The Kathmandu Valley as a Water Pot:
Abstracts of research papers on Newar Buddhism in Nepal

Kazumi YOSHIZAKI

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Kurokami Library, Kumamoto,
JAPAN

< Preface >

This book is a collection of abstracts of my papers on Newar Buddhism in Nepal, which I have published over these past 25 years. I am aware that it would be desirable to completely rewrite these papers in light of the latest scholarship throughout the world. But I'm afraid that it would become too bulky a volume. I didn't wish to publish anything too large in size, so I restricted my citations of the latest studies to a minimum. In fact, I omitted many important works in order to summarize my papers. I hope they will be referred to in the development of discussion.

I visited the Valley of Kathmandu for the first time in 1985 to research the Newar Buddhist manuscripts. Everything that I saw there fascinated me at once. I was surprised by their festivals, manners and customs, and especially their Buddhist rituals. Many questions rushed at me one after another. I asked myself, "what is the real aim of their performances ?" My papers were produced to help me arrive at my own answers, although some questions remain insoluble. I know that my papers are lacking in certain considerations, and I alone am responsible for any errors of fact, interpretation, or omission. I believe that they will be corrected through discussions with my friends in Nepal and other countries. They will make good their arguments. I will be happy if my struggle to interpret the Newar Buddhist rituals is any help in bearing fresh fruit.

My fieldwork in the Valley was carried out from February 1985 to January 1989. Of these four years, two years were supported by Educational Ministry of Japan. Since then, I've had some subsequent opportunities to revisit the Valley. During my stay in the Valley, I was lucky enough to ask for a lot of invaluable advice from Gurus and friends of the Newars. I couldn't make up my mind in grappling with my questions about Newar Buddhism without their support. I would also like to thank the late Pandit Asakaji Vajracarya, the late Ratnakaji Vajracarya, and the late Prem Bahadur Kansakar for their expert help. They talked to me as if I were their real son, and they taught me repeatedly the importance of studying Newar Buddhism and its cultural heritage. I pray whole-heartedly for the repose of their souls.

Finally, I express my hearty thanks to Mr. Iain Sinclair. He corrected my English, and he gave me many suggestions. I cannot thank him too much. But it is impossible for him to correct all of my poor English. Readers are still required to perceive what I meant.

Kazumi
Preface

Part 1: Overview : Mandala, Stupa and Human Body in Newar Buddhism

Part 2:

1. The Construction of Caityas in Newar Buddhism
2. Eyes of 3,400 Caityas in the Kathmandu Valley
3. Kalasa-puja and the art related to it in Nepal
4. The Kathmandu Valley in a Water Pot
5. Basa Layegu, or the Dhvajavaropana Rite in Newar Buddhism
6. Have you ever seen the Buddha?
7. A Comment on Vajracaryas in Newar Buddhism
8. The Etymology of "O-bon" or "Ulambana"
9. The inlaid Kalasa of the Nepalese Stupas / Caityas and its Symbolism of the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven
10. Baha and Bahi - the two types of Newar Buddhist monastery
11. Vajracarya, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara in Newar Buddhism
12. Living Goddess Kumari and the Buddha Sakyamuni's Mother Maya Devi
13. "Impregnation" and "Birth" of a Deity in the Newar Buddhist Ritual
14. A Buddha Reflected in the Newar Buddhist Ritual Mirror
15. The Vajracarya as Monk in Newar Buddhism
16. Vasuki and Karkotaka: Nagarajas in Newar Buddhism
17. Gurumandala-puja in Newar Buddhism
18. The Water Pot as a Mandala in the Kathmandu Valley
19. The Kathmandu Valley as "Himalaya", one of the two Upachandohas in Samvara Tantrism
20. On the Mural Painting executed around a Doorway of the Newar Private House
22. Virupaksa and Khaganana in the Kathmandu Valley
23. Annual Rituals at Swayambhu Mahacaitya of Nepal
24. Vanarata in Nepal
25. The Human Body in Newar Tantric Buddhism
26. Yogambara Tantrism in Newar Buddhism
27. On the Economic Status of Modern Newar Buddhist Monasteries
28. The Men who went to Tibet and the Women they left behind: from Aniko and his Nepalese Wife to "Muna-Madan"
29. On the Tibetan translation of the "Swayambhu-purana"
30. The Nepalese Caitya Game of Karma
31. From Sadhana to Possession in Newar Buddhism
32. Tibetan Buddhist Paintings bearing Newari Inscriptions
The Ritual of a Water Pot (Kalasa puja)

When performing a Buddhist rite for his client, the Newar Buddhist priest, or Vajracarya, places a small water pot, called kalasa in Newari, in the centre of the arrangement of ritual implements, and a Buddhist deity is invited into the pot, then worshipped. The deity is, generally speaking, chosen by its suitability for granting the client's specified wish. (For example, Amoghapasa Lokesvara is invited when Astami vrata will be performed.) The priest ties a long five coloured thread (pasuka) to his vajra, his main ritual sceptre, then puts it on the pot, and holds the other end of it. The thread is a symbolic conduit through which the deity and the priest come and go to meet with each other in the ritual. This is the essence of kalasa-puja, the ritual of a water pot in the Newar Buddhist rituals.

The set of a pot and a thread have produced many formative variants in the Newar Buddhist art. For instance, a long metallic belt hangs from the gaju, a pot-shaped pinnacle on the Newar Buddhist monasteries. The end of the belt reaches to just above a main shrine of the monastery. The Buddha honored in the main shrine is summoned into a gaju at the first stage of his inhabitance, and then descends to the main shrine through the belt. For the pious devotees who visit there every day, on the other hand, the belt is figuratively a miraculous ladder to climb up to
the world of Buddha in their spiritual life.

The Newar Buddhist monasteries usually have a quadrangle surrounded by high, thick walls of brick. This closed spatial structure aims to represent the inner space of the pot. Anyone who stands there will feel as if they were really inside the large pot. A ground plan of the monasteries, which consist of a closed courtyard and a narrow passage connected to the outside, also reminds us of a longitudinal section of the pot. The plan of the old city, which was once surrounded by city walls, also indicates that the old city was in a large pot.

1-2. Svayambhu-mahacaitya/stupa

The legend that tells us of the first appearance of Svayambhu-mahacaitya in the valley of Kathmandu is no more than a mythological model of the water pot ritual (kalasa-puja). Once, the valley was a huge lake. One day a lotus flower bloomed on the surface of the water, and then a Brilliant Light emerged suddenly out of the flower. Bodhisattva Manjusri drained water from the lake to worship the Light. Thus, the lake transformed into the land of the Newars. The Valley was, just as I said, a large water pot. The Light of Svayambhu came into this natural water pot, and then made its appearance from it. The Newars are, so to speak, well off in the large and natural water pot, the Kathmandu Valley.

A little later, a man named Santikara Acarya, the founder of Newar Buddhism, covered the Light with bricks and then constructed a big caitya, now known by the name of Svayambhu-mahacaitya. There are many (more than 3,000) small caityas in the Valley. They are essentially miniatures of Svayambhu-mahacaitya. Interestingly enough, all of them are decorated with a design of the water pot. The hemispherical dome and cube of the caitya have the shape of a water pot. Thirteen disks on the cube correspond to a miniature parasol with thirteen layers inserted in the ritual water pot. Originally, the parasol was raised high above the head of Buddha or high priest as a sign of respect. Particularly, a parasol with thirteen tiers was raised over the head of Vajradhara, who is a principal deity of Tantric Buddhism (see [Yoshizaki 1989]). From the top of a caitya, decorative ropes are stretched in all directions. It is a formative variant of the five coloured thread.

1-3. A Pot in a Pot - our world as a vessel

We can arrange these water pots from the largest to the smallest:

Kathmandu Valley ⊂ Old city area surrounded by city walls ⊂ Buddhist monastery ⊂ Stupa ⊂ Caitya (Svayambhu mahacaitya or Stupa ⊂ small Caityas called Cibaha in Newari) ⊂ Kalasa (water pot used in the Buddhist ritual) and Gaju

The relation between stupa and caitya will be discussed later.

Each pot is nested within a larger one, respectively. Thus, the small 3,000 caityas scattered around the valley are nested in Svayambhu mahacaitya, and so on until finally being cradled by the pot of Kathmandu Valley, like Russian dolls. And then, of course, only one pot - the largest, ideal pot - remains. In the Abhidharma philosophy, it is called Bhajana-loka, the world of inanimate things as a vessel to cradle animate beings. Needless to say, we, all human beings, live
in Bhajana-loka, which itself encloses the Valley of Kathmandu.

1-4. A pot as a womb

The Newar Buddhists worship forms of Avalokitesvara called Karunamaya. Particularly famous are Red Karunamaya in Lalitpur (Patan) and White Karunamaya in Kathmandu. They are repainted annually on fixed days. Before repainting the statue, the soul (or spirit, jiva) of Karunamaya is drawn out from the statue, and placed in a big pot temporarily. During the repainting, the object of worship is not the statue but the pot. When the repainting is finished, the soul will return to the statue. The statue and the pot are connected by a five coloured thread, through which the soul of Karunamaya moves back into the statue. At the moment when the soul returns, the white cloth (which had covered the whole body of the statue until then) is slowly removed, first revealing the face of Karunamaya.

Similarly, the Bright Light of Swayambhu made its appearance from top to bottom on the surface of the ancient lake. Buddhist deities are invariably described from face to feet in the iconographic text of their sadhanas. The Newar Buddhist ritual performed by a Vajracarya priest is, in Mr. John K. Locke's words, no more than "a ritualization of the sadhana". I will comment on sadhana in the Newar Buddhist ritual later.

These phenomena suggest that the water pot is akin to a womb, and emergence from the pot corresponds to birth from the womb. After a deity is summoned into the water pot, he stays in it for a while. We cannot see him at all. But gradually he appears from within it, showing his face first, just as if he were pushing his body out of the water pot. If we call this "birth", then the period for which the deity remains in the pot is its "gestation". Thus, the water pot is also a symbol of the mother's womb.

Now we have to pay attention to the size of pots again. There is a crucial turning point in the line of the pots. When we look at the pot of Kalasa-puja, that of Gaju, and that of Stupa or Caitya, we see the external surface of the pot. But, when we view the pots of the Buddhist monasteries and of the Kathmandu Valley, we see the inside of the pot. So when we arrange the pots in a row from the largest to the smallest, the internal world of the pots transform into an external world, that is, our real world, instantly. On the other hand, when we arrange them from the smallest to the largest, our real world will be dropped into the internal world of the pots at once.

Followers of Hinduism also insist on the same logic of reversal of the world. They pay homage to Siva-linga as an object of their worship. It has a characteristic form, in which a standing linga (Siva's phallus) is inserted upward into a yoni (his consort's vulva), and their sexual union or ecstasy is observed from the inside of her womb. This indicates that the Valley of Kathmandu where Siva-linga stands is not only our realistic world but also the internal world of his consort's womb. Thus, by a reverse-logic look at the world, the baby in her womb has already been born or come into the world. In this Valley, Siva is in the state of sexual intercourse with his consort, and he is ready to ejaculate.

We know that many miniature caityas in the Valley lack their finials (cuda-mani). It is said
that by dismantling the finial, the Newars intentionally and systematically remodeled Buddhist caityas into Siva-lingas (see [Wiesner 1980:170-172]). The Newars often confuse Jalaharopari-caitya (or Jalaharyupari-sumeru-caitya in [Gutschow 1997:284-293], a caitya on the base of Siva's linga and yoni) with Siva-linga (see [Schmidt 1978:449-452], see also [Kölver 1992b] and [Malla 1992]). It is not too much to say that the relation between the Siva-linga in Pasupatinath and Siva-lingas around the Valley corresponds to that of Svayambhu mahacaitiya and many miniature caityas around the Valley. In fact, Siva-lingas "owe their origin to Svayambhu" in the Buddhist tradition ([Slusser 1979:73]). And interestingly, it is said that once a year the Lord Pasupatinath, Siva-linga, is supposed to wear the crown of Buddha on his head. We don't know whether it is true or not, but when the crown is worn, it is possible to think that Siva's linga will transform itself immediately into Buddha's linga, and the Kathmandu Valley will transform into the inner world of the womb of Buddha's consort, not of Siva's consort.

1-5. Human Body as a Water Pot

We can propose another important pot for acceptance into the above-mentioned line-up of pots. Some human bodies are also able to become a vessel, into which a deity will be invited. That body is recognized to be "impregnated with a child". But the child in the mother's womb is said to have already been "born", because the pot turns itself inside-out. The inner world of the pot transforms easily into the outer and realistic world. So, "she" who is with a deity in "her" womb is a deity in this world. Thus, "she" becomes a God.

2-1. Water Pot as a Mandala

The water pot serves as a kind of Mandala in the Newar Buddhist rituals. As mentioned above, the soul of Karunamaya is temporarily placed in a water pot during the repainting of the statue. After the painting is completed, the soul must be re-enshrined in the statue. The ceremony to transfer the soul from the pot to the repainted statue is termed jirnoddharana (repairing what is ruined, broken or time-worn) in the famous Indian Buddhist ritual canons, such as "Acarya-krīya-saṃuccaya" and "Vajravali-mandalopayika". It follows primarily the process of pratistha (the setting up or consecrating of new-constructed religious objects), after the rite of removing the soul of a statue. In these ceremonies, a mandala appropriate to the purpose must be constructed, and the Buddhist deity, after having been invited into the mandala, is said to be transferred back to the repaired object. But in the case of Karunamaya, no mandala is found there, because the pot is used as a mandala. The pot and the statue are connected with a five-coloured thread, and the soul of Karunamaya moves directly from the pot into the statue through the thread. In the Japanese esoteric Buddhism, the thread is known by the name of "Goshiki-kaidō" ("five-coloured boundary passage"), and it is said that through this thread, the deities in the mandala come and go.

One of the most important Buddhist Tantras, "Sarva-tathagata-tattva-samgraha-nama-mahayana-sutra" (in short, "Tattva-samgraha"), explains the reason why the pot serves as a mandala. According to it, when the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, was about to realize the Ultimate Truth
under the Bodhi-tree, transcendental Buddhas strained their eyes to see him from Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven, and then they descended to the Earth to encourage him. But after a transient stay on the earth, they flew away to the summit of Mt. Meru without their mandala dissolved, and kept watching his great achievement. Akanistha-Bhuvana is the highest heaven of the World of Form (Rupa-dhatu, the material world), where all materials are purified to their possible limit. Briefly speaking, beyond it stands the non-material world, the World of Formlessness (Arupya-dhatu, the immaterial world), where only purified spirits exist. And Buddhas come from the World of Buddhas, which is located over the World of Formlessness. Mt. Meru stands at the centre of the World of Desire (Kama-dhatu), which is located below the World of Form. And Mt. Meru also stands at the centre of Bhajana-loka.

The water that fills the ritual pot represents the water of the ancient lake in the myth of the origin of the Valley. But as I will discuss later, it also symbolizes the heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana. On the other hand, the pot represents Mt. Meru itself in shape. And a Vajracarya priest who professes himself to be a legitimate successor of the historical Buddha Sakyamuni, places the pot in the centre of the area where he performs the ritual for his client - in this world. Thus, the pot symbolizes the three places mentioned in "Tattva-samgraha" at the same time, and we know that a Buddhist deity has already been summoned into it. The water pot, therefore, can play the theoretical role of a Mandala. And as I have pointed out, the deity in the pot has already presented himself in this world by the logic of reversal of the world. Although we cannot see the deity in the pot with our naked eye, we can see the elegant figure of the deity in the pot when we open our third eyes wide.

2-2. Stupa and Human Body : The Third Eye

It is quite natural that we should regard a Stupa as a Buddha's whole body. According to this identification, the main shaft of a Stupa is no more than the Buddha's spine. Its plinth and the dome correspond respectively to the lower half and the upper half of the Buddha's body. The cube on the dome represents the Buddha's face. And the thirteen disks on the cube symbolize the parasol held above the Buddha, but it is also possible to interpret that it is usnisa, the top-knot of the Buddha's head, transformed (see Kölver 1992:155-165). Thus, the Newar Buddhists say that eyes depicted around the four directions of the cube of Stupas and Caityas are the Buddha's eyes looking around the Valley.

But we can give another explanation for the eyes, based on the theory of the water pot. When a deity is invited into a pot, we can see eyes depicted on the upper part of the pot, corresponding exactly to the cube of Stupas and Caityas. For example, during the work of repainting of the image of Bunga-dyah, Red Karunamaya, the soul of Bunga-dyah is temporarily placed in a large silver pot. We can find eyes on the pot (see Locke 1980: illustration 48). When identified with the eyes of Bunga-dyah in the silver pot, the eyes depicted on Stupas and Caityas are no more than the eyes of the deities who are present in the Stupa-sized and Caitya-sized pots respectively. Thus, the eyes depicted on pots of various sizes suggest a presence of a deity in the pot. We can see the eyes around the doorway of Newar private houses for the same reason. And we can see
their third eyes, only when we look at the outside of the pot.

To become an official Buddhist priest, a Vajracarya must receive a ceremony of initiation called abhiseka, consecration or purification (Aca-luyegu in Newari). It includes a rite of drsti-dana, eye-opening, in which he will open his divine third eye. Similarly, to become a proper object of worship, images and paintings and other religious objects must receive a ceremony of purification called pratistha, the setting up or consecrating of religious objects, in which a rite of drsti-dana to open their divine third eyes is also included. The Living Goddess Kumari has a divine third eye on her forehead. In the case of the traditional Newar masked dancers who act as Gods when performing divine dances, they wear masks bearing the third eyes on the faces of the Gods. In any case, the third eye indicates that a deity is present in the human body in question.

3-1. Nepal Mandala

Even now the Newars often call the valley of Kathmandu by the name of "Nepal Mandala". In this context, "Nepal" means the Valley. The reason why they address the Valley as a "Mandala" is that once the Valley, in the form of a natural and large water pot in the myth of its origin, made the Light of Swayambhu appear in the Valley. We know that the water pot sometimes serves as a mandala in the Newar Buddhist rituals.

More exactly speaking, the Valley revealed its secret form as a mandala of the Buddhist Tantric deity named Samvara only to the initiates. The original Samvara mandala consisted of two concentric circles (cakras), Mahasukha-cakra with five main deities, and Samaya-cakra with eight guardian deities. And then, three concentric circles (Citta-cakra, Vak-cakra and Kaya-cakra) were added between the two original circles. At that time, twenty-four holy sites originally scattered in the Indian subcontinent were grouped into three, and placed on the eight cardinal directions of the three middle circles. A worshipper of Samvara made a pilgrimage around the subcontinent to prove his devotion for Samvara throughout his life. But later, worshippers made it symbolically on the mandala of Samvara.

The Kathmandu Valley is said to be "Himalaya", one of the twenty-four holy sites located around the subcontinent. But the Newar Buddhists focused the scale down from that of the subcontinent to that of the valley of Kathmandu, and moreover to those of the cities, and then to the Buddhist monasteries in the Valley, again like the nesting Russian dolls. In these reduced mandalas, the three middle circles were represented by the three-fold Asta-matrkas, Eight Mother Goddesses, in the Valley, in the city, and in the monastery respectively. But, interestingly, we have not discovered any examples of the three-fold Asta-matrkas represented in physical bodies of the Newar Buddhists.

3-2. A Combination of Mandalas

Besides the Samvara mandala, we can see many other mandalas in the Valley. Each has been constructed or depicted with an appropriate doctrinal and mythological foundation. For example, [1] Vajradhatu-mandala, one of the most popular mandalas in the Valley, consists of Panca Buddhas, the Five Transcendental Buddhas (Vairocana in white, Aksobhya in blue,
Ratnasambhava in yellow, Amitabha in red, and Amoghasiddhi in green. They are always found on the four cardinal directions of a stupa and a caitya. It is said that after the Brilliant Light of Svayambhnu appeared from the ancient lake of the Valley, it beamed forth five coloured rays of light, and then the Five Transcendental Buddhas showed themselves in each ray respectively.  

Dharmadhatus-vagisvara-mandala is called Dharmadhatus-mandala for short. Vagisvara is an epithet for Bodhisattva Manjusri. After Manjusri reclaimed the Valley by drainage, it showed itself in the guise of a Dharmadhatus-mandala, and he taught the secrets of the mandala to his first pupil in the Valley. Now we can see a pair of the freestanding Dharmadhatus-mandala and the caitya with Vajradhatu-mandala in every Buddhist monastery of the Valley (see [Bangdel 1999: chap. 5]). And [3] Durgati-parisodhana-mandala is used in the ritual for the dead.

The famous Indian Buddhist iconographical text, "Nispanna-yogavali", explains these three mandalas in detail ([Bhattacharyya 1972: nos. 19, 21, 22]). But an examination of the tantras which provide the basis for Nispanna-yogavali's mandalas reveals that the mandalas in the Nispanna-yogavali are nothing but a synthesis of the mandalas explained in individual tantras. For example, "Bhutadamara Tantra", in which evil spirits, bhutas, were converted to Buddhist gods by a evangelization of the Buddhist God called Bhutadamara, referred separately to male and female groups of bhutas who served the God. The Bhutadamara-mandala being explained in "Nispanna-yogavali" ([Bhattacharyya 1972: no.23]) has four circles around the main deity. But it consists basically of three groups mentioned in the Tantra: [1] the main deities including Bhutadamara, [2] the male servants of the bhutas, and [3] the female servants, from inside to outside, respectively (see [Yoshizaki 1981]).

Similarly, in Nepal, the three mandalas mentioned above (Vajradhatu-mandala, Dharmadhatus-mandala and Durgati-parisodhana-mandala) are combined and laid out together on the place where a caitya is to be built (see [Ratnakaji 1980:30-39]). Caityas in the Valley are always built taking the Svayambhu mahacaitya as a model. The first two mandalas originated from a legend explaining how the first caitya (Svayambhu mahacaitya) appeared in the Valley, and the third mandala is used in praying for the repose of the soul. After a cremation of the dead, the Newars throw the ashes into a river, for they know that all of the rivers in the Valley flow into the holy river Ganges. Thus, the Newars are not in the habit of making graves to contain the ashes. But they sometimes construct a caitya in memory of the dead to pray for the repose of the soul by combining the mandala of Durgati-parisodhana with the other two mandalas. Thus, it is possible to say that mandalas are not always required to conform strictly to a directory, such as "Nispanna-yogavali" and others, but are allowed to combine freely as occasion calls.

4-1. A Descending Light

A torana is a decorative panel attached to the doorway of Buddhist and Hindu temples. It has the shape of a round arch or a turned-up semi-circle, with a miniature parasol on its top. A small figure of the main deity of the temple is placed in the centre of it. The parasol is raised high up over the head of the main deity as a sign of respect. The shape of a torana symbolizes the light which is emitted from the main deity.
Gaju, the pot-shaped pinnacle on the Newar religious buildings, has a long metallic belt hanging down to just above the main shrine of the building, where a torana is positioned. As mentioned above, the main deity installed in the main shrine was summoned into a gaju at the first stage of his appearance, and then he descended to the main shrine through the belt. The extreme point of the belt has the shape of a round arch turned upside down, and on it, we can see a golden repoussé of the main deity. Therefore, it too symbolizes a light emitted from the main deity in gaju.

Like the Brilliant Light of Svayambhu (Svayambhu-jyoti-rupa), the Holies show themselves in the guise of Brilliant Light at the first stages of their appearances. In Buddha's case, the Light which appeared in the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana must be represented by a colourless and transparent line. Then, in descending to the World of Form, he will show his material form more clearly.

4-2. Men Possessed by Gods

A well-known Newar Buddhist story includes an interesting episode - "a bejewelled caitya appeared in the sky emitting radiant light in all directions. ~ Then the caitya that appeared in the sky descended down to the Earth and merged into a sand caitya ~ . When the bejewelled caitya entered the sand caitya, the sand caitya was transformed into a bejewelled caitya". Here we find a Light descending to the Earth. And we know that the Light needs something like a foothold when it lands on the Earth, and it must possess the qualities of Light.

We must also examine the meaning of the verbs "to enter", "to merge into" and "to transform into", because they are closely related to the meditation called sadhana. In sadhana, the meditator is required to draw (or invite by offerings) "Jnana-sattva (the Eternal Being, the Knowledge Being)" near him, and then to join (or conjoin) it with "Samaya-sattva (the Conventional Being, the Symbolic Being, the meditator himself)"; according to the expression in "Sadhana-mala", like "water in water" or "water in milk". A famous Buddhist scholar explained that "Attracting is the invitation by offerings. There are two kinds : invitation from the Dharmadhatu Palace of Akanistha, and attraction from the worldly realms of the ten quarters", and there are three methods of conjoining, that is, "Drawing in is of three kinds : (1) the merging of the two mandalas [of residence and residents] by drawing into the image mandala and drawing into the retinue ; (2) the merging of the two sattvas [the yogin and pledged deity] by drawing into the Symbolic Being ; (and) (3) the descent of the Knowledge Being by drawing into the disciple who is a fitting vessel" ([Lessing & Wayman 1978:236, f. 33 and 34]).

Jnana-sattva appears in the form of a Bright Light in the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana. On the other hand, Samaya-sattva is, so to speak, a general name for the vessel into which a deity is invited. It becomes kalasa in the Newar Buddhist ritual, or gaju, caitya, human body, and sometimes mandala, in compliance with the worshipper's request. And in Nepal, when it is a human body, it means that "He (or She) is possessed by a deity".

In this Part 1, overview, I have expressed my opinions in outline form. I will give more detail
to my thoughts below in Part 2.

Part 2


No accurate record exists regarding the number of caityas (including stupas) to be found in the Kathmandu Valley. Ratnakaji Vajracarya, conducting a survey of caityas in Kathmandu City (including the Swayambhu area) during the period from 1984 through 1988, reported a total number of 1,282. The result of this survey was later published with a little amendment ([Ratnakaji 1998], the total number increased in 1351). This paper is supported by the data from Mr. Ratnakaji's survey cards. I have catalogued the data according to caityas' style, location, and chronological order, with the generous permission of Mr. Ratnakaji. I also confirmed 167 caityas in 1988 through a pilgrimage to all the caityas located in Bhaktapur (excluding Thimi). Mr. Padmasundar Sakya made comments on my research, and added some more caityas to my list ([Padmasundar & others V.S. 2046]), but I have not as yet found an opportunity to scrutinize them.

Hemaraj Sakya reported that approximately 900 caityas existed in Patan City (Lalitpur) in the year 1014 of the Newar calendar (N.S., Nepal Samvat), app. A.D. 1894 ([Hemaraj N.S. 1100:52]). I participated in Matayah the Lamp-procession in Patan held in 1985 and 1986 and walked the entire route twice. According to a rough estimate I made at that time, there are about the same number of caityas in Patan as there are in Kathmandu City, and I estimate that 500 more are located in areas other than in those two main cities. Based on this estimation, there would be about 3,200 to 3,400 caityas presently existing in the Kathmandu Valley.

Henry A. Oldfield pointed out in his book (issued in 1880) that "Throughout the Valley of Nipal (sic.) it is calculated that there are, in all, about two thousand Buddhist temples, the great majority of which are chaityas (= caityas). In Kathmandu and its dependencies there are about six hundred, in Patan six hundred and fifty, in Bhatgaon two hundred and fifty, in Kirtipur fifty, at Sambhunath (sic.) two hundred, and scattered about the Valley two hundred and fifty; making a total of two thousand" ([Oldfield 1974:II-217]). The number 250 in Bhatgaon (Bhaktapur) is assumed to include caityas located in Thimi. A Simple comparison of these reports suggests that almost 1,000 caityas have been built in the Kathmandu Valley over the past century.

Of the 1,282 caityas surveyed by Ratnakaji, the year of construction can be determined by inscription in 467 (36 percent) cases. The year of construction was also originally inscribed on another 120 caityas, but these inscriptions are now partly or entirely unreadable. According to the data, many caityas were built after N.S. 950, and mostly after N.S. 1000 (app. A.D. 1880, the year when Oldfield's book was published). The inscriptions identify as many as 341 being built after N.S. 1000. Though in Bhaktapur, only 33 cases (20 percent) have readable inscriptions showing the year of the construction, a similar trend with Kathmandu City is recognized.
As for the purpose of raising the caityas, many are inscribed with the standard phrase "By generating religious sentiment". On the other hand, there are many caityas expressing hope for the well-being of the soul in different words, including "Wishes for the Salvation of the Dead" and "Liberation from Wrong Destinations". Other inscriptions state that particular caityas were constructed in the names of deceased individuals.

Strong wishes or sincere prayers for the salvation of the dead were expressed in the inscriptions made at the time of construction. Hopes for the repose of the soul are also shown in the ritual of erecting a caitya. Ratnakaji says that 3 types of mandala - Vajradhatu-mandala, Dharmadhatu-Vagisvara-mandala, and Durgati-parisodhana-mandala - are combined and then laid out together on the place where a caitya is to be built (see [Ratnakaji 1980:30-39]). The first two mandalas were originated from a legend explaining how the first caitya (Svayambhu mahacaitya) appeared in the Kathmandu Valley. The third mandala is used in praying for the repose of the soul.

"Caitya" is called ci-baha or ci-bhaha, meaning a small Buddhist monastery, or ci-baha-dyah the main deity of a small Buddhist monastery in the Newari language. A major Buddhist monastery is called baha, whereas ci-baha is regarded as a smaller one. "Ci-" is the diminutive prefix in Newari. Mary S. Slusser has pointed out, "Indeed, many of the caitya pedestals are often veritable temples upon whose truncated roof rests the plain hemisphere of the anda (a dome of the caitya)" ([Slusser 1980:161]).

John K. Locke places his focus on a type of monastery called a "modern baha" and states that they are small shrines, much smaller than the usual bahas, and thus not eligible to be referred to as bahas. He says that the appearance of these "modern bahas" can be correlated with the economic decline of the Newar Buddhist community, and that this type of monastery was "founded or built within the past one hundred to one hundred fifty years" ([Locke 1985:5-6]).

It appears that caitya construction in the Kathmandu Valley became popular around N.S. 950. This coincides with the period during which many of the "modern bahas", as termed by Locke, were built. A commonality of nature is seen between the caityas constructed for the repose of the dead and these modern bahas because, caityas are small er Buddhist temples. David N. Gellner called them "lineage monasteries" for remembering the dead of the clan (see [Gellner 1987: 373-377, 403-408]). I think the economic decline of the Newar Buddhist community must have been related to the close of Newars' trade with Tibet.


A text named "Deva-pratima-laksana" ("PL") cited by Jagadis Candra Regmi ([Regmi V.S. 2030:188-190], [Regmi V.S.2039:160-161]) contains a description of an architectural plan for caitya under the title of "Caitya-laksana-vidhi" ("CLV"). Philologically speaking, the correct name of "PL" is "Sambuddha-bhasita-pratima-laksana-vivarani", which is the commentary to "Dasatala- nyagrodha-buddha-pratima-laksana" ("DNPL"). The enlarged edition of "DNPL" was translated into Chinese in 1741. "CLV" is also found in the 49th chapter of Jagaddarpana's
"Acarya-kriya-samuccaya" under the title of "caitya-laksana". The caitya drawn by this draft (see [Yoshizaki 1989]) shows us interesting similarities to the Nepalese caitya in many points of its design.

But there are some differences between them, differences which are, in fact, unique features of the Nepalese caityas. For example, they have elaborate designs in the plinth, the variety of which is not found in any other Buddhist country (see, for example, [Gutschow 1997], and my paper [30], "The Nepalese Caitya Game of Karma"). And the eyes depicted on the four sides of the cube (harmika) above the dome (garbha or andā) of Nepalese caityas are also unique. These eyes have been interpreted as those of Adi Buddha (the primordial Buddha), or of the Fifth Buddha who dwells inside a caitya, or of the Catur-maharajas who dwell at the cube of a caitya and are gazing at the Buddhist world. I will propose another two interpretations of these eyes. One is that they are the eyes of the Buddhist Goddess Usnisavijaya. According to "Sadhana-mala", she has three faces and three eyes, and "reside(s) within the womb of a Caitya (caitya-guha-garbha-shiha)" ([Bhattacharyya 1968:214], [Bhattacharyya 1968b:394]).

The Newar Buddhists perform the Old Age rites named Budha Jankwa three times in their life, when and if he or she reached the age of [1] seventy-seven years, seven months and seven days, [2] eighty-eight years, eight months and eight days and [3] ninety-nine years, nine months and nine days. In the first rite, they revere the Goddess Grahamatrika who decides the fate of the person and brings good luck to him or her. In the second rite, they worship Vasundhara who is the Goddess of Wealth. She gives richness in life to her worshippers. In the third rite, they honor the Goddess Usnisavijaya, who assures a long life to her devotees.

The Newars perform these rites with great pomp and show, dedicating a painting of Usnisavijaya within a stupa or a big caitya (for examples [Pal 1978: plates 9, 118., paintings of Bham-ratha rite]). Sometimes another two Goddesses, Grahamatrika and Vasundhara, are also depicted in the painting. The stupa is often identified with Svayambhu mahacaitya. In front of the stupa are the scenes of the rite and the portrait of the donor(s) riding on a chariot for the celebration. So I tentatively call these paintings by the name of Jankwa Paubha (paintings of the Old Age rites).

As to the canonical authority of these Old Age rites, I will present "Grahamatrikadi-svastýayana", the Blessing of the Goddess Grahamatrika and other goddesses, the chapter 44 of "Acarya-kriya-samuccaya" (or simply "Kriya-samuccaya"). The author of this text says "I will tell you the blessings of three goddesses and their mandalas to abandon bad luck, to destroy the pain of poverty, and to ensure of long life". After explaining in detail the effectiveness of making the mandala of Grahamatrika to abandon bad luck, and that of Vasundhara to destroy the pain of poverty, the text refers to the mandala of the Goddess Usnisavijaya and says "If a man who is determined to live only seven days or seven years, will make one thousand caityas or, if that's not possible, one hundred caityas from the mixture of clay and the pigments which remained after the making (painting) of her mandala, he will be able to live seven years or seventy years, and he will live out the allotted span of life" (This translation is based on five Sanskrit manuscripts and one Tibetan text. I won't present the bulk of their data here or henceforth, because it is irrelevant.
to this paper).

Is it a reckless interpretation, pulling the figure of one hundred thousand caityas from the above mentioned two figures, one thousand caityas and one hundred caityas? The product of these two figures is somehow one hundred thousand. As is suggested by this new figure, the Newar Buddhists have been keeping to the old custom of laksa-caitya-vrata, the observance of making one hundred thousand caityas in the month of Gumla. During this month, the devotee and his/her fellow members make one hundred thousand small clay caityas, and on the last day of the month they submerge them in a river. If, by chance, a new caitya is under construction near where the clay caityas are being made, they will store the clay caityas in the new caitya. They believe that by this observance they will bring their life to completion, and be released from all the sorrows of this life.

There are many examples of paintings of one hundred thousand caityas in Nepal (see [Pal 1978: plates 79, 100, 129]). When comparing them with Jankwa Paubhas, countless small caityas are dotted around the central figure of Goddess Usnisavijaya in the stupa in the paintings of one hundred thousand caityas. Clearly we can recognize the wishes of long life in the paintings of one hundred thousand caityas. Everyone wants to have good luck and riches in one's life, and to have a long life. So the Newars perform the Maca Jankwa rite (the rite of first feeding for a newly-born infant). On this occasion, the rite is performed to get rid of bad luck and get good luck in one's life. They also annually observe Vasundhara-vrata in hope of obtaining wealth on the day of Gatila in the month of Yemla (or Yamla), and they perform the laksa-caitya-vrata in the month of Gumla. On the other hand, Jankwa Paubhas tell us that we have to be thankful for one's run of good luck in life, and to abandon the desire for wealth and long life.

