ANALYSIS OF SETTLEMENT CLUSTERS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN OF THIMI, KATHMANDU VALLEY

カトマンズ盆地のティミの街区組織の段階構成に関する研究

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Kathmandu Valley has numerous town settlements inhabited by Newar community. The authors make a study of one of the major town Thimi that lies in between
Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur. The study makes an analysis of the dwelling clusters identifies the basic unit of the settlement, known as nani, in the hierarchy of settlement clusters. It also discusses the importance of a common ritual artifact of a nani, known as kshetrapala, and points out its significance as the indicator of development of the forms of the dwelling plots. The types and changes in the structure of nani shows three patterns of settlement which are diachronically related in the development of the town form. The paper identifies the oldest part of the town and shows that there existed a centre of importance in the area at the beginning of the settlement, which, at present, is known as layaka, the palace.

The paper is one part in a series of study of the town of Thimi aimed to find out the characteristic structure of the towns of Kathmandu Valley, their historical development and the major factors that influenced in the development of their form. This paper shows that the analysis of the cluster types is one viable approach in the study of Kathmandu Valley towns which do not exhibit a definite and planned geometric configuration.

Keywords: Thimi, nani, kshetrapala, settlement clusters, primal plot

1. Research Objective

The towns of Kathmandu Valley are not so known as 'planned settlements'. The numerous legends mentioned in the chronicles of Nepalese history suggest that certain kinds of concept on the town settlement did exist, and were employed in building some of the Kathmandu Valley towns. However, even these sources describe only the outline form of the town and seldom delineate the pattern of the social and spatial distribution of the communities, the key social institutions, and the physical structures such as streets, neighborhood blocks and the residential plots. The accounts given by the chroniclers, nevertheless, are important reference posts but they need to be supported by historical and field data.

Notwithstanding the paucity of historical records in the study of Kathmandu Valley towns, we can still identify, in the traditional settlements, certain definite physical forms and social institutions characteristic of certain historical period and their significance in the shaping of the town. We have taken Thimi, one of the major towns of the Valley located between Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, for the case study (Fig. 1). Since 1997, Thimi, incorporating other minor settlements around it, has been the fourth municipality after the three cities. The total population of Thimi municipality is 31,970 (1992) with around 20,000 population within the old town area. All the inhabitants within the old town are Newars, the indigenous ethnic community of the Valley. Historical accounts indicate the existence of Thimi in the 13th century, and it is possible that the town was settled long before during the Licchavi period (5th-9th C.).

In the study of the Newar society, the social hierarchy of the communities and the form of community organizations are some of the basic features to be noted and the significance of which might be examined with respect to the spatial structure of the town. In the study of the spatial structure of Thimi, we identified a three level hierarchy in the constitution of community settlement clusters. The respective communities of these settlement clusters are the maximal community (communities of members of parallel social status and traditional occupation), dewali community (members of the same ancestral shrine) and the clan community (members who descend from the same lineage). Among 15 different maximal communities identified, the communities of 'Shrestha' and 'Prajapati' constitute 85% of the total population. While there is considerable research on the social structure of Newars, there is a gap in the studies of the clan structure and its relationship in the spatial structure of the town. The present paper will thus make a study of the organization of the settlement clusters of Thimi at the level of the clan community. It will analyze the structure of the dwelling clusters and their types, and explain their significance in the study of the spatial structure of the town. It will demonstrate that the analysis of dwelling clusters presents one viable approach in the detail study of the morphological development of the settlement.

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2. Physical Structure of the Town
Like most of the Newar towns of the valley, Thimi is built in an elevated land, at about 4 km west of Bhaktapur in a traditional route connecting Kathmandu and Bhaktapur (Fig. 1, Fig. 2). This route passing through Dondal of Thimi, divides the town into two parts of northern and southern sectors. A street runs north-south lying almost at the middle of the whole settlement. This is the major street of the town with temples and other public buildings studded in sideways and squares. Minor lanes branch towards east and west from this spinal street. The residential clusters, known as nani, are located on either side of the lane. All the lanes connect to a circuit that runs at the periphery of the settlement, but parts of which has fallen into disuse. Some of the major lanes lead further to the agricultural fields lying at the lower basin. The topography of the land falls sharply on all the three sides of the settlement. At the north of the plateau, there are two other small settlements Nagadesh and Bode.

