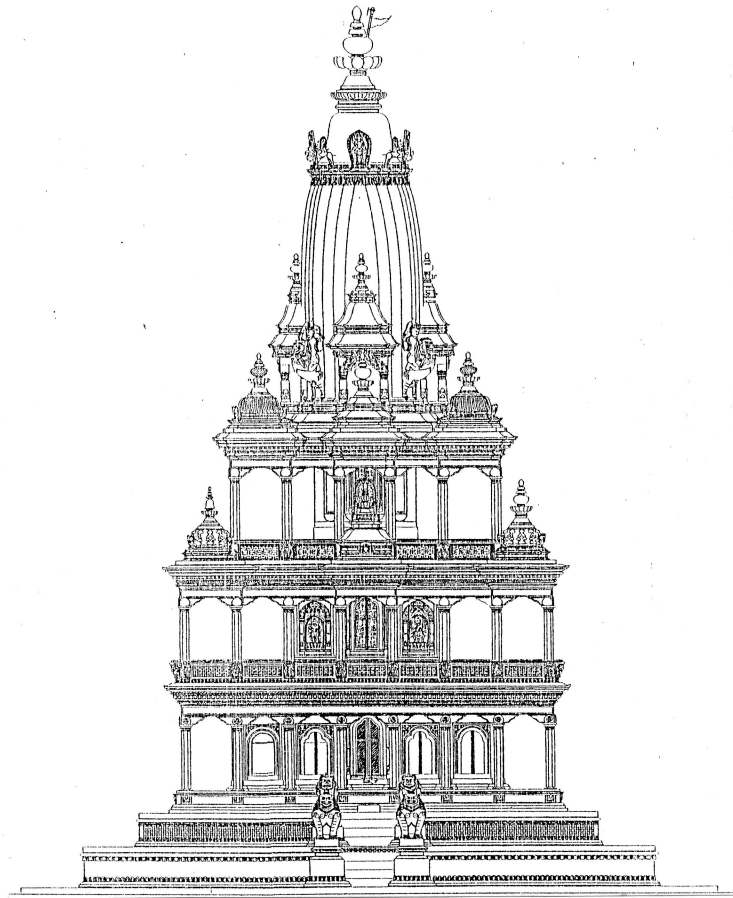


PATAN

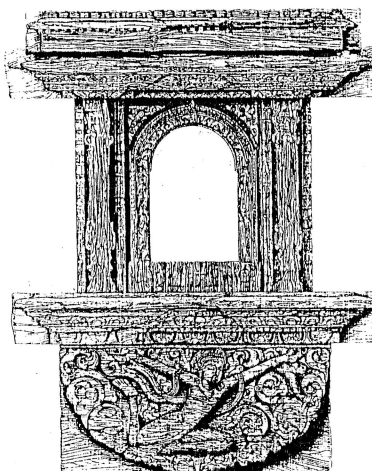
ARCHITECTURE
OF A HISTORIC
NEPALESE CITY



EXCERPTS FROM
A PROPOSED RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION PROJECT (1998-2000)
OF THE
KATHMANDU VALLEY PRESERVATION TRUST

PATAN

ARCHITECTURE
OF A HISTORIC
NEPALESE CITY



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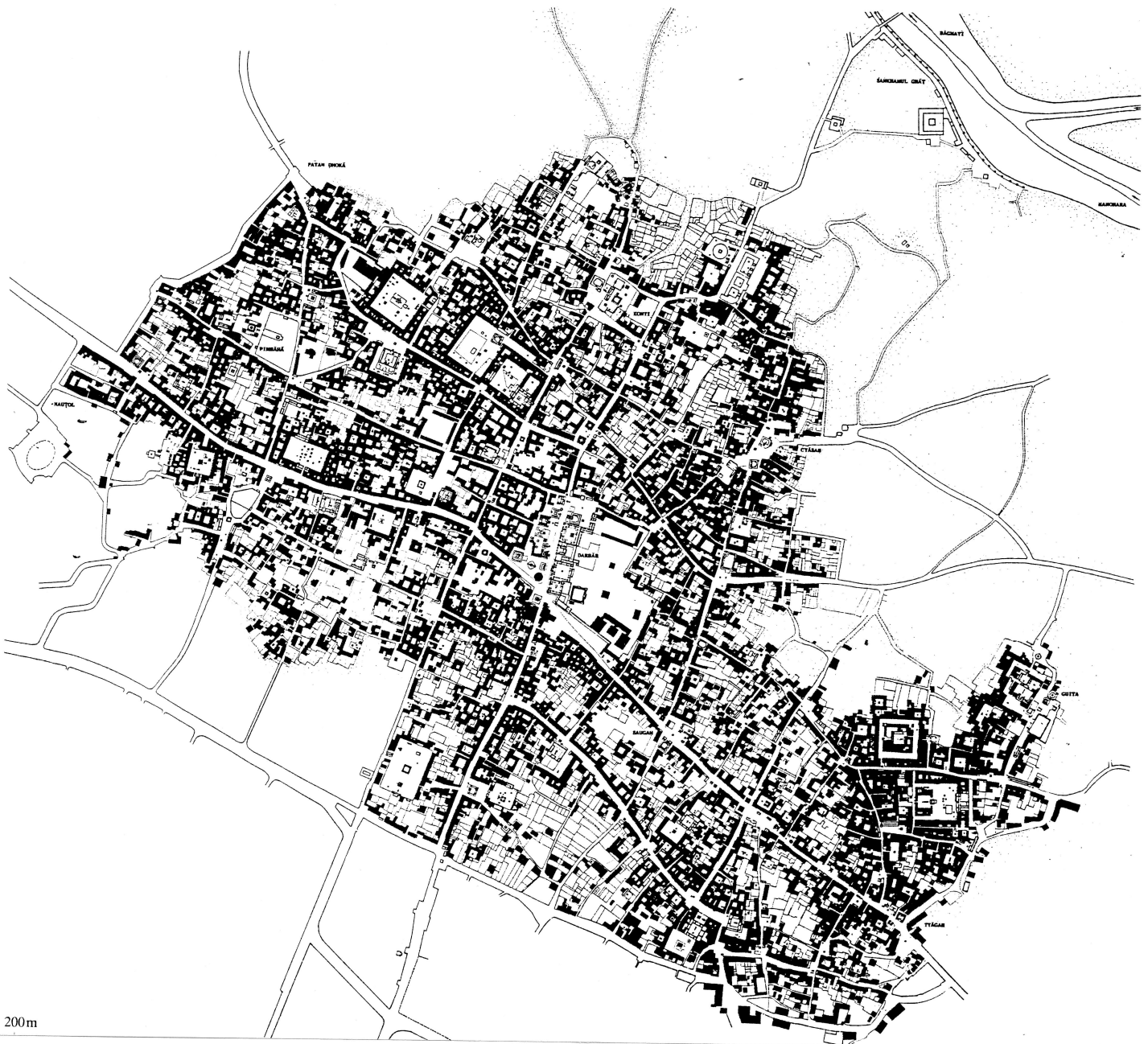
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HISTORY OF PATAN

BY
DAVID GELLNER



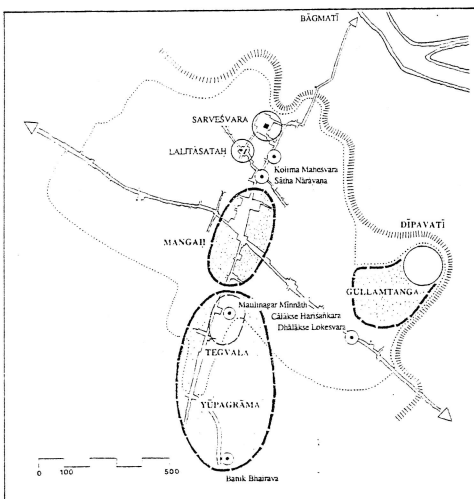
PATAN'S THREE NAMES

The city of Patan is today known by three equally common names: Patan, Lalitpur, and Yala. An investigation of these three will take us far into both the history and the mythology of the city.

'Patan' is the name used by Nepali speakers, except in formal contexts, and it is the name by which the city has become known to most foreigners and in English. 'Lalitpur' is the formal name of the city preferred by its own inhabitants and it is the official name both of the city and of the district of which it is part. 'Lalitpur' means 'beautiful city', and this, or variants with the same meaning, such as Lalitapattana, Lalitakrama, or Lalitabruma, was its formal name in the Malla period. 'Patan', the Nepali name, is an abbreviation of 'Lalitapattana'. 'Yala', usually pronounced 'Yelay', is what the city is called by Newars, and especially by the inhabitants of the city themselves. It is probably the Newari form of 'Yupagrama', meaning 'village of the sacred pillar'. In the Licchavi period this was the name of the largest of the villages that were later to coalesce into the city of Patan; Yupagrama included what is now Mangah, Patan's central area. Local people, in so far as they give an explanation of the name 'Yala' at all, say rather that it derives from that of a Kirati king called Yalambar.

Before proceeding to examine what we know of the history of Patan, let us consider first the myths and stories told by local people and found in their historical chronicles (*vamsavali*). These stories mostly account for the origin of some aspect of the city, or in one case of the city as a whole. It is important to emphasize that there are a considerable number of such traditions, and they are not synthesized or coordinated in a systematic fashion. The point is that they explain the existence of a local holy site or legitimate a particular local custom, ritual, or festival. Although these stories may possibly also preserve a kernel of historical truth, it is in their relationship to present-day monuments and activities that their greatest significance lies. It is important for planners and conservationists to take these mythologized accounts seriously, since it is only by doing so that they can mobilize the energies of local people.

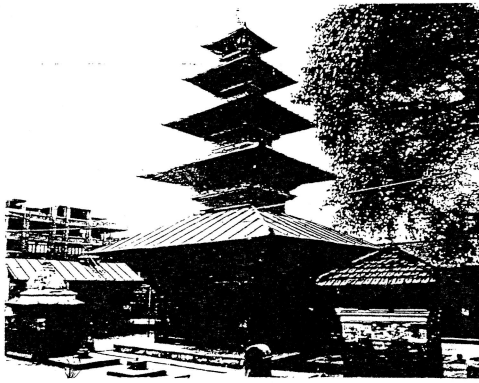
Ancient place names and shrines mentioned in the main foundation myth.



LOCAL MYTHS

The main foundation myth: King Birdeva and Lalita Jyapu

All the late, mythologized chronicles, dating from the nineteenth century, ascribe the foundation of Patan as a city to a king called Bir- (Vira) deva. He is supposed to have been the father or grandfather of King Narendradeva who brought the famous god Karunamaya-Matsyendranath to Nepal from Assam, with the help of his Buddhist preceptor, Bandhudatta, and the farmer from Patan, known as Rathacakra or Lalita Jyapu. In actual fact, although both Narendradeva and Bandhudatta are certainly historical personages, King Birdeva is a fabrication of the myths. The stories about Narendradeva, Bandhudatta, and Rathacakra Jyapu bringing Karunamaya to Patan grew up around a real event: the establishment of Karunamaya's annual chariot festival by Narendradeva, the Licchavi king who wore a Buddha on his belt, at some point between



Five-storey temple of Kumbhesvara/Sarvesvara at Konti (below)

644 and 680 AD. Since the cult of Karunamaya-Matsyendranath is so important to the city of Patan, it can be understood why the chronicles postulated that the city itself had been founded in the generation just before the cult's establishment. (In fact, although the cult has always been important to Patan, the divinity only began to spend half the year in the city of Patan itself some time in the seventeenth century in the reign of Siddhinarasimha Malla or of his son Srinivasa.)

There are several accounts of Birdeva's foundation. Here, in translation from the Nepali, is one of the fullest, published by D.P. Lamsal:

Next came his son, King Sri Birdeva, who ruled for sixteen years. He consulted Brahmans, astrologers, and Buddhist *acaryas*, and instructed his obedient subjects that he was extremely intent on founding several cities. In this connection he used to perform regular devotions to the supreme Lord Sarvesvara (i.e. the shrine of Siva called Kumbhesvara, in the northern part of present Patan)

The king used to sit at the window of his palace and he regularly saw a leprous grass cutter going to cut grass. One day he was astonished to see that very grass cutter going by with his leprosy all cured, and looking very handsome. So he asked him how it was that he now looked so well, and the grass cutter, who was called Lalita, replied : "Great King! Yesterday I went to the southern side of the Bagmati river into the Lalita wood in order to cut grass. I became hot and went to a place where there was a pond, took off my clothes, stuck my carrying pole into the ground, and went to bathe. When I came out of the water my leprosy was all gone. The carrying pole was stuck and I could not pull it out. I thought it must be *siddha* (instantly established as a god)." The king was happy to hear this and said "Show me this place."

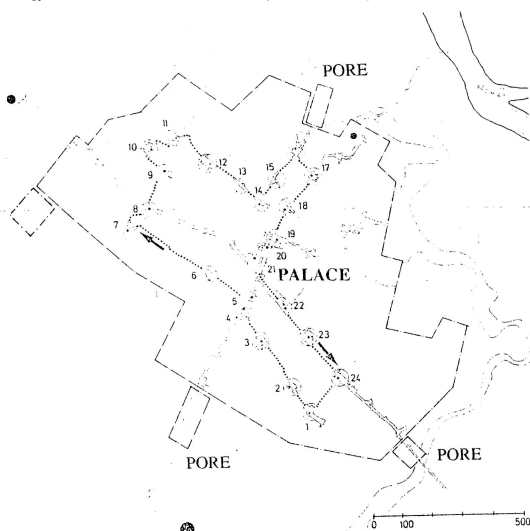
He showed the king the place, and the king returned to his palace. Since Lalita had been entirely cured of leprosy through the Lord's compassion, even though he was a grass-cutter the king made his minister. Still today, the carrying stick which became *siddha* can be seen at a place called Jhyatapval to the south of Kumbhesvara.

Being devoted to Sarvesvara, the king had it in mind to establish a city, and some time later Sarvesvara appeared to him in a dream. He said: "Oh King! To make the city, cut down Lalita wood. (Design it) in accordance with the 24 elements (*tattva*) and in the shape of a *sri yantra* (i.e. a mandala), and make Lalita the architect (*arkhatayari*). Establish our three self-existent *sivalingas* within the city. You too will be saved (*uddhar*)."

Thus in the bright half of the month of Phalgun, in the year (blank) of the Kaligat era, at the auspicious moment the minister Lalita inaugurated the building of the new city in accordance with the king's command. In this way the king spent much wealth. He made 24 *tol* (localities, *tva*) representing the 24 elements, and established water fountains, wells, ponds, gods and goddesses. Since it was extremely beautiful he called it Lalitapattana, and he made it into a city by joining it up with Matiligrama.

He established the following goddesses (outside the city): Bal Kumari in the east, Thache Mahalaksmi in the south, Kasuti Kumar in the south-east, Yappa Vaisnavi in the west (sic, should be south-west), Nyekhuhva

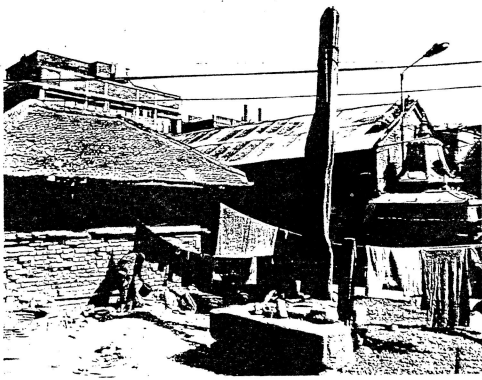
The place names of the 24 platforms are: (1) Ukubāhā, (2) Thapata, (3) Jyābāhā, (4) Ibhābāhā, (5) Haugah, (6) Ikhālakhu, (7) Pūcali, (8) Gābāhā, (9) Calakhu, (10) Pimbāhā, (11) Sufimha, (12) Nakabāhā, (13) Dhalāyca, (14) Kvalakhu, (15) Jhatāpvah or Jhatāpol, (16) Konti, (17) Kobāhā, (18) Svātha, (19) Māgah, (20) Lūjyāh or Darbār, (21) Visvanāth, (22) Hahkha, (23) Saugah, (24) Nugah



Rudrayani in the west, Lohagal Indrayani in the north-west, Dhatila Varahi in the north, and Sikabahi Camunda in the north.

This king left Sikharapur palace and came to live in the Lalitapattana palace. Being called Lalita, and made famous under that name, the resting house called Lalitpur to the south of Kumbhesvara is still there today. In this king's time chariots were made for the following gods and the custom was established of having the people celebrate their festivals in the various localities of Lalitapattana from Baisakh *sukla* 11 until the full moon: Matilinagar's Minnath-Jatadhari Lokesvara, Dhalaksa's Lokanah, Matilinagar's Batuk Bhairav, Satha's (Svatha's) Narayana Calakse's Hariankara, Kolima's (Kulima's) Mahesvara.

Jhyatāpah Square with the symbolic stone carrying pole of Lalita Jyāpu and the Lalitapur *sattah* in the background (right).



The main elements of this story are known to most people in Patan. The carrying stick of the farmer (Jyapu) Lalita is still pointed out, a tall, leaning stone column in Jhyatāpah *tva*. Opposite it there is indeed a long, ancient, two-storied *sattah* known locally as Lalitpur. According to Wright's chronicle Birdeva placed 330 million gods in this *dharmaśala*, "passed the rest of his life worshipping (them). and then obtained salvation."

The fact that the foundation story focuses on the site of the Kumbhesvara temple is a reflection of the ancientness of the general area, which is rich in Licchavi-period remains, and also a reflection of the fact that Kumbhesvara is the biggest and most important Siva temple in the city.

The idea that the city should consist of twenty-four *tva* persisted, but is not so generally accepted or as important as it is in Bhaktapur. Many accounts say that Patan has 24,000 houses, which is very likely an ideal number reflecting the importance of the number 24. In 1717 each of the 24 *tva* had to send a representative to choose the new king Mahindrasimha.

Rathacakra Jyapu and the bringing of Karunamaya

As noted above, the cult of Karunamaya-Matsyendranath is of particular importance to the city of Patan. Of the three mythological figures who brought him there, the king, Narendradeva, is supposed to have been from Bhaktapur, the Buddhist priest, Bandhudatta, from Kathmandu, and the humble porter, Rathacakra Jyapu from Patan. None the less, by a kind of trick, the divinity ended up in Patan.

There is in the popular mind an assimilation of the two peasant figures, Rathacakra and Lalita, the former responsible for bringing Karunamaya to the city, the later for founding the city itself. It is the name Lalita Jyapu which is well known ordinary people. By rolling these two mythological figures into one, the founding of the city and the establishment of its most important god are thereby assimilated also. For most residents of Patan, it is rather the Karunamaya-Matsyendranath myth which is really important; few of them know the Birdeva story.

As the anthropologist Gerard Toffin has pointed out, Newar, and indeed Asian, cities frequently represented as beginning, in myths at least, with the establishment of a presiding deity. In fact, as we shall see below, during the Licchavi period when Narendradeva inaugurated Karunamaya's festival, Patan as such did not yet exist. But it is certainly possible that the

establishment of the festival was part of the process by which the older settlements grew into an important city.

Associations with the Kirati Kings

Patan has more associations with the pre-Licchavi, and pre-historical, Kirati period than either Bhaktapur or Kathmandu. There is a mound in Patukva *tva* known to locals as 'the palace of the Kiratis'. It is sited at a crossroads one block north and west of the present palace: could it have had some ritual, or even political, significance in the pre-Licchavi period? Archaeological excavations at this site might reveal much about the early history of the city.

The myths of origin of Kvabaha refer to oppression by supposedly anti-Buddhist Kiratis. The god of Kvabaha instructed the young priest to throw boiled rice at the crossroads of Kvalakhu, just north of the so-called Kirati Darbar; this turned into hundreds of bees which chased the Kiratis away to Cyasah *tva* where eight hundred (*cya sah*) of them died (hence the name). The survivors, he story concludes, became the present - day Byanjankar (Tepay) caste, who live in Cyasah.

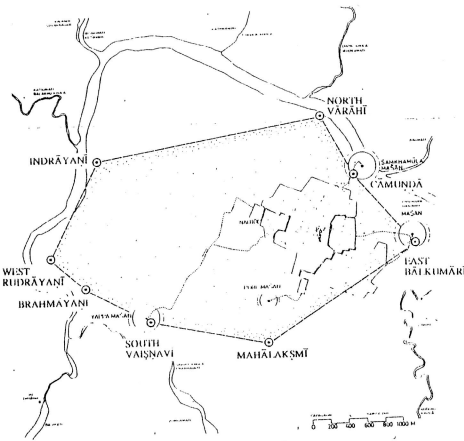
Apparently there are still further connections with Kiratis, in that still today there is a temple of Siddhi Laksmi in Tyagah known as the 'lineage deity of the Kiratis' where a large group of Rai people came o worship forty years ago. The (relatively weak) tradition that the city's name 'Yala derives from that of a famous Kirati king, Yalambar, has already been noted. Wright's chronicle makes him the first of the Kirati kings; but it also says that the Kiratis did not come to Patan until the twenty-eighth king, Patuka, was forced to move his palace from Gokarna to Patukva.

The visits of Lord Buddha and Emperor Asoka

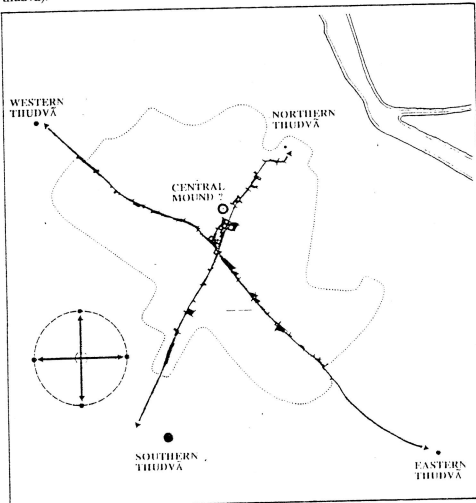
The chronicles include mentions of putative visits by both Sakyamuni Buddha and the Emperor Asoka to the Kathmandu Valley. In fact it is highly unlikely that either ever came there. Most make no specific connection with Patan, although Padmagiri's chronicle does say that shortly after the Buddha's visit Buddhists and Saivites (followers of Lord Siva) became distinguished from each other, and "the cities of Devapatan, Kantipur (Kathmandu), Lalitpur and Bhaktapur were built and peopled." Oldfield claimed that the city's circular shape is meant to recall the Buddha's wheel of the Dharma, but this is not found in local sources, to the best of my knowledge.