We can see a further motivation in these paintings. As I have pointed out, almost 1,000 caityas have been built in the Kathmandu Valley over the past century. It means that nearly ten caityas have been constructed every year on the average in these one hundred years in the Valley. So, paradoxically speaking, wishing to prosper Buddha Dharma for ten thousand years, the Newar Buddhists are constructing caityas from generation to generation to cover the Valley with one hundred thousand caityas. The valley of Kathmandu is nothing but the canvas for the laksa-caitya paintings. The eyes of 3,400 caityas in the Valley have been intently watching the cooperated work of generations. I heard that His Majesty's Government of Nepal strongly prohibited the construction of caityas in the valley of Kathmandu in 1988. I will watch the course of events with interest.


Vajracaryas are the priests of traditional Newar Buddhism. Only they can perform rituals for clients. The basic ritual performed by Vajracarya priests consists of two parts, Gurumandala-puja (the rite of a Guru-mandala) and Kalasa-puja (also Kalasarcana-puja, the rite of a water pot). At the beginning of the ritual, a Vajracarya priest recites Samkalpa-vakya (a statement on the
intention of the ritual). In this statement, not only does he declare his aim in performing the ritual for his client, but also states his position in the Buddhist World (Bhajana-loka, the world as a vessel) and fixes the date according to the Buddhist conception of Time. Then he proceeds to perform Gurumandala-puja, and constructs the whole Buddhist World in detail, placing Mt. Meru at its center. He ascends to the summit of Mt. Meru where Guru Vajrasattva, not Indra, presides, and transforms himself into Vajrasattva. Next, in the performance of Kalasa-puja, he imagines the heaven of Akanishtha-Bhuvana (the highest heaven of the World of Form) far above Mt. Meru. The kalasa (water pot) is a symbol of this heaven. And, as he has already become Vajrasattva, he offers his entire world to Buddha(s), inviting Buddha(s) into the heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana, that is, into the water pot. When the Buddha(s) is/are in the water pot, he places a vajra, which is tied with a five-coloured thread, on the water pot, and holds the other end of the thread in his hand. This thread is a symbol of the passage through which Buddha(s) and the Vajracarya priest (i.e., Vajrasattva) commute (or ascend and descend) between this world and the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven via the summit of Mt. Meru.

Hemavajra Vajracarya said that "the main aim of the kalasa puja is to make the deity present in the kalasa by means of a sadhana and then through the consecration (abhiseka) of the kalasa to bring about a participation in nirvana itself" (translation from Locke 1980:96 based on Amoghavajra N.S. 1101: preface). Ratnakaji Vajracarya also said that "I published this text (of Kalasa puja) to avoid any mistakes when we (Vajracaryas) practice a sadhana required for a performance of the ritual" ([Ratnakaji 1988: preface]). Vajracarya priests themselves regard the ritual as a kind of sadhana meditation, therefore, John K. Locke called this ritual process "a ritualization of the sadhana" ([Locke 1980:96, 120]).

Sadhana is a yogic meditation in Indian Tantrism or in esoteric Buddhism. The meditator (sadhaka, yogin) visualizes a tantric deity, and unites himself with the deity in his mysterious practice of meditation. The texts of sadhana, such as "Sadhana-mala", say that deities first appear in the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven ([Bhattacharyya 1968b, nos. 17, 26, 46, 128, 217, and 251]), though the meditator is always required to construct the World of Mt. Meru in his preparatory steps of meditation.

The pot-shaped ornament (gaju) placed on the roof-tops of Newar Buddhist monasteries has the same symbolic function as the water pot (kalasa) used in Kalasa puja. The deity is summoned into the gaju, and the long, narrow metallic belt extended from the gaju has the same symbolic function as the five-coloured thread. Thus, the gaju is also the symbol of the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven. Sometimes Newar Buddhist monasteries stand at much the same height as the private houses, but ideally, they tower above neighboring buildings like the skyscrapers in New York City. That way, if, for example, an elderly Newar encounters a funeral procession, or accidentally touches a stray dog on the street, they immediately look up at the gaju over the roof of private houses (see [Hemaraj N.S.1089:32]). By simply gazing at it, they can purify themselves, because it represents an ascent into the purest world, the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven, in their imagination.
Concerning the water pot (kalasa) used in Kalasa puja, John K. Locke says "The kalasa itself is always of metal - gold or silver if possible - but usually brass and sometimes copper. Into the kalasa the priest places five grains of parched rice, five grains of uncooked, red rice, some ghee and honey, a jasmine flower, a peacock feather and a sprig of long grass such as is used to make the ordinary house brooms. Water, either from the Bagmati or the Visnumati River, will be poured into the kalasa at the appropriate moment during the ritual. On top of the kalasa he places a small saucer containing a few grains of uncooked rice, a round betel nut and a coin" ([Locke 1980: 98]). The water poured into the kalasa is called mandakini-jala (water of the Galaxy or the Milky Way, the Ganges flowing in heaven) in the texts of Kalasa puja. Almost the same descriptions with the texts of Kalasa puja are found in the 14th chapter of "Acarya-kriya-samuccaya", kalasadhvivasa vidhi, and Abhayakaragupta's "Vajravali mandalopayika". After Kalasa puja is completed, the water is cast into a river, from which it will eventually flow into the Ganges in India.

Locke continues to say that "When all these arrangements have been completed, the priest begins the performance of the kalasa puja" ([Locke 1980:98]), and he (the priest) invites the deity into the kalasa, which is placed on the seat of a lotus flower. Next he puts his vajra, tied to a five-coloured thread (pasuka or panca-sutraka), on the kalasa, and holds the other end of the thread in his hand. This thread becomes the passage through which the priest will have a spiritual interaction with the deity who has been invited into the kalasa.

The formative variations of kalasa and pasuka are found in many aspects of Newar art. The water pot-shaped ornament (gaju or gajur), positioned on the apex of Newar religious buildings, consists of five elements, basically - [1] a water pot in which the deity dwells, [2] a seat of lotus petals, upon which the deity sits, [3] a bell by which the deity is summoned, [4] a small element which symbolizes the saucer containing a few grains etc., a white jasmine, a conch and a parasol (they are placed on the water pot used in Kalasa puja), and [5] a small projection in the shape of a cintamani (a fabulous gem which supposedly yields anything wished) which represents the Light emitted from the deity or Buddha inhabiting the water pot (see [Hemaraj N.S. 1089:31-32] , and for illusts. of gaju, see [Slusser 1982: plate 109], [Gutschow, Kölver and Shresthacarya 1987:277, illust. 674]). The metal belt called dhvaja is hung from the gaju, which is one of the formative variations of pasuka. A half-circle facing downward at the end of the belt represents the Light of the deity or Buddha. As will be discussed later, the torana (the decorative panel over the doorway of a temple) is also a formative variation of this Light. It has the shape of a semicircle or a arch with a pointed top like a cintamani. This is frozen Light emitted from the Buddha who is enshrined in the main shrine of the monastery. In this case, the narrow passage connecting the outside and the courtyard of the monastery corresponds to the belt or pasuka.

Thus, Newar religious art shows us many formative variations of the kalasa and pasuka which symbolize both the inducement of a deity into a water pot and the subsequent spiritual encounter.
with the deity. Even a glance at a caitya also reveals a kalasa and pasuka in its design. The dome (garbha or anda) of a caitya and the cube on it (harmika) resemble the shape of a water pot. A jewel (mani) being placed on the summit of a caitya represents the Light of a Buddha. The thirteen-fold disks (cakravali) are a parasol to be held above noblemen, or for a Vajradhara in particular. Sometimes we see the parasol inserted into the kalasa used in Kalasa puja. Either flags hanging down in all directions from the top of a caitya, or hara and arddha-hara (full- and half-garlands of jewelry) attached to the dome, represent the pasuka. The whole body of a caitya rests on the motif of a lotus, which is the seat for the deity in the water pot.

The eyes depicted on the cube (harmika) of a caitya and of a stupa are now re-interpreted to be the eye(s) of the deity or Buddha who is present in the water pot. We do not normally find eyes painted on the water pot used in Kalasa puja, but it is clearly found on the "large silver kalasa into which the spirit of the deity (Bunga-dya) is induced" during the period of repainting of the statue (see [Locke 1980: illust. 48] .). Mr. Iain Sinclair informed me that sometimes eyes are painted on the pots used in other kinds of kalasa-puja.

The Newar Buddhist myth in which the Bright Light of Svayambhu emerged in the valley of Kathmandu is the mythological archetype of the Kalasa puja. In ancient times, the Valley was a vast lake. One day, a Brilliant Light suddenly emerged on the surface of the lake. Bodhisattva Manjusri came from China to worship this mysterious Light, and drained water from the lake to enable people to live there. The Valley was no more than a vast natural water pot in which the Bright Light of Svayambhu entered and then emerged. The Newars are, so to speak, living in this natural water pot even now. From our point of view, Kathmandu is a beautiful and "bowl-shaped valley, but through a Buddha's eye, perhaps the valley looks more like a tea cup; its inhabitants are living on the membrane skimming the surface of a milk tea, with a large amount of water lying below. The agricultural richness of the Valley is surely due to deep reserves below the Valley.

The Assan Tole Square is the most crowded open-air vegetable market in Kathmandu City. Every year in late autumn, on the night of Sakimana punhi (the full-moon day in the month of Kachala or Kartik), devotees assemble in front of the temple of Anna-purna (meaning "abundant food"), which stands in the Tole, and celebrate a good harvest for the year. They draw a picture of a big water pot called purna-kalasa (a water pot of abundance) with vegetables, beans, rice and so on (the smaller one is drawn in Sigha Baha, Nagha Tole in Kathmandu City), and play devotional music. The young men scramble for a fish in front of the temple. It is said that the man who gets it will be blessed with children in his married life. At the site of Manjusri, behind Svayambhu Mahacaitya, devotees offer many oil lamps to Manjusri far into the night.


One of the Newar religious songs, "Jaya Namah Sri (Buddha Descends to Lumbini)" describes the procession of Buddha Sakyamuni through the forest of Lumbini, where he was born.
According to Siegfried Lienhard's translation, "He (Buddha) arrives (at the grove of Lumbini) and causes Brahma to sweep the ground before him; Sarasvati to spread a carpet; Kubera, the king of the town Ala(m)ka, to throw about money and wealth; and causes the god Vayu to fly his banner; the god Agni to burn incense; the king of the Nagas Varuna, to make streams of water flow; Mahadeva to beat his drum; Narayana to blow his conch; King Yama to take his staff in hand and clear the way; Indra to hold an umbrella over him; crowds of monks to fan him with chowries; heaven to rain a shower of flowers. He arrives with feelings of joy. He arrives, borne by Seshanaga, together with Nairrira, " ([Lienhard 1984:19]).

"Spreading a carpet" is a common scene in Newar customs. Basa Layegu, which means "welcoming (nobles or deities) with a red or white carpet", is usually seen in major religious ceremonies. In the festival of Cakan-dyah jatra (the circumambulation or procession of the deity named Cakan-dyah) held in Kathmandu City, the deity is carried along a red carpet at the Old Royal Palace, Hanuman Dhoka. The Royal Kumari in Kathmandu City walks on a white carpet whenever she officially goes out. And the elderly celebrated in their Old Age rite, Budha Jankva, sit on a small chariot, and travel around streets throughout downtown of Kathmandu City. Below the chariot, a white carpet is spread, and the elderly is treated like a god. We can also see the chariot riding along a white carpet in their memorial paintings.

Although we cannot actually see the carpet, it is often suggested by the special situation. In the song cited above, the gods "sweep the ground", and "make flowing streams of water", to lead the way for Buddha Sakyamuni. When it is time for the daily worship (nitya puja) in Jana Baha (one of the most famous Buddhist monasteries in Kathmandu City), the priest exits the main shrine of Karunamaya (Avalokitesvara), and circles the courtyard to worship the caityas and other sacred monuments. At this time, his sisters or female relatives sweep the ground and sprinkle water before him. In the ceremony for receiving a bride ("Las kusa"), the bride walks on a straw mat when entering the bridegroom's house, being guided by his female relatives, who sweep the ground and sprinkle water before her (see, for example, fig. of "Reception of a Bride", [Chitrakar 1984:63]). In both of these cases, the women do not actually unfurl a carpet, but the Newars can easily imagine it there.

The welcoming carpet corresponds to the five-coloured thread used in Kalasa puja. Tristram Riley-Smith interprets "this notion (the preceptor's [sic] identification with a visualized deity) is dramatized by the five-coloured thread (panca-sutraka) which extends from the priest himself to the ritual object which is to contain the deity. At the very least, the priest is regarded as a channel through which the divinity travels, ~ " ([Riley-Smith 1989:239]). However, I would say "the priest regards the five-coloured thread as a channel through which the divinity travels". Sometimes the colour of the thread is the same as the colour of the invited deity. The thread for Green Tara is dyed green, similarly yellow for Vasundhara, white for Amoghapasa Lokesvara, and red for Ajimas (the local mother goddesses). The five-coloured thread used in Kalasa puja then transforms into the long and slender metal belt which is hanging from the gaju being placed on the roof-top of the sacred building. The belt shines brightly, because the deity invited in it is always shining.
One of the main implements of a Vajracarya priest is Vajra-ghanta, the Adamantine Bell. The Bell mentioned in "Vajra-vajraghanta-laksana", the chap. 50 of "Acarya-kiyam-samuccaya", has a kalasa (water pot) and strings of jewels extending from the water pot as part of the design (see [Yoshizaki 1980]). Since this Bell is rung to call forth the gods or Buddhas ([Hemaraj N.S.1089:31]), there is good reason for the ornamentation depicting a water pot and strings. The caitya mentioned in "Caitya-lakshana", the chap. 49 of "Acarya-kiyam-samuccaya", also has the design of a kalasa and ropes of flags extended from the top of the caitya in every direction ([Yoshizaki 1989]).

The paintings named dhvajavarohana (sic.) ([Pal 1977: fig.6, 179], see also [Pal 1978: fig.9]) depict a band of white cloth and a gaju being dedicated to a stupa. The chap. 28 of "Acarya-kiyam-samuccaya", dhvajady-avaropana (pratistha) ("the dedication of dhvaja and so on"), explains: "like a kalasa, the dhvaja (a flag, a banner) is filled with divine nectar called amrta, which is a symbol of Buddha's perfect wisdom. ~ In this ceremony, the dedicator imagines a caitya born from [a sound of] bhrum, and decorates it with a parasol and many ornaments, and then fastens to it flowers and a five-coloured thread". The large-scale ceremonies of dhvajadyavaropana are seldom held in the Kathmandu Valley, but the offering of a miniature dhvaja to a small caitya is found every year during the month of Gumla.

The five-coloured thread used in Kalasa puja is a passage for the priest and the Buddhist deity. The thread symbolically connects this world and the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven, which is the highest heaven of the World of Form, and there the deity shows his material appearance for the first time. Looking upon the gaju and the dhvaja, devotees anticipate that these may miraculously transform into a ladder for climbing up to the World of Buddhas.


Siegfried Lienhard said that the Newar folksongs have "been grouped into four principal sections, namely: Religious Poetry (I), Songs about Love and Marriage (II), Epic Poetry (III), and Didactic and Enigmatic Verses (IV). They do, however, overlap as regard subject matter and function" ([Lienhard 1984:5-6]). The above mentioned song, "Buddha Descends to Lumbini", which he classifies as (I), describes the pictorial scene of Buddha Sakyamuni's procession through the forest of Lumbini. The scene is often depicted in posters being on the market and mural paintings in Buddhist monasteries (see, for example, [Pal 1978: fig.10], [Slusser 1982: fig.175]).

In the annual chariot festival of the White Avalokitesvara (Karunamaya in Jana Baha) in Kathmandu City, ten of the eleven deities, excepting Sarasvati, are found around the small shrine on the chariot, which temporarily houses the image of Karunamaya. John K. Locke explains "The shrine itself has four doorways and a series of ten panels depicting the ten Guardians of the Directions: Indra, Yamaraj, Varuna, Kubera, Agni, Nairityaraja, Vayabya, Brahma, Mahadeva, and Narayana" ([Locke 1980:222-223]). One Newar Buddhist informed me that the female deity Sarasvati is never placed on the chariot, but, concealing herself, she spreads out the carpet in welcome at the head of the procession. The devotees give full play to their imagination in order to see her as the chariot passes by.

Even after Buddha Sakyamuni attained Nirvana (the Supreme and Total Release from the temporal existence), his disciple Ananda never abandoned his daily faithful services to Sakyamuni. He swept and cleaned Buddha Sakyamuni's seat, he offered flowers, water, perfumes, and lamps. He served as if the Buddha Sakyamuni were still there. Almost the same service is performed as a major part of the daily worship for a main deity in Buddhist monasteries around the world. The daily worship in a monastery repeatedly allows us the joyous occasion of meeting face to face with the Buddha Sakyamuni. The song, "Buddha Descends to Lumbini", says "He (Sakyamuni) arrives with [feelings of] joy". The original word of "joy" is "ananda". The song, while surely religious poetry, is at the same time shaded with enigmas.


The highest caste of the Newar Buddhists consists of two groups, Vajracaryas and Sakyas. They may share a communal table and are able to intermarry. Despite these instances of amicable interaction, a tacit understanding holds that Vajracaryas are always higher than Sakyas in social and religious status (cf. [Gellner 1992:258-266]).

We have not always observed a friendly relationship between them in the history of Newar Buddhism. Once, many Vajracaryas asserted their superiority to others, refusing to accept the "unclean" boiled rice offered by the Buddhist laity, save for that of the Sakyas. They later rejected the Sakyas' cooked rice as well, citing it as being unclean, too (see [Rosser 1966:105-134]). One Sakya man angrily expressed to me, "Did the Buddha Sakyamuni consider the purity or impurity of the caste when he accepted offerings? The Buddha Sakyamuni was always indifferent about it. The troubles we now face stem historically from the fact that Newar Buddhism adopted the caste system unwillingly. Because we Sakya monks are descendants of the Buddha Sakyamuni, we never worry about whether the boiled rice offered to us is pure or not. Only the elitist Vajracaryas show concern for the purity of their caste".

To study Newar Buddhism, we have to observe it from two different stand points: that of the Vajracaryas and that of the Sakyas. One Buddhist affair, though it may seem trifling, is sometimes valued differently by these two groups. So I translated Mr. Badriratna Vajracarya's book.
"Buddhism of Nepal" into the Japanese language with the subtitle "from the viewpoint of Vajracaryas".

In his English book, he classified Sakyas into some types, and explained that their secular occupations were "to work in gold, silver, ruby, precious stones etc." ([Badri Ratna 1986:96]). But he made no reference to their religious role in Newar Buddhism. He was unconcerned with the Sakyas' claim that they were descendants of the Buddha Sakyamuni, and that they were Buddhist monks. On the other hand, it seems to me that Sakyas themselves are not aware of the importance of their claim. In fact, Sakyas are now in a vague position among the Newar Buddhist society. But they often have a clear opinion against Vajracaryas, just like the Sakya man cited above.

It is quite difficult to say whether or not monkhood has any religious functions in Newar Buddhism. Like Sakyas who insist that they are descendants of the Buddha Sakyamuni, Vajracaryas also have legends of their origin. One of which tells us, according to Mr. Badri Ratna, "The Lord (sic., Vajrasattva, the originator of Vajrayana Buddhism) has been observed by the followers of Mahayana as their chief and adamant holy teacher. With the lineage of the same Bajrasatwa, Bajracharyas have been performing their duties as priests in Nepalese Buddhist sectors" ([Badri Ratna 1986:17]). We find no reference to monkhood in his comment. But he says on another page that "King Prachanda Deva came to Nepal from the land of Gauda, and after getting a darshana (audience), paying homage and performing puja (worship) of the Goddess Guheswari and the selfless venoud Swayambhu, in the form of flame, turned himself a Vikshu (sic., bhikshu, monk) called Shanta Shree; then he got back to Punarbriti Grihastha (going back to the state of laity) and got Diksha (a tantric initiation) from a Bajracharya, Gunakar by name and became a Bajracharya as known (sic.) Shantikaracharya (the founder of the Newar Vajrayana Buddhism), ~ " ([Badri Ratna 1986:36]).

Today, Vajracaryas follow Santikara's way to become full-fledged priests, but Sakyas follow the same way only as far as the Punarbriti Grihastha. (Mr. Iain Sinclair informed me that Alex von Rospatt, "The Transformation of the Monastic Ordination (pravrajya) Into a Rite of Passage in Newar Buddhism", in J. Gengnagel, U. Hüsken and S. Raman eds., "Words and Deeds: Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia", Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, pp.199-234., is the best study to date on this subject.)

Roughly speaking, the history of Buddhism around the world has essentially two tendencies, that is, monkhood Buddhism and priesthood Buddhism. Newar Buddhism, as a matter of course, usually follows the priesthood approach to Buddhism (see [Allen 1973]). On the other hand, Theravada Buddhism, introduced in the late 20th century in Nepal, has shown its support of monkhood Buddhism. The Newar followers of Theravada Buddhism are mainly Sakyas, with a lesser number of Vajracaryas (see [Hartmann 1993:75-77]). It is likely that Theravada Buddhism has provided this new identity of monkhood to Sakyas ([Yoshizaki 1990:208-209], [Yoshizaki 1998:237-240]).

The Book "Buddhism of Nepal" written by Mr. Badri Ratna Vajracarya, a distinguished scholar of Newar Buddhism, was published for the occasion of the 15th General Conference of the World
Fellowship of Buddhists held in Nepal in 1986. Interestingly, the financial support for publishing it was supplied from a leading Theravada association in Nepal.

[8] The Etymology of "O-bon" or "Ulambana" (Nihon-Nepal Kyoukai Kaihou, No.120, September 1993, pp.4-5.)

The Newar Buddhist myth in which the Bright Light of Swayambhū emerged in the valley of Kathmandu is a mythological archetype of Kalasa puja (the ritual of a water pot). According to "Swayambhū Purana", in ancient times the valley of Kathmandu was a vast lake. One day, a Brilliant Light suddenly emerged on the lake. Bodhisattva Manjusri came from China to worship the mysterious Light, and drained the lake, creating the Kathmandu Valley and allowing people to live there. The Valley was no more than a vast natural water pot into which the Bright Light of Swayambhū entered and then emerged. The Newars are, so to speak, living in this natural water pot even now.

In ancient China, educated gentlemen looked for an ideal paradise named "Hu-zhong-tian", which means "Utopia in a Flask". "To live in the Flask" ("Hu-zhong-ju") was the ultimate goal for their spiritual life. The word "valley" is "pen-di" in Chinese, or "bon-ti" in Japanese, both meaning literally "land ( -di, or -ti) like a shallow dish (pen-, or bon-)". "Pen" in Chinese, and "bon" in Japanese, "shallow dish", are also found in the words of "pen-jing" in Chinese ("jing", landscape), and "bon-sai" in Japanese ("sai", vegetation). Although these are miniatures of a landscape or vegetation in a shallow dish, they are equal to their real counterparts in essence. When the educated gentlemen entered and tended to these microcosmic worlds, they experienced spiritual freedom in their soul.

In China and Japan, the annual festival of "yu-lan-pen" in Chinese, "u-la-bon" or "o-bon" in Japanese, is held by the Buddhists. These words were once said to originate from the word "ulambana", which means "the suffering (of the deceased) from being hanged upside down". Buddhists make many offerings to allow the deceased freedom from "the suffering from being hanged upside down" on this day. But recently some scholars are of the opinion that "a shallow dish" upon which to heap the offerings is actually the original etymology of these words.

Referring to the pot-shaped ornament (kalasa) on the roof top of Hindu temples in India, Stella Kramrisch said that "in the Kalasa - sun, all the gods are merged in the Deathless; ~ " ([Kramrisch 1976: II-355]). If we choose to reconsider the relation between our materialistic world and the world as a receptacle with a more open view from the ancient Asian culture, the symbolism of the water pot in Newar Buddhism will give us a good start.


John K. Locke says "the kalasa is a small water pot or flask, usually with a spout, into which
the deity is summoned and then worshipped" ([Locke 1980:95]). As I have pointed out earlier, the water pot has many formative variants in Newar Buddhist art. We can range these water pots from the largest to the smallest -

Kathmandu Valley ⊆ Old city area surrounded by city walls ⊆ Buddhist monastery ⊆
Stupa ⊆ Caitya (Svayambhunath Mahacaitya or Stupa ⊆ small Caityas called Cibaha in
Newari) ⊆ Kalasa (a water pot used in the Buddhist ritual), and Gaju
- so that the small pots are nested within the larger ones respectively, just like Russian dolls.

More examples are enumerated in this list. The Buddhist ritual implement Vajra has a design of a water pot on its grip, and Vajraghanta is designated as an upside-down water pot ([Yoshizaki 1980]). The Sukunda (Newar ceremonial lamp) will be discussed later. A Nepalese ink-well ([Slusser and Fuller 1987]) and "a Newari ceremonial necklace" called tayo or tayah ([Prem 2001]) also have water pot designs. All of these are related to the myth of origin of the Kathmandu Valley mentioned in "Svayambhu-purana".

The Newar Buddhist monasteries called Baha are surrounded by high, thick walls made of brick. As a result, the walls create a closed courtyard, that is, an exact representation of the inner world of a water pot. We can realize this spatial device easily, when we raise our eyes towards the sky at the center of the courtyard. On the other hand, a ground plan of the Baha monastery consists of a closed courtyard and a narrow doorway. We can imagine it as a longitudinal section of the water pot. Thus, we will realize that Baha monasteries have a intention to represent an inner world of the water pot, three-dimensionally and two-dimensionally.

The walls which once surrounded the old city were also made with the same intention. The city walls defined the boundary between "pure and impure", or "alive and dead", in the Newar culture (see [Gellner 1984:118-119]). In the annual event called "Upaku vane[gu], to go once a year on the twelfth day of yam-la (bhadra or asvina) month on a pilgrimage around the city of Kathmandu, done by those who suffered a death in the family during the previous year" ([Manandhar & Vergati 1986:19]), the pilgrims walk along the outer limits of the old city. Mary S. Slusser shows the route on a map in her book, "Nepal Mandala" ([Slusser 1982:II-Map.7]). The route of the pilgrimage clearly illustrates an upside-down water pot with a spout. Although they no longer consistently proceed along the city walls that once existed, we can understand that the old city area represented the inner sacred world of the water pot, just like the courtyards of the Baha monasteries.

A stupa has a smaller-sized water pot than that of the Baha monasteries. In Newar Buddhism, stupa and caitya are distinguished by size. Locke says "Caitya and stupa mean the same thing basically. However, in Nepal the word caitya is often used for small monuments and stupa for large monuments such as the four stupas at the cardinal points of the city of Patan. Despite this the great stupa at Svayambhu is usually called the Svayambhu Mahacaitya" ([Locke 1985:485 n.21]). Scholars agree with his explanation (for example, [Slusser 1982:150], [Huntington 2002:16]).

On the other hand, caitya is called ci-baha in Newari, and means "Baha in small size" ("ci-" is a diminutive prefix). Therefore, the word ci-baha refers to those monuments which are smaller
than both stupa and Baha. In fact, these cibahas are constructed on the model of Svayambhu Mahacaitya. Therefore, we can point out that cibahas are smaller or miniature caityas compared to the Maha (large) caitya of Svayambhu. Niels Gutschow said that "(by circumambulating cibahas of Bhaktapur,) the urban space in a sense stands for an abstract super-ciba[h]a" ([Gutschow 1980:141]). I suppose that his "super-ciba[h]a" is the ideal water pot created by the city walls that once surrounded the old city area of Bhaktapur, and perhaps ultimately, the Kathmandu Valley as the original water pot, from which Svayambhu-juotirupa emerged in ancient time.

There are some examples of caityas which contain other smaller caityas. A caitya stands at the east margin of a pond named Siddha Pokhari, which is located on the west end of Bhaktapur City. This Kutagara-caitya (palace-shaped caitya) was in bad condition when I visited it in September 1988, and I noticed an old Asoka-caitya within the damaged Kutagara-caitya. But it had been repaired before I revisited the site in January 1992. After the repairs, I could no longer see the Asoka-caitya. Slusser says that "Stupas are not only repaired and renovated, they are often periodically enlarged; they are onions, so to speak, of which only the core is original. Thus, if there were evolutionary changes in the character of the drum, dome, or finial, the newly renovated stupa was very likely made to conform to the existing vogue" ([Slusser 1982:1-151]). It is very likely that all of the existing caityas contain an older caitya inside, or will eventually be contained within a newly constructed caitya. The hundred thousand miniature clay caityas made during the month of Gomla are to be cast into a river, but if a new caitya is being constructed nearby, they are to be kept within it.

Sometimes the Newar Buddhists white-wash their caityas with a mixture of lime and powdered brick. This practice is called Sakhapa in Newari, and "Svayambhu-purana" recommends it as being a meritorious act. Adrian Snodgrass says that "The visible dome of the garbha is enclosed within a series of invisible counterparts, lying one within the other in concentric layers (of the painted mixture), each typifying an indefinite number of domes representing the heavens and the states of meditational consciousness that make up the supernal realms. The path to Buddhahood leads upwards through their successive summits" ([Snodgrass 1992:338]). Snodgrass asserts that this white-washing of the caitya symbolically reveals the invisible domes with the visible, and layer by layer leads the performer to ultimate Buddhahood.

The number of caityas is increasing all over the Valley, as I have already mentioned. But at the same time, the smaller caityas are being contained within the larger ones like Russian dolls, and finally will be nested within Svayambhu Mahacaitya.

The Newar Buddhists identified this water pot with the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven. To be exact, the symbol of the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven is not the water pot itself, but the water in it. A water pot without water is not an object of worship. The Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven is the highest heaven of the World of Form. Beyond it are the World of Formlessness and the world of Buddha(s). They have no materials or space at all, so we can not locate them "above" the World of Form. Being invited from the World of Buddha(s), the Buddha "descends" to the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana via the World of Formlessness, and appears in his material form for the first time there.
The Brilliant Light of Swayambhu (Swayambhu-jyoti-rupa) emerged from the ancient lake in origin myth of the Kathmandu Valley. The Light appeared in visible form from top to bottom on the surface of the lake. Similarly, after completing the annual repainting of the images of Karunamaya, they are always revealed face first, as the white cloth which covered the whole body of the images is taken off. When a new caitya is constructed, the same scene is observed in its consecrating rite. At the auspicious moment in the rite, the white cloth which covered the whole body of the newly constructed caitya is respectfully taken off from top to bottom. The same top-to-bottom fashion may be true in Kalasa-puja, in which the deity appears from the water pot. In the Buddhist meditational or iconographic texts, such as "Sadhana-mala", the description of the deities always starts from the face and moves downward.

In ancient India, the water pot was a symbol of the womb. So, the emergence from the water pot represented birth from a womb. There are many Siva-lingas in the Kathmandu Valley. They represent a sexual union of Siva's linga (male organ) and his consort's yoni (female organ) from the inside of the womb. Therefore, the place where a Siva-linga stands is nothing but an inner world of the womb of Siva's consort. There are many caityas which look like Siva-lingas in the Valley. And it is said that the Siva-linga enshrined in the holy site Pasupati wears Buddha's crown once a year on the day of Mukha-astami. By wearing this crown, the Siva's linga transforms itself immediately into Buddha's linga, and the Kathmandu Valley transforms into the inner world of the womb of Buddha's consort.

In the cases of the water pot used in Kalasa puja and gaju, the inside of the water pot symbolizes both the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana and the womb of Buddha's consort or the womb of Maya Devi (mother of the Buddha Sakyamuni, I will discuss her later). But in the case of the water pot as the Kathmandu Valley, the valley itself is the largest, natural water pot, and our real world exists in the inside of the water pot. So the inhabitants of the Valley themselves live inside a water pot, in a sense. As such, the inside and the outside of the water pot have already been reversed. This transformation occurred at the moment when the water pot was enlarged from that of Stupa to that of Baha monastery. A stupa is, so to speak, filled with the potential energy to turn the inside out.


There are two types of monastery in Newar Buddhism, that is, The Baha and Bahi. Baha shows us an inner world of the water pot, not only three-dimensionally but also two-dimensionally. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that Bahas were constructed in this world to represent the heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana being symbolized by the water pot. On the other hand, Bahis were built as a kind of reconstruction of Mt. Meru. A Bahi has a crowning big tower called phuja (also puja, puca in [Gutschow, Kölver, and Shresthacarya 1987:57], or puco in [Gellner 1987:370]) on its roof-top. It looks like an inverted pyramid, narrower at the base and wider at the top. The tower resembles Mt. Meru in shape as it is described in old Buddhist canons. I. W. Mabbett
explained that "Meru, we learn, was present at the beginning of creation. Its shape and size are described in great detail; in many accounts it is broader at the summit than at the base" (Mabbett 1983:66).

Moreover, while the basement of Bahas is beneath the ground level, the "basement" of Bahis is always above it. This implies that the former aims at entering the inner world of a water pot (or descending to the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven from the viewpoint of God, and the latter's aim is the climbing to the summit of Mt. Meru from the stand-point of man.

The ritual performed for clients by a Vajracarya priest consists of two basic rites, that is, Guru-mandala puja and Kalasa puja. John K. Locke says, "The Guru Mandala rite is a ritual performed at the beginning of every puja performed by a Vajracarya. The mandala in question is the Mt. Meru mandala which is offered to the gurus, i. e., the Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha and Vajrasattva. From the text it is clear that this is the meaning of the rite, but in speaking of the ritual the Vajracaryas invariably speak only of a puja to Vajrasattva", and "it is just an introductory rite to another rite such as the kalasa and homa puja." (Locke 1980:81, 95).

In Guru-mandala puja, a Vajracarya priest constructs the Buddhist world, in the center of which stands Mt. Meru, and he then imagines Guru Vajrasattva sitting on the top of the mountain. Next, he ascends to the summit of Mt. Meru, transforms himself into Vajrasattva, then offers the whole world over which he is ruling to Buddha or the Buddhist deity who grants the wishes of the donor (client) of the ritual. Next, in the Kalasa puja, he places a water pot kalasa symbolizing the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven far above the summit of Mt. Meru, and summons Buddha or a Buddhist deity into the water pot. He ascends to the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven from Mt. Meru, and then descends again to guide Buddha or the Buddhist deity to our world. Upon reaching our world with the Vajracarya priest, and after receiving offerings from the priest through the Homa Sacrifice, the Buddha or the Buddhist deity will assure the wishes of the donor who sponsored the ritual. Thus, the Vajracarya priest mediates between the donor and Buddha or the Buddhist deity.

To become a Vajracarya priest, a boy born in the Vajracarya caste must undergo an initiation ceremony named Bare chuyegu at his first vocational training together with boys of the Sakya caste. This makes him an official member of his father's monastery association (Sangha), and he becomes a full-fledged member of his caste. In Bare chuyegu, the boys of both caste learn how to perform the rite of Guru-mandala. Following that, only a boy of the Vajracarya caste - apart from some rare exceptions - can receive another initiation called Aca luyegu, which empowers him to officiate the Buddhist rite of Kalasa puja for a client. The boys of both caste who received the initiation of Bare chuyegu can perform the rite of Guru-mandala. But, because they have not yet received the initiation of Aca luyegu, they can not perform Kalasa puja. It means that they can ascend only to the summit of Mt. Meru, but they can not go further to the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven. Only Vajracarya priests can do that, because they have received the initiation of Aca luyegu at their second vocational training.

