

Vol. XI

# NEPALESE CULTURE



Central Department of  
**Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology**  
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur

# Nepalese Culture

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## From the Editor

It gives me great pleasure to bring out this volume of *Nepalese Culture*. For a long time now this journal has been the academic torch of this department. With a checkered history because of financial as well as managerial crunches, the journal is still an identity of this department. However, we are proud of this identity and we will spare no effort to keep it alive, and well.

Financial problem apart, we even face problem of standard materials to be published. Our students want this journal to be a viable resource in their study and thesis preparation. For this, we have to publish more research oriented articles, and if possible, historical documents. Similarly, scholarly articles on art, architecture and archaeology are also needed in order to boost our classroom instruction. This is something our colleagues as the potential contributors must take into consideration while contemplating to write an article for 'Nepalese Culture.' Indeed, it is a matter of pleasure for us that our colleagues in NeHCA departments in Kathmandu and outside have started to publish department journals. These journals have promoted the subject as well as the contributors. And ultimately, students are the main beneficiaries of this activity.

Like in the past, this time also we have tried to make this journal multi-disciplinary. We have history, art, religion, archaeology, philosophy and other areas.

August, 2011

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# महाभारतका प्रतिष्ठित पात्रः सञ्जय

वीणा पौड्याल

प्रमुख, नेपाली इतिहास, संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्त्व केन्द्रीय विभाग

## पृष्ठभूमि

महाभारतका प्रतिष्ठित पात्रका रूपमा सञ्जयको स्मरण गरिन्छ । धृतराष्ट्रका मन्त्रीपद सहमालेका सञ्जयको राजनीतिक जीवनसँगै आध्यात्मिक चिन्तन र मनन पनि स्मरणीय र चर्चित छ ।

जीव, जगत् र ईश्वरका बारेमा साईं प्रस्ट र पारदर्शी ढङ्गले वेद र उपनिषद्मा वर्णन गरिएको छ । गीतामा अर्भ त्यस विषयवस्तुलाई व्यावहारिक ढङ्गले व्याख्या र मनन गर्ने तरिका सिकाइएको छ । भगवद्गीतालाई गीतोपनिषद् पनि भनिन्छ । वैदिक ज्ञानको सार नै गीतामा पाइन्छ । त्यस्तो महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थको गीताको प्रश्न प्रथम श्लोकमै सञ्जयको नाम सम्बोधन गरिएको छ । धृतराष्ट्रले सञ्जयसँग सोधेको प्रश्न गीताको प्रथम श्लोकमै आउँछ । सम्पूर्ण गीतामा 'सञ्जय उवाच' भनेर सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्रलाई युद्धभन्दा अधिका घटनाहरूसमेत विस्तृत रूपमा बताएको वर्णन छ । गीतामा सञ्जयको प्रभावकारी भूमिका छ ।

बुद्धिमान्, नीतिज्ञ, स्वामिभक्त तथा धर्मज्ञ सञ्जय धृतराष्ट्रका विश्वास प्राप्त थिए । सञ्जयलाई भगवान् श्रीकृष्णको स्वरूप र सामर्थ्यको यथार्थ ज्ञान थियो । महाभारतको भीषण युद्धपूर्व नै युद्धको परिणामको पूर्वानुमान गर्दै सञ्जयले "जहाँ श्रीकृष्ण र गान्डीवधारी अर्जुन छन् त्यहाँ श्री, विजय, विभूति र अचल नीति छ," भनेका थिए ।

## विदुरलाई वनबाट फर्काउन सञ्जयको प्रयास

पाण्डवहरू द्रौपदीसहित काम्यक वनमा गएको थाहा पाएपछि विदुर साईं दुःखी भए । पाण्डवहरूलाई भेट्न उनी जङ्गलमै पुगे । पाण्डवहरूलाई परेको अन्याय देखेर विदुरले धृतराष्ट्रको सभामा समेत आवाज उठाएका थिए तर त्यसतर्फ कसैले ध्यान दिएनन् । धृतराष्ट्रसँग रिसाएर, घुर्की लगाउँदै विदुर जङ्गल पुगे । धृतराष्ट्रलाई धर्मसंकट पयो । विदुरलाई फर्काउन उनले सञ्जयलाई पठाए ।

सञ्जय जङ्गल पुग्नेबित्तिकै विदुरसँग कुरा गर्न थाले । सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्रको सन्देश मिलाएर विदुरलाई सुनाए । अम्बिकाका छोरा धृतराष्ट्रले विदुरलाई सम्भेर प्राणै त्याग्न खोजेको वर्णन सञ्जयले

गरे । सञ्जयले विदुरलाई इतिहासपर फर्केन अनुरोध गरे । सञ्जयले बारम्बार विदुरलाई अनुरोध गर्दै थिए ।  
 "कुत्सकृत्यां आनन्दितं पाण्डवहस्तुभ्यं आदरपूर्वकं विदा त्विष्य भूतराष्ट्रं महाराजकर्म शीघ्रं जानुस् ।"  
 अनेक प्रयत्न गरेर सञ्जयले फर्काइफुल्याउ विदुरलाई वनबाट दरबार फर्काए ।

### पाण्डवसँग सञ्जयको कुराकानी

महाभारतको उद्योगपर्वअन्तर्गत सञ्जययानपर्वमा धृतराष्ट्रले सञ्जयलाई पाण्डवको गुण प्रतिभा र महानसीलताको वर्णन गर्दै आफ्नो सन्देश पठाएका थिए । आफू र छोरा दुर्योधनले पाण्डवप्रति गरेको अत्याचार सम्भेर अन्धा धृतराष्ट्रलाई म्लानिसँगै कत्ताकत्ता डर पनि लागिरहेको थियो । त्यसैले पाण्डवहस्तुको रिस शान्त गर्न उनले सञ्जयलाई सबै बेलिबिस्तार सहित पठाएका थिए । सञ्जयको खुबीसँग परिचित भएकाले नै धृतराष्ट्रले यस्तो जिम्मेवारीपूर्ण कार्य गर्न सञ्जयलाई रोजेका थिए । धृतराष्ट्रले सञ्जयलाई सम्बोधन गर्दै भने "सञ्जय ! पाण्डवहस्तुलाई हामी सकुशल छौं भन्ने सन्देश सुनाउ । पाण्डवहरू भूयो बोल्दै नन् । परोपकारी र साधुपुरुष पाण्डवमा धुप्रै गुणहरू छन् । वनवासको कष्ट भोग्न नपर्ने भए पनि पाण्डवहरूले भोगे तर उनीहरू नरिसाएर शान्त नै छन् । उनीहरूले आफ्नो पराक्रमले आर्जन गरेको सम्पत्ति पनि मलाई नै सुम्नेका थिए । त्यसैले सञ्जय पाण्डवहस्तुलाई मेरो सन्देश सविस्तार सुनाउ ।" धृतराष्ट्रको आदेशानुरूप नै सञ्जयले पाण्डवहस्तुलाई सन्देश सुनाए । युधिष्ठिरले सञ्जयसँग कौरवपक्षको कुशल-समाचार सोधे । सञ्जयले पनि सबै कुरो बताए । धृतराष्ट्रपुत्र दुर्योधनकहाँ साधु स्वभावका र पाप दुवै धरोका मानिसहरू छन् भन्दै सञ्जयले पाण्डवप्रति दुर्योधनको द्रोहको भाव रहेको खुलस्त पनि गरे । सञ्जयले अफ प्रस्ट पार्दै भने, "राजा धृतराष्ट्र शान्तिको आदर गर्दछन्, उनी युद्ध चाहँदैनन् । तपाईं पाण्डवहरू त भन्नु धेरै गुणहरूले युक्त हुनुहुन्छ । त्यसैले युद्ध गर्ने विचार नगर्नुस्, सन्धि कार्यको सिद्धिको लागि नै मलाई यहाँ पठाइएको छ । उत्तम शान्ति प्राप्त गर्न तपाईंहरू सबैको प्रयत्न हुनुपर्दछ ।" यसरी सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्रको सन्देश प्रस्टसँग प्रभावकारी ढङ्गले सुनाए । सधैं साँचो बोल्ने शान्त स्वभावका युधिष्ठिरले सञ्जयको सन्देश धैर्यपूर्वक सुने । कौरवहरूले आफू, आफ्ना भाइहरू र पत्नी(द्रौपदी)समेतको अपमान गरेको घटना बारम्बार सम्भेर उनले चित्त दुखाए । युधिष्ठिरले सञ्जयलाई आफूहरूले इन्द्रप्रस्थराज्य पुनः प्राप्त गरेमा मात्रै कौरवहरूले गरेको सम्पूर्ण अपराध क्षमा गर्ने बताए । शान्तिको प्रस्ताव लिएर आएका सञ्जय त्यसै हार मान्ने खालका थिएनन् । उनले विभिन्न प्रयत्न गरिरहे । सञ्जयले पाण्डवहरूको गुणको बखान गर्दै युद्धका दोषहरू अफ प्रस्ट पार्दै व्याख्या गरेर युधिष्ठिरलाई बताए ।

### युद्धका दोषहरू

महाभारतको उद्योगपर्वअन्तर्गत सञ्जययानपर्वमा सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्रको सन्देश पाण्डवहस्तुलाई सुनाउँदै युद्धको दोषहरू प्रस्ट पारेको उल्लेख छ । सञ्जयले युधिष्ठिरलाई सम्बोधन गर्दै भने, "पाण्डुनन्दन ! तपाईंले प्रत्येक काम गर्दा धर्मले निर्देशन गरेअनुसार नै गर्ने चेष्टा गर्नुभएको छ । तपाईंको त्यो धर्मयुक्त चेष्टा लोकमा पनि विख्यात छ र अहिले पनि देख्न सकिन्छ । तपाईंले कमाउनु भएको यश, नाम, कीर्तिलाई नष्ट हुन नदिनुस् ।" सञ्जयले विभिन्न उदाहरण दिँदै युद्ध गरेर राज्य प्राप्त गर्नुभन्दा भिक्षाटन

गनु उतम हो भने । सञ्जयले युधिष्ठिरलाई बारम्बार सम्बोधन गर्दै भने, "पाण्डुनन्दन । तपाईंले युद्धरूपी पाप नगर्नुम् । यो तपाईंको सुयश अनुरूप छैन ।" सञ्जयले युधिष्ठिरलाई युद्धका दोषहरू अझ प्रस्ट पार्दै भने, "तात । धर्म, अर्थ र काममध्ये धर्मलाई प्रधान मानेर तदनुसार कार्य गर्ने व्यक्ति नै महाप्रतापी भएर सूर्यजस्तै लम्कन्छन् तर जो धर्मदेखि होन र पाप बुद्धिमा लागेका छन् त्यस्ता मानिसले सम्पूर्ण पृथ्वी प्राप्त गरे पनि कष्ट नै भोगिरहन्छन् ।" यसरी सञ्जयले युद्धको दोष र महाप्रतापी व्यक्तिको लक्षण बताएर पाण्डुपुत्रहरूलाई मनाउने प्रयत्न गरे । सञ्जयले बताएका कुरा ध्यान दिएर सुनेपछि शान्त स्वभावका युधिष्ठिरले विस्तारै विस्तारै उत्तर दिएका थिए ।

### युधिष्ठिरको उत्तर

सञ्जयले युद्धको दोष बताउँदै, मानव जन्म सफल बनाउन त्याग, तपस्या र भिक्षाटनको समेत अर्ता दिएपछि युधिष्ठिरले पनि शान्त भएर जवाफ फर्काए ।

युधिष्ठिरले सबै प्रकारको कर्ममा धर्म सुकर्म नै श्रेष्ठ हो भनेर स्वीकार गर्दै आफूले धर्म वा अधर्म के गर्दै छु त्यो आफूलाई राम्ररी थाहा हुनुपर्ने बताए । यसै क्रममा युधिष्ठिरले धर्म, अधर्मको सच्चा स्वरूपबारे पनि बताए । उनले भने, "कतै त अधर्मले नै धर्मको रूप लिन्छ, कतै त धर्म नै अधर्म जस्तो देखिन्छ, कतै धर्मले आफ्नो वास्तविक स्वरूप नै धारण गरेको हुन्छ । विद्वान्हरूले आफ्नो बुद्धिले विचार गरेर वास्तविक रूप हेरेर बुझनुपर्दछ ।" सञ्जय र युधिष्ठिरको लामो संवादपछि श्रीकृष्णले पनि सञ्जयका प्रश्नहरूको उत्तर दिएका थिए ।

### श्रीकृष्णद्वारा सञ्जयमार्फत् धृतराष्ट्रलाई चेतावती

धृतराष्ट्रका दूतका रूपमा आएका सञ्जयलाई श्रीकृष्णले प्रस्टसँग, आफूले जसरी पाण्डवलाई विनाशबाट बचाएर ऐश्वर्य प्रदान गर्न चाहेका छन् त्यसरी नै धुप्रो छोराहरूले घेरिएका धृतराष्ट्रको पनि अभ्युदय चाहेको प्रस्ट पारे । श्रीकृष्णले आफूले पनि शान्तिको लागि प्रयास गरेको स्मरण गराउँदै, आफूले बारम्बार कृन्तीकुमारहरूलाई सन्धि गर्न र शान्ति फैलाउन सल्लाह दिएको बताए । युधिष्ठिरले सन्धि चाहेको तथ्य पनि श्रीकृष्णले सञ्जयलाई भने । श्रीकृष्णले सञ्जयसँगको प्रश्न-उत्तरमा कर्मयोग, ज्ञानमार्ग र भक्तिका बारेमा थुप्रै उदाहरणहरू दिएर प्रस्टसँग कौरवको स्वार्थसिद्धिको लागि किन प्रयत्नशील भएको भन्ने प्रश्न गरे । श्रीकृष्णले भने, "सञ्जय तिमीलाई श्रेष्ठ ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य तथा सम्पूर्ण लोकको सुप्रसिद्ध धर्मको जानकारी छ । ज्ञानीहरूमध्ये पनि तिमी श्रेष्ठ ज्ञानी हो, त्यसो हुँदाहुँदै पनि कौरवहरूको स्वार्थसिद्धिको लागि किन बाग्जाल फैलाइरहेका छौं ।" क्रूर मानिसले अरूको धनसम्पत्तिको लालच गरेर त्यो प्राप्त गर्ने इच्छा गर्दछ भने त्यसलाई दण्ड दिनु आवश्यक छ । देवराज इन्द्रले यस्तै लुटेराहरूको बध गर्न अस्त्रशस्त्र र धनुषको आविष्कार गरेका थिए । श्रीकृष्णले सञ्जयलाई धृतराष्ट्रको सभामा द्रौपदीको अपमान भएको स्मरण गराउँदै त्यो बेला विदुरबाहेक कसैले एक शब्द नबोलेको प्रसङ्ग बारम्बार उठाए । धृतराष्ट्र जस्तो पाको मानिसले समेत आफ्ना छोराहरूका कुरा सुनेर पाण्डवहरूको पैतृक राज्य अपहरण गर्न कम्मर कस्तु कहाँसम्म न्यायोचित छ ? श्रीकृष्णले थपे, धृतराष्ट्रले प्राचीन राज धर्मको पनि पटककै

विचार नगरेको देख्दा दुःख लाग्दछ । द्रौपदीलाई कर्णले भनेको अपशब्द दोह्याउँदै श्रीकृष्णले पाण्डव र विशेष गरेर अर्जुनको हृदयमा गडेको बाग्बाणको चर्चा गरे । उनले विभिन्न ङङ्गले पाण्डवलाई परेको अन्याय, अत्याचारको स्मरण गराए । श्रीकृष्णले आफू हस्तिनापुर गएर शुक्रनीतिअनुसार धर्म र अर्धयुक्त कुरा गर्न तयार रहेको जानकारी पनि सञ्जयलाई दिए । "दुर्योधन क्रोधमय विशाल वृक्ष समान छन्, त्यो रुखको स्कन्ध कर्ण हुन, शकुनि शाखा र दुःशासन समृद्ध फलफूल र अज्ञानी राजा धृतराष्ट्र रुखको मूल (जड) नै हुन् ।" यसरी प्रस्ट पार्दै श्रीकृष्णले भने, "युधिष्ठिर धर्ममय विशाल वृक्ष हुन्, त्यो रुखको स्कन्ध अर्जुन, शाखा भीमसेन र नकुल-सहदेव समृद्ध फलफूल हुन् । म (कृष्ण), वेद र ब्राह्मण (ब्रह्माण्डको ज्ञान भएको) यस वृक्षको मूल (जड) हो ।" कृष्णले अन्य उदाहरण दिँदै भने, "सञ्जय ! पुरहरूसहित धृतराष्ट्र एउटा वन हुन्, त्यही वनमा बाघरूपी पाण्डवहरू बस्दछन्, जसरी सिंहले रक्षित वन नष्ट हुँदैन, त्यसरी नै वनमा बस्ने सिंह सुरक्षित हुन्छन् ।" श्रीकृष्णले विभिन्न उदाहरण दिएर सञ्जयलाई पाण्डवहरू अन्यायमा परेको र कौरव र पाण्डव दुवै एक-अर्काका पूरक भएको प्रस्ट पारे ।

महाभारतमा कृष्णले दिएको बाघ र जङ्गलको उदाहरण एकदम ठीक हो । जसरी वनबाट निस्किएको बाघ मारिन्छ, त्यसरी नै विना बाघको जङ्गलमा सबैले रूख काट्छन् । त्यसैले बाघले वनको र वनले बाघको रक्षा गर्नुपर्दछ ।" पाण्डवहरूको आश्रय लिएर नै धृतराष्ट्रका छोराहरू अगाडि बढ्न सक्दछन् । कृष्णले कौरवहरूलाई लहरा र पाण्डवलाई शालवृक्षसँग तुलना गरेर लहरा थाक्रोबिना ठभिन नसक्ने तथ्यलाई सञ्जयसमक्ष एकपल्ट फेरि प्रस्ट पारेका थिए । कृष्णले सञ्जयलाई पाण्डवहरू शान्तिको लागि तयार छन्, तर पत्थो भने युद्ध गर्न पनि समर्थ छन् भन्ने स्मरण गराए ।

सञ्जयले श्रीकृष्ण, पाण्डव, सात्यकि र चेकितानसँग हस्तिनापुर जाने अनुमति मागे । उनले विनम्र हुँदै आफूले ठूलो स्वरमा बोलेको भए क्षमा माग्दै, पाण्डवहरूको सुख र कल्याणको कामना गरे । सञ्जयलाई पाण्डवहरूले आफूलाई कुदृष्टिले हेर्ने हो कि भन्ने डर थियो । उनले बारम्बार आफूले भनेका कुरा दूतका रूपमा व्यक्त गरेको बताए । त्यसपछि श्रीकृष्ण, युधिष्ठिर र अर्जुनले पठाएको सन्देश लिएर सञ्जय हस्तिनापुर गए ।

### सञ्जयद्वारा धृतराष्ट्रसमक्ष पाण्डवको सन्देश प्रस्तुत

राजा धृतराष्ट्रसमक्ष पुगेर सञ्जयले भने, "भूपाल तपाईंलाई नमस्कार छ । नरदेव ! म सञ्जय हुँ र पाण्डवकहाँ पुगेर फर्किएको छु । उदारचित्त पाण्डुपुत्र युधिष्ठिरले तपाईंलाई प्रणाम गर्दै तपाईंको कुशल मङ्गल सोधेका छन् ।" यसरी अदवसाथ सभामा प्रस्तुत भएका सञ्जयले युधिष्ठिरको प्रशंसा गर्दै एउटा-एउटा सन्देश सुनाए । युधिष्ठिर विशुद्धभावले धर्म र अर्थको सेवन गर्ने, विद्वान्, दूरदर्शी र शीलवान् भएको तथा धृतराष्ट्रबाट पहिला पाइसकेको राज्य र धन पुनः फिर्ता पाउन आश गरेको तथ्य सञ्जयले व्यक्त गरे । युधिष्ठिर र उनका भाइहरूको कष्ट देख्दा कतै मनुष्यको पुरुषार्थभन्दा दैव विधान बलवान् त हैन ? भन्ने प्रश्न सञ्जयले राखे । कसैले चलाएपछि मात्रै चल्ने कठपुतली जस्तै मानिस पनि परमात्माको प्रेरणाबाट मात्रै कुनै कार्य गर्न अग्रसर हुँदो रहेछ भन्ने भाव सञ्जयले व्यक्त गरे ।

सञ्जयले आँट गरेर धृतराष्ट्रसमक्ष पाण्डवहरूलाई अन्याय नगर्न अनुरोध गरे । सञ्जयले भने, "राजा, तपाईं आफ्ना छोराहरूको वशमा परेर पाण्डवहरूलाई अन्याय गर्दै हुनुहुन्छ । पाण्डवहरूको सबै सम्पत्ति हडप गरेर एकलौटी पार्ने प्रयत्नमा हुनुहुन्छ । यस कार्यमा सफलता पाउनु नै गाह्रो छ, पाए पनि यस अधर्मको कारण तपाईंको साँढै निन्दा गरिनेछ । यो भूमण्डलमा तपाईंको नकारात्मक कुरा मात्रै सुनिनेछ" त्यसैले आपत्ति आउनुभन्दा पहिले नै विचार गर्नु राम्रो भन्ने भाव सञ्जयले व्यक्त गरे । यस विषयलाई प्रस्ट पार्दै उनले धपे, वृद्ध भएको कारणले राम्रो नराम्रो जे गरे पनि त्यसको दोष तपाईंलाई नै जान्छ । कौरव-पाण्डवको युद्धमा प्रजाहरूको विनाश त पक्कै हुन्छ, त्यस प्रमुख पापको भागी भने तपाईं नै मानिनुहुन्छ । सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्रलाई चेतावनी दिँदै भने, 'मैले भनेअनुसार तपाईंले काम गर्नु भएन भने अर्जुनले एकै समयमा कौरवहरूको विनाश गर्ने छन् । सुकेको घाँस आगोले डढाए जस्तै अर्जुनले समस्त कौरववंशकै विनाश गर्ने छन् ।'<sup>11</sup>

सञ्जयले बारम्बार धृतराष्ट्रलाई अन्याय नगर्न र सद्मार्गमा हिँड्न सल्लाह दिएका थिए । आफ्ना स्वेच्छाचारी छोराहरूको कुराभन्दा धर्मको दृष्टिकोणले विचार गर्न धृतराष्ट्रलाई सञ्जयले अनुरोध गरे । धृतराष्ट्रका अधिकारश भाइभारदार विश्वासयोग्य नभएको सत्यको उजागर पनि सञ्जयले गरे । उनले डरै नमान्ने सौचो कुराहरू एकएक गरेर बताए ।

## उपसंहार

धृतराष्ट्रका मन्त्री, सन्देशवाहक र युद्धका घटनाको प्रत्यक्ष वर्णन गर्ने सञ्जय महाभारतका प्रमुख प्रतिष्ठित पात्र हुन् । महाभारतको आदिपर्वअन्तर्गत अंशावतरणपर्वमा सञ्जयको जन्मबारे वर्णन छ । गवल्गणको छोराको रूपमा सञ्जयको जन्म भएको थियो । सञ्जय, ऋषिमुनि सरह ज्ञानी र धर्मात्मा थिए ।<sup>12</sup> भगवत्परायणता, शान्ति अहङ्कारशून्यता, द्वन्द्वहीनताजस्ता धेरै गुणले सम्पन्न सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्रको अन्तिम अवस्थासम्म साथ दिएका थिए । ऋषि व्यासले प्रदान गरेको दिव्यदृष्टिद्वारा नै युद्ध क्षेत्रको सम्पूर्ण घटना धृतराष्ट्रलाई सञ्जयले सुनाएका थिए । दुर्योधनको मृत्यु पश्चात अश्वत्थामाको क्रन्दनसँगै सञ्जयको दिव्य दृष्टिको शक्ति समाप्त भएको वर्णन महाभारतको सौप्तिक पर्वमा छ ।

गौताको पहिलो श्लोकमै धृतराष्ट्रले भने, "सञ्जय ! मेरा पुत्रहरू र पाण्डवहरूको सङ्ग्राम हुन लाग्यो होला । युद्ध क्षेत्रको हाल केके छ सबै बताऊ ।" यो सुनेर सञ्जयले भने, महाराज ! सङ्ग्रामको प्रारम्भ भएको छैन । महाराज दुर्योधनका तर्फबाट पाण्डवहरूलाई युद्ध जारी गर्नाका निम्ति खबर दिन भनी शकुनीका पुत्र उलूक खटिएर गएका छन् ।"<sup>13</sup> यसरी युद्धको पूर्वसन्ध्यादेखि समापनसम्म लगातार जस्ताको त्यस्तै प्रत्यक्ष विवरण प्रभावकारी ढंगले सुनाएर सञ्जयले कर्तव्य पालन गर्दै नूनको सोभो गरेका थिए ।

धृतराष्ट्र, गान्धारी र कुन्तीसँगै सञ्जय पनि वनवास ( आश्रमवास ) गएका थिए । एक दिन वनमा अचानक ठूलो आगो लाग्यो । सञ्जयले आगो निभाउने वा धृतराष्ट्र, गान्धारी र कुन्तीलाई जङ्गलबाट सुरक्षित स्थानतर्फ लाने भनेर योजना गर्दागर्दै, आगोको लप्काले चारैतिर घेरी हाल्यो । के गर्ने ? कसो गर्ने ? सञ्जय धर्मसङ्कटमा परे । आगो लागेको थाहा पाएर धृतराष्ट्रले सञ्जयलाई प्रस्टसँग भने, "सञ्जय

तिमी यो डढेलोबाट ज्ञान जोगाउन भाग, हामीहरू त वृद्धवृद्धा भइसकेका छौं, हाम्रो आयु पूर्ण भइसकेको तर तिमी अकरालमा नमर ।" सञ्जयले केहीबेर आनाकानी गरे तर पछि परिस्थितिको यथार्थ ज्ञान भएपछि आगोबाट बच्न त्यहीबाट भागे । हरिद्वारको जंगलमा लागेको त्यस भीषण आगोले धृतराष्ट्र, गान्धारी र कुन्तीलाई डढायो ।"

सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्र, गान्धारी र कुन्तीको रक्षा आफूले गर्न नसक्ने देखेपछि मात्रै जङ्गलबाट भागेका थिए । धृतराष्ट्र, गान्धारी र कुन्ती आगोसमक्ष नै समाधिस्थ भएर बसे । अग्निले आफ्नो धर्म पूरा गरे । अथर्ववेदमा माटो, अन्न, पानी जे जति छ, साभ्रा रूपमा बाँडेर उपभोग गर भनेर बारम्बार भनिएको छ, यसै अनुरूप सञ्जयले आफ्नो जीवनकालभर नै वेद कथन पालन गरे । उनले सत्यको मार्ग अवलम्बन गर्दै, पक्षापातरहित न्यायको लागि आवाज उठाउन दैनिकी बनाएका थिए । निष्काम कर्मलाई उनले अवलम्बन गरेका थिए । पाण्डवहरूलाई वनवासको लागि प्रस्थान गर्न लाग्दा सञ्जयले धृतराष्ट्रलाई सम्झाउँदै भनेका थिए: "राजन ! यो सबै तपाईंले नै गरेको करतुत हो जसले गर्दा आपसमा वैर उत्पन्न भएर आफ्नै सन्तानको विनाश हुन्छ । तपाईंले नै विशाल दुःखलाई निमन्त्रण दिए जस्तो छ ।" तर विनाशकालमा वृद्धि विपरीत भएर धृतराष्ट्रले सञ्जयको सल्लाह अवलम्बन गर्न सकेनन् । जसको परिणाम भयङ्कर युद्ध र धन-जनको विनाश हुन गयो । सञ्जयले चाहेर पनि महाभारतको भीषण युद्ध टार्न सकेनन् ।

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महाप्रतापः सवितेव भाति  
हीनो हि धर्मेण महीमपीमां  
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धर्मः कृत्स्नो दृश्यतेऽधर्मरूपः ।  
विभ्रद् धर्मो धर्मरूपं तथा च  
विद्वांसस्तं सम्प्रपरयन्ति बुद्ध्या ॥२॥

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स कस्मात् त्वं जानतां ज्ञानवान् सन्  
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व्याघ्रास्ते वै संजय पाण्डुपुत्राः ।  
सिंहाभिगुप्तं न वनं विनश्येत्  
सिंहो न नश्येत् वनाभिगुप्तः ॥
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# काठमाडौं उपत्यका : मानव बसोबासदेखि शहरीकरणसम्म

धन बहादुर कुँवर  
सह-प्राध्यापक

## १. पृष्ठभूमि :

काठमाडौं उपत्यका एशियाकै पुराना शहरहरू मध्ये एक मानिन्छ । एकातर्फ घनाबस्ती हुनुभन्दा अघिसम्म यहाँको हावापानी अति स्वच्छ हुनुको साथै उत्पादनशील भूमि भएका कारणले पशुपालन तथा कृषि व्यवसाय गर्न र बसोबास गर्न उपयुक्त देखिन्छ । अर्कोतर्फ लगभग ४५०० फिटको उँचाईमा रहेको यो उपत्यका चारैतिरबाट अग्ला पहाडहरूले घेरिएको हुनाले सहजै प्रवेश गर्न नसकिने हुँदा प्राचीनकालदेखि नै सुरक्षित स्थलको रूपमा पनि लिन सकिन्छ ।

यहाँ बसोबासको सुरुवात इसा भन्दा हजारौं वर्ष अघिदेखि हुन गएको थियो भने ऐतिहासिक कालभन्दा अघि नै नाग, नीप भनिने गोपाल (आभिर) अर्थात् गुप्त/कोलीय/वृज्जि तथा किराँतहरूले शासन गरेको विश्वास गरिन्छ । यो उपत्यका दहको रूपमा रहेको बेलामा यसका आसपासका डाँडा पाखाका वन-जङ्गलमा पाषाणकालीन घुमन्ते मानव शिकारी अवस्थामा भएको कुरा प्राप्त तत्कालीन दुई औजारहरूबाट सहजै अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । समयको अन्तरालमा यहाँ विभिन्न ठाउँबाट आएका विभिन्न जात, जातिका समूह वा वंशका मानिसहरू घुलमिल गरेर बसेको पाइन्छ । प्राचीन गोपाल वंशी भनिने 'नेप' वा 'नीप' जातिकै नामबाट "नेपाल" नाम रहन गएको थियो भने विद्वानहरूको धारणा रहेको छ । कालान्तरमा नेपालमा बसोबास गर्नेहरूलाई नेपाल शब्दबाट नेपाल > नेवाल > नेवाल हुँदै 'नेवा' वा 'नेवार' भन्न थालियो र तिनीहरू बोल्ने भाषा नेवारी वा नेपाल भाषाका नामले प्रचलित हुन गएको थियो । यस भाषाको लिखित रूप कहिलेदेखि हुन थाल्यो त्यो कित्थनसाथ भन्न सकिने प्रमाण अद्यपि पाउन सकिएको छैन । तर यो भाषाको शब्द उल्लेख भएको अहिलेसम्म प्राप्त पहिलो अभिलेख भने इसाको बाई शताब्दी अर्थात् ने.स.२९३ (ई.स. ११७३) को अभिलेख नै हो । त्यस अघि अर्थात् लिच्छविकालमा यहाँ संस्कृत भाषा राजकीय भाषाको रूपमा रहेको तत्कालीन अभिलेखहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

इसा भन्दा हजारौं वर्ष अघिदेखि यहाँ मानव बसोबास हुन थालेपनि लिच्छविकाल हुँदै मध्यकालसम्म आइपुग्दा शहरीकरण हुने क्रम जारी रह्यो । यो ठाउँ राज्यको राजधानी अर्थात् शासन केन्द्र हुनुको साथै

तिब्बत तथा भारतको बीच व्यापारिक मार्ग केन्द्र भएको कारणले पनि आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा सामाजिक दृष्टिले सभ्य र सुसंगठन भएको कुरा वैज्ञानिकलेसमेत देखाए भ्रमणमा आएका विदेशीहरूले जसलेस गरेबाटै प्रष्ट हुन्छ । यसरी यो देश प्राचीनकालबाटै सुसभ्य, विकसित र सम्पन्नशाली हुनुको साथै यहाँ विविध जाति तथा समुहका मानिसहरूको बसोबास भएको भन्ने छर्लङ्ग देखिन्छ ।

## २. भौगोलिक अवस्थिति र पौराणिक कथन :

भौगोलिक बन्दोको दृष्टिले काठमाडौँ उपत्यकालाई एउटा सुन्दर स्थल मान्न सकिन्छ । यो उपत्यका चारैतिर अग्लो पहाडले घेरिएको छ तापनि चारैतिरको चारै भन्ज्याङबाट बाहिर जान सकिन्छ । त्यस बाहेक ऐतिहासिक महत्व राख्ने एउटा गल्छि छ त्यो हो चौभारको गल्छि । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको उत्तर दक्षिणको फैलावट करिब १२ माइल छ भने पूर्व - पश्चिम ९ माइल जति छ । यसको कुल गोलाई ५० माइल जति रहेको छ । यस उपत्यकाको क्षेत्रफल २८० वर्गमाइल (७६९ वर्ग किलोमिटर) भएको अनुमान छ । यस सम्बन्धमा भूगोलविद्हरूले यसको भौगोलिक आकारलाई करिब ७६४ वर्ग किलोमिटर भएको र पश्चिम २५ किलोमिटर फैलिएको मानेका छन् भने उपत्यकाको औसत उँचाई १३४० मिटर रहेको छ र यहाँबाट उठेका पहाडहरूको सातखाला उँचाई २१३३ मिटर छ र उच्चतम फूलचोकीको उँचाई ३१३३ मिटर रहेको छ ।

यो उपत्यका नेपालको सबभन्दा बढी जनघनत्व भएको क्षेत्र हो । यस उपत्यकामा वर्तमानमा काठमाडौँ, ललितपुर र भक्तपुर गरी तीन वटा जिल्लाहरू रहेपनि प्राचीनकालमा सबै एउटै थियो भने मध्यकालमा तीन वटा राज्यहरूको रूपमा रहेका थिए । यहाँ मूलरूपमा नेवार समुदायका मानिसहरूको बसोबास रहेको छ । यहाँ ककेशियाली (आर्य), मङ्गोल र द्रविडियाली वंश समुहको हिन्दु तथा बौद्ध धर्मालम्बीहरू बसोबास गरेको देखिन्छ । कालान्तरमा यहाँ बस्ने सबैलाई 'नेवार' र तिनीहरू बोल्ने भाषालाई 'नेपाल' वा 'नेवारी भाषा' भन्न थालियो, जुन भाषाले यहाँ बस्ने सबैलाई एकमुत्रमा बाँधेको थियो । यो ठाउँ ऐतिहासिक कालपूर्वदेखि नै तराई तथा भारत र ऐतिहासिककालपछि चीन, तिब्बतसम्म महत्वपूर्ण व्यापारिक केन्द्र हुनुको साथै शासनको केन्द्रस्थल भई आएको छ । विभिन्न धार्मिक र जातीय समूहहरूको आगमनले गर्दा धर्म, संस्कृति र कला फस्टाउन गई मिश्रित संस्कृतिको केन्द्र विन्दु बन्न गएको छ । वास्तविक रूपमा नेवार एउटा जाति वा जात नभई विभिन्न जात जातिहरू मिलेर बनेको विशाल संस्कृति भएको एउटा समुदाय हो । वास्तवमा 'नेवार' भनेको सिङ्गो र समष्टि एक ढिक्के समुदाय हो र यो जात अथवा जाति नभएर विविध प्रजाति (Ethnic groups), धर्म र नश्ल (Race) को मिश्रणबाट बनेको एउटा बहुजातीय (Multi-caste) समाज हो भन्ने यथार्थपरक धारणा विद्वानहरूको छ । अझ मेरो विचारमा यो एउटा बहुजातीय मात्र नभएर बहुप्रजाति र जातीय (Multi-ethnics and castes) समुदाय हो । यहाँ आएका विविध जात जातिका मानिसहरूको आफ्नो धर्म, संस्कृति, चालचलन अलग भए पनि भाषाको माध्यमबाट आबद्ध भएर 'नेवार' बन्न गएको देखिन्छ । अहिले यो समाज जुन रूपमा पाइन्छ त्यो विभिन्न चरणको ऐतिहासिक विकासको परिणाम हो भन्न सकिन्छ । काठमाडौँ उपत्यका यस्तो ठाउँ हो, जहाँ मानिस एक पटक आएपछि फर्केर जाने गरेको पाइँदैन- आक्रमणकारी बाहेक । यो

तिब्बत तथा भारतको बीच व्यापारिक मार्ग केन्द्र भएका कारणले पनि आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा सामाजिक दृष्टिले सभ्य र सुसम्पन्न भएको कुरा बेलाबेलामा नेपाल भ्रमणमा आएका विदेशीहरूले उल्लेख गरेबाटै प्रष्ट हुन्छ । यसरी यो देश प्राचीनकालबाटै सुसभ्य, विकसित र सम्पन्नशाली हुनुको साथै यहाँ विविध जाति तथा समुहका मानिसहरूको बसोबास थियो भन्ने छर्लङ्ग देखिन्छ ।

## २. भौगोलिक अवस्थिति र पौराणिक कथन :

भौगोलिक बनेटको दृष्टिले काठमाडौं उपत्यकालाई एउटा सुन्दर स्थल मान्न सकिन्छ । यो उपत्यका चारैतिर अग्ला पहाडले घेरिएको छ तापनि चारैतिरको चारै भन्ज्याङबाट बाहिर जान सकिन्छ । त्यस बाहेक ऐतिहासिक महत्व राख्ने एउटा गल्छि छ त्यो हो चोभारको गल्छि । काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको उत्तर दक्षिणको फैलावट करिब १२ माइल छ भने पूर्व - पश्चिम ९ माइल जति छ । यसको कुल गोलाई ५० माइल जति रहेको छ । यस उपत्यकाको क्षेत्रफल २८० वर्गमाइल (७६९ वर्ग किलोमिटर) भएको अनुमान छ ।<sup>१</sup> यस सम्बन्धमा भूगोलविद्हरूले यसको भौगोलिक आकारलाई करिब ७६४ वर्ग किलोमिटर भएको र पश्चिम २५ किलोमिटर फैलिएको मानेका छन् भने उपत्यकाको औसत उँचाई १३४० मिटर रहेको छ र यहाँबाट उठेका पहाडहरूको सालाखाला उँचाई २१३३ मिटर छ र उच्चतम फूलचौकीको उँचाई ३१३३ मिटर रहेको छ ।<sup>२</sup>

यो उपत्यका नेपालको सबभन्दा बढी जनघनत्व भएको क्षेत्र हो । यस उपत्यकामा वर्तमानमा काठमाडौं, ललितपुर र भक्तपुर गरी तीन वटा जिल्लाहरू रहेपनि प्राचीनकालमा सबै एउटै थियो भने मध्यकालमा तीन वटा राज्यहरूको रूपमा रहेका थिए । यहाँ मूलरूपमा नेवार समुदायका मानिसहरूको बसोबास रहेको छ । यहाँ ककेशियाली (आर्य), मङ्गोल र द्रविडियाली वंश समुहको हिन्दु तथा बौद्ध धर्मालम्बीहरू बसोबास गरेको देखिन्छ । कालान्तरमा यहाँ बस्ने सबैलाई 'नेवार' र तिनीहरू बोल्ने भाषालाई 'नेपाल' वा 'नेवारी भाषा' भन्न थालियो, जुन भाषाले यहाँ बस्ने सबैलाई एकसुत्रमा बाँधेको थियो । यो ठाउँ ऐतिहासिक कालपूर्वदेखि नै तराई तथा भारत र ऐतिहासिककालपछि चीन, तिब्बतसम्म महत्वपूर्ण व्यापारिक केन्द्र हुनुको साथै शासनको केन्द्रस्थल भई आएको छ । विभिन्न धार्मिक र जातीय समूहहरूको आगमनले गर्दा धर्म, संस्कृति र कला फस्टाउन गई मिश्रित संस्कृतिको केन्द्र विन्दु बन्न गएको छ । वास्तविक रूपमा नेवार एउटा जाति वा जात नभई विभिन्न जात जातिहरू मिलेर बनेको विशाल संस्कृति भएको एउटा समुदाय हो । वास्तवमा 'नेवार' भनेको सिङ्गो र समष्टि एक ढिक्के समुदाय हो र यो जात अथवा जाति नभएर विविध प्रजाति (Ethnic groups), धर्म र नश्ल (Race) को मिश्रणबाट बनेको एउटा बहुजातीय (Multi-caste) समाज हो भन्ने यथार्थपरक धारणा विद्वानहरूको छ ।<sup>३</sup> अझ मेरो विचारमा यो एउटा बहुजातीय मात्र नभएर बहुप्रजाति र जातीय (Multi-ethnics and castes) समुदाय हो । यहाँ आएका विविध जात जातिका मानिसहरूको आफ्नो धर्म, संस्कृति, चालचलन अलग भए पनि भाषाको माध्यमबाट आबद्ध भएर 'नेवार' बन्न गएको देखिन्छ । अहिले यो समाज जुन रूपमा पाइन्छ त्यो विभिन्न चरणको ऐतिहासिक विकासको परिणाम हो भन्न सकिन्छ । काठमाडौं उपत्यका यस्तो ठाउँ हो, जहाँ मानिस एक पटक आएपछि फर्केर जाने गरेको पाइँदैन- आक्रमणकारी बाहेक । यो

ठाउँ राज्यको केन्द्र, उत्पादनशील भूमि र उपयुक्त हावापानी हुनुको साथै ऐतिहासिक महत्वका कारणले गर्दा पनि सबभन्दा विकसित क्षेत्र र केन्द्र बन्न गएको हो ।

काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको बनोट कस्तो थियो र कसरी बसोबास हुन गयो भन्ने सन्दर्भमा नेपालका धार्मिक तथा पौराणिक ग्रन्थहरू लगायत हिन्दू र बौद्ध वंशावलीहरूमा आफ्नो धार्मिक परम्परालाई महत्व दिएर लेखेका आफ्नै किसिमका कथनहरू पाइन्छन् । हिन्दू वंशावली अनुसार पहिले काठमाडौं उपत्यका एउटा विशाल तलाउ थियो । त्यस तलाउ बीचमा फकिएको कमलको फूलबाट भगवान शिव उत्पन्न भए भनिएको छ भने बौद्ध वंशावलीहरूमा त्यस कमलका फूलमा भगवान बुद्ध (शाक्यमुनी बुद्धपूर्वका) को ज्योति उत्पन्न भएको थियो भनिएको पाइन्छ । प्रारम्भमा काठमाडौं उपत्यका जलमग्न थियो र सर्वप्रथम मन्जुश्रीले चोभारको डाँडाबाट पानी फालेपछि बस्ती बसाएका थिए भने कुरा स्वयम्भू पुराण र बौद्ध वंशावलीहरूले एकै मुखले बोलेका छन् । एकातर्फ बौद्ध परम्परामा काठमाडौं उपत्यकालाई 'मन्जुगर्त' पनि भनेर उल्लेख गरेको पाइएबाट सम्भवतः मन्जुश्रीले उपत्यकामा बस्ती बसाउन महत्वपूर्ण योगदान गरेको हुन सक्छ । अर्कोतर्फ, हिन्दू वंशावली अनुसार आरम्भमा यस उपत्यका देवताहरूको क्रिडाभूमि थियो । देवताहरूलाई पराजित गरी दानासुर दैत्यले यस भूमिमा आफ्नो अधिकार जमाएपछि विशाल तलाउमा परिणत गराएको थियो । तर पछि त्यसलाई श्रीकृष्ण र उनका पुत्रले दानासुरको वध गरी पानीको विकास गराएका थिए ।<sup>१४</sup> यस किसिमले हेर्दा ग्वालाहरूका संरक्षक मानिने श्रीकृष्णले पानी फालेपछि गोपाल वंशो अर्थात् गाई पालकहरूलाई संरक्षण दिएको बुझिन्छ भने अर्को तर्फ ग्वालाहरू उनीसँग आएको पनि हुनसक्दछ । जे होस्, यसरी हेर्दा काठमाडौं (नेपाल) उपत्यका एउटा तलाउ भएको र आफ्ना धार्मिक आस्थाका देवताले यहाँको पानी खोलेर बस्न योग्य बनाएको कुरामा हिन्दू र बौद्ध वंशावलीहरू तथा पौराणिक कथनहरूले जोड दिएको पाइन्छ ।

### ३. उपत्यकाको बनोट र वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण :

विद्वान्हरूका अनुसार प्रातिनूतनाशम युग (Pleistocene Period) अर्थात् पचासदेखि चालीस लाख वर्ष पहिले हिमालयबाट बगेका खोलाहरूद्वारा काठमाडौं उपत्यका एउटा तलाउ बन्न गएको थियो । प्राचीन समयमा बनेका दह तथा तलाउहरू प्राकृतिक कारणले नै बेलाबेलामा थुनिने र खोलिने क्रम चल्दथ्यो ।<sup>१५</sup> वास्तवमा कुनैवेला हिमालय समुद्रको गर्भमा थियो भन्ने कुरा खप्तड, बडीमालिका जस्ता पहाडका टकुराहरूमा पाइने सामुद्रिक ढुंगा, वालुवा, जलचर तथा पशुहरूका अस्थिपञ्जरहरू आदिले समेत प्रमाणित गर्दछ ।<sup>१६</sup> काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको केही ठाउँमा गरिएका उत्खनन कार्यमा संलग्न जापानी वैज्ञानिकहरूका अनुसार लगभग २० लाख वर्ष पहिले तलाउ बनेको र लगभग ३०,००० वर्ष अघि पहिलो पटक, १४,००० वर्ष अघि दोस्रो पटक र लगभग १०,००० वर्ष अघि अन्तिम पटक ठूलो भाग फुटेर यहाँको पानी बगेर गएको थियो ।<sup>१७</sup> वैज्ञानिकहरूको अध्ययन अनुसन्धानबाट काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको तलाउ ५०० वर्ग कि.मि.सम्म फैलिएको र बढीमा लगभग १४५० मिटर उँचाई अर्थात् चापागाउँसम्म पुगेको थियो । उत्खननमा पाइएका कार्पफिश, घरियाल आदि जस्ता पानीमा बाँच्ने ठूला प्राणीहरूका अवशेष र लेडले पूर्णरूपमा यो गहिरो र ठूलो तलाउ भएको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।<sup>१८</sup> काठमाडौं

