

**BUDDHISM DURING EARLY MEDIEVAL
NEPAL MAṆḌALA
(733 A.D – 1396 A.D)**

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By

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that Mr. Indra Siddhi Bajracharya has written this thesis entitled "Buddhism During Early Medieval Nepal Maṇḍala. (733 A.D – 1396 A.D)" to meet the fulfillment of the requirement of PhD in Buddhist studies under our supervision. He had consulted and used available sources to complete this thesis. To the best of our knowledge, the thesis or a part there-of has not yet been previously submitted for any other academic accomplishment. We hereby recommend the dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in BUDDHIST STUDIES.

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I declare that this PhD thesis titled "Buddhism During Early Medieval Nepal Maṇḍala. (733 A.D – 1396 A.D)" submitted to the Dean's office, Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur is my own original work. It was prepared under the supervision of my supervisor Dr. Bhadra Ratna Bajracharya. I due acknowledge the information collected from different sources, for the preparation of this thesis. I have not used or submitted this thesis for any other degree or purpose.

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GLOSSARY

1. Sinke - Half rotten radish
2. Pancha Buddha - Five Buddha Vairochan, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhav, Amitabh, Amogsiddhi.
3. Panchgyan - Five transcendental knowledge
4. Khatanju - Deities carried on wooden chariot
5. Hakujaki - Blackened rice
6. Gundruk - dried fermented green vegetable
7. Quati - Legume soup
8. Lai Kya: - radish soup
9. Guthiyar - member of a guthi (corporate body)
10. Si Guthi - guthi dedicated to funeral activities
11. Namsangiti- - a Buddhist text devoted to the deity Namasangiti
12. Adi Buddha - Primordial Buddha
13. Tutta: - eulogized hymn
14. Thva: - a period denoting to half of the month
15. Ga: - a period denoting to another half of the month
16. Panchadan - occasion for making charity (offering)
17. Kota: - Plate for keeping worshiping materials
18. Phu Dyo: - the last deity to be offered during pancadan festival
19. Bharo - honorific title
20. Bhali - Name
21. Lokkatar - Transcendental or beyond the world
22. Junko: - an honorific rite given to aged person
23. Sambhara - disciplinary rule
24. Astami Vrata - ritual fasting observed on the 8th day of the month
25. Ma: upso - a month long fasting observed by married women

26. LuchidyoTha:agu - an act of making miniature caityas by pressing kneaded clay against the mould
27. Mukha- - crown
28. Utkranti: - a special funeral ritual done to elders
29. Acha:luegu: - making of acharya (vajracharya)
30. Naya: Luegu - a kind of enthronement of elders
31. Bare - a deformed word for bande meaning honorable
32. Bahidyo: Bowegu - display of deities of the monastery
33. Mataya - festival of light observed in the name of deceased persons
34. Samyak - the great Buddhist festival of charity
35. Baha - complex Newar monastery
36. Bahi - simple Newar monastery
37. Naki - a female leader
38. Inakayagu - a ritual act to bring Lord Ganesh for starting rituals
39. Go:daTayegu - formal invitation by presenting rice betel nut, coin, and pan
40. Kisli - ritual invitation done offering a small earthen pot filled with rice, a betel nut and a coin

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Nepal is the homeland of Buddhas and Bodhisattavas. Available inscriptions of Niglihawa, Gotihawa and Lumbini clearly state these places as the birth places of Kanakmuni, Krakachanda and Sakyamuni Buddha respectively. Although nothing can be said about the former two Buddhas it is unanimously believed that Buddhism flourished here from the very period of Sakyamuni Buddha and it continued without interruption throughout the history. It is believed that Sakyamuni Buddha visited the Kathmandu valley and later Ashoka visited the capital and helped Buddhism spread here. Buddhism developed during the Licchavi period to the extent at the royal patronization. Many Vihāras were built landgrants were donated by the government to manage the Vihāras and the Sanghas. Gosthis were established. Historians, therefore state that Mahayana sect of Buddhism flourished in the country during the Licchavi period i.e. from 463 A.D. to 733 A.D.

The year 733 A.D. seems to be a turning phase in the history of Nepal. The glorious years of Licchavi rule is interpreted in the history of Nepal with a gap of nearly 146 years. It covers the rule from the last phase of Jayadeva II -733 A.D. to the rise of Raghavadev 879 A.D. Luciano Petech, therefore, calls the period as the “Dark Age” in the history of Nepal. Although nothing can be said about the political changes, it was remarkable from the Buddhist point of view. During this period both Indian and Tibetan scholars, associated with renowned Buddhist universities like Nālandā and Vikramsīla visited Nepal Maṇḍala. Nepal Maṇḍala became the centre of Buddhist activities and trade. In summary, the period 733 A.D.-1396 A.D. is therefore remembered for political, economical, and socio-culture events. During the period contemporary king of Nepal could not maintain their hold in the administration. As its result,

Nagaraj, a local chieftain declared new kingdom in the far west and Nanyadeva in the south. Thus, Nepal was divided into three Kingdoms, i.e., the Khas kingdom in the west, the Doya kingdom in the south and the Nepal proper at the centre and the centre had to struggle hard to maintain her control in the government. Nepal came to be known during the period as Nepal Maṇḍala. More about it will be discussed later.

The Kings of Nepal Maṇḍala had maintained good relationship with Tibet and India and continued on aged long commercial relation with them. Trade flourished and people were economically sound and they could develop the country architecturally. Hundreds of Vihāras, big and small were built and thousands of Chaityas were constructed introducing the cities of Nepal Maṇḍala as the Buddhist cities in the world.

Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna form of Buddhism developed in the Nepal Maṇḍala during the period (A.D 733-1396 A.D). Nepal valley remained as the centre for Buddhist activities. Manuscripts were copied or translated from Saṃskṛit into Nepal Bhāṣā in these Vihāras. It is described that Buddhism during the period could win the faith of both the people and the rulers. Contemporary local artists decorated them with artistic skills and enshrined them with beautiful icons and images. Also, their products could win the market in Tibet. The valley remained culturally very rich. However, things could not remain always the same. Because of several upheavals due to recurrent earthquakes, epidemics, famine, political unrest, foreign invasions etc. medieval Nepal could not march ahead smoothly. Hence, an attempt is made here to study on the position and state of Buddhism of early medieval Nepal during 733 A.D-1396 A.D.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the history of Buddhism of Nepal, the period between 733 A.D -1396 A.D. is often described politically dark, because political stability was challenged when even multiple ruling appeared. The situation was further worsened by

internal scuffles among rulers, internal and external invasions and the natural calamities. Questions arise whether the period was equally gloomy from religious and cultural perspectives too? The Nepal valley remained as a centre for Buddhist activities. However the period had to face several upheavals to reach the goal.

This report has attempted to throw light on the points and present the state of Buddhism in medieval period. What happened after the reign of King Jayadeva II to the coming of Rāghabadev period is discussed to throw light on the question often raised by the scholars. Historians had written sufficiently the account till Jayadev II. There exists some sort of ambiguity in the history mainly regarding early medieval period after Jayadeva II. The present study also has attempted to throw light on it and find the answers as to how the foreign invaders behaved to Buddhist at the time of invasions. How the destroyed monuments were renovated and what policies were adopted by then government to maintain is also described.

Research questions:

1. What was the socio political condition of Nepal Maṇḍala during the period 733-1396 AD.
2. What was the impact of foreign invasion in Nepalese life style.
3. How did the people of Nepal Maṇḍala promote Buddhism in Nepal.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

1. To explore the state of Buddhism during the period 733-1396 A.D. of Nepal.
2. To analyze contemporary cultural, socio-religious life of the people, development of Buddhist arts and architecture.
3. To trace on the then administration policy of the government towards Buddhism.
4. To trace out obstacles posing threats to Buddhism.

1.4 Limitation

The present work has concentrated mainly on Buddhism of the period 733 A.D. –1396 A.D. of Nepal by evaluating and enumerating religiously important major events staged in Nepal Maṇḍala at various occasions. Therefore, accounts not falling within this period have not been covered. The area of work was within Kathmandu valley.

1.5 Significance

The present work explores the state of Buddhism of Nepal between the periods A.D. 733-1396 A.D. This research work reveals, how in spite of several upheavals, Buddhism raised in Nepal Maṇḍala as a religion of people. It presents the history of Buddhism during this period in Nepal. The work is likely to create interest among the people at home and abroad about Buddhism of Nepal. This work inspires the people towards establishing, Nepal as a centre of Mahāyāna and Bajrayāna Buddhism. It helps to introduce the unique Buddhist practice of Nepal in the world.

1.6 Research Methodology

The study is based on descriptive and analytical methods. Effort was made to obtain a clear picture and understanding of Nepalese Buddhist history. The research work was conducted on the basis of collection of information from two major sources i.e. primary and secondary sources. Information was collected from National archive, Libraries, Āśā Saphu Kuthi, Lotus Research Center etc. Sites of religious and cultural importance were visited as per necessity. Published books, newspaper, articles, magazines, Internet, Buddhist Vihāras and library consultation were taken as secondary sources. The National archive and Lotus Research Centre also provided some primary information.

Method of data collection was more qualitative than quantitative. Observation method is given prime importance for collecting information. As such the

researcher had observed different ritual functions in action in vihāra premises and collected information which helped in writing this thesis. As a member of prevalent monastic system of Nepal Maṇḍal, the researcher experienced some of its ritual which helped in writing the present work.

The researcher acknowledges his indebtedness to his predecessors who have worked in the field of Nepalese Buddhism through selection for Literature review, citation in foot notes, and reference. Standard method styles as approved by Central Department of Buddhist Studies is applied for foot note citation and reference preparation. For easy presentation, required drawings, or sketches, photographs have been provided.

1.7 Chapters

The following are the chapters of the present work.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter gives information on the subject of the work. It also presents importance and significances of the study its, aims and objective, a short review of literature and research methodology used for the study. Similarly, it also contains time schedule, language used and approximate budget.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter contains analytical review of the works of some eminent Buddhist scholars and historians on Buddhism of Nepal and its history. Review of some important texts and journals were done and submitted after correction, to the Dean's office, Humanities and Social science, Tribhuvan University.

Chapter 3: Buddhism during Early Medieval Nepal.

This chapter gives introductory background, years of confusions among Licchavī rulers and position of Buddhism, relation between Nepal and Tibet. Visit of Indian Tibetan Buddhist scholars and their contribution to the

development and expansion of Buddhism of Nepal. Siddhacharya in Nepal and their contribution in Nepalese Buddhism, beginning of Nepal Sambat and contribution of Nepalese Buddhist scholars and expanding Nepalese Buddhism in foreign country. It also talks about the visits of Buddhist scholars to Nepal from Buddhist Mahāvihārs as Nālaṇḍā, Vikramasīla, Odantapuri etc. and its impact in Nepal, visit of Khasa Malla kings, exposition of Nepali art, Muslim Muslim attack, natural devastation, coming of Śaṃkarācārya and the rise of Sthithimalla.

Chapter 4: Vihāras as the center of Buddhist activities.

This chapter briefs on Svayambhu as the source of Nepalese Buddhist unity, vihāras or Bāhā and Bahis of Nepal Maṇḍala as residence of celibate and household monks, classifications of vihāras, principal vihāras and branch vihāras and their relation, general features of vihāras, Saṅgha of vihāras, initiation or pravijya carried in the vihāras. Similarly, others functions, ritual of the whole year and feasts and festival performed in the vihāras along with the Saṅgha members rights and duties are also briefed.

Chapter 5: Buddhist Society, Culture and Tradition.

This chapter explains Buddhist society, Newars, Buddhism as folk religion, Buddhist community of Nepal Maṇḍala, Śākyabhikhus, Vajrachārāya, lay devotees, and others. It also talks about the development of socio cultural activities, development of Vihāra culture, Paṃcha Buddha and Lokeśora culture as well as Svayambhu culture as the source of Buddhism of Nepal. It also explains the access to Nepalese Buddhist culture, life cycle rituals such as passage of life dasa karma, death rituals, Achaluyegu, Buddha Janko (Bhimratharohana), Thapa Luyegu etc. This chapter also deals with major festivals as Bunga dyo (Matchendranath Chariot) jatra, Samayak, Paṃcadāna and Guṃlā.

Chapter 6: Hindrances to development of Buddhism.

This chapter contains different hindrances that came in the development of Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala such as internal conflicts among the rulers, coming of Śaṃkarācārya, attack of Doya and Khas rulers into Nepal Maṇḍala. Similarly natural calamities such as earthquakes, draughts, epidemics and different diseases like small-pox, black fever has held back the development of Buddhism. Samsudin's attack into Nepal Maṇḍala and devastation of Buddhist monuments and rise of Sthithimalla and his religious policy are also discussed.

Chapter 7: Conclusions.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The main purpose of literature review is to study on the works of different scholars both from home and abroad about how they throw light on the state of Buddhism during early medieval Nepal under. It is believed that the review of the literature will help to identify variables relevant to research and avoid the repetition of works. Moreover, it hopes to give more detailed knowledge of the source material and their whereabouts helping to frame the structure of the dissertation and provide an opportunity to consider the area of research in a new way and justify the topic of research. To meet the purpose following books and some research articles have been selected for literature review to study on what they had written or expressed their views on the theme. An attempt is made below to arrange them chronologically.

1) Born in Patna of Bihar, Rajendra Ram (1977 A.D.), obtained the degree of M.A. in two different disciplines i.e. History and Political Science.

Although a staunch Hindu, he had deep interest in Buddhism of Nepal. While in Nepal, he studied on Buddhism of Nepal. During the period he came into contact with local scholars, visited remote places of Nepal and collected information about it. He completed his Ph. D. thesis in Nepal and was awarded with a degree for the same from Patna University, Kathmandu. He returned to India in 1968 A.D. Until his retirement from the post he served the University in capacity as a professor in Patna. The present book is the revised copy of his research work.

The book “A History of Buddhism in Nepal 704 –1396 A.D.” stands as one of the pioneer works on Buddhism of Nepal. The book is aimed to throw light on the history of Buddhism of Nepal from 704 to 1396 A.D. covering the rule of

Śivadeva II to Sthitimalla. The author has completed the book in ten chapters and each chapter is discussed in different sections.

The book starts with the “Introduction: Sources”. The author deals with various sources that he found essential for the study of Buddhism in Nepal. From the sources he has prepared a historiography revealing the works of former scholars working in the history of Nepal. He has given due importance to B.H. Hodgson as the first scholar to work on Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts and collect them. With help of it, he later wrote a book entitling *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists and Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*. The book has been reviewed above. He describes History of Nepal with an Introductory Sketch of the country and People of Nepal of Daniel Wright have detailed accounts of Buddhist rituals and places of importance. Similarly, he writes ‘Inscriptions from Nepal’, of B. Indrajeet and G.Buhler published in 1880 A.D. a valuable source to interpreting history of Nepal. Among the Nepalese scholar the author appreciates D.R. Regmi, historian and scholar for his books *Ancient Nepal*, *Medieval Nepal* (early medieval Nepal 750-1530 A.D.) part I, published in 1965 A.D., *Medieval Nepal* (source materials for the history and culture of Nepal 740-1768 A.D.). The books, he considers, important for studying history culture, tradition and religion of Nepal.

Chapter two of the book entitling ‘Kings and Preachers (704-786 A.D.)’ is divided into three sections. In the first section the author has discussed the role of contemporary LicchavīKings -Śivadeva II and Jayadeva II, their relation with India and their contribution to the development and promotion of Buddhism in Nepal. Section two of the chapter throws light on the biographic note on contemporary Indian Buddhist scholars i.e. Sāntarakṣaita (705-762 A.D.), Padmasaṃbhava (717 –775 A.D.) and Kamalsīla (720 –780 A.D.). In the chapter, the author attempted to sum up their role in expanding Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet. He opines that the Buddhist trio prepared a sound ground

of Buddhism in Nepal, which became main spring of propagation in places beyond the Himalayas. But he seemed confused when he wrote “.... It was his (Śāntarakṣaita’) intellectual influence that Śivadeva II could be impressed to take interest in Nepalese Buddhism in 749 by granting a liability-free village Agrahara for the up-keep of the famous ĀryaSaṅgha (Ārya-Bhikṣau-Saṅgha) with its head office in Śivadeva Vihāra.” How could Śivadeva II ruling the country between 693-705 A.D. grant the land in 749. The writer seemed confused in corresponding Saka Era to A.D.¹.

Similarly, section III of the chapter has descriptions about the early Siddhacāryas circa: 700 –800 A.D., and their role in the promotion of Buddhism in Nepal, Tibet and India. It was at their influence the author states that Nepal gave birth to a new spiritual tradition as the Caturratna i.e. Guru, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha which became the characteristic contribution to the Buddhist ideology (60). The section throws light on the activities of Siddhacāryas and their philosophy. It also deals with Dohas or Caryā songs and dances how it developed as an order of daily life in Nepal.

Under the title Śaṃkara And His Disciples in Nepal: 788 –850 A.D. conditions of Nepalese Buddhism before Śaṃkaracārya’s visit to Nepal is discussed in the section of the third chapter of the book. It describes the condition of Nepalese Buddhism at the time of Śaṃkarācārya’s visit on the role of Śaṃkarācārya in propagating Brahminical system against Buddhism that was flourishing in Nepal. It is believed that he had visited the country during his pilgrimage-cum-digvijaya-abhiyāna just after the trip of Mithilāwhen he came to know about the sad phase of Hinduism of Nepal. Rajendra Ram writes that Buddhism was in a state of steady decay when Śaṃkarācārya appeared on the scene of Nepal. It was dying out of inner exhaustion even though it had not been deprived of royal favour. He disagrees with other European writers like Hodgson, Daniel

¹Vajrācārya Dhanavajra, “Madhayakālīna Nepal (Medieval Nepal)” in *Nepal Paricaya (Introduction to Nepal)*, Kirtipur: Curriculum Development Center, Tribhuvan University: 1976 A.D., Pp.72-73. Dhanavajra Varacjarya mentions Śivadeva II ruling around 693-705.

Wright who writes Śaṃkarācārya had burnt Buddhist manuscripts, scriptures, attacked SvayambhuChaitya, Vihārs and witnessed monks and Buddhists murdered or forced to leave monk-hood and compelled them to marry. The author is of the opinion that these generalizations presented by European scholars regarding activities of Śaṃkarācārya were cheap and facile. He believed at their ignorance about the nature of differences between Hinduism and Buddhism they treated the religious tensions in Nepal. But, he agrees that the advent of Śaṃkarācārya for a period became a factor in making Buddhism unpopular in Nepal.

While throwing light on Śaṃkarācārya as a great orator of his time, the author has descriptions how he influenced the rulers of Nepal. He was able to replace Buddhist priests with his followers from Kerala, the Namudiri Brahmins. He established a Brahminical cult in Manicūḍa Parvata, an abode of Buddhist tantric cult and Hindu traditions were introduced in Mahāṅkal temple.

Śaṃkarācārya, according to the writer, seemed advocating his theory of Mayabad, a pessimistic theory, social philosophy of GautamSmṛiti and never to go beyond Brahminical traditions in religion and monarchal tradition in his social and political approach. After the death of Śaṃkarācārya in 820 A.D. at Kanchakamkothi in India, no Hindu leader with this status visited Nepal. Thus his visit came to be remembered as one that brought displacement of development of Buddhism and introduced Brahminical traditions in Nepal. His description about the visit lacks historical evidences. On the contrary Dhana Vajra Vajrācārya relates the incident with Śivadeva III ruling Nepal Maṇḍala. He describes Śivadeva influenced by Śaṃkarācārya and he sends one of his son to have the dikṣā from him. It is also stated that Śaṃkarācārya built a temple in Banāras from the bheta he received from the King.

Chapter 4 entitling Nathpantha and Nepalese Buddhism 850–940 A.D. is concentrated in describing the religious condition of Nepal before Gorakhanāth

visited the capital. In the chapter he has discussed about the date of Gorakhanāth and his religious works in Nepal. During his twenty years stay in Nepal the writer esteemed him to have advocated an ideal of casteless society.

While discussing the arrival of Gorakhanāth, the author has talked about the relativity of Gorakhanāth and Matchendranātha, the Gorakhanāth philosophy i.e. alloy of Hathayoga and Buddhist Tantricism.