By this rationale, the Bahi monastery represents only the World of Mt. Meru, and Sakyas in the lower level of training live there. On the other hand, the Baha monastery symbolizes the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven, and its membership consists of Vajracaryas and Sakyas. The Sakyas
have already finished the lower level of training and have started new training to become Vajracaryas. So they can intermarry with and sit down at same table to eat with Vajracaryas. Locke says "in the days when all of these communities were open to any qualified candidate, the bahis were a lower class of vihara where the bhiksu would receive his first training. After completing his training he would become an upasampradaya bhiksu and join a baha where he would study further and receive further training which would eventually entitle him to become a Vajracarya" ([Locke 1980:19]).

Thus, the differences between Bahi and Baha correspond to the two components of the Newar Buddhist ritual, Guru-mandala puja and Kalasapuja. It is important to point out that Kalasa puja is always considered the higher of the two. The ruler of the World of Mt. Meru changed from the God Indra to Vajrasattva, and by this alteration, the World of Mt. Meru was transformed into a world suitable for Tantric Buddhists.

Depictions of this transformation can be seen in the architectural structure of Bahi. For example, a gaju is placed on the crowning tower of the Bahi. As I have pointed out, the tower which crowns the Bahi represents Mt. Meru, and the gaju symbolizes the Akanista-Bhuvana Heaven. But the inhabitants of Bahis, who can only reach the summit of Mt. Meru, are not to see the Akanista-Bhuvana Heaven. Verse number 72 of the Loka chapter of the "Abhidharmakoskarika" says that "Those who dwell in the lower heavens cannot see those in the upper heavens without supernatural powers or some other power [which comes from the above (sic.) heaven to enable those in the lower heavens to see]" ([Fukuhara and others 1977:460]). There are, nevertheless, gajus in Bahis. The gaju found in Bahi is the clearest evidence that Bahis are subordinate to Bahas. It has been said that while the word "Baha" originates from the word "vihara" (monastery), the word "Bahi" was from "bahir" (out or outside [of the city]). However, I would say that the "bahir [of Bahi]" means "outside the Bahas", not "outside of the city". Here again we can see the superiority of Bahas over Bahis, namely the superiority of Vajracaryas over Sakyas.

It is this divisive interpretation that results in the two names of the main, non-tantric deity (kwapa-dya) of a Baha. Locke says that "In most bahas the kwapa-dya is an image of the Buddha sitting in vajrasana and showing the bhumi sparsa (earth-touching) mudra. This is also the iconographic form of the transcendent Buddha Akshobhya. Some informants have told me that the image is always the historical Sakya Muni Buddha and not the transcendent Buddha Akshobhya, but in some cases we have inscriptions which clearly state that the image is Akshobhya (especially in Kathmandu)" ([Locke 1985:8]). I think the inhabitants of Bahas and their followers call the deity Aksobhya, but for those of Bahis and their colleagues, the deity is the historical Buddha Sakya Muni.


The Newar Buddhist priest or Vajracarya alone is permitted to hold a vajra in his right hand,
and a vajra-ghanta (a bell with a vajra, often called simply ghanta) in his left hand during a rite in which he officiates. Originally a vajra was a weapon of the God Indra, who resided on the top of Mt. Meru as the king of gods. So vajra symbolizes Mt. Meru, which stands high in the center of the Buddhist World. And a ghanta is a symbol of Akanistha-Bhuvana, the highest heaven of the World of Form. While a gandi (a hollow log) is beaten by a dya-pala (a guardian or an attendant priest of the main deity in the monastery, who is a man of either the Sakya or the Vajracarya caste. And a Chinese Buddhist commentary says that it is beaten on the summit of Mt. Meru) to call for Buddhist monks in the monastery ([Yoshizaki 1993]), a ghanta is rung to invite the Buddhist deities. Therefore, the ghanta takes the form of the water pot (kalasa), even though it is upside down (see [Yoshizaki 1980, plate 2]). A big bell attached to front of the main shrine has the same shape as the ghanta. It is rung by devotees to herald the deities.

The basic characteristics represented in vajra and ghanta are also found when compared to the two figures, Vajrasattva and Santikara Acarya, the originator and the founder of Vajrayana Buddhism in Nepal, respectively. They are distinguished by the debate about whether or not a career as a bhiksu (monk) is required to become a Vajracarya priest. Although Santikara Acarya was born into a royal family, he became a monk at the start of his personal religious history. Later he returned to lay status for a while (Mr. Iain Sinclair says that "He seems to have had the status of householder monk. This term means that he was a member of a sangha but was not bound by the vinaya"), and then he became the first Vajracarya in Nepal. Following the common practice of Santikara, in Bare chuyegu and then Aca luyegu, present Vajracarya priests obtain the religious authority to perform Buddhist rites for their clients. But if they assert their position as descendants of Vajrasattva, they don't need to become a monk, because they are already godly by nature.

According to Asakaji Vajracarya, the meaning of vajra can be explained by dividing the word in three syllables, "va", "ja" and "ra". These syllables correspond to Sravakayana, Pratyekayana and Mahayana respectively, and by combining the three, Vajrayana stands higher than these three forms of Buddhism. As for ghanta, the syllable "gha" symbolizes an utterance of the voice to draw the deities near to our world, "na" is the actual invitation to this world, and "ta" is the sound which satisfies the deities ([Asakaji N.S.1109:125-126]). Here the explanation of vajra is rather affirmative to a career as a monk, while that of ghanta is not. Thus, vajra is a symbol of Mt. Meru and Monkhood. Contrarily, ghanta is a symbol of the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven and Priesthood.

This contrast may be recognized also in two deities, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara, who share apparently similar characteristics. The present Vajracaryas worship Vajrasattva as the originator of Vajrayana Buddhism. Badriratna Vajracarya says "We Vajracaryas are men in the guise of Vajrasattva" ([Badriratna V.S.2045: f]). The Vajracarya priest ascends to the summit of Mt. Meru, the exact center of the Buddhist world, during the performance of Guru-mandala puja. There he transforms himself into Guru Vajrasattva, ruler of Mt. Meru in the Tantric Buddhist World. Then he offers the World to a deity who will grant the wishes of his client. The deity comes from the World of Buddha(s), and descends to the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana.
Vinayatosha (Benoytosh) Bhattacharyya said that "Vajrasattva is after all a Dhyani Buddha. But he differs from the other Dhyani Buddhas in the matter of dress and ornaments he wears. His dress is princely and ornaments costly unlike other Dhyani Buddhas who are required to be dressed in the monkish habit of three rags (tri-civara) without any ornament whatsoever. As ornaments and dresses are prescribed only for the Bodhisattvas, Vajrasattva becomes a Dhyani Buddha partaking of the nature of a Bodhisattva as well" ([Bhattacharyya 1923:115]). As is pointed out, a Vajrasattva has an appearance like a Bodhisattva, but is "monkish" in nature. However, "As Vajradhara has already attained Sunya he cannot possibly have any form. He has reached the highest heaven, the fourth heaven beyond even Akanistha, and consequently his form is lost" ([Bhattacharyya 1923:115-116]).

But Vajrasattva and Vajradhara are often confused with each other in Tantric Buddhism. For example, in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism, Alice Getty said "Certain Lamaist sects identified Vajradhara with Vajrasattva, while others looked upon Vajrasattva as an active form of Vajradhara, who was too lost in divine quietude to occupy himself directly with the affairs of sentient beings. Others again worshipped Vajradhara as a supreme deity distinct and apart from Vajrasattva" ([Getty 1978:4]). In the case of Newar Buddhism, David N. Gellner said that "The most obvious example here is Vajrasattva, clearly identified by Newars as the etypal (archetypal?) guru and Vajracarya. Thus Hemaraj Sakya writes of Vajrasattva: ‘Vajrayana's main guru, also known as Vajradhara he is worshipped as Adibuddha Swayambhu’" ([Gellner 1992:253-254], based on [Hemaraj N.S.1091:1]). And it is said sometimes that Vajrasattva dwells in the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven, not at the summit of Mt. Meru (for example, [Ratnabahadur N.S.1095:11]).

Here, I will present a hypothesis on the relationship between Vajracarya, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara. Ordinarily, Vajrasattva dwells at the summit of Mt. Meru, and Vajradhara is in Akanistha-Bhuvana. But they don't always stay there. Vajrasattva sometimes goes back and forth between the summit of Mt. Meru and the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven, and when he descends to our world, the South Jambu Dvipa, he becomes a Vajracarya. On the other hand, when going back and forth between the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven and the World of Buddhas, Vajradhara appears in his visible form in Akanistha-Bhuvana. While Vajradhara becomes Vajrasattva when he descends to the summit of Mt. Meru, Vajrasattva becomes Vajradhara when he ascends to Akanistha-Bhuvana. Likewise, Vajracarya becomes Vajrasattva at the summit of Mt. Meru, and Vajrasattva becomes Vajracarya in our world. In other words, when they (Vajracarya, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara) move up and down along the vertical axis of the Buddhist world, they go by different names in each place.

In their iconography, while Vajrasattva holds the vajra and ghanta separately in each hand in front of his chest, Vajradhara holds them crossing his hands over his chest. The difference suggests either their descent or ascent along the vertical axis of the Buddhist world. B. Bhattacharyya says that "The Vajra (thunderbolt) here is the symbol for the ultimate reality called Sunya while the bell represents Prajna or wisdom the sounds of which travel far and wide" ([Bhattacharyya 1968:43]). The crossed vajra and ghanta symbolizes the union of Sunya and
Prajna in the Vajrayana philosophy. In the Acaluyegu initiation, this crossing is found in the ceremony of Guhyabhiseka, which alludes to the secret embrace with his consort ([Badriratna V.S. 2045:1-32]. For more on guhyabhiseka, see [Locke 1980:48, n.53]).

Thus, a Vajracarya priest transforms himself into Vajrasattva during the rite of Guru-mandala, and he becomes Vajradhara when he ascends to Akanistha-Bhuvana in the rite of Kalasa-puja. The vertical axis of the Buddhist world is represented by the five-coloured thread.


Like the water pot (kalasa) used as a receptacle for Buddhist deities in the rite of kalasa-puja, a human body can also be used as a receptacle. Linda Iltis said that "In both Hindu and Buddhist tantric religious practice, the patra or ritual vessel serves as a central focus for ritual action. The vessel provides a physical, visually perceivable support into which a deity is invited to temporarily enter and reside. The support vessel may be a drawing, a clay or metal water pot, an image or a human being" ([Iltis 1991:87]). She cites some examples of human beings serving as the patra or ritual vessel - Living Goddess Kumari and her retinue, religious masked dancers, dyah maju (mediums). Michael R. Allen also said that "she (Kumari) is the pure unruptured vessel who nevertheless contains within herself the full potential of creative motherhood" ([Allen 1986:77]). Hannelore Gabriel identifies the Kumari's head-dress as a gaju, the roof-top ornament of the monastery ([Gabriel 1990:124]), which is one of the formative variants of kalasa.

According to a Newar superstition, it is widely believed that if a girl who was once a Living Goddess Kumari (ex-Kumari) gets married, her husband will die at a very young age. Vijaya Malla's entertaining story gives us a vivid description of the ex-Kumari Sobha's hesitation in marriage caused by this superstition ([Malla 1972]). Why is the husband of an ex-Kumari expected to die young in Nepal? The answer to this question comes from a comparison of Kumari and Maya Devi, the Buddha Sakyamuni's real mother. Generally, Kumari is selected from the two highest Newar Buddhist castes, Sakya or Vajracarya. Sakyas are said to be descendants of the Buddha Sakyamuni, and Vajracaryas can intermarry with Sakyas.

A famous Buddhist text, "Mahavastu", says that Maya Devi passed away seven days after the miraculous birth of Siddhartha (the Buddha Sakyamuni's childhood name). The text tells us the reason for her early death - after giving birth to the great Buddha Sakyamuni, it wasn't acceptable for her to indulge in sensual pleasures. For the same reason, the text points out other examples of mothers of Buddhas prior to Sakyamuni. They also died seven days after childbirth. I am sure that the superstition surrounding ex-Kumari has its origin in Maya Devi's early death. A Kumari's abdication from her high position means that the Goddess Taleju residing within the Kumari's body has left it, that is, Taleju has been "born" into this world. However, if the Kumari were expected to die seven days after the abdication from her position, her family members would surely never consent to their lovely daughter ascending to the high position as a Living Goddess. Therefore, to ensure the continuation of the Kumari, the Newar people placed the superstition
upon her husband instead.

"To avoid indulging in sensual pleasures" is one of the indispensable conditions for a human body to become a receptacle for deities. But it does not always require negating a normal marriage. The red costume and ornaments of the Kumari symbolize sexual maturity in Hindu society (see [Gabriel 1990:129]). Because a Kumari is always a pre-pubescent girl, the Goddess Taleju can enter and reside in her body without any risk of an earthly pregnancy. While as an infant she obviously doesn't indulge in lust, the Kumari symbolically agrees to a married life and procreation by being decorated in red colours. As a result of this antinomy, she physically embodies the "pregnancy of the Blessed Virgin". This antinomy is, as discussed in the following papers, always found in the human body as a receptacle for deities.

As I have already discussed, the water pot as the receptacle for Buddhist deities in Kalasa-puja symbolizes a mother's womb in which an unborn baby rests. Therefore, the water pot is always required to be unbroken or not cracked. "Mahavastu" compares the Buddha Sakyamuni with a jewel, and Maya Devi with a jewelry box. Both of them, the jewel and the jewelry box, needless to say, must be unbroken or not cracked. Allen says that "Once installed the girl remains as Kumari until she shows some clear sign that she is human rather than divine. The most certain indication is loss of blood, which may be provoked by loss of tooth, first menstruation, a wound, or internal haemorrhage" ([Allen 1986:22]). Similarly, Vajracarya priests are expected to be without any physical defect. But they are reticent about the matter, though they are proud of their professional knowledge and noble spirit (n.b., [Badri Ratna 1986:19-32], [Gellner 1992: 299-300]).


There are four well-known statues of Karunamaya (Avalokitesvara, or Matsyendranath) in the Kathmandu Valley which are each repainted annually. At the beginning of the repainting, the soul (jiva) of Karunamaya is removed from the statue, and temporarily placed in a big water pot. For the duration of the repainting, the object of worship is the water pot, not the statue, because the soul is residing in the water pot. Once the repainting has been completed, the soul will return to the statue through the five-coloured thread.

The ceremony to replace the soul of Karunamaya in the newly repainted statue from the temporary abode is called Dasakarma-Pratistha. Dasa-karma means, in John K. Locke's word, "the ten life-cycle rites", and Pratistha means "the setting up and consecrating of religious objects" ([Locke 1980:473, 476]). Generally, the rites of Dasa-karma consist of the ten life-cycle rites (samskara) for man, from the birth rite (jata karma) to the wedding ceremony. But in this context, "the ten life-cycle rites" are performed for the statue of Karunamaya. Naesman Vajracarya explained that "Not only do men receive the rites of Dasa-karma in their life, Gods also receive the rites of Dasa-karma when their statues or paintings are produced" ([Badriratna V.S.2045: preface]). The Newar Buddhists believe all kinds of Buddhist institutions, such as
caityas and monasteries, as well as sculptures and paintings of the Buddhist deities, are living beings like man. Therefore, they too must receive the rites of Dasa-karma when they are constructed or produced. Without receiving the rites, they cannot be objects of worship. But there are some differences between the ten life-cycle rites for men and for Gods. One particular example is that the Gods receive both the rite for boys (the caste initiation ceremony) and the rite for girls (ihi-puja, ritual marriage for a girl), because the Gods are androgynous (cf. [Allen, N. J. 1986:94-95]).

Locke referred to the Pratistha and said that "the second part of this rite is the pratistha of the image. The priest stretches the five-stranded buddha string from the golden kalasa containing the spirit of the deity through his hand and then round the image. Taking in his hand the vajra, a flower garland and puffed rice, and holding the string he recites a mantra 108 times to transfer the spirit of the god from the kalasa to the image. This is the solemn moment of the consecration of the image. This rite however, seems to be something of an anomaly as the god was already considered to have been <born> in the image during the rite of the jata karma. Informants have explained the anomaly in the following way: at the time of the jata karma the image comes to life as a bodhisattva. At this point with the recitation of the mantra, Avalokitesvara takes possession of this bodhisattva and is incarnate in his person. Others explained, perhaps more plausibly, that the anomaly exists because two rites - the pratistha vidhi and the series of the samskaras - have been combined without an effort to integrate them" ([Locke 1980:219]).

The first half of the Pratistha vidhi describes a ceremony in which the Guru (teacher; in this context, the Vajracarya priest) makes the sisya (pupil; here the image) enter the area of the mandala in order to consecrate him (the sisya). In the second half, "the image is put through a series of tantric consecrations (abhiseka) similar to the consecrations that a Vajracarya priest receives at this initiation" ([Locke 1980:219]).

Thus, it is clear that the ritual of Dasakarma-pratistha is basically a copy of the rites which a boy of the Vajracarya caste must receive to become a full-fledged Vajracarya priest. He must receive the rites of Bare-chuyegu at the first stage of initiation. In this rite, he becomes a monk, but later he returns to the status of laity again. In the next stage of initiation, he receives the rite of Aca-luyegu (a tantric initiation of Vajracaryas, consisting of the five abhiseka consecrations). Bare-chuyegu in Dasakarma is divided into three rites, cuda-karana (to become a monk), Vrata-desana (to live on alms-begging four days) and Vrata-moksana (to return to a life of laity). The rite of Aca-luyegu corresponds to the ritual of Pratistha. A boy "born" into the Vajracarya caste, deciding to stand aloof from the world, becomes a Vajracarya priest by this series of tantric consecrations.

The tantric consecrations (abhiseka), called Aca-luyegu, are essentially the rites of death and rebirth. The practitioner drinks water brought from a hell and "dies" in the first half of this rite, then finally he is born again, declaring, "Now I have born as a child of Buddha!". The great bathing ceremony (Mahasnana) to draw the soul of Karunamaya out of the statue before its repainting suggests the ritual "death" of Karunamaya, and the rite of Dasakarma-pratistha is the Karunamaya's "rebirth". The period when the soul is being shifted into the big water pot
corresponds to the intermediate state of existence between death and rebirth (antar-bhava).

At the beginning of Dasa-karma (jata karma), the image comes to life as a bodhisattva. The white cloth which covered the whole body of the image is partially taken off (see [Locke 1980:212]), first revealing the face, then the cloth is removed entirely. This scene is observed at the every moment of the rite of jata karma, not only for the image of Karunamaya but also for paintings, caityas and others, such as torana on the main entrance of a monastery, and even upon the occasion when the renovation of an old monastery is completed. The white cloth is always taken off from the top to down. This represents a birth from the womb (jata karma).

The famous Buddhist philosophical text, "Abhidharmakosa-karika", says in the 8th verse of the chapter of Loka that "there are for sentient beings four kinds of birth, such as egg-born and others" ([Fukuhara and others 1977:332]). Of the four kinds of birth, Buddhas and Gods are classified as upapaduka (metaphoric-born, self-born or self-produced). Keisyo Tsukamoto pointed out that "an upapaduka birth" developed into "birth on a lotus flower" in Mahayana sutra texts ([Tsukamoto 1979:7]). When the Brilliant Light of Swayambhu (self-originated) appeared on the surface of the lake that had once filled the old Kathmandu Valley, it appeared on a lotus flower. Similarly, when the texts of sadhana describe the Buddhist deities from the face down to the feet, there is always a lotus flower under or near the feet. But, interestingly enough, a holy man, such as Siddhartha (the Buddha Sakyamuni's childhood name), who has completed virtuous practices in his previous lives, and has been determined to become a Buddha in this life, is called a "Bodhisattva at the last life or the last body", and he is to be womb-born, not self-born ([Fukuhara and others 1977:333]). For this very reason, the Buddha Sakyamuni was born from the womb of Maya Devi. Likewise, Karunamaya is revealed in a fashion mimicking child-birth from the mother's womb.

Here's a more interesting interpretation of the "birth" of Buddhist deities in the Newar Buddhist ritual. After a deity is invited into the water pot, he stays there for a while, and then emerges from it, showing his face first, as if he pushed his body out from the water pot. If we call this the "birth", the term in which the deity stayed inside the water pot corresponds clearly to the "pregnancy". The water pot concurrently symbolizes both the Akanistha-Bhuvana Heaven and the mother's womb. The biggest water pot, the Kathmandu Valley, produced the Brilliant Light of Swayambhu. But, on the other hand, as I have pointed out earlier, Siva-lingas in the Kathmandu Valley construct the Valley as an internal world (that is, the womb) of the female companion of the Great God Siva. And Buddhist caityas are sometimes identified with Siva-lingas. The two views of the world are in harmony with each other and without any contradictions. Thus, a Buddhist deity is "born" from the water pot. And when the water pot inside a caitya is enlarged to that of a monastery, the inside world of the water pot is turned into the outside world, that is, our real and actual world. The deity in the water pot is in the state of "pregnancy", but at the very same time he has been "born" into this world. Some kinds of human bodies are also able to become the "water pot". Therefore, a deity dwelling in a human body has already appeared in this world. The Goddess Taleju lives within the Living Goddess Kumari's physical body, yet Kumari is none other than the Goddess Taleju herself. And a Vajracarya priest is none other than the
Buddhist deity whom he summons into the water pot.


We can often see gaju on the roof-tops of religious buildings in Nepal. We sometimes see a caitya instead of a gaju on Buddhist temples. This is an acceptable alternative, because both of them have a water pot (kalasa) in their designs. And sometimes we can see a metal mirror in front of the gaju. For example, the main shrine of Tham Bahi (Vikramasila Mahavihara) in Kathmandu City has a caitya and a metal mirror on the roof. A long white cloth hangs down from the mirror (or the caitya?). The cloth serves as a dhvaja (a banner consisting of a metallic belt, cf. [Locke 1980:474]).

The mirror is usually used in the bathing ceremony, reflecting the image of the deity in daily worship. According to the explanation of John K. Locke, "The bathing of an image of the deity by pouring water over its image reflected in a mirror is a common practice. It is partly a practical measure, i.e., to avoid soiling or damaging the image, but it has a deeper significance. Meditation on the mirror leads to the realization that all phenomena (and hence all images, all deities, even the concepts samsara and nirvana) are mere reflections of the void (sunyata = vajra). This leads the adept to the realization of non-duality, and therefore, to a realization of his own identity with the void. He has become vajrasattva - the diamond being" ([Locke 1980:110 n.62]). David N. Gellner also describes the moment of showing the mirror to the devotees in the morning liturgy in Kwa Baha (Hiranyavarna Mahavihara), Lalitpur, as follows - "The showing of the mirror outside is the crucial moment as far as the assembled devotees are concerned. They emit sighs of anticipation as it is shown, and throw their offerings of rice towards the main shrine. The mirror is shown with the verse; All things are like reflections in a mirror, transparent, pure, and uncontaminated. They are ungraspable, inexpressible, and arise from causes and actions" ([Gellner 1991b:245]).

A philosophical explanation of the mirror in Newar Buddhism is basically common with those of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism (cf. [Bentor 1995]). But for the Newar Buddhist devotees, the mirror holds more importance than the explanations cited above. After a Vajracarya priest blesses all of the participants with tika (a mark of vermilion placed on the forehead) and so on at the end of the ritual, a jajman (a sponsor of the ritual, or a client of the priest) proceeds before the participants, holding a mirror or a flower petal (it is often substituted for a mirror in the Newar Buddhist ritual) in his hand, and shows it to the congregants. At this time, the abstruse doctrine, Sunyata, is not explained, because that is the priest's duty. But this is the most joyful time for the devotees, because the deity who was invited in the ritual has appeared in the mirror himself, and the devotees are able to see themselves sitting together with the deity.

Buddha is (or Buddhas are) invited from the World of Buddha which is located far above the World of Form and the World of Formlessness, and then enter the gaju, as well as the water pot used in the Kalasa puja. They are the symbol of the Akanistha Bhuvana Heaven, the highest
heaven of the World of Form. This means that Buddha "descends" to the Akanistha Bhuvana Heaven from the World of Buddha via the World of Formlessness. The World of Buddha is not located directly above the World of Formlessness, because it has no form and space, like the World of Formlessness. Thus, Buddha only shows himself in the mirror, and the devotees can see him as if they too were in the Akanistha Bhuvana Heaven. Both the gaju and the mirror jointly own the character of the Akanistha Bhuvana Heaven.

Buddha shows either his Ideal Body (Dharma-kaya) or his Physical Body (Rupa-kaya) in the mirror, according to the depth of faith of each devotee. The Brilliant Light of Svyambhū appeared on the surface of the ancient lake of the Kathmandu Valley. The Light came from the World of Buddha. Only a man equal to a Bodhisattva could view it directly, others could see its reflection in the mirror of the lake. Two famous Vajracaryas say that "the hall of Enlightenment where Mayadevi, mother of the Buddha Sakyamuni lives, shines so brightly that man cannot see it with physical eyes. Only a man equal to Bodhisattva and one who has divine eyes could look at it" ([Asakaji and Saddharmaraj N.S.1112:8-9]).

Akanistha Bhuvana is the highest heaven of the World of Form, where the physical forms are sophisticated to their utmost limit, so we should think that the forms there must be "like reflections in a mirror", "transparent, pure, and uncontaminated" and "ungraspable, inexpressible, and arise from causes and actions". Therefore, one can reasonably assume that they are colourless, like transparent line drawings. Interestingly, Musashi Tachikawa asked himself and mused, "If we could remove all the dharma (attributes, universality, etc.), such as, from a red flower, its redness, scent, size, weight and essence of red, or being to be made of an element of prthvi (the Earth) and so on, what would remain there? ~ There were two answers to this question in India. Some said <nothing remains there>, and others said <something like a vessel or a footing remains there under the colourless and transparent condition, upon which or in which its redness, its scent and so forth stand>" ([Tachikawa 1995:148-150]). Generally speaking, the Buddhist doctrine of "Voidness" (Sunyata) supports the former's claim. But the latter is helpful to understand the assumed character of the Akanistha Bhuvana Heaven. These two comments are helpful when trying to imagine how forms are visible in the World of Buddha and in the highest heaven of the World of Form.

Giuseppe Tucci said "it is clear that the work of the draughtsman, probably a lama, who traced the linear scheme of the spiritual plane or of the heaven it was wished to represent, thus consecrating the accomplished work, was one thing, and quite another thing was the task of the painter, who confined himself to putting the colour on the already <living> tanka" ([Tucci 1980:312]). Other scholars also said "The lines as formed in space project the essence of things. The linear forms are manifestations of emptiness and are filled with symbol and color" ([Tatz & Kent 1978:49]). Thus, Buddha himself appears in the mirror. The reflection in the mirror is of a physical form when viewed by ordinary people, but to man who has advanced in his training, it is "brilliant" and has a "linear scheme". The reflection in the mirror represents both of them.

[15] The Vajracarya as Monk in Newar Buddhism (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu -
For a Vajracarya, it is quite uncertain whether or not a career as a bhiksu (monk) is necessary for getting his full-fledged authority as a priest. Santikara Acarya, the first Vajracarya in Nepal, gave up his position as a king and started his personal religious history as a monk. Later he went back to the status of laity (punar-avrtti) for a while, then finally became a Vajracarya. Today, Vajracaryas receive the rite of Bare-chuyegu, in which they become monks temporarily, go back to the status of laity, and then receive the rite of Aca-luyegu, which gives them the title of Vajracarya.

They are, in fact, Buddhist laity and usually get married in their life. Surely, they are not monks in the proper sense (see [Allen 1973]), but Vajracaryas themselves insist that they are monks who hold vajra and ghanta (see [Badriratna & Ratnakaji N.S.1083:9], [Lewis 1994b:12, 26]). David N. Gellner was surprised to hear the claim "We ourselves are monks" - [by a Vajracarya priest on being asked if he had ever invited Theravada monks to his home" ([Gellner 1988:42]).

Although they don't fit the definition of the word "monk", why do they profess to be monks? Inquiring into the origin of their claim, we find controversy over the practice of sexual yoga in the history of Tantric Buddhism. According to the excellent study by Munenobe Sakurai, "the arguments in defence and restriction for Buddhist monks' doing sexo-yogic practice" are classified into three opinions, which are, [1] Vagisvarakirti's theory for protection of the sexo-yogic practice, [2] Atisa's theory for restriction and [3] Abhayakaragupta's theory for protection with provisos ([Sakurai 1996:283-293]). As far as we know, Newar Buddhists now secretively protect the sexo-yogic practice. Therefore, we have to investigate the theories of Vagisvarakirti and Abhayakaragupta in detail for the future.

The three main works on Buddhist ritualism by Abhayakaragupta, "Vajravalimandalopayika", "Nispanna-yogavali" and "Jyotir-manjari", are included in their entirety in the "Acarya-kriya-samuccaya" (sometimes called "Vajracarya-kriya-samuccaya" in its Tibetan translation, or simply "Kriya-samuccaya") edited by Jagaddarpana. David N. Gellner pointed out, "The Kriya Samuccaya, upon which much of the Newars' own Tantric tradition is based, provides clear evidence that at least some sections of the twelfth-century monastic hierarchy favoured sexual practices during Tantric Initiation (i.e., in secret)" ([Gellner 1992:297]). He also pointed out that "the Kriya Samuccaya begins with a long discussion of whether or not the Vajracarya should or should not be a monk (bhiksu). Its conclusion, heavily supported with Tantric scriptural references, is that in order to receive initiation the Vajracarya should [a] be a monk but [b] not be merely a monk, i.e. he should have abandoned the monk's garb and shaven head. In other words the Tantric initiate should have started as a monk, but should have left that stage behind (like Sakyas and Vajracaryas in Nepal)" ([Gellner 1992:295]). His comment is based on "Acarya-laksana-vidhi", the beginning chapter of the "Acarya-kriya-samuccaya", but this chapter has not been found in any Abhayakaragupta's works.

As I have pointed out earlier, any human body used as a vessel to host a deity must avoid
indulging in sensual pleasures, but at the same time he (or she) must allow himself (or herself) to get married and have babies. In the case of Vajracaryas, this contradiction corresponds to the above cited phrase that "the Vajracarya should [a] be a monk but [b] not be merely a monk". The first chapter of the Acarya-kiyva-samuccaya says that "it is not suitable for a monk to hold vajra and vajra-bell (vajra-ghanta) in his hands, because this is the conduct of greatest lust (parama-maharaga-carva). A monk must practice desireless conduct (vita-raga-carva). But the vestments of monks are not suitable when practicing the instructions of Mantrayana (mantra-naya-carva, that is, Vajrayana). Therefore, the Lord said in the "Sarva-tathagata-pratistha-mahayoga-tantra", monks should become Vajradhara by adorning their heads with the hair of eight angulas, and their bodies with (beautiful) dresses and ornaments, vajra in hand".

It is very interesting that Vagisvarakirti was born in the Kathmandu Valley, or he lived in the Valley in his later years. And I heard that Mr. Hubert Decler identified him with Santikara Acarya.


According to the legend of "Svayambhu-purana", once the Valley was a huge lake with various names, one of which was "naga-vasa-hrada", the lake in which many Nagas (serpents, or Naga-rajas, Serpent kings) dwelled. One day, out of a thousand-petalled lotus, a Brilliant Light (Svayambhu-jyoti-rupa) emerged spontaneously from the lake. Bodhisattva Manjusri came from China to adore it, and drained water from the lake. Hence, the lake became the land of Newars. When Manjusri drained the lake, the Serpent kings "glided away with the discharging waters, although they later returned". Vasuki was the chief among them. "But", Mary S. Slusser goes on to say, "Karkotaka, his queen Kali-nagini, and his court moved to the small pool known as Taudah, near Chobar. There, from an underwater palace, Karkotaka has reigned continuously to our time" ([Slusser 1982: I-353]).

The Vajracarya priest invites a Buddhist deity into a water pot (kalasa), placed at the center of the area where Kalasa puja, the rite of a water pot, is performed. The story which tells the origin of the Kathmandu Valley provides us the mythological archetype of this rite. The appearance of the deity from the water pot in Kalasa puja imitates the appearance of Svayambhu-jyoti-rupa in the Valley. At that time the Valley itself became the natural, largest water pot. So, the ceremonial implements being placed around the area of Kalasa puja have something common with the mythological story.

For example, a beautiful ceremonial oil lamp-stand called Sukunda is placed in the area of the rite. According to the explanation of Hemaraj Sakya, it represents the one-time watery valley as a whole. He said that because the water of the lake makes Svayambhu-jyoti-rupa shine, it must be a kind of oil. Similarly, the thousand-petalled lotus found at the base of the lamp-stand represents a lotus on which the Brilliant Light of Svayambhu appeared. The back of the lamp is adorned with Naga Rajas (Serpent Kings), the rulers of the lake. The figure of Vasuki Nagaraja is engraved on
the oil spoon, so the country of Nepal is called sometimes the land of Vasuki. And the Sukunda itself is designed like a water pot. Moreover, the triangular oil-saucer attached beneath it is a symbol of the Goddess Guhyesvari (free translation from [Hemaraj N.S.1089:62-64]). The Goddess Guhyesvari represented by the triangle dwells at the root of the lotus upon which the Brilliant Light of Svayambhu stands in the mythological story.

Secondly, a small earthen pot is placed beside the main water pot, upon which a figure of Vasuki Nagaraja is painted. John K. Locke says that "To the right of the light (placed on top of the triangle) the priest draws another eight-petalled lotus on which he places an earthern vessel with an image of a snake (naga) painted on it. In Newari this is called the <nagpan>. This situates the area of the puja geographically. The Valley of Kathmandu, since it was once a lake, is considered to be the special abode of the nagas who rule over it. Hence every puja contains a worship and samadhi of the nagas, especially of Vasuki Nagaraja, who is considered to be the ruling naga of the Valley at the present time" ([Locke 1980:97-98]). Thus, the Kalasa puja imitates the mythological story of the origin of the Kathmandu Valley, and the story is repeated, wherever and whenever the Kalasa puja is performed.

The Living Goddess Kumari of Lalitpur (Patan) wears "balsuki-nag-mala, a silver-plated necklace named after the king of the water serpents and supposedly the oldest piece of jewellery in her collection. It was sent from Guhyesvari to protect her" ([Allen 1986:40], cf. The words "balsuki" and "Guhyesvari" are spelled "Vasuki" and "Guhyesvari" in my papers). Vasuki Nagaraja is not only a tutelary god of the Valley, but also a protector of the Living Goddess Kumari of Lalitpur, one of the possessors of the mysterious water pot.

There are some differences in the performance of Buddhist rituals between the two cities of Kathmandu and Lalitpur. The earthen pot of Vasuki Nagaraja is found only in Kathmandu City. In Lalitpur, another implement called ganlayban, Cow's Mouthful, is used instead ([Gellner 1992:154]). This may be the reason that Newars do not address the nagas which surround caityas and other Buddhist buildings as Vasuki, although these structures also have a mysterious water pot in their designs.

