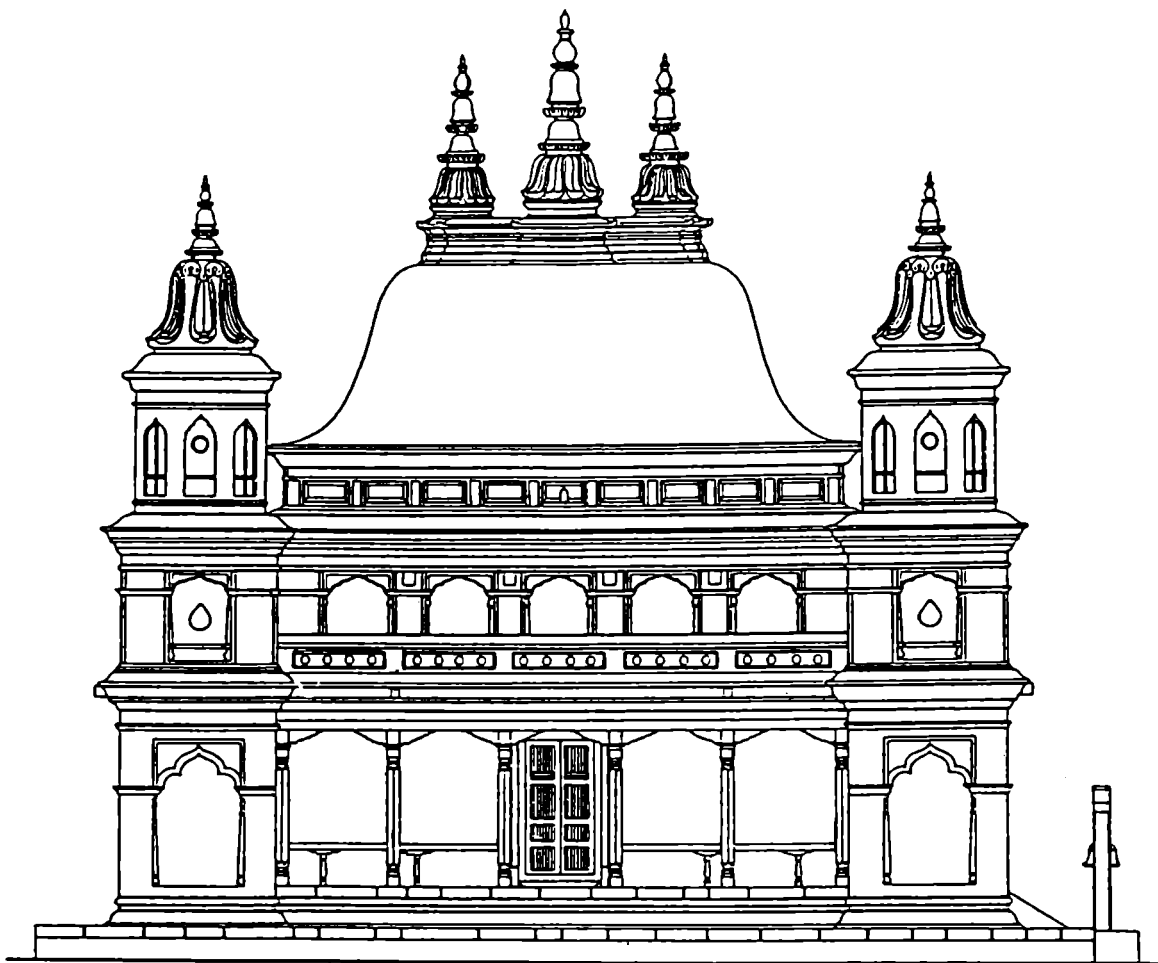


A RĀMA TEMPLE IN 19th-CENTURY NEPAL

HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE RĀMACANDRA TEMPLE
IN BATTĪSPUTALĪ, KATHMANDU

EDITED BY

AXEL MICHAELS



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG STUTT GART

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Axel Michaels

Preface

The Rāmacandra Mandira in Battīspatalī near Deopatan is one of the many temples that the visitor to the Kathmandu Valley is likely to be only vaguely aware of. It is located approximately three kilometres north-east of Kathmandu, on a road leading from the capital to the Paśupatinātha temple. This latter is a destination not only of pilgrims but also of tourists. Paśupati, one of Śiva's forms, is Nepal's patron deity, and his temple is a pilgrimage centre of transregional significance.

A Rāma temple in Nepal? Rāma, or Rāmacandra, one of Viṣṇu's outward forms, is, to be sure, an illustrious god, but not one typically associated with Nepal. While there are several images of Rāma from the Malla period (ca. 1200-1768 A.D.), scarcely any temples have been built for him in the Kathmandu Valley. Since the 19th century at the latest, however, he has been enjoying ever greater popularity, as he always has in India. If Hinduism were ever to develop into a monotheism, Rāma would certainly today be the uncontested favourite to take over. He is the god who unites in himself important elements of Hinduism: valour, asceticism and a graceful bearing that invites emotional and devotional attachment. No wonder that it should be Rāma who is causing tempers to flare in the battle over his supposed "birthplace" in Ayodhya in northern India. And perhaps in Nepal too, one of these days? There are signs suggestive of this.¹

Even though the Rāmacandra temple makes for an imposing picture, it can naturally not be compared with the Paśupati temple. While it is situated on top of a hill and clear for all to see, it is not a temple that stands out by reason of its splendour, its history or its festivals. Once one's attention has been drawn to it, however, some basic questions immediately arise: What lies behind this temple and the disproportion between its size and the low degree of recognition it enjoys? Who is its founder? What legends surround it? Who visits it?

A group of fourteen students from the Institute for the Comparative Study of Religions of the University of Bern undertook to delve into these and other questions during a trip to Nepal of several weeks' duration in March 1994. All prepared themselves intensively

¹ During our work on the Rāmacandra temple in Battīspatalī we were treated to a display of Rāma fanaticism: A young man suddenly, and contrary to all tradition (and even against the wishes of the priest and the temple committee), declared the shrine off-limits to non-Hindus. He even took his case to the public, through letters to the local newspapers.

for the encounter with Nepal. They started learning Nepālī in the semester preceding the excursion, and continued to do so in a full-time course during their stay in Kathmandu; in addition, they familiarized themselves in seminars with the religion, culture and history of the country.

The students' contributions, except for the part dealing with inscriptions in the historical section, were produced by the students in working groups, discussed in a seminar on temples in Hinduism, and subsequently redacted by the editor.

The goal of the excursion and the project was to uncover the history of the Rāmacandra temple, to identify the figures of its gods, and to reach some idea of its function and significance. The results are noteworthy in view of the fact that practically nothing is known about the temple. It has hitherto not been mentioned in Western literature on Nepal, and consequently there is no historical, art-historical or ethnographic descriptions and analyses of it. Thus the material that has been assembled here is both new and relevant to Nepal-related research. Furthermore, the history of Nepalese temple architecture of the 19th century, up to now undertaken only in fragmentary form, has been extended in terms of historical detail, as has been the discussion concerning the function of shrines in the Rāṇā period (1846-1951 A.D.).

Happily, access to the temple was facilitated for us through help from many quarters. The historian Dr. Govinda Tandan, an indirect descendant of the temple founder, continually helped us by sharing his knowledge of the temple and putting us in touch with useful acquaintances. Niels Gutschow made available Surendra Joshi's measured drawings of the temple, which proved of great help for identification purposes. Aishvarya Dhar Sharma made fair copies of rubbings of three inscriptions. Niels Gutschow and Erich Theophile read the manuscript and proposed improvements on it. Erich, moreover, wrote an introductory chapter on Rāṇā architecture. Adalbert Gail kindly helped with iconographical identifications. Philip Pierce translated the German parts into English. Hans Locher helped to prepare the camera-ready copies of the inscriptions. Christian Peter prepared the manuscript with painstaking efforts and great care for publication. Our thanks to all of these colleagues and friends for their help.

We also have to thank various institutions for supporting the study trip to Nepal, and thereby this publication – most notably the Philosophical and Protestant-Theological Faculties of the University of Berne, as well as the synodal board of the Protestant Church of Berne-Jura. Individual students were, in addition, supported through special grants. The Tillier Scholarship Foundation showed particular generosity in this regard.

Finally we would also like to thank Albrecht Wezler for accepting the manuscript for publication in the present series.

Transliteration and Pronunciation

If not otherwise indicated or clear from the context, the foreign-language terms are Sanskrit. The following pronunciation rules should be noted:

1. A macron over a vowel indicates length: *bhūta* is spoken like English “boot,” and *e* and *o* are always long.
2. An *s* furnished with a diacritical mark is articulated like English *sh*: *śāstra* like *shāstra* and *mokṣa* like *moksha*; without any diacritical mark, the *s* is always sharp (dental).

Further, the following pronunciation rules obtain:

- c* like English *ch* (e.g. in *church*)
- j* like English *j* (*jungle*)
- y* like English *y*: *yogi* (yogin)
- v* like English *v*: *Viṣṇu* (Vishnu)
- A dot under a consonant indicates an articulation with retroflexed tongue.
- A dot or a tilde over an N (*ñ*, *ṅ*) and a dot under an M (*ṁ*) signal a nasalization that assimilates to the following consonant (cf. English “rind” and “ring”).
- An *h* following a consonant is a clearly accentuating breathy sound (cf. English “tea”).

V.S. is the abbreviation of Vikrama Saṃvat, a native calendrical reckoning, still in use, that is 56/57 years ahead of the Gregorian calendar. All dates, when not specified, are in the Western reckoning.

Axel Michaels
Introduction: Nepal in the 19th Century



Plate 1 The Rāmacandra temple: view from the south

The evening of 14 September 1846 was a fateful one for Nepal, and what happened then at the old royal palace in Kathmandu is the stuff of films: A former servant who, as the queen's lover, has worked his way up to become an influential general, is killed during evening prayers. That same night the frenzied queen has the entire household assembled. Everyone in the Kathmandu Valley with a title or name is required to gather in the inner courtyard of the military headquarters at Hanūmān Dhokā. Even the king, from whom she has long been separated, is summoned. She wants to have the murderer, without delay. She thinks she recognizes the culprit in the middle of the crowd – a high-ranking courtier whom she has long found disagreeable. She gives her drawn sword to a general and commands him to behead the man on the spot. The general looks helplessly towards the king, but the latter refuses to confirm the death sentence without a court trial. The general then lays the sword at the feet of the discomfited queen. She demands despairingly that her command be obeyed, on the grounds that she has been appointed

regent by the king himself, and furnished with all powers. But no one obeys her. Enraged, the ruling lady commands that the gates be kept closed until the perpetrator is found. As it happens, the headquarters have already been surrounded by troops of another general.

A short time later the prime minister arrives. The queen immediately addresses the question to him: “Who murdered my faithful general? Out with his name!” The chief minister, however, whose power has been sorely curtailed by the lover-general, promises only to look into the matter. The powerless queen retires with three ministers to the upper storey of the place, as shots ring out. Then, at dusk, events come thick and fast. Suspicions are shouted out, sabres are drawn, arms are loaded. The queen cries, “Kill my enemies – all of them!” A tumultuous free-for-all breaks out. Only a few are able to escape.

On the morning of 15 September the courtyard is overladen with corpses. More than thirty men, all of them high officials and officers (including the prime minister), are dead; the sons of the country's highest ranking families have been killed. There is only one victor: Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā (at the time still Kunwar²), a general whom the king had placed in charge of two regiments and who had already been admitted to the governing council, but who was not reckoned among the kingdom's strongmen. That night he is appointed prime minister by the queen, and from then on this man will steer the country's fate. The period of approximately one hundred years of Rāṅā rule begins.³

It was in this or some such manner⁴ that what has entered the history books as the

² It was only after 5 May 1849 that, in accordance with a *lālmohar* of Surendra Bikrama Śāha, Jaṅga Bahādur Kunwar was allowed to call himself “Rāṅā”; see the translation of the document in Kumar 1967: 158-9 (App. 3). On 6 August 1856 he accorded himself, in addition, the title of a *mahārāja* of Kaski and Lamjung (*ibid.*).

³ A number of publications have appeared in recent years devoted to the history and times of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā, a topic which can only be dealt with briefly here: for example, Adhikari 1984, P.S. Rana 1978, P.J.B. Rana 1909, Sever 1993, Shaha 1990, Whelpton 1983 and 1992.

⁴ For a more detailed description of events see Adhikari 1984: 29-33, Shaha 1990/I: 217-21, Whelpton 1992: 158-64, Stiller 1993: 78-94. Reports of the massacre are contradictory, having been slanted, and even doctored, principally for political reasons and ones of mutual recrimination. Moreover, they were often written down much later on the basis of hearsay, and in some cases only after the end of the Rāṅā period, in a politically motivated attempt to condemn Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā. Probably the most trustworthy source, and the one my account follows, is the relatively neutral report submitted by an unnamed Nepalese to the British resident C. Thoresby (ed. Adhikari 1977/78; for an appraisal of the sources see Adhikari 1984: 29 (fn. 59) and 33, and Whelpton 1992: App. 3). The exact circumstances surrounding, and more particularly the reasons for, the massacre can no longer be elucidated – among other things, whether it was a conspiracy planned by Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā or others, or a simple uncontrolled chain of events.

Koṭ Massacre came to pass. The lover was Gagan Siṃha Bhaṇḍārī, the queen was Rājyalakṣmī Devī, the second wife of King Rājendra Bikrama Śāha (reigned 1816-47), and the prime minister's name was Cautārā Fatteh Jaṅga Śāha. Those who survived the Koṭ Massacre, including the king and queen themselves, were soon no more than figureheads. Anyone who wanted to become someone in Nepal had to be in the good graces of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā (18 June 1817 – 25 February 1877) and his family. And that applied, in particular, to the founder of the Rāmacandra temple in Battisputalī near Deopatan. In order to build such a large temple in Nepal in the second half of the 19th century without being a member of the royal family or of the Rāṇā clan, one needed more than money; a favourable combination of political circumstances and a great deal of social finesse were also required.

The situation in Nepal was characterized above all by a heightened sense of insecurity. For centuries geographical, social and political conditions had not allowed durable power structures to crystallize. To be sure, under Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā – “one of the most interesting Asiatic leaders that history has known” (Landon 1928/I: 110) – power relations stabilized somewhat, but only at the cost of a despotic oligarchy with numerous victims and an arbitrary, treacherous style of rule. This so-called Rāṇā period, which lasted from 1846 to 1951 (even if the power of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā and his family was transferred to another branch of the Rāṇā family in 1885), is not without reason regarded as an epoch of tyranny. It is only in recent years – for reasons having to do not least with the influence of Nepal's democratization – that this century has begun to be judged in more subtle terms.

For the individual – for his subjects – scarcely anything changed when Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā usurped power. People still had to attempt to maintain or enhance their social position through connections with the right person. For, in spite of all changes, the Rāṇā period inherited the old structural weaknesses. These existed principally in three areas: the geography; economic, social and administrative organization; and the distribution of political power. It is only against this particular background that the construction of the Rāmacandra temple is understandable.

Nepal⁵ consisted of many small centres of power up until 1768-9, when the ruler of Gorkhā, Pṛthivī Nārāyaṇa Śāha, conquered the Kathmandu Valley and founded the kingdom of Nepal. Even the Kathmandu Valley was divided into the three kingdoms of Kathmandu (also known as Kāntipur), Patan (Lalitpur) and Bhaktapur (Bhatgaon). Pṛthivī Nārāyaṇa Śāha managed more or less to unite the country and to extend its territory as far as Sikkim and Darjeeling, but the land itself was as rugged as it always had been,

⁵ For the following, see above all Adhikari 1984: 1-20 and Shaha 1990/I: 202-16.

and thus as hard to enter. To the north lay the natural border formed by the snow-capped Himalayan mountains, and to the south, west and east the British colonial power determined the borders; they defeated Nepal in a war from 1814 to 1816, and thereupon forced the Śāha kings to tolerate a British resident. Furthermore, the south, and even the region beyond the Siwalik range was a malaria-infested jungle scarcely susceptible to settlement. Thus the political and social life that mattered was concentrated in the Kathmandu Valley, a fertile area only about the size of the city of Hamburg.

Within this valley basin numerous ethnic and caste groups came together: from India came the Rajputs (Ṭhakuris) and Brahmins, and these in turn were joined by impure and untouchable castes, such as the Damāīs (tailors), Kāmīs (smiths) and Sārkīs (leather processors). They were Hindus and spoke Khas, a forerunner of modern-day Nepālī. In the Valley itself, as well as in the northern mountain regions, there were a large number of Mongoloid ethnic groups speaking one or another Tibeto-Burman language: Newārs, Guruṅgs, Magars, Rāīs, Limbus, Sherpās, Thakālīs, Tāmāṅgs and Bhoṭes (Tibetans). They were either Buddhists or had their own religion. The caste system, with its stringent marriage codes and, in comparison with India, less rigid commensality rules, was able to spread principally among the first group and in the Kathmandu Valley.

Life in the Valley was lived for the most part autarchically and cut off from the outside world. Apart from occasional famines, the population was able to plant sufficient rice, dry-field grains and vegetables. There was enough firewood. Textiles, agricultural tools and even rifles and pistols were manufactured locally. The modest trade with Tibet, China and India brought in something from the outside – enough, in fact, to create the surplus needed for a rich culture and the practice of craftsmanship.

Whoever wished to leave the Valley had to be prepared for gruelling treks. News of what occurred in the Kathmandu Valley reached other parts of the country only after much delay. Conversely, the rulers in the Kathmandu Valley did not always know what was going on in the other regions. A monitoring system would have been scarcely possible. To be sure, the administration under Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā was more strictly organized, to include a *hulāk* (Nep.), a relay of round-the-clock postmen and couriers, but the chain often snapped, and there was hardly a proclamation that reached all villages. As it was, official business was limited largely to military and police actions. Along with protecting the royal household, it was the duty of government servants to collect fees and taxes, and to preserve public order, of which the moral and religious order was a part. Due attention was paid to enforcing marriage codes, debt obligations and inheritance claims, and to ensuring the status of slaves and widows. There was, however, neither an educational nor health system run by the state; city planning, irrigation, sewerage, transregional arteries and large-scale bridge building were for the most part unknown, and even the minting of coins or the standardizing of weights and

measures did not get beyond the initial stages.

Even as people in the Kathmandu Valley were mistrustful of one another, so too they remained mistrustful of the mountain regions. Every official had to be annually reconfirmed in a solemn ceremony (Nep. *pajanī*), and it was not rare for loyal, deserving personnel to be replaced. No one could count on the right to a lifelong position or post, or at least one secure by reason of descent or status. Any rumour quickly got around, and within hours everyone in the city had heard it.

There was no security even for ranking and distinguished families. This was due principally to the old Nepalese land rights which, while providing for usufruct, accorded ownership exclusively to the king. Land was leased, in some cases at high rent, either in kind (Nep. *raikar*) or coin (Nep. *jāgir*). Deserving persons, particularly priests and noblemen, might be exempted from payment (Nep. *birtā*); there was rent-free land for religious organizations (Nep. *guthī*), and there was also communally cultivated land for individual ethnic groups (Nep. *kipat*). Further, there were various categories of land according to the status and caste of its holder (lifelong or temporary etc.). Since land rights constantly fluctuated, however, a feudal class in the European sense of the term, one that might have posed a serious threat to the king, was unable to form.

Even though conditions for a strong kingship existed, the political situation remained unstable over a long period of time, for two principal reasons: the old Indian system of shared rule and problems relating to succession between 1777 and 1832. Only after 1856 did the office of prime minister become hereditary in Nepal, but the sharing of power between two or more rulers of almost equal rank has been practised for ages⁶ in South Asia. Even the Malla kings divided up such a small territory as the Kathmandu Valley for triple rule between 1482 and 1769, and the division of power between king and an hereditary prime minister existed also among the Marathas and in Vijayanagar. As soon as one party showed signs of weakness, the other could fill the power vacuum.

In Nepal, Bhīmasena Thāpā was the first prime minister to exercise real power, since King Girvāṇa Yuddha Bikrama Śāha was still a child when he ascended the throne. Between 1777 and 1832, in fact, such power was in the hands of male or female regents (Nep. *navāb*), usually the king's mother or the prime minister (Nep. *mukhtiyār*). A further reason for tensions or power sharing was the custom among Śāha kings to name at least two women to be queen. The latter not infrequently attempted to press the claims of their own son to the title of crown prince. The Koṭ Massacre, in the end, was probably the result of such a quarrel.

It was thus by no means certain who the *de facto* ruler was in the kingdom. Not

⁶ The principle of dual monarchy was already mentioned in the discussion of the art of politics in the Arthaśāstra; cf. Whelpton 1992: 245.

seldom contradictory proclamations emerged from the palace on the same day, issued by the king, the prime minister, the regent or the crown prince. Rather than do something wrong, it was sometimes better to do nothing at all. In this way there developed a climate of suspicion and envy, as well as fear and uncertainty about the status of one's property and one's life. With one exception, all prime ministers between 1777 and 1846 died unnatural deaths. Even Bhīmasena Thāpā, who wielded power for more than thirty years, died in prison under humiliating circumstances. He was accused of poisoning the crown prince – a favourite charge, and apparently an approved tactic in the struggle for power. If an adversary could not be got rid of by means of poison or tantricism, an assassin was hired.

A certain degree of security was attainable, at best, through family connections, and more particularly through marriage relations. The first thing that Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā did upon assuming power was to assign all the important army and administrative posts to his brothers and sons, according to a rule of succession based on seniority. The second thing he did was to see to it that his and the king's family intermarried. His son Jagat Jaṅga got the ball rolling in May 1853 by marrying a daughter of King Surendra Bikrama Śāha. These marriage relations continue to exist down to the present: the wife of King Bīrendra Bīr Bikrama Śāha is a Rāṅā by birth.

