisala is a reference to area north of Bhagavati Bahal.

Ninvri: The place is located to the east of Gorakhanatha of Pashupatinath (Sketch 11). Possibly 'bru' is related to central flatland of the hillock.

Nuppunna drangga: Place was located just outside the valley beside Thankot and out of scope of this study.

Nupuna grāma: Place was located just outside the valley beside Thankot.

Pahañcho: The early Lichchhavi name of the Indradaha section of Dahachowk and later called Haragung due to forestation (Figs. 4 & 5).

Panapphu: This appears to be a reference to Farping.

Pāngumaka: Location cannot be argued within available information.

Parigépulli: This place was located on the west side of Bagmati beside Gokarna (Sketch 1).

Phanshinprala: This possible spring source was located on the forest west of Gorakhanath of Pashupati. (Sketch 11)

Phavadrang grāma: The place was located just outside the valley off Thankot.

Phérangkotta: The place was located between Kadung and the forested hill, thus to the hill south of Satungal in Lohkot area. It should be noted here that the last word of line 10 of the inscription, R-LX, has been wrongly read by Joshi, Bajracharya as well as Regmi as 'sarvatravanabhumi'; it is actually 'parvvatavanabhumi' and correctly fit the location.

Phrythülks.étra: Though the inscription is very damaged to allow much interpretation, yet it may be construed as a reference to northeast land. This conclusion has been drawn also from the Kumhaletol inscription R-LII, where a similar name occurs. The use of 'Ksetra' here and 'va' there may be just indicating this possibility. Further argument is not possible.

Phrythulva: This place was close to current Tacapaltole (Sketch 8). A medieval land deed document dated NS 599 mentions "Päthalabhung" [ISS: Purnima No 85, pp. 20] as an area close to Tavachapadtöle (current Tachapal töle) and sounds very close to Futhulva seen in this area as per this inscription if Makhodulu is sited to the north of Hanumanghat. "Päthalabhung" [ibid. pp. 31] occurs again in another land deed dated NS 666 also where it is clear that it was to the North of the Ghat. As a corroboration another land deed document [ibid. pp. 28] dated NS 653 mentions that to the north of Sivaglasthan of Srikhapwambrum is a place called (da) Makhadwala, which appears as Makhodulu of earlier times. The medieval usage might however be referring to a type of land and not the name of a site. [Cf. Prythula as an extended land area]

(Pi)kangkūla(ka?)m pradēsha: The place referred to appears Kanko to the east of Lubhu. The letters 'pi' is not part of the place name but of the earlier word 'api'.

Pikhu grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Po grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Pran.āli dimaka grāma: Pranalidimaka grama is speculated to be located about Dhapasi, the location of the inscription itself [Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 281]. No corroboration is otherwise available.

P(h)rangpringga pradēsha: The current Pharping was possibly referred by this name in early history. A document from eleventh century shows that Pharping was called Phallapinga [JRI: Rolamba, Vol 3 No 1, Colophon No 57] at that time and this name is an obvious corruption of the older name (Phrang-pringga > Phlanga-pinga > Phallapinga). It seems to have progressively degenerated to Phanapim [Gopālarājā Vamsābali folio nos. 33.b.2, 39.b.2, 40.b.3 etc.], Phanapi [JRI: Rolamba, Vol 10 No 2, pp. 14] and Pharping. Therefore, we may confirm that Phrangpringga is Pharping.

Prayittikhā pradēsha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Sri Gung: The forested hill of Mrigasthali that stretched from Aryaghat to Puranogaun to the northwest of Mulpani. Its northern slopes was named Shresthidula, possibly out of the name of this hillock, Sri (Note also that sound 'e' is a short one, see also Sketch No 11).

Projñambu: This is a water related element (..ambu) possibly a rapid stream located to the east of Bisambhara about the current irrigation intake (Sketch 10).

Pr̥mchhivr̥daks.in.èshvara: This name does not exist as it is a misreading. The relevant portion of the inscription, so far read as “Pr̥mchhivr̥daks.in.èshvara”, should be correctly read as “yachchri gum daxineshvara”. It can be broken as ‘yat+sri+gung+daxinesvara’. Thus this is a god called Daxineswora situated on forested crest of the hill, named Sri Gung. (See Sketch 11)

Pundatta grāma: The western and northern boundary is lost in this inscription but since the undamaged portion contains the dranggas of Maneswora, Tamrakuttasala, Sambapura and Jamayambi only, it may be inferred that Pundatta grāma was to the northwest or north of Maneswor.

Punupañchālī: The inscription itself indicates that it was to the north of Dolashikhara and thus it should be sited west of Gungdimaka grāma. The actual location should be to the west of the Burdrum Bradul valley indicated in R-LIII.

Put.hampringga grāma: The northern boundary is lost in this inscription but since the undamaged portion contains the dranggas of Maneswora, Tamrakuttasala, Sambapura and Jamayambi only, it may be conclusively inferred that Hmapringa grāma, Pundatta grāma, Put.hampringga grāma were all to the north of Maneswora. As Hmapringa grāma was located about Mhyipi, this village of Puthampringga may have been anywhere from Tahiti to Chabel (Sketch 14). Since Thamel derives its name from the medieval name ‘Tham bahil’ and also ‘Mathang’ as a Lichchhavi place name was in use, there appears to have been a misreading. ‘Pu’ must simply be read as ‘Ma’ to fit into the picture of Tahiti area as Mat.hampringga grāma.

Radung grāma: The reading of the inscription is not correct and actually there is no such place at all. I would read the second half of line 12 of this inscription, R-CXVII, as “konkovilva margamvashitya gramaibhira grahara”, which can be translated as the 'agrahara villages of the Aviras' situated on the Kanko-Vilva highway.

Rétāpañchāli: This panchali appears located to the south of Dolashikhara. Further argument is not possible within the information available.

Ripshangko: This is the name of a bridge to the east of Bisambhara possibly located about the current irrigation intake site (Sketch 10).

S.āphanādulaka: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. 'Dulaka' suggests its location on base of a hill along the slope.

Sahasraman.d.ala: The inscription shows that the land was to the north east of Te-bahal and may be a reference to the site of Mahankal. Tvedyagrama, so far misread as Vaidyagrama, can be located at Te-bahal as discussed under Vaidya grāma. Sahasramandala can be located at Mahankal area and extended upto Jamal. The corroboration can be had from another inscription too. (See discussions under Daxinarajakula and also Sketch 16).

Salambu rājavāsaka: This palace was located just outside the valley as the term of address is "Nepalabhuktau". The mention of 'Himanadisrota' to its south must be related to the Chandagiri hill. Since Dandagung appears to have been located to the south west of Jayapallikagrama in inscription No. XX, and also as the Dandagung highway passed by the northeast of the palace, this palace must be located to the south west of Thankot and a little uphill from Chunikhel. Salambu must be then a degenerate form of Satvaumalamva.

Sāmā(talañju) villages: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Sāmbapura: This settlement was to the west of Maneswor and appears located about Narayanchowr and Gairidhara. (Figs.12, 13 and 14).

Satvau mālāmvä: The land area going by this name was just outside the valley off Thankot and to its southwest. Salambu Royal House was located here.

Samvaiddé ks.étra: This means a well-known land endowment area in this context and this land was located to the south of Patan. [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 156]

Shālagambi ks.étra: This is an endowment field located at Dovagramadesa, which sounds close to Davakottagrama of Ins. No. R-CXXXVI. Should this be so, it is outside the valley to the south west of Thankot. The suffix 'bi' indicates its location to the east of Salagam or Salagum. Further argument is not possible within available information.

Shālangkä , Shalangkhä: The place was located to the south of Indradaha and beside Balkhu river (Sketch 5). Salankha was likely a Gomi dominated area as Subarnagomini lived there and the land of the maternal grandparents of Avirigomini (Jolpring) was near by.

Shanggä grāma: There is no doubt that this refers to current Sanga [Regmi, D. R., 3: Vol III, pp. 146]. It was originally named 'Sringum' as seen in inscription no R-CXXVIII. Later references show that this name had changed to "Sringiri" in Malla period [cf. Regmi, D. R., 1: part III, pp. 71]. Clearly this replacement of 'gum' by 'giri' is Sanskritization only. A river by the name Sanko originated from here and went down to Makodulu area in Bhadgaon.

Shāphanādulaka: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. The suffix 'dulaka' stands for the sloping base of a hill or hillock possibly named 'Shāpha'.

Shashi ks.étra: This tableland was located to the north east of Mittambu and along with others formed the boundary between Lohpring and Muhpring settlements. Therefore this place was also located in Gorakhanatha area in Mrigasthali (Sketch 11).

Shat.ammi: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Shātuntidula: This lower slope of Shatuntū was just below a bridge and was located about the current village of Gausuli. A stone quarry was nearby. (See Sketch no. 10)

Shītāt.ī: Shītāt.ī drangga: Shītāt.īkātala: Its first mention is as Sitati-Jolpring grama pradesa in AD 480. Twenty-seven years later Vasantadeva's inscriptional decree on Jayapallikagrama mentions a military outpost associated with Sitati. Protected by its western outpost of Shītāt.ī gulma, Shītāt.ī progressed on to form a larger administrative unit including nearby villages and agricultural fields and was called Shītāt.īkātala. Later it got the drangga status to become Shītāt.ī drangga. Still later in AD 705, Davakotta, just located outside the valley to the west of Thankot was also added to the protectorate of Sitatigulma.

According to Bajracharya "as a drangga it extended between Chandragiri and Dahachowk hills containing Satungal, Kisipidi, Thankot, Balambu, Velbu, Pasinkhya, Malatar, and Chowkitar. Velbu, Pashinkhya, Maltar and Chowkitar do not show evidence of Lichchhavi settlements but Thankot, Balambu, Kisipidi and Satungal still show settlement pattern from that era" [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 105, 144, 194]. Regmi states "Sitati covers the upland and the small valley of Balkhu Khola below the ridge of

Dahachok round about the Thankot village and expanded to embrace hills from Thankot to Naikap" [Regmi, D. R., 3: Vol III, pp. 52, 58, 262].

These opinions are rather generalist and more specific location is desirable. That the Kirata temple of Sivakadevakula or Sivagaldevakula was outside of Sitatigulma is made clear by the Ins. No. R-XX usage of the phrase 'pascnadya' and Ins. No. R-CXVII usage of the word 'adyam'; it is likely that the temple was located at Ka proper. Site investigations suggest that Sivakadevakula refers to Chandanbharateswora of Mahadevgaon. Sitatidrangga can be located to the east of Thankot Mahadev VDC, to the south of Balkhu river and may have extended eastwards to Bagmati. The boundary apparently included all the villages of "Sat gaon", excluding areas west of Bathali, which was called Jayapallikagrama. Since the Lichchavies followed the administrative demarcation based on natural elements such as rivers and hill ridges, it is also unlikely that Maltar/Chowkitar formed part of Sitati. The inscription at Chawkitar appears dislocated. The areas north of Balkhu and Sitatigulma were agrahara villages of the Gomis. From Ins. No. R-XX. the location of Sitatigulma can be concluded as at Kisipidi. In later period the defense installations may have been shifted to the hillock of Kirtipur, which was planned as a defense town in early years of this millennium AD. Even then, the command boundary of Kirtipur was bounded by Balkhu River and seems to have echoed the boundaries of State [Hedrick: map, pp. 43]. The Jatra of Satgaun also supports this view of excluding Maltar/Chowkitar from Shitatikatala.

The name Shitāt.ī is seen in association with other names when indicating a wider area and these deserve a note here. Whereas Sītāt.ijolpring pradēsha is clearly understood as a region formed by two smaller adjoining places of Sītāt.ī and Jolpring, analysts so far have not given any explanation to the interposed letter 'kā' in Shitāt.īkātala. If this reference is to one place and only to Shitāt.ī it should have been called Shitāt.itala. Therefore it is suggested that 'Kā' stands for an adjoining region. This area is likely the one between Mataurthakhola and Ghattekholā forming

the ridge spur with Satungal (kādula) at its lower end and was called ' Kā '. At least two inscriptions mention the place Kadung as located within Shūtāt.ikātala. It is thus clear that the two principalities Shūtāt.i and kā along with the low-lying tala around them were named so in combination as a single administrative entity.

Shūtāt.i gulma: This military outpost protected Shūtāt.i and was located at Kisipidi. This conclusion has been drawn from the polygonal approximation of the inscription carrying this name itself.

Sītāt.ijolpring pradēsha: The reference to a pradēsha, which included the Sitati area along with Jolpring.

Srēs.t.hidula: This hill slope was located about the south of the drop from airport to the Bagmatī river (Sketch 11).

Srībhoparikhāmongkhā: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Sri Gung Daxinesvara: This god was located at about the same place as Vishvaroop in Mrigasthali and the hillock Mrigasthali was called Sri Gung.

Srītukān.a: Location is difficult to be argued within available information. Polygonal approximation suggests its location on the western bank of Tukucha (Brihad-nadi, so named because at one time it formed the western boundary of Bridadgrama, the Vishal Nagar of early Lichchhavi period). Since, in medieval period the area east of Jamal was called Twakachala or the hillock of Twaka (ref. Pratap Malla's inscription showing boundary of Ranipokhari), it seems Sritukana.. is located about the current Naranhiti Narayana. This little hillock may have been erased during the construction of the palace there by Birsumsher. This place was probably where the Sritukana(rayana), was located. The Narayana, located to the northeast of the conduit, is the Srītukānarayana. The place

was called Tukä in Lichchhavi times. And also, therefore, the rivulet was named Tukucha.

Stharu drangga: This drangga is generally proposed to be located at the site of the stele, i.e., Chapagaon [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 228]. Since it appears as a Sanskrit name, it might be implying a place with stagnant water or ponds. As the inscription does mention Bhukkundika fish, which is a still water fish and it needs large ponds for it to be farmed in a commercial scale, the inscription reinforces the possibility that a pond is implied. Medieval names for the area have been Champagulma in NS 442, "wa" or "Vovä" in NS 420. These appear quite unrelated to Lichchhavi name.

Subranko pradésaha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Surisinvattī: This place was located to the north of Bathali across the river Balkhu (Sketch 5).

T.égval (grä)ma: This village was located at Shitatikatala and the stele appears dislocated. Sitatikatala should be to the south of the river Balkhu. This is suggested that T.égval (grä)ma was located at and around the current Tyangla area north of Kirtipur and adjoining the southwestern part of university campus.

Taid.osthala: This is a misreading and the proper reading is Lumbanchosthala. This is a reference to Dahachowk Danda.

Täkü gräma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Talanju gräma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Tämrakuttashälä: This specialized settlement with copper working establishments including possibly the mints was located to the south of Maneswora. Terracotta crucibles, pottery and figurines are commonly found in the area from Tangal to Balmandir and the author has verified such finds on spot during the construction of various private and public buildings there. Many such crucibles are in this author's collection (See photographic sheet titled 'From the Foundation Ditches about Hadigaon'). Chemical tests of material remains from inside the crucibles, made in the laboratories of Pulchowk Campus, Institute of Engineering in 1992, have proved that they were used for melting iron and copper. This proves that they belonged to some foundries that needed small amounts of molten metal; it seems to show existence of coin making workshops in the area. The polygonal approximation confirms the location, but the settlement extended further may be upto south of Gairidhara and also towards the temple of Naxal Bhagavati. (Figs.12, 13 and 14).

Tavaichés.ä: This is not a place name but a place marker on the street that ran through the ribbon settlement of Yäbi. The place seems to have been marked by 'a bull and a god' (Tavara+ Cha + Isha). May be the bull at Sanocauchar street, near the Roads Maintenance Office, is the surviving marker. Further on in the inscription, this street is met again and the west gate of the settlement is mentioned. Apparently the Naxal street was bounded by the Yadudwar and the West gate, which was apparently at Chardhunge of today. Chardhunge area went through major "excavations" in 1992-93, when telephone junction pit was dug at the spot; this author saw thick foundations remains, with representative infill with pottery shreds of ancient times, cut massively. The possibility of large-scale Lichchhavi cultural deposit was obvious at that time. On the south of the image of the Narayana located nearby also such layers were cut as a basement of a private building was constructed about the same time. There is little doubt left that Naxal street has survived its alignment since the period of the inscription. (See: Sketch no. 13 as detailed from Ins. No. R-CXLII and also photographs of cuts made for laying telephone cables)

Téggvang: This place was located about Pharping area [Bajracharya DB, 1: pp. 184]. According to Bajracharya such non-Sanskrit names suggest Kīrāta settlements in Pharping area. The polygonal plotting shows forested hills to its west and northwest and hills to the southeast and south (Sketch 7). The situation fits the area west of current Pharping.

Tégval: This appears as a misreading and should actually be Tvègval. The inscription is however much too damaged to be of any help in locating it. Different from Tegwang of Pharping and Tegwalapanchali of Yupagram, this place and the god there in Tegvalanarayanawami might be located at the 'tala' associated with Sitati. This is suggested as the lines 11 and 12 of the inscription, which give the western and northwestern features of the boundary of this area, show hills closeby in both these directions. On this ground at least its location about southwest of old Kathmandu palace can be ruled out as a total impossibility. The suggested location is Tyangla area as it is south of Balkhu, has hill formations to the west and north and local lore do say that a palace was located there but was later shifted to Hadigaon. Though this folklore adds that their goddess Mahalaxmi was also taken then and that this is Tunaldevi, there does not seem any linkage of Tunaldevi to Mahalaxmi. Possibly the image taken along was Valasokshideva and this appears to have been sited near the Satyanarayana of Hadigaon.

Tégvala pañchālī: This panchali was located to the south east of Patan and is current Tyagal as suggested by others also [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 269, 546; Vaidya, T. R.: pp. 22]. The current status of Rajkulo also seems to support this location along with the degenerate nomenclature of Tyagal. The rivulet Tyetakhusi probably also carries with it the remnants of the root name of Tvegal e.g. 'Tve'.

Tékhumdula: This place marker is towards the south east of the place shown in inscription R-LV, which does not seem to refer to current Banepa. Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Téngkhu: Located to the south and west of Tvedyagram, this appears to be a reference to current Ganabahal area. Some have suggested that it is a reference to current Teku [Vaidya, T. R.: pp. 22 and Malla, K. P., 1], but this is not likely as in between there was Gitapanchali, which was located about Machali-Teku. It is also to be noted that the suffix "khu" should indicate a rivulet, which drained off the areas along west and south of Tebahal. This rivulet should have drained off towards southeast of Dharahara, and the landform there justifies such a possibility. The Tundikhel side is much too changed to allow any evidence. Khichapokhari might be a faint memory for the drainage. Viswaniketan School area on the Bagmati bank indicates a confluence possibility. The Gopālarājāvamsābali, Folio 37Kha, mentions a place 'Tyamkhasidhare', where the war between Kathmandu and Patan (Yambu, Yangala - Tripura, Manigala) took place NS 376 and this could be a reference to this very rivulet (Tyamkhusi + Dhare = bank). Thus it is not a place name but a name for a rivulet, Téngkhu.

Tés.thüంగా grāma, Téstungga: This is an obvious reference to current Tistung and should read as Téstungga. The suffix "tungga" stands for higher reaches of the hill.

(Thais.ä)(pr)anggan.igulma: This is a misreading and should read as "Thais.äng ganggūla gulmako rmālihi". Thus the name suggests a 'gulma' of Gangula or Mangalbazar area. This Gulma appears located south east of Patukodon variously attributed as the palace of Kirāta King Patuka and also as Kwalakhu [Sayami: pp. 86]. The place of Cyasal where this inscription is located is to the northeast of Patukodon and could well be in its original place. Several times, the palace of the rulers seems to have been located around here only as the discussions on the palaces made in the preceding chapter clarifies. There are strong physical, legendary and nomenclature linkages to suggest that a Kirāta palace as well as Bhadrādhivāsabhavana was located about here. Cyasal was possibly called Athankapatra (NS 426) or Athankachhi (NS 446) and the current nomenclature is related with number 8 and not 800 as popularly believed.

One NS 848 land deed document gives the name of possibly Cyasal area as Cyasla [Purnima, No 75: pp. 10]. The tradition of Indrajatra in Cyasal as well as Bhairav in the Bindyolachhi court should indicate Kirata as well as royal association. The name Kwalakhu may yet be another memory. Thus it may be concluded that the place had a Kirāta palace which in Lichchhavi times was converted as Gulma and also reverted as a royal palace briefly as Bhadradhivas Bhavana. Thus the name applies to Chyasal proper.

Thambidul: The reference is for current Bathali. The polygonal approximation as well as nomenclature derivatives allows this conclusion positively. Lichchhavi suffix "bi" stands for east and "dula" stands for sloped land at base of hillock and thus the place name Thambidula is interpreted as "sloped land at base of a hillock called Tham, which itself was to the east of 'Tham'". The hillock of 'Tham' is Thancho and was applied to Thankot proper. We can see that the hillock of Thambi is referred to R-XX without giving names and in the current inscription it is shown south of a river, which is obviously Balkhu (Sketch 5 and 2). The current name may have degenerated through juxtaposition of suffix as prefix, i.e., Tham+Bi+Dula > Bi+ Tham+Dula > Va+Tha+Dula > Vathala > Bathali.

Thambü: This place name survived as Thambutol uptil Malla period and referred to the Chinnamasta temple area and its south to the west of Patan Durbar. Current Momadutole was called Thambu until NS 765 and had a population of Agnihotras and possibly had a large Agnishala [JRI: Rolamba, Vol 3, No 1, pp. 12]. The inscription apparently has not been dislocated so far. Thumbu is therefore the area to the west and southwest of the Durbar. It is possible that it is derived out of 'Thambru', the central flatland of Tham. Slusser agrees to this location at the same time proposing another Thambu at current Thaibo village (footnote) in her characteristic farfetched way [Slusser, 3: pp. 97]. Thaibo does not derive its name out of Thambru but states a relation with the village of Thecho. Thaibo is The+bi degenerated.

Thanturī drangga: D. Bajracharya supports the view that developed settlements existed at Bishnupaduka Phedi in Lichchhavi times. This part was named Thantuñri drangga. "It appears to have been called so because it was situated in a higher land. Thantuñri in medieval times as a word changed to 'thanthu' as shown by the name of the palace of Bhaktapur, which was called 'thanthurajakula'. Likewise city streets which had to be approached by a climb was named 'thanthula'" [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 217]. Regmi thinks this sort of relation with Newari words are just guesses and no importance may be attached [Regmi, D. R., 3: Vol III, pp. 100]. Though Regmi's general dismissive attitude is not subscribed to by this author, yet, in this particular case, Bajracharya's interpretation that the place was so called because it was in high land is untenable. If such was the case, either Lichchhavi prefix of 'Uparim' should have been used or the Kirata terms 'pringga or dula' should have been affixed. The name is better split as 'Tham + Turi', the former being a Kirata place name and 'turi' suffix seems applied to indicate Kirata population there. The latter inference is proved by the reference to 'Pradhan' as elders of the settlement. The place name does refer to upper reaches of Budanilkantha area.

