BUDDHIST MONASTERIES OF NEPAL

John K. Locke
The three ancient cities of Patan, Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and a number of the villages near them, all within the Kathmandu Valley, contain a large number of Buddhist vihāras, known in Newari as bāhā or bāhi. That many of these institutions are very ancient and nearly all of them more than two hundred years old has long been known and commented upon by nearly everyone who has written about the history and culture of the Valley. Lists of these institutions have been published, the earliest being Hem Raj Sakya's Nepal Bauddha Vihāra va Grantha Śūlī. The two volume Kathmandu Valley, a survey of the principal cultural monuments of the Valley published in 1975 listed many of these vihāras, but by no means all of them. In 1975 Niels Gustschow and Hem Raj Sakya published a list of the vihāras of Patan with a map, and more recently Mary Slusser has published lists and maps of the vihāras in all three cities in her Nepal Mandala. In 1983 Ratna Kaji Vajracarya and Bijaya Ratna Vajracarya published a small book entitled Nepal Deyā Vihāraya Taci ("A Key to Viharas in Nepal") which lists all of the vihāras of the Valley (but without maps) and gives some data on the history of a few of the major foundations. Yet, so far no systematic attempt has been made to identify all of these institutions, describe them and their interrelationships and trace their history. This present volume is a first attempt in that direction.

The first task which faced me when I began this study ten years ago was to find the vihāras. None of the lists published up to that time were accompanied by maps and all of the lists, taken from old handwritten manuscripts, contained the names of many institutions that no longer existed. We started in Patan where knowledgeable informants were able to show us the vihāras they knew about or had connections with. It soon became apparent that none of the informants knew of all of the vihāras, and the only way to make an accurate survey was to go from house to house in the old city asking questions and looking for anything that resembled a vihāra. In Kathmandu the task was made much easier because of accurate lists of the existing vihāras, lists used by devotees who occasionally make a devotional circuit of all these shrines and who were able to locate all the institutions on the lists. In Bhaktapur we found that Samyak Ratna Vajracarya had already made a survey of the few vihāras of that city, and he was able to locate all of these for us. After twelve years of checking and rechecking I am fairly certain that all of the existing institutions have been covered. I am definitely certain that all of the institutions covered herein actually do exist.

The General Introduction explains the terms (Newari or Sanskrit) which recur in the descriptions of each of the vihāras, describes the general physical features of a bāhā-bāhi and gives notes on the Buddhist culture of these institutions, i.e., the communities attached to the vihāras, the rituals performed, the festivals observed, the initiation rites, the roles played by various members of the sangha and the endowments which traditionally supported these institutions.

The initial aim of the survey was twofold: (1) to find and describe the existing institutions i.e., the buildings and monuments which have survived as well as the communities attached to these institutions and the Buddhist culture which still forms the framework of the daily life of the Sakyas and Vajracaryas who make up the communities, (2) to trace the history of these institutions. This initial aim is reflected in the treatment of each vihāra.
which covers first the physical remains, then
the present community and their customs and
finally the history of the institution. The
survey has been far more successful in the at-
tainment of the first aim than the second. De-
spite the considerable amount of research done
by Nepali scholars within the past twenty-five
years there is still insufficient material to
trace most of these institutions back to their
origins. Perhaps the material no longer exists,
but one has the impression that there is a
wealth of material preserved in the vihāras in
the form of manuscripts and old documents. Un-
fortunately most of the elders of the vihāras
extend the tantric injunction of secrecy regard-
ing the rituals and initiations to all of this
material and will not show it even to members
of their own vihāra who are interested in docu-
menting its history. If the publication of this
volume provokes enough interest and discussion
to unlock this material and make it available to
the many young people who are interested in
studying and documenting the history of their
own vihāras, it will have gone a long way
toward attaining its second aim.

The body of this study is divided into
three sections, one for each of the cities of
the Valley. Each section begins with a Map List
with all of the vihāras of the city listed in
order according to the numbers on the accompa-
ying maps. The vihāras are then discussed, but
not in the order of the map numbers. First the
main bahās are treated, with each account fol-
lowed by a treatment of all its branches; then
the bahīs are discussed; and finally the vihāras
in the adjoining villages are taken up. There
is no index, as an index of all the Newari names
and their alternates plus the Sanskrit names
would have been excessively long. Hence the key
to finding one’s way in this forest is the
concerned map and the map list. The map list
indicates the page in the following text where
the concerned vihāra is treated. In the text
itself the number in brackets [xx] following the
name of a vihāra is the map number which should
in turn aid one in locating the vihāra on the
map and in tracing cross references to other
vihāras. There is a photograph of each of the
vihāras. The photographs accompany the discus-
sion of the vihāra in the text, hence there is
no separate list of illustrations.

All of the photographs in the text were
taken by Hugh R. Downs to whom I am immensely
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the project but for his friendship.

A list of all the people who have assisted
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of the 363 vihāras. They must remain anonymous,
but I am grateful for their unfailing courtesy
and their help. My only hope is that their time
and interest will be rewarded by an accurate
account of their vihāra and its traditions.

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yard in the city of Patan looking for vihāras
and gathering information. My current research
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to update statistics on membership and to check
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baha to baha again and again trying to resolve
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to assemble all of this data. Once that was
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Kwa Baha in Patan and for many helpful
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It is hoped that the present volume will be a contribution toward a better understanding of the history and culture of the Kathmandu Valley and an aid to those who are planning for the future. The face of the Valley is changing rapidly and in the years that I have been engaged in this research I have seen some of the old vihara buildings fall into decay or be replaced by concrete boxes. The lifestyle of the members of the saṅghas is changing rapidly as more and more people move away from their quarters in the viharas to return only for occasional rituals or not at all. Change and development are the order of the day and one cannot halt this nor would one want to. Yet change must be rooted in the traditional culture and values of a people if it is not to produce disorientation and rootless chaos. People cannot shape their future without reflecting on such questions as 'Who are we', and 'Where did we come from'. The communities described in this work are the custodians of what is probably the oldest unbroken tradition of the practice of the Buddha's Dharma—a tradition that has undergone many changes as a result of the social, cultural, economic and political influences the community has experienced over the last 2000 years. Like the traditional Nepali masked dancers, Buddhism in the Valley has worn many faces over the ages and danced to different rhythms. Today a new face is emerging and life has a new rhythm. Yet the tune is the same, that of the Four Noble Truths, and there is little doubt that the Dharma will continue to be the life force of the community as it has for over twenty centuries.

Orthography

In the text and in the notes the standard transcription has been used with diacritical marks for all Nepali, Newari and Sanskrit words with two minor exceptions. In Newari words the w has been used in place of v where the letter is pronounced as w. In transcribing Nepali and Newari words the inherent and final a has been omitted where it is not pronounced. A strict transliteration according to the Devanagri spelling would be misleading in many cases and an injustice to the language. The commonly accepted English spelling has been used for current place names.

Dates

In most of the sources used for this work the date is given in Nepāl Sambat and this has usually been retained, especially in the notes. This era began on Oct. 20, 879 A.D.
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION
There are two words used for the Newar Buddhist institutions of the Valley: bāhā (or bāhāl) and bahī (or bahīl). The term bāhā is a corruption of the Sanskrit term vihāra, the standard term for a Buddhist monastery. If one traces the development of the word through the inscriptions and references cited in this work it becomes clear that the word went through various modifications: vihāra > vahāra > bāhāra > bāhāla > bāhāl > bāhā. In Newāri 'l' and 'r' are constantly interchanged. Furthermore Newāri, as a basically monosyllabic language, has an ongoing tendency to shorten words, especially long, borrowed words. (Thus Avalokiteśvara-deva eventually gets squeezed down to Laska-dya.) In older inscriptions we find bāhāra and bāhāla; gradually the final 'a' disappears and within the last two hundred years the 'l' has also been lost, but comes back in the oblique cases. Some writers have used the older form bāhāl, I have chosen to use what is the current form of the word used by Newārs today: bāhā, often pronounced simply bā. The term bahī or bahil has gone through a similar evolution. The original Sanskrit term was bahiri, meaning outside. So it evolved bahiri > bahīra > bahil > bahī.

A vihāra, of course is a Buddhist monastery, a place where Buddhist (presumably celibate) monks (bhikṣus) or nuns (bhikṣunis) live. That there were such Buddhist monasteries in the Valley of Nepal during the Licchavi period seems evident from the references to some fifteen vihāras in the Licchavi inscriptions and in the Gopāla Rājavamsāvālī. The community of monks or nuns in these monasteries was known as a saṅgha. For the period between the end of the Licchavi era in the ninth century and the dawn of the Malla era at the beginning of the thirteenth century we have little detailed information. About all that has come down are occasional references to monasteries and bhikṣus or bhikṣunis found in the colophons of manuscripts copied in Nepal. By the time of the Mallas when we begin to get abundant information again, a change has taken place. We find an even greater number of vihāras still inhabited by a Buddhist saṅgha who refer to themselves as Bare, a corruption of the Sanskrit term vanda or vandana, a term of respect used from ancient times for the Buddhist monk. However, we also find that those who call themselves Bare, bhikṣu, sākyabhikṣu or sākyavamsā are in fact married. In addition to this, even before the beginning of the Malla period by N.S.213 we begin to get references to some of the inhabitants of the vihāras as 'vajrācārya', (vajra master) masters of the tantric tradition and presumably married. By the end of the Malla period it seems clear that there were no more celibate monks, if there were they were certainly the exception to the rule. The inhabitants of the vihāras still called themselves bhikṣu or sākyabhikṣu and the inhabitants of the bahis in Patan still called themselves brahmacarya bhikṣu, but we have numerous references to Sakyabhikṣu so-and-so plus his wife (or wives) and his sons and daughters. Because of the continued use of the old terms by married Bare or householder monks it is impossible to say with any certainty that a reference to a bhikṣu or even a brahmacarya bhikṣu indicates a celibate monk.

This is still the case today. Each of the bāhās and bahīs is still inhabited and tended by a saṅgha of initiated sākyabhikṣus and vajrācāryas, called Bare, who are nevertheless married men with families. They and their families constitute the saṅgha of the vihāra. Furthermore, under the influence of a growing ascendency of standard Hinduism and the Hindu caste system, which all informants date to the time of Jayasthiti Malla, the Bare became in fact a
caste. In anthropological terms this means that the sangha of the monastery has become a patrilineal descent group. One has to be the son of a Sakyabhikṣu or Vajracarya to be eligible for initiation into the sangha, and one joins the monastery of his father. The monasteries are no longer open communities accepting anyone who wants to lead the life of a bhikṣu.

In terms of caste the Bare are the highest caste among the Buddhist Newāris with the Vajracarya, the tantric priest, being considered a slightly higher sub-division of Bare. The Bare who are not Vajracaryas usually use the surname Sakya, an abbreviation of Sakyabhistu or Sakyavanda. It is common today for Sakyas and Vajracaryas to intermarry, but this seems to be a fairly recent relaxation of ancient customs. Especially in Kathmandu this seldom happened among the Vajracaryas and, if it did, it meant that they would accept a Sakya girl for their sons but would not give their daughter to a Sakya as this would mean a slight degradation in her status.

It has often been said that the present bāhās and bahīs are all former monasteries. This statement is inaccurate on two counts. In one sense they are still monasteries, i.e. abodes of a Buddhist saṅgha of men who have been initiated as Buddhist monks and who still have a round of ritual and ceremony which binds the community together. Secondly, it is true that there were monasteries with celibate monks at one time and that there are now only monasteries with saṅghas of married or householder bhikṣus. However, the only existing establishment that we can trace back to Licchavi times with some degree of certainty is the bāhā at the Sankhu Vajrayogini shrine known in Licchavi times as Guṇ Vihāra and still today called Guṇ Bāhā. At many other places we find Licchavi remains, but the remains alone tell us nothing about a continuity between the Licchavi foundation or community and the present foundation. In fact it is clear that most of the existing bāhās were founded as establishments for communities of married Bare. The assertion that the bāhās are all former monasteries begs a very important question: did the monks at some stage in history all suddenly marry and turn themselves into householder monks? Or, was the custom of married monks introduced at some point and gradually became the acceptable custom with the communities of celibate monks slowly dying out altogether? This is very much a moot point at the present stage of our knowledge.

The term vihāra, or bāhā-bahi in Newāri, refers first to a building, an architectural structure. The traditional style of the vihāra seems to have been handed down from the earliest days of Buddhism, and this can be traced if one looks at the well-preserved cave monasteries of Ajanta and Elora built in western India over two thousand years ago. There one sees the same pattern that can still be found off the streets and alleys of the cities of the Valley: a series of rooms built round an open courtyard with the room opposite the entryway, which serves as the shrine of the monastery, slightly larger than the other rooms. Vihāras in Nepal were built of brick and wood, and because of both the climate and frequent earthquakes there are no existing vihāra buildings which pre-date the late Malla period. Even the oldest foundations have been continually rebuilt, often much more recently than one would suspect by looking at the buildings.

The traditional style of the bāhā has perhaps been best preserved in a branch bāhā in Kathmandu known as Chusyā Bāhā. The present buildings were built in A.D.1849, though the struts supporting the roof may be a hundred years older. Chusyā Bāhā is a two-storied building of brick and wood built round an open and paved courtyard. The courtyard is sunken and the ground floor plinth is a foot or more above this pavement. On three sides of the ground floor are open halls situated in the centre of each arm. One of these is the entrance hall which has two benches and images of Mahākāl and Ganesha set into the wall. On the fourth side, opposite to the entrance is the shrine of the bāhā. The carved doorway has a wooden door of lattice work enabling one to see into the shrine even when the door is closed. The shrine houses an image of the Buddha. In each corner of the quadrangle are two small dark rooms, one with a stairway leading to the upper storey. Each of these four stairways leads to an apartment of three rooms. Each of these four apartments is separate with no interconnecting doors or passageways. Above the shrine is a five-fold window behind which is a room called the digi where the elders can meet and off of which is a door leading to the āgam, the private shrine where the tantric deities of the saṅgha are worshipped. A bay window over the en-
trance projects over the courtyard and the outside of the upper storey is pierced by several windows. The outer wall of the ground floor has no openings other than three doorways. All of the windows and the other woodwork are elaborately carved, and the tile roof is supported by a series of exquisitely carved struts portraying various deities, each of which is named. Above the roof is a bell-shaped finial (actually an inverted kalasha) known as a gaṣṭra. Over the street entrance and also over the door of the shrine is a toraga or tympanum.

The structure of a bahi is similar but has its own distinctive features. The bahi is also a brick and wood structure, usually of two storeys, built round a courtyard. In general it is a simpler structure with less ornamentation than the late Malla bāhās. There is ordinarily only one opening in the entire ground floor, the main entrance; and usually one mounts a flight of stairs up to the entrance. In most bahas the entrance is at ground level. Inside the entrance are usually images of Ganesh and Mahakali. The entire ground floor, except for the shrine, is usually one continuous open hall. In one corner, usually to the left as one enters, is a single staircase leading to the upper storey. The shrine is a small, windowless room situated directly opposite the main entrance and offset from the rest of the building so that it is possible for devotees to circumambulate it. The upper storey usually has a projecting balcony which enlarhges the space, but like the lower floor it is usually undivided and a continuous open hall except for a single blind room directly above the shrine. This is the āgan which houses the secret tantric deities. The outside walls usually have three or five windows except for the side above the shrine which has fewer. The balcony running round the upper storey is frequently enclosed with lattice screens. The upper storey also frequently has another balcony extending over the entrance above the street. The roof is wide and overhanging, and the space under the roof is usually unused. Above the shrine is usually not a gaṣṭra but a small temple-like structure, a sort of hanging lantern or cupola.

This seems to have been the traditional architecture of a bāhā and a bahi. However, few today conform to this proto-type. The bahis, if the buildings have survived at all, have more consistently maintained the traditional architecture. Many bāhās today consist of a courtyard with residential buildings, most of which have been constructed at different times and often in different styles, with a bāhā shrine opposite the entrance. The shrine has preserved certain distinctive features: a carved doorway with lattice work surmounted by a toraga and flanked by two small, blind windows. Usually the entrance to the shrine is marked by two lions. The first storey of the shrine usually has a five-fold carved window behind which is the digi and the āgan. If there are more than these two storeys to the shrine the upper storeys, which usually have living quarters, may have over-hanging balconies, carved windows or even modern glass windows. The roof, which may be of tile or corrugated iron sheeting, is usually surmounted by one or more finials (gaṣṭra), often in the form of a caitya.

Especially in Patan, there are places where the shrine is much more elaborate, becoming in fact a modified, multi-roofed temple set into the complex of buildings round the courtyard. Examples of this would be Hakha Bāhā and Kuś Bāhā in Patan. At Bhiṣchhī Bāhā in Patan the shrine is actually a free-standing temple of three roofs.

There are a few examples of another type which might be called an extended bāhā complex: a very large courtyard (almost as large as a football field and sometimes resembling a park) surrounded by residential buildings with a bāhā shrine located along one side. The courtyard is usually filled with images and caityas. Perhaps the best example of this is Bāhā in Patan. Other examples from Patan would be Nāg Bāhā and Nākhā Cūk, though these two are now residential courtyards rather than proper bāhās. In Katmandu Te Bāhā and Kayagū Nāṇī of Itūm Bāhā would be examples of the same type.

Another type of bāhā is what I have called the 'modern bāhā'. This consists of a courtyard surrounded by residential buildings with a small Buddha shrine somewhere in the courtyard but not a separate section of the buildings. Sometimes the shrine is entirely free-standing, either set to one side or in the centre of the courtyard. Sometimes it is a small plastered shrine set against one wall of a courtyard building. I call these 'modern' because all the ones encountered were founded or built within the past one hundred to one hundred fifty years and seem to
reflect the deteriorating economic status of the bāhā communities. There are no complete bāhā complexes such as Chusyā Bāhā which have been constructed within the past hundred and fifty years. Even renovations of old shrines after earthquakes or the ravages of time tend to be simplified structures or 'modern bāhās'.

Some informants have said that these modern shrines should not be called bāhās at all, and indeed one of the first questions I had to answer was: what is a bāhā? If one is talking only about a traditional architectural style, the modern shrines do not conform to the prototype. But then most of the long-established foundations no longer conform to the type either. For the purposes of this study a bāhā is more than an architectural type. It is a complex of buildings (usually round a courtyard) with a Buddha shrine and an āgam which have been properly consecrated for use by a Buddhist community, a saṅgha. The saṅgha in question is a recognised community of initiated Bāres. The Buddha shrine and the āgam are the focal points of the devotion and ritual of the community. The Buddha image enshrined on the ground-floor is referred to as the kuṭāpa-ḍya (guardian deity) of the saṅgha and is a non-tantric deity. The āgam deity is always a pair of tantric deities, usually Herukacakrasamvara-Vajravārāhī, but occasionally another pair such as Heva-jra-Nairātama. In some places, especially in Bhaktapur, every courtyard with houses round it and a caitya in the centre is popularly called a bāhā. These have not been included. They do not have a Buddha shrine nor an āgam which have been consecrated as a bāhā, and frequently the people attached to the place are not Bāres but other castes. These are properly called nanis. For the purposes of this study then a bāhā (or bāhi) is a Newār Buddhist institution with a consecrated Buddha (kuṭāpa-ḍya) shrine and an āgam to which is attached a saṅgha of initiated Bāres. In general only institutions which fall within the parameters of this definition have been included. However, I have also included for study those institutions which are in a state of decline and have actually been abandoned by their saṅgha and institutions at which regular observances have ceased because the saṅgha has moved away, the kuṭāpa-ḍya shrine is in ruins, or the image has been stolen. Strictly speaking they are not active institutions now, but were until recently. A few institutions, called bāhās by everyone and having a Buddha shrine with a bāhā complex, have been included despite the fact that they do not have a Bāre saṅgha, but are the shrine of people of another caste. They have been included because of their close relationship to the Bāre saṅgha of another bāhā. Their inclusion will also perhaps give some clues to the development of the present institutions.

The customs of the bāhās and bāhi and their organization differ somewhat in the three main cities of the Valley. Hence I have treated the bāhās of the three cities in separate sections. The few bāhās or bāhi found in the outlying villages are usually related to foundations in the nearest of the three cities and have been placed in sections following the bāhās of the three cities. The largest number of bāhās are found in Patan, followed by Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. The treatment of each bāhā looks briefly at three aspects: the present physical features of the complex, the status of the community and their activities as a Buddhist saṅgha, the history of the foundation. Following is an explanation of the terms which are found in the treatment of almost every bāhā or bāhi in the order in which they appear in the text.

Name

Each bāhā or bāhi has two names, a popular Newari name and an official Sanskrit name. The Newāri name given is the current Newāri name by which the bāhā is usually known. If an earlier form of the name or an alternate name has come to light, this is indicated. Though every bāhā theoretically has an official Sanskrit name, in some cases nobody was able to give the Sanskrit name, or different people gave different names. I was able to obtain two official lists of the bāhās which are used at the time of the bāhā puja, one from Kathmandu and one from Patan, neither of them more than a hundred years old. These lists give Sanskrit names for nearly all of the bāhās, and where there is a conflict I have preferred the name on this list unless there is other clear evidence of a different name. I suspect that some of the Sanskrit names found on various published lists (or given to me by informants) were thought up on the spot for the sake of the researcher. The names on these two 'official' lists may well suffer from the same defect. Hence I have indicated by an asterisk (*) every Sanskrit name that I have been
able to get written confirmation of, i.e. either the name appears on an inscription at the site of the bahā, or it is given in manuscript references to the bahā, or in inscriptions found at other sites. The number which appears in brackets [xx] after the name of bahās in the text is the map number of the concerned bahā. These have included to facilitate identification and cross-referencing.

Toraṇa

In ancient India the toraṇa was a decorated arch or arched doorway leading into a shrine. In Nepal this has become a semi-circular decorative panel over the doorway of a shrine (Hindu or Buddhist) whose main figure usually depicts the deity in the shrine. However it is often another figure as will be evident below. The toraṇa recorded in the text is the one over the shrine of the kwpd-dya. Many bahās have other toraṇas either over the entryway of the bahā complex or over side entryways or side shrines. Some of these are noted in the text. The outer circle is identical on almost all of the toraṇas found in the bahās. In each of the lower corners is a makara (a sea monster) facing out. Above the makaras rise swirls of vapour often personified with figures of deities and ending in the coils of two serpents with human heads. The coils of the serpents are held fast by a figure above. The figure above is either a garuda grasping the serpents in his talons or a cępu, a sort of Bhairava mask with hands on either side of the face, which grasp the serpents. In the centre are found one or more Buddhist figures. One of the common motifs found on the toraṇas of the bahās is the five transcendental Buddhas, usually with Vairocana in the central position but occasionally with Akgobhya in the central position.

Another common motif is the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The Buddha is usually Akgobhya. The Dharma is a four-armed figure of Prajñāpāramitā with two hands joined before her breast in the bodhya (or dharmacakra) mudrā and the other right and left hands holding a garland of beads (mālā) and a book representing the Prajñāpāramitā (or the stem of the blue lotus [ultpala] on which rests the book) respectively. The Saṅgha is represented by a form of Lokesvara. This is usually Śādakṣarī Lokesvara, a four-handed, seated form of Lokesvara with the two main hands joined in the namaskāra mudrā and the other right and left holding a garland of beads and a lotus respectively. However it is sometimes a seated, two-handed Avalokitesvara holding the lotus in his left hand and exhibiting the varada mudrā in his right hand. The term Avalokitesvara used in this context refers to this seated form.

In several places, mainly in Kathmandu, the Buddha is represented by a tantric deity known as Dharmachātu Vāgīsvara who is assimilated to Mahāvairocana (a tantric form of the transcendent Buddha Vairocana). This is a figure with four faces (though often only three are shown) and eight arms. The two main arms show the dharmacakra (or bodhya mudrā). The remaining right hands hold a sword, arrow and the vajra; and the left hands hold a book (the Prajñāpāramitā), a bow and a bell. Another form of this same deity known as Mahārāja-mahāmanjushrī is also occasionally found. This form also has four faces and eight hands. The four left hands hold the arrow, noose, book (the Prajñāpāramitā) and a bell. The left hands hold a bow, an elephant goad, a sword and a vajra.

Another popular motif, especially in Kathmandu, is the figure known as Nāmasangiti, a personification of a text often recited at the bahās of Kathmandu. This is a single-faced figure with six pairs of hands. The first pair at the heart show the abhaya mudrā, the second pair above the crown show the antili mudrā, the third pair usually each hold a staff one with the double, crossed-vajra (visuvajra) surmounted by a sword and the other with a khaṭvānga. The fourth pair exhibit the tarpaṇa mudrā, the fifth pair the kepaṇa mudrā (sprinkling nectar) and the sixth pair rest on the lap in the dhyanā mudrā with the begging bowl resting on them. The figure sits in vajrasana on the lotus seat and wears five ornaments each representing one of the transcendental Buddhas: the caka -- Akgobhya, the kundali (cincture) -- Amitābha, the kānte (necklace) -- Ratnasambhava, the rucaka (bracelets) -- Vairocana, and the mekha (cincture) -- Amoghasiddhi. This deity seems to be a peculiarly Nepalese creation; it is not found in Indian texts though it is occasionally found in Tibet.

Kuṃpā-dya

The kuṃpā-dya is the main, non-tantric image enthroned in the ground floor shrine near-
ly always situated opposite to the main entrance of the bāhā. The shrine is open to the public, which means that anyone who comes to the bāhā when the attendant is there and the door is open can make offerings to the deity through the attendant and look into the shrine. Only the initiated members of the saṅgha (and on some occasions their wives) are permitted to enter the shrine. The earlier form of the current term kuśpā-dya is kuśāca (or koca) pāla deva. Kuśāca pāla seems to be derived from the Sanskrit kṣoṭhapāla used twice in an inscription of N.S.508 at Khāykan Bahī in Kathmandu. The term is used as a synonym for the Buddha. In ordinary Sanskrit the term means a 'guard, watchman, storekeeper'. This meaning would confirm the interpretation I have often heard for the meaning of kuśpā-dya as 'the guardian of the saṅgha'. This does result in some confusion as the task of guarding would seem to be performed by others: Mahākāl (plus Ganesh and often Hanumān) guard the entryway to the bāhā, and the area inside is guarded by a nameless deity simply known as kṣeta-pāla (guardian of the area) who is represented by a recess in the pavement of the courtyard. As David Gellner notes in a recent article the main deity of the bāhā 'never does anything so lowly as guarding'. Etymologically he would seem to be guarding the kōṣṭha (the cell of the Buddha?, the whole monastery?). In Patan the kuśpā-dya is often referred to as the kuśpā-ājū (kuśpā-grandfather).

In most bāhās the kuśpā-dya is an image of the Buddha sitting in vajrāsana and showing the bhūmisparśa (earth-touching) mudrā. This is also the Iconographic form of the transcendent Buddha Akṣobhya. Some informants have told me that the image is always the historical Sakya Muni Buddha and not the transcendent Buddha Akṣobhya, but in some cases we have inscriptions which clearly state that the image is Akṣobhya (especially in Kathmandu). Whatever the identity of these images, I have for the sake of brevity called them all Akṣobhya, or used the name of one of the other transcendent Buddhas if the iconography corresponds to that form.

Many of the images are of a standing Buddha figure showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and with the left hand raised to the shoulder level and gathering up the ends of the robe in an elegant sweep. This is a popular form of the Buddha in Nepal, very ancient and certainly pre-tantric. One of the Buddha figures on the seventh century caitya at Dhuwākā Bāhā in Kathmandu is of this type. Though this particular form is seldom found in India, Pāi surmises that it did originate in India in the Amārāvati region and was popular during the Gupta period. Nepali scholars have called the hand postures shown by this figure the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā and popular devotion identifies the image as Maitreya. There is no justification for this name or the identification of the image as Maitreya in standard iconographic texts, but it is certainly common in the oral tradition of the Valley. Maitreya is of course the Buddha to come in the next age and the term viśvavyākaraṇa could be translated as 'explaining the future'. In the text I have referred to these images as an image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā.

Some of the kuśpā-dya images are one of the other transcendent Buddhas, or Lokeśvara, or Tara. All of the kuśpā-dya images throughout the Valley, except for one image of Mahāvairocana in Bhaktapur, are non-tantric deities.

Caitya

In the courtyard of every bāhā and bāhī is at least one caitya. The caitya or stūpa has from the earliest days been the specific symbol of a Buddhist institution and at least one caitya is an essential feature of every bāhā. Most of these caityas in the courtyards of the bāhā are of stone and small, some only three feet high, and most of them not over six feet. A few bāhās, however, such as Sigha Bāhā, Yatkhā Bāhā and Mahābū Bāhā in Kathmandu have been built round large stūpas. Especially in Kathmandu the caitya in the courtyard of the bāhā is often given a lime whitewash with the result that after several centuries it appears as a shapeless white mound or white spire. Such caityas are called 'Aśoka Caityas' in Kathmandu, and there is a popular belief that they were all erected by the Emperor Aśoka. In addition to the official caitya in every bāhā one often finds an array of other votive caityas, i.e. caityas erected by members of the saṅgha, or by lay people, in memory of the deceased.

Mandala

In nearly every bāhā courtyard in Patan and in many in Kathmandu, one also finds a mandala,
either entirely of stone or of repousse brass (or copper) mounted on a stone base. The mandala in question is the Dharmachâtu Vâgisvâra Mandâla. This is one of the largest of the tantric mandalas and the central figure is Mañjuśrî, a form of Mañjuśrî considered in this mandala to be of the family of Vajrasattva.

Type

When I speak of types of bâhâs, I am referring to the status of the community. A main (mûl or mû) bâhâ means a bâhâ to which is attached a separate or independent saṅghâ (the Buddhist community) which performs its initiations at the concerned bâhâ, has its own elders and is not considered a part of another saṅghâ. Branch (sakâ or kacâ) bâhâ means a bâhâ whose saṅghâ is not independent but considered a part of the saṅghâ of a main bâhâ where initiations are performed. In some cases the branch is considered to be 'official', which seems to mean that it has received some official recognition from the main bâhâ as an official branch. The case of Kuâ Bâhâ in Patan in unique as it has a number of 'official' branches which are in fact almost entirely independent foundations. They have separate lineage deities and perform their initiations separately. Many branches are private which seems to mean established by a family for its own private use without any official recognition. Some branches have a clearly defined saṅghâ, i.e. a number of families (belonging to the same main bâhâ) all descended from a common ancestor and who are considered its members, take turns serving in the shrine, have an annual festival as a group, etc. in the branch bâhâ as well as in the main bâhâ. Some private bâhâs have no such clearly defined saṅgha, the prescribed rituals being performed by whoever happens to live there or by the current attendant in the shrine of the main bâhâ.

In addition to the status of the community, main bâhâs are also much more important foundations for the public at large. At main bâhâs one sees people of different castes and those of different bâhâs coming to worship and to take part in festivities. Except in the case of a few popular shrines, like Mahâbudha Bâhâ in Patan, branches are private shrines seldom visited by the general public.

The term mahâvihâra was used in India for a cluster of vihâras, or a large vihâra that had many branches, such as existed at Nâlandâ. In Nepal the term mahâvihâra is used without any discernible rationale, often the smallest and most insignificant foundation is called mahâvihâra and some important and ancient foundations are called vihâra. I have arbitrarily used the term mahâvihâra to refer to main bâhâs, and the term vihâra to refer to branch bâhâs. The main bâhâs are treated in order and the branches are treated in sub-sections immediately following the main bâhâ.

The saṅghâ is the Buddhist community, in this case the community of initiated Bârah attached to the bâhâ. The numbers are as accurate as I was able to obtain. Most bâhâs in Patan and Kathmandu have accurate records of their membership, some even keeping a check list of the entire membership in the bâhâ to record presence at feasts and service in the temple. Some bâhâs, especially in Bhaktapur, or those that have very large saṅghâs, were able to give only round numbers, 'about 150, about 200', etc. The numbers given are of initiated male members of the saṅghâ and hence do not include wives, unmarried daughters or uninitiated sons. Numbers are constantly changing as young boys are initiated and the old pass on. The figures presented were gathered, or checked again in 1983-84.

Most saṅghâs claim descent from a common ancestor, or one of several brothers who are considered to be the founders of the bâhâ. As membership increased over the generations men who were descendants of one or other of the sons of the founder, or of one of the original brothers, were considered as belonging to one lineage (kaul). These lineages then often have duties as a group. These lineages were further subdivided in subsequent generations, but at some point in time the number of lineages became fixed, and the saṅghâ was everafter considered to be made up of x number of lineages. Families continued to grow, of course, and household continued to divide, but the new divisions were called 'households' (khalak).

Some Bârais have moved away from the area of their bâhâ and no longer take an active part in the life of the saṅghâ. They do not serve in the shrine nor act as elders of the saṅghâ. In some cases this seems to make no difference; they are still counted members and could resume active saṅghâ at any time. In a few bâhâs their
names are struck from the roll and they cannot resume active saṅgha life. It is not always clear whether such inactive members have been included in the numbers given.

From the viewpoint of Buddhism the families attached to a bāhā constitute its official saṅgha; from the viewpoint of the structure of Newar society the members of a saṅgha constitute a gūthi. A gūthi is an organization based on caste or kinship, or occasionally on geographical propinquity, which ensures the continued observance of social and religious customs and ceremonies of the community. Gūthas in general are social institutions which determine the rights and obligations of a Newar towards his community. Every Newar is a member of several such gūthas, and membership in religious and functional gūthas (such as the funeral gūthi-sī gūthi) is compulsory and inherited. Such membership defines a person's place in society, and to lose membership in such a gūthi is to lose one's place in society. Each gūthi originally had an endowment, some agricultural land, from which the members obtained an annual income to finance the activities of the gūthi. Whatever money was left over from the specific activities of the gūthi was used for an annual feast. Each gūthi is well-organized and has strict rules and conditions of membership and activities. The senior-most is called thāyā or thakāli and he acts as chairman of the gūthi. His main function is to maintain the discipline of the members. The gūthi passes judgment in cases of dispute among members and takes action against those who violate its rules. A majority vote can levy punishments for infractions or even expel a member. Infractions would include bad manners, irregularity in attendance, failure to fulfill one's assigned role in the gūthi, breach of ritual observance, breach of caste regulations. Every gūthi has an annual meeting when business is conducted and a feast is held. In addition to the thāyā there is a gūthi administrator. The position of administrator of the affairs of the gūthi is rotated through the membership, and it is the duty of the current administrator to make arrangements for the annual meeting and to finance the feast if there is not sufficient revenue from the gūthi lands. In the case of the bāhās the structure of the gūthi has been grafted on to the structure of a Buddhist monastic community.

Daily Rituals

Every Buddhist monastic community has some common religious exercises each day, brief and simple in Theravāda monasteries, much more elaborate in Tibetan monasteries. One of the main features of this worship was, and still is, Buddha Pūjā--worship of the image of the Buddha enshrined in the monastery. The bāhās of the Valley also have a daily pūjā which is at least a pūjā of the main image enshrined in the bāhā, the kuśā-pā. It seems that originally the bāhās had a full schedule of rituals throughout the day. This is no longer true except at a very few places like Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu and Kuṭ Bāhā in Patan.24 All have a pūjā in the morning (shortly after sunrise, the time depending on the time of year). This is the official, prescribed worship, the nitya pūjā, and consists primarily in the offering of the pañcagāra pūjā and the recitation of hymns. Most also have an evening service, the main part of which is the offering of a light to the deity, the ārati pūjā. Where the text speaks of 'the usual morning and evening rituals' this means the nitya pūjā and the ārati. If the rituals are different or performed at a different time this is noted.

One of the features of the daily rituals at many of the main bāhās is the sounding of a wooden gong (siñ-gān). The gong is a sort of hollow log and it is sounded 108 times at the beginning of rituals to summon worshippers. This is an ancient Buddhist custom, and, especially in Patan, a bāhā at which this gong is sounded is considered to be of a superior status.

The daily rituals are performed by the initiated members of the saṅgha in turn. The attendant on duty is called the dya-pālā (or dya-pā), the guardian of the deity. In most bāhās rotation is through the entire roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. However, in a number of the bāhās the rotation is by lineage or household. Within the lineage rotation is usually by seniority, but often today anybody who is available and willing performs the service. In some places it is always done by the same man. Service in the shrine is one of the main rights and duties which is conferred on the members of the saṅgha by their initiation. Until very recent times every member of the
Hindu) has an annual festival which commemorates the birth of Buddha. In some temples, this ceremony takes place in the morning going to Swayambhu from Kathmandu, and in the evening, opens the shrine, performs the prescribed rituals and returns immediately to his home. In a few of the main saṅgha he remains on duty throughout the day, and members of the saṅgha and lay people come for the prescribed rituals.

Annual Festival

Theoretically every bāhā (as also every caitya and every other Newār shrine, Buddhist or Hindu) has an annual festival which commemorates the founding of the bāhā and is called busā-da, the birthday. The observance of this festival usually involves a pūja and a feast for the entire saṅgha. From the viewpoint of the structure of Newār society this is the annual meeting and feast (bhuya) of the bāhā gūthi. In Patan the custom is almost universally observed; in Kathmandu as families have moved away from their old homes and as income from the baha gūthi lands has diminished, the custom has begun to die out.

Another annual observance of the entire Buddhist community is what is known as Guñā Dharma. Guñā is the name of one of the Newār months, occurring from mid-July to mid-August (from the beginning of the bright half of Sravan to the end of the dark half of Bhadra); and the whole month is sacred to the Buddhists. Throughout this month there are special observances at the bāhās and at the homes of the Buddhists. Each day is supposed to begin with fasting; streams of people can be seen each morning going to Swayambhunath in Kathmandu, and women and girls fashion countless numbers of clay caityas. At the bāhās it was the custom to recite texts during this month, especially the text of the Prajñāpāramitā, but this custom has largely died out. Following are three customs that are still rather generally observed at the bāhās during this month.

First is the pañcadāna, the giving of the five offerings. Originally this was the offering of gifts of food to the monks and, the present custom is an adaptation of this custom. It takes place in Patan on the eighth day of the bright half of Guñā, in Kathmandu on the twelfth day of the dark half of the month and in Bhaktapur on the thirteenth. On the appointed day the Buddhist lay people prepare a sort of altar at their home adorned with any Buddhist images they have upon it. In front of the altar they place baskets with four kinds of grain and salt. Through out the day any of the Bare (Sakyas and Vajracaryas) of the city come and collect their share of offerings. Many of the wealthier Sakyas and Vajracaryas no longer make the rounds, but there is still a continuous procession of Bare throughout the day. At the end of the day one Bare known as the Phu Bare comes and touches all the remaining offerings with a vajra. This indicates the end of the ceremony, and the Phu Bare gets whatever is left. In Bhakapur the ceremony is enhanced by a procession of the five main Dipaṅkara images of the city. These proceed to a central place where the faithful place their offerings and all the Bare of that area of the city come to receive their offerings. From there the procession goes to the next tole and so on through the whole city area by area. The whole custom is intimately connected with Dipaṅkara, and in each of the three cities the main image put out on this day is that of Dipaṅkara. In Patan people say that the custom originated when Dipaṅkara Buddha came to Patan to seek alms and took the alms offered by a poor, old woman of Guñā Tole in preference to the rich offerings of the king. A statue of this woman is put out each year on the day of Pañcadāna. Dipaṅkara is one of the earlier Buddhas who came before Sakya Muni and is supposed to have predicted his coming. He attained a great popularity in Malla Nepal and there are images of him at almost every bāhā or bāhī. The images are donated by individuals who have the image consecrated and then usually install it in one of the viharas. All of these images are brought out in procession at the time of the samyak ceremony which is held every five years at Kuśa Bāhā in Patan and every twelve years at Bhuikhel below Swayambhunath in Kathmandu. The ceremony is a sort of general pañcadāna to
which are invited the saṅghas of all the bāhās and bahīs in the area.

The second observance is what is known as bahī-dya-bovegu, the 'showing of the gods of the bahīs.' Traditionally this lasted for ten days, and on the first day the members of the saṅghas of the bāhās and bahīs plus the lay people used to bring whatever images, Buddhist relics, and books they had to put on display in the bāhās and bahīs for the whole ten days. It seems that originally the bahīs had a much more elaborate display than the bāhās, and perhaps the custom first began at the bahīs where they had large open halls suitable for such a display. Now the custom is fast dying out. Most bāhās no longer put anything out for display and those which do, have a rather meagre display for only a day or two. Many reasons are given for this, the most common being fear of theft; but that fact is that a very large number of these ancient images and relics have already 'disappeared'.

Patan has an observance that is not found in the other cities, the matayā or 'festival of lights'. This occurs on the second day of the dark half of the month of Gufilā and on this day the faithful of Patan, carrying lighted tapers, candles or torches, go in groups to visit all the caityas of the city. In practice this means visiting all the bāhās and the caityas along the way between them. On this day the bāhās are swept clean, and the shrine of the kuṭāpä-dya remains open for the entire day. Given the large number of bāhās in Patan, to complete the circuit of all of them is a day-long endurance test. This occurs on the day after Gāi Jātrā and those who have lost a member of their family in the past year have a special pūjā to perform at each place. Many people connect the whole ceremony with a commemoration of the dead. The festival is not observed in either Kathmandu or Bhaktapur, but a similar observance known simply as Bāha Pūjā can be performed by those who wish, at any time of the year. Substantial offerings are made by the participants at each site; the ritual is an expensive one and is seldom performed any more.

Another annual observance at the bāhās is what is known as disī pūjā. Performed twice a year, in Paus and Jyestha, this pūjā is supposed to mark the solstice, the end of the sun's journey north or south. Many people say the purpose of the pūjā is to stop the sun and turn it back.

Governing Body

Harkening back to the monastic practice of having a head of the monastery, the mahā-sthavira, and the custom that ordination cannot be performed without the presence of the monastic community, each bāhā has a number of elders who theoretically oversee the life of the saṅgha and preside at ordinations. In the days when the life of the saṅgha was more vigorous and touched on the daily life of the people more closely, the governing committee was busy and had clearly defined duties. At present their duties are limited to making arrangements for daily services in the temple, making arrangements for the annual religious observances and feasts, seeing to a few routine business matters like making repairs to the bāhā shrine and settling alleged violations of bāhā customs and caste regulations. In many bāhās today the elders are no more than honorary seniors who have no clearly defined functions other than to be present at bāhā initiations and to sit in the place of honour at feasts. Most bāhās have five or ten elders, some have twenty or twelve and many of the branches have only one. Ordinarily the elders hold office on the basis of strict seniority of initiation; and in a mixed bāhā of Sakyas and Vajracaryas, irrespective of whether one is a Sakya or Vajracarya with one exception. In bāhās that have a mixed saṅgha there is always one Vajracarya among the elders to act as cakreśvara, i.e. the tantric priest who performs the secret tantric rituals in the āgam of the bāhā. The elders are also called āju (the grandfathers), thakāli, or thāyapā. From a purely sociological viewpoint these elders are the elders of the bāhā gūthi, the main socio-religious gūthi of the members of the saṅgha.

Initiations

Initiations are of two types: a) bāhā initiations, i.e. initiations into the saṅgha of the bāhā called Barechuyegu (or Bare Chul) in Newari (i.e. the making of a Bare). This consists primarily in the pravrajya initiation of a Buddhist monk. At the present time boys are initiated very young, about seven or eight, but often ranging from six months to twelve years. For three days the newly initiated must dress as a monk and live the life of the Buddhist monk,
begging his food and eating only one meal a day. After three days the initiated bhikṣu returns to the householder state and becomes a "householder monk," or Bare. All Sakyas and Vajracaryas must take this initiation, and a bāhā in which such initiations take place by right is a main bāhā. However, initiations do in fact take place in some of the branch bāhās especially in the semi-independent branches of Kuā Bāhā in Patan.

b) The Vajracarya initiation, known as Ācāluyegu (or Ācālu) is the tantric initiation in which the son of a Vajracarya (previously initiated into the saṅgha of his bāhā) is given the tantric empowerment or initiation (dikṣā) into the mandala of Herukacakrasamvara-Vajrayārāhi. It is performed in the āgam of the main bāhās which have Vajracaryas and is secret, i.e., only the initiated Vajracarya members of the saṅgha may witness the initiation.

From one viewpoint of the structure of Newār society these initiations also give the two groups their caste status. The son of a Sakya or Vajracarya who fails to take this initiation is automatically considered to be of the next lowest caste. The son of a Vajracarya who takes the Barechuyegu initiation but neglects to take the Ācāluyegu is considered a Sakya, and his sons are generally considered to be ineligible for the Ācāluyegu initiation.

In regard to the question of caste, the members of a bāhi saṅgha are considered to be slightly lower than those of a bāhā saṅgha. This is evident from the fact that most of the members of the bāhā saṅghas, especially those of the Ācārya Gūthī in Kathmandu, will not establish marital relations with members of a bāhi saṅgha. At Makhaṅ Bāhā in Kathmandu, members of the saṅgha of Makhaṅ Bāhā are also members of the Makhaṅ Bāhā funeral gūthī (si gūthī), but they must take their place at the end of the line, after the junior-most members of the Makhaṅ Bāhā saṅgha, and they are never permitted to be elders of the gūthī.

Lineage Deity

Every Newar family has a lineage deity, degu dyā (or diq du dyā), a deity that is worshipped annually by all members of an extended family or lineage. Theoretically all who worship the deity are descended from a common ancestor. Every family attached to a bāhā has a lineage deity; and, in all but a few cases, the entire saṅgha of a bāhā has the same lineage deity. Knowing who the lineage deity is and where it resides enables one to trace migrations of people and to trace links between bāhās. The name of the lineage deity is problematic. Lineage deities, among both Newārs and the Nepali population at large, are usually situated outside of the town or village, and their shrine consists of a very simple enclosure with one or more aniconic stones. Ordinarily the deity is simply known as degu-dyā. Some informants have told me that the deity has no other name, and I suspect that among the lower castes this is true. Among the higher caste Newārs the deity has an identity and a name, but the name was traditionally kept secret, known only to the members of the lineage.

In most cases the lineage deities of the Sakyas and Vajracaryas definitely have an identity and a name. Several informants have told me that it is always a caitya or one of the transcendental Buddhas and never a tantric deity. However, a large number of the saṅghas identify their deity as Yogāmba, Cakrasamvara, Vajrayogini, or Vajrayārāhi. A few have even identified their deity as a Hindu tantric deity. Yet none of this is very clear. Many people at Kuā Bāhā have told me that their lineage deity is Yogāmba. However, it is abundantly clear that this is not the case. The lineage deity is the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. The confusion arises perhaps because on the day of the lineage pūjā they also worship Yogāmba, but the lineage pūjā itself is always to the caitya. However, there are numerous bāhās which are offshoots of Kuā Bāhā, especially in Bhaktapur and Thimi, and all of these people without exception say their lineage deity is Yogāmba of Kuā Bāhā in Patan. People at many different bāhās have told me their lineage deity is Vajrayogini at Sankhu, yet the Vajracaryas at Sankhu say that when people come there to worship their lineage deity it is one of two caityas they worship and not Vajrayogini, (though they may also worship Vajrayogini while they are there). I suspect that three factors have given rise to this confusion. First is the fact that frequently lineage deities do not have names or the names are to be kept secret. Hence when people give names they give a name their hearers will understand or are familiar with. Secondly, as people have moved from place to place they often 'bring' their lineage deity with them. This bringing consists in a ritual by which the
spirit of the deity is brought by a mantra to a new place (while remaining in the old place also). Thus, the lineage deity at Guñi Bāhā in Sankhu has been brought to Lām Bāhā in Lajimpat and from there in turn to various other sites. When this is done the people usually return occasionally, often once in twelve years, to the original site. Since they return to the original site only occasionally, it is easy to see how they came to identify their lineage deity as the principal deity at that site, e.g. Vajrayogini or Yogāmbara. Third is the problem of blood sacrifices or the offering of meat. For nearly all of the various Newar castes, and far the Barah of Bhaktapur, worship of the lineage deity involves a blood sacrifice. One never performs a blood sacrifice to the Buddha, the transcendent Buddhas or a caitya. Hence if custom demands the offering of a blood sacrifice the deity must be a tantric deity who will accept such sacrifices.

Income

At the time of foundation all bāhās were given an endowment in the form of agricultural land from which came income to ensure the upkeep of the establishment, and the proper performance of prescribed rituals and feasts. Many bāhās have several such endowments: for the bāhā itself, for specific festivals, for the recitation of texts like the Nāmasaṅgīti, for the performance of periodical pūjas. Each of the bāhās or bāhīs had at least two annual feasts (saṅgha-bhway)---one on the annual birthday of the bāhā and one on the day of the annual worship of the lineage deity. In addition to this there was always a feast at the time of the initiation ceremonies which in the early days were held more often as it was forbidden to initiate groups of boys; they had to be initiated individually as is clear from a document from Patan from the late Malla period. This system of endowments and feasts is a feature of all sectors of Newar society. Every Newar is a member of several such gūthiś most of which were endowed with agricultural land which provided income for whatever function the gūthi fulfilled. In the case of the bāhās, greater endowments meant more feasts. This is clearly seen from the case of Asan Bāhā in Kathmandu which used to have eighteen feasts within the year. This resulted from the fact that the bāhā had generous endowments. A large number of the patrons of the bāhā (some Sakyas, but mostly the Asan Tulādhars) were wealthy and had made generous donations of land.

The families attached to the saṅgha of a bāhā or bāhī take turns making all of the arrangements for the annual festivals. In days gone by the income from the land theoretically provided all the food and materials necessary for the rituals and the feast. If this fell short it was the obligation of the family whose turn it was to conduct the festival to make up the difference. It seems that until fairly recent times this seldom happened in a bāhā that was reasonably well endowed. However, times have changed. Income from agricultural land has dwindled and in many cases entirely disappeared. Consequently a heavy burden has fallen on the family whose turn it is to make the arrangements.

Maru Bāhī in Kathmandu provides a good example of what has happened. The saṅgha is small and consists of only four households which means that every four years a given family must foot the bill for the annual feast. Originally they had to provide each of the participants (i.e. all the members of the saṅgha and their families plus ten Vajracaryas and their families) with the following: four mānas of flattened rice (baji), two mānas of rice, a large quantity of fried meat, cooking oil, and a variety of spices and vegetables. Some twenty years ago one of the members of the saṅgha found that to provide this would in fact bankrupt him, so he appealed for some modification. Finally it was decided that the following would suffice: 1/4 mana of flattened rice, two pieces of meat and quantities of the rest in the same proportion. This has remained the custom until the present time. In bāhās which have a large saṅgha one’s turn to provide the annual feast comes seldom, once in ten or twelve years or only once in a man’s lifetime; but in this case, if the endowment is insufficient, the outlay can be staggering. As a result adaptations have been made: the feast has been curtailed as at Maru Bāhī, initiations are held only once in several years so that there are enough families involved to share the expenses; in some places only the elders are fed at the feast, and in many places the annual feast has ceased altogether. Part of the change is due to the breakup of old communities as families, especially the more affluent, move away from their old neighbourhood to the suburbs of Kathmandu and
Patan; but the main cause is the loss of income. The first and most obvious reason for the loss of income is the increase of population within the Newar community. The population of the bāhās has increased and the population of the farmer families cultivating their land has also increased, but the amount of land has not increased. There are a few examples of rich patrons endowing small, new foundations within the past hundred to hundred and fifty years, but no examples that I know of where a new endowment of land has been made to an existing and long-standing foundation such as the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthi in Kathmandu or the 'Fifteen' Bāhās of Patan. The result is that the same amount of land has to feed more farmers and the same income from the gūthī lands has to feed more people at the feasts. The basic prosperity of the Newar community has always rested on the rich agricultural land of the Valley which in past times was able to provide an abundance of basic food stuffs. The days of this abundance are over. Hence, even if all the endowments had remained in tact the system of feasts (which is a feature of the culture of all castes of Newārs, not just the members of the bāhās) would be under severe strain. But the endowments have not remained intact.

Whenever this question has come up as I have talked with people from each of the bahas, informants have invariably blamed the present impoverished state of the gūthī system on two things: the confiscation of their agricultural lands by the Ranas and Land Reform. There is some truth in this, but it is not quite so simple.

It is obvious that the Ranas confiscated a considerable amount of fertile land to build their numerous palaces. All of the Rana palaces were built on agricultural land on the edges of the two cities of Patan and Kathmandu. This land was farmed by the Jyāpūs and owned by a variety of people: the Newar aristocracy, a variety of gūthīs, and in some cases non-Newārs (i.e. Gorkhālis or Parbates as the Newars call them). That some compensation was paid to individual owners who could prove ownership of the land is shown by the account given to me by one of the victims of such appropriation, a 93 year old man who is not a Newar, but a Thakuri. When Juddha Shamsher was building a palace for one of his sons in Sanepā, the proposed compound was to include this man's house and fields. He was summoned to appear before the Prime Minister one morning at 10 AM (if he had not shown up at the appointed time, he would have got nothing). He was informed that his land was being appropriated and was given a compensation of Rs. 40 per ropani. (It cost him Rs.400 per ropani to buy new land down by the river.) In such a case the cultivator of the land got nothing. Also, this man was an individual owner, and a non-Newar at that. It seems that no compensation was given for the confiscation of the land of private gūthīs such as the bāhās. (All of the bāhās are private and their various gūthīs are private gūthīs, not rāj-gūthīs.) At the time of the construction of Keśar Mahal a considerable amount of land belonging to Thām Bahī was appropriated and included in the grounds of the palace. After the death of Keśar Shamsher, when his heirs began to break up the property and sell parts of it, the gūthiyārs of Thām Bahī filed suit to regain the land which had evidently been taken without compensation. (If they had been given compensation they would have no grounds for a suit.) The fact that they lost the case points up another difficulty: it is extremely difficult to substantiate the ownership of the lands that these private gūthīs have traditionally enjoyed, sometimes from endowments that go back to Malla times.

However, the Ranas cannot be blamed for all of the confiscation. The two most frequently cited examples of such appropriation in Kathmandu are the cases of Gaṇa Bahī and Mukūn Bahī. According to the accounts of informants, Gaṇa Bahī had a large tract of land centered on the present Gaṇa Bāhā site but extending from there all the way to the area of the present Central Post Office. That land was taken long before the time of the Rana administration as it includes the area of the Dharharā (tower) and the Sūn Dhārā built by Bhīm Sen Thāpā as well as Bhīm Sen Thāpā's private palace. Mukūn Bahī had a large tract of land near Hanumān Dhōkā, the main portion of which is the large complex of buildings owned by the former hereditary royal priests, the Rāj Pāṇḍes. This property was given to them by Jang Bahadur Rana after he arranged for their appointment as hereditary priests; but this had been the property of Gagan Singh, whose murder precipitated the Rana coup. Hence, this property had also been appropriated before the time of the Ranas. Such confiscation of property by the Gorkhālis from the Newar
aristocracy and from Newar gūthi has been documented in a recent article by Kamal Prakash Malla. Granted all this, though, in the case of the two bāhis in question there is another side to the story. All informants agreed that by the time the two properties were appropriated there was no longer any saṅgha at Gaṇa Bahī and the saṅgha of Mukum Bahī had dwindled to a few members. The saṅgha of Maru Bahī had taken up the obligation of performing the regular rituals at Gaṇa Bahī and that of Arakhu Bahī eventually took up the obligations at Mukum Bahī. With the obligations, of course, went whatever income the property provided. However, in strictly legal terms it would be hard to prove that these two saṅghas were the legal successors to the property of the original gūthi.

The second reason cited for the loss of income is Land Reform. Again there is some truth in the claim. First, land reform gave and ensured the rights of the tenants who farmed the land, and it limited the amount of rent they had to pay to their landlords, whether individuals or corporate bodies such as a gūthi. Secondly, Land Reform seems to have given the coup de grace to the bond of trust which existed between the bāhā communities and the cultivators of their land, the Jyāpūs. The members of the bāhā or bāhi saṅghas were the religious leaders of the Jyāpu community—the Vajracaryas served as their priests and the Sakyas lived in and tended the religious centres which formed an important part of their religious-cultural milieu. To the Jyāpus they were all guruji. Whereas most landlords of the Valley are present on the day of the harvesting of the rice, either personally or through their agents, and make sure that every grain of rice is measured and that they get their share, this was not the custom of the bāhā saṅghas. The Jyāpus harvested the rice and, without fail, they brought the customary share, or a payment in cash, to the bāhā. The members of the saṅgha seldom if ever even visited the site of their lands; they knew they were safe in the care of the Jyāpus and that they would get their due share. This arrangement was under strain because of the increasing press on the land even before land reform. Land Reform bestowed on the farming community an increased sense of security and independence. In many cases they simply stopped bringing the share to the bāhā, and the members of the bāhā suffered in silence. Time and time again informants have told me that they are due so much rice from a given piece of land, but the Jyāpūs just don’t bring it any more. Furthermore, many of the Jyāpus have taken further advantage of land reform and the confused state of ancient records to lay claim to the land as owners and not simply as tenants. They simply got their names registered in the field book of the cadastral survey. It takes documentary proof and a court case to dispossess the man whose name is listed on that field survey. Again, members of the bāhā saṅghas have frequently deplored this, but done nothing. Much of this certainly shows a lack of solidarity among the Barā; and in fact it is not only the Jyāpus who have taken advantage of the changed circumstances. I have been given many concrete examples of members of the saṅgha getting gūthi land registered in their own names and then selling it off. In a very few cases the saṅgha has taken the initiative, sold off their gūthi land and put the money obtained into a trust or simply a long term deposit in the bank. In this way their endowment has changed from fields to a deposit in the bank. The annual income continues to fund the feasts and other activities of the gūthi. However, this fixed annual income buys less and less each year unlike the old income which was a fixed, given quantity of produce or a fixed percentage of the harvest.

In the final analysis, the deterioration of the economic status of the bāhā endowments, and in fact of all Newar gūthis, is a complex process. It cannot simply be blamed either on the Ranas or on Land Reform, but is rather the result of complex socio-economic changes which began at the time of the Gorkhali conquest of the Valley, were enhanced during the Rana regime when the Ranas were answerable to nobody, but have proceeded at a very rapid pace with more recent socio-economic changes: the overthrow of the Ranas, the press on the land, Land Reform and the break up of the traditional Newar communities as individual families move away from their traditional neighbourhoods—or in our case—away from the bāhās. The old structure of Newar society is rapidly breaking down and the communities of the bāhās are suffering the same strains and developments that every other sector of the population is.

History

The final section in the treatment of each bāhā or bāhi details whatever I have been able
to discover about the history of the foundation. As will be evident there are very few foundations that can be traced back to their origins. The origins of most of the main bāhās are lost in the dim past, probably in the so-called Thakuri period with a few of them extending back into the Licchavi period. One has to rely a lot on oral tradition and the chronicles, which in turn are based on oral tradition. The most reliable of the chronicles, the Gopālājvamsā-vaḷī, has little on the foundation of the bāhās. The later chronicles, all written in Nepal within the past two hundred years, have more, but much of their information is unreliable. They often have events jumbled or misplaced by several hundred years. However, one cannot simply dismiss either the chronicle accounts or the oral tradition. Research done over the past twenty years by Nepali scholars has produced evidence to confirm at least the thread of many of these accounts. The sources used for firm dates—inscriptions, manuscript colophons, chronicles, palmleaf land grants—all give dates in the Nepal Samvat (N.S.) which began on 20 October 879. In general I have used this era in the dates cited in the text. The earliest date given for a bāhā is the earliest documented date I have been able to find for the existence of the bāhā. For all such dates, only confirmed dates have been indicated, i.e. dates that have been found in contemporary documents whether inscriptions, manuscripts, or palmleaf land deeds; hence the bāhā may be much older than the oldest date given. However, the presence of ancient, e.g. Licchavi, Buddhist remains at a bāhā does not necessarily indicate that the present foundation or community can be traced to Licchavi times. It may; but all we really know is that the site had Buddhist connections in Licchavi times.

Branches

Ordinarily only main bāhās or bahīs have branches, although there are a few cases of official branches having sub-branches which are purely private especially in the two large bāhās of Patan, Kuṇā Bāhā and Uku Bāhā. The branch bāhās or bahīs are treated immediately after the main foundation, and if some are considered official and some private, the official branches are treated first.
The Bahas and Bahis of Patan
**Patan Map List**

Note: The eighteen main bāhās of Patan are printed in bold type. All main bāhās and bahīs are called Mahāvihāra; all branches are called simply Vihāra.

1. Pām Bāhā -- Kanaka Datta Vihāra Na Tole p. 176
2. Kuśtha Bāhā -- Kotta Vihāra Na Tole p. 176
3. Na Bāhā -- Padmāvati Nāma Vihāra Na Tole p. 162, 178
4. Dune Naka Bāhā -- (Padmāvati) Yokulivarna Vihāra Na Tole p. 176
5. Gā Bāhā -- Gāda Vihāra
   (Śrī Nimma Śrī Viśvasānti Vihāra) Gā Bāhā Tole p. 232
6. Khuśy Bahī -- Kāmūka Nāma Mahāvihāra Na Bāhā Tole p. 191
8. Si Bāhā -- Śrī Vaccha Mahāvihāra Si Bāhā Tole p. 172
10. Yaśka Bāhā -- Dharmakīrti Nāma Vihāra Si Bāhā Tole p. 172
11. Devarāj Bāhā -- Devarāja Vihāra Bū Bāhā Tole p. 164
12. Sija Bāhā -- Śrī Vatsa Duṣṭudbhi Vihāra Bū Bāhā Tole p. 159
13. Kisi Cok Bāhā -- Sukhāvatiprasāda Triratnayoga Vihāra Bū Bāhā Tole p. 166
14. Māka Bāhā -- (Śrī Vatsa) Kanakavarga Vihāra Si Bāhā Tole p. 176
15. Chāya Bāhā -- Ratnamuni Saṃskārita Vihāra Chāya Bāhā Tole p. 44
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17. Bāhācā -- Chāya Vihāra Chāya Bāhā Tole p. 44
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The following bāhās and bahīs are in villages near Patan but usually considered to be a part of the Patan system. They are not on the Patan map.

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156. Pālu Baha -- Samantarabhandra Viḥāra  Thapā Tole p. 103
157. Sikucha Bāhā -- Simha Cūka Viḥāra  Thainā Tole p. 103
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159. Jothā Bāhā -- Jayaśrī Viḥāra  Thainā Tole p. 110
160. Yatalibi Niḥu Cheṅ Bāhā -- Bhima Kṛta Ratnalābha Viḥāra  Uku Bāhā Tole p. 112
161. Kuldev Bāhā -- Kulacaitya Kīrti Viḥāra  Thainā Tole p. 115
162. Naudo Bāhā -- Devadatta Viḥāra  Naudo Tole p. 105
163. Jyābā Bahī -- Jyeṣṭavarnā Mahāviḥāra  Chaka Bāhā Tole p. 191
164. Naha Bāhā -- Cakra Kīrti Mahāviḥāra  Chaka Bāhā Tole p. 227 (Khuṣṭakhaṅ Bāhā)
165. Kuwecwaŋgu Puco Bāhī -- (Śiḷapuṭawānaṅgiri) Aksēśvāra Mahāviḥāra  Pucho p. 219 (Coya Bāhī) Puco Mahāviḥāra
166. Kuwecwaŋgu Puco Bāhī -- Rakṣēśvāra Mahāviḥāra  Puco p. 219 (Koya Bahī)

167. Co Bāhā -- Indradeva Saṃskārita Śrī Asanalośvāra Mahāviḥāra  Cobhār p. 140
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169. Yāka Bāhā -- Jivadharma Viḥāra  Kirtipur p. 180
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173. Tuṇjyalayacwaṅgu Bāhā -- Padmocca Viḥāra  Kirtipur p. 184

175. Buṅga Bāhā -- Narendradeva Sāmskārita Amarāvatināma Mahāvihāra Buṅgamati p. 235

176. Kuwācheñ Nanī Bāhā -- Nijapati Vihāra Buṅgamati p. 239

177. Buṅga Bahī -- Amarāvatipura Mahāvihāra Buṅgamati p. 221

178. Coya Bahī -- Cobhār p. 197

179. Duru Khya Bāhā -- Hemavarna Mahāvihāra Duru Khyā-Chāpāgaon p. 239

180. Ikhā Bāhā -- Kalyāṇa Mahāvihāra Chāpāgaon p. 241

181. Wā Bahī -- Chāpāgaon p. 223

182. Kuā Nanī -- Baregaon p. 241

183. Phampī Bāhā-Vajrajoginī -- Gaganaksara Majhavihāra Pharping p. 241

184. Phampī Bahī -- Pharping p. 243

185. Bare Nanī -- Buṅgamati p. 239
Introduction

Patan is the most Buddhist of the three cities of the Valley. To this day as one goes down the main streets of the city he notices that every third or fourth doorway opens on to a bāhā. There are a large number of Lichchavi Buddhist remains scattered around at the various bāhās and throughout the city. As will be seen below some of the earliest extant references to bāhās and vihāras are to foundations in Patan, many of which are now extinct. Throughout the whole of the Malla period Patan remained quasi independent from the ruling kings of Bhaktapur and was really administered by seven families of Pradhāns or Pradhānāngas. Though these families are usually considered to be Hindu today, it is evident that all of them supported the Buddhist institutions in Patan and many of them were Buddhists themselves, some of them having their own 'āśā. The patron deity of the city of Patan was always Būrgadya, the red image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara whose home is in Bungamati but who, in later days, resided half of the year in Patan. His annual festival (ratha jātrā) was always one of the main events of the year in Patan. In the late Malla period when there was a Malla king residing in Patan the king always attended the various events of the long festival, and the kings made lavish donations to Bungadaya for the upkeep of his shrine, the performance of rituals and the annual festival.

At the present time there are eighteen main bāhās in Patan, with numerous branches, and twenty five bahīs. There are really only three bāhās with a Bare sangha which do not fit into this pattern. Consistent tradition in Patan credits King Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla (A.D.1618–61), the first of the Malla kings of the separate kingdom of Patan, with a reorganization of the Buddhist institutions in Patan which resulted in the present arrangements. The story is told in some detail by Wright's Chronicle:

In this reign [that of Siddhi Narasimha] the following bihārs existed:
Jyeṣṭhabār Tanga, built by Bālārchanadeva.
Dharmakirti Tava, built by Bhuvanākara-barma.
Mayurbān Vishnuksa, built by Shankara-deva Vaisnavabār, built by Baisdeva-barma
Onkuli Rudrabār, built by Sivadeva-barma.
Hakua, built by Laksmi-Kalyan-barma.
Hiranyabār, built by Bhaksaradeva-barma.
Jasodhara-buya, built by Bidhādharabarma.
Chakra, built by Manadeva-barma.
Sakua, built by Indradi. Datta, built by Rudra-deva-garga.
Yanchhu, built by Baladhara-gupta.

Among these the following five, namely Vishnuksha, Onkuli, Guākśhe (or Chakra), Sakua, and Yanchhu, had one chief Naikya, who was the oldest among the five head Baudhāmargis of the bihārs. The rest, namely Tangāl, Vaisnavabār, Hakua, Hiranyabār, Jasodhara and Datta, had each a separate Naikya, or chief Baudhāmargi. The rank of Naikya was conferred on the oldest Baudhāmargi, and they were called Tathągats.

Three bihārs, namely Wambaha, Jyobāha, and Dhumbaha, were established in this reign.

The Rāja called the Naikyas of all these bihārs before him, and ordered them to establish the custom of Thapā-twaya-guthi.

The Rājā gave a place called Ngaka-chok, in the district of Hiranyakarbār, to a Tantrika of that place who had defeated some jugglers.

He called together the men of these fifteen bihārs to make rules for their guidance, and directed that the order of their precedence should be fixed according to the order in which they arrived. The people of Dhumbaha came first, but they were given only
the third place. Those of Tangal remained first, and those of Tava second, on account of the antiquity of their bihārs. To the rest precedence was given according to the order in which they presented themselves.

Because Chaubāhal [above the Cobhur gorge] and Kirtipur were under the jurisdiction of Lalitpur, the bihārs of those places were amalgamated with the fifteen bihārs of Lalitpur.

Another bihār named Sibahal was not amalgamated with these, because it was built after the rules had been made by the Rājā for their puja-dance, and gūthis had been assigned to them.1

Wright's translation has several significant omissions and errors. At the end of the list of vihāras the chronicle adds the following statement: 'these were the householder vihāras of the 'buddhamārgis'.2 The following paragraph is obscure in the extreme, but it is clear that Wright's translators have misread it. Following is a tentative retranslation of this paragraph:

From among these vihāras the eldest member of Tāfāsāla Vihaṇḍa and of Tava Vihaṇḍa, the eldest from the following group of five—Viṣṇukṣa Vihaṇḍa, Dākuli Vihaṇḍa, Čvāke Vihaṇḍa (=Guji Bāhā, not Chakra), Sakō Vihaṇḍa, Yaṭṭcu Vihaṇḍa—, and the eldest of each of the following vihāras: Hakva Vihaṇḍa, Hiranyavara Vihaṇḍa, Čaḍodha Vihaṇḍa and Datta Vihaṇḍa—made up a group of seven elders (niike) considered to be the seven Tathāgatas; and it was the custom for the people to worship them as such.3

Wright's translators have completely misunderstood the section on Nakhāchūk:

Among the fifteen vihāras the one called Cakra Vihaṇḍa founded by Manadeva was empty and there was no community of priests [pūjā-rī saṅgha] there. Accordingly the king gladly gave this vihāra to a great tantric ācārya who lived in Nāsacuka and was a member of the saṅgha of Hiranyavara Vihaṇḍa. [A marginal note adds:] This man had disgraced some magicians from the plains.4

On Si Bāhā the chronicle says:

After the regulations were made and the gūthis set up for these fifteen vihāras another vihāra called Si Bāhā was constructed in Sri Vaccha Vihaṇḍa. It was not amalgamated into the tuya gūthis of the fifteen vihāras.5

There are no other extant records by which one could check the accuracy of this chronicle account. However, the bāhās mentioned in the account are the eighteen which are still recognized as the main bāhās of Patan. Further, people always speak about the 'Fifteen Bāhās' of Patan, but when asked to enumerate them invariably list eighteen: fifteen plus Si Bāhā and the bāhās of Kirtipur and Cnbhār. As will be seen below the structure of the saṅgha of Kūa Bāhā indicates that several independent foundations were amalgamated into this saṅgha which points to some sort of a reorganization. The statement that four of these bāhās were founded during the reign of Siddhi Narasimha is contradicted by the evidence as we have much older dates especially for Uka Bāhā and Si Bāhā. It is entirely possible, however, that these foundations had been abandoned earlier and were renovated or re-founded during the time of Siddhi Narasimha. This is especially true of Si Bāhā. We have earlier dates for Sri Vaccha (or Vatsa) Vihaṇḍa, but the chronicle says Si Bāhā was constructed in Sri Vaccha Vihaṇḍa which could well indicate that it was constructed in the area of town known as Śri Vaccha Bāhā from the fact that there was once a vihāra by that name there.

One special feature of the bāhās and bāhis of Patan is that all the main foundations and many of the branches have retained a memory of the founder or chief donor in the official Sanskrit name, e.g. Bhāskara Deva Śaṃskārita Hiraṇya-variṇa Mahāvihāra (Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvihāra, founded by Bhāskara Deva).6 Few bāhās in Kathmandu have retained this recollection. Several commentators have cast doubt on the traditions implied in these names, but the discovery of the cache of palmleaf land documents at Uku Bāhā a few years back has shown just how ancient this tradition is. In A.D.1119 Uku Bāhā was known as Śīvadeva Śaṃskārita Śri Rudravarma Mahāvihāra (Rudravarma Mahāvihāra founded by Śīvadeva), the still current name and the same found on many documents of the Malla period.7

Two special features of Buddhist life in Patan are the Festival of Lights (matayā) mentioned in the introduction and the five-yearly
Samyak ceremony held in Nāg Bāhā to the west of Kuā Bāhā. This is really a pārśa dāna ceremony to which are invited all of the Dipāṅkaras of the bāhās and bāhīs of Patan and nearby villages plus the saṅghas of these foundations. About 125 Dipāṅkaras are invited. The ceremony is sponsored by the saṅgha of Kuā Bāhā and there is a special gūṭhī within the saṅgha to make arrangements for this festival.

The various lists of the bāhās of Patan list them in different orders supposedly based on their antiquity. Wright's Chronicle implies that Taṅga Bāhā and Ta Bāhā are the oldest, but this is certainly questionable. There is little agreement among the Bare of Patan about which are the most ancient of the bāhās or which are the most important. Certainly one cannot ignore the de facto paramount place held by Kuā Bāhā. I have followed the order of the Sanskrit list used for the Bāhā Pūjā mentioned in the General Introduction. This list follows the order of visiting these shrines during the Bāhā Pūjā and I intend no further implications.

1. Kuā Bāhā -- Bhāskara Deyva Saṃskārita
Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvīhāra* [59]
Kwālakhu Tole

Kuā Bāhā is on several counts the most famous of Patan's bāhās. It has by far the largest saṅgha of any bāhā in the Valley and the members of the saṅgha are perhaps the most active Buddhists in the Valley. The complex is also the most lavishly decorated of any of the bāhās due to the large number of members of the saṅgha and the fact that many of these wealthy traders in Tibet who used their wealth to decorate and maintain their bāhā.

The entrance to the bāhā is just down the street from the crossroads known as Kuālakhu. The street entrance has two large stone lions and a stone facade with a stone torāṇa depicting the seven Tathāgatas. Set into the facade of the entrance are also images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. One passes through this stone entryway into a narrow corridor leading into the bāhā complex. About half way to the bāhā is another stone facade with a series of tantric deities set into the archway. To the side of these are images of Amitābha Buddha and Amoghasiddhi above, and two images of Mañjuśrī below them. The left image is four-armed with the two main hands in the dharma-cakra mudrā and the other right holding a rosary, the other left holds the stem of a lotus with the book of the Prajñāpāramitā on it. The right image is identical except that the second right hand brandishes a sword. Passing through this archway one gets a glimpse of the shimmering complex behind. Immediately one understands why the bāhā has been nicknamed the 'Golden Temple'. There are numerous gilded images, and the facade of the imposing kuāpā-dāya shrine plus the temple in the centre of the courtyard have been finished in gilt copper repousse work. To the left as one enters the main courtyard is a small open room containing a shrine which houses two images of Mahākāl, an eight-armed Mañjuśrī, and a sort of mandala to the side which informants identify as a shrine of Gūhyāśrī. The shrine of the kuāpā-dāya is a four-storied structure with three gilded roofs. The entrance is marked by two large cast lions each standing on an elephant and surmounted by an image of Śāhpanāda Lokesvarā. To the left of the left lion is a large temple bell and further to the side two more lions. The veranda in front of the temple which stands about two feet above the level of the paved courtyard is enclosed in a railing. The veranda is considered so sacred that normally only the current dyā-pālā and members of his family may step onto it. Four bronze lamps and two bells are suspended from above and hang down over the veranda in front of the doorway.

The doorway is all finished in gilt repousse work and above the doorway is one of the finest torāṇas anywhere in the valley, all done in silver, the only silver torāṇa on a bāhā. The outer circle consists of silver filligree leaf work. The inner circle has similar filligree work of much smaller leaves. Into this background are set the five Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the centre flanked by standing images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana flanked in turn by two smaller figures at a slightly lower level, both dressed as Buddhas and waiving yak tail fans. At the base of the outer circle are figures of nāginīs and above them the other four Buddhas surmounted by Vajrasattva. This torāṇa is fairly recent having been donated in the time of King Prithu Bir Saha (A.D.1881-1911). There is an identical and much older torāṇa over the entryway as one enters the bāhā compound, done in gilded copper. The present torāṇa over the shrine replaced this one. The
1. Kumā Bāhā [59]
silver torana is surmounted by a triple umbrella and directly below it on the lintel of the doorway are images of Amitābha, Ratnasambhava and Agmasiddhi. The kuśpa-dya of the bāhā is a large silver image of Akṣobhya facing east. The image is entirely covered with garments and ornaments, and all that one can see is the face. Informants have assured me that it is Akṣobhya (or Sakyamuni showing the bhūmisparsā mudrā) and not Lokesvara as some writers have claimed. In the shrine are several other images including one of Vajradhara who is called Balbhadra. There seems to be much confusion about the identity of this image. Some said that it is Vajrabhadra, a brother of Krishna, some even said it is a Shaivite image. However, the image is clearly Vajradhara showing the vajra-huśakhā mudrā. This image is always worshipped whenever worship is offered to the kuśpa-dya.

It is impossible to describe all the details of the facade of the shrine itself. The lower facade, the screenwork between the beams of the roofs, the beams, etc., have been faced with gilt copper. I list here only the main objects on the facade. At the upper corners of the doorway are two images, Padmapani Lokesvara on the right and Vajrapani on the left as one faces the doorway. Above the shrine entrance is the usual five-fold window to which have been added two more small false windows. The windows are all faced with gilt copper repousse and an image sits in each of the windows, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Over the central window is a small torana depicting the five Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the central position. There are also two small toranas over the two end windows in the series of five, each showing a four-headed, eight armed tantric deity too small to identify from the ground. To either side of this row of figures, at the end of the facade are repousse śālaṃjikā figures and below the left one an image of Siṃhanāda Lokesvara. About two feet above this row of deities is another series of figures, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by Prajñāpāramitā and Śādjagāri Lokesvara. To the side of these figures and a bit raised are two more figures of Siṃhanāda Lokesvara riding on a lion.

The lowest of the three roofs is supported by struts consisting of cast, multi-armed figures of the tantric forms of the transcendent Buddhas. Above the first roof is a miniature shrine with images of the Buddha, Dharm and Saṅgha. Struts similar to the ones below support the second roof and between the struts are wooden screens faced in gilt copper. At the top of the second roof is a row of nine golden caityas and above the top roof is a row of thirteen golden caityas, with three umbrellas mounted at the centre of the group. Four gilded banners hang from the top roof down to the door of the shrine. All three roofs are of gilded copper and there are kinkinimalā borders on the two lower roofs. At the corners of each of the roofs stand cast bird figures leaning forward with their wings pressed back. At the end of the ribs of the roofs are bodhisattva faces. To the left of the shrine roof, at the corner of the west and north wings, is a small screened tower with a gilt copper roof which also has a finial, corner curves, bodhisattva faces and bells.

The next most striking feature of the complex is the shimmering temple in the centre of the courtyard which enshrines a Licchavi style caitya, the lineage deity of the Saṅgha. The shrine has some extraordinary metal work and is almost entirely covered with gold and metal. It has a single gilt copper roof above which rises a pinnacle with four snakes whose curved tails raise to hold a multi-staged umbrella over the main bell shaped finial. Four banners hang from the top down to the four doorways of the shrine. The main entry to this shrine is from the west so that it faces the shrine of the kuśpa-dya. Over each of the doorways is a gilt torana showing as a central figure the corresponding tantric transcendent Buddha. At the corners are five-foot cast figures of leogryphs. They do not support the roof, but are purely symbolic. Their appearance is vicious with long pointed teeth (painted white), red-rimmed mouths, sharp claws, long curved snouts, pointed ears and bristling manes. In front of the main entrance to this shrine, and facing the shrine of the kuśpa-dya are four kneeling figures of devotees. The pair on the north are metal and donated in N.S.924, the pair to the south are of stone and dated N.S.795. Behind this temple, i.e. to the east of it, is a dharma-mūla mandala surmounted by a vajra covered by a canopy with a row of prayer wheels set into its supports.

Right round the entire courtyard is a railing with oil lamps and prayer wheels. In the four corners of the veranda round the courtyard
are four magnificent, cast bodhisattva images. In the north-west corner is a slightly damaged but superb image of Padmapani Lokesvara, which Pal dates to the ninth or tenth century. In the south west corner stands another image of Padmapani Lokesvara with a much more elaborate crown which dates to the fourteenth century. In the south east corner stands an image of Manjusri dated to the fourteenth century and of a style peculiar to Nepal. Manjusri is depicted as a plump boy of rather short stature. He wears the bodhisattva crown and ornaments, a dhoti and the sacred thread falling from his left shoulder down over his right thigh. In the north east corner is another bronze cast image of Padmapani Lokesvara with the figure of Amitabha on his crown. At the entryway as one comes into the compound are two lions standing on elephants which in turn stand on turrets each surmounted by a devotee rider facing the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya. In the northeast corner of the veranda is a doorway with a wooden torana of Vajrasattva and in the southeast corner another doorway with a wooden torana showing the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked by the Saṅgha (Avalokitesvara) on his right and the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left. Several temple bells are also mounted along the veranda.

No one lives in the complex of the bāhā any longer and the upper rooms of the quadrangle also house shrines. Along the northern wing is a Tibetan style shrine with a large image of Amoghapāsa Lokesvara, several other figures and a large prayer wheel. The entire shrine is done in the Tibetan style with typical murals and ceiling paintings. On either sides of the images at the western end of this prayer hall are volumes of the Tibetan scriptures. In the centre of the hall are benches for people to sit for the chanting of the Tibetan scriptures. The whole shrine is a result of the devotion of members of the Kuṭa Bāhā saṅgha who spent time in Tibet and who continue to worship in the Tibetan fashion. The southern wing of this upper storey also has a prayer hall which contains a large image of Amitabha and several images of Dipankara. The ground floor of this section contains a fairly recent shrine of Tara and a bhajan hall. Along the western wing is the main āgām of the bāhā which houses an image of Yogāmbara.

This bāhā actually has two āgāms, the one of Yogāmbara and a second one in a shrine in the open area behind Kuṭa Bāhā known as Ilā Nani. This area is reached through a doorway in the southwest corner of the Kuṭa Bāhā compound. Over this doorway on the Ilā Nani side is a wooden torana depicting Mahāvairocana. Ilā Nani is a large open space which actually contains two branch bāhās which will be treated below. In the south western corner of this area is a long rectangular building of three storeys with a two staged tower in the corner. On the ground floor of this building is a shrine. According to a sign posted there the deity of this shrine is Sankaṭa, i.e. Candamaharosana. Above this is the āgām of the bāhā and the second āgām which contains an image of Cakrasamvara-Vajravārāhi.

In the northern section of this area are two votive caiyās, an enshrined stone image of Padmapani Lokesvara, facing west, an stone image of Aksobhya facing east and a rest house containing a shrine of Ganesha.

The saṅgha of Kuṭa Bāhā is by far the largest saṅgha of all the bāhās in the Kathmandu Valley. According to the Betājū, the official of the saṅgha whose duty it is to keep a record of the membership of the saṅgha, the membership now consists of 1,400 Sakyas and 350 Vajracaryas. In addition to these there are about 500 young boys who have actually been initiated but whose names have not yet been entered in the roster (due to some dispute among the five men who are supposed to make the entries). This would bring the total to 2,250 members, but these numbers are no more than an educated guess. Because of the size of the saṅgha and the strict rules that must be followed by those who serve as dya-pālās and elders, many people take no active part in the life of the saṅgha. Many members no longer live in Patan, having moved to Kathmandu or to one of the Newar settlements outside of the Valley such as Palpa or Bhojpur. As a result the Betājū has lost contact with these people. Another complicating factor is that six of the branch bāhās have independent saṅghas whose members have no rights in Kuṭa Bāhā, are not called to the annual festival, and do not serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya. They are not included in this total of 2,250.

All of the members of the saṅgha have the right to serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest, but because of the large membership one's turn to
serve in the shrine only comes once in a lifetime, and that when one is about 48 years old. The term of service is one month, but until a few years ago it was two months. Once a year the Betaju prepares a list of the twelve who are eligible for service in the coming year. If anyone declines the service his name is circled and the next man on the list is summoned. Once a man declines this service he disqualifies himself from further active participation in the life of the sangha. He cannot serve on the committee for the degu-dya pujā and he is not eligible to become an elder. Despite this many do, in fact, decline the service. Rules are strict and temple service is a full-time job for the period of the month. The dya-pālā must live at the temple for the entire month, his meals must be taken there, he must abstain from all sexual contact, (his wife is not even permitted to come to the bāhā for the month), he must follow the usual dietary restrictions, and the daily round of ritual is much more extensive than at most bāhās today. This places a heavy burden on members of the sangha who have government jobs or businesses that they can ill afford to leave for a whole month. Consequently many decline the service. There is, however, another way to solve the problem. The appointed dya-pālā may get someone to substitute for him, usually his son. If he does this the son serves for the month but the father may not enter the temple. (Only the current dya-pālā who has been properly purified and is observing the rules may enter the shrine of the kwāpā-dya.) In addition to the dya-pālā (or his substitute) there is always an assistant who must be a small boy, of about ten years of age. This boy is appointed by the dya-pālā and is usually his youngest son or nephew. Because of this peculiar arrangement one most often finds that the dya-pālās at Kuā Bāhā are a young man (often an adolescent) and a small boy. The dya-pālā at Kuā Bāhā is called Bāpācá (or Bāpācā), the only place where this term is used. The dya-pālā must also appoint a woman, known as nikulimha, to serve for the month as cook. This woman cannot be his wife but may be his sister. The woman does not live at the bāhā, but must observe the same strict rules as the dya-pālā; and if she is married she must spend the month at her husband's home and not with her husband.

As at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, the daily round of ritual is much more elaborate at Kuā Bāhā than at most bāhās today. I treat it in some detail as it gives a good idea of the sort of daily routine that was once common at all bāhās and which once formed the structure of the life of the sangha of the bāhā. The new dya-pālā and his small assistant take up their responsibilities on the day after the new moon (auñī). As at all bāhās the dya-pālā is responsible for the safe-keeping of all of the treasures of the bāhā which are preserved in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya: the image itself and any other images that may be kept in the shrine, all the ornaments which have been offered to the image, oil lamps, begging bowls that have been donated, etc. At Kwa Baha there are three officials who have to come on the day the new dya-pālā takes office. First is the Betaju, an official appointed by the elders who functions as a sort of secretary for the sangha, preparing the list of dya-pālās, keeping record of the members of the sangha, informing people of the various feasts, etc. He also keeps the inventory of all the treasures under the safe-keeping of the dya-pālā. Two other officials, respected members of the sangha, are also appointed to help him check the list. The Betaju reads the list and these two men check each of the items.

The daily round of ritual begins early in the morning, sometime between 3 and 5 AM, depending on the time of the year, i.e. later in the winter. The two dya-pālās must sleep at the bāhā, and at night before they retire they lay out mats in the courtyard in front of the shrine for devotees who come to chant the Nāmasaṅgīti each morning. About the time the devotees come the dya-pālā gets up and bathes. Next he goes into the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and pays his respects, after which he removes all of the garments from the image and taking a water pot he goes to bring water from the well. When he returns with the water he again pays his respects to the kwāpā-dya, rinses the plate he uses for the offerings to the deity, another large silver plate and the ritual water pot. He places these in front of Bālabhadrā. Then taking half of the water into the ceremonial water pot he prepares tiška mixing red powder (sindur) with the water. Next he lights a lamp inside of the shrine. By this time the devotees will be about half finished with the chanting of the Nāmasaṅgīti and the assistant dya-pālā enters the shrine and pays his respects to the deity. Next the dya-pālā lights a lamp outside the temple and proceeds to the first official ritual of the day, the bathing of the deity, an ancient
custom followed by the monks of Buddhist monasteries at the time of the Chinese travellers. The bathing at Kuā Bāhā, however, is an abridged rite. The dya-pālā takes the water pot, sprinkles water on the silver plate, then taking the small waterpot which stands on it he washes the face of the kuāpā-dya and Bālabhadra. While he is performing this ritual his small assistant rings a bell. The assistant then takes a metal mirror (darpan) and shows it to the two images, while the dya-pālā makes offerings to the deity. The dya-pālā then sprinkles sacred water on the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard and on the devotees reciting the Nāmasaṅgiti. The assistant then offers a libation (ārgha) of rice grains and water to the maṇḍāla on the veranda of the shrine.

After this the two dya-pālās come out with a hollow wooden log called gambhāsini gān (or sīṅ gān) which they beat 108 times. This is also an ancient custom and is the proper way to summon devotees to the official worship of the deity in the shrine. The small assistant then rings a bell and the devotees recite a hymn known as the 'Buddham Trailokyanātham'. At the conclusion of this the dya-pālā takes a yak tail fan and his small assistant a peacock fan and the two of them ring bells while the 'Dārbalama' is recited. After this the two dya-pālās take tiṅkā and offer tiṅkā and flowers to the devotees. This concludes the first service of the day.

While all of this is going on other devotees continue to arrive until about 9 AM. Somewhere about this time the woman who prepares the food for the dya-pālās also arrives. She goes into a small room near the shrine which serves as the kitchen, takes off all the clothes she is wearing and puts on clothes that are ritually pure. She then brings water from the well and purifies the floor of the kitchen with cowdung and prepares to cook the meal. When this is finished she comes to the door of the shrine, and the dya-pālā gives her the pūjā plate with a lamp and a waterpot. She takes these back to the kitchen, lights the lamp and begins to prepare the meal for the two dya-pālās, the two main deities and the rats.

About nine o'clock preparations begin for the next ritual, the main one of the day known as the nitya pūjā. The small assistant first goes off ringing a bell to Nāgh Bāhā, Nākhācūk, Nāg Bāhā, Ilā Nānī, Susu Nānī and then back into Kuā Bāhā itself. This is an official summoning of the Buddhist faithful to the worship in the shrine. It is interesting that, except for Nhū Bāhā and Susu Nānī, all the places he goes are really just residential nāṇī which do not have a proper saṅgha. That is, though these are all counted as branch bāhās of Kuā Bāhā they do not have a proper branch saṅgha and therefore a daily official worship of their own. (See the sections below on these bāhās.) When the assistant returns he is purified by the dya-pālā with a sprinkling of holy water. He then washes his face and goes to pay his respects to the deity. Again the two of them beat the hollow log 108 times to summon the faithful. They then ring the bells and recite the 'Buddham Trailokyanātham' as above followed by a paññapacāra pūjā. This concludes the second official ritual of the day. In the meantime devotees continue to arrive, pay their respects and receive tiṅkā. On special days like the fullmoon day, the āstami, the saṅkrānti, etc. there are more devotees and they may stay some time to perform their own devotions.

A short time after this the priest takes a large silver plate to the kitchen and puts it down outside the door. The cook purifies it, and places three plates of food on it, one for the kuāpā-dya, one for Bālabhadra and one for the rats. The dya-pālā then places one plate in front of the kuāpā-dya, one in front of Bālabhadra and scatters the third for the rats. At the conclusion of this, first the small assistant and then the dya-pālā himself go to eat. After this the two dya-pālās may take a rest as they have no more official duties until about 3 PM.

About 3 PM the two dya-pālās again purify themselves, go into the shrine and offer their respects to the deities. The small assistant puts on his official robes and comes out wearing metal sandals. Again they beat the hollow log 108 times to summon the faithful and recite the 'Buddham Trailokyanātham' as before, and offer a pūjā to the deities. After this, about 4 PM, the cook goes again to the kitchen and prepares a light meal of beaten rice, ghūr, fruit and curds for the two dya-pālās. When it is ready they go to the kitchen to eat.

After this the two dya-pālās again take a rest and then purify themselves. The dya-pālā goes to the well as in the morning and brings back two waterpots full of pure water. The two
devotees come regularly as they do at on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Kartik at which time all the members of the shrine, the which the people keep a lamp in the shrine which the evening when they come for the service. This is followed by the recitation of more while the 'Dāna Balena' is recited as in the morning. This is followed by the official evening service, the lighting of the lamps (ārati). First the light a large, ornate lamp and then while ringing the bells offer ārati to the deities. Both then light lamps of their own as do those who have come to take part in the recitations. Some of these keep a lamp in the shrine which the dya-pālā must look after and give to them each evening when they come for the service. This is followed by the recitation of more ślokas during which the dya-pālās and all of the devotees offer ārati to the deities. This is followed by a pāncopacāra pūjā to the deities after which the dya-pālā and then the small assistant each take ūkā and then offer it to the devotees.

This concludes the daily round of ritual and when the giving of ūkā is finished the ūkā boul is placed inside the shrine, the dya-pālā covers the kwāpā-dya with a special cloth and the assistant comes out with the key. The waterpot and the silver plate are placed in front of Balabhadra, rice is scattered for the rats and after a final obeisance to the kwāpā-dya the doors are locked for the night. By this time it will be about 9:30 PM and the two dya-pālās go to sleep in an adjoining room.

There are few bāhās in the Valley where such a full round of ritual is still performed and still fewer places where a large number of devotees come regularly as they do at Kwā Bāhā.

The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Kartik at which time all the members of the saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā come for the feast, but not those who are members of the semi-independent branches which have their own initiations.

Kwā Bāhā has a governing body of thirty elders, an elder group of ten, and a junior group of twenty. This seems to be due to the large membership of the saṅgha and to the fact that the bāhā has two āgams. (On the other hand the two āgams may also be a result of the large numbers. If they had only one āgam and the usual ten elders, the elders would be limited to ten very old men, and one would have to be about eighty before he had any hope of becoming an elder.) To become an elder one must first serve his term as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. Thus those who decline the service disqualify themselves from further promotion.

There is a special committee of twelve at Kwā Bāhā whose duty it is to make arrangements for the various festivals which take place throughout the year. The most important of these is the annual feast of the entire saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā. These twelve must make all the arrangements for this feast and foot the bill for any expenses over and above what is available from gūthi funds. This committee is made up of the twelve men who served as dya-pālās three years previously. Service on this committee is another step on the road to becoming an elder. If one declines this service he is ineligible to become an elder. Furthermore, if one is a Sakya and not a Vajracarya, he must also take the dekhā to qualify as an elder. Nowadays few take the dekhā as it entails recuring obligations which many people, especially those who have jobs or businesses, find burdensome. This further limits the number who are eligible to become elders.

If one has taken his turn as dya-pālā, served on the annual committee of twelve, and taken the dekhā (if he is a Sakya) he is eligible to become an elder. Selection is strictly on the basis of seniority of initiation with one further proviso. Since the saṅgha is composed mostly of Sakyas it may happen that the thirty eldest men are all Sakyas. However, there must be at least one Vajracarya in the group of ten and one in the group of twenty to serve as Cakresvara. Hence if there are none among the first ten or next twenty the next eldest Vajracarya must be chosen.
The group of ten elders are responsible for the worship of the main āgam deity, Yogāmbara. Only the Cakresāvara can actually enter the shrine of Yogāmbara and he must perform a daily pūja in that shrine and a special monthly pūja on the day of the full moon. However, the other nine each take turns acting as jañamānīs for this pūja. On the day of the full moon the whole group first performs a pūja to the kwaṅpā-avya of the shrine and after that a pūja to Yogāmbara followed by a feast which the current jañamān must finance. This group of ten is also responsible for the worship of the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard which is actually the lineage deity of the saṅgha. They take turns, a month at a time, to perform a daily pūja there. The group of twenty are responsible for the worship of the deity in the subsidiary āgam situated in the long building in Ila Nāni. They follow the same system as at the main āgam. They are also responsible for the daily worship of Sankta = Candumaharoṣaṇa whose shrine is on the ground floor of this building. The pūja, however, is only actually performed by the Cakresāvara of this group.

Some informants, including the Betājū, say that there are actually thirty six elders. By this he means that there are an additional six men who receive the same honour as the elders. This seems to mean that they get to take part in the feasts of the elders. They are: the seniormost elder of Mū Bāhā [18], the seniormost elder of Atha Bāhā [44], the Betājū himself and the current dya-pālā plus his assistant.

There is no overall organization of the Vajracaryas of Patan as there is at Kathmandu (the Ācārya Gūthī). However, in each bāhr which has Vajracaryas, the Vajracaryas have their local Ācārya Gūthī. They also have their own shrine, a shrine of Vajrasattva, which at Kuṅ Bāhā is just off the north east corner of the quadrangle. In this shrine is an image of Vajrasattva flanked by an image of Avalokiteśvara and one of Vasundhara. The members of the Ācārya Gūthī take turns, a lunar fortnight at a time, to serve as dya-pālās in this shrine. Serving in this shrine simply means going into the shrine and performing an obeisance to the deity.

Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. Because of the large membership initiations are usually performed several times in a year (15 to 20 times), and an average of about fifty boys are initiated each year. The semi-independent branches of Kuṅ Bāhā also perform part of their initiation ceremonies here in Kuṅ Bāhā: the boys are taken into the shrine of the kuṅpā-dya at the end of their initiation and they must actually then serve in the shrine for four days. However, this is the extent of their service at Kuṅ Bāhā. They do not serve as dya-pālās later and they are not eligible to become elders of Kuṅ Bāhā.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha of Kuṅ Bāhā is the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. This is identified by informants as a suwayānḥū caitya, i.e. a caitya which spontaneously arose on the spot and was not made by man. Informants at Kuṅ Bāhā say there were originally four such caityas in the Valley: the Suwayānḥū Mahācaitya, the caitya of Kuṅ Bāhā, the caitya at Sankhu (Gum Bāhā), and one more which has been lost. Some say the fourth one was at Baregau, on the way to Godavari; others deny this.

Kuṅ Bāhā still has income from land and it must be considerable, but no details are available. Some of their land which was in the city has been sold and the money put on deposit. Much of it, as at all Bāhrs, has been appropriated either by the members of the saṅgha, or by the tenants. Over the centuries Kuṅ Bāhā has also had a considerable income from donations made by the wealthier members of the saṅgha, many of whom were traders in Tibet before 1951.

Despite the great importance of Kuṅ Bāhā, its unusually large saṅgha and the great amount of religious activity of Kuṅ Bāhā, we know little about its early history.

Wright's Chronicle gives the following account of the founding of Kuṅ Bāhā:

In [Bhāskara-deva's] reign the Bāhras [Bare] of Pingala Bāhā removed to other places. Their descendants, who were Āchāryas, became Bāhras, and lived in Gnaka-chuk in Lalitpattan. The Bhikṣhus of Devapatan and Chābahil came to these people, and told them that they had heard from some people, who were working in the fields, that they had seen the god of Pingala Bāhā. They accordingly went to see, and found the god buried
under the ruins of the Pingala Bâhâl, and brought him to Patan... they took the god to Gnaka-chuk, but he said he would not like to live there. This having been brought to the notice of Râjâ Bhâskara-deva, he caused a new bhâr, named Nhu-l bâhâ, to be built for the god. This new house also being disapproved by the god, the Râjâ went to ask where he would like to fix his residence. The god said he would like to live in a place where a mouse attacked and drove away a cat. The Râjâ himself then went in search of such a place, and one day at a certain spot saw a golden mouse chasing a cat. Here he built a bhâr, and named it Hema-bârpa (i.e. golden-coloured), and having placed the god in it, with Agama-devatas, just as they were in Pingala Bâhâl, he assigned lands as guthis for the maintenance of the establishment.

The Bâhâs, who came with the god to reside here, were those of Thyakayel and Hatkatol.

This account with variations is still current among the members of the sangha. All of the accounts I have heard have the following common points: the bâhâ was founded by a king known as Bhâskaradeva, the image was dug up at the ruins of the Pingala Bâhâl, first brought to Nâkhâ Cauk and then to Nhu-l Bâhâ after which a new bâhâ was built for him at a place where the rats chase away cats. This, according to informants, explains the curious custom of feeding the rats at Kuâ Bâhâ. There are always rats running around inside the shrine and no one may disturb them or kill them as they are the special pets of the kuâpâ-dya. Some oral accounts say that Bhâskara Deva did not found the bâhâ but repaired an old foundation.

Coming to historically datable material, there are no references to Hiranyavarâ Mahâvihâra in the palm-leaf land grants found at Uku Bâhâ. Two early manuscript references probably refer to Kuâ Bâhâ. The first is contained in the colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript copy of the Vaijâvali written in N.S.202 by one Candra of the Turaharvarâ Mahâvihâra in Manigalake. The place, Manigalake, certainly fits for Kuâ Bâhâ but the name Turadar...is irregular and perhaps a misreading. The second reference is in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Pratisthaloka written during the time of Gunâkâmâdeva. It belonged to one Samantabadra who resided at Hiranyavarâ Sugata (an alternate name for a vihâra). Unfortunately, though it has the month and lunar data, the manuscript does not have the year. There were two kings by the name of Gunâkâmâdeva during the 'Thakuri' Period, one ruling at least from N.S.107 to N.S.110 and the second ruling from at least N.S.303-16. There is only one Bhâskaradeva in this period (and none in the Licchavi Period). He ruled from at least N.S.165-67. Hence if he is indeed the founder of the vihâra, as consistent tradition maintains, the reference above must be to the second Gunâkâmâdeva and i.e. circa N.S.303-16.

According to Hemraj Sakya the oldest dated document actually at Kuâ Bâhâ to come to light so far is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S.519, which records the offering of a gaûra for the shrine. The bâhâ has a collection of ceremonial begging bowls (piânga pâtra) which have been donated over the years. Some years ago Hemraj Sakya was permitted to inspect these and transcribe all the inscriptions. These he later published, but the oldest of these is dated N.S.645. However, it is known that the sangha has a collection of old documents and manuscripts which have not been inspected. So far the elders of the sangha have not permitted anyone, not even Nepali scholars who are themselves Bari, to inspect these documents. If permission is ever granted they may shed considerable light on the history of Kuâ Bâhâ.

There are numerous inscriptions in and around Kuâ Bâhâ dating from N.S.519 onwards, but few of these have been published. An interesting one is dated N.S.653 and records the offering of two bells and an ornament of gold to the kuâpâ-dya by Sri Ujâdeva of Dolakh east of the Kathmandu Valley. The oldest of the ceremonial begging bowls in the collection at Kuâ Bâhâ was donated in N.S.654 and was donated by the chief elder of Sri Yîltâhâ Vihâra (Nâg Bâhâ) to the kuâpâ-dya of 'Sri Har‹navarâ Mahâvihâra'. An inscription put up in N.S.757 which records gifts made at the time of a feast to which the reigning king, Siddhi Narasîma, was invited gives the full Sanskrit name Sri Bhâskara Deva Samkârîta Hiranyavarâ Mahâvihâra.

In N.S.762 Sri Panduja Sakya, who had become wealthy after thirty three years of residence in Tibet, offered seven finials for the shrine of the kuâpâ-dya ('Sri Sri Kuâcapâla Bhaţʈsraka'). In the following year, N.S.763, a resident of Jhotapol and his wife presented various utensils to Sakyamuni Buddha on the
Kwā Bāhā has a large number of branches and everyone agrees that some of these are official branches and some are private branches. However, there is little agreement about the number of official branches. Everyone agrees that there are at least seven official branches: Nu Bāhā [48], Ata Bāhā [44], Chāya Bāhā [15], Nu Bāhā [18], Yatā Bāhā [50], Aki Bāhā [53], and Chāhī Cheh Bāhā [62]. Most informants add two more that are also considered official branches, Michu Bāhā [45] and Baidya Bāhā [46]. Of these nine six have independent saṅghas. They perform their initiations in their own bāhās, but part of the ceremony (the hair cutting) is performed in Kwā Bāhā. The elders of Kwā Bāhā must come to the initiations, at the end of the ceremony the newly initiated are taken into the shrine of the kwāpā-dya at Kwā Bāhā; and for four days they must go to Kwā Bāhā to worship in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. However, this is their only connection to Kwā Bāhā; they do not subsequently serve as dya-pālās at Kwā Bāhā, they do not take part in the annual festival of the whole saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā, and they are not eligible to become elders of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha. This arrangement is unique to Kwā Bāhā. No one knows any more how this situation came about; some speculate that it may be a result of the very large saṅgha of Kwā Bāhā. It became too difficult to hold all of these initiations at Kwā Bāhā, so some bāhās became in effect independent. However, this is rather unlikely in view of the fact that the members of these saṅghas are not counted as members of Kwā Bāhā and some of them at least have different lineage deities. It is more likely that these were in fact entirely independent foundations that were at some time amalgamated to the much more important Kwā Bāhā, perhaps at the time of the reorganization of the bāhās of Patan in the time of Siddhī Narasinha. One of these official branches, Aki Bāhā, does not have a bare saṅgha, but is the property and shrine of a group of Pradhāns and probably always has been so. (See section below on Aki Bāhā.) The saṅghas of the remaining two, Nhu Bāhā and Chāya Bāhā, are now part of Kwā Bāhā and they perform their initiations at Kwā Bāhā, but informants say that they too had independent saṅghas at one time.

To this list some also add Kulhiṅ Bāhā [71] and Mīhā Bāhā [21], which they say at one time had independent saṅghas, but they died out and the shrines were taken over by people from the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha. Some also add Susu Nāṅ [60] which adjoins Kwā Bāhā but others say that it is a purely private bāhā (or nāṅ) and its saṅgha is part of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha. Others also add Nāg Bāhā [56] and Ṛkhācuk [51], but in a sense these are not really bāhās at all but large residential nāṅs where a great percentage of the members of the Kwā Bāhā saṅgha live. One criterion for determining the official branches is the ceremony which takes place twice in a year, once on the day of Laksī Pūjā and once on the day of Ma Pūjā, when a group from Kwā Bāhā go to all of the official branches of Kwā Bāhā to perform a brief ritual which is in effect an invitation to the annual feast of Kwā Bāhā. The group consists of the current dya-pāḷā, the current committee of twelve, the committee of twelve from last year and the twelve who will serve next year. They visit all fourteen of these places. However, some informants insist that they perform a pūjā only at the first seven; they merely pass through the other places on the way. Furthermore, they extend an invitation to all the deities in these establishments to attend the people, not the members of the saṅgha.

In addition to these fourteen branches, two of which have sub-branches, there are thirteen more branches of Kwā Bāhā which everyone agrees are private.

A. Nhu Bāhā -- Navakṛṭi Vihāra [48] Dhalaycā Tole

Little is left of this very ancient branch of Kwā Bāhā except for the enclosed courtyard, a caitya, and a recently repaired shrine. A few years ago the upper storey and roof of the shrine collapsed. They were repaired and the shrine now consists of only two stories. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked and has no torāṇa. The facade of the ground floor has two small windows flanking the entrance to the shrine. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The upper storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The roof is of corrugated iron sheeting and is
2.  [Image of a courtyard scene]
supported by plain struts. The roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard is a large caitya of unusual design which was repaired in N.S.481!

The 'saṅgha' of this bāhā at the present time consists of two households of Sakyas of Kuā Bāhā, comprising only six initiated members. The members of only one of these two households take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuwā-pā-dya. The branch saṅgha has one elder, but they do not celebrate an annual festival and the bāhā has no income.

This is the Nhū (or Nhola) Vihāra where the image of Kuā Bāhā is supposed to have been enshrined before he decided to be moved to the place where the rats chase cats. Its antiquity is attested to by two documents. The first is a manuscript copied in N.S.457 by 'Pradhanānga Mahāpātra Śri Jayasimha Mallavarmaṇa of Śri Nhola Vahāra'. The second is an inscription at the caitya of the vihāra which says that it was repaired in N.S.481 by Ulhāsa Laksāmī, daughter of Pradhanānga Ranajoti (of the seven noble families of Patan) who resides in Śri Nhola Bāhāra. Informants say that the original saṅgha of this bāhā died out and it was taken over by the present people of Kuā Bāhā. However, the early documents indicate that the original 'saṅgha' was non-bare. The documents of N.S.457 and 481 indicate that it belonged to the Pradhanāngas and it is still the residence of a man called 'Thaku Juju' who has an official connection to Kuā Bāhā. At the time of the Samyak festival every five years he must be present at the beginning of the ceremony to wash the feet of the elders of Kuā Bāhā. He must also be present at every Barechuyegu initiation at Kuā Bāhā, at which time the elders of Kuā Bāhā give him prassd. However, he seldom attends in person but sends a man called bisya, a Joshi who is also the astrologer who determines the auspicious date for the samyak ceremony. This man is a sort of 'secretary' to the Thaku Juju. According to a still-current tradition of this family of Thaku Jūjūs they are descendants of King Bhāskaradeva, the founder of Kuā Bāhā. What seems quite clear is that from at least the early Malla period this family of Pardhanānga-mahāpātras have been the patrons of Kuā Bāhā, functioning as jajamāns for the principal rituals. They probably possessed their own Buddhist shrine (Nhū Bāhā) which was tended by dya-pālās from Kuā Bāhā.

B. Atha Bāhā -- Ānandadeva Samśkārita Śri Vatsa Vihāra [44] Naka Bahī Tole

This is one of the official and semi-independent branches of Kuā Bāhā. It is situated in an entirely closed courtyard just west of Naka Bāhā. The shrine of the kuwā-pā-dya is of three storeys. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions standing on elephants; and on either side of the doorway of the shrine are metal, double triangular flags. The carved doorway is surmounted by a repousse metal toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Mahā-aṅgobhaya?) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍaśakṣari Lokesvara) on his left. The kuwā-pā-dya is a large standing image of Buddha showing the viśvavākarana mudrā and facing east which the members of the saṅgha identify as Maitreyā. In the shrine is also a seated Buddha image showing the varada mudrā. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is a series of faded frescoes. The top storey has three large, open windows flanked by two smaller windows. Plain struts support the tile roof which has one small finial. In the courtyard are two stone mandalas and a large caitya with a metal canopy supported by four serpents.

The saṅgha of Atha Bāhā consists of twenty five initiated Sakyas. It is an independent saṅgha in the sense that Barechuyegu initiations are performed here following the customs mentioned above for these semi-independent branches. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuwā-pā-dya for one month at a time. Service passes down the roster from eldest to youngest. The annual festival of the bāhā is now celebrated on the fullmoon day of Asvin, but used to be held later in the summer. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of twelve elders, though at the present time there are only eight. Informants say that the reason for this is that there are no more gūthi funds to support the tasks the elders must perform, so no one has agreed to be raised to the status of elder to take the place of the four who have died. There is also an aṅgam of Cakrasāmvara here and only the senior-most of the elders performs the daily rituals in this shrine. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the enshrined caitya at Kuā Bāhā. At the present time this bāhā has no income, and hence many of the traditional observances have fallen into
3. Atha Bāhā [44]
abeyance. Informants say that some of the members of the saṅgha have moved away over the years. One group of them settled in Lamjung and until recently used to bring their sons back to Atha Bāhā for initiations.

Little is known about the founding or the history of this important branch. The earliest inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.842 at which time the courtyard was paved. There is another inscription dated N.S.874, the lions were erected in N.S.1046 and a bell donated in N.S.1053.

C. Chāya Bāhā — Ratnamuni Samskārita Vihāra*

Chauśa Cāhā Chatravarna Vihāra [15]

There are three bāhās together in this area which is known as Chāya Bāhā. Today most people refer to this as Chāya Bāhā and of the three it is certainly the main one. However, some informants have given the name Swaca Bāhā and the inscription which recounts the founding of the bāhā gives the name Chauśa Bahārā. All that remains of this official branch is an ill-kept kwāpā-dya shrine, a caitya and a mandala in a partially enclosed courtyard. At the present time the shrine is an unattached building of two storeys, probably rebuilt after the earthquake of 1934. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked. The lattice doorway is surmounted by a repousse metal torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Saḍakṣarī Lokesvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is a covered, metal image of Aksobhya facing north. The upper storey of the shrine has one large, open window in the centre flanked by four fading frescoes. The tile roof, supported by plain struts, has a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard is a stone dharma-mathu mandala and a single votive caitya.

The three bāhās in this tole have a combined saṅgha consisting of seven households of Vajracaryas with a total membership of only fifteen initiated members. These seven households are divided among all three bāhās and only two households are considered attached to this bāhā. Though this is an official bāhā, the saṅgha is not independent. All initiations take place in Kuā Bāhā and the members of this saṅgha are all members of the Kuā Bāhā saṅgha with all the consequent rights and duties. Informants say, however, that initiations used to be performed here. No one could give a date when this custom was discontinued. Did the original saṅgha die out, or were these people later assimilated into Kuā Bāhā? The members of only one of the two households mentioned above now serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. This means that in effect it is always done by one man who will pass the duty on to his son when he dies. This sub-saṅgha has one elder. They celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the fullmoon day of Aswin, but at the present time the bāhā has no income. The lineage deity of the entire saṅgha of the three bāhās is the same as that of Kuā Bāhā and they celebrate the lineage festival with the Kuā Bāhā people.

According to an inscription to the right of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya this bāhā was constructed in N.S.787. The donors were all Vajracaryas of Nākhāchūk. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Ratna Muni Samskārita Mahāvihāra. There were also two more Malla period inscriptions next to the caitya in the courtyard, but these have disappeared in the last couple of years. This official branch has two sub-branches.

1. Bāhā-cā — Chāya Vihāra [17]

This branch is situated in a tiny enclosed courtyard south east of Chauśa Bāhā. The well-preserved kwāpā-dya shrine consists of two storeys along the western side of the courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked but the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. At the top of the torana is an image of Vajrasattva. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. On either side of the doorway to the shrine are images in stone of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and flanking them two finely carved small windows with a string of three bells hanging in each. Above these is a row of three prayer wheels on either side. The first storey has the usual five-fold window. The rest of the building is an ordinary dwelling. In the centre of the small courtyard is a single votive caitya on a octagonal base.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four of the seven households of Vajracaryas of the

5. Bāhā-cā [17]
Chāya Bāhā saṅgha. Only four households take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya. They serve for a month at a time and service passes through the four households in turn. They observe the annual festival of this branch on the new moon day of the month of Magh. The saṅgha has one elder. The bāhā still has some patti lands which yield only fifteen pātīs of paddy each year, hardly enough to support the annual festival.

According to an inscription next to the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya this bāhā was constructed in N.S.779. This is earlier than the date of the construction of Chāya Bāhā, but informants say that Chāya Bāhā is considered to be the principal of the three bāhās here.

2. Ganeś Bāhā — Cakramukta Vihaṇa [16]
   Tūn Nānī Chāya Bāhā Tole

This is an entirely modern foundation consisting of a small plastered shrine set against the southern end of this long rectangular courtyard which adjoins Chāya Bāhā. The kuṇapā-dya is an image of Akgobhya facing north. In the courtyard is a stone mandala, a well, and a temple to Krishna. Most of the people living around the courtyard are Shresthas and Jyāpus.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one of the seven households of Vajracaryas of Chaya Bāhā. They take turns acting as dya-pālās for the shrine of Buddha and they observe the annual festival of this branch on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh.

An inscription in the courtyard indicates that this shrine in its present form was built in N.S.1054. The unusual name comes from the fact that the man who built it was called Ganesh. It is not known whether this was a new foundation in 1054 or the rebuilding of an old foundation, probably the former.

D. Mū Bāhā — Mūla Śrī Vihaṇa [18]
   Sri Gavarmma Pītha Vihaṇa*  
   Pīm Bāhā Tole

This important branch is located in a partially enclosed courtyard directly behind the stupa known as Pīm Bāhā. Different authors have given different Sanskrit names for this bāhā. Some give Mūla Śrī Vihaṇa which appears to be a Sanskrit form of the Newāri name Mū(1) Bāhā. Some have given the name Caityavarṇa Vihaṇa which looks suspiciously like a name based on the fact of its proximity to the Pīm Bāhā stupa. The only inscription in the courtyard gives the name Śrī Gavarmma Pītha Bahā Mahavihaṇa. This is not the original Pīm Bāhā which according to inscriptions at the stupa was called Mahāpītha Vihaṇa and which survived in a reduced form until about thirty years ago. (See the section on Pīm Bāhā.)

All that remains now of this branch is a free-standing kuṇapā-dya shrine, a shrine to Vajrasattva and a courtyard which contains one votive caitya and a recess for the sacred fire, all in a poor state of repair. The shrine is of three storeys and unmarked. The plain doorway has no torana. The kuṇapā-dya is an image of Akgobhya facing east. On either side of the door of the shrine are two small windows. The entire ground floor facade is of plain and crumbling brick. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows, and the top storey has three large open windows. The facade of the upper storeys has been plastered and whitewashed. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and the roof has no ornamentation. To the side of the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya is another dilapidated shrine containing an image of Vajrasattva. According to the inscription to the side of the shrine, the wooden image of Vajrasattva enshrined here was consecrated in N.S.567.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of forty Sakyas. It is an independent saṅgha in the sense that Barechuyegu initiations are performed here with the elders of Kwa Bāhā in attendance as described above. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya for a month at a time performing the rituals morning and evening. Service passes in rotation from eldest to youngest. They celebrate an annual festival on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh, but this is reckoned as the festival of the caitya in the courtyard and not the bāhā. They also perform puja three times a year at the Stupa of Pīm Bāhā on the fullmoon day of Asuṣā, on the day of Rām Navami, on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Asadh. They used to perform another puja there on the fullmoon day of Baisak, but this was discontinued a few years ago. The saṅgha has twelve elders and these twelve take turns performing a daily and monthly
pūjā in the shrine of Vajrasattva. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is the Mahāmāyūjṣrī behind the Śuvaśāntakā Mahācaitya, though the deity has now been 'brought' to the bāhā so they celebrate the annual festival there. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, except for the information contained on the one inscription dated N.S.557. In view of the fact that the lineage deity of this saṅgha is entirely different from that of Kuś Bāhā, this was probably a completely separate foundation which was at a later date assimilated to Kuś Bāhā. Originally it must have had some connection with Pim Bāhā and the saṅgha resident there.

E. Yatā Bāhā — Hemapuri Mahāvihāra [50]  
Balipha Tole

This branch is situated in an entirely closed courtyard just north west of the Ashok Cinema Hall. The shrine of the kuśpā-dya is in a fair state of repair. The entrance is marked by two stone lions, an archway of oil lamps, and two metal flags. To the left of the lions is a temple bell. Over the carved doorway is a torana the main figure of which is a one-faced, six-handed tantric deity. In his right hands he holds a noose, a rosary, and shows the viṇāvāyakaraṇa mudrā and facing east which informants identified as Maitreyā. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two attendants with yak tail fans. The torana is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kuśpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey of the building has three large lattice windows and the top storey has living quarters. The tile roof is surmounted by a single finial in the shape of a caitya.

Aki Bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard in Nyadha Tole. The shrine of the kuśpā-dya is located on the ground floor of a building that is in other respects simply a typical Newār town house. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked but there is a wooden torana over the doorway showing a figure of Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants with yak tail fans. The torana is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kuśpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey of the building has three large lattice windows and the top storey has living quarters. The tile roof is surmounted by a single finial in the shape of a caitya.

Aki Bāhā has no saṅgha of initiated Bare. It is a shrine belonging to four households of Pradhāns, all of whom now live in Kathmandu, where their ancestor moved about a hundred years ago because he had a job at one of the Rana darbārs and found it inconvenient to return each night to Patan. The bāhā was renovated by these people in N.S.992 and at least since that time it has been considered their shrine. Whether or not the bāhā ever had a saṅgha of Bare is doubtful. The Pradhāns do not know what the status of the shrine was before the renovation, but inscriptions from the Malla period seem to indicate that it always belonged to them. Among the ceremonial begging bowls in the collection at Kuś Bāhā are five donated by people from Aki (or Ataki) Bāhā. All of these donors who say they are of Aki Bāhā have the surname Bhāro, which indicates Shrestha or Pradhān. It is never used of a Bare. The five are: N.S. 656 Jathirāj Bhāro, N.S.680 Harṣa Śīṁha Bhāro, N.S.737 Gopāl Śīṁha Bhāro, N.S.777 Śivādāś Bhāro, N.S.792 Devulāś Bhāro. This is an indication of the status of the saṅgha, but not conclusive proof as it seems quite clear
8. Yatā Bāḥā [50]

9. Aki Bāḥā [53]
that the name of a bāhā often indicated a whole tole. People who are not Bare often indicate that they 'belong' to a bāhā which we know from other sources does have a saṅgha of initiated Bare. At the present time the daily rituals are performed each morning by a Vajracarya from Kuā Bāhā who now lives at Aki Bāhā. For this service the Pradhāns used to give him two muriā of husked rice each year, but this has been discontinued as the bāhā no longer has any income. Another Vajracarya from Čukā Bāhā (C-Chačcuk-Kuā Bāhā saṅgha) performs regular rituals in the āgām of the bāhā, which is considered to be the family āgām of these Pradhāns. The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated on the twelfth day of the dark half of the month of Magh. For this festival the four households of Pradhāns must come and they take turns sponsoring the festival. The rituals are performed by the resident Vajracarya.

The earliest date for this bāhā is that on the first of the begging bowls, N.S.656. An inscription at the bāhā describes the renovations undertaken in N.S.992 by Matsyendra Simha Bhārā.

G. Ikā Cheṇ Bāhā — Suvarṇa Vihāra [62] Ikā Cheṇ Tole

This branch is situated in a large, enclosed courtyard in Ikā Cheṇ Tole. Of the original buildings only the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya remains. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana the outer part of which is wood with the three central figures in repousse metal. The three central figures are the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Saḍāksari Lokesvara) on his left. The kuṇapā-dya is a covered image of Aksobhya with a golden mask, facing east. On either side of the door are two small windows and above the right one a row of three prayer wheels. The facade of the ground floor has been faced with marble. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows and above that a double row of frescoes. The top storey has three large windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a single roofed tower with a finial. In the courtyard are a mounted vajra, a votive caitya and a dharmadhātu manḍala. The caitya is of an unusual design and probably dates to the early mediaeval period.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of eighty-five Sakyas and five Vajracaryas. It is a semi-independent saṅgha performing both their Bare-chuyegu and Ācaluyegu initiations here. The usual rituals are performed each morning and evening in the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya but only by the elders of the saṅgha who serve by turn for a month at a time. The annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Baisakh. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of ten elders. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is Cakrasamvara situated at Ānā Bāhā [65] down the street. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

This is obviously an ancient foundation and in view of the entirely separate lineage deity was probably an independent foundation later assimilated to Kuā Bāhā. The oldest date in the compound is on a copper-plate inscription to the left of the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya which was put up on N.S.829. However, there is a much earlier reference in a copper-plate inscription of N.S.535 preserved at Ānā Bāhā which relates to the renovation of the Alko Hiti. The repairs were made by a Vajracarya of Ikākṣe who lived at the house in Aloka, presumably Ānā Bāhā. Other inscriptions at Ikā Cheṇ speak of renovation and donations over the last two hundred years. This bāhā has one branch.

1. Ānā Bāhā — Ānanda Vihāra [65] Ikhāčeṇ Tole

This branch of Ikā Cheṇ Bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard north of the main bāhā and right at the edge of the old city of Patan. Nothing remains of the original buildings; the shrine of the kuṇapā-dya itself was rebuilt after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine is a squat, two-storied building, the ground floor of which has been faced with ceramic tile. The entrance is marked by two stone lions with a stone railing extending the rest of the distance of the shrine veranda. On either side of the carved doorway are two small windows, but the door has no torana. The kuṇapā-dya is a small image, about eighteen inches high, of Padmapañi Lokesvara, facing east. The upper storey of the shrine, which has been plastered and whitewashed, has a large triple opening in the centre flanked by two ordinary windows. Above the triple opening is a repousse torana depicting
10. Ikhā Che̊n Bāhā [62]

11. Āna Bāhā [66]
the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a single plastered finial. In the courtyard is a large votive caitya, a stone maṇḍapa and a pair of feet.

At the present time this branch has no saṅgha as such. However, the daily rituals are performed morning and evening by four families of Ikhā Cheṅ Bāhā who perform this service plus the annual busā dañ and the pañca dāna. The oldest inscription in the compound is situated on the caitya and describes repairs made to the caitya in the year N.S.777. However, the inscription mentioned above dated N.S.535 and relating to repairs made at the Alko Hiti is preserved in the āgama of the bāhā, and certainly indicates that the Vajracarya mentioned in the inscription lived in this place near the water tap.

H. Michu Bāhā -- Caityavarṇa Viñhāra [57] Elā Nāṇ

Directly behind the Kuā Bāhā complex is the large nāṇi area which houses the second āgama of the bāhā and the shrine of Sankatā. Within this compound are also two other branch bāhās. The first of these consists of a kuṭāpa-dya shrine set along the southern arm of the large quadrangle. Everyone now calls it Michu Bāhā but several informants have told me that it should be Bhikṣu Bāhā. Perhaps so, but nobody who lives here recognises that name. There is also little agreement about the Sanskrit name of this branch. Some lists give a Sanskritization of the Newārī name, Micchu Vihāra. A new signboard at the site gives the name Caityavarṇa Mahāviñhāra, but there seems to be little evidence for this, and one suspects that it is a name made up on the basis of the fact that there is a large caitya in front of the shrine. Michu Bāhā at the present time is a narrow three storied building sandwiched between much more modern houses. The shrine is unmarked but the carved doorway has a torana the main figure of which is now missing. The kuṭāpa-dya is a standing Buddha image, probably Dīpaṅkara, facing north. Except for the door to the shrine the crumbling facade of the ground floor is blank. The first storey has a triple window and the top storey has a large triple window. Above the triple window of the first storey is another wooden torana showing a two-armed bodhisattva figure standing and wearing a long, flowing gown. The right hand shows the abhaya mudrā and the left holds a stylised caitya. The figure is flanked by two monk figures waving yak tail fans. Directly in front of the shrine is a stone dharma-bhu maṇḍala and a large caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā is also a semi-independent saṅgha consisting of seventy three Sakayas. The saṅgha is made up of seventeen households and the households take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya for a whole year at a time. Rituals are performed only in the morning. The saṅgha has five elders. The annual festival of the saṅgha is observed on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Kārtik. Barchhayegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but informants say that they take place in front of the caitya, not really in or before the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya. These people are one of the few examples of what are known as cailaka Sakayas, i.e. Sakyas who are initiated before a caitya and not into a bāhā. This seems to have little practical meaning at the present time. These people constitute a saṅgha just as in a bāhā and they actually have a bāhā shrine. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is 'Yogambara' originally situated at Dhumvarahi out beyond Baudhā. The deity has now been 'brought' to Ilā Nāṇi and the rituals are performed here. At the present time the saṅgha has no income.

Little is known about the history of Michu Bāhā as such. There is a well-known legend which purports to explain the origin of this bāhā and its relationship to Kuā Bāhā. According to the legend, the members of the saṅgha of Michu Bāhā are the descendants of the man who carried the deity of Kuā Bāhā to Patan. The wooden pole (nol) which he used to carry the deity used to be kept in the āgama of this bāhā until it disintegrated. The present shrine was renovated in N.S.807 according to KTNV and that is the only date that we can definitely associate with Michu Bāhā.

I. Baidya Bāhā -- Dvārikā Viñhāra [58] Elā Nāṇ

Baidya Bāhā is also situated in Ilā Nāṇi and the shrine is directly behind the main shrine of Kuā Bāhā. Most people seem to call the place Baidya Bāhā (because the members of the saṅgha had a reputation as medical practitio-
ners), others seem to know only the name Dwārikā Bāhā. This is also an ill-kept shrine similar to Michu Bāhā. Over the doorway of the shrine is a wooden torana depicting Mahāmañjuśrī. The kuśāpā-dya is a stone image of Amitābha facing west. Directly in front of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā is also semi-independent and consists of twenty Sakyas. There are only four households and they serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuśāpā-dya in rotation for a year at a time. The saṅgha has five elders and their lineage deity is 'Yogāmbara' at Mhaypōl. The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated on the full moon day of the month of Srāwan. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha according to the pattern described above for these semi-independent communities. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

J. Kwalim Bāhā -- Kulim Vihāra Swatha Tole

This bāhā which was an important and probably semi-independent branch of Kuā Bāhā is now in ruins. All that remains is the cela of the kuśāpā-dya shrine, a partially ruined brick structure with a temporary roof. The kuśāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The doorway is partially carved, but there is no torana and no other ornamentation. Trees are growing out of the remains of the walls. To the left of the doorway of the shrine is a small niche with an image of Mahākāl and to the right a niche with an image of Ganesh. In the courtyard are two caityas; the top of one of these has the remains of a Licchavi style caitya. The courtyard is surrounded by ordinary dwellings, some of recent origin, others in a bad state of repair.

According to informants this was an official branch of Kuā Bāhā, but some sixty to seventy years ago the saṅgha died out. At that time a Vajracarya of Kuā Bāhā took up the duty of performing the daily rituals. There are now two households, descendants of this man, who take turns, one year at a time to perform the daily pūjā. These two households are not organized as a saṅgha and merely do the daily rituals and observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the full moon day of the month of Aswīn.

There are no inscriptions at the site and nothing is known about the history of the bāhā other than the tradition that it was an old branch of Kuā Bāhā. Its antiquity is attested to by the fact that the Dipakkarā from this bāhā has a high place of honour at the five yearly Samyak ceremony.

K. Sasu Nani -- Vāgīśvari Vihāra [60] Mañjuśrī Lanhe Jhatapol Tole

Sasu Nani is situated directly to the north of Kuā Bāhā in an adjoining enclosed courtyard. Whether this should be considered an official branch bāhā or a bāhā at all is disputed by informants. Many say that it is merely a private nani as its Newāri name would indicate. However it does have a saṅgha and for all practical purposes functions as a branch bāhā. At the time of Lakṣmi Puja and Mha Puja the elders do visit this shrine on their tour of the official branches, but informants say they merely pass through here, they do not do the puja they do at other branches.

Sasu Nani is an entirely enclosed courtyard with a one-storeyed shrine of Mañjuśrī in the centre of the court. The shrine faces east and has a veranda running right round. Over the doorway is one of the most unusual toranas seen anywhere. It is a wooden torana painted silver and the only figure portrayed is a large Garuda with the two serpent divinities held in his talons. In the lower right corner is a figure of Ganesha and in the lower left a figure of what appears to be Prajāpāramitā. The entire background consists of a scollopéd floral design. This torana is a fairly recent piece and replaces a torana of Mañjuśrī which was stolen. The image in the shrine is a two handed image of Mañjuśrī showing the bodhyaṅga mudrā and holding the stems of lotuses. On the right lotus is a sword and on the left lotus is a book. On his right is an image of Ganesha and on his left an image of Mahākāl. This shrine is one of the best examples of the confusion between Sarasvati and Mañjuśrī. There is no question about the identity of the image; it is Mañjuśrī. Yet most people will tell you that it is Sarasvati and the place is known as Sasu (=Sarasvati) Nani. In front of the shrine and to the north are two votive caityas. South of the shrine are three large stone figures of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. These figures were erected by another lineage of Kuā Bāhā who still come here to
perform rituals at certain times. They have nothing to do with the families attached to this shrine. The buildings of the courtyard itself are ordinary dwellings.

There are six families of Sakyas, with many subdivisions, who belong to this shrine. The members of these families take turns acting as dya-palās in the shrine of Mañjuśrī. The term of service is one whole year and the service passes through the six households in turn and within the household is passed from eldest to youngest. Hence one's turn to serve comes only about once in thirty years. The annual festival is observed three days before fullmoon day of the month of Bhadra. The saṅgha has one elder and at the present time has no income. All initiations are performed in Kuṭ Bāhā and their lineage deity is that of Kuṭ Bāhā.

Little is known about the history and foundation of this shrine. Attached to the facade of the shrine are two wood carvings of the twelfth or thirteenth century, one of Vajrapāni and the other of Avalokiteśvara, but this really tells us nothing about the present foundation. Two inscriptions found in the courtyard bear the dates N.S.845 and N.S.853, and in N.S.857 one Sambara Sakya Vamsa and Muni Rayju built the present shrine in memory of their deceased father and dedicated the central image to their deceased mother.31

L. Mikhā Bāhā -- Supreksana Vihāra [21]

Patan Dhokā

Mikhā Bāhā is situated in an enclosed courtyard just east of Patan Dhokā. The shrine is of an unusual design and appears to be a two-storied pāṭi rather than a bāhā. A large bell and two stone lions mark the entrance to the shrine which is at the back of a veranda lined with wooden pillars. Over the doorway of the shrine is a torana depicting the Buddha (Akoṣabhyya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kuṣāpa-dya is a covered image of Akoṣabhyya facing east. Above the ground floor is a squat storey with an ordinary lattice window in the centre. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a single, squat finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard are two stone dharmanāṭu maḍgas and a single votive caitya.

Some informants classify this as an official branch of Kuṭ Bāhā, others deny this. The group from Kuṭ Bāhā do visit this shrine on their tour of the official branches, but informants say that they merely pass through here on their way and do not perform a pūjā. This makes little sense as Mikhā Bāhā is not on the way, they have to make a detour to pass through Mikhā Bāhā. Whatever the original status of this bāhā, everyone agrees that the original saṅgha died out. At the present time the people who live round the courtyard are all Jyāpus except for one Vajracarya family, which, however, simply lives here. This Vajracarya does not perform any rituals at the shrine. The daily rituals are performed by another Vajracarya of Kuṭ Bāhā who lives near the Ashok Cinema Hall. Hence at the present time this branch bāhā has no saṅgha. No annual festival is observed and the bāhā has no income. The bāhā does have an image of Dipankara, and at the time of the five-yearly samvak this is taken to the gathering by the Vajracarya who performs the daily pūjā.

Nothing definite is known about the history of this bāhā. There are no inscriptions at the bāhā itself. In a pāṭi near Patan Dhokā is an inscription put up in N.S.832 by one Shiva Ram Bhāvo (Jyāpū) of Mikhā Bāhā when he constructed a caitya and rest house at that site in memory of his parents. Two of the begging bowls at Kuṭ Bāhā were also donated by Jyāpus of Mikhā Bāhā. One was offered in N.S.855 by this same Siva Ram Bhāvo, and the other in N.S. 906 by Anta Siṁha Bhāvo of Mikhā Bāhā. Hence it appears that these Jyāpūs have been at Mikhā Bāhā for about three hundred years, and one wonders if this has not always been their shrine with a Vajracarya from Kuṭ Bāhā acting as the dya-palā.

M. Nāg Bāhā -- Śrī Sajaya Jitena Samsthāpita Vasuvarddhana Vihāra* [56]

Yitilhane -- Yitilaṅ Vihāra*

Nāg Bāhā

At the present time this is not really a bāhā, but a large well-kept nāhi having the appearance of a city park with several Buddhist monuments and a large, old water tap. In Newāri it is known as Yitilhane, Nāg Bāhā or Saya Thau Bāhā. The Sanskrit name is usually given as Paśuvaraṇa Vihāra, but Hem Rāj Sakyā informs me that the oldest references give the name Vasuvarddhana Vihāra. The one name that is confirmed
16. Mīkhā Bāhā [21]

17. Nāg Bāhā [56]
by an abundance of references from N.S.577 to the end of the Malla period is the name Yitilaṁ Vihāra. The earliest reference is contained in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Jyoti-saratanāmādated N.S.577. The book belonged to a man of Yitilaṁ Vihāra in Manigalake of Lalitpur. Among the ceremonial begging bowls preserved in Kuā Bāhā fourteen of them were donated by people of Yitilaṁ Vihāra or a variation of this name. There is no proper kuapā-dya shrine here but in the centre of the open area is a recently constructed shrine containing an image of Akṣobhya facing east. According to informants this was originally the site of an āgam shrine of the saṅgha of Nāg Bāhā. When the shrine fell into ruins it was abandoned by the branch saṅgha and they ceased to have any identity as a separate branch saṅgha. The kuapā-dya image of Akṣobhya was reputed to have been 800 years old and, according to informants, was once the kuapā-dya of Kuā Bāhā. When this image became damaged it was replaced by the present image. Along the southern side of the park are two large caityas, the top parts of which are the remains of Licchavi style caityas. Between these is another votive caitya. To the east of the shrine are three more votive caityas. And to the north is another votive caitya and a large image of a bull, looking very much like Śīvā's vāhana Nandi. According to local legend Dipākara Buddha once visited this shrine and at that time a bull who was grazing here heralded his arrival. Nāg Bāhā is the place where the five-yearly Patan saṃyak, the assembly of all the Dipākaras Buddha images from Patan and its environs, take place. People still say that whenever the bull roars all the Dipākaras come. It is for this reason that most informants insisted on the name Paśuvarpa for the complex. In the north east corner of the complex is an old stone water tap. About half way down the steps leading to the tap, is a large standing stone image of the Buddha of a late date. However, in the north east corner of the area around the water tap is a stele about three feet in height with four figures carved on it, the Buddha, Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva, Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva and another Buddha (or possibly Maitreya). Pāl has dated this stele to the eighth century.

This complex has no saṅgha as such. A large number of the members of the saṅgha of Kuā Bāhā, both Sakyas and Vajracaryas, live round the open area but they are not organised into a saṅgha community. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by a Vajracarya from Kuā Bāhā who is known as the Mahā-vajrācārya. There is no annual festival of Nāg Bāhā and it has no income.

The history of this complex is lost in the distant past. The two Licchavi style caityas and the eighth century stele attest to its long history and its early identity as a Buddhist site. Little more can be said with any degree of certainty. It is quite likely that this was a flourishing vihāra at one time which was eventually absorbed into Kuā Bāhā. Perhaps it was one of the vihāras of true celibate bhikṣus which declined as the married saṅgha came into prominence and was eventually overshadowed by Kuā Bāhā with its large and wealthy saṅgha.

N. Nākhācūk — Bhāskaravara Vihāra

Like Nāg Bāhā Nākhācuk is at the present a large residential nāni with a plethora of Buddhist monuments. The Newari name, which means five courtyards, is said to derive from the fact that at one time when this was a vihāra it had five courtyards, five Kumāris (living goddesses) and five wells. The only shrine within the complex is a fairly recent, free-standing pāṭi-like structure in the centre which houses an image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara. In front of this shrine is an area closed off by a low brick wall which contains the main cult object, a large caitya. In all, the complex contains sixteen caityas, seven mandalas and images of Padmapāṇi, Amoghapāsa, Mahākāl, Ganesha, the feet of MaJu-sri, mounted vajras and a number of inscribed pillars. The whole gives the impression of an archeological garden of Buddhist relics.

