

The Town of Bhaktapur *- A Study of Structural Changes over Time -*

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Introduction: Why a study of Bhaktapur ?

The presence of non-Sanskrit speaking and possibly non-Vedic Kirats in the Kathmandu Valley since long before its Lichchhavi takeover around the first century AD is now generally recognized. However little or no physical remains of this period have been discerned from archaeological explorations. Kirat funerary mounds are strewn all over the valley. Few of them, like the 'thudos' of Patan have been meekly recognized by some authors including Mary Slusser. Many road side stone, quite a few 'Kuldevata' stones and some 'Kumaries' on mounds near rivers or just out of towns are possibly also Kirat funerary sites¹. Existence of several non-Sanskrit place names, administrative office titles, river names in Lichchhavi inscription is generally cited as proof of developed state of the valley during the Kirat rule. Particularly as some settlements continued to go by their non-Lichchhavi name even after long period of Sanskritization, it would be logical to assume that socially closely knit original settlers and their settlements continued strongly in their original sites even after the change of ruling houses. This paper looks into the structure of the town of Bhaktapur, the first capital town of the Malla with an objective to establish its link to its structure in Kirat and Lichchhavi days. Bhaktapur should provide a possibility of discerning Kirat structure of town, since Lichchhavis do not seem to have materially intervened in the general area. It is also logical to assume that since the Mallas chose to make their capital in Bhaktapur, that their social customs were close to the original settlers and possibly Malla modifications to the structure of Bhaktapur was sympathetic to the existing structure. Its structure and form has not changed much since the late Malla period. Since the time of Bhupatindra Malla about three hundred years ago , Bhaktapur had not had much input until 1970s when BDP project inputs were applied. It is equally likely that since its founding as the first capital town of the Mallas in the mid-thirteenth century, it has not grown beyond its original boundaries and its overall physical shape and size have remained similar. For these reasons, Bhaktapur has been taken

as a case of enquiry by this paper. It appears as the best case among the three Malla capital towns in the valley for a comparative study of settlement planning over time in this country.

Since the institution of the Bhaktapur Development Project, Bhaktapur and its planning, particularly the ritual aspects of the Malla capital, has been studied. The major studies has been done by Bernhard Kolver, Neils Gutschow and Mary Slusser. Works of Gutschow and Kolver have been remarkable and are used as source material, particularly about Navadurga dances, funeral routes and caste dispersal, for this paper. Analysis and field verification of these, has been undertaken by the author.

Bhaktapur's antiquity: Early Lichchhavi or Kirat townlets

Of the five Lichchhavi inscriptions found in Bhaktapur town proper, three, in particular, provide testimony to the antiquity of the settled areas in Bhaktapur. DRR-LII, located at Kumhaletole in Jenla, is addressed to a settled place "Makhodulu" which can be roughly located in the lower reaches of current Golmadhi- Taumadhi area (mid-southern Bhaktapur). Although the exact