Théñcho grāma: Bajracharya states "Thenchogram could be Thankot of today" [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 435]. Regmi also forwards a similar view [Regmi, J. C., 3: pp. 57]. Polygonal approximations of the area shows that acceptance of this position would push Jayapallikagram to between the current Thankot and Kisipidi. This fits in quite well as the Sivaka Devakula mentioned in the inscriptions also tallies with the position of the Kirata religious complex now called Chandanvarateswora (the use of the term 'Varata' indicative of Kirata is notable too and provides evidence to this site being Kirata). Directional association study also proves that Baathali, as located now, could be the same as Thambidula, thus supporting the conclusion that Théñcho grāma was located around the current village of Thankot. It had extended northeast of the temple complex, where one of the reference inscriptions is located at present.

Tuñchatchatu grāma: The inscription is too damaged but from the facsimile printed by Regmi it may be read as " Tu tala cha tugrāma ". This is obviously a reference to 'Tugrama' and its agricultural land around 'Tu tala'. This is therefore a reference to Tusal and Tupek villages that still echo the name.

Udimalaka: This is a misreading and it should actually read " Tadadulma laka sétu ", or the bridge built out of Malaka variety of stone located at that base of the slope. Thus it is not a place name (Sketch 10).

Umā tīrtha: This a tīrtha located on Manimati to the north of Changu. Further argument is not possible within available information.

Uparim nālangga grāma: Uparimnālang refers to upper Nalang. Since the location of the conduit has been mentioned in the very inscription itself and it is clearly Nala of today, a large section of the settlement could have extended downwards and could have extended to include Banepa. Unfortunately the related inscription of Banepa is too effaced and the place name only survives as '..nga'. The surviving name end seems logically attributable to 'Nalangga' and we may surmise that Banepa did form the lower Nala in Lichchhavi times. Banepa is a later name derived because of the use of prefix 'Va' to refer to the place as being east of Kathmandu (Banepa= Vanewa= Newas of the east). 'Onta' survives to prove this point.

Vāgvatīpāra pradēsha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information. There are other references such as Vagvatīpardeva and Vagvatīpurbakule etc. but these are of little help for the current purpose. As many Lichchhavi places were named to indicate their locale and suffixes such as 'para' and 'purba' have been used in the names, we can conclude that Vāgvatīpāra pradēsha refers to the region to the east of Bagmati and may include Gauchar and Gorakhnath area that extended to its north-east.

Vaidyamadgu: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Vaidya grāma: This is a misreading and proper reading should be Tvèdyagrama. Tvèdyagrama can be located at Te-bahal area. The earliest post Lichchhavi reference available to this Bahal is of NS 265 or AD 1145 and it was then called Sñimat Tèdo Vihāra, founded by Sñimat Sivadeva. [Locke, 2: pp. 307]. The bahal area was called Tèdo by as late as NS 583 [Regni, D. R., 1: Part III, pp. 78-79]. By the time of Pratap Mañña, it had changed to Teta Bahal as evidenced by his Ranipokhari inscription. Apparently the degeneration pattern is Tvèdya > Tèdo > Teta > Te. It is interesting to note that the bahal itself claims to have been established by Sivadeva, where as this inscription mentions " svakārita srīshivadévèshvaram " and " shivī pran.āñi ". One may venture to add that this linga set up by Sivadeva was located at Te-bahal. The names of river to the west and south are given as Tvènkhu and this name itself is derived from a combination of Tvè + Adya = Tvèdya. The main reference place must have been located to the west of this place and should have been called Tve located between Gita panchali of Daxinakoligrama and Tvèdya. Two bahals in Lagan area also carry the names Tabaha and Wañtabaha. Wañ in Wañta may be another directional indicator (East?). The Gopālarājāvamsābali also mention a rivulet about this place as 'Tyamkhasi' (Tve > Tyam).

Vala_la pradésha: The information is scanty but a conjectural possibility is presented. Gopālarājāvamsābali mentions puja of Valavaladevi at Kirtibhagatpur by Sivadeva. The term "vala" appears to be related to water and the interposition of equivalents in other languages (Ambu in Sanskrit and Khu in Newari) during later periods may have generated the names Valambu and Valakhu current today and relate to the place mentioned by the chronicle.

Valavala > Valambu > Balambu.

Valavala > Valamkhu > Balakhu.

The names Valasokshidevakula is an additional corroboration and simply must have meant, "located about a spring source". From these analogies Vala(va)la pradesa appears the earlier name of Sitati. The place name Valavala discarded in favor of Sitati about the close of Manadeva's rule appears to have survived only in the memory of historical chronicler and the two names, Balkhu and Balambu.

Vémpā grāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Viliviks.a pradésha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Viyaravotta: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Vodda vis.ya: The location was probably Maitidevi area east of Gyaneswor (Sketch 12 and 13). A similar name 'Vidyamasthana' occurs in a document dated AD 1143 and this place was situated to the east of Mâyāmatigwala of Yambrhm [Namasangita Colophon dated NS 263]. The reference is obviously to the village of Maiti and the kingdom of Yambu appears to have extended upto Dhobikhola by this time.

Votavorüs.a pradésha: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Vrémguncho: The afforested hillock was located about Pharping (Sketch 7).

Vrjīkarathyä: Various authors have variously proposed the location of this place. Some have suggested locating it at the site of the inscription itself, viz. at Kasaitole, Deupatan [Bajracharya, G, 2]; at Navagriha, Deupatan [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 476 and Regmi, D. R., 3: Vol III, pp. 206]. An in-situ medieval inscription dated NS 534 located at

Satyanarayana of Hadigaon [Regmi, D. R., 1: Part III, pp. 51] proves that Satyanarayana was located on the route Vijayarathapatha. By NS 738, this place name appears corrupted to 'Bijarakache' [Vaidya, J., 2: pp. 91]. Prior to these Gopālarājāvamsābali chronicler calls this very place 'Vajarattha'.

Nepal presents a land deed document dated NS 734 showing that Nandara was situated on Vijayakarathya. [Nepal, G., 1: pp. 38] The actual wording of the document " Srīvijayakarathyāyā srinandarasthānē sñhatamand.otoḷaka" however indicates that Hatamando-tole was located at Nandara. Hatamando, here, refers to Bhuteswora tole of Hadigaon and therefore we must conclude that the Nandara mentioned in the land deed is a reference to the Krishna temple (Nanda-gopala) and not Nandisala of Naxal or Gyaneswora. It should be understood that Nandisara refers to any Siva temple (e.g. Nandi-Kesara Bahal of Naxal) and the Gopalavamsavali reference that he cites, also applies to Nandikesar Bahal and not to Handigaon. Thus, even as we may agree to his argument that Nandara is derived from Nandigrāma/Nandisara/Nandisala > Nandigala > Nandala, that Vṛjīkarathyā was not extending from Hadigaon to Naxal. It is the street next to Satyanarayana temple. It should also be remembered that Hañdigaon was Andigrāma and not Nandigrāma.

Joshi has made a remark on the basis of analysis of a Colophon of Pingalamatam [JRI: Rolamba, Vol 5 No 3 Colophon 136] and corroboration from "Amarakosh and Sisupalavadha" that the word Rathya also implies an assemblage of temples. Thus Vṛjīkarathyānibasina Madhusudana swami means Madhusudana Swami, an inhabitant of the temple area constructed by the Vrijjis.

Thus the place name means a street lined with the temples built by the Vrijjis. We should conclude that Vṛjīkarathyā was the main festive and temple lined street of the Lichchavi capital. The street included Satya Narayana of Handigaon.

Vügäyümi grāma: This village is without doubt the modern Bungamati. Based on the location of inscription as well as the current name this has been inferred by all researchers including Bajracharya and Regmi. The suffix "yümi" in the name appears further indigenized into "dyo" by the time of writing of Gopālarājāvamsābali, when it had already transformed into Bugma Lokeswora of the Bodhisatwa cult. The Limbu Kirātas of Panchthar district still have a temple of yümā likened to Newar Ajima and may indicate the god's female nature in distant past. The Newars of Patan still refer to Bungamati as Matsyendranath's "maiti" [Locke, 1: pp. 8]. This inscription carries the image of deer in the top portion, which may be taken to mean subscription of the village to Buddhism already by 605 A.D.

Yāpringa grāma: Insufficient information to locate.

Yävigrāma: This place appears as a ribbon settlement extending west upto Chardunge in Naxal. This would mean Yabi was within Vrijikarathya (Sketch 13).

Yébrankharo: This place appears located about Naikap south of Patibhanjhyang on the north bank of Balkhu river (Sketch 5).

Yügvala pañchāli: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Yüpagrāma, Yüpagrāma drangga, Yüpagrāmaks. étra pradésha: This settlement can be located at Patan as all the three place specific inscriptions carrying the name are located there, two in the durbar area and one at Minnath temple precinct. The inscription at Minnath particularly mentions " Yüpagrāmé yüthā sañchālayām ", meaning the group participatory management (of an irrigation canal) and relates to the distribution of water to five sectors of this settlement, at least one of which can be concluded to have been located about Tyagal in SE Patan. Bajracharya adds that the place about Mangalbazar went by this name and that had at least five 'panchalties' within it. [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 220]

Its medieval name was Yala and Newars still refer to Patan general area by this name. Both the terminologies are similar in meaning e.g. 'Yupa' in Sanskrit and 'Yalasi' in Newari both mean a timber pole erected for religious purposes. Slusser concludes, "the most important of the Lichchhavi settlements in Patan area was Yupagrama, which occupied what is now Tamgah-bahi (Minanatha) south of the Durbar square [Slusser, 3: pp. 97] ". However Yupagrama at the time of Tamgah-bahi inscription was already a drangga and included farmlands to the southeast of Patan. Minnath appears as the central place within the drangga and thus used as location of the inscription. The areas to the west of Durbar had the townlets of Thambu, Gangul and Mulabatika, which apparently did not form part of this Drangga just 20 years before. Such a conclusion may be drawn from the inscription R-XCVII, which does not mention Yupagrama, and presents Thambu, Mulavatika and Gangula townlets as different from Yupagrama. Also as the areas to East, Northeast and North of Patan Durbar were called Ashingko, Matingrama and Ganigulma, Yupa Grama must be located to the South and South-East of Mangalbar. Gopalarajavamsavali (Folio 49.Kha) confirms that Yupim (=Yupagrama) was to the south of Manigala and also a major stop in the festival of Matsendranath. Gopalarajavamsavali (Folio 42) references also make it amply clear that Tham(ti)bi, Manigala and Yala were different locales and fortifications and goes well to prove that Yupagrama did not include these areas of central Patan. A colophon dated NS 40 also refers to southern Patan as Lalitbruma [Rolamba: Vol I, No.2, Colophon 4]. The use of suffix 'bruma' also suggests that population concentration in southern Patan.

Therefore it may be concluded that Yupa grama was bounded on the north generally by the main east-west road through Mangalbazar and the areas to the south went by the name Yupagrama. Patan appears to have got its name Lalitpattan towards the end of the Lichchhavi period (9th Century) as the city was re-established. [Regmi, R. K.]

Yuvigrāma: Location is not possible to be argued within available information.

Chapter V

Terminology of Elements and Settlements

Lichchhavi inscriptions show fairly profuse use of specialized terminologies that appear indicative of functions and nature of elements, urban areas and settlements. They are used singly or as suffixes and prefixes to place names. These offer opportunities to interpret some aspects of the urbanism of that time. They also offer great interpretive possibility to locate the settlements themselves. It is also interesting and important to note that many of the terminologies and prefixes or suffixes, applied to settlements, are of non-Sanskrit origins, whereas those applied to temple and monastic elements are from Sanskrit. This should be indicative that some sort of systematic urban nomenclature was already extant in the valley prior to the use of Sanskrit as a court and administrative language in the valley. The very extensive usage of non-Sanskrit terms when Sanskrit terms of better descriptive potential was available is a surprising character of the Lichchhavis of Nepal. That this has been so in spite of their background and knowledge of classical Hindu and Buddhist documents of that time must suggest that use of Sanskrit terms was not felt practical or necessary. Such a development must have been, in large part, caused by the advanced status of the Kirata organization of state as well as settlements.

Terms Applied to Religious Establishments

When it comes to religious elements of the Hindus and Buddhists the terminologies appear uniformly based on Sanskrit. That such has been the

case even to Kirata elements of veneration can be taken to conclude that the idea of reflecting the religious affiliation of an element through its name is a post-Sanskrit phenomenon or the very least a result of incoming social thoughts; for the Kiratas such naming was apparently limited to the name of the place itself. The place Ka simply had the shrine Ka or the goddess of Andipringga went by the name of the settlement Andipringga itself. Such a situation must also be associated with a homogenous cultural scene that there would be nothing to demand a differentiation. With the coming of Buddhism and Hinduism, the scene must have changed and a need to signify differences of faiths in terms of their elements of veneration seems to have come into being. And this difference was seemingly achieved through the language of the new comers, the socially and politically dominant group. The Lichchhavi nomenclature of elements is quite discerning and enlightening as to what they were indicating.

Bhavana

Rajakula, Griha, Rajavasaka and Bhavana, etc. have been used to signify Palaces of the Lichchhavis and all these terms agree to the classical dictates. Similarly all Buddhist monastic establishments have been referred to as Vihara. The lone reference to a Buddhist religious structure as a Bhavana is seen in an inscription (R-X); this appears like a Vihara but with a difference that must have called for the usage of Bhavana as different from a Vihara. The use of the term Bhavana is agreeable also as per classical dictates as it was applicable to any built structure. As we find that the same Bhavana called Arjika Vihara later [Ins No R-CXLIII], its usage seems to have been dropped subsequently. Despite the fact that thousands of Chaityas were consecrated in the Lichchhavi period and Chaitya as a term was known too (R-LXXXVI), it occurs only once. Even the Hadigaon inscription of Amshuverma, while listing many Viharas, does not list any Chaitya or Stupa for state donations. We would therefore conclude that Chaityas were included in the reference 'Vihara' itself and did not exist independently. Prasada, along with Bhavana, is also used to

Grama and Pura

Lichchhavi usage of the term 'grama' is not indicative of villages, as is understood today. Even settlements with fair amount of non-agricultural economy have been applied the same term. The use of such terms as Yupagrama Dranga very clearly shows this. Also the use of the term 'pura' is not any different. The use of the word 'purasarran' in very many inscriptions suggest that even dwellers of 'gramas' qualified to be so addressed as long as they subscribed to the Hindu system of social division. Since one Lichchhavi inscription also calls a settlement 'Brihatgrama', it should be sufficient reason to conclude that 'grama' was not necessary a rural settlement nor was it related to the size of the population resident there in. The word "pura" is used separately in the names of places but as a combination with 'saraan' (=those who roam around /live about) and 'archita' (worshipped by them). The latter usages must indicate that it is used for the body of people subscribing to the Hindu social system and led by Brahmins. Thus all 'puras' are also gramas. Grama simply means a settlement of Lichchhavi creation or expansion. It may be a village or a large town, depending upon its activity and size.

The recurrence of Tegvala as a name applied to various places deserves some thought too. It is suggested that as 'gvala' seems to have been applied to a large flat (like 'bru' but may be much wider in expanse: see below), 'Te' or 'Tve' may be indicating a 'gvala' to the south or southeast. But this likely application of prefix 'Te' is not possible to be confirmed exactly.

Drangga

Dranggas appear to have been organized towards the later part of Lichchhavi rule. Several settlements have been named as Dranggas in the inscriptions. The words occur in association with Gramas and a few settlements suffixed as Pringgas. They very often are appended with 'Tala'

also. The principalities or "Dranggas and their talas" were also divided on the basis of river valleys.

It occurs first in Sivadeva's inscription, R-LIV dated 594 AD, and refers to some aspect of self-rule awarded to a settlement. Of the two inscriptions, R-CXLIII and R- CXVII, indicative of its functionality, the first talks about giving only the 'dranggatva' for the six settlements and adjoining areas and the later recreates some other settlements within the 'drangga'. From both these references it may be concluded that Drangga is not a type of physical classification but describes some administrative powers conferred by the state. Therefore Bajracharya's conclusion that these are commercial centers is not even hinted. As a matter of fact, he himself states, quoting Vachaspatya, that the Drangga is inferior to 'Pattana' but superior to 'Karvata' [Bajracharya, D. B., I: pp. 218]. Architectural texts like Manasara amplify that Pattana signifies a settlement of traders (Vaiśyas) and Karvata is used to denote settlement dominated by the Kshetriyas [Acharya: pp. 87]. It may also be seen that Dranga did not supercede the rights of the four adhikaranas and it could exist without any of such rights. It may simply be a 'mega'-settlement administrative entity. It is also possible that a settlement acquired the status of drangga as its population got heterogeneous and demanded some sort of self-rule.

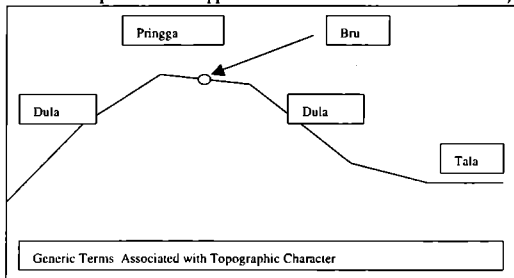
Pāñchāli and Pāñchālikā

The term first occurs in AD 595 inscription of Sivadeva and appears instituted along with the drangga. There is a continuous use of the term thence after and the references are varied. Panchali is used in the sense of a demarcated area or a physical land or settled area in the case of Narasimha, Magvalagrama, Gita, Bhringaragrama, Konkogram, Hmuprim, Reta, Lohpring, Punu, Gigvala, Jajje, Tegval, Yugvala, Lanjagwala, Kalopigrama and the like. It is also seen from the inscriptions, such as those relating to Yupagrama Drangga that Panchalis may exist within Dranggas.

The term is also used to indicate members of a committee administering the Panchalika, the committee and the nature of work performed by such a committee. This can be concluded from references such as Sapelapanchalya [R-LXXIV: led by a headman of the group] and Samanyapanchalya [R-LXXIV: led by ordinary member], Panchali Bhojanascha [R-XCIX: feeding members of the temple committee?], Panchalika samanya Madhusudanaswami [R-CXIX: ordinary administrator of the committee], Panchalikanameva nyayavalokakana [R-CXLIII: 'Panchalis looking after metting out justice'], etc. As the dranggas, gramas, talas overlap with the panchalies, and also as the term appears used to indicate the local administrative committee and its members, it is proposed that Panchali as a terminology does not mean the physical entity but an administrative entity possibly ranking lower or representing smaller population than dranggas or even gramas. The latter is conveyed by the existence of plurality of panchalies in a 'grama' as evidenced by the cases of Kalopigrama, Konkograma and Bhringareswora. The panchalies appear to administer houses and their residents, agricultural and other land, temple and their associated rituals, and also animal property of the affiliate area.

Cho, Gung, Pringga, Dula, Tala and Bru

Lichchhavi place names appear indicative of their nature. The major



indicators used comparatively profusely in the nomenclature of settlements are worthy of note and these are 'cho', 'gung', 'pringga', 'dula', 'tala' and 'bru'.

The list of Lichchhavi names with 'cho' as suffix includes Dhañcho pradēsha, Khāhrycho, Khārevālgāñcho, Lumbañcho, Mindicho, Moguncho, Pahañcho, Thēñcho grāma and Vrémguncho. If we leave out the odd case of Thēñcho grāma, a settlement, all others are without settlements. Two of the names include 'gung' in the middle and later discussions will show that these are afforested hills. Location of Thencho grama indicates that 'cho' also refers to upper reaches of a hill. The places Dhañcho pradēsha and Khārevālgāñcho are located in the valley and all the rest are located in the hill regions of Pharping. The terminologies are still used in current Newari meaning hills with these properties. It is therefore concluded that hillcrests without settlements are indicated by the suffixes 'cho' and 'gung'. 'Cho' may have been a name for a cultivated hillock as against 'gung', which was definitely afforested.

The settlements were generally called 'gramas' but settlements on crests of hillocks uniformly appear to carry the suffix 'pringga'. It is also observed that the suffix 'pringga' is never applied to a place name with Sanskrit root words. This should tell that the 'pringga' place names originate out of Kirata use and should have been popular for a long time since before they are mentioned in the inscriptions. Pringga occurs without the grama suffix only in four places in the whole corpus of inscriptions and three of these also are definitely sites of settlements. These are Kadampringga pradēsha, Mākhoprñ, Prangpringga pradēsha and Sitāt.ijolpringga pradēsha. Only Prangpringga area appears like it did not have a 'grama'. The duplication of suffixes 'grama' and 'pringga' seen in most cases should be taken as a conclusion that 'pringga' and 'grama' do not mean one and the same. All Pringgas that have been suffixed with 'grama' must have been so called so as to recognize them as settlements in the Sanskrit speaking administration. Common logic of establishing administrative control may also have led the Lichchhavis to add the Verna-system group also within

many of them. This is evidenced by the fact that several villages had elders belonging to the Kirata (viz. Pradhan-kutumbina) as well as Lichchhavi (viz. Brahmin-purassaran) social groups. Further corroboration to the fact that the Kirata society lived in the pringga is given away by the facts that Pradhan-kutumbina are not mentioned while addressing the residents of a 'grama' settled by the Lichchhavis (i.e. gramas with pure Sanskrit names). Thus, it can be concluded that Pringgas refer to earlier settlement of the Kiratas on hillcrests. The settlement nomenclature like that of Thenchograma also suggests that 'cho' indicated hill where as 'pringga' meant hillocks with Kirata settlements.

Settlements located on slopes of hillocks carry the suffix 'dula'. These are Gan.idula grāma, Gudandulunttrā pradēsha, Kādula grāma, Mākhodulul, Mekandidula, Natidul, S.āphanadulaka, Shātuntidula, Srēs.t.hidula, Tékhumdula, Vrādul and Thambidul. It can be seen from these that even canals or drains located in 'dula' were named with this suffix. As this suffix is also used to indicate land alone, it is concluded that this is a standard suffix applied both to land and settlements, as different from 'pringga' applied only to hillocks with settlements. The modern Newari derivative of 'dula' is dol.

