RESEARCH NOTE

JESTHAVARNA MĀHAVIHĀRA OF LALITPUR:
HISTORY AND EVOLUTION

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Introduction
Jestharana Māhāvihāra, a prominent bāhā of Newar Buddhists of Lalitpur is commonly known as Tanga Bāhā or Cāku Bāhā. Its Sanskrit name, Jesthavarna Māhāvihāra, indicates its reputation as one of the oldest and principal bāhās in Lalitpur. This bāhā was founded by Sri Balarcana Deva at Tangal Tol which is situated the east of the road leading south from Mangal Bazar. It is located just opposite to Ta-Bāhā of Karunāmaya or Bunga-dyo (Rato Matsyendranath) whose cult and rāṭhājatrā is closely associated with Caku Baha dyo. The principal deity of the Tanga Bāhā is a small and remarkable red image of Padmapani Lokesvara which is also revered as Jatadhari Lokesvara. Newar Buddhists call this deity Caku-bāhā-dyo and Hindus call him Minnāth.

The structure of the temple and Bāhā complex
The bāhā complex is surrounded by dwelling houses. The main free standing temple of this bāhā is remarkable in its structure. It is a two-storey pagoda or Nepali style temple which is facing west. The top roof of this temple is of gilded copper. People believe that it was renovated in N.S. 986.1 Above this roof there is a single golden finial with a three-tiered umbrella. A metal banner also known as patā hangs from the finial down to the main door of the temple. The lower tile roof of the temple was replaced by a copper plate in N.S. 1108 (B.S. 2044) by a Newar Buddhist named Sri Asa Ratna Dhakhwa of Kwābāhā Sangha of Lalitpur.2 The lower roofs of the temple are supported by the carved struts decorated with the images of five protectors deities popularly known as Pancaraksha such as Mahapratisara,
Mahasahasra Pramardani, Mahamayuri, Mahasitavati and Mahamantransasarini. Among them one of the struts of the lower roof of the temple at the eastern side is peculiar and note worthy. This strut bears a stupa on a lotus in the main branch of a plant, whereas on the other side-branch of the same plant a Siva-linga is figured. At each of the four corners of the both roofs of two-storey temple, metal-cast bird figures stand with a fish dangling from their beaks. There are also metal faces of the Bodhisattva at the end of the ribs of the metal roofs. From the eaves of all two roofs hang a series of small bells and are edged with a kinkinimāla perforated boarder.

The front or western façade of the temple has one double door on each side. Each of the four doorways is surmounted by an elaborately carved torana. The most elaborated one over the main door is a copper repoussé torana of Padmanbitesvara, an eighteen-handed image of Avalokitesvara in the dancing posture with a lotus in each of his hands. The main figure is flanked by two four-handed and two six-handed figures which can probably be identified as Tārā, Sudhana, Bhrikuti and Hayagriva. The representation of these images is extremely rare. A small image of the Buddha Amitabha is placed below the torana. The frame of the doorway which was installed in N.S. 986 (1866 A.D.) is covered with brass work. On both the sides of the doorposts, Brahmavas with three faces and six hands is represented prominently. The other side of three toranas over the three doors of the temple is all decorated with wood carvings and is older than the toranas over the main door. The centre figure on the northern torana is a twelve-handed tantric deity with three heads, and on the eastern torana is a twelve-handed image of Ganesh in dancing posture. On the southern torana, there is a tantric deity on the centre with sixteen hands and three heads.

Around the temple on the ground floor there is a railing with oil lamps and prayer wheels. A pair of triangle-shaped brass flags are posted on both sides of the steps leading to the main door. These flags were donated in N.S. 1029. Two large metal lions which were donated in N.S. 1024 are also kept on both sides of the steps. On the back of each of the lions, there is a two-armed figures of Simbanāda Lokesvara. At the front corner of the verandā, there are two large stone images of the Yamaadutas holding a gadā in the right hand and a vajra in the left hand. These images are dated N.S. 1044 (1924 A.D.). A large bell on the north side of the temple was donated in N.S. 999 (1879 A.D.) by a family of Silpakaras from Jana Bāhā in Kathmandu. Almost all the wooden struts, windows, toranas, shrine
frames and other wooden art objects of the temple are brightly painted with red, green, white and yellow colours.