उपत्यकामा दह वा तलाउ बनेको पानी बाढी पहिरो वा यस्तै प्राकृतिक प्रकोप वा घटनाका कारण निकास भएपछि यहाँ बस्न योग्य भएको थियो । त्यसैले यहाँको तलाउमा दूला दूला पानीमा बस्ने जनावर हुनु स्वाभाविकै थियो । काठमाडौँ दक्षिणमा रहेको फर्पिङमा प्राप्त भएको विशालकाय जलचर जन्तुको जीवावशेष छाउनी संग्रहालयमा अद्यापि रहेको देख्न सकिन्छ ।<sup>11</sup> यस आधारमा काठमाडौँ उपत्यका एउटा तलाउ थियो भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन आउँछ । यस कुरालाई भूगर्भविद् तथा पुरातत्वविद्हरूले समेत पुष्टि गरिसकेका छन् ।

यसरी उपत्यकाको तलाउको पानी कुनै कारणले बगेर मुकेपछि मात्र यहाँ मानव बस्न योग्य भएको र मल्लो माटेको कारणले कृषि र पशुपालनका लागि उपयुक्त भएको धाहा पाइन्छ । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा मानव बसोबास तथा शासन व्यवस्थाका बारेमा यशावली तथा पौराणिक आख्यानहरूका आधारमा इसा भन्दा हजारौँ वर्ष अगाडिसम्म पुग्न सकिए पनि पुरातात्विक सामाग्रीहरूको आधारमा भने नेपालको ऐतिहासिक तथ्यको बारेमा त्यति ठुला पुग्न सकिँदैन । तर मालिगाउँमा पाइएको महाराज जयबर्माको मूर्ति सहितको इ.सं. १८५ (शक सं. १०७) को अभिलेख<sup>12</sup> (हाल राष्ट्रिय संग्रहालय छाउनीमा राखिएको) को आधारमा इसाको दोस्रो शताब्दीसम्म आइपुग्दा यहाँ लिच्छविहरूले राम्रैसँग शासन व्यवस्था चलाएको अनुमान लगाउन गाह्रो पर्दैन ।

#### ४. पाषाणकाल र उपत्यकामा घुमन्ते मानवको आगमन :

रूसी पुरातत्वविद् एनातोली याकोब्लेभ शेंटेन्कोले काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको उत्तरतर्फ बुढानिलकण्ठको पूर्वदक्षिण धोबिखोलामा सन् १९७८ मा प्राप्त गरेको दुङ्गे युगको हतियारको आधारमा आजभन्दा करिब ३०,००० वर्षदेखि मानिसहरू यहाँ हिंडुल गर्न थालेको सङ्केत पाइन्छ । यहाँ प्राप्त कोयसो जस्ता पाषाण हतियारलाई चीन, मंगोलिया र सोभियत संघमा प्राप्त उपकरणहरूसँग तुलना गर्दै धेरै पुरानो भनेर नेपालमा बसोबास गर्ने मानवको सम्बन्ध यूरोप र मंगोल मानवका पूर्वजसँग अनुमान गरेको पाइन्छ ।<sup>13</sup> तर विद्वानहरूले यसलाई प्रष्ट पार्ने प्रमाणिक सामाग्रीहरू नभएको भन्दै पूर्वपाषाणकाल स्पष्ट रहेका दाङ र पोखरालाई मादौँ कोर्विनसको भनाईमा पश्चिम नेपालको तुलनामा मध्यनेपालमा कतै पनि प्रारम्भिक उपकरणहरू स्पष्ट नदेखिएको भन्ने धारणा राखेको पाइन्छ ।<sup>14</sup> काठमाडौँ उपत्यका त्यति पुरानो मानव बसोबासको थलो हो भन्न सकिने प्रमाणहरू नपाइए पनि यहाँ पाषाणकालीन हतियारहरू प्रशस्तै पाइन्छ, जसलाई हाम्रो नेपाली समाजमा वज्रदुङ्गा अर्थात् चट्याङपर्दा खसेको दुङ्गा भन्ने गरिन्छ । वास्तवमा यस्ता दुङ्गे हतियारहरू शिकारी अवस्थाको अर्थात् पूर्व पाषाण युग (Paleolithic age) का घुमन्ते (Nomadic) मानवका हतियारहरू (Tools) थिए । इसापूर्व दोश्रो सहस्राब्दीतिर पश्चिमतर्फबाट आर्यहरू भारतीय उपमहाद्वीपमा प्रवेश गर्न थालेपछि अहिले भन्दा ४००० वर्ष पहिले पाषाण युगको अन्त्य भएको थियो ।<sup>15</sup> बाबुराम आचार्यको विचारमा आजभन्दा आठ दश हजार वर्ष जति पहिले हिमालय पर्वत शृङ्खलाको दक्षिणी पाखाको पहाडी उपत्यका तथा मैदानहरूमा रहेका निवासीलाई आर्यहरूले किराँत र वर्तमान भाषा वैज्ञानिकहरूले अष्ट्रो-एशियन वा आग्नेयदेशी नाम दिएको भन्दै तिनीहरू नै आज भन्दा छ सात हजार वर्ष पहिले शिकारी जीवनवाट पशुपालक र तत्पश्चात् कृषि व्यवसाय गरेर स्थायी बसोबास

शुस्वात गरेका थिए । तिनीहरू नै यहाँका प्रथम बासिन्दा थिए भने अनुमान बाबुराम आचार्यको छ ।<sup>१०</sup> आज भन्दा चार-पाँच हजार वर्ष पहिले आग्नेयदेशी (Austroloid) परिवारकै भोट- बर्मेली (Tibeto Burmese) शाखाका मानिसहरूको जमात बर्माबाट इरावती नदीको किनारै किनार भारतको आसाम हुँदै पूर्वी नेपालबाट पसेर वर्तमान नेपालको सम्पूर्ण भागमा फैलिई सतलज नदीको मैदानसम्म पुगेको पनि अनुमान छ ।<sup>११</sup> तर आचार्यको अनुमानलाई इतिहासकारहरू र पुरातत्वविद्हरूले अहिलेसम्म यहाँ त्यस्ता प्रमाणहरू नपाइदा त्यति पहिलेदेखि हो भनेर सकारेको देखिँदैन । उनको यो विचार अनुमानको आधारमा भएको हुँदा कालक्रम पत्याउन सकिने स्थिति छैन, जबकि घुमन्ते अवस्थामा आएका भए पनि तिनीका सन्तान पशुपालनका साथै कृषि व्यवसाय गरेर स्थायी रूपमा बसेको अद्यापि पुष्टि गर्न सकिएको छैन । यस्ता जमातहरू समय समयमा यहाँ आइ- राख्दथे र यहाँका निवासीहरूसँग घुलमिल हुन गएका थिए भने भनाइलाई भने नकार्न सकिने स्थिति छैन ।

काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको पानीको तलाउ सुक्न थालेपछि यहाँको मलिलो माटोमा घाँस र जंगल बन गयो । त्यसै ठाउँमा इसा पूर्वका केही शताब्दीसम्म पूर्वतर्फका नवपाषाण युगका मानिसहरू आएर शिकार खेल्ने गर्दथे ।<sup>१२</sup> पछि गएर तिनीहरूलाई नै 'किराँत' भन्न थालिएको थियो । अझ काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा इसा पूर्व छैटौँ शताब्दीसम्म नवपाषाणकालीन जीवन चलेको र यहाँ पाइएका नवपाषाणकालीन हतियारहरू इसा पूर्व एक हजार वर्षदेखि इसाको दुई सय वर्षसम्मको हुनसक्ने धारण पनि पाइन्छ ।<sup>१३</sup> इसा पूर्वका केही शताब्दीसम्म यहाँ शिकार खेल्न आउनेहरूलाई "किराँत" भन्न थालिएको थियो । यिनै घुमन्ते शिकारीहरू किराँत जातिका थिए भने कुरा पूर्वी नेपालका विभिन्न जिल्लाहरूमा उत्खनन गर्दा पाइएका प्रागैतिहासिक मानवहरूका अस्थिपञ्जर माटोका भाँडा आदिबाट थाहा पाइएको छ । यसरी इ.पू. १५०० देखि इ.पू. ५०० सम्म महापाषाण युग (Megalithic age) मा भारतमा फस्टाएका तिनी मानिसहरू पूर्वी नेपालको भू-भागमा फैलिएका थिए, जसलाई पछि "किराँत" भनिएको थियो ।<sup>१४</sup> यी शिकारी अवस्थाका मानिसहरू शिकारको खोजीमा बिस्तारै बेंसीतर्फ भर्न थालेका थिए । भारत र अन्य तर्फबाट विभिन्न कुल, वंश वा जातिका मानिसहरू उपत्यका पस्न थाल्दा यी पाषाणकालीन स्थानीय बासिन्दाहरू शिवपुरी, फुल्चोकी, चन्द्रागिरी, फर्पिङ्ग आदि डाँडाका फेदीहरूमा बस्ती बसालिसकेका थिए । ती क्षेत्रहरूमा पाइएका पाषाणकालीन प्रस्तर र धातुका केही सानातिना मानव औजारहरू फेलापरे पनि ती प्रागैतिहासिक थलोहरू (Prehistoric sites) उत्खनन गर्न सकिएको छैन र अन्य सामग्रीहरू हालसम्म फेला पर्न सकेका छैनन् ।<sup>१५</sup> यस सन्दर्भमा उपत्यकाका फेदीहरूमा बसोबास गरेको अनुमान गरिए पनि त्यस बेलाका घुमन्ते किराँतहरू स्थायीरूपमा बसेका थिए कि भने भनाइ यथार्थ भन्दा परको हुन सक्छ, जुन डाँडाका फेदी वा बेंसी भनी केही ठाउँमा गरिएका उत्खननबाट पनि किराँतकालीन अवशेषहरू प्राप्त गर्न सकिएको छैन । त्यसैले इसाभन्दा हजारौँ वर्ष अगाडि किराँतहरू थिए भन्न सकिने स्थिति छैन, बरु सामान्यतः इसा भन्दा ७०० सय वर्ष अगाडि देखि शासनमा आधिपत्य भएको कुरालाई मान्न सकिन्छ ।

यी भनाइहरूबाट त वंशावलीहरूमा उल्लेख सर्वप्रथम नेपालमा गोपाल वंशी भनिने नेप वा नीप जातिका आभिर गुप्त वंशको शासनकाल लगायत किराँतकालसमेत शिकारी अवस्थामा रहेको संकेत

गर्दछ । हुन पनि नेपालमा अहिलेसम्म लिच्छविकालभन्दा आगाडिका शासन व्यवस्थाको बारेमा अभिलिखित प्रमाणहरू नपाइएका कारणले पुरातात्विक दृष्टिले पुष्टि गर्न सकिएको छैन, केवल परम्परागत आधारमा अनुमान लगाउने काममात्र भएको छ । तर लिच्छविकालको भाषा, साहित्य, कला, वास्तुकला, विदेशी वर्णन तथा वंशावलीहरूको आधारमा लिच्छविकाल भन्दा अगाडिको समाज दुइयुगकै अवस्था भन्दा धेरै माथि थियो भनेर अड्कल वा अनुमान गर्न गाह्रो पर्दैन ।

यस खाल्डोको पानी खोलिएर सुक्न थालेपछिमात्र इसा भन्दा केही हजार वर्ष अगाडिबाट बस्न लायक भएको आधारमा यसको आसपासका डाँडा पाखामा बसेका घुमन्ते मानव, पाषण युग अर्थात् आठ दश हजार वर्ष अघि देखिका मानवहरूनै अहिलेका मानव जातिका पुर्खा थिए भन्ने कुरा त्यति पत्थार लाग्दो मान्न सकिदैन । किनभने यस उपत्यकाको आसपासमा अद्यापि न त्यस्ता पुराना बस्ती पाइएको छ न कुनै हतियारहरू नै । बुढानिलकण्ठमा पाइएको एउटा दुइ हतियार बाहेक अरु कुनै आधारबाट पनि अहिलेसम्म उपत्यकामा त्यति पुरानो पुष्टि गर्न सकिएको देखिदैन, केवल अनुमानमात्र रहेका छन् । अझ कसै कसैले त बुढानिलकण्ठमा पाइएको दुइ हतियारका आधारमा आफूहरू तिनै ३०,००० वर्ष पुरानो भनिएका पूर्वपाषाण युगका घुमन्ते मानव जातिका वंशज हुन सक्ने भन्नसमेत भ्याएका छन् ।<sup>११</sup> लिच्छविपूर्वको यस भेकमा स्थायी रूपमा मानव बसोबास पश्चातका कुनै पनि औजार वा सामाग्रीहरू पाउन सकिएको छैन । उल्लेखित आधारहरूबाट पुरातत्वविद्हरूले इ.पू. १५०० भन्दा उता यहाँ मानवको बसोबासलाई सकारेको देखिदैन ।

#### ५. उपत्यकामा आधिपत्य जमाउने विभिन्न प्रजाति, वंश र नेपालको नामाकरण :

यस भूमिमा आदिम मानवको सन्दर्भमा पहिले-पहिले भारतीय उपमहाद्वीपमा द्रविडहरूलाई यहाँका मूल निवासी मानिन्थ्यो र आर्यहरूलाई आगन्तुक ठानिन्थ्यो । तर वैज्ञानिक अनुसन्धानबाट अहिले आएर यस प्रायद्वीपमा देखा परेको समस्त जातिका पुर्खा बाहिरबाट आएका हुन् भन्ने कुरा सिद्ध भएको छ । आजको नेपाली समाजको जात जातिलाई हेरेमा मुख्यतः नेग्रियो, आग्नेय, मङ्गोल वा किराँत, द्रविड पश्चिमी वृत्तमुण्ड र आर्य वा नार्डिक जातिहरूको अवशेष रहेको पाइन्छ ।<sup>१२</sup> त्यसैले यहाँ कुनै पनि जात वा जातिको नश्ल शुद्ध छ भन्न सकिने स्थिति छैन । यसरी हेर्दा यहाँ विभिन्न जातिको आगमन पछि सबै घुलमिल भएर नेपाली समाज एउटा जात जातिको संगम थलो बन्न गएको थियो । यी कुराहरूको आधारमा इसा भन्दा केही हजार वर्ष अघिमात्र काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा आएर मानव बसोबास गरेको थियो भन्ने अनुमान लगाउन कठिन पर्दैन । यहाँ विभिन्न जात-जातिका मानिसहरू आएर घुलमिल भएर बसेकै कारणले यस ठाउँलाई 'सुनचाँदी पगाल्ने कुल्हिया भाँडो' (Melting pot) पनि भन्ने गरिन्छ ।<sup>१३</sup> त्यसैले यहाँ जो आए पनि यहाँको समाजमा घुलमिल भएर बस्दथे र यही प्रचलित भाषाको माध्यमबाट समाज एकगठ भएर संस्कृतिको विकास गरेको देखिन्छ । ती आगन्तुक सबै जात जातिका मानिसहरू कालान्तरमा नेवारमा परिणत भएका थिए । त्यसैले नेवार कुनै एक जात वा जाति हुँदै होइन, नेवार समाज त बरु विभिन्न धेरै जात जातिहरू मिलेर बनेको एउटा विशाल समुदाय हो ।

आदिम बसोबासको सन्दर्भमा कसैले नाग जातिका मानिसहरू गोपाल वा आभिर वंश भन्दा अघिका पशुपालन गर्ने जाति मान्दै यिनीहरूको निश्चित अस्तित्व रहेको धारणा पनि पाइन्छ ।<sup>११</sup> हुनत उत्तरी भारतमा नागवंशी राजाहरूले शिवलिङ्ग पूजा र देवदेवीका मन्दिरहरूमा गंगा-यमुनाका मूर्ति स्थापना गर्ने परम्परा नाग बाकाटक काल (इ.स. २७८-३९०) मा शुरुवात गरेका थिए ।<sup>१२</sup> नेपालकै प्रसङ्गमा पनि कर्णाली प्रदेशका खसमल्ल राज्यका (इ.स. ११५०-१३९१) संस्थापक राजा नागराज भएको थाहा पाइएबाट नाग वंश भएको अनुमान गर्न सजिलो भएको छ । पूर्व मध्यकालका केही हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरूमा "गण्डी गुल्म" विषय र पन्नग विषयको उल्लेख गर्दै 'पन्नग विषय' लाई किठनसाथ भन्न सकिने पनि 'पन्नग' शब्द नाग शब्दको पर्यायवाची शब्द भएकाले मगर जातिलाई जनाउने र पश्चिम पहाडतर्फ हुनसक्ने धारणा पनि पाइन्छ ।<sup>१३</sup> कसैले काठमाडौँ उपत्यकालाई मगरको हातबाट किराँतहरूले लिए भनेर गोपाल र महिषपाल अर्थात् आभिर भनिने गुप्त वंशीहरूलाई मगर जातिकै भएको अनुमान गरेको पाइन्छ ।<sup>१४</sup> तर डोर बहादुर बिष्टका अनुसार प्राचीनकालका नीप वा नेप जातिका भनिने गोपाल वंशीहरू नै आर्यभाषा बोल्ने पशुपालक खस थिए, जो इसा पूर्व प्रथम सहस्राब्दीको शुरुतिर पश्चिम नेपालको पहाडै पहाड हुँदै काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा प्रवेश गरेर सर्वप्रथम मातातीर्थमा राजधानी बनाएर राज्य स्थापना गरेका थिए । त्यसपछि मात्र यहाँका किराँतहरूले गोकर्णलाई राजधानी बनाएर पूर्वतर्फ राज्य खडा गरेका थिए ।<sup>१५</sup> यस भनाइको आधारमा तिनै नीप जातिका भनिने गोपाल वंशीहरू नै खस थिए, जसले उपत्यकामा सर्वप्रथम राज्य खडा गरेका थिए भन्ने बुझिन्छ नकि मगरहरूले । पछिल्ला कालका प्रमाणहरूले मगर र खसहरूसँग बढी सामीप्यता भएको देखिँदा बरु खसहरूसँग मगरहरूको घुलमिल भएर सम्मिश्रण भएको हुनसक्छ । यस आधारबाट प्राचीनकालमा मगरहरू थिए वा थिएनन् त्यो विवादित विषय भएपनि ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणहरूको आधारमा इसाको एघारौँ शताब्दीबाट मात्र पन्नग, मंग्वर, राणक शब्दको प्रयोग हुन थालेको पाइन्छ । उपत्यकामा मगरहरू कुन कालमा थिए भन्ने कुरा वंशावलीहरूमा समेत उल्लेख नपाइँदा यसै भन्न सकिने स्थिति छैन ।

यस सिलसिलामा ज्ञानमणि नेपालले किराँत, लिच्छवि, शक, मल्ल, खस (कर्णाली प्रदेशका) भन्दा धेरै पहिले यहाँ प्रवेश गर्ने जातिमा गोपालराज वंशावलीमा उल्लेख भएको 'नेप' जातिका मानिसहरू पश्चिम पहाड (गण्डकीको पारकोट) तर्फबाट काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा प्रवेश गरी राज्य व्यवस्था कायम गरेकाले तिनीहरूकै नामबाट "नेपाल" नाम रहन गएको हो भन्ने धारणा रहेको छ ।<sup>१६</sup> अहिले अधिकांश विद्वानहरू यस भनाइमा सहमत हुँदै "नेपाल" नाम रहन गएको मान्दछन् । ज्ञानमणी नेपालले खस र 'नीप' वा 'नेप' जातिका गोपाल वंशीलाई अलग्गै मानेको देखिन्छ भने डोरबहादुर बिष्टका अनुसार आर्य खस (नीप, नेप वा आभिर) भन्दा अगाडि यहाँ विभिन्न मानव जातिहरू (नाग, कोल-कोलीय किराँत वंशी) भए पनि तिनीहरूले राज्यव्यवस्था कायम गरेर बस्नु भन्दा पनि घुमन्ते जीवन यापन गरेर बसेको हुनसक्ने धारणा रहेको छ ।<sup>१७</sup> त्यसैकारण भारोपेली भाषा बोल्ने खसहरूले राज्य व्यवस्था कायम गर्न थालेपछि मात्र किराँतहरूले समेत छुट्टै राज्यको स्थापना गरेको बुझिन्छ । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा बसोबास गर्ने सन्दर्भमा डि.आर. रेग्मीको विचारमा सर्वप्रथम उपत्यकामा दक्षिणतिरबाटै प्रवेश गरे पनि आर्यहरू नभएर

द्रविडहरू प्रवेश गरेका थिए भने त्यसपश्चात् उत्तरपूर्व भारतमा कुनै विघ्न उत्पन्न भएपछि त्यहाँका भोट-बर्मेली (Tibeto - Burmese) भाषा समूहका मानिसहरू यतातिर आएका थिए ।<sup>11</sup> दक्षिणतर्फबाट आएका आर्यहरूसँग प्राचीन आदिवासीको रगत सम्मिश्रणपछि आशिक भारो मङ्गोल (Partly Indo-Mongoloid) र आशिक द्रविड आग्नेली (Partly Dravido-Austroid) भएको कारणले गर्दा नै यहाँका मौलिक जाति (नेवार ! )को मुखाकृतिमा त्यस्तै भल्किन्छ भन्ने धारणा पनि छ ।<sup>12</sup> यसै गरेर बायुराम आचार्यको विचारमा आसामपट्टिबाट तिब्बत-बर्मेलीहरू पूर्वी नेपाल हुँदै पश्चिमसम्म पुगेका थिए भन्ने धारणा रहेको छ ।<sup>13</sup>

भाषा र मानव शास्त्रीहरूको विचारमा सम्भवतः नेग्रोसँग रक्त मिश्रण भएका प्राक्आग्नेली (Proto Austroloid) वंशी कोलहरू (कोलीय) यहाँका आदिम निवासी थिए ।<sup>14</sup> त्यस्तै आगमनका हिसाबले भाषाका आधारमा नेपालमा आग्नेली पछि मङ्गोल र त्यसपछि आर्यहरू आएका थिए भन्ने धारणा भाषाविद् बालकृष्ण पोखरेलको रहेको छ ।<sup>15</sup> भाषिक दृष्टिकोणले नेपालमा मङ्गोल र आर्यसहरू आउनु भन्दा अघि यहाँ आग्नेली (Austroloid) बस्दथे भन्ने देखिन्छ । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा प्रचलित नेवारी भाषामा आग्नेली, भोट बर्मेली र भारोपेली भाषाका साथै आर्य जातिको बोलिचालीको भाषाको समेत प्रभाव पर्न गएकोले ती भाषासँग सम्बद्ध भएका जाति तथा मूलका मानिसहरू यहाँ बसोबास गरेको स्वतः अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । लिच्छविकालमा आर्यजातिको संस्कृत भाषाको विशेष प्रभाव रहेपनि पूर्वमध्यकाल पश्चात भोट-बर्मेली अन्तर्गतको नेवारी (नेपाल भाषा) भाषाको बढीमात्रामा प्रभाव रहेको धाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । वास्तवमा प्राचीन आर्य हिन्दू वर्गका बाहुन-क्षेत्री लगायतका जाति जातिहरू दक्षिण (भारत) तर्फबाट आए पनि तिनीहरूको चारित्र्यमा स्थानीयकरण भएको पाइन्छ भने किराँतहरू मंगोल जातिका भए पनि नेपालको मौलिक जाति भैसकेका छन् । तर तिनीहरूको मूल बासस्थल तिब्बत र त्यसअघि चीनको कुनै प्रान्त रहेको स्पष्ट छ । यी किराँतहरू उत्तरपूर्वी भारतको पहाडी क्षेत्रमा छ्यापछ्यापती रहेकाले त्यतैबाट पसेको मानिन्छ ।<sup>16</sup> नेपाल (काठमाडौँ) उपत्यकामा प्रभावका दृष्टिकोणले आदिमकालदेखि नाग, कोल (कोलीय), नौप जाति भनिने गोपाल वा आभिर लगायत किराँत (मङ्गोल) जाति वा वंशका मानिसहरू यस भूमिमा भएको हुन सक्ने देखिन्छ तापनि लिच्छविकालपूर्व सम्भवतः यिनीहरू त्यति विकशित अवस्थामा नभइ शिकारी अवस्थाबाट स्थाई रूपमा गृहस्थ जीवनयापन गर्न थालेका थिए कि बुझिन्छ ।

यस प्रसङ्गमा गोपाल वंशीहरू पहिला पशुपालक भए पनि उपत्यकामा आएपछि खेतीपाति गर्न थालेका थिए । अझ महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष त नौप जाति वा गोपाल वंशी भनिने खसहरू पश्चिमतर्फबाट आएर स्थायी बसोबास गर्नुको साथै सर्वप्रथम राज्य स्थापना गरेपछि मात्र यहाँ बसोबास गरेका किराँतहरूले राज्य स्थापना गरेका थिए । यस भनाइबाट किराँतहरू घुमन्ते अवस्थामा रहेको भए पनि गोपाल वंशी आभिरहरूले कृषि र राज्य व्यवस्थाको सुरुवातपछि किराँतहरूले समेत त्यसैलाई अवलम्बन गरेको हुन सक्दछ । यसै प्रसङ्गमा नाग जाति पशुपालन अवस्थामा आएपछि गोपाल र महिषपाल वंश बाँडिएको हुन सक्ने र यिनीहरू नै बागमति क्षेत्रका आदिवासी गोठाला थिए, जसलाई नेवारहरूका पुर्खा

(Primogenitor) भन् सकिन्छ भन्ने निरीश नेपालको धारणालाई सुदर्शन तिवारीले सहमति जनाउनु भएको छ ।<sup>११</sup> अहिले नेवार समुदायमा "हले" र "ग्व" जाति समूह पाइन्छ जुन जाति पहिला टिस्टुङ, सिखरकोट, तीखेल, चितलगाड क्षेत्रमा पाइन्छ । वंशावलीमा गोपाल "महिषपाल" वंश भनिने आभिर गुप्त लिच्छविकालमा शासनमा शक्तिशाली देखिन्छ । अंशुवर्माको टिस्टुङको अभिलेखमा भैसी पाल्म आकृष्ट भएको कुरा परेको आधारमा र वंशावलीमा नै मातातीर्थका गोपालवंशीहरूले राज्य स्थापना गरेको आधारमा मिथक नभएर वास्तविक ऐतिहासिक भएकोमा शंका गर्ने ठाउँ छैन, बरु वंशावलीको वंशवृक्ष काल्पनिक रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको हुन सक्दछ" भन्ने धारणालाई बलियो तर्क मान्न सकिन्छ । किनभने ती जातिका मानिसहरू अद्यापि त्यसै भेगतर्फ पाउन सकिन्छ । सर्वप्रथम गोपाल वंशी आभिर गुप्तहरूले कृषि व्यवसायसँगै राज्य स्थापना गरेका थिए कि भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

#### ६. बसोबास र शहरीकरणको क्रम :

काठमाडौं उपत्यकामा इसाभन्दा एक सहस्राब्दी अघिदेखि स्थायी बसोबासको क्रम चलन थाले पनि लिच्छविकालसम्म आइपुग्दा मात्र विकसित र सभ्य किसिमको राज्य व्यवस्था भएको कुरा तत्कालीन अभिलेखहरूबाट थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । वास्तवमा काठमाडौं उपत्यका सभ्यता र संस्कृतिको केन्द्र बन्नुमा सर्वप्रथम उत्पादनशील भूमि, उपयुक्त हावापानी, सुरक्षित स्थल हुनुको साथै भारत र तिब्बत (चीन) को बीचमा भएकोले व्यापारिक दृष्टिले पनि मार्ग केन्द्र (Trade en route) बन्न गएको थियो । यसैले प्रागैतिहासिककालबाटै काठमाडौं उपत्यकामा शहरीकरणको प्रक्रिया सुरु भएर महत्वपूर्ण केन्द्र बन्न गएको थियो । माथि भने जस्तै आक्रमणकारी बाहेक यहाँ आएका कुनै पनि मानिस केहीकाल बसेपछि अद्यापि यहाँ बसोबास गर्न रुचाउँछन् । फर्केर जान खोजेको देखिँदैन । सर्वप्रथम नगरको बनोट वा बस्ती कहाँबाट सुरु भएको थियो निश्चित भन्न नसकिए पनि विद्वान्हरूको विचारमा महत्वपूर्ण शहरीकेन्द्रको रूपमा भने इसा पूर्व छैटौं शताब्दीबाट विकास हुन थालेको विश्वास गरिन्छ ।<sup>१२</sup>

उपत्यकाको पानी सुक्न थालेपछि पाषाणकालीन बासिन्दाहरू वरिपरिका डाँडाबाट फेँदीतिर सर्न थालेका थिए भने उत्तर र दक्षिणतिरबाट समेत धमाधम विभिन्न वंश, कुल र जातिका मानिसहरूसमेत यतातिर भर्ने र चढ्ने गर्न थालेको स्वतः अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । यसरी इसापूर्वदेखि नै खस, शाक्य, विन्जी, कोली (कोलीय), किराँत, लिच्छवि, मल्ल आदि जातिका मानिसहरू प्रवेश गरिसकेका थिए । बसोबास गर्ने क्रममा डाँडाबाट फेँदीतिर भर्ने र बाहिरबाट यतातर्फ चढेकाहरूले शिकारी अवस्था छाड्दै पशुपालन र कृषि पेशा अवलम्बन गर्न थालेपछि शहरीकरणको क्रम सुरुवात हुन थालेको प्रष्ट हुन आउँछ । आदिमकालमा उपत्यकाको कहाँबाट बसोबास हुन थालेको थियो, त्यो निश्चित रूपमा भन्न नसकिए पनि मध्यकाल (इ.स. ८७९-१७६९) सम्म आइपुग्दा काठमाडौं उपत्यकामा मानिसहरूको बाक्लो बस्ती बस्न गएको थियो ।

उपत्यकाको हाँडीगाउँमा नेपाल र इटालीका पुरातत्वविद्हरूले सन् १९८४ मा गरेको उत्खननमा गान्धार कलासँग मेल खाने उत्खनित वस्तुहरू प्राप्त भएको आधारमा लिच्छवि र लिच्छविपूर्वकालका सामग्रीहरू भएको धारणा पनि पाइन्छ ।<sup>१३</sup> ईशाको प्रथम शताब्दीका माटाका मकर, गोहीका टुक्राहरू

इशाकै प्रथम दोस्रो शताब्दीका तामाका र माटका कुषाण कृतिहरू, कुषाण मुद्रा र कनिष्कको मुद्रा प्राप्त भएको आधारमा यहाँ कुषाणहरू पनि शक्तिशाली थिए भन्ने देखिन्छ।<sup>११</sup> त्यसैले कुषाणहरू शैव र बौद्धधर्म मान्ने हुँदा उपत्यकामा सर्वप्रथम स्वयम्भूको महाचैत्य र गुप्त विहार उनीहरूले बनाएपछि मात्र यहाँ सभ्यताको सूत्रपात भएको र देउपाटन ग्राम बसाएको बाबुराम आचार्यको धारणा रहेको छ।<sup>१२</sup> शैव धर्म र बौद्ध धर्मको उदयसँगै कुषाणहरूले पशुपतिनाथको मन्दिर निर्माण गर्न लगाएको हुन सक्ने धारणा पनि पाइन्छ।<sup>१३</sup> बसोबासको सन्दर्भमा लिच्छविकालमा विशालनगर हाँडिगाउँ भेगमा पाइएका अभिलेखका आधारमा विशेष बस्ती बसाएको देखिन्छ।<sup>१४</sup> वास्तवमा यहाँ ईशाभन्दा अघिदेखि नै गोपाल-महिषपाल, (आभिर गुप्त), किराँत, शाक्य, वृज्जि, लिच्छवि, कोलीय, शक, पार्थियन, कुषाण, मल्ल आदि जातिका मानिसहरूको पनि बसोबास भैसकेको देखिन्छ।

काठमाडौँ शहरको वर्तमान मध्यभाग अर्थात् बसन्तपुर क्षेत्रबाट सभ्यताको शुरुवात भएको लिच्छविकालका प्रमाणहरूबाट थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ। लिच्छविकालमा मार्ग, महापथ, हस्तिमार्ग, रथ्या, महारथ्या शब्दले फराकिलो बाटोको संकेत दिन्छ। सर्वप्रथम विशेषतः स्वयम्भूदेखि हाँडिगाउँसम्म नगर बस्ती भएको र बसन्तपुर, लगन (यलै), इन्द्रचोक, असन, थौँहटो, धम्बही (ठमेल), जमल आदि लगायतका बस्ती भएको र वर्तमान बसन्तपुर वा हनुमानढोकाबाट उत्तर र दक्षिणको क्षेत्रलाई कोलीग्राम र दक्षिणकोलीग्राम भनेर लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखहरूमा उल्लेख भएबाट शहर विभिन्न बस्तीमा बाँडिएको थाहा पाइन्छ।<sup>१५</sup> मध्यकाल अघि बसन्तपुर क्षेत्र नै शासनको केन्द्रस्थल भएर रहेको थियो। तर जयस्थितिमल्ल (इ.स. १३८२-१३९५) को समयसम्म आइपुग्दा नेपाल उपत्यकाको राजधानी भक्तपुर, (भादगाउँ, खोपूडग्राम) भैसकेको देखिन्छ। भाषा वंशावलीका अनुसार इशाको दशौँ शताब्दीमा राजा गुणकामदेवले विष्णुमती र बागमतीको बीचमा १८,००० परिवारको घरसहितको खड्गाकारमा शहर बसाएको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। यिनैले यस पूर्ववर्ती शहरलाई कान्तिश्वर महादेवको नामबाट कान्तिपुर नामाकरण गरेको भाषा वंशावलीको पाठमा उल्लेख भएको पाइन्छ।<sup>१६</sup> भनिन्छ, काठमाडौँ शहर विष्णुको चक्र (discus) को आकारमा, भक्तपुर शहर शङ्ख (conch) र पाटन शहर पद्म (lotus) को आकारमा बसाइएको थियो। शहरको पुरानो बनेट खड्ग आकारकै देखिन्छ भने वंशावलीको भनाई बमोजिमका राजा गुणकामदेवको समय कलिगत सम्वत् ३८२५ (इ.स. ८३८) उल्लेख गरिए पनि यथार्थमा पाइएका तीनवटा अभिलेखको आधारमा उनको समय ने.सं. १०७ देखि ने.सं. ११० (इ.स. ९८७-९९०) सम्म मान्नु पर्ने हुन्छ।<sup>१७</sup>

वास्तवमा हनुमानढोका दरवारलाई मध्यकालका प्रमाणहरूमा "गुनपो" दरबार भनिएको हुँदा उनकै नामबाट गुणपुर (गुण पुर) भनिए पनि पछि 'पुर' शब्द 'पो' बनेर 'गुनपो' दरबार नाम प्रचलित भएको हुन सक्तछ। यसबाट यस क्षेत्रमा उनले एउटा दरबार बनाएको हुन सक्ने देखिन्छ। अर्कोतर्फ 'कान्तिपुर' शब्द इ.सं. १२०७ बाट मात्र उल्लेख पाइने हुँदा उनले बनाएको भन्ने कुरामा शंका गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ। बरु काठमाडौँ सहरका विभिन्न भागका विभिन्न नाम भए पनि 'कान्तिपुर' शब्दले भने पुरा शहरलाई जनाउने र काष्ठमण्डपको प्रथम उल्लेख इ.सं. ११४३ (ने.सं. २६३) मा पाइएको आधारमा यो शहरको स्थापना गर्ने उनै थिए भन्ने धारणा जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मीको छ।<sup>१८</sup>

मध्यकालमा पनि यो शहर दुई भागमा बाँडिएको थियो । ती थिए- थने र कोने । मध्यकालमा काष्ठमण्डप (कान्तिपुर-बसन्तपुर) दरबार क्षेत्र केन्द्रबिन्दु रहेको थियो । थने अर्थात् उत्तरतर्फ यत्र मखन, ओङ्गल (इन्द्रचोक), वटु, असै (असन), थिहटी, थमवही (ठमेल) हुँदै सोइखुट्टे अन्तिम क्षेत्र थियो भने कोने अर्थात् दक्षिणतर्फमा लगन, चिकमुगल, मरु, प्याफल, यङ्गल आदि पर्दथे ।

यो कतिपय नामहरू अभिलेख, व्यासफु, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ लगायत वंशवलीहरूमा समेत उल्लेख पाइन्छ । यो शहर उत्तरमध्यकालमा फैलिएको थियो, जसलाई सुवर्णप्रणालीनगर र अझ पछि महामुवर्णप्रणालीनगर भनिएको पाइन्छ ।<sup>११</sup> अझ अन्तिम मल्ल राजा जयप्रकाश मल्लले इ.सं. १७६२ (ने.सं. ८६२) मा आदेश गरेको माथेको छाप लगाइएको एउटा अप्रकाशित ताडपत्रमा कान्तिपुर महानगर, यम्बुभूमि, हडलखास (न्यौ), थम्बराछी (कमलाछी) आदि ठाउँहरूको नाम परेको छ र यस शहरलाई कान्तिपुर महानगर भनिएको छ ।<sup>१२</sup>

त्यसै गरी काठमाडौंमा कोलीग्राम र दक्षिणकोलीग्राम दुई भागमा बाँडिएको थियो भने बुढानिलकण्ठ, गोकर्ण, चापागाउँ, लेले, धानकोट, बलम्बु आदि ठाउँलगाएत थंतुरीद्रङ्ग (बुढानिलकण्ठभेक), लम्बुटीद्रङ्ग (लेलेभेक), स्थरुद्रङ्ग (चापागाउँभेक), शीताटीद्रङ्ग, (धानकोट- बलम्बु भेक), हँसगृह द्रङ्ग (अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वर भेक), नुप्पुनद्रङ्ग, (केवलपुर भेक), माखुप्रिङ्ग द्रङ्ग आदिको उल्लेख लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखहरूमा पाइन्छ । नक्साल नारायणचौरको लिच्छविकालको अभिलेखमा ताम्रकुट्टशाला, मानेश्वर (टंगालभेक), शम्बपुर, हम्प्रिङ्ग (म्हेपी-बालाजु भेक), पुठमिङ्ग, जमयम्बी (जमल रानीपोखरी), पुँदट्ट यी सातवटा ग्रामहरूलाई द्रङ्गको दर्जा दिइएको थियो । यसरी लिच्छविकालमा विकसित बस्ती अर्थात् शहरको रूप लिइसकेको बस्तीलाई 'द्रङ्ग' भनेर भनिन्थ्यो ।<sup>१३</sup> यसै गरेर खोप्रिङ द्रङ्ग (त्रिपुरक्वाठ पछि भक्तग्राम) भक्तपुर तथा भादगाउँ भएको थियो भने त्यो ठाउँ पछि नेपालको राजधानी बन्न गएको थियो । यो शहर शंखाकारमा स्थापित भएको र पश्चिम उत्तर पूर्व अण्डाकारमा फैलिएको थियो । शहरका महत्वपूर्ण टोलहरूमा तीमढी, गोलमाढी, तलाक्षेँ थिए भने अन्य पुराना बस्तीहरूमा सारक, थिमी, बनेपा, साँगा आदि थिए । द्रङ्गको सोभ्रो अर्थ सानोतिनो शहर हुन्छ र इ.सं.५९० पछिका अभिलेखहरूमा मात्र द्रङ्गको उल्लेख पाइन्छ ।

त्यस्तै पाटन अर्थात् ललितपुरलाई बनोटको आधारमा ललितपत्तन अर्थात् सुन्दर शहर भनिएको पाइन्छ ।<sup>१४</sup> यस शहरमा थट्टी, यखालखु, महालखु, इखाक्षे, खपिंक्षे, क्वावाहा, च्यासल, सौंगल, त्यागल, निगल, खिमटोल आदि नामका बस्ती वा टोलहरू बनिसकेका थिए । लिच्छविकालमा यूपग्रामद्रङ्ग पछि मणिग्वल, मङ्गलबजार ललितपत्तन र ललितपुर भनिएको देखिन्छ । काठमाडौं केन्द्र बन्नु भन्दा अघि यो क्षेत्र अविभाजित नेपालको राजनैतिक क्रियाकलापको केन्द्र बन्न गएको थियो । शहरको विकसित रूपलाई मध्यकालका पूर्वाद्धिसम्म मण्डल, देश, पुर भन्ने गरिएको पाइन्छ । शहर बन्नका लागि आबादी बढेर मात्र नभई सुरक्षा पर्खाल, खाई (Moat), गढ हुनुको साथै बस्तीको सांस्कृतिक तथा आर्थिक विकाससमेत प्रचुर मात्रामा हुनु पर्दथ्यो । कलाकौशल, देवमन्दिर लगायत विद्याको प्रचार, नाटक प्रदर्शनको समुचित व्यवस्था भएको हुनु पर्ने र यस्ता ठाउँलाई मुख्य नगर (महानगर) भनिन्थ्यो । त्यस्ता नगरको

सँगै रहेका तर पूर्णरूपमा व्यवस्थित नभएका साना नगर वा बस्तीलाई "शाखा नगर" भनिने कुरा जयस्थिति मल्ल (इ.सं. १३८२-१३९५) को समयमा नेवारीमा अनुदित गरिएको अमरकोषमा उल्लेख गरिएको पाइन्छ । यसरी मध्यकालसम्म आइपुग्दा महत्वपूर्ण बस्तीहरूमा काठमाण्डप (काठमाडौं), मणिमण्डप (मणिग्वल), कीर्तिपुर, टोखा, फर्पिङ, देउपाटन, साँखु, बोडे, धिमी (ठिमी) र उपत्यका बाहिर लेले, पनौती, बनेपा, साँगा, खोपासी, धुलिखेल, दोलखा, नुवाकोट, आदि थिए । सन् १७५० को एउटा पत्र अनुसार भादगाउँ र काठमाडौंमा १८,०००, पाटनमा २४,००० र कीर्तिपुरमा ६००० घरहरू भएको थाहा पाइन्छ ।<sup>१५</sup> त्यस्तै ईशाको १७औं शताब्दीको अन्त्यतिर इटलीका पादरीले नेपाल भ्रमण गर्दा काठमाडौंमा १८,००० परिवार, पाटनमा २४,००० परिवार र भक्तपुरमा १२,००० घरपरिवार भएको वर्णन पाइन्छ ।<sup>१६</sup>

विशेष गरेर सभ्यता, संस्कृति र उन्नतिका दृष्टिले काठमाडौं उपत्यका नै सम्पन्नशाली थियो । त्यसैले ईसाको सत्रौं-अठारौं शताब्दीतिर यहाँ भ्रमणमा आएका यात्रीहरूलगायत ईसाई पादरी, बौद्ध भिक्षु वा लामाहरूले यहाँको बारेमा राम्रो वर्णन गरेको पाइन्छ । त्यसरी आउनेहरूमा इटालियन तथा क्रेपुचियन पादरीहरू, फादर ग्रेबर, फादर मार्क, फादर डेसीडेरी, कर्नेल कर्कपेट्रिक, एच.ए.ओल्डफिल्ड, माइकल एन्जेलो, तारानाथ आदिले तौनै शहर उच्च स्तरको सुन्दर, भव्य र सम्पन्न भएको उल्लेख गर्दै यस्तो ठाउँको नागरिक हुनु भाग्यमानी र गर्व गर्न लायक भनेर यहाँको महत्व र गौरवलाई इङ्कित गरेको पाइन्छ । यहाँका मानिसहरू शहरीया र नागरिक चेतना (Civic sense) भएका भनेर सभ्य र सम्पन्नशाली देशका नागरिकले समेत उल्लेख गरेबाट अति सुसम्पन्न थियो भन्ने प्रष्टै हुन्छ ।<sup>१७</sup> त्यसैले त यहाँ जति मानिस छन् त्यति मूर्ति र जति घर छन् त्यति मन्दिर छन् भन्दै तिब्बतलाई मुद्रा छपाए बापत वार्षिक दश लाख रूपैया (One million rupees) आम्दानी गर्ने कुरा कर्कपेट्रिकले उल्लेख गरेबाट यहाँको सम्पन्नतालाई समेत दर्शाउँछ । यसै गरी गोर्खाली शाह राजाहरूको आधिपत्यपछि यहाँको जनघनत्व बढ्नुको साथै शहरको बस्ती अरू क्षेत्रमा समेत विस्तार हुँदै गएको स्पष्टै छ ।