Almost at the centre, towards the east of the main street, is located one of the ritual centre of the town. This centre is known as layaku and in the medieval period served as an administrative office of the Thimi region. layaku derives from rajakulu (Sanskrit), meaning the court of the prince or the royal palace. At present there exists a court of the town goddess Balakumari within the layaku. The rest of the area of layaku is rebuilt to house a secondary school. At the southern end of the town, there is a square where the main temple of Balakumari is located. The square is the main ritual centre of the town. North of Layaku, there is a large water tank—Duipokhari—part of which was filled in 1997 to make for green space. It is said that the area south of the tank is the earlier part of the town of Thimi and a town gate existed at the south west corner of the tank in the main street. Further north of the water tank along the main street is a square where an ancestral shrine, known as deguli, of the majority of the Shrestha communities of Thimi is located. The deguli square, Layaku and the Balakumari square are three pivotal ritual nodes of the community of Thimi.

Previously, the main shops of the town were in the old route connecting Bhaktapur and Kathmandu. But in 1843 a new road for the horse drawn carriages was constructed at the northern end of the town to connect the two cities and the area developed as the new shopping street of the town. Yet another traffic line was built in the low land at the south of the town in 1973 which has been a market zone of recent developments. It is said that there were only few number of shops until 30 years ago in the main north-south street of the settlement.

But by now the street is lined with large number of shops on either sides.

The town of Thimi consists of 14 toles, the traditional neighborhood area, 10 of which are at the southern part of the town. The traditional identity of a tole is the shrine of Ganesa. Most of the toles are inhabited by heterogenous communities and clans. But the tole is composed of ‘nani’ which are the areas of the clan community clusters. Many napis are therefore named after the clan inhabiting the area. As will be shown in this paper, nani is not only an important toponym but is also the basic unit of settlement in Thimi; their form and distribution are structurally related to the history of the development of the town.

3. Settlement Cluster
3.1. Nani
The dwellings of Kathmandu Valley towns are organized along Buddhist monastery courtyards, residential courts and streets. Buddhist monastery courts are distinct from other forms with the religious artifacts present in the courtyard. However, there are large residential courts called nani and some others which are called chhen. It is also common to find that nani indicates a group of housing clusters which includes lanes and on the other hand may not have courtyards of multiple dwelling units, thus showing diverse spatial forms of nani. In the later medieval documents such as inscriptions and land deed registers, nani is often mentioned as the locality of habitation of the person concerned in the document. In all the cities and towns of the Valley nani is an important place name indicating residential location.

Other names frequently mentioned in those documents and relevant in the spatial organization of the settlements are desha, tole, nani and chhen. This is a nested hierarchic organization of a settlement with desha at the highest level. Desha indicates the area of the town defined by certain boundary limits. Chhen, at the lowest level stands for the dwelling itself. The present paper will show that a nani is an area of a dwelling cluster the inhabitants of which are, in general, members of the same clan. A nani may have from one to numerous courtyards or may be simply a housing cluster in a street or a lane. A group of such napis makes up a tole. The form of a nani is related to the form of the dwelling plot at the period of its first settlement and to the type of the community. The nani is also symbolized by a ritual artifact known as 'kshetrapala' placed in front of the entrance to the nani. This study, with one of the quarter—the quarter of Chapali-chhen, located at the southern part of Thimi as an example, analyses the structure of nani, its historical evolution and the significance of kshetrapala in the understanding of the structural development of nani.
3-2. The Quarter of Chapali-chhen

The quarter of Chapali-chhen is located in front of the...
ritual artifact, therefore, will serve as a prelude for the analysis of the types of nani clusters and its evolution in history.

4. Kshetrapala and The Nani Clusters

4-1. Kshetrapala

Kshetrapala is a sanskrit term, meaning 'the protector of the field'. In common usage it is called 'pikha-lakhu-dyo' in Newari which literally means 'the deity of the area [placed] outside the house (or gate). In many instances, a stone slab or a round boulder is placed in front of the entrance to the nani or the house, while it is common to find a circular slab carved in the form of an eight petalled lotus. The iconography does not tell anything on the nature of the deity it is supposed to represent. Lotus is an omnipresent symbol in both the Hindu and Buddhist iconography. The symbolic significance of lotus is told in the ancient Hindu scriptures as a plane of manifestation and as the support of the world. Images of gods and goddesses are made seated in the lotus flower, and, in religious rituals, lotus figures are drawn and gods are invited to take seat upon them. In Buddhist theosophy lotus is given further symbolic content.