The courtyard of the bāhā is fairly large and contains five motive caityas, one octagonal motive caitya, one dharmadhātu mandala, a large Tibetan Buddhist prayer wheel and two rest houses besides the gateway. On the southern side of the bāhā complex, there is an old type of āgam house where an image of Dipankara is exhibited during the Shravan of Gunla month. On the upper side of the same āgam goddess Basundharā who is said to be senior most of all the gods and goddesses of Ilalahane Samyak⁶ of Nagbāhā, Lalitpur, is seated on a wooden khat (cot). One day before the Ilalahane Samyak, the people of Nagbāhā visit the Tanga-Bāhā with musical troupe and bring the goddess Basundharā to Nagbāhā Samyak⁷.

**Inscriptions within the Bāhā Complex**

The history and evolution of the Tanga Bāhā is told by many inscriptions found in the bāhā. Below is a list of the important inscriptions which are in the bāhā complex:

1. An inscription erected in the time of King Yaksha Malla is dated N.S. 589. This inscription commemorates the offering of a golden pinnacle, a banner and an umbrella to Sri Sri Aryavolokitesvara. This is the earliest inscription of the bāhā.⁸
2. An inscription dated N.S. 793 erected in the period of Srinivas Malla commemorates the reconstruction of new plateform and the Caitya by Satyaram Bhārō and his wife Gopini.
3. An inscription of N.S. 824, located north of the temple commemorates the construction of the Caitya by Sri Jaya Krishna Bhāro.
4. According to the inscription dated N.S. 833 kept inside the rest house of the bāhā complex, Bahādusingh Mulmi and his wife, Ratnasvarimai, constructed a main gate, an inn and a water conduit there. Besides these, they donated the land and many other things to meet the expenses for the Mahāsnāna ceremony of the deity. It also refers to Janmapāni and Amoghāpāsa Lokesvara.
5. Inscription of N.S. 993 refers to commemoration of the repairs of the Caitya, by Sri Caityarājā, Sri Ratna Dhana, sons Sri
Chhatraraja Sri Mani Ratnaraj of Hiranyavarna Mahaivahara Sangha.

6. Inscription dated N.S. 999 on the top of the large temple bell support refers to the bahā as Bālārcaana Samskārita Jeshthavarna Mahaivahara and the deity as Dharmaraj Jatadhari Lokesvara. The donors are Krishnavira and his wife, Thakumai.

7. An inscription of N.S. 1022 refers to the commemoration of repairs made of bathing plateform.

8. An inscription in Nepali dated B.S. 1965 at an inn commemorates the repairs of the Bahā with brick pavement on the ground. Besides, the inscription also mentions the establishment of a guthi to meet the expenses of the work for keeping the bahā clean.


10. Inscription of N.S.1108 (B.S.2044) commemorates the reconstruction of the second roof of the temple with metal plate and painted struts and toranas with different colours. This construction work was done by Sri Asha Ratna Dhākhwa and his wife Chandra Devi Dhakhwa of Hiranyavarna Mahaivahara’s Sangha, for the Sukhavatīvāsa of Asha's father Ashakaji and mother, Shanta Kumāri Dhakhwa. This inscription is placed above the second roof of the temple.

Outside the bahā complex there are two Lichchhavi inscriptions at the water tap. One inscription dated samvat 148 refers to the distribution of water from a canal, the second one is mostly damaged and it is very difficult to read the script except some words such as Jayadeva, a Lichchhavi King.10

Besides inscriptions, a reference is found in a Sanskrit poem composed in N.S. 772 by Kunu Sharma from Patan. In the poem he refers to the temple of Minnāth who resides in Khim tol. He describes the golden pinnacle on the top of the temple and around the temple decoration of various kinds. The only name he uses for the deity is Minnāth but he makes it clear that he is a Buddhist deity worshipped by the Buddhist community.11
Daniel Wright states that in N.S. 793 one Satyarām Bhāro of Tangal Tol repaired the Caitya and the bathing platform of Minnāth. This fact is corroborated by an inscription dated N.S. 793, attached to the Caitya. On the basis of an old Vamsāvali, Ratna Rāj Bajrācārya writes that in the reign of Siddhinarsimha Malla’s son, Srinivās Malla, in the year N.S. 779, the image of jatādhāri Lokesvara was made from astadhātu (eight different metals) because of the damage of image.