The construction of religious edifices was a part of this singular power game in the Nepal of the 19th century. The tax system and a lucrative trade with India soon brought great wealth to the Rāṅās. Since the state was naturally their own private possession, there was no lack of means to ensure a luxurious life for themselves at the expense of the country's further development,⁷ as manifested, among other things, in their palaces and temples, today largely in a state of disrepair. Even though up until 1951 the kingdom was largely cut off from the rest of the world (the Rāṅās let in only a few foreigners), building activity developed under a strong outside influence. There were two principal models: Mogul architecture, with its cupola and tower structures, and the neoclassical colonial style of the British colonial power. Such influences prevailed, too, in the administrative sphere, in social life, in the arts and in craftsmanship.

A private citizen who wished to build a monument of comparable proportions had to have suitable status and influence. He would, after all, be entering into competition with the powers that be. What sort of person was it who had one of the largest temples in the Kathmandu Valley constructed? What connections opened up the way to him?

⁷ For economic conditions in the Rāṅā period, see M. C. Regmi 1988.

1769-75	Pr̥thivī Nārāyaṇa Śāha
26.9.1768	Pr̥thivī Nārāyaṇa Śāha's invasion of the Kathmandu Valley; victory over the Newar Malla dynasty
1769-74	Consolidation of power; wars with Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan and other states
1775-77	Pratāpa Siṃha Śāha
1777-99	Raṇa Bahādur Śāha , 2½ years old at his accession to the throne
1778-85	<i>Regent Rājendra Lakṣmī Devī</i> , mother of Raṇa Bahādur Śāha
1785-94	<i>Bahādur Śāha</i> , brother of Pratāpa Siṃha Śāha
1799-1816	Girvāṇa Yuddha Bikrama Śāha , 1½ years old at his accession to the throne
1799-1800	<i>Regent Rājarājeśvarī</i>
1806-37	<i>Bhīmasena Thāpā</i> , the first powerful prime minister
1814-16	War between Nepal and the East India Company; afterwards there was a permanent British resident in Nepal
1816-47	Rājendra Bikrama Śāha
1843-45	<i>Mathbār Siṃha Thāpā</i>
18.5.1845	Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā and others murder Mathbār Siṃha Thāpā
16.5.1845	Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā is appointed general
14.9.1846	Koṭ Massacre
1846-77	<i>Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā</i> (with a short break between 1856 and 1857)
1847-81	Surendra Bikrama Śāha
1850	Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā's trip to England and France
6.8.1856	Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā declares himself <i>mahārāja</i> of Kaski and Lamjung
1857	Military support supplied by Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā in the suppression of the sepoy mutiny in Lucknow
1875-1911	Pr̥thivī Bīr Bikrama Śāha
1877-85	<i>Raṇoddīpa Siṃha</i> , brother of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā
1885-1901	<i>Bīr Śaṃśer</i> ; with the accession of this prime minister, the power of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā's family was largely neutralized
1911-55	Tribhuvan Bīr Bikrama Śāha
1955-1972	Mahendra Bīr Bikrama Śāha
1972-	Bīrendra Bīr Bikrama Śāha

Kings have been placed in bold, and prime ministers and regents in italics. All dates are regnal years.

Table 1 Dates relevant to the history of the Rāṇās

Erich Theophile
19th-Century Nepal: An Architectural Overview



Plate 2 Bhaktapur Darbār Square (photo circa 1920)

Malla-period Nepal (15th-18th centuries) built in a rich but unified architectural language, including the well-known multi-tiered roof structures often called pagoda (centre rear), the stone *sikhara*, and medieval palace quadrangle, such as the Palace of 55 Windows (rear left with projecting upper storey of 55 bays). The artful juxtaposition of diverse building types and sizes contrasts the more regular geometry of later Mogul-influenced planning. The palace wing (far left, foreground), rebuilt in the 1880's, is a typical Mogul addition to this one of three royal squares in the Kathmandu Valley, mixing the grand scale and facade motifs of Lucknow with a typical Malla-period ground-floor timber-framed opening.

Nepal has long been renowned for its artistic and architectural achievements under the patronage of the Malla kings, whose rule spanned the 15th through 18th centuries. When in 1769 outsider and hill king Pṛthivī Nārāyaṇa Śāha conquered this Malla treasure chest of the Kathmandu Valley, however, a traditional art historical view maintains that a highly sophisticated formal culture began to deteriorate, vulgarized by the introduction

of foreign elements and experimental transformations (plate 2). Becker-Ritterspach, one of the few art historians to write about 19th-century temple architecture in Nepal, leaves questions of appraisal at “eclectic” (Becker-Ritterspach 1994: 193). Pṛthivī Nārāyaṇa Śāha's additions to the Kathmandu palace of his predecessors, for example, used architectural vocabulary typical of the Malla period, but enlarged the scale dramatically and introduced Mogul rooftop pavilions. For most of the 19th century a Mogul style, largely derived from Lucknow in northern India as built by the Nawabs of Oudh, came to merge with and dominate local building traditions in Nepal. The Nawabs, governors of the Delhi Sultanate, had constructed a new capital at Lucknow in the 18th century, building in a scale only slightly less grand than the Taj Mahal.

In the 1890's, the trend of “importing” architecture climaxed in a parade of palaces constructed in European styles by the Rāṇā Maharajas, a dynasty of hereditary prime ministers who ruled from 1846 to 1951 having usurped power from the Śāha kings. Kathmandu's European architecture – often called Rāṇā architecture – relied not on Lucknow but on the Victorian building world of the British East India Company's Calcutta and London for its catalogue elements and designs. Although often associated only with palaces, the Victorian and neoclassical themes of Rāṇā architecture soon trickled into the local builder's canon of the Kathmandu Valley, taken up by the vernacular builders in the construction of hundreds of residences and local temples as well.

The present study invites a closer look at architectural developments in Nepal in the late 19th century, when one can thus distinguish between the ongoing life of a Kathmandu Valley building tradition, sometimes called *medieval* and associated with the Malla dynasty of the Newār people (1420-1769), the arrivals of Mogul and European styles, and the collisions, mixtures, and interactions of all three. “Hybrid” and “imported” describe much of the building of this century – the Rāmacandra Mandira is no exception, important as a unique architectural hybrid and the only documented link between a building in Nepal and Lucknow.

Virtually all stylistic developments, nevertheless, are hybrid and imported at some level. Take, for example, the formal language of Nepal's Malla architecture, which also arrived an “import” from the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta empires in India in the earliest centuries A.D.⁸ These formal languages, however, “cooked” in the Valley for almost a millennium in the able and artistic hands of the local Tibeto-Burmese people, the Newārs, and came to demonstrate a rich, fully integrated bouquet – like good soup stock. In the 19th century one can still recognize individual ingredients being thrown into the stylistic stock-pot.

⁸ See Wiesner 1978 for a full discussion of early sources for Malla architectural vocabulary.

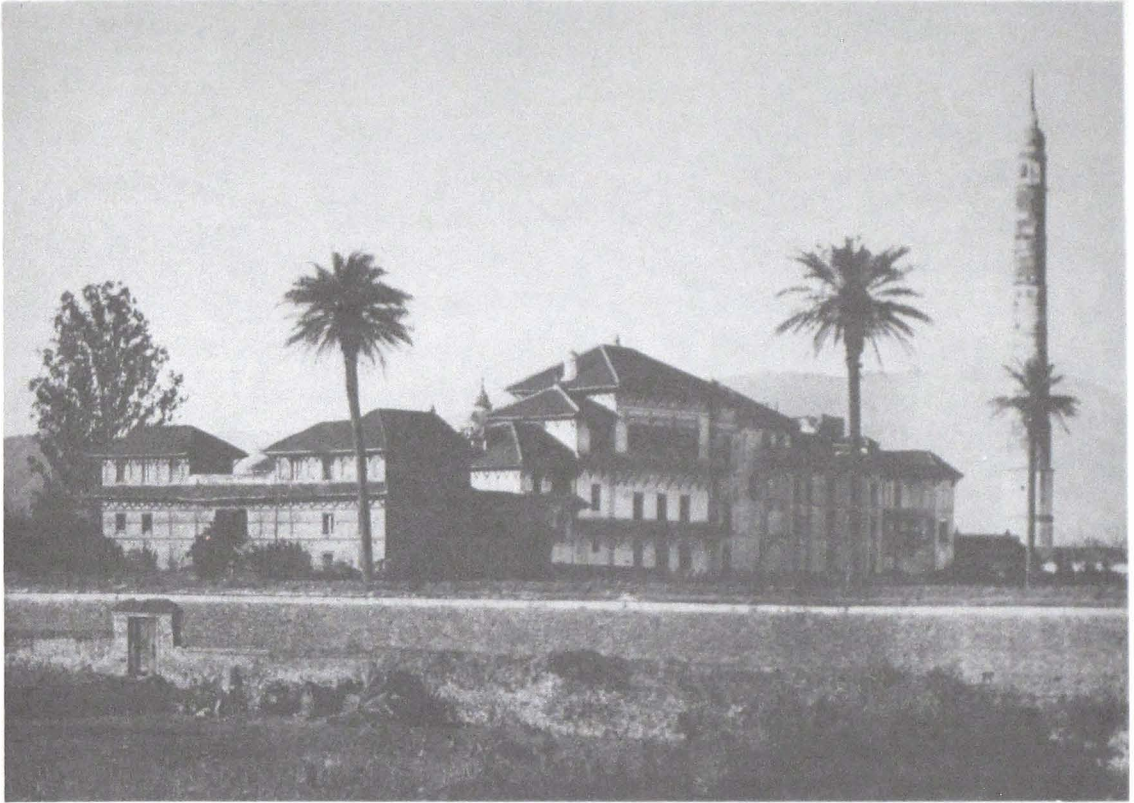


Plate 3 The Bāgh Darbār of Bhīmasena Thapa (first quarter of the 19th century, now lost) marks the arrival of the Lucknow style in Kathmandu as seen in the plastered finishes, blind scalloped niches, and regular facade arrangements. Although the timber roof construction (with short four-metre spans) and roof skirts at multiple levels are Nepalese, the conception of the complex outside the city core and with minaret is imported. Photograph 1885 by Dr. Kurt Boeck, courtesy of Patan Museum.

Nepal's international galaxy at the turn of the 19th century was rooted in India, much as it remains today. Calcutta, then centre of the British East India Company, Lucknow, the newly constructed capital of the Nawab of Oudh, and Benares, the key religious and pilgrimage destination, were the brightest and closest stars where Nepal maintained envoys (Nep. *vakīl*). The 18th-century creation of the Nawab of Oudh's new capital at Lucknow, generally termed the last major and decadent phase of Mogul architecture, constituted the most significant architectural work of that century in the region.⁹ It was natural that Nepal, the closest foreign neighbour of the ambitious Nawabs, would emulate what can be called the Lucknow Style with lime-plastered

⁹ See Llewelyn-Jones 1992 for a full discussion of this period.

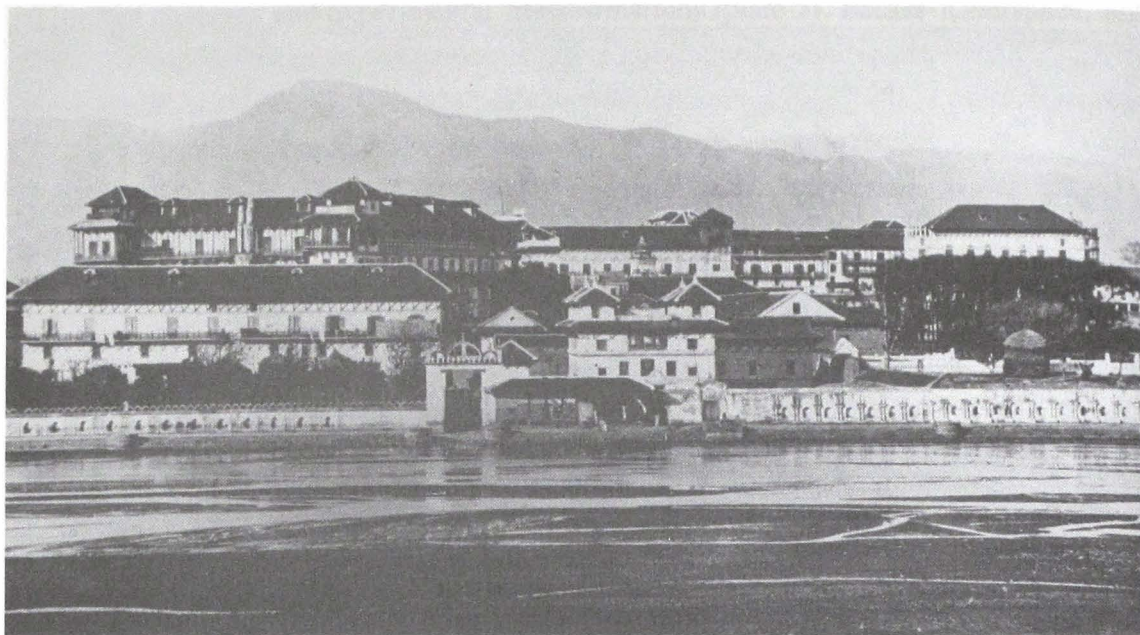


Plate 4 Prime Minister Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā's mid-19th-century palace complex on the banks of the Bagmati River, Kathmandu (photo circa 1920) incorporates the plaster finishes and facade arrangements typical of Lucknow with Nepalese construction methods and building typologies. Domed temple compounds contemporary with Rāmacandra Mandira are found within the precinct, whose complex overall layout resembles Mogul courtly plans such as Fatepur Sikri.

finishes, domed temples, repetitive facade patterns, blind scalloped arches, baluster and cypress columns – all in the inflated sizes of the Nawab.

Mogul Architecture: Chronology and Types

The Mogul style in Nepal arrives most decidedly on the facades of Bhīmasena Thāpā's Bāgh Darbār (lit. Tiger Palace), now lost, where regular arrays of Lucknow blind niches, scalloped arches and baluster columns are grafted onto buildings whose interior planning and roofing systems relied on Newār precedents (plate 3). This particular mix of local and imported elements – Newār roof and struts, Lucknow facade motifs and finishes – was the formula successfully used to create successive palace complexes until late in the 19th century, including those of Māthbar Siṃha Thāpā (ruled 1843-45), Jaṅga Bahādur, the first of the Rāṅā dynasty (ruled 1843-1877), and Jaṅga's brother, Raṅoddīpa Siṃha (ruled 1877-85). Thāpāthāli, Jaṅga Bahādur's riverside compound, followed Mogul courtly models in its complex, labyrinth-like layout incorporating Mogul gardens (plate 4). Recently discovered paintings, bird's-eye views of Thāpāthāli (circa 1875) which follow Indian models in both content and painting style, suggest that



Plate 5 A Śiva temple (left) and Rāmacandra Mandira (right) were built as part of the Bāgh Darbār compound of Bhīmasena Thapa in the first third of the 19th century (plate 3). This pair of domed temples demonstrate both eclecticism and persistence of local architectural conventions characteristic at that time. The Śiva temple, whose base storey is articulated by crude Corinthian columns, emulates the onion domed structures of North India. The slightly earlier (?) domed construction of the Rāmacandra Mandira (right, now lost) incorporates the stepping plinth and ambulatory typical of the Nepalese pagoda as well as the mountain-like proportions of the older *śikhara* temple type.

painting may have been an important medium for the importation of Mogul architecture to Nepal.¹⁰

Although Bhīmasena Thāpā had incorporated an impressive minaret in the Bāgh Darbār complex, this monument without religious purpose in a Hindu kingdom was never emulated locally (plate 3). More significant was the 19th-century development of domed and centrally planned temple buildings under Thāpā and subsequent Rāṇā prime

¹⁰ Compare Ebba Koch's discussion (1982) for how the baluster column reached India from Europe via printed images.

ministers. These schemes relied on Mogul and Rajput models – some fourteen major monuments were executed in the nineteenth century, most of them at the river's edge “in emulation of Benares” sacred geography on the Ganges. Typical constructions include plastered domed temples (plate 4) centrally placed in courtyards defined by repetitive facades and/or compound walls – the Rāmacandra Mandira of this study belongs to this family. Although domed temples in stone had been constructed in the Malla period, the domed temples of the 19th century represent a new, more ambitious taking up of an older theme. The predilection for planing series of large regular and enclosed courtyards with repetitive facades and wall crenellations recalls the large-scale developments of Lucknow mosques and mausolea. The geometric and compositional regularity contrasts markedly the more architecturally diverse gatherings of buildings typical of older sites in the Kathmandu Valley (see plate 2).

Significant was the importation from Lucknow of *surkhī*, the durable plaster of lime and brick dust whose whitewashed finish contrasted the traditional red bricks and tiles of the Kathmandu Valley. Early insertions of this white architecture into the intensely red and green landscape must have been truly dazzling! With this importation from Lucknow came also – and perhaps unintentionally – the first wave of European influences, as the Lucknow style included many European elements in its 18th-century repertoire. Elements such as Corinthian columns, Gothic pointed arches and classical cornices derived from British architecture in Calcutta were common decorative additions to Mogul buildings. The arrival in Nepal of these “Mogulized” European elements¹¹ (as at Bāgh Darbār, plate 3) was ironically contemporary with Nepal's only European war, the Anglo-Nepal War of 1816-1817.

This first wave of European influence – although limited to decoration – may have prepared the way for the larger shift in building styles which occurred at the end of the century under the rule of Jaṅga Bahādur's nephew, Bīr Śaṃśer J. B. Rāṅā (ruled 1885-1901). Bīr built no fewer than sixteen palaces in European styles – all unique designs, ranging from provincial interpretations to accurate replicas of European buildings. This artistic choice was not unrelated to Britain's decisive defeat of the Moguls at Lucknow in 1857, the establishment of the British Empire in India, although it seems a unexplainedly delayed response, especially in light of an official and famous visit by Jaṅga Bahādur to the Queen of England already in 1850. Mahārāja Bīr's few religious constructions of domed temples at Paśupatinātha in the more conservative Lucknow style brought to an end almost eighty years of Mogul architecture.

¹¹ The term Mogulized European is used by Catherine Asher (1994).

Mogul architecture's contribution to the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley is thus considerable, including a repertoire of materials, motifs, design conventions and building typologies as well as larger planning norms. Although many of the palace buildings from this period have been lost, the survival of numerous plastered domed temple compounds provides the opportunity to study how the imported architectural language both mingled with and transformed local styles. The ways in which Mogul and Nepalese and eventually European formal languages interacted is a rich field of investigation for which this publication is a pioneering contribution.

Axel Michaels, Thomas Schaufelberger, Govinda Tandan
History

The Founder

The history of the Rāmacandra temple¹² is inextricably bound up with its founder, Sanak Siṃha Lahūrī Ṭaṇḍan Chetrī (or Khatrī). The latter was born as the son of Paraśurāma Khatrī in the first half of the 19th century, in the present-day district of Arghā-khāmchī (south-central Nepal). Paraśurāma Khatrī was a member of a high aristocratic caste in the former principality of Gulmī.¹³ Sanak Siṃha came by his full name only after due course. To Sanak Siṃha, which means 'old lion', was added "Lāhurī."¹⁴ This honorary title is said to have been bestowed upon him by the king in appreciation for his loyalty. "Ṭaṇḍan" is the name of a caste whose roots go back to Pakistan.

Like his father, Sanak Siṃha was in service to the army. There his intelligence and courage attracted attention. And so it was that King Rājendra Bikrama Śāha (1816-47) soon called him to Kathmandu, where he lived to the north of where the Rāmacandra temple now stands. The residence that he later built has remained down to the present. Sanak Siṃha's career quickly advanced, and already by 1846 A.D. he had assumed under Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā the rank of a chief captain (*baḍā kaptān*). For his bravery in service at Lucknow in 1857, he was promoted to commanding colonel, the fourth highest rank in the military (Adhikari 1984: 195). This rank he retained up to his resignation, as is clear from one of the inscriptions described below, in which he is posthumously called Kamyāṇḍiṅ Karṇel, the Nepalized form of the English title.

¹² The major portion of the information that follows is based on inscriptions (see Appendix) and documents relating to the Rāmacandra temple that G. Tandan published in 1985 – all sources in Old Nepālī with scattered citations in Sanskrit.

¹³ "Khatrī" or "Chetrī" derives from Skt. *kṣatriya* '(caste of) warriors and noblemen'. Originally the children of a Brahmin father and a lower-caste mother were called Khatrī; they were regarded as members of the Khas caste. At the time undoubtedly the largest caste in Nepal, they followed the Brahmins and Ṭhakuris, who traced their origins to the highly regarded Rajputs in Rajasthan, in the hierarchy of the early 19th century. The Khas, like the Ṭhakuris, claimed the status of the Kṣatriya caste, called "Chetrī" in Nepal. This claim, in fact, was honoured, and under Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā it even became possible for every scion of the Khas to add "Chetrī" to his name. In this way the double formation "Khatrī Chetrī" came about, which nowadays is often abbreviated "K.C." See Whelpton 1983: 72 and 131.

¹⁴ *Lāhurī*, presumably deriving from the Pakistani city of Lahore, literally means 'soldier', and in a broader sense 'man of good family background'. See *Nepālī-Br̥hat-Śabdakośa*, s.v.

Sanak Siṃha's grandfather, Śaśidhara Khatri, was already in his time apparently a popular man in the court of the Śāha kings; according to one document from V.S. 1841 (10 or 11 November 1784), he played a mediating role in the conflict between the homeland of the Gorkhālīs and the Gulmī principality.¹⁵ Śaśidhara Khatri's successors' good relations with the royal family go back to this time at the latest.