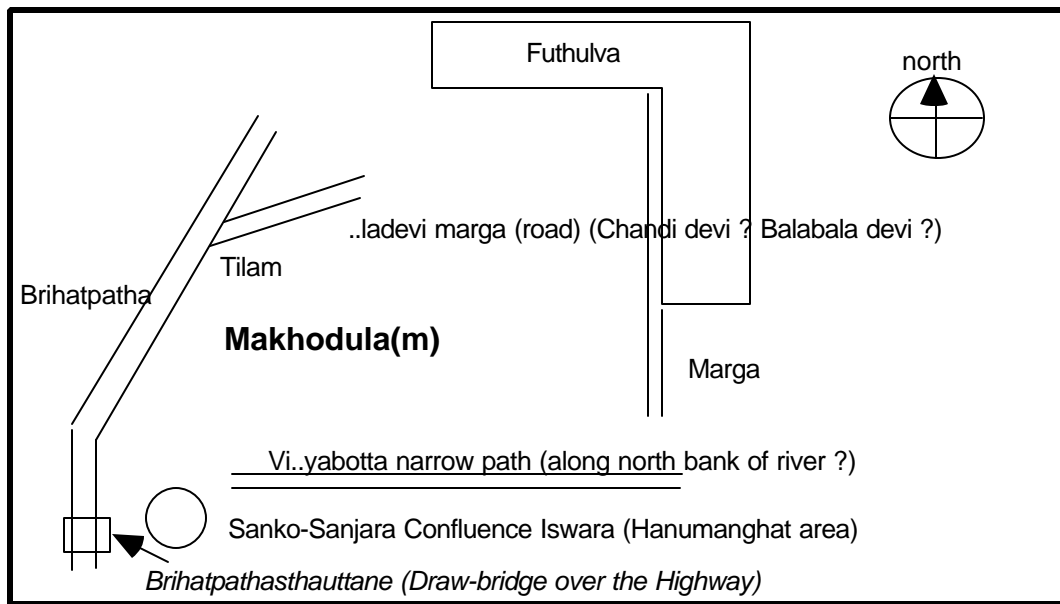


Figure 1 : Polygonal approximation of the area of Makhodula based on Lichchhavi

purpose of this charter is not clear and is conjectured as a setting up of the boundary of Makhodulu for limited autonomy, it non-the less provides clear place markers such as "Tilam"² and "Sanko-Sanjara Confluence Iswara"³, which can exactly fix Makhodulu even today. Another inscription, DRR-LVI, dated Jestha 516 (595 AD) and located at Golmadhi and jointly issued by king Sivadeva and Mahasamanta Amshuverma, addresses residents of the Dranga of "Makhoprim" and its agricultural plains. Since it refers to the drangga along with the 'tala', it should be expected to encompass Makhodula also. It may be the reason why it is located at Golmadhi, which would be within Makhodula and not Makhoprim as seen from Figure 1, which is a polygonal approximation of the area indicated by the first cited inscription DRR-LII. The third inscription, DRR-LVII, found at Tulachen and now in Bhaktapur museum, also issued by king Sivadeva and Mahasamanta Amshuverma, with other particulars and date same as DRR-LVI, addresses residents of the settlement of "Khrepung". It uses an exceptional epithet "asuryavidhwaddyagran (= settled all along since the days sun and moon started shining) to describe the settlement. This is an unequivocally recognition of its great antiquity by the Lichchhavi state. The issuance of two inscriptions with similar grants obviously indicate that Khrepung was different from Makhoprim. Makhoprim as a name is derived by the addition of prefix "Ma" to the older town name "Khrepung"⁴. One other inscription mentions "Khopring grama pradesa" (DRR-VIII). Although Makhoprim appears to have got its Drangga status⁵, Khopring's more ancient antecedents are not only proved by this inscription but also by the popular name "khvapa" still in use for Bhaktapur. The area went by the name "Khrympyrimbrum"⁶ in NS 159. This reference would be to Tachapal area⁷. One land sale deed document (NGMP microfilm number E 492/19) of NS 666⁸ is quoted as proof that the earlier Bhaktapur palace was located in Tachapal area. Figure 2 graphically shows the sold area in Tachapal. The palace here is called 'Bande' possibly because, in NS 448, the Tripura palace was fortified with bricks brought from 'Bande' principality by Rudramalla⁹.

As late as NS 653, placename Makhodula¹⁰ seems to have continued to indicate an area north of Chanigvala, which is on the west of Hanumanghat

(Sivaglasthan) in Srikhapwambrum. Another lane is still called Mathvagalli¹¹

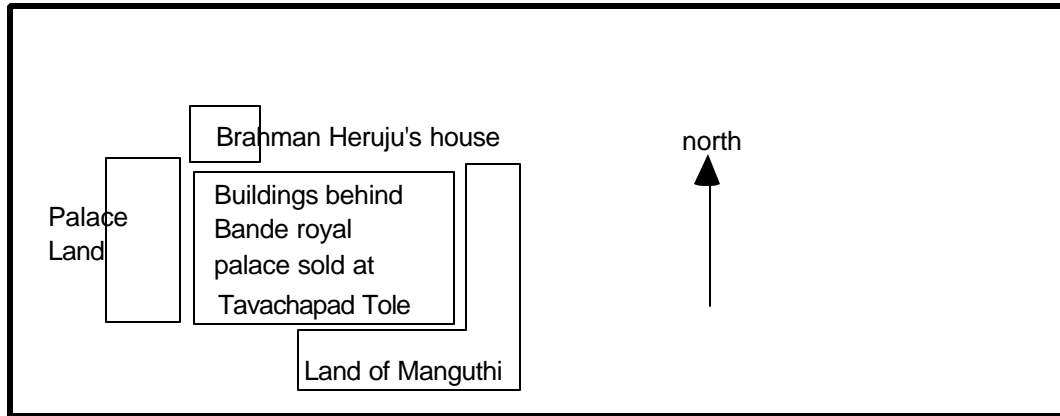


Figure 2: Location of the older Tripura Palace of Bhaktapur

and continues down to become Makvogalli. This lane starts from the SW corner of Datatraya temple in Tachapal and goes down towards Mahesworighat. This may be carrying the memory of Makhodula (just 'Ma' is remember and since it goes down hill, it should be leading to Ma-khodula not Ma-khopringga).

From the above considerations, it can be seen that within the area currently occupied by the Bhaktapur town, during the Lichchhavi period, three settlements named Khopringa, Makhopringa and Makhopringadula were located possibly with their central sections located at Tachapal square, Ichhu / Khauma squares¹² and Chandeswori on the lower side of Taumadhi-Golmadhi street-squares.

They were organised around these nodes along a highway roughly parallel to the Haumante river (named Sanko in those days) and along the ridge. While Khopringa and Makhopringa were on the ridge, Makhopringadula extended to lower areas to the south towards the river. Khopringa straddled throughfare crossing of Kathmandu- Nala and Nala-Changu highways. Taumadhi linked to Southern settlements and Khauma to Northwestern settlements.

The Malla restructuring of Srikhapwanbrum:

Bhaktapur as a capital town was restructured by Ananda Malla (1272- 1310)