Further, he states that in the year N.S. 836 Jestha sudi pratipada, Thursday at 9 p.m. when the ratha of Jatadhari Lokervara was kept in a place called Thatitīl during the time of Sri Ridhinarshimha Malla, the ratha caught fire and was completely destroyed except the god’s image. To complete the jātra, a new ratha was made. The twelve Bajracharyas read Karana-Vyuh text 7000 times over and Brahmins of Yeladesa read the Veda. On the basis of a Vamsāvali, D.R. Regmi states that the incident of the burning of the ratha of Minnātha took place in N.S. 837.

Legendary Accounts of the Bāhā and its deity
There are several legends regarding the origin and antiquity of the deity. According to the Bhāsā Vamsāvali, King Amsuvarma (7th Century A.D.) saw a dream of Yamraj when he made an image of Dharmaraj Jatadhari Lokesvara. So he started a rathajatra in honour of the deity. The Bhasa Vamsavali also attributes him for the establishment of the image of Batuka Bhairav near his palace.

There is also another version of the story on its origin. In a Mahatmya of Sri Jatadhari Padmapani Lokesvara written in Newari by Sri Ratna Raj Bajracharya of Cuka-baha of Lalitpur, it is mentioned that the daughter of King Shivadeva of Matidesa got married with Amsuvarma. As a result, Amsuvarma’s queen gave birth to a son named Vrisadeva Varma who was to be crowned at the age of eighteen. He also had a second son named Balarcanada deva. King Vrisadeva was very pious. He daily fed and worshipped Sri Khadga Jogini before taking his own meals. He renovated Dhana Caitya built by Dharmadatta. After few days he fell suddenly ill and died. The spirit of the King was taken off by the Yama’s messengers (Yama Kinkar) to the Yamaloka (under world) where he saw the unpleasant torture of the dead in the hell. There he saw agnikunda, telakunda, Sarpakunda etc of hell and Sručhimukha pretas or spirits (श्रृङ्खल मुख प्रेत) with a big stomach and small mouth who were very thirsty. At that time, Padmapani Lokesvara of
Sukhavatibhuvana, paid a visit to the Yamaloka to bring salvations for those who were having troubles and suffering over there.

On seeing this the Yamaraj performed a puja and recited the hymns to Sri Karunamaya. When Yamaraj saw the King Vrisadeva, he realised the terrible mistake of his messengers in bringing such a virtuous and talented King to the hell. At once he ordered them to take the King back to the world. So the King survived again and narrated the story about his curious adventure of the world of Death. He, therefore erected an image of Dharmaraj Lokesvara and one of Yamantak Agama, or Sri Padmapani Jatadhari Lokesvara as he saw in the Yamaloka. He installed this image in one of the nine Chowks of his darbar. Since that time the image of Sri Lokesvara came to exist. After some time he left his palace and throne to his brother Balarcanadeva and set off with his wife for Godavari. He erected a Caitya in Baregaun and returned to his palace and died.

According to this text, Bhairava of Matiko, in the form of a black cat, created the great troubles in the country by carrying off the infants of the people. Because of this problem, the people and the King abandoned that place. Balarcanadeva came to live at Manadeva Samskarita Cakravarna Mahavihara where he placed the image of Jatadhari Lokesvara. But the deity did not want to live in that Baha. The deity advised the King in his dream to construct a Baha specially for him on a plot of land that would be shown to him by a sparrow. Next morning the King saw a sparrow alight on the north side of the Cuka Baha. The King then constructed a Baha over there which is called Balarcan Samskarita Tanigal Vihar for Sri Jatadhari Lokesvara. In the same year the king inaugurated the annual rathajatra of the deity. At the end of the jatra he performed a Masuhuti Yajya in Matiko for Sri Yamantak Bhairava and worshipped a pair of sparrow who were to be set off to inform Yamaraj that the rathajatra of Jatadhari Lokesvara had been completed. At the same time two fishes were to be released into a pond to inform the king of the nagas that the jatra had been completed. This custom is still observed.

As mentioned in this text that the rathajatra of Jatadhari Lokesvara which was introduced by Balarcanadeva, became one of the prominent jatras among other seven jatras which were prevalent in the valley before the Rato Matsyendra's jatra. The same text states that during the reign of Baladeva of Patan, in the year Kaligata 3600 (499 A.D.) Sri Karunamaya of Kamarukamasya Desa Assam was brought and Bandhudatta Gubhaju summoned the seven other gods who had an annual rathjatra. Bandhudatta
was successful in cancelling the six *rathajatras* of the gods except the *jātrā* of Jatadhari Lokesvara. He failed to sumon the *jatra* of Jatadhari Lokesvara, when he did a puja of penance to cancel the *jātrā* the *caitya* of eastern side of Taniggal tol cracked from the pinnacle to the bottom. He came to know that Jatadhari Lokesvara was furious, and he decided to perform the *rathajātrā* of Sri Karunamaya and Sri Jatadhari Lokesvara together each year.