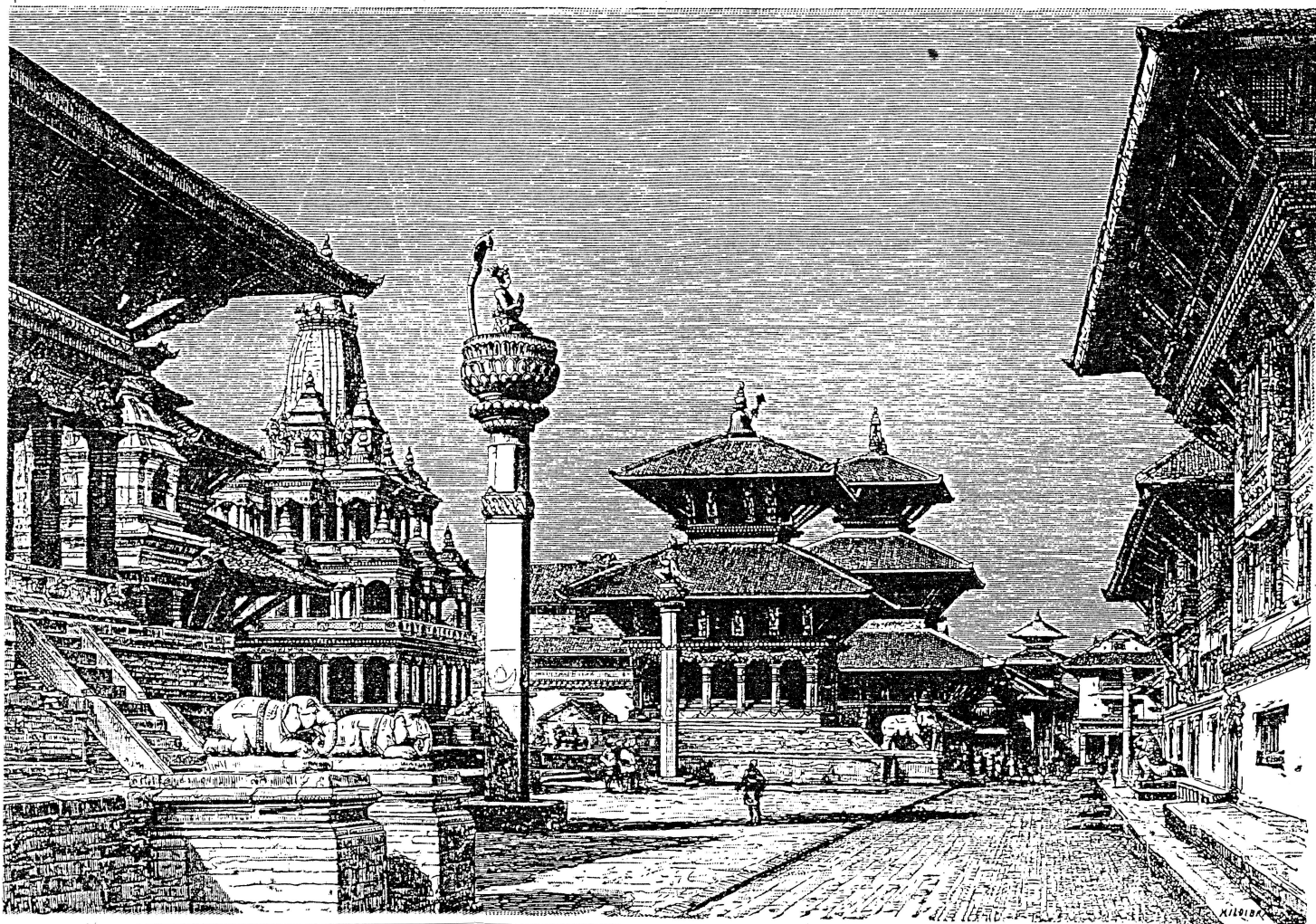
Although Asoka is not supposed to have visited Patan, which even on the chronicles' account did not yet exist, he is thought to have constructed the four large *stupas* which exist in each of the four directions of Patan, three outside he city boundaries, the northern one just inside it. Although there is no documentary evidence for it, their shape is certainly very archaic. Asoka is also credited with establishing the numerous Licchavi-period *caityas* which are known locally as *asokacaitya*. I is said that he left in a hurry, before he had time to establish Buddhas in the niches, which is why they are so often empty.

Locations of the temples and shrines of the Eight Mothergoddesses (Aṣṭamātṛkā) which surround the city. The cremation places (*smaṣana* or *māṣan*) are related to these goddesses; the three city areas correspond to these three cremation grounds. The Pore from Lāgā, however, have a separate cremation ground.



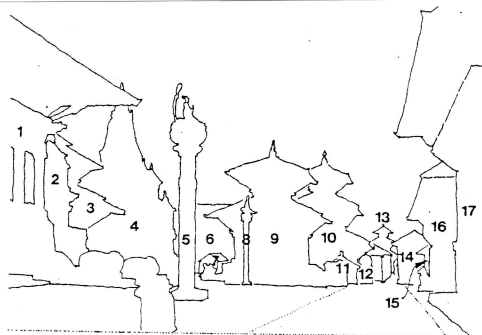
The underlying street cross of present day Patan and the five main mounds (*stūpa*, *thudvā*).





King Sarvananda and Guita Tva

In the first world age, the Satya Yuga, a king called Sarvananda gave a alms that he had earned by his own effort as a blacksmith's apprentice to the Buddha Dipankara. His city, known as Dipavati, is supposed to be on the site of present-day Guita. Sarvananda's alms-giving is celebrated every year in Patan with the festival of Pancadan in the Buddhist holy month of Gula when alms are given to Sakya and Bajracarya men who circulate from monastery to monastery and house to house.



Darbār Square seen from the south. Etching after a photograph of Gustave Le Bon, 1885.

(1) Sankara Narayana Temple, 1706; (2) Narasimha Temple, 1589; (3) Narayana Temple, 1652; (4) Krishna Temple, 1637; (5) Pillars with Yoganarendramalla, 1693; (6) Sattah of Bhimsen Temple, 17th century; (7) Unidentified structure, not existing today; (8) Pillar with Garuda, 1637; (9) Visvanatha Temple, 1627; (10) Bhimsen Temple, 1680; (11) Manigupha, 17th century; (12) Kupitesvara Temple, indeterminate date; (13) Radha-Krishna Temple in Svatha, built during the reign of Siddhinarasimha; (14) Sarasvati Sattah, 17th century; (15) Mani-mandapa, 17th century; (16) Kesava-Narayana Cuka, 1734; (17) Degutale Temple, 1661.

The Creation of Mangah (Mangal Bazaar)

According to Wright's chronicle, Birdeva established the various gods and a royal palace at the center of the city:

"...he built a chaitya and a dhara (water fountain), and erected a Sivalinga, a Ganesha, a Mahakala, and a Mandapa, and built a Darbar for the Raja, all of which he consecrated. Being a devotee of Mani Jogini, he named all these after that goddess as follows: Mani-talau, (i.e. Taleju), Mani-chaitya, Mani-dhara, Mani-lings, Mani-Ganesha, Mani-Kumara, Mani-Mahakala, Mani-Mandapa, and Mani-galbhatta."

This is intended as an explanation of the name for the center of the city. The name 'Maga' or 'Mangah' becomes 'Mangal' in Nepali.



Darbar Square, view towards Mulcok and
Taleju Degah, photograph Kurt Boeck, 1899



HISTORY OF PATAN

The Licchavi Period (5th-9th centuries)

Patan is certainly one of the oldest inhabited areas of the Kathmandu Valley. We know this because of the abundance of remains, including inscriptions. Buddhist *caityas*, and sculptures, to be found there. There were three villages connected by an irrigation channel called Thambu, Gansul, and Mulavatika. Near the present Sundhara/Luhiti was a village called Matin where in 610 AD Amsuvarman rebuilt a crumbling temple and turned land that had previously been property of the crown over to the local corporate group (*pancali*) for the temple's future upkeep. The present locality of Guita was included in a village called Gullamtanga (of which 'Guita' is surely the abbreviated form). In 679 King Narendradeva assigned and its lands to the upkeep of Sivadeva Vihara (Buddhist monastery). What is now Subaha *tva* was probably part of this village. Another village may well have been sited in what is now Cyasah *tva*, since there are many Licchavi remains there also. The main areas of Licchavi settlement seem therefore to have been what are now the north, east, and south quadrants of the city. In subsequent centuries, as these villages began to form one city, the settlement spread west wards.

Largest of all in the Licchavi period was the settlement known as Yupagrama (Yupa village). This seems to have stretched from present-day Mangah as far south as Tagabaha. It is likely that the Newari name of Patan, Yala, comes from *Yalasi*, now usually pronounced *yasi*, the name of the tall poles erected during various festivals, but particularly during Yenyah (Indrajatra). The Sanskrit *yupa* refers to the sacrificial pole used during Vedic rituals, but could also be used for the poles erected in honor of Indra. 'Yupagrama' would then be an honorific and Sanskritized version of the local name. By 724 AD at the end of the Licchavi period, Yupagrama, like the settlement of Daksinakoligrama in the southern part of what is now Kathmandu, had been raised from the status of a village to that of town (*dranga*) because of its flourishing commerce. At this time the town was divided into several sections (*pancali*). Some of their names are known: Gigvala, Jajje, Tegvala, and Yugvala. Tegvala is the present-day Taga. However, it now seems clear that, contrary to what some earlier historians believed, the capital of the Kathmandu Valley in the Licchavi period was never in Patan, but rather in Hadigaon, or, according to some, in Kathmandu.

The kings of the Licchavi period supported both Hinduism and Buddhism. Up till Amsuvarman Vaisnavism was the favored court cult, thereafter Saivism. But Buddhism was always important. This can be clearly seen from Amsuvarman's Hadigaon inscription of 608. In this the important deities and personages of the kingdom are listed with the tribute due to each.

We do not know just how this tax, called the *sravanika*, was paid. What the inscription does clearly tell us is that two parallel hierarchies were envisaged, one of gods and the other of men. Among the gods the highest spiritual rank is given to two Hindu temples. Pasupati and Cagu Narayan, listed first, and to five Buddhist monasteries. In the second rank come all other Buddhist monasteries and ten Hindu temples. Clearly Buddhism was of great importance at this time.

Of these five most important monasteries in Amsuvarman's time, Gu Vihara was at Vajrayogini in Sankhu, a site still known by that time. The exact site of the other four monasteries - Sri Mana Vihara, Sri Raja Vihara, Kharjurika Vihara, and Madhyama Vihara - is not known, but there is reason to believe that they were in the Patan area.

This shows that the association of Patan with Buddhism is very old. Of the four, only one, Sri Mana Vihara, has any possible connection to an institution that exists today. Cukabaha in the south of the city has as its formal name Manadeva-samskarita-Cakra-mahavihara, i.e. the Cakra great monastery founded by Manadeva. Furthermore, Wright's chronicle which was written in Patan, records the tradition that Manadeva abdicated in favor of his son and became a monk in the monastery he had founded. There are no ancient remains at the present site to confirm these accounts.

The Thakuri or Transitional Period (c. 879-1200) and the early Malla Period (1200-1382)

The first time that we come across a form of the modern honorific name for the city of Patan is in AD 920, when it occurs as 'Lalitabruma'. Thereafter it occurs frequently in inscriptions and in the colophons to manuscripts as Lalitabruma, Lalitakrama, Lalitapur, Lalitapuri, or Lalitapattana. In ordinary speech, we can be fairly sure that, then as now, the city was known as Yala, since it is as 'Yahra' that the city is almost always referred to in the Gopala Raja chronicle written at the end of the fourteenth century.

It was in the tenth and eleventh centuries that the center of Patan came to be called Maniglake, Manigwala, or Manigala, which today has become Mangah or Mangal. It probably comes from the old Newari meaning 'central place (*gvala*)', and in fact it is called "Lalitakrama's central *tolka* (*tva*), Manigvala" in an inscription of 1114. This old meaning has been lost. The name is understood today either to mean *mangal*, an auspicious event, or to be a compound from *mani*-, jewel, as in the myth from Wright's chronicle quoted above.

The political history of this period is complicated and confusing. Power was much more decentralized than either before or after. The period after the Licchavi dynasty until 1200 is known as the Thakuri period because the late chronicles fill it with three Thakuri dynasties. In fact the information they give is not at all historically accurate, but the name has stuck. The dynastic links of the kings between 879 and 1200 are not clear. From 1200 to 1258 the early Malla dynasty ruled. Between 1258 and 1382 two separate dynasties, the Tipura and Bhonta families, based in Bhaktapur and Banepa respectively, shared power: sometimes they did so peaceably, alternately providing the king, at other times they fought each other and invited in outsiders when they were out of power. During this period of wars and invasions Patan provided the capital of the Valley for some of the time, according to the eminent historian Petch. Throughout the period it was important for those aspiring to power to hold its royal palace, Manigala, and they fought over it frequently.

Buddhism continued to be significant in Patan; a large number of Buddhist manuscripts were copied there throughout this period, when other historical sources are scarce. None of the four big Licchavi monasteries of the area survived under the names that we know them from

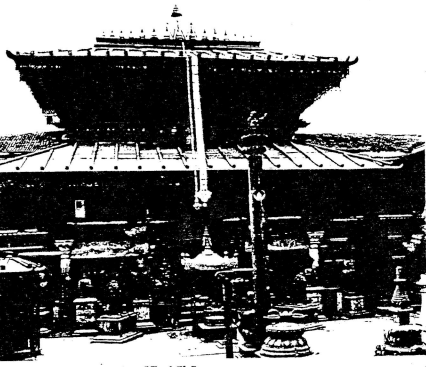
Amsuvarman's inscription, but probably the sites continued under other names.

One of the most important monasteries of this period was Ukubaha, in the south-east of Patan. Formally it is known as Sivadeva-samskarita-Rudravarna-mahavihara, i.e. the great Rudravarna monastery built by (or renovated by) King Sivadeva. Historians disagree whether this is likely to be the Licchavi king Sivadeva, who reigned 590-604 and is known to have founded monasteries, or the Thakuri period Sivadeva who reigned from 1098 to 1126. We saw above that Narendradeva assigned lands in Guita to support a Sivadeva monastery in 679, but this could have been another monastery. In any case Ukubaha was certainly flourishing on its present site by the eleventh century. For many centuries it was known as the Rudravarma monastery, rather than the present Rudravarna monastery. It is likely that the name came from a local nobleman called Rudra Varman who made endowments to it in the late eleventh century.

At least five other important present-day monasteries probably existed already in the Thakuri and early Malla periods. Among these were Subaha, known then as Salako Vihara, and Habaha, then known as Hatako Vihara. In this period Habaha was probably located on the site of the southernmost courtyard of the royal palace, Sundari Cok, built by King Siddhinarasimha in 1647. The tradition that the monastery was moved to its present site in Gabaha to enable the palace to be expanded is well attested.

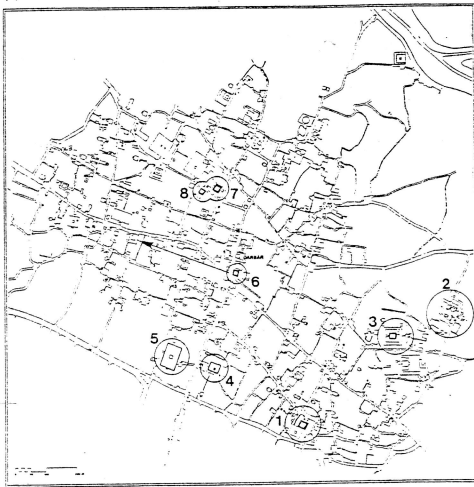
To the south of the city were two other monasteries that probably existed at this time: Tagabaha and Tabaha. Taga tva, as noted above, is an old one. The Sanskrit name of Tagabaha, Jyesthavarṇa-mahavihara (*jyestha* means 'first - born'), is an indication of its seniority, which was acknowledged in the later Malla period. The first inscriptional evidence for Tagabaha comes from 1135. The site of Tabaha is possibly equally old, though it seems likely that the present membership came from elsewhere in the seventeenth century. Finally Kvabaha, the monastery with the largest membership today, may date from this period. Although the earliest inscriptional evidence dates only from 1399, there is a strong tradition that it was founded by Bhaskaradeva, who ruled from 1045 to 1047. The Thaku Juju family, living in the nearby Nhubaha, are believed to be the descendants of Bhaskaradeva, and they still fulfill the important ritual role of sponsor for initiations in the monastery, and for the five-yearly festival of Samyak (see below). It is possible that at this early period Kvabaha was known as Yabaha; there is a reference to Yabaha in Wright's chronicle, and still today the members of Kvabaha are known, not as one might expect as *kvababasa*, but as *yambahasa* (i.e. *sa* or Monastic Community of Yabaha).

Buddhism was of such importance in Patan that the two halves of the city were occasionally called 'Northern Monastery' (*uttara vihara*) and 'Southern Monastery' (*daksina vihara*). The earliest and latest dates for the use of these terms are 1141 and 1524. None the less the greatest center of Buddhism at this period seems to have been Svayambhu, and not Patan, since it was there and at the famous Thabahi in Kathmandu that the Buddhist scholars Atisa and Dharmasvamin stayed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The only other site mentioned in their biographies is the monastery of Bugadyah (Karunamaya) in Buga (Bungamati).



Shrine building of *kvapadyah* at Ukubāhā.

Eight ancient monasteries: (1) Ukubāhā, (2) Guita, (3) Subāhā (Sālakovihāra), (4) Tāgabāhā, (5) Tabāhā, (6) Habāhā (Hatakoviḥāra), (7) Kvābāhā (Yābāhā), and (8) Nhubāhā



The Later Malla Period (1382-1768)

In 1382 Sthiti Malla became king, consolidating formally the supreme power he had held for some time. Under him, and under his grandson, Yaksha Malla, who reigned from 1428 to 1482, Nepal was unified and generally peaceful. During this time the capital was in Bhaktapur, but both Kathmandu and Patan were kept up as royal centers too. After Yaksha Malla the kingdom was divided, as had often happened before, between the king's sons. From 1516 until 1597 Patan was effectively independent of the Mallas, and was ruled by the important noblemen of the town, especially Visnusimha (1546-56) and his son, Purandrasimha (1560-97). In 1597 King Sivasimha of Kathmandu conquered Patan, but after his death in 1619 his domain was divided, Patan going to one grandson, Siddhinarasimha, and Kathmandu to another, Lakshminarasimha, father of the famous Pratap Malla.

Darbar Square with Keshav Narayan Cok (restored 1984-1997) and Teleju Degah (reconstructed after 1934, roof renewed in 1996), photograph February 1997

Patan, as it is today, is essentially a creation of three kings, Siddhinarasimha (who reigned from 1619-1660), his son Srinivasa (reigned 1660-1684), and his son, Yoganarendra (reigned 1684-1705). By 1641 Srinivasa was already sharing administrative responsibilities with his father, and was joint king from 1649. Yoganarendra took a leaf from his father's book, and pushed him into religious retirement in 1684 or 1685, two years before his death. Yoganarendra himself was poisoned at the age of 39; contemporary sources



all ascribe this to an agent of the people of Bhaktapur, whose city he was besieging. From 1705 to 1768, when the city was taken by the Gorkhalis under Prithvi Narayan Shah, the founder of modern Nepal and ancestor of the present king, Patan was ruled by a succession of weak and short-lived monarchs. Real power reverted to the descendants of the noblemen who had dominated the city in the sixteenth century.

It will evident how much the city owes to the rulers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries if we examine the collection of monuments which make up Patan's superb palace square. Two temples in the palace square date from the sixteenth century, both built by Purandarasimha: the Car Narayan temple in 1566 in memory of his father, and the small Narasimha temple in memory of a dead brother, in 1589. The palace in the centre of the city was built as it is today by Siddhinarasimha and Srinivasa. Siddhinarasimha built the Visvesvara temple in 1627 and the famous Krsna temple in 1637. Srinivasa built the small Narayan temple in 1652, and the Bhimsen temple, which is so important for shopkeepers, artisans, and farmers of the city, in 1681. Srinivasa's minister, Bhagirath Bhaiya built the Bhai Deval in 1678 as a replica of the Visvanath temple of Benares, destroyed by the iconoclastic Moghul emperor, Aurangzeb, in 1669. Of the two other main temples in the square, the Sankara-Narayan temple was built in 1706 by Yoganarendra's sister, Rudramati, and the Cyasi ('eight-sided') Deval in 1723 by his daughter Yogamati, in memory of her son, Lokaprakasa, who was king for less than a year and died of smallpox, aged eight.

The rulers of Patan in this period defined their position in predominantly Hindu terms, which can be seen by the fact they filled their palace and its square entirely with Hindu gods. They themselves traced their descent from Rama, an incarnation of Visnu, and claimed to be partial incarnations of Visnu. They were usually very pious, performing numerous Hindu devotions and taking initiations from Hindu priests. Yet they found themselves ruling a population which was predominantly Buddhist.

While we do not know if this was so in the Licchavi period, it can be said with considerable certainty that the vast majority of the ordinary people of Patan in the Malla period were more Buddhist than Hindu in orientation. As today, they mostly had Buddhist Bajracarya priests, and their most important god, Karunamaya (Bugadyah, later to be called Matsyendranath), was Buddhist. The strength of Buddhism in the city can be measured by the number of Bajracaryas and Sakyas, who together form the Buddhist clergy. Of the entire number in the Valley as a whole today, 46.5% live within Patan, 32.3% in Kathmandu, and only 11.7% in Bhaktapur and surrounding villages. (The remainder live in villages in what used to be Patan's kingdom, such as Buga, Barega, Vay (Chapagaon), and Durukhyah.) These present-day proportions surely reflect the distribution of the Buddhist clergy in the late Malla period also. Thus, John Locke's survey of all the monasteries of the Valley found 166 monasteries of different sorts in Patan, 1134 in Kathmandu (including Cabahil and Svayambhu), and 23 in Bhaktapur. The vast majority of these date back to the Malla period.

How did the Hindu Malla kings deal with this situation of a largely Buddhist populace? Essentially by two complementary strategies. In the first place they enthusiastically accepted the principal cult of the city, that of Karunamaya or Bugadyah; in this and other contexts they occasionally made use of the services of Bajracarya priests. But secondly, they

propagated a Hindu interpretation of it, and at the same time they tried to mould their subjects' rituals and practices so that they would be in line with Hindu norms. In other words, Buddhism, with its priests, gods, and rituals, was given a valid place, but one that was encapsulated within a broader Hindu framework. In this Hindu framework, Brahmans had ultimate spiritual authority, and Buddhist priests were considered lower, more specialized ritual technicians. High-born kings and their courtiers were the only ones who could have Brahmans as their family priests and the only ones entitled to receive the highest Hindu Tantric initiations. There is some evidence that kings and their courtiers considered Buddhism a suitable religion for people of low status. This low status was and is rejected, however, by Buddhists themselves.