Relations with Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā

From the beginning Sanak Siṃha was on good terms with Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā, having in February 1840 arranged a post for him during a royal hunting party undertaken by Rājendra Bikrama Śāha (cf. P.J.B. Rana 1909: 20). This trip, to the Terai, brought Jaṅga Bahādur his first contacts with the aristocracy (Nep. *bhāradār*). Jaṅga drew attention to himself by his heroics during the hunt and gained the opportunity for further social and military advancement. Thus, in March 1841, he became the adjutant of the crown prince, Surendra Bikrama Śāha, for a period of half a year (P.S. Rana 1978: 5, Sever 1993: 468). Many of the accounts of his heroism, however, are legendary in character.

In February 1839,¹⁶ Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā had married the sister of Sanak Siṃha, Nanda Kumārī Devī, as his second wife. The first time Jaṅga Bahādur married was on 1 May 1828, at the age of eleven (P.S. Rana 1978: 15). He married a third time in 1851, and a fourth in 1854 (P.J.B. Rana 1909: 20). The number of wives he had is unclear; estimates range between 17 and 25 (Sever 1993: 130). The number of children



Plate 6 The founder Sanak Siṃha Lahūri Ṭaṅḍan Chetri: portrait from the Rāmacandra temple

¹⁵ See Naraharinātha 1965: 151 and Regmi 1975: I.321.

¹⁶ Whelpton 1992: 93 casts doubt on the date, though he uses contradictory arguments and false premises with regard to the biographical report of P.J.B. Rana (1909). According to the latter, Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā did not marry for the first time in January 1939, and – contrary to what Whelpton writes – at least one previous marriage is mentioned by Padma J.B. Rana (1909: 15).



Plate 7 The founder's private house in Battisputalī

he had was beyond reckoning. However, Nanda Kumārī enjoyed a special status among his many wives. In the first place, she was his first “real” wife, having borne him at least four children (Whelpton 1992: 275), including his eldest and favourite sons, Jagat Jaṅga and Jita Jaṅga, both of whom later married daughters of King Surendra and were appointed generals. Whether Nanda Kumārī, like three unnamed chief wives, submitted to suttee following his death cannot be determined from the literature.

One of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā's many sons, Padma Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā, terms the marriage with Nanda Kumārī as Jaṅga Bahādur's first step on the road to greatness.¹⁷ Indeed, at the time of the marriage with Nanda Kumārī, the members of the Rāṇā dynasty were still socially lower than the Khatrīs. The latter in the 19th century occupied high posts even outside the military, as confidential secretaries, financial advisers and diplomats. The marriage with Nanda Kumārī Devī was thus a further stepping-stone in the career of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā. The future prime minister profited substantially from

¹⁷ P.J.B. Rana 1909: 20. So too Sever (1993: 468): “His second marriage shortly afterwards put him on the periphery of court life...”

Sanak Siṃha's relationship with the royal family, not to mention the fact that he was apparently relieved of considerable debts thanks to the large dowry (P.J.B. Rana 1909: 20).

In this way Sanak Siṃha contributed decisively to the rise of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā. Nepal's first Rāṇā ruler did not forget this fact after his seizure of power in 1846; he rewarded his brother-in-law immediately after the Koṭ Massacre with the previously mentioned conferral of the military rank of chief captain. This was a singular show of trust during a period of extreme political danger, for only family members obtained such high military posts in the early rule of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā (see Whelpton 1992: 168 and 202).

In 1857 Nepal put an army of at least 8,000 mercenaries at the disposal of the East India Company (a private company with the mandate of the British Empire) in order to help in its successful quashing of the independence movement and Muslim mutiny in North India.¹⁸ Sanak Siṃha fought bravely and victoriously at the side of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā in Lucknow (in the present-day state of Uttar Pradesh), and was rewarded with a large estate. The help that Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā extended in his own person to the British in Lucknow was not forgotten by Queen Victoria, whom he had personally paid his respects to six years earlier. Jaṅga was not only rewarded with high military honours; he also recovered some territory in the western Terai (Stiller 1993: 99). A portion of this material recognition was necessarily passed on by Jaṅga to his own kith and kin. Thus the seven brothers of Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā received tax-free land (Nep. *birtā*) in the Terai (P.S. Rana 1978: 49), and since Sanak Siṃha enjoyed nearly the same status as they, he too presumably received land on which no taxes were levied. In the third Nepal-Tibet war (1854-1856), Sanak Siṃha is again said to have proved his worth.

Sanak Siṃha's fidelity thus paid off; he became a rich man. As commander-colonel, he must have earned an annual salary of from 10,000 to 25,000 rupees, a large sum for those times (Sever 1993: 98). Thanks to a lucky discovery, moreover, Sanak Siṃha – so the legend – became an even richer man.

The Site

Due to his high social and military rank, Sanak Siṃha entertained many guests in his

¹⁸ On the history of the British-Nepal relations see Husain 1970 and Jain 1972: 140ff.; neither author, however, mentions Sanak Siṃha. A further consequence of the revolt in India was that the Begum of Lucknow fled to Nepal. She and her large retinue were offered temporary asylum in Kathmandu (Stiller 1993: 100). It is quite possible that the influence of this event was felt directly on the architecture in the Kathmandu Valley, and on the Rāmacandra temple in particular. We shall return to this in the chapter on architecture.

residence in Battīspatalī. His visitors had always to cross the hill to the south to reach him. In addition, the earth embankment cut off the view. Sanak Siṃha decided to have the mound removed. In the process, according to a tale circulating in Battīspatalī, three pots of gold coins were found.

He is said to have immediately reported the matter to the king, since all land belonged by right to the ruler, titles to land being only titles to its use, not to ownership (cf. Burghart 1984). Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā (the king had scarcely any decision-making powers left) is said to have left the gold coins in the possession of his brother-in-law Sanak Siṃha, which the latter took as an omen, and which induced him to build the Rāmacandra temple.

The Temple Inscriptions

On the northern side of the temple compound are three stone inscriptions (see the Appendix), the middle one of which deserves particular scrutiny, inasmuch as it records the purpose of the foundation and allows individual votive *liṅgas* to be identified.¹⁹ The main inscription makes it clear, furthermore, that the Rāmacandra temple must formerly have been a very rich temple indeed.

The inscription in question states that the main temple was erected in the name of Sanak Siṃha on the 7th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1793, or V.S. 1928 (1871 A.D.), in order to gain religious merit (*phala*, lit. 'fruits') for him and his family, to destroy all evil (*pāpa*) and to obtain liberation in the Vaikuṅṭha heaven. At the beginning the inscription names the deities Rāmacandra, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, Hanūmān and Pāñcāyaṇa (*sic*, i.e. Pāñcāyatana) as those to whom the temple is dedicated, all to be discussed below.

Note is then taken of the fact that several of the votive *liṅgas* (*śivālaya*) around the main temple were set up for the founder and his wives on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Āṣāḍha in the Śaka year 1798, or V.S. 1933 (1876 A.D.). These are, to be precise, the Sanaksiṃheśvara, Śāradādeśvara, Santakumāreśvara and Bālakumāreśvara.²⁰ On the 6th day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha of the Śaka year

¹⁹ The inscription has been published in part (without *tapasīl*) by Ṭaṇḍan 1985: App. 7. A comparison with our own rubbings made on location resulted in partially different readings.

²⁰ The suffix *'īśvara* or, in a euphonic sound combination, *'eśvara*, means 'lord' and refers to Śiva; the first member of the compound is always the name of the person to whom the *liṅga* is dedicated. Thus the names of Sanak Siṃha's wives are Śāradā, Harṣa Kumārī, Santa Kumārī, Bāla Kumārī etc.

1816, or V.S. 1951 (1894 A.D.), the votive *liṅgas* Harṣakumāreśvara, Yaśoddharādeśvara and Lakṣmīkumāreśvara were consecrated along with a Nārāyaṇa temple.

The inscription records that Sanak Siṃha donated land in order that the deities might daily, as well as during special holidays, be provided with *pañcāmṛta*, a mixture of five sacred liquids. Further, the annual death rite (*śrāddha*) – an offering of harvested crops – was to be performed for him and his wives at Paśupati temple. The same was to be done at a resthouse (Nep. *sattal*) in Balkoṭ in mid-western Nepal, which had been donated by him together with a fountain site (Nep. *ṭūṭedhārā*); the resthouse contained eight rooms that were used as commercial outlets. In addition, the temple attendants were to be paid from the harvests, and on Sithinakha, a particular day during the monsoon, the foundations were to be cleaned.

The donation of abundant land (see below) was matched by an equally lavish furnishing of the temple, of which almost nothing has been preserved. According to the inscription, Sanak Siṃha gave, among other things, gold and silver ornaments, a gilt serpent, a silver balustrade for lamps, and all the ritual utensils for the *śrāddha* ceremony. Moreover, a cow was to be procured and kept if difficulties arose in obtaining sufficient milk for the daily *pañcāmṛta* anointment.

Of particular interest in the inscription is the provision that Sanak Siṃha had made (he had already died by the time the inscription was installed) to transfer total responsibility for the temple to his (only?) daughter's grandson (see below), whose name was Mahendra Dhvaja Rāṇā. All the produce of the fields was to be divided into six parts, of which only one part went to the temple, and the rest to Mahendra. (There is some suspicion that this descendant of Sanak Siṃha more or less forcibly seized the landholdings.)

The inscription does not fail to contain customary remarks to the effect that the attendants' salary was not to be lowered, that inefficient workers were to be dismissed, that any damage to the temple was to be repaired by those responsible for it, and that the buildings were to be whitewashed annually. The attendants were to receive their pay twice a year. Stolen articles were to be replaced immediately.

The main part of the inscription ends with conventional, formalized threats and promises: Whoever contravened the provisions contained therein would stew sixty thousand years in hell as a blowfly; whoever kept to them would gain double religious merit. If anyone took away land, it would become infertile. Witnesses to the truth of the inscription were the sun, moon and ether, among others. The lower portion of the inscription (Nep. *tapasīl*) contains a long list of places where the temple land was located, along with stipulations concerning how much money, grain and rice was to be given for which occasions.

The other two inscriptions are considerably shorter and refer to other shrines. The

Year	Name of the shrine	Founder	Remarks
1871	Rāmacandra temple with Rāma, Sīta, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, along with Hanūmān and Pañcāyaṇa	Sanak Siṃha	
1876	Sanakṣiṃheśvara, Sāradādeśvara, Santakumāreśvara and Bālakumāreśvara	The founder is not named in the inscription.	Votive <i>liṅgas</i> for Sanak Siṃha and three of his wives. The fourth wife, Harṣa Kumārī, must still have been living in 1876.
1894	Harṣakumāreśvara, Yaśodharādeśvara, Lakṣmīkumāreśvara and Nārāyaṇa	Mahendra Dhvaja, son of a daughter of Sanak Siṃha	Harṣa Kumārī is the wife of Sanak Siṃha. Lakṣmī Kumārī is the sister of Mahendra Dhvaja. The kin relationship of the others is unknown.
1922	Mahākumāreśvara and Koslendreśvara	Mahākumārī Devī, daughter of Sanak Siṃha	
1924	Mahendradhvajamukteśvara, Indradhvajamukteśvara and Padmakumārīmukteśvara	Nīla Dhvaja Varmaṇa, son of Mahendra Dhvaja and great-grandson of Indra Dhvaja	Padma Kumārī is the wife of Indra Dhvaja

Table 2 Dates and Founders of the Temple Buildings

second inscription was set up on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the year V.S. 1979 (1922 A.D.) by Tripravara Mahākumārī Devī (a daughter of Sanak Siṃha) and her family. The occasion was the establishment of votive *liṅgas* bearing the names Mahākumāreśvara and Koslendreśvara on her own and also presumably her husband's behalf. There follows information relating to the purpose of the donation, duties incumbent upon descendants, holdings of land and the uses harvests were to be put to. Mahākumārī is said to have acquired legal ownership of the land for the stated purpose.

The third inscription was set up by another descendant, Nīla Dhvaja Varmaṇa, on the 3rd day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 1981 (1924 A.D.). The founder had votive *liṅgas* set up for his father, Mahendra Dhvaja, his great-grandfather (Nep. *jijububā*), Indra Dhvaja, and the latter's wife, Padmakumārī. In the inscrip-

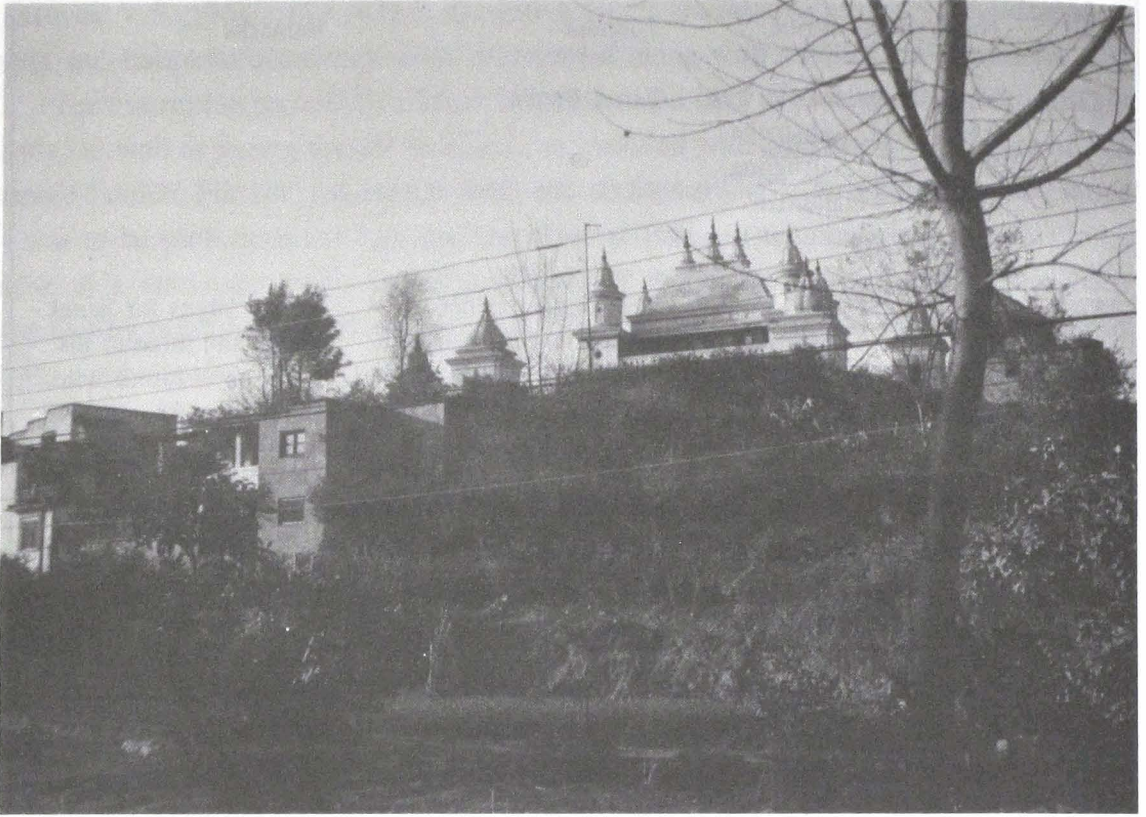


Plate 8 The land bordering on the Rāmacandra temple to the south

tion, the votive *liṅgas* are accordingly called Mahendradhvajamukteśvara, Indradhvajamukteśvara and Padmakumārīmukteśvara. Also mentioned is Lakṣmīkumārī, a paternal aunt, to whom a votive *liṅga* had already been commemorated in 1894. Again, the wording of this inscription follows almost exactly that of the main inscription.

The inscriptions, then, lead to the stages of construction and identification of shrines summarized in Table 2.

The Temple Land

The land for maintaining the temples²¹ derived for the most part from Sanak Siṃha's own property. He received a combination of 81 *ropanī*²² from King Surendra Bikrama Śāha (regnal years 1847-81) and Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā for his successful service in the

²¹ In Nepal, the upkeep of temples is usually funded from revenues from land belonging to the shrine. As a rule, this is *guthī* land, which is made available tax-free for such purposes.

²² 1 *ropanī* is approximately equivalent to 500 square metres.

Lucknow war. According to the main inscription, 327 *ropanī*, 8 *ānā*²³ and 3 *paisā*²⁴ came from his own property, and 46 *ropanī* from the king.

The land grant (ed. Ṭaṇḍan 1985: App. 3) was signed by King Surendra, but validated only in 1859 (V.S. 1916) by Kṛṣṇa Bahādur Rāṇā, acting commander-in-chief and a brother of Prime Minister Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā. Six years earlier, as learned from a document (ed. Ṭaṇḍan 1985: App. 4) of the year 1853 (V.S. 1910), Sanak Siṃha had already received land and a house from Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā for having aided him during an attempted assassination.

On the land, which encompassed much more than simply the present hill site, the shrine was built, and all the Ṭaṇḍan families settled down on it. In the 1930s, however, they are said to have moved away after Rāṇā protection of the Ṭaṇḍans had lessened. Today only Govinda Tandan's family, another Ṭaṇḍan family, and, in the Ṭaṇḍan ancestral house, a family from a collateral line of descent are living on the property.

From the remaining gold, Sanak Siṃha built a second Rāmacandra temple in his native district of Arghākhamchī, presumably in order to keep a promise which his father, Paraśurāma Khatrī, made during a serious illness, for which purpose he had already obtained land from Surendra Bikrama Śāha, as indicated in a document (ed. Ṭaṇḍan 1985: App. 5) dated 1850 (V.S. 1907).

The allotment of temple land and the use its earnings were to be put to are spelled out precisely in the inscriptions. Among the provisions is one stipulating that consideration be shown to the tenants whenever crops suffered damage.

The Legend of the Temple Hill

The area in which the temple stands is called Battīspatalī, literally “Thirty-two Butterflies.”²⁵ The name derives from a saga according to which thirty-two butterfly-nymphs took the throne of the legendary King Vikrama to the top of a hill on which cows grazed. Whenever a quarrel arose among the local population, it became customary for one of the cowherds to sit on the throne and pass judgement for the king. The Rāmacandra temple is said to have been erected on the very spot where the throne was

²³ One-sixteenth of a *ropanī*.

²⁴ One-fourth of an *ānā*.

²⁵ Even though the legends of King Vikrama's renown and spirit of sacrifice are widespread in Nepal – for instance, in the form of the *Batisaputrikākathā*, a Nevārī recension of the *Siṃhāsanadvātrimśatikā* –, these Nepalese versions, at least those that have been edited, make no local reference to the Battīspatalī part of town.

set.²⁶

This legend, with its local associations, may be one reason why Sanak Siṃha had a Vaiṣṇava Rāma temple constructed. Other reasons may have been the influence of the Vaiṣṇava religious tradition in Lucknow, the fact that Rāma is a god particularly worshipped by Kṣatriyas, or that Rāma was a personal or family deity (*iṣṭadevatā*).²⁷

The Later History

Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā had many children from Sanak Siṃha's sister Nanda Kumārī Devī. As mentioned previously, two sons, Jagat Jaṅga and Jita Jaṅga, married daughters of King Surendra Bikrama Śāha, were later appointed generals and acquired great political influence. Jita Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā was murdered during a massacre carried out on the Rāṇā family in 1881 (V.S. 1938). Two shrines in the southern part of Deopatan are named after Jita Jaṅga and his wife Tārā Kumārī: the Jitajaṅgaprakāśeśvara (see Michaels 1994: pl. 17) and the Tārakuṇḍa, both constructed in 1874. It became the fashion, in fact, for each Rāṇā of rank to have a shrine, usually a *liṅga* temple, erected in Deopatan (see Michaels 1994: 66-78). These structures were not then and are not now rooted in the people's consciousness, so that, Rāṇā rule having come to an end, they largely decayed or were stolen; neither priests nor devotees looked after them. Added to this was the fact that the land whose harvests were to pay for the upkeep of the temple were expropriated and put to other uses, either fraudulently or in the wake of land reforms, including a nationalization of sorts, the Guṭhī Saṃsthān Act.

All the relatives of Jita Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā, faced with the political upheaval, chose the safe course of exile in India. Among them was Sanak Siṃha Ṭaṇḍan Lāhurī Kṣetri who, it is said, returned at an old age, though with neither wealth nor power to his name. When and where he died is not clear.

²⁶ Śrīrāmacandra Mandira Jirṇoddhāra evaṃ Saṃvarddhana Samiti (ed.) 2048: 2.

²⁷ On Rāma as *iṣṭadevatā*, see Slusser 1982: 247.

Dirk Bratz, Bernhard Parodi, Christian Peter
Architecture



Plate 9 View of Kathmandu from the temple hill

The Hill

The Rāmacandra Mandir stands on a small hill, from which point one has a view over the entire city. Previously, all of the hill is said to have been part of the temple property. A park was laid out along the sides of it. Two paths from the north-east and south-east lead up to the summit and meet there in front of the temple compound proper.²⁸ At the foot of the hill, the two paths emerge through an archway (in the north-east, the remains of an archway) out onto the main road. The paths are paved with bricks, just as the space in front of and around the temple is.

In past years the hill has become increasingly built up with private houses.

²⁸ For a plan see plate 17.