As at Nāg Bāhā there is no proper saṅgha here. Fifty to sixty households of Sakyas and Vajracaryas of Kuā Bāhā live round the courtyard but they are not organised into a saṅgha. The daily rituals are performed at the shrine of Padmapāṇi by one household of Vajracaryas who have held this post as a traditional right. An annual festival is celebrated by this family on the fullmoon day of Āsūn, but this is a festival of the caitya and not of the bāhā or the age of Padmapāṇi. At the present time the complex has no income of its own.
18. Nakhecuk [51]

19. Unaca Bhajubala Bahha [52]
like Nag Baha it was probably at one time a vihara which was eventually absorbed by Kuwa Baha. However, it is entirely possible that this has always been merely a residential courtyard. Wright's Chronicle says that the people of NakhaCuk were Acharyas of Pingala Baha who settled in Patan. According to the legend of the bringing of the image of Kuwa Baha, it was the people of NakhaCuk who were informed of the discovery of the image, went to fetch it and first placed it at NakhaCuk. According to this version of the legend, NakhaCuk would pre-date Kuwa Baha. Nine of the ceremonial begging bowls preserved at Kuwa Baha and dating from N.S. 645 to N.S.912 were donated by people from NakhaCuk. In these inscriptions the place is always identified by this Newari name. A copper-plate inscription at Kuwa Baha erected in N.S.839 gives the Sa skrit name for NakhaCuk, Bhaskaravarpa Vihara. Inscriptions at other sites refer to rituals performed by Vajracaryas from NakhaCuka. It seems evident, especially from the inscriptions on the begging bowls, that NakhaCuk has long been a residential nahi for members of the Kuwa Baha sahha.

1. Unaca Bhajubal Baha — Bhajubala Vihara

NakhaCuk

In the northeast corner of NakhaCuk is a row of three caityas with a large image of the Buddha, Dharma, and Saigha erected to the side. Some have identified this as a private branch baha with the above name. Others say it is not a baha at all but simply a private shrine. Certainly at the present time it has no sahha; the daily rituals are performed by a Vajracarya living in NakhaCuk whose family have traditionally performed these rituals. They do celebrate an annual festival on the first day of the dark half of the sacred month of Gunla.

Private Branches (There is general agreement that all of the following branches are purely private branches of Kuwa Baha.)

a. Mati Baha — Mati Vihara

Naka Bahi Tole

The present form of the shrine of this small branch dates from the time of the earthquake of 1934. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked and has no torana. The kuwa-dya is an image of Akshobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window and the top storey has three ordinary openings behind which are living quarters. The facade of the entire building has been plastered and white-washed and there are frescoes showing Buddha and salabhaikika figures above the first storey. In the courtyard is a single caitya of unusual design; the sides of the base are flattened and portray stylised mountains.

There is one household of Sakyas of Kuwa Baha attached to this branch, but they are no longer organised into a sahha as such. There are three or four brothers of this household who take turns to perform the usual rituals each morning and see to the observance of the annual festival of the baha on the full moon day of the month of Aswin. The 'sahha' seems to have no other activity at the present time. There is no income.

There are no inscriptions at this site and nothing is known about the history of this branch except that the shrine was renovated after the earthquake of 1934.

b. Mati BahaC — Govinda Simha Vihara

Naka Bahi Tole

This is a purely modern foundation in a courtyard adjoining Mati Baha. The shrine is a modern, plastered and free-standing niche containing an image of Akshobhya facing north. The courtyard also contains a caitya.

The sahha of this little branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Kuwa Baha, not connected to those of Mati Baha. Members of this household take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. There is no annual festival and the baha has no income.

The only date in the compound is on an inscription attached to the caitya, N.S.983. The modern Buddha shrine is probably even more recent than this date and was built by a man called Govinda Simha. As with so many of these modern shrines, some informants say it is not a baha.

c. Thyaka Baha — Ratna Jyoti Vihara

Thyaka Tole

This branch is located in a courtyard behind the main road in Thyaka Tole. KTMV calls this Khacchehl Baha. However, it is situated just
23. Khā Chen Bāhā [47]

22. Thyāka Bāhā [46]
outside Khācheñ Tole in Thēka Tole, and the residents use this name and not Khācheñ. The shrine is confined to the ground floor of the western section of the very small courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is through a carved doorway opening off a high plinth above the courtyard. Over the doorway is a torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Sangha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. A string of bells hangs down over the doorway. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single, large cāitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of two households of Sakyas of Kuā Bāhā. The three households take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The term of service is an entire year. They observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Asadh. The bāhā has no income.

According to KTMV this bāhā was constructed in N.S.920 by Jayananda Sakya.


This is a purely modern bāhā consisting of a small plastered shrine set to the side of a tiny courtyard with a cāitya in front of it. The top part of the shrine is made of crystal. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east.

The saṅgha of this little bāhā consists of one household of Sakyas of Kuā Bāhā. They perform the usual rituals each morning only and observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the third day of the bright half of Baisākh. The bāhā has no income. There are no inscriptions at the site, but this is surely a twentieth century foundation.

e. Triratna Sim Bāhā -- Tri Ratna Sīnha Vihāra [104] Hakhā Tole

This is a modern foundation with a small, free-standing shrine of no particular merit. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhya, facing east. There is also a cāitya in the courtyard.

The saṅgha of this private branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Kuā Bāhā with a total of five members. The members of this household take turns serving as dya-pālās at the shrine in no particular order. They observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha. The bāhā has no income. The only date in the complex is that on a bell, N.S.1065.

f. Harṣa Bāhā -- Dharma Kirti Vihāra [105] Hakhā Tole

This branch consists of a narrow, but traditional, kwāpā-dya shrine set into the southeast corner of a small, enclosed courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Sangha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey of the shrine has a triple carved window with a small torana over the central window. The top storey is entirely blank and surmounted by a plain tile roof. Three prayer wheels are set into the facade of the building adjoining the shrine. In the courtyard are a votive cāitya, a stone dharma swastika mandala, plus a bell, a vajra and images of Ganesh and Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three sub-lineages of Sakyas of Kuā Bāhā with a total of twelve households and thirty five initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās by rotation. For two years the members of the first two sub-lineages serve in the shrine; and during the third year the members of the other sub-lineage serve. The saṅgha has one elder and they observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha. The bāhā still has a little income.

According to KTMV this bāhā was built in N.S.997 by Jīvan Narasiṃha and Harṣa Narasiṃha. However, the cāitya bears the date N.S.908.

g. Dhandya Bāhā -- Dhanavāra Vihāra* [106] Hakhā Tole

This is another small, modern bāhā with a free-standing shrine of Aksobhya facing west. The shrine is situated in a tiny courtyard, about nine feet by nine feet, with a shrine of
Mahakal to the side. Over the main shrine is a torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya), the Dharma (Prajnaparamita) and the Sangha (Padmapani Lokesvara). The sahgha consists of one household of Sakyas of Kwa Bahah. The two initiated members of this household take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The bahah has no annual festival at the present, but they still have a small amount of income from guthi lands which is used to finance the annual pañcadāna during the sacred month of Guñlā. The bahah was founded in N.S.1006.

h. Guanga Bahah -- Bhajumān Kirti Vihāra [107] Hakhā Tole

The shrines of this branch bahah consists of a narrow building of traditional style set into the eastern side of an enclosed courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajnaparamita) on his right and the Sangha (Avalokitesvara) on his left. The kawapa-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. The first storey has a carved triple window. The top storey has living quarters and is surmounted by a plain tile roof. In the courtyard is a single votive caiyta and a stone dharmadhātu mandala.

The sahgha of this bahah consists of four households of Sakyas of Kwa Bahah with ten initiated members. The members of the sahgha take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The term of service is one year each for the four households. They celebrate the annual festival of this bahah on the day of Sri Pañcami. The bahah still has enough income to support the annual festival and feast.

According to inscriptions in the courtyard, this bahah was built in N.S.974 by Ratna Simha Sakya and the guthi of the bahah was organised in N.S.975.41

i. Kutā Bahah -- Kuwaniam Vihāra [61] Nāg Bahah

Though this is called a bahah, it is a bahah that didn't quite make it. It is situated just off of the Nāg Bahah area and consists of an enclosed and paved courtyard with a caiyta in the centre and a recently renovated but empty kawapa-dya shrine. There is one family of Sakyas of Kwa Bahah attached to this shrine and they still observe an annual festival on the day of Lakṣmi Pūjā in Kārtik. Someone from the family performs the usual rituals each morning at the caiyta. According to the members of this 'sahgha' this was originally a nani (the caiyta bears the date N.S.930), and some time early in this century it was decided to convert it into a bahah. A shrine for the kawapa-dya was built, but before the image could be installed and the shrine consecrated the sponsor died, and his heirs never carried on. Hence no kawapa-dya was ever enshrined here and the building was never consecrated. KTMV speaks of an image of Mahakal and one of Saḍākṣari Lokesvara enshrined in the courtyard, but these have now disappeared.

j. Yokhā Cheñ Bahah -- Sunānanda Vihāra [66] Ikhācheñ Tole

Though this is called a bahah, it is more of an archaeological garden than a bahah, consisting of an enclosed area just off the road containing several Buddhist relics. There are two caiyitas, two mandalas, an image of a seated, covered Buddha and a standing Buddha showing the viśva-vyākaraṇa mudrā. Just north of this enclosure are shrines of Vasundharā and Vajrasattva in another small, enclosed area. Perhaps there was once a proper bahah here and it fell into ruins. In B.S.2026 the whole complex was renovated and a new caiyta built by Ratnajyoti Vajracarya, of Kwa Bahah.

At the present this shrine is looked after by a 'sahgha' of two households of Vajracayas of Kwa Bahah. They perform the usual rituals by turn for five years at a time and observe an annual festival on the fullmoon day of Asvin. The shrine still has an annual income of one muri of paddy.

2. Dhum Bahah -- GuNaLaKṣmi Samkārita GuNaLaKṣmi Mahāvihāra* [73] Ko Bahah Tole

Dhum Bahah is situated in a small, enclosed courtyard east of the main road leading north from the darbār to Sānkhanūl in the area known as Ko Bahah. All the buildings of the courtyard are of recent origin. The shrine itself has been fairly recently renovated. The shrine is marked by two stone lions flanked by two small racks of prayer wheels. The carved and lattice doorway is surmounted by a copper repousse torana depict-
28. Kutí Bāhā [61]

29. Yokhā Cheń Bāhā [66]
ting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śādakṣāri Lokēśvara) on his right. The torāṇa is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kuṭāpa-
dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two recesses into which have been set three prayer wheels each. The first storey has the usual five-fold window with geometric designs in repoussé metal set into them. At either end of the row of windows are repoussé figures of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The top storey has an open veranda in front of living quarters. The corrugated iron roof is supported by six carved struts. Above the roof is a single finial. In the courtyard is a large votive caitya and a mounted vajra. Between these two are two small stone figures, a man and a woman, figures of devotees who made a donation to the bāhā.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of twenty five Vajracaryas made up of four lineages. They perform the usual rituals in the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya morning and evening. The term of service is one month and passes through the list from eldest to youngest. The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Māgh. The saṅgha has a separate ācārya gūthī composed in this case of all the members of the saṅgha, since all are Vajracaryas. There are ten elders, but only the chief elder performs pūjā in the āgam of the bāhā (usually the elders take turns doing this, especially if they are all Vajracaryas). Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Swayambhū Mahācaitya, now worshipped at the large stupa outside of the bāhā to which the deity has been 'brought'. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

KTMV has a curious note about this bāhā which says that this 'serves members of the ironsmith caste [Nakami or kau]. They believe that here Buddha baptized an ironsmith just as he baptized a barber into monkhood in India.' This is not correct. The story concerns barbers (nau) not ironsmiths (kau). The story is a common one and people say that just as Brahmans were initiated in Bu Bāhā and members of the royalty at Uku Bāhā so barbers were initiated here. Vajracarya informants at Dhum Bāhā are very quick to deny this whole story. They say that the only link with the barbers is the following. At some time in the distant past a group of them made a donation to the bāhā. As usual they formed a gūthī to look after their donation. This gūthī meets annually at the bāhā to see to their donation and have a feast. Because of this connection to the bāhā, they also began the custom of coming to the bāhā, on the day of pañca-dāna during the month of Guñā. This custom is still current and is the only connection between them and the bāhā. They never receive the Bare initiation nor do they receive their own initiation in the bāhā.

According to Wright's Chronicle Dhum Bāhā is one of the four which were established in the reign of Siddhi Narasimha Malla. However, this is doubtful as there is evidence that the foundation is much older than this. There are numerous references in land grants and inscriptions to a Ko Vihāra or Ko Bahāra in this area which was evidently a very large and a very ancient foundation. The references extend from N.S.403 right down to the end of the Malla period. The identity of this place is not at all clear. It is surely not the present Ko Bāhā [70] which is at the earliest a seventeenth century foundation and at the present time a private branch of Gujī Bāhā [152]. One reference from N.S.682 found in an invitation to a Samyak Ceremony extended by Itum Bāhā in Kathmandu speaks of Śri Guṇalakṣaṇi Vardana Samskārita Śrī Ko Vihāra which would identify Ko Bāhā with the present Dhum Bāhā. There is nothing at the bāhā itself which predates the time of Siddhi Narasimha Malla. It is entirely possible that by the time of Śiddhi Narasimha the old Ko Bāhā had fallen into ruins and was reconstructed, perhaps at a new site, as the references in the old land deeds would seem to indicate that it was farther north, possibly adjoining the Kumbhesvara temple where there is now a large, abandoned grassy area with a single, large caitya. Whether or not the saṅgha of the old Ko Bāhā had died out is unknown, but it is interesting to note that the old references to people associated with Ko Bāhā are all to non-bare and the lineage deity of the present saṅgha of Dhum Bāhā, who are all Vajracaryas is the Swayambhū Mahācaitya.

All the datable evidence at the present Dhum Bāhā post-dates Siddhi Narasimha. The struts were made in N.S.805. The records of the bāhā speak of a gūthī and an āgam founded in
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3. Wām Bāhā -- Suryavarma Samākārita
Vajracārtī Mahāvihāra* [89] Olākhu Tole

courtyard in Olākhu Tole, northeast of the Patan Darbār. Architecturally it is one of the best preserved bāhās of Patan. The shrine of four storeys is marked by two stone lions, on either side of the lions are two bells. The one on the left a very large bell donated in N.S.1010, the one on the right is much smaller. The finely carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. Above are six figures of four-armed bodhisattvas. On either side of the doorway are metal flags and near these are two stone bodhisattva figures. Both are two-armed and wear the bodhisattva crown and ornaments. The one on the right holds a vajra in his right hand and a bell tied to his belt in the left. The figure on the left holds a darpana in his right hand and a caitya on a lotus in his left hand. The kuśā-pa-dya is a covered image of Aksobhya facing north.

The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three latticed windows. The corrugated iron roof is supported by carved struts, six of them bodhisattva figures and the two end ones sardulas. Above the roof is a pagoda type tower with a tile roof and a single finial.

The courtyard is well paved with brick and has a number of objects in a line. Starting from the shrine of the kuśā-pa-dya are a recess for the sacred fire, a brass dharmanāthā mangala surmounted by a vajra, a votive caitya, an old Licchavi style caitya, a pillar with two devotees, and two more votive caityas. The old caitya is a very unusual piece. In style it is a 'Licchavi' caitya but instead of the usual blank shrines it has two series of deities. The lower part of the caitya has the usual four transcendent Buddhas, in the upper niches are four figures of Vairocana, one facing each direction. The caitya has no inscription and, though the style is Licchavi, it is impossible to assign a date to this piece. It may be Licchavi, it may be much later.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of fifty-four Vajracāryas and Sakyas, about evenly divided. All the members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuśā-pa-dya. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of the initiated by seniority of initiation. The only annual festival now observed is a pūjā performed on the full moon day of Phalgun, but this pūjā is in honour of the Three Jewels and commemorates the offering of a finial to the shrine. The annual festival of the bāhā used to be observed in Mangsir at which time the saṅgha of this bāhā and Jyo Bāhā [92] celebrated together, one year at Wām Bāhā and the next year at Jyo Bāhā. Barechuyegu and Ācāryayegu initiations are performed here for the members of this saṅgha and Barechuyegu initiations are also performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha of Jyo Bāhā. The Vajracāraya members of the saṅgha have their own ācārya gūthi. The governing body of this bāhā consists of only five elders. The lineage deity of the Sakyas of this saṅgha is a deity now kept at Koteswar whom they simply call 'Mahādev'. The lineage deity of the Vajracārayas is 'Vajrayogini' from Sankhu whom they usually worship at this bāhā. However, they say that they occasionally go to Sankhu for the pūjā and when they do, they worship Vajrayogini and not the enshrined caitya. The bāhā still has a little income, but it was impossible to get details on this.

According to Wright's Chronicle this is one of the three bāhās which were founded in the time of Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla (N.S.738-781), but this is surely wrong unless it refers to the reconstruction of the monastery or the revival of a defunct institution. The earliest reference to this bāhā is found on a page of a palm-leaf manuscript dated N.S.561 which mentions a Vajracary from 'Sri Sūryyabarhama Saṃskārita Mahāvihāra'. The document outlines rules for the giving of the Barechuyegu (vandeyegu) initiation rites. An inscription at the bāhā itself dated N.S.578 tells of the donation of two images to the bāhā and the covering of the Buddha image with gold. Another inscription, a copper-plate nailed to a beam near the doorpost of the shrine, is dated N.S.716. All of these references predate the reign of Siddhi Narasiṃha. In N.S.785, just after the reign of Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla, the bāhā was renovated. If it was built in the Time of
Siddhi Narasimha, it would hardly need renovation so soon. There are a number of other inscriptions in the complex from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Several inscriptions record repairs made in N.S.1045. At the present time this bāhā has two functioning branches, one non-Bare branch, and two abandoned branches.

a. Wam Bāhā Dune Nanī -- Dhammakirti Vihaṇa [90] Olakhu Tole

To the east of the Wam Bāhā complex itself is another large courtyard and off the south eastern corner of this courtyard is another tiny courtyard which is known as Dune Nanī. The shrine of the kuṭapā-dya is a small but typical bāhā shrine set against the eastern wall. Over the door of the shrine is a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aḵṣoṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Aryavalokiteśvara) on his left. The kuṭapā-dya is an image of Amitābha facing west. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā consists of two households of Wam Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning only. The term of service is an entire year, the two families serving alternate years. Anyone of the initiated members of the household may do the pūjā. The branch also has two elders, one from each household who serve as elders of the bāhā on alternate years. They celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Sithi Nakha, the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha. The bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch, but there are two inscriptions in the complex, one of them dated N.S.872; the other is illegible.

b. Lakhidhan Bāhā -- Suryadharma Vihaṇa [91] Olakhu Tole

This small branch bāhā is situated just off the main road outside of Wam Bāhā. The shrine consists of a free-standing, modern shrine with a cemented dome. Over the opening of the shrine is a small torana depicting the Buddha (Aḵṣoṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Aryavalokitesvara). The kuṭapā-dya is an image of Aḵṣoṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single stone dharmaṇātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household from Wam Bāhā. The members of this one household take turns acting as dva-pālās and the eldest member of the household serves as the elder of the bāhā. They celebrate the annual festival of the branch on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Baisākha. The branch has no income of its own.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this bāhā, but it is surely a modern foundation and was, according to informants, built by one Lakhidhan.

c. Ci Bāhā Nanī -- ? Olakhu-Bhindya Lasi

This small bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard off the road leading north from the main entrance to Wam Bāhā. The kuṭapā-dya shrine is a small, plastered temple set against the southern wall of the courtyard. Two wooden pillars frame the opening of the shrine which contains a stone image of Aḵṣoṣobhya facing north. The shrine has no torana. Set into the wall to the west of the shrine are images of Padmapañi Lokesvara, Ganesha and Mahākāl. To the east are images of Prajñāpāramitā, Mahāvajrasattva (showing the vajra-humkāra mudrā), and Viṣṇu. In the centre of the courtyard is a rather elaborate stone caitya. On the west side of the caitya is a small, stone torana depicting the Buddha (Aḵṣoṣobhya), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Ṣadakṣari Lokesvara).

At the present time there are no Bare attached to this branch. The people living here are aweḷīs (a caste of brick makers) and the shrine belongs to them. They perform the nītya pūjā at the shrine of the Buddha and celebrate an annual festival on the full moon day of the month of Bhaḍra. At this time a Vajracarya from the Wapi Jhol lineage of Bu Bāhā comes to serve as the priest. Some claim that this was once a proper branch of Wam Bāhā, but the aweḷīs say that it has always been their bāhā. The only dated object in the courtyard is an inscription to the east of the caitya dated N.S.795. Nothing else is known about the history foundation of this bāhā. The present shrine of the kuṭapā-dya appears to be the result of a fairly recent renovation, perhaps after the time of the earthquake of 1934. Informants say that before that time there was a proper bāhā shrine. The bāhā has no income.
d. Saṅkha Bāhā -- Saṅkhadharma Saṁskārita
Triratna Viṭāra [80] Chyāsal Tole

All that remains of this bāhā is the shrine of the kuṭā-pā-dya which abuts the road running to Chyasal Tole. The shrine is typical with the entrance marked by two stone lions. To the side of the left lion is a large temple bell. The carved doorway has no torana. The kuṭā-pā-dya was a stone image of Aksobhya but was stolen some years ago. Above the shrine is a single carved window and the tiled roof is supported by two carved struts. Above the roof is a cupola with a single finial in the form of a caitya. In front of the shrine is a single, plastered caitya, a stone mandala and a vajra.

According to KTMV this bāhā was constructed in 805.995, and there is at the shrine an inscription of this date which records the 'construction' of the bāhā at that time by one Sankha Dhara a man of the potter's caste. However, informants claim that the foundation is much older than this. It was originally a branch of Wām Bāhā and had a considerable amount of income from land, all of which was lost. The bāhā is also reputed to have possessed a large collection of manuscripts, many of them written in golden letters. It has evidently been quite some time since anyone from Wām Bāhā actually lived at this branch, but until fairly recent times the nīya pūjā was regularly performed by someone from Wām Bāhā. Some years ago, however, the image of the kuṭā-pā-dya was stolen and since that time the bāhā has been abandoned by the members of the saṅgha of Wām Bāhā. The daily rituals are no longer performed, and the annual festival which used to be observed on the full-moon day of the month of Aswin has been discontinued. There is no image in the shrine at the present, but local people have placed a caitya there in its place. The jyāpu and kau who live in the area occasionally perform some ritual in the shrine.

e. Hona Bāhā -- Hodola Nāma Viṭāra [87] Chyāsal

At the present time this is merely a rest-house shrine just off the road with a caitya in front of it. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhya facing north, and over the shrine is a torana depicting the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.

According to informants the shrine was made by Kusa (Prajāpatis), but they have all moved away from the area, and the entire area is now inhabited by Jyāpus. Whether or not it ever was a proper bāhā with a Bare saṅgha is now unknown. A Vajracarya from Wām Bāhā performs the daily rituals each morning in the shrine. There is no income for this shrine and the dya-pālā gets nothing for his services. He observes the annual festival of the shrine on the fullmoon day of Aswin. Nothing further is known about the history of this shrine. There are two late inscriptions at the site. A caitya was erected in

4. Jyo Bāhā -- Rudrdeva Nangapāla Saṁskārita
Jyoti Mahāviṭāra [92] Oläku Tole

Jyo Bāhā is located in a courtyard directly behind the Patan Darbār. None of the original buildings of the bāhā have survived, the shrine of the kuṭā-pā-dya itself being a fairly recent reconstruction. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana of unusual design. In the outer circle are the makaras, but the usual rising snakes and the Garuda (or Chepu) are missing. The three central figures are the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara); but the order is reversed with the Saṅgha on the right and the Dharma on the left of the Buddha. Above these figures are figures of the five transcendent Buddhas and at the very top a figure of Vajrāsattva. The whole piece is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kuṭā-pā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway, raised about three feet, are images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. There is a metal railing around the ground floor veranda and a large bell in the corner dated 805.995. The second storey has a triple window and above this is a row of Buddhas in fresco. The top storey has three large openings and the tile roof is supported by four carved struts and one plain strut. Above the roof is a small cupola. The entire courtyard is paved and has four caityas, one stone dharmanāthu mandala and a recess for the sacred fire. The central of the three caityas is a Licchavi style caitya.

The saṁgha of this bāhā consists of fifteen Sakyas. There is, and according to informants,
35. Saṅkha Bāhā [80]

36. Hona Bāhā [87]
37. Jyo Bāhā [92]

38. Suñ Bāhā [108]
always has been, a close connection between the saṅgha of this bāhā and that of Waṃ Bāhā [97]. At the present time initiations are performed only in Waṃ Bāhā, but they may be performed here and have been in the past. Whenever initiations are performed in Waṃ Bāhā or Jyo Bāhā, all of the newly initiated are taken to the kuposable shrine of both Waṃ Bāhā and Jyo Bāhā to pay their respects. According to informants the original saṅgha of Jyo Bāhā (which consisted of two households) died out some years ago, and people were sent from Waṃ Bāhā to take over the duties and rights of this bāhā. However, the original saṅgha also had exactly the same connection with Waṃ Bāhā. The ordinary rituals are performed here morning and evening by the fifteen Sakayas attached to this bāhā in rotation by seniority of initiation. This bāhā has five elders. The annual festival is held on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣ, but there is no longer any feast. When they used to have an annual feast it was held alternately, one year at Jyo Bāhā and the next year at Waṃ Bāhā. At the present time the only common feast is at the time of Barsechuyeg initiation. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is a 'yogini' preserved in the digi of the bāhā and, according to informants, was brought to the bāhā from Bijyēśvarī in Kathmandu. At the present time the bāhā has no income. Nothing is known about the foundation and history of this bāhā other than the tradition that it was founded by one Rudradeva Nangapāla, but there are no references to such a vihāra in old inscriptions or manuscript colophons. Given the close connection to Waṃ Bāhā, it is entirely possible that this is a rather late foundation that was originally a branch of Waṃ Bāhā. However, the people of Jyo Bāhā have a different lineage deity than those of Waṃ Bāhā. Wright's Chronicle claims that both this bāhā and Waṃ Bāhā were founded during the reign of Siddhi Narasiṁha Malla. This may well be correct for Jyo Bāhā, but Waṃ Bāhā is certainly a much older foundation. The earliest dated piece at the site is the torana which bears the date N.S.808. This bāhā has one branch.

5. Yachu Bāhā — Baladhara Gupta Saṁskārita Baladharagupta Mahāvihāra [114] Yachu Tole

This small bāhā is situated in a courtyard just north of the Sun Dhāra area. Though still an active shrine it has the look of a rather abandoned and ill-kept site with nothing remaining but the shrine of the kuposable in a courtyard surrounded by crumbling walls and weeds. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved door is surmounted by a wooden torana dated N.S.794 and showing Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants with yak-tail fans. The doorway is flanked by two small windows and the area to the sides of the doorway...
and above it shows traces of frescoes. The kuṃpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The upper storey with the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows has been recently renovated. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and above the roof is a pagoda style tower, an addition made at the time of the recent renovations. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and a small, stone dharmachātra mandala. Opposite the shrine is a rest house with a passageway leading to a garden area to the north. There are no other buildings around the courtyard.

The saṅgha of Yachu Bāhā at the present time consists of one household of Sakyas comprising only five initiated members. The five take turns serving as dya-pālās in the temple of the kuṃpā-dya, performing the customary rituals in the morning only. These five also serve as the elders of the saṅgha. The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated on the fullmoon day of the month of Magh. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Yogāmbara now situated at Kani Bāhā [133]. This saṅgha originally came from Uku Bāhā and they still celebrate the annual festival of the lineage deity at Uku Bāhā with the people of Uku Bāhā taking part in both the pūlā and the common feast which follows. However, they perform their Barechuyegu initiations here at Yachu Bāhā and not at Uku Bāhā.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā and there are no early references to it in manuscript colophons or land deeds. The present saṅgha came to this bāhā from Uku Bāhā. Though the present incumbent remembers this, because they still worship the same lineage deity and with the saṅgha of Uku Bāhā, they have no recollection of when they came to this bāhā or the circumstances of the move. All agree that the original saṅgha of Yachu Bāhā had died out when they came. Some speculate that the move was a result of a dispute between their ancestor and the saṅgha of Uku Bāhā as a result of which they left and moved to this abandoned bāhā. Others said that there were several people of Uku Bāhā who were orphaned and had no means of support so they were given this abandoned bāhā and its income as a means of support. The bāhā was then renovated with the help of the Uku Bāhā saṅgha. Most of this is extremely vague recollections of a legendary nature. However, some light is thrown on the whole question by the material which Bhikṣu Sudarsan has gathered in his book on the history of Mahābuddha. A palmleaf document in the possession of Bābū Kājī Śākya dated N.S.782 mentions that in N.S.744 one Śākyavāma Jayadeva was still residing at Yachu Bāhā. This man was the second son of Mayarāja the second son of Abhayarāja Śākya who initiated the construction of Mahābuddha Bāhā. This family, of course, were members of the Uku Bāhā saṅgha so by 744 the Uku Bāhā people were already in possession of this bāhā. As Bhikṣu Sudarsan notes Abhayarāja had three wives and friction developed within the family when he took the third wife. It is quite possible that this Jayadeva or his father was the one who settled at Yachu Bāhā and this was the beginning of the present saṅgha at Yachu Bāhā. Certainly Abhayarāja himself was not connected with Yachu Bāhā. Yachu Bāhā is referred to in palm-leaf land deeds in N.S.750, 777, 780, and 788. The present torana at the shrine of the kuṃpā-dya is dated N.S.794. According to KTnv, the tiles were put on the roof in N.S.873; and the bāhā was renovated in A.D.1922 and again in 1934.

6. Su Bāhā -- Indradeva Saṃskārita Jaya
   Manohara Varma Mahāvihāra* [118]
   Su Bāhā Tole

   The Newari name of this very ancient establishment has several forms. Su Bāhā and Suku Bāhā are still current variations of the name. Older forms of this name are Sāsvaka and Sālako. The bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard in Su Bāhā Tole, in one of the oldest sections of the city of Patan. At the end of the lane leading into the bāhā is a large caitya on a stone maṇḍala plus a small Licchavi style caitya. The shrine of the kuṃpā-dya, which faces west has the appearance of a very ancient structure and the northern wing of the quadrangle has retained the original architecture of open veranda above and below, screened by wooden lattice work, a feature usually associated with bāhis rather than bāhās. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions which are flanked by two large bells, one dated N.S.869 and the other N.S.879. The finely carved doorway is surmounted by a repoussé brass torana showing the Buddha (Mahā-akṣobhya, seated on his elephant throne), flanked by the Dharma (Sadakṣari Lokesvara), on his right and the Saṅgha (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left. The central figure has been separately cast as have the implements he holds in his hands. Below the torana itself is a brass image of Vajrasattva and below
this one of Aksobhya who is the kuṇāpā-ḍya of the bāhā. Metal flags are placed on either side of the shrine doorway. The first storey has the usual five-fold window, the three central openings of which are covered with lattice work and the two end ones with ordinary bars. On either side of this window are two small windows with figures set into them, to the north Vairocana and to the south Amitābha. Above this is a row of seven Buddha figures, the seven Tathāgatas. The top storey has three openings and the tile roof is supported by six carved struts depicting multi-armed deities. The roof is surmounted by a triple finial and immediately below these is an image of Amitābha Buddha. In the paved courtyard are two votive caityas, one of them Licchavi style, and a stone dharmachātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of sixty initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās. The term of service is eight days and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The annual festival takes place on the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh. According to KTNV the bāhā was originally built on an old cremation ground and because of this the annual festival still has a connection with worship of the cremation ghāta. This was confirmed by members of the saṅgha who say that they still perform an annual pūjā to the cremation ghāta at the bāhā. They also tell a peculiar story of a stone preserved in the bāhā itself. According to the story the saṅgha had at one time dwindled to only a father and son. The son had no children, the father was getting old and they both feared that there would be no one to perform their funeral rites. So on this stone they performed the śrāddha ceremony for each other, the son for the father and the father for the son, in the bāhā.

The saṅgha is governed by a body of ten elders, five of whom perform the regular pūjās in the āgām of the bāhā, and five of whom look after the affairs of the saṅgha and see that the regular rituals are performed in the shrine of the kuṇāpā-ḍya. Bārechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is situated down the street from the bāhā at a little shrine containing a non-descript deity whom the members of the saṅgha identify as Gaṇesh. No one has any recollection of whether this deity has always been worshipped at this site or was originally 'brought' from somewhere else. The saṅgha no longer has any income, though at one time they had considerable.

This foundation is surely one of the most ancient extant bāhās of Patan. The site itself is ancient, as is this whole section of Patan; and there are two late Licchavi inscription near the bāhā. One is dated Saibat 182 and is found on a small caitya near the local water tap; the second is dated Saibat 187 and is found on a jaladropi next to a well. Neither of these tell us anything about the bāhā, but do attest to the antiquity of the site. The earliest reference to the bāhā is N.S.262. Among the palmleaf land deeds found at Uku Bāhā is one dated with this date which refers to one Bihiku Vijaya Bhadra of Sālako Vihāra, and we have an almost identical form of the name found on a copper-plate inscription at Su Bāhā dated N.S.666. The next reference to the bāhā is found in the colophon of a copy of the Ñāṇapāṇiya-vyākārāvalī dated N.S.338. The manuscript was copied by one Kāyastha Vajrācārya Bihiku Jñānaraṅga of Śrī Indrādēva Saṃskārīta Śri Jaya-monahāra Varmaṇa Mahāvihāra in Śri Lalitapuruṇya. 62 A manuscript copy of the Khadhaguvi-vihāra, dated N.S.391, was copied by Bihiku Devamāna of Svake Vihāra. A copy of the Satasaḥasikaprajñāpāramitā was copied in N.S.404 by Šrīsaṁsāma Bihiku-ācārya Sugata-rākhita of Śri Madhuryadevarājāna Saṃskārīta Yāyamoharavarnmahāvihāra. 63 According to a stone inscription at Su Bāhā itself the caitya was repaired in N.S.656 and the principal donor was Śakyabhikṣu Candra Śimha of Śri Indra-deva Saṃskārīta Mahāvihāra, Śri Sāsvaka Bāhāra. There was a king by the name of Indra Deva in the Thakuri period; he began his reign in N.S.246. The above mentioned copper-plate inscription of N.S.666 records donations, including a golden finial over the shrine of the kuṇāpā-ḍya (kuṇāpā-pātasa). The donor was Śakyabhikṣu Śri Candrā Śimha of Indra-deva Saṃskārīta Śri Sālako Vihāra. Another inscription at the bāhā of N.S.815 also gives the name Sālako (or Sārako) Vihāra. It is interesting that the early colophon of N.S.356 refers to a Vajrācārya-Bihiku Jñānaraṅga. There are no Vajracarayas in this saṅgha at the present time. Also the colophon of N.S.404 has a curious reference to a Īḍā-srāma-Bihiku-ācārya (i.e. a household-Bihiku-ācārya), the only occurrence of this particular title that I have seen anywhere. At the present time this bāhā has two branches.
This very tiny branch bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard almost directly behind the main shrine of Su Bāhā. The shrine is a single room on the ground floor of the courtyard containing an image of Aksobhya facing east. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small wooden toragā depicting Aksobhya Buddha and dated N.S.1062, the only date in the courtyard. In the centre of the courtyard is a single stone mārgālā.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of the saṅgha of Su Bāhā. The members of this household perform the usual rituals in the shrine of the kuwāpā-dya each morning and observe the annual festival of this branch on the third day of the bright half of the month of Kartik. The branch has one elder, who at the present time is also the senior elder of the entire saṅgha of Su Bāhā. The bāhā has no income at the present time. Nothing is known about the date of the foundation of this branch.

b. Thakūn Bāhā — Ratnajaya Vihāra [120]
Su Bāhā Tole

This branch bāhā is situated in a partially enclosed courtyard northwest of the Su Bāhā complex, on the very edge of the old city of Patan. The shrine of the kuwāpā-dya is a plain brick building with a lattice doorway. The shrine which contains an image of Aksobhya facing east has no toragā and no ornamentation. The doorway is flanked by two small windows. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows. The tile roof is supported by six plain struts and above the roof is a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of five households of Sakyas of the saṅgha of Su Baha. Service in the shrine of the kuwāpā-dya is for eight days and passes through the five households in turn. The annual festival of the branch is on the twelfth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh. The bāhā has no income.

According to an inscription found near the caitya in the courtyard the caitya was installed in N.S.887; this date may also mark the foundation of the branch bāhā.

7. Bhīṅche Bāhā — Śaṅkaradeva Saṃskārīta
Mayūravarna Mahāvīhāra* [125]
Su Bāhā Tole

Bhīṅche Bāhā, also known as Viṣṇu Cheṅ Bāhā, or Bisuni Cheṅ Bāhā, is located in a large complex northeast of the Sūh Dhārā area in Patan. The main approach to the bāhā is from the north rather than the south and is marked by a large plastered gateway constructed in the style of a Chinese moon-gate. The gateway is surmounted by a finial in the shape of a caitya and on the sides of the gate are two large figures, on the east an image of Siddhi Ganesh and on the west a figure wearing a bodhisattva crown and ornaments, holding a large club in his right hand and showing the abhaya mudrā with his left hand. The figure is identified as Bhim Sen whose temple is located in one of the branches of Bhīṅche Bāhā. A little less than a hundred yards to the south of the gateway is the entrance to Bhīṅche Bāhā itself. Just outside the gate is a well and a two-roofed temple of Gaṅeṣha.

The bāhā complex itself is large and well preserved, consisting of an enclosed courtyard with the shrine of the kuwāpā-dya and behind this a large enclosed nānī with an array of caityas and images. The shrine of the kuwāpā-dya, though situated along the eastern wing of the enclosed courtyard is not connected to the rest of the buildings of the courtyard and is hence actually a free-standing temple of three roofs dating to A.D.1939. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two large stone lions and an archway of oil lamps. On either side of the lions are large bells. The mounting of one is dated N.S.1001 and the other N.S.1022. The carved doorway is surmounted by a toragā depicting the Buddha (Dharmachātu Vāgīśvara), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokēśvara) on his right. Above these figures are the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana at the top. On either side of the doorway are brass repousse figures of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. On either side of these figures are two metal, double-triangle flags each inscribed with the six-lettered mantra (śaḍakṣari mantra) of Lokēśvara, 'om mani padme hum'. The kuwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. The first storey has the usual five-fold window, the cen-
central window of which is finished in gold trim. At either end of this window is a copper repousse plaque depicting Padmapāñi Lokesvara. Just above the window are nine images, seven of them Buddha figures showing the usual five different mudrās with the bhūmispārśa and the varada mudrās repeated. Hem Raj Sakya has identified these seven as the sapta tathāgata, i.e., Vipasyī, Śrīki, Visvabhu, Kṛṣṇacchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni. The end figures are Prajñāpāramitā and Mañjuśrī. Above these is an image of Vajrasattva set into a recess which is surmounted by a small toraṇa also showing Vajrasattva. At this same level, which is actually the second storey, are two large, repousse plaques at the very end of the facade depicting sālabhañjika figures. Above this, the three tile roofs rise in stages. Each roof is supported by carved struts. At the top of the lowest roof, resting against the wall is a gilded caitya, and the top-most roof is surmounted by a triple finial of caityas resting on a sort of platform which looks intriguingly like a chimney. Since this is in effect a free standing temple the three roofs and their supporting struts go right round the building.

The courtyard of the bāhā is paved with brick. Immediately in front of the shrine are two pillars one with an image of Aparamitā and dated B.S.2001 and the second with an image of Padmapāñi Lokesvara dated N.S.1034. In a line in front of the shrine entrance are a mounted, brass vajra, a recess for the sacred fire and a small votive caitya, a second votive caitya, a caitya on a pillar, another votive caitya, a pillar and a large, brass repousse dharmadhātu mandala. In the four corners of the paved courtyard are two lions on the east side, in the southwest an elephant and in the northwest the figure of a devotee. As one goes round the shrine to the nanī behind there are two small shrines, the one on the south having images of Mahākāla and Mañjuśrī and the one on the north having an image of Hanumān.

In the large nanī behind the bāhā there are a number of caityas of various ages, none of them very old. However, there are two very interesting pieces a standing image of the Buddha in viśv vyākarana mudrā which is of Gupta style and a standing image of Padmapāñi Lokesvara with an image of Amitābha on his crown. On either side of Lokesvara are Arjatārā and Bhikṣu-Tārā. The image is badly abraded but may well be seventh or eighth century, the one place which lends some credence to the legend of this being a Licchavi foundation.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of four hundred eighty Vajracaryas and fifteen Sakyas. There are three lineages of Vajracaryas known as the Mantri Kûval, the Lāke Kûval, and the Dakṣiṇ Kûval and one lineage of Sakyas. All of the members of the saṅgha serve in the shrine of the kuśā-pāya as dya-pālas by rotation according to seniority of initiation. The term of service is eight days and rituals are performed every morning and evening. The saṅgha observes three festivals in the year: on the fullmoon day of Baisākha, the fullmoon day of Paus, and on the twelfth day of the bright half of Māgha. No one was able to say which of these days is the actual busā-dānī. The governing body of the bāhā is composed of ten elders, one of whom serves as the cakreśvara. Both Barechuyeigu and Ācāryeigu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' now worshipped at the bāhā but brought there from Mhaypi. The bāhā still has some income, but it is no longer enough to support the three annual festivals.

A copper-plate inscription from Nuwakot above Trisuli notes an interesting connection between the members of this saṅgha and a shrine there. In N.S.834 when the King Jaya Mahinda Malla of Kathmandu visited the place arrangements were made for an annual jātra of Gaṇḍakī Bhairava and a gūṭhī set up to insure the performance of regular rituals and this annual festival. The gūṭhiyās of this gūṭhī were one Vajracarya from Bu Bāhā [31] and two from Bhi-ṅche Bāhā, Śrī Rakṣasa Banda and Śrī Sakadeva Banda.

Wright's Chronicle gives a legend about the foundation of this bāhā:

In the reign of this Raja Sankaradeva there was a Brahman named Jayasri, who refused to become a convert to the doctrines of Shankaracharya, and married a daughter of a bīkṣhu of Charumati Bihārī, who, through fear of Shankaracharya, had himself entered into matrimony. The Raja told him to remain as a Banda, or Banra [bare], if he did not wish to renounce the Buddhist religion, and he would make a bihar for him on the other side of the Bagmati. While they were uncertain
where to build the bihar, and where to place the image of the deity, a peacock came and alighted on a certain spot, and when this was dug, an image of Vishnu was found and taken out. On this spot an image of Bhagavan Sakya Sinha was placed; and for this reason the bihar built there was called Mayura-bihar (mayura = a peacock). Some people call it Vishnuksha Bihar.

This story of the peacock and the finding of the image of Vishnu are still current and still used by people to explain the names Mayūravāraṇa and Vishnuy Cheñ. However, the chronology in the chronicle is a jumble. There were three kings by the name of Ṣāṅkaradeva in the pre-Malla period of Nepal history. The first was the grandfather of Māṇadeva I, the second is known to have been ruling in N.S.40 and the third is known to have ruled from N.S.189-202. The chronicle clearly intends the grandfather of Māṇadeva I but places the common story of Ṣāṅkarācārya coming to Nepal and persecuting the Buddhists in an even earlier reign, which is several centuries too early for even the historical Ṣāṅkarācārya.

Despite this tradition there is nothing to indicate such an ancient foundation for this bāhā except for the images of Lokeśvara and Buddha now located in the nārī behind the bāhā shrine. There are no definite early references to this bāhā in manuscripts or inscriptions, which, of course, does not prove that it did not exist. The earliest reference to the bāhā is found in a palmleaf land grant dated N.S.550 which refers to Śri Biṣṇuçeñ Bāhāra. A copper-plate inscription dated N.S.741 attached to the cornice of the bāhā notes donations made in that year at 'Viṣṇuçeñ Vihāra'. Extensive repairs were carried out in N.S.765 by members of the saṅgha under the leadership of the senior-most elder (Thakāli) Śri Indrajī, the Chakrēśvara Śri Jīna Śīmājī and the ten elders (dasasthavīra). By N.S.791 the shrine of the kuāpā-dyā was in a state of disrepair and the shrine was repaired and enlarged to include a triple stage roof. The repairs were again carried out by the members of the saṅgha under the direction of the ten elders. An inscription of N.S.829 mentions both names, i.e. Viṣṇuçeñ Bāhāra and Mayūravāraṇa Mahāvīhāra. In N.S.852 a new torana was donated. In N.S.1004 all three roofs of the shrine suddenly fell down and the members of the saṅgha carried out repairs. In N.S.1016 the present torana over the shrine of the kuāpā-dyā was donated. In N.S.1054 (i.e. A.D.1934) the shrine of the kuāpā-dyā was completely destroyed by the earthquake. Renovations were undertaken immediately and the new, and present, shrine was consecrated in A.D.1939.

At the present time this bāhā has three official branches, one private branch, and two non-bare foundations assimilated to it.

a. Piñche Bāhā — Jiñāna Candra Vihāra [121]  
   Pinche Tole

This branch is situated in an enclosed courtyard north of the Bhīcche Bāhā complex. The shrine of this bāhā is a small, recently renovated section of the courtyard. The entrance is marked by two small stone lions. The door is of wooden lattice work but has no torana. On either side of the door are two small windows and on the left a row of three prayer wheels. The kuāpā-dyā is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The facade of the ground floor has been faced with Godāvari Marble. Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two tiny windows. The top floor has a small projecting balcony with lattice work windows. The tile roof is supported by four plain struts. Just below the balcony is a series of fadiing frescoes. In the courtyard is a votive caitya and a stone dharmaṭu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of six households of Vajracayas of Bhīcche Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning only. Formerly each of the six households served in the shrine in rotation for one month at a time, but at the present time the puja is always performed by the one elder of this branch saṅgha. The annual festival of this branch is held on the thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Bhādra. Though the branch used to have some income, this has been lost.

This branch was founded in N.S.789 by Jana-nanda Vajracaya; and, according to another inscription, was renovated in N.S.1090 by Ratna Simha Vajracaya.

b. Pilacheñ Dathu Bāhā — Bhimacandra Vihāra [129]  
   Pilache Tole

This branch is located in a small, enclosed courtyard off the southeast corner of the Bhī-
The shrines of the kuṣpā-dyas in this complex are largely of the same type: all merely a single room on the ground floor of the eastern side of the quadrangle. The lattice work door is surmounted by a small wooden torana dated N.S.1004 and showing the Buddha (Aksobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣarī Lokesvāra). The facade of the shrine is of plain, but crumbling brick. The rest of this three-storied building is an ordinary house with a corrugated iron roof. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a small, stone dharmacakra mandala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of six households of Vajracaryas of Bhinche Bāhā, though hardly any of them live here anymore. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the head of one of the households. Formerly the six households took turns supplying dya-pālas by rotation. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the full moon day of the month of Srāwan. The bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch, and the only date in the torana, i.e., N.S.1004.

c. Pilācheṃ Cidhaṃ Bāhā -- Pilāche Nāma Vihāra [128]  Pilāche Tole

This small branch is also situated just off the southeastern corner of the Bhinche Bāhā complex. The shrine has a plain, lattice-work door flanked by two small windows, but has no torana. The kuṣpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The first storey of the shrine has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two tiny windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya. Just off the northwest corner of the quadrangle is a shrine of Mahākālī.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Bhinche Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning by one of the members of this household. The annual festival of the branch is observed on the twelfth day of the bright half of Paus. The branch has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch and there are no dates within the quadrangle.

d. Bhindya Bāhā -- Hendupati Vihāra [115]  Nuga Tole

This is a purely private branch of Bhinche Bāhā. It is situated in an enclosed courtyard in Nuga Tole and usually referred to as the temple of Bhim Sen whose shrine is also located here. The shrine of the kuṣpā-dya is a small section of the southern arm of the quadrangle. The ground floor has only the doorway of the shrine which is of lattice work and at the present time has no torana, though until fairly recently it did have a torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The upper storey of the shrine has three ordinary windows and contains living quarters. The tile roof is supported by plain struts. In the courtyard is a votive caitya and a stone dharmacakra mandala. Adjoining the shrine of the kuṣpā-dya is the shrine of Bhim Sen, a narrow three storey building with a carved doorway and a wooden torana.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Bhinche Bāhā. They are full-fledged members of the saṅgha of Bhinche Bāhā and have their initiations there, and they say that this is a purely private branch which has no connection to Bhinche Bāhā other than the fact that they are members of that saṅgha. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the elder of this household. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed and it has no income. These Vajracaryas have nothing to do with the worship of Bhim Sen which is carried out by a gūṭhi of Citrakāra; however there is an image of Dīpankara inside the shrine of Bhim Sen which belongs to the bāhā.

This branch was founded in N.S.835; in N.S.839 the image of Dīpankara was donated; and in N.S.883 the courtyard was paved. Renovations were carried out after the earthquake of 1934.

e. Pilācheṃ Bāhā -- Mayūravṛtha Mahāvihārya  Pilāche Vihāra [127]  Pilāche Tole

At the present time this is an entirely open, modern shrine consisting of a line of monuments—the shrine, a caitya, a mandala, another caitya, and another mandala, set in the centre of an enclosed courtyard in Pilāche Tole. The shrine has an image of Aksobhya facing
north. This bāhā has no saṅgha of initiated bare and probably never did have. At the present time the people who live here are all Jyāpus and they carried out renovations in 1935 after the earthquake which resulted in the present state of the shrine. Before this time there was a proper bāhā shrine according to informants. It belongs to Bhīṅche Bāhā in the sense that the nitya puja is always performed each morning by a Vajracarya from Bhīṅche Bāhā. The annual festival is observed on the full moon day of the month of Aswin.

f. Tadaṅ Bāhā — Jhāna Kīrti Vihāra* [126] 
Pilāče Tole

Like the preceding branch this is also a modern shrine built in recent times. The shrine is a free-standing, plastered shrine with an image of Aksobhya facing east. According to an inscription at the site and to a Jyāpu informant (the grandson of the founder) this bāhā was founded in N.S.1054 by one Jhāna Bir Dongol. Hence it was never a bāhā in the sense of having a community of initiated bare, but a ‘bāhā’ founded by lay people (in this case JyāpuS) and turned over to Vajracaryas of Bhīṅche Bāhā to perform the customary rituals. The rituals are still performed each morning by a Vajracarya from Bhīṅche Bāhā who is paid an annual stipend of one murī of paddy and five pāthis of rice for his services. The annual festival of the shrine is observed on the full moon day of the month of Aswin.

8. Uku Bāhā -- Śivadevavarma Saṃskārita Śrī Rudravarma (Unkuli Nāma) Mahāvihāra* [140] 
Uku Bāhā Tole

Uku Bāhā is one of the oldest, best documented and best preserved bāhās of Patan. It has the greatest number of branches of all the bāhās in the Valley (twenty nine) and the second largest saṅgha. The Newari name is sometimes given as U Bāhā and sometimes as Unkuli, Waṅkulī or Waṅku Bāhā, which are older forms of the name. The Sanskrit name is usually given as Rudravarṇa Mahāvihāra, but the old references to the bāhā, which will be noted below all have Rudravarma. The complex has been well cared for, and a little less than a hundred years ago all the residents of the bāhā complex were moved out to other quarters so that the complex itself could be preserved as a shrine.

The street entrance to the complex has two large stone lions and a plastered gateway with two modern, plastered lions above, each holding a flag. Passing through the gateway one enters the first compound which is a branch bāhā, U Bā Gathicā. The entryway from this quadrangle into Uku Bāhā itself is marked by two large stone lions which are actually images of Hariharhari-vāhana Lokesvara with the lion resting on an elephant which in turn rests on a turtle. They are dated N.S.1029. Over the doorway into U Bāhā proper is a new wooden torāṇa put up at the time of renovations in 1982. The torāṇa depicts the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his right.

The entire quadrangle of bāhā buildings has been preserved. The shrine itself is of three storeys with two roofs. On either side of the steps leading up to the shrine are large, cast lions, each standing on a crouching elephant and surmounted by a cast image of Simhanāda Lokesvara. Each of the lions holds a metal, double-triangular flag. The doorway is marked by a finely worked repousse arch of leaf and floral design. The torāṇa is an unusual piece all done in repousse metal with caste images set into it. The central figure is Aksobhya flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. To the side of these two figures are two small figures of Prajñāpāramitā and Śaḍa-kṣari Lokesvara. Instead of the usual makaras, snakes and gāruḍa the torāṇa has a rising leaf pattern into which are set images of the five transcendent Buddhas. The doorway and door itself are all finished in repousse gilded copper. At the base of the doorway are figures of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and above these, two bodhisattva figures. The kuṣapā-dya is a large metal image of Aksobhya with a red face and covered with ornaments of various kinds. Immediately in front of this main image is another small image of Aksobhya whom the members of the saṅgha identify as Rahula Bhadr, the son of the Buddha. There are a series of ten figures, five on either side of the doorway, across the facade of the shrine. From east to west they are: Sāriputra, a kingly figure dressed in the style of the Ranas (identified as King Suddhodhana), Mahājñāpī (two armed, standing figure showing the dharmacakra mudrā and holding the stems of two lotuses each surmounted by a book), Padmapāṇi Lokesvara, Santabhadra (showing the dharmacakra mudrā and holding the stems of two plain lotuses), the
Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (holding a vajra and a bell), Ratnapāṇi (with the right hand showing the varada mudrā and holding the three jewels and the left holding the stem of a lotus on which are the three jewels), Viṣṇapāṇi (with the right hand showing the varada mudrā and holding a viśva-vāra and the left holding the stem of a lotus), a sālabhaṃjika (identified as Mahāyaya Devi), and Mahāyaya Devi. Above these figures at the level of the torana are two fuscous images of the standing Juddha Shamsher, a pair of garudas, a pair of lions—New York of the shrine are eight bronze images, a pair of strangely incongruous. In front of the veranda of these modern pieces is a row of traditional temple lions.

The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by sālabhaṃjika figures. Over the central of the five windows is a small torana showing Aorobhya. At either end of the facade are cast metal peacocks. Six carved struts support the first roof which is tiled. At the top of this roof, resting against the facade of the next storey are five gilded cai- tyas with a sixth set in front of them. The low facade of the next storey has five false windows into which are set figures of the five transce- dent Buddhas, cast images donated in N.S.773. Eight short struts support a lattice work, over-hanging balcony which in turn supports the gilded copper roof. This configuration continues right round the tower of the shrine which rises well above the rest of the building in the courtyard. The ribs of the roof all end in bodhisattva faces. The roof is surmounted by a row of fifteen gilded cai tyas. From the roof hangs a single banner which reaches down over the lower roof.

The courtyard of Uku Bāhā is filled with a large collection of pieces, some of them strangely incongruous. In front of the veranda of the shrine are eight bronze images, a pair of winged horses, a pair of garudas, a pair of horned horses and a pair of lions—New York Public Library style, totally unlike the traditional temple lions. To the west of these figures is a standing image of Juddha Shamsher Rana, the Prime Minister of Nepal at the time of the earthquake of 1934 who donated money for the restoration of the complex after the earthquake. Stretching in a line toward the north in front of these modern pieces is a row of traditional pieces. First is a Licchavi style cai tyas covered with a gilded metal canopy which has a row of small prayer wheels round it. Next is a stone dharmaḥatu mandala surmounted by a vajra, a recess for the sacred fire, a metal lamp on a stand, and an image of Mahājusri with his con- sort. Next is a large image of a devotee who made substantial donations to the monastery. He was a Sakya, Ratna Maniju, and a member of the saṅgha, popularly referred to as Lonari Āju. The statue is dated N.S.837. Next is a dharmadhátu mandala on an eight sided base and surmounted by a vajra, another mandala and a votive caitya.

The remaining buildings of the quadrangle have retained the style of a bāhā. Two doors flank the shrine itself, one leading to the large nāni behind and one leading upstairs to the main āgaṃ of the bāhā. This doorway has a wooden torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokesvara) on his left. The eastern wing and the western wing both have an open area on the ground floor with doors at either end leading to store rooms, or to the area upstairs. The facade of the upper storey of these two wings has a triple window over each doorway and a five-fold window in the centre. The upper storey of the eastern wing has a large open room used as a sort of supplementary dīgī; the western wing has a shrine of Amoghapāsa Lokesvara. The entire northern wing of the bāhā, was restored in 1982 and in the traditional style. The ground floor has open areas on either side of the entrance with doors in the corners. Over the eastern door is a wooden torana showing a four-armed form of Ma- Rīṣi rī flanked by Ganesh on his right and Mahākālī on his left. The upper storey has a lattice-work balcony and contains the dīgī of the bāhā. The struts along the eastern section of the roof of this section are a series of exquisite sālabhaṃjika figures. These were originally located in the nāni behind and supported the roof behind the shrine. At the time of the renovation they were removed and incorporated into the roof of the main complex to safeguard them. They are probably twelfth or thirteenth century pieces. The roof of the three sides of the quadrangle is entirely of tile.

The saṅgha of Uku Bāhā is the second largest in Patan consisting of 1200 initiated Sakyas, but only about 660 of these are now active members. The others have received their initiation but do not take a turn in the shrine or actively participate in the feasts of the saṅgha. There are five lineages in the saṅgha: The Dhuse Lineage, the Mahā Bō Lineage, the Nīche Pu Lineage, the Baibu Lineage, and the
Suika Lineage (also called Tabu Lineage). The lineage deity of the entire sangha, i.e. of all five lineages is ‘Yogāmbara’, now worshipped at Kani Bāhā [133], but brought there from Punctarli to which he had been brought from Mayapi. Though the sangha is one pūthi as a sangha, there are four Śī (funeral) Gūthi's, a division that was made as a practical measure because of the large membership. All the members of the sangha are eligible to serve as dya-pālas in the shrine of the kuṇā-pāya, but as mentioned above, only about half of the membership does this any more. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and passes through the roster of initiated from eldest to youngest. Rituals are performed at dawn, in the early morning (the nitya pūjā), between mid-day and 3PM, and again in the evening (the ārati pūjā). The sangha has ten elders, three of whom are considered the senior elders and they alone perform the pūjā in the āgam of the bāhā by turn. The other seven take turns performing the daily rituals in the two branches attached to the Uku Bāhā complex, Ubā Gathicā and Yotalivi Nani. Barechyeug initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the sangha, and unlike Kuwā Bāhā, are never performed in any of the branch bāhās.

When initiations are performed the Vajracarya who is the family priest of the family of the eldest boy being initiated officiates at the rites. This is usually a Vajracarya from Bu Bāhā. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. Though this bāhā had a considerable income at one time, most of this has been lost. Because of this and the large number of members in the sangha, the entire sangha is no longer fed on the occasion of the annual feast. A feast is held to which the ten elders and at least ten other members of the sangha must be invited. Usually about fifty take part.

Another curious custom of Uku Bāhā relates to the Phu Dya. In Kathmandu there is the custom of a Bare (or in one case a 'Jyāpū Bare') coming at the end of the line at every pāñcadāna ceremony. This Phu Bare receives whatever is left and with his passing the ceremony comes to an end. In Patan there is a Phu Dya, an image of Dīpankara, kept at Uku Bāhā which is carried to every pāñcadāna ceremony. Like the Phu Bare, he comes last in the line and receives whatever offerings are left. In effect this means that the Uku Bāhā people receive the remaining offerings. This custom is referred to in the legend recounted below and is attributed to a king, who instead of going to the pāñcadāna himself, sent an image of Dīpankara.

Tradition assigns the foundation of this bāhā to a king by the name if Siva Deva and Wright's Chronicle confirms this tradition. Speaking of Sivadeva-barna the Chronicle says:

After this [i.e. a meeting with a Fakir who advised the king to worship the Buddha alone and become a bhikṣu] Sivadeva-barna went roaming about, and one day met a bhikṣu, who was living in the Banprastha state. He made this bhikṣu his Guru, and built a bihar, in which he placed images of Swayambhu and Sakya Sīna Buddha, and then he himself became a bhikṣu. Four days after becoming a bhikṣu, the Rājā told his Guru that it was impossible for a man, who had enjoyed the comforts and luxuries of a king, to lead that kind of life. He therefore begged him to show him some means, by which he could live comfortably in this world, and yet obtain salvation in the next. 'It is written,' replied the Guru, 'in the Dharma-shāstra, that a bhikṣu can return to the grihastha mode of life, and is then called a Bajradhrik or Bajracharya. Also, that those who are descendants of Sakya Muni, are, after the ten sanskāras or ceremonies, Bandyas or Bhikshus, and they can also worship Kuliseswara [i.e. the Buddha], and still lead a grihastha life.' Having said this, the Guru took off the ochre-dyed cloth from the Raja's body, and performed the ceremony of Acharyabhisheka. The Raja then, with the sanction of the Guru, built a bihar near his own, and lodged the Guru in it. For his maintenance he assigned some land, which up to the present time is given only to those who live as bhikshus in that Bihār. The Rājā then with the Guru's sanction, placed an Agama-devata or Buddha in his own bihar, meditated there daily, and performed his devotions and worship there. He then married, and many sons and daughter were born to him. It was his daily custom to sit before the Kuliseswara or Buddha, which he had erected; and one day, while thus meditating, his skull burst, and the soul escaping, he obtained salvation. At the time his skull burst, a mani, or jewel, came out of it. Only one person at a time is allowed to enter that Agama, lest, if more entered together,
they should begin to discuss among themselves the size and shape of that jewel.

Narendradeva-barmā had been placed on his brother's throne, and Punyadeva-barmā, the son of Sivadeva-barmā by the wife whom he married after becoming a Bajracarya, performed his father's funeral rites, and led the same life as his father.

Speaking of a later king, whom the Chronicle places within the Nalla dynasty after Ananda (or Ananta), it recounts the following:

Rudra-deva Chhetri Rajā, who, being learned in Tattva-gyana, or the knowledge of the elements, had after a brief reign abdicated in favour of his son Mitra-deva, and occupied himself in acquiring religious merit, at this time he first practised Bauddhacharya, then Mahayani-kacharya, then Tribidhibodhi. After this he repaired the old Onkuli Bihār, built by Rājā Sivadevabarmā, and after performing the churā-karma he lived in it as a bandya, the sure way of obtaining mukti, and thus he earned salvation. This Rudra-deva Rājā on one occasion sent an image of Dipankar Buddha to receive pindapatradan instead of himself. He also kept a guthi, in order that people living in it might be allowed to follow any trade. To make this more secure, he informed his grandson Jaya-deva Malla of his having established this custom.

The much later account of the reorganization of the bāhās of Patan during the time of Siddhi Narasimha contained in the same chronicle confirms these two accounts. Among the bāhās the chronicle lists 'Onkuli Rudrabarn, built by Sivadeva-barmā.'

In these accounts the Sivadeva referred to precedes Anāṟuvārma and would thus be Sivadeva I from the Licchavi period whom we know to have been ruling from about A.D.590 to 604. However, the chronology of the chronicle is chaotic and little can be proved from it other than a confirmation of the still current tradition that the bāhā was founded by a king called Śivadeva and renovated later by another king called Rudradeva or Rudravarmā.

Coming to solid historical evidence we have twelve early references to this bāhā from the collection of palm-leaf land grants found in a storeroom at the bāhā. The references bear the following dates: N.S.239, 245, 251, 252, 273, 289, 294, 294, 296, 306, 308, and 349. In all of the references the bāhā is called Śivadeva Mahāvihāra. Four of these references, those of N.S.239, 261, 273 and 349 add 'Śivadeva Sanskarīta'. If we accept the tradition that this vihāra was founded by a king called Śivadeva and later renovated by another king called Rudradeva, the Śivadeva would have to be one of the two Licchavi kings of that name and Rudradeva would probably be the Rudradeva from the 'Thakuri' Period who ruled from about N.S.128-135. There is a Thakuri Śivadeva who ruled from about N.S.221-243 and who was subsequently actually the king at the time of the first palm-leaf reference to the vihāra in N.S.239. Hence he cannot be the founder if, at the time of the reference, the vihāra was considered to have been subsequently renovated by another king.

Of the two Licchavi kings, Śivadeva I who ruled from about A.D.590-604 is the more likely. There are two Licchavi inscriptions from the time of Narendradeva, who preceded Śivadeva II, which refer to a Śivadeva Vihāra. One of these inscriptions was at the Vajraghara at Paśupatināth (now preserved in the Nepal Museum), the second is at Yāg Bāhā in Patan. Both inscriptions are nearly identical and refer to a donation which Narendradeva has made to the Arya Bhikṣu Saṅgha living round the Śivadeva Vihāra. The Gopālārajavamsāvālī credits Śivadeva I with building a caitya in a vihāra. Since the two inscriptions give to the Arya Bhikṣu Saṅgha of the Śivadeva Vihāra the care of and income from water taps built in the area of Paśupatināth, Dhanavajra Vajracarya argues that the vihāra must be located somewhere near Paśupatināth. Adding to this the reference from the Gopālārajavamsāvālī to the 'Khasau caitya', he identifies the caitya as Baudhanāth (still called Khasa Caitya in Newari) and places the vihāra there. Accepting the story from Wright's Chronicle that Śivadeva built a vihāra and retired there first as a bhikṣu and then as a household bhikṣu, Vajracarya concludes that the place to which he retired was Baudhanāth. This is contrary to the consistent tradition of Patan which is still current and which we find in Wright's Chronicle that the place where Śiva-
have not included them here because, though
these, some lists also give Yacchu
of any
they now have separate sahghas performing their
initiations in their separate foundations. The
only connection which remains is their common
worship of the lineage deity of Uku Bāhā. (See
the sections on these two bāhās.)

a. U Bāhā Gathicā — Khaṇḍa Ćūke Vihaṛa [141]
Uku Bāhā Tole

This is the first quadrangle that one enters as he comes into the Uku Bāhā complex from the
main gate to the north. It is an enclosed
courtyard, the northern wing of which is the
back side of the facade which faces the street.
The southern wing is the facing of Uku Bāhā itself. The western wing is the only old building
remaining. The ground floor has what appears to be an ill-kept kuṇpā-dye shrine but in
fact is an āgarā. In the centre of the courtyard
are two self-contained shrines, one facing east
and one facing west. The one facing east, a
modified sikhara temple, contains an image of
Aksobhya who is the kuṇpā-dye of this branch. The
other, also a sikhara temple of stone, contains an image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara. This
temple is the principal attraction of the
branch.

This is classed as a branch of Uku Bāhā, and the saṅgha of the bāhā is the Dhusa Lineage
of Uku Bāhā. However both this branch and the
caitya area behind are the responsibility of the
entire saṅgha of the bāhā. The nitya pūjā is
performed here each morning and evening in turn
by the seven junior elders of the entire saṅgha.
The members of the saṅgha, i.e. the Dhusa Lin-
eage have no duties to perform here any longer.
The branch has no annual festival or feast sepa-
rate from the annual observance of Uku Bāhā
itself.

The present complex was constructed in
N.S.800 by one Dhāna Jyoti Sākya and was reno-
vated in the nineteenth century by Ratna Dhaju
Dhāna.

b. Tago Cibahā — Yantarivi Vihaṛa [142]
Uku Bāhā Tole

This is the complex directly behind Uku Bāhā itself and it is doubtful whether it should
even be called a bāhā. It is a grassy area with a
large caitya in the centre and no kuṇpā-dye
shrine. It has been included, however, because informants at Uku Bāhā insist that it is indeed
a bāhā and one of the branches of Uku Bāhā. The
kuṇpā-dye is considered either to be Amitābha
Buddha or all of the five transcendent Buddhas
who are represented on the large caitya. The nitya pūjā is performed morning and evening in turn by the seven junior elders of Uku Bāhā. It has no festival separate from the annual festival of Uku Bāhā itself.

According to an inscription at the site the caitya was constructed (or repaired?) in N.S. 805 by one Ratna Śiśha and his family. The inscription gives the name Yantravi Vihāra. Another inscription, evidently of the same time, gives the names of all the Buddhist deities enshrined in the caitya, a total of 56.

c. Mahabuddha Bāhā -- Bodhimandapa Vihāra

This branch of Uku Bāhā is deservedly one of the best known shrines in Patan. It is situated in a small, cramped courtyard north of Uku Bāhā and consists of a large, terracotta sikhara temple in the centre of the courtyard which houses the shrine of the kuṭā-pālya with a shrine to the mother of the Buddha to the side. All of the other buildings round the courtyard are of fairly recent origin and are ordinary dwellings.

The shrine is often called the 'Temple of the Thousand Buddhas' since there is an image of the Buddha on every brick of the temple. The images are not all the same and correspond to the directions of the Transcendent Buddhas, i.e. all of the bricks facing west have images of Amitābha, those facing east have Aksobhya, etc. It has also often been said that this temple has been built in a purely Hindu style. The statement reflects the common misunderstanding of the relationship between Hinduism and Buddhism in the period when Buddhism flourished in India. The Buddhist's used all of the art forms and forms of ritual that were common to Indian culture. This type of temple, the sikhara temple, was common in India for Buddhist shrines as is evident from the remains at such places as Nalandā and the descriptions left by the Chinese travellers. Few Buddhist temples of any type remain in India today. One that has remained right down to the present day through many renovations is the temple in Bodh Gayā which is a sikhara temple. It is often said that the Mahābuddha is a copy of the Bodh Gayā temple. A comparison of the two temples shows how inaccurate this statement is. This temple was inspired by that of Bodh Gayā, but it is not a copy.

In the Nepal Valley almost all of the Buddhist shrines are either bāhās or simply stūpas. By the middle ages the architecture of the bāhā had become standard with an enclosed quadrangle of buildings containing a shrine of the Buddha which was a part of the architectural complex. In the later bāhās the shrine was often enlarged and raised above the level of the two-storied quadrangle, but the raised part was built in the typical, multi-roofed style of the Newārs. However, examples of sikhara temples as Buddhist shrines and even as a part of a bāhā are not unknown even in Nepal. The best known example is the temple of Buṅgädya in Buṅgamati, which probably represents a common earlier form.

The Mahābuddha shrine as it stands today, though rebuilt after the earthquake of 1934, is still a magnificent and imposing structure. However, the court which encloses it is so small that it is impossible to get a real perspective on the shrine; and this difficulty has been compounded by two new buildings built within the last ten years which have further encroached on the area round the shrine in the northwest corner. The ground floor of the shrine is a square base above which rises the main tower (sikhara) with four smaller towers rising from the four corners of the base.

Bernier's short description of the shrine expresses the beauty of this structure well:

The concept of multiplicity so important in the evolution of Indian architecture is nowhere more clearly illustrated in Nepal than in this temple. The sikhara towers, the horizontal ledges and cornices, and above all the sculpted bricks lead upward upon themselves in an almost musical rhythm to the pointed pinnacle high above all the surrounding rooftops. There is a sharpness of detail which keeps our eyes from travelling quickly over the whole, and if unity is lost, it is lost to the beauty of fine workmanship. There is an elegance of extreme ornamentation here which presents us with the lushness and exotic overdécoration of certain works of Angkor, but at the same time there is the insistently clear, constant reference to the life of Lord Buddha. The warm golden-red color of the brick stands out sharply against the blue sky, and we are also attracted by a
53. Mahabuddha Baha [135]
certain exuberance, especially in the larger figures, which gives the temple a note of excitement and movement. The flying apsaras, the grinning leogryphs and the various rotund figures of kings and demons add an aura of immediate life to this temple which is not to be found in the more formalized carvings of most Nepalese works.

Mahābuddha is marked by several door and window openings along its considerable height and the whole inward curvature of the large tower is made up of squared elements in a way quite pleasing to the eye while accentuating the structure's height. It is unfortunate that one is made to come face to face at close range with the temple wall immediately after passing from the entrance alleyway into the courtyard, for there is no place within the enclosure where one may stand for an easily obtained overall view of the building. Barely visible below the finial are large figures of standing beasts as seen at Bhuvaneshvara and elsewhere in India. At the base of the main shikhara rearing beasts are again seen, these having male riders. A few small metal banners have been added below some of the ledges after Nepalese tradition, and a very small metal umbrella is mounted over the spire. There is a railing of oil lamps placed all around the main spire and the main shrine [i.e. the small shrine to the south], which is dedicated to Māyā Devi, mother of Lord Buddha.

The main door of the shrine opens to the east and behind this door is a large image of Akṣobhya Buddha, the kuāpā-dya of the bähā. In front of the doorway is a single stone mapḍala. Behind the temple to the west is a raised platform where worshippers and singers can gather. The temple of the mother of the Buddha is situated along the southern side of the quadrangle almost opposite the main shrine and is said to have been built with the bricks left over from the main shrine. There are no other religious structures within the compound and no caitya. The shrine is reached through a narrow alleyway from the street which passes between a row of houses. Over the entryway on the inside is a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Padmapāṇi Lokesvara) on his left. Directly above this torana is the anām shrine of the bähā. There is no torana over the doorway of the shrine itself.

The saṅgha of Mahābuddha is large and consists of five sub-lineages of sixty households comprising about four hundred Sakyas of Uku Bähā. The whole group is referred to as the Mahā Bū Lineage. Only five households of these sixty actually live at Mahābuddha. The rest live in fourteen other bähās which are in effect sub-branches of this main or official branch. Mahābuddha itself is considered to be the principal bähā of this lineage whose common ancestor Abhayarāja conceived the plan of this temple. The usual rituals are performed here morning and evening by the members of these sixty households in turn. Each household serves for a year at a time. Hence the members of these households serve as dyā-pālas in three places: in Uku Bähā (their main bähā), in Mahā-buddha (the main branch), and in their own private branch. The term of service is one lunar month and service passes through the entire roster from eldest to youngest. The branch has five elders, one from each sub-lineage. The annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Asvin. Members of the saṅgha say that the bähā has no income now, but it certainly had a considerable endowment at one time.

Wright’s Chronicle gives an account of the history of this branch bähā:

In this reign [that of Amar, alias Narendra, Malla of Kathmandu] there lived a Buddha craftsman, by name Abhayaraja, clever and devoted to his religion. He had three wives, two of whom had been faithful, one having two sons and the other four. He then married a fourth wife, and seeing his elder sons were displeased at this, he left the wife with four sons at Onkuli Bihār [Uku Bähā], and the other with two sons at a house which he had recently built, and he himself went to Buddha Gayā with his newly-married wife. He remained there three years as a devotee of Buddha. One day he heard a voice from the sky, telling him that Mahābuddha had accepted his service and worship, and that he should now return to his home, where Mahābuddha would come to visit him, and where he would receive the royal favour. The voice also told him that she who spoke was Bidyādharidevi, a handmaid of Mahābuddha. At this time, however, Abhayarāja’s wife was pregnant and they therefore could not undertake the
journey. In due season a son was born, and named Buddhaju. After this they returned home, taking with them a model Bauddha image from that place. On arriving at home, Abhayaraj built a three-storied Buddhist temple, and erected a Bauddha with an image of Sakya Muni, in which he placed the model image. To the east of the temple, in his former house, he built an Agama, and placed there an image of Bidyadhari-devi. Raja Amara Malla called him before him, and told him that, as his (the Raja's) father had appointed Madhana, Abhayaraj's father, as Ditha Naikya, to superintend the making of puja, he now appointed him to the same post.

A little farther on the chronicle picks up the story again.

In this reign [that of Sadasiva Malla of Kathmandu], one Jivaraj, the son of Bauddha-ju, the son of Abhayaraj, the great devotee of Buddha, who was born at Bauddha Gay, visited that holy place, and after returning home built a large temple, like the one at Gay, consisting entirely of images. It was named Mahabuddha-devalaya. This Jivaraj, after performing a great puja, and thinking of 'taking some prasada of the Mahabuddha to the Lamas of the north, went to the Lama of Sikkim and told him how he built the great temple. The Lama gave him a plateful of gold, and he returned home and made golden Lutham (shafts) for the rath of Machchhindranatha, and assigned land for their maintenance, which is called Lutham-yuthi. Jayamuni, the son of Jivaraj, seeing the Bauddha-margis of Nepal were deteriorating, for want of clever Pandits, well versed in the Bauddha-margi shastras, and for want also of good books, disguised himself as a Dandi and went to Kasi (Benares), where he studied Vyakarana (grammar), etc., and then returned to Nepal, with a great collection of Bauddha-margi books. Thus he promoted the Bauddha religion, and himself became famous as the great Pandit of Mahabuddha.

This account is partially correct but contradicts a number of facts known from other sources. This confusion has given rise to a number of inaccurate accounts of the building of Mahabuddha. In a recent booklet on the shrine Bhiksu Sudarsan has collected the various versions and tried to come up with an account consistent with the known facts and the data in a genealogy of the family still preserved by the sangha of this branch. Abhayaraj was a Sakya and a member of the sangha of Uku Baha. His father was Sri-mad-nayaka (i.e. he was one of the elders of the baha). At some stage in his life Abhayaraj went to Bodh Gay and while there in addition to his devotions he learned how to make copper coins. When he returned to Nepal he began to make copper coins, was given a prize for this by the king of Kathmandu, Amat Malla (there was no separate king in Patan at that time), and was appointed an official coin maker. While in Bodh Gay he evidently conceived the plan of building a temple similar to the one there, and the lucrative business of coin making soon left him in a position to finance such an undertaking. A plan was made and in N.S.685 the foundation of the Mahabuddha temple was laid. By this time Mahendra Malla was ruling in Kathmandu. Abhayaraj died before more work could be carried out on his project and left five sons to carry on the work. These five sons were Mayarj, Byadharja, Jaya-mathj, Heraj and Buddhaja. However, he is known to have had at least two other sons (probably from the last wife) in addition to these, Abhayajoti and Duyaaja. Three of these sons, Mayarj, Byadharja and Heraj took up the work of the temple, but were able to complete only one storey within their lifetime. One year after the death of the last of these three, a fourth son, Bauddhajo with the help of his son Jivaraj and his grandson Jayamuni again took up the work. Bauddhaju died before the shrine could be completed, but his son and grandson finally finished the work and in N.S.721 on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Aasag the shrine was finally consecrated in the presence of the king of Kathmandu, Shivasiha Malla.

The family of Abhayaraj grew and prospered and his descendants are now scattered in a number of further branches of Uku Baha. According to tradition his immediate descendants built or repaired five bahas which became branches for their families: Yachu Baha [114], Naudau Baha [162], Sikuca Baha, [57], Tuwaya Baha [111], and Jatha Baha [149]. Another lineage broke off and took up residence in U Baha Bahi [139], making that their own, thereby becoming a separate sangha established in a bahi. The descendants of Abhayaraj still inhabit these branches and in later years built further branches as
will be evident from the list below.

The story of the chronicle about the descendants of Abhayarāja donating the fixtures for the ratha of Bungadya is confirmed by other documents. The fixtures were donated in N.S.774 as recorded in a thyāsaphu reference. The account says that Jayamuni (son of Jivarājā) a pāṇḍit from Mahābuddha went to Sikkim and offered to the Rājā of Sikkim a plate of prasāda from the Mahābuddha enshrined in his vihāra. In gratitude the king filled the plate with gold. When Jayamuni returned with the gold, he called a meeting of the members of the saṅgha to determine what to do with the gold. It was decided to make fixtures for the ratha of Bungadya. The reference speaks of the side panels for the four toranas, and the decorations above the toranas. The fixtures were placed on the ratha for the first time in N.S.774 after the ratha had reached Ga Bahā. A gūthi was then set up to ensure the safe keeping and maintenance of the fixtures. This is further confirmed by a lāl mohar of King Raqabahādur Shah dated Sāmbat 1847 (A.D.1790). In this year a dispute arose about the use of the gūthi land and the lāl mohar was given to settle the dispute and confirm the rights of the gūthī over these lands. The lāl mohar identifies the petitioner as Ram Ānanda Bāndā, a descendant of Jiva Rāj Bāndā who offered golden ornaments for the ratha of Sri 5 Macchendranāth and set up a gūthi. The document allows him and his descendants to retain the lands and to use the income to keep these fixtures in good repair, etc. The fixtures are the ones still in use and they are still stored at Mahābuddha. The endowment still exists but has dwindled so that what income is received is barely enough to pay those who carry the fixtures to the ratha and back to provide a feast for the members of the gūthī. The fixtures are now in a sad state of disrepair.

The shrine has been repaired at various times. In the earthquake of A.D. 1934 the entire tower fell to the ground. After this Buddhist Narasimha of Jothā Bāhā and Devarāj of Mahābuddha undertook the restoration. They were unable to find the original plan of the shrine, but it was repaired as nearly as possible like the original. Informants, however, say that the tower is not as tall as the original. Following are the sub-branches of this branch.

1. Tuāya Bāhā — Noghalabhota Mitravarna

Vihāra [111] Nuga (Sundhārā) Tole

Tuāya Bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard off the north west corner of the Sun Dhārā square. The courtyard is surrounded by ordinary Newar houses and the kwāpā-dya is housed in a free-standing shrine of two roofs in the centre of the courtyard. The shrine faces west. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. Across the front of the shrine are three lattice work doorways. The central doorway is surmounted by a new torāṇa depicting Amitābha flanked by two attendants holding yak tail fans. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Padmapānī Lokeśvara. He is considered the ritual friend (mit or tuāya) of Bungadya; and on the day of the Sūn Dhārā Jatrā devotees always visit this shrine after performing their devotions at the ratha of Bungadya. They must make the same offerings to this deity that they make to Bungadya and to Minnāth. Their offerings include cooked rice, an unusual offering for lay people. Above the ground floor are three openings. The first tile roof is supported by carved struts. Above this roof is a squat storey with a single opening surmounted by a second tile roof and a single finial. To the west of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā, of the Mahā Bu Lineage. At the present time few of them actually live here but are scattered in different toles of the area. They perform the usual rituals each morning only. The period of service is one month and passes in turn through the three households. This branch saṅgha has three elders. The annual festival is observed here each year on the day of the Sun Dhārā Jatrā of Bungadya. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā or the origin of the connection to Bungadya other than the fact that the kwāpā-dya is also Padmapānī Lokesvara. According to KTMU the bāhā was constructed in N.S.649. This date is almost contemporary with, but earlier than, the laying of the foundation of the Mahābuddha Shrine.

This branch is situated in a long rectangular courtyard in Jatha Tole. The complex consists of a neatly paved courtyard surrounded by a wall except for part of the western side which has a shrine with a couple of rooms on either side of it. The shrine of the kwapi-dya is located on the ground floor and contains a large painted image of Akshobhya facing east. The shrine doorway, which is beautifully carved has no torana, but up near the top of the building in modern plaster work are two prayer wheels, the wheel of the law and a pair of deer. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and the image of a devotee.

This branch bahä was the home of three households of Sakyas of Uku Bahä of the Mahä Bû lineage. However, a few years ago they donated the property to Mahâyâna bhikhus who now reside here with one Tibetan monk. In a building behind the shrine there are also a couple of Theravâda nuns. The original sangha has more or less abandoned the site, but the nîtya puja is still performed each morning by a member of one of the households of the original sangha. The members of this household take turns serving as dya-pâlas for a month at a time. The annual festival is no longer held. The sub-sangha, however, still exists and has one elder.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this branch. It must surely go back to about the time of Abhaya-raja and perhaps earlier. It has been here long enough to give its name to the entire tole. The only date, however, is N.S.1008 on an inscription to the side of the shrine.

iii. Sikuca Bahä -- Simha Cuka Vihâra [157] Thaina Tole

Nothing is left of this bahä but the shrine of the kwapi-dya in an enclosed courtyard in Thaina Tole which has been encroached upon by new buildings. The shrine is of three storied. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana. The torana shows the Buddha (Akshobhya) flanked by the Sangha (Avalokitesvara) on his right and the Dharma (Prajñâparamitâ) on his left. Above these figures are two attendants with yak tall fans, the four other transcendent Buddhas, two seated figures of Avalokitesvara and finally Vajrasattva. The kwapi-dya is an image of Akshobhya facing north. The doorway of the shrine is flanked by two small windows and the first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging, lattice balcony whose struts support the tile roof. Above the roof is a single finial in the shape of a caitya. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and to the side of the shrine an image of Mahâ-kâl.

The sangha of this branch consists of nine households of Sakyas of Uku Bahä of the Mahä Bû lineage. This sub-sangha has two bahäs, this one and Pâlu Bahä [156]. Members of the sangha serve as dya-pâlas in this bahä and Pâlu Bahä simultaneously. Rituals are performed only in the morning, and the period of service is an entire year rotating through the nine households in turn. The sangha has one elder, but the annual festival is no longer observed either here or in Pâlu Bahä. The bahä still has a little income from cuthi endowments.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahä other than the tradition that it was founded by one of the early descendants of Abhaya-raja. There are no inscriptions here, but KTMO dates the caitya to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

iv. Pâlu Bahä -- Samantabhadra Vihâra [156] Thapâ Tole

Much of the architecture of the original bahä has been preserved here, but is in a poor state of repair. The shrine of the kwapi-dya is along the western arm of the quadrangle. The doorway of the shrine is plain with a lattice work door and no torana. The kwapi-dya is an image of Akshobhya facing east. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The upper storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this is a lattice work balcony surmounted by a tile roof. The rest of the quadrangle buildings follow the same pattern. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The sangha of this branch is the same as that of Sikuca Bahä above. The usual rituals are performed here each morning by the same dya-pâla who functions in Sikuca Bahä. The annual festival is no longer observed.

According to a copper-plate inscription
nailed to a beam to the right of the shrine doorway this branch was constructed in N.S.754. Renovations were carried out after the earthquake of 1934.

v. Naudo Bāhā -- Devadatta Vihāra [162]

This bāhā has also preserved its original form with the bāhā buildings extending right round the courtyard. The entrance to the shrine of the kuṭā-pāla is marked by two stone lions, a pair of brass triangular flags, an archway of lamps, and an iron railing running round the veranda in front of the shrine. The well-cared doorway is surmounted by a brass repoussé torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Sarīgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. On either side of the doorway are images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The kuṭā-pāla is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The first storey has an exquisitely carved five-fold window flanked by two equally well-carved small windows. The whole of the façade of the ground and first storey has been plastered and whitewashed. The top floor has an overhanging wooden lattice-work balcony which supports the tile roof. From the balcony hang seven halampos depicting Buddhist virtues. Above the tile roof rises a cupola faced with lattice work and surmounted by a tile roof. The buildings round the courtyard are similar and the balcony of the second storey extends right round the quadrangle. At the time of writing the entire shrine has been torn down for renovations. In the quadrangle are two votive caityas and a stone dharmaḥatu mandala.

The sāṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū lineages. The members of the sāṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine by rotation for a month at a time. The sāṅgha has one elder and the annual festival is observed on the day of Sri Pañcami. The bāhā has no income.

There used to be several copper-plate inscriptions in this bāhā, but they have been removed for safekeeping. These indicate that the bāhā was founded in N.S.760 by Devī Singh Sakya. A samyak ceremony was held here in N.S.767.

vi. Jati Bāhā -- Jayatīvarṇa Vihāra [137]

All that remains of this bāhā is a renovated kuṭā-pāla shrine. All the other buildings of the quadrangle are recent. The shrine has a plain entrance with no ornamentation and no torana. The plain doorway is flanked by two small windows and the shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The facade of the ground floor has been plastered with plain cement and that of the first storey has been plastered and whitewashed. The top storey has a plain veranda with a modern railing. The roof is of plain tile. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The sāṅgha of this bāhā is the same as that of Naudo Bāhā [162]. None of the members of the sāṅgha live here any longer and the daily rituals are performed each morning by the current dyā-pālā of Naudo Bāhā. The annual festival is observed on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Baśākh. The bāhā still has a little income left, an annual total of 3 muris of paddy.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā and there are no inscriptions in the courtyard. The bāhā was renovated after the earthquake of 1934.

vii. Dathu Bāhā -- Amṛtavārṇa Vihāra [112]

All that remains of this bāhā is the kuṭā-pāla shrine, a squat building of poor quality brick in a partially enclosed courtyard in Nuga. The door to the shrine, which is set almost at ground level has no markings and no torana. The kuṭā-pāla is Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey of the shrine has a carved triple window flanked by two small windows. Plain struts support the tile and grass-covered roof. The roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The sāṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of the sāṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine for a month at a time. Service rotates through the four households, and rituals are performed only in the morning. The sāṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival on the day of Śri Pañcami. The bāhā has no income.
58. Naudo Bāhā [162]

59. Jati Bāhā [137]
60. Dathu Bāhā [112]

61. Nuga Nhū Bāhā [113]
According to an inscription preserved at the bähā this was founded by in N.S.798 by Kamaraju Sakya. In the month of Māgh of this year he and his family consecrated the bähā and installed images of the Buddha, Mañjuśrī, Ga-nesh, Mahākāl, Cakrasaṅkur-Vajravārahī and the caitya. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bähā.

viii. Nuga Bhu Bähā -- Amṛṭavajra Sahāskārita
Amṛṭavārṇa Vihāra [113]
Yacchu Tole

This branch located in Yacchu Tole has a finely preserved bähā shrine with the original teliya bricks. The other buildings of the enclosed courtyard are modern. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is flanked by two small windows, but has no torana. The kuṇāp-dva is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two exquisite small windows. The doorway has no torana, but there is a small figure of the Buddha on the lintel of the door. The kuṇāp-dva is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two exquisite small windows. The top storey is an open and slightly overhanging balcony. Carved struts support the tile roof. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya, plus images of Ga-nesh and Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of twelve households of Uku Bähā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of the saṅgha act as dya pālās performing the usual rituals each morning. Service is for one month and passes in turn through the twelve households. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bähā on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. Income from gūṭhī lands has dwindled to only five pāthīs of paddy.

According to a copper-plate inscription preserved at the bähā, this branch was built in N.S.782 by Rugujū Sakya. It was last renovated in A.D.1933 by the members of the saṅgha.

x. Basu Bähā -- Vasuvarṇa Vihāra [148]
Jyāṭha Tole

As it stands now this is simply a modern foundation consisting of two plastered shrines in a small, fenced-in courtyard with no buildings around it. The shrine of the kuṇāp-dva is a brick and plaster affair decorated with some terracotta fragments reputed to be left over from the Mahābudhā shrine. The kuṇāp-dva is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The shrine has no torana. Facing this is another small, plastered Buddha shrine. There are no caityas or maṇḍalas in the courtyard.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of only one household of Uku Bähā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of this household serve as dya-pālās in the shrine performing the usual rituals each morning only. The saṅgha has one elder and used to observe an annual festival on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Mangsir, but this has now been abandoned. The bähā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this shrine. As it now stands it is certainly a modern construction. Whether this is a new foundation or the reconstruction of a
62. Nagu Bāhā [148]

63. Basu Bāhā [148]
ruined bähā is not known.

xi. Hiti Phusa Bähā -- Jinavarṇa Vihāra

This bähā is situated in an enclosed courtyard just next to the water tap known as Thapā Hiti. That this has long been a Buddhist centre is indicated by the two Licchavi style caityas on either side of the water tap. The shrine of the kuṣappā-dya of this bähā has preserved its original form but much of the brickwork is crumbling. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokitesvara) on his left. The doorway is flanked by two small windows. The first storey has a finely carved triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has a small overhanging balcony which extends right round the courtyard and is enclosed with lattice work. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two votive caityas and a stone dharmadhitu mandala. Over the larger of the two caityas hangs a metal canopy.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of a very large number of households of Sakyas of Uku Bähā. Originally there were four households here, but they have so often divided that they are now referred to as four sub-lineages and the whole group is often referred to as a separate lineage within Uku Mahābuddha Bähā, the Hiti Phusa Lineage. Three of the lineages still live here in the bähā complex, but the fourth now lives in Thainā Tole. Members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the bähā for one month at a time. Terms of service rotate through the four lineages and within each lineage through the various households. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bähā on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. At the present time the bähā has no income.

This must be at least a sixteenth or seventeenth century foundation but there are no inscriptions left in the complex, and the members of the saṅgha have no old documents or inscriptions which would help to date the foundation.

xii. Jothā Bähā -- Jayāṣtri Vihāra

This branch is situated in an entirely enclosed courtyard in Thainā Tole. Though the complex has preserved its original architectural form the buildings have all been plastered with plain cement. The entryway to the shrine is unmarked and has no torana. The carved doorway has a lattice work door. The kuṣappā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony, which extends right round the courtyard and is enclosed with lattice work. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone dharmadhitu mandala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Uku Bähā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of the saṅgha act as dya-pālās in the shrine by turn for a month at a time. Service passes through the four households in turn. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bähā on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh. At the present time the bähā has no income.

According to a copper-plate inscription attached to the doorway of the shrine this bähā was constructed in N.S.773. There is a tradition among the members of the saṅgha that on the day of the consecration of this bähā the King of Patan (Sidhi Narasiṃha Malla) was invited to the ceremony and placed on a golden throne. To confirm the people’s loyalty the king then ordered the throne to be placed on the pedestal of the Krishna temple in the durbar square of Patan. This custom is still observed each year on the fullmoon day of Jyeṣṭha. Wright’s Chronicle has a reference to this bähā from a later reign. During the reign of Viṣṇu Malla (N.S.849-65) a new section was built at the Patan Durbar. ‘On the day of the roofing of the durbar, Jothajū of Thainayaka brought to assist in the work a great crowd of people whom he had assembled to help in roofing the Jotha Bihār, which he had built. For this service he received a dress of honour [dosalā].’ We know from the above inscription that Jothā Bähā was built much earlier than this. Either this refers to the putting of a new roof on the bähā or the event has been placed in the wrong reign.
This small branch bāhā is situated in a tiny courtyard adjacent to Jothā Bāhā, and is in fact a sort of sub-branch of that bāhā. The shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya is a small section of the western wing of the courtyard. The ground floor which houses the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya has no markings but a sort of open veranda with carved pillars, behind which is the main entrance to the shrine. The kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey, which has been plastered and whitewashed, has a carved triple window. Above this is an open balcony with four plain struts supporting the tile roof. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and images of Ganesh, Mahākāl and Sarasvati.

This bāhā was constructed as the saṅgha of Jothā Bāhā expanded, and it has no separate saṅgha. It is the property of the whole group and the current dyā-pālā of Jothā Bāhā also functions as dyā-pālā here. The annual festival of the two is also celebrated simultaneously. This branch has no income.

The only inscription in the complex is dated N.S.980 and may well have been put up at the time of the construction of this small sub-branch. Nothing further is known about the history of this foundation.

This tiny little branch is situated in a partially enclosed area just to the north of the Mahābuddha shrine. It consists of a small, free-standing Buddha shrine with a plastered top. The image is Akṣobhya facing west. The shrine does not have a proper torana, but simply a figure of the Buddha over the doorway. Opposite this shrine is another plastered shrine which at the present time has no image.

The saṅgha of this little branch consists of one household of Sakya of Uku Bāhā of the Mahā Bū Lineage. The members of this household perform the usual rituals each morning only. They have no annual festival and no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this little branch, but it is surely a modern foundation.

d. Duni Bāhā — Purnacandra Vihāra* [138] Uku Bāhā Tole

This small branch bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard in the area directly east of Uku Bāhā. The shrine is a plain building that has been plastered and whitewashed. The shrine is unmarked and has no torana; but above the lattice door are figures of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a finely carved triple window with a small torana over the middle window. The squat top storey has one large window in the centre. Plain struts support the tile roof. In the centre of the courtyard is a brick shrine with three plastered roofs containing another image of Akṣobhya facing west. The topmost roof is surmounted by the wheel of the law.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakya of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Che Pu Lineage. Only about ten members of the saṅgha actually serve as dyā-pālās in the shrine, rotating the service each month. Rituals are performed only in the morning. The branch has one elder and used to celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the full moon day of Aswin, but this has been discontinued since they no longer have any income to support the feast.

According to a copper-plate inscription attached to the lintel of the shrine the bāhā was founded in N.S.779 by Pu Puja Šākya. The inscription also contains the Sanskrit name of the bāhā. Another inscription is dated N.S.851.

e. Yatālivī Nhū Che Bāhā — Bhima Kṛta Ratnalābhia Vihāra [160] Uku Bāhā Tole

This small branch is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off the north west corner of the area of the Yatālivī Caitya. At the present time it consists of a modern, plastered shrine with an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In front of the shrine is a votive caitya and a stone dharmaśātu mandala. Informants insist that this is an old foundation and the present form dates from a recent renovation after the ancient buildings had crumbled.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of two households of Sakya of Uku Bāhā of the Nhū Che
The usual rituals are performed each morning in rotation by the members of only one of these two households. The sangha has one elder and celebrates the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Dīṣī Pūjā during the month of Paus. At the present time this branch has no income.

Members of the sangha say that this is a very ancient foundation and say that they have an inscription about 300 years old giving them the right to make coins. There are no dated inscriptions in the present complex and the present form of the bāhā dates to a renovation in N.S.1079.

**f. Ta Ja Bāhā — Ikṣuavarnā Viḥāra [145]**
Uku Bāhā Tole

Ta Ja Bāhā is in an entirely closed courtyard near Uku Bāhā. The shrine of the kuṭā-pāḍya is a plain structure of three storeys. Over the carved doorway is a toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kuṭā-pāḍya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The doorway is flanked by two small windows and part of the facade has been plastered, but the plaster is crumbling. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has three large, open windows flanked by two small windows. The corrugated iron roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard is a stone dharma-dhatu maṇḍala and a votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bāhā of the Nhu Chē Pu Lineage. The members of this household observe the annual festival of this branch on the third day of the bright half of the month of Magha. At the present time the bāhā has no income, but used to have some.

According to KTU this little branch was founded in A.D.1928. Probably the caitya is much older than the kuṭā-pāḍya shrine.

**h. Yaṅga Bāhā — Yoṅalākhyā Viḥāra [132]**
(Umaṅgala Viḥāra)
Lunkhusi Tole

This bāhā complex consists of a long, rectangular courtyard, partially enclosed and containing a very simple kuṭā-pāḍya shrine. The plain doorway has no toraṇa and the kuṭā-pāḍya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya dated N.S.1063.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakya of Uku Bāhā of the Nhu Chē Pu Lineage. However, none of the members of this household live here anymore. Some years ago they left the place and turned the property over to the Theravāda Bhikkhus who now reside here. They have renamed the place Sumāṅgala Viḥāra. The family āgam of the original saṅgha is still here and one member of the household still comes to perform the usual rituals each morning. The annual festival of this branch is observed on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Caitra and the branch still has a little income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā. There are two inscriptions in the compound, one near the shrine of the kuṭā-pāḍya dated N.S.1005 and the other on one of the lions dated N.S.1017.
70. Ta Ja Bāhā [145]
dation is certainly older than this date.

i. Dhana Bihā -- Dhanavīra Sinhā Vihāra

This bihā consists of a free standing temple in the centre of a tiny courtyard in Jyāthā Tole. The shrine is a brick and plaster building with one roof. The carved entrance has a small torana depicting Akṣobhya flanked by the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi on his right and Padmapāṇi Lokesvara on his left. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In front of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bihā consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bihā of the Nhū Chē Pu Lineage. The members perform the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder and they celebrate the annual festival of this branch on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Phalgun. The bihā has no income.

According to an inscription to the side of the shrine the bihā was founded in N.S.965 by one Dhanbir Singh.

j. Nhū Bihā -- Dhanavajra Vihāra

The buildings of this bihā were completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya was not rebuilt, but the image enshrined in a small brick niche topped by a caitya. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard are three votive caityas, a stone dharmaḍhātu maṇḍala, and a well.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bihā of the Baibu Lineage. Whoever of this household is available performs the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder and they observe the annual festival of this branch on the fullmoon day of the month of Aswin. The branch has no income.

Little is known about the history of this bihā other than the fact that it is an old foundation despite the modern shrine. One of the caityas in the courtyard is dated N.S.782. The bihā was repaired after the earthquake of 1934 by Herākāji Śākya.

k. Kani Bihā -- Kanakavāra Vihāra

This bihā, which is situated in an enclosed courtyard near Uku Bihā right at the edge of the old city of Patan, has some fine wood carvings; but unfortunately the whole of the facade of the shrine of the kwāpā-dya has been plastered with plain cement. The carved doorway has no markings and no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has a finely carved five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony with three large openings. In the courtyard are several inscriptions, the oldest of which is dated N.S.822 and records the founding of the bihā. The saṅgha of this branch consists of six households of Sakyas of Uku Bihā of the Baibu Lineage. The members of this saṅgha take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The term of service is a lunar fortnight and passes through the six households in turn. The annual festival of the bihā is no longer observed and the bihā has no income.

Library of Varanasi

This is a fairly recent foundation with a small kwāpā-dya shrine built into the ground floor of a modern, four storied house. The kwāpā-dya is Akṣobhya. The shrine is confined to the centre room of the ground floor and has a small torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The rest of the building is an ordinary house. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone dharmaḍhātu maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Uku Bihā of the Suika Lineage. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in this shrine and in the shrine of the small sub-branch directly behind it. The saṅgha has one elder and they observe the annual festival of the bihā on the fullmoon day of the month of Aswin. The saṅgha has no income.

According to inscriptions at the caitya and at the shrine the caitya was consecrated in N.S.1017 and the shrine was consecrated in
76. Ta Ja Bāhā [143]

77. Cidhaṇī

Ta Ja Bāhā [144]
This is a very recent foundation and the bāhā is simply an enclosed courtyard behind Ta Ja Bāhā with a Buddha image mounted on a stone pedestal of several stages, the last stage being a lotus maṇḍala. This is located in the centre of the courtyard. The image is unusual. It is a small image, about 8 in. in height of white marble. The figure, which faces west, is a standing Buddha showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and holding the stem of a lotus with the left hand. Over the image is a caitya-like roof. The image has been enclosed in a cage of iron rods for protection.

This is a sort of sub-branch of Ta Ja Bāhā and the present time really has no connection to Uku Bahā. The daily rituals are performed by the current bhikṣus and they alternate the service between the two shrines at the same time. This branch still has a little income. There are no dates in the courtyard, but this is surely a very recent foundation.

This branch is situated in a small courtyard at the very edge of the old city of Patan. The Buddha shrine contains an image of Aksobhya facing west. At the present time this bāhā is the property of Jyāpūś living in the area and may well have been built by them. It is usually listed as a branch of Uku Bāhā, but at the present time really has no connection to Uku Bāhā. The nitya puja is performed each morning by the Jyāpūś who live here. There are two households of them and they alternate the service between the two households, a year at a time. They celebrate the annual festival of the shrine on the full moon day of Asuwin. They say that the shrine used to have some income from land, but this has been lost. For a while there was a Theravāda Bhikṣu living here, but he has now left. Nothing is known about the history of this shrine. The only inscription in the complex is dated N.S.997.

n. Cidhan Ta Ja Bāhā -- ? [144]

Uku Bāhā Tole

At the present time this is a modern brick and cement shrine used by Theravāda Bhikṣus. The shrine has an image of Aksobhya facing west. In the courtyard are a caitya and a well. The present structure was built in A.D.1948 for the Bhikṣus by people from Uku Bāhā on the site of a ruined bāhā that had become a latrine. Some informants say that the original foundation was a branch of Uku Bāhā. Others say that no one knows to whom the original bāhā belonged to but it was appropriated by people from Uku Bāhā and remodelled by them for the Bhikṣus.

9. Gujī Bāhā -- Vaiśya Śrī Divākara Varma
(Saṃskārita) Mahāvihāra* [152]

Calacheṃ Tole

Gujī Bāhā is located in a sprawling complex south and west of the Sūn Dhārā area. The bāhā can be approached from either the north or the south. Approaching from the north one turns south just west of Sūn Dhārā. After passing through a couple of quadrangles one comes upon a large Licchavi style caitya which marks the entrance to Gujī Bāhā itself.

The main Gujī Bāhā is situated in a large enclosed courtyard. The shrine of the kwāpī-dya is a well-preserved bāhā shrine of three storeys. The entrance is marked by two large stone lions and a floral arch done in repousse brass into which have been set figures of the five transcendent Buddhas. On either side of the lions are triangular flags and two large bells. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torana showing Mahārāga-maṇḍusri flanked by two four armed figures. The one on the right shows the bodhyahga mudrā and holds the stem of a lotus with a vajra on it with his right hand; with his left he holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a bell. The figure on the left shows the bodhyahga mudrā and holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a vajra with his right hand and a lotus surmounted by a kamaṇḍula with his left. Above these figures are the five transcendent Buddhas surmounted by a figure that is probably Mahāvajrasattva. The kwāpī-dya is a large, covered image of Aksobhya, facing north. There are several other well-worked, gilded bodhisattva images also housed in the shrine. The facade of the ground floor of the shrine has been faced in stone, an unusual feature for a

n. Pānda Bāhā -- Pāṇḍava Vihāra  [131]

Lunkhusi Tole
bähā. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this are set seven gilded copper figures, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by the two Taras. Above these are nine figures done in fresco, the five transcendent Buddhas flanked by Avalokitesvara and Cintāmani Lokesvara on the east end and Prajñāpāramitā and Tara on the west end. The top storey is a flush, open veranda with a lattice work screen. Into this is set an image of Nāmasaṅgiti. Six carved struts of multi-armed figures support the tile roof. Hanging from the lower edge of the roof is a repoussé fringe from which small bells hang. The roof is surmounted by a triple finial of gilded caitya and a single, gilded banner hangs from the top of the roof down to the five-fold window.

Directly in front of the shrine in the paved courtyard is a recess for the sacred fire, a stone dharmacātu mandala and a large prayer wheel. To the west of this is a single votive caitya. Along the northern wing of the quadrangle opposite the shrine are two open rest areas with a shrine in the northeast corner which has an old torāpa showing the Nāmasaṅgiti flanked by Siddhi-Ganesh and Mahākāl. The upper storey of this wing has a veranda enclosed with lattice work and a shrine in the northwest corner with a torāpa showing Dharmacakra Mahāmaṇju-śrī. The ground floor of the eastern wing has a shrine which contains two images of Padmapāṇi Lokesvarā, an image of Amoghapāsa Lokesvarā and the two Tārās. The western wing has two open rest areas on the ground floor. North of the bähā shrine is a large nani with a plastered vajracātu caitya and south of it is another enclosed bähā quadrangle known as Cidhān Guji Bähā.

The saṅgha of this bähā consists of one hundred forty nine Sakyas. They serve as dya-pālas in the shrine of the kuwāpā-dya in turn by seniority of initiation. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and pūjā is performed four times in the day: about five in the morning, again about eight o'clock (the nitya pūjā), about two thirty in the afternoon and again in the evening about five thirty (the ārati pūjā). The annual festival of the bähā takes place on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Baisakh, and there is another celebration a fortnight after this. The saṅgha has ten elders and since there are no Vajracaryas in the saṅgha they are served by priests from Bū Bähā for those rituals that require the services of a Vajracarya. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' now worshipped at the bähā but brought there from Sunaguthi, a village south of Patan on the way to Čapāgan. Some members of the saṅgha identified this deity as Mahādyā («Shiva), but others said that there are two images at the site one of Yogāmbara and one of Shiva. Both are worshipped but the lineage deity is Yogāmbara. The bähā still receives between forty and fifty murīs of paddy as income, but the members of the saṅgha say that the income used to be considerably more than this.

The earliest reference to this bähā occurs in a manuscript copy of the Kriyasangrahāpanīka preserved in the Leningrad Public Library. The manuscript was copied by one Bhikṣu Vajracārya Vīramati of Vaisya Śrī Divākara Varma Mahāvihāra in Nogallake Tole. The manuscript is dated N.S.373 during the reign of Abhaya Malla. The name of the bähā given in this colophon is evidently the original and correct form of what is usually given today as 'Divākara Varma Sāṃskārita Vaiśravarṣa Mahāvihāra.' There is no such word as vaiśravarṣa. The earliest date found at the site of the bähā is the inscription on one of the lions which is dated N.S.747. An inscription of N.S.750 at the shrine of the kuwāpā-dya commemorates the offering of images of the five Buddhas, Vaiśravarṣa, Padmapāṇi, a golden torāpa and a golden window for the dīgī. The name of the bähā is given as 'Śrī Vaiśravarṣa Mahāvihāra'. An inscription of N.S.758 gives both the Sanskrit name and the older form of the Newāri name—Śrī Guācheh Vahāra. (This form of the Newāri name is attested to in a number of late Malla period documents.) In N.S.777 a golden ornament was offered to the main deity (śri kuwāpā-bhaṭṭāraka) and a finial was erected on the roof of 'Guācheh Vahāra'. In N.S.789 a shrine was erected for 'Iṣṭadeva tri-lokya vijaya bhaṭṭāraka' in 'śri guācheh bāhāla mūlacoka'. In N.S.825 a golden window was offered to the shrine of Śrī Šrī Śrī Hevajra. At the present time this bähā has three official branches, two recently acquired private branches and one ruined bähā where members of this saṅgha regularly do pūjā to a caitya.
80. Guji Bahā [152]

81. Cidhaṅ Guji Bahā [151]
The 'Fifteen' Bähā 125


This branch is situated in the enclosed courtyard just south of the main Gujī Bähā. The present shrine is a recent reconstruction; KTMV has a photo of the old shrine, a fine old bähā facade but crumbling. The new shrine is of poor quality brick and mud mortar. The ground storey is unadorned, the first storey has windows with iron grille-work in front, and the top storey is completely open. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The torana over the doorway of the shrine showing Vajrasattva, is gaudily painted and was made at the time of the repairs; the old torana which appears in the KTMV photo has disappeared as has the finely carved five-fold window.

The saṅghā of this branch consists of four households of Gujī Bähā. The members of this saṅghā used to serve in the shrine as dya-pālās by turn but at the present time the rituals are always performed by the one elder of this branch saṅghā. The annual festival used to be observed in the month of Baisākh but is no longer held. The branch also had considerable income but this has all been lost.

The earliest date found in this complex at the present time is N.S.971, but this branch is surely much older than this. There are references in much earlier palmleaf land grants to Amśtavarṇa Vihāra, but there are at least two bähās with this name and the documents give no indication of where this Amśtavarṇa Vihāra is located.


This small branch which is located in a tiny enclosed courtyard just east of Gujī Bähā Nani is an entirely modern affair as it now stands. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a small brick shrine on a hign base. The entrance is marked by two small lions and the doorway is of carved wood but has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. In the courtyard is one small stone mandala.

The saṅghā of this branch consists of two households of Sakyas of Gujī Bähā. The members of these households serve by turn as dya-pālās at the shrine. The term of service is an entire year and pūjā is performed only each morning. The branch has one elder and observes the annual festival of this shrine on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Aswin. The branch has no income.


This little branch is situated in a tiny, enclosed courtyard east of the main Gujī Bähā. It consists of a small shrine built into the ground floor of a house plus a votive caitya and a stone mandala in the courtyard. The shrine has a small torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The saṅgha of this branch consists of four households of Sakyas of Gujī Bähā. The usual rituals are performed each morning by whoever is available and the branch saṅgha has one elder. They observe the annual festival of this branch on any convenient day during the month of Baisākh. The branch has no income. Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bähā and the only date is the one found on the stone mandala, N.S.1006.

d. Ko Bähā -- Ituṃ Vihāra [70]  Ko Bähā Tole

This bähā is situated in an enclosed courtyard in the north of Patan in the Ko Bähā area. The shrine as it stands now is a modern renovation dating from the time of the 1934 earthquake. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions, and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on the right and the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the left. The facade of the entire structure is of plain, unadorned brick. Above the ground floor is a triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows and is used as living quarters. The tile roof is surmounted by a single, plastered finial in the form of a caitya and the roof is supported by four carved struts. In the courtyard is one large, plastered caitya and two small stone caityas, plus an image of Mahākāl and one of Tārā.

The saṅgha of this branch is the same four households which make up the branch saṅgha of Manirāj Bähā. According to them this was a branch of another bähā (perhaps Kwa Bähā) until...
82. Siddhi Bāhā [154]

83. Manirāj Bāhā [153]
about seventy years ago when they acquired the rights to the place. Since that time they have regularly performed the usual rituals each morning. None of them live here and the people living in the complex are all non-Bāhā. The annual festival of this branch is observed on any convenient day during the month of Kartik.

Nothing is known about the founding or history of this bāhā. There are numerous references to Ko Bāhā (or Ko Vihāra) situated in this area dating back to the fourteenth century Nepal Sambat. It is clear that this was a large and ancient foundation. It may be the present Dhum Bāhā [73] or it may have disappeared altogether. In any case this small branch is clearly not the Ko Bāhā of those early references. This bāhā was renovated in 1924 and again after the earthquake of 1934.

e. Duru Nānā Bāhā -- Cūkha Vihāra [20]
Pim Bāhā Tole

All that is left of this little branch bāhā is a three-storied kuṣā-pāda shrine in a large rectangular courtyard. The narrow shrine is unmarked but over the carved doorway is a torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. On either side of the doorway of the shrine are two small windows. The kuṣā-pāda is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a triple curved window flanked by two small windows. The top storey, adapted for living quarters has three ordinary openings. The whole of the facade of the brick building has been whitewashed. The tile roof is unornamented and supported by plain wooden struts. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and stone dharma-mandala.

Until 1975 this was a private branch of Kuśa Bāhā. At that time the last surviving member of the original saṅgha died without any male heirs. The bāhā, with all the attendant rights and duties, was then inherited by the son of a daughter whose husband is a member of the Gujī Bāhā saṅgha. This son and his family moved to Duru Nānā and he now performs the usual daily rituals. In effect then this place has passed from being a private branch of Kuśa Bāhā to become a private branch of Gujī Bāhā. This is one of the clearest examples of what many informants have described as the 'capture' of one bāhā by another. The annual festival is no longer performed here and the bāhā has no income.

According to an inscription at the site, this branch bāhā was constructed in N.S.766 by one Ratna Vajracarya.

f. Saga Bāhā -- Ratnajyoti Vihāra [109]
Saga Tole

This is a ruined site on a small plot of land in Saga Tole. At the present time all that remains is a votive caitya and a stone dharma-mandala, with what appears to be the ruins of buildings around the edge of the plot. The caitya was built by people from Gujī Bāhā and they regularly perform pūjā at the caitya. The annual festival of the caitya is held on the fullmoon day of the month of Asvin. Informants say that this was originally a bāhā, but no one knows what happened to the saṅgha, and the Gujī Bāhā people say that it was not originally theirs.

10. Taṅga Bāhā -- Yampi Bālarcana Samskārīta 
Jyeṣṭhavarna Mahāvihāra* [103]
Cāku Bāhā 
Tanga Tole

Taṅga Bāhā, also called Cāku Bāhā, is located on the east side of the road leading south from the Patan Darbār. The shrine of the bāhā is a small free-standing temple of two roofs within an enclosed courtyard. The entrance to the courtyard is through a white plastered, 'Rana Style' facade of recent origin. The buildings surrounding the shrine are all of rather recent origin, except for one small section on the south side which contains the āgam shrine of the bāhā. The main shrine houses a small red image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvāra, similar to Buṅgaduya and popularly referred to as Cāku Bāhā Dya, or Minnāth. Some informants say the name derived from the word cāku (molasses) which is offered to him. Others speculate that it is derived from the Newari word for sparrow (caku-nā), because the location is supposed to have been chosen by sparrows. The image is also known as Jatādhāri Lokesvāra. This image is the kuṣā-pāda of the saṅgha of the bāhā. Given the fact that the main shrine is a free-standing temple, it may well be that there was another kuṣā-pāda shrine originally located along the southern side of the complex below the āgam where an image of Dīpaṅkara is still displayed during guṇālī.
1. Caitya

2. Inscription dated N.S.826

3. Stone images of Yamadūta, dated N.S.1044

4. Large Temple ball, dated N.S.999

5. Inscription erected in time of Yakṣa Malla, N.S.589

6. Guardian lions and images of Śimhanāda Lokeśvara, N.S.1024

7. Caitya and dharmāchārya mandala, N.S.1068

8. Caitya with two inscriptions:

9. N.S.793 in time of Śrīnāvāsa Mala

10. N.S.993 commemorating repairs to caitya

11. Bathing platform

12. Inscription of N.S.1022 recording repairs to platform

13. Kṣetra-pāl

14. Caitya

15. Stone mandala

16. Caitya

17. Octagonal caitya, V.S.1981

18. Large Tibetan prayer wheel erected by a Patan Merchant

19. Recess for homa

20. Lamp erected in 2016 V.S.

21. Rest house with inscription of N.S.833

22. Rest house with inscription of 1965 V.S.
86. Saga Bähā [109]

87. Tanga Bähā [103]
The shrine of the bāhā, which faces west, has one double door on each side. The western facade of the ground floor is faced with white tile which was put up in the year A.D.1951. Over the main door is a copper repousse torana of Padmanātṛēśvara, an eighteen-handed form of Avalokiteśvara in the dancing posture with a lotus in each of his hands. The main figure is flanked by two four-armed and two six-armed figures which can probably be identified as Tārā, Sudhana, Bṛjukti and Hayagrīva. Below the torana is a small figure of the Buddha Amitābha. The doorway itself is covered with brass work put up in the year N.S.986. Set next to the lower part of the door posts are two identical, copper repousse Bhairavas, each three-faced and six-armed. Next to the upper part of the door posts are two figures on each side, one seated and one standing with the right foot resting on the lower jaw of a makara and the left foot against the upper jaw. All six figures wear the bodhisattva crown on each head, are adorned with the bodhisattva ornaments, and wear only a choti on the lower part of the body, with an aksamālā around the neck. The seated figure on the right has six heads and six hands holding in the right hand a lute, a vajra, and an elephant goad, and in the left a bow, a bell, and a noose. The standing figure is three-faced and has six hands, the right holding a lotus, a vajra, a wheel and the left a trident, a sword and a bell. The seated figure on the right is three-faced and eight-armed holding in the right hands a lute, a wheel, a vajra and a flower of some sort, and in the left a bow, a knife, a bell and a noose. Next to these are set, on each side, a wood carving of several indistinct figures, probably salvaged from an earlier construction. The toranas over the other three doors of the temple are all elaborate wood carvings and much older than the torana over the main door. The main figure on the north torana is a twelve-armed tantric deity with three heads, the right one green, the central one blue and the left one white. The main figure on the east torana is a twelve-armed figure of Siddhi-Ganesh in the dancing posture. The main figure on the south torana is a tantric deity with sixteen hands and three heads, the right one blue, the central one red and the left one green.

The lower roof of the temple is tiled and supported by carved struts representing various bodhisattvas. The upper roof is of gilded copper, and though not dated, informants say it was put up at the same time that the brass work was added to the main door, i.e. N.S.986. The struts supporting the upper roof are covered with finely worked bodhisattva figures in repousse brass. Between the struts is a grille work also done in repousse brass. From the four corners of each roof hang halampos. Birds are perched at each of the corners of the roof and the ribs of the roof end in bodhisattva faces. On the west side between the struts supporting the second roof are two large copper-plate inscriptions. The temple is surmounted by a single golden finial and a triple umbrella. A single metal banner hangs from the finial down to the main door of the temple.

There is a stone veranda running round the temple which is fenced in by a railing into which are set oil lamps. The steps leading to the main door are flanked by a pair of brass triangle flags erected in N.S.1029 and two large brass guardian lions put up in the year N.S.1024. Mounted on the back of each of the lions is a two-armed figure of Simhananda Lokesvara in mahārajālīla āsana, with the right hand in vitoraka mudrā and the left in karana mudrā. Each hand holds the stem of a lotus surmounted by a sword. At the corners of the veranda are two large stone images of the Yamadūtas erected in N.S.1044. Each is a two-armed figure holding a club in the right hand and a vajra in the left. At the north end of the veranda is a large bell put up in the year N.S.999 by a family of Silpakaras from Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu.

The courtyard contains an array of caityas, maṇḍalas and inscriptions (see accompanying diagram for numbers.) 1) A votive caitya. 2) Inscription, N.S.826. 3) Stone images of the Yamaduta, N.S.1044. 4) Large temple bell, N.S.999. 5) Inscription erected in the time of Yakṣa Malla, N.S.589. 6) Guardian lions and images of Simhanāda Lokesvara, N.S.1024. 7) Caitya and dharmaṇā maṇḍala, N.S.1068. 8) Votive caitya with two inscriptions: 9) one erected in the time of Srinivāsa Malla, N.S.793. 10) one commemorating repairs made to the caitya, N.S.993. 11) Bathing platform for image of Lokesvara. 12) Inscription commemorating repairs made on bathing platform, N.S.1022. 13) Kgetra-pāla. 14) Votive caitya. 15) Stone maṇḍala. 16) Votive caitya. 17) Octagonal votive caitya, B.S.1981. 18) A large Tibetan prayer wheel put up by a Patan merchant. 19)
The annual festival of the bāhā is the rāthā jātra of Jatādhāri Lokesvarā (Minnāthā) which takes place at the same time as the festival of Buṅgadya whom Jatādhāri Lokesvarā accompanies on his course through the city of Patan. The preliminary rituals all take place at the same time as those of Buṅgadya. The bathing ceremony, therefore, is done on the first day of the dark half of the month of Bāsiśkha. For all of these rituals the officiating priest, who has a hereditary right to perform these rites, is an old Vajracarya from Hena Bāhā [116]; his assistant, or upādhyāya, is a Vajracarya from Čoka Bāhā[102]. The bathing takes place immediately after that of Buṅgadya. The priest performs all the preliminary rituals and then waits until a runner comes from Lagan Khel to inform him that Buṅgadya has been bathed before performing the actual bathing, one ablution with one kalāsa of water. The image is then shut up in the temple for the next thirteen days during which time the members of the saṁgha clean and repaint the image.

On the thirteenth day of the fortnight the image is reconsecrated and the dasa karma rites are performed on the same day that they are being performed for Buṅgadya across the street. At the conclusion of the rites the image is covered with its usual garments and ornaments and then re-installed in the temple. Six days later, when the ratha of Buṅgadya begins its course through the city of Patan, the image of Jatādhāri Lokesvarā is removed from the temple, placed on his ratha, and then the ratha is pulled to the edge of Patan, near the western Aśoka Stūpa, where he meets the ratha of Buṅgadya and leads him into the city. At every other stage of the journey through Patan, the ratha of Buṅgadya precedes that of Jatādhāri Lokesvarā.

One of the ten elders of Jatādhāri Lokesvarā is assigned to ride the ratha for the duration of the festival and perform the customary rituals during the course of the jātra. At the conclusion of the long festival, after the showing of the phoṭo of Buṅgadya, Buṅgadya sends an offering to Jatādhāri Lokesvarā to take his leave of him and the city of Patan before returning to Buṅgamati. Jatādhāri Lokesvarā sends back to pūjā to bid farewell, after which the ratha of Jatādhāri Lokesvarā is pulled back to
Taṅga Bāhā. Buṅgadya must not leave before Jatādhāri Lokes'vara leaves. This little ceremony and the fact that Jatādhāri Lokes'vara must meet Buṅgadya and lead him into the city indicates, according to informants, the seniority of Jatādhāri Lokes'vara and the fact that he is the Lokes'vara of Patan; Buṅgadya is of Buṅgamati and a guest in Patan. When the image arrives back at Taṅga Bāhā it is left on the ratha for the night. The next day a Śānti Svasti Pūjā is performed to pacify Jatādhāri and the Bhairavas (symbolised by the four wheels of the ratha), because during the time of the jāṭrā people of all castes have come into contact with the ratha and the deities may be angry. The image is then shut up in the temple for four days and put through a purification ritual because he may have come in contact with people of low caste and thereby lost his pure status. After this story of the bringing of Buṅgadya (Matsyendraṇāth) from Kāmarupa and the story of the attempt to cancel the ratha jāṭrā of Jatādhāri Lokes'vara is recited. The story is supposed to be recited to a sparrow and a fish. The sparrow is to take the story to the heavens and the fish to the underworld. After this the image is unbound and the temple opened for regular worship.

The only other annual observance of note is the clothing of the image with the 'bone ornament' on the day of Śivarīṭī as is done for Buṅgadya at Ta Bāhā. The ornament, which is a very ancient piece, consists of a large, apron-like garment which covers the entire image except for the head. It is made of heavy, black mesh with bone ornaments set into it.

Jatādhāri Lokes'vara and Buṅgadya are, of course, identical images of Padmapāṇi Lokes'vara. According to the legends the cult of Jatādhāri preceeds that of Buṅgadya, and when the cult of Buṅgadya began there was an attempt to discontinue the jāṭrā of Jatādhāri Lokes'vara, but the deity objected and it was decided to conduct the two festivals simultaneously. At another level, the Hinduisms used for the two deities, i.e. Matsyendraṇāth and Mīnnāth are synonymous and the two deities are identical. At the popular level people refer to Jatādhāri as the son, daughter, or nephew of Buṅgadya, a curious twist in view of the tradition of Jatādhāri being the elder of the two deities.

Traditions in Patan regard this bāhā as one of the most ancient. Wright's Chronicle notes that when King Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla summoned the men of the fifteen bāhās of Patan to make rules for the governance of the bāhā, he decreed that their order of precedence should be fixed according to the order in which they arrived. The people of Dhun-bāhā came first, but they were given only the third place. Those of Tangal remained first, and those of Tava [Ta Bāhā] second, on account of the antiquity of their bīhars.

There is a small vaṃśāvalī of this bāhā published in Nepali by Bhucharāj Vajracarya. According to the story the king Anāvaṃsa has a son called Vṛṣadeva whom he crowned at the age of eighteen and then went off with his wife to live a life of penance. A few years later Vṛṣadeva fell ill, died and was taken off by the messengers of Yama to the underworld. When Padmapāṇi Lokes'vara paid a visit to the underworld to bring solace to the spirits there, Yama realized that his messengers had made a terrible mistake in bringing this young and talented king to the underworld. He rebuked his messengers and told them to take the king back to his kingdom. So Vṛṣadeva revived and again took up the rule of his country. His people asked him to make an image for them of the deity who had favoured him by restoring his life. So the king made an image of Jatādhāri Lokes'vara and installed it in one of the courtyards of his palace. Later he turned the government of the country over to his brother Bālārcana Deva and retired with his wife.

Later a Bhairava caused havoc in the country by carrying off infant children. Because of this plague people came to believe that the country was accursed and gradually began to abandon their homes. Finally Bālārcana too abandoned his palace and taking with him the image of Jatādhāri Lokes'vara went to live at Cakravartha Mahāvihāra (Cikā Bāhā [102], just to the south of Taṅga Bāhā). Lokes'vara appeared to him in a dream and told him that he did not want to stay in that vihāra, but wanted the king to build a new vihāra for him. So the king took a plot of land nearby and built there the Jyesthavarman Mahāvihāra for Jatādhāri Lokes'vara. The auspicious spot is supposed to have been pointed out to the king by sparrows. The king then inaugurated the annual ratha jāṭrā.
This story with its jumble of kings is unreliable as history, but it confirms three points of the common tradition: 1) the name of the deity, Jatadhari Lokesvara, 2) the tradition that his cult and ratha jatara predates that of Bungadya, 3) the tradition that the image was first kept at Cuka Baha. It is because of this, people say, that the a priest from Cuka Baha has the hereditary right to act as assistant to the main priest at rites associated with the cult of Jatadhari Lokesvara.

From the reliable historical data that is available about Tanga Baha, it is impossible to date the shrine earlier than the Thakuri Period. There are two Licchavi inscriptions at the tap outside the bahar complex, but neither of them mentions the bahar or the deity. One dated Sambat 148 concerns the distribution of water from a canal, and the other from the time of Jayadeva is so badly damaged that it is impossible to tell what it concerns. There are also several Licchavi style caityas near the water tap. There is one reference from the Thakuri Period found in a land deed document which is dated N.S.245 and speaks of Tanigvala Vihara. This is an earlier form of the name Tanga, and we find an intermediate form of this name in a reference from N.S.793 where the name is Tanigla Vihara. The earliest inscription inside the complex is dated N.S.588 and was put up on the time of Yaksha Malla when donors offered a golden finial, a banner, and an umbrella for the temple. They were offered to Sri Sri Aryavalokitesvara. The rest of this line and the next line are incomplete, but the inscription refers to Sri Vihara founded by Bhaskaradeva, whereas Tanga Baha is supposed to have been founded by Balacana Deva. As noted above there are several other inscriptions from the late Malla period.

Wright's Chronicle has a curious reference to this bahar from the time of Jayasthiti Malla. The Chronicle claims that the temple was built in this reign by one Padma-deva. The deity is called Dharma-raja-minanatha-lokesvara and the bahar called Padmadeva-Samskarita Bihara. The chronicle says that this history is inscribed on a stone in front of the temple. This is certainly much too late for the foundation of the temple and no such inscription now exists unless this is a mistaken reference to the inscription from the time of Yaksha Malla.

In addition to these inscriptions there is a reference to Minnath and his temple in the Kirtipatika, the Sanskrit poem describing Patan written in N.S.772 by Kunu Sharma. He notes that Minnath resides in Khim Tole and that in addition to Buddhists of various castes and the Sakyamunis, he is also worshipped by various gods themselves. The only name he used for the deity is Minnath, but he makes it clear that he is a Buddhist deity worshipped by the Buddhist community, whereas he gives the impression that Matsyendranath is an entirely Hindu deity.

This bahar has no branches, and by the beginning of this century the sangha had nearly died out.


Cuka Baha is situated south of Tangal Baha, down a little lane between fields and at the southern limits of the old city of Patan. All that has remained of the original buildings is the shrine of the Kwa-baha. The shrine is marked by two stone lions and an archway of oil lamps. The carved doorway is surmounted by a copper repousse torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajnaparamita) on his right and the Sangha (Avalokitesvara) on his left. Above the torana is a triple umbrella. The torana is dated N.S.1032. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this is a panel of Buddhist deities done in fresco. The top storey has a large, open five-fold window frame flanked by two smaller windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a small cupola. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya and a stone dharma-stupa mandala.

Although this bahar is reputed to be one of the oldest in Patan and counted on all lists as one of the main bahars, at the present time it is in effect a branch of Kwa Baha [59]. The sangha is composed of twenty-six Vajracaryas who originally came from Nakha Chuk [51] and are still members of the sangha of Kwa Baha. All of their initiations are performed in Kwa Baha and they still serve as dyapallas by turn in the shrine of Kwa Baha and are eligible to become elders at Kwa Baha. They are also members of the acarya.
gūḍhā of Kuśa Bāhā and celebrate the annual festival of that gūḍhā with the others at Kuśa Bāhā. These twenty-six form a branch saṅgha here at Cūka Bāhā which has five elders. Only these five elders act as dya-pālaś here at Cūka Bāhā serving by turn for one month at a time. They observe an annual festival at Cūka Bāhā on any day within the month following the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Paus. At this time they also chant the Nāmasaṅgiti. This festival, however, is the busā dān of the caitya and not of the kuṇāpā-dya of the bāhā. The lineage deity of this branch saṅgha is the same as that of Kuśa Bāhā and the members worship the deity at Kuśa Bāhā. This bāhā has no income at the present time.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā, other than the tradition that it was supposed to have been founded by King Māṇadeva I. A brief note in Wright's Chronicle probably refers to this bāhā. Speaking of the reign of one Māṇ-deva, whom the account places five kings before the first of the Malla kings, it says:

He reigned for ten years, and then abdicated in favour of his eldest son, and lived the life of a bandya in a bihār, and so obtained salvation. This bihāra, having on it numerous chakras, was called Chakra Bihār. There is nothing at the present site, however, to confirm this. Informants have told me that the original saṅgha died out and that people from Nāka Chūk were then asked to take over the bāhā and continue the customary rituals. This is confirmed by Wright's Chronicle which notes that Cūka Bāhā was empty and the king gave it to a great Tantric of Nākhācūk. (See introduction to the 'Fifteen Bāhās'.) As a matter of fact the present saṅgha are still members of Kuśa Bāhā from Nākhācūk.

Some informants say that Cūka Bāhā was always in effect a branch of Kuśa Bāhā and that the original saṅgha did not die out but moved to Thimī where they built a new bāhā which is a copy of Cūka Bāhā. The new bāhā is Jīsuvān Bāhā in Thimī and in fact the members of that saṅgha surely came from Kuśa Bāhā in Patan as their lineage deity is still the same as that of Kuśa Bāhā. Hence if they are descendants of the original saṅgha of Cūka Bāhā, the original saṅgha must also have had the same connection to Kuśa Bāhā. (See the section on Thimī.) No one was able to put any sort of date on this migration of the original saṅgha to Thimī. The oldest date at the present site is N.S.780.

12. Ta Bāhā -- Bhuvanākara Varma Samākārita Dharmaśāstra Mahāśāstra [99] Tanga Tole

Ta Bāhā is the enormous complex at the southern end of Patan in Tanga Tole which houses the temple of Būrgadya (Rāto Matsyendranāth). However, the bāhā and the temple are two separate institutions. Though the temple of Būrgadya is situated within the area of Ta Bāhā, the saṅgha of Ta Bāhā has nothing to do with the shrine of Būrgadya or the cult of the deity. Būrgadya resides at his shrine in Ta Bāhā from late in November until the time of the annual ratha jāṭrā, but during that time he is tended exclusively by the Pānjuś of Būrganati. The members of the saṅgha of Ta Bāhā are not even permitted into the temple of Būrgadya and they have nothing to do with the annual ratha jāṭrā. In fact, old members of the saṅgha have pointed out that the southern area of this complex only, i.e. from the plastered caitya to the south wall, belongs to Ta Bāhā; the rest belongs to Būrgadya. In the very centre of the large open courtyard, surrounded by high walls broken here and there by buildings, is the temple of Būrgadya. Along the southern wall is the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya of Ta Bāhā, the only building along the southern wall. If the area of the bāhā was ever enclosed by buildings these have been lost.

The shrine is a simple, bāhā shrine which stands alone but looks like it may at one time have been attached to adjoining buildings. The ground floor has a carved doorway surmounted by a copper repousse torana depicting Mahāvairocana flanked by Mahā-Akṣobhya and Mahārātanasambhava. The torana is surmounted by a triple umbrella. The kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. Above this is a plain five-fold window. The top storey has a projecting, open balcony and is surmounted by an unadorned tile roof in a bad state of disrepair. In front of the shrine is a stone dharmaśāṭhū mandala of recent origin mounted on an octagonal base. In front of this is a large, old caitya, and to the west of this another stone dharmaśāṭhū mandala on an octagonal base. There is an inscription in front of
89. Ta Bähā [99]

90. Bhelakhu Bähā [28]
The sangha of this bāhā now consists of only twenty three initiated Vajraracaryas. Members of the sangha act as dya-paḷas only in the shrine of the kuṭapā-dya. The term of service is eight days and passes by seniority through the membership of the sangha. The annual festival of the bāhā occurs on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Mangsir and the annual festival of the āgam deity on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Paus. According to the elders of the bāhā, this is not the original site of the bāhā. It was originally situated near the Patan Darbār in a place which is now known as Bhelakhu Bāhā [20], and moved at the time the temple of Bungadya was built at Ta Bāhā. They now consider Ta Bāhā to be their main bāhā and Bhelakhu to be a branch, but initiations are still performed at Bhelakhu Bāhā and not here. After the Barechuyegu initiation the newly initiated are brought immediately to the shrine of the kuṭapā-dya at Ta Bāhā to pay their respects. This image, they say is the original kuṭapā-dya, which was moved when the new bāhā was built. The original āgam remained at Bhelakhu Bāhā so Ācāluyegu initiations are also performed there. However, they built a second shrine to Cakrasamvara, who is also the lineage deity, at Ta Bāhā and he is worshipped there as the lineage deity. The sangha is governed by the usual ten elders, one of whom functions as chakreśvara. The lineage deity is Cakrasamvara residing at Ta Bāhā, but according to informants was 'brought' from somewhere else. The identity of the place has now been forgotten. Some informants said that the original site was in Lagan Khel where the members of the sangha still perform a pūjā and that the deity is actually Mahālakṣmi. The elders of the sangha say that they do worship that deity at Lagan but that the shrine is a pūjā (shrine of a female tantric deity) and not the lineage deity. The lineage deity and the āgam deity are the same, i.e. Chakrasamvara. The bāhā has no income. (Bungadya, of course, has a considerable income, but the members of this sangha get none of this; and though repairs are made from time to time on the temple of Bungadya with the aid of government pūjhi funds, no repairs have been made to the building belonging to Ta Bāhā).

Little is known about the early history of this bāhā. Wright's Chronicle notes that it is one of the most ancient of the vihāras of Patan, and for this reason the members of this vihāra were given the second place in the order of precedence when the king called together the elders of the fifteen vihāras. There is little to verify the tradition of the sangha that this bāhā was moved from its original site, though the still current tradition of performing initiations at the 'original' site and the presence of the āgam dya at that site is a strong confirmation. There is no evidence that there was a temple of Bungadya in Patan before the time of Siddhi Narasiṃha or his son Sri Nivāsa Malla. If the bāhā was moved at the time the temple of Bungadya was built then the present site is no older than the seventeenth century. However, we have clear references to Ta Baha (or Tava Bāhāra which is the older form of the name) which predate this time. Either this site is much older than the tradition or the old site was also known as Tava Bāhāra. The earliest dated reference comes from an inscription at I Bāhā Bahī [97] dated N.S.547 which commemorates a lakṣyāhuti sacrifice performed at I Bāhā Bahī. The main priest at the sacrifice was Sri Manu Vajracarya from Bu Bāhā and his assistant was Vajracarya Sri Lokakīmā of Tava Bāhāla. The next reference comes from a document which is an invitation to a Samyak ceremony in the year N.S.599. The invitation is extended to one Pradhāna Mahāpātra Rajasimha Malla who resided at Sri Dakṣina Mahāvihāra in the area of Śrī Bhuwanakāśa Saṃskārinti Śri Dharmākīrti Mahāvihāra. From the time of Sri Nivāsa Malla on there are numerous references to Ta Bāhā, most of them in connection with the cult of Bungadya.

At the present time this bāhā has one official branch and three private shrines which do not belong to Bare but are loosely attached to this bāhā.

a. Bhelakhu Bāhā -- Dharmākīrti Mahāvihāriya Bhairava Kuta Vihāra [28]

Dau Bāhā Tole

This branch bāhā is situated in a partially enclosed courtyard just off the main road leading to the Patan Darbār. All that remains of the bāhā structure is a fairly recently renovated kuṭapā-dya shrine. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is flanked by two tiny windows and a doorway on the left. The kuṭapā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first
storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above this is a row of Buddha figures in fresco. The top storey has three ordinary windows and the tile roof is supported by six plain struts. There is a single finial on the roof. There is no torana over the door of the shrine, but KTMV notes that there was one of stone consecrated in A.D.1935. In the courtyard is one large, plastered caitya, three smaller votive caityas, two stone mandalas and a pillar.

The saṅgha of this branch is identical to that of Ta Bāhā, and as noted above the members of the saṅgha claim that this is the original site of their bāhā. The regular rituals are performed morning and evening always by the chief of the elders of the saṅgha. The āgam deity of the saṅgha is situated here and both Barechuyegu and Ācālyeuyegu initiations are performed here for all the members of the Ta Bāhā saṅgha, though they consider this to be a branch of Ta Bāhā. The annual festival of this bāhā and Ta Bāhā is observed simultaneously on the ninth day of the bright half of Maṅgšir. According to informants the bāhā has no income.

