

THE SANNYASI MONASTERIES OF PATAN : A BRIEF SURVEY VÉRONIQUE BOULLIER

Not long ago seven monasteries (*math*) in the town of Patan were still a proof of the ancient installation of the Hindu Dasnāmi Sannyāsi renunciators. Today, some of them do not even have any walls standing, sometimes only a *śivaliṅga* remains, hidden in the rubble or lost on a waste ground. But in other monasteries, in contrast, tradition has remained alive and sometimes even the buildings have kept their original beauty. Nevertheless, the first study that Krishna Rimal and I conducted in 1992 and which I continued in 1995, shows how extremely fragile these institutions can be : land conflicts, inheritance problems, "modernism", all seem to lead to their decline.

Let's begin with a quick presentation of the sites, arbitrarily starting with those which are better preserved. I will then compare information and attempt a synthetic approach.

Chayabahal

This monastery is located in the north-western part of Patan, in the Pimbaha area, not far from Patan Dhoka. It is the only monastery which took its denomination¹ from Buddhist monasteries (*bahāl*). We see in the official document registering its foundation that it was called first Pithyabahal, before its current name, Chayabahal (or sometimes Chabahal). The buildings, still very beautiful and in a relatively good condition, are arranged according to a classic *cok* plan with four main buildings around a central square courtyard². The western side, where descendants of the founder still live, is decorated with windows carved in an attractive style. The southern side, partially opening onto a veranda, includes two small shrines, one dedicated to the *kuldevatā* Varāha and the other to the goddess Bhagavatī and reserved for the Dasai celebrations. The northern side is rented as a dwelling as well as the eastern part, which is lower and less ornate. In the centre of the courtyard, a small temple with a bulbous roof, covered with coloured faience like those fashionable at the beginning of this century, is dedicated to Bisesvar Mahadev. The temple, closed except during the time of the *pūjā*, contains a stone *śivaliṅga* covered in gilded bronze. One should note that the door of this central shrine opens onto the south, an inauspicious and dangerous direction. A cement moulding around the temple is used as a support for the oil lamps and for a portico from which two bells, engraved with the names of their donors, are suspended.

On the northern wall of the temple, two stone stelae list the recent donations made to the *math*. It is written on one of them, after the invocation to Sri Bisesvar Mahadev, "In 1964 V.S. our ancestor Hiralal Bharati and his wife Mohan Maya Devi gave a garland of

lamps. In 1972 V.S. their eldest son Nandalal Bharati restored the garland [the lamps were first placed on wooden beams which collapsed]. In 2002 V.S. Bhavlal had stone pillars constructed [which support the lamps] and had the steps restored and constructed". Another *śilāpatra* relates Hiralal's gift of two *ropāni* of land in order to provide mustard oil necessary for the lamps which must be lighted nine times during the year.

Chayabahal is the only *math* in Patan for which I found ancient documents in the Archives. One (Archives K 146/27) is dated 868 Nepal Samvat (1747 AD) and registers a land gift by Raya Bharati Gosain "with his own hands" to the benefit of Bisesvar Mahadev for the financing of the daily *pūjā* (*nitya pūjā*), the distribution of food (*sadāvarta*) and money, the celebration of Śivaratri. The remuneration of the Brahman officiant is also indicated (40 *pāthī* of rice per year), as well as the maintenance of the *cok* and of the person who distributes food. This document has recently been copied and certified by Isvari Prasad Bharati (Archives K 136/45)

Calkhu math

Not far from Chayabahal, but in a much more recent and less harmonious architectural style, Calkhu or Kwalakhu *math*, comprises two main buildings in an L-shape around a courtyard where the shrines are located: a small temple with a *śivaliṅga* dedicated to Sri Banesvar Mahadev, the footprints of Vishnu, and statues, particularly those of the donor Muktinath Puri.