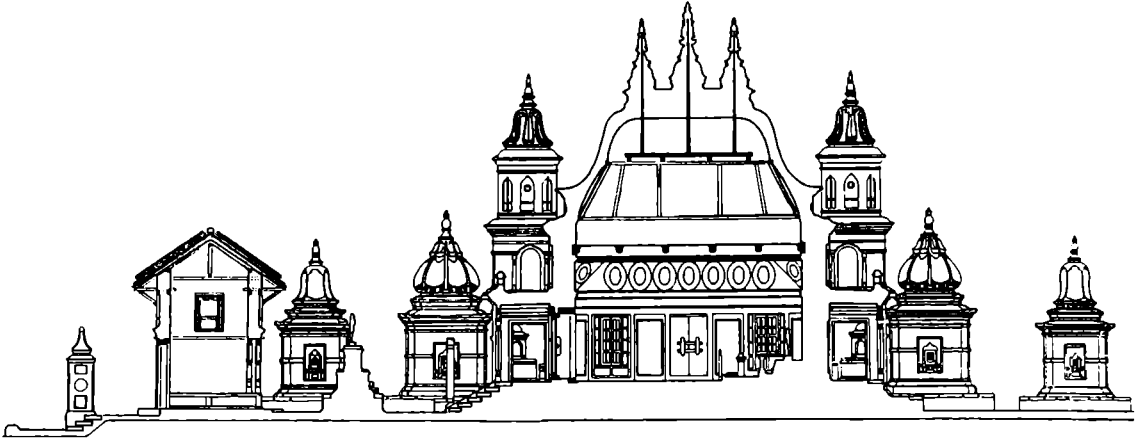


Plate 10 Section of the Rāmacandra temple looking south

The Temple Compound on the Hill

The temple compound nowadays takes in only the summit. The latter is about 43 m in diameter.²⁹ The compound is encircled by the remains of an approximately two-metre-high wall, which has been built into the hill in such a way that its full height can only be observed from below. From the summit, only its upper portion, a bow-shaped ornamentation, is visible.

Inside the wall, in the cardinal directions, there at one time stood four *dharmaśālās*, resthouses for pilgrims. Three of them no longer exist; they are said to have been razed, and their components used for the nearby Dwarika Village Hotel. Remains of the foundation wall and verandah of the northern and western *dharmaśālās* are still recognizable. The eastern structure has been preserved, and visitors reach the temple courtyard through a passageway in it. The passageway gives onto a large statue of Hanūmān and leads directly to the main gate of the Rāmacandra temple.

The Temple Building

The temple compound, as noted, is set on top of a hill, the upper curvature of which has been levelled. The centrally placed main building of the compound furnishes the optical replacement for the flattened peak. The rectangular ground plan, with a length-to-width ratio of 4:3, is oriented along the east-west axis. The two storeys of the whitely plastered

²⁹ All figures are approximate, as topographical measurements were impossible to carry out on site.

brick building rest on a low foundation and are flanked by four adjacent three-storeyed towers at the corners. Open corridors in the ground and first floor connect the towers with one another, encircling the central portion of the building, which is roofed over its entire length by a dome that peaks in the shape of a bell. The shape of the high dome revives the levelled curvature of the hill the temple stands on top of. Each tower is crowned by a bell-shaped roof, which terminates in a multisteped temple pinnacle. The only things that overshadow these pinnacles are three large *gajuras* on top of the dome, whose form is that of the tower roofs inclusive of their pinnacles. The total height from the foundation to the pinnacle of the tallest (middle) *gajura* is identical with the length of the ground plan.

The towers: The four corner towers are essentially identical in construction. The two lower storeys are of the same quadratic shape and size. They serve as passageways to the lengths of the corridor that border on them. Each tower is dedicated to a different deity (see below, p. 45), statues of which stand in the respective corners of the ground floor, on a small diagonally projecting wall. An imaginary line connects them with their corresponding *gajuras* on the tower roof. Blind arcades with pointed middle arches have been sunk into the two outer walls; the borders along the sides narrow towards the base, in the manner of a horseshoe. A massive, sharp-edged projecting mould bears the storey above, the outer walls of which display true openings shaped like water drops within identical false windows. No further modelling has been carried out between the floor of the first storey and the *gajura* that crowns the tower; the result is an integrated conically tapering chamber. The second tower storey rests on top of another angular projecting mould. It is round in shape and constructed more narrowly than the lower storeys. The tower thus increasingly tapers in the vertical direction. False windows with genuine round openings have also been set into this uppermost storey, which has no means of access. The first storey can be reached by way of a narrow winding staircase in the north-west tower.

The corridors: The corridor on the ground floor borders, on its inward facing side, on the wall of the ritual chamber (*garbhagrha*); it is open towards the outside. Six square wooden pillars on the northern and southern, and four on the eastern and western sides, divide these into five and three parts respectively. They support the balcony above. By means of chip carvings, they subdivide into a shaft and capital. Decorated arcade arches without any supportive function have been joined to the shafts along their edge. Ornamentation in the form of small white flowers adorns the panelled ceiling of the corridor. A wooden balustrade between the pillars optically reinforces the corridor's outer edge. The main entrance is situated in the east, but tall carved double doors have been put in place in the north and south, allowing for light to penetrate into the sanctuary. The western wall contains only a wedge-shaped recess for deities. Along the

corridor wall there is an iron support with depressions for oil lamps and candles.

The balconylike corridor on the first floor was planned without a roof, but is now covered with sheets of corrugated iron. A brick parapet pierced with round holes borders it along the side. The wooden tower doors can be bolted shut. Again, the walls display false arcade windows. The eastern and, to a lesser extent, the southern portions of the balcony have been converted into offices and storerooms. In conjunction with this, wooden walls with glass windows have been set on top of the parapet and covered with a corrugated iron roof.

The roofs: The longish, laterally curvilinear dome is strikingly high. It rests on a cornice patterned with rectangles. The roof, of brick material, contains hardly any interior supporting structure. Its outside is whitewashed.

The temple pinnacles (*gajura*): These are said to have formerly been gilded. A number of the pinnacles, stripped of their gold foil (or brass), are lying around within the compound. The present *gajuras*, installed in 1993, are merely painted yellow. A trident (*triśūla*) and an hourglass-shaped drum (*ḍamaru*) are suspended from the tip of the middle dome.

The Interior

The interior is divided into two parts. A wooden railing separates the sanctuary (*garbhagrha*) in the upper (western) portion of the building from the entrance and middle portions of the lengthwise chamber. This approximately three-metre-high ritual chamber, which looks much like a hall, is bordered in its upper part by a shallowly coffered wooden ceiling. The latter protects against falling roof material. At the same time it bars the view up to the supporting structure, particularly that of the large roof pinnacle. On and between the crossbeams, which extend to the pillars of the outside corridor, it is painted with the same flower ornamentation as adorns the corridor ceiling. The windowless interior is lighted by candles or the electric bulbs of a ponderous chandelier. In each of the side walls, two large wall niches protected by wooden latticework provide space for the statues of saints. The plastered walls contain *al secco* wall paintings. Wooden struts that reach to the ceiling frame the niches and the three doors along the sides. Mosaics have been inset into the stone floor.

The Material

The walls have been constructed with specially treated bricks. The front of each brick in

the building has been smoothed and coated with oil.

The plaster (Nep. *bajra*) is an aqueous solution containing two parts brick powder and one part each of lime and rock powder, as well as molasses or clay. Instead of lime, black lentils may be used. The wood is *sāl*.

The Votive Temples

Between the *dharmasālās* and the main temple buildings stands a further circle of ten votive temples: four Śiva votive temples, or votive *liṅgas* (*śivālaya*), in the south, and five votive *liṅgas* and a smaller Viṣṇu temple in the north. These votive structures are at least in part *mukteśvaras*, monuments in honour (lit. 'for the liberation') of the founder's wives. The names of the wives, and thus the votive temples themselves, are contained in the inscriptions (see above), but an exact assignment of names to buildings is no longer possible.

Like the main building, all votive temples are plastered white and stand atop a thin pedestal. Next to the *liṅga* in each of the Śiva votive temples there originally were four niches (one each in the north and west and two in the east) containing approximately 50-centimetre-tall representations of Gaṇeśa, Devī, Viṣṇu and other deities. On the bell- or lotus-shaped roofs there are a trident (*triśūla*), an hourglass-shaped drum (*ḍamaru*) – both attributes of Śiva – and a gilt pinnacle or crown (*gajura*). Windows are set into the outer walls in the north, east and west. The entrances in the south are framed by an ornamental arch (*toraṇa*) representing the serpent-devouring demon Kīrtimukha. They formerly had a wooden frame and latticed wooden doors with iron locks.

In the immediate vicinity of each of the Śiva votive temples stand, or stood, a Nandī in the west, a Caṇḍeśvara in the south-east and a bell in front of the entrance.



Plate 11 The balustrade of lamps and the south-eastern shrine in the corridor



Plate 12 Northern votive temples

The eight older votive temples are situated nearly symmetrically around the highest point of the temple, i. e. the central one of the three temple pinnacles (*gajura*) on the dome of the main building:

Votive temples 1, 4 and 5³⁰ (built in 1894; cf. Table 2) measure 2.9 m in width and 3.9 m in height. All three have a bell-shaped roof. In between are the votive temples 2, 3, 6 and 9. These are the oldest ones, having been built in 1876. They have a lotus-shaped roof, and are 4.6 m wide and 3.4 m tall. The two younger votive temples in the north (nos. 7 and 8), constructed in 1922 and 1924 respectively, stand out both with respect to location and style. They each contain two *liṅgas*; the *torana* are not inset into the wall but project out from it; and the ornamentation in the outer walls manifests a number of stylistic differences compared with those on the other votive temples. Votive temple no. 10, given its location and bell-shaped roof, fits into the symmetrical design of the compound. It is, however, a Viṣṇu temple, and was likewise constructed in 1894.

³⁰ Numeration in the clockwise direction, beginning from the south-eastern corner of the grounds. See plate 17.

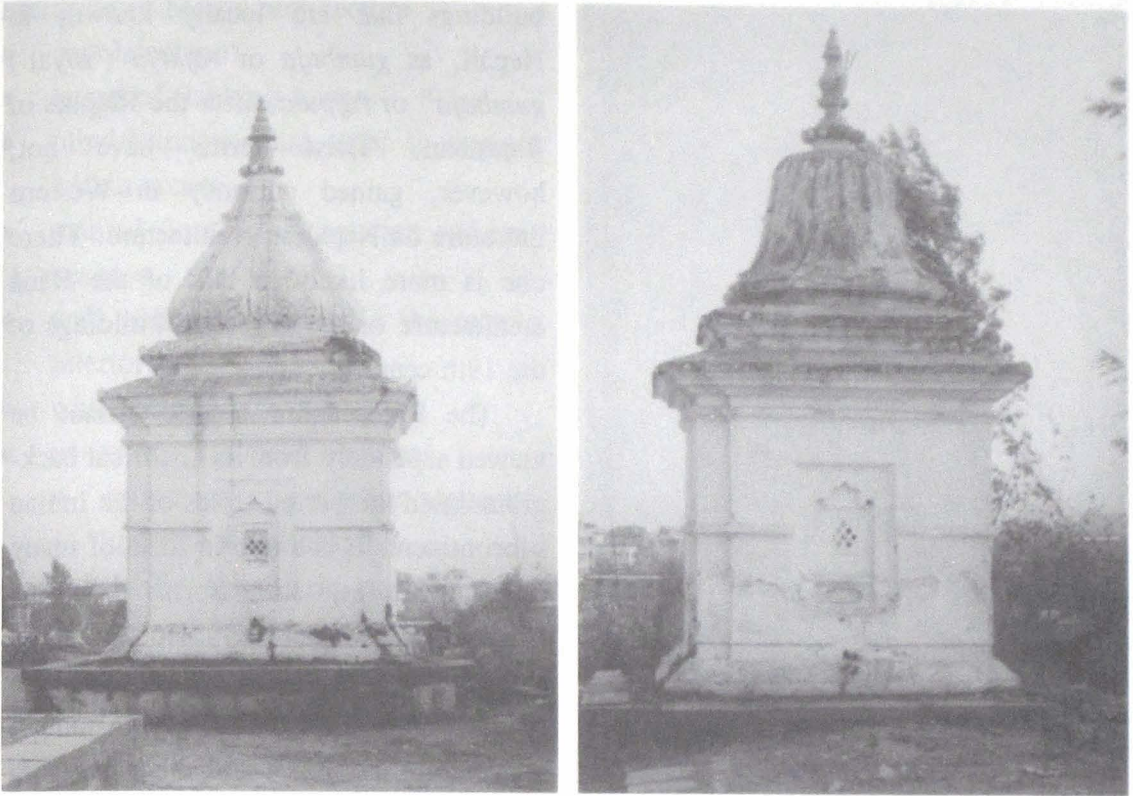


Plate 13 Bell- and lotus-shaped roofs of the votive temples

Many of these votive temples were damaged or plundered at the time of the study. A *liṅga* is missing in votive temple no. 7. All but five of the statues are missing in the niches: two *Devīs* in nos. 2 and 5, two *Viṣṇus* in nos. 1 and 4, and a *Gaṇeśa* in no. 1. *Triśūlas* and *ḍamarus* are still situated only on top of the roofs of votive temples nos. 2 and 4, and all the *gajuras* have been replaced by imitations in terra cotta. The wooden doors and frames are present only on nos. 7 and 8. *Nandīs* and bells are missing on all votive temples; the *Caṇdeśvaras*, however, are in every case extant except those of nos. 4 and 5, and of nos. 5 and 9, where only the figure is missing.

The *Viṣṇu* votive temple is smaller than the *Śiva* votive temples. Its entrance faces west; in a niche opposite, on the eastern inner wall, is a representation of *Viṣṇu*. The right-hand leaf of the door and the lock are missing. The building has no windows. It is flanked to the north by a walled plot for the holy *tulsī* plant (*basil*).

Stylistic Properties

Even though the *Rāmacandra* temple is unique in appearance within the Nepalese, and also within the Indian, context, it may be assigned to the category of 19th-century



Plate 14 Temple bell in front of the main entrance

buildings that are locally known, in Nepālī, as *gumbaja* or *rājkiya* ('royal') *gumbaja*³¹ or *rājputa*, after the Rājputs of Rajasthan. These terms have not, however, gained currency in Western literature on Nepalese architecture. There one is more likely to talk of the Rāṇā architecture or the cupolated buildings of the 19th century.

The Rāmacandra temple cannot be viewed separately from its historical background and the period styles of the Indian subcontinent. It is a hybrid form of many different styles, such forms being a characteristic feature of North Indian architecture of the 19th century. Elements of the traditional nepalese-newar temple architecture are mixed with elements from the Islamic style of the Indian Mogul dynasty; the latter being itself influenced by European architecture. With reference

to the Rāmacandra temple, the following stylistic elements may be isolated and distinguished:

Stylistic elements of Nepalese-Newar temple structures

(Combine both Hindu and Buddhist traditions of the Kathmandu Valley)

- bell- and lotus-shaped roofs
- *gajuras*
- *cellae* allowing circumambulation of the temple
- square wooden pillars
- wood-carved scenes and guardian statues
- combination of wood and brick
- votive temple portals with iconographical reliefs
- bell next to the entrance
- statue of the deity's attendant next to the (eastern) entrance

³¹ The Persian and local Indian term for cupolated dome (Pers. *gumbad*).

Elements of Mogul architecture

- cupolated roof
- tetrad of flanking towers
- blind windows that taper to a point within arches
- painted floral ornamentation and arabesques
- wall paintings (angels in the temple interior)
- white plaster
- overtaken European elements
 - cylindrical upper tower segments
 - hall-like ritual chamber
 - axially symmetric structuring of the main façade and nave
 - sanctuary at the upper end cannot be circumambulated
 - hanging chandeliers
 - bladder- and round-shaped windows
- (mock) portal columns in the votive temples and elsewhere



Plate 15 Portal arch of a votive temple

Rāṇā Architecture

A Rāṇā architecture proper as a characteristic period style developed only in Nepal. Contact with the English in North India, however, limited though it was, strongly influenced the architecture of the Rāṇās. The outstanding architectural achievements of the Rāṇās lie in their palace buildings, where their love for conspicuous luxury was allowed full play. The Rāṇās' religiosity and the efforts they made to secure religious sanction for their power induced them to generously patronize many temples and religious endowments.

“Elements of Mogul architecture, in particular the dome, had already been adopted under the Mallas” (Schwerin 1993: 248). The dome, along with the white plaster, became the clearest trademark of this architecture;³² this shows clearly in the local term

³² See, for example, Gutschow 1986, Becker-Ritterspach 1982.

“gumbaja style.” To the local Indian mind *gumba* signifies nothing other than 'dome', 'dome construction' or 'an Islamic tomb with a domed superstructure' (Brown 1942: 139). According to Adrian Sever (1993: 116), the dome shape is supposed to have been partly inspired by stūpa constructions, but this seems rather questionable in view of the many imitations of Indian Islamic architecture.

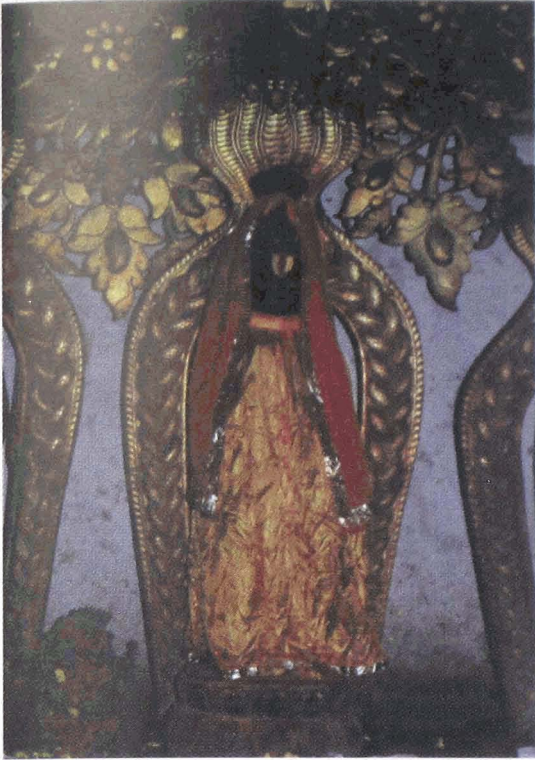
Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā brought back various innovations from his European trip of 1850 (see Schwerin 1993: 250). This trip had a decisive cultural impact on the Rāṅās, the court and the administration. The culture of the aristocracy (Nep. *bhāradār*) had been infused with elements of Mogul culture ever since the Malla period. Under the Rāṅās, these influences became stronger, and were supplemented with numerous elements of British colonial power, including ones of an architectural nature. All of the elements are mixed together in the Rāmacandra temple.

The Significance of Lucknow

Whereas hitherto for most examples of Rāṅā architecture no concrete connection of the founder with a particular craft or architectural centre has been established, only at most presumed (see, for example, Gutschow 1986: 306), such a relationship is historically documented for the Rāmacandra temple. The founder himself, as recounted above, was in Lucknow in 1857, and Lucknow was at this time the architectural capital of India.

The province of Oudh with its capital Lucknow attained its preeminence over Delhi in the 18th century, after art and architecture had come practically to a standstill in the latter. Under the luxurious nawabs of Oudh, Lucknow developed into the one true centre of culture and architecture of India. During the first phase, in the second half of the 18th century, the buildings were mostly of a religious nature and in the traditional Indo-Islamic style. This changed from the beginning of the 19th century, when the European influence gained in strength and the focus of architectural activity began to shift to palace structures and buildings of a secular nature. A unique mixture of stylistic elements developed under the patronage of the royal court, characterized by the appearance of European motifs and styles (Mehta 1976: 40-41 and 50-52). Gutschow/Pieper (1988: 297-299) speak here in terms of an attempt to unite all styles from around the world – an *architectura cosmopolita*.

The Rāmacandra temple mixes elements of palace architecture with native temple architecture. Sanak Siṃha was presumably too low on the scale politically to be able or be allowed to compete with the Rāṅās in the form of a pompous palace structure. Thus, his palace became a temple. That was how he drew attention to himself and to his status.



Statue of Rāmacandra in the sanctuary



Butterfly figure between two frescoes



Sanctuary



Fresco: *Gavaṁśa* [rākṣa?] (southern wall, no. 24)



Female musician in wood-carving

Christoph Baumer, Barbara Messerli, Marianna Kropf
Iconography

The Sanctuary

When one enters the temple sanctuary (*garbhagrha*), the first things one notices are the five gilt statues with black faces, all set next to one another in a row. The main figure of the temple stands in the middle: Rāmacandra, or Rāma, whose significance is spelled out in the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic (see table 3 below).

It is notable that the figure placed in the middle should be Rāma, the “king-god”, and is indicative of the fact that he was the founder's personal deity. Rāmacandra is, in addition, the model for the Śāha kings and the aristocracy in Nepal, the embodiment of a hero who is at home both on the battlefield and in an ascetic's grove. Sītā, Rāma's wife, is a popular and frequently worshipped symbol of purity and faithfulness; her devotional and uncompromising self-surrender to Rāma are the qualities that have made her an idealized role-model in the minds of her worshippers.

Sītā is standing to Rāma's left, and the latter's favourite brother, Lakṣmaṇa, next to her; to Rāma's right are his stepbrother Bharata and his full brother Śatrughna. All five statues are approximately 150 cm tall, and draped in red, gold-edged cloth. They are situated in front of a wooden gold-painted frame of interlaced plant motifs. A sixth

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is, after the *Mahābhārata*, the longest Sanskrit epic within the written classical Indian tradition. It consists of 24,000 double verses, divided into seven chapters. The various traditions deviate considerably in content.

The epic recounts the life of the hero-god Rāma, an emanation of Viṣṇu. Rāma is one of four sons of King Daśaratha. In deference to the wish of one of his stepmothers, who wants to see her own son Bharata crowned king, he enters for fourteen years into the forest instead of ascending his father's throne. His heroic deeds and his love for Sītā are the main focus of the rest of the narrative. His wife is ravished by Rāvaṇa, the demon king of Laṅka. In his efforts to win her back, Rāma is supported by the faithful monkey-god Hanūmān, who is endowed with many miraculous abilities; Rāma's favourite brother, Lakṣmaṇa, is also of help. The demon is finally conquered, and Sītā brought back to Ayodhya, where Rāma can at last ascend his father's royal throne. Driven by unmotivated jealousy, Rāma sends Sītā into exile; retiring to a life of solitude, she bears a pair of twins. In the end Rāma recognizes his sons and calls Sītā back. The latter chooses death, however, returning to the earth that she had once ascended from. Rāma, inconsolable, follows her and is taken up into the heaven of the gods.