Little is known about the history of this bāhā other than the tradition that it is the original site of Ta Bāhā and therefore must predate the present Ta Bāhā. Whether the references to Ta Bāhā which predate the time of the late Malla kings in Patan refer to this place or the present Ta Bāhā is impossible to determine. The oldest inscription at this site is dated N.S.81[?--last digit unclear]. The kuṣāpa-shrine was renovated after the earthquake of 1934 and its present form dates to that time.

b. Jom Bāhā -- Jagat Kalyāṇa Vihaṇa [94]

Hauga Tole

This is not really a bāhā in the architectural sense nor in the sense that it has a saṅgha of initiated bare. The shrine is situated in a narrow area just off the road which forms a partial courtyard in Hauga Tole. The building has more the appearance of an Āgam Chaṇḍ than a bāhā. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. And the lattice doorway has a stone torana which forms an archway right round the door. The torana depicts the five transcendent Buddhas plus three figures of a seated Padmapāṇi Lokeshvara and one of Vajrapāṇi. On either side of the door are two small niches containing very unclear tantric figures. Set into the wall of the facade near the ground are images of Ganesha to the right and Mahākāl to the left. The kuṣāpa-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey of the shrine has one large lattice-work window surmounted by a torana depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (a seated Padmapāṇi Lokeshvara). This is flanked by two smaller lattice work windows. The top storey has a single ordinary window. The tile roof is supported by carved struts depicting the five transcendent Buddhas and Śaṭaśaṅkṣari Lokeshvara. In the courtyard are one votive caitya and two stone churnnāṭa caityas.

This bāhā has no saṅgha in the sense of a community of initiated Bare. It was built by Sthāpits (Uḍāya) from Lagan Tole in Kathmandu who were called to Patan at the time of the building of the Taleju temple at the Patan Daṅkar, because of their skill as carpenters. The shrine was built by these Sthāpits and to this day they have retained possession of it. This community now consists of seven households who serve in rotation to perform the annual śrāddha for their ancestors. They perform this worship by offering cooked rice, a custom that is followed in Kathmandu but not normally in Patan. Their lineage deity now resides at Cāku Pāt (just outside the old city of Patan to the north west) but this deity was 'brought' from Kami Nani attached to Lagan Bāhā in Kathmandu. The community has a copper-plate inscription which tells of these events and the foundation of their 'bāhā'. It is connected to Ta Bāhā in the sense that after constructing the shrine and having it consecrated they turned over the shrine to the Vajracaryas of Ta Bāhā who still perform the nitya pūjā of the kuṣāpa-dya each day for which they receive an annual stipend of one muri of paddy. There are still four households of the Sthāpits and their lineage deity is Vajrayoṣṇī, Sankhu, a fact which may indicate that they were at one time Bare. The annual festival of the shrine is no longer held and it has no income. At one time these people had some connection with the 12 year festival of Bungamati and brought back to Bungamati. This connection has been lost but they still have a part of their complex which is called Bung Nani and each year they have a little ratha jātrā there.

There are no extant inscriptions at this
91. Jom Bähā [94]

92. Iku Bähā [95]
bāhā, but it is clear from the preserved copper-plate inscription that the shrine dates to the seventeenth century.

c. Iku Bāhā -- Iku Varṇa Vihāra [95]

This small private shrine is also a bāhā only in the sense that there is a kuṭāpā-dya enshrined here and it has a loose connection to Ta Bāhā. The bāhā consists of a small area of grassy land containing a caitya, a mandala and a shrine of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara facing west, who is the kuṭāpā-dya. The shrine was built by one Bekhāratna Silpakar in 1934 and turned over to Vajracaryas from Ta Bāhā who still perform the nitya pūjā. The shrine has no annual festival and no income.

d. Icchā Bāhā Narī -- Ikā Nāma Vihāra [30]

Icchā Bāhā has a well preserved and typical bāhā shrine in a small courtyard just off the main street in Ikhālakhu Tole. Two large stone lions mark the entrance to the shrine itself. The carved, lattice work doorway has a copper repousse toraoa depicting Akgobhya Buddha flanked by two attendants. The kuṭāpā-dya is an image of Akgobhya facing east. On either side of the doorway are metal flags. The storey above the shrine has a well carved triple window. The top storey contains living quarters. In the courtyard is a single, large votive caitya with a snake canopy and a stone dharma dhātu mandala on an octagonal base.

This bāhā also has never had a saṅgha of initiated bares, but was built by, and is still the property of, Shresthas. As in the case of the above bāhā, the shrine is tended by a Vajracarya from Ta Bāhā who performs the nitya pūjā each morning, for which he receives an annual stipend of one mutī of paddy. The shrine no longer has an annual festival and it has no income.

There are no inscriptions at the site except for one on the bell which is dated B.S.1959. KTMV, however, says that it was constructed in the sixteenth century.

e. Ikhālakhu Bāhā -- [

Ikhālakhu Tole

Like Iku Bāhā above this is a small, modern shrine and a bāhā only in the sense that it has a kuṭāpā-dya and the usual daily rituals are performed at his shrine. The bāhā consists of a small area adjoining Iku Bāhā which contains a votive caitya, a stone mandala and a triple shrine containing images of Akgobhya (facing south!), the kuṭāpā-dya, flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣaṭāri Lokesvara).

This bāhā is also a purely private shrine and was founded by Shresthas who obtained the services of Vajracaryas from Belakhu (i.e. Ta) Bāhā who still perform the nitya pūjā each morning. Hence it has never had a saṅgha of initiated bares. There are no dated inscriptions at the site and nothing is remembered about the foundation or history of this shrine.

13. Co Bāhā -- Indradeva Saṁskārita Āśīra Mahāvihāra [167]

Cobhār

Co Bāhā situated in the centre of the village of Cobhār above the gorge where the Bāgmāti River leaves the Valley is one of the two bāhās outside of Patan which, according to Wright’s Chronicle, were amalgamated to the 'Fifteen Bāhās' of Patan. It is most well-known as the shrine of the third of the four Lokesvaras or Matsyendranāths of the Valley, Anandādi Lokesvara. Most lists give the Sanskrit name of this bāhā as Kacchapālī Giri Mahāvihāra, but an inscription at the site gives the name Indradeva Saṁskārita Āśanlokesvara Mahāvihāra.

The bāhā is an entirely closed courtyard at the very top of the hill and the shrine of Anandādi Lokesvara, the kuṭāpā-dya, is a three-storied, multiple-roofed temple. Though the shrine forms part of the courtyard it is in fact a free-standing temple of imposing size. Of the three roofs the uppermost is of gilded copper and the others are tiled. From the top roof hangs one banner which extends down over the lowest roof.

The entire ground floor facade of the temple is covered with imitation brick work done in brass repousse which was put up in the time of
93. Iccha Baha Nani [SU]

94. Ikhālakhu Bāhā [96]
King Tribhuvan. There are two late Malla stone inscriptions near the main door of the temple and ten small copper-plate inscriptions posted on either side of the main door. There is a single doorway into the sanctum surmounted by a gilded copper torana showing the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the central position and surmounted by a figure of Vajrasattva. On the door post immediately below the torana is a figure of Amitābha, the Buddha with whom Avakiteśvara is associated. A chain of sixteen bells hangs over the doorway. Two large oil lamps hang from the lowest roof down over the entryway. Three steps lead up to the narrow veranda in front of the shrine, at the top of which are two guardian lions flanked by two metal banners depicting the sun and moon. To the side of each of these banners are two large temple bells. Above the brass repoussé facade can be seen the faces of the yamadūta carved on the ends of the floor joists. The struts supporting the lowest roof are a series of unpainted, eight-armed figures. The struts supporting the second and third roofs are not carved, and plain lattice-work grills are set between them. Metal banners (halampo) depicting the chaturmahārāja hang from the four corners of the lowest roof. From the corners of the second roof hang four wooden vases and from those of the uppermost roof hang four brass vases.

The most striking feature of the temple is the great array of pots, pans, and household utensils nailed to almost every open space on the surface of the temple above the ground floor. Though these are a common feature on many temples around the Valley, the shrine of Anandaḍi Lokesvara is certainly one of the most profusely decorated ones. Horizontal boards have been added between the struts to accommodate more of these, and there is hardly any space left to hang more. No informants could give any reason why there are so many of these at Cobhār, but since they are connected with the commemoration of the dead, and Avalokiteśvara is commonly invoked by the Buddhists to intercede for their deceased relatives one would expect to find them on temples dedicated to Avalokiteśvara. At Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu such offerings are made, but not nailed to the temple. Instead they are offered to the deity and then stored in the temple above the ground floor.

The image of Anandaḍi—also called Adinath—Lokesvara stands about three and a half feet high and, except for the face, is completely covered with garments and various ornaments. The face is of clay and repainted annually at the time of the bathing ceremony with red colour and wide, staring eyes which look up toward the heavens. The upward glance, according to informants, indicates where the deity wanted to be enshrined, i.e., up on top of the hill. This image is the kūpā-dya of the bāhā and the main attraction for the large number of devotees who frequent the shrine.

The courtyard in front of the temple is paved with limestone slabs. Immediately in front of the main shrine is a recess for the homa fire and to the right of that a raised platform with a pedestal where the image of Anandadi is placed during the annual dasa karma ceremonies. In the centre of the courtyard is a stone sikhara temple dedicated to Gandharvesvāra (or Gandheśvāra Vitarāga), whom almost all informants identify as Shiva. One informant, though, said it was dedicated to Vidyārāja, one of the eight Tathāgatas and some speculate that the shrine actually contains a caitya. The shrine is kept closed at all times, and it is impossible to see into the sanctum. All informants agreed that it was indeed unusual to find a shrine to a Siva shrine in a bāhā compound, but none could offer an explanation for its presence. The sanctum of the temple is supposed to open onto an underground passage or cave. This passageway is said to lead from the temple compound underground and come out in a cave near the Cobhār gorge at the temple of Ganesh (Jalavināyaka). Informants say that it used to be common for people to crawl through this underground passageway from Jalavināyaka to the bāhā, but this was stopped some years ago when the passage became too narrow and dangerous. According to local legend the passage was made by Ganesh one time when the other gods held a meeting at the bāhā without inviting him. In a rage he cut a passage from his temple down by the river and came out in the midst of their meeting to demand an explanation for their failure to invite him. This is a local adaptation of a common Ganesh legend. Near the steps leading into the sanctum is a hole which is supposed to go directly into this passage. There is a local superstition that if one places his ear over this hole he will be cured of any ear ailments.

Three racks of three prayer wheels each are
95. Co Bähā [167]
set into the limestone pavement between the Śikhara temple and the main shrine, and below the central rack is a stone image of two devotees. On the opposite side of the Śikhara temple is a brass repoussé dharmaḥātu mandala. To the side of this is another recess for the homa fire.

The remaining buildings of the courtyard comprise storage rooms, a primary school, and in the north-east corner, a room where bhajans are sung morning and evening by local devotees and people from the city. The bhajan room houses three recent and gaudily painted images of Buddha, Rāma and Kriṣṇa. In the south-east corner of the courtyard is a stone inscription commemorating donors who paid for the renovation of the bāhā buildings in the time of King Trībhuvan and Prime Minister Juddha Shamsher.

Outside of the temple complex to the north is an open area with several caityas and a raised, stone platform where the annual bathing ceremonies of Anandadi Lokesvāra are performed.

The saṅgha of Co Bāhā consists of five lineages of Sakyas comprising forty members. Ritual rights and duties are still calculated on the basis of these five lineages. There are five elders who govern the saṅgha, the five eldest from each of these lineages. Service in the shrine, which lasts for a lunar month—full moon to full moon—is based on a rotation of these five families. Within the lineage service passes by rotation from eldest to youngest.

Co Bāhā is a popular shrine for the monthly observances on āstamī and purgimā. For people who perform the āstamī vrata of Amoghapāśa Lokesvāra at different temples, this is one of the principal shrines for the performance of the rite. People also come to perform a vrata on ekādaśī (the eleventh day of the fortnight) and navamī (the ninth day of the fortnight). This is also a favorite place for the performance of a fast in the month of Kārtik; and the annual festival takes place at the conclusion of this fast.

Of the annual observances at Co Bāhā the most important is the annual bathing and reconsecration of the image which takes place in the bright half of the month of Caitra. On the first day of the bright half of the month the image is bathed, first early in the morning in the sanctum of the shrine and then again in the evening at the bathing platform outside the bāhā complex. The official ceremonies are performed by a Vajracarya from Ta Bāhā [99] in Patan, the current dya-pālā and four nyekhus from the village of Tasi. After the bathing the nyekhus cover the image, take it back to the temple and over the next week they repaint it. On the seventh day of the fortnight the image is taken out of the temple again and shut up in a small room for the barhā-tayaṇu or 'placing in the cave ceremony'.

On the morning of the eighth day (āstamī) the Vajracarya priest from Ta Bāhā, one of the members of the saṅgha of Co Bāhā, and one member of the farmer caste go down to the river to 'get the deity.' At the time of the bathing when the spirit of the deity is removed it is not placed in a water pot as at Ta Bāhā or Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, but is considered to simply go away. He has to be re-captured and brought back. The ceremony commemorates an event recounted in the legends. According to these legends the image was originally enshrined up-stream and thrown away. It came floating down the river and was rescued by a Vajracarya who enshrined it on top of the hill. So each year they go back to the river to capture Anandadi again. This ceremony attracts a large number of people from all over the Valley.

When they arrive at the river the three men take a ceremonial bath and the Vajracarya places milk, curds and honey in a kalaśa and places a jasmine flower on top of it. The kalaśa is then placed in the water so that the deity can enter it. According to some, the deity should enter the kalaśa in the form of a bumble bee; others say that he comes in the jasmine flower. When the kalaśa is placed in the water, the jasmine flower falls off and comes floating back into the kalaśa. With much merry-making and ceremony the kalaśa is then removed from the water and placed on a small platform where it remains throughout the day so that the people can worship it. The Vajracarya offers a bali pūjā to the deity and private groups perform their own devotions either by themselves or under the direction of their family priest.

About five in the evening a procession forms up and the kalaśa is escorted up to the bāhā on top of the hill. Then the reconsecra-
tion and dasa karma rituals are performed in a ceremony that lasts all night. On the following day after a brief procession three times round the sikhara temple in the centre of the courtyard, the image is placed back in the temple.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an unnamed deity situated in an open space outside of the bāhā called degu-dya khyā. No one was able to give a name for this deity nor is there any recollection of the deity having been brought from somewhere else. The bāhā still has some income for the performance of the annual rituals of Anandādi Lokeśvara.

There are several legends which tell of the history of this bāhā and the cult of Lokeśvara. Little of historical value can be gleaned from these legends other than the tradition that there was once a ratha jātrā of Anandādi Lokeśvara as of the Lokeśvara of Būrīgati and Jana Bāhā in Patan. Three of the modern chronicles mention the cult of the deity. The Nepal Desko Ithās' claims that Gunaṇakamadeva inaugurated the ratha jātrā of Ādināṭh Lokeśvara in the year Kaligat 3834 (A.D. 733), because Ādināṭh was considered to be the guru of Matsyendra-nāth. The 'Bhāṣa Vamāvaḷi', after describing the inauguration of the cult and jātrā of Seto Matsyendra-nāth in Kathmandu, says that from very early times there had been a ratha jātrā of Anandādi Lokeśvara of Cobhār during which the image was taken to Deo Patan. After the inauguration of the cult of Seto Matsyendra-nāth, the ratha of Anandādi Lokeśvara was brought annually to Asan Tole and there was a jātrā of the two images there for three days beginning on the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra. Padma-giri's Chronicle claims that during the time of the Thakuri' king Vṛṣadeva the Buddhists had taken over Pasupatināth and used to serve as pūjāris in the temple. During the period they used to bring the image of Lokeśvara from Cobhār to Pasupatināth on a ratha. Given the unanimous tradition, there may well have been such a ratha jātrā and it is entirely credible that it was abandoned because of the difficulty of dragging the ratha across the river to Kathmandu or Deo Patan.

The earliest document to mention the bāhā or cult is a palm-leaf grant issued by the mahāpātras of Patan granting land for the performance of the bathing ceremony of Srimat Śrī Śrī Cobhāra in N.S. 678. The oldest inscription found at the temple itself is dated N.S. 761. The inscription is in two parts, the first part Sanskrit the second part mixed Sanskrit and Newari. It begins with a salutation to Lokeśvara, the embodiment of compassion, the one who is foremost among many Bud-dhas'. There follows a prayer that Lokeśvara defend the minister Harisākara. On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Īśuṭha the minister offered a golden kalāṣa and a banner to the temple which had just been repaired. The Newari section of the inscription states that on this day, after the three-storied temple was built to replace an old one (or repair an old one), an ahorātra homa sacrifice was performed for the offering of a golden finial. At this ceremony King Siddhi Narasimha and his son Srinivāsa Malla were present. The inscription specifies the amount of curds, ghee, honey and raw sugar that are to be offered at the annual bathing ceremony. There follows a list of lands offered to the gūṭhi to ensure the continuation of the ceremonies, and finally the names of certain bare who are charged with caring for the shrine. It ends with a warning that if anyone damages the temple he will be guilty of the five great sins; those who care for the temple will reap great merit (puṇya).

The Thyāsaphu H, cited by D. R. Regini, notes that on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra in the year N.S. 784 the bathing ceremony of Śrī Śrī Śrī the god of Cobhāl, took place. Another copper-plate inscription put up in the year N.S. 874 replaces an earlier damaged inscription of N.S. 801. The earlier inscription concerned the bringing of water for the annual bathing ceremony from a place called Thasimaba. Money is to be given for the fetching of water and a request is made to the king, Srinivāsa Malla, and his minister Bhagiratha Bhaiya to forbid people to take water from the channel where they get water for the bathing. A gūṭhi of seven members was set up to see that the prescriptions were carried out. The deity is referred to as Śrī Śrī Śrī Lokeśvara.

There is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S. 880 at the temple of Anandādi and a copy of the same at the temple of Gangesh down by the river. This inscription put up by king Viśva-jit Malla and his mother, Harṣalaksā, forbids the cutting of trees on the hill side. Except for dead trees and dry branches, no one is permitted
to cut firewood in the area without the permission of these two. Anyone who dares to cut trees should consider that by doing so he has inflicted a wound on the bodies of Ganesh and Sri Sri Sri Avalokitesvara. The courtier Devi-

das Bhāro is cited as a witness.


Dau Bāhā Tole

Dau Bāhā is located in an entirely closed courtyard just off the main road leading to the Patan Darbār. The bāhā has a well-preserved kwāpā-dya shrine. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions over which is an archway of metal lamps. The door of the shrine is finished in repousse metal and surmounted by a repousse toraṇa with an image of Mahāvairocana in the centre with one face and eight hands flanked by two one-faced, six armed figures. Above are the other four tantric, transcendent Buddhas, each with one face and eight arms. On either side of the doorway are metal repousse images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, and two metal flags. At the far ends of the facade of the roof are two stone images erected in N.S.1103 (1983). The one on the left is Amogha-
pāsa Lokeśvara, the one on the right is a six-
ammed image of Lokeśvara with the rosary, a
triple flower, and varada mudrā in the right hands and a trident, book, and varada mudrā in the left. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhyā facing north.

Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. Above the central window is a small toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara). Above this is a row of frescoes depicting the five transcendent Buddhas and two other figures. The top storey has two large windows on the side and a projecting balcony in the centre behind which has been set an old wooden toraṇa which is partly hidden but seems to have the same figures as the newer metal one, probably the original toraṇa which the metal one replaced. The tile roof is surmounted by a bāhā style tower which is topped by a single, golden finial. In the courtyard are five votive caityas and two stone, dharmachātu mangalas. At the entryway to the bāhā is a rest house which has images of Mahākālī, a four-handed Mañjuśrī and Ganesh.

The saṅgha of this bāhā at the present time consists of only thirty Vajracaryas. The customary rituals are performed in turn by these Vajracaryas. The saṅgha is governed by ten elders. Both Barchuyegu and Ācāryege initations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Suayambhū Mahācayita, now 'brought' to a caitya outside the bāhā to the north and worshipped annually there. The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Mangsir. According to informants the bāhā no longer has any income.

At the present time this main bāhā has only one branch, cited below. Vajracarya informants at Dau Bāhā also claimed Yoku Bāhā [40] as a branch of this bāhā. However, Sakya informants at Yoku Bāhā say that they have no connection with Dau Bāhā, they perform their initiations separately, never act as dya-paḷas at Dau Bāhā, and in fact they say they no longer even call Dau Bāhā Vajracarya as priests, though they did in the past. Some said that they were originally part of the Dau Bāhā saṅgha, but broke off because of some long-forgotten quarrel. However, even this is doubtful as their lineage deity is not the same as that of Dau Bāhā. (See the section below on Yoku Bāhā.)

Little is known about the history and foundation of this main bāhā, other than the tradition that it was founded by this Rudradeva Varma, presumably in the Thakuri period. The oldest inscription at the site is found on the old toraṇa which is dated N.S.706. Nothing now preserved in the courtyard would suggest a great antiquity for this bāhā. According to Wright’s Chronicle this was one of the bāhās which existed at the time of King Siddhi Narasi-

mha Mallā and for which he formulated rules.

a. Jog Dhusa Bāhā — Jagajyoti Vihāra [43]

Dau Bāhā Tole

This is a small modern shrine set in the centre of a water-logged courtyard deep in the maze of courtyards between the Bu Bāhā and Dau Bāhā areas. The shrine which houses an image of Aksobhya facing east, has lattice work doors and a bell-shaped top. On either side of the shrine are images of Ganesh and Mahākāl. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small toraṇa depicting Aksobhya flanked by two attendants. In front
of the shrine is a stone votive caitya. Informants say that the shrine was actually built by people from Ha Bāhā [24] and the caitya by people from Dau Bāhā, but the nitya pūjā is performed now irregularly and only by people from Dau Bāhā. There is no longer any saṅgha as such. The bāhā has no annual festival and no income. Near the shrine is an inscription dated N.S.975 and a small bell dated N.S.972.

15. Ha Bāhā — Sri Lakṣmī Kalyāṇa Varma 
Saṃskārita Ratnākara Mahāvihāra [24] Ha Bāhā

Ha Bāhā, also known as Hakha Bāhā or Hatak Bāhā, is one of the few bāhās in Patan to retain the complete architectural structure of a bāhā; and the beauty and integrity of the buildings has been preserved by the fact that there is no one living in the bāhā compound itself. The street entrance is a solid brick facade with a single opening into the bāhā compound. The doorway is marked by two large, painted stone lions, and surmounted by a stone torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form with Mahāvairocana in the central position. Below these five figures are a four-handed Mañjuśrī and an eight-handed, three-faced Mahāmañjuśrī. Below these are two sālabhāñjika figures. This stone torana forms an archway right round the door rather than being a single panel above the door. The ground floor of the outer facade is entirely blank except for two small, false windows on either side of the doorway, the left one of which has a wooden image of a four-handed Mañjuśrī and the right one a wooden figure of a seated Avalokiteśvara. The second storey is pierced by several large, lattice windows. The whole of the facade and the tile roof above it were renovated in 1983.

The shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya opposite the entrance is an imposing structure of three storeys plus two further stages, each with a tile roof. The doorway to the shrine is marked by two large brass lions mounted on stone bases supported by crouching elephants. Riding on each of the lions is a bodhisattva figure with a sword on a lotus in his right hand and trident on a lotus in his left hand (Śimhanāda Lokesvarā). Over the elephants is an archway of oil lamps finished in repousse metal with figures of the five transcendent Buddhas plus Śaḍaśasāri Lokesvara and Prajñāpāramitā embossed on the surface. The doorway of the shrine is flanked by repousse images of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The doorway is elaborately carved and finished in repousse metal. Above it is a copper repousse torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), the Saṅgha (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right, and the Saṅgha (Śaḍaśasāri Lokesvara) on the left. At the very top of the torana is an image of Vairocana. On either side of the torana are brass flags. The image of the kuṭāpa-dya is a large metal image of Aksobhya facing north. Set into the facade of the ground floor are two images of Mahākālī and at each end of the facade is a small shrine. The one on the east is a four-armed figure of Mañjuśrī, surmounted by a small torana depicting Vajrasattva and the one on the west an image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara painted in gaudy colours and surmounted by a small torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā), and the Saṅgha (Padmapāṇi Lokesvara). This image is of wood and reputed to be older than the image of Bungadya.

At the level of the first storey is the usual five-fold window, finished in repousse brass and with images of the five transcendent Buddhas set into the sections. Above this is another panel of similar figures, this time seven, the transcendent Buddhas flanked by Prajñāpāramitā and Śaḍaśasāri Lokesvara. Above this panel of seven is another window with a figure of Vajrasattva set into it. Above this window is another small brass torana depicting Vajrasattva. Above this are three small windows.

The first roof is supported by six multi-armed struts across the front and two sardulas at the corners. The whole of the facade of the lower three storeys has been faced with multi-coloured, ceramic tiles. The storey above the first roof has three small openings and a plain brick facade with the windows outlined in white. The second roof is supported by two-armed figure struts right round. At the top of the second roof, resting against the wall of the very top storey are three, large brass caityas. The top storey is a repetition of the one just below it. The top roof is supported by a series of carved struts right round, and from the edge of this roof hangs a series of small bells. The top is crowned by another three brass caityas.

The shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya occupies the whole of the southern wing of the quadrangle. At either end of this wing is a doorway leading to the compound behind. The western doorway is
The 'Fifteen' Bahās

98. Ha Bahā [24] Street Entrance

99. Ha Bahā [24]
surmounted by an elaborate wooden toraoa depicting a host of tantric deities with Mahāvairocana in the centre. The eastern doorway is surmounted by a toraoa depicting the Kumāri standing in a dancing posture on her vehicle, the peacock, and flanked by a dancing Mahākāli and a dancing Gajesh. The eastern arm of the quadrangle has an open veranda in the centre flanked by two store rooms. The western arm has an open veranda flanked by a room containing an image of Amoghapāsa Lokėśvara at the northern end and another shrine at the southern end. This shrine contains three large stone images: Vajrasattva flanked by Mahāpājusūri and Basundharā. This shrine is enclosed with finely carved lattice work and surmounted by a recent and well-carved triple toraoa. The central panel has Mahāvajrasattva in the centre surrounded by nine other tantric deities. The right panel depicts Mahāpājusūri and the left panel depicts Basundharā. The northern wing has the entryway flanked by two open rest houses with storerooms at the end. One of these is used to store the bāhā's two images of Dipaṅkara, which are exhibited during Goḍālā and at the five-yearly Patan Samyak, and several bits and pieces of old wooden images.

In the courtyard is an array of maṇḍalas and caityas. Directly in front of the shrine is a large, white-washed caitya of Lichchāvi style. East of the caitya in a line are: a bell (N.S.992), a maṇḍala (N.S.1073), and a votive caitya (N.S.1081). In a line from the white-washed caitya stretching north are: two stone figures kneeling and facing the caitya (devotees who donated these figures of themselves in its original site in the area of the Malla period. The saṅgha consisted of three lineages, one of Vajracaryas, and two of Sakayas. When the bāhā was moved the Vajracaryas elected not to move to the new site, left the saṅgha and joined the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā [31]. (See the section on Bū Bāhā.) Siddhi Narasimha offered to raise the remaining two lineages to the status of Vajracaryas, and one lineage accepted the offer. Its members were then given the ācārya, i.e. [Vajra]acarya by the [force of the king]. As a result no one in Patan would accept these men as priests, they have never had any jajamāns (clients), and other Vajracaryas in Patan will not accede to marriage relations with this lineage. At the present time the Sakya lineage has almost died out so that the saṅgha consists of 189 Vajracaryas and one Sakya, an old man who has no sons, but who has recently adopted a Sakya boy who will be able to carry on his lineage (and be heir to his rights, duties and property). The bāhā keeps a roster of the elders and all the members of the saṅgha, the few inactive members separated from the rest at the bottom of the list. The members of the saṅgha take turn acting as nava-pālās, performing rituals three times a day: in the early morning (the nitya pūjā), in the mid-afternoon (2-3PM), and again in the evening (the ārati pūjā). Service in the temple is for a lunar fortnight and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated.

The annual festival of the bāhā takes place on the first day of the bright half of the month of Maṅgšir. The annual festival is hosted by four of the members of the saṅgha on a rotation basis, and there are still two and a half rupānī of land to support this festival. There also used to be an annual festival in which all those children who had undergone their rice feeding ceremony within the past year were fed in the month of Baisakh, but this festival has been combined now with the one annual festival. The Vajracaryas also have an ācārya gōthi which has an annual meeting and feast. The Vajracaryas also perform a homa pūjā once a month to the āgān deities.

One of the main features of the life of this saṅgha is the worship of the Patan Royal Kumāri (Living Goddess), who is always selected from one of the families of Ha Bāhā and whose official residence is in quarters directly behind the bāhā complex. The girl is selected in much the same way as the Royal Kumāri of Kathma-
ndu, the first selection being made by the priest of the Taleju temple in Patan, who narrows the field to a few girls. The final selection is made by the current Royal Preceptor (Baḍa Guru) to the King of Nepal. The Kumāri is usually initiated on the eighth day of Dasain, but another date may be chosen if there would be no Kumāri for other important festivals. This Kumāri is less a full-time goddess than the one in Kathmandu and lives at home with her family, but must receive special treatment and be worshipped each day (the nitya pūjā) by someone, usually her father. Others may also come for this daily pūjā, but the custom is dying. The girl's mother must look after her ritual needs and care for her impressive collection of ritual jewelry. There are four festivals in the year which the Patan Kumāri must take part in. First is the annual festival of Buṅgadya (Rato Matsyendranāth). She appears on her throne on the day the two rathas (of Mātsye-

ndranāth and Mīnṇāth) enter the city of Patan, on the day of the Gā Bāhā Jāṭrā, on the day of the Lagan Kheī Jāṭrā, on the day when the ratha is pulled to Jāvalākhel (when she sits in the Kumāri Pāṭī half way along the road to Jāvalākhel), and finally at the showing of the photo, when she is again enshrined in a pāṭī near the ratha. Secondly she is publicly worshipped at the time of Dasain when she is worshipped as Durgā in much the same way as the Kumāri of Kathmandu. Thirdly during the sacred month of Guṅlā she is enthroned in Ha Bāhā on three separate occasions: on the day of Paṅcadānā, on the day after the full moon, and on the day of Mataya (the day when the devotees in Patan visit all of the caityas in one day's frantic procession). Thirdly, in the month of Bhādara on Gatiḷa (a day of fasting) three goddesses are worshipped on one day: Basundharā, Kumāri and Mahālakṣmi. On this day the Kumāri is worshipped in her āgam where she sits on her throne flanked by pictures of Vasundharā and Mahālak-

šmi. 145

The governing body of the saṅgha consists of ten elders with one extra chosen in reserve who acts as a helper to the others. The head elder also functions as Cakreya. As a matter of fact all of the elders at the present time are Vajracaryas, but Sakyas are eligible for all posts except that of Cakreya. The one remaining Sakya has retired because of age.

Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas of the saṅgha is an image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara (Karunāmaya) originally located at Phandole but now worshipped at the bāhā. The one Sakya performs his lineage deity pūjā in the āgam of the bāhā. (I was unable to obtain any explanation for this. 'He has always done it there.' Does he do this for convenience because he is so old? or did this lineage always have a different lineage deity?) The elders meet once a month on the full moon day for an āgam pūjā and again on the tenth day of the dark half of the month for a feast.

This bāhā still has a considerable income. They have some sixty ropanīs of land, much of it now city land which brings in a good return in rent from buildings. They sold off one plot of land next to the bāhā and invested the money in the bank (to which they sold the land); this long term investment also brings in a fair income.

Wright's Chronicle has two references to this bāhā. The first is from the time of La-

kṣmikādeva I.

Bhoja-deva's son Lakṣmī kāma-deva reigned 22 years. This Raja, thinking that his grandfather had acquired so much wealth and conquered the four quarters of the world through the aid of the Kumāris, resolved to do the same. With this intention he went to the Patan Durbār, and having worshipped as Kumāri the daughter of a bandya [Bare], living in a bihar near the Durbār, known by the name of Lakṣmī-barman, he erected an image of Kumāri and established the Kumāri puja.

This Lakṣmī Kamādeva is known to have ruled from about N.S.135-159 and he did in fact succeed Bhoja Deva. The citation implies that the bāhā had existed for some time prior to the reign of this king. Another interesting feature, is the reference to the official founding of the cult of the Kumārī at this bāhā. The second reference comes from the time of Siddhi Narasiṃha, the first of the kings of the separate kingdom of Patan.

There was a bihar, named Hatko Bihār, built by Lakṣmī-kāma-deva, near the Mula-chok of the durbār. This bihar Siddhi-Narasimha caused to be pulled down and rebuilt near
Gaubhâl. He placed an image of Siddhi- 
Ganesha and one of Narasimha at the corner, 
and extended the durbar over the ground thus 
obtained. Seeing that there were not carpen-
ters enough in the town, he made Bandyas take 
up the trade and assigned guthis to the Nai-
yyas to give them a feast on a certain day of 
every year.

The area of the darbâr referred to is the 
Sundari Chok containing the royal bath, which 
was constructed at this time and still has the 
two above images at the entryway. Several 
people have expressed to me their doubts about 
this whole story. However, I have seen no evi-
dence to disprove it and a number of confirming 
factors. Firstly, there is nothing at the pre-
sent Ha Bâhâ complex that pre-dates the time of 
Siddhi Naraśîma, with the possible exception of 
the white-washed caitya of Licchavi style. 
This, however, may have been moved with the 
bâhâ, or may have already been on the site, a 
relic of a defunct Licchavi vihâra or shrine. 
Secondly, is the consistent tradition in Patan 
that the bâhâ was moved at that time and the 
still current customs that reflect this event: 
the tradition of the Vajracaryas leaving the 
sângha and joining Bû Bâhâ, confirmed by the 
current customs of Bû Bâhâ, the raising of the 
Ha Bâhâ Sakyas to the status of Vajracaryas. 
People also cite the name of the bâhâ as a proof 
of its former location. Ha or Hakha Tole is the 
area near the Patan Darbâr and nowhere near the 
present site of the bâhâ. The name, according to 
tradition, is derived from the fact that a 
small stream, named Ha Khusi (the River Ha) used 
to run in front of the present site of the 
darbâr. The earlier form of this name, however 
is Hátako. There is one early reference to the 
existence of this bâhâ contained in one of the 
land deed documents in the cache found a few 
years ago at Uku Bâhâ. In N.S.269 a piece of 
land was sold, and in describing its boundaries 
the document notes that the said piece is bor-
dered on the west by the land of one Sri Udaya 
Pâla Varma of Hátako Vihâra. Another land 
deed from N.S.505 also refers to Hátako Vihâra, 
but gives no indication of the site of this 
vihâra. The earliest dated piece in the pre-
 sent complex is a bell dated N.S.776, which 
falls within the reign of Siddhi Naraśîma. The 
struts of the present shrine are dated N.S.788, 
just after the reign of Siddhi Naraśîma. To 
my knowledge, however, there are no extant in-
scriptions or contemporary documents which de-
cribe the transfer of the site of this bâhâ; for 
this one must rely on the oral tradition and the 
chronicles.

At the present time this bâhâ has no offi-
cial branches, but there are three small private 
branches.

a. Wâcheñ Nari Bâhâcâ — Dhanavata Siñha 
Vihâra [25] Wala Tole

This small branch, situated is a small 
courtyard directly behind Ha Bâhâ, is only a 
small modern shrine set against the north wall 
of the quadrangle. The shrine has an image of 
Aıkobhya facing north. There is nothing else in 
this courtyard, though the courtyard directly to 
the north has a caitya, and there is a large 
caitya in the open space to the south. The 
sângha of this branch consists of seven house-
holds of Vajracaryas from Ha Bâhâ. The nitya 
pûjâ is performed each morning by whoever is 
available. The annual festival of the branch is 
observed on the full moon day of Asūm, but only 
three of the households now take part in the 
festival. The sângha has one elder, but no 
income. Nothing is known about the history or 
foundation of this branch, and there are no inscriptions in this courtyard. Surely, in its 
present form the shrine is a twentieth century 
structure.

b. Jyena Bâhâ — Sri Jñâna Nâma Vihâra [26] 
Jyena Bâhâ Tole

At the present time this branch is nothing 
but the remains of a bâhâ. The first time I saw 
the site it was a deserted, grassy area with the 
uins of buildings around the edges and in the 
centre a Licchavi style caitya and a stone ma-
gâla, plus two modern Hindu temples, one con-
taining an image of Nârâyâna and the other an 
image of Krishna. Now most of the plot has been 
sold off and a new, modern house constructed on 
it, so that all that remains is the caitya, the 
mañḍala, and the two small shrines on a tiny 
plot of land. This was a branch of Ha Bâhâ, 
perhaps finally abandoned after the earthquake 
of 1934. The sângha consisted of one household 
from Ha Bâhâ, which still exists as a separate 
unit, has one elder and whose members still 
ocasionally do pûjâ at the caitya and still 
celebrate the annual festival of the bâhâ on the 
fullmoon day of Asūm. Except for this, the 
site has been abandoned. The bâhâ has no in-
come. There are no inscriptions at the site but informants say that this branch pre-dates the transfer of Ha Bähā to its present location. The existence of a Licchavi style caitya here tends to confirm this.

c. Walā Bähā Dhatu Nanī -- Yanta Vihāra [42]

Dau Bähā Tole

This tiny branch contains a small, modern shrine set against one wall. To the sides of the shrine are images of Mahākāl and Gaṇeśa and there is a small dharmaṇātu mandala in the courtyard. Over the shrine, which contains an image of Aksobhya facing north, is a small toraṇa depicting Aksobhya flanked by a darpaṇa and a stylized caitya. Above the toraṇa is a triple, brass umbrella. The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracayas of Ha Bähā, one member of which performs the nitya pūjā each morning. The shrine has no annual festival and no income. There are no inscriptions here, but the shrine in its present state is certainly a twentieth century construction.

16. Bū Bähā -- Vidyādhara Śrīmaṇa Śamskarīta
Yaśodhara Mahāvihāra* [31] Bū Bähā Tole

Bū Bähā is perhaps the best example of an extended bähā complex. The entire enclosed quadrangle, which lies off the main road to the Patan Darbār in the Ghā Bähā area, is nearly as large as a football field, about 42 yards by 83 yards. The area is entirely too large to have ever been enclosed by a single architectural structure. One enters the bähā through a doorway marked by two large stone lions and a plaque giving the Sanskrit and Newari name of the bähā; this opens on to the southern side of the complex. To the right as one enters is a rest house with a large, but unfortunately damaged Malla period inscription and an image of Gaṇeśa to the side. To the left as one enters is the shrine of the kuśpā-dye, an elaborate and well-preserved structure. The main part of the building is of three storeys surmounted by a tile roof above which is another stage containing a sort of completely open balcony which has windows and outward slanting walls, in place of struts, which support the second tile roof. Above the top roof are five finials; and one long metal streamer, with images of three of the Buddhas and Amoghapāsa Lokeshvara, hangs from the top of the roof to the door of the shrine. The upper balcony is similar to the architecture of a satale such as Simha Satal in Kathmandu. The building is so constructed that the lower roof is just above the roof level of the other buildings around the quadrangle, making the shrine the most prominent building in the complex.

At the foot of the steps leading up to the shrine is an archway of votive lamps done in repoussé brass with a small image of Aksobhya at the top. At the base of this arch are brass figures of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and behind the arch two, large metal lions. Flanking the doorway of the shrine itself are two more images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The doorway itself is elaborately carved and surmounted by a repoussé toraṇa the central figure of which is a standing figure of Mahāvairocana flanked by standing figures of Mahā-aksobhya on his right and Mahā-āmitābha on his left. Above these figures are the other two tantric Buddhas in a seated posture. An outer circle depicts six bodhisattva figures surmounted by Mahāvajrasattva. The kuśpā-dye is a large seated image of Amitābha covered with a gilded cope. Above the toraṇa is the usual five-fold window but with the trim finished in repoussé metal and images of the five transcendent Buddhas set into them, with Vairocana in the central position. Above this window is another small toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Amitābha), the Dharma (Prajñā-pāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍākāśāri Lokeshvara) on his left. Between this toraṇa and the next storey is another similar panel of seven deities, the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the centre flanked by two images of Tārā. Above these to the right and left are two repoussé plaques of sālahāṭjika figures. Above them in the centre of the facade is an image of Aksobhya and above this a small toraṇa depicting Vajrasattva. The whole of the facade of the shrine is covered with gaudy, multi-coloured ceramic tile. The lower roof is supported by six struts depicting multi-armed deities and from the underside of the roof hang ten halampos depicting various buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The large quadrangle has an array of shrines and caityas. See the accompanying diagram for the position of these. 1) A vajra mounted on a low pillar with an inscription dated N.S.1002. 2) A large dharmaṇātu mandala in repoussé brass mounted on a stone base. Between 1 and 2 is the kṣetra-pāla. 3) A small,
The 'Fifteen' Bāḥās

102. Wala Bāḥā Dhatu Nānī [42]

103. Bū Bāḥā [31]
enclosed, cemented shrine facing east housing a brass image of Nāmasāngīti. The top of the shrine ends in a stylized caitya. 4) A small, śikhara style temple constructed after the fashion of the Rādhā-Krishna temple in Darbār Square. Facing the east in this shrine is a two-armed image of Maṇjuśrī showing the dharma-cakra mudrā and holding the stem of a lotus in each hand. The right mudra has a sword and the left lotus a book, the Prajñāpāramitā. This image is of brass, and around it in stone are small figures of Akṣobhya, Gana, Mahākāla and Prajñāpāramitā. Above the main shrine are the four transcendent Buddhas. On the north side of the shrine is an inscription dated N.S.793 and giving the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Yasodhara Mahāvihāra. 5) A stone votive caitya. 6) A cemented, stone votive caitya. 7) A modern shrine of Basundharā, facing east and dated N.S.1077. 8) An elongated caitya, rather like a pillar with a caitya top. Around the lower part of the stone pillars are images of a standing Buddha showing the viśaya-vākarana mudrā (east), Vajrapāṇi (south), Padmapāṇi (lokeśvara west) and Maṇjuśrī (north). 9) A stone votive caitya on a stylized lotus. 10) A large, white plastered caitya and a bell with an inscription dated N.S.777. 12) A votive memorial pillar set into a turtle base from the time of King Tribhuvan. 13) A second votive memorial pillar set into a turtle base and dated N.S.1050. 14) A plain śikhara type temple about nine feet tall. 15) An enclosed, cemented shrine containing a stone image of Dīpākara Buddha. 16) A stone votive caitya. 17) A large, plastered caitya. 18) A stone dharma-cātāya mandāla. 19) A small shrine, finished in metal repousse work and containing an image of Amitābha Buddha facing west. The top of the shrine ends in a caitya. 20) An image of Gana. 21) A partially enclosed room with a raised floor used for the chanting of the scriptures or bhajans and containing three large stone images: Vajrasattva flanked by Basundharā on his right and Maṇjuśrī on his left.

Around the expansive quadrangle is a continuous line of houses, all inhabited by the members of the saṅgha of this bāhā. There are several openings off the north side of the quadrangle which lead on to a rabbit warren of small courtyards and several branch bāhās spreading toward the north. Nearly all of the members of the saṅgha of over two thousand Bare and their families live in this complex, making Bu Bāhā a community within the community of Patan which is larger than many of the villages of the Valley.

Wright's Chronicle contains a legend about the history of this bāhā:

In the reign of this Rājā [Sankaradeva], some people, from a village named Jhul, had gone to the Gaur country (Bengal) and lived in a city named Kaphi, whence several persons returned to Jhul. These men performed yagya daily in a hollow consecrated place, where a perpetual fire was kept alight. . . . One of these Brahman, having no lawful wife, took with him a Brahmani widow, named Yasodhara, instead of his wife; and one day, as he was performing the yagya, the fire increased, and after burning him up, consumed the whole village. . . .

At the time when the village of Jhul was burning, Yasodhara, the Brahmani widow, fled to Patan with a small model of a chaitya, the book Pragyā-pāramitā (written in golden letters in Vikrama-sambat 245), and her infant son Yasodhara. She repaired the bihar in Gala-bahal, built by Bidyādhara-barna, and placed the model chaitya inside the one in the bihar. She caused her son Yasodhara, after his chura-karma, to be made a bandya [i.e.bare]; and in order to conceal this from her relatives, who were Agnihotris, she did not allow the ceremonies attending the chura-karma to be performed in front of the Agama-devatas of the bihar. To this day the bandyas of this bihar follow this custom. In other bihars the custom is different. Previously this bihar was called Bidyādhara-barna-sanskārit-mahā-bihār, but after the chura-karma of Yasodhara it became known as Yasodhara-mahā-bihār, and also as Bu-bāhā.

There was a king from the 'Thakuri Period' known as Śāṅkara-deva and we have one firm date for him, N.S.40.

This story is still current among the members of the saṅgha and is reflected in the customs pertaining to the life of the saṅgha. As they tell the story the bāhā was founded by Vidyādhara Śarma or Barma (the Newāri word for Brahman, not Barma or Varma which would not be a Brahman name). He was one of two Brahman brothers who came to Patan. The two brothers planted
three trees in Patan, one at Bu Bähā (which people will still show you), one at the Agni Maṭḥ, and one in Kuāilakhu Tole near Kuā Bähā. One of them founded (or settled at) the Agni Maṭḥ in southern Patan where he and his descend-ants carried on their devotions as Agnihotras. (The vedic fire sacrifice, as opposed to the usual more tantric homa ritual usually performed by brahmans today, is still performed there daily by a rajopādyāya brahman, one of the two places in Nepal where such a sacrifice is per-formed.) The second brother Vidyādhara was influenced by the Buddhist religion and took the tantric initiation of a Vajracarya. He founded this vihāra which then bore his name, but because he feared the wrath of his brother and other relatives he performed his initiation in secret and decreed that his descendants should do the same. The Vajracarya initiation is always done in secret, but the ordinary bāhā initiation (the Barechuyegu) is ordinarily done in the open before the shrine of the kuśapā-dya.

Current customs of the sanīgha reflect the details of this story. The sanīgha of Bu Bähā consists of about nine hundred initiated Vajracaryas and about thirty Sakyas (those of Na Bähā). The Vajracaryas are divided into three lineages. The first lineage of Vajracaryas is known as the nanicā yā lineage. This large lineage is now sub-divided into eight subsidiary lineages and each of these further divided in a large number of households. Once a year, on the second day of the month of Mahā, a gūthi of nine people comprising one man each from the eight sub-lineages and one Rajopādyāya Brahman (a descendant of the Brahman of Agni Maṭḥ) assemble for a joint pūja and feast. They assemble first at I Bähā Bahā [97] where they feast on curds and baī (flattened rice). After this they repair to the home of the one of the eight who is hosting the celebration for the year where they perform a joint pūja (not a homa sacrifice as I have often heard), and after that they sit together for a joint feast (bhūyaya). The nine sit in order of seniority but the place of honour always goes to the Brahman as the descen-dant of the elder of the two brothers.

One of the sub-lineages of the nanicā yā lineage, the one which is centered on the branch I Bähā [32], has special duties regarding the burning ghahats at Sankhamul, the main cremation spot below the city of Patan. Sometime in the ancient past it became necessary to move the masān ghahat (the main cremation ghahat of the kings). For this it was necessary to have a powerful tantric practitioner and a Vajracarya of this sub-lineage was chosen. This moving of the ghahat is commemorated each year on the elev-enth day of the bright half of the month of Mahā (the busā dām of the ghahat) when these same Vajracaryas must perform a pūja. This same sub-lineage must also perform a special offering of sixty four balis on the night when the ratha of Bunga-dya (Rāto Mātyendranathā) stops in Gā Bähā. This pūja, which is performed in the dead of night, is to pacify the local spirits and demons who are offended by the intrusion of Bunga-dya into their territory. As payment for these services this sub-lineage still receives a portion of meat at the time of Dasain and Caitra Dasain, kwāti (a sort of bean soup) on the fullmoon day of the sacred month of Guḍā, and sweetmeats on the day of Maghe Sankranti from the government gūthi. These gifts used to be distributed to them from the Patan Darbā until recent times when the Guthi office was transferred to Ta Bähā. Now they receive them from this office in Ta Bähā.

One sub-lineage of this nanicā yā lineage used to live in a branch bāhā called Thaṭi Bähā [101] located in Thaṭi Tole. (The area is now inhabited entirely by sweepers and the branch has long been abandoned by the sanīgha.) When the ratha of Bunga Dya used to reach their tole on its way from Jāwālākhel to Lagan Khel, they would stand in a line and stop the ratha by shouting 'nanicā yā' so that they could worship the deity and perform their pūjas. From this event the whole lineage received its name, and because of this halt, the course of the ratha jāṭrā was broken and it became necessary to call astrologers to determine the auspicious day for the ratha to proceed on its journey to Jāwālā-khel. To this day the ratha spends a month or more in Thaṭi Tole, and astrologers must determine the auspicious day for pulling the ratha to Jāwālākhel. The rest of the course of the ratha jāṭrā is determined by the lunar calendar.

The second lineage of Vajracaryas at Bu Bähā is known as the 'bapi jol lineage'. Their traditions also accord with the legend. They say that their ancestor was Yasodhara, the son of the Brahman widow. When she brought her son to the bāhā to be initiated she also brought some caityas and set them up in the bāhā. He and his descendants were assimilated to the
of Patan and their clients. If any other Vajracaryas fail to carry out their duties of performing initiation rituals and death rites, the task must be taken up by this lineage. Another thing which indicates that they came from outside Bu Bāhā is the fact that since they are no relation to the other two lineages, marriage is possible between the Rāj Guru lineage and the other two. They also perform their Bachechye-gu initiations in the open courtyard in front of the shrine of the kūpā-dya.

The fourth lineage attached to Bū Bāhā is that of the Sakyas who reside at Na Bāhā.[3] These people came to Patan in the time of the late Malla kings, were settled at Na Bāhā and, because Na Bāhā belonged to Bu Bāhā, were assimilated to Bu Bāhā. They perform their Bachechye-gu initiations at Bu Bāhā, out in the open like the Rāj Guru lineage, but retain their old lineage deity at Pacali near Teku. Since they are no relation to the three lineages of Vajracaryas, marriages with these lineages are possible.

These four lineages then make up the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā. It is one integrated saṅgha with twelve elders, who hold office by strict seniority irrespective of whether they are Sakyas or Vajracaryas. The chief of the elders is always a Vajracarya and one other Vajracarya always functions as the Cakravara. These two offices are never held by the Sakyas, but they may hold any of the other offices. All the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pāls in the shrine of the kūpā-dya by rotation from eldest to youngest. Pūjā is performed three times a day, the nitya pūjā in the morning, a pañcápacāra pūjā at midday, and the offering of the ārati in the evening. The annual festival of the bāhā, the busā dān, is observed on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Māgh at which time the kūpā-dya is bathed (but not reconsecrated) and a homa ritual is performed. After this there is a secret pūjā in the āgama of the bāhā and a feast for the members of the saṅgha. There is also a busā dān ceremony for the torana of the Three Jewels up near the lower roof on the fifth day of the dark half of Caitra. After the pūjā in the courtyard there is another one in the dīk of the bāhā, followed by a feast. The Vajracaryas also have a gūthi as Vajracaryas (the acārya gūthi), which has an annual observance from the eighth to the thirteenth of the dark half of the month of Caitra. Both Barcheu-

The third lineage of Vajracaryas at Bu Bāhā is known as the Rāj Guru lineage. This lineage originally belonged to Ha Bāhā [24] at the time when this bāhā was situated where the southernmost section of the present darbār is. During the reign of Siddhi Narasimha Malla this bāhā was torn down to make room for the palace expansion and transferred to its present location in Gā Bāhā. (See the section on Ha Bāhā.) The saṅgha of that bāhā consisted of Sakyas and Vajracaryas. At the time of the transfer the Vajracaryas refused to move to that remote section of the city, so they left the saṅgha and were accepted into the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā. However, their lineage deity at the present time is the same as that of the original members of Bū Bāhā. Whether this indicates that they changed their lineage deity (unlikely) or whether this was always their deity has now been forgotten. If it was always their lineage deity they must have had some connection to Bū Bāhā from the beginning. One indication of their former membership in the saṅgha of Ha Bāhā is the fact that their jajams in Si Bāhā still belong to the sī gūthi (funeral gūthi) of Ha Bāhā. This lineage of Vajracaryas had exercised the office of Rāj Gurus, the same sort of post that had been traditionally held by the head Vajracarya of Sikamu Bāhā in Kathmandu. This office they retained and to the present time, when a king of Nepal dies they must perform bicāghya (the ceremonial offering of sympathy to the bereaved family) at the Patan Darbār. Yearly they must perform the stādchha (commemorative rituals) for the deceased members of the family of the Malla kings at the Patan Darbār. Also, to the present day if someone dies in the jail in Patan they have the right and duty to perform the funeral rites for him. Theoretically at least, like the Rāj Gubhāju in Kathmandu, these Vajracaryas must settle any disputes between the Vajracaryas of Patan and their clients. If any other Vajracaryas fail to carry out their duties of performing initiation rituals and death rites, the task must be taken up by this lineage. Another thing which indicates that they came from outside Bu Bāhā is the fact that since they are no relation to the other two lineages, marriage is possible between the Rāj Guru lineage and the other two. They also perform their Bachechye-gu initiations in the open courtyard in front of the shrine of the kūpā-dya.

The fourth lineage attached to Bū Bāhā is that of the Sakyas who reside at Na Bāhā.[3] These people came to Patan in the time of the late Malla kings, were settled at Na Bāhā and, because Na Bāhā belonged to Bu Bāhā, were assimilated to Bu Bāhā. They perform their Bachechye-gu initiations at Bu Bāhā, out in the open like the Rāj Guru lineage, but retain their old lineage deity at Pacali near Teku. Since they are no relation to the three lineages of Vajracaryas, marriages with these lineages are possible.

These four lineages then make up the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā. It is one integrated saṅgha with twelve elders, who hold office by strict seniority irrespective of whether they are Sakyas or Vajracaryas. The chief of the elders is always a Vajracarya and one other Vajracarya always functions as the Cakravara. These two offices are never held by the Sakyas, but they may hold any of the other offices. All the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pāls in the shrine of the kūpā-dya by rotation from eldest to youngest. Pūjā is performed three times a day, the nitya pūjā in the morning, a pañcápacāra pūjā at midday, and the offering of the ārati in the evening. The annual festival of the bāhā, the busā dān, is observed on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Māgh at which time the kūpā-dya is bathed (but not reconsecrated) and a homa ritual is performed. After this there is a secret pūjā in the āgama of the bāhā and a feast for the members of the saṅgha. There is also a busā dān ceremony for the torana of the Three Jewels up near the lower roof on the fifth day of the dark half of Caitra. After the pūjā in the courtyard there is another one in the dīk of the bāhā, followed by a feast. The Vajracaryas also have a gūthi as Vajracaryas (the acārya gūthi), which has an annual observance from the eighth to the thirteenth of the dark half of the month of Caitra. Both Barcheu-
yegu and Açāluyegu initiations are performed for the 
members of the bāhā in the manner described 
above.

BU Bāhā, however, has one custom in regard 
to the initiations that is unique. Once every 
three years all of the sons of the members of 
the saṅgha who have been born within the past 
three years are assembled for a ceremony called 
thyā bare, the 'registration of the Bare'. At 
this time the jāta (the official birth document 
and horoscope) is prepared for each of these 
boys. This is a sort of a registration of the 
fact of their birth, and after this ceremony 
their Barechuyegu must be performed within the 
year. At this ceremony their families have to 
feed only the twelve elders of the bāhā, as a 
result of which this is supposed to be the 
cheapest Barechuyegu of any bāhā. As a result 
of this custom, seniority in this bāhā is always 
counted by age and not by seniority of initia-
tion.

The lineage deity of the nanicā yā and 
bapijol lineages is 'Vaishnavi' now located at Na 
Bāhā, but according to informants brought from a 
village called Bakhan near Kirtipur which they 
identify with the Jhul or Bapijol of the legend. 
The lineage deity for the Rāj Guru lineage is 
the same. The lineage deity for the Sakyas of 
Na Bāhā is at Pachali in Teku. It was not possible 
to get details on the income of the bāhā, but it undoubtedly still has some. BU Bāhā 
has five official branches. The fact that these 
five alone are 'official' is easy to determine 
as each morning when the nitya pūjā is per-
formed, the assistant to the dya-pālā (a small 
boy who is also an initiated member of the 
saṅgha) goes first round the quadrangle of BU 
Bāhā and then to each of these branches ringing 
the bell and summoning the members of the 
saṅgha to worship. There are nine private branches, 
and one branch that is now defunct.

The history of BU Bāhā is intimately con-
ected with the legend recounted above. It is 
impossible to prove now, of course, how much of 
this story is historical; but the still current 
customs observed by the saṅgha indicate the 
thrust of the general lines of the story. The 
earliest dated reference to the bāhā comes from 
a copper-plate inscription at I Bāhā Bahi [98] 
dated N.S. 547, at which time a lakṣyāhuti sac-

cifice was performed there by Mul Bajracharya Sri 
Mamjōj of Śrī BU Bāhāla. A badly damaged 
inscription at Nu Bāhā [23], one of the official 
branches, dated N.S. 639 also mentions Śrī Bū 
Bhāra. The Sanskrit name Yaśodhara Mahā-vī-
hāra is mentioned in the above cited inscription 
of N.S.793. It is also mentioned in the col-
phon of a manuscript copy of the Meghasūtra 
copied in N.S.759 by a Vajracarya of Javas[= 
Yaśo])dhara Mahāvīhāra. An inscription of 
N.S.895 at BU Bāhā notes that in that year a 
golden throne was set up, facing west, for the 
king Pratāp Siṃha Shaha Deva when he visited the 
bāhā along with Sarup Siṅgh and the other court-
iers.

a. Sija Bāhā -- Śrī Vatsa Dunāubhi Vihāra [12] 
BU Bāhā Tole

Sija Bāhā is located in an enclosed court-
yard just off the corner of the BU Bāhā complex. 
All that remains of the original complex is the 
entryway and the caitya in the centre of the 
quadangle. All of the other buildings have 
been lost and some replaced with modern struc-
tures, including a flour mill. The shrine of 
the kuṭā-dya has been rebuilt as an open bell-
shaped shrine between two buildings. The kuṭā-
dya is an image of Amitābha the shrine has no 
torana. In the centre of the quadrangle is a 
large caitya and a stone charmacātā mandala.

According to informants this bāhā was built 
by Shresthas and given to the community of BU 
Bāhā in the sense that Vajracaryas from BU Bāhā 
were given the right and duty to perform the 
customary rituals at the shrine of the kuṭā-
dya. This task is still carried out by one 
lineage from BU Bāhā, the nani cā yā lineage, 
for which they still receive an annual payment 
of five pāthīs of paddy. Sija Bāhā has never 
had a saṅgha in the sense of a community of 
initiated Bare living here who consider this 
their bāhā. It was founded by Shresthas and has 
always remained their property, though it is 
considered to be one of the official branches of 
BU Bāhā.

In addition to this connection to BU Bāhā, 
Sija Bāhā also has connections with Si Bāhā [8], 
Bāhā [24], and Ku Bāhā [59]. The dya-pālās 
are changed at Si Bāhā each month on the day of 
the new moon. On this day the Sakyas from Si 
Bāhā must first go to Sija Bāhā and bring the 
materials for pūjā from there to Si Bāhā where 
they perform the customary pūjā performed on the 
day of the change of office. After that the new
Dya-pālās assume their duties. During the sacred month of Gunā on the day of pañca dāna the Shresthas from Sija Bāhā go to Ha Bāhā where the ten elders of Ha Bāhā assemble and offer then an image of Dīpankara. The elders accompany the image to the doorway of Ha Bāhā from where it is taken by the Shresthas to Si Bāhā where they offer worship to it and then offer the pañca dāna. In the evening when the pañca dāna is finished, the ten elders from Ha Bāhā come to Si Bāhā and take the image back to their own bāhā in procession/to the accompaniment of singing and the playing of instruments. Informants explained that this is done because there is no Dīpankara in Sija Bāhā, but no one was able to explain why this is done in Si Bāhā.

Sija Bāhā celebrates its annual festival on the day of Śrī Pafiṣamī, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Māgh. For the conduct of this festival there is a gūthi composed of one family from Bū Bāhā and one family from Mākā Bāhā [21], a branch of Kuā Bāhā [59]. There is still one ropanī of gūthī land which provides some income for the conduct of this festival.

Sija Bāhā then has never had a saṅgha in the sense of a community of initiated Bare who live here and consider this their bāhā. It was built by lay people, perhaps from the seven noble families of Patan, who were the patrons of both Bu Bāhā and Si Bāhā. Still Sija Bāhā is considered to be one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā. There probably were many other such bāhā in the Malla period, especially in Patan.

There are no extant inscriptions at this site, but KTMU assigns the construction of this bāhā to the sixteenth century.

b. Wana Bāhā -- Udayadeva Vihaṛa

Wana Bāhā Tole

Wana Bāhā is situated in a narrow courtyard just east of Bū Bāhā and is one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā. The present shrine is obviously a reconstruction, perhaps after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine is of three storeys. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a copper ropoussé torana depicting Mahāvairocana in a standing posture flanked by Mahā-ākṣobhya on his right and Mahā-āmitābhā on his left. The two remaining tantric Buddhas are pictured above in a seated posture and around them are six bodhisattva figures with Vajrasattva at the top. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fol window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has three large windows in front of living quarters. The tile roof is supported by six carved struts and surmounted by a caitya. The whole of the facade has been covered with multi-coloured ceramic tiles. To the right of the main door of the shrine is a large stone image of a six-armed form of Lokeshvara holding the rosary, arrow, and showing the varada mudra with the right hand and holding a lotus, bow and showing an unidentified mudra with the left. In his crown is a figure of Amitābhā Buddha. To the left of the door is a stone image of Tārā of equal height. In the centre of the courtyard is one small enshrined caitya. This shrine faces that of the kwāpā-dya, and along the northern and southern sides sixteen bodhisattva struts have been mounted into the wall, evidently the remains of an earlier structure. On either side of this shrine are two more votive caityas and another one directly behind it. Opposite this last caitya, along the eastern arm of the quadrangle is another doorway surmounted by a wooden torana similar to the later metal one over the kwāpā-dya shrine and dated N.S.859. The inscription on this torana gives the name of the bāhā as 'Uma Bāhāla'.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one hundred twenty five Vajracaryas of the wapi jhol lineage of Bu Bāhā. They take turns acting as dya-pālās performing the customary rituals morning and evening. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and passes by seniority of initiation from eldest to youngest. The annual festival of this bāhā is observed four days before the full moon of the month of Aswin. The saṅgha has four elders and still has a little income from gūthī land.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā other than the fact that it was founded as a recognised branch of Bu Bāhā and all its members are also members of Bu Bāhā where they still receive their initiations and take an active part in the life of the saṅgha. The earliest date at the site is N.S.748.
c. Na Bāhā -- Nava Vihāra

Bu Bāhā Tole

The shrine of this bāhā directly opposite the main entrance to Bū Bāhā is a plain, unadorned building. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Sādakṣarī Lokeśvara) on the left. The doorway is flanked by two small windows. The first storey has three small windows spread across the facade; and the top storey has a large, triple lattice-work window. The plain tile roof has no ornamentation. The image of the kuṭāpa-dya is a small standing image of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākarana mudrā, and facing north. In the courtyard is one small stone caitya and a dharmachātya mandala mounted on a six-sided base with various figures on each side.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of one family of Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā of the wapi jhol lineage, though none of them actually live here any more. The usual rituals are performed only in the morning and always by the same man who holds this position of dya-pāḷā for life. At his death the duty will pass to his next eldest brother. The bāhā has no annual festival, but there is an annual busā dān done to the memorial caitya in the centre of the courtyard performed on the death anniversary of the ancestor whom the caitya commemorates. The saṅgha has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā except that it is one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā. The earliest date in the complex is found on a badly damaged inscription from the time of King Jayaratna Malla put up in the year N.S.639.

d. Na Bāhā -- Padmāvatī Nāma Vihāra

Na Bāhā Tole

Na Bāhā is an expansive quadrangle cluttered with shrines and caityas. Nothing remains of the original buildings of this large complex. The entrance to the whole complex is marked by two huge stone lions. The shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya is a small, plain two-storied structure opposite the entrance to the complex. The carved doorway has no torana and is flanked by two other ordinary doors. Above the shrine is a triple window flanked by two ordinary windows. The tile roof has no ornamentation. The facade of the shrine shows traces of frescoes. The kuṭāpa-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākarana mudrā. In the centre of the quadrangle is a large, stylized stupa with a finial similar to the Suyambhū Caiyya. The lower part of the structure is a sort of white-washed temple structure with niches for the four transcendent Buddhas. A railing surrounds the stūpa with an opening to the east marked by two stone lions. On either side of the lions are two large bells one dated N.S.923 and the other dated N.S.940. The Buddha figure on the north is dated N.S.955. To the east of the stūpa is a large metal repousse dharmachātya mandala. Off the northeast corner of the stūpa is a well and next to that a white-washed shrine containing an image of Amoghapāsa Lokeśvara. Over the doorway of the shrine is a torana depicting Vajrasattva and the top of the shrine is another caitya-top, similar to the top part of the one in the centre of the quadrangle. Between the stūpa and the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya are a cemented caitya and a now empty pillar. Just to one's left as one enters the quadrangle from the street is a plastered shrine containing images of Ganesha, Mahākāl, and Sarasvati (truly Sarasvati and not Mahājñānī called Sarasvati).

The saṅgha of this branch of Bū Bāhā consists of about fifty Sakyas some of whom belong to Bu Bāhā and some of whom belong to Si Bāhā. In fact it was difficult to determine which Bāhā this is a branch of as some people said one and some the other. It is clearly a branch of Bu Bāhā as this is one of the five official branches which the boy dya-pāḷā from Bū Bāhā must visit on his round of ceremonial visits to the branches of Bū Bāhā. Also, there is an āgām shrine within this compound which belongs to the people from Bū Bāhā. The people from Si Bāhā have an āgām shrine but it is in an adjoining courtyard which belongs entirely to them. Informants gave the following explanation for this strange arrangement. At the time of the construction of the Patan Darbār, during the period of the late Malla kings of Patan, some Sakyas were called from Kathmandu to Patan as bell casters. They were settled in Na Bāhā and accepted into the saṅgha of Bū Bāhā where they began to perform their initiations, because Na Bāhā, which at that time had been deserted,
belonged to Bū Bāhā. Later, as there was still room in the bāhā, some Sakyas came from Si Bāhā to live there and the two groups have formed one saṅgha with one elder. This arrangement of a branch saṅgha comprised of members of two different main bāhās is unique in Patan. The members of this composite saṅgha take turns acting as dyā-pāḷas in the shrine of the kuśā-pāya. However, not all who live here are eligible for this honour. There is a Śī Gūthi (a funeral gūthi) which originally comprised all the members of this saṅgha. For some now forgotten reason some of the members of the saṅgha were excluded from this gūthi and consequently lost the right of service in the shrine. The term of service is one month and passes by seniority from eldest to youngest among the eligible members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the Si Bāhā members is that of Si Bāhā, but the Bū Bāhā members who came from Kathmandu have retained their original lineage deity which is at Pacali near Teku. This may indicate that they came from one of the Kathmandu bāhās which has its lineage deity there; though these people have forgotten which bāhā they came from in Kathmandu. The saṅgha used to have an annual festival but has been discontinued as there is no longer any income to support it.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this branch, but it is probably an early foundation. The earliest date in the complex is found on an inscription at the front of the cāitya, N.S.769. There are a number of earlier references in land grants to Naka Bāhā (the earlier form of the modern name Na Bāhā), but it is impossible to tell for sure from the references whether the bāhā in question is indeed Na Bāhā or Naka Bāhā on the road from Patan Dohākā. The earliest of these references is dated N.S.515.

e. I Bāhā -- Yokuli Ikanāma Vihāra [32]  
Bū Bāhā Tole

This official branch is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off the northwest corner of the Bū Bāhā complex. The shrine has the appearance more of an ordinary house than a bāhā. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a copper repousse torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (a seated, two-handed Avalokiteśvara). The doorway of the shrine is flanked by two small windows and above these are two small, empty niches. The kuśā-pāya is a stone image of Padmapāni Lokesvara. The first storey has a lattice window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has one large, ordinary window. The tile roof is supported by six plain struts and has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are one votive cāitya and a stone drhammadhātu mangala on a six-sided base, which contains images of Ganesha, Mahākāl and Hanumān.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā consists of one family of Vajracayas of the nani ca-va lineage of Bū Bāhā who now live in Kisichok Bāhā [13]. The members of this saṅgha perform the usual rituals each morning, but according to no fixed system. The saṅgha has one elder known as Thakali. This is considered to be one of the official branches of Bū Bāhā and all the initiations of the members of the saṅgha are performed there. This branch bāhā no longer has an annual festival and has no income.

This branch is one of the oldest foundations connected to Bū Bāhā. There are two inscriptions on either side of the entryway to the shrine of the bāhā, one of them dated N.S.651 which gives the name of the bāhā as I Bāhā. Another inscription near the cāitya is dated N.S.777 and commemorates the installation of the cāitya and the mandala. Renovations were carried out in N.S.998 and 1000.

Bū Bāhā Tole

This branch is located in a small, enclosed courtyard and consists of a small kuśā-pāya shrine set against the wall, a good example of the late (twentieth century) foundations which consist simply of a free-standing, usually open shrine which has none of the architectural characteristics of the traditional bāhā. The shrine contains a small image of Aksobhya facing west. Over the shrine is a small torana showing Aksobhya. In the courtyard is a votive cāitya and one mangala.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one household of the sub-lineage which founded I Bāhā. As their family expanded, this sub-lineage built four private branches, this bāhā, Bhagawān Chok [36], Jisu Bāhā [35], and Kisi- chok Bāhā [13]. At the present time one family cares for both this branch and I Bāhā, one family is attached to Kisichok Bāhā, and one
108. I Bāḥā [32]

family is attached to both Bhagawān Chok and Jiswān Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the same man who acts as dyā-pāḷā in I Bāhā. This branch has no annual festival and no income.

This is a modern, twentieth century foundation. An inscription at the shrine is dated N.S.1022 and one at the caitya is dated N.S.1024.

g. Kisi Chok Bāhā — Sukhāvatiprasāda Tri
ratnayoga Vihaṇa [13]
Bū Bāhā Tole

This small, modern, private branch is located in an enclosed area behind Bū Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya is housed in a free-standing, plastered shrine set against the wall which contains a small image of Aksobhya facing east. Over the shrine is a small torana containing an image of Aksobhya. Set into the lintel over the door is a figure of a vajra.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one family of Bū Bāhā Vajracaryas from I Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by whatever member of the family is available. This branch saṅgha has one elder. Their annual festival is observed on the full moon day of the month of Kartik, however this is a commemoration of the setting up of the caitya, not the kwāpā-dya shrine. The branch has no income.

This small, private branch is also a twentieth century foundation. There are two inscriptions in the complex, one dated B.S.2009 and the other B.S.2014. According to one of the inscriptions the bāhā was built by Vachaspati Vajracarya.

h. Jiswān Bāhā — Devarāj Vihaṇa [35]
Bū Bāhā Tole

This small private branch is also known as Devarāj Bāhā and Kavāwāca Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya, which is Aksobhya, is housed in a small shrine set against the southern wall of a narrow courtyard. The image faces north. The courtyard also contains a caitya, a charmedātu maṇḍala, and a small mounted vajra. Next to the shrine is also a bell which is dated N.S. 1009, and behind this another inscription dated N.S.1017.

The saṅgha of this private branch consists of one household from I Bāhā, at the present time only four initiated members. They are a branch of the nāṇī cā-ya lineage and function as the saṅgha of both this branch and the following one (Bhagawān Chok). The customary rituals are performed each morning by the eldest of the members of this household, a grandson of the Devarāj who established this branch, and he functions as the elder of this branch. They have an annual observance at the time of Sīthi Nakha, but this is the busā daṃ of the caitya and not of the kwāpā-dya. The bāhā has no income.

This is also a modern foundation, the caitya and the bell pre-date the bāhā shrine itself which was built in N.S.1021.

i. Bhagawān Chok — Sukhāvatī (Kalpa Prasāda)
Vihaṇa [35] Bū Bāhā Tole

This small private branch, also called Bāhājupati Bāhā, is situated in a small courtyard behind Bū Bāhā proper. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya, an image of Aksobhya facing north, is housed in a small open shrine set along the wall of the compound. The shrine has no torana. In the centre of the courtyard is a copper caitya, and to the side of the shrine, a bell.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consist of the same household of Vajracaryas who also comprise the saṅgha of Jiswān Bāhā [35]. The daily rituals are performed by the same dyā pāḷā. This bāhā has an annual festival in the month of Paūṣ.

This small branch dates to the end of the last century. The earliest inscription is dated N.S.977 and relates to the setting up of a gūthi for the conduct of the worship of the lineage deity of the members of the saṅgha. The bell is dated N.S.932 and the caitya is dated N.S.1018.

j. Wanagata Bāhā — Bhairava Siṁha Vihaṇa [38] Bū Bāhā Tole

The shrine of this bāhā consists of a small open enclosure set into the corner of a courtyard behind Bū Bāhā. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The courtyard also contains a caitya and an image of Mahākāl.
The saṅgha of this private branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā of the wapi jhol lineage. The members of this household perform the customary rituals at the shrine each morning, but there is no fixed order of service. Whoever is available does the pūjā. The saṅgha has one elder. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh. The bāhā has no income.

There are no inscriptions at this bāhā, but KTMU says that it was established in N.S.1006 by a Vajracarya, presumably Bhairava Simha.

k. Wankudu Bāhā — Vṛṣarāja Vihāra* [34]
Bū Bāhā Tole

This modern, private branch is situated in a tiny courtyard in the bowels of the Bū Bāhā complex behind a goldsmith’s shop. The shrine which has an image of Aksobhya Buddha facing north also has a small torana over the doorway depicting Aksobhya. In the centre of the courtyard is a small votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Bū Bāhā of the wapi jhol lineage. The members of this household perform the customary rituals each morning, but in no fixed order. Whoever is available performs the pūjā. The saṅgha has one elder, but the annual festival is no longer held and the bāhā has no income.

According to two inscriptions at the site and notations on a contemporary manuscript preserved by the members of this household, the bāhā was founded in N.S.1001 by Vṛṣarāja (pronounced Bekhrāj) Vajracarya and the caitya was established in N.S.1004. The bāhā was renovated in A.D.1970.

l. Wanlā Bāhā — Harṣavīra Saṃskārita Wolanāma Vihāra [22]
Olā Tole

This small branch, also known as Company Chok, has a small modern shrine set against one wall of a partially enclosed courtyard. The kuśā-pā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. Over the doorway of the shrine is a small torana depicting Aksobhya. The doorway to the shrine is of lattice work and the shrine is topped by a bell-shaped dome. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch originally consisted of one household of Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā, wapi jhol lineage. This line eventually died out and the property fell into the hands of a Vajracarya family from Bū Bāhā who had come back to Patan after living in Palpa for some time. This family now constitutes the saṅgha of this branch. However, the daily rituals are no longer regularly performed but only on the fullmoon day of each month and during the sacred month of Guñī. The annual festival is no longer observed and the saṅgha has no income. The saṅgha has one elder.

According to an inscription at the caitya this bāhā was built in N.S.1041. Informants say that the Newari name comes from the fact that it was consecrated at the time of the five-yearly samayak ceremony of Patan. It is perhaps more likely that the name comes from the performance of a Bāhā pūjā (a pūjā of all of the bāhās and caityas in Patan) which is often performed at the time of the consecration of a bāhā or caitya.

m. Nandaya Bū Bāhā — Devajyoti Vihāra [33]
Bū Bāhā Tole

This small, private branch is situated in a tiny courtyard just off I Bāhā [32]. It has a small bāhā shrine with a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) with a vaṭra mounted above his head and flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The kuśā-pā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. The building is of two storeys with a tiled roof and a plain brick facade. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Vajracaryas from Bū Bāhā, nay ca-ya lineage. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of only one of these households. The saṅgha has one elder; the annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

There are no dated inscriptions at the site and nothing is known about the history or foundation of this branch. To judge from the remains of the buildings it must be a late Malla foundation.
116. Nandya Bū Bāhā [33]

117. Yāka Bāhā [10]
This small, private branch is in a state of almost complete ruin. Only the shrine of the kuṣapā-dya remains and the roof of this has caved in. There is no torāpa over the doorway. The kuṣapā-dya is an image of Akgobhya facing west. In the centre of the tiny courtyard just off the main street is a small caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Bu Bāhā from the rāj-gubhāju lineage. Daily rituals are still performed morning and evening, but exclusively by one man who lives nearby. The bāhā has no annual festival and no income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā, but KTMV assigns it to the seventeenth century. There are no inscriptions at the site.

Nothing is left of this bāhā but a small, free standing shrine in a field in Thati Tole. The small shrine contains an image of Akgobhya and is typical of the modern bell-dome shrines. According to informants at Bu Bāhā this was once a branch of Bu Bāhā inhabited by the nānī cā-ya lineage, but has long since been abandoned by them. It seems that no one from Bu Bāhā does any pūjā here anymore. Informants in the area say that for some time Vajracaryas from Cūka Bāhā [102] did the nitya pūjā. Now somebody from Ikha Cheň Bāhā [62] occasionally does pūjā here. The entire area is now inhabited by sweepers and butchers and there are no bare at all living in the area. According to informants from Kuā Bāhā this site was once used by bare who had been expelled from their own saṅgha as a site for the initiation of their sons. Later even this custom was abandoned and the site is entirely deserted now. According to an inscription at the site a golden canopy was offered to the deity of the bāhā in N.S.808. The name Thati is supposed to be derived from Tha-Tīrtha (the upper tīrtha) which informants say was the original name of the place.

Si Bāhā is located in an entirely closed courtyard at the western edge of the city of Patan, the western-most of the main bāhās of Patan. All that is left of the original complex is the bāhā shrine which was renovated after the great earthquake of 1934 at which time most of the buildings around the courtyard were destroyed. Over the entryway to the bāhā compound is an elaborate wooden torāpa with a standing figure of Mahāvairocana as the central figure. As one enters the compound of the bāhā there are two open areas on the left and right. The one on the left contains a shrine with a large image of Vasundharā flanked by Nāmasaṅgiti and a seated Padmapañjī Lokesvara. The open area on the right is used for the gathering of people who come to chant hymns. Within the complex itself the ground floor of the southern side of the quadrangle is also an open area and in the south east corner is a doorway surmounted by an elaborate torāpa of a tantric, six-armed figure showing the vajra humkāra mudrā with his two principal hands. He is flanked by Ganesha and another tantric figure.

The shrine of the kuṣapā-dya is a well-preserved four storied structure, which though attached to two adjoining buildings has many of the features of a free-standing temple, including a triple roof. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. Around the veranda of the temple is an enclosure of metal grillwork. Behind this is one large bell on the left and a small one on the right. The carved doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torāpa depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Saṅkṣārī Lokesvara) on the left. Three small bells hang down to the doorway. The kuṣapā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavākarana mudrā, locally referred to as Ratnapañjī Bodhisattva. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The first tile roof extends over these windows and is supported by six carved struts depicting tantric deities. The edges of the roof are marked by heavy cemented ridges. The third storey has one large window and two smaller windows at the side. The tile roof above this is supported by four carved struts with a very unusual lizard strut at either end. The
118. Thati Bāhā [101]

119. Sī Bāhā [8]
The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of three hundred seventeen Sakyas. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha by rotation according to seniority of initiation. The term of service is one full month, but two men serve at a time one acting as dyā-pālā for fifteen days while the other one sleeps in the shrine at night. At the end of the fortnight the duties are reversed. A pujā is also performed daily in the āgama of the bāhā, by the senior-most of the elders. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on Bhima Ekadasi. The saṅgha is governed by ten elders, all Sakyas, but are served by priests from Bū Bāhā for any ritual requiring the services of a Vajracarya. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is a small image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara which is kept in the shrine of the kūpā-dyā. The members of the saṅgha say that this deity was 'brought' to the shrine from a place called Bakhu, between Kirtipur and Mache Narayana. Ordinary pujā is performed to this image of Padmapāṇi but the offering of a blood sacrifice, which is a part of the worship of their lineage deity, is done at the Kāla shrine as one cannot offer blood sacrifices to Lokesvara nor within the confines of a bāhā. The saṅgha no longer has any income, though they had some in the past.

According to Wright's Chronicle this bāhā was built only in the time of King Siddhi Narasimha Malla (N.S.738-81).

Another vihāra named Sibāhāl was not amalgamated with these [i.e. the fifteen bāhās plus Kirtipur and Cobhār], because it was built after the rules had been made by the Rājā for their guidance, and guthis had been assigned to them.

This statement, however, is almost surely wrong unless it refers to a renovation of the bāhā, a revival of a defunct bāhā, or the transfer of the bāhā from one site to another—none of which is impossible. A manuscript copy of the Pāfcarakṣā dated N.S.509 refers in the colophon to a Mahāyānī Śākyaputra (evidently the owner of the manuscript) of Śrī Bāccha Vihāra in Manigalake of Lalitakramaya. The name Śrī Bāccha Vihāra also occurs in three palm leaf land grants, one dated N.S.632 and two of them dated N.S.668, all dates preceding the reign of Siddhi Narasīhā (N.S.738-81). KTMV also notes a record preserved at the bāhā dated 1584 (N.S.684). The earliest visible inscription at the site of the bāhā itself is one dated N.S.820 which relates to the performance of initiations (vande-chuḷā) and which specifies that no one under the age of five should be initiated and that initiations should not be performed in groups (as is now done). It further specifies that no one is permitted to use the courtyard of the bāhā for drying grain. Another indication of the antiquity of the site is a Licchavi style caitya which is set into a cement base just outside the bāhā compound as one enters. The bāhā was renovated in N.S.812, in 1905 and again in 1958.

At the present time this bāhā has five official branches and one more which belongs to Bū Bāhā, but where several members of Śrī Bāhā reside and are members of the sub-saṅgha.

a. Bāccha Bāhā -- Śrī Vaccha Vihāra [9]

This small branch is located in a courtyard just off the Śrī Bāhā complex. It has a small, unpretentious shrine of one storey with no ornamentation. There is no torāṇa over the doorway of the shrine which contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the very small courtyard is a single votive caitya. The saṅgha of this branch consists of fifteen households of Śrī Bāhā. The fifty to sixty initiated members of these households perform the customary rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder, but no longer observes an annual festival for this branch nor do they have any income. There are no inscriptions at the site, but KTMV dates the shrine to the seventeenth century and notes that it was renovated by one Ṭṣaṭarāj Śākya in 1971.
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120. Bāchā Bāhā [9]

121. Fām Bāhā [1]
b. Pām Bāhā -- Kanaka Datta Vihāra [1]  
Na Tole

This branch is situated in a small, enclosed courtyard in Na Tole west of Si Bāhā and down a lane to the south. Various published lists have given various names for this bāhā: Lakuń Bāhā, Laṅga Bāhā, and Na Tuā Bāhā; but the only name which the people here recognise is Pām Bāhā. The shrine is a very unpretentious structure which forms part of the adjoining buildings. The simple carved doorway has a lattice-work door but no torana. The image of the kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. Above the shrine itself is a triple window and the rest of the building is an ordinary dwelling. In the courtyard is one large, votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Sakyas from Si Bāhā, comprising at the present time only four initiated members. Of these only three live here anymore and they take turns performing the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder and used to observe the annual festival of the branch on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh, but this has been discontinued. The saṅgha has no income.

To the left of the kuṇāpā-shrine is one inscription dated N.S.780, the only dated piece in the complex.

Na Tole

Kuṭṭha Bāhā is in an enclosed courtyard in Na Tole. The shrine is this bāhā has a plain, unornamented facade. The door of the shrine is of wooden lattice work and surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Vajrasattva flanked by Gaṇesh and Mahākālī. The kuṇāpā-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has three large, ordinary windows and is used as living quarters. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two votive caityas, a shrine of Gaṇesh and a cement ping pong table.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of fifteen households of Sakyas from Si Bāhā. The members of the saṅgha act as dyā-pālās in the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya by rotation through the fifteen households. The saṅgha has one elder. They no longer keep an annual festival, though the bāhā still does have a little income. The only inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.1015, but KTMOV says that the bāhā was constructed in the eighteenth century and renovated by the gūḍhī in A.D.1934.

d. Māka Bāhā -- Sri Vatsa Kanakavarna Vihāra [14]  
Si Bāhā Tole

This branch in Si Bāhā Tole has retained the architectural form of a bāhā, but is in a sad state of disrepair. The shrine doorway, flanked by two small windows, is of wooden lattice work but has no proper torana, only three small figures depicting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha attached to the lintel of the doorway. The kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey of the shrine has a triple window and the top storey an overhanging wooden balcony and living quarters. In the courtyard is single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Sakyas of Si Bāhā. The male members of this family take turns acting as dyā-pālās in the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya; the saṅgha has one elder. They no longer observe an annual festival and the bāhā has no income.

There are no longer any inscriptions in the courtyard of the bāhā, but records preserved by the saṅgha indicate that the branch was constructed in N.S.796 by one Devamuni Sakya.

e. Dune Naka Bāhā -- (Padmāvati) Yokulivarna Vihāra [4]  
Na Bāhā Tole

This small branch bāhā is situated in the remains of a tiny courtyard behind Na Bāhā. Only the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya remains. The wooden lattice doorway is flanked by two small windows. There is no torana, but small figures of a caitya and the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha have been affixed to the lintel above the doorway. The kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The cornice above the ground floor and the triple window of the first storey are both richly carved. The roof is supported by several plain wooden struts. In the centre of the six foot square courtyard is a single votive caitya often surrounded by a pond of green water.
The saṅgha of this bāhā originally consisted of one household of Sakyas from Si Bāhā. However, the last surviving male member of this household died without any sons. He did, however, have daughters and the husbands of these daughters (who were not from Si Bāhā but other bāhās) inherited the rights, duties and property of this man. Until fairly recently the descendants of these sons-in-law continued to act as dya-pālās by turn. However, they have ceased to perform the rituals regularly and the branch is for all practical purposes abandoned. The annual festival is no longer kept and the branch has no income. There is, however, an āgām shrine in this complex belonging to the Si Bāhā Sakyas attached to Na Bāhā [3] who still worship here.

There are no inscriptions at the site, but KTMV dates the construction of this branch to the seventeenth century. Some renovations were also carried out in 1933.


This important branch bāhā is actually a branch of Bō Bāhā [31] and is treated there, but it is noted here because about half of the saṅgha of this branch belong to Si Bāhā. This is the only example in Patan of a saṅgha of a branch bāhā being made up of people from two different main bāhās, who nonetheless have formed an integrated saṅgha of their own.

18. Kyapu Bāhā -- Jagatpālavarma Sāṃskārīta Padmakāśṭha Giri Mahāvihāra* [174]
Cilaṅco Bāhā -- Kirtipur, Cilaṅco

This bāhā, counted as one of the 'fifteen' of Patan is known to everyone outside of Kirtipur as Kyapu (Kirtipur) Bāhā. People in Kirtipur, however, usually refer to it as Cilaṅco Bāhā. The bāhā is a large area on top of a hill consisting of a large stūpa with four smaller stūpas around it and the shrine of the kuśā-pā-dya and the āgām of the bāhā situated at the southern edge of the complex. One approaches the bāhā up a long, stone stairway which is marked by two large stone lions. Just beyond the lions to the right is a shrine of Mahākālī. The stūpa is similar to the Swayambhu Mahācaitya with eyes painted on the harmika and brass rings above this. The four transcendent Buddhas, stone figures painted in gaudy enamel, are set into the four cardinal points and their consorts are placed between them. The Buddha situated on the east, Kuṣāṇabha, is enclosed in a sort of shrine which is marked by two small lions. To the left of this shrine are the figures of the Buddha (Kuṣāṇabha), Dharmā (Prajñāpāramitā) and Saṅgha (Avalokitesvarā), also painted in gaudy enamel. Off the four cardinal points of the stūpa are four smaller stūpas each with the four transcendent Buddhas. The shrine of the kuśā-pā-dya is situated at the southern edge of the complex but at a slightly lower level. As it stands now the shrine is the only building set along the periphery of the complex. The original buildings may well have extended right round the complex. The shrine is a rather elongated, three-storied building of brick with the ground floor plastered and white-washed. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions one dated N.S.837 and the other N.S.839. Flanking the doorway are repoussé images of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Over the doorway is a repoussé torana of unusual design. There are three standing, eight-armed, three-faced figures, probably Mahā-akṣobhya in the centre; but all three figures are dressed in long flowing garments after the fashion of Rājput princes. Above the shrine is the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an over-hanging balcony and is adapted for living quarters. The tile roof has a small, triple finial. On either side of the shrine itself are two smaller sections which look like later additions each having a single doorway. The section to the south houses the āgām deity of the bāhā and has an indistinct, carved wooden torana.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of one hundred twenty eight Vajracaryas. Though until recent times all the members of the saṅgha served as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kuśā-pā-dya by turn for one month at a time, at the present time the rituals are always performed by the same man. This arrangement is the result of a compromise reached after a quarrel. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Asvin. The governing body consists of ten elders, plus another five who are called the balī ṭhāypā, i.e. they are the next five to be called into the group of elders and they do all the work (balī). The ten are considered to be retired ceremonial elders. However, if the saṅgha is invited to another bāhā, e.g. for a Samyak Ceremony, it is
124. Dune Naka Bāhā

125. Kyapu Bāhā
the ten who go. Both Barechugyan and Açaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. According to informants the saṅgha consists of five lineages each of which still performs the pūjā of its lineage deity separately. One lineage worships a 'Yogānmbara' at Ikhačeñ Bāhā [62] in Patan; three lineages worship 'Yogānmbara' at Kuā Bāhā but on separate days, the first group on the sixth day of the bright half of Balişākh, the second group on the seventh and the third group on the eighth. The last lineage worships 'Vajrayogini,' now housed in the Āgam of the bāhā but brought from Sankhu. This bāhā had a considerable income from fields lying below the village of Kirtipur. With the building of Tribhuvan University on that property they lost their fields, but as a compensation still receive an annual stipend from the government Gūṭhi Samsthan.

People in Kirtipur say that this bāhā is older than any bāhā in Patan; and as proof of this they say that when the Samyak ceremony is held in Patan every five years the Dīpaṅkara from Kyapu Bāhā is always given the place of honour. Informants at Kuā Bāhā say that this is not quite accurate. At the Samyak ceremony there are two lines of Dīpaṅkaras, the first one the senior Dīpaṅkaras and the second one the Junior Dīpaṅkaras. The Dīpaṅkara from Kirtipur has the place of honour in the second line. Inscriptions at the site of Kyapu Bāhā indicate a late-Malla date for the foundation of the bāhā.

A long inscription at the large caitya dated N.S.635 commemorates the founding and consecration of the caitya and the bāhā by one Jagatpāla Varma. The inscription describes the setting up of the five tathāgatas on the caitya and the long consecration rituals. The 'bhikṣu saṅgha' are commanded to perform all the proper rituals. This Jagatpāla was one of the nobles of Patan and lived in Pim Bāhā. He came into political prominence after the death of Yakṣa Malla at the time that Ratna Malla, who had become the king of the separate kingdom of Kathmandu, was trying to consolidate his rule over Patan also. Jatatrāla sided with Ratna Malla and was one of the principal architects of the eventual compromise that was effected between Ratna Malla and the nobles of Patan. As a result of this Jatatrāla's prestige and wealth increased. His interest in Kirtipur derived from the fact that his wife was from a noble family of Kirtipur. In addition to the founding of this caitya and bāhā, he also refurbished the Bāgh Bairava temple in Kirtipur.

Some of the struts of the bāhā building are dated N.S.749, some are dated N.S.800. In N.S.781 a finial and a gilded banner were offered to the 'Dharmadātavāgīśvara' (=the caitya) at 'Padmakāstaṭgiri Mahāvilāra. Repairs were made on the caitya in N.S.788 and the stone elephants were donated in N.S.789. Further donations were made in N.S.791, 793, and 797. In N.S.835 a new caitya was donated, in 837 a new image of Vajrasattva and the lions were donated. A long inscription of N.S.876 lists further donations, the performance of a great yāga and the setting up of new gūṭhis for the performance of the proper rituals. The bāhā was renovated in A.D.1934 after the great earthquake.

At the present time this bāhā has four branch bāhās and a nānī which is called a branch bāhā.

a. Yāka Bāhā -- Jīvadharna Vīhāra* [169]
Kirtipur, Lwan Dega

This branch is located in an enclosed courtyard just south of the temple called Lwan Dega. All that now remains of the original buildings is the shrine of the kuwpā-dya. The shrine is marked by two stone lions, dated N.S.630. The carved doorway has no torana. The kuwpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard are a votive caitya, an image of Vajrasattva dated N.S.821, an image of a devotee dated N.S.759, and a stone maḍalā.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā. The members of the household take turns acting as dyā-pālās in the shrine of the kuwpā-dya. The branch has one elder and the annual festival is observed on the full moon day of the month of Aswin. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

The Vajracaryas of this branch saṅgha perform all of their initiations in Kyapu Bāhā. However, initiations are performed here. There are three lineages of Sakyas in Kirtipur who moved to Kirtipur after the establishment of Kyapu Bāhā. They requested permission to be
This branch is initiated in Kyapu Bähā and be counted members of that sangha. However, since the entire sangha was Vajracarya the elders refused to include Sakyas. They were given permission to perform their Barechuyegu either in this branch or in Kusi Bähā. They are usually performed here, but these Sakyas are not members of this branch sangha nor of the Kyapu Bähā sangha. They have no rights or duties at Kyapu Bähā, at this branch or at Kusi Bähā. The three lineages also have different lineage deities. One worships a lineage deity at Thasi, one worships the lineage deity of Wā Bahī in Chāpāgauñ (which ultimately came from Suna Gōthī), and one worships a lineage deity at Bungamatī.

An inscription of N.S.802 at this bähā notes that 'Jivadharma Vihāra' had been set up in N.S.769 and that the king of Patan, Siddhi Narasiṃha Malla, had come to the consecration ceremonies. In N.S.783 images of Sañhara Devadevi, Śrī Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, Ganesh and Mahākāl were made and offered in memory of Śrī Jivadharma Deva by his sons Śrī Candrayoiti and Śrī Indrayoiti. Four and a half ropanis of land were offered at this time so that the following rituals could be carried out: the annual Buśādañ, the monthly Dasami Pūjā, the lighting of a lamp on the fullmoon day of Kar tik, and the daily Nitya Pūjā. In N.S.802 a finial was offered for the shrine plus an umbrella and a crown for the Buddha Image by Candrayoiti, his wife and his three sons.

b. Kusi Bähā -- Mahākārtti Vihāra  [170]
Kirtipur, Kusīcā Tole

This branch is located in a small enclosed area in Kusīcā Tole down a long flight of stairs which gives the whole shrine a dungeon-like appearance. The small shrine has a carved doorway but no torana; the kuṣā-pā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya. The sangha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bähā whose members serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuṣā-pā-dya each morning. The annual festival of the branch is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyeṣṭha. The branch has no income. The members of this household of Vajracaryas perform all their initiations in Kyapu Bähā, but the Sakyas mentioned above sometimes perform initiations here, though they do not thereby become members either of this branch sangha or the sangha of Kyapu Bähā.

c. Kue Bähā -- Karṇātaka Vihāra*  [171]
Kirtipur, Tajāph Tole

This branch is situated just off the main street in a very small courtyard. All that remains of the original buildings is the small kuṣā-pā-dya shrine. The finely carved doorway has no torana, but a small image of Aksobhya set into the lintel. The kuṣā-pā-dya is Aksobhya, facing west. Above the shrine is a well carved, five-fold window with a smaller lattice window to the right. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya. The Sanskrit name Karṇātaka Mahāvihāra is given on an inscription.

The sangha of this branch consists of four households of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bähā. The usual rituals are performed each morning but only by the members of one of these households. The annual festival of the branch is observed on Śrī Pañcami. The branch sangha has one elder and the members perform all of their initiations in Kyapu Bähā. The bähā still has some income from the Gōthī Samsthan as compensation for the fields they lost to Tribhuvan University.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this branch. The caitya in the courtyard is dated N.S.753, but KTMV says that the present shrine building was constructed in the nineteenth century.

d. Cue Bähā -- Harṣakārtti Vihāra*  [172]
Kirtipur, Singha Duval Tole

This small branch consists of a kuṣā-pā-dya shrine in an enclosed area surrounded by fields in Singha Duval Tole. The shrine of the kuṣā-pā-dya, which sits more or less in the centre of the enclosed area is the only building on the site. It is a well preserved, but plain bähā shrine with a carved doorway and no torana. The kuṣā-pā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The facade of the ground floor had been plastered and white-washed, but most of the plaster has crumbled. Above the ground floor is a second storey with a plain five-fold window. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and the roof has no ornamentation. In front of the shrine are one votive caitya and a copper-covered stone mandala with an inscription which gives the Sanskrit name of the bähā. In the courtyard are also images of Ganesh, Mahākāl,
Hanumān and a donor.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā, now comprising about twenty five members. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals each morning. The saṅgha has one elder, but no longer observes the annual festival of the bāhā, which used to be held on the second day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha. However they still receive a little income from the Gūḍhī Samsthān as compensation for the fields they lost when Tribhuvan University was built.

According to the inscription on the mandala the bāhā was built in N.S.761 by Hākuja Sākya and the mandala was set up in N.S.936. The bāhā was renovated after the earthquake of 1934 by Bhāmvajra Vajracarya.

Tuṅgalaycwnugu Bāhā -- Padmocca Viḥāra

This site, which consists only of a caitya in the centre of a small courtyard, has no bāhā shrine and no kuṭāpā-dya. Whether it ever did have such a shrine is doubtful. It should probably be classified as a māni and not a bāhā, but informants insisted that it is a bāhā and it does have a saṅgha. The saṅgha consists of one household of Vajracaryas of Kyapu Bāhā who perform the usual rituals at the caitya regularly. They do not observe an annual festival and the site has no income. The caitya is dated N.S.868.
The Bahis of Patan

Introduction

Every commentator on the vihāras of the Valley and every Newar informant note that there are two types of institutions: bāhās and bahīs. However, when one tries to answer the question: what is the difference between a bāhā and a bahī?, one finds that commentators disagree and present day informants are hard pressed to specify the differences. The difficulty seems to come from the fact that today there are few differences and the differences have lost their significance for present day-Newars. Certain distinctions, however, do remain.

First are the architectural differences. a) Bahis have open halls on the ground floor and large open rooms above, behind screened verandas. Such an arrangement does not readily lend itself to family quarters as these large open halls are not divided into rooms. b) The shrine of the kuṭā-pā-dya is offset so that it is possible to circumambulate it. c) One usually finds a flight of steps leading up to the main entrance, whereas the entrance to bāhās is usually at ground level. d) The shrine (āgam) of the tantric deity is located in a blind room directly above the shrine of the kuṭā-pā-dya. e) The kuṭā-pā-dya himself is often referred to as gandhuri-dya, a term that is never used of the Buddha in a bāhā.

In Patan the members of the bahīs formerly referred to themselves as brahmacarya bhikṣu (celibate bhikṣus) rather than Sakya, Sakyabhikṣu or Sakyavāhita. This term is not attested in any inscriptions or documents from bahīs in Kathmandu or Bhaktapur whose members were usually 'Sakyabhikṣu'. In Patan today the term is seldom used and the people of the bahīs usually call themselves simply Sakya. The term was a technical term for the members of the bahīs of Patan and it is difficult to understand its import. That by the time of the Malla kings the term did not mean what it says is clear from the reference to a brahmacarya bhikṣu from N.S.635 who was in fact married. From the Late Malla Period on it is clear that the members of the bahīs were all married.

Whereas each main bāhā has its own saṅgha and is in this sense a closed and self-sufficient unit, the bahīs have a different arrangement. In Kathmandu all the bahīs belong to one over-all organization (sarva-saṅgha). Each bahī (with two exceptions) has a single elder; and the elders of each of the bahīs belong to an overall-board of elders which must be present at all bahī initiations and which generally rules the life of the sarva-saṅgha in the way the elders of each individual bāhā do. In Patan there were two groups of bahīs, one of ten and the other of fifteen bahīs which had a similar arrangement. Though this original arrangement has broken down in recent years, it was still intact a hundred years ago. (In Bhaktapur there are only three extant bahīs and none of the three has a bahī-saṅgha today; they are looked after by Bare who are members of a bāhā.) Informants in Patan have told me that in ancient times all the bahīs of the Valley belonged to one sarva-saṅgha. However, I have seen no contemporary evidence to confirm this.

As noted in the General Introduction, the members of the bahīs were until recent times considered by the members of the bāhās to be of a slightly lower status. Why they should be considered inferior is a bit of mystery to people today. Some connect it with the idea that a bahī is a lower form of Buddhist institution than a bāhā. This seems to mean that the
schedule of ritual in a bāhā is more rigid, the rituals more elaborate and better organised. The organization of the bāhā saṅgha, as a community, is also more structured with a larger group of elders, more gōthīs and more obligations. In other words, the members of the bāhās have more rules to follow. Others, usually Vajracaryas, have said the bāhīs are more recent institutions and that that many of the bāhī saṅghas are made up of people of lower or 'mixed' castes. This is hard to prove, of course, and certainly some of the bāhīs are very old with a continuous and unbroken tradition that stretches back to the time before the Malla kings. Several of the Patan Bāhīs claim Brahman descent.

Another difference is that there are no Vajracaryas in bāhīs. This statement, however, must be qualified. There is a priest from Makhaṅ Bahī in Kathmandu who serves as the priest for all of the bāhīs of Kathmandu, and in Patan the two groups of bāhīs each has its own priest from a bāhī. This priest must be present at Barechuyegu initiations, the annual festival of the bāhī and at the pañcadāna. In Patan he also used to came at the time of death to read from the scriptures. Though these bāhī priests receive the Pañcadānaka (just as Vajracaryas do), they are not recognised as Vajracaryas and have no clients (jājanā) among the rest of the Buddhist population. In fact the bāhī families now also have a Vajracarya priest from a bāhā whom they call for other family or occasional rituals.

This lack of Vajracaryas does not mean that the bāhīs were entirely non-tantric. Every bāhī has its own āgām; and inscriptions from the fourteenth century commemorating the foundation of bāhīs all attest to the consecration of tantric deities at these shrines. Tantric deities were known and worshipped; what they lacked was the consecrated tantric priest, the Vajracarya who belonged to a different tradition.

Gellner notes some other differences which he found in Patan. At the performance of Barechuyegu in the bāhīs in Patan there is no fire sacrifice. (Informants in Kathmandu say that some bāhīs have a fire sacrifice and some do not. The decision to have it or not seems to be economic: if you have a fire sacrifice you must call a Vajracarya, and that is expensive.) When a death occurs within a bāhī family, within their living quarters and in front of the bāhī shrine. The tantric deity of the bāhī is called ajīdaya (grandmother-goddess) and hence is looked on as female, though in fact, of course, the āgām deity is always a pair. (This is not true in Kathmandu where the āgām deity is simply āgām-dya.) There is a general belief, not always true, that each bāhī has a square stone with nine circles on it. This is called guphamanda (the ninefold mandala). Though many informants say that it represents the nine planets (the nava graha), Gellner’s informants say that these stones were installed by the emperor Asoka to be used as receptacles for the rice used in ancestor worship which is usually taken to the nearest river.

Another difference is what one might call the decaying state of the bāhīs. In contrast to most of the bāhās, especially the main bāhās of Patan and Kathmandu, the people of the bāhīs are poor. There are few rich families among them, and the buildings of the bāhīs are generally in a state of disrepair. This is perhaps one reason why the bāhīs have more consistently retained their traditional architectural structure. Whereas the bāhās had the financial resources to redecorate and rebuild their institutions in succeeding generations and thereby change their physical appearance according to the architectural fancies of the day, the bāhīs lacked the resources to do this. Their buildings remain as they were in the late Malla period until they finally collapse. With their collapse they often disappear altogether. Linked with this is the rather puzzling phenomenon of constantly decreasing numbers in the bāhīs. In many cases the bāhī saṅgha has died out entirely, and in nearly all the bāhīs the saṅgha has been reduced to a few families. In contrast the bāhā saṅghas are constantly increasing as one would expect. Some say that the bāhīs were poorly endowed, but the bāhīs seem to have had even more land than the bāhās. Others speculate that members of the bāhī saṅghas have found ways to become accepted into one of the bāhās and thereby raised their status. No one could give concrete examples except in the case of a bāhī saṅgha that had actually been made up of members brought from a bāhā. On the other hand, if such a migration were successful it would be because it had been keep secret.

The one exception to the general decay
The one exception to the general decay is Cikāṅ Bahī in Patan which has a large sangha of 135 Sakyas. This sangha is very active, the bahī buildings have been kept in good repair (and are currently being extensively renovated), and over the last hundred and fifty years they have built and consecrated several branches. This seems to have been a result of two factors: the relative wealth of these families and the fact that they have kept alive something of the original traditions of the bahī. One of the aged elders of Cikāṅ Bahī gave Gellner the following account:

When the bahī were inhabited by married Sakyabhiṅkuṣus who worked for their living, there were still Bhrahmacarya Bhikṣus, unmarried monks, who did no work, in the bahī. In the bahī they did Tantric rituals, had gūthīs, [i.e. annual ritual obligations] and so on, but in the bahī all they had to do was keep the rule of celibacy (brahmacarya pāle yāye). Then one day the king decided that the 1200 ropanī of land belonging to Kontī Bahī was too much, and he took the land to feed his soldiers. 'Since you live by begging,' he said, 'go ahead and beg!' Eventually they had to marry and find work, although the 64 kinds of work had already been given out to the 64 castes. So they did as the Sakyavaṁśa were doing.

What this seems to indicate is that the bahī are relics of an earlier tradition. For a long time after the distinctive feature of these communities, their celibacy, had been abandoned they continued many of their traditions. Finally, in the face of the overwhelming popularity of the bahī traditions, the ritual and social high status of the Vajracaryas, and the sanction of this tantric Buddhism (with its round of ritual which fit so well into the structure of 'Hindu Society') by the ruling elite, the bahī were relegated to a place outside the mainstream of the Buddhist tradition of the Valley. Perhaps it is in this sense that the term bahira (outside) has the greatest import. Today few members of the bahī have any understanding of the tradition their institutions enshrined, and bahīs have become a slightly different kind of bahā whose members are generally poor and are considered slightly lower than the members of the bahās for reasons that are largely forgotten.

This line of thought seems to be confirmed by Wright's Chronicle. After Siddhi Narasimha had called together the elders of the 'fifteen Bahīs' and made arrangements for their government, he he called the elders of the twenty five bahīs of Patan. The chronicle calls these vihāras 'nīrāṇik vanaprastha'. Wright explains this term as meaning 'the inhabitants did not marry', though it is abundantly clear from the chronicle that they were in fact married. The term seems meaningless because Wright's translators have omitted the opposing term which the chronicle writers have used for the bahās, i.e. 'sāṁsārik tāṅtrik vihāra' (this-worldly tantric vihāra). The chronicle clearly contrasts 'nīrāṇik vanaprastha vihāras (bahīs) and sāṁsārik tāṅtrik vihāras' (bahās). When the king tried to make reforms in the bahīs similar to the reforms he made in the bahās, the members complained that since they followed the other-worldly forest-dwelling dharma they could not take the tantric initiation of those who are members of a worldly tantric vihāra. The chronicle then describes the arrangements made for the bahīs in general and especially for I Bahī concluding:

In this way the rules were established both for the worldly Tantric (sāṁsārik tāṅtrik) monasteries and for the otherworldly forest-dwelling (nīrāṇik vanaprastha) monasteries.

One sees here an intermediate stage. Celibacy had disappeared but the bahīs were still repositories of a different tradition which their members wanted to preserve. However, their efforts were doomed as they were caught in an anomalous situation. They were custodians of the tradition of the celibate monks, but they were not celibate. The King was anxious to make all of his subjects conform to the traditional customs of Hindu society; and one of these customs was the performance of the fire sacrifice after the death of a member of a family in order to purify the household and its members. Since they were married men with families they must also adopt this custom and for this they must have a priest who is empowered to perform such a sacrifice. He may be Buddhist, but he must be a Vajracarya as the priests from bahīs were not recognised (by their own people or the majority community) as Vajracaryas and hence did not perform the fire sacrifice. So Vajracaryas from Dhuṇ Bāhā were assigned to be the priests of I
Bahí. The bahí priests continued to function for rituals pertaining to the monastery itself, but Vajracaryas from the bähás became the family priests of the families attached to the bahís. This arrangement further blurred the lines of distinction between bahís and bähás and today few people know where the line is and what it signifies.

Gellner concludes his analysis of the situation of the bahí with the following statement:

The decline of the bahí was evidently already under way when Siddhi Narasišha made his reforms, since the chronicle tells us that certain bahí were empty, their inhabitants having moved on after taking up the householder dharma. The members of the bahí made a virtue of their being the descendants of the last truly celibate monks, but this was not enough to stop a steady decline in population. Wherever possible members must have transferred to bähā; but precisely because such practice is in theory not allowed it is impossible to trace it or prove it. The lower prestige of the bahí is due to the fact that the Buddhism of the Newās is Tantric: celibate monastic Buddhism, of which the bahí are the most prominent representatives, is given a place, but only the lowest one. The bahí themselves have been less and less able, and less and less interested, to combat this assessment. Their ideology is in any case now rendered anachronistic by the presence in Nepal of the newly introduced and dynamic Theravāda Buddhist movement.

Several years ago one informant gave me the following explanation of bahí:

'In the days when all of these communities were open to any qualified candidate the bahís were a lower class of vihāra where the bhikṣu would receive his first training. After completing his training he would become an upasampadāya bhikṣu and join a bahi where he would study further and receive further training which would eventually entitle him to become a Vajracarya.'

This is the view of a Sakya attached to one of the principal bähás and expresses quite accurately the view of the dominant bähā community who consider the tantric traditions of the Vajracaryas to be a higher form of Buddhism. It may also reflect the reality. The bahís may well have housed the last communities of celibate monks (true bhramacarya bhikṣus) and as such have been schools of the dharma where Buddhists from the bähás could go to learn the basics of the dharma.

Of the two type of vihāras which is the older form? Several informants told me that the bahís are older than the bähás. Other informants, usually Vajracaryas, say the bahís were all later foundations set up for people of lower and mixed caste. The first statement seems to be based on the fact that the bahís represent an earlier form of Buddhism. The second would appear to be primarily Vajracarya prejudice and it cannot be substantiated. Even if one could find a few institutions which house people of low or mixed caste, most of them certainly do not. In cases where one might find people of low or mixed caste, he would probably find they are people who moved into a bahí that had been abandoned by the original saṅgha.

My survey of the bahís and bahís shows that we have no confirmed dates for extant bahís earlier than A.D.1200 (i.e. the beginning of the Malla Period). On the other hand we do have several confirmed dates from the so-called Thakuri Period for bähás of the Ācārya Gūthi in Kathmandu and the 'Fifteen Bähás' of Patan. We also know that several of the principal bahís were founded in the time of Jayasthiti and Yakṣa Malla: Ubā Bahí and Tī Bahí in Patan, Nāhyaka Bahí and Saŋgu Bahí of Kathmandu. Another curious fact is that except for two manuscripts copied in Dugan Bahí (Ṣaṅkṣārī Mahāvihāra) in Kathmandu, we have no manuscripts copied in bahís. Buddhist manuscripts were copied by people in bähás, usually Vajracaryas. However, I would hesitate to draw any conclusions from this data. We know so little about the so-called Thakuri Period that an argument from silence is very weak indeed; and we have no way of knowing if what data we have is in any sense a representative sample of data from that period. It may well turn out to consist of chance finds from certain groups that is in no way representative of the society as a whole. What does seem clear is that from the viewpoint of the dominant tantric Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley, the bahís represented an archaic form of Buddhism. No definite conclusions can
be stated, but my own hypothesis is that the two institutions existed side by side perhaps from the earliest days. Gradually, and as a result of the ascendancy of the Vajracaryas and their form of Tantric Buddhism, the celibate communities diminished, finally succumbing to the dominant tradition and becoming married 'celibate monks' (brahmacarya bhikṣu) still trying to maintain something of their original traditions. If more accurate information on the Licchavi and so-called Thakuri period is ever made available, we may well find that the celibate communities were always in the minority.

At the present time there are theoretically twenty five main bahīs left in Patan. I say theoretically because, though one can count twenty five foundations still extant, in some cases the saṅgha has died out entirely or the baḥī has been taken over by people from another baḥī or a bāhā. As in Kathmandu and in Bhaktpur the saṅghas of the bahīs have dwindled to a tiny community often consisting of one or two initiated members. The one exception is Cikan Bahī [83].

The present arrangement can evidently be traced to the time of Siddhi Narasinha Malla who called the people of the bahīs together and made rules for them. Of the twenty five bahīs only fifteen came, so rules were made for them and then rules were imposed on the other ten. The result of this reorganization was that there were then two groups of bahīs, the ten and the fifteen. Each had its own group of elders and its own priest. A man from the saṅgha of Jyābā Bahī [163] functioned as the priest for the group of ten, and one from Naka Bahī functioned as the priest for the group of fifteen. At Jyābā Bahī only one man was given the initiation, but at Naka Bahī the entire saṅgha was given the initiation. These were often called vajra-bhikṣu rather than Vajracarya. However, all of these were Vajracarayas in a restricted sense. They received the Pañcābhiseka initiation and could function as priests for baḥī functions but they could not have other jajamāns and were not really recognised as Vajracaryas by the Vajracaryas of the 'Fifteen Bāhās' who usually referred to them as Buddhacarayas.

The Ten Bahīs

Until recent times these ten bahīs formed one overall saṅgha and were all served by the one Vajracarya priest from Jyābā Bahī. However, about seventy five years ago, due to a number of disputes within the group, the organization began to disintegrate. Only Ibā Bahī [97] and Khwāya Bahī [8] have retained their old link and only they still use the services of the priest of Jyābā Bahī. The others are now totally separate and when they have need of a priest they call a Vajracarya from one of the 'Fifteen Bāhās'.

1. Ibā Bahī -- Bājajārī Mahāvihāra [97] Cakha Bāhā

This is one of the oldest bahīs in Patan and until about ten years ago still retained its old architectural form of a two storied quadrangle with the upper and lower stories composed of open verandas. The shrine is situated along the western arm of the quadrangle and is a simple unadorned cella which can be circumambulated. Two small lions mark the entrance to the shrine and over the roof above the shrine is a pagoda style tower. The kuṭāpā-dya was an image of Akṣobhya facing east, but this was stolen a few years ago. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caiya and a stone dharmadātu mandala. Within the past ten years, however, much of the original structure has crumbled and no effort has been made to restore it. A small school is housed in the remaining buildings, and they will also soon crumble. The bahī originally had quite a collection of old wood and terracotta images but most of these have disappeared in the last ten years and what remains is thrown in a corner near the entrance, damaged and unattended. The entryway to the whole complex is marked by two large stone lions, and on the right as one enters the quadrangle is a large image of Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this bahī now consists of thirty five initiated Sakyas. Despite the absence of the kuṭāpā-dya the usual rituals are performed morning and evening. Service is for one month and passes through the households of the saṅgha in turn. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival of the baḥī during the sacred month of Guñī. Barechuyeug initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The chief elder of this baḥī is the eldest of all the members of the saṅghas of the Ten Bahīs and should by rights be considered the chief of the whole group, but he is recognised only by Khwāya Bahī.
This is a result of an on-going dispute with the people of the other bahis over land ownership and the stealing of the kwipä-dya from this shrine. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasambara whose shrine is preserved in this bahi. This bahi had thirty eight ropanis of land which provided a good income, but it is this land that is now under dispute and consequently they get no income any more. Despite this, however, they still use the services of the Jyābā Bahi Vajracarya.

According to an inscription nailed to the front wall of the shrine this bahi was consecrated in the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha in N.S.547. On the third day of the fortnight the laksāhuti was begun and on the tenth the golden image of the Buddha (gandhūri tathāgata) was set up and consecrated. On the following day three golden finials and a banner were offered. At this ceremony King Jaya Jyotir Malla (the last of the sons of Jaya Šhiti Malla) was present. The foundations of the vihāra had been laid in Phālgun of N.S.538 and in Baiśākhi the doors were set up. The donors were five of the Padhāna-mahāpātras of Patan. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bahi: Rājaśrī Mahāvihāra. This bahi has one small branch.

a. Ibā Dune -- Bhājuchana Śīhā Vihāra [96]  
Chaka Bāhā

This tiny little branch bāhā is situated directly behind the Ibā Bahi complex and now consists of nothing but a narrow ground floor shrine which is falling to ruins. The lattice doorway is unmarked and has no torapā or ornamentation. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing north. New buildings have crowded right up to the edge of the shrine and the upper storeys of the shrine itself have crumbled. Weeds grow out of the brickwork of what is left. In front of the shrine is a small paved courtyard with a single votive caitya.

This little branch has one family attached to it. They belong to Ibā Bahi and perform the regular rituals each morning. They observe the annual festival of this branch on the full moon day of the month of Kārttiķī. Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this branch, but KTMU dates it to the nineteenth century.

2. Jyābā Bahi -- Jyeṣṭhavaruṇa Mahāvihāra*  
Chaka Bāhā

Jyābā Bahi is also a typical bahi shrine with three sides of the original quadrangle remaining. The outside entrance to the shrine is marked by two large stone lions. The remaining buildings have the usual open rooms on the ground floor and open rooms above behind an over-hanging balcony. The shrine of the kwipā-dya is unornamented and has no torapā. The cella is situated so that it is possible to circumambulate it. The kwipā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the courtyard are two caityas, a stone dharmadhātu mandala, an image of Mahākālī and the feet of Mañjuśrī.

The saṅgha of this bahi has been reduced to one old man, a 'Vajracarya' who theoretically functions as the priest for all of those attached to the Ten Bahis. Actually, at the present time, he functions only at his own bahi and at Ibā Bahi. This one man performs the daily rituals morning and evening and performs all the other duties connected with a bahi. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here, but since the old man has no male heirs this custom will probably cease with his demise. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasamvara who is worshipped at the bahi. The annual festival is observed on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Phālgun.

The oldest inscription at the site is dated N.S.772 and probably commemorates a renovation of the bahi. Several donations were made at this time including an image of the Buddha (śrī śrī gandhūri bhāṭṭāraka). The principal donor was one Brahmacarya Bhikṣu Śrī Maṅgaladevajū of Śrī Jyeṣṭha Vihārī. The foundation is surely older than this, but no other evidence remains and the saṅgha has no stories or legends telling of the foundation. In N.S.800 a caitya was set up at the bahi which is called in the inscription 'Jyaya Vahāra Bahiri'.

3. Khuāya Bahi -- Kāmūka Nāma Mahāvihāra*  
Na Bāhā Tole

All that remains of Khuāya Bahi is a crumbling, free-standing shrine in the middle of a walled field. The shrine is of two storeys and has a double tiled roof. At one time the building had been plastered but the plaster has crum-
bled away from the ground floor. Above, where the plaster has remained, one can see the remains of frescoes. The kuṣāpā-dya is an unusual stone image of Maitreya painted white and sitting with the right leg raised. The image faces east. In front of the shrine is a single stone mandala. The edge of the walled field surely marks the boundaries of what were at one time bahi buildings. Near the entrance to the area are three large caityas and an image of Padmapani Lokesvara which formed part of the complex.

The original saṅgha of this bahi died out entirely some years ago and the shrine is now looked after by one family of Sakyas ('Brahmacarya Bhikṣus') who have made this their bahi. Now the saṅgha consists of this one family, five initiated members. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kuṣāpā-dya by turn and perform their Barechuyegu initiations here. At the present time the saṅgha has one elder, but they say it should have five. Cakrasamvara is both the Sqam-dya and the lineage deity of this saṅgha. As the bahi has no income there is no annual festival but it used to be held four days after Bhūgadaya was placed on his ratha.

The only inscription left at the site is found at the base of the three large caityas. It is dated N.S.734 and commemorates the offering of a canopy for the caityas by Bhikṣu Śrī Jitadeva and Śākyavāma Śrī Vijayadeva. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name Kāmūkānāma Mahāvīhari. At this time the caitya was repaired, and images of the five Buddhas were offered.

Na Bahî Tole

Lists give a second bahi at this site, but all that remains is a small Buddha shrine to the side of the area of Khuwią Bahî. Nothing else is known about this second bahi, but informants say that it originally was a separate foundation with its own saṅgha.

5. Guita Bahî -- Dipāvatī Nagare Sarvānanda-npā Samskārita Padmoccaśī Mahāvīhari [122] 
Guita Tole

There are three bahis in this area which is clearly an ancient Buddhist site. Three Sanskrit names are known: Padmoccaśī, Saptapura and Gustala. Of the three bahis this first one is the best preserved and probably the most recent foundation. This bahi is an entirely closed courtyard but the only thing that remains of the original bahi structure is the shrine of the kuṣāpā-dya. The shrine is built on a raised platform five steps above the level of the courtyard. The actual entrance to the shrine is behind a veranda of wooden pillars. The entrance is unmarked but has a toreka depicting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kuṣāpā-dya is a covered image which KTMV identifies as Maitreya. It is surely not Maitreya, but Buddha showing the viśvavākarana mudrā, though he is called Dīpaṅkara by the local people. The image faces north. The cella is so situated that it is possible to circumambulate it. The first storey of the shrine has three windows in the centre flanked by two other windows. The tile roof is supported by plain struts and surmounted by a typical bahi tower with a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard in front of the shrine are a mandala surmounted by a vajra, a large caitya (the top part of which is a Licchavi style caitya), another mandala, a mounted vajra and another caitya. The other buildings of the courtyard are ordinary dwellings.

The saṅgha of this bahi consists of twelve eight initiated members who call themselves simply 'Sakya'. All the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālas in the shrine for a period of eight days at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated according to seniority of initiation. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival on the fullmoon day of the month of Baisākh. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasamvara who is worshipped at the bahi itself. The relationship of this saṅgha to the other bahis is not very clear. Some informants said that this saṅgha came later and that its members are not really bahi members (i.e. brahmacarya bhikṣus), but Sakyas and that hence their foundation is really a bāhā and not a bahi. This is confirmed by the fact that they do call themselves Śākya or Sakya Bhikṣu and that in the days when the Ten Bahis had common feasts and festivals the people from this bahi did not have the right to be summoned to the festivals. They could come and often did, but did not have to be called as did the members of all the other bahis. If they came to the festi-
val they shared the work but were called bahi, i.e. workers, and were fed because they had worked and not because they had any right to take part in the festival. Furthermore, bahi lists give two bahis at this site. Informants say that they are the second and third; this first one is not listed as a bahi.

There are several inscriptions in the complex most of them of fairly recent origin.

6. Mūl Guita Bahī -- Saptapura Mahāvihāra

This bahī is situated in a courtyard directly to the north of Guita Bahī. Only the western arm of the courtyard which houses the shrine of the kuāpā-dya has retained the original buildings. The shrine is of two storeys with a plain entrance marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway has no torana. The shrine which can be circumambulated has an image of the Buddha showing the viśuva-vyakara-mudrā. Above the shrine is a veranda and another door-way. The plain tile roof is surmounted by a bahi tower. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone mandala.

This bahī and the next one (Gustala Bahā) have a combined saṅgha of thirty five members, thirty one of whom belong to this bahī and four of whom belong to Gustala. They call themselves Brahma-caryā Bhiṣṇu and are probably the remnants of the original saṅgha of this very ancient foundation. Members of the saṅgha serve as dyapālas in the shrine of this bahī and Gustala simultaneously. Service is for a period of one week and passes through the saṅgha by seniority. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for those that belong to this bahī, but the members of Gustala perform their initiations there. The combined saṅgha has five elders and has two lineage deities, the two large caityas just at the edge of these three bahis. They refer to the deities simply as 'bhagavān' and their annual pūjā is niramis, i.e. a sacrifice without blood. Though this bahī and the next one originally belonged to the group of the Ten Bahis, they have now broken all connection with the others and with Jyāba Bahī. The saṅgha no longer has an annual festival and there is no common feast except at the time of initiations. The bahī has no income at the present time.

a. Gustala Bahī -- Gustala Vihāra

Though this is almost certainly the oldest of the three foundations, there is little left of this bahī. It is situated in an enclosed courtyard just west of Mūl Guita Bahī. The name Guita means nine roofs and according to local tradition the shrine of this bahī was once a magnificent temple of nine roofs. None of the original buildings have survived and the shrine of the kuāpā-dya consists of a single room on the ground floor of a crumbling brick structure. The plain lattice doorway has no torana and no other ornamentation. The kuāpā-dya is an standing image of the Buddha showing the viśuva-vyakara-mudrā whom the local residents identify as Maitreya. The shrine has a plain tile roof with no ornamentation. In the courtyard are a caitya, a pillar and a stone mandala.

The saṅgha of this bahī at the present time consists of one household of the combined saṅgha of this bahī and Mūl Guita Bahī. The current dyapāla of Mūl Guita Bahī also performs the daily rituals here, but the one family that lives here performs their Barechuyegu initiations here and not in Mūl Guita Bahī. The lineage deity is the same as that of Mūl Guita Bahī and they have no festivals apart from the saṅgha of Dhatu Bahī. This bahī has no income.

These three bahis are situated on a very ancient site and it seems clear that over the centuries there have been several foundations at this place, probably more than the three which have survived. A number of inscriptions in different places around the area refer to these foundations. I list them all here in chronological order though they may refer to different foundations. The oldest inscription is dated N.S.144 and is attached to the large stūpa outside of the bahī complex. On the eleventh day of the dark half of the month of Jyeṣṭha in this year the work of paving the courtyard of Śrī Saptapura Mahāvihāra in Lalitapura, which had been built by Mahāpaṇḍita Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Gautama Śrī, was completed. An inscription of N.S.368 in the southern niche of the northern stūpa commemorates the erection of an image dedicated to the memory of a nun (paramopasikī bhikṣuni Śrī Malayavasirī [sic]). An inscription of N.S.399 on the pedestal of a Buddha image at Guita Bahī has the following informa-
tion. The inscription notes that in the eastern part of the city (of Lalitapura) there is a lovely vihāra called Gustala. At this vihāra a Bhikṣu called Gautama Śri, having taken the advice of the sarva-saṅgha, erected another vihāra. Since this building which he had erected had fallen into disrepair, it has now been repaired and a laksāhuti was performed on this date for the setting up of the deity. A shrine of Mahākālā bears an inscription dated N.S.635 during the reign of Jayaratna Malla (of Kathmandu). The inscription, put up at the time of the consecration of an image of Mahākālā gives the Sanskrit name of the bahī as Śri Gustala Mahāvihāra. The donor was Brahmacarya Bhikṣu Śri Jakharaja and his wife of this vihāra. Another image of Mahākālā was offered in N.S.777 by some Jyāpus. This inscription gives the name of the place as Śri Gusta Bahiri. An inscription outside the shrine of the kuśāpa-dya at Guita Bahī is dated N.S.778. It commemorates the construction of new bahī buildings and the installation of a Buddha image (gandhuli bhattāraka). A few later inscriptions at Guita Bahī commemorate even later donations.

7. Čoya Bahī -- ?? [178] Cōbhār

This bahī is not much more than a memory. It was situated at the northern edge of the village of Cobhar and all that remains now is a caitya and some images that seem to be quite recent. The saṅgha has died out except for one old man. He used to come, as the representative of this bahī, to the annual meetings of the Ten Bahīs and still recites hymns at the site of the bahī during the sacred month of Guñā. There are no other observances: no daily rituals, and no annual festival. This was a main bahī and initiations used to be performed here.

8. Thapā Bahī — Stavirapātra Mahāvihāra [155] Thapā Tole

Thapa Bahī is situated in a large, enclosed, brick-paved courtyard. Nothing of the original buildings remains. At the present time there is one long building along the western side of the courtyard which dates to a renovation undertaken in A.D.1911. The shrine of the kuśāpa-dya is a single room in the centre of this long building. The entrance is unmarked and the lattice doorway has no torana. The image of the kuśāpa-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya on a high pedestal and facing east. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

At the present time the saṅgha of this bahī consists of only nine members. The nine serve as dya-pālas in the shrine performing the usual rituals morning and evening by turn. Originally they performed their Bachechuyegu initiations here, but as the numbers of the saṅgha declined and after the quarrel which broke up the association of the Ten Bahīs, they stopped performing initiations here and now perform them at Guji Bāhā. Their lineage deity is also at Guji Bāhā and they identify him as Yogimbara. However, they say they are not and never were members of the Guji Bāhā saṅgha. At the present time the saṅgha has only one elder, though they say there should be five. The annual festival, which used to take place in the month of Paus, is no longer held and the bahī has no income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bahī, except that it was renovated in A.D.1911. There are no other inscriptions here, but KTMV dates the caitya to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.


Except for one small section that has been recently rebuilt, Ubā Bahī has maintained its original architectural structure, a continuous two storied building with open verandas above and below and a bahī style tower over the shrine. The roof of tile is supported by plain struts and there is a single finial in the form of a caitya over the tower. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved doorway has a torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The kuśāpa-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśavayakarana mudrā. The cella has a passageway round it. In the courtyard are a caitya (the top part of which is Licchavi style), a second votive caitya and a maṇḍala.

The saṅgha of Ubā Bahī consists of one sub-lineage of the Mahābhi lineage of Uku Bāhā, and for this reason the bahī is often listed as a branch of Uku Bāhā. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the same as that of Uku Bāhā and at the present time the members perform their initiations in Uku Bāhā. They also serve as dya-
139. Site of Defunct Coya Bahí [178]

140. Ṣhapā Bahī [155]
In the shrine of Uku Bāhā as well as in the shrine of the baḥī. At the present time the saṅgha consists of forty initiated members, but only seven of these are active and take a turn serving in the shrine of the kuśāpā-dya. These seven serve in rotation for fifteen days at a time performing the usual rituals each morning and evening. Informants say, however, that until the break-up of the Ten Bahis they performed their initiations at U Bāhā Bahī, they took part in all common feasts of the Ten Bahis, and were served by the Bahī Vajracaryas of Jyā Bā Bahī. Now they are served by Vajracaryas from Ta Bāhā.[99] The saṅgha originally had five elders, but at the present time nobody really acts as an elder. The saṅgha still observes the annual festival of the baḥī on the fullmoon day of the month of Caitra.

According to the oral tradition of this baḥī and that of Uku Bāhā, this is the vihāra that the King Śivadeva built for his guru and was originally, at least, a vihāra of celibate monks, not householder monks. This is confirmed by the account in Wright's Chronicle. They say that the original saṅgha had died out by the time of Abhayarāja and his sons, when one branch of that family came to Uba Bahi to live; and this much of the tradition seems fairly certain. The earlier history of the baḥī, however, is lost. The earliest inscription at the baḥī is dated N.S.511 at which time the Buddha image, referred to as Gandhuri Bhaṭṭāraka, was set up. According to the inscription the vihāra was founded by the deceased Bhikṣu Jayasimha Vīrabhadra and the name of the vihāra is given as Jayaśrī Mahāvihāra. The donor of the image is one Bhikṣu Jayacakran and his two brothers of Rudravarpa Mahāvihāra. The inscription gives the date not only in Nepal Sambat but also in Kaligata, Bikram Sambat and Śaka Sambat. The time is the reign of Jaya Sthitī Malla. Since this is evidently the consecration of the kuśāpā-dya of the baḥī, the date probably marks the founding of the baḥī; but one cannot be certain. It may mark a renovation or simply the consecration of a new image for an old foundation. In N.S.672 another Buddha image was consecrated and in N.S.778 extensive renovations were carried out by the descendants of Abhayarāja who made up the new saṅgha.

10. Ilā Bahī — Itirija Mahāvihāra [130]
Nuka Tole

This is a defunct baḥī and all that now remains is a small courtyard formed by one house and a wall. The shrine of the kuśāpā-dya is on the ground floor of this one building and what little is left has the appearance of a baḥī with a (now blocked) passage round the cella. In the courtyard are a caitya, a mandala and the remains of three other caityas. The kuśāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west.

The saṅgha of this baḥī died out some forty years ago and Vajracaryas from Hyana Bāhā [116] took up the duty of performing the daily rituals to the kuśāpā-dya which they still do each morning and evening. These Vajracaryas also observe the annual festival of the baḥī on the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Kār tik. No other activities or rituals take place here. A few years ago the remaining building was repaired, and now there are some Theravāda nuns living in the building adjoining the shrine.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this baḥī and there are no extant inscriptions at the site.

The Fifteen Bahīs of Patan

The second group of baḥīs in Patan consists of fifteen baḥīs which originally formed one large group or sarva-saṅgha. All were originally Sakyas but invariably known as Brahmacarya Bhikṣus, the only exception being the members of the Naka Bahī [45] saṅgha who were Vajracaryas in the sense that they received the Ācārya saṅgha initiations, but who functioned as priests only for the members of the saṅghas of the Fifteen Bahīs. They could have no other jajamāns. Some twenty five or thirty years ago seven of these split off from the group and formed a separate group. Later two of these, Bunga Bahī [177] and Kyepu Bāhā [168] returned to the fold so that there are now two groups, with the five who split off (Duntu Bahī [63], Pintu Bahī [64], Konti Bahī [67]) and the two functioning institutions at I Bahī [75,76]) now forming a separate group. It is interesting that these five are all the ones associated with Sunaya Śrī Miśra. (See explanation below.)
141. Ubā Bahī [139]

142. Ilā Bahī [130]
Until quite recent times this was a well preserved baхи structure with a continuous two storeyed building running right round the quadrangle with open rooms on the ground floor and wooden screens facing the upper veranda. The continuous tiled roof is surmounted by a baхи style tower. However, little care has been taken of the complex in recent years and a primary school is now housed in the complex which does not augur well for its long term preservation. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions and the cella itself is situated so that one can circumambulate it. The kuвпё-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. There is no torana but above the ground floor are three wooden panels with paintings of the Buddha (Aksobhya), Dharma (Prajnaparamitā) and the Sangha (Śaṅkṣarī Lokeshvara). In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this baхи now consists of only three households of Vajracaryas' with twelve initiated members. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here, and the Vajracaryas of this saṅgha have traditionally served as priests for all the member families of the Fifteen Bahis. The members of the saṅgha take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuвпё-dya for one month at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The saṅgha has five elders and the annual festival is observed on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the goddess Guhyesvari, and they still celebrate the annual festival at her shrine near the Paśupati-nāth temple. This foundation used to have one of the more elaborate shows at the time of the 'Shouing of the Gods' during Gūñlā, but it has been entirely discontinued now because of fear of theft.

By all accounts this is an ancient foundation, but there are no early inscriptions or references to this baхи. Several inscriptions in the courtyard note late donations, but the earliest of these is dated N.S.778. An inscription of N.S.839 gives the name of the bahis as 'Lokakṣṭi--Naka Vihāra.' The courtyard was paved in N.S.842 and a metal canopy donated in N.S.1002.

Little is left of this very ancient and very important vihāra at the northern limits of the city of Patan just above Saṅkhamū. At the present time the complex consists of the main bahasil shrine [78] with a large enclosed area to the north, about the size of a football field, containing three free-standing shrines and to the south a subsidiary bahasil complex. Across the street to the west is the Northern Stūpa, one of the four stūpas at the four corners of the city of Patan. At the main shrine only the eastern and western arms of the original buildings are left and show the typical bahasil architecture with the bahasil tower above the shrine of the kuвпё-dya, which is an image of Aksobhya, facing west. The upper balcony has a wooden railing running along its entire length. The unadorned entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions with a temple bell to the north. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a small stone temple. Over the street entrance to the complex is a wooden torana depicting Padmapātēśvara, the tantric, dancing form of Avalokiteśvara.

The saṅgha of this bahasil consists of three lineages with a total membership of forty Sakyas known as Brahmacarya Bhikṣu. The members of the saṅgha serve in the shrine of the kuвпё-dya for one month at a time performing rituals only in the morning. The period of service is one month. The current dya-pālā must perform the usual rituals also in the bahasil complex to the south and in the three shrines to the north. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgan. Their lineage deity is an image of Vajavārāhi which is worshipped at the bahasil. There is no tradition of this deity having been 'brought' from somewhere else. At the present time the bahasil has no income.

There is no doubt about the great antiquity of this site and its importance in medieval Patan and there are still current legends which tell of its foundation, but it is impossible to get any definite dates for the foundation of the vihāra. Wright's Chronicle gives the following account:
In this reign [i.e. of Rudradeva-barman] a certain Sunayasri Misra Brahmana, from Kapilabastu, arrived here and took up his abode near Sarbeswara [Kumbeswara], who had appeared to Sarapadacharya from a jar of water, when he was worshipping. Being in search of a spiritual guide to ensure his salvation and finding no one to serve his purpose, Sunayasri Misra went to Lhasā, to take as his spiritual guide the inspired Patī (or Bhikṣu) Lama, one of the three sacred Lāmās, the other two being named Gri-hastha and Sāvaka. This lama was in possession of the six essential attributes, ... Sunayasri Misra made the Lama his spiritual guide, and received instruction in the various matters connected with religion. He then returned to Nepal, with the intention of fixing on a place of residence, and building a bihar; but for a long time he could not select a spot. At last he fixed on one of the four chaityas built by Rājā Asoka of Patna, during his visit to Nepal, each of which was founded on the anniversary of the commencement of one of the four Yugas. He examined the ground occupied by each, and at last his choice fell on the one built on the anniversary of the commencement of Kali Yuga. He then presented a bijol (crystal jewel) to Rājā Rudradeva-barman; and having bought the ground, he built a bihar and fixed his abode there. Having received directions in several dreams, he put a bijol jewel in one of the four great Asoka chaityas, and repaired them all. His disciples, Govardhana Nisra and Kāṣyapa Misra, came from Kapilabastu to Nepal, in search of their Guru; and having found him, they became converts and lived there, each in separate bihars, which were built by their Guru and named Duntu Bihār and Lalibana Bihār.