on the settlements existing in the general area of its location. Some chronicles

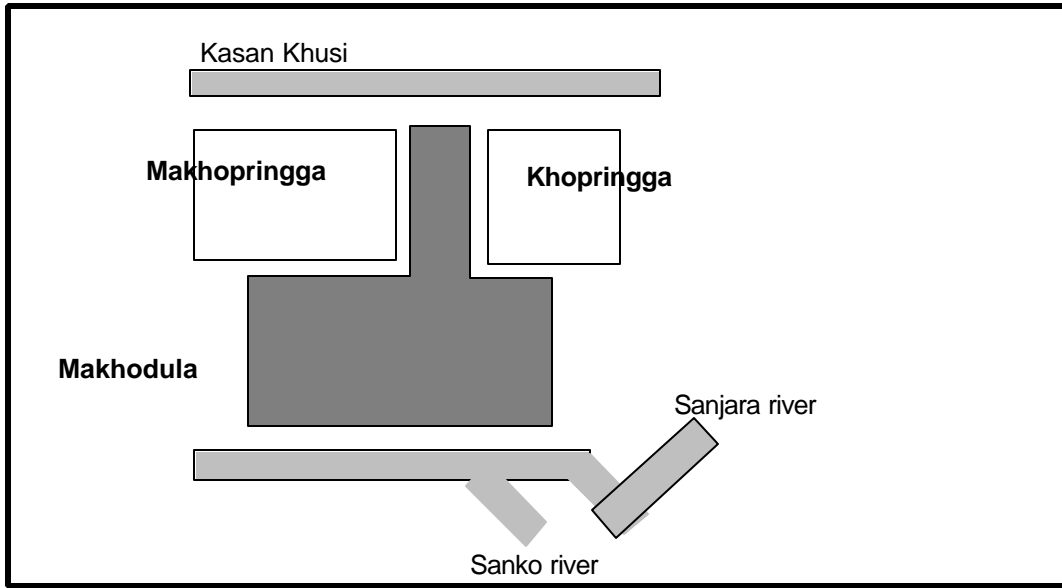


Figure 3. Diagrammatic location of the three towns of Bhaktapur prior to its unification by Ananda Malla.

state that it then had 12000 house-holds. It is apparent that this amalgamation included all the three independent settlements of Khopring,

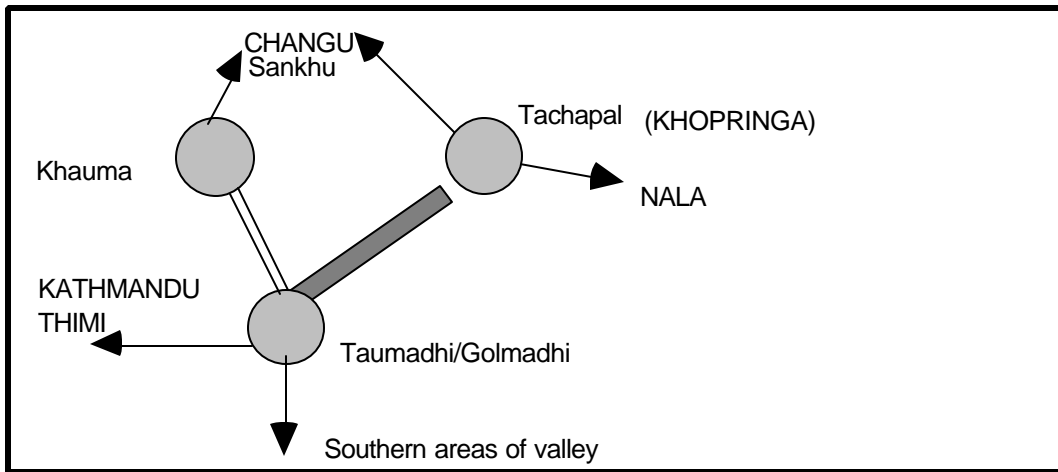


Figure 4. Strategic location of the three town centers of Bhaktapur prior to its unification by Ananda Malla.

Makhopring and Makhodula and was achieved by placing the eight mother goddesses, Astamatrikas, around them. It is interesting to note that although the early palace was located in Tachapal¹³, the ritual center of Tripura Sundari

was located at Tulachhen (Tula ja dyo chenn). The need of ritual bathing ghats about six of the Astamatrika pith was conveniently provided by the two rivers, Hanumante to the south and Kasan Khusi to the north. Where such rivers were lacking i.e. to the east and west, ponds were constructed (respectively Kamal Pokhari and Siddha Pokhari) to provide the ritual need of waterbody around. This ritual structure underlines the predominantly Hindu nature of Bhaktapur and goes back to its early years of Malla rule. This also indicates the growing influence of the Tantric Shakti cult on the ruling house

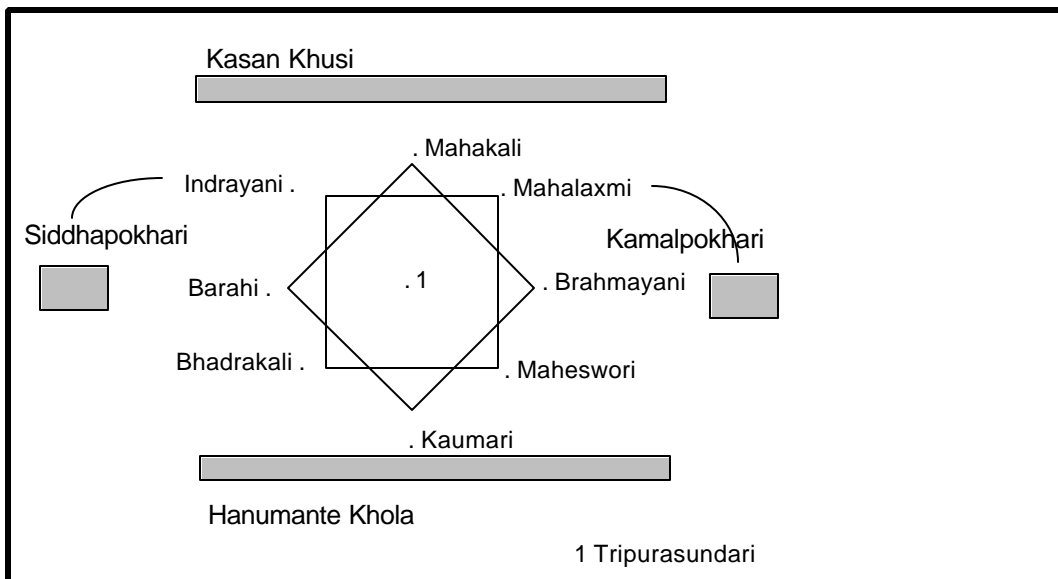


Figure 5: Religious Restructuring Of Bhaktapur

and the population in general. The ritual fortification of the capital town is shown diagrammatically as a yantra reportedly used by Ananda Malla. The disposition of the Matrikas do not follow the edict as shown by the Trilokya-mohan chakra, the first circuit of the Sri-yantra. Different tantra texts give varying order of the Matrikas around the center. Such departures are not, however, exceptional to Bhaktapur alone. The diagram shown below is taken from Yantra by Madhu Khanna (1979, Thames & Hudson).