It can be easily inferred from the inscriptions that low lying agricultural areas extending down to the river from 'dula' were called 'tala'. There is no place name with this term used as a suffix as such and therefore this is only a term used to indicate associated agricultural region only. First use of the term is seen in 560 AD in Ganadeva's six similar inscriptions, which refer to the 'tala' of Sitati. Thirty-four years later it occurs in another inscription (R-LVI) where 'tala' associated with Makhopryin is mentioned. 'Agneyatala' indicating 'tala' to the south east of Narasimhapanchali occurs in R-LIX. 'Tala' recurs in 'talaswami' of R-LXIII as a land administrator / output share collector (Cf. current Newari Talsing). Other occurrences in R-CXVI and R-CXVII are also equally explicit in using 'tala' as associated land. That 'Tala' as a term did not include the reference to villages situated in agricultural land is clear from all the available

references. The references make it clear that 'tala' did not mean a larger settlement at all and it was also not related to 'drangga' status of a place also. Arguments [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp 22] that association of 'tala' makes a place into 'drangga' is refuted by the mention of many Dranggas without associated 'tala' or by 'Gramas' remaining so even with having 'tala' under their jurisdiction.

The suffix 'bru' appears to have been used to indicate the flat land at a higher level than 'tala' and usually formed the central parts of a 'pringga'. This conclusion has been drawn from the location of Mittambri and Ninbri in Sri Gung hillock of Sleshmantaka. Thambu of Patan and Yambu of Kathmandu are also probably degenerates of Thamburu and Yamburu respectively. Both these places are located in the central parts of Patan and Kathmandu ridges. It is also to be noted that this transformed into 'brum' or 'bruma' during medieval times. The relevant examples can be seen many medieval references sited in earlier chapters such as Khryprybrum, Lalitabrum etc. In this context the current Newari 'bu' appears to be a derivative of 'bhumi' rather than 'bru'. Some researchers have wrongly suggested that 'bu' of medieval usage derives from 'bru' of Lichchavi usage. [Bajracharya, D. B., 1: pp. 54]

Purba, Paschim and Uttara

Sanskrit words indicating directions such as Purba (East), Paschim (West), Uttara (North) and Agneya (South-east) are seen used in the inscriptions. The use of Purba and Paschim as a directional prefix is clearly seen from the naming of the administrative divisions as Purbadhikarana and Paschimadhikarana. The lone use of the term 'uttara' as directional suffix is found in R-XXII in the place name Gudanduluttara, an obvious reference to a place north of the slopes of the hillock of Gudana, now called Gundu. It may have got that name because of its role as a guard-post of the Purbadhikarana of Daxinarajakula. Other uses of 'uttara' as a cardinal prefix are seen such references as Uttarasala and Uttaradvara. Agneya (in the direction of Angi and hence), the southeast

indicator, occurs only once in reference to the land near Narasimhapanchali in northern part of the valley.

Daxina

The use of Daxina as a prefix is observed in the cases of Daxinakoligrama, Daxinarajakula, Daxinadwara and Daxineswora. The usage in Daxinadwara is clearly a cardinal direction indicator (meaning a gate located to the south of the building or leading out to the south from a building). The polygonal approximation of inscription R-LV unequivocally makes it clear that the prefix 'Daxina' in the Daxineswora is not a direction indicator prefix as the temple is located to the northwest of the village but named Daxineswora. From the spatial approximation, it seems that Daxineswora is applied to the site of Nala Matsendranath, whose earlier form appears to have been referred thus in the inscription. Similarly Daxinamurti area, the so-called Guru of Pashupatinath, is indicated by 'Daxineswora' in inscription R-LXXX as a spatial tally will indicate.

We have already argued in the earlier chapter that 'Daxina' usage Daxinakoligrama is related to religious sect practice. They all appear unrelated to directionality and so are not indicative of cardinal 'South'. The linkage is possibly to 'Daxinachara' Tantrik ritual practice associated with these gods. It can be argued that all the sites Kelatole, Kwalkhu, Tebahal, Mrigasthali, Nala, Lagan still show some form of the ancient Daxinachara or its potential derivative. It may be noted that one of the Agam-deities of Kwabahal is also Sankata, similar to one at Te-bahal of Kathmandu. It is equally telling that the Bajradhara or the Bajrasattva image from this very bahal is taken to be the 'guru' of Bugma Lokeswora and is placed on the top of the spire of the chariot during its festival. Kwabahal of Patan and Kelatole clearly represent the current state of what I would be tempted to name as Daxina Buddhism, which has become part of Bajrayana today. Therefore Kwa Bahal appears named so because of the presence of Bajrasattva there.

Did 'Daxina' also meant some sort of Tantrik practice like 'Daxinachara' in the case of Daxinarajakula too? Indeed I have located it at Kwalakhu as could also be a corrupt form of Daxinarajakula. We might surmise that the palace was used by the Lichchhavi kings that took to Tantric Buddhism or Pashupata-Bajresvara faith. We could, from literary sources, place Vrisadeva (who is a proven Buddhist), Dhammardeva (who is suspected of being a follower of Bajrayogini) and also Vashkerdeva (who is said to have done a penance in Pashupati, won over 'Daxina sagara pradesa' and also claimed to have founded the sangha of the Vihara of Kwabahal, somewhere in Pashupati area) and Narendradeva (who made provisions for Bajresvara as well as wore a Buddha in his mekhala-buckle) as possibilities.

Polygonal approximation of R-CXXVIII shows another use of Daxinesvara. Here the actual wordings are " Yat Sri Gum Daxinesvarambu Tirtha Kshetranam sandhi", which may be translated as 'here is the joint between the religious site of Sri Gum Daxineswora and that of Ambu Tirtha'. That Sri Gum (Gung) is a reference to the plateau area of Mrigasthali forested hill and Ambu Tirtha refers to the current Guheswori has already been shown. We have shown that Sri Gung Daxineswora is most likely the same as Parvatesworadeva and therefore is a form of early Indra, located about current Gorakhanath and Visworup complex. The reference to Sri Gung is to the hill of Mrigasthali itself as it occurs twice in the same inscription [R-CXXVIII]. Ambu Tirtha, also called Bajrayogini or Blue Tara by the Buddhists, seems sited right next to this Sri Gung Daxinesvara. Because of the similarity of name between this hillock and the Gung Vihara and Gung Shikhara at Sankhu/Changu area, one may also suggest that this Daxinesvara may have been venerated by both Hindus and Buddhists at Lichchhavi time, just like Guyheswori. The presence of the nearby land of Kharjurika Vihara gives us further reason to think of such a possibility. The site of the original Parvatesoradeva seems to have become Gorakhanath for the Saiva Hindus and the Buddhist symbolism seems to have moved to other places such as Gung Vihara.

Therefore, except in 'Daxinadwara', all usage of the prefix 'daxina' refers to a religious practice.

bi, ma, da and ta

Some other prefixes and suffixes also appear to have been used in place names. Since several of such word appear to form sets or groups around a space, they can be concluded to have been used as directional indicators. This interesting way of nomenclature has given us a potent tool for further interpretation. The names like Yambi (root name Yam), Yabi, Yapringga (root name Ya), Thambidula (root name Then), Tvegvala (root name Tve), Tvedya (root name Tve), Mäkhodula (root name Kho), Mäkhopyrn (root name Kho), Däväkotta (root name Da), Däyambī (root name Da), Mänang gräma (root name nang?), Mäthang gräma (root name thang?), and Mäting gräma (root name ting?) should be observed and can lead to meaningful conclusions.

Considering the place name sets Yampringga, Yamburu, Yambi, Yangal (< Yamgvala), the following directional relation is observed:

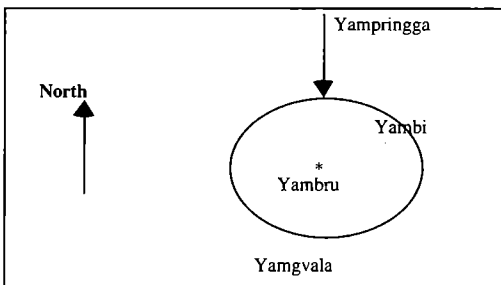


Fig . Relation Set 'bi'.

From the above interrelationship one may conclude that 'bru' stands for the center while 'bi' seems to indicate northeast. Considering the set of place names Thenchograma (= settlement situated on the hillock of Then) and Thembidula (= lower slopes of the hillock to 'bi' of Then), the relationship of the suffix 'bi' is seen as relation set 1b shown above and supports the conclusion from the previous set 1a. It should be added here, as the exact location of Yambi in relation to Yamburu is not so clear as compared to the Thencho and Thambidula set, 'bi' should indicate east and not northeast.

In the highway named as Konko-Vilva Marga, we may notice that the same directional indicator is used as a prefix to 'Lva' or 'Lhva', an obvious reference to the town Lubhu. Konko-Vilva highway must have passed by Lubhu and its eastern boundary. The Naxal Narayanchowr inscription also provides further corroboration as it describes area about Chardhunge. Here also two place names, Yaku and Yabi, apparently related through directional suffixes occur. It is apparent that Yabi is a place east of 'Ya' and the suffix 'ku' appears as a corner indicator, much like the Newari word in current usage which also mean a corner. Unfortunately corroboration of such possibility is limited, as we have no way of saying if 'Kanku-lam' is a derivative of 'Kanku or Kan+Ku'. The current place Teku of Kathmandu is also too far from 'Tve' to allow positive conclusion for the use of suffix 'ku'. Another inscription gives a region as Shālagambi Ksetra, a possible use of the suffix "bi" as northeast but there is no direct corroboration. Partial confirmation can also be seen from the place names Dayambi (with root word 'Da-yam' and 'da' and 'bi' suffixes) appear also situated to west and northeast respectively. It seems to suggest that Dayam was to the west of Yam and Dayambi to the northeast of Dayam. The directionality indicated by the Gopalarajavamsavali is further confirmed by the medieval term 'Damakhodulam' applied to area west of Makhodulam. Makhodulam already contains a one-stage west indicator in the prefix 'ma'.

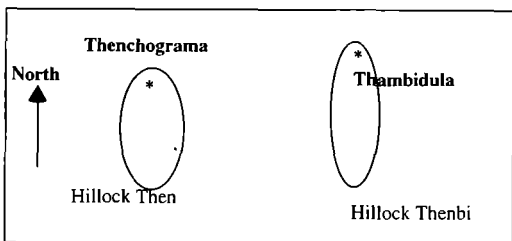


Fig . Relation Set 'bi'.

The name sets Mäkhodula (root name Kho), Mäkhopryn (root name Kho) relationship may be conjectured as shown in Fig 2b. Though the interrelation is assumptive in the sense that I have placed Makhopring to the west of Khopring, as any other location for Khopring in the general context of the Bhaktapur ridge is not justifiable physically and second pringga to the north or south of Khopringga is also quite unlikely. Also if 'ma' is a directional prefix, its location to the east is also not possible, as that would demand the suffix 'bi'. Thus it can be inferred that if it is a directional prefix, 'ma' must stand for west. A corroboration to this may be found in the place name Mathang, which appears the same as Thahiti situated to the west of the place 'Tham', which was a medieval name for Thamel. It is possible that Ma-tham-pringga of the Kirata and Lichchavi times has simply become Thahiti and the site "Tham" continued to be called 'Tham' upto medieval times. It is also surmised that the area of Thambahil expanded westwards in the medieval period, leaving only the southern parts of Mathampringga (Mathampin?) and therefore got a reference as Tham-yi-ta, later becoming the current name Thahiti (?). Unfortunately there is no further corroborating set available for the prefix 'ma'.

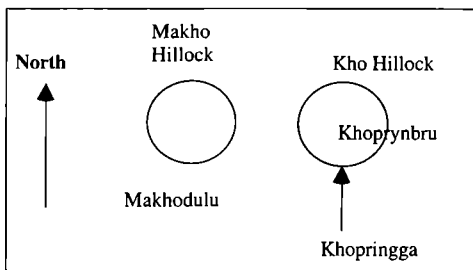


Fig . Relation Set 'ma'.

The next figure presents a comparison of directional prefixes with the direction indicator equivalents in Newari language. The closeness of east indicator should be noted.

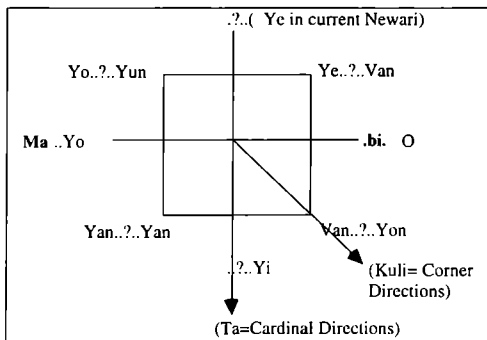


Fig. Directional Indicators in the Newari language

The Root Names

It may also be observed that the hillocks were named like Chu (Chuhung, Chullam, Chustung), Hma (Hmapringga), Hla (Hlapringga), Hmu (Hmupringga), Jol (Jolpringga), Kadam (Kadampringga), Kam (Kampilamba, Kampringga, Kangkavattika, Kanko), Kho (Khopringga, Makhopringga, Makhodula), Khül (Khulpringga), Lho (Lahugvala, Bilhon), Lan (Dulang, Gulfamtangga, Langkha, Lanjagvala, Shalangka, Talanju, Nalangga), Nar (Narapringga), Tham (Mathang, Mathampringga, Thambidula, Thambu, Thanturi, Thencho), Yä (Yapringga, Yabi), Yam (Yambi, Dayambi), etc.

None of these root words appear Sanskrit and are, therefore, attributed to the indigenous people, or the Kiräta. Tham/Than seems to have been a particularly popular root word and several places have been named this way.

Chapter VI

Character of Elements and Settlements

We have identified earlier the major monuments produced by the Lichchavis and have located them. Of the palaces, at best one or two, such as Salambu Rajavasaka, and, may be also, Pundrirajakula, appear located in a rural setting. Salambu Rajavasaka appears as a royal rest house amid natural surrounds. Madhyamarajakula, Daxinarajakula, Bhadradhivasa Bhavana, Kailashakut Bhavan and Managriha were definitely within settlements. The three major palaces formed the nucleus of their capital Hadigaon.

Of the Viharas, only a few appear located within settlements and the major ones were definitely in a rural natural setting. The Arjika Vihara, Jivavarma Vihara and, may be, also Madhyama Vihara, were located within and at the fringes of urban settlements.

The temples Bhrynggareshvara devakula, Bhuvaneshvara devakula, Maneshvara, Matundevakula, Pashupati, Sambapura, and Valasoksi devakula appear sited within settlements. Of these Pashupati and Valasoksi devakula were possibly fringe elements and others were central to the settlements. In course of time, other temples also appear to have developed settlements around and some of them apparently became important administrative centers of importance, a case in point being the Hansagriha drangga.

However monuments alone are no measure of a civilization. The affairs of the people and the activities they engage in are more likely to determine the final shape of civilization and the physical nature of their settlements. The supposed Lichchavi republican approach to politics may have reinforced the role of the people themselves.

The nature of settlements is a direct result of the type of activities that take place within the habitat and urban nature itself has long been taken to be a result of tertiary level activities. Though the three major determinants of settlement location is food, water and transportation, the nature of settlements itself is decided more by how the society chose to handle the surplus produce of the society and surplus time of the populace. Lichchavi inscription show agricultural output included foodstuff as well as cash crops. Certain areas of the valley appear to have significant level of animal breeding and husbandry, fish farming and associated outputs. Mining and metal processing and possibly also cotton handlooms industries supplemented list of marketable items. Some special forestry [cf. R-XIX] outputs were also surplus and they were marketed within the valley as well as outside.

Reference to Sarthavaha shows flourishing trade between Nepal and the outside world or large volume of internal trade [Regmi, D. R., 3: Vol III, pp. 27]. The Lichchavi inscriptions prove that the trade with the southern neighbors mentioned in the legends and chronicles were facts. By the time of the rule of Amshuvarma in the early decades of 7th century AD, Nepal's export trade included many items in addition to iron, Chamar, wool, Kasturi and copper pots [Bajracharya, D. B., I: pp. 311]. The Ins. No. DV 74 makes clear that non-agricultural exports were major custom levied items and as such by that time Nepal should have had a well-developed mining and metal processing industries and metal craft, wool based industries and organized hunting. By the middle of the seventh century during the rule of King Narendradeva, Chinese diplomats noted the presence of " more traders than farmers" in the valley of Kathmandu. The use of minted coins, measuring units and scales are further evidence of

high level of commercial activities. Such clear evidences of non-agricultural pursuits must simply indicate high urbanization from early times.

Apart from trade, commerce and industry, army and the administration services might have formed significant levels of tertiary employment. The administrative setup appears organized into functional departments, such as taxation, security, etc. as well as regional division such as Purbadhikarana and Pashchimadhikarana. The Major Adhikaranas appear to refer to administrative zone in the valley cut into three sections the East, the West and the South, by the run of the river Bagmati from its source to the exit. Use of the word 'visayapati', 'panchali', drangga, etc., also indicate administrative decentralization. The administration of taxation and rule by law seem to have been sectioned off in many specialized cells. Large regional administrative units were called Visaya, Bhukti and Mandala, as they progressively got larger.

Inscriptional references to functionally named adhikaranas or administrative departments particularly those related to collection of state revenue are Lingvala Adhikarana, Mapchowk Adhikarana, Kuthera Adhikarana, Solla Adhikaranas as well as non-specific adhikaranas such as the Purbadhikarana, Paschimadhikarana, Daxinarajakula adhikarana (R-CXLIII) and also Daxinarajakulasya Purbadhikarana (R-CXLIV). Four revenue collection wings appear to have been organized and were called 'Chatusadhikarana' [R-XXIII] or the four authorities. Another activity of penalty collection as related to the 'five sins' was also organized through documentary evidence collators from early times. The possibly policing wing called 'Chatbhata' later also appears sectioned off as a 'Bhattadhikarana' department. The protectorates outside the valley were ruled through 'gate offices' indicated by ins. No. R-LXX from Bhetwal.

The Lichchhavi division of the valley into administrative zones could have been demarcated on the basis of the course of major rivers within the valley following a pattern similar to delineation of settlement limits. The

primary division was made with the Bagmati course and this divided the valley into Purbadhikarana and Paschimadikarana. The reference from Jnaneswora inscription suggests that Purbadhikarana of Daxinarajakula was responsible for Hamsagriha area. As Paschimadhikarana authority extended upto Adhashälä pañchälä (DV-85) on the western banks of Bagmati, the Bagmatipara-pradesa, east of Bagmati, seems to have belonged to Purbadhikarana.

The Daxina (...) adhikarana mentioned in line 20 of the Narayan Chowr inscription and Daxinarajakulasya Purvadhikarana mentioned in the Jyneswora inscription appear related to Daxinarajakula and seems to have controlled areas south of Bagmati-Hanumante course and its jurisdiction applied from Teku, Patan, Lubhu and upto the eastern passes. We have shown in earlier discussions how Kwalkhu and Guita are most possible locations for Daxinarajakula and Bhadradhivasabhavana palace of the Lichchhavis. (See also sketch no. 14)

The four Narayans of the valley responded to the general cardinality of the valley environ fixed on a similar basis with Changu to the North-East, Ichangu to the North-West, Hamsagriha to the South-East and Machchhenarayan to the South-West. Also as the central element appears as a general necessity of the concept of four corners, it is surmised that the central element was the palace and the Satyanarayana.

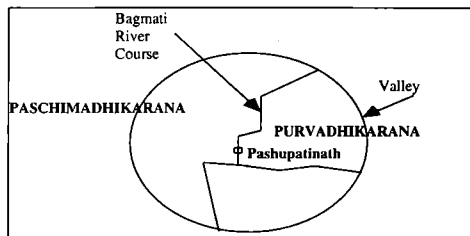


Fig. The administrative division of the valley.

As Budanilkantha Jalasayana Narayana (Bhumalakkika Jalasayana) somehow does not form part of the above Narayana set, it is possible that several sets existed in parallel. One such set of other elements that could have formed a part of the early space mandala could have had at its west, north, east and south, the Narayanas of Indradaha, Budanilkantha, Tilmadhavnarayan of Bhaktapur (Tilam) and Bungamati. Given the geography of Kathmandu valley these can be seen as a space forming mandala!

The appearance of 'drangga' as a term occurs after 'grama', 'tala', 'pradesa', 'visaya' etc. have been seen and comes 126 years after the first inscription appears. It however appears as more of an administrative rather than an economic entity. That the drangga was neither related to size of settlement nor to the nature of major activity such as commercial transaction. It can be observed from the Narayanchowr inscription, R-CXLIII, which uses the term as settlement with some sort of self-rule authority possibly without control over taxation and religious agraharas like 'srisanghas etc.'.

Various types of taxation were in force in this period giving clues on major sources of income of the people. As many as 19 Lichchhavi inscriptions mention taxes [Regmi, D. R., 3: Vol III, pp. 260]. There were taxes on land and on orchards and their 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 agricultural implements (gohalekara), tax on animal husbandry (mallakara, mallapotakara, sukara), entertainment tax (goyuddhakara) and wealth tax (? pindakam) were also in force. Other levies such as bhoga, bhaga, hiranya, trikara were also raised as state revenue. Fines on departure from conformist social morals appear to form major revenue. The mention of fine on Adhikamasatula (false weighing scales) also indicates large volume of trading. All these indicate sizable nonagricultural pursuit of Lichchhavi populace.

That the general population had significant level of religious and secular cultural activities are seen from references to Viharas, Temples, Jatras and such activities as Goyuddha and Mallayuddha, which appear as secular entertainment activities. By the middle of the seventh century during the rule of King Narendradeva, Chinese diplomats found that the general population held and enjoyed theatrical performances [Levi quoted by Macdonald: pp. 19]. The various festivals of gods or "yatras" such as Dwarodghatan kailash yatra (R- LXIII), Baraha yatra (R- CXXII), Swovana yatra (R- CXXXVI) and Andapi yatra (R- CXLIII) suggest high level of urban social activities. It is not therefore surprising when many of the unique religio-cultural festivities that are held today such as Machhendranath Chariot festival, Trisul Jatra of Deupatan, Gahana Jatra of Hadigaon and the like claim Lichchhavi origins.

The Lichchhavi rule set the standards for the pattern of life in Kathmandu Valley and made valuable contribution to the development of art, architecture, language and administration. As they added the system of administration through 'Drangga" and "Panchali or Panchalika" setup, dispersed settlements within the valley developed further. In the process the embryo of "temple towns" thus appears to have been laid. As the inscriptions show, near and around temples, canals and water conduits were built, which suggest the location of settlements around. These could be called temple towns to differentiate from other towns like capital towns, sub-palace towns, defense towns, which are also apparent in other inscriptions.

They seem to have followed a system of locating local administrative buildings near the temples just as their own palace towns included temples. The location tax collectorate appears close to these temples. Many inscriptions associated with temples therefore contain tax exemption decrees or construction and repair of canals, ponds and water conduits.