On the other hand, Bodhisattva Manjusri told the Nagaraja Karkotaka that "I intend to dry up this lake and build a city on the spot. In order that the city may be well populated, you will have to cause the rains to be set in here always in due season and cherish the people" ([Hasrat 1970:7]). So, Karkotaka Nagaraja has a close connection with the God Bungadaya (Red Karunamaya or Matsyendranath), the most powerful rain-maker in Nepal. Hari Ram Joshi said that Matsendranath wore "the Karkotaka Naga round his neck (as a garland)" ([Joshi 1984:17]). The serpent king Karkotaka played an important role in the story in which the God Bungadaya was brought to Nepal (see [Asakaji N.S.1106]). During the annual chariot festival of Bungadaya, which represents his legendary journey to Nepal, the chariot's main beam is identified with Karkotaka Nagaraja ([Locke 1980:265-266]).

The texts of Gurumandala puja can be roughly divided into two groups: those written by authors from either Kathmandu City or Patan City. Within those groups, however, the texts differ upon more detailed inspection. Thus, "as with all rituals, the guru mandala is performed in slightly different ways by the priests of different areas", and moreover, David N. Gellner says, "The same priest may perform a given ritual in a more elaborate or more compressed form, depending on the time available. There are also several slightly variant ritual traditions within Lalitapur (Patan) itself" ([Gellner 1991:162]).

Regardless, the main purposes of the Gurumandala puja are: [1] to construct the Buddhist World (Bhajana Loka, the world of inanimate things, bhajana means a vessel) in which Mt. Meru stands at the center (the texts of the Patan group give more detailed descriptions of the structure of the Buddhist World than those of the Kathmandu group), [2] to install Guru Vajrasattva, the ruler of the World, on the top of Mt. Meru, and to make the priest himself transform into Vajrasattva, and [3] to offer all of the World he is ruling as the reincarnation of Vajrasattva to a Buddhist deity. Then the priest performs Kalasa puja (the rite of a water pot), which aims to draw the deity into the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana, that is, into the water pot, from the World of Buddha.

Although the texts of Gurumandala puja are grouped according to the native place of the author, they are all edited from the exclusive viewpoint of Vajracarya priests. On the other hand, the rite of Gurumandala puja can also be divided into the two groups of performers - the Vajracarya priests and the laity. When the laity performs it as a jajman sponsor of the ritual (client of the priest under a priest's guidance, he is said to be a theoretical pupil of the teacher priest). In this case, the laity does not transform himself into Vajrasattva at the top of Mt. Meru, but he becomes the God Indra, the original ruler of Mt. Meru, and offer all of the World to a Buddhist deity. The Newar stories (vrtaka-kathas etc.) which tell us the origin of some particular custom or practice often conclude with the words, "Thus, he (the originator of a given custom or practice) became Indra (by performing the meritorious act which was recommended in the story). And the custom or the practice also became popular throughout Nepal". In Todd T. Lewis's words, he had "secured rebirth as Indra", or "attained the title of Indra" ([Lewis 1994:18 and 21]).

The World offered to a Buddhist deity is called Ratna-mandala (Jewel mandala) in the texts of Gurumandala puja. Tibetan Buddhists have produced a beautiful craft which is in the shape of Mt. Meru. It is three simple vessels filled with rice and stacked one upon the other (sometimes a miniature of Mt. Meru stands on them). They offer it to their Guru priest respectfully. The Newar Buddhists called it kisali (or kisli). Gellner says that "This is a small clay saucer with unpolished rice, and areca nut and a coin in it. It is used in making a vow to a deity, and is also placed on the Flask during Flask Worship (kalasa puja). According to Allen, 'the clay cup symbolises earth, the rice grain crops, the areca nut space and the coin population - together they represent the whole human world':" ([Gellner 1996:224, n.7], cf. [Allen (1986):107-108, n.20]). Dina Bangdel says that "The ratna-mandala is a body mandala, in which the practitioner visualizes his
As I have pointed out earlier, the water pot used in Kalasa puja is a symbol of the Akanistha Bhuvana Heaven. But from the viewpoint of Gurumandala puja, it is a symbol of Mt. Meru. According to the explanation of Hemaraj Sakya, "one who invites a Buddhist deity in the course of sadhana meditation must imagine Mt. Meru first, and then prepare a seat for the deity in the palace on the top of Mt. Meru. Next he must worship the golden water pot in which the deity will appear. ~ The Newar artists have represented this meditational system in the form of gaju. The shape of the tapering point, like a spindle, represents Mt. Meru. The bell on it is rung to invite a deity. The pattern of a lotus on the bell is a seat for the deity. And the golden kalasa on it symbolizes the presence of the deity in it" ([Hemaraj N.S.1089:31-32]). As for the kalasa used in Kalasa puja, John K. Locke also says that "After the area of the puja has been swept clean and purified with cow dung, the kalasa is placed on top of a drawing in white sand of an eight-petalled lotus. This is considered to be a form of the basic Mt. Meru Mandala, the eight petals representing the four continents and four sub-continents" ([Locke 1980:96]). Here, strictly speaking, the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana is symbolized by the water contained in the water pot, and Mt. Meru is symbolized by the spindle-shape of the water pot. The process from Gurumandala puja to Kalasa puja is "a ritualization of the sadhana ([Locke 1980:96, 120])".

I have also pointed out earlier that the eyes depicted on the four directions of Newar caityas represent the eyes of the Buddhist God invited into the water pot from the Heaven of Akanistha Bhuvana. But if we assume that the water pot represents not only the Heaven of Akanistha Bhuvana but also Mt. Meru at the same time, and imagine the eyes at the top of Mt. Meru, we can soon understand that they also symbolize the sun and the moon rotating around the mountainside of Mt. Meru. In the rite of Drsti-dana (the rite of eye-opening) which is a part of Pratistha ceremony (the setting up and consecrating of religious objects), it is said that "The priest purifies the hands of a painter (or sculptor). After reciting svasti-vakya (the auspicious sentences, wishing joy or good fortune), he hands the eyewash to the painter, who then makes the eye of the painted deity open. Thus, the eyes of a God are regarded as the sun and the moon" ([Badriratna V.S.2045: I-8]). The rite of Drsti-dana is performed also in the initiation rite of Abhiseka for Vajracarya boys (Aca luyegu).

The water pot used in Kalasa puja concurrently bears the two above-mentioned symbolic meanings. But this interpretation is possible only to the Vajracarya priests. The performers of Gurumandala puja can ascend to the top of Mt. Meru, but they can not go up to the Heaven of Akanistha Bhuvana, because they do not have the permission to perform Kalasa puja, which is only given to Vajracarya priests.


While the waterpot used in Kalasa puja is placed in our Earthly world, it also represents both
the Heaven of Akanistha Bhuvana and Mt. Meru. Because of this threefold location, the water pot becomes a prototype of Mandala.

Adrian Snodgrass says that "The superimposition of the places of Awakening has its counterpart in the Vajrayana doctrine of the descending revelation of the Dharma. According to this teaching Mahavairocana, the Great Sun Buddha, first revealed the Vajra-sekhara-sutra, the Sutra of the Diamond Summit, in the Akanistha Heaven, which in the Shingon [a Vajrayana sect in Japan] is alternately called the Heaven of the Summit. The Akanistha is ruled over by Mahesvara (Siva) and the Sutra is preached within his palace, the Palace of the Diamond Dharma-World (vajra-dharma-dhatu). The Sutra is revealed here for the sake of the Bodhisattvas of the Ten Stations, the Non-Returners who have reached the final stages in the ascension towards full Awakening. This is the revelation of the Sutra in its most subtle and ethereal form, manifested in rarified modes appropriate to the understanding of Bodhisattvas who are at the threshold of the Formless. According to the Buddhist doctrine of Expedient Means (upaya) the Buddha reveals the Truth in ways that are suitable for the levels of comprehension of his hearers. Whereas the revelation of the Sutra in its least formally limited expression is suitable for aspirants who have reached the highest among the heavens of the World of Form, it is necessary to reveal it once more for the sake of those who are still enmeshed in the World of Desire. For this purpose the Great Sun Buddha descends the axis of the world to the summit of the Cosmic Mountain, where he once again reveals the Truth for the sake of men. This second revelation is a reflection of the first: in the same way that the first preaching of the Sutra takes place in Siva's Palace of the Diamond Dharma-World at the summit of the World of Form, the second revelation is made within the Jewel Stupa (kutagara) in Indra's Heaven at the summit of the World of Desire (although Indra's Heaven is not the highest heaven in the World of Desire, its location upon the summit of the World Mountain entitles it to be so considered in the present context). The preaching of the Sutra is accompanied by the revelation of the Diamond World Mandala, and paintings of this mandala show the Buddha Mahavairocana seated within the Jewel Stupa, with its roofs, columns and verandah, on the summit of Meru and surrounded by his retinue of Jina Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Gods. In the same way that the mandala at the top of Meru is the reflected trace at a more corporeal level of an ethereal mandala revealed in Siva's Palace at the summit of the World of Form, so also the loci of Enlightenment superimposed on the axis of the stupa can be viewed as representations at varying levels of subtlety of the ultimate place of Awakening" (Snodgrass 1992:340-341).

The "Sutra of the Diamond Summit" also tells us the story of how the first Mandala originated. According to the story, when the historical Buddha Sakyamuni was just about to attain Ultimate Enlightenment in the meditation called "Asphanaka" samadhi (see postscript), hearing this marvelous news, all the Buddhas assembled to form a mandala in the Heaven of Akanistha Bhuvana, and then descended to the Earth in a flash to encourage him. They then flew immediately away to the summit of Mt. Meru, and gazed upon him maintaining the form of the mandala. As I have pointed out, the threefold symbolism of the water pot used in Kalasa puja hosts a deity in the three locations at one time. Thus, the water pot in question becomes a
mandala.

In fact, the water pot may serve as a mandala in various Newar Buddhist rituals. After completing the repainting of the statue of Karunamaya, the soul of Karunamaya will return from the temporary abode (the water pot) back to the newly repainted statue. The ritual to transfer the soul from the water pot to the statue is named jirnoddharana (repairing what is ruined, broken or time-worn) in the Indian Buddhist ritual texts, just like Abhayakaragupta's "Vajravalimandalopayika" (this text is found also in Jagaddarpana's "Acarya-kriya-samuccaya"). The texts say that a mandala should be constructed for this occasion, and a deity will first be invited into the mandala, then transferred from the mandala to the statue. In the case of Karunamaya, however, the mandala is not constructed. The soul of Karunamaya goes back from the water pot to the newly repainted statue directly through the five-coloured thread, by which the water pot and the statue are connected. In Newar Buddhism, the water pot carries out the function of a mandala. In Japanese mandalas, the thread is called "Goshiki-kaidou" (five-coloured boundary passage), and it is said that the deities in a mandala will travel back and forth through this passage.

Newars have often called the valley of Kathmandu by the name of "Nepal Mandala". Here "Nepal" refers to the Kathmandu Valley. The reason why they now call the valley "Mandala" is because the Valley once, as a natural water pot, made the Bright Light of Swayambhu appear. This seems to be a relatively new interpretation dating back to the popularization of "Swayambhu-purana" (circa 15th century A.D.). The name "Nepal Mandala" itself could already be found already in the "Raja-vyakarana-parivarta", chapter 53 of "Manjusri-mulakalpa". It is said that this text had been written around the middle of 8th century A.D., so the original meaning of "Nepal Mandala" must have been simply "the Country or Land of Nepal".

Interestingly, it is said that Santikara Acarya, the founder of Newar Buddhism, remains to this day meditating in "Asphanaka" yoga, keeping a wish-fulfilling lamp eternally alight, in Santipur near Swayambhu Mahacaitya.


For experts on the esoteric or tantric doctrine of Newar Buddhism, the Kathmandu Valley as "Nepal Mandala" is the most sacred space where the mandala of Buddhist Tantric Deity Samvara has appeared in the landscape.

Samkalpa-vakya, a statement of the ritual's purpose, which is recited by the Vajracarya priest before beginning the rite, specifies the time and place where the rite will be performed. The location of the rite is a starting point for the priest, from there he will ascend towards the summit of Mt. Meru, and then to the Heaven of Akanistha Bhuvana. In this statement, the Valley has the epithet of "the Himalayas (sic.)", "the Power-Place (pitha) called Upachandoha", or "the land (or mandala) of Nepal, which has the form of the mandala of Sri Samvara [i.e. Cakrasamvara, the main Buddhist Tantric deity], which is the same as the land of Sudurjaya" ([Gellner 1992:191], see also [Bangdel 1999:492-493]). Sometimes the Valley is described as "the land
presided over by Sri Heruka [= Cakrasamvara], Virupaksa and Khaganana" ([Amoghavajra N.S.1101:1-2]). All of these technical terms are found around the mandala of Samvara.

These technical terms are also found in the long version of the "Svayambhu-purana" edited by Haraprasad Sastri ([Sastri 1894:176-177]). The short version, translated into the Tibetan language by the 8th Si-tu Rin-po-che, "Bal-yul rang-byung mchod-rten chen-po'i lo-rgyus" ([Gyaltsen 1990: vol.7-238]) says, "Since here is an area of land, once the bottom of a great lake now without water, it has become an Upa-chandhoha, entirely surrounded by mountains. Furthermore, right here (within this Upa-chandhoha) with the name Himal, with the form of Chakra-samvara's mandala mansion and the nature of a foundation extremely hard to conquer, Goddess Khaganana with the nature of Transcending Awareness' Wisdom became the foremost deity in the perfect form of a yoni pervading the triple world" (Decleer 2005: chap. III, see my comment in Bibliography. The Sanskrit word for "extremely hard to conquer" in his translation is "sudurjaya").

"Samvarodaya Tantra", one of the principal Cakrasamvara texts, integrates twenty-four holy lands scattered over the Indian sub-continent into ten kinds of pilgrimage site, and the ten kinds of pilgrimage site corresponds to the Ten Stages (bhumis) of a Bodhisattva. In this process of integration, "Himalaya", one of the twenty-four holy lands, is classified as one of the two Upacandohas together with "Kanci". Upacandoha is one of the ten kinds of pilgrimage site, and it is designated as "Sudurjaya-bhumi", the Stage named "extremely hard to conquer", the Fifth Stage of a Bodhisattva. The pilgrim, a male practitioner of Samvara Tantrism, dedicates his whole life to making the long pilgrimage to these ten kinds of pilgrimage site, which means ascending the Ten Stages of a Bodhisattva. There are twenty-four indigenous goddesses, one in each holy land, and the pilgrim has sexual intercourse there with each of them for his spiritual training. He is treated as a male deity by comparison with the indigenous goddesses. Thus, the pilgrim to the land of "Himalaya" (that is, the Kathmandu Valley) is named "Virupaksa", and the goddess indigenous in "Himalaya" is called "Khaganana" in Samvara Tantrism.

The mandala of Samvara (Samvara-mandala) consists of five concentric circles (cakras). They are named Mahasukha-cakra, Citta-cakra, Vak-cakra, Kaya-cakra and Samaya-cakra respectively from the center towards the periphery. Sixty-one deities are counted in total in this mandala. But a simplified form of the mandala consists of thirteen deities and only the two extreme concentric circles (Mahasukha-cakra and Samaya-cakra). The twenty-four holy lands are divided among the three middle circles (Citta-cakra, Vak-cakra, and Kaya-cakra), and placed on the eight cardinal directions of each circle. As mentioned above, there is a deity couple, one male and one female, in each of the twenty-four holy sites, so, there are forty-eight deities in total in these three middle circles (see [Bhattacharyya 1972:44-46]).

The twenty-four holy lands originally dotted the Indian sub-continent. But later, they were reduced to the scale of the Kathmandu Valley and to that of the main cities and the Buddhist monasteries in the Valley. They are now found in the guise of the three-fold Asta-matrkas (Eight Mother Goddesses, the female deities presiding over the three middle circles) in each scale. They remind us of Russian dolls.
The twenty-four holy lands can also be found on the scale of a human body. Amoghavajra Vajracarya said that "In the holy song of "Chatri-samvara", it is said that all of the twenty-four holy lands are arranged throughout the human body. ~ if you recite this short song daily, you will attain the good fortune equal to that of the worship of Mahamandala (of Samvara)"

([Amoghavajra N.S.1076: preface]). Listing the correspondence between certain parts of a human body to the twenty-four holy lands, he also says that "the Hero born in Himalaya is the deity Samvara named Virupaksa, who embraces the Goddess Khaganana in his hands, and dwells in the penis of a human body" ([Amoghavajra N.S.1076:4]). Adi(vajra) Vajracarya also shows us another list of correspondences between the sixty-one deities of the Samvara-mandala and sixty-one Sanskrit letters of vowels and consonants, and then he places these letters on the each part of a human body ([Adi(vajra) V.S.2020:3-4]).

Niels Gutschow and Manabajra Bajracharya said that "On another plane his the devout man's pilgrimage makes him realize how the world he inhabits, the world characterized by Newar culture, is mirrored in his body, is identical with it. ~ his way outside, his visit to the pithas, is a way into his own self: the essence of his own physical and psychical structure very directly stands for the country he lives in, stands for the essence of the doctrine he follows" ([Gutschow and Bajracharya 1977:9]). Gutschow shows two illustrations titled "24 Körperteile = 24 pithas" and "24 mantras = 24 pithas" in another work ([Gutschow 1982:25-26, figs. 19 and 20]). The twenty-four mantras are, in fact, the capital letters of names of the twenty-four holy lands (pithas). It means that the Tantric doctrine of the twenty-four holy lands located within the human body has been adopted by Newar Buddhism. However, a Newar Buddhist doctrine which relates the three-fold Asta Matrikas to the twenty-four pithas in a human body is as yet unknown to us.

If we accept that the three-fold Asta Matrikas has embodied the three middle circles of the full mandala with sixty-one deities, where in the Kathmandu Valley, in the main cities, and in the Buddhist monasteries, can we find the other main thirteen deities? This is an unsolvable riddle to outsiders. We can do nothing but guess.

The essence of Aca-luyegu, the final initiation for Vajracaryas, is, in fact, an initiation into the cult of Samvara and his consort Vajravarahi (see [Locke 1980:48, n.54 and 50], [Gellner 1992:268]). It is held in the Agam, a Tantric shrine of the monastery. The main deity of Agam is generally Samvara or Vajravarahi. New Vajracaryas initiated in their Agam are officially admitted to Acarya Guthi (the association of the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu City). Locke says "Vajracaryas in Kathmandu have told me that those of Patan and Bhaktapur were once connected to the agam of Santipur but broke away when the three cities became separate kingdoms" ([Locke 1980:30]). The Acarya Guthi convenes once a year at the Santipur shrine near Swayambh Mahacaitya, where Santikara Acarya, the first Vajracya in Nepal, was initiated, and even now remains meditating there. It is said that the main deities in Santipur are Samvara and Vajravarahi. At the doorway of Santipur we can find door-keepers who belong to the eight guardian deities found in the Samaya-cakra of Samvara-mandala. Therefore, we can suppose that Santipur is, so to speak, the principal Tantric shrine in the Valley, where Mahasukha and Samaya
cakras are situated, and the Agam of each monastery is a branch shrine of Santipur.

According to the long version of "Swayambhus-purana", Swayambhu is surrounded by the concentric circles of the twenty-four holy lands ([Sastri 1894:313]). In this context, it seems that the four famous Yoginis in the Valley are regarded as the four Goddesses who surround Samvara and Vajravarahi in the Mahasukha-cakra.

But, some learned Vajracaryas say that the center of three middle circles rests at Kantesvara Ksetrapla in Indra-cok, located between the Old Royal Palace and Asan Tole, Kathmandu City ([Naresman 1999:116]). Naresman Vajracarya has arrived at this opinion from that of Badriratna Vajracarya. I want to know the real meaning of this astonishing scheme.


In the Newar Buddhist ritual of Kalasa puja, the water pot into which a deity is invited, has inspired many formative artworks or spaces in Nepal, such as gaju or the Buddhist monasteries called Baha and so on. In the Newar private house called cuka-chem (house with a courtyard, see [Gutschow, Kölver and Shresthacarya 1987: illust. 8]) is also one example of such formative spaces. The architectural plans of cuka-chem and Baha are basically the same. Both contain an actual water pot in the grounds, and the three-dimensional structure creates the inner space of a water pot. To reiterate, the water pot used in Kalasa puja is a place where the invited deity dwells, and is a sacred space, like a womb. Moreover, when the water pot is enlarged to a huge scale, the inner space of the water pot turns into the Buddhist monasteries called Baha, the old cities surrounded by city walls, and finally into the Kathmandu Valley itself, where Gods and human beings live together harmoniously. Thus, the Newar private houses are also a space being occupied not only by human beings but also by Gods. This notion is common even in regards to a private house which has no courtyard, and is evident in the mural paintings which decorates the doorway of the house.

Sometimes we can see a mural painting around a doorway of a Newar private house which depicts eyes, green parrots and so on (see for examples, [Pal 1978: fig.10], [Macdonald & Stahl 1979:141, fig.106], [Slusser 1982: II- fig.175], [Chitrakar 1984:63]). These particular murals were painted for a joyful occasion, such as when a wedding ceremony was held in the house in question or if the owners received a house-warming. Nowadays, the painting is often substituted with woodcut printings on the Nepali paper, but the themes and images remain the same:

[1] Two ceremonial water pots flank of the doorpost, to warmly receive guests.

[2] When a deity is invited into a water pot, the eyes of the deity are depicted on the neck of the pot. Eyes decorating the doorpost of a Newar private house can be similarly interpreted. Like the eyes on a caitya, the third eye on the forehead of a Living Goddess Kumari, and the eyes of masks worn by traditional Newar dancers, it suggests that the house is also one of the formative water pots, because Gods cohabit with the owners (see my next paper [21] on "Sthiro-bhava-vakya"). In houses with half-opened and meditative eyes dwell the Buddhists. Wide and
active eyes are found on the homes of Hindus. Between the eyes, where should be a forehead, a mark is found to indicate the religious sect of the inhabitants. In the case of Buddhists, this is called urna, twisted hair between the eyebrows.

[3] Speaking a human language, a parrot announces guests’ visits to the inhabitants. A well-known folk story titled "Suka-saptati (Seventy Stories of a Parrot)", tells us many fascinating episodes of witty parrots. Mr. Daya Ratna Shakya kindly gave me a draft of his tentative translation of "Upadesh Sangraha", written by a famous medium, Hera Maya Vajracarya (? ~ 1972). According to this story, "once upon a time in its life cycle, a parrot was a human. In the human life it expected to know <Tathataa Gyaan>, the knowledge of cause and effect. Where ever he would go, he always expected to see the Buddha. He remembered the Buddha's teachings at all times. When this type of person died, he then became a green and speaking bird. This bird has good karma and the ability of good speech. This bird wishes the welfare of others for goodness. He blesses dead people so they may have good karma in the next life. The parrot's body itself is like ambrosia (an immortal fluid). A parrot's meat can be used for treatment as we use the herbal medicine. The figure of a parrot is considered to be good luck. People in Nepal paint the doors of their houses with figures of parrots. Since birds wish the welfare of all beings, the bird deserves the ability to speak as human beings do. The parrot wishes to protect others"

([Daya Ratna 1992]).

[4] The long and narrow lintel is identified with torana on a doorway or above the main shrine of the Buddhist monastery. Torana represents the light emitted from the Buddha enshrined in the main hall. The Five Principal Buddhas, Panca (Dhyani) Buddhas, are found on the lintels of the Buddhist houses. Immediately after the moment when the Bright Light of Savyambhu appeared from the ancient lake of the Valley, the Light radiated a five-coloured beam in all directions. And in this five-coloured beam Panca (Dhyani) Buddhas appeared. In the 5th verse of "Nepaliya Devata Kalyana Pancavimsatika" Amrtananda Vajracarya (he was born in Sakya caste originally) says, "May that light which, a proportion of himself, the supreme Buddha caused to issue from the lotus that sprang from the seed planted in Nagavasa by Vipasvi, and which, (light,) itself one, became five-fold in the five Buddhas for the preservation of mankind, be propitious to us. I adore it" ([Hodgson 1843:402], see also [Wilson 1828 <1976:14, 1980:460>). This five-coloured beam became the five-coloured thread in the ritual context. Sumon Kamal Tuladhar said "a ball of pasuka (five coloured threads) - Each coloured thread represents each of the five meditating Buddhas - Amitabhava (sic.), Ratna Sambhava, Achhyovya, Amogha Siddhi, and Bairochan. Their colours are red, yellow, blue, dark blue, and white respectively. These five coloured threads make a ball of pasuka; its full formal name is pancha sutra ka. Its function in the puja is to pull the god out of the temple to the mandala" ([Tuladhar 1979/80:54]). John C. Huntington & Dina Bangdel made a interesting introduction of this scene with a "computer drawing based on Pandit Hemaraj Shakya's sketch" ([Huntington & Bangdel 1996:48, fig.3]). In the case of a Hindu house, Five Great Hindu Gods are found, but there are no regulations over the combination of Five Gods, except for Visnu, Brahma and Siva.

[5] Between each of the figures of the Five Meditative Buddhas or the Five Great Hindu
Gods, we can see a set of Asta-mangala (eight auspicious marks) and sun and moon. The eight auspicious marks are identified with the Eight Great Bodhisattvas or the Eight Great Vītāragas (Siva-lingas). The list of correspondence between these two groups and the eight auspicious marks are found in many works by the Newar authorities (such as [Hemaraj N.S.1089:4], or the 7th ~ 14th verses of Amrtananda's "Nepaliya Devata Kalyana Pancavimsatika" etc.). The sun and moon are rotating around Mt. Meru. But they also represent the eyes of the deity who is present in the water pot, when the pot is considered to be a symbol of the Heaven of Akanistha-Bhuvana. John K. Locke says "The sun and moon are common symbols for the male and female principles; they are united in the deity present in the kalasa" ([Locke 1980:97]).

(Postscript) Gérard Toffin said that "Newari spatial units are nested within each other in the manner of Russian boxes. In fact, from the house to the cok courtyard, the quarter, the locality, the temple, and even the Kathmandu Valley (Nepalmandala), there is a clear succession of interlocked units sharing the same organizational and sacred features. These duplicated spaces, which link the individual with universal laws at every instance of daily life, are based on the same cosmological symbolism" ([Toffin 1999:66]). His comments are very helpful for my papers.


As I have pointed out earlier, the Newar Buddhists thought that all kinds of Buddhist institutions, such as caityas and monasteries, as well as sculptures and paintings of the Buddhist deities, are living beings like men. The private houses are also regarded as animate beings in the Newar cultural context. Thus, the houses must also receive the rites of Dasakarma and Pratistha (ten kinds of life-cycle rites and consecration) when they are constructed.

When concluding the rites of Dasakarma and Pratistha for a newly constructed house, the priest recites prayers called "Sthiro-bhava-vakya" (Prayers of "May this house endure forever") for his client, that is, the owner of the new house. The published text ([Hemaraj N.S.1091], see its selected translation in English, "Prayers Read at the Consecration of a House", [Slusser 1982:420-421]) is roughly divided into three parts.

1. The initial third of the text is devoted to repeating a section of the Swayambhu-purana that tells of the establishment of the Kathmandu Valley by Bodhisattva Manjusri. In some unpublished texts, this relatively long repetition is omitted entirely, or only a short sentence in praise of Manjusri and his incarnation, Visvakarma, is found.

2. The text then runs through the list of Buddhist, Brahmanical, Vedic, and folk gods residing in various parts of the house. The list of gods differs in each text. But, in any text, it is clearly stated that the house is an abode not only for human beings but also for gods.

3. The final part of the text consists of some short prayers for the newly constructed house to be everlasting in concurrence with the many gods who are present. Mary S. Slusser has translated them into English, for example, "May all the gods protect it for as long as the gods live on Mount Meru, as long as the Ganges flows on the earth, and as long as the sun and the moon rise in the
sky!" or "Let it last as long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, as long as seeds sprout in the earth, as long as water flows downward, and as long as stars twinkle in the sky" ([Slusser 1982:420-421]).

Asha Archives possesses four texts of "Sthiro-bhava-vakya" in its collection ([Yoshizaki 1991, Nos. 700, 2602-3, 2742-10 and 4554-2]). I will present them briefly here. The manuscript No. 700 says that "Anyone who constructs a house, should build it like a palace. It should be durable in every detail for aeons and aeons. The gods, three hundred thirty million in number, must protect it. The gods of earth, water, fire, and wind, must protect it. The family in the house shall be everlasting, so long as the three hundred thirty million gods live on Mount Meru. The house should be durable as long as the sun and the moon are coming with the stars in the sky. The house should be durable as long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, as long as seeds sprout in the earth, as long as water flows downward, and as long as stars twinkle in the sky"

The prayers should be recited "if anyone builds the following: monastery, temple, palace, chariot for the gods, house, rest house, fountain, pond or well, or if anyone makes a pavement of brick or stone, or makes a caitya of brick, stone, clay, or the mixture of eight metals, or makes an image of one of the various gods" ([Slusser 1982:420]). The manuscript No. 4554-2 prays for the durability of a newly established statue and says "May Thou last as long as Vajrasattva and the other Buddhist deities meditate on Mount Meru, or as long as the ocean and the Ganges flow on this Earth!".

At the end of Pravrajya, "the first initiation rite of a man entering a Buddhist monastery and the principal ritual of the Bare Chuyegu" ([Locke 1980:476]), the presiding priest prays for the health of the newly initiated boys and says, "May all those who have undergone this rite of pravrajya in the presence of the Buddha ever be victorious by the favour of the gods and the power of fire, water, air, sky, and the vital spirit as long as Mt. Meru stands, as long as the Ganga (Ganges) flows, as long as the earth, the sun, and the moon remain constant" ([Locke 1975:10]).

The prayers recited on the occasion of Kija-puja, a worship of younger brothers by elder sisters in the home of Newars on the day after Mha-puja (worship of one's body, celebrated on the first day of the year, which falls on the fourth day of Tihar), says that "the brothers of Yamaraja, the God of Death, will guard you as long as the oil smeared on the mandala remains there (or until the oil smeared on the mandala has dried up), and as long as flowers of the betel palm are in full bloom (or until the flowers of the betel palm have withered away). You will live long, and not fall ill!" ([Asakaji N.S.1107:9]).


According to the esoteric doctrine of Samvara Tantrism, the Kathmandu Valley is a holy
pilgrimage land named "Himalaya", which is one of the twenty-four holy lands dotted around the Indian sub-continent, and the Valley is also called "Upachandoha", which is one of the ten kinds of Power-Place listed in the Samvara doctrine. "Himalaya" is one of the two "Upachandohas". The pilgrim, a male practitioner of the esoteric doctrine, dedicated his whole life to making a pilgrimage to each of the ten Power-Places in order to ascend the Ten Stages of Bodhisattva corresponding to the ten Power-Places. Virupaksa was the pilgrim who visited "Himalaya" (that is, the valley of Kathmandu) for his spiritual training in the Samvara tradition, and Khaganana was the indigenous goddess who lived in "Himalaya". There, they had sexual intercourse, and his orgasm enabled him to obtain his final enlightenment. In this paper I will examine the legends of Virupaksa and Khaganana in the valley of Kathmandu. Each of their legends are now told as if they have nothing to do with each other, and with the Samvara Tantrism, but they must have at one time been connected by something now forgotten.

The Hindu versions of Virupaksa's legend are mainly based on the Himavat-khanda chapter of "Skanda-purana" (see Michaels 1992:198), cf. [Paudel V.S.2020:29-30] based on "Bhashavamsavali", and [Sarma 1968–9] based on "Rajavamsavali"). The Buddhist version, on the other hand, tells us another interesting story. Virupaksa asked the great God Siva appearing as Pasupati Mahadeva for advice to expiate his sins, particularly that of illicit intercourse with his own mother. When Pasupati gave him impracticable advice, he attacked Pasupati in a fury. Being frightened by Virupaksa's anger, Lord Pasupati ran to Buddha for help. He managed to escape from Virupaksa's wrath in disguise by wearing a crown of Buddha.

It is said, since then, once a year, on the day of mukha-astami, the Siva-linga enshrined in the temple of Pasupatinatha is adorned with a crown of Buddha on his head, and Newar Buddhists worship him as a Buddhist deity ([Hemaraj N.S.1098:82-86]). There are several reports on the form of the crown, including "a head-dress of Buddha" or "a head-dress like that of the images of Buddha" ([Wright 1983:92]), "a Bodhisattva crown" ([Slusser 1982:1-227]), "the shape of a caitya of the Five Buddhas" ([Hemaraj N.S.1098:85]), and "an image of Aksobhya Buddha" ([Lewis 1989:133-134, n.4]) and so on. Contrarily, many leading scholars are doubtful "whether this ritual was ever practised in the Pasupatinatha temple or whether it is just claimed to have been so" ([Michaels 1992:198, n.7], see also [Tandon 1992:207]). Either way, the fact remains that faithful Newar Buddhists accept it as true.

According to Mary S. Slusser, "Virupaksa, angered at Siva's recommended penance, tried to destroy the god. Fleeing in terror, Siva sought refuge in the interior of a domestic rubbish heap, He was undetected in this unlikely spot, and the chase was at last terminated by the Buddha's clever intervention at Pasupati's shrine. Siva emerged, by chance, at the time of the domestic feast of Pisaca-caturdasi (Goblin's fourteenth) in honor of the Mother Goddesses" ([Slusser 1982: 1-232]; for more on this day, see [Slusser 1982: I-343]).

Goddess Guhyesvari is the most famous and powerful deity among the indigenous Mother Goddesses of Nepal. She is identified with many Hindu and Buddhist goddesses. Axel Michaels said that "So far Guhyesvari has not revealed her identity. She is called Sati or Parvati in the Hindu, Indo-Parbatiya, high, Puranic, Brahmanical tradition on the basis of texts such as the
**Himavatkhanda, Neplamahatmya, Svasthanivratakatha or Nepli-Vamsavalis;** she is called Guhyakali, Kali, Durga or Taleju in the Hindu, Newar, local and high Tantric tradition, in such texts as Pratapa Malla's inscription, Tantra texts (e.g. Kalikulakarmarcana or Nisinscaranatantra), Svasthanivratakatha, Nevari songs and chronicles; she is called Sakti of Avalokitesvara or Adibuddha, Prajinparamita, Tara, Agniyogini, Nairatmya in the Buddhist, Vajrayana, high and local traditions, which mainly rely on the Swayambhubhupurana and chronicles; and in oral texts from the folk tradition she is often called Piga[m]ai or left unnamed. She is consort or married wife of Siva and, to a lesser extent, of Pasupatinatha; she is an independent goddess, a tutelary deity (rastradevi), the favourite <private> deity (istadevati) of Pratapa Malla, the seat of Devi <\> rastradevi istadevati, the Buddhist Sakti, the consort of Hevajra, the Buddha essence, a nameless folk deity ... She manifests herself as hole (regarded as an anus or vulva), a flask (kalasa), a sword, a painting ... " ([Michaels with Sharma 1996:332]), or "She is wild and mild, ugra and saumya, Tantric and non-Tantric, she is blood-accepting and pure vegetarian, she is married and unmarried, she is Hindu and Buddhist, she is a high goddess and a low (folk) goddess, a goddess of the Brahman and of the low castes, she is moveable (kalasa) and immovable (pitha). She has no clear identity; she remains a secret. The vagueness of Guhyesvari's identity is not due to a lack of data or analysis; it is, rather, this very uncertainty about her that gives her and other goddesses unlimited, boundless power" ([Michaels with Sharma 1996:342]).