In Muktinath's time the two branches of the family separated and consequently occupied the two main buildings, cutting all relations to the point of no longer celebrating Dasai together. The principal building, that of the *math* authorities, has a room reserved for Dasai worship on the ground floor, as well as a statue of the goddess Bhagavatī. On the other hand, there is no shrine to the *kuldevatā* who is honoured in the temple of Vajra Varahi in Chapagaon.

According to the current *mahant*, succession to the head of the *math* happened as follows: Sundar Puri, the founder in 926 N.S. (1805) was succeeded by his disciple Sundarman, who was succeeded by his disciple Pahalman. In fact, a document from 1893 V.S. (1836 A.D.) kept in Archives (K17.4.A) tells us that Pahalman succeeded Ganapati Puri. But Ganapati was dismissed both by his peers who lodged a complaint against him, and by the government for corruption. To Pahalman succeeded his disciple Basudev. He was the first to marry and he transmitted the *math* to his younger son Muktinath, by passing his older son Narayan (although allowing him to live in another part of the *math*). Muktinath's son was Dilli Nath who became the *mahant* of Kwatando *math* in Bhatgaon and chose Acchut Puri, his grandson by his daughter, to succeed him in Patan. It turned out that the latter was a croupier in a casino.

As in all other monasteries in Patan, the head of the

Sannyāsī monastery does not officiate. Daily worship is performed in the morning and in the evening by a paid Brahman *pujārī* who in the past was more often a Newar Brahman Rajopadhyaya, and is frequently now a Nepalese Brahman Upadhyaya. Another Brahman comes to officiate for the goddess's Dasai worship and for the *kuldevatā*'s worship. Sometimes the Sannyāsī family members take part in the ritual by playing large *nagarā* drums (kept upstairs in the residence). The officiating priest brings them a *prasād*, the leftovers of the sanctified offering and puts a *ṭikā* mark on them. Here the Sannyāsīs are the Jajman, the patrons of the cult.

Balukha math

This *math* is perhaps the most harmonious of all the Sannyāsī monasteries in Patan. It was built according to a *cok* layout, with the exception of the fourth side, which was never built or perhaps collapsed— one says that the *math* may have been damaged during the earthquake of 1933; it opens now onto a kitchen garden. This *math* has the distinctive feature of having its main shrine located on a large square outside its precinct ; it is a two-storeyed pagoda consecrated to Trilingesvar Mahadev. In the cella, three small stone *līnga* are highly valued as they are linked with the myth of Sati Devi : Trilingesvar is thus a triple *pīth*, the site where during the dismemberment of the goddess's body, three of her ribs fell. The monastery has the responsibility of the worship in this temple and in that purpose hired, to succeed to a Rajopadhyaya, an Upadhyaya Bahun priest, who has been the same for fifteen years. In addition to the cult in Trilingesvar temple, the officiant performs rites inside the *math*



Balukha math,
precarious harmony, distant dialogue

courtyard at a Śiva's altar, at a basil (Tulasi) dedicated to Vishnu, and at a shrine to the *kuldevatā* whose name the *mahant* did not want to reveal.

Only one side of the *math* is still occupied by the family of the *mahant*, the other two parts are rented, one of them to a rug manufacturer. According to the *mahant*, the *guṭhi* land attached to the *math* is almost non-existent - 2 or 3 *ropani*, the size of the kitchen garden - and he lives off the rental of the three lorries he owns. But rumour in the neighbourhood attributed the obvious desire of the *mahant* to get rid of Krishna and of me with maximum courtesy and minimum informations possible to ancient disputes over *guṭhi* land. The *math* is said to have been endowed with a *rajguṭhi*, untransferable royal foundation lands - in accordance with the status of *pīth* of the Trilingesvar temple -, lands which later on during a cadastral survey were said to have been registered as *duniya* or *niji guṭhi*, private *guṭhi*. I saw many examples of this kind of situation, especially in Bhaktapur, and certainly with many advantages for the head of the *math* who thus escaped control. Monastery land theoretically allotted for its functioning becomes the *mahant*'s own property and that of his lineage³.