## ७. निष्कर्ष :

काठमाडौं उपत्यका भौगोलिक बनोटका दृष्टिले सुरक्षित र उत्पादनशील थियो भने हावापानीका दृष्टिले पनि अति उपयुक्त र स्वस्थकर ठाउँ थियो भन्ने कुरामा कुनै शंका गर्ने ठाउँ छैन । यहाँ आउने विभिन्न जाति मूल, वंश र जातका मानिसहरू आएपछि फर्कन नखोज्नुको कारण पनि त्यही नै थियो । त्यसैले विभिन्न, प्रजाति, जात, वंश वा समूहका मानिसहरूको यहाँ सम्मिश्रण भएको थियो । तिनीहरूकै रक्तमिश्रण भएर उत्पत्ति भएका मानिसहरूले एउटै भाषा र संस्कृतिलाई अंगालेका थिए र तिनीहरूलाई नै यहाँ कालान्तरमा 'नेवार' भन्न थालिएको थियो । नेवारहरू न उत्तरबाट भरेका थिए न दक्षिणबाट यतातिर चढेका थिए, बरु चारै दिशाबाट आएका मानव जातिका वंशजहरू नै नेपालका मौलिक नेवारहरू थिए । यहाँ नेवारी भाषा कहिलेदेखि बोल्न थालिएको थियो त्यो निश्चित भन्न नसकिए पनि "नेवार" शब्द यहाँका स्थानीय स्रोतमा ने.स. ७७२ (इ.स. १६५२) मा उल्लेख भएको पाइएको छ भने यो भाषाको शब्दको पहिलो लिखित अभिलेख ईशाको बाइँ शताब्दी अर्थात् ने.स. २९३ (इ.स. ११७३)

को छ भने हस्तलिखित ने.स.५०० (इ.स. १३८०) को 'मानव न्यायशास्त्र' ग्रन्थ नै हो । वास्तवमा यहाँ आएर बसोबास गर्नेहरू मध्यकालबाट स्वतः नेवार कहलिन थालेका थिए र उनीहरूको मातृभाषा नेवारी वा नेपालभाषाका नामले प्रचलित हुन गएको थियो । यसरी विविध जात जातिहरूको मेलबाट विकसित हुन गएको 'नेवार' एउटा जात वा जाति नभएर विशाल समुदाय नै हो भन्न सकिन्छ । यसै प्रसङ्गमा हिरोशि इशिइले नेवार समुदायलाई यथार्थ मूल्याङ्कन गर्दै यहाँ बसाई सरेर आउने 'विविध मानवजातिको क्वार्टे' हो भनेका छन् ।<sup>५५</sup> यहाँका नेवारहरूको आकृति, धर्म, संस्कृति र संस्कारमा समेत विविधता भएको पाउन सकिन्छ । यहाँ यिनीहरूले एउटा परिष्कृत संस्कृति र सभ्यताको विकास गरेका थिए । त्यसैले नेवार समुदायलाई नेपालको सुसभ्य र संवृद्ध वर्गमा लिने गरिन्छ । वास्तवमा यस वर्गलाई गोर्खालीहरूको आधिपत्यपछि शाहकालबाट एउटा जाति वा जातको रूपमा लिन थालिएको थियो । तर यो वास्तविक हुँदै होइन र हुन पनि सक्तैन ।

काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको सहरी बस्तीको विकास क्रमबद्ध र वैज्ञानिक तरिकाले भएको कुरा यहाँको बस्तीको बनोट, संरचना र विभिन्न अभिलेख तथा तत्कालीन प्रमाणहरूको अध्ययन तथा विश्लेषणबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यस प्रसङ्गमा सामाजिक संरचनाको विकास हुने क्रममा जातप्रधाले महत्वपूर्ण स्थान ओगट्न गएको थियो भने कुरा बस्ती बसाउने क्रमबाट समेत थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ । फलस्वरूप, दरबार, देवमन्दिरहरू र मुख्य प्रशासनिक अड्डाहरू शहरको बीच भागमा रहन्थ्यो भने त्यसको वरिपरि क्रमशः राजपरिवारहरू, विशिष्ट वर्ग, प्रशासक, व्यापारी, कृषक र अन्तमा पेशाका दृष्टिले निम्न तहका मानिने जातका वर्गलाई वृत्त-वृत्तको आधारमा राखिन्थ्यो । मध्यकालदेखिको बसोबासको शैली आवश्यकता र महत्वअनुसार परम्परागत बन्न गयो । पेशाका दृष्टिले सेवा र फोहोरका काम गर्ने तल्लो वर्ग वा जातका मानिनेहरू शहरको बाहिरी भाग वा नदीको छेउमा बसाल्न थालियो भने शहरको मुख्य भागमा राजा, राजपरिवार, पुरोहित ब्राह्मण, रक्षक-क्षेत्री वर्ग र त्यसपछि मात्र पेशागत जातहरूलाई राख्ने गरेको देखिन्छ । परम्परागत रूपमा पानी नचल्ने भनिने र फोहोर प्रकृतिका काम गर्ने धोबी, कसाई, कुसले, पोडे, च्यामेहरूलाई छुट्टै राखिन्थ्यो । तर वास्तवमा तान्त्रिक ज्ञान भएका भूतप्रेत भगाउनका लागि कुसलेहरूलाई टढा वा अलग नराखी भित्री वृत्तमा नराखे पनि बीचको घेरामा शहरका चोकका पाटी आदिमा राख्ने गरेको पाइन्छ भने फोहोर र पानीसँग सम्बद्ध भएकाले धोबी, कसाई, च्यामे पोडेलाई शहरभन्दा बाहिर राख्ने गरेको देखिन्छ ।

काठमाडौँ उपत्यका एउटा तलाउबाट बस्ती बस्न योग्य भएको र यस उपत्यकालगायत वरिपरिका क्षेत्रमा पाषाण युगदेखि नै मानवको आगमन भए पनि ईसा भन्दा हजार वर्ष अघिदेखि विभिन्न वंश वा मूलका मानिसहरूको आगमन पछि बसोबासको क्रम सुरु भएको देखिन्छ । यहाँ 'नीप' जाति भनिने गोपाल (महिषपाल आभिर) वंशी खस आर्यहरू, कोलीय, शाक्य, किराँत-मझोल, लिच्छवि, मल्ल आदि जातिका मानिसहरूको आगमन पश्चात बसोबास र राज्य व्यवस्था कायम गरेको थाहा पाइन्छ । यस ठाउँमा सबै जातिका मानिसहरू घुलमिल भएर बस्न थाले पनि ईसाको दोस्रो शताब्दीबाट मात्र अभिलिखित पुरातात्विक प्रमाणहरूको आधारमा लिच्छविहरूले शासन संचालन गर्न थालेको देखिन्छ । यहाँका

विभिन्न ठाउँहरूमा बस्ती बसाएर शहरीकरणको क्रम चलदै जाँदा यहाँ आएका सबै मूल, वंश वा जातिका मानिसहरूको धर्म, संस्कृति संस्कारको अवलम्बनसहित नेपाल, नेवार, समुदाय र नेपाल भाषा (नेवारी) को विकास हुन गएको थियो ।

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## सांकोट राज्य र चन्द्र जैशी

ढिल्ली ओली,  
सह-प्राध्यापक

पश्चिम नेपालमा आरम्भमा मगर, थारु र त्यसपछि खशहरूको राज्य व्यवस्था भएको कुरा इतिहासबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यहाँको पहाडी क्षेत्रमा मगर र तराई तथा भित्री मधेशमा थारुहरूको बाहुल्यता थियो । प्राचीन कालमा यो क्षेत्र दक्षिणको गौडदेश, कन्नौज र उत्तरतिरका गुगे, मानसरोवर, कैलाश, सिंजा क्षेत्रहरूको देउरालीको रूपमा रहेको कुरा पनि इतिहासमा पाइन्छ (गौतम: २०५०, २७-२८) । यस प्रकरण सँगै विक्रमको नवौं शताब्दी पछि कुमाउ, गढवाल क्षेत्र हुँदै खशहरूका विभिन्न समूहहरूको पश्चिम नेपालमा प्रवेश हुने क्रम पनि वढी रहेको इतिहासहरूले चर्चा गरेका छन् । त्यसैबखत दक्षिणबाट सिंजा क्षेत्रमा प्रवेश गर्ने गौड देशका पालवंशीहरूले पहिले कन्नौज र पछि खशहरूको सहयोगमा सिंजामा राज्य व्यवस्था स्थापना गरेका थिए भने अर्कोतर्फ तिब्बति मूलका समूहहरूको पनि त्यहाँ उपस्थिति थियो (पाण्डेय: १९९७, २६३) । विक्रमको ११४१ मा कन्नौजमा शाहीवुद्दिन गोरीको आक्रमणले त्यहाँको समाजमा ठूलो प्रभाव पार्यो । फलस्वरूप त्यहाँका विभिन्न समूहहरूको पश्चिम नेपालमा प्रवेश गर्ने क्रममा तिब्रता आउन थालेको पाइन्छ (गौतम: उही, २८) । यि सबैको उपस्थितिले पश्चिम नेपालको समाजमा ठूलो प्रभाव पर्न जानु स्वभाविकै थियो । यस प्रकरणले सम्भवतः राज्य व्यवस्थामा पनि प्रभाव पारेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ । विस्तारै सिंजा राज्यको आकार ठूलो हुँदै जाँदा विभिन्न ठाउँमा थपौलाहरू पठाउने र कतै कतै स्थानिय जनताले पुतलाहरू खोजी राजा बनाउने क्रम पनि बढ्न थाले । यसै क्रममा अछाम, दुल्लु, दुँलेखमा छुट्टै राज्य मात्र भएनन विभिन्न ठाउँका थपौलाहरूले विभिन्न ठाउँमा भुरे टाकुरे राज्यहरूको विस्तार गरेको पनि पाइन्छ । (गौतम : उही, पृ.२८)

सिंजाको इतिहासमा मलय वमको ठूलो ख्याति छ । यिनको राज्यरोहणको समय वि.सं.१४२७ तिर अनुमानित छ । यिनका चार छोराहरू थिए । आफ्नो जीवनको अन्त्यतिर उनले चारै जना छोराहरूलाई विभिन्न क्षेत्रमा राज्य दिएर पठाएका थिए । अथवा उनको शेषपछि विशाल सिंजा राज्य टुक्रिएर वाईसे राज्यको निर्माण भएको थियो (पाण्डेय: उही, पृ.२२५-२९) । यसरी राज्य प्राप्त गर्ने सन्दर्भमा माहिला सुल्तानवमले सल्यान क्षेत्र पाएका थिए । यही समयमा सल्यान क्षेत्रमा विभिन्न थपौलाहरू भएको अनुमान हुन्छ । यिनै सुल्तानवमले पहिले सल्यानको कालागाउँ र पछि वनगाड क्षेत्रलाई राजधानी बनाएर शासन गरेका थिए । यो वि.सं.१५५५ आसपासको समय थियो । यसको केही समयपछि सल्यानमा

कालासुल्तान प्रभावशाली राजाको रूपमा देखिएका थिए । यिनले नै वनगाडबाट पिपलनेटमा राजधानी सारेका थिए । पिपलनेटमा उनले भव्य दरवारको निर्माण पनि गरेका थिए (गौतम: उहाँ, ५०) । कालासुल्तानको समय वि.सं.१६०० तिर अनुमान हुन्छ । यिनको समयमा सल्यानका सांकोटमा कठायत, कोर्बाङमा सेन, तथा पाँचथरपौला सुईकोटमा विभिन्न राज्यहरू भएको बुझिन्छ । यिनको अतिरिक्त विभिन्न धुम, धुमहरूमा विभिन्न किसिमका थपौलाहरू भएको अनुमान हुन्छ । किनभने त्यो काल थपौलाहरूको समय बुझिन्छ । कालासुल्तानले नै यी विभिन्न राज्य र थपौलाहरू माथि विजय गरि विशाल सल्यान राज्यको निर्माण गरेको संकेत इतिहासहरूले गरेका छन् । कालासुल्तानकै विजय अभियानमा सांकोट राज्य पनि सल्यानमा गाभिएको कुरा मानिन्छ ।

सांकोट ठूलो भौगोलिक क्षेत्र ओगटेको थुम हो । सल्यानमा कालासुल्तान राजा हुने समयमा सांकोटमा डोटी तिरबाट आएका कठायतहरूको शासन व्यवस्था थियो । उनीहरूको नाम अज्ञात छ । स्थानिय भनाई अनुसार उनीहरूले सांकोटमा दुईपुस्ता सम्म मात्र राज्य गरेका थिए । कठायतहरू डोटी क्षेत्रबाट सांकोटमा आउदा उनीहरूसँग विभिन्न समूहहरू— देवकोटा, विष्ट, वोहोरा, रावत, खड्का, दशौंदी पनि साथै थिए । दशौंदीहरूलाई कठायतका भैयाद पनि भनिएको छ । राजाका भैयाद भएकोले सांकोट राज्यको उठती रकम मध्ये दस भागको एक भाग उनीहरूले प्राप्त गर्दथे । राज्यको राजस्वमध्ये दस भागको एकभाग प्राप्त गर्ने भएकोले उनीहरूलाई दशौंदी भनिएको मान्ने आधारहरू पनि छन् । सांकोट दरवारका पुरोहितको रूपमा देवकोटा र ज्योतिषी (जैशी-कालान्तरमा रेग्मी) थिए ।

सांकोट तिन तिरबाट शारदा नदीले घेरिएको करिब ५ हजार फिटको उचाईमा अवस्थित छ । पहिले दरवारलाई कोट भन्ने गरिन्थ्यो । पछि कोटबाट कोत भयो । दरवार प्रांगणलाई पछि गएर कोत बुझ्न थालियो । त्यही कोत पछि राजाका भाइभारदार राज्यका महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्ति जम्मा हुने, दशैँमा पूजा आजा गर्ने, बलि दिने ठाउँको रूपमा विकसित भयो । नेपालका पुराना दरवारहरूमा कोतघरहरू छन् । ती दरवारहरू कोतघरको रूपमा चिनिन्छन् । 'कोत' मुगल प्रभाव हो । भारतमा पनि कोत, कोतवार परम्परा थिए । कोतको प्रमुखलाई भारत र नेपालमा उमराव भनिन्थ्यो । सांकोट दरवार चारैतिरबाट अत्यन्त भिरालो पहाडको टुप्पामा अवस्थित छ । यो ठाकुरो करिब दुई हेक्टरको क्षेत्रफलमा फैलिएको छ । सांकोट दरवारको निर्माण प्राचिन र मध्यकालिन किल्ला वास्तुकलाको शैलीमा गरिएको छ । ५ फीट चौडाई र करिब ५०० फीटको पर्खालको परिधि मुख्य दरवार क्षेत्र हो । यहाँ चारतिर चारवटा ढोकाहरू छन् । एउटा ठूलो पर्खालभित्र सांकोट दरवारका भग्नावशेष छन् । मुख्य दरवार क्षेत्र करिब ५० मिटर चौडाईमा छ । यही भित्र तोपघर, खड्गदेवी मन्दिरका अवशेष भएको स्थानीय भनाई छ । केही वर्ष पहिले सम्म यहाँ तोपका टुक्राटुकी, हतियारका अवशेषहरू थिए । यहाँ दरवारको पूर्वद्वारमा २ वटा ठूला ठूला मेच आकारका आकर्षक चम्किल्ला ढुंगाहरू छन् । स्थानीय भनाई अनुसार ती ढुंगाहरूलाई राजा रानी बस्ने ढुंगा भनिन्छ ।

दरवारको पर्खाल बाहिर चारैतिर पाँचतहमा लामा लामा सिंढीहरू छन् । सुरक्षाका दृष्टिले यी सिंढीहरू त्यसबेला अत्यन्त उपयोगी रहेको तथ्य स्पष्ट छ । स्थानीय भनाइ अनुसार सांकोट दरवारमा

दुईठाउँबाट पानी आपूर्ति हुने गर्दथ्यो । दरवारको पश्चिम पट्टी अत्यन्त भिरालो ठाउँमा एउटा पानीको मुहान थियो । त्यो ठाउँलाई रूपसे पानी भनिन्छ । अत्यन्त भिरालो ठाउँमा खोपा खनेर तिनैको सहाराबाट दरवारमा पानी ल्याउने गरिन्थ्यो । त्यहाँको पानी राजा र रानीको लागि हुन्थ्यो भने दरवारका अन्य व्यक्तिका लागि उत्तरतिरको त्यस्तै भिरालो ठाउँको कल्ले खोलाको मुहानबाट पानी ल्याइन्थ्यो । त्यसबेलाका पधेराका भग्नावशेषहरू अहिले पनि छन् । भनिन्छ कठायत दरवारमा सिपाही, तोप, खरखजानाको अतिरिक्त दरवारको सुरक्षाको लागि पखाँलको चारैतिर कोदो छर्कने गरिन्थ्यो । सम्भवतः दुश्मन वा आक्रमणकारीहरू कोदोमा चिप्लेर माथि पुग्न सक्दैनन् भन्ने यसको प्रयोजन थियो । दरवार उत्तरतिरको मुख्य प्रवेश क्षेत्रमा गराला तेछर्याँएर राखिन्थ्यो । जुनठाउँलाई अहिले गोदे गराले नामले चिनिन्छ । यही गोदे गराले सँगैको साङगाडमा धेरै पटक कठायतहरूले दुश्मनहरू सँग मुकावला गर्नु परेको तथ्य स्थानिय जनमानसमा छ । साँकोट राज्य र समाजको वनावट पनि निकै व्यवस्थित थियो भनिन्छ । यहाँ माथो टाकुरीमा दरवार त्यसको केही तल कोत भनिने ठाउँमा देवकोटा (पुजारी) त्यसको केही तल श्रीचवर बाहुनगाउँमा ज्योतिषी (रेग्मी) अलितल दौयाबाँया वस्तीहरूमा क्षेत्रीहरू विष्ट, रावत, वोहोरा, खड्का र त्यसभन्दा केही तल कामी, दमाई, साकी टमटहरू वस्दथे । यो वनावट वर्तमान सम्म कायम छ ।

दरवार क्षेत्रमा खड्ग देवीका मन्दिरहरू हुनु सल्यान क्षेत्रमा मध्यकालिन दरवारहरूको परिचय हो । यस्ता खड्ग देवी मन्दिरहरू साँकोटका अतिरिक्त सल्यान खलंगा, कोर्वाङ्ग, फलावाङ, मालनेटा आदि दरवारहरूमा पनि थिए । ती ठाउँहरूमा अहिले पनि खड्गदेवीका मन्दिरहरूले निरन्तरता पाईरहेका छन् । साँकोटमा खड्गदेवीका पुजारी देवकोटाहरू थिए । यसको निरन्तरता करीब तीन दशक अघि सम्म पनि थियो । साँकोटमा खड्गदेवी पूजा नित्य, नैमित्त्य रूपमा हुने गर्दथ्यो । यहाँको खड्गदेवी मन्दिरमा टोका खुलेपछि अन्यत्र खुल्ने परम्परा धेरै पछिसम्म पनि थियो । तर यो परम्परा हाल अस्तित्वमा छैन । साँकोटलाई सातविस साँकोट भनिन्छ । सल्यान क्षेत्रमा आठहजार जुघार, चारहजार फलावाङ, नौसय सखी, सातसय, सातविस, साँकोट भनेर चिनिने ठूला ठूला थुमहरू थिए । साथै विभिन्न घाट र दाहोबाट पनि विभिन्न थुमहरू चिनिन्थ्यो (ओली : २०६२ पृ.१०८) यो व्यवस्था नेपालमा भूमिसुधार लागु हुँदा सम्म पनि कायमै थियो । आठहजार, चारहजार, नौसय, राजश्व उठती सँग जोडिएका शब्दावली हुन् । तर सातविस साँकोट बारे विभिन्न स्थानीय भनाईहरू छन् । यिनमा सल्यान राज्यको समयमा साँकोटबाट १४०१- पौत उठ्ने भएकोले सातविस साँकोट, १४० वटा गाउँभएकोले सातविस साँकोट, कठायत राजाका पालामा विभिन्न सात गाँडामा २०-२० जनाका दरले सिपाही राख्ने राज्य भएकोले सातविस साँकोट भनिएका पाईन्छन् । यस विषयमा आधिकारिक कुरा पाउन सकिएको छैन । पुराना कागजपत्रमा मात्र होईन बोली व्यवहारमा पनि साँकोटलाई सातविस साँकोट नै भन्ने, बुझ्ने गरिन्छ । सातविस साँकोट अर्न्तगत कोलचौर, गोगने गैरीकटेरी, पिमखोला, दारिमज्यूला, कालापिपल, गर्चे, चैवाङ, बाहुनगैरो, तिमिले, वताती आदि गाउँहरू पर्दथे । साथै साँकोट राज्यमा पुरोहित ज्योतिषी, घाटबुढा, जेठाबुढा, लगायतको व्यवस्था थियो । यी दरवारका अंग भै थिए ।

एकातिर कठायतहरूले यसरी व्यवस्थित रूपमा राज्य संचालन गरिरहेका थिए भने अर्कोतर्फ सल्यान क्षेत्रमा कालासुल्तानको प्रभाव पनि विस्तार भैरहेको तत्कालिन अवस्थाले पुष्टि गर्दछ । यस सन्दर्भमा साँकोटमा कालासुल्तानको आक्रमणको प्रयास अनेक पटक विफल भै सकेको बुझिन्छ । कठायत राजाको सैन्य सामर्थ्य, दरबार बाहिर कोदोको प्रयोग र मुख्य नाकामा गराला राख्ने चातुर्फल सम्भवतः साँकोट मजबुत र व्यवस्थित राज्यको रूपमा स्थापित भै सकेको थियो । त्यसैले साँकोटलाई सल्यान राज्यमा नगाभेमा कालासुल्तानको राज्य विस्तार अभियान अपूरो हुने भएकोले उनले कठायत राजाका ज्योतिषी चन्द्रजैशीलाई आफ्नो पक्षमा मिलाउने अभियानमा लागे । साँकोट दरवार, राज्य मात्र होइन त्यस क्षेत्रमा चन्द्र जैशीको ठूलो प्रभाव र मान्यता भएको अनुमान हुन्छ । उनी विद्वान, तान्त्रिक र धुन्धर ज्योतिषी भएको बुझिन्छ । ज्योतिषीबाट जोईसी जैशी हुँदै जोशी थर विकसित भएको पाइन्छ । जोशीहरू तिन प्रकारका हुन्छन्- सिलाई, लटौला र भिँभार । यी तिनै प्रकारका जोशी कुमाई हुन् (शर्मा : २०३९, पृ ६५-७६) । यस मतलाई यमुनादत्त वैष्णवले पनि उल्लेख गरेका छन् (वैष्णव : १९७७, : पृ. २५५) जोशीहरूको मूलधरो मन्दाकिनी नदीको घाटीमा रहेको छ । जसलाई प्राचीनकालमा उषिमठ भनिन्थ्यो । पछि यसैलाई जोशीमठ भन्न थालियो । यस ठाउँको स्थापना शंकराचार्यले गरेका थिए । त्यही ठाउँबाट जोईसी वा ज्योतिषीहरूको विकास भएको हो । (वैष्णव: उही, पृ ९१) । सम्भवतः चन्द्रजैशीका पुर्खा उतैबाट पश्चिम नेपालको डोटी, जुम्लातिर बसोबास गरेका आधार छन् । साँकोटमा चन्द्रजैशी वा उनका पूर्वज को र कहिले आएका थिए अनुसन्धानको विषय छ । उनी कठायत सँग नआएको कुरा घटनाक्रमले पुष्टि गर्दछन् । त्यसैले कालासुल्तानले उनलाई आफ्नो पक्षमा पार्न सम्भव भएको देखिन्छ । कठायत राजाका विरुद्धमा कालासुल्तानलाई सहयोग गर्दा चन्द्रजैशीका केही सर्त थिए भने कुराको पछिका घटनाक्रमले पुष्टि गर्दछन् । सम्भवतः चन्द्रजैशीले कठायतको हत्या गर्ने र त्यसबापत काला सुल्तानले उनलाई ठूलो भू-भाग विर्ता दिने भन्ने थियो । यो सर्त अनुसार २४ घण्टामा चन्द्रजैशी जति हिँड्न वा जहाँ जहाँ पुग्न सक्छन् त्यति सबै भूमि थियो । त्यसबखत दाही, जुंगा, कपाल खौरनलाई ज्योतिषीको साईत आवश्यक पर्दथ्यो । राजा, शासक र सामन्तहरूको कपाल, दाही ब्राह्मणले नै खौरनु पर्दथ्यो । त्यसमा पनि नजिकको र विश्वासिलो व्यक्ति आवश्यक पर्दथ्यो । दाही कपाल काट्ने व्यक्ति सँग विश्वास प्राप्त गर्न लाई किरिया कसम सम्म खुवाउने गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा पुराना मानिसहरूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । अरुबाट साँकोटी राजाको हत्या गर्न असम्भव भएकोले चन्द्रजैशी नै कालासुल्तानको लागि उपयुक्त पात्र भएका हुन सक्दछन् । दुवै जनाको मन्त्रणा अनुसार सल्यानी राजाले गोदे गरालेमा ल्याएर सेना राख्ने र चन्द्रजैशीले कठायतको घाँटी रेटि हत्या गर्ने र त्यसै बखत साँकोट दरवारमा आक्रमण गरी अधिनस्थ तुल्याउने सहमति भएको घटनाक्रमले देखाउँछन् । भयो पनि त्यसै । यस घटनापछि साँकोट सल्यान राज्यमा गाभियो । सम्भवतः पहिले भएको सहमति अनुसार चन्द्रजैशीले २४ घण्टा सम्म हिँडेको सबै भूभाग विर्ता पाए । यो ठूलो भूभाग थियो ।

कठायत राजाको हत्या र साँकोट दरवारमाथि आक्रमण एकै समयमा भएका थिए । कठायतको हत्या र उनका सन्तानबारे स्थानिय स्तरमा दुई किसिमका मत पाइन्छन् । एउटा मान्यता अनुसार

कालामुल्तानले चन्द्रजैशी मार्फत राजाको मात्र हत्या गर्न लगाएका थिए । उनका बाँकी परिवारका सदस्यहरूको हत्या वा नजरबन्द केही नगरी बरु उनीहरूलाई सुविधा र सम्मान दिएर राखिएको थियो । यस अनुसार सातविस साँकोटबाट उठती हुने राजश्व मद्दे दश भागको एक भाग पाउने व्यवस्था गरिदिए । यसरी दशभागको एकभाग राजश्व पाउनेहरू दशौँदी भनिए । उनीहरू अहिले आफुलाई कठायत नभनि दशौँदी भन्दछन् । अर्को भनाई अनुसार कठायतको हत्या र कालामुल्तानका सेनाको भिषण आक्रमणले कठायत राजाका परिवारका सबै सदस्यहरूले हत्या भएको थियो । तर दरवारकी भण्डारनीको सहयोगमा एउटा नवजात शिशु भने बाँच्न सफल भएको थियो । उक्त नवजात शिशुलाई भण्डारनीको चतुन्याईमा साँकोट अन्तर्गतको नयाँ गाउँमा लुकाएर राखियो । दरवारकी भण्डारनी को संरक्षण र मातृत्वमा हुर्काए, बढाएको हुनाले र सुरक्षाका दृष्टिकोणले पनि बालकलाई कठायत नभनि भण्डारीथरले चिन्न थालियो । यसरी आफुलाई कठायतका सन्तान भन्ने भण्डारीहरू हालपनि सल्यानको नयागाउँ र दाङका विभिन्न ठाउँमा बसोबास गर्दछन् । आफुलाई कठायतका सन्तान दावी गर्ने दशौँदी वा भण्डारी कोचाहिँ वास्तविक सन्तान हुन् अनुसन्धानको विषय छ ।

चन्द्र जैशीको सहयोगमा साँकोट राज्य सल्यान राज्यमा गाभिएपछि कालामुल्तान सल्यान क्षेत्र अन्तर्गतको ठूलो भू-भागका राजा बने । उनले पश्चिम दाङलाई पनि समेटेका थिए । उनले दिल्ली दरवारसँग सम्बन्ध विस्तार गरि बाँके पूर्वको रजेट क्षेत्र उपहार पाएका थिए । दिल्ली दरवार संग सम्बन्ध बढाएपछि उनी कालामुल्तानबाट सुल्तानशाह बनेका थिए (ओली : २०६२, पृ. १०८) यति भैसकेपछि पनि उनमा अब चन्द्र जैसीबाट असुरक्षा र डर उत्पन्न हुन थाल्यो । सुल्तान शाहले आफुले जसरी अरूले पनि आफना विरुद्ध चन्द्र जैशीलाई प्रयोग गर्न सक्ने खतरा महशुस गरी उनलाई समाप्त पार्ने योजना बनाउन थाले । यस योजना अनुसार पुरानो साँकोट दरवारबाट करिब १० कि .मि. पूर्वमा रहेको शंखमूल स्थित शारदा नदीमा एउटा ठूलो तलाउ छ । त्यो मुलवाटो क्षेत्र पनि हो । सुल्तान शाह आफ्नो राजधानी सल्यान पिपलनेटाबाट आफ्ना सेना र भारदारसँग शंखमूल पुगे र आवश्यक सरसल्लाह भएको जानकारी गराई चन्द्र जैशीको बसोवास भएको श्री चवर बाहुन गाउँबाट उनलाई पनि त्यहीँ बोलाइयो । चन्द्र जैशी त्यहाँ आई पुग्ने वित्तिकै राजाको आदेशमा त्यहाँ रहेको ठूलो तलाउमा डुबाएर मारियो । चन्द्र जैशीको मृत्यु सम्बन्धमा अन्य विभिन्न धारणाहरू भए तापनि अरू प्रचारमा ल्याइएका जस्ता देखिन्छन् । यस्ता धारणाहरूमा उनी अल्प भए, उनको जाल खेल्ने क्रममा मृत्यु भयो भन्ने जस्ता छन् । तर तथ्यहरू अध्ययन गर्दा उनको हत्या नै गरिएको भरपर्दो आधार देखिन्छ । त्यहाँ एउटा गुफा पनि छ । भनिन्छ त्यही गुफामा समय समयमा गएर चन्द्र जैशीले तान्त्रिक साधना गर्दथे । त्यो गुफालाई चन्द्र जैशी गुफा र उनलाई डुबाएर मारिएको तलाउलाई चन्द्र जैशी तलाउ भनिन्छ । यही गुफा र तलाउमा हरेक वर्ष चन्द्र जैशीका सन्ततिहरूले वार्षिक पितृ पूजा गर्दछन् । चन्द्रजैशीका सन्तानहरू रेग्मी थर धारण गरी साँकोट र दाङका विभिन्न ठाउँमा बसोबास गर्दछन् । उनका सन्तान रेग्मीहरूले टृष्टको स्थापना गरी चन्द्र जैशी थान निर्माण गर्दछन् । यसरी साँकोट राज्य र एक विलक्षण प्रतिभाको छोटो समयको अन्तरालको बीचमा अन्त्य भयो, यी दुवै घटनाबाट त्यस क्षेत्रमा एउटा युगको अन्त्य र अर्को युगको थालनी हुन गएको थियो ।

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# प्राचीन मल्लपुरीको खोजी चुनौती र सम्भावना

मदन रिमाल  
सह-प्राध्यापक

## विषयको पृष्ठभूमि

लिच्छवि राजा मानदेवको संवत् ३८६ (वि.सं. ५२१)को चौगुनारायण स्थानको स्तम्भ अभिलेखमा उल्लेखित मल्लपुरी कहाँ थियो ? भन्ने कुरामा नेपाली इतिहासकारहरू हालसम्म पनि निश्चित भएका छैनन् । प्राचीन नेपालको भू-आकृति र पुरातात्विक प्रमाणहरूलाई आधारमानी मल्ल पुरीको खोजी गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ । पुरातत्वविद तथा इतिहासकारको लागि यो खोजी चुनौतीको रूपमा रहेको छ । उक्त स्तम्भ अभिलेखमा निम्नानुसार घटना र परिस्थिति उल्लेख गरी मल्लपुरीको वर्णन गरेको पाइन्छ ।

“.... मेरो बुबाले राम्रा अग्ला मौलाहरूले पृथ्वीलाई सिर्गाउनु भएथ्यो । लडाईरूपी यज्ञको आड लिएर क्षेत्रीको धर्म बमोजिम दिक्षा लिएर म बसिरहेको छु । पराक्रमैले शत्रुको नाश गर्न पूर्वदिशातिर जान्छु । जो राजाहरू मेरो काबुमा बस्ने छैन तिनलाई थाम्नेछु ।

यी कुरा सुनाले पीर हटेकी मुमालाई राजाले ढोगेर भन्नुभयो- मुमा शुद्ध तपस्या गरेर म बुवाको अर्घ्यणी हुन सक्तिनँ । तर उहाँका पाउको सेवा गरेर विधिपूर्वक सिकेको हतियारको कामले अर्घ्यणी हुनेछु । तब अत्यन्त खुशी भएकी मुमाबाट आज्ञा पाएर राजा पूर्वको बाटो लाग्नुभयो । त्यहाँ पूर्वीय सण्ठ रजौटहरूल दबेर शिर निहुराए । तिनका श्रीपेजका माला भुईँमा खसे । हुकुममा तामेल रहने तिनीहरूलाई थमौती गरी जगर फिँजाएको सिंह जस्तै निडर भई राजा पश्चिमतर्फ लाग्नुभयो ।

त्यहाँ रजौटको बदमाशी सुनेर टाउको हल्लाउँदै हात्तीका सूँड जस्ता पाखुरा विस्तारै निमोठतै उहाँ (राजा मानदेव)ले घण्टा गरेर भन्नुभयो- बोलाउँदा त्यो आउँदैन भने मेरो पराक्रमले तहमा आउँछ । यहाँ व्यर्थ धेरै कुरा गरेर के काम ? छोटकरीमै भन्छु ।

प्यारा मामा, धेरै अडयाड-खडयाड भएर रुमलिएको समुद्रको जोडा लाग्दो, डरलाग्दो भुमरीले र छालले पानी छयाल्ल व्याल्ल भएको गण्डकी नदी आजै हजुर तर्नुहोस् । कसिएका सय्यौँ असल हात्ती घोडा लिई नदी तरेर म हजुरको फौजको पछि पछि आउनेछु । यस्तो अठोट गरेर राजाले त्यसबेला कबोल

पुग गर्नुभयो । (राजा मानदेव) मल्लपुरीलाई जितेर त्यहाँबाट विस्तारै आफ्नो देशमा फर्कनु भयो । तब खुशी हुँदै ब्राह्मणहरूलाई अक्षय धन दान गर्नुभयो..... ।<sup>१</sup>

स्तम्भ अभिलेखमा उल्लेखित वर्णनबाट निम्न कुराहरू बुझिन्छ । राजा मानदेवले पूर्वका रजौटाहरूलाई दबाएर उनीहरूलाई धमौती गरी पश्चिम तर्फ लागेका थिए । पश्चिमका रजौटाहरूले राजा मानदेवले बोलाउँदा अटेर गरेर आएनन् । मल्लपुरी पश्चिममा पर्दथ्यो । मल्लपुरी पुग्न गण्डकी नदी त्नुं पर्दथ्यो । जो धेरै अड्याड-खड्याड भएर समुद्र जस्तो थियो । डरलाग्दो भुमरिले र छल्ले पानी छयाल्ल-व्याल्ल भएको गण्डकी नदीको रूप थियो । राजा मानदेव मल्लपुरी जित्न मामाको सहायता लिएका थिए । उनले मल्लपुरीलाई जित्न हाती, घोडा आदिको सहयोग लिएर नदी तरेका थिए ।

लिच्छविकालको प्रशासन व्यवस्थाअनुसार राष्ट्र मुख्य दुई खण्डमा विभक्त थियो, सोफे केन्द्रबाट शासन गरिने देश र अर्को केन्द्रको अधिनमा रही रजौटा वा सामन्तबाट शासन गरेको देश<sup>२</sup> उपयुक्त उल्लेखलाई विचार गर्दा लिच्छविकालमा केन्द्र कुनै कारणवस कमजोर भएमा वरपरका सामन्त राजाहरू स्वतन्त्र हुने चेष्टा गर्दथे भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

राजा मानदेवले आफ्नो पूर्वजको पालादेखिको आफ्नो अधिनमा रहेका सामन्तहरू स्वतन्त्र हुने चेष्टा गरेकाले तिनलाई आफ्नो अधिनमा ल्याउन विजय यात्रा गरेका थिए भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ । उनले नयाँ मुलुक जित्ने राज्य विस्तार गरेको थिएनन् ।<sup>३</sup> मल्लपुरीका राजा स्वतन्त्र थिएनन् उनी लिच्छविराजाद्वारा शासित मल्लपुरीका सामान्त थिए ।<sup>४</sup> मानदेवका बाबु धर्मदेवको अकस्मात् मृत्युले गर्दा स्वतन्त्र हुन खोजेका पूर्व र पश्चिम तिरका सामन्त राजाहरूलाई मानदेवले कज्याएका थिए । पूर्वका सामान्तहरूले सजिलैसँग मानदेवको अधिनमा बस्न माने भन्ने पश्चिमका विशेषगरी मल्लपुरीका सामान्तले मानेनन् । परिमाणस्वरूप आफ्नो मामाको सहयोग लिएर मानदेवले युद्ध गर्नु परेको थियो ।

उपर्युक्त उल्लेखबाट मानदेवबाट मामा पश्चिम तर्फ मल्लपुरी नजिकैको कुनै ठाउँमा बस्दथे । सम्भवतः उनी पनि त्यतैतिरका कुनै राज्यको सामान्त राजा थिए होलान् । उनीसँग फौजहरू थिए भन्ने कुराले यस कथनलाई पुष्टि गर्दछ । मानदेवका मामा को थिए र कहाँ बस्दथे भन्ने पत्ता खोजीकै विषय भएको छ । मानदेवले असल हाती र घोडा लिएर लगाई गर्न गएका थिए । उनले सम्भवतः विना जनवारहरूको माध्यमबाट समुद्र जस्तो देखिने गण्डकी नदी तरेका थिए । धनव्रज ब्रह्मचार्यका अनुसार मानदेवले गण्डकी नदी तर्न हातीको पुल बाँधेका थिए ।<sup>५</sup>

१. धनव्रज ब्रह्मचार्य, लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, काठमाडौं, नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय, २०३०, पृ. १५।१६

२. ऐजन्, पृ. ३१२

३. ऐजन्, पृ. २५।२६

४. ऐजन् ।

५. प्राचीनकालमा नदीको आसपास हाती हुन्थे भन्ने कुरा कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्रमा उल्लेख पाइन्छ भने हातीको प्रयोग खोला तर्नका लागि गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा कवि कालिदासले रघुको विजययात्राको प्रसंगमा गरेका छन्- धनव्रज ब्रह्मचार्य, ऐजन् पृ. २४, २५

## खोजविज्ञानका भौगोलिक तथ्यहरू

पश्चिममा मल्लपुरी कहाँ थियो भन्ने कुरा हालसम्म पनि अज्ञात रहेको अवस्थामा हालसालै केही तथ्यहरू प्रकाशनमा आएका छन् । ती तथ्यहरूको माध्यमबाट मल्लपुरी खोजी गर्नु नितान्त आवश्यक छ । प्रकाशमा आएका तथ्यहरू निम्न छन् ।

गोरखामा पाइएका लिच्छवि द्वितीय शिवदेवको सम्वत् १२२ को अभिलेख र जयदेवको अभिलेखबाट त्यसबेला गोरखा भेकसम्म सोभै केन्द्रबाट शासन चल्दथ्यो । त्यहाँ सामन्त राज्य खडा भएको थिएन भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।<sup>१</sup> यसबाट गोरखाको पश्चिममा पर्ने लम्जुङ्ग क्षेत्रमा पनि लिच्छविहरूको सोभै केन्द्रबाट शासन चल्न सक्ने सम्भावनालाई नकार्न सकिँदैन । सम्भवतया मानदेवका मामा यतै कतै नजिकै फौजका साथ बस्दथे । त्यस कारण मानदेवले मामालाई आजै गण्डकी तर्न र मल्लपुरी घेर्न पठाए । पछि आफू पनि ठूलो फौजका साथ गण्डकी नदी तर्ने मल्लपुरीमा आक्रमण गर्न पुगे ।<sup>२</sup> गण्डकी नदी कुन हो भन्ने कुरामा इतिहासकार धनवज्र वज्राचार्यले गण्डकीकासात धारा मध्ये कालि गण्डकी बढी प्रसिद्ध छ भन्दै मानदेवले तरेको गण्डकी कालिगण्डकी नै हो भनेका छन् । उनले कालिगण्डकी पारि मल्लपुरी खोज्नु पर्ने सुझाव पनि दिएका छन् ।<sup>३</sup>

गण्डकीका सातधारा मध्ये सेती गण्डकी वर्तमान लम्जुङ्ग र स्याङ्जा जिल्लाको बीच कास्की र तनहुँ जिल्ला भई बग्दछ । सोही गण्डकीको धारा अर्थात् सेतिगण्डकी नै राजा मानदेवले मल्लपुरी आक्रमण गर्दा तरेको गण्डकी हुनुपर्दछ । गण्डकीका पश्चिमतर्फको अन्तिम धारा भनेको काली गण्डकी हो । प्राचीन मल्लपुरी कालिगण्डकी नदी पारी नै हो भन्ने कुरालाई मान्न सकिँदैन ।

प्राचीन समयको इतिहासलाई अध्ययन गर्दा प्राचीन भूगोल र भू-आकृति विज्ञानको सहायता लिनुपर्ने हुन्छ । राजा मानदेवको अभिलेखमा वर्णन भए अनुसारको धेरै अडयाड-खडयाड रुमलिएको समुद्रको जोडो लाग्दो, डर लाग्दा भुमरीले र छालले पनि छयाल्ल-व्याल्ल भएको गण्डकी नदी भन्ने शब्दले गण्डकी नदीको तत्कालिन रूपलाई प्रस्तुत गरेको छ । इतिहासको कुनै कालखण्डमा समुद्रभै लाग्ने स्वरूपको सेती गण्डकी थियो भन्ने कुरा भू-गर्भविद तथा भूगोलविदहरू मान्दछन् । उनीहरूका अनुसार नेपालको मध्यभाग माहाभारत पर्वत श्रृंखलाको उत्तरी भागभन्दा माथिको सेती नदी विस्तृत उपत्यका भरी फैलिएको समुद्र भै लाग्ने तालको रूपमा रहेको थियो । अभिलेखमा भएको वर्णन सेती

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चौथी शताब्दी ईशवीको अन्ततिर (ई. १३५५) भारतको मुसलमान शासक मोहम्मद तुगलकल मिथिलामा आक्रमण गर्दा गण्डक नदी तर्नुपरेको थियो । नदी तर्दा उनले हात्तीहरूको उपयोग गरेका थिए भन्ने प्रसङ्गबाट पछिसम्म पनि नदी तर्ने कार्यमा हात्तीको प्रयोग गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ । -उपेन्द्र ठाकुर, हिस्ट्री अफ मिथिला, दरभंगा, मिथिला इन्स्टिच्युट, १९८८ पृष्ठ २३३ ।

६. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, ऐजन पृ. २७

७. ऐजन, पृ. २४

८. ऐजन, पृ. २७

गण्डकी नदि नै हुन सम्भावना छ । स्याङ्जा जिल्लाको उत्तरपूर्व तर्फ रहेको पोखरा उपत्यकाको भू-वनावट र सेती गण्डकी नदिको स्वरूपलाई भूगोलविदहरूले निम्न प्रकारले प्रस्ट्याएका छन् ।

सर्वप्रथम स्वीस भूगर्भविद टेनी हेगेनले ईशवी १९५९ मा पोखरा उपत्यकाको निर्माण महाभारत पर्वत शृंखलाको उत्पत्ति हुने क्रममा निर्मित पातालीय खाडल (Tectonic Depression) कालान्तरमा वरपरका पाहाडी क्षेत्रबाट उत्पन्न स-साना खोला तथा नदीहरूले बगाएर ल्याएको पदार्थ भरिएको उपत्यका निर्माण भएको हुन सक्दछ भनेका थिए ।<sup>९</sup> तर हेगेनको यो अनुमानलाई पछि हर्क गुरुङ्ग ईशवी १९६५ मा पातालीय खाडलमा दायाँ बायाँका पहाडहरूबाट आएको पदार्थले मात्र नभएर पछिल्लो प्लेस्टोसिक कालखण्डमा उत्तरको अन्नपूर्ण हिमालय क्षेत्रबाट आएको हिउँसँगै मिसिएको पानीले बगाएर ल्याएका पदार्थहरूले भरिएर उपत्यका निर्माण भएको हो भन्ने मान्दछन् ।<sup>१०</sup> जब यस क्षेत्रमा अन्नपूर्ण र माछापुच्छ्रे हिमालयको बीच भागबाट सेती नदीले ठूलो मात्रामा त्यस्ता पदार्थ बोकेर ल्यायो । त्यस समयमा सेती नदीमा मिसिन आउने स-साना खोला तथा खोल्साहरू नदीमा खस्न नपाई दायाँ बायाँ थुनिन पुगे र उपत्यकाको किनारी भागमा धेरै तालहरू बने । यस्ता तालहरू दिपाड, मैदी, खाप्ते, गडुवा अर्भे पनि छन् । कतिपय तालहरू जस्तै सुरौदीखोलाको तालबेसी, म्यग्देखोलाको तालबेसी, क्याङ.टो खोलाको तालबेसी आदि लोप भै सकेका पनि छन् । ती खोलाको बहाबले सेतीको गल्छीसँग कङ्लोमोरेट चट्टानलाई गहिरो गल्छी पारेर काटी ताल सुकेको देख्न सकिन्छ ।

उपत्यकाका गेडुला ढुङ्गा र कङ्लोमोरेटको बाक्लो तहगत स्वरूप र बीच बीचमा बालुवा र कमजोर भू-स्वरूपका तहको अध्ययनमा ईशवी १९८२ मा फ्रेन्च भू-गर्भविद फोर्ट र फ्रेतेल तथा ईशवी १९८२ मा नै जापानी भू-गर्भविद यामानाका समेतले यस क्षेत्रको विस्तृत अध्ययन गरेका थिए । यिनीहरूका अनुसार यस क्षेत्रको निर्माणमा माछापुच्छ्रे र अन्नपूर्ण हिमालयको बीच भागबाट बग्ने सेती नदीमा त्यहाँको उच्च हिमाली क्षेत्रको हिमताल फुटेर आएको बाढीले उपत्यकाको प्रशस्त गेडुला ढुङ्गा थुपार्न सकेको हो भनिएको छ ।<sup>११</sup>