At this juncture, it would be appropriate to give some thought as to the then past of the sites where the Astamatrikas were located in the new Shakti ordering of space. History shows that changes of such all-encompassing nature have been affected through annexation of sites of veneration in the extant

system or sites close by are used to affect easy acceptance. Lichchhavis had installed the 'Siva or Vishnu' system in space. Although not positively datable to Lichchhavi period and current elements are from early Malla to late Malla period, these can be seen at Hanumanghat (Siva), Golmadhi (Vishnu-Bakpatinarayan), Taumadhi (Vishnu- Nresimha and Tilam-madhava). The construction of Datatraya temple (a syncretism of Siva, Vishnu and Brahma¹⁴), attributed to Yakshamalla, is possibly a recognition of the continuing sizable following in this original trio despite the Shakti cult domination in ruling and elite groups. Indeed the Shakti piths themselves appear to have only gained their new status over a long period of time. The Shakta annexed sites could not have thus belonged to these cults but to some other non-Brahma-Vishnu-Mahesora cults. Since groups claiming to be or possible decendants of the Lichchhavi ruling house or trusted nobles from that period excepting Brahmins, do not live in Bhaktapur¹⁵, I would hypothesize that these sites belonged to Kirat faiths and cults. Kirat sites annexation are seen in other cases. In Patan, the 'thudo' of Lagankhel is annexed to Buddhism, Batuk Vairab/Manjushri site is annexed to Hinduism and Buddhism. In Kathmandu, Mehpi is annexed to Buddhism. Mahalaxmi of Tyagal or Uma-Maheswor of Tikhi-dewal at Patan are similar cases of annexation to Hinduism.

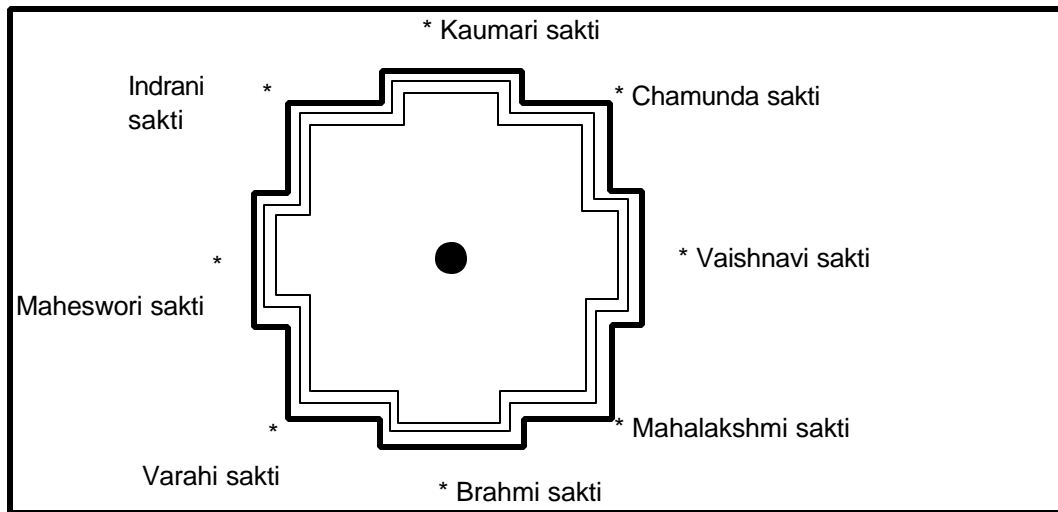


Figure 6: The Trilokyamohana chakra

All the Shakti-piths in Bhaktapur are also Dewali or Degudyo sites¹⁶. It is commonly known that Digudyo worship is not related to the Shaktipith and

during such puja even touching of chicken is not permissible in some cases. Although the tradition of Degudyo worship (worship of clan deity) is attributed to Bhuvan Malla¹⁷ and he had later decreed that the worship could be offered to natural stones after causing deity presence through tantric rites¹⁸. This may have caused annexation of the family memorials from Kirat times. Some of the process of worship appear related Yama, the god of the nether world. Physical additions to these sites appear to have been made at a much later date than the Shakta ordering of the town¹⁹.

It is interesting to note that although a new ritual center was created at the Tripurasundari pith in Tulachen, the political center continued at Khapwanbrum, the current Tachapal. This is obviously a recognition of the continued importance of Khopringga since Kirat days. The intervention left the Sivagvala and its confluence untouched. In the general area of Makhodula, none of the 'Dyochens' of the Astamatrikas appear located. The open green spaces, called Khya in Malla town parlance, were mostly located here (cf. Palikhya, Chasukhya, Pasikhya, etc.). This may have reduced Bhaktapur into a bipolar town. This bipolarity appears further accentuated by the fact that all the historic Buddhist Bahals of Bhaktapur are located in the Makhopringga area.