The author attempts in the fifth chapter to throw light on how the contemporary Nepalese, Tibetan and Indian Buddhist scholars visiting Nepal exchanged ideas, developed mutual cooperation in reviving Nepalese Buddhism by composing various texts and preached the people in their respective countries. He believed that these efforts developed Nepal as a centre of Buddhist learning. The chapter also sheds light on Nepal's role in adopting a policy of socio-religious isolation aiding revival and survival of Nepalese Buddhism. The chapter equally deals on the founding of Kathmandu city, the chariot festival of Matchendranāth and initiation of Rudradev in 1028 A.D.

Chapter Six is devoted to Atiśā's visit to Nepal. The author narrates the state of confusion prevailing among the Buddhists of Nepal. At such a crucial period he describes Atiśā's visit to Nepal to have inaugurated a new era in the history of Buddhism of Nepal. His visit wiped out ideological differences prevailing during the period. How his scholarly personality diffused the differences created by Brahminical concepts is narrated in the chapter during his one year stay in Nepal.

The chapter seemed Atiśā's biography headed under his early life, visit to Tibet, meeting with the heretics and his transforming effect on the robbers. Atiśā's stay at SvayambhuChaitya and his work for Nepalese Buddhism, the episode of Tham vihāra, work of Atiśā's in Nepal, Atiśāin Tibet 1042-1054 A.D. and a reappraisal of Atiśāand his alma mater, Vikramśīla Monastery.

Cakrayān, a mystic and esoteric cult, founding of Kalcakrayāna, a tantric sect, is highlighted as his activities in Nepal.

The seventh chapter entitling Visit of the Tibetan Buddhist to Nepal: 1052-1140 throws light on the contribution of Tibetan Buddhist monks, scholars and laymen who visited Nepal, in the development of Nepalese Buddhism. Prominent among them, as mentioned by the author were Milerapa, rNog Lo-chen, Ma-geig, Khon –phu-ba, Lha rje-zla-bai od-zer and Zig-po of : dbUs.

This chapter also covers the role of Karnatas (1097-1324 A.D.) and their influence in the history of Nepalese Buddhism. Nanyadev, the founder of Karnatas dynasty of Trihut is highlighted as a shrewd politician and his conceived objective of spreading śaivism, establishing Simrongarh as capital in the land of Nepal, and how his attempt could not adversely affect Buddhist society of the valley is well described (pg.138 -146 A.D.).

Tug of War between Hinduism and Buddhism in Nepal; 1140 –1255 A.D. is the title of the eighth chapter of the book In this chapter (pg.147 -174 A.D.), the author has dealt on accounts of revival made by Maithali Brahmans through different Hindu texts like Miasma, Nyay, Dharma and different śaiva cults and their efforts to popularize orthodox Hindu rites, forcing Indian Buddhists to adopt Brahminical society and the creation of Bahul cult, (a sect formed with the amalgamation of Buddhist Tantric and Hindu school). The situation brought a state of conflict in the religious field of India and affected Nepalese Buddhism.

Similarly, the author highlights the Turkish invasion in India. The invasion compelled fugitive Indian Buddhists to migrate into Nepal carrying many Buddhist texts for their safety. The fugitive Indian Buddhists like śāntarakṣait, Ravindra Dev and many others stayed in Vihārs of Kathmandu Valley and they stored the texts there. Many of them also went to Tibet. The others who came to Nepal were Indian Buddhist artists and Buddhist monks. The author has

described how Nepal was benefited by them with Buddhist texts and how they helped to develop Vihārs as centers for Buddhist learning and propagation. During this period, Buddhist scriptures were copied. The visit of Indian Buddhist scholar Dharmaswamī and his contribution in Nepalese Buddhism is also highlighted in this chapter.

The ninth chapter of the book is concentrated to the period of transformation in the history of Nepalese Buddhism caused by natural calamities like earthquakes, famine, political unrest and the foreign invasions affecting the pace of development at the center. The author has thrown light on the earthquake of 1255 A.D. which devastated many Buddhist establishments such as Vihārs and Caityas, causing immeasurable loss to Buddhist manuscripts, art and artifacts along with the lives of Buddhist monks and laymen. The impact was so strong that the renovation and reorganization of the establishment could not be carried on for a very long time.

Chapter ten describes the rise of Sthitimalla and his social policy as a turning point in the history of Nepalese Buddhism. The codification of Nepalese traditions into a Brahminical frame, introducing class system in a cast-less Buddhist community, staging dramas based on Brahminical stories are some issues discussed in the chapter. The author therefore seems right in naming the chapter as the period of Brahminical purge of Buddhism.

The author has also mentioned various reforms introduced by Sthitimalla which were implemented to avoid the roles of local Buddhists and their influence on politics, agriculture, town planning, trade, commerce, religions and traditions, all of which had deep roots in contemporary Nepalese society.

The author further highlights the emergence of Sthitimalla as the sovereign king of Nepal with more power and conviction after the death of his co-ruler Jayarjundev in 1382 A.D. and his marching ahead for stemming the progress of Buddhism.

2) John K. Locke (1980 A.D.), was born in the U.S.A.² As a teacher he has been working in St. Xavier's School for the last fifty years. During his stay in Kathmandu, he took keen interest in Buddhism in Nepal Maṇḍala or simply Newāra Buddhism. He completed his M.A. Degree on Nepalese History and culture from Tribhuvan University. He was awarded with Ph.D. Degree for his research work on the title Karunāmaya. He carried his work at the Research Center for Nepal and Asian Studies. Later he taught Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala to the students of Buddhist Studies in Tribhuvan University from 1999 to 2004 A.D. Although a Christian by birth, he has established himself as an expert in Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala and Buddhist culture. He has carried out many research works and written many books. “Karunāmaya”, the cult of Avalokiteśvara - the valley of Nepal, is one of the outcomes of his research work. It helps the reader to understand Nepalese society, the general advance of the people and the various cultures and religious strands with which the present cultural fabric of Nepalese society is woven. It was first published in the year 1980 A.D.

The present book Karunāmaya is concentrated in one among the most popular deities worshipped in the Nepal Maṇḍala. Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala, popularly known as Newāra Buddhism, belongs to Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna sect of Buddhism. The book attempts to describe about the living tradition of Newāra Buddhism practiced in the Vihārs especially at Jana Bahā along with different rites and rituals followed in accordance with Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna conception.

The author mentions in the introduction that he had chosen the cult and the history of Avalokiteśvara –Matchendranāth, which is worshiped by both the Buddhists and Hindus, as subject of his work and opines it to become a best example of interaction between Hinduism and Buddhism. The author has aimed

²Personal inquiry.

at the same time to show the cultural influences at work within the valley which gave rise to the current misconceptions.

In order to explain them, Locke has divided his work in four parts, subdivided into fourteen different chapters. The first part deals with the social and religious structure of Newāra Buddhism, Bares and Bahās their priests, culture and traditions and principal rituals of the Vajrācārya in two chapters. In the second part of the book, the author had tried to deal on the cult and specific rituals of worship of Seto Matchendranātha, “Jana Bahā, its temple complex, “the “History of Jana Bahā and its cult of Avalokiteśvara”, “The Saṅgha of Jana Bahā and Daily Worship of Avalokiteśvara”, “The Monthly Observance at Jana Bahā” “The Annual Festival of Jana Bahā” in five chapters or chapter three to seven. Part three of the book is concentrated in the history and development of Buṅga-Dya: cult and other related Lokeśvaras, the Present cult of Buṅga –Dya:- Rāto Matchendranātha”, “Chronology of the Cult of Buṅga-Dya:” “Development of the Cult of Buṅga-Dya:- Rāto Matchendranātha”, “The Chobhar and Nālā Shrines of Avalokiteśvara and “The Minor Shrines of Avalokiteśvara” in five chapters i.e. from chapter eight to twelve. Similarly, part four of the book is devoted on the themes, Matchendranātha “Avalokiteśvara becomes Matchendranātha” and the conclusion in two chapters, thirteen and fourteen respectively.

Karunāmaya Lokeśvara is known as the god of compassion and mercy. It is one of the most respected deities in Kathmandu Valley. The four Karunāmayas are the cult of Avalokitesvara. Jana Bahā Dya: (Padampani Lokeśvara) of Kathmandu, Buṅga Dya: (Amogpasha Lokeśvara) of Pātan, (Anandadhari Lokeśvara) of Chobhar and Nālā Karunāmaya (Sristikānta Lokeśvara of Nālā). They are enshrined in different cardinal points of valley, as at Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Chobhar and Nālā. Newāri speaking Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley address them as Jana, Baha Buṅgama or Buṅga Dya: Karunāmaya, Chobhar Karunāmaya and Nālā Karunāmaya respectively. Non-Buddhists refer

to these deities collectively as Matchendranātha. The chariot festivals of Jana Bahā Dya: Karunāmaya and Buṅgaa Dya: Karunāmaya are the oldest and most highly celebrated festivals with spontaneous participation by the people of Kathmandu valley.

Locke has made an attempt in the book to introduce the cult of Avalokiteśvarawith reference to the popular four Karunāmayas and their common functions. Although the rites and rituals are different, the common rituals of the above four Karunāmayas can be divided into daily, monthly, annual rituals in terms of bathing ceremony and chariot festivals. Though Rāto Matchendranātha comes first in order, he starts with Seto Matchendranātha stating that the rituals for the second (i.e. of the Seto Matchendranātha) are performed in details and exactness with better understanding of rituals and its meanings. But the writer has not mentioned about primary differences in the rituals performed. The author has also mentioned in order of importance, Buṅga Dya: Lokeśvaraand Jana Bahā Dya: Lokeśvara as the two most important Karunāmayas followed by Chobhāra Lokeśvara and Nālā Lokeśvara as the third and fourth. They were also known as the ‘four sisters’.

In Chapter One of the book under the title “Bares and Bahās”Locke has described about the structural setting of Newāra Buddhism covering its main parts, principle rituals, and role of Bares and Bahās. According to him the word bare is a derivative of the Saṃskrita term Bandyā which means respectable. Similarly, Bahā comes from the Saṃskrita word Vihāra where the Bares reside, as monastic or household monks and practice Buddhism. He therefore stated that both Bares and Vihārs are two important features considered in Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala.

Locke, in his book has tried to introduce who the Bares are and what their relation is, with traditional Buddhist monks, i.e. the Bhikṣus and household monks. He was of the opinion that Śākyas or Vajrācāryas were not divisions

but one caste, Bares who have become Śākya and Vajrācāryas only after the completion of rituals like Barechuyegu or Ācāryaviṣeka. The author has described about the rites and rituals of being a Śākya and Vajrācārya and their role in the Buddhist society of Nepal Maṇḍala.

Locke called Vihāras the pillars of Newāra Buddhism. There are many Vihārs founded during the Licchavīand medieval periods developed as centre for Buddhist studies and practices. Many Indian, Tibetan and local scholars who came to Nepal stayed in these Vihārs and wrote many Buddhist texts and formulated many rites and rituals. These Bahās, Bahi or Vihārs have therefore become important aspect in the study of Buddhism of the Nepal Maṇḍala. Locke had attempted to highlight about these Vihārs, their division as main and Kacā (branch) Bahās, Bahi and the functions that they perform. He has also produced the lists of such existing Bahās and Bahi of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. As many of them were destroyed during foreign attacks or collapsed during great earthquakes, the author has mentioned the remaining Vihāras only.

Chapter 2 highlights the Principal rituals of the Vajrācāryas performed by Vajrācārya which has remained one among the most important features in Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala. Some scholars claim and criticize that Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala is the mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism. They say that there are no ritual performances in Buddhism. Locke tried to convince them that rituals were developed with Buddhism from Mahāsāṃghika community to a flourishing Mahāyāna centre. Since then ritualistic worship had become a parcel of monastic life”. Circumambulating, offering water or burning incenses are also rituals practiced by Theravāda Buddhist monks.

He further opined that a ritual is a path of devotion (Bhakti Marga) that was developed within Mahāyāna Buddhism. With the coming of Tantric Buddhism, rituals assumed a much more central role. Texts like Kriya tantra, the

Mahāmañjusrimulkaḷpa for rites were developed. This development took place in Buddhist Universities like Nāḷāṇḍa in Vikramśīla of India. Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism was practiced and flourished in India for a long period of time. The advent of Hinduism over shadowed Buddhism and vanished forever from India. Regarding the mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism, it would have been better, had the author mentioned other reasons like the then political scenario, entry of śaivism, existence for survival of Buddhism or even as an example of cordial understanding between two pantheons'. Besides, the author has dealt in detail, other important rituals carried by Vajrācāryas like Guru Maṇḍala, Kalash puṇḍrā, Homa sacrifices etc. The author also describes various types of substances i.e. Pañcagarvya, Argha, Padya, Tarpan, Pañcapacara, Puśpa, Dhūpa, Dīpa, Gandha, Naivadya, Bali etc. offered during the general or specific Puṇḍrās which are mentioned above. The author has also listed the meanings of the material that are required for the rituals. The author highlights, in detail, when and why these rituals are performed.

Chapter 3, has descriptions of Jana Bahā Dya: Karunāmaya shrine and Bahā complexes where it is enshrined. While describing arts and architecture of the Vihāra, the iconography of deities, the historical remains, the legends, people's sayings, stories, the inscriptions found around Bahās and shrines are also dealt in this chapter.

In Chapter 4, the author highlights the legend of Seto Matchendranātha, its origination and chariot festival. Similarly the historicity of Jana Bahā and its relation with Jamal of Kathmandu is also discussed. The author had presented various sources as Svayambhu Purāṇa, Vaṃśāvali, inscriptions, later Newāri works, and historical contents to verify its origination. With the help of these sources he stated that "a constant and probably accurate tradition that the image of Jana Bahā was brought from outside, probably from Jamal and enshrined in Kanak Chaitya MahāVihāra about the time of King Yakṣamālla". This is further attested to by the current name Jana Bahā (or Jamal Bahā) and the name

applied to the deity i.e. Jana Bahā Dya: Karunāmaya and Jamaleśvara. Among the sources; common to all is Jamal, Jana Bahā and Jamaleśvara. Similarly, other common factors are that it was stolen and later found disposed in a field around Jamal.

While dealing about the Saṅgha or the association of the Bahā, the criteria for being a member, priest and their roles are also explained. Similarly, the formation of the trust (Guthi), which regulates finance for various regular functions and festivals of the deities and Bahās are also explained in chapter five and monthly observances like Aṣṭami Vrata of Karunāmaya are described in chapter six of the book.

The annual festivals of Jana Bahā Dya: Karunāmaya is briefed in Chapter 7 of the book. The festival starts with the great bathing ceremony of the Karunāmaya on full moon day of the month of Pausa, the reconsecration of the image of Karunāmaya, followed by the ritual called Daśa Karma Vidhi or ten passage of life, Rath Jātra or chariot festival that starts from eighth day of bright half of the month of Chaitra. People from different directions come to participate spontaneously in the annual festival.

In Chapter 8, under the title ‘The History and Development of the Cult of Buṅga Dya: Karunāmaya and the related Lokeśvara’, the author has concentrated in describing about Buṅga Dya: Karunāmaya-Rāto Matchendranātha. It is the oldest of all four Karunāmayas and attracts people from all parts of the valley during the chariot festival. The author has also mentioned it as the festival that lasts for the longest duration. Besides, it has two temples of residence - one in Buṅgamati and the other at Ta Bahā in Pātan. The linkages of Buṅga Dya: with Jawalakhel and the Bhoto Jātra are also described.

In chapter 9, under the title Chronology of the cult Buṅga Dya: Karunāmaya, Locke narrated the cult of Buṅga Dya: from different sources. The role of

Narendra Dev, the King of Bhaktapur, Bandhu Datta Ācārya of Kathmandu and Lalit Jyāpu of Pātan in bringing the deity into Kathmandu Valley has also been mentioned in the chapter. Buṅga Dya: and Jana Bahā Dya: have nowhere been mentioned as Matchendranātha but rather as Avalokitesvara and Lokeśvara in the stories told at Aṣṭami varta, in the longer version of Svayambhu purāna and in the oldest chronicle Gopālaraj Vaṃśāvali, prepared during the time of Sthitimalla. Among them, Matchendrapadyasatakam written by a Brahman Nilakaṇṭha on behest of Srinivaśa (1677) is the first to address the deity by the term Matchendranātha. Locke accepts the work of Āśākāji Bajrācārya of Pātan entitled “Buṅgaa Dya: Nepāla Ha: gu khan” containing in full length, the story of Buṅga Dya: and its relation with King Narendradeva.

In chapter 10 of the book, the writer while describing the development of the cult Buṅga Dya: Karunāmaya Matchendranātha, writes that “the cult of Buṅga Dya: Karunāmaya was entirely Buddhist from the inception and has remained so down to present time”. The presence of the King participating in the Buṅgaam Lokeśvara chariot festival helped to add more importance to the deity. According to the author Bhoto Jātra of Jawalakhel was a new addition from 1664 onward and it is introduced in modern period, as it is not mentioned in Newāri source and Malla period.

In chapter 11, under the title, ‘The Chobahā and Nālā shrine of Avalokitesvara’, the author had explained the legends and history of the Chobahā Karunāmaya or Ānanda Lokeśvara enshrined in Cobāhāor Kaccha Pāla Giri Mahā Vihāra situated near Kacchapāla hill top. The author mentions the peculiarities of the shrine, nailing of the pots and pans and the presence of the Śikhara temple dedicated to Gandarvesvara containing a Śivalinga that it is always closed. Besides, the author has given long list of historical records regarding Chobāhā Karunāmaya. The author while referring about the Nālā Karunāmaya and its historical legends has described the courtyard complex. According to him the shrine of Nālā Karunāmaya situated in the village of

Nālāis entirely Newāra village and exclusively Hindu”. The image of Karunāmaya is enshrined in the temple with a bathing platform at the centre and a Hindu temple of Bhagvatī just outside the complex. The existence of the Hindu temple, the Hindu village, and priests from Kathmandu are the peculiarities of the Nālā Karunāmaya, on which the author presents legends, manuscripts and inscription as supporting documents for these peculiarities. The author is of the opinion that the court does not give a Bahā look.

Under chapter 12, under the title The Minor Shrines of Avalokiteśvara, he has presented various shrines of Lokeśvara scattered around the valley. They included Minnātha-Jattādhāri of Pātan, Rāto Matchendranātha of Bhaktapur, ItāChhen Tole, Rāto Matchendranātha of Thimi, Maru Tole, Buṅgaa Dya: of Dolkha. These scattered Matchendranāthas could be a part of history on the subject of research works.

In chapter 13, under the heading ‘Avalokiteśvara Becomes Matchendranātha’, the author has described how the Avalokiteśvarabecame Matchendranātha and how Hindu or Nepali speaking people of Nepal address the deity as Matchendranātha. From all this historical data explained in the preceding chapters, he concludes that the Buddhist deity Avalokiteśvara is equally also worshipped by the Hindus as Matchendranātha which the author says is not unusual in Nepal. Buṅgaa Lokeśora is known as Matchendranātha by Hindus since the rule of Srinivāsa Malla. He stated that the name Matchendranātha have come from two words ‘Matsyendra’and ‘Nath’, which mean ‘fish’and ‘deity’in Nepali language respectively. This naming of Lokeśvara, the teacher of Mahādeva as Matchendranātha is derived from a tale of how Lokeśvara himself appeared when Mahādeva was telling Parvati a story.

Under Chapter 14, the author concludes by saying that Avalokiteśvara has always been and is till today a Buddhist deity. He is in reality a Buddhist Boddhisattwa Padampāni Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara enshrined in different

Bahās. The rituals performed are therefore of Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition and the deity belongs to a Saṅgha. The priests are also from the Saṅgha members of Bahā.

3) Luciano Petech (1984 A.D.), is the author of the present book. He worked as a teacher in University of Rome since 1948. He had a good knowledge of Arabic language and the literature. He came to Nepal around 1956 and studied Tibetan culture, language, history. Petech had a great quality of learning oriental languages. Hence his publication could bring forth more information about Tibetan, Chinese, Saṃskrit, Newāri, Hindi and Arabic sources.

Luciano Petech as a scholar was well known for his contribution to the study of History of Tibet, Central Asia, Nepal, China and India. He has published many books and among them “A Study of Chronicles of Ladākha” was his first book published in 1939 A.D. It was followed by “China and Tibet in Early 18th century” in 1950 A.D. and was revised in 1972 A.D. and “Northern India according to the Shu-Ching Chu” in 1950 A.D., He has under his publication in Italian language a book by the name “A History of India, Tibet, Central Asia and Indonesia” in 1960 A.D. He has written many articles and contributed to encyclopedia with his writings.