In addition to the above-mentioned names, she has another important epithet, Khaganana (['the Goddess of'] a Bird Face). According to the legend in the "Swayambhu-purana", she had lived in a bottomless hole at the root of the lotus flower from which the Bright Light of Swayambhu emerged. And Manjusri Bodhisattva received the first initiation of Cakrasamvara in Nepal with her water on the day of Samvarodaya-dasami. In secret Newar Tanric Buddhist songs (caca in Newari, caryagita in Sanskrit) sung by Vajracaryas, therefore, Guhyesvari is often called Khagamukha-devi ('the Goddess of a Bird Face') (see [Ratnakaji 1996: nos. 28, 114, 174]).

An attempt to re-interpret the Virupaksa and Khaganana legends in the context of the Samvara Tantrism has never been tried. The Newar Buddhists themselves seems to have forgotten all about its significance, though it is possible to say that they intentionally guard it from the non-initiated. Either way, the main purpose here is to re-examine these stories in the context of Samvara-mandala in the Kathmandu Valley. Virupaksa's illicit intercourse with his own mother may somehow be connected with the doctrine of the Samvara Tantrism, in which I think that the final Enlightenment will be attained through unusual sexual intercourse. "Hevajra Tantra" II. xii. 4 says that "You are yourself the Father" ([Snellgrove 1971: I-119]). It suggests the illicit intercourse with his own mother.


The origin of the annual festivals associated with Swayambhu Mahacaitya is mainly based on the legend of an appearance of Swayambhu-jyoti-rupa in the ancient lake of the Valley, which was
originally mentioned in the "Svayambhu Purana". Other festivals originated with the rite of Dasakarma-pratishtha (ten kinds of life-cycle rituals and a consecration) for newly constructed or renovated caityas. I will examine these various festivals according to the account of Mr. Hemaraj Sakya ([Hemaraj N.S.1098:739-759]).

On the full moon day in the month of Caitra, Newar Buddhists climb to Mt. Nagarjuna, Jamagun in Newari, located in western edge of the Kathmandu Valley. When the Valley was a huge lake, one of the seven preceding Buddhas, called Vipasvi (or Vipasyin), planted a lotus in the lake from the summit of the mountain. Just half a year later, on the full moon day in the month of Asvin, the lotus flower bloomed beautifully, and the Brilliant Light of Svayambhu appeared on it. These two full moon days mark the "conception" and the "birthday" of Svayambhu respectively.

For the three months between these two full moon days, from the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Asadha to the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Asvin, the thirteen disks (cakravali or chatravali) attached to the pinnacle of the Mahacaitya are entirely covered with bamboo mats. This custom is called "pulum bhunegu" (to cover by a straw mat used for encasing a dead body) in Newari. There doesn't seem to be any reasonable explanation for this strange custom. But I think that the encasement of the Mahacaitya parallels the condition of an unborn baby in a womb. After consecrating a new caitya, at the moment when it is "born", the white cloth which had enshrouded it is taken off from top to bottom of the caitya. The bamboo mats in question and the white cloth for a newly built caitya have the same function to represent a dramatic scene of the "birth". The straw mat used for encasing a dead body (pulu) intimates to us the rebirth of Svayambhu Mahacaitya.

Bernhard Kölver said that most of the caityas in the valley "do not have an umbrella (thirteen disks at the pinnacle) at all, but end with the Crest Jewel. Put that way, the statement is not quite correct, though: to some, a removable umbrella will be affixed for a short period of the year, viz., between the full moon day of Asvin and the eighth day of its dark half: it thus forms part of the annual cycle in the life of the monuments. ~ Another and probably later account relates the detachable parasols to the Svayambhunatha itself: it is said to have made its first appearance on this very full-moon day, and since it alone is the Mahacaitya, the other caityas as it were liken themselves to their archetype, and take their umbrella in its honour" ([Kölver 1992:160-161]). An umbrella or parasol is spread over a nobleman like a Buddha with deep veneration. Wherever it is spread out, a nobleman like a Buddha stands.

The 10th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Mamsir (or Margasirsha, Marga) is called "Samvarodaya-dasami" (the 10th day when the tantric deity Samvara appeared). According to the explanation by Hemaraj Sakya, based on the "Svayambhu-purana", "Lord Vagisvara Manjusri, who drained the Kalihrada Lake, was the founder of the Nepal Valley. He had a vision revelation (darsana) of the consort of the Adibuddha, the goddess of Perfect Wisdom, Nairatma (Guhyesvari), in her characteristic universal forms - both peaceful and wrathful - on the ninth day of the waning half of Marga. ~ The day after having a vision of the goddess Guhyesvari's universal form, Manjusri visualized Mahasamvara. On the occasion of receiving blessings from
Mahasamvara, he performed an elaborate offering ceremony and received an empowerment of Vajra water from the sacred Kunda (pool) of Dharmodaya Guhyesvari. To commemorate this day, Nepalese Buddhists celebrate the Creation of Samvara with formal worship (Samvarodaya disi puja).” ([Hema Raj 2004:724-725]).

On this day Vajracaryas perform the secret rite in Santipur, where the image of Samvara is enshrined. Some scholars say this is the day of Disi-puja, meaning “a puja performed twice a year at the end of the sun's journey north or south of the equator, derived from the Newari verb dive, < to stop” ([Locke 1980:473]). Furthermore, “Twice a year on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Magh (sic.) and again on the tenth day of the dark half of the month of Asadh, there is a puja marking the end of the sun's journey north or south. Though the solstice is calculated on the basis of the solar calendar, this observance is held on the tenth day of the lunar fortnight and hence differs from the true solstice. On this day an ordinary pancopacara puja is performed to Lokesvara, but the main puja of the sangha takes place in the agam, and is offered to Vajradevi since it occurs on the tenth day of the lunar fortnight which is especially dedicated to her” ([Locke 1980:173]). Vajradevi is a epithet of Vajravarahi, the consort of the Tantric god Samvara.

If Samvarodaya-dasami were to occur on the day of the winter solstice, Samvara might have something to do with the annual calendar as we know it. But, in fact, as Locke has pointed out, Samvarodaya-dasami and Disi-puja do not occur on the same day. So other scholars insist that Disi-puja is not at all connected with Samvarodaya-dasami. We can't untangle the confusion of these two dates, because ancient Newar astrology is not entirely within our knowledge. Reinhard Herdick discussed the orientation of the large stupas in the Kathmandu Valley in contrast to the principles of lunar ordering ([Herdick 1993, [Herdick 2002]). I am expecting much of his study to clarify the meaning of "the tenth day of the appearance of Samvara".

There are other festivals at the Swayambhu Mahacaitya which originated from the legend mentioned in the "Swayambhu-purana". The 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Magh is called "Sri pancami". It is said that Bodhisattva Manjusri came to Nepal from China on this day to pay his respects to the Bright Light of Swayambhu. On the full moon day of the month of Karttika, when Manjusri worshipped the Light of Swayambhu, it radiated five-coloured rays, and then five transcendental Buddhas appeared in each ray. Later, on this same day, Santikara Acarya built the Swayambhu Mahacaitya with many bricks to cover and protect the Light of Swayambhu from destructive heathens. On this day, the full moon day of Karttika, or on the full moon day of Asvin, the white-washing of Swayambhu Mahacaitya is performed. The "Swayambhu Purana" recommends this meritorious act.

According to Hemaraj Sakya, "On the eighth day (astami) of the waning half of Phalguna, the entire Vajracarya community of Kathmandu gathers at the premises of Swayambhu Mahacaitya and Santipur for a ritual ceremony and to make offerings" ([Hema Raj 2004:727-728]). On the other hand, Locke says that "All of the Vajracaryas of Kathmandu belong to an overall Vajracarya association known as the Acarya Guthi whose principal shrine is the cave-like agam below the main stupa at Swayambhunath known as Santipur. This association meets once a year on the
The eighth day of the dark half of the month of Caitra, the day the first Vajracarya of Kathmandu is said to have been initiated” ([Locke 1980:24]). The first Vajracarya in Nepal, who was initiated in Santipur, was none other than Santikara Acarya. The confusion between the months of Phalguna and Caitra stems from a translation of the Newar calendar into the Nepalese.

Thus, the annual festivals associated with Swayambh Mahacaitiy are mainly based on the "Swayambhu Purana", which tells us the legend of the appearance of Swayambhu-jyoti-rupa in the valley of Kathmandu. On the other hand, there are festivals associated with the rite of Dasakarma-pratishtha for newly or renewedly built caityas. There are also some curious festivals and customs, mainly around the Hariti temple, which are completely unrelated to these two principles. We have to look to other principles to explain them.

<postscript> [1] I am always consulting Mr. Hemaraj's book, as if it were an encyclopedia of Newar Buddhism. Erberto Lo Bue also praised his "Swayambhu Mahacaitiya" ([Hemaraj N.S. 1098]) and expressed a strong desire that "his extensive survey, the labour of twenty-two years of research carried out in loco, be translated into English so as to provide Western scholars and students with an inexhaustible source of information on this subject" ([Lo Bue 1981:127, no.19]). I am happy to say that there is now an excellent English translation by Mr. Min Bahadur Shakya ([Hema Raj 2004]). I quoted his translation here in respect for him.

[2] Alexander von Rospatt says that "the Svayambhupurana serves to relocate the centre of Buddhism away from its homeland in India right into the heart of the Kathmandu Valley" ([Rospatt 1999:140]). We can see now many Tibetan and Theravada monasteries around the Swayambhu hill. The hill is now "the centre of Buddhism" not only for the Newar Buddhists but also for the Tibetan and Theravada Buddhists. Thus, the most sacred Newar Buddhist shrine in the Valley became one of the living heritage sites unparalleled in the world. Mary S. Slusser said that "Stupas are not only repaired and renovated, they are often periodically enlarged; they are onions, so to speak, of which only the core is original. Thus, if there were evolutionary changes in the character of the drum, dome, or finial, the newly renovated stupa was very likely made to conform to the existing vogue" ([Slusser 1982:1-151]). The process of "Tibetanization" of the Swayambhu hill is well under way (for example, see [Owens 2002]). Is this the "evolutionary change" "to conform to the existing vogue"? If so, Hphags-pa sin-kun (Sublime Trees, that is, Swayambhunath in the Tibetan language, "sin" means a tree) seems to be on the way of the "evolutionary change" to Tshogs-sin (Assembly Tree). On this tree, Kimiaki Tanaka says that "Tibetan Buddhism is proud of its generations of transmission from teacher to disciple, by which Buddhism was transmitted directly from India. Each of the schools in Tibet, in order to document the authority of their own tradition, painted Tsokshing in which are depicted their founders and successive generations of patriarchs from India and Yidam (yi dam) (tutelary deities). Tsokshing contain the dual meaning of assembly tree and merit field. As a merit field (tshogs zhung), the composition has the appearance of various images gathered in the branches of a living tree, which is accordingly called an assembly tree (tshogs shing). Praying and making offerings to this tree would enable one to accumulate merit, which is why it is called a merit field" ([Tanaka 1998:50]).
Vanaratna, later called "The Last Pandita", was born in 1384 A.D. in Eastern India. Travelling between Tibet and Nepal, he produced and translated many important Buddhist works in Sanskrit and Tibetan. He resided "at the vihara of Santapuri of 'Phags-pa Sin-kun (Svayambhu-caitya in Nepal)" ([Roerich 1976:799]). He also stayed in Pintu Bahi (Gopicandra Mahavihara) in the northern part of Lalitpur (Patan). The name of this monastery is found in at least three colophons of his work translated into the Tibetan language, *Trayodasatmaka-sricakrasamvara-mandalopayika* (Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking edition No.4651), *Lokesvara-stotra-ratnamala* (ibid., Peking edition No.4844 = sDe-dge edition No.1174), and *Ratna-stotra-saptaka* (ibid., Peking edition No.5101, cf. *Srimad-guru-Vanaratna-stotra-saptaka*, No.5044).

A painting which depicted his life, along with a lengthy inscription, had been handed down throughout the years within the Pintu Bahi monastery. It is now in the possession of Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The nineteenth century reproduction can be found in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares, India (see [Pal 1978: plates 7 and 8]). Pratapadi Pal published the inscription and an English translation in his book. According to it, "In the year 575 [A.D.1455], Vanaratnapa, while residing in Govichandra monastery, made donations of grains to ascetics, Saiva ascetics, brahmins, and householders. Gifts were made to all who came from sunrise to sunset. Again in the year 588 [A.D.1468], on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Sravana [July-August], on a Wednesday, Vanaratnapa made donations to the entire monastic order consisting of 1,590 persons. In the following year [1469], on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Margasirsha [November-December], a Monday, Vanaratnapa attained Buddhahood" ([Pal 1985:236-237]; see also [Huntington & Bangdel 2003:143-145], esp. note 1 on p.145).

Gautam Vajracharya pointed out that "the date of the nineteenth century reproduction, the full moon of the month of Sravana, is also the exact lunar date for the annual opening of the art exhibition. Evidently, the fresh copy was commissioned for the yearly display of the art collection owned by the Govicandra monastery" ([Gautam 1987:42]). At this annual exhibition of the treasures kept in the Newar Buddhist monasteries (Bahi and Baha), only the non-tantric treasures are exhibited in public. This is the reason why this annual display is named "Bahi-dyah-bvaygu", not "Baha-dyah-bvaygu", although it is also held in Baha monasteries.

Two dates written in the original inscription have significant meanings. "The eighth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Sravana" corresponds to the day of the annual Panca-dana festival in Patan. During the Panca-dana festival and the Samyak Festival (a large-scale festival of Panca-dana), we can see many images of Dipankara Buddha wherever charitable donations to monks are done. The making of the image of Dipankara Buddha, and the performance of the Samyak Festival started as early as N.S. 502 (see [Hemaraj N.S. 1100:18-19]).

Vanaratna "attained Buddhahood" "on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of Margasirsha". According to a famous Tibetan chronicle, "The Blue Annals", he died "at the age of
on the "midnight of the 22nd day" of "the eleventh month", "having retired to his cell, he sat in the <diamond (vajra)> posture on his meditative mat, holding his body erect, and manifested the state of going to (the Tusita) Heaven". And "in the evening of the 23rd", "people were conveying (lit. inviting) his remains for cremation at the Ram-do-li burial ground (situated near the hill of the Svayambhu-caitya)" ([Roerich 1976:804]).

Prior to his death, he gave the initiation of Samvara (Cakrasamvara) mandala, consisting of 13 deities (trayodasatmakas), to the Tibetan pupil named bSod-nams rgya-mtsho in A.D. 1465. The above mentioned Trayodasatmaka-sricakrasamvara-mandalopayika (Peking No.4651) was re-edited by bSod-nams rgya-mtsho in the presence of his Guru Vanaratna. The re-editing must have been done on this occasion. The last "encouragement towards attaining Enlightenment" was held "in the 11th month, in the dark half of the month (krsna-paksa), on the 23rd day" ([Roerich 1976:818-821]).

Pratapaditya Pal said that "While there is no disagreement among the Tibetan and Nepali sources regarding Vanaratna's generosity, there is some difference about the exact date of his death" ([Pal 1989:195]). But, the 11th month of the Tibetan calendar corresponds to the month of Margasirsa (or Marga) of the Nepalese calendar, because the month of Asvini is "the 9th month of the Tibetan year", and the month of Karttika is "the 10th month" of the Tibetan year ([Roerich 1976:818-819]). By adding 15 days of the bright fortnight, the 22nd day of the month agreed with "the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month". In the Newar Buddhist tradition, the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the month Margasirsa is called Samvarodaya-dasami. This is the most sacred day for the Newar Buddhists. Hemaraj Sakya said that "The day after having a vision of the goddess Guhyesvari's universal form, Manjusri visualized Mahasamvara. On the occasion of receiving blessing from Mahasamvara, he performed an elaborate offering ceremony and received an empowerment of Vajra water from the sacred Kunda (pool) of Dharmodaya Guhyesvari. ~ To commemorate this day (the 10th day of the waning half of Marga), Nepalese Buddhists celebrate the Creation of Samvara with formal worship (Samvarodaya disi puja)."

Vanaratna died three days before Samvarodaya-dasami. His death was on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Margasirsa, and his funeral rite was performed on the next 8th day. The main festival and procession of Goddess Guhyesvari (she has an epithet of Khaganana) takes place annually on the 9th of the dark fortnight of the month of Margasirsha ([Michaels with Sharma 1996:322]). But, in A.D. 2000, it was held on 21st November, and Samvarodaya-dasami was on 20th December.


Buddhist Newars arrived at the idea of the vessel in which a deity is present, to realize the Indian philosophical identification of a macrocosm with man as a microcosm of the universe. The Kathmandu Valley was the largest vessel in Newar Buddhism, because it produced the Bright
Light of Svayambhu. In Buddhist philosophy, the largest vessel is called Bhajana-loka (the world of inanimate things. Bhajana means a vessel, a dish, or a pot). Needless to say, Bhajana-loka is larger than the Valley. Buddhist Newars create a series of vessels one after another in their formative arts, and the internal world of the vessels is turned inside out when the vessel envelops a smaller one, such as a caitya within a Baha. By the reversal of inside and outside, a deity having entered a vessel (the deity is in the state of being incubated in the womb/vessel) concurrently exists in our real world (the deity is already born). The bodies of Vajracarya priests, Living Goddess Kumari, traditional Newar masked dancers and mediums are included in this series of vessels.

In the course of performing Kalasa-puja (the ritual of the water pot), the Vajracarya priest ritually enters the water pot, where he meets the invited deity. Then, strangely enough, he transforms his own body into a vessel, and reversing inside and outside, he becomes the deity himself. This logical contradiction will be solved easily when we remember that the Sanskrit term "garbha" makes no distinction between a womb and a foetus (or an embryo) in terms of Indian philosophical speculation. The same is true of the water pot. It is not only a symbol of the womb, but also a symbol of the unborn baby in the Newar Buddhist ritual context. A Vajracarya as an unborn baby enters another Vajracarya as a womb. He then becomes a womb for the next Vajracarya as an unborn baby. Thus, they will create an endless cycle of "Vajracarya within Vajracarya", like "Kumari within Kumari", or "caitya within caitya", "vessel within vessel".

When a Buddhist deity enters a vessel, the eyes of the deity will appear on the vessel. During the yearly repainting of Bunga-dyah (Red Karunamaya), the soul of Bunga-dyah is placed into a big water pot, and the water pot is worshipped as Bunga-dyah. We can clearly see the eyes of Bunga-dyah on the water pot (see [Locke 1980: illustration 48]). Caityas and Stupas in the Valley also have eyes on their cubic summerhouses (harmika), because the cubic summerhouse and the dome (anda) of the caitya or the stupa are vessels in design. The Newar private houses called cuka-chem (house with a courtyard) have eyes at their entrance, because they have the same architectural structure as the Baha monasteries. Both of them have a spatially closed and mentally sacred space (courtyard), and both are adorned with eyes visible from the outside.

The initiation called abhiseka includes a rite named dristi-dana (a rite of eye-opening) for a newly initiated Vajracarya. Similarly, the ceremony to breathe life into religious objects, caityas, images, paintings and so on (dasakarma-pratistha) includes the rite of eye-opening, because, as I have already pointed out, the same life-cycle ritual process is applied to both the religious objects and the Vajracaryas. John K. Locke says that "the eyes (of the White Karunamaya) are anointed with a mixture of lamp black in a rite called the dristi dana (the giving of sight). This is interpreted as giving the image the eyes of wisdom through which he is asked to look in the ten directions to give the light of wisdom to all living beings" ([Locke 1980:211]).

In the case of a Living Goddess Kumari, she has the Nepalese tutelary Goddess Taleju in her pre-menarche body. Hindu Newars identify Taleju as the consort of Great God Siva. According to the Hindu belief, the Kathmandu Valley is the inside world of the womb of Siva's consort, as is clearly shown by the idea of Siva-lingas. In the inside world of her womb, that is, in the
Kathmandu Valley, Kumari has Taleju in her body (the womb). But Kumari's womb turns into the Kathmandu Valley itself, and the womb of Taleju in Kumari's body also becomes the Kathmandu Valley. The appearance of Taleju in this world is also suggested by the third eye painted on Kumari's forehead.

The traditional Newar masked dancers and Newar mediums are also vessels into which a deity is invited. The dancers perform divine dances (pyakham) at regular intervals. The masks represent the divinities portrayed in the dance, and the wearers transform themselves into embodiments of the divinities. When possessed by a divine power, Newar mediums treat victims attacked by evil ghosts and others. At first glance, they have no third eyes on their foreheads like a Living Goddess Kumari. However, a learned Vajracarya once told me half-jokingly, "they open their secret third eyes where nobody knows, just like we Vajracaryas!" (Asakaji Vajracarya - personal communication, undated). At that time, I didn't get the "joke", but I take it seriously now.

The masked dancers may be possessed by deities when they wear their masks. Their possession seems to begin with a sudden shiver of the dancer's body. A Japanese researcher, Tomoko Ichiyanagi, analyzed the action of dancers of the Gam pyakham dance, one of the most famous pyakham dances in the Valley, and reported that one of "the characteristic action of the dancers is a shaking of some part of the body, which is seen throughout the dance. The dance takes about four hours in total. And in this dance, 78 percent of their actions consist of a mincing body shake. There are very few occasions on which the entire body keeps the posture of repose. ~ Although they never show an acrobatic dance in their performances, they devote all their energies to the body shaking for hours, and as the result, they get a great mental enhancement" ([Ichiyanagi 1985:122]). She concluded that the shaking in question puts the dancers into an ecstatic state, or makes them fall into a trance.

A shiver or a cramp of the body is also seen when a medium is possessed by a divinity. In addition to her (or sometimes his) altered manner of speech, this is a clear sign of possession for Newars. According to Matthew Kapstein's translation, the 29th chapter of "Manjusri-mulakalpa", Manjusri-pata-vidhana-parivarta-karma-vidhi, referring to the consecration rite to breathe life into a painting of Bodhisattva Manjusri, says, "When the painting is completed .... One thousand-eight jasmine flowers are to be thrown one-by-one by the practitioner, while consecrating them with the mantra, into Manjusri's face. Then, he may hear the profound roar of the syllable hum! or else the pata (painting) will shake. The sound hum! will ensure that he becomes king of all lands, while the shaking of the pata signifies his becoming a superior disputant, learned in all sciences, an attainment that recalls the primary use of the mantra in Tibet" ([Kapstein 1995:251-252]). The Newar Buddhists, in fact, testified to the fact that they saw with their own eyes a momentary vibration of the painting or the image during its consecration rite. A practitioner of the sadhana meditation also feels dhunana (roaring) and kampana (shaking) in his own body (see [Bhattacharya 1968b:82, sadhana no.36]). A sudden blow of trumpets on the occasions of the Great Bathing Ceremony (mahasnana) and the Birth Ceremonies (jata karma) for Karunamayas (Avalokitesvaras in Red and White colour) surprised us as if the air around us were trembling.
It is said in many Buddhist canons that when Buddha started his holy preaching, six kinds of earthquake occurred as a good omen. The earthquake may be included in the same category.

Well, what kinds of Newar body can be used as the vessel into which a deity will be invited? There are at least two bodily conditions necessary. Firstly, they must embody the idea of "impregnation of a virgin", which is observed typically in the case of Living Goddess Kumari. Although she is a virgin of pre-menarche, the red colour of her dress and ornaments are the symbols of a bride. It is said in India and Nepal that this colour promotes the generative function. The water pot used in Kalasa-puja is required to be pure, but it is, on the other hand, a "womb being impregnated". The definition of the word "monk" is a "one who remains unmarried for life or leads a celibate life". Vajracaryas call themselves monks (bhiksus), and they lead married lives as "the best (or great) monks".

Secondly, the initiation called abhiseka must be examined. It includes a ritualistic "death" and "rebirth" of the initiate Vajracarya (sisya, a pupil). He drinks the "water of a Hell" ("water brought from a Hell", or "water which symbolizes a Hell") and must "die". But at the last stage of abhiseka, he will regain consciousness when the initiator (Guru, a teacher) sprinkles his body with holy water. Then, he will declare that "Now I am born as a child of Buddha" (cf. [Mori 1992]). Although we know of some exceptions, the initiation of abhiseka is in principle only for Vajracaryas. The rite of consecration to breathe life into a painting or an image (pratistha) has the same ritual process as the rites for Vajracaryas (ten life-cycle rites and abhiseka) in the Newar Buddhist, and also in the Indian Buddhist ritual texts (cf. [Mori 1995]).

The Newar masked dancers are generally of lower caste. But they must lead an ascetic life during their performances. They have no right to receive the rite of abhiseka, but they have to have other experiences of "death" and "rebirth" to become independent dancers. Bert van den Hoek says that, prior to their performances and putting on their masks, the dancers "drink the blood of a buffalo sacrificed, they faint immediately. The main guru has to sprinkle them with purified water (New: nilah) before they can regain consciousness" (1994:382).

But, interestingly enough, he says, [1] "it is from the sacrificial fire that the sakti is born which enables the dancers to wear the divine masks and thereby to embody the deities themselves. During the last episode the dancers are connected with each other and with the masks in the pitha by a cotton thread which also passes the kalasa in front of the fire through which the Vajracarya has evoked and transferred the divinities" (1994:385), or [2] "The masks have also to be empowered before being joined to the dancers who, at least partly, possess the sakti, the power of the divinities, already. The junction is made through a fire-sacrifice on the eve, or in real terms, the morning of their first performance as masked dancers. The homa or fire-sacrifice is the jiva nyasa, the inserting of life into masks and dancers together" (1994:375). And [3] "the dancers receive their ghamgala, the jingling bracelets worn below the knees, which are distinct for each of the divinities. From that moment onwards, they are already considered to be divinely empowered or possessed when they practice their dance wearing these ghamgalas. Yet it will take another six weeks before they receive their most distinctive feature: the masks which show the
faces of the gods and which will be worn during all public performances" ([Hoek 1994:375]). Then, [4] "all divinities embodied pass away in the night of Bhala Bhala Astami, which is always close to daksinayana, the summer solstice, and to the onset of the monsoon. Interesting similes already present themselves: the Sun's southward turn marks its journey to the realm of Yama, the god of death" ([Hoek 1994:376]). He insists that "the jiva nyasa, the inserting of life into masks and dancers together" is done through the homa or fire-sacrifice, not Kalasa puja (cf. Locke says that the aim of the homa rite is to bring "satisfaction to the gods manifest in a visible form", so "the homa sacrifice is performed to the deity made present in the kalasa and hence, it follows on the kalasa puja rite and is never performed separate from it" ([Locke 1980:106])), and that objects of the jiva nyasa are the masks and the dancers. Moreover, he says the dancers are empowered or possessed in two steps. I am very interested in his analyses.

The Newar mediums are like the above mentioned in appearance, but differ in details. Vajracaryas, of course, are all male. They sing the joys of their hereditary posts supported by the caste hierarchy. The Living Goddess Kumari must be a little girl from the caste of Sakya or Vajracarya. The Newar masked dancers are of lower but fixed castes, and they are also all male. Although the statues and paintings of a god are androgynous, they are treated as Vajracaryas in their consecration rite. These examples suggest that a body to become the vessel for a god is restricted to a fixed caste. The mediums are, on the contrary, not limited by caste. They are from all kinds of caste, without distinction between high or low caste position. They have also no restriction of sex and age. Many of them are female, but we do know of some male mediums. And mediums are generally older, but we know of some young ones.

More ambiguous in the case of the mediums are the two above mentioned conditions for a body to become a vessel, that is, "the impregnation of a virgin" and "the experiences of death and rising from it". They wear the red clothes and ornaments like the Living Goddess Kumari, but it matters little to the Newars whether or not they are virgins. And when they speak of their personal life stories or how they became mediums, they often refer to hardships and trials, such as serious illness or the terror of death. But they usually don't mention personal experiences of resurrection. The Newar masked dancers also don't think of their loss and return of the senses as any more than their symbolic "death" and "rebirth". The two bodily conditions to become a vessel are clearly observed in the cases of high castes. But the looser the control of caste hierarchy becomes, the more ambiguous the two bodily conditions. We have yet to examine the ritual death and rebirth of Kumari in her inauguration. But, as far as I know, there is no good information on it.

A comparison of Kalasa-puja (the ritual of a water pot) and Kalah-puja (the ritual of a carrying basket) gives us a clue to tracing the expansion of "the body as a vessel". As we know, Kalasa-puja in the Newar Buddhist rituals is no more than a ritualized sadhana (in this context, Gurumandala-puja is a preparatory rite to Kalasa-puja). Originally, in India, sadhana was a meditation for the meditator to identify himself with a deity. The meditator was required to be excellent in his religious personality. But, later, the technique of sadhana meditation was put into the form of sadhana literature to simplify the practice of sadhana meditation, and eventually, it
was ritualized in the form of Kalasa-puja. Vajracaryas had been the only priests to perform Kalasa-puja in Nepal because they were said to be the rightful descendants of the sadhana meditator. But in the next stage of the development, they lost their monopoly on the hereditary right to perform Kalasa-puja (Later, I will present a theoretical scheme for the development of sadhana). And, instead of Kalasa-puja, Kalah-puja became common property of the Newars.

Kalah is "a basket or brass vessel with a handle used for carrying trays, plates, and dishes full of items used in worship by Newars, the kalaha is a relatively large container used for major rituals" ([Manandhar & Vergati 1986:26]). When the word kalah is conjugated in some cases, it appears as "kalakha-" (for example, locative, kalakha-y or kalakhe). And in Nepal, the "-kha-" sound appearing at the last part of the word is often confused with, and pronounced as, "sa", the thirty-first letter of the Devanagari alphabet (for example, varkha for varska, abhikheka for abhiseka, harkha for harsa and so on). The word kalasa (this "sa" is the third letter of the Devanagari alphabet) is sometimes written with the thirty-first letter (see [Lienhard & Manandhar 1988:XXVII-XXVIII]). So, it seems that kalah (kalakha-) is a local variant of the word kalasa, "a small water pot or flask, usually with a spout, into which the deity is summoned and then worshipped" ([Locke 1980:95]).

It is well-known that when Bunga-dyah (Red Karunamaya) was brought to Nepal, the soul of Bunga-dyah was carried in a kalasa ([Asakaji N.S.1106:73]). The famous goddess Annapurna of Asan Tole in Kathmandu City "is also known by other names in the inscriptions: Yogambara and Gyanesvari. The icon itself is a silver kalash pot" ([Lewis 1984:102]). She was also carried in a kalasa from Kashi. The local goddess Bhadrakali was, on the other hand, carried in a kalah ([Badriratna N.S.1107:1]). Therefore, the divine power of Bhadrakali pyakham dancers are built-up by the performance of Kalah-puja (see [Hoek 1994:380-386]). The deities who will be invited into a kalasa are of the orthodox Buddhist pantheon. They are identified with a meditator or a Vajracarya priest through the practice of sadhana or the performance of Kalasa-puja. They came from the World of Buddha to our world via Akanistha-bhuvana Heaven and the summit of Mt. Meru. But, on the other hand, the deities who will be invited into a kalah are indigenous goddesses of the Kathmandu Valley, and they often appeared from the Earth.

[1] Animals for sacrifice during the great festival of Dasain may be a vessel in which a deity is present. Mary M. Anderson says "A sacred, magic Tantric phrase is whispered in its ear, it is offered food, blessed with a sprinkling of holy water, and when it shakes its body, nods its head or flicks its ear the mantra has taken effect, the spirit of the deity has entered the goat's body and it has given consent for execution" ([Anderson 1977:152]). If it is true, how are they selected? [2] I plan to discuss the ceremony of Mha-puja (the worship of one's body, celebrated on the first day of the Newar year), because it seems to be an auspicious moment for all Newars to achieve the status of being embodied as a holy vessel.

The tantric phase of Newar Buddhism will be called Newar Buddhist Tantrism. Nowadays, it is not too much to say that its main current is Samvara (Cakrasamvara) Tantrism. As John K. Locke has pointed out, "The aca lavegu is in fact an initiation into the mandala of Heruka-cakrasamvara and his consort Vajravarahi" ([Locke 1980:48, n.54]), there are many indications that show us the predominance of Samvara Tantrism in Nepal. But, formerly, Yogambara, Candamaharosana and Hevajra were also influential in Newar Buddhist Tantrism. The tradition of Yogambara Tantrism is very rarely found today.

David N. Gellner says that "The senior Vajracarya of Kwa Bahah Hiranyavarna Mahavihara in Patan, Lalitpur, the Casalaju, ought to have the initiation of Yogambara to tend the shrine of Yogambara which is the monastery's main agam (the secret room for the tantric rites and initiations, where only the initiated members are permitted to enter). But the last Casalaju to have it died about sixty years ago without giving it to anyone else. According to Asha Kaji Vajracharya, a divination ritual was performed <yah/ma-yah kaykegu> to find out if the god would permit worship by those with only Cakrasamvara Initiation, and the answer was positive" ([Gellner 1992:271]). Thus, the condition of affairs has changed entirely. However, the custom to make an offering to Yogambara remains unchanged whenever a special rite is to be held in this monastery (see [Gellner 1988:50], [Gellner 1996:226-227]).

Another example of the coexistence of Samvara Tantrism and Yogambara Tantrism in Nepal is found in a colophon of the manuscript copied in the Newar year 1020 (ca. A.D. 1900). It was copied in "nepala-dese upachandoha-pithe ~ gopucha-giri-bare sudurjaya-bhumihagi aneka-deva-sthane sri 3 heruka-virupaksa- khaganana sri 3 svayambhu-caitya-sa[m]nidhane", by a donor of "kantipur-mahanagare asan sri-yogambarn- sthanasya anugraha griha -vasika dharmatma tuladhara ~ ". The title of this manuscript is "Sri-Nispanna-Yogambara-tantra-pustakam" ([Yoshizaki 1991:295, no.4453]). But the correct title is "Nispanna-yogavali", one of the most famous Indian mandala texts.

Vajracaryas of Kwa Baha compiled a ritual text for the worship of Yogambara and Kalasa puja ([Hiranyavarna N.S.1099(?)]) to maintain the tradition of Yogambara worship in their monastery. The mandala of Yogambara mentioned in this text is based on "Nispanna-yogavali", and similarly, the mandala of Samvara explained in the texts of Samvara Tantrism in Nepal is also based on "Nispanna-yogavali".

The God Bunga-dyah (Avalokitesvara or Red Karunamaya) also has a close connection with Yogambara. I will give here only two examples. During the replastering and repainting of the image of Bunga-dyah, Locke says, "thirty-two different kinds of clay are supposed to be brought for this from Mhaypi", because after the arrival of Bunga-dyah in Nepal, devotees decided "to make the image (of Bunga-dyah) and place the kalasa (in which the soul of Bunga-dyah, a bumble-bee, was enshrined during the journey to Nepal) inside of it. To make the image, earth is brought from Mhaypi (also Mhaipi or Mheypi)" ([Locke 1980:264, 290], see also [Owens 1995:224]). Mary S. Slusser says Mhaiipi-ajima is "a goddess identified by some as Mahesvari, by others as Jnanesvari (Jnanadakini) enshrined in company with Yogambara, her consort" ([Slusser 1982:325]). According to Daniel Wright, she was the mother of the Avalokitesvara
Bunga-dyah (see [Wright 1983:142-144]).