The socio-religious situation:

Sanskrit ritual literature rites had continued to exist intact in ancient Nepal. [Regmi DR, 3: Vol III, pp. 35] The inscriptions contain numerous references to Brahmins, Varnavyabastha, Yagnas, religious texts and other elements, which show the attachment of the ruling class, as well as some sections of the society to Sanskrit ritual literature practices. The existence of funeral areas and "srutidharma sastra vihitam" [R-XV] attest to Vedic ritual funerary practices. The Chinese travels have also noted the ritual cleanliness of the Nepalese society at that time. Some inscriptions on water conduits are especially enlightening in this aspect. Water-conduits were built in the neighborhood of temples by the devotees for providing cold, pure and sweet water to the worshippers and for associated ritual bath. [Regmi JC, 5: pp. 6-76]

Medieval inscriptions and other sources confirm the continuance of religious activities in a similar fashion but probably with more of tantric influences and associated Shakti cult practices.

During the rule of Narendradeva Machhendranatha was brought to Kathmandu Valley and sometime after this, his Ratha-yatra started and at the same time the dance of Harisiddhi was also initiated [Regmi DR, 1: pp. 198]. Such and many other literary and chronicle references indicate the continuance of Vedic religious practices with a dose of Tantricism.

Although a large number of stone tools attesting the settlement of the human beings in the Kathmandu Valley are found since the prehistoric times, no other kind of material remains of the period prior to the rule of the Lichchhavis has come to light from this data so far. " The Hindu chronicles however expound that the Gopālas or Nipa Abhiras are the first group of people to come and settle in the Kathmandu Valley ". Buddhist chronicles give this credit to Manjusri and Dharmakara. Before this the valley was occupied mainly by the Nagas, ... and some other groups of people of Austric origin, who mixed up with the immigrants and became

the low-caste people under the Varnasrama-vyavastha of the Lichchhavi period. The Kirātas of the Mongoloid racial stock came next. Unlike the Vaisnavite Gopālas and Mahishapālas, they were Saiva.

"Like the legends of Pashupati and Gokernesvara the legend of Guhyesvari Devi is also very old. The goddess is described as Nepala-pithadisthatri by the Shaktas, Vaisnavi-Sakti by the Vaisnavas and Prajna by the Buddhists. Shankeradeva is said to have first revealed her abode." Based on these and many other recollections, Pandey concludes:

My whole exposition at this place is to show that before the beginning of the rule of the Lichchhavis both the prominent religion of the Indian sub-continent i.e. Hinduism (Saivism, Vaisnavism, Shaktism) and Buddhism were widely practiced by the people in the Kathmandu Valley along with the Vedic and later-Vedic religions centered mainly around deities embodying or symbolizing the forces of nature and morals, yajnas and sacrifices and chants and spells which in the early medieval period grew into stereotyped religion of Tantricism. [Pandey, R. N., 1]

From a closer study of inscriptions it can be seen that the population at that time was largely Hindu following the hierarchical caste system and several other ethnic groups such as Abhir, Sakya, Vrijji and Kirātas also inhabited the different parts of the valley. Buddhism also appears to have had quite a following judging by the number of important monasteries. Of this populace, the Kirātas were the aboriginal settlers of the valley and all others migrated into the valley from the south. Brahmins formed a major group in some settlements e.g. Daxinakoligrama, Nilisala, Jayapallikagram, Bhingaresworgram, Hamsagrihadrangga, Narasimhagram etc.. Jayadeva inscription of Pashupati (R-CXLII) is 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 G, 1: pp. 121]. The concurrent development of Buddhism and associated Vihāras 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, Andipiyatra, Varahayatra and similar other religious processions and festivals were organized and celebrated. Andapiyatra is possibly still current in the form of Tunaldevi Jatra of Hadigaon. Lichchhavi inscriptions show almost a total lack of reference to temples of Mother Goddesses or Bhagavatis. Of the notable exceptions - Matara (DV-53), Sridevi (DV-72), Sasthidevi (DV-72), Bhagavati Bijayeswori (DV-16), Umairtha (DV-145) - Sridevi and Sasthidevi were within Kailashakutbhavana precinct, Bhagavati Bijayeswori is at Palanchowk, Umairtha is possibly a confluence/ghat and only the Matara of Sukubahi, Shankhamul remains within Kathmandu valley. 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 LS: pp. 405]. He cites Gajalaxmi of Chyasaltol, Srilaxmi of Kotaltol, Mother Goddess of Haugal Bahal, Kumari of Changu and many others from Patan, Balkhu, Kirtipur, Devpatan, Maligaon etc., all dated earlier than 3rd century AD by him on stylistic grounds. Dating on the basis of stylistic ground alone cannot be taken as sufficiently sound in such a context. Not so surprising though and more important, is their location in possible places of early Lichchhavi townships and some certainly settlements that predate Lichchhavis. Major Vaisnava sculptures of similar stylistic period have been observed at these very areas e.g. Hadigaon and Patan. The Saiva sculptures of the same period have been found at Balkhu, Balambu and Kirtipur. One likely possibility is that temples of Mother Goddesses and/ or pithas were common among non-Lichchhavi local inhabitants though they did not form then the focal divinity in any Lichchhavi grama or drangga. As they did not belong to the Vaisnavite or Sivite stream as also the Buddhist mainstream, the mention of these temples was deliberately played down in the records.

THE NATURE OF SETTLEMENTS

Some confusion has been created by the use of terminology 'grama' to indicate all kinds of settlements in the Lichchhavi inscriptions. Regmi thus seems to take 'gramas' as villages and opines that dranggas were townlets: "It appears that in ancient time the Nepal Valley was fairly populated and there were villages and townships but not towns as such. The townships called dranggas were larger from population point of view but such drangga were not very many. Drangga is a market place and a city. It usually also had a customs house." It has however been pointed out earlier that 'Drangga' as a terminology has little relation to the size of settlement and it appears more as a classification of administrative authority possibly limited than 'Kotta'. [Regmi DR, 3: Vol III, pp. 52]

Mary Slusser's position is more acceptable and she writes that the valley was occupied prior to the coming of the Lichchhavis and "dotted with permanent settlements called 'Pryn' though little is known about their number and size. Indigenous suffix Pryn is the same as grama" [Slusser MS, 3: pp. 84-85]. However it has been argued earlier that 'pryn' as a suffix stands for a settlement sited on hillock crests and unless we assume that all settlements prior to Lichchhavis were so sited such a conclusion may not be drawn. She also adds, as different from Regmi's above quoted inference, "Settlements were numerous and widespread in the Lichchhavi period and that inscriptions attest to a total occupancy of the Kathmandu Valley. Inside the valley proper, the principal Lichchhavi settlements were at the junction of the Bagmati and Vishnumati, at Deupatan around Pashupatinath, at Hadigaon on the Dhobikhola, north around Budanilkantha and at the western end of the valley around Thankot. As different from Malja towns, they were not walled. A group of villages composed a 'tala' and higher density led to its administration as a 'drangga', which appears to be a small urban complex". We have already pointed out that 'tala' refers to farm land associated with a settlement and is not a settlement as Slusser has made out. She also observes from extant situations that "Newar towns and villages are generally oriented towards

the rivers and streams ... and only once in a while occupy upland sites. Macchegaon and Pharping appear perched high for reasons of defense". These latter characters are substantiated by this investigation also.

Some dranggas were large enough to be divided into sectors e.g. Daxinakoligramadrangga was divided into four sectors. Lichchhavi inscription however also calls a settlement 'Brihatgrama' and this should be sufficient reason to conclude that 'grama' was not necessarily a rural settlement nor was it related to the size of the population resident there in. The word "pura" comes for the first time in S 48 in Tavajhya Inscription where "paurārchita" meaning city dwellers has been used. However the same inscription as it goes to details uses 'grama' to qualify the settlements of Thambu, Gangula, Mulavatika. This thus clarifies that it would be incorrect to assume that 'gramas' necessarily meant villages.

Settlement is dynamic in nature and it continues to transform itself to adjust to newer cultural inputs even as the setting that may have led to its establishment and early development dies out. Thus to look at existing pattern of settlements and to believe that still reflect the pattern of the Lichchhavi days would be far fetched even as we may be able to show that there has been little or no direct developmental input during the last 1000 years. The Hadigaon area bounded by Mahendrabhavan and Sitabhavan to the south, Tangaldurbar to the west and French ambassador's residence and Bharatmani's enclave to the north and Dhobikhola to the east is one such area. A scene of rather massive surface remains from the Lichchhavi days, it cannot be said that its current pattern reflects the Lichchhavi days as such, but there are portions, which can give us an idea.

Thus an evolution of probable settlement pattern may be traced through informed realignment of streets based on the location of Lichchhavi remains and popular memory. In the following discussion on physical corroboration, such an approach has been taken. The towns or areas of massive Malla or Rana period activity are not taken as their features are

too effaced to be of use. Hadigaon, Deupatan and Kisipidi are considered later as typical cases.

The Planning Dictates that the Lichchhavis Knew

The idea of city in Hindu mythologies has been described as the spatial exposition of the cosmic representation. According to the Manasara, the Hindu city was developed according to a plan. These prescribed plans are eight in number [Rana]. These are:

1. **Dandaka:** In this plan streets are straight and cross each other at right angles at the center, running west to east and south to north. It consists of one to five parallel streets (running west to east) and two more streets are planned forming the right angles.
2. **Sarvatobhadra:** Its shape is oblong or square, and houses are arranged along the streets.
3. **Nandyavarta:** This plan resembles either a square or an oblong shape. Its circular plan has also been mentioned to have been based on mystic figure.
4. **Padmaka:** This plan refers to lotus-shaped form. The number of easterly streets may be seven, while the number of northerly streets may vary from three to five.
5. **Svastika:** It resembles the mystic figure of Svastika where the streets are planned in conformity with the figure of Svastika.
6. **Prastara:** The plan is either square or oblong in shape, and other details resemble the earlier patterns.
7. **Karmuka:** Its shape reveals a semicircular or semi elliptical form like a bow, and hence its name.
8. **Chaturmukha:** This plan having four gates, forms a square or oblong shape extending east to west. The whole site is divided into four square wards in which different castes are advised to live in their particular sites.

Experts have observed a three-phase growth pattern in the historical urbanization of Indo-Gangatic plains. [Chakrabarty, 1, 2] Accordingly the first phase of urbanization occurred during the 6th-5th century BC and was primarily concentrated in the geographical belt spanning Champa and Rajgriha to Ujjayini through Kausambi. By third-second century B.C., the urbanization had consolidated and spread over to Punjab, Sind, and lower Ganga valley covering most of North India. In the final phase by early centuries of AD, a general urban prosperity characterized the subcontinent. Early urbanism of North India is generally attributed to factors such as surplus yield, re-emergence of Harappan urban tradition and growth of centralized power structure but apart from the factor 'surplus yield', experts are divided about others. It is also a strong view held by many that the population was not predominantly non-agricultural in the first phase of urbanization proposed by Chakrabarty, as required by western definition of a town. The appearance of means of exchange like coins and ring wells has been taken as distinct signs of urbanism by Indian scholars [Joshi, M. C.: pp. 135-140]. Even as the ring well is absent (whose purpose is still not clear in Indian contexts) in Nepal, the urbanistic characteristics like city water supply through the use of Stone taps, city lighting, entertainment establishments as well as the flourishing trade and commerce situation in Kathmandu valley suggest a very high level of urbanization by the time the inscriptions show up generally confirm the Chakraborty's hypothesis of urban prosperity by BC-AD changeover period.

Field corroboration

The following discussion is a field situation study of the Lichchhavi settlements of Hadigaon, Deupatan and Kisipidi. Some of the findings from the inscriptions and the location of related elements are used as basic references. The features of the layout of the village that appear unrelated to Malla period developments or not resulting out of the later developmental inputs are considered to conclude on their possible form in the ancient period. Also some hypothetical association with Sanskrit

ritual literature town forms is evaluated to see if any such basis is discernible.

Hadigaon

This small village between Dhobikhola and Tukucha formed the central part of the Maneswora and possibly was a combined town, which included the dranggas of Maneswora, Tamrakuttasala and Sambapur by early Malla period. The large number of Lichchhavi sculptures, inscriptions and building remains testify its importance and centrality in Lichchhavi rule setup in the valley. The Narayana of Naxal Chardhunge, the Narayana of Sanogauchar and the Krishnamandir of Hadigaon define a triangle with Manamaneswori at the center of the hypotenuse. This triangle included the drangga of Maneswora and Tamrakuttasala. The macro-geometry is shown below.

The siting of the village was possibly related to the two rivers and the intersection of the highway network, both the aspects are true to Lichchhavi approach. The highways led to other important settlements such as Kampringga (Kapan) to the northeast from the exit at Krisnamandir, Yambi (Machchendra Bahal) to the southeast from Naxal Nandikesworbahal, Pashupati Ksetra and Navagrama to the east from Satyanarayana temple, Budanilkantha area to the north from Tunaldevi. The corresponding immediately out of town elements were the Dhanaganesh temple and the dhara to the south, the dhara to the east of Nandikesworbahal, the Satyanarayana and dhara complex and the Tunaldevi and dhara set. The middle exit to Sambapur was possibly defined by the dhara at Gairidhara. The main east west streets of Hadigaon are all parallel (Bhimsenthan-Krishnamandir street, Nyalmalhon-Dabali street and the 'Garudabahini Bhagabati-Nateswor street) to each other and also parallel to the segments of two streets surviving in the traditional section of Maligaon in front of Maiti Dyochhe. Their inclination is at the same time closely parallel to the temple foundations excavated during the Italian explorations in Satyanarayana, Hañdigaon.

All these point to the strong possibility that these alignments are surviving remnants of the Lichchhavi period. The location of Dabali at the crossing with the two 'swyamagya' charters of Amshuverma and the proto-Lichchhavi temple sills at Krishnamandir and Garudabahini Bhagavati (see photographs set plate 5) are additional pointers towards the same conclusion. The right-angled crossings suggest the use of gridiron plan adjusted from standard Dandaka layouts. Map No. 8 shows the details of Lichchhavi landmarks and a conjectural planning basis of the area.

From the figures shown and a juxtaposition of the main routes followed during the Jatra of Satyanarayana and the Jatra of Bhat-Bhateni, it may be stated that despite the building interventions in early Malla period, the central part of the village of Hadigaon still echoes the pattern earlier to Malla days. The festivals seem to be pre-Malla traditions as they recall sites of bygone importance and also as its khats suggest pre-wheel days.

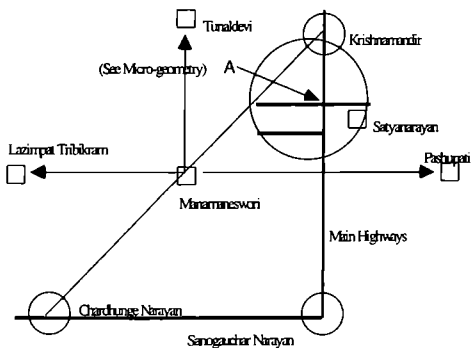


Fig. The Macro-geometry of Hadigaon

The planning principle of Hadigaon, thus, appears based on Sanskrit ritual literature traditions, which are behind the geometricised location and dispersal of religious sites .

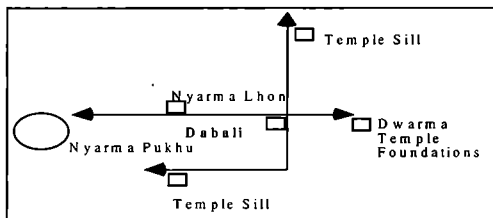


Fig. The Micro-geometry of Hadigaon

Deupatan

Unlike Hadigaon, the area of Deupatan has been a place of continuous cultural and settlements activity since the beginnings of Lichchhavi days till today and as a result the features are more effaced than in Hadigaon. The reference of the establishment of Deupatan comes in an elaborate form in Wright Chronicles:

Sivadeva I, who has been wrongly described as the successor of Gunakamadeva in the chronicle of Wright, removed his capital to Devpatan from Banerwar. He brought Nrtyanatha from the Satarudra Mountain and established him on the western side of Pashupati Nath. The king is credited in the chronicle to have built 9 new tols (divisions of the city) and erected nine Ganeshas. He fully peopled these tols (Navatols) after performing all the requisite ceremonies and established 4 Ganeshas, 4 Bhairavas, 4 Nrtyanathas, 4 Mahadevas, 4 Kumaries, 4 Buddhas, 4 Khambas, 4 Gaganacharis and 4 Chatuspathas (cross-ways) with Bhuta

images. Then after establishing an Avarana deity in each of the Dev Patan, he erected an image of Siva. The king is praised in the chronicle for populating Suvarnapuri in round shape and beautifying it with wells, temples, dabalies, dharas and a gate. He instituted the custom of human sacrifice and ratha-yatra on Chaitra-vadi 12 in the honour of Bachhala Devi, also known as Vajreswari." [Pandey RN, 1]

Some writers state that Trisuljatra possibly dates from the time of King Narendradeva [Manandhar, S.]. The place in Baneshwor Barracks where the permission to undertake Trisuljatra from 'Bhumi Achaju' is taken is called Chhapabaka Don. This may provide a tenuous link between the statements of the Vamsabali that Sivadeva shifted his capital from Baneshwor to Deupatan!

The Nriyanatha mentioned in the chronicle above is located near Bhuvaneshwori temple, which is almost exactly due west of the Pashupatinath temple. The temple of Jayabageshwori, Bhuvaneshwori, Batsaleswori and Bajreswori (one at Bankali) are intimately related through rituals and festivals.

The use of circular form in the building of town is unknown in Malla period. Even in the standard formats prescribed by Manasara, circular form is not generally prescribed and is applied only in the case of 'Nandyavarta' in a circular form and 'Karmuka' in the form of a semicircle. Surprisingly enough a section of street in Deupatan still is a quadrant and does hint towards its old Karmuka form. The geometricity of this quadrant is related to the direction of approach from the original west gate of Pashupatinath; the current main gate has been moved northwards making the road section slightly skewed at present. The siting appears related to Daxinamurti site as well. The conjectural layout is also supported by the location of two Ganesh at the quadrantal end near Jayabageshwori and on intersection along the axis to Pashupatinath. In the circular street, at least two points suggest possibility of radial roads

intersection, currently defined by the way side Siva linga. Later developments have effaced the role of the center of the circle defining the Karmuka. A little to the west of the geometric center, a Siva temple and an important pati is located but both of them appear as Rana and late Malla edifices respectively. Archaeological study of the area can reveal further on the role of the center.

From this conjecture, it can be suggested that the main gateway to the settlement of Deupatan was probably at the crossing of this street and the Daxinamurti - Bhuvaneswori road near Sadavarta building. The location of Jayabagheswori appears as the end node for the half-Karmuka plan form. The area to the west of Jayabagheswori is a Malla period extension (including Tamreswor area) and the road patterns seem to emanate out of Karmuka plan road pattern (tangential to the circle and parallel to the orientation of the temple of Pashupatinath.

The physical interrelation between the sites of the four Devis is not so clear except that both Jayabagheswori and Bhuvaneswori are on a line due west of Pashupatinath and the position of Bhuvaneswori is exactly half way to Jayabagheswori.

From the above conjectural suggestions, it may be concluded that the legendary association of Deupatan is substantiated to some extent. Further archaeological research will be necessary to prove whether the gate was located as proposed or not. The area around Jayabagheswori was possibly designed as an out of town node as against Karmuka requirement that it be central to the circle. The site where the apparent center lies is now under private occupation and its original usage is not known. This area however is a commanding site with great potential for a central theme. The findings of Sivalingas of Lichchhavi period in gardens and hill slopes of the area under discussion does indicate a massive change in form of Deupatan in the past.

Kīsipidi

The village of Kīsipidi, the Kichpriching grāma of Lichchhavi days did have some building activities in the Malla period as is testified by some of the temples in its central chowk. Unlike the settlements of Hadigaon and Deupatan, there is little known about this village. The linkage of the village with raising of elephants for the purpose of warfare is however still echoed by its name and the pati in the northwest of the central space has a wooden elephant image from the late Malla period as a reminder of bygone days.

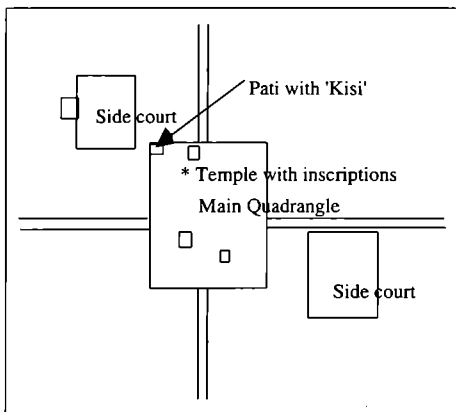


Fig. The Micro-geometry of Kīsipidi

The Lichchhavi reminders, the inscriptions, are all in the central quadrangle, which can be approached from all four directions as if echoing the concept of a Sarvatobhadra plan of Manasara. All the access routes are steep and the one from the north, the main route, is stepped.

The central quadrangle has three temples and a pond. The northwest of the main quadrangle has another paved open space, which has lost some of its built elements at its west end.

The military and defense function of Kisipidi is still clear from the layout. It could well be the Sitati gulma. The central pond for water supply is possible to be from Lichchhavi period, but more likely it is an early Malla structure. The Mataurtha Khola probably was used for water supply.

Angular Deviations

We have seen from the above considerations that the streets even as they are at right angles to each other deviate from cardinal directions for some unknown reason. The streets of Hadigaon deviate by about 23°. The main street of Deupatan in the Malla sector of the town extending westward from Jayabagheswori is possibly based on the orientation of the temple of Pashupatinath and closely follows the deviation off cardinal direction. Unlike the town of Kisipidi, both Hadigaon and Deupatan do not exhibit any central space or are already effaced. The use of religious sites or temples to define intersections was obviously intentional and indicates planning thought of some sort in urban space conceptualization.

"The town of Patan has a street cross as the basic pattern, an archaic device to order space around a center. The cross is roughly oriented towards four stupas (or Chaityas) and the four directions. The town of Kathmandu is based on a grid pattern with different sizes of blocks, crossed diagonally by the ancient trade route, which survived later restructuring as a kind of fossil. The town of Bhaktapur displays yet a different pattern in response to the importance of the Mother goddesses (Nava-durga), whose non-iconic shrines are placed around urban territory as if to form an invisible protective ring or wall. The eight shrines (pitha) symbolize again an ideal order around a center, identifying the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. The town which symbolizes the Cosmos, gets orientation through these shrines" [Gutschow,

3 and 1]. Though the town of Bhaktapur and to a lesser extent, Kathmandu, as they are apparent now, can be construed to depict Sanskrit ritual literature mandala approach to town planning, the town of Patan gives a sense of cardinality orientation and a central focus now occupied by the palace [Gutschow, 1: cf. pp. 51, 111]. Kathmandu's sword mandala appears forced and its central fossilized diagonal street is very obviously the continuation of the trade route of Lichchhavi times whose one sector was named Kampro-yambi mārga as per inscription DV-149, located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

It is further noted that the angular deviation in the Patan cross pattern is 24° from the North and is more remarkable on Konti-Thati and Balkumari-Pulchowk crossing [Gutschow and Sakya]. This deviation is very close to the deviation of building orientations seen in the Satyanarayana Archeological site and might carry a planning meaning.