Table 3 The Rāmāyaṇa

related statue is located in front of the temple entrance, set on an approximately 200-centimetre-high pedestal: the protector of the principal deity Rāma, the monkey-god Hanūmān.

The Frescoes

Two rows of a succession of pictures run around the four walls; these wall paintings and miniatures, probably the only ones of their kind in Nepal, are enclosed in three-dimensional framing, the modelling of which has again been inspired by plant motifs. The upper row consists of a total of sixteen pictures in upright ellipses framed in plaster arches; they are painted silver-blue and measure approximately 50 x 70 cm. The pictures in the four corners are circular, with a diameter of approximately 60 cm. The lower row consists of 48 pictures in plain elliptical frames; they measure approximately 40 x 30 cm.

The representations are only partially identifiable; in some cases signal features are missing, and in others the poor condition of the paintings (flaking paint, a crumbling background) no longer allows of definite identification. Nevertheless, a few of the figures of the gods on the wall paintings have been provided with their Sanskrit names.

Images of various emanations of Viṣṇu – for instance, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa – are clearly identifiable. The monkey-king Sugrīva, and Hanūmān and his followers, are frequently depicted. A further series of pictures is devoted to the bear-king Jāmbavān and his faithful retinue. Depictions of Durgā, ṛṣis, the four Kumāras and various unidentified kings (*rāja*) add to the number of figures portrayed in the frescoes.

As may be deduced from the identifiable pictures, therefore, it is principally gods and figures from the Rāmāyaṇa epic that are portrayed,³³ possibly supplemented with pictures from the Battīspatalīkathā and similar figures that may have seemed especially important to the founder, or are especially popular in Nepal (Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Devī), for scattered among the wall paintings are three-dimensional butterflylike figures, in representations from the Battīspatalī legend. In the form they assume, these figures vividly recall Christian depictions of the Madonna in pictures, masks and photographs.

³³ Whether the miniatures were inspired by the Rāmāyaṇa frieze on the Kṛṣṇa temple in Patan (see Gail 1988: 31-39) is a question requiring an art-historical study of its own.

Further iconographical representations in the temple interior are:

- Assorted pictures behind glass, in various types of frames and in different sizes; among them are emanations of Viṣṇu and depictions of the sixteen yoginīs.
- Framed photos: These include pictures of the founder, his family and the royal household. One picture features Ayodhya, the city where, according to myth, Rāma was born.
- Masks over the entrances: Over the main entrance and over the secondary entrance in the south are lion masks, and over the secondary entrance in the north is a mask of a human head. The latter displays a certain similarity with the representations of Pharaohs in ancient Egypt.

The photos of the family of the founder and the king in the temple interior are obvious signals to the visitor that they, too, should be paid due respect and shown proper reverence.

The Corridors

In the four corner niches there are four other temple deities, carved in stone:

- in the south-east: Gaṇeśa
- in the south-west: Sūrya
- in the north-west: Devī (Bhagavatī), i.e. Durgā
- in the north-east: Candraśekhara, i.e. Śiva

The fact that these, together with Rāma, who is honoured as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, produce a pentad harkens back to the household tradition of worshipping chiefly five classical deities (*pañcāyatana*³⁴) – a further indication that this temple was meant to be a family temple of the founder. In Hindu houses, the five deities are often worshipped as stones. All important Hindu traditions and sects are united in the group of five. The preferred deity on any given occasion is placed in the middle.

Wood-carvings at the Temple Entrance

The bowerlike corridor displays wood-carved parts. Inserted into the plant motifs are

³⁴ The deities are addressed as a group by the term *pañcāyatana* (*sic*) in the main inscription of the temple.

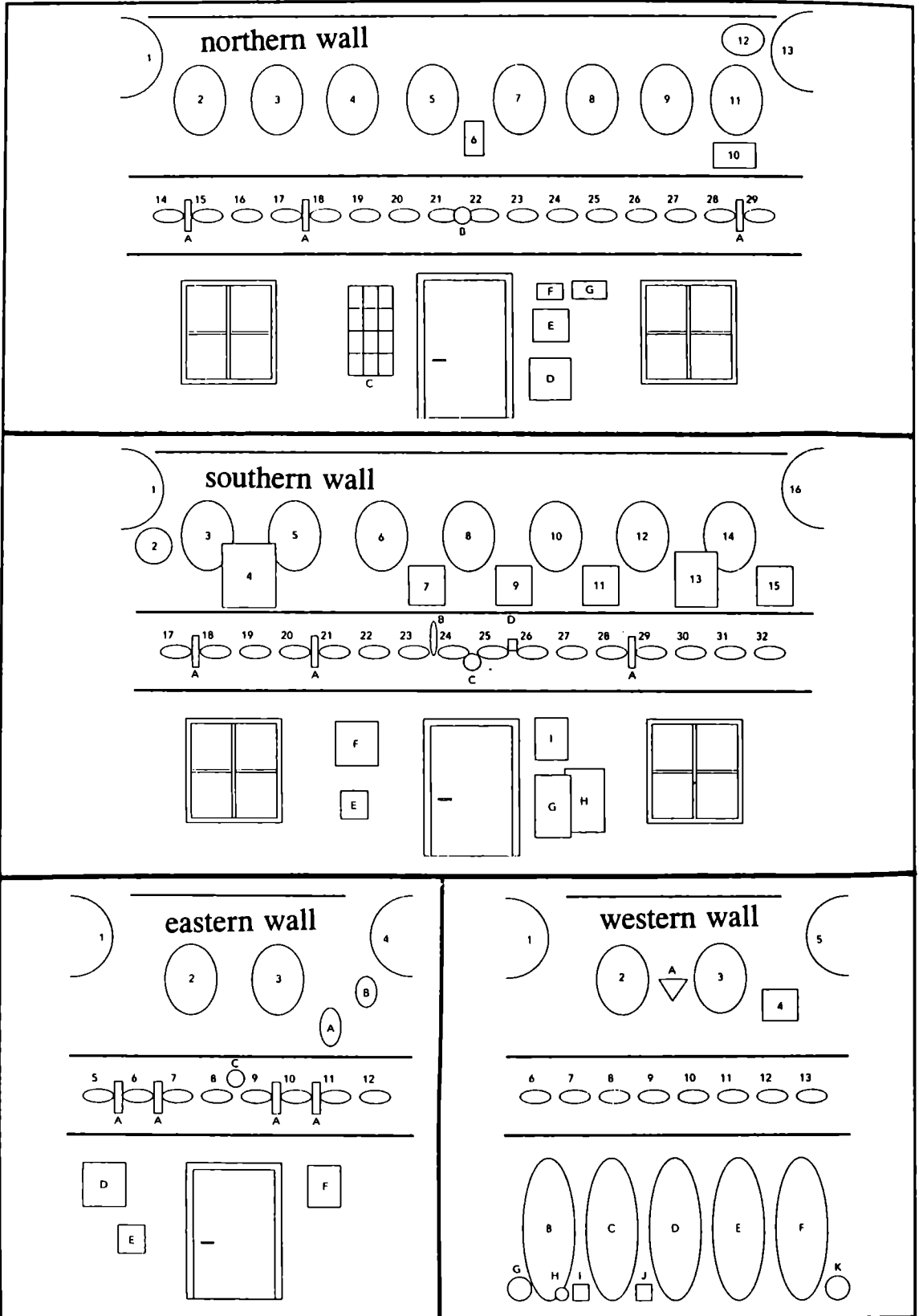


Plate 16 Frescoes and pictures in the Rāmacandra temple

North wall	B Human mask	J Pedestal	32
1 Pracaṇḍa- Viṣṇu	C Photo from the Rāṇā family	K Water jug	A Butterflies
2	D Mirror	South wall	B Parrot
3	E	1 Sunanda	C Lion mask
4 Kumāra	F	2	D Angelic figure
5 Kubera?	G Photo of J.B. Rāṇā and Nandakumāri	3	E Mirror
6		4	F
7		5	G
8		6	H Rāmābhiṣekya
9		7 Hanūmān	I
10	West wall	8	
11	1 Caṇḍa	9 Sarasvatī	East wall
12	2	10	1 Nanda
13 Nanda	3	11	2
14 Monkey- headed figure	4	12	3
15 Monkey- headed figure	5 Pracaṇḍa- Viṣṇu	13	4 Sunanda
16	6	14	5 Arundhatī
17 Rṣi	7 Nārada	15	6 Three ṛṣis
18	8 Monkey- headed figure	16 Caṇḍa	7 Vasiṣṭha
19	9 Kṛṣṇa	17 Two rājas	8 Hanūmān
20	10	18 Two rājas	9 Garuḍa
21 Vyāsa	11	19 Sanaka	10 rāja
22 Monkey- headed figure	12	20 Sunanda	11 rāja
23 Monkey- headed figure	13	21 Sanātana	12
24 Jāmbavān	A Lamp	22 Sanatkumāra	A Butterflies
25 Gava	B Śatrughna	23 Sugrīva	B Head of a mṛga
26 Bṛhaspati	C Bharata	24 Gavaxxx [ā- kṣa?]	C Lion mask
27 Nārada	D Rāma	25 Gavayavāna- ra?	D
28 Brahmā	E Sītā	26 Vāmadeva	E Mirror
29 Rṣi	F Lakṣmaṇa	27	F Narasiṃha
	G Water jug	28	
	H Small bell	29	
	I Pedestal	30	
A Butterflies		31 rāja	

Table 4 Frescoes and pictures in the Rāmacandra temple
(Italicized names are the original picture captions)

quadratic depictions of tantric sexual union as well as various scenes from everyday life. Their size is in each case approximately 15 x 15 cm.

According to one legend, the erotic depictions serve a protective function with respect to the goddess of lightning, a virgin deity who is so revolted by the sight of erotic sculptures that she steers clear of the temple. And according to a myth in the *Mahābhārata*, these depictions are supposed to guarantee protection from a goddess who would otherwise be able to destroy the temple out of anger and vengeful longings.

The Votive Temples

Around the main temple there are various votive temples (see plate 17) which, for lack of striking features, cannot all be assigned to one or the other of the stages of construction mentioned in Table 2. Nos. 1 to 9 are *liṅga* votive temples (*śivālaya*). Seven of them contain single plain Śiva *liṅgas* of stone together with *yonīs*; the other two (nos. 7 and 8) are furnished with a double *liṅga*.

Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are accompanied on their eastern side by a *Caṇḍeśvara*, an ithyphallic representation of Śiva, though the statue of Śiva is in some cases missing. It is an obvious assumption that a *Nandī* statue originally stood in front of each votive temple. Likewise, the roofs of the votive temples probably all formerly bore a double-headed drum (*ḍamaru*) and a trident (*triśūla*).

Four niches have been built into the walls of each of the interiors, all presumably at one time occupied by statues of Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Devī (or Bhagavatī) and Sūrya.

The rounded arches of the entrances exhibit other representations in sandstone. Above, in the middle, there is in each case a *Garuḍa*, and to the left and right, in symmetrical placement, the head of an animal with a trunk, tendrils and, at the bottom, a lion. A priest with five serpent heads and the ritual conch shell is said to be depicted to the left and right of the round arch, and *Bhairava* is found in the upper right. Each of the outlets at the back side of the votive temples (for water and sacrificial liquids) is shaped in the form of *Nandī*'s head.

No. 10 is exceptional in being a votive temple with a representation of Viṣṇu (*Nārāyaṇa*). To judge by the cinnabar remains, it appears to enjoy particularly active worship. Next to it is found a plot with the *tulsī* plant, important for the worship of Viṣṇu.

As already in the case of the architecture, so too it is clear in that of the iconography of the Rāmacandra temple that the latter is not a prototypical temple. Even though many elements are recognizable, a number of others are marked by an individuality of charac-

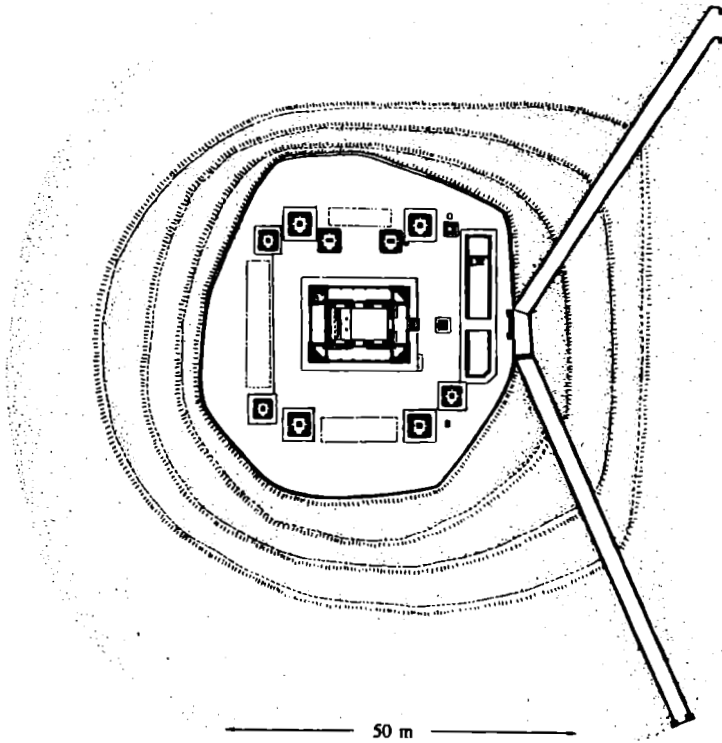
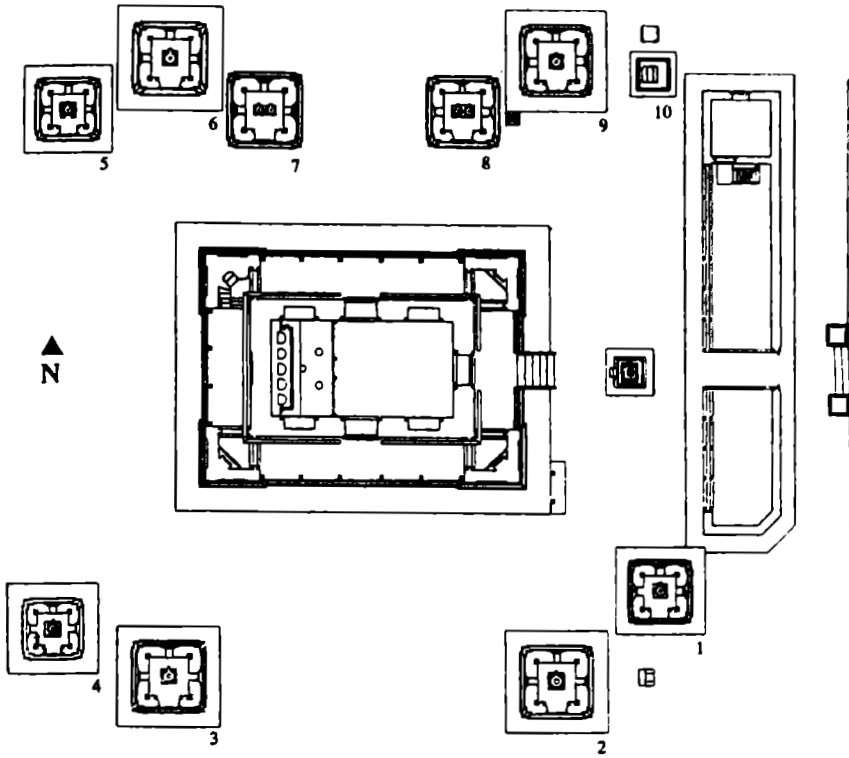


Plate 17

Above: The temple compound

Below: Reconstruction of the site plan. Drawing: Bijay Basukala and Niels Gutschow

ter that probably traces back to the founder. The collocation of represented deities is unique, as is the multiplicity of frescoes. The formative features indicate various outside influences. Good examples of this are provided by the three central chandeliers made of Bohemian glass or the arabesque ceiling paintings against a black background in the corridor. All of this may be taken as an expression of the founder's openness to the world and highlights once more the familial nature of this shrine.

Regina Jakob, Jürg Kübli, Claudia Leutschaft
Rituals and Forms of Worship

Introduction

The *pūjā* (worship, adoration) of gods in either iconic or aniconic form is the most important and best-known ritual in Hinduism. It is conducted daily, usually twice, namely at dawn and dusk. The transitions from day to night and night to day are regarded in Hinduism as particularly important (the confrontation between light and darkness). *Pūjā* occurs privately in houses (at the household altar), on the street and in public places (shrines of gods) and in the temples (in and in front of the sanctuary). Devotees may carry out *pūjā* on their own. In cases where a priest is present, he will conduct *pūjā* on behalf of the devotees. This does not, however, confer any greater significance upon it.

During *pūjā*, deities are treated like living beings and high-ranking guests. Thus they are awakened in the morning, washed and clothed, and food and drink are offered them. In the evening they are prepared for a night's rest: the priest lights a candle.

Before the *pūjā* can be carried out, certain preliminaries must be taken care of. This involves the outward and inward purification of the *pūjārī* (temple priest) and of certain objects that are needed for the performance of *pūjā*.

Segments of a *Pūjā* Ceremony

The main features of each *pūjā* consist of (according to Bühnemann 1988: 135ff.) the elements below. We provide first the orthodox form prescribed in ritual handbooks, and then contrast it with our own observations.

- Greeting: The images are greeted with chants (mantras) and sprinkled with holy water from a sacred river or a temple well; in the case of the Rāmacandra temple, the water came from the priest's house.
- Purification: The head and feet of the deity are washed, and the remains of the old *ṭīkā* are removed.
- Clothing: The deity is "clothed." The cape and head covering consist of two un-tailored pieces of cloth, such as were common among the people in ancient India.
- Offerings, gifts, sacrifices: The deity is given certain gifts (see Table 5: Offerings to the Gods).

- The *ārati* is the climax of a *pūjā* ceremony. The god, having been washed and fed, is offered a lamp with clarified butter or camphor. Frequently metric compositions in the regional language in question are sung in accompaniment.
- Worship (*namaskāra*): Devotees prostrate themselves on the floor or salute with folded hands.
- Circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*): As a mark of respect, the deity is always circumambulated in a clockwise direction. This circumambulation imitates the motion of the sun and drives away evil spirits.
- Concluding prayer (*prārthanā*): Devotees pray for the blessing, and for indulgence in case any mistake has slipped in during the *pūjā*.
- Ritual completion (*saṃkalpapūrti*): Devotees express the wish that the deity has been pleased with the *pūjā*.

They dedicate the *pūjā* and the merit gained thereby to Brahman. Without this dedication, the *pūjā* would bear no fruit for the devotees.

- The taking of holy water (*tīrthagrahaṇa*): The devotees stick a few of the offered flowers into their hair. A portion of the water with which the deity was cleansed is drunk, and another portion used to sprinkle drops over their head.



Plate 18 The Hanūmān statue in front of the main entrance

The Morning Rituals³⁵

The *pūjā* as conducted in the Rāmacandra temple is based on Brahminical Smārta traditions as described above. The priest enters chanting into the temple compound, circumambulates Hanūmān to the left and opens the temple. He carries a chalice in his

³⁵ The following observations were made on the morning of 16 March 1994.

Flowers	The flower blossoms (<i>puṣpa</i>) must always be absolutely fresh. As a rule, only the blossoms of a plant are used, because in this way the plant itself is not injured. Blossoms are a delight to the gods, and a deity is often to be found where there are flowers.
Food	Rice (<i>akṣatā</i>) is regarded as a symbol of fertility, and thus of peace. It bestows grace and promotes the growth of all good things. Fruits and sweets are offered to the gods to pamper them, but they are also intended to symbolize a sufficient stock of food supplies and to make sure that there will never be a lack of them. The remains of offered food go to the devotees. In this way a close bond with the deity is achieved, and at the same time a hierarchy is established, for normally only socially low-ranking persons accept the remains of food.
Pigment	The red-coloured pigment (<i>sindūra</i>), traditionally cinnabar, is nowadays often chemically dyed powder. It is regarded as pigment for Devī, the Goddess. Yellow-coloured pigment is for Viṣṇu or Rāma. Pigments are said to symbolize holiness, energy and long life.
Light	Light (<i>dīpa</i>) is the starting point of any ritual, and is first offered to Gaṇeśa, the guarantor of success. Usually a wick is lighted, having first been dipped in oil, and laid in front of the statue. The light is supposed to drive away darkness and evil spirits.
Water	The sacred water bowl of copper is supposed to have the property of washing away and destroying evil (and the metal itself to serve the function of purifying the water). The bowl may not be used for any other purpose than for <i>pūjā</i> . The water in the vessel is offered to the deity for bathing. Water symbolizes both outward and inward purity.
Money	The deity is also usually presented with money (<i>paisā</i>) in the form of coins, combined with a wish for the offerer's well-being. This <i>dakṣiṇā</i> is taken back at the end of the <i>pūjā</i> .
Camphor	A white substance derived from a tree, camphor is responsible for producing a pleasant aroma (<i>dhūpa</i>). The air is supposed to be purified, and evil spirits driven away, by means of incense sticks and camphor.
Tulsī	The <i>tulsī</i> (or <i>tulasī</i>) plant (basil, <i>Ocimum sanctum</i>) is a plant sacred to Viṣṇu. It is plucked only on special days, by people who consume neither alcohol nor meat.

Table 5 Offerings to the Gods

left hand and admits light into the temple by opening the southern door. Proceeding from left to right, he removes the vestments (pieces of cloth) from the deities, beginning with Śatrughna, and passing via Bharata, Rāma and Sītā to Lakṣmaṇa. He clears away the remains of the *pūjā* from the previous day and wipes everything clean – this to the accompaniment of a continuous chant. With an orange piece of cloth, which he first dips in a pitcher of water he has brought along, he rubs clean the foreheads of the five gods,

again beginning with Śatrughna.