In the streets and squares of the town of Thimi there are numerous places with stone slabs marked with lotus design. These are the designated stations for the chariots of the various deities to stop during the chariot festivals. Thus the lotus design carved in the stone slab in front of the nani represents the seat for the deity—kshetrapala. It is also customary to install the lotiform emblem in the four directions in front of the lower plinth of Buddhist caityas and temples, the tradition of which is traced to 2nd century BC. This Buddhist tradition has also been adapted in Srilanka, where lotus stones are placed at the foot of flight of steps at the entrance to the secular buildings.

Kshetrapala is also alternatively known as Kumara, the hero who slained the all conquering demon—Tarakasura. It is probably because a miniature image of Kumara is installed as part of the ritual process in the establishment of kshetrapala. Further, on the day known as Sthi nakha (Kumara's sixth), especially the peasant Newars make an emblem of Kumara and install it over the lotus stone in front of the entrance of the house and worship it with black, green, and masur pulse, mecca beads and several kinds of Newar sweets. This worship is believed to bring protection from distress during the year.

One of the ritual performed as part of the marriage ceremony indicates that the lotus stone is a ritually sanctified boundary mark of the house or the nani. In this ritual all the bridegroom's family wait at the doorway the arrival of the bridal procession in order to welcome the bride in. The two ladies of the groom's side stand at the entrance. And the bride stands before them at the ritual spot of kshetrapala marked by the lotiform design.

From the etymology of the name both in Newari and Sanskrit, as also from the account of the Lingsapurana, protection of the field or rather plots of land appears to have been the main function of the deity. Hence worship is first of all offered to him in all important domestic rites with a view to safeguard the place of worship and consequently the whole performance. The lotiform design to represent the seat for kshetrapala is not found in the plots of the agricultural fields around Thimi. Thus the presence of the lotus stone, as a seat for Kshetrapala, indicates that the site was ritually sanctified as the dwelling site for the settlement.

4-2. Cluster Types of nani

The types of settlement clusters found in Thimi indicate three distinct types of dwelling plots with respect to kshetrapala (Fig. 5, Fig. 6). The first type of plots are large and the dimensions of the frontage to the main street or the lane is of no consequence in determining their shape and pattern of division. A standard division pattern of such plots assures a frontage and approach from the lane. The plot is ritually sanctified by establishing a kshetrapala for the protection of the dwelling site. In general the plot develops into a settlement quarter, known as nani, of a clan descended from one common ancestor who supposedly established his homestead in the quarter. The quarter of Chapali-chhen is one such example of the first type of nani clusters.

In these types of settlement clusters, kshetrapala is not located immediately in front of the entrance door of the house, but are located at one of the corner of the plot, outside in the lane or the street from which an approach enters the plot and leads to the dwelling. The plot in which the dwelling stands, during those times, was not that kind of urban plot intended for one dwelling. It was much large to have enough space for growing vegetables and for animal husbandry. When the site was later divided either between its clan members or sold to other person other than its clan member, and if the same old entry approach is used for the new dwelling plot, the same kshetrapala is worshipped. The original plot is considered to be ritually divided only when a new entry is marked to enter the new plot which has been created through the division of the original plot. There was no such concept of independent kshetrapala for each house as long as they used the same entrance to enter their individual dwelling plots which was part of the original dwelling site.