Among the books “Medieval History of Nepal” was published in 1958 A.D. To complete the book he came to Nepal under financial help of Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (National Council for Research), Italy. The book was revised during a span of several years in 1984 A.D.

The book "Medieval History of Nepal" (C.750-1482 A.D.) is divided into eight chapters under different titles as sources, chronology, The late Licchavīperiod, the transitional period, the early Mallas, Tripura and Bhonta families, Sthitimalla and the Karnatas-Mallas and Social and administrative conditions. The author had taken into consideration Vamśāvalis, colophons, inscriptions

and foreign documents as sources for writing the book. The author has also mentioned such sources in foot notes or in separate appendixes.

The author has classified Medieval period into two i.e. Nepalese history into two;

- i) Transitional period and Karnata-Malla dynasty (c. 750-1482 A.D.) and,
- ii) The three Malla kingdoms (1482-1768 A.D.) . About the two the former

The book is concentrated on the history of medieval Nepal developed within the area of Nepal Maṇḍala or the Nepal valley exclusively inhabited by the industrious Newāras. It throws light on the natural resources of Nepal Maṇḍala, the local inhabitants' i.e. the Newāras and their significant role in preservation and promotion of Buddhist literatures (written in palm leafs in papers and other precious manuscripts) religion and traditions during the period.

Chapter one deals with sources. The author counts four main sources of the period important to study on Nepal they are- vamsāvali, colophons, inscription and foreign documents. The author refers various Vamsāvalis as VI, VII, VIII to three parts of Gopal- vamsāvali preserved in national archives. It is also known as Bendalvamsāvali VD. (vamsāvaliin possession of Dhanavara) and VK, (vamsāvali preserved in Kesar Library), and VL (vamsāvali summarized by Levy). Similarly, VT meant the vamsāvali in Saṃskṛita where as VW Vamsāvali is translated by D. Wright. Petech describes vamsāvalis as genealogical lists containing the names of the rulers, dates, ruling period and the chief events of the period. The writer has distinguished a vamsāvali a Buddhist or a Hindu as per the rituals performed by a Vajrāchārya or Brāhmans in accordance with the events narrated while following religious performances during construction of temples Vihārs, dedication of images, gift to shrines or list of donations.

The next important and most reliable source discussed in the book is colophons. Colophons throw light on Nepalese tradition of introducing the writer, the date of writing or copying the text, contemporary rulers, place where the texts were copied or written, name of the sponsor entrusting him with work and etc. Generally, it is placed at the end of the work. Colophons therefore work as main source to a scholar working on Nepalese history, culture and etc. Remarkably, the scholar has produced in the book innumerable colophons throwing light on contemporary events. The book throws light on history of Nepal from 9th century AD onwards with help of Licchavīinscriptions in stone or copper as sources.

Similarly he has dealt Chinese or Tibetan sources to discuss on relation between Nepal China and Tibet. Each, in this chapter highlights events that took between Nepal and Tibet, which helped in further development of relation between Nepal and Tibet. Marriage of the Tibetan King Sron –btsan-sgam-po with a daughter of Nepalese king Aṃśuvarṃā, help of Tibetan to Licchavīking of Nepal Narendradev, describing Nepal as a state subordinates (Shu) to Tibet in Tibetan source are described well in the book (p.24). The author had mentioned many Tibetan and Nepali sources to support the contents of the book.

Chronology is the heading of second chapter of the book. The author describes Newāri Saṃvat, as commonly used era founded during the period of Rāghavdeva and beginning with Kartika Sudi pratipad (20th Oct, 879). Era is important part in preparing chronology of history of a country.

The late Licchavīperiod is the title of chapter third of the book. Under this head the scholar has thrown light on the factors i.e. omission of events, misplacements, repetition of names of rulers and their dynasties disturbing the chronological list of the latter half of 8th century (750 A.D.) and the first half of the 9th century (850 A.D.).

Chapter four of the book deals with the Transitional Period. Petech has attempted to describe about three dynasty lists (mentioned in p.21 and 22) from Aṃśuvarma period till 1039 A.D., the Thakuris of Nuwakot c.1039-1082 and Thakuris of Pātan c.1082-1200 with help of Vaṃśāvali. But the whole discussion lacks authenticity. The author therefore has taken the period as transitional. The author has referred different Vaṃśāvalis such as Vaṃśāvali 1, Vaṃśāvali of Kesar library, Vaṃśāvali of Dhana Bajra to highlight differences of ruling period mentioned among the Vaṃśāvalis. The author has with all above mentioned Vaṃśāvali and colophons to come to his conclusion. While dealing with them, the author has not failed to describe the contributions and roles of the rulers in the development of Buddhism. It shows manuscripts and colophons of Buddhist text became a source for political history of the period.

Petech, in this chapter, highlights the visit of great Buddhist scholar and teacher of Vikramśīla University, Dipankarsrijana popularly known as Atiśa's visit to Nepal. His stay at different places, like Tham Bahi, Svayambhu etc of Kathmandu Valley and his scholarly activities for the development of Buddhism in Nepal are well described.

Sthitimalla and Karnata-Malla are the contents of chapter seven of the book. The author describes how Jaya Sthitimalla came to power after the exile of Bhonta ruler Jayarjundev in 1381 A.D. The chapter also throws light on the biography of Sthitimalla to introduce who he was, how he inherited the throne with help of available different sources. Sthitimalla's introduction of new rules and regulation in the administration, his attempt of changing Nepalese social structure into an orthodox Hindu frame are well described in this chapter. The chapter also contains the description of others rulers with supporting documents up to 1482 A.D. The author describes Nepal Maṇḍala or Nepal Valley as a central independent kingdom within a definite territory. It also throws light on the feudal chiefs, cities and towns and the urban area.

4) Brian H. Hodgson (1991 A.D.) is a familiar name to the scholars working on Nepalese history. He was one among the former scholars from abroad to study on Nepal, its history, culture, economy, language, literature, religion and etc. By birth, he was a Christian. He was born on February 1, 1800 in Prestbury, Cheshire in England³. At the age of 16 he was selected for Foreign Service and was sent to India. He had learnt various languages i.e. Bengali and Saṃskṛita before he joined the service. He came to India in 1816 A.D. He was posted to Kumaon where he got an opportunity to learn Nepali language. Later he joined the Nepal Residency in 1820 A.D. He stayed in Kathmandu for 21 years from 1822 to 1843 A.D. as a British resident in the court of Nepal.

Hodgson was a successful diplomat. He left no stone unturned to bring the Durbar under the British influence. His rivalry with Bhimsen Thapa is a well-known event to the students of political history of Nepal. But his interest in Newāra Buddhism made him the first person to study on the religion followed by the Newāras, their culture and traditions. For this purpose, he spent most of his time in Nepal. But the task was not so easy. The situation of the country was such that neither the local inhabitants who wanted to come into contact with the foreigners nor any person coming from abroad could feel comfortable in meeting one another. In such state, it was no less than a Herculean task to study Buddhism and know more about its literature. Moreover, available literature was vague and shadowy. Had he not received the help from Amritānanda, a local Buddhist scholar of Pātan he would not be in position to collect scattered original Buddhist manuscripts and other neglected documents or other various materials on Buddhism from Nepal and study them.

Hodgson labored hard to collect original and rare texts of Māhāyāna and VajrayānāBuddhism written in Saṃskṛit and Newāri scattered around various Vihārs or in personal possession. In order for the scholars use these collections

³William Wilson Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, New Delhi: Asian Education Service, 1991.

in future, he presented the scriptures, manuscripts, texts and etc. to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Library of Paris Museum and the British Museum. It proved to be a benevolent act from his part towards compiling Buddhist scriptures and having them stored so that it would help other scholars to continue further studies on it. Moreover, these scriptures now act as source to the researchers working on medieval history of Nepalese Buddhism. Later he distributed his collection among different libraries in Europe.

Contemporary scholars like Amritānanda helped him learn more about these important texts and about writing notes and seminar papers on them. Many of them can now be read in the contemporary journals published from India and London. His articles inspired other scholars to study on Nepal and his collection helped them to march ahead. He was, therefore called Buddhist Ambassador to Europe.

Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet Together with Further Papers on Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of those Countries is one among the outcomes of his study on Buddhism of Nepal. The book is a collection of articles published in the journal of “Asiatic Researches” in 1828 A.D. and reprinted in “Illustrations of the Literatures and Religion of the Buddhist” in 1841 A.D. The present book is a compilation of those articles published in 1843 A.D. by Turner and Co. (57 & 59) Ludgat Hill, London. It was reprinted by Asian Education Services, New Delhi in 1991 A.D.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part includes eleven articles on the language, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet. Among them the last one was not published earlier. The second part consisted of eight articles dealing with Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of those countries. The last two were not published earlier.

The articles included in the first part as stated above concentrated mainly on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet. The first article (page

1 to 35) deals on the theme and mentions Newāri, Saṃskṛita and Tibetan as major languages of Buddhist literature of Nepal⁴. He opines Newāri as a poorer dialect in comparison to Tibetan, obliging to borrow Saṃskṛita as the sole language of Buddhist literature. He found that Rañjanā and Bhujimola Palm leaves scripts were used mostly. Hodgson gave similar importance to Tibetan language for the study of Buddhism. The exchange of visits of the Tibetan and Nepalese teachers and their combined work on the religion produced several notable works. Under this chapter, Hodgson had thrown light on Tibetan manuscripts like Kaṃgyur and Stangyur to know more about the philosophy of Tibetan Buddhism.

The book has a sound message to academicians that relevant literatures are the main source of information to study on a country's history, politics and religion etc. These literatures can be in the form of books, inscriptions, hand written text on palm leaves or printed notes, pictures, wall paintings and so forth. To know more about Buddhism in Nepal, Hodgson thereafter started collecting literary works on the subject. His collection included important Buddhist Saṃskṛita literature and scriptures like Prajñāpāramitā and other Navagranth Sutra from various monasteries, libraries and personal collections⁵. To him, "all that the Buddha has said, as contained in Māhāyāna sutras and the rest of the sutras" is Dharma Ratna or the precious science.

Among Māhāyāna Buddhist literatures Prajñāpāramitā with five divisions (described in pg.16), containing the perfection of insight or wisdom, according to Hodgson, is the central element of perfection or Bodhisattva ideal of Māhāyāna Buddhism. It is the most sacred and important scripture for Buddhists. Buddha vacana, the words of the Buddha can be in any of twelve forms as Sutra, Geya, Vyākarna, Gatha, Udana, Nidāna, Ityukta, Jātaka,

⁴ The article was first published in *Asiatic Researches* vol. xvi in 1828. It is also reprinted in *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists* published from Serampore on 1841.

⁵ The other eight Granthas are Sadharmapūṇḍarikā, Samādhirāja, Gaṇḍabyuha, Lalitavistara, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Tathāgataguhyeka, Laṅkāvatāra and Daśabhumika.

Vaipulya, Adbhuta Dharma, Avadāna and Upadeśa, In other words the scripture containing the above twelve forms of topics, are Prajñāpāramitā, works of praise, narrative of work, verses, dialogue, treatises, explanations, metempsychosis, treats of several dharma, unnatural events, fruits of actions and treat of the esoteric doctrines equal to tantras respectively. They are usually written in Rañjanā and Bhujimol on palm leaves scripts. The scripture is not easy to understand, therefore, he stated, “Buddhism is not simple, but a vast and complicated structure erected during ages of leisure, by literary people”. The word ‘leisure’ is not the objective of such work. In my opinion, it is their dedication to such work for the benefit for all human beings.

Hodgson was the first to work on Buddhism of Nepal and to highlight such important instances. To him Ādi Buddha, the infinite and self-existent deity, is considered as the only deity and as the cause of everything. To worship Ādi Buddha or supreme god is characteristic of Nepalese Buddhism. Ādi Buddha laid the conception of Dhyānī Buddhas for active causes of creation and governance of the world with possession of five wisdoms.

According to Hodgson, speculative Buddhism embraces four very distinct systems of opinions. The first is Swabhāvikā which stands for one respecting the origin of the world or matter. Second is Aiswarika stating those who believe in Ādi Buddha as the foremost. Third is, Yatnika or intellectuals who possess free wills and fourthly Karmika who gives importance to moral conducts. The religion of Nepal, he writes, revolves around Pravritti—active worldly life and Nirvittri—final emancipation or liberation from worldly life. To acquire clearance, various doctrines are formulated and practiced. The author mentions that these doctrines are generated from Māhāyāna doctrines, the oldest form of Buddhist philosophy.

The author describes Chaityas as the principal object of worship of the local Buddhists in Nepal. The leading and fundamental association of this object is

that of a Triad as Buddha Dharma and Saṃgha where Buddha means mind, dharma means matter and Saṃgha means the solidarity or congregation of the two.

Hodgson's account of the philosophical school of Buddhism and their sub divisions regarding deity, enumeration of the object of Buddhist worship, exposition of Buddhist religious order are the most important outcome of his work on Nepalese Buddhism (pg.35-65). The fact, that Hodgson came to Nepal as a British envoy but returned to Europe as a Buddhist ambassador is reflected in this article Sketch of Buddhism from Baudha writing of Nepal. Pandit Amritānanda Śākya, a renowned Buddhist scholar from Pātan, who was well versed in Sanskrit helped him procure and translate them. From them Hodgson was able to draw series of questions on various issues on religion and philosophy and the answers which he sought from Amritānanda helped him to bring into light many facts on Buddhism of Nepal. The series of questions and his replies are also mentioned under this chapter in the book. The author had mentioned a list of Saṃskrit Baudha works where he gives credit to the Buddhist scholars whom he owed a lot. Through these works, and advice he could expose many unknown facts about Nepalese Buddhism and helped him to bring into light new facts on Buddhism of Nepal.

“Essays on the Language, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet” stands as a set of articles published in the journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal. Later he compiled these articles and published in the form of a book in 1874 A.D. “Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet” is an opening section of Hodgson's first essay. The series of questions and his replies are also mentioned under this chapter in the book. Hodgson's essays merged religious aspects with philosophic touch of Buddhism. It has the narration of philosophical schools of Buddhism and their sub divisions highlights the Buddhist deity as object of worship. In other words it is an exposition of Buddhist religious order.

Hodgson and his writings brought a great sensation among scholars in Asia and Europe. Many such scholars praised and equally criticized his writings on different aspects of Buddhism of Nepal he had covered (pg.96). It inspired them to visit Nepal and know more about Nepal and Nepalese Buddhism. They disclosed entirely new ideas on religion of Nepal, its language, literature, and various schools of philosophy. Of course, it was the beginning of writing on the history of Buddhism in Nepal. And the book helps to throw light on European speculations on Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala.

5) Edward Conze (1993 A.D.)⁶, one of the most distinguished writers on Buddhism, studied Indian and European comparative philosophy at the universities of Bonn and Hamburg. He later lectured in psychology, philosophy and comparative religion at the universities of London and Oxford, held a number of academic appointments and served as vice-president of the Buddhist Society. His books include Buddhism (1951 A.D.), Buddhist Wisdom Books 91958 A.D.), Buddhist Thought in India (1962 A.D.), Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies (1967 A.D.), Buddhism- Its Essence and Development (2001 A.D.) and many translations from sacred Buddhist literature.

In the present book ‘A Short History of Buddhism’ Conze provided a compact summary of the development of Buddhism from the time of the Buddha to the present day. With skill, sympathy and insight, he briefly traced all the key aspects of 2500 years of Buddhist history – Hinayana, Mahayana, Tantra, Zen and discussed each of the countries where it had and continued to have a major influence. Conze’s classic introduction has come to be recognized as ‘must’ reading for all those interested in Buddhism.

Besides Introduction chapter, the book is divided into four chapters like Chapter 1 The First Five Hundred Years: 500 - 0 BC, Chapter 2 The Second Period: AD 0 – 500, Chapter 3 The Third Period: AD 500 – 1000, and Chapter

⁶Edward Conze, *A Short History of Buddhism*, Reprint, New Delhi: Research Press, 1993

4 The Last one Thousand Years: AD 1000 – 1978. The titles of chapters themselves reflect the periods the Buddhism went through.

It seems the author avoids the controversy about the exact date of birth of the Buddha the provider of antidotes to three ills- violence, self and death by mentioning the Buddha's period to be around round. 600 or 400 BC. Conze points out that Buddhism has mainly flourished for the last two thousand years in rice growing countries which had previously had a cult of Serpents or Dragons and it never made headway in those parts of the world which view the killing of dragons as a meritorious deed or blame serpents for mankind's ills.

Buddhism developed in India when major changes along with urbanization were taking place leaving less scope for individualism. The author remarks that the Buddha always stressed to be a guide, not an authority asking all propositions to be tested, including his own.

While describing death in terms of Buddhism as an evil force 'Mara', the killer which diverts us from the path leading to freedom, he explains that we are tied to Mara's realm through our cravings and ego-centred personality which are to be shredded off to win relief from an endless series of repeated deaths.

The author divides the 2500 years of Buddhism that persisted after having undergone profound and radical changes, into four historical periods. The first period is that of the old Buddhism, which largely coincided with what later came to be known as the Hinayana; the second is marked by the rise of the Mahayana; third by that of the Tantra and Chan and fourth of the last 1,000 years. The author attributes characteristics of the periods like the first period to be purely Indian, psychological, second to be the time of conquest of Eastern Asia thus having non Indian thought, ontological, third time of spreading to China having cosmic reasoning. Similarly, the first is concerned with individuals who practiced through self control; the second turns to the nature (svabhava) of true reality; the third sees adjustment and harmony with the

cosmos. Likewise, the first period adopted arhat ideology of a person who has no attachment; in the second, it is the Bodhisattva ideology of a person who wishes to save all his fellow beings and the third has an ideology of a siddha, a man who is so much in harmony with the cosmos.

The author wonders to note the production of a fresh canonical literature many centuries after the Buddha's death but the same is claimed to be the word of the Buddha himself. The scriptures of the first period was supplemented in the second by a large number of Mahayana sutras and in the third by a truly enormous number of Tantras. He adds 'all these writings are anonymous in the sense that their authors are unknown the claim that they were all spoken by the Buddha Himself.

He expresses peculiarity that at any given time the newer developments did not entirely supersede the older ones. The older schools coexisted with the new ones, although they were often profoundly modified by them. According to the author the five periods of 500 years are enumerated as marking the continued degeneration of the Buddhist doctrine. For him the story of Buddhism is indeed not only a splendid, but also a melancholy one.

Chapter 1 The First Hundred Years 500 – 0 BC

The author feels the complete absence of hard facts that mark the first period. The only one confirmed date is the rule of Asoka (274 – 236 BC) whose patronage transformed Buddhism from a small sect of ascetics into an all Indian religion. He opines even the date of the Buddha's life is a matter of conjecture.

The author also remarks that throughout the entire period of the first phase the scriptures were orally transmitted and they were put to writing form only towards the end of the period. Therefore, of the actual words of the Buddha nothing is left. The author suspects the Buddha might have taught in

Ardhamagadhi but none of his saying is preserved in its original form. As per the earliest canon, even its language is still a matter of dispute. He comments all we have are translation of what may have been the early canon into other Indian language chiefly Pali and a particular form of Buddhist Sanskrit. According to the author, Buddhism had itself divided at some unspecified time into a number of sects of which usually eighteen are counted. Though most of these sects had their own canon, nearly all of them are lost either because they were never written down or because the depredations of time have destroyed the written record.

The author mentions Nepal along with Ceylon and Central Asia as the regions, outside of India where Buddhism got chance to survive after its total collapse in India about 1200 AD. Therefore, he opines only a small portion of what actually circulated in the Buddhist community during the first period and some modern European books abound in confident assertions about what the Buddha Himself has personally taught they all mere guesswork.

The author Conze considers the Buddhism of first period as that which concerns with monastic disciplines, the theory of salvation and the way to it. In this chapter, he discusses about fundamental philosophical tenets of early Buddhism like Dharma. He also deals with various sects and their disputes. These sects lived together in perfect amity exhibiting great tolerance. He considers philosophy as one of the most potent causes of sectarian divisions. He enumerates Mahasanghika, Pudgalavadins, Vibhajjavadins and Sarvastivadins as the dominant sects of the period.