The priest drinks twice from the bowl of water, wipes off the figures (particularly their heads), dusts off the *śāliagrāma* stones and lays the latter in front of the feet of Lakṣmaṇa. The stones, from Muktiṅāth, contain ammonites and particles of gold, and are regarded as sacred; they symbolize Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. The used cloths are hung on the pegs of the wooden partition which divides the sanctuary from the rest of the temple interior. The *pujārī* now dresses the figures once more in vestments and head cloths, this time beginning with Rāma and continuing on around to the right. He takes the *śāliagrāmas* from Lakṣmaṇa's feet, touches them to his forehead and then lays them on a cloth-covered tin plate; only then does Lakṣmaṇa receive his cape and head covering.

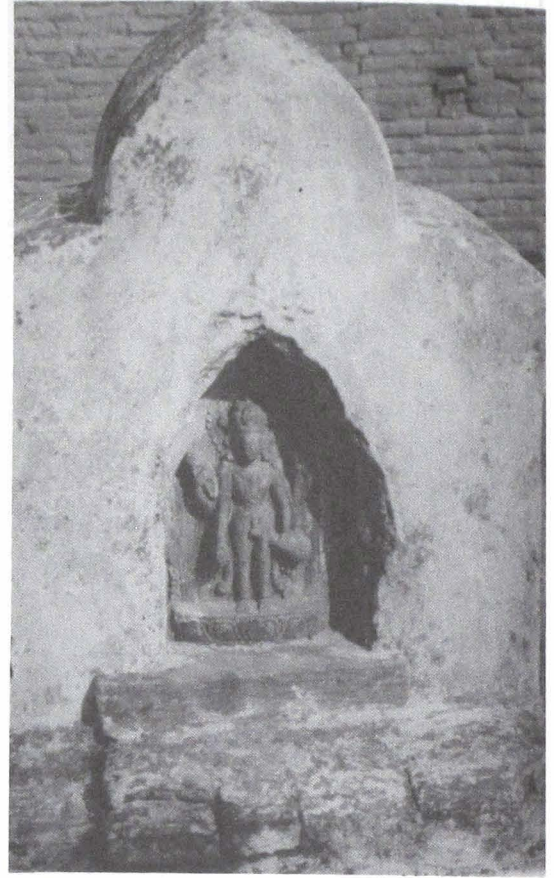


Plate 19 Ithyphallic Śiva (Caṇḍeśvara)

The priest thereupon drips water over the red pigment and draws the *ṭīkās* (forehead marks) with it. He begins with Rāma, goes on to Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, once again to Rāma, and only then to Sītā. The *śāliagrāmas* to the left and right of Bharata – Gaṇeśa and Nārāyaṇa – also receive a *ṭīkā*.

The priest strews dried blossoms over the head and on the feet of Rāma and Sītā, having first taken them from a cupboard to the left of the sanctuary. He touches his forehead to Sītā's feet. Then, still chanting, he leaves the temple. He puts on his shoes, goes to the left around Hanūmān and leaves the temple compound.

A son of the priest brings a cloth-covered tray into the temple. The priest returns and is handed the tray, on which blossoms, bananas and an oil lamp have been placed. With great meticulousness he retraces the *ṭīkas* of the five figures, again proceeding from left to right.

Several handfuls of blossoms are offered. This time he begins with Rāma, goes to the right, and only then to the two figures to the left.

Following this, he lights incense sticks and the wicks of two oil lamps on an altar stone located in the front right-hand part of the sanctuary, all the while ringing a small



Plate 20 A statue of Viṣṇu in a votive temple

left-hand part of the sanctuary. He ends the ceremony by touching the book to his forehead and laying it back down; he fastens the shoulder cloth to his pants.

The priest speaks with a man and afterwards goes out.

An ascetic “residing” in the temple compound enters the temple. He receives from the priest a small sack of rice, which was already lying ready for him, as well as a leaf-plate with rice sprinkled with red pigment. The *pujārī* distributes dried plants on the feet of the figures. Another woman enters the temple. The priest gives a portion of the blossoms at the feet of the figures to her and pours a spoonful of water into her hands. He leaves the temple and remains standing awhile in front of it. A woman enters the temple and strews blossoms over the figures of the gods. The priest again enters the temple, rearranges the blossoms and takes the water vessel in hand. He reexits, closes the door and leaves the temple compound.

bell, while at the same time the large bell to the left of the temple entrance is sounding.

Devotees enter. They receive water spooned out into their hands by the *pujārī*, which they rub into their face; some people also take sips of this water. The priest distributes blossoms to the devotees, some of them into their hands and some of them on their head. One boy receives a banana. Another takes the tray away. The *pujārī* takes up several coins that have been lying outside the sanctuary and lays them on Lakṣmaṇa's feet.

The priest is now wearing a white cloth over his left shoulder. He stops chanting and reaches for a book bearing the joint title Śivapurāṇa and Tulsidās's Rāmācaritamānasa, from which he recites. There follows chanting from three different passages of the book, during which the priest remains squatted in the front

The Evening Rituals (*āratī*)³⁶

The priest enters the temple compound with an oil lamp in his right hand. He opens the door and touches the doorsill with his right hand. He places the lamp on the soclelike altar in the sanctuary and lights it along with incense sticks.

He goes to Śatrughna and rings a small bell, while outside the large bell is being sounded simultaneously. The *pujārī* takes the small lamp and goes down the row of figures with it.

He bows before Rāma and Sītā and touches the pair's feet with his forehead.

After a pause he sits down, then stands up again and goes outside. There he waits awhile in front of the temple entrance, before leaving the temple compound and heading home. His son locks up the temple. The burning oil lamp remains inside the temple.

The *āratī* in this case is simply a brief evening devotional, during which the gods are ritually put to bed.

The Priests

There are two priests. One priest works as a bank official. He is married and the father of three boys. His age is fifty. He has been living for 41 years at his present location, and for 26 years has been a priest, an office his ancestors held before him. The post of priest was inherited by him; he received no training for it. He always chants the same melody and the same text. The language is Hindī, given that he is not versed in Sanskrit. He can choose what to read during the *pūjā*, or whether to read anything at all. For his services as priest at the Rāmacandra temple he receives two hundred rupees a month. This money is raised from donations by the devotees. The priest is a member of the committee for the preservation of the Rāmacandra Mandir.

The second priest, a trained and expert *pujārī*, was recently appointed by the committee. He receives Rs. 1500 per month as salary.

³⁶ The following observations were made on the evening of 17 March 1994.

Judith Gyürki, Franziska Moeri
Marianne Tiefenbach, Johanna Voegeli
Ethnographical Observations and Temple Organization

Temple Worship

During our investigation,³⁷ from six to nine o'clock in the morning of 15 March 1994 and from four to seven o'clock in the afternoon and evening of 17 March, only a few people visited the temple to worship the deities. The very tranquility of this religious site, however, in contrast to the often overfilled popular temples, is possibly an essential factor in visitors' remaining faithful to the Rāmacandra temple. Moreover, the small number of worshippers should not be judged on a scale of values derived from the culture of European worship services. The Hindu *pūjā*, the religious activities of the laity or of a priest, is not a communal act intensified by the shared performance of a congregation, but rather an act carried out individually. To be sure, the forms of worship and the religious convictions that support them are matters of common knowledge among the community. For the gods, however, the decisive point is that the *pūjā* be correctly and regularly performed by the priest, the true representative of the laity.

A Pūjā Ceremony

An elderly-looking woman makes her way to the main entrance of the Rāmacandra temple with a round plate in her hand. On the plate, she has brought yellow gorse (?) blossoms, *akṣaṭā* (unbroken husked rice), sweets, red powder, *baṭṭī* (light, in some cases a small oil lamp with several wicks lying alongside) and a small vessel of water, together with other gifts (see Table 5), for the worship of the gods.

The woman remains a short while in front of the stairs that lead to the main entrance of the temple, touches one hand to the third step and with the same hand then transfers the touch to her forehead. The remaining two steps that she climbs lead her to the main door of the temple.

³⁷ The short duration of the study trip did not permit us to conduct a social background study of the temple. Since this shortcoming cannot later be made up for at the time of writing – in contrast to the situation in the fields of history and art history –, the following chapter is restricted to impressions and sketches.

She dabs a bit of water and a fingertip of red powder onto the main portal. One step leftward places her in front of the pre-portal gate of metal bars. She first moistens the one-to-two-centimetre-wide spaces between the bars with water. Then she sticks one of her fingers into the pigment and presses the fine coloured particles adhering to her fingertip into the same spaces. Into each of the latter she places a yellow gorse blossom on top of the bright red powder. She lays the burning wick into the first vessel to the left of the main entrance.

Her worship continues with Gaṇeśa at the south-eastern corner of the temple. To this god, too, she offers water, rice, flowers, pigment and light. Proceeding along the gallery clockwise, she comes in the south-west to the sun god Sūrya, whom she worships in a similar manner. The woman likewise worships the remaining deities, Devī Bhagavatī in the north-west and Śiva in the north-east.

Having finished her worship of the fourth and final of the four corner deities, namely Śiva, or Candrasekhara, she strides briskly over to the bell, coming to a halt south of Hanūmān. She gives the clapper two strong tugs against the surface of the bell, proceeds to in front of Hanūmān, casts water, rice, powder and blossoms over him and touches him with one hand.

Her next object of worship is the frontmost Śiva *liṅga* to the right of the temple. Again, she sprinkles it with water and pigment, and strews kernels of rice and blossoms over it; in closing, she lays a burning wick on the *liṅga*.

As the final act of worship, she plucks a few gorse blossoms from the nearby bush and worships Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in the accustomed manner. The woman then immediately leaves the temple area through the main entrance.

Shortly after six o'clock the first woman appeared with gifts. The visits of devotees slowly subsided after eight. A total of fourteen persons came on this particular morning to perform *pūjā* – half of them women and half men. According to nearby residents, the figure is scarcely likely to be any higher on other days; only on Rāmanavamī, Rāma's birthday, is the temple really full. Both young and old people were represented among both sex groups. The care or detail devoted to acts of *pūjā*, however, differed considerably. Those of women were easily seen to last longer and be carried out with greater precision than those of men.

According to Lynn Bennett (1983), the status of women in Hinduism with respect to purity and impurity is very ambiguous. This comes out in a series of oppositions, which resurface in their social role, in religious practice, and also in mythic legends. On the one hand, women are regarded as particularly pure within the context of blood kinship ties. On the other, as spouses, they are felt to be a constant threat on account of their sexuality, since the husband is supposed to gain his religious merit principally through

asceticism. At the same time, the wife is, as the guarantor of the patrilineal descent group, extremely important for its continued existence. Wives are indirectly responsible for the moral life of their husbands. Perhaps it is for this reason that it should be the women who invest more time and interest in performing daily religious duties. They are in this way attempting to exercise control over the defiling aspect of themselves, to purify themselves through religious practices and to preserve the well-being of the patrilineal descent group. For all that, the more prestigious religious activities during festivals lie more in the hands of men.

Many of the men came to the Rāmacandra temple without gifts. They passed around the building – some attentively, others hastily – as part of the morning routine.

One difference between the worship of men and women drew our special attention: whereas a woman throws her gifts to Hanūmān from ground level, men have the right to climb up to him. Why should that be so? Hanūmān is the monkey-king who fought on the side of Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa. The ideals of faithfulness, devotion and love are exemplified in Hanūmān's character: When one of Rāma's brothers was wounded by a poisoned arrow and needed medicinal herbs from a mountain in the Himalaya in order to recover, Hanūmān hastened northwards. He was unable to identify the required herb, however, and so, making short shrift of things, lifted the entire mountain on his back and returned with it to Laṅka. Hanūmān was true to his lord and thus probably unmarried. This may be one reason why women are not allowed to climb the base and touch his statue. One informant told us, too, that Hanūmān is primarily responsible for the strength, peace of mind and safety of men.

It is *pūjā*, however, that is almost always the explicit and exclusive reason people come to the Rāmacandra temple in the morning. Other individuals, by contrast, some of whom even live in the *pāṭi*, the temple's former lodgings for pilgrims, or are neighbours who spend a fixed part of their day in the temple courtyard, do not perform *pūjā*. For them, the Rāmacandra compound is a place to relax, meet people and chat. Young males sometimes play soccer, and have now come up with a plan to set up a ping-pong table. Finally, the courtyard is also a playground for children. It was particularly at dusk that it became a social gathering place. Fewer people appeared then than during the morning to offer gifts, however. The morning *pūjā* is of greater importance for devotees, since they are supposed to come on an empty stomach, prior to the first meal of the day – in other words, in as pure a state as possible.

Residents of the Temple Compound

The temple compound is entered by way of a portal, which divides the *pāṭi*, the house

belonging to the temple, through the middle. Originally each side of the courtyard was delimited by such a *pāṭi*, or *dharmasālā*. If they were earlier conceived as lodgings for pilgrims, the long house that remains to the east serves today another function: it has become a social facility offering free accommodations for persons in financial straits. In the upper floor is living a Gurung family that has long been without a father. The mother has been living there for eight years together with three girls and a boy. She supports the family by looking after a filling station. For four years now two old Brahmins who work as day labourers have been living under them. In the left part of the ground floor, finally, is living – now in their third generation – the family that keeps the temple compound clean. One woman attends to the courtyard for one hundred rupees a month, while another, for the same pay, tidies up the temple entrance and daubs it with a mixture of water, clay and cow dung. The second woman also regularly cleans the four corner altars.

Further, the two votive temples to the south-west are currently inhabited by a Vaiṣṇava ascetic. The man, a Brahmin named Śrī Puruṣottama Dās Adhikārī, has been living for one and a half years in the narrow interior of one of the temples; the other he uses as a storeroom. When Śrī Adhikārī moved into his quarters in the cold month of December, the temple committee offered him lodgings; he insisted, however, in spite of the cold, to continue on with his ascetic's life. During our stay we saw him several times wandering around the temple. He brewed some tea for himself, which he offered to share with one of our fellow students, and read out loud to us from the *Bhagavadgītā*. To one of us, finally, he presented a framed picture of Viśvarūpa, an emanatory form of Viṣṇu.

We never saw the ascetic sitting and begging in front of the temple gate, as is customary at the larger temples in Nepal and India. Since he receives small gifts (ten to twenty rupees) from the committee members or devotees from time to time, he does not appear to be dependent upon alms. His presence in the temple compound is universally welcomed, not least, perhaps, because temples and asceticism go together in Hinduism, it being regarded as meritorious to support an ascetic.

Temple Organization

The Rāmacandra temple in Battīspatalī was built by its founder, Sanak Siṃha Ṭaṇḍan, as a private family chapel. The temple compound was thus not generally open to the public, only on special occasions. Over time the temple then underwent phases of accessibility and, in the end, also periods of neglect.

Govinda Tandan, an indirect descendant of Sanak Siṃha engaged, along with a

temple committee, in maintaining and guaranteeing the preservation of the temple compound, has therefore seized on an unconventional and sociologically notable means to instil new life into the Rāmacandra temple. Together with 180 religiously active households in the vicinity, they worked out a seamless plan of service to the temple. Provisions were made that for each day in the month groups of three families would be responsible in rotation for the morning and evening worship (*pūjā*) of deities in the temple.

By this means the formerly private family temple has reacquired a public face. One can observe from these changes that a neighbourhood solidarity of sorts, cutting across all castes, is now surfacing in matters of religion. The organizers hope to awaken and strengthen the sense among Battīspatalī residents of the Rāmacandra temple's being the religious centre of the quarter.

A temple committee formed in 1991, the *Śrīrāmacandra Mandira Jirṇoddhāra evaṃ Saṃvardhana Samiti* (Committee for the Renovation and Promotion of the Rāmacandra Temple) is involved in these activities to a considerable degree. The committee is financed solely from donations and offers various forms of membership: from annual membership fees all the way up to a single donation of 20,000 rupees, which guarantees that one will be memorialized inscriptionally. Towards this end the committee has had a ten-page brochure printed in which tasks and goals have been set down in writing. The committee is attempting to assume the position once held by a *guṭhī*, a temple trust endowed with considerable landed property, the income from which went for temple upkeep.

Axel Michaels
Afterword



Plate 21 The roofs of two votive temples with view on Kathmandu

The Rāmacandra temple is intimately connected with the rise and fall of the Rāṇā rule and the temple founder. Its grandeur and splendour go back to a time when Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā's family members and favourites enjoyed power and influence. The power-hungry prime minister wanted not only control over the country; he wanted to vie with the Śāha kings, to be on an equal footing with them. The king's superiority, however, was signalled in the fact that he was formally the owner of the country, and his rule was legitimated in religious terms. Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṇā could lay claim to neither of these. To be sure, on 6 August 1856 he had himself crowned *mahārāja* by Surendra Bikrama Śāha, but only of Kaski and Lamjung. And he was granted only a threefold *śrī* for his title, whereas the king continued to be addressed with a fivefold *śrī*. This kingship within a kingdom was probably a curiosity that only the unique power relationships in 19th-century Nepal could give rise to. The Rāṇās may well have had power, but religious authority was held only by the Śāhas, who were crowned by the royal priest, the *rājguru*, and who themselves were regarded as a manifestation of Viṣṇu. Only they

were capable, during large religious festivals, of carrying out the important function of launching a procession or worshipping a deity; otherwise, so the belief, harm would befall the king and thus his subjects.

What was fought out at the top was replayed in the social hierarchy below. The Rāmacandra temple is itself an expression of such a display of power by means of religious activities. Thanks to the bond circumstances forged for him with Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā, his military achievements and, most importantly, the marriage of his sister to Jaṅga, Sanak Siṃha stood high in Jaṅga's eyes – almost as high as Jaṅga's brothers –, but he still was not a true Rāṅā, and thus, in a world in which the despot alone has the say, was eyed with mistrust by others. Almost the only thing left for him, in order to provide a clear and tangible symbol of his integrity, was to construct a large temple, by which he was able to flaunt other than secular ends, and at the same time to justify his preferment by Jaṅga Bahādur Rāṅā. That his private residence next to the temple was clearly more modest in appearance could only serve the same ends. The temple, in its architectural style and adornment, became a kind of palace in stone, like those the Rāṅā lords built, in conformance with a pattern familiar in South Asia (see Stein 1978: 7; Fuller 1988: 56), the message being that gods, particularly Rāma, are kings, and kings are gods.

The construction of a Rāma temple was also proof of the Hindu religiosity of the founder. “Compared to Rāma's worship in India, his cult in Nepal Mandala is modest,” writes Mary Slusser (1982: 247) with justification. Placing a Rāma shrine on top of a hill (see Michell 1979: 67f.) was indeed a signal to India. India, which during that time regarded itself as having become not only increasingly suppressed but also defiled through the long Muslim and British colonial rule – the revolt of 1857 being symptomatic of this –, yearned for, at least in Brahmin and orthodox circles, another form of rule, a Hindu kingdom, of which Rāma was the ideal leader, and for which Nepal offered a largely untarnished model. The newspapers in India were full of praise for the autonomous Hindu kingdom in the Himalaya, in which caste restrictions were still being observed, in which – so the opinion – the cow was still worshipped, and in which widows were legally permitted to throw themselves on the pyre one hundred years after that practice had ceased in India (see Michaels 1993 and 1995).

And yet another motive may have contributed along with the ones mentioned above to the construction of the Rāmacandra temple. Sanak Siṃha had obtained much land. To keep it intact within the inheritance practices of Nepal was only possible, for all practical purposes, if it was put *in toto* under a temple endowment.

Since the temple stood along the old and well-worn pilgrimage route to Paśupathinātha temple, Nepal's national shrine, there was hardly anyone who could not help but wonder who the originator of the building on the hill of Battīspatalī was. The

present study arose out of just such a question. It has allowed Sanak Simha, a man whom history books mention only in passing or have consigned to footnotes, to come back to life once again together with his historic act. But if the temple continues to decay as it has up to now, then Sanak Simha will soon be forgotten for good.

Axel Michaels, Govinda Tandan, Aishvarya Dhar Sharma
Appendix: The Temple Inscriptions

All three stone inscriptions are located at the northern side of the Rāmacandra temple.
For their contents see pp. 27ff.

Inscription I (eastern side)

size: c. 68 x 137 cm

date: V.S. 1971 Māgha sudi 12 roj ? (1914 A.D.)

donor: Mahākumārī Devī and her family

donation: Śrī Mahākumāreśvara and Śrī Kosleśvara liṅgas and land for the maintenance.

Inscription II (western side)

size: c. 42.5 x 67 cm

date: V.S. 1981 Vaiśākha sudi 3 roj 4 (1924 A.D.)

donor: Nīladvaja Varman and his family

donation: Śrī Mahendradhvaja Mukteśvara, Śrī Indradhvaja Mukteśvara, Śrī Padma-
kumārī Mukteśvara liṅgas and land for the maintenance.

Inscription III (middle)

size: c. 71 x 175 cm

date: V.S. 1928 Vaiśākha śuklasaptamī (1871 A.D.)

donor: Śanak Siṃha Ṭaṇḍan Lahūrī Kṣetri

donation: Rāmacandra Temple and land for the maintenance.