यस्ता हिमताल एक पटक मात्र नभएर पटक पटक गरी फुटेको हुनपर्छ र विभिन्न समयको अन्तरालमा धेरै पटक यस्तो घटना भएको हुनुपर्दछ । फोर्ट र फ्रेतेलले अन्तिम पटक यस्तो हिमपात फुटेर आएको बाढी करीव ६ सय वर्ष पहिलासम्म भएको घटना हुनुपर्दछ भनेका छन् ।<sup>१२</sup>

९. टेनी हेगेन, ठवर डेन जियोलोजिस्वेन बाठ डेस नेपाल हिमालय मित बोसेनडेर बेस्वतसोतगुंग डेर सिवालिक्र जोन उण्ड काल्किल्डुङ्ग बेरिन्ड ठवर दि तातिक्कैत (जाहेरबुख) डेर सेन्ट गालित्चेन नेचर, गेसेल सेन्ट ग्यालेन १९५९ पृ. ३+४८
१०. हर्क गुरुङ्ग पोखरा भ्याली: ए जियोग्राफिकल सर्भे, डिपार्टमेन्ट अफ जियोग्राफि, स्कूल अफ आरियन्टल एण्ड अफ्रिकन स्टडीज युनिभर्सिटी अफ लण्डन, १९६५ पृ. ७+१०
११. हेदेत्सुगु यामानाका, मित्सुओ यामानाका र कजुनेरी अरिता, टेस ल्यैन्डफर्म एण्ड क्वाटर्नरी डिपोजिट एराउण्ड पोखरा भ्याली, सेन्ट्रल नेपाल, जर्नल अफ जियोलोजिकल सोसाइटी, काठमाडौं, भोलम २, स्पेसल इस्यु, पृ. ११३+१४२
१२. फोर्ट एम र फ्रेतेल पो, ट क्वाटर्नरी सेडिमेन्टरी इभोलुसन अफ द इन्डोमोन्टाने बेसिन अफ पोखर इन रिलेसन टु द हिमालयन मिडलैण्ड उण्ड हिन्टरलैण्ड, कन्टम्पुअरी जियो साईन्स रिसर्च अफ हिमालय, भोलम २, देहरादुन,

यी विभिन्न निर्माण प्रक्रियामा जापानी भू-गर्भविदहरू पोखरा उपत्यकाको माथिल्लो भागको भौगोलिक संरचना धेरै पुरानो हो र तल्लो भागतर्फ क्रमशः नयाँ संरचना निर्माण हुँदै गएको हो भन्ने मान्दछन्।<sup>११</sup> यही प्रसंगमा हर्क गुरुङ्ग पोखरा उपत्यकाको फैलावट तल तनहुँ जिल्लामा पर्ने हालको भिमाद बजारदेखि माथि कास्की जिल्लामा पर्ने माछापुच्छ्रेको काखैमा रहेको भराभरी भन्ने ठाउँसम्म छ र वरपर नदि र खोल्सा खोलाको संरचना सँगै कुनै ठाउँमा चौडा र कुनै ठाउँमा साँगुरो छ भन्ने मान्दछन्।<sup>१२</sup> सेतो नदीको समानान्तर दक्षिणपूर्वमा भिमाददेखि माथि कुनै समयमा टुल्लो तलाउ थियो र क्रमशः सो ताल नदिको गल्छी निर्माण गर्ने प्रक्रियासँगै सुक्ती यो भन्ने कुरा भू-गर्भविदहरू मान्दछन्।

उपर्युक्त भौगोलिक तथा भू-आकृति विज्ञानको अध्ययनले राजा मानदेवले समुद्र फै लग्ने गण्डकी नदी भनेर सेतो गण्डकीलाई नै भनेको हो भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ। यस क्षेत्रमा ऐतिहासिक तथा भुगोलविदहरूको टेल्लो संयुक्त रूपमा अनुसन्धान गर्नु अझै आवश्यकता छ।

### ऐतिहासिक आधारहरू

प्राचिनकालमा उत्तर भारतमा राज्य सञ्चालन गरेर गाउँ र यश कमाएको लिच्छविहरू पहिलो शताब्दी इस्वीपछि वैशालीबाट पलायन भई नेपाल आएका थिए भन्ने कुरा इतिहासकारहरू सहमत छन्। प्राचिन कालमा उत्तर भारतमा लिच्छविकै प्रभावशाली ढंगबाट राज्य गर्ने मल्लहरू पनि थिए। गौरखपुर भेगमा बुद्धको समयमा (इशा.पूर्व छैठौँ शताब्दी) मल्लहरूको पनि संघ राज्य थियो। मल्लहरू कुशीनगरमा राज्य गर्दथे जहाँ बुद्धको महापरिनिर्वाण भएको थियो। यो स्थान हाल मध्यपश्चिम नेपालको तराईमा पर्ने नवलपरासी जिल्लाको नजिकै दक्षिणपूर्व भारतमा पर्ने वैशालीबाट लिच्छविहरू नेपाल प्रवेश गरेपछि नवलपरासी जिल्ला हुँदै मल्लहरू पनि उत्तर पहाडी क्षेत्रतर्फ प्रवेश गरेको हुन सक्ने सम्भावना नकार्न सकिँदैन। लिच्छविहरूले पूर्व दक्षिणबाट प्रवेश गरी काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा राज्य गर्ने किराँतीहरूको राज्यलाई कब्जा गरी शासन गर्न सफल भए। तर मल्लहरू पश्चिम पहाडको काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाभै राज्य नभएको हुनाले नयाँ राज्य खडा गरी बसेका हुन सक्छन् जसलाई मल्लपुरी भनिन्थ्यो। मल्लहरूले राज्य स्थापना गरेको र मल्लपुरी शहर वा राजधानी बनाएको हुनाले राजा मानदेवले उनीहरूको राज्यलाई मल्लपुरी भनि सम्बोधन गरेको हुन सक्दछ। किराँती राजाहरूले धिति बसालेको राज्य कब्जा गरेको हुनाले लिच्छविभन्दा कम ठान्दैनन् थिए। फलस्वरूप लिच्छविराज्य कमजोर भएपछि उनीहरूको समान्त भएर बस्न मानेनन्। उनीहरूले विद्रोह गरे। मानदेवको आदेशको पालना सजिलै गरेनन् जसको परिणाम स्वरूप मानदेवले मामाको सहायता लिएर मल्लहरूलाई पुनः दमन गरी वा विजय गरी सामान्त राजाको

११. ८२, राभार ब्रायन कार्सन, इरोजन एण्ड सेडिमेन्टसन प्रोसेसस इन द नेपलिज हिमालय, इसिमोड अकेडनल पेपर नम्बर १, काठमाण्डौँ, १९८५, पृ. ८.

१२. ताकासि कानो, जियोलोजी एण्ड स्ट्रक्चरल अफ द मैन सेन्ट्रल घ्रस्ट जान अफ द अन्नपूर्ण रेन्ज, सेन्ट्रल नेपाल हिमालयाज, जर्नल अफ नेपाल जियोलोजिकल सोसाइटी, भोलम २, स्पेसियल इस्यु पृ. ३१+५०

१३. हर्क गुरुङ्ग ऐ पृ. ७+१०

रूपमा राख्न सफल भए । तिनै मल्लहरूलाई आफ्नो अधिनमा राख्न सम्भवतया मानदेवका कान्छा  
धर्मदेवले त्यस क्षेत्रका कुनै प्रभावशाली व्यक्तित्व, राजा वा सामन्तसँग वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध कायम गरेका  
थिए । यिनै व्यक्तित्वलाई मादेवले मामा भनि सम्बोधन गरेका हुन् । मामा फौजका साथ बसेको सन्दर्भले  
यस कुराको पुष्टि गर्दछ ।

मल्लपुरीलाई आफ्नो अधिनमा राख्न मानदेवको लागि अति आवश्यक थियो । लिच्छवि राज्यको  
त्यस क्षेत्रका सामन्तबाट पाउने कर जतिकै त्यस क्षेत्रको खानीबाट हुने आर्थिक उपलब्धिलाई पनि मानदेवको  
छाड्न चाहेनन् । त्यस क्षेत्रमा कब्जा गरेपछि उनीहरू काली गण्डकी पश्चिमका राज्यहरूमा पनि शासन  
अधिकार जमाउन सक्षम हुन्थे । पश्चिम तर्फका उत्तर भारतका राज्यहरूसँग व्यापारीक सम्बन्ध राख्न यस  
क्षेत्रमा कब्जा गर्न पनि उतिकै आवश्यक थियो । सम्भवतः भोटसम्म उनीहरूले यसै क्षेत्रबाट व्यापार विस्तार  
पनि गरेका थिए । यस कुराको पुष्टि जुम्लामा प्राप्त लिच्छविकालीन अभिलेखबाट पनि हुन्छ ।

त्यस क्षेत्रमा प्रशस्त तामा खानीहरू थिए । इशवी १९६९ मा खानी तथा भू-गर्भविभागले सप्त  
बाग्लुङ क्षेत्रका २२ खानीमा उच्चस्तरीय तामा पाइने आफ्नो प्रतिवेदनमा उल्लेख गरेको छ । यसका  
अतिरिक्त स्याङ्जा जिल्लाका विभिन्न स्थानमा र पोखरा सुनौली राजमार्गका वरपर पनि तामा खानी युक्त  
चट्टान भेटिएको तथ्य पनि सार्वजनिक छ ।<sup>१५</sup>

### उपलब्ध तथ्यहरू

सेती नदीको पश्चिमतर्फ स्याङ्जा जिल्लाको टक्सार खलंगा गा.वि.स. वडा नं. १ मा पर्ने  
पिठरीखोला किनारको डहरे भन्ने ठाउँमा खेत खन्दा स्थानिय हिरादेवी रोक्काहाले राजा मानदेवको  
समयमा प्रचलित श्रीमानाङ्क र श्रीभोगीनी अंकित एक डोको (अन्दाजी चारपाथी) तामाका मुद्रा प्राप्त  
गरेको छन् । त्यस ठाउँदेखि अन्दाजी पाँचसय मिटर पूर्वमा पर्ने पारीदोभान भन्ने स्थानमा एक सानो घैटेमा  
गोपाल धापा मगर भन्ने व्यक्तिले एक घैटे श्रीमानाङ्क मुद्रा भेटेका छन् । श्रीमानाङ्क लेखिएका यी मुद्राहरू  
टक्सार गा.वि.स.का मानिसहरूले खेतवारी खन्दा प्रशस्त पाइएको सन्दर्भले यस क्षेत्रमा पुरातात्विक  
ऐतिहासिक र मानवशास्त्रीय अध्ययन गर्नु पर्ने कुरा औल्याएको छ ।

यस क्षेत्रलाई टक्सार पनि भनिन्छ र गा.वि.स.को नाउँ पनि टक्सार राखिएको छ । यसका अतिरिक्त  
यस गा.वि.स.को मुद्रा प्राप्ती गाउँलाई दाडलिङ्ग भनिन्छ । दाडलिङ्ग भनिने गाउँको नाम सम्भवत लिच्छविकालीन  
वस्तीको नाम हुन सक्दछ । किनकि यस्तो नाम संस्कृत भाषामा पाइँदैन । नेपाल उपत्यकामा लिच्छविहरूले  
ठाउँको र वस्तीको नाउँ किराती भाषाकै राखेका थिए । सोही अनुरूप यस ठाउँको नाउँ पनि किराती भाषा  
हालसम्म प्रचलनमा रहेको बुझिन्छ । यद्यपि यो अनुसन्धानकै एक विषय हुन सक्दछ ।

यस स्थानमा दुईवटा ठाउँलाई पहिलेको टक्सार भनि चिनाइन्छ । स्थानीय मानिसका भनाई अनुसार  
ती ठाउँहरूमा पहिले मुद्रा छान्ने काम गरिन्थ्यो । मध्यकाल र पछिल्लो समयमा यस ठाउँमा टक छान्ने काम

१५. आर एच खान एण्ड जे एम तातेर, एन आउटलाइन अन द जियोलोजि एण्ड मिनेरल रिसोर्सेज अफ नेपाल  
एभएम्जिएन, डिएम्जिए, काठमाडौं, १९६९, पृ. ५+७

भएको कुराको कुनै पनि जानकारी हुँदैन । यस क्षेत्रबाट यति धेरै संख्यामा श्रीमानाङ्क मुद्रा प्राप्त हुनुले यस क्षेत्रमा राजा मानदेवले मुद्रा बनाउने कार्य गर्दथे वा टक छापे कार्य गर्दथे भन्ने कुरा बुझिन्छ । सम्भवत यो कार्य मल्लपुरीको विजयपछि मात्र शुरु भएको थियो । राजा मानदेवले ती दुई स्थानमा टक छापे अड्डा खडा गरेका थिए जसले गर्दा हाल पनि त्यस ठाउँलाई टक्सार भनिन्छ । अथवा मानदेव मल्लपुरीमा आक्रमण गर्दा त्यति धेरै संख्यामा आफूद्वारा प्रसारित श्रीमानाङ्क मुद्रा लिएर गएका थिए । त्यस क्षेत्रका तामा खानीबाट तामा निकाली मुद्रा छापे कार्य पछि १९ सौं शताब्दीमा पनि प्रचलनमा थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यस्ता मुद्रा छापे लगाई धाप्ने हुलाकले काठमाडौं ओसार्ने कार्य गर्दथ्यो ।<sup>१६</sup> यसरी गह्रौं सामाग्री ओसार्द एउटा गाउँ वस्तीका व्यक्तिले अर्को वस्तीसम्म पुऱ्याउने गर्दथ्यो अर्थात् एउटा व्यक्तिले दुई-दुई कोसको दुरीसम्म ढुवानी गर्नु पर्दथ्यो । उपर्युक्त प्रचलनले पनि मानदेवले नै त्यस समयदेखि नै मध्य पश्चिमको यस क्षेत्रमा मुद्रा छापे लगाई काठमाडौं ल्याउने प्रचलनको शुरुवात गरेका थिए भन्ने कुराको सम्भावना रहेको छ । सम्भवत मल्लपुरीका सामान्त वा त्यस क्षेत्रका मानिसहरू मुद्रा छापे कलामा निपूण थिए होलान् भन्ने कुरा त्यस क्षेत्रमा बसोबास गर्ने आग्रीसमुदायका मानिसहरूको खानीमा काम गर्ने कार्यकुलताले पुष्टि गर्दछ । त्यसकारण मध्य पश्चिम क्षेत्रमा पर्ने स्याङ्जा, कास्की, लम्जुङ, तनहुँ, पर्वत आदि जिल्लाका विभिन्न स्थानबाट श्रीमानाङ्क मुद्रा हालसम्म पनि प्रशस्त पाइने गर्दछ जो अनुसन्धानकै विषय हुन गएको छ ।

स्याङ्जा जिल्लाको टक्सार भनिने दुई स्थानमा माटका भाडाका टुक्राहरू पनि छरिएर रहेका छन् र पछिसम्म पनि त्यस क्षेत्रमा तामाका धातहरू खारेर आएका (Waste) रहेको कुरा स्थानिय मानिसहरू बताउँछन् । ती किटहरूलाई त्यस क्षेत्रमा लामा तथा भ्रक्तीहरूले पवित्र मानि पूजाविधिमा पनि प्रयोग गर्ने गर्दछन् ।

### निष्कर्ष

टक्सारका यी दुवै स्थानमा उत्खनन गर्न सके धेरै नै महत्त्वपूर्ण कुराहरू प्रकाशमा आउन सक्दछन् । दुवै टक्सार धुम्कोमा छन् । ती दुवै धुम्काबाट पूर्वतर्फ सुरौदी खोलाको दोभान भन्ने ठाउँसम्म आउँदा लगभग ती घण्टाको पैदल दुरीमा चार पाथी मुद्रा प्राप्त स्थान नजिकै एउटा अर्को धुम्को छ जसलाई देउराली डाँडा भनिन्छ । यस डाँडामा पातलो जंगल छ । जंगलको विचमा खुल्ला चौर छ जसलाई स्थानीय पहिल्रा पहिल्रा यो परेड खेल्ने ठाउँ थियो भन्ने मान्दछन् । जंगल भित्र पुरानो किल्लाको भग्नावशेष छ । यस धुम्काको पनि पुरातात्विक अध्ययन आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

स्याङ्जा जिल्लाको पश्चिम तर्फ पर्वत जिल्ला छ । जहाँ मल्लराज भन्ने ठूलो घना तथा पुराने वस्ती छ । यस क्षेत्रमा पनि अध्ययन गरिएमा पनि प्राचिन मल्लहरूको मल्लपुरी भन्ने स्थानको खोजीमा सहयोग पुग्न सक्दछ र नेपाली इतिहासको धेरै पक्षहरूलाई प्रकाशमा ल्याउन सकिन्छ ।

प्रस्तुत लेख तयार पार्दा भौगोलिक तथा भु-आकृति विज्ञान सम्बन्धि जानकारी गराउने तथा नक्सा पुस्तक आदि उपलब्ध गराई सहयोग गर्नुहुने सह-प्रा.डा. कृष्ण पौडेल धन्यवादका पात्र हुनुहुन्छ ।



१६. टेक बहादुर श्रेष्ठ, पर्वत राज्यको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, काठमाडौं, नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, त्रि.वि. कीर्तिपुर, २०५९ पृ. १६५-१६६ ।

# नेवारी लिपि विकास क्रमको सक्षिप्त अध्ययन

निर्मला पोखरेल  
उपप्राध्यापक

भारतीय सम्राट अशोकले लुम्बिनी र निग्लिहवामा इ.पू. तेस्रो शताब्दीमा स्थापना गरेका अभिलेख पछि एकैचोटी लिच्छवीकालमा इ.को पाँचौं शताब्दीको सेरोफेरोबाट उपत्यका र वरिपरिका क्षेत्रहरूमा प्रायः नियमित रूपमा लेखनका उदाहरणहरू पाइने थाल्छन् । यसै क्रममा लिच्छविकालमा प्रारम्भमा पाइएका लिपिलाई पूर्व लिच्छवि लिपि र पछिल्लो समयका लिपिलाई उत्तर लिच्छवि लिपि नामाकरण गरियो । पाँचौं शताब्दीदेखि निरन्तर रूपमा जारी रहेको लेखनको प्रकृति र प्रवृत्ति हेर्दा लेखनमा क्रमशः परिवर्तन देखिन्छ ।

लिपि विकासकै क्रममा इस्वीको दशौं शताब्दीतिर नेपालमा नवीन शैलीको लेखनको आरम्भ हुन गयो । उत्तर लिच्छवि लिपिबाट परिवर्तन हुँदै देखा परेको यो लिपिलाई नेवारी लिपि नामाकरण गरियो । वि.सं. २०४८ सम्म नेवारी लिपि परिभाषित भएको थिएन । यो लेखनको आरम्भ र व्युत्पत्तिको सम्बन्धमा अन्वेषण नै थियो । यसको नामाकरण, आरम्भकाल व्युत्पत्तिलाई संकेत गर्ने हचुवा विचार प्रकाशित भएका थिए । एकातिर दशौं शताब्दी इस्वीको संस्कृत ग्रन्थलाई नेवारी लिपिको पहिलो नमूना भनिएको थियो भने अर्कोतिर नेवारी लिपिको तुलना १२ औं शताब्दीमा भारतमा विकसित प्रादेशिक लिपि मैथिलीसँग गरिन्थ्यो ।<sup>१</sup>

नेवारी लिपिको अर्थ नेवार जाति वा समुदायको लिपि अथवा नेवारी भाषाको लिपि भन्ने हुन सक्छ । केही विद्वान्हरूले नेवारी लिपिलाई "नेवारी जातिको भाषाको लिपि" मान्दछन् ।<sup>२</sup> यही कारणले यसलाई नेवारी लिपि भनिएको पनि हुन सक्छ । चिनीतिब्वतीबर्मेली भाषा परिवारको नेवारी भाषा नेपालमा संस्कृतपछिको पहिलो लिखित भाषा हो । नेपाली भाषाभन्दा निकै पुरानो इतिहास भएको नेवारी भाषाको पहिलो दस्तावेज ललितपुरको उकुबहाको रुद्रवर्ण महाबिहारको संवत् २३५ (११३५ ई.)को लेखोट हो<sup>३</sup> भनि कमल प्रकाश मल्लले मानेका छन् भने हेमराज शाक्य र शंकरमान राजवंशीले संस्कृतमा लेखिएको ९०८ इ.को लङ्कावतार ग्रन्थलाई नेवारी लिपिको पहिलो उदाहरण मानेका छन् ।

१४औं शताब्दी इस्वीदेखिका लेखोटमा नेवारी भाषाका स्वतन्त्र अभिव्यक्ति पाइने थाल्छन् । गोपाल वंशावलीको अधिकांश भाग नेवारी भाषामा छ ।<sup>४</sup> १५ औं शताब्दीदेखि संस्कृत ग्रन्थको नेवारीमा टिकाटिप्पणी र अनुवादको साथसाथै स्वतन्त्र ग्रन्थहरूसमेत पाइने थाल्दछन् ।

१४औं, १५औं, १६औं र १७औं शताब्दीसम्म नेपालमा नेवारी लिपिको प्रशस्त प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ । १७ औं शताब्दीमा प्रताप मल्ल जस्ता राजाहरूको प्रोत्साहनले धेरै पाण्डुलिपि र अभिलेखहरू

लेखिए । १८औं शताब्दीको पूर्वाद्धसम्म नेवारी लिपिको गरिमा कायम रहेको देखिन्छ । तर त्यसै शताब्दीको उत्तरार्द्धमा यसको प्रयोग पतनमुख हुँदै गयो । यद्यपि एकिकरणपछि पनि केही समयसम्म सिमित मात्रमा विशेषतः बौद्ध ग्रन्थहरू नेवारीमा लेखिए । यो समयमा कालो कागजमा पाण्डुलिपिमा अलंकृत लेखन शैलीका तथा पहेंलो पाको कागज अन्य पारम्परिक लेखन शैलीका केही उदाहरणहरू उपत्यकामा पाइन्छन् ।<sup>४</sup>

लगभग १०औं शताब्दीदेखि प्रचलनमा आएर १८औं शताब्दीमा पूर्वाद्धसम्म गरिमामय प्रचलनमा रहेको नेवारी लिपिका केही प्रमुख शैलीहरूको यहाँ चर्चा गरिन्छ । जसमध्ये प्राचीन नेवारी लिपि, भुजिँमो, रञ्जना र प्रचलित नेवारी पर्दछन् ।

### प्राचीन नेवारी लिपि

लिच्छविकालको उत्तरार्द्धतिर लिच्छवि लिपिमा प्रस्तरको स्थानमा ताडपत्र, भोजपत्र जस्ता नरम वस्तुमा पाण्डुलिपि तयार गर्ने क्रममा यसका वर्णमा परिवर्तन आएर प्राचीन नेवारी लिपि उत्पन्न हुन पुगेको देखिन्छ । किन कि कडा वस्तु र नरम वस्तुमा लेखन कार्य गर्दा एकै स्वरूपका वर्ण निर्माण हुन कठिन हुन गइ वर्णमा अन्तर देखिनु स्वभाविक हुन जान्छ । वास्तवमा यसैको परिणाम हो नेवारी लिपिको जन्म । प्राचीन नेवारी लिपि मध्यकालको प्रारम्भको लिपि हो र यही लिपिबाट मध्यकालका थुप्रै लिपिहरू जन्मन पुगेका हुन् ।

समयको अन्तरालमा स्वतः हुने परिवर्तन, भारतको विहार र बंगालको लेखन कलाको केही प्रभाव, कडाबाट नरम वस्तुमा लेख्ने प्रविधि आदिले उत्तर लिच्छवि लिपिबाट विकसित भएको प्राचीन नेवारी लिपि लामो समयसम्म उपत्यकामा प्रचलित रहयो ।

### यस लिपिका विशेषताहरू

- (क) डिकोमा विशेषता - लिच्छवि लिपिमा प्रयोग गरिए सरहको त्रिकोणात्मक डिको एकातर्फ प्रयोग भइरहेको पाइन्छ भने अर्का तर्फ साधा तेस्रो डिकोको प्रयोग पनि गरिएको पाइन्छ ।
- (ख) विविध प्रकारका वर्ण एवं चिन्हहरूको प्रयोग - यो लिपिमा एउटै वर्ण पनि विविध स्वरूपमा लेख्न थालियो । धस्काएर लेख्ने, अलंकरण गर्ने, अन्य लिपि (विदेश या भारत तर्फको) प्रवेशलाई स्वीकार गर्ने परिपाटीबाट यस्तो विविध स्वरूप हुन पुगेको छ ।
- (ग) सुलेखनलाई महत्व - अक्षरलाई अत्यधिक अलंकरण गर्ने कार्य गर्न थालियो । यही क्रममा अक्षरको कुनै भागलाई मोटो एवं अर्को भागलाई पातलो बनाउने परम्पराको विकास हुँदै गयो । यसैको परिणाम हो रजनालिपि जस्तो अत्यधिक अलंकृत लिपिको विकास हुनु ।
- (घ) वर्णहरूमा आकर्षण मात्राको प्रयोग - यो लिपिमा यात्राका आकार र इकार लगभग पछिल्लो कालका देवनागरी लिपिमा प्रयोग गरिने मात्रा सरहका देखिन्छन् । एकारको प्रयोग यहाँ आकर्षक र अनौठो ढङ्गमा गरिएको छ । त्यस्तै इकार, आकारको इस्व दीर्घमा अस्पष्टता नहोस् भन्नका लागि सावधानी अपनाइएको पाइन्छ ।

(ड) संयुक्ताक्षरको प्रयोगमा विविधता - लिच्छवि लिपिमा जस्तै संयुक्ताक्षर लेख्ने क्रममा कतिपय वर्णहरूमा आधा वर्ण जोड्ने एवं दुवै वर्णलाई माथि र तल हुने गरी संयुक्ताक्षर बनाउने प्रक्रिया शुरु भयो ।

### भुजिँमो

नेवारीका दुई भुजिँ वा भोजिनी (भिँगा) र मोः (शिर) मिलेर भुजिँमो शब्द बनेको हो ।<sup>१६</sup> जसको अर्थ हुन्छ भिँगाको टाउको जस्तो डिक भएको अक्षर । सेसिल बेण्डाल र बूलर महोदयले भुजिँमोलाई "नेपालको अंकुशो अक्षर" भनेका छन् ।<sup>१७</sup> वास्तवमा प्राचीन नेपाली लिपि र भुजिँमोः लिपिको वर्ण मिल्दाजुल्दा नै छन् । फरक छ त केवल डिकोमा, त्यसैले यो लिपिलाई डिकोको आधारमा नै छुट्याउने गरिन्छ । शंकरमान राजवंशीको विचारमा प्राचीन नेवारी लिपिबाट भुजिँमोः र भुजिँमोःलाई अलंकरण गर्ने क्रममा नै मध्यकालीन अन्य लिपिहरूको प्रादुर्भाव भएको हो ।<sup>१८</sup> हेमराज शाक्यको विचारमा यो लिपि काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा इशावीको ११औँ देखि १७औँ शताब्दीसम्म प्रचलनमा रहेको थियो ।<sup>१९</sup>

### यो लिपिका मुख्य विशेषताहरू

- (क) डिकोमा नयाँपन यो लिपिको डिको अक्षरको माथिल्लो भागबाट वायातर्फ गई पुन अर्धगोलाकार भएर दायाँतर्फ मोडिने र अर्धगोलाकार स्वरूपको निर्माण हुने गर्दछ ।
- (ख) केही अक्षरहरूमा डिकोको प्रयोग पाइदैन जस्तो ग ण ध श आदि
- (ग) यो लिपिमा एकार देखाउँदा दुइवटा मात्र नदिइ एउटै बाङ्गो टिङ्गो मास्तिर फर्किएको केही लामो मात्रा दिने चलन रहेको छ ।
- (घ) वर्णहरूमा एकार दिनु यो लिपिको भुँजिँ स्वरूपको डिको परिवर्तन भएर माथि फर्किएको अर्धचन्द्र स्वरूप निर्माण गर्ने गरिन्छ ।
- (ड) लिपि विकास क्रममा यो लिपि मध्यस्थानमा रहेकोले यो लिपिमा केही वर्णहरू उत्तर लिच्छवि लिपिसँग र केही वर्णहरू अरू नेवारी लिपिसँग मिल्दाजुल्दा छन् ।

### रञ्जना लिपि

रञ्जना शब्द रंगनु वा आनन्द दिनु भन्ने अर्थमा प्रयोग हुने संस्कृतको 'रञ्ज' धातुबाट बनेको हो र यो लिपि हेरेर या पढेर आनन्द लिनको लागि लेख्ने गरिएको मानिन्छ । यसमा ठोस, गोल, त्रिकोणात्मक मोटे डिकोमा मोटो चौडा अक्षर र पातलो रेखाका संयुक्ताक्षर तथा मात्रा चिन्हको लेखन शैली हुन्छ । यो लिपिमा सेतो, कालो, पहेँलो, रातो जस्ता विभिन्न रंग (मसि) प्रयोग गरिन्छन् । महत्वपूर्ण धर्मग्रन्थहरू लेख्दा सुन चाँदी जस्ता बहुमूल्य धातुका रंगले लिप्ने वा रंगाउने परम्परा समेत रहेको छ । त्यसैले यो लिपि लेखन निकै महँगो पनि पर्न जान्छ । यो लिपिमा महायानी बौद्धग्रन्थहरू ज्यादा लेखिएको पाइन्छ । लेखन र बौद्धमन्त्र पठनपाठनलाई आकर्षक, आनन्ददायक, रोचक र सरस बनाउन यो लिपि प्रचलनमा ल्याइएको हुन सक्छ । यो लिपि १२औँ शताब्दीदेखि १७औँ शताब्दीसम्म बढि प्रचलनमा रहयो ।<sup>१०</sup> मोट

अक्षर, धेरै अलंकरणको प्रयोग, अनुभवी, दक्ष हस्तलेमात्र तयार गर्न सक्ने यो लिपि मध्यकालीन लिपिमध्ये अलग्गै, उच्च कोटीको र विशिष्ट मानिन्छ ।

### रञ्जना लिपिका विशेषताहरू

- (क) सीधा ढिकोको प्रयोग - यो लिपिको ढिको तेस्रो र सीधा हुन्छ । सीधा ढिको भएता पनि अक्षरको बायाँ पट्टिको ढिकोको भागलाई केही मोटो बनाएर पोतिन्छ । जसले अरू लिपिभन्दा यसको स्वरूप अलग्ग देखिन्छ ।
- (ख) मोटा अक्षरहरू - मोटा टाँकाहरू प्रयोग गर्ने हुनाले यो लिपिका अक्षरहरू अन्य लिपिका भन्दा मोटा हुन्छन् ।
- (ग) खर्चिलो लिपि - सुन चाँदी जस्ता बहुमूल्य धातुको रङ्ग बनाएर पोतिने हुँदा यो ज्यादा खर्चिलो हुने गर्दछ । अलंकृत ढङ्गमा लेखिने हुनाले यो लिपिका विवरणहरू लेखन गर्न बढी परिश्रम र समय समेत लाग्ने हुन्छ ।
- (घ) धेरै अलंकरणको प्रयोग - नेपालमा प्रचलित लिपिहरूमध्ये सबैभन्दा अलंकृत लिपि रञ्जना नै हो । अत्यधिक अलंकरण र रङ्गाइको कारणले कतिपय वर्णहरू ठस्तै देखिएर छुट्याउन समेत कठिनाई पर्न जान्छ जस्तो प र य वर्ण ।
- (ङ) विशेष प्रकारको मात्राहरूको प्रयोग - सामान्यतया इस्व तथा दीर्घ इकार र आकारमा खास अलग स्वरूप नदेखिएता पनि केही वर्णका उकार तथा धेरै जसो वर्णका एकार, ऐकार, ओकार र औकारमा ज्यादा अलंकरण गरि तिनीहरूलाई विशेष ढङ्गले वर्णमा जोड्ने चलन रहेको पाइन्छ ।
- (च) अलंकृत चिन्हहरूको प्रयोग - यो लिपिमा प्रयोग गरिने पूर्णविराम, कमा, विसर्ग, हलन्त जस्ता चिन्हहरू समेत अलंकृत ढङ्गमा निर्माण गर्ने परम्परा रहेको पाइन्छ । पूर्णविराम चिन्ह एक लामो एक छोटो गरि दुईवटा रेखाबाट दिने र लामो धर्कोको माथिल्लो भाग रङ्गाउने तल्लो भाग सानो रेखाद्वारा दायाँतर्फ मोड्ने जस्तो परम्परा रहेको छ ।

### प्रचलित नेवारी

मध्यकालमा धेरै लिपिहरूको प्रादुर्भाव भएको थियो । यसै क्रममा प्रचलित नेवारी लिपिको पनि प्रचलन भएको हो । आकर्षक र अलंकृत ढिको भएका मध्यकालीन अनेक लिपिबाहेक ढिकोलाई ख्यालै नगरी सिधा तेस्रो ढिकोयुक्त लिपि पनि प्रचलनमा रह्यो । र यही लिपि नै वास्तवमा प्रचलित नेवारी लिपि हो । प्राचीन नेवारी लिपिबाटै विकसित यो लिपि अरू नेवारी लिपिसाग मिल्दोजुल्दो हुँदाहुँदै यसको आफ्नै मौलिकपन पनि रहेको छ । यो लिपि र प्राचीन देवनागरि लिपिका धेरै वर्णहरूमा समेत समानता देखिन्छ । जसबाट प्राचीन देवनागरिक र यो लिपिको नजिकको सम्बन्ध स्पष्ट हुन्छ । यो लिपिमा मध्यकालमा नेवारी र संस्कृत भाषामा अनेकन शीलालेख, ताम्रपत्र, स्वर्णपत्र एवं हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरू लेखिएका छन् । काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको नेवारहरूको आजसम्म पनि यो लिपिमा प्रयोगमा ल्याइ नै रहेको पाइन्छ ।

## प्रचलित नेवारी लिपिका विशेषताहरू

- (क) यो लिपि केही वर्णहरूमा एकार दिँदा प्राचिन नेवारी लिपिमा भै वर्णको बायाँ तर्फको डिकोबाट सानो धर्को उही वर्णतिर नै मोड्दै तलतिर भारिन्छ जस्तो ग, ज, ठ, ण, ध आदि वर्णहरूमा यस्तो पाइन्छ ।
- (ख) कतिपय वर्णहरूमा यो लिपिमा डिकोको प्रयोग पाइँदैन र कुनै कुनै वर्णहरू डिको भएको र नभएको दुवै अवस्थामा लेखिन्छन् जस्तो ठ, ध, ध, ऊँ आदि ।
- (ग) करिब २० भन्दा बढि वर्णहरू देवनागरी लिपिसँग मिल्दाजुल्दा छन् जस्तो क, ख, ग, घ, च, द, ध, न, प आदि ।
- (घ) यो लिपिका वर्णहरू विकाशोन्मुख स्वरूपमा रहेका छन् र जसको फलस्वरूप यो लिपिका विभिन्न अभिलेखहरूमा एकै वर्णका लागि अलग अलग स्वरूप देखाइएको पाइन्छ । जसबाट यसको विकाशक्रम छर्लङ्ग दर्सिन्छ ।
- (ङ) डिको नभएका वर्णहरूमा आकार दिँदा सीधा धर्कामा वर्णबाट तल तर्फ भरेको सानो डयास ( ) आकार मात्रालाई वर्णसँग जोड्ने गरिन्छ । जस्तो ग, ण, ढ, ज, ध, श, ठ जस्ता वर्णहरूमा यस्तो पाइन्छ ।

माथि उल्लेखित नेवारी लिपिका शैलीहरू बाहेक अरू पनि धेरै नेवारी लिपिहरू मध्यकालमा विकसित भएका थिए । डिको शैलीको आधारमा यिनीहरूको नामाकरण गरिएको छ । जस्तै: कुँमो: कोणमुक डिकोशैली, जसको डिको तिखो कोणको रूपमा हुन्छ । गोलमो: यसमा अंकुशे डिकोको माथिल्लो रेखालाई बढि मोडेर अर्धवृत्त रूप दिइने हुनाले गोलडिकोको रूप लिन्छ । त्यसैको आधारमा यसको नाम गोलमो: रहन गयो । लिनुमो: अर्थात् बढी बक्र रूपमा भुकेको डिको भएको लिपि । क्वेमो: अर्थात् घुमाउरो गरी फर्काइएको डिको भएको लिपि । हीमो: अर्थात् बेरिएको डिको । पाँचुमो: अर्थात् तेस्रो (सम्म) रेखा भएको डिको । हेमराज शाक्यले भुजिमो:लाई मक्षिमुण्ड, कुँमो:लाई कोणमुण्ड, लिनुमो:लाई नतमुण्ड, क्वेमो:लाई परामुण्ड, हीमो:लाई वेष्टितमुण्ड र पाचुमो:लाई सममुण्ड भन्ने नाम दिएका छन् ।<sup>११</sup>

यसरी मल्लकालमा नेवारी लिपिको प्रचुर विकास हुन गइ १० भन्दा बढी नेवारी शैलीहरू देखा परे । नेवारी लिपि विकासको दृष्टिले मल्लकाललाई स्वर्ण युग नै मान्न सकिन्छ । अर्को तर्फ १८औँ शताब्दीको पूर्वार्द्धमा<sup>१२</sup> कर्णाली अञ्चलको सिँजा प्रदेशमा र १७औँ शताब्दीमा<sup>१३</sup> काठमाडौँ उपत्यकामा देवनागरिको सुरुवात हुन जान्छ । पश्चिम नेपालबाट विस्तारै विस्तारै फैलिदै गएको देवनागरि लिपि १८औँ शताब्दीपछि नेपाल अधिराज्यभरि नै चलनचल्तीमा आउँछ । पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले उपत्यकामा शासन सम्हालेपछि नेपाली भाषा र देवनागरि लिपि भनभन लोकप्रिय हुँदै नेपालको राष्ट्र भाषा र लिपिमा परिणत भयो । नेवारी लिपि भने काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाको सिमित वर्ग र समुदायमा मात्र खुम्चिन पुग्यो । यसरी लामो इतिहास बोकेको नेवारी लिपिको स्थान देवनागरि लिपिले लिन पुग्यो ।

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# तामाङ जातिको संस्कार

प्रेम ध्वज लामा

## परिचय

नेपाल बहुभाषिक, बहुसंस्कृतिक, बहुधार्मिक र विभिन्न १०२ जातिको संगम थलो हो। यस प्रकारको बहुसंस्कृतिकवादका आधारमा यस भूमिका फरक प्रकृतिका जातजातिहरू बसोबास गर्दछन्। हाल आएर नेपालमा जात र जातिका आधारमा विभिन्न समुदायमा/समूहमा आवद्ध भएको पाइन्छ। यसै सन्दर्भमा तामाँ जाति आफूलाई नेपालका आदिवासी, जनजाति अन्तर्गत राखेको पाइन्छ। नेपालको सुचिकृत ५९ आदिवासी/जनजाति मध्ये तामाङ तेस्रो ठूलो आदिवासीको रूपमा रहिआएको छ। (स्थानीय विकास मन्त्रालय, २०५८), नेपालको कुल जनसंख्याको ५.६४ प्रतिशत भाग ओगटेको पाइन्छ। केन्द्रिय तथ्याङ्क विभागका अनुसार तामाङको कुल जनसंख्या १२,८२,३०५४ रहेको छ, जसमध्ये पुरुषको संख्या ६,४१३६१ र महिलाको ६४०९४३ रहेको छ। तामाङहरू ७५ जिल्लामा बसोबास पाइन्छ। (तथ्याङ्क विभाग, २०५८), जातिगत रूपमा तामाङका आफ्नै मौलिक जातिय, भाषिक, साँस्कृतिक र परम्परागत रहन सहन र रितिरिवाज एवं संस्कारहरू पाइन्छ। जसले गर्दा आफ्नो जातिको पहिचानलाई भल्काउछ। नेपालको संस्कृतिको बारेमा चर्चा गर्दा तामाङसेले, डम्फु बाजा, तामाङभाषा, लिपी बुद्ध धर्म, वोन धर्म र भक्तीवाद यो जातिको जीवनशैलीको अति महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको छ।

तामाङ जातिको संस्कार एवं जीवन शैली अति महत्त्वपूर्ण जातिको तुलनामा विशिष्ट खालको पाइन्छ। तामाङ जातिको पहिचान विशेष गरी भक्तीवाद यो जातिको जीवन शैलीको अति महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको छ।

तामाङ जातिको जातिय संस्कार एवं जीवनशैली अन्य जातिको तुलनामा विशिष्ट खालको पाइन्छ। तामाङ जातिको पहिचान विशेष गरी भक्तीवाद, लामावाद, ताम्बावाद र वोनवादको समिश्रण नै हो। आज पनि तामाङ जातिले परम्परागत रूपमा अभ्यास गर्दै आएका सामाजिक एवं साँस्कृतिक संस्थाहरूलाई कायम गर्दै आइरहेका छन्। जसले गर्दा तामाङहरूलाई जातिय एकतामा आवद्ध गराउँदै आएको पाइन्छ।

तामाङ जाति अन्य जातिभन्दा फरक खालको विशेषता भल्किने संस्कृति उनीहरूका जन्मदेखि मृत्युसम्म गरिने संस्कारहरू नै हो। जन्मदेखि मृत्यु सम्मका संस्कारहरू सम्पन्न गर्न समाजका अगुवाहरू

जस्तै लामा (पुरोहित), गान्वा (मान्ने व्यक्ति), ताम्बा (पुख्र्यौली इतिहासकार), वोन्दै (भात्री), मुलमी (गाउँको मुखिया), व्योनदोजै (स्वयंसेवक), छयाडवा (सगुन बाँडने महिला), स्यान्वा (खानपानको व्यवस्था मिलाउने व्यक्ति), कयउके (संयोजक, सबै कामको हेरचाह गर्ने व्यक्ति) आदिको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको पाइन्छ ।

तामाङ समाजमा अगुवाहरू संलग्न समाजको सामाजिक संरचनाले तामाङ समाजलाई जीवन्त, गतिशिल र व्यवस्थित बनाएको पाइन्छ । खस सँस्कृतिको प्रभाव तथा पश्चिमी सँस्कृतिको प्रभावले तामाङ सँस्कृतिहरू तर्फ उन्मुख भएको पाइन्छ । यस कारण पनि तामाङ समाजको सँस्कृतिक संस्कार सम्बर्द्धन, संरक्षणका लागि रुढिवादी र विकृतिलाई हटाएर परिस्कृत रूपमा लैजानु पर्ने भएको छ । तामाङ जातिको उत्पत्ति एवं सामाजिक-सँस्कृतिक जिवनका बारेमा निम्नानुसार उल्लेख गरेका पाइन्छ ।

### उत्पत्ति:

नेपाल मुल रूपमा तिन प्रकारका मानिसहरूको संगम भएको पाइन्छ । ति मध्ये दक्षिणतर्फबाट आएका आर्यहरू, द्रविडहरू र उत्तरबाट मंगोलियनहरू आई बसोबास गरेको इतिहास पाइन्छ । तामाङ जाति भाषिका सँस्कृतिक एवं धार्मिक रूपले उत्तरी भाग अर्थात् तिब्बती भागसँग संलग्न रहेको देखिन्छ । भाषिक रूपमा तामाङहरू भोटवर्मेली, शारीरिक मंगाले परिवार र धार्मिक रूपमा बुद्धमार्गी र वोन धर्म मान्ने जाति हुन् ।

तामाङहरूको उत्पत्ति सम्बन्धमा विभिन्न विद्वानहरूले फरक किसिमको मत राखेको पाइन्छ । भोट भाषामा पैदल हिड्ने पल्टन (फौज)लाई "कमक" र रिसल्ला (घोडा सवार) पल्टनलाई "तमक" भन्दछन् । नेपाल र हिन्दुस्तानसँग लडाईं गर्न स्वाइसनगोम्पोका साथ आएका तमकहरू पाइन्छ । नेपालको तमक अभ्रंश भएर तामाङ भएको हो भन्ने कुरा भोटको विद्वानहरूको धारणा पनि छ । (सन्तवीर लामा, २०५५)

हिमाली दक्षिण भेगमा बसोबास गर्ने मानिसहरूलाई भोट भन्ने गरिन्थ्यो । तर नेपाली भाषामा भोटेभन्दा निज अनुभूति हुने भएकाले हालको तामाङहरूलाई भोटे नभनि तामाङ भन्न थालियो किनभने तामाङहरू भनेका घोडा व्यापारी हुन्, भाषागत रूपमा "ता" को अर्थ घोडा र "माङ" को अर्थ व्यापारी भएकोले यिनैहरूलाई तामाङ नामकरण गरिएको हो । (डोर ब. विष्ट, (१९८० A.D.)