The author also discusses on monk-layperson relationship and religious instructions for the laity focusing mainly on increasing their state of merit. In the last portion of the chapter the author presented picture of Buddhist expansion in Srilanka and remarks that Ceylon was the only region where Asoka's missionary activity bore fruit.

Chapter 2 The Second Period AD 0 – 500

The author points out that the beginning of the Christian era is marked by the rise of a new trend in Buddhism known as Mahayana which took shape by the exhaustion of the old impulse that produced much less Arhats as the laity demanded equal rights with the monks. Mahayana developed in North West India and south India, the two regions where Buddhism was most exposed to non Indian influences to impact of Greek Art in its Hellenistic and Romanized forms and to the influence of ideas from both the Mediterranean and Iranian assets. Soon, the Mahayana, the modified form of Buddhism conquered the entire northern half of the world and the Buddhists of Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea, and Japan are nearly all Mahayanists.

The author presents the view that Mahayana evolved as an outburst to keep the Buddhism afresh by creation of new innovative literature to meet the needs of new ages, new population and new social circumstances. The importance of the historical Buddha Sakyamuni was further minimized as the Mahasanghika did, and is replaced by the Buddha who is the embodiment of Dharma. In the chapter the author elucidates substantially on the evolution of Mahayana and also enumerates the distinguishing characteristic features of Mahayana.

Having devoted to the description of Mahayana, the author further writes that the old Hinayana schools also adopted some Mahayana theories either by direct borrowing or because they were exposed to the influence which shaped the Mahayana. As a result the idea of Bodhisattva now became prominent in the vast popular Jataka literature which tells stories about the Buddha's former lives. Originally these tales were fables, fairy tales, anecdotes etc taken from the vast fund of Indian folklore which were later adapted to Buddhist uses. He further adds a set of ten perfections, compassion, loving kindness, Abhidharmic treatise etc were made more prominent in reaction to Mahayana. He made

some comparison among different Hinayana sects like Sarvastivada, Vaibhasika, Sautrantika and even Mahasanghika.

He highlights Nepal as the region where Buddhism seems to have existed from the time of the Buddha. In his view Buddhism of Nepal was in probability not substantially different from that of Northern India. He then discusses on Buddhism in Kashmir, Ceylon and its expansion into greater Asia mainly central Asia.

Chapter 3 The Third Period AD 500 – 1000

The author regards the period marked with the emergence of Tantra- as Pala synthesis of Mahayana thought, and the concept of logic. Tantra is the third and the last creative achievement of Indian Buddhist thought. This development succeeded through three stages in order – Mantrayana (magical tradition)- Vajrayana (panca-buddha thought) – Sahajayana (stress upon meditational practice and involvement of intuition taught by riddles, paradoxes and concrete images).

Towards the end of the period in 10th century, the kalacakra ‘wheel of Time’ was introduced and this marks the extent of its syncretism and its emphasis on astrology. The author puts forth the view that the new movement arose in the South and north West India. Non Indian influences from China, Central Asia, and the border lands round India played a great part in shaping it. He discusses about Vajrayana features. He categorically considers that the Buddhism in Nepal continued to flourish as an offshoot of that of that of Northern Indian and Patan became a replica of one of the Pala universities. He clarifies that between 7th and 9th century close ties were developing with Tibet and many Tibetans came to Nepal to learn about the Buddhism of India. He stresses that it was in Nepal that Santarakshita encountered Padmasambhava when he conveyed to him invitation of the king of Tibet.

The author further delineates account of Buddhism in Ceylon, Central Asia, South East Asia, China, Korea, Japan and Tibet during the period 500 – 1000 AD.

Chapter 4 The Last One Hundred Years AD 1000 – 1978

In this chapter the author mentions about end of Buddhism in India about 1200 AD though it lingered for a further 200 or 300 years in some districts as in Magadha, Bengal, Orissa and South India. He states that Mahammadan invasion was blamed to be the cause of Buddhist disappearance in India. However, he suggests to see the cause within the Buddhism itself and other causes since Hinduism and Jainism subjected to the same fury from Mahammadans managed to carry on. He reveals that Buddhism has generally relied on the support of kings and where that was wanting it has usually been in difficulties. The international character of Buddhism which had enabled it to conquer Asia, also favoured its extinction in India. The surviving monks of India left the country in which they could no longer practice their monastic rules and went to Nepal, Tibet, China etc.

The author feels that as a spiritual force Buddhism had played itself out and there is no reason to believe that after 1000 AD the Buddhist monks were any lazier or more corrupt than at any time. But as the author accepts religiously history knows numerous cases where corruption has been healed by reformation.

Finally the author puts forth the view that what had of course happened was that in the course of 1700 years of co existence the Hindus had taken over a great deal from the Buddhists and the Buddhists likewise from the Hindus. And it is still continuing. Thus, he gave a brief historical scenario from the time of the Buddha to 1976(present time) in the book.

6) Daniel Wright (2000 A.D.), was born in United Kingdom and came³ to Nepal as a Resident of the British government in India and stay^d in Nepal for ten years. He had knowledge on various aspects of Nepalese administration, culture, religion and society and its people.

This text is divided into two parts. First part titled “Sketch of the Portion of the Country of Nepal, Which Is Open to Europeans” and the second part with “History of Nepal”. The first part contains five chapters while second part contains twelve chapters. The author, in his preface, claims that the first part of this text are written with his own observation and the second part is the translated version of Parbatiya by Munshi Shunkar Singh of India and Pandit Shri Gunananda of Patan, Nepal. The first part of the book contains details on the route to reach Kathmandu valley, populations, races, language, food habits etc. Also mentioned are religion, festivals, relation with British government, rulers of Nepal and political matter. Second part contains history of Nepal from prehistoric to modern period.

The author, in the first chapter of first part of the book explains about geographical location of Nepal, a small independent state. He has described in this chapter about the roads and cities leading to Kathmandu valley, starting from Sugauli then to Raxaul, Simra, Bichakoh, Hetaura, Nimbuatar, Sisagur or Chisapani, Markhu, Thankot and Kathmandu. He also mentions different rivers that come across the roads as Sikarna, Tilaway, Kura, Rapti, Markhu, and Visnumati in Kathmandu. The author also allude to mountains that are to be crossed as Churiya, Bhimphedi, Chisapani, Markhu, hills range Ekdunta, Chitlang also known as small Nepal, Chadragiri. After Chandragiri hill one enters Kathmandu valley.

The book has information of different important places of the valley. He explains how valley was developed in the shape of a Khadga or sword, and named as Kantipur by King Gunakamdev. He had also described other cities

like Bhaktapur and Lalitpur as historic cities. The writert has mentioned in the book about important religious monuments like Swayambhu, Pasupati, Changunarayan, Gokarna, and Baudhnātha and also explains importance of “Pati” or sheltering place,” Dhunge Dhārā “or water taps while dealing with the social cultural life of the valley.

In chapter two of the book the author deals with inhabitants of different races of Nepal, Gorkhālī from Gorkhā, Rajputs from India, Newāras, Gurungs, Limbu, Kiratīs, Bhotiyās and Lepcās and highlights on them. He noted. Newāras constituting largest sections of the valley. He found them involved in almost all works like agricultural, mechanical, trade and manufacturing, clerical. He describes the Gorkhālī as soldiers who had little share in other activities, Magars and Gurungs to be in British army as they are strong and the limbus and kiratis mostly occupy eastward of valley etc.

The chapter also describes religious festivals celebrated as Matchendranātha chariot festival, Bajrayoginī Jātrā, Sithi Jātrā, Gathemungala or Ghatakarṇa, Banarā Jātrā, Rakhī Purnimā, Nāga Paṃcami, Sripaṃcamī, Holi, Maghī Pūrṇīmā, Ghorā Jātra etc.

Among others, the author focuses on the occupation of the people of Nepal valley He mentions priesthood is carried out by Brāhmans and Vajrāchārya, astrology by Jośi, medical practice by Vaidyas, trading, manufacturing and agriculture by Newāras, army by Gorkhālī, and revenue are mainly from land taxes, custom duties are carried out by different government office. As regard to road, the author mentions it was rough tracks and not metaled except few miles and all the roads were not open to European.

7) Regmi Jagdish Chandra (2002 A.D.), a resident of Kamalpokhari and was formally a Professor at Central Department of Nepalese History, Culture and

Archaeology, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur⁷. He was also associated with The Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

He had written many books on political and religious history of Nepal and had also published many research articles in popular and important journals of Nepal. Some of his important books in Nepali are: 1) *Aṃśuvarṃā* (1967 A.D.), 2) *Nepalakodhārmika itihāsa*, (1973 A.D.), 3) *Prācina Nepalako rajanaitika itihāsa*, Nepala Rajakiya Prajñāa-Pratiṣṭhāna (1978 A.D.); 4) *Licchavī-itihāsa*, Nepala ra Eśiyali Anusandhāna Kendra, Tribhuvana Viśvavidhyālaya, (1996 A.D.), 5) *Licchavī-saṃskṛti*, Ratna Pustak Bhaṇḍāra, (1969 A.D.). Similarly he had published some books in English language like, 1) *A glossary of Himalayan Buddhism*, Nirala Publications, (1994 A.D.), 2) *Dictionary of Nepalese cultural geography*, Office of Nepal-Antiquary, distributors.

The book, *Nepālako Dhārmika Itihas*, is one among the important books dealing with various religions of Nepal, written in Nepali language. It is divided into five chapters. The writer had given separate chapter for appendixes. Each chapter is devoted to a particular religion i.e. first chapter for śaivism, second chapter Vaisnavism, third for Buddhism fourth for Sakta and fifth chapter other important deities. The book contains description of religious history of Nepal from ancient to medieval period. The author aims to throw light on religious history of the period. An attempt is made here to deal with the chapters related to my work.

Chapter three of the book, while dealing on Buddhism of Nepal, the author opines that “without proper study of history of Buddhism of Nepal, one cannot understand religious history of Nepal, which still requires further research. The author had dealt on different historically important Buddhist monuments like

⁷ Website: <http://202.70.82.238/cgi-bin/koha/opac-search.pl?q=ccl=au:Regmi,%20Jagadish%20Chandra&limit=au:Regmi,%20Jagadish%20Chandra>, retrieved on 2012. 01.03

Caitya, deities, Vihāras, Stupās, big or small, scattered around Kathmandu Valley and opines that it needs further research to come to conclusion, how ancient they are. Howsoever, these monuments expresses the history of Buddhist culture and tradition. In the absence of regular research, it cannot be said when Buddhism, propounded by the Śākya prince of Kapilavastu entered into Kathmandu valley. But, it is speculated that Buddhism entered the valley in the very life time of the Buddha. If folk belief of the local people of Kathmandu valley is considered, Buddhism is believed to have existed much before the time of Sakyamuni Buddha.

Among these monuments, Regmi opines that Svayambhu Mahācaitya, Kathe - Svayambhu of Nāgahal, Kathmandu, Baudha Stupa, Cābahil Chaitya Gumvihāra and four Asokan Stupās of Pātan seemed built in ancient period.

Under sub chapter two, with heading, Buddhist Sects of Nepal, the author dealt on different Buddhist sects found in Nepal. The writer also dealt on history, philosophy, deities, rites and rituals. He writes that Hinayānasect of Buddhism is the oldest form of Buddhism. But, Mahāyāna Buddhism, blossomed from Mahāsāṃghika, which remained a very popular sect. It became more popular than other sects because the practicing Bodhisattva was assured of gaining Buddhahood.

In the chapter the author had also attempted to throw light on Buddhist Mahāyāna scriptures like, Aṣṭasrāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā and Pañcarakṣā. Similarly the author has made references about Madhyamika philosophy founded by Nagārjun, Yogacarya philosophy of Vasubandu and Asanga. The author believes that Vasubandu wrote text while he was in Nepal.

Regmi, while dealing on Tantrayan and Vajrayāna Buddhism as a sect he does not follow other scholars and accept that Vajrayāna Buddhism entered Nepal in 3rd century. According to him, Gokarna inscription of Aṃsuvarma is not sufficient enough to prove Vajrayāna entered into Nepal in early days. The

chapter has also descriptions of the deities enshrined around Vihāra, Buddhist Chaityas and secret deities enshrined in angam or worship place of Bahā and Bahi and the rites and ritual performed according to tantric rituals.

Under sub chapter 3 of the chapter the author deals with Buddhist scholars like Silamañju (7th century), Bodhogupta, Bāgiśora Kirti, Sāntibhadra, Jñāānsri Mitra, Gautamsri, (all of 11th century), Srijñāāna, Chandrapal, Bhiku Birmati Vajrācārya, Dharmaswami, Rabindra, Ratnaraksaita, (12th century). It also deals with Buddhist scholars described by the authors like, Ācarya Cheemendra, Jayananda Bajrācārya and jñāāakirtisen Vajrācārya ācārya of VajrayānaBuddhism and Ācārya Subhodijib (15th century).

How these Buddhist scholars helped Nepal develop as centre for Buddhist learning is highlighted under sub chapter four. The Muslims attack in India might have compelled Indian Buddhist scholars to penetrate in the hills of Nepal. The other important events he had covered is the visit of Dharmaswami from Tibet. During the period, Indian scholars like Ratnarakṣaita, Rabindra and Nepalese scholars like Śāntibhadra, Bimalasri, Ānatasri went to Tibet to teach and popularize Buddhism. Such interaction among Buddhist scholars developed Nepal as a centre for Buddhist learning.

Under sub chapter, with title Bauddha Vihārs of Nepal, the author deals with the Vihārs of valley and their significant role in the promotion of Buddhism of Nepal. The author opines that the art and architecture exhibited by Chaityas bears original concept of Nepalese artist. Probably the concept was developed from texts “Devapratimalakchan” preserved in Keśara library. He had produced the copy of the text in the book.

Regmi has written about the relation between Nepal and Tibet in this book developed since the Licchavīperiod. He mentions about the marriage of Bhrikuti with Tibetan King Srong Chen Gonpo. He described the princess as Aṃsuvarma’s daughter. Also it has mentions of the visit of Nepalese Buddhist

scholars to Tibet and Tibetan Buddhist scholars to Nepal and helping the Buddhists texts translated in local vernacular. The visit of Nepalese artists like Arniko and construction of Chaitya in Tibet shows the strong historical, cultural and religious relation with Tibet.

8) Born in 1913 A.D. at Kilāgal Tole⁸, Dilli Raman Regmi (2007 A.D.), was a politician of Nepal but was more popular as a scholar of Nepalese history. He did his M.A. and M. Lit from Patna University, India. In 1961 A.D., he was awarded with the Degree of Philosophy in Economics from Patna University. He was also the first Nepali to receive a D. Lit degree from the same University. He was also the first Nepali to be awarded with an honorary degree of D.Sc. from Soviet Union. Regmi had respect both towards Buddhism and the Newāri language. Besides political leader, he is also popularly known as a historian, an intellectual and an academician. He has published many articles on politics as well as on history.

Regmi started writing from 1940 A.D. and has to his credit about 17 books. His books covers different ages in Nepalese history, Ancient Nepal, Medieval Nepal (Volume I and II) and Modern Nepal. A Century of Family Autocracy, Nepalese Democratic Struggle and Indo-Nepalese Relation through the Ages are some of his important books. He was the first historian to write a history of Nepal in English.

Medieval Nepal, Volume-I is a comprehensive work on the history of early medieval Nepal. Regmi has covered the history of 790 years starting from 740 A.D. (i.e. immediate after the Jayadeva II) to 1530 A.D. against other scholars who divide the period on the basis of the introduction of new era called Nepal Samvat i.e. Oct. 20, 879. According to him the Licchavīrule had come to an end after Jayadeva II under such circumstances he thinks it

⁸D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal Vol. I*, New Delhi: Rupa and company, 2007.

necessary to continue the history of Nepal from 733 A.D. onward to history of early medieval period.

Regmi has in the book dealt the political history, social life, economy, art and architecture, literature and sculpture of the period with help of contemporary epigraphic evidences like inscriptions, numismatics, colophons, diaries in form of *Thyāsafus* (folded books), reports, travel accounts, *vaṃśāvalis* etc.). To discuss on the points the book is divided into 10 chapters with each chapter further divided into parts under various headings. It also has included in the last chapter the account of Khasa Kingdom of 12th and 13th centuries as well.

The introductory chapter deals with the territory and geographical situation of Nepal, the naming, the language and the people of the country. To deal with the contents of the book, the author has relied upon *Vaṃśāvalis* or the chronicles preserved in the Kaiser library along with other manuscripts, coinage, inscriptions and the Chinese accounts.

The author describes that Nepal as a political entity had all along throughout the middle age comprised of territories watered by the seven Gandaks and the seven Kosis in the mountains and the upper reaches of their flow in the Tarai. He describes Nepal a Saṃskritised form of the Kirāti word Nepal meaning the central country. The inhabitants of Nepal and their languages are also discussed under the sub head “The name Nepal and Newāra”. While dealing with the relationship between the word Nepal and Newāras, he writes that all kinds of settlers coming from the North and South (i.e. the Dravidians from the south and the Mongolians from the north) until the advent of the 14th century, the valley received, formed a part of the social composition. In broad sense they came to be known as Newāras the inhabitants of Nepal and, the language spoken by them as Newāri. Whatever the settler's language might be, once they settled in the Valley, he writes that they would learn and inevitably speak

Newāri. Even historical documents of the period are found in the same language indicating the importance of the Newāri language.

Regmi writes about different sources in Chapter II under the heading “Sources for the early medieval history 879 – 1482 A.D.”⁹ He considers Vaṃśāvalis, colophons, inscriptions, coins and foreign accounts as reliable sources to describe medieval developments or the history. Among the Vaṃśāvalis he opines Gopālaraj Vaṃśāvali written in Newāri mixed Saṃskṛita language as the most important and reliable source to rely upon although it’s incomplete, as only 47 pages from Pg. 17 to 63 can be read. The other pages are either damaged or illegible. After Vaṃśāvali, Regmi gives preference to manuscripts because it has inherited a practice of writing the name of the writer or copier date and place of writing and the name of the king or ruler whose reign it is. Throwing light on the problems of compilation and accurate assessment of the sources he writes “It is no easy task to produce a connected history while even adequate data for a regular chronology are lacking” Also, he found that the colophons as the source materials are a new features in Nepal not found in India”. Therefore he says that manuscripts deposited in Cambridge University, Asiatic Society, London or the catalogues of such manuscripts prepared within the country or abroad by foreign scholars would help to know more about the history of the period.

Regmi has covered the history of Nepal from 740 to 1146 A.D. with the heading “early medieval history” and the Nepal Era of 879 A.D. in the chapter III. His classification of the period was based on the change of the dynasty. He guessed the first day of the new era was important because it must have witnessed some extraordinary happening which was to be commemorated with it. No epigraphic records are available after 740 A.D. that the Licchavīrule

⁹The author under this chapter had classified the Vaṃśāvali in two divisions as ancient and later. The ancient Vaṃśāvali are Gopal Raj Vaṃśāvali, prepared by Cecil Bendal, also known as Bendal chronicles, prepared by Kirkpatrick as Kirkpatrick Vaṃśāvali and 15 pages manuscript in possession of Kesar S. Rana

existed, he opines that inscriptions with the name of Licchavīking should have appeared after 740 A.D. As such the author concludes that the absence of any records in their name is evidence that Licchavīrule had ended since 740 A.D. To him, the fact of a dynasty change with the new era seemed to be a certainty. He therefore preferred to call the beginning of the Nepal Samvat as the starting point for all regnal dates starting from that year. Large numbers of manuscripts of the period that are available have mentioned the era in their colophons. Howsoever he concluded that the introduction of Nepal Era is equally important for extraordinary events like paying of national debts and emancipating people and the country from the burden of debts. He related the accounts of śakhwal, the founder of the Nepal Era and celebration of the New Year as MhaPujā by Newāras of the valley as a symbol of national emancipation or relief day with meritorious act of śakhwal.

Regmi was against the Indian writers who undermined the status of Nepal and did not hesitate to state it a dependent state or a country controlled by other powers like Tibet, Maghad or the Kanauj. He has rightly marked “we have not the slightest doubt about Nepal maintaining its independence all through the centuries while Tibet has become an imperial power. Similarly, he found no historicity in Dharmapāla, the king of Gauda’s ruling Nepal.