Verardi excavations drawings [Verardi G: pp. 20] show very clearly that the building layouts followed grid lines laid out parallel or perpendicular to each other. The northerly axial line of the temple structure is 26 degrees east of north. Such digression in major street crossing of Patan is 24 degrees east of north [Gutschow N, Sakya: pp. 161]. Orientation of other excavated buildings is either parallel or perpendicular to this direction. Even the old main streets of Hadigaon and Maligaon correspond to this angular deviation. Further research in this area is needed since the knowledge of astronomical mathematics of Lichchhavis was certainly advanced enough to establish exact cardinalities. May be this is related to some other planning ritual so far unknown. (Cf. 15 degrees deviation seen in the layout of Jaipur town in India) [Nilsson] May be these deviations relate to winter solstice apparent movement of sun.

The Physical Character of Lichchhavi Towns

Many palaces, temples, vihāras and water conduits were built by Lichchhavis in and around towns of which a few names we have already

discussed above. From the analysis of the inscriptions about Kailashakutbhavana (R-LXIX and R-LXXV) we have located the palace within the settlement of Hadigaon. The palace precinct had more than four temples and the ground enclosure had five gates mostly in cardinal directions as their naming suggests. 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 Kailashkut palace is indeed grand but Wang Huen Che does not notice the temples. For a keen observer to miss these temples is unlikely, therefore, either the temples were not magnificent structures or they did not form focal points in the square or court or they were relegated to private quarters in the palace court. It thus appears that it was only during the Malla period that temples became major external elements in the palace square of the capital town.

However the case of other Gramas and Dranggas was different as there were many settlements where temple was the central element e.g. Bungamati, Bhringaragrama, Narasimhagrama etc. Still others appear to have had tax offices as their central place e.g. Stharudranga, Kichpringrama etc. As time went on outlying townlets continued to polarize around the temples and tax offices and often had both the elements as the central duo by the early Malla or late Lichchavi 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 and these routes were classified for various loads of traffic (cf. Marga, Mahapath, Brihatpath, Hastimarga etc. seen in many inscriptions).

Unlike the earlier indigenous townlets or villages, located as they were in lower slopes of the hills, where drinking water sources were available close by and could be brought easily to the settlement areas, the townships of the Lichchavies located in the ridges and other high lands of the valley floor were away from hill sources and at the same time the subsurface ground water table was also fairly low for the technology of the time. This

led to the development of ponds with deep wells or fed by canals brought over long distances or in some cases, fed by naturally available water veins, as reservoirs and depressed pit conduits for water supply. The level of water at the source or reservoir and its distance from the waterspout decided the depth of the pit [Tiwari, 1: pp. 78-80]. The beauty of the water conduits near Manimandap in Patan Durbar, Naxal Bhagabati and others at Ratnapark, Hadigaon, Naxal Chardhunge, Jaisideval and Su-bahal stand testimony to the high level of aesthetics and building prowess of Lichchhavi builders in providing water to urban area- some of these including the oldest known are still working! The Lele inscription of 604 AD (R-LXV) records grants to many other urban services available at Lembatidrangga and one may surmise that such services were probably also available in other towns also. These services included 'home for the recovery of health' or hospital services (Arogyasala), city lighting (Pradipa gosthika), ported water supply (Paniyasala), wrestling sports establishment (Malla Yuddha gosthika), maintenance of canals (Pranali gosthika), Bull fighting establishment (Goyuddha), etc.

As most of the rulers followed Vaisnavite or Sivite religious practice and the state was run on the basis of Sanskrit ritual literature doctrine and also as Brahmins played major administrative and other decisive roles and as the religious images themselves were based on strict Sanskrit ritual literature principles [Bhattarai G], it is most likely that new towns or newer development of older towns created by the Lichchhavis, were laid out on the regulatory basis of these very doctrines. Some proof of this process is already shown in the discussions on Hadigaon and Deupatan. Information on such planning process of the Lichchhavi times has been scanty [Shrestha, C. B. et al: pp. 25]. Yet what was the purpose of the Gopalaraja Vamsabali chronicler in choosing the word 'beautiful' to qualify the town built by King Supuspadev? The description of temples are also very few in these inscriptions and whenever available are of little help. The use of such qualifiers as 'Prasadsamstham-anurupamiha' in (R-II), or 'Srimatsamsthanarupam-bhavanamieha' in (R-V), or 'Laxmibat-karyitwa bhavanamieha' in (R-III) are not in standard Sanskrit ritual

literature descriptive format and appear more metaphorical than anything else. But the use of the terms 'bhavana' and 'prasada' gives away their classical upbringing.

The recently excavated temple foundation at Satyanarayana in Haṅdigaon [Verardi G: pp. 31, S21] presents a perfect square shape planned on the principle of odd pada mandala similar to those seen in Malla period temples and thus can be concluded to have been based on Vastupurushamandala [cf. Tiwari SR, 1; Verardi G: S35].

As the directional indicators in all inscriptions are also given in relation to cardinal directions some sort of grid iron layouts as prescribed in traditional texts were most likely used for the layout of towns and villages. Conjectural directional relationships for Hadigaon, Maligaon, Sanogaucharan and Chardhunge general area is shown in Map 7, which lends further support to this likelihood. Religious landmarks and rituals formed the central theme of the plan of Kirtipur, which was settled at the transitional period between Lichchavis and Mallas and shows strong links to doctrinal plans [Herdick: pp. 32-38]. The medieval description of the original layout of Devpatan also suggests doctrinal layout [Wright: pp. 74]. Panauti, settled towards the end of 13th century AD, also shows strong religious determinism [Barre: pp. 91]. Something that followed doctrinal rules was probably seen as beautiful by the chronicler of Gopālaraja Vamsabali.

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, 1: pp. 86] and in Sanskrit ritual literature 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: pp. 233-236]

Though only one Lichchavi inscription describes landmarks within a settlement area (R-CXLIII), over twenty inscriptions describing the

boundaries of settlements are available. Rough polygons formed by land indicated in these steles are shown in Figures 1 through 17. These figures are not to scale and are not meant to show exact forms as orthogonal elongation and shortening is very likely due to lack of distance measure in these inscriptions. Also easterly, southerly, westerly, and northerly directions have been in some instances shown as true cardinal directions or corner cardinality for lack of sufficient data. However despite these difficulties the figures do indicate some definite planning pattern followed in the layout of settlement estates and their surrounding envelope.

On the basis of these polygonal approximations it can be concluded that

- Temples were located at cardinal corners in relation to settlements or at street crossings;
- Water conduits were common inside or around settlements, water canals in the fringes of settlements suggest this;
- Towns tended to be near hill bases;
- The location of smasan or burning pyre to the east or south east are similar to those found in early Malla Towns [Tiwari, 1: pp. 87];
- The location of water body nearby smasan 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:

"The Gods always play where forests are near and also near river, mountains and springs.

And also in towns with gardens." [Kramrisch S: pp. 1-4]

Chapter VII

Summary of Findings

The settlement principalities were divided taking into account natural features such as the ridgeline of hills and river courses. Within the valley subdivisions were primarily demarked by the courses of various rivers. In terms of regional administration, the valley was divided into three principle regions:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Purbadhikara: | East of Bagmati and north of Hanumante river |
| Paschimadhikarana: | West of Bagmati river |
| Daxinarajakula(sya) | |
| Adhikarana: | East of Bagmati and south of Hanumante river |

The four Narayanas of the valley responded to the general cardinality of the valley environ fixed on a similar basis with Changu to the North-East, Ichangu to the North-West, Hamsagriha to the South-East and Machchenarayan to the South-West. Also as the central element appears as a general necessity of the concept of four corners, it is surmised that the central element was the palace and the Satya Narayana.

The following terms are applied to elements of a settlement:

Rajakula, Rajavasaka,

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Griha, Bhavana: | Royal palace |
| Bhavana, Prasada: | Temple structure |
| Bhavana: | (early name for) Buddhist monastery or temple |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Vihara: | Buddhist monastery |
| Devakula: | Kirata temple, temple with multiple images |
| Svami: | The early Narayana (when suffixed to a noun) |
| Deva: | The Byuha or Avatara Narayana (when suffixed to a noun) |
| Isvara: | A Siva linga (when suffixed to a noun) |
| Isvaradeva: | A deity of Tantrik Saivism (Bajresvara or Indra) |
| Daxinesvara: | Deity of Right-handed Saivism or Tantrik Buddhism |

The following terminologies are applied to settlements:

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Grama/Pura: | A town or settlement, forerunner of 'Gla', 'Gala' / 'pur' of medieval period |
| Pringga: | A settlement of the Kiratas located on hill ridges and tops, forerunner of 'ping', 'pin', 'pim', 'pa' of medieval period. |
| Bru: | The level land on the ridge / central space of a Pringga, medieval 'bu'. |
| Dula: | Sloping sides below the ridge and above the terraces/plains, medieval 'dol'. |
| Tala: | Terraces or plains lower than Dula, medieval 'tar'. (currently mixed up usage) |
| Drangga: | A principality, grama or pringga with a limited self rule/ an administrative entity of local self-government |
| Pānchālikā: | a demarcated area or element operated and maintained by a committee, the committee itself, also members of the committee. |
| Cho: | peak or top of higher hills |
| Gung: | Forested Hillock |
| -bi, bi-: | Located to the east (of the prefixed noun) |
| -ma: | Located to the west (of the prefixed noun) |
| Daxina: | (When used as noun) subscribing to Tantrik practices of Daxinachara or Kaulachara or Bajrayana |

The following new readings have been made:

Ajika vihāra > Arjika vihāra

Änglävaka(spitä) > Ägnèyatalasahitä

Bhumbhukkikäjälashayana > Bhūmalakkikäjälashayana

Dhañcho pradēsha > Dhañchau pradēsha

Gan.idung grāma > Gan.idula grāma.

Gan.igulma > Gangulagulma

Gängshul > Gängula

Kämbilamprä > Kampilambä

Nhägun > Harägun

Prýmchhivriüdaks.in.ëshvara > yat Sri Gung daks.in.ëshvara

Put.hampringga grāma > Mat.hampringga grāma

Taid.osthala > Lumbañcho sthala

Tégval > Tvégval

Thais.äpranggan.igulma > Thais.ängangulagulma

Tuñchatchatu grāma > Tu tala cha tu grama

Udīmalaka > Taddulmalaka

Vaidya grāma > Tvèdya grāma

Apart from the place names shown above, a few other contextual new readings made in the course of this study are shown in the data analysis and presentation text.

Settlement Locations

The following places or settlements have been positively located by this study in addition to those already established. The list also includes places whose locations are different from earlier suggestions and these are footnoted. Wherever the conclusion is conjectural in nature an asterisk has been given.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Adhashälä pañchälä | : | Area west of Pashupatinath temple. |
| Ahidümkotta gräma | : | Baluwa village , north west of Gokarna. |
| An.dī gräma (HSN-142) | : | Hadigaon. |
| Ashingko pradesha (R-XCVII) | : | Area about Nugabaha of Patan. |
| Bhära visramana.s thäna (R-LIII) | : | Bisamvhara, east of Sankhu. |
| Bhumbhukkikäjalashayana (DV-77) | : | Budanilkantha. |
| Br̥hadgräma (DV-149) | : | Jayabageswori and Deupatan. |
| Chaturbhälatanasana vihära (DV-133) | : | Near Gokarna. |
| Chullamkhü (R-CXLVIII) | : | In Dhulikhel area. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Daks.in.a koli grāma (R-XCLX) | : | Between Indrachowk and Lagan |
| Dhañchau pradéssha (DV-133) | : | Pambu phant across of Guhyeswori. |
| Dhvolavāsa pradéssha (R-CXLVIII) | : | Dhulikhel. |
| Dolāshikhara (R-LIII) | : | Changunarayan hillock. |
| Étang grāma (R-CLVI) | : | Large area around Lubhu and including it. |
| Gangula gulma (R-CXXVI) | : | Chysal square, Patan. |
| Gāngula (R-XCVII) | : | Patan Durbar and northern area. |
| Gītā pañchālī (R-XCIX) | : | Minnarayan and area down to Bagmati. |
| Gudanduluntra pradéssha (R-XXII) | : | Area north of Gundu, Bhaktapur. |
| Gullamtangga grāma (DV-133) | : | Area of Chabel and Jayabageswori. |
| Gungdimaka grāma (R-LIII) | : | Settlement near Changu and Bisamvara. |
| Hansagrīha drangga (DV-129) | : | South of Sooryavinayak, Bhaktapur. |
| Hārāgung shikhara (R-XXIV) | : | Indradaha and Dahachowk. |
| Hmapringa grāma (DV-149) | : | Mhepi area. |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Hlapringga (R-CXXVIII) | : Northwest and south of Mrigasthali. |
| Hmupring (R-CXXVIII) | : Western Mulpani |
| Jc.mayanvi grāma (DV-149) | : Jamal and Indrachowk settlement. |
| Jayapallikā grāma (R-XX) | : Thankot Mahadev Area. |
| Jolpring grāma (R-CII) | : Same as Jayapallikagrama. |
| Joñjonding grāma (R-LXXIX) | : About Naxal. |
| Kadampring pradēsha (R-XCVII) | : Pulchowk Hillock area. |
| Kā (R-XLI) | : Settlement near Satungal and higher. |
| Kādula grāma (R-LX) | : Settlement in Sitati, possibly Satungal. |
| Kalopi grāma (R-CXLVIII) | : A settlement within Dhulikhel. |
| Kampilambā (DV-133) | : Jagadol area, west of Gokarna. |
| Kampring grāma pradesha (R-I) | : Kapan. |
| Kampro-yambī mārḡa (DV-149) | : Highway linking Kapan and Indrachowk. |
| Kékhā (R-XXXVII) | : Pharping area. |
| Khährýcho (R-XXXVII) | : A Hillock in Pharping. |

| | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| Khopryng grāma pradēsha (R-VIII) | : | Bhaktapur region. |
| Kichpriching grāma (R-XLI) | : | Kisipidi. |
| Kongko grāma (DV-129) | : | A Settlement west of Gundu. |
| Kun.dala ks.étra (DV-133) | : | Ramhiti / Mahankal. |
| Kurppāsī grāma (DV-68) | : | Khopasi. |
| Lahugvala (R-CLVI) | : | Lubhu. |
| Lémbatī drangga (DV-70) | : | Lele. |
| Lumbañcho (DV-115) | : | A hillock of Pharping. |
| Mākhoprÿn (R-LVI) | : | Bhaktapur west of Tachapal, Khauma. |
| Man.inägättika (DV-149) | : | Manithumko, south of Deupatan. |
| Mānēshvara (DV-149) | : | Hadigaon. |
| Māthang grāma (DV-94) | : | Thahiti. |
| Māting grāma (R-LXXVI) | : | Sundhara, Patan. |
| Mindicho (R-XXXVII) | : | A hillock at Pharping. |
| Moguncho (R-XXXVII) | : | A hillock at Pharping. |
| Mūlavātikā grāma (R-XCVII) | : | South of Nhukhusi, Patan. |
| Naraprin grāma (R-CXVIII) | : | North west of Mulpani |
| Narasimha pañchālī (R-LIX) | : | Budanilkantha. |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| Natidul (R-CII) | : | Between Naikap and Kimsi. |
| Navagrāma (R-XX) | : | Naikap. |
| Navagr̥yha (R-CXIX) | : | Nabali tole of Deupatan. |
| Navagr̥yhamandala (R-CXXXIX) | : | Riverside fort south of Changu. |
| Parigéspulli (DV-133) | : | Near Gokarna. |
| Phérangkotta (R-LX) | : | Lohkot. |
| Phuthulva (R-LII) | : | About Tachapal and Kumaletol, Bhaktapur. |
| Prangringga pradésa (R-IX) | : | Pharping. |
| Projñambu (R-LIII) | : | Upper reaches of Manohara. |
| Sahasraman.d.ala (R-CXXXII) | : | Area from Mahankal to Jamal. |
| Sāmbapura (DV-149) | : | Area about Narayanchowr and Gairidhara. |
| Shanggä grāma (R-LXXV) | : | Sanga. |
| Shätuntūdula (R-LIII) | : | Gausuli, Changu. |
| Shitāt.ī (R-IX) | : | Sat Gaon area south of Balkhu river. |
| Shitāt.ī gulma (R-XX) | : | Kisipidi. |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Shitāt.ikātala (R-XLI) | : | Settlement and farmland of Sitati and Ka. |
| Srés.t.hidula (R-CXXVIII) | : | Between Dhungana gaon and Mulpani. |
| Surisinvatti (DV-115) | : | North of Bathali across Balkhu. |
| T.égval (grā)ma (R-XXXVIII) | : | Tyangla north west of Kirtipur Campus. |
| Tämtrakuttashälä (DV-149) | : | Mint Settlement between Manamaneswori, Tangal, Garidhara and Naxal Bhagabati. |
| Tavaichés.ä (DV-149) | : | Ribbon development between Chardhunge and Naxal Bhagabati. |
| Téggvang (R-XXXVII) | : | An afforested hillock of Pharping. |
| Tégvala pañchälī (R-CXL) | : | Tyagal, Patan. |
| Téngkhu (R-CXXXI) | : | Ganabahal area. |
| Tés.thüంగా grāma (R-XXI) | : | Tistung. |
| Thais.ängangulagulma (R-CXXVI) | : | Chysal square. |
| Thambidul (DV-115) | : | Bathali. |
| Thambü (R-XCVII) | : | Chinnamasta area, Patan. |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| Thanturī drangga (R-XXIX) | : | Budanilkantha. |
| Thēncho grāma (DV-115) | : | Thankot. |
| Tu tala cha tu grāma (DV-51) | : | Tusal / Tupek. |
| Tvèdya grāma (R-CXXXII) | : | Tebahal to Tyauda settlement. |
| Vodda vis.ya (DV-149) | : | Maitidevi area. |
| Vrénguncho (R-XXXVII) | : | An afforested hillock at Pharping. |
| Vrījīkarathyā (R-CXIX) | : | Hadigaon Satyanarayana. |
| Vügäyümī grāma (R-LXVIII) | : | Bungamati. |
| Yāpringa grāma (DV-114) | : | Hanumandhoka area. |
| Yāvīgrāma (DV-149) | : | Western Naxal. |
| Yébrankharo (DV-115) | : | Naikap area on the north bank of Balkhu. |
| Yüpagrāma (DV-34) | : | Settlement to the south and south west of Mangalbazar. |

It is therefore concluded that the settlements of the Lichchhavis were located all over the valley, with concentration at Hadigaon, Naxal, Kathmandu city core area, south and eastern section of Patan city core area. Important outlying settlements were concentrated along Thankot - Sankhu highway corridor which had Sitati sector on the western end from Thankot to Teku; Yambu, Maneswor on the central section from Bhimsenthan to Hadigaon, Lhapringa and Mhupringga at Slesmantakaban and Gungdimaka on the eastern end from Gokarna to Sankhu. The main

centers of Buddhist religious learning, the Viharas, were located between Navagriha (Jayabagheswori) and Brihatgrama (Chabel) on the west and Gokarna on the east.

The general regional dispersal of settlements in the Kathmandu Valley is shown in Map no 9. The northwestern sector of the valley appears comparatively sparsely settled.

Separate settlements and Viharas

One of the major conclusions presented in this thesis is that the Viharas in Lichchhavi period were located outside the lay settlements and that these Viharas were generally in the upper reaches between Dhobikhola and Bagmati River. Only a few Viharas were within settlements of significant size, the Jayavarma Vihara being one of them. This may also be construed to conclude that the Buddhist monks were separated from the lay Hindu population. Unlike this situation the Hindu Temples formed part of the settlements in general.

General Pattern of Settlement

The Lichchhavi towns appear to have been planned as per the Hindu dictates of planning and the same system, with appropriate Shakta modifications, appear to have been carried over in the Malla period. It is also quite possible that the Kiratas followed a planning principle of dividing the town in three sector; this possibility is seen from the observation of the sector of Hadigaon east of the Gahana Pokhari. The Malla memory of this may be seen in 'Kwo, Dathu and Than' divisions of their villages and towns.

Though from the period the inscriptions appear on the scene the dispersal of settlements appear already extended all over the valley, from legendary sources the sequence of development over time was apparently as follows:

Earliest set: Nagarjun hill top, Manichur-Mahadev pokhari hill top, Phulchoki hill top, Chovar and Chandagiri hilltop. (Kirāta religious sites later converted to Buddhist sites)

Middle set: Changu hill spur, Gundu hill spur, Thankot hill spur and Ichangu hill spur and Kapan hill spur. (Settlements later converted to Hindu sites)

Later set: 1. Matatirtha > Kisipidi > Kirtipur
2. Deupatan > Hadigaon > Kathmandu

In the Malla period, urban development centered around the capital, firstly at Bhaktapur followed by Patan and Kathandu. They seem to have preferred larger towns than the Lichchavis, possibly telling of the change from a decentralized polity to a centralized one.

All the sets indicate gradual movement of settlements from the hilltops to hill spurs and then onto hillocks in the valley floor. The traditional limitation of the settlement on higher ground appears to have been a legacy of the Kiratas. The other move of the Lichchavis to create riverside settlements seems to have adopted to the 'pringga' trend quite early on their establishment in the valley. The Mallas seem to furthered the original Kirata idea even more distinctively.

Placenames , town elements and other proper names and their reference inscriptions.

Source : LICHCHHAVI INSCRIPTIONS. [DV- number refers to inscription number as given in Dhanavajra Bajracharya's 'Lichchhavi Kalka Abhilekh'. Likewise R-Roman numbers are corresponding references to Dilli Raman Regmi's 'Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal.]

Abhayaruchi vihāra : DV-133, pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.

Adhashālā pañchālī : DV-85 , pp 358 ; 615 AD. Ins. at Deupatan, Pashupatinath.

Ahidūmkotta grāma: Rolamba ,Vol 10 No 1,pp 34; 614 AD. Ins. at Baluwa, Gokarna.

Arjika vihāra : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Ambu tīrtha : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. at Bajraghar west of Pashupatinath.

An.dī grāma : HSN-142,pp 103 ; 750 AD.

Āgneyatalashitā : R-LIX,pp 59 ; 595 AD.Ins. located at Budaniikantha.

Anuparameshvara shivalingga : DV-38, pp 170 ; 540 AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath to west of Vatsala Temple.

Araghatta : DV-149, pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Ärämkhar predesha : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Ashingko pradesha : R-XCVII, pp 94 ; 624 AD. Ins. located at Tavajhya, Patan.

Atmanattn.aka : DV-149, pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Bémmä : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. located west of Daxinamurti at Deupatan.

Bémpa gräma : DV-38, pp 170 ; 540 AD. Ins. at Pashupatinath, Vatsala Temple.