Tuilakomath

Not far from the royal palace, near a Bhimsen temple, a modern, unattractive building with a bakery on the ground floor, reveals its ancient purpose in its small interior courtyard entirely devoted to the cult. In the center an altar to Śiva with a *śivalīnga* covered with *caturmukh* top, is surrounded by oil lamps, bells, statues of the donors and stone or bronze carvings. This profusion of deities in such a small space expresses the importance given to the *pūjā*. Furthermore, the monastery officiant must also honour the neighbouring temples of Bhimsen, Ganes and especially Dattatreya, a small two-storeyed pagoda next to the *math* entrance.

This *math* is dedicated, like the others, to Mahadev and is called Vinod Visesvar Mahadev *math*. The present arrangement of the buildings has completely upset the initial plan in order to suit the needs of the residents who are modern businessmen. Meanwhile, worship is still dutifully performed by the Rajopadhyaya *pujārī* who officiates daily in the courtyard and at the Dattatreya temple and is given an allowance of seven *muri* of unhusked rice per year. The *guṭhi* attached to the monastery amounts to 55 *ropani* of land in the Valley ; since the beginning it has remained a *niji guṭhi*, despite some vicissitudes. The present *mahant* recounts that in the past a Malla king took possession the *math* lands and kept them for two years but after the death of some of his relatives, he thought it wise to return the lands. Much later, Juddha Samser convened all the *mahant* of the Sannyāsī monasteries having *niji guṭhi* (eleven *mahant*) to the Singha Durbar to convince them to convert their land into state-owned or *raikar* land. However, Cita Narayan Puri, the then *mahant*, refused

and Tuilako kept its status of *niji guṭhi* until 2016 V.S. when a decree suppressed the title of *mahant* for owners of private *guṭhi*. The land is said to have then been transformed into *raikar*.

Puri maṭh in Tumbahal

Very close to Tuilako, on the north-eastern side of Darbar Square, behind a modern building housing the Chamber of Commerce, one could notice (in 1992) a pile of ruins. This is all that remains of the ancient Puri *maṭh*, which from the ground it covers and from what is left of the woodcarvings, must have been quite imposing. A small dwelling, on one side of the ancient *maṭh* houses a family of Kusle musicians linked to the *maṭh* as they are responsible for playing *tyamkho* drum morning and evening for the Mahadev *pūjā*. In the midst of piles of bricks, there still is a *śivalinga* and each day the Rajopadhyaya *pujārī* comes and stands before the ruins to invoke the god by randomly sprinkling water, grains of rice and flowers. As the Kusle, he is paid with the produce from the *guṭhi* land - about 100 *ropani* towards Godavari. This *guṭhi* still exists as a private one, *niji*, and is under the responsibility of the present *mahant* who lives in Banesar. A conflict over its succession explains the state of decay of the *maṭh* as well as the desire of the Kusle, who took part in the conflict, to involve us in the legal problems regarding the *maṭh* - an emblematic situation showing both the quarrels over succession which led to the ruin of many monasteries⁴ and the exacerbation of these quarrels within a modern context of land speculation.

In a few words and according to the Kusle, the senile *mahant* gave a power of attorney to his third wife's son rather than to his legitimate son. The former then tried to sell the land occupied by the *maṭh* to the Chamber of Commerce and promised a compensation to the Kusle. Then he retracted and sent them an eviction notice. In anger, they sued him and asked Krishna Rimal and me to intervene to save the *maṭh* (a little too late, the bricks and the wood had already been sold for 50,000 rupees), the dharma and their situation.

This trial is apparently only the latest in a long series. About this Puri *maṭh*, I have only heard of its legal affairs; they were considered important enough as a founding event to have led to their inscription on a stone stele still present near the Mahadev *liṅga* in the collapsed area. This inscription, copied by the Kusle, dates from 1977 V.S. (1920); it gives the genealogy of the Puri founders, reveals the past rivalries between sons and disciples and shows that misappropriations have been part of the *maṭh* history.