Bhaktapur saw major public development works (temple building and accentuation of squares and urban festivals) during the reigns of Jayasthiti Malla and Yakshya Malla. These were centered around Tachapal and Khauma, the areas of importance in Khopring and Makhopring respectively. The construction of the new palace in Lasku Dhoka, in 1453, decidedly made the western Bhaktapur the new political power center. These actions further reinforced the bipolarity in Bhaktapur. The three town 'Tripura', as a name, continued to be used to refer to the palace in the east. The importance of Makhopringga increased at the cost of Khopringga with the location of Taleju there in mid-fourteenth century.

Caste structure was current in the valley prior to the time of the Mallas. Occupational structure, however, was grafted over Bhaktapur only at the time of Jayasthiti Malla. This should have caused some change in the social structure and also relocation of population. For lack of comparative data, we

can only observe caste /occupation dispersal in recent times. Almost all Brahmin families (surname Rajopadhyay), with the exception of one at Tachapal, are located in or about Lasku Dhoka and majority of them live directly to the south of the palace used since Yakshyamalla's rule. This seems to follow the classical doctrine that they be located about the royal palace²⁰. The lone Brahmin family at Tachapal is the sole memory of Tripura palace. In earlier days, historical documents show more families there²¹. The tantrik priests, the Karmachryas, second ranking religious service group, are located about the Tripurasundari pith, the ritual center of the town. The other Charthares and Panchthares (ministers, other royal court related job holders, merchants) occupy the southern crescent around the second palace and the main street from Vamsagopal to Tachapal including Taumadhi. The dispersal of Shrestha and Jyapus all over town seem to indicate their general status. Of special interest is dispersal of Tamrakars, Kumales (Prajapati), Awahs and Podes. The Tamrakars are still around Tibukche near Chandswori. Whereas Pode and Kasains as 'untouchables' are located in the outermost periphery of the town, they are concentrated about the Astamatrika piths and Navadurga area. That Kasains (Sahis, Khadgis, Khagis, Niyogies, Nayas)²² need not have been 'untouchable' since a long past and thier trade as butchery may be a historically later phenomenon. Their peripheral location may be also due to thier pastoral trade. The Pode group lives between Kaumari and Bhadrakali in Taumadhi. The location of potters in Taulache and Surjemadhi area is interesting as this group is a claimant to Kirat decent. This location may indicate their being pushed out to the periphery of the Khopringga (Tachapal) during Malla readjustment.

After the division of the valley into three major kingdoms, importance of Bhaktapur as a whole waned and during the reign of king Bhupatindra Malla new developments centered at Taumadhi²³, the major highway junction from ancient times. The closing action of Bhupatindra Malla appears as completion of a full circle for the area as Tilam and Sivagvala were ritual centres prior to the Tantrik Shakti cult based ritual unification of the three townlets by Ananda Malla. Bhupatindra Malla's *Istadevata* is said to be Siddhilaxmi and a small temple located in the area was removed and the current structure built there in 1702. Thus the change forces acting on the structure of Bhaktapur has been largely social and religious in the past and influences of such

changes have been causing the shift of political/cultural value centers. But the overall transportation structure was not revamped at any time in the historical period.

From the point of view of ritual structure, Bhaktapur would appear as a single entity but if we look at ritual functions, particularly the Chandi (Vairabi) jatra, Navadurga festivals and death rites/ routes and ghats, we get a different picture. These continue to keep the memory of the early tripartite structure and go to substantiate that the ritual structure could only hold some sort of physical unity during the Navaratri. However even this level of unification is not found in the case of the Kathmandu or Lalitpur.

Chandi (Vairabi) Jatra: Chandi-Vairabi chariot festival²⁴ takes place on Baisakh Purnima²⁵ in a section of Bhaktapur popularly called Nhyasatwa (lit. seven hundred tole)²⁶ of Chandeswori. Nhyasatwa reference is limited to the southern areas from east of Bhaktapur (Brahmayani area) to the south (Barahi area) and includes the area around Chandeswori e.g. the current toles of Tibukche, Kwache, Tulache, Yache, Inacho and Golmadhi.

The pith and temple of Chandeswori is located in Tibukche and the temple of Chandeswor Mahadeva is in the neighbouring court. The festival has two parts- the light festival and the chariot festival. The light festival is limited to the sloping lane in Chasukhel (Chasukhel-tamcha) and represents her rising up. The chariot festival covers the area of Chandeswori. At the end of the festival the goddess is put to sleep and taken to Dyoche.

It can be observed that the visit of the chariot to the Lasku Dhoka palace gates (Lahpanhdega) is for worship by the royal palace and is an obvious later addition. The original first stop could have been Kuthi area of Tibukche. Similarly the visit to Tachapal appears as a remnant of the days of the east palace. Indeed the both the circuits end at the Kuthi area from where the chariot has to be dragged and lifted. The remaining route should show the true original area of festivity. Thus this festival appears to retrace the central area of Makhodula of Lichchhavi days which did not include Tulache, Yache and upper Inacho and Golmadhi. This area also does not celebrate Bisket festival as enthusiastically as the rest of Bhaktapur. As Ananda Malla himself is credited of establishing the township of Banepa and since, reportedly in days goneby, the festival of Chandeswori there could only start after receiving offerings from the Chandeswori of Bhaktapur, Chasukhya may be seen as the site of Chandeswori. Since Chandeswori belongs to the Sapta-matrika group, this should predate Astamatrikas or Navadurgas.