Another version is given in a book entitled *Cwak Baha Dyo Ya Bakhan*. In this book the Sanskrit and Newar versions describe Cakubāha Dyo. The legend begins with the request of Sri Maitreya Bodhisattva to Sarvarthsidha Shakyamuni to know about the establishment of Sri Yamaryava Lokesvara Chwak Baha Dyo of Lalitpur.

According to the legend, two close friends named Suvandhu and Sumitra went to Tibet for business. On the way Suvandhu killed his friend, Sumitra and took all his money. Later he realised his great mistake and decided to spend all the money on observing the fasting of Astami Vrata of Sri Yamaryavoloketesvara according to the advice of one Avatari Lamajus. He spent all his life in observing the fasting of Astami-Vrata at one of the Gumbas of Tibet. When he died he took a rebirth of a king named Udurmukhi in Tibet. But he suffered from leprosy because of his evil act of killing his friend in his previous life. By acquiring knowledge about his disease, he came to Nepal for the treatment. He was cured when he took a bath daily at Sankhamula Tirth and observed the fasting on Astami.

After being cured of his disease King Udarmukha built a city named Lalitpur. Yamaduta of Yamalok started to punish the king when he came to Yamalok after his death. He was released when Sri Karunamaya told Yamaduta about his many religious acts and the Astami-Vrata which King Udurmukha had observed in his previous life. According to the advise of Sri Yamaryarolokitesvara, Udurmukha carried the god to Lalitpur and built a bāhā for the god quickly because he wanted to complete the construction of the bāhā within four days. So this bāhā is called Cwak Baha.24

There are no authentic sources and inscriptions which verify the above statements. The local people believe it for the origin of the baha and its deity. According to John K. Locke, the cult of Avalokitesvara of the other shrine is an imitation of the cult of Bunga-dyo except Minnath of Patan and tradition says that Lokesvara predates the cult of Bunga-dyo.25 Although the exact time of its origin is still to be investigated it is deep rooted in the
mind of the people that the cult, and rathjātrā of Jatadhari Lokesvara predates earlier than that of Bungadya according to the local tradition. Even the Vamsavali of Bungadya speaks of seven jātrās current in the valley at that time,26 when the rathajātrā of Bungadyo was inaugurated.27 Besides there are few references in the book entitled Sri Swayambhu Mahacaiya that Minnath was established during the time of Amsuvarma, and before the advent of Mastyendranatha.28 Further Sri Hemaraj Shakya, a learned pandit, opines that the festival of Sri Jatadhari Lokesvara is considered as the oldest festival of Nepal.

“श्री जटाघारी लोकेश्वर.... मीननाथ नेपालया सर्व प्राचीनगु जात्रा मानेयासा तल”29

This is also proved by the fact that when King Siddhinarsma Malla of Patan gathered the representatives of the fifteen bahas to reorganise the rules and regulations of Buddhist bahas. He accorded the place of honours to those from Tanga Baha, despite the fact that they did not arrive first for the meeting, because of the antiquity of their bāhā.30 This would indicate that Tanga Baha even at that time had a reputation as one of the oldest bāhās of Patan.31

E. Daily rituals of the Baha

Morning rituals

The Panju or deopālā of the Caku Baha dya performs the morning and evening puja called the nitya puja in Newari. The deopālā performs the morning and evening rituals as follows:

1. Bathing the deity
2. Panchopacara puja (Puspa, Dhupa, Dipa, Gandha, Rasa)
3. Showing a mirror to the deity.
4. Reciting the stotras such Om Nama Loknath, Deva Manusya Saranama, Dasa Balastava Stotra in honour of the deity.

Evening rituals

1. Panchopacara puja
2. Lighting of the lamp
3. Reciting the stotras which are recited in the morning.

For performing these daily rituals the Guthi Sansthan of Patan allocates Rs. 30 and one pathi of rice for a month.

The term of service of the Baha is one month for the deopālā who observes usual rites of purification, restrictions and he must cook his own rice as usual. At present the Sangha of the Baha consists of thirty initiated
members, all of whom are Shakyas. The Sangha is governed by the ten elders.