Secondly, prior to the start of the chariot festival of Bunga-dyah, the auspicious moment of placing the image of Bunga-dyah on the chariot must be divined at the shrine of Yogambara, named Namasim-kausi, on the Swayambhu hill (see [Hemaraj N.S.1098:571-572]). The ritual, including the divination, performed at Swayambhu, is traditionally officiated by the members (Buddhacaryas) of Syanggu Baha. Locke says that "The members of the sangha of Syanggu Baha say that there is an intimate connection between themselves and the Panjus of Bungamati. If this sangha at Swayambhu should ever die out, its rights and duties in regard to the kwapa-dya[1] and the Hariti shrine would be assumed by the Panjus of Bungamati and vice versa: should the community at Bungamati die out, its rights and duties would be assumed by this community" ([Locke 1985:399]). The Panjus of Bungamati have all the rights and duties around Bunga-dyah, excluding the rituals held on the Swayambhu hill. And according to my interview with the members of Bhinche Baha (Mayuravarna Mahavihara) in Patan, the rights and duties are to be handed over to the Vajracaryas of Bhinche Baha in the third rank, because, they say, they stand next to Panjus and Buddhacaryas. In fact, these three groups have the Yogambara at Mheypi in common as their lineage deity (kula-devata in Sanskrit, degu-dyah or digu-dyah in Newari) (see [Locke 1985:518]). Locke says that "Theoretically all who worship the (same lineage) deity are descended from a common ancestor. Knowing who the lineage deity is and where it resides enables one to trace migrations of people and to trace links between bahas" ([Locke 1985:13]).

It is interesting that the Caiyta of Pulan Syangu ("Old Swayambhu") has nine tiers of chatravali or cakravali, a series of disks, above the cube of the caiyta (see [Kölver 1992:41]). Usually, in the Kathmandu Valley, they are thirteen in number. The Buddhacaryas of Syanggu Baha receive their Aca luyegu initiation in front of this "Old Swayambhu" Caiyta. This is also called Gauda Caiyta. It is said that Santikara Acarya, the first Vajracarya in Nepal, came from Gauda in Bengal. But it is not clear whether Yogambara as the lineage (or family) deity of Bunga-dyah was the tutelary deity (ista-devata) of Santikara Acarya ([Locke 1980:264, n.25] or his lineage deity ([Bangdel 2002:30]).


John K. Locke says "At the time of foundation all bahas were given an endowment in the form of agricultural land from which came income to ensure the upkeep of the establishment, and the proper performance of prescribed rituals and feasts. Many bahas have several such endowments, ~. However, times have changed. Income from agricultural land has dwindled and in many cases entirely disappeared. ~ In a very few cases the sangha has taken the initiative, sold off their guthi land and put the money obtained into a trust or simply a long term deposit in the bank. In this way their endowment has changed from fields to a deposit in the bank. The annual income continues to fund the feasts and other activities of the guthi. However, this fixed annual
income buys less and less each year unlike the old income which was a fixed, given quantity of produce or a fixed percentage of the harvest" (Locke 1985:14-16).

The sangha (a kind of guthi association) of Bu Baha (Yasodhara Mahavihara in Patan) "consists of about nine hundred initiated Vajracaryas and about thirty Sakyas" (Locke 1985:157). The leading board of Bu Baha opened the monastery's balance sheets to the sangha members for the first time at the end of A.D. 1987, retroactive to 1984. Since then, the financial report has been presented in public every year. According to a member of the sangha, this official announcement ensures solidarity in the event of an imminent financial crisis in the monastery.

The total income and expenditure of the monastery during the period from Nov. 1999 to Nov. 2000 ran into about one million eight hundred-eighty-two thousand rupees (18.82.000 Rs., Henceforth, the unit of calculation will be expressed in terms of ten thousand rupees, 188,2 TT-Rs.). But 143,0 TT-Rs. of the total income were gained by the sale of their land. And 44,4 TT-Rs. were obtained by the interest from the bank and the trust. Only 0,8 TT-Rs. were sundry receipts. On the other hand, the expenditure for the religious activities was a mere 26,3 TT-Rs., and the remainder (161,9 TT-Rs.) was deposited in the bank and put into the trust to carry them into the next year.

Among the total income and expenditure of the monastery during the period from Nov. 1991 to Nov. 1992, which ran into about 186,3 TT-Rs., the substantial expenditure was 41,4 TT-Rs, and the remainder (144,9 TT-Rs.) was deposited in the bank. In this fiscal year, the sangha of this monastery appropriated 24,9 TT-Rs. for the renovation of their tantric shrine, and 16,4 TT-Rs. for their religious activities. The total income was made up as follows: the bank account which was carried from the previous fiscal year - 159,7 TT-Rs., bank interest - 17,5 TT-Rs., repayment from the personal debts - 1,7 TT-Rs., and miscellaneous income - total 7,4 TT-Rs. (including the rental on their land and furniture - 4,0 TT-Rs., the balance by land exchange - 2,1 TT-Rs., remainder of the expenditure for the renovation of tantric shrine - 1,0 TT-Rs., and so on). Only 564 Rs. were from their agricultural products. The details of these two balance sheets, mainly written in the Nepali language, can be found in my full paper.

The total income and expenditure during the period from Apr. 1984 to Nov. 1986 ran into about 58,7 TT-Rs., in which 44,7 TT-Rs. of the bank deposit was included in both income and expenditure. The real income of that fiscal period was made up as follows: bank interest - 7,4 TT-Rs., sale of the guthi land - 1,0 TT-Rs., repayment from the personal debts - 4,8 TT-Rs., a rent of house and furniture - 0,3 TT-Rs., sales of agricultural product - 0,3 TT-Rs., and miscellaneous income - 0,2 TT-Rs.

The total income and expenditure of the next year, during the period from Nov. 1986 to Nov. 1987, jumped suddenly to 101,6 TT-Rs., but included 51,6 TT-Rs. gained by the sale of their guthi land and 44,7 TT-Rs. were carried over from the previous year. And the sangha of Bu Baha deposited 85,0 TT-Rs. in the bank to carry it forward into the next year. Other small sources of income were not worth mentioning here, save for 2,6 TT-Rs. of bank interest.

The main source of Bu Baha's income was the sale of their guthi land in roughly the first fifteen years after the first official announcement of the financial report. The money gained by
sales of their guthi land had produced some amount of interest in the bank or profits in trust, but the principal was consumed in few years. And, to tide themselves over through the next financial crisis, the sangha of Bu Baha sold more guthi land piecemeal. It is hard to know how much land Bu Baha still has. As David N. Gellner says, in many monasteries, "much land has been registered in the name of the tenant, or even in the name of an unscrupulous member of the monastery" ([Gellner 1996 b:149-150]). Anyway, because land is not unlimited, they will be confronted with another financial crisis sooner or later.

It is for this reason that the leading board of Bu Baha opened their balance sheets to the sangha members. Thanks to their efforts, about seventy members of the sangha of Bu Baha made a donation of about 10,000 TT-Rs. of their own accord for the annual monastery feast (sangha bhojana) in A.D. 2000. Locke has said "The families attached to the sangha of a baha or bahi take turns making all of the arrangements for the annual festivals. In days gone by the income from the land theoretically provided all the food and materials necessary for the rituals and the feast. If this fell short it was the obligation of the family whose turn it was to conduct the festival to make up the difference. It seems that until fairly recent times this seldom happened in a baha that was reasonably well endowed. However, times have changed. Income from agricultural land has dwindled and in many cases entirely disappeared. Consequently a heavy burden has fallen on the family whose turn it is to make the arrangements. As a result adaptations have been made: the feast has been curtailed ~, in some places only the elders are fed at the feast, and in many places the annual feast has ceased altogether" ([Locke 1985:14]).

Nowadays many sanghas of the Newar Buddhist monasteries are groping through the fog for a new source of income to pull them out of financial crisis. Recently, some famous monasteries started to collect an admission fee from foreign visitors, but it hardly helps smaller monasteries. They have not yet come upon a satisfactory solution.

[28] The Men who went to Tibet and the Women they left behind : from Aniko and his Nepalese Wife to "Muna-Madan" (Toyo University Asian Studies, no. XXXIX, 2002, pp.101-123.)

An leading artist in the Nepalese painting circles, Chandra Man Singh Maskey (1900-1984, see his Self-portrait, dated Oct. 18th 1983, in [Chitrakar 1984:62]), painted a water colour entitled "Lasa-kusa (Reception of a Bride)" (see Fig. of [Chitrakar 1984:63]). It gives a good sketch of the performance called "ducayke, to welcome a bride ceremoniously into the bride-groom's house".

According to Badri Ratna Vajracarya, "When the bride reaches in front of the main gate (of the bridegroom's house) known as Pikha lakhu, the mother-in-law performs a purificatory rite called Balin piyegu, then a thing known as Duwalya kalash is placed on the right and left side of the main entrance. After that she (the bride) is taken out of the Duli (sedan chair) and the mother-in-law is to wash the bride's feet with a special kind of home made beer called red beer (hyaum-thvam). After completing this, in the presence of the two oldest females of patrial group,
the rituals of Lohagniraksha and Sagun are performed and the ritual of Lasqa Kusa is also carried out, at that time the Nigalo reed lamp is to be lighted. After this the second oldest female will proceed ahead by pouring a small stream of water while the first oldest female is to hold the key and take the bride in and make her seated at the Yajna mandap, taking into consideration the direction of the moon and the time. Then the bridegroom is seated on the right side of the bride ~ (at that time) the ritual of Pani grahan (marriage ceremony) is performed" ([Badri Ratna 1986:70-71]). In Maskey's painting we can see a good example of a mural painting executed around the doorway of the Newar private house, which depicts the eye, green parrot and so on (see my paper [20]).

Maskey also depicted a man of Tibetan appearance in his painting. Purna Harsa Vajracarya said that "On the same evening a marriage procession of the male guests preceded by musicians goes from the groom's house to the girl's. Just before this is sent a traditional musical band called panca bajan, along with a Jyapu (a man from the farmers' caste) dressed like a Tibetan, a torch bearer, and several doli carriers as an advance party. The presence of a Tibetan in a marriage procession is meant to indicate that the boy's parents have a business establishment in Lhasa, since in earlier days any man of wealth had trade in Tibet" ([Purna Harsha 1959:420]). Gopal Singh Nepali also said that "There is a special feature to be noted in respect of the persons who carry the worshipping materials. In the marriages of the high caste Newars, these persons must be dressed as Tibetans. The explanation given for this practice is that these men are intended to impress upon the bride's party that the bridegroom's parents own a business-house in Lhasa, the Tibetan capital" ([Nepali 1988:220]). Erberto Lo Bue said that "[high caste Newars] here probably [means] Udas besides Vajracaryas and Sakyas" ([Lo Bue 1988:96]).

Once, many Newar merchants accumulated their wealth through trade with Tibet. One of the most well-known novels in Nepal, "Muna-Madan" by Laksmi Prasad Devakota, and many Newar folksongs (for examples, see [Lienhard 1984: nos. 50, 62, 63, 87 and 89], [Grandin 1995:131-133]) tell us a lyrical story of their adventures and its tragic ending. "Muna-Madan" has a large circle of readers even now, especially among Nepalis working abroad. And there are many localized versions of the story of a caravan leader named Simhala (see Simhalasarthavahodhara-prakarana, Chapter 16 of "Gunakarandavyuha") among Newars. These literary works help us to sympathize with the sorrows and pleasures of the Newars in Tibet and their families in Nepal.

A well-known artist, Aniko or Anige, Arniko, A.D.1244/5-1306 is the first figure whose whole life history as a Newar man who achieved success in Tibet and China is recorded in Chinese official chronicles. It is said that his name must have been Aneka in Sanskrit (Acharya 1971:242)). But his name written in Chinese characters means "[someone who is a] nice (A-) guy (-ko or -ge) from Nepal (-ni- of Nipolo = Nepal)". He was invited to the Court of the Yuan emperor Khubilai Khan, and took a high position as the government official in charge of the artisans and the fine arts of the Court. According to his epitaph, he had been married in Nepal before his journey to Tibet. The name of his wife, "Zai-ye-da-la-qi-mei" or "Tsai-yeh-tala-ch'i-mei" in Chinese, must be Jayada-laksmi ([Petech 1984: 101]), or Cayatha-Lachime ([Josi
Anning Jing says "Anige's prolonged separation from his wife won the sympathy of Empress Chabi. The empress sent gold to Anige's wife, but her clansmen seized and hid the gold without her knowledge, then tried to marry her off to someone else so that they could keep the treasure. When she refused to remarry, they imprisoned her. Determined to die rather than surrender, she finally frustrated their attempts by refusing to eat. Two years later, in 1276, special envoys with five hundred taels of gold were dispatched from China to Nepal, most likely on the order of the empress, to escort Zaiyedalaqimei to China" ([Jing 1996:37], see also [Jing 1994:46]).

Surely, the presence of a Tibetan in a marriage ceremony suggests success in business with Tibetans. But at the same time, a Tibetan presence may cause anxiety in Newar circles. A wife may receive a letter tied with white strings, which is the symbol of tragic news of her husband's untimely death in Tibet. Or after his return to Nepal, the husband may be met with his wife's suicide upon a false report of his death in Tibet. Aniko's wife is the first figure recorded in Chinese chronicles as a Newar woman who shared her joys and sorrows with her husband who had gone abroad. The bride in Maskey's painting reminds us of the heroines in Newar folksongs, Muna in "Muna-Madan", and Aniko's wife.

$postscript$ I plan to discuss the episodes of "the men who returned to Nepal and the women left in Tibet", with some additional references of the women left behind in Nepal ( [Srestha V.S.2031], [Kasa N.S.1079], ["Hridaya" N.S.1088]). When they returned from Tibet, they carried the latest Tibetan culture as well as wealth into the Kathmandu Valley. Todd T. Lewis pointed out that "In many domains, Newar Lhasa traders have had a strong effect on their own core tradition. Once lamas with whom they were acquainted arrived in the Kathmandu Valley, the traders made donations to maintain them, sponsored rituals, and built monasteries to insure their local institutional presence. But the tie with Tibet was more important than merely transplanting lamas and highland monasteries: the often great mercantile profits returned to contribute to Kathmandu's economy, primarily through religious patronage. We know that in this century Lhasa traders restored and made additions to all major indigenous Buddhist shrines throughout Kathmandu city: ~ In addition, they sponsored the majority of extraordinary patronage events to the Newar sangha in this century" ([Lewis 1993b:174-175]). But they did not bring their Tibetan wives and children of mixed blood back to Nepal. The story of a Tibetan wife and children of mixed blood left behind in Tibet has been novelized in Nepal (for example, see [Shrestha 1994]). The queen of ogresses with a baby in the story of a caravan leader Simhala acts, so to speak, as a spokeswoman for them. These stories are very useful to understand some former historical background of the cultural exchange between Newars and Tibetans.


The 8th Si-tu Rin-po-che Chos-kyi lhbyun-gnas (1699/1700-1774, henceforth Si-tu) made a second trip to Nepal in A.D. 1748. E. Gene Smith said that "In 1748, Si tu had the opportunity
to pay another visit to Nepal. He may have been entrusted with an official commission from the Tibetan government. He was received warmly by Jayaprakasamalla of Kathmandu (1736-68). Ranajitamalla (1722-69) of Bhatgaon (Bhaktapur) presented him with a manuscript of an Amarakosa commentary. His account of meeting with Prthvinarayana Saha at the Gorkha fortress is fascinating, yet distressing because of its brevity. During this stay in Nepal he was able to complete a translation of a short edition of the Svayambhupurana. In 1750, he returned to Khams via Central Tibet" ([Smith 2001:92-93], [Smith 1968:11]).

In his diary he noted, "Samantabhadra brought the Svayambhu Purana Samgraha and so I started translating it into Tibetan", and later "I finished the translation of the account of the stupa [Svayambhu Purana]" ([Lewis & Jamspal 1988:207, 209]). He had been interested in this text since the first visit to Nepal in 1723 (see [Lewis & Jamspal 1988:198]).

The colophon of his Tibetan translation says "Exhorted by Majestic Lord Lama Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu who orally presented the request while offering a flower of gold: "At this sacred place you should definitely translate it from Sanskrit to Tibetan !’. Choki Mrawa Tenpe Nynie made this fine translation at the Rice Heap vihara of Kimdo near the Great Stupa Swayambhu, the Naturally Formed" ([Decleer <2005>]).

"Choki Mrawa Tenpe Nynie" (Chos-smra-ba bsTan-pahi nyin-byed) is another name for Si-tu ([Smith 2001:91], [Smith 1968:9]). "Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu" ([Kah-thog] Rig-hdsin Tshe-dban Nor-bu, 1698-1755) was known as the renovator of two great stupas in Nepal, Bodhanath and Swayambhunath. Franz-Karl Ehrhard said that "Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu addressed the king and ministers of Kathmandu in the year 1749. In it is the first mention of the renovation of the stupa of Swayambhunath that Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu considers undertaking. ~ at the end of the renovation of the stupa of Bodhnath in 1748 the rNying-ma-pa bla-ma from Khams (that is, Rig-hdsin Tshe-dban Nor-bu) expressed the desire to put Swayambhunath Stupa, too, back into presentable shape; this plan, due to adverse circumstances, however, though approved by the king of Kathmandu Jayaprakasamalla (1735-1768), and the king of Gorkha Pthvinarayan Saha (1743-1775), could not be carried out for three years” ([Ehrhard 1989:5-6]). The period of his preparatory work for the renovation of Swayambhunath fell interestingly in the same period for translation of the Svayambhu Purana.

Si-tu and Rig-hdsin Tshe-dban Nor-bu were congenial spirits from their earliest days. Smith said that "In 1720, Si tu and Kah thog Tshe dbang nor bu first met. This event was the beginning of a fruitful friendship that would continue until Kah thog's death", and "Si tu was converted to the <emptiness of other> (Gzhan stong) doctrine of the Jo nang pa through the efforts of Kah thog Tshe dbang nor bu" ([Smith 2001:90-91], [Smith 1968:8-9]). It is known that Tshe-dban Nor-bu met Si-tu at Lhasa in 1747, and then at Kimdo vihara (or Kimdol vihara near Swayambhu hill) in 1748 (see [Ehrhard 1989:4]).

Tshe-dban Nor-bu had asked for the permission of the kings of Nepal to renovate the stupa of Swayambunath. His old friend, Si-tu, must have played an important part in Tshe-dban Nor-bu's negotiation with the kings of Nepal, for he had good connections with the kings of Malla and Gorkha, as pointed out above by E. G. Smith. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that Si-tu's
The translation of the *Svayambhu Purana* gave indirect aid to Tshe-dban Nor-bu's negotiation with the Malla king, and, maybe, with Gorkha king, too.

The Tibetan translation of the *Svayambhu Purana* has been used as a valuable guide book of the Kathmandu Valley for Tibetan pilgrims, because it contains many detailed descriptions of the Buddhist pilgrimage sites in the Valley as well as Svayambhu stupa. But there are many other pilgrimage sites in the Valley, not mentioned in the Purana. These are so important enough to the Tibetans that new guide books had to be written by Tibetan Buddhists (for examples, [Wylie 1970], [Macdonald and Dvags-po 1987] and others. See also [Dowman 1981], [Ehrhard 1997], and [Decleer 2005b]).

I initially published this paper without knowing Mr. Hubert Decleer's excellent study on Situ Panchen's translation of the Purana ([Decleer 2000]). I am very happy to know that it is of great interest for my studies. For example, a manuscript titled "*Svayambhucaitya-Bhattarakoddesa*" or "*Laghusvayambhu-Purana*" was copied in N.S. 764 (A.D. 1644) ([Shastri 1917:182-184]). Shastri pointed out that "The dates in the MS. (N.S. 754, 757, 758 and 760) refer perhaps to Syamarpa's (renewal) work (of Svayambhu) which it must have taken several years to complete" ([Shastri 1917:184]). It seems to serve as a good reference for Mr. Decleer's list, "History of the Svayambhu renovation and the corresponding Festschriften" ([Decleer 2000:39]).


As far as I know, there are three examples of the Nepalese Caitya Game of Karma (or the Newar Game of Karma in a Caitya. I think it is properly called *Cibaha Kasa* in Newari). But because the game has lost currency in Newar culture, these examples are given here with either an incorrect name or in unnamed condition.

[a] a colour painting of Goddess Usnisavijaya Caitya, 18th century, Kathmandu National Museum, size about 55 x 80 cm.

[b] a line drawing of a caitya, red and black ink on a traditional *haltal* paper, Asha Archives, size about 52 x 83 cm.

[c] a line drawing of a caitya, red and black ink on a modern paper, Asha Archives, size about 49 x 105 cm.

I will discuss the game mainly based on [a], with the help of [b] and [c]. Fifty stages are depicted in the plinth of a caitya. Players cast a die, and proceed to the next stage, according to the pips ("a", "gha", "dha", "lha", "ya" and "sa") on the die. Each stage is divided into seven divisions, in which the centre is surrounded by the other six divisions. The name of the stage is found in the center section, and the surrounding six have the names of the next destination.

The fifty stages are arranged according to Buddhist philosophy. The player starts from "our world" (*Jambudvipa manusya-loka* [13]). In accordance with the pips on the die, he roams from the hells (narakas [1]-[8]) to the six worlds of rebirth and the world of Mt. Meru ([9]-[20]),
and goes up or down the stages of Sravakayana ([21]-[30]), Pratyekayana ([31]-[40]), Samksipta-yana [41], Madhya-yana [42], and Mahayana ([43]-[49]).

There are two traps in the game: Maha-vasistha-sravaka ([30]) and Maha-dharma-param-gata-pratyeka ([40]). In the case of [40], the player loses a turn, unless he can roll a "sa" and get to Samksipta-yana ([41]), because traditional Buddhist doctrine teaches against being unconcerned about others’ happiness. Thus, while having fun playing the game, the player learns the basic doctrine of Buddhist philosophy. The next stage he reaches will be determined by his own karma (deed, act). Each casting of the die represents his death in this life and rebirth in the next.

There are two short-cuts to quickly reach the goal of the game. They are in addition to the numbers [1]-[50], and are called Mantradipa (or Mantradvipa) and Tantradipa (or Tantradvipa). They are, so to speak, free-ways of Tantrayana or Vajrayana. Players at the starting point ("our world", [13]) can go directly to just before the goal by rolling "a" or "sa". But he faces great difficulties in reaching the goal from there. If he can't roll the specified pips, he will instantly descend into the lowest hell (Avici-naraka, [1]). It is not easy to escape from there, and he must bear his sufferings. This means that Tantrayana gives us a rapid way to "Enlightenment", but it incurs great dangers.

The goal of the game is named Akanistha-Bhuvana ([51]). It stands just below the eyes of the caitya. Mark Tatz & Jody Kent said that "the Akanistha has been taken over by a later cosmological conception and made into the abode of a buddha. Therefore, the highest heaven of form is the supreme among god realms and buddha pure lands on the board", and "In the Supreme (Akanistha) Heaven, the tenth-stage bodhisattva takes final instruction from Buddha. Here the Buddha manifests his Enjoyment body with its miraculous characteristics not seen by ordinary creatures. From there, the bodhisattva attains the Dharma body, the unalloyed essence of the mystic Awakening" ([Tatz & Kent 1978:35, 46-47]).

The player who does not get to take either of the two short-cuts from the starting point ("our world", [13]) by rolling a "gha", "dha", "lha", or "ya", aims toward the heaven of Maitreya (Maitri-bhuvana [50]). From there, he can reach the goal by rolling a "sa". Any other roll will cause him to lose a turn. This means that anyone who reaches the heaven of Maitreya will never descend to lower stages, because he worked his way up to such an excellent stage.

But, strangely enough, the game has yet another goal above the thirteen disks on top of the caitya. Nothing but the word "sa" is written on each disk, so we can't get any dogmatic explanation there. Players are merely required to roll a "sa" thirteen times to reach the final goal. Recently it has been learned that these disks are identified with the twelve kinds of pilgrimage site in Samvara Tantrism and the topmost site of Vajra-bhumi ([Kölver 1992:48-53 and 58]). Originally, the pilgrimage sites in Samvara Tantrism consisted of ten kinds of site. But as it developed, for example, in "Dakarnava Tantra", two new sites, pilava and upa-pilava were added. Moreover, Asphanaka-visuddhi stands above the thirteenth vajra-bhumi ([Kölver ibid.]). As I have pointed out earlier (see my postscript on the paper [18]), Asphanaka-samadhi is well known among the Newar Buddhists. On the other hand, according to another dogmatic
explanation suggested by Kölver, these disks correspond to the twelve vowels mentioned in "Nama-samgiti". Therefore, it should be noticed that these esoteric interpretations are understood only by the initiates of Tantrism. Only Vajracaryas can play the game in the domain of thirteen disks of the caitya, for the dogmatic explanations are held within their secret domain, inaccessible to outsiders.

The temporary goal, *Akanistha-Bhuvana* [51], is located between harmika (a cube above the plinth, where eyes are depicted) and thirteen disks of the caitya. As discussed many a time earlier, during a ritual of the water pot (Kalasa puja) Newar Buddhist priests call a deity into the water pot. The dome (anda) and harmika of the caitya are designed as a larger water pot. In the case of Kalasa puja, the interior of the pot or the water in it correspond to *Akanistha-Bhuvana*. But in the case of the Game of Karma in a Caitya, *Akanistha-Bhuvana* is located at the mouth of the pot. The inside of the pot and the mouth of the pot are adjacent to each other, so the location of *Akanistha-Bhuvana* has no contradiction between these two designs. Players can ascend easily to *Akanistha-Bhuvana* [51] through the short-cuts at the beginning of the game, like Vajracarya priests do during their performance of Kalasa puja. We players also relate the world contained in a water pot to the fifty stages depicted upon the plinth of a caitya.

(postscript) Mr. Iain Sinclair informed me that "A fourth example, an old painting of the Caitya game of Karma, belongs a private collector in Melbourne, Australia".

[31] From Sadhana to Possession in Newar Buddhism (*Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu - Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, vol.53- no.2, 2005, pp.[242]-[246].)

Sadhana is a form of yogic meditation developed in Indian Tantrism. In Indian esoteric Buddhism, the meditator (sadhaka, yogin) visualizes a tantric deity, and unites (or identifies) himself with the deity in his mysterious meditation. Originally, it was a highly systematic meditative technique which varied according to the religious genius of each individual person. But when a collected work of sadhanas, the "Sadhana-mala", was compiled about in the twelfth century, this bodily technique transformed somewhat into a fixed mode of meditation. This trend toward a fixed mode bore fruit in Newar Buddhism as, to quote John K. Locke, "a ritualization of the sadhana" ([Locke 1980:96, 107 and 120]). And meditators of sadhana became hereditary priests, called Vajracaryas, in Nepal. Thus, now, making great use of the ritualized sadhana, Vajracarya priests perform many Buddhist rituals for their clients. They call a tantric deity, and identify themselves to the deity, to grant their clients' wishes as an agent of the deity, or as one of the deities. The ritualized sadhana is divided into two fundamental rituals, that is, Gurumandala-puja and Kalasa-puja.

The ritualization of sadhana resulted in an interesting change in Newar Buddhism. The religious genius of a Vajracarya priest is no longer so important, because they have become simple actors in the fixed procedures of the ritualized sadhana. Interestingly enough, the deterioration of the religious quality of sadhana meditators made it possible for any Newars to get the chance to transform their body into "a vessel to receive a deity". In fact, in the process of this deterioration,
the meditators changed their character from [1] one who has highly systematic and meditative techniques based on an individual religious genius, to [2] a hereditary priest called Vajracarya, or a simple actor in the fixed procedures of the ritualized sadhana, and [3] Living Goddess Kumari and traditional Newar masked dancers who belong to a fixed caste and gender, and then to [4] mediums who do not belong to any fixed castes and with no concern over gender.

Another change can be observed in their physical condition. As I have pointed out earlier, the two conditions to become (or make his/her body) a vessel for a deity ("to integrate the opposition in which sexual pleasure should be affirmed and denied" and "to experience both death and a rebirth in his/her life) became vague in proportion to the down of their caste status. Also, the deities to be identified with the lower caste are minor and local, not major deities in the orthodox Buddhist pantheon.

The language used to represent this development also changed from Sanskrit to Newari, Nepali, and maybe, to other vernaculars (cf. [Suvedi V.S.2053]). The nuance of the verb used to describe "to unite mysteriously meditator and deity" also changed in each language. The first notable change was that the subject of the verb shifted from meditator to deity, and the second change was that their union was referred to as "possession". I will examine these changes in each language below.

"Sadhana-mala" written in Sanskrit represents the union by means of two conceptualized words, that is, "Jnana-sattva" (the "knowledge being", the real deity who descend from the dharma realm with whom the worshipper finally realises himself to be identical., [Locke 1980:471-472]) and "Samaya-sattva" (the "conventional being", the visualization of the deity evoked from one's own consciousness which will be united through yogic meditation with the real deity, thus bringing about the worshipper's realization of his identity with the deity., [Locke 1980:482]). They become one like water mixed with more water or milk (eki-kr [to unite, combine, associate], or samarasi-kr [to cause to have equal feelings, or to be the same liquid]).

In sadhana literature, the meditator is always requested to perform some preparatory practises to purify his own body before starting the visualization of the deity with whom he will be united. It is also clear that the mediator acts on his own initiative when going into esoteric union with a deity.

In the Newar Buddhist rituals (the ritualized sadhana), a deity who has descended to the Akanistha-Bhuvana heaven is represented by a brilliant line-drawing as the most sophisticated form in the material world. The well-known Newar Buddhist story "Srnga Bheri" written in the Newari language says that a piouslady constructed a sand caitya and she worshipped it every day. Then, "a bejewelled caitya appeared in the sky emitting radiant light in all directions. She was surprised and with folded hands turned to the sky in great reverence. Then the caitya that appeared in the sky descended down to the earth and merged into the sand caitya -. When the bejewelled caitya entered the sand caitya, the sand caitya was transformed into a bejewelled caitya" ([Lewis 1994:24], cf. [Lewis 2000:33]). The bejewelled caitya that appeared in the sky corresponds to "Jnana-sattva", and the sand caitya to "Samaya-sattva" in sadhana literatures. This episode represents a Newar version of the esoteric union of "Jnana-caitya" and "Samaya-caitya".
Sometimes we can see another pair of the words, "Jnana-devata" and "Samaya-devata", "Jnana-cakra" and "Samaya-cakra", "Jnana-mandala" and "Samaya-mandala" and so on, instead of "Jnana-sattva" and "Samaya-sattva" in sadhana literatures. We also know a phrase in "Acarya-kriya-samuccaya" that the real colours, which should be named "samaya-ranga", are united with (saha eki-rasi bhavena) "jnana-ranga" (the "knowledge" colour). It is interesting to note that Vajrasattva is called "maha-samaya-sattva" in the recitation of the Hundred Syllables (sataksara) of Vajrasattva (see [Gellner 1991:187]).

Here it is said that "the bejewelled caitya entered the sand caitya". The original word for "to enter" is dvam (duham)-vane ([Badhratna N.S.1099:19-20]), duham, adv., with v.i., into, inside., and vane, to go). It has another synonym : duham-vaye (vaye, to come). Generally speaking, the Newari idiom dyah-dubiye means "a deity enters (someone's body)" in literal translation, and "to be possessed by a deity" when freely translated. There is another idiom, dyah-vaye (a deity comes = to be possessed by a deity). The word "du-biye" combines "du" (prefix. in, inside, into) and "biye" (to be unseen), to make "[1] to be possessed, [2] to enter (and disappear)., vayata kumari dubita (He/She was possessed by Kumari)" ([Kölinger and Shresthacarya 1994:167]).

Another example provides us with the Sanskrit word "pravesa" (entering, penetration), and the sentence "(because) a Goddess often entered their mother's body (devi pravesa juya), their mother became a prophetess, and a faith healer for sick persons". The verb "tvapuye" (to bewitch, to possess., A deity possessed him. = He is possessed by a deity is also understood in this context.

In sadhana literature, we can observe two subjects in a Sanskrit verb, that is, the mediator and the deity. A deity enters a meditator's body, and at the same time a meditator made the deity enter his body. But this coexisting relationship has changed in the Newari verbs. The subject of the Newari verbs is always a deity or a god, never the meditator. A deity enters someone's body without any advanced indication, thus, he or she is suddenly possessed by a deity. In this context, he or she is not a meditator but a victim. The Newari verbs shift favour to a deity in relation to caste status.

We can see other interesting idioms in the Nepali language. Vijaya Malla's novel "Kumari Sobha" ([Malla 1972]) was written in Nepali, even though he was a Newar, and the setting of his novel was in Newar society. Because the heroine Sobha had been a Living Goddess Kumari (ex-Kumari), she was often "possessed" by a deity even after her retirement from the seat of Kumari. To express that she was "possessed", Malla mainly used the verb "to come". The subject of the verb is, of course, a deity. In fact, most Nepali idioms incorporate with the verb "to come", and sometimes make use of the verb "to ride". But the most predominant verb in Newari, "to enter", fell out of use in Nepali. Now Let's examine these Nepali verbs, according to the Malla's novel.

[1] The verb aunu (v.i., to come) : Unalai ta devi aeko (A Goddess is coming to her [literal translation] = She is possessed by a Goddess [free translation]). Malai kina deuta airahecha ? (Why is a deity coming to me ?). Mama devi aeko pakhai ho (It is sure that a Goddess is coming to me). [2] The verb cadhnu (v.i., to ride, to mount, to go up, to ascend) : Unama
Kumari nai cadheki hun (A Kumari is riding on her). Sobha dyo-maijulai deuta cadhyo re (It is said that a deity has ridden on Sobha dyo-maiju). In Malla's novel, the verb "to come" is used more often than the verb "to ride", and we can find both verbs used in one sentence, for example, "I have consulted a doctor about whether I had been ill or whether a deity had ridden on me. The doctor could not make a diagnosis, but I was sure a deity had come to me". Although it is only one example, the Sanskrit (and the Nepali) noun pravesa (an access, an entry) is seen in his novel - Isvariya sakti unako tyas sano kayama pravesa gareko thiyo (The power of a deity has made an entry in her small body). The verb pasnu (v.i., to enter, to go in or come in) is used only in one example - Mero sarirama devi paseki hun (A Goddess has entered my body).

We also have another idiom in the novel, boksi lagnu (a witch joins or adheres to [someone] = to be possessed by a witch).

The Nepali film "Mask of Desire" (the original title, "Mukundo", A.D. 1999), in which one of the heroines is a female medium who speaks Nepali, provides us with many of the same idioms that are found in Malla's novel. However, in a short dialogue between the medium and her escort, she is told, "Because you (the medium) are a vehicle (of the God), you can not deport yourself at your will". The original word for "a vehicle (of God)" is vahana. Originally it was a Sanskrit word, but it was later adopted into the Nepali language. The word "vehicle" suggests a relation between a god as the rider and a human body as the ride. Y. Krishan said that "Where, however, Brahmanical gods serve as the vahanas, vehicles, of Buddhist gods - Padmapani or Avalokitesvara riding on the shoulders of Visnu - these cannot be interpreted to mean that the vahanas is being trampled upon. In Indian art and literature, vahanas of gods are treated with respect and offered worship; they are deemed to be distinctive emblems of different gods" (Krishan 1992:26, n.16).