Before considering the steps the Hindu kings took to Hinduize the practices of their Buddhist subjects, a brief sketch of Newar Buddhism, to be treated in greater detail below, must be provided. The most important point to note is that the Buddhist clergy in the Malla period, as today, did not consist of an order of celibate monks drawn from the lay population. Rather it consisted of a hereditary caste, like Brahmans in the Hindu caste system. This caste was and is formed from two intermarrying sections, called Bajracaryas (meaning 'Masters of the Diamond', i.e. of the Diamond way, Vajrayana) and Sakya (short for Sakyabhiksu, 'Buddhist monk', or for Sakyavamsa, 'of the Buddha's lineage'). Bajracarya and Sakya men are, so to speak, married householder monks. They become members of a given monastery by going through a four-day Monastic Initiation in that monastery. Thereafter they have certain rights and duties there: they are responsible for the daily worship in the monastery according to a roster, and with time and seniority they may become one of the elders of the monastery. Their sons may be initiated in the monastery only if they marry a Bajracarya or Sakya girls. Bajracarya men, in addition, have a further right, to be priests for lay people, as Brahmans are for lay Hindus. In the past those Bajracaryas with a large number of parishioners (*jajman*) could live from the priesthood alone, though is not considered possible today. Thus other Newars, including the kings, treated the Bajracaryas and Sakyas as Buddhist monks, giving them alms on various occasions, visiting their Buddhist monasteries, and showing by their use of respectful language that they considered them superior to all lay people. For their part, Bajracaryas and Sakyas, though married, maintained a religious style of life, keeping their heads shaved, and spending much time on religious ritual and devotions.

Buddhism in the Licchavi period was certainly of the more orthodox sort. At that time the monasteries were inhabited by celibate monks, some of whom were drawn from the local population, while others came from India. It seems likely that married Bajracarya priests first appeared in the Valley by the tenth or eleventh century; parallel developments are documented for India as early as the fifth or sixth century. The present system was certainly in place by 1440, when a document from Vabaha specifies rules of the type followed today. Between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries celibate monks and married practitioners probably coexisted, with celibates gradually dying out. In this period the last recorded celibate monk resident in Patan was on Vanaratna, originally a Bengali who had studied in Tibet. He spent the last years of his life living in Pintubahi in the north of the city, where he was greatly respected and performed three large alms-giving ceremonies; he died there, a few months after the last one, in 1468. Even after this time, however, Newars

maintained contact with Tibetan Buddhism, since many of them went to Tibet to trade or work as artisans, and Tibetans continued to visit the holy sites of the Valley and beyond. Occasionally Newars became monks in the Tibetan tradition.

Darbar Square, with Sphatikeshvara Degah in front and Umamaheshvara Degah (left) and Krishna Degah (right) in the background. Only the Krishna Degah survived the earthquake of 1934, whereas of the two other temples only the platform remains.

Photograph Kurt Boeck, 1899

While the Bajracaryas and Sakyas of the Malla period were in fact householders, their social and religious status was that of monks. They kept up the traditions of monks, rather than those of householders. In particular this meant that, as noted above, they went entirely shaven headed, without even the top-knot which is the symbol of the householder in Hinduism. Furthermore, some of them did not perform rituals considered necessary in Hinduism to remove the impurity of a birth or a death, since as monks, they were not subject to such impurity.





Darbar: Entrance to the Keshav Narayan Cok,
photograph February 1997

The Hinduizing Measures of Siddhinarasimha and Srinivasa

The Cult of Karunamaya

The sponsoring role of the king in the festival of Karunamaya survives to this day. Normally he is represented by a sword, but traditionally he is present in person at the end of the festival when there is the ceremony of 'showing the vest' in Jawalakhel. Until the mid-seventeenth century, Karunamaya's temple was always in the village of Buga, part of Patens kingdom, and four miles to the south. The god was brought to Patan once a year for the annual chariot festival. The cult was taken up with enthusiasm both by Siddhinarasimha and by Srinivasa. Historical sources are silent on the matter, but historians have deduced that possibly as early as 1621, but at any rate by 1652 when Kunu Sharma wrote his Sanskrit poem, the *Kirtipataka* describing the city, one or other of the two kings had taken the decision to establish a second temple of Karunamaya in Patan itself. Henceforth Karunamaya was to spend six months in each temple, thus bringing him closer to the people of Patan who were his devotees. No doubt this new custom was a successful attempt to increase the popularity of the king. Tabaha was chosen as the site for his new temple. It seems that the membership of its ancient monastery had died out and some Bajracaryas from a small monastery in Daubaha *tva*, called Bhelakhubaha, were assigned to it.

Identification of Karunamaya with Krsna or Visnu

According to local chronicles and myths, King Siddhinarasimha introduced the custom of having two Brahmans ride on the chariot of Karunamaya. Although the rest of the cult is entirely in the hands of Bajracaryas, Sakyas, and their assistants (e.g. Dagols and Maharjans), this provides a Hindu veneer, making Hindu Participation in the festival acceptable. And indeed, the annual festival inhabitants of Patan, including Brahmans, as it is for Buddhists.

Siddhinarasimha seems to have encouraged the identification of Karunamaya with Krsna, whose famous temple he had just built in front of his palace. At the same time the Buddha was recognized as an avatar of Visnu, a classical Hindu doctrine evolved precisely for this purpose, to absorb Buddhist devotions into a Hindu framework; and the Buddha is depicted among the ten avatars placed around the verandah of the Krsna temple.

This policy of identification continued with the famous golden window of the palace, which Srinivasa had made. Here the Buddhist *bodhisattva*, Srstikartr-lokesvara, 'Lokesvara emitting all the gods', a form of Karunamaya, is depicted emitting the Hindu gods. In a Buddhist context this demonstrates the superiority of Buddhism to Hinduism. But in this window the whole icon is framed by forms of Visnu above, and by Visnu's mount, Garuda below, again emphasizing that the principal Buddhist bodhisattva is a form of Visnu.

Identification with Matsyendranath, a form of Siva

King Siddhinarasimha divided the garden of his palace into three parts,

dedicating them to Degutale, Taleju, and "Matsyendranath". Degutale and Taleju are two forms of the Malla kings' own tutelary deity; that Karunamaya was given an equivalent position suggests that he was the 'national deity' of Patan even in Siddhinarasimha's time, and not only from the time of his son Srinivasa, as is sometimes claimed.

For most Nepalese, the identification of Karunamaya as Matsyendranath is better known than the stories about Krsna. Indeed it is as Matsyendra or Macchindranath that the god is known in the outside world, which for a long time remained ignorant of the essentially Buddhist nature of his cult.

Matsyendranath was in origin probably a historical personage, a Saivite Tantric *yogin* who lived in the tenth century. Gorakhnath, who became the patron saint of Gorkha, and therefore of the Shah dynasty, was his disciple. From the fourteenth century at least, Nath or Kanphata yogins were present in the Katmandu Valley. They made *Maru Sattah*, the famous Kasthamandapa that gave Kathmandu its name, into a Gorakhanath temple and stayed there until its renovation in 1966. It was probably they who first decided to identify Karunamaya/Bugadyah as Matsyendranath. They may also have been responsible for the parallel identification of Cakwadyah with Minnath, an alternative epithet of the same *yogin*.

Srinivasa encouraged the identification with Matsyendranath. The Sanskrit poem the *Kirtipataka*, mentioned above, which was written in 1652 and is full of praises of Srinivasa, describes the temples of Karunamaya and Cakwadyah at length, using only the names Matsyendranath and Minnath. In 1673 Srinivasa instituted an annual feast in Buga for Nath *yogins*, the principal worshippers of Matsyendranath, as part of the god's annual festival. (In 1675 he also made or reaffirmed rules for conduct in Karunamaya's temple, and theses excluded low castes from the compound.)

One reason Srinivasa may have had for encouraging this identification was precisely the link between Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath. It was at this time that the kingdom of Gorkha began to be involved in the affairs of the Valley, and Srinivasa may have wished to express his paternalistic attitude to Gorkha through the guru-disciple relationship of the kingdoms' respective patron saints. He was not to know that it was to be the disciple who became all-powerful, and that the myths would eventually be turned around so that the guru legitimated the disciple's supremacy. It was in fact only after 1769, and Prithivi Narayan Shah's conquest of the Valley, including the kingdom of Patan, that the identification of the god as Matsyendranath became significant even for the people of Patan, being then integrated into their own mythological accounts of the god's origin in Assam.



THE BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

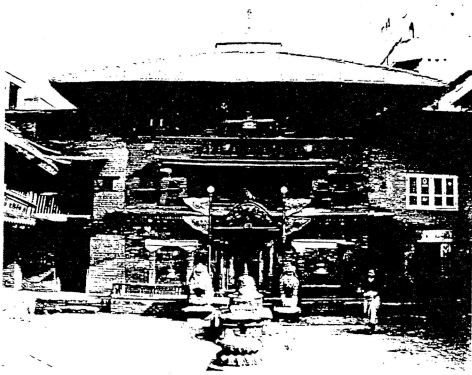
Regulation of the monasteries: the main monasteries

Newars today recognize three types of monastery: main monasteries (*mu baha*), *bahi*, and branch monasteries (*kaca baha*). There are in Patan 18 main monasteries, 25 *bahi*, and 123 branch monasteries of various sorts. Main monasteries, though the least numerous, are the largest monuments and have the largest membership; in every way they are the dominant Buddhist force in Lalitpur, as indeed in Kathmandu. The *bahi*, though there are more of them, are smaller, poorer institutions with many fewer members. The *baha* and the *bahi* represent two different tendencies within Newar Buddhism, and the differences between them are discussed below. What is important, for the moment, is the difference between the main monasteries and the *bahi* taken together, on the one hand, and branch monasteries, on the other.

The principal distinction is that in main monasteries and in *bahi* Monastic Initiation (*cudakarma*, *bare chuyegu*) may be performed, and when a boy passes through the initiation in a given monastery he is *ipso facto* a member of that monastery. In branch monasteries, by contrast, such initiations are not normally performed. Most branch monasteries were founded by Sakyas or Bajracaryas who were already members of a main monastery or, more rarely, of a *bahi*. Many branch monasteries were established during the Malla period, but many were also founded in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. However, it is considered too expensive to found a new monastery of this sort today.

Sometimes such branch monasteries were founded by lay castes, and the regular daily ritual was entrusted to specified Sakyas and/ or Bajracaryas. Thus Akibaha in the north-east corner of Nyakhacuk was built by, and is still considered to belong to, a lineage of Pradhans who now live in Kathmandu. Jombaha and Haugabaha, both in Hauga, belong to the Silpakar and Rajkarnikar communities respectively. In 1868 Sankhadhar Awale established Sankhabaha in Cyasah, and until recently members of Vabaha used to come to perform the daily ritual there.

All these branches monasteries can be called, for convenience, lineage monasteries, though it should be remembered that this is not the translation of a local term. Such monasteries belong to a lineage or group of related households descended from the founder; they share the duties of performing rituals there and they share the income which the founder or subsequent donors have given to the monastery. It does not really make sense to say that these monasteries have a Monastic Community (*sangha*, *sa*) as main monasteries and *bahi* do. Whereas with main monasteries and *bahi*, individual Sakyas and Bajracaryas are members of them, but do not own them, lineage monasteries are treated as the collective property of a family or lineage, as the case may be. Thus, they are run like a *guthi*, the widespread Newar socio-religious institution for religious purposes. The land they used to hold to fund their rituals, and which in some cases they still do hold, is held under *guthi* land tenure, that is to say, as tax-free religious land. As a *guthi*, members may drop out if they wish without



Shrine building of kvapadyah at Subāhā

stigma, and nowadays many people do so. What Sakyas and Bajracaryas cannot do is drop out of their main monastery or *bahi*, without losing their cast status altogether.

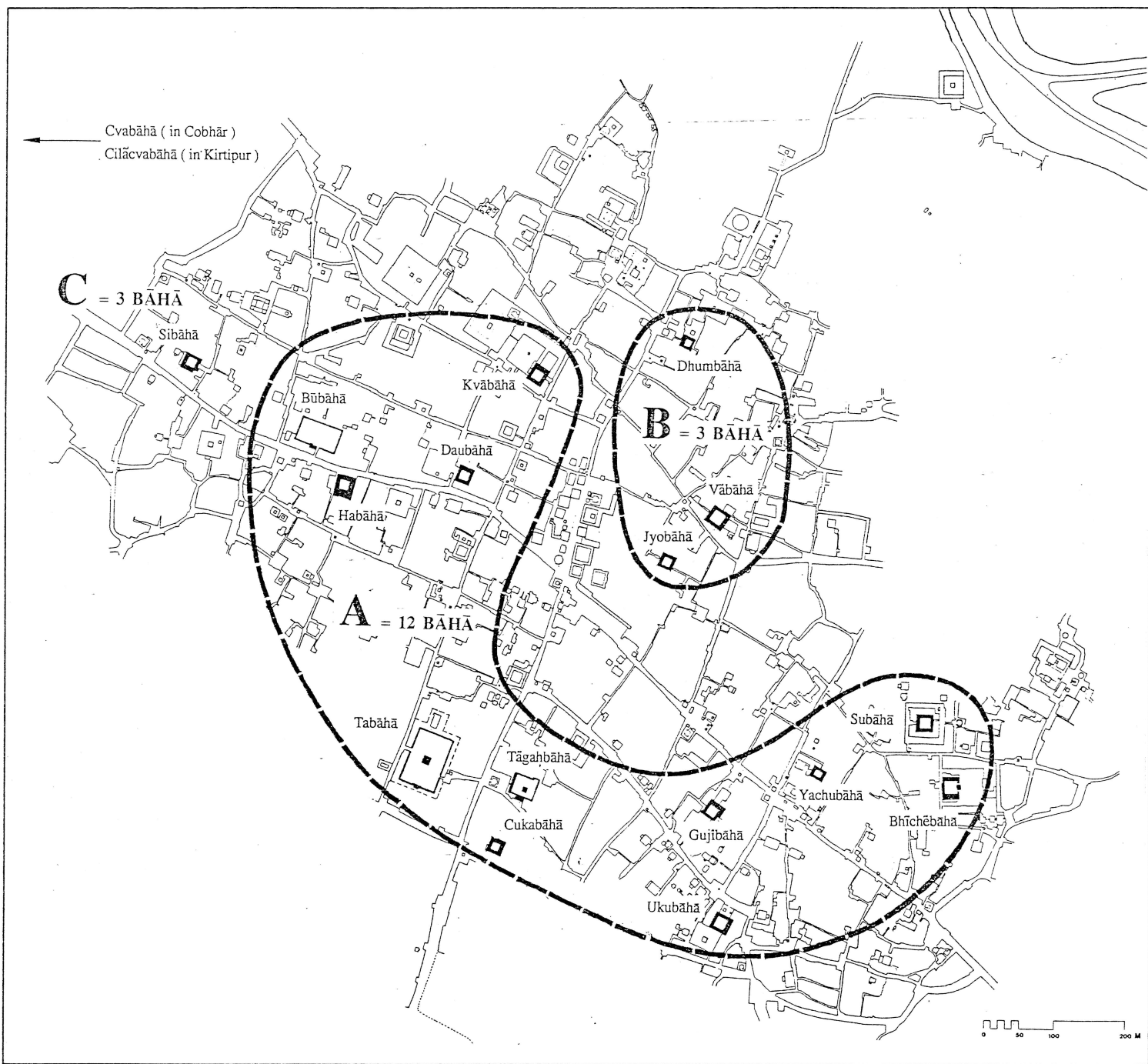
In short, the vast majority of branch monasteries are private institutions, built on the model of main monasteries, but without an initiated Monastic Community. They are not a focus of devotion from other Newars (except in Mataya, see below). None the less, the existence of these lineage monasteries in large numbers is a highly significant fact: they express the Buddhist allegiance of the majority of Patan's inhabitants and are an essential part of its townscape, creating a warren of connected courtyards in which everyday life is placed in a pervasive Buddhist sacred framework.

There is one further type of monastery, which is also usually called 'branch monastery' in Newari. These are monasteries which fit into none of the above categories. They are *baha* which do in fact have Monastic Community of initiated members, but they fall outside the recognized lists of main monasteries and *bahi*. Here the term 'branch monastery' is being used as a catch-all, residual category to refer to any monastery that falls outside the recognized system. There are just three of these in Patan (Nahabaha, Hyanbaha, and Yokubaha), and a further six that are semi-independent branches of Kvabaha (on these see below). Such *baha* we can call independent monasteries. They are not very significant in Patan; in Kathmandu., by contrast, there are more of them, they are of undoubted antiquity, they have more members, and they have important roles in Buddhist ritual in the city (e.g. in Samyak).

One further category needs to be mentioned: monasteries-by-extension. These are residential courtyards (*nani*) with large numbers of Sakyas and Bajracaryas, and numerous *caityas*. Consequently local people have given them monastery names, even though they were never established as monasteries, and do not function as monasteries in any of the above senses. The two main examples here are the courtyards of Nyakhacuk and Nagbaha (old name: Ilanhe) in the north-west quadrant of the city.

Where does the dominant system of main monasteries and *bahi* come from? Wright's chronicle, which was written in Patan, gives a detailed account of Siddhinarasimha's regulations, which we are now in a position to understand. He evidently attempted to systematize a previously existing situation. He probably wished to have a few specified leaders of his Buddhist subjects, whom he could deal with efficiently. Perhaps also he wished to make sure that the Sakyas and Bajracaryas did indeed constitute a caste, like the rest of his subjects, and did not recruit and initiate members from other castes. A recognized list of monasteries entitled to perform Monastic Initiation would help to enforce such a rule.

At the time of Siddhinarasimha there was already a recognized list of twelve main monasteries to which three newly founded monasteries were added, making fifteen (*jhinyagu bihar*). To these fifteen three further were then added again, making a final list of eighteen. Though there have been eighteen since that time, they are still known colloquially as 'the fifteen monasteries'. The original twelve were:



Location and grouping of the eighteen main monasteries (mūbāhā) which have the right to perform Monastic Initiation. "A" monasteries include the twelve original bāhā which are said to have existed prior to Siddhi Narasimha, i.e. before the beginning of the

17th century. "B" monasteries are those appended to the list by Siddhi Narasimha who reigned 1619-1667. "C" monasteries are those bāhā added to the list at a later date, i.e. "when the rules already existed".

*Usual name**Sanskritic title*

Tagabaha	Balarcana-samskarita-Jyesthavama mahavihara
Tabaha	Bhuvanakaravarma-s.-Dharmakirti-m.
Bhichebaha	Sarikaradeva-s.-Mayurvarna-m.
Gujibaha	Vaisya-Sri-Divakaravarma-s.-mahavihara
Ukubaha	Sivadeva-s.-Sri- Rudradevavarna-m.
Habaha	Sri-Laksmikalyanavarma-s.-Ratnakara-m.
Kvabaha	Bhaskaradeva-s.- Hiranyavarna-m.
Bubaha	Vidyadharasarma-s.-Yasodhara-m.
Cukabaha	Manadeva-s.-Cakravarna-m.
Subaha	Indradeva-s.-Jayamanoharavarma-m.
Daubaha	Rudradevagagotravarma-s.-Sri-Dattanama-m.
Yachubaha	Baladharagupta-s.-Baladhara-m.

The three new monasteries were supposedly:

Vabaha	Suryavarma-s.-Vajrakirti-m.
Jyobaha	Rudradeva-Nangapala-s.-Jyoti-m.
Dhumbaha	Gunalaksmi-s.-Gunalaksmi-m.

To these were added the monasteries of Cobhar and Kirtipur, which were within the kingdom of Patan, and another new monastery, built after the king made the rules, namely, Sibaha in the west of Patan:

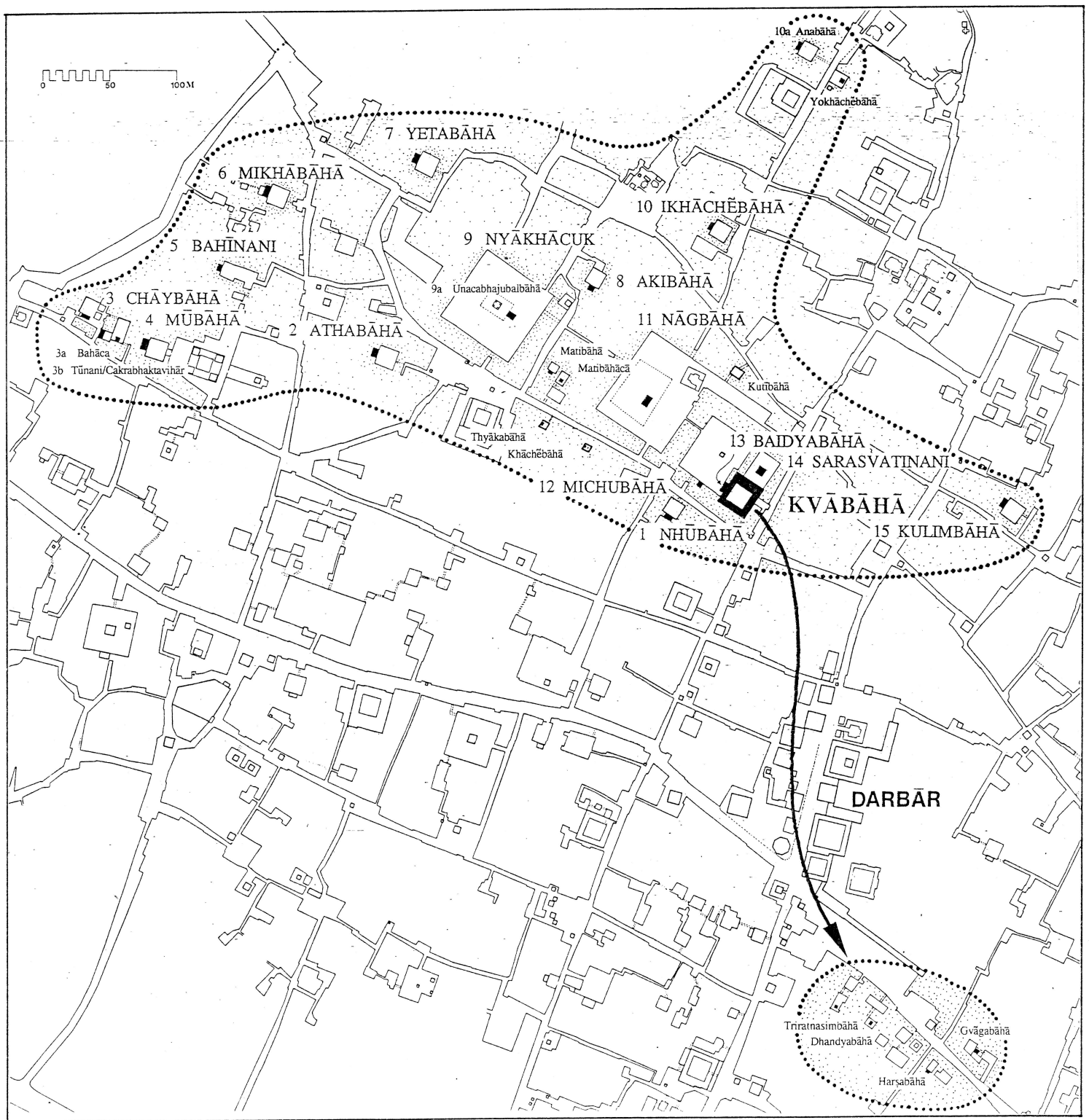
Cvabaha	Indradeva-s.-Sri-Asanalokesvara-m.
Cilacvabaha	Jagatapalavarma-s.-Padmakasthagiri-m.
Sibaha	Sri-Vatsa-mahavihara.