Social and Economic Condition of Nepal in the Middle Ages up to the 16th century A.D' is the title of ninth chapter discussed in five parts and sub headings. Having described the political history of Nepal from chapter 4 to 8, Regmi has discussed the last chapter in five parts under various subheads. Each part gives an objective study of the social and economic condition of Nepal under consideration at the time.

Under the sub headings The Medieval System of Administration in Nepal as it existed till 15th century. Regmi deals with the medieval system of administration. He describes the administration till the 15th century was

governed by the divine rule of contemporary kings with high epithets like Parameśora, Parambhattarikamahārājādhiraj, Rajrajendra etc. He described the valley (Lalitpur, Bhaktapur and Kathmandu) as center of fine arts. According to the author, if Lalitpur -also known as Lalit Pātanam- was more advanced in art crafts, Bhaktapur or Bhaktagram and Kathmandu or Kasthmaṇḍap were economically prosperous.

The author has an enquiry on Polity and Religion in part III of the chapter investigating “information about the social and economic condition of the Nepal of the time in question is so meager that unless and until a thorough exploratory investigation is conducted of the subject nothing more can be authoritatively said” and refers to only social conditions and the economy. He described Vajrayāna Buddhism as a living religion whose rites are found intact even today and attempted to show how the entire social structure of Newāra community is woven around it. Number of festivals in the society are founded and initiated by the ruling monarchs and they are associated with the observance of such festivals and feasts and a means for direct contact with the people. The author concludes that such roles played by the then kings covered their political motives.

The author under sub heading of “Religion” refers to it as one of the most important part of the social condition of the time in the period of history under inspection. He highlights the most dominating cult of religion during this period in Nepal as Vajrayāna, a Buddhist cult with the philosophy of earlier Mahāyāna. He describes it as closely affected by Brahminical mysticism or devotionism. The writer under this sub heading has also explained about new developments in Buddhism, introduction of new deities as well as rites and rituals. The role of śaivism and the introduction of Brahminical deities, their rituals and their effect in society have also been discussed.

The chapter also has references to the Turkish invasions of 13th century which affected Buddhist scholars in India compelling them to flee along with Buddhist tantric texts into Nepal. It helped Nepal valley develop as a center for Buddhist learning consecutively paving the way for the promotion of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Nepal. Regmi explains the situation of Buddhism after the introduction of class and caste system by Sthithi Malla in the class-less and cast-less Buddhist community. This was the period when cast-less system of Buddhist monkhood gave a way in forming class structure which the author highlights in this chapter.

The author has also dealt on social traditions of the period and addresses ceremonies and celebration performed around the year as “colorful” Newāri social life. He under this chapter had also dealt on rituals of birth and death. Under different heading in part III of this chapter, the author has explained on Vihārs, stupās, SvayambhuChaitya, Khāsty Chaitya, seven mortal Buddha, five celestial Buddha, Lokeśvaras and Manjushree, their history as well as their importance to Buddhists.

9) Dhanavajra Vajrācārya (2007 A.D), was one among the scholars in Nepalese history who spend his whole life in researches¹⁰. He had studied Saṃskṛita language and literature, epigraphy and history at the Gurukula founded by the late Pandit Nayaraj Pant in the early 1950 A.D. He was admitted by his parents to this school hoping that he would follow their family profession which was priesthood and Āryaveda. Kamal Prakāśa Malla, (who edited Gopālaraj Vaṃśāvali as co-author) while introducing Dhanavajra Vajrācārya writes that no sooner had he a little grounding in Saṃskṛita he worked as an editor of the journal under the title Pūrnimā. He had contributed the journal with several articles on Nepalese history. Later Bhadra Ratna Bajrācārya selected some of

¹⁰Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavi Kal ka Abhilekh (Inscriptions of Licchavi Period)*, Kathmandu: Nepal and Asian Research center, 2030 B.S.,reprinted in 2053 B.S

the articles to publish in the form of a book entitling “Dhanavajra Vajrācārya ko Prakāśiat Lekha Saṃgraha” part one in 1999 A.D.

Dhanavajra Vajrācārya resigned from the editorial board in 1969 A.D. and joined Tribhuvan University as an instructor in Epigraphy in the Institute of Nepalogy later known as Center for Nepal and Asian Studies. The center found him as the most prolific and productive scholar submitting annually a survey report or a research project to the institution for publication. Among his published works, compilation, editing and Nepali transliteration and commentary of the Licchavīinscriptions in Saṃskrita entitled Licchavīkālako Abhilekha was the most acclaimed one for which he was awarded with Madan Puraskar. It is noted that Mary S. Slusser received a copy of the book and she wrote to Dhanavajra Vajrācārya “Nepal must be proud of you for your achievement in the name of your country.”

Dhanavajra Vajrācārya has published several books on the culture and history of Nepal. The books were so informative that David N. Gellner did not fail to write in appreciation ‘...all those who work on culture and history of Nepal are in Vajrācārya’s debt’. It was this reputation that the Dean’s office did not hesitate to nominate him as the supervisor of Purushottam Lal Shrestha, a research scholar working on Medieval Bhaktapur as the center of Tantrism. It was a matter of pity that he died in the year 1994 A.D. before he saw his pupil awarded with the Ph. D. Degree.

It is highlighted in introduction that ‘Gopālarajvaṃśāvali’ is considered one among the major books of Dhanavajra Vajrācārya to Nepali historiography, transliteration, Nepali translation and interpretation of the most ancient (Gopālaraj) Vaṃśāvali. He spent more than a decade in reading and deciphering this difficult and unyielding manuscript, written in corrupt Saṃskrita and medieval Newāri, nearly like his morning recitation of the Nāmasaṃgiti. The text was submitted to Center for Nepal and Asian Studies

by the scholar in 1980-81 A.D. as a part of his research project relating to the translation and interpretation of the *Gopālarajvaṃśāvali*. The book was later published by Nepal Research Center in 1984 A.D. with the permission of CNAS with the introduction, English translation, glossary, chronology tables and Indexes of Place and Personal names written by Kamal Prakāśa Malla (pp.V)

The present text was handed over to CNAS in Nepali script around 1980-81 A.D.. It was not published due to unknown reason until 2007-08 A.D. Later the book was published after the demise of the author but no major correction was made in the text except some in names and places.

The book deals with the political history of Nepal during the early medieval period starting from N.S. 1 to 509 (879-1389 A.D.) focusing on the political chronology, the rise and fall of various families based in different parts of the valley. In the words of Kamal P Malla ‘it deals with the darkest phase of the ‘Dark Period’, torn by the storm clouds of rampant medieval feudalism running amok all over the valley, punctuated only by a series of outside invasions and raids of the Khasiyas, the Doyas and the Muslims (pp.vii).

The book has no chapter division. Dhanavajra Vajrācārya has completed the book under several headings. He starts the book with the beginning of Nepal saṃvat and cited the example of Saṃkṣaīpta Gopālaraj-Vaṃśāvali to write that Rāghavdeva had founded the new era. The book has references about the successors of Rāghavdeva. As the writer stated, these successors exercised various rules of succession. The dual rule, joint rule, younger brother succeeding the elder and appointing the successor to succeed a king from another dynasty were some practices followed during the period. It was around the joint rule of Rudradeva, Bhojadeva and Laxmikāmadeva that the country faced civil war causing a great loss in men and wealth (pp. 22-23).

It is stated in the book that Lalitpur, divided into toles, was already developed as a city during Shankardeva's rule. The most ancient copy of *Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* was copied during his rule in 977 (pp.5) It was during the rule of Ānandadeva that Bhaktapur was developed as the capital of medieval Nepal Maṇḍala. He built a palace called Tripura. He was initiated by Śaṃkarācārya at tender age. He preferred to call himself the *paran saiva* (Pp.53-54). Vajrācārya gives reference about the Gosthi system describing that Rudradeva's rule was peaceful and sound.

Medieval period witnessed a change in the ruling dynasty. Ari Malla as the first Malla ruler came to scene in 1200. It started a unique tradition of nominating heir from other family. Among the Mallas Abhayamalla ruled long but died in the earthquake of 1255 causing the loss of one third of the people. It describes Sthitimallas' rise to power.

Dhanavajra Vajrācārya while referring Nepal Maṇḍala describes it administratively divided into eight Visayas or the districts viz Gandigulma (modern Gulmi), Giglodam (territory beyond Kali Gandaki), Pannag (Territories around Magarat), Mangwor (unidentified), Dhabalsrowt (unidentified), Paṃcavat (territories westward Nuwākot), Udayapur and Pharapinga.

The book has description about the Khasa, Doya and Muslim invasions. How these invasions affected Buddhist shrines is narrated in the book. Among these invasions Śamsuddins' invasion of 470 N.S. was the most destructive. He not only plundered the monasteries he also put the three cities into fire causing a great loss which took long time to manage the loss.

10) Milan Ratna Shakya (2013 A.D), was born in Kathmandu. He is presently the Head of Central Department of Buddhist Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur. He is also Associate Professor of Central Department of Nepalese History, Culture & Archaeology in Tibhuvan University. He was formerly,

Member of Academic Council, Royal Nepal Academy. He has penned many books including Ganesha in Medieval Nepal, The Cult of Bhairava in Nepal, Ancient Stone Images of Buddha & Boddhisattva, The Culture & Aesthetics of Durga in Nepal Maṇḍala.

The book *Namo Buddhāya*: is a collection of research papers of the author presented in national and international seminars. All the papers are being dealt on Buddhist teachings and practices by Newāras Buddhists of Nepal Maṇḍala. They are ten in numbers.

The Buddhists of Nepal Maṇḍala hum the word *Namo Buddhāya*: *Namo Dharmāya*: *Namo Saṃghāya*: while beginning any ritual or any other function. It is believed that beginning with Buddha and his Dhamma (preaching) will always result in good and successful outcome. So, the practice of taking refuge into triple gem originated.

The research papers that are chosen for reviewing are “Archaic Milieu of Buddhist Nepal” and “Saṅgha Tradition of Ancient Nepal”.

“Archaic Milieu of Buddhist Nepal”

While introducing Nepal as the historic homeland of the Buddhas, the author puts forth the view that Myth and legends are important to prove philosophy and socio-religious set for liturgic and tantric rites. He mentions about cultural grip as the essence of revered genre in Nepal Maṇḍala. The author also talks about non Sanskrit elements in Nepalese culture and religion. He opines that migrants from Vaisālī to Nepal Maṇḍala expelled inhabitant Kirātas who were pushed beyond the Bhoté-Koshi river. He further tells that Nepal state was influenced by migrants like Śākya and Koliyās of Kapilvastu and Devadaha. They were described as non-Aryans and agricultural flocks. Later they became aboriginal ethnic group in Nepal Maṇḍala. He reveals that their texts and rituals mention about Deva, Nāga, Asura, Kinnara, Yakṣa, Gaṇḍharva, Rakṣas who

have been often the characters of Myths and legends. The hilly dwellers are mostly isolated by sophistication.

The author explains how townships with economic limits evolved in Nepal-Maṇḍala. He mentioned socio-economics, religious and cultural reform of Jayasthiti Malla (c. 1395). He elucidates Hindu caste system modeled in Buddhist way equating Vajrācāryas, Śākyas, udāsa and Jyāpus with Brahmins, Kṣetri, Vaisyas and Sudra respectively in status as in Hindu *Varanāśrama* system.

The author cites medieval time to be marked by plunders rocked by Jitārī Malla, Muslim Samsudin and Doyas and impact made on their culture by introducing Talejumāju, Dui-māju. He also clarifies how well defined castes and social settlements came to existence by giving example of Urāya's settlement.

The author tells that Buddhism to have become a means of alliance with China and Tibet during the time of Jayasthiti Malla relating the issues of Harsamachadra and Madanarama Vardhana associated with Lagam Bahā and Itum Bahā. Before that, cultural tie with Tibet was established under Buddhism with epoch making event of marriage of Nepalese princess with Tibetan king, Srongbtsan Gampo.

The author discusses about synchronizing approach between Buddhism and Hinduism especially through Nātha cult and talks about common gods and goddesses equally revered in both pantheons under hybrid tantricism which according to him evolved during Licchavī period and was intensified during Shaha-Rānā ruling. He also mentions about intervention of Nātha and Yogi's trend for some time in Nepal.

Tibet was a sacred treasure trove for Buddhism after the great wreckage of Nālandā and 'Vikarmsila in India. The author sheds light on Tibetan Buddhism

and its penetration in North Himalayan frontiers of Nepal where it was mostly engrossed by Sherpās and Tāmāngs.

He presented Buddhist trend of Solukhumbu and Mustang region. He interestingly pointed out that Thakalī's tradition resembles with the ancient system of Oligarchies of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. The author once again projects intermingling of different faiths like 'Śivamārga', 'Viṣṇumārga', and Devimārga in Nepal.

Under the heading 'The Conventional Loom' and the 'Practice of Charity', the author presents a short lucid biography of Śākyamunī Buddha and the tenets of his teachings. These portions can be treated as Sravakyaṇa's part. Similarly, the author deals with Mahāyāna under the heading 'The spread of Mahāyāna'. He mentions that the departure of monastic respects of Hinayāna into household priest's parish of Mahāyāna emerged during the age of Kusāna king Kaniska (78-101) with the rise of Mahāyāna.

The author deals with Vajrayāna in special context of Newāra Buddhism. He defines the term Newāra Buddhism as a further socio-religious ethno politics in philosophy than sacred in trend. He points out necessity of a new research to deal with Newāra Buddhism. He labels Newāra Buddhist practice not philosophical but a socio cultural one. While describing Newāra Buddhism, he seems to have followed Ernest J. Eitel's view which advocated Nepal's Buddhism to be monotheism leaving aside atheistic approach of Buddhism on the ground of following Ādi-Buddha.

But he adds that theoretical personality of Ādi-buddha was lost in philosophical abstraction. According to him historical practice continues with sacred trends of Indian Saṃskṛita Buddhism with liturgics and tantric disciplines activated by kriya, caryā, yoga and Anuttara yoga. Principally the practice was supplemented with the concept of prajñopāya- wisdom and skillful means.

The author related to legends of Mañjusrī as a progenitor of Newāra Buddhism with whom Anangavajra was identified through Mañjuvajra. The author puts forth the view that Newāra Buddhism was brought up by the route of 84 siddhas in Indo Nepalese tantric practice, psycho-physical yoga and Anutara-yoga on the basis of Sanskrit texts. Vajrayāna practice contained in Newāra Buddhism has ‘Guruvada’ leaning that gave rise to norm of Vajraguru.

He acquaints Santipur in Swayambhu as the sanctum of meditation for Anuttara yoga and Atiyoga performed in Vajrayānic Nepal at the time of Prachandadeva, the king of Gauda. He relates this sanctum with the De-ācā-gu performance of the Vajrācāryas as of Kathmandu valley.

“Saṅgha Tradition of Ancient Nepal”

The author Milan Ratna Shakya (2013 A.D), in this article dealt with the matters that are related with the Saṅgha under different heading as origination, Saṅgha as organization, rules and activities, early categories, Saṅgha Bheda: Saṃghāyana, spread and Saṅgha in ancient Nepal. He defines Saṅgha in monastic term as an association of monks and nuns and lay followers who embrace Buddha’s teaching.

According to the author Saṅgha is a cluster of generous Buddhists making effort for obtaining arhathood. It originated with five monks or disciples of Buddha known as Paṃca Bhadriya Bhikhu Saṅgha in Mrigadāvana. The author in the beginning chapter also explains about the main Buddhist literatures, Tripitaka known for three baskets as suttapitaka - collection of preaches or dhamma, vinayapitaka or code of rules and abhidhammapitaka which guides to obtain arahathood.

Under the heading ‘Saṅgha as Organization’ the author describes Saṅgha as main strength of dhamma and obedience by the monks or members of Saṅghais

crucial under Buddha's dynamic supervision and surveillance following vinaya.

'Rules and activities' is next heading under which the author explained about the rules and activities enforced after the death of Buddha. In a large gathering of disciples of Buddha the participants exchanged views on the Buddha's teachings as they heard from Buddha. At the time of Buddha the teachings are carried orally and the monks and nuns heard and learnt by heart. It was so collected and suttapitaka was formed as doctrine of Buddha's teaching. Similarly the code of disciplines for monks, and nuns was promulgated by collection of instructions of the Buddha and vinayapitaka was formed. Besides, the author highlights the regular activities that were carried out during the time of Buddha and they were recorded for the Saṅgha members or monks and nuns or Saṅgha for further continuation. They include going regularly for alms, washing robes, giving training to novice, washing and cleaning of the rooms as regular activities of the Vihāra. Similarly there are rules for health and hygiene, food and clothing, using of begging bowl and monastics were allowed to keep a scissor, needle and thread to repair their robes, fine cloth for filtering water. The author mentions that many texts were composed with different names to cover all these rules and activities so that Buddha Dhamma be continued by the Saṅgha after the pariniravāna of Buddha.

Early Saṅgha as mentioned by the author are found in five different categories as caturvarga, a four member monk's group, Paṃcavarga, of five members community Daśavarga of ten member community, vimsativarga of twenty member community, and atirekavimsativarga, more than twenty member community. The functions of these Saṅghas differed with each other.

Under the heading 'Saṅgha Bheda' the author explains on how the early monk community was divided. He presents example of Dev Dutta, the cousin of

Buddha, who tried in vain along with other unsatisfied śākya kulaputras to split the Saṅgha. Failing in his motive later he made a separate Saṅgha against Buddha. The author thus, points out that even at the time of Buddha, Saṅgha Bheda or difference of opinions within a Saṅgha surfaced.

Saṅghayāna is next heading of the paper in which the author highlights about Saṅghatana and its importance after death of Buddha. During the time of Buddha, there was no system of printing and recording. Buddha's teachings on dhamma were heard by disciples and monks remembered by heart. But after the death of Buddha, it is feared that Buddha's teachings may become disappeared or distorted. With this in mind, few days after the demise of Buddha, a Saṅghayāna or meeting of monks was called in Rajgriha and the teachings were collected by senior monks and preserved and compiled as pitaks. The meeting formed pitaks as Sutta, Vinaya and later Abhidhamma was added covering all teaching of Buddha.

The author explains that the Saṅghayāna of monks was called for settlements of any disputes in Saṅgha to check Saṅgha bheda. Therefore, such Saṅghayāna helped to form pitakas, and settle disputes that arose in the Saṅgha .

The author under the heading of 'Spread' explains how Buddhism spread into different schools like School of Sthavirvādin or Theravādin and Mahāsaṃgika or Mahāyānian.

Sthavirvādī follows old doctrine or Tripitaka. This school continued to flourish in south east Asia as in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand and this type is called southern Buddhism. Similarly, the Mahasaṃgika, originator of Mahayana flourished in Afganistan, China, Japan, Korea and they are popular as northern Buddhism.

Under the heading 'Saṅgha in Ancient Nepal', the author describes ancient Saṅgha of Nepal right from beginning of Buddha period. The author highlights

how the early citizens of Nepāla Maṇḍala were related with blood and bone of Śākya from Kapilavastu and these ancient citizens are historic set of Buddhists of Nepāla Maṇḍala. Similarly past Buddhas Vipasvī, Sekhī, Krukachanda had broadened the teaching of dhamma under the Saṅgha. Similarly, coming of Buddha during the period of kirātī king Jetadisti for preaching shows the existence of Saṅgha during that time. He further highlights the visit of Ashok and marriage of his daughter with Nepali prince, establishment of Cārumati Vihāra and formation of Bhikhunī Saṅgha of the vihāra. He further discusses about ancient period on the base of Hadigaun, Gokarna inscription of Aṃsuvarma which mention land grants for Ārya Bhikhu Saṅgha. Similarly, he mentions Patan Chaptole inscription and Kathmandu Musum Bahā inscription related to Bhikunī Saṅgha, to prove the existence of Bhikhunī Saṅgha in Lalitpur and Kathmandu respectively during ancient period. The author thus explained the presence of Saṅgha with different names in ancient period.