The following signs have been used in the edition:

[n] new line

[n^{a,b...}] lines continued in another column

? illegible or missing *akṣara*

— underlining of words as used in the inscriptions

No. 1

[1] श्री गणेशाय नम ॥ ॥ स्वस्ति श्री शालीयाबाहनियशाके १८४४ वीक्रमादीत्य सम्बत् १९७९ साल् माघ सुदी १२ रोजका दिन [2] भारद्वाजगोत्र भारद्वाजाङ्गि- रस वार्हस्पत्यो त्रिप्रवर माहाकुमारी देवी सकल परीवारले सहीत श्रुति स्मृति पुराण फल प्रा[3]प्ति अर्थ धर्म काम मोक्ष वैकुण्ठलोक परम पद प्राप्ति भे मुक्ति हुं भन्या कामना गरि काठमादोका अम्बलमध्ये देउपाटन् [4] बत्तिस्पुतलि धुम्कामा बाबाज्यु कम्पाण्डर कर्णैल् शनक्सीम् टण्डन् लाहुरी क्षेत्रिबाट श्रीरामचन्द्रजीसहीत बाणलींग स्मेत् थाप [5] नागरेका ठाउमा मैले पनि येही समीपमा मेरो श्रीमाहाकुमारेस्वर षसपूको श्रीकोस्लेन्द्रेस्वर स्मेत् बाणलिङ्ग थापना गर्याइ [6] उनैको सदा सर्वदा नीरंतर चलाउना नीमिक्त बाबाज्यु कम्पाण्डर कर्णैल् शनक्सीं टण्डन् लाहुरी क्षेत्रिबाट १९५३ साल् कार्ती[7]क सुदि ९ रोज ६ मा मलाइ दातव्येको पत्र लेषीबक्सेको मध्ये विष्णुमति द्वारा लघु बु षेत रोपनि २५ पचीस् धान् मुरी ५२। २। ४ बा [8] उन् मुरी दुइ पाधि चार्माना हीउदे घ्युषानी मोरु ३०। ६२ तीस् रूपैआ बैसठी पैसा स्मेत् उठति हुने देवतालाइ कृष्णापर्ण ग [9] री चढाआ सो जगाको उठति आम्दानीले श्रीमाहाकुमारेस्वर श्रीकोस्लेन्द्रेस्वरका पंचामृत स्नान रुद्राभिषेक नित्य नैमित्तिक पुजा वर्ष बं [10] धन् पर्वपर्वका पुजा यज्ञ भेटी दक्षिणा माहादेवमा बट्टी बालन र भोजन् इत्यादिके औ हामिहरुका एकोत्तिष्ट पार्वण श्राद्धके अक्षे [11] त्तियामा सर्वत् ष्वाउनाके पूजाहारि गुठीयार तहलुवा ध्याम्पामा पानि भर्नके बाली देवताके तपसील्मा दरीयाको छ सोही बमोजी [12] मा कत्ति नघटाइ जुन्जुन् मितिमा गर्नुपर्न्या हो सोही मितिमा दरिया बमोजिं गरी सालसाल् चलाउनु शिवालयका पुजा [13] को कसता तमन्को भाडा श्राद्ध भोजनका काम्को भाडा स्मेत् बिग्रेको सजी बनाउनालाइ र मंदीर शिवालयहरूमा चुन् लाउनं र ते [14] लाहारी गराउनु षानजी ग [??] मंसीर पौष महिना भस्मा दीनु सुषा असीना पर्दा इनै जागिर्दारहरूका बालीमा दामासाही गरी कट्टी [15] गर्नु देवालय भत्कि बिग्यो भने येही गुठीका जगेडाबाट बनाउनु यही गुठीविषेमा बढी षर्च गर्नु परेमा जगेडाबाट गर्नु येस् गुठी [16] हाम्रो बहिनीपट्टीका सन्तान् नाती नीलध्वज राणालाइ हामीबाट अष्टयार गरी दियाको छ इनका पछी इनका संतान्ले पनि सदा स [17] र्वदा नीरन्तर चलाउदा पनि माधि लेषियाका रीत न छाडी चलाउनु श्राध गर्दा हाम्रा दाज्यूभाइ गोतियार् मा कर्ता तुल्याइ गराउनु हा [18] आ दाज्यूभाइ न भया १ जना ब्राह्मणलाई कर्ता तुल्याइ श्राद्ध गराउनु जोकोही सुबुद्धिले येस् मज्यादाकन पालना गर्ला इ लेषियाका दे [19] वताले उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि गर्नन् इ लेषियाका मंदीर देवालय शिवालय भत्काउनामा र लोभानी पापानी गरी लेषी [20] या बमोजीम्का षर्चमा षंडीत् गर्नामा जो पस्ता तस्लाइ पंचमाहापातक् लागला ॥ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम् वा यो हरेद् वै वसुं [21] धराम् ॥ षष्ठि वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षिमिः ॥ १ ॥ स्वदत्तां द्विगुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनात् ॥ परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तां [22] निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ २ ॥ भूयो भूयो भाविनो भूमिपालां नत्वा नत्वा योचते रामचन्द्र सामान्यायं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी [23] यो भवद्भिः ॥ यस् कुराको साही चन्द्रसूर्य्य ज्यमेराज् पृथ्वी जल अग्नी वायु आकास शुभ्

[24] तपसील्

[25] सिलापत्रको आम्दानि षर्चको तेरीज्

[26] अम्दानी

[27a] इ माधि लेषिया बमोजीम्का¹

[28] गुठि चलाउना नीमित राषेको [29a] जगाको उठति आम्दानी ज्मा षेत [30a] रोपनि -- २५

¹ Lines 26-57 are written in four partly intermixed columns (a-c).

- [31a] आमामी शेत धान् घ्यू [27b] तेमध्ये शर्चलाइ चहीने बमोजिं तपसिलको नगद जिन्ती ---
- [28b] साज बेहां नैमीतिक पुजा आरति [20b] वर्ष १ लाइ दानपत्रमा लेषिया [30b] का देहाय बमोजिका गैह सरा [31b] जां चाहिने ---
- [28c] मेरो र शेषं ससुरा सासुज्यूहरू [29c] श्राद्ध गर्नालाइ पिंदको सराजां र भे [30c] टी दक्षिणा भोजन् गराउन औ क [31c] तां भे पींद दीनेलाइ दीने ---
- [28d] कार्तिक मैहामा श्रीपसु [20d] पतिनाथमा रु --- ८ । २२
- [32a] रोपनि मुरी षानी नगरु --- २२ । ६८ चावल् --- ६ असामि --- धान चवल् नगद[??] [33a] काठमादा
 [34a] तर्फ [35a] वीष्णुमति दुरा [36a] लषु बु बीर्ता [37a] रोपनि ---
- [38a] ११ लं दसज्यापु [30a] नरदेवी --- ५ ।।। - ११ । ११ - ६ । ५०
- [40a] १२ लं हर्सवीर गठू [41a] छत्रपाटी --- ५ । ११ । ११ - ६ । ५०
- [42a] १३ लं बासिचा [43a] ज्यापु कीलाघल --- ५ । ११ ।।। ४ - ६ । ५०
- [44a] १४ लं बुद्धिमान् [46a] ज्यापुटेगल् --- ५ - १० । १ - ६ । ५०
- [47a] १५ लं कुल्मान्ज्या [48a] पु नरदेवी --- ३ ।।। - ७ । १० - ४ । ६२
- [40a] २५ [50a] ५२ । २ । ४ [51a] ३० । ६२
- [33b] वर्ष बंधन्को र दानपत्रमा लेषि [34b] याका देहाये बमोजिम्क गैह सर
- [35b] जांके वर्षबंधं माघ सुदि १२ रो [36b] जमा गर्नालाइ होमपूजा भेटी [37b] दक्षिणा भोजम् स्मेत्के ---
 [38b] नगद् रु २ । ५५ धां १ - १ । १ चावल् । २ । ७ । ३
- [39b] तीजके पूजा र हादेव बाली जा [40b] गरां बसी भोलिपल्टका दीन् होम् [41b] गरी भोजन् गराउन स्मेत्को
- [42b] नगद् रु --- ६ । २३ धान् । १ । १ चावल् । २ । ७ । ३
- [43b] वैकुण्ठ चतुरदसीके ऐं बमोजिं [44b] सदर ---
- [45b] नगद् रु - ६ । २३ धान् - । १ । १ चावल् । २ । ७ । ३
- [40b] सिवरात्रीके ऐं बमोजीं सदर --- [47b] नगद् रु ६ । २३ धान् । १ । १ चावल् । २ । ७ । १३
- [48b] देवताका सिंघासन् जलहरी ढो [49b] का इयात्मा स्मेत् तेलाहारी ति [50b] लको तेत्को रु --- २ ।
- [51b] मंदीरमा चुन लाउनाके रु --- ३ । २५
- [52b] कुचो मंदीरमा बदार्नाके --- ४
- [53b] वैसाष सुदी ३ रोजमा [54b] अक्षत्रीतीयाके सर्वत्के रु --- ५ । ८ । ० ।
- [55b] माघमैनामा नुहाउने हर्के [56b] तापनाके पराल्के रु --- १० ।
- [34c] माहा कुमारेश्वरको [35c] यकोतिष्ठ श्राद्धके --- १० - । २ । ३ । २ - ३ । ६५ । २
- [36c] कोस्तेश्वरके [37c] ऐं --- । १० - २ । ३ । २ - ३ । ६५ । २
- [38c] पद्मध्वजेश्वरके ऐं --- १० - २ । ३ । २ - ३ । ६५ । २
- [39c] रणदिवेश्वरी ऐं --- । १० - २ । ३ । २ - ३ । ६५ । २
- [40c] माहाकुमारेश्वरको [41c] तिथिमा गर्ने पारव [42c] त्रि सरादके --- । १० । ४ । १ । ७ - ४ । २०
- [43c] / २ । १० । १३ । ६ । ५ / २ । ८२
- [44c] घ्याम्पामा पानी भर्ने [45c] के षानगी --- ३ - x - x
- [46c] पुजाहारीके रुद्रिपा [47c] ठको स्मेत् षानगी --- ११ । ११ - x - x
- [48c] गुधी चलाउनके [49c] षानगी --- ४ । - x - x
- [50c] मोहि नाइके षान [51c] गी --- ४ । - x - x
- [52c] टहलुवा ३ के षान [54c] गी १ सो गुठीको पोताके --- x - x - १२ । ८
- [55c] गुठिको शेतमा --- दै शोता क्खिवा थोकनाको --- - x - x - ५

[30d] बाबाज्यूबाट थापना गरे [31d] का श्रीरामचन्द्रजी सहीत [32d] का पर्वके — १४

[33d] रामनौमी पर्वके रु — ७ । [34d] तोरीको तेलके रु — ५ ।

[36d] पुजा नैवेद पाठ [36d] के दछिना भेटी स्मेत् [37d] के — २ ।

[38d] कृष्णाष्टमी पर्वके [39d] सोही रामनौमीमा [40d] लेषिये बमोजिं — ७ ।

[43d] येही गुठि निमीत्त रहेको [44d] हाडा थां [45d] आद्धके —

[46d] चादिको

[47d] तोला ६० को बाटा — १

[48d] तोला ३९ को धाल — १

[40d] तोला ३२ । ९ को पंचपात्र — २

[50d] तोला ७ ॥ को आचमनी — २

[51d] तोला ७ । को दियो — १

[52d] तोला १० को ३ मुषे आरती — १

[53d] ढुंगाको विष्णुपादुका — १

[54d] अर्घतोला ८ । ८ को — १

[55d] त्रिषुती तोला — ५ । ८ को - १

[56d] पूजाको धाल —

[57d] भोजनको धाल —

No. II

- [1] श्री गणेशाय नम ॥ ॥ स्वस्ति श्री शालिवाहनिय शाके १८४६ श्रीविक्रमादित्य सम्वत् १९८१ साल्
 [2] वैसाष सुदी ३ रोज ४ का दिन वत्सगोत्रोत्पन्नस्य वत्स भार्गव च्यवनाप्रवानौर्वजामदग्न्ये पंचप्रवरस्य
 [3] नीलध्वजवर्मणो मम सकल परीवारसहीतस्य श्रुति स्मृति पुराणोक्त फलप्राप्त्यर्थं सकुल पापक्षयपू [4] र्वक
 अर्धं धर्म काम मोक्ष वैकुण्ठ लोक परम पद प्राप्ति भै मुक्ति हुं भन्या कामना गरी श्रीबुबाज्यू महेन्द्रध्वज
 श्रीजिजुबुबा इन्द्र [5] ध्वज श्रीजिजु मुमा पद्मकुमारी श्री फुपा लक्ष्मीकुमारीका काठमाडौका [6] अबलमध्ये
 बत्तिस पुतली धुमकामा श्रीमहेन्द्रध्वज मुक्तेश्वर श्री इन्द्रध्वज मुक्तेश्वर श्री पद्मकुमारी मुक्तेश्वर [7] सहीत
 देवताका सदा सर्वदा निरंतर चलाउना नीमीत्त जिजुमुमा पद्मकुमारी रानीका दाइजा बीर्ता वीष्णुमति
 [8] ढुवा लपुबु खेत रोपनि ५ ॥ को कुत धान मुरि ११ । ११ ध्यू षानि हिउदे नगद मोरु ६ । स्मेत् लेषीयेका
 देवताला [9] इ कृष्णार्पण गरी चढाया सो जगाका उठति आम्दानीले तपसील बमोजीं काम गर्नु जो कोही
 सुबुद्धिले [10] यस मर्यादाकन पालना गर्ला ई लेखियाका देवताले उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि गर्नन् जो ई लेषियाका
 मंदीर देवालय सीवाल [11] ये भत्काउनामा र लोभानी पापानी गरी लेषीया बमोजिम्का चर्चमा षंडि गर्ला
 या पसला तस्लाई पंचमा [12] हापातक लागला ॥ स्वदत्ताम् परदत्ताम् वा यो हरेच्च वसुंधराम् ॥ षष्टि वर्ष
 सहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमि ॥ १ ॥ स्वदत्तं [13] द्विगुणम् पुन्यं परदत्तानुपालनात् ॥ परदत्तानुपाहारेण
 स्वदत्तां निस्फलं भवेत् ॥ २ ॥ भूयो भूयो भाविनो भूमि [14] पालं नत्वा नत्वा याचते रामचन्द्र ॥ सामान्योयं
 धर्मसेतुर् नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि ॥ ३ ॥ येस् कुराको साछी [15] चन्द्र सूर्य्य जन्मराज पृथ्वी
 जल अग्नि वायु आकास सुभ्म्

[10] तपसील

- [17a] ई माधि लेषिया बमोजिम् गुठी चलाउना निमित्त राषेका [18a] जगाको उठति आम्दानी [19a] असामी
— शेत रो [20a] पनि [19b] धान [20b] मुरी [19c] ध्यूषानी हि [20c] उदे नगद [22a] जीजु मुमा
पद्यकुमारी रानीका बाबा क[23a] म्याण्डर कर्णेल शनक्सिं टण्डन् लाहुरी क्षे [24a] त्रिबाट १९५३ साल कार्तिक
सुदि ९ [25a] रोज ६ मा दाब्रजो बक्सनुभयेको काठमाडौ बला [26a] का वीष्णुमति दुदा लघुबु शेत रोपनि
५२ को [27a] काठमाडौ २३८ लम्बरका रसीदमध्ये गु [28a] ठी रहेको वीष्णुमतिमा लघुबु
[29a] १० लम्बर मोही भोटेचा ज्यापुले कमाया [30a] को — ५ ।।। ११ । ११ । - ६
[31a] शर्चको कचावर दानपत्रमा लेषियेको छ [17b] त्यस मध्ये शर्च चाहीने बमोजिम् तपसीलका नगद जिन्सी
[18b] असामी — धान् चावल नगद [19d] सहीतका नित्य नैमीत्तक पूजाके — x ६ - २२ । ५६
[20d] वर्ष बंधन् वैसाष सुदी ३ रोज् — १ । १ । - १ - १ - ४ । ३ - ५३
[21] पर्व पर्वके [22b] तीजके — x । १ । - १ । - १ । १३ । २
[23b] वैकुण्ठ चतुरदसी — x । १ । - १ । १३ । २
[24b] सीवरात्रीके — x । १ । - १ । १३ । २
[25b] इनै देवताहरूको सिंघासन जलहरि ढोका [26b] स्मेत् तेलाहारि तिलको तेलके — x - x - १ । २८
[27b] मंदीरमा बढानाके कुचो — - x - x ४
[28b] वर्ष प्रति १ बिराड मंदीरमा चुन लाउनाके — - x - x २ । ६४
[29b] पुजाहारिके नित्यपूजामा रुद्रिपाठ १ गरी [30b] पुजा शान्ती स्मेत् धान् मुरी ४ x - - x x श्री ६के
[31b] श्राद्धके [32b] श्री पद्यकुमारीको वैसाष सुदी ११ रोजमा गर्ने एको [33b] तिष्ठ श्राद्ध — x १ । १ । २ । ७३ ।
[34b] येती मीतीमा गर्ने पार्वनि श्राद्धके — x - x ४ [35] महेन्द्रध्वज x इन्द्रध्वज x पद्यकुमारी लक्ष्मीकुमारी येही
गुठिजगा — ५ ।। कोदर ४८ ले [36] x - x - २ । ६६ ४ । ८ । ५ । ८ । x ३ ४ । २४ । २४ । २

No. III²

- [1] श्री [1] श्रीराम चन्द्र श्रीसिता श्रि लक्ष्मण श्री भरथ श्री सत्रुघ्न श्रीहनुमन् श्रिपाञ्चायण — १
[2] श्री शनक्सीहेश्वर — [२] श्री सारदादेश्वर — [३] श्री हर्षकुमारेश्वर — [६] श्री सन्तकुमारेश्वर — [४]
[3] २ ३ ६ ४³
[4] श्री बालकुमारेश्वर — [५] श्री यसोधरादेश्वर — [७] श्री लक्ष्मी कुमारेश्वर — [८] श्री पसुपति १०
[5] ५ ७ ८
[6] श्री नारायण — [९] श्री संषमुल — [११]
[7] ९ ११
[8] श्रीगणेशाय नमः॥ स्वस्ति श्रीशालीवाहनीयशाके १७९३ श्रीविक्रमादित्य संवत् १९२८ वैशाखशुक्र सप्तमीका
दिन कौशिकगोत्रस्य कौशिक देवराज वि [9] श्वामित्र विप्रवरस्य शनक्सिंह नामध्येयस्य मम सकल परिवार
सहितस्य श्रुति स्मृति पुराणोक्त फल प्राप्त्यर्थं सकल पापक्षय पूर्वक अर्थ धर्म काम मोक्ष वैकुन् [10] ठ लोक
परम पद प्राप्ति भे मुक्ति हुं भन्या कामना गरि काठमाडौका अम्बल् मध्ये देउपाटन् बत्तिस् पुतली पुष्कामा
— १ — — सहित संयुक्त गरि स्थापना गर्या यही समीप [11] मा श्रीशाके १७९८ सम्वत् १९३३ आषाढ कृष्ण
चतुर्दसीका दिन हाम्रा र हाम्रा पत्नीहरूका — २ — ३ — ४ — ५ — श्रीसाके १८१६सम्वत् १९५१ वैशाख शुक्र
षष्ठीका दिन — ६ — ७ — ८ — [12] वाणलिङ्ग ९ स्थापना गर्या ईनि — १ — सहित्का पंचामृत स्नान विधि

²This inscription (except तपसील) has also been published by G. Tandan (1985: 69 - 72).³Numbers in lines 3, 5 and 7 refer to deities in the lines above them.