Here is the text : "This *duniyā guṭhi* was established by Jvarbar Puri [...]. His youngest brother was Sindhu Puri who had two disciples, the older one being Pratap Puri. His disciple was Bahadur Puri, whose son was Chetnath Puri. All three generations [Pratap, Bahadur and Chetnath] pawned the *guṭhi* land and the *maṭh* to the moneylenders saying, after having removed the *śilā-*

patra and Mahadev, that it was their *birtā*."

But the other spiritual descendants intervened, "The youngest disciple of Sindhu Puri whose name was Sankar Puri, his disciple named Samser Puri, the son of Samser Puri called Phatte Baijanath Puri and finally this one's son, Setu Puri, lodged a complaint against the pledge of the *guṭhi* land with the office of Chandra Samser Rana. They won the lawsuit. Six thousand six hundred rupees were paid to the moneylenders by the government [...] so that the dharma would not be lost. It was mentioned that the families of Chandranath Puri and Gannath Puri [the sons of Chetnath] who almost destroy the dharma were no longer allowed to manage the *maṭh*. Therefore, after having recovered all the property belonging to the *maṭh* which had previously disappeared, the court entitled these families to a part of the *maṭh* revenue. After that, the *śilāpatra* and Mahadev were returned, and the *pūjā* and the festivals celebrated. The son of Baijanath Puri, Setu Puri manages the *guṭhi*. He repaired the *maṭh*."

Setu Puri's inheritance passed to his brother Kedar Puri in 2039 V.S., which was confirmed by a deed of the Guthi Samsthan recognising "land measuring 7 *ānā* 2 *paisa* as *niji duniyā guṭhi*" (i.e., the local size of the *maṭh*).

Soto maṭh

Nearly adjacent to the above mentioned *maṭh*, Soto *maṭh* is no more than a waste plot of land, a square enclosure at the very beginning of the street leading to Kumbesvar. It was demolished about twenty years ago and there remains only a small *śivalinga* among wild grass. Recently the family of a Brahman priest settled there and since then has been performing the *pūjā*, getting from the *mahant* the low income of four *muri* of rice per year. That is how I learned that there is still a *mahant*, a Puri, somewhere in Kathmandu.

Bholkhel Ganes maṭh in the suburbs of Patan

Here too, nothing remains; the *maṭh* is completely demolished and a modern residence has just been built on its land. Nevertheless, along the kitchen garden, two *śivalinga* are still there in a precarious condition.

This former *maṭh* was a branch of the Chayabahal, founded by one of the sons of the third successor of the Chayabahal founder, Jaya Kishore Bharati. It has still a *mahant*, Shiva Prasad Bharati, living near Chabahil and a *niji guṭhi* of 15 to 20 *ropani*. The only activity of this *maṭh* is, during the month of *bhaddau* (*naumi*, the ninth day), a celebration presided over by the *mahant* with a *pūjā* to Mahadev, Ganes and Balkumari and a feast given "to the Jogis" (*jogilāi khuvāune*): this is an obligation we often find mentioned on steles or in agreements, which obliges the monasteries to feed their visitors regularly and to honour them with feasts in some specific circumstances. Nowadays, the part of the Jogis during the feast is probably held by some children in the neighbourhood.



Puri *math* of Tumbahal, what remains of the rear section

Using the data collected in the various *math*, I will present now a more general approach of what has been the Sannyāsī monastery in the context of Patan.

Foundation

The foundation dates given by the descendants go back in most cases to the middle of the eighteenth century: before 1747 for Chayabahal, 1741 for Tuilako, 1759 for Trilingesvar and 1805 for Calkhu (perhaps earlier). Was it to these foundations that Baburam Acharya⁵ alluded when he wrote, “Sanyasis of the Puri sect were welcomed and granted land by King Vishnu Malla of Lalitpur” (who ruled from 1728 to 1745)?