That kshetrapala of the nani is related to the original dwelling site—the primal plot—than to the individual dwelling plots within it is also demonstrated by the event that occurred only 15 years ago in 1985. A family of 'Basi' Shrestha bought a house (Fig. 5: 22-A7) that is at the northwest corner of the quarter of Pama-nani (Fig. 5, 21-23, A6-A9). The house has a frontage in the lane at north opposite to the lane at the south where the kshetrapala and the entrance to the Pama-nani is located. But an approach leads all the way to the plot of the said house using the common entry of Pama-nani. Thus, this kshetrapala was offered worship by the previous owner of the house according to the customary tradition. When Mr Basi, who came from another quarter of the town, bought the house he did not buy the part of the plot adjoining the approach, but yet continued to worship the kshetrapala. However, later the approach was closed for his use and
thus, he was compelled to establish a new kshetrapala in the lane where the house was aligned.24

Most of the settlement clusters of the first type are to be found in the area south of Deguli square and north of Balakumari square. In these areas all the individual dwellings belong to a nani and are linked by lamchas of the nani. In these nani all the houses that front the main street or the lane have their main access not from the street or the lane they face, but from the lamcha of the nani to which they belong. Usually doors are provided at the front towards the street but the main entrance door is placed at the back of the house. This is a 'one clan-one nani-one gate' concept of the settlement. If we assume that the individual dwellings of the nani clusters which belong to the members of one ancestral clan are the result of a temporal development, the existence and form of the original plot, which is defined by kshetrapala and the boundaries of nani, becomes apparent in this pattern of nani settlement clusters.

The second type of settlement clusters exhibit a linear pattern in the arrangement of dwelling clusters. The location of kshetrapala is always at that end corner of the dwelling clusters, and that street corner of the quarter, from where the site has its main entry approach. This is illustrated by several of the clusters in Taha-nani (Fig. 7). In this type the dwellings are built aligning the lane or the street, and the part of the street adjoining the plot is ritually owned by the members.
of the clan community related to the kshetrapala. In such instances, the street at the same time becomes a nani which is different from the cul-de-sac type that is characteristic of the first type of nani clusters. The nani in the first type of clusters were closed from one another, and entry to one nani never crossed the area of the other nani while in the second type of clusters several nanis are interconnected by the same street. Besides, there is no lamcha, and the individual dwellings of the nani are connected by the same street or lane as the individual nanis are. Thus, there is a fundamental difference between the second and the first type of nani clusters.

The second type of nani clusters show urban disposition with individual dwellings aligning to the street or the lane. The plot is as large as the primal plot of the first type of clusters and the kshetrapala bears similar significance. However, the nani is not developed at the interior of the primal plot but along the lane. While in the first type of nani clusters, the lane or the street is essentially one of the boundary line of the nani community, in the second type of clusters, nani becomes synonymous with the lane although in most of the instances, the major cluster of the nani is only on one side of the lane. The fact that each kshetrapala related dwelling clusters belong to the members of the same respective clan, shows that the dwelling site, as in the first nani type, was one unit at the beginning period of the settlement. In making the later property divisions of these primal plots, as the present arrangement of the dwellings along the lanes or street shows, the frontage to the lane or the street was of significance. The street scene thus begins to appear in the settlement. The lanes in such areas are also much wider than in those areas of the first cluster type.

The settlement type with dwellings arranged along the streets than the homestead type with houses at the interior of the nani, appears first to be the characteristic of the settlement areas of Prajapati community (Kumha-nani Fig. 6: 35-37, A5-A9; Deguli: Fig. 7: A6-A9). The community of Prajapati do not tend cattles nor fowls. Their main traditional occupation was making earthenwares. They build kilns in front of their dwelling and need wide open paved space to dry the wares before firing. Therefore, in all the Prajapati quarters there are large courtyards and wide lanes and all these spaces are utilized for their production activity. The nani of Prajapati both in deguli and Kumha-nani show the character of primal plots but the organization of the dwellings is different from those of Shrestha communities. The structure of the nani in all the quarters of Prajapati community is similar to the second type of nani clusters.

In the third type of dwelling clusters, the kshetrapala is located in front of the entrance of each individual dwelling. And all these dwellings are lined along the streets. There are no dwelling clusters or clan clusters at the interior of the block of the residential quarter. In this type of settlement clusters, kshetrapala becomes associated with the dwelling itself. These clusters are to be found in the northern and northeastern sector of Thimi. This pattern of development is more apparent in the communities of Shresthas and other communities than those of Prajapati.