### तामाङहरूको मुख्य थरहरू:

स्वागे भाइ समान किसिमको "कुल" मान्ने थरहरूलाई तामाङहरू "स्वागे भाइ" भन्छन् । स्वागे भाइ पर्ने थरहरू भित्र विवाहवारी चलाउदैनन् ।

### स्वागे भाइहरू

१. दोङ - ग्राडन्दन, गोले, तितुङ, वल, डिम्दोङ, गोडवा, ग्याम्देन, दारताङ, गाडताङ ।
२. घिसिङ - लो, ग्लान, जेसुर ।

३. योज्जन - वीमजन, डुमजन, लोपचन, मिकचन ।
४. मोक्तान - स्याडदन, पाखिन, स्याडवो, धोकर ।
५. रुम्बा - जिम्बा, ग्यावा, वाइवा, गोडवा ।
६. लोपचन - चोधेन, फ्लेन्देन, स्योडमुन, डारटेन, गाल्देन ।
७. धिड - मार्पा, तोइसाड ।
९. लो - लोबा, घिसिड, ग्लान ।
१०. मार्पा - धिड, तोइसाड
११. दुपा -
१२. क्लोन - स्याडवो, स्याडदन ।
१३. सिंगर - गेसुर, धिड तोइसाड, क्लोन ।
१४. वज्यू -
१५. लडपा -
१६. ग्यापा - रुम्बा, जिम्बा, वाइवा, गोडवा ।
१७. धोकर - मोक्तान, स्याडदान, पाखीन, स्याडवो ।
१८. पाखीन - स्याडदन, मोक्तान, स्याडवो, धोकर ।

## संस्कार

संस्कृत भाषाको संस्कृत शब्दबाट संस्कार बनेको हो । यसको वास्तविक अर्थ हुन्छ । शुद्धता अर्थात् मानसिक र शारीरिक शुद्धताका लागि गरिने धार्मिक कार्यहरू नै संस्कारब हुन । मानिसको जन्मदेखि मृत्युसम्म यस्तो शुद्धताको आवश्यकत पर्दछ । तामाडहरू पनि जन्मदेखि मृत्युसम्म बुद्ध धर्म अनुसार जन्मदेखि मृत्युसम्म परम्परागत रूपमा संस्कारहरू अनिवार्य गरिने चलन रहेको छ ।

## जन्मसंस्कार :

गर्भरक्षा :- गर्भ रहेको वेलामा आमा र शिशुको राम्रो होस् भन्नाले बुद्धिष्ट पात्रो लामाद्वारा पाठ गर्ने र आफ्नो कुल अनुसार पूजा गरिने चलन रहेको छ । जसबाट आमा र शिशुको कल्याण हुने विश्वास राख्दछ । गर्भ भएको वेल आइमाई (स्वास्नी) र श्रीमान् अशुद्ध रूपमा लिइने चलन रहेको छ । अथवा देवी देवतालाई पूजा चल्दैन भन्ने विश्वास रहेको छ ।

## न्वारन (थाप्साड-मीन थान्वा) :

न्वारन गर्दा तामाड समाजमा बालक जन्मेको ५ औं दिनमा वा विजोड दिन ७ औं, ९ औं र ११ औं दिनमा लामा पुरोहितहरू ल्याएर न्वारन गरिन्छ । लामा पुरोहित "ची" (बुद्धिष्ट पात्रो) अनुसार नाम राखिने चलन रहेको छ । (लामाद्वारा त्यसवेला साडछोइ १०८ सूत्र मन्त्रद्वारा शुद्ध गरिन्छ) तर तामाड समुदायमा कुनै स्थानमा बोन्वोद्वारा (भाक्ती) न्वारन गरिने चलन रहेको छ । त्यस वेला छिमेकीहरूलाई भोज खुवाउने चलन रहेको छ ।

## कर्म संस्कार :

### पासनी (कान छावा)

तामाङहरूको छोरा वा छोरी दुवै जन्मेको ५ महिनामा लामा पुरोहितहरू बुद्धिष्ट पात्रो अनुसार कसको हातबाट भात खुवाउने साइत जुई, उसैको हातबाट भात खुवाउने चलन रहेको छ, सो दिन बालकलाई नयाँ लुगा दिएर आशिर्वाद दिने गरिन्छ । सो दिन लामा, ताम्वा र वोन्वोद्वारा कुल देवतलाई पूजा गर्ने गरिन्छ । छिमेकीहरू र पाउनाहरूलाई भोजको व्यवस्था गर्नुपर्दछ । छिमेकीहरूबाट बालकलाई आशिर्वाद र दान-दक्षिणा दिने चलन रहेको छ ।

### छेवार (कपाल मुण्डन)

तामाङ समुदायमा छोराको छेवार गर्ने प्रचलन रहेको छ । छोरा जन्मेको बिजोड वर्ष ५, ७, ९ र ११ वर्ष भित्रसम्म छेवार गर्ने चलन रहेको छ । त्यस वेला मामाकहाँ सगुन (कोसेली) लगी मामालाई विधिपूर्वक निम्तो दिनुपर्दछ । लामा पुरोहित वा ताम्वाद्वारा कुल पूजा गरेपछि मामाले बालकको कपाल मुण्डन गरिन्छ र मामाद्वारा भान्जाको लागि नयाँ कपडा, टोपी र दान-दक्षिणा दिई आशिर्वाद दिने चलन रहेको छ ।

सम्पूर्ण गान्वा, तान्वा लगायत छिमेकीद्वारा बालकलाई आशिर्वाद दान-दक्षिणा दिने र ताम्वाद्वारा तामाङहरूको परम्परागत गीत गाउने चलन रहेको छ । धुमधामसँग भोज खुवाउने प्रचलन रहेको छ । यसबाट पनि तामाङहरूको मुण्डन संस्कार पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्कृतिको रूपमा लिन सक्छौं ।

### टाम्चे (टुपी काट्ने)

तामाङहरू बुद्ध धर्मका अनुयायी भएकोले बौद्ध धर्ममा प्रवेश गर्न लामाद्वारा बालक वा बालिका जन्मेको ५ देखि ११ वर्षभित्र सम्ममा शुभ साइन निकाली मंगलशुत्र पढाई बच्चाको टाम्चे गर्ने संस्कार छ । यसपछि बालक बालिकालाई गुम्बा पठाउने गर्दछ ।

### गुन्यू चोली दिने (स्यामा, हाडरे र पीन्वा)

तामाङहरूको छोरीलाई गुन्यूचोलो दिने संस्कार रहेको छ । छोरी जन्मेको बिजोड वर्ष ७ औं, ९ औं र ११ औं वर्ष पुग्दा लामा पुरोहितद्वारा बुद्धिष्ट पात्रो हेरी साइत जुराएपछि छोरीलाई गुन्यूचोलो दिने परम्परा छ । लामा वा भाँक्रीद्वारा पूजा गरेपछि मात्र गुन्यू चोलो लगाइदिने चलन छ ।

### रजस्वला

तामाङहरूको महिलाहरूले रजस्वला नबार्ने चलन छ । जसवेला घरमा कुनै किसिमको बन्देज छैन । महिनावारी भएको समयमा महिलाहरू देवताको थान पूजा गर्न पनि बन्देज छैन ।

## विवाह संस्कार

तामाङहरू विवाह गर्दा एउटै घर र स्वागे भाइहरूबीच विवाह चल्दैन । तसर्थ विवाहपूर्व नै भाइ तथा स्वागे-भाइ हो, होइन निकपौल गरिन्छ । स्वागे भाइ घरहरूबीच दाजु भाइको सम्बन्ध हुन्छ । यसका साथै केटाकेटीको आमा एउटै घरको भएमा पनि विवाह गर्न मिल्दैन । तामाङहरू चलन अनुसार केटाकेटीको ल्हा (वर्ग) र खामा (स्वभाव) हेरेर विवाह गर्न उत्तम हुन्छ वा हुँदैन भनेर हेर्ने गरिन्छ ।

तामाङ समुदायमा परम्परागत रूपमा विवाह प्रथा धेरै प्रकारका छन् र मामा फुपु चेलाचेली बीच विवाहलाई प्राथमिकता दिने चलन छ । हाल आएर यस प्रथामा पनि परिवर्तन आएका छन् । आधुनिकताको कारण मामाको छोरा र फुपुको छोरीबीच दाजुभाइ र दिदीबहिनीको रूपमा लिने चलन बढ्दै गएका छन् । यस्तो विवाह हाल तामाङ समुदायमा नगण्य रूपमा मात्र पाइन्छन् ।

### (क) मागी विवाह

मागी विवाह तामाङहरूको परम्परागत विवाह पद्धति हो । यस विवाहमा शुरुमा केटाको बुवा र गान्वा सगुन (रक्सी-पोङ) लिएर केटीको बुवा र आमा कहाँ सोध्न जाने चलन रहेको छ । यो पोङ सोधनी पोङ (सगुन-रक्सी) मात्र हो । उक्त पोङ (रक्सी) राखी केटीको बुवा माइतीको सामू हात माग्ने आएको दिने नदिने सोधनी गर्दछन् । यसपछि केटीतर्फबाट केटा मन परेमा पोङ स्वीकार गरी अर्को पोङ (सगुन) लिएर आउन अनुरोध गर्दछन् । यदि पोङ (सगुन-रक्सी) स्वीकार्य नभएमा फिर्ता पठाई दिन्छन् । पोङ स्वीकार्य पछि त्यहाँ उपस्थिति सबैलाई सगुनको (रक्सी) रूपमा बाँडेर दिन्छन् ।

त्यसपछि केटी घरबाट अर्को पोङ ल्याउने निर्देशन दिएपछि केटाको तर्फको बुवा र गान्वाले केटा सहित अर्को पोङ (सगुन) लगिन्छन् । उक्त पोङमा रक्सी, रोटी, कुखुराको भालेको साथमा स्योस्यो म्हेन्दो (टेट्लाको फुल) नानी, घ्यू र खादा अनिवार्य हुनुपर्दछ । यही पोङ लिएर जाँदा केटा र केटी बीच राजीखुशी के कसो छ सोध्ने चलन छ । दुवैतिर मञ्जुर भएमा विवाहको कुरा टुगिन्छन् । उक्त पोङलाई (सगुनलाई) स्योस्यो म्हेन्दोले छोडेर (अभिषेक) गरी बाबु माइतीले पोङ (सगुन) समाउँछन् । त्यो सगुन सबैलाई बाँडेर दिन्छन् । यसपछि विवाह गर्ने कुरा पक्का हुन्छ । अन्तमा विवाहको लागि विस्तृत सोधनी गर्नको लागि एउटा पोङ लगिन्छन् । जसलाई सोधनी पोङ (सगुन) भनिन्छ र जसमा एकडलो रोटी कुखुराको भाले तीन पाथी रक्सी लगिन्छन् । र यो पोङ खाँदा केटीको मामालाई पनि अनिवार्य रूपमा बोलाएको हुन्छ । यो सगुन खाएपछि विवाहको कुरा छिनिन्छ । विवाह कहिले कुन दिन गर्ने कति करकोसेली रीतभात चाहिन्छ त्यो पनि सोधिन्छन् र विवाहको साइत लामाद्वारा जुन्याउने चलन रहेको छ । रीतभातका (कोसेली) कुरामा माइतीले कसैले धेरै माग्ने चलन रहेको छ भने कसैले थोरै माग्ने चलन रहेको छ । विवाहको मिति निर्धारण भएपछि केटीको घरमा जन्ती जाने तयार गरिन्छ र त्यसवेला ताम्वा अनिवार्य रूपमा चाहिन्छ । ताम्वाद्वारा विवाहको वेला केटाको वंशावली र इतिहास बताउने चलन रहेको छ ।

तामाङहरूको मागी विवाहमा मामाको पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहन्छन् । मामाले भाज्जालाई जन्ती लैजाने वेलासाथ सेतो फेटा र टीका लगाई आशीर्वाद दक्षिणा दिने चलन छ ।

भागी विवाह तामाङहरूको खर्चालु भएको र आधुनिकताको प्रभावले गर्दा परम्परागत रूपमा मान्ने रितिभात (कोसेलीमा) पनि परिवर्तन आएको पाइन्छन् । यति नै रितिभात चाहिन्छ भनी मान्ने चलन हटेको छ । धेरै कोसेलीद्वारा पनि विवाह विधि चलाइन्छन् ।

#### (ख) चोरी विवाह

तामाङ समुदायमा चोरी विवाह प्रथा पनि लोकप्रिय थियो । यो विवाह केटी जंगलमा जात्रामा जाँदा कुनै केटी आफूलाई मन परेमा केटाले आफ्नो साथीभाइको सहयोगमा केटीलाई जबर्जस्ती घिस्याउने चलन छ । केटीलाई यसरी ल्याएपछि नयाँ लुगा, सुन र गरगहना दिएर केटीलाई फकाउने चलन छन् । हाल आएर यस्तो विवाह समाजमा राम्रो नमान्ने भएकोले हट्दै गएको पाइन्छन् ।

#### (ग) विधुवा विवाह

तामाङहरूले विधुवा विवाहलाई मान्यता दिइन्छ । यस विवाहले तामाङ समाजमा आर्थिक भार कम हुने भएकोले पनि विधुवा विवाहलाई महत्त्व दिने चलन रहेको छ ।

#### (घ) भाउजु विवाह

तामाङहरूमा भाउजु विवाहलाई पनि मान्यता दिइन्छन् । दाजुको मृत्यु भएपछि अविवाहित देवर भएमा आफ्नो भाउजुलाई राख्ने चलन थियो । तर हाल आएर यो प्रचलन समाजमा राम्रो नमान्ने भएको र भाउजुलाई अभिभावकको रूपमा लिइन्छन् । भाउजु विवाह गर्ने प्रथा तामाङहरूमा हटेका छन् ।

#### (ङ) जारी विवाह

तामाङहरूमा जारी विवाहको प्रचलन पनि पाइन्छन् । कसैको श्रीमतीलाई जारी गरेर ल्याएपछि तामाङहरूको गान्वाले तोके बमोजिम जारी तिर्ने चलन छ र यसपछि दुवै पक्ष मिल्दछ । जारी विवाहलाई पनि तामाङहरू नराम्रो मान्दैनन् । हाल आधुनिकताको कारण तामाङहरू जारी विवाहलाई राम्रो मान्दैनन् । त्यसकारण तामाङ समाजमा जारी विवाह विस्तारै हटेको पाइन्छन् ।

#### (च) प्रेम विवाह

प्रेम विवाह पनि तामाङ समुदायमा लोकप्रिय रहेको छ । यस विवाहमा तामाङ समाज आर्थिक भार कम हुने र दुःख पनि धेरै नगर्नु पर्ने भएकोले पनि यसले महत्पूर्ण स्थान लिएको पाइन्छ र हाल आएर प्रेम विवाह गर्ने प्रचलन तामाङ समाजमा बढेको पाइन्छन् ।

तामाङहरूले जुनसुकै विवाह गरे पनि चार दाम अनिवार्य रूपमा गर्नुपर्दछ ।

चारदाम : चार दाममा १।१ को सिक्का ४ वटा (४ रूपैया) र ५ ओटा पोड (सगुन) ला-मेन्दो (फूल) अनिवार्य लैजानु पर्दछ । चार दाममध्ये एक दाम केटीलाई एकदाम सहोदर भाइलाई, एक दाम केटीको आमा-बाबु र एक दाम बन्धुवा भाइलाई दिने चलन रहेको छ । पोडहरूमा (सगुनहरू) एउटा पोड चार दाम, एउटा पोड माइती, एउटा मावली, एउटा फुपुलाई र एउटा पोड बाबु-आमालाई दिनुपर्दछ ।

तामाङ्ग समुदायमा मागी विवाह ताम्बाहरूको महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहन्छन् । ताम्बाहरूले टाँस बजाई परम्परागत गीत गाउने र तामाङ्गहरू पुछ्यौली बलोको बारेका वंशावली सुनाउने गर्दछन् । मागी विवाहमा मामाको महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहन्छ । मामा बिना भान्जा वा भान्जीको विवाह हुँदैन । अथवा चार दाम गर्ने बेला मामाको अनिवार्य उपस्थिति हुनुपर्दछ । चार दाम गर्ने बेलामा पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका हुन्छ त्यसबेला लामाद्वारा पूजापाठ गर्ने चलन रहेको छ ।

## मृत्यु संस्कार

### दाह संस्कार

तामाङ्गहरूको मृत्यु भएपछि छरछिमेकी दाजु भाइ, नातागोता र विद्वान लामा बोलाई फोका गरिन्छ । यदि मृतक महिला भएमा मृतकको माईतीहरू अनिवार्य उपस्थिति हुनुपर्दछ । मृतकको ल्याँ चोलेको लुगा ल्याएर माईतीको तर्फबाट ओढाउने चलन रहेको छ । तामाङ्गहरूको लाश परम्पराअनुसार पदमासन (ठाडो)मा काठ र बाँसद्वारा निर्माण गरिएको लाश बोक्ने एक प्रकारको बक्स "डोम" बनाएर घुसाँमा (चिहान डाँडा)लैजाने गरिन्छ ।

दाह संस्कार गर्दा विद्वान् लामाद्वारा मन्त्रोच्चारणका साथ दागबत्ती दिने चलन छ । ज्वाइँको पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका हुन्छ । लाश बोक्ने काम र जलाउने सम्पूर्ण कार्य ज्वाइँहरूद्वारा गर्ने चलन रहेको छ ।

### घेवा कर्म

मृत्यु भएको ७ दिनदेखि ४९ दिनसम्म घेवा कार्य गरिन्छ । घेवा तामाङ्गहरूले कसैले १ दिन कसैले १ रात र कसैले ३ रातसम्म मृत्यु संस्कार गर्ने चलन रहेको छ । खासगरी आर्थिक अवस्था अनुसूचित घेवा गर्ने चलन रहेको छ । आर्थिक मजबुत भएको तामाङ्गले ३ रातको घेवा गर्ने गर्दछ ।

आर्थिक अवस्था भएको तामाङ्गहरूले मृत व्यक्ति "ची" हेरी, साइत हेरी मृत आत्माको लागि भविष्यमा के गर्दा स्वर्ग पुग्छ त्यो हेरी बनाउने चलन रहेको छ । जस्तै: माने, स्तुप, चौतारा, खानेपानी धारा र बुद्ध सम्बन्धी मूर्तिहरू बनाइन्छ ।

यदि तामाङ्गहरूमा भ्रात्रीको मृत्यु भएमा मृत्यु संस्कार गर्ने कार्य अनिवार्य रूपमा भ्रात्रीको संस्कार अनुसार गर्ने चलन रहेको छ । लामाद्वारा घेवा एकतिर गर्छ भने अर्कोतिर भ्रात्रीले गर्ने गर्दछ ।

नेपालमा आधुनिकीकरणले गर्दा तामाङ्गहरूको संस्कारमा विस्तारै परिवर्तन हुँदै गएको पाउँछौं । जसको कारण तामाङ्ग संस्कृतिहरू लोप हुँदै गएको छ ।

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# Tourism, Tourist Guide and Interpretation

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*"Stories New And Stories Old, Stories Kept And Stories Told"*  
(Gabriel J. Cherem, 2000:303)

A challenge is often mounted to those who participate in tourism, those who manage it and those who study it. The challenge to tourist (Pizam and Mansfield, 2001; in Pears, 2006: 162) is why they spend their money on travels and its associated activities when there are appealing and perhaps more tangible socially visible products to be consumed? Managers of tourism environmentally are faced with queries about why they seek to encourage more visitors. If they are unsure of the long term consequences of visitors activities, tourism researches too can be challenged here the perspectives is offered that presumably talented well-educated researches might more usually contribute to their society by applying their social sciences skills to passing issues such as those found in medicine and social welfare (Pearce, *ibid.*).

A comprehensive answer to these challenges can be found in the concept of *eudaimonia*, a Greek philosopher term that can be approximately translated as human flourishing (de Botton, 2002; in Pearce, *ibid.*). In essence, the concept asserts that a valued purpose in human life.... In tourism context *eudaimonia* draws attention to the issue of what is some times termed 'the quality of life' with the additional meaning that this involves deep satisfaction and enjoyment of experiences as well as learning, personal growth and skill development (Pearce, *ibid.*). This reveals that tourism has already become a quintessential activity of modern man.

"The world is a book; he who stays at home reads only one page" (Saint Augustine 354-430A.D.; in Rapport and Overing, 2000; Ritcher, 2000:22; Kunwar, 2006:1). Some sixteen centuries later the book is becoming a page turning best seller (D'Amore, 2007: 65). Traveller and tourism has established itself as the world's largest industry, revolutionizing our understanding of ourselves, others, and the world. Once Mark Twain said, "Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness" (Rapport and Overing, 2000; D'Amore, 2007). This reveals that how tourism is important in this postmodern world. Tourism "helps people to discover themselves

and others," said the late Pope John Paul II, "both as individuals and as communities, immersed in the vast history of humanity, heirs to and responsible for a world that is both familiar and strange" (D'Amore, *ibid.*).

Since tourism is not single sector but spreads tentacles across a range of economic activities as well as demonstrating an involvement in physical, social, cultural modifications, accurate assessments of its true role are difficult to make. Many judgements depend upon the perspective of the individual making them and are subject to their particular agenda and priorities. So while examples are quoted by western academics and pressure groups to demonstrate the costs of tourism in some of the poorest countries of the world (Pearce, 1989; Burns and Holden, 1995; in France, 2006:8), those from the least developed nations have been known to assert that 'There is one thing worse than being exploited-not being exploited' (quoted in Cater, 1987:210; in France, 2006:8). They are willing to accept any costs that accrue in order to realize the perceived benefits (France, *ibid.*).

According to futurist John Naisbitt, three industries will lead the global information-driven economy of the next century-telecommunications, information technology, travel and tourism. Even within the walls of academe, travel and tourism as a field of study is not always well understood, for it is a field cutting across many disciplines. European universities tend to study tourism as a macro analysis of a developing industry, including applied tourism research and tourism policy analysis. American universities, on the other hand, are inclined to concentrate on micro analysis and the needs of organisations supplying visitor services. From a macro prospective, tourism may be considered from such aspects as environmental impact and the use of natural resources, culture and the arts, changing lifestyles and social values psychological motivations, political decisions or economic variables. From a micro prospective in the "industry" sense, travel and tourism can be narrowed to specific subjects as transportation management and logistics, hotel and restaurant management, travel and tour operation, destination planning and development, convention and business meetings, or recreation and leisure activities. In either approach is the overlay of functional business subjects in marketing, management, human resource development, finance and investments, law and regulations, technology and other areas applied to the tourism field (Gee et al., 1997: preface).

The exponential growth of international tourism from 25 million in 1950 to nearly 850 million in 2006 is clearly one of the most remarkable economic and social phenomena of our time. The UN World Tourism Organization forecast that international arrivals will increase further to more than 1 billion in 2010 and 1.5 billion in 2020 (D'Amore, *op.cit.*). Travel and tourism revenues have shown and even more impressive growth, with an average rate of increase of nearly 12 percent a year from 1950 to 2000, reaching some U.S\$7 trillion in 2006, according to the World Travel

and Tourism Council (WTTC). To put this in perspective, the total defence budget of all nations is approximately \$1 trillion. The WTTC estimates that travel and tourism will account for 10.3 percent of global GDP in 2007. Directly and indirectly, it translates into some 234 million jobs (roughly one in every eleven) and one-third of world trade in services (*ibid.*).

These days academics interchangeably use the term as "people tourism", "responsible tourism", "appropriate tourism", "green tourism", "soft tourism", "village tourism", "alternative tourism", "cultural tourism", "ethnic tourism", "rural tourism" came into existence against of the "mass tourism," which was confined to the cities and urban areas in 1960s. The purpose of developing one of the above mentioned forms of tourism is to uplift the living standard of rural people and the development of villages or rural areas for providing 'edutainment' of the western countries (Lun, 2002; Kunwar, 2006:231) on the other. The term 'edutainment' refers to two different words like education and entertainment. This is a kind of recent trend of spending holiday in Western European countries.

Social science research responds to current events. Indeed, author and professor Louis Turner (in Lea, 1988:1) claimed that tourism is the most "under studied industry" impinging on the Third World. To be sure economists have studied the effects of tourism on economic development focusing on the direct and indirect economic consequences of tourism. Anthropologists, following the pioneering work of Valene L. Smith (1989), have been focusing on the cultural effects of tourist penetration. Sociologists such as Emanuel de Kadt (1979), Dean Mac Cannell (1976), J. Diamond (1977), and later Jozsef

Borocz (1996) have sparked interest in their field. Political science writing, dating back to the 1970s, took off after Linda Richter's 1983 contribution. Gender concerns have been studied by Enloe (1990) and environmental issues were brought to light in the 1980s by Helen Briassoulis (2000) and John Dixon et al. (2001). Scholars of ethnicity (such as Robert Wood (2006) are taking tourism in account in the construction of ethnic identity. Indeed, the world wide population movements-both voluntary and involuntary- in the post-cold war period has spurred scholarly research on their destination, their origins their personal profiles and the reason for them. Attribution such an umbrella property to the phrase *population movements* enables a broader perspective than is usually taken. Indeed, Lucy Lippard (in Mac Cannell, 1976: Foreword, p. xi) noted that few have looked at those 'other' tourists-the movements of refugees, immigrants, and other displaced people" even if Dean Mac Cannell stated there are different ways of being out-of-place. One of those who takes a broader perspective is A. Appadurai who in his study of globalization in produced

the concept of ethnoscapas, namely the flow of people-workers, immigrants and tourist-across the world. Another broad perspective was offered in the edited volume by C. Michael Hall and Allan Williams in which the contributors focussed on different aspects of the link between tourism and migration. All above mentioned studies do not throw light on the aspect of guides contribution in the field of tourism. Therefore, this study focuses on the particular segment of tourism which is also one of the integral part of tourism industry and its services.

### **Introduction to global tour guides**

In 1997 A.D, then His Majesty Government of Nepal prepared a Master Plan in collaboration with German Technical Assistance with several recommendations to boost up tourism sector in Nepal. The Master Plan and Fourth Five Year Plan (1970-1975) established Hotel Management and Tourism Training Centre (HMTTC - now changed as Nepal Academy of Tourism and Hotel Management - NATHM). Since its inception, NATHM has undertaken responsibilities of producing human resource as required by the tourism industry. With the start of courses in 1973, 1,289 trainees got opportunity to be trained. The courses in the beginning were experimental under the supervision of six ILO experts assigned to the centre. On the compulsion of the technical assistances projects in 1976, the centre was taken over by then His Majesty's Government of Nepal. It started the courses from 1979 with the assistance of UNDP/ILO (Satyal, 2000; 269-270). The production of tourist guides started from the Fiscal Year 1973/1974 when the state realised the need of tourist guides in the country to provide guide services to the visitors. Since tourism is a labour intensive industry, it has generated employment opportunities for the unskilled people providing then skill-orientated training like tourist guides. Money earned accompanied tourists for sight- seeing is the source of fulfilling basic needs of their family.

In the last 20 years many western countries have recognized that tourism, along with other industries, requires a trained workforce whose credentials are recognized nationally and internationally. Apprenticeships in various trades and vocations have been replaced by a combination of on-the-job training a college-based course. In the late 1980s, the Australian government embraced a new form of vocational education called competency based training (CBT) and invested huge amounts of money in creating a national agency to implement it (Christie and Mason, 2008: 342). Learning outcomes were specified in behavioural terms and as long as students could demonstrate that they were competent to do what job requires. After training, they were awarded a national trade certificate. Today, in Australia, there is a nationally accredited course for tour guides called certificate Two in Tour Guiding. This is one of the strengths of competency-based training (Gonzi, 1992: in Christie and Mason, 2008: 342- 343). While this system works well with skills-based programmes, the authors have argued previously that tourist guides are more like

teachers than trades people, and the sort of specific and generic skills they learn should reflect this (Mason and Christie 2003).

Many other countries, the UK, New Zealand (NZ), Canada and the USA, for example, have begun to implement similar systems of vocational education and training. In regard to tour guide training, NZ comes closest to Australia, with the UK a close third. Today the UK requires guides to attend courses, complete coursework and take exams that account for up to 28 weeks or 320 hours of study before they acquire the equivalent of the 'Blue Badge' in the USA, some cities, such as New York, have also had a tradition of licensing their guides after determining that they are of good health, have no criminal record and can pass a multiple choice exam on the sites they are expected to interpret. Guides can renew their licence annually by paying a small fee (Pond, 1993). In European cities, like Vienna, a similar system has been in place for a long time. Prospective guides must supply a health certificate, prove competency in two languages and pass an exam related to their knowledge of the city (Christie and Mason, 2008: 343).

Since 1973 up till now, NATHM has produced altogether 2,548 tourist guides in that year. The first batch of this group was trained in 1973-74 A.D (2030-31 B.S). The number of trainees was 34. This was the landmark of guided tourism in Nepal. This academy also provided training to one group of 30 trek tour leaders in 1992 that got the license to lead the trekking group in the mountain. It was the only one of such a kind of training offered. The eligibility to undergo both groups of trainings is to have Bachelor degree in any discipline. Nepal is very popular for trekking. Therefore, realizing its importance government of Nepal decided to offer a training program for trekking guides. The first group was trained in 1977 from NATHM. They were 33 in numbers. Up till now the academy has already produced 6,602 trekking guides. In course of development of tourism in Nepal, whitewater river rafting also became popular for tourist activities. This enhanced to the academy for producing river guide also. Therefore, NATHM provided training program to the first group of 24 individuals in 1993 (2048-49 B.S). According to the record of NATHM, it has provided 14 canyoning guides. In different tourist areas of Nepal, the academy has also given training to the local guides for the purpose of providing help to the tourists. The academy has also provided refresher course to the 76 tourist guides. So far as the female guides are concerned, 227 tourist guides belong to the female group and 53 local women have become female guides.

As far as training courses are concerned, the courses for tourist guides are offered for 10 weeks in which 2-3 weeks are allocated for field tour in and outside Kathmandu valley. Remaining other courses are based on different subjects those are confined to the classroom. Likewise, the trekking guides spend 4 weeks for training. Besides taking classes, they are taken to the rock climbing sites for their practical

training. Nepal Mountaineering Association also offers training for mountain guide in different mountain areas. The guides lead to the climbers who visit Nepal for climbing different mountains. So far as the qualification of trekking guide is concerned, they should have basic knowledge of English communication with 2 year experiences in trekking. No qualification has been mentioned for the river guide.

As far as the other language speaking guides are concerned, though there is no record at the concerned office, one of the authorities of NATHM roughly estimated that 30 guides speak Chinese language, 25 speak Spanish, 40 speak German, 10 speak Korean and 10-15 speak Russian. Over all, out of 2,548 license holder tourist guides, approximately 500-700 tourist guides are professionally involved in this profession. If NATHM takes initiative of producing nature guide, it would play important role for promoting ecotourism in Nepal. Instead of this, (then) King Mahendra Trust located in Chitwan National Park use to produce the nature guides who are involved in wildlife tourism in Terai. The present author (2002:124) counted 62 nature guides from Guides Association of Sauraha in 1997, but there must have more than 100 nature guides who might have already got license from above mentioned organization.

While making a comparison of Nepal on the production of tourist guides with the countries like UK, USA, New Zealand, Australia and Austria as mentioned above by Christie and Mason (2008), Nepal appears as a pioneer tourist destination in this endeavour. Her attributes on guide production is not only limited on an early involvement but also on the diversification on the nature of guiding activities like mountain guide, trekking guide, tourist guide, river guide, nature guide, canyoning guide and local guide with desirable quality standards.

The historical and institutional development of tourist guides and guiding profession on gradual pace in Nepal is the result of her early envision for taking consideration of high need of its importance and systematic expansion for the overall development of tourism sector. Those who study on the tourist guides as an academic discourse, Nepal could be the living laboratory for research in this field. In every walk of step one can see different level of guides working with different tourists in different areas such as mountaineering, trekking, sightseeing, river rafting and wildlife safari.

The author is of the view that Nepal deserves a first credit for the development of this profession in the global tourism field/map. However, the training offered to one group of 30 trek tour leaders in 1992 at once, which was successfully occupied as a highly relevant course, could not be continued. Its continuity is a must not only for meeting the quantitative needs of such trained manpower but also for enhancing quality trekking tourism in Nepal.

The tour guide's 'role' has been the subject of scholarly discussion and analysis for just over a decade. Arguably the main conceptual framework used to dissect and analyse the various roles and functions of the tour guide has been Cohen's model (1985). This model acknowledges both the traditional 'path finding' role and the more recent 'mentoring' role of all tour guides. Weiler and Ham (2001:550) feel that the main value of this model is the recognition that guides have accountabilities both within the group (i.e. to facilitate learning and enjoyment of individual clients and to nurture and manage interaction between clients) and outside the group (i.e. to facilitate and mediate interaction between clients and host communities). In tourism research the viewpoints of tourism, entrepreneurs and regional economy have gotten more attention than studying the work and occupations of guides. Guiding has been examined by investigating, for instance, how the tourists experience travel guides' work (Haig and McIntyre, 2002; Valkonen, 2010: 167), or how they experience the guides' performance as producers of experiences (Geva and Goldman, 1991; in Valkonen, 2010: 167). The roles of guides as promoters of environmental consciousness (Weiler and Davis, 1993) and being cultural mediators (McDonnell, 2001) have also been studied a bit.

The common approach of such studies has examined guiding work by presenting the different roles of guides. The studies have also put good deal of stress on analysing the service facet of guiding. This is particularly crystallized by studies which conceptualise the occupation of the guide as interactive service work (Valkonen, 2010: 168).

Recently there has been a growing amount of research focused on the service facet of guiding work (Holyfield, 1999; in Valkonen, 2010). These studies have commonly made reference to the notion of the sociology of work, and particularly to the fact that all work with an interactive or service component includes the demands and implications of emotional level.

Recently, there has been studied on wilderness safari in Finnish Lapland by Jarvo Valkonen (2010) based on a concept of 'the collective' developed by Bruno Latour, a sociologist. His concept has become a methodological guideline in investigating wilderness guiding work. The benefit of using the idea of 'the collective' for studying tourism work is twofold. Firstly, it creates space for perceiving what roles nature, materials and technology play in nature tourism; secondly, it provides the possibility of following the actors in practice as they do their hybrid work (Micheal, 2000; Johannesson, 2005; in Valkonen, 2010: 166).

Investigation into the role of the guide highlighted well the diverse organizational, educational, interpretive and social functions that are undertaken by guides in providing a satisfying experience for the clients (Cohen, 1985). Overall,

the theories and arguments about the roles of the guide, however, have mainly been used to explain by its functions.

The ancillary services concern such things as guiding services. These may be provided by the attraction, such as museum, guides or local tour guides round a particular location (such as city tour guide who knows the area very well and is probably local to the area). But guiding may also come in the form of tour directors or couriers on escorted coach tours. Their role is to ensure that the needs of the passengers are accommodated, give information on the places to be visited or area through which the tour is passing, and to set any of the optional excursions which may be available whilst on the tour and operator specialize in tours will normally state in the brochure whether the tour is fully escorted throughout by a specialised courier or whether the driver of the coach in a combined role undertakes this function.

A good guide should be knowledgeable and in his/her area, a good communicator, enthusiastic about the site or subject capable of relating to and managing a group, and have a pleasant voice and a personality. These are qualities that appear in other research, in both tourism and teaching (Knowles, 1980). The authors would like to argue that the guide should be not only knowledgeable and skillful in his/her area of interpretation (specific capabilities) but also be able to research information and interpret it in an ethical, interesting and sensitive manner (generic capabilities). And Mason (2008:347) it can be argued that it would be better for an industry that is rapidly becoming one of the most important in the world, if those who work in it are trained. Christie and Mason (2008:341) believe that this is especially important for tour guides who interpret sites for visitors from mixed cultures and backgrounds. The more sensitive those sites become and the more complex the guided experience is, the more imperative it is that those who describe them are professionally trained and capable of acting as agents for sustainable tourism.

In this study the interpreter should be understood as tour guide who is involved in tourism. However, the local trained guides are demanded by several tour groups in different tourist destinations. In the case of sensitive sites, crime-ridden communities, difficult travel situations, and highly specialised conditions, some site managers require all tourists to be accompanied by a trained guide.

In some destination, the guides or culture brokers or interpreters may be marginal in a positive sense in those special qualities. Such as tolerance, community knowledge, language facility, and personal charm that are needed to bridge the gap between diverse communities (Taft, 1977; in Pearce, 1984; 134).

Lopez (in Pearce, 1984; 135), studying travelling tour parties, has demonstrated the importance of the guide's personality by showing that a poor guide can ruin an

entire holiday experience through insensitivity, communication problems, or an authoritarian style projected at the wrong time.

Schmidt's (1979; in Pearce 1984:136) work does, however, clearly highlight some of the important functions of guided tour. She points out that a good guide, working in the correct context, provides a relatively safe and secure milieu for the tourist to collect those authentic experience which fulfil the individual's motivation for travelling (i.e. ready solutions to the problems, of how to get there, how to deal with the locals, and works on tourist-guide interaction into a broader context, six very deferent guided tours from three countries were studied. For example, the six settings among others include, both manmade and natural environment, "living" versus inanimate settings' outdoors versus indoor tours, walking versus bus tours, and relatively small versus large group situations (Pearce, 1984:138). For all of other situations studied, the training of the guides is taken much more seriously and usually involves formal lectures, practice tour, and perhaps even graduation by examination. For example, the response of the city tour director has been to encourage guides to research and develop their own individual tours using the organization's resources and the experience of the guides (*ibid.*, 142). Not surprisingly, individual tourists differ considerably, especially in such areas as the knowledge of architectural terms, biological details, or historical understanding (Chen, 1974).

In one paper of Tom Selwyn (1988:19), the guides are shown how they should have nationalistic feeling in the field of tourism. This model has been borrowed from Israel. The author writes, there are several senses in which the S.P.N.I (Society for the Protection of Natural in Israel) guides are 'heroic' figures. Only those who have completed army services are hired in this capacity (effectively ruling out the possibility of Arab guides). For the 'difficult' tours, as the desert, the skills of former commandos are manifestly useful. Apart from these physical attributes however, and possibly more important than them, are the wide range of scientific skills which is invariably assumed to be possesses by the treating them with considerable respect. Furthermore, the guides habitually assert their roles as charismatic leaders, (with tourist followers) quite emphatically. Selwyn has referred to the two-kibguiz members who died while walking in it without proper guidance, and to reference to periodic deaths there every year. This is just one powerful image of the possibility of malevolent consequences that could follow from acting independently of the guide/ leaders.

The guide is a critically important part of the ecotourism or cultural tour in the case of non-personal or 'static' tour, the guide may be a guide book, a brochure or a specialised publication on special site characteristics. These types of non-personal interpretation sources are vitally important because the independent traveller may rely heavily on one source of information, such as a guide book. The high demand for

such information has led to an industry of guide books, of which the *Lonely Planet* guides have become particularly successful (Eagles, 2001:614).

The process involves the guides in selecting, glossing and interpreting sights (Cohen, op.cit., 14-16). Interpretation is not however, simply a facet of the process but its entire impetus. The guide must translate '...the strangeness of a foreign culture into a cultural idiom familiar to the visitors (ibid., 15), thus offering tourists unambiguous signs of a particular ideological order (Bowman, op.cit.)

Visitors satisfaction is a complex variable, influenced to some extent but not entirely by expectations and on-site perceptions, for which it is often very difficult to obtain valid measures (Blamey and Hatch, 1996; Childress and Crompton, 1997; Ryan, 1998; in Weiler and Ham, op.cit., 551).

In tourism, for example, it is easier to teach safety procedures and background knowledge about sites than the capacity for critical, analytical thought of the ability to communicate in gender sensitive situations. In many cases the distinction between specific and generic skills becomes blurred. Even the language we use to describe such skills can be confusing. Before proceeding we should clarify the three terms we use interchangeably in this chapter, namely skills, capabilities and competencies. Of the three words, 'skill' is probably the simplest to use and understand. It means knowing how to do something. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as, 'expertness, practiced ability, facility in action or in doing something'. The terms 'capability' and 'competence' are more complicated. Originally 'capability' meant 'and underdeveloped faculty or property'. The eighteenth century English landscape gardener, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown got his nickname because of his habit of looking at land he was asked to landscape and saying, 'it has capabilities' (*The Shorter English Dictionary*, 382). However, Brown was also capable in the modern sense of the word. He had 'the power, ability, competence and talent to do something'. Brown combined specific knowledge and practical skills in his chosen profession with more general talents; the ability to see the big picture, to communicate with his clients, to motivate his worker, and to combine economics and aesthetics. No matter what terms we choose, there has been in recent years much more focus on developing generic as well as specific skills in students undertaking courses at universities and colleges. Unfortunately, the terms are often used loosely and in different contexts. In this chapter, the authors intend to specify some of the specific and generic competencies that a good guide needs, and suggest some ways of teaching and assessing them (Christie and Mason, 2008: 344).

Tourist guides are crucial agents in the changing paradigm of tourism business. They are the face of a large and growing sector within tourism. It is they who interpret the sites, whether that site is in a historical building like the Taj Mahal, or a national

park, such as Kakadu, where control is shared between government and indigenous landholders (Christie and Spiers, 1997).

Today, the good guide has to have a much better understanding of his or her role in this changing paradigm. As tourists seek new and more exciting experiences and look for people to help interpret them, the guide must be conscious of conflicting values and the ethics involved in resolving them. Rapid changes within tourism raise many ethical issues. Tour guide training must take account of this and try to inculcate the ethical values associated with this particular calling. It is important that students also develop a generic capability that enables them to analyse their own actions and those of others and make ethical judgments about them (Agryris and Schon 1974; Mezirow and associates 1990; in Christie and Mason, 2008:348).

A commitment to transformative learning, which deliberately hunts the assumptions underlying all aspects of tourism training (knowledge, skills and attitudes) and helps trainee guides determine their validity, is a first step in engendering the sort of generic capabilities that characterise the 'good guide'.

Interpreters are communicators. Therefore, the more an interpreter knows about his/her audience, the more tailored the communication should be: Demographic information typically collected by the tourism industry is useful but it is the psychographic characteristics are rarely collected and made available to interpreters (Hall and McArthur, in press; in McArthur, 1999: 76), who literally dreams of being able to access information on awareness, interest and attitudes toward the environment and the way it is managed, as well as the preferred communication and learning styles of the audiences

Interpretation goes beyond the presentation of facts and figures; regardless of how enjoyable the technique makes them. At the cognitive level, interpretation is about building conceptual frameworks from which people can assimilate information and give it meaning. At the emotional level, interpretation is about creating interest in the world, and feelings that give color to cognitive dimension.

Nonetheless, some interpreters have made genuine and substantial attempts to broaden their focus. Many can draw upon their diverse backgrounds (e.g. education, sociology cultural studies and the arts) to quickly detect and respond to alternative perspectives. There are several ways for interpretation to broaden its content focus. These include:

Structuring interpretation around a story, selectively communication only what is needed to tell the story;

Presenting a range of perspectives;

Sharing with the audience the perspective of the interpreter, then asking the audience for their perspective; and  
Tackling the issues and conflict over how to resolve them.

The first technique has been covered interpretive planning. To key achieve it require the interpreter to play a key role in the creation. Of the experience, as opposed to logistics.... The second way is to present a range of perspectives other than the central one typically told. This means the interpreter must let go of his/her own value systems and perspectives and communicate those of others. This is done to some extent when contrasting indigenous and non-indigenous tribes, city and rural populations, industry and government. This technique can be easily expanded when the interpreter briefly covers his/her own perspective, then asks for that of each of the audience members. The fourth technique to widen scope and attract audience interest is to tackle issues. By presenting relevant political and social aspects of heritage and how it is managed, visitor can start to become aware of the role that the community has in heritage management. This awareness allows them to develop a more informed opinion and ultimately an opportunity to become more effectively involved in the decision making.

According to Tilden (1977; in McArthur, 1999:64), Interpretation is "an educational activity which aims to reveal meaning and relationships through the use of original objects, by first hand objects, by firsthand experience by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information". Likewise, Interpretation Australia has defined interpretation as "a means of communicating ideas and feelings which helps people enrich their understanding and appreciation of their world and their role within it. (Christie and Mason, 2008:349).

Good interpretation is still thought about at breakfast the next morning or over the dinner table the following week. It properly delivered interpretation not only enriches an ecotourism experience; it provides foundation for remembering and reliving it. In this way interpretation should be the nexus of and ecotourism experience (McArthur, 1999:64).

In this regard Christie and Spiers (1997; in Christie and Mason, 2008: 349,352) offer a different view to the guide's interpretation at the site is a 'global classroom'. Since 1997 Christie has a long standing interest in the training of tourist guide and in the benefits of educational tourism. He has been active in attempts to promote the concept of a 'global classroom' in which tourist are students and well-trained guides their teachers.

Experienced guides make their commentaries meaningful by using common language and by employing analogies, metaphors and other methods of bridging the unfamiliar world of the tour route, content and environment to the things already known and familiar to the group (Ham, 1992). Similarly, when commentaries focus

visitors' attention on things they already care about an attentive audience is almost guaranteed. Ham (1992) terms this type of communication 'personal' since it connects what is being described... (ibid).

From the tour operator's perspective, for example, a guide's duties often include:

- Ensuring the safety, health and comfort of clients;
- Providing courteous and quality customer service;
- Responding to the needs and expectations of visitors from other cultures and those with special needs due to age, a disability or special interests;
- Managing interactions within clients groups;
- Delivering the tour cost-effectively;
- Providing high quality, informative and entertaining commentary;
- Meeting the legal and moral obligations and expectations of protected area managers, host communities and clients (Weiler and Ham, 2001:551).

Those responsible for hiring guides and interpreters usually require training in the subject matter of environmental studies and in the techniques of interpretation. It is much easier to teach a formally trained biologist for example, techniques for public speaking, safety and interpretation. (ibid.).

Weiler and Davis (1993; in Weiler and Ham, op.cit.) added a third dimension to the model for nature-based tour guides: interaction with the natural environment itself. Like the term "ecotourism" interpretation has been plagued by a great deal of emphasis on definition plagued at the expense of getting on with establishing authenticity, quality and accountability. To deliver these elements it is useful to briefly explore how interpretation evolved, how it has been used, and why it has generally not been given the chance to meet its potential (ibid.). Good interpretation is still thought about at breakfast the next morning or over the dinner table the following week. It properly delivered, interpretation not only enriches an ecotourism experience, it provides the foundation for remembering and reliving it.