Bémpä : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. located west of Daxinamurti at Deupatan.

Bhadreshvara : DV-34, pp 155 ; 533 AD. Ins. located at Bhasmeswar, Pashupatinath.

Bhära visraman.a sthäna : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changu temple.

Bharatäsrama : R-LXVI, pp 68 ; 613 AD. Ins. located at Jyabahal east of Jaisidewal.

Bhäravi water spout : DV-41, pp 179 ; 550 AD. Ins. at Hadigaon.; DV-52, pp 208 ; 570 AD. Ins. at Patan Durbar north.

Bhäsaks.étra : DV-129, pp 485 ; 656 AD. Ins. located on hill to north-east of Lubhu.

Bhojamati water spout : DV-147, pp 547 ; 727 AD. Ins. located at Jaisidewal east.

Bhrýnggära gräma : R-CIX, pp 108 ; 641 AD. Ins. at Bhringareswar, Sunakothi.

Bhr̥ynggārēshvara dēvakula : DV-140, pp 519 ; 697 AD. Ins. located at Bringareswar, Sunakoṭhi.

Bhr̥ynggārēshvara pañchālī : DV-140, pp 519 ; 697 AD. Ins. located at Bringareswar, Sunakoṭhi.

Bhumbhukkikājalashayana : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. at dabali of Hadigaon.

Bhūvanēshvara dēvakula of Mānēshvara : DV-124, pp 463 ; 643 AD. Ins. located at Yangalhiti, Laganṭol.

Bhūya grāma : R-XC, pp 88 ; ? AD. Ins at Chapatol, Ilanani, Patan.: DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. at Pashupatinath.

Brahma tīrtha : R-CXXVIII, pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Br̥yhadgrāma : DV-149, pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Chandrēshvara : DV-59, pp 240 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Banepa town centre.

Chaturbhālatanasana vihāra : DV-133, pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.

Chhatrachan.dēshvara : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Chhogum : R-C, pp 97 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Adeswor, Chovar.

Chishiman.dā (tilamaka) : R-CXXXII, pp 132 ; 695 AD. Ins. located at Lagantol.

Chūdīkēshvara : DV-70, pp 282 ; 604 AD. Ins. located at Lele.

Chuhungpéd : R-CXVIII, pp 116 ; 645 AD. Ins located at Deupatan.

Chuhuṅgrapédā : R-CXVIII, pp 116 ; 645 AD. Ins located at Deupatan.

Chuhvanggabhūmi : R-CXXVIII, pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Chullamkhū : R-CXLVIII, pp 158 ; 746 AD. Ins. located at Patan district court.

Chupring river : R-LXXVII, pp 79 ; 613 AD. Ins. located at Tistung.

Chustun river : R-LXXVII, pp 79 ; 613 AD. Ins. located at Tistung.

Chustung grāma : R-LXXVII, pp 79 ; 613 AD. Ins. located at Tistung.

D.ichichadimr̥dēsha : DV-99, pp 389 ; ? AD. Ins. at Bhimsenthan, Patan Durbar.

Daks.in.a koli grāma : R-XXVI, pp 26 ; 530 AD. Ins. at Khapinche, Chyasal. : R-XCIX, pp 93 ; ? AD. Ins. at Machali. : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. at Narayantol, Thankot.

Daks.in.akoligrāma drangga : DV-124, pp 463 ; 643 AD. Ins. at Yangalhiti, Lagan.

Daks.in.arājakula : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changunarayan temple, : R-CXLIV, pp 155 ; ? AD. Ins. at Gyaneswar.

Daks.in.arājakulasya : R-LXVI, pp 68 ; 613 AD. Ins at Jyabahal east of Jaisidewal.

Daks.in.ēshvara : DV-59, pp 240 ; ? AD. Ins. at Banepa town centre, : DV-85, pp 357 ; 615 AD. Ins. at Deupatan.

Dan.d.anggun : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Dattan.adalpa : R-LII, pp 51; ? AD. Ins. located at Kumaletol, Bhaktapur.

Dāvākotta : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

- Däyambī** : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.
- Ddādhringkän.t.hako** : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription at Narayanchowr, Naxal.
- Dhañcho pradēsha** : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal,Palan.
- Dhärāmānēshvara** : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.
- Dhēlantī river** : DV-59, pp 240 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Banepa town centre.
- Dhvolavāsa pradēsha** : R-CXLVIII, pp 158 ; 746 AD. Ins. at Patan district court.
- Dolādrau** : R-I, pp 2 ; 464 AD. Ins. located at Changunarayan.
- Dolāshikhara** : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changunarayan temple.
- Dolāshikhara** : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohiti, Chyasal.
- Dolāshikharasvāmī** : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. at dabali of Hadigaon.: DV-59, pp 240 ; ? AD. Ins. at Banepa town centre.
- Dolāsūrēndra ks.itidhara shikhara** : R-CX, pp 109 ; ? AD. Ins. at Changunarayan.
- Dovagrāma desha** : R-XXXIV, pp 34 ; 545 AD. Ins. at Pashupatinath across Bagmati.
- Dramakutī mārga** : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription at Narayanchowr, Naxal.
- Drisrynggā** : R-C, pp 97 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Adeswor, Chovar.
- Dunlamgrāma** : R-XXVI, pp 26 ; 530 AD. Ins. located at Khapinche, Chyasal.

Dunlang grāma pradēsha : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. at Daxinamurti, Deupatan.

Dunprang grāma pradēsha : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. located west of Daxinamurti at Deupatan.

Duprang gāma : DV-114, pp 431 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Nilbarahi, Bode.

Dūrigvala : R-CLXI, pp 163 ; 877 AD. Manuscript Sahottaratantra located at Kesher Lib. no. 699.

Du_ggrāma : R-LVIII, pp 58 ; 595 AD. Ins. located at Dharamthali.

Dvärodghātana yātrā : DV-68, pp 274 ; 598 AD. Ins. located at Khopasi.

Étang grāma : R-CLVI, pp 161 ; 756 AD. Ins. located at Yangubahi, Patan.

Gammé : R-XXXII, pp 33 ; 538 AD. Ins. located at Dhungahiti, Sankhu.

Gamprodhin : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Gamprondring grāma : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Gan.dakī : R-I, pp 2 ; 464 AD. Ins. located at Changunarayan.

Gan.idung grāma : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Gan.igulma : R-CXXXVI, pp 125 ; 671 AD. Ins. located at Chysal square.

Gängshul : R-XCVII, pp 94 ; 624 AD. Ins. located at Tavajhya, Patan.

Gautama äsrama : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Gġgvala pañchālġ : R-CXL, pp 143 ; 724 AD. Ins. located at Minnath, Patan.

Gġtā pañchālġ : R-XCIX, pp 96 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Machali.

Gollam srota : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Gomġ pond : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol, Thankot.

Got.na ks.étra : DV-59, pp 240 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Banepa town centre.

Gudanduluntra pradésha : R-XXII, pp 21 ; 513 AD. Ins. at Bahalukha, Patan.

Gullamtangga grāma : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.

Gum vihāra : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Gumpadshum pradésha : R-X, pp 12 ; 480 AD. Ins. located at Te-bahal, New Road.

Gumpadvrġm : R-X, pp 12 ; 480 AD. Ins. located at Te-bahal, New Road.

Gun.avatġ shivalingga : DV-15, pp 65 ; 497 AD. Ins. located at Lazimpat.

Gungđġmaka grāma : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changu temple.

Guñshikhira : R-XCVI, pp 92 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Chitlang.

Hansagrġha drangga : DV-129, pp 485 ; 656 AD. Ins. on hill to north-east of Lubhu.

Hansagr̥ha déva : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Härägung shikhara : R-XXIV, pp 24 ; 513 AD. Ins. located at Sitapaila.

Hasvimavillī grāma : DV-103, pp 395 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Hmapringa grāma : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Hlapringga : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. at Bajraghar west of Pashupatinath.

Hmuprim pañchālika ks.étra : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. located at Bajraghar west of Pashupatinath.

Hmupring : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. at Bajraghar west of Pashupatinath.

Hrīmkō pradēsha : R-XXII, pp 21 ; 513 AD. Ins. located at Bahalukha, Patan.

Husprin : DV-124, pp 463 ; 643 AD. Ins. located at Yangalhitī, Lagantol.

Hyasmingr̥y grāma : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. at Daxinamurti in Deupatan.

Indra divākara image of Guhamitra : DV-12, pp 59 ; 480 AD. Ins. at Te-bahal.

Jājje pañchāli : R-CXL, pp 143 ; 724 AD. Ins. located at Minnath, Patan.

Jamayavī grāma : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Jarikha : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

- Jayapallikā grāma** : R-XX, pp 20 ; 507 AD. Ins. located at Thankot.
- Jīvavarmā vihara** : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription at Narayanchowr, Naxal.
- Jñātikhr̥ẏn river** : R-LXI, pp 62 ; 597 AD. Ins. located at Tokha.
- Jolpring grāma** : R-CII, pp 99 ; 631 AD. Ins. at Balambu.: R-IX, pp 11 ; 498 AD. Ins. at Pashupatinath.
- Joñjonding grāma** : R-LXXIX, pp 81 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Gairidhara.
- Kadampring pradēsha** : R-XCVII, pp 94 ; 624 AD. Ins. located at Tavajhya, Patan.
- Kādula grāma** : R-LX, pp 60 ; 597 AD. Ins. located at Satungal.
- Kailāsēshvara** : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.
- Kailāshayātrā** : DV-68, pp 274 ; 598 AD. Ins. located at Khopasi.
- Kalopi grāma** : R-CXLVIII, pp 158 ; 746 AD. Ins. located at Patan district court.
- Kāmprilambā** : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.
- Kampring grāma pradesha** : R-I, pp 2 ; 464 AD. Ins. located at Changunarayan.
- Kampro-yambī mār̥ga** : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription at Narayanchowr, Naxal.
- Kangkāvattikha** : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.
- Kangkovilva road** : R-CXVII, pp 114 ; 643 AD. Ins. located at Yangalhitī, Lagantole.

Kangkulam pradésa : R-XCVII, pp 94 ; 624 AD. Ins. located at Tavajhya, Patan.

Kékhä : R-XXXVII, pp 35 ; 557 AD. Ins. located at Pharping.

Khährýcho : R-XXXVII, pp 35 ; 557 AD. Ins. located at Pharping.

Khainas.pu pradésa : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. at Daxinamurti at Deupatan.

Khärevälgäñcho : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.

Kharjürikä vihära : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Yagabahal,Patan, : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. at Bajraghar west of Pashupatinath, : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. at dabali of Hadigaon.

Khätampalfi : DV-142, pp 527 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Thimi.

Khopryng gräma pradésa : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. at Daxinamurti, Deupatan.

Khrýng pradésa : DV-99, pp 389 ; ? AD. Ins. at Bhimsenthan, Patan Durbar.

Khülpring gräma : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Khuþryng gräma : R-LVII, pp 57 ; 594 AD. Ins. located at Tulachhentol, Bhaktapur.

Kichpriching gräma : R-XLI, pp 39 ; 560 AD. Ins. located at Kisipidi.

Kongkobilva märga : DV-124, pp 463 ; 643 AD. Ins. located at Yangalhiñi, Lagantol.

Kongko gräma : DV-129, pp 485 ; 656 AD. Ins. located on hill to north-east of Lubhu.

Kun.dala ks.étra : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.

Kurpāsa : R-CXL, pp 143 ; 724 AD. Ins. located at Minnath, Patan.

Kurppāsī grāma : DV-68, pp 274 ; 598 AD. Ins. located at Khopasi.

Lahugvala : R-CLVI, pp 161 ; 756 AD. Ins. located at Yangubahi, Patan.

Langkhā grāma : R-CLX, pp 162 ; 848 AD. Ins. located at Changunarayan.

Lañjagvala pañchālī : DV-147, pp 547 ; 727 AD. Ins. located at Jaisidewal.

Lankhulauttan.é : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayan Chowr, Naxal.

Lémbatī drangga : DV-70, pp 282 ; 604 AD. Ins. located at Lele.

Léndupradésha : R-XXXII, pp 33 ; 538 AD. Ins. located at Dhungahitī, Sankhu.

Loprin : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohitī, Chyasal.

Lopring grāma : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Lumbañocho : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol, Thankot.

Lunju source : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Lunsrī pradésha : DV-114, pp 431 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Nilbarahi, Bode.

Madhyama vihāra : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Yagabahal, Patan, ; DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. at dabali of Hadigaon.

Mägvala gräma : R-XCVIII, pp 95 ; 625 AD. Ins. located at Mal itar, Balambu.

Maisinjjdéshta : R-IX, pp 11 ; 498 AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Mäkhodulun : R-LII, pp 51; ? AD. Ins. located at Kumaletol, Bhaktapur.

Mäkhoprÿn : R-LVI, pp 56 ; 594 AD. Ins. at located at Golmadhitol, Bhaktapur.

Mallapurÿ : R-I, pp 2 ; 464 AD. Ins. located at Changunarayan.

Man.d.apÿ yäträ : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Man.igupta / Mahéndramatÿ water spout : DV-40, pp 177 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Tahalagalli, Lagantol.

Man.imatÿ river : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changunarayan temple.

Man.inägättika : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Mänadéva's dhärä : DV-17, pp 71 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Takhache, Kellol.

Mänadéva's Vis.n.uvikränta mÿrti : DV-4&5, pp 34&35 ; 467 AD. Ins. located at Lazimpat and Tilganga, Pashupatinath.

Mänang gräma : DV-70, pp 282 ; 604 AD. Ins. located at Lele.

Mänëshvara : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription located at Narayanchowr, Naxal, : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Mänëshvara räjänggan.a : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Māshā : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Mastā : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Māthang grāma : DV-94, pp 380 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Kathesimbhu.

Māting grāma : R-LXXVI, pp 78 ; 610 AD. Ins. located at Sundhara, Patan.

Mātin dévakula : R-LXXVI, pp 78 ; 610 AD. Ins. located at Sundhara, Patan.

Mékan.d.idul : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. located at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Mindicho : R-XXXVII, pp 35 ; 557 AD. Ins. located at Pharping.

Mingko(bhü) : R-XXXII, pp 33 ; 538 AD. Ins. located at Dhungahiti, Sankhu.

Mirmélfī shangkaranārāyan.a : DV-81, pp 345 ; ? AD. Ins at Nabahiltol, Patan.

Mittambrü : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. located at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Moguncho : R-XXXVII, pp 35 ; 557 AD. Ins. located at Pharping.

Mūlavātikā grāma : R-XCVII, pp 94 ; 624 AD. Ins. located at Tavajhya, Patan.

Nad.apat.ä vātika : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Nadagr̥yhamandala : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohiti, Chyasal.

Naraprin grāma : R-CXVIII, pp 116 ; 645 AD. Ins located at Deupatan.

Narasimha pañchālī : R-LIX, pp 59 ; 595 AD. Ins. located at Budanilkantha.

Narasimhadéva : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Nārāyan.asvāmī(Bhagavān) : R-CI, pp 98 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Kebalpur, Dhading.

Nāthēshvara (Nandavarmā) : R-C, pp 97 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Adeswor, Chovar.: R-XXXIV, pp 34 ; 545 AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath across Bagmati.

Natidul : R-CII, pp 99 ; 631 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Navagrāma : R-XX, pp 20 ; 507 AD. Ins. located at Thankot.

Navagrāha : R-CXIX, pp 117 ; 647 AD. Ins. located at Deupatan, Pashupati.

Navagrāhamandala : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohiti, Chyasal.

Nhāgun : R-CII, pp 99 ; 631 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Nhuprim pañchālīka ks.étra : R-CXXVIII, pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Nīlīshālā pran.ālī : R-LXXIX, pp 81 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Gairidhara.

Ninvrū : R-CXXVIII, pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Bajraghar west of Pashupatinath.

Nuppunna drangga : R-CI, pp 98 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Kebalpur, Dhading.

Nupuna grāma : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Pahañcho : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol, Thankot.

Panapphu : R-XC, pp 88 ; ? AD. Ins located at Chapatol, Ilanani, Patan.

Pangkutī : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Pāngumaka : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Parigéspullī : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.

Parvatéshvaradeva : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Pashupati : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Phanshinprala : R-CXXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Phavadrang grāma : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Phérangkotta : R-LX, pp 60 ; 597 AD. Ins. located at Satungal.

Phrythūlks.étra : R-LXVI, pp 68 ; 613 AD. Ins. located at Jyabahal, Jaisidewal.

Phuthulva : R-LII, pp 51; ? AD. Ins. located at Kumaletol, Bhaktapur.

Pikangkūlaka pradésha : R-XXVI, pp 26 ; 530 AD. Ins. at Khapinche, Patan.

Pikhu grāma : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Po grāma : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Pondiman.dapikā : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Pran.ālī dimaka grāma : R-LXIV, pp 65 ; 604 AD. Ins. located at Dhapasi.

Prangpringga pradēsha : R-IX, pp 11 ; 498 AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Pravardhamānēshvara : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Prayittikhā pradēsha : R-IX, pp 11 ; 498 AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Préks.an.aman.d.apikā : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Projñambu : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changunarayan temple.

Prongninprang river : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changu temple.

Prongprobäng river : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changu temple.

Prñchchhivrü (daks.in.éshvara) : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Pun.d.rirājakula : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changunarayan temple.

Pun.yagomi pārthivashilā : DV-29, pp 141 ; 530 AD. Ins. at Aryaghat, Pashupatinath.

Pundatta grāma : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Punupañchālī : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohiti, Chyasal.

Pūrvarājakula : R-CXLIV, pp 155 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Gyaneswor.

Pus.pavatikā vihāra : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohiti, Chyasal.

Put.hampringga grāma : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Puttī river : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Radung grāma : DV-124, pp 463 ; 643 AD. Ins. located at Yangalhiti, Lagantol.

Rāmēshvara : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Ratnēshvara Shivalingga : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. at Daxinamurli, Deupatan.

Rétāpañchālī : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohiti, Chyasal.

Ripshangko : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. located at west gate of Changu temple.

S.āphanādulaka : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

S.as.t.hidēvakula : DV-72, pp 301 ; 606 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Sahasraman.d.ala : R-CXXXII, pp 132 ; 695 AD. Ins. located at Lagantol.

Salambu rājavāsaka : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Sämä(talañju) villages : R-C, pp 97 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Adeswor, Chovar.

Sämbapura : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. at Narayanchowr, Naxal. : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. at dabali of Hadigaon.

Sämvpura(vätikä) : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal. .

Sangko river : R-LII, pp 51; ? AD. Ins. located at Kumaletol, Bhaktapur.

Sañjarä river : R-LII, pp 51; ? AD. Ins. located at Kumaletol, Bhaktapur.

Satvau mälamvä : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Samvaidé ks.étra : DV-34, pp 155 ; 533 AD. Ins. at Bhasmeswar, Pashupatinath.

Shälagambi ks.étra : R-XXXIV, pp 34 ; 545 AD. Ins. at Pashupatinath, Bagmati.

Shälangkä : R-CXVIII, pp 116 ; 645 AD. Ins located at Deupatan.

Shalangkhä : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol, Thankot.

Shanggä gräma : R-LXXV, pp 77 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at Sanga.

Shangkaranäräyan.a svamī : DV-50, pp 198 ; 565 AD. Ins. at Gachanani, Pashupati.

Shäphanädulaka : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Shashi ks.étra : R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD.Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupatinath.

Shatammi : R-XXXII, pp 33 ; 538 AD. Ins. located at Dhungahiti, Sankhu.

Shätuntidula : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. located at west gate of Changu temple.

Shität.ī : R-IX, pp 11 ; 498 AD. Ins. located at Pashupalinath.

Shität.ī drangga : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Shität.ī gulma : R-XX, pp 20 ; 507 AD. Ins. located at Thankot.

Shität.ikātala : R-XLI, pp 39 ; 560 AD. Ins. located at Kisipidi.

Shivagaldévakula : DV-129, pp 485 ; 656 AD. Ins. on hill to north-east of Lubhu.

Shivakadévakula : R-XX, pp 20 ; 507 AD. Ins. located at Thankot.

Shivī pran.āfi : R-CXXXII, pp 132 ; 695 AD. Ins. located at Lagantol.

Shivī water spout : R-CXXXII, pp 132 ; 695 AD. Ins. located at Lagantol.

Simhaman.d.apa : DV- 70, pp 282 ; 604 AD. Ins. located at Lele.

Sität.ījolpring pradésha : R-IX, pp 11 ; 498 AD. Ins. located at Pashupalinath.

Srés.t.hidula : R-CXXXVIII, pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Bajraghar, Pashupalinath.

Sri Gung : R-CXXXVIII, pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Bajraghar, Pashupalinath.

Sribhoparikhämongkhä : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changu temple.

Srikharjurikā vihāra : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Yagabahal,Patan.; R-CXXVIII,pp 129 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Bajraghar west of Pashupatinath.

Srīmanādēva vihāra : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. located at Yagabahal, Patan.

Srīmanavihāra : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Srīrāja vihāra : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Yagabahal,Patan. : Rolamba ,Vol 10 No 1,pp 34; 614 AD. Ins. at Baluwa ,Gokarna. : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. at dabali of Hadigaon.

Srītukān.a : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Inscription located at Narayanchowr,Naxal.

Stharu drangga : R-L, pp 49 ; ? AD. Ins located at Chapagaon.

Subranko pradēsha : R-XXXII, pp 33 ; 538 AD. Ins. located at Dhungahiti, Sankhu.

Surisinvattī : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol, Thankot.

Svayapu river : DV-38,pp 170 ; 540 AD. Ins. at Vatsala Temple, Pashupatinath.

T.égval (grā)ma : R-XXXVIII, pp 37 ; 560 AD. Ins. located at Chowkitar.

Taid.osthala : R-CII, pp 99 ; 631 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Tākū grāma : DV-112, pp 426 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Talañju grāma : R-C, pp 97 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Adeswor, Chovar.

Tāmrakuttashālā : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Tāmrakuttashälä lakhamaka : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Tavaichés.ä : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Téggvang : R-XXXVII, pp 35 ; 557 AD. Ins. located at Pharping.

Tégval : R-LXVI, pp 68 ; 613 AD. Ins located at Jyabahal east of Jaisidewal.

Tégvala pañchäli : R-CXL, pp 143 ; 724 AD. Ins. located at Minnath, Patan.

Tégvalanäräyan.asvämi : R-LXVI, pp 68 ; 613 AD. Ins at Jyabahal, Jaisidewal.

Tékhumdula : DV-59, pp 240 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Banepa town centre.

Téngkhu : R-CXXXII, pp 132 ; 695 AD. Ins. located at Lagantol.

Tés.thüంగా gräma : R-XXI, pp 21 ; 512 AD. Ins. located at Tistung.