Navadurga Dances: These tantric mask dances are credited to have been started by Bhuvan Malla in early 16th century. This is a dance of the Astamatrikas and Tripura Sundari (thus Navadurga) and are accompanied by five male gods, Vairab, Ganesh, Sweta Bhairab, Simha and Dumha. During the time of the festival following Aswin Sukla Astami, the Navadurgas arise (Rayo-Nyakegu is actually performed on the night of Dasami) and readiness to

begin the dances is achieved through offer of blood of buffalo at Brahmayani shrine. Within the town of Bhaktapur, this dance is performed in 21, including Icchu, where they are offered sesame seeds and rice as the beginning of the end. The end comes at Surjemadhi. The masks are covered in a white shroud and are cremated at Brahmayani ghats. The performance is limited to the areas north of the main trading route and along it but covers all the Dyoches. The performance can be divided into two groups (those east of Tibukche and other to the west)²⁷, which roughly correspond to the two early sectors of the towns (Khopringga and Makhopringga). The area covered by Chandeswori Jatra and Visket is left out. Including the left out low lying town, the festivals clearly display the tripartite settlement structure of early days. It is clear that physical unification of areas contained by the Dyoches of the Astamatrikas was all that was aimed by the ritual structure imposed by Ananda Malla. Just as the blank area north of performance squares of Khauma and Bilache is the west palace grounds, in the east, the space between the performance squares of Kvathandu, Tachapal and Thalachem could well indicate the east palace grounds.

Pradakshinapatha: Circumambulation is an important ritual giving cosmic qualities to a religious entity. In this light, the festival of circumambulating the town also defines the boundary of the sacred town. Although the routes do get extended over time to newer quarters still they are generally representative of the town form. Constrictions indicate the formation of distinctive quarters (note recurrent constrictions at Tachapal and Taumadhi). The routes always enclose the Dyochens of the Astamatrikas, although pithas are out of town physically. These may indicate political historical boundaries of different times. The pradaksina of the major religious sites following Bisket festival, like the circumambulation by the Navadurga, leaves out the southern section. The main trading route again forms the boundary. Makhopringgadula is again excluded. This is something more than an exclusion of Kasain and Poda areas and must indicate failure of the Astamatrika, Astavairab or Astaganesh system to integrate the settlement in the lower reaches of Bhaktapur. It may well be Brahmayani, Kaumari and Varahi may be the extant mother goddesses prior to the time of the Astamatrikas.

Pattern of funeral routes and ghats: Three main cremation ghats are used in Bhaktapur- Brahmayani, Hanuman ghat and Masan ghat. Correspondingly,

dead children are buried at a place near Kamalpokhari, between Chupin and Hanumanghat and Indrayani. The funeral routes closely match the tol

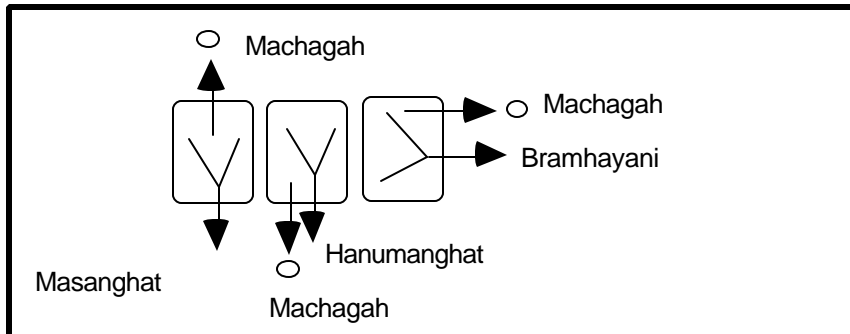


Figure 8: The tripartite division of Funeral ghats.

boundaries and three sectors of the town use the three ghats. At present the smallest sector of population use Hanumanghat (only Inacho tole uses this). The tole of Thalache takes the longest and complicated death route to reach Masanghat. Such a situation may be a result of changes affected by the shift of royal palace from about Tachapal to Lasku Dhoka. It is apparant from Hanumanghat that early Malla royal household used this ghat²⁸. This would mean in the early Malla days, in addition to Inacho, Tachapal and Thalache also used Hanumanghat. Later importance of Masanghat is testified by the fact that half the upper also uses that ghat thesedays.

This seems again related to the old tripartite physical structure but may be due to changing royal houses and emphasis on Masan ghat during the last days of Malla rule, tols using Hanuman ghat has reduced greatly. I would hypothesize that Brahmayanighat was for Khoprinnga, Hanumanghat for Makhodula and Masanghat for Makhoprinnga. Search about Brahmayani and Masanghat should yield dewali sites of families claiming Kirat decent. Further research about the Awals at Choche and Techaco and Kumals at Taulache could clarify this aspect.

Pattern of Public Space: Public spaces are defined by a pattern of streets and squares. Squares are major public spaces and are used for agricultural, commercial and religious purposes. Like in other Malla towns, streets are transportation artery and activity space at the same time. Because of this,

patils and pauwas also line up in many places along the route. Dhungedharas are to be found along major throughfaces and at nodes. One can observe a distinct hierarchy of spaces - durbar square, market square, neighbourhood (tol) square and ringe open spaces khyas and ghats. Predominantly agricultural, the street pattern are radiating out of the main spine in both directions to the fields. In the western parts, which are later, streets are more regular. Intermediate areas widen to form squares.