There is a problem with this account, in that we know that both Vabaha and Sibaha existed before the time of Siddhinarasimha. However it may well be that their membership had died out and they were given to Sakyas and Bajracaryas from elsewhere as part of the reorganization (in the case of Sibaha perhaps it was moved to its present site at this time, as happened to Habaha). The chronicle records that this happened with Cukabaha, which was given to a Bajracarya Tantrik from Nyakhacuk, a member of Kvabaha; and indeed, still today, Cukabaha, though treated as a main monastery for ritual purposes, is owned and run by Bajracarya members of Kvabaha. It has therefore become, in effect, a lineage monastery.

King Siddhinarasimha created a new order of precedence among these monasteries, and did away with the old one. Tagabaha and Tabaha remained first and second, in recognition of their antiquity. Thereafter the new list simply reflected the order in which they appeared at the meeting he had summoned them to. It is probably this order that is now used for the principal deities representing the different monasteries in the festival of Samyak (described further below). The order of precedence is as follows:

Tagabaha	Tabaha	Dhumbaha	Cukabaha	Kvabaha
Vabaha	Daubaha	Bubaha	Habaha	Jyobaha
Gujibaha	Bhichebaha	Ukubaha	Subaha	Yachubaha
Cilacvabaha	Cvabaha	Sibaha		

Siddhinarasimha confirmed the tradition whereby five of the monasteries - Bhichebaha, Ukubaha, Gujibaha, Subaha, and Yachubaha - shared a single elder. (This is no longer so today). Each of the other seven monasteries of the original twelve, with the exception of Cukabaha (which had no



The example of Kvabaha: fifteen branch monasteries (*kacabaha*) are located in the northeastern quadrant of the city, whereas fourteen private lineage monasteries are found in adjoining courtyards, or are represented by shrine buildings in the middle of the large courtyards.

members as noted above), had an elder each. Thus there were seven elders, so the chronicle tells us, was known as the Seven Tathagatas (i.e. Buddhas) and they were respected as such by the people. Siddhinarasimha required each elder to be initiated by means of a ritual called *thapa toaye*, and he made them all belong to a *guthi*. Five of them, the elders of Tabaha, Habaha, Bubaha, Kvabaha, and Bhichebaha, were made responsible for overseeing the purifications of Patan merchants who had been in Tibet, and for passing on the fees to the king.



Kvabaha: Eastern access with gate, topped by a two-tiered pinnacle (*phuca*), Photograph Stanislaw Klimek, August 1991

The three independent monasteries mentioned above, Nahabaha, Hyanbaha, and Yokubaha, are all small institutions which slipped through the net of Siddhinarasimha's reforms. Some say that the Bajracaryas of Hyanbaha were invited to Patan from Kathmandu because they were experts in performing the ritual of *nag sadhan* (summoning holy serpents) in order to bring rain. This might account for their position outside the list of main monasteries.

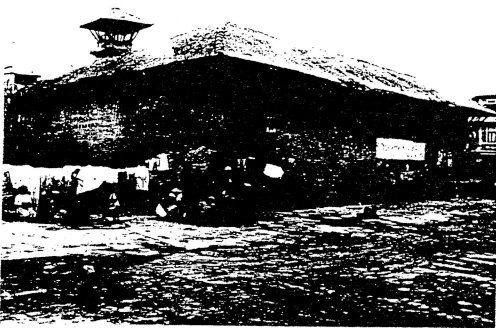
It seems plausible to assume that the monasteries with an initiated Monastic Community which are semi-independent branches of Kvabaha were amalgamated to Kvabaha at the time of Siddhinarasimha's regulations: these monasteries are Athabaha, Mubaha, Yetabaha, Ikhachebaha, Vaidyabaha, and Michubaha. Members of these monasteries perform part of their Monastic Initiation ritual in Kvabaha, but separately from Kvabaha members. On this occasion they may enter the shrine of Kvabaha's principal deity. But this gives them no rights in Kvabaha: they may not be the god-guardian in Kvabaha, or become elders; nor may they participate in the annual feast. For outsiders, and thus for the Malla kings, they could claim to be members of Kvabaha, but at the same time they maintained their independence.

The chronicle does not say when Siddhinarasimha undertook these reforms, but it is possible that it was early in his reign. Around 1615, before he was in fact crowned, Sakyas in Patan stopped calling themselves 'Sakyabhiksu' or 'Bhiksu', i.e. 'Buddhist monk', and started calling themselves 'Sakyavamsa', i.e. 'of the Buddha's lineage'. Sakyas in Kathmandu did not do this. Perhaps the Sakyas felt that, in view of Siddhinarasimha's Hinduizing tendencies, it was better to base their claim to monastic status on descent from the Buddha, rather than on ritual and religious practice. Furthermore, there is evidence from the sixteenth century that becoming a Bajracarya was to a degree optional: some men in the family would do so while others would remain Sakyas. This is certainly not so today: only the sons of Bajracaryas may become Bajracaryas, and all are considered so, although the theoretical possibility is admitted that a Bajracarya young man who omits to take the required initiation will fall to the status of a Sakya. It may well be that this greater emphasis on descent was part of the same approximation to Hindu norms and occurred simultaneously with the Sakyas' adoption of the surname 'Sakyavamsa'.

Regulation of the bahi

At the time of Siddhinarasimha the members of the *bahi* did not deny that they were householders: they were householder monks, that is to say, they maintained the religious role of monk, while in fact being married and having a household. They did this by following monastic rules while carrying out their duties and devotions inside the monastery, but laying them aside at home. Ideologically, they expressed this as following the path of Vajrayana or Tantric Buddhism, which involved the use of fire sacrifices (*homa*) as in Hinduism. More will be said on this below.

The members of the *bahi*, by contrast, though also in fact householders and thus hereditary monks, did not, it seems, accept the ideology of Tantric Buddhism. They claimed, according to Wright's chronicle, to be the representatives of a purer, older Buddhism, one based on celibacy. They represented the meditation, forest-dwelling wing of the Buddhist clergy, disdaining ritual for the practice of celibacy and restraint. They expressed this claim in the names they adopted, continuing to call themselves 'Bhiksu',



Jyababahi as seen from the south

Usual name

Sanskritic Title

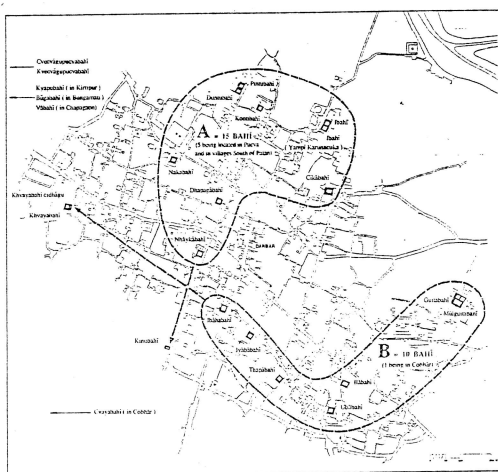
l̥bābahi	R̥j̥as̥r̥i--mahāvihāra
Jyābābahi	Jyestahavarna--mahāvihāra
Khāvābahi	Kāśaka--nāma--mahāvihāra
Khāvāyicdhāgubahi	[unknown]
Guitābahi	Sarvānanda--nṛpa--s--Padmoccasr̥i--s.
Guitām̥l̥bahi	Saptapura--mahāvihāra
Cvaybahi (Cobhar)	[unknown]
Thapbahi	Sthavirapāṭi--mahāvihāra
Ubābahi	Jayasimha--vīrabhadra--s--Jayaśr̥i--
l̥bābahi	Itir̥i--mahāvihāra

The Fifteen Bahā

Usual name

Sanskritic Title

Y bahI	Sunayaṣṭiṣṭra-s-s-YampI-nāsa-s-
Karunācuka	[none]
DuntubahI	Govardhanamīra-s-s-Nāpicandra-s-
PintubahI	Gopicanāmīra-s-s-Gopicanāra-s-
KontibahI	Kaṣyapaṇīra-s-s-Lalitavarna-s-
NakabāhI (NabāhI)	Gargadeva-s-s-Lokakīrti-s-
CikābahI	Saptarātri-mahāvihāra
NhākābahI	Suraścandra-mahāvihāra
PucvabahI	Akṣeśvara-mahāvihāra
PucvabahIkvay	Rakṣeśvara-mahāvihāra
BṛgabāhI	Amārvatīpura-mahāvihāra
KyubāhI	Padmakīrtigiri-mahāvihāra
ChapagābahI	[unknown]
DiṇḍabāhI	Maṇḍapaṇḍapa-mahāvihāra
KāpabāhI	Lokakīrti-mahāvihāra



Location and grouping of 25 baht which existed during the reign of
Gyimesi György (1640-1647). The diagram shows Gyimesi György's

rules made
by the king.

Ilābahī: a 20th century shrine building replaces the 16th century buildings. Of all 20 bahī in the historic core, six have preserved only the courtyard configuration of the historical buildings. Only historical architectural fragments are extant.



It was the members of the *bahi*, who did not perform purifications after a death on the grounds that they were monks, who particularly troubled Siddhinarasimha. To one of the *bahi* monasteries, Ibahi, he assigned a Bajracarya priest from Dhumbaha. He may have done this because of the strong tradition that this monastery was founded by a Brahman, Sunaya Sri Misra, who was supposedly converted to Buddhism in Tibet, and returned to Nepal. This is undoubtedly a very ancient site, and it is likely that the monastery goes back to the twelfth century at least.

Then Siddhinarasimha grouped the *bahi* monasteries into two, the Fifteen *Bahi*, and the Ten *Bahi*, the former being those who were located in the northern half of Patan, the latter in the southern half. (Subsequently *Ibahi* was absorbed into the group of fifteen.) Each group was to have a single set of five elders between them, no doubt because there were so few members in these monasteries. The group of Ten split up about 70 years ago; the group of Fifteen split into two groups in the 1950s, and there have been further splits since. The name of all the *bahi* are listed below; the Sanskritic titles are less well known than the equivalent titles of the main monasteries. In fact in many cases local people have no formal name for the *bahi*, and it is known only from inscriptions.

Siddhinarasimha evidently wanted to assign to all the bahi, as he had done for Ibahi, a Bajracarya priest to carry out the purifying fire sacrifice after death. This the members of the bahi said was impossible for them. So a man was appointed in each group who became the single hereditary priest responsible for performing all initiations and other life-cycle rituals for the members of the group. He was to be known as a *bhiksu acarya*, or 'monk master', thus differentiating him from the Bajracarya priests of the *baha* monasteries. In the group of Fifteen the priest comes from Nakabahi, and in the group of Ten from Jyababahi.

These arrangements of Siddhinarasimha have lasted in many case down to the present, or at least until within the memory of those alive today.

*The early Shah (1769-1846)
and Rana (1846-1951) periods*

The arrival of the new Shah dynasty, and the creation of the modern state of Nepal, led to a new situation for the Buddhists of Patan. They were no longer the members of small kingdom in which they were in the majority. Where as the Malla kings had wanted to Hinduize their subjects, but at the same time were keen devotees of the principal Buddhist rituals, the new dynasty recognized only one major Buddhist festival, that of Karunamaya, now ever more strongly identified as Matsyendranath. Patan as a whole lost much land, so that Wright could record in 1877 that " its general aspect is much the same as that of the capital. The streets are as narrow and dirty, the gutters as offensive, and the temples even more numerous; but it appears much more dilapidated than Kathmandu, many of the houses and temples being in ruins."

The pressures of Hinduization became even stronger under the Rana hereditary prime ministers. At this time Sakyas and Bajracaryas regularly performed elaborate *sraddha*, or Ancestor Worship, rituals that have been considerably pared down since 1951. In Kathmandu many *caityas* were constructed with a north-facing *jaldroni*, so that they could be taken as being in accordance with Hindu norms. It is interesting, however, that this syncretic Hindu-Buddhist form, so common in Kathmandu, was set up only once in Patan in Bhelache *tva*.

At the same time, there was great respect given to tradition, and the practices of tradition were supported by law and backed by the force of the state. Thus the Buddhist identity of the Sakyas and Bajracaryas was perpetuated, albeit presented in increasingly Hindu terms. On the other hand, many of the high-status lay castes, especially those classified as Srestha, were influenced more strongly. In Patan, many of these were in fact traditionally Buddhist, either having Bajracaryas as priests or, even if with Brahman family priests, traditionally taking Buddhist Tantric Initiation. These families began to move away from Buddhism, and consciously adopted Hindu practices. This meant that they no longer sponsored Buddhist rituals, and they were less concerned to keep up and renovate the Buddhist temples and other endowments of their forebears.

As elsewhere in the Valley, the earthquake of 1934 caused great destruction. By this time, however, many of the Buddhist community had begun trading, or practicing as gold- and silversmiths, in Tibet. Considerable amounts of money were made by some families, and much of this went into religious activities. A rich trader called Laksmi Narasimha from Nyakhacuk, a member of Kvabaha, renovated Nakabahi after the 1934 earthquake, simply because he lived nearby. He also had the northern *Asokastupa* covered with cement, endowing land for the annual whitewashing, and rebuilt the *sattah* on the north side and replaced the broken gods inside. Other trading families, also members of Kvabaha, contributed repeated donations to their own monastery, which have made it famous as 'The Golden Temple'.

In the Rana period, then, the traditional religious and architectural framework of Patan was maintained. Although the protective walls which encircled the city in the Malla period were allowed to decay, their position was remembered and retained ritual significance. However in the areas to the west and south-west of the city the Ranas built palaces. Many wealthier

Patan residents imitated the styles imported by the Ranas, by plastering the front of their houses with imitation stucco Corinthian pillars, many of which can still be seen.

In 1860 Jagat Shamsher Rana, one of Jang Bahadur Rana's younger brothers, built the Hindu temple complex at Sankhamul, Patan's holy riverside bathing place and burning *ghat*. There are two main temples, one each to Siva and Visnu, and one to Hanuman. Here, as at other riverside bathing places, such as at Pasupati and Gyaneshwar, the Ranas were setting out to emulate the most holy Hindu city of Kasi (Benares) and to establish their own position as preeminent Hindu patrons.

Recent trends

The period since 1951, the coming of 'democracy', as it is called, has ushered in many changes. There has been a considerable loosening of the caste structure and a decline of difference. This, while no doubt beneficial in many other ways, has had several deleterious effects on traditional Newar Buddhism, and has therefore had a marked, if indirect effect, on the preservation of both Buddhist and Hindu monuments. It has become less and less desirable to pursue a career as a Buddhist priest, both financially and in terms of status. Consequently a vicious circle has become entrenched whereby only those who are obliged by financial necessity and lack of aptitude for anything else take up the priesthood after their father dies. Thus lay people respect the priesthood even less, and so on.

Another, even more tangible consequence of recent social change is that most of the land which provided income for the upkeep of Buddhist monuments had been lost, stolen, or sold. The traditional buildings of the Kathmandu Valley require constant vigilance and attention if the annual monsoon rains are not to penetrate and produce rapid degradation. Even with good upkeep it is likely that they will have to be renovated once a generation or so. IN the case of monasteries and temples, part of this was traditionally financed by land gifted by the members and /or the founder.

In the past the prestige of Sakyas and Bajracaryas, as Buddhist monks and priests, and the level of devotion to their Buddhist gods were such that tenant farmers rarely failed to bring the crop that was due on land belonging to a monastery. In more recent times, since it was land owned collectively, no individual had the incentive to ensure it was properly registered, as was the case with individually owned land. In this way, much land has been registered in the name of the tenant, or even in the name of an unscrupulous member of the monastery. Even where a monastery or other endowed temple still owns agricultural land, the yield is now far less, because the law stipulates that the tenant owes to the landowner only 23 *pathis* of paddy per *ropani* (approximately 57.5 kg. per 500 Square m.). In the same way many of the other holdings of monasteries, especially images of the gods, have been lost, either stolen away at night when there was no one there to guard them, or even occasionally embezzled by members themselves.

Land belonging to Buddhist monasteries has also been lost through no fault of the members, as when land was taken by the government for the construction of the ring road. In smaller monasteries and in lineage monasteries, as has often happened in the case of *guthis* and Hindu temples, land has often simply been registered in members' private names,

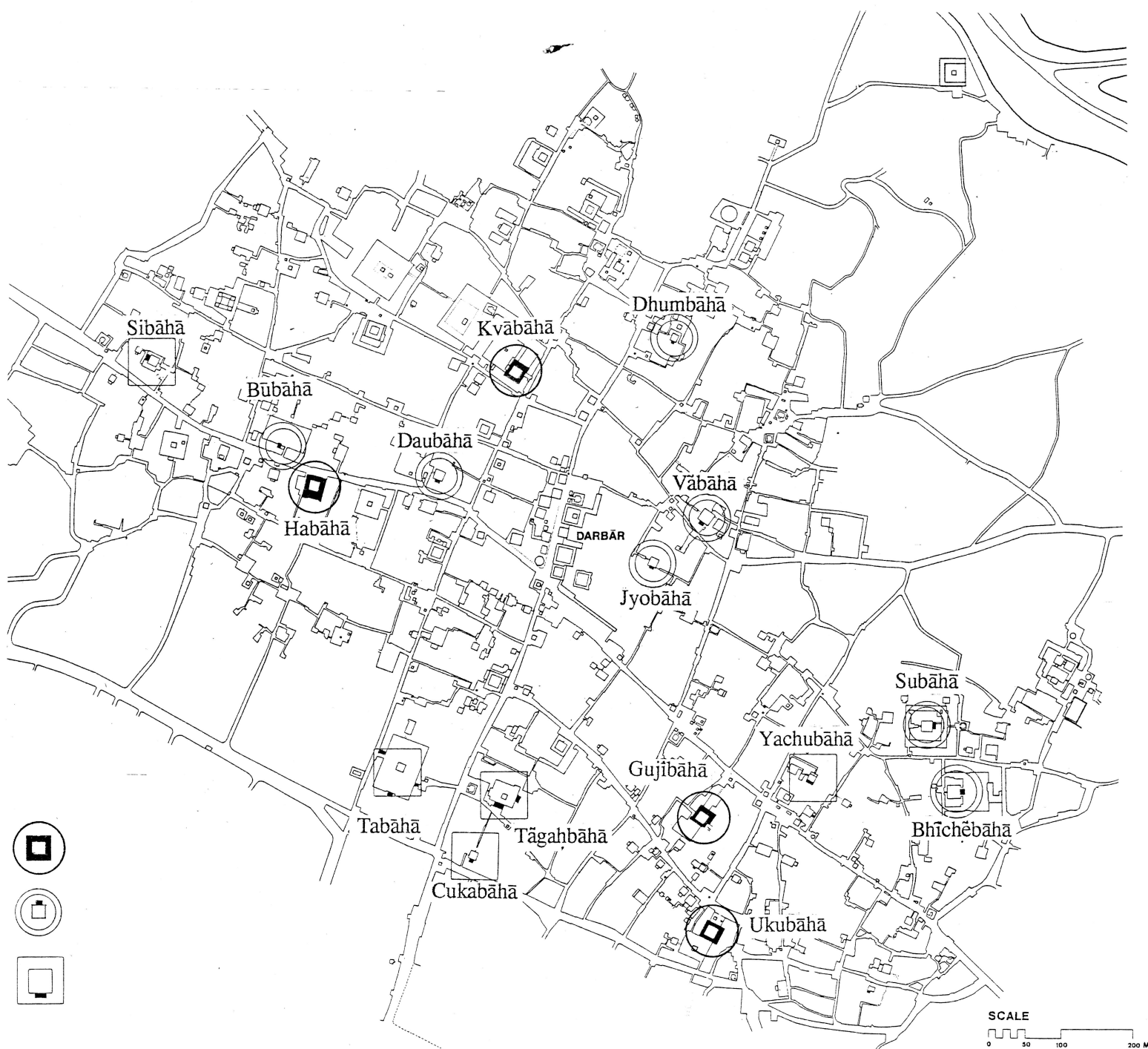
rather than in the name of the monasteries. In large monasteries land has been sold to finance the needs of the moment, without long-term planning and investment. In all these ways land, the most important security of Buddhist monuments, has been lost.

Not all monasteries have managed their inheritance so badly. Habaha has, by all accounts, invested its assets well in shops and bank accounts, so that it has a regular income to finance rituals and renovations. Kvabaha, which contains many historic icons of great value, has so far managed to guard them against all attempts at theft, thanks to the watchfulness of its members and its fortress like construction.

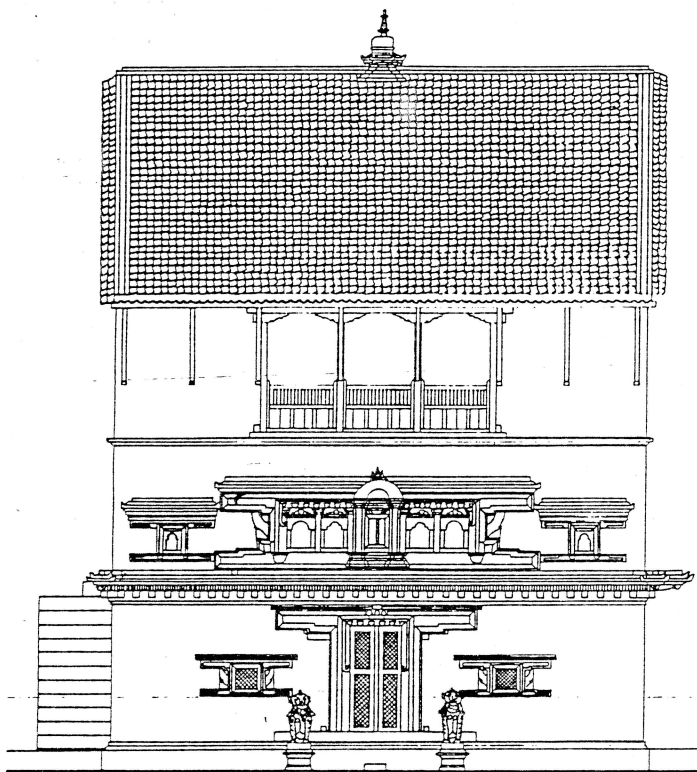
In the last twenty-five years tourism has become a major economic factor in the life of the city. Many Sakyas and Bajracaryas earn their living as artisans making statues, jewelry, and curious for sale to tourists, and many others have shops selling them. But for this demand from the tourist trade it is likely that the traditional arts of god-making and silverwork would have all but died out.