Most of the Shrestha residents residing in the northern sector moved from the southern part of the town. This is clear from the location of their dewali sites most of which, including deguli, are located at the southern part of the town, and which are also the dewali sites for most of the Shrestha communities residing at the southern sector. Similarly, Prajapati at the east of Deguli and at the northeastern part of the town moved from Deguli area and Kumha-nani area. This we know because of their association with the Viswokarma shrines located in each of these Prajapati areas.

The pattern of dwelling plots in the third type of clusters shows the characteristics of urban plots. We consider that this is a development from the second type of settlement clusters. The tradition of clustering of the members of the same clan in the same adjacent area is still apparent but the size of the cluster is small compared to the first and second type of clusters. The heterogeneity in the composition of the clan community within a given strip of street is greater than in the second type of clusters. Instances are to be found in the old route connecting Bhaktapur and Kathmandu and in most of the areas north of Hatti-Mahankal.

However, in the areas of the community of Prajapati, even though there are separate kshetrapala of each individual houses, the clustering of members of the same clan and the community is strong (viz., Fig 6: 38-40, A5-A10; 50-51, A15-A18). Most of the developments are contiguous to the first or second type of settlement clusters or are along the lanes other than the main streets. For instance, in Chapaco (Fig. 6: 38-40, A5-A10), there is a row of houses with a wide and
long court called *Tapa-lacchi*, in between them. The *Tapa-lacchi* is a common community space which is also utilised for sun baking of potteries and building temporary kilns. Thus, although there are no localities known as nani in the areas of the third cluster type, the social and physical functions of the nani are, to some extent, still in existence in localities of Prajapatis.

In the areas other than those of Prajapati, nani as an organizational entity no more exists. There is no common ritual symbol such as kshetrapala and there is also no distinct physical structure that has certain form of boundary indicative of a spatial enclave such as nani. Nor there are courtyards for the use of, and belonging to, a community such as those of Prajapati. Thus, we find no nani as the toponym in these settlement areas. The traditional structure that was an spatial expression of a clan community is completely lost in this phase of the development.

### 4.3. Kshetrapala and The Orientation of The Nani Clusters

There does not appear to have particular preference in the orientation of kshetrapala. In Thimi, kshetrapalas are located in all directions with respect to the site. The point of access to enter the site from the lane or street, or a square seems to be the only consideration. However, a special pattern in their location in the case of Thimi has been discerned. It is that the location of kshetrapalas of most of the nantis from Balakumari to Hatti-mahankal are oriented towards a centre where the layaku is located. Citable instances of Thapa-nani, Pama-nani, Tamidewan, gacha-nani, ka-nani, kami-nanicha and Hapa-chhen located at the north of layaku, have kshetrapala located at the south of the respective nani cluster; and Maka-nani, vajra north and maru vajra, ko-nani, and others located at the south have kshetrapalas towards north of the respective clusters. All the above nani clusters did have the possibility of their entrance facing towards either directions north or south, as well as one of either the east or the west. All the other nantis further inside the lane have their kshetrapala at that corner of the plot which is near towards the main street. This is an evidence to prove that the main street and the centre existed at the very beginning of the settlement in the town of Thimi; and that these two factors played important roles in the laying out of the structure of nani. Although there are legends retold by the residents of Thimi on the palace of a Licchavi prince Baladeva, there are, at present, no records that have been identified pertaining to the layaku of Thimi that could have existed in those ancient times. Gopalrajvamsabali, which is considered to be one of the most reliable account of medieval Nepal, mentions the settlement of Thimi by 13th century. It still leaves us a gap of about 500 years between the period of Baladeva and the period mentioned in the Vamsabali's account. This coincidence of the pattern of kshetrapala oriented towards the centre where the layaku is located is of significance in pointing out that layaku was, from the beginning of settlement, already a place of consequence in the region. Further inquiry on the history of the layaku is in need to ascertain its chronology and its function such as whether it was a temple, a fort, or a layaku.

### 5. Conclusion

The study of settlement clusters in the town of Thimi shows that nani is one basic unit in the socio-spatial organization of the settlement. It is also seen that nani is the basic urban tissue; We consider that the analysis of the nani settlement has led to the understanding of the evolution of the settlement patterns of the town of Thimi. The main conclusions are as followings:

1. The town of Thimi is organized along distinct clan clusters; the socio-spatial unit of such clan clusters is known as nani. A nani is recognized by a common ritual artifact known as kshetrapala which is located at the entrance of the nani.