In relation to my data, this mention of land endowments by the king is doubtful as accounts of the foundations tell something different. For example, it is said that the Chayabahal *math* was founded by Jaya Kishor Bharati on a land he owned, and that this was registered later by his successor. Jaya Kishor built three sides of the *cok* and the central temple; about the last side the story is as follows: “The fourth side isn’t his. He went to see the king three or four times to ask for land. The king refused to receive him. ‘Who is this king?’, he said, ‘If that is how it is, I’m leaving’. He organised a *bhaṇḍārā* and as there was no ghee, he transformed water into ghee. Then he went away. The king heard of the prodigy and gave him the land and the materials necessary for constructing the fourth wing (but it is the least beautiful)”.

An edict written in 868 N. S. (1747) and kept in the “National Archives”, registers the gift made by Sri Raya Bharati Gosain, the successor of Jaya Kishore

Bharati, of nearly hundred *ropani* of land, a gift made “from his own hands” in order to allow the distribution of food and the daily *pūjā* to Bisesvar Mahadev with *pancamrit*, incense, lamps, *naivedya*, rice flakes. This required 180 *pāthī* of rice and 20 mohor rupees. The *pujārī* is Sita Ram Bhatta and he must be paid 40 *pāthī* of rice per year. The person who distributes the alms must also be remunerated. He who does not respect the clauses of the gift is as guilty as if he had killed a cow, a Brahman, a child, or his guru. A copy of this document exists, countersigned but undated by Isvari Prasad Bharati, the current *mahant*’s father. This confirms that it was indeed a private foundation.

The central temple of Tuilako *math* was also founded privately in 862 VS by Vinod Puri and his wife Parvati Gosain; their son Thiraj Puri established the *math* the following year.

Where do the funds of the Sannyāsī come from, why were they already in Patan? I do not have sufficient data to put forth anything but suppositions: we do know the importance of Sannyāsī commercial enterprises at this time and their installation of storehouses in the Valley for their trade with Tibet⁶. It is also known that the Naga Sannyāsī were recruited as mercenaries by the Malla and Gorkha armies. The importance of the extant buildings and their location for most of them in the very heart of the town confirm their central position in the economic mechanism of the city. Nevertheless the fact that most of the *guṭhi* were *niji* (*duniyā*), i.e., from private foundation and not like in Bhaktapur *rajguṭhi* from royal gifts, reveals a different settling manner, more individual and less institutional than in Bhaktapur.

Another hypothesis is that the *math* is a funeral foundation, a memorial to the founder. This is actually the case for Tuilako where Parvati Gosain and his son founded the *math* after the death of their husband and father and in his memory. This is why the *math* is also called Vinod Visvesvar *math*, why the *guthi* which was established is called *śrāddha guthi* (as an offering for the benefit of a deceased ancestor) and why the main festival of the *math* is called Aswin Kṛṣṇa Triadasi *śrāddha* (*śrāddha* of the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of *asoḥ*). Is it the same tradition which explains that in the destroyed Bharati *math* of Bolkhel Ganes, there only remains the celebration that the neighbours call "making the *śrāddha guthi*", i.e. in this case essentially offering a banquet to the Jogis (as at the end of funeral rites) ?

This link between mourning and founding is also stressed in another way although I do not have any proof: some people says that the *math* were founded and endowed by the wealthy families of Patan following a death (in homage to their dead or to avoid more deaths?).

Some Rajopadhyaya - those who do not officiate - say that these *math* are anyway linked to death, to the inauspicious, that outside people must not go inside their shrines and that "true Brahmins" do not want to officiate there.