An important new development since 1951 is the appearance of Theravada Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. The first Newars to become Theravada monks in fact did so during the Rana period and were persecuted by the authorities of the time. Subsequently Bhiksu Amritananda, originally from Tansen, established good relations with King Tribhuvan and after 1951 the movement flourished. In Patan there are two Theravada monasteries, Sakyasimha Vihara, currently being expensively rebuilt in Thaina, and Manimandapa Vihara inside Dhapagabahi (which has taken the latter's Sanskrit title), as well as a nunnery near Sakyasimha Vihara. For many Buddhist Newars, dissatisfied with traditional Newar Buddhism, Theravada Buddhism provides an alternative that seems more approachable, modern, and egalitarian. Its far simpler rituals, the greater role it gives to preaching, its stress on education, and its use of modern methods of communication, such as magazines, give it an increasing appeal. Even the majority who are not exclusive supporters of the Theravada respect it and make use of it, for instance, sending their daughters to the nunnery for twelve days, instead of performing the traditional girls' puberty ritual of *barha tayegu*. For a considerable minority of upwardly mobile Maharjans, Awales and others it represents a preferable form of Buddhism.

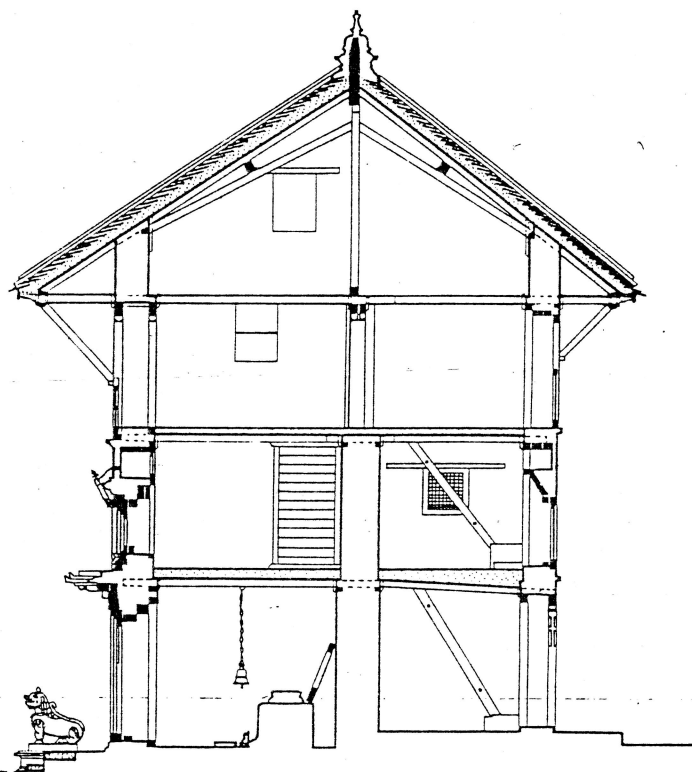
BUDDHIST MONASTERIES



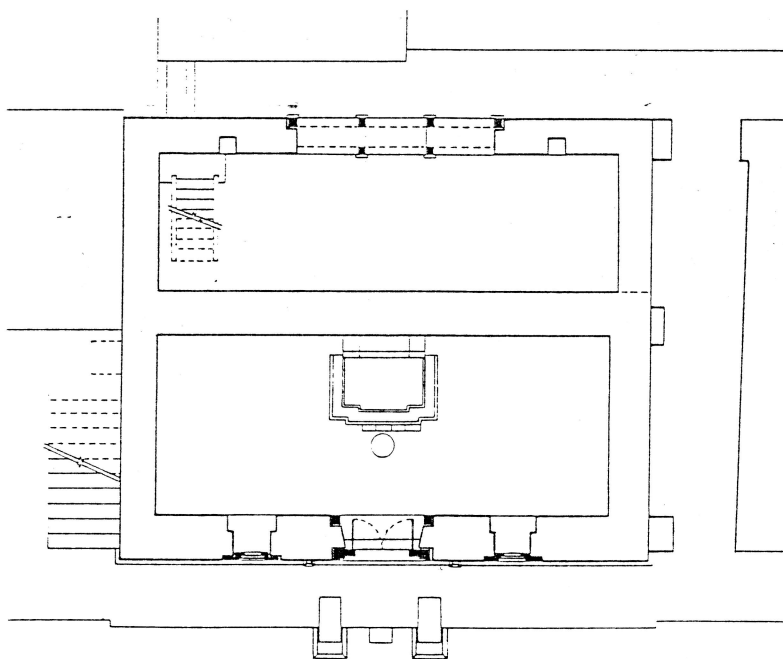
Location of the fifteen *baha*, indicating those four *baha* (Habaha, Kyabaha, Gujibaha, Ukubaha) which have preserved their courtyards as an ensemble.



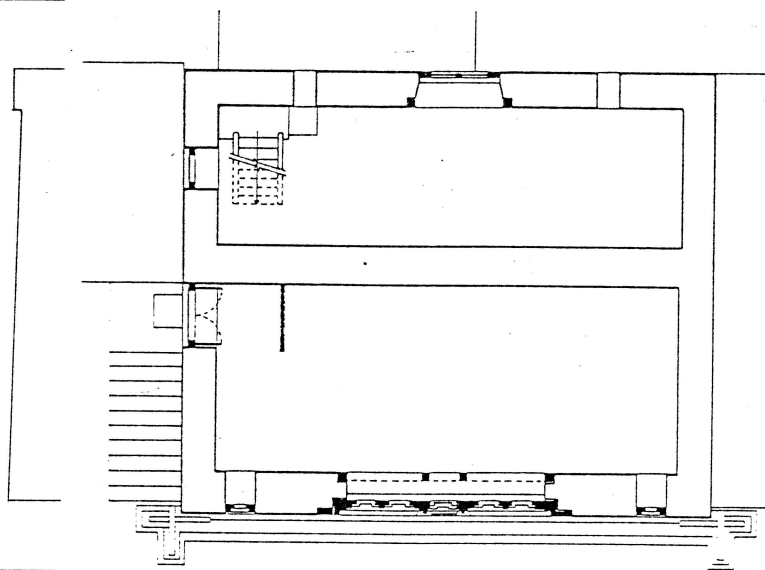
Elevation west



Section west-east

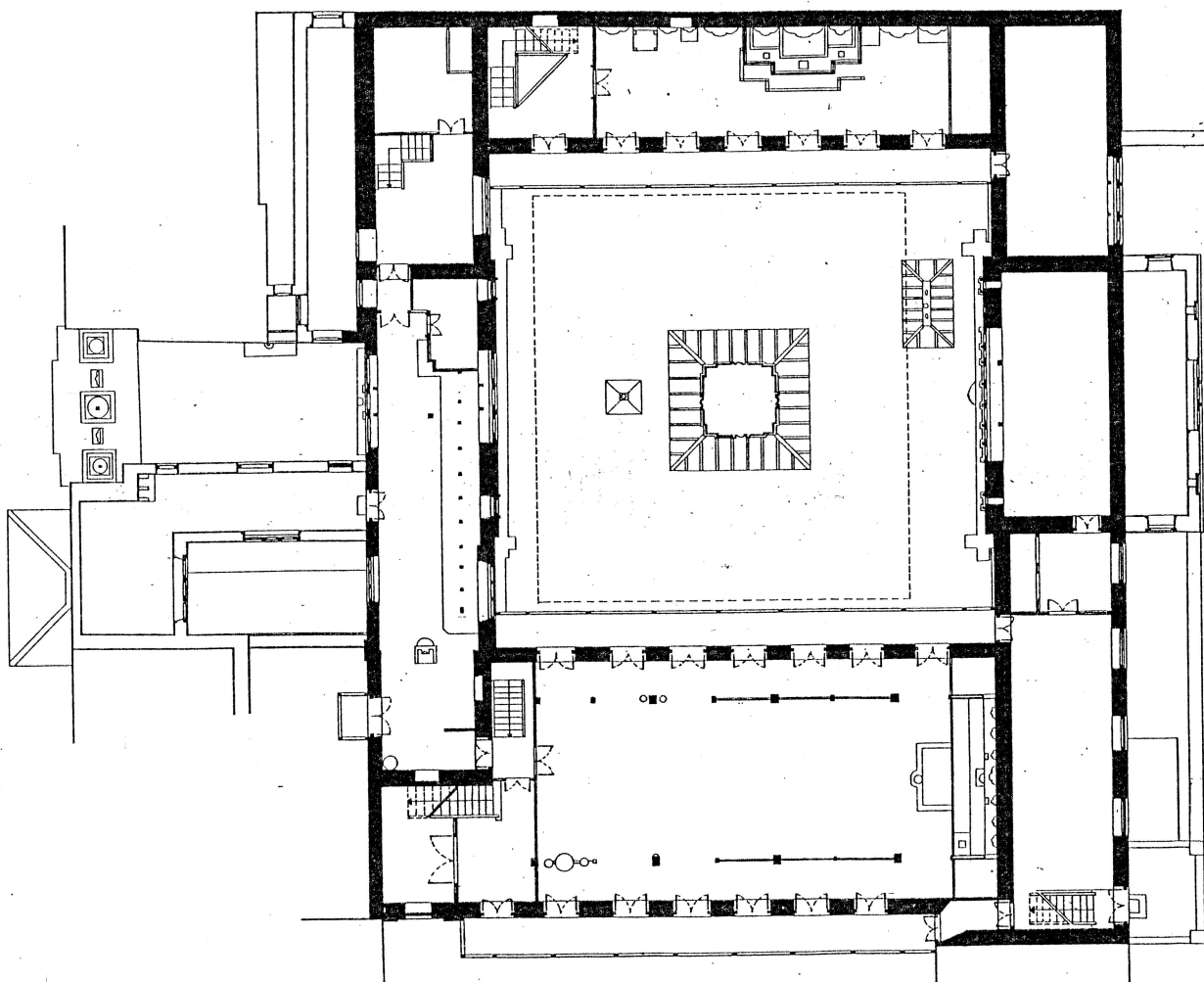


Ground floor



Second floor

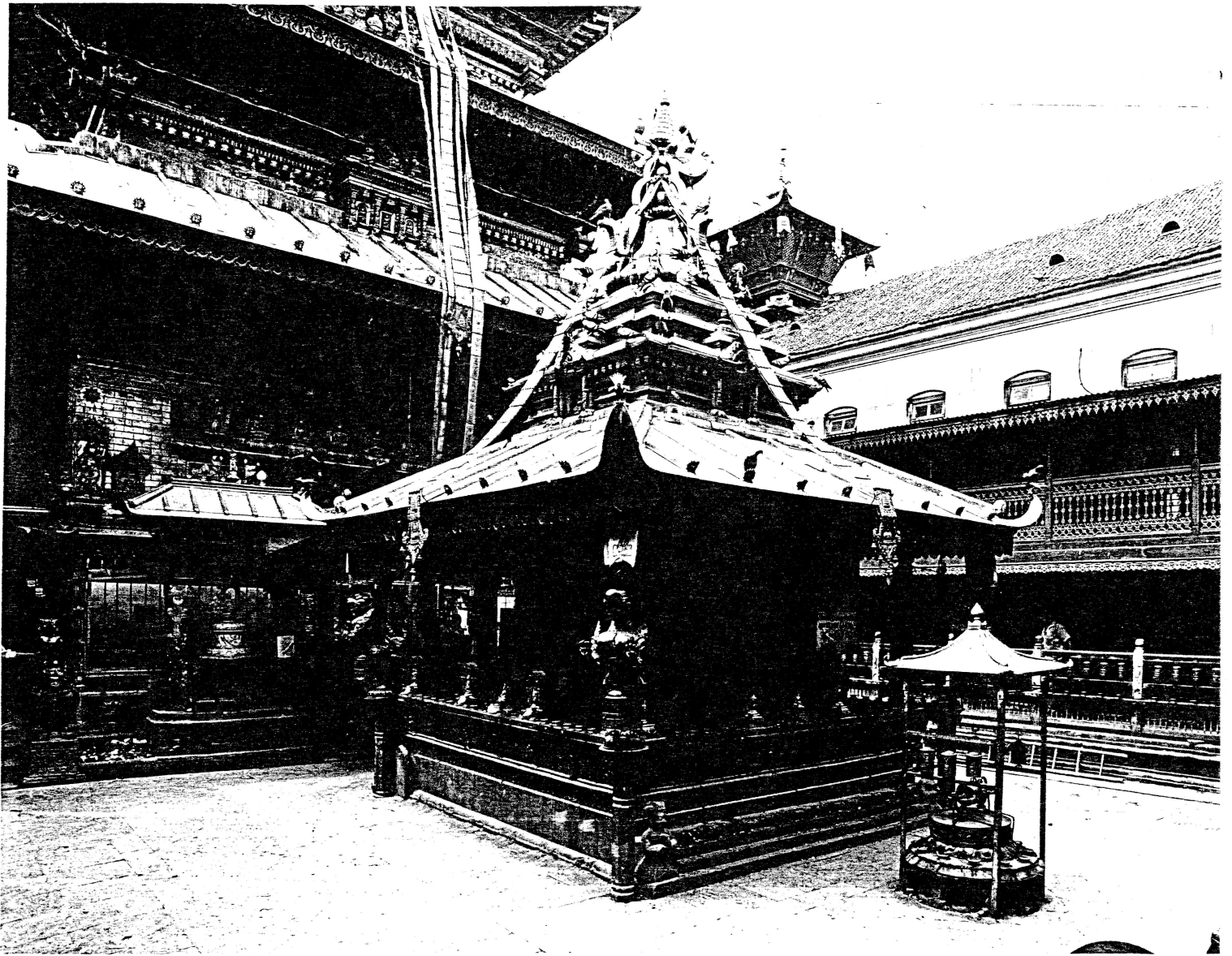
Nuganhubaha: Typical branch monastery (*kacabaha* of Ukubaha) with the shrine chamber housing the *kvapadyah* on ground floor level and the esoteric shrine behind a long window with five openings (*pasukajhyah*) on first floor level, scale 1:100 (survey 1992)



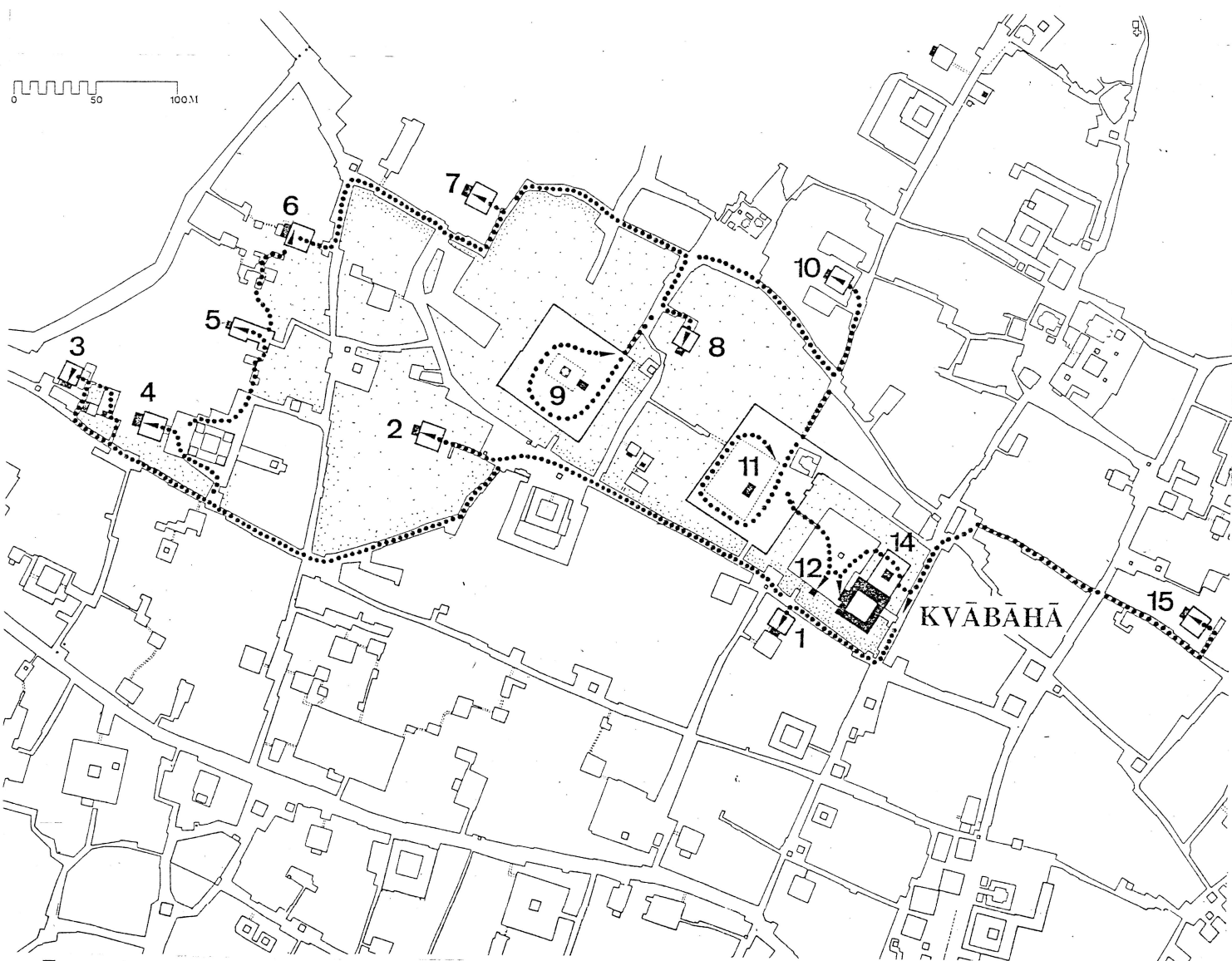
- 1 The shrine of Amoghapaśa Lokeśvara, known as *gumbā* (from the Tibetan for monastery).
 - 2 Large prayer wheel (*māne*).
 - 3 Goddess, exoterically known as Vasundharā; esoterically she is probably Vajrayoginī.
 - 4 Seats for the ten elders in the foyer to the Tantric shrine, known as *āgā*, *digī*, or *wotātalay* (see note below).
 - 5 Shrine of the Tantric deity, Yogāmbara, entered only by the Cakreśvara/Casalāju.
 - 6 Shrine of Amitābha.
 - 7 Roof over the 'big bell'.
 - 8 Roof of lineage deity (Svayambhū).
 - 9 Small roof over *vajradhātumaṇḍala*.
- Note on Kwā Bāhāḥ's Tantric shrines:*

The upper floor of Kwā Bāhāḥ (Hiraṇyavarṇa-mahāvihāra or the 'Golden Temple'), Lalitpur. Groundplan scale 1:100. Drawing by Gyanendra Joshi, April 1989.

Probably because of its unusually large membership, Kwā Bāhāḥ has a second Tantric shrine, outside the main complex. Worship there is the responsibility of a subsidiary set of twenty elders. This second Tantric shrine is housed in a long two-storeyed building known as the *digī*, situated on the far (west) side of Ilā Nani. The deity is Cakrasaṃvara with his consort Vajravārāhī. The main Tantric deity in Kwā Bāhāḥ itself is Yogāmbara, whose consort is Jñānaḍākini. The long room outside Yogāmbara's shrine that takes up the eastern side of the monastery courtyard is also sometimes known as the *digī*, since this is where the *digī* normally is in other monasteries (see Geilner 1987b). Usually however, to avoid confusion, the latter is known as the *āgā* or as 'Wotalay', short for *wotātalay*. *Talay/tale* seems to be a Nw. term for a Tantric shrine (and the very name of the royal tutelary goddess, Taleju, may at some level be related to this). For example, an inscription of 1960 calls the shrine of Cakrasaṃvara *guhya*-[secret] *tale*; the shrine of Taleju in the royal palace was frequently called *degu*-[lineage deity] *tale*. *Wota* perhaps derives from the old Nw. *wātā*, east.