Skilful tour guides, according to most contemporary writers practise thematic interpretation by imparting compelling messages to their clients about the places they visit.

Additionally, Weiler and Crabtree's (1998; in Weiler and Ham, op.cit., 557-558) study found that despite the guides' strong performance on most evaluative criteria dealing with site knowledge, tour management and interpersonal communication skills; they performed the poorest on indicators pertaining to interpretation methods and conservation themes. These include:

Delivering organised and thematic interpretation (e.g. evidence of a theme, sequencing, introduction and conclusion), and

Providing messages on ecologically sustainable practices and behaviour and communicating minimal impact themes on-site and post-tour.

Cohen defines the pathfinder as a geographical guide who leads the way through an environment in which his followers lack orientation or through a socially defined territory to which they have no access (1985:7), and distinguishes this from the mentor who is akin to the leader of a religious pilgrimage – 'a specialist' (who) services as a 'guru' to the novice, adept, or seeker, guiding him towards insight, enlightenment or any other exalted spiritual state (ibid., 8). The former facilitates access whereas the latter builds on that to which the traveller has access, integrating what is seen into a coherent and meaningful image of place (Bowman, 1997:123). In a territory as well developed for tourism as the Holy Land, the pathfinder is rarely needed. Foreign visitors can, and often do, visit tourist sites in the Holy Land with out assistance. However they will rarely achieve a coherent sense of what they visit, whereas a guide encourages them to develop a sense of having visited the real place. With real pilgrims, guides ( who are normally male) decode and already significance, and in secular tourism they not only introduce elements of a landscape considered by them to be significant, but also construct for tourists an interpretive framework, 'conceptions of a general order of existence' ( Geertz, 1973:90), enabling them to share his sense of the place's significance (Bowman, 1997:123).

As Miller (1956; in Weiler and Ham, op.cit., 555) demonstrated nearly a half century ago, humans can manage more information with less effort if it is organised into no more than 5-9 categories or units.

Interpretation is the art of helping people to learn. It is a complex activity that goes beyond making the communication of information enjoyable. The best practice of interpretation requires a thorough understanding and integration of audience message and technique. Most interpreters require training to achieve this degree of performance (McArthur, 1999:83).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the prominence of interpretation in Australia was boosted as elements of North American national park-based interpretation were somewhat blindly imported and replicated across the country (O'Brien, 1985; in McArthur, 1999:65). One of the consequences of this blind importation has been a focus on developing non-verbal interpretation (McArthur, 1995) which has typically involved self-guiding brochures and infrastructure such as visitor centers and interpretation signs (McArthur, 1999:65).

## Interpretation

Academically, it is A.R. Radcliffe – Brown who carried out the anthropological study on the Andaman Islanders in between 1906 to 1914, which later on, came out a book form entitled *Andaman Islanders* in 1922. This book is full of myths, stories,

legends, celebrations etc. of Andaman Islanders. His objective of study was to reconstruct the history of Islanders. But this work became impetus only for an anthropological study but not for community interpretation in the field of tourism. Likewise, in course of studying the culture of mankind, it is Clifford Geertz who wrote a book entitled *The Interpretation of Cultures* in 1973 that gave birth of new innovations of interpreting other's culture in the field of anthropology.

In the early 1970s, the evolving ideas and principles were assembled into a publication especially about interpretation. There is no single definition of interpretation that has been adopted by practitioners. *Interpreting Our Heritage* by Freeman Tilden was the first book written solely to define the profession of interpretation, and contained two concepts central to the philosophy of interpretation: that "interpretations the revelation of a larger truth that lies behind any statement of fact" and that "interpretation should capitalize on mere curiosity for the enrichment of the human and spirit (Tilden, 1977; McAurthur 1999; 65). Until the 1980, the most influential developments in interpretation occurred in the United States ( Machlis and Field, 1992).

Barbara Cherem and Gabriel J. Cherem while talking about the heritage interpretation, they put some questions "why should we confine interpretation only to sites (Cherem, 1977; 2000:303) such as parks, museums, historic sites, and zoos? Why could not we interpret the heritage of an entire community to its residents and to its visitor? Consequently, the concept of 'community interpretation' was created in 1980" (Cherem, 1981; Cherem, 1982; McLennan, 1984; Cherem, 1988b).

Before describing community tourism, it would be highly appropriate to put some questions like "How will community be defined? Will it be defined based on geography (e.g. everyone who lives within one area)?, will it be based on some other factor, such as family or clan? The word community has so many connotations and usages that it is almost impossible to define precisely sometimes it refers to people living near one another and participating in a daily rhythm of collective life (Hawley, 1950; in Smelser, 1993:144). A community may be defined as local people residing in a particular area... A community is a group of people, often living in the same geographic area, who identify themselves as belonging to the same group. The people in a community are often related by blood or marriage: and may all belong to the same religious or political group, class or caste (Sproule and Subandi, 1999: 216,218,219). Schnore (1973; Smelser, op.cit.) defines, community as a population rooted in one place whose members are independent on a daily basis and performs many activities that satisfy the population's economic and social needs.

Sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936) has classified the community into two types: *Gemeinschaft* (*guh-Mine-shoft*) and *Gesellschaft* (*guh-ZELL-shoft*). The

former is typical small of rural life. It is small community in which people have similar backgrounds and life experiences. The second type is an ideal type characteristic of modern Urban life. Most people are strangers and perceive little sense of commonality with other community residents (Schaefer and Lamm, 1992:146; see in detail Gulik, 1997; Kunwar, 2006:215-216). Similarly Emile Durkheim in his book *Division of Labour* (1933; original edition 1893) has also found two types of society known as *mechanical solidarity* and *organic solidarity*. *Mechanical solidarity* implies that all individual perform the same task. No one needs to ask. Both social interaction and negotiation are based on close, intimate, face-to-face social contacts. *Organic solidarity* involves a collective consciousness resting on the need a society's members for one another (Schaefer and Lamm, 1992:145-146). Robert Redfield has also used folk-urban community and little community who are guided by little and great tradition. Likewise, Saraswati (1978: 80-92) has also theoretically developed textual tradition, oral tradition and ascetic tradition. According to White (1949), all culture consists of three essential components known as the techno economic subsystem, social subsystem and ideological subsystem.

The villagers or rural communities, *Gemeinschaft*, according to Gulik (1997:984, are folk, primitive, neutral ("true"), simple, provincial, tribal society, moral inherently stable, human in scale, particularistic, homogenous, few alternative models of behaviour, personal, constrained, integrated, conformist, sacred, superstitious or myth-oriented. If tourism is developed in places with the model of 'ecotourism' or 'rural tourism' or any other related form of tourism, the destination, according to Lane (1993:15), each found comprising much more space, settlements under 10,000, sparsely populated natural environment, some farm/ forestry involvement, many outdoor activities, infra-structure-weak, strong individual activity base, small establishments, locally owned business, much part-time involvement in tourism, tourism support other interest, workers often live close to workplace, often influenced by seasonal factors, few guests, guests relationship personal, amateur management, local in atmosphere, many older buildings, conservation limits to growth ethic, specialist appeal, niche marketing.

According to Conservation International, a Washington DC-based environmental non-government organization, high quality interpretation 'can also improve business by increasing repeat visitation and occupancy rates, providing unique marketing opportunities and allowing hotels to charge higher rates' (Sweeting et al., 1999:27; in Weiler and Ham, op.cit., 552). Other players of tourism industry may have expectations of the operator and /or tour guide and have little or no understanding of what 'interpretation' is or what benefits quality interpretation services might engender for individual companies and tourism industry as a whole. '...where some operators and other industry representatives

use the terms 'education' and 'interpretation' interchangeably (Weiler and Ham, 2001:553).

Clearly, interpretation is not just one of the many roles that an ecotour guide plays; when it is done well, it is the distinguishing feature of 'best practice' in guiding. It has also been argued that the use of interpretation and more particularly the application of interpretive principles by the tour guides. There are at least five such principles:

Interpretation is not teaching or 'instruction' in the academic sense.

Interpretation must be enjoyable for visitors.

Interpretation must be relevant for visitors.

Interpretation must be well organised so that visitors can easily follow it.

Interpretation should have a theme, not just a topic.

Themes are whole ideas, morals to the story, an overriding story message that a visitor takes home (Lewis, 1980; Ham, 1992; in Weiler and Ham, *op.cit.*, 556). The tourist decision making process is in fact not a single decision but a series of decisions, beginning with a decision to travel. Other pre-trip decisions can include choice of destination, season and dates of travel, budget, choice of travelling partner(s), modes(s) of transport accommodation, and selection of other tourism products such as packaged tour and guided ecotours.

Although interpretation involves the transfer of information about places and cultures from guides to tour clients, guides are not teachers in the sense that visitors must master or remember all the information (Weiler and Ham, 2001:554).

Since they are not accountable to master the information, the only motivation they have to pay attention is that it promises to be a rewarding expenditure of their time. Ecotourists are therefore a voluntary audience. Ham termed this type of audience a 'non-captive' audience because, unlike students in a classroom (the classic 'captive' audience), tour clients are not held prisoner by an external reward system involving grades and qualifications. The best tour guides know this, and they work hard to capture and maintain their audiences' attention.

Although entertainment is not interpretation's main goal, it must certainly be considered one of its essential qualities. Visitors who join guided tours are pleasure-seekers. Of course, what constitutes 'fun' will vary among different types of visitors, and successful guides pay close attention to these differences and idiosyncrasies. Some studies have even demonstrated that the more an interpretative medium reminds an audience of academia, the less interesting and provocative it becomes (Washburne and Wager, 1972). Experiences in both developed and developing countries throughout the world suggest that effective interpretation may have many qualities, but a common one everywhere is that it is fun for its audiences (Ham and Sutherland, 1992; in Weiler and Ham, *op.cit.*).

As far as education and ideology is concerned, Zais (1976: 317; in Maureen et al., 2009: 191) defines, "education is directed toward expanding ones awareness of human environment and how to cope with this environment". "... is tourism higher education ideological? Ideology refers to an overarching network of guiding ideas that frame direct and inform thinking. Ideology has been defined as A structure ... can captures, can impose themselves; but they can usually be entered willingly, they can be abandoned and they can even be demolished and new ones created in their place..." (Barnett, 2003:57; in Maureen et al., 2009: 193). Ideology within the context of (tourism higher) education has been analysed mainly in terms of curriculum planning and knowledge (Barnett, 2003; in Maureen et al., 2003: 193). As tourism is labour (rather than capital) intensive, education and the training have to assume centre-stage to prepare the intellectual capacity that will be required for the future. Hence, new directions for tourism education and the research need to emerge and mechanisms for closer interaction between academia and practice need to be established. Close interaction with research centres, observatories and think tanks will ensure knowledge transfer while it will provide tourism organizations with needed intelligence and strategic tools (Costa and Buhalis, 2005: 4).

The initial flourish was largely stimulated by Ernos Mills, who worked as a nature guide in Colorado's Rocky Mountains between 1889 and 1922. Mills developed principles and techniques which laid the foundation for interpretation. Mills was a keen advocate of monitoring his visitors' behaviour and responding accordingly. He prompted guides to concentrate on inspiring, visitors by communicating big ideas rather than masses of unrelated information. For example, some tourism operators use interpretation as a value- adding exercise to attract higher-yield markets. Heritage management organisations utilizing interpretation emphasise communication conservation cultures and a conservation ethic. Cultural tourism operators stress cultural sensitivity and accuracy. Ecotourism operators typically attempt to position themselves in the middle of all of these perspectives... (McArthur, 1999:64).

Cherem and Cherem (ibid.) have defined community interpretation as "telling" the natural and cultural stories of a community to its residents and visitors. "The term story is key here, because they believe that the story is the basic unit or building block of community interpretation programs. Indeed, psychologist Rene Fuller has suggested "that the story may be the basic building block, the engram... of human learning" (Zemke, 1990). They have used the term story meaning a narrative of factual content embedded into "vivid events and images that carry strong emotional coloring" (Egan, 1989).

As one result a program called "Interpret Hawaii" was initiated by Glen Grant at Kapiolani Community College. The program was designed to empower local hosts to interpret their own heritage. Tour guides, docents, hotel activity coordinators, and others were provided a background in Hawaiian natural and cultural heritage.

Cherem's discourse on community interpretation has encouraged to keep continue to focus on the given issue in the academia of tourism studies. The present work is also an outcome of Cherem's study. The term discourse encompasses multiple meanings and understandings (Hannam and Knox, 2005) and it has multiple definitions and applications in social inquiry. Discourses may be defined as "those practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972:49; in Ayikoru et al., 2009: 200) which in turn define the limits of what can (and cannot) be said. Jaworski and Compland (1999:3; in Ayikoru et al., 2009: 200) have noted that "discourse is reflecting social order but also language shaping social order and shaping individuals' interaction with society". Social reality is produced and understand through discourse... discourses that give meaning to them.

Later on, in 1987, Cherem linked the concept of interpretation with "appropriate tourism" (Cherem, 1988; in Goeldner et al., op.cit., 303). Appropriate tourism was envisioned as the analog of the appropriate technology concept that was popular in the 1960s. It was envisioned as tourism that was appropriate to the scale, values, and unique heritage of a community or locality. It was defined as "tourism that springs from and helps perpetuate the heritage identity of an area." The area's heritage identity includes both cultural and natural heritage in other words, its "sense of place." The same kind of concept was followed by the present author in 1997, with the help of (then) Department of Tourism, HMG, Nepal. The author as an anthropologist and tourism educationist realized that the culture of the Tharu community who live in Chitwan-Sauraha had not been properly interpreted to the international visitors. Chitwan National Park is one of the most popular tourist destinations of Nepal. Therefore, with the support of above mentioned Department of Tourism, launched a seven day cultural interpretative training program to the nature guides and lodge owners in Sauraha. Sauraha is located outside the park where the Tharus are directly or indirectly involved in tourism. It is Sauraha where there are more than 55 lodges which annually receive approximately 69,464 tourist. This data is based on the record of 1997 (Kunwar, 2002:82-83). At that time, the present author was not familiar with the literature of "community interpretation" as proposed by Cherem (2000).

Not all tourist are keen interested to know about cultural heritage of the community. Some of them will simply observe the overt cultural features and some of them will be pleased if they know both overt and covert cultural characteristics of the community. This is what Swarbrooke (1999:320) called "cultural specialist" and "cultural generalist". Dimensions of serious leisure include perseverance, a non-work career in endeavour, personal effort, lasting benefits, a social world and an identity (Stebbins, 1997b). Stebbins has distinguished cultural dabblers from cultural tourists (1996). The former are casual leisure pursuers; the latter, serious leisure pursuers. In Stebbins' terminology, therefore, by definition all cultural tourists are

serious in their activities. This is an opposite stance to Urry's tourists visiting under the collective gaze....

### The Story Matrix

Every community, area, or locality of the world has a unique heritage identity - which includes both its cultural heritage and natural heritage, through time and into the future. To help document and organize the cultural and natural stories of an area, Cherem (*ibid.*) developed a tool called the heritage identity matrix, to more simply the "story matrix". It is divided into cultural heritage (or cultural tourism resources) and natural heritage (or ecotourism resources).

The cultural heritage portion of the story matrix is broken into four categories. The first of these is "nonmaterial culture." By this is meant all of the values, attitudes, beliefs, norms, and other aspects of culture that are held within the heads and within the hearts of a particular group of people. Those non-material elements help define that culture and make it unique in the world. The second category is "selected persons". By this is meant a selected individual, either well known or not, who in some way embodies an important element of that culture. The selected person could be a master artist or a master craftsman. Selected persons are embodiments of the nonmaterial culture. The third category, "material culture," is the easiest to grasp. Material culture represents the tangible objects, artifacts, buildings and various other structures that a culture produces. The above mentioned two types of culture were first classified by Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski (1944). All of the material cultural elements are totally dependent on the non-material culture. The last category is that of "cultural landscapes," which is really an intersection category between cultural heritage and natural heritage. Put very simply the cultural landscape is the imprint of humankind on the land. It is another expression of the nonmaterial culture. The cultural landscape is the configuration of building, structures, farmscapes, and other landscape features that the particular culture superimposed upon the natural environment. The cultural landscapes category bridges us into the natural heritage portion of the story matrix (*ibid.*).

The natural heritage categories of the story matrix are fairly straightforward. Flora and fauna are addressed by the categories of "plants" and "animals". The category of "land" takes in topographic elements, landform, and soils of the area. The category of "water" takes in not only open bodies of water. Whether they are ocean coastlines or lakes or streams or rivers, but also the situation underneath the ground in terms of the availability of water resources in the groundwater table. The last category of "climate" involves the broad sun/cloud and temperature patterns, weather patterns, precipitation patterns, and other regular seasonal variations of the area.

## Storykeepers and Storytellers

The story matrix is an organizing tool to document and categorise in a balanced manner all of the heritage identity stories of an area through time. In categorizing an area's stories, it is further necessary to say that all areas have living stories, sleeping stories, and dying stories. It is the purpose of community interpretation and appropriate tourism programs to discover, to revive, to tell, and to perpetuate as many of these stories as possible - because collectively those stories define the area's unique sense of place. Gabriel J. Cherem calls people who are responsible for discovering, rediscovering, and reviving an area's stories "storykeepers." These are people who are actively involved in the study, documentation, preservation, and conservation of both the natural and the cultural stories of an area.

Traditionally, most societies have had persons responsible for safeguarding its stories. As an example, Alex Haley in *Roots* refers to the "griot" as serving this role in certain African cultures. In contemporary times, anthropologists, biologists, historians, ecologists, preservationists, and conservationists are among those serving roles of "storykeepers." (Cherem, *op.cit.*, 306). The role of storytellers seems very important in ethnic, cultural, village, rural and ecotourism.

"Storytellers," by extension then are those persons who are involve as interpreters, as local hosts and guides, as writers and photographers in community interpretation and appropriate tourism programs. They take the stories that have been revived and kept by the storekeepers, and they tell those stories both area residents and visiting guests. When the unique heritage identity stories of an area are realized, organized, kept and told to residents and visitors alike "we have the sound basic of a community interpretation and appropriate tourism program" (*ibid.*, 307).

The storyteller should tell about the ecology, environment, subsistence, land holding size, seasonal working pattern, tools and technology, skills, productivity, physical objects, livelihood, loan taking and loan giving, living standard, settlement pattern, housing design, domestic archives, gastronomy, adornment, family, marriage, kinship, life-cycle ritual, 'life-course approach' (Elder, 1994) gender, caste, ethnicity, myth, legend, history, folk music, folk songs, folk dance, drama, language, art, festivals, events, ceremonies, religion, ritual, belief, symbols, sacred performances, secular activities, solidarity, reciprocity, man to man relationship, norms, values, moral and ethics of the community. But it does not mean that the storyteller or interpreter or guide should be an ethnographer. Nor this is a study of ethnography. Though, it is not possible to speak about all cultural areas of single community, a guide, according to the interest of the tourist, should be able to explain some aspects of culture of the community.

In order to know about the above mentioned cultural elements of the community, the guide should consult either with the storykeeper as cultural resource

person of the community or with anthropologist he/she who has studied on the proposed community or should go through published material (or secondary sources) or the guide should visit to the field. In tourism, not all tourists will visit the site with full anthropological mind. But, there are few serious cultural tourists who will fully depend with the guide who is believed to be the real interpreter of the community. However, a serious guide must endeavour of having the body of knowledge of the community if it has to be interpreted.

Ritchie and Zins (1978:257; in Mathieson and Wall (1982:158-159) while studying cultural tourism, have isolated twelve elements of culture which attract tourists to the particular destinations; (i) handicrafts, (ii) language, (iii) traditions (iv) gastronomy (v) art and music, concerts, paintings and sculpture (vi) history (vii) work and technology (viii) architecture (ix) religion (x) dress (xi) educational system (xii) leisure activities (see in detail Ryan, 1991). It is not clear how they have excluded story, myth, legend, ritual, symbols, folk songs and folk dance from their twelve cultural elements.

So far as shamanism is concerned, this is another important aspect of community culture. If this aspect is also interpreted by the guide there would be another contribution of interpretation and will make more authenticity. Therefore, it is very important to know about what shaman is? The shaman is a magician able to manipulate, to pacify to control or to subjugate the spiritualistic energies resident in the environment. These energies may be elemental, animal or vegetable, human or relating to the realms of gods, demons and spirits. Through his magic the shaman can influence the elements responsible for rainfall, drought and food, earthquake, avalanche and landslide, thunder and lightning. He can control the fertility of the social, assuring bounteous crops and averting famine. He can prevent disease. He can protect the lives of men and women and lives of their animals, the fertility of their crops and their reproductive potency. He can foretell the future and influence family and political affairs. The shaman's vision is a holistic one, where the distinction between the outer physical environment and the inner human body is blurred (Dowman, 1995:9). Though this interpretation is based on the perspectives of Tibetan shamanism, there is not found major differences between other forms of shamanism as well.

The challenge of dealing with the concept of 'fashion' lies in distinguishing what is new form what is not. One way is to use Georg Simmel's notion of "adornment" as a common thread from past to present, while asking how the qualities of that thread may change with time. The question becomes, does the nature and meaning of adornment change? Simmel stresses both the personal and social dimensions of adornment. Adornment intensifies or enlarges the impression of the personality by operating as a sort of radiation emanating from it .... The radiations of adornment,

the sensuous attention it provokes, supply the personality, so to speak, is more when it is adorned. [Adornment allows] the mere having of the person to become a visible quality of its being (Simmel, 1950:39-40; in Liechty, 2008:121). Thus it is in commanding "sensuous attention" and in enlarging and intensifying the personality's "sphere" that adornment becomes a means of communication. Adornment is social practice; it is the "being - for - the - other which return to the subjects as the enlargement of his own sphere of significance" (Simmel, 1950:432; Liechty, 2008:121). The adorn body is the social body ("the-being for - other") though the social meaning of adornment practice is historically contingent like identity, adornment is simultaneously about distinction and identification; it is used to set individuals and groups apart from some and to signal sameness with others. Liechty (2008:121) has used the term adornment in its broadest sense, to include not just jewellery and body markings but also all items of apparel. These items of apparel also demands interpretation. Because the markers will not be understood until and unless it is interpreted properly.

As was stressed by Fredrick Barth (1969; in Toffin, 2007: 17 - 18), people living within certain boundaries choose a few cultural attributes - dress, language, aspects of lifestyle - as overt signs of their distinctiveness. Signs such as jewellery, costumes, lifestyles, shapes of houses and the like clearly serve as identity markers. They are culture - carrying links that help identify those who belong to particular groups.

How would the story change if it were being told by other? (Jones and Brinkert, 2008:58). Stories have persuasive functions and more generally they may contribute to the reproduction of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, norms or values of a group or of society as a whole" (Van Dijk, 1993; 125; in Jones and Brinkert, 2008:47). Fishers (1989; in Jones and Brinkert, 2008:48) argued that all human experience consists of narrative texts. People naturally stories, think in terms of stories and organize information into narrative forms without consciously intending so. Stories are the creative conversion of life itself into a more powerful, clearer, more meaningful experience. They are the currency of human contact (Robert McKee; in Jones and Brinkert, 2008:45).

Fisher argues there are two key tests of validity of a narrative - the extent to which the story hangs together, or has narrative coherence; and the extent to which the story rings true, or has narrative fidelity (1987). Fisher later added the concept of narrative comparison, or the extent to which a story is consistent with other stories about the same basic things

A coherent narrative (narrative coherence) exhibits three characteristics: (i) internal or argumentative consistency; (ii) external consistency, which is a measure of the extent to which the focal story matches other stories considered accurate and (iii) believable character (Brown, 1990; in Jones and Brinkert 2008:49). A narrative

fidelity its truthfulness, rests in its ability to present values that aligned with the values of its audience. The narrative fidelity plays a fundamental role in evaluating the quality of persuasive appeal. In addition to coherent and fidelity, Fisher also talked about how a narrative compares with other narratives. For, as Fisher argued "the meaning and value of a story are always a matter of how it stands with or against other stories". As Wittten (1993:106) summarized, the narrative form contributes further to a narrative's credibility by imposing a sense of coherence on the desperate elements the narrative contains. This effect occurs through structuring devices of plot, which unifies episodes; narrative sequence which unifies time; and characterization, which unifies action (Jones and Brinkert, 2008:48), "a plot can be seen as a theory of events" (Ochs, 1997:193) Historian and folklorists appreciate that people become emotionally attached to narrative and that stories are the most lasting, powerful and effective means of cultural transmission. Campbell's work on myth is an excellent example of scholarship that illustrates the universal power of a good story (ibid.). Story encapsulates the narrator's values and reduces uncertainty about that which is being described (Brown, 1990; in Jones and Brinkert, 2008:49). Brown also asserted that the strength of narrative fidelity may be assessed by focusing on the "extent to which the story fits with the history, knowledge, background and experiences of the audience members (1999:171; in Jones and Brinkert, 2008:49).

### Conclusion

As mentioned above, when the stories are properly interpreted then it becomes the authenticity (see in detail Bellhassen et al., 2008: 668-689). Authenticity means truth, central of the ultimate "truths" that modern tourists search for outside of their rather superficial home lives (see in detail McCannell, 1976; Kunwar, 2002:117-121). Authenticization of the cultural products is a process of becoming the real cultural tourism or ethnic tourism or village tourism or community tourism or ecotourism. The nature of storytelling and storykeeping is what A.R.Radcliffe- Brown (1952) has methodologically used the term as nomothetic inquiry and the culture which is explained by the storykeeper of traditional community is anthropologically called memorial culture. This is explained by the tour guide.

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# Nepali Miniatures in Comparison to the Contemporary Indian & Tibetan Paintings

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## Background:

Nepal, a very small country, but is very rich in art and culture. There are several literary and archaeological evidences which prove the practices of paintings in Nepal from ancient times. Regarding the miniature paintings of ancient Nepal, not even a single evidences has become known up to this date, but Silvain Levi mentioned the name of *prajnaparamita* that was given by the Lichchhavi king Skandradeva to his daughter at the last stage of his life<sup>1</sup> The manuscript might have been painted as in the practices of medieval period. Scholars are of the opinions that palm-leaf manuscripts were vogue in Nepal since seventh century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Manavajra Bajracharya has mentioned the name of wooden book cover paintings of a manuscript named Prajnaparamita of N.S.40\ 920 A.D., during the reign of king Shankaradeva as the earliest manuscript paintings of Kathmandu valley,<sup>3</sup> though the paintings are not proved as the date of so early period and it is still controversial. But we have several examples of miniature paintings related to both Hindu and Buddhist pantheon since eleventh century A.D. and how do they look like? Do they resemble to the contemporary Indian and Tibetan paintings or they have their own characteristics? Let the author try to explain in this matter.

## Comparison with Indian paintings:

Before coming to the concerning topic, the author would like to provide a glimpse of the ancient Buddhist paintings of Ajanta in order to get the basic knowledge

1. Silvain Levi, "Nepal" Ancient Nepal, no.61-64 Dec. 1980- July 1981, Kathmandu: Dept. of Archaeology, p. 24.
2. Pratapaditya Pal, The Arts of Nepal, part 2, painting, Netherland : Leiden\Koin, E.J.Brill, 1978, p.36.
3. Manavajra Bajracharya, Nepalko Madhyakalin Kala, Kathmandu: Suchana Tatha Sanchar Mantralaya, Suchana Vibhag, ND, p.40.

about Nepali painting. Most of the caves at Ajanta were embellished with the paintings of Budha's life and stories from *Jatakas* (his previous life). It is believed that before he attained Buddhahood he passed through many births, mentioned in *Jatakas*. Most of the paintings at Ajanta are in unrecognizable state owing to the ravages of times and absence of proper care. But as much they exist, they cover a period of some six-seven hundred years, which reveal the continuation of practices of painting for such a long period in the caves at Ajanta. Buddhism was highly venerated in India and had spread over a very large part of Asia, such as Nepal, Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, Burma, Combodia, Siam etc., which drew the inspiration of their rhythmic composition, their instinctive beauty of line and the majestic grace of their figures. The paintings at Ajanta caves are rendered with admirable skill and a deep understanding of color values. The graceful pose of the figure indicates a considerable knowledge of modeling and techniques. The artists of Ajanta were so much masters of line that to their subtle and sure touch the line yielded all pictorial secrets. In appreciation of the paintings of Ajanta caves Percy Brown remarks "not only do these frescoes represent the artist's visualization of the rounded object translated into line, but his actual treatment of these line is so subtle and experienced that by its varying quality and sympathetic utterance it embodies modeling values, relief, fore-shortening and all the essential elements of the art. It is doubtful whether any artist has equaled the Buddhist painter in his capacity for analyzing the complexities of the human form and then rendering in his pictures what is essential by means of a simple line". In connection to the Medieval Indian painting it would be proper here again to quote the version of Percy Brown "With the decay of Buddhism in India in the seventh century A.D. the art appears to have declined, and for the exceptionally long period of nearly a thousand years the actual examples of Indian painting, which have been handed down to us are few and far between. These examples consist of several paintings on palm-leaves of probably the twelfth century from Bengal; some Jain book illustrations of the fifteenth century; remains of Brahmanical frescoes at Ellora, which may be of the twelfth century or earlier, and a few other miscellaneous fragments of the art. Very little concrete evidence survives, therefore, to assist in forming any really definite conclusions with regard to the progress of this handicraft in the Medieval Period. From the time that the last painter at Ajanta, threw down his brush in 650 A.D., until we come into contact with the art again as it was revived in the reign of the Mugal Emperor, Akbar in the later half of the sixteenth century, the story of painting in India resolves itself very largely into one of inferences."<sup>4</sup>

In accordance with the version of Percy Brown and several instances that have come known to us disagree with the statement 'Nepali manuscript illuminations are

4. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1960, P.43.

hardly distinguishable to the Pala example of Eastern India.' There are several examples that vary to the Eastern Indian illuminations in their draughtsmanship and colour modelling. They are evolved in Nepali soil bearing their own aesthetic norms. Such as, paintings, drawn on the covers of *Shivadharma Shastram ms.* (11<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), *Shivadharma Shastram ms.* ( N.S. 290/1172 A.D. from the reign of Rudra Deva), *Pingalamatam ms.* with the date of N.S. 294/ 1170 A.D. from the reign of same King Rudradeva, *Vishnu Dharma ms.* with the date of N.S. 340/ 1220 A.D., *Shivadharma ms.* of contemporary period and some Buddhist ms. illuminations that have been mentioned by Pratapaditya Pal in his book, and some of them described by this author in her book "Hindu Miniature Paintings of the Kathmandu Valley" are different than the eastern Indian paintings in many ways of artistic style.

There is no any gainsaying about the influence of Gupta art of India on Nepali art of the contemporary period. Since ninth- tenth centuries, the later Gupta mannerism seems to have been superseded by the Pala art of India. Many bronzes of excellent workmanship have been discovered at Nalanda, Kurkihar, Chittagaun and Rangpur. These artifacts perhaps became the models and multiplied by Nepali craftsmen to meet the ever-increasing demand of the Tibetan Buddhists. After the despoiling of the great Buddhist monasteries in Gangetic plain by the Muslim iconoclasts in the middle of thirteenth century A.D., the Nepali centers of art productions took over the role of importing icons to Tibetan monasteries and temples. This model perhaps influenced the Nepali art of contemporary period, but was not the imitation of Pala style and particularly not for the Hindu manuscript illuminations.

Even though there are some similarities between them, such as the illuminations of both areas bear the same fundamental traditions. One of the most common practice in execution the paintings of both areas is the frontal representation of the body with the faces in three-quarter profile. The painters of both areas have chosen red color as the basic background colour<sup>5</sup>. But this practice of using red background did not remain till late medieval period as we see in several paintings of that period. Blue, green and even pink colors also started to take place as the background colours instead of the red background. In some paintings, we found bi-coloured background (red in the lower part and blue in the upper) as in the *Shiva dharma* Manuscript of thirteenth century A.D. Sometimes the rooms were separated by using different background colours in one cover, such as in *Srimad Bhagavatam ms.* of fifteenth century A.D.

Dresses and jewelries depicted in the manuscript illuminations, use of double petalled lotus pedestal etc. seem to be analogue. For instance, prints of the lower

5. Op.cit., footnote no 2, pp.42-43

dresses of several deities including Mayadevi in ms. *pragyanparamita* dated N.S. 135 are nearly similar to the lower dress of Lokeshwara depicted in a folio of *Astahasrika Pragyanparamita* of Eastern India (Pala) with the date of 1175 A.D.<sup>6</sup> The style of tiara is also similar in the paintings of two areas.

Apart from the similarities there are several differences between the style of execution of paintings in Nepal and Eastern India. To differentiate them from each other, perhaps it would be the right place to quote the version of P. Pal as he mentioned in his book. According to him "Generally, however, the Eastern Indian manuscripts are more modestly adorned than the Nepali examples, and none can quite match the richness of either the Cambridge or the Calcutta *Pragyaparamita* manuscripts. Moreover, in Nepal other texts such as the *Gandabhyuha* and *Karandavyuha* were frequently illustrated, and the covers also are painted with a far wider repertoire of narrative themes than those from Eastern India." He further adds the differences between the two schools of painting, which are clearly perceptible in the tonality of colors. "The pigments were prepared with different ingredients in the two areas, the colors differ considerably both in the intensity of their brightness as well as in their texture. The reds in Eastern Indian manuscripts tend to be brighter and more like vermilion, while in the Nepali manuscripts the reds are deeper and possess crimson tinge. Similarly, the yellow has a stronger hue preferred by the Nepali artists. On the whole, the palette of the Nepali artists betrays a richer variety than that of their Eastern Indian counterparts. Mauves, purples and pinks are applied more liberally in Nepali illuminations- particularly to delineate the cube-like rocks, architectural details and sometimes the garments than those produced in Eastern India. The draftsmanship too is recognizably different in the illuminations from the two areas. Like the script, the drawing in Eastern Indian figures (Fig. 30 and 31 of his book) is bold and vivacious, while in the Nepali illuminations the carefully drawn outline is informed with great delicacy. As a result, the Eastern Indian figures appear more spirited and energized, whereas the Nepali figures are more gentle and almost fragile. Perhaps, because of the cursive quality of the drawing, the Eastern Indian figures tend to reveal coarser features, particularly in the shape of the faces, the sharp angularity of the chins, and jutting edges of the elbows and other joints of the limbs. On the other hand, the Nepali figures are soft looking and pliant with round faces distinguished by delicate features. Indeed, the figurative types are remarkably different in the two styles; those in Eastern Indian illuminations conform more closely to the form seen in contemporary Pala sculptures, but the Nepali artists obviously preferred to delineate their figures according to their own aesthetic norms. There are some

6. Anjan Chakravarty, *India miniature painting*, New Delhi: Lustre Press, 1996, p. 8.

other differences, in the manner of shading. The textile patterns and architectural designs which make it fairly easy to distinguish the Nepali school of painting from that of Eastern India. The most prominent feature of Nepali school is the vivaciously painted rock in the shape of a cube, which never occurred in Eastern Indian painting." The earliest Pala examples of manuscript paintings are mentioned by Anjan Chakravarty in his book 'Indian Miniature Painting,' one from the wooden cover of *Astahasrika pragyaparamita* of 1100 A.D. preserved in Bharat Kala Bhavan and another from a ms. folio of *Astahasrika pragyaparamita* with the date of 1175 A.D., National Museum, Delhi. A. K. Coomarswami finds the similarity in painting styles in both schools and remarks 'in the eleventh century indeed, the distinction of styles as between the Bengali and Nepali illustrated manuscripts, is so slight as to be scarcely definable in few words.' He only mentions the names of two manuscripts *Astahasrika Pragyaparamita* Add. 1464 and *pancharakshya* Add. 1688 of 11<sup>th</sup> century (Cambridge University Library) and says that they are very closely related to the contemporary paintings of Nepal without providing any authentic document to prove his theory. Then how it is possible to rely on the versions of the scholars that have been mentioned in their books that the Nepali paintings are indistinguishable to the Pala illuminations of Eastern India. Now, here arises a question, whether the practice of illuminating the manuscripts in Eastern India is older than Nepali painting or not? There is no any earlier examples of Pala Painting than that of the Nepali one that should be given by any scholars as the example in their books. So that it has become a subject of proper study for the right judgment. We must wait until further research to draw a conclusion in this matter.

The earliest dated manuscript painting from Nepal is the *Astahasrika Pragyaparamita* of N. S. 135/ 1015 A.D. We have several examples of Manuscript illuminations of Hindu and Buddhist Pantheons; some of the Hindu illuminations are mentioned with detail description by the author of this article in her book as mentioned earlier. According to Manavajra Bajracharya the earliest manuscript from Nepal is a Buddhist ms. *Astahasrika Pragyaparamita* with the date of N. S. 40/ 920 A.D. during the reign of *Shankardeva*. This manuscript is preserved in the collection of a Buddhist organization, called '*Bauddha Mandala*' at Patan. The eighteen figures of Buddhist deities and their acolytes, drawn on the wooden covers of this ms. are sumptuously decorated'. A very remarkable thing in these figures is the decoration of Dhyani Buddhas, which seems quite unnatural according to the rules of *Bauddha Pratima lakshyana*. If we do believe on the version of Manavajra Bajracharya, the history of Nepali Ms. painting may go back to a century earlier than that of 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

7. Manavajra Bajracharya, *Nepalko Madhyakalin Kala*, Kathmandu: Sripanchko Sarkar, Suchana Tatha Prashar Mantralaya, Suchana Bibhag, ND. p. 43.

**Comparison with Tibetan Paintings:** Before coming to concerning topic, it seems better to be informed about the history of Buddhism in Tibet. It is believed that the first historical tsenpo (ruler, who was traditionally believed to be the divine warrior and could guarantee for well being and prosperity of his people) Srong btsan sgam po of seventh century AD. is traditionally credited with the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet by virtue of his matrimonial alliances with Nepal and China, marrying with two princesses of both countries. He established Lhasa as his capital and his two wives entered into Lhasa with the introduction of Buddhism. These two queens of Srong-btsan-sgam-po are also credited for the construction of the first Buddhist temple in Lhasa (the Jokhang temple, founded in 640). Before the emergence of Buddhism in Tibet, the ruler (tsenpo) even Srong btsan sgam po was not a Buddhist, as numerous documents indicating his royal patronage of the indigenous organized religion, probably called Tsug (Gtsug), which deified the Tsenpo and guaranteed his divine right to rule.<sup>8</sup> In about 755- 97/98 during the reign of Trisong Detsen, Srong btsan sgam po's great- great grandson, founded the first monastery at Samye about fifty miles southeast of Lhasa. The Two great teachers from India, Santarakshita and Padmasambha came to teach the doctrines of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism. It is stated that Santarakshita taught a form of Mahayana Buddhism, emphasizing meditation and meritorious acts leading to a nirvana achieved gradually over many lifetimes; and Padmasambhava, a native of Oddiyana (now thought to be the Swat Valley, Pakistan), who practiced Vajrayana Buddhism accentuating tantric ritual meditation to attain *nirvana* in just one human lifetime. In the Ninth century, many Indian teachers were invited to Tibet to preach and to undertake the arduous task of translating the Buddhist<sup>9</sup> scriptures from Sanskrit to Tibetan. Which took a period of time in about 500 years and it was completed in the early fourteenth century AD.

In the mid of eleventh century many new sects in Buddhism came into existence and founded in Tibet, such as Nyingmapa, Kadampa, Sakyapa, Kagyupa and Gelukpa. Those who strictly followed the teachings of Padmasambhava were known as the Nyingmapa that is "the ancients", and who followed the path of Atisha, were known as Kadampas. They followed the words of Buddha. After a while there emerged another sect, known as Sakyapa and it became the major dominating sect politically and spiritually in thirteenth century and lasted till sixteenth century AD.

So far in connection to the history of painting in Tibet, the earliest known evidences on archaeological objects datable to the Neolithic age, found at Changdu were the primitive ornamental art, and they were faintly echoed to the art of nomadic tribes.<sup>9</sup> Some of the banner paintings, executed on silk material (done around ninth

8. Valrae Reynolds, From **The Sacred Realm- Treasures of Tibetan Art From The Newark Museum**, New Jersey: Prestel Varlag, 1999, pp. 24-25.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

century) at Tun Huang can be regarded as the works of Tibetan artists, which could be recognized by Tibetan inscriptions on them. But their discoverer, Sir Aurel Stein, considered them to relate to Nepal. They were very near to the contemporary Indian features and closer to the idioms of the Tibetan paintings and distinctly non-Chinese in stylistic ground. It is believed that Indian and Nepalese artists were present in Tibet during that period.<sup>10</sup> The earliest surviving examples of Tibetan painting are murals, which were executed at the temples at alchi, Tabo, Mangnag and Sumda. The figural forms of these murals with slim and well-modeled bodies, elegant figures and graceful appearance resemble the versions of Kashmiri sculptures.

Tibetan art was influenced by two Indic schools of arts known as Pala School of eastern India and Kashmir School of northwestern region of Indian subcontinent. Nepal was also a country, which has continuously contributed to the Tibetan artistic heritage since ancient period.

After the arrival of Indian monk-scholar, Atisha in Tibet in 1042 A.D., there perhaps, started a regular visit of the artists from India and Nepal for the construction and embellishment of monasteries in Tibet. It is said that in the first half of the eleventh century, the great monk translator Rinchensangpo brought thirty-two artists from Kashmir, who were responsible for the decoration of many temples and monasteries built in Ladakh and Guge. Likewise Nepali artists also worked in central Tibet from the earlier days of Tibetan history. They were particularly active from the thirteenth century and this practice lasted till sixteenth century. Between these centuries, Nepalese artists, along with their Tibetan colleagues and also sometimes with Chinese, were involved in painting the major Shakyapa monuments.<sup>11</sup> It was in thirteenth century, when a seventeen years old Nepali artist Araniko had lead a group of eighty artists from Nepal, who were invited in Tibet for the construction and decoration of the monuments. Tibetan monks also made their visits to Nepalese monasteries in search of the sacred texts, which were copied and perhaps illuminated by the local Newara scribes and artists of Nepal. The Newara artists in the Nepal Valley may have rendered many of the so-called Tibetan thangkas in Tibetan style or they visited Tibetan monasteries to paint thangkas and murals.

The salient features of Indo- Nepali stylistic tradition manifest in Tibetan thangka painting were the dominance of central figure in the composition, predominance of heavy ornamentation and distribution of two-dimensional colour surface, the ubiquitous use of red as the predominant colour; employment of elaborate shrines including mythical creatures such as makara, garuda, naga and other hybrid forms combining animal and avian shapes. Strictly linear draftsmanship was also

10. Anjan Chakravarty, *Sacred Buddhist Paintings*, New Delhi: Lustre Press, 1999, p. 75.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

one of the most prevailing characteristics of Tibetan painting. These kinds of features are seen mostly in the paintings of Shakyapa order, but after the Chinese influence in Tibetan painting they started a practice of landscape setting, particularly in floral, plant and rock motifs that represents a view and visualization of nature. China had a well-established tradition of Arhat paintings. Tibetans took it as an archetypal idiom of painting. In the later half of the sixteenth century Karma Gadri style emerged as a major style of thangka painting patronized by the Lamas of Kamarpa order, a sub-sect of Kagyupa. Themes of the representation of this sect were Arhats, Siddhas and stories from Jataka. They include the Chinese features in their thangkas. One of the important aspects of these thangkas is the incorporation of early Ming landscape setting with an emphasis on atmospheric distance and on the naturalistic detailing of trees, flowers fantastic rocky crags and clouds. The delicate harmonies of colours were enhanced with careful shading and firm calligraphic outline of Chinese lineage. Shades of pastel gray and malachite green dominate the colour scheme of quite a good number of thankas.<sup>12</sup> In this way there remained mainly two stylistic groups regarding the painting style in Tibet, one was of shakyapa order, which was the brilliantly colouristic two dimensional Indo-Nepalese style and the other was very closer to the Chinese idioms and also the eastern region such as Guge, Ladakh and Zanskar, which show the complex compositions and a colour scheme, dominated by deep red, yellow, olive and blue.

Here, the main objective to draw a picture of a brief history of Tibetan painting is to compare the Nepali paintings with that of Tibetan paintings. Although, we do not have such examples of Tibetan manuscript illuminations as we found in Nepal, but the surviving thangkas and murals that have been drawn in several monasteries in Tibet were of Indic tradition. After the destruction of Eastern Indian and Kashmiri monasteries, Tibetan monks and pilgrims turned increasingly to Nepal for religious inspiration and perhaps they carry back thangkas (known as pauvas in Nepal) with them which suit their spiritual needs. Nepali artists also had made their visits to Tibet, periodically from the early phase of Tibetan history. Tibetan artists perhaps learnt their artistic skill from Nepali artists, who were invited in Tibet by Tibetan abbots to construct and embellish the Tibetan architectural monuments. Tibetan pictorial tradition also strongly influenced Nepali paintings. Newara merchants who went to trade in Tibet made their visit to the Tibetan monasteries and perhaps concecrated thangkas even in Tibetan style and brought them back as precious souvenirs. The entry of such types of paintings in Kathmandu Valley made a considerable impact upon the Nepali tradition. The most fundamental influence may

12. Pratapaditya Pal, Tibetan Painting, Switzerland: Ravi Kumar, 1984, p. 5.4. Anjan Chakravarty, op.cit., Footnote 11, p. 90.

is perceived in the sudden introduction of mountains with snowy peaks in late seventeenth century Nepali painting, particularly in Pauva paintings. Although the Nepali artists did not imitate the exact forms of mountain and rock forms seen in contemporary Tibetan thangka, but they borrowed the basic ideas of landscape painting, including the features like the use of different floral patterns, figures of dragons and forms of cloud, use of heavy garments with bright colours etc. are the derivative features of Sino-Tibetan tradition. The painters of Nepal derived this idiom in late medieval period, which took place even in Hindu paintings of the then period. Several late medieval paintings are of bright colours and floral designs, perhaps influenced by the Tibetan art. Such as the paintings of ms. *Karmasara Mahatantra* with the date of N.S. 710, ms. *Kubjikamata Tantra* of contemporary period, ms. *Gyananava Tantra* of N.S. 795 etc. could be taken as the Nepali paintings influenced by Tibetan style to some extent.