2. There are three distinct type of settlement clusters and their form and distribution indicates the sequence of the evolution of the form of nani and the sequence of spatial development of the town in history. Most of the clusters in the area south of Degali are of the first type while north of the degali square are of the second type. The third type of clusters are along the main streets north of Hatti-mahankal and Bahkha bazaar. The location of the dewali community cluster and the main nani cluster of a resident of Thimi shows that the area south of Duipokhari and north of Balakumari is the oldest part of the town. This is in concordance with the general view of the local community. The third type of clusters are found in the late developments, such as those of Bahkha bazaar which is of 19th century. There are also certain differences in the type of nani, in particular, between those of Shrestha community and Prajapati community.

3. The structure of nani clusters and the layout of the dwelling and their entrance shows there exists two types of dwelling plots which can be identified as the 'primal plots' and the 'urban plots'. The Primal plot is the dwelling site settled by an ancestor of a clan at the beginning phase of the settlement in Thimi; this site is further divided in later generations among its member families and a dwelling cluster with a common entrance, which is known as nani, is developed in the primal plot. All the houses in this primal plot have one common kshetrapala located at the entrance in one of the corner of the plot. Urban plots are those where individual dwellings have their own individual entrance and a kshetrapala installed in front of the entrance of the dwelling. All the houses in the urban plot are built lining the lane or the street and not at the interior of the quarter as it is in the primal plots.

4. The location of kshetrapala with respect to the nani cluster shows that there existed a centre of reference, which is the present layaku located almost at the centre of the old part of the town, and the route which is the main street now, at the beginning of the settlement in the town plateau.

**End Notes**

1. Some of the recent research works suggest the possibility of planning of certain towns in ancient times and in the development of the existing cities in medieval periods. Gustowych suggests that formal block patterns are superimposed in the basic organic patterns of roads of Kathmandu that connect numerous centres of the Valley and far away regions (See Ref. 3). Tiwari (Ref. 13), considering the locations of some of the major shrines and the exact network of streets in Hadigaon area, suggests that classical model — danda high might have been referred for the planning of the town. Kurosawa et al. (Ref. 4) further reconstruct a nine square grid plan of the settlement with the palace—Managriha and the temple of the royal tutelary deity at the centre. However, Tiwari elsewhere notes that the urban form of Kathmandu Valley is not a result of an isolated planned effort in a particular period of history whether Licchavi, Malla or early Shah but rather a product of gradual accretion over these political/cultural periods (See ref. 14). The present state of
knowledge on the settlements of Valley is in need of further detailed analysis to demonstrate the idea, form and scale of the town planning in the past.  

2. In the documentary perod during the time from Jun 1944 to Oct 1945 (Mohant Pand, Kaneeda Shrestha, Babakaji Shrestha and Gyanamani Vajracharya). During the survey, the survivors of the owners of each household, the clan, the location of ancestral shrine, khetrapala and dwelling clusters related to each khetrapala was identified.  

3. Two Lithavi period stone inscriptions have been found in Thimi. One of the inscription mentions the name of the person deputed by the king to install the royal decree. The second inscription can not be located at present. Because the inscriptions are partly defaced and, ancient place names have not yet been properly identified, there are difficulties to link this with its ancient past. (Vajracharya, Ref. 14).  

4. In our categories of the communities of Thimi, maximal community includes those communities of Newars who consider themselves of parallel social status, practice same religion and, traditionally, marriage exchange between them is not restricted. This community is not place bound. Further divisions within the maximal community is possible according to their tradition hierarchy and the clan communities are not related to the traditional social status. Distinction between two dewali or clan communities is not a matter of arbitration and these communities show more concentration in particular towns or localities. For further details on the social structure of Newars see Nepali, p. 150. See also Muller, Ref. 7.  

5. Shresthas traditionally are farmers and traders, and held important administrative positions in medieval period whence we get Shrestha to refer to the members of this community. The community is structured with the highest status in the category of the ‘shresth’ specializing in the trade of lotus. It is to be noted that the largest group of lotus workers, worked as tenants to the Shresthas. Prajapatis are Buddhist while Shresthas are Hindu although there is a long tradition of religious syncretism in both of the communities.  