Conclusion: *Changing polarities*

From the above discussions, we can see that before the Malla capital city structure was imposed over the area, Bhaktapur should have had three politico-religious centers, at least two of which had Kirat origins or Kirat population. Conjectural possibility of Bhaktapur in pre-Lichhavi or early Lichhavi period is shown in Figure 7. In mid-Lichchhavi period, Shivite reorganization of the three southern religious principalities might have occurred with the installation of a Sivalinga at the Sanko Sanjara Confluence. The three were possibly amalgamated into Makhodula. Thus formed, this three town configuration of Bhaktapur is echoed by various festivities even today.

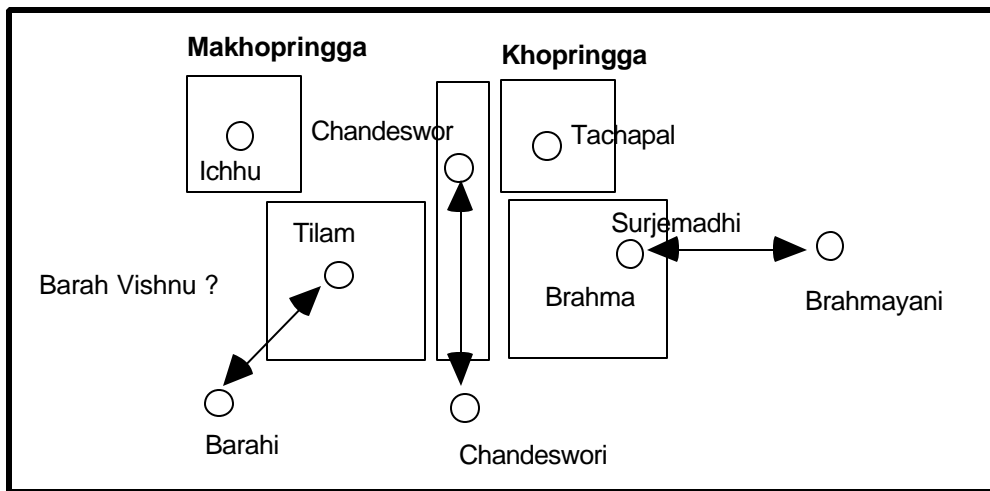


Figure 7: A Conjectural Pre-Lichchhavi structure

Malla restructuring saw the installation of Astamatrikas around the area but Makhodulu remained physically separate and its religious tri-polarity

continued at the confluence (Sivagvala), Chandeswori (Chanigvala) and at Tilam (Talamande). The center Chandeswor was possibly pushed to Chanigvala and a new religious center of Tripurasundari established in its place. Political center was first located to the north-west of Tachapal. In mid-Malla period, the palace shifted to Khauma, thus creating a bi-polar political set up. Towards the end of Malla period, Taumadhi was beginning to gain religious centrality but it was only partially realized as the Malla rule itself came to an end and Bhaktapur lost the capital city role.

¹ This author is making a study of road side 'Chhwasa' stones, so called 'Kumaris' located on mounds near rivers and just outside town, 'Devali stone markers' of some ethnic groups like Prajapatis, Kumales, Awales and even some families with surname 'Singh' to arrive at some positive conclusion about these. Sites around Hadigaon and Dhumbarahi in Kathmandu, Tyagal, Sukubahi, Lagankhel and Guita in Patan and Chwango Sallaghari, Brahmayani and Thumko across Hanumanghat are being studied. The potential of such finds to locate Kirat settlements is enormous.

² Tilam is a reference to the place with the shrine of Tilammadhava. (Tilam > Tilam Mandap > Talamande > Taumadhi). The name Talamande is seen in *Gopalarajavamshavali* (NS 508).

³ There is only one confluence, Hanumanghat, to the south-east of the area. One of the rivers, Sanko, has a name, which can be conjectures as a reference to its source at Sanga (Sringagrama). Sanko appears to have called Shankhalankhu (Lankhu is river) at the time *Gopalarajavamsavali* was written. Refer to line 4, Folio 45A "====, g[To gfd /tgfut u|Gysf/L ;>\vn>\v' k08' h'6f]+ j'lzSj6f]dn+:od\ ..==== "Hanumanghat was called 'Sivagvala' in mid-Malla period and Anandadeva is said to have installed two god-images in a temple there and also put copper sheet roofing about NS 267, according to *Gopalarajavamshavali* . The reference to Iswara should be taken to mean a Sivalinga in Lichchhavi parlance. Clearly thus this confluence image was the Siva of Sivagvala or Hanumanghat. It may be added here that the medieval name, Sankha, of Hanumante river, is still remembered by the its confluence with the river Bagmati, Sankhamula.

⁴ It should be "Khrypringa" or "Khopringga". Pringga in Kirat nomenclature stands for a settled hillock and "Ma" as a prefix is proposed to be directional and means west. Since "Bi" indicated east and also as the hillock of Bhaktapur is higher on the east, Khopringga needs to be located in Tachapal/Kwathandau area. Thus Tulachen is not the original location of the charter.

⁵ My research shows that Drangga indicates an administrative entity with defined self rule and with some taxation authority. Others have differing opinion. D.R. Regmi says " Drangga is a market place and a city. It usually also had a customs house". H.R. Joshi and D. B. Bajracharya see it as a settlement with heightened commercial activity. All these opinions are based on survey of ancient north Indian literature. No Lichchhavi inscription indicate commercial or customs activity as specific to Dranggas. Use of word like "drangtva matrameva prasadikritam" (or only the status of drangga is chartered) in line 40, DDR-CXLIII, clearly means that it stands for some administrative and tax authority decentralized to the settlement by the central palace! The use of other words like "talasahita" along with Drangga prove that commercial activity or customs posts are not necessary to make a settlement a Drangga.