Seminar Papers and Journals:

1. Bajrācārya, Bhadra Ratna, "Buddhism During Early Medieval Nepal Maṇḍala: A study" "(Purvamadhyakal Nepamaṇḍalayā Buddhadharma Chagu-adhyayan (In Nepal Bhāsā))" published in Paleswan vol. 26 a journal of Lotus Research Center, Lalitpur in 2010 (Pp. 1-13)

The paper concentrates on the state of Buddhism during early medieval Nepal. The writer has followed the classification of age in accordance with former writers starting from Vikram Saṃbat 937 to the period of Sthithi Malla as early medieval period of Nepal. The writer had attempted to describe the political, geographical and economic life of the valley before discussing on the state of Buddhism. He had concluded that despite several upheavals, Buddhism prospered during medieval Nepal Maṇḍala. During the period Nepal remained as the center of Buddhist activities where Indian Pundits came to preach the dharma to the people and the Tibetan monks came to learn from them. Trade

with Tibet was promoted, art and architecture was developed, many new Vihāras were built and doors of the Vihāra were made open to all laities without any caste barrier. The period witnessed several invasions of the Khasa and the Doya kings and the Muslim invasion. Among them the Khasas spend months in Nepal worshiping Svayambhu and organizing Saṅgha Bhojan to those initiated at Svayambhu, observing Ratha Jātrā of the Lokeśwora offering gold and silver. Irrespective of their victory and right to occupy, they returned with lump some money and the ransom they raised from the people.

The writer opines that Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna Buddhism was more popular during the period. The Mahāyanic approach for salvation, of all sentient being could win the hearts of the contemporary people. They recited Navagrantha with special reference to Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā(wisdom text), Sadharmapuṇḍarikā(lotus text) and others which attracted the people. Buddhist scholars like, Atulvajra, Anupam Vajra, Adyovajra, Ratnarakkṣit, Śāntibhadra from different Bahās and Bahis of Nepal Maṇḍala labored hard to develop to make Bahās and Bahi, as Buddhist learning centers. Equally the scholars from India like Atiśā, Bāgiśorakirti, Banratna and Tibetan Buddhist scholars like Dharmaswami, Marpa, while staying at various Bahās and Bahi and practicing, writing of various Buddhist texts and interaction between the Buddhist scholars of Nepal, helped Bahā and Bahis develop and be popularas Centre for Buddhist learning. Impact of these activities also influenced, then ruler and followers of Buddhism, following which many new Bahās and Bahis weremade and existing oneswere decorated or renovated.

The writer, in his article had also briefed the impact of Buddhism and development of Bahā, Bahi as learning centers in pre-medieval society. Meditating, recitation of hymes, GuruMaṇḍala and Chaitya worshiping was developed as part of daily practices by the contemporary Buddhists. Similarly, reciting Paṃcakṣātexts or other Dhāranis to protect from diseases, epidemics etc. were developed as unusual practices. Evenkings like Ripu Malla,

JayatariMalla from the West who came here visited SvayambhuCaitya and BuṅgaKarunāmaya to worship the deities and offer Bhojandāna to initiated members of Svayambhu.

The writer also explains the generosity of the followers of Buddhism. Many Bahās, Bahis, SvayambhuCaitya, PimBahāCaityas of Lalitpur and many other Caityas, damaged, by natural devastation in earth quake of N.S. 375, or by Doya and Khas kings in the year N.S. 431, 432 and Samsudin attack of N.S.430, was reconstructed and repaired during pre-medieval period with the support of both the people and Kings. This generosity made us to be proud as Nepal Maṇḍala was addressed as an ancient Buddhist city. To justify the above mentioned events the writer had referred Vaṃśāvali and inscriptions in the foot notes.

The writer writes that Buddhist progress howsoever was disturbed by some unexpected causes. Coming of Śaṃkarācārya to Nepal and its impact on Buddhism are discussed in the article. The activities of Śaṃkarācārya, like burning Buddhist texts, destroying Caityas located at Sāṃkhu Vajrayogini misbehaving with Buddhist monks and nuns and forcing them to marry each other demoralized the people.

Natural calamities like drought heavy rain, devastating earthquakes that occurred during N.S.375. 464 is another obstacle in its development. The earthquake of 375 killed one third of the people along with the King Abhaya Malla. Similarly, the invasion byŚamsuddin burnt the whole city, plundered the SvayambhuCaitya and others. It took a long time to renovate them. The people as well as government officers were all busy in facing such devastation and the relief activities and could not give proper attention in any other field. Under such upheavals the contemporary people followed Mahāyāna Vajrayāna practices as path of enlightenment or attaining Buddhahood.

2. Bajrācārya, Dr. Naresh Man, “A brief introduction to the ten passages of Life of Newāra Buddhists”. A research paper presented in the 4th Annual Symposium on Buddhist Studies, organized by Center for Buddhist Studies, Kathmandu University., Year: 25th October, 2006 (Unpublished).

The writer, Naresh Man Bajracharya, in his paper, “A brief introduction to the ten passages of Life of Newāra Buddhist”, deals on different stages of life starting from the first menstruations to the period of marriage. The writer considered it a natural process that one has to cross from birth to death. The observance of such stages of life followed by the Newāra Buddhists is discussed as rituals called Dus Karma”.

While throwing light on these religious rites the writer described Garvadāna Karma related to the first menstruation of a girl. While performing the rite the girl is kept far from light and sight of any male in closed room or “Gufa” in Nepali for 12 days. When she is brought out she gets the darśana of sun and worships it (the sun) on Surya Maṇḍala. The writer highlights its philosophy and rituals.

The next passage that the author had described is Pumsavana (Saṃskṛita) Karma or the rites. It is performed at times of the first pregnancy of a woman. It is observed for the birth of a male issue. It is believed that in Mahāyāna Buddhism in order to be a Buddha, one had to take rebirths as a male (to be Buddha).

Similarly, Simantonayan Karma or rite is performed when the delivery comes near. During the rite, pregnant women are served with foods as per her wishes to make her happy hoping for a smooth delivery of baby.

After the birth of a baby Jat Karma rite is observed on 4, 6, 10, or 14th day. On this day cutting of umbilical cord by golden razor is performed. An “Ājee” i.e. a nurse in modern term takes part in the function. The ceremony is followed by

the Nāma Karma rite i.e. the naming of the baby. The writer explains that water consecration ritual is done with objectives to empower the baby to understand the ultimate truth. The names given afterwards are termed as 'tathāgata' or Buddha as everybody possesses Buddha nature.

The next rite is AnnaprāśanaKarma. It is generally called rice feeding rite. This function is performed on an auspicious day of the fifth or sixth month of delivery of baby and it is taken that the baby will have grace of all the Buddhas.

Cūdākarma/ Vratibandhana - when a boy reaches puberty at the age around 11, 13 or 15 he has to go through a rite of cūdākarma by shaving his hair leaving only a crest in the center of the head. On this occasion, the seniors give under - garments, recognizing him as an adult man of the society.

In the case of a girl child, prior to her first menstruation, around the age of nine or eleven, she has to go through the rite of Kanyasaṃkalpa or Ihi Karma in Newāri. In the course of this ritual, the parents make commitment to give her in marriage wishing her to practice Bodhicitta, thought of enlightenment, after her marriage.

Vratades Karma is rite of sending a boy away from the house for education and skill development purposes. The boy takes vows to learn, practice and gain wisdom as obtained by all Tathāgata. This rite is performed during cūdā karma.

Vratasaṃavartana/ Vratamokṣanakarma is another rite meant to returning home after completion of the vratades or accomplishment of wisdom.

The tenth passage of life as mentioned and explained by the writer, is Pranigraha Karma or wedding rites. The author further writes that only after having completed above nine rites a boy will be fit for marriage. It is stated that the bride according to the rite is prajñā (wisdom) and the bridegroom Upāya,

and hence marriage is a union of *prajñā* and *upāya*. Marriage will give another birth of a child evolving the same passages of life again.

The writer concludes, these different stages of life in other words are natural processes and the rites that are performed are socialization of a child into a society where he/she stands. By virtue of the religious acts the child is supposed to gain knowledge on all aspects of life and religions he/she practices.

3. Lock, John K., “Newāra Buddhist Initiation Rites”, Contribution To Nepalese Studies, Volume II, No.2 (Journal of: The Institute Of Nepal And Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University), 2032 B.S.,pp1-23.

The article “Newāra Buddhist Initiation Rites” is focussed in describing the unique features of the Buddhist practices followed by the Newāra Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley which can hardly be found in other country. John K Locke had prepared the paper by observing the initiation rites performed, at Machendra Bahāl of Kathmandu. In this article, the author had described in detail what he had found in the observation of the initiation rites.

The author has discussed about the discrepancies that he found between the related texts and the actual practices carried today. He opined that research should be done to examine whether practices carried these days tally with the prescribed texts or not. In case there are differences he suggests for changes wherever required. The writer hoped to work on this, in future. Meantime he focused in this article to describing the initiation practices that are actually carried.

The writer while highlighting, “Bare” states it a term used to denote Śākyas and Bajrācāryas as a respected class among the Newāra Buddhists or member of the Saṅgha acting as custodian of their respective Bahā and Bahi. In order to be a legal member of the Saṅgha, and become higher member of the rites (being

priest), male members are initiated or go through the “Barechuegu” rite in the Bahā where his father was initiated. This sort of system or initiation rite, the writer states, may differ in Pātan and Kathmandu or Bhaktapur. Even there are minor differences among Bahās of Kathmandu itself.

Although a boy is initiated at an age of eight, the writer, points out that there is no age bar to undergo the rite. As initiation rites are expensive, he further stated that Saṅgha members wait to forming a group of boys. At such state the age bar may cross above eight sometimes even 11, 13 and 15.

The initiation rite according to the author completes in eight days. The “barechuegu” event takes place on the third day. He has discussed the rites and rituals carried on for five days accordingly.

1. Goya Dāna Tayagu—offering of betel nuts and money: A formal request is made before the head of Bahā or Thakali for initiation ritual to become a monk or Pravajya in Saṃskṛita, meaning the first rites of initiation for a layman. The writer has described the process of the ritual starting with an introductory puṇā, worshiping of Buddha, Dharma and SaṅghaMaṇḍala, and the acceptance of the betel nuts, money, rice, incense, flower and etc.
2. Dusala Kriya (preparatory rites) :It is carried on the second day as the first step towards entering the Saṅgha in Saṃskṛita it isPurvanga. The author has highlighted about the puṇā of the day in detail that starts with worshiping Ganesh, by the Naki or wife of head of the family. The puṇā is known as”Inākāyagu”in Newāri. Various puṇā are done by the priests. The candidates then perform, GuruMaṇḍala Puṇā, another basic rite. The priest briefs them on the meaning of GuruMaṇḍala and teaches how to perform this puṇā. Next the Thakāli goes around in seniority basis and ties a tuft of hair on the crown of the head with a small white cloth containing a piece of gold. This is in preparation of cutting of the hair the next day

3. The Bare Chuyagu-“the making of bare”: The principle function of Bare-chuyagu or Pravrajyā takes place on the third day. It literally means making of a Bare or Vandya, The candidates, after purifying themselves with bath and cutting nails comes to the Bahā with normal dress and takes their seat as per seniority. The writer describes in details the following rituals performed on the day

1. Guru Maṇḍala and explaining the meaning of pravrajyā:
2. Cūdā Karma—cutting of the hair
3. The pravrajyā—the ordination of Bhikṣu
4. Investiture of the Bhikṣu
5. Ritual entering of the temple
6. Wa-da Chuyegu—offering rice and money in alms.
7. Procession of the Bhikus
8. Civara Kote Vidhi—the rite of laying aside the monks robe.
9. ĀcāLuegu—the making of the (vajra) Ācārya.

- I. Kalasabhiseka
- II. Mukatabhiseka
- III. Vajrabhiseka
- IV. Ghatabhiseka
- V. Mudrābhiseka

4. Theodore Riccardi, "Buddhism in Ancient and Early Medieval Nepal" in A.K. Narain (Ed.), *Studies in History of Buddhism*, (Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2010), Pp.265-281

In the article the author tried to give a brief account of Nepalese Buddhism and society during the 5th to 8th century AD, based upon the important inscriptions of the period. The essay has two parts. The first part deals with the Licchavi society while the second discusses the position of Buddhism within that society.

As most of the scholars did, the author also assumes Buddhist doctrine and practice to have entered Nepal possibly during the life time of the Buddha himself. He considers the history of Nepal until the middle of 5th century legendary in want of contemporary supporting evidences. He describes Nepalese society highly complex as Hinduism and Buddhism existed side by side. He feels Buddhism never dominant in Nepalese society, got widely spread under royal patronage and won the faith of both Saivism and Vainuvism.

The author opines that it is difficult to say which people were Buddhists in Nepal. Only the people known from Buddhist sources like Sakyas, Vrijjis,, Kolies, Mallas etc were regarded as Buddhist. He supposes that these people were migrant to Nepal valley after their wars with Magadha before first century AD.

The author points out that caste system already existed among Nepalese Hindus as revealed from early inscriptions mentioning the word *Varnasramavyavastha* and expresses inability to say when such system spread to the Buddhists. He discusses about four *varna* and 36 subcastes or *jats* but wonders in not having plausible details about eighteen nature '*astadasaprakrit*' that appeared in several Licchavi inscriptions. He considers Newars (Nevars) as the most important people of medieval times.

The author delves substantially in identifying several Licchavi names that denote to settlements like the *grama* (smaller settlement), the *tala* (the larger settlement), the *dranga* (largest among the three, meant mainly for town or city) and considers *Yupagramadranga* and *Daksinakoligramadranga* the most

important settlements as they grew into the medieval city of Patan and a part of the city of Kathmandu respectively. Similarly, he tries to define various administrative governing bodies like *Pancali* (made of 7 members *Pancalikas*), *adhikarana*, *dwarika*, *pratihar*, *Mahapratihar*, *mahadandanayaka*, *bhattabhikarana*, *samanta*, or *mahasamanta*, *amatyas* etc.

The author notes Licchavi kings calling themselves *Licchavikulaketu* 'banner of the Licchavi family' taking pride in their dynasty i.e Licchavi which has relation with Indian mythical solar dynasty.

He introduces Vrisdeva as the earliest member of Licchavi family to have been informed well and the one who rules in the latter part of 4th or beginning of the 5th century. However there is no inscription to support information about the king who was believed to be the Buddhist and built several Buddhist monuments including Sinagu vihara, now Swayambhu. The author evaluated that only Vrisdeva to be a Buddhist while all his successor kings were either Visnuvite or Saivite.

The author regards Licchavis legitimate rulers though their actual power often wielded by strong feudatory chiefs. He introduces Ansuvarman (605-631) as one such chief but the most famous one after whose death Abhira Gupta family took control over rule making Licchavis powerless titular kings. The joint rule of the Gupta and Licchavi thus begun lasted until the reign of Narendradeva who became king in about 643 AD and restored the legitimate dynasty to its original position of power with the help of Tibetan military force.

The author mentions Jayadeva II as the last important Licchavi king who gave earliest genealogy in the form of an inscription at the temple of Pashupatinath.

The author cites the most characteristic feature of Nepalese Buddhism to be the absence of an organized celibate monkhood for which many reasons have been advanced in the past. Though the time when this took place is not known the

author reveals that until the middle of the 8th century at least there was a well established community of monks and nuns that lived in viharas. He mentions some of Licchavi viharas like Gun Vihara of Sankhu, Sinagu vihara of Swayambhu, Srimana vihara, Raj vihara etc. He points out that Mana vihara and Raj vihara built under royal patronage were among the richest and the most important viharas of ancient Nepal and were honoured equally with the major shrines of Hinduism like Pasupatinath especially with regard to financial support, as known from one of inscription of Ansuvarma.

The author divulges that viharas were run though donation made to the Sangha collected in the form of religious taxes from householders and landowners. He further adds that some of these tax payers included entire villages and the income derived from the communities, rather than going to the government, was paid to the viharas. He expresses ignorance of management by monks for their business affairs. He suspects that their deep involvement with secular life including business affairs regarding fund management received for the viharas made it easier for the monks to renounce the vows of celibacy. The author further provides example of income of vihara sangha from one of Narendradeva's inscription that attested the wealth and power of the sangha which was entrusted with judicial power for making judgments of the major crimes, taxation and civil disputes of Gullamtanga village.

According to the author Riccardi Vajrayana doctrine had not well spread in the period, however the word Vajrayana itself had occurred in one Licchavi inscription with a hymn on Vajradhara. The author regards the Buddhism of the time as purely Mahayanic form. However, he also mentions about a fragment of an inscription from Sankhu that referred to Mahasanghika.

The author seems convinced that throughout the period the lay community contributed to the support of the sangha as further exposed by the examples from supposedly 5th century inscription of Cabahil, inscription regarding an act

of charity by Bandhubhadra, an inscription from Swayambhu about gift of land and several other inscriptions with mentions of Avlokiteswara.

CHAPTER III

BUDDHISM DURING EARLY MEDIEVAL NEPAL

Introductory Background

The year 733 A.D. was a turning phase in the history of Nepal. It brought to an end the glorious age of the Licchavīs. The Kathmandu Valley, during the period, was the administrative center of the Licchavī domain. It held sway over vast area as to the east and west of the Valley and extended cultural connections to the south with India and to the north with Tibet. There was a steady flow of cultural influence from India directly connected with Buddhism and Hinduism. Although nothing can be said definitely, schools of Buddhism were prominent during the period. It is probable that the strongest early influences came from the Mahāsāṃghika, Sammitiya and the Sarvāstivāda. Huien Tsang noted in his travel account that there were two thousand monks engaged in the study of literature concerning both the vehicles¹. Contemporary sources points out the contributions of Licchavī kings who helped Mahāyān Buddhism flourish within the country².

Licchavī inscriptions have mentions about fifteen Vihāras built in the valley during the period (Lichhavigalako Abhilekha). Among them Gum Vihāra, Mana Vihāra, Raj Vihāra, Khajurika Vihāra and Madhyam Vihāra were categorized into specific group. Abhayaruchi Vihāra, Chaturvaltsana Vihāra, Vartakalyangupta Vihāra and etc were categorized into another category. Also Vihāras like Gandhakuti and others are found mentioned in the inscriptions. References show how these Vihāras were facilitated with land grants according to their status.

¹Thomas Watters(ed.), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels In India AD 629-645*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1996 Pp. 83-84.

²There are several stone inscriptions (Skt: silalekha) mentioning about Buddhism during the Lichhavi period and are concerned with Buddhist monasteries and the monks and nuns living therein.

Each Vihāra had a Saṅgha. References show that the Saṅghas enjoyed privileges³. The inscriptions of Yagbahāla and Vajradhara demonstrates the facilities enjoyed by the Saṅgha of Śivadeva Vihāra⁴. Similarly, the local people also supported the Saṅgha with land grants to offer Saṅgha bhojans to Mahāsāṃghika Bhikṣaunis coming from four directions or other Bhikṣaus and meet the cost of other renovation works⁵. Inscriptions show that Buddhist women were not behind in offering gifts (Skit: deyadharma) for the sake of merit⁶.

The Pasupati inscription of Jayadeva II mentions Vriṣadeva, the great grandfather of Manadeva as sugat sasan pakṣapati to reveal his inclination towards Buddhism⁷. It is believed that he has erected the Svayambhu Caitya⁸. The other ancient sites within the Kathmandu Valley are the stupās of Bauddha and Chabahil. It helped to develop the valley into a religious center⁹ and bring the local inhabitants into the Buddhist fold. It popularized caitya worship so wide that people started participating in erecting stone caityas as meritorious deeds. There were almost two hundred stone caityas installed during the period. It was probable that this devotional practice of caitya worship gradually involved encasing an existing caitya by covering the surface with many elaborated paintings and consisted of ritual circumambulation of the caitya along with certain standard offerings such as incense, colored powder, oil lamps and ablutions.

The Licchavī trend which stands out from inscriptional evidence is that there was a string tradition of making religious gifts for the sake of merit and that the

³Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavi Kal ka Abhilekh (Inscriptions of Licchavi Period)*, Kathmandu: Nepal and Asian Research center, 2030 B.S., reprinted in 2053 B.S, P.320.

⁴*Ibid*, Pp.496-499

⁵D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal Vol. 1*, New Delhi: Rupa and company, 2007, P. 382.

⁶David Gellner, *Monk, Householder, And Tantric Priest*, New Delhi: Foundation Books, Pp. 3-8.

⁷Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 3, Pp. 548-562

⁸Nayanath Paudyal(ed.), *Bhasa Varṇāvalī*, Volume I, Kathmandu: Nepal Rastriya Postakalaya, Kathmandu, 2020 B.S., P.56.