Thus, being situated between two great countries China and India, Nepali artists adopted some sorts of artistic characteristics of the neighboring countries to some extent, but they have never lost hold of their originality and this is particularly evident in the use of sober and soft colors, which make their paintings distinct from the art forms of neighboring countries. They are also gentler and are more carefully drawn with greater delicacy in comparison with the paintings of the big neighbors.



# Some Bronze Sculptures of Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum

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In the valley of Nepal, art traditions were received and perpetuated with distinct conservatism to justify the remark that Nepal has always been more at the receiving end and that its geographical situation has resulted in art forms lingering unchanged for centuries together. Writing on Nepal's art, Taranath, the Tibetan historian of the seventeenth century has made observation on two influences that have moulded the character of Nepali art (Healey 1875: 101-102; Chattopadhyaya 1970: 348 Folio 138A). The first influence was of the Old Western School led by Sringadhara, who must have been at the court of king Saliditya of Valabhi during the end of the sixth century (Shah 1970: 7-12). The second influence was of the Eastern School started by Dhiman and his son Bitpalo during the reign of king Devapala of Bengal (Healey 1875: 102; Chattopadhyaya 1970: 348). It is thus, the earliest schools of art resembled the Old Western, but in the course of time a peculiar Nepalese school formed itself which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern School (Chattopadhyaya 1970: 348 Folio 138A).

Reconstruction of precise history or chronological assertion of religious activity in Nepal is a difficult task. It has been a crucial point where the various cultural influences on one side coming from India and on the other from Central Asia and Far Eastern countries coming through Tibet after thirteenth century have assimilated together and gave a distinct Nepalese characteristic by the Newar artist; it is interesting to observe that a trait of later Gupta tradition from Northern India appears to have been perpetuated in the rather heavy and formal Vishnu images in various forms almost up to the seventeenth century, whereas the supple and informal type of the Eastern School with its elongated torso become formulated in the Buddhist images. But from legends and tolerance, as it exists even today in Nepal, can be traced to its earliest historical period under the Lichhavis. If the inscription of Manadeva I indicate his Vaishnavite leaning (Vajracharya 1973: 9-13, Inscription no-

2), other inscriptions of his period indicate the dedication of Siva lingas (Vagracharya 1973: 39-44, 50-56, 62-65, Inscriptions nos. 6-8, 10-11, 14-15). It is said that Sivadeval of same lineage has gifted a land to a Buddhist monastery (Indraji 1885: 14). The continuity of this tendency is evident from later inscriptions of Malla period (Indraji 1885: 32). In the contest of Buddhist culture in Nepal, it dates back to very early times for Gautam Buddha who was born in Lumbini, the tarai region of Nepal. Asoka Maurya not only visited Nepal and erected Asokan pillars in different parts of the Nepalese tarai but is said to have his daughter married to a Nepal's Kshetriya prince who later founded Deopatan (Indraji 1885: 37). It is believed that the so-called Asokan stupas found in an around the valley were erected by him. In spite of its association with Buddhism from earliest times, the earliest evidence of art in Nepal belongs to a much later period – that of the Lichhavis and are Vaisnavite in character. The earliest dated images of Trivikrama Vishnu from Pasupati Tilganga and Lazimpat (the later one is now displayed in National Museum, Kathmandu) both dated to Samvat 389 (Pal 1974 Figs. 1 & 2). Besides, Krishna subjugating Kaliya also known as Kaliyadaman Murti of Hanumana Dhoka Royal Palace dated to seventh century AD (Pal 1974 Fig. 90), Varaha from Dhumvarahi dated to early seventh century (Pal 1974 Fig. 92), Jalashayana Vishnu of Buddhanilkantha dated to seventh century (Pal 1974 Fig. 12), Visvarupa Vishnu of Changunarayana dated to eighth century (Bangdel 1982 Fig. 90), Garudasana Vishnu of Changunarayana dated to eighth century (Pal 1974 Figs. 109), all support this view point.

The Buddhist sculptures so far seen are in the form of Buddha and Bodhisattvas. The earliest Buddha images from Kathmandu valley are of Ramshahpath dated to fifth/sixth century (Thapa 1970 Fig. 20), Chabahil, Bangemuda, Hadigaon and Patan, all dated to sixth century (Pal 1974 Figs. 166, 167, 168 and 181), Patan Yampi Bahi chaitya Buddha dated to sixth century (Thapa 1970 Fig. 23), sixth century Buddha with Bodhisattvas of Patan Chapa Tole and Bhaktapur Siddhapokhari (Pal 1974 Figs. 177 and 178), earliest inscribed Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara of Ganabahal dated to c. 550 AD (Pal 1974 Fig. 8) all followed the Mathura style of India. Likewise Buddha from Pasupatinath dated to eleventh century by Pratapaditya Pal (1974 Fig. 176) but it usually assigned it to be the work of seventh century, Buddha and Bodhisattva images from Dhvakabaha chaitya dated to seventh century (Pal 1974 Fig. 15), Patan Nagabaha Buddha dated to seventh/eighth century (Pal 1974 Fig. 171), bronze Buddha of Sankhu of seventh century (Srivastava 1967-68 pl. IX), Avalokitesvara Padmapani of Hiranyavarna Mahabihar, Patan of eighth century but dated ninth-tenth century by Pal (1974 Fig. 189), all unquestionably demonstrate the predominant influence of the aesthetic tradition of Gupta art of Northern India. Besides, Bodhisattva images of near Yampi Bahi, Patan, dated to end of seventh or early eighth century and of Kathmandu Kathesimbhu Shrigaha baha dated to eighth century (Kramrisch 1964 pls.

VII & VIII), Avalokitesvara of Chabahil dated to 800 AD by Pal (1974 Fig. 187) with its affinity to sculptural tradition set up in Eastern India, can be assigned only to subsequent periods.

The account of Hsuan Tsang tells us that in the seventh century Nepal was under the influence of Buddhist doctrine. The powerful movement that was spreading from Nalanda, Vikramasila and Odantapuri must have left a marked impact on the religious make-up as well as on art of Nepal. Even Tibetan emperor Sron-tsan-Gampo was influenced by Buddhist doctrine, which his Nepalese wife carried with her to Tibet during seventh century as mentioned in T'ang Annals (Waddie 1939: 22-23; Joshi 1978: 4).

In Eastern India the period between the eight and eleventh centuries witnessed great religious activity when both Saktism and Tantrism of Vajrayana Buddhist doctrine was becoming predominant form of worship. The canons of image making was developing and this influences reached Nepal also as many renowned scholars assign the origin of Nepalese bronzes to that of Pala bronzes of Eastern India. In the early thirteenth century, Muslim Sultan Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered the whole of eastern India (Majumdar 1957: 39). In the centuries prior to the Muslim invasion, Bihar and Bengal had played a vital role in the development of Vajrayana Buddhism. But this invasion caused panic among the Buddhists who were ruthlessly persecuted. This invasion was accompanied by the wholesale destruction of Buddhist monasteries of Vikramasila, Nalanda and Odantapuri. As a result, Buddhism collapsed in India and a large number of Buddhist monks, scholars, painters and sculptors from these Buddhist universities migrated to Nepal (Majumdar 1957: 425). The arrival of Buddhist refugees was beneficial to Nepal in many ways. Among them, there were many eminent Buddhist scholars who brought collections of the Buddhist manuscripts with them and also many artists came with them to Nepal. These artists carried their art designs and skills with them (Agrawala 1950: 203). As a result of contact with these Indian Buddhist monks, scholars and artists, Nepalese Buddhists also accepted the Vajrayana philosophy and Tantrism, a cult of profound mysticism and magic in temples and monasteries. A large number of bronze images of Tantric deities were produced during the medieval period. This was the beginning of a new era in the world of metal art in Nepal.

Nepal's renewed contact with Tibet in the later period further developed mysticism in religion that effects on its art. Even on the Vaishnavite paintings of *mandalas* are not free from these influences and though they adhere to Vaishnavite canons in the representation of the main deity, their general concept demonstrates the mystic influences of Buddhist texts and art. As a result of this movement, between the tenth and fourteenth century Nepal gave rise to conflicting representations of Buddhist and Brahmanical gods.

To this period of metamorphosis belongs a magnificent bronze sculpture of Maitreya (Fig. 1), poised on a lunate shaped pedestal, which has been preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Mumbai, India.<sup>1</sup> This figure solidly cast in the *madhuchhistaividhana*, is gilded in keeping with the practice in vogue in Nepal. The figure is in *dvibhanga* with the right leg straight and the left bent forward in an expression of ease. The face is broad with full cheeks and short chin, prominent nose, smiling lips and eyes with downcast look rapt in meditation. The torso is sensuously modelled with a sharp leftward bend at waist balanced by the flexed left leg; the lower portion is rather flat but broad shoulders, the torso narrow at the waist and is rounded.

The *antariya*, the lower garment sticks closely to the body through which the legs appear round and slim. The feet are rather crudely modelled and disproportionate but the over size is apparently in conformity with the *mahapurushalakshanas* (Kramrisch 1935: 149). In the right hand, in *vitarka-mudra*, he holds a perforated bead and in the left hand, a spouted *kalasa*. The hair is combed backwards and tied into a *jatamukuta* represented in thickly incised pattern while the backside is plain. A pearl string enmeshes the hair and the *sankhapatras* protrude behind the ears. An effigy of the haloed *stupa* supported on a lotus stand in prominent relief in the *jatamukuta*.

The *antariya* is decorated with eyelets and zigzags in horizontal bands separated from each other by double engraved lines and it reaches a little above the ankles and is pleated on either side. The three banded *pariyastika* or the scarf slips down the thighs and is looped to fall in stiff formal folds merging with the pleats in left side.

The torso is bare but for the antelope skin worn on his left shoulder and the *yojnopavita* worn transversely across the left shoulder, passing within the *udarbandha* is tucked in a loop at the strap. The *yojnopavita* and the *pariyastika* running parallel to the axis of the body's angular bend establish a pleasing rhythmic pattern. The *udarbandha* is tied above the navel with its knot on the right side. The figure is shown in limited ornaments. He is shown with *ratnakundalas*, a two-stranded necklace with a tiara in the centre, plain armlets with terminals that look like lotus buds, wristlets and a two-stranded waistband fastened with a half lotus clasp.

Among the attributes that determine the identification of this figure, as Maitreya are the effigy of his *jatamukuta*, his hands forming the *vitarka* and the *varada-mudra*, *kalasa* in his left hand and the antelope skin over his shoulder. Getty mentions that, "it is in this attitude that he is represented in the group of Eight Bodhisttvas"

1. Acc. No. 67.39. Ht. 72.2 cm. Gift in memory of late Smt. Amaravati Gupta.

(Getty 1962: 22). As Bodhisattva, he is always represented standing with his long hair hanging over his shoulders, while a part is caught up in a knot over his head. Yet another cognizance is the *pariyastika* around the waist tied up in a knot on the left (Getty 1962: 20-21). However, he has been considered as Maitreya Buddha in the Lamaistic Pantheon (Clark 1965: 202).

In the *Sadhanamala* there is only one *dhyana* describing him solely while many others describing him as in attendance on some other principal deity. So far the image is concerned the description obtained in the *Durgatiparisodhana mandala* of the *Nispannayogavali* is closely applicable:

तत्र पूर्वस्यां पट्टिकायां मैत्रेयः पीतः सव्यकरेण नागकेसरकुसुमं वामेन कुण्डौ दधानः ।

"There on the eastern border is Maitreya of yellow (golden) complexion holding in his right hand the *nagakesara* flower and in his left, the flask." (Bhattacharya 1949: 69).

The cult of Maitreya originated and developed in Gandhara where he was given independent status evident from the number of images available. From there, through Central Asia, it reached China, where during the fifth century, it caught the imagination of the Chinese and triumphed over its Taoist rivals more since it assured both the privileged and the under-privileged of their well being in the kingdom on earth (Wai Kam Ho 1960: 184). The theology of Maitreya's role as Messiah assured the growth of his worship and it is likely that the idea penetrated into Nepal from China more than from India and in the early centuries of the Christian era.

In Nepal proper, where the Swayambhu Purana appears to have exercised considerable influence as evident from the number of manuscripts available, Sakyamuni – last of the Seven Earthly Buddhas and Maitreya – the Buddha to be – were commonly worshipped. Even the T'ang annals note that Maitreya was highly respected by the Nepalese since early eighth century (Regmi 1965: 576).

Iconographically, Maitreya as a Bodhisattva is considered to be wearing princely ornaments and some independent images of Maitreya wearing rich ornaments in Pala sculptures (Banerji 1981 Pl. X fig. a). Nevertheless, there are examples of austere dressed Maitreya images in Chinese sculptures (Wai Kam Ho 1960 Fig. 1). In the early Buddhist images in India at Sarnath and Karle assigned to fifth-sixth centuries, showing plainly clad Maitreya in attendance on his Kulesha Vairochana. The austere simplicity of the image thus can be explained as indicating that it belonged to a bigger *mandala*. Such a practice was common in the monasteries of Nepal and Tibet.

The perforated bead-like object held in the right hand between the thumb and the third finger cannot be easily deciphered. This gesture of fingers appears either

while holding the rosary or the stem of a lotus. The holding of the vase in the palm is unlike position similar to Gandharan images where it is almost invariably held by the neck. On the other hand a close parallel to the method adopting in placing the *kalasa* in the hand of the image is provided by the figure of Maitreya from Saranath. In eastern India and Nepal this posture of holding an object appears to have developed into cliché both in Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures (Banerji 1981 Pl. XLIII Figs. a-b).

A stylistic appraisal of the image indicates its close proximity to the style of the MS. illustrations in Bengal and Nepal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Banerji 1981 Pl. XLIV Fig. a and c). Graceful angularity of the features, the flowing bend of the body and elongated torso are the chief characteristics of these illustrations. Even the style of the hair combed back and rising into a tall *jatamukuta* is reminiscent of the hairstyle in these illustrations. In the tenth-eleventh century sculptures from Eastern India, these figures are discernible while in Nepal a good comparison is provided by the figure of Mahesvara from the Uma-Mahesvara group assigned to the ninth century (Kramrisch 1964 Fig. XI). The broad forehead, the small pointed chin, the straight nose and angular features of the image obviously reflect the characteristics that originated at Saranath and developed at Nalanda. In Nepal, from thirteenth-fourteenth centuries the face tends to become more squarish as is evident from the figures in the two *patas* in the Heeramanek collection (1966 Figs 121, 122) and that of Maitreya from Fogg Art Museum, Tibet (Pal 1974 Fig. 296). The bronze image of Avalokitesvara in the Cincinnati Museum (Kramrisch 1964 Fig. 19) and Sakyamuni in Tibet House, New Delhi (Pal 1969 Fig. 10) could be placed in this category. The style of wearing the effigy of the *stupa* with a halo in the coiffure is evidently derived from the Pala counterparts and the *stupa* with its lotus base is distinctly Eastern Indian in character. In the style of wearing the *dhoti*, its stance and the attributes referred to above, Padmapani Avalokitesvara in the Nalanda Museum suggests the prototype (Zimmer 1955 Vol. II Pl. 378).

Another attribute that deserves mention is *udarbandha*. Tying knot on one side is similar to that with the image of Ellora. Both in India and Nepal it has been a characteristic of Vaishnavite images. It is rarely seen in Buddhist sculptures of the contemporary Eastern school, but it does appear in the manuscript illustrations of the eleventh century indicating the existence of the practice.

The pearl string ornament worn in the hair of the image appears in eastern sculptures by the eleventh century and seems to have continued during the Sena rule of Bengal found their way to Nepal too. That certain feature indicates that there has not been a wide gap between this sculpture and that of India of said period.

Its proximate counterpart in Nepalese sculptures is the Padmapani from Shigha

Baha (Kramrich 1964 Fig. VIII). The elongated torso, the eyebrows, the smiling lips, the ear-rings, necklace, armlets and wristlets and even the style of wearing the scarf are comparable features. The right side attendant of Surya from Thapahiti dated 1083 AD (Kramrich 1964 Fig X) with his broad shoulders, accentuated bend in the body and the style of holding an object in the left hand provides another close parallel and suggests a style that was in vogue in the eleventh century. It can thus be safely inferred that this sculpture is very closely related in style to the eleventh/twelfth century sculptures from Eastern India and Nepal and could be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century if not earlier.

Another bronze sculpture preserved in this Museum is of the female deity *Matrika*<sup>2</sup>. The sculpture (Fig. 2), including its crown and ornaments is solidly cast in the *madhuchhistavidhana* method and is gilded in keeping with the practice in vogue in Nepal. A long thick tenon at the bottom suggests that either it belonged to a bigger composition or had a pedestal of its own, which is missing now, the four handed deity is seated in *lalitasana* with her right pendant leg resting on a lotus. She holds a *kapala* in her lower right hand, *khadga* (now broken) in her upper right, *gada* in her upper left while her lower left is in *abhaya mudra* with the thumb and third finger joined perhaps symbolizing her holding rosary. In Devi Mahatmya forms such as that of Maheswari are ordained to hold similar weapons; it has however, not been possible to identify this image with certainty.

The sculpture is squarish in face, broad forehead, pointed chin, pointed nose and elongated eyes with arched eyebrows. The benevolent smile on her lips emphasises her *saumya* aspects. Her ornaments, though few, are prominently displayed. These include a necklace with seven pendants inlaid with semi-precious stones, a two stranded and bejewelled *urah-sutra*, *patra-kundalas* with beaded border, armlets – of which only the one worn on her original right is set with stones, broad bangles and plain anklets. Such stones have not been set in the crown and in the *sankhapatras*, which project from her behind her ears. She is clad only in a lower garment extending down to the anklets and dotted by the floral design, the loose folds the garment have been gathered in a stylised curve along the right knee. One end of the thick scarf thrown back over the left shoulder is marked by an incised pattern over the left shoulder. The torso is slim and tender and the natural placement of breasts suggests an early date (Khandalvala 1950: 27).

The crown of the deity comprises of three round medallions, with five jewels set in the central one, unlike the usual five-pointed one with a single jewel in the centre, which is usually worn by the Buddhist deities. Though not a conclusive factor, it is a feature commonly reckoned with in Vaishnavite images of the early periods.

2. Acc. No. 55.58 HL 17.5 cm.

The hair is drawn up and tied in a big bun, shaped like a ribbed spheroid, at the top and secured by several pearl strings surging from a round knob in the centre. While the immediate prototype for this peculiar coiffure may have been provided by a tradition prevailing in eastern Indian sculpture at that time, as seen in the figures of Tara of National Museum, New Delhi and that of Indian Museum, Calcutta (Pal 1974 Figs. 219 & 220), Matrika of Kotyarka (Moti Chandra 1952 Fig. 104), Uma-Mahesvara of Bhadgaon, Devi of Doris Wiener Gallery, a Royal Devotee of Bharat Kala Bhavan and Devi of Newark Museum (Pal 1974 Figs. 136, 222, 224 & 226) which give similar coiffure. Dr. Shah (1972: 94) has drawn attention to its unique type and mentions, "the beautiful big bun on the head, with ornate front of jewels and pearl strings (which is so often met in Gupta paintings from Ajanta, though not in a bun of this type) is noteworthy."

According to Dr. Moti Chandra (1952: 138), the ornate bun that covered with a net as seen in the Ajanta painting is very similar to the bun of Kotyarka Matrika. He has given the name *kabari* for this type of bun. Following this tradition of Ajanta, Ellora (Zimmer 1955 Vol. 2 Pls. 239 & 166) and Aurangabad have been sculptured with similar coiffure. The coiffure of the first figure to the right of the dancing Girl in cave X at Aurangabad seems to have been similarly modelled. The Western Chalukyan sculpture, which draws heavily upon the art of Ajanta, seems no exception. The sculpture of Mithuna from the Konti Gudi temple at Aihole, dated to 6<sup>th</sup> century, can be quoted as an instance in brief. Judging from Taranath's remark, it seems probable that the Kotyarka Matrika type may have served as the proto-type for the eastern Indian and later the Nepali sculptures.

In evaluating the style and period of the Matrika image of Prince of Wales Museum reference needs to be made to its close affinity to the Indian Museum Tara, Royal Devotee and Uma-Mahesvara of Boston Museum dated to 14<sup>th</sup> century (Pal 1974 Fig. 135). An examination of the facial features, the coiffure, ornaments like the necklaces, the beaded kundalas, the broad bangles *bayi* of the image of Boston Museum and that of Tara and even the scarf indicated by an incised mark on the left shoulder convincingly suggest that it was this style of sculptures from Bihar-Bengal that served as the immediate proto-type for the image of Prince of Wales Museum. In Nepal proper this image is in the same stylistic tradition as seen in the Bhadgaon Uma-Mahesvara and another the Boston Museum Uma-Mahesvara and a beautiful one in the Swali collection, all have been discussed by Pratapaditya Pal (1974 Figs. 135, 137 & 138; 1968 LXVI(345): 85-100 Figs. 2, 6). It is evidently earlier than the Swali Uma-Maheswara and near the Boston Bronze and can safely be assigned to the thirteenth/fourteenth century.

The third bronze sculpture in this Museums' collection is the sculpture of Narayana flanked by Lakshmi to his right and Garuda to his left, each individually

placed on the lotus<sup>3</sup>. The *tri-ratha* pedestal and the images though meant for each other have been cast separately in copper and then joined together (Fig. 3).

The main deity, Narayana stands erect, his feet drawn apart with a slight forward thrust of the abdomen and holds, starting with the lower right hand in clockwise direction, lotus, wheel, mace and the conch. The two front hands are held in *varada* while the upper right and left hands are bent at the elbow and held upwards. The conch in the lower left hand is held horizontally, a practice almost invariably obtained in Nepal (Pal 1970: 69). The upper torso is bare except for a *muktavali* and a *yajnopavita*. He wears bracelets, armlets like *sarpakundala*, *patra kundalas* and a bejeweled *mukuta* with *sankhopatras* protruding behind the ears. He wears the *sakachchha* dhoti up to the knees, which is secured at the waist by a waistband and its pleated folds fall between the legs. A looped scarf over his thighs is tied in a knot at the left with its tassels, falling sideways, supported by a lotus stalk. The lotus stalk on his right has been placed apparently to balance the composition.

On a smaller *bhadra-pitha* to his right stands Lakshmi, in *atibhanga*, with her right hand in *vitarka-mudra* and the left holding the stalk of a lotus. She also wears only the lower garment secured at the waist by girdle and a scarf looped in a knot on her right. She wears a diadem; her hair is tied in a bun with locks of hair falling on her shoulders.

On a similar *bhadra-pitha*, on Narayana's left, stands his vahana Garuda in a human form with his hands in *anjuli-mudra* and his wings forming a cape at the back. His hair is tied by a headband while his other ornaments are comprised of coiled *nagas*.

The trinity has been grouped well as a formal composition. The erect posture of the central figure is well contrasted by the side figures with their bodies flexed outward and their heads nodding towards the central figure. The sweep of Garuda's wings is balanced on the outer side by the tassels of Lakshmi's garment and on the inner side by her *lola-hasta*. Even the *pariyastika* of Lakshmi and Narayana have been looped to visually suggest a continuity of line. That the Newari sculpture has always been conscious about form and composition is well demonstrated by this image.

On the back of the pedestal is a dedicatory inscription of 818 NS mentioning as the gift of Lakshmi-Narayana-Garuda murti by some Narasimha Bhatta in the first half of Aswin in 818 NS.

The dedication of the image of Narayana accompanied by Lakshmi and Garuda evidently suggests the observance of the *ananta vrata* by its donor on the analogy of iconographically identical *patas* in this Museum's collection (Pal 1967 Figs. 19-22). All the three Vaishnavite *patas* in the Museum bear inscriptions and one of them clearly mentions the completion of the *anant-vrata* by its donors. In all the three *patas* Vishnu is accompanied by Lakshmi and Garuda.

3. Acc.No. 68.1 Size 24 × 11.6 cm. Gift of late Shri Boman Behram, Mumbai

The antiquity of the *ananta-vrata* in Nepal is difficult to determine. Yet, if sculptural representation of this theme is evidence, the sculptures from Changunarayana (Kramrisch 1964 Fig. VI) and Deopatan (Pal 1970 Fig. 30) would suggest that by the tenth century the theme was gaining stability; conversely the *vrata* was becoming popular.

Dr. Pal (1970: 13) refers to the *ananta-vrata* as a popular Vaishnavite rite in Nepal. This *vrata* is performed on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhadra. The Agni Purana ordains that during this *vrata* Ananta is worshipped as Narayana (Pal 1970: 13), which corroborates our surmise that this image was dedicated on the completion of the *ananta-vrata*.

In the sculpture as well as the *pata* mentioned above Lakshmi is depicted with two hands following the *dhyana* laid down in the Vishnudharmottara Purana (Bhattacharya 1991: 216). The Aparajitaprichcha ordains that Garuda when in the presence of Vishnu may be depicted as having a human form with a sharp beak like face.

Representations of Vishnu attend upon by Lakshmi and Garuda are fewer in India proper when compared to those available in Nepal. In seeking to explain this iconographic type it may be mentioned that Vishnu as Narayana is the Supreme Being who rests on the coils of Ananta or the serpent Shesha in the cosmic ocean. During such periods he is attended upon by Lakshmi and Garuda. It is, therefore, significant that he is represented in accompaniment with Lakshmi and Garuda in sculptures such as in this sculpture. Even though the Shesha has not been represented in this group in bronze, it appears to have been represented in an illustration from the Sivadharmas MS. dated 1139 AD (Pal 1970 Fig. 33).

Stylistically, the plastic form of the sculpture is in the same tradition as the MS. illustration referred above or in the stele of Vishvarupa Vishnu in the Changunarayana temple (Pal 1967 No. 340 Fig. 8). It is also manifest in the stele at Deo Patan or the Vishvarupa Vishnu in bronze in the Boston Museum (Pal. 1974 Fig. 114). As observed in the beginning this particular mannerism of a stiff and a formal type becomes almost a cliché in Vaishnavite images and but for its date, the bronze sculpture of this Museum could also have been assigned to the thirteenth-fourteenth century.

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# Similarities Of Costume/Ornaments of Indus Valley Civilization & Ethnic Communities of Nepal

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## Introduction

The origin and evolution of ornaments and costumes is buried in antiquity. Since the civilization began, men women and children have had the desire to look pretty, beautiful, charming and handsome.<sup>1</sup> The primitive man had not the means to satisfy his inherent desire for personal adornment. He therefore turned to his surrounding for materials. He adorned himself with ornaments fashioned from dried grass stalks of creeping plants, seeds, dried- fruits, bones, ivory, flower, cowries and seashells<sup>2</sup>

As the civilization advanced they started to carve on woods and then later began to cast in bronze, lead, gold, silver, etc. Since then there is no looking back; personal adornments and adornment techniques have advanced and changed as civilization developed.

Costumes and ornaments vary from society to society. The ornaments were worn not only for adornment, but some of them had certain religious and superstitious reasons behind wearing them. Sometimes people due to the force of customs and beliefs wore ornaments and costumes. The wearing of quality cloths and ornaments also signifies social status, wealth and prestige in the society. Gold has been regarded as women's best friend in times of need. In course of research, views were collected saying that women were adorned with ornaments such as **kalli**, **paujeeb**, (foot-ornaments), **mundri** (ear-ornament) and **bulanki** (nose-ornaments) and attired with sari. It was considered wearing them meant binding women's freedom with such

1. Jamila Brij Bhusan, *Indian Jewellery Ornaments & Decorative Designs*, (New Delhi: Treasure House Books, 1953 AD), pp. 1-3.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 1-3.

adornments. The authentic evidences in form of colored beads can be traced up to Aurignacian period. In the Neolithic and post Neolithic period, it was used universally. By 3,500 BC, Mesopotamia had advanced culture, they too used beads of pearls, lapis lazuli, cornelia, and ostrich shells etc.<sup>3</sup> In the Indus civilization also they used colored beads made out of clay and other beads of various designs.<sup>4</sup> In Nepal, the excavation has revealed the discovery of beads of different shapes and sizes up to the period. The excavation at Mohenjodara and Harrappa brought to light a civilization that was as advanced as its contemporary civilization of Mesopotamia and Egypt. The cities were made up of burnt bricks with granaries and roadways and had developed advanced form of drainage system. The discovered seals and artifacts reveal that they had knowledge about writing; however scholars have not been able to read it yet. It is astonishing to know that in the period 2300—1700 BC<sup>5</sup> such advanced civilization and culture had flourished. It is even more surprising that the discovered ornaments & apparel are close in resemblance to the ornaments and apparel worn by ethnic races of Nepal even to this day. This has led the researcher to conduct research in this field.

Nepal is the home place of numerous ethnic communities. Scholars point to Scythians as ancestors of 'Khas' of west Nepal. Scythians, Bactrians, Samatians, Assyrians and many other ancient western and Central Asian people could have been the carrier of 'jewellery tradition' that eventually reached Nepal.<sup>6</sup>

#### INDUS & ETHNIC COMMUNITIES (Similarities)

Through the excavation of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, it is seen that the coloured beads made of clay, gold, silver, copper, had been in use as ornaments,<sup>7</sup> hairclips.<sup>8</sup> Numerous amulets were found among other hoards of jewels. These amulets had designs of birds and animal motifs, with a far-fetched belief that the disease of the child could be transferred to animals. Most acceptable explanation would be that these motifs delighted children rather than having inherent magical properties to it. However jewellery worn by adult had geometrical floral designs of leaf motifs, pepal, lemon, trefoil, eight-petal lotus and mango designs.<sup>9</sup> Comb, chole-

3. Brij Bhusan, *op.cit* (fn., 1), pp. 15-17.

4. Walter, A. Fairservis, *The Roots of Ancient India, the Archaeology of Early Indian Civilization* (London: George Allen Unwin Ltd, 1967 AD), pp. 276-285.

5. Jamila, *op.cit*, (fn., 1), pp. 1-3.

6. Gabriel Hannelore, *Jewellery of Nepal*, (London: Thomas Hudson, 1999 AD), p.29

7. M.S. Batsa, *Excavation at Harappa, Vol. 1, 2*, (New Delhi: Manager Of Publications 1940 AD), p. 432.

8. *Ibid*, p. 460.

9. Kamala S. Dongerkery, *Jewelry and Personal Adornment in India*, (New Delhi: Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1971 AD), p.14.

pot known as (Anjan – Shalakeye)<sup>10</sup>, mirror (Darpan)<sup>11</sup> had been used. Mirrors of different shapes and metals were also much in use. An Oval shaped mirror made of Kans (Fig.1)<sup>12</sup> oval shaped with a handle is worth mentioning, because all this reveal their interest in personal adornment and beauty.



Fig 1 : Kans Mirror oval shaped Mohenja-Daro



Fig 1a : Kans Thali or Plate polished enough to be used as a mirror. In Nepal

Earlier some of the ethnic tribes of Nepal, were using similar 'Kans Thali' or Kans plate which was polished until it reflected their face. It was used as a mirror. This is a strange similarity between Indus & Nepal. To this day many ethnic community use bamboo sticks tied together to form a comb. In fact to this day during marriage ceremony bamboo stick comb with silver or gold holder.

### Male Costumes

In course of excavation materials for weaving cloth had been discovered known as "Farakiya" made up of metal, clay and conch-shell of different shapes.<sup>13</sup> However many of these "Farakiya" were made of wood and both rich and poor used it in weaving cloth alike. Discovery of a piece of cloth stuck to a metal pot, when tested scientifically was found to be of pure cotton. This quality of cotton is used even to this day in India<sup>14</sup> In Nepal many of the ethnic tribes wear hand woven cloth. They use cotton threads, and use 'Charka' to weave it into clothes. It is a common site even today to see women weaving in some small towns of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur & Patan. Strange but noteworthy is that 'Farakiya' of Indus, and 'Charkha' of Nepal were both made up of wood. Only difference is that it is extremely astonishing to note that some 2300 – 1700 BC ago there existed such a developed civilization.

10. Dongery, op,cit (f.n., 1), p. 460.

11. *Ibid*, p. 391.

12. John Marshal, Mohenjadaro & Indus Civilization, Vol. 3, (London: A. Proabschain, 931 AD), pp. 468-69. The bulletin No17, (Bombay: Indian Central Collection Committee, 1960 AD), p. 33.

13. E Mike, Further Excavation At Mohenjadaro , (New Delhi: Pakistan Publication, 1937 AD), p.72.

14. N.N Gulati, & A.J Turner, 'A note on the early History of cotton', The, Technological series The bulletin No17, (Bombay: Indian Central Collection Committee, 1960 AD), p. 33.



Fig 2 : High Priest embroidered robe



Fig 2a : Ghale Ethnic group

Men of ordinary class wore cotton clothes. Men belonging to upper strata nevertheless wore embroidered robe or cloak (Fig 2). This fig is of a matured male with a beard, draped with a cloak covering his left shoulder. It has three-leafed clover patterns or designs (trefoil decorations) on it. This cloak has been named as "Uttariya" (shawl like covering) commonly used in earlier times. Sometimes these Uttariya were very long and when an individual sat it fell up to his feet. This clover like pattern seen in fig 2 is similar to the pattern found in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete etc.<sup>15</sup> Its interesting to note that such clover designs were not known in Nepal, though wearing of cloak can be seen in Nepal (Fig 2a) exists to this day But among the ethnic communities of Nepal to this day they use a special cloth called 'Bhangra' to make a cloak or a waist-coat. One of the coins discovered at Harrappa also depicted male engraving wearing dhoti.<sup>16</sup> Wearing of knee length or a very short 'dhoti' or 'Langauti' is a common sight among Tharus of Deokhuri made up of 'Markin' cloth This is in favour among elderly generation, but the youngsters have adopted the modern ways of dressing .

### Women's Costume



Fig.3,4



fig 5,6,7,8,

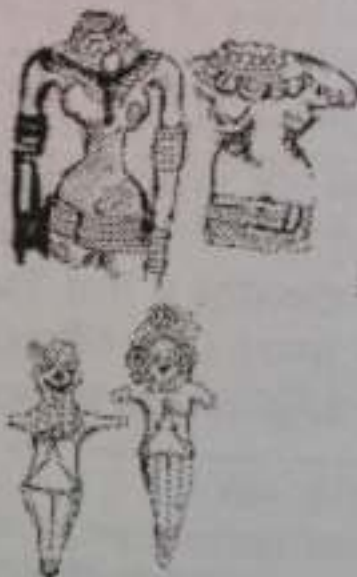


Fig 9,10,11,12



Fig 13, Dancing Girl, Mohenjadarro

15 M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, ( London: Cambridge University Press, 1960 AD), p. 69.  
 16 Mike, *op.cit.*, ( f.n.,13), pp.257- 335, Photo 94.

Through the discovery of numerous terracotta images of female figurines it can be said that they covered their upper body with Uttariya.<sup>17</sup> These female figurines are depicted with very short skirt like dresses. The figurines from no 3 to 12 show that women wore short dresses falling unto their thighs. These dresses were quite short in the front in-comparison to the back. Fig 10 depicts that women almost went about topless only with a thin wrap around clothing held by a broad belt<sup>18</sup> used to tie around their waist known as "Mekhala" made out of wood or of cotton.<sup>19</sup> Fig 4 is depicted wearing a long shirt like dress (cloak) with very long sleeves in comparison to the other figures that are depicted with short dresses. It seemed wearing short dresses was in fashion. Among the ethnic communities of Nepal, dresses vary based on climatic conditions. In Terai region they wear thin cloths and in the mountain, tin taha cholo, fariya, odni etc. In the Himalayan region they wear thick Bakkhu, cap etc. The Indus images depict short, light clothes, because the climate conditions were hot in that area.

### Ethnic Apparel, Ornaments & Headdresses in Nepal.



Terracottas of Harrappa

Tharu Girls wearing traditional ornaments

Above pictures reveal similar headdress & ornamentations.

Both males and females wore stylish headdresses of different variety. Mike views that these stylish headdresses were framed out and then covered with starched

17. K.N Dixit, Prehistoric Civilization of Indus Valley, (Madras: Madras press, 1973 AD), p. 24. Civilization, (New York: Chicago Press, 1975A.D.), p. 283.
18. Walter A Fairservis, The Roots of Ancient India. The Archaeology of Early Indian Civilization, (New York: Chicago Press, 1975A.D.), p. 283.
19. Jamila Brij Bhushan, The Costumes and Textiles of India, (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala & son 1958 AD), p. 13.

materials.<sup>20</sup> The headdresses of fig 4 and 7 are rather simple whereas that of Fig. 5, 8, 11, and 12 seem very stylish in nature. Most of these headgears are shaped like fans, some simple and some intricately ornamented. Fig 12 has headdress with flower decorations while Fig 6 is wearing a turban with round ornamentation for decoration. The excavated male/female figurines depicted that, wearing of ornaments was the trend. The only difference was that the male counter-part wore relatively few ornaments.<sup>21</sup> their caps had ribbons slightly tilted on it.<sup>22</sup> Ornaments during that period were usually carved out of Manko (beads).<sup>23</sup> Female figurine (Fig. 12) is depicted with a scarf crossing her breast which is regarded as fertility symbol, found in Mesopotamia.

Even to this day, a few ethnic communities of Nepal such as Ghale's tie shawl termed as 'Bhangra' or 'kumlo' in such a fashion in Nepal (12a). It also symbolizes 'fertility' married women tie it in that particular fashion.



Fig12a,  
Ghale ethnic group wear fertility).  
scarf like fig12



Fig 12 (scarf crossing the  
breast, which is a sign of fertility).  
Harrappa

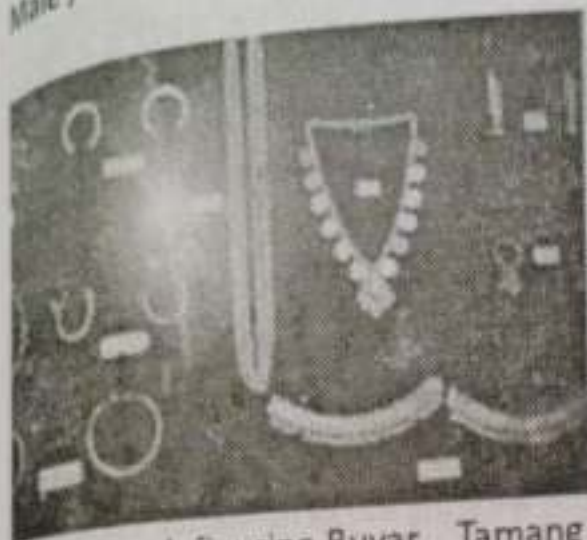
20. Mike, op.cit, (fn., 13), Vol 1, p. 101.

21. John Marshall, op.cit, (fn. 12), Vol. 3, Photo no.94.,

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 94.

23. Kamal Giri, *Bharatiya Shringar*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas, 1937 A.D), p. 201.

Male / Female Ornaments



Female figurine, Buyar. Tamang Lady & Dungari  
The figurines reveal similarities in ornamentations.  
**Fig 14 Ornaments of Ethnic communities of Nepal**

It has been observed that ornaments of different varieties were in fashion e.g. Karnaphool (earrings), Khanthar (necklace), Chura (bangles), Mudrika (coin necklaces) Bajubandh (armlets), Hasuli (simple rounded necklace), Clay bangles, and Clay beads have been discovered. (Fig 14) shows ethnic ornaments very much similar to Indus valley images (Fig 3 to 12) These discoveries bring to light that material like shells, bone, iron, agate, turquoise, carnelian and poor quality lapis lazuli and steatite were used for ornamentation. The beads ornamented with trefoil patterns found in Akkadian Mesopotamia suggests contact with Indus.<sup>24</sup> The frequent use of beads of red shining clay show that it was in fashion. These beads of different shapes and sizes were used for making both long and short necklaces. Such beads or manko of various shapes and sizes have been found in Kapilvastu and Lumbini, Nepal also. (Fig 3 - 12) dating back to 3rd and 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.



Fig 15

Fig 16

Fig 17

Fig 18

**Fig 15,16,17,18 Different Nepalese Ethnic Head Ornaments**

24. Fairervis, op.cit, ( f.n., 18), p. 283.

## Head Ornaments (Shirobhushan)

Both males and females wore gold and silver band on their forehead Fig 2, Fig11; it was probably used to keep their hair in-order. These types of hair ornaments were worn by people of **Kuli civilization** (discovery of male figurine).<sup>2525</sup> Govinda Chandra Roy, **Studies in the Development of Ornaments & Jewellery in Proto** Similar ornaments were also worn by women in Rajasthan and they are known as **Chowk** (Marwad) and **Bindi**. In Nepal the Newars and a few other ethnic communities as well as a few modern women on special occasion like marriage wear similar ornaments on their fore-head, known as **Sheer-Bindi** or hair clips. (Fig 15, 16, 17, 18) .

## Ear Ornaments (Karnabhushan)

The discovered image does not depict men wearing ear ornaments. Looking at Fig3 to 16 it is observed that the earrings were rounded



Fig12,Terracotta,Mohenjadaro.

Fig17,Tamang&Dungari.

Limbu Head Ornament

Karnabhushana Fig 17, 19,

Flower shaped kundals were commonly used. The wearing of the earring required piercing of the ears.<sup>26</sup> A number of these flower shaped earrings were found at Harappa (Fig12), similar to the karnaphool that resembled the ear ornament known as **Dhungri** (Fig17a) worn by Nepalese women belonging to Sherpa, Gurung and Tamang ethnic community. Excavation at Mohenjadar also shows the discovery of earrings like button (flat in shape)<sup>27</sup> but in comparison to Harrappa there were very few Karnaphools. The Karnaphool earrings found at Mohenjadar were made of gold, copper, silver, kas, and wire.<sup>28</sup>

25. Govinda Chandra Roy, **Studies in the Development of Ornaments & Jewellery in Proto Historic India**, (Varanasi: Motilal Banarasi Das, 1957AD), pp. 30-39.

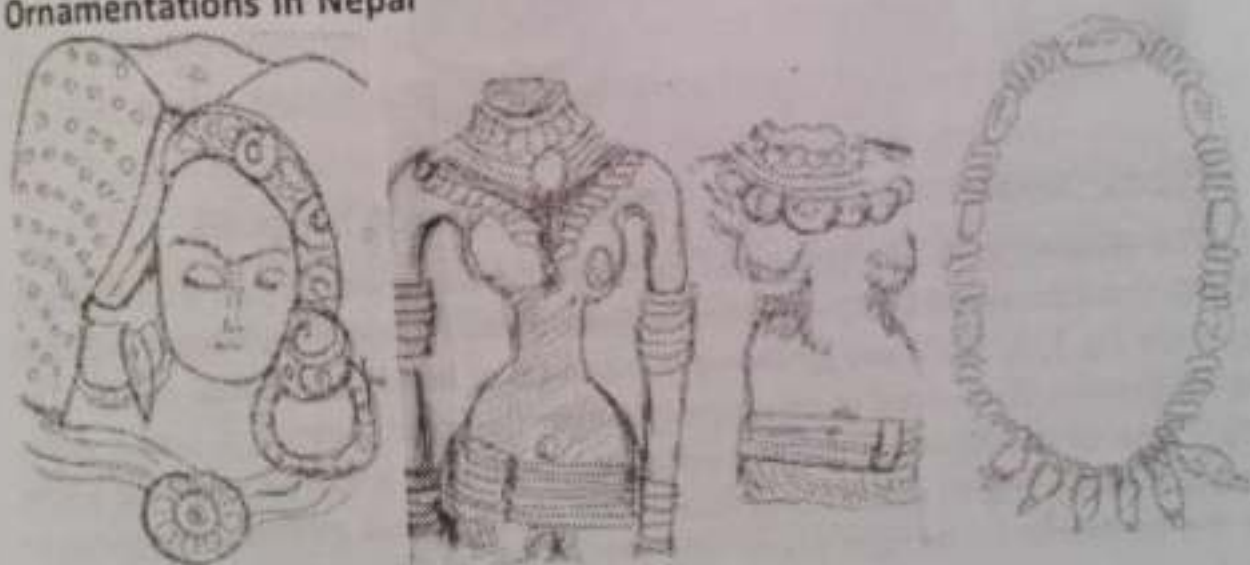
26. Ibid, photo no. 74.

27. Batsa, op.cit, ( f.n., 7), Vol. 2, photo no.125.

28. Marshall, op.cit, ( f.n., 12), Vol. 2, photo no.148.



Fig 20( a- f ) Neck, ear, hair-clip of various ethnic communities Ethnic Ornaments in Nepal



### Mohenjadaro, Harrappan ornamentations

When compared, one can see the similarities, and conclude that the ancient view that Assarians, Scythians, Bactrians, Samatians, Assyrians and many other ancient western and Central Asian people could have been the carrier of jewellery tradition to Nepal, seem to be true.