7. In most of the Kathmandu Valley towns there were layakus the remains of which can still be found. There are also layakus in Nagadgadh and Bode immediately north of Thimi. The name layaku was translated as ‘praise of newars’ and newars were called praise of the work of layakus (the man of layaku). Layakus looked after the task such as security of the town, religious rituals, tax collection and maintenance of public works. In the layakus of Thimi, the authors have noted some of the records of 1877 pertaining to the works of layaku. There is a legend that the layaku of Thimi was from the time of Baladeva, the son of king Narendradeva (8th C) of Lichchhavi dynasty. No historical record has yet been available to account its existence during the period.  

8. During the annual festival of Balkalumari that consumes three days at the time of the beginning of the new year on Vaisakha 1 (around second half of April), the ritual relationship among layaku, Balkalumari square and the Dewali square becomes apparent. In layaku, the facial mask of the goddess is enshrined, while there is an aniconic image in her temple in Balkalumari square. In Dewali, besides the ancestral shrine of Shresthara, there is a shrine of Bhairava, the male consort of Balkalumari. The procession of the floats of the deities makes three rounds circumscribing the temple of Balkalumari and Dewali and finally enters layaku to end the ritual procession.  

9. See Ref. 10.  

10. In larger towns such as Patan, there are numerous toles with majority of the inhabitants belonging to one community such as Vajracharya, Shukra or Mahajan. In case of Thimi, homogeneity in the composition of inhabitants in some of the toles is found only in terms of maximal community. Otherwise, all the toles are heterogeneous in their composition in terms of dewali community and clan community.  

11. See Ref. 9.  

12. Medieval land deed documents are written in palm leaves and are in Newari mixed with Sanskrit. A considerable number of such documents, in addition to individual possession, are in the archives of the Department of Archaeology, HMG of Nepal. See also Rajbansi, Ref. 14.  

13. Layaku in Newari is not known. In the Newari land deed documents, location of lotus is called itself along with the tole with which the chhen belongs. These chhen are the first houses built in the primal plots. Later when the nani came into existence with the extension of the clan, the locality came to be known as nani with the name of the chhen as its prefix such as kathwala-chhen-nani or Phika-chhen-nani. Even the localities and toles in those earlier documents are more popularly known by the name of the particular chhen in which it belongs. In the Lithavi inscriptions, griha-mandala (a dwelling cluster) belonging to certain, such as maha-pratihara griha-mandala, dwaar griha-mandala etc., are mentioned. We consider that griha-mandala, a Sanskrit term, was used for nani as Sanskrit was the official language, and the use continues down to the early medieval period. In Thimi, the available first record is dated 1547 AD.  

14. The name of the area as the ‘quarter of Chapali-chhen’ is used for sake of the need only. Usually, there is no such particular name to represent an area which is surrounded by streets. At present nani of Chapali-chhen nani is one of the five nani within the quarter. The quarter of Chapali-chhen is said to have been settled by Prajapatis in early times. They were asked to move to the present dewali area because of the smoke and the possibility of fire from their kilns. No records have yet been found to tell this event in the history of Thimi. This story however, has some grains of truth. Chapali-chhen, means the house (chhen) behind the chappal (chapa-lane-chhen). Chapal is a community house in the Jaya community and is still seen in the Prajapati communities. There is still a lot, at present left vacant, adjacent to the main street at the left of the entrance to the nani of Chapali-chhen, and is said to be the place where the chappal was once located. Of relevance is also the name of Baku-nani which means the nani of shrines. In this paper, we have used Chapali-chhen-nani to indicate the area, and Chapali-chhen, which is also a call name of the inhabitants of the nani, to indicate the inhabitants.  

15. Thata-nani means the upper nani. There is one Kotha-nani (the lower nani) at the south of Thata-nani. It reflects the topography of the land which gradually slopes towards the south. Kati-nani means the nani of rice paddy. And Pangni-nani is named after those who blocked the intrusion of the enemy to the town.  

16. Informations on Chapali-chhen and Sih-banja clans are from our inquiry to Laxminayaran Shrestha (Chapali-chhen) and Ganesh Shrestha (Sinhbanja).  