Téstungga : R-LXXI, pp 74 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Tistung.

Thais.äpranggan.igulma : R-CXXVI, pp 125 ; 671 AD. Ins. located at Chysal square.

Thambidul : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol I, Thankot.

Thambü : R-XCVII, pp 94 ; 624 AD. Ins. located at Tavajhya, Patan.

Thansamprin deva : DV-103, pp 395 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Thanturī drangga : R-XLIX, pp 47 ; 590 AD. Ins. located at Budanilkantha.

Théñcho grāma : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol, Thankot.

Théñcho grāma : R-XX, pp 20 ; 507 AD. Ins. located at Thankot.

Tuñchatchatu grāma : DV-51, pp 204 ; 567 AD. Ins. at Chapali, Budanilkantha.

Udan.éhusa : DV-149, pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Udimalaka : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changunarayan temple.

Umä tūrtha : R-CXXXIX, pp 141 ; 713 AD. Ins. located at Nayohiti, Chyasaal.

Uparim nālangga grāma : R-CXXXI, pp 132 ; 694 AD. Ins. located at Nala.

Utthim nadī : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Vāgvatīpāra pradēsha : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. west of Daxinamurti, Deupatan.

Vāgvatīpāradēva : DV-77, pp 320 ; 608 AD. Ins. located at dabali of Hadigaon.

Vaidyamadgu : DV-114, pp 431 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Nilbarahi, Bode.

Vaidya grāma : R-CXXXII, pp 132 ; 695 AD. Ins. located at Lagantol.

Valasoks.i dévakula : DV-149, pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Vala_la pradēsha : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. at Daxinamurti at Deupatan.

Vāmanasvāmi bhagavāna : R-XXXII, pp 33 ; 538 AD. Ins. at Dhungahiti, Sankhu.

Vārta kalyān.agupta vihāra : DV-133,pp 497 ; 679 AD. Ins. at Yagabahal, Patan.

Vātankutī : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Vémpä grāma : DV-38,pp 170 ; 540 AD. Ins. at Pashupatinath, Vatsala Temple.

Vihlangkho source : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. at west gate of Changu temple.

Vijayéshvarī bhagavatī : DV-16, pp 67 ; 503 AD. Ins. located at Palanchowk.

Viliviks.a pradésha : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. west of Daxinamurti at Deupatan.

Vingvochāman.d.api : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Vishvéshvara : DV-70, pp 282 ; 604 AD. Ins. located at Lele.

Viyaravotta : R-LII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Kumaletol, Bhaktapur.

Vodda vis.ya : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Votavorüs.a pradésha : R-IX, pp 11 ; 498 AD. Ins. located at Pashupatinath.

Vottarino water spout : DV-149,pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Vrémguncho : R-XXXVII, pp 35 ; 557 AD. Ins. located at Pharping.

Vrýjkarathyä : R-CXIX, pp 117 ; 647 AD. Ins. located at Deupatan, Pashupati.

Yügäyümi gräma : R-LXVIII, pp 70 ; 605 AD. Ins. located at Bungamati.

Vunlu river : R-XXXVII, pp 35 ; 557 AD. Ins. located at Pharping.

Vurdrum / vrädu : R-LIII, pp 51 ; ? AD. Ins. located at west gate of Changu temple.

Yaku : DV-149, pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Yäpringa gräma : DV-114, pp 431 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Nilbarahi, Bode.

Yavadu river : R-CXXXVI, pp 137; 705 AD. Ins. located at Balambu.

Yävigräma : DV-149, pp 566 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Narayanchowr, Naxal.

Yébrankharo : DV-115, pp 433 ; 633 AD. Ins. located at Narayantol, Thankot.

Yügvala pañchäli : R-CXL, pp 143 ; 724 AD. Ins. located at Minnath, Patan.

Yüpagräma : DV-34, pp 155 ; 533 AD. Ins. at Bhasmeswar, Pashupati.; DV-52, pp 208 ; 570 AD. Ins at Patan Durbar.; R-CXL, pp 143 ; 724 AD. Ins. at Minnath, Patan.

Yüpagräma drangga : R-CXVI, pp 113 ; 643 AD. Ins. located at Patan Durbar.

Yüpagrämaks.étra pradésa : R-VIII, pp 10 ; 477 AD. Ins. at Daxinamurti, Deupatan.

Yuvigräma : R-C, pp 97 ; ? AD. Ins. located at Adeswor, Chovar

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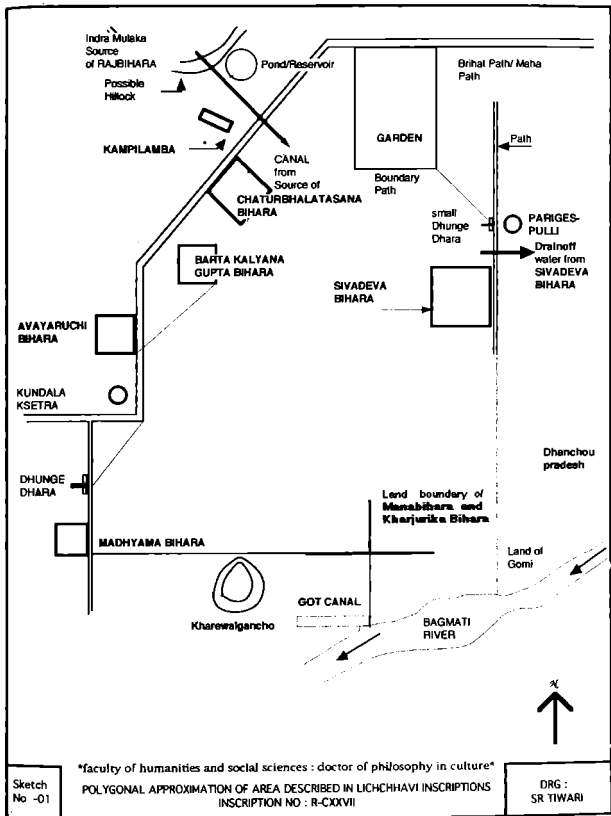
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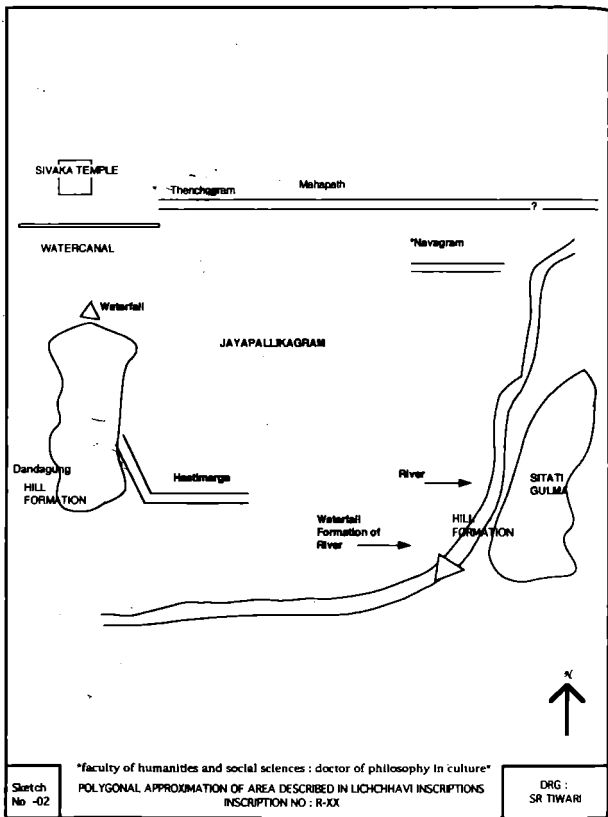
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Sketches, Maps and Photographs

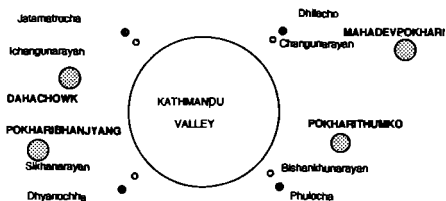




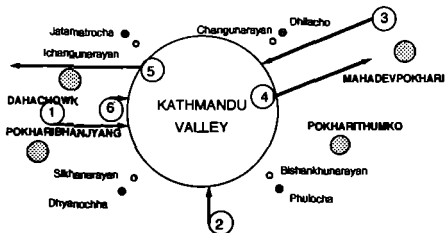
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POLYGONAL APPROXIMATION OF AREA DESCRIBED IN LICHCHHAVI INSCRIPTIONS
INSCRIPTION NO : R-XX

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 Mailla period |

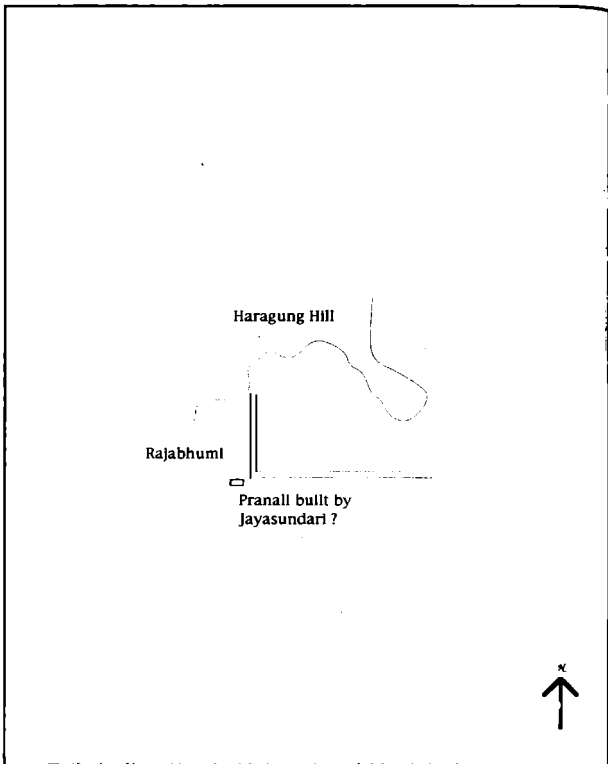
B. Attacks and Counterattacks into and out of Kathmandu Valley Kingdom.

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Sketch
No -03

KATHMANDU VALLEY
RELIGIOUS AND DEFENCE DETERMINANTS

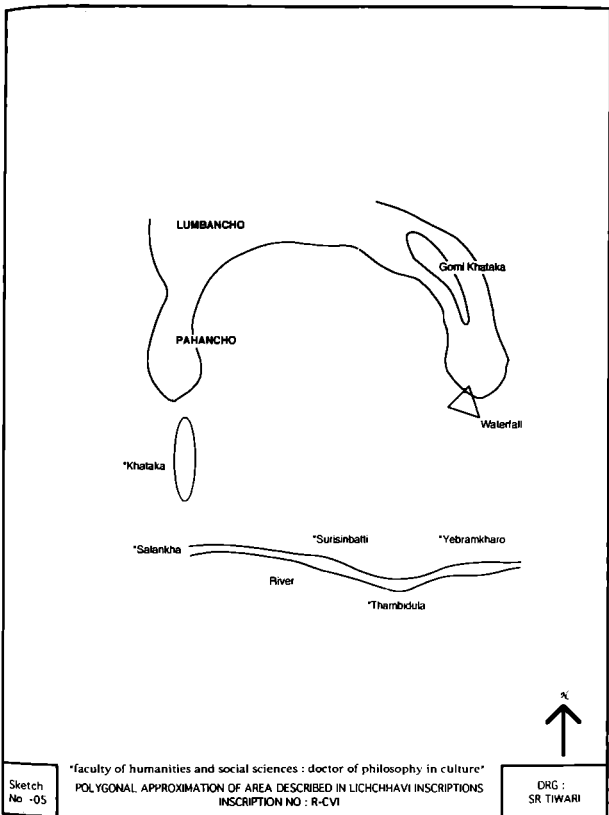
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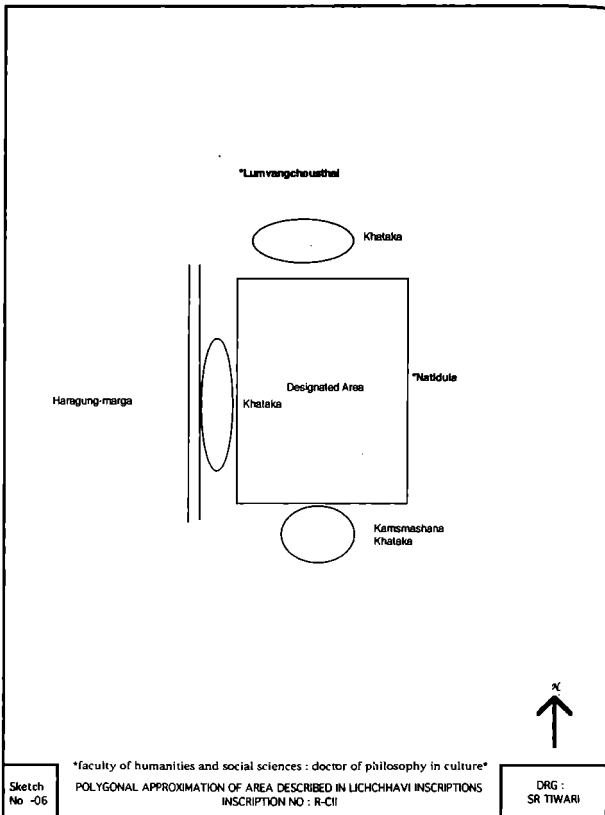


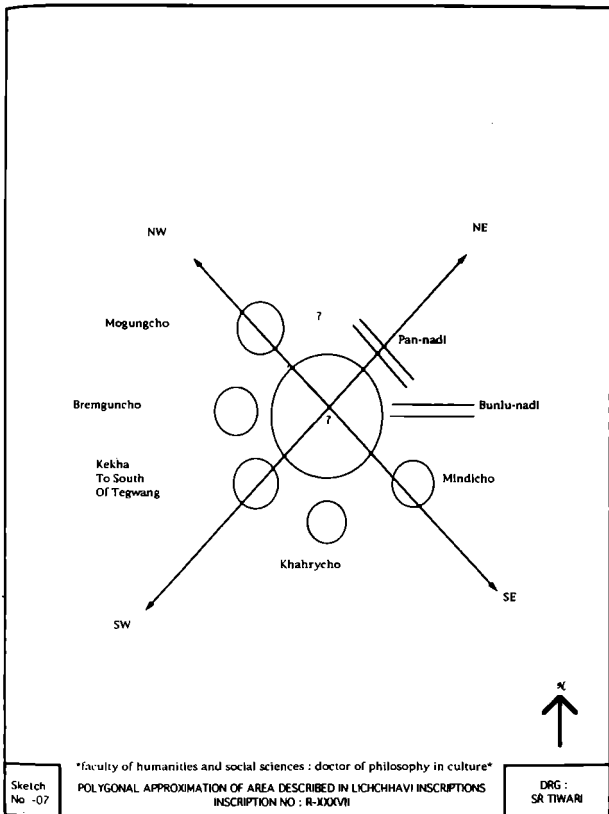
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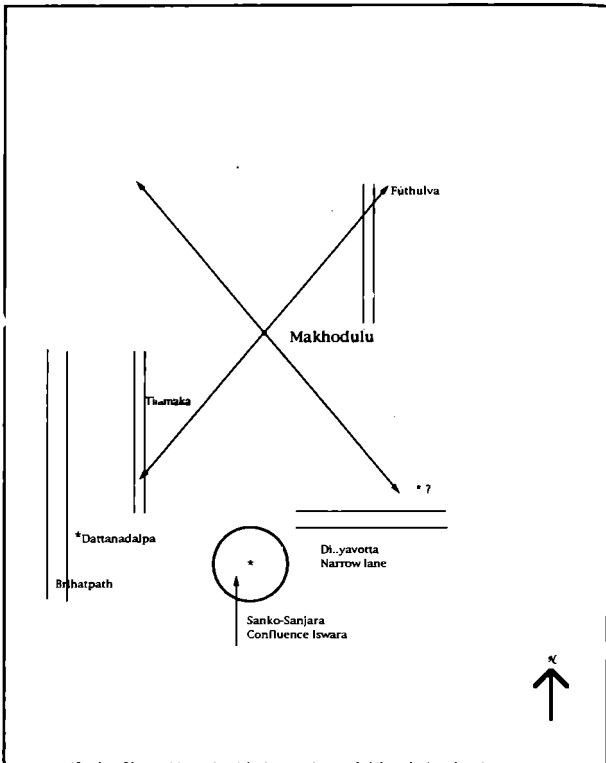
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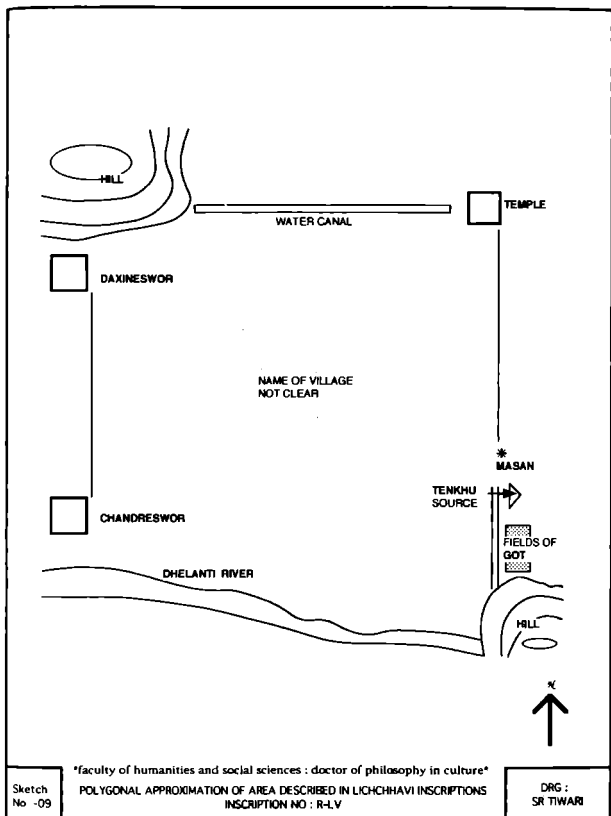


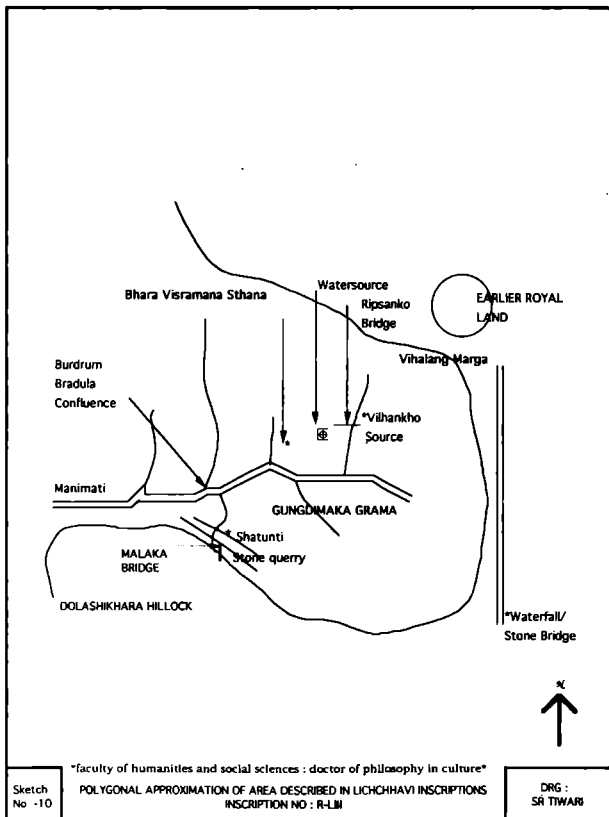


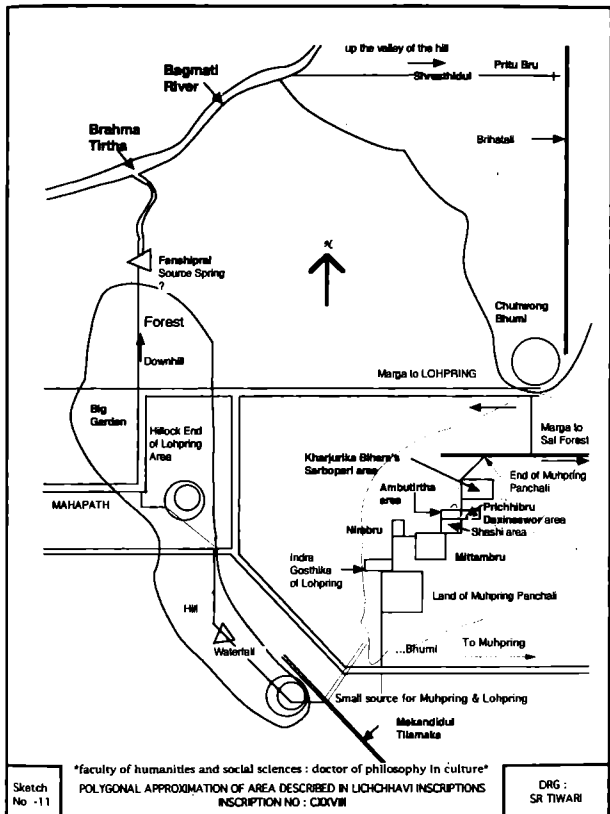
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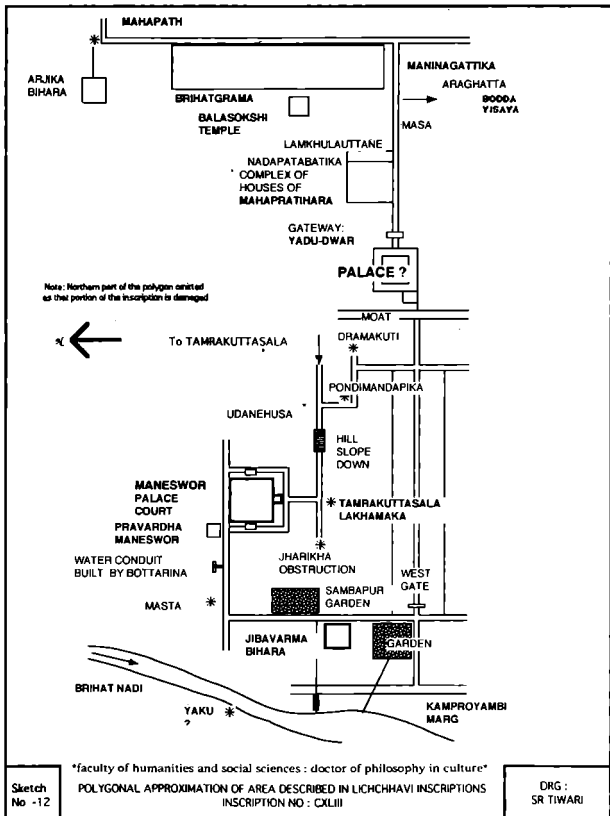
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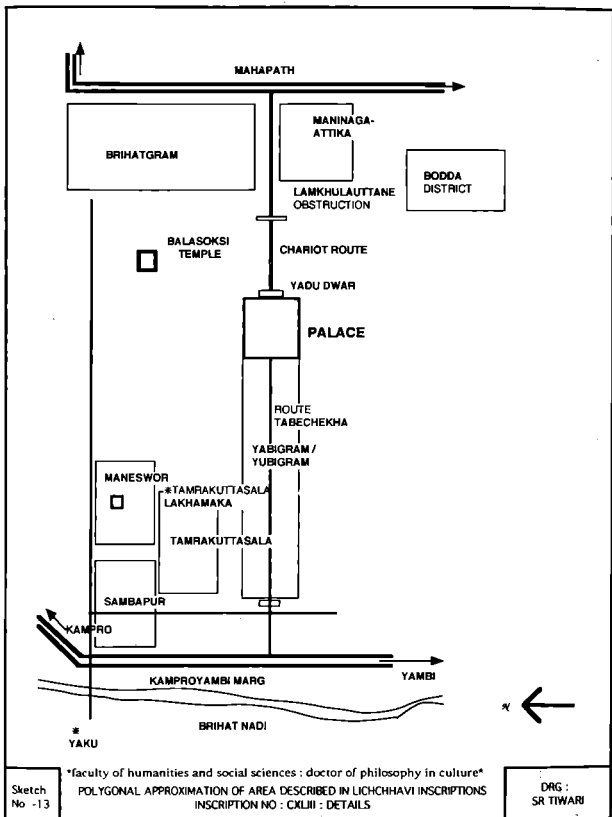
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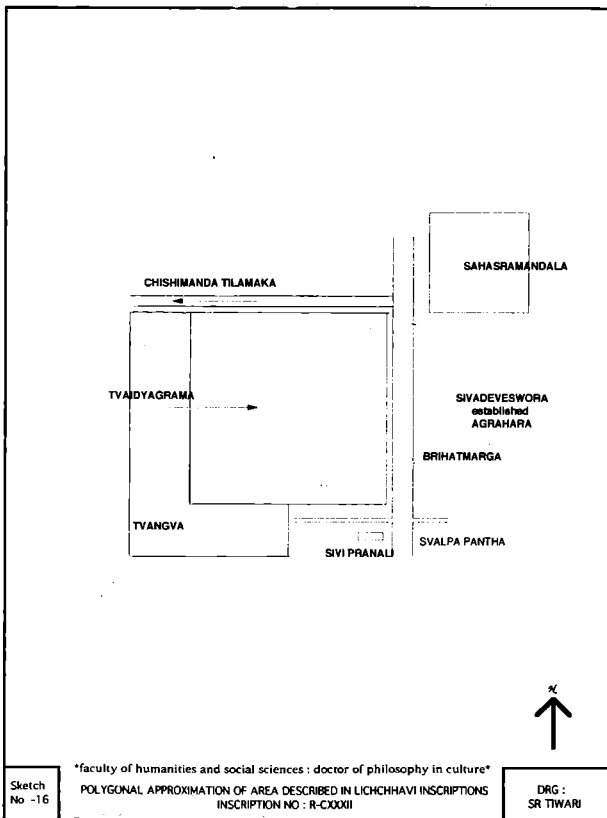