Not having heard anything of Sunayasri Misra, nor of the two disciples who had been sent in search of him, his mother and sons came and found him here. He built for them a house called Choka [Karūṇa Cūka] near his own bihar. When a grandson was born, he made his son become a bhikṣu also. His wife placed an image of Kuliseswari to the south of the bihar. He made it a rule for his descendants, that, on the birth of a son, they were to leave their homes and live a life of celibacy in the bihar. Sunayasri's bihar is now called Yampi Bihār, and those of his disciples are called Kontibahi Bihār and Pintu Bihār.

A later reference in the same chronicle refers again to this bihar in the time of the king Narendradeva when Avalokiteśvara-Matsye-nandranath was brought to Nepal.

The audience being contented with the decision [to place Avalokiteśvara in Patan rather than Kathmandu or Bhaktapur] went to the bihar in which Sunayasri Misra once lived as a bhikṣu, and as they considered it a very sacred spot, they performed a pūrascharana at a place called Chobā. Then, taking possession of one-third of the bihar which was built by Sunayasri Misra, they caused an image to be made of Aryanāvalokiteśvara-Machhindranathā. This, after consecration, they took to Amarapur [Būngamati], and worshipped it; and after this the spirit of the god, brought from Kapotal mountain in the kalaś, was transferred to the image.

An account which it places in the reign or one King Biradeva. This story speaks of a Mithila Miśra brahman who left his home in the plains at a time of famine and went to the north. He went first to Nepal and from there on to Tibet. There among the Lāmās of Lhāsā he found one Lāmā who was a wizard and could perform many strange feats. He used to lick a certain tree and from this tree milk flowed which he drank as his only food, spending his time in penance. The brahman decided to test his strength against that of the Lāmā. So with the force of his mantras the brahman dried up the lāmā's tree. When the lāmā saw this he suspected that it was done by the brahman and called him. The two then fell into discussion each explaining his own religion. The brahman remained many years in Lhāsā, earned a fortune in gold and finally took his leave of the Lāmā to return to his homeland. He returned to Mithila, but his own family and other caste members refused to accept him back as a brahman after this association with outcaste people. So finally he returned to Nepal, built a Buddhist monastery above Saikhmāl and set up an image of the Buddha there. Since he had learned all about the Buddhist religion and since his own relatives would not have him back he became a Buddhist and took the initiation of a bhikṣu. From that time on he became a devotee of the Buddha and built a large stūpa with relics of
became a Buddhist only because he had been casted. The brahmanical influence on this version of the story is rather obvious.

Wright's Chronicle returns again to this bahi in the account of the reorganization of the bahäs and bahis in the time of Siddhi Narasimha Malla. It was Yampī Bahi which was singled out for special treatment and assigned to the priests of Dhum Bahi. It was also the people of Yampī Bahi who protested that they could not take the initiation proper to people of a Tantric-this worldly-vihara.

The story of Wright's Chronicle is still current among the people of Patan and especially among those of the I Bahi Sangha who to this day consider themselves descendants of Sunaya Sri Miśra and of brahman extraction and who still refer to themselves as brahmacarya bhikṣu. The fact that the general lines of the story occur in both these chronicles and are still current among the people lends some credence to it. Two questions are worth pursuing a bit more.

The first pertains to the identity of the founder Sunayāśī. Some Nepali scholars have denied the brahman connection on the basis of the fact that the earliest reference to this man in inscriptions give his name as Sunayāśī Mitra not Miśra. Later inscriptions and the chronicles refer to Sunayāśī Miśra. Though it is certainly not impossible that later generations sought to upgrade their ancestors, there are two rather convincing arguments against this. First is the consistent tradition we have already seen. Even the brahmanical chronicle, the Bhāṣa Vamśāvalī, identifies the man as a Miśra Brahman and then has to uphold orthodoxy by saying that he lost caste by associating with Tibetans and became a Buddhist only because he had been outcasted. It would have been much simpler to just deny that he was a brahman. The more convincing argument comes from a still current tradition associated with the worship of Būrgadāya. People at I Bahi have repeatedly told me that they are the priests of the saṅgha at Buṅgamati. I found this rather strange as when doing my research on Būrgadāya no one ever referred to priests from I Bahi and in fact all rituals are performed by the Vajracarya Paṇjus of Buṅgamati. However on specifically inquiring about this point from the Paṇjus I was given the following account. The Paṇjus say that indeed the members of the saṅgha of I Bahi are their gurus, since they are Brahmins. This is acknowledged once a year when they present a gōdan (the gift of a cow) to these "brahmans". To this day, every year on the day the image of Būrgadāya is removed from his temple to be placed on the ratha, the Paṇjus of Buṅgamati make this donation to the people of the I Bahi saṅgha. The ceremony takes place at Ta Baha before the image is removed from the temple. This custom which is so strange in a Buddhist context, is a very strong argument in favour of the claim of the I Bahi saṅgha to Brahman ancestry.

The second question is that of the date of the foundation of the vihāra. Members of the I Bahi saṅgha claim that their vihāra is at least two thousand years old. Wright's Chronicle places the story of Sunayāśī Miśra in the reign of one Rudradeva which it places many reigns before the time of the Licchavi kings. The Bhāṣa Vamśāvalī places the story in the time of Vira Deva which it places just before the reign of Narendradeva who brought Avalokiteśvara-Matsyendrānath to Nepal. Such an early date of 2000 to 1500 years ago is not a priori impossible, but highly unlikely in view of the rest of the legend. All accounts—the two chronicles and the still current oral tradition—say that Sunayāśī Miśra went to Lhasā where he met with and studied under learned and skilled Lāmās. There certainly were no learned Lāmās in Lhasa 1500 to 2000 years ago, several centuries before the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. Furthermore, among the confirmed kings of the Licchavi period there is no Vira Deva and no Rudradeva. However, there are two kings from the Thakuri period by the name of Rudradeva. The first reigned from at least A.D. 1008 to 1015. It is unlikely that anyone could have gone to Lhasa to study under learned Lāmās at this time as Buddhism was in eclipse except in western Tibet due to the persecutions of the tenth century. The second Rudradeva reigned from at least A.D.1167 to 1174, well after the revival of Buddhism which took place with the coming of Atīśa in A.D.1042. This would be a very reasonable period for the story of Sunayaśī Miśra and the foundation of the vihāra—a little less than two hundred years before the earliest dated reference to Yampī Vihāra in contemporary Newar documents. What this hypothesis does not explain is the connection with Būrgadāya whose cult certainly predates this period. Perhaps Sunayaśī Miśra or his descen-
dants were later accepted as gurus by the people of Būnghamati because they were brahmans and learned Buddhist scholars. It is quite possible that at some period a new image of Bungadya was made at Karunā Cūkā; the image is of wood and repainted each year; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it has been entirely replaced some time in the past 1300 years.

There is a reference to the caitya outside the bahi from N.S.174. The reference comes from a copy of the Astasahasrika Prajñāpāramitā dated this year in the reign of Baladeva. The manuscript was copied for a lay devotee (paramopakā) Kumudālaka who lived in Sri Yambityuttara (the Yampī Caitya) Tole. There is no mention of the vihāra; and since all later references, even to people and land having nothing to do with the vihāra, call the area Yampī (or Vampī) Vihāra, I presume that the vihāra had not been founded at this time. If this is the case, the vihāra took its name from the Tole which was named after the caitya, one of the four caityas at the four cardinal points round the city of Patan.

There are numerous references to Yampī Vihāra in palmleaf land deeds (45 that I know of) and inscriptions extending from N.S.470 down to the end of the Malla period. The reference in N.S.470 speaks of a house which it identifies as being near Yampī Vihāra. Most of these palmleaf documents are similar, i.e., they describe a house or piece of land in reference to Yampī Vihāra which by this time was obviously a well known landmark in the north of Patan. One document of N.S. 655 actually speaks of a member of the saṅgha of the vihāra whom it identifies as a Brahmacarya Bhikṣu. In N.S.599 a great Samyak ceremony was held at Ta Bāhā in Patan to which the Dipākara, the Sthavira and the entire Saṅgha of Śri Yampitipuha Mahāvihāra were also invited. Hence we have abundant references to Yampi Vihara from the fourteenth century down to the present. Unfortunately there are no early dated pieces remaining at the site. According to the members of the saṅgha the bahi had an excellent collection of manuscripts, old documents and inscriptions up to 1934 at which time the original buildings were destroyed in the earthquake and most of these treasures were either lost or stolen.

3. I Bahī (2) — Yampī Karunācūka [79]  I Bahī

This bahī is situated in an enclosed courtyard directly to the south of Yampī Vihāra. About two thirds of the original buildings remain but have been completely remodelled so that they are now all brick faced and lack the traditional balcony. The shrine is simply a room on the ground floor along the eastern wing. The plain lattice doorway is unmarked and the roof is unadorned. The shrine contains a small image of Aksobhya facing west. In the grass courtyard is a single votive caitya.

Though the list of the fifteen bahīs contains two bahīs at I Bahī, this is in fact a branch of I Bahī at the present time. It has no separate saṅgha and all rituals are performed by the current dya-pālā of I Bahī. According to the legend, this is the place where the image of Avalokitesvara-Matsyendranāth was made and this explains the name Karunā Cūka.

a-c Yampī Bahī — Yampī Yanta Vihāra 75, 76,77]  I Bahī

To the north of I Bahī is a large, enclosed grassy area containing three, free-standing shrines with a caitya in front of each of the shrines. According to informants these were originally three separate, branch bahīs. In fact they say there were originally a total of seven bahīs here. The northernmost shrine contains an image of Aksobhya flanked by an image of Prajñāpāramitā on his right and one of Avalokitesvara on his left; the central shrine has an image of Aksobhya flanked by Padmapāṇi Lokesvara on his right and Prajñāpāramitā on his right. The southern shrine has a headless image of Aksobhya. According to KTIV these three shrines (of the Three Jewels?) were erected in N.S.792.

4. Duntu Bahī — Gobardhana Māṣa Saṃskārita Nāpicandra Mahāvihāra [63]  Ikhācheṭ Tole

The original buildings of this bahī in Ikhācheṭ Tole had fallen into complete ruins a few years ago and the image of the kuṇāpā-dya was housed in an ordinary house. In 1980 a new shrine was built for the image of the kuṇāpā-dya which is an image of Vairocana showing the dha-
145. I Bahī (2) Karunācūka [79]

146. Yamī Bahī [75, 76, 77]
macakra mudrā, painted white and covered with garments. The present building is entirely new consisting of a single brick structure, done more or less in the bāхи style with large, lattice windows in the upper storey and a bāхи tower. The shrine is housed in the central ground floor room and faces east. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāḥī consists of only one family of Brahmacarya Bhikṣus comprising three initiated members. One of these members always performs the daily rituals morning and evening. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the members of the saṅgha. According to informants this bāḥī and Pintu Bahī have always performed the same saṅgha with the fact that initiations are performed here. Hence there is one group of five elders for two bāḥīs four of whom come from Pintu Bahī and one from Duntu Bahī. The lineage deity of the entire saṅgha is at Pintu Bahī but identified by some as Mahākāl and by others as Cakrasāṃvara. At the present time the annual festival traditionally held on the full moon day of the month of Phalgun has been discontinued, and the saṅgha has no income.

At the present time there are no inscriptions left here and nothing is known about the history of this bāḥī other than the tradition that it was founded by Gobardhana Miśra the disciple (or relative) of Sunyaśirī Miśra the founder of Ī Bahī.

5. Pintu Bahī -- Gopicandra Misra Sanskriti
   Gopicandra Mahāvīhāra* [64]
   Ikhācheñ Tole

Pintu Bahī, just down the street from Duntu Bahī, has retained the original architectural structure of a bāḥī, but the buildings are in a sad state of disrepair. The plain entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and to the south is a temple bell. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone mandala. The tile roof is surmounted by the usual bāḥī tower over the shrine of the kūpā-dya which is a large image of Akṣobhya facing east.

The saṅgha of this bāḥī consists of nine households of Brahmacarya Bhikṣus with a total of thirty nine initiated members. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pāḷas performing the usual rituals each morning and evening. Service passes through the nine house-holds in turn. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha, which also includes the small saṅgha of Duntu Bahī [63] has five elders, four from Pintu Bahī and one from Duntu Bahī. The lineage deity is situated here at the bāḥī and identified by some as Mahākāl and by others as Cakrasāṃvara. The annual festival of the bāḥī is no longer observed; but they do perform an annual pūjā to the caitya on the full moon day of the month of Asvin.

According to tradition the founder of this bāḥī was also a disciple of Sunyaśirī Miśra and like him a brahman. What is probably the oldest reference to this bāḥī comes from the colophon of a manuscript dated N.S.511 which refers to 'Śrī Danti Viha in Śrī Manigalottara Mahāvihāre'. This is most probably Pintu Bahī; the place is right and there is no other vihāra by this name.

Two other sources give us early dates for this foundation. The first of these is Tibetan. The Blue Annals give an account of one Vanarata (whom the Tibetans refer to as the Last Paṇḍit (i.e., the last of the great Indian teachers of Buddhism to go to Tibet.) Vanarata was born in Chittagong in East Bengal in A.D.1384 and first went to Tibet in A.D.1426 by way of Nepal. Over the next few years he visited Nepal several times where he resided at Sāntipur Viha near the Swayambhū Mahācaitya and where he also erected a beautiful golden image of Vajracharya. Toward the end of his life he returned again to Nepal and retired to the Gopicandra Viha in Patan where he died in A.D.1468. This is confirmed by two actual paintings of Vanarata. These are pauwās (banner paintings), but very unusual in that they are actual portraits of Vanarata. One of these was painted the year after Vanarata's death at Gopicandra Viha and bears an inscription which explains who he was and the date of his death, N.S.589 (A.D.1468) which accords with the Tibetan account. The second painting is an exact copy of the original made in N.S.982 (A.D.1862) when the original painting had become faded and damaged with age. The inscription found on both paintings explains that in the year N.S.575 Śrī Vanaratnapā of Govicandra (sic) Mahāvihāra gave donations of grain to a whole host of ascetics and sadhus. In the year N.S.588 he again gave lavish donations to a total group of 1,590 people. In
the year N.S.589, on the seventh day of the dark half of Marga Sri Vanaratnapa attained Buddhahood. An additional few lines on the more recent painting explain that in N.S.982 Brahmacarya Bhikku Sri Bhannerasim and others, all of the sahha of Govicandra Mahavihara, had the new painting made and consecrated. Strangely, no one at Pintu Bahi today has any recollection of this famous Indian moolchit, though a little over a hundred years ago he was still known and respected, a fact that is an eloquent commentary on what has happened to the traditions of the bahis within the past hundred years.

There are several inscriptions within the complex the oldest of which is dated N.S.764.  

6. Konti Bahi -- Kasyapa Misra Samskarita Lalitavarna Mahavihara [68]  

Konti Bahi is a fairly well preserved bahi complex consisting of the usual two storeyed building with open verandas and a simple tile roof. The shrine which contains an image of Aksobhya facing east, is placed behind a veranda supported by wooden pillars. There is no torana but on either side of the shrine dooway are large eyes. The roof over the shrine is surmounted by a single finial in the form of a caitya. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two, small stone lions and in the courtyard is a single caitya of Licchavi style. The courtyard is paved with stone.

The sahha of this bahi consists of only three households with a total membership of eight initiated members. Only one of the members actually lives at the bahi and he alone performs the usual rituals morning and evening. Barechyeug initiation are performed here for the sons of the members of the sahha. At the present time the sahha has only one elder and the annual festival, which used to be held on the fullmoon day of the month of Phalgun, is no longer observed. The lineage deity of the sahha is Cakrashanvara who is worshipped at the site.

Just inside the entrance to Konti Bahi is enshrined a relief plaque showing a wheel and a vajra on end. It is similar in style to the plaques at Tukan Bahi in Kathmandu which Pal dates to the eighth century. This, of course, tells us nothing about the present institution, but does indicate that the site had ancient Buddhist connections. The caitya in the courtyard is also very old, but the oldest inscription is dated N.S.743 and commemorates the paving of the courtyard. Another inscription of N.S.865 commemorates the offering of a finial to the shrine. Nothing is known about the foundation of this bahi other than the tradition that it was founded by another disciple of Sunayasri Misra.

a. Konti Bahi Cidhaung -- Lalitavarna Vihara  

This is simply an open grassy space to the north of Konti Bahi containing a modern shrine with an image of Aksobhya facing east and a caitya. Informants say that this was once a branch of Konti Bahi, but has now been entirely abandoned since the sahha is so small that all its needs can be met by Konti Bahi. The usual rituals are performed at the shrine by the current dyapala of Konti Bahi. KTV, however, lists this foundation as a defunct bahi.

7. Cikan Bahi -- Saptapur Mahavihara* [83]  

Cikan Bahi is a well preserved and typical bahi in Chyesal Tole, one of the oldest sections of the ancient city of Patan. The entire quadrangle with its two-storeyed building and running verandas is still intact. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions each flanked by a large temple bell. Over the doorway is a repousse metal torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked on his right by the Dharma (Prajnaparamita) and on his left by the Sahha (Sadasakshari Lokesvara) and surmounted by the five transcendent Buddhas. The kuapadya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. Above the cella itself, which can be circumambulated, is an overhanging lattice-work veranda which contains a shrine of Ugra Tara. The tile roof is surmounted by a typical bahi style tower. In the courtyard are a mandala surmounted by a vajra, a caitya built on a mandala, a second votive caitya, an image of the Three Jewels and another mandala-caitya. At the time of writing the entire southern wing of the bahi has been torn down for reconstruction.

Cikan Bahi has the largest and most active sahha of all the bahis of Patan. At present
149. Konti Bahi [68]

150. Konti Bahi Cidhañgu [67]
151. Licchavi Plaque at Konti Bahí
the saṅgha consists of one hundred thirty five initiated Sakyas, i.e. Brahmacarya Bhikṣus. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dyapālās in the shrine of the kāyapa-dya for eight days at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The saṅgha has five elders and observes the annual festival of the bahī on the eighth day of the bright half of Baliṣākh. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Vajravārāhī located at her shrine near Chāpāgauḍī south of Patan. Some, however, identified the lineage deity as Cakra-
samvara. This seems to come from a confusion between the lineage deity and the āgama deity (Cakasaṃvara) who is also worshipped on the day of the lineage deity pūjā. This bahī used to have an elaborate show on the day of the ‘showing of the gods’, but this has now been discontinued as many of the pieces have been stolen and others were lost in a fire some years ago. The saṅgha had twelve ropanis of land from which they obtained a fair income, but little of this is now left. Cīkañ Bahī has four branch bahīs, the only bahī in Patan to have such functioning branches.

Though this would appear to be a fairly ancient foundation, the earliest date recorded at the site is N.S.535 at which time an image of Ganesh was consecrated. An inscription of N.S.554 on the caitya in front of the complex notes that the image of Amitābha was erected in that year. In N.S.577 the image of Ratnasāmbhava was added. In N.S.758 an offering was made to the main Buddha (gandhūrī deva) of the bahī. In N.S. 758 a golden finial was offered for the shrine of ‘Saptapurī Mahāvihāra’. In N.S.777 a caitya was erected and repairs were made to (the shrines of) ‘gandhūrī deva’ and Vajravārāhī. In N.S.808 a statue of Śrī Manucandra of this vihāra was erected. An inscription of N.S.835 again mentions the Sanskrit name of the bahī. In N.S.854 offerings were made to the gūthī for the conduct of the daily rituals of Sakyamuni Buddha and Vajravārāhī. In N.S.859 silver ornaments were offered to Sakyamuni and Vajravārāhī; more ornaments were offered in N.S.860. In N.S.991 the metal toraṇa over the door of the shrine was donated. In N.S.996 metal flags and banners were offered. In N.S.998 a levy of five mohars each (Rs.2.50) was made on each of the families of the saṅgha to make repairs to 'Saptapurī Mahāvihāra'. A document of N.S.1005 lists all of the expenses for the various feasts of the year. A bell was offered in N.S.1015 and a copper-plate of N.S.1016 lists the income currently accruing to the gūthī. In N.S.1020 a bell, a lamp and a toraṇa were offered in memory of deceased members of the saṅgha. In N.S.1026 plaques with the saḍaṣaṁkarī mantra were erected on either side of the door of the shrine. In N.S.1085 on the occasion of Buddha Jayanti Śrī Jagatmān Vaidya (also known as Dharmaśīya Dharmaśīya) sponsored a procession, a ‘cudikarma’ ceremony and a feast for the saṅgha. In addition to this he donated Rs. 100 and a field as an endowment.21 (This seems to be the first attempt to revive the ancient observance of Baliṣākh Purimā which had totally lapsed among the Buddhists of Nepal.)

I present this list of inscriptions in some detail because this is one of the few viharas in the Valley to retain (or make available for study) a continuous record of saṅgha activity stretching over a period of more than five hundred years. This bahī has four branches all founded in the last century. Three of these branches have inscriptions which detail the founding of the monastery, the members of the donors' families and the lands given in endowment for the performance of rituals.22

a. (Cīkañ) Bahīcā -- Triratna Vīra Vihāra* Cībah Bahī [81] Cyāsal Tole

All that is left of this bahī is a narrow shrine next to a pati in a small square just off the road. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a carved wooden toraṇa depicting the Buddha (Akṣobhya), flanked on his right by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and on his left by the Saṅgha (Saḍaṣaṁkarī Lokēśvara). The toraṇa is surmounted by a triple umbrella. Traces of frescoes can be seen above the toraṇa and on either side of the doorway. The kāyapa-dya is an image of Amitābha facing west. The second storey has a lattice-work, triple window and the tile roof is supported by two carved struts. Above the roof is a typical bahī style tower. In front of the bahī is a single votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of four members, one household, of Brahmacarya Bhikṣus of Cīkañ Bahī. These four take turns acting as dyapālās in the shrine for a month at a time, performing the usual rituals only each morning.
The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the bahl on the full moon day of the month of Asvin. Though this branch had some income at one time, it is now all lost.

An inscription to the side of the door of the shrine gives the date of construction of this branch (N.S.991) and the Sanskrit name. The viśa in the Sanskrit name comes from the fact that the three brothers who founded this branch each had the second name 'Vir'.

b. Cīkaṇ Bahī Buddhīman — Maṇiкуṭa Vihāra

This little branch is situated in a tiny courtyard; and the shrine consists simply of a ground floor room on the south side of the quadrangle. The entrance is unmarked but the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked on his right by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and on his left by the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara). The kuṣapā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The rest of the building is an ordinary house.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of three households of Brahmacarya Bhiksūs of Cīkaṇ Bahī. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals each morning serving for a month at a time. The saṅgha has one elder and observes the annual festival of the branch on the ninth day of the month. The shrine gives the date of construction of this branch (N.S.991) and the Sanskrit name.

According to a long inscription which gives the Sanskrit name of the branch this bahl was founded in N.S.998 at which time gotī lands were given as an endowment.

d. Kulratna Bāhā — Sumaṅgala Vihāra

This branch consists in a small entirely modern shrine on the ground floor of an enclosed quadrangle with lattice doors and a domed top. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhya facing west. In front of the shrine is a single stone mandala. According to informants the proper name of the shrine is Sumaṅgala Vihāra; the name Kulratna comes from the man who renovated the shrine in recent times; according to KTMV this renovation took place in N.S.1015.

As mentioned above this branch and the preceding one have a combined saṅgha of thirty members; two households with a membership of twelve Brahmacarya Bhiksūs are attached to this shrine. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening serving by household for a month at a time. The annual festival of this branch is observed on the day of Śri Pāñcami; and seven pāthis of rice are still received as income to support this festival.

This branch is the latest of the four and was founded by the son of the founder of Bhaiṣajyarāj Bāhā.

8. Dhaugā Bahī — Maṇimāṇḍapa Mahāvihāra

Nothing is left now of this old bahl complex but the shrine of the kuṣapā-dya which has been completely rebuilt in the traditional style within the past fifteen years. The present shrine is a typical bahl shrine front with a wooden torana which depicts three eight armed
157. Chaugā Bahī [49]

158. Kinu Bahī [100]
tantric figures. Above this is a triple window and a tile roof supported by plain struts. The shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the paved yard is one large votive caitya and the street entrance is marked by a carved doorway and two large stone lions.

The saṅgha of this bāhi consists of a total of six households of Sakyas comprising thirty-six initiated members. The members of the saṅgha take turns serving as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya a month at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. Five of these households also serve dya-pālās in the now defunct Kinu Bāhi [100]. Bāruchuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The annual festival of the bāhi is observed on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Yogāmbara at Kuā Bāhā, but the members of this saṅgha claim that the deity was first at the Swayambhū Mahācaitya whence it was 'brought' to Kuā Bāhā. This bāhi has a strange custom at the time of the annual 'Showing of the Gods'. Among the images put on display are an image of a man and a woman smoking a hukkā. The hukkā is life-sized and lit each year at the time of the festival. It used to be the custom for all the visitors to the bāhi to take a puff on the hukkā when they came to view the display.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this bāhi, but it is evidently an ancient foundation. The earliest inscription at the site is dated N.S.795 and commemorates the offering of a finial to the shrine in that year. Another inscription of N.S.802 commemorates repairs made to the shrine by one Bhiṣṣu Jalagajū and his son Jayacandra. The son also donated the images mentioned above which are of his father and mother with the hukkā.

9. Kinu Bāhi — Lokākīrti Mahāvihāra

This bāhi is now almost entirely abandoned and all that remained until a couple of years ago was the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, a one-roomed slice of the old bāhi complex. The shrine is unmarked and contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the grassy area in front of the shrine is an eight-sided caitya. Nothing else remains but a small shrine of Mahā-kāl near the entrance to the field of weeds that surrounds the shrine. A couple of years ago some of the young Buddhists of Patan took the initiative to renovate the place and turn it into a sort of Buddhist hostel for pilgrims to Nepal. A foundation for the new structure was laid, but all work has been stopped due to a dispute over part of the land.

The saṅgha of this bāhi has entirely died out but five of the households of Dhaugā Bāhi [49] still perform rituals at irregular intervals. No initiations are performed here any longer, and there is no annual festival, but the bāhi still has three ropanis of land behind the shrine.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bāhi or its defunct saṅgha. However the base of the Buddha image is inscribed with Licchavi letters and the shrine of Mahākāl is dated N.S.538.

10. Nhāyakān Bāhi — Suraścandra Mahāvihāra

This is one of the few well-preserved bāhi complexes in Patan; the buildings are kept in a good state of repair and additions have been made to the ornamentation in recent years. The ground floor has been screened in with lattice work and the upper storey has the usual overhanging veranda. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions flanked by temple bells. The door itself is flanked by two triangular flags and surmounted by a metal repoussé torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. Below the torana is another small repoussé plaque depicting Amītābha. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The wall on either side of the shrine door has been faced with coloured ceramic tile. The plain tile roof is surmounted by the typical bāhi style tower whose roof is ringed with small bells. In the paved courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone mandala; and there are two more votive caityas just to the south of the bāhi complex. The street entrance to the complex is marked by two large stone lions and just inside the doorway to the right is a shrine of Mahākāl.

This bāhi has a large saṅgha of some ninety initiated members, all called Brahmacarya Bhi-
159. Nāykañ Bahā [29]

160. Cwecwangu Puco Bahā [165]
The members of the saṅgha serve as dyapālās in the shrine for eight days at a time in order of seniority. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here and the saṅgha has five elders. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an image of Cakrasamvara preserved within the bahī. This deity is also the lineage deity of the saṅgha of the bahī in Kirtipur whose saṅgha originally came from here. The annual festival takes place on the full moon day of the month of Phālgun and there is an annual festival in honour of the caitya on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh. The bahī still has an annual income of thirty pāṭhis of rice but used to have considerably more.

This is probably an ancient foundation but the oldest date is that found on the caitya, N.S.727. In N.S.801 a gilded decoration for the image of the kuṇḍapā-dya was donated. In N.S.836 a quarrel broke out among the members of the saṅgha and this was settled by the King of Patan, Riddhi Narasimhā Malla, who established new rules and regulations for the rituals to be performed at the bahī.

Until 1980 this was a fine, but crumbling old bahī complex, situated on the hill directly above the western stūpa of Patan. Finally the old building was completely beyond repair and the entire structure was pulled down to make way for a new building and a new Buddhist institution, so that nothing remains now of the original bahī except for images and bits and pieces of the old structure that were salvaged and incorporated into the new structure.

The saṅgha of this bahī has died out completely and until recently the usual rituals were performed by two of the members of the lower bahī (see below), but even this has now been discontinued with the foundation of the new institution. To the side of the entryway is an āgām shrine which belongs not to the former saṅgha but to a group of Shresthas.

Until some sixty to seventy years ago this bahī retained some connection to Thām Bahī in Kathmandu and according to local traditions it was founded by people from Thām Bahī, though so far there is no documentary proof of this. Local tradition places the foundation of this vihāra in the sixth century A.D. and attributes the foundation to a man by the name of Akṣesavara. There was one fragment of a Licchavi inscription near the stone steps leading into the old structure at Puco Bahī but this was undated. A thyāsa dated N.S.373 gives the first confirmed reference to this bahī. A palm-leaf document of N.S.485 notes that one Brahmacarya Bhikṣu Śhāvītra Śrī Tejājī Śrī Pulco Mahāvihāra constructed a shrine for Amoghapāsa Lokesvāra. A large, but badly abraded inscription of N.S.527 at the caitya outside of the bahī commemorates the construction of the caitya. A palm-leaf document of N.S.543 speaks of a famous man of Pulco Vihāra called Brahmacarya Śākya Bhikṣu Śrī Āchāyasirī Thapaśu. In N.S.562 a donation was made in honour of Śākyaḥbhikṣu Śrī Ānandājī of Pulco Vihāra by his son. In N.S.566 a merchant by the name of Śivarāja donated all of his possessions to the Buddha of the vihāra, called Śrī Gandhūri Bhāṭṭāraka. Both of these last two references also mention a sanyāk festival celebrated at Pulco Vihāra. In N.S.806 a new image was donated and installed in the shrine of the vihāra. Again the image is called Gandhūri Bhāṭṭāraka. A wooden inscription of N.S.704 at the shrine of the old structure describes gifts made to the saṅgha by certain 'Karmarājas' of Thuka Vanaṛīri Mahāvihāra. (This may be an alternate name for the vihāra.) In N.S.784 a rest house was made in front of the stupa and images of Maṇjuśrī and Lokanātha were erected there. In N.S.825 the caitya built in N.S.527 was repaired and it was covered with stone. In N.S.996 the wooden image of the Gandhūri Devatā was repaired and gold ornaments were offered. This must have been one of the last major donations and renovations before the decline of the foundation.

The second bahī at Pulchok is situated below the hill and south of the Patan stūpa in the centre of the old village of Pucho. Nothing is left of the original bahī structure but the shrine of the kuṇḍapā-dya which has been repaired, plastered and white-washed. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana depicting Vajrasa-
151. Kwaecwangú Puco Bahí [166]

162. Cithuh (Kyapu) Bahí [168]
The **kuśpā-dya** is an image of Vairocana facing east. The upper storey has an overhanging wooden balcony and the plain tile roof is surmounted by a **bahi** type tower. In the open space in front of the **bahi** are a votive **caitya** and a **mandala**.

The **sāṅgha** of this **bahi** consists of a total of twenty two initiated Sakayas (Brahmacarya Bhikṣu). They serve in the shrine for one month at a time, service passing through the roster of initiated from eldest to youngest. Rituals are performed morning and evening. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the **sāṅgha**. The **sāṅgha** has five elders and observes a festival in honour of the **caitya** on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of **Caitra**. No festival is observed in honour of the **bahi** itself. The lineage deity of the **sāṅgha** is Cakrasaṅvara and the people here claim that in a **bahi** the lineage deity and the āgām deity are always the same. They certainly are here, but it is not universally true. At the present time the **bahi** has no income.

This is a companion foundation to the one on the hill and is reputed to have been founded by one Rakṣeṣvara, a relative of the founder of the **bahi** on the hill. Here also there is a fragment of a Licchavi inscription which is undated. However the earliest dated inscription is of N.S.672 and is attached to the base of the Mahākāł shrine. In N.S.695 a golden finial was offered to the shrine. In N.S.812 the wooden **torana** was donated by one Bāsurām Bhañwo (Jyāpū)

13. Cithū (Kyapu) **Bahi** — Padmakīrtigiri
Mahāvihāra [168] Kirtipur

All that is left of this **bahi** is a paved courtyard with a building along the western edge which houses the shrine of the **kuśpā-dya** on the ground floor. The shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway has no **torana**. The **kuśpā-dya** is an image of Buddha showing the **viśvavākaraṇa mudrā**, called Samantabhadrā by the local people. The upper storey has a plain veranda surmounted by a low sloping tile roof. In the paved courtyard are two votive **caityas** and a stone **mandala**.

The **sāṅgha** of this **bahi** consists of forty five initiated Sakayas (Brahmacarya Bhikṣu). They take turns serving in the shrine of the **kuśpā-dya** but for irregular lengths, some for a lunar fortnight and some for four or five days. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the **sāṅgha**. The **sāṅgha** has five elders and their lineage deity is Cakrasaṅvara residing at Nāyakăn Bāñ [29], from where the members of the **sāṅgha** originally came. The annual festival is no longer observed here and the **bahi** has no income.

The oldest date here is found on a copper-plate inscription attached to the shrine and dated N.S.779. At this time offerings were made to the Buddha image (śrī śrī śrī gandhūrī deva) by one Brahmacarya Bhikṣu Sri Deva Ratna. The name of the foundation is given as 'Kirtipuḷa Vihaṇī'. In N.S.791 a long list of people simply called 'Bhikṣu' made donations for a 'yājana-sūla' before the shrine of śrī śrī śrī gandhūrī deva'. In N.S.827 the courtyard was paved with teiliya bricks; and in this same year an image of Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha was offered along with a gūṭhi for its worship. In N.S.831 the shrine of the Buddha itself was paved with bricks. In N.S.832 a wooden **torana** and a stone **mandala** were offered. The **bahi** was renovated in N.S.1015 by one Nirmāṇ Vajracarya, and the last renovation was carried out after the earthquake of A.D. 1934.


What is left of this shrine on the edge of Būngamati village has the appearance of typical **bahi** structure, but it is in a sad state of disrepair and fast crumbling. Three fourths of the original quadrangle remains: a typical two-storied structure with open rooms on the ground floor, an overhanging, lattice balcony above, and a **bahi** style tower above the roof. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and the shrine contains an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard is a single, plastered, 'Aśoka' **caitya**.

The **sāṅgha** of this **bahi** has to total of twenty two initiated Sakayas (Brahmacarya Bhikṣu). All the members serve in the shrine of the **kuśpā-dya** for a lunar fortnight at a time by rotation according to seniority. The **sāṅgha** has five elders who serve strictly according to age, rather than the usual custom of according to seniority of initiation. The annual festival is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of
The bahī used to have forty five ropa-nis of land which provided a good income, though nowadays the framers bring only a little grain, not enough to support the annual festival.

According to the traditions of the saṅgha, this bahī was founded by one of three brothers who came to Patan. The first went to Konti Bahī in Patan, the second to Kinu Bahī and the third to Buṅgamati. To this day they consider the members of Konti Bahī to be close relatives (phuki) and marriage is not permitted with members of that saṅgha. (The same was true of their relationship to the saṅgha of Kinu Bahī which has now died out). According to an inscription at the site the bahī was renovated in N.S.808 by Bhikṣu Dharmasena. It was last renovated by the gūthī after the earthquake of A.D.1934.

15. Wā Bahī -- [181] Chāpāgāo

The present form of this bahī dates to the time after the earthquake of A.D.1934. It is simply a single room on the ground floor of a two-storied village house. The shrine is unmarked and has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aṅgobhya facing north. In the grassy area in front of the shrine is a single, plastered caitya.

The saṅgha consists of only eight initiated Sakyas. They take turns serving in the shrine and performing rituals each morning. Barechuye-gu initiations are performed here and the saṅgha has one elder. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Cakrasaivara worshipped at the bahī. The annual festival is no longer observed and the bahī has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahī, and the present building dates to A.D.1934. Further repairs were made in 1958 with a donation made by King Mahendra. The only Malla period date at this site is N.S.739 found on the caitya at which time an image of Sakyamuni was installed in the caitya.
Other Bahas of Patan

The following bāhās, each of which has a bare saṅgha, have no connection with the 'Fifteen Bāhās' of Patan and no connection with the bahis of Patan.


This bāhā consists of a small, unpretentious shrine just off a narrow lane in Nuga Tole. The shrine itself is a free standing 'modern' shrine. Over the door to the shrine is a small torana depicting the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhya facing west. Next to the shrine is a small stone mandala.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of twenty three initiated Vajracaryas. This saṅgha is entirely independent and as a saṅgha has no connection with any of the eighteen main bāhās or the bāhā, although these Vajracaryas do serve as priests at the shrine of Lokesvara at Tanga Baha, which has no Vajracaryas of its own. These Vajracaryas are reputed to be experts in the performance of the nāga sādhanā, a pūjā performed to the snake divinities to bring rain. They claim that they originally came from the Santipur shrine below the Swayambhū Mahācaitya and were called to Patan because of their expertise in the performance of the nāga sādhanā. Their lineage deity is an unnamed deity near the Bal Kumārī temple in Patan. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. One informant said, however, that originally they performed their Ācāluyegu initiations at Santipur and then later at Tanga Baha; but I was unable to get any further confirmation of this, and others denied that these people had any connection with Santipur other than the fact that they are experts in the nāga sādhanā the main centre for which is Santipur. The saṅgha has five elders and they observe the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Śrī Pañcamī. They also perform a busāda ceremony of a shrine of Nilakantha Lokesvara located in Dhāila Cheñ Tole. At the present time this bāhā has no income, but informants of the saṅgha say that originally they were given twelve ropanis of land when they were called to Patan. This has now been lost.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā other than the tradition that the members of the saṅgha were called to Patan from Santipur. The only inscription at the site is dated N.S.508 and commemorates repairs to a caitya.

2. Yoku Bāhā — Yokuli Mahāvihāra [40] Dau Bāhā Tole

This bāhā consists of a square shrine with a caitya top with another caitya to the side of it. In fact the caitya is considered to be the main shrine of the bāhā rather than the image of Aksobhya which is set into the shrine and facing east. The rest of the courtyard consists of plain, modern structures.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of one hundred fifteen initiated Sakyas who are initiated here in front of this shrine-caitya and are thus considered to be cailaka Sakyas, i.e. Sakyas initiated before a caitya rather than in a bāhā. However, in every respect the saṅgha functions as the saṅgha of a bāhā. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās performing the usual rituals each morning and evening to the image of Aksobhya. The term of service is a lunar fortnight and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. The lineage deity of this saṅgha was originally an
image situated on Nāgarjun, the ridge to the northwest of the valley. The deity was first 'brought' to Pul Chok and placed below the Pucho jahi; later it was taken to Lagan Khel. At the present time there are two groups within the saṅgha, one of which performs the worship of the lineage deity at Pul Chok and the other of which performs it at Lagan Khel. This saṅgha is entirely separate from the eighteen main bahas of Patan. Though informants at Dau Bāhā claim that these people were originally a part of the Dau Bāhā saṅgha, this is denied by the Yoku Bāhā people. They say that at one time they used priests from Dau Bāhā, but they don't even do this anymore. They use priests from Bū Bāhā. The fact that their lineage deity is different from that of Dau Bāhā lends credence to their contention that they never were a part of Dau Bāhā, though they do belong to the sī gūthi (funeral gūthi) of Dau Bāhā. The saṅgha has five elders. They celebrate the annual festival of the bāhā on the day of Māghe Sankrānti. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. An inscription attached to the wall of the shrine is dated N.S.931. This bāhā has one branch.

a. Yākulī Bāhā -- Sukhāvatī Prasāda Vihāra (Keku Bāhā) [41] Dau Bāhā Tole

This bāhā is situated in a tiny courtyard off the western side of the area around Dau Bāhā Nāi, the open area round the large stupa outside of Dau Bāhā. The tiny courtyard leaves room for only two rooms and the room to the left is the shrine. The entrance to the shrine is unmarked, but the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Aksobhya surmounted by all five transcendent Buddhas. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhya facing east. Above the shrine door is a single small window and above that a tin roof. The facade of the shrine has been recently plastered with plain cement. On either side of the doorway are images of Gaṇesh and Mahākāl. In the courtyard is a single votive caitya on a stylized lotus base.

At the present time this small branch does not have a saṅgha as such but the usual daily rituals are performed by a Sakya of Yoku Bāhā. The annual festival of the shrine is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā; it may originally have been the branch of another bāhā abandoned by its original members. The only inscription in the complex is attached to the caitya and dated N.S.1002. It commemorates repairs made to the caitya by one Cinānanda Sākya.


At present this bāhā consists of a shrine on the ground floor of a plastered, modern style building. The building rests on a high plinth just off the road. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions, but the carved doorway has no torana. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhya facing east. The door to the shrine is flanked by fading frescoes. The second storey has a large carved window in the centre flanked by two ordinary glass windows. The tile roof is surmounted by a single, plastered finial. Two of the roof struts are carved figures, probably relics from an earlier structure. There are three votive caityas in the area just in front of the bāhā shrine with a stone mandala in front of them and another caitya across the street.

The saṅgha of this baha consists of two households of Sakyas comprising eleven initiated members. This saṅgha has no connection with any other saṅgha in Patan and they perform their Bārechuyegu initiations here. The members of the saṅgha serve as dyā-pālās in the shrine performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of the initiated according to seniority. The saṅgha has two elders, one from each household, and they observe the annual festival of the bāhā during the sacred month of Guṇā. Their lineage deity (which is identical to their āgam deity) is an image of Yoḍhambarā worshipped here at the bāhā.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, and there are no inscriptions here, however the three caityas appear to be from the early Malla period.

The following bāhās do not have a Bare saṅgha and have no connection with the saṅghas...
167. Yekuli Bahā [41]

168. Naha Bahā [164]
of the eighteen main bāhās nor with the bāhis. Most of the rituals are performed by the non-bare who live at the bāhās.

1. Hauga Bāhā -- Hastināga Vihāra

Hauga Tole

This is a very well preserved bāhā shrine in an enclosed courtyard just off the main road leading south from the Patan Durbar. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a metal repoussé torana depicting the Buddha (A-kṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left and the Śaṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. On either side of the doorway are stone images of Śārinutra and Maudgalāyana. The kuṭāpā-dya is an image of A-kṣobhya facing east. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows and the top storey one opening in the centre flanked by two large lattice windows. The entire brick facade has been kept in an excellent state of repair and the windows have been decorated with bands of white plaster. The metal roof is surmounted by a bāhi-style tower.

The community associated with this bāhā are all Rājkarnikārs. Castewise they are considered Silpakārs and intermarry with the Śilpakārs, Tamrākārs etc. of Patan. According to their traditions they are descendants of brāhmans of Kanauj who were called to the Valley in the time of Jayasthitī Malla to act as halwāis (i.e. sweet-makers). They were official confectioners to the Malla court in the three cities, and in the time of Prithvinārāyaṇa Shah their position as confectioners to the court was again confirmed and they were given a shop near the shrine of Nārāyaṇa at the present Nārāyaṇa Hiti compound. To this day they still have an official position at court as confectioners (koṭvāli halwā). According to their traditions they first settled in Patan at Hauga Bāhā; and, though many have now moved to Kathmandu or to other centres outside of the Valley, there are still four lineages comprising fifty members, centered on Hauga Baha. Until the last century they claim that they still followed strict brahman traditions, e.g. they were strict vegetarians, but since settling in Patan have always been Buddhist. The daily pūjā in the shrine of the kuṭāpā-dya is performed by a Vajracarya of Čukha Bāhā and a Vajracarya of Hyana Bāhā who serve or alternate months performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The lineage deity of the Rājkarnikārs community is Yoṅgāmbatā at Mhaypi but now 'brought' to a place near Thati Bāhā in Lagan Khel. At the time of Indra Jātṛ they have a mask of ḍhaivatara which they exhibit and worship as is done at many places in Kathmandu. This is the only bāhā where this custom is observed.

Unfortunately there are no early inscriptions at this site to authenticate the story of the origin of this community. The bāhā has been regularly repaired. One inscription of N.S.926 speaks of repairs made by the Rājkarnikārs in that year; it was last renovated after the earthquake of A.D.1934.

2. Nalacchī Bāhā -- Jagat Mandala Vihāra

Agni Math

This bāhā consists of a large caitya and two small, modern shrines constructed an A.D.1944 by a family of Śilpakārs. According to tradition this was a bāhā before that time, but what its status was and who it belonged to is not known. The two shrines contain images of the Buddha and Vasundhārā who is considered to be the main deity. One family of Śilpakārs live here and they themselves perform daily rituals at the shrine of Vasundhārā and observe an annual festival in her honour in the month of Bhadra.

3. Bāhācā -- [72]

Swantha Tole

All that is left of this bāhā is a free-standing shrine containing an old image of A-kṣobhya facing south (!) in a water-logged and cluttered sort of junkyard behind a blacksmith’s shop. In front of the shrine is a plain mandala. People in the area call it a bāhā, but whether it ever was a bāhā and who lived here is now unknown. Regular rituals are no longer performed here but the blacksmith informants say that there are some Sresthas to the south who come to perform rituals occasionally. At one time they owned all the land from their present house up to this shrine and at that time they performed rituals at the shrine regularly. It was probably always their shrine and never a proper bāhā. It is unheard of for a bāhā shrine to face south which is always considered inauspicious.
The following bāhās, though they existed as vihāras at one time are now defunct.

   Śrī Nimma Śrī Visvaśaṁti Vihāra  
   Gā Bāhā

Gā Bāhā as it exists today is a modern reconstruction of an ancient site. There are many medieval references to Gā (Gāda or Guāra) Vihāra, the earliest of which is possibly N.S.40, and the bāhā has given its name to the entire area. However, by the beginning of this century it was no more than a name remembered. The site had disappeared and the saṅgha was long extinct. About thirty years ago remains of the old Gā Bāhā were discovered at this site and local people financed a renovation. The area was cleared and a typical bāhā shrine was built to house the relics. The Shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway surmounted by a torana depicting the Buddhas (Ākṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. The torana which was taken from an earlier structure is dated N.S.967. The first storey has the typical five-fold bāhā window and the top storey has a triple window. The tile roof is supported by carved struts. In the courtyard are a votive caitya and a stone mandala. This bāhā has no saṅgha, but the daily rituals are performed by a Vajracarya from Bū Bāhā; and Buddha Jayanti has been observed here every year since the renovation in A.D.1956. For some years an annual busā dan was observed in Baisakh on aksāya tritiva, but this has been discontinued as the original group which renovated the shrine has passed on.

2. Pim Bāhā -- Mahāpintha Vihāra* [19]  
Pim Bāhā Tole

All that remains of this famous medieval vihāra is a large stūpa, similar in style to the Swayambhu Mahācaitya, with four smaller stūpas surrounding it at the four corners. It is situated at the edge of a small pond. The oldest inscription here is dated N.S.479 and commemorates repairs made to the caitya after it was damaged in the raid on the Valley by the Moslem conqueror Shamsud-din. This is one of two inscriptions in the Valley which speak of this raid and its destruction; the other is at Swayambhū. The inscription gives the name of the vihāra itself as Mahāpintha Vihāra. A reference in the Čopālarājavamsāvali under the date of N.S.377 may refer to this vihāra. On that date Jayasimha Malla entered the fort of Pīm. This may refer to this place, but it is doubtful because he was fighting the forces of Banepa. It is unlikely that they would be attacking Patan.

The bāhā itself has completely disappeared now. Informants say that until about thirty years ago the bāhā still existed in a courtyard behind the stūpa. Its 'saṅgha' consisted entirely of Shresthas and they eventually sold the property to others who tore down the bāhā and built a new house. Until that time the Shresthas of Pīm Bāhā used to have a very elaborate pañcādāna ceremony which was supported by a large endowment and in which they fed all the Bare of Patan. With the coming of land reform most of this land was lost and the custom discontinued. Some income still remains and the Jayāpus from the Śi Bāhā area who farm this land conduct a modest pañcādāna to which they invite only the Bare from Mū Bāhā. The original Shresthas have moved away from Patan. They may well have been the descendants of the Pardhāna Mahāpātras of Pim Bāhā whom we know of from other sources. (See for example the treatment of Kyau Bāhā [174] above. occasional rituals are still performed at the Pīm Bāhā stupa by the members of the saṅgha of Mū Bāhā [18] (See the section on Mū Bāhā.)

3. Yaṅgala Bhuja -- Yaṅgra-ugranāma Vihāra  
   Yamu Bāhā [110]  
   Yamu Bāhā

This is also nothing more than a memory enforced by a number of Buddhist remains in the area, the principal of which is an old image of Padmapāni Lokāśvara which has been recently enclosed in a poorly constructed brick shrine. At the present time the entire area is inhabited by Jayāpus and they perform whatever rituals are performed at this shrine of Lokāśvara and at the various caityas scattered around the neighbourhood. It seems fairly certain that there was a vihāra in this area and it may well have been the Yaṅgala Vihāra referred to in a palm-leaf document of N.S.272.

4. Konti Bāhā (?) [89]  
   Kumbhesvara

To the east of the Kumbhesvara temple in Patan is a large grassy area enclosed by a high wall. At the present time this area contains
173. Pim Bāhā [19]

174. Yaṅgala Bhuja [110]
nothing but a large caitya and a few sculptural remains. Informants in Patan claim that this was at one time a bāhā and until recently bāhā pūjā was performed here annually. People still come here to perform the agtami vrata. Most probably this is the site of an ancient vihāra. Was it the often referred to Ko Vihāra which was certainly somewhere in this area? Perhaps excavation of the site would shed some light on the question. At the present state of our knowledge nothing more can be said.

5. Sika Bahī [74]  Sika Bahī

This site has for centuries been the shrine of Camunḍā Mai, an entirely Hindu, tantric deity. Tradition says that it was originally a bahi, and this contention is confirmed by two large caityas which are still found within the area of the temple. As at Vījesvarī in Kathmandu and Vajroyoginī in Sānku and Pharping what was originally a Buddhist vihāra has retained fame and popularity as the shrine of a tantric female deity, but in this case the deity is Hindu and the Buddhist connections are long forgotten except for the name Sika Bahi and the two caityas.

6. Swantha Bāhā  --  Swantha Vihāra [85]  Swantha Tole

This is no more than a name remembered. Most lists of the bāhās give a Swantha Bāhā in this area and local people say there was a bāhā here; but there is no trace of it today.
Bähäs and Bahis in Villages Near Patan

Following are a number of bähäs in villages near Patan which have no connection with the 'fifteen' Bähäs of Patan or the Patan bahis.

1. Buṅga Bähä -- Narendra-deva Saṁskārita
   Amarāvatīnāna Mahāvīhāra [175] Buṅgamati

The bähä in Buṅgamati is the home of Bunga-dya or Matsyendranāth the small red image of Padmapāṇī Lokeśvara who is in many ways the patron deity of the city of Patan. He is also the kuśāp-dya of this bähä. The village of Buṅgamati lies about six kilometres to the south of Patan. The temple of Buṅga-dya lies at the southern end of the village in an open courtyard surrounded by ordinary village houses and a few religious rest houses. The temple is a freestanding, Śikhara temple, one of the few Buddhist Śikhara temples in the Valley. The temple complex does not have, and perhaps never did have, the appearance of a bähä, or vunāra. The approach to the temple complex is up a long series of stone steps at the southern end of the village. About half way up the stone steps is a guardian lion half buried in the facing stones. At the top of the steps are two large guardian lions flanking a doorway which leads through the surrounding buildings into the courtyard. There is an inscription on one of the lions commemorating repairs made in the year B.S.2000. The doorway leads through a sort of rest house into the temple compound.

The temple is directly in front of the doorway as you enter the compound. It rests on a plinth of two levels, the top level being about four and a half feet above ground and about twenty feet square. The sanctum, which is made of stone, is surrounded by a veranda about two and a half feet wide. A series of stone pillars round the veranda support a large wooden beam. The sanctum itself is about twelve feet square and the image is kept just inside the door. The entire superstructure of the temple is lime-plastered brickwork. Two large stone lions guard the steps leading up to the main door of the sanctum. At the top of the stairs is a sort of railing with a gate set into it. Over this gate is a brass repousse torana of three figures, the central figure of which is Padmapāṇī Lokeśvara standing in the samabhāṅga pose and wearing the bodhisattva crown with his right hand in varada mudrā and his left hand in the position of holding a lotus. He is flanked by two identical figures, both seated in lalitāsana. Directly behind the gate is the main door into the sanctum, surmounted by a copper or brass repousse torana. The main figure in this is a standing, eight-faced figure with twelve hands the right holding a sword, arrow, an elephant goad, a noose and showing the varada mudrā; the left hands hold a lotus bud, a fully opened flower, a noose, a bow and one unrecognisable object. The two main hands are in dharmacakra mudrā. The figure can probably be identified as Mahāvairocana. The main figure is flanked by two seated figures. The right one is three-faced and has six hands. The left is six-faced and has twelve hands. The figures are so badly sooted up with smoke from oil lamps that the symbols in the hands are unrecognisable.

The door frame is done in brass work with nine small brass figures set above the door, the five transcendent Buddhas in a row flanked by two bodhisattvas on either side. There is a chain of twelve bells across the doorway and five hanging down the right side.

Across the wooden beam which runs along the northern face of the temple are brass repoussé representations of the eight auspicious signs
(the *asta māṅgala*). There are three bells on the front veranda, one to the left dated B.S.1927 and two on the right, one of which is dated B.S.1966. The other one is not dated, but from the script of the inscription can be placed in the late Malla period.

The other three sides of the temple have very little ornamentation. Smaller stone lions flank the steps leading up to the doorways and each doorway has five prayer wheels set into it. Each is surmounted by a carved wooden *torana*. The main figure in each of the *toranas* is a multi-armed tantric figure, but due to decay and repainting the hand symbols are not clear. Brass repousse lotus flowers decorate the wooden beam on all three sides.

The main śikha or spire rises to a height of about thirty feet and is surmounted by a golden finial. Above this is a five-fold, golden umbrella supported by a gilded triangular supports. Above this is another small, triple umbrella. Next to the finial is a rather battered brass banner of some sort. Attached to the top of the spire, just below the finial are four symbols: N—a wheel, E—a club, S—a lotus, and W—a conch shell, a very curious addition as these are the standard symbols of Viṣṇu.

Around the main śikha are grouped eight smaller śikhas, one at each corner, about six feet high and another slightly higher, over each of the entrances to the temple. Each of these smaller śikhas is crowned with a golden finial. From the small śikha above the main entrance hangs a single, rather battered, metal banner. The area immediately around the temple is paved with large flagstones. For a description of the rest of the courtyard see the accompanying diagram.

For roughly half of the year Bungadya resides in his temple at Ta Bāhā in Patan. Though situated in Ta Bāhā, this temple belongs to Bungadya and the Bungamati *sāṅgha*. Whenever Bungadya is in Patan the priests from Bungamati must accompany him and only they are ever permitted in the shrine of Bungadya. The members of the Ta Bāhā *sāṅgha* are never permitted inside of the temple and never perform any official rituals to Bungadya. The temple in Ta Bāhā is a free-standing temple of three roofs situated in a large grassy compound about seventy-five by a hundred yards.

The *sāṅgha* of Bunga Baha is a mixed *sāṅgha* of Sakyas and Vajracaryas comprising 325 members. In an arrangement that is, as far as I know, unique among the bāhās, the sāṅgha has an elite inner core of thirty-one, seven Vajracaryas and twenty four Sakyas, known as the *pāṇjūs* (or *pāṇi ḫus*). They and they alone are eligible for office within the *sāṅgha* and service of the deity. At the present time the office of *pāṇjū* is auctioned off by the government *gūṭhi* office. When a *pāṇjū* dies any initiated member of the *sāṅgha*, regardless of age, is eligible to fill the vacancy with the one proviso that a Vajracarya must be replaced by a Vajracarya and a Sakya by a Sakya to keep the traditional proportion of seven to twenty four. Any one interested in taking up the office must submit an application to the Gūṭhi Office stating how much he is willing to pay. The post goes to the highest bidder. The money is given to the Gūṭhi Office and goes into the general *gūṭhi* fund. It is considered to be a sound investment because of the amount of income accruing to the office of *pāṇjū* from *gūṭhi* lands and free will offerings. Office within the *sāṅgha* is confined to the *pāṇjūs*—the seniormost elder of the entire *sāṅgha* being the eldest *pāṇjū*, irrespective of whether he is a Sakya or Vajracarya and regardless of the fact that there may be older members of the *sāṅgha* who are not *pāṇjūs*. The *sāṅgha* has a total of eight elders. Seniority among the *pāṇjūs* is calculated from the date of each man’s initiations into the *sāṅgha* and not from the date of his assumption of the office of *pāṇjū*.

The principal duty of the *pāṇjū* is temple service and service of the deity during the annual chariot festival. For his service the *pāṇjū* gets a generous stipend from the *gūṭhi* fund and a further amount from free-will offerings given by the people who visit the deity daily, especially in Patan and during the annual festival. There is a special *gūṭhi* for the *pāṇjūs* and they alone are entitled to the income from the lands of this *gūṭhi*. There is another *gūṭhi* of the entire *sāṅgha*. The other members of the *sāṅgha* take part in feasts and festivals of this *gūṭhi*, but they are never permitted to touch the image or to serve as attendants either in the temple or on the chariot.

The *pāṇjūs*’s term of service in the temple is only one lunar fortnight. Before he takes up
his duties he is expected to shave his head and undergo the usual purificatory rites. During his term of service he must stay at the temple throughout the day and he is allowed only one meal of rice which he must cook himself. Temple service and the nitya puja follow the same pattern as at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, but they have fewer pujas to perform, and they do it with much less care and exactitude. There are only four pujas to be performed: one in the morning on rising, one at noon, one in the evening, and one in the middle of the night. One peculiar feature is that the ārati puja is performed at each of the four times, whereas in other bāhās it is performed only in the evening. The morning puja consists in the bathing of the reflection of the image in the mirror, as at Kuā Bāhā, and the pañcopacāra puja plus the ārati. The puja at the other times of the day consists simply of the pañcopacāra puja and the ārati. At each of the hours the pañcopacāra puja is followed by the recitation of the stotra proper to that time of the day. After the noon puja, the dya-pāḷa cooks his rice, and before eating, he offers some to the deity. The night puja, which informs tell me is performed between two and three AM is another unique feature not found at any other bāhā. Usually the only ones present for this puja are the dya-pāḷa and two assistants, one to wave the yak tail fans and one to blow the conch shell.

The Sakya pāṇjūs can perform all the ordinary pujas in the temple, i.e. any rite which does not require a homa sacrifice. Any ritual which requires a homa, such as the removal of the life of the image, the dasa karma rites, etc. must be performed by a Vajracarya, and the seven Vajracarya pāṇjūs perform this service in rotation. The period of service is for one year. During the year of service the Vajracarya pāṇjū will perform all the homa rituals connected with the annual worship of Bungadya, officiate at any initiation rites into the saṅgha and perform the annual bathing ceremony of Bungadya. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed at Bungamati for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, Barechuyegu initiations before the temple of Bungadya, Ācāluyegu initiations in the āgam situated to the west of the temple complex. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Yogāmbata which they say was originally 'brought' from Swayambhū. The saṅgha still has some connection with Swayambhū. Once a year they must go to the bāh at Swayambhū where they are feasted by the saṅgha of that bāhā. Twelve people go from Bungamati: the six eldest of the pāṇjūs, the current Suwa Jayā, the four pāṇjūs who ride on the platform of the ratha outside the shrine, and four Vajracaryas. They no longer know the origin or significance of the connection to Swayambhū Bāhā, but they say that if it should ever happen that the saṅgha at Bungamati should die out, the people from Swayambhū Bāhā would take over, and vice versa. This has been confirmed by the Baudhācāryas at Swayambhū or Syyaṅgu Bāhā. (See the section on Swayambhū under Kathmandu.)

The main festival of the year for the saṅgha is of course the annual ratha jātā of Bungadya, but the saṅgha has no busa dāh festival as such. Once a year, however, there is a festival primarily for the eight elders of the saṅgha. The four eldest of these take part in a homa ritual and the four younger ones recite scriptures. After the puja there is a feast. This feast is prepared by a group of eight Jayās, called Suwa, who take turns over a period of eight years making preparations for the festival.

In the southwest corner of the area around the shrine of Bungadya is a large and important shrine of Bhaṅrava. This shrine is also tended by the seven Vajracarya pāṇjūs who take turns performing the prescribed rituals a year at a time. Just to the west of the area of the temple of Bungadya is an enclosed courtyard which contains a bāhā-like shrine. This is the shrine of the āgam deity which is housed upstairs. Originally I was given the name Luta Baha for this shrine. However, KTMV calls it Hayagriva Āgāchen, but then says that the main deity is Manakāmānādevi. Across the front is a brass or copper inscription now painted over with aluminum paint. The inscription speaks of repairs made to the āgam shrine in the year N.S.1031. The torana, also painted over with aluminum paint, portrays an eight-handed and four-faced deity, probably a form of Mahāvairocana. In the courtyard in front of the shrine is an octagonal, votive caitya dated N.S.829.

According to the legends associated with the bringing of Matsyendranāth to Nepal, he came to Nepal during the reign of one King Narendradeva. This is usually taken to be the Licchavi Narendradeva who probably assumed the throne in A.D.642. The earliest confirmed date for the
cult, however, is N.S.191 found on a manuscript which contains a picture of a red Lokeshvara called Bugna-lokesvara.

a. Kwache' nanã Bãhã -- Nijapati Vihãra

In an enclosed courtyard just to the left of the entrance to the complex around the shrine of Buñga Dya is another bãhã complex. The shrine of the kuwã-pã-dya is on the ground floor of what is in other respects an ordinary house of three stories. The shrine is marked by two small lions. The carved lattice door is surmounted by a repousse torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Sañgha. The kuwã-pã-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. On either side of the shrine door are fading frescoes of eyes and an image of the Buddha. In the courtyard are a caitya and a dharma-chãtu mandala.

This bãhã has no sañgha as such. According to informants this was built about a hundred and fifty years ago by one Dinapãni Ajû who went to Lhãsa and came back with a considerable amount of money. At one time it was the custom to conduct Barechuyegu initiations here for Bare living in Buñgamati who were not members of the Buñga Bãhã. However, these people have all moved away, and no Barechuyegu initiations are performed here any more. The usual rituals are performed each day by people from Buñga Bãhã who live nearby.

2. Bare Nanã -- Buñgamati

This is not a bãhã at all in the architectural sense but simply a caitya and an open shrine of Aksobhya. However, this is the 'bãhã' of a group of Sakyas independent of Buñga Bãhã. They say that the image of Aksobhya is not the kuwã-pã-dya. They perform the daily rituals to the caitya and receive their Barechuyegu in front of the caitya. There are four families, comprising fifteen initiated members at the present time. They are completely independent of the main Buñga Bãhã, but they are the official dyã-paläs for the Bhairava shrine near the temple of Buñga Dya. Their lineage deity is an unnamed deity at the edge of the village. No one knows anything about the origin or history of this separate group. There are three inscriptions at the caitya, the oldest of which is dated N.S.802.

3. Duru Khya Bãhã -- Hmañavãra Mahãvihãra

This bãhã is situated in an open area south of the village of Theco on the way to Chãpãgaon. All that remains is a kuwã-pã-dya shrine with a caitya in front of it. The shrine has no torana and the kuwã-pã-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north.

The sañgha of this bãhã consists of one family of Sakyas with three initiated members. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening at the shrine. The sañgha has one elder and the only annual festival they observe is that of the disi pûjã in the month of Paug. According to their own traditions they came to Duru Khya from Guji Bãhã in Patan and this is confirmed by people of Guji Bãhã who say that one section of the area at Guji Bãhã once belonged to the people of Duru Khya. It is also confirmed by the fact that the lineage deity of this little sañgha is the same deity in Sunaguthi worshipped by the Guji Bãhã sañgha. The sañgha is now, however, completely separate and they perform their Barechuyegu initiations in Duru Khya. They are served by Vajracarya priests from Chãpãgaon. The bãhã has no income at the present time.

An inscription at the site of the bãhã tells of the foundation of the bãhã and gives the Sanskrit name. The bãhã was founded in N.S.736 at which time the image of Buddha, the dharma-chãtu caitya, the aãga deity (Cakrasamvara), Ganesh, Mahãkãl and Hanumãn were consecrated. The donor was the wife of one Sakyavamśa Śrī Amûtsûmiha Bhadra of Cûmpûpura (Chãpãgaon). Some years later an image of Dîpûkara was donated to the bãhã and consecrated. At this time in N.S.750 the son of Amûtsûmiha Bhadra, Laksman Bhadra, and other members of his family held a samyak ceremony. After this ceremony Laksman Bhadra and his wife went to live at this bãhã in N.S.759. The present sañgha are not descendants of this Laksman Bhadra as the sañgha at Chãpãgaon has no connection to Guji Bãhã. They originally came from Kuã Bãhã and their lineage deity is still there. Probably the original sañgha died out and people from Guji Bãhã later came and took the place over.
178. Duru Khya Bähä [179]

179. Ikhäh Bähä [180] (Chápágäôń)
4. Ikhā Bāhā -- Kāyāna Mahāvihāra [180] Chāpagaon

The present shrine of Ikhā Bāhā is simply a room on the ground floor of a very ordinary building of two storeys. The entrance is marked by two small, stone lions but the doorway has no torana and no other ornamentation. The shrine contains an image of Aksobhya facing west. The upper storey has three ordinary windows and the roof is of plain tile with no ornamentation. In front of the shrine is a large plastered caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of ten initiated Vajracaryas. They perform the usual rituals in the shrine of the kuṇḍā-dya each morning, serving by rotation for a month at a time. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāryegeyug initiations are performed here. The saṅgha has a single elder and celebrates the annual festival of the shrine on the fullmoon day of the month of Phalgun. Their lineage deity is "Yogāmbara" at Kuā Bāhā whom they 'brought' to Chāpagaon where they now perform the annual pūja.

The present shrine dates from a renovation after the earthquake of A.D.1934. According to an inscription at the site the courtyard was paved in N.S.770 by one Svakarjā Vajrācārya. Nothing else is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā.

5. Kuā Nānī -- [182] Baregaon

Whether or not there was ever a proper bāhā structure in this village is unknown, but there has long been a community of Bare here and the very name of the village (the village of the Bare) indicates that they were once the dominant group in the village. All that remains now is a stone mapgala surmounted by a vajra and an open shrine containing an image of Śaḍākṣari Lokesvara facing north. He is considered to be the kuṇḍā-dya of this saṅgha. There are also images here of Vāsuki, Śīva-Pārvati, Padmapāṇi Lokesvara, Ganesh and Bhairava.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of fifteen initiated members, both Sakya and Vajracarya. At present these three families are the only Bare in Baregaon; many members of the original community have moved to other places both inside and outside of the Valley. These fifteen take turn performing the usual rituals morning and evening at the shrine of Śaḍākṣari. And they perform their Barechuyegu and Ācāryegeyug initiations before this image. The saṅgha has one elder and the annual festival is observed on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Sravana. They also have a feast at the time of the disi pūja in Paūṣ and again in Baisakh, on the day that the ratha of Bungadya is first pulled. According to their own traditions they originally came from Bhīchche Bāhā in Patan and were for some time considered to be a branch of Bhīchche Bāhā. Now they are entirely separate.

Little is known about the history of foundation of this community in Baregaon. There is an inscription at the site dated N.S.799 according to which one Bishvambhar Bhāro established a gūthī for this shrine in that year to celebrate his work of freeing the people from a tax called Vitvaha.

6. Phampī Bāhā -- Gaganakṣara Mahāvihāra [183] Phariping

The bāhā in Phariping, like that in Sankhu, is primarily now a shrine of Vajrayogini. The shrine is of three roofs and located within an enclosed courtyard near the village Phariping. The lower level of the shrine itself is an open area with a wooden torana showing Vajrasattva. It contains three large images: Aksobhya (the kuṇḍā-dya of the bāhā), Vasundharā and Padmapāṇi Lokesvara. The first floor shrine is the much more elaborate shrine of Vajrayogini flanked by the attendant figures of Vyāghrinī and Simhini, the usual guardian deities of a tantric shrine. The doorway to this shrine has an elaborate silver frame and a gilded torana of Vajrayogini. Near her shrine is a glass case with two small figures of Tara dressed in coloured clothes. The figures are wooden, brightly painted and about two feet high.

The outside of the shrine is unusual. Above the ground floor is a sloping balcony partly screened with three large open windows. The lower border has large images of the eight auspicious symbols on a blue background. The roof is of corrugated iron. The two upper roofs have corner ornaments of a floral design. Below these are metal banners which hang down to the level of the shrine of Vajrayogini. The top roof is bordered by bodhisattva faces.
180. कुवा नानी [182] (Baregāoñी)

181. Shrine of Ṣaḍakṣari Lokesvara, Baregāoñī
This shrine is now primarily a shrine of Vajrayogini. The original saṅgha has long since died out and the rituals both in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya and in the shrine of Vajroyogini are performed by a Vajracarya from BU Bāhā in Patan. The appointment is life-long; and when the man dies another man from BU Bha is assigned to take his place.

This is evidently the site of a very ancient vihāra, but nothing definite is known now about its foundation or history. There are no inscriptions which speak of the bāhā as such.

7. Phampī Bāhā — [184]

Pharping

This is no more than a name remembered. According to tradition and old lists there was also a bāhā in Pharping, but no one even knows any more just where it was. There is no saṅgha and no trace of the foundation.
The Bahas and Bahis

of Kathmandu
Maplist of Bahas and Bahis in Kathmandu

Note:
The eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūḍhī are printed in bold type. All main bāhās are called Mahāvihāra; all branches are called simply Vihāra. Bāhās and bahis which are outside of the confines of the old city of Kathmandu are not on the map.

1. Kuā Bāhā -- Maitripura Mahāvihāra Thā Hiti-Kuā Bāhā p. 269
2. Chusyā Bāhā -- Guṇākara Vihāra Jyāthā Tole p. 272
4. Jhwā Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Vihāra Thā Hiti Tole p. 280
5. Jyotiya Bāhā -- Triratnaketu Vihāra Jhwā Bāhā p. 280
6. Dhwākā Bāhā -- Henākara Mahāvihāra Tyauḍa-Dhwākā Bāhā p. 170
7. Gām Bāhā -- Hemavarna Mahāvihāra Nasa Tole p. 275
8. Sigha Bāhā -- Sāntighata Caitya Mahāvihāra Nagha Tole p. 337
10. Nhū (=Jhwā) Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Mahāvihāra Thāya Madu Tole p. 275
11. Cā Bāhā -- Karṇaketu Vihāra Nhāyakaṇtalā Tole p. 278
12. Dhālisikwa Bāhā -- Gautama Śrī Vihāra Asan-Dhālisikwa p. 278
13. Hāku Bāhā -- Harṣaçaitya Vihāra Asan Tole p. 274
15. Takse Bāhā -- Surataśrī Mahāvihāra Asan-Takse Bāhā p. 298
16. Huakha Bāhā -- Aśokaśrī Vihāra Asan Tole p. 343
17. Asan Bāhā -- Aśokacaitya Mahāvihāra Asan-Jaruncheṇ p. 342
18. Dagu Bāhā -- Rāngabhūvaṇa Vihāra Bhotāhiti p. 300
19. Tekañ Bāhā -- Bodhiprasthāna Vihāra  Ko Nāya Tole p. 300
20. Mahābuddha Kacā Bāhā -- Bodhiprāṇīttvī Vihāra  Mahābuddha p. 345
21. Mahābū Bāhā -- Mahābuddha Mahāvihāra  Mahābuddha p. 343
22. Dugañ Bahī -- Śadakṣari Mahāvihāra  Dugañ Bahī p. 380
22a. Kothu Dugañ Bahī -- (Śadakṣari Mahāvihāra?)  Dugañ Bahī p. 389
23. Te Baha-- Rājakṛtī Mahāvihāra  Śivadeva Samāskārita Śrī Teda Mahāvihāra  Te Bāhā p. 304
24. (Te Bāhā) -- Bandhudatta Vihāra  Te Bāhā p. 304
25. Gaṇa Bahā -- Gaganasaṅgam Mahāvihāra  Gana Bāhā p. 386
27. Kusāñ Bāhā -- Ratnākara Mahāvihāra  Hyumat Tole p. 347
28. Tamu Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra  Hyumat Tole p. 345
29. Tukañ Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra  Hyumat Tole p. 347
30. Lhugha Bāhā -- Maṭrī-uddhara Vihāra  Jaisī Deval p. 332
31. Ko Hiti Bāhā -- Kirtipurāya Mahāvihāra  Ko Hiti Tole p. 370
32. Ko Hiti Kacā Bahā --  Ko Hiti Tole p. 372
33. Yo Bāhā -- Nadiśaṅga Rājakṛta Vihāra  Ko Hiti Tole p. 332
34. Chwasapā Bāhā -- Sukhāvatī Vihāra  Maru Tole p. 263
35. Maru Bāhā -- Sakyaketu Mahāvihāra  Maru Tole p. 383
36. Mukuñ Bahī -- Muktipura Mahāvihāra  Yatakā-Mukuñ Kewa p. 391
37. Dhanasiṅha Bāhā -- Samantabhadra Vihāra  Yatakā Bāhā p. 293
38. Yatakā Bāhā -- Bhāṣkarakiṛti Vihāra  Yatakā Bāhā p. 393
39. Tamuga Bāhā -- Ratnākara Vihāra  Tamuga Gallī p. 367
40. Tamu Bāhā -- Dhomacitta Vihāra  Tamuga Gallī p. 290
41. Arakhu Bahī -- Italampu Kṛta Mahāvihāra  Yatakā Tole p. 389
41a. Māhāṅkā Bahī -- Yatakā Tole p. 391
42. Makhañ Bāhā -- Ratnakīrti Mahāvihāra  Makhañ Tole p. 282
43. Makhañ Bāhī -- Rājakṛta Mahāvihāra  Makhañ Tole p. 375
44. Itum Bähä -- Bhāṣkara Deva Saṃskārita Śrī Kesāvacandra Kṛta Pārāvata Mahāvihāra Itum Bähä p. 784
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44b. Baku Nāṇī -- Kutum Vihāra Itum Bähä p. 290
44c. Tārā Nāṇī -- Dharmacakra Vihāra Itum Bähä p. 290
44d. Sasu Nāṇī -- Saraśvati Mahāmājuśrī Vihāra Itum Bähä p. 290
44e. Dhananjya Caitya -- Dhavala Caitya Vihāra Itum Bähä p. 290
45. Jana Bähä -- Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra Kel Tole p. 308
46. Mū Bähä -- Mūla Śrī Mahāvihāra Wotu Tole p. 300
47. Pinche Bähä -- Jambunadavana Vihāra Wotu Tole p. 352
49. Tadhāṅ Bähä -- Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra Wotu Tole p. 349
50. Sawal Bähä -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra Guccā Tole p. 285
51. Āju Bähä -- Daśabala Vihāra Guccā Tole p. 296
52. Pyukha Bähä -- Aśoka Caitya Vihāra Pyukha Tole p. 356
53. Iuṅ Cheṅ Bähä -- Tutakṣam Vihāra Makhaṅ Gallī p. 284
54. Lāyku Bahī -- Rājakula Vihāra Mahūmān Dhokā p. 265
55. Sikhamu Bähä -- Tarumūla Mahāvihāra Basantapur p. 258
56. Kumārī Bähä -- Rājakīrti Manoram Vihāra Basantapur p. 265
57. Basantapur Bähä -- Desasumantra Vihāra Basantapur p. 265
59. Na Bahī -- Udyotakīrti Mahāvihāra Na Bahī p. 379
60. Na-Bahīca -- Dharmodhyāyana Vihāra Na Bahī Tole p. 379
61. Waku Bähä -- Indrapuranagara Vihāra Jor Ganesh p. 365
63. Nhō Cheṅ Bähä -- Vajradhātu Vihāra Jor Ganesh p. 362
64. Tuṅkewa Bähä -- Amrtakānti Vihāra Om Bähä p. 362
65. Gubhā Bāhā -- Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra  Om Bāhā p. 321
66. Bikamā Bāhā -- Mahāvihāra Om Bāhā p. 356
67. Khaśā Cheṅ Bāhā -- Varsacandana Vihāra  Om Bāhā p. 358
68. Nāmmā Bāhā -- Vājradhātu Mahāvihāra  Om Bāhā p. 360
69. Gaṅghī Nānī Bāhā -- Buddhaganthī Vihāra Gācheṅ Nānī Om Bāhā p. 360
70. Ratnapur Bāhā -- Ratnapura Vihāra Gācheṅ Nānī Om Bāhā p. 360
71. Bhumā Bāhā -- Bhumanta Vihāra Om Bāhā p. 367
72. Thāna Bāhā -- Sthānavimba Vihāra Cikamuga Tole p. 360
73. Nānā Bāhā -- Dharma-yasodhara Vihāra Cikamuga Tole p. 323
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77. So Bāhā -- Dharmadhatu Śrī Mahāvihāra Yangal Tole p. 367
78. Kacā Bāhā -- Caitanya Vihāra Jyā Bāhā p. 321
79. Khalā Cheṅ Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra Jyā Bāhā p. 318
80. Lagan Bāhā -- Kīrtipuṇya Mahāvihāra Lagan Tole p. 313
81. Wantā Bāhā -- Vajradhātu Vihāra Lagan Bāhā p. 317
82. Jog Bāhā -- Lagan Bāhā p. 318
83. Ta Bāhā -- Kīrtipuṇya Vajradhātu Vihāra Lagan Tole p. 318
84. Nhāyakā Mahāvihāra Lagan Tole p. 381
85. Cwāka Mahāvihāra Lagan Tole p. 383
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96. Thām Bāhī -- Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra Thamel p. 404
97. Kwathu Cā Bāhī -- Gaganaganja Mahāvihāra Čabāhī p. 394
98. Thatu Cā Bāhī -- Samadhimandapa Mahāvihāra Čabāhī p. 392
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101. Ratnakara Bāhā -- Ratnakara Vihāra Gāchenī-Nānī-Om Bāhā p. 360
102. Cā Bāhī -- Dharmaśīla Mahāvihāra Čabāhī p. 399
103. Cidhangu Kinnu Bāhā -- Tejakīrti Vihāra Swayambhū-Kīndol p. 402
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The Bahas of the Acarya Guthi

Introduction

In Patan there are two clear cut sets of Buddhist institutions: the bāhās and the bahīs. There are eighteen main bāhās, and all of the other bāhās are branches of one of the main bāhās. Then there are the twenty five bahīs. Except for two little bahīs and one group of Sakyas initiated before a caitya, all the bāhās and bahīs of Patan plus their branches fit into this pattern. In Kathmandu, there are three sets of Buddhist institutions: the eighteen bāhās of the Acārya Guthi plus their branches, ten purely Sakya main bāhās plus their branches, and sixteen bahīs.

The Acārya Guthi, or De (=desa) Acā Guthi, as it is called in Newari, is an association of the Vajracarya members of the eighteen main bāhās of Kathmandu whose saṅghas have Vajracarya members. Of the eighteen, twelve have entirely Vajracarya saṅghas and six (Sikhamu [55], Makanā [42], Itum [44] Jana [45], Lagan [80], and Gubhā [65]) have mixed saṅghas of Vajracaryas and Sakyas. In a mixed saṅgha the Sakya members, though they are full-fledged members of the bāhā saṅgha, are not members of the Acārya Guthi. Almost every commentator on the bahās of Kathmandu has said that these eighteen are the main bāhās of Kathmandu, i.e. these are the only bāhās in Kathmandu 'which have the right of initiation.' This statement has been repeated so often that it has become a sort of historical and sociological article of faith. Unfortunately, it is a biased statement and, as it stands, totally erroneous. When one talks of the bāhās and their saṅghas the initiation involved is the Barechuyegu, which is the initiation into the saṅgha of a bāhā. In Kathmandu this initiation is given by right in the eighteen bāhās of the Acārya Guthi, in the ten main Sakya bāhās, and in the sixteen bahīs. In fact it is given occasionally in a few others; and again, in fact, it is no longer given in some of the bahīs, but it used to be. It is true that the Acāluyegu, the initiation of a Vajracarya, is given only in these eighteen bāhās for the simple reason that there are no Vajracaryas in any of the other bāhās or bahīs.

Even this statement, though, must be qualified because the Acāluyegu is in fact given in Makhan Bahī [43] for the members of that saṅgha who act as priests for the members of the bahīs, it used to be given regularly in Dugañ Bahī [22], and it is given to the Jyāpu Phu Bare (see below) in his little bāhā. The Acāluyegu has nothing to do with one's membership in a bāhā saṅgha. This is clear from the status of the Sakyas in mixed bāhās who are full-fledged members of the bāhā saṅgha. It is even clearer from the fact that in Jana Bāhā and Makhan Bāhā there are Sakyas whose forebears were Vajracaryas but for some reason or other neglected to take the Acāluyegu. Because of this they and their descendants are not Vajracaryas but are full-fledged members of the bāhā saṅgha. What is true is that these are the principal bāhās in the sense that these bāhās contain the Vajracaryas who function as priests for the entire Buddhist population of Kathmandu, Bare and lay, except for the members of the saṅghas of the sixteen bahīs who have their own priests.

The confusion arises partly because of the terminology used in Newari. In Newari they refer to two types of bāhās: mu(b) bāhā and kacā bāhā. A mu bāhā is a main bāhā (=a main bāhā of the Acārya Guthi) and kacā bāhā is a branch bāhā. There is no third term to refer to the ten main bāhās which have only Sakya members. Since the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu recognise only eighteen main bāhās, they call
these ten kacā bāhās. Though some Vajracaryas claim that one or other of the Sakya bāhās is a branch of a main bāha of the Ācārya Gōthī, this is denied by the Sakya members of these bāhās who assert that their bāhās are entirely independent. In fact, they perform their initiations separately in their own bāhās. I was originally informed that in Kathmandu the word used was not kacā (=branch), but kaccā (=un-authentic). This would correspond to the reality. The Vajracaryas do consider these ten bāhās to be unauthentic since they are not part of the Ācārya Gōthī. However, the etymology is highly suspect. Kaccā is a purely Hindi word and certainly almost unknown in Malla Period Newari usage.

By the time of the Malla kings (from A.D.1200 on), the Vajracaryas had assumed a predominant role in the Buddhist community of Kathmandu, because they alone functioned as priests empowered to perform the tantric rituals essential to many Buddhist pujās, the life cycle rites and the rituals for the dead, all of which had to be performed by every Buddhist whether lay or Bare. Therefore, their bāhās assumed a place of importance which overshadowed the other non-Vajracarya bāhās. This predominance of the Vajracaryas affected all of the Buddhist communities of the Valley, but it was most marked in Kathmandu, probably because the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu were so well organised. In Patan, by way of contrast, of the eighteen bāhās still considered to be the main bāhās by every commentator, only nine of them have any Vajracarya members and only two have exclusively Vajracarya sanghas.

Before going into the structure and functions of the Ācārya Gōthī, it is first necessary to comment on the traditional divisions of the city of Kathmandu, as these divisions are reflected in the organization and functioning of the Ācārya Gōthī. For the purposes of ritual and the organization of the Ācārya Gōthī, the old Malla city of Kathmandu is still considered to be divided into four sections: Tathu Pūrī, Dathu Pūrī, Kwathu Pūrī and Lāyaku Pūrī. The divisions run from north to south. Tathu Pūrī, the 'Upper Quarter', runs from the northern limits of the old Malla city at Kuā Bāhā to the fish set into the pavement in Asan Tole. Dathu Pūrī, the 'Central Quarter', runs from the fish in Asan Tole to the 'Lion Gate' in Makhan Tole near Hanūmān Dhokā. Kwathu Pūrī, the 'Lower Quarter' extends from the Kāsthamaṇḍapa (Maru Saṭṭa) to the southern limits of the old Malla city. Lāyaku Pūrī, the 'Palace Quarter' extends from the 'Lion Gate' in Makhan to the Kāsthamaṇḍapa. These divisions reflect the historical growth of what came to be the late Malla, walled city of Kathmandu. The stages of growth are seen in the names used for these sections of the city. In Licchavi times there were two main settlements in this area known as Koligrāma (the area north of the Hanūmān Dhokā area), and Dāksīṇa Koligrāma, the area south of the Hanūmān Dhokā area. With the waning of the Licchavis and their highly Sanskrit culture the local names for these two settlements came into prominence: Yaṅgala (Dāksīṇa Koligrāma), Yambu (Koligrāma). Later the two came to be referred to as Kāsthamaṇḍapa and Kāṇtipura respectively. Though there is evidence from as late as the eighteenth century that Tathu Pūrī was considered as part of Kāṇtipura (Yambu-Koligrāma), it was considered to be separate at least for ritual purposes and even had a Sanskrit name: Suvarnapraṇālī Mahānagara. This name derived from the Golden Fountain (suvarnapraṇālī) which once existed near the walls of the city and gave its Newari name to the whole area: Thā Hitī (the 'upper fountain'). This fountain was filled in and the present stūpa built on the site in N.S.552. Lāyaku (=palace) Pūrī, of course, is the area between the two main divisions and was probably originally an unsettled area between the two settlements of Koligrāma and Dāksīṇa Koligrāma. The four divisions then can be summarised thus: Tathu Pūrī-Suvarnapraṇālī; Dathu Pūrī-Kāṇtipura-Yambu-Koligrāma; Lāyaku Pūrī-the area of the Hanūmāṇdhokā Palace; Kwathu Pūrī-Kāsthamaṇḍapa-Yaṅgala-Dāksīṇa Koligrāma.

These divisions are reflected in the organization of the Ācārya Gōthī which is actually an association of four pūthi, one for each quarter of the city. These four in turn are an association of the Ācārya Gōthī of each bāha within the quarter. The Ācārya Gōthī of Tathu Pūrī comprises the Ācārya Gōthīs of Kuā Bāhā, Jath Bāhā, Dwakā Bāhā, and Gāmi Bāhā; Dathu Pūrī: Itum Bāhā, Jana Bāhā, Takse Bāhā, Mū Bāhā, Saval Bāhā, Te Bāhā and Mekha Bāhā; Lāyaku Pūrī: Sikkhu Bāhā; and Kwathu Pūrī: Gubhā Bāhā, Mikā Bāhā, Iku Bāhā, Lagan Bāhā, Musum Bāhā (1), and Musum Bāhā (2). Each of these pūthi is associated with a famous tantric preceptor: Tathu Pūrī, Vākuvara; Dathu Pūrī, Suratavajra;
The overall association of the Ācārya Gūthi is centered on the tantric shrine below the Swayambhū Mahācaitya known as Śāntipur. All of the Vajracaryas of the eighteen bāhās make up the membership, and the governing body of this association consists of the eldest of the entire group (the thakalī or thayāpā), the eldest of each of the Ācārya Gūthis of the four quarters, and the Vajracarya Rāj Guru who functions as the overall administrator of the Ācārya Gūthi. Four members, one from each quarter, serve by rotation annually as officials to look after the affairs of the gūthi for a year at a time, their main function being to make arrangements for and finance the annual meeting. In addition to these Vajracaryas the Sakyas of the purely Sakya Tadhān Bāhā [49] and its branch Ciḍhān Bāhā [48] are associated with the gūthi as ‘jaṃāns’.

At the present time the functions of the Ācārya Gūthi are pretty well limited to the celebrations and rituals which take place at the annual meeting of the gūthi at Swayambhū. The gūthi meets on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Caiṭra. After the elders perform a kalasa pujā in front of the image of Anitābha seated in the western side of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. This is followed by a tantric pujā in Śāntipur. At the conclusion of this ritual the governing body of the gūthi, plus the four Vajracaryas whose turn it is to sponsor and make arrangements for the festival, officially receive into the Ācārya Gūthi all the boys of the eighteen bāhās who have received the Ācālayegu within the past year. Each of the boys must present betel nuts to the thakalī of the gūthi and to the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. After this ceremony there is a feast for all the Vajracaryas and their families, and following this they are supposed to retire to the open space below Swayambhū, called Bhuikhel, for another pujā in honour of the eighty four siddhas.

On the following day a tantric pujā is performed at one of the eighteen bāhās in the city (by rotation). The purpose of this ritual is to 'bring' Vajrasattva into the city of Kathmandu. At the conclusion of this they go to Swayambhū for another pujā and a light repast. At the conclusion of the annual rituals, the four officials for the next year are chosen, (really only announced as it goes by strict seniority). They will serve for the coming year  with their arrangements for and financing
of the next meeting of the Ācārya Gūṭhī.

At present this annual meeting is not much more than a social event, a common pūjā and a feast; and its importance seems to diminish with each year. I have attended this annual festival twice, as a guest of two different Vajracarya families from two different dāṅgas. In each case, not all the male members of the family attended. Many Vajracaryas, especially those who have businesses or are in government service, arrived after all of the rituals and the reception of the new members had been completed, just in time for the feast, which they then ate hurriedly and headed back to town. Until recently though, this was also a business meeting vital to the interests of the Vajracarya community and their dominant position in the Buddhist community of Kathmandu.

The importance of this association lay in the fact that all the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu belonged to it and accepted the regulation by its elders of their priestly functions. Formerly the Ācārya Gūṭhī protected and enforced the jajmāni rights of all of the priests and regulated all matters pertaining to the performance of ritual as well as inter-caste relationships within the Buddhist community. It tightly controlled the relationship between priest and client (jajmān). The members of the Buddhist community were not free to choose their priest but had to accept the services of the man assigned by the Ācārya Gūṭhī. The right of service was usually hereditary, and a given family of Vajracaryas would serve a given group of people from one generation to another. If a family had no priest the Ācārya Gūṭhī would assign one. If they were dissatisfied they could appeal to the Ācārya Gūṭhī, but they could not just change their priest at will. At the annual meeting of the Ācārya Gūṭhī the council of elders would review any reports it had received of its members violating the regulations and would pass judgment. If any member had abused his powers, performed unauthorised rites, encroached on somebody else’s territory, failed to perform his functions as a Vajracarya when called by his jajmān, etc. he would be called to task by the council and suitably punished. The greatest punishment was to deprive the offender of his right to act as a Vajracarya priest. This would mean that the man would lose his source of income, and that the council would not permit his sons to receive the Ācāularyegu.

Throughout the year such violations and complaints would be handled by the Vajracarya Rāj guru, but the entire Gūṭhī would annually review the situation. The council would also pass on cases involving violations of commensality and endogamy. It is precisely this function which drew the Ācārya Gūṭhī into the protracted dispute with the Udāya over the question of commensality. The result of this dispute was to considerably weaken the effective control of the Ācārya Gūṭhī over the functions of its own members. At the time of the dispute some Vajracaryas sided with the Udāya against the Ācārya Gūṭhī which had ruled that no Vajracarya could take cooked rice from the Udāya, though they had in fact been doing so for a long time. Many Udāya abandoned their traditional priests in favour of those who supported their cause. The Ācārya Gūṭhī then expelled these Vajracaryas. In the end when the whole dispute was settled by a compromise, the Ācārya Gūṭhī had to accept the expelled members back in full standing. The result was that it became clear to all that the elders of the Ācārya Gūṭhī could no longer force their will on the Buddhist community at large nor on their own members. Though many of the Buddhist laity, Udāya and other castes, still call their traditional priest, most now feel free to call any Vajracarya if they are dissatisfied with their priest. Many Vajracaryas now have other occupations and have no time or inclination to work as priests. Hence the people have to shop around for a priest who will meet their needs.

The Ācārya Gūṭhī was also responsible for standardizing ritual and providing ritual texts for its members. For this reason there is greater uniformity in the performance of ritual in Kathmandu than in Patan, and the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu are recognized by their confreres in Patan and Bhaktapur as experts in the performance of the ritual.

The origin of this Ācārya Gūṭhī is explained by a story given to me by several informants with slight variations. All the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu claim ritual descent from one Sāntikar Ācārya. According to tradition he was the first man to receive the dīkṣā (initiation) of a Vajracarya in the Valley of Nepal. He was initiated in a cave at Swayambhū and later erected five temples around the stupa to five deities: Prithivi, Tej, Vāyu, Akāśa, Ava, all of which remain (though often renovated). In
the shrine of Akāśa, known as Akāśapur, he erected a life-sized statue of Heruka-cakrasaṃvara and his consort Vajrārvārī, and consecrated the shrine as an āgām for the worship of tantric deities. Here he performed the tantric initiations of those wishing to become vajracaryas. Later the shrine was renamed Sāntipur in his honour. According to tradition he originally initiated anyone irrespective of caste, as long as the candidate had the inclination and was willing to undertake the study and yogic training necessary to qualify for the initiation. As time went on and caste restrictions became more rigid, those who had been initiated were classed as a higher sub-caste of the Bārē, and it became the rule to initiate only the sons of Vajracaryas. Those who were so initiated all became members of the Ācārya Gūthī of Sāntipur. Traces of the original custom of an initiation open to any qualified candidate can be seen in the fact that we have records of certain Sakyas of Mahābuddha Bāhā (a branch of Uku Bāhā in Patan) and Sakyas of Haka Bāhā, also in Patan, who were raised to the status of Vajracarya by order of the king. Furthermore, it was a custom that Brahmins might be given the Vajracarya initiation without any permission. We have two cases of this from Kathmandu, at Gubhā Bāhā [65] and Lagan Bāhā [60], the last fairly recent and well documented.

According to informants the members of the Ācārya Gūthī were originally initiated (Barechu-yegu) into the sahna of their bāhā in the city and later taken to Sāntipur where they were given the Ācālyu-yegu. Later it became the custom to give the Ācālyu-yegu in the āgām of the bāhā itself, but this was still an initiation into the āgām of Sāntipur, and at the annual meeting of the gūthī at Sāntipur those who had been so initiated had to be officially received by the elders of the gūthī. How much of this account is historical, and how much of it is a myth to give a traditional and religious base to the dominant position and, what Rosser calls the 'closed shop' of the Ācārya Gūthī, it is impossible to say at present. It is interesting to note that many Vajracaryas of Kathmandu have told me that the Vajracaryas of Patan were once connected with Sāntipur (and by implication with the Ācārya Gūthī) and that this is proved by the fact that there are ritual items within the shrine donated by Vajracaryas of Patan. Every Vajracarya in Patan that I have questioned about this, though, has denied that they ever had any connection with Sāntipur or the Ācārya Gūthī of Kathmandu.

Another institution which has some connection with the Ācārya Gūthī and which also points up the traditional divisions of the city of Kathmandu is the institution of the Phu Bare or Kāyā Bāre. At the time of the pāncadāna, which takes place each year during the month of Gūhā (and at other times if a wealthy layman decides to have one), there is always one Bare who is assigned to come last in the line. His coming is a ritual ending to the giving of gifts. He comes along ringing a bell and then he touches all of the remaining gifts with a vaiše. This announces the end of the pāncadāna; no one else is allowed to touch what is left after the Phu Bare touches it with his vaiše, and he gets whatever is left.

In Kathmandu there are different Phu Bare for each quarter. For Kuṭhū Puiņ a Vajracarya from Lagaṅ Bāhā [60] functions as Phu Bare. Whenever there is a pāncadāna at any place within Dathu Puiņ he functions as Phu Bare. He is always chosen from one specific lineage attached to the branch known as Ta Bāhā [83]. (See the section on Lagan Bāhā.) For Lāyāku Puiņ the Phu Bare is a Vajracarya from Sikhāmu Bāhā [55]. For Dhatu Puiņ there is a very complicated arrangement. For the area north of the road running from Indra Chowk to Thā Hiti there is a group, not just one man, who function as the Phu Bare. They are the elders of each of the following bāhās: Mū Bāhā, Mahābu Bāhā, Tadhān Bāhā, Sidhān Bāhā (a branch of Tadhān Bāhā), Asan Bāhā, Jamo Bāhā, Takṣa Bāhā and Dagu Bāhā (a branch of Takṣa Bāhā). These Phu Bares come as a group, but do not touch the remaining gifts with a vaiše, because (according to informants) several of them are not Vajracaryas and have no right to use the vaiše. At Sāwal Bāhā there is a special arrangement. One man, the elder, of Mahābu Bāhā comes and takes whatever is left after having touched it with a vaiše (though he is not a Vajracarya). This is a time honoured custom but for some reason it is resented by the people of Sāwal Bāhā. For the area south of the road running from Indra Chowk to Thā Hiti a Vajracarya from Itum Bāhā functions as Phu Bare.

For Tathū Puiņ the Phu Bare is a Jyāpūl. This custom of the Jyāpūl Phu Bare is one of the strangest customs in Buddhist Kathmandu. This man is a member of a group of nine elders who,
Four days before his initiation the Jyāpu must offer betel nuts in front of the shrine where he will be initiated. This is a preliminary rite requesting the initiation. On the day of the initiation the eight other members of the council of Tathu Puiṅ come with a Vajracarya priest and his assistant from Gaṅ Bāhā. The last initiation was given by Śaṅta Harṣa Vajracarṣya of Gaṅ Bāhā and before him the initiation was given by Amoghavajra Vajracarṣya also of Gaṅ Bāhā. After a ritual bathing the Jyāpu is given three tantric initiations: the Kalaśābhiṣeka, the Mukutābhiṣeka and the Chātrābhiṣeka. On the day before the initiation he must swear that he will only use the powers conferred by these initiations within the prescribed limits of his functions as Phu Bare and that he will not make use of these powers at any other time or place. To do so is to incur the guilt of the five great sins (pañca mahāpāpa). After the Jyāpu receives these three initiations he makes a petition for two more initiations saying that without these two additional initiations his work will not be successful. He is made to repeat the oath he made the previous day and is then given the Gaṅtābhiṣeka and the Vajrābhiṣeka. These five initiations are the main initiations of the Vajracarya. However, informants add that he is not a Vajracarya because he is not given the proper mantra. (He is also a Jyāpu and Jyāpūs are not Vajracarṣyas!)

At the time of the Jyāpu Barechuyegu, musicians are called from Patan to play instruments throughout the ceremony. For four days the Jyāpu must dress as a bhikṣu and live as a bhikṣu observing the rules of discipline of a bhikṣu. On the fourth day the Jyāpu Bare is taken in procession round Tathu Puiṅ and arriving at the place where the shrine of Lokesvara is situated he is supposed to dance. (Actually the dancing is done by the Vajracarya from Gaṅ Bāhā and the Jyāpu watches.) At the conclusion of these ceremonies he takes off the dress of a bhikṣu and is ritually welcomed back into his own house. With this he passes to the state of a householder bhikṣu and assumes the duty of performing the daily rituals to the image of Pajmaro Lokesvara before which he was initiated.

In order for his sons to be eligible for the post of Phu Bare the man must be careful that he marry a clean Jyāpu girl, i.e. not a girl from a family of Kumhās or Maṅils with whom Jyāpūs often marry but who are considered to be a lower caste. If any of the other members of this committee of nine dies the Phu Bare must be called to the installation ceremony of the new man. The committee as a ṣuṭhi has an annual meeting on Aṣayatritiya in the month of Baiśakh. At the time of the pañcadrāna and at the time of all other ceremonies which this committee of nine attends the Thaku Jujū who lives near Dhwākā Bāhā must also be called; and he presides at the initiation of the Phu Bare as jajmān.

1. Sikhamu Bāhā -- Tarumūla Mahāvihāra* [55] Basantapur

Sikhamu Bāhā is situated in a small, enclosed courtyard adjoining the Kumārī Bāhā and just off of the Darbar Square. The Bāhā shrine, which was torn down and rebuilt in 1982, is a small but typical Bāhā shrine of three storeys. The ground floor has the entrance to the shrine of the kuṭa-paśa and two small windows. The doorway is surmounted by a fine wooden torana...
depicting Nāmasaṅgīti surrounded by the tantric forms of the five transcendent Buddhas and surrounded by Vajrasattva. The kāmpa-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśva-vyākērana mudrā facing north. The first storey has a triple balcony supported by three carved struts depicting the Bhairavas. The facade of the first storey has been plastered, whitewashed and adorned with several frescoes depicting the five Buddhas, flanked by Prajñapāramītā and Śadakṣari Lokeshvara plus several other Bodhisattva figures. In the courtyard are two 'Li-cchāvi' caityas, two Malla period caityas and one of recent origin.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of three hundred thirteen Vajracayas and three hundred twenty five Sakyas, few of whom any longer live in this area. At the present time saṅgha activity has diminished and many of the members only return to the bāhā for occasional pūjas and for the all-important initiation of their sons. The daily rituals are still performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha who serve in turn by seniority. The term of service is one month, but the dya-pālā does not reside in the bāhā during his term of service. He comes only in the morning and evening to fulfill the essentials of his duty. Both Barechuheygu and Ācāryeygu initiations are performed in the bāhā for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but at irregular intervals, usually about once in ten years at which time a large number of boys are initiated. In 1963 a Barechuheygu initiation was held for one hundred sixty one boys. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Svayambhū Mahācaitya and the bāhā is governed by a body of five elders. At one time the bāhā had a considerable income from agricultural land, all of which has now been lost, and it owned a number of buildings in the area between the present bāhā and the Maru Saṭṭal which also yielded a considerable income from rents. These buildings were all confiscated during the Rana period. Consequently, the bāhā as such has almost no income at the present time and so most of the usual bāhā feasts and festivals, including the annual festival, have been discontinued.

The present tiny bāhā compound and the dearth of activity of its saṅgha give little indication of the very important role that this bāhā and its saṅgha once played in the Buddhist community of Kathmandu. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century there was a prodigious amount of literary activity at this bāhā. Every collection of Buddhist manuscripts in Nepal has a large number of manuscripts copied during this period by the Vajracayas of Tarumūla Mahāvihāra. Over the century and a half this activity has ceased altogether. Another indication of its importance is the many references in inscriptions all over Kathmandu to the Vajracayas of Tarumūla Mahāvihāra who acted as priests at important rituals such as the consecration of bāhās, caityas, and images.

The third indication of the importance of this bāhā is the fact that one of its members is the 'Rāj Guru', or Rāj Gubhā. This is an official post, similar to that of the present Rāj Guru (who is always a 'Parvate' Brahman). It was a very important post in the time of the Malla kings and perhaps before their time, but evidently declined in importance in the late Malla period and has become little more than a historical relic since the coming of the kings of Gorkha. The post existed in Kathmandu and this Kathmandu Rāj Guru seems to have performed many of the functions of the present royal guru. It also existed in Patan, but there is little information on the Patan institution, as the post lost almost all of its importance once there was no longer a king in Patan. I have not been able to find any trace of the existence of this post of a Vajracarya Rāj Guru in Bhaktapur, but the post may have also existed there. The origin of this post of Rāj Guru held by a Vajracarya is obscure. However, it is clear that it goes back at least to the early Malla period. A thysāsphu record dated N.S.551, during the reign of Yākeśa Malla notes the offering of a wax umbrella in that year by one Anantaśiva Bṛhara and his family. The officiating priest at the offering of the umbrella was the 'respectable Rāj guru of Sikomugudi (sikomugudi rājgurū bharāja [=bhattākara]) Toyu'. Yākeśa Malla did not rule from Kathmandu but from Bhaktapur, and given the fact that all the kings who ruled (or claimed to rule) the whole Valley had from the 12th century on ruled from Bhaktapur, it is probable that this institution dates back to the time of an earlier king who did rule from Kathmandu. It is also likely that this king ruled only Kathmandu, or was in fact a feudatory subordinate to the Valley King, as the rights and duties of this Rāj Guru (even in respect to his authority over other Vajracayas) seems to have always been limited to Kathmandu (e.g. Svayambhū
and Vajrayogini at Sankhu). This would put the origin of this institution somewhere back in the so-called 'Thakuri' Period, many of whose kings were at least much more sympathetic to Buddhism, if not actually Buddhists themselves, than were the Malla kings especially those of the dynasty of Stithi Malla.

Much of this is, of course, speculation on very little information, but what is certain is that this post was a recognised institution in the Malla period by royal appointment and with duties associated with the Darbar. It importance declined dramatically with the coming of the king of Gorkha. However, the post still exists, by royal appointment, and the Rāj Guru still has some functions within the Buddhist community and some residual functions at the Hanuman Dhokhā Darbar, though these are little more than historical relics. This post is hereditary and is always held by a Vajracarya of one of the lineages of Sikhmu Bāhā which has now split into four households. For centuries the entire lineage lived at Lāyaku Bāhā [54], which has no bāhī sangha of its own and has therefore become in effect a branch of Sikhmu Bāhā. The entire lineage still considers Lāyaku Bāhā their branch, but many of the members no longer live there. The present Rāj Guru lives in quarters near Maru Bāhā [35]. According to the present incumbent, Puspa Ratna Vajrācārya, the following are the duties of the Rāj Guru:

1. It is his duty to select the girl who will function as the Royal Kumārī or living goddess. (See the section below on Kumārī Bāhā.)

2. It is his duty to act as dya-pālā in Kumārī Bāhā. (See the section below on Kumārī Bāhā.)

3. He is the head of a group of ten Vajracaryas known as the daśa-dīgacārya ('the masters of the ten directions'). The group consists of the Rāj Guru, his assistant (upādhyāya) and the eight senior-most thakālis of the acārya gūthīs of each of the eighteen bāhās which make up the Acārya Gūthī of Kathmandu. At the present time, however, there is no assistant to the Rāj Guru and the Rāj Guru fulfills both functions. Hence in fact there are only nine in the group. The name derives from the fact that this group was called to go to any place within the kingdom to perform rituals whenever there was some disaster such as famine, drought, desecration of a sacred place or image, etc. They would perform a pacification ritual (śānti-vestī) to pacify the deity who was causing the disaster or who had been insulted by some sort of desecration. This group also had to perform the daily nitya pūjā of the Svayambhū Mahācāitya. This daily pūjā is still performed by these men, but not necessarily personally. They can, and usually do send a proxy with the required pūjā materials as all of these men are aged except for the Rāj Guru himself. According to tradition no one else may offer a pūjā to the Svayambhū Mahācāitya until this offering has been made each day.

4. In the time of the Malla Kings, the Rāj Guru acted as the main astrologer and pandit for the entire country. (This seems to mean the kingdom of Kathmandu, as there was a Vajracarya Rāj Guru in Patan and a Brahman who performed this service in Bhaktapur.)

5. Until very recent times he functioned as the chief administrator and watchdog for the Acārya Gūthī in its function as a union of priests. In Malla times the bulk of the Newar population used Vajracaryas as their household priests rather than brahmans. In Kathmandu the relationship between the priests and their clients was closely regulated by the Acārya Gūthī whose members were the only ones allowed to function as priests having clients (jaṁa) from whom they received a stipend (dakṣāsā) for their services, despite the fact that there were some others who had the requisite initiation to function as priests. Furthermore, a family could not select their own priest, but had to call the one assigned to them by the Acārya Gūthī. Any complaints against the priest (e.g. failure to come when called, failure to perform the prescribed rituals properly) were made to the Rāj Guru. If the complaint was found to be justified the concerned Vajracarya was warned and fined thirty two paisa. If the same complaint was made again by the same people, the priest could be expelled from the Acārya Gūthī and deprived of his right to function as a priest.

6. If any Vajracarya encroached on the territory of another Vajracarya by performing rituals for another man's client or taking money from another man's client, the offended party could make a complaint to the Rāj Guru. The Rāj Guru would hear the case and if the
was found valid he would warn the offending priest and fine him thirty two paise. If the offender committed the same offense again he could be expelled from the Ācārya Gūthī and deprived of his right to function as a priest and thereby be deprived of his clients and his source of income.

7. Many of the Buddhist images in the bāhās were originally made of clay (as may still be seen at Buddha Gāri [f]). From time to time these images had to be repaired and repainted. Before this work could begin the image had to be de-consecrated, i.e. the spirit of the deity had to be removed (as is still done each year for the images of the Red-and White Matsyendranātha). It was the Rāj Guru's duty and his sole right to perform this ritual and to reconsecrate the image.

8. Whenever the Svayambhū Mahācaitya had to be repainted it was the duty of the Rāj Guru to perform a pūjā before the work began.

9. The Rāj Guru, and he alone (or his delegated proxy) is allowed to perform pūjā in the two śikhara temples to the sides of the Svayambhū Mahācaitya, i.e. Pratāpapur and Agnipura.

10. In the days of the Malla kings the fame and the authority of the Rāj Guru extended all the way to Lhasa.

11. The Rāj Guru is also the head of another group of five Vajracaryas known as the Pañcā Buddha, 'the Five Buddhas', whose function it is to assist at certain rituals representing the five transcendent Buddhas. At the present time their only function seems to be to take part in the annual Kumārī Jātrā. Originally four of these men came from Sikhau Bāhā (the Rāj Guru plus one man each from the other three households of the Rāj Guru lineage). The fifth man has always been a Vajracarya from Sawal Bāhā [50]. Some time toward the end of the last century another Vajracarya of Sawal Bāhā was able to get himself appointed by the palace as Rāj Guru and he claimed a place among these five, thus displacing one of the four from Sikhau Bāhā. Ever since the passing of this 'Rāj Guru' his descendants have claimed a second place among the five Buddhas.

12. If any quarrel arose among the members of any of the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī, or if someone had damaged one of the bāhās it was the duty of the Rāj Guru to summon the concerned parties and settle the matter, inflicting a fine of thirty two paise on the offender.

13. The Rāj Guru must be invited to any function held, or ritual performed, by the local Ācārya Gūthī of any of the eighteen bāhās.

It is evident that many of these functions are no longer current. However, the Rāj Guru still has some importance among the Buddhist community of Kathmandu and a few official functions such as his duties regarding the Royal Kumārī. In addition to this he still has the right to perform certain rituals in the Agn Chān of the Malla Kings at Hamumān Dhokā, and on the death of a king of the present dynasty he has to go to Hanumān Dhokā for the ritual reception of the people who come to pay their respects at the time of a death in the royal family. In addition to this he must keep himself ready to respond to any request which might come from the palace for his services. Because of this, if there should be a death in the family of the Rāj Guru, he or one of his initiated male relatives must abstain from taking any part in the death rituals. Such participation would make him impure for the period of mourning and hence unable to perform any pūjas. In such a case it is permissible to send any male member of his family to act as proxy. Whenever the eighteen elders of the Ācārya Gūthī meet or are called to take part in some official function the Rāj Guru must also be summoned, and he takes his place second to the thakāli of the entire Ācārya Gūthī.

There is no firm historical data concerning the founding of Sikhau Bāhā. There is an oral legend that it dates to the founding of the Kāsthmanḍapā (Maru Saṭṭal); and according to the legend the bāhā was built from the wood left over from the Maru Saṭṭal. However, the same is claimed for the nearby Sinhā Saṭṭal [51]. Oral tradition associates the bāhā with one Lilavājra who is claimed to be either the founder of the bāhā or one of its most famous members. Nothing is known about the date or life of Lilavājra. The present Newari name of the bāhā is Sikhau, but the earlier form of this is variously Sikkamagudi, Sikvamagudi, Sikomagunhi, which is a Newari translation of the Sanskrit name Tarumū-
The earliest references are all to Sikkamagudi Vihāra; it is only after the beginning of the seventeenth century that one finds the Sanskrit name Tarumūla Mahāvihāra. However, this is to be expected as the earlier references come from inscriptions or notes on manuscripts referring to the performance of rituals. In such references one usually finds the Newāri name of a bāhā. The Sanskrit name is used almost exclusively in the colophons of manuscripts of Buddhist texts, and occasionally on land grant documents. That Sikkamagudi and Tarumūla are indeed the same is confirmed by a reference of N.S.750 in a thāsaphu describing the donation of an umbrella to the Svayambhū Mahācaitya by one Sakyabhikṣu Hākujū of Sikkamagudi-Talumūla Mahāvihāra. From this time on there are frequent references to the Vajracasayas of Sikkamagudi Vihāra in inscriptions around Kathmandu commemorating rituals at which these priests officiated and an even larger number of references to Tarumūla Mahāvihāra in the colophons of the numerous manuscripts copied here. The presence of the two 'Licchavi' caityas in the courtyard of the bāhā indicates ancient Buddhist connections to the site, but little more can be said. It is evident that both the bāhā and its property suffered from the fact that the later Mallā kings built or greatly extended the palace now known as Hanumān Dhokā. As successive kings expanded the palace and built temples around its periphery, Sikhamu Bāhā lost much of its property and this very important vihāra was finally reduced to a tiny courtyard.

Sikhamu Bāhā has three functioning branches, one defunct branch and the Kumārī Bāhā which has ritual connections to Sikhamu Bāhā.

A. Jho Cheń Bāhā -- Vasundharākīrti Vihaṇa

Jhocheń Tole

Jho Cheń Bāhā consists of a tiny courtyard just off the northern end of Jhocheń. All that remains is the shrine itself which has a carved doorway surmounted by a wooden torana of Vajra-
sattva. At the present time the courtyard is a junk yard for disused motor tires. The kuṣpā-
dya is an image of Amitābha facing east.

The śaṅgha consists only of one Vajracarya family of Sikhamu Bāhā who live here. The Va-
jracarya performs the daily rituals each morn-
ing. The bāhā has no income at the present time and the annual festival is no longer observed.

There is an inscription at the bāhā which states that in N.S.857 one Bhikṣu Śri Nitya Dhana had the image of Amitābha consecrated and performed puja to the āgām deity. This is prob-
ably the date of the foundation of this purely private branch of Sikhamu Bāhā.

B. Chvāsapā Bāhā -- Sukhāvāti Vihaṇa

Maru Tole

This bāhā is situated in a small courtyard just at the edge of Maru Tole. The shrine of the kuṣpā-dya is of three storeys plus a sort of open cupola at the top. The ground floor entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Mahāvairocana in the centre. The torana is dated N.S.793. The kuṣpā-dya is a stone image of Akṣobhya facing north. The doorway is flanked by two small, blind window. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey is an open veranda with living quarters and is supported by four struts of the sālapha-
ñikas. All of the other buildings of the courtyard are of a later date. In the courtyard are two stone caityas.

This purely private branch seems to have no śaṅgha as such but is looked after by a family of Vajracaryas of Sikhamu Bāhā who live here. The regular rituals are performed each morning, but there is no income and no annual festival.

The whole complex is badly neglected at the present time and most of the quarters of the courtyard have been rented out to people of various castes who have no connection with the bāhā. An inscription on the wall of the shrine says that the bāhā was established in the time of Pratāp Mallā (N.S.761-794). The king came for the consecration ceremonies and the building of the bāhā was financed by a Tamrākār by the name of Jyāna Bhāro. The inscription gives the
184. Jho Chep Bahā [58]

185. Chvasapā Bahā [34]
C. Lāyku Bahī -- Rājakula Vihāra [54]
Srinaka Vihāra
Hanumān Dhokā

Lāyku Bahī, which lies just at the western edge of the Hanumān Dhokā palace complex, retains little of the typical Bahī architecture. The shrine of the kuśāpa-dya has three storeys. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and an arch of lamps. The carved doorway is flanked by two small windows and surmounted by an unusual wooden torana depicting Buddha's welcome at Lumbini. Among the devotees coming to pay their respects to the Buddha are Indra, Śiva and Brahma. The kuśāpa-dya is a large stone image of Akṣobhya facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey is a recent restoration in cement-plastered brick with living quarters. In the courtyard are one large caitya and two smaller ones.

Though this shrine is called a Bahī and probably was originally, from the viewpoint of the community attached to it, it is now a branch Bahā of Sikhamu Bahā. At present there are thirty nine Vajracaryas attached to this branch. These are all of the lineage of the Rāj Guru, now split into four sub-lineages of several separate households. The present residents claim that this has always been their Bahā, but if this is true it raises the question of why it is called a Bahī. Did the original community become Vajracaryas and finally become attached to Sikhamu Bahā or was there a separate community attached to this Bahī originally which eventually died out as has happened at so many Bahīs? If this is the case it is easy to understand how the Vajracaryas of Sikhamu Bahā came to take over what was in effect an abandoned establishment. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by one of the Vajracaryas resident here. At present this one man always performs the pūja, though in former times all of the Vajracaryas attached to this branch took turns serving as dyā-pālas in the usual fashion. Theoretically all initiations are performed in Sikhamu Bahā, but informants say that from time to time they do perform Barechuyegu initiations here for the sake of convenience. The Vajracaryas attached to this Bahā have certain ritual duties connected with Thaṃ Bahā [96] in Thamel in conjunction with Vajracaryas from Kuwa Bahā, Jhuwa Bahā [10] and Dhukā Bahā [6]. (See the section on Thaṃ Bahā.)

Little is known about the history and nothing about the foundation of this establishment. Despite the claim on the sign board outside that this is the 'Oldest Buddhist Monastery,' there is nothing in the complex to verify an early foundation; and there are not even any legends about its foundation. The earliest inscriptions in the complex are dated N.S.855 and the torana is dated N.S.1098. The Newār name of the Bahā obviously derives from its proximity to the palace (Lāyku). Two different Sanskrit names are given by various authors, but to my knowledge neither name has been verified by inscriptions or manuscript references.

D. Basantapur Bahā -- Deśāvamantra Vihāra [57]
Baniyā Bahā
Basantapur

All that remains of this Bahā is a white plastered shrine in the middle of the Basantapur Square. The small brick shrine houses a stone image of Akṣobhya which was the kuśāpa-dya of the Bahā complex that used to be situated on this site. Next to the shrine is a small stone caitya. At least some parts of the original building remained until the early part of this century and were inhabited by a family of Tulādhars. According to KT&M the Bahā was built by one Bhāvānī Śaṅkar in 1746. He was a member of the trading class, and hence the other Newāri name of the Bahā, Baniyā Bahā. The customary rituals are still performed by a Vajracarya of Sikhamu Bahā, and in this sense it is a branch of Sikhamu Bahā. Whether it ever housed members of the saṅgha Sikhamu Bahā is now a moot point. It may have been built by traders (Udaya) for themselves with Vajracaryas from Sikhamu Bahā simply serving as dyā-pālas.

E. Kumārī Bahā -- Rājakīrti Manorama Vihāra [56]
Kumārī Cheṇḍi
Rājalakṣmikula Vihāra
Basantapur

The structure of this shrine which houses the Royal Kumārī is a cross between a Newār town house and a Bahā, consisting of a three-storeyed building built round an enclosed courtyard. The street entrance to the complex is marked by two stone lions and surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Mahīśāsūramardini Durgā whom the Kumārī incarnates in her function as Royal Kumārī.
On the outer facade of the building are four large windows on the first storey and seven windows on the second storey. The four large windows of the first storey have the famous peacock design and the three central windows geometric screening. The windows of the third storey include a large triple grouping, the central window of which slants forward. Between these groups are windows in rectangular frames. The tile roof has a very gradual slope and is supported by small struts of simple deities which are directly attached to the white plastered wall. A triple gajura with triple umbrellas over the spires complete the exterior. Passing into the courtyard one sees a single caitya and directly opposite this the entryway to the shrine of the kuṣapā-dya, which in this case is not a single Buddha but images of the five transcendent Buddhas. Over the doorway of this shrine is a wooden torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form with Mahāvairocana in the centre and surmounted by Vajrasattva. There are four very large two-level window frames mounted on the walls of the courtyard, with three window openings on the second and third floors. The windows of the court are also elaborately worked and each has a wooden torana depicting Mahāsūramardini Durgā.

This entire complex is primarily the residence and shrine of the Royal Kumārī. The tradition of worshipping young girls as 'incarnations' of a goddess in the Valley of Nepal is a Buddhist tradition. That a Buddhist girl is worshipped as an incarnation of a Hindu deity seems to have arisen because the Malla kings came to recognise one or other of these Buddhist Kumārīs as also an incarnation of Durgā, or more properly of their own special form of Durgā, Taleju Bhavānī. There is a well-known legend which attributes the custom to the last Malla king of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakāś Malla (1735-68). Whatever the truth of this legend Jaya Prakāś did not initiate the worship of Kumārī as Durgā, much less did he initiate the custom of worshipping a young girl as a living goddess. Chronicles speak of the worship of Kumārī in Bhaktapur during the reign of Trailokya Malla (1561-1610) and a diary account records the attendance of Kumārī at the Dasain sacrifice in Mūl Chok at Hanumān Dhokā in 1638, a hundred years before the time of Jaya Prakāś. Two late thirteenth century manuscripts dated A.D.1280 and 1285 deal with the choosing, ornamentation and worship of Kumārī.

What Jaya Prakāś Malla definitely did do was to construct this shrine for the Kumārī in N.S.877. A thāyasaphu record records the events of the construction and consecration of the shrine. In Phālgun of the year N.S.877 the foundation was laid and the rituals performed for this event by Bimalā Prabhānanda Vajracarya, By the month of Ḍhādra the building was finished and on the tenth day of the month Jaya Prakāś Malla summoned Śvayambhū, Paṣupati and other famous deities to the consecration ceremonies of the shrine. On the following day the Vajracaryas performed the rituals and recited the text known as Pañcavigimsati, then the Kumārī was brought and ritually established in her shrine. On that day a feast was held at the Kumārī Bāhā for all of the Kāṅphatā Yogis of the country. On the following day all of the invited deities were mounted on their portable carriers and sent back to their own shrines. The celebrations thus went on for four days.

The shrine then is a strange hybrid. In a sense it is a bāhā—architecturally, and in the fact that it has a Buddhist kuṣapā-dya and a tantric Buddhist āgām deity, both tended by a Vajracarya. The Rāj Guru is the dya-pālā for the shrine of the five Buddhas on the ground floor and he also performs a daily pūjā in the shrine of the āgām deity (Herukacakrasāmanvāra-Vajravedī-Vajrarāhā). This āgām shrine is located directly above the shrine of the five Buddhas. However, though he performs a brief pūjā to the Kumārī as Vajravedī each day, the main pūjā to the girl is performed by one of the Āchārus from the Taleju temple, a Hindu tantric priest who worships her as Taleju Bhavānī. The Āchāru performs pūjā only to the Kumārī and is never permitted into either the kuṣapā-dya shrine or the āgām above it. Kumārī Bāhā is not a bāhā in the sense of having a saṅgha nor is it properly a branch of Sikhau Bāhā. The Rāj Guru's functions are personal. He holds this right because he is Rāj Guru not by virtue of the fact that he is a member of the Sikhau Bāhā saṅgha.

The Rāj Guru's functions, in addition to the daily pūjās, are principally related to the selection of the Kumārī. When a Kumārī is disqualified a new one must be sought. She must be a daughter of any clean and properly initiated Sakya from any of the bāhās of Kathmandu, i.e. from any of the eighteen bāhās of the Āchārya Gōthī or any of the Sakya bāhās. She may not be
188. Kumārī Bāhā [56]

189. Kuśā Bāhā [1]
selected from a bähā saṅgha. The Rāj Guru makes the initial selection of eligi able girls and assists in the final selection. When the girl has been selected she is taken to the Royal Palace for a final approval by the King.

2. Kuā Bāhā — Maitripura Mahāvihāra* [1]

Kuā Bāhā is situated in a partially preserved bähā courtyard just north of Tha Hiti. Several sections of the buildings round the courtyard have been rebuilt destroying the original architectural unity of the bähā. The shrine itself is of three storeys surmounted by a small cupola. The carved and embossed door frame of the shrine is flanked by images of Sariputra and Maudgalyāyana. The ground floor facade has been recently plastered with cement; the two upper storeys still show traces of the frescoes which illustrated several Buddhist deities. The main torana over the shrine of the kuāpā-dya is of repousse metal and undated. At the entryway into the bähā compound is an identical but older wooden torana dated N.S.789. Both toranas show the Buddha (Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍākṣārī Lokeśvara) on his left and surrounded by the four tantric Buddhas minus Vairocana. The kuāpā-dya is a standing Buddha figure with the left hand showing abhaya mudrā and the right hand showing the gesture of preaching. KTMV identifies the image as Dīpankara, but local informants claim it is Maitreya. The image certainly conforms to the standard iconography of Dīpankara. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is a tiled partial roof. The top storey has three ordinary latticed windows. The tile roof is surmounted by a cupola similar to those usually found on bähis. Within the compound are an 'Aśoka Cai tyā', a small caitya on a pillar and several other images, none of great antiquity. The steps leading to the bähā shrine are flanked by two metal lions and to the left is a bell. Within the shrine itself are about twenty images including a small wooden image identical to the kuāpā-dya image, and a small caitya which is the samyak deity of the bähā.

The saṅgha of Kuā Bāhā comprises thirty four families with two hundred ninety three initiated Vajracaryas. This figure includes the members of Musyā Bāhā, the one branch of Kuā Bāhā. Few of these Vajracarya families now live within the bähā, and the daily rituals consist only of the morning puja and the lighting of the lamp in the evening. Though it was formerly the custom for the dya-pālā to remain in the shrine throughout his period of service, this custom has lapsed. Usually the dya-pālā comes only in the morning and evening for the prescribed rituals. All the members of the saṅgha serve in the temple for a month at a time by rotation through the roster of the initiated. The saṅgha has five elders. The annual festival of the bähā takes place on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun. Both Barechuyegu and Acāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Yoqāmbara at Mheypi. Formerly the bähā had a considerable income from their fields, about 50 murīs of paddy a year. However, in recent years the income had fallen off and the remaining land was finally sold for Rs.40,000.00 and placed in a fixed deposit. The income from this deposit now comprises the sole income of the bähā.

Kuā Bāhā has its own Kumārī or living goddess who is chosen from among the daughters of the members of the saṅgha. This Kumārī is entirely Buddhist in the sense that she is worshipped only as Vajradevi and never as Durgā. Though she belongs to Kuā Bāhā most of her functions are related to Thaṅ Bāhī [96] where the Vajracaryas function as priests. Allen gives a brief account of the installation of a new Kumārī at Kuā Bāhā:

The ceremony of installation takes place at Kuābāhā with both the old and the new girls present. The old one, wearing all her jewels, sits on her throne with the new one on a mat in front of her. The Vajracharya pūrṇita from Kuābāhā transfers supernatural powers from the old to the new. He places a garland of flowers around the neck of the disqualified girl who then removes her jewelries. The ex-Kumārī gets up from her throne and the father of the new one places his daughter on it. The old Kumārī is dressed in new everyday clothes while the new one is given a new set of red clothes from the funds of the Pradhān [i.e. Thaṅ Bāhī] gūthī. The old one then has her formal hairstyle undone while the new one's is made up. Finally, after the old Kumārī and her parents have been feasted the new one is decorated in all
in their tantric form. Mahāvairocana is missing. The kuṇḍā-ḍyā is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The frieze around the upper part of the ground floor shows traces of frescoes and the tile roof of the entire structure is supported by carved struts depicting various tantric Buddhist deities. Above the shrine itself is a single finial. The courtyard, which is paved in brick, has a single caitya in the centre. Just inside the entryway from the street are shrines of Ganesha and Mahākāla and over the street entrance is a torana showing Nāmasaṅgīti and dated N.S.713.

The saṅgha of Musyā Bāhā comprises eighty-four Vajracaryas of Kuā Bāhā all of whom claim descent from Majindrapāla, one of the two sons of Vākṣuṣa. The members of the saṅgha take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Service passes through the entire roster from eldest to youngest. No initiations are held here but only in Kuā Bāhā. The annual festival of this bāhā is held on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Māgh, and the branch saṅgha has one elder.

Little is known about the history of Musyā Bāhā. The main torana is dated N.S.805, but the torana over the doorway from the street is dated N.S.713. KTMV gives the date of construction as A.D.1663 (N.S.783), but gives no documentation for this date and it seems to be contradicted by the date on the older torana. According to oral tradition Musyā Bāhā was founded by Majindrapāla, the son of Vākṣuṣa.


Dhwākā Bāhā has a spacious courtyard with the shrine of the kuṇḍā-ḍyā located in the south-east corner. Nothing is left of the original bāhā architecture, the shrine itself being a fairly recent reconstruction, perhaps after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine is a simple brick building of three storeys which looks more like an ordinary house than a bāhā. The entrance at ground level is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing Dharmaṭu Vajīśvara surrounded by six other tantric deities. The kuṇḍā-ḍyā is an image of Aksobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are large stone relief figures of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by
two smaller windows. Above the central window is another wooden torana showing a four-armed Prajñapāramitā in the center surrounded by the five transcendent Buddhas and surmounted by a figure of Vajrasattva. The top storey comprises ordinary living quarters and the office of ward #2 of the Kathmandu Nagar Pancayat. The roof is of plain corrugated iron with no ornamentation. In the courtyard directly in front of the shrine are three caityas, two of which are definitely from the Licchavi period. There are also about ten images of various kinds inside the shrine of the kuśā-dya.

The saṅgha of fourteen families with fifty eight members is entirely Vajracaryā. There are three lineages in the saṅgha and theoretically one lineage does pūjā in Dhwākā Bāhā and Chusyā Bāhā, one lineage only at Chusyā Bāhā and one lineage at Hāku Bāhā. I say theoretically because Chusyā Bāhā has been abandoned for all practical purposes and at the present time all the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālas at Dhwākā Bāhā. The usual rituals are performed in the shrine of the kuśā-dya morning and evening, and service is for one month passing through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. Formerly service passed by turns through the lineages. The annual festival or busā dān is no longer held, but the saṅgha does have an annual feast on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Gubūl. During the month of Kartik the Nāmasaṅgiti is recited each day, and during the month of Śrāvaṇa seven of the Vajracaryas recite the Prajñapāramitā at Thām Bāhā. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of the usual five elders plus two others who are sort of honorary members and are in fact the next two in line to become elders. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāryeyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the enshrined caitya at Sankhu which was ‘brought’ to Lām Bāhā [L] in Bakana-jole where it is now worshipped annually.

The earliest dated document to mention Dhwākā Bāhā is a palmleaf land grant dated N.S.701 where the name is given as Dhwākā Bahāra. However, by inference we have a much earlier date. Gam Bāhā was founded as an offshoot of Dhwākā Bāhā and we know the foundation date of that baha N.S.327 (See section below on Gam Bāhā) The earliest mention of the Sanskrit name of the bāhā is found in the document mentioned below and dated N.S.777. There are numerous references after N.S.701 to Dhwākā Bāhā, most in inscriptions at different places in Kathmandu where a Vajracarya of Dhwākā Bāhā is cited as the officiating priest at some ritual performed at the place. Two documents attest to the holding of an elaborate Samyak ceremony in N.S.777 by a family from Henākara Mahāvihāra. Vajracarya Sri Mānajoti, his son Guṇajoti, his grandson Dhanasimha, his great-grandson Parikhadewa and others hosted this ceremony on the day of Makara Sankranti in this year. On this occasion the King, Praṭāp Malla, and a total of 7,500 bare and gods attended the feast. In N.S.812 this same Parikhadewa repaired the caitya and the golden finial of the shrine and set up an image of Aksobhya.

Though there is little evidence of an early date for the foundation of the present institution, the antiquity of the site of Dhwākā Bāhā is attested to by two pieces in the courtyard. The first is a lovely sarvatobhadra-type caitya with standing images of Sakyaṃuni Buddha, a second Sakyaṃuni showing the viṣṇuvākaraṇa mūdra (often locally referred to as Maitreya), Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara. Above these four figures is another horizontal section with a seated Buddha above each of the standing figures. All four of these figures represent the Buddha seated in the attitude of meditation. This piece has been consistently dated to the seventh century A.D. The second is a small caitya which is inscribed with the Buddhist metto (Ye Dharma etc.). The writing is from the time of the Licchavi King Narendra Deva, mid-seventh century A.D. According to the oral tradition preserved by the Vajracaryas of Dhwākā Bāhā the saṅgha originated in Sankhu from which place they moved in the dim past to the city of Kathmandu. The tradition is confirmed by the fact that their lineage deity is still considered to be the enshrined caitya at Sankhu. No one was able to give a date for this move to Kathmandu nor does anyone know if they founded a new institution in Kathmandu or took over an older and probably abandoned foundation.

A. Chusyā Bāhā -- Gunākara Vihāra

Chusyā Bāhā is probably the finest example of bāhā architecture left in the Valley. The bāhā sits right on the street and one enters from the street doorway which is flanked by two stone lions and surmounted by a lovely torana.
showing Prajñāparamitā. The ground floor of the quadrangle has three open halls which face the sunken bricked courtyard. The first of these halls is situated at the entrance with a shrine of Mahākāla to the right and one of Ganesha to the left. The other two halls are along the eastern and western wings of the quadrangle. Directly opposite the entrance is the shrine of the kuṭāpā-dāya which like the rest of the buildings is only two storeys. The entrance is marked by two elephants and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana with Mahā-akṣobhya in the central position, surrounded by ten other tantric deities. The kuṭāpā-dāya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. On the roof directly above the shrine is a single finial. At the corners of the ground floor are two smaller rooms in each corner; from each corner is a stairway leading to the first storey which has a series of three rooms off each stairway with no communicating doors making four quite separate apartments. The roof is of tile and the space under the roof is unused. One of the most striking features of the bāhā is the series of beautifully carved struts supporting the roof, each carved with the name of the deity portrayed. In the courtyard are two caityas, an image of Tārā and a stone image of Vajrasattva flanked by the two donors of the image.

The saṅgha of this branch bāhā appears to be completely inactive at the present time. Though one lineage of Dhuwāka Bāhā originally lived here, there is now only one family here. The daily rituals are performed by someone who comes from Dhuwāka Bāhā and the annual festival is no longer observed, though there is an annual pūjā to the caitya on the day of Śrī Pañcamī. At the present time the open halls on the ground floor are used for a small primary school. Little care is taken of the building, the brickwork is in need of urgent attention, and damage is being done by the crowd of little children who squeeze into the open spaces on the ground floor each day. If steps are not taken soon for the preservation of this gem of Malla architecture it will crumble and give way to a concrete box.

For the history of Chusyā Bāhā we would seem to be on very firm ground, but records are deceptive. There is an inscription at the bāhā dated N.S.788 which says that the construction of the bāhā was completed in N.S.769 and at that time an Image of Harisīhara Lokāesvara was installed in the shrine. The donors were Vajracarya Guṇapajoti, his first wife Yadumani Lakṣmī and his second wife Helmani Lakṣmī of Dhuwāka Bāhā. In N.S.788 the king of Kathmandu, Pratāp Malla was invited by Guṇapajoti to the ceremony marking the official opening of the bāhā. The torana over the outer doorway is dated N.S.793 and the one over the shrine entrance is dated N.S.796. However, the carved struts of the bāhā were first dated to the fourteenth century A.D. by S. B. Deo, and subsequent writers have concurred in his judgment. Furthermore, the kuṭāpā-dāya of the shrine is not Harisīhara Lokāesvara but Akṣobhya. It seems clear that the bāhā was renovated in N.S.769, and the occasion marked by the donation of an image of Harisīhara Lokāesvara some years later. Pratāp Malla was invited to the consecration ceremony of this image. It is impossible to say whether Chusyā Bāhā had long been a branch of Dhuwāka Bāhā and was renovated at this time, or whether it was a separate foundation that had been abandoned by its original inhabitants, fallen into disrepair and then taken over and renovated by the people of Dhuwāka Bāhā as a branch of their bāhā.

B. Hāku Bāhā -- Harṣa Caitya Vihaṇa [13]

Hāku Bāhā is an entirely closed but very small courtyard just off Asan Tole. The bāhā shrine is a characteristic shrine of three storeys to which a fourth storey has recently been added. The entrance, which is just above ground level, is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a torana depicting the five Buddhas in their tantric form with Dharmadātū Vaiḍīśvara in the centre, surrounded by four other tantric Buddhas and surmounted by Vajrasattva. The kuṭāpā-dāya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavyākarana mūtra, usually identified as Maitreya. He faces north. The first storey of the facade has a triple window flanked by two smaller, ornate windows. The second storey has a finely carved projecting bay window, and the top storey is used for living quarters but has a number of carved roof struts which must have been taken from an earlier structure. On the roof is a single gañura in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard is an Asoka Caitya1 and several images including Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Padmapani.
At present the saṅgha of this branch, which theoretically consists of one lineage of Dhūkā Bāhā, is not very active. No one of the saṅgha lives here any more, and the daily rituals are performed by someone from Dhūkā Bāhā. The annual festival is no longer observed and there is no income. The only annual observance is a feast at the time of the disī puja in the month of Paus. The saṅgha still has one elder.

No information is available about the foundation of this bāhā beyond the oral tradition that the Sanskrit name derives from the name of one Harśa who built the monastery and donated it to the original saṅgha. The earliest date available in the complex is that on the torana, N.S.771.

Nagha Tole

At present Gam Bāhā consists simply of a plain brick structure of three storeys in an enclosed courtyard. On the ground floor is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya with a very plain door surmounted by a torana showing Nāmasaṅgīti and dated N.S.1098. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Ākṣobhya facing north. Above the shrine are three tiny windows flanked by two small openings. At the level of the second storey is a single large opening; the rest of the facade is a plain blank wall. Directly in front of the shrine doorway in the paved courtyard is a single votive caitya and in front of that a much larger, enshrined caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of eight families of Vajracaryas with a total of only sixteen initiated members. The regular rituals are performed each morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha. The term of service is one month and passes by seniority through the roster of members. The annual festival is observed on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha. The saṅgha is governed by a body of five elders. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāryegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is at Lām Bāhā [L] in Pakanajole, but said by the members of the saṅgha to be Yogānbara. The saṅgha has a board of five elders. The bāhā now has no income though it used to have an annual income of thirteen mūls of paddy.