### Neck Ornaments (Khantahar)

If we look at the discovered figurines Fig 3 to 12 we see that two distinctive categories of necklace were worn around the neck. One was a broad doughnut shaped, short ornamented necklace that stuck to the neck like Hasuli, and another was long necklaces that sometimes reached up to the waist. Fig 3 is depicted with more than

six necklaces. This shows that wearing of more than one necklace was a common practice. The short bands like necklace were usually made of metal.<sup>29</sup> At Harappa a necklace with 240 gold beads was discovered.<sup>30</sup> In course of excavation ornaments kept in silver box were also found.<sup>31</sup> Thus, wearing of beads was common in Indus Valley civilization and these beads were made up of clay, stones, shells, copper, kash, gold, and a few precious and semiprecious stones.<sup>32</sup> (Fig 20, a - h ) depicts various ethnic communities of Nepal shows the similarities between Indus ornaments with those worn by Nepalese ethnic groups. **Girdle**



#### 'Girdle' Terracottas of Harappa. Sherpa women & her girdle .

The wearing of Girdle (a kind of belt) on the waist was in use during 2300-1700 BC. The discovered figurines at Mohenjadaro and Harappa have been depicted with girdle Fig 3, 9, 10. These girdle were made up of beads and metal pieces. The female figurines discovered at Harappa however depicted wearing a broad girdle (belt).<sup>33</sup> One of the figurines discovered at Mohenjadaro is shown wearing girdle below her navel. (Fig 9) made up of four metal plates. These girdles were worn to hold the garments in the right place. (Fig 17) images of Sherpa ethnic women are shown wearing similar girdle. Such type of ornamented metal belts worn by Queens and Princesses in Nepal commonly was known as "kardhani". Broad ornamented leather belts with brass embossed are in fashion to this day.

#### CONCLUSION

We can conclude that the similarities between costumes and ornaments of Indus and ethnic communities of Nepal, when compared with each other seem to be similar. To this day many of the ethnic communities of Nepal are still wearing the

29 Roy, op.cit, (f.n., 25), p.5.

30 Batsa, op.cit, ( f.n., 7), photo no.137.

31 Marshall, op.cit, ( f.n.,12), pp. 131-138

32 *Ibid*, photo no. 148.

33 Batsa, op.cit, (f.n., 7), Vol. 2, photo no. 77.

some category of ornaments worn during Indus civilization. Scholars point to Scythians as ancestors of 'Khas' of west Nepal. Scythians, Bactrians, Samatians, Assyrians and many other ancient western and Central Asian people could have been the carrier of jewellery tradition to Nepal. This is a matter open for research purpose. What ever may be the case, this research brings to lime-light that to this day many ethnic communities of Nepal still wear ornaments and apparel similar to the Indus civilization.

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## Prospects of Tourism in Tistung

Pashupati Nyaupane

Tourism is a major foreign exchange earner for many low income countries and it has been an important foreign exchange earner for a number of newly industrialized countries. Tourism is the leading source of foreign exchange. (UNWTO, 2002: 18) for the 49. Tourism is emerging as an important development opportunity and LDCs are supporting for tourism to be recognized as a priority development sector. (UNWTO, 2000: 12)

To day tourism is regarded as the most important home growing industry run by the people having prospective economic alternative for revenue earning and jobs, for the developing country like Nepal tourism is supposed to be the most important sector of the economy after agriculture and water resources. (NTB, 2001: 8)

Tourism is valued as the major contributor to a sustainable Nepalese economy, being developed as an attractive, safe exciting and unique destination through conservation promotion, leading to equitable distribution of tourism benefits and greater harmony in society. (www.tourism.gov.np, 2010)

Nepal is a unique country with a proud history sense of unity & fine art & architecture and friendly people. The people, their language and customs are as diverse as the terrain. There are 93 spoken language and more than 100 ethnic groups (COBS:2007). Regarding religion Hindus are 86.5 percent, Buddhists are 7.8 percent, Islams are 3.5 percent and Christians 0.5 percent residing in Nepal (CBS:2007). With possession of such number of our attraction, the potential of tourism is very high in Nepal. Wanderlust Publication of UK has ranked Nepal as of the most favored tourist destinations of the world (NTB, 2001: 7). Tourists in Nepal are concentrated in a few limited areas (HUMMEL:2002). It is limited within the tourism golden triangle that is Kathmandu, Chitwan and Pokhara regions and the major trekking regions like Annapurna, Everest and Langtang (HUMMEL:2002).

The picturesque Tistung with its mild warm climate lies in Makwanpur district of Narayani Zone. This is a valley of traditional rural setting surrounded by green hills, exotic culture, and impressive geography and the part of area centrally located in between Mahabharat hill and Chandragiri hill. Kathmandu Valley and Chitlang lie in its northern part and Daman is situated in its western part. Similarly, Indrasarowar

is located on its eastern part and Chisapani Gadhi in the southern part. Tistung is typical Newari village lying about 70 km distance from Kathmandu. In the Lichhavi period it was a cross road for India and China for business purpose. Tistung seems untouched by modernization except for a few radios and the plastered pillars ornamenting some old houses.

Tourism is one of the means to develop Mankwanpur district which is rich in natural and cultural resources. Tourism is important for the economy to increase much needed foreign exchange for the sustainable development and to fulfill the demand for locally produced goods and services and to improve the conditions and welfare of the people.

### **Attractions**

Attractions are the major factors or prospects of tourism of any tourist destination like Tistung. But the major challenges of every destination is to transform such attractions into the tourism activities. Actually Tistung is very close to Kathmandu valley. It is renowned as the forbidden kingdom and a hidden valley. So to expose that hidden valley these explanations to attractions may help quite enough to explore the unknown minds about Tistung. In order to bring Tistung to the limelight of tourism and expose it from its present states as a hidden valley, it is necessary to promote its attraction to justify it as one of the potential tourist destination of Nepal. Every society exists with the blend of its own nature and culture. Tistung also stands with such unique tangible and intangible heritage. The main attraction of Tistung is its originality, authenticity, simplicity and remoteness. Every activity of the local people is the attraction for the tourist, the main task is to convert them into touristic concept. Tistung remains largely unexplored area with maximum potentials for promotion of tourism in Nepal.

### **Bajravarahi shrine**

It is the most popular shrine at the bank of river and also used as the crematory area. The deity is known as the mother of Bajravarahi of Chapagaun, Lalitpur. She is considered as the caretaker of the whole village.

In every three years the great festival of the locality is ceremonized. During the time of Baisakh Purnima the festival celebrates for three days. In which, the ethnic Newari caste group of Poda family are the priest of the shrine. They have great religious value in this society though they are so called lower caste group, as they have their occupation of cleaning the whole village.

The legend says that once Bajravarahi was seeking place to settle down. The Poda family welcomed her and became her caretaker for ever as the priest.

Similarly, there is one unique culture of feast making during the Jatra on every three years. The locals offer sacrifice of various animals and also of rice. They collect

animals head and rice in heaps. Thereafter, the body is taken by the owner and heads are collectively cooked and give in to the locals as the offering of goddess. Interestingly in the mean time, the Pode priest blow the local wine to chant the religious words which is offered to all later on as the gift of goddess this proves that the village really discard the discrimination on caste. Otherwise, people wouldn't accept the wine contaminated by the so called lower caste Pode

#### **Taleju Temple:**

This house shaped temple/the Goddess house (Dyochhen) is in the back side of the village on the top of the fort. The remains in an around the small ridge (mound) proves that really there was a huge palace with the canal and tall wall around, having doors and stone taps in each directions which was built during Lichhavi Era. Hereby in Tistung this could be one of the nearest archaeological sites to study from the capital city. This fort proves how people since that era were technologically keen to build up the temple and remain secured from the enemies. Here, fortification was the trend during medieval age to make the area physically strong.

#### **Kunchhal village**

This is the most beautiful village of Gopali and somehow different also. It really looks very picturesque. Ganesh temple, stone taps, traditional trails and housing pattern in natural background also shows the richness of rural and cultural terrace settlement. The place is very hygienic well ventilated and light in every corner. Moreover, Gopali's being the major ethnic tribe of the area has various typical customs. They buy the land but never sell that. The reason is that they continue to utilize their forefather's property and think to add up the forefather's property, not to diminish that. Another reason is that the village and its culture shouldn't be disturbed and damaged due to outsider's intervention. Outsider's are not given to settle in the relatives and own even son-in-law. For longest duration they even have the best culture of cooperation during house repairment, construction and help during paddy plantation. This custom saves the money, skill, time, and relation with the neighbors.

#### **Pode Tole:**

This community also has typical culture. Pode caste group which also possess their goddess shouldn't face their windows to Taleju. So, two goddess shouldn't face each other and get quarrelled. Pode community in-house the non wheeled chariot of Bajrabarahi which is used for three years rotation in the village.

#### **Dhami Tole:**

It is the community of Maharjan who are termed as the administrator of the area. So the head person, an old man is very renowned and respectful person in

whole village, even the government rules seems inferior in front of his words, so the locals follow his decisions and management inherently. So his house is also termed as the palace which has been constructed by local stones and bricks. Notably, most of the house are built from the stone collected from river and mine. This traditional system of constructing buildings with locally found stones saves the clay of productive land. Thus, most of the houses are of stones to preserve land and promote agriculture and local resources.

#### **Primitive Caste groups:**

In the beginning the Newar Community got spread from five major, Newari caste groups in which Maharjan were as the administrator, Karmacharya as the priest, Pede as the sanitation keeper, Kashain as the butcher and Kapali as the group for helping on crematory processions. It is believed that from this only later the groups extended to nine, eleven and more groups which are believed that this area could be the place of origin for the division of primitive caste groups as per their profession in the society. Though capital city itself have discrimination among the higher and lower caste, the harmonious blend between the caste groups in Tistung shows an inspiring instance among harmonized society.

#### **Inscriptions:**

Three inscriptions of Lichhavi Era are seen in the village periphery which accounts important information about the village as the famous trade centre. Among such inscriptions two are in school and interestingly one is in the ground and another in the classroom, the third is situated a bit out of the village nearby Bhatuwal stream which was installed during the reign of 7<sup>th</sup> century king Amshuvarma. Every destination is legally and scientifically proved by the inscriptions to prove historical facts. Similarly, Tistung valley also has such authentic stone inscriptions to prove its ancientness.

#### **Gopali Village:**

In Gopali village its Social Status and Cultural norms and values and life pattern are of its own, that's why still the society has been regulated by such traditional values. Hence, agricultural pattern, daily activities, cuisines, costumes, festivals, housing patterns is such aspects which are still in traditional style. So in such society the petty problems arised are sloved within the society. In this way there is the formation of its own community and group.

The most ancient and ethnic tribe of the Newari caste group of Nepal is formed within five member whose head person is known as 'Naike'. Who plays main role in the Gopali Society and also plays vital role in decision making. They are typically Hindu but have good tolerance on Buddhism also. It is the best example of religious tolerance of Nepal.

Similarly, the head of whole Gopali Society is termed as 'Thakali' which is very renowned post in the society. Hereby, he is specially placed for varied local activities in the society. Therefore he plays the role for material collection, allocation of people on job, inspiring them. Traditional working pattern is still in practiced in the community.

Traditionally, the group for preparing feast in festivals and ceremonies is known as "Suwa" who plays impressive role to attract people with delicious and tasty dishes with warm hospitality. Therefore, traditionally social pattern is the unique feature of Gopali Village where the division of work is given. By forming certain groups to make and operate the moral and mortal society of Gopali. That's why internal distinct participations, cooperation is the specialty of this society.

### **Social-cultural and Economic Background of People**

The special feature of Newari communities is to have social organization known as 'Guthi' which is strongly working in this village too. So every individual helps each other in sorrow and joy in 'Guthi'. Major population of the people in Tistung relies on agriculture. The economic condition of this area is depending upon the agriculture products. Tomato, potato and seasonal vegetable farming is their main cultivation. In season huge amount of vegetable can be seen in the field growing every where. The Major agriculture products are potato, maize, paddy and other vegetable farming. The other cash generating activities are like retail teashops, and job/labor wage according to their skill level. Some young people are engaged in working in Kathmandu and various parts of the gulf countries like Qatar, Dubai Saudi Arabia and Malaysia.

### **Accessibility**

Accessibility is a very crucial factor as it is a means by which tourist can reach the area where attractions are located. The distance factor also plays an important role in determining a tourist's choice of a destination. (Bhatia,2008)

Tistung is situated aproximatly 70 km. South west direction from Kathmandu. It can be accessed by the most favorable black topped i.e. Tribhuwan Highway via Naubise and the shortest way can be from Thankot via Chitlang through the graveled way which was the ancient trade route linking India and China via Kathmandu.

At present, newly constructed two gravelled roads are being operated with jeeps via Daxinkali and Pharping to Kulekhani Dham which leads to Chisapani - Bhimphedi - Kulekahni. Tistung is an ultimate destination of this region that is accessible through the well known route of 'Markhu'..., Chituang.'

### **Accommodation**

Accommodation is the most important or basic component which is essential for providing food and rest (Bhatia, 2006: 235). After having reached his destination, a tourist most has some kind of accommodation which provides him food and sleep.

The area is highly potential on its attractions but still need to work a lot for developing accommodation facilities. It is to be said that the unsecured and underdeveloped.

Although the peripheral destination likes Daman, Palung, Chitlang, Kulekhani have developed facilities somehow. But special request really can provide warm hospitality for paying guest in the residential area. Notably, a simple lodge with proper planning while constructing any hotels and restaurants. They should be encouraged to establish the traditional architectural style of building house and inns. So they do not pollute the environment of those places. There should be established small hotels or rest house in hiking route. As the potential of cultural tourism is more in Tistung emphasis on the establishment of ethnic related hotels and restaurants.

### Importance of Tourism

Today, many hinterlands of our country enjoy the arrival of tourists in their villages. The active participation of the people and also the support from the government has enabled them to uplift their economic status in the very short period of time. Each and every part of air country carries a great potentiality for the tourism development. Tistung, can be one of the major attractions for both domestic and foreign tourists. Although it has not been exposed to the tourists, travel agencies, tour operators tourism related organizations and even government. Along with Tistung development can be brought about also in Chitlang, Palung and Daman going to its proximately with this villages.

Tourism can be of great importance to the people of Tistung both economically and culturally. Most of the people residing in Tistung are from Newar community and they have their own life style, religion, technique, song tools dances songs or cultural practices etc. are all attached with the human beings. Most of the people are illiterate and their main occupation is agricultural. The agricultural land is limited and they face the problem of disguised employment. The do not have access to any other profession. So tourism can a major sources of income for many people of this area.

Tourism can be of great importance to the people of Tistung both economically and other amenities.

Most of the people residing in Tistung are from Newar community and they have their own lifestyle cultural practices and the customs. Most of the people are illiterate and their main occupation in agriculture. They do not have access to any other profession beyond agriculture. It seems that the vicious circle of poverty is never going to end in this place.

Tourism is an interdisciplinary field; this requires collaborative and integrative effort of different fields such as road, electricity, water supply etc. If we carry out the

development of different sectors simultaneously, this leads to the sustainable development of tourism. Tourism can be sustainable earnings without having a large investment. In this industry we do not need to import any raw materials nor do we have to invest in any machinery for production.

Tourism can be instrument in generating foreign exchange. Significance of tourism is that the money earned in places of normal residence is spent in places visited. These earnings assume a great significance in the balance payment.

Tourism industry is a highly labour-intensive service industry and hence is a valuable source of employment (Bhatia, 2006: 235). If tourism is developed in Tistung area, the local people job opportunities directly and indirectly. During the construction of infrastructure like road, water, supply, electricity, parking area etc. hundred workers get opportunity for employment. Similarly, tourism development in this area develops the small scale industry like pottery, poultry, diary, cattle, farming, agriculture, bakery, carpentry etc. They are also known as supportive industries to the primary industries like: Hotels, Restaurants, Transportation, Rafting, Trekking etc. Those small scale businesses also develop the living standard of the local people in this area.

Preservation and conservation is one of the most important aspects of tourism. When tourists visit in these area and appreciate their custom, festivals etc. then the local people preserve them. The tourist may also help to eliminate the local superstitions by educating the local people, introducing the new ideas. The sharing of the ideas will be beneficial for both communities.

### **Touristic Activities**

Attractions are the factors for emerging activities and even activities themselves are the part of attraction i.e. man made attractions but is a live attraction. So such activities are based on the available resources, geography and so on. If such attractions are transferred to the activities with proper shape, size, color value and others than only it becomes distinct product. Tistung valley also has many attractions and tourism resources which can be transformed into touristic activities found around Tistung are given below.

### **Agro-based Activities**

Tistung valley is agriculturally rich where various agro-based activities can be carried out with the guests also such as paddy plantation programme and various other games and competition during rainy season can be organized by playing with the mud in paddy field such as football, volleyball, rope pulling etc. These activities really can be promoted Tourism in Tistung during low season even the domestic tourism too.

Various organic products can also be produced through organic farm and resorts which could be the forthcoming essence of this valley. So that the guests could know

This valley is different than others in terms of the lodging, food and of course the hospitality.

### **Culture-based Activities**

Sightseeing around the various historical religious and cultural monuments and movements can be greatest attraction and activity in Tistung Valley. Visit to Tistung valley, ancient fort with excavated palace, Bajrabarahi temple, Gopali village, Kunchalal Gaun. Observation of inscription of Licchavi period and cultural activities and surrounding Podes and Maharjans settlement etc. Even Gopali's settlement and there way of life is equally eye appealing. They also have quite natural, origin and different settlement in Tistung Valley. Various festivals and cultural processions are also the part of religion. So, such cultural elements could be major attractions to the tourist.

### **Nature-based Activities**

Nature has become gift to the Tistung valley as being gifted by culture. Various nature based activities can be operated in and around the valley.

#### **a) Trekking and Hiking**

Nepal is regarded as a mountain country. Tistung is one of the richest places for operating hiking and trekking. From Kathmandu, Thankot one can trek directly to Tistung alone (via). Chitlang village within 1-2 days than after arriving Tistung one can climb the hill to reach Daman neglecting the motor able ways, and getting into the ancient trading routes between the Mahabharat ranges. Trekkers also can hike down to Kulekhani to visit shake like 7 km. long Indresorowar lake and observe unique hydro projects tool. Kulekhani hydro power is such as model project from where the electricity is produced in three places through one source. Indrawsorawar is a largest and longest artificial lake in Nepal. Trekking can be carried at even till Pharping after the hill above Kulekhani.

#### **b) Mt. Biking**

Mt Eikes can enjoy the graveled and earthier rural ways to Paddle their bike from Thankot to Chitlang to Tistung. Tistung also can be reached via (alone) Pharping to Kulekhani. After reaching the valley one can even hike around the valley like to Bhatuwal village, Halhung dada etc. with bike or even by foot.

### **Education-based Activities**

Tistung valley has become best valley nearby Kathmandu valley which is still untouched by modernization. So many things still remain live. Hence the students seeking practical knowledge related to their room based study can freak out and lost into the nature and culture of Tistung. So, especially the students of agriculture really can enjoy mostly during rainy season to plant the paddy. The villagers again can offer to harvest during autumn. Beyond that forestry, environment, culture, history, sociology, botany, zoology, geography etc. can really roam around Tistung and feel

the taste of the valley to create practical experience through field study and observation.

### Filming

The area around the valley is really eye catching. So many monuments and movements could be the part of filmer's eyes. Hence the documentary based stories and even the commercial movies also can find scenic and cultural background to shoot. Hereby the vast pastureland and near Bajrabarahi can be best for movie shooting and other village settlement cultural icons, landscape etc. can be the extraordinary features to attract for filming.

### Conclusion

Perfectionism of destination cannot be achieved only because of the cultural and natural importance of a locality. For this there is expected to be other important places surrounding the given destinations. These various destinations inside core destinations can fully satisfy the tourists. A decent package of tour can be made by including all those Sub-destinations. Tistung is one of the destinations deserving all these qualities. Daman, the prime destination of Nepal is situated to the west-south direction of Tistung. Which is on the first highway of Nepal. Palung lies to the west of Tistung. It is a small but very beautiful valley. It is recognized test for its Newari culture. To the west you can find the well known place for tourism, i.e. Chitlang. To the north-east directions of Tistung there's historically important place called chishapanigadhi. Tistung has been the centre for all those important localities. Furthermore Tistung is famed for agriculture. It's an agriculture dependent country that can be promoted as organic agro base tourism. If we promote all those destinations we can decrease today's of global warming.

The natural and cultural attractive of Tistung can be made one of the most frequented tourist destination.

Despite of irregularity of transportation lack of awareness, least infrastructure development, lack of accommodates we can see a lot of tourism prospects in Tusting. Historical evidence textural characteristics, ethnicity and their unique lifestyle are the prime attractions for the satisfaction of tourist. So to expose potentials is the prime objective of this study. Conservation and preservation cultural, historical and religions monuments and aspects, social awareness upliftment of economic status etc could be created signifying its potentiality through this article.

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शर्मा, जनकलाल २०३९ हाफ्रो समाज एक अध्ययन, ललितपुर, साभा प्रकाशन



## पुस्तक समीक्षा

निर्मला पोखरेल



२०६७ सालमा प्रकाशित संस्कृति सम्बन्धी केही महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थहरू मध्ये डा. वीणा पौड्यालद्वारा लिखित वेद पुराणका रत्नहरू (दोश्रो भाग) पाठक समक्ष प्रस्तुत हुन गएको छ। २०६२ सालमा ४० रत्नहरूको संगालो वेद पुराणका केही रत्नहरू साभा प्रकाशनले नै प्रकाशित गरेको थियो। जसको दोश्रो संस्करण २०६५ सालमा ११०० प्रति प्रकाशित भएको छ। पहिलो भागमा ४० र दोश्रो भागमा २६ गरेर जम्मा ६६ रत्नहरूको संगालो हो वेद पुराणका रत्नहरू भाग एक र भाग दुई।

वेद पुराणका रत्नहरू, दोश्रो भागमा समेटिएका २६ पात्रहरूको व्यक्तित्व, आध्यात्मिकता, नैतिकता, चरित्र र योगदानको विस्तृत विवरणात्मक प्रस्तुती समेटिएको छ। डा. पौड्यालले प्रत्येक रत्नको जन्म, माता पिता, पति, पत्नी दाजुभाइ, दिदीबहिनी आदिको वंशगत परिचय दिनु भएको छ। साथै तिनको समय, प्रभाव क्षेत्र, धार्मिक, आध्यात्मिक, पौराणिक महत्व, उल्लेखनीय योगदानहरू र अन्य प्रभावशाली, ससक्त र तात्कालिन समाजमा ठूलो प्रभाव जमाएका रत्नहरू हुन भन्ने प्रस्ट्याउनु भएको छ। आजका युवा

पुस्ताहरूले उनीहरूको अनुकरणीय योगदान अवलम्बन गर्न आवश्यक छ।

लेखिकाको लामो समय देखिको निष्ठापूर्वकको अनुसन्धान, अनवरत साधना र तपश्याबाट यो पुस्तक जन्मिएको हो। पुस्तकमा वैदिक र पौराणिक जगतका चरित्रवान व्यक्तित्वहरूको कृतित्व, तिनले दिएको योगदान, शाश्वत दर्शन, पालना गरेको नैतिक मूल्य र मान्यताहरू, तिनले अवलम्बन गरेको धार्मिक आस्था र विश्वासहरू एवं कर्म उपाशना र ज्ञानका गरिमाले भरिएका कथा र गाथाले आलोकित बनाएका समाज र संस्कृतिको फलक छर्लङ्ग अनुभव गर्न पाइन्छ।

यस पुस्तकको बारेमा सारगर्भित भूमिका लेखेर प्रा. शिवगोपाल रिसालज्यूले ग्रन्थको गरिमालाई उजागर गरिदिनु भएको छ। कुनै पनि पुस्तक अध्ययन गर्दा यस्ता वैदिक व्यक्तित्वले प्रस्तुत गरेको भूमिकाको अध्ययन पनि उतिकै महत्वको हुन्छ भन्ने कुरा यहाँ प्रस्तुत पुस्तकले प्रमाणित गरेको छ।

पुस्तकमा प्रत्येक पात्रहरूको विवरण ३ टांगले प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

Box कोडा भित्र पात्रको सविष्ट परिचय ।

विभिन्न धार्मिक र साहित्यिक ग्रन्थहरूको आधारमा पात्रहरूको विस्तृत विवरण र योगदान ।

सन्दर्भ खुलाउन अध्ययन गरिएको पुस्तकहरूको विस्तृत विवरण

पृष्ठ नं. सहित सन्दर्भग्रन्थ टिप्पणीमा उल्लेख ।

अधिकांश पात्रहरूको जीवनीपछि सन्देशात्मक निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत गरेर युवा पिढीलाई राम्रो पाठ यस ग्रन्थले प्रदान गरेको छ । डा. वीद्यालाले नेपाली साहित्यको राम्रो अध्ययन गरेको प्रमाण यस ग्रन्थबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । नेपाली साहित्यका विभिन्न ग्रन्थहरूको सन्दर्भलाई यस ग्रन्थमा मिलाएर प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । स्तरीय तर सरल भाषामा प्रस्तुत यस ग्रन्थको कुनै पनि पात्रको विवरण पढ्न थालेपछि समाप्त नगरीकन रहने सकिदैन ।

खुशीको कुरा अरू ३० रत्नहरू समेटेर वेदपुराणका रत्नहरूको तेस्रो भाग पनि छिटो भन्दा छिटो पाठक समक्ष आइपुग्न लागेको जानकारी लेखिकाबाट प्राप्त भएको छ ।

देशभित्र मात्र होइन विदेशमा बस्ने नेपालीले समेत रुचाएर संग्रह गरिएको यो पुस्तकको पहिलो भाग हेर्दा भर्खरै निस्किएको दोस्रो र निकट भविष्यमै निस्कने तेस्रो भाग पनि उनिकै लोकप्रिय हुने संकेत देखिन्छ । पुस्तकमा दोस्रो भागका पात्रहरूलाई पहिलो भागको तुलनामा अझ विस्तृत, विश्लेषणात्मक र व्यापक अध्ययन पश्चात प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । पहिलो भागका ४० पात्रहरूलाई २३० पेजमा समेटिएको छ भने दोस्रो भागमा २६ पात्रहरूलाई ३०१ पेजमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ । यसरी दोस्रो भागमा अझ विस्तृत अध्ययन भएको देखिन्छ ।

नेपाली संस्कृतिका जिज्ञासू र शोधकर्ताहरूले मात्र नभइ हरेक व्यक्तिले संग्रह र अध्ययन गर्ने पर्ने पुस्तकभित्र पर्दछन् यी दुवै पुस्तकहरू । लेखिकाबाट भविष्यमा पनि यस्तै गहन, रुचिकर अनुसन्धानमूल्क पुस्तकहरूको प्रतिक्षामा छन् पाठहरू ।

कृतिको नाम - वेद पुराणका केही रत्नहरू (दोस्रो भाग)

लेखक - प्रा.डा. वीणा वीद्याल

प्रकाशन मिति - २०६७

मूल्य - रु. ३५०/-

पृष्ठ - ३०१

प्रकाशक - साभरा प्रकाशन



## संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागको गतिविधि

१. गौतम बुद्धको जन्मस्थल लुम्बिनी, विश्वप्रसिद्ध तीर्थस्थल हो । सन् १९९७ मा विश्व सम्पदा सूचीमा सूचीकृत यस स्थलको विशिष्ट पुरातात्विक महत्त्व छ । त्यहाँ वि.स.२०६७ पुष-माघमा संचालित पुरातात्विक अन्वेषण उत्खननमा संस्कृति विभागका विद्यार्थी र शिक्षकहरूको सक्रिय सहभागिता रह्यो ।

नेपाल सरकारको पुरातत्व विभाग, UNESCO एवं Japanese Funds in Trust को सहयोगमा संचालित Archaeological Identification, Evaluation, Investigation and Interpretation of Lumbini Project मा विभागीय प्रमुख प्रा.डा.वीणा पौड्याल, डा.माला मल्ल, शिक्षण सहायक श्री पशुपति न्यौपाने र २०६६/०६७ ब्याचका २१ जना विद्यार्थीले पूर्ण रूपले स्थलगत अध्ययन गर्नका साथै विविध कार्यहरू सम्पन्न गरे । विद्यार्थीहरूले आधुनिक उपकरणहरूको मद्दतले पुरातात्विक सम्पदाहरूको अन्वेषण र उत्खननबारे नयाँ प्रविधिको प्रयोगात्मक ज्ञान हासिल गरे । Durham University का Pro-Vice Chancellor, Professor Robin Coningham, पुरातत्व विभागका निवर्तमान महानिर्देशक केशराज आचार्य (Project Co-Director) र लुम्बिनी विकास कोषका वरिष्ठ पुरातत्वविद् बसन्त विद्यारीद्वारा संचालित विशेष कक्षा र प्रयोगात्मक प्रशिक्षणबाट विद्यार्थीहरू निकै लाभान्वित भए ।

२०६७ माघ १३ गते शिक्षाध्यक्ष प्रमुख प्रा.डा.सूर्यलाल अमात्यको आतिथ्यमा विभागमा सम्पन्न विशेष कार्यक्रममा, लुम्बिनी क्षेत्रको संरक्षण, संवर्धनमा सहभागी भएका शिक्षकहरू र विद्यार्थीलाई प्रमाणपत्र वितरण गरियो । त्यस अवसरमा Durham University का Pro-Vice Chancellor Robin Coningham, लाई विभागको संपूर्ण शिक्षकहरूको तर्फबाट मायाको चिन्ह स्वरूप चाँदीको स्वयम्भू स्तूपको नमूना र फोटोहरू उपहार दिइयो ।

२. पुस्तक विमोचन:- त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालयका उपकुलपति प्रा.डा.माधव प्रसाद शर्माद्वारा प्रा.डा.वीणा पौड्यालद्वारा रचित र साभा प्रकाशनद्वारा प्रकाशित **वेदपुराणका रत्नहरू दोश्रो भाग** नामक पुस्तक २०६७, आश्विन १० गते विमोचन भयो । नेपाली इतिहास, संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्व केन्द्रीय विभागमा आयोजित त्यस कार्यक्रममा त्रि.वि.मानविकी सामाजिक अध्ययन संस्थानका डीन, पदाधिकारीहरू, प्रिन्सिपल, विभिन्न विभागका प्रमुखहरूको उपस्थिति थियो ।

३. World Heritage Day को उपलक्ष्यमा, नेपाल सरकार पुरातत्व विभाग र नेपाल सम्पदा संघको सक्रियतामा भएको सम्पदा जनचेतना अभिवृद्धि कार्यक्रम (Save our Heritage) मा

संस्कृति विभागका प्राध्यापकहरू र एम.ए.प्रथम र द्वितीय वर्षका विद्यार्थीले सक्रिय सहभागीता जनाए। २०६८ बैशाख १२ गते हनुमानढोका, नासल चोकबाट आरम्भ गरिएको त्यस भव्य समारोहमा स्थानीय जनता र विभिन्न पाठशालाका विद्यार्थीहरूको उत्साहजनक उपस्थिति थियो।

५. २०६८ बैशाख १७, गते पाटन इमुखेलका बासिन्दाहरूको वासहिति संरक्षण र पानी वितरण गर्ने सामुदायिक प्रणाली बारे स्थलगत अध्ययन गर्न नेपाल सम्पदा संघ (Nepal Heritage Society) को विशेष कार्यक्रममा संस्कृति विभागको प्राध्यापकहरू र एम.ए.प्रथम र द्वितीय वर्षका विद्यार्थीले सहभागीता जनाए। त्यस अवसरमा संस्कृति विभागका सचिव मोदराज डोटेले, यूनेस्को नेपालका प्रमुख Axel Pathey, Nepal Heritage Society का अध्यक्ष अम्बिका श्रेष्ठ, नेपाल राष्ट्रिय संग्राहलयका प्रमुख भेषराज दाहाल र संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागका प्रमुख प्रा.डा.वीणा पौड्यालले संस्कृतिका विविध पक्ष बारे पनि प्रकाश पार्नुभयो त्यही अवसरमा प्रा.पौड्यालले जीवनसँग जोडिएको जल, ढुङ्गेधाराको महत्व, त्यसको संरक्षण, कलात्मक पक्ष र पुराणका वर्णित भगिरथको अथक प्रयास बारे प्रकाश पार्नुभएको थियो।

#### ५. अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्धन केन्द्र:-

त्रि.वि.शिक्षाध्यक्षको कार्यालय अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्धन केन्द्रबाट नेपाली इतिहास, संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्व केन्द्रीय विभाग सँग सम्बन्धन गराएर विभिन्न देशका शोधकर्ताहरूले विभिन्न विधाका विषयमा शोधकार्य गर्दैछन्।

१. Mr.Ruth Klapwijk Duch :- The Thakali Collecting and Preserving Language Culture Tradition.
२. Debbie Martin Kay :-A Case Study on the Maternal Infant Mortality Rate in Light of the Cultural and Religious Beliefs in Far West Nepal.
३. Rebecca Faith Watts:- Tamang People: A Study of Communication and Culture Differences.
४. McTague Cory James:-A Cultural Study of the Effects of Immigration Among the Tibetan Peoples of Nepal.
५. Sharolyn Rae Brooks- Study of the evolution of the Cultural and Spiritual identity of the Thakali People inhabiting the Thak Khola Valley.
६. Michael G. Bass- The History and Archaeology of Patan's Durbar Sqaure.
७. Ryan W.Robinson - "Study and Comparison of the cultural and Spiritual identity of the Loba and sharpa people in habiting Nepal".
८. Nakayama Kento - "A Life study of the Corpse Burners of Nepal."
६. जर्नल प्रकाशन:- ३५ वर्ष देखि प्रकाशन रोकिएको पत्रिका Nepalise Culture, May, 2009 को

दसौ अंक प्रकाशित भएको छ । २०६७ मा.सा.अ.सं.का डीन नवराज कडेलको प्रमुख आतिथ्यमा, प्रिन्सिपल, प्रोक्टर र विभागका संपूर्ण शिक्षकहरूको उपस्थितिमा पत्रिका लोकार्पण गरियो । त्यसै अवसरमा विभागको हातामा स्थित बगैचामा वृक्षारोपण पनि सम्पन्न भयो ।

७. २०६८ जेष्ठ र असार महिनामा संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागका शिक्षकहरू र एम.ए. दोश्रो वर्षका संपूर्ण विद्यार्थीहरूद्वारा कला वास्तुकला अध्ययन अनुसन्धानको क्रममा उपत्यका भित्रका विभिन्न ऐतिहासिक र सांस्कृतिक महत्वका स्थलहरूको दुई हप्ते शैक्षिक अध्ययन अनुसन्धान भ्रमण पूरा गरेका छन् ।
८. मनोनयन र पदोन्नति : - ने.ई.सं.तथा पुरातत्व केन्द्रीय विभागका अध्यक्ष प्रा.डा.वीणा पौड्याललाई त्रि.वि.शिक्षाध्यक्षको कार्यालय र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्रबाट विभिन्न निकायहरूमा सदस्यको रूपमा मनोनयन गरीएको छ ।

क) सदस्य : त्रि.वि.प्राज्ञिक परिषद्

ख) सदस्य : त्रि.वि.मानविकी सामाजिक अध्ययन संकाय डीनको कार्यालय, अनुसन्धान समिति

ग) सदस्य : त्रि.वि.नेपाली तथा एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, व्यवस्थापन तथा विकास परिषद् ।

यसै विभागमा करारमा कार्यरत श्री निर्मला पोखरेलको २०६८।१।१२ देखि उप-प्राध्यापक पदमा पदोन्नति भएको छ ।

#### ९. गोष्ठी शृङ्खला:-

नेपाली इतिहास, संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्व केन्द्रीय विभागमा २०६५ भदौ महिना देखि प्रत्येक महिनाको १० गते सान्दर्भिक विषयमा प्रवचन गोष्ठी कार्यक्रम भैरहेको छ । हालसम्म यस शृङ्खलामा विभागका शिक्षकहरू प्रा.डा. प्रेम कुमार खत्री, प्रा.डा. वीणा पौड्याल, प्रा.डा. रमेशराज कुँवर, सह-प्रा.डा. सावित्री मैनाली, सह प्रा.डा. धनबहादुर कुँवर, सह-प्रा. डा.डिल्ली बहादुर ओली, सह-प्रा. मदन कुमार रिमाल, उप-प्रा. पुनम राणा, उप-प्रा.निर्मला पोखरेल, शिक्षण सहायक पशुपति न्यौपानेले प्रवचन दिइसक्नुभएको छ ।

विभागका शिक्षकहरू बाहेक नेपाली इतिहास, संस्कृति र पुरातत्वका विषयका विभिन्न क्षेत्रका विज्ञहरूद्वारा पनि बेलाबेलामा विशेष प्रवचनहरू भएका छन् । यसको विवरण निम्न प्रकार छन् -

डा.डीना वाङ्गदेल, "नेपाली कला"

डा.विष्णु सापकोटा - "छठ पर्वको महत्व"

श्री दयाराम पोखरेल- "नेपालमा ईशाई धर्मालम्बिहरूको अवस्था र बाईबलको प्रमुख उपदेश"

मौलाना अल्लाउद्दिन अन्सारी - "इस्लाम धर्मको परिचय र कुरानको बैज्ञानिक पक्षको विवेचना"

श्री हरि थापा, - "नेपाली घरहरूको निर्माण प्रक्रिया"

श्री राम कुँवर, पुरातत्व विभाग- "पुरातात्विक उत्खनन पूर्वका तयारी" र "तराई तथा मुस्ताङका महत्वपूर्ण पुरातात्विक क्षेत्र"

शान्ति ताम्राकार- "प्राचीन चित्रकलाको संरक्षण विधि"

डा.कृष्ण पौडेल- "हिमालयको वनावट र नेपालका प्रमुख हिमालहरूको संरचना"

प्रा.डा.डिल्ली राज शर्मा- "नेपालको किल्ला वास्तुकला"

डा.गोविन्द टण्डन - "सोइ श्राद्धको महत्व"

डा.सहनाज हुस्ने जहाँ- (बंगलादेश) भितरघरको पुरातात्विक अवशेषहरूको विस्तृत विवरण"

श्री कल्पना धिमिरे- "फ्रान्समा श्री ३ जङ्गबहादुर राणा"

श्री भेष नारायण दाहाल- "सङ्ग्रह र त्यहाँ प्रदर्शित वस्तुहरूको महत्व"

#### १०. पाठयांश परिमार्जन:-

त्रिभुवन विश्वविद्यालय डीनको कार्यालयको निर्देशन अनुसार संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागको स्नातकोत्तर तहका एम.ए प्रथम र द्वितीय वर्षको पाठयांश विशेषज्ञहरूसँग लामो छलफल र परामर्श गरी परिमार्जन गरिएको छ ।

#### ११. पुरातत्व वर्गैचा:-

संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागका पूर्व विभागीय प्रमुखहरू स्व. हितनारायण भ्वा र स्व. रामनिवास पाण्डेको स्मृतिमा "हितनारायण -रामनिवास स्मृति पुरातत्व वर्गैचा" विभागको हातामा स्थापना गरिएको छ ।

१२. २०६७/१२/१६ मा इटलिका पुरातत्व संरक्षण विशेषज्ञका प्रोफेसरले Dr. Meucci ले संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागको पुरातात्विक प्रयोगशालाको निरीक्षण गरेर विभागका शिक्षक र विद्यार्थीलाई पुरातात्विक वस्तुको संरक्षण र प्रयोगशाला संचालन बारे सल्लाह सुभाष दिनुभयो ।

१३. त्रि.वि., शिक्षाध्यक्षको कार्यालय, अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्बन्ध केन्द्र र नेपाली इतिहास संस्कृति तथा पुरातत्व विभागको पहलमा इटलिको रोममा स्थित University of Rome LA SAPIENZA सँग अध्ययन-अध्यापनको बारेमा जर्नल Agreement कार्य अन्तिम निर्णयमा पुगेको छ ।

१४. बेलजियतको, Cambridge Archaeological unit, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge Downing street, का प्रोफेसर Dr. J. Hawkes सँग त्रि.वि. संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागका शिक्षक र विद्यार्थी टोलीको सुखैतमा पुरातात्विक अन्वेषण र उत्खनन कार्यमा सहभागिता बारे कुरा कानी, पत्राचारको अन्तिम स्तरमा पुगेको छ ।

१५. २०६७ फागुनको सोमबार, देखि एफ.एम ८९.४मा मिरमिरे कार्यक्रम अन्तर्गत चील गाडी

कार्यक्रम संचालन भैरहेको छ । विभागका सक्रिय विद्यार्थीद्वारा पुरातत्व र संस्कृति सम्बन्धी विविध विषयको जानकारी र विशेषज्ञहरूको अर्न्तवार्ता यसमा प्रचारण हुदै आएको छ ।

२०६७ वैशाखमा एम.ए.प्रथम र द्वितीय वर्षका विद्यार्थीहरूको संलग्नतामा सांस्कृतिक कविता वाचन, विभागको हाता सरसफाई र वृक्षारोपण, बगैँचा संरक्षण जस्ता कार्य सम्पन्न भएका छन् ।

१६. २०६८ साउन २ गते संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागका विद्यार्थीहरूले गुरु पूर्णिमाको पावन अवसरमा विभागमै कार्यक्रमको आयोजना गरे । विभागीय प्रमुख प्रा.डा.वीणा पौड्यालको सभापतित्वमा सम्पन्न त्यस कार्यक्रममा, उपहार आदान प्रदान शुभकामना मनतव्य, कविता वाचन, बाँसुरी वादन र सामुहिक फोटो खिच्ने कार्य सम्पन्न भएको थियो ।
१७. संस्कृति विधामा राष्ट्रको लागि गरेको अमूल्य योगदानको कदर गर्दै नेपाल सरकारबाट आ.ब. २०६७/०६८ को संस्कृति विद्याको राष्ट्रिय प्रतिभा पुरस्कार संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभाग प्रमुख प्रा.डा.वीणा पौड्याललाई प्रदान गरेको छ । २०६८/३/२९ गते नेपाल प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठानमा सम्माननोप प्रधानमन्त्री फलनाथ खनालले सम्मानपत्र र रु. एक लाख, प्रा.डा.वीणा पौड्याललाई प्रदान गर्नुभयो ।
१८. २०६८ साउन ५ गते, जोशी रिसर्च इन्स्टिच्यूटद्वारा इतिहास र संस्कृतिको क्षेत्रमा विशेष योगदान पुऱ्याउने नेपाल अधिराज्यका बाइ जना विज्ञहरूलाई सम्मान-पत्र प्रदान गरियो । उक्त अवसरमा संस्कृति के. विभागका प्रमुख प्रा.डा. वीणा पौड्याल, सह प्रा.डा. सावित्री मैनाली, सह प्रा.डा. माला मल्ललाई प्रमुख अतिथि नारायणमान विजुक्छेद्वारा सम्मान-पत्र प्रदान गरिएको थियो ।
१९. २०६८ साउन २६ गते, नयनराज पन्त शोध सम्मान प्रा.डा. वीणा पौड्याललाई प्रदान गरिएको छ । प्रमुख अतिथि प्रा.डा. अंगुरबाबा जोशी र सभापति प्रा.डा. तुलसीराम वैद्यद्वारा उक्त समारोहमा सम्मान पत्र प्रदान र पुस्तक लोकार्पण कार्य सम्पन्न भएको थियो । ज्ञानगुनका कुरा भाग-१५५, डा. वीणा पौड्याल अङ्क-१ पनि त्यही अवसरमा विमोचन गरियो ।





२०६८ को राष्ट्रिय र क्षेत्रीय प्रतिभा पुरस्कार सम्मान कार्यक्रममा सम्माननीय प्रधानमन्त्री भलनाथ खनाल



प्रा.डा. वीणा पौड्याल संस्कृति विधामा राष्ट्रिय पुरस्कार एवं सम्मान पत्र सहित



पुरातात्विक अन्वेषण र उत्खनन भ्रमणको सन्दर्भमा रामग्राम स्तुप पुरदा



बेलायतका डुरहाम विश्वविद्यालयका भाइस चान्सलर रविन कनिङ्घम एवं उनको समूहसँग संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागका शिक्षक र विद्यार्थीहरू



विदेशी पाहुना र संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागका शिक्षक एवं विद्यार्थीहरू



रेक्टर प्राध्यापक डा. सुर्यलाल अमात्यद्वारा संस्कृति विभागमा प्रमाणपत्र वितरण कार्यक्रम



पुरातात्विक अन्वेषण र उत्खनन भ्रमणको सन्दर्भमा संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभाग परिवार भारतको पिपरहवामा



प्रत्येक महिनाको १० गते गरिने विशेष प्रवचन कार्यक्रममा श्री डिना वाइडेल्सैंग विभागका शिक्षक, कर्मचारी र विद्यार्थीहरू



उपकुलपति प्रा.डा. माधवप्रसाद शर्माद्वारा संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागमा पुस्तक विमोचन



प्रा.डा. अंगुरबाबा जोशीद्वारा २०६८ को नयराज पन्त शोधसम्मान प्रा.डा. वीणा चौह्याललाई प्रदान



२०६८ को नयनराज पन्त शोधसम्मान कार्यक्रमको एक भलक



२०६८ को गुरुपूर्णिमा केन्द्रीय विभागमा



संस्कृति केन्द्रीय विभागको संग्रहालयमा प्रदर्शित रेखाचित्र, चित्र र मूर्तिहरू



आन्तरिक शैक्षिक भ्रमणमा एम.ए. द्वितीय वर्षका शिक्षक र विद्यार्थीहरू भक्तपुरमा



२०१८ साठनमा जोशी रिसर्च इन्स्टिट्यूटद्वारा सम्मानित स्रष्टाहरु



संस्कृति केंद्रीय विभागाका विद्यार्थीद्वारा सञ्चालित एफ्.एम. रेडियो 'चिलगाडी' कार्यक्रम



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