17. Lamchu is not recorded in the entry-Newar English Dictionary by Manandhar. The word is known from our enquiry to the local peoples. The etymology of lamchu seems to have come from lan, meaning road. The prefix ‘cha’ is a diminutive attribute. For instance, a nani in Thimi is known as kami-nancha (the little nani of the carpenter).  

18. Some of the other communities in Thimi also recall that their ancestors initially lived in Lava-dol. At present, however, there are no dwellings left in the area which is now a vegetable garden. Remnant brick structures are still apparent at the surface. There is a possibility of such a settlement in the area before it moved upward to the town plateau.  

19. The inscription is attached in the wall of a wayside pati located in Lava-dol; it records the donation in the building of pati and its maintenance by families of Chapali-chhen. Their early settlement in Thimi area is indicated by the fact that in the annual ritual of dewali worship, the members of Chapali-chhen clans in the first group to offer their wishes, were more than 18 other clans belonging to the dewali community.  

20. The primary representation of lotus is as the symbol of manifestation of the world, and thereby also as the plane of manifestation—for “this lotus is verity the same as space (asata); these four quarters and four interquarters are its surrounding petals” [Maitri Up., VI, 2, cf. Coomaraswamy, pp.18-19]. "O Vasistha, thou are the son of Mitra-Varuna, Bringer of Intellect, the omens, the angels waited upon thee in the lotus” [Rgveda VII, 33]. In Skanda Purana, the agamic procedure of Vaisnora worship describe the city of Radha and Krishna in the form of a pura mandala in which dwell gods, goddesses, demigods and planets etc. All the deities reside upon the lotus flower with Krishna (Vasudeva) at the centre on which the believer meditates [Skanda Purana II-IX, 27-28].  

21. Paranavita (Ref. 11) explains the symbolism of so-called ‘moonestones’ placed at the foot of the flight of steps leading to ancient edifices at Anarudhapur. The shape of the moonestone is semi-circular and consists of a half lotus in the centre surrounded by concentric bands of geese, a foliated pattern and a procession of animals. He interprets the symbols as representing the phenomenal world which has to be crossed to reach to the palace of Truth which is symbolized by the shrine built in the higher platform with a seated image of Buddha. He mentions that Bas-relief representations of stupas found at Anaravati and Nagarakunjoda show moonstones datable in the 2nd or 3rd century AC, either plain or decorated with a lotus design, at the entrance. The author also notes that all the buildings at Anuradhapur, at the foot of whose flight of steps moonestones are found, may not be shrines intended to house images of Buddha. The idea could also have been adapted with suitable modifications for buildings meant as residences for members of the sangha. Besides, moonestones differing in design from those of the Anuradhapur period have been placed at the foot of flight of steps at the entrance to the secular buildings.
日本語要約

本稿は、ネパール、カトゥマンズ盆地の都市ティミを対象として、その街区組織のあり方を解明することを目的としている。カトゥマンズ盆地には三つの古都、カトゥマンズ、バタン、バクタプルをはじめとして極めて秩序だった都市、集落の形態を見ることができる。特にネパールの人々は古くから都市的集住の場を発達させてきたので知られる。カトゥマンズ、バタン、バクタプルについては様々な研究者が着目してきている。著者も、バタンについてこれまでの原初的街区形態に関して考察を重ねてきている。本稿ではティミを取り上げたのは、三つの古都の間にあって、比較的単純な構成をしていることが大きな理由である。すなわち、ティミにおいて、より明快に街区組織の原型が明らかに出来るのはないが、というねらいがある。

本稿では、現地調査をもとにして、デシャ、トル、ナニ、チェンというティミの街区組織の段階構成について、その特質について考察した。まず、ティミ全体の空間構造を記述した上で、チャバリ・チェンを例として取り上げ、その構成について考察した。大きな指標としたのはクシェトラパランと呼ばれるナニの入口に置かれる丸石である。そして、ティミ全体に関する調査をもとにナニの形態が三つに類型化されることを明らかにした。さらに続いてティミ全体について各類型の分布を示した。本稿における街区組織の三類型の解明によって、カトゥマンズ盆地の都市空間構成を原理的に解明する大きな手がかりが得られたと考える。

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