As mentioned above, the Nepali language mainly uses the two verbs "to come" and "to ride" to represent the condition of being possessed by a deity. There seems to be some connection with the folkways in North India, where the same two verbs are used in the native language to represent the same condition. Based on her research in a North Indian village, Susan S. Wadley devided the possession into two classes, "to come" and "to ride", and said that "There are, then, two basic categories of possession rituals. The first category of possession includes possession of a victim by ghosts or other malevolent spirits that cause illness or psychological disturbances. These spirits <ride> or <adhere> to their victims. In these possessions, anyone may be possessed and a specialist, an exorcist, is called to communicate with the spirit causing the illness and induce it to depart. The second category of possession includes those by a harmless deity who is attracted by drums and dances to his oracle or possesses a particular devotee. Another type of possession by a harmless deity occurs when there is an oracle who can voluntarily induce a personal familiar spirit to possess him and to speak to clients through him. These spirits <come to> their oracles. These spiritual beings are generally benevolent, though feared, and leave voluntarily. The possessed is usually a specialist or particular devotee of the spiritual beings causing possession" (Wadley 1976:235-236). But it is questionable whether her hypothesis fits in the case of the Nepali speakers. I would like to defer to my conclusion.
We are always up against other questions when we discuss the transformation of sadhana meditation into possession. For one, does possession factor into the essence of sadhana meditation? On this question, David N. Gellner says "In a rather technical sense Vajracarya priests could be said to be possessed whenever they perform complex rituals ("do sadhana"). However, most lay people, and even many practising priests, are not aware of this and do not see priests' ritual performances as a type of possession" ([Gellner 1994:45, n.25], see also [Gellner 1988b:138]). He also points out in another paper that "The theory on which nearly all Tantric rituals requiring the presence of a priest are constructed, is that the priest visualises the deity as emerging from his own body. The priest deifies himself in the introduction of the ritual and thereby acquires the authority and the power to make deities present for the laity to worship. This theory is particularly true of Buddhist ritual, and applies also to a large part of Hindu ritual. From the lay point of view the priest merely summons the deities and is not identical with them. But from the textual point of view and that of the Great Tradition, the priest, or some other high-caste practitioner, is made divine - a ritualised, exclusive and hierarchically valorised version of low-class possession" ([Gellner 1988b:139-140]). We have to examine the "low-class possession" to which Gellner refers, as well as the transformation from possession in folk religion into sadhana meditation among high castes. At the same time, we should more closely examine this paper's discussion of the transformation of sadhana meditation into possession.


In Tibetan-styled Buddhist paintings called Thangkas, there are some works bearing Newari inscriptions. I know of fourteen examples:

1. Pancaraksa deities A.D.1662 ([Pal 1978: fig. 212])
2. Vasudhara A.D.1689 ([Pal 1978: fig. 214])
3. Thousand-armed Avalokitesvara A.D.1695 ([Pal 1978: fig. 215])
4. Vasudhara A.D.1788 ([Pal 1967: fig. 27])
5. Paradise of Amitabha A.D.1790 ([Pal 1978: fig. 218])
6. Tshogs-sin (Assembly Tree) A.D.1796 ([Toganoo 1986: III-8-1])
7. Amoghapasa Lokesvara 18th century ([Pal 1978: fig. 216])
8. Bodha-Gaya A.D.1803 ([Wee 1969])
10. Sitatapatra A.D.1813 ([Tanaka 2000: no.75])
11. title unknown A.D.1821 ([Pal 1967: fig. 28])
12. Candamararo mandala A.D.1829 ([Tanaka 2000: no.13])
13. Vasudhara mandala A.D.1829 ([Pal 1969: no.34])
14. Goddess Tara and Bodhisattva Maitreya A.D.1859 (S. Akimoto, a private collection in Japan)

I discussed the Newari inscriptions of nos. 6, 10, 12, 13 and 14 in my full paper. These
paintings were souvenirs to the Newar merchants who stayed in Tibet to engage in the business of trade with Tibetans. They brought them back to the Kathmandu Valley when they returned home. Most of the paintings were produced between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in Lhasa and in the monastery of Tashilumpo, Shigatse.

In work no. 14, the Goddess holds Maitreya like a baby on her lap. The inscription tells us that this work was commissioned by a Vajracarya merchant, a trader in Lhasa, who came from the monastery called Yasodhara Mahavihara, Bu Baha, in Patan (Lalitpur), and this painting was made in memory of his late wife (Tara) and his baby (Maitreya).

Of these paintings, Pratapaditya Pal said that "The style of these pictures is distinctly Tibetan, although the subject matter often is typically Nepali" ([Pal 1978:154]). On further examination, two of the paintings (nos. 8 and 14) are of an original style, clearly free from traditions. L. P. Van der Wee pointed out that "This painting (no. 8) is not an exact copy of the Bodha-Gaya stupa, but a free concept. Tibetan artists are allowed a very limited freedom, but in this instance no canon applied, and a very free and personal artistical work was the result" ([Wee 1969:296]). For the Newar Buddhist merchants in Tibet, the exposure to these new styles must have been a broadening experience, and an exciting and enjoyable time for the artists who painted these pictures. I think that the painters were not native Tibetans, but rather Newar artists who were studying Tibetan Buddhist arts or working as artisans in the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, simply because it is hard to believe that the Newari inscriptions were written by Tibetan artists.

One important feature of these paintings is that the deities of the Anuttara Yoga class, such as Hevajra, Cakrasamvara, Kalacakra, their consorts, and the like, are never depicted. Such paintings are produced only to assist the initiates in their Tantric meditation. The Newar merchants in Tibet were Buddhists, but not monks of Tantric Buddhism, so they must not have been allowed to commission such paintings for souvenirs. Dina Bangdel presents a painting of Goddess Varuni and says that "Given the specificity of the iconography popular among Newar Buddhists, it is highly probable that this painting, although produced in Tibet, was created for Newar Buddhist patrons residing in Tibet" ([Bangdel 2003:46, and fig.10]). This painting of the goddess of Anuttara Yoga class (Varuni) must have been produced for a Newar monk who was training in Tibetan Buddhism. This type of painting is, so to speak, a means of Tantric meditation, so there was no need for an inscription to commemorate successful business in Tibet. And, needless to say, an original idea or a free concept seen in the souvenir paintings are not at all apparent. The painting of Goddess Varuni, therefore, doesn't belong to the usual categories within our research (I will amend my opinion in my postscript [2]).

Another irregular example of such paintings ([Kreijger 1999: plate 34, Buddha Shakyamuni, dated A.D.1897]) suggests that the inscription was added after this Tibetan-styled painting was produced, because the inscription is written along the four margins of the painting, separate from the composition itself. It begins with the salutation to Buddha Dipamkara, the main deity for the annual festival of donation to Buddhist monks (pancadana) in the Kathmandu Valley. It goes on to record the performance of the pancadana festival that was held on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Sravan in Nepala (Newar) Samvat 1017 (A.D.1897) in the city of Patan.
by the five brothers of Sakya caste from Hiranyavarna Mahavihara. It may be that after they achieved great success as merchants in Tibet, they returned to the Valley and performed a lively pancadana festival using their private money earned in Tibet. Five people in Tibetan garb are depicted in the painting, two of them wearing red caps on their heads. Their appearances suggest that they were Newar merchants in Tibet. I cannot say where this painting was made, but it is clear that the inscription was written in the Kathmandu Valley to commemorate their religious activity upon return. Although this is also an example of Tibetan-styled paintings bearing Newari inscriptions, it is quite unusual in comparison with other examples which are discussed in my full paper.

Generally speaking, there were three groups of Newars in Tibet, that is, merchants in the business of trade, artisans in the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, and monks in training of Tibetan Buddhism. But only Newar merchants commissioned these paintings, and the painters of them were most likely Newar artisans in Tibet. The Newar patrons were fond of new ideas in Tibetan art, and they encouraged the latest techniques in these paintings. Thus, they positively promoted the cultural exchange with Tibetan Buddhism while establishing good relationships with the Tibetan clients in their businesses.

My hypotheses should be examined more thoroughly, examining more examples of such paintings. Fortunately, the fine colour printing in recently published art books makes it possible to read the inscriptions without the benefit of having the original painting, although, of course, it is to be desired to see the original work.

<postscript> [1] Recently, one splendid example came into the possession of Mr. Shin-ichiro Akimoto, owner of painting no. 14 mentioned above. It is a painting of Goddess Green Tara seated in the centre of a Chinese-styled Palace. Below the Goddess, a peony stands on an artificial pond, and two Newars wearing red caps sit atop the flower. The scene reminds us of the mythical appearance of the Bright Light of Svayambhu in the ancient lake of the Kathmandu Valley. Also, in a small but gold-rimmed oval, an old man looks up at a peach tree. Only this scene is depicted by a colourless and transparent line drawing (see my paper [14]). And as I have pointed out earlier (in my paper [8]), in China, educated gentlemen strove for the ideal paradise called "Hu-zhong-tian", Utopia in the Flask. The paradise was also called "Tao-yuan-xiang", a hidden land where the fruit of a peach tree gave eternal life to the inhabitants.

The inscription on this painting reads, " ~ samvat 929 adya sravana masya suklapaksa astamiya tithva ~ // thva sunu sri 3 aryyatara pottareka, patibhandara dayaka jula // kasthamandapa mahanagare kirtitpurnne vajradhutucaitye mahavihare nivasita // sri saky bhiksu panca (?)muni, tasya dvitrya bhajya dharmmauti, tasya putra taodhika, tasya bhajya dharmmaraksmi, tasya prathamata putra, thakusimha // utropamtha jhisaksa nama, desasa, nama cakra garadi vyapara yasyam cona vyarasa dharmmacita utpati juyao dayaka jula // ~ " . It was made in Shigatse in 1809 by a Sakya merchant from Lagam Baha (Kirtipunya-vajradhatu-caitya Mahavihara), Kathmandu.

[2] John C. Huntington and Dina Bangdel showed two paintings of Vajravarahi mandala commissioned by Newar merchants in Lhasa in N.S. 989 and 911 ([Huntington & Bangdel
2003:380-382]). I have to amend my opinion that I have not yet found a Newar thangka painted in Tibet which depicts a higher (Yogini tantric) deity. But, by these paintings, I found a clue to understand the context of "Vajravahiki-Kalpa-Tantra" copied by Ratnamuni Vajracarya in Lhasa for Sakya patrons (see my paper [35], ms. no. 9). Although the Sakyas were merchants in Lhasa, not monks in training of Tibetan Buddhism, Ratnamuni copied it for them.

[3] We also know some examples of "Tibetan" Buddhist paintings without any inscriptions in Nepal-bhasa, although they were commissioned by Newars in Tibet (for examples, [Huntington & Bangdel 2003:378-379], [Pal 1990:176-177, P39], in addition to the Varuni painting mentioned above by Bangdel). I am searching for these paintings, too.


Asha Archives (Asha Saphu Kuthi) in Nepal was established in 1987 by the good offices of the late Mr. Prem Bahadur Kamsakar (also Kansakar). The Archives has a collection of about 5,300 Sanskrit and Newari manuscripts. The digitalization project of the mss. was completed in 2001 by Buddhist Library in Japan in cooperation with Asha Archives ([Asha Archives & Buddhist Library 2001]). I was lucky enough to compile a whole catalogue for them in 1991 ([Yoshizaki 1991]) and a supplement in 2002 ([Yoshizaki 2002]). The Archives also compiled two other catalogues ([Vaidya & Kamsakar 1991] and [Sakya 2000]) from their independent standpoints.

In this collection, based on colophons written in the classical Newari language, I discovered 37 Newar Buddhist mss. copied in Tibet. They were commissioned for copying by Newar merchants and artisans who lived in Tibet. I will transcribe these 37 colophons in chronological order, from the Newar year (Newar Samvat, henceforth N.S.) 737 to 1020, using data from my catalogues, if I find an opportunity to publish the full paper. Here, however, is only the chronological list of the date of the copying, the titles of mss. and the reference number of mss. based on the digitalization project (and some additional information, in the report of the Conference).

1. N.S. 737 title unknown (pratima varnana or phuta saphu) DP 1329
2. N.S. 791 Namasangiti DP 3633
3. N.S. 801 Karandavyuhaha mahayana ratnaraja sutra DP 2105
4. N.S. 808 Hitopadesa DP 1259
5. N.S. 809 Hitopadesa DP 1501
6. N.S. 809 Aparimita nama mahayanatentra and Durgati parisodhana tantra DP 3674
7. N.S. 811 Hitopadesa DP 1326
8. N.S. 813 Canakyayara samagraha DP 1223
9. N.S. 815 Vetalapancavimsati, Sivarupa bhimasena stotra, and Aryavalokitesvara stotra DP 1467
It is well known that few Newar mss. were copied in modern Tibet by the Newars. As far as I know, only a total of 22 mss. are kept in various catalogues. But because of these sporadic discoveries, researchers on Newar Buddhist mss. and scholars of the Newar cultural history have never given them much attention. We have now acquired a surprising amount of them in the collection of Asha Archives, and we will find more examples of such mss. in other collections throughout the world in the near future. For this reason, we should reconsider their importance from every possible aspect. I will later discuss the mss. nos. 28, 31, 32 and 34 ~ 36 (those marked with an asterisk), which were copied by Ratnamuni Vajracarya in Lhasa.

The Newar merchants in Tibet positively promoted the cultural exchange with Tibetan Buddhism through Tibetan Buddhist paintings bearing Newari inscriptions. But, on the other hand,
they also intended to maintain Newar culture in Tibet through the copying of Newar Buddhist mss., as do their colleagues in the Kathmandu Valley.

<postscript> [1] We know some examples of "Tibetan" Buddhist paintings without any inscriptions in Nepal-bhasa, although they were commissioned by Newars in Tibet. Like that, there must be many (or some) examples of Newar Buddhist manuscripts copied in modern Tibet without any colophons to indicate that the manuscript was copied in Tibet.

[2] Shortly we will find one example of an illustrated Newar Buddhist manuscript copied and painted in Tibet. I heard Ms. Ruriko Sakuma is preparing an interesting paper on it. Is the style of the pictures distinctly Tibetan or typically Nepali ? I think both Tibetan and Nepali style are quite possible.


Newar merchants and artisans in modern Tibet commissioned copies of many Buddhist manuscripts, including works on political ethics or morals, during their stay for their own activities. The colophons of these mss. often note that the merchant, a patron of the mss., belonged to a commercial association called a Pala. It appears that a Pala was a particular form of Guthi, which was established to both further carry on trade with the Tibetans and maintain a sense of Newar culture while living in Tibet. Unfortunately, we haven't had any complete or good historical materials covering the Pala until recently.

In striking contrast to Laksmi prasad Devakota's novel, "Muna-Madan", which was written in the Nepali language, published in 1936, and lacked detailed descriptions of the Newar culture (see [Hutt 1996:10]), Cittadhar Hridaya's novel, "Mim manah Pau" ([Hridaya N.S.1088]), written in the Newari language and published in 1967/68, has many valuable pieces of information about the traditional Newar way of life in Tibet, especially regarding the Palas. In his acknowledgements, Hridaya expressed his thanks to Lhasa Sahus (Newar merchants in Lhasa), because they gave him various information, such as on the route between Kathmandu Valley and Lhasa, manners and customs of the Newars in Lhasa and so on. Moreover, he wrote in his novel that his grandfather was also one of Lhasa Sahus, which adds a level of validity to the information gleaned from his book. Therefore, "Mim manah Pau" is a helpful resource for learning about the manners and customs of Lhasa Sahus and Palas.

According to the novel, in the golden days there were more than twenty Palas in Tibet, but only seven of them were active in Lhasa of those days. A Pala was an organization of shops (kothas), and there were two types of members, Sahu (employers, shop owners) and Banja (employees, the working staff). The Palas were managed under the leadership of Sahu representatives. The employees were from various castes without any distinction between Buddhist or Hindu. As a general rule of the Pala, they were treated impartially. The daily business of trade in each shop was carried out by an experienced employee, who was an acting Sahu. As one of the
leading members of the Pala, the employer himself was also busy, negotiating business with the Tibetan and the home governments, while keeping the accounts for his shop. The Sahu wore a red cap in his full dress, and we can see these red capped men in the Tibetan Buddhist paintings (bearing Newari inscriptions) that they sponsored.  

Interestingly enough, Hridaya informs us that there were Vajracarya priests in Palas and there were three Vajrasattva-Palas (Associations of Vajracaryas in Lhasa), representing the three cities in the Valley - Kathmandu, Lalitpur (Patan) and Bhaktapur. It seems that Vajracaryas in Vajrasattva-Pala performed Newar Buddhist rituals for the members of Palas (John K. Locke referred to an exquisite Vajracarya crown offered by the Sakya merchants in Lhasa to their Guru Vajracarya priest in N.S. 797, [Locke 1985:316-317]). Six notable scenes in the novel, in which the Vajracarya priest appears by the name of Gubhaju or Guruju are as follows -

1 When new members of the Pala reached Lhasa from the Valley, the Vajracarya priest gave an address of welcome on behalf of the Pala.  
2 When a new member entered a secret room (agam) of the Pala for the first time, the Vajracarya also entered to worship the deity of the agam together with leading members of the Pala.  
3 When a feast was held to take a new member into the Pala, he inquired with all members of the Pala about the partnership of a new member.  
4 When a annual trading fair was held in Campalim, a place quite far from Lhasa, a leading Vajracarya priest, thakali-gubhaju, of Vajrasattva-Pala performed kalasa-puja to announce the start of the fair (cf. [Harsamuni 1992]).  
5 Gubhaju performed the funeral service after a member of the Pala died.  
6 When a member of another Pala brought a letter to Lhasa from the Valley, which informed the news of protagonist's father's death, a Gubhaju of the member's Pala read the letter to the protagonist. A Gubhaju from his (protagonist's) own Pala read it to him again (From this description, we clearly know that there was [or were] Vajracarya priest[s] in each Pala). In addition to these services, Vajracaryas sometimes performed Hindu rituals in the office of the Nepalese Government in Lhasa (see [Misra & Sarma 1983]).  

Vajracaryas in Palas didn't fit into one of the above mentioned three Newar groups in Tibet, that is, merchants, artisans working in the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, or monks in training of Tibetan Buddhism. So it is reasonable to think that they came to Tibet at a request of the Palas to work as priests attached to Palas, just like Banjas were employed by Sahus. Vajracaryas in Tibet, therefore, must not have had any intentions beyond their clients' needs. It seems that Vajrasattva-Palas had not made any rules to strengthen their association's unity in Tibet, unlike to the Vajracarya associations in the Valley, such as Acarya Guthi in Kathmandu City.  

Sahus must have selected their priest with two provisos. First, of course, he had to be an expert on the ritual performance. Secondly, he had to show allegiance to the Sahus. Vajracaryas who showed hostile feelings to Tibetan Buddhists, or had taken legal action insisting on their caste superiority, especially against the laity, including merchants in the Valley and in Tibet (cf. [Rosser 1966]), were obviously unfit to be their priests.  

The scribes who copied the Newar Buddhist manuscripts in Tibet were always Vajracaryas, with the exception of one ms. copied by a Budhhacarya (plus a few anonymous mss.). Since the commissions were made by wealthy Newar merchants in Tibet, it is reasonable to think that they
were copied by Vajracaryas in Palas. As I will discuss later, the mss. copied by Ratnamuni Vajracarya from Sikhamu Baha (Tarumula Mahavihara, Kathmandu) are strong pieces of evidence to think so. He wrote down his name and the name of his monastery in the Valley in his mss., but he never recorded the name of Vajrasattva-Pala, because he essentially belonged to his Pala, and maybe, Vajrasattva-Palas were no more than nominal associations in Tibet.

[Asha Archives has 37 mss. copied in modern Tibet within the collection of about 5,300 Sanskrit and Newari manuscripts. Of these 37 mss., the six mss. previously mentioned (mss. nos. 28, 31, 32, and 34~36 of my paper [33]) were copied by Ratnamuni Vajracarya in Lhasa. The Archives has two other mss. he copied while in the Valley, and one ms. which can't identify its location, so we can roughly trace his life history from the colophons of these nine manuscripts ([1] ~ [9]).

In the first half of his life he was a priest of Sikhamu Baha (Tarumula Mahavihara) of Kathmandu, and he copied two mss., one dated Newar Samvat (N.S.) 983 ([1] a text of puja vidhi, DP 2358) for himself and one dated N.S. 991 ([2] Swayambhu Purana, DP 5137) both done in Kathmandu. According to these two colophons, he was an inhabitant of "Kasthamandapa Tadamula Mahavihala Pako griha sthana" (N.S. 983), or "Madu Sikhammugu Vahala Pako Layamaksa" (N.S. 991) in those days. The fact that he copied a text of puja vidhi indicates that he was a Buddhist priest who performed rituals at his clients' request.

There are some mss. copied by Ratnamuni (without caste name) in the Archives. It is not known whether or not they were copied by the Ratnamuni in question (N.S. 948 Naksatra mala DP 1301, N.S. 949 Aparimitayur nama mahayanasutra DP 3191, N.S. 967 Durgatiparisdhani dharani and Dharmalakshmi samvada DP 3241, N.S. 971 Mahakala tantra DP 3283, and N.S. 1000 Dharmapasah DP 2249 copied by Ratnamuni Vajracarya of Mu Bahala).

In his later life, between N.S. 991 and 1001 if indeed DP 2249 ms. was copied by the same Ratnamuni, then he was in Kathmandu in N.S. 1000. cf. [Vaidya & Kamsakar 1991:39], he proceeded to Lhasa to engage in trade with Tibet. He stayed in Lhasa for at least 12 years, continuing to copy Buddhist mss. as he did in Kathmandu. [3] The colophon of "Swayambhu pattpatti satkatha" (no. 28 in my previous paper) copied in N.S. 1001 tells of a bhiksu named Ratnamuni Vajracarya, an inhabitant of the East house of "Pakopusuli dyama" of Kasthamandapa Taramula Mahavihara in Nepal, and a worshipper of a lotus flower placed at the feet of Goddess Vajra Devi. He was a trader in the house called "Lubhusyaka Pala" in Lhasa, Northern district (from Nepal), and he copied the story of Swayambhu Purana in the Newari language with a most reverential prayer.

[4] The colophon of "Pancaraksa dharani" (DP 3258), however, merely says that "Ratnamuni Vajracarya of Sikhanumugu Bahala of Nepal copied this ms. in N.S. 1004". He may
have returned to the Valley for a short time, so I didn't include this ms. in the list of 37 mss. copied in Tibet.

Then, it seems that later in Lhasa he changed his position from businessman to priest for the Newar merchants in Lhasa, and he began copying mss. for his clients. From this point on, colophons don't describe him as being a trader in Lhasa.

[5] The colophon of "Nagarajasya ~ " (no. 31) says that the ms. was copied in N.S. 1008 by Ratnamuni Vajracarya, (an inhabitant) of "Pakopukhuli dyama" of Kasthamandapa Taramula Mahavihara, for a client named Jnanasagara Tamrakar, who was from "Tavamugala" in Kantipur Mahanagara of Nepala-mandala, and who was a trader in "Kum Pala" in Lhasa.

[6] The colophon of "Stotra samgraha" (no. 32) says that the ms. was copied in N.S. 1008 by Ratnamuni Vajracarya, an inhabitant of the East house of "Pakopusuli dyama" of Taramula Mahavihara in Kasthamandapa Mahanagara, and a worshipper of Goddess Vajradevi, for a client named Jumam (?), a Sakya bhiksu of Kesavacandra Paravata Mahavihara in Kantipur Mahanagara in Nepal, who was a businessman of "Tarumsyaka Pala" in Lhasa.

[7] The colophon of "Vajravarahi kalpa ~ " (no. 34) says that the ms. was copied for his personal use in N.S. 1010 by Ratnamuni Vajracarya, an inhabitant of the East house of "Pakopukhuli dyama" of Taramula Mahavihara in Kasthamandapa Mahanagara of Nepala-mandala, and a worshipper of Goddess Vajradevi, while he was in "Lubhusyaka" Pala in Lhasa.

[8] The colophon of "Candamaharosana tantra" (no. 35) says that the ms. was copied in N.S. 1011 (?) by Ratnamuni Vajracarya, an inhabitant of "Pakopusuli dyama" of Taramula Mahavihara in Kasthamandapa Mahanagara of Nepala-mandala, and a worshipper of Goddess Vajradevi, while he was in Lhasa.

[9] The colophon of "Vajravarahi kalpa ~ " (no. 36) says that the ms. was copied in N.S. 1012 by Ratnamuni Vajracarya, an inhabitant of "Pakopusuli dyamaghr" of Taramula Mahavihara in Kasthamandapa Mahanagara of Nepala-mandala, and a worshipper of Goddess Vajradevi, when he was in Lhasa, for clients named Danavirasim and Caitravirasim, Sakya bhiksu of Vajradhatucaitya Mahavihara in Kantipur Mahanagara of Nepala-mandala, while they were engaging in the business of trade in the house of "Kum Pala" in Lhasa.

[36] Srimantadeva Vajracarya and Buddha Aksobhya for the Lhasa Newars (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu - Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies, forthcoming.)

The Newars who lived in modern Tibet to engage in the business of trade with Tibetans or to work as artisans in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, commissioned copies of many Newar Buddhist manuscripts in the intervals of their business. Among the mss. copied by them, the mss. copied by the Lhasa Newars (Newars in Lhasa) from N.S. 773 to 929 sometimes note in their colophons that the mss. were copied "in front of the Buddha Aksobhya". The Aksobhya seems to be a main deity installed in the Newar Buddhist shrine attached to an association of the Lhasa Newars.

The first reference to the Buddha Aksobhya of the Lhasa Newars is, as far as I know, found in
the colophon of *Saptavara-dharani* (*Grahamatrka-nama-dharani*), which was copied in the Newar year (N.S.) 773 by Srimantadeva Vajracarya (see [Purna ratna V.S. 2023:88]). It states that "During the reign of Sri 2 Pratap Malladeva, a great king of Sri Suvarnapanalini Mahanagar, while a client named Jayaram Toradhar of Jhvara Vahara was engaged in the business of trade in Lhasa, commissioned a copy of the manuscript (or manuscripts) of *Pancaraksa dharani* and *Saptavara dharani* with gold and silver ink, after paying homage to the statue of the Buddha Aksobhya, the ruler of Himalaya, Sri 3 Sakyamuni. The ms. was copied by Sri Srimantadeva Vajracarya of mahapatra-kula, an inhabitant of Tarumula Mahavihara in Kasthamandapa Mahanagara, on the ninth day, a Sunday, of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra in N.S. 773 (free translation of selected passages)". The ms. was copied on black Nepalese paper with gold and silver ink in Ranjana script. It has a complete set of 23 folios.

Srimantadeva Vajracarya also made a manuscript, called by Pratapaditya Pal a "*Book of Buddhist Litanies and Images*", in the same year. Pal says of this ms., "In many ways this is one of the most fascinating documents for the study of both Nepali and Tibetan art history. The colophon states that the manuscript was prepared in Lhasa by the *vajracharya* Srimantadeva in the month of Pausha in the Newari year 773, corresponding to 1652/53 (see Appendix). The first two folios are missing; the book may have begun with a eulogy composed by Srimantadeva himself. Included are two dharanis, not composed by Srimantadeva, devoted to the goddesses Pancharaksha and Vasudhara; ~ What is clear is that the sketches are prepared to serve as models for Tibetan-style *thankas* painted in Nepal, possibly for visiting Tibetan patrons. ~ Indeed, this kind of lively, naturalistic landscape is generally unknown in Nepali paintings but was much admired in Tibet. It is commonly believed by modern scholars that this landscape style, derived ultimately from the Chinese tradition, developed in central Tibet in the eighteenth century. This dated book, however, conclusively proves that this style had become formulated by the mid-seventeenth century" ([Pal 1985:161]). Pal presented the following translation of the colophon in his Appendix - "In the year 773, on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pausha, in Lhasa, the writing was completed by the *vajracharya* Srimantadeva" ([Pal 1985:236]). The dharani of Vasudhara is the first of the *Saptavara dharani* (dharanis to be recited by Newar Buddhists on each of the seven days of a week), and it is always recited on Sunday.

I discovered a short text called "*Sri-Lhasa-jina-varnana-stotra*" in a large collection of mss. being kept in the Asha Archives. The stotra is found in the ms. titled "Canakyasara samgraha and others" ([Yoshizaki 1991:147, no.2497] = DP 1216., cf. [Vaidya & Kamsakar 1991:125]). It is just a little more than two folios, but it is quite possibly the first two missing folios of the "*Book of Buddhist Litanies and Images*".

As I have not come into possession of another manuscript of the stotra, I regret to say that I cannot revise it now (I noticed later that The National Archives of Nepal has a manuscript of it dated N.S. 774 under the main title of "*Puja vidhi (and) Astottara satanama*", [Vaidya V.S. 2058:94, 2/457]. And Mr. Iain Sinclair kindly informed me that a ms. of the stotra, also dated N.S. 774, was microfilmed by the NGMPP, Reel No. E 1702/12. Unfortunately, I have not get
them yet.). The colophon states that "The writing (copying) was completed by Vajracarya Ratnamunideva on the first day of the bright fortnight of the Newar month of Thimla in N.S. 774". The ms. of The National Archives also says "samvat 774 thimla thvaka padu kunhu sidhayaka juro // vajracarya ratnamuni devana likhitasampurnamiti // ".

The main body of the stotra consists of ten stanzas. The stotra praises the gold and silver statue of "Mahabodhi Aksobhya", surrounded by twelve brilliant Bodhisattvas forming a mandala. It says that he is worshipped day and night with many offerings, and he is praised by all of the deities. He protects merchants of the northern district from all kinds of fears including the terror of leprosy, and he will give wealth and liberation to merchants. Then, under the date of Monday, the sixth day of bright fortnight of the month of Bhadra in the year of "guna muni saptamini", that is, N.S. 773, the auspicious day when the author of the stotra had an audience with the Buddha, the stotra mentions the name of Srimantadeva Vajracarya either as the composer of this song or the producer of the statue of Aksobhya.

In N.S. 773, Srimantadeva Vajracarya copied two manuscripts, the sketches "prepared to serve as models for Tibetan-style thankas painted in Nepal" and Saptavara dharmar at a Newar merchant's request. He was from Tarumula Mahavihara in Kathmandu, and a leading member of the group of artisans among the Lhasa Newars. He was of a "mahapatra-kula". No attempt has been made until now to connect these two manuscripts. Moreover, in the same year he played some important part in the song of praise to the Buddha Aksobhya in Lhasa. What is the most interesting is that he is, so far as we know, the first person to refer to the Buddha Aksobhya for the Lhasa Newars.

Part 3
A Perspective on the study of Newar Buddhism (Indo Tetsugaku Bukkyougaku heno Sasoi, Tokyo, 2005, pp.196-199.)

1-1. To study Nepalese Buddhism : Roughly speaking, there are three types of Buddhism in Nepal today; Newar Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, and Theravada Buddhism. They have closely affected each other in their doctrines and histories. They are called collectively "Nepalese Buddhism" in a broad sense. But Newars, the native inhabitants of "Nepal" (the Kathmandu Valley), who established their own Buddhist culture in the Valley, also call their Buddhism by the name of "Nepalese Buddhism". Likewise the language of Newars has been termed "Newari" by Westerners, although it is known in Nepal by its native speakers as Nepal(ba)-bhasa, the language of "Nepal". Their "Nepalese Buddhism" in a narrow sense is called "Newar Buddhism" by foreign researchers to distinguish from "Nepalese Buddhism" in a broad sense. I will summarize in my own way to study the Buddhism of Nepal (Nepalese Buddhism) from the point of view of Newar Buddhism.

When we discuss the Buddhism of Nepal, we have to take the three types of Buddhism and Hinduism into consideration. Nepalese Buddhists weave their mutual relations together in a
complicated fashion. For example, each group identifies the same deity in a different manner. An Avalokitesvara called Karunamaya by the Buddhist Newars is worshipped by the Hindu Newars as a historical saint named Matsyendranath, and for Tibetan Buddhists he is one of "the Noble Four Brothers" being invited by the king Sron-brtas sgam-po in Tibet. The Tibetan legend says that "the Noble Four Brothers" appeared from the same sandalwood, and one of them was installed in Lhasa. The complicated cult of Avalokitesvara and Matsyendranath in the Valley of Nepal has been discussed in detail by John K. Locke (Locke 1980). But the Newars know nothing at all about the legend of Tibetans. And Tibetans have no interest in the festival of Karunamaya/Matsyendranath. The religious geography of the Valley shows us fine discrepancies between Newars and Tibetans, and even between the Buddhist Newars and the Hindu Newars. The Buddhism of Nepal will be observed through the net of such complicated relations.

1-2. Newar Buddhism: The most remarkable character of Newar Buddhism is that it has preserved the lost traditions of Indian Buddhism to this day. The Newar Buddhists have accepted the system of caste in their social life under a strong influence of Hinduism. Consequently, scholars in the nineteenth century severely criticized them for being "corrupted" Buddhists. But among scholars in the late twentieth century, the situation reversed itself favorably, when they said that if the Newar Buddhists had not been protected by the caste system, their Buddhist traditions would have disappeared or retired from the stage of history long ago. The relation between Newar Buddhism and Hinduism must be examined from every possible aspect, especially from that of the Newar cultural context.

Samvara Tantrism is the second subject of the study of Newar Buddhism. Nowadays it is not too much to say that the main current of the Newar esoteric Buddhism is occupied with Samvara (Cakrasamvara) Tantrism. I have been interested in this subject, especially in the rituals and the expressions in art. Many questions remain to be solved, and yet more questions rush into my heart one after another. Continual hunting up of materials for the study and unflagging fieldwork in the Valley will drive away all my questions. But I know the answer will make its appearance only within my questions.

In my opinion, the ritualized sadhana performed by the Vajracarya priests in Newar Buddhism, that is, the ritual procedure from Gurumandala-puja to Kalasa-puja, may be replaced in the near future by other procedure from Gurumandala-puja to Cakrasamvara Tri-samadhi, the threefold meditation of Cakrasamvara. In Kalasa-puja, a deity who grants the sponsor's wish is invited into the water pot. Theoretically, the deity varies with the purpose of the ritual. But in Samvara Tantrism, the deity in the water pot is always Cakrasamvara. So, it is quite natural that the ritualized sadhana will be standardized by the sadhana of Cakrasamvara. Two texts have already been published, taking the initiative in this replacement (Ratnakaji 1988 (and 1994), [Divyavajra & Padmasrivajra V.S. 2046]).

Also needed is the study of non-esoteric (exoteric) phases in Newar Buddhism. In either case, esoteric or non-esoteric, any reseacher can carry on fieldwork in the Kathmandu Valley. It is no exaggeration to say that this is the most fascinating feature when studying Newar Buddhism in the Valley. Dina Bangdel published notable results of her fieldwork, extending over these two phases.
of Newar Buddhism ([Bangdel 1999]).

1-3. Tibetan Buddhism: There is a long history of cultural exchange between Tibetan Buddhism and Newar Buddhism. It is one of the main subjects of study for researchers of Newar Buddhism. The large sum of money earned in Tibet by the Buddhist Newars was generously spent in the Valley for religious purposes. It is not too much to say that Newar Buddhism owes its historical splendor to Tibetans. But we have not studied so systematically the cultural exchange between them.

Two types of historical materials are available to us at the present. One is written in the old Newari language by the Newars who went to Tibet, and the other is written in Tibetan by Tibetans who visited to the Valley. We are painstakingly culling the former materials from volminous collections of the Newar manuscripts (for example, [Rabison 2002]), and the latter among Tibetan materials. Tibetan materials will be further divided into two types tentatively, those included in Tibetan Tripitaka and those not. Colophons added to translation works in Tibetan Tripitaka sometimes provide us with valuable information about the Newar scholars in transmitting the Indian Buddhist heritage to Tibet (see [Lo Bue 1997], [Lo Bue 1997b]). On the other hand, records of travel written by Tibetan monks during their stay in the Valley, and guidebooks for Tibetan pilgrims to the Valley, are also very interesting to us, because they show us that the Tibetan religious geography in the Valley is quite different from the Newars'.