**List of the funds and other materials to perform annual rituals**
The annual rituals of the Baha are performed by the members of the Bähä's Sangha.

The Guthi Sansthan of Patan bears the expenses of the annual rituals of the Baha. The ingredients of the annual rituals borne by the Guthi Sansthan are as follows:

1. **Pancadana Parva** (Eight day of Sharawan Krishna Pakshya)
   - a. Unhusked rice 5 Pathi

2. **Gatila Parva, Basundhara Puja** (Aswin Krishan Paksa tritiya and cauthi)
   - a. Cash Fund 52 Paisa
   - b. Unhusked rice 3 Pathi, 1 Mana
   - c. Saruwa rice 2 Pathi
   - d. Polished rice 2 Pathi 4 Mana

3. **Chauchhawo Parva** (Tirteen day of Aswin Sudi)*
   - a. Cash fund Rs. 1. 79 Paisa
   - b. Polished rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
   - c. Saruwa rice 4 Mana

4. **Sinu Puja Parva** (Fourteen day of Magh Sudi)
   - a. Cash fund 48 Paisa
   - b. Beaten rice 1 Pathi, 4 Mana
   - c. Polished rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
   - d. Ducks' egg 2
   - e. Red Cloth (Tula) half metre

5. **Sri Punchami Parva** (fifth day of Magh Sudi)
   - a. Cash fund Rs. 1. 8 Paisa
   - b. Saruwa rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
   - c. Beaten rice 2 Pathi

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* Metric Conversion:  
  One Muri = 20 Pathis  
  One Pathi = 8 Manas  
A mixture of unhusked rice and polished husked rice is called 'Saruwa'.
6. Yachi Parva (Falgun)
   a. Cash fund                       Rs. 1. 36 Paisa
   b. Beaten rice                     1 Pathi, 4 Mana
   c. Polished rice                   1 Pathi 4 Mana
   One rupee = 100 Paisa

7. Sana Jatra (1st day of Baisakha Badi)
   a. Cash fund                       Rs. 1. 67 Paisa
   b. Saruwa rice                     1 Paithi
   c. Beaten rice                     2 Pathi
   d. Polished rice                   2 Pathi, 4 Mana

8. Dasakarma Ebhu Parva (Thirteen day of Baisakha Badi)
   a. Cash fund                       Rs. 4. 98 Paisa
   b. Polished rice                   Muri, 5 Pathi, 5 Mana
   c. Duck's egg                      2
   d. Log wood                        11 Dharni

9. Kalevar Parva
   a. Saruwa                           1 Muri

10. Mahavali Puja
    a. Cash fund                       Rs. 2. 55 Paisa
    b. Polished rice                   1 Pathi, 4 Mana
    c. Beaten rice                     1 Pathi
    d. Duck's egg                      3

11. Ratha Panistha (fourth day of Baisakha Sudhi)
    a. Cash fund                       29 Paisa
    b. Saruwa rice                     4 Mana

12. Dewali Parva (Baisakha, Thursday)
    a. Cash fund                       61 Paisa
    b. Saruwa rice                     4 Mana
    c. Beaten rice                     1 Pathi 4 mana

13. Swochha parva (Fourth day of Baisakha Sudhi)
    a. Saruwa rice                     4 Mana
    b. Beaten rice                     1 Pathi
    c. Polished rice                   1 Pathi, 4 Mana
14. Nakibhu Parva
   a. Cash fund Rs. 1.46 Paisa
   b. Saruwa rice 3 Mana
   c. Polished rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
   d. Beaten rice 1 Pathi 4 Mana
   e. Black Soybean 1 Mana

15. Mahakala Puja
   a. Cash fund 29 Paisa
   b. Polished rice 2 Pathi 4 Mana
   c. Beaten rice 2 Mana

16. Puwekya Parva (Four days after the deity taken down from ratha)
   a. Cash fund 42 Paisa
   b. Polished rice 11 Pathi
   c. Beaten rice 1 Pathi, 4 Mana
   d. Black lințels 2 Mana

The above funds and quantities of the materials are given to the deopālā by the Guthi Sansthan of Patan to perform the different annual rituals of the Baha.32