There is nothing of great antiquity within this courtyard itself. One inscription mentions that in N.S.796 a golden banner was donated to the caitya in the courtyard and in N.S.821 the shrine of Akṣobhya was repaired. The inscription gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra. There is however a separate document, a land deed, which gives a much earlier date and evidently the date of the foundation of this bāhā. In the year N.S.327 two donors by the name of Śrī Vajracārya Ratnadeva and Śrī Pātra Brahma Ṭhakura gave a gift of a bāhā and land for a garden. This bāhā was known as Gaṃ Bāhā and on the tenth day of the month of Jyeṣṭha of this year the image of Ākṣobhya, the caitya and the āgām deity were consecrated and the gift handed over to Śrī Vajracārya Amṛtāpāra and Vajracārya Amṛtacandra and their families. The document is in the possession of the present members of the saṅgha of Gaṃ Bāhā and indicates that the present saṅgha or community dates to this time. Whether or not Gaṃ Bāhā was an already existing foundation which had been abandoned or no longer needed by the original inhabitants or by the donors, or whether this was an entirely new foundation is not clear from the document. The document does not say that a bāhā was constructed, but that it was gifted and the above mentioned rituals performed. No mention is made of the bāhā to which the donor Vajracarya belonged nor that to which the two recipient Vajracaryas belonged, but there is an oral tradition that they came from Dhūka Bāhā. This tradition is confirmed by the fact that both bāhār still have the same lineage deity and the fact that marriages between the saṅghas of Dhūka Bāhā and Gaṃ Bāhā are still forbidden on the grounds of consanguinity.

5. Nhū (Jhuā) Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Mahāvihāra* [10]
Thaya Madu Tole

Nhū Bāhā is a very unpretentious building just off the road at the corner of Thaya Madu Tole. It looks like an ordinary dwelling except for the carved doorway with its torana on the ground floor and the two small stone lions in front of it. The torana, which is undated but appears to be of fairly recent origin, shows Vajrasāttva. The kwāpā-dya, which faces north, is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavākarana mudrā, often identified by the local inhabitants as Ratnasambhava. The image

195. Nhau (Jhau) Baha [10]
faces north. Above the shrine is a low storey with two small windows and one larger triple window with plain lattice work instead of the usual bāhā style windows. The two upper storeys are living apartments surmounted by an ordinary corrugated iron roof. Directly in front of the shrine are a small caitya and a stone mandalā. In the centre of the courtyard are a large, plastered caitya and two smaller caityas. At the southern edge of the courtyard is an open rest house.

The present saṅgha of Vajracaryas, which is still very active, comprises one hundred eighty three members, none of whom live at this site. They are divided into two main groups: the Nuwākoṭ Gurujuśis and the Phusikhya Gurujuśis. The first group is so called because they have the traditional right and duty to serve in the 41 temple of the first group is so called because they have the traditional right and duty to serve in the temple of Bhairava-Bhairavi in Nuwākoṭ. This custom is still active, and at the present time there are seventeen Vajracaryas who perform this service by turn. The term of service is an entire year, and one must spend the entire time at Nuwākoṭ. According to the oral tradition of the saṅgha both groups are descended from a common ancestor, the founder of Jhū-Bāhā. He had two sons who eventually quarrelled and subsequently divided the wealth and duties of the saṅgha between them and their descendants. Kusum Deva was one of these sons and the progenitor of the Nuwākoṭ Gurujuśis. He and his family inherited the right of service at Nuwākoṭ. At the present time this lineage is sub-divided into two sub-lineages. These two sub-lineages serve at Nuwākoṭ on alternate years. The second group, known as the Phusikhya Gurujuśis are so called because they have obligations of worship at Phusikhya and at the Manakāmana shrine near Gorkha. Phusikhya is a village about two hours walk from Amrit Science Campus by a small dirt road which goes across the ring road toward Tokha above Bālāju. This is an entirely Jyāpū village, and these Vajracaryas act as the priests of the families resident there. There is a house there where one Vajracarya used to live to be at the service of the people. At the present time no one lives there, but the Vajracaryas come when they are called by the people, and they must be present for a special jātrā held in the village once every twelve years. In addition to this one Vajracarya used to stay at the shrine of Manakāmana near Gorkha to act as the dyā-pāḷī in that temple. Now, however, no one stays there but someone goes only for the

the two annual festivals of the shrine, one in Baisākh and one in Kārtik. This group, which according to oral tradition, are all descendants of the brother of Kusum Deva has four subdivisions.

All of the members of the saṅgha those of both groups, also perform the daily rituals at Nhū Bāhā morning and evening, though none of them live at the bāhā now and they do not stay there for the duration of their service. Service passes through the households of the saṅgha in turn; and when the service of a household comes round, anyone who has been initiated may perform the service which lasts for one week. It need not even be the same man each day of the week.

The annual festival of the saṅgha used to be held here at Nhū Bāhā on a fixed date in the fall, but at the present time there is no fixed date. It is held whenever is convenient, some time around Dasain. Everything has been considerably simplified. After the prescribed rituals there is a feast for one man each from the twenty eight households attached to the saṅgha.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Ugra Tārā = Vajrayogini at Sankhu. Informants say that the deity was 'brought' from Sankhu and transferred to an image which is now kept in the home of the head of the saṅgha. At the time of the annual worship this image is taken in procession to the defunct Lāṁ Bāhā [L] in Pakana-

jol. All members of the saṅgha are invited for the annual worship, but at the present time only six households contribute to the expenses, so only the members of these six households are entitled to participate in the feast which follows. The saṅgha is governed by a group of five elders. Whatever income the bāhā had from farm land has been lost and the only regular income they now have is Rs. 300 per year which they get from the family which lives in the upper storeys of Nhū Bāhā.

This bāhā and its saṅgha have a curious history. The original bāhā of this saṅgha was Jhū Bāhā [4], and all lists of the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gōṭhi still list Jhū Bāhā instead of Nhū Bāhā. According to the oral tradition of the saṅgha, at some time in the distant past the image of the kuṇā-pāḷī was stolen from Jhū Bāhā. After some time the
image was discovered in a wooded area near the edge of the city called Thaya Madu (so called because it was heavily wooded and there was 'no place' [thāya madu] there to build a building. When the image was discovered, rituals were performed to pacify the deity, and lots were cast to determine whether the deity wanted to return to his former residence in Jhwa Bāhā or remain in Thaya Madu. The deity 'chose' to stay in Thāya Madu and hence a new bāhā was constructed at that site. It is unclear whether any members of the saṅgha ever lived in Thaya Madu or not. In any case this became the official bāhā with the same Sanskrit name as Jhuw Bāhā (Ratnaketu) but called Nhū Bāhā (the New Bāhā) in Newari. All rituals and ceremonies concerning the kwāpā-dya and initiations into the saṅgha were transferred to the new site. Hence Barechuyegu initiations are performed for the entire saṅgha at Nhū Bāhā. However, the āgam dya, the secret tantric deity of the saṅgha, was not transferred but remained in the āgam at Jhuw Bāhā. Hence worship of the āgam dya is still carried out at Jhuw Bāhā and all Vajracarya initiations (Ācāluveygu) are still performed at Jhuw Bāhā.

There is no documentary or inscriptionsal evidence to confirm this story, but the Sanskrit name of this bāhā and the still prevalent customs mentioned above confirm the fact that the kwāpā-dya was indeed moved from Jhuw Bāhā to this site some time in the past, whatever the reason. The etymology given by the story is clearly a bit of folklore. K. P. Malla has pointed out to me that the word actually comes from thane-mandu the upper town/market. There is one illegible Malla inscription at this site, one inscription from the time of King Rana Bāhādur Shah and a third dated N.S. 1023. There are references to Ratnaketu Mahāvihāra in Suvannapraṇālī Mahānagarā from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it is impossible to tell whether the references are to Jhuw or Nhū Bāhā as both have the same Sanskrit name and both are in Suvannapranālī.

This bāhā has two official branches (Cā Bāhā [11] and Dhālisikwa Bāhā [12]) and two private branches (Jhuw Bāhā [10] and Jyotiya Bāhā [5]).


The bāhā shrine in this small, enclosed courtyard has been recently renovated and now consists of a three storied, cement plastered building. On the ground floor is the shrine of the kwāpā-dya who is an image of Aksobhya facing east. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Dharmadhātu Vaśāvāra surrounded by four other tantric deities. In the courtyard are an 'Asoka caitya', and three votive caityas, plus images of Sarasvatī, Ārya Tārā, Ganesh and Mahākāl.

The saṅgha of this branch is unique in Kathmandu in that it is composed of several houses of Vajracaryas from Nhū-Jhuw Bāhā and two households of Vajracaryas from Gaṁ Bāhā. There are many examples of Bare from one bāhā now living in the quarters of another bāhā which they have rented or bought from the original inhabitants. But in such cases they have no ritual part to play in the life of the saṅgha attached to the bāhā where they live. (If they are the only ones living in the bāhā and have taken up the task of performing the nitya puja, it automatically becomes a branch of their main bāhā.) In this case the two households of Gaṁ Bāhā are members of this branch saṅgha and take their turn as dyā-pālā in the shrine of the kwāpā-dya. The daily rituals are performed each morning by the members of this composite saṅgha in turn for a month at a time. Service passes through the roster of households. The annual festival is no longer observed, the only annual observance being the disī puja in Paug. The saṅgha does not have any internal structure, and no elders. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

There are two Malla inscriptions within the courtyard, one of which says that the bāhā was commissioned to be used by one Sakyabhikgu Rāma-candra. On the basis of these two inscriptions KTMU gives the date of construction as A.D. 1650.


This branch is situated in a very small, enclosed courtyard just north of Asan. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya has retained its traditional form and appears very old. The area in
front of the shrine is enclosed by a railing into which are set oil lamps and at the entrance are two small, stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Dharmanathu Vagisvara surrounded by four other tantric figures and with smaller figures of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha just above the lintel. The kwapa-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has a carved, triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an elaborately carved and overhanging balcony. In the courtyard are four tall caityas, none of a very great age, a mandala and a recess for the sacred fire. The sangha of this branch comprises four households of Vajracaryas all Phusikhya Gurujus of Nhu-Jhwā Bāhā. Members of this branch sangha perform the usual rituals but only in the morning. Service lasts for one month at a time and is determined by a very complex schedule of household service comprising a series of thirty nine terms of service. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Maṅga, but at the present time consists only of a pūja: there is no feast following the rituals, because the bāhā no longer has any income. The branch sangha has one elder.

KTMU gives the time of construction of this bāhā as seventeenth century, but cites no evidence for this date. There is a Malla period copper-plate inscription attached to the building; it conveys an invitation to a Samyak festival, but the date is illegible.

C. Jhwā Bāhā -- Ratnaketu Vihaṛa* [4]

Jhwā Bāhā consists of a series of three enclosed courtyards running east and west, plus another small courtyard just to the north of the eastern courtyard. The central courtyard is the site of the original Jhwā Bāhā. Along the northern side of the courtyard was the shrine of the kwapa-dya and along the southern side is the original shrine of the agam-dya where Ācāryeuyegu initiaitions are still performed. However, the agam-dya is now kept in a small room in the western courtyard adjoining the present Jhwā Bāhā. There are two votive caityas in the centre of the middle courtyard.

The western courtyard is the site of the present Jhwā Bāhā, a private branch of Nhu-Jhwā Bāhā. The entrance to the shrine of the kwapa-dya along the southern side, is marked by two stone lions and an archway with oil lamps set into it. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the central position. The kwapa-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The facade is painted with frescoes depicting the five Buddhas and other Buddhist deities. Above this is an overhanging veranda faced in rough, unpainted wood and supported by carved struts depicting the pūjā-devis. This section is clearly a recent addition or renovation and comprises living quarters. In the courtyard is a single caitya.

This private branch is supposed to have been built by Kusum Deva, and most of his descendants still live within this compound and constitute the 'sangha' of this private foundation. This sangha still performs the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kwapa-dya. Service is by households and the term of service is an entire year. At the present time there is no annual festival, which informant says is because it is not an official branch. The branch sangha has one elder. The bāhā has no income at the present time. Little is known about the early history of Jhwā Bāhā other than the oral tradition, and there are no inscription or images of great antiquity in the complex. The earliest reference to the bāhā comes from two manuscripts whose colophons speak of Jhwa Bahara in Suvarkapārī. They are dated N.S.773 and 776. The earliest reference to the Sanskrit name comes from a manuscript dated N.S.888 which was written by one Sakyamuni, who lived in Ratnaketu Mahavihara in Suvarkaparni (sic) Mahanagara. Oral tradition says that one Lalita Vajra, the precceptor of founder of this bāhā, grew a tree here which bore gems, but when his descendants failed to observe the precepts of the Buddha the gems all fell to the ground. Others say that he caused gems to rain down from the sky. The legend is connected with the Sanskrit name of the bāhā, ratnaketu = jewel banner.

D. Jotiya Bāhā -- Triratneketu Vihaṛa [5]

This is a small, modern shrine of brick and
Diagram of Jhwa Baha Complex

1. The present private kwapa-dya shrine of the Nuwakot Gurujus

2. Site of the original kwapa-dyashrine which housed the image now enshrined at Nhu Baha [10]

3. Site of the original Agam shrine where Acaluyegu initiations are still held for the entire sangha

5. Jyotiya Baha, a small private branch
6. Makhan Bāhār -- Ratnakīrti Mahāvihāra

Makhan Bāhār is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off the Makhan Tole road. All the buildings in the courtyard, except the shrine of the kātyā, appear rather recent. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and an archway with oil lamps set into it. The shrine on the ground floor has a carved doorway flanked by images of Sariputra and Maudgalyāyana and surmounted by a torana showing only the figure of Ākṣobhya facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The facade has been plastered and has frescoes of the five transcendent Buddhas and Avalokiteśvara plus other Buddhist deities. Above this are two more storeys of ordinary living quarters, evidently of fairly recent origin. The first of these storeys has an overhanging balcony surrounded by plain lattice windows. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted by a single gajura. In the courtyard are one 'Aśoka' caitya and nine other votive caityas, none of any great antiquity.

The saṅgha of Makhan Bāhār consists of forty-three households of Vajracaryas and two of Sakyas with a total membership of one hundred twenty-five Vajracaryas and seven Sakyas. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the saṅgha in turn. The terms of service is one month and passes through the households in turn. Within each household, however, service passes from eldest to youngest. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Vajrayogini at Sankhu. The saṅgha is governed by a group of five elders. Though the annual festival, which used to be held on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Magha, is no longer held, the saṅgha has several other gūthīs which are still functioning. Seventeen of the households belong to a Nāṣa gūthī. There is another gūthī known as the Eighty Four Gūthī, so called because at the annual meeting of this gūthī it is the custom for the one whose turn it is to conduct the festival to feed the entire saṅgha, and for this feast he has to prepare eighty-four different dishes of food. There is also a gūthī whose duty it is to perform pūjās at the following places: Palanchok Bhagavati, Kāl Bhairava (at Hanūmān Dhokā), Sobā Bhagavati, Akās Bhairava, and the shrine of Sāntipur at Swayambhū.

The earliest reference to this bāhā is found in an inscription at Swayambhū commemorating the setting up of a caitya in the year N.S.694. The priest who performed the consecration ceremony was Vajracarya Bhikṣu Śrī Dakaśinha of Makhan Bāhār. The oldest inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.792 and commemorates the setting up of the stone lions in that year. The Sanskrit name of the bāhā is confirmed by a reference to the monastery in a manuscript dated N.S.819. Ratna Kaji Vajracarya refers to an oral tradition preserved by the saṅgha that the bāhā was founded by the great preceptor Sāntikar Ācārya. However, this bit of folklore is based on a misunderstanding. The Vajracaryas of Makhan Bāhār have the right and duty to enter the sacred shrine of Sāntipur once a month to perform the monthly rituals there and to go into the shrine to perform special rituals especially in times of drought. They also have in their possession a book containing the rituals for this nāga sādhana. This book has been handed down from generation to generation, supposedly from the time of Sāntikar Ācārya himself. Some at Makhan Bāhār say that since they have this book and since they alone have the right to perform these rituals in Sāntipur, their bāhā must have been founded by Sāntikar Ācārya himself. However, informants at Musum Bāhā [89] say that the book and the rights which
accompany it once belonged to the sāṅgha of Musum Bhä. It was lost to Musum Bhä when the book and all the rights went with a daughter, the sole heir of the Vajracarya who held those rights, as part of her dowry when she married a man from Makhañ Bhä. The Thakāḷi of Makhañ Bhä has confirmed that indeed the book did come from Musum Bhä and he says that this took place in the time of King Laksāṁnarasiśa Mallā (c. N.S. 737-761). Laksāṁnarasiśa was the father of Pratīpa Mallā. It certainly seems that by the time of Pratīpa Mallā it was the Vajracaryas of Makhañ Bhä who had the right to enter the shrine. A painting of Pratīpa Mallā's entrance to bring rain notes in the accompanying explanation that he took with him one Bāre from Suwayaṁbhū go one Vajracarya (gutubhāra) from Makhañ Bhä.

A. Tuñ Cheñ Bhä -- Tutakṣām Vihāra [53] Makhañ Gallī

This branch bhä is located in an entirely closed courtyard in Makhañ Gallī just off of New Road Extension. The present shrine consists of four storeys, the upper two of which are ordinary living quarters and probably of fairly recent origin. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana showing Vajrasattva flanked by two attendants with yak tail fans. The kwopi-dya is a standing Buddha showing the vajra mudrā facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows. The facade has been plastered and there are fading frescoes of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and other deities. The balcony of the second story is supported by four seventeenth century struts. In the courtyard are five caityas, an image of Ganesh, one of Padmapāni Lokeśvara, and a well (hence the Newari name Tun Cheñ = 'Well House').

Though this is considered to be a branch of Makhañ Bhä there are at present no Bāre living within the compound. All the present residents are Udāya. The daily rituals are performed each day by the current dyā-pāḷā of Makhañ Bhä. The annual festival of this branch, which used to be held on aksaya tritiya, is no longer held.

Nothing is known about the history of this branch bhä, but the terminus a quo is the seventeenth century because of the dated struts and one inscription dated N.S. 795. Presumably the site was once inhabited by Bāre from Makhañ Bhä, but it may have been built by Udāya who then called Bare from Makhañ Bhä to act as dyā-pāḷā in the shrine of the kuṭā-dya.

7. Itūm Bhä -- Bhāskara Deva Saṅskārita Śrī Kesāvācandra Kṛṣṇa Pārāvata Mahāvihāra* [44] Itūm Bhä Tole

Itūm Bhä is one of the largest and oldest of the bāhā complexes in the city of Kathmandu. A little west of Kilagal Tole one enters a narrow passageway which comes out into the southern end of a large, rectangular courtyard running north-south and surrounded on three sides by residential buildings. Off the western part of the courtyard are three subsidiary bāhā courtyards. The entire complex makes up Itūm Bhä, but Itūm Bhä proper is the second subsidiary courtyard. Over the entryway to this courtyard is an exquisitely carved wooden torana depicting the Buddha overcoming the Māras. Though the torana is undated it is surely sixteenth century or earlier. Passing through the doorway one comes into the main bāhā complex. Though the buildings are in a sad state of disrepair the bāhā has retained the original architecture of a continuous two storeyed building with open halls on the ground floor and carved windows above. The bāhā shrine is opposite the entrance and is marked by a pair of metal lions and a pair of stone lions flanked by large temple bells. Over the step leading into the shrine is an arch of oil lamps. The doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torana depicting a four-faced, six-armed tantric deity. The two main hands hold the bell and the vajra in the vajra hūmkāra mudrā. The other two right hands hold the sword and the wheel. The upper left hand symbol is damaged and unidentifiable; the lower hand holds the mirror. A four-faced, six-handed deity with these hand postures does not fit any of the descriptions of the Sādhana Mālā or Niśpanṇayogāvalī. Local informants have identified the figure as Māharatrisārā, one of the five Pañeacakāś deities. However these deities are all female and this figure is clearly male. On either side of the shrine doorway three prayer wheels are set into the facade of the shrine. The kuṭā-dya is an image of Āksobhya facing east. The simple tile roof of the shrine is supported by elaborate carved struts depicting tantric deities and adorned with five caitya. In the centre of the courtyard is an enshrined caitya and to the east of this a
202. Itum Baha [44]

203. Kayagu Nani [44a]
Itum Bāhā has a large sangha comprising about one hundred Vajracaryas and four hundred Sakyas. There are nine lineages of Sakyas and two of Vajracaryas. According to the oral tradition of the sangha all the Sakyas are descended from a common ancestor (some say Kesavacandra himself). This common ancestor had two sons. One of these sons had few descendants and all of his descendants now make up one lineage called the uś sangha. The other son had many descendants who now make up another group called the dakṣin sangha which has eight lineages. In addition to this there are two lineages of Vajracaryas. (It would seem that the Vajracaryas have another origin, though their lineage deity is the same as that of the Sakyas.) The governing board of eleven who supervise the life of the sangha is composed of the elder of the uś sangha lineage, the eight elders of the eight lineages making up the dakṣin sangha and the two eldest of each of the two lineages of Vajracaryas. The post of head of each of the Sakya lineages passes down the line of brothers, and after the death of the last brother through the next generation of sons of these brothers, from the sons of the eldest brother through those of the youngest brother. (This is the same system which Jang Bahadur Rana used for the succession of the Rana prime ministers.) The post of head of the two Vajracarya lineages, however, passes directly to the eldest son of the deceased incumbent. In an arrangement unique to these sanghas which are a mixed group of Sakyas and Vajracaryas, the two posts of chief elder (Thāyapa) and Cakreśvara are always held by the elders of the two lineages of Vajracaryas. In all other bahās with a mixed sangha the post of chief elder (Thāyapa) is held by the eldest initiated member irrespective of whether he is a Sakya or Vajracarya. The post of Cakreśvara is always held by a Vajracarya.

The daily rituals performed at Itum Bāhā are fuller than those performed at most bahās today. However, even here things have been considerably simplified. At dawn the ceremony of awakening the deity is performed, at about nine in the morning the usual nītya pūjā, at about two thirty in the afternoon a standard pāncopacāra pūjā and in the evening the ārati. Formerly the term of service in the shrine was eight days, and terms of service alternated between the Sakya and Vajracarya lineages. However, at the present time the daily rituals are always performed by the Cakreśvara who acts in the name of the man who is supposed to be performing the service. For this service he is paid a stipend by those whose place he is taking. He performs rituals only in the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya in the main complex, but once each day must circumambulate the entire complex ringing the bell (to summon worshippers) and carrying the key of the kuṇāpā-dya shrine.

The annual festival of the bāhā is celebrated from the eighth to the twelfth days of the dark half of the month of Caitra. On the tenth day of the fortnight, all the members of the sangha who wish to enter the shrine of the āgam deity must begin a fast. On the eleventh day the eleven elders of the sangha perform an elaborate homa sacrifice. Another annual festival is kept on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguṇ when the founder of the bāhā, Kesavacandra, is commemorated. At the time of Gūjā the Prajñāpāramitā is recited and for this all the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu are invited. After the recitation there is a feast for all those invited. During this same month the treasures of the sangha are put on display on the seventh day of the dark half of the month. Itum Bāhā certainly had one of the most impressive collections of Buddhist treasures: books, images, and a long painted banner portraying the history of the bāhā. However, fewer and fewer items are put up for display each year. Informants say that this is because of the fear of theft, but it is clear that many items have disappeared. In fact, in 1983 the image of the āgam deity was stolen from the āgam shrine.

Tradition also says that there is some connection between this bāhā and the annual festival of Bunga Dya in Patan-Bungamati. According to informants at Itum Bāhā the pāṇḍuṣ of Bungamati must come to Itum Bāhā before the Bathing Ceremony of Bunga-dya in order to draw water from the well at Itum Bāhā which they must then
use for the bathing ceremonies.

Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. However initiations are usually held only every twelve years, the last having been held in 1973 when about one hundred boys were initiated. Customs regarding initiations at Itūm Bāhā show two curious aspects. According to custom a child must be at least nine months old when he receives the Barechuyegu, but a child who is only seven months old may be initiated because it is permitted to count the last two months in the womb. Secondly if one marries a girl from within the saṅgha, no matter how distantly related, the marriage is considered to be irregular and the sons of such a union cannot be given the Barechuyegu. (This is true in the case of almost all bāhā saṅghas.) If a Sakya member of the saṅgha marries a girl from a bāhī, his son may be initiated but cannot serve as head of the lineage or as an elder of the saṅgha. However, if this son in turn marries a girl from a bāhā, his son (the grandson of the man who married a bāhī girl) regains the full rights of the saṅgha. This curious custom confirms the general impression that members of a bāhī saṅgha are considered (at least by the Ācārya Gūṭhī) to be inferior to members of a bāhā. In the case of Itūm Bāhā the special regulation allowing the descendants of such a marriage to regain their rights seems to have been necessary because of the close relationship between Śyāngu Bāhī [94] at Swayambhu (quod vide) and Itūm Bāhā which resulted in frequent cases of marriage exchanges between these two saṅghas.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the enshrined caitya at Vajrayogini, Sankhu. At the present time the annual puja to this deity is performed in Kāyagu Nāni, the large quadrangle outside the shrine proper. Many have forgotten who the lineage deity is and say it has always been at Kāyagu Nāni, but some members of the saṅgha have kept the memory of the identity alive by going to Sankhu at least occasionally to perform the annual puja. Again, some identify the deity as Vajrayogini herself, but others say it is the caitya, and the dya-pālās at Vajrayogini say that all lineage deity puja are done to the caitya, never to Vajrayogini. At one time this bāhā had a considerable income from over three hundred sixty ropanīs of land, but most of this has been lost, leaving only about twelve ropanīs at the present time.

For the history of Itūm Bāhā we have perhaps more historical evidence than for any of the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūṭhī, but even this data gives us only a few tantalizing glimpses with no possibility of filling out the picture. This is the only bāhā of the Ācārya Gūṭhī whose Sanskrit name has preserved the name of the founder. The name indicates that the Pārāvata Mahāvihāra was built by one Keśāvacandra and consecrated (or founded) by one Bhāskara Deva. Wright's chronicle gives a legend recounting the foundation of this bāhā. In the reign of one Harideva there was in Kantipur a Thakuri by the name of Bhāskara Malla who had a son called 'Kesachandra'. This young man was a minor when his father died, and with no firm hand to guide him, he took to evil ways, spending much of his time gambling. Having lost everything because of his gambling, he went to Paṣupati and begged food from the 'Kritamukha Bhairava' there. He was given a meal but the rice was rotten and full of maggots. Begging some more rice he mixed this with the rotten rice and spread it all out to dry in the sun. While he was sleeping pigeons came and ate the rice. They were told by the Bhairava to leave something in return for this, and they left behind golden dung. As a result of this 'Kesachandra' became a rich man and married the daughter of King Harideva. His own son died in his youth, and after performing the son's funeral rites Kesachandra decided to build a vihāra in which he then placed an image of the Buddha and left an endowment to feed pigeons. He named this Pārāvata (Pigeon) Mahāvihāra, because all of his wealth had been derived from the pigeons. Later he retired to this vihāra and lived as a devotee of the Buddha. It is very difficult to ascertain what elements of historical truth this legend gives us. Starting from the date of N.S.111 which the chronicle gives for the great-grandfather of Harideva and adding to this the years of reign attributed to Harideva's father and grand-father, we come to the conclusion that Harideva would have been ruling about A.D.1088. There was no king by that name at this time as far as we know, and this whole line of kings is clearly misplaced in the chronicle or a fabrication. It is very tempting to identify this man with the Bhāskaradeva who we know was ruling at least from A.D.1045 to 1047, but there is no evidence to support this identification; and the chronicle does not even make this Bhāskaradeva a
There is a reference in the Gopālārājāvamāvāli to Ituṅ Bāhā under the date of N.S.361, where it is referred to as the 'fort of Yatum Bahārā in Yambu [the southern part of Kathmandu].' The first contemporary dated reference to Ituṅ Bāhā comes from the colophon a manuscript dated N.S.478 which gives the full Sanskrit title for the bāhā when referring to one 'Sākyabhikṣu Buddhācārya Śrī Rājabrahma' who lives in 'Śrī Bāshkaradēva Sāṃskārita Śrī Kesāvacandra Kṛita Mahāvīhāra in Koligrāma'. In N.S.502 the wife of the powerful feudatory Madanārama of Banēpa, Jaitralakṣmī, donated an image of Āryatārā and had it installed in 'Pārāvata Mahāvīhāra'. The image of Tārā and the inscription are still in place in Tārā Nanī. The inscription further mentions that Madanārama himself donated an image of Dīpaṅkara to the bāhā; this image is still at the bāhā. A palmleaf manuscript of N.S.612 was executed by one 'Bhiṅgū Śrī Hākūjū of Śrī Śrī Bāshkaradēva Sāṃskārita Śrī Kesāvacandrākṛta Pārāvata Mahāvīhāra'. A document dated N.S.682 and issued from Ko Bāhā in Patan invites the deity and the saṅgha of Śrī Bāshkaradēva Sāṃskārita Śrī Pārāvata Mahāvīhāra to a saṃyak ceremony and feast in Ko Bāhā. The invitation is extended to Sākyamuni Buddha and his followers: the head of the saṅgha (sthavira) and the entire saṅgha including upāsakas, Vajrācārayas, Bhiṅgūs, Sramaneras and Cailakas.

In N.S.714 one Sākyabhikṣu Śrī Gudocandra set up a gūthi for the regular observance of the saṃyak ceremony at Ituṅ Bāhā. He had a new image of Dīpaṅkara made. He had copies of the Prajñāpāramitā and the Guṇapakarandavijñāna made in golden letters to be recited at the time of the saṃyak. He donated a golden Dharmaśānta Caiyā and all the vessels needed for the pūjās performed at the time of the saṃyak. He made arrangements for a park area where the ceremony would be held in perpetuity. He donated a large amount of agricultural land to ensure the perpetual observance of this saṃyak ('as long as the sun and moon shall shine'). The king of Kathmandu, Sivasiṅha Malla, was present at the inaugural ceremonies of the gūthi when the first saṃyak was held. The sun, however, set with the coming of the king of Gorkha. As a result of the blockade which Prithuṅnarayan Shah inflicted on the Valley and the economic hardships following on his conquest, the saṃyak was discontinued.

Finally, when the king inquired why the ceremony was no longer held it was decided to hold a joint saṃyak every twelve years at Bhuikhel using the funds from the gūthis of three such ceremonies that had been regularly held in Kathmandu.

It is well known that Pratāp Malla had a famous Vajrācārya guru by the name of Jāman Gubhāji who initiated him into the Buddhist tantras. According to Wright's chronicle Jamān Gubhāji advised his disciple the king to repair the famous Ituṅ Bāhā built by 'Keśachandra'. That there was a renovation of Ituṅ Bāhā at this time is confirmed by two inscriptions. The first states that in the year N.S.783 a great ceremony was held on the occasion of donations. (What was donated is not clear from the inscription.) The officiating priest at this ceremony was one Vajrācārya Śrī Vyākhasinā Daiva of Tarumūla Mahāvīhāra. The second inscription is dated N.S.788 and records repairs made to the Vajrācārya Caiyā in front of the shrine of Akośbyā. Both inscriptions mention the current head of the 'saṅgha (sthavira)' Vajrācārya Śrī Buddha. In N.S. 832 a number of Sākyabhikṣus donated money to set up an image of 'Ratnamuni Akōgbyā'. The image was consecrated by a Vajrācārya from Makhān Bāhā and one from Sīkamū Bāhā. KTMU reports that Ituṅ Bāhā was last renovated in A.D.1862.

There is another very curious legend attached to this bāhā and its foundation, the legend of Guru Māpā. When Keśavacandra awoke from his sleep and found the golden dung left by the pigeons he also found there a demon by the name of Guru Māpā. At first he was afraid of the demon but won him over by calling him 'uncle' and enlisted his help to carry the gold home. As a reward he gave the demon the right to consume the bodies of dead children. When it became generally known that Guru Māpā devoured the bodies of dead children, parents began to threaten their children when they were exasperated by them by saying, 'Let Guru Māpā take you.' The demon took them at their word and began to devour live children. The people appealed to Keśavacandra to do something about this, and he made a deal with the demon. Keśavacandra banished the demon to a large open field he had recently bought called the Tūṅgikhel and promised that the field would forever remain his and no buildings would be built on it. He further promised that he would set up a
gūthī to provide Guru Māpā with a great feast of boiled rice and buffalo meat once a year. This feast is still kept in February of each year when the meal of rice and meat is taken to the Tundikhel to feed Guru Māpā. Inside Itum Bāhā, in the northeast corner of the shrine is a wooden mask of Guru Māpā. At the time of the annual showing of the bāhā treasures in the month of Sravan, the main attraction is a long banner painting which portrays the history of the bāhā. Much of the banner is taken up with the portrayal of this legend.

Itum Bāhā has no official branches in other parts of the city, but there are five complexes at Itum Bāhā itself which house the members of the sangha and are often referred to as branch bāhās, though none of these have kwāpā-dyas as such and none of them really have separate branch sanghas. In addition to these there is one small private branch nearby and another large bāhā which retains a connection to Itum Bāhā, i.e. Yatkhā Bāhā. I treat all of these here.

a. Kāyagu Nani -- Asoka Maṇḍapa Vihāra [44a]

   This is the large rectangular courtyard off of which all the other complexes open. There is no kwāpā-dya as such here, but at the southern end of the area is a bāhā shrine which houses the āgām deity of the bāhā in an upper room. The ground floor room is empty. Over the doorway is a wooden torana depicting Mahāvairocana.

b. Baku Nani -- Kutuṅ Vihāra [44b]

   Just west of the Itum Bāhā complex along a small passageway out of Sasu Nani is another complex called Dhananju Caitya or sometimes Duĩ Bāhā. The compound contains a small enshrined caitya. The name Duĩ Bāhā comes from the fact that a group of Jyāpūs, whose sub-caste name is Duĩ, come to this bāhā at the time of Indra Jātā. They bring with them their own image of Ajāsa Bhairava which they set up here and worship, staying for the time of the festival in the buildings around the courtyard. Though there are some Sakyas who live here, most of the people living in the compound are also Jyāpūs.

c. Tārā Nani -- Dharmacakra Vihāra [44c]

   This is the third complex off to the left. None of the original buildings of this courtyard remain, but in the centre of the courtyard is the shrine of Ārya Tārā. The shrine consists of a small cella with a veranda round it and a double metal roof crowned by a single finial. The image of Tārā is the one donated in N.S.502' by the wife of Madana Rama Vardhana of Banepa. Over the doorway of the shrine is a metal torana depicting Tārā.

The nitya puja of this image of Tārā is always performed by the eldest member of the Sakya lineages. This man is automatically a member of the samyak gūthī for the twelve year samyak festival held at Swayambhū. This gūthī is made of one man each from Itum Bāhā, Tāchā Bāhā [49] and Lagaṅ [80] Bāhā, though the work of preparation is actually done by an Udāya. At the time of the last samyak it was the turn of the man from Itum Bāhā to make the arrangements and finance the festival, but all rights and duties were handed over to one Jogratna Sindurakār who was subsequently decorated by the King for his services.
Tamuga Bähā consists of a small plastered shrine of the Buddha set against a building in a narrow courtyard. Over the doorway to the shrine is a metal repousse torana depicting the Buddha (Vajrasattva, flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śādakṣāri Lokeshvara) on his left. The kuśā-pā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard are also a caitya, an image of the goddess Kumari and a well.

This is a purely private branch of Itutm Bähā. It has no proper saṅgha as such, but is looked after by the family which founded it and who perform the usual rituals each morning. There is no annual festival and no income. Nothing is known about the foundation of this bähā, but there are two inscriptions on the caitya one dated N.S.835 and one dated N.S.865. KTMV indicates that the bähā itself was founded only in A.D.1936, which may well be correct.

B. Yatkhā Bähā -- Bhāskarakīrti Viḥāra [38]
Yatkhā Tole

This bähā consists of a very large courtyard surrounded by residential houses with a large stupa, reminiscent of the Suayambhū Mahā-caitya, in the centre. The bähā shrine itself, which is of recent construction is simply the ground floor room of a building opposite the entrance. However, the wooden torana over the doorway is one of the most unusual of all the toranas found in the bähās and probably dates to the twelfth century. It consists of a freize of seven figures with the Buddha sitting in the centre and preaching, with his right hand in the abhaya mudrā and his left in the meditation pose. Behind the seated figures are what appears to be a series of rocks, a device often used in early iconography to symbolise the Himalayas. The seven figures are surmounted by a large Kirtimukha with two makaras in the corners below. The makaras face inward, the only example of this on a torana. The kuśā-pā-dya in the shrine is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. The storey above the shrine has a finely carved five-fold window and the top storey, which has living quarters, is covered with a tile roof supported by four of the yaksiṇī struts similar to those at Itutm Bähā.

At the present time this bähā has no saṅgha of initiated Bāres and is inhabited entirely by Udāya, except for one Vajracarya, from Itutm Bähā, who resides at the shrine and acts as the dya-pālā in the shrine of the kuśā-pā-dya. It seems that the annual festival is no longer observed and the bähā has no income.

Little is known about the history of this bähā, but the twelfth century torana and the yaksiṇī struts, plus the enormous stupa in the center indicate an ancient foundation. Popular legends associate the foundation of this bähā with the Malla king Bhāskara Malla (A.D.1700-1719), but this is entirely too late and the attribution seems to come merely from the Sanskrit name of the bähā. Hem Raj Sakya relates the foundation of the bähā to the Thakuri King Bhāskara Deva and says that according to oral legends the wife of Bhāskara Deva founded this bähā with the stipulation that the game of this monastery commemorate her husband. Furthermore, the image of the Buddha in the kuśā-pā-dya shrine is a nineteenth century image, and there is a tradition among the people that the original image, wood covered with silver, was stolen by the soldiers of Mukunda Sen at the time of his invasion of the Valley and taken to Palpa. An inscription inside of the kuśā-pā-dya shrine says that in N.S.826 a gūthi was formed for the worship of Sakyamuni Buddha. There is an inscription near the main doorway which states that the doorway was repaired in N.S.830 by one Trailokya. In N.S.859 the main caitya was repaired. In N.S.899 the seat of the Buddha image was also repaired. Though informants at Itutm Bähā told me that this bähā once belonged to Itutm Bähā and was presumably a branch of that main bähā, the Udāya who live here and who now own the property insist that it has always been theirs.

i. Dhanasimha Bähā -- Samantabhadra Viḥāra [37]
Yatkhā Bähā

This is a purely private shrine located in the south east corner of the Yatakāh Bähā complex. It is a foundation of the Udāya who live here. A latticed doorway on the ground floor indicates the entrance to the shrine of the kuśā-pā-dya which contains an image of the Buddha in dhyāna mudrā holding in his hands three jewels. The image faces north. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the Udāya family who founded this shrine. One Dhanasimha Tāmākār whose family lived in the Yatakāh Bähā complex built this bähā in the middle of the last century. In
210. Dhanasimha Baha [37]

211. Sawai Baha [50]
N.S. 983, when he returned from Tibet he donated money for a gûthi at Suwambhûnath, helped to repair the large clay image at Buddha Bârî [F], and set up this bâhâ. At his expense repairs were begun to the Suwambhû Caitya in N.S. 983. Before the repairs were completed he died and his son Harãa Ratha Tamrâkâr completed the work and the consecration ceremonies were performed in N.S. 987. Though this shrine is counted among the bâhâs of Kathmandu, it has never had a sangha of initiated Baire, but is simply the private shrine of the Udâya family who founded it.

8. Sawal Bâhâ -- Mantrasiddhi Mahâvihâra [50] Guccâ Tole

Sawal Bâhâ lies down a small lane off of Guccâ Tole. The bâhâ complex has retained little of the architecture of a bâhâ, being a residential courtyard with the shrine of the kwâpâ-dya on the ground floor of a simple, unadorned residential building of four storeys. The only indications that this is a shrine are a pair of small, stone lions in front of the ground level entrance to the shrine and a torana over the doorway. The torana is of wood and shows the five Buddhas with Dharmâchâtu Vâgisvâra in the centre. This is the only tantric figure, the other four Buddhas are represented in their ordinary, non-tantric form. The kwâpâ-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. In front of the kwâpâ-dya shrine are two, small plastered caityas. The most curious aspect of this complex is a shrine on the south side of the courtyard. This is the âgam chêni of the Karmâcâryas, the Hindu tantric priests of the Taleju temple. The temple contains an image of Durga and over the doorway is a wooden torana of Mahisasuramardini-durga donated in N.S. 800. No one has been able to explain this curious arrangement of a Hindu âgam chêni within a bâhâ. There is an oral tradition which says that Pra-tap Mall, as a favour to his tantric Hindu priests, erected this shrine for them.

At the present time the sangha of Sawal Bâhâ consists of two lineages, now broken down to thirty five households comprising one hundred thirty five Vajracaryas. The distinction between the two lineages is important as one lineage constitutes a gûthi whose task is the worship of Bhadrakâli and the other constitutes a gûthi whose duty is the worship of the Mahânkâl situated on the edge of the Tuñjîkhel opposite the Military Hospital. Most of the members of the sangha no longer live within the bâhâ complex but are scattered around Kathmandu. The members of the sangha take turns serving in the shrine of the bâhâ performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Service is for a period of eight days only and passes in turn through the thirty five households. Both Barechuyegu and Acâlyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the sangha, but at irregular intervals usually about once in eleven years. The sangha has two annual feasts one in Kârtik which is the official festival of the sangha. The other is at the time of Ghoça Jâtrâ when the members of the sangha cook a meal of buffalo meat and take it to the Bhadrakâli temple where the feast takes place. Neither of these festivals, however, are the buses dañ. This has been discontinued. However, they do occasionally observe the buses dañ festival of the main caitya in the courtyard. The sangha has only two elders, the eldest initiated member of each of the two lineages. The lineage deity of the sangha is Āju-Ajîma at Kusi Bâhi [92]. At the time of the annual pûâ of the lineage deity, all the members of the sangha gather for the rituals, but they have two separate feasts one for each lineage.

There is a surprising lack of historical data on this bâhâ, despite the fact that the Vajracaryas of this bâhâ play a very prominent role in the worship of many of the principal deities of Kathmandu: Mahânkâl, Bhadrakâli, Seto Mâtsyendranâth (Jana Bâhâ Dya), etc. and serve as priests for a very large number of Kathmandu families. (One man alone has over three hundred Udâya families as his Jajmâns.) There are no inscriptions within the bâhâ, no 'Licchavi' caityas (unless the modern, plastered caityas conceal older ones); there are no references to this bâhâ in manuscript collections or in inscriptions listing various Vajracaryas who performed rituals in various parts of the Valley. There is one reference to this bâhâ in a palmleaf document dated N.S. 781 which speaks of the Ācârya of Kushi Bâhâ and the Thakâlî of Sawal Bâhâ, one Guruju Hâküdeva. The torana over the shrine of the kwâpâ-dya is dated N.S. 805 at which time it was repaired. These two references constitute the sum of evidence for the existence of this bâhâ in the Malla period to date. About a hundred years ago, one Vajracarya Samantabhadra undertook a renovation of this bâhâ. At that time he put up an in-
scription which states that the bähā was (at that time) thirteen hundred years old, but there is no corroborating evidence for this date. At that time the old image of the kuwāpā-dya, which was made of clay and badly decayed, was replaced with the present image and an image of Lokesvāra was added.

There is a tradition that this bähā was moved from an original site in the eastern part of the city of Kathmandu. This tradition may well be true as there is a caitya in that place to this day which is said to mark the original site of the bähā, and the area is still known as Sawal Bähā Tole. The caitya as it stands is a modern renovation, the original parts of which are impossible to date. Oral tradition, on the other hand, gives a great antiquity to the present site. One Sāsvatavajra, a famous tantric preceptor who is credited with the establishment of both the Bhadra kalī temple and the Mahānkālī temple, is said to have been a member of this bähā. This tradition places him in the Licchavi period, though he may well belong to the late Malla period. A few years ago when a new building was being constructed within the bähā, it was discovered that there is a brick pavement about two feet below the present level of the courtyard. Nothing, however, is known about the date of this earlier pavement.

Two current customs indicate that there is some connection between this bähā and Jana Bähā [45]. First, both sanghas have the same lineage deity at Khusī Bahi, the only two sanghas to have this lineage deity. Secondly, one of the Vajracaryas from Sawal Bähā always acts as the priest at Jana Bähā for bähā functions such as the Barechuyegu initiations and for all rituals associated with the White Matsyendranāth (Jana Bähā Dya), despite the fact that there are Vajracaryas in the sangha of Jana Bähā.

A. Āju Bähā -- Dasabala Vihāra [51]
Guccā Tole

Āju Bähā stands right on the street in the middle of Guccā Tole. Until recently the shrine was a brick structure of three storeys surmounted by a cupola. Except for the carved doorway and torana of the shrine plus four carved struts supporting the roof it had the appearance of an ordinary house. The wooden torana depicted Dharma dhātu Vāgīśvara. The first storey of the shrine had one large lattice window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey had three openings and the roof was tile. Evidently the struts and the torana had been salvaged from an earlier structure. This was the state of the bähā at the time of the survey published in Kṣetra and a photo of this shrine can be seen there. However, since that time the old building has been torn down and the present even plainer building has no torana and no cupola. The kuwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. In front of the shrine of the kuwāpā-dya are two plastered caityas.

According to tradition this branch was built by the daughter of a man from Sawal Bähā and it became a branch of Sawal Bähā. Later the last surviving Vajracarya of this branch died without a son and left the property to a cousin (son of his maternal uncle) who was a member of Takṣa Bähā [15]. Hence it automatically became a branch of Takṣa Bähā. More recently it has been given (or sold) back to people belonging to Sawal Bähā, so it has again become a branch of Sawal Bähā. This is a good example of the way these branch bähās can pass from one bähā to another, or as the people themselves say, be "captured" by another bähā. The daily rituals are now performed by the man from Sawal Bähā who lives here, but there is no organised sangha as such. The annual festival is no longer observed and the bähā has no income. Nothing else is known about the history or founding of this bähā, and there are no dated inscriptions left.

B. Jogmuni Bähā -- Jagatoddhāra Vihāra* [104]
Bhikkel, Swayambhū

This is a modern foundation, consecrated in 1951 by Jogmuni Vajracarya of Sawal Bähā. It sits in a small courtyard in Bhikkel at the foot of the Swayambhu hill. The buildings are simple residential style buildings, but there is a caitya in the centre of the courtyard, a simple, undecorated kuwāpā-dya shrine and an anāgan. The kuwāpā-dya is a seated Maitreya Bodhisattva. This bähā was established by Jogmuni Vajracarya to promote the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism and was envisaged as a school with place for students to live. It was established in 1951, immediately after the overthrow of the Rana government, and King Tribhuvan graced the inauguration ceremonies. The hope was to establish a centre of Buddhist studies teaching Sanskrit, Pali, and English up to the middle classes. In addition to this the curriculum was to include
the study of the ancient scripts of Nepal and Buddhist philosophy; and it was hoped that it would become a centre for the revival and development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Unfortunately, the hopes were not realized and after two years regular classes ceased. However, it has remained a centre of study, as many interested in Mahāyāna Buddhism continue to consult Jogumi Vajracarya, and several Mahāyāna texts translated into Newari have been published from the baha.

I treat this foundation here in connection with Sawal Baha, but the only connection to Sawal Baha is the fact that it was founded by a member of that sangha. It is purely a private foundation over which the other members of the sangha have no rights and in turn have no duties toward it. Hence there is no sangha as such and no initiations take place here. The foundation has no fixed income.


Asan-Takse Baha

Takse Baha is situated in a small enclosed courtyard just off of Asan Tole. The shrine of four storeys is all that is left of the original buildings and the brickwork is still in fair shape. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions each flanked by large temple bells. Over the doorway is a metal torana depicting Mahāvairocana. The kuapa-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has a finely carved, five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows and surmounted by a wooden torana also depicting Mahāvairocana. The projecting balcony of the second storey is supported by carved struts. Above the corrugated roof over this balcony is another storey with three squat windows. The corrugated roof is surmounted by three small gajka. In the courtyard are an 'Asoka' caitya covered by a metal canopy, and three other votive caityas. Inside the shrine are several images of Lokeshvara and one of Prajnaparamita.

The sangha at the present time consists of twenty two families of Vajracaryas comprising one hundred twenty eight members. The daily rituals are performed by the members of the sangha by turn. The term of service is one lunar fortnight and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. They used to perform rituals three times during the day, but now perform only the morning nitya puja and the evening arati. The annual festival of the baha used to be an elaborate celebration lasting for thirteen days during which each household used to perform an elaborate puja. At the present time the festival is observed very modestly on Aksaya Tritiya in the month of Baisakh. The governing body of the sangha consists of five elders; and both Barechuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the sangha. The lineage deity is Guhyesvari at Pasupatinath. At the present time the baha has no income.

There is a very close connection between this baha and Maha Baha [48] affirmed by their common lineage deity Guhyesvari and their joint responsibility for the continuance of the worship of the Maha Baha Kumari.

The most famous member of this sangha was one Suratavajra, a famous tantric who is said to have written a commentary on the Hevajra Tantra. The founder of this foundation here in connection with Sawal Baha is said to have written a commentary on the Hevajra Tantra. There is in the National Archives a copy of a commentary on the Hevajra Sadhana of Saruwa-pada written by one Pandit Acarya Sura-tapada. Unfortunately this manuscript is not...
dation is probably much older than this. At the present time most of the people living in the courtyard are have all the rights and duties of the

They perform the usual rituals each morning and of only one

is N.S.804, the date of the erection of one of

The earliest date available for this bāhā is N.S.804, the date of the erection of one of the votive caityas in the courtyard. The foundation is probably much older than this. At the present time most of the people living in the courtyard are Udāya.

B. Tekān Bāhā -- Bodhiprabhāna Vihāra [19]

This bāhā is situated in a small courtyard behind the row of houses off the main street in Kamalāksi. The entire complex is in a sad state of disrepair with the bāhā shrine wedged in the south west corner. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden torana showing Dharmadātu Vajāśvara. The kuwā-p-dya was an image of Amoghapāsa Lokēśvara but has now disappeared. The first storey has a finely carved triple window and above that is a carved, overhanging balcony with living quarters. In front of the shrine is a single votive caitya.

According to informants this was originally a branch of Takṣe Bāhā, later taken over by Udāya. Finally the Udāya had only daughters, and after the last of the original families died it was abandoned. The image of the kuwā-p-dya has disappeared and the daily rituals are no longer performed. KTMV gives the date 1551 (N.S.771) as the date of the construction of this bāhā, but gives no basis for the date. At the present time there are no inscriptions in the courtyard.

C. Kwathu Bāhā -- Aśokavāpṣa Vihāra [14]

Asan Tole

Nothing is left of this former branch of Takṣe Bāhā but two images and a caitya inside of a small storeroom, full of baskets, behind the shops facing the main road. Evidently the buildings of the bāhā fell into complete ruin, perhaps as a result of the 1934 earthquake, and the resident Vajrācāryas abandoned the place. The two images remaining are of Aṃtābha (evidently the kuwā-p-dya salvaged from the ruins of the shrine) and an image of Lokēśvara. No regular rituals are performed now by anyone, and the site is abandoned for all practical purposes. KTMV gives the time of foundation of this branch as sixteenth century, but gives no basis for this; at the present time there are no inscriptions left at the site.

10. Mū Bāhā -- Mūlasrī Mahāvihāra* [46]

Wotu Tole

Mū Bāhā is located in an enclosed courtyard in Wotu Tole surrounded by residential buildings. The present shrine is a fairly recent reconstruction using old materials: the doorway, torana, the five-fold window and small single windows. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing Nāma-saṅgīti. The kuwā-p-dya is an image of Aksobhya
facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows, the second storey has three large, finely carved windows and above this is an overhanging roof. The top storey has three large openings and the whole is covered by a corrugated iron roof. This top storey is evidently a later addition. In the courtyard are an 'Asoka' caitya and one small, votive caitya.

The sangha, consisting of four lineages, now has a total of fifteen families with one hundred twenty initiated Vajracaryas. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of the sangha in turn. The term of service is seven days and passes through the roster of the initiated from eldest to youngest. Unlike most bāhās today one may not get a substitute but must take his turn when it comes round. The annual festival is no longer held because of a lack of resources. There is a feast for the entire sangha only after initiation ceremonies or when someone undertakes to finance the feast. The only time a homa ritual is performed any more is when the shrine has been desecrated by a dog, some other unclean animal or someone who has not received the initiation. If one's daughter takes up this office irksome restrictions are placed on her whole family. Secondly, the financial rewards today are slim; in fact the whole business may well cost the girl's family considerable money. Fewer people are performing rituals which include the worship of the Kumārī, and offerings in these days of inflation remain what they have been for centuries.

The oral tradition at Mū Bāhā says that this foundation was first located near Paṣupati-nāth at a place called Pīm Bāhā. The institution of the Kumārī is associated with the legend of their move to the city of Kathmandu. They say that the members of the sangha were instructed by their lineage deity (Gūhyēsvāri) to move the bāhā to Kathmandu and to introduce there the worship of the Buddhist female principle incarnate in a living goddess.

The customs associated with the selection and worship of this Kumārī reveal a close connection between the sanghas of Mū Bāhā and Takṣe Bāhā [45]. Both of these sanghas have Gūhyēsvāri as their lineage deity, indicating a common origin, and both of them have the unique custom of performing the khadga jātrā on the eleventh rather than the tenth day of Daśain. Furthermore when a new Kumārī is selected the candidate is usually taken from the daughters of the sangha of Mū Bāhā. If there is no suitable girl there, she may be taken from the daughters of the members of Tadhaṃ Bāhā [69] or Asan Bāhā [17] (both Sakyā bāhās), and if there is no suitable girl there then from the daughters of Takṣe Bāhā. The members of the sangha of Takṣe Bāhā have a paramount role to play:

One of the most important features of the life of the sangha of this bāhā is the institution of the Mū Bāhā Kumārī. For the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu the worship of this Kumārī is far more important than that of the Royal Kumārī. She provides the most perfect representation of the female tantric deity Vajrādevī. They say that her superior status is confirmed by the fact that should the Royal Kumārī fall sick, her priests must send offerings to the Mū Bāhā Kumārī instead of the Royal Kumārī. Her importance to the Vajracarya community is evident from the fact that for whoever wishes to perform a Vajrayana ceremony which includes the worship of the living goddess, the first choice is always the Mū Bāhā Kumārī. However, the custom is in danger of dying out altogether. When the last Kumārī 'retired' in 1972 no family was willing to offer their daughter to take her place. By 1984 a replacement still had not been found. The reason for this appears to be twofold. If one's daughter takes up this office irksome restrictions are placed on her whole family. Secondly, the financial rewards today are slim; in fact the whole business may well cost the girl's family considerable money. Fewer people are performing rituals which include the worship of the Kumārī, and offerings in these days of inflation remain what they have been for centuries.

Though the living Kumārī resides at Mūbāhā and is . . . ten selected from its membership, the chakreswor . . . and five other elders of Tashibāhā [Takṣe Bāhā] act as the selection committee. The candidates, after initial pre-selection by Mūbāhā members in accordance with the usual physical criteria, are brought to the official Kumārī āgama located on the first floor directly over the bāhā entrance. The Chakreswor puts small rolls of paper in a ritual bowl (pātra) and his wife then gives one to each candidate. The girl who takes the piece with a thunderbolt (vajra) drawn on it becomes the next Kumārī—the living mani-
festation of Vajradevi. The girl selected is then placed beside the old Kumari on her throne or seat (josa) and the Chakreswor transfers the various items of jewelry and other insignia from one to another. He makes offerings of nuts to the old Kumari, then after she has left the seat he does likewise to the new one. Though associated rituals are performed, the girl is believed to have become Kumari at the moment the lottery result is made known.

As mentioned above the oral tradition of this sangha states that this foundation first existed near Pașupatinath at a place called Pim Baha or Sarvasiddhi Mahavihara. That there was such a foundation somewhere near Pașupatinath is a common tradition in the legends of the Valley. This sangha can be traced to that foundation, according to informants, confirmed by two bits of evidence. First is the fact that their lineage deity is Guhyesvari. Secondly there are a number of old manuscripts which refer to the members of this sangha as the 'Pim-baha acaryas of Mulasri Mahavihara in Wolu Tole.' Unfortunately there are no early confirmed dates for this baha or its sangha. The earliest date to come to light so far is that on an inscription dated N.S.764 which refers to a Tuladhar from the area of 'Mura Vihara'.

11. Te Baha -- Raja Kirti Mahavihara* [23]
Sivadeva Samskirti Sri Tedo
Mahavihara*


Te Baha is a large open space just west of the RNAC building off of New Road. It is surrounded by residential buildings and contains several shrines. Several published lists of the ahas give the Sanskrit name of this foundation as Pracanyavira Mahavihara, but the inscriptive evidence, and references in manuscripts speak only of Sri Tedo Vihara (the older Neuari name) and Raja Kirti Mahavihara. There are actually two baha shrines within this complex. The main one, and the one which houses the kwapa-dya of the sangha is situated among the buildings along the western side of the large open area. It is a simple, white-washed and plastered structure of three storeys. On either side of the plain doorway are images of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana. Over the door is a wooden torana depicting Mahavirocana surrounded by the other four Buddha in their non-tantric form. The kwapa-dya is an image of Akṣobhya, facing east. The first storey has three carved windows and above that a partial tile roof. The top storey has a triple opening surmounted by a tile roof and three finials.

In the centre of the large compound and facing the main shrine is the second baha shrine. This is known as Bandhudatta Mahavihara and according to legend was built by King Narendradeva for his acarya, Bandhudatta, after they successfully brought Matsyendranath (Buğadya) to the Valley of Nepal. Perhaps there was a second baha complex here at one time, but all that is left now is a squat one-storied building of brick with a tile roof. The building is just big enough to serve as a one-roomed shrine. The level of the plinth is about three feet above the ground level and in front of the plain, solid door of the shrine is a veranda. The kwapa-dya here is also Akṣobhya, facing west. There is no torana and no decoration of any kind on the building.

In the south-west corner of the complex is another shrine in a very good state of repair. At the present time this is the most important shrine within the complex and houses a deity popularly called Saṅkaṭā. The shrine is a two-storied, house-type structure which has been recently entirely renovated and painted. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted by five finials. The torana over the doorway portrays Saṅkaṭā and the struts supporting the roof portray the Pañcaraksā deities. The whole shrine is a curious addition to the baha. The image on the ground floor is a large and very ancient image of Padmapani Lokeshvara. However, this is not Saṅkaṭā. Saṅkaṭā is housed in a shrine upstairs and is actually the tantric Buddhist deity Candamahārūṣaṇa. For popular devotion this is the most important shrine in the complex; and a steady stream of people, both Hindu and Buddhist, frequent the shrine. This deity forms a sort of pair with the Mahānkāl image on the Tundikhel as both are said to have been set up by the same Vajracarya from Sawal Baha, and their annual festival is celebrated on the same day. Saṅkaṭā is worshipped especially on Saturday and on one's birthday to ward off ill luck. Some say the famous Vajracarya who founded this shrine was Jámmu Gubhājū, the guru of King Pratāp Malla, but this seems entirely too late. Some accounts attribute the founding of this
shrine and the Tundikhel Mahânkâl to Sâsvatdvajra. One account of the origin of this shrine, written in Nepali, says that the deity is female and called Sânkâta Devî! This account attributes the founding to a Jyâpu and the legend recounted is identical to the legend of the bhoto of Matsyendra. The Jyâpu cured the wife of Kârkoçaka Nâgarâja of an eye disease and as a boon asked for the ista devatâ of the Nâgarâja. Sânkâta Devî was given to the Jyâpu and he erected a shrine here and called the place Tîrtha Bâhâ (a name that is still occasionally heard for the whole bâhâ). The image of Lokeâvara in this shrine is said to have been established by Bandhudatta Acârya. The dya-pâlâ for the image of Lokeâvara on the ground floor and the image of Sânkâta is the current dya-pâlâ of Te Bâhâ, i.e. the Thakâlî of the sangha.

On the eastern side of the compound is another shrine known as Bhadrakâlî Dya Che, a two-storied shrine similar to all such dya-che shrines. The deity in this shrine is actually Câmuñdâ and the priest of the temple is a Jyâpu. The main festival of this shrine takes place at the time of Ghotâ Jâtrâ. This Bhadrakâlî, the one at the south end of the Tundikhel and the one in Wotu are one and the same deity, worshipped by the same people. The original shrine was in Wotu, but after a quarrel the Jyâpu community who worshipped this deity split, and one group built this shrine in Te Bâhâ. Both groups worship the Bhadrakâlî at the south end of the Tundikhel as this is considered a pîtha, a tantric seat of a deity located outside of the city.

The complex has a number of other images and small shrines. Just south of the Bhadrakâlî shrine is a large stûpa with four small 'Licchavi' caityas set into the base. Just east of the Sânkâta temple are two more 'Licchavi' caityas. North of these is an image of Sarasvatî (actually Sarasvati in this case and not Mañjughrî called Sarasvatî). There is a caitya in front of the Sânkâta shrine, three in front of the kuâpâ-dya shrine of Te Bâhâ and three more in the northwest corner of the compound. Just north of the Bandhudatta shrine is a water tap and three images of Sûrya, the central one donated in the time of Yakṣa Malla. To the north of this is another small building, the northern room of which is a Jyâpu shrine of Nâsadya (=Nâtesvâra, the dancing Shiva). It is entirely in the care of the Jyâpu and blood sacrifices are performed here. Outside the Te Bâhâ complex proper and just to the east is a large stûpa with the four transcendent Buddhas, a smaller votive caitya, a Licchavi caitya, and an image of Akṣobhya set up in a small plastered shrine. This image is said to have been the kuâpâ-dya of a bâhâ which stood on the Tundikhel and was later demolished. It was known as Vandaâta Triratna Mahâviñâra [C].

Though this complex actually consists of two bâhâs there is at the present time one sangha consisting of only twenty nine initiated Vajracaryas. Which of these two bâhâs should be considered the main one and which the subsidiary one is not at all clear. Many local informants say that Te Bâhâ is the original and main bâhâ and the other was either built later by the king for his guru Bandhudatta or by the members of the sangha in honour of their famous preceptor. At the present time the daily rituals are performed morning and evening in Te Bâhâ proper only by the Thâypp of the sangha. The other members of the sangha take turns acting as dya-pâlâs in the shrine of Bandhudatta Bâhâ. Both Barechuyegu and Acâluyegu initiations are performed here, and for the Barechueyg ceremonies the candidates sit in front of the bâhâ of Bandhudutta. At the conclusion of the ceremony they are taken first into the kuâpâ-dya shrine of Bandhudatta's bâhâ and then into the kuâpâ-dya shrine of Te Bâhâ proper. The annual festival of the Te Bâhâ proper is observed on the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Paus and that of Bandhudutta's bâhâ on the fourth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra. The sangha is governed by a board of five elders and the lineage deity is Vasundhâra. This image is kept at the house of the current Thâypp and worshipped once a year at Te Bâhâ itself. The sangha has no tradition of being 'brought' from somewhere else. The bâhâ used to have between fifty and sixty ropanis of land which yielded a fair income, but no income comes any longer. The lands and their produce have been appropriated by the tenants according to informants.

Te Bâhâ is obviously a very ancient Buddhist site. Wright's chronicle credits the Licchavi king Narendradeva with the building of a bâhâ here for his guru and setting up the shrine of Sânkâta.
This Rājā [Narendra-deva] built a bihār near Lāmī-devi, whom Bandhudatta Āchārya had brought and placed there for the protection of the country. After naming it Tirtha, because the Āchārya came from Tirtha, he gave it to the spiritual guide of his father. He had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Padma-deva, the second Ratna-deva, and the youngest Bar-deva. The Rājā sent the eldest to become a bandya in the Piṅgala Bāhāl, where there were at one time six hundred bandyas. The second he put under the guidance of Bandhudatta in the Tirtha Bihār. The Third was appointed as Rājā. Bandhudatta placed Padmāṭaka (Śankatā) in the Tirtha-bāhāl, and then brought ten Krodha-devatas, or avenging deities, from Kamuni, and also placed them there, along with Asta-pithas and Asta-smashāns. At the north-east corner of the Tirtha-bāhāl he placed Mahākāl, whom he brought from Bhot (Tibet). Having thus placed gods on all the ten sides, the Rājā and Āchārya lived happily.

This attribution of the foundation to Narendra-deva may refer only to the Bandhudatta Bāhāl. If it intends to indicate the foundation of Te Bāhāl itself, it does not correspond to the evidence we have.

Coming to datable evidence, there are seven 'Licchavi' caityas within the compound of Te Bāhāl and one outside. There are two Licchavi inscriptions at Te Bāhāl. The first is near the main entrance. At the present time it serves as a pedestal for an image of Mahākāl, but was originally a pedestal for an image of Śūrya. The inscription dated in the year 402 (=Saka Sampat=A.D.490-81), says that one Gūna Mitra, a leader of a trading caravan, set up an image of Śūrya in this year. The second inscription located on the southern wall of the compound on the remains of a water spout is undated but on the basis of the epigraphy has been dated to the period between the two kings Amśūvarma and Narendra-deva, i.e. A.D.640-642. The inscription says that one Sakyā by the name of Priyapāla, invoking the Three Jewels, set up this water tap for the use of all living beings in order to obtain blessings for his parents. Neither of these inscriptions give us any information about the present institution of Te Bāhāl, but the second gives an indication of definite Buddhist connections by the middle of the seventh century A.D.

There is, however, an early medieval reference to this bāhā. There is a Vajracarya crown inscribed with the following verse:

On Friday, the fifth of the bright half of Bhādrapada, Nepal Sambat 265 [i.e. A.D. 1145], [during the reign of] King Śrī Narendra-deva, [this] crown, beautified by the five Buddhas and decorated with gems was consecrated by (or for?) Bhikṣu Abhaya Gupta, the wise Vajracarya of Śrīmat Teod Vāhārā, founded by Śrīmat Sivadeva. The craftsman was Bhikṣu Bhāṣkara Gupta.97

The authenticity of this reference is confirmed by the fact that the reign of a king by the name of Narendra-deva from at least A.D.1134-45 is confirmed by other sources, and the name Teod Vāhārā is confirmed by other later references, some of them within the bāhā complex. Besides giving us an early medieval date for this bāhā, the inscription has a number of interesting points. The Sanskrit name of the bāhā is usually given now as Rājakṛiti, which would indicate that it was founded by or in honour of a king--to the glory of the king.98 Local oral tradition usually says that the king in question is Guṇakāmadeva. Ratna Kāṣī Vajracarya speculates that it was either Dharmadeva or Amśūvara, but it is clear from this inscription that a much earlier tradition attributed its foundation to Śivadeva. This is also one of the earliest dated references to a Vajracarya in connection with a still existing foundation.

The next historical record is the inscription on the Śūrya image in the centre of the complex. It was erected in the year N.S.582 and gives the name of the place as Teo Vāhārā and the reigning king as Yaksa Malla. There is a palmleaf land deed recording the gift of a field or garden by Ḥṛdaya Rāja Bhāro to Tejo Thakāli of Teod Vāhārā in the year N.S.583. In the year N.S.640, during the reign of Ratna Malla another image of Śūrya was donated and this inscription gives the first reference to the current Sanskrit name of the bāhā, Śrī Rājakṛiti Mahāvihārā. An inscription of N.S.665 records the setting up of an image of Mahākāl. The main donor was Vajracarya Bhikṣu Śrī Abhayasimha of Teod Vāhārā in the royal area (rāja-kṣetra) of the Mahā Vyavahāra [sic.] An inscription at the Śankatā shrine records repairs
made in the year N.S.836 during the reign of Mahendra (Bhāskara) Malla. The bāhā is referred to as Śrī Rājakriti Mahāvihāra. Two manuscripts, one a copy of the Kalpasāngraha, and the second a copy of the Jñānasiddhi were copied in the year N.S.946 by one Vajraśāya Siddhapanda of Rājakṛiti Mahāvihāra in Kāntipur.

In summary then the Vajraśāya crown gives a *terminus a quo* for the existence of Te Bāhā. We know that it existed in A.D.1145 and that the tradition at that time was that it was founded by a king called Śivadeva. But which Śivadeva? There are three to choose from. There was a Śivadeva in the so-called Thakuri Period who ruled from c A.D.1101 to 1103. There are two Licchavi kings by the name of Śivadeva, the first ruling c A.D.590-604 and the second c 693-704. It is the first Licchavi Śivadeva who is credited in inscriptions and chronicles with the foundation of monasteries and who according to later chronicles retired to a monastery himself. Of the three he is the most likely contender for the honour of founder of Tedo. The Thakuri Śivadeva, who would have been recently deceased when the crown was made, seems entirely too late in view of the large number of Licchavi remains at the site.

12. Jana Bāhā — Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra*  

Jana Bāhā is located in Kel Tole about half way between Asan and Indra Chowk. It is most well known as the home of the White Matsyendra-nāth or Jana Bāhā Dya, the white Avalokitesvara who is to Kathmandu what Buṅga Dya is to Patan. The temple of Jana Bāhā Dya is situated in an enclosed courtyard which one enters through a doorway facing on to the open area of Kel Tole. In front of the doorway opening on to the compound is a pillar surmounted by an image of Amitābha and one of Aksobhya back to back. Set into the pavement near the pillar is a stone *mātpala*.

The facade of the present entryway bears an inscription telling of repairs made in the year 1974 B.S. (A.D.1918-19). In A.D.1917 there had been a fire which destroyed the old entryway and most of the buildings on the south side of the inner compound. The new facade was built in an incongruous white plaster style, known locally as 'Rana Style' which clashes with the entire surroundings. The old Newar facade had a beautifully carved triple window over the doorway and an exquisite wooden *torana*. At present there is a brass repoussé *torana* over the entryway put up in 1917. This portrays the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Saṃkṣara-ri Lokesvara). Passing through the doorway one comes into a long vestibule which leads into the inner courtyard. On the right side of the vestibule is a platform where devotees come to sing *bhajans* each morning and evening.

The courtyard of Jana Bāhā does not have any of the architectural unity common in the older bāhās. Even the shrine of the *kuśpī-dya* is a modern reconstruction after the fire of 1917. This shrine is located just to the right of the entryway as one comes into the compound. It is simply a room on the ground floor of a three storied, white, plastered building. The shrine is unmarked and has a doorway of large, open lattice work. Over the door is a copper repoussé *torana* again showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha as above. Inside is a large brass figure of Aksobhya facing west, the *kuśpī-dya* of Jana Bāhā. This should be the principal non-tantric deity of the bāhā before whose shrine all the principal rites proper to the saṅgha are performed. However, at Jana Bāhā the place of the *kuśpī-dya* has been completely usurped by Avalokitesvara before whose shrine all the rites and feasts of the saṅgha are held. The shrine of the *kuśpī-dya* is opened once each day for a brief *pūja* by the current *dya-pālā*, who serves in the shrine of Lokesvara. Beyond this the *kuśpī-dya* is ignored. The present brass image of Aksobhya dates to the time of the restoration after the fire. The previous image, which was stone was lost in the fire. The rest of the buildings around the courtyard are all residential buildings of different sizes and styles, many of which have shops on the ground floor. Informants say that originally all of these buildings were occupied by the members of the saṅgha of Jana Bāhā, but partly because of the growth of their families, the saṅgha have sold off or rented their property to others, mostly Udaya.

The shrine of Jana Bāhā Dya is a squat, free-standing temple of two roofs which is elaborately decorated. The main entrance is a triple doorway surmounted by an elaborate *torana*.
221. Jana Bāhā [45]

222. Shrine of Jana Bāhā Dyā
of three sections. The main figure in the central torana is Sahasrabhuja Lokesvara and the two side panels each had a figure of Amoghapasha Lokesvara. (The right one has been stolen). The whole facade is decorated with a great array of Buddhist figures and each of the other three doors into the temple has a repousse torana. From each of the two gilt copper roofs hangs a series of gilded copper repousse banners called halampas which give this shrine its distinctive appearance. The struts supporting the two roofs are all carved with different multi-armed forms of Avalokitesvara. The top roof is crowned by two small and one large finial with a triple umbrella above these. Immediately in front of the main finial is a large darpana with the vishvavajra. This is flanked by two kalasa each with a lotus in it. The image of Avalokitesvara housed in the shrine is a white, plastered figure about four feet in height of Padmapani Lokesvara standing in the samabhanga pose on a lotus. His right hand is in varada mudra and his left in position to hold a lotus. His hair is piled up on his head in the tatha mukuta with a figure of Amitabha painted in the centre. He wears the bodhisattva ornaments and crown, the sacred thread, a golden tiha in the forehead, the sri vatsa ('endless knot') on his chest and the swastika on his navel. The only garment painted on the image is a blue dhoti. To his right and left are two small images of the two Taras, one green and one white. Ordinarily all one can see of the image is the face, as the image is entirely covered with garments and ornaments.

Directly in front of the main door of the shrine is a small, plastered caitya, the kanaka caitya from which the baha takes its name. Since this caitya is periodically replastered it appears to be nothing but a white, shapeless mound. Under this may well be a 'Lichchavi' caitya. The rest of the courtyard round the temple is filled with an array of images and thirty one votive caityas.

The sangha of Jana Bahal is a mixed sangha of Sakya and Vajracarya comprising one hundred twenty two Vajracaryas and twelve Sakya. According to informants there were originally two Sakya lineages and two Vajracarya lineages in the sangha with the Sakya and Vajracarya having separate lineage deities. Over the years the members of the Vajracarya lineages have increased considerably faster than the members of the Sakya lineages. This is further complicated by the fact that at the present time there is a third Sakya lineage whose progenitors were Vajracaryas but because of some irregularity either in initiations or marriage alliances are now Sakya. These have the same lineage deity as the Vajracarya. The original Sakya are now referred to as 'suddha' Sakya, i.e. pure Sakya. There are twenty households within the sangha and service in the temple of Jana Baha Dya (and therefore in the shrine of the kwaupa-dya) passes through these twenty families in turn, but these terms of service are determined by a complicated calculation based on the original four lineages so that the 'suddha' Sakya serve for six months and the Vajracaryas for six months, despite the fact that the Vajracaryas far outnumber the Sakya. When a family's turn comes round any initiated member of the household may serve. At present many do not take their turn so that a few actually rotate the service. The dya-paIa is expected to follow the ancient strict rules of service, living in the temple for the whole time of service, eating only one full meal a day of plain rice and being careful not to associate himself with anything impure. The period of service is one lunar month. A much more elaborate service is still in vogue here for the worship of Jana Baha Dya. (The kwaupa-dya is worshipped only twice a day.) Early in the morning the temple is opened and the deity awakened and ritually bathed. About ten in the morning the official nitya pujja is performed, followed by a pujja to the Kanaka Caitya and a circumambulation of all the shrines in the compound including the shrine of the kwaupa-dya. At midday the deity is ritually fed and another panchapacara pujja performed. In the middle of the afternoon another panchapacara pujja is performed and in the evening the arati. Finally there is a ceremony for putting the deity to bed. At each of the 'hours' a special stotra (hymn) is recited.

The main annual events at Jana Baha are the bathing ceremony of Jana Baha Dya and the annual ratha jatra. The bathing takes place on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Paus. Before the bathing, the spirit of the deity is removed from the image; after the bathing the image is placed to the side in the courtyard and over the next few days is repaint- ed. The image is reconsecrated in an elaborate all-night ceremony on the full moon day of Paus. The ratha jatra begins on the eighth
The procession begins in Jamal (where the image is said to have been found) and proceeds by stages to Asan Tole, Hanumandhokā and Lagan Tole. By the full moon day of the month the procession must be completed, a śāntisvasti pūjā is performed (to pacify the deity if he has been offended during the procession), and the image is then carried back on a portable carrier to Jana Bāhā. At the conclusion of the ratha jātrā there is a feast for the entire sangha. This is the annual festival of the sangha; there is no busā dān as such.

Jana Bāhā is one of the favorite places for people to perform the monthly observance of Aṣṭami Vṛata in honour of Amoghapāśa Lokēśvara. On the eighth day of the bright half of any month one can see large groups of people in Jana Bāhā for this observance.

The governing body of Jana Bāhā consists of a board of twenty elders, one from each of the households. The Thākāli is the eldest member of the sangha, whether Sakya or Vajracarya. Both Barechuyegu and Āchāleyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha at irregular intervals. At the last such initiation in 1975 a total of twenty five boys were initiated. Āchāleyegu initiations are always performed four days after the Barechuyegu. The officiating priest for these initiations is always the priest from Sāwal Bāhā, who is the official priest for all the rituals concerned with Jana Bāhā Dya.

This bāhā, because of the importance of Jana Bāhā Dya, has a number of gūthīs. The members of the saṅgha constitute a gūthī whose function it is to look after the bāhā and to serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of Jana Bāhā Dya. There is a gūthī fund, registered with the government Gūthī Samsthān, the income from which is used to pay the priest currently on duty in the shrine. All of the permanent ornaments of the deity are registered with the government gūthī office, though the ornaments themselves have been donated by private individuals and families. It is the duty of the priest serving in the temple to safegurad these treasures. The saṅgha as a gūthī has an annual meeting which includes a pūjā and a feast. This takes place at the end of the annual ratha jātrā. In addition to this official government registered gūthī there are several private gūthīs pertaining to the life of the saṅgha. There are gūthīs for the various rituals and tasks that have to be performed throughout the year by the saṅgha. For example, there is a gūthī composed of some of the members of the saṅgha whose responsibility it is to store the fixtures of the ratha. At the time of the annual ratha jātrā, it is their duty to get these out of storage and see that they are in shape to be put on the ratha. At the conclusion of the jātrā, they must see that these things are removed from the ratha in Lagan Tole, returned to Jana Bāhā, and put into storage for the next year. When their job is finished they have a feast. There is another gūthī whose responsibility it is to see to the lighting and care of a large oil lamp known as the mahādīpa. This lamp is lit during the annual bathing ceremony and on a few other important occasions. There is also a disi pūjā gūthī for the bi-annual celebration of the solstice.

There are two different lineage deities at Jana Bāhā. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas and of those Sakyas who are descendants of Va-jracaryas is Āju-Ajīmā located at Khusi Bāhā [92]. The lineage deity of the 'suddha' Sakyas is 'Āju-Ajīmā' at Tadhaṅ Bāhā [49]. The lineage deity of Tadhaṅ Bāhā, now worshipped at the bāhā, is in fact Heruka located at Gūhyeśvari. This curious arrangement probably indicates that this group originally came from Tadhaṅ Bāhā. There are several bāhās which have their lineage deity at Gūhyeśvari, but only the Tadhaṅ Bāhā people worship this deity at Tadhaṅ Bāhā.

As mentioned above this bāhā has a fair amount of income which comes to it because of the worship here of the White Mātseyendraśī or Jana Bāhā Dya. There seems to be little other income left, though members of the saṅgha say that at one time the saṅgha had a considerable amount of agricultural land which yielded a further income.

There is little evidence to indicate an early foundation for this bāhā. The chronicles state that the image of Avalokiteśvara was brought to the Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra from Jamal. Oral tradition, still current at Jana Bāhā, states that the bāhā existed prior to this, but there is little at Jana Bāhā to confirm this. According to informants at Jana Bāhā, before the image was brought there, the entrance to the bāhā compound was from the west which would put the shrine of the kuṣāpa-dya and
the āgar shrine of the sangha directly opposite the entrance as usual. This entryway from the west still exists though little used. According to the tradition, when the image was brought to the bāhā and a temple constructed for it, it was decided that the deity should face east and a new entrance was then made into the compound so that one entered facing the temple. The strongest argument in favour of this tradition is the existence of the shrine of Akṣobhya who is still recognised as the kuṭāpa-dya of the sangha. If the image of Avalokiteśvara had been at the bāhā from the beginning, or if the bāhā had been set up in order to house this image, Avalokiteśvara would have been the kuṭāpa-dya of the bāhā as he is at all of the other bāhās where he resides: Patan-Buṅgamati, Cobi, Nāla, Bhaktapur, Thimi and Taṅga Bāhā in Patan.

There are no dated monuments or inscriptions within the Jana Bāhā compound which enable us to date the complex earlier than the late Malla period except possibly the Kanaka Caiyya from which the bāhā gets its name. However, like the image, this caiyya is given a lime whitewash from time to time, so that it is now completely covered and shapeless except for the very tip. The size of the caiyya and what can be seen of the tip would seem to indicate that it is similar to the 'Licchavi' caiyyas, but this is about all that can be said. The earliest date found at Jana Bāhā is on a painting of Herukacakrasamvara and his consort found in the āgar and dated N.S.521, which falls within the joint reign of the three sons of Jayasthiti Malla. This gives some indication of the existence of the bāhā at that time.

All of the other verifiable historical evidence dates from the time of Yakṣa Malla onward, and most of it gives evidence of the presence of Avalokiteśvara and the connection with Jamal. There is a manuscript copy of the Pañcarakṣā in the government library dated N.S.590 and copied by one Vajrācārya Manikarāja Candra of Sri Jamalaganthi in Koligrāma. This falls within the reign of Yakṣa Malla. Koligrāma refers to the area of Kathmandu around Kel Tole, and āgar records of the sangha of Jana Bāhā do use the name 'Jamalaganthi' for the bāhā. This would indicate that by the time of Yakṣa Malla the connection with Jamal had been established.

The āgar of the sangha has a number of old records which refer mostly to the internal running of the āgar—donations to the sangha or the shrine, loans taken by members of the sangha from the āgar funds, etc. In Bāṣāk N.S.639 a loan was given to a member of the sangha. This was during the reign of Ratna Malla, son of Yakṣa Malla. An entry of the year N.S.679 speaks of vessels made for the sangha by a Kamsākār. This falls within the reign of Narenda (Amar) Malla. In the year N.S.770 repairs were made to the rest house below the āgar. These records give evidence of the existence and functioning of the sangha at this time. They make no mention of Avalokiteśvara.

All of the references after this time do mention Avalokiteśvara. There is a sort of bracelet which the image of Avalokiteśvara wears that was donated during the reign of Lakṣmīnārasiṅha (A.D.1619-1641). This is the oldest dateable evidence in the compound which definitely refers to the presence of Avalokiteśvara. There are two old wooden toranas, one now inside the temple and the other hanging over the door to the entryway, which were donated during the time of Kings Lakṣmīnārasiṅha and Pratāp Malla, i.e. about 1641. The earliest stone inscription in the courtyard dates to the time of Pratāp Malla. An inscription on the step below a caiyya on the east side of the shrine commemorates the donation of a bell in the year N.S.778. The bell is dedicated to 'Cintāmaṇī Lokesvāra' at the temple of Jamaleśvara in Kanakacaiyya Mahāvihbara in the city of Kantīpur and donated by Candra Simha Bāhāro from Kel Tole.' Another inscription on the north side of the temple dated N.S.784 commemorates a donation by a Tulāchār from Asan Tole at the shrine of 'Jabbarāvāra' (i.e. Jamaleśvara). On the eastern side of the temple is another inscription at the base of a caiyya stating that the caiyya was put up as a memorial caiyya by one Dharmarāja Kamaskār Bāhāro at the 'temple of Jamaleśvara in the Kanakacaiyya Mahāvihbara in the year N.S.796 during the reign of Npendera Malla.' At the base of another caiyya on the north side of the shrine is an inscription dated N.S.800 and put up by a Kamsākār at the temple of Sri Jamaleśvāra. This is also in the reign of Npendera Malla. Another caiyya was erected to the north of the temple of 'Sī Śrī Śrī Yamaśvāra in the year N.S.830 during the reign of Bhāṣka (=Maṛendra Simha) Malla. Other inscriptions on images and caityas in the compound are all of a much later date.
There is no reliable historical evidence concerning the inauguration or revival of the ratha jātrā of Avalokitesvara at Jana Bāhā. (Some chronicles claim that there was a ratha jātrā in ancient times, but it lapsed and was revived at a later time.) However, there is enough evidence to show that it was not started by Pratāp Malla as claimed by the chronicles. A thyāsaphu reference of the year N.S.747 in the time of Lakṣmīnarasiṃha states that in that year the ratha of Jamala-deva fell over, at Jya Bāhā as it was being pulled to Lagan. Another reference of the year N.S.750 states that in that year Lakṣmīnarasiṃha lengthened the ratha jātrā of Jamala by adding a stop at Swakambu (in the Hanūmān Dhokā area). Hence the latest king who can possibly be credited with the inauguration of the jātrā is Lakṣmīnarasiṃha, the father of Pratāp Malla.

In conclusion, we have the tradition of an ancient foundation of Kanaka Caiya Mahāvihāra, prior to the bringing of the image of Avalokiteśvara, confirmed by the existence of a separate kuñā-pā-dya shrine and the old entryway to the bāhā. The earliest hint we have of the presence of Avalokiteśvara and the connection to Jamala dates to the time of Yakṣa Malla. The earliest definite evidence at Jana Bāhā itself of the cult of Avalokiteśvara dates to the year A.D.1641, the date on the ornament donated in the time of Lakṣmīnarasiṃha. From that time onward we have a continuous record of the cult, and all of the inscriptions give Avalokiteśvara the name Jamaleśvara (the Lord of Jamal). This confirms the tradition that the image was brought from Jamal. There seems to be no other possible reason for the name Jamaleśvara. We know that the annual ratha jātrā was already an established custom in A.D.1627. From that time to the present time the custom has been maintained. The earliest reference to the bāhā itself is N.S.521.

13. Lagaṇ Bāhā — Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra* [80] Lagaṇ Tole

This bāhā is situated in a rather richly decorated enclosed courtyard just off the main square of Lagan Tole. Connected to this courtyard are two branch bāhās and a nāhī. The shrine of the kuñā-pā-dya has lost much of its original architectural style to a rather recent renovation. The top storey is now enclosed by a series of ordinary glass windows on an overhanging balcony; and the entire facade of the shrine has been plastered with plain, unpainted cement. The veranda in front of the shrine is enclosed by an iron railing. The carved doorway is surmounted by a fine copper repousse torana depicting Mahāvairocana flanked by two standing tantric figures. Above these figures are the paścaraksā deities and above them the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana at the very top of the torana. The kuñā-pā-dya is a large brass image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above the windows is an older wooden torana having the same figures as the one over the main door. The top storey is enclosed with glass windows and supported by six carved struts. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted with a triple finial. In the centre of the courtyard is an enshrined caitya which is the lineage deity of the the saṅgha. This brick shrine with a bell roof and a single golden finial has four doorways each surmounted by a wooden torana. The torana to the north depicts the Nāmasaṅgiti flanked by two bodhisattva figures and surrounded by nine other tantric deities. The other three toranas all depict tantric deities. In the courtyard are twelve other votive caityas (none of great antiquity), and two inscribed pillars.

There is some confusion about the proper Sanskrit name of this bāhā. The name found in all historical records, all inscriptions within the compound and references in manuscripts is simply Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra. However, several informants insisted that the proper name is Kīrtipunya Vajracatū Caiya Mahāvihāra, the name deriving from the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. It would seem that this is a modern interpretation. This longer name is the proper Sanskrit name for one of the branches, Ta Bāhā [83] (see below). This insistence on the longer name may be due to a desire to point out the importance of the enshrined caitya; it may also be an effort to distinguish Lagaṇ Bāhā from the nearby bāhī, Nhāyakaṇ Bāhī [84] which has exactly the same Sanskrit name: Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra.

At the present time the saṅgha of this bāhā is composed of ninety four Vajracaryas and two hundred fifty Sakyas. The functioning of the saṅgha was deeply affected by a dispute within the saṅgha some years ago between the Sakyas and
Vajracaryas which was probably related to the long drawn-out dispute between the Ācārya Gōthi and its jajmāns. Since the Sakyas far outnumber the Vajracaryas in this saṅgha the Thakālī was most often a Sakya. The Vajracaryas objected to having to receive the Barechuyegu initiation from a Sakya, so they broke off, declared the Cakresvara their Thakālī and began to perform their initiations separately. Theoretically this rupture has been healed but the scars still remain. At the present time the Vajracaryas and Sakyas still have their Barechuyegu initiations separately. When the Sakyas have their initiation the eldest Sakya presides, when the Vajracaryas have theirs the Cakresvara presides. Vajracarya informants say that there are still in fact two saṅghas, but the Sakyas rather heatedly deny this.

All the members of the saṅgha, Sakya and Vajracarya, still serve in the shrine of the kuṭpā-dya. The daily rituals in the shrine of the kuṭpā-dya are performed more fully here than at most bāhās. At dawn the dya-pāḷā awakens the deity and bathes him and then bathes the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard. At about 8 AM the nitya pūjā is performed both to the kuṭpā-dya and to the caitya. Some time after mid-day a paṇcaponāra pūjā is performed to the kuṭpā-dya and the caitya. In the evening the āraṭi is performed to both the kuṭpā-dya and the caitya. The Sakyas act as dya-pāḷās for eleven months of the year and the Vajracaryas for only one month. Terms of service for the Sakyas pass down the roster of the initiated. The term of the Vajracaryas seems to be indefinite with each man sometimes doing it for only one day at a time. Theoretically the term of service of the Vajracaryas passes through their lineages. At the time of the nitya pūjā in the morning and again in the evening at the time of the āraṭi the dya-pāḷā must leave his entire left arm exposed like a bhikṣu. He must ring the bell to summon the worshippers and after completing the pūjā inside the bāhā he must go outside to the shrine of Avalokiteśvara which is in the square in front of the bāhā to worship him. The lineage deity for the entire saṅgha is the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard, despite the fact that there are several distinct groups within the saṅgha. (See historical section below.) This 'deity' was 'brought' from western Nepal to its present site many generations ago.

The governing body of the saṅgha is made up of the Cakresvara and the elders of five lineages from Lagaṅ Bāhā proper and three lineages which used to be centered on Jyā Bāhā [75] (now abandoned by the saṅgha). There used to be an annual festival at which all the members of the saṅgha, Sakyas and Vajracaryas, feasted together. This festival has been discontinued since the time of the dispute. However, some still observe the feast on a voluntary (i.e. unofficial) basis. When they have this unofficial feast both Sakyas and Vajracaryas take part. There used to be a feast for the entire saṅgha after initiations but this is no longer observed. The families of the boys being initiated have a feast, but they have to feed only their own relatives and the Thakālī of the saṅgha. The Barechuyegu initiation is held at irregular intervals and the Ācāluyegu is always performed four days after the Barechuyegu.

This bāhā and its saṅgha are intimately connected with the celebration of the twelve year Samyāk ceremony held at Bāhu-khel below the Suwayambhā Mahācaitya. According to the Thakālī there were originally three bāhās in Kathmandu which regularly held a samyak ceremony: Lagaṅ Bāhā held one at Khusī Bāhī [92]; Ituṃ Bāhā [44] held one at Buraṅ Khel (an opera area near Nara Devī); and Tadhāṅ Bāhā [49] held one at Puykā Bāhā [52]. After the attacks of Prithvinārayan Shah on the kingdoms of the Valley, their income considerably decreased and for a time the Samyāk ceremonies were abandoned altogether. Later the three bāhās banded together to celebrate one samyak every twelve years at Bāhu-khel near Suwayambhū.

Informants say that at one time members of the saṅgha of Lagaṅ Bāhā had a large number of treasures that were shown at the time of the annual 'showing of the gods'. At the present time the samyāk deity and a few old images are put on display. Some say the people are afraid of theft so they no longer bring their treasures; other say the treasures have all disappeared. The bāhā also had a considerable income from agricultural land but this has now all been lost.

According to oral tradition the origins of this bāhā stretch back to the beginning of the history of the Valley. Members of the saṅgha say that after the draining of the Valley four vihāras were founded. Of these four the first
founded was Lagañ Bähā. In a later age when the bähā had fallen into disrepair a king by the name of Kitti had it repaired and from this time on the bähā was known as Kiritipunya Mahāvihāra. There is also a legend that under the caitya in the centre of the courtyard is a lake and an emerald mine. Wright's chronicle has a curious note claiming that in N.S.774 one Subharrya Sakya built the Lagañ Bähā in Kāntipur, Lagañ Bähā certainly existed long before this time. Most probably this is an inaccurate translation of the original chronicle. Wright's chronicle is a translation of a Nepali original and in Nepali the word banānu can mean either to build or repair. There may well have been a renovation of the bähā at this time.

In addition to the above mentioned legend about the original founding of Lagañ Bähā, the members of the saṅgha have a tradition which traces the history of the present community and its connection to Lagañ Bähā. According to this story the Kolis, a tribe centered on the ancient site of Devadaha in the Nepal tarāi, were attacked by a king called Birudhak, the son of Prasanajita. Is a result of this attack many of them fled into the hills of Nepal and settled at a place called Yamyantār five days walk west of Gorkha. Some time later one of these people by the name of Āyudeva came to the Kathmandu valley in the time of the Licchavi kings. He eventually settled at Lagañ Bähā, an ancient foundation which had been abandoned and had fallen into ruins. He renovated the place and took up residence there. Later his wife wrote to Yamyantār complaining about the hard life there and the uncultured people they had to live among in that place. So Āyudeva called his wife and the other members of the family to Kathmandu and they joined him at Lagañ Bähā. The members of the saṅgha point to a small 'Licchavi' caitya preserved in the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya as proof of their having come in the Licchavi period. They also say they once had an ancient vaṃśāvalli which gave further details of this migration, but this book was lost about ten years ago. Another bit of evidence pointing to the antiquity of this saṅgha is an image kept at Jyā Bähā and which is revered as the Ājū or first ancestor of one of the Sakya lineages of the bähā. He is called Sinhapati Ājū or Madya Ājū. According to informants this image is dated N.S. 1.

All of this is oral tradition and highly mythological, but that they did indeed have some connection with western Nepal is confirmed by the fact that their lineage deity came from this place called Yamyantār there. Until recent times some of the members of the saṅgha used to make the trek to this place once every twelve years to worship this lineage deity. It has been a long time now since anyone has gone, but several old members of the saṅgha went in their youth and remember the place. Unfortunately they were unable to give any more precise identification of this place and I cannot find a Yamyantār on any current map of Nepal.

More firm historical evidence is available from the time of Jayasthiti Malla on. There is in the possession of the members of the saṅgha a pāthī (grain measure, which has an inscription undated but which mentions the king Sri Sri Jayasthiti Malla. The pāthī was donated to the saṅgha by one Ḥarsārām who also donated land for a gūthī. According to a vaṃśāvalli preserved by one of the lineages and which they must recite each year this Ḥarsārām was a son of one Guṇadeva who had renovated Lagañ Bähā in his time. The account gives a complete list of the descendents of Guṇadeva down to the time of Prithvinarayan Saha (two hundred years ago) when the list was written by one La Chuling, the Tibetan name of one of the members of the saṅgha who was long a trader in Tibet. This branch of the saṅgha had been traders in Tibet from the time of Jaya Śhiti Malla on. This La Chuling owned ten houses in Lhasā which were still used by his descendents living in Tibet until they were bought up in 1967 by the Chinese government and converted into court buildings. It was this lineage which, because of their trade in Tibet, financed the sanyāk ceremony which Lagañ Bähā used to hold at Khusi Bāhī.

The earliest dated inscription inside the bähā compound itself is dated N.S.796 at which time one Bhikṣu Śrī Ṣūryacandra erected a lamp stand for the worship of Aksobhya and the Vajrāḥātu Cañya. There is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London an exquisite Vajracarya crown with the following inscription:

In the year 797, on the twelfth day of the dark half of Seta; the donors (of this crown) are all the merchants/clients of Cai-tya Bāhāra, led by Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Ratnadeva, merchant of Caiyta Bāhāra, Khara [Khola] Chē, Lagana, Śrī Kiritipunya mahāvihāra, in
the great city of Kāśṭamāṇḍapa. Before the work on this jeweled crown was finished in LHāsā, Ratnadeva died, and Candragoti finished the work and it was offered to their guru Bhārāgā Vajrācārya Śī Kanakānunmi of Vaiśākhapūjapūjya, Lagana, Yamgara. From the merit of this (donation) may the client(s) and all their families obtain long life and good health; in this world, family, wealth and good fortune; and in the next the (blessings of?) Vajrasattva.

There are other stray references to Kirtipunya Mahāvihāra in Kathmandu which predate both of these, but since the nearby Nyāyakaṅ Bāhī has the same Sanskrit name it is impossible to determine which institution they refer to.

The bulk of the members of this saṅgha both Sakya and Vajracarya belong to the group of people who claim to be the descendants of Ayudeva and whose lineage deity came from Yamamātar. However, there are three other groups of people who have been assimilated to this saṅgha in various ways. In the time of Bhāsṅkara Malla (A.D. 1700-1719) some Sakyas from Bhaktapur settled in Kathmandu. They won the favour of the king and the king arranged for them to be received into the saṅgha of Lagaṅ Bāhā. They were assimilated into one of the lineages of Lagaṅ Bāhā and at the present time form a part of that lineage even worshiping the same lineage deity as the original saṅgha. Five generations ago a Brahman by the name of Dhananjaya Upādhyāya took the initiation of a Vajracarya at Lagaṅ Bāhā, and he and his descendants were assimilated to the saṅgha. His son was Dhirjamuni, his son Bhājumuni, his son Triratnamuni, his son Puṣpamuni and his son Saptamuni who is still living at Lagaṅ Bāhā and is the most knowledgeable Vajracarya in Kathmandu about the traditional Vajracarya ritual dances. This lineage of Vajracarayas, because they are Brahmanas, still observe the Hindu ritual of Svasthānī Vrata each year, though they have accepted the same lineage deity as the rest of the saṅgha. The last of the Malla kings of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakash Malla, took as a secondary wife a woman from the saṅgha of Lagaṅ Bāhā. She had a son from the king and tried to have him initiated as a Thākuri or member of the royal family. The other sons of Jaya Prakash, especially Jyoti Prakash, the crown prince, objected so strongly that this became impossible. Finally the boy was brought to Lagaṅ Bāhā and given the Bārechuyegu. A house was built for this man near Lagaṅ Bāhā and until the time of Māṭhbar Singh Thāpā his descendants retained possession of the house. At that time it was taken over by the Thāpās and later by the Ranas. Since this man and his descendants were not really of the same lineage as the saṅgha of Lagaṅ Bāhā, they were never admitted into full membership of the saṅgha. They may not serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuāpā-dya, they do not worship the lineage deity of the saṅgha and they are not eligible to become elders of the saṅgha. They are therefore members only in the sense that they perform their Bārechuyegu initiations at Lagaṅ Bāhā.

A. Wantā Bāhā -- Vajradhātu Vihāra [81] Lagaṅ Bāhā

Wantā Bāhā is situated in a courtyard just to the west of Lagaṅ Bāhā proper and forms a part of the same complex. The whole compound and the structures are ill-kept and dilapidated. In the centre of the courtyard is a rather large plastered cāitya. The shrine of the kuāpā-dya is a simple room on the ground floor of a building to the left as one enters the compound. The lattice door has no ornamentation and no torana, but there is a small fresco of Vajrasattva just above the lintel. The kuāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one of the Sakya lineages of the Lagaṅ Bāhā saṅgha. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by those who live round the courtyard. The annual festival of the bāhā, which used to be held on the fullmoon day of the month of Jyesha, is no longer held. The bāhā has no income at the present time. The people of this bāhā have some connection to the present saṅgha of Syaṅgu Bāhī [94]. If a member of the saṅgha of this branch should die without any children or without a wife, the people of Syaṅgu Bāhī must come as dān to perform the funeral rites. Furthermore, they would then take up the right of the deceased to serve as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kuāpā-dya of this branch. This should indicate a blood relationship, but the people of Syaṅgu Bāhī are descendants of a member of the Ituṅ Bābā saṅgha not Lagaṅ Bāhā. Perhaps the connection was through a daughter, but everyone seems to have forgotten what the connection is now.

Despite the neglected state of this shrine
it is an old foundation. The earliest reference to it comes from the inscription on a golden ornament dated N.S.607 and offered to a Buddha image near Bhalaju. One of the donors of the ornament was one Sakya Bhiksú Sri Jayasimha of Wanta Baha in Lagan. An inscription of N.S.604 commemorating donations mentions the donor as one Sakya Bhiksú Sri Ratnacandra from Wanta Baha situated in Kirtipunya Mahavihara in Lagan.

B. Jog Baha -- [82]

Lagan Baha

This is another small courtyard just west of Wanta Baha. The shrine of the kwp-dya consists of a small room in the corner of a very dirty courtyard. Over the doorway of the shrine is a torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajnaparamita) on his left and the Sangha (Sadakshari Lokeshvara) on his left. The kwp-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. In the centre of the courtyard is a caitya of recent origin (N.S.1007). This was a branch of Lagan Baha inhabited by one of the Sakya lineages of the sangha. They have removed to another area nearby and the daily rituals are performed by the current dyapala of Wanta Baha. There are no other observances at the present time. The annual festival has been abandoned and the baha has no income.

C. Ta Baha -- Kirtipunya Vajradhatus Vihara [83]

Lagan Tole

This baha is situated in a large, enclosed, residential courtyard in Lagan Tole a short distance from Lagan Baha. The shrine of the kwp-dya is at the southern end of the courtyard and at present is a three-storied building with a flat roof. The shrine is marked by two small stone lions and the wooden lattice door is flanked by two small windows and surmounted by a torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajnaparamita) on his right and the Sangha (Sadakshari Lokeshvara) on his left. The torana is dated N.S.1007. The kwp-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has a narrow balcony in front of ordinary living quarters. The most striking feature of the complex is the large courtyard which has one large caitya in the centre and twelve smaller caityas.

This ancient branch of Lagan Baha has a sangha composed entirely of Vajracaryas, one of the two main lineages of Vajracaryas of Lagan Baha. It is from this lineage that the Phu Bare is always chosen. The members of the sangha serve as dyapala in the shrine of the kwp-dya by turn one month at a time. Rotation of service is by households. The sangha has one elder, and celebrates the annual festival at the time of Pohela Jatra.

The earliest reference to this baha is found on the golden ornament offered to the Buddha image near Bhalaju in N.S.607. One of the donors was Vajracarya Jina Deva of Tava Baha. There is also an inscription attached to the shrine which points to an almost equally early date. The inscription is dated N.S.744 at which time a gthi was established for the celebration of the annual festival of the baha. The inscription notes that the shrine of the kwp-dya was repaired (jirnodhara) in the year N.S.699 in the time of King Sivasimha Malla.

D. Khall Che Baha -- Parvacandana Vihara [79] Jya Baha Tole

This baha is situated in a very tiny courtyard in Jya Baha tole. The shrine of the kwp-dya has been renovated in recent times and finished with a fine brick facade. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a torana with only a figure of Aksobhya in the centre. The kwp-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. The first storey has one large lattice window above the shrine flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging, carved balcony. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caitya.

The baha was built and is still inhabited by a sub-lineage of Sakyas of Lagan Baha. However, at some time in the recent past they gave to the Vajracaryas of Musuh Baha the right to perform the daily rituals in the shrine of the kwp-dya. They still come each day to perform these rituals, and in this sense the baha has really become a branch of Musuh Baha. However, since the Sakyas of Lagan Baha still live here and the baha is clearly theirs and has always been so, I have placed it here with Lagan Baha. The annual festival of the baha is no longer held and there is no income.

There are no inscriptions within this com-
plex but there is one reference to this bāhā from the Malla period, the inscription on the Vajracarya crown mentioned above which was donated in N.S.797 by a trader in Lhāsa, Śākyabhisṣu, Śrī Ratnadeva of Khalà Cheñ Caitya Bāhāra.

E. Kacā Bāhā -- Caitanya Vihāra [78]  
Jyā Bāhā Tole

At present this is simply a very tiny (six foot square) courtyard with a modern, plastered kuāpā-dya shrine containing an image of Aksobhya plus images of Padmapāni Lokeśvara, Śāriputra and Mahākālī. The present look of the bāhā dates from a renovation in 1933, but the caitya bears the date N.S.799 at which time the caitya was constructed.

This is a private branch of the Sakyas of Lagañ Bāhā who still live here and perform the daily rituals. They have no sāṅgha organization as such; the annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

F. Na Bāhā -- Siddhivara Vihāra [87]  
Gophal Tole

Na Bāhā is a large rectangular courtyard in Gophal Tole. The shrine of the kuāpā-dya is merely the ground floor of an ordinary house. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and above the doorway was a torana with Vajrasattva in the central position. The torana has now disappeared. The kuāpā-dya is a stone image of Amoghāsiddhi, the only case of Amoghāsiddhi as a kuāpā-dya of a bāhā. The image faces north. About sixty years ago this image was installed to replace a much larger clay image which had fallen into disrepair. The first storey has a plain lattice window directly above the shrine flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey, which contains living quarters, has three ordinary windows. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are four caityas.

This is a branch belonging to one household of Vajracaryas of Lagañ Bāhā. Those who live here perform the daily rituals by turn. But this is the extent of the activity of the sāṅgha. There is no board of elders, no annual festival and no income. The courtyard also has a Śiva liṅga, an odd addition to the bāhā. Informants explained its presence by saying that they are really Brahmans.

Above the doorway of the shrine is a copper-plate inscription, dated N.S.854 which commemorates repairs made to the shrine at that time, so the foundation of the bāhā must predate this time by a considerable amount.

14. Gubhā Bāhā -- Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra [65]  
Vam Bāhā  
Om Bāhā

Little remains of the architectural structure of a bāhā at this site in Om Bāhā Tole. The shrine consists of a room on the ground floor of an ordinary three-storied building. The lattice doorway is surmounted by a modern, wooden torana showing Aksobhya flanked by Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The kuāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. In the courtyard are five votive caityas and a mandāla. Informants say there used to be several other images in the shrine but all have been stolen except for a small caitya.

Though this is one of the eighteen principal bāhās of the Ācārya Gōthi and has a sizeable sāṅgha there is little religious or social activity here now. The sāṅgha consists of one hundred seventeen Vajracaryas and seventy Sakyas. Few of these people actually live at the bāhā any more except for one family of Vajracaryas. Theoretically this family take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening, but at the present time the rituals are always performed by one man. The others in the sāṅgha simply commission him to perform all the rituals. Both Ācāryaye and Baruchuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the sāṅgha, but at irregular intervals, only when there are enough boys to share the expenses. Occasionally someone, who is wealthier than the others, has a ceremony just for his son. The sāṅgha no longer has an active governing body; whatever needs to be done concerning the bāhā and its sāṅgha is done by the seniormost elder. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed and there are no common feasts of the sāṅgha, even at the time of initiations. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas of the saṅgha is Bīṣākhu Nārāyaṇa (near Godāvari); the lineage deity of the Sakyas is 'Dunja Mahādyā', now worshipped at the river near the Pacalī Bhairab shrine. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

The origin and history of this bāhā is
A. Nhū Bāhā -- Dharma-yasodharā Vihāra [73]

Nhū Bāhā consists of a very simple bāhā shrine situated in an enclosed courtyard in Chikamuga Tole. The shrine of the kuwapā-dya is a simple three-storied building with little ornamentation. The ground floor with the kuwapā-dya shrine has a simple wooden lattice door with no torana but flanked by two smaller windows. The kuwapā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The storey above has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is a high, plain brick facade with three openings above and a simple corrugated iron roof. In the courtyard are one large plastered caitya and two smaller caityas.

This complex was originally inhabited by Vajracaryas from Gubhā Bāhā and formed a branch of that bāhā. It has now been relinquished by

problematic. The bāhā is always called Gubhā Bāhā today, but the name found on the lists of the Ācārya Gūthī is Waṃ (or Om) Bāhā. There is nothing of great antiquity here, and the only inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S.835. There are no references in other inscriptions or manuscripts to Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra. However, there are several references to Waṃ Bāhā in Cikamuga Tole. Given the fact that there is nothing of great antiquity (i.e., before the late Malla period) in or around the bāhā and the fact that it is now known as Gubhā Bāhā whereas the whole tole is and has long been known as Om Bāhā Tole, one is lead to the conclusion that this is not the original site of the bāhā which the lists call Waṃ Bāhā. Most probably the original site was somewhere nearby and when it fell into great disrepair it was abandoned in favor of a new site. Furthermore, there are several references to Waṃ Bāhā a sāhā and not simply a tole. The earliest reference is dated N.S.594. This occurs in a manuscript colophon that was written in that year and refers to someone (evidently illegible) who lived in Waṃ Bāhā in 'Cyekanamaguni Tolake in Kāṭhamandapa'. Waṃ Vāhāra-Vihāra is mentioned in another manuscript dated N.S.677; and the inscription at Ta Bāhā of N.S.699 mentions one Sākebhiksuk Sri Mayorji of Waṃ Bāhāra. A palmleaf land document from the time of King Laksminarasinha (N.S.737-761) refers to Waṃ Bāhāra in Cekaṇamagurñī Tor[16]a in Yaṅgala. There are several other references after that time to people living in Waṃ Bāhā. At the present time there is no other Waṃ Bāhā in this tole or Cikamuga. It is evident from these references and the fact that the whole area has long been known as Waṃ Bāhā Tole that Waṃ Bāhā is an ancient foundation, but the original site was probably not the present Gubhā Bāhā.

Another curious feature of the history of this bāhā is the origin of the sangha. According to the oral tradition of the members of the sangha this bāhā owes its origin to a Brahman who became a Vajracarya. According to a list of the Bāhās of Kathmandu written in N.S.1096 one Pandit Hemantadeva Brahmāṇa took the initiation of a Vajracarya and founded this bāhā which he then named Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra because he was a brahman. No date is given for this event, but it is confirmed by the very curious fact that to this day the lineage deity of these Vajracaryas is Bīsāṅkhu Nārāyaṇa near Godāvari. The deity they worship is clearly Nārāyaṇa and not some caitya, Buddhist deity or nameless lineage deity situated at the site. Other sanghas have their lineage deity at a place which is now a Hindu shrine (e.g., Gūhyesvarī), but they worship a Buddhist deity or simply a nameless lineage deity associated with the place which was probably originally a Buddhist shrine anyway. The site of Bīsāṅkhu Nārāyaṇa has no Buddhist associations and is not a site for any other Buddhist rituals. The Sakayas belonging to this sangha have a different lineage deity and a different origin. According to their tradition their forebears were originally Vajracaryas of Kathmandu who fell on hard times and could not afford to provide the Ācāraye. As a result of this they became simply Sakayas. Later they left Kathmandu to the village of Sankha (between Panauti and Namara) and built a bāhā for themselves there. Later some of the members of this family came into a considerable amount of wealth as a result of trade in Tibet. They then returned to Kathmandu and built themselves a new house in this area and called it Ja Cheh. They were admitted (or re-admitted) into the sangha of Gubhā (Waṃ) Bāhā as full members of the sangha, and until recent times used to take their turn as āga-paḷā in the shrine of the kuwapā-dya. As the result of a quarrel with the Vajracaryas over gifts received at the time of the bāhā pūjā they quit in protest. However, they still do their Barechuyegu at Gubhā Bāhā. Their lineage deity, now worshipped near Pacali Bhairab down by the river, is 'Dumā Mahādya.'
them and the people living in the buildings around the courtyard are Shresthas and Jayapūs. A Vajracarya from Gubhā Bāhā, however, still comes each day to perform the usual rituals. The bāhā has no income at the present time and the annual festival is no longer observed. Attached to the doorway of the shrine is a copperplate inscription dated N.S.736 which KTMV states commemorates the foundation of the bāhā. Nothing else is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā, though there are several other badly damaged Malla inscriptions within the courtyard.

B. Bhoṭe Bāhā -- Brahmacakra Vihāra [26]
Bhoṭe Bāhāl-Central Jail

This bāhā, which lies well outside of the limits of the old Newar city, is one of the few in Kathmandu to retain the characteristic architecture of a bāhā. Like Chusyā Bāhā [2] it is an entirely enclosed courtyard consisting of one continuous, two-storied building. The shrine of the kuḍāpā-dya, also of two storeys, is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surrounded by a torana showing a tantric deity of three faces and eight arms. In the right hands he holds sword, arrow, elephant goad and vajra, and in his left hand he holds a book, bow, noose and bell. He is flanked by two kneeling attendants. The kuḍāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The doorway is flanked by two smaller windows. The upper storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The tile roof of the shrine is supported by five carved struts and surmounted by a single finial. In the centre of the courtyard is a single 'Aśoka' caitya.

At the present time Bhoṭe Bāhā is in effect a branch of Gubhā Bāhā. There are twenty one Vajracryas of Gubhā Bāhā living here who take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. However the 'sāṅghā' has no further organization or functions. There is no elder as such, no annual festival and no income.

The most curious thing about this foundation is its location right outside of the old city. It is the only bāhā associated with the Ācārya Gūḍhī which is outside the confines of the old Malla city and is situated in an area that was until recently a remote and uninhabited place behind the central jail. Though the building appears old, it apparently is not.

According to Ānadamunī Vajrācārya, the present thayāpā of the Ācārya Gūḍhī, the foundation of this bāhā dates to the time of Jang Bahadur Rana. At the time that Jang Bahadur was in England and his brother Bam Bahadur was acting as Prime Minister, the Ranas appropriated the property of an abandoned foundation called Gaṇa Bāhā. This was situated near the present Gaṇa Vihāra behind the Bhim Sen Tower. (The present Gaṇa Vihāra, however, was a different foundation, a bāhā.) This bāhā was an abandoned branch of Iku Bāhā. When the Ranas appropriated the property they asked the Vajracaryas of Iku Bāhā to remove the image of the kuḍāpā-dya. However, before the ceremony could be performed it was noticed that the image was sweating. The Vajracarya said that this indicated that the deity did not want to be moved. They refused to touch it. Other Vajracaryas were called, but under the circumstances no Vajracarya would move the image. Finally the Ranas called a 'Tibetan' Lāmā who removed the image and placed it at the site of Bhoṭe Bāhā. They then financed the construction of a bāhā for the image. Other informants confirm the story but say that the people were not Tibetans but Tāmāṅgs. Later Vajracaryas from Gubhā Bāhā took up the duties of dya-pālā in the shrine of this bāhā and in this sense it became a branch of Gubhā Bāhā. However, each year the Tāmāṅgs return to the Valley at the time of Śivarātri, and when they come they reside at 'their' bāhā. If this storey is true, it explains the curious placement of this bāhā outside of the city and its equally curious name: Bhoṭe Bāhā='Tibetan' Bāhā.

15. Iku Bāhā -- Vajrasila Mahāvihāra* [76]
Yangal Tole

Iku Bāhā is situated in an entirely closed courtyard in Yangal Tole which is reached by passing through another courtyard which tradition says was a branch bāhā or a bāhā. Over the entryway to the courtyard is an old wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Dharmadīvātu Vagisvara), Dharma (Prajñāparāmitā) and Saṅgha (Sadaksari Lokesvara). Above these figures are the other four transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form and above them six more plain Buddha figures surmounted by Vajrasattva. None of the original bāhā buildings remain, even the shrine of the kuḍāpā-dya is a fairly recent renovation. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and a plain iron railing. The carved
233. Iku Bāhā [76]

234. Jyā Bāhā [75]
doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a copper repousse torana identical to the old wooden one outside. The kuñapā-dya is an image of Vairocana facing north. The facade of the entire ground floor has been finished in white ceramic tile. To the side of the ground floor facade is a door leading to the next little section of buildings to the east. Over this doorway is a wooden torana depicting a six-handed form of Prajñāpāramitā flanked by Ganesha and Mahākāli and with figures of the five transcendent Buddhas above. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has living quarters with an overhanging balcony which is supported by eight carved struts. The tile roof is surmounted by a single finial in the form of a caitya. In the courtyard are three caityas, an image of Amoghapāsa Lokeshvara and an image of Sarasvatī.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists entirely of Vajracaryas, originally four lineages now comprising eighty initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuñapā-dya for one month at a time, and service passes in turn through the original four lineages. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer held, but there is a busā-daṅ festival of the main caitya in the courtyard celebrated on the full moon day of the month of Phālgun. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of five elders. Both Barechuyegu and Acāluyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha and initiation ceremonies are followed by a feast for all the members of the saṅgha. They also have a feast for the entire saṅgha at the time of the twelve year sāmya festival. The saṅgha used to have twenty four ropanis of land from which they obtained a fair income, six ropanīs each for the original families. However, most of this land has now been sold off and what remains will soon be disposed of as the members say it is too difficult to collect the rent any more. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the caitya at Namo Buddha beyond Pañautī.

Informants at Iku Bāhā connect the foundation of this bāhā with the legend of the draining of the Valley by Mañjuśrī. According to Wright's chronicle, after Mañjuśrī had drained the lake and then spent some time absorbed in meditation, he next made the hill Padma, from which place to Gūhjesvarī he built a town called Mañju Pattan. He planted trees near Gūhjesvarī, and peopled the town with those of his disciples who wished to live as grīhasthas, or householders. To those of them who wished to live as Bhikghus, or religious mendicants, he allotted a bhārā. He then installed a king, by name Dharmākara, and himself returned to China.  

The elders of Iku Bāhā claim that Mañju Pattan is the area of Kathmandu around Yangal. They read the Sanskrit name of the vihāra as vajra-sīra, sīra meaning head—and hence this was the first vihāra constructed. In addition to the fact that all of these early legends are highly suspect and very vague, most scholars have located Mañju Pattan in the area of Pañupatināth.

Whatever be the truth of the legend, Iku Bāhā is one of the oldest foundations of the Ācārya Gūthī. We have two early dates for the bhārā N.S.213 and N.S.218. The date N.S.213 is found on a copper-plate inscription, a rubbing of which is in the possession of Ānanda Muni Vajrācārya of Iku Bāhā and which has been published by Hem Raj Sākya. In this year a gūthī was set up for the worship of the Swayambhū Stūpa, or more properly, for the worship of Vairocana who resides in the centre of the stūpa. The document mentions Vajrācārya Dharma-simha of Vajraśila Mahāvihāra. The date N.S.218 is found on a Vajracārya crown now in a private collection in the U.S. The crown bears the following inscription:

On Thursday, the eleventh of the dark half of Vaiśāka, in the year 218, in the reign of Śrī Harṣa Deva, this brilliant crown was made (on the order of?) the wise Kaśi (Kaṃṭha) Sena of Śrī Mat Vajraśila Mahāvihāra.

Neither document mentions the place of this vihāra, but there is only this one Vajraśila in the whole Valley and the copper-plate inscription is still in the hands of the members of the saṅgha of Iku Bāhā. It is indeed interesting that the earliest reference mentions a Vajracārya, the earliest reference to a Vajracārya in connection with a still existing foundation. There are a few other stray references to Vajraśila Mahāvihāra from the seventeenth century and according to KTMV the bāhā was renovated in A.D.1669 and 1825.
A. Jyā Bähā — Jāgavaṅga Mahāvihāra* [75]

Jyā Bähā Tole

Nothing of the original buildings of this bähā remains, and the shrine consists of the ground floor of an ordinary house. Two small lions mark the shrine, but the doorway is entirely plain and has no torana. The kuwpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. To the side of the shrine entrance is another doorway leading to the living quarters above. The two upper stories are ordinary living quarters of a rather modern design with no ornamentation. In the centre of the courtyard is an elongated caitya with standing Buddha figures on the four faces of the stele.

This is an abandoned branch bähā; at the present time there are no bare living in the complex which is inhabited by Citrakārs. Until recent times the Vajracaryas of Iku Bähā used to perform the daily rituals in the shrine of the kuwpā-dya, but even that has been abandoned now. At the present time the people of Iku Bähā are trying to evict the Citrakārs and repossess the bähā. However, the members of the saṅgha of Lagaṅ Bähā claim that the bähā really belongs to Lagaṅ Bähā. This was the branch bähā of one of the lineages of the Vajracaryas of Lagaṅ Bähā, the 'Jyā Bähā' lineage as it is still known today. It was originally a branch of Lagaṅ Bähā which was later 'captured' by Iku Bähā. Nothing definite is known about the origin of this bähā or when it was abandoned. Almost every list of the bähās of Kathmandu has a different Sanskrit name for this branch, but the name Jāgavaṅga is clearly written on an inscription near the doorway which is dated N.S. 782 at which time the present image of Akṣobhya was consecrated. This date may well mark the foundation of the bähā.

16. Musum Bähā (1) — Mani Saṅgha Mahāvihāra*

This very large complex situated in one of the oldest sections of the city of Kathmandu gives the impression of a neglected archaeological garden rather than an active shrine. The whole complex is on a sloping section of land surrounded by dilapidated buildings with bits of ancient sculpture and Licchavi caityas scattered here and there. The complex contains two small bähā shrines and there are actually two main bähās here and two separate communities. Both shrines have the same Newari name but different Sanskrit names. The first shrine, that of Mani Saṅgha Mahāvihāra, is situated along the southern edge of the area. The present building is a small three-storied building of fairly recent origin. The carved doorway is surmounted by a simple carved torana, dated N.S. 973, depicting Vajrasattva flanked by two standing attendants with yak tail fans. The kuwpā-dya was a large clay image of Maitreya enthroned in the Tushita Heaven. This was one of the few such clay images left in the bähās. Originally many of the kuwpā-dyas images were such clay images. A few years ago this image was replaced with a smaller stone image of Akṣobhya. The image faces north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony surmounted by a tile roof and a single finial in the form of a caitya. In front of the shrine is a single 'Licchavi' caitya. To the east of this complex is another large residential courtyard known as Bare Nāni. This complex has no bähā shrine but only a large stylised and plastered caitya in the centre. The nāni is a part of Musum Bähā (1), the āgām shrine of the saṅgha is situated here and both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiation are performed here rather than in front of the shrine of the kuwpā-dya.

The saṅgha of this bähā now consists of only twenty initiated Vajracaryas. They perform the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kuwpā-dya by turn. The term of service is only eight days. The saṅgha no longer observes an annual festival of the bähā, but they do have an annual festival in honour of Maitreya Bodhisattva on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Phālgun. There is a feast for the entire saṅgha whenever there are initiation ceremonies. The bähā no longer has any regular income. However, every twelve years there is a festival in connection with the well in the centre of the large open area north of the shrine. The government Gūḍhi Sainsthān gives money for the celebration of this festival, but at the time of the last festival they gave only Rs. 500 which the members of the saṅgha said was too small an amount to do anything, so they sent it back.

This well is associated with the famous Jāmana Gubhāju who flourished in the time of King Pratāp Malla and who was the king's Buddhist guru. (It seems that this man's proper
235. Musuṁ Bāhā (1) [89]

236. Pikhā Bāhā [98]
name was Mañjuvajra, but informants insist that he is not the Mañjuvajra who is the preceptor of the būhās in this section of Kathmandu. They assign a much earlier date to this Mañjuvajra. According to the legend concerning the well, Jāmana Gubahāju once entered the well in the centre of the complex to propitiate the snake deities at the time of a drought. When he entered the well he found a tunnel which led him to Sāntipur at Swayambhū where he performed the rituals. The members of this saṅgha had in their possession a text used for this ritual to the snake deities (nāgā sadhana). This had been passed on from generation to generation and its possession conferred the right to enter Sāntipur regularly to pacify the snake deities. The last Vajracārya of Musūm Bāhā to have possession of this book died without a son, so the book passed to his daughter who married into Makhān Bāhā [42], and in this way the book and the right of entry into Sāntipur passed from Musūm Bāhā to Makhān Bāhā. By the time of Pratāp Malla they had already lost possession of this book. (See the section on Makhān Bāhā.)

As mentioned above initiations are performed but in Bare Nānī where the āgam is located rather than in front of the shrine of the kuṭāpādya. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Amitābha image attached to the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. The saṅgha is governed by a body of five elders plus three more who act as assistants to the five official elders. Members of this saṅgha claim that their saṅgha was the original community of Musūm Bāhā; the other community was originally a branch but later broke off and became independent. The members of the Musūm Bāhā (1) saṅgha also perform the nītya pūja to the image located in Buddha Bārī [F]. Nothing is known about the foundation of this bāhā, but it is certainly one of the oldest of the būhās of the Ācārya Gōthi, and the place has had Buddhist associations since the Licchāvī period. There are eight 'Licchāvī' caityas scattered around the area of the bāhā, and there is one Licchāvī inscription near the water tap. Unfortunately the inscription is only a fragment and undated, but Dhanavajra Vajracārya has dated it to the time of Narendradeva (mid-seventh century) on the basis of epigraphic evidence. The inscription refers to donations made for the benefit of a community of Buddhist nuns (bhikṣunī saṅgha). The earliest definite date for Musūm Bāhā is found in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Nāmasaṅgiti Jīpanī dated N.S.600 which mentions Manisāṅgha Mahāvihāra. A manuscript copy of the Āryavasundhara Dharani was written in N.S.625 by one Vajracārya Śrījinañcandra of Manisāṅgha Vihāra in the city of Kāṭhamāndapā (kāṭhamāndapā mahānāgara). An inscription at Na Bāhā [87], dated N.S.631, when an image of Dīpankara was consecrated, notes that one of the officiating priests at the ceremony was Vajracārya Jīnacandra of Manisāṅgha Vihāra. A copy of the Panca-rakṣa was written in N.S.655 by the same Vajracārya Jīnacandra of Dakṣiṇa Manisāṅgha Mahāvihāra in the city of Kāṭhamāndapā. An inscription on a caitya in the town of Dolakha dated N.S.689 lists the priests who officiated at the consecration ceremonies. The chief officiating priest was from Manisāṅgha Mahāvihāra in the city of Kāṭhamāndapā. A copy of the Vasundhara-rānāṇi was copied in N.S.677 by one Vajracārya Śrī Jayacandra of Manisāṅgha Mahāvihāra. From this date on one finds a number of manuscript and inscriptive references to Manisāṅgha Mahāvihāra, and it is always the Sanskrit name that is used rather than the Newari name Musūm Bāhā.

A. Pīkhā Bāhā -- Parvacandana Vihāra [88] Brahna Tole

At present this is simply a small brick and plaster shrine of Avalokiteśvara standing on the edge of the road east of Bare Nānī. Near the entrance of the shrine are two small stone lions and the lattice doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a small torana depicting the Buddha (Māhā-aksobhya), Dharma (Pratāpāramaṭī), and Saṅgha (Saḍaṣaṃśi Ākṣara). As it stands this is not a bāhā and it has no saṅgha. However the nītya pūja is performed by Vajracāryas from Musūm Bāhā (1) and they say it was once the site of a large branch of Musūm Bāhā. The original complex of the bāhā was behind, to the south, of this present shrine.

17. Musūm Bāhā (2) -- Manisāṅgha Mahāvihāra* [90] Musūm Bāhā

This is the second bāhā within the complex of Musūm Bāhā and consists of a small, free-standing shrine of two storeys which looks like a tiny house. The shrine rests of a plinth of about four and a half feet, and the entrance is behind a covered veranda. At the top of the steps leading to the shrine are two lions, and the simple, carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing Vajrasattva flanked by two seated
attendants holding yak tail fans. One curious feature of the torana is that at the corners, instead of the usual makaras, are two lions, each facing outward. The kwapā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. Above the shrine proper is a low second storey surmounted by a tile roof with three finial. In front of this shrine is a half buried 'Lichchavi' caitya.

There is some question about the Sanskrit name for this bāhā. Some authors and informants give the same name as that of Musum Bāhā (1), but the name Manisimha Mahāvihāra does occur frequently in manuscripts and inscriptions from the sixteenth century on, and several informants say that this is the proper name of this bāhā. In any case all agree that this is an offshoot of Musum Bāhā (1). It was evidently originally a branch which later became independent for some long forgotten reason. At the present time it is recognised as a separate bāhā with a separate saṁgha and is counted as one of the eighteen main bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthi. However, both saṁghas have the same lineage deity and share the same āgam in Bare Nani. It is the saṁgha attached to this second bāhā which now has all the rights connected with the festival of the well, and they claim that Jāmana Gubhājū was a member of their saṁgha. It is impossible to say when this division of the saṁgha took place, but it is evidently some time ago as attested to by the sixteenth century references to Manisimha and an inscription of N.S.672 situated at the shrine.

Of the two bāhās this second one has the larger saṁgha with a total of ninety initiated Vajracaryas. The members of the saṁgha take turns serving in the shrine of the kwapā-dya performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Barechuyegu initiations are performed in front of the shrine of the kwapā-dya, and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed before the āgam deity in Bare Nani. The saṁgha has five elders. The lineage deity of this saṁgha is the same as that of Musum Bāhā (1). The annual festival is no longer held regularly, but only occasionally and not on a fixed date. The bāhā has no income at the present time.

A. Lhughā Bāhā -- Maitrī-uddhāra Vihāra [30]
Jaisideval

All that remains of the bāhā architecture of this small complex, just behind the Jaisi Deval temple, is the three-storied shrine of the kwapā-dya. The plain ground floor has an unornamented door leading into the shrine flanked by two small windows. There is no torana. The kwapā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavākaracā mudrā, facing north. This image is popularly called 'Karunāmaya'. The first storey of the shrine has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has a single tiny window up against the roof. The tile roof is supported by six plain struts and has no ornamentation on the top. There are three votive caityas in the courtyard. Some lists refer to this bāhā as Nū Bāhā, but the proper current name is Lhughā Bāhā. The inscription near the door clearly gives an earlier form of this name: Lhugra Bāhāra.

This is a branch of Musum Bāhā (2), but at the present time it has no active saṁgha. One family of Vajracaryas from Musum Bāhā (2) live here and perform the usual rituals morning and evening. They ceased observing the annual festival a few years ago. It was observed on Yomari Purhi. The site appears old and the members of the saṁgha have a copper-plate inscription referring to the bāhā dated N.S.703. This may mark the foundation of the bāhā. There are several late Malla inscriptions in the courtyard recording donations and renovations, the earliest of which is dated N.S.733.

1. Yo Bāhā -- Nadīsāṅga Rājākṛta Vihāra [33]
Ko Hiti Tole

There is nothing left of the original architecture in this courtyard situated in Ko Hiti. The image of the kwapā-dya is housed on the ground floor of an ordinary house with a plain facade. The original bāhā buildings were badly damaged in the earthquake of 1934 and finally collapsed a few years ago at which time the present structure was built. The doorway of the shrine is unornamented and has no torana. The kwapā-dya is a small, standing image of Padmapañi Lokesvara. In the courtyard is a single, small votive caitya.

The site has been abandoned by the original inhabitants, all Vajracaryas from Lhughā Bāhā (and hence of Musum Bāhā [2]). One of the Vajracaryas from Lhughā Bāhā still performs the nitya pūja, but this is the only activity of the bāhā. The annual festival which used to be held
on Mâghe Sankrânti is no longer observed, and the bâhâ has no income.

B. Dhanacakra Bâhâ -- Dharmaçakra Vihihâra [91]
Musûm Bâhâ Tole

This complex consists of a large residential courtyard with a brick and plaster shrine in the centre which houses a caitya. The top of the shrine is in the form of an elaborate caitya and at the corners of the structure are subsidiary shrines. Over the doorway of this shrine is a torana depicting the Buddha (Amitâbha) flanked by the Dharma (Prajnâpâramitâ) and the Sañgha (Sadakshari Lokesvara).

If this can be counted as a bâhâ at all it is a purely private branch of Musûm Bâhâ (2). The nani and caitya have long existed but in A.D. 1870 the present rather elaborate shrine was constructed by an ancestor of the present Thakâli of Musûm Bâhâ (2). It was consecrated as a bâhâ according to informants and the descendants of the founder still perform the nitya pujâ. This is the only sense in which it can be called a bâhâ. It does not have a kwâpâ-dya (though some say the image of Amitâbha on the caitya above the shrine is the kwâpâ-dya). It has no sañgha as such and no income. The annual festival is no longer observed.

18. Mikhâ Bâhâ -- Manisañgha Mahâvihâra [74] Mahâjesvarâ Tole

Nothing remains of the original bâhâ buildings in this complex, and the shrine of the kwâpâ-dya is a very plain and crumbling building. At the entrance to the shrine are a pair of guardian lions, the lattice-work doorway is surmounted by a torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Sadakshari Lokeshvara) on his left and the Sañgha (Prajnâpâramitâ) on his right. The kwâpâ-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has one single, small latticed window over the doorway of the shrine. The top storey has an overhanging bay window with three openings. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two caityas one of which is mediaeval.

The sañgha of this bâhâ consists of only three families of Vajracaryas who now have sixteen initiated members. These take turns acting as dya-pâlâs performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The annual festival of the bâhâ is no longer held and the sañgha is governed by a board of five elders. Barechuyegu and Acâluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the sañgha but at irregular intervals. A feast for the entire sañgha is held only after initiation ceremonies. The lineage deity of the sañgha is the same as that of the two Musûm Bâhâs, i.e., the Amitâbha image on the west side of the Swayambhû Mahâcaitya. The bâhâ has no income at the present time.

According to all informants this was originally a branch of Musûm Bâhâ(1) which at some time broke relations with Musûm Bâhâ and became independent. At the present time it is recognised as one of the eighteen main bâhâs of the Acârya Gôthî. The relationship with Musûm Bâhâ is confirmed by the fact that the sañgha has the same lineage deity as the sañghas of the two Musûm Bâhâs. Furthermore, some ten years ago the two sañghas at Musûm Bâhâ organised a joint ceremony for their entire sañgha. At the time of the festival people from Mikhâ Bâhâ came and demanded to be included in the festival as they are really all 'one sañgha'. Though the lineage deity is the same, Mikhâ Bâhâ has its own again shrine at this site. Just when this bâhâ was founded and when it became independent is unknown. The oldest inscription in the courtyard is dated N.S. 803 and gives the name of the bâhâ as simply Mâkhâ Bâhâ. The bâhâ was last renovated in A.D. 1866. There is some disagreement among informants and authors about the Sanskrit name of this bâhâ. Most of them claim that it has the same name as Musûm Bâhâ (1), i.e. Manisañgha. Some, however, claim that the name is Munisangha or even Munisiha. There is a nani courtyard to the side of the bâhâ compound which informs claim was once a branch bâhâ known as Dhwâkâ Bâhâ. At the present time it is merely a nani with a caitya but no kwâpâ-dya shrine.
241. Mikhā Bānā [74]
In addition to the eighteen main bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī there are ten other main bāhās in Kathmandu. The saṅghas of these ten bāhās are made up entirely of Sakyas and they have no direct connection to the bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī. Their saṅghas are entirely independent. When they need the services of a Vajracarya priest they call a priest from one of the eighteen bāhās of the Ācārya Gūthī, but they have no other connection to these except for common participation in certain festivals like the pañcādāna and the samyak.

1. Sigha Bāhā --- Sāntighaṭa Caiṭya Mahā-vihāra* [8] Nagha Tole

Sigha Bāhā is part of a large complex, the main feature of which is the large caitya in the centre of the courtyard known as Sāntighaṭa Caiṭya or Kāthe Simbu (the 'Kathmandu Swayammbhū'). The caitya is reminiscent of the Swayammbhū Mahācaitya but has many features that are different. The dome rests on white-washed pedestal. Above the dome or garbha is a four-sided harmikā with eyes similar to those at Swayambhū. The tower rising above this consists of thirteen rings surmounted by a large ornamental umbrella. At the cardinal points around the garbha are the images of the four transcendental Buddhas. In the large courtyard around the caitya are a number of votive caityas, shrines and images of deities of the Mahāyāna pantheon. The most striking of these is a large sculpture of Padmapani Lokesvara which has been generally assigned to the ninth century A.D. There was an even earlier fragment of a Buddhist image attached to a nearby wall, but this has now disappeared. These two images suggest a great antiquity for the shrine but the earliest dated inscription in the complex bears the date N.S.672

There is an oft told legend which explains the existence of this caitya. In ancient times there was a great Buddhist king of Benaras who out of devotion caused a caitya to be erected in his city. When the caitya was finished he searched for a powerful Buddhist ācārya to consecrate it. None could be found in the city until someone recalled that there was a Nepalese Buddhist Ācārya in town who was seen to go and bathe in the river each morning. This was none other than the famous Vākvaṭra, the preceptor of Kīś Abhā in Kathmandu. So he was summoned and asked to consecrate the caitya. He brought water from the river, sprinkled it on the caitya and declared it consecrated. The populace was unhappy with this, as they felt that the caitya could not be properly consecrated with such a simple ceremony.

At this point in the story versions diverge. One version says that Vākvaṭra then challenged the people. He told them to tie a rope to the caitya and see if they could move it, when they failed he then said that he could move the caitya by the force of his mantra and this would prove his power and hence the validity of his consecration. He moved the caitya, then raised it into the air and preceding it himself took off for Nepal where he caused it to come to rest in its present place. According to the other version of the story, Vākvaṭra addressed the people and convinced them of his learning and power. Finally they were satisfied that the consecration must be effective. Some time later it became evident that the caitya had been placed on an inauspicious site, a place which was inhabited by ghosts and fierce spirits who were unhappy about its presence. Accordingly the king decided the the caitya must be moved. The caitya was bound with ropes; and then horses, elephants and men tried to drag the
242, Sigha Bahā [8]
caitya to a new location, but it would not move. Finally Vākṣṣāra told the king he could move the caitya. He instructed the people to take away all the horses and elephants, to remove the ropes and to tie a simple string of five colours (red, green, yellow, white and black) round the caitya. When this was done he began the recitation of his mantras. Vākṣṣāra rose into the sky and behind him the caitya followed tied to the string. The people were amazed and the king declared, 'Truly you are no man, but an incarnation of the Buddha. You are none other than Samantabhadra.' (This explains why in some accounts the Acārya is referred to as Samantabhadra). Flying through the air Vākṣṣāra brought the caitya to Nepal, bringing it to rest at Sānti Ghata, a place where a sacred water pot (ghata) was enshrined. He then set up the caitya with proper rituals and consecrated it. After the caitya was established a vihāra called Śāntighata Vihāra was set up and Sakyas called from Asan Tole, initiated and given charge of the caitya and the vihāra.

The only account to give a date for this event and the foundation of the bāhā is that of Kāvīrāj Vajracarya who places it in the year N.S.695 during the reign of 'Narendra Deva Malla'. This is impossible on several accounts. An inscription at the caitya dated twenty three years earlier than this speaks of offerings to the caitya. There was certainly no Buddhist king in Benaras at this time (during the reign of Akbar the Great), if there ever was. The king of Kathmandu in N.S.695 was Sādāśīva Malla. There was a Narendra (alias Amar) Nalla who ruled Kathmandu from N.S.650 until about 680, but he was certainly dead by N.S.695.