⁹Kamal Prakasha Malla and Dhana Vajra Vajrācārya, *The Gopalraj Vamsāvali*, Kathmandu: Nepal Research Center, 1985

women of the Buddhist community seemed to take the lead in offering these gifts. They supported the Saṅgha with land grants to offer Saṅgha bhojans to Mahāsāṃghika Bhikṣunis coming from four directions or other Bhikṣus and meet the cost of other renovation works¹⁰.

3.1. Years of Confusion or Trouble

Among the Licchavī kings Jaya Deva II was ruling the country in 733 A.D.. What happened after him is not clear. The period is described as the Dark Age in the history of Nepal. It witnessed vacuum in the political history for more than a century with no clear-cut evidence about the rulers. A group of scholars mention Nepal as being controlled by foreign powers. Sylvan Levi¹¹ and Luciano Petech¹² talk about the Tibetan hegemony over Nepal. The latter even suggested that a Tibetan king was ruling the country sometimes in the mid eight century A.D. Among others, D.R. Regmi¹³, Mary Shepherd Slusser¹⁴, R.C. Maujumdar¹⁵, and others talk about Dharmapāla and Mahipāla the kings of Gauda ruling over Nepal. Hodgson attempts to prove Ganges and Sagar confluence in Kapilavastu¹⁶. As they lack historical evidence, Regmi, marked it the narrow mind thinking of foreign scholars to undermine the independent status of Nepal.

A question is often raised whether the rulers after Jaya Deva II were Licchavīs? Except the Yangabāhāla inscription dated 756 A.D. (180) bearing the name of Manadeva (III)¹⁷, Changu inscription dated 848 A.D.(271) with Baladeva as the king¹⁸ and, the colophon of Sahottaratantra dating 877 A.D. (301) bearing the

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Sylvan Levi, *Ancient Nepal*, Kathmandu: National Archive, No.23.1973, Pp.62-64.

¹²Luciano Petech, *Medieval History Of Nepal (c,750-1482)*, Rome: Istituto Italiano Peril Meddio Estremo Oriente, 1984, P.24.

¹³D.R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, Dehi: Rupa & Co.,in association with Dilli Raman Regmi Memorial Library, 2007 A.D, Pp.52-53.

¹⁴Mary Shephred Slusser, *Nepal Maṇḍala, Volume I*, Kathmandu: Maṇḍala Book Point, 1998, Pp. 10-11.

¹⁵R.C. Maujumdar(Ed.), *History of Bengal Vol.I.*, Dacca: Dacca University, 1943

¹⁶Brian H. Hodgson, *Essay on The Language, Literature, And Religion Of Nepal And Tibet*, New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1991, P.119.

¹⁷Vajracharya, *Op.cit.* f. n. 3, P. 591

¹⁸*Ibid*, P. 595

name of Manadeva IV¹⁹, there are hardly other evidences that tells about the kings. Regmi, therefore, calls it an end of the Licchavī dynasty. He did not agree that Manadeva III, Baladeva, and Manadeva IV were the Licchavī rulers. And, Gyanmani Nepal called it ‘The age of confusion’. On the other hand Dhanavajra Vajrācārya²⁰ calls the rulers having Devas belonged to the old dynasty or the Licchavīs. At such state, it will be unwise to accept it an end of the Licchavī dynasty as Regmi stated.

From religious point of view the history of Nepal after 733A.D. is not dark as described. Marry Slusser, while dealing in early medieval believes that the disintegration of political placement of Licchavī period was not accompanied by corresponding disintegration of Buddhism rather it developed. She addressed the period as golden era in the history of Buddhism of Nepal. It is true that the period lacked historical documents to throw light on the role of the kings, their contribution to the promotion of Buddhism, yet other available sources point out that Buddhism, flourished during the period²¹. It was during this period that the three Indian scholars i.e. Santaraksaita, Padmasaṃbhava and Kamalsila who were from²² Nālandā and Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra University, visited Nepal en-route to Tibet and helped Buddhism promote in the country²³. Thus, it will be proper here to chain the activities of the trio-scholars under the Early Medieval period. Meantime a short introduction of Nepal-Tibet relation will be apt to discuss beforehand.

3.2. Nepal-Tibet Relation

Nepal has a good relation with Tibet. It is assumed that Bhrikutī's marriage with the king of Tibet further enhanced the relationship. There is no unanimity

¹⁹*Ibid*, P. 121.

²⁰Dhanavajra Bajracharya, “Madhyakalin Nepal” in *Nepal Parichaya*, Kirtipur: Curriculum Development Center, Tribhuvan University, 1976, Pp. 72-73

²¹Slusser, *Op.cit.* f.n. 14, Pp. 271-281.

²² Rajendra Ram, *A History Of Buddhism In Nepal A.D.704-1396*, Patna: Janabharati Prakāśana, 1977, P.92.

²³Available inscriptions prove that the people of the period stated above had continuously been attached with Buddhism. There are several inscriptions that throw light on Buddhism of Nepal of the period lying between 733 A.D. 879 A.D. It proves that they had been endeavoring for the cause of Buddhism.

in opinion among the historians regarding the princess who she was? Was she the daughter of Aṃsuvarṃā or Udayadeva succeeding the former? A group of scholars opine the princess as daughter of Aṃsuvarṃā married to Trsongchong gampo. But others do not agree with the view. Had she been the daughter of Aṃsuvarṃā²⁴ and married to the king of Tibet the contemporary Chinese traveler Huien Tsang must have recorded the event in his diary. They state her as daughter of Udayadeva who fled to Tibet after being dethroned by Dhruvadeva with the support of Jishnu Gupta. It is believed that the princess was given in dowry an icon of Buddha along with several manuscripts²⁵. It is also described that Silamanju followed Bhrikuti and helped Buddhism spread in Tibet. But others state that he went to Tibet at the invitation of the Tibetan king Trosng Chon Gampo. Later more Indian scholars went to Tibet and worked for the promotion of the religion. Accordingly, Saṅgharakṣaita went to Tibet at the invitation of Khri-srong-lde-btsan(742-798 A.D.), the 38th king of Tibet to teach the Dharma in the country followed by Padmasaṃbhava and Kamalsila.

3.3 Indian Scholars in Nepal

The visit of Indian Buddhist scholars of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla University as Sāntarakṣaita, the great logician, Padmasaṃbhava as the great tantric teacher and Kamalasīla as logician with acuteness paved illustrious progress. They are popularly known as the trio of the eighth century. Their visit and stay in Nepal Maṇḍala helped much in refining, defining and expanding Nepalese Buddhism. Their work enlarged the vision of Newāra Buddhism. Many scholars were attracted to research and study the Newāra Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala today as Newāra Buddhism bears unique features. It needs to be discussed at large.

²⁴Peteach, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 12, P. 24.

²⁵ H.Hoffman, *The Religion of Tibet*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, London: George Allen & Unwinn Ltd., P.38.

3.3.1. Sāntarakṣita(743 – 749 A.D.)

Sāntarakṣita was born in a royal family of Sabour India in the year 705 A.D. He was also popularly known as Ācārya Bodhisattva. There is controversy on the birthplace of Sāntarakṣait. Bengali scholars opine him to have been borne in Sabhar, a village of Baṃgalādeśa. Vidyabhusana mentioned that he was born in the royal family of Zahor which is believed to have been situated in Bengal or more properly Gauda Bangla lying in the Praganna of Vikramapura (Dacca district) popularly known as one among the greatest seats of Buddhism in Bengal in medieval times²⁶. There are still ruins of old palaces with in the village where the learned scholar was believed to have been born and the local museum has collection of bricks of charming workmanship and other Tantric Buddhist images. Das writes that he was born in Gaur²⁷. Likewise, B. Bhattacharya has attempted to confirm the date of his birth (705-762 A.D.) as given by him in the Tattvasaṃgraha is to be taken²⁸.

There is no authentic evidence to throw light on the personnel life of the great scholar Sāntarakṣita. Available sources state him as the Mahāsthavīra of Nālandā Mahāvihāra or the University. A Catopādhyāya describes him acting as an upādhyāya at Nālandā²⁹. He was a famous logician of the Eight century A.D. His fame was wide spread and it could win the heart of Tibetan Buddhists. As stated Sāntarakṣait went to Tibet at the invitation of Khri-srong-lde-btsan(742-798 A.D.), the 38th king of Tibet to teach the Dharma in the country.

Sāntarakṣita reached Tibet in 743 A.D. He worked hard to spread the genuine teachings of the Buddha among the local inhabitants and introduce regular conversions. It is described that his eloquent sermons on the doctrine, however

²⁶ E. Krishnamacharya(Ed.), *Tattvasaṃgraha of Sāntarakṣita with commentary of Kamalasīla*, Volume I, Baroda: Central Library, 1926, P.XIII.

²⁷ Sarat Chandra Dass, *The Indian Pandits In The Land Of Snow*, New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2006 A.D., P. 66.

²⁸ Krishnamacharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 26, P.xvi.

²⁹ Alka Chattopādhyāya, *Atisa and Tibet*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt., Ltd., 1999, P. 231.

fell upon deaf ears. Certain natural calamities, probably storms and epidemics that raged Tibet during the period provided opportunity to the antagonists i.e. the bonpos to interpret it as the result of Sāntarakṣait perverse teachings.

Under the circumstance the king had to advise the scholar to leave the country for some time to escape the anger and the prejudice of the masses. Sāntarakṣait was wise enough to see that a man well versed in Tantrism could make some impression on the people, steeped as they seem to be in primitive sorcery and charlatanism³⁰. He recommended that Padmasaṃbhava the powerful apostle of Tantrism should be invited from urgyan, in the Swat Valley to repay the oppositionists in their own coin, until he could return to Tibet to complete his mission of reestablishing faith in the enlightened teachings of Buddhism.

- (i) He came to Nepal in the year 743 A.D. and stayed in Nepal for six years. Realising the historical importance of Svayambhu Mahācaitya and holiness of the place, he settled in the Svayambhu hill. He was inspired by the spiritual power of the Svayambhu Ādibuddha and encouraged him in regenerating Mahāyāna the doctrine of emptiness.
- (ii) He stayed in the Svayambhu hill. He has several texts under his name. Nyayavriti Vipanchitārtha, Tattvasaṃgraha, and Madhyamikālankāra are some among them³¹. Tattvasaṃgraha proved to be most important and popular among them. It is a work on logic. He does not accept any philosophy and theory unless it is logically proved. His philosophical stand points were that of Svatantric Madhyamika and Vijñānavāda³².
- (iii) He propagated his Vijñānavāda doctrine among Nepalese Buddhist scholars and lay followers from different viḥārs. Sāntarakṣait presented his thesis Tattvasaṃgraha before Nepalese Buddhist scholars and philosophical thinkers. The Buddhist scholar Kamalsila, in his commentary on the Tattvasaṃgraha, opined that it opened the doors of new thinking on Nepalese Buddhism

³⁰ *Ibid*, P. 237

³¹ Krishnamacharya, *Op.cit.* f.n. 26, P. xiv.

³² Chattopādhyaya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 29, P. 229.

- (iv) He influenced the contemporary kings awakening them to establish Buddhist vihāras and bestow land grants to maintain the centers. Many Vihāras were built and developed as center for Buddhist learning, teaching and discourse. How it helped to develop the valley as Buddhist learning center will be discussed in the coming chapters.

3.3.2 Padmasaṃbhava in Nepal (743 – 747 A.D.)

Śāntarakṣita was followed by Padmasaṃbhava. He was contemporary to Śāntakṣita. Padmasaṃbhava was believed to be born from the Lotus of compassion in Dhankosa Lake of Udyān (North West of India)³³, in the year 717 A.D. His date of birth and process needs further research. It is also said that he was the adopted son of King Indrabhūti³⁴ a wealthy king of Uddiyan, orissa of India. Indrabhūti himself was also a tāntric³⁵. He freely offered his wealth, and even his eyes were donated for the welfare of the country and people. Historical facts from the morass of contradictory version, arrival of padmasaṃbhava to Tibet, cooperation in founding Samay Monastriy in Tibet, great tantric professor in Nālandā University are the important facts of Padmasaṃbhava. He received intellectual and spiritual guidance from Buddhist monk scholar Gurtu Buddhajna and Anangvajra³⁶. He achieved deep knowledge in tantric Buddhism by studying triple yoga, philosophy, logic, secret science or guhey vijan in India³⁷. H.Hoffman has collections of interesting material on the life of Padmasaṃbhava³⁸.

Nepalese observe his anniversary on 10th of the full moon night of Jestha every year.³⁹ Padmasaṃbhava was a renowned Buddhist scholar of 8th century H. Hoffmann writes Padmasaṃbhava well versed in triple Yoga, philosophy, logic

³³ Charles Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt., Ltd., 2000 A.D. Pp.29-46. f.n. 48, P. 17.

³⁴ Chattopādhyāy, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 29, P.235

³⁵ Hoffman, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 25, P.53.

³⁶ *Ibid*, P. 57

³⁷ *Ibid*, P.59.

³⁸ *Ibid*, Pp. 50-59.

³⁹ For other information see, *Abhilekha* published weekly in Nepal Bhāṣā; year 6, no.3 asāra 3, 2070

and the secret sciences. He had defeated many Brahmins in Tantric contests. At the age of twenty six while he was the Professor of Yogacāra school at Nālandā Vihāra, he was invited by the Tibetan king. It was during this course of his scheduled trip of visiting Tibet on the direction of Śāntarakṣita, Padmasaṃbhava came to Nepal en-route to Tibet.

- a) Padmasaṃbhava before going to Tibet, stayed in Nepal for four years. He learnt many things from Śāntarakṣita in Nepal. During the period the contemporary Nepalese scholars helped him a lot. He kept in touch with the Tibetan Buddhists visiting Nepal and collected information about the political and religious condition of Tibet, before going to Tibet. While in Nepal, according to Snellgrove, Padmasaṃbhava developed Bodhinātha of Kathmandu⁴⁰ into an institutionalized Buddhist center where the Buddhists from Tibet could get shelter to safeguard their faith and existence in needs. Scholars like Waddell⁴¹, Hoffmann⁴², and others believe that Tibetan Buddhism as synthesis of old bon Buddhism and original Buddhism devised by Padmasaṃbhava in Nepal to suit the religious requirements of Tibetan peoples who were often put to confusion because of ideological clashes between Bon religion and idealists of Buddhism.

During his stay in Nepal, he meditated in the rocky grotto or caves natural or man made or Yang-le-shod, practiced tantric Sādhana and got hold over several evil forces with his Vajrakila⁴³. He took three dākinis from Nepal- one a Tibetan named bkrashis khye dren and the other two Nepalese origin named Kālasiddhi and Śākyadevi and trained them as help mates to be used in Tibet. Tibetan chronicles believe that there are

⁴⁰David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Kathmandu: Himalayan Book Seller, 1995, Pp.98-99.

⁴¹L.A.Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamism*, London: W.H.Allen & Co. Ltd, 1895, Pp.518-520.

⁴²Hoffman, *Op.cit*, f.n. 25, P.14.

⁴³*Ibid*, P.56.

many terma treasures (sacred scriptures) hidden by Padmasaṃbhava for the upcoming generations⁴⁴.

- b) He carried many activities as meditation and worship of various deities. His practicing centers were caves and cemetery which are lonely and far⁴⁵. According to Hemraj Śākya he carried Yogic sādhanas or practices in the cave near Gorkhanath, Phurping and Sādhana of Vajrakila in Phurping. Similarly, he practiced Yoga in the Karvira cemetery near Svayambhu, and spent some time practicing Yoga at Tamanarsisvara near Tistung Village. Also he visited and worshiped Khaḍgayoginī at Sākhū.
- c) As stated above he was well versed in triple yoga philosophy, logic and the secret verses Tantrism and has won fame as a vajrayāna tantric priest and a tantric master. While in Kathmandu he defused Vajrayānic doctrines widely. Padmasaṃbhava formulated many rites and rituals for the visualizing of various deities and achieved tantric powers and became master of Vajra or thunderstone. It is said that the cap or Mukha in Newāri used by Nepali tantric vajrayāni priests, to-day, is similar to that used by Padmasaṃbhava⁴⁶ as urgyan hat only udyan in Newāri. As such Padmasaṃbhava is also called Urgyan Rimpoche.
- d) Later, he applied the results of his achievements i.e. tantricism in practicing Buddhism and came to be known as tantric Buddhism, Buddhism of Nepal or the Newāra Buddhism. This is power over anything strong as thunderstone and succeeding any work like doing mesmerism. As such vajrayāna Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala became subject of great interest not only to Buddhist of Nepal Maṇḍala, but equally interesting to the scholars of different country. Even today many scholars from different country are pondering on the subject.

⁴⁴ Karunachok near the Northern Stupā in Lalitpur is one of the places believed to be the spot. For details See Min Bahadur Shakya.

⁴⁵ Soorya Bikram Gaywali, *Nepal Upatyakāko Madhyakālin Itihāsa* (879 A.D-1768), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2079 BS, Pp. 250-251.

⁴⁶ Hemraj Sakya, *Sriswayambhu Mahācaitya* (Swayambhu The Great Caitya), Kathmandu: Swayambhu Vikāsa Maṇḍala, 1098 NS, P.121.

- e) Both, D.L. Snellgrove and H. Hoffmann write that the Bodhinatha stupā was built to his credit. While in Nepal it is described that Padmasaṃbhava developed Bodhinath area into an institutionalized Buddhist center.
- f) Buddhism initiated by Padmasaṃbhava is popularly known as Nyinga-pā. It contains nine graded vehicles viz. Sravaka, Pratyeka, Buddhayāna, Mahāyānaa, Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga. They are grouped into three. The first three vehicles were called sutra vehicle; the second three resultant outer tantra and the last three inner tantra vehicles. Tibetan sources show that these tantras were translated into Tibetan language by Padmasaṃbhava, Vimalmitra and Vairocana in the eight century. The people of the Northern part of Nepal Tamangs, Śerapās, Gurungs, Magars and the Thakālis are found most influenced.

3.3.3 Visit of Kamalsila: 762 A.D.

Kamalsila was another important Buddhist scholar who helped to expand Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala. He was a student of ācārya Śāntarakṣita and was born around 720 A.D. The date is yet to be confirmed. He earned his fame as a Buddhist philosopher in the Magadha city of India. He had worked on different aspect of tantra and use to teach on this subject in the Nālandā University. Kamalsila was a famous commentator of Tattosaṃgraha⁴⁷. After the death of his teacher Ācārya Śāntarakṣita, he went to Tibet at the invitation of Tibetan King Thri song Deu btsan(742-798).

On his way to Tibet Kamalsila came to Nepal and stayed in Nepal in the year 762. As a student of Ācārya Śāntarakṣita, he was warmly welcomed in Nepal Maṇḍala by Buddhist scholars. He visited popular Vihāras of Nepal Maṇḍala as Svayambhu Mahācaitya and Bodhanāth and addressed many Buddhist scholars' interactions meeting and presented his philosophy on Buddhism. During his

⁴⁷Krishnamacharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 26.

visit in Baudhanāth he learned many secrets of Tibetology learning. His works included Vinaya Prajñāpāramitā, Madhyamaka, sutra commentaries, lekha, and Parmana⁴⁸. Bhavanakrama (stages of Meditation) in three volumes on Madhyamaka is one of the best works in the Buddhist literature. It is described that he wrote this at the request of the Tibetan king Trisong Detsen.

3.4. Siddhacāryas in Nepal

The period (733 A.D.-889 A.D.) is equally found influenced by the activities of various Siddhacāryas like Saharpada, Kanha, Dombi, Kambalambara, Kabiri, Tulasi and etc. Siddhas are defined as accomplished or the realized one who combines Bodhisattva path with Tantric accomplishment. They adopted tantric practices and adapted to aid the Buddhist adapt in the performance of the sādhanā which would bring to realization of the great truth of Mahāyāna Buddhism and true enlightenment.

Saharpada was believed to be the pioneer among other Siddhacāryas. He belonged to the second half of the eight century A.D.⁴⁹. He inherited the good qualities of the teachers; Haribhadra and Śāntarakṣita. He was an advocate of Sahajyana. And, its enduring potency inherited the heritage of the Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas. He launched several attacks on the Brahminical tradition and superstitions by his simple and direct approaches through his songs and refuted the intellectual sovereignty of the Sanskrit scholars over literary compositions and philosophical speculations and diverse it in composition of Dohās. He simplified the tough philosophical terms, religious interpretations and spiritual practices of Buddhism through the Caryās and Dohās composed in the Aprabhaṃsa language.