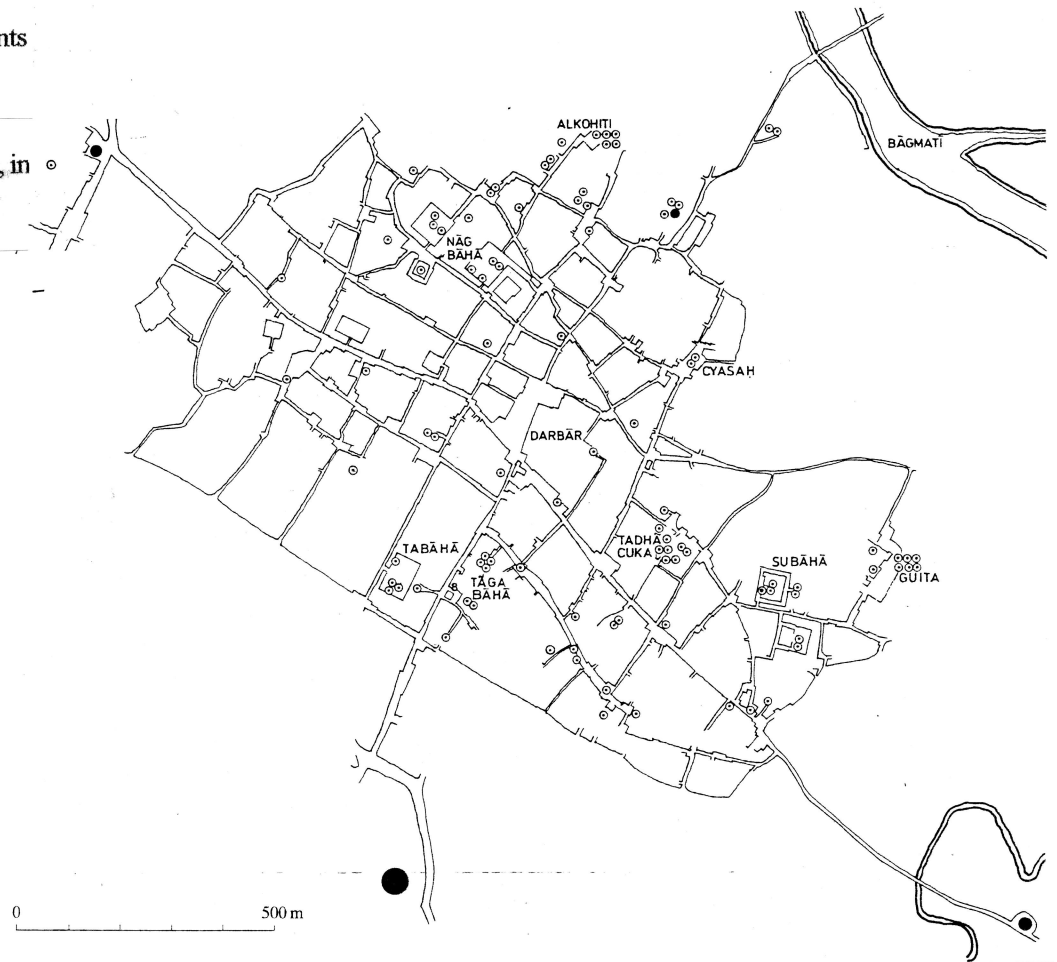
Khabaha: Courtyard with the lineage god in the shape of a *caitya* enshrined in a temple-like structure, photograph Stanislaw Klimek, August 1991



The procession to the branch monasteries of Kvābāhā, performed on two successive days ten days before the annual Kvabaha feast visits: (1) Nhūbāhā, (2) Athabāhā, (3) Chāybāhā, (4) Mūbāhā, (5) Bahīnani, (6) Mikhābāhā, (7) Yetabāhā, (8) Akibāhā, (9) Nyākhācuk, (10) Ikhāchēbāhā, (11) Nāgbāhā, (12) Michubāhā, (13) Baidyabāhā, (14) Sarasvatinani (Sasunani), (15) Kulimbāhā

CAITYAS
A CHRONOLOGY AND TYPOLOGY

Location of 105 Licchavicaityas or fragments of the same. The caityas are fairly evenly distributed over the southern, eastern and northern quarters, but there is a certain concentration in Taga with twenty caityas, in Capat with nine caityas, and in the area of Nagbaha/Ikhache with twenty-six caityas.

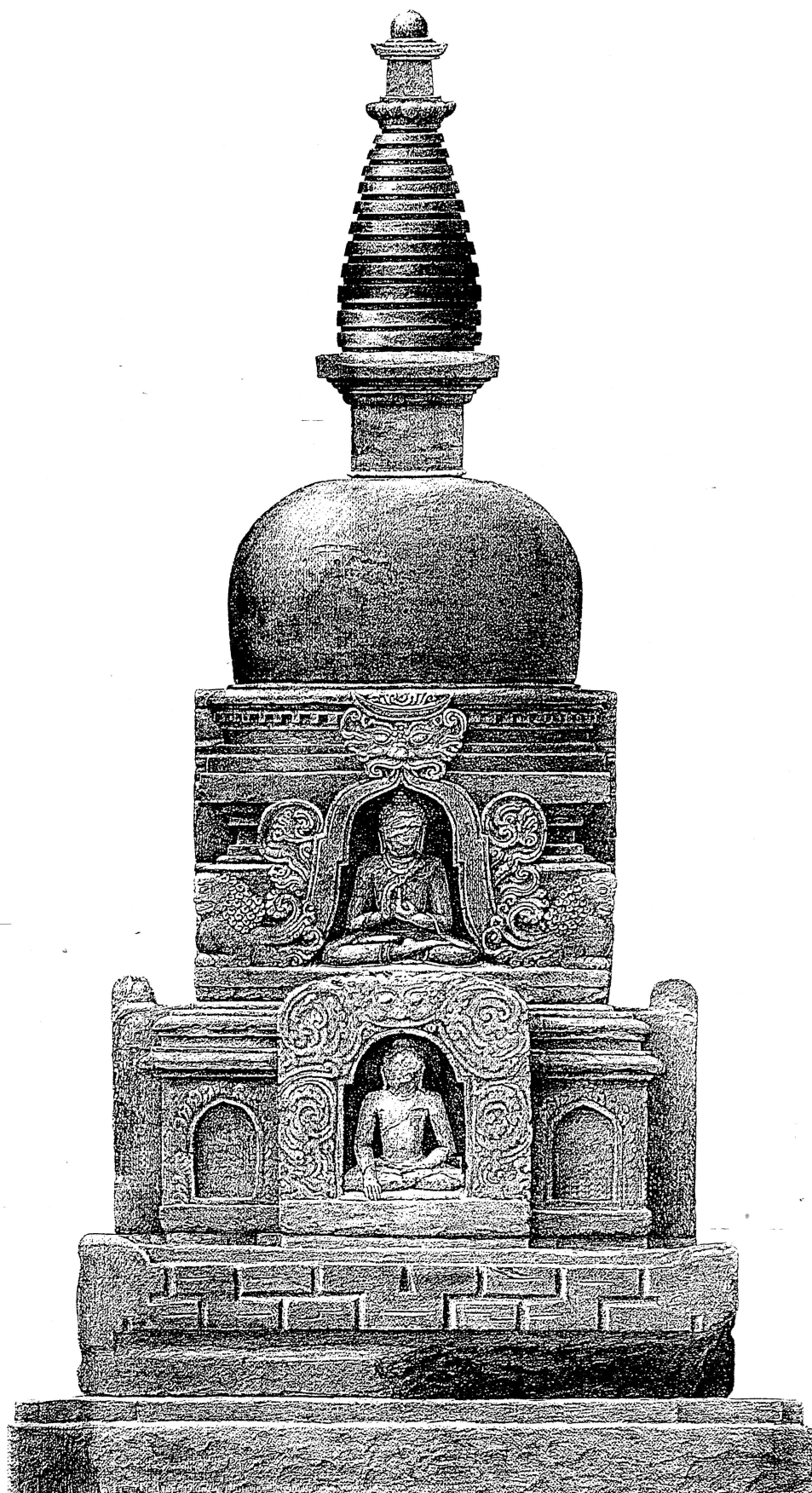


Licchavicaitya at Vabaha

Elevation south and top view, scale 1:10, before renovation. Two-storeyed *caitya* on a recent large platform, with lotus stones placed in the four directions. The finial with its pronounced *amalaka* motifs above the eleven tiers is of convincing craftsmanship, equaling that of the structure below. It probably dates to 1644, when the courtyard was reshaped and the fragments of the Licchavi period assembled on a new plinth.

Although the carvings of the upper storey, which forms a monolithic element with dome and drum, and those of the lower storey display quite different dynamisms in the scrollwork and depth of relief, it may be that the entire structure survives in its original form. The carvings are exceptionally well preserved; only the pointed top portions of the lower niches are missing. The four Tathāgatas of the lower primary niches and the four Vairocanas of the upper niches are the original ones, carved from the same stone, whereas the eight secondary niches of the lower storey are now vacant.

The dome is slightly bulged and rests on a low drum with dentils below the quarter-round profile. The upper storey displays the usual indented moulding, while the figural elements form a secondary level of surface, extending over the entire storey and into the drum above. Only a hint of the corner line remains visible, with lions sharing a common head and forequarters dominating the niches as protective elements. From their tails develops the shouldered, elegantly curved frame of the niche openings. Floral scrollwork engaged to the indented moulding forms a secondary element of the frame, which is crowned by a *kirtimukha* face set against the moulding of the drum. The contrast shown in the carved relief set against strict and sharp-edged mouldings creates a vivid contrast and makes this *caitya* a masterpiece of Nepalese sculptural art, easily comparable to the universally praised Dhvākhābāhā *caitya*. The niches of the lower storey are treated as independent elements projecting from the main body and extending beyond the moulding of the roof. The entire surface of the frame is carved without an articulate edge. In contrast to the design of the upper niches, the movement is introvert: the pair of *makaras* at the base lie on their back, while their tails develop scrollwork which, in the upper portions, frame the demon's face. The secondary niches have a conventional frame of leaf pattern.





— Patan: Caturvyūhacaitya at Thāpāhiti with Maitreya facing south, 7th century (Licchavi era).

— Patan: Caturvyūhacaitya at Nāgbāhāhiti with Maitreya facing east and placed against a shaft decorated with rockery. The flamed halo overlaps the moulding of the drum below a vestigial dome, which is now topped by a cemented finial.

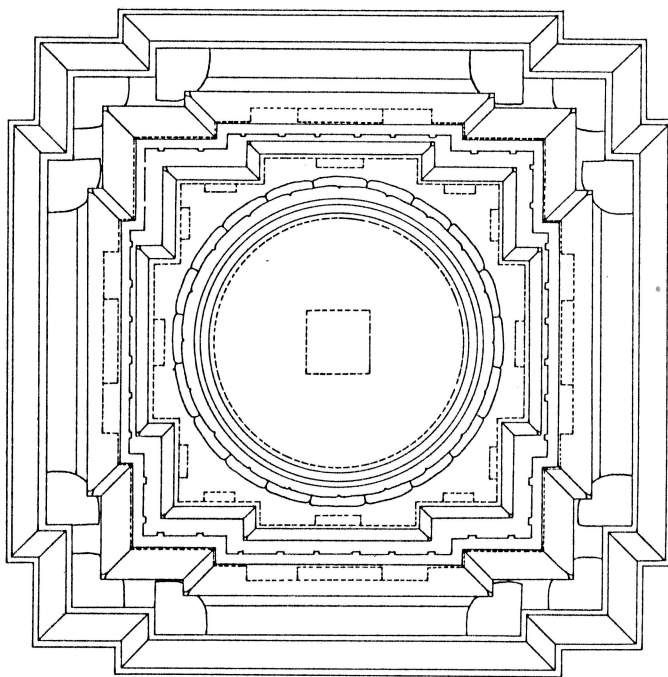
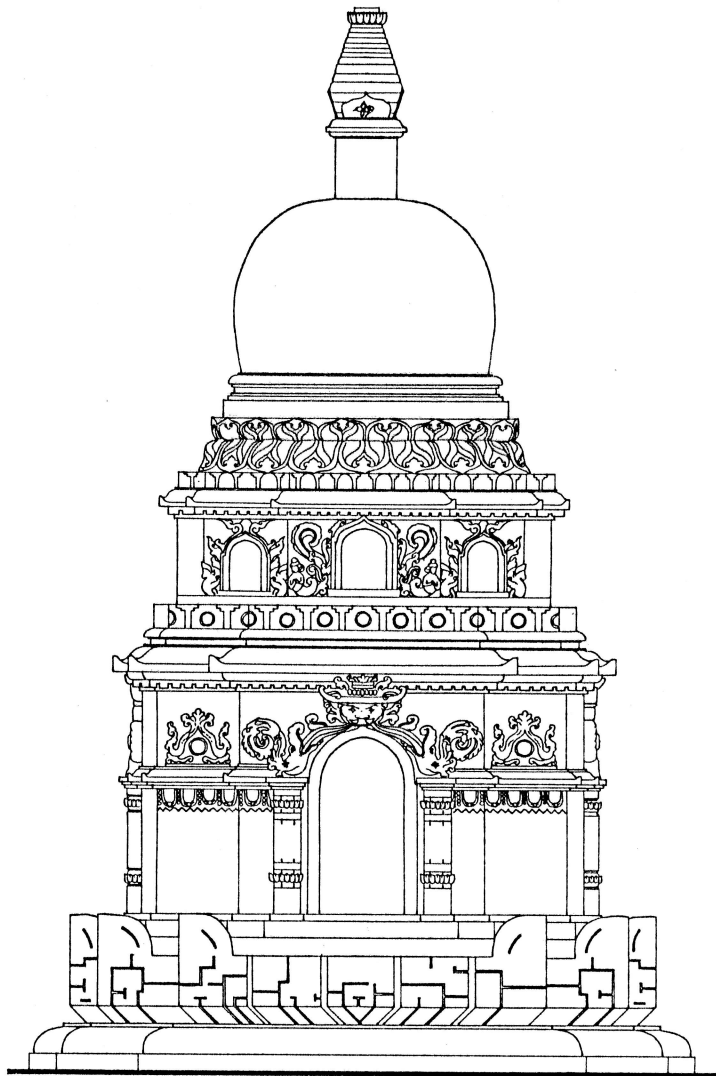


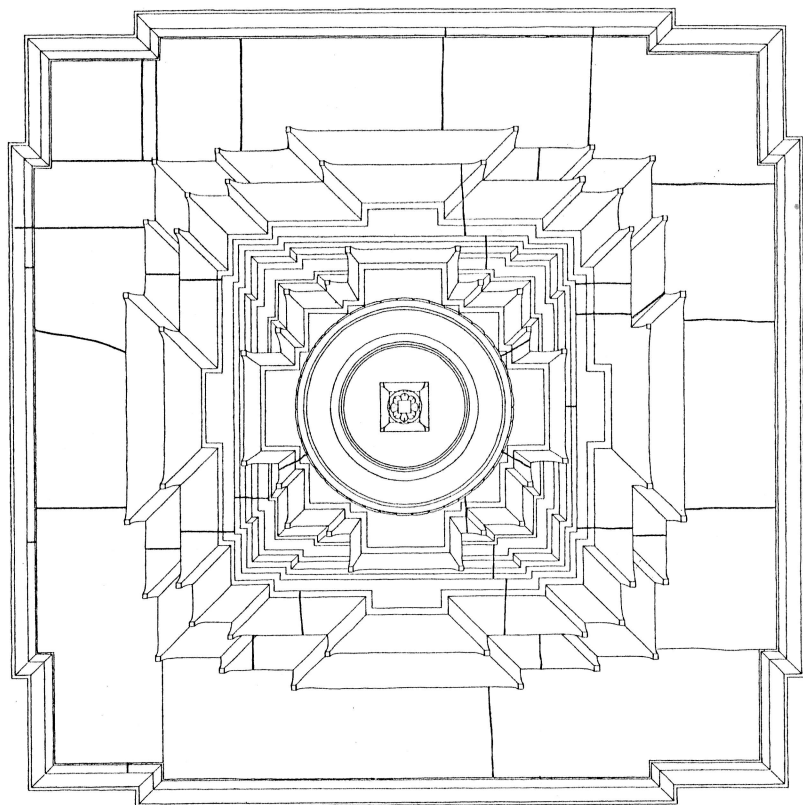
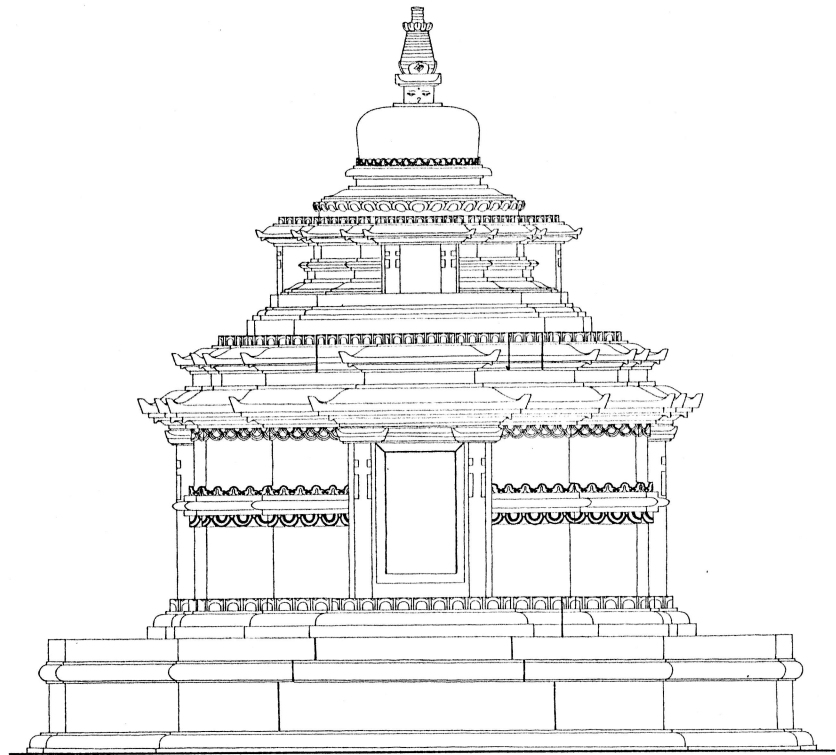
Patan: Sikharakūṭacaitya at Guitabahi *cidhā*, elevation east and top view, scale 1:10.

Two-storeyed *caitya* on a low plinth and with a secondary finial, representing the prototype of the Sikharakūṭacaityas. The building displays several characteristics, however, highly suggestive of the Licchavi era: the stone material used is similar to that of the 7th century and has produced the same smooth surface common from that time. The dome has not yet dwindled to a vestigial element, and the drum moulding follows the standard early formula. The plinth with its rock pattern and swaying tips above a quarter-round profile repeats a scheme known from Cabahil (Caityas H and F). Other elements appeared earlier as individual designs on various Licchavicaityas: the lotus base below the drum is known from the *caityas* at Subāhā and Subāhāhiti in Patan and Gaihriddhārā in Kathmandu, and the architectural framing of the niche with flanking *gavākṣa* motifs, from the *caityas* at Subāhāhiti and Tabāhā, both in Patan. New, however, is the introduction of the lower storey as the dominant element. Such a design was already developed in a miniature version on the *caitya* at Tabāhā, but only at Guitabahi *cidhā* does the niche frame remain under a covering roof. A prototype thus evolved and was repeated hundreds of times until the early 20th century. In view of our limited knowledge of architecture and sculpture of the 9th to 14th centuries, the *caitya* may provisionally be dated to the period between the 9th and 13th century. The images in all of the sixteen niches are of secondary origin and may have replaced earlier ones in the 19th century. The surface of the dome is damaged, the stone having exfoliated the way many Licchavi domes have. The swaying tips of the roof mouldings have partly broken off, but all carvings are well preserved. The mode of construction differs considerably from that of other Licchavicaityas. Horizontally, the *caitya* has nine layers of construction, but not all of these layers are consistent. The base storey and even the base below the upper storey, for example, have additional vertical joints in the east-west direction.

The bulgy dome rests on a drum with Licchavi mouldings. This uppermost monolithic element, which could crown any other Licchavicaitya, rests on a lotus socle with one circle of petals turned upwards and one circle turned downwards.

The upper storey is of *viṃśatikona* shape and of flat proportions, similar to that of Cabahil Caitya G, and is topped by a roof with raised corners and dentils. A small band with battlement motifs serves as a socle for the lotus and mediates towards the roof below. The primary niches with their recent images of the four Tathāgatas display small foliated primary frames. A pair of *nāgakanyās*, their winding tails ending in foliage, is set beside the primary frame of the eastern niche. The southern and northern niches are framed by dragons whose tails develop into scrollwork, while the western niche is framed by Garudas, their heads turned towards the beholder. The secondary niches, with unidentifiable seated Bodhisattvas, are likewise framed by foliage and topped by a lotus flower. Garuda figures guard the openings. The roof above the dominant lower storey has the same profile as the upper roof, but it differs in scale. The stylized battlement motif of the socle displays tiny circular openings. More importantly, the cube of the base storey introduces previously unencountered proportions, which established the standard for hundreds of Sikharakūṭacaityas to come. Further, the niche frame with its carved pilasters, the pair of *makaras* resting on a plate on top of the pilasters and the *kirtimukha* below the roof moulding display a decisive order, which earlier was clearly anticipated by the Cabahil *caityas* and those of Subāhā and Nakabahi (in Patan), but only with this example does the base storey attain a dominant status. The face of the *kirtimukha* appears above the slender niche opening on the eastern and western faces, while above the northern and southern niches the face is seen to represent Garuda, with a sharp beak and without a crown. This variation occurs again at the lower ends of the pilasters: the eastern and western ones display bands of *āmalaka* patterning, while on the northern and southern side the pilasters rise from *kalāṣas*. The present four images in the niches represent the four Bodhisattvas (Maitreya, Vajrapāṇi, Padmapāṇi, Mañjuśrī), who seem to have become the main focus of worship only in the 16th century; it is not known what the original images were. Figuring as one of the main features of the base storey is a profile moulded in the same fashion as the roofs above.

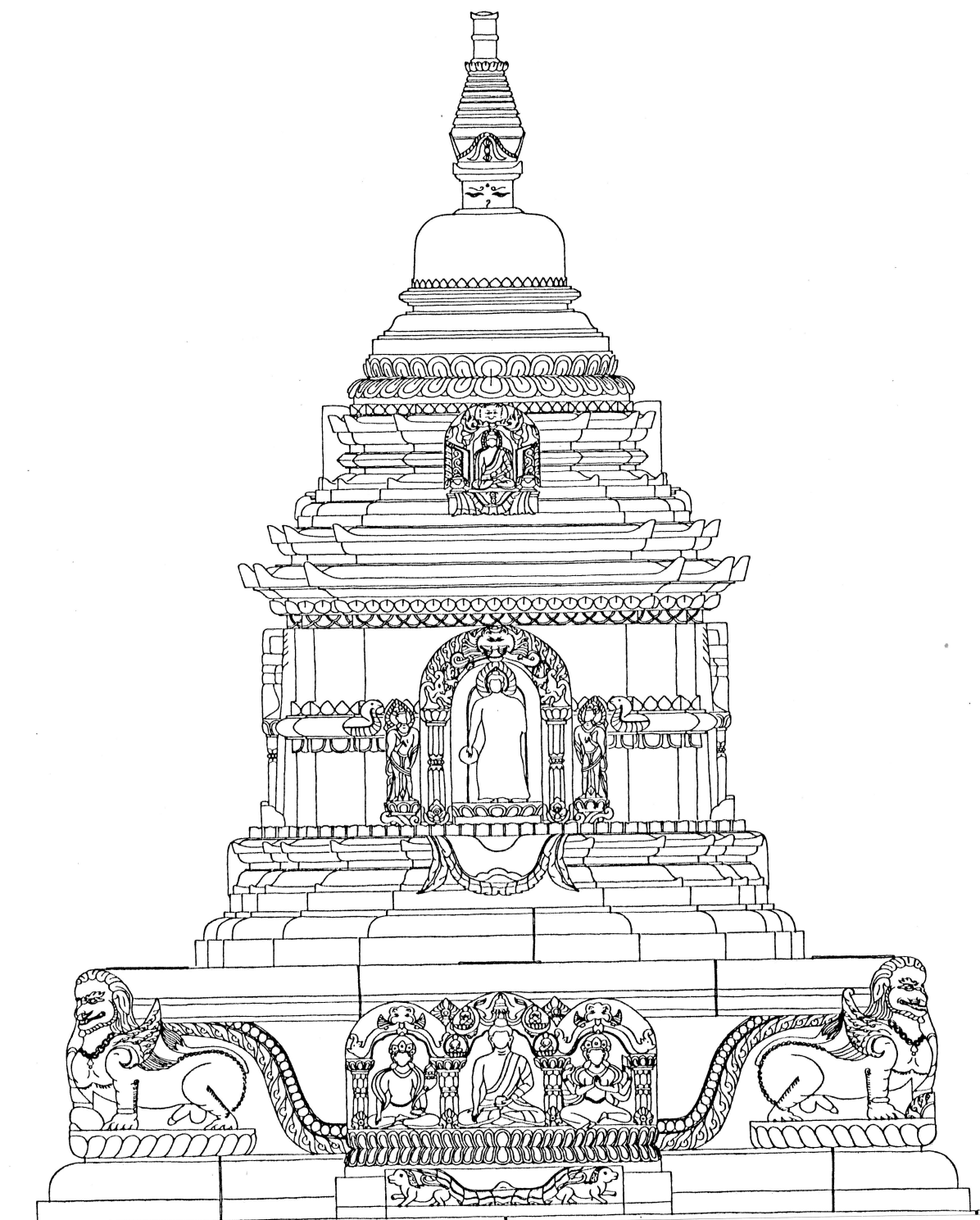




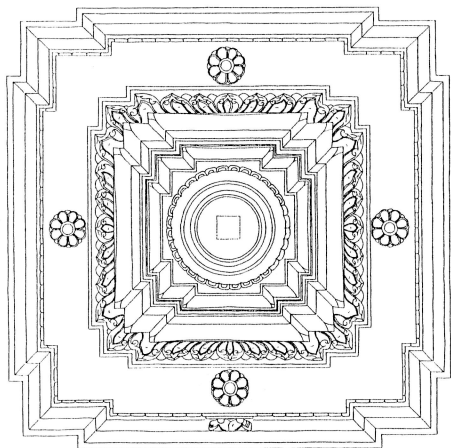
Caitya on Saugah Square, elevation east and
top view, scale 1:10

1657.