The inscription of N.S.672 gives the first dated reference to the caitya. At that time one Megharāja donated a golden finial for the caitya in memory of his deceased son and set up a gōthī for the purpose of performing an annual commemoration of the gift. The members of the gōthī are listed and the first one of the list is a Bhikṣu from Kuṭhā (Kuṭhā Bāhāra). In the time of Pratāp Malla extensive repairs were carried out on the caitya. In N.S.767 the life of the caitya was removed (i.e. the caitya was deconsecrated--nyasapikāyā) and the repair works begun. The repairs were financed by Śākyabhikṣu Jayata Śīlā, Śākyabhikṣu Jīna Śīlā, Śākyabhikṣu Deva Śīlā, Śākyabhikṣu Jayārāja, Śākyabhikṣu Māni, Śākyabhikṣu Padmarāja, Bhikṣuṇī Jamie-

na, Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Śīlā, and Śākyabhikṣu Ratna Simha; but there is no indication of which bāhā these Śākyabhikṣus belong to. By N.S.773 the repairs had been completed and an elaborate yagā was performed by a large number of Vajracaryas from Kuṭhā Bāhā, Dhušākā Bāhā and Sākhmu Bāhā. Among the participants are mentioned two from Navaghala, Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Abhijyoti and Ratnasimha. This Navaghala could refer either to the present Sigha Bāhā or to Nagha Bāhā [9]. In N.S.882 in the time of Bhūpalendra Malla one Śūrya Simha set up a votive caitya in the compound, and in N.S.1010 in the time of Prithvi Bir Bikram Saha one Vajramaya Bhikṣu set up an image of Vajrasattva. Somewhere about this time extensive repairs must have been carried out on the caitya as by the middle of the last century the caitya was in a ruinous state.

The Vajracaryas of Kuṭhā Bāhā still retain a ritual connection with this place. Along the western side of the open area surrounding the caitya and behind a little school is a small shrine referred to by various names: Śāntipur (because it is the place where the Sānti Ghata was enshrined), Kosam Bāhā, and Kuoma Bāhā. When the Vajracaryas go there to perform the rituals they refer to the event as 'pimba wane', going to Pimba. No one was able to explain the significance of pimba. Once a year, two Vajracaryas of Kuṭhā Bāhā, the current Thaypā and one other (by rotation through the thirty two lineages of the saṅgha) go to this shrine to offer puja. This takes place on the fullmoon day of Magha. The day before the fullmoon they go to offer betel nuts as a preparatory rite. On the fullmoon day itself, which they consider to be the greatest of all fullmoon days, they offer masa dal and puju hāyacā, a common propitiatory rite. The present incumbents have no information on the origin or meaning of this ritual other than the tradition that they have this right as the heirs of Vākṣṣāra who founded the caitya. They have no connection with the saṅgha of Sigha Bāhā and the people of the saṅgha of Sigha Bāhā in turn have no rights or duties connected with this shrine.

Sigha Baha itself is only a small three storied building on the southern side of the open area surrounding the caitya. The present building is a simple, unadorned, three-storied building with the shrine of the kuṭāpō-dya in a room at the eastern corner of the building. The building has none of the architectural features
of a bāhā shrine except for a metal toraṇa over the door depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣādakṣari Lokeshvara) on his left. The kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north.

The saṅgha consists of about one hundred initiated Sakyas from sixteen families. The members of the saṅgha serve as dyā-pāḷās in the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya and as dyā-pāḷās of the caitya by turn for eight days at a time. Service passes through the households in turn, but at the present time little attention is paid to the correct order of service. The annual festival is now observed on the full moon day of the month of Asvin, though it used to be held at a different time. The saṅgha has a board of five elders. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dumjā 'Mahādyā' first brought to Kulesvara near Teku and later to the area of the caitya where the annual pūja is now performed. Informants say that the bāhā had a considerable income, but this has been reduced to the income from a small plot of land near the Public Youth Campus. The saṅgha is served by Vajracarya priests from Sawai Bāhā [50].

Informants were unable to give any account of the history or founding of this bāhā beyond the tradition that the bāhā has existed since the time of the caitya. Some informants confirmed the tradition that they had originally come from Asan, but not from Asan Bāhā. This makes good sense because the lineage deity of this saṅgha and that of the Asan Bāhā saṅgha are not the same. Other informants, however, denied any connection with Asan and claimed that they have lived at Sigha Bāhā since time immemorial. Nothing definite can be deduced from the many inscriptions in the complex since they all refer to the caitya and not the bāhā. The present shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya is a reconstruction following the destruction of the older buildings at the time of the earthquake of A.D.1934. The early sculptural remains indicate a great antiquity for the site but say nothing about the present community.

Along the western side of the open area is a new foundation, a vihāra for Theravāda monks which was founded a few years ago and goes by the name of Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra. These Theravāda monks have no connection with the saṅgha of Sigha Bāhā.


This bāhā is situated in a small, enclosed courtyard just off the main road a little south of the entrance to the Sigha Caitya. Over the street entryway is a wooden toraṇa depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the centre. Inside is a small courtyard with the bāhā shrine along the southern arm. The shrine has recently repaired and is good example of a well-preserved typical bāhā shrine. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The carved lattice door is flanked by images of Sārīputra and Maugalyāyana and surmounted by a metal toraṇa depicting Dharma and Vāgīśvara and four other tantric deities. The kuṇāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows. Above this is an overhanging wooden balcony surmounted by a tile roof and a single finial. The facade of the shrine is painted with several frescoes of Buddhist deities. In the courtyard are two votive caityas, one dated N.S.1027 and the other dated N.S.1053.

This bāhā has a large saṅgha of fifty seven families with over two hundred initiated Sakyas. Few live at the bāhā or even in the vicinity, but are scattered around the city of Kathmandu. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by members of the saṅgha. Service is for eight days at a time and passes through the fifty seven households in turn. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed, except by a few interested people and in a private manner. A feast for the entire saṅgha is now held only at the time of initiations. Informants say that they no longer invite any Vajracaryas to their feasts because the Ācārya Gūthi refuses to recognise this as a 'main' bāhā. Hymns are recited at the bāhā during the month of Guțil, but there are few other observances at the bāhā now. The saṅgha has a board of five elders and Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dumjā 'Mahādyā', now worshipped in the bāhā compound but first 'brought' to Kulesvara near Teku. The bāhā has no income.
Informants were unable to give any information about the history or foundation of the bähā. It would seem evident from the proximity to Sigha Bähā and the fact that both saṅghas have the same lineage deity that one of these two bähās is an offshoot of the other. However, informants denied this and claimed that the two bähās are entirely separate and have always been so. According to their own oral tradition the present saṅgha originated in Simroangadh. After the destruction of Simroangadh they migrated to the hills and eventually to Nuwākot. After the conquest of the Valley by Prithvincial Shah they migrated to the Kathmandu Valley and took up residence in this bähā which was at that time abandoned.

The earliest dated inscription in the complex is dated N.S.805 at which time repairs were carried out by Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Rāmadeva and Śākyabhikṣu Dharmarāja. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the bähā, Ratnamand[ī]a Mahāvihāra. The inscription at Sigha Bähā mentioned above and dated N.S.773 mentions a Śākyabhikṣu from Navagahāla which may refer to this bähā. There are no earlier references to the bähā or the saṅgha.

3. Asan Bähā -- Asokacaitlya Mahāvihāra [17]
Asan, Jaruncheṅ

Asan Bähā is situated in an enclosed courtyard just off Asan Tole. It is a three-storied bähā shrine of brick painted white, with frescoes of the five transcendent Buddhas above the first storey. The shrine of the kuṣāṇḍa-tyā is marked by a pair of metal lions and an iron railing round the ground floor veranda. Set into the top of the railing is a row of prayer wheels, and at the left corner is a large temple bell. The carved wooden doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torana depicting Akṣobhya flanked by two attendants waving yak tail fans. The kuṣāṇḍa-tyā is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has a single, plain lattice window in the centre. The roof is of tile and surmounted by a single gaṭṭa. In the centre of the courtyard is a single 'Asoka' caitya.

The saṅgha of Asan Bähā consists now of twenty three families with a total membership of ninety eight initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kuṣāṇḍa-tyā. The term of service is eight days and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated. The saṅgha of this bähā has always been very active, but in recent years the activity has diminished considerably because of dwindling income. Until a few years ago there were eighteen feasts each year for the entire saṅgha. This feasting depended on a large income from agricultural land which had been donated by wealthy traders of Asan, some Sakyas and some Tulādhars. Gradually this land has decreased, and at the present time there are no more communal feasts except at the time of initiations. The annual festival is still observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh and the saṅgha has five elders. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is situated at a place called Bhinhā Ga along the road running west from the Swayambhū Mahečaitya. This is a shrine containing a Śiva linga and is frequented by a number of different peoples including Jyāpuṣ, Brahmans and Chetris. The Jyāpuṣ call the deity Harisiddhi or Nāsada (their favorite form of Śiva) and perform blood sacrifices to the image. However, the deity is most commonly called Phay-kuṣāṇḍa (hot wine god). No one at Asan Bähā, or at Maheč Bähā which has the same lineage deity, could give any further information on the nature of this deity or why it is worshipped as their lineage deity. Most probably it was originally a typical lineage deity shrine with aniconic images which was later turned into a Śiva shrine either by the Jyapus or the later Brahmans and Chetris. This deity has been 'brought' to the bähā complex where it is now worshipped.

This community of Asan is by all accounts an ancient community. Oral tradition states that the bähā was founded by a son of Asoka. However, there is at the present time no information on the history or founding of the bähā and there are no old inscriptions or images within the compound. There are inscriptions but the oldest of these is dated N.S.993. This may be due to a change of site. Informants claim that originally the bähā was situated north of the present site where there is now a private house of Tulādhars and where there is still a caitya, an image of the Buddha and an image of Lokeshvara.

Informants at Asan Bähā claim that when
Sigha Bāhā [8] was built there were no Bare there to tend the shrine, so Sakyas were called from Asan Bāhā to take over the shrine. This, they say, is confirmed by the fact that to this day, if the saṅgha at Sigha Bāhā were to die out entirely its rights and duties would be assumed by the people of Asan Bāhā, and vice versa should the saṅgha of Asan Bāhā die out. One thing which casts considerable doubt on this (in addition to the denial by the people at Sigha Bāhā) is the fact that the saṅghas of these two bāhās have different lineage deities.


The main feature of this bāhā is the large stūpa which stands in the centre of an area enclosed by a low wall. There are no buildings in the area except for the shrine of the kuwpā-dya and a small rest house. The shrine is a single-storeyed, one-roomed shrine painted white and having a tiled roof. The lattice doorway is surmounted by a wooden torāṇa depicting Aksobhya flanked by two attendants holding yak tail fans. The image of the kuwpā-dya is an enormous seated, stone image of the Buddha in bhumisparsa mudrā (Aksobhya) about seven feet high. The image fills the entire shrine, and the building must have been built round the image. In addition to the large stūpa there is one small caitya in front of the shrine; and within the compound are images of Mañjuśrī, Amitābha, Prajñāpāramitā, Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

The saṅgha of this bāhā now consists of five families with a total of eleven initiated members, all Sakayas. The daily rituals are performed by the members of the saṅgha in rotation. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of membership according to seniority. The annual festival has been discontinued as the bāhā no longer has any income. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha at very irregular intervals. The only time a feast is held for the entire saṅgha is after initiations. The saṅgha has five elders. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the Phay-kuwā-dya deity west of the Swayambhū Caitya.

This bāhā has some sort of seniority status among the bāhās of this area, a fact that is recalled by a still existing gūṭhi of these bāhās. Informants were unable to explain just what this position of seniority consists in or what its origin is. Supposedly it indicates that this bāhā is the oldest bāhā in the area and as such has a position of eminence. The bāhās which belong to this gūṭhi are Mahābū Bāhā, Mū Bāhā [46], Tadhān Bāhā [48], Ciḍhaṇ Bāhā [48], Asan Bāhā [17], Takṣe Bāhā [15], Jamo Bāhā [99] and Dagu Bāhā [16]. Once a year, on the eighth day of the bright half of Nāg Paścimā, the gūṭhi must perform a puja, which was originally always performed at Mahābū Bāhā. Though in former times this gūṭhi met as a body at Mahābū Bāhā and was afterwards feasted, the puja is now performed by the Thāypad of each of these bāhās by rotation and is performed at his own bāhā. Since this gūṭhi contains two of the main bāhās of the Acārya Gūṭhi (Mū Bāhā and Takṣe Bāhā) and one branch of a main bāhā of the Acārya Gūṭhi (Dagu Bāhā) and one bāhā which is for all practical purposes defunct (Jamo Bāhā), this gūṭhi may well date back to a much earlier time before the ascendancy of the Acārya Gūṭhi and the fixing of its eighteen bāhās as the 'main' bāhās of Kathmandu. Whatever its origin, the custom is on the decline, has no practical implications at the present time, and will probably soon disappear altogether.

Nothing is known about the foundation or age of this bāhā. In N.S.844 repairs were made to the image of the Buddha, and further repairs...
were made to the complex after the great earthquake of A.D.1833. Whether the compound ever contained a courtyard or proper bāhā buildings is now unknown. At the present time the area round the stūpa is used daily as a grain selling depot. The Thāypā of the saṅgha who lives here gets a cut on each bag of grain and potatoes which is weighed. At present his day is taken up with the collection of the fee and the general business of selling grain and potatoes. The existence of the large stūpa and the large stone Buddha would indicate an early date for the complex, probably early medieval period, but nothing definite can be said at the present time.


The shrine of this bāhā, which sits just off the road leading to Mahābu Bāhā, is a fine example of the typical bāhā façade. The building is of three storeys with the shrine of the kuṭā-dya on the ground floor. The shrine is marked by a pair of stone lions and an archway of oil lamps. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden toraoa depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), with the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣarī Lakeśvara) on his left. These figures are flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Above are figures of a four-armed Mañjuśrī, an image of Vairocana and an image of a monk with a fez-like cap. The kuṭā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has an overhanging balcony which is screened after the manner of the bāhīs.

The other buildings which surround the partial courtyard on three sides are of a much more recent date. The western side of the courtyard is open to the street. In the centre of the courtyard are three caityas, the central one of which is an 'Aśoka' caitya.

According to informants this was originally a branch bāhā of Mahābu Bāhā but was later abandoned by the members of the saṅgha. At the present time the buildings around the courtyard are inhabited by Tāṃrākārs. Until recently the current dya-pālā of Mahābu Bāhā used to come daily for the usual rituals, but even this has now been discontinued. Whatever rituals are performed are done by the Tāṃrākārs who live here. The earliest inscription in the complex is a copper-plate inscription dated N.5.746 at which time the present structure was built.

S. Tamu Bāhā -- Ratnākara Mahāvihāra [28] Hyunat Tole

All that remains of Tamu Bāhā is the shrine of the kuṭā-dya and this is in a state of almost complete ruin with the roof collapsed and much of the brickwork damaged. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions, the carved lattice doorway is flanked by two small windows. Over the doorway was a wooden toraoa depicting the five transcendent Buddhas which has now disappeared. The kuṭā-dya is an image of Vairocana facing east. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey had a finely carved overhanging balcony, but the tile roof collapsed onto this and it has been practically destroyed. In the courtyard is a single plastered caitya and piles of rubble. There is some confusion about the proper Newari name for this bāhā and the following one. Some people call this Kusaṅ Bāhā, and there is even a recent sign inside the compound with this name. However, informants at the bāhā say that this is Tamu and the following one Kusaṅ.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of only two families with fifteen initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine for a lunar fortnight at a time. Service passes through the roster of the initiated by seniority. The annual festival is no longer held; and a common feast is held only at the time of Barechuyegu initiations which are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has only one elder. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the large standing Buddha near the Suayambhū Caiya showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā. He is called Vairocana by the members of the saṅgha and is now worshipped at Tamu Bāhā where he has been 'brought'. The saṅgha of this bāhā has some connection with Lagaṅ Bāhā [80] which at present is not very clear. At the time of the twelve year samyak festival the Lagaṅ Bāhā saṅgha used to invite the people of this bāhā to a festival at Lagan. Formerly it was also the custom whenever one of the members of five bāhās in this area returned from trading in Tibet to hold a common feast to which the members of five bāhās were invited. The five bāhās were Tamu Bāhā, Kusāṅ Bāhā [27], Yatā Bāhā [86], Lagaṅ Bāhā [60], and Kohiti Bāhā
The sanγha of Tamu Bāhā used to be served by priests from Takṣa Bāhā [15], but this was officially changed (through the offices of the Ācāra Gūthi); and they are now served by one man from Gubhā Bāhā [65] and one man from Lhugha Bāhā [30].

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. The caitya in the centre of the courtyard was erected in N.S.706 and two other inscriptions bear the dates N.S.835 and 865. In N.S.865 a caitya was erected, the āgā ham deity was consecrated and a gūthi was set up to ensure their continued worship.

Recently some Theravāda nuns (anagārika) have come to stay in one section of the bāhā compound along the northern sector. They have established a vihā ra which they call Dharmanā- ngha Mahāvihāra.

A. Kusān Bāhā -- Ratnakara Viha ra [27]

Hyumat Tole

This bāhā is situated in an enclosed courtyard almost opposite to Tamu Bāhā. The shrine is a fairly recent reconstruction and consists only of a room on the ground floor of a residential building which houses the kuñā-pā-dya. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway has no torana. The kuñā-pā-dya is an image of Vairocana facing east. The two upper storeys contain living quarters.

This bāhā was originally a branch of Tamu Bāhā, and part of the sanγha used to live here. However, they have all moved away now, though some return daily to perform the nītya pūjā. Recently some Theravāda monks have moved into a part of the complex founding a vihā ra which they call Dharma-ratna Mahāvihāra.

There is an inscription on the base of the Buddha image in the kuñā-pā-dya shrine which states that the image was consecrated by one Śākyabhiṣkū Chakrāpatideva in N.S.865. This may mark the foundation of the bāhā.

B. Tukañ Bāhā -- Ratnakara Viha ra [29]

Hyumat Tole

At the present time this is not a bāhā in any sense. It has no kuñā-pā-dya and no sanγha. Yet it is called a bāhā and included in the list of bāhās to be visited at the time of the pūjā. The complex comprises a large courtyard surrounded by ordinary houses, all inhabited by Jyāpsūs, with a large stūpa in the centre. The stūpa stands on a single circular platform of masonry with Buddhist relief scenes. This is a common feature of stūpas remains in India but is almost unique in Nepal. The rest of the stūpa is of the usual brick and plaster. There are the usual four shrines of the Buddhas at the cardinal points. However, the whole is in a sad state of neglect. A peepul tree is growing out of the harmika of the stūpa, and the exquisite masonry is beginning to crumble. The courtyard also contains a number of minor caityas and a vajra. According to KTMU the caitya was constructed in the 14th century and later renovated first by a monk named Śāma and later by one Śivasīṅga Lāma. However, Pal dates the relief panels round the caitya to the seventh or eighth century:

Some of the most charming Buddhist reliefs adorn the stupa at Tukañ bāhāl at Kathmandu. In one of these, two sedent lions confront a vajra, the symbol of Vajrayāna Buddhism; in another, a pair of antelopes with flying scarves flanks a wheel of the Law; in the third, a human couple adore a flowering vase. It is rather interesting that in the majority of such decorative Buddhist reliefs the formal rock motif predominates. Perhaps this is an influence of the hills and mountains that surround the valley, although there is no attempt at naturalistic delineation. Rather, the Nepal artists give us even a more stylized and flamboyant version of the conceptualized rocks that the Indians had employed first at Sanchi and then at Ajanta.

Isolated as these reliefs are, their chronological context is difficult to determine. One such relief, however, now preserved in the National Museum, is inscribed, and the paleography seems similar to that of sixth century inscriptions. Thus, by comparison, the few reliefs discussed above may safely be attributed to the seventh or eighth century.

According to informants this was formerly a branch of Tamu Bāhā, but as the number of the members of the sanγha declined this complex was entirely abandoned. Until recently members of the sanγha of Tamu Bāhā used to come here daily to perform the customary rituals at the caitya, but even this has now been discontinued. Infor-
mants say there is a wooden torana which used to hang over the entryway to this complex but it has been removed for 'safe keeping.' Given the early sculptures on the caitya, it is certain that this site had Buddhist connections in Licchavi times and may well have been the site of one of the Licchavi vihāras.


This bāhā is situated in a very large residential courtyard in Wotu Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is situated on the southern side of the quadrangle and is a simple three storey structure wedged in between much later buildings. The ground floor of the shrine has been plastered and painted white; the rest of the building is of ordinary brick. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana showing Vajrasattva flanked by two attendants holding yak tail fans. According to informants the kwāpā-dya is an unusual image of the Buddha seated in the European fashion and showing what appears to be the bodhyānga mudrā. This is difficult to confirm as the image is always covered with a sort of metal cope. According to informants this is a 'secret' deity which can only be seen by the members of the saṅgha. Not even their wives are ever permitted to see the image uncovered. This is indeed a strange custom; the kwāpā-dya is never a secret deity, and for this reason his image is always kept on the ground floor in an open shrine where he can be seen and worshipped by all. A copper-plate inscription near the door of the shrine identifies the image as Maitreya. The first storey of the shrine has a triple carved window. The top storey has an overhanging balcony with carved lattice windows. The tile roof is surmounted by a triple finial.

In the courtyard are a number of inscriptions, caityas and images. To the left as you enter the courtyard is a large shrine with three images: the Buddha (in dhārya mudrā) flanked by the Saṅgha (Śaḍakṣari Lokēśvara) on his right and the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his left. In the centre of the courtyard is a caitya built on a high platform which has a large standing image of Padmapāṇi Lokēśvara on the north and a small image of Buddha showing the varada mudrā on the south. In front of this caitya and facing the shrine of the kwāpā-dya is an image of a devotee with a large inscription carved on his back dated N.S.769. There are seven other votive caityas in the courtyard, the top part of one of which appears to be a 'Licchavi' caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā, which is one of the oldest and most active communities in Kathmandu, now consists of thirty families comprising two hundred five initiated Sakyas. There were originally four lineages to the saṅgha, and this division is still reflected in the fact that there are still four groups: 1. one lineage centered on Tadhaḥ Bāhā, 2. one lineage centered on Cidhaḥ Bāhā and Phykhaḥ Bāhā, 3. one lineage centered on Picheṅ Bāhā and 4. one lineage which used to have a branch bāhā behind Picheṅ Bāhā. The daily rituals at Tadhaḥ Bāhā are performed at dawn (the bathing of the image), morning and evening. Theoretically all the members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālas by turn according to seniority, but as a matter of fact the pūjā is always done by one man now whom the members commission to take their place. The governing body of the saṅgha consists of ten elders. Of the two main elders one must come from Tadhaḥ Bāhā itself and one from Cidhaḥ Bāhā. The annual festival is held on the third day of the bright half of Ashwin at which time all of the elders of the saṅgha have to observe a fast. However, there is no longer an annual feast following the rituals. A feast for the entire saṅgha is held only after Barechuyegu initiations, and this is not the traditional bhway but a rice meal. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is located at Gēhyēśavāri (near Paśupati-nāth) and informants identify this deity as Heruka. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

The history of this foundation is one of the most intriguing in the city of Kathmandu. First, a word about the Sanskrit name of the bāhā. All modern lists give the Śākṣat name as Dharmacakra Dhāraṇa Mahāvihāra. Yet informants at the bāhā insist that the name is simply Dharmacakra; and, more important, all of the inscriptions and manuscript references which reach back for at least seven hundred years, give the name as Dharmacakra. The earliest definite reference to this bāhā is found in the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Astasahasrika-Prajñāpāramitā in the Cambridge University Library. The manuscript was written in N.S.285 by one Śakyabhikṣu Maṇjuśrī who lived in the 'Śrī Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra in Vantradhulike in Yambukramāyām.' Yambukramāyām is Yambu or
Dhatu Puiñ and Vantradullake is Wotu Tole. The manuscript was written for a resident of Pharping (Panapinga-visaya). However, there is an even earlier manuscript which may refer to this bähā. There is a copy of the Catuspithanivandha in the National Archives (formerly the Darbar Library). According to the catalogue of the Archives Collection the manuscript is dated N.S.135 and was written in the reign of Bhāskara Deva by one Śākyabhiśku Kumārācandra who lived in the Śrī Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra founded by Guṇakāmadeva. The date is surely erroneous, because we know from another colophon of this date that in N.S.135 three kings were ruling jointly: Bhojadeva, Rudradeva and Laksñikāmadeva. Petech reads the date as N.S.165 and this has been confirmed for me by Mr. Śāṅkarmān Rājavansi of the Archeology Department. This date falls within the known dates of the reign of Bhāskaradeva. However, Petech also reads the name of the vihāra as Padmacakra instead of Dharmacakra. If the date 165 and the name Dharmacakra are correct, there is a good chance that the reference is indeed to Tadhañ Bähā. The Archive Catalogue adds a phrase which is not in Petech: śrīgarbajjike kulaputra. Gaṅgulāke refers to Kathmandu. There is no other vihāra in Kathmandu from this period called Dharmacakra as far as we know, and there is a still current tradition at Tadhañ Bähā that the bähā was founded by Guṇakāmadeva. Legends and chronicles attribute the foundation or inauguration of so many things to Guṇakāmadeva that one immediately suspects all such attributions. However, in this case we have a manuscript dated N.S.165, fifty-five years after the known dates of Guṇakāmadeva’s reign which attributes its foundation to him. Hence the attribution to Guṇakāmadeva is fairly certain whether this vihāra is in fact Tadhañ Bähā or not.

The history of the bähā picks up again in N.S.665 when one Śākyabhiśku Śthāvīra (=Thānpā) Toyujū had a large, golden image of Dipānkara made and consecrated in memory of his father Śrī Jīva with the intention of setting up a gūthi for the regular performance of the samyak festival. In N.S.667 the gūthi was set up and a samyak festival was held. The record of this event is preserved in a cooperplate inscription kept at Cidañ Bähā, the branch where Toyujū’s descendants still live. According to oral tradition Toyujū spent many years in Lhasa and after returning with a great quantity of gold he decided to revive old traditions and bring about an awakening within the Buddhist community by spending the money he had earned on this image and the gūthi to insure the regular observance of the samyak. After his death his family preserved his memory by having a wooden image of him made which is still preserved in Cidañ Bähā and shown each year during the sacred month of Guñi. This samyak was held regularly every four years at Pyūkha Bähā until the time of Prithivinarayan Shah when economic hardships dictated its discontinuation in favour of a joint Kathmandu samyak at Bhukhel near Swayambhū every twelve years. Once a year, however, on the day of Māghe Sankranti the image of Dipānkara is taken to Pyūkha Bähā for a pañca dāna.

In N.S.790 one Śākyabhiśku Guṇacandra donated a book for the recitation of hymns in honour of the Buddhist deities; in the year N.S.796 he repaired the doors of the bähā and established a caitya; in the year N.S.797 he made a donation to the Swayambhū Mahācaitya at which time he donated land for the recitation of verses in honour of Aryavalokiteśvara and finally he made a further donation in N.S.808. All of this information is contained in the inscription on the back of the donor figure near the entrance to the bähā. Despite all this information people at the bähā will identify this figure as Guṇakāmadeva. Another inscription records that this same Śākyabhiśku Śrī Guṇacandra of Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra set up a caitya and established images of Maitrī Bodhisattva, Hevajra, 20 ‘Iṣṭa-devatā’, and Vajra-mahākāl in N.S.796. In N.S.863 one Śākyabhiśku Candrajoṭti Rāja who lived in the North eastern corner of Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra in Wotu Tole donated money for the repair of the āgam shrine in memory of his father Dharmarāja.

From what evidence we have it is clear that this is one of the earliest of the bähās of Kathmandu, probably founded by Guṇakāmadeva himself, and that down the years the saṅgha has been very active. Much of this activity, which has been sustained by donations and the gūthi for the samyak ceremonies, probably resulted from the fact that many members of this saṅgha were traders in Lhāsā and thus had a source of considerable outside income which enabled them to make lavish donations to carry on their traditions.
A. Cidhaṅ Bāhā — Jīna-udchāra Vihāra* [48]  Wotu Tole

This bāhā is situated in a small courtyard just off Wotu Tole. The well-preserved bāhā shrine is of three storeys with a bāhi style cupola over the roof. The carved doorway of the shrine is flanked by stone images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and surmounted by a wooden torana showing the Nāmasaṅgīti with a small figure of Vairocana above and six other indistinct deities around. The kuwāpā-dya is an image of Akgobhyā facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has an overhanging lattice-work balcony supported by four carved struts. In the courtyard are four votive cai-tyas.

This is an official branch of Tadhaṅ Bāhā and its saṅgha is one of the four lineages of Tadhaṅ Bāhā. Originally five households lived here, now there are only four and the members of these households serve as dyā-pālās in the shrine. Rituals are performed at dawn, in the morning and again in the evening. The annual festival of the bāhā is no longer observed, but there is a special observance at the time of the disi pūjā in Paus when the heads of the five households perform a śrāddha in honour of five famous deceased chief elders who served in succession. The branch saṅgha has only one elder. Evidently this has long been a branch of Tadhaṅ Bāhā and the members of this branch saṅgha have been active and comparatively wealthy. The famous Toyuju mentioned above was a member of this branch saṅgha.

Nothing is known about the date of foundation of this branch, but the earliest date found on inscriptions within the courtyard is N.S.860. Renovations were carried out in N.S.835, and again in 1918 by one Subhadhan Sākyabhikṣu Prabhriti.

B. Pinche Bāhā — Jambunadavana Vihāra* [47]  Wotu Tole

This bāhā has three Newari Names. The oldest of these seems to be Pinche Bāhā, but Maniju Bāhā is also current among the people of the bāhā. The third name, Kuñj Bāhā ("Thieves' Bāhā") derives from the fact that at one time in the Rana period the bāhā was taken over for a time by the government and turned into a common jail. Outside the entryway to the bāhā was a large inscription commemorating the construction of this bāhā. It does not give the Newari name but in two places gives the Sanskrit name in two different forms first Jambunada and later Jumbunadavana. Jambunadavana appears in another inscription at Suayambhū a few years later and this appears to be the correct form.

This bāhā is one of the few examples left in Kathmandu of a complete bāhā structure. Three sides of the original building are intact, though not in good repair, and the fourth side (the west) has been reconstructed in a modified form. The bāhā is situated right at the crossroads in Wotu Tole and across the street from Cidhaṅ Bāhā. Outside the bāhā was the large inscription mentioned above and dated N.S.711. (This inscription has now been removed and the last time I saw it, it was lying down near one of the buildings inside; it has since vanished.) Next to the place of this inscription is a large shrine containing three figures; Padmapāṇi Lokesvara in the centre, flanked by Ganesh on his right and Prajñāpāramitā on his left. The three original wings of the bāhā complex each present the same facade. On the ground floor there is a door in the centre flanked by an open area screened with lattice-work in the style of the bāhīs. The first storey has a five-fold window in the centre flanked by two smaller windows which in turn are flanked by triple windows. The structure has only these two storeys. The shrine of the kuwāpā-dya, which is marked by two stone lions, presents the same facade. The carved doorway is flanked by stone images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and is surmounted by a wooden torana which contained a figure of Buddha in the chyāna mudrā (Amitābha). (The image is now missing.) The kuwāpā-dya is an image of Akgobhya facing north. Below the cornice between the first and ground floors can be seen the fading remains of frescoes. The struts supporting the roof are all well carved. The struts along the western section are erotic sculptures, the only example of such erotic sculptures found in a bāhā. It must be noted, however, that this western wing of the complex is a recent renovation (perhaps after the earthquake of 1934), and that the struts which have erotic carvings support Hindu deities. The struts are done in the same
general style as the struts on the three original wings, but they appear much more recent. It is quite possible that they are a very recent addition. The whole structure has a simple tile roof which is surmounted by a decorative caitya above the shrine of the kuṇḍā-ṛṣī. In the centre of the courtyard are a plastered caitya and the remains of two earlier stone caityas.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of Taḍaṅ Bāhā. The members of the saṅgha serve in the shrine performing the usual rituals morning and evening. Service passes in turn through the households of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has one elder. The annual festival is no longer observed and the bāhā has no income.

The large inscription outside the bāhā dated M.S.711 leaves no doubt about the date of the construction of this bāhā. I give here a rough translation of the entire inscription as it is the most complete document we have concerning the foundation of a bāhā and gives something of the flavour of the religious and social customs of the time:

Hail to Sākyā Munī. Jāmbunada Mahāvihāra. . . the masters have explained how sin is destroyed by the observance of festivals. . . . by the daily recitation of scriptures to the accompaniment of instruments. Pūjā is performed . . . to the image of Akṣobhya . . . in the presence of the bhikṣus. May Akṣobhya, who grants one’s wishes, be propitious to the great gathering of people who come to worship him. This shrine is adorned with a golden finial, with garlands of gold which give pleasure to the wise, with a foundation stone decorated with various jewels. Along the window frames are bells whose sound drives away sin, for in this shrine there is an image of Lokesvara. Outside are images of Sarasvatī [sic] and Ganesha. May these defend the builders of this shrine. In this monastery are also images of the Triad [Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha] done in colour by the painter. There are six pillars decorated with lapis lazuli and other lovely gems. There are banners decorated with heaps of jewels—a fitting [shrine] for the Buddha.

The lord of the universe, the master of the world, the king Śivasimha rules in Nepāla-mañḍala, shining like the sun itself and dispelling the darkness. He is the king of kings who has received on his head a consecration from the hands of the gods. With him, in the city of Kāśṭhamandapā, is [his grandson] Lakṣmīnarasiṃha the lord among nobles, the conqueror of his enemies, the brave among the brave who has received the prasāda of Jagadambikā [Durgā].

On the first day of the dark half of the month of Baisākh in the year 711 work was begun on this vihāra. On the fullmoon day of Baisākh this Buddhist vihāra was set up. The virtuous one, the servant of the king Bhikṣu Jayālakṣa has added glory to the king; he is like another Kubera—a great and religious soul. By virtue of his plenteous gifts to the bhikṣus he has attained the unbounded power of a Bodhisattva. He remains firm forever in the law of the Śrāvakas, the Mahāyānists, etc. By virtue of the merit he has earned, his name is known in the three worlds. He has two sons by his wife Herālakṣṭi, who is a true Lakṣmī, a veritable jewel. His elder son is the good and wise Jayāta Śīha. His younger son, Punā, being a great and religious man, is famous among the people. He has two wives, Lakṣmā and Padmā. Like satis their lives are spent in the joy of serving their husband. This whole family endowed with riches—what praise can one give them? One cannot give a fitting encomium of them.

All hail. In the reign of Śrī Śivasimhadeva in the great city of Kantipūr, Thursday the first day of the dark half of Baisākh. The donors of this vihāra, all of whom live in the house called Pihaprāsāda in the northwest corner of Dhamamaṇḍala [Taḍaṅ Bāhā] in Watu Tole in the same city: Herālakṣṭi, the mother, her husband Śākyabhiṣaṅka Śrī Harṣapāla who unceasingly pays his respects at the feet of Śrī Gūhyavajra, like Gūhyesvara himself he is filled with the spirit of good will and daily fulfills the desires of those who beg; the son of this incomparable Herālakṣṭi, Jayata Śīha, his wife Maṇikalakṣṭi, his daughter Kumāri Jayaṇti, her [Herālakṣṭi’s] second son, Punā Rāja, his wives Lakṣmā and Padmā. All of these together took counsel and with a generous spirit decided to set up this vihāra. First they had all the preliminary pūjās performed. [There follows a list of the various pūjās.] Finally with a homa pūjā and all the proper rituals Jāmbunadavāna Vihāra was consecrated. After this, bit by bit, the building was constructed with the proper
pūjās being performed at each stage. [There follows another list of pūjās performed for setting up of pillars, doors, the roof, etc.] Within a year the work was complete. On Monday, the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Balaśākh in the year 712 the Srinkhalavarohana was completed.

All hail. On Saturday, the fullmoon day of the month of Balaśākh at the exact auspicious moment the image of Aksobhya sitting in vajrāsana [was set up], so each year the proper religious festival [the busā dañ] must be observed [on this day]. On the fourth day the following images which had been made and set up in front of Aksobhya were consecrated with a yajña: a revered caitya, a golden image of Dipākara, an image of the revered Buddha overcoming the tempters, a wooden image of Āryatārā with her whole family, two more caityas, the double dharmadhātu [manda-la], Siddhimanjū and Śī Ṣākṣākalokāsva. We have also given an endowment from which a stipend will come each year for the recitation of the text of the holy Ārya-sahāsika-praṃprāramitā from the eight day of the bright half of the month [Gujñā?] until the first day of the following dark half of the month in Jambunada Viheṭa so that true dharma might flourish. Also we have offered sacred garments of various colours for the annual festival of the white god and goddess. In order that the running of the viheṭa may proceed without hindrance, may the powerful Mahākāl and Mārīti, the great Yakṣīṇī with her five hundred sons enjoy the aroma of the offerings, may they eat and drink to their fill. May the powerful gods and goddesses defend the one who rules this viheṭa [so that he may rule] without hindrance. May the people have wealth, health and a long life. This is the religious gift of the Mahāyānist upāsaka Śakyabhikṣu Jayalakṣa. By the merit of this work may the ācāryas, the upāchāryyas, his mother, his father, and all living beings obtain incomparable fruit.

In the reign of the lord, the revered leader Śī Laksminarasimha Malla Deva, in the great city of Kāntipur in the place called Jamaleṣvara in Wotu Tole in Jambunadavana Mahāviheṭa live the following donors: the religious minded Śī Śakyabhikṣu Śī Jayanarṣa Pāla, his wife Heralakṣa, his eldest son Jayata Śimha plus his wife Manikalakṣa, their son Jeka plus his wife Jayalakṣa, their son Municandra, their second son Ratna-
of having destroyed a caitya... The vihāra was consecrated after sunset on Thursday, the third day...

Further inscriptions record donations in N.S.764 and again in the time of Pārvitendra Malla.

C. Pyukhā Bāhā — Asoka Caitya Vihāra [52] Pyukhā Tole

Though this is called a bāhā, is included on the list of bāhās to visit at the time of the Bāhā Pūjā, and informants say that it was a bāhā, at present it is an area enclosed by a low wall into which are set a great array of Buddhist images of varying ages and with a large stūpa in the centre. The plastered stūpa rests on a square plinth and the lower part of the stūpa itself is square with the four transcendent Buddhas set into the cardinal points and twelve other images set below them. The garbha is an elongated dome and is surmounted by the eyes on the harmika and rings surmounted by another small elongated caitya. The area has no kūpā-dya shrine, but informants say that the standing Buddha image showing the viśvavikārana mudrā along the west wall was the kūpā-dya. It is possible that this was once a bāhā complex that was abandoned after it fell into disrepair and the accumulated images then set into a wall round the stūpa resulting in a Buddhist place of pilgrimage. Since one lineage of Tadhaṅ Bāhā is said to be attached to this place and Cidhaṅ Bāhā, it is quite possible that his was their original branch. When it fell into disrepair they built a new bāhā in Wotu Tole and abandoned this site as a bāhā. On the other hand, it may well be that this has always been merely a place of pilgrimage as this is the site where the Tadhaṅ Bāhā Samyak used to be.

The earliest dated inscription in the complex bears the date N.S.667.27 The inscription is damaged and all that can be made out is that one Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Thevarapata (=Sthavira?) Yauvaju of Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra made some donation. Another inscription dated N.S.674 mentions Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Toyu and Śākyabhikṣu Jakarāja.28 KTMV claims that this inscription commemorates the building of the stūpa, but the inscription gives no evidence for this statement. It is damaged, but the later part speaks of a consecration ceremony performed by a Vajracārya from Sikomagudi. This ceremony may well mark extensive repairs to the stūpa or the donation of some image or major ornament. Neither inscription speaks of this place as a vihāra or bāhā.

7. Bikamā Bāhā — Mañjuśrīnaka Mahāvihāra* [66] Om Bāhā Tole

All that is left of this very old bāhā is the shrine of the kūpā-dya in a partial courtyard. The present shrine is a three-storied building built in a modified bāhā style. The brick facade has been plastered and painted white. The shrine is marked by two stone lions. The carved door is surrounded by a wooden torana dated N.S. 1002 and depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Akṣobhya in the central position. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The kūpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two smaller windows and the top storey has an overhanging balcony in front of ordinary living quarters. The corrugated iron roof is surmounted by a single finial. In the centre of the courtyard is a votive caitya covered by a canopy, and along the western arm of the courtyard is a shrine dedicated to Viśakarma from which the bāhā takes its popular Newari name.

The saṅgha consists of one hundred forty households of Sakyas comprising four hundred members. Even this number does not count all of those who have been initiated here. Many of the members of these households have either moved away from Kathmandu (or at least away from the area of the bāhā) and no longer take any active part in the life of the saṅgha. Hence they are no longer counted as active members. This is one of the few bāhās at which they no longer count non-active members in the saṅgha. According to informants the saṅgha originally comprised three lineages, but these have further divided now into eleven lineages. Though there are now one hundred forty households, the memory of the eleven lineages is perpetuated by the theoretical linking of one lineage each to eleven of the twelve branch bāhās. The division seems to have little importance now.

The usual rituals are performed here morning and evening but only by the people attached to Mim Nānī Bāhā [68], one of the branches. Hence most of the members of the saṅgha no longer take their turn in the shrine.
annual festival is observed on the tenth day of the bright half of Phalgun, but few attend any longer. The saṅgha has no active board of elders. There is an elder for each of the lineages and each lineage functions as a separate unit. Bairechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. However, since there is no board of elders the customary five elders no longer attend the ceremonies. The father or elder brother of the boy being initiated takes the place of the head of the saṅgha. At the time of the sacred month of Guñā hyems are recited. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dūjā 'Mahādya', who was first 'brought' to Pacalī (the area near the famous Pacalī Bhairava) but was later 'brought' to the bāhā itself where the annual rituals are now performed. At present the bāhā has no income at all.

Legend ascribes the foundation of this bāhā to the time when Mahājūrī came to the Valley from 'Mahāchānī' to drain the lake. When he came to the Valley he heard that the great Vīṣvakarman had a shrine in this place and he stopped here to pay his respects. Later he founded a vihāra at this place and it was named after him, hence the name Mahājūrīnaka.

The earliest dated record at the bāhā is a copper-plate inscription dated N.S. 549 during the reign of Yajña Mallā at which time one Jaya Teja Pāla and his brother Ananta Teja Pāla donated a golden image of Akṣobhya in memory of their father.30 Another inscription dated N.S. 531 records the offering of a golden kalaśā (for the roof), a golden banner, pīndapaṭras, and the setting up of a āstukhi for the feeding of the saṅgha. The donors were one 'Śri Ratna of Caitramakūṭa (Cikamu) and Sākyabhikṣu Śri Ṛupa-taṇja, his wife Rupalakṣmi, their eldest son Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Abhaya Jyoti, Pāla, his wife Yadunāyi, their eldest son Śākyabhikṣu Ārùgo Pāla, his wife Saktimaya, their son Śrī Bhima Pāla of the Sākya clan (sākyavamsadhvaha) and Dharmajyoti Pāla, all of Śrī Caka Vihaṇā'.31 Two manuscript colophons on copies of the Kārṇātadvīpa mention this bāhā. Neither is dated, but both were written during the reign of Śivasishhadeva Mallā (cN.S. 698-740). The donor of the first manuscript was Sākyabhikṣu Śrī Jīva-raja, his wife Dradhavalakṣmi their son Sākyabhikṣu Anantarāja, his wife Otakilakṣmi, their son Sākyabhikṣu Śrī Jīvāraja, his wife Mukunda, their son Sākyabhikṣu Śrī Ruṣhjintasigu and the daughter of Anantarāja, AnuJu, all of Mañjuśrīnaka Vihaṇā in Clemluki Tole in Kaśthamaṇḍapa.32 The second manuscript was donated by Sākyabhikṣu Śrī Dharma-kirtitī Pāla, his mother Saminilakṣmi, his wife Herālakṣmi, their son Vandhavakirtī and their second son Dharmaśīhā, all of Mañjuśrīnaka Vihaṇā in Kaśthamaṇḍapa.33 There are several other inscriptions in the complex from the seventeenth century down through the nineteenth commemorating various donations and renovations at the bāhā.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth century references there are several points worth noting. First is the surname Pāla which is not a usual surname for Sākyas, although it does appear in the inscription of N.S. 711 commemorating the consecration of Pīnchē Bāhā [47], a branch of Tadha Bāhā. Secondly is the curious shift in the second inscription from Sākyabhikṣu to 'Bhima Pāla of the Sākya clan (sākyavamsadhvaha). Thirdly, is the amount of wealth which these donations indicate. Evidently the people of Mañjuśrīnaka, or at least this family of Pālas, had a considerable amount of wealth. Bikamā Bāhā has the largest number of branches of any bāhā in Kathmandu, twelve in all.

A. Khaśa Chef Bāhā --Varsacandana Vihaṇā [67]
Waṁ (Om) Bāhā
Pakhā Chef Bāhā
Om Bāhā Tole

This bāhā, situated in a partial courtyard adjacent to Bikamā Bāhā, has several Newari names. It seems to be most commonly called Vai Bāhā, but there is a copper-plate inscription attached to the front of the bāhā which gives the name Khasa Chef Bāhā. Furthermore, several informants said the name should be Pakhā Chef Bāhā. The shrine is of three storeys. The finely carved doorway of the shrine is flanked by two small windows and surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Mahā-akṣobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Ṣadakṣari Lokesvara) on his left. The torana is dated N.S.1024. The kuṣūpa-dvāra is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows. The top storey, which has been adapted for living quarters, has a plain balcony and a white plastered facade. In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of Bikamā Bāhā. The daily rituals are
256. Khaṣā Cheñ Bahā [67]

257. Thāna Bahā [72]
performed morning and evening by the members of this lineage. The annual festival is still observed but not on any fixed day, whenever is convenient. This branch sahagha has one elder. The baha has no income.

B. Thana Bahā — Sthānabimba Vihāra [72] Cikamuga Tole

This baha is situated in an enclosed courtyard in Cikamuga Tole. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is in the traditional style but without ornamentation. The entrance is marked by two small stone lions but the carved doorway has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two other windows. The top storey has a plain balcony supported by plain struts and comprises living quarters. The tile roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The sahagha of this branch consists of one lineage of Bikam Bahā. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by the members of this lineage. They observe the annual festival on the third day of the bright half of Māgh. The branch has one elder, but no income.

A copper-plate inscription attached to the shrine gives the date of foundation of this branch: N.S. 667, one of the few cases where it is possible to give a definite date for the foundation of a baha.

C. Ganthi (Nani) Bahā — Buddhaganthi Vihāra [69] Gacheṃ Nani—Om Bahā

This is a small baha situated in Om Bahā Tole, the shrine of which is a modern reconstruction on the site of an older foundation. The present shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a simple one-room affair on the first floor of an ordinary dwelling. There is no decoration or ornamentation other than the metal repousse torana over the doorway which depicts the five transcendent Buddhas with Aksobhya in the central position. Recently published lists of the bahas have given several different Sanskrit names for this baha but the name Buddha Ganthi Mahāvihāra is very clearly written on the metal torana, which, however, is of fairly recent origin. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. In the centre of the small courtyard is a caitya enclosed in a modern brick and plaster shrine with a bell-shaped top.

The sahagha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikam Bahā sahagha. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by those of the lineage who live here. They observe the annual festival on the day of Śrī Pañcami. There is one elder, and the baha has no income at the present time.

There is nothing here to indicate an early foundation for this baha except the caitya which may be early Malla period.

D. Ratnākara Bahā — Ratnākara Vihāra [101] Gacheṃ Nani—Om Bahā

This baha is situated in a small courtyard directly behind Ganthi Bahā. As it stands now it certainly a modern foundation and has none of the architectural features of a baha. In the centre of the courtyard is a caitya. To the south of the caitya is an open shrine which houses four images from left to right: Tārā, Aksobhya, Mañjuśrī and Lokesvāra. The last two images appear quite old, the other two are certainly less than a hundred years old. The image of Padmapani Lokesvara, which faces north, is the kwāpā-dya of the baha.

The sahagha of this branch baha is one lineage of the Bikam Bahā sahagha comprising three households. The usual rituals are performed morning and evening by those of the lineage who live here. There is no annual festival and no income.

As it stands this appears to be an entirely modern foundation. Whether the present modern shrine is in fact a renovation of an older foundation or an entirely modern foundation is unknown. Nothing here is dated.

E. Ratnapur Bahā — Ratnapura Vihāra [70] Gacheṃ Nani—Om Bahā

This baha, which is situated in a small open space between buildings, is a modern foundation. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is a brick and plaster, free-standing shrine. Over the doorway is a stone torana dated B.S. 1981 and depicting Vajrasattva flanked by two sword yielding Bhairavas. The kwāpā-dya is an image
The building of the shrine gives every appearance of being from the late Malla period, but the only dated piece in the courtyard is the torana, dated N.S.1002. Nothing further is known about the history or foundation of this branch.

G. Tuakewa Bähā — Amṛtakānti Viṁśṭhāra [64]

Om Bähā Tole

The shrine of this bähā, situated in a fairly large residential courtyard, has been renovated in recent times and lost much of its traditional style. The building is a typical Newar town house with the shrine of the kuṭāpya on the ground floor. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana dated N.S.1042 which depicts what appears to be Mahā-amitābha flanked by two sword wielding Bhairavas. The kuṭāpya is an image of Amitābha facing west. The first storey has five small, modern windows set together (instead of the five-fold window of one piece) and two larger lattice work windows. The top floor has living quarters, and the tile roof is surmounted by a single finial. In the centre of the courtyard is a single votive caiṭya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikam Bähā saṅgha. The members of the one household of this lineage which actually lives here perform the usual rituals morning and evening. The saṅgha has one elder. They observe the annual festival of the bähā on the full moon day of the month of Jyeṣṭha. The branch has no income.

Nothing is known of the early history or foundation of this bähā. It was evidently renovated in N.S.1042 when the torana was erected.

H. Nhū Cheṅ Bähā — Vajradhātu Viṁśṭhā [63]

Om Jor Ganesh

This very dilapidated bähā shrine of two storeys is situated in a very small courtyard just off of Jor Ganesh. The shrine is unmarked and the ground floor is unornamented except for a row of prayer wheels. The plain door is flanked by two small windows and there is no torana. The kuṭāpya is an image of Aksobhya facing west. The first storey has a single window flanked by two smaller windows. Four...
262. Twākewa Bāhā [64]

263. Nhū Cheṇ Bāhā [63]
struts of the pūjadevis support the collapsing tile roof which is surmounted by three small gajūra. In the centre of the courtyard are two votive caityas and a stone mandala.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikanā Bāhā saṅgha comprising thirteen households. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the members of this lineage who actually live here. They observe the annual festival of the bāhā on Māghe Sākṛānti. The saṅgha has one elder, but no income at the present time.

There are no dated inscription within this complex, and nothing is known about the history or foundation of the bāhā.

I. Bāku Bāhā -- Indrapurangara Vihāra [61]  
Wa Tuñ Bāhā  
Jor Ganesh

All that remains of this bāhā is the shrine of the kuṭāpa-dya which lies just off the main road giving the impression that the original courtyard was cut by the road. The ground floor of the shrine is a simple unadorned facade with a lattice door flanked by two smaller windows. There is no torana, but a small image of the Buddha in dhyāna mudrā (Amitābha) is attached to the lintel. On either side of the doorway are images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana dated N.S.1005. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The top storey has a large triple window and is surmounted by a corrugated iron roof. In the courtyard is one late Malla caitya.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikanā Bāhā saṅgha. The usual rituals are performed each day by the members of this lineage who actually live here. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the day of the Śrāvaṇa fullmoon. The saṅgha observes an annual festival of this branch and the branch has no income.

This is a very old branch bāhā. The image of the kuṭāpa-dya is inscribed with the date N.S.548. There are two other early copper-plate inscriptions at the bāhā. The first is dated N.S.616 and commemorates the consecration of an image in the āgam. The donors were Śrī Rupasīha Pāla, his two wives and their sons and daughter. The second inscription dated N.S.629 in the time of Ratna Malla commemorates donations made for the setting up of a gūḍhi for the annual pūjā of Sakyamuni on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa and for the annual worship of Heruka. The inscription says these two images of Sakyamuni and Heruka were installed in the Nīma Nīma Vihāra. This seems to be the original form of the Sanskrit name which is now usually given as Nimanaka Vihāra. The donors were Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Ojono Rāja Pāla, his brother Śrī Suo Pāla, and two other brothers Śrī Pamsuo Pāla and Śrī Kama-laraja Pāla in memory of the late Śākyabhikṣu Uhaso Pāla and his brother Śākyabhikṣu Abhayasimha Pāla. Members of the Gubhā Bāhā [65]
The Sakya Bāhā 397

Bhwan Bāhā — Bhventa Vihāra [71]
Om Bāhā Tole

At present Bhwan Bāhā is a bāhā in ruins. The ruins are found in a vacant, overgrown plot of land behind several layers of other buildings in Om Bāhā Tole, and consist of three caityas on a cemented base and a plastered, free-standing shrine containing the kwāpā-dya, an image of Akṣobhya facing north. The site has evidently been abandoned for some time and ownership of the property is disputed. People from Bikamā Bāhā claim that it is their bāhā, and they in fact still perform the daily rituals. However, members of Gubhi Bāhā [65] claim that it is their property and that when it flourished it was a branch of their bāhā.

The saṅgha of this branch consists of one lineage of the Bikamā Bāhā saṅgha. Members of this lineage take turns performing the daily rituals here morning and evening. They no longer observe an annual festival here and the bāhā has no income.

There is one inscription set into the wall near the shrine of the kwāpā-dya which is dated N.S.775 in the time of Pratāp Malla. KTMV claims that the bāhā was constructed in N.S.760 but gives no documentation for this. The colophon of a manuscript copy of the Ṛgveda, dated N.S.625 mentions that the manuscript was copied for one Hermayi, the wife of Sakyabhiṣkṛti Amṛtagāna, son of Amṛtagāna and their fourth son Dharma Śīma of the Bhventa Vihāra in Yanthalājche Tole in Kaśṭhamanḍapa. This is almost surely Bhwan Bāhā, and the connection to Bikamā Bāhā is confirmed by the surname Pali of these people, a name frequently found among Sakyas of Bikamā Bāhā.

L. Tamuga Bāhā — Ratnakara Vihāra* [39]
Tamuga Gallī

This bāhā consists of a kwāpā-dya shrine on the ground floor of an ordinary and fairly modern house in a narrow courtyard in Tamu Gallī. The entrance to the shrine is marked by an arch of oil lamps. Over the doorway is a metal repousse torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Pratāpārāmitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on his left. On either side of the doorway of the shrine are two double triangle banners and images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In the courtyard are two caityas, one of them bearing the date N.S.997.

This bāhā was originally a private branch of Sakyas of Itut Bāhā [44]. In the year A.D.1811 the property was bought by people from Bikamā Bāhā and the bāhā was thus 'captured' by Bikamā Bāhā. (In fact the people of Itutm Bāhā still claim it as a branch of their bāhā.) There are two Malla period references to this bāhā. In the Mahāśīvā cave near Bāiāju is a golden necklace donated to the deity there in N.S.607. The inscription on the necklace lists the donors among whom are Sākayabhikṣu Śīra Rupa-deva, Sākayabhikṣu Śīra Jayasāīnadeva and Sākayabhikṣu Punadeva 40 all of Ratnakara Mahāvihāra in Tamaguri Tole. These people were evidently of the Itutm Bāhā saṅgha.

8. So Bāhā — Dhamadhātu Vihāra [77]
Yangel Tole

The shrine of this bāhā which lies in an enclosed courtyard in Yanjal-Manjiheswari Tole, is in a very neglected state. The present building, which was renovated after the earthquake of 1934, is of three storeys and plastered; but much of the plaster is now crumbling. The shrine is marked by two stone lions. The lattice doorway is plain and has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. On either side of the doorway are two small windows. The first storey has three plain openings flanked by two small windows. The top
268. So Bāhā [77]
storey, which is used as living quarters, has a crude wooden balcony and is surmounted by a tile roof with no ornamentation. There is one enshrined caitya in the courtyard and one other small votive caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of five families of Sakyas comprising twenty five initiated members who perform their Barechuyegu initiations here. It seems that at the present time most of the members of the saṅgha have moved away from the area of the bāhā and the daily rituals are performed morning and evening by one man who lives here. There is no annual festival of the bāhā but only of the caitya, on the sixth day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha. There is another pūjā for the entire saṅgha in Baśākh and one in Pauṣ, but both of these are poorly attended now. The saṅgha has a body of five elders and the lineage deity is the enshrined caitya at Vajrayogini, Sankhu, but the deity has been 'brought' to the bāhā where the pūjā is now performed. The saṅgha is served by Vajracarya priests from Gubhā Bāhā [65].

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, and there is nothing in the courtyard that would suggest a great antiquity. There is only one inscription in the bāhā, but that is badly defaced that it is impossible to read it.

9. Ko Hiti Bāhā — Kiṅtipunya Mahāvihāra [31]
Ko Hiti Tole

The shrine of this bāhā which is situated in an enclosed courtyard in Ko Hiti Tole is a rather recent renovation consisting of three storeys. The shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana showing a standing, crowned Buddha figure showing the varada mudrā with his right hand. Both hands hold the stems of lotuses. The kuśamā-śāya is a standing Buddha figure showing the viśuvāyakaraṇa mudrā. The first storey of the shrine has the usual five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The top storey has a triple modern window and contains living quarters. The roof is of corrugated iron. The facade of the entire building has been plastered and painted white. In the courtyard are one caitya, a Siva linga, and images of Mahākāl and Gaṇesh.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of thirty six families of Sakyas with a total of one hundred fifty initiated members. The members of the saṅgha serve as dya-pālās in the shrine by turn. The term of service passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated, but nowadays many members do not take their turn in the shrine at all. The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the fullmoon day of the month of Āśvin, but there is no longer a feast for the entire saṅgha. The saṅgha has five elders. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Dūmājā Mahādyā, but they identify the deity worshipped as Yogāmbaha, an identification, that would make more sense than Dūmāj Mahādyā-Śiva, the usual identity given for this deity. The bāhā has no income.

Several informants identified this bāhā as a branch of Lagaṇ Bāhā [80], but this is incorrect. The false impression comes from the fact that it was until recent times the custom for five Sakyas from Lagaṇ Bāhā to come to Kohiti Bāhā to preside at all initiations. However, both the people from Lagaṇ Bāhā and the members of this saṅgha agree that they were never members of the Lagaṇ Bāhā saṅgha. Informants at Ko Hiti Bāhā say that they came to Kathmandu from one of the outlying villages several generations ago. They had come at the request of the king of Kathmandu, probably because of some specialized skill which the community possessed. When they first came to Kathmandu they remained members of their bāhā in the village and used to return there for initiations. As this proved to be inconvenient it was arranged (through the offices of the Ācārya Gūthi?) for them to hold initiations here at Kohiti Bāhā with five Sakya elders of Lagaṇ Bāhā in attendance to validate the initiations. However, from the beginning they formed a separate saṅgha and never had the right to enter the shrine of the kuśamā-śāya at Lagaṇ Bāhā. The informants have no recollection of where their original village was, but some speculated that it was actually Kittipur. This seems unlikely as their lineage deity, Dūmāj Mahādyā, is not the lineage deity of any bāhā saṅgha in Kittipur. It seems more likely that they came from some village in the eastern part of the Valley.

Nothing is known about the date of foundation of this bāhā. There is one damaged and illegible Malla period inscription in the courtyard and one other inscription dated N.S.1040 at
which time renovations were carried out.

A. Ko Hitī Kacā Bāhā -- [32] Ko Hitī Tole

Ko Hitī Kacā Bāhā is typical of the 'modern' bāhā often found in Patan. The shrine is a small brick and stucco affair set against the wall of a sort of passageway leading from Ko Hitī Bāhā to another large house behind. The small shrine contains three images: one of Aksobhya in the centre flanked by Padmapani Lokesvara on the right and Dharmadhatu Vâgîsvara on the left. The shrine has a small lattice door surmounted by a small wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñâpâramîtâ) on his right and the Saṅgha (Avalokitêsvara) on his left. The kuśâ-pāya is the image of Aksobhya facing west. This shrine was set up some time within the past hundred years (no one knows for sure and there are no inscriptions) as a purely private shrine of one of the families of Ko Hitī Bāhā. It is a bāhā in the sense that it has a kuśâ-pāya, duly consecrated as such, and it has a saṅgha, i.e., the family who founded it and still serve as dya-pâlas in the shrine. No informant was able to give a Sanskrit name for this private branch.


The shrine of the kuśâ-pāya in this courtyard in Gophal Tole is an unadorned single room on the ground floor of an ordinary Newar 'town house'. The present building dates from some time after the earthquake of 1934 when the original buildings of the complex were destroyed. The shrine is marked by two guardian lions and a carved doorway surmounted by torana depicting the five transcendent Buddhas with Vairocana in the central position. The kuśâ-pāya is an image of Aksobhya facing north. There is one large plastered caitya and one small votive caitya in the courtyard.

The status of this bāhā and its saṅgha is one of the most confusing of all the bāhās. This is often listed as one of the eighteen main bāhās of the Ācârya Gûthi, and when I first visited the site I was given the same information by Vajracaryas who live here and who insisted that their bāhā was one of the eighteen. In reply to further questions they said that their initiations were, however, performed at Musum Bāhā [89] because their āgām was situated there. Despite this they insisted that Yatā Bāhā was a main bāhā (of the Ācârya Gûthi). Others said that it is not a main bāhā at all since initiations are never performed here; it is in fact a branch of Musum Bāhā [89]. Others said it is a branch of Lagan Bāhā [80]. All of this finally proved to be incorrect. There are some twenty nine initiated Vajracaryas living in this complex, but they clearly belong to Musum Bāhā. Their initiations are performed in Musum Bāhā and they have no rights or duties in regard to the kuśâ-pāya of this shrine. In fact they have moved to this place in fairly recent times, perhaps when their original homes were destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of two Sakyas who were initiated in this bāhā and who serve as the dya-pâlaś by turn. According to their information, this bāhā has always been a Sakya bāhā, but the original saṅgha died out entirely. When the last man of the original saṅgha died the bāhā and all its right and duties passed to a nephew--a son of the last surviving member's sister and hence not a man of the original lineage. The present two Sakyas are descendants of this nephew. They do not remember which bāhā their ancestors came from. Their lineage deity is a nameless deity kept in the compound, but they have no recollection of its origin. There have been no Barechemistry initiations since these two men were initiated in A.D.1941 (which contributed to the confusion about whether initiations are held here or not). However, there are now three young men, sons of the present incumbents, who will soon be initiated to carry on the tradition. At the time of the Barechemistry it is the custom for the elders of Lagan Bāhā to come and preside at the ceremonies. The informants could not give any explanation for this custom, but they insisted that they are not and never were members of the saṅgha of Lagan Bāhā.

At present the annual festival is no longer held. Ritual feasts are held at irregular intervals and when they are held it is the custom to invite the members of the saṅgha of Lagan Bāhā, Ko Hitī Bāhā [31], and Kusaṇ Bāhā [27]. This fact would indicate some sort of a connection between these four bāhās, but whatever it was it has been forgotten now. The saṅgha used to be served by priests from Makhâ Bāhā [42] but they say they no longer call any Vajracaryas. They consider themselves equal to Vajracaryas and perform all rituals themselves.
There are no inscriptions within the courtyard at the present time. KTMV claims that the bāhā was built in A.D.1736 by one Šakyabhikṣu Surjachuling but gives no evidence for the statement.
The Bahis of Kathmandu

As in Patan so in Kathmandu the bahis are not nearly as active as the bahis. Many of the bahi saṅghas have died out altogether, and none of them are large. Except for Makhān Bahi whose buildings have been renovated and kept in a good state of repair, none of the bahis are in good physical shape, some of them have disappeared altogether. There are theoretically sixteen bahis in Kathmandu. I say theoretically because four sites have disappeared altogether, and some of the others actually have no saṅgha any more. Yet there is a sense in which they still exist. When a saṅgha dies out the rights and privileges of the saṅgha are taken over by another saṅgha. If the bahi complex still exists they go there to perform the usual rituals and they claim any property (bahi property or agricultural lands of the bahi gūḍhi) as their own. At all common meetings and feasts of the bahis they claim an extra place as a representative of the defunct saṅgha. Though all of these bahis were main bahis in the sense that Barechuyegu initiations were performed there, and are usually still performed there if the saṅgha still exists, the members of all of the bahis comprise one overall community (sarva saṅgha). The head of this overall community (the athavāra) is always the eldest member of the saṅgha of Makhān Bahi. At all initiations at the bahis the five eldest of this overall community must attend to validate initiations; and there is an overall governing body of the Sixteen Bahis composed of these five men plus the eldest member of each individual bahi saṅgha. Most of the individual bahis have only this one elder instead of the usual five, ten or twelve. This body of elders of the Sixteen Bahis must also ensure the continuity of worship in bahi shrines where the saṅgha has died out or its members moved away. With the continually decreasing membership of the bahi saṅghas, this has been a problem more than once as will be seen from the following accounts.

The committee must also pass judgment on questions of disputed ownership of bahi property and bahi rights. As in Patan the bahis are not served by regular Vajracaryas but by priests from a bahi, though individual families may call a Vajracarya for family and other rituals. In this case the bahi priests are from Makhān Bahi whose members receive the Ācālayegu and function as priests for the members of the bahis but are not permitted to act as priests for others and are not members of the Ācārya Gūḍhi. Unlike Patan, there is no evidence of the members of the bahi saṅghas being called Brahmacar- rya Bhikṣu; they are simply Sakya or Sakyabhiksukṣa.

1. Makhān Bahi — Rājakūta Mahāvihāra [43]

Makhān Bahi is situated in a small enclosed courtyard just off of Makhān Tole. The present complex is a modern construction, built after the earthquake of 1934. Only the shrine itself remains, all the other buildings of the complex are ordinary houses. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and a pair of double-triangle, metal flags. The door of the shrine is situated at the back of a covered veranda. The carved and lattice doorway is surmounted by a metal repoussé toraṇa, the principal figure of which is Dharmaḥata Vāgīśvara flanked by two attendants. Above are four of the transcendent Buddhas in their ordinary, non-tantric form, i.e. all but Vairocana. The kuṭpāda is a standing Buddha image showing the viśvavākarana mudrā and facing north. The deity is usually called 'Devāvatāra'. On either side of the shrine is an open space, now screened with metal grillwork, which evidently marked the circumambulation passageway, but is now a store- room for sports equipment and other merchandise.
The first storey is entirely screened with modern, unornamented wooden lattice-work. The top storey, which has an open veranda comprises living quarters. Above the corrugated iron roof is a small, square cupola, a modern adaptation of the typical bahí cupola. To the right of the entrance is one large temple bell and in the courtyard are eight votive caityas, none of great antiquity.

The saṅgha of this bahí now consists of six households comprising fifty initiated members. These people are by initiation Vajracaryas but called Sakya or Baudhacarya because there are no Vajracaryas in the bahí saṅghas. This explanation, provided by Vajracaryas, gives a perfect example of the closed shop domination of the Ācārya Gōthī and the general prejudice of people of the bahí saṅghas that the members of a bahí saṅgha are somehow lower than those of a bāhā. Some will say that these people are not Vajracaryas and cannot have other clients because there is a further initiation required by a Vajracarya before he can function as a priest. This begs the question. They cannot receive this initiation because they are not members of the Ācārya Gōthī and they cannot be members of the Ācārya Gōthī because they belong to a bahí. The fact is that they do receive the Ācāluyegu and function as priests for the sarva-saṅgha of the Sixteen Bahīs. Despite this, individual families may call a Vajracarya of the Ācārya Gōthī for private family rituals.

The right of initiation as Vajracaryas and the consequent right of functioning as priests for the bahí saṅghas originally belonged to Dugaṇ Bahī [22]. According to Yoga Siddhi Sakyā, the aged elder of Makaṇ Bahī, the Makaṇ Bahī people acquired this right about three hundred years ago. Nine generations ago Yoga Siddhi's ancestor, whose name was Jīna Siddhi, acquired the title Layjyu because he held some important post at the Hanumān Dhokā Palace. His grandson, Dhana Siddhi known as Pām Layjyu, was the first to receive the ordination of a Vajracarya. This came about because the people of Dugaṇ Bahī, which had been a prosperous foundation, had fallen on hard times and were unable to afford the Vajracarya initiation. Pām Layjyu accordingly went to Dugaṇ Bahī, financed the ceremony and received the Ācāluyegu from a Dugaṇ Bahī 'Vajracarya'. When the last of the 'Vajracaryas' of Dugaṇ Bahī died Pām Layjyu and his descendants took up the office of priests for the sarva-saṅgha of the sixteen bahīs. As a result of this, Makaṇ Bahī became the foremost of the bahīs and its elder became the head of the sarva-saṅgha. Before this time Dugaṇ Bahī was considered to be the foremost of the bahīs, and the elders of Dugaṇ Bahī had to attend all initiations in the bahīs. The whole story, and the insistence that the members of the bahī saṅghas have Vajracarya priests, is, of course, reminiscent of what Uright's chronic records of the events in Patan. There the use of Vajracarya priests was imposed on the people of the bahīs because the king felt it was necessary to have some priest (Buddhist or Hindu) who could perform the home ritual and thereby remove death pollution after the death of a member of the family of the saṅgha.

The members of the saṅgha of Makhaṇ Bahī are still given both the Barechuyegu and the Ācāluyegu initiations and they still function as the priests of the bahīs. Furthermore, the elder of this bahī is considered to be the head of the loosely connected organisation of all the bahīs. His function seems to be limited primarily to the problem of ensuring continuity of worship in bahīs where the saṅgha has died out or the members have moved away. He must also be present at all initiations in the bahīs and he also passes on questions of disputed ownership of bahī property and disputed bahī rights.

The usual rituals are performed by the members of the saṅgha in turn. The term of service lasts for one month and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated. There used to be two annual festivals for the members of the saṅgha, one in the month of Baisakh (on Aṣayatriyā) and the other on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Pauṣ, but both of these have now been discontinued. The only feast for the entire saṅgha is held at the time of initiations. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an unnamed deity which is kept at the bahī and worshipped there. The saṅgha of Makaṇ Bahī is more prosperous than the saṅghas of the other bahīs, a fact which is shown by the way this bahī has been continually renovated up to the present time. Though the traditional architectural features have been lost, the entire complex is in an excellent state of repair. At one time the bahī had a considerable income, but his has dwindled to only three murīs of paddy. At the time of Guṇā, hymns are recited. There also used to be a rather elaborate display of
images at the time of the 'showing of the gods', but this has stopped as people no longer bring their images for display. Inside the shrine of the kwāpā-dya, in addition to the image of the kwāpā-dya, are also one image of Vairocana, one of Amitābha and images of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyāna.

Beyond the story recounted above which tells the history of the 'Vajracaryas' of this bahi, nothing is known of its history. The only inscriptions in the compound are quite late: two dated N.S.949 and one dated N.S.950 both of which tell of repairs and donations. There seems little doubt that this is an ancient foundation, but all traces of earlier buildings and inscriptions have been lost in recent renovations.

2. Syāngu Bahī — Jyotikirti Mahāvihāra* [94] Swayambhūnāth

This bahī is situated in an enclosed courtyard directly to the west of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. The present buildings around the courtyard are all the result of a recent renovation. A few years ago the original buildings had fallen into disrepair and the Swayambhū Bikā Manḍal undertook the repair of the building with the intention of setting up a library of Buddhist literature in the front of the renovated quadrangle. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya was repaired in the original style with a passage for circumambulation round the cella where the deity resides, but the whole was plastered in plain cement. Over the doorway of the shrine used to be a damaged wooden torana showing the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form. This has now been removed and is in the small museum near the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east. In addition to the image of the kwāpā-dya the following images are also housed in the shrine: Padmapāṇi Lukesvara, Sadakṣari Lukesvara, Saptalocana Tārā, Triratna Muṣṭi (i.e. a combined image of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha), and Ārya Tārā. In the courtyard are two votive caityas and the following images: Drāmacakra Lukesvara, Prajñāpāramitā, Saptalocana Tārā, Drāmadevātā Vājīśvara, Maṅsajūrī.

There is an inscription at the base of the image of the kwāpā-dya which gives the following information: the bahī was built in N.S.513 by one Jyoti Rāj of Maru Tole and the complex turned over to one Śākyabhikṣu Śrīmadhanjū of Itum Bāhā [44] in Kathmandu to ensure that the regular rituals would be performed. Whether this was an entirely new foundation or whether it was an old foundation that had fallen into disrepair, had no saṅgha and was revived by this donation is not known. However, it is clear that the descendants of this Madhanjū constituted the saṅgha of this bahī and that since that time there has been a close link between this foundation and Itum Bāhā itself. Itum Bāhā has always claimed certain rights over this foundation. This link to Itum Bāhā is evidently the source of the Sanskrit name which Mary Slusser gives for this bahī: Keśacandra Bahī. The legend which Hem Rāj Sakyā recounts the foundation of this bahī by the legendary founder of Itum Bāhā, Keśavacandra.

Three generations ago the original saṅgha was reduced to one man who then adopted a boy from Itum Bāhā, had him initiated in Syāngu Bahī and thus ensured the continuation of the saṅgha. However, the adopted son in his turn had his own sons and grandsons initiated in Itum Bāhā. This man, Dharmaṅtika Sakyā, is now the only surviving member of the saṅgha. The elders of the saṅgha of the sixteen bahīs have refused to recognise this man’s sons and grandsons as lawfully initiated members of a bahī saṅgha. Hence they have ruled that they have no right to the bahī property or the privileges of the members of a bahī, i.e. the right to act as dya-pālins in this shrine. The man appealed the case, but the elders ruled that those initiated in a bahī cannot be considered members of a bahī saṅgha. He offered to have them re-initiated in Syāngu Bahī, but they ruled that the Bārechuyegu initiation cannot be repeated. The whole incident appears to be a reaction by the bahī savara-saṅgha to the control and pretensions of the Ācārya Gūḍhī who have always looked down on members of the bahīs as of lower status. As a result of this ruling, when the present incumbent dies it will be up to the elders and the thāyapa of Mahān Bahī to decide who will succeed to the rights and the property of Syāngu Bahī. The present incumbent performs the usual rituals morning and evening, but the annual festival which used to take place on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Paus, has now been discontinued. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is the same as that of Itum Bāhā, i.e. 'Vajrayogini' of Sankhu worshipped at Itum.
The bahi no longer has any income.

3. Na Bahi -- Udyotakirti Mahavihara* [59]  

Na Bahi Tole

This is one of the few bahis of Kathmandu to retain the characteristic style of the bahi architecture with a continuous building of two storeys right round the quadrangle. The ground floor has open halls and the upper storey the usual lattice-work balcony. The upper storey is supported by short, well-carved struts. The shrine of the kuapā-dya is a separate cella placed so that it is possible to circumambulate it. At the entrance to the shrine are two small lions, the door of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden torana of the five transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form with Mahāvairocana in the centre. The torana is dated N.S.790. The kuapā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. Inside of the shrine are also images of the Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, Mahākāl and Hanumān. In the courtyard are one 'licchavī' caitya and two other votive caityas. Above the shrine itself is a two-storied pagoda style tower, an unusual feature for a bahi which usually has a small cupola of one roof.

The saṅgha of this bahi consists of only two initiated Sakyas. This saṅgha and the saṅghas of Noya Bahi [84] and Cuaka Bahi [85] are closely related, but the origin of this connection has been forgotten by the present incumbents. Informants say that at the present time there are three separate saṅghas at three bahis, but initiations are performed for all three communities here at Na Bahi. No initiations are now performed at either Noya Bahi or Cuaka Bahi. Furthermore, for six months of the year people from Noya Bahi act as dyā pālas here at Na Bahi, and all three saṅghas have the same lineage deity, 'Vajrayogini'. At Na Bahi this deity is worshipped at a shrine within the bahi where the deity was 'brought' from Cuaka Bahi. The people at Noya Bahi also say that their 'Vajrayogini' was 'brought' from Cuaka Bahi, but the Cuaka Bahi people say theirs was 'brought' from Na Bahi! No one was able to explain this apparent anomaly, but it probably came about through the 'capture' of an abandoned site by another saṅgha after the disappearance of the original saṅgha. Though informants claimed that Na Bahi is the oldest of the three bahis (some say the oldest in Kathmandu), this is contradicted by the evidence of inscriptions. The traditional rituals are now performed each morning and evening for six months of the year by the two Sakyas who live here and for six months by the people of Noya Bahi. With the decrease in the number of the saṅgha most of the other traditional observances have disappeared. The annual festival is no longer held; the only feast is at the time of initiations and this is a feast of all sixteen bahis. Formerly hymns used to be recited during the month of Guši but this has been discontinued. The saṅgha has one elder. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' only their image of Dipākrata is put on display, though this saṅgha once possessed quite a treasure of other images.

The earliest dated reference to this bahi comes from a copper-plate inscription attached to the front of the shrine and dated N.S.631. This inscription commemorates the construction of a bahi building. On Saturday, the fullmoon day in N.S.628 the foundation was laid and on Friday the fifth day of the month the doorway was installed and consecrated. In 629 a golden image of Akṣobhya and a golden image of Dipākrata were set up. On Saturday the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Marga in 631 a great yajña was begun. On the ninth the images of Śri Gandhuli (Akṣobhya), Śri Dipākrata and Śri Śama were consecrated. The yajña was completed on the tenth day of the fortnight. The main officiating priest at this ceremony was one Vajracarya Śri Jivaharṣjū of Śuryacandra Mahāvihāra. The upadhyāya was Vajracarya Jina-candra of Manisangha Vihāra. The donors were Śakyabhikṣu Śri Jyotirajā Pāla, his mother Ulāsa Laḵmī, his wife Abhaya Laḵmī, his brother Śakyabhikṣu Śri Sutra Pāla, Bhikṣu Śri Kamalaja Pāla, and his mother Śri Asularaḵmī, all of Maṇjaśrīnaka Vihāra (Bikaṇ Bahi). The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name of the vihāra: Śri Udyotakirti Vihāra; and several times the foundation is referred to as a bahi, the original form of the current word bahi. The torana is dated N.S.790.

A. Na Bahicā -- Dharmodyāyana Vihāra [60]  

Na Bahi Tole

At present this shrine is simply a stūpa surrounded by a low wall enclosing a small area which also contains a free standing plastered shrine of Akṣobhya. This is situated just outside Na Bahi. Whether this complex was ever
architecturally a bāhī with surrounding buildings is impossible to say at the present time, but it is included in the bāhās to be visited at the time of the bāhā pūjā, it has a kuśā-pā-dya shrine and informants claim that it was a branch of Na Bahī. The Newari name means simply 'Little Na Bahī'. According to an inscription from the time of Mahendrasinha Mall dated N.S.841 the stūpa was repaired at that time by one Śākyabhisgu Śri Cittamuni of Cikamagūjī Tole. At the present time there is no separate saṅgha or lineage to whom this shrine belongs. The daily pūjā is performed by the current dya-pālā of Na Bahī.

4. Nhāykan Bahī -- Kirtipurān Mahāvihārā* [84] Lagañ Tole

Nhāykan Bahī is an ancient bāhī complex situated in Lagañ Tole across the open space from Lagañ Bāhā [80]. The area of the bāhī has been preserved, but no part of the original bāhī buildings remain. The shrine of the kuśā-pā-dya is a fairly recently renovated structure, probably done in A.D.1888. The whole shrine, except for the cupola on the top is done in the bāhā style rather than the bāhī style. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two metal lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a unique wooden torāga. The central figure is a standing image of Padmapani Lokesvara. Directly above him is an image of Amitābha and above this is a figure of Vairocana. The three are surrounded by a host of bodhisattvas, tantric Buddhist deities and sidhās. The torāga bears no date, but the condition of the wood and the carving would indicate a fairly recent date, not more than 100 to 150 years old. The kuśā-pā-dya is a small standing Buddha image showing the viśūvāyākaraṇa mudrā and facing west. On either side of the door of the shrine are two small windows. The first storey has five windows in a row flanked by two tiny windows. The top storey has an unornamented triple opening and comprises living quarters. The tile roof is surmounted by a typical bāhī cupola.

There are three caityas in the courtyard, one of which is absolutely unique: This is a sort of elongated caitya with the four Buddhas mounted on their vehicles, but the iconography is one of the strangest things found anywhere in the bāhās. To the west is Amitābha seated on a peacock; to the north is a figure seated on a garuḍa which should be Amoghasiddhi but is not a Buddhist figure at all. It is Viṣṇu with the usual four emblems in his four hands: the lotus, wheel, club, and conch shell. To the east is a seated Buddha figure riding on an elephant but showing the viśūvāyākaraṇa mudrā instead of the earth touching gesture of Akṣobhya. To the south is a figure seated on a horse which should be Ratnasambhava, but is a Buddha figure made into Śiva holding the trident and damaru. This is a fairly recent piece, certainly erected during the Rana period when, according to informants, it was forbidden to build a true Buddhist caitya, it had to be Hinduised, which usually meant placing the caitya on a jaidronī replicating the jaidronī (=yoni) of a Śiva lingam. With this image somebody got a bit carried away. In front of this caitya is a pillar mounted bronze image of Manjūśrī and two other deities surrounded by nāgas, the whole representing the Valley filled with water and being drained by Manjūśrī.

The saṅgha of this bāhī now consists of only two families with only three initiated members. Though the members insist that this is an entirely independent saṅgha, they now perform their Barechuyegu initiations at Na Bahī [59] rather than here and serve for six months of the year as dya-pālās in the Na Bahī shrine. They claim that originally they performed their initiations here, but with the diminishing numbers it has become uneconomical for them to do so, hence they have joined forces with the small saṅgha of Na Bahī. It would also seem that the present saṅgha of Na Bahī came from here, perhaps after the original saṅgha died out. These two bāhīs plus Čūkān Bahī [85] are closely connected, all of the saṅghas having the same lineage deity. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals here morning and evening. The term of service is an entire year. The annual festival is no longer held, since there is no income to support it. At the time of Čūkī there used to be several observances, but they have all been dropped except the offering of one homa pūjā. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' they still show an image of Mahākāl and one of Hanumān. Informants claim that originally this bāhī had a great treasure of images and texts, but these have all disappeared in the past few years. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Vajrayogini' now worshipped at this site, but 'brought', according to informants, from Na Bahī and ultimately from Sankhū.
There are several copper-plate inscriptions attached to the front of the doorway of the shrine, the oldest of which is dated N.S.508 in the time of Jaya Sthitirāja Malla. At this time one Mānacandra, at the command of his father, had a laksya homa performed and had the image of the Buddha seated in vajrasana consecrated and installed in the Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra. He also had a three-storied wooden temple built and consecrated with a laksya homa and then had an image of Śrī Heruka Devatā installed there. Above this temple he installed a banner and five golden finial. For the benefit of all living beings Mānacandra, the son of Śrī Saṅgcandra of the Sakya lineage, his brother Harṣarāma and his son Jānacandra, being devout Buddhists spent the money which they had earned, to set up and consecrate this golden image of Gandhūli Bhaṭṭā-raka Buddha in the temple of Lagan Vihāra. Later inscriptions speak of further donations and repairs. In N.S.835 a Śākyabhikṣu of 'Śrī Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra' offered and consecrated an image of Akṣobhya in 'Kothu Bahī in R[lagan]' 8 In N.S.1008 a gūthi was established for the upkeep of the bahī; the endowment consisted of twenty five ropanis of land. This income has now been entirely lost.

5. Čuṇḍa Bahī -- Kīrtipunya Mahāvihāra [85]
Kothu Bahī Lagaṇ Tole

All that is left of this bahī complex is the shrine of the kuṣāpa-dya which is situated in the corner of a truncated courtyard behind Nāhāyaka Bahī. The ground floor shrine has a veranda in front of the shrine door, and this is now enclosed with a lattice screen and a door. In front of this door are two small stone lions. The most striking feature of the entrance is a stone torana which is not just a fixture above the door but rather a complete arch rising from the ground and extending right round the entire doorway. The central figure of this torana is Harhariharāhari-vāhana-locēsvāra, i.e. Lokēsvāra riding on the four Haris: the snake, the lion, the garuda and Vīṣṇu. Lokēsvāra is surmounted by a figure of Akṣobhya, a strange addition as Lokēsvāra is always associated with Amitābha and not Akṣobhya. The other figures are an assortment of tantric deities and bodhisattvas. The doorway to the shrine itself is at the back of the veranda and unornamented. The kuṣāpa-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the courtyard are two votive caityas. The saṅgha of this bahī consists of two lineages now comprising three households with a total of twenty two initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha act as dyā-pālas in the shrine by turns, one year each for the two lineages. The annual festival is no longer held. Initiations are no longer performed here, but in Na Bahī. Informants, however, insisted that this is an entirely independent saṅgha and that Barchuyegu initiations used to be held here. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Vajrayogini' now worshipped here but 'brought' here from Na Bahī and ultimately from Sankhu. The saṅgha has one elder. Income of four muris of paddy still comes from the land which the bahī gūthi possesses. There used to be quite a program of observances here during Čaṭhā but that has all been discontinued. There are two images of Lokēsvāra and other bits and pieces inside the shrine of the kuṣāpa-dya, but nothing is exhibited now at the time of the 'showing of the gods.'

There are no old inscriptions at this site, and nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahī, other than the tradition that the lineage deity came from Na Bahī and hence it is logical to assume that this was originally an off-shoot of Na Bahī.

6. Maru Bahī -- Śākyakeṭu Mahāvihāra [35]
Maru Tole

This bahī is situated in an enclosed courtyard surrounded by houses and located just behind the public water tap (Maru Mitī) in Maru Tole. Three sides of the quadrangle still exist, but the architectural features of the bahī have given way to a continuous two-storied building adapted for living quarters. The changed architecture dates to renovations after the earthquake of 1934. The shrine of the kuṣāpa-dya is a narrow, two-storied section of this building. The entrance is marked by two small stone lions and the carved doorway is flanked two small windows and surmounted by a wooden torana depicting Mahāvairocana surrounded by the other transcendent Buddhas in their tantric form. The torana is dated N.S.802. The kuṣāpa-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavākaraṇa mudrā facing east. Above the shrine door is a single large opening covered with lattice work. The corrugated iron roof has no ornamentation. In the courtyard are five votive caityas. There is little agreement
about the proper Sanskrit name of this bahī. Some informants said the name was Dharmaketu. Mary Slusser gives the names Dharmacakra or Dharma Śrī and Rain Kājī Vajracarya gives the name Śakyaketu. The members of the saṅgha say they still have some old books the colophons of which, they say, give the Sanskrit name as Śakyaketu Mahāvihāra, and this seems to be the correct name. However, it was impossible to check these manuscripts.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists now of four lineages comprising thirteen initiated Sakayas. The daily worship is performed morning and evening for seven months of the year by the members of this saṅgha and for five months of the year by the members of the Khusī Bahī [92] saṅgha. The term of service is one month and passes through the lineages of the saṅgha in turn. Theoretically the current dya-pāla of this bahī must also perform the daily rituals at Gaṇa Bahī [25] whose saṅgha has completely died out. (This is the information given by the members of the saṅgha, and until a few years ago it was true in the sense they they performed puja to an image of the Buddha brought from Gaṇa Bahī after the buildings had burned down. Until recently they used to bring the image back to Gaṇa Bahī once a year to worship it at its original site.)

The annual festival is still held here on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Paus. A feast for the entire saṅgha is also held at the time of Barechuyegu initiations. However, this feast has been considerably simplified. Originally whenever there was a feast at Maru Bahī, each of the participants, who included not only the members of this saṅgha but also ten of the 'Vajracaryas' from Mahānī Bahī (plus their families), had to be provided with the following: four mānas of flattened rice, two mānas of rice, a large quantity of ground meat, fried meat, cooking oil and a variety of spices and vegetables. Some twenty years ago one of the members of the saṅgha found when his turn to sponsor the feast came round that to provide this would in fact bankrupt him, so he appealed for some modification. Finally it was decided that the following would suffice: 1/4 māna of flattened rice, two pieces of meat and quantities of the rest in the same proportion. This has remained the custom up to the present time. This provides a good example of the deterioration of traditional customs at the bahās resulting from economic constraints.

During the month of Guṇi they still recite hymns. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' the members of this saṅgha plus people from Sikhamu Bāhā [55] and Khusī Bahī bring images to display. However, this display has diminished considerably in recent years. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the members of this saṅgha and also for that of Khusī Bahī. This fact plus the arrangement whereby the people from Khusī Bahī come here to perform the daily rituals for five months of the year would indicate a close relationship between these bahīs. One is immediately tempted to conclude that one of these two must be an offshoot of the other, but the two saṅghas claim that they are entirely independent, and their lineage deities are different. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is 'Dharmaketu' who is worshipped at this bahī. They claim the deity has always resided here; if he was 'brought' from some other place this has been forgotten. The saṅgha has one elder. This bahī still has annual income of ten murīs of paddy.

Though Maru Bahī is probably an ancient foundation, the present buildings are very late, and the earliest inscription in the complex is that on the torana dated N.S.802. This date probably marks a major renovation, but at this time there are no datable remains from an earlier period.


This bahī is situated outside the confines of the old city of Kathmandu across the Viṣṇumatī River on the way to Tāhāchal. Until a few years ago most of the original bahī structure of two storeys with open verandas remained intact. However, within the past ten years most of the original structure has given way to cement boxes. The shrine of the kuṭā-dya remains and is marked by two stone lions. In front of the door of the shrine is an open veranda. The carved doorway is surmounted by a small wooden torana depicting Aksobhya. Originally it was possible to circumambulate the shrine but the passageway to the left has now been blocked by a cement building which has been built right up against the cells of the shrine. The kuṭā-dya is a standing image of the Buddha showing the viśvavākaranamudrā. Above the shrine can be seen the remnants of the open
veranda which used to run right round the quadrangle of building. The tile roof is surmounted by a modern sort of cupola of two storeys, more of a miniature temple than a cupola. The roof of this shrine is surmounted by single finial. In the courtyard are two votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of three lineages, now seven households with twenty three initiated Sakyas. Few of the members of the saṅgha actually live here any more, and most of the buildings of the complex are rented out to itinerant labourers, mostly Tāmāṅgas. The daily rituals are performed only in the morning by the members of the saṅgha. The term of service is an entire year and passes through the three lineages in turn. This arrangement and the custom of performing only the morning rituals are probably due to the fact that hardly any of the people actually live here any more. The members of this saṅgha also act as dya-pālas in Maru Bahī [35] for five months of the year. The annual festival is no longer held, though the bahī still has an annual income of some thirty muris of paddy. At the time of Cūfiīa hymns are still recited and at the time of the ‘showing of the gods’ they still put out a few images one of which is called Tēmāṅ Khūa, a deity who must be visited first before one begins the pūjā of all the bahīs. The lineage deity of the saṅgha consists of two images Āju-Ajīmā (grandfather and grandmother). Though by right Barechuyegu initiations should be performed here, they are now performed at Maru Bahī jointly with the saṅgha of Maru Bahī. The saṅgha has one elder.

There are two inscriptions at the bahī, one dated N.S.825 and the other undated, but they are both from the reign of Bhāskara Malla. They commemorate donations made to the bahī by one Dhanakutu Bhāro of Pode Tole. The earliest dated reference to Khusi Bahī, however, comes from a contemporary notation on the invasion of the Valley by King Mukunda Sen of Pālpā. After suffering defeat at the hands of the inhabitants of Kathmandu, Mukunda Sen’s troops retreated across the Viśnupāta River and eight times attempted to set fire to Khusi Bahī ('Khusi Bahiri'); they were unsuccessful and finally gave up the attempt. This was in the year N.S.646. The foundation is surely older than this date, but there are no other firm dates. Later inscriptions speak of repairs undertaken in the late Malla period


This is an entirely abandoned and ruined bahī, now a Therevāda vihāra. It is included here only because it is active in the sense that the obligations of the saṅgha were assumed by the saṅgha of Maru Bahī [33] and it is still listed as one of the sixteen bahīs. According to informants this bahī had a large amount of property which extended from the present recent foundation all the way to the General Post Office. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the saṅgha had died out and the rights and duties of this bahī had been taken over by the saṅgha of Maru Bahī. Later there was a fire which destroyed most of the buildings of the bahī. After the fire the image of the kuṭā-pāya was removed by the Maru Bahī people and taken to Maru Bahī where they continued to perform the daily rituals. They continued to bring the image back to Gaṇa Bahī once a year at the time of the bahī pūjā so that it could be worshipped by the people there when they visited the bahī. Later all of the property except the small plot of land where the remains of the bahī buildings stood was taken by the government. This happened well before the Rana period as Bhim Sen Thāpā’s darbār, the Bhim Sen Tower, and Sun Dhara were all built on this property. People from Maru Bahī claimed the property but were not able to press their claim.

About 1969 the remaining piece of property which contained nothing but ruins was taken over by some Theravāda monks. A new vihāra, called Gaṇa Mahāvihāra was built and today this is a very active centre of Theravāda revival. The present establishment has no connection with the ancient bahī or its community. At the time of the construction of the present vihāra several 'Licchavi' caityas and fragments of two Licchavi inscriptions were discovered, all of which are now preserved at the new vihāra. Hence the site is very ancient and had Buddhist connections in the Licchavi period. Nothing further can be said about the ancient bahī or its community.

9. Dugaṅ Bahī — Śaḍākṣari Mahāvihāra* [22] New Road-Dugaṅ Bahī

All that remains of this bahī is a fairly recent kuṭā-pāya shrine and a few sculptural
pieces mounted in front of a shrine in what appears to be a slightly widened alley behind New Road. The complex has been a victim of the construction of New Road after the earthquake of 1934 and the subsequent rise in the price of land in this area. The shrine has preserved some of the features of a bahi. The main door is set back behind a sort of veranda, and it is still possible to circumambulate the cella. The carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a wooden torana showing Sadaksari Lokeshvara flanked by Mahidhara on the right and another image of Sadaksari Lokeshvara on the left. The torana is dated N.S.748. The kupa-dya is an image of Sadaksari Lokeshvara facing east. In front of the shrine are three caityas, one of them 'Liccchavi', and two pillar-mounted devotees.

The saṅgha of this bahi consists of three lineages now comprising fifteen initiated Sakyas. However, the actual number initiated here is greater. One whole lineage takes no active part in the life of the saṅgha and are not counted as members any longer. The daily rituals are performed each morning by the active members of the saṅgha. The term of service is one month and passes in turn through the households of the saṅgha. The annual festival is no longer observed, but they do still recite hymns at the time of Gūnlā. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is the shrine of Bhadrakāli near the Tundikhel and the saṅgha has one elder. The saṅgha no longer has any income.

This bahi had a place of considerable honour among all the bahis of Kathmandu. Until about three hundred years ago it was necessary for the elders of this bahi to be present for all Barechuyegu initiations in the bahis of Kathmandu. Furthermore, the members of the saṅgha received both the Barechuyegu and the Aćāluyegu initiations and functioned as priests for all the members of the bahi saṅghas of Kathmandu. Toward the end of the seventeenth century this bahi, which had originally been a prosperous foundation, fell on hard times. The members of the saṅgha were no longer able to afford the considerable expense of the Aćāluyegu. One of the members of the Makhān Bahī saṅgha, one Dhana Siddhi financed the Aćāluyegu, was himself initiated a 'Vajracarya', and when the Vajracaryas of Dugaṇ Bahī finally died out, he and his descendants became the priests for the bahi saṅsaṅgha. With this transfer of priestly functions went the place of honour which Dugaṇ Bahī had held. The elder of Makhān Bahī became the head of the saṅsaṅgha of the bahis and Dugaṇ Bahī lost the honor of providing the five official sthāvira for the Barechuyegu initiations. Since that time the official five have been the Elders of Makhān Bahī plus the next four eldest of the saṅsaṅgha.

There is also some connection between this bahi and Jana Bāhā [45] and its worship of the white Avalokiteśvara. Four days before the bathing of Jana Bāhā Dya the people of Dugaṇ Bahī have to take an earthen vessel, a loin cloth, a coconut and other offerings to Jana Bāhā. They present these offerings and then offer a pūjā to the deity. Until they have done this none of the other rituals connected with the bathing of Jana Bāhā Dya can take place. After the reconsecration of the image of Jana Bāhā Dya the priests of Jana Bāhā must take an offering to the saṅgha of Dugaṇ Bahī. Nobody was able to explain this custom or how it arose.

The earliest dated piece in the complex is the torana which bears the date N.S.748. Other inscriptions speak of later renovations and donations. The bell to the side of the door is dated N.S.1034 and the lions are recent additions donated in B.S.2034. Four manuscripts, however, give much earlier dates for this foundation. The first manuscript is a copy of the Kṛṣṇa-Yamaritantra dated N.S.500 in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was copied by one 'Dharmarakṣita, a disciple of the famous Vanaratna of Śri Sadaksari Mahāvihāra'. A copy of the Mahākarmavibhāga-sūtra was copied in N.S.531 during the reign of Yakṣamalla for a certain Śākyabhikṣu (name illegible) of Śri Śri Sadaksari Mahāvihāra in Śri Gangalage in Śri Yambukramāyan. This is the only vihāra by this name in the Valley at the present time and in historical records, and both Gangalake and Yambukramāyan refer to Kathmandu. The third manuscript, a copy of the Ekallavirānapama-candamāhārasana-tantram, was copied by Bhikṣu Śri Jīvariṣṭa who lived in Śri Śadaksari Mahāvihāra in the year N.S.547 for his own use. The fourth manuscript is a copy of the Mamujīśri Śrīsadhana Pratimalakṣaṇa and Lakṣapanasamucaya, also copied by Śri Dharmaṛakṣita residing in Śri Śadaksari Mahāvihāra. This manuscript is not dated but we know from the first cited document and other sources that this Dharmaṛakṣita was a...
10. Kothu Dugā Bahī — Sādaksari Mahāvihāra(?) [22A] New Road-Duga Bahī

This foundation, which was situated in a compound directly to the west of the present Dugā Bahī, has entirely disappeared. There is a tiny courtyard left between modern buildings, but nothing is left to mark it as a bahī, not even a caitya. However, the name is found on the lists of the bahīs to be visited at the time of the bahī puja and it is still counted as one of the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu. Evidently this was a separate foundation with its own saṅgha which performed their initiations here. According to informants, in the days when Dugā Bahī had 'Vajracaryas', the chief of these Vajracaryas always came from Kothu Dugā Bahī and his assistant from Dugā Bahī. This is all that can be said of this foundation at the present time.

11. Arakhu Bahī — Italampu Kṣta (Pārāvata) Mahāvihāra* [41] Yatkhā Tole

All that is left of the buildings around this large, paved courtyard is the shrine of the kuṣpā-duya which is in a state of total neglect. Everything but the actual cells of the shrine is in ruins. To either side of the cella is an open area that has now been closed with lattice work; above the shrine is an open area also enclosed with lattice work and with corrugated iron sheets laid on top as a roof. Two stone lions mark the entrance to the shrine and there are two tiny, blind windows on either side of the door. Over the doorway is a wooden torana showing Aksobhya flanked by two attendants. The kuṣpā-duya is an image of Padmapāni Lokesvara facing east. There are six caityas in the brick paved courtyard in front of the shrine, and nearby are several nearly obliterated Malla period inscriptions.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of three lineages of Sakyas now comprising nine initiated members. This saṅgha has actually assumed control of three other bahīs: Mahākā Bahī [41A], Muku Bahī [36] and Bilāsa Bahī [93]. According to their traditions they are not the original saṅgha of this bahī. At some time in the distant past the saṅgha of this bahī died out completely. Vajracaryas were then called from Itum Bāhā [44] to take over the bahī and insures the continuance of the customary rituals. Those who came took over this bahī and made it their own thereby giving up their membership in the saṅgha of Itum Bāhā. They also gave up their position as Vajracaryas, 'because there are no Vajracaryas in bahī'. Hence they no longer take the ācārya-yeugen initiation. This migration also explains part of the anomaly in the Sanskrit name. Recorded data refer to Italampu Kṣṭa Mahāvihāra, the Pārāvata was added to the name after the Vajracaryas from Itum Bāhā (Pārāvata Mahāvihāra) came here. However Italampu Kṣṭa itself makes little sense. Italampu is a Newari word which can probably be explained in the following way: ita—'west'; lam—'path, road'; pu—a classifier. Hence it is not a proper name as the Sanskrit name ('Made by Italampu') implies. The members of the saṅgha still perform the nitya puja, but only in the morning. The term of service is seven days and passes by seniority through the roster of the initiated. The annual festival is no longer observed. At the time of the 'showing of the gods' during Guñlā they display only their image of Dīpankara, though there are several other images in the shrine of the kuṣpā-duya including the five transcendent Buddhas, Nāgakanyā, Hitimārga, Sariputra and Maudgalyāyana. They also recite hymns at the time of Guñlā. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the members of the saṅgha, and the community has one elder. Their lineage deity is the same as that of Itum Bāhā—'Vajrayoginī' at Itum Bāhā, 'brought' from Sankhu.

Though this is certainly an old foundation there are no legible dated inscriptions from the early Malla period. An inscription at Bilāsa Bahī from the time of Pārīthivendra Malla (N.S.800-807) records a donation made by Bhikṣu Śrī Jīnaḍeva residing at Italampu Mahāvihāra in Yatkhā Tole in Śrī Yāhū in the city of Kāntipur. An inscription from the time of Pārītvendra Malla (N.S.807-21) repairs were made to the caitya and to the shrine of 'Śrī Śrī Śrī Gandhumījā'. The dōggrs were several Śākabhikṣus of Yatkhā Tole. In N.S.812 further donations were made (mostly illegible). A collection of dhāraniś was copied in N.S.860 by one Bhikṣu Śrī Jñanadērodharo(?) of Italampu Mahāvihāra. Jagadish Candra Regmi gives two earlier dates, N.S.644 and 744 for Arako Vihāra, but gives no indication of the source for these dates.
This bahi was situated on a piece of property adjoining Arakhu Bahi but at the present time is not much more than a memory. In the south east corner of the large area of Arakhu Bahi is a shrine of Mahakal and a tree. According to informants the tree marks the spot where the shrine of the kuwap-dya once stood. The area of the bahi extended to the south of this tree, but most of this land has been encroached upon by the neighbours. Until recently the image of the kuwap-dya, a standing Buddha showing the visvavyakara or mudra, remained; but this has also now disappeared. All that remains is a very unusual image of Mahakal from which the place evidently gets its name. The image is unusual on several accounts. It is a stone image of about four feet with two arms and a single face. In some respects he does correspond to a two-armed form of Mahakal but not entirely. In his right hand he holds what may be a chopper, but looks more like a kila; in his left hand he holds a skull bowl and in the crook of the left arm a trident. His face is not really fierce, but rather benign. His sacred thread does not visible in the photo as the mouth is smeared like a vampire. (These are not visible in the photo as the mouth is smeared with rice from a recent offering.) He does not have the third eye. His crown, instead of sporting the usual five skulls is a five pointed crown similar to that of a bodhisattva but surmounted by an elaborate design with an image of Amitabha in the centre! His sacred thread does appear to be a snake. Below his waist hang a string of rounded objects badly abraded (or poorly carved) which probably represent the severed heads usually associated with the multi-armed forms of Mahakal.

The sahga of Arakhu Bahi has taken up the rights and duties of this bahi also; but with the disappearance of the kuwap-dya there is nothing more to do except claim an extra place on the board of elders of the sixteen bahis. They still do recite hymns at the site of Mahakarn Bahi at the time of Gufla.

This bahi was situated at a site now occupied by the buildings which house the family of the former hereditary Raja, the Pandeys. According to informants the bahi had an extensive area which covered the entire tole. All of this property, including the bahi buildings and the shrine of the kuwap-dya was taken over some time before the Rana period. (Informants maintained that the property was confiscated by the Ranas. This is manifestly untrue, because the oldest building on the property is the house of Gagan Singh whose murder precipitated the Kot Massacre which brought Jang Bahadur Rana to power.) By the time of the appropriation of the property the sahga had dwindled to a very small number. The members of the sahga then built another shrine in Pode Tole which is now in a completely dilapidated condition; what was the shrine of the kuwap-dya is now a carpenters' workshop. The image of the kuwap-dya (which is now stored in a room upstairs) is an image of the Buddha showing the visvavyakara or mudra. About fifteen years ago this sahga had dwindled to one old man who had no sons, but only a daughter. The elders of the sixteen bahis decided that this daughter and her husband could inherit the bahi rights and privileges (including the new shrine) if she married a properly initiated Sakya. However, she married an Udava with the result that she and her descendants were stripped of all bahi rights. When the old man died the rights and duties of Mukum Bahi were assumed by the elder of Balsa Bahi who is in fact a member of the sahga of Arakhu Bahi. However, at the time of bahi pujas this daughter and her husband are permitted to receive the gifts given to Mukum Bahi. The daily rituals are no longer performed at the present time and this bahi has no income and no annual festivals. The bahi is still listed among the sixteen bahis and at the time of the bahi pujas offerings are made not at the 'new' shrine in Pode Tole but at an image of the Buddha which is enshrined near the entrance to a house up the street and across the lane from the property of the Raja Pandey's. Some informants claimed that this image, a standing Buddha showing the visvavyakara or mudra, is actually the kuwap-dya from the old bahi. However, others also claimed that the original kuwap-dya is still enshrined somewhere inside the compound of the Raja Pandey's.
14. Bilasa Bahi — Udayagiri (Nilagiri)
Mahavihara [83] Bijesvari

This bahi lies across the Vişnumatī river outside the old city of Kathmandu. The complex has been well preserved and renovated over the years because it is the site of a very popular shrine of Vījesvari or Vidyādhāri. The quadrangle of buildings is complete and has preserved many of the characteristics of bahi architecture. To the right as one comes into the entryway is a large, four and a half foot image of Tārā that appears very ancient. Directly opposite the entrance to the quadrangle is the shrine of kuṭapā-dya, an image of Ākṣobhya facing east. Over the doorway of the shrine is a partial torana with Ākṣobhya (but painted blue!) in the centre flanked by two monk devotees at the far edge of the piece. In the north east corner of the quadrangle is the shrine of Vījesvari. The shrine itself is actually upstairs; and over the doorway leading upstairs is a wooden torana which depicts Vajradhara with the vajra-humkara mudrā flanked by two dancing yoginis. Above this shrine and above the corrugated iron roof of the rest of the buildings rises a double roofed tower topped by a golden finial. Next to the door leading up to the shrine of Vījesvari is another sort of window shrine. Over this is a repousse torana showing Amitābha flanked by two bodhisattvas. The courtyard of the complex is paved and contains twelve votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this bahi died out long ago, and the rights and duties were taken over by the Vajracaryas turned Sakyas of Arakhu Bahi [41], originally from Ituṣ Bāhā [44]. The bahi is evidently an ancient foundation. When the cult of Vījesvari was introduced and how her cult became so important is unknown. The shrine is an important one for Buddhists of Kathmandu and visited frequently. Every newly married couple of the Sakyas and Vajracaryas of Kathmandu make a pilgrimage to this shrine when they begin their married life. At the present time three of the Sakyas of Arakhu Bahi, one from each lineage, take turns acting here as dyapālaś for the kuṭapā-dya and the shrine of Vījesvari, by all accounts a lucrative post as there is a constant stream of people coming to Viṭesvari. Pūja is performed at the shrine of kuṭapā-dya in the morning and the evening, but three times a day at the shrine of Viṭesvari: once at dawn (a ritual bathing of the deity), in the morning (the nitya pūja) and in the evening (the offering of the ārati). Since the saṅgha is centered on Arakhu Bahi and not here, all of their bahi pūjas, festivals and initiations are held there.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this bahi. Some of the modern writers have given the Sanskrit name as Vidyēsvāri Mahāvīhāra or Viṭalākāra Pāravata Mahāvīhāra. Both of these names are later interpolations, the first obviously coined because of the shrine of Viṭesvari. The second is a combination of this plus the fact that the present saṅgha which supplies the dyapālaś originally came from Pāravata Mahāvīhāra (Ituṣ Bāhā). The name I have given above is taken from Ratna Kaji Vajracarya. KTMV gives the date 1655 (N.S.775) as the date of the construction of the bahi, but gives no source for this date. This may be the construction date of the present shrine of Vījesvari; the bahi is certainly much older.

15. Thatu Cā Bahi — Samādhiṃḍapā Mahāvīhāra
Chābel

Thatu Cā Bahi, which is situated in an enclosed courtyard north of the Chābhālī Stūpa, is a good example of a more or less complete bahi structure. The entire two-storied quadrangle is still standing. The ground floor open halls have been walled in, but the upper storey has preserved the typical open halls behind an overhanging balcony with lattice screens. The shrine is marked by two stone lions, and the carved and lattice doorway is surmounted by a torana which depicts the five transcendent Buddhist in their tantric form with Mahā-ākṣobhya in the centre. There is a circumambulation passage round the cela of the shrine. The kuṭapā-dya is evidently an image of Padmapani Lokesvara, though the people refer to it as Vajrapāni Lokesvara. The image is partially covered but the right hand showing the abhaya mudrā is visible. What can be seen does not correspond to the iconography of Vajrapāni. The image faces north. The roof of the entire complex is of tile, and there is no ornamentation above the shrine. In the courtyard are four caityas, one of which is from the early medieval period. To the right of the shrine is a large temple bell. Informants say that the shrine also contains an image of Cārumati, the supposed daughter of the Emperor Āśoka, plus some other small pieces. There are several 'Lichavi'
caityas around.

The sangha of this bahī consists of seventeen households with thirty five initiated members, all Sakyas. They take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening in the shrine of the kuṇā-pā-dya. The term of service is one month and passes through the roster of the initiated by seniority. The sangha no longer has any annual festivals, but takes part in all joint festivals of the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu. The annual festival used to be held on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālgun. The lineage deity of the sangha is the large and ancient image of Padmapāṇi Lokeshvara up near the Cābahī stūpa, which however they call Vajrapāṇi Lokāśvara. Barechuyeugu initiations are performed here and the sangha has five elders. This bahī and Kotu Cā Bahī are the only two of the bahīs to have more than one elder. This bahī has 'a little' income left.

Nothing is known for sure about the date of the foundation of this bahī or its history. One thing, however, is certain. This is not the ancient establishment associated with the Cā Bahī stūpa. That was situated at the stūpa itself and the shrine that is supposed to have been the shrine of that foundation still exists but is the kuṇā-pā-dya of another sangha. Hence the name of this bahī is surely not Cārūmatī Mahāvihāra. Ratna Kaji Vajracarya gives the name Samādhi-madgapa Mahāvihāra and this is probably correct. Several modern writers use the name Rāj Vihāra and this name does appear on an inscription dated N.S.775 which is situated at the shrine of the kuṇā-pā-dya, but this refers to a donor who belongs to Rāj Vihāra and it is by no means certain that he was from here and that this is Rāj Vihāra. The oldest dated piece at the bahī is this inscription of N.S.775 at which time a finial was offered. Allen gives the name Suvarṇapūra Mahāvihāra as given to him by an informant, but this name is surely an attempt to coin a Sanskrit name from the Sanskrit name of the settlement which was known as Suvarṇapura. Allen also says that the same informant told him that the bahī was built in N.S.850 by one Gaṅgā Mahārāṇī, a Sakya woman who became queen(?) of Suvarṇapura. This story is surely spurious, and the bahī existed in N.S.775. 850 may well mark the date of extensive repairs or a renovation of the foundation.

This bahī also has its own Kumārī or living goddess. She is selected from among the daughters of the members of the sangha. Usually half a dozen or more girls are selected as suitable and then the final choice is made by a kind of lottery. She has a shrine of her own on the first floor balcony of the bahī just to the side of the area above the shrine. Here she is installed in office in a ceremony which is presided over by a Vajracarya from Makhaṅ Bāhā [42] in Kathmandu. Formerly rich people of Kathmandu and Patan used to come frequently to worship her, but this has declined considerably. Local people come to worship her privately after marriages, initiations and other life cycle rites. There are four major annual events which she must participate in with all of her finery:

1 & 2 She is taken to Cābahī agama for disī pūjā on both the winter and summer solstices (the 10th of Poush and the 10th of Jyeṣṭha.) The five ājī (senior-most elders) of Cābahī together with the Makāmbāhā Makhaṅ Bāhā purohit worship the āgama god and make offerings to Kumārī.

3 On the 3rd day of Baisakh, known as Aṅkṣhayya, Tīrīyā, she is brought to the bahī where she is worshipped by the ājī and the purohit. Aṅkṣhayya Tīrīyā is a festival during which people offer one another jagāri mixed with water.

4 On the eighth day of the light lunar fortnight in the holy month of Āśā, Buddhists perform panĉa dāna, the ceremony of five offerings. Five kinds of food (unhusked and polished rice, lentil seeds, wheat and salt) are offered to the begging monks-Sakya and Vajracaryas who so choose to represent themselves. The beggers, together with Kumārī, line up in the bahī to receive their alms.


All that is left of this bahī about a quarter mile distant from the Cābahī stupa is the shrine of the kuṇā-pā-dya which is situated on a plot of land that is vacant except for an entryway, this shrine and a low wall. The shrine itself is evidently of fairly modern construction and is more in the style of a bāhā than a bahī. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The carved door is flanked by two small windows and there is no torāga. The kuṇā-pā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya. Inside the shrine are
also five Buddhas and another deity known simply as Ajimā. The upper storey of the shrine has a triple window and the corrugated iron roof is surmounted by a bahī style cupola topped by a single finial. In the courtyard are three caityas, two of them 'Licchavi' caityas.

The saṅgha of this bahī consists of two lineages, now seven households comprising sixteen initiated Sakyas. The members of the saṅgha perform the usual rituals morning and evening, though none of them actually live here any more. The term of service is six months for each of the two lineages. During the six months the members of each lineage take turns acting as dya-pālās. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The annual festival is supposed to be celebrated on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh, but has been discontinued. However, the members of the saṅgha take part in any joint celebrations of the sixteen bahīs of Kathmandu. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is situated here in the bahī and is known as Jambu Rājā or Dhuoya Juju. At the time of Guñlā the members of the saṅgha still recite hymns. The saṅgha has a board of five elders.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bahī. Local informants say it was founded by the husband of the Gangā Mahārāṇī who is said to have founded Thatu Cā Bahī. The two 'Licchavi' caityas would indicate an early date for the site, but there are no inscriptions, and the name of this bahī does not occur in other inscriptions or manuscript colophons.
The following bāhās and one bāhī still exist and in some sense have active sāṅghas, but do not fit the other classifications, i.e. they do not belong to the Ācārya Gūḍhī, they do not fit with the other Sakya bāhās of Kathmandu, and the one bāhī is not counted among the sixteen bahis of Kathmandu.

1. Syāngu Bāhā — Sāṃhyēngu Mahāvihāra [105]
Swayambhū Mahācaitya

Syāngu Bāhā is the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. In the architectural sense this is not a bāhā at all, i.e. there is no bāhā structure here and no kuṇḍā-dya shrine as such. However, there is a community of Bare here who are initiated to the west of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya and live the buildings to the west and north of the Mahācaitya. The community consists of four lineages, now twenty nine households with a total of one hundred eighty five initiated members. They receive both the Barechuyegu and the Ācāluyegu initiations. They receive their Barechuyegu initiations sitting at the western side of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya in front of the image of Amitābha whom they consider to be their kuṇḍā-dya. They receive their Ācāluyegu initiation on the hill to the west of the caitya above the parking lot known as the Sāṃhyēngu hill or Pulân Syāngu or Gauḍā Caitya. Despite the fact that these people receive the Ācāluyegu they are not considered to be Vajracaryas but Buddhacaryas. They explain this in the following way: Buddhacaryas are the relatives and descendants of Śāntikar Ācārya. They have no connection whatsoever with Vajracaryas. They have the same powers as Vajracaryas but are not permitted to perform Srāddha ceremonies. They consider the Amitābha image on the Caitya to be their kuṇḍā-dya and the members of the sāṅgha perform the daily rituals there and in the shrine of Hariti (Ajimā) to the side of the Caitya. The kuṇḍā-dya is worshipped twice a day and the Hāriti shrine five times a day. The term of service is one week and service passes through the lineages by turn. The wives of the members of the sāṅgha are also considered to be proper members of the sāṅgha and take their turn as dya-pālās of the kuṇḍā-dya and in the shrine of Hāriti. In addition to the service of the kuṇḍā-dya and service in the shrine of Hāriti, the male members of the sāṅgha also serve as dya-pālās of the stūpa at Pulân Syāngu performing the nitya pūjā there each day. This caitya is also their lineage deity, though I have been told that it is actually Yogāmbara. The sāṅgha has five elders. They do not observe an annual festival of their kuṇḍā-dya and the sāṅgha has no income. The two-storied shrine directly to the south of the Swayambhū Mahācaitya which contains several images is their agam shrine.

The sāṅgha also has a special relationship with the two Yogāmbaras enshrined near the mahācaitya. The first of these is the Yogāmbara down near Sāntipur and according to informants of the sāṅgha is known as Yogāmbara-Gūhyaśvarī. This Yogāmbara was 'brought' from Sankhu and has no connection with the Gūhyaśvarī at Paṣupati. Hem Rāj Sakya claims that this Yogāmbara is the lineage deity of all of those who follow the Vajrayana tradition.

The second Yogāmbara shrine is between Agnipur and Sāntipur and according to informants of the sāṅgha, this Yogāmbara was 'brought' to Swayambhū from Mheypi. Because of this the Pāṇjus of Buṅgamati come here each year to do a pūjā to this Yogāmbara. (According to Buṅgamati traditions Yogāmbara is the lineage deity of Buṅgadya and of the entire sāṅgha, though they...
287. Syaṅgu Bāhā [105]
Image of Amitābha

288. Swayambhū -- Šāntipur
usually worship him near a pond in the western part of Patan.) The earth for making the image of Bungadaha is supposed to have been brought from Mheypil, and whenever the image needs repairing, they must still bring clay from Mheypil to do this. The members of the sangha of Syang Baha say that there is an intimate connection between themselves and the Pahus of Bungamat. If this sangha at Syayambhuh should ever die out, its rights and duties in regard to the kuop-dya and the Hiriti shrine would be assumed by the Pahu of Bungamat and vice versa: should the community at Bungamat die out, its rights and duties would be assumed by this community.

Nothing is known about the history of this community. There was certainly monastery of some sort at Syayambhuh from the very earliest times, as it is mentioned in the Gopalaraja-vansavali during the time of the Licchavi kings and the Tibetan Dharmaswarin stayed at the Syayambhuh Vihara when he came to Nepal in A.D. 1226. What the relationship of this present community is to the earlier monastery (or monasteries) is unknown.

2. Ca Bahi-Maunj Baha -- Dhamadavacaitya Vihara [102] Chabahil

This is the site of the very ancient and very large stupa at Chabahil. Architecturally, there is nothing remaining of the vihara but a delapidated kuop-dya shrine containing an eleventh-twelfth century Padmapani Lokesvara, facing north. The stupa itself is ancient and around it is a plethora of sculptural remains and ancient votive caityas, many of them definitely dating back to the Licchavi period. At the present time there is a small community of five 'Vajracaryas' attached to this shrine. A few years back the community consisted of some forty members, but most of them have moved away and severed all connection with the community here. This community has no connection with the communities of either of the nearby bahis. Little Buddhist activity remains here. The members of the sangha perform the daily rituals in the shrine of the kuop-dya, but there is no annual festival and the baha has no income. Barechuayegu initiations are performed in front of the shrine of the kuop-dya. Despite the fact that the members of the sangha call themselves Vajracarya, they no longer take the Acalu-yegu initiation. Their lineage deity is an unnamed deity which they worship here at this site. The members of the sangha have no traditions about their history or origins. One suspects that they are rather late-comers to this site, perhaps coming from either Patan or Kathmandu to take up the rituals in a previously abandoned site. There are a number of inscriptions from the late Malla period recording donations and restorations at the stupa. In all of these inscriptions the officiating priest at the installation of the donation is a Vajracarya from one or other of the bahas of the Acarya Gouthi in Kathmandu. Perhaps there were no Vajracarya priests at this site or if there were, they really belonged to Kathmandu; or alternately, the donors were all from Kathmandu and hence brought their own priests. In any case there is no reason to believe that the present community has any connection with the ancient Licchavi foundation on this site. There is some reason to believe that the members of the bahi sangha to the west (Thatu Ca Baha [98]) may be the descendants of an earlier community because their lineage deity is the Licchavi Lokesvara image at this site.

Legend assigns the foundation of this vihara to a daughter of Asoka, called Carumati who is said to have married a Ksatriya called Devapala and settled in Deopatan. In their old age she and her husband decided to retire from the world and spend their last days in a vihara. Accordingly she built for herself a vihara on this site. This same legend derives the present name of the area Ca-bahi from her name. There is, of course, no historical evidence that the Emperor Asoka ever visited Nepal much less that he married off a daughter to a Ksatriya of Nepal. There is, however, a good bit of evidence concerning the foundation of this site and the genesis of the name, which evidence gives quite a different story. I quote Mary Slusser in her Nepali Magadha where she summarises all of the historical data which has so far come to light and draws some conclusions:

One of the set of four stupas, now simply called Chabahil like the village it dominates, was established about the middle of the fifth century by King Dharmadeva, whose name the stupa long bore. The Gopalaraja-vansavali affirms that Dharmadeva built Dhame-caytya-bhattachara in Raja-vihara. Later chronicles also call the stupa by Dharmadeva's name, associate him with it either
as the builder or renovator, and attest to the location of his foundation in Deopatan, north-west of Paṣupatinātha. Further, Mañju-vihāra, the derelict vihāra whose courtyard the stupa once glorified, was formerly known as Dharmacita vihāra (Dharmadeva-caitya-vihāra), and nearby Cārumatī-vihāra [Thatu Cā Bahī] was named Mahārāja- or Rāja-vihāra. Even Dharmadeva's name remained attached to the stupa until very recent times. Nearby seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inscriptions, for example, explicitly name it the Dharmadeva-caitya, and, in corrupted form the name lingered on as Dandeo, as Oldfield knew it, or Dhanade (Dhanado, Dhanado), an alternate name now in use by many Newars.

The name Chābil, now applied to the stupa and to the part of Deopatan in which it is located, is of recent origin. Rather than deriving, as it is alleged, from Cārumatī, the name of a fictive daughter of the Emperor Asoka, the name seems to have generated the daughter, and in fact to derive from quite a different source. It became a custom from about the middle of the seventeenth century, when trade relations with Tibet were intensified by Pratāpamalla, for Newar traders to break their journey, going and coming, at Mahārāja-vihāra [Thatu Cā Bahī]. On the outward journey the trader's family accompanied him as far as the vihāra, where they spent the night with him. In the morning, before separating, the trader fortified himself with the prasāda of the vihāra's famous Vajrayana deity, Guptesvarī-yogini, and with auspicious foods offered by his family. Similarly, the homecoming traders were received here by their families, and after thanksgiving in the vihāra and an overnight rest, were escorted the rest of the way home. Since in Newari cā means "night, overnight," the vihāra began to be familiarly known as Cā-bahil, the "monastery of the overnight stop," a name at length applied to the stūpa and the surrounding settlement.

That the site of Dharmadeva-caitya and the related royal vihāras has been occupied since early Licchavi times is evident. There are several Licchavi śilāpattas adjacent or attached to the stūpa. One of them is considered by some scholars to antedate the Chānḍu Nārāyana pillar inscription, a hoard of clay seals found next to the stūpa date from Narendradeva's time. There is also the testimony of sculptural remains and votive caityas. Near the stūpa are images of the Buddha [stolen in April of 1985] and a Bodhisattva that date, respectively from the sixth and eighth centuries, and attached to the drum are several relief plaques of probably seventh- or eight-century date. Numerous Licchavi caityas cluster around the prestigious monument and others—some of early form and with original squat finial in place—are to be found at nearby Mahārāja-vihāra.

That the stūpa was and still is known as Dharmadeva Caitya Vihāra is beyond question, but I have found no evidence that the vihāra was called Dharmadeva Caitya Vihāra at an early date. In fact there are two rather early references to a 'Cā Vihāra'. A manuscript of the Amarakośa was copied in N.S. 401 in Patan by one Vaidya Śī Sarasāja of Cā Vihāra. A copy of the Divyavamsamālā dated N.S. 538 was copied in Cā Vihāra by one Śākuyabhiṣku Śī Madanabhada. Though the first manuscript was written written by a man who was living in Patan (manilgalasthānādhināsinah) he belonged to Cā Vihāra which was not necessarily in Patan. The second colophon gives no indication of the place. Both of these may refer to Cā Bahī-Mañju Bāhā. If so this would indicate that the old Sanskrit name was Cā Vihāra, and hence one would have to doubt the etymology given to Slusser by informants and recounted by Bāburam Ācārya.

Dhanavajra Vajracarya has noted two inscriptions both dated N.S.840 and both found at the Cābhīl Ganesh Than near the stūpa. Both of these inscriptions refer to 'Kirtipuuya Mahāvihāra at Cā Behāli' ('cā behāli kirtipunnya mahā-vihaḷasthāne'). This is a further indication that over the centuries there have been several foundations at this site. The Ganesh Shrine was perhaps the guardian Ganesh of another monastery located at this site. There is a colophon of a manuscript copy of the Pañcarākṣa of N.S. 250 which mentions a Kirtipuuya Mahāvihāra with no indication of the place. It was indicated above that this might refer to Nāyakhaṇ Bahī [84] or Lāgaṇ Bāhā [80] of Kathmandu, but it may also refer to this monastery in Chābil.

3. Kinnu Bāhā -- Śī Kirttana Mahāvihāra

This bāhā is situated on a ridge below and to the south of the Śwayambhū Mahācaitya in a place which is famed as the seat of a Siddha by
the name of Kindol. The bāhā is situated in an area enclosed by buildings with the shrine of the kwāpā-dya along the west quarter. The building looks like an ordinary house except for the shrine on the ground floor and a golden finial on the roof. The entrance is marked by two stone lions. The doorway is plain and has no torana. The kwāpā-dya is an image of Aksobhya facing east. On either side of the door are two small windows. The first storey, which consists of living quarters, has three large modern windows. The squat top storey has three small openings.

According to an inscription at the shrine this bāhā was built in N.S.807 by one Sakyabhikṣu Śrī Simha...[the rest of the name is illegible] of Bhāskara Deva Saṃskārita Śrī Keśavacandra Kṣṭa Pārāvata Mahāvihāra (Ituṃ Bāhā [44]) in Kāntipur. According to the inscription he had a caitya and a bāhā made in this area which was famous as the place where the great Siddha called Kindol used to meditate on Dharmadhātu Viṣṇusvara. Work was begun in N.S.805 and the consecration ceremonies were held on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha. The king of Kathmandu, Pārthivendra Malla, was also present on the occasion of the consecration of the bāhā and offered a golden kalasa and a banner. The inscription also gives the Sanskrit name Śrī Kirttana Mahāvihāra.

Whether or not there was ever a saṅgha here from Ituṃ Bāhā in Kathmandu is not known. By the early part of this century the bāhā had been abandoned and was falling into ruins. In N.S.1044 (1924) Śrī Guru Dharmadīya Dharmacārya (Jagat Māṇ Vaidya of Patan) publicised the sad state of this shrine. Donors from Kathmandu came forth and two years later the shrine was renovated. The present buildings date from the time of this renovation. Some of the renovation was done in the style of a Tibetan monastery and fresco paintings are still visible inside the monastery. In addition to the kwāpā-dya Hem Rāj Sakya lists the following images also enshrined in the monastery: Siddha Nāgarjuna, Jambala Kubera, Amoghasiddha (2 images), Amitābha, Nāga-nāgini, Prajñāpāramitā, Siddhīni, Śīhanāda Lokesvāra, Annapūra Devi, another Prajñāpāramitā, Sakyamuni Buddha, Tri-Buddha Murti (i.e. three Buddha figures showing chhiyā mukrā, bhūmiśpargā mukrā and abhaya mukrā), Mahājñāpī with two female deities, Padmapāni Lokesvāra with the two Tārās, Dharmacakra Bodhisattva and Sākyaśīri Lāmā. At the present time there is no saṅgha here, but the usual rituals are performed by a Sakya who lives in a small building nearby.

4. Cidhaṅgu Kinnu Bāhā -- Tejakīrti Vihāra

This is a very modern foundation. The story of its foundation and the circumstances surrounding it perhaps give us some insight into the way these vihāras were founded in the past. A little over fifty years ago a Sakya by the name of Harṣadeva from Rudravarāṇ Mahāvihāra (Uku Bāhā) in Patan went to Kindol to meditate and practise tantric yoga. This man became quite well known as a tantric adept and developed a considerable number of followers who refer to him simply as Dharma Guruju. After some time a donor from Bhimsen Thān in Kathmandu, by the name of Tejnarisingh Maharjan, built a vihāra for Dharma Guruju. The vihāra consists of a long, one-storied building with a shrine containing an image of the Buddha in dharmacakra mudrā (Vairocana). After the building was completed, the consecration ceremonies were performed on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisakha in the year N.S.1058 (A.D.1938). Seven years later in N.S.1065, on the same day, a caitya and a dharmadhātu mandala were completed and consecrated through the generosity of the same donor. The bāhā was given the Sanskrit name Tejakīrti in honour of the donor. The kwāpā-dya is a seated image of Maitreya and in front of the image is a large brass mandala done in high relief. The mandala, which is of Amoghapāsa Lokesvāra, is an unusual and exquisite piece. There was no saṅgha except for Dharma Guruju who later left the place after which the founder's grandson and his wife moved in. They still live at the site, perform the daily rituals themselves and have kept the whose shrine in a fine state of repair.

Here we have a recent and well documented example of the foundation of a bāhā. The shrine was built by a Buddhist lay person, in this case a Jñāpī, for his guru. The monastery was named after the donor and given over to his guru to live in and perform his devotions. The motive for this was certainly to gain merit as is customary throughout the Buddhist world. This is evidently the way many if not all of the bāhās were founded. Donations were given by lay people, sometimes kings, and a monastery was built for an individual monk or for a monastic
community. The donor's generosity was often perpetuated in the official Sanskrit name of the vihāra as one can see from the names of so many of the bāhās (especially in Patan) and the legends surrounding their foundation. In the beginning the guru or the community were probably celibate bhikṣus. Later they were a 'sahgha' of married bhikṣus (Bare) who then in turn passed the vihāra and the duties of worship on to their sons and grandsons.

5. Jamo Bāhā -- Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra [99]

At the present time this is an enclosed and paved area with buildings along the southern side and a low wall around the rest. The shrine of the kwāpā-dya is located on the ground floor of the central building. The shrine is marked by four lions and an arch of oil lamps. Over the carved doorway is a torana showing the five tantric Buddhas with Mahāvairocana in the central position. The kwāpā-dya is a large image of Maitreya Bodhisattva, a copy of the image of Musuṃ Bāhā (1) which was made at the time of the renovation of this bāhā. The image is of clay faces north. The second and third storeys of the building are living quarters with ordinary modern windows. Above the tile roof is a bāhī style cupola. In the courtyard is a single 'Licchavi' caitya of two tiers, the largest caitya of this style seen anywhere in the Valley. Along the eastern wall is a small, free-standing temple which houses a white image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara, evidently a duplicate of Janabāhā Dya. Along the northern wall are four of the transcendental Buddhas, all except Vairocana.

This bāhā was evidently an ancient foundation that by the end of the last century had fallen into ruins and had long been abandoned. According to informants it lay within or on the edge of a settlement known as Jamal. This is an ancient site, which was known in Licchavi times as Jamayambil. When Bir Shamsher Rana (+1903) was building his palaces (beginning with Lal Darbār and ending with the mammoth Seto Darbār) he enclosed all of this area within his compound. The settlement of Jamal was razed and the people moved elsewhere.

Jamal had important ritual connections with the White Matsyendranātha of Kathmandu (Jana Bāhā Dya). According to the legends surrounding the cult of Jana Bāhā Dya, the image was discovered in a field in Jamal by a farmer and later brought to the Kanaka Cāitya Mahāvihāra. Because of this association the deity is also called Jamalesvara (the lord of Jamal), finally shortened to Jana-(Bāhā)-Dya. The image is supposed to have been originally enshrined within a long ruined vihāra. Some claim that Jana Bāhā is the place where the image was originally enshrined. Informants at Jana Bāhā, however, deny this and say that the vihāra was located where the image was found. The image was found at the spot where the statue of King Mahendra now stands on Darbār Mārg south of the new Royal Palace. For this reason the annual festival and ratha jātra always begin at the crossroads just south of Mahendra's statue. (During the Rana period it was impossible to begin from the exact place where the statue was found, because this was also enclosed in Bir Shamsher's compound. Priests from Jana Bāhā, however, were permitted into the compound once a year to perform a puja, but the jātra started down the street.)

Because this was an ancient Buddhist site Ananda Muni Vajracarya later requested Buddha Shamsher for permission to salvage the Buddhist ruins on the site and rebuild a vihāra. Permission was granted and the present buildings and paved courtyard are the result of the renovation completed in 1947. For some reason the Vajracaryaas of Lāyku Bāhā [54] (and hence of Sikhamu Bāhā [55]) acquired the right of serving in the kwāpā-dya shrine as dya-pālās and still exercise this right. However, there is currently a dispute raging over these rights, and the property rights of the shrine, between the people of Lāyku Bāhā and those of Iku Bāhā [76], where Anandamuni is the chief elder.

6. Thām Bāhī -- Vikramaśila Mahāvihāra* [96]

Bhagawān Bāhā Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra

Thamel

Thām Bāhī is one of the largest and best preserved bāhī complexes in the Valley. It is situated in a lane which runs behind the old Kesar Mahal property and is the centre of what was until recent times a separate village outside of the city of Kathmandu. The modern name of the area, Thamel, is a corruption of Thām Bāhī. At the street entrance to the bāhī is a fine old entryway and resting place. To the
right of the entrance is a small temple dedicated to Jati Ajima whose identity will be explained below. Across the lane in front of the entrance are three medieval caityas set into a brick base. Below the caityas are three images: Akṣobhya flanked on his right by Prajñāpāramitā and on his left by Amitābha. To the side is a long rest house and in the grassy area behind the caityas is another larger, and much later, caitya and a shrine of Saraśvati.

Passing through the entryway of the complex one comes into a vestibule which opens on to the bahī courtyard proper. Over the doorway leading inside is a wooden torana dated N.S.806 which portrays the Buddha (Dharmadhātu. Vaiśāvara) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on his right and the Saṅgha (Saṅkasari Lokēsvara) on his left. Above these figures are four of the Transcendent Buddhas (minus Vairocana) in their non-tantric form. On the right as one enters the bahī proper is a shrine of Mahākāla. The entire complex of the bahī has been preserved.

The main shrine is directly opposite the entrance and is of three storeys plus a large cupola. The shrine is marked by two sardulas at the entrance and two ordinary lions at the side. The carved doorway is surmounted by a metal repousse torana depicting the Nāmasaṅgiti. On either side of the door are two small windows. The entire ground floor facade of the shrine has been covered with ceramic tiles. The first storey of the shrine has the usual overhanging balcony covered with lattice screens. Above this is another storey with a single opening flanked by boards to which have been attached an array of pots and pans. The tile roof is surmounted by a large cupola. Into the lattice work of the cupola has been set a large picture of Sakyamuni Buddha. Above the roof of the cupola is a golden finial and a golden mirror (darpagā). The cells of the shrine is offset from the rest of the structure so that it is possible to circumambulate it. Though this is the main shrine of the bahī it does not house the kuśapādyā but an image of Sīhā Sārtha Bāhu, also known as Guru-jujī, a legendary elder of the bahī whose story will be recounted below. The image is made in the style of the Dipānkara images, i.e. a half image that a man can get inside of (or put on) and carry around. In addition to this image the shrine also contains a red faced Dipānkara image known as Cakandya who is the most well known deity of this bahī.

The rest of the complex is typical of the bahī, a two storied building with open halls on the ground floor and lattice covered, overhanging balconies above. There is one peculiarity to the ground floor though. Along the southern side of the ground floor is a doorway leading back to a recessed shrine which houses the kuśapādyā of the bahī, an image of Amitābha facing north. In addition to this image the shrine also contains images of Akṣobhya, Ksetrapāla, two images of Mahājñuṣārī, Mahākāla, Hanumān and Ajima. In the paved courtyard are four caityas and a maṇḍapa.

There is another entryway into the complex from the south, and over this doorway is a wooden torana depicting the Nāmasaṅgiti. This doorway opens on to a park-like area containing three caityas and a well. Because of the well it is known as Tuṅ Cok, and all water used at the bahī for ritual purposes must be taken from this well. One of the caityas is a stylised caitya with four large Buddha figures. Three of the Buddhás are identical showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and gathering the garments with the left hand below the waist. The fourth Buddha shows the abhaya mudrā with his right hand. All of the Buddhas are given striated garments. Pal dates this monument to the tenth or eleventh century. Along the eastern wall of this area is a rest house where the main image of the bahī is set up on the full moon day of Pālguṇ. This enclosed area is the place where the Pradhāns of this bahī are given their caste initiation (kayte pūjā), and when the two dyā-pālās of the main shrine are initiated (Barechuyegu) they must spend four days as bhikṣus staying in a rest house to the side.

North of the main bahī structure is a second complex which was evidently also a similar bahī structure. All that remains now are the eastern and northern wings of the buildings. At the western end of the north arm is a typical Nepalese three-storied temple which is the official temple of the Kuṅ Bāhā Kumārī who is worshipped at the bahī four times a year. The temple has no other image and, unless the Kumārī is in residence, is empty. At the present time, however, the Kumārī is usually worshipped not in this shrine but in the aṭgam on the first floor of Thām Bahī proper. South of this second compound is another enclosed, grassy area with a plastered stūpa in the centre. This
293. Thām Bahī [96]
stupa is the lineage deity of the Pradhâns attached to this bahî.