In connection with Samvara Tantrism in Newar Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhists also identify the Valley of Nepal with Upachandoha (Ne-ba'i chandhoha, or -tshandhoha) in their guidebooks (see [Macdonald & Rin-po-che 1987:101] and others), but they never call the Valley "Himalaya", one of two Upachandohas. Buddhist Newars and Tibetans may possibly share only the name of Upachandoha in different religious geography.

1-4. Theravada Buddhism: Theravada Buddhism was introduced in Nepal in about the mid-twentieth century. Receiving a fresh religious impression through active missionary work, this greatly pleased Newar Buddhist laymen, because they had not been satisfied with the traditional Newar Buddhism. There were many more Saky monks who converted to the Theravada order than those of Vajracaryas, even taking into account the proportion of their actual numbers in the Newar society. Converting to the Theravada order, the Sakya may have aimed to prove their identities as Buddhist monks, which was never satisfactory in the Newar Buddhist hierarchy. We have to continue to observe the cultural exchange between Newar Buddhism and Theravada Buddhism. What will it produce in the future, or has it already finished its whole course of exchange? I will leave my questions with researchers of the next generation. Sarah LeVine and David N. Gellner's study is full of suggestions ([LeVine and Gellner 2005]).

1-5. Newar folk religion: Newars may have their own indigenous folk religion in the depths of their innermost thoughts. It seems to be different from Newar Buddhism or Hinduism. The study of it has just started.

2-1. Newar Buddhist Manuscripts: Newar Buddhist manuscripts are heirlooms handed down from Newars to students of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts around the world. The "Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project" (NGMPP) microfilmed over one hundred and eighty
thousands manuscripts in Nepal, and published a catalogue of them on CD. But it has presented only a preliminary list of the manuscripts. We must wait for the future fruits of NGMPP's labour, a more detailed catalogue, to find the minor, but requisite, texts for a deeper study of the Newar Buddhist culture. If possible, I want to do it.

A private archives named Asa Saphu Kuthi in Kathmandu has a collection of about 5,300 Sanskrit and Newari manuscripts. Now they are open to researchers through digitalized pictures ([Asha Archives & Buddhist Library 2001]). Two catalogues ([Yoshizaki 1991], [Yoshizaki 2002]) include minor, but requisite, texts.

2-2. Newar Hybrid Sanskrit : With the advance of the study of manuscripts, Sanskrit scholars around the world have raised doubts about the Newar scholars' knowledge of Sanskrit, because their manuscripts were written in corrupt Sanskrit. Siegfried Lienhard says, "While the Sanskrit in very old Nepalese manuscripts is handled with care and Sanskrit texts are copied correctly, or at least fairly correctly, the Sanskrit in many younger bilingual manuscripts has often been deplorably ill-treated. The glaring imperfections in manuscripts of this type betray, in fact, a carelessness and a gradual deterioration in the knowledge of Sanskrit that are unparallelled" ([Lienhard & Manandhar 1988:XXVII]).

Recently, following the name of "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit", this type of Sanskrit is called by the name of "Newar Hybrid Sanskrit" among Nepalese scholars (especially, Mr. Kasinath Tamot and his colleagues). If one corrected grammatical "mistakes" or spelling "errors" in the manuscripts written in the "Newar Hybrid Sanskrit" according to "standard" Sanskrit, we would have to ask two questions. First, what is "standard" Sanskrit? Second, should one think so little of the Newari linguistic tradition? Nepalese scholars, in fact, often betray their dissatisfaction, saying that although many foreign scholars have used Newar manuscripts in their own studies, they have never shown a deeper interest in their culture.

On the contrary, as the whole aspect of "Newar Hybrid Sanskrit" has not yet been clearly explained, it is natural for scholars of "standard" Sanskrit to be unable to accept "Newar Hybrid Sanskrit". Finding irregular grammar and spellings in the Roman transcriptions, they sometimes say that the transcriber must be unfamiliar with Sanskrit. But they must realize that we have to transcribe them as they are, to firmly establish "Newar Hybrid Sanskrit grammar".

And with the advance of the study of the Newar manuscripts, we realized a matter of great importance regarding the colophons of the manuscripts. Based on the colophons written in the classical Newari language, I discovered many Buddhist manuscripts of good quality copied by Newars in modern Tibet. Researchers around the world were interested in the Newar Buddhist manuscripts mostly as a means to reconstruct the lost Indian Buddhist tradition. But the primary concern has shifted to the study of the Newar culture in the glorious days when they were produced. As a result, we are now in a new stage of study of the Newar manuscripts. If we could pick up colophons and inscriptions from all of the existent Newar mss. and paintings around the world, we will be able to try another approach to the history of Newar Buddhism.

2-3. Collecting of materials for the study : Printed books and magazines on Newar Buddhism and its culture, published in Nepal, should be continuously and systematically collected according
to a long-term plan. They, as well as handwritten manuscripts, should surely be handed over to researchers of the next generation. But they are usually circulated only among limited persons, and are instantly out of print, and then never reprinted again. My books and magazines, collected in Nepal from 1985 to 1993 ([Yoshizaki 1994], See Part 4-[1]) and later till today, are opened to anyone who seeks good materials for their study. I want to present my collection to an appropriate research institute. It is my duty to the next generation.

Part 4

< Miscellanea >


The Kurokami Library has a collection of books and magazines on the Nepalese (Newar) Buddhism and its culture which was made in Kathmandu from 1985 to 1993. About 1,000 materials in the library were collected while I was in Nepal (1985-1989) and in two later visits (Jan.- Apr. 1992, Jan.- Feb. 1993) to study Newar Buddhism.

Mr. Shinrokuro Hidaka, the then President of Japan Nepal Society, pointed out - "The difficulties in collecting the source materials in Nepal are beyond imagination, as in the case of developing countries. Accurate statistics are lacking, only a few official publications are printed and published in small number, therefore the collector has to make a repeated visit to each governmental offices and organizations, often by dint of getting in touch with the person in charge" ([Japan Nepal Society 1973:iii]).

Even now collectors have to scour the Valley when seeking books. Many religious books are published as a dharma-dana (religious contribution) in private. Text books of puja-vidhi are spread out only among the Vajracarya priests. It is hard for foreigners to get them.

The present catalogue was created so as to enable research scholars from the world to lay their hands upon the right materials for their study purposes. My collection is small, but I will be happy if it is of some use to other researchers of Newar Buddhism and its culture.

I thank all the persons who gave me their valuable support and information. Especially, I would like to dedicate this catalogue to the late Mr. Prem Bahadur Kansakar. He taught me the necessity of collecting these source materials.

[2] Invitation to a Newar Feast (Kumamoto Nichi-nichi Shinbun, Jun., 18, 1999)

The Newars are very fond of feasts. They want to hold them on as large a scale as possible at every opportunity. They sometimes laugh at themselves, saying that they hold feasts as if money were no object. The educated Newar people say with deep sighs "why are we stingy with our money when it comes to cultural activities, but money's no problem when it's time for a feast?"

After completing a ritual (for example, life-cycle rituals such as wedding ceremonies), the host
family has to hold a feast, inviting local guests to celebrate the successful ritual that was just performed before the feast. A blessing from the guests means that the ritual in question resulted in success in every respect. Guests come to the feast to express their approval toward the complete success of the ritual tacitly through their presence. In smaller areas, local opinion is of greater value than any legal certificate. It is better to gain local allegiance against an unforeseen accident, for they will testify to the rightfulness and success of the ritual to be performed. One who objects to it will express his objection indirectly through his absence from the feast. It is not too much to say then, that nonparticipation of guests or neighbours is a great fear of the host family. This often means a silent warning from the local people regarding the public confidence in the host family. So, regardless of expense, the host family makes an effort to invite as many guests as possible.

In January 1992, a boy was about to receive his caste initiation ceremony in a Buddhist monastery in Kathmandu. As his father was of Vajracarya caste, his ceremony was apparently held in accordance with the styles of his father's caste. It is generally called bare-chuyegu, "the initiation of a bare which makes one a member of his father's baha or bahi sangha and a full fledged member of the bare caste" ([Locke 1980:477]). But I noticed some irregularities in the ceremony. He did not enter the main shrine of the monastery to make his first official offering to the main deity. He received his initiation ceremony in front of the caitya which stood in the courtyard of the monastery, not in front of the main shrine. And at fifteen years old, he was exceptionally older than the boys of proper age.

The cost of holding a grand feast is often too expensive for just one family. So a ceremony is often held in a group, and the expense for the feast is shared by the families. But, strangely, although the ceremony was held only for this boy, about seven hundred guests were invited to the feast. It is natural for an initiation ceremony to be performed for only one boy. But, in that case, his feast is generally small scale, for just the family or relatives.

I happened to later learn the reason for these irregularities. His father was of Vajacarya caste, but had married a woman from a lower caste. Any Vajracarya boy born from a non-Vajracarya mother cannot become a member of his father's community (sangha) attached to a Buddhist monastery. And occasionally, the boy may have bitter experiences in his later life, caused by his precarious position in the Newar community. It was rumored that his father had intentionally delayed his son's initiation ceremony, trying to find a way to make the boy a full-fledged member of his caste, but eventually he realized that all his plans were in vain.

Remembering the grand feast, I am astounded at the paternal love toward his son. The number of guests, roughly estimated at seven hundred, meant that the local people approved of his following the rules of the caste. After the best possible care was taken in receiving the guests, following an old custom, on behalf of the family, his father said in an apologetic tone that he was sorry for not preparing anything special to offer for dinner.

<postscript> These boys are called Cibaha-bare (a Bare who became a monk in front of a caitya, cibaha) among the Newar Buddhists. They are not permitted to enter the shrine of a main deity in a monastery. S. M. Greenwold says that "In the eighteen monasteries [of Kathmandu]
there are deities, khwapa deo to which a special puja nitya, has to be performed everyday; and this is done by Vajracharya. But the children born to Vajracharya from Urha wives cannot even enter the room where the khwapa deo is kept" ([Greenwold 1981:100]). Urha(y) means generally the Newar Buddhist caste of laymen. But Greenwold pointed out that "This de facto principle of children taking the caste status and rank of their mother has one important exception, which in its own right was an important factor in the Vajracharya/Urha conflict. When a Vajracharya male takes a wife from such Newar castes as the Sheshyo or Jyapu, or takes a Tibetan woman as a wife, his superiority of rank is not completely dissipated to the point where the children take the inferior status of the mother, but rather they attain the caste rank of Urha. In this the Urha constituted a special caste: they were not of their father's caste, but were also not necessarily of their mother's inferior caste" ([Greenwold 1981:98]).


A festival of the procession of Lord Indra, Indra Jatra, is held over eight days from the twelfth day of the bright half of the Newar month Yamla to the fourth day of the dark half of the same month. The festival consists mysteriously of some independent events, so it is difficult to understand the correlation among them. Gérard Toffin says that "Structurally, Indra Jatra is made up of three different series of rituals: Kumari Jatra, Indra Jatra and Bhairava Jatra, each one concentrated on a specific god. Though there (sic.) are more or less related to each other, these three complex ceremonial components have their own myths and can be analysed quite independently. A hypothesis worth considering is that they originated separately and were brought together in a later stage" ([Toffin 1992:74]). I will discuss the festival by dividing it into five components.

[1] A long pole called "Indra-dhvaja", the flag of Lord Indra, is erected on the first day of the festival at Hanuman Dhoka, the Old Royal Palace Square of Kathmandu. A splendid flag is suspended from the top of the pole, and a small figure of Indra is placed at its base. The festival starts from the moment it is erected, and ends when it is pulled down. Toffin says that "The pole raised in front of the royal palace also incarnates, in some respects, the cosmic pillar that supports the universe and the axis mundi linking Heaven and Earth. It symbolises the very road along which the blessings of Heaven reach the Earth" ([Toffin 1992:81]).

[2] In the night of the first day, people who are in mourning walk around the old city limit of Kathmandu. This procession is called "upaku vanegu", walking in a funeral procession around the outer area of a town or old city limit. The route of the procession was once marked by the city walls. As I have pointed out, the path of the route outlines the shape of a water pot upside down on the map of the Kathmandu City, and the old city area surrounded by the city walls is the inside of a city-scale water pot.

Another procession called "dagim vanegu" is a procession led by a man who is masked as a female demon, and is held in the night of the third day. Dagim is the Newari word for dakini, female demon. In this context, she is the mother of Lord Indra. According to the local legend,
Lord Indra descended to the Valley to seek white parijat flowers for his mother. But "the valley people, unaware of his divinity, apprehended Indra in the act of stealing their parijat flowers", and "Indra's mother, in compensation for her son's release, promised to furnish the valley with the vital fog and dew during the autumn and winter season, moisture which the farmers still refer to as <milk> for their ripening harvest. She further agreed to lead back to Heaven the souls of all who had died during the year" ([Anderson 1977:127-128]). This night, people who suffered a death in their family during the previous year go in a long procession with Dagim wearing a white mask in the lead. Someone says that this procession is called Indra Jatra. If so, the procession (jatra) should be properly named after Indra's mother, not that of Lord Indra.

[3] A chariot festival for the Living Goddess Kumari is also held in Kathmandu during the Indra Jatra festival. And during the festival, [4] traditional Newar masked dances are performed each night in the streets. [5] The seventh day of Indra Jatra is called Gatila. On this day a religious fasting called "Vasundhara vrata" is performed in honor of the Buddhist Goddess Vasundhara, she is a goddess of wealth and abundance in the Valley.

There are apparently no correlations among these events. But it seems to me that there is something common among them, even though "they originated separately and were brought together in a later stage". Alms-giving ceremonies for Buddhist monks on a large scale are held annually and every four or twelve years in the valley of Kathmandu. They are named Pancadan and Samyak respectively. In addition to these regular charitable events, anyone can perform them optionally by bearing the cost of donation. David N. Gellner pointed out that "anyone who has performed Optional Pancadan that year has the right to circle the city as a Dagim with a red mask; people say that he has reached heaven, that he has <become Indra>" ([Gellner 1992:219]). A Dagim with a red mask is in contrast to the normal Dagim who wears a white mask.

On the other hand, like the Sanskrit word "garbha", which means "womb" and "embryo" simultaneously, the word "Indra Jatra" means also "the jatra of Indra's mother (as a womb)" and "that of Indra himself (as an embryo)". In the Newar Buddhist ritual, Kalasa puja, this duality is found in the word kalasa, the ritual water pot into which a deity is invited. It is a womb which turns instantly into the outside, our realistic world, and the deity invited into the water pot appears in our world. The body of a Vajracarya priest is a vessel in which a deity dwells, but he transforms himself in a moment into the deity in question. The Living Goddess Kumari and the traditional Newar masked dancers are his colleagues.

The Vajracarya priest ascends to the summit of Mt. Meru by his performance of Gurumandala-puja, and there he transforms himself into Vajrasattva, a "new" ruler of the world of Mt. Meru, not the "old" ruler Lord Indra. But a sponsor of the ritual becomes Indra by his performance of Gurumandala-puja under the priest's guidance. Then, they offer the whole world they are ruling to invite Buddha. Because a man who played the role of a Dagim with a red mask also offered his wealth to Buddha, which was estimated to be equal to the whole world, the man was praised that "he has reached heaven" and "he has <become Indra>". The act of erecting the long pole called Indra-dhvaja, the flag of Lord Indra, means the construction of the Buddhist world of Mt. Meru. The Vajracarya priest constructed it by his faithful performance of
Gurumandala-puja. The flag (dhvaja) symbolizes a passage connecting the summit of Mt. Meru and the Earth. Lord Indra must have descended to the Kathmandu Valley through this passage, like with the five-coloured thread in Kalasa-puja.

Anyone can donate his whole fortune for a optional Pancadan, and can play the role of a Dagim with a red mask. The fortune will be made by the performance of Vasundhara vrata. Toffin says that "According to this version (a Buddhist version of the myth), Indra's mother (= Vasundhara) came to Kathmandu disguised as a demoness (Dagim, from Dakini), to search for her son" ([Toffin 1992:85]). The Newar Buddhists identify Indra's mother with Goddess Vasundhara.

(postscript) Mr. Iain Sinclair advised me that "on Indra Jatra, see Alexis Sanderson, Religion and the State : Saiva Officiants in the Territory of the Brahmanical Royal Chaplain, Indo-Iranian Journal 47, 2004, according to the Visnudharmottara and Netratantra".


In India and Nepal, there are many interesting pictures collectively called "cakras in a human body". They illustrate cakras or energy centres, located along the spine of a human body. A man who wants to elevate his spirituality tries to transmit upward the energy generated in the lowest cakra. The energy is gained by the strenuous attempt to control sexual desire. The cakras, which successively receive the energy, stimulate his subconsciousness to have esoteric experiences. At last when the energy reaches the highest cakra, he attains ultimate enlightenment.

During the exhibition titled "Mandala - Deities of Tibetan and Nepalese Buddhism", held from March to June 2003 in National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan (and then, in various places in Japan), a Newari picture named "cakras in human body" was on display ([Tachikawa 2003:89, fig.118]. According to Mr. Iain Sinclair, originals of this picture still exist in the Kathmandu Valley, both as a line drawing and a painted paubha, in private collections). The picture shows very interestingly twenty-four pairs of god and goddess being depicted in various parts of a human body with cakras. The gods and goddesses represent the twenty-four pilgrimage sites (pithas) listed in Samvara mandala. A meditative pilgrimage can easily be done by identifying each part of one's own body with each pitha, without going on a real pilgrimage all over the Indian Subcontinent.

At each pitha, a secret meeting just like an orgy was held by the local members, receiving a pilgrim from the outside. There, they held it to transmit upward the energy generated in their lowest cakras. It was held in a cremation ground late at night. The meeting place was strictly guarded by the members, and secret hand signals were exchanged to admit only fellow members. It is said that if a non-member who happened to take a peep at the meeting tells of his observations to others, he will incur a terrible curse, because it should be kept in absolute secret. So, people are unwilling to talk about this topic even now.

The Kathmandu Valley was said to be one such pitha, "Himalaya", its location corresponding to medhra, the male organ. I think the secret meeting might be held in the Valley still now. I once
tried to deduce the date and the place. I sat on the foot of a bridge at a cremation ground over the few days around the day that I suspected, from midnight until about three. I looked forward to the spectacle that might occur, but nothing happened at all. A Nepali man, who was on his way home late at night, stopped in his steps, looking me over uneasily from the other side of the bridge.

When I told the story of my "adventure" to my Newar friends, they could not help laughing, though they showed their curiosity about the unknown. A friend said to me after some hesitation that "You were wrong on both the date and the place ...... ". Although he never informed me of when and where it will be held, I have my suspicions of another time and place.

$postscript$ My observations were carried out on the 20th and 21st of November, and from the 19th to the 21st of December 2000. Each corresponded respectively to the days around "Samvarodaya-dasami" and "disi-puja" of the year. I went to the cremation ground called Ramadoli near Sobha Bhagavati, where Vanaratna was cremated. Now the cremation ground for citizens of Kathmandu stands on both banks of the river.

Mary S. Slusser says that "One of these (terrible creatures most often manifested in female form) is the widely feared boksi, a human witch who deals in calamity, destruction, and death. Widows are particularly suspect as boksis, since to master the craft one should sacrifice one's husband, or at least one's eldest son. Boksis are thought to frequent the shrines of the pitha-devatas and to congregate by night at certain mother goddess shrines. Two of the most notorious gathering places are the shrines of Sobha Bhagavati and Mhaipi-ajima. Boksis also haunt cremation grounds where, like dakinis of old, they dance naked. To carry out their nefarious work, they are believed to possess their victims" ([Slusser 1980:333-334]).

Well, who are the local members of the secret Tantric meeting ? I think they are Vajracaryas who have some authority on Samvara Tantrism in the Kathmandu Valley, and mediums (many of them are females) being under the command of the Vajracaryas. Explaining "a spatial representation of local ideas about the relation of priests healers (central), mediums and witches (peripheral)", David N. Gellner says that "The medium moves from <the peripheral position of witches and demons> to <the position of mediums> in the course of becoming a medium, when malign possession by a witch is replaced by benign possession by a divinity. Ritual healers, many of whom also occupy the central position in their role as priests, must spend the night in a witch-infested cremation grounds as part of their training" ([Gellner 1994:38]). Thus, adding the pilgrim Virupaksa, who comes to the secret local members of the Valley from the outer world in search of his female partner called Khaganana, all the members will assemble together to hold the Tantric meeting in the Valley as "Himalaya".

But, Gellner says that "Such practices (sexual practices during Tantric Initiation) would certainly be regarded as abhorrent by Buddhist Newars today, although they understand the sexual imagery and implications of Tantric Initiation. According to the Kriya Samuccaya, <that sacramental circle (ganacakra) which is without [sex with] a female partner (prajna) is a [mere] meeting of rice scum>. For Newar Buddhists, however, as for Tibetan Buddhists, the ganacakra is a sacramental meal after a Tantric ritual" ([Gellner 1992:297]). I cannot quite believe his words on this last point. It seems to me that the Newar Buddhists are still keeping
secrets from the outside world.


In one year, we have six regular opportunities to meet the Buddha Dipankaras walking around the three main cities in the Valley. These opportunities are called Panca-dan and Samyak (maha-dan) in each city. It is said that "Pancha Dan is the best of all alms or offerings, (and) Samyak Dan is the most sacred of the offerings of feasts" ([Vaidya 1986:99]). Bert van den Hoek says that "The most significant contrast between the Pancadana and the Samyak Mahadana is that the former is a matter of individual families and the latter an organized affair of the whole sangha" ([Hoek 1996:202]). In any case, both are the practices of charity for the Newar Buddhist monks on certain specified days in a year. We can meet two types of Buddha Dipankaras at these events, especially, in Pancadan. The first type is displayed in front of the pious Buddhist homes with an altar, on which baskets or mounds of the offerings for monks are placed. The second type appears in Lalitpur (Patan) at the end of the festival, usually late at night.

1 The charity of Pancadan in Lalitpur is held on the 13th day of the dark half of the month Gumla. Karunakar Vaidya says that "One of the chief features of this alms-giving ceremony at Lalitpur is the taking round of Phudyo (Dipankara) for receiving alms. The image of the Dipankara is always housed at Wuku Baha (near the Boudha temple of Lalitpur) or Wonkuli Varna Mahavihara. This image of brass about 2 feet in height shows the image of Dipankara Buddha in a standing pose. ~ The custom is that after the Phudyo receives his share of alms, the alms-giving work comes to an end for the particular spot. This does not mean that the alms-giving ceremony comes to an end at all places. In fact, even after the Phudyo finishes his round of alms-begging, other households continue the alms-giving till night" ([Vaidya 1986:77-79]). When I observed this festival three times during my stay in the Valley, the Phudyo's round always started in the evening and ended at midnight. I gained the impression that this effectively marked the close of the festival in each place.

2 Pancadan in Kathmandu is held on the 8th day of the bright half of the Newar month Gumla. Vaidya says that "At Kathmandu, no image of Phudyo is carried round for getting the alms but, instead, a Thakali or Sthavir goes round in his ceremonial dress personating Dipankara of the old legend. He is called the Phubade Phubare. It will be generally at night" ([Vaidya 1986:80]). Mary S. Slusser says that "Traditionally, a special vajracarya known as phu-bare (the last vandya) or kava-bare (the last gift vandya), is the last to come. Sounding his symbolic bell to announce the end of Pancha-dan, he touches the remaining consecrated food with his vajra and takes control over it. Some informants claim that this occurs in the late evening of the same day, others the following morning)" ([Slusser 1980:1-302]). John K. Locke also says that "At the time of the pancadana, ~ there is always one Bare who is assigned to come last in the line. His coming is a ritual ending to the giving of gifts. He comes along ringing a bell and then he
touches all of the remaining gifts with a vajra. This announces the end of the pancadana; no one else is allowed to touch what is left after the Phu Bare touches it with his vajra, and he gets whatever is left" ([Locke 1985:257]). When I observed Phu-bare's round in the southern area of Kathmandu, it started at midnight and continued until the early morning. Thus, in each area of Kathmandu, the man known as Phu-bare plays a role equivalent to Phudyo (Dipankara) in Lalitpur. In the northern area of Kathmandu, Phu Bare is not a Vajracarya but a Jyapu farmer.

3 Pancadan in Bhaktapur is held on the same day as in Kathmandu. It is said "In the town of Bhaktapur, however, there is a remarkable variation in Pancha Dan Ceremony. Unlike as it is in Kathmandu or Lalitpur, the Buddhist Sangha members do not go about for Dan at their own sweet will to the households nor do the households arrange alms-giving at their own homes". The five Dipankara images and monks go around the city in a procession, and the procession "halts at some seventy five specified points of the prescribed routes(1) and during their stoppage people of the locality come out with their offerings and go on giving the alms to the members of the Sangha and to the Dipankara Buddhas" ([Vaidya 1986:81]). After the procession has passed through, alms-giving or alms-receiving is not performed anymore.

4 The festival of Samyak in Lalitpur is held once every five years on the 4th day of the bright half of the Newar month Cilla at Nag Baha. [5] Samyak in Kathmandu is held on Magh Sankranti (the first day of the Nepali month of Magh, or Makar Sankranti, the day of Ghyah Caku Samlhu) every twelve years at Bhuikhel, the foot of the Swayambhu hill. [6] Samyak in Bhaktapur is also held on the day of Magh Sankranti at Thatu Bahi, but it is held every year. There are about a hundred Dipankara images in Kathmandu, almost the same number in Lalitpur, and five in Bhaktapur, all of which proceed to the grounds where Samyak mahadana will be held. Pious Buddhists give their charities for Dipankaras and the monks. It comes to an end with the Dipankaras' return to their homes.

Interestingly, we have another chance to meet a Buddha Dipankara named Chakandeo (or Cakan Dyah, Chakan dyo, literally "a walking god") in Thamel Baha (or Tham Bahi, Vikramasila Mahavihara), walking around the city of Kathamandu on the full moon day of the month of Cilla (Holi punhi). Vaidya says that "The name of the ⟨Chakandyo⟩ is, in fact, a misnomer because the correct name as mentioned in the records of the Trust is ⟨Chankramana Devata Guthi⟩ (sic.) which evidently refers to the Dipankar[a] Buddha which is also housed in the same vihar along with the Scarlet idol of ⟨Chakandeo⟩ or Sinha Sartha Bahu. ⟨Cha[n]kramana⟩ is one of the seven forms of meditation which Lord Buddha is said to have performed for seven weeks, each week being used for one form of meditation. In this form of meditation, Lord Buddha used to spend the time walking to and from with bent head so that he could see ahead of him only a distance of about nine to ten feet only, meditating all the time. Since this form of meditation is known as ⟨Chankramana⟩ the ⟨Chakandeo⟩ evidently refers to the festival of the Dipankar Buddha" ([Vaidya 1986:229]). Following Siegfried Lienhard's account, Todd T. Lewis also says that "There is a yearly spring festival to Dipamkara in Kathmandu (where he has the colloquial name ⟨Cakan Dyah⟩) ~ " ([Lewis 1993:338]).

Chakandeo also receives alms from the Newar Buddhist laymen. But Mary M. Anderson says
that "At a certain point on the way into the city the noise and music stops without warning while Chakandeo is quietly and mysteriously carried down a narrow dark lane to a garbage-dump area where the neighbouring people present him with offerings, flowers and red tika powder. Story has it that once, long ago, Chakandeo, against all caste rules, accepted offerings from a lowly woman garbage collector, an act which brought down upon his head the condemnation of wrathful priests. Now market gossip maintains it was more than offerings which the garbage women gave to Chakandeo, and that this secret visit to the garbage dump during his festival affirms that she was of such lowly caste that their meetings were always conducted in the dark of night", and "When at last Chakandeo returns to his home in Thamal Bahal, the shrine glows with lights and festoons. Crowds pack into the courtyard to leave gifts and offerings, and to watch an eerie performance of the Gubhaju priest re-enacting the chastisement which Chakandeo merits. Holding hands and feet in exotic religious poses, his voice rising and falling in chanted cadence, periodically ringing a hand bell as if to emphasize, the gowned priest for one solid hour soundly castigates the mighty Chakandeo for accepting offerings from a low-caste garbage woman or, as some maintain, for having clandestinely visited the woman in her home near the village dump" (Anderson 1977:261-262).

This performance seems to be the ritual called "nirajan yayegu" or "balim-piyegu". I didn't observe any other special purification rite for Chakandeo when he returned to Thamel Baha after his journey. David N. Gellner says that "The nirajan rite occurs at many points in complex rituals. It is often combined with others which equally seem to be aimed at avoiding obstacles and increasing auspiciousness: showing light in a wooden volume measure (pha), pouring fruits and flowers over the head with the volume measure, and touching with an old key on shoulder and head three times. A ritual similar to nirajan, which is nonetheless kept distinct, is that of bali piyegu. In both nirajan yayegu and bali piyegu mustard seeds are used to remove sins and avoid obstacles, although the simplest form of bali piyegu consists in pouring pure water in front of a person who is being led over a significant threshold (e.g. of house or monastery). As for the difference between the two rituals, nirajan yayegu is used during a complex ritual, whereas bali piyegu is used for unelaborated rites of entering a house or a ritual area or on returning from a cremation ground. V.P.P. Joshi glosses bali piyegu with Np. bhut panchaune, pushing away spooks. Piyegu is therefore being used in this sense of push aside; bali, usually used to denote an offering to low spirits or ghosts, would seem here to denote the spirits themselves" (Gellner 1992:156-157). I think that "balim piyegu" should be corrected to be "balim piyegu", pushing away spooks "by" bali.

Thus, Dipankara Buddhas start to walk around the Valley of Kathmandu when the Pancadan or Samyak festival will be held. They generally stand at the end of the line of Buddhist monks to "announce the end of the pancadana" or Samyak. And "no one else is allowed to touch what is left after the Phu Bare touches it with his vajra", because, I think, it became polluted through the contact with Dipankara. Phudyo in Lalitpur is the image of Dipankara, and the role of Phudyo is played in Kathmandu by Phu bare. As clearly shown by Chakandeo, the Buddha Dipankara does not consider the purity or impurity of the offerings. He does not hesitate to accept them from
people of lower caste, and he is indifferent about "cleanliness" even in the Newar caste society. This must be the real reason why "no one else is allowed to touch what is left after the Phu Bare touches it with his vajra". The Newar Buddhist monks are of high status in the caste society, therefore, they are not allowed to touch what is "polluted".

Well, who was Dipankara? A famous historical figure called Atisa gives us a plausible clue. He stayed in Kathmandu about for a year, may be in 1041, on his way to Tibet from Vikramasila Mahavihara in India. Rajendra Ram says that in Kathmandu he "built a vihara which was called Tham vihara (Stham vihara) and deposited provisions for supporting many Buddhist monks, who were living there", and "For the maintenance of the institution of the Nepalese Buddhist scholars and Bhikshus living around this shrine Atisa managed to deposit some provisions out of the contributions forwarded by the Buddhist laymen and admirers belonging to the class of the merchants" ([Ram 1977:114-115]). We know one of the Sanskrit names of this monastery in Nepal (Tham Baha) is Vikramasila Mahavihara. During his stay in the Valley of Nepal, he "tried to expose and denounce the evil aspects of Tantric Buddhism rampant in the Nepalese society. He described the Charvas of Prajnaparamita before the Nepalese Buddhists", and his "role in Nepal was quite different from that in Tibet where his Tantric talent was actually required" ([Ram 1977:116]). As Munenobu Sakurai pointed out earlier (see my paper [15]), among "the arguments in defence and restriction for Buddhist monks' doing sexo-yogic practice", Atisa clearly stated his position of restriction to it. But his thoughts were not accepted in the Newar Buddhist society in those days.

Interestingly enough, his other name was "Dipankra" Srijnana. He must have encouraged the Newars' charity to monks. And the charity must have followed the traditional style in ancient Indian Buddhism. But the Newar Buddhism was absorbed into the caste society long after his visit to Nepal. I think that the Newar Buddhists in the caste society used the name of Atisa "Dipankara" Srijnana to their best possible advantage, justifying or citing authorities on their practices of Pancadan and Samyak, and originating (intentionally or unintentionally) many local stories of Dipankara Buddha, one of the many predecessors of Gautama Buddha. While hiding himself, Atisa, so to speak, made an unexpected comeback to the Newar Buddhist society and history.

I just put down on this paper whatever came into my mind, based mainly on my own observation of the festivals, expressing my thoughts, but not giving any certain historical evidence. Todd T. Lewis says that "Whatever else we might surmise about Buddhism's variegated history, the Newar Gumla Dharma traditions point to the central propensity to ritualize spiritual ideals and to adapt buddha and bodhisattva traditions into the cultic and festival practices of specific localities" ([Lewis 1993:345]).

Mr. Iain Sinclair said that "A passage in the Kriyasangraha (11th century) suggests that Dipankara is a deity who represents the monastery itself (according my interpretation). This seems to have been an <Indian> tradition, though an obscure one. See [Tanemura 2004:277-279]". Asakaji Vajracarya says that the author of the Kriyasangraha, Kuladatta, was "a bond-brother" of Tathagatavajra Vajracarya. According to him, Tathagatavajra
was a main priest of the completion ceremony of Hiranyavarna Mahavihara (Kwa Baha) in Lalitpur and then he founded a Vajracarya association attached to the monastery together with his twenty-one colleagues ([Asakaji N.S.1106b: preface, cha-ja]). Kuladatta might be a member of the association.


I’ve heard of a short film of the avant-garde school which made a good example of the correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm. The film starts with a scene in which a man stands on the ground. The camera is focused on him at first on a level with him. Next it rises upwards slowly, and we see him from a little high up in the sky. Then it rises more and more rapidly, and we see him as small as an ant. Thus, it commands a bird's-eye view of the city, and we see the Earth just like from an airplane, next from a spaceship, and from a space station. Then, the moon is seen clearly against the globe, and the sun and other planets in the Milky Way. But no sooner do we reach the limit of the macrocosm than we return to the first image, going back to the old ways slowly. We see the man on the ground again, and next the camera focuses on his internal world, that is, down to the molecule, and then to the atom. Then, when we reach the limit of the microcosm, we return to the first scene for the third time, tracing the way back. Thus, the film shows us an amazing image of the correspondence of the universe as a macrocosm and the atom as a microcosm of the universe.

We may easily become aware of a similarity between the imaginary world shown in the short film and the Newar Buddhist cosmos which I have discussed in my papers. The Newar Buddhists regarded the outer world of the Kathmandu Valley as the inside of a water pot into which a Buddhist deity was invited, and in some cases their own bodies also became a water pot for the deity. A man whose body has hosted a deity becomes the deity himself by turning his body inside out. "Mandala" is one of the water pots of various sizes in Newar Buddhism.

A famous Japanese avant-garde artist showed us a wonderful example of the inside-out world only by putting a label inside a can. My friend, another avant-garde artist in Japan, threw a ball up into the air. It merged with the blue sky. The ball had a picture of Five Transcendental Buddhas inside of it. He said "it is small, but it pervades the universe, including the inner universe of the spirit". Viewed from a slightly different angle, as we know, the situation of our world takes a new turn.

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