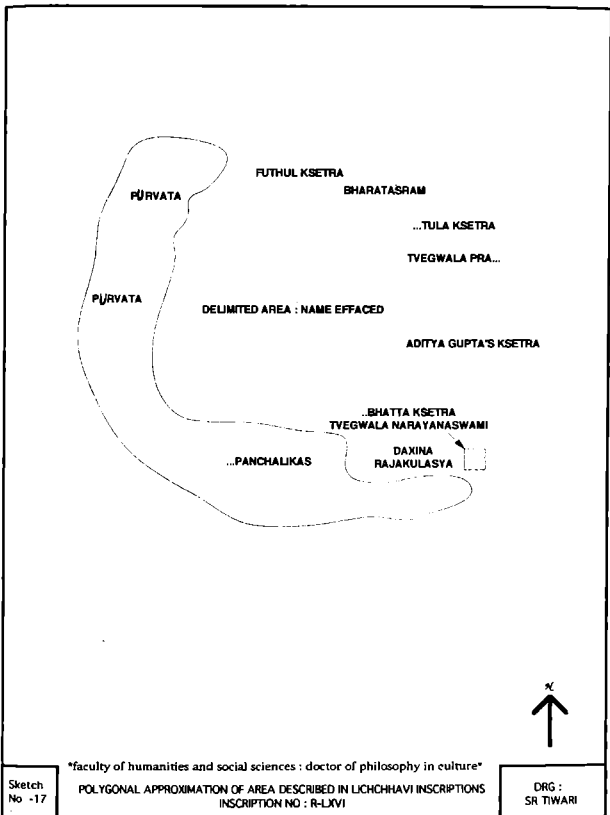


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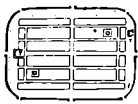
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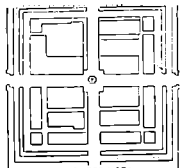
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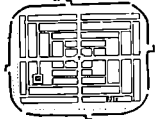
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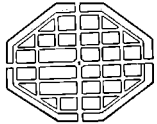
DANDAKA
MANDYAVARTA



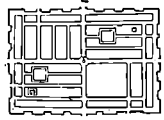
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PADMAKA



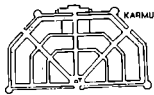
SWASTIKA



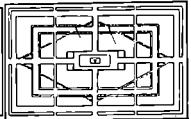
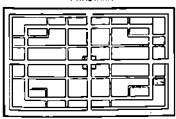
KARMUKA



PRASTARA



CHATURMUKHA



— DITCH TANK □ CIRCUMAMBULATORY PASSAGE T TEMPLE

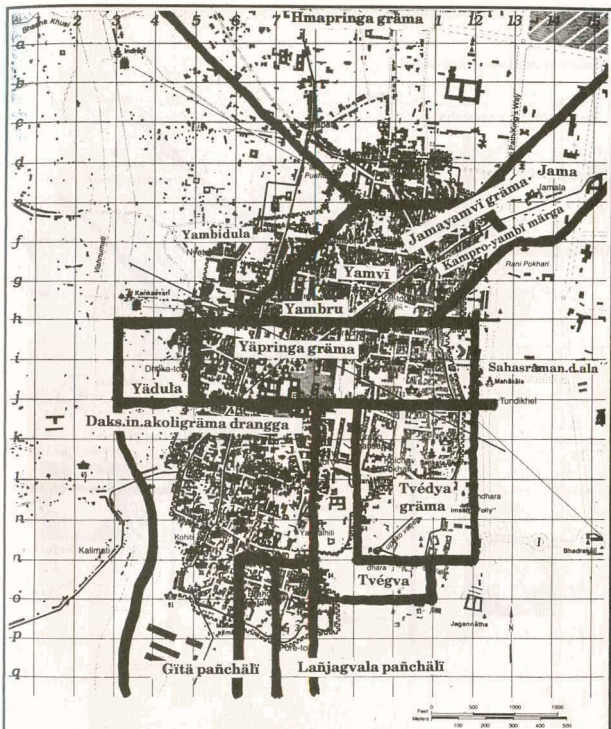


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Sketch
No -18

TOWN PLANS ACCORDING TO MANASARA
ANCIENT PATTERNS OF TOWN

DRG :
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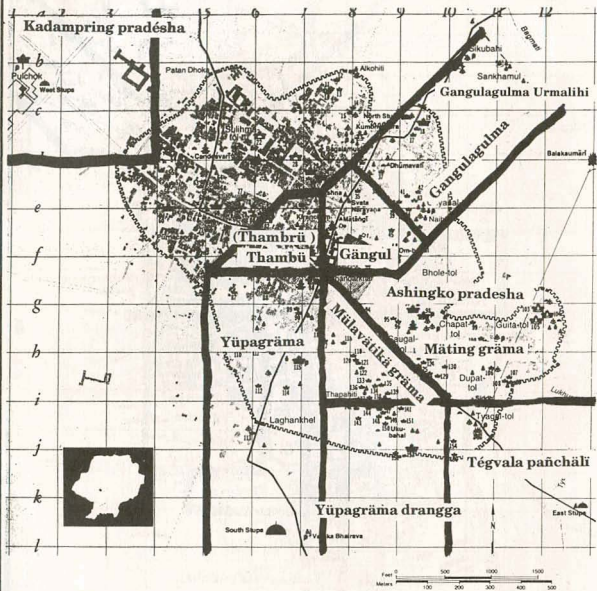
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Map
No -01

KATHMANDU TOWN AREA
IN LICHHAVI PERIOD

DRG :
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Kadampringdula Kupondol

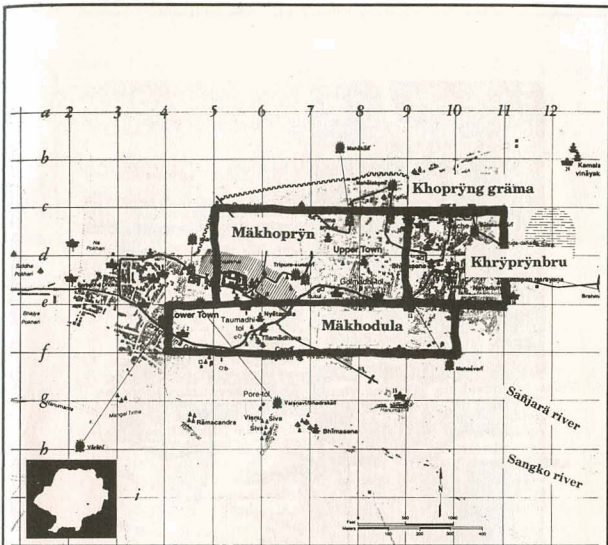


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Map
No - 02

PATAN TOWN AREA
IN LICCHHAVI PERIOD

DRG :
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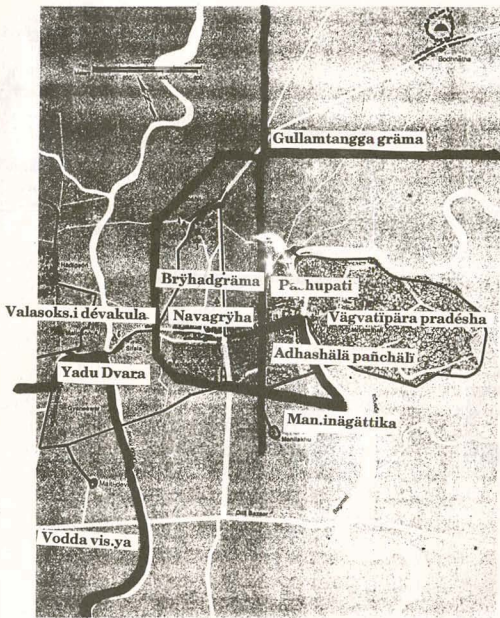


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Map
No -03

BHAKTAPUR TOWN AREA
IN LICHCHHAVI PERIOD

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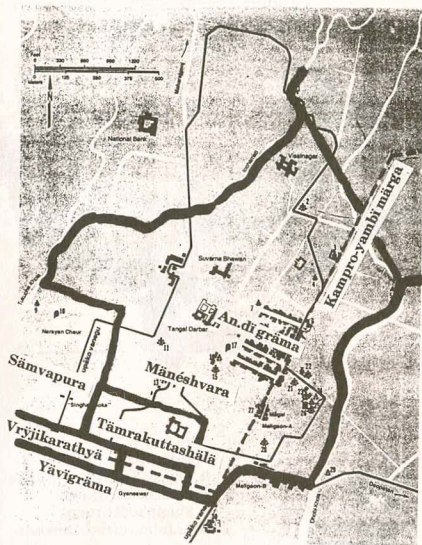


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Map
No -04

DEOPATAN TOWN AREA
IN LICHCHHAVI PERIOD

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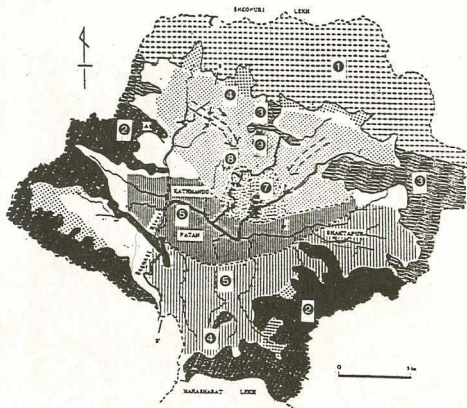


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Map
No -05

HADIGAON TOWN AREA
IN LICHCHHAVI PERIOD

SF



Quaternary

- ⑤ Lake Deposits
- ⑥ Fan Deposits
- ⑦ Lake Delta Deposits
- ⑧ Marsh Deposits
- ⑨ Fluvial Deposits

Middle Palaeozoic

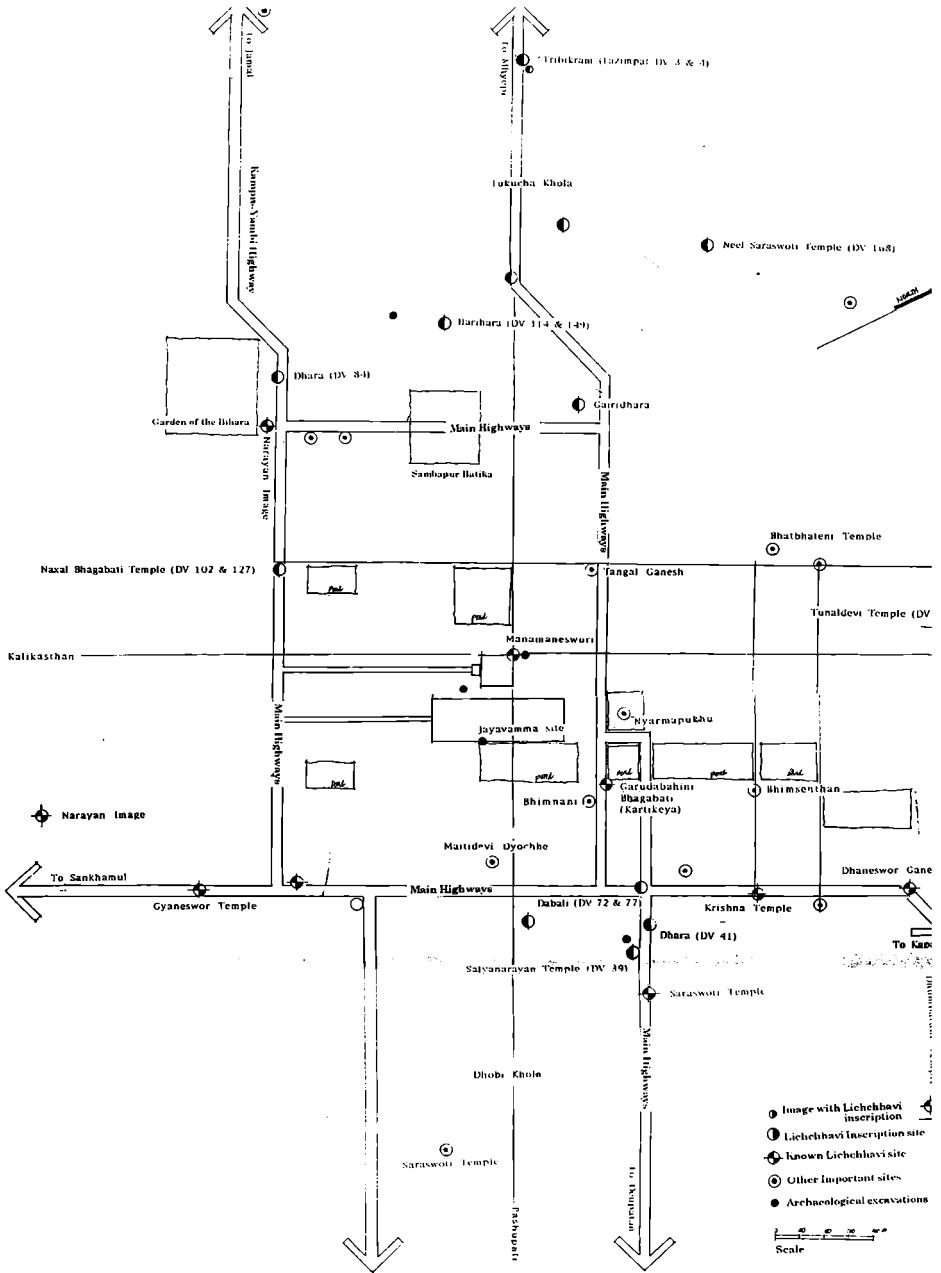
- ① Gneiss, Schist and Granite
- ② Phulchouki Group
- ③ Bhimphe Group
- ④ Granite Terrace Deposits

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Map
No -06

QUATERNARY SEDIMENTS IN KATHMANDU VALLEY
(Based on Pandey M R et. al.)

DRG :
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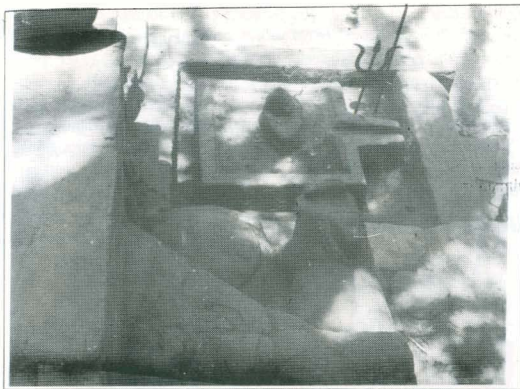
Deeper study of this festival could shed light on the location and nature of Bhuvanesvara Devakula of Maneswora town.

Why this festival is called the Jatra of Satyanarayana when the Satyanarayana of Hadigaon does not participate in the festival at all is a matter for future research. The actual participants in the festival are Chokatesvara Narayana from Bansbari and Nyalmalohn, the Bhutesvara and the Bhuvanesvara.

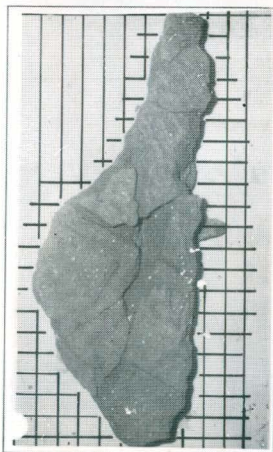
The architectural remains of temples from the early Lichchhavi period are seen in the very same areas where the khats start moving from.



**The Lichchhavi Temple Remains from near Bhuvanesvara.
(Ġarudabahini Bhagavati at Kotaltole)**



The Lichchhavi Temple Plinth from Bhutesora



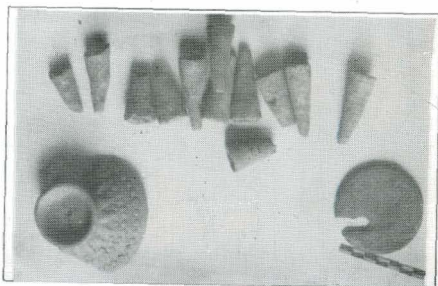
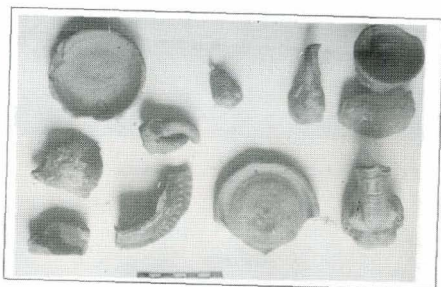
**A Brick Fragment from
Balmandir.**

Bricks from the Lichchhavi period is commonly found at Hadigaon. Bricks similar to the one with the famous inscription 'Sri Mahasamantamshuverma' discovered in 1968, are still to be seen in walls around Dabali of Hadigaon. In 1993, A large brick, unfortunately broken during an excavation for a building foundation, was retrieved by the author. Just two Lichchhavi letters 'ra..ma' have survived. In the site of

construction located inside the Balmandir, wall foundation remains, ruins of fallen walls and pottery with patterns and designed datable to the Lichchhavi period were seen extensively. The site is close to the spot, where the 'Jayaverma' statue was found.

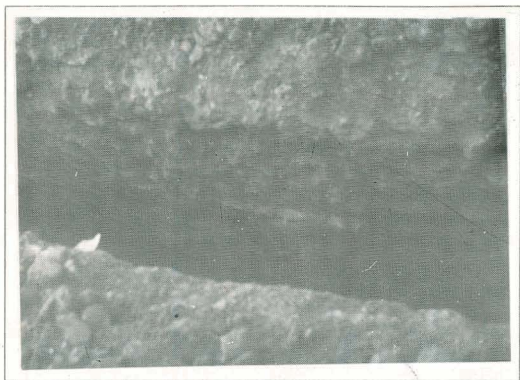
Archeological finds are common in any digging around Handigaon. Pictured here are some such finds. Particularly the crucibles for melting metal is notable. These finds are more common to the west of Balmandir.

Archeological Finds from the surface of Hadigaon



Also in 1992, a large scale digging around Naxal and Bhat-Bhateni took place to lay telephone cable and junction pits. These excavations, which were unsupervised by archeologists, revealed many old ruins under the ground. The following two photographs, taken on the Naxal Nagpokhari-Hattisar road show the stone paved path that ran all along the cut for a length of over 200 meters, before the pathway passed into a private compound. The use of Sankhu type of stone. The finds on the suspected alignment of the Kampro-Yambi highway of Lichchhavi period seem to confirm the polygonal approximation. The Kampro-Yambi highway seems to have gone westwards towards the Tukanarayana before moving towards Jamal, which it certainly passed through.





THE ANCIENT SETTLEMENTS OF THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

About the Author

Sudarshan Raj Tiwari earned his Bachelor of Architecture from University of Delhi with a gold medal in 1973. He got his Masters in Architecture from University of Hawaii in 1977. In 1995, Tribhuvan University awarded him a Doctor of Philosophy in culture for the dissertation, that is now with you in the form of this book.

He has lectured and presented several papers on historical architecture, planning of cities and conservation extensively. Dr. Tiwari joined Tribhuvan University as a member of the faculty in Institute of Engineering in 1974 and is now a professor. He has also served as Dean of the Institute of Engineering between 1988-1992.

For excellence in academics he had been awarded *Mahendra Bidhya Bhusan* medal. For his research on traditional architecture of Nepal, he was awarded *Prince Deependra Award for Science and Technology* by the Royal Nepal Academy for Science and Technology in 1989.

Professor Tiwari's book *Tiered Temples of Nepal* was published in 1988. His forthcoming book, *The Bricks and the Bull* is a saga of the cultural history and development of the Handigaon, the capital city of Lichchhavi Nepal.