The traditions of this bahî are unique. The bahî belongs to a group of Pradhân families, now comprising ten households with eighty-six initiated male members. These Pradhâns, cha thari Shresthas, who belong to a caste that is usually considered to be strictly Hindu, are initiated here in Thâm Bahî, are married here and have their lineage deity here. The initiation they receive is not the Barechuyegu but the kayatâ pûjâ. However, the officiating priest is a Vajracarya from Khâ Bâhâ [1] in Kathmandu. The bahî is theirs and most informants told me that these Pradhâns comprise the sangha of the bahî and act as dya-pâlās in the bahî shrine. This is incorrect. None of these Pradhâns ever receive the Barechuyegu and none of them ever act as dya-pâlās in either the shrine of Siîma Sîrtha Bâhu or in the shrine of the kuâpâ-dya. Nor do they perform the rituals at their âgâm shrine which is situated in the compound behind. However informants say that they could be given the Barechuyegu if they wanted. Instead they appoint two other men, pânca thari Shresthas, who are given the Barechuyegu and act as the dya-pâlās in the main shrine of the bahî, i.e. the shrine of Siîma Sîrtha Bâhu. These Shresthas are also of a lineage that is usually considered Hindu. They are of a different lineage from the Pradhâns and have for centuries performed this function. However their succession is not automatic, they have to be appointed by the gûthî of the Pradhâns and they could be removed at any time by the Pradhâns. Their term of service is one month, hence these two serve on alternate months.

Informants from the bahîs of Kathmandu say that Thâm Bahî is completely separate from the bahîs of Kathmandu. It is not counted among the sixteen bahîs of Kathmandu and the people at Thâm Bahî have no rights and privileges in the overall bahî sangha of Kathmandu. However, when one of these two Bare-Shresthas dies a new man is selected to take his place, usually his son or, if there is no son, a nephew. He is given the Barechuyegu initiation and for this ceremony the five 'Sthavira' plus the sixteen elders of the bahîs of Kathmandu must come to validate the initiations. 

The Vajracaryas of Khà Bâhà in Kathmandu function as priests at this ceremony. One of the Vajracaryas from Khà Bâhà also serves as dya-pâlā in the shrine of the kuâpâ-dya. Neither of these Bare-shresthas are ever permitted in perform the nitya-pûjā in the shrine of the kuâpâ-dya. For his services as dya-pâlā the Vajracarya receives a house and 32 mûris of paddy each year.

At the time of the Barechuyegu ceremonies for one of these Bare-Shresthas there is always an elaborate feast known as phan-bway. The expenses for the feast must be born by the family of the Shrestha being initiated. However, all of the arrangements for the feast must be made by a group of Jyâpûs known as the Dangu. This sub-caste of Jyâpûs are strictly Buddhist and, according to informants at Thâm Bahî, are the highest caste of all the Jyâpûs. In addition to the elders of the sixteen bahîs and the families of the Shresthas, all of the families of the Pradhâns of Thâm Bahî must be invited to this feast. Traditionally each guest was given six mânâs of flattened rice and other food in proportion, but in recent years this has been somewhat diminished. The initiated Bare-Shrestha must throw this feast before he is allowed to take up his duties as dya-pâlā in the shrine of Siîma Sîrtha Bâhu.

This bahî has connections with five of the bâhâs of the Acârya Gûthî: Khâ Bâhâ, Jhûvâ Bâhâ [10], Dhûkâ [6], Gâm Bâhâ [7] and Lâyku Bâhî (=Sîkhamu Bâhâ [55]). The Vajracaryas of Khà Bâhà are the official priests for all regular rituals requiring the services of a Vajracarya. Vajracaryas from Khâ Bâhà, Gâm Bâhà, Dhûkâ Bâhà and Jhûvâ Bâhà act as the priests for the âgâm deity of Thâm Bahî. For their services they are given a feast during Gûlâla. During Gûlâla and again on the fullmoon day of the month of Phâl̄gun, the elders from each of these bâhâs must come to Thâm Bahî to perform a pûjâ (done by the senior elder of Khû Bâhâ) and recite the Prajñâpāramitā, an ancient copy of which is preserved at Thâm Bahî. The book is divided into four parts and one part each is read by the elder of Lâyku Bâhî, Khû Bâhà and Jhûvâ Bâhà and the fourth part is read either by the elder of Dhûkâ Bâhà or the elder of Gâm Bâhà. For their services they were each traditionally given 30 pâthis of paddy, 3 pâthis of mustard oil, 14 mânâs of salt, 60 paisa worth of fire wood, and 6 pâthis of rice. However in recent times this has been reduced. On the the fullmoon day of Gûlâla the senior elder of Lâyku Bâhî (=Sîkhamu Bâhà) must come to Thâm Bahî to recite a text known as Srngâredi and the elder of Khû Bâhà

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comes to perform a kālāsa pūjā.

During Guñlā at the time of the 'showing of the gods' they still have a display of images, the book of the Prajñāpāramitā written in golden letters and a large banner painting portraying the story of Śimha Sārtha Bāhu. Among the images shown are two female wooden images known as the 'Aunties', i.e. the Aunties (father's sisters) of Śimha Sārtha Bāhu. These aunts were supposed to have played a big part in his own life and consequently the fathers' sisters of all of the Pradhāns still play a large role in the annual feasts and ceremonies at Thām Bahī. They must be invited to all feasts.

The Kumārī worshipped at this bāhī is the Kumārī of Kuā Bāhā whose main function is to serve as the deity of the Kumārī shrine at Thām Bahī. There is little for her to do at Kuā Bāhā itself. She is brought to Thām Bahī four times a year: at the time of the two disī pūjās (Paśu and Jyeṣṭha), during Dasain and the day after the fullmoon of the sacred month of Guñlā. Whenever she comes she is accompanied by the eldest Vajracarya of Kuā Bāhā and a group of musicians. Allen reports that she used to come during the earlier part of Guñlā for the recitation of the Prajñāpāramitā, but this has been discontinued. This Kumārī is always selected from among the daughters of the Vajracayas of Kuā Bāhā and a group of musicians. Allen reports that she used to come during the earlier part of Guñlā for the recitation of the Prajñāpāramitā, but this has been discontinued. This Kumārī is always selected from among the daughters of the Vajracayas of Kuā Bāhā, but she is selected by a board consisting of the Rājguru (i.e. the Vajracarya Rājguru of Sīkhamu Bāhā), the elders of Kuā Bāhā, the elders of the gūthi of the Pradhāns of Thām Bahī, and the current delta-pāḷā (Bare-Shrestha) of Thām Bahī. Allen gives a description of the installation and consecration of this Kumārī, a ceremony which takes place at Kuā Bāhā.

At the time of Dasain when the Kumārī is brought to Thām Bahī she is worshipped by the Pradhāns (as Durgā?) in her shrine. They must perform a pūjā to her in her shrine before they perform the usual Dasain sacrifice in their homes. At the end of Dasain the Pradhāns of Thām Bahī take out a Khāḍga Jāṭrā, a procession of the sword of Durgā.

The annual festival of the bāhī is observed on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguṇ. For the ceremonies of this day the Vajracayas from the above bāhās must come again to perform the rituals and recite the text of the Prajñāpāramitā. For their services they are each given thirty pāṭhīs (of six maṇḍas each) of husked rice by the Pradhāns.

On the fullmoon day of the month of Phālguṇ (the day of the Hindu festival of Holī) the image of Dīpārkara (Cakāṇa Dya) is taken out of its shrine and kept for the entire day in a rest house in Tuṅ Cok where it is worshipped throughout the day. In the evening it is taken round the courtyard and back to its shrine. On the following day Cakāṇa Dya is taken out in procession from Thām Bahī to Kathmandu. According to informants at Thām Bahī this procession is connected with the recitation of the text of the Prajñāpāramitā which they refer to as the 'Lun Akha--Wa Akha'='the (Book Written) in Gold and Silver Letters'.

There is a legend connected with this book and its recitation. The book is reputed to have been written by Mahājūrī himself which he then gave to the Nāgarājas for safe keeping. The nāgas took the book to the land of the gods. It was finally decided that it would be given to a man who had proved himself to be very brave and favoured by the gods. Dīpārkara was such a man and this become known to his mother one day when he was a child. One day his mother had sent him to take their flock of ducks out to a nearby pond. While he was tending the ducks he fell asleep. After some time he mother came searching for him and when she found him asleep near the pond she noticed that a five-headed serpent was shading his head from the sun. From this she understood that he was in reality a bodhisattva marked with the cūdā maṇi on his head (i.e. the usṇīsa, the excrescence on the head of a Buddha which is supposed to indicate his state of enlightenment). When the Nāgarāja came to know this, Dīpārkara was given the book of the Prajñāpāramitā with the command that it be recited each year at the time of Guñlā. Evidently he deposited this book at the old site of the bāhī at Sāmā Khusi.

A certain group of Jyāpūs were later deputed to bring the book to Thām Bahī after the new foundation had been built there by Śimha Sārtha Bāhu. A feast was then given to these Jyāpūs and it was determined that each year ten pāṭhīs of rice would be cooked as a feast for these Jyāpūs. These Jyāpūs known as the Valāchhi (the people from Valāchi) are still fed each year at the time of Guñlā; and at the time of
The procession of Cakan Dya one of these Jyāpus carries the book of the Prāṇāparāmitā in the procession. This is the same group of Jyāpus from whom the Jyāpū Phu Bare of Thatu Puin is chosen.

The procession of Cakan Dya proceeds from Tham Bahāi to Jayāthā Tole in Kathmandu and from there round the following areas: Chusyā Bahā, Musyā Bahā, Kamalāchā, Bhotānīthī, Asan Tole, Mahābuddha, Mahamatī, back again to Asan Tole to Takse Bahā, Hāku Bahā, Jana Bahā, Indra Chok, Kilāgal and Itu Bahā, from there to Wotu Tole and Tadnā Bahā and from there past Hanūmān Dhokā round the hole in the street in front of Kunārī Bahā (which marks the site of an ancient caitya), to the Kot behind Hnūmān Dhokā, Yata-khā Bahā, Naradevi, Suetakālī, Thāya Madu, Thān Hiti and finally to Kūw Bahā. At Kūw Bahā the procession stops and pūja is done to the Dipa-ākara image and he dances. From there the procession goes back to Thām Bahā. There a pūja is performed to the image and then the image is escorted round the back to the local public toilet. When he returns Dipa-ākara is turned first to the hill to the north known as Nāgarjuna's hill so that he can have darśan of Nāgarjuna and then turned toward the direction of Sāmā Khusu so that he can see what is reputed to be the original site of the bahī. Then the image dances in front of the Ajīmā shrine outside of Thām Bahā and is finally ritually welcomed back into the bahī. At this time the women of the Pradhāns also ritually welcome into their community any new brides who have been married into the clan within the past year. Finally Cakañ Dya is escorted back into the bahī under three umbrellas.

In summary then this bahī and its community do not fit the usual pattern at all. In a sense the sangha of the bahī is comprised of the Pradhāns whose shrine this is and whose gōthī controls all of the land belonging to the bahī. However, they are not Bare and do not act as dya-palās in the main shrine of the bahī. The dya-palās are two Bare-Shresthas, Shresthas who have been given the Barchuyegu precisely to carry out this function, but who are not members of a recognised bāhā or bahī sangha and have none of the other duties and customs of the Bare. They perform the daily pūja morning and evening in the shrine of Cakañ Dya, but the daily pūja of the kuṭāpā-dya must be performed by a Vajrācarya from Kuṭā Bahā. The Pradhāns themselves receive the ordinary kaytā pūja initiation of Pradhāns, but with a Vajrācarya of Kuṭā Bahā officiating. Their lineage deity is the stupa to the north of Tham Bahā proper. The bahī (i.e. the gōthī of the Pradhāns) still has a considerable income, about 300 muris of paddy which comes from fields which the gōthī still owns around Sāmā Khusu in the low lying area some distance north west of the bahī and below the British cemetery.

The history of this foundation is as intriguing as its current customs. The Swayambhunāta Purana and Nepalese chronicles place its foundation back in pre-historic times in the time of Kanakamuni Buddha, one of the legendary Buddhas who is said to have lived before the historical Sakyamuni.

Once upon a time a certain Pandit of Vikram Śil Bihār in Benares, named Dharma Śri Mitra, was reciting some moral traditions from a book, when he came to the mantra of twelve letters, which he could not explain. Ascribing this inability to his not having visited Mañjuśrī, he determined to go to see him, and for this purpose went to Swayambhū. Mañjuśrī, having become aware of this through meditation, also went to Nepal, and began to plough a field, having yoked for that purpose a lion and a sardul (griffin). Seeing this strange sight, Dharma Śri Mitra went up to Mañjuśrī, and asked the way to China. Mañjuśrī replied that it was too late that day to commence his journey, and took him to his house, where he instantly caused a good vihar to spring up, in which he lodged his guest. During the night Dharma Śri Mitra overheard some conversation between Mañjuśrī and his wife, which made known to him the disguised Mañjuśrī, and he slept at the threshold of his room. In the morning Mañjuśrī made him his disciple, and told him the meaning of the mantra. The bihar, in which he lodged, he called Vikram Śil Bihār, and the field which he was ploughing, when met by Dharma Śri Mitra, he called Sāwā Bhūmī; and to this day this is the field in which rice is planted before all the other fields in the valley.

This Sāwā Bhūmī is the land which Tham Bahā still owns at Sāmā Khusu and Wright notes that in his day it was still the first spot where rice was planted each year. There is a caitya there, and people say it is the site of a former
Another legend, even more important for understanding the present traditions, is that of the merchant known as Sinhasārtha Bāhu, Simhasārtha Ājū or Guru-jujū. The story is a popular one and is contained in several collections of storeys of Nepal. Following is the story as told by Wright's Chronicle:

During the reign of Simha Ketu, a Descendant of Guṇakāmādeva, there was a virtuous merchant by name Sinhal. On a certain occasion he took five hundred Baniyās and proceeded northwards to Sinhal Dwip (Ceylon). On the way they saw a golden chaitya, and, in spite of Sinhal's warning, the Baniyās took away the gold from it. After crossing with great difficulty the arm of the ocean, in the passage of which the power of Sinhal alone saved them, they were met by five hundred and one Rakshasis (ogresses), who, in the form of lovely damsels, enchanted them, and each took one as a companion. The Lokeswarā Āryavalkitesvar, taking pity on Sinhal, appeared in the wick of his lamp, and told him what these damsels were, and that some day they would devour his followers. He added that, if he doubted him, he should go to Ashaya Kot and, if he wanted to be saved, he should go to the sea-shore, where on the fourth day he would meet a horse, which, after making obeisance, he should mount and cross the sea. Sinhal went to Ashaya (or Ayasa) Kot in the morning, where he saw all sorts of persons who had lost their limbs, which convinced him of the truth of what he had been told. He then collected his five hundred companions, and went to the sea-shore, where they mounted the horse Balah, which took them across the ocean. Their mistresses the Rakshasis pursued them, calling them by name. The Baniyās, in spite of the warning of Āryavalkitesvar, looked back, fell from the horse, and were devoured by their mistresses. Sinhal was the only one who arrived safely at home, followed by his Rakshasi, who remained outside his house, without any notice being taken of her by Sinhal. A rumour regarding a beautiful damsel having reached the ears of the Rājā of Sankasya-nagari, he sent for her, and kept her in his palace. One day the Rakshasi flew away to the sky, and summoned her sister Rakshasis who came and destroyed the Rājā and all his family. Sinhal, having heard of this, went to the Rājā's darbār, and, reciting the mantras of Āryavalkitesvar, flourished his sword and drove away the Rakshasis. The people then elected him to be their king, and he ruled for a long time. He pulled down his own house, and built a bhār, and consecrated an image of Bodhisattva. In consideration of the Rakshasi, who followed him from Ceylon, having been his mistress, he raised a temple for her worship, and assigned land for its support. He having no issue, the dynasty became extinct on his death. To the bhār which he built he gave the same name that Maṅjugūṣri gave to the one which he caused to spring up for Dharma Sri Mitra, viz. Vikram Sil Bhār.

This is the story which is recounted each year at the time of the 'showing of the gods' during Guflā. The image in the main shrine is supposed to be Simha Sārtha Bāhu and the Jataka Ajīmā shrine outside the bhār is the shrine of the ogress-mistress of Simha Sārtha Bāhu. The story implies that the vihāra supposedly built by Maṅjugūṣri for Dharma Mitra was in ruins by this time and that the new one which Simhasārtha Bāhu built was not on the same site, but near his darbār. The original site is supposed to have been the area where the bhār still has its fields. There is a tradition that the area of Tham Bahā always lay well outside the city of Kathmandu, and it is entirely possible that it was the seat of some feudatory lord who was considered a local king.

Some of the early history of this foundation is preserved for us in Tibetan records. Atisa, or Dīpaṅkara Śrījānā as he was known in India, left India in A.D.1041 to begin his journey to Tibet where he eventually revived the Dharma after the earlier period of persecution and decay. He spent the year 1041 in Nepal. His biography records his visit to Nepal and it is confirmed by a letter he wrote from Nepal to King Naya Pala of Bengal and a work entitled Cārya-sahgraha-pradīpa which he composed in Nepal for a deaf disciple of his. Atisa spent some time in the Valley and visited the Swayambhu Mahācaitya. Then he set off for another place. "They then reached the plain of Palpa called Palpōi-thān. At this time the king named Anantakirti who ruled over Nepal held his court there. He received Atisa with much cordiality and reverence." Atisa persuaded the king to
build a monastery which was to be called the Tham (Stham) vihāra and the king even allowed "his son prince Padmaprabha to be ordained as a monk-pupil of Atīśa." It is added that Atīśa left Nepal for Tibet after the work on the Tham vihāra was commenced. The prince Padmaprabha had lessons in Tibetan and Sanskrit and eventually became an adept in Buddhism.\(^{22}\) The Blue Annals attests to the same visit: 'They spent one year (in Nepal), and built the great temple of stham Vihāra, and deposited there provisions (in support) of a numerous clergy. Many were ordained ... He [Atīśa] used to say that at the temple of Stham vihāra, the manner of taking food and the manner of conducting the study of the Doctrine (by the monks) were good.\(^{23}\)

The account from the biography has raised more questions than it has answered because of the reference to Pālpā and a king called Anantakīrti who is unknown. In his latest edition Petech has shed considerable light on the whole question by going back to the original Tibetan sources. It is now clear that the translator of Atīśa's biography, relying on the earlier interpretation of S. C. Das,\(^{24}\) has misunderstood the text. Following is the relevant passage from Petech: When Atīśa arrived in Nepal

he took up residence at the Sih-kun shrine (Swayambhū Nath), where he found waiting for him the royal monk of Gu-ge with the means necessary for his journey, and where he was received with the utmost reverence by the local Paṇḍita and by his own brother Viryacandara; they seated him on the throne usually reserved for the mahārāja (royal-pa c'engo). He was supplied with every kind of necessities by the rājā (royal-po) of Sīh-kun. The K'ri-son Bhāro of Nepal too came to visit him and invited him to his home.

After the demise of his companion rūya bTsan-'grus-sen-ge, Atīśa spent most of his time at Bal-po rdzong. Then he shifted to Bal-po'i-T'an, where he presided over the funeral ceremonies for his dead friend. He was received there by the mahārāja (royal-po c'en-po) of Nepal Grags-pa-mt'a'-yas. The Master presented him with the elephant that had carried him up from India and asked for permission to build a vihāra at T'an. The king agreed and furnished him with the means for the undertaking. He also entrusted to him his own son Padma-'od, to whom Atīśa imparted the vows of a novice. Then he re-

turned to Bal-po rdzong with the Gu-ge envoys.

The T'an vihāra was built as a double convent, of which the one section was called Rāja vihāra and the other, although no name is given, was apparently the T'an vihāra proper.

Bal-po rdzong means 'the castle of Nepal' and is the Tibetan name for Nusākot. Bal-po'o-T'an means literally 'the plain of Nepal', but here it seems to be a proper name, i.e. Ta'n (or Ta'n) in the Valley of Nepal. Hence there is no question of Pālpā at all. The king Grags-pa-mt'a'-yas (Anantakīrti or Anantayasas) is unknown, but this was a time of confusion with perhaps a civil war from about A.D. 1039-1045.\(^{25}\) It was also a time when local feudatories were looked upon as local kings. The name of the king does not appear in the earlier Tibetan accounts and Petech surmises that it may well be a later invention.\(^{26}\) It might also be the name of the local feudatory of Thamel.

About A.D. 1200 the abbott of this vihāra was the famous Viṣhūcandara. Viṣhūcandara was a prince who had abandoned his inheritance to become a monk. He was first at Jagadalla, the last great seat of Buddhist learning founded by a Pālpā king, and was a disciple of Śākya Śrībhadra. When the Moslems attacked Jagadalla Śākya Śrībhadra and his two disciples Viṣhūcandara and Danāśila, fled to Nepal and Tibet. Much of the later tantric literature of the Tibetan canon was an outgrowth of the teaching of these two disciples of Śākya Śrībhadra.\(^{27}\)

The thread of the history of Tham Bahī is picked up again a little more than a hundred years later by a Tibetan pilgrim to Nepal, Dharmaśvāmin. He arrived in Nepal in A.D.1226 and remained in Nepal until 1234 when he went on to India to visit the Buddhist pilgrimage sites there. While in Nepal he lived at a vihāra near Swayambhūnāth and studied under Ratnarakṣita. He describes two other Buddhist sites in the Valley: the vihāra of Bu-kham with its image of Avalokiteśvara (Būn-ga-dyā) and Thām Viḥāra.

Further, in Nepal there is a Viḥāra called Tham, also called the 'first Viḥāra' or the 'upper Viḥāra.' (In this vihāra there was a Stupa on which every evening a light appeared which was observed by the Venerable Lord (jo-bo-re, Atiśa) who inquired of all,
‘What was it’, but they did not know; only an old woman remarked, ‘This must be the coloured dust after the erection of the mandala by the Buddha Kāsyapa.’ The Lord (Atiśa) then erected a temple to worship it. In front of this Stūpa, there is a golden image of Sakyamuni. It is called the Lord Abhaya-dāna. The Indians [i.e. the Nepalese] call this sacred place Dharmadhātuvihāra.

In the monastery was an abbot’s seat gilded and adorned with pearls, (for the erection of which) eighty ounces of natural gold were used, besides the other four kinds of ornaments. The founder (of the monastery) invited the Guru [Atiśa] to occupy the seat and honoured him. From then till the present time the religious rites are properly observed (in the monastery). The Dharmāśāmin said that he did not stay there, but resided at the Svayambhū-chaitya because there was a monastery there.32

It is noteworthy that according to Dharmāśāmin’s account and the account of the Blue Annals Atiśa did not found the monastery but built a shrine for the light shining from the caitya and possibly renewed the discipline of the monastery.

As mentioned above Thāṃ Bahī has an ancient copy of the Prajñāpāramitā, supposedly written by Mañjuśrī himself. This manuscript is dated N.S.344 and the colophon mentions ‘Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra’.33 N.S.344 corresponds to A.D. 1223-24 just two years before the arrival of Dharmāśāmin in Nepal, and its confirmation of the name given by Dharmāśāmin is significant. Manuscripts, or course, are not permanent fixtures, and Thāṃ Bahī could well have acquired this text at a later date from some other place; but this seems unlikely. The manuscript was certainly in the possession of Thāṃ Bahī in N.S.769 when the monastery was visited by King Pratāp Malla who added a note to the manuscript recording his visit to the monastery at that time with his favourite wife Lālmāti. According to the note the queen asked the king to explain the meaning of the book. He replied that it was not possible for him to interpret the thoughts contained in the great book.34

In view of the new evidence and the clearing up of the confusion about Pālpā, there seems no doubt that Thāṃ Bahī is indeed the Tām Vihāra of the Tibetan records which they associate with Atiśa. Those familiar with the Tibetan tradition also tell me that the large caitya situated in the grassy area to the north of Thāṃ Bahī is of a particular style which in Tibet is always associated with Atiśa. Thāṃ, as Dharmāśāmin remarks, means upper and can therefore mean northern. It is a common Newār word and could be applied to any vihāra located in the upper or northern sector of Kathmandu or Patan. However, we know of no other Thāṃ Vihāra from that period, and Thāṃ Bahī is situated straight north of Thāṃ Hiti at the northern limits of the old city of Kathmandu. The Sanskrit name which Dharmāśāmin gives—Dharmadhātu Vihāra—is different from the present Sanskrit name of Thāṃ Bahī—Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. However, the earliest confirmed reference to this Sanskrit name is dated N.S.783. It is entirely possible that the name was changed to commemorate the famous monastery from which Atiśa came or that there was more than one establishment at this site. It is also true, as Regmi remarks, that there are no references in any Nepali source to Atiśa’s visit to Nepal, not in the chronicles, nor in inscriptions nor manuscripts.35 This is not unusual. There are no recollections of any of the famous pandits and siddhas who flourished in the Valley from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries as attested by the Tibetan sources, but they certainly existed.36

Dhanavajra Vajracarya informs me that the gūthiār of Thāṃ Bahī have a number of palmleaf documents, all of which predate Ratna Malla of Kathmandu (A.D. 1485-1520). So far these have not been made available for study. If they are made available they will perhaps shed considerable light on the later history of Thāṃ Bahī and the question of the two recorded Sanskrit names. In the meantime I would suggest the following hypothesis. Thāṃ Bahī is an ancient foundation which pre-dates the time of Atiśa. Atiśa visited the site and erected here either a caitya (possibly the still extant caitya to the north) or a second vihāra and did much to improve the discipline and learning of the monks resident in the monastery. There were at least two foundations at this site; one a monastery for bhiksus known as Dharmadhātu Vihāra and the second a sort of chapel or Buddhist shrine for the use of the court of the local feudatory of whom the present Pradhāns are the descendants. This was possibly called Rāja Vihāra, as the Tibetan sources indicate, but was later called Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra to commemorate Atiśa—Dīpaṅkara
Srījñāna of the famous Vikramāsila Mahāvihāra. What has survived is Vikramāsila Mahāvihāra. Dharmadātu Vihāra was situated in what is now known as Tūn Cok to the south or in the still enclosed area to the north. The southern site is favoured by the presence of the 11-12th-century caitya, the fact that the image of Dipanākara (Cakrā Dya) is placed there for the whole day on the fullmoon day of Pālīgūṇa, the fact that the newly initiated dyā-pāḷās must reside there for three days living the life of a bhiksū, and the fact that the Kṣetra-pāḷā at this site is the place where all sacred refuse from all rituals is thrown (i.e. this is the main Kṣetra-pāḷā of the whole complex). A further confirmation comes from a tradition recounted by one of the informants at Tam Bahi. According to this tradition the kūpā-dya image now enshrined along the southern arm of Vikramāsila Mahāvihāra was the kūpā-dya of another vihāra situated to the south. It is significant that the dyā-pāḷā at Vikramāsila (an initiated 'Shrestha = lay person') may not perform the nitya pūjā in this shrine, it must always be performed by a Vajrācarya from Kuṇa Bāhā (i.e. a true bhiksū = a member of a recognised Bare saṅgha).

There are few other early references to Thām Bahī. The earliest reference is found in a contemporary note on a manuscript which lists Thām Bahīri as one of the places set fire to by the troops of Mūkunda Sen, the Rāja of Pāḷā when he attacked the Valley in N.S.752.37 In N.S.752 the gūthī of Thām Vahīri, under the leadership of the Thakāli Candra Sīhma, had teliya bricks made for the seat of the āgām deity and for building a new temple. Ornament were also offered to the deity at this time. According to an inscription on the steps leading into the shrine of Sīhma Sārthā Bāhū, one Mahā-pātra Kuṇa Sīhma Bhārō repaired the caitya in the courtyard in N.S.78, in memory of his father Guna Sīhma Bhārō of Vikramāsila Mahāvihāra.38 In N.S.802 One Hari Sīhma Bhārō renovated the courtyard and installed two images of Mahājula and one of Sarasaśīri. In the inscription he refers to the bāhī as Śrī 3 Gandhuli Bāhāra. This should not be taken as another name for the vihāra. We have seen in several inscriptions that the Budhha image of a bāhī is often referred to as Śrī Gandhuli. Hence I would take this not as a proper name of this bāhī but as a common name, the vihāra of the Buddha. On the second day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvan in N.S.845, one Hāku Sīhma of Tam Vahīra entered the shrine of Gandhuli Devatā ("the Buddha") and offered images of the sun and moon and one set of clothes for the deity plus one set of clothes for the Kumāri. Finally Sāntī Pūjā and a vaṭa were performed to the āgām deity.

7. Tēkū Dōbān Bāhā -- Cintāmanī Vajrācāra
Mahāvihāra [100] Tēkū Dōbān

This is a recent foundation, built in A.D.1941 down by the Bāgmāti River near Tēkū Dōbān, the confluence of the Bāgmāti and Āgāmāti Rivers. It consists of a small grassy area enclosed by a low wall with a caitya in the centre and a kūpā-dya shrine set along the north wall. The shrine is a modern shrine, small and enclosed. The kūpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing north. This bāhā has no saṅgha as such but it has become a place for the conferring of Barechuyegu initiations on Sakya boys who are not eligible to receive initiations in their proper bāhā. This is usually so because of an irregular marriage, i.e. the boy's father has married a woman of a caste other than Sakya or Vajrācarya with the result that the members of the saṅgha of the father's bāhā refuse to let the boy be initiated there. The whole shrine then would seem to be the result of a growing number of such mixed marriages which are still considered to be contrary to the customs of the Bare community by the elders. The younger people who are less rigid in their approach have chosen this way out of the impasse in an effort to preserve some semblance of their traditional ways and to make sure that their sons get the essential caste initiation. However, caste initiation is all they get. They do not become members of a recognised saṅgha and they have no obligations whatever to this shrine. The usual rituals are performed each morning only by a Sakya of Kusān Bāhā [27], but it is not a branch of that bāhā.

8. Thēyā Madu Bāhā -- Sthāna Maṇḍapa Viṁhāra
[106] Thēyā Madu

Architecturally this is not a bāhā at all but simply an unmarked room on the ground floor of an ordinary building off of the square in Thēyā Madu Tole. Behind this single room, which has no ornamentation inside or out, is a small recessed area containing an image of Padmapāṇi...
Lokeśvara. This is the shrine of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara where the Jyāpu Phu Bare is initiated. (For an explanation of the Jyāpu Phu Bare see the Introduction to the Ācārya Gūṭhī section.) The only saṅgha attached to this bāhā is the Phu Bare himself who performs the usual daily rituals. At the present time he has rented out the little room to some local people who use it as a kitchen for a small open air restaurant. He has to climb over the stove and the pots and pans each morning to perform the nitya pūjā of the image of Lokeśvara. There may well have been a proper bāhā on this site at one time, but no one could give any further information.
Defunct Viharas of Kathmandu

The following bāhās or bahis are now defunct. Most of them existed until fairly recent times according to informants, some of whom can remember the bāhās or their remains which are now lost. For a few of them there is some inscriptive or archaeological evidence left.


According to a still current oral tradition in Kathmandu there was once a vihāra located on the site where the famous Kāṣṭhamanḍapa (Maru Sattal), from which the city gets its name, now stands. The informants say the vihāra was demolished to make room for the Maru Sattal. As evidence of this they cite a shrine now located on the southern part of the ground floor of the Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa temple just in front of the Maru Sattal. This shrine, the door of which is directly behind the money changer who is always sitting there to exchange old coins, contains an image of Padmapāṇi which informants claim was the kwaṃ-pā-dya of the bāhā. Over the doorway is a torana showing Amitābha. Further along the veranda are images of Mahākāli and Maṇḍujī. I find it highly unlikely that there was a vihāra on the site of the Kāṣṭhamanḍapa which has been there at least since the eleventh century. Furthermore, the Sanskrit name Kāṣṭhamanḍapa Mahāvihāra makes little sense if the vihāra was demolished to make room for the Kāṣṭhamanḍapa. It is much more likely that the vihāra existed on the site where the image is still located. It would make sense to call a vihāra located there Kāṣṭhamanḍapa Mahāvihāra.

2. Cikan Muga Bāhā -- Gūhyakukṣa Mahāvihāra [B] Cikan Muga

According to informants there was once a bāhā in this enclosed courtyard. Nothing remains of it now, not even a caitya. The only thing in the courtyard now is a well. This was probably a branch bāhā, possibly of Sikhamu Bāhā [55].


According to informants this bāhā was situated right on the wall of the old city of Kathmandu on the back end of the property which is now occupied by the Military Hospital. It was a defunct foundation when the remaining buildings were demolished. Informants say that it was a branch Saival Bāhā [50] and founded by a Vajracarya named Vandakṣa Vajrācārya. When the buildings were demolished the image of the kwaṃ-pā-dya was removed and set up near the stupa outside of Te Bāhā (behind the RNAC building) where it can still be seen.


According to Ananda Muni Vajracarya, the Thakāli of the Ācārya Gūthī, this foundation was a bāhā located near the four Nārāyaṇa temples in Thāya Madu Tole. Its saṅgha had long died out, but some of the original buildings still remained when Ananda Muni was a young man. Perhaps the Licchavi Buddha image at the edge of this area was connected to this bāhā.

5. Bakai Bāhī -- [E] Ikhu Bāhā

According to Ananda Muni Vajracarya this was a bāhī situated just outside the present Iku Bāhā in the partially enclosed area where a caitya still stands. When it ceased to function it is not known.
6. Buddha Bāri -- Dīpankara Mahābuddha
Mahāvihāra [F]  Hyumat Tole

All that remains of this foundation is a free-standing brick shrine of two storeys in the middle of a vacant lot on the edge of Hyumat Tole. The shrine has a plain doorway on the ground floor with no torana and a single ornate carved window above the door itself. The roof is of corrugated iron and is topped by a caitya. From the outside the shrine appears to be of two storeys, but actually it is one storey with a huge seated Buddha figure of clay inside. The right hand of the figure shows the abhaya mudrā and the left the varada mudrā with the second finger raised. All informants identified the figure as Dīpankara Buddha. In the area around the shrine are several 'Lichchavi' caityas. All of the surrounding vacant land belongs to the shrine and originally the plot of land extended across what is now the main road leading to Kālīmātī and included the land on which the National Trading building now stands.

According to informants this foundation has not been defunct long. Several informants said that the saṅgha of this bāhā moved from here to Kusāṇ Bāhā [27] and Tamu Bāhā [28] within living memory. However, the people of these two bāhās were unable to confirm this. According to others it was originally a branch of Iku Bāhā [76]. It is still a much frequented shrine and the members of the saṅgha of Lagan Bāhā must come here on the day before they perform Barechuyegu initiations to present betel nuts to the image enshrined here. This would indicate a close connection with Lagan Bāhā or at least with its saṅgha, as this ceremony, usually performed in the bāhā into which one is to be initiated, is a ritual request for the initiation. This request is usually made of the head of the saṅgha one is about to enter.


All that remains of this bāhā is a shrine on the ground floor of a large building right on the road in Wotu Tole. The shrine contains an unusual stone image of Lokanātha, a seated form of Avalokitesvara showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and holding the stem of a lotus with the left. The right leg hangs down from the seat, the left rests on the lotus seat. (Several people identified the image as Manjusri.) The shrine is marked by two stone lions and over the carved doorway is a torana depicting a four-handed form of Mahājuna surrounded by the five transcendent Buddhas. The torana is dated N.S.779. The upper storey of this building houses an image of Nāsā Dya: the dancing form of Siva worshipped by Jyāpūs.

According to informants this is the site of an ancient bāhā. Its proximity to Tadāhī Bāhā [49], Cīchān Bāhā [48] and Puchēk Bāhā [47] would suggest a connection to these foundations. However, no one was able to confirm this, and the shrine is now looked after by Tulādhars from the Te Bāhā area who own the building and by Vajracaryas from Sawal Bāhā who serve as priests when a priest is needed. Until about 20 years ago they used to have an annual and very elaborate homa ritual here once a year, but this has lapsed.

8. Sawal Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra [H]
Sawal Bāhā Tole

According to informants this is the original site of Sawal Bāhā [50] which at some point in history was shifted from here to its present location. There is nothing here now but a stupa which has been fairly recently renovated. The contention that this was the site of Sawal Bāhā is confirmed by the fact that the whole area is still known as Sawal Bāhā Tole despite the fact that there is no bāhā by this name anywhere near here now.


Informants say that there was once a bāhā on this site which is now a vacant lot used for selling fire wood with no trace of the bāhā left.

10. Sāmā Khusi Bāhā -- Dharmasrimitra
Mahāvihāra [J]  Sāmā Khusī

The only thing on this site near the stream known as Sāmā Khusi and just below the British cemetery is a caitya which according to tradition marks the original site of the vihāra which Mahājuna caused to spring up for Dharmasrimitra back in the age of Krakuchanda Buddha. It would therefore mark the original site of Thām Bāhi and in fact is situated in the middle of the fields which are still owned by the gūthi of
297. Buddha Bārī [F]
298. Wotu Bāhā [G]

299. Image at Wotu Baha
Tham Bahí. (See the section on Thām Bahí.) It is not impossible that there was once a vihāra on this site.

11. Sukum Bāhā -- [K]

Lājimpāt

Many informants say that there was originally a bāhā in Lājimpāt and there is still a caitya marking the site. No one knows anything more about it, except that it had some connection with Thām Bahí [96].

12. Lām Bāhā -- Mañjugīrī Dharmadhātu
Mahāvihāra [L]
Digayitū Mahāvihāra Pakanājole

All that remains of this bāhā is a brick and stucco, free-standing shrine at the edge of a lane in Pakanājole. The present shrine dates to A.D.1938. The bāhā has certainly long been defunct, but several of the saṅghas of Kathmandu, who worship 'Vajrayogini' of Sankhu as their lineage deity, worship here. KTMV gives the Newari name of this shrine as Rām Bāhā, but the people who live in the area and the people who worship their lineage deity here say Lām Bāhā or Lām Bāhā. This immediately raises the question if this might not be the sight of the Hlam Vihāra which is referred to in two colophons one of which is dated A.D. 1008 and the other of which was written in the time of Bhaja Deva and Lakṣmikāmādeva. Neither colophon gives any indication where this vihāra is located. KTMV gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā as Mañjugīrī Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra and says that it was probably founded in the time of Mahendra Malla (c N.S.684-694), but gives no indication of a source for either of these statements. Ratna Kājī Vajracarya gives the Sanskrit name Digayitu Vihāra.

13. Pīm Bāhā -- Sarvasiddhi Mahāvihāra [M]
Pasupatināth

Many different sources speak of a vihāra at Pasupatināth. Legends speak of the Buddhists living there and throwing their garbage on the linga of Pasupatināth as a result of which Saṅkaracārya is supposed to have thrown them out. The saṅgha of Mū Bāhā [46] still has a tradition that they once resided in that vihāra and later moved to the city of Kathmandu. (See the section on Mū Bāhā.) There is no agreement on where this vihāra was situated—some say the site of the Pasupatināth temple (highly unlikely), some say along the river where there is still a sixth century Buddha image set into the stone pavement, some say in the village of Deo Patan, some say up near Cābāhīl.

14. Takhā Cheñ Bāhā -- Yogasādhana Vihāra
[O] Kel Tole

This was a small branch bāhā situated between Asan and Kel Toles back behind the property of Takṣe Bāhā [15]. The enclosed court still remains but there is no trace of a bāhā at the present time. It was probably a branch of Takṣe Bāhā.

15. Majuya Bāhā -- Siddhinagara Mahāvihāra
[O] Itūn Bāhā area

This bāhā once existed somewhere near the present Itūn Bāhā. The only trace now is a half-remembered name and the recollection that it was somewhere near Itūn Bāhā.

Mahābuddha

This was a small branch bāhā of Mahābuddha Bāhā [21] which was situated in an enclosed courtyard adjoining the area around the stūpa. The courtyard still exists and has a caitya but there is no further trace of the bāhā at the present time.

17. Vajrabīra Mahākāl -- Buddha Śasāna Rakṣak Mahāvihāra [Q]
Tundikhel

This is the famous Mahākāl temple on the edge of the Tundikhel just opposite the military hospital. At the present time this is not a bāhā at all but a single, free-standing temple on a high platform. The complex as it now stands is the result of a restoration evidently undertaken at the time of the construction of the military hospital. A double stairway now approaches the temple from the street below. Set into the facade on the north side of the stairway is an image of Viṣṇu and an image of Mahakāl flanked by two pūrṇa kalaṣā. To the south of the stairway are an image of Sarasvatī and another image of Mahākāl flanked by two pūrṇa kalaṣā. The complex above consists of the shrine plus some surrounding rest houses and other buildings which form a courtyard open at
the front. The whole is profusely decorated and the shrine itself which has three gilded metal roofs contains a five-foot image of Mahākāl. The image is of black stone with much silver overlay and a large silver crown. The figure also has large disc-like earrings and a long silver chain as a garland. He holds a cleaver in his right hand and in his left a long scepter surmounted by human skulls. A coiled serpent of silver forms his necklace. Over the shrine is a large repoussé torana depicting Mahākāl flanked by two puroc kalaśā. Mahākāl is, of course, the protective deity of the bähās and his image is found at the entrance to almost every bähā. According to informants this Mahākāl was also the guardian deity of a bähā (or bāhī) which lay just outside the walls of the old Malla city. Originally the bähā had much more property, and caityas which used to be in the courtyard of the bāhā can still be seen across the street in front of the hospital. One of these is a 'Li-cchavi' caitya now mounted on a four and a half foot cement base. The rest of the property was lost to the building of the road in Rana times and finally the building of the hospital. When this ceased to be a bāhā with its own sahgha is unknown, but it must have been a considerably long time ago. It has long been known simply as a shrine of Mahākāl. There are, as far as can be determined, no references in inscriptions or manuscripts to this bāhā, but one suspects that the Sanskrit name given now is a name made up on the basis of Mahākāl as a protector (rakṣaka). If one knew what the original Sanskrit name of the vihāra was he might find that there are indeed references to it. The nitya, pūjā of Mahākāl is performed by Vajracaryas from Sawal Bāhā [50].

Legends attribute the founding of this bāhā and shrine to the famous tantric preceptor Mañjuvajra who is supposed to have bound Mahākāl with his mantras while he was passing by through the sky, and fixed him to this place. The present temple is widely worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists alike. Almost everyone who passes by at least gives a nod to Mahākāl, and a surprising large number of people pop up stairs for a short visit to the shrine.
The Bahas and Bahis

of Bhaktapur
1. Laksadyayā Bāhā -- Lokeśvara Mahāvihāra  Itācheṃ Tole p. 431
2. Ni Bāhā -- Jyeṣṭhavarna Mahāvihāra Tekhāco Tole p. 434
3. Akhan Bāhā -- Akhandasīla Mahāvihāra Nāsamanā Tole p. 434
4. Luṅ Bāhā -- Lumbavarna Mahāvihāra Sukul Dhokā Tole p. 436
5. Jhaur Bahī -- Maṅgaladharma Duīpa Mahāvihāra Golmadhi Tole p. 437
6. Ināco Bāhā -- Indravartta Mahāvihāra Ināco Tole p. 437
7. Muni Bāhā -- Dharma Uttara Mahāvihāra Ināco Tole p. 439
             [Munivarṇa Vihāra]
8. Tom Bāhā -- Ādipadma Mahāvihāra Sūryamadhi Tole p. 439
9. Biku Bāhā -- Viśva Vihāra Kwāthandau Tole p. 441
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11. Ājudyayā Bāhā -- Dīpaṅkara (Ādibuddha) Mahāvihāra Kwāthandau Tole p. 444
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12. Wān Bāhā -- Maṅjuvajra Mahāvihāra Kwāthandau Tole p. 447
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14. Ka Ma Bāhā -- Jyeṣṭhavarna Mahāvihāra Ināco Tole p. 447
15. Tadhicheṅ Bāhā -- Caturbrahma Mahāvihāra Lāyku Tole p. 447
17. Thatu Bahī -- Jayakīrti Mahāvihāra Itācheṃ Tole p. 451
18. Kutu Bahī -- Sukravarna Mahāvihāra Bharvacho Tole p. 453
19. Gacchi Bāhā -- Lamgaled Tole p. 453
21. (Toč Bāhā) — Kamal Pokhari p. 453
22. Nāsamanā Bāhā — Nāsamanā Tole p. 453
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Vihāras in Villages near Bhaktapur

Thimi

1. Ta Bāhā — Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra Maru Tole p. 457
2. Dīgu Bāhā — Gunaṇākirti Mahāvihāra Dīgu Bāhā Tole p. 459
3. Yācin Bāhā — Heranilavarṇa Mahāvihāra Kuticīthā p. 462
4. Baku Bāhā — Guṇaṇyākaraṇa Vihāra Capāco Tole p. 460
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9. Pāṭī Bāhā — 'Pāṭī Vihāra' Pācto Tole p. 462

Sankhu

2. Thatu Bāhā — Siddhiñkula Vihāra Dhwanla Tole p. 469
3. Ducheṅ Bāhā — Henākara Vihāra Dhwanla Tole p. 469
4. Waṅ Bāhā — Dharmacakra Vihāra Dhwanla Tole p. 469
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6. Suṅ Bāhā — Dharmadhātu Vihāra Dugā Hitī p. 470
7. Na Bāhā — Jñānacakra Vihāra Dugā Hitī p. 470
8. Mansu Bāhā — Jayanakara Vihāra Pukhulāchī Tole p. 470
Banepa

1. Nhū Bāhā -- Pārāvata Mahāvihāra Baku Tole p. 470
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Panauti

1. Pantiyā Bāhā -- Dharma Dhātu Mahāvihāra Walā Che̱ Tole p. 472
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Khampu

1. Khampuyē Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra p. 474

Nala

1. Lokesvara Bāhā -- Uttarapantha Mahāvihāra Outside of village p. 474

Dolakha

1. Wambhu Bāhā -- Vandakṛtadeva Mahāvihāra p. 477
The Malla city of Bhaktapur has the reputation of having been more of a Hindu city than either Kathmandu or Patan, and this is borne out by the status of the bāhās and bāhis in Bhaktapur. First there are fewer Buddhist institutions in Bhaktapur, less than a quarter the number in Kathmandu and only a fraction of the number in Patan. Secondly, except for Tadhicheśi Bāhā [15] most of them are in a sad state of disrepair and some are no more than ruins. Thirdly these institutions lack the organisational structure found in Patan and Kathmandu. There is no overall organisation such as the Ācārya Gūthi of Kathmandu, there are no bāhās recognised as the main or principal bāhā. All bāhās are in fact independent and conduct their own initiations, even in the case of one bāhā which does not have enough members to provide the requisite five elders for initiations. Only Paśu Bāhā [10] has the usual board of elders (in this case ten); all of the other bāhās have a single elder. The Vajracaryas of Paśu Bāhā had at one time some sort of pre-eminence, but whatever this amounted to in the past it has no practical consequences today. Three of the bāhās (Akhāi Bāhā [3], Tōm Bāhā [8], and Paśu Bāhā) are known as adī-bāhās which means that they are the original or most ancient bāhās of Bhaktapur. Yet one cannot assign any great antiquity even to these three bāhās. The earliest possible date is the date given to Ājudaśaya Bāhā [11] (N.S.98), and this is not really a bāhā at all but a shrine of Dīpāṅkara looked after by the sāṅgha of Paśu Bāhā. None of the extant bāhās have any Licchavi remains. Furthermore the communities attached to these bāhās confirm the general impression of Bhaktapur as a Hindu city. Only the sāṅghas of Tōm Bāhā and Akhaśi Bāhā and the Vajracaryas of Paśu Bāhā (the three adī-bāhās) trace their origin to Bhaktapur. All of the other sāṅghas trace their origin to Kuś Bāhā in Patan or to Takṣe Bāhā in Katmandu; and the Sakyas of Paśu Bāhā (the majority of that sāṅgha) also trace their origin to Kuś Bāhā in Patan. All of these people appear to have come to Bhaktapur in the late Malla period. None of the bāhis have a bāhi sāṅgha. Of the three bāhis two have no sāṅgha at all and one, Tathu Bāhā [17], has a sāṅgha of Sakyas who perform their initiations either in Tadhicheśi Bāhā or Takhacheśi Bāhā. Both of these bāhās have Cūhyesaśvara at Paśupatināth as their lineage deity and trace their origin to Takṣe Bāhā in Katmandu.

The fact that Bhaktapur is so strongly Hindu in contrast to Patan and Katmandu may simply be due to the fact that the early Buddhists settled in Patan and Kathmandu rather than Bhaktapur. Yet none of this is so clear. That there was a settlement on the site of the present Bhaktapur in Licchavi times is evident from the few Licchavi inscriptions found in the eastern part of the city. That this settlement pre-dated Licchavi times is indicated by the name Khopnī found on the Licchavi inscriptions which is not a Sanskrit name. Though none of the present bāhās have Licchavi remains, the majority of extant Licchavi sculptures from Bhaktapur are Buddhist. Slusser portrays two of these, the first a Buddha Mucalinda image in Talache Tole and the second an image of Sakyamuni Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas in Byasi-tole. This second image, which she dates to the sixth century, is now venerated as a hitvadya (a water fountain deity) and worshipped with blood sacrifices.

I suspect three factors affected Bhaktapur’s growth and development as a Hindu city. The most important of these is that from the twelfth century on, when Ānandadeva built his Tripura Palace in Bhaktapur, this became the
The dynasty was always Hindu and from the time of Jayasthitir Malla on exerted a considerable pressure on the population of the whole Valley to conform to the social structure of Hindu society. Bhaktapur became the seat of traditional Hindu orthodoxy. The second factor is the make-up of the Buddhist population in Bhaktapur. In Kathmandu a large percentage of the wealthy traders were staunch Buddhists, either Sakayas or Udaya. Their wealth supported the Buddhist shrines and Buddhist institutions of Kathmandu. In Patan many of the wealthy traders were Sakayas and the supposedly Hindu overlords of the city (by caste Shresthas) were either Buddhist or strongly supported the Buddhist establishment. In Bhaktapur there were no Udaya and it seems that few of the Sakayas or Vajracaryas were wealthy. In one sense, however, the town was composed of a majority of Buddhists. It is clear that until quite recent times, in addition to the Bare, all of the Jyapūs of Bhaktapur (over sixty percent of the population) and many of the other castes used Vajracarya priests rather than Brahman priests. There were few Brahman in Bhaktapur and they served the court and the Hindu aristocracy. The jajmān of the Vajracaryas, however, were not wealthy people. They did not have the resources to build extensive complexes such as one finds in Patan and Kathmandu nor to support a large Bare population. It is evident that a large number of Bhaktapur Bare moved away either to the other two cities or to Newar centers outside of the Valley. The third factor is the two disastrous earthquakes of 1833 and 1934 which by all accounts wreaked greater havoc on Bhaktapur than on the other two cities.

In general Bhaktapur was neglected after the Gorkhā conquest when it was no longer a capital city. This coupled with the fact that the Buddhist population of Bhaktapur was not wealthy made it impossible to rebuild many of the Buddhist institutions after their destruction. One still finds piles of rubble around Buddhist sites, even for example around Pasu Bāhā, which date back fifty years to the earthquake of 1934. Akhan Bāhā, one of the oldest bāhās, was totally destroyed and left in a state of ruin for many years. The reconstructed bāhā is a shoddy building with none of the architectural features of a bāhā.

One of the peculiar features of Buddhist life in Bhaktapur is the twice annual worship of the Dīpaṅkaras. There are five Dīpaṅkara images in Bhaktapur, one each at Ājudyaya Bāhā, Tadhichek Bāhā, Jhaur Bahi, Tathu Bahi, and Kutu Bahi. These images are taken out in procession twice a year, once on the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Śrāwan (during the sacred month of Gauḍā) and once on the day of Māghe Sankranti. The first procession is connected with the annual pānca dāna. Early in the morning of the day of pānca dāna the five Dīpaṅkaras are brought to Suryamadhi Tole near Akhan Bāhā. The five images are worshipped and then devotees offer pānca dāna to the images and to the Bare from that area. When this is finished the images move off and process from tole to tole stopping in each tole for the pānca dāna ceremony. The procession is always led by the Dīpaṅkara of Ājudyaya Bāhā who is considered to be the principal (or grandfather-āju) of the five. In this way pānca dāna is given tole by tole and only in the presence of the five Dīpaṅkaras. The procession reaches Taumadhi Tole late in the evening and the five images are placed there on a sort of stage. People then gather for an evening service of lighting lamps and the chanting of bhajans. At the conclusion of this the elder of Tadhichek Bāhā offers a pūja to the Dīpaṅkara of Ājudyaya Bāhā in the name of the other four Dīpaṅkaras, and the five move off from Taumadhi Tole to return to their shrines. At the first cross roads the Dīpaṅkaras of Tadhichek Bāhā, Tathu Bahi and Kutu Bahi take their leave of the main Dīpaṅkara by circumambulating him once and paying their respects. At the next cross roads the Dīpaṅkara of Jhaur Bahi takes his leave and is taken back to his shrine. When each of the Dīpaṅkaras arrives back at his own shrine the elder of the bāhā (or bāhī) worships him and his wife ritual- ly welcomes him back into the shrine. This is the only time that pānca dāna is given in Bhaktapur at the present time, though it seems that in former days people would give pānca dāna at other times also and for this they would summon the five Dīpaṅkaras. At the time of Māghe Sankranti the images are taken out again for a procession to Surya Madi Tole, but on this occasion there is no pānca dāna though the reason given for the procession is that this marks the traditional day for a Samyak ceremony.

Because of the lack of organisational structure among the bāhās of Bhaktapur I have treated them below simply in the order in which they appear on the map, without separating bāhās and bāhs or main bāhās and branches. In addi-
tion to the bāhās treated, there are several sites which people in Bhaktapur refer to as bāhās but which are not in any sense. They are nanis or in some cases simply isolated caityas. Only one of these sites has been included. Some of the others may mark the sites of defunct bāhās but no positive evidence is available to support this claim.

1. Laskadyayā Bāhā — Lokesvāra Mahāvihāra

Laskadyayā Bāhā is on a road running south from the main thoroughfare leading to the darbar form the west. The complex is best known as the Bhaktapur shrine of Matsyendranāth but is also in fact a bāhā though it has none of the usual architectural features of a bāhā. All that exists at the present time is the temple of Matsyendranāth (Avalokiteśvara) which is a separate two-storied structure with one tiled roof surmounted by two smaller roofs forming a sort of cupola. The lower of the small roofs is tiled, the upper one is of gilded copper and surmounted by a golden gajjra made in the form of a caitya with an image of Akṣobhya Buddha set into it.

The present temple is not connected to any other buildings, but is a separate structure having only one face, i.e. not a free-standing temple with four open sides as at the shrine of Matsyendranāth in Kathmandu, Patan, Chobā or Nālā. The front of the temple, which abuts the street and faces east, has five doors across the ground floor each surmounted by a brass torāṇa of rather recent origin. The torāṇa over the main door is a six-armed bodhisattva with sword, staff, and wheel in his right hands and a noose, lotus and abhya mudrā in the left hands. Informants identified the figure as Amoghapāśa, and though the iconographic details do not fit perfectly, it is probably correct. The figure of Amoghapāśa is flanked by two Tārās. The other four torāṇas each have a four-armed figure of Lokeśvara flanked by two Tārās.

The first storey of the temple has three windows. Over the central window is a wooden torāṇa of Sahasrabhūja Lokeśvara of intricate detail and probably quite old. The central window itself is screened with gilded lattice-work set into which is a six-pointed star with a standard figure of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara in the centre. The two side windows are covered with wooden lattice work. There are four wall paintings set between the windows. The two outside paintings represent apparitions of the Buddha. The one directly to the right of the centre window is of Harinarhariśvāna-lokeśvāra and the one to the left is Śrīśī̄kānta Lokeśvāra. There are six carved roof supports across the front of the temple. From left to right as you face the temple they are 1. Mahājūśī (dated N.S. 1045), 2. Lokanātha-Karunāmyā, 3. Jinabala, 4. Makuti (?) (dated N.S. 950), 5. Jambala, 6. Vajrasattva. There are five halampos hanging from the roof. The two at the ends depict the purṇa kalasha (a symbol used to represent prosperity and to portray the goddess Anna-purṇa), the centre halampo shows the Buddha Akṣobhya; the two remaining are four-armed bodhisattva figures.

Directly under the lower roof of the cupola is an elaborately carved torāṇa of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvāra holding the same symbols in his hands as the image on the main torāṇa. Informants say that this is the original torāṇa of the main door. Two large copperplate inscriptions are attached to the small section of wall below this torāṇa. Halampos depicting the purṇa kalasha hang from the four corners of this roof and the top-most roof. Flanking the stairway leading up to the sanctum are two bronze guardian lions installed in N.S. 1027 in honour of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvāra. The lions are flanked by the usual brass flags and at either end of the veranda is a bell, the one on the right dated N.S. 1000 and the one to the left dated N.S. 1020.

Immediately in front of the temple, almost completely blocking the road, are clustered seven caityas and a charmadhātu mandala. It is difficult to say whether this temple ever formed part of a proper bāhā complex. Certainly it has not within living memory, and at present the members of the saṅgha of the bāhā are scattered in different parts of the tole.

The image in the temple, and kusā—dya of the bāhā saṅgha, is a metal image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvāra about two and a half feet high. The face is painted red. According to informants the hands are in the usual posture of showing the varada mudrā and holding the lotus, but it is impossible to check this as the image is
entirely covered with a metal decorative cloak and ornaments. The most commonly used name for the deity is Annapurna Lokesvara, and this name is found on two recent inscriptions in front of the temple. They also use the names Karunamaya and Lokanatha for the deity and recognise him as Matsyendranath.

The saṅgha of the bāhā consists of four lineages of Vajracaryas who now make up 20 households and have 50 initiated members. Members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dyapañcālas in the temple of Lokesvara. Terms of service pass through the four lineages, each lineage serving in turn for an entire year. Few people actually take their turn in the temple any more so that four or five members of the saṅgha in fact rotate the post. Both Barchuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha no longer has a proper governing body, the eldest member of the saṅgha serving as de facto leader and administrator of whatever business comes up, an arrangement common to most of the bāhās of Bhaktapur.

The annual festival of the saṅgha centres on the main deity Annapurna Lokesvara. Theoretically there should be an annual bathing ceremony of this Lokesvara as there is of the ones in Bungamatī-Patan, Kathmandu, Chobā and Nālā, but it is seldom held any more. Informants say that they try to have it once every twelve years but this is often postponed for a year or two. The reason given for this is a lack of funds. There are no gūthā funds to finance the annual ceremony, and hence it is held only if someone provides the means. In place of the annual bathing ceremony, they have a ceremony on the third day of the bright half of the month of Baisākh consisting simply of the pāncopacāra puja and a sprinkling of the image with water. This is the day when Lokesvara is said to perform his devālī puja, or the puja of his lineage deity. When they do have the bathing ceremony, it is not necessarily on this day but on any convenient, auspicious day. Even if the bathing is not held, there is always an annual jāṭra of Annapurna Lokesvara held on the second day of the dark half of the month of Bhādara, i.e. on the day after Gālī Jāṭra. On the morning of this day they remove a duplicate image of the deity from storage, place it on a khat, and take it in procession from the temple in Itā Cheś Tole to Pasu Bāhā and back again. They always take the duplicate image; the main image is never removed from the temple. The jāṭra lasts for only one day and seems to be rather a local festival whose observance is confined to the Buddhist community.

There are two other annual observances of note at the temple. The people of Bhaktapur look on the Lokesvara of Bhaktapur and the one of Nālā as sisters (sic). Hence on the day of pānca dāna during the sacred month of Guţāia a Vajracarya comes from Nālā to bring flowers to Annapurna Lokesvara. The other festival is connected with the name Annapurna which means "full of grain". Lokesvara is considered to be a patron of the harvest, so in the month of Bhādara, when the rice is growing in the fields, there is a special puja. This puja, however, is not performed to Lokesvara, but is considered to be performed by Lokesvara to Basundharā who is the main patron of the harvest. The priest draws the mandala of Basundharā on the pavement in front of Lokesvara and performs puja to her in the name of Lokesvara.

The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara,' now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu, but brought from Kuṭā Bāhā in Patan. Though the annual worship of this deity is always performed at Siddhi Pukhu, the members of the saṅgha keep the link with Kuṭā Bāhā active by going each year to Kuṭā Bāhā to perform another puja. At the present time the bāhā has no income.

Local legends connect this Lokesvara and his cult with Bungā-zya (the Patan-Bungamatī Matsyendranāth). According to the story, King Narendradeva who brought the deity to Nepal was disappointed when the old man from Patan determined that Matsyendranāth should be housed in Patan. His capital was in Bhaktapur and he wanted the temple there. Finally Lokesvara appeared to him in a dream and said, 'Don't grieve. You are a great devotee of mine, you can set up another image of me just like the one in Patan, here in Bhaktapur.' This, local legend claims, is the origin of the Red Matsyendranāth of Bhaktapur.

There is nothing, however, at the temple itself which would permit us to date the structure and the presence of the saṅgha here earlier than the late Malla period. The earliest date is on the strut dated N.S. 950. However there are two copper-plate inscriptions high up on the
temple which are certainly Malla period but inaccessible. Since the lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara' from Kuśa Bāhā in Patan and the people return there each year for a pūjā, it is clear that the saṅgha came from Patan, but it is impossible to put a date on this migration.


Nī Bāhā is situated in a small courtyard in Takhāco Tole surrounded by ordinary houses. The kuṭā-pā-dya, which is a standing image of Buddha showing the viśvavyākaraṇa mudrā, resides in an open, plastered shrine in the centre of the courtyard. Next to this shrine is a small image of the Buddha Akṣobhya and to the right of this is enshrined another Buddha figure showing the varada mudrā with the right hand and with the left hand holding the stem of a lotus on which is a caitya. The kuṭā-pā-dya image was identified by some of the inhabitants as Maitreya, but others insisted that it is 'Devatā Lokēśvara'. In front of these images is a plastered caitya surrounded by oil lamps. The shrine has no proper torana but the figures of the makaras, the nāgas and the chepu encircle the opening to the shrine.

At the present time the saṅgha of this bāhā consists of thirty-two households of Sakyas comprising one hundred and fifty members. They perform the nitya pūjā of the kuṭā-pā-dya morning and evening in rotation by seniority of initiation for a month at a time. They also take turns performing the nitya pūjā at Kutu Bahī [18]. They hold the annual festival on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha, at the time of the Śīthi Nakha festival. As at other bāhās in Bhaktapur the governing body of the community consists of one elder. Barechuyegu initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara', now residing at Siddhi Pukhu, but brought from Kuśa Bāhā in Patan. Many of the members of the saṅgha now live in Kathmandu or Patan and perform the annual pūjā of the lineage deity at Kuśa Bāhā itself. The bāhā has one elder and no income.

According to the oral tradition preserved by the saṅgha the residence of this community in Bhaktapur dates to the end of the Malla period when King Raṇajit Malla (N.S. 842-90) called one Guṇasiṃhadeva Śākya and his family from Kuśa Bāhā in Patan to Bhaktapur because of their great skills as metal workers. They are credited with making the golden torana of Durgā over the gateway of the Bhaktapur palace. They also made an image of Viśvakarma which is dated N.S. 874, so they must have come to Bhaktapur some time before this date. Guṇasiṃhadeva is also credited with the foundation of this bāhā. The community also has a connection with Kutu Bahī [18], and I was given two different stories to explain this. Some claimed that when Guṇasiṃha and his family came to Bhaktapur, they first resided at Kutu Bahī which was constructed in N.S. 868 and had no saṅgha. They made this their base, performing the nitya pūjā there and performing their initiations there also. However, since people generally look upon a Bare initiated in a bāhī as of a lesser status than one initiated in a bāhā, they built Nī Bāhā for themselves and began to perform their initiations there. Others claimed that when they came to Bhaktapur they were given land by the king and there they built for themselves a bāhā (Nī Bāhā) where they lived and performed their initiations. Later the Vajracayas of Tadnicheṃ bāhā [15] built (or restored?) the two bāhīs Thatu [17] and Kutu [18], and invited some of the Bare from Nī Bāhā to reside at Kutu Bahī and make it their own. They did so, took up the performance of the regular rituals and began to perform their initiations there. Because people looked down on Bare initiated in a bāhī as of a lesser status than one initiated in a bāhā, they abandoned the latter practice and began again to perform their initiations with the rest of the community at Nī Bāhā. That the community originated from Patan is clear and confirmed by the fact that their lineage deity is at Kuśa Bāhā in Patan, and those who find it convenient still perform their annual pūjā there. Certainly Nī Bāhā does not predate the time of Raṇajit Malla.

3. Akhaṇ Bāhā -- Akhaṇḍasilā Mahāvihāra [3]

Nāsamanā Tole is a recently rebuilt kuṭā-pā-dya shrine. According to informants the original bāhā was destroyed in the earthquake of 1934 and long left in a state of ruin. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions. The carved doorway is flanked by two small windows and these in turn by two doorways leading to storerooms and a stairway. The facade of the ground floor is plastered with unpainted cement.
The doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana showing a standing figure of Mahāvairocana and is dated N.S.757. The kuṇāpā-dya is a stone, seated image of Buddha in the bhūmisparśa mudrā (Ākobhya). Informants, however, identified the image as 'Devatā Lokeśvara'. The first storey is of plain and cheap brick with three small, crude, lattice-work windows. The top storey consists of a blank brick wall surmounted by a galvanised iron roof. Next to the doorway of the shrine is one Malla period inscription, badly defaced. In the courtyard is one large plastered caitya and one small stone caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of ten households of Vajracaryas comprising thirty members, who serve as dyā-pāḷās in the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya. The pūjā consists only of the morning nitya pūjā; and the term of service which passes by rotation through the households, is for a whole year at a time. The annual festival takes place on the fullmoon day of Kartik. During the sacred month of Guḍāḷa, scriptures are recited here by people from Nā Ḍhamā [2]. Many of the members of the saṅgha have moved to Kathmandu or Patan and no longer take an active part in the life of the saṅgha. Both Barechuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is 'vajrayogini' situated at a place called Bhatī Pākhā. The saṅgha has only one elder. Though they once had one hundred twenty ropanis of land, they have no income at the present time.

According to an inscription at the site, construction of the bāhā was begun in N.S.775 and completed in N.S.777 by one Deva Jyoti Vajrācārya. At the present no trace of this structure remains. Furthermore, it is almost certain that this date marks a reconstruction of an old foundation, as consistent tradition in Bhaktapur says that Akḥān Bāhā is an ādi bāhā, one of the original or most ancient institutions in Bhaktapur. According to tradition this bāhā existed at the time of the king Narendradeva who brought Būrga Dya (Avalokiteśvara--Matsyendranāth) to Nepal; and it is in this bāhā that the king intended to place the image but was foiled, according to the legend, by the old man of Patan, who determined that the image should be housed in Patan--Bungamati. Whatever the truth of the legend, there is a still curious custom which harkens back to the claim of the legend. The final stage of the ratha jāṭrā of Bungadaya, from Pode Tole in Patan to Jawalākhel, usually takes place about the first week in June. However, the auspicious date for this stage of the jāṭrā must be determined each year. In 1976 this was delayed until 11th September because of a long series of unsuitable months in the summer. When the ratha was finally moved it veered off the road and became stuck in a drainage ditch. The next day there was feverish activity to get the ratha moving and to Jawalākhel by that evening. The rush seemed rather incongruous. After a delay of three months what difference would another day or two make? The explanation given was that if the ratha could not be taken to Jawalākhel on that day the image would have to be taken to Bhaktapur. If it should happen that the Pāñjus of Bungamati cannot get Bungadya back to Bungamati by the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Āświn, the image must be taken to Bhaktapur, where it is kept there until the autumn. During this time the dyā-pāḷās of Bungamati have to go to Bhaktapur and stay there to perform the customary rituals. Subsequent questioning of people in Bhaktapur confirmed the custom. Some informants said that when the image is brought to Bhaktapur it is placed in Akhan Bāhā where Narendradeva intended to keep it; others, however, denied the connection with Akhan Bāhā and said that the image is set up at any convenient place. Informants claimed that this last happened about one hundred years ago.


Sukul Dhoūkā

This is an entirely abandoned bāhā which is now a shrine of Bhimsen. According to available information the shrine of Bhimsen was established in A.D.1592 and gradually became the most important shrine in the complex. However, some informants said that the shrine of Bhimsen predates the bāhā and the bāhā was founded because Bhimsen was a fearful deity who caused the people much trouble. To offset his influence an image of the Buddha, the great giver of peace, and a bāhā were established within the compound. According to informants the bāhā remained intact and active until the time of the earthquake in 1934 at which time the remaining bāhā buildings were destroyed and the site eventually abandoned. After the earthquake an image of Buddha in dhyāna mudrā was set up at the site where the old kuṇāpā-dya shrine existed, and for some time
the members of the saṅgha continued to perform the nitya pūjā there and to conduct initiations there. Now the site seems to have been completely abandoned by them as I could find no one in Bhaktapur who performs such rituals any more or has any connection with this shrine. The shrine of Bhimsen is tended by a Jyāpū priest.


According to informants this bahī was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934. From the remains of the original buildings a small kuṭāpā-dya shrine and a rest house were constructed, and this is all that remains today, plus a fronting of shops on the road at the end of which is a shrine of Dipākara Buddha. The two storied shrine stands along the eastern wall of the enclosed area of the bahī. It is of simple unadorned brick. The finely carved doorway is marked by two small stone lions. There is no torana but a carved entablature above the doorway has five small Buddha figures carved on it. The first storey has three small windows, and plain wooden struts support the roof. In the courtyard are one large caitya and two smaller caityas. The rest house along the western side of the area has an image of Ganesh and one of Mahākālī. The kuṭāpā-dya of the bahī is an image of Amītābha facing west. At the end of the rest house and opening on to the street is the shrine of Dipākara, one of the five 'brothers' of Bhaktapur.

There is no saṅgha attached to this bahī, and the nitya pūjā of the kuṭāpā-dya and the rituals surrounding the cult of Dipākara are performed by seven Vajrayacayas from Tadhideṃ Bāhā [15]. Theoretically these seven take turns performing the rituals, but in fact, it is always done by one man now. The shrine of Dipākara is still quite an active shrine, but except for a brief pūjā each morning the image of the kuṭāpā-dya is neglected, and he shares the shrine with a store of badminton racquets and ping pong paddies. The only annual festivals at the shrine are in connection with the jātrā of the five Dipākaras.

According to KTMV there is an inscription here bearing the date N.S. 770, but nothing further is known about the foundation or history of this bahī. Sanyak Ratna in his account of the bāhās of Bhaktapur surmises that this foundation was built about the same time as Thatu [17] and Kutu [18] Bāhā and Tadhideṃ Bāhā [15], but he offers no proof of this. Thatu Bāhā is certainly much older than Kutu Bāhā and Tadhideṃ Bāhā is probably a hundred years older than either of them.


This bahā, situated just off the road in Inaco Tole possesses one of the few well-preserved, typical bahā shrines left in Bhaktapur. The partially enclosed courtyard is paved in stone and the finely carved doorway of the shrine is marked by two stone lions. Near the lions is also a bell dated N.S. 1020. The doorway is surmounted by a metal torana depicting the Buddha (Aksobhya), flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Ṣaḍakṣārī Jokesvāra) on the left. On either side of the doorway are two small windows which each hold a set of prayer wheels. The facade of the entire building has been plastered and whitewashed, and there are several frescoes on the ground floor. The kuṭāpā-dya in the shrine is Aksobhya, facing west. The first storey has the customary five-fold, carved window flanked by two smaller windows, and two incongruous, clearly western-inspired, angels with banners in the upper corners. Above this storey is a second torana depicting the five Buddhas with Aksobhya in the central position. The top storey has living quarters. Carved struts depicting the five Buddhas support the roof. In the centre of the courtyard are three caityas, the central one of which has a ring of oil lamps around it.

The saṅgha of this bahā consists of about three hundred members who call themselves Baudhacārya rather than Sakya, though they say the only initiation they receive is the Bārechuyeg. The members of the saṅgha who still live in Bhaktapur take turns as dyā-pālā, the term of service being one month and passing by rotation through the lineages. Bārechuyeg initiations are held here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, and this is the only initiation they take. The annual festival of the bahā is held on the fullmoon day of Kārtik, and there are two other festivals for the entire saṅgha, one at the time of the Bisket jātrā and the second during the sacred month of Gujarī. There is also a festival at the time of the disi pūjā. The

305. Ināco Bāhā [6]
sāṅgha is governed by one elder. Barechuye-gu
initiations are held here for the sons of the
members of the sāṅgha. The lineage deity of the
sāṅgha is Gōhyesvari, now resident at Siddhi
Pukhu but brought there from the Gōhyesvari
shrine at Paśupatināth. The only income which
remains is a small amount accruing to the sāṅgha
which sponsors the dīśī pūja rituals. Though
this bāhā has no official branches, many of the
members of the sāṅgha have in times past moved
away to Pālpā, east Nepal and Darjeeling. Until
recently all of these people used to bring their
sons back here for initiations. However, the
people in Pālpā now have a bāhā there where they
perform initiations. People from Darjeeling
still come for the initiations of their sons.
Nothing is known about the date of the founda-
tion of this bāhā. There are two metal inscrip-
tions high on the wall of the facade of the
temple. Informants say that one of these is of
silver and the other of gold, and that neither
of them is more than a hundred years old. No-	hing else in the complex is dated, but the
style of the shrine and the caityas would sug-
gest a late Malla period date. Members of the
sāṅgha were not able to give any data about the
history or foundation of the bāhā.

7. Muni Bāhā -- Dharma Uttara Mahāvihihāra* [7]
(Munivarṇa Vihara)
Ināco Tole

As it stands now this establishment is a
Theravada vihāra which was established on the
site of an abandoned and crumbling bāhā. No-	hing remains of the original bāhā or its
sāṅgha. The shrine is a modern plastered build-
ing with a terrazzo floor and tiled walls. The
shrine contains three modern and gaudily painted
Buddha images—Buddha in dhyāna mudrā in the
centre flanked by a Buddha in bhūmisparga mudrā
on the right and another Buddha in dhyāna mudrā
on the left. In front of the shrine is a paved
courtyard and a rather recent, but undated,
caitya. To the side of the shrine is another
long building where the bhikṣus live. The
bhikṣus, who came to Bhaktapur to occupy this
place in B.S. 2009, have renamed the place Mun-
ivarṇa Mahāvihihāra, a sanskritization of the or-
iginal Newari name of the old bāhā. 13 According
to informants there were still some members of
the original sāṅgha living at the time the
bhikṣus came, and for some time they continued
to come to the bāhā at irregular intervals for
rituals. Whether this was a separate, indepen-
dent establishment with its own sāṅgha or it was
looked after by Bare of some other bāhā is now
unknown.

There is still an inscription at the site
which tells of the founding of the original
bāhā. In N.S.776 a Tibetan monk by the name of
Jñāron (Gyaron) from 'Tashi-lhungpo' (=Tashihunpo)
and one Padmadhvaja built this monastery in
memory of the father of the latter. Work was
begun in N.S.776 and the inscription put up in
the year N.S.778 marks the completion of the
building and consecration rituals. The follow-
ing images were installed in the monastery and
consecrated: Sakyamuni Buddha, Śrī Dhammāṅgū,
Śrī Dipākara Buddha, Śrī Cakrasamvara, Śrī
Mahākāla and Ganesha. In addition to this a copy
of the Pañcarakṣā was offered. Thirty-two rōpā-
nis of land were given as an endowment for the
upkeep of the monastery and the continuance of
the prescribed rituals. The inscription is
instructive as it gives us some insight into the
circumstances of the founding of at least some
of these old bāhās. The inscription gives no
hint about the caste status of this Padmadhvaja;
but evidently he was a wealthy man, probably a
trader with connections in Tibet, and not a Bare
or he would have surely indicated on the
inscription that he was Śākyabhikṣu or Vajraca-
rya. Whether it was built for the Tibetan monk
in question or was turned over to Bare from
Bhaktapur is unknown, but it was not built by
the Bare themselves, nor does it seem to have
been built to meet the needs of an already
existing, overcrowded bāhā. Rather, it is an
example of the common Buddhist practice of
wealthy laymen building a vihāra to obtain merit
(in this case for his deceased relatives) and then
turning it over to the sāṅgha.

8. Tōm Bāhā -- Ādīpadma Mahāvihihāra [8]
Suryamadh Tole

The buildings of this bāhā in Suryamadh Tole
were completely destroyed in the earthquake
of 1934. The shrine of the kuñā-pā-dya was re-
built but has lost the architectural character-
istics of a bāhā. The present building is a
plain brick shrine of rectangular shape and
without ornamentation. The entrance to the
shrine is marked by two tiny, stone lions. The
carved doorway of the shrine is surmounted by a
torana showing an image of Padmapani Lokeshvara.
He is flanked by two bodhisattva figures and
above him are four of the five Buddhas, Vairoca-
na not being shown. The torana, showing Padmapani Lokesvara flanked by two other bodhisattva figures, is of repousse metal and appears to be of the late Malla period except for the figure of Padmapani which is a new and most unusual figure. The figure has a short, heavy body more like that of a wrestler than a bodhisattva and the headdress is not the usual crown but a sort of Egyptian or Sumerian headdress. The first storey of the building has three ordinary windows, and six plain struts support the tile roof. The kuåpā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. In the paved courtyard are four votive caityas.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of ten families with a total of thirty initiated members calling themselves Baudhacarya. However, the only initiation they take is the Barechuye-gu. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālas in the shrine of the kuåpā-dya for one month at a time, the service passing by rotation through the ten families in turn. At the present time they perform only the morning rituals. The saṅgha observes two festivals in the year, one on the fullmoon day during the sacred month of Guhā and the second in Paus at the time of the Dīśī Pūjā. Barechuye-gu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, but they may also perform their Barechuye-gu in Pasu Bāhā [10]. The lineage deity of this saṅgha is situated at Kamal Pokhari to the east of Bhaktapur and was identified by the members of the saṅgha as either Candamahārāgana or simply 'Dharmapāla'. The saṅgha has one elder and used to have some income, but all of this has been lost.

This bāhā is called an ōdi-bāhā, which means that it is considered to be one of the oldest or one of the original bāhās of Bhaktapur. It also implies that the members of the saṅgha have 'always' been in Bhaktapur, unlike most of the saṅghas of the other bāhās which have moved to Bhaktapur from either Patan or Kathmandu. Samyak Ratna assigns the date N.S. 103 for the foundation of this bāhā, but this is based on speculation that it was founded shortly after the Dīśīkara Bāhā [11] which he has dated to N.S. 95. The members of the saṅgha say that the present site is not the original site of the bāhā. It was originally situated at Kamal Pokhari where the lineage deity still resides. There are ruins of a bāhā at Kamal Pokhari which tend to confirm their tradition. They say that at one time there was a separate king ruling that part of Bhaktapur (then called Tomaco). The wife of this king, one Tolā Rāni used to come to the pond to gather lotuses. It was during her time that they moved the bāhā from its old location to the present site, perhaps due to some disagreement with her or because she wanted the property to build something else. They say that the present Newari name Tom or Tum is a corruption of Tomaco. The oldest dated inscription in the present compound is that of N.S. 734 found on a caitya in the courtyard. The fact that the members of the saṅgha may still perform their initiations at Pasu Bāhā [10] if they wish would indicate a close connection to Pasu Bāhā. The most logical conclusion would be that this saṅgha is an offshoot of the saṅgha of Pasu Bāhā, however the lineage deity of this saṅgha is different from either of the two lineage deities worshipped by the people of Pasu Bāhā.


This is a totally ruined and nearly abandoned bāhā. According to informants the bāhā was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1934 and never rebuilt. Later they did enshrine an image of Padmapani Lokesvara in the remains of a courtyard between new buildings, really nothing more than a dark hole behind the new structures. This image has disappeared within the past two years. The saṅgha of this bāhā was evidently a branch of Pasu Bāhā [10], and the members of the saṅgha simply transferred all of their observances and rituals back to the mother bāhā. However, someone used to come each day from Pasu Bāhā to perform the nitya pūjā of the image of Padmapani Lokesvara. Whether the ones who came were descendants of the saṅgha of this bāhā or just someone from Pasu Bāhā who comes to keep up the traditional rituals is not known. There is a small caitya here which bears the date N.S. 875, but there are no other dated inscriptions at the site.


In many ways this bāhā in Kuathandau Tole is the most important of all the bāhās in Bhaktapur, though nothing remains of the original bāhā architecture. The shrine is situated in
308. Biku Bāhā [9]

(Site of Stolen Image)

309. Pasu Bāhā [10]
a courtyard partly surrounded by buildings and partly by the rubble of ruined structures. The shrine is on the ground floor of a building which resembles an ordinary town house more than a bāhā. The other buildings in the courtyard are ordinary houses. Many of the houses were damaged in the earthquake of 1934 and never repaired. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a metal torana showing the Buddha (Aksobhya), Dharma (Prajñaparamitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Avalokiteśvara) on the left. The torana is dated N.S. 1033. The kuṭā-pāda is a standing Buddha image showing the Viśvavajra mudrā. The panels to the side of the door and the entablature above it have been whitewashed and painted with various figures including Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana; and there are three more paintings on the wall above the first storey, one of them of Samantabhadra painted half white and half blue, seated holding a begging bowl in his hands. The first storey has three rather crude lattice windows, the second storey has a single ordinary window. Above this is a series of six short, carved struts supporting an overhanging, partial roof which protects the facade. Above this is another storey having ordinary living quarters. In the courtyard are two caityas, one of them dated N.S. 1021.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of about one hundred twenty households, twenty six of them Vajracarya and the rest Sakya, with a total membership of between six and seven hundred. It is impossible to give accurate figures as many of the members of the saṅgha no longer live in Bhaktapur and take no active part in the life of the saṅgha other than to bring their sons back to Bhaktapur for initiation ceremonies. The officers of the saṅgha have not been able to keep any accurate record of these people. The nītya puja is performed in the morning and evening and is always done by one man, the head of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has four festivals during the year, one on the full moon day of Manigṣir, one at the time of the pañca dāna in the sacred month of Cūhā, one in Baisākha and one in the month of Paus. Both Barechuyegu and Acaluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha.

Initial informants told me that there were two separate saṅghas attached to this bāhā, one Vajracarya and one Sakya. However, subsequent interviews with the Thāypājū, Mān Jyoti Vajrācārya, and Jhāna Vajr Vajrācārya of Tadhicēn Bāhā have revealed the following. There is only one saṅgha whose affairs are looked over by a committee of ten Thāypā. They hold their positions on this committee strictly by seniority of initiation irrespective of whether or not they are Sakyas or Vajracaryas, with one exception. Since the saṅgha is composed partly of Sakyas there is a Vajracarya Cakrēśvara whose duty it is to perform the tantric rituals that can only be performed by a Vajracarya. The Cakresevara, who is always the senior-most Vajracarya, is also ipso facto the head Thāypā. This man is also considered is some sense to be the head Vajracarya of Bhaktapur. At present this is merely a position of honour and has no practical consequences; the present incumbent says that he has no connection with the other bāhās of Bhaktapur. Whether, in the past, this position was something like that of the Rāj Gubhājū of Kathmandu or not is unknown. Granted this basic unity of the saṅgha there are divisions. The lineage deity of the Vajracaryas is Vajravārahi, now worshipped at a small shrine outside the city near the present trolley bus stop, but brought there from Vajravārahi beyond the village of Chapāghōn south of Patan. These are the only Vajracaryas in the Valley who have their lineage deity there. The lineage deity of the Sakyas is 'Yogāmbara', now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu but brought from Kūā Bāhā in Patan, where they still occasionally go to do the annual pūjā. Surely the Sakyas came from Patan; and the Vajracaryas are probably the descendants of an earlier group which had settled in Bhaktapur. There is another division among the Vajracaryas, who have two āgam shrines. The deity is the same in both shrines and the division seems to be the result of some long-forgotten dispute. The two deities are popularly called Rām-Laksman, i.e. they are the shrines of two separated brothers. As mentioned above there is also a connection between this saṅgha and the saṅgha of Toñ Bāhā [6], whose members still have the right to be initiated in Pasu Bāhā if they so wish. No information is available on the income of the bāhā.

There is nothing at Pasu Bāhā today that would suggest a great antiquity for this foundation. However, there is some evidence that the Dīpankara Bāhā [11], which is looked after by the members of this saṅgha, can be traced back to the beginning of the Nepal era. In this
connection it is interesting to note that these two bāhās and Tośi Bāhā, which has some connection with them and some claim to a great antiquity, all lie in the eastern, and by all accounts, the older section of the city. The earliest definite reference to this bāhā is found in the colophon of a manuscript of the Pañcarakṣā which was copied in N.S.655 for Śākyabhikṣu Jitadeva, his wife Kirti Lakṣmi, and his two sons, Śākyabhikṣu Jivateja Rama and Śākyabhikṣu Śri Bitujā of Paśupati Mahāviñāra in Kuṇāthaneu Tole in the city of Bhaktapur. An inscription of N.S.724 in Dīpāṅkara Bāhā refers to Paśupati Bāhāra. A manuscript copy of the Saptavāra Dhārapāta was copied by one Baudhacarya Śri Deva, son of Baudhacarya Śri Cakranātha of Śri Paśupati Mahāviñāra in Kuṇāthaneu Tole in Bhaktapur in the time of Jaya Jagat Prakash Malla (N.S. 767-793). It is interesting that all of the Malla period references to this bāhā give the Sanskrit name Paśupati Mahāviñāra and not the name Prasannaśīla Mahāviñāra, which the present incumbents claim to be the Sanskrit name. The name Prasannaśīla is not found on any inscription or historical document. The current Newari name, Paśu Bāhā, is clearly a corruption of this earlier Sanskrit name.

Dya Nana Bāhā Kuṇāthaneu Tole

Strictly speaking this complex is not a bāhā either in the architectural sense or in the sense of having a separate saṅgha with its separate kuṇāpa-dya shrine. It is rather a shrine of Dīpāṅkara tended by the saṅgha of Paśu Bāhā [10]. This image of Dīpāṅkara is considered to be the principal or Grandfather (Ājū) of the five Dīpāṅkaras of Bhaktapur. The shrine is similar to an āgān chēn rather than a bāhā. It is of three stories with an open varanda on the ground floor leading into the shrine. In the centre of the first floor facade is a gilded lattice-work window in the centre surmounted by a torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and flanked by two other lattice windows. The top storey has three ordinary wooden windows. There are several metal plaques attached to the facade of the building showing various divinities. The tile roof is supported by a series of carved struts depicting the Pañcarakṣā deities, Bhairava, the five Buddhas, the four Mahārajas (guardians of the directions), and others. Above the roof rises a pagoda type tower similar to that found on baḥīs. The image of Dīpāṅkara is enshrined on the ground floor to the right as one enters the shrine. The entrance to the shrine is marked by a triple metal torana of recent origin. The central panel depicts the Buddha (Aksobhya), Dharma (Prajāpāramitā) on the right and the Saṅgha (Sadaksāri Lokesvarā) on the left. The right and left panels both depict Aksobhya Buddha flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. Over a doorway opposite to the shrine is a wooden torana dated N.S.779 depicting Aksobhya Buddha. Inside is also a shrine of Nāmasaṅgiti with three gaudy images of recent origin and one image of Vajrasattva which appears old but bears the date B.S. 2031.

The ten elders of Paśu Bāhā [10] form a gūṭhi whose function it is to perform pūjā to Dīpāṅkara and see to the annual festivities. In practice though, only the Thāypādajī performs the daily rituals, three times a day. The gūṭhi still has an annual income of thirty-five murīs of paddy, though they complain that they only get twenty-two and that the gūṭhi used to have some two hundred ropānis of land which should yield much more than this. In addition to the usual rituals the Nāmasaṅgiti is recited daily.

By all accounts this is one of the most ancient Buddhist sites in Bhaktapur. According to Samyak Ratna Vajracarya the gūṭhi has a copper-plate inscription dated N.S. 98 which records a grant of land for the worship of the deity. Where this land was and who gave it is not known. Another copper-plate inscription of N.S. 723 records the gift of a golden jewel (cudāmanī) to the deity given by Kamala Sima Varde, Manika Sima Varde, Kita Vande, Jivana Rāja Varde, Jaya Vande and Vinu Sima, all of Kuṇāthaneu, in the time of King Trailokyā. A copper-plate inscription of the following year, N.S.724, records the offering of a new door for the shrine by one Udaya Simha Vande. A stone inscription of the same year records the donation of the guardian lions by Vajracarya Mahāpāla, Daku Vande, Vandhavakita Vande, Jira Simha Vande, Pala Vagde, Bhima Simha Vande, and Puranā Simha Vande. It is interesting that in all three of these last inscriptions the donors use the original Sanskrit form of the Neuari bare--vande--as their surname. A copper-plate inscription of N.S.769 records the donation of a stone pillar offered by Haku Bhāro, Kina Simha Bhāro and Dopi Rama Bahāro of Yachē Tole. An inscription of N.S.835 gives the names of the ten
310. Ḍjugyayā Bāhā [11]

311. Ulān Bāhā [12]
Thāyāpājus of that time: Sūrya Jyoti (the head), Jaya Muni, Ratna Jyoti, Siddhi Muni, Śrī Jaya Chanadima, Śrī Jaya Dhana Rāja, Śrī Śakra Jyoti, Śrī Siddhi Rāja, Śrī Cakra Rāja, Śrī Cakra Rāja, [sic, i.e. the first four names do not have the prefix śrī]. 24  Samyak Ratna notes that before this time it seems there was only one man in charge of the shrine. 26 The shrine was repaired with the help of the West German Government in A.D.1976.

Bhaktapur has three Kumārīs plus the Gaṇa Kumārī, i.e. a group of eight girls who take the parts of the Aṣṭamātikas. Of these the most important is the Royal Kumārī or Ekanta Kumārī whose official residence is in a section of the buildings attached to this shrine. The girl must be from a Sakya or Vajracarya family and is selected in the same way as the Royal Kumārī of Kathmandu, the selection being made by the Thāyāpas of Pasu Bāhā (who is the dya-pālā of Diparkara). After he selects the girl he summons the senior-most men of the Joshi, Ācājū and Rajopādhyaya Brahman families who must be present at all her principal pujaṃs. Unlike the Kathmandu Kumārī, this girl usually lives at home and comes to her official residence only at the time of festivals or when someone wishes to perform a pujaṃ to her. The building of her shrine is permanently occupied by a family which has the hereditary right to act as her dya-pālās. In addition to the living quarters the building has two āgams, one where the Ekanta Kumārī is worshipped and another where one of the other Kumārīs is worshipped. If someone wishes to perform a pujaṃ to her, he first goes to the dya-pālā who then arranges for the girl to come to her āgama fully dressed as a Kumārī. The greatest event of the year for the Kumārī is the festival of Dāśāin when she is worshipped in a manner similar to that of the Kathmandu Kumārī. Allen describes the ritual thus:

Each morning during the main period of Dāśāin (from the morning after ghasthā-pānā to dāsamā) two Ācājū priests come from Taleju to Kumārī-chë where they worship the Ekanta Kumārī in her āgama. A little later she is taken in a formal procession preceded by two men holding her silver staffs and followed by another carrying her big ceremonial umbrella over her head, to Catuvarṇāmahāvihāra [Tadhicheṇ Bāhā] -- a beautiful Bāhā located close to the palace and which still has a substantial membership. If big enough the girl will walk all the way with her bare feet directly touching the ground, but if very small then she will be carried some or all of the way by her dya-pālā. All along the route passers-by stop and briefly worship her by offering a coin and by touching her forehead to her red-painted toes. At Sankhota she is taken upstairs to the āgama where she is first worshipped by the senior-most female palace attendant, who also brings her the prasad of Taleju, and then by anyone else of the Bāhā or locality who wishes to do so. On her return to Kumārī chë she is again worshipped by many of those who pass her along the road. On her return she first sits on her impressive downstairs throne where she is briefly worshipped by a local Ācājū priest... and then goes upstairs to her āgama where she is worshipped by her Dya-pālā.

On navami the people of Wala Lakhu come and take their Kumārī to her local āgama where she remains for some hours to receive homage--I was told that originally she went there to be seen and worshipped by the King's concubine. Also on navami, usually late afternoon or early evening the Gaṇa Kumārī and the Ekanta Kumārī are taken from Kumārī chë to Tebuk chë. When the locals have finished their offerings a group of palace officials, accompanied by a band, arrive to take the Gaṇa Kumārī to Mūlchowk. They are brought to an upstairs room where they are worshipped by the current deo pālās of the Ācājū, Joshi and Deo Brahman families who still share important hereditary duties connected with the worship of Taleju and other palace deities. A few hours later the officials and band return to Tebuk chë where they collect the Ekanta Kumārīi and bring her through Mūlchowk to the inner Kumārī chowk. She is seated on a large throne placed in the centre of the courtyard, and as in Kathmandu she is surrounded by the heads of many of the animals that have been killed in Mūlchowk earlier the same day. She is here worshipped in a secret and lengthy manner by the three Taleju dya-pālās. Taleju herself, possibly in the form of a metal śrī yantra, is brought down to Mūlchowk on the two previous days (saptami and asṭami)--she does not appear during the visits of Ekānta and Gaṇa Kumārīs on navami.
12. बाहिः बाहिः — महाभजवर्जा महाभिहारा* [12]  
Mahāmāṇḍjuśrī Mahāvihāra  
Kuṭañḍandau Tole

This small बाहिः is situated in a cramped courtyard adjoining Paśū बाहिः. The Shrine of the kwāpa-ḍya is a small cella on the southern side of the courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two small stone lions. The carved doorway is surmounted by a wooden torana depicting the Buddha (Mahāvairocana), Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) on the right, and Saṅgha (Ṣaḍa-kṣaṇī Lokeśvara) on the left with the five non-tantric Buddhas set into the outer circle (Vairocana in the central position). The kwāpa-ḍya is a light brown, stone image of Mahāmāṇḍjuśrī, the only ease of a trantric image serving as the kwāpa-ḍya of a बाहिः. The first floor has three lattice windows. The facade of both the ground and first floors shows traces of frescoes. The top storey has a varanda and living quarters. There is one votive caitya in the centre of the courtyard.

The साṅ्घ्ग्भ of this बाहिः consists of one family of Vajracaryas comprising four initiated members. The daily rituals are performed in rotation by these four, and both Barechyeug and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for their sons, despite the fact that the साṅ्घ्ग्भ does not have enough members to provide the requisite five elders traditionally required for valid initiations. The साṅ्घ्ग्भ has four festivals during the year, one on the fullmoon day of Ashwin, one on the full moon day during the sacred month of Guṛā, one at the time of the Paniḍhāna during Guṛā, and one in Baisakha. The lineage deity of the साṅ्घ्ग्भ is 'Yogāmbara,' now residing at Siddhi Pukhu but brought there from Kuṭā बाहिः in Patan. The बाहिः has no income.

According to the members of the साṅ्घ्ग्भ of this बाहिः they were originally Sakyas attached to Paśū बाहिः. Their ancestor who founded this बाहिः was a priest of Mahāmāṇḍjuśrī, a deity or an image of the deity, whom they call Lasa-pa. They do not know where this image was situated, but because of his great fame as a pandit and pujarī, one of the last Malla kings by royal fiat had him raised to the status of a Vajracarya. He was given the Ācāluyegu and then founded this बाहिः where his descendants have continued to reside and receive their initiations.

Since he was a devotee of Mahāmāṇḍjuśrī he named the बाहिः Mahāmāṇḍjuśrī and set up an image of Mahāmāṇḍjuśrī or Mahāvairocana as the kwāpa-ḍya of the बाहिः. There are no inscriptions in the courtyard. The sole reference to this बाहिः comes from a manuscript copied in N.S. 1017. It was copied at the behast of three sons of a lady from Mahābhujavraj Mahāvihāra in Kuṭañḍandau Tole in Bhaktapur. The names of the sons were Swyambhū Vajra, Surata Vajra, and Sweta Vajra. Though contemporary informants and Samyak Ratna have given the name of the बाहिः as Mahābhujavraj or Mahāmāṇḍjuśrī, the manuscript gives Mahābhujavraj.

13. येन बाहिः — याङ्गलावर्ण महाभिहारा [13]  
Kuṭañḍandau Tole

This is merely the remains of a totally ruined and abandoned बाहिः in the northern part of Kuṭañḍandau Tole. The buildings round the courtyard have all crumbled and there is nothing left but a caitya in a sunken and water-filled courtyard. The site of the kwāpa-ḍya shrine is still recognizable but nothing remains. Several informants told me that the shrine was originally a बाहिः. One, however, claimed that it belonged to a family from Paśū बाहिः [10] but was abandoned after the earthquake of 1934. There are no inscriptions here and nothing is known about the foundation or history of this बाहिः.

14. Ka Ma बाहिः — ज्येष्ठावर्ण महाभिहारा [14]  
Inaco Tole

At the present time this is nothing but a caitya set into a sort of niche off the road in Inaco Tole. It is, however, called a बाहिः and informants say that originally there was a बाहिः here which was a branch of Inaco बाहिः [6]. People from Inaco बाहिः still perform the daily rituals here each morning, and once a year on the fullmoon day of Kartik they gather here for a homa pūjā. Nothing is known about the foundation of this बाहिः, but it is surely a fairly recent foundation, i.e. within the past two hundred years.

15. Tadhichek बाहिः — Caturtbrahma Mahāvihāra* [15]  
Layaku Tole

This बाहिः, which lies just off the area of the Bhaktapur Darbar, is the only example of a complete बाहिः structure left in Bhaktapur. It is one continuous building around a small courtyard. Opposite the main entrance is the shrine
of the kuṇḍā-dvā, who is Pādmapāṇi Lokeśvara. The entrance is marked by two stone lions and surmounted by a new torana of Sahasrabhūja Lokeśvara. The old torana showing the same form of Lokeśvara has been placed over the entryway to the complex. In the northwest corner of the complex is a shrine of Dīpankara, one of the five brothers of Bhaktapur. The tile roof is supported by a series of carved struts depicting twenty-four forms of Lokeśvara, the five Buddhas and forms of Heruka. In the courtyard is one stone caitya, a small caitya on a pillar and a mandala.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of eighty two households of Vajracayyas, comprising between five and six hundred members. It is difficult to get accurate figures as many members of the saṅgha have moved away from Bhaktapur and take little active part in the life of the saṅgha other than to bring their sons back here for initiation. The customary rituals are performed morning and evening. Terms of service are by rotation through lineages in an incredibly complicated system which has arisen since so many have moved away and others have assumed their rights and duties. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha. The saṅgha has one elder. The annual festival takes place each year on the third day of the dark half of the month of Māgh (four days after the fullmoon of Paus). During the sacred month of Guṇḍā they recite hymns. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Gūhyēśvarī, now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu but brought there from the shrine of Gūhyēśvarī at Pasūpatināth. According to informants the saṅgha at one time had a considerable income but this has dwindled to one mūrī of paddy. (This statement is suspect, as there is keen competition among the members of the saṅgha to serve as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kuṇḍā-dvā and the shrine of Dīpankara. This may be because of the popularity of Dīpankara whose shrine is frequented by a lot of people who leave offerings, but one suspects that there is still a considerable income accruing to the dya-pālās.)

The history of this foundation is fairly well documented. The oldest date in the complex is N.S. 810 which is found on one of the struts. There was in the possession of Asakaji Vajracarya, one of the members of the saṅgha, a copy of the Pañcarākasā which notes that the ancestor of the members of the saṅgha came to Bhaktapur from Takṣa Bāhā in Kathmandu in the time of King Rāya Malla. This man, called Jīva Candra, was the son of Surata Vajra. The date given in the manuscript is N.S. 811, the fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Aswin, but it is not clear from Samyak Ratna's account whether this is the date of the manuscript or whether, this date refers to Jīva Candra's coming to Bhaktapur. Rāya Malla was one of the sons of Yakṣa Malla who ruled jointly with his brothers and a cousin after the death of his father in N.S. 802. He was the last surviving member of the group and continued to rule alone from N.S. 816 until his death in 824 or 825. What is clear is that Jīva Candra came to Bhaktapur in the time of Rāya Malla and that the present community dates from that time. Whether he founded a new bāhā or was invited to take over an existing but abandoned foundation is not known, but there is nothing here to suggest an earlier date. The document in a later note gives the following genealogy for other members of the saṅgha some of whom are known from inscriptions: Surata Vajra, his son Jīva Candra (who went to Bhaktapur), his son Jaya Ratna Muni, his son Jaya Deva, his son Jaya Ratna. Whether or not this Surata Vajra is the famous Surata Vajra of Kathmandu is not known. Informants in Kathmandu assign a much earlier date to him, but there is no firm evidence for any of these early dates. It is not impossible that Surata Vajra indeed belonged to this period. It is evident from extant evidence that various repairs and renovations have been carried out over the years. The old torana bears the date N.S. 739 and a torana over the western entryway bears the date N.S. 775 and the name Jayadeva Vajracarya. In N.S. 873 one Sri Vajracarya Tawadhika and his family repaired the bāhā. In this inscription he also published regulations forbidding the keeping of goats and ducks in the bāhā, the weaving of yarn and the cleaning of pots and pans. (The prohibition needs renewing.) A copper-plate inscription of N.S. 878 throws light on some curious social customs. Ihi ceremonies, initiation ceremonies ('cudākarma') and ear piercing ceremonies should not be performed in Bhaktapur without the permission of the Kumārī ('Kumārīmā'). It seems that some were performing the ceremonies without calling the Kumārī (and hence without giving her the customary stipend). The inscription forbids anyone, even the king and the gods, from performing such ceremonies without informing the Kumārī. If anyone contravenes this regulation
314. Tadhiceň Bähä [15]

315. Tekhāco Bähā [16]
he is to be fined. Rs.100. The bāhā was last renovated by HMG in A.D.1971, at which time the new torana was made and consecrated.


All that remains of the bāhā is a small kuśapā-dya shrine in the corner of a rectangular courtyard. The entrance to the shrine is marked by two stone lions and the carved doorway is surmounted by a torana depicting Aksobhya Buddha flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyayāna. The facade on either side of the doorway has been plastered, whitewashed and painted with various figures. The kuśapā-dya is a standing image of Buddha showing the visvavākyaraṇa mudrā, facing north. In front of the shrine is one caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of six households with twenty initiated members who call themselves Bauddhacarya, but who take only the Barechuyegu initiation. The initiations are performed here. The usual rituals are performed each morning by the members of the saṅgha. There is no official dya-pālā, but somebody always does the pūjā. There are two annual festivals for the members of the saṅgha, one on the fullmoon day of Āśvin and the other on the fullmoon day during the sacred month of Gubla. Barechuyegu initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the saṅgha, and the saṅgha has one elder. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is Gūhyēśvari now worshipped at Siddhi Pukhu but brought there from the shrine near Paśupati. This fact might indicate that this community is a branch of the community at Tadhičheṇ Bāhā [15] and therefore ultimately from Takše Bāhā in Kathmandu. Little is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā, and there is nothing here to suggest a great antiquity.

17. Tathu Bahī -- Jayakirti Mahāvihāra* [17] Itācheṇ Tole

This very large complex is one of the best examples of the bāhā architecture left in the Valley. Some efforts have been made in recent years to renovate the structure, but at the present time the building houses a school, which does not augur well for its long-term preservation. The two storied structure running right round the quadrangle has open rooms on the ground floor and an overhanging veranda on the top storey behind which are a series of open rooms, some screened with lattice work. The shrine of the kuśapā-dya is marked by two stone lions and a fine carved doorway. The cella, which houses a standing, clay image of Buddha showing the visvavākyaraṇa mudrā, is so situated that it is possible to circumambulate it. The shrine also contains interesting images of Lokeśvara and the Buddha. The entire roof is tiled and there is a simple, plastered finial above the shrine. In the courtyard directly in front of the shrine is one large caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of thirty Sakyas, none of whom any longer actually live here. The daily rituals are performed morning and evening for six months by these Sakyas and for six months by the Vajracaryas of Tadhičheṇ Bāhā [15]. The saṅgha is governed by one elder and the only annual festival is at the time of the festival of the five Dīpāṅkaras, one of whom is housed at this bāhā. The Sakyas who are attached to this bāhā do not perform their initiations here but at either Tadhičheṇ Bāhā or at Takhacheṇ Bāhā. Informants claimed that they used to perform the initiations here but stopped doing so as people generally consider those initiated in a bāhā to be inferior to those initiated in a bāhā. Their lineage deity is Dhammadhātu Vāgīśvara whose shrine is located at this bāhā. The bāhā as such has no income.

Little is known about the history and foundation of this bāhā. There is an oral tradition which says that both this bāhā and the one nearby (Kutu Bāhī) were built by people of Tadhičheṇ Bāhā and then turned over to Sakyas to ensure the performance of the prescribed rituals. The fact that the Vajracaryas from Tadhičheṇ Bāhā still perform the nītya pūjā here for six months of the year tends to confirm this tradition. Furthermore, in the year N.S. 794, when the bāhā had fallen into ruin, it was renovated by Śrī Vajračārya Jayaratna, his three wives and his sons Śrī Vajracarya Jaya Muni, Śrī Vajracarya Jayananda and others. Repairs had been completed when on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Paṇḍu a homa ritual was performed and a golden banner was offered. This information is contained in an inscription near the door of the kuśapā-dya shrine, and it also gives the Sanskrit name of the bāhā--Jayakirti
316. Tathu Bahí [17]

317. Kutu Bahí [18]
There is one brief reference to this bahi from a thyasaphū dated N.S. 832. The document was written by one Vajracarya Jayakalyāṇa and it mentions Thatwa Bāhāla Cheṃ. However, it is not clear from the reference whether this Vajracarya lived there or the book was written for use there.


Like its companion, Thatu Bahi, this complex is an example of the bahi architecture, but only the entryway and the section of the quadrangle containing the kuśpa-dya shrine have been preserved. This shrine is almost identical to that of Thatu Bahi, the upper storey being different only in that it has wooden lattice work running along the edge of the veranda. The kuśpa-dya is an image of Aksobhya Buddha, facing east. In the courtyard is a single caitya. In recent years some renovations have taken place, and recently some Theravāda Bhikṣus have taken up residence here.

This bahi has no separate sarīgha of its own but has always been looked after by the Sakyas of Ni Bāhā [2]. It seems to have been built by Vajracaryas from Tadhicheṃ Bāhā [15], who in turn asked these people to assume the responsibility of the usual rituals. No initiations are performed here. There is one annual festival on the full moon day of Kārtik, however this is not the busā ṭām but the annual festival of the ārati gūthi. During the sacred month of Gūḍhī hymns are recited. The only income left is Rs. 20 per month which comes as rent for the land outside the bahi which they have let as a bus park.

According to an inscription inside the shrine of the kuśpa-dya this bahi was built in the year N.S. 868 and consecrated on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Phālguṇ. It seems that it was constructed by Vajracaryas from Tadhicheṃ Bāhā. Another inscription of the same year speaks of the offering of a golden kālaṅga for the roof. I have serious doubts about the tradition of the foundation of these two bahis by the Vajracaryas of Tadhicheṃ Bāhā, especially in regard to this foundation. N.S. 868 (just a few years before the fall of Bhaktapur to Prithvinārayan Śah) seems entirely too late for the foundation of this or any bahi. I suspect that both of these bahis are much more ancient foundations which had been abandoned by their saṅghas, perhaps originally celibate monks. Later the abandoned foundations were repaired by the prosperous and influential Vajracaryas of Tadhicheṃ Bāhā who then provided for the regular performance of the prescribed rituals.

19. Gacchi Bāhā -- Lamgaled Tole

According to informants there was once a bāhā at this site which now has only an old public water tap and two large, unusual lions. Nothing remains of the bāhā, not even a caitya and the area adjoining the water tap is occupied by a high school.


At Hanūmān Ghāṭ below the city of Bhaktapur are an array of ancient images and ruins, some Hindu some Buddhist. Among these are a seated image of Aksobhya Buddha over six feet in height and several other Buddha images plus the remains of a caitya. According to tradition there was once a vihāra here known as Sakravarṇa Mahāvihāra. Nothing is known about the history of this foundation or when it ceased to function as a vihāra. There are no references to the Sanskrit name in published inscriptions or manuscripts.

21. (Thomi Bāhā) [21] Kamal Pokhari

This is the place which informants claim was the original site of the present Thomi Bāhā. There remains a large pond in a well-kept enclosed area. To the side of the pond are several Buddhist images. Nothing further is known about the history of this site.

22. Nāsamanā Bāhā [22] Nāsamanā Tole

A bāhā is listed on some published lists at this site. At the present time there is nothing here but a stone platform used for rituals and for the showing of dramas and dances. Even the name Nāsamanā Bāhā is unknown to most people in Bhaktapur today. Only one old man, over eighty, even recalled that the place was known as a bāhā and he says that, if there was a bāhā at this site, all traces had long disappeared before his time.
318. Khwanhe Khusī Bāhā [20]
Image of Aksobhya at Site of Former Vihār

319. Reputed Former Site of Toṁ Bāhā
This is not a bāḥā in any sense but a nani with a golden caitya in the centre. I mention it here only because so many informants insisted that it was a bāḥā. The courtyard is inhabited by people from Pasū Bāḥā and is their private nani, but not a bāḥā as it has never had a kuṭā-puṣṭa shrine nor a separate saṅgha as such.
Thimi

Thimi, the fourth largest town of the Valley, is situated in the centre of the Valley between Patan-Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. Because of its position it served as a bulwark between Bhaktapur and Patan-Kathmandu during the late Malla period when there were often battles among the three kingdoms of the Valley. Legend says that because the people of Thimi so successfully defended Bhaktapur, the kings of Bhaktapur called them 'chemi', meaning 'capable people'. The official name of the village in those days was Madhyapura or Madhyapurī and the common Nevari name was Themi. According to a vamsāvallī preserved in Thimi the town was founded in N.S.634 by the king of Bhaktapur, Survarṇa Malla. Land grants and land deeds from Thimi have been found from as early as N.S.670, but there is at least one Licchavi inscription in the village. So there was some sort of settlement there in ancient days. Thimi at the present time has nine bāhās, and though Thimi's main contact seems to have been with Bhaktapur, all of the members of the bāhās of Thimi, except one, trace their origins to Patan where their lineage deity still resides. There are four images of Dīpāṅkara preserved in Thimi, one each at Yāchin Bāhā, Ta Bāhā, Dathu Bāhā, Jiswān Bāhā, and Pāṭī Bāhā. The one at Yāchin Bāhā is considered to be the main one.

1. Ta Bāhā -- Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra [1] 
Maru Tole

Architecturally this is not a bāhā but a free-standing temple of Lokesvara which stands almost in the middle of the street in Maru Tole. The lower storey of the temple, which faces north, consists of a small tiled sanctum surrounded by a wide veranda enclosed by a railing surmounted by prayer wheels. Steps lead up to the veranda, and over the veranda is suspended a torana showing the Buddha Amitābha flanked by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. In the outer circle of the torana, instead of the usual garuda or ceppu, is set a caitya with the makaras below it. There is a single door into the sanctum surmounted by a torana showing the Buddha (Amitābha) flanked by the Dharma (Prajñāpāramitā) and the Saṅgha (Śadaksari Lokesvara). Round the sanctum are a series of pictures of one hundred and eight forms of Avalokiteśvara. These pictures erected in the summer of 1976 and commissioned by local people, were painted by an artist from Bhaktapur in imitation of the similar set at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu. The kuṣṭādyā is a small, red-faced image of Padmapaṇī Lokesvara less than a foot high and almost identical to the one in Bhaktapur. Informants say that he is also called Matsyendranāth by some people, but they do not use that name themselves.

There is one large bell on the veranda dated N.S.1050. Both roofs are tiled. The upper roof is supported by short, unpainted struts depicting various deities, most of them two-armed, dancing figures. The second roof is supported by decorated struts interspersed with wooden lattice work. The brick work between the two roofs appears quite old, the rest of the temple has been renovated in recent times. The ceramic tiles on the lower storey were put up in 2028 B.S. There is a small four-faced shrine directly in front of the temple which was repaired in the same year. Set into the south face of this shrine is a six-inch high stone image of Padmapaṇī Lokesvara which appears quite old. On the east face is a four-armed image of Mañjuśrī; on the north face is an inscription which is almost entirely illegible, but not
320. Ta Bāhā  [1]

321. Dīgu Bāhā  [2]
older than the late Malla period. The present temple is entirely free-standing, set almost into the middle of the street. If it ever formed part of a proper bāhā compound it is impossible to see the traces of it now.

The sangha consists of one hundred and twenty five Vajracaryas from four lineages and now divided into thirty households. None of them actually live at the shrine but are scattered in houses in this section of the town. The members of the sangha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the temple and the terms of service pass through the four lineages in turn. The sangha is governed by four elders (thāypā). According to informants this is the original bāhā of Thimi and all of the others, including those which are now main bāhās, are off-shoots of this bāhā. Consequently, this bāhā has a body of four elders called thāypā; at each of the other bāhās the sangha is governed by a single elder called thakālī. Both the Barchu-yegu and the Ācāluyegu initiations are performed here for the members of the sangha, and though members of the other main bāhās now perform their initiations in their own bāhā, they retain the right to be initiated here if they wish.

The annual festival of the bāhā is observed on the day of Siṃthi Nakha, the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha, and is connected with the worship of Avalokiteśvara. Each year on the first day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha the annual bathing ceremony is performed for the image in his own temple by the members of the sangha of Ta Bāhā. The image is then shut up in the temple until the fourth day of the fortnight when it is taken in procession on a khat up to Jīṣṭhā Bāhā [7]. There it is shut up in the bāhā for two days during which time the 'gupha rākha' ceremony and the repainting are done. On the sixth day of the fortnight, the image is reconsecrated by the Vajracaryas of Jīṣṭhā Bāhā who perform this duty as a hereditary right. On the eighth day is the annual proc-eSSION. Early in the morning after the usual morning worship, the image is set up in a rest house outside Jīṣṭhā Bāhā. Devotees come throughout the day to pay their respects and in the late afternoon the image is put on a khat and taken in solemn procession back to its own temple. The festival is one of the principal festivals of the village of Thimi, but does not attract people from outside the village as do the festivals of the Red and White Lokesvāras from Patan and Kathmandu.

The lineage deity of the members of the sangha is 'Yogāmbra' now worshipped in a shrine directly behind the temple of Lokesvāra but 'brought' there from Kuś Bāhā in Patan. The sangha used to have five ropanis of land from which they got some income, but this has been lost and they get only three muris of paddy now.

Little is known about the foundation of this bāhā, but the sangha certainly came from Patan and it is probable that they brought with them the image of Lokesvāra and established his worship and festival in Thimi. The earliest dated inscription at the site is dated N.S.610 at which time a gôthi was established. However, if this is indeed the oldest bāhā in Bhaktapur, its foundation must pre-date the earliest date we have for Digu Bāhā [2] which is N.S.696.


Digu Bāhā is on the east side of the main road of Thimi north of the Lokesvāra Temple. Of the original buildings only the shrine of the kuśā-dya remains. It is a typical bāhā shrine with the entrance to the shrine marked by two small lions. The ground floor of the shrine has a carved lattice doorway surmounted by a torana of Nāmasangiti surmounted by Vajrasattva and dated N.S.698. The doorway is flanked by two smaller windows. The kuśā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has a five-fold window flanked by two smaller windows. The windows are surmounted by another torana depicting Mahākāl and Vajrasattva. Above this is a partial, overhanging roof supported by six plain struts and above this three carved windows. The tile roof is supported by six more plain struts. The whole of the facade has been plastered and painted white though most of the paint on the ground floor has disappeared. In the courtyard is one caitya, the main part of which appears very old, and one mandala.

The sangha of this bāhā consists of two hundred and fifty Vajracaryas now divided into seventy households. According to informants these people are descendants of one lineage from Ta Bāhā [1]. The members of the sangha take turns performing the daily rituals morning and evening. Terms of service are by seniority of initiation. Both Barchu-yegu and Ācāluyegu
initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the sangha. The sangha has one elder. There is no longer an annual festival at the bāhā. The only time there is a festival for the sangha is at the time of the initiation ceremonies which are held at irregular intervals. However, even this has been considerably simplified. Originally those whose sons were being initiated had to feed the entire sangha. Now they feed only their own family members plus four men each who come with the three Dipāṅkaras from the other bāhās. The lineage deity of the sangha is 'Yogāmbara' worshipped at the shrine behind the Lokesvara Temple but 'brought' from Kuśa Bāhā in Patan. According to informants the sangha used to have one hundred ropanis of land, but this has now been lost. At the time of the Bahidya (showing of the gods) during the sacred month of Guṇi they still exhibit two images of Dipāṅkara plus one of a bhikṣu; and people from outside bring five other Buddha images. They also chant hymns during the month of Guṇi.

The sangha of this bāhā surely came from Patan as their lineage deity is 'Yogāmbara' from Kuśa Bāhā in Patan. When this migration took place is no longer remembered, but the earliest date we have for the existence of the bāhā is N.S.696 at which time one Tulāchhara Jitara E. Asan Tole (śri asanamandapasthāna) in Kathmandu invited the Dīpāṅkara, the Ṣhavira and the entire sangha of this bāhā to the Samyak ceremony held on Thursday the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra in that year. The name of the bāhā is given in this inscription as Guṇakirti Mahāvihāra in Theni, Madhaya-puri-sthāna. Hence it is obvious that the foundation of the bāhā pre-date this time. Another inscription at the bāhā dated N.S.808 records repairs made to the bāhā by one Dandapaṇi and his family. This Dandapaṇi figures largely in the history of Thimi and this bāhā. His name appears as a witness in sixteen extant land grants between the years N.S. 757 and 832 (a total of 65 years!). In these documents his name appears as Śrī Vajracarya Dandapaṇi Vande.

Informants in Thimi say that the descendants of Dandapaṇi constituted one of the two lineages at this bāhā. At the time of the invasion of Prithvinārayan Shah, Dandapaṇi's descendants sided with Prithvinārayan and the other lineage sided with the King of Bhaktapur, Ranajit Malla. Because of this, after Prithvinārayan had conquered Bhaktapur the lineage which had supported Ranajit Malla was expelled from Thimi. Some of those expelled moved to Kathmandu and still live in Nara Devī. These continue to the present day to return to Dīgū Bāhā in Thimi for the initiation of their sons, but take no other part in the life of the sangha. Some of the members of the expelled lineage simply moved out of the bāhā, built another house behind it and performed their initiations there. This remained the situation until 1954 at which time they were received back into the sangha. Now their initiations are performed in Dīgū Bāhā as of old. This bāhā has four branches.

Capāco Tole

Little is left of this small bāhā which is situated just off the main road in Capāco Tole. One can see the remains of what was once an enclosed courtyard, but the surrounding buildings have all fallen into ruins, and all that is left of the shrine of the kuṇāpā-dya is a small brick enclosure in a state of almost complete ruin with a dilapidated door and no roof. Inside the shrine is an image of Akṣobhya facing west and four other images, one of Ganesha, one of Mahākāl, one of a bohisattva and one of Tārā. In the courtyard is a single caitya. There is no torana over the doorway, though informants say that there was one a few years ago.

The sangha of this bāhā consists of a few families of Vajracaryas who live near the bāhā and take turns performing the usual rituals morning and evening. They are all members of the sangha of Dīgū Bāhā where their initiations take place. This small sangha has one elder who, in name at least, looks after the affairs of the bāhā. There is no annual feast, but the sangha still has 'a little' income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā, and there are no inscriptions found within the complex.

Capāco Tole

Like the preceding bāhā this branch bāhā is also in a state of ruin. All that remains is a fairly recently constructed kuṇāpā-dya shrine just off the main road inside of a low wall. The door to the shrine is located on the ground

323. Nhu Bāhā [5]
floor, and the first storey has three windows, all without any ornamentation. To the right of the shrine door is another door leading to a well behind, and to the left is another plain doorway leading to a stairway which goes to the living quarters above. The shrine of the kuwāpā-dya now houses a small image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, but informants say that this is not the original kuwāpā-dya image which was an image of the Buddha. The members of the saṅgha of this bāhā are all members of the saṅgha of Dīgu Bāhā where they still perform all their initiations. For the most part they seem to have abandoned this branch. The daily rituals are no longer performed and there are no elders. However, they still do celebrate an annual festival on the full moon day of the month of Āśvin (Kāti Punhi). The bāhā has no income at the present time.

Nothing is known about the foundation or history of this bāhā and the only dated inscription within the complex bears the date N.S.983.


This branch bāhā which is situated in an enclosed courtyard, is still in a fair state of repair. The street entrance is marked to two very large lions. The shrine of the kuwāpā-dya has a carved doorway flanked by two prayer wheels set into small windows. There is no torana above the door, but there is a fresco depicting the five Buddhas plus Vajrasattva and another deity. The kuwāpa-dya is an image of Akṣobhya facing west. The first storey has the usual five-fold window flanked by two small windows. The third storey has several small, plain windows. The tile roof is supported by several plain struts. In the courtyard is one small caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of a few families actually living within this complex and who perform the daily rituals. They are, however, all members of the saṅgha of Dīgu Bāhā where they perform all of their initiations. The affairs of this small branch are looked after by one elder. At the time of the showing of the gods they still exhibit one image of Dipankara. The annual festival is observed on the full moon day of the month of Asvin. The bāhā has no income.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā. There is one inscription next to the door of the shrine dated N.S.832 which commemorates the setting up of several deities and may mark the foundation of the bāhā.

d. Paṭi Bāhā -- Paṭi Vihāra (?) [9]

This is an abandoned branch of Dīgu Bāhā. All that remains is a caitya in a grassy, wooded area with a small building behind it which has the appearance of an enclosed rest house (paṭi) and which now houses an image of Aksobhya facing west. The saṅgha of this bāhā was one family from Dīgu Bāhā. The original bāhā fell into ruins and they abandoned the site returning to Dīgu Bāhā. What was left was turned over to a Theravāda Bhikṣu who now lives here and conducts his own services there. There are no inscriptions at the site and nothing is known about the history or foundation of the bāhā. The Sanskrit name given sounds suspiciously like one thought up on the spot to 'help' the researcher.


Kuti Cīthā

This bāhā consists of a well preserved kuwāpā-dya shrine in a tiny courtyard just off the main road of Thimi. The ground floor shrine has carved doorway, and above this the five Buddhas are depicted in fresco. There is no torana. The kuwāpā-dya is Aksobhya facing north. The first storey has a triple window flanked by two small windows and on the facade near the windows is another fresco of Samantabhadra painted half white and half blue. The top floor has a single window and the whole is surmounted by a tile roof. In the courtyard is a single small caitya.

The saṅgha of this bāhā, though independent, has kept a close tie with Dīgu Bāhā [2]. The saṅgha consists of ten (of the seventy) households attached to Dīgu Bāhā. Though these people are counted among the members of Dīgu Bāhā they perform both the Barechuyegu and Aca- luyegu initiations here. The members take turns acting as dyā-pālas in the kuwāpa-dya shrine by rotation through the ten households, each household having a period of service of one and a half years. The saṅgha of this bāhā has one elder (thakāli). There is no longer an annual
festival of the the saṅgha, but a few people do
observe the festival in a private way. The
saṅgha has no income at the present time. As
with all of the these bāhās of Thimi, the lin-
dage deity of this saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara', now
residing behind the Lokēśvāra temple, but
brought there from Kuṅ Bāhā in Patan.

Nothing is known about the history or foun-
dation of this bāhā and there are no inscrip-
tions in the complex. Most probably the founda-
tion dates from the late Malla period, but at
the present time there is nothing to prove it.

Gādacā Tole

This bāhā which is just off the north end of
the main road of the village has preserved the
shrine of the kuwapā-dya only, the rest of the
buildings around the courtyard have fallen into
ruins. The ground floor of the shrine has a
latticed doorway flanked by two small windows.
On either side of the doorway are stone figures
of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. There is no
torana. The kuwapā-dya is an image of Akṣobhya
facing north. The first storey has the usual
five-fold window flanked by two small windows.
The top floor has but a single window in the
centre of the facade. The tile roof is support-
ed by four plain struts. The kuwapā-dya is an
image of Akṣobhya facing north. In the centre
of the courtyard is a single caitya, the top
part of which appears to be very old.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of four
households of Vajrācaryas now comprising only
10 initiated members. These take turns serving
in the temple by rotation through the four
households. The term of service for each house-
hold is one full year. The members of the
saṅgha perform both the Barechuyegu and Aćāluyegu
initiations here for their sons. There is a
single elder who oversees the affairs of the
bāhā. There is no longer any annual festival;
but it used to be held on the first day of the
month of Baisākha. A feast is held for all of
the members of the saṅgha only at the time of
initiations which are held at irregular inter-
vals. They still observe the annual showing of
the gods at which they exhibit an image of
Dīpaṅkara and a few other images brought by
members of the saṅgha. The lineage deity of
the saṅgha is 'Yogāmbara', residing at the Lokē-
śvara Temple but brought from Kuṅ Bāhā in Patan.

The Vajrācaryas of this bāhā serve as the
priests for Ta Bāhā [1] and the image of Avalo-
kītesvara which is enshrined at that bāhā. At
the time of the annual festival the image is
brought to Jiswaṅ Bāhā after the bathing. There
the image is reconsecrated and the daśa karma
rituals performed. The procession then begins
at Jiswaṅ Bāhā and ends at Ta Bāhā. At the
present time the bāhā has no income.

Little is known about the history and foun-
dation of this bāhā. It is one of the oldest in
Thimi, surely, but the only extant inscription
is dated N.S.834 at which time one Śrī Vajrācā-
rya Biradeva, offered a new caitya and ornaments
for the same. KTMR says that the bāhā was
built in the sixteenth century but gives no
evidence for this.

5. Gunga Cibāhā -- Navacaitya Vihāra [8]
Pāco Tole

At the northern end of the main street
of Thimi is a large caitya set just off the road
to the east. The main caitya has a number of
small caityas set round it and just off the
south east corner of the area of the caitya is a
small shrine which houses an image of Buddha in
dhyāna mudrā. This is the kuwapā-dya of a small
daṭa which resides here and considers this
their bāhā. However, it is not connected with
the other bāhās of Thimi nor is it a main bāhā
but in effect a private branch bāhā of Akhan
Bāhā in Bhaktapur. The three families, with
eight initiated Vajrācarya members, are reported
to have moved to Thimi from Bhaktapur only about
thirty years ago, and still return to Bhaktapur
where they perform their initiations at Akhan
Bāhā. These take turns serving as dya-pāḷas in
the shrine here, but this is really the extent of
the activities of the saṅgha. There is no
annual feast and no showing of the gods; but
they do recite hymns during the sacred month of
eṣubhā. The bāhā has no income. Their lineage
deity is at Sankhu Vajroyogini as is that of all
the members of the saṅgha of Akhan Bāhā in
Bhaktapur.

Sankhu

The village of Sankhu lies at the eastern-
most edge of the Valley of Kathmandu at the end
of a small valley which is drained by the Sali-
nadi River. The village has a population of
328. Guṇāga Cibāhā [8]

329. Guṇā Bāhā, Sankhu
Enshrined Caitya in the Foreground,
Shrine of Vajrayogini Behind
Gum Bāhā is situated on a hill north of the village of Sankhu and is one of the most ancient Buddhist sites in the Valley. Today the complex is most commonly known as the shrine of Vajrayogini (or Khaḍgayogini), a female tantric deity whose shrine has been, since medieval times, the main object of veneration at this site.

One approaches the bāhā along a motorable road leading out of the village to the foot of the hill where one proceeds on foot up a long series of flagstone steps. Partway up the steps is an important shrine of Bhairava known as Bhairava Thān, where Bhairava is worshipped in the form of a large triangular stone. Opposite this shrine is a large pot-bellied image of Ganesh, and to the side of Ganesh is a rest house where it was formerly customary to leave one's shoes before proceeding to the holy shrine of Vajrayogini. About half way between this shrine and the top of the hill one encounters a large stūpa. It is at this stūpa that many of the people who come to Sankhu to worship their lineage deity perform their worship. Upon reaching the top one comes to the temple complex, roughly a square plan and having two roofs, the upper one of gilded copper and the lower one of corrugated iron sheeting. The ground floor of the temple is entirely gilded and the central one partially gilded. The top roof is surmounted by a golden gajāra. Gilt copper halamos hang from the eaves and long metal streamers reach from the roof down to the door of the sanctum. All of the roofs are supported by carved wooden struts, a total of forty eight in all. The door to the sanctum opens to the south and is surmounted by a magnificent torana of gilt copper with cast figures set into it. The central figure of the torana is a female figure with one face and eight arms standing in a dancing posture and treading on two prostrate figures. Her face shows the third eye and she wears a crown and a garland of skulls. The figure is fully clothed. Her right hands hold a sword, the tarjani mudrā, a vajra, and a chopper. Her left hands hold a lotus bud on a stem, a bow, an elephant goad and a skull bowl. Just who this deity, and the similar image in the shrine, represents is problematic. She is usually known as Vajrayogini, but more knowledgeable people will tell you that her is not Vajrayogini, but Khaḍgayogini since she holds a sword (khadga) in her top-most,

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raised right hand. Vajrayogini, as in the image at Pharping, holds a vajra in this position. However, she is not a yogini at all. There is a deity known as Vajrayogini, but like all yoginis she is always portrayed entirely naked. Knowledgeable Vajracaryas will identify this image as Ugra Tara, or a form of the Blue Tārā. Iconographically this comes much closer than anything else. However, even this identification is not without question as the Blue Tārā is a particularly fierce manifestation of Tārā and always has a terrifying aspect. This image has a very pleasant or passive mien. Furthermore, the main image in the temple is painted red and not blue. All that can be said in the end is that she is Ugra Tārā, a Nepalese tantric form of Tārā, probably based on an iconographic source that has been lost to us. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya identifies the image in the temple as 'Ugratārā, more popularly known as Mahācīnā-Tārā, which is believed to have been carried there [to the temple at Sankhu] by Bengali priests from a place of the same name in the District of Dacca, about A.D.1350, when the Muhammadens led their victorious armies over Eastern Bengal.10

On the same level as these two temples is a rest house just to the west of the temple of Vajrayogini, now taken over by the police since some attempted thefts a few years ago. North of the enshrined caitya are four small caityas which Slusser has dated from the fifth to the eighth centuries A.D.11 The area also contains a lion on a pillar and several large bells. There is also a natural cave just off the area of the temples, one of several in the area.

On the north side of the area of these two temples is a stairway leading up to another level. As one goes to the upper level on the right is a small two-storied building where a solitary Newar, Mahāyāna monk lives. The upper level beyond this building is an enclosed, paved courtyard with a sunken fountain in the centre and surrounded by rest houses and residential quarters. The building immediately to the left as one enters this courtyard is the bāhā residence proper, though no one any longer lives here except for the current dyapaḷā who must stay here for the term of his service. This building also houses some of the finest treasures of ancient Buddhist art. On the ground floor is a small room; to the left as you enter is a large gilt copper caitya about five feet tall. To the left of this is a colossal cast copper or bronze head of the Buddha. Since the image is partially buried it is impossible to tell whether it is just a head or if in fact the rest of the image is also buried there. Slusser dates this piece to the fifth century.12 On the floor above this is another shrine which contains a duplicate image of Vajrayogini and two other outstanding pieces. The first is a solid cast bronze image of the Buddha, standing and showing the viśvūkāraṇa mudrā. The image stands about fifty-two inches tall; this image Slusser has dated to the eleventh century. For some now unknown reason this image is refers to as 'The Blacksmith’s Queen'. Near this is a standing image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara, again of solid bronze and standing about three feet high. It is very similar to the four images found in Kuā Bāhā in Patan and Slusser dates it to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

The saṅgha of Gum Bāhā now consists of four lineages of Vajracaryas and one of Bauddhacaryas (=Sakyas) with a total initiated membership of one hundred twenty five. All of these live in the village of Sankhu, though the current dyapala must live at Gum Bāhā for the term of his service. Originally the saṅgha consisted of four lineages of Vajracaryas and three of Bauddhacaryas, but two of the later lineages have either died out or moved away. The saṅgha is governed by a body of five elders known as thayapa, all drawn from the four lineages of Vajracaryas. The Bauddhacaryas are not eligible for this honour. The elders are chosen by strict seniority of initiation, irrespective of lineages. The eldest of these also serves as the Cakreśvara. The members of the saṅgha, both Vajracaryas and Bauddhacaryas, serve as dyapaḷās in the kuāpa-dya shrine, i.e. in the shrine of the caitya, and in the shrine of Vajrayogini. Terms of service last for eight days and pass through the five lineages in turn. Within each lineage service passes by rotation through the households by a complicated system of reckoning resulting from the division of some families and the fact that other families have moved away or died out with their rights being assumed by others. There is no annual festival for the bāhā as such, though there are other annual observances. On the day of pānca dāna during the sacred month of Guḍā, the members of the saṅgha bring an image of Vasundhāra in procession down to the village of Sankhu and take it round the village. The five elders of the bāhā
go with the image in order of seniority and these five and the image of Vasundhāra are the first to receive the offerings of pancaśāna. The image of Vasundhāra is given five shares, the Cakresūra is given five shares, and all the others receive one share each. There is also an annual festival of Vajrayoginī on the fullmoon day of the month of Caitra. At this time the duplicate image of Vajrayoginī kept in the residence of the dya-pālas is put on a portable carrier and taken in procession. Barechuyegu initiations are performed at Guṃ Bāhā for all of the Vajracaryas and Baudhdacaryas living in Sankhu. The Barechuyegu initiations take place in front of the temple of the caitya; and the Sankhu. The Barechuyegu initiations take place to the temple complex proper; and the annual festival of sarigha (GU; Vajrayogini). Furthermore, whenever there is a parallel to the temple of Vajrayogini says he is going to Guṃ Bāhā (Guṃ Bāhā wane). The Sanskrit name is confirmed by a colophon reference in a manuscript that was copied there in N.S.654. There are also several other Malla period inscriptions within the complex, the most important of which is the inscription of N.S.775 of Pratāp Malla put up at the time the present Vajrayogini temple was constructed.

Guṃ Bāhā has eight branch bāhās, all of them in the village of Sankhu. However, they are all in a state of ruin, and in some cases the bāhā is nothing more than a memory preserved by an occasional pūjā at the site of the ruined bāhā. The nitya pūjā is no longer performed at any of these sites; however, during the sacred month of Guṇḍā, the five elders of Guṃ Bāhā do perform a nitya pūjā at each of these sites daily, and because of this it is possible to identify the sites. The eight are:

a. Thathu Bāhā -- Siddhikula Vihaara

All that remains of this bāhā is a courtyard which contains a large, recent caitya and two Licchavi caityas outside the confines of the courtyard. This courtyard and the one adjoining house several families of Vajracaryas, but there is no kuṇḍā-dya shrine any longer.

b. Ducheṅ Bāhā -- Henākara Vihaara

This consists in a small enclosed courtyard with one small caitya in the centre. Several families of Vajracaryas live here but there is no kuṇḍā-dya shrine. Informants said that one of the Vajracaryas does occasionally perform the nitya pūjā at the caitya.

c. Waṅ Bāhā -- Dharmacakra Vihaara

Only a caitya and a weed-covered mound mark the site of this former bāhā. Informants say
that there was a bāhā complex at the site of the mound.

d. Opi Bāhā -- Vajracakra Vihāra

   Salkha Tole

   The site of this bāhā is marked by a small Buddha image set between two rather recent buildings. There is a bit of a depression in the ground near the statue and it is here that bāhā pūjā is performed.

e. Sui Bāhā -- Dharmacātu Vihāra

   Dugā Hiti Tole

   At this site there is still a small enclosed compound with a small enclosure in the southeast corner which houses an image of Buddha in bhūmisparśa mudrā and an image of a caitya. In the centre of this compound there used to be a small pond.

f. Na Bāhā -- Jñānacakra Vihāra

   Dugā Hiti Tole

   Nothing remains of this bāhā but five stones set into the pavement in a narrow alleyway between buildings. Informants say this is the site of a bāhā and that the five stones represent the five transcendent Buddhas.

g. Mansa Bāhā -- Jayañākara Vihāra

   Pukhulaci Tole

   The site of this former bāhā is now occupied by a dump located at the edge of a rice mill. There are no images or caityas to mark the site.

h. Ko Bāhā -- Guṇākara Vihāra

   Suna Tole

   The only thing that marks the site of this bāhā is a stone in the middle of a path. Near this site is an ancient water tap and informants say that they perform the bāhā pūjā near the water tap. Informants say that the image of the kuṭārā-baya was sold, but that some of the members of the former saṅgha still have some other images which they saved from the bāhā.

Banepa

Banepa is a large Newar village which lies just outside of the Valley to the east along the old trade route to Tibet. In Newārī the village is known as Bho or Bhonta. Its Sanskrit name is Vandepur. In the Malla period it was an important town and at one time was actually a separate kingdom, first breaking off from Bhaktapur and later being rejoined. There were originally at least two bāhās in Banepa, and perhaps three, but only one now remains functioning.

1. Nhū Bāhā -- Pārāvata Mahāvihāra

   Waku Tole

   This is the only surviving and functioning bāhā in Banepa. All that remains is a dilapidated shrine with an image of Aksobhya facing north. Over the shrine door is a torana showing the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. In front of the shrine is a single caitya and another image of Aksobhya.

   The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of three hundred ninety five Sakyas and thirty Vajracaryas. The present saṅgha actually consists of three or possibly four separate groups. First are those who are considered the original members of the saṅgha, the real Banepalis. Their lineage deity is 'Yogāmbara' which they say they brought from Itū Bhāhā in Kathmandu from which they originally came. They also say that the saṅgha continues to follow all the customs of Itū Bhāhā. All of these are Sakyas.

   A second group of Sakyas came to Banepa about sixty or seventy years ago from a nearby village. No one was able to identify the village. They had a bāhā in that village but it had fallen into ruins. When they came to Banepa they were accepted into the saṅgha of the Banepa bāhā and set up in its courtyard an image of Aksobhya which they brought from the village. Later they also built a caitya. Some thirty years ago one household of Vajracaryas came to Banepa from Sankhu. They were also accepted into the saṅgha of the Banepa bāhā and set up in its courtyard an image of Aksobhya which they brought from the village.