The Sannyāsi lineages

Among the seven *math*, the Chayabahal and the Bolkhel Ganes *math* are from the Bharati order of Dasnāmī and are of the same lineage; Calkhu, Tuilako, Tumbahal and Soto belong to the Puri order and Balukha to the Giri. These three orders are the most represented in Nepal among the ten orders of the Dasnāmī, the predominance of the Puris over the Giris being particular to Patan. The absence of the Bans (or Vanas) should also be noted as this order is frequently mentioned (along with the Puris and the Giris) among the great merchants of the Valley in the eighteenth century. As for the Bharatis, generally less well represented in the Valley, they say that they come from Varaha Ksetra, a sacred confluence not far from Dharan. Their *kuldevatā*, Varāha, takes its origin from this place, where its statue got its power. Indeed one of the first monasteries of Varaha Ksetra was founded by Ramnath Bharati on land donated by King Lohanga Sen of Makwanpur⁷.

Some founders were unmarried and the succession became hereditary only after several generations of inheritance from master to disciple. In other cases, the founding of the monastery was carried out by Sannyāsi householders. Marriages occurred then with Sannyāsi spouses from different *math* in the Valley. Among the Patan *math*, the only alliances which I could trace were between the two Puri *math* of Tuilako and Calkhu.

Two lines of succession, one with the original succession from master to disciple (Chayabahal) and the other from father to son (Tuilako) serve as examples of har-



Soto *math*, a *śivaliṅga* returned to nature

mony in succession. In Chayabahal; the founder Jaya Kishore Bharati has as disciple Raya Kishore, whose disciple Samser Bharati married, has three sons : X in Bisankhu, Botta Bharati (Bolkhel Ganes) and Hiralal Bharati. Botta Bharati had Shanta Lal who had Shiva Prasad. Hiralal Bharati had a son named Lakshme Prasad, who gave birth to two sons : Giriya Prasad and Ishvari Prasad. Bisesvar Prasad is the son of Ishvari Prasad.

Bisesvar Prasad is the titular *mahant*, but does not live in the *math* where the descendants of Hiralal Bharati's second marriage stay; I suspect that this marriage with Mohan Maya Devi (a Newar?) was a misalliance, anyway they had two sons Nanda Lal and Bhava Lal. Nanda Lal had three sons, the eldest is deceased but the other two live in the *math* with their children.

In the Tuilako *math* succession has since the beginning been from father to son. After the death of Vinod Puri, his son Thiraj Puri established the *math* in 1742. Sidda Puri succeeded him, then Ganes Puri, Basti Puri, Cita Narayan Puri and Arka Narayan Puri, himself succeeded by his youngest son Arka Prasad Puri (married to a sister of the former *mahant* of Calkhu, Dillinath Puri). His son Ram Prasad Puri currently runs the *math* (in place of the eldest line born of Arka Narayan who live in the United States).

The permanence of these two institutions has a lot to do with a harmonious mode of succession where conflicts resulting from self-interest have been kept under control. And we can be sure that these conflicts have existed; the division at Chayabahal between an older lineage which assumes the title of *mahant* but does not live in the *math* and a younger resident lineage responsible for all the activities is grounds for potential conflict. It is telling that the inscription engraved on the temple wall recapitulates the donations of the junior branch descending from the second wife.

Ritual obligations

As we have seen, each *math* has an appointed Brahman *pujārī* who comes morning and evening to open the doors of the shrines and to perform the *pūjā* with the required offerings : unction of the *liṅga* and statues,

ornamentation, offerings of grains of rice, flower petals, incense and light. In addition, he must officiate during the main festivals celebrated at the monastery; for the festivals of the Goddess at Dasai and for the offerings to the *kuldevatā*, he is assisted by a "tantric" *pujārī*, a Rajopadhyaya specialist. It should be noted that on these occasions the *maṭh* are not reluctant to make blood sacrifices.

Ritual obligations are often summed up on a kind of notebook. For instance, the list kept in the Tuilako *maṭh* specifies ritual duties in the following way:

1. Sri Vinod Viseswar, Dattatreya and Kstrapal; daily *pūjā*.

2. Each fifth day of each fortnight and each full moon; [hymns] *rudri* and *pūjā*. Pour milk and water on the head of Mahadev while reading the texts.