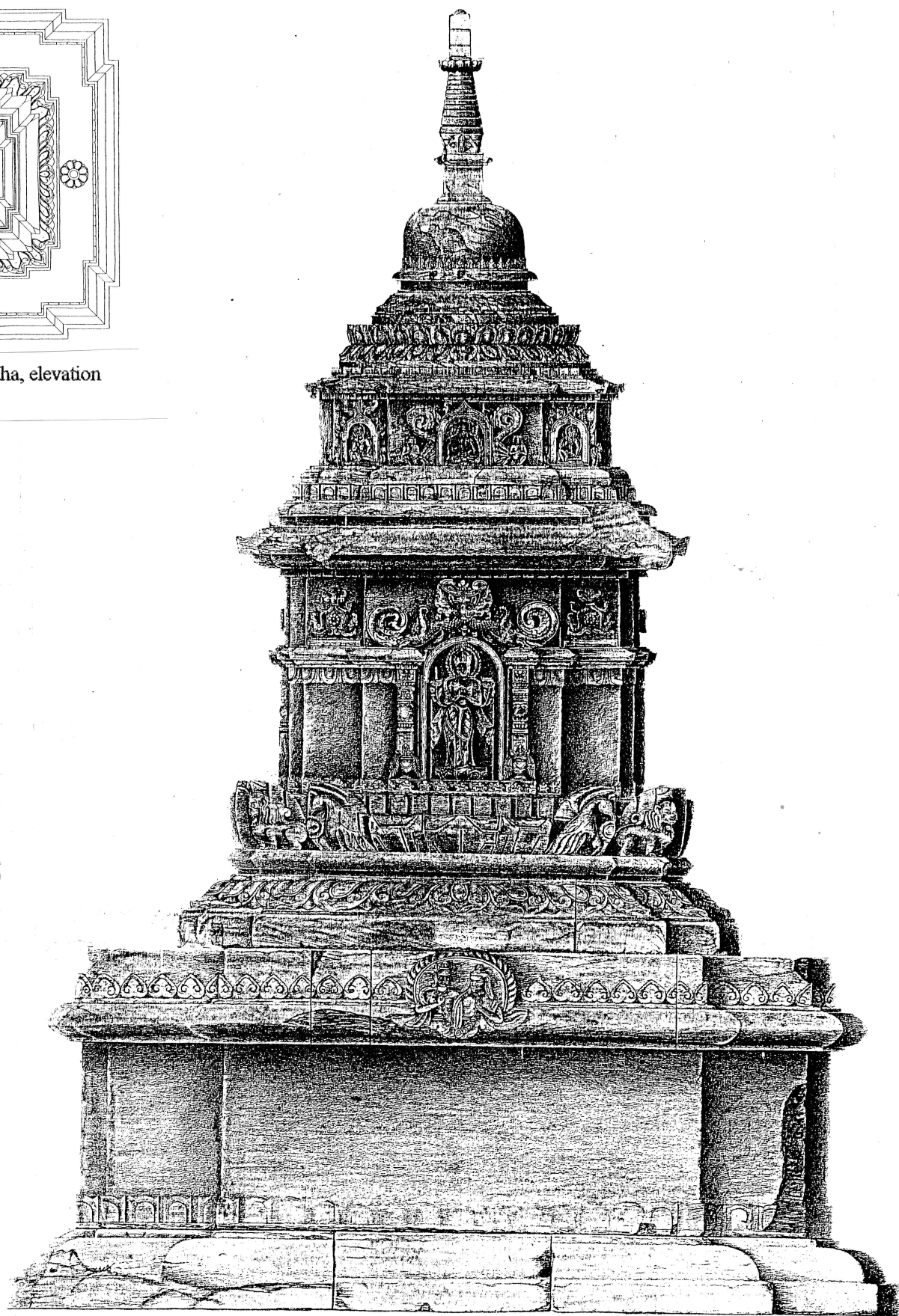
On the platform below the *cāitya* is a panel-like altar with three niches, the middle one containing the Buddha (in *bhūmisparśamudrā*), the one on the right *dharma* (represented by Prajñāpāramitā) and the one on the left *sangha* (represented by Padmapāṇi).

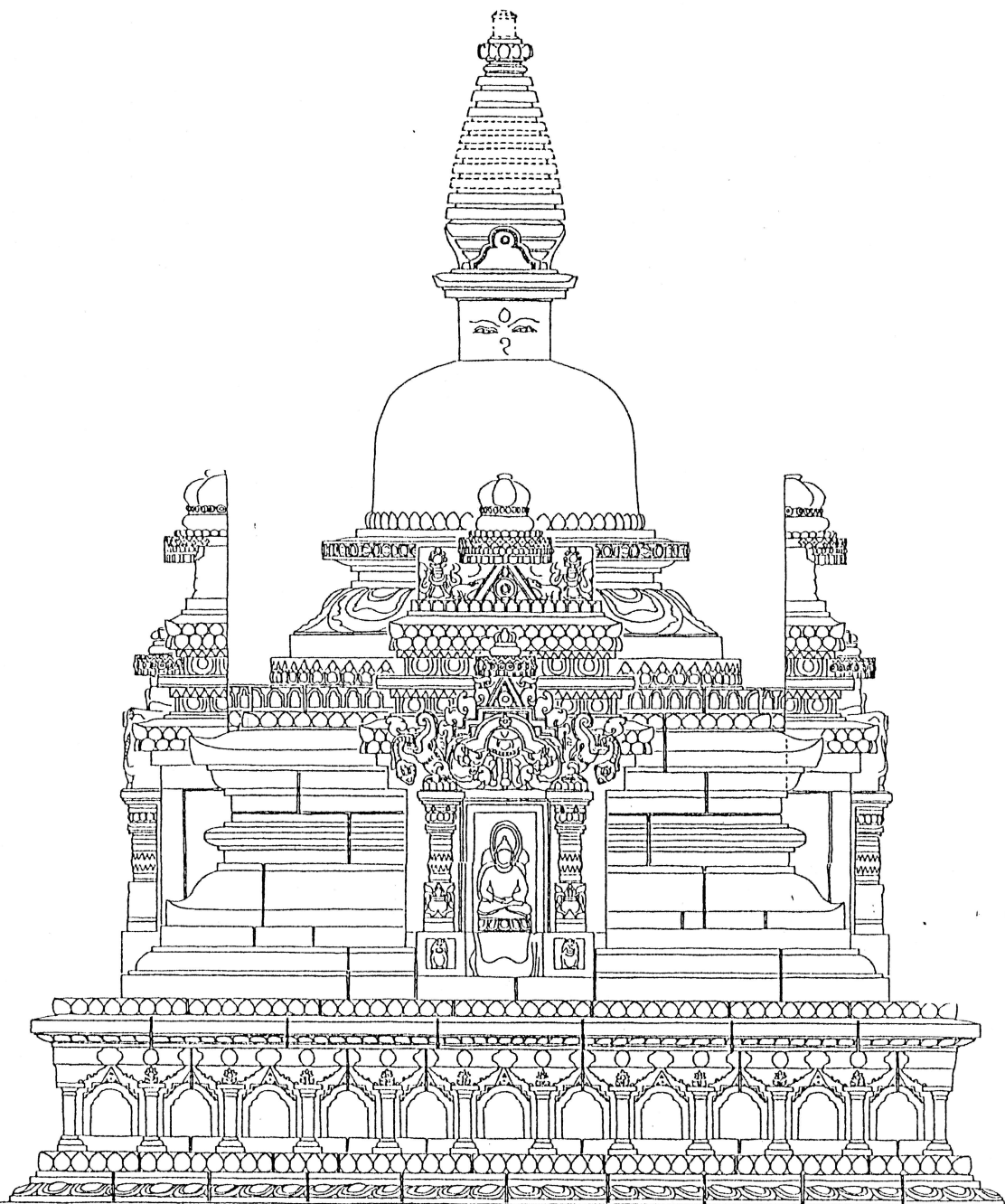


Elevation east, scale 1:10.

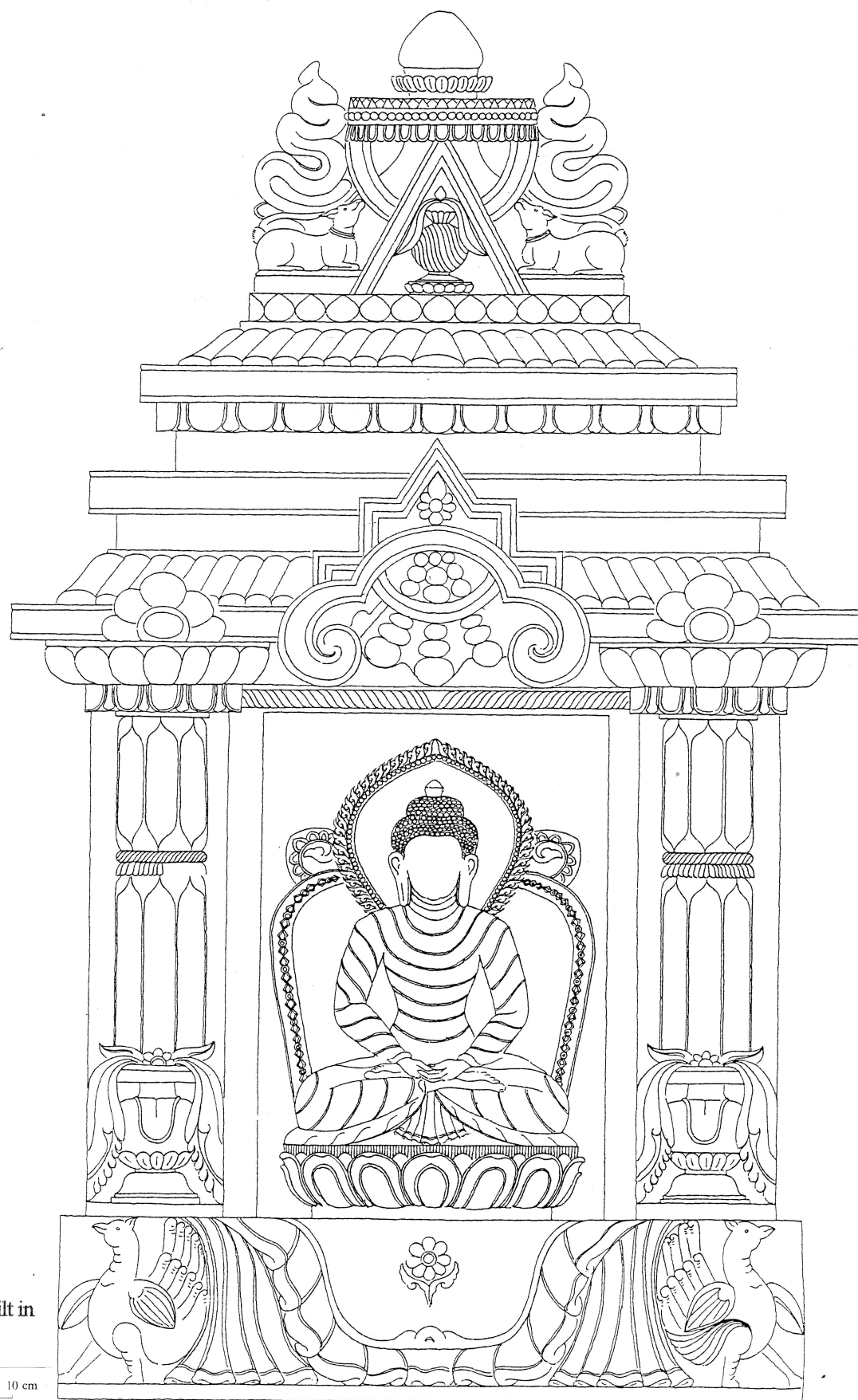


Sikharakutacaitya at Nagubaha, elevation north and top view (1:20).



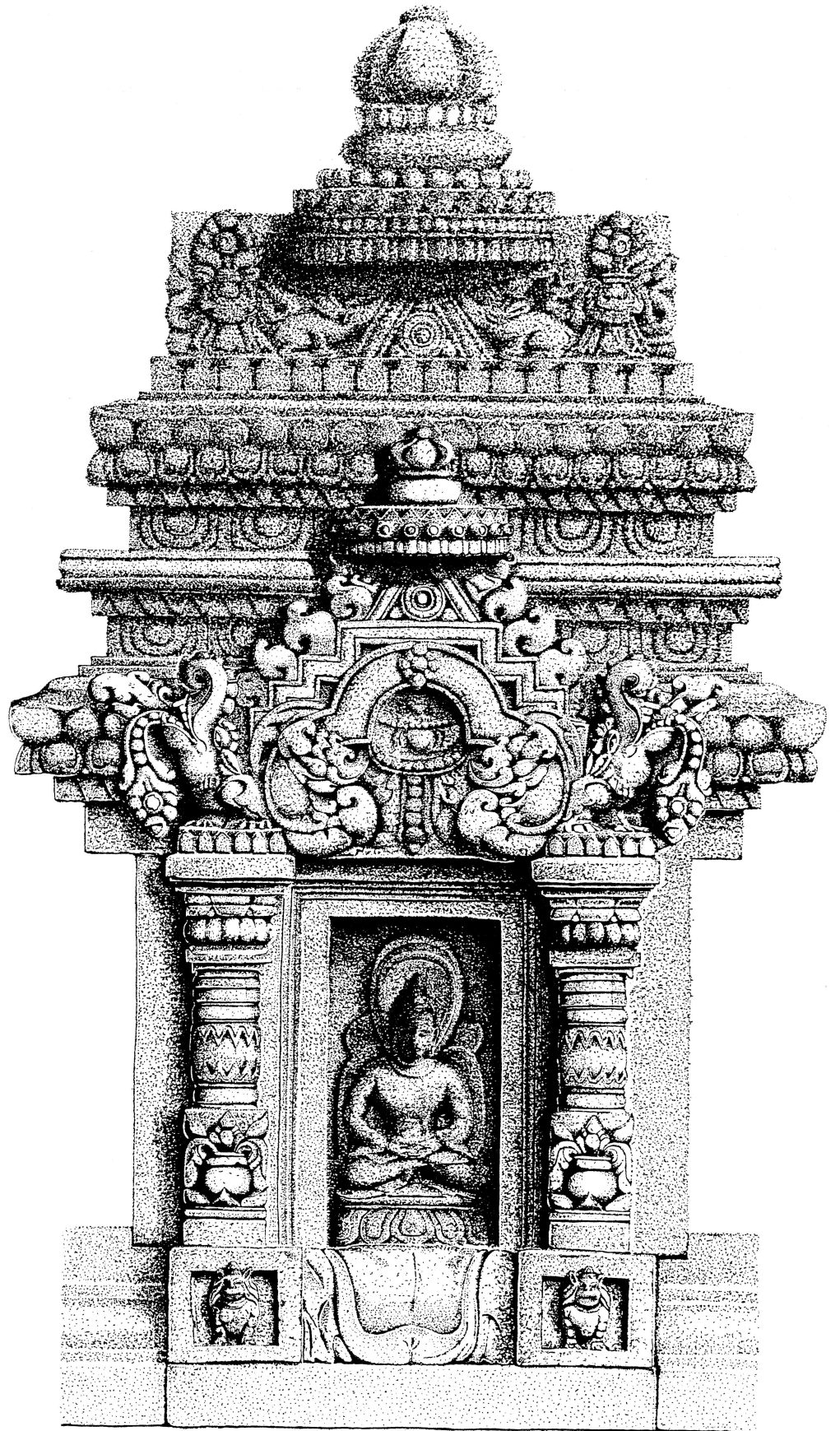


Caitya at Cyagma, scale 1:10



Niche of the caitya of Michubaha, built in 1685, scale 1:2,5

10 cm

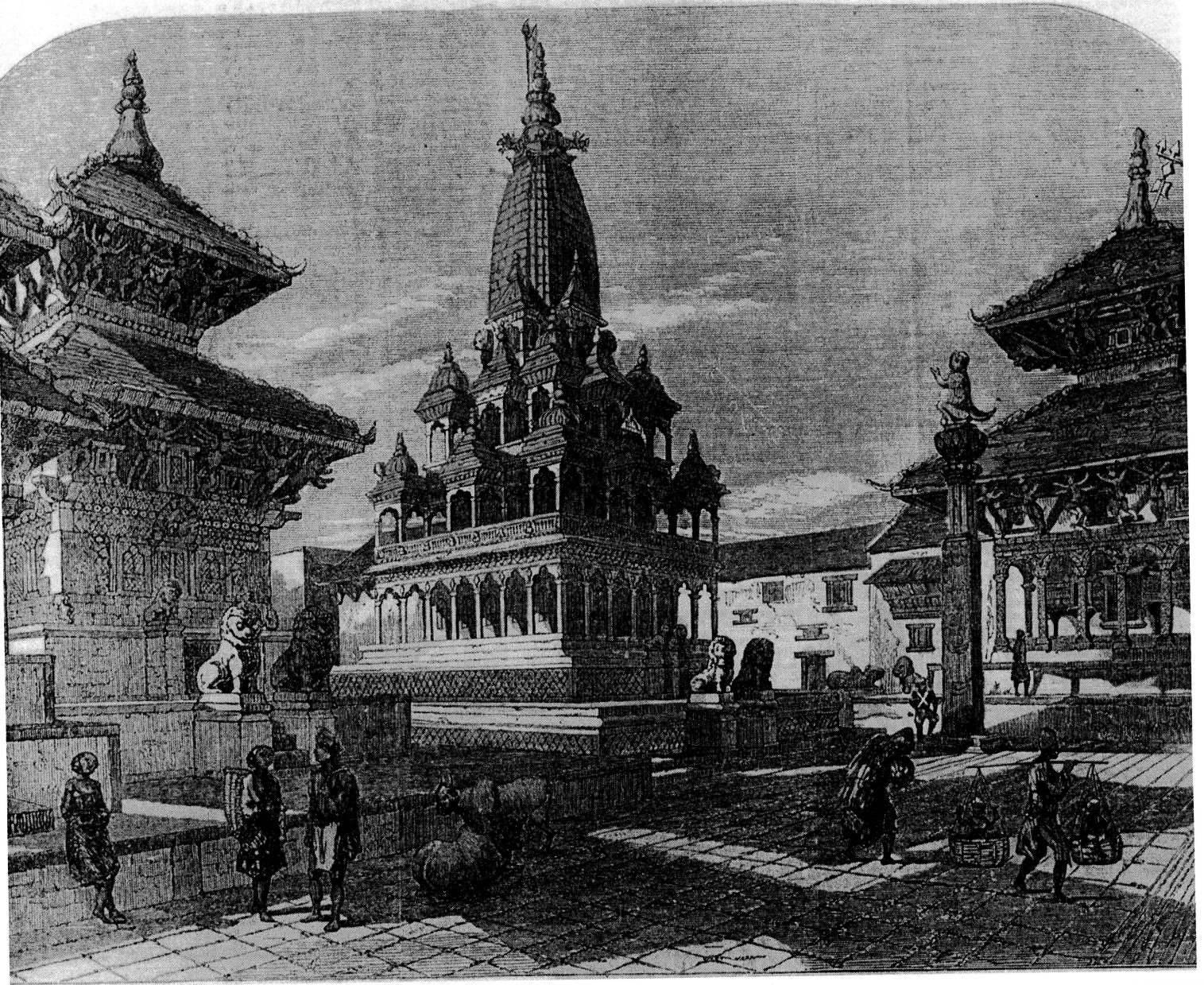


Niche of the caitya at Cyagma

TEMPLES DEGAH



S K E T C H E S I N N E P A U L.