F. Rathajatra of Caku Baha-dya and its relation with Matsyendranath or Bunga-dya.

The annual Mahasna (bathing ceremony), dasakarma (ten samasakaras) and rathjatra of Caku Baha dya are performed simultaneously with those of Bunga-dya. The mahasna is celebrated on the first day of the dark-half of the month of Baisakha, when dasakarma takes place on the thirteenth day of the fortnight of Baisakha. On the fourth day of the bright-half of the month of Baisakha, Caku-baha dya or Minnath is installed on his ratha which is pulled from Tanga Baha to Pulchowk near the Asoka-Stupa. On the appointed day both the rathas of Bunga-dya and Caku-baha dya are pulled together by the local people. Bunga-dya follows Caku-baha dya up to Gabaha, a place where the rathas are halted. According to informants this fact also proves the prior place of Minnath and also shows Bunga-dya as a stranger or a guest of Minnath who guides him around the town.

From Ga-baha onwards the ratha of Bunga-dya goes first, but at every half or Yanyakale at the appointed place, the ratha of Caku-baha-dya
comes to the front which shows the prior right of Cakubaha dyaa. During the whole festival, the two rathas remain together. The rathas of the deities brought at Jawalakhel on the appointed day when the Bhoto is displayed. After boto-jatra Bunga-dya performs a puja to Caku-baha dya to take permission to leave Patan. Before he departs from Patan Cakubaha dya offers a farewell puja to Bungadya. At end, the rathas of Cakubaha dya first returns back to his Baha. Then only Bungadya leaves the ratha for his main abode Bungamati. All these processes indicate the senior and leading position of Cakubaha dya.

This leads to a point when the relation between the two deities needs to be determined. In regards to the relation of Minnath with Matsuendranath there are different views. Iconographically the two images are identical. Both of them are Padmapani Lokeshvara. Although the colour of faces of both the deities are red but the appearance or execution of the Bunga dyas' face is little bit similar to the image of Jagnath of Puri of East India. Minnath could be considered Matsuendranaths' one form of manifestation and is always by his side. Some refer to Sano Minnath as his younger brother.

It is stated that the cult of Avolokitesvara was prevalent and widespread in Lichchhavi period. The Avolokitesvara image erected by Mani Gupta and his wife Mahendramati, the Avolokitesvara image at Brahma tol (557 A.D.) and Avolokitesvara image at Bandahithi at Kathmandu are the evidence of the wide prevalence of Avolokitesvara cult which is quite known to Nepal from the middle of the 6th century A.D.

All these assertions show that Cakubaha-dyo or Jatadhari Lokesvara or Minnath is very popular Buddhist deity from ancient period and the shrine and his cult were certainly established before the advent of Bungo-dyo, the Buddhist rain god of Nepal.

Notes

2. Coincidently Sri Asha Ratna Dhakhwa is the authors' father who inscribed an inscription dated N.S. 1108 (B.S. 2044) on the auspicious occasion of renovation of the temple.
3. For this information, I am indebted to Sri Hemaraj Sakya.
5. Locke; op.cit (n. 1) p. 375
6. *Ilalahane Samyak* is a Buddhist Ceremony which is observed once in five years only on the day of Tritiya in the month of Falgun. On this occasion all the invited Dipankaras and other Gods and Goddess are worshipped with Dip-D, n (offering of light) and Samyak D, n (offering of Samyak Bhojan or dinner).


8. John Locke; op.cit. (F.N. 1.) P. 381. But, according to Hemaraj Sakya, it is the inscription which is misplaced here from Tava-B,h, (personal Communication)


14. Ibid.


18. Amsuwarma ruled as a King in the early 7th Century in the late Lichchhavi period although he was not a Lichchhavi. Vrisadeva was a Lichchhavi King who preceded Amsuvarma by about 150 yr.


20. Daniel Wright; op.cit (F.n. 10) p. 117.

21. Although Cakubaha was Constructed by Balarcanadevera who was described as a King in the Mahatmya and Deniel Wright Vamsavali but no other evidence has been found to support his reign.


29. Sri Hemaraj Shaky, *sri Swayambhu Mahachaitya* (Lagankhel M Ratna Raj Bajracharya. 2036) p.23
30. Daneil Wright, op. cit (F.n.10) p. 235
32. For this information, I am indebted to Sri Sambhu Prasad Shrestha of the Guthi Sansthan of Patan.
33. Ratna Raj Bajracharya, op.cit (F.n.).
34. Punya Ratna Bajracharya; Op.Cit (F.n.. 24) p. 43.