3. Each Tuesday *pūjā* to Ganes of the *ṭol* (Sri Val-khu Ganes) and in the *pūjā koṭha*.

4. Each Saturday, *pūjā* to Balkumari and Bhimsen [two temples outside the *maṭh*].

5. In *mangsir*, the fifth day of the light fortnight (*vivāha pancamī*), [go to] Koteswar Mahadev [3 km east]: *pūjā* and *hom* [fire offering] to the temple.

6. The same day *pūjā* to the *kuldevatā* Chinnamasta [the goddess' headless representation, with four hands, in one hand her bleeding head. She is only represented by a drawing beside Kotesvar Mahadev].

7. *Margarsira*, the seventh day of the light fortnight. Dattatreya *pūjā*. Read hymns to Vishnu, make an offering to the fire, recite *rudri* hymns, repeat the sacred names (*jap*) and make a *pūjā* to the flag on the top of the temple.

8. *Māgh saṅkrānti*: As *prasad* give the gods and eat, ghee, *caku* [cooked sugar], *tarul* [yam].

9. *Phālgun*, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight: *Śivarātri*. Make a fire [here called *dhuni*] all night long. Offer soyabeans and roasted peas, rotis and fruits to the Mahadev temple. Make four *pūjā* during the night: evening, at midnight, 3 a.m., and at dawn. Make a light offering (*ārati*) accompanied by bells, *nagarā* kettle-drum, *damaru* hourglass drum, conch and cymbals.

10. *Baisākh*. From the first day of the dark fortnight until the first day of the light fortnight: [have hymns read] *rudri* by a Brahman in the temple of Śiva.

11. In *baisākh*, on the third day of the light fortnight (*akṣa tritiya*). Give sugar water, pea and barley flour and caramelised sugar to the divinities.

12. In *jeth*, on the sixth day of the clear fortnight. Make a *pūjā* with flour and lentils to the Earth (Prithvi) in front of the temple.

13. In *jeth*, on the day of the full moon: annual *pūjā* to Narayan. Read hymns to Vishnu.

14. In *sāun*, on the fifth day of the light fortnight. Put a drawing of Naga on the lintel and make a *pūjā* to Mahadev and Dattatreya.

15. In *sāun* on the day of the full moon, Janai Pur-nimā or Kvanti purnimā [*kvanti* = mixture of lentils

and peas]. Thread around the wrist by Brahman.

16. In *bhadra*, on the eighth dark day or Krishna *aṣṭami*. Birth of Krishna. Go to the temple [the Krishna Mandir on Darbar Square]. Prepare *malpa* [*malpuva* ?], *swari* (flour mixed with sugar and oil), *haluwa*, and some fruits.

17. The next day, the festival of Krishna. Open the door [of the *maṭh*] and give *upanrak* (?) to the people.

18. In *bhadra*, on the tenth day of the dark fortnight. In the evening, annual *pūjā* to the temple of Bhimsen.

19. In *bhadra*, from the twelfth day of the light fortnight until the fourth day of the dark fortnight of aswin, Indra Jatra. Make a small clay elephant as well as a statue of Indra. Place them in the *pūjā koṭha*.

20. The full moon of *bhadra*. In the temple of Datta-treya, put oil in the lamps inside and outside and light them. Give those who come rice, black soy, dried fish and ginger.

21. In *aswin*, on the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight: *pūjā* to Vinod Viseswar Mahadev and Dattatreya. Give *khir* to eat [it is the date of the founding of the *maṭh*. Also named Aswin Krishna Triadasi *Śrāddha* in memory of the founding ancestor, as we have seen].

22. In *aswin*, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight, decorate and "make beautiful" Mahadev and Dattatreya.

23. Dasai.

Honour the swords (*tarwar*).

Kālārātri (the "black night", the eighth day): give a young goat to Bhagavati and a duck to Ganes.

In front of the temple of Bhimsen: sacrifice a young goat.