⁶ See Colophon no 21, Rolamba, Vol 2 No.1. Bru in Lichchhavi/Kirat nomenclature is a flat spot in the settled ridge or Pringga. By the time of NS 107, additional suffix 'brum' testifies, Khryprym had become the center of the town. About a century later Sankerdeva's palace was probably located here. By NS 267, Anandadeva had built his Tri-pura palace to the north of Tacapal area in Bhaktapur.

⁷ See Purnima no 58 pages 20, 28 and 31 for details of land deed papers that corroborate the relation as proposed in Figure 2.

⁸ ">L>Lhok[f0f dNnb]j k[e' 7fs!/:g\ k];fbf/kf :yfg:o blIf0flbzk[b]z]==== >L>L/fhs'ne'd]g k"Jj{t==== PtGdWo] tjrkf86f]n a+b] /fhs'n lna5]+====" This statement locates the palace at Tachapal. (See Mahesh Raj Pant's "Newarajya ra Brahman", Purnima no 85 (Year-22 No-1)

⁹ See *Gopalarajavamshavali* folio 45, last entry.

¹⁰ Ibid. Land sale deed (NGMP micro-film no. 492/26) records sale of land in the area named "Damkhadvala" located to the north of Chaniglasthan (Chandigvala), to the south of the main road, Tilam to the north west and river to the east.

¹¹ 'Thva' and 'Kva' stand for up and down.

¹² Khauma as a name possibly derives from Makhopringa e.g. Ma+ Kho + pringga > Ma+ Kho > Kho + Ma > Khauma

¹³ As seen in footnote 7 above. Today this is remembered as Vanalayaku or Eastern Palace. The old Taleju is at south of Tachapal square. Until Taleju was brought into the valley, Tripura Sundari was Malla royal goddess or Istadevata.

¹⁴ A place of worship to Brahma is rare.

¹⁵ Sthapits and Sindurkar do their Degudyo worship at Tribikram site at Lazimpat and are speculated to be decendants of Lichchavis. (- Satya Mohan Joshi)

¹⁶ The Dewali sites at Brahmayani start on the route to the pith at the end of the traditional boundary of Taulache and is spread around the pith. At Maheswori pith a little to its south is a large Dewali site. Digudyos are located to the east of Vaisnavi pith across the river. From Siddhapokhari to Chongoganesh Sallaghari such Digudyo sites are common as part of Indrayani environ. Digudyos are common about Kamalpokhari near Mahalaxmi. Mahakali, Kaumari and Barahi have a few such sites around.

¹⁷ See Lila Bhakta Munankari, Hamra Samskritik Parba ra Jatraharu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975.

¹⁸ The original site for this worship in Bhaktapur , 'Muwyake' near Bhadrakali pith, and in Kathmandu, the site of Maneswori does not appear as annexed sites.

¹⁹ At Brahmayani the oldest Malla elements are from 1654. The shrine structure at Maheswori pith is dated to 1746. Indrayani shrine appears to have been set up in 1670. Oldest elements at Mahakali and Mahalaxmi sites are also dated 1661 and 1650 respectively.

²⁰ For detailed location of various occupational families in Bhaktapur in 1974, refer to Appendix (pp 55-58), (Bhaktapur) Ordered Space Concepts and Functions in a Town of Nepal, Neils Gutschow and Bernhard Kolver, 1975.

²¹ One Brahmin Heraju, (Figure 2 above) another named Padmaraj Rajopadhyay probably lived there about in NS 779 (He donated a Jaladroni with an inscription at Taleju of Vanelayaku). In NS 697 a Brahmin family lived in Taumadhi (See Purnima no. 85, pp.40). Another Lungaddevaju lived in Khanima tol, near Tachapal.

²² See Mahesh Raj Pant, Niyogi jatiko pahichan, Purnima No. 75.

²³ Taumadhi is close to Tilam (swami ?) in our inscription DRR-LII. Also ..ladevimarga may be a reference to Chandi past Chalakhu. It may be noted here that the Chandi jatra of Bhaktapur is celebrated at the toles of Kwachen, Tibukchen, Tulachen, Yachen, Inachwa and Gvalmadhi and roughly defines the same area of Makhodula.

²⁴ Most of the information about this festival is based on " Bhaktapurko Chandeswori Jatra" by Satyanarayan Prajapati, Rolamba Vol 10, No 2 (Apr-Jun 1990)

²⁵ Rais of Khotang (Chandi festival), Gurungs of Lumjung (Chandi festival), Tamangs of Okhaldunga (Kalika and Jalika festival), Rais of Dhankuta (Baisakhe or ancestor worship) etc, also celebrate the day. Such concurrence may suggest Kirat connections.

²⁶ Prajapati (ref. footnote 16) translates Nhyasatwa as seven hundred tole. It is more likely that the word does not come from Newari 'Nhyasa' but from Sanskrit 'Nyasa', which means "ritual projection of divinities into various parts of the body". Here of course Nyasa of the locality is performed by the touch of the goddess to its various nodal points.

²⁷ Neils Gutschow sees three groups in Navadurga-pyakhan. If you read German, see his book, Stadtraum und Ritual der newarischen Stadte im Kathmndu-Tal.

²⁸ Some families in Tachapal, in some cases of death, still use Hanumanghat instead of Brahmayanighat.