पूर्वक श्रीरामगीता सहित नित्य नैमित्तक पुजा वर्ष बंधन् पर्वपर्वका पुजा यज्ञ भेटि दक्षी [13] ना दीप्पाला बत्ति बालन र भोजन् इत्यादीके — २ — ३ — १ — ६ — ४ — ५ — ७ — ८ — का पंचामृत स्नान रुद्राभिषेक पुजा वर्ष बंधन् पर्व पर्वका पुजा यज्ञ भेटि द [14] क्षीणा दीप्पाला बत्ति बालन र भोजन् इत्यादिके — ९ — का पंचामृत स्नान नित्य नैमित्तक पुजा वर्ष बंधन्के औ हामि कम्याण्डर कर्णैल् शनक्सीं टण्डन् लाहुरी क्षत्री [15] का र हाम्रा पत्नी सारदा देवीको हामीहरूका सेष पछि गरीने र पर्लोक भयाका हाम्रा पत्नी हर्षकुमारी देवी सन्तकुमारी देवि बालकुमारी देवीक लेषीयाका मिति मि [16] तिमा आद्ध गर्नाके — १० — बाट — ११ — र भादगाउ जाने दोबाटोमा बनायाको सतल् तुटे धाराको वर्षबंधन अक्षय तृत्तियामा सर्वत् प्वाउनके इनारहरूमा सिठिका दिन [17] सोहर्नाके पुजाहारी गुठीयार भडार्या बहिदार टहलुवा बानादार सतल् चौघेराका चीताइ गरि तुटेधारा मा पानी भर्न्या स्मेत् कामदार कारिन्दा गैह्लाइ बालि देनाके [18] स्मेत् सदा सर्वदा नीरंतर चलाउनानीमीत्त मेर कीनुवा बिर्ता भेत् रोपनी ३२७ ॥ ३ र सर्कारबाट मैले रीझमा बिर्ता बक्स्यामध्ये रोपनी ४६ ज्मा भेत् रोप [19] नी ३७३ ॥ ३ र भादगाउ जाने दोबाटोमा बनायाका सतल् संगको पसल् ८ स्मेत् श्रीरामचन्द्रजी सहीत देवताले कृष्णार्पण गरी चढायां सो जगाका उ [20] ही ति आम्दानिले इनै — १ २ ३ — ६ — ४ ५ — ७ ८ ९ — का पंचामृत स्नान विधिपूर्वक श्रीरामगीतासहीत् रुद्राभिषेक नित्य नैमित्तक पुजा वर्षबंधन् पर्व पर्वका पुजायज्ञ भेटि दक्षीण दीप्पालामा बत्ति बालन र भोजन् इत्यादिके औ हामीहरूका एकोतिष्ट पार्वण आद्धके सतल् तुटेधाराका वर्षबंधन् अक्ष [21] तृत्तियामा सर्वत् प्वाउनकाके सिठिमा इनारहरूको सोहर्नाके पुजाहारी गुठीयार् भडार्या बहीदार टहलुवा बानादार कारिन्दा गैह्रको बाली देनाके मसलंदके स्मेत् तपसिल्मा दरीयको छ सोहीबमोजीम्मा कत्ति न घताइ जुन् जुन् मितिमा गर्नुपर्या हो सोही [22] सोही मितिमा दरीया बमोजीम् गरी साल्वसाल् चलाउनु — १ — सहीत्का मंदिर — २ — ३ — ६ — ४ — ५ — ७ — ८ — का शिवालय — ९ — का मंदिर घंट यही समिपका स [23] तल् पाटी भडारघर भादगाउ जाने डोबाटोको सतल् चौघेरा टुटेधारा पसल् इनारहरू — १ — का सुना चादीको गहना सुनका मोल्वा लाग्याको नाग [24] पास कदम् र देवता गैह्रका पुजाको चादिका र कसन् तमन्को भाडा दीप्पाला आद्ध भोजन्का काम्को भाडा स्मेत् भत्के बीग्रे टुटे फुटेको स [25] जी बनाउनलाइ र — १ — का पोसाक् जीर्ण भयामा फेर्लाइ मंदिर देवालये शिवालयेहरूमा र सतल् पाटी भडारघरहरूको धुरीमा स्मेत् चुन् वर्षप्र [26] ती लाउनलाइ षर्च घटी हुने हुनाले देऊ न भयाको येती काम्का षर्च गुठीयार बहीदार पूजाहारी बसि इमान् धर्म संझी चाहीन्या षर्च गरी बना [27] उनु पंचामृतलाइ दुद दहि गाइ पाली पुर्याउनु पुजाहारी गुठीयार बहीदार भडार्या बहीदार टहलुवा बानादार सतल्को चीताइदारस्मेत् काम्दार कारिन्दा [28] गैह्रले आफु आफुलाइ लाग्याको काम् न गर्न्यालाइ बदला राषि काम् चलाउनु गुठीयाले कांकाज् आम्दानी षर्च गर्दा जीन्सी बाली षा [29] ने पुजाहारी गुठीयार भडार्या बहीदार टहलुवा बानादार सतल्को चिताइदार स्मेत् काम्दार कारिन्दा गैह्रते पकायाको बाली मंसीर पौष मैहाभ [30] रमा चाहीयाबमोजीम् बाली दीनु सुषा असीना पर्दा इनै जागीरदारहरूका बालीमा दामासाही गरीकट्टि गर्नु होम् पूजा आद्ध भोजन् इत्यादिलाइ [31] जिन्सी पनि सोही मैहामा दरीया बमोजीम् भडारै जिम्मा बुझाइ काम् चलाउनु बाकी जीन्सी वीक्री गर्नाले याम् हेरी चल्याका भाउमा विक्री गरी ले [32] षीया बमोजीम् नगदि षर्च गर्नु भत्के बीग्रेओ साल्सात्तैमा जो लाग्न्या षर्च चलाइ साबुद गरी बनाउनु साल्त्तमाम् भयापछि बहि बुझाउ [33] दा हाम्रा सेष्छिलाइ यस् गुठी हाम्रा छोरीपट्टिका सन्तान् नाति महीन्द्रध्वज राणालाइ हामिबाट अफ्यार तरी दीयाको छ [34] नीजसंग गुठीयारले आम्दानी षर्च भयाको बहि बुझाइ बाकी सेष् जगेरा भयाको नीजलाइ साल्वसाल् बुझाइ नीजको फार षति तरी लिनु [35] सो सेष् बांकी बुझायाको मध्ये इनै श्री देवताहरूका नीमीत्त नगरी नहुन्या परी आउदा षर्च गर्नाले साल्वसाल् ६ षंडको १ षंड जगेरा भदार [36] मा दाषील गरी बाकी ५ षंड नीजले षानु इन्का पछी सदा सर्व दा [??] नीरंतर चलाउदा पनी माथि लेषीयाका रीत् नछाडी चलाउनु नित्य भोगपुवा नैवेद प [37] काउनाके र होम् आद्ध भोजन्का काम्के दाउरा यहि धुम्का मनी गुठीमा दरीयाको बारीको डील्मा रूप् पाली तेसैबाट चाहिने दाउरा ती काम् चलाउनु आद्ध ग [38] दा इनै

श्रीरामचन्द्रजीका समिप्पा गुठीयारमार्फत् हाभ्रा दाज्यूभाइ गोतियारमा कर्ता तुल्याइ इन्का हातबाट गराउनु
 हाभ्रा दाज्यूभाइ गोतियार [39] नभया पुजाहारीहरूमा १ जना ब्राह्मणलाइ कर्ता तुल्याइ ऐकोतिट पार्वण
 आइ गराउनु इने देवताहरूका सुना चादीको गहना चादिका कसन्तमन्को [40] भाडा आइ भोजन्का काम्को
 भाडा — १ — का वर्षबंधन्मा गुठीयरमार्फत् तायदात् गर्नु चोराइ हराइ वेपन्त गरायाको भया जीन् पुजाहारी
 गु [41] ठियार भडार्या जीम्माको हो इनेबाट भर्ना गराइ साबुद् गरी राप्नु वेत्त्वलामा साल्वमाल् गुठीयार
 बहिदार गै हेरी लगत् बमोजीम् दुरुस्त गरी [42] जाचनु जोकोही सुबुद्धीले येस् मज्यादाकन पालना गर्ता
 इ लेषीयाका देवताले उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि गर्नन् इ लेषीयाका मंदीर देवालय शिवालय [43] सतल् पाटी इनार
 टुटेधारा बीगाना भत्काउनामा र लोभानी पापानी गरी लेषीया बमोजीम्का बर्चमा बंडीत् गर्नामा जो पस्सा
 तस्लाइ पं [44] चमहापातक् लाग्ला ॥ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद् वै वसुम्भाराम् ॥ षट् वर्ष सहस्राणि
 विष्टायां जायते कृमिः ॥ १ ॥ स्वदत्तां द्विगुणां [45] पुन्यम् परदत्तानुपालनात् ॥ परदत्तापहारेणे स्वदत्तां निष्फलं
 भवेत् ॥ २ ॥ भूयो भूयो भाविनो भूपालान् नत्वा नत्वा याचते रामचन्द्रः ॥ सामान्यो [46] यं धर्मसेतुर् नृपाणां
 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ ३ ॥ येस् कुराको साछि चन्द्र सूर्यय ज्मराज पृथ्वी जल अग्नी वाय्यु आकास्
 शुभ्म् —

[47] तपसिल्

[48] इ माधी लेषीया बमोजीम्का गुठि चलाउना नीमीत्त गुठि राष्याका जगाको [49] उठती आम्यानी ज्मा
 वेत् रोपनी ३७३ ॥ ३ र पसल् ८ स्मेत्को

1st column⁴

[50a] असामी [50b] वेत् रो [51a] पनी [50c] धान् [51b] मुरी [50d] घ्यूषा [51c] नीरू [52] देउपाटन् तर्फ
 [53a] सर्कारबाट मलाइ रीझ् [54a] मा वीर्ता बक्स्या मध्ये गु [55a] ठी राष्याको यहि बत्तीस पु [56a] तलीको
 थुम्का मुनी — ४६ । ४४ । १८ । ६ x

[57a] ठाउ ठाउमा बस्न्या मानि [58a] स् हूरुसंग षरीद गरी मेरा [59a] किनुवा विर्ता गुठी राष्याक [60a] येहि
 बत्तीस पुतली थुम्का [61a] वरीपरीको टार [62a] पनीको — ५ ÷ ४ । ४ -

[63a] गल्सी ३ थाउको गरी — १ । १ । २ - १ । १३ -

[64a] कुं पर्षाल् — १ - - । ५ । २ -

[65a] गोसीषु — १ - । ८ । ३ -

[66a] गद्दाडोल् — २ - १ । १३ । ४ -

[67a] यलवने लषला २ को — ८ - ६ । १४ । ४ -

[68a] नीगोबारी — ४ ॥ यलवन् २

[69a] थुसा वेल् ॥ स्मेत् षला १ के — ७ । ६ । १ । ६ -

[70a] थुसा वेल् — १ ॥ - १ । ५ । २ -

[71a] नीगोबारी — १ ॥ ^२ गल्सी

[72a] अगल् १ । २ स्मेत् षला २ के - ३ ॥ - ३ । ३ -

[73a] गाबु ३ ॥ नीगोबारी १ ॥ १ ॥ स्मेत् ५ । - ४ । ८२ -

[74a] नीगोबारी — १ - ५ । ९ । १ -

[75a] ऐ — १ - । ८ । ३ -

[76a] यलवने ल २ थली ॥ १ ॥ पिंभहाल ॥ १ ॥ स्मेत्को — १ - ३ । ५ -

[77a] बधी १ २ यलवन् गल्सी १ ॥ १ ॥ स्मेत् षला १ को — १ । २ - ३ । ७ । २ -

⁴From here the text is written in 4 columns (a-d).

- [76a] यलवने ल १॥ अगोल १ ॥॥ स्मेत् ३। - २।१४४ -
 [70a] अगोल् — ॥ - १।८।३ -
 [80a] नीगोबारी १॥ अतथी २ स्मेत् ३॥ - २।१८।६ -
 [81a] ब्रह्मरी डोधली — ५॥ - ५।१५।४ -
 [82a] ब्रह्मरी — १। - १६।२ -
 [83a] धली षला २ को — ॥॥ - १।१५।६ -
 [84a] मनी लघु — १ - १।१ -
 [85a] जी सीमाको — २। - १।१७।६ -
 [86a] जोल्को १ ठुडो ॥॥ स्मेत् — १।॥॥ - १।१६।६ -
 [87a] टाहाचल् — १॥ - १।५।१।६ -
 [88a] पीबहाल् षला ५ को — ३।१३।२ -
 [89a] वधौ — ३ - ३।३ -
 [90a] वधौ घैयाटार १। - १।१ -
 [91a] वधौ — ८ - ८।१० -
 [92a] ठाउ ठाउको — ८७।७८।१०।१।६ -
 [93a] पीगल् षुगल् — २ - ३।३। -
 [94a] मापुचल् — ५ - १०।१० -
 [95a] यम्भु — ४ - ६।६ -
 [96a] यम्भु — ४ - ५।१५।४

2nd column

- [50e] पाको — २ - ३।१३।४ - x
 [51d] ऐ — १ - २।२ - x
 [52b] बागमति डोल्कि माल् — २ - ४।४ - x
 [53b] चपाव्वा — १॥ - १।५।२ - x
 [54b] आयेगाव्वाको — ०। - ५।५ - x
 [55b] सीमल् टार् — - ३।३ - x
 [56b] तिन् चुल्हे — ४ - ५।१ पै २
 [57b] सीलां चोसला २ को — १ - ५।१ - x
 [58b] १।५७ — ५३।१५।२।२ — १७७।४।१६।२
 [59b] हादीगाउतर्फ
 [60b] लठजोल् — ४ - ६।६ - x
 [61b] सीधल् — १॥ - ३।१०।२ पै २
 [62b] धति — १। - २।२ - x
 [63b] सिंह — १।२।५।१ - पै २
 [64b] हसुल् — ॥॥ - १।९।२।१ पै २
 [65b] पिजोल् — १ - १९।३ -
 [66b] हसुल् १।॥॥ मेवल् १ षं [67b] बलीडल् ॥२ स्मेत् - ३। - ४।८।२ पै २
 [68b] भोपोताय् भंदोल् हीटीचो [69b] हीटीगाल् स्मेत् १८ र [70b] कौडोल् १ स्मेत् ज्मा — १९ - ३३।१२
 [71b] बुदाल् — २। - ४।४ -

- [72b] धोवीषोला धंवाराहि -- ७ - ११।११ पै १ ।।।
 [73b] ऐं पवडोल् -- ४ - ७।७ - पै १
 [74b] पमड्डु -- २ - ४।। पै॥
 [75b] धंवाराहि -- २ - ३।३ -
 [76b] मागल् -- १॥ - १।११।४
 [77b] लोहसाल् -- १ - १।१ - पै ३
 [78b] चष्वाल् -- २ - २।८।२ पै।
 [79b] ऐं १॥ सिमाष्वाट १२ स्मेत् १।।। २ - २।१७।६ पै
 [80b] सिमाष्वाट् -- १ - १।६।२ पै
 [81b] बुसि बघेचा -- ॥ - १।१ पै
 [82b] इत्याल्वा -- ॥ - १।१ -
 [83b] भलेवीघट्ट -- १ - गहु।१०।४
 [84b] पंनाहिटी -- ॥ - १।७।२ पै -
 [85b] काठ्मादौतर्फ ९६॥ २ / २५७।५।२ / - ५
 [86b] रानीवनमनी टेकोड्डोल् -- ४ - ५।१०।२ पै ।।।
 [87b] तीलंगाटार -- २७।।। - २३।२ मो २
 [88b] माग्डोल् -- १७ - २६।१५।४। पै ४
 [89b] मैतादेविनेरा -- ४ - ८।८।मो १ ।।।
 [90b] ५२॥ -- ६३।१५६ -- ८॥
 [91b] टोषा नैडल्युबु -- १५ - २३।२ -
 [92b] सैबुटार -- ५९ - ३७।५।।१९ -
 [93b] पाटन् सोपाहिटी -- ३।।। चा ३ ।८।७ ग।५।४ मो २
 [94b] बुदानीलकंठ तौ २ - २। -
 [95b] तामागुरु बगुवा -- ८॥ - ६।१० - मो १ [96b] पसल्गोटा ८ को बाल् मोरु --
 [97b] तेरीज्को आम्वदानीगेहको यकुन्
 [98b] धान्मुरी -- ४०६।२।२।५ मोरु ५४॥
 [99b] सचवल् -- ३।८।७ पैरु १० ३ -- ६४।।। ३
 [100b] गहु -- १६ ४१०।७।१।५

3rd column

- [50f] -- ९ -- सहीत्का नित्य नैमित्तक् पजाके [51e] र वर्षबंधन् पर्व पर्व स्मेत्के [52c] साज बहान्का नित्य नैमित्तक् [53c] पुज आरतिके वर्ष १ लै [54c] दान्यत्रमा लेषियाका दे[55c] हाय बमोजिम्का गैह सराजाम्के चाहि [56c] ने नगद पसा रु १५१ ३ ॥ जीन्सीचावल्।६।६ [57c] वर्ष बंधन्के र पर्व पर्वके दान्यत्रमा लेषि [58c] याका देहाय बमोजिम्क गैह सराजाम्के [59c] वर्षबंधन् वैसाष सुदि ७ रोज्मा गर्नाला [60c] इ होम् पुजा भेती दक्षिना भोजन् स्मेत्के [61c] पैसा रु ८ ॥ धान्।११ चावल्।५६६।४
 [62c] कृष्णाष्टमिमा पुजाके र दीप्माला बाली [63c] जागरम् बसी भोलीपल्त्का दिन होम् ग [64c] री भोजन् गराउना स्मेत्के
 [65c] पैसा रु ३७ ।।।।१ धान्।१।१ चवल्।५।६।८
 [66c] राम्नौमिमा पुजाके र दीप्माला बाली [67c] जागराम् बसि भोत्तिपल्त्का दिन होम् ग [68c] री भोजन् गराउना स्मेत्के --

[60c] पैसा रू ३७ ।।। २ । १ धान् १।१ चवल् ५।६।८

[70c] २ — ३ — ६ — ४ — ५ — ७ — ८ — का नित्य नै [71c] मित्तक् पुजा वर्ष बंधन् पर पर्व स्मेत्के
[72c] साज बेहान्का नित्य नैमित्तक पुजा आ [73c] रतिके वर्ष १ लाइ दान्यत्रमा लेषीया [74c] का देहाय
बमोजीम्का गैह सराजाम्के —

[76c] पैसा रू ११४ ३ चावल् - १।१

[70c] वर्ष बंधन्के पर्व पर्वके दान्यहम ले [77c] षीयाका बोम्जीम्का सराजम्के

[78c] — १ — ४ — ५ — का वर्ष बन्धन् [79c] आषाड वदि १४ रोज्मा गर्नालाई [80c] होम् पुजा भेटी
दक्षीना भोजन् स्मेत् के —

[81c] पैसा रू ११।।। धान् ४।४ चवल् १।५२

[82c] — ६ — ७ — ८ — का वर्ष बंधन् वैसाष [83c] सुदि ६ रोज्मा गर्नालाई [84c] होम् पुजा भेटी दक्षिणा
भोजन् स्मेत्के —

[85c] पैसा रू १० ३ २ धान् ३।३ चावल् - ८।२९ [86c] तिज्के पुजा र दिपमाला बाली जागरा [87c] म् बसि
भोलीपल्टका दिन होम् गरि [88c] भोजन् गराउना स्मेत् के —

[89c] पैसा रू २८ ।।। २ धान् १।१ चवल् ५।७

[90c] वैकुण्ठ चतुर्दशीके पुजा र दिपमाला [91c] बली जागराम् बसी भोलीपल्टका दि [92c] न होम् गरी भोजन्
गराउना स्मेत्के —

[93c] पैसा रू ३७।३ ।।। धान् १।१ चावल् ५।७

[94c] शीवरात्रीके ऐं बमोजीम् सदर —

[96c] पैसा रू ३७।३ ।।। धान् १।१ चावल् ५।७

[96c] — ९ — का नित्य नैमित्तक पुजा वर्ष बन्धन्के [97c] दान्यत्रमा लेषीयाका सराजाम् के [98c] नीमित
पुजालाइ वर्ष १ के —

[99c] पैसा रू - १५।२ चावल् १।४

[100c] वर्ष बंधन् वैसाष सुदि ६ रोजके —

[101c] पैसा ... धान् १।१ चमल् १।२।२

4th column

[50g] सतल् टुटेधाराका वर्ष बंधन् गर्नाके र सर्व [51f] त् प्वाउनाके वैशाष सुदि ३ रोजमा होम् [52d] पुजा
भेटी दक्षीना भोजन् सर्वत् स्मेत्लाइ [53d] दान्यत्रमा लेषीयाका सराजाम्के —

[54d] पैसा रू - १५॥ ॥ १ धान् १।१।१ चावल् - ५।६।२

[55d] सीठीमा इनारहरू सोहर्नाके -

[56d] पैसा रू - ५॥ चावल् - १।१।१

[57d] इनै देवताका मंदिर सिवालयहरूमा ब [58a] ढारनाके कुचो र टुटेधारामा पानी भर्ना [59d] लाइ लषाकि
गोल्पु स्मेत् के पैरू — ॥ [60d] — १ — २ — ३ — ६ — ४ — ५ — ७ — ८ — ९ — लाइ र सिं

[61d] घासन् जलहरीमा स्मेत् मितिमितिमा [62d] तेलाहारी गर्नाके पै रू — १ ३

[63d] हाम्रा र हाम्री पत्नीहरूका आद्ध गर्नला [64d] इ पींडका सराजाम् र भेटी दक्षीना भोजन् [65d] गराउन्
औ कर्ता भै पींड दिनेलाइ दिन [66d] स्मेत् दान्यत्रमा लेषीयाका दिन्हाके — [67d] हर्षकुमारी देवीको
एकोतिष्ट आद्ध जे [68d] ए वदि ३० रोज्मा गर्नाके —

[69d] पैसा रू ७॥ चावल् ५।२।२। धान् १

[70d] सन्तकुमारी देवीको एकोतिष्ट आद्ध [71d] आवन वदि ६ रोज्मा गर्नाके

[72d] पैसा रू ७॥ चावल् ५।२।२ धान् - १

[73d] बालकुमारी देवीको एकोतिष्ठ आ [74d] द्व वैसाष सुदि १३ रोज्मा गर्नाके —

[75d] पैसा रू ७॥ चावल् १५।२।२।२ धान् - १

[76d] हामी सनक्सिंह मुक्त भया पछि हाम्रा [77d] एकोतिष्ठ आद्ध गर्नाके —

[78d] पैसा रू ७॥ चवल् १५।२।२।२। छान् १

[79d] सारदा देवी मुक्त भयापछि नीजका एको [80d] तिष्ठ आद्ध गर्नाके

[81d] पैसा रू ७॥ चावल् १५।२।२।२। धान् - १

[82d] हाम्रा र बने हाम्रा पत्नीहरूसहित हामी [83d] मुक्त भया पछि गर्ने पार्वण आद्धके —

[84d] पैसा रू ८॥ ३२ चावल् १६।६।७ धान् - १

[85d] पुजाहारी गुठीयार बहिदार भडार्या टह [86d] लुवा बानदार सतल्को चीताइ गरी [87d] टुटेधारामा

पानी भर्ना स्मेत् काम्दार [88d] कारिंद गैहके बाली दान्यत्रमा लेपी [89d] याका देहाय बमोजिम्का मानीस्के

[90d] चाहिन्या ज्मा धान् मुरी — ११०

[91d] कागज मसी बहिवस्ताके पै रु —

[92d] दफे बने — १ — २ — ३ — ६ — ५ — ५ — ७ — ८ — ९ — [93d] का नीत्ये पुजाके

मलमास हुदा साबिक् [94d] मैहामा दरीया बमोजीम् थप् मैहा १ को पनी षर्च गर्नु —

[95d] षर्च गैहको येकुन् तेरीज

[96d] पैसा १६ गंडी रु — ५७९।३।३

[97d] धान् मुरी — २१९।६।७

[98d] चावल् मुरी — ६।२।५।३

[In the pedestal:] सिंह बलकुमारी देवी सन्तकुमारी देवी सन्कसिंह सरद देवी हर्षकुमारी देवी सिंह

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