   At the present time all of these people are considered to constitute one unified saṅgha, but because of their different origins intermarriage is possible among the three groups. (Ordinarily intermarriage within a saṅgha is forbidden.) However, such marriages are rare as the Banepalis look down on the people who came from the village. At the present time all three groups worship the same lineage deity, but in four groups, in four slightly different places: one group comprising the original Banepalis, one group the Vajracaryas from Sankhu, one group the Sakyas from the
village', and one other household which worships separately for some now forgotten reason. Perhaps this is due to a long forgotten quarrel or perhaps this family also came from outside. The amalgamation of these groups into one sangha does not seem so strange if one recalls that the lineage deity of Itum Bāhā in Kathmandu, where the Banepalīs come from, is at Sankhu so they and the Vajracaryas from Sankha always had the same lineage deity. Perhaps this was also true of the people from 'the village'. The members of the sangha serve by turns as dyā-pālās in the shrine of the kuṭā-pāya, performing the usual rituals morning and evening. The term of service is three months, and four members of the sangha share each term of service, actually serving in the temple as convenience suits them. Both Barechuyegu and Ācāryayega initiations are performed here for the sons of the members of the sangha. The sangha is governed by a group of five elders chosen by strict seniority of the entire sangha irrespective of the origin of the various households. The annual festival occurs in the month of Maṅgāsa. They have no special observances during the month of Gūḍha other than the pañca dāna and the exhibition of a few images. The sangha still has a little income from their gūḍha lands. Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā other than the tradition that the original sangha came from Itum Bāhā in Kathmandu. The only inscription at the bāhā is dated N.S.840 and commemorates the offering of a saṅgha at the time of the pañca dāna in that year.

2. Banepa Bāhā -- Bhanakah Tole

There is one a bāhā in Banepa, but at the present time all that is left is one section of the original buildings with the bāhā shrine which is typical of the bāhā style. Over the doorway of the shrine is a torana showing the Buddha (Māhā-amitābha) flanked by the Dharma (Pratīyāparāmitā) and the Saṅgha (Ṣādaksāri Lokesvara). The kuṭā-pāya is an image of Akṣobhya facing east, but informants say that this is a recent image installed about eight years ago after the original was stolen. In the courtyard are two caityas.

The bāhā sangha has long since disappeared but the daily rituals are performed regularly by people from Nū Bāhā.

There were originally two inscriptions at this place. The first was dated N.S.677 and was almost completely illegible. This inscription is no longer in evidence. The second one dated N.S.718 commemorates the offering of a torana.

Panauti

Panauti is a village of about 2,700 situated south of Banepa on a triangular-shaped area of land between the Punyamatī and the Roshi Rivers. It was an important trade centre in former times and according to legend once had its own king. The Newari name of the Village is Panti and its Sanskrit name is Punyavatī Nagara. At the present time there are two bāhās in Panauti.

1. Pantiya Bāhā -- Dharma Dātū Mahāvīhāra [1]

Walā Cheṃ Tole

Architecturally this is not a bāhā but simply a large stūpa situated in an open expanse in the street in front of a temple of Brahma-pāṇi, which has no connection to the caitya. Perhaps there was a bāhā complex adjoining the stūpa at one time. Informants say that the kuṭā-pāya of their sangha is a small image of the Buddha set into the stūpa at the base of the harmika. At the present time there are no other structures or images at this site.

The sangha of this bāhā consists of one Vajracarya and sixty Baudhacaryas (= Sakyas). Many of the members of this sangha now live at Sankhu, a village some hours walk from here at the foot of the hill where the famous Namo Buddha stūpa is situated. Some members of the sangha have moved away from the village altogether. At the present time only six of the households of the sangha serve as dyā-pālās performing the customary rituals each morning at the stūpa. Three of these households are resident in Panauti and three in Sankhu. The term of service is one entire year and when the people from Sankhu serve they must spend the year in Panauti. Barechuyegu initiations are performed in front of the stūpa for the sons of the members of the sangha and this is the only initiation which the Baudhacaryas take. The Vajracarya family performs Ācāryayega initiations at their own house where they have an āgama. However, the sole initiated Vajracarya from that household has no sons, so the Vajracarya line will cease with his demise. The sangha has one
332. Pantiyā Bāhā, Panauti

333. Nhū Bāhā, Panauti
elder, the Vajracarya. The saṅgha celebrates its annual festival on the third day of the dark half of the month of Pāgûn. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is a nameless and aniconic image situated at Wapu Khel on the edge of the village. The saṅgha used to have a regular income from gūthi lands but this has disappeared.

Nothing is known about the history or founding of this bāhā and the only legible inscription at the stūpa is dated 8.5.2005.


All that remains of this bāhā is a a dilapidated kwâpâ-dya shrine marked by two half buried lions. In the partially enclosed courtyard of the bāhā is also a recently erected caitya. The kwâpâ-dya of the shrine is an image of Akṣobhya facing east.

The saṅgha of this bāhā consists of twenty four Bauddhacaryas (=Sakyas) and eleven Vajracaryas. Many of the members of the saṅgha live in the village of Sankhu near Namo Buddha which is probably their original home. To this day eleven members of this saṅgha must take turns as dya-pālās at the shrine of Namo Buddha; and this bāhā is known as 'the home of Namo Buddha', because when the image is brought to Panauti it is kept in this bāhā. These eleven are drawn from only four of the lineages of the saṅgha, five from the first lineage, four from the second and one each from the third and fourth lineages. (There are several additional lineages which do not share this right. No one was able to give a reason for this seeming discrimination.) These eleven are given the Ācâluyegu initiation and constitute the eleven Vajracaryas of the saṅgha. In addition to their duties at Namo Buddha these eleven function as ordinary Vajracaryas performing priestly functions for people in and around Panauti. The members of the saṅgha take turns acting as dya-pālās in the shrine of the kwâpā-dya. Terms of service are irregular as many people live in Sankhu and do not take a turn in the temple. The annual festival of the bāhā is held on the fullmoon day of the month of Māgh. At the time of Guñi the eleven Vajracaryas bring an image of Buddha from Namo Buddha in procession for the paṇca dāna festival. There are two images of Dipañkara in Panauti, one at each bāhā and these join the Buddha from Namo Buddha for a procession round the town, to seven places—the two bāhās and five caityas. The image from Namo Buddha is taken back the following day. The lineage deity of the saṅgha is an image which they call simply Ajimā and is situated in the village of Sankhu where they still perform the annual worship. The saṅgha has one elder and a little remaining income from gūthi lands.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this bāhā and there are no inscriptions at the site.

Khampu

1. Khampuya Bāhā -- Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra Khampu

In the village of Khampu, which lies east of the road leading from Banepa to Panauti, are the remains of a bāhā. The buildings have entirely disappeared and all that remains are a caitya and an image of a bodhisattva. According to informants in the village, after the buildings of the bāhā fell into ruıns the saṅgha moved away from the village. (Are they the people in Banepa who 'came from a village'?) The only Baire now living in the village are one family of Sakyas from Irāco Bāhā in Bhaktapur.

Nala

Nala is a village north and a bit west of Banepa, just outside the rim of the Valley. It has about 2,000 inhabitants and is an exclusively Hindu village. The Sanskrit name of the village is Nagiripura. There are no Baire resident in the village and the main shrine of the village, that of Bhagavati, is tended by Newar Hindu priests (acāra). Outside of the village to the west is one bāhā.

1. Lokeśvara Bāhā -- Uttarakartha Mahāvihāra Nala

The shrine of this bāhā is at the western end of an enclosed rectangular area bordered on the north by a long narrow rest house, on the south by ordinary dwellings and on the east by a low wall and a wrought-iron gate. All of the
Shrine of Nala Lokesvara
buildings are of recent origin. The shrine itself which has been recently renovated may represent the remains of a proper bāhā, though it looks more like an ordinary house than a bāhā. It is a rectangular two-storied building with a single tile roof supported by short unornamented struts resting against the wall rather than on the cornice. The roof is surmounted by a cupola also with a single tile roof and topped by a golden gajīra. Various household utensils hang round the base of the cupola. There are three doors on the ground floor and windows above them on the first floor. One of the doors has a torana. The window above the main door has a carved wooden screen with a small window on either side of it. The surface of the walls has been plastered and whitewashed. The temple is bordered by a railing of metal oil lamps which form an archway over the steps leading up to the main door.

In front of the temple is one small stone caiya and one large whitewashed caiya. Neither of them is dated. In the centre of the temple compound is a pond with a platform in the centre for the bathing ceremonies of the image of Padmapānī Lokesvara who is the kuśā-pāla. The present image is white like the Lokesvara at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, but informants say that the colour dates from the time of the restoration of the cult when experts from Jana Bāhā were called to teach the dya-pāla in Nala how to paint the image. Originally the image was red. A stone walkway leads out to the platform in the centre. At the end of the walkway are two stone guardian lions. Both the pond and the bathing platform are recent renovations. There is an inscription on the bathing platform put up on N.S.1074.

The present cult of Nala Lokesvara is the result of a recent revival of the cult by interested parties from Kathmandu. By the beginning of this century the cult had completely lapsed, the saṅgha had died out and it seems the bāhā was more or less abandoned. After the earthquake of 1934 Ananda Nuni Vajracarya requested money from the government for the restoration of the shrine, and over the past fifty years further renovations have been carried out, and an annual festival of this Lokesvara was inaugurated in imitation of the similar festival of Lokesvara at Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu.

At the time of the restoration of the cult of Nala Lokesvara, a Vajracarya was called from Bhaktapur to tend the shrine. He has settled with his family in Nala, and he and his four sons act as dya-pālā in the shrine of the kuśā-pāla, i.e. Nala Lokesvara. However, they retain their links with Bhaktapur and their membership in Pasū Bāhā from where they came. All of their initiations are performed in Pasū Baha, so from the viewpoint of the saṅgha this bāhā has in effect become a branch of Pasū Bāhā in Bhaktapur. They perform only a morning pūja in the temple of Lokesvara.

The main event of the year is the annual bathing, reconsecration of the image and the procession round the village which takes place at the beginning of the month of Caitra. The bathing ceremony takes place on the first day of the dark half of the month of Caitra. The actual bathing ceremonies are performed by the pājus from Bungamati and the consecration ceremonies on the following morning are performed by a Vajracarya from Kathmandu. It was Ananda Muni Vajracarya from Kathmandu who helped to establish this custom and for many years he performed the ceremony himself. Now he has passed it on to others. The consecration ceremonies take place on the day following the bathing and when the rites are finished the image is placed on a khat and taken in procession from the bāhā through the village and back to the bāhā before nightfall.

Nothing is known about the history or foundation of this establishment and there are no dated inscriptions from the Malla period or earlier. There are, however, a number of fragmentary images that are surely Malla period or earlier. From what remains of the original structure, and from its position outside of the village, one can surmise that the original foundation was probably a bāhā and not a bāhā.

Dolakha

East of the Kathmandu Valley in Janakpur Zone is the village of Dolakha, a town important from at least medieval times because it lay on the trade route from the Valley to Tibet. The entirely Newar population of this village has cultural links with both Patan and Kathmandu. There is one bāhā in this village.
1. वंशभु बाहा -- वंदक्षत्देव महाविहारा

Piṅgal Tole

In Piṅgal Tole in this village is a temple, now empty, which is all that is left of the one बाहा of Dolakha. The कुम्भ-द्या of this shrine is an image of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara which was stolen from the shrine in 1972. Some time later it was recovered, but since that time the one family of Vajracaryas who tended the shrine have kept the image locked up in their house in Simbhū Tole except for the time of the annual festival. The image is a small version of Buṅga- slee of Patan-Bunangatī, and called Buṅga Dya by the people of Dolakha. On the halo surrounding the image itself is an inscription dated N.S.701 when this halo was offered to 'Sri Sri Avalokiteśvara by Bhikṣus of वंशभु बाहा.

The saṅgha of this बाहा consists of one family of Vajracaryas, now comprising three brothers. They serve as द्या-पालस of Lokeśvara, performing all the ceremonies in connection with the annual festival, and perform their Barechu-yegu and Ācāluyegu initiations in Dolakha. The daily rituals are no longer performed as the image is kept locked up except for the annual festival.

The main event of the year is the annual ratha जित्र of Lokeśvara, an imitation of the similar festival in Patan. The festival begins on the morning of the full moon day of Baṣākh when the Vajracaryas bring the image from their home back to the old बाहा where they perform first the bathing ceremony and then the reconsecration rites. On the following day the image is placed on a ratha which is then pulled by stages through the village. On the eighth day the image is removed from the ratha and returned to the house of the Vajracaryas. The saṅgha still has some gūṭhi land at a place called Laplang which provides seven pāthis of oil and three muri of paddy which help to defray the expenses of the annual festival.

Nothing is known about the foundation of this बाहा. The Vajracaryas themselves claim that they originally came from Kathmandu, and this is confirmed by an inscription at a caitya in Dolakha which was put up in the year N.S.669 by Vajracaryas from गणिसंघ महाविहारा (Musiṃ बाहा) in Kathmandu. The बाहा and the cult of Lokeśvara certainly predate the offering of the halo in N.S.701.
Notes

Abbreviations:

ABHILEKH -- Dhanavajra Vajracarya, Licchavikālka Abhilekh.
KANTIPUR ŠILALEKH -- Saṅkrāmān Rañjaman, Kantipur Silalekh Sūci.
RATNAKĀJI -- Ratnakāji & Bijaya Ratna Vajrācārya, Nepa Dēyā Vihaṛyā Tača.
REGMI -- Dilli Raman Regmi, Medieval Nepal, 4 Vol.
SLUSSEr -- Mary Slusser, Nepal Mandala.
WRIGHT -- Daniel Wright, ed. History of Nepal.

1 The claim has been made that bāhā derives from the Sanskrit bhāttāraka or bhāṭṭāra. According to the eminent Newar-scholar T. L. Mānandhar the Newari word cibhā is derived from the Sanskrit bhāṭṭāra', a title of respect. In the 14th century Newari the word became corrupted into bhāчрежa and later bāhare or bāhā, the word which today is used for every former monastery. . . Again cibhā is the short version of cibhāra, meaning the smaller (Newari ci = small) object which deserves respect.' (Niels Gutschow, 'The Urban Context of the Stūpa in Bhaktapur/Nepal' in Anna Dallapiccola ed., The Stupa Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Signifi-
(the suffix added to show respect). In light of this it is necessary to abandon the original derivation I gave of gubhāju as derived from guru + bhāju (Karunamaya p.10 note 3). In addition to the above line of reasoning, which now seems clear, the term bhāju is a term of respect for the nobility, the trading class etc. in the Malla period. It is ordinarily not used for a Sakya or Vajracarya who are always bare, or sākya, sākyabhiṣku.

The term vāhāra/bāhāra > bāhāla > bāhā as applied to a vihāra has a different etymology. That it is not not derived from bhattākara is clear from the constant alternation of vihāra—vāhāra in the inscriptions cited in this work, sometimes within the same inscription. Vāhāra is vihāra. Furthermore vāhāra derived from bhattākara in this context would make no sense. The names of the vihāras would then be Kū Bhāṭṭāraka, Dhūkā Bhāṭṭāraka (the ‘respected [what?] called Kū’, etc. A noun is needed and the noun is vihāra.

2See for example the inscription at Na Bahī in Kathmandu dated N.S.631 which twice refers to the institution as bahīri. (D. R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, 4 Vol. [Calcutta, 1966], Vol. 3 p. (96-97)—Henceforth simply REGMI.) Popular theory says they were so called because they were built on the edges of, or outside of the city. 'The bāneprastha bhihāras were called by some bāhī, i.e., outside because the bāneprastha bhikṣus did not live in the cities, but in forests.' (Daniel Wright, History of Nepal [Kathmandu 1972] p. 237—Henceforth simply WRIGHT.) At first glance this sounds like a bit of popular and highly suspect folk etymology. Edgerton, however, gives the meaning of bāhīri in a Buddhist context as 'a quarter or group of houses outside of a city'. (Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary [New Haven, 1953] Vol 2, p.399.) As a matter of fact if one traces the placement of the existing bahis of the three cities on a map which shows the confines of the late Malla cities it becomes clear that the bahis are nearly all either on the very edge of the city or outside of it. Even the few that appear to be in the midst of the city were probably built on the edge of one of the earlier settlements which were later incorporated into the late Malla city. See the introductory section to the Patan Bahis for further treatment of the question of the difference between a bāhā and a bahi.


4REGMI 3:12 A reference dated N.S.218 to Vajrācārya Dharmā Simha of Vajrāśila, Mahāvihāra is, as far as I know, the earliest dated reference to a Vajrācārya who is definitely a native of the Valley. (See section on Iku Bāhā in Kathmandu.) There are stray earlier references to Vajrācāryas as authors of texts. For example there is a copy of the Āryavaṭrjadhaka in the National Archives copied in N.S.178. The author of the text was Mahāvajrāśīya Anandagarba, but here is no assurance that this man was from Nepal. He may well have been a master of Nālandā or Vikramasila. (Buddhisāgar Sarma ed., Vhatsucipatram, Baudhavijayaka I [Kathmandu, 2021 B.S.], p. 107) (Henceforth VHA-T-SUCI BAUDDHA.) There is a reference to one Bhikṣu Ravendradeva or Ācārya Stāvira Ravendradeva of the Mānadeva Mahāvihāra in Patan dated N.S.183. He is probably a Vajrācārya, especially in view of the fact that the text he copied was the Pančarakṣa (Luciano Petech, Medieval History of Nepal [Rome, 1984], p.45—Henceforth PETECH.) There is also a reference to one Ācāryabhikṣu Brahma of Śrī Parinirvāna Mahāvihāra in Patan dated N.S.186. He may be a Vajrācārya. (Hemraj Sakyā, Śrī Rudravara Mahāvihāra Shiṭṭha Tālpatra Abhilekha [Lalitpur, 2524 Buddha Sambat], p.4 #5.) After N.S.300 there are abundant references to Vajrācāryas.

Śākyabhikṣu was a term for a Buddhist monk, and we find at least one reference to a monk as Śākyabhikṣu in the Licchāvī inscriptions. (ABHILEKH, p. 456) The inscription is found at Chā Bahī and is undated but definitely from the Licchāvī period. Śākyabhikṣu Bandhuhadra made some sort of a gift in memory of his parents and for all living beings. Another undated inscription from Te Bahī in Kathmandu refers to one Śākyapāla who built a well and fountain in memory of his parents. (ABHILEKH, p. 454.) Vajrācārya interprets this reference also as Śākyabhikṣu. However, he argues from the clear reference to śākyabhikṣu above that the descendants of the Śākyu clan were living in the Valley of Nepal. Śākyabhikṣu does not imply any blood relation to the Śākyu clan unless corroborated by other evidence. It would be better to read the second reference as it stands (Śākyu
Priyapāla) and use this as a confirmation for the presence of Sakyas in the Valley. (That members of the Sakya clan had migrated to the Valley of Nepal is indicated by the Mālasarva-

stivādāviniya, see ABHILEKH, p. 172). Some of the people who use the surname Sakya still claim descent from the Sakya clan and we find the claim asserted in the Malla period inscriptions. See for example the inscription at Nā-
yākan Bahi in Kathmandu dated N.S.508 with a reference to sākyavābdhdhījataśacandra (REGMI 

3:30)) and the inscription at Bikāmā Bahi in Kathmandu dated N.S.634 with a reference to one sākyavābdhdhvaya sīri bhīmapāla bhāro. (REGMI 

3:(98)). There are abundant references to the title sāka bhikṣu in the cache of palm leaf grants found at Uku Bahā in Patan and dating from N.S.103 to N.S.3. None of the documents gives clear evidence that any of these people are married. However, the many references to individual bhikṣus and sākyabhikṣus buying and selling land in their own name lends credence to the theory that they are in fact householders. One finds a contrast between the many documents where individuals are buying and selling land and the where a saṅgha is doing so. (Sakya, op.cit.) The earliest reference to a definitely married sākyabhikṣu is, as far as I know, found in the inscription at Na Bahi in Kathmandu dated N.S.631 with a reference to Śākyabhikṣu Śrī Jyotirāja Pāla, his mother Ullāsa Laṃkṣi and his wife Abbhayā Laṃkṣi (. . . sākyabhikṣu śrījyoti-

rāja pāla mata ullaṣa laṃkṣi, bhārya abbhayā laṃkṣi. . .) (REGMI 3:(69)).) The earliest reference to a married brahmācārya (=celibate) bhikṣu is found on an inscription at Guita Bahi in Patan dated N.S. 635 and refers to Brahmacā-

rya Bhikṣu Śrī Jakhāraṇāyaṇa and his wife Manamayyī. (brahmācārya bhikṣu śrījakharāṇāyaṇa bhārya manamayī) REGMI 3:(104).)

Even the term bhikṣuni is occasionally used for the wife of a Sakya or Vajracārya. See for example an inscription of N.S.742 (vajrajācārya bhikṣuni (Śākṣaram Rājymsi, Kantipur Śīlaḳekh Śūci [Kathmandu,2027 B.S.] 62.) (Henceforth KANTIPUR-SĪLAKEKH). See also an inscription of N.S.767 which lists a whole series of donors all called Śākyabhikṣus except for one called simply bhikṣuni jāmuna (S&V, p. 119) and another inscrip-

tion of N.S. 797 paravata mahāvihāra bhikṣuni mata (KANTIPUR-SĪLAKEKH 117). In this connection there is a very intriguing reference in the colophon of a manuscript of the Astasahas-

rika Prājñāpāramitā dated N.S.284 to a bhikṣu and bhikṣuni of Parinirvāṇa Mahāvihāra in Patan

(deyadharmyam pravaramahayānaya-vyāhāra śripara-

nivānānandahāriyabhikṣukumārabhadra bhikṣunī

somamātanyodatrapunyanagadhabhavatu). YAMAT SUCI-

BAUDOHA I:45-6. two man and wife?

5 See the section on Gum Bāhā below and ABHILEKH, p.320.

6 There is a still current tradition which is found in the later chronicles that Sankaracārya came to Nepal, defeated the Buddhists, destroyed their manuscripts, killed many of the monks and forced the remaining monks and nuns to marry. (See for example WRIGHT, p. 118-120.) This is the source of the general theory upheld by almost all Nepali and many foreign writers that an abrupt change took place when nearly all the monks and nuns suddenly married and abandoned the traditional celibate life style of the bhikṣu. According to current scholarship Sankarācārya lived from about A.D.700 to 750. He was born is south India and was a great philosopher, the main expounder of the school of Advaita Vedanta. He preached mainly to intellectuals and sanyasis in the villages and attempted to revitalize and purify Hinduism. He was a great controversialist attacking both, the tenants of Mīmāmsā and Mahāyāna Buddhism, though the great similarity between his advaita theory and the philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism caused his Hindu adversaries to call him a crypto-Buddhist. Several biographies written many centuries after his death attribute fantastic exploits to him, but sober scholarship says that there is no evidence that he was a violent iconoclast burning the books of his adversaries and putting them to death as the Nepalese chronicles claim. In fact to attribute these deeds to him is to demean the name of one of India's greatest religious leaders and philosophers. He travelled widely and is reputed to have died at Kedarnāth in the western Himalayas, but there is no evidence that he ever visited the Valley of Nepal. Had he visited Nepal he would have come at the height of the Licchavi period. There is no evidence from the Licchavi inscriptions of a visit of Sankaracārya to Nepal and no evidence of a religious upheaval resulting in the virtual destruction of the Buddhist tradition. There is only one inscription that is at all critical of the Buddhists and this merely presents the sectarian Vaisnavite view concerning the Buddhists. (ABHILEKH, p. 150-164) Furthermore, there is no evidence of either a visit of Sankaracārya or a concerted effort to destroy Buddhism in the
earliest and most reliable chronicle, the Gopā-
larājavamśāvalī. To expect such an event at
this time does not fit what evidence we have of
the history of Buddhism in Nepal. From the
evidence of manuscripts and inscriptions plus
the accounts of the Tibetan chronicles, it is
clear that the greatest flowering of Buddhism in
the Valley of Nepal occurred long after Sankarā-
carya in the so-called Thakuri Period. If one
has to explain the later changes by a single
event or a period of persecution of the Bud-
ghists he would have to look for this in the
Malla period or shortly before its inception.

The story of Sankarācārya may well have
arisen from the coming of a much later Sankarā-
cārya who is known to us from a single inscrip-
tion dated N.S.262 (A.D.1142). According to the
evidence of the inscription this man twice vi-
sited Nepal and especially in his second visit
gathered quite a following. In his religious
practice and doctrine he was the antithesis of
the great Sankarācārya—a follower of Dvaitava-
da, an expert in yoga and a tantric master who
covered himself with the ashes of a Śaiva sādhu
and rode a bull. Even this inscription though
gives no evidence of a violent attack on the
Buddhists. It does indicate a growing influence
of tantric Saivism at the highest levels. He is
reputed to have given dīkṣā to the sons of the
king, Śīvadeva, to have repaired the Pasupati-
nath temple and to have introduced tantric ri-
tuals in the worship of the lingam at Pasupati-
nath. (Dhanavajra Vairacarya, 'Madhyakāliki
Nepālākā Ek Prakhyaat Rājā Śīvadeva,' Contribu-
tions to Nepalese Studies [Vol. VIII, No. 1], p. 217-18.)

What evidence we have from the Thakuri
Period and the early Malla period supports the
theory of a gradual change eventually resulting
in the disappearance of celibate monks. That
the custom of at least some monks marrying
was not a Nepalese innovation is supported by Ka-
lhana's chronicle of Kashmir. In the time of
King Meghavāhana one of his wives Yukadevi 'who
was eager to compete with her rivals, built at
Nadavana a vihāra of wonderful appearance. In
one half of it she placed those bhikṣus whose
conduct conformed to the precepts, and in the
(other) half those who being in possession of
wives, children, cattle and property, deserved
blame for their life as householders.' (M. A.
Stein, Kalhana's Rajatarangini [Delhi, 1979
Reprint], p. 73-4.) The date of this king is
uncertain but he must certainly be placed well
before the seventh century A.D. One may cer-
tainly question the accuracy of the accounts of
these early kings in the chronicle, but what is
clear is that the phenomenon of married Buddhist
monks was a long established custom by the time
Kalhana wrote the chronicle in A.D.1148-9. The
custom is not unknown in other Mahāyāna coun-
tries, especially in Tibet. What is peculiar to
the situation in the Valley of Nepal is that
eventually the celibate monk disappeared entire-
ly leaving only communities of married Bare.
This is unique and it is this more than anything
else which gives Newar Buddhism its special
character.

The term sangha refers to the monastic
community plus the official lay Buddhists (the
upāsaka), but the core of the Buddhist sangha is
always the community of celibate monks. Without
an active and educated, celibate sangha Bud-
dhism withers and dies. This may be one of the
main factors in the disappearance of Buddhism in
India; and its survival in Nepal may well be due
mainly to the fact that the Bare became a caste
thereby insuring that the descendants of the
Bare would of necessity be ordained and carry on
the tradition.

When the celibate monks entirely disap-
ppeared is a question that simply cannot be an-
swered at the present state of our knowledge. I
have been given concrete examples of celibate
Newār monks in the Valley within the past two
hundred years, but they were clearly exceptions
to the rule and individual, isolated occur-
rences. They seem to have been men who had
spent some time in Tibet, received ordination
there as Mahāyāna bhikṣus and continued their
practice when they returned home. Most of them
seem not to have been Bare but Udaya, i.e., men
who by caste were excluded from the status of a
monk (Bare) in Nepal. Slusser is of the opinion
that there were celibate monks in the Valley up
to the seventeenth century (SLUSSER 1:288, 289.)
This opinion seems to be based on Wright's
Chronicle which states (in speaking of the ar-
rangements for the bīhāra made by the king of
Patan in the seventeenth century): 'The Yampi
Bihār, built by Sunaya Miśra was nirbanic (i.e.,
the inhabitants did not marry); and as a griha-
sta Āchārya is required for performing the homa
the Rājā decided that one of the people from
Dhum Bihār should act as a priest to perform the
homa in this bīhāra.' (WRIGHT, p. 236.) It must
be noted first that the interpretation of nirbā-
nik as 'the inhabitants did not marry' is
Wright's interpretation, not the chronicle's.
It is clear from the chronicle that the people
in these vihāras were married. I shall return
to a commentary on this passage in the introductory section to the Patan Bahis.

7 Both of these deities, one Hindu and the other a Buddhist tantric deity but with Hindu origins, are placed at the doorway of each bāhā as protectors of the bāhā buildings, a custom that goes back to ancient times. I-Tsing, who travelled through India in the latter part of the seventh century reports that it was common to find an image of Mahākāla near the door or in the kitchen of the great Indian vihāras. He identifies him as belonging to the beings of the Great God (Mahēśvara = Śīva) and placed there to protect the vihāra. I-Tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion (Delhi, 1966) p. 36. The Hindu god Hanumān is also often added as a protector and represented either by an image or by a triangular chink in the wall.

8 For a more detailed description and diagrams of Chusyā Bāhā see Wolfgang Korn, The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, 1976), p. 30-33 and for more details and diagrams of a bāhā, p. 28-29.

9 Slusser calls these shrines 'family vihāras' as they contain 'a Buddhist image which is the object of daily family worship.' (SLUSER 1:13; 2:pl. 142,143.) Such a term does not really distinguish these shrines, as all branch bāhās (and most main bāhās) are in fact family shrines. The saṅgha is an extended family as is evident from the fact that in almost all bāhās and bāhis the entire saṅgha have the same lineage deity and often trace their origin to a common ancestor. The branches arose when the extended family became too large to fit into the original establishment, and one unit of the extended family built a branch for itself or a branch was built for it by lay people. What distinguishes these shrines from the traditional bāhā is the style, and this is fairly recent. As an institution the little 'modern' or family bāhā is identical to Chusyā Bāhā, a branch of Dhūkā Bāhā founded for a branch of the extended family of the Dhūkā Bāhā saṅgha.

In a recent article David Gellner has called all regular branch bāhās 'lineage monasteries' and has distinguished them from the semi-independent branches of Kwā Bāhā which are not lineage monasteries. This is quite accurate as all of these monasteries were founded to house one lineage of the extended bāhā family. (David Gellner, 'The Newar Buddhist Monastery--

An Anthropological and Historical Typology,' a paper presented at the 'Heritage of Kathmandu Valley' Conference at Lubeck, West Germany, 1983; to be published in the forthcoming volume of papers presented at the conference.

10 There is a very long series of rituals for the consecration of a bāhā which stretch over a period of a year and a half. Rituals begin with the selecting of the site, the blessing of the site and then continue with rituals for each stage of construction. The culmination comes in a three day yajña performed when the building is finished and the images are consecrated. This ceremony is not only long but very expensive, and the expense is one of the main reasons given to me why such consecrations are seldom performed any more. For a description of one such ceremony in the late Malla period see the section on Pince Bāhā [47] of Kathmandu. For a description of the preliminary rituals regarding the selection of the site and the decoration of the bāhās see the section from the Kriyasaṅgraha-Pañjika in Rajendralal Mitra, The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal (Calcutta, 1971), p. 103-106.

The treatment of the whole question of the definition of a bāhā or vārā in the Valley of Nepal by most modern writers suffers from what one might call a semantic or theological bias. (If one can use the term 'theological' of Buddhism at all.) For example, Slusser in speaking of types of vihāras says 'in Nepal as the [monastic] institutions gradually faded away, the buildings were left intact, as was the name vihāra attached to them, however inappropriate it had become. Vihāra is now only a convenient label for Buddhist buildings, which now have nothing whatsoever to do with monasticism. Further, in contemporary Nepal the word vihāra (or mahāvihāra . . .) is stretched even further, and is also applied to Buddhist shrines that are totally unrelated to monastic architecture, and certainly to monasticism. But because they have Buddhist institutional connections they are also called vihāras.' (p. 136) Again, 'Another vihāra that has nothing to do now or ever with monastic architecture or monasticism is the "residential courtyard vihāra."' (p. 137) This line of comment implies a value judgment: 'Vihāras are abodes of celibate monks and are built in a certain architectural style. Your vihāras have no celibate monks and many are no longer built in the correct architectural style, so you have no business calling them vihāras.' As a
matter of fact the Newārs call these institutions vihāras. What do they mean by this? It is this question that I am trying to answer here. When one has an answer to this question he has a coherent pattern to study and can avoid such loaded statements as 'the institutions gradually faded away, and the term vihāra is inappropriate.' The institutions did not fade away, they changed, or perhaps most of them were always what they are today. If one knows what a Newār means by a vihāra the term is not at all inappropriate. It has a precise meaning and is not just 'a convenient label for Buddhist buildings.' I have quoted Slusser here as she has more clearly and articularly expressed what almost every non-Newār commentator has said about the bāhās and bāhis. The whole of this discussion takes place against the background of an oft-repeated but never proven thesis. The thesis was first enunciated by Snellgrove: 'Patan must have been a kind of vast university-city, differing little in its mode of life from similar towns in mediaeval Europe. In fact its buildings, its traditions, its way of life, must have been modelled on the great monastic universities of central India.' (David Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya [Oxford, 1957] p. 103-3.) All that we really know is that there were Buddhist monks and monasteries in the Licchavi period and that they multiplied in the so-called Thakuri Period. We know that a lot of Buddhist manuscripts were copied in the Thakuri period. We also know from Tibetan sources that many famous monks and pandits from India came to Nepal in the Thakuri Period. Tibetan sources mention a few of the pandits who were Nepalese, but the vast majority were Indian. Nepalese sources are curiously silent about scholars and pandits. In fact the tradition has even forgotten those remembered by the Tibetans. The thesis posits a great (celibate) monastic and scholarly tradition on the model of the Indian Buddhist Universities which then deteriorated to produce a sort of corrupt Buddhism in the Mallā period. Did this ever exist, or has Nepalese Buddhism from its inception been mainly ritual Buddhism supported mostly by householder monks? This is a possibility that must be seriously considered in any evaluation of Buddhism as we find it in the Mallā period.

11 The Patan list is a thāysaphyo on Nepali paper which I obtained from Sri Dharmaratna Vajracārya. The manuscript is undated but not more than a hundred years old. The Kathmandu list, which I obtained from Sri Manavajra Vajracārya, was copied about twenty years ago from an older manuscript.

12 This seems to correspond to what the Sādhanamāla calls Kanakavarna-prajñāpaññamita, except that the text says that the second right hand shows the abhaya mudrā while all the examples found on the toranas have a mālā in the right hand. See Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique (Paris, 1975), p. 306 and Sādhanamāla #156. The Dharmakṣa-śaṅgahra gives a form of Prajñāparamita exactly corresponding to the form found on the toranas and this form is found in illustrated manuscripts as early as A.D. 1028 (D. C. Bhaṭṭāchāryyuy, Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources [New Delhi, 1974], p. 66.)

13 See Mallmann p. 109. There are four saḍhanas in the Sādhanamāla describing this deity #6,7,11,12. The name (=the Lokēśvara of the six syllables) comes from the fact that this form of Lokēśvara personifies the Great Knowledge of the six syllables: Om Mani Padme Hum. The form is ultimately based on the Kārāṇḍavyuha.

14 Mallmann p. 255, Sādhanamāla #61. The Nisparṣṭa-gāvāli gives the complete description of the very elaborate mandala of Dharmadātu Vāgīśvara (Benoytosh Bhaṭṭāchāryya, Nisparṣṭa-gāvāli [Baroda, 1972], p. 80-88.) This tantric deity assumed a very prominent place in the devotion of the Newār Buddhists in the Late Mallā period. No one has been able to explain this sudden popularity of this deity which is not found in earlier iconography.

15 Mallmann p. 255, Sādhanamāla #62,83. According to Mallmann this deity belongs to the lineage of Amitābha, while Dharmadātu Vāgīśvara belongs to the lineage of Vajrasattva, but informants have consistently equated the two deities to me.

16 Mallmann, p.274 and Bhaṭṭāchāryya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 206. There is also a Nāmasaṅgiti Maṇjuśrī which is found in the Sādhanamāla #82, but this is quite a different deity—a form of Maṇjuśrī with three faces and four arms. The Nepalese Nāmasaṅgiti is identified as a form of the Buddha himself.

17 This earlier form is found in a number of documents, for example see S&W p. 30 in a palm-
leaf manuscript dated N.S.561 and p.84 in an inscription dated N.S.653. For the Sanskrit term see Sañkaraññam Rājvamsi, 'Śhītimallako pālako vi. Sam. 144Sk Māncandra Sākyako Tāmrapatra ra Tyasko Aithāsik Vyākhya,' Pūrṇima 4:54-55. Monier-Williams gives the meaning of kṣoṭha-pāla as 'guardian, watch, store keeper, treasurer' (p.314).

Informants had originally told me that kwaścapāla dyā means 'guardian of the saṅgha', as kwaśca is an old Newari word for the saṅgha. This etymology now seems entirely incorrect. There is no way that kṣoṭha can be construed as saṅgha and there is no evidence for a Newari word kwaśca meaning saṅgha. However, the idea may well be correct. If kṣoṭhapāla is the original term, it is clear that he is a guardian (pāla) of something, however one construes kṣoṭha. Some have interpreted kwaśpā as a shortened form of kwaśthā. (See for example Siegfried Lienhard, 'Nepal: the Survival of Indian Buddhism in a Himalayan Kingdom,' in Heinz Bechert and Richard Gombrich, The World of Buddhism [London, 1984], p. 112.) Kwāthā is a common Newāri term for a fort and it is true that some of the vihāras were referred to as forts, especially bāhās on the edge of the city and the two bāhās now called Kwā Bāhā. However, most of the bāhās and bāhis were not forts and were not referred to as forts. I have heard this etymology only from people at Kwā ('kwāthā) Bāhā in Patan. Informants at other bāhās have consistently denied this etymology; and, more important, the term kwāthāpāla (deva) does not occur in any document. Kwāca(pāla) is found and it has no connection with kwāthā.

Another name for the kwāpa-dyā found in some Malla period inscriptions, but only at bāhīs, is gandhuli-deva. See for example the inscription of N.S.508 at Nhāykan Bāhi in Kathmandu ('gandhulu bhāṭṭaraka devataram'--REGMI 3:31) and the inscription of N.S.547 at Iba Bāhi in Patan (Śrī Śrī Śrī Gandhulu[1]jī Tatāghāta'--REGMI 3:31). This would appear to be a variation of a proper Sanskrit term found in one of the Licchavi inscriptions. The inscription commemorates repairs made by the chief concubine of one Dharmpala, a great upāsaka, to the gandhakuti. (ABHILEKH, P. 382-3.) Vajracarya identifies this as a 'kind of vihāra (vihār viśeśa)', but Edgerton basing himself on the Pali texts gives a different interpretation: 'name given to a special private cell of the Buddha.' (MSV [Mula-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya] seems to imply that any monastery might be provided with one; in iii.133.6 ff directions for its location (in general in the centre of a vihāra). (Edgerton op. cit. 2:209.) This is precisely what the shrine of the kwāpā-dyā is. In the cave monasteries of ancient India the monk who was in charge of the sanctuary of the Buddha was called 'Gandhakuti-bhāraka (Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India [London, 1962] p. 149.) Slusser says that the term gandhuli deva is used for the deity enshrined in bāhās as well as bāhis. (SLUSSER 1:295 note 138.) Her statement is based on two occurrences of the word. The first is the occurrence of the word in an inscription of N.S.508, which she wrongly places at Lagan Bāhā. The inscription is at Nhāykan Bāhi, an error easy to make as both of these institutions have the same Sanskrit name and both are located in Lagan Tole. The second occurrence is in an inscription from the time of Siddhinarasimha at Guita Bāhi in Patan erected when a new temple was consecrated. Slusser says that this cannot refer to the bāhi as it long pre-dated Siddhinarasimha. This inscription has not been published. (Regmi merely refers to it without quoting it in full.) I have not been able to locate the inscription, but there are three institutions at Guita, all three of them bāhīs; and new shrines and new images were constantly being consecrated at these old sites. I know of no occurrence of the term gandhuli deva referring to the deity enshrined in a bāhā.


19 Hemrāj Ṣākyā, Buddha Mūrti Chagu Adhyayana (Kathmandu, N.S.1097), p. 90.

20 Pal tentatively identifies this figure as it appears on the Dhāwakā Bāhā monument as Maitreya. Though Maitreya is usually portrayed as a bodhisattva and not as a buddha, he is also portrayed as a buddha, and there seems to be no reason to have two images of the Buddha Sakyamuni on the same monument. Furthermore, on some similar monuments the fourth figure is clearly Maitreya. Pal, op.cit., p.28.

21 Cāitya and stūpa mean the same thing basically. However, in Nepal the word cāitya is often used for small monuments and stūpa for large monuments such as the four stūpas at the cardinal points of the city of Patan. Despite this the great stūpa at Swayambhū is usually called the Swayambhū Mahācāitya.
For a complete description of this mandala see Nispappayogavali #21, p. 60-66. One sometimes finds a vajra mounted on top of the mandala as, for example, at the top of the stairs at the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. It is then identified as a Vajradhātu Mandala. There is such a mandala (Nispappayogavali, #19, p. 54-57) and in this mandala the chief figure is a four-faced, eight-armed form of Vairocana. However, the examples found in the vihāras seem to be the same mandala as the Dharmaṇḍhū Mandala and one suspects that this is a misnomer for a Dharmaṇḍhū Mandala with a vajra mounted on it.

See Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India (London, 1962) p. 136 and passim for descriptions of the pūjā in Indian monasteries, also I-tsung op. cit. p.147-150.

For a more detailed description of these rituals see the sections below on Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu, Kwā Bāhā in Patan and Bhinche Bāhā in Patan.

The pañcopacāra (pañcopāhara) pūjā is a five-fold offering to the deity consisting of flowers, incense, light, scent and food (puspa, dhūpa, dipa, gandha, naivedya).

This custom is probably an echo of the ancient monastic custom of the 'rainy season retreat'.

There is a cakreśvara for the tantric pūjā at every bāhā which has an āgam. The term means 'lord of the circle' and he is so called because he leads the tantric pūjā known as gana cakra (the circle of people) in which the tantric worshippers sit round in a circle. In bāhās which have no Vajracaryas either they call a Vajracarya for this pūjā or it is performed by one of the Sakyas who have taken the dekhā, a tantric initiation which is longer than the Acaluyegu and actually confers the same powers (though the recipient is not thereby made a Vajracarya--see Introduction to the Ācārya Gūṭhī).

For a description of this initiation rite see my 'Newār Buddhist Initiation Rites,' Contributions to Nepalese Studies 2:1ff. Also see Brian H. Hodgson, Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet (New Delhi, 1972), p. 139-145 and Mitra op.cit. p.

Why the members of a bāhī sangha should be considered inferior is a bit of a mystery to people today. See the introductory section to the bāhis of Patan for a further treatment of this question.

Sāv, p. 29-31.

There is a general misconception that gūthī lands are absolutely inviolable and never touched even by the government. In theory this is true, but really only applies to rāj-gūthīs, i.e., gūthī land which has been given by a king and is now administered by the government Gūthī Samstān. Private gūthīs, and all of the bāhās are private gūthīs, administer their own land and since they are private the land can be more readily confiscated or sold off by the gūthī-yārś. (A new [1985] law now permits the government to give rāj gūthī lands to the tenants who farm it.)

Kamal Prakash Malla, 'Four Documents Related to a Family History', Rolamba Vol. III 1:16-19. Professor Malla documents several cases of the confiscation of the property of the Thakūjus of Thahiti by the Gorkhalis even after a lāl mohar of King Pratāp Singh Shah confirming their rights over their suna bīrtā lands. Other branches of the Malla family had their property confiscated as many as seven times.

Introduction

Wright, p. 234-5.

Wright's The History of Nepal is a translation of a chronicle written in Nepali and supplied to him by Vajracaryas of Patan. As Wright notes in the introduction, he had nothing to do with the translation which was done for him by Shiva Sankar Singh, the residency Munshi, and Gunanda Vajracarya of Patan. It is evident from this passage and the following passage which I treat in the introduction to the Patan Bāhis that the translation is defective and bolderised. Evidently the translators omitted passages that they found obscure or did not know how to render into English. This chronicle
represents a slightly different tradition from that of all the other late chronicles and because of its importance it is clear now that it should be retranslated or the original Nepali should be edited and published. The original manuscript is in the Library of the University of Cambridge (MS No. Add. 1952A) and called simply 'Buddhist Vamsavali' (BV). I am indebted to David Gellner for a handwritten transcription of the following relevant passages. References are to folio and line numbers. BV 129a:7--Eti grhasthi vihara buddha margika thiya.

3 BV129a:7 Eti grhasthi vihara buddha margika thiya 'tangala vi-
8: harka, tava viharko, vishnus vahara, o'ku-
li vihara, gvakse vahara, sakvo vahara, yachu
9: vahara, ini ska jyetho
10: cahi hakwa vahara, hiranyavaro vaharak, jasodhara
129b:1 vaharak, datta vaharak, yati vaharak naikhearu-
2: madhya jyetho cahi 7 jan naikyalai sapta-
thaga bhani mani
3: lkle pujh bhava gari rahyaka thiya.

4 The bathing of an image of the deity by pouring water over its image reflected in a mirror is a common practice. It is partly a practical measure, i.e. to avoid soiling or damaging the image, but it is also a symbol that all phenomena (including the image of a deity) are mere reflections of the void (śūnyata). This leads the worshipper to the realization of non-duality and therefore to a realization of his own identity with the void.

5 The feeding of the rats is connected with the legend of the founding of the Bāhā which is recounted below. The Buddha is said to have requested that he be housed in a place where the rats chase cats, hence the rats at Kuā Bāhā are sacred beings that cannot be disposed of.

6 The dekha is a further tantric initiation which the Bārē may take. The word itself is a corruption of the Sanskrit term dikṣā. It includes several consecrations (abhiseka), the first series of which is the same as the series given in the initiation of a Vajracarya. Hence in some ways it is a higher initiator than that of a Vajracarya, but in the highly structured system of Nepal where the official Vajracaryas have the dominant role it is considered to be a lesser initiation and does not qualify one to function as a Vajracarya if he is not already a Vajracarya. The initiation may be taken by Vajracaryas and Sakyas and in some cases, at least in Kathmandu, by lay people especially the Udā-
a. At Kuā Bāhā most people take the dekha only when their turn comes round to be admitted into the body of elders. Not having taken the dekha does not disqualify one from the post of elder, but one must take the dekha before he is inducted into the body of the elders.


7 For this detailed information I am indebted to David Gellner and Harsa Ratna Dhākāwā.

7 See I-tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion (Delhi, 1966), p. 150 for a description of the bathing of images in Buddhist monasteries in the seventh century.

8 The 'Fifteen Bahās' caitya is evidently a 'Licchavi' caitya and is also referred to as a 'ratna caitya', i.e. a caitya which fell from the heav-
ens like a jewel (ratna).

8 This Piṅgalā Bāhā is said to have been situated in the northern outskirts of Kathmandu in the area now known as Baluwaṭār. Some versions of the legend current among the people of Kwa Bāhā say the deity was brought from Ča Bahī.


10 VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 3:32. We find this form harpañvara in later inscriptions also.

11 VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 2:55.

12 Private communication from Hemraj Sākya.


14 SÀV p. 83-84; also see Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Tek Bahadur Śreṣṭha, Dolakhāko Aitihāṣik Ruprekha (Kathmandu, 2031), p. 90.


16 REGMI 4:(69).

17 SÀV, p. 109.

18 SÀV, p. 109.


20 Ibid., p. 49.

21 REGMI 4:(69)

22 PETECH p. 112 = VRHAT-SUCI III Bhāg, Nāṭaka (Rūpaka) Grantha Viśayak p. 44. For the inscription at the caitya see SÀV, p. 63.

23 Carl Pruscha, ed. Kathmandu Valley, The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage, a Protective Inventory (Vienna, 1975) 2:46. (Henceforth KTMV)

24 KTMV 2:146.

25 REGMI 3:(68). Petech gives the date as 567 and according to his calculations the specifics of the lunar date correspond to 29 May 1447. PETECH, p. 171.

26 Hemraj Sākya, Samyak Mahādāna Gūthi (Kathmandu, 2036 B.S.), p. 22; Hemraj Sākya, Pindapātra, p. 3, 6, 41, 64, 72.

27 KTMV 2:150.

28 SÀV, p. 71.

29 KTMV 2:154.

30 For the legend see Gellner, op. cit. 37. For the inscription see KTMV 2:157.

31 Hem Rāj Śākya, Śrī Hiranyavarga Mahāvihāra Sthita Pindapātra-Abhilekh (Patan, N.S.1100), p. 22, 24; KTMV 2:156; Peter Burleigh, op. cit., p. 64.

32 SÀV, p. 203.

33 Hemraj Sākya, Pindapātra #90, 94.

34 Private communication from Hemraj Sākya, but see his Samyak Mahādāna Gūthi, p. 34-5 for a document of N.S. 757 which uses the Sanskrit name 'Vasuwardhana Mahāvihāra'. For the earliest reference to the Newāri name see PETECH p. 173 and the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Jyotisaratnamalā copied in N.S. 577 in 'Śrī-lalitapure māṇiwalaka śrī-yithihae vahare.' For the references on the begging bowls see Hemraj Sākya, Pindapātra, passim.


36 WRIGHT, p. 157.

37 Śaṅkarmān Rājwaṃśi, Bhūmisambandhi Tamsūk Tāppatṛa, II Bhaṅg (Kathmandu, 2042), p.51; Hemraj Sākya, Pindapātra, p. 14-35.

38 Hemraj Sākya, Samyak Mahādāna Gūthi, p. 42.

39 KTMV 2:152

40 KTMV 2:201.

41 Ibid.

42 KTMV 2:153.

43 KTMV 2:169.

44 WRIGHT, p. 235.
45. Some of these have been published, most of them are unpublished.

46. Hemraj Šakya, Samyak Mahādana Guti, p. 27.

47. KTMV 2:169.

48. Slusser dates this caitya to the seventh century on the grounds of the similarity of the mouldings in this piece to the mouldings on the Kathmandu Oṁwākā Bāhā caitya which has been consistently dated to the seventh century. If this dating is correct, this piece as Slusser remarks, is a strong argument for the presence of Vajrayana Buddhism in the Valley during the Licchavi period. SLUSSER p. 1:172; plates 282-4.

49. WRIGHT, p. 235.

50. SIV p. 30. The inscription contains the following details. Two members of the sangha, the senior-most elder Vajrācārya Śrī Akhaya and Śakyabhiṣṣuk Śrī Luntayiju, have drawn up rules for the performance of initiation rites (vande-chuya). On the day before the ceremony betel nuts are to be offered and a stipend given. On the day of the initiation a stipend is also to be offered to the Buddha--Dharma--Sangha and divided equally among the senior-most elder, the officiating priest and the sangha. A stipend is to be offered for the receipt of knowledge (śi-kṣavṛata) and for the performance of the fire sacrifice. This is to go to the priest. A stipend is to be offered to the main deity of the śrī (śrikwācārāma śrī śri bhaṭṭāraka); this is to be given to the current dyā-pālā. Then there follows a list of food stuff that is to be offered on the day of the initiation and on the day of the common feast. This should be finished within three days; if it is not a fine will be levied. If anyone from the sangha has had a son from a woman of a lower caste (jāti) than himself this son is not to be given the initiation (vandechuya).

51. KTMV 2:177.

52. Ibid.

53. KTMV 2:176.

54. WRIGHT, p. 235.

55. KTMV 2:198.


57. Saṅkarman Rājuvani, Umiṣambhandhi Tamsūk Taṅpatra, Bhāg 1 (Kathmandu 2040 B.S.) #12, 21, 23, 28.

58. KTMV 2:179.

59. KTMV 2:182.

60. ABHIKEH, p. 592, 593.


63. PETECh p. 95; Bendall has misread the date as N.S.381; Cecil Bendall, Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1883), p. 199.

64. PETECh, p. 96.

65. REGMI 4(3).

66. REGMI 4(6).

67. REGMI 4(218).

68. For a more detailed description see Hem Rāj Šakya, Mayūravarna Mahāvihāra Saṃskṛpta Itihās (Patan, 2517 B.S.), p. 20-30.

69. In his book Hemraj Šakya has listed the schedule of rituals that the dyā-pālā is supposed to follow at Bhirche Bāhā (p. 61-69). The list was given to him by the members of the saṅgha of Bhirche Bāhā, but it is doubtful if they follow this detailed schedule any longer. If they do it is one of the few bāhās where such a full schedule of rituals is followed today and it offers a contrast between the great amount of activity that once went on in these shrines and the present perfunctory and hurried pujā performed each morning and evening at most bāhās today. Following is the schedule:

1. Early in the morning, about 4:30, the
21. He offers a libation to the seven Ta-thagatas (Viśvapi, Śikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākya Muni).

22. He offers the pāñcapacāra pūjā with a meditation. [This is the main part of the morning worship, the nītya pūjā.]

23. While this is going on the group that gathered to recite the Nāmasaṅgīti recites a number of gathas, a hymn to Vairocana and another hymn.

24. Recitation of the 'Saptavidhānuttara Pūjastotra'.

25. Recitation of two dhāranīs one in honour of Sakya Muni and the other in honour of Āparāmitā.

26. Recitation of the 'Dāsapāramitā Stotra' and the 'Buddhatrailokyānātham stotras'.

27. Recitation of the 'Bodhiparinama Gathā' and the 'Anuttarabodhi-jyanapada'. [This concludes the early morning rituals.]

28. In the middle of the morning, between eight and nine AM the dya-pālā places a sort of throne or seat on the mandala just outside the main entrance to the shrine and having placed a caitya on this he offers a libation to it.

29. Next he takes the key to the main door of the shrine and ringing a bell he makes a circuit of all the shrines and caityas in the complex.

30. When he comes back he sounds the wooden gong 108 times as before.

31. Again he offers the pāñcopacāra pūjā.

32. Waving the yak-tail fan he recites the 'Dāsapāramitā Stotra'.

33. Singing the praises of the Buddha he closes the door of the shrine. [After this he goes to take his rice meal.]

34. Between two and three in the afternoon he again opens the shrine and sounds the wooden gong 108 times.

35. He recites the 'Dāsapāramitā Stotra' waving the yak-tail fan.

36. In the evening between five and six he again sounds the wooden gong 108 times and makes a circuit of the shrines in the compound as before.

37. Again he offers the pāñcopacāra pūjā to the Buddha.

38. About seven in the evening a group of devotees again gather to recite various hymns.

39. At the conclusion of the hymns they recite the 'Dāsapāramitā' and the 'Buddhatrailokyānātham stotras' after which the dya-pālā recites the 'Dipadāna' stotra, lights a lamp and offers ārati to the Buddha. Then the devotees...
offer ārati after which they are given a saffron tīkā and flowers. This concludes the ārati ceremony and the daily schedule of rituals.

70 Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Ṭek Bahādur Śrīṣṭha, Nuvākotko Aitihaśīk Rūperekha (Kathmandu, 2032 B.S.) 'Aitihaśīk Samagri,' p.15 #15.


72 Hem Rāj Śakyā, Mayūravarna Mahāvihaṇā, p. 10-13. See also p. 40-54 for a summary of all the inscriptions currently found at Bhinche Bāhā. There is a reference to a Businche Bāhā ra under the date of N.5.261 among the palmleaf land grants found at Uku Bāhā. It is entirely possible that this is an earlier form of Biṣuničeṇ. (Hem Rāj Śakyā, Śivadeva Saṃskārita Śrī Rudravarna Mahāvihaṇā Sthitita Tālpatra-Abhilekh [Patan, 2524 Buddha Samvat], p. 13.

73 KTMV 2:186.

74 The torana can be seen in the photo in KTMV 2:182.

75 KMOV 2:182.

76 Hemrāj Śakyā, Śivadeva Saṃskārita Uṃkūli Śrī Rudravarna Mahāvihaṇā Saṃkṣipta Paricaya (Patan, 1090 N.S.) p. 19.

77 Ibid., p. 20.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid., p. 16.

80 Śakyā also gives a full schedule of rituals which are supposed to be performed at Uku Bāhā, almost identical to the schedule at Bhīnche Bāhā. See p. 23-26.

81 WRIGHT, p. 128-30.

82 Ibid., p. 166-7.

83 Ibid., p. 234.

84 Hem Rāj Śakyā, Śivadeva - - Tālpatra passim.

85 ABHILEKH, p. 499, 496.

86 Ibid., p. 503.

87 Ibid.

88 Hem Rāj Śakyā, Śivadeva - - Tālpatra, p. 7, 23.

89 See section on Te Bāhā in Kathmandu.

90 Hem Rāj Śakyā, Śivadeva - - Tālpatra, p. 28.

91 REGMI 3:32.

92 SĀV, p. 87.

93 KTMV 2:192.


95 SĀV, p. 168-71.


97 Ibid. p. 90-93.

98 WRIGHT, p. 204-5.

99 WRIGHT, p. 208.

100 Bhikṣu Sudarṣaṇ, op. cit., p. 14ff.

101 Ibid.

102 Karunamaya, p. 304-5.

103 Bhikṣu Sudarṣaṇ, op. cit., p. 27.

104 KTMV 2:180.

105 KTMV 2:199.

106 KTMV 2:180.

107 KTMV 2:194.

108 KTMV 2:200. There are two earlier colophon references to a Yothā Vihaṇā in the southern part of Patan, one dated N.S.535 and the other N.S.538. Both texts were written by one Jayateja Varmā of the Pradhāṇānga Mahāpātras. (PETECH p. 163, 164.) Petech identifies this place with Jothā Bāhā. In view of this inscription of N.S.773 which relates to the construction of Jothā Bāhā the fact that Yothā Bāhā
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was the residence of a family of the Pradhānāṅga Mahāpātras whereas Jothā Bāhā belongs to Sakyas of Uku Bāhā, it seems unlikely. However, the builders of Jothā Bāhā may well have appropriated the name by which the area was already known, perhaps after the Pradhānā Mahāpātras had moved elsewhere.

109 WRIGHT, p. 249.

110 KTMV 2:209.

111 Ibid.

112 PETECH, p. 85.

113 For all of these inscriptions I am indebted to Dhanavajra Vajracarya. They are contained in the material for his forthcoming work on the medieval inscriptions of Nepal.

114 KTMV 2:196.

115 KTMV 2:168.

116 For more details see Karunamaya, p. 372-378.

117 WRIGHT, p. 235.

118 Nhucherāj Vajracārya, Minnāthko Vamsāvalī (Patan, 2029 B.S.).

119 The chronology here is completely chaotic. Amśuvarmā who ruled circa A.D. 606-622, was the only king of the period who was not a Licchavi. He was not succeeded by his son but by the rightful Licchavi heir. The only Vrsadeva known to the period preceded Amśuvarmā by about 150 years. The name Bālarcana appears in some chronicles but no other evidence has been found to corroborate his reign. Wright’s chronicle tells the story of Vṛṣadeva (Brikhaddevabarma), his trip to hell and his return, but says that he returned and set up an image of Dharma-rajā Lokesvara. It makes no mention of Jatādhārī Lokesvara of this bāha, (WRIGHT p. 117). The Bhāsa Vamsāvalī attributes the setting up of the image of Jatādhārī Lokesvara to Amśuvarmā. He is also credited with starting a ratha jātra of the same deity. See Nayanāth Paudyā, ed., Bhāsa Vamsāvalī Part One (Kathmandu, 2020 B.S.), p. 84.

120 ABHIJEKH, p. 543-6, 580.

121 Hemrāj Śakya, Śivadeva – Talpatra, p. 10; REGMI 2:767.

122 Karunamaya, p. 398.

123 WRIGHT, p. 188


125 WRIGHT, p. 162. A colophon reference of N.S.183 which speaks of Ācārya Sthavira Rauendradeva who lives in Mānadeva Mahāvihāra (PETECH, p. 45) may refer to this foundation, but it is doubtful in the extreme. The colophon does not mention the place of this vihāra. We do know of a Śri Mānadeva Vihāra from the Licchavi inscriptions and the Gopālarājavanmāvalī. Dhanavajra Vajracarya places this vihāra in Patan. (ABHIJEKH, p. 323.) If this is correct there is a chance that the reference of N.S.183 refers to the same vihāra and that Cūka Bāhā is the successor of this vihāra. We know of no other vihāra in Patan which claims to have been founded by Mānadeva. Wright’s Chronicle, however, refers the foundation of Cūka Bāhā to a Narendradeva who ruled about A.D.1138-39 well after the time of the colophon. Furthermore, in a forthcoming article on a newly found vamsāvalī Kamal Prakash Malia shows that there is evidence from this text that the vihāra founded by Mānadeva was at Swayambhu. (The article will appear in the forthcoming number of Contributions to Nepalese Studies.)

126 WRIGHT, p. 235.

127 For a fuller treatment of this question see Karunamaya, p. 332 ff.

128 REGMI 3: (79).

129 Hemrāj Śakya, Samyak Mahādāna Guthi (Kathmandu, 2036 B.S.), p. 19.

130 KTMV 2:136.

131 KTMV 2:133.

132 WRIGHT, p. 235.

133 For further details see Karunamaya, p. 359-64.
For details on these legends see Karunamaya, p. 349-56.

'Nepal Deskó Itihās' Ancient Nepal, 16:4. A.D. 733 is, of course, too early for either of the kings called Guṇakāmadeva, and according to the tradition associated with Bungadya, the ratha jātra of Adināth was discontinued after his was begun.


SĀV, p. 105-6.

REGMI 3:119.

SĀV, p. 154. Kalimātī is a black clay which the farmers use as a fertilizer and soil conditioner.

SĀV, p. 236.

KTMV 2:136.

WRIGHT, p. 234.

For a more complete account of the Patan Kumārī and her functions see Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumārī (Kathmandu, 1975). At the time that Allen did his research nearly fifteen years ago the Patan Kumārī was over twenty. She remained in office until the fall of 1984 when she was finally retired after considerable outside pressure had been brought on her family to declare her unfit. It is the duty of the girl's mother to inform the gūthi when the girl is disqualified (i.e. whenever she has shed blood because of some injury or when she has had her first menstruation). In this case the girl's mother had steadfastly refused to inform the gūthi for over fifteen years.

WRIGHT, p. 156-7.

WRIGHT, p. 234.

One custom often cited as proof that the bāhā was moved from the darbar area is the custom of placing a Buddha image in a metal tank just outside the main entrance to the darbar under the golden window which displays an image of Padmapāṇi Lokesvara. The image is placed there for the entire month of Guṇāla. This seems to be entirely incorrect. First, this is the wrong place. The bāhā was supposed to have been located at the Sundari Chok, not at the main chok. Secondly, people in Patan say this custom has nothing to do with the bāhā but is simply a Guṇāla custom. An image was placed there so that the king (Śrī Nīvāsā Malla?) could worship the Buddha during the sacred month of Guṇāla. Some say that this is the result of a dream which Śrī Nīvāsā had, others say it has nothing to do with Śrī Nīvāsā but is a much older tradition.


Rājuvāṃśi, Tamsūk Tādpatra, Bhag 1, p. 79.

KTMV 2:139.

The top part of the inscription is in perfect condition, the lower part has been badly abraded by generations of children who play marbles in the patī and bounce them off the stone.

WRIGHT, p. 158-9.

Rāmji Tewāřī et al., Abhilekh Saṅgraha, Part IX, p. 15 footnote 1; PETECH, p. 31.

It seems that this vedic fire sacrifice is performed in few places in the subcontinent at all any more. I have not heard of any place in India where it is performed except in Kerala.

This is what the informants told me, but it seems to be a right in theory. In fact, if someone dies in the jail the family is called to make the arrangements or the police themselves do it.

REGMI 3:(56-7). The colophon of a manuscript dated N.S.253 speaks of a Vṛ Vihāra in the northern part (manigvalottare) of Lalitapur. Petech surmises that this is at Bāhā and is a short form of Vṛṣarajā Vihāra (PETECH, 57).

There is a Vṛṣarajā Vihāra at Bāhā (# k
below) but this was founded just a little over a
hundred years ago. Furthermore, Bū Bāhā is
situated straight west of the southern boundary
of the Patan Darbar and it is unlikely that this
area would be called manigualottare.

158 REGMI 3:(106-7).
159 VRHAT SUCI-BAUDHHA 2:133-4.
160 Dhanavajra Vajracarya (ed) Itinās Samso-
159.
161 KTMV 2:140.
162 REGMI 3:(106).
163 KTMV 2:208.
164 Ibid.
165 KTMV 2:206.
166 WRIGHT, p. 235.
167 Cecil Bendall, op. cit., p. 191. Hem
Rāj Sakya tells me that he has seen a manuscript
dated N.S.567 which lists all eighteen of the
main bāhās of Patan with their current names.
Unfortunately, the owner of this manuscript says
he no longer has it.
168 Unpublished records in possession of the
author.
169 KTMV 2:145.
171 KTMV 2:145.
172 KTMV 2:208.
173 KTMV 2:145.
174 KTMV 2:146.
175 KTMV 2:142.
176 KTMV 2:261-2. For the inscriptions of
N.S.635, 7821 783, 802, 835, 837 and 876 I am
indebted to Dhanavajra Vajracarya's material for
his work on the medieval inscriptions. REGMI
3:(102-3) has part of the inscription of
N.S.635.
177 KTMV 2:262.
178 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval In-
scriptions'.
179 KTMV 2:265.
180 KTMV 2:265.

The Bahis of Patan

Introduction

1 See Gellner, op. cit., for a more detailed
analysis of these differences. As Gellner notes
the 10 differences noted by Korn (op. cit. p.
19), some of which are repeated by Slusser
(1:139) are inaccurate. Many bahās do have
loroanas and entryway lions. A hybrid form of
bāhāl-bahij as a separate type of architectural
structure which both of these authors describe
would not be recognised by any Newār. What they
are describing is a branch bāhā with a veranda
which is part of the living quarters. (See
Gellner note 27.) On gandhuri-dya see my note
17 to the General Introduction.

2 See General Introduction note. 4.

3 See Gellner, p. 21-22 for more details on
the arrangements of this organization.

4 Gellner, 22-23.

7 Gellner, 30. See p. 28-30 for Gellner's
re-translation of this whole section from the
chronicle. A comparison of this with Wright
236-7 shows again how inaccurate and misleading
the old translation is. On the term vānaprastha
Gellner says: 'The term vānaprastha seems to be
a urduh form of vanaprastha, which usually
denotes a Hindu forest ascetic. . . It would
however be a natural way to refer to that well-
known Buddhist figure, the forest monk. BV does
indeed seem to use vānaprastha as a synonym for
vanavasi, Skt. living in a forest (wright, 185;
BV: 108a), which is precisely the term used for
Theravada forest monks. (p. 29).

8 Gellner, 32.

The Ten Bahis

1 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, Itihās Samādhanako Premān Premeya (Patan, 2019 B.S.), p. 4; see also REGMI 3: (56).

2 KTMV 2:204.

3 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

4 S&V p. 96.

5 KTMV 2:183.

6 Slusser identifies this image as Dipānkara (2:plate 485, 486). Local informants call it Maitreyā, but it is clearly the Buddha showing the viśvavyākarana mudrā. It would be unusual in need to have a Dipānkara as the kwāpā-dya of a vihāra.

7 REGMI 3: (4). I am indebted to Dhanavajra Vajracarya for a translation of this inscription. The reference to Saptapura Mahāvihāra is sometimes taken as referring to Cikān Bāhī which is called Satpapuri Mahāvihāra. However, it is clear from the inscription of N.S.399 that the foundation of Gautama Śrī was at Guita. Vajracarya speculates that this man had gone to Tibet where he attained the title mahāpandita and where he also earned a lot of money enabling him to finance this foundation.

8 S&V, 3-4.

9 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

10 REGMI 3: (103).

11 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

12 REGMI 2:275. This inscription has not been published and I have not been able to locate it. It is this inscription which Slusser (1:295) uses as one of her arguments that gandhūrī-deva is used for the deity of a bāhī as well as a bāhī. Whatever the status of the present community and their relation to the bāhī sarva-sangha, the institution is always called a bāhī and the original sangha was composed of brahmacārī āvikās. I would rather take the reference to gandhūrī-deva here as a confirmation that this is indeed a bāhī.

A manuscript colophon dated N.S.321 mentions a Śrī Padmapāhu Mahāvihāra (PETECH, p. 80) which identifies this with Guita Bāhī. However, this is doubtful as the name is different and the colophon does not mention the place of this vihāra.

13 KTMV 2:196.

14 WRIGHT, p. 129.

16 See the account of Mahābuddha Bāhā under Uku Bāhā.

15 REGMI 3: (31-32).

17 KTMV 2:192.

The Fifteen Bahīs

1 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

2 KTMV 2:151.

3 WRIGHT, p. 115-17.

4 WRIGHT, p. 148.

5 Bhāṣā Vāṃśāvalī, Part II, p. 3-4.

7 Private communication from Hem Raj Sakya.

8 PETECH, p. 44.


10 Unpublished document in possession of the author.


12 KTMV 2:209.
13. PETECH, 141.


15. Ian Alsop, a forthcoming article on Vana-ratna. The older painting is now in the Los Angeles County Museum and the more recent one is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Varanasi. The earlier inscription is badly faded, and it seems that it was faded when the copy was made so that doubtful passages are doubtful on both paintings.


17. Pal, op. cit. plates 162, 163.

18. KTMV 2:154.

19. KTMV 2:208.

20. REGMI 3:(53); see also Hemraj Sākya, '2513 Buddha Jayantiko Saṁjñadharāma Saptapura Mahavihariya Ek Adhyayan, Sānti Vijaya (Buddha Jayanti 2513) p. 57-64. In this article Sākya claims, as do the people of Cikān Bāhā, that the inscription at Guita Bahī of N.S.144 (REGMI 3:(4)) refers to Cikān Bāhā. I think it is clear now that this is untenable. First, the name on the Guita Bahī inscription is Saptapura not Saptapuri which is found on inscriptions at Cikān Bāhā. Much more convincing is the inscription of N.S.399 at Guita Bahī on the Buddha image which makes it clear that the vihāra of Gautama Śrī is at Guita Bahī.

21. Sākya, Ibid.


23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. KTMV 2:158.


27. KTMV 2:134.


30. Ibid. p. 11.

31. KTMV 2:144.


33. Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

34. KTMV 2:24.

35. KTMV 2:260.

Other Bahās of Patan

1. REGMI 1:110; Petech, p.31-32. Though several people have claimed that this is Gā Bāhā, I doubt it as the name is clearly Mahavati-ga Vihāra which is a long ways from Gāda Bahara.

2. REGMI 3:(19); see also Dhanavajra Vajracarya, Itihās Samādhana Pramanā Prameya, p. 93.

3. Gopālarājavamsāvalī 37 B:3.

4. Hemraj Sākya, Śivadeva ... Tālapatra, p. 15.

5. There are several references to a Yogha or Yoccha in Patan: N.S.345 'sri-mānigala yoghako-śastadhivasinga...' (PETECH, p. 84), N.S.372 'sri mānigala yoghakośāchavingi...' (PETECH 85), N.S.476 'sri yokhāccha vihāra vajracārya śri kṣemendrasya... (no place mentioned) (PETECH 123), N.S.491 'lalitāpura śrī mānigalottara mahavihari śrī yokhāccha vihāra... (PETECH 130), 'śrī yokhyasthāna bahāra lacchavanṭa vajracārya śrī sāntamatin... (PETECH 32). All of these references are from manuscript colophons. The last reference of N.S.530 comes from a caitya outside of the main entrance to the Kumbhesvar temple. The inscription is partly obliterated but it commemorates repairs to the caitya and in Petech's reading the place is given as 'sri manigalottara vihāra sri yokha'....

Petech understands all of these variant names to be the same place and on the basis of the inscription places it in the Kumbhesvar area. If this is true this site that I have called Konti Bāhā may well be the remains of this
ancient vihāra. Petech goes further and identifies this with a place referred to in the Gopālarājavedik śāvāli (25:1). The king Somaśvara (A.D.1178-1183/5) built a beautiful wooden temple structure in a place read as 'yogha' in earlier versions. However, Dhanavajra Vajracārya reads this as 'yodyam' (Gopālarājavedik śāvāli p. 33). In a private communication he has told me that he cannot identify this place but from the context of the chronicle would look for it in Bhaktapur rather than Patan.

Villages Near Patan

1For a more detailed study of the complex see Karunamaya p. 150ff.

2KTMV 2:260.

3For a more detailed study of this question see Karunamaya, p. 298-325.

4Hemrāj Śakya, Samyak Mahādāna Gūthi, p. 33.

5KTMV 2:257.

6KTMV 2:254; REGMI 4:184.

Ācārya Gūthi

1The position of the walls of the late Malla, walled city of Kathmandu has been traced by means of the annual procession which goes round the city of Kathmandu at the time of Indra Jātra. Known as upāko wanegu (walking round the town), this procession traces the perimeter of the old walls. Further confirmation can be attained by locating the emplacements of the gates into the city, traces of many of which are still extant. One curious feature of the procession at Indra Jātra is that at the northern end of the city it passes along the northern side of the Tha Hiti stūpa, thus leaving Kuā Bāhā right outside the city. This struck me as curious in the extreme as all the bāhās and their branches lie within the walls; and Kuā Bāhā is still considered to be the most important, and perhaps the oldest, bāhā in the northern quarter of the city. Two maps of the upāko wanegu route and the supposed walls have been published: Slusser, 2map #7 and Niels Gutschow, 'Kathmandu: Historical Development, Spatial Structure, Social and Ritual Topography', Khutmu Himal, 13:3 (1979), p. 253. Both show Kuā Bāhā outside of the city. However, both authors point out that the route is not exact and may well have changed a bit for convenience sake or because new structures now lie along the line of the wall. Kāshi Nath Thamot has pointed out to me the remains of the gate emplacements along the road leading north of Tha Hiti. This emplacement lies north of Kuā Bāhā. Hence Kuā Bāhā was within the confines of the old city and the line of the wall should be adjusted accordingly.

2The fish can still be seen set into the pavement in Asan Tole directly in front of the Annapurna Temple.

3The 'Lion Gate' consists of two half buried lions in Makhan Tole directly in front of the photo shop.

4The history of the two main divisions of the city and the names used for them have been traced by Gautamavajra Vajracārya in 'Yaṅgala, Yāmbu,' Contributions to Nepalese Studies, 1:2, p.90-98. The whole question is treated at more length also in Slusser 1:87-95. For Suvarṇapraṇālī as a part of Kantipur see the palm-leaf document of N.S.823 cited in G. Vajracārya p.94: 'Śrīmatkāntipur mahānagare śrīyanam śuvarṇapraṇālī sthane... and Saṅkarmanā Rājyamā, Kāntipur-Suḷālekh Suĉi (Kathmandu, 2027 V.S.), (Henceforth KĀNTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH) ins. #192, p. 139, śrīyanama suvarṇapraṇālī mahāsthāne tarace tara jhwaravahāra. There are a number of references to this area which give the impression that it is a separate entity. See for example: 'śrīsuvarṇapraṇālī mahānagare maitripurpa mahavihāra... p. 72; śrīsuvarṇapraṇalī mahānagare tamvaracche tara jhumara bāhara... p. 72; śrīsuvarṇapraṇalī mahānagare suvarṇapraṇalī mahānagare jhwaravahāra.Ç

5KANTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, ins. no. 124 p.91; 'likhitheyyam suvarṇapraṇalī mahānagare maitripurpa mahavihāra va-sthāna Vajracārya jinideveneta,' (Śamvat 779), Bendall, p.81. This list is not exhaustive. For the date of the construction of the stūpa see Slusser 1:90 and footnote 36. For other...
customs, feasts and rituals which have survived down to the present and which confirm the division of the city into two main parts see SLUSSER 1:91. It is strange that Slusser talks about a third division that was considered a separate city but says that she is unable to identify this third city (p.91) despite the many references to Suvarnapranâli in published inscriptions and manuscript colophons. She speculates that the third city might be the area of the Hanumândhokâ Darbâr which is called we desa in an unpublished thyasapû. There seems to be no other reference to the site of the palace as a separate city or settlement.

5 For a more detailed treatment of this râj guru or râj gubhâjû see the section on Sikhamu Bâhâ [55], the bâhâ of which he is always a member.


7 Santikar is said to have been a prince named Pracanda Deva from the kingdom of Gauḍ, an important city in medieval Bengal and an important centre of tantric religion. Santikar is his initiation name. He is said to have received his initiation from one Gunâkara Acâraya, who was a siddha and had thus by his own yoga attained all the powers of a Vajracarya. The story of Santikar is contained in the Swayambhû Purâṇa which relates his conversion and his setting up of the five temples, but says nothing about his connection with the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu. The Bhasâ Vamsâvalî also recounts the story of Pracanda Deva coming from Gauḍ, settling at Swayambhû and receiving his initiation as a bhiksû from Gunâkara, after which he built the five shrines and covered the caitya. This account, which is placed in the time of the king Vrsadeva makes no mention of a tantric initiation. Nayanâth Paudyâl, ed. Bhasâ Vamsâvalî, Part 1 (Kathmandu, 2020 B.S.), p. 56-7.

8 The Newâr work phu means 'the last', one, the one who comes last in a line; hence phu yaye means 'to complete'. (For this etymology I am indebted to Kamal Prakash Malla.)

9 Informants at Lagaṅ Bâhâ insisted that the Phu Bare from Lagaṅ Bâhâ functions at Sikhamu Bâhâ, but this was denied by the people at Sikhamu Bâhâ.

10 Sâv 27-8.

11 See SLUSSER 1:124-6 for a discussion of Bhaktapur as the capital from the mid-twelfth century on; but see PETECH, p. 185 and note 1 for his reservations on this theory.

12 This function seems to have virtually disappeared now since the days of the long dispute with the jaïmâns of the Ācârya Gûḍî over the question of commensality.

13 This seems to be a matter of some controversy and ill feeling between the two communities. The people of Sikhamu Bâhâ look on this man as a usurper. What functions the Râj Guru still retains are performed by the Râj Guru of Sikhamu Bâhâ. If such an appointment were made it should have been by a lâl mohar of the king. Whether or not such a document exists is now a moot point. The 'Râj Guru' of Sausal Bâhâ claims it does exist but refuses to show it to the people of Sikhamu Bâhâ. Sikhamu people claim that it was a verbal appointment and therefore certainly had no validity after the death of the monarch. The whole dispute is rather academic as the functions of the Râj Guru have so diminished that the post is hardly worth fighting over. The present incumbent of Sikhamu Bâhâ seldom even uses the title but he does take his place among the Five Buddhás.

14 Gautamvajra Vajrâcârya, Hanumândhokâ Râjdarbâr (Kathmandu, 2033 B.S.), p. 53.

15 In his introduction to the Sâchana Mûlâ B. Bhattacharya notes one Lilâvajra, a disciple of Bhagavatî Laksmi or Lakṣmînîmârâ, who was a vajrâcârya of great repute and wrote a number of authoritative Vajrayâna works. He flourished about 100. (Sâchana Mûlâ 2:1vi.) Ratnakâjî Vajrâcârya claims in his book on the bâhâs that this man is the Lilâvajra of Sikhamu Bâhâ. (Ratnakâjî and Vijaya Ratna Vajrâcârya, Nepal Deya Vîhâraya Tâcâ [Kathmandu, 2039 B.S.], p. 91-92. Henceforth RATNAKÂJÎ.) However there is nothing to support this except the common name and no indication in Bhattachâryya's sources that the man was from Nepal or ever visited Nepal.

16 Several authors have attempted to explain the Newâr name as a corruption of the Sanskrit 'ârî khanda' arising from the story that the
bähā was made from the leftover wood of the Kāśthmandapa. This is an attempted Sanskritization of a pure Newari term. I am indebted to Kamal Prakash Malla for pointing out that the Newari name is clearly a translation of the Sanskrit tarumula which means the root of a tree.  

REGMI 3(23); for the thyasaphū reference see S&W p. 37.

18 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'

19 KTMV 2:87.

20 SLUSSE 1:312


23 KTMV 2:15.

24 Allen, op. cit. p. 40. For a further treatment of her functions at Thām Bahī see the section on Thām Bahī below.

25 REGMI 4:11.


28 KTMV 2:16.

29 People at Dhwakā Bāhā usually identify this lineage deity as the caitya, but some claim that the deity they worship is Vajrayogini.

30 REGMI 3:132.


32 KANTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 138.


34 ABHILEKH, p. 507.

35 For a detailed description of these wood carvings see Karel Rujk van Kooij, 'The Iconography of the Buddhist Wood-carvings in a Newar Monastery in Kathmandu,' Journal of the Nepal Research Centre, Vol. 1, p. 39-82. For a description of the architecture of this bähā see Wolfgang Korn, The Traditional Architecture of the Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, 1976), p.30-33.

36 KANTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 97 has part of the inscription, for the rest see Korn, ibid. 30.


38 This is strange indeed; it could conceivably be Vajrayogini but hardly Yogāmbara. No one could give an explanation of this anomaly.

39 KANTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 139.

40 The document was published in Cittadhar Hṛdaya, Nepal Bhasā Sahityayā Jāta (Kathmandu, 1991 N.S.), p. 3, without any reference to its source. However Kamal Prakash Malla kindly gave me a photo of the document which is still in the possession of the saṅgha of Gaṃ Bāhā. This document, however, is not the original but a copy. The original has evidently been lost.

41 The position of these Vajracaryas as pujāris in the temple of Nuwakot is confirmed by two documents of A.D.1872 (19308.S.) still in the possession of the members of the saṅgha. The documents speak of difficulties which Ratna Cūḍāmanī Gubhāji of Jhū Bahāl faced in collecting the rents of the gūṭhi land of the gūṭhi of Śrī Svachanda Bhairava in that year. It is interesting that the second of these documents identifies these Vajracaryas as descendants of Vakvajra. See Dhanavajra Vajracarya and Tek Bahādur Shreṣṭha, Nuva koṭo Aitiḥāsik Rūprekha, p. 106-7, documents 84,85.

42 Though this is what the members of the saṅgha say, the Vajracaryas at Sankhu claim that when people come to worship their lineage deity, it is the caitya they worship, not Vajrayogini.
This is the only example in Kathmandu of a branch Bāhā composed to members of two different main Bāhās. There is one example of such a branch in Patan, Na Bāhā, a branch whose members are made up of Sakyas from Bū Bāhā and Si Bāhā.

KTMV 2:21.

Ibid.

Ibid.

VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 3:88 and 3:45.

Bendall, p. 85.

Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 102-3.

REGMI 2:772.

RATNASKIJI, p. 87.

Gautamvajra Vajracarya, 'Pratap Malla Šantipurpraves'. Pūrṇīma 4:41-3. The painting gives the dates of his entry, but the painting itself is not dated and was probably painted well after the event.

Mary Slusser, Kathmandu (Kathmandu, n.d.) p. 1.

Ibid., p. 2.

WRIGHT, p. 167-70. Wright gives the man's name as 'Kesachandra' and this form of the name is often used today in stories and printed accounts.

'Samvat 361 jēşṭha śukla astami yāmbu yatumbāhara kuṭa calyaka yarāḥ kitipāla bhāro-sa, Gautam Vajracarya, Hanumanchokā p. 38 note 1 (Gopalarājavamsāvalī 33 b:4).


From an unpublished land document read and translated for me by Sankarāṁ Raṉjāvāmī, 'sreyostu samvat 612 āsvinamaa śukla pakse cattuṭhayaantiau śrīyaṃbukramayan śrīganbulanog śrī śrī bhāskaradevasamskārita sattaśrīkeśavacandraśrī pravatmahāvaharīdhiśaśāna bhikṣu śrī Hākūjasa nāma sakasat. . . '

Hem Rāj Sakya, Samyak, p.27-8.

Ibid., 29-31.

WRIGHT, p. 220-1. Another chronicle also says that Pratap Malla 'made' Itum Bāhā and for this employed one Sobha Candra Baniya of Itum Bāhā. It is clear from the context that 'made' equals repaired here also. 'Kaṭhmandau Upatya-kāko ek Rajvamśavali', Ancient Nepal 6:3-4.

KANTIPUR SILALEKH, 90-91.

Ibid. 96-97.

Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

KTMV 2:45

KTMV 2:87.

SLUSER 2:plate #65.

Hemraj Šakya, Śrī Bhāṣakakārti Mahāvihāra, Yetakahābāhā (Kathmandu, 2035 B.S.), p. 21-23.

Ibid., p. 27.

Ibid., p. 30

Ibid., p. 37.

KTMV 2:52.

The supposed founder of both the Mahāṅkālī and Bhadrakālī shrines was one Sasvatavajra. See note 79 below.

From an unpublished article by Ratna Kāji
Vajracarya on Sawai Bähā.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid. The date of this document is illegible, but it is known from other sources that Samantabhadra Vajracarya was Thakāli of the Acārya Gōtī in N.S.995.

79 Ratnakāji Vajracarya places Sāsvatavajra in the seventh century A.D. and he identifies him with the Śrīsvayambhū Mahācaitya as the author of the 'Mahāinkramatārāsādhana' (#10). However, Bhattacāryya, basing himself on the information from Tibetan sources which attribute a total of fifteen works to him, assigns Sasvatavajra to the twelfth century, and there is no evidence from Tibetan sources that he was in any way connected with Nepal. Śāhanamāla 1:209-11, 2:cxvii.

80 Ratnakāji Vajracarya, Ibid.

81 KTMV 2:52

82 Hemraj Śakya, Śrīsvayambhū Mahācaitya (Kathmandu, 1098 N.S.), p. 610ff.

83 The shrine of Gūhyēśvarī, located up river from Pasupatīnāth, is a pīṭha and considered to be a shrine of Dūrga by Hindus. However, she is worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists alike. The Buddhists claim that she is a manifestation of Prajñāpāramitā and worship her as Nairatmā, the consort of Hevajra or as Agnīyogini (the Fire Yogiṇī). There are legends linking this shrine and the Swayambhū Mahācaitya. There is supposed to be a cave at Swayambhū leading to an underground passage which comes out at Gūhyēśvarī. For the Buddhists this shrine is one of four yojinī pīṭhas the others being the Vajrayogini shrine at Sankhu, the Vajrayogini shrine at Pharping, and Vijyesvarī. (See SLUSSE 1:327-8.)

84 Ratnakāji, p. 80-83.

85 Samyakratra Upāsaka [Vajrācarya], Khwāpāde Bāhābahiya Sankaji Paṭicaya (Bhaktapur, 2028 B.S.), p. 21.


87 Dhanavajra Vajrācarya and Tek Bahādur Śreṣṭha, Dolakhāko Aitihāsik Rūprekhā (Kirtipur, 2030 V.S.), p. 194-95. The manuscript is now in the possession of CNAS.

88 KTMV 2:25.

89 KTMV 2:87.

90 Allen, op.cit. 37. For more details see his treatment of the Mu Bähā Kunārī p.37-38.

91 For example, see the story of the coming of Sankaracārya in Bikrama Jit Hasrat, History of Nepal (Hosiarpur, 1970), p. 38-40.

92 KANTIPUR-SILĀLEKH, p. 68.


94 WRIGHT, p. 139.

95 ABHILEKH, p. 59-60.

96 ABHILEKH, p. 454-55. The Sanskrit gives the name of the man as 'sākya. priyapāla-nama'. In his Nepali translation Vajracarya has 'Śakyabhikṣu Priyapāla'. This is an interpretation. 'Śākya' could refer to a Buddhist monk, but it could also simply refer to a man of the Śākya tribe. As noted in the introduction some of the present day Śākayas claim descent from the tribe of the Śākayas.


98 Most historical records simply refer to Teḍo Vihaṛa, but those that do mention the Sanskrit name give Rājakirti Mahāvihāra. Many modern authors give the name as Rājākṛta (made by the king). See ABHILEKH, p. 60 and 454. These two Sanskrit terms as used in the names of Vihaṛas are often interchanged. I know of no historical document which calls Te Bāhä Ṛājākṛta.

99 Ratnakāji, p. 89. As a reference he cites ABHILEKH, but in the place cited Dhanavajra Vajracarya speculates that the two Rāj Vihaṛas mentioned in the Licchavi inscriptions were both in Patan. (One certainly was.)

100 REDMI 3(78) and Šānkarmān Rājvamsi, 'Yakṣamallako Samayakā Niścit Saṃvat ra Tithimītihar+', Pūrojā 9:13.
Notes


102. REGMI 3r(107).

103. KANTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH, p. 49.

104. Note again the constant confusion between rājakirti and rājakṛta and this hybrid form rājakṛti.

105. VṚHAṬ-SUCĪ BAUDDHA 4:20.55.

106. For more details see my Karunamaya (Katmandu, 1980) p. 126.

107. For a detailed description of the whole complex see Karunamaya, p. 125-146.

108. For a fuller description of these rituals see Karunamaya, p. 175-81.

109. For a full description of this ceremony see Karunamaya p. 205-221.

110. For a full description of the ritual as performed on this occasion see my 'Newar Buddhist Initiation Rites', Contributions to Nepalese Studies 2:1-23.

111. Ibid.

112. There is a copy of the Nāmasaṅgiti in the National Archives dated N.S.256 and written by one Śri Jumālākṣe Śākyabhikṣu Ratnakūpta. Some have taken this Jumālākṣe as a reference to Jana Bāhā. First of all the word, as given by Regmi, is jumālākṣe not jumālākā. REGMI 1:167. Even if jumālākā is correct, does this refer to Jana Bāhā or to the original bāhā which existed in Jamāl and from which the image of Avalokiteśvara was taken to Jana Bāhā? We have no record of Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra having been called Jana (or Jamāla) Bāhā before the image was taken there. Without some other confirmation of the existence of Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra at this early date and the use of the Newārī name at this date, this reference is hardly sufficient foundation on which to build an argument for the existence of the bāhā in N.S.256.

113. See Karunamaya, p. 162-7 for documentation of these dates.


115. Ibid.

116. The fact that these two institutions have the same name has given rise to considerable confusion. The oldest inscriptions in the area are found at Nāhākān Bāhā and several published references have referred the inscriptions to the wrong place. (See for example SLUSSER 1:295 note 138 where she claims that the inscription of N.S.508 is at Lagan Bāhā; Rājvanśī in his article, which she quotes, identifies the place as Kirtipunya Mahāvihāra in Lagan Tole which is correct; but the Kirtipunya Mahāvihāra in question is Nāhākān Bāhā, not Lagan Bāhā.)


118. RATNAKAṬI, p. 97-8.

119. WRIGHT, p. 218.

120. This is true of references in Newārī and Sanskrit also. 'To make' often means 'to repair or renovate', and there are references in inscriptions at the bāhās where it is clear from context that the word means 'to renovate'. If the word jirgoddhāra (repair, renovation) is used the meaning is clear, but 'to make' is always unclear unless confirmed by other evidence.

121. I have not been able to see this alleged inscription and have serious doubts about it. What a find this would be for the history of the whole period!

122. SAV, p. 144, Inscription #37.

123. Ian Alsop, 'The Crowns of the Vajraçāryas' a forthcoming article. This piece is described in the museum's catalogue of Tibetan Art, but attributed to Tibet and tentatively dated to the 18th century despite the inscription which gives the exact date (1677) and the place. John Lowry, Tibetan Art (London, 1976), p.88-89.

124. The Newārī word dān means the property rights of the issueless, i.e., those who have no
children. Hence it comes to refer also to those who come to perform the funeral and commemorative rites for a man who has no surviving wife, sons or daughters.

125 S&V, p. 82.

126 KANTIPUR-SILÄEKHL, p. 123.

127 See section on the Phu Bare in the introduction to the Acārya Gūṭhī.

128 S&V, p. 82.

129 KANTIPUR Silālekh, p. 63; also REGMI 4:33, where he dates the inscription N.S.699. KTMV says that the bāhā was built in this year, but this is one of the few examples where there is no confusion about terminology—the inscription says 'jhirnoddhara'. KTMV 2:83.

130 Inscription on the Vajracarya crown; see note 119 above. Bāhāra here is ambiguous; does it mean caitya vihāra or caitya bhattakara, in which case this would not be a bāhā but simply a family caitya? It is impossible to say from the text, but it is a bāhā today and informants say it has been for several centuries.

131 Dumjā Mahādya (or Mahādeva) is a shrine outside of the Valley in Kabhre-Palāncık. It is a popular, local shrine of Mahādev (Śiva) and frequented by people from all over the district, mostly non-Newars. Most of the members of the baha sarīgas who have their lineage deity here have identified the deity as Śiva. However, one man showed me photos of the shrine and the pūjā which his family performed there some twenty five years ago. In the photo can be seen the Śiva Liṅga which is the main cult object of the shrine. To the side are some aniconic stones and it is here that they performed their pūjā. Again it seems to be a question of giving to the lineage deity the name of the principal cult object at the place where the pūjā is performed. Again several people have identified the local place of worship of this deity as Pacali Bhairab down near the river at Teku. However, closer questioning revealed that they do not worship Pacali Bhairab but worship at a little non-descript shrine nearby.

132 PETECH, p. 164.

133 VRHAT-SUCI BUDDHA 2:42.

134 REGMI 4:33.

135 Mohan Khanāl, Nepālka Kehī Mallakālīn Abhilekh (Kathmandu, 2029 V.S.) 21.

136 The current term Oṣ (Bāhā) is a Sanskritization of a Newari term wam which means eastern.

137 RATNAKĀJī, p. 92-93.

138 KTMV 2:78.

139 Though most informants identify the site of the present Theravada foundation as the site of Gana Bāhā, some informants have said that it was Gana Bāhā. What seems certain is that there was in former times both a bāhā and bāhi in this area.

140 WRIGHT, p. 79.

141 The Sanskrit names of these bāhās as found on inscriptions and in manuscripts often have many incorrect variants. One of the most common variants is the interchange of 'l' and 'r' (e.g. Tarumula—Talumula—Turumula etc.). However, the Sanskrit name of this bāhā is most often recorded as Vajrasīla and this is what is found on the oldest reference cited below.

142 Hemraj Śakya, Swayambhu-Mahācaitya, p. 124. Sakya does not give either a facsimile of this rubbing or a complete transcription of the inscription but a summary in modern Newari. Hence it is impossible to check the spelling of the Sanskrit name.

143 Ian Alsop, 'The Crowns of the Vajracaryas', a forthcoming article.

144 KTMV 2:80.

145 KANTIPUR Silālekh, p. 89.

146 ABHILEKH, p. 507.

147 VRHAT-SUCI BUDDHA 1:20.

148 Ibid. 1:70-1. The catalogue gives the date as N.S.425, but this surely must be a misreading for 625 as the reigning king is given as Jayaratna Malla who ruled the separate kingdom of Kathmandu from N.S.605-640.
504 Notes

140 REGMI 3:(97).
150 VRHAT-SUCI 2:27.
151 Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Tek Bahadur Shrestha, Dolakhāko Alitūnāsik Rūprekha (Kirtipur, 2031 B.S.), p. 93-94.
152 VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 3:46.
153 KTMV 2:85.
154 KTMV 2:34. According to Gautamavajra Vajracarya this name comes from the name for the whole tole which is Lhugala Tole. An earlier form of this name found in a document of N.S. 523 is Lhutigra. Gautamavajra Vajracarya, 'Ya-hgala-Yaibu,' p. 92.

Sakya Bāhās

1 For the legends see Kavirāj Danaratna Vajrācārya, 'Kāsi Svayambhūko Nepālā Āgaman', Gorkhapatra B Kārtik 2032 and Somnath Sigdyāl, ed. Suchār Kārya Vīvaraṇa (Kathmandu, 2016 B.S.), p. 65-6. KTMV calls this man Samantabhadra of Takse Bāhā which is strange indeed as all accounts speak of Vākṣvajra of Kuā Bāhā, and to this day the Vajracaryas of Kuā Bāhā as the successors of Vākṣvajra have rights and duties concerned with the shrine to the side of the stupa.

2 SÅV, p. 91-92; REGMI 4:(10-11).
3 SÅV, p. 118-122.
4 Sigdyāl op.cit., p. 66.
5 See the painting done by Oldfield in the middle of the last century. Henry Ambrose and Margaret Alicia Oldfield, Views of Nepal 1851-64 (Kathmandu, 1975) plate #14.
6 This is the same Dumā Mahādev worshipped by the members of the sangha of Gubhi Bāhā [65], see Ācārya Gūthi note 131.
7 This is strange, because as far as is known Simroangadh was entirely Hindu. Were these people Hindus who became Buddhists and Sakyas after coming to the Valley? Do all of the sanghas whose lineage deity is Dumā Mahādeva have a similar connection to Simroangadh? Note that it is also evident from the inscription of N.S.805 that this bāhā existed long before the time of the Gorkhali conquest.

8 REGMI 4:204. Note the date of the inscription. N.S.805 (A.D.1685) is more than eighty years before the conquest of the Valley by Prithwinarayan Shah.
9 KTMV 2:32.
10 Ibid.
11 Pratapadiya Pal, The Arts of Nepal (Leiden, 1974), 1:162,163. If this dating is correct it is significant for the dating of the presence of Vajrayana Buddhism in the Valley as one of the reliefs (plate #163) shows an upright vajra worshipped by two lions.
12 See RATNAKĀJĪ, p. 25 #33; SLUSSE R 2:map #7.
13 PETECH, p. 63. Bendall misreads Panapīṇa as Danapīṇa and Yaṁbu as Māṁbu. (Bendall p. 182.)
14 VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 1:157.
15 PETECH, p. 40. Regmi contradicts himself. In Vol. I he has Petech's reading of the date and the name of the vihāra (p.123 and 562). In Vol. II when he refers to the same manuscript he gives the date as N.S.135 and the name of the vihāra as Dharmacakra (p.773). Evidently both statements are based on secondary sources.
18 Ibid.
19 KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 134-36.
20 KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 112.
21 KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 158.
22 KTMV 2:51.
23 REGMI 4:(37-44).
The inscription in mixed Sanskrit and Newari was translated for me into Nepali by Sankarmān Rājvamśī. It would appear that Jayalakṣa and Jayaharṣa Pāla were one and the same person.

It would appear that Jayalakṣa and Jayaharṣa Pāla were one and the same person.

On the basis of this inscription KTNV says that the bahā was constructed at this time. The inscription does not say this, it says that an image of Aksobhya was donated. This may have been donated at the time of the foundation of the bahā, it may have been at the time of a renovation. KTNV 2:75.

Regmi reads the name of the vihāra as Caka Vihāra and Sakya reads it as Cakra, but it must surely be Naka.

The colophon gives the name of the king as Jayasimhadeva, but there is no king by this name.

This inscription dated N.S.667 and another dated 690 still exist but neither has been published.

The editor reads the date as N.S.425 which is impossible because the colophon also states that it was copied in the joint reign of Ratna Malla and Indra Malla, so it must be 625.
both were definitely in this same general area. It is not clear whether the Licchavi remains found in this area belonged to the bāhā or the bāhi.

13 C. Bhattacharyya, Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources (Delhi, 1974), p. 15.

14 VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 2:106.

15 VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 1:83.

16 VRHAT-SUCI BAUDDHA 2:97.

17 Ian Alsop, a forthcoming article on Vana Ratna.

18 I am indebted to Kamal Prakash Malla for the etymology of this word.

19 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions'.

20 Ibid.

21 KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 133; REGMI 4:(200).

22 Bendall, p. 66. Bendall reads this as itslamyu which is surely a misreading for itlamu.


24 RATNAKĀJI, p. 19, #12.


26 RATNAKĀJI, p. 35, #6.

27 KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 81.


29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 47.
Other Viharas

1 This is the information given by the members of the saṅgha at Swayambhu, but Hemraj Sakya says that they are given the Bārechuyegu initiation before the large standing image of the Buddha to the northwest of the Mahācāitya. (Hemraj Sakya, Śrīsvayambhū Mahācāitya [Kathamndu, 1098 N.S.], p. 531.) The name Pul lan Sānyog means 'Old Swayambhu' and Sāntikār Ācārya, whose original name, was Pracandadeva is supposed to have come from ancient Gaud in Bengal. The two names are intriguing, but there is not enough evidence to draw any conclusions.

2 This is a curious arrangement and the only place in the Valley where the women are considered equal members of the saṅgha and actually serve as dyā-pālās. According to informants this arrangement is only about twenty years old and no one could explain why this was done. Does it have something to do with the fact that their main duty is to perform the nitya puja in the Hāritī shrine?

3 Sakya op.cit., p. 505. This is curious indeed and I don't know exactly what he means by this. Perhaps he means an īśṭa devatā rather than a lineage deity.

4 SLUSSER 1:276-77. The origin of the name Cā Bahī was first noted by Bāburām Ācārya and it is also remembered by many of the old people at Cā Bahī. Arguing from the similarity of the paleography of the plaques attached to the Cā Bahī stupa and a dated piece from the sixth century A.D. in the National Museum, Pal concludes that these plaques can safely be dated to the seventh or eighth century. (Pal, The Arts of Nepal 1:103-4.

5 PETECH, p. 132.

6 Ibid., p. 164.

7 Dhanavajra Vajracarya, 'Medieval Inscriptions.'

8 Hemraj Sakya gives a legend about the Mahasiddha. (Sakya, Swayambhū 603ff.) For the inscription see KĀNTIPUR ŚILALEKH, p. 131 and Sakya, op. cit., p. 605.

9 Sakya, Śrīsvayambhū, p. 607.

10 ABHILEKH, p. 163 ff.

11 Pal, op. cit., p. 107-09 and Plate 172.

12 This is the information given by the elders of the Sixteen Bahis of Kathmandu. However, the people of Thām Bahī say that eighteen elders come--two each from the following bahis: Cā Bahī, Dūgā Bahī, Khākā Bahī, Kānṭipūr Bahī, Nā Bahī, Na Bahī, Phal Bahī, Māha Bahī, Khākā Bahī, Makha Bahī, Na Bahī. Hence, no one comes from either Syangu Bahī or Kotu Cā Bahī. The other bahis not represented actually have no saṅgha.

13 This Dangu is not the same as Dangol.

14 This is a good example of what happens when customary offerings and stipends become fixed at a monetary rate. Most offerings and stipends were traditionally specified as so much produce. Later many of these were changed to a fixed amount of money, cf. the 34 paise fines levied by the Ācārya Guṭhi. At one time 60 paise would have bought enough firewood to cook a feast; today it will buy two boxes of matches.

15 Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumāri (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 39. Informants at Thām Bahī say she still comes during Guṭiā, but this is doubtful. People constantly report what is supposed to happen rather than what actually happens.

16 Allen, p. 40.

17 This is the account of the jātrā given by informants at Thām Bahī. Published accounts of this jātrā give a different explanation of its origin. They say that the jātrā commemorates the return from Lhasā of Siṃha Sārthā Bahu or alternately the sindur jātrā which took place at the time of the coronation of Siṃha Sārthā Bahu after he overcame the ogress who had killed the king. For example see Manavajra Vajrācārya, Mānro Cād Parvahārāku Vivecana (Kathmandu, 2025 B.S.), p. 126-30.

18 The image of Cākaṇ Dya (Dīpākara) is like the usual Dīpākara images, a half image so constructed that a man puts the image on like an over-sized mask and walks round with it. The route is interesting as it is a procession round the 'cities' of Suvanjnapāṇēli (Thatu Puīn) and Kāntipūr (Dathu Puīn). It does not go into Kāsthāmāndapa (Kwathu Puīn) at all and does not
visit Sikhamu Bāhā but only the site of the ancient cāitya in front of it.

19 WRIGHT, p. 84-5.

20 WRIGHT, p. 85.

21 WRIGHT 86-7. The story is an adaptation of the story of one of the eight miracles of Avalokitesvara as told in the Karandavyuḥa (See SLUSHER 1:263 note 47). There are many versions of the story; I give the one from Wright because the borrowings from the original story are more obvious. In most Nepali versions Simha Sārthā Bahu goes to Tibet, not Sri Lanka. In the original story the trader goes to Sri Lanka which is what Wright's story has, but then says he goes north to Sri Lanka. For other versions see Kesar Lal Shrestha, Lore and Legend of Nepal (Kathmandu, 1966), p. 20-30; Man Mohan Sharma, Folklore of Nepal (New Delhi, 1978), p. 24-26; Karna Saky and Linda Griffith, Tales of Kathmandu (Brisbane, 1980), p. 28-30. The name (Sīrā) Sārthā Bahu comes from the Sanskrit sūrtha which means the leader of a trading caravan and is used in this sense in the Licchavi inscriptions. See ABHILEKH, p. 50-54 and 59-60.

22 Alaka Chattopadhyaaya, Atisa and Tibet (Delhi, 1981), p. 322.


24 PETECH, p. 42, note 5.


26 Ibid., p. 42, note 4.

27 Ibid., note 5.

28 Ibid., p. 41.

29 Ibid., p. 41, note 6.

30 Ibid., p. 43.

31 Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p. 351, 378-9.


33 Hem Rāj Sakya, Nepāl Samskrītīya Mulukha (Lalitapur, 2512 Buddh Samvat), p. 44.


35 Regmi surmises that Tham Bahī is the Hlam Vihāra referred to in two medieval inscriptions, but there is no evidence for this. REGMI 1:129.

36 There are two very clear examples of this collective amnesia. The first is Phamtini Pā, a famous Nepali, who with his two brothers flourished shortly after the time of Atisa and about whom there is abundant material in the Blue Annals. The fame of this man was known all over Tibet and a large number of men came to study under him and receive initiations from his hands. The other example is Vana Ratna, an Indian whom the Tibetan call the Last Great Pandit. He spent many years in Nepal, went to Tibet and finally returned to Nepal retiring at Gopicandra Mahāvihāra (Pinthu Bahī) in Patan. Pinthu Bahī still exists but no one there has ever heard of Vana Ratna. Yet there exists a painting of Vana Ratna made the year after his death with a Newari inscription which explains who he was and the fact that he died at Gopicandra Mahāvihāra. (See the section on Pintu Bahī in Patan.) What this painting shows is that we can prove nothing from the silence of Newari sources. The positive Tibetan sources are always to be preferred to the Newar collective amnesia.

37 Pūrṇimā 45:8-9.

38 Translated for me by Śāmkarān Rājvamśī from a manuscript of pūja rituals in a private collection.

39 KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 64-65.

40 KANTIPUR SILALEKH, p. 125.

Defunct Vihāras

1 KTMV 2:12.

2 PETECH 35, 36.

3 KTMV 2:12.

Despite it is clear that Anandadeva built a palace in Bhaktapur, not all scholars accept Slusser's contention that Bhaktapur was henceforth the capital. It may well be that in the late 'Thakuri' and early Malla period the kings had two centres, Patan and Bhaktapur. See for example Petech's reservations (PETECH p. 185, note 1). Even if this is the case, it seems clear that Bhaktapur was the orthodox Hindu centre.

This statement is based on the testimony of informants in Bhaktapur who say that the shift of the Jyāpūs from Vajracarya priests to the use of Brahman (often 'Parbate' Brahman) dates to a time about fifty years ago when people found that the Brahman offered their services for considerably less than what they had been traditionally paying to their Vajracarya priests.

The following is an excerpt from a letter of Dr. Campbell, resident physician at the British Residency at the time of the earthquake of August 1833: 'The places east of Kathmandu have suffered most. Bhātgāon, a large town, has been almost completely destroyed: upwards of 1,000 houses have been levelled with the ground, and few have escaped serious injury; 300 souls have perished in this town alone.' 'A Century-old Catastrophe, Bihar's night of Terror 100 years ago,' in *The Statesman Record of the Great Indian Earthquake, 1934* (Calcutta, 1934) p. 44. According to Gen. Brahma Shamsher's figures, in the earthquake of 1934, 2,359 houses within the city of Bhaktapur were levelled, another 2,263 badly damaged and 1,425 slightly damaged. 1,163 people within the city of Bhaktapur lost their lives. Brahma Shamsher J. B. Rāṇā, *Nepālko Mahābhūkampā* (Kathmandu, 1990 B.S.), p. 130-34.
25 Ibid.
26 This account is based on Michael Allen, The Cult of Kumāri (Kathmandu, 1975), p. 31-35.
27 Ibid. p. 34-35.
29 PETECH gives the date 537 for Catubrahma Vihāra in Bhaktapur (PETECH p. 164). This is based on the colophon of a manuscript copy of the Ākhyaṭarabekosa. However, if one examines the colophon as published in the Bir Library Catalogue (Uphatsucippatram, Vyākaranavig yakab, p.6-7) it is evident that this is not a vihāra at all. The phrase is an epithet of king Jyotir Malla (catubrahmavihāraracaranapatvā) 'one who rests in the four sublime states of Buddhist Philosophy'. This is one of about six lines of epithets applied to the king.
30 Samyak Ratna Vajrācārya, Khwāpāde etc., p. 21. I have tried to get hold of this manuscript but the people in Bhaktapur say the book has now been lost. This was confirmed by an oral communication from Samyak Ratna.
31 SAV p. 232.
32 SAV p. 234.
33 REGMI 4:161). Samyak Ratna has the Sanskrit names of these two bahis reversed. Samyak Ratna Vajrācārya, Khwāpāde, etc. p. 23 and Mallakālin Bauddha Kalā Kṛti p. 13.
34 SAV p. 44.
35 Saṅkramān Rājvamsī, Bhaktapur Śilālekha Sucī (Kathmandu, 2020 B.S.) p. 41.
36 Ibid., p. 40-41.

Vihāras in Villages Near Bhaktapur

1 RATNA KĀJĪ, p. 50-9. There was no king of Bhaktapur by the name of Suvaraṇa Malla. In 633 Bhuvaṇa Malla was the king of Bhaktapur.

2 See Saṅkramān Rājvamsī, Bhūmīsambandhī tamusk Tātpatra, Bhag Ek (Kathmandu, 2040 B.S.), p.2. There are a large number of these documents from Thimi extant. Some of these have been published in this volume; more are contained in the second and third volumes recently published.
3 Hemraj Śākya, Samyak Mahādān Gūthi (Kathmandu, 2036 B.S.) p. 26; REGNI 4:32.
4 Most of these have not yet been published, but some of them appear in Rājvamsī’s two latest volumes.
5 Saṅkramān Rājvamsī, Bhaktapur Śilālekha Sucī (Kathmandu, 2020), p. 29.
6 Ibid., p. 30. Though the editor places this inscription at Dathu Bāhā it is actually as Jīswaṅ Bāhā.
7 KTnv 2:247.
8 For a more detailed description of this shrine complex see Mary Slusser, Kathmandu (Kathmandu, n.d.) p. 13-23 and SLUSSER 1:278. Slusser has made a surprising error in the identification of the torana whose main figure she identifies as Mahāmāyūri, one of the Pañcarakṣā deities. The figure is clearly male not female and the symbols he holds in his hands do not correspond to the iconography of Mahāmāyūri. The vehicle of the figure is a peacock which is the vehicle of Aṁitābha. As a result of this error she persists in referring to this temple as the temple of Mahāmāyūri. It is always hazardous to identify a Buddhist temple in the Valley by the torana. Though theoretically the torana portrays the main deity in the shrine, it is evident from the present survey that this rule of thumb will more often than not lead one astray. In most of the bāhā shrines the main deity is Sakyamuni Buddha showing the bhumispāra, mudrā (or Akṣobhya) but the torana seldom corresponds to the deity inside.
10 Benoytosh Bhattacharya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography (Calcutta, 1968), p. 248-9. The descriptions of Vajrayogini, Ugra Tārā and Mahācīna Tārā found in Bhattacharya's book are based mainly on the Sādhana-mālā, those in Mallmann's book on the Sādhana-mālā and the Nīspaṇa-yogāvalī. It may well be that there were other iconographic texts that the image makers were using which have been lost to us.
11 Slusser, Kathmandu p. 17.
The dya-pālās serve in the temple eight days and then return home on the ninth day, a very strange arrangement as no Newar ever returns home on the ninth day after his departure. This is considered highly inauspicious.


17. VRHAT SUCI-BAUDDHA 3:16.


19. Ibid., p. 47.

20. Ibid., p. 48.

21. For more details on this shrine see Karunamaya p. 364-72.

22. Dhanavajra Vajracārya and Ṭek Bahadur Shreṣṭha, Dolakha Aitihasik Rūpekha (Kirtipur, 2031 B.S.), p. 94.

23. For more details on this shrine and its festival see Karunamaya p. 393-96.

24. Vajracārya and Shreṣṭha, op. cit. p. 94.
### Appendix 1

Statistics

#### Number of Institutions Surveyed

1. **Patan**

   **Patan City Proper** 166

   Villages Near Patan: Kirtipur, Cobhar, Bungamati, Chapagaon, Duru Khya, Baregaon, Pharping 19

   **TOTAL** 185

2. **Kathmandu**

   Kathmandu City (including Cabahil and Swayambhu) 113

   Defunct Institutions 17

   **TOTAL** 130

3. **Bhaktapur**

   Villages near Bhaktapur: Thimi, Sankhu, Banepa, Panauti, Khampu, Nala, Dolakha 25

   **TOTAL** 48

**Total Number of Institutions Surveyed** 363
Main Bāhās

(A main Bāhā or bahi is one where Barechuyegu initiations are performed by right; but note that in some of the bahās they are no longer performed.)

Patan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The 'Fifteen' Bāhās</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The semi-independent branches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Kuā Bāhā</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bahīs</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Bāhās</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhās and Bahīs in villages:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungamati, Duru Khya,</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapagaon, Baregaon</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>57</td>
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Kathmandu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ācārya Gūthī</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sakya Bāhās</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bahīs</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Bāhās</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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Bhakapur

<table>
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<td>Bhaktapur Bāhās</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhaktapur Bahīs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Village Bāhās</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
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</table>

Total number of main Bāhās and Bahīs 122
Initiated Vajracaryas and Sakya in the Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vajracaryas</th>
<th>Sakyas</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Patan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 'Fifteen' Bāhās</td>
<td>2,172</td>
<td>4,060</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Bāhīs</td>
<td></td>
<td>612</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Bāhās</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2,215</td>
<td>4,186</td>
<td>6,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patan Villages</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|       |        |        |       |
| Kathmandu |        |        |       |
| The Ācārya Gūḍhī  | 2,101  | 1,064  | 3,165 |
| Sakya Bāhās     |         | 1,306  |       |
| The Bāhīs       |         | 189    |       |
| Other Bāhās     |         | 196    |       |
| TOTAL           |         | 4,650  |       |

|       |        |        |       |
| Bhaktapur |        |        |       |
| Bhaktapur Proper | 720    | 1,043  | 1,763 |
| Bhaktapur Villages | 568    | 479    | 1,047 |
| TOTAL           |         |        | 2,810 |

Total initiated Sakys and Vajracaryas in the Valley: 15,027
(The total of the communities attached to the bāhās and bāhīs would include this number plus their wives, unmarried daughters and uninitiated sons. Only an approximate number can be given here, but every adult male is married and most would have at least one unmarried daughter or uninitiated son. If one thus multiplies the number of initiated by three the total community would be approximately 45,081.

Total Vajracaryas in the Valley: 5,694 (37.9% of Total)
Total Sakya in the Valley: 9,333 (62.1% of Total)

Vajracaryas are 43.3% of the total in Kathmandu, 31.3% in Patan plus the surrounding villages, and 45.8% in Bhaktapur and the surrounding villages.

The membership of the bāhī sanghas make up only 5.4% of the total.

Note: as noted in the General Introduction these figures are as accurate as could be obtained. Most institutions have accurate and up-to-date lists of their membership. A few were able to give only round numbers.
Kwapâdya:

With one exception the kwâpâdya is always a non-tantric deity, usually an image of the Buddha. About two thirds of the kwâpâdya are images of the Buddha seated in vajrasana and showing the earth-touching gesture. This corresponds to the form of the transcendent Buddha Aksobhya and has been identified by this name throughout the text. The next most popular image found is the standing image of the Buddha showing the viivavyzkarana mudrā often identified locally as Maitreya. Three of the other transcendent Buddhas are occasionally found: Amitābha (17), Vairocana (5), and Amoghasiddhi (1). Ratnasambhava is not found at all. One institution (the Kumārī Bāhā in Kathmandu), however, has images of all five Transcendent Buddhas in the kwâpâdya shrine. There are seven images that are definitely Maitreya. There are twenty images of Padmapâni Lokesvara and two of Śaḍakṣari Lokesvara. Maṇjuśrī is found only once. The one exception to the non-tantric rule is the kwâpâdya of Mañ Bāhā in Bhaktapur which is an image of Mahāvairocana.

Figures for the entire Valley show that the favorite direction for the shrine of the kwâpâdya, and hence the image itself, to face is north. Well over half of the shrines face north with east the next popular direction followed by west. In Patan, however, the number facing east and north are about equal. No shrine faces south as this is considered to be inauspicious.

Toranas:

Theoretically every kwâpâdya shrine has a torana over the doorway. All of the main bāhās and nearly all of the main bāhūs have a torana, but many of the branch bāhās do not, with the result that some 36% of the total number of institutions do not have a torana. In many cases those without toranas did have one but, it fell into disrepair and was not replaced or has been stolen. Images set into toranas are one of the most vulnerable items for theft. So many have been stolen from the various doorways at the shrine of Jana Bāhā Dyā in Kathmandu that they have now enclosed the entire shrine in an ironwork grille.

Of the motifs found on the toranas the most popular (55%) in the form of the Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha, the most common being Aksobhya flanked by Pṛjñāpāramitā and Śaḍakṣari Lokesvara. Many have an image of Aksobhya (Buddha showing the earth-touching gesture) as the main figure. Other popular motifs are the five Buddhas, Vajrasattva, and Mahāvairocana or Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara. Another fairly common motif in Kathmandu is the Nāmasaṅgīti. This is not found on toranas in either Patan or Bhaktapur.

Lineage Deities

The lineage deity (degu/digu dyā) is one of the most important factors in tracing the migration of people and the relationship between groups of people. People move from one place to another, but usually retain the memory of where their lineage deity is and, if convenient, return to the original place each year for the worship of this deity. If it is not convenient to return to the original place each year, they 'bring' the deity with them and set it up some place near their new residence, but return occasionally (often once every twelve years) to the original site. The following list gives all of the lineage deities of the communities attached to the bāhās and bāhūs in the Valley. As noted in the General Introduction, the name of the deity is always problematic, so the place is probably a better indication of relationship than the name. Hence I have listed the lineage deities by place. The place given is the original site of the lineage deity, which may now be regularly worshipped at another place. A few communities have forgotten the original site of their deity, hence some of the Yogambaras worshipped at various places will have come from Pheypē or Kuā Bāhā in Patan. With very few exceptions, all the families of a saṅgha have the same lineage deity. The exceptions are indicated below. Only main bāhās are listed as branch bāhās have the same lineage deity as the main bāhā.
1. Sankhu—'Vajrayogini'
(The sangha at Sankhu worship the enshrined caitya as their lineage deity and they say that all the people who come there to worship their lineage deity worship either the enshrined caitya or the caitya along the stairs leading to the shrine. However, many people who worship their deity in another place say that their lineage deity is 'Vajrayogini at Sankhu'.)

Guṇḍ Bāhā, Sankhu
Vaṇ Bāhā [89], Patan (The Vajracaryas only)
Nhū (Jhūā) Bāhā [10], Kathmandu
Dhūkā [6], Kathmandu
Gaṅ Bāhā [7], Kathmandu
Maṅkān Bāhā [42], Kathmandu
Itūn Bāhā [44], Kathmandu
Sō Bāhā [77], Kathmandu
Ko Hiti Bāhā [31], Kathmandu
Syaṅgu Bāhī [94], Kathmandu
Na Bāhī [59], Kathmandu
Nhāykaṅ Bāhī [84], Kathmandu
Cuṅkaṅ Bāhī [85], Kathmandu
Arakhu Bāhī [41], Kathmandu
Nhū Bāhā, Banepa (Deity worshipped said to be Yogambara)
Nhū Bāhā, Panauti (Deity worshipped said to be Yogambara.)

2. Enshrined Caitya at Kuṅ Bāhā, Patan
(The deity worshipped by the people of Kuṅ Bāhā is clearly the enshrined caitya in the centre of the courtyard, but most people from other places identify their lineage deity as 'Yogambara at Kuṅ Bāhā'.)

Kuṅ Bāhā [59], Patan
Atha Bāhā [44], Patan
Yathā Bāhā [50], Patan
(Gukā Bāhā [102], Patan)
Kyapu Bāhā [174], Kirtipur
Dhauga Bāhī [49], Patan
Ikṣaṅ Bāhā [180], Chapagaon
Laskadya Bāhā [1], Bhaktapur
Nī Bāhā [2], Bhaktapur
Pasu Bāhā [10], Bhaktapur (Sakyas only)
Vaṇ Bāhā [12], Bhaktapur
Ta Bāhā [1], Thimi
Dīgu Bāhā [2], Thimi
Yachiṅ Bāhā [3], Thimi
Tiswaṅ Bāhā [7], Thimi

1. Ghyеśvarī at Pasupatinath

Maka Bāhī [45], Patan
Takṣe Bāhā [15], Kathmandu
Mū Bāhā [46], Kathmandu
Tadhaṅ Bāhā [49], Kathmandu (Deity identified as Heruka)
Ināco Bāhā [6], Bhaktapur
Tadhichеṅ Bāhā [15], Bhaktapur
Tekhāco Bāhā [16], Bhaktapur
4. Swayambhū Mahācaitya

   Dhūm Bāhā [73], Patan
   Dau Bāhā [39], Patan
   Sikhāmu Bāhā [55], Kathmandu

   Musu Bāhā (1) [89], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to image of Amitābha)
   Musu Bāhā (2) [90], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to image of Amitābha)

   Mikhā Bāhā [74], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to image of Amitābha)
   Tamu Bāhā [28], Kathmandu (Pūjā performed to standing Buddha to the west of the stūpa.

5. Dūmā Mahādyā

   Bū Bāhā [31], Patan (Sakyas of Na Bāhā only)
   Gubhā Bāhā [65], Kathmandu (Sakyas only)
   Sigha Bāhā [8], Kathmandu
   Nagha Bāhā [9], Kathmandu
   Bikamā Bāhā [66], Kathmandu

6. Yogāmbara at Mheypi

   Baidya Bāhā [58], Patan
   Bhiñche Bāhā [125], Patan
   Bare Nārī, Baregaon
   Kwā Bāhā [1], Kathmandu
   Būngā Bāhā [175], Bungamati
   Syāngu Bāhā [105], Swayambhū

7. Yogāmbara at various places:

   --near Dhumvarahi
      Michu Bāhā [57], Patan
   --at Kānī Bāhā in Patan
      Uku Bāhā [140], Patan
      Yachu Bāhā [114], Patan
      Ubā Bahī [139], Patan
   --at Sunaguthi (south of Patan)
      Gujī Bāhā [152], Patan
      Duru Khya Bāhā [179], Duru Khya
   --at Ikhāche Bāhā in Patan
      Kyapu Bāhā [174], Kirtipur
   --at Gujī Bāhā, Patan
      Thapa Bahī [155], Patan
   --at Naha Bāhā, Patan
      Naha Bāhā [164], Patan

8. Äju-Ajimā at Khusī Bahī

   Sawal Bāhā [50], Kathmandu
   Jana Bāhā [45], Kathmandu
   Khusī Bahī [92], Kathmandu

9. Cakrasamvara at various places:

   --at Āna Bāhā in Patan
      Ikhā Cheñ Bāhā [62], Patan
--at Belakhu Bāhā in Patan
   Ta Bāhā [99], Patan
--at Ibā Bahī, Patan
   Ibā Bahī [97], Patan
--at Guita Bahī, Patan
   Guita Bahī [122], Patan (The non-bāhī saṅgha)
--at Duntu Bahī, Patan
   Duntu Bahī [63], Patan
   Pintu Bahī [64], Patan
--at Konti Bahī, Patan
   Konti Bahī [68], Patan
--at Nhāykañ Bahī, Patan
   Nhāykañ Bahī [29], Patan
   Cithun (Kyapu) Bahī [168], Kirtipur
--at Kwecuwaṅgu Puco Bahī, Patan
   Kwecuwaṅgu Puco Bahī [166], Patan
--at Bung Bahī, Bungamati
   Bunga Bahī [177], Bungamati
--at Wa Bahī, Chapagaon
   Wa Bahī [187], Chapagaon

10. Various deities at different places:

Mahāmañjuśrī, behind the Swayambhū Mahācaitya
   Mū Bāhā [18], Patan
'Mahādya' near Koteswar
   Wām Bāhā [89], Patan
'Yogini' at Jyo Bāhā
   Jyo Bāhā [92], Patan
'Ganesh' at shrine near Su Bāhā
   Su Bāhā [118], Patan
Matu Bhairava, Lagan Khel, Patan
   Tāṅga Bāhā [103], Patan
Padmapāni Lokesvara at Phandole, Patan
   Ha Bāhā [24], Patan (Vajracarya lineages only)
'Vaisnavi', at Bakhlan near Kirtipur
   Bū Bāhā [31], Patan
Padmapāni Lokesvara at Si Bāhā
   Si Bāhā [8], Patan
Caitya at Guita Bahī Patan
   Gusta Bahī [124], Patan
Vajravarahi at I Bahī
   I Bahī [78], Patan
Vajravarahi at Vajravarahi shrine south of Chapagaon
   Cikañ Bahī [83], Patan
   Paṣu Bāhā [10], Bhaktapur (Vajracaryas only)
Vasundhārā at Te Bāhā
   Te Bāhā [23], Kathmandu
Āju-Ājīmā at Tadhaṅ Bāhā
   Jana Bāhā [45], Kathmandu (Sakya Lineages only)
Enshrined caitya at Lagañ Bāhā
   Lagañ Bāhā [80], Kathmandu
Bisankhu Narayana, near Godavari
   Gubha Bāhā [65], Kathmandu (Vajracaryas only)
Namo Buddha, beyond Panauti
Iku Bāhā [76], Kathmandu
'Dharmaketu' at Maru Bahī
Maru Bahī [35], Kathmandu
Padmapānī Lokesvara at Ca Bahī Stūpa
Thatu Cā Bahī [98], Kathmandu
Jambu Raja at Kothu Cā Bahī
Kotu Cā Bahī [99], Kathmandu
'Vajryogini;' at a place called Bhoti Pukhu
Akhan Bāhā [3], Bhaktapur
'Dharmapala' at Kamal Pokhari east of Bhaktapur
Tām Bāhā [8], Bhaktapur
Dharmadhatu Vagisvara at Thatu Bahī, Bhaktapur
Tathu Bahī [17], Bhaktapur
'Phay-kwā-dya' at a place called Binha-ga west of Swayambhu
Asan Bāhā [17], Kathmandu
Mahābū Bāhā [21], Kathmandu

11. Unnamed deity at site of bāhā or bahī, unless otherwise indicated

Co Bāhā [167], Cobhar
Ha Bāhā [24], Patan (Sakya lineage only)
Hyana Bāhā [116], Patan (Worshipped at Bāl Kumārī Temple)
Yoku Bāhā [40], Patan (Worshipped at shrine on top of Nagarjuna hill northwest of Kathmandu.)
Bare Nānī [185], Bungamati (Worshipped at the edge of the village.)
Yātā Bāhā [86], Kathmandu
Makhaṅ Bahī [43], Kathmandu
Cā Bahī-Maṅju Bāhā [102], Kathmandu
Pantiya Bāhā, Panauti

Early Dates

Following is a chronological list of the earliest confirmed dates from contemporary sources found for still existing vihāras. If the date is the date of foundation of the vihāra this is indicated by an asterisk (*). In most cases the date given is not the foundation date, hence the vihāra is older than the date given. All we know is that it existed at the time it was mentioned. Only one existing foundation can be traced with any degree of certainty to the Licchavi period. The list goes from the earliest dates down to N.S. 600 (A.D.1480-81) almost at the end of the reign of Yaksa Maḷia (who died in N.S.602). After this date there are references to almost all of the main bāhās and bahīs. Many of the branches were founded after this time.

A.D. 607-8 (Samvat 32) Guṭa Bāhā, Sankhu

(All the following dates are Nepal Samvat which began in October of A.D.880)

N.S. 144 Guīta Bahī [122], Patan
161 Thām Bahī [96], Kathmandu
165 Taṅga Bahī [49], Kathmandu
182 Su Bāhā [118], Patan
191 Būṅga Bāhā [175], Bungamati
202 Kuś Bāhā [59], Patan
313 Iku Bāhā [76], Kathmandu
239 Uku Bāhā [140], Patan
245 Taṅga Bāhā [103], Patan
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<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>Ha Bāhā [24], Patan</td>
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<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>Te Bāhā [23], Kathmandu</td>
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<tr>
<td>327*</td>
<td>Gañ Bāhā [?], Kathmandu</td>
<td>(Dhūkā Bāhā [6], Kathmandu -- by inference from Gañ Baha)</td>
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<td>361</td>
<td>Itum Bāhā [44], Kathmandu</td>
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<td>372</td>
<td>Pucō Bahī [165], Patan</td>
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<td>373</td>
<td>Guji Bāhā [152], Patan</td>
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<td>Nhū Bāhā [48], Patan</td>
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<td>470</td>
<td>Ibā Bahī [78], Patan</td>
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<td>479</td>
<td>Pim Bāhā [19], Patan</td>
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<td>492</td>
<td>Sikhamu Bāhā [55], Kathmandu</td>
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<tr>
<td>501-15</td>
<td>Lagañ Bāhā [80], Kathmandu (i.e. during the reign of Jayasthiti Malla)</td>
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<td>Tārā Nani (Itum Bāhā) [44c], Kathmandu</td>
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<td>509*</td>
<td>Nhāykañ Bahī [84], Kathmandu</td>
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<td>511</td>
<td>Si Bāhā [8], Patan</td>
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<td>511</td>
<td>Pintu Bahī [64], Patan</td>
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<td>511</td>
<td>Ubā Bahī [139], Patan</td>
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<td>513*</td>
<td>Syāvīgu Bahī [94], Kathmandu</td>
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<td>520</td>
<td>Nākhācūk [51], Patan</td>
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<td>531</td>
<td>Ugañ Bahī [22], Kathmandu</td>
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<td>Cikañ Bahī [83], Patan</td>
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<td>538</td>
<td>Kinu Bahī [100], Patan</td>
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<td>547</td>
<td>Buñ Bāhā [31], Patan</td>
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<td>548</td>
<td>Mimnāñ Bāhā [68], Kathmandu</td>
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Code:

MS=Mary Shepherd Slusser, Nepal Mandala
KTMV=Carl Pruscha, ed., Kathmandu Valley
SKT=Sanskrit List obtained from Vajracarya of Patan
G&S=Niels Gutschow and Hemraj Shakya, 'The Monasteries (Bāhā and Bāhī) of Patan,'
S=Hemraj Śākya, Nepal Bauddha Vihāra wa Grantha Śūci

Note: MS, KTMV and G&S lists are accompanied with maps. The correlation is between my map and their maps, not between their list of names and my list of names. In some cases one or other author has a different name for a vihāra or has interchanged names.

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Kathmandu

Code:

KTMV=Carl Pruscha, ed., Kathmandu Valley
S=Hemraj Sakya, Nepal Baudha Vihara wa Grantha Suci
B=Official list for Baha Puja.
MS=Mary Shepherd Slusser, Nepal Mandala
RK=Ratnakaji Vajracarya and Bijayaratna Vajracarya, Nepa Deya Viharaya Taca

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Bhaktapur

Code:

MS=Mary Shepherd Slusser, Nepal Mandala.
KTMV=Carl Pruscha, ed, Kathmandu Valley
SAMYAK=Samyakratna Upasaka [Vajracarya], Khwapade Bahabahiya Samksipta Paracaya
S=Hemraj Sakya, Nepal Bauddha Vihara wa Grantha Suci
RK=Ratnakaji Vajracarya & Bijayaratna Vajracarya, Nepal Deya Biharya Taca

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**Dolakha**

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Appendix III

Defunct Viharas Known from Contemporary Sources

Contemporary sources--inscriptions, manuscript colophons, palm-leaf land deeds, copper plates, thyāsaphūs, and chronicles--give the names of vihāras which no longer exist. Following is a list of such vihāras that have come to light from the Licchavi period down to N.S.700. N.S.700 was chosen as a cut-off date, because after that date there is a plethora of material which gives Newari names of many vihāras (bāhāra/bāhāla) which are simply residences of lay people, usually Shresthas (bhāro) of Patan, or the name of a section of the city which may or may not have had a vihāra at one time. To continue the list beyond N.S.700 would produce a very long list of highly suspect references. The earlier references are clearer and most often give a Sanskrit name which is a clear indication of a true vihāra (i.e. an institution to which is attached a community of Sakyas and Vajracāryas rather than a residence of lay people), or mention bhikṣus, sākyabhikṣus, or vajrācāryas who live in the vihāra. The list gives the name of the vihāra, the place (if known) and the source for the reference. In most cases secondary sources are indicated as these will be more readily accessible to the reader. For the scholar the secondary sources indicate the primary source.

Abbreviations:

ABHILEKH -- Dhanavajra Vajrācārya, Licchavikālkā Abhilekh.
GV -- Gopālājavanśāvalī
HRS -- Hem Raj Sakya, Śivadeva Saṃskārita Śrī Rudravaro Mahāvihāra Sthita Tālpatra Abhilekh
KANTIPUR ŚILĀLEKH -- Sankarman Rājvamsi, Kāntipur Śilālekh Sūcī
PETECH -- Medieval History of Nepal
PL -- Unpublished Palm-leaf land deeds
REGMI -- Medieval Nepal
VRAT SUCI-BAUDDHA -- Śrī Nepāla Rājkiya Vīrpustakālayasthapustakanāma vēṭatsūcīpatra, Baudhāvīṣayakaṇṭha. Three Parts.

Licchavi Period ca A.D. 300-880

1. Viharas known from Licchavi Inscriptions

Māna Vihāra -- Inscription at Svayambhu, no date, assigned to time of Manadeva (A.D.464-505). ABHILEKH p. 74.

Gum Vihāra (=the current Gum Baha Sankhu)
Māna Vihāra
Rāja Vihāra
Kharjurikā Vihāra
Madhyama Vihāra -- Inscription in Harigaun dated Samvat 32 (A.D.607-8) ABHILEKH p. 320-24. (The inscription also mentions a class of vihāras: samānya vihāra ['ordinary vihāras'] which seems to be opposed to those founded by a king.)

Śivadeva Vihāra (Probably located in Patan)
Mānadeva Vihāra
Kharjurikā Vihāra
Madhyama Vihāra
Abhayaruci Vihāra
Vārtakalyanagupta Vihāra
Caturbhājañanasana Vihāra

Śivadeva Vihāra

Puspavātika Vihāra -- Inscription at Cyasal Tole in Patan dated Samvat 137 (A.D.712-3).

. . jivavarma V. .āra

2. Vihāras referred to in the Gopālarājavamsāvalī during the Licchavi Period.

Guṇ Vihāra (Guṇ Bāhā, Sankhu) GV 20 b:5 (Time of Mānadeva I)
Śīrāgu Vihāra Caiya Bhāṭāraka (=Śyārāgu Vihāra, i.e. Swayambhu). GV 20 b:2-3.
Māna Vihāra GV 21 a:1.
Rājavihāra GV 21 a:3; 22 b:1 (time of Amsuvārma)
Phuto Vihāra GV 21 b:2 (Time of a Gunakāmadeva placed in the chronicle before Amsuvārma.
Depāla Vihāra GV 22 b:3.

Post Licchavi Period N.S.1-700 (A.D.880-1560-81)

N.S. 40 Mahāvatigvala Vihāra Patan PETECH p. 32.
121 Jayabhīmāna Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 1.
128 Hlām (or Hlām) Vihāra Place Unknown PETECH p. 36.
(Also N.S. 135 PETECH p. 137)
176 Vartta Kalyanaguptena Karite Sugatalaya Place Unknown PETECH p. 44.
(Also N.S. 252 HRS p. 12.)
183 Mānadeva Mahāvihāra Place Unknown PETECH p. 48.
186 Tejamati Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 3.
198 Parinirvāṇa Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 4.
(Also N.S. 245 (Also N.S. 284 Vihāra Sūcī)
Bauddha 1:45-6.
(Also N.S. 292, 293, 295 HRS p. 19, 20, 22.)
192 Mahārāja Vihāra Patan HRS p. 5.
192 Bhogini Madhyama Mahāvihāra
   (Also N.S. 235) Patan HRS p. 5.
194 Hṛdayalakṣmi Ḥarṣākara Gupta Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 6.
198 Rāghava Vihāra Patan HRS p. 5.
202 Cakavati Mahāvihāra Place Unknown PETECH p. 47.
219 Yetho Vihāra Kathmandu GV 31 a:5
(Also referred to under dates 425, 457)
(Also N.S. 235) HRS p. 6.
224 Udāya Lakṣmi Ḥarṣākargupta Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 6
   (Possibly the same as Ḥṛdayalakṣmi above)
   (Also N.S. 292) HRS p. 19.
225 Kārttikeya Mahāvihāra Place Unknown PETECH p. 52.
   (May be either Lagaṅ Bahā or Nhāykaṅ Bahī in Kathmandu)
235 Siṃhadeva Saṃskṛita Śrī Manipuraiva Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 7.
   (Also N.S. 304) HRS p. 23.
   (Also N.S. 331) HRS p. 26.
235 Vandhavu Vihāra Patan HRS p. 7.
249 Mahendravarma . . . vihāra Patan HRS p. 11.
   (Also N.S. 273) HRS p. 16.
250 Vṛ Vihāra Patan PETECH p. 57.
262 Manikira[ta]jiva Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 14
   (Same as above under N.S.235?)
   (Also N.S. 272, 273) HRS p. 15, 17.
   (The resident of this vihāra is one Śrī Jaya Palā Varma. There are numerous references
   throughout the early period to this name or Manigalottara Vihāra/Mahāvihāra. In the
   earlier references the inhabitants are always these Varmas or Pradhananga Mahapatras, never
   a Bhiksu or Sakyabhiksu. In later references it is clear that Manigalottara Vihāra is the
   name for the whole northern section of Patan and of itself has nothing to do with a vihāra.)
282 Manipdharajiva Mahāvihāre Piṅg-havu Vihāra Patan HRS p. 17.
293 Citra Vihāra Patan (?) PETECH p. 66.
   (Also N.S. 494, 496) PETECH p. 131.
   (What was said above about Uttarā Vihāra applies also to Dakṣiṇa Vihāra which came to
   signify the whole southern section of Patan.)
309 Talinėśvara Vihāra Patan HRS p. 25.
309 Livij Vihāra Patan HRS p. 25.
321 Padmapabhu Mahāvihāra Place Unknown PETECH p. 80.
330 Mānasīma Mahāvihāra Patan HRS p. 25.
331 Nyaipā Vihāra Patan HRS p. 27
340 Ko Vihāra Patan REDMI 3:130
   (There are numerous references to Ko Vihāra from this date forward; it was situated in the
   northern section of Patan near I Bahī.)
420 Khuri (or Bakhuri) Bahīri Patan GV 41 a:1
444 Yodyam Bahīri Place Unknown GV 45 a:2
448 Pula Bahīri Patan GV 46 a:3
450 Majhim Bahīra Banepa GV 46 b:3
457 Anata Vihāra Place Unknown REDMI 1:562
473 Yotho Bāhāra Place Unknown GV 53 b:1-2
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