Inside the temples of Bhairav and Bhimsen, sacrifice a duck.

To Ganes of the *ṭol*: a duck.

To Bal Kumāri: a duck.

For the ninth day (*naumi*); feed the *kumāri* [the little girls chosen in this case in the family]⁸.

24. In *kārtik* on the day of the new moon: light the lamps in the temple of Mahadev.

25. For the festival of Matsyendranath, offer coconuts, the day following the chariot-pulling.

All the monasteries have their own ritual calendar depending on their geographical situation (i.e. the relative proximity to some temples) but the majority of celebrations is common to all of them : Śivarātri, Dasai, the festivals of Patan, and at varying dates, the anniversary of the foundation and the *pūjā* to the *kuldevatā*.

These ceremonies occur in the private enclosure of each *maṭh* (or in nearby temples) but only the important ceremonies of the Sannyāsi life cycle bring together all the residents of the Patan *maṭh*. These ceremonies are : the funerals, usually held at Sankhamul, the funeral *ghaṭ* of Patan on the banks of the Bagmati, and the enthronement of a new *mahant*. This event must be sanctioned by all the monastery heads in the Valley ; they gather together in the *maṭh* to be transmitted, under the authority of the head of the Bhaktapur Pujari *maṭh*.

Conclusion

The unusual presence of these Dasnami Sannyāsi monasteries in the heart of Newar towns, their foundation during the time of the Malla kings by ascetics from India (even though they were probably tradesmen or soldiers), provides additional proof of the complexity of the organisation of these cities of the Kathmandu Valley. Besides Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Patan reveal a very different configuration: Kathmandu has no Sannyāsi monastery⁹; Bhaktapur has a dozen of them, clustered around the Dattatraya temple and generally endowed with lands given by kings. The *maṭh* in Patan are more scattered, they have few ties between them and are founded and endowed on an individual basis.

The absence of royal patronage, the apparent lack of function in the system of sovereignty of Patan, probably explains the marginalization of these now little known monasteries, lost in the urban landscape in which they no longer play any role. Having become fragile, they no longer depend on anything but chance or the will of their owners; their status of *guthi* no longer suffices to protect them as these private *guthi* escape the authority of the Guthi Samsthan. Half of these *maṭh* have already disappeared; their ruins are evidence of the loss for the architectural heritage of Patan. As one of the residents of Chayabahal said, "A Programme is necessary" (meaning a Programme of Restoration). And they were not too happy with us, Krishna and me coming empty handed and saying that the *maṭh* was beautiful and that everything must be done to preserve it!

Notes :

1 *bahāl*, for the Newari *bāhāḥ* and the Sanskrit *vihāra*. See D. Gellner, 1992, for the architectural layout of these Buddhist monasteries, especially pp. 23-24 and 167-179.

2 Cf. Barré, Berger, Feveile and Toffin, 1981, p. 167 et seq.

3 His descendants feel free to sell the land, which is in principle completely excluded, whatever the nature of the *guthi*. For more on *duniyā guthi*, see M.C. Regmi, 1976, chapter IV; "The private character of *duniyā guthi* endowments makes it difficult to detect instances of dislocation of their functions" (p. 63).

4 See my articles on Kvatando *maṭh* in Bhaktapur and on Sri gau in the Dang Valley.

5 B. Acharya, 1979, p. 49.

6 Cf. D.R. Regmi, 1975, pp. 117-118, R. Markham, S. Amatya, 1991. B. Acharya adds to the note previously cited, "These Sanyasis collaborated with the Kashmiri Muslims in hampering the trade of Shakyas and Udas with Tibet." (ibid. p. 49).

7 Cf. F. Hamilton, 1971, pp. 132 et seq.

8 The celebrations of *Kālārātri* were abandoned for being "too dangerous". The actual head of the Tuilako *maṭh* himself performs the sacrifices.

9 Except for a different settlement established much later (19th century), along the Bagmati to Tripuresvar.

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