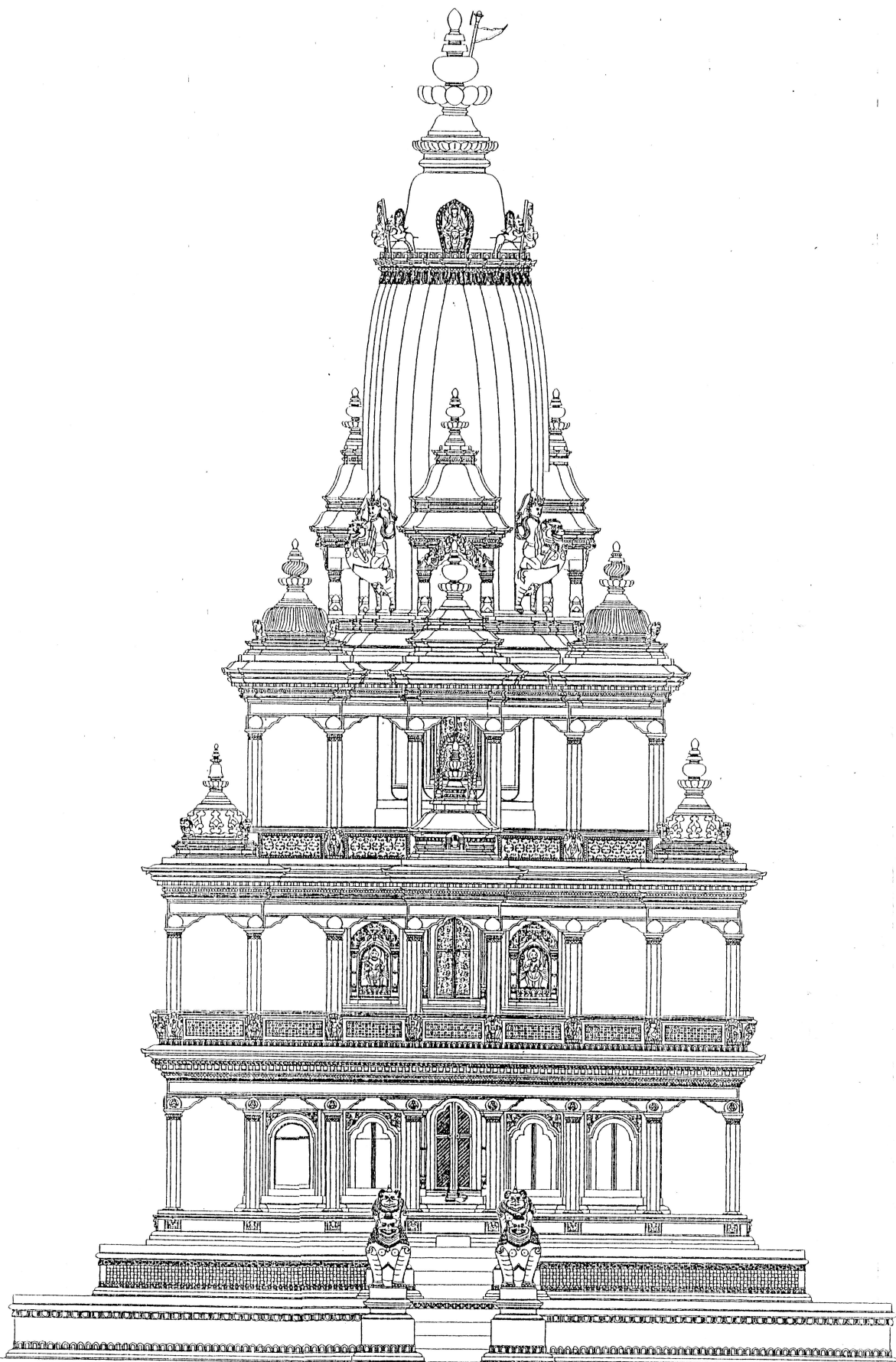


Darbar Square: Coloured sketch by Dr. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, of the Bengal Medical Staff, Residency Surgeon at Kathmandu. From the Illustrated London News, Nov. 10, 1855, p. 571:

"The first View represents the richest architectural display. The building in the centre is a large temple, erected in 1620, and dedicated to Krishna Jee: it was built by one of the Newar rajahs, and is considered the most sacred edifice in Patn. It is entirely of stone, there being neither wood nor brick in its construction. The summits of the large central tower, between fifty and sixty feet in

height, as well as the tops of the smaller surrounding ones, are capped with brass-gilt ornaments. The other buildings are temples dedicated to different deities, the houses in the background excepted, these being ordinary residences of the inhabitants. The temples vary from two to four or five stories in height: the roof overhang, and are supported by wooden brackets covered with all sorts of grotesque figures and monsters in rude deformity. This carving is often executed with great skill, so as to give a very rich appearance to the buildings. The door and window frames are also often beautifully carved, the figures projecting in bold

relief. The column on the right is mounted with a figure of Goroo Narain. The figures in the foreground are Newars. The women are clothed as the common Newars ordinarily appear. The man carrying two children in baskets slung to a pole passing over his shoulder shows the usual mode of conveying children as well as poultry and other easily-portable live-stock from place to place."

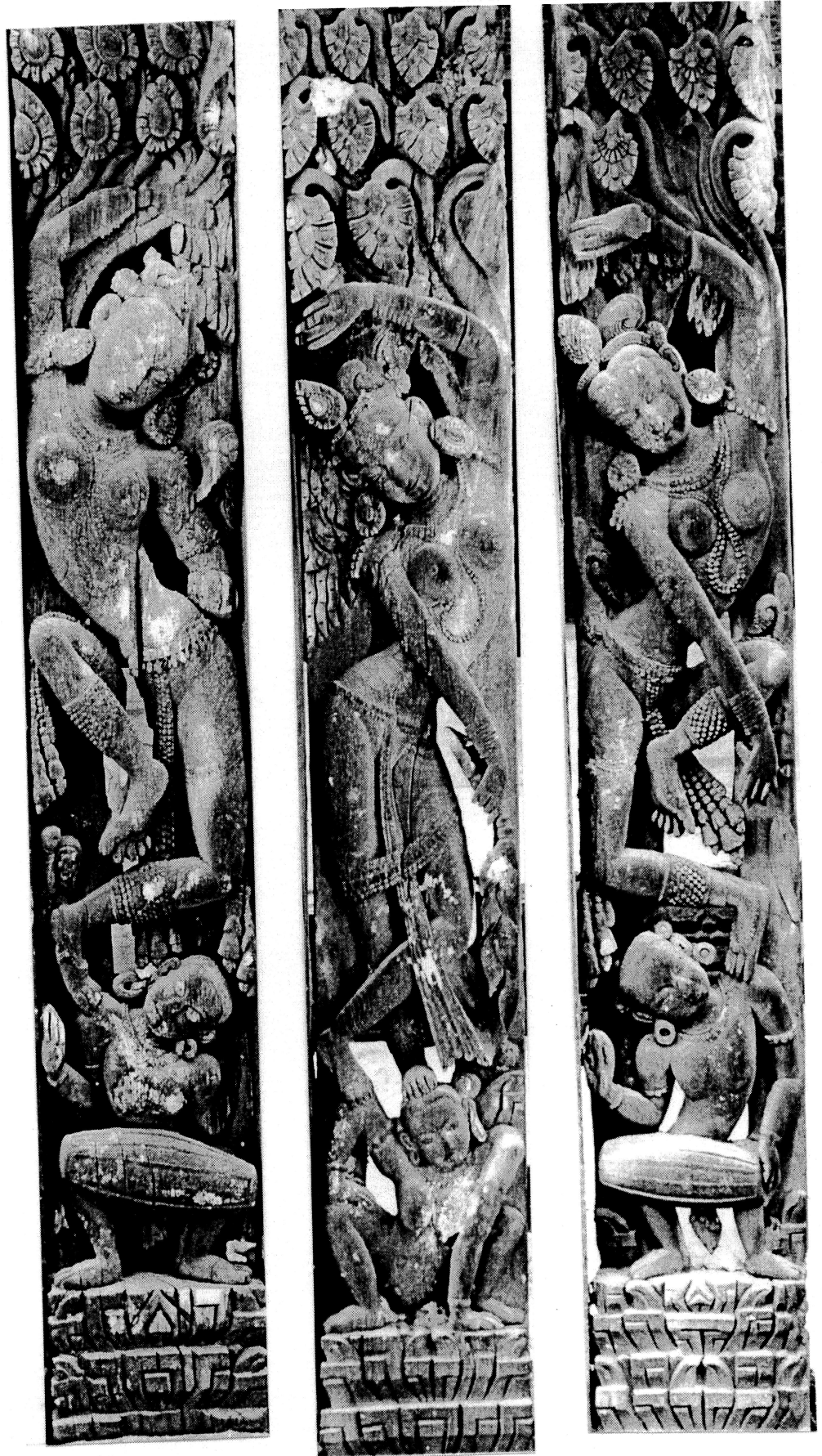


Krsna Degah, elevation East, built in 1637

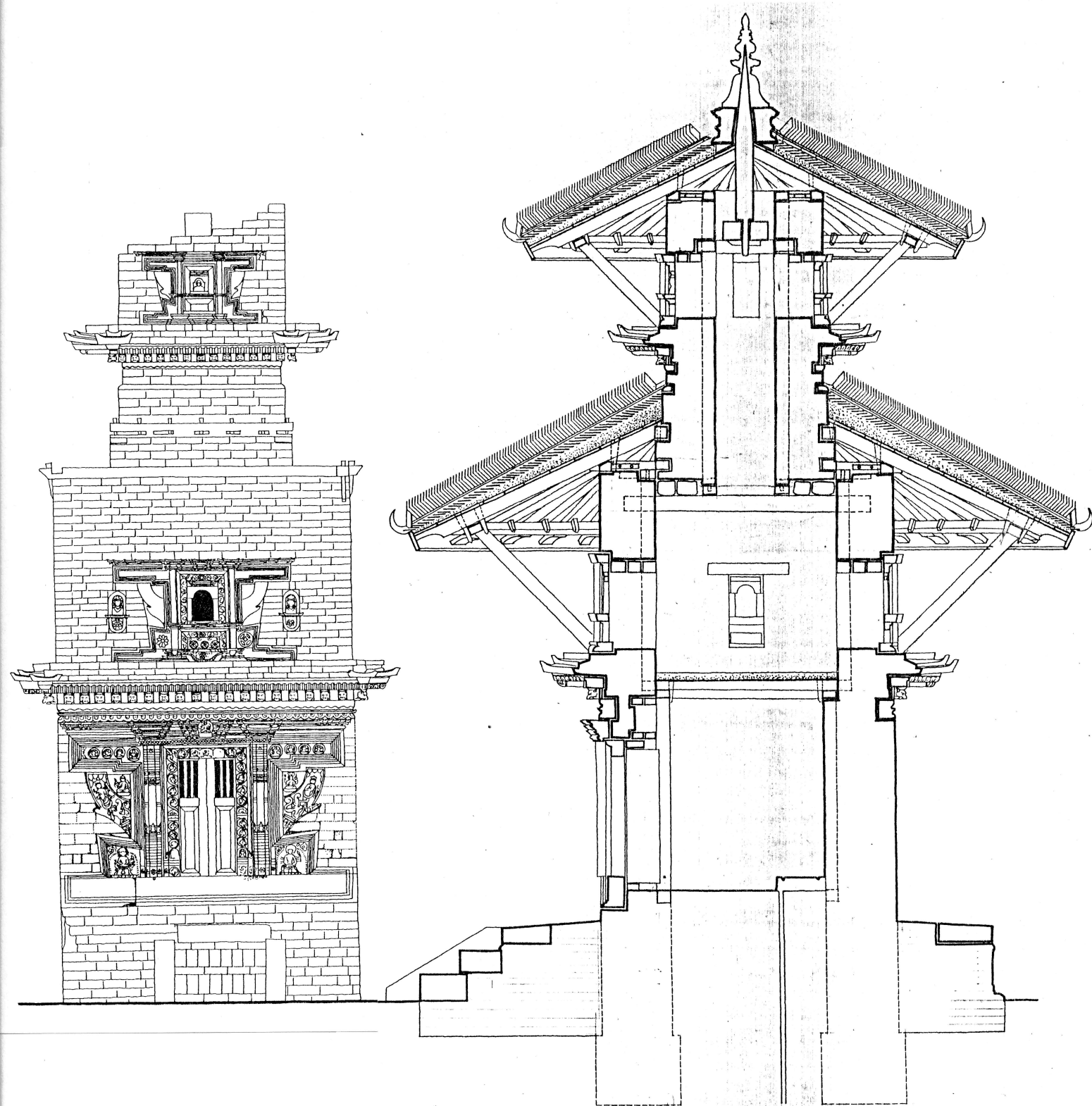


Marktplatz in Patan.

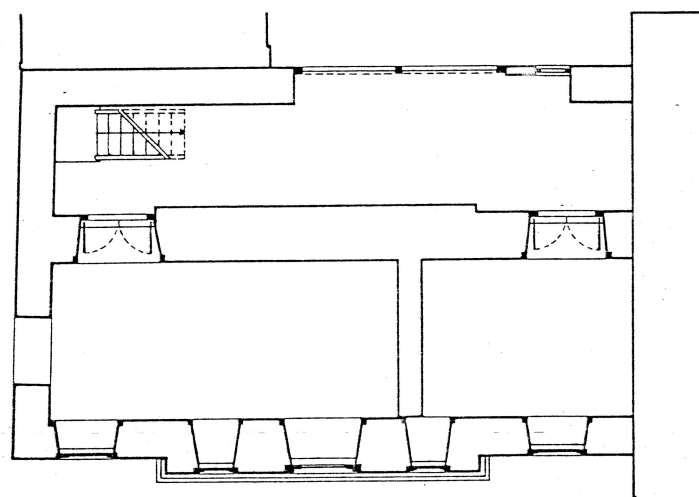
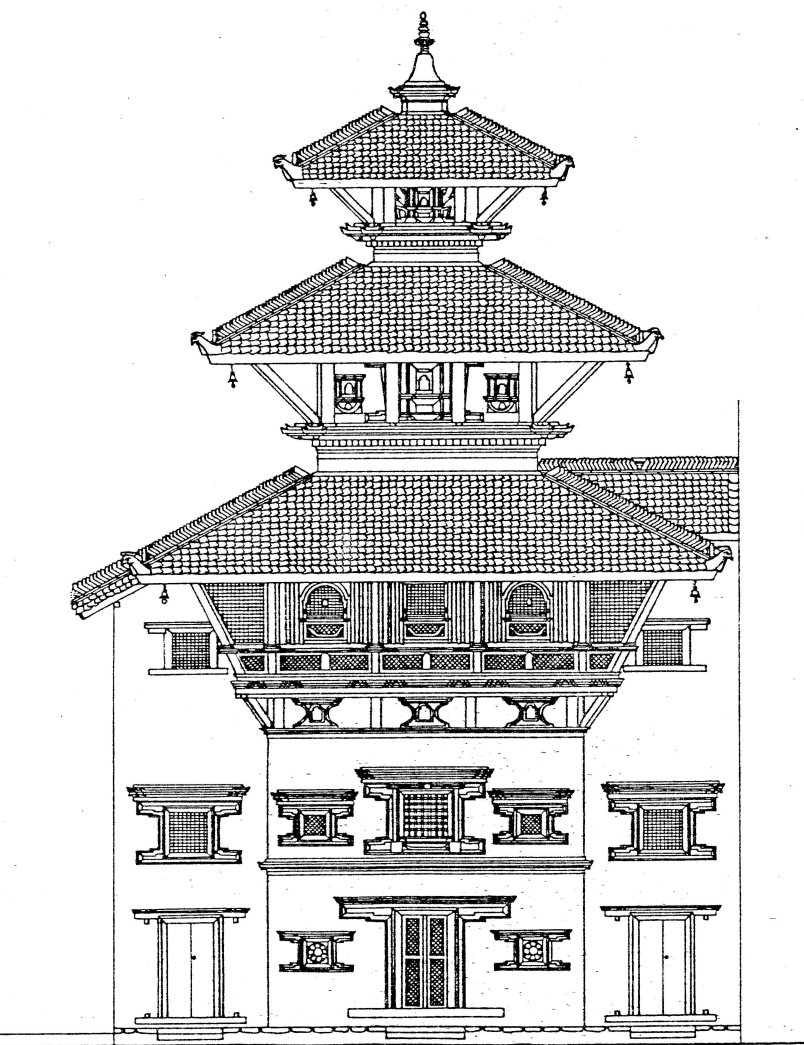
Krishna Degah on Darbar Square, photograph
by Kurt Boeck, 1899
Darbar Square, with Krishna Degah,
Vishvanath and Bhimsen Degah, photograph
Kurt Boeck, 1899



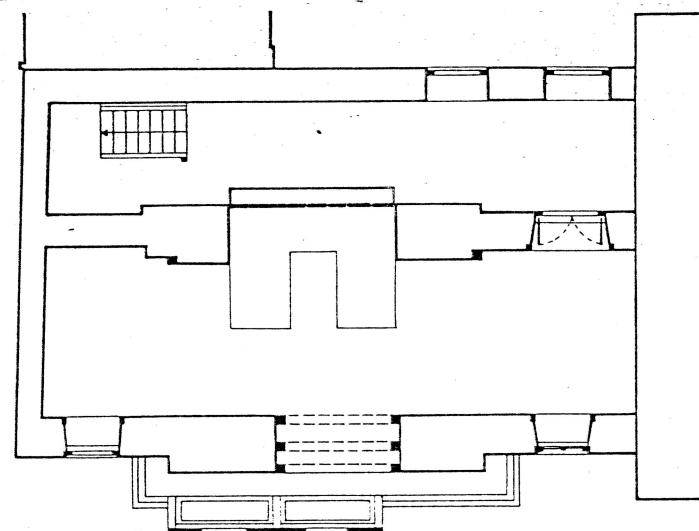
Ratneshvara Degah ta Sulima Square, details
of struts dated to the 14th century,
photographs Mary Slusser 1968



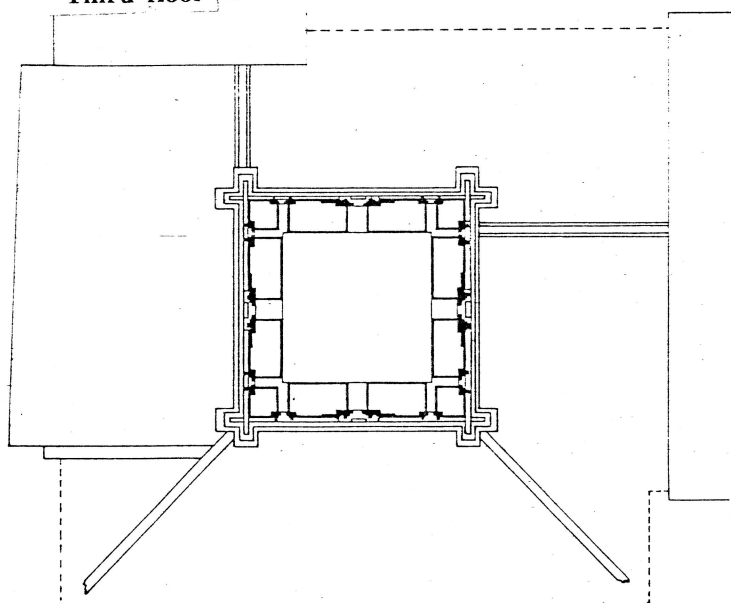
Narayana Degah at Kulima, elevation of the fragmented building in 1996 and reconstruction of the roof structure, scale 1:50. Restored in May - October 1997



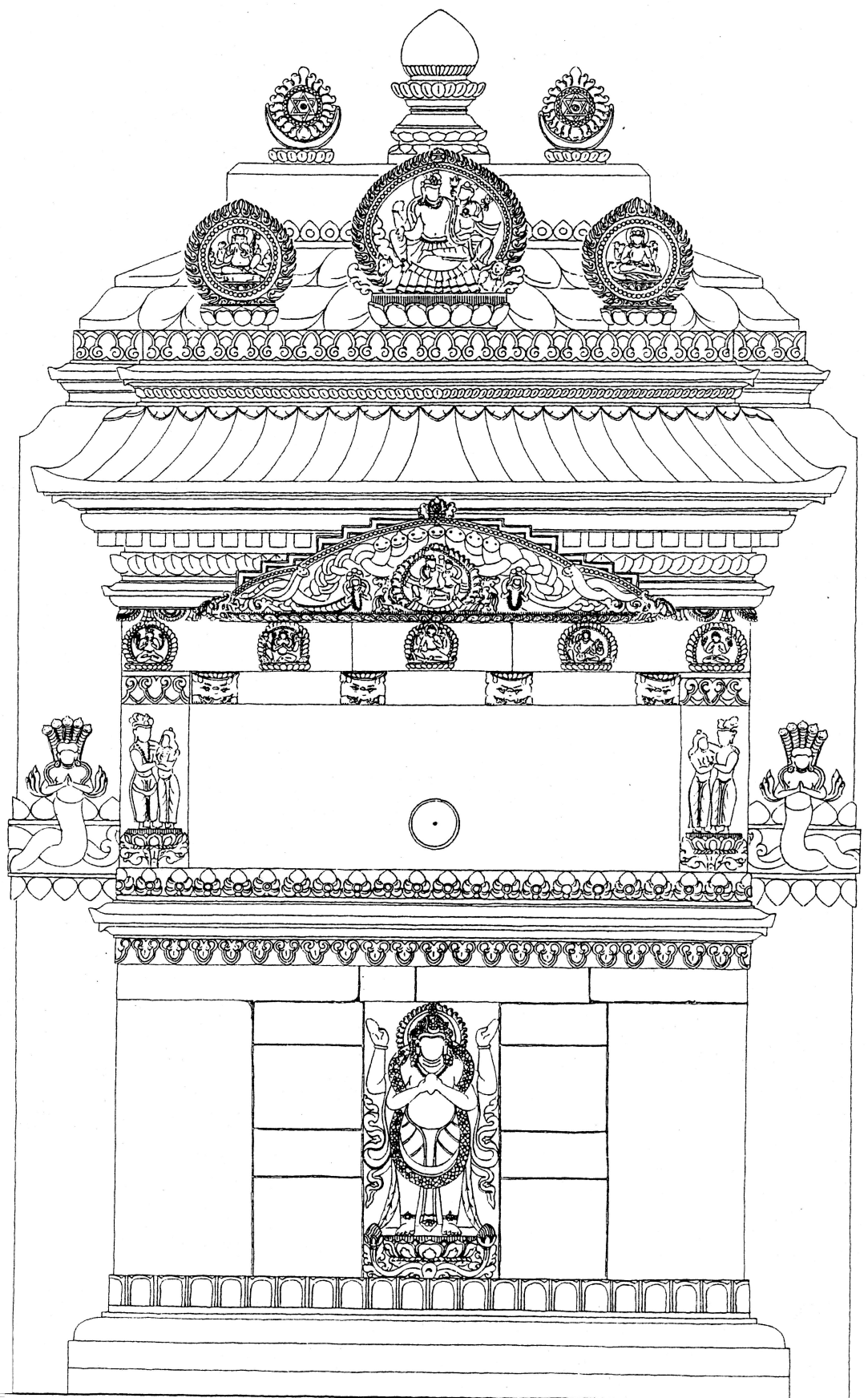
Second floor



Third floor



Fourth floor



Jhaduhiti on the eastern edge of Ikhalakhu Square, 17th century.

The drinking water reservoir is dedicated to Umamahesvara, represented on a panel placed above the eaves of the small structure and on the tympanum (torana) above the water basin. While the panel is flanked by smaller panels with Ganesa and Kumara, the depiction on the tympanum is flanked by a pair of snake virgins (nagakanya) and appears under a hood of seven snake-heads. Below the basin appears in relief a four-handed Bhagirathi, who stands for the origin of the Ganges.