Saharpada influenced the Nepalese Buddhist through his caryās in Nepal Maṇḍala. Soon it became the order of daily life of contemporary Buddhists and

⁴⁸ Debiprasad Cattopādhyā, (Ed.), translated from Tibetan Lama Chimpa and A.Cattopādhyā, *Tārā Nath's History of Buddhism in India*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Ltd., 2010 A.D., P. 421.

⁴⁹ Rahul Saṃskṛitayan (Ed.), *Dohakosh Of Sarahadpada*, Patna: 1957, P.125.

the later started reciting these Caryās with help of musical instruments. Rajendra Ram, therefore, writes that Saharpāda presented an alternative philosophy of his own and interpreted life, society, religion, philosophy etc. in an independent ideological complex bearing the impact of his avid textual knowledge and extensive wanderlust in the Buddhist world of eastern India, Nepal and Tibet.

These Caryās are better known by the term Cacā songs. Saharpada is also believed to have coined a new spiritual tradition known as Caturratna i.e. Guru, Buddha Dharma and Saṅgha which is still followed in Nepalese Vajrayana Buddhism.



Pauwa of 84 Siddhacharyas⁵⁰ Photo courtesy: P.L. Shrestha

3.5. Beginning of a new era or the Nepal samvat

Between these events Nepal entered into a new era called the Nepal era or Nepal samvat beginning from October 20, 879 A.D. A group of scholars like Kirkpatrick, Princep, Cunningham, and Bendal call it the Tumbul Samvat to have founded by Rāghava Deva.⁵¹ About the era, Sylvan Levi has a separate version of his own. He writes that the number eight is inauspicious to the people of Nepal. They discontinued the Saka era in 800 A.D. to start with a new era. Similarly, Regmi opines that a change in the ruling dynasty enhanced in the foundation of new era. But, it lacks evidences.

On the contrary the Nepal Samvat is unanimously believed to have been founded by Sakhawal, a local businessman from Kathmandu. As stated by a local astrologer from Bhaktapur (the contemporary capital of Nepal) during the rule of Ānanda Malla and Jayadeva forecasted that the sand brought from Lakhutirtha an adjoining place between Bhacā khusi and Viṣṇumati at an auspicious hour will turn into gold. Some laborers deputed for this purpose. Later the laborers proceeded with the loads towards the royal palace of Sakhawal, who came to know about the secrecy and asked the laborers to unload the sand at his home. He departed them with satisfactorily wage for the help. The laborers, afterwards, carried another load to the palace. To the great astonishment of the king the sand did not turn into gold as expected. The king ordered for the investigation and came to know what the truth was.

On the other hand the load of sand brought to the house of Sakhwal turned into gold. He became rich. It is believed that, at the permission of Jayadeva, he freed the people of Kathmandu from debt. To memories this unique work a new era after the name of Śamkhadhar was founded. Rāghavadeva was ruling

⁵⁰ Purosottam Lochan Shrestha, *Bhaktapur Rajdurbar sthit Rastriya Kalasangrahalaya Ka Kalakriti Bibaram*, Bhaktapur: Rastriya Kala Sangrahalaya, 2063 B.S

⁵¹ For details see *Ancient Nepal*, number 9, year 2026, Kartik, Pp.4-5

the country when the new era popularly known as Nepal Saṃvat was introduced. The new era came to known as Nepal Saṃvat.

Swayambhu Lal Shrestha had described Nepal Sambat as original era of Nepal Maṇḍala and dealt on how it came into existence, and how it is named differently in different texts. He further mentioned how the foreign writer had taken it, felt importance in his article “Nepal Sambat-Nepaya Thahaguhe Sambat”.⁵²

3.6. Buddhism during early Medieval Nepal

Historical evidences show Rāghavadeva ruling the country when the new era popularly known as Nepal Saṃvat was introduced. It is described that he had built a new Vihāra at Nhol Vihāra in Pātan named Rāghav Vihāra⁵³. He was succeeded by Saṃkāradeva. During his rule in 920 A.D. (NS 40) the scripture Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñānpāramitā was copied by a devotee of Okubahal in Pātan⁵⁴. Śamkaradeva is described to have been succeeded by his two sons Sahadeva and Vikramadeva. It indicates that Nepal Maṇḍala witnessed Dwairajya i.e. diarchy or dual government or the joint rule between two or more than two rulers. Sahadeva was succeeded by Narendradeva and Gunakāmadeva⁵⁵ respectively.

Gunakāmadeva possessed forceful personality among other shadowy kings. He is described as svaasyaikrajye meant to have established his sole rule. It is believed that Kasthamaṇḍapa was built during his rule. He developed the city in the shape of a Khadga by making crimination ground as outlines and named it Kantipur⁵⁶ in the name of Kantiswor Mahadev. He fortified the city and

⁵²Swayumbhu Lal Shrestha, “Nepal Sambat-Nepaya Thahaguhe Sambat” *Nepalese Culture Part I*, published by Lalitpur: Lok Sahitya Parishas, 2043 B.S.Pp. 127-133

⁵³Peteach, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 12, P. 47.

⁵⁴Hari Ram Joshi, *Medieval Colophons*, Lalitpur: Joshi Research Insitute, 1991, Pp.8-9. The scripture was the oldest one found in Nepal. For details see the preface written by Hem Raj Sakya, in *Hiranyavarna Mahāvihāra*, by Dharma Ratna Śākya ‘Trisuli’.

⁵⁵Peteach, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 12, P. 33..

⁵⁶(i) Gyanmani Nepal, *Nepalko Madhyakālin Itihāsa, Vol I (Medieval History of Nepal)*, Kathmandu: Makālu Books and Stationers, 2062 BS, Pp.26-27.

(ii) Nayanath Paudyal (Ed.) *Bhasa Bamsavali Volume 2*, Kathmandu: Nepal Rastrya Pustakalaya, B.S. 2023, P.22

installed protective deities in four directions of the city .i.e., Lumadi in the east, Navadurgā in the west, Pacalī Bhairava in the south, Vijayaśvarī in the north and Caṇḍeśvarī in the centre.

He also developed Thambahi area of Kathmandu as a center for traders. He also founded a Vihāra called Padmacakra Vihāra equally popular as Dharmadhātu Vihāra. It became popular as Gunakāmadeva Vihāra. Similarly, a certain trader Keśavacandra built a Mahāvihāra at Itumbahāla during his rule.

Gunakāmadeva was succeeded by Narendradeva and Udayadeva. Members of the ruling family involved themselves in tug of war to have their hold in the administration. Nirbhayadeva who was ruling alone in 1005 A.D.(125 N.S.) had to rule jointly with Rudra Deva in 1008 A.D.(128 N.S.). After the death of Nirbhayadeva his successor Bhojadeva had to join hands with Rudradeva and later with Laxmikāmadeva as well. Laxmikāmadeva was clever. He took hold of the administration and ruled half the country. But he could not maintain it for long. A civil war broke out during the last phase of his rule. Probably the Thakuris of Nuwakota under Bhaṣkaradev Varma revolted again his rule.⁵⁷ As described, it demolished several monasteries in the valley and people in Bhaktapur suffered a lot.⁵⁸ It was believed that in the war Laxmikāmadeva was either killed or dethroned.

After Laxmikāmadeva, Jayadeva was declared the king. Later Bhāskaradeva and Jayadeva ruled the country jointly. According to Vaṃśāvalis Bhāskaradeva Varma became the king after Jayadeva. What happened to Jayadeva is unknown. According to Tranatha it was during this critical period in 1040 AD that Atisā came to Nepal and worked for the promotion of Buddhism. It was probable that the king of Nepal whom he met in Palpa was none other than Jayadeva. Amidst these political ups and down monasteries like Rudravarna

⁵⁷Joshi, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 54, Pp.35-36.

⁵⁸*Ibid*

Mahāvihāra and Hiranya Varna Mahāvihāra were founded. Another important event that occurred during the period was the visit of Atisā.

3.7. Visit of Dipankara Sri Jana Atisā: 980-1054 (A.D.):

Dipamkara Atisā was a renowned Buddhist scholar from Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. He was an outstanding Buddhist scholar popular in Nepal, India and Tibet for his reformatory approach in Buddhism. His early name was Candragarva. He was born in 980 A.D. in the royal family of Gaur at Vikramanipur in Bengal as second son of Kalyānasri and mother Prabhāvatī. His two brothers are Padmgarbha and Srigarbha. His parents were devoted to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. His primary education on five kinds of minor science begins at very young age from a sage named Jetari⁵⁹ an Avhadhut. After primary education he was sent to Vikramaśīla Vihāra a famous Buddhist learning center to study monastic education. He came in contact with Jetari who had attained the highest realization, and for three years practiced tantric feasts (ganacakra) in oddyan and listed numerous secret vajra songs⁶⁰. After being well versed in the best method of Vajrayāna, he in his 29th years got ordination from Silarakṣita, an elder sthavīra of the Mahāsaṃghika School at Mativihāra of Vajrasana⁶¹. He studied three pitakas of all the four schools Mahāsaṃghika, Sāvastivādins, Samimitiyas and Stavirvadins and became proficient in the practices (of the Vinayas). Later he studied Mahāvibhāsa for another two years in Odanatapuri.⁶²

After the completion of the study, Atisā joined Vikramśīla Mahāvihāra as a master of Buddhism. He had reformatory approach towards Buddhism. He became popular among his contemporary fellow men. His fame soon spread far and wide as far as Tibet in the North. Yese Od the king of Tibet thought of sending Virya Siṃha (Gyatso) to invite and deputed his envoys with presents

⁵⁹Das, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 27, P.68.

⁶⁰George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasi Dass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1949, Reprint 1996, P. 242

⁶¹*Ibid*, P.243

⁶²*Ibid*.

of gold and other valuable materials. They humbly approached Atisā with the formal invitation to do a favour for the reformation and cultural expansion of Buddhism in Tibet. Atisā expressed his inability showing different reasons. Atisā was repeatedly approached. In the last lotsaba Nagatso (Jayaśīla) a monk went to Mahāvihāra to invite Atisā to Tibet. The mission included several others and waited for positive reply from the great master. Atisā thought of visiting Tibet only after the completion of his work in the Mahāvihāra. It is said that he consulted his tutelary deity who was none other than a Yogini for the permission who in return commanded him to visit Tibet. It was hoped that his visit would benefit the people of Tibet and his doctrine and association with upasaka.⁶³ Atisā also decided to go to Nepal to visit the self-evolved stupā Svayambhu Stupā in Nepal and stay there before reaching to Tibet.

Atisā visited different holy places at Banaras before he came to Nepal in 1041 AD with his followers and loads of manuscripts⁶⁴ on Buddhism. The political atmosphere was not so favorable for the journey. It is already stated above that the country at the time of his journey was politically disturbed. The valley was involved in a civil war and the people were suffering.⁶⁵ Roads were blocked at places. He had to win the hearts of the agitators who did not want him to proceed towards the Nepal valley and propagate Buddhism there. As described even his gold he had brought along with him was robbed. It created several problems compelling him to pay to entering the valley. He was escorted to the capital by the king's men from Tistung to the capital.

Atisā stayed a year (1041-1042 A.D.) in Nepal. He was welcomed in great gesture by the maharaja of Nepal Svayambhu Grag – pa- mta – yas. Luciano Peteach⁶⁶ translated the name to be Anantakirti or Annantyasas. But there is no mention in the history of such a king ruling the country at that time. While in Kathmandu;

⁶³*Ibid*, P.246.

⁶⁴Chattopadhyaya, *Op. cit.*, f. n. 29, Pp. 316-317

⁶⁵Joshi, *Op. cit.*, f. n. 54, Pp. 35-36.

⁶⁶Peteach, *Of.cit.*, f. n. 12, Pp.41-43.

- (a) Atisā, according to Tibetan source met the contemporary king of Nepal Maṇḍala. As stated he presented a white elephant to the king to be used in religious purposes and informed him about his mission to Tibet. During the meeting, he requested the king for the permission of constructing a Vihāra in the capital⁶⁷. The king not only gave him the permission but also assured the pundit to furnish him what he needed for the work. The Vihāra what he built at the initiation of the king was named Vikramśīla Vihāra or Thambahi. It is also popular by the name Dharmadhatu Vihāra.
- (b) He donated grants to develop the Vihāra as Buddhist learning center. Later he ordained his disciples in the Vihāra and conducted several religious meetings.
- (c) He held satsang (question answer program) to avoid philosophical or spiritual confusions. His scholarly discourse could win the hearts of Nepalese and Buddhist scholars to enhance Nepalese Buddhism. While in Nepal Atisā had an auspicious dream and had decided to stay a longer time.
- (d) Atisā had also initiated monkhood to the son of the king and worked as chief of Sanhgh of Tham Vihāra made by Atisā⁶⁸. But whatever is mentioned on Atisā, the historians mentions it is controversial and confused as Vaṃśāvalī is sielent on this matter.
- (e) Atisā spent most of his time at Svayambhu. While in Svayambhu he met the king of Bhutan. Atisā used to gaze at sacred Svayambhu constantly which had given him delight and glorified his spiritual powers with which he could easily overcome any dangers and adversaries.
- (f) While in Nepal Atisā wrote a letter to Nayapāla the king of Bengal on the occasion of his coronation. The letter is known by the composition of Vimala- ratna-lekha⁶⁹. This letter contains nothing about his journey or reason for leaving Tibet, it contains collection of religious and moral

⁶⁷ Chattopadhyaya, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 29, P. 322

⁶⁸ Peteach, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 12, P. 42.

⁶⁹ Chattopadhyaya, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 29, P.318

precepts that Atisā thought the right time to convey to the young kin..
The letter is reserved in Tibetan Tan-gyur.

(g) His other achievement was the composition of Caryā-saṃgrahapradip⁷⁰

In other words it is Boddhisattocaryā that generates boddhicitta among the disciples. For this he referred to practice the following ten actions in Caryāsaṃgraha Pradeep⁷¹.

1. Take Boddhisattva saṃvara
2. Practice going in refuge of triple gem Buddha Dharma and Saṅgha;
3. Generate Boddhicitta on basis of sevenfold practice (Saptavidhānotara puṇjā)
4. Adapt the theory of moderation of consuming food habits and offer food to Gurus and triple gem before eating.
5. Teach the whole sentient beings recite profound Mahāyāna sutras like Prajñāpāramitā and so forth.
6. Offer fivefold prostration.
7. Sleeping in lion's posture.
8. Practice Yoga.
9. Keep your conduct śīlas pure.
10. Practice the unity of vipaśsanā and samathā and realize the emptiness.

By observing and analyzing these references one can come to conclusion that Atisā's teaching had great influence on the Buddhist of Nepal. Atisā composed

⁷⁰*Ibid*, P.319

⁷¹*Ibid*, Pp. 320-321.

Caryāsaṃgraha Pradip and Vimalaratnalekhanāma to enhance the monastic ideals of Nepali Buddhism.

Atisā, thereafter, went to Palpā (Holkha) lying west of Nepal to meet his old friend who was none other than a Buddhist sage. Atisā was warmly welcome by the king of Palpā. Tibetan source mentioned the name of the king as Annatasi. As there is no king in Nepal of this particular name it is assumed that the king referred in the Tibetan source might be a local one. The Stavīra whom Atisā wanted to meet was deaf he was called a deaf Sthavāra. The Sthavāra does not believe on mantras. Atisā explained to his friend that the way to attainment of Buddhahood laid both in Mantra and Pāramitā. This report contains those explanations made by Atisā for the Sthavāra.

Atisā is described to have left Nepal in early days of 1042 to head towards Tibet. He worked there for thirteen years and passed away at the place called Ne Than, half a day's journey from Lhāsā on the 18th day of the 8th lunar month of the 'tree man horse' year i.e. 1054. His work Bodhipāthapradip was composed there which explains proficiency in the practices of the vinayas of all doctrines. It is stated in Blue Annals that "...since there was disagreement on the points of doctrine between various scholars in Tibet, the master should compose a treatise which could serve as an antidote for it"⁷². Thus he composed this text at the request of Tibetan Buddhist authorities. Among the nearly eighty works of his, Caryāsaṃgrahapradip, Bodhipathapradip and Vimalaratnalekhama are the most valuable ones which he composed in Nepal.

3.8. Contributions of Nepalese Buddhist scholars

It is already discussed above that Nepal was facing civil war when Atisā was visiting Nepal. The country was running under the dual system of Government or the diarchy. It is also known by the term dvairajya. We see under it brothers or father and son or uncle and nephew ruling jointly together. Later, a new

⁷²Roerich, *Op. cit.*, f. n. 60, P. 248.

system i.e. brothers succeeding the elder was practiced for some time among the brothers of Jayadeva i.e. sons of Laxmikāmadeva. But, the central administration weakened most from 1200 onward when two dynasties i.e. the Devas and the Mallas followed the tradition of appointing the crown prince from another dynasty (the kings having Devas as surname nominating the Mallas as successors and the Malla kings nominating the Devas as their successors)⁷³. It divided the rulers into two factions, and each group having their own capitals i.e. Tripur and Yuthimum. To make their ruling strong they requested neighboring countries Doyas and khas for helps. One group requested Doya and the next group Khasa for their helps to have their hold in central administration. This resulted in repeated attack on Nepal Maṇḍala by Doyas and Khas.⁷⁴ The situation diverted the rulers towards self defense and could not give attention to developmental issues.

3.8.1. Līlāvajra

Līlāvajra was one of the great siddhas of Medieval Nepal. He was born in Saṃkhu or Manidipa or Mani mountain. Yajñamānapati stated his birth year as 743 A.D.⁷⁵ but is still controversial and needs further research. Saṃkhu is also known as Saṃkhapur. Saṃkha means couch. As the shape of Saṃkhu is like a couch, it was named Saṃkhapur or couch shaped country. The Tibetan source mentions that Līlāvajra popularly known as Geg –pa rdo- rje was born in Manidip⁷⁶. Manidip is no other place than the present Saṃkhu. He stayed in Vikramaśīla and Nālandā University for a long time as a student, administrator, and teacher. One of his students during the period was Dalikapa, a very popular siddha of the period. From Vikramaśīla and Nālandā monastic University he returned to Nepal and engaged himself in establishing Caityas and Vihāras. It is said he connected with Sikhamu Bahā or Srikhaṇḍa Tarmula

⁷³Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 20, P.73.

⁷⁴Malla and Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 9, Pp. 82,83,96, 97

⁷⁵Yajñamānapati Bajracharya, *Nepāla ka Pracina Vajrācārya Līlāvajra (Ancient Vajracharya of Ancient Nepal: Lilavajra)*, Translator Guheśvarī Raj Manadhar, Kathmandu: Virichit Moti Smriti Guheya Tārā Kosh, Pp.1-4.

⁷⁶Samskrityan, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 49, P.367.

Mahāvihāra. Migrated Vajrācārya of Saṃkhu, settled in Srikhanda Tarmula Mahāvihāra which was also popular as Sakko:che: or House of Saṃkhu Vajrācārya⁷⁷, during the period. Yagya Man Pati in his book *Nepālako Pracina ācāryahad* mentioned that Sikhamu Bahā and Kastha Maṇḍap of Kathmandu were constructed by Līlā Vajra .

Līlā Vajra obtained his educations from different Indian institutions. His teachers were Bhagvatī Laxmikara, Kamalapāda, Lalitavajra etc. He was the follower of Vijnana-Mādhyamika philosophy. He also studied in all branches to be a Buddhist scholar. He meditated on Ārya-Mañjusri-Nāmasaṃgīti⁷⁸ in an island called Madhima (urgyana) obtained siddhi of Ārya-Mañjusri-Nāmasaṃgīti. He is one of the eighty four siddhas and a chamatkāri. He is called Siddha Lelapa⁷⁹, the composer of caryā and author of many works. Around forty-seven works of Lelapa (Līlāvajra) are known to exist.⁸⁰

3.8.2. Gautamsri

Mahāpandit Śākya Bhikhu Gautamsri was a Buddhist scholar of eleventh century. He was both a tradesman and a scholar who had good relationship with Tibet. An inscription of 923 A.D.(N.S 144) writes him to have founded a Vihara called Saptapur Mahāvihāra in Pātan. It is one amongst the oldest Bahis⁸¹ of Pātan. It has one branch Bahi in Koteswor of Kathmandu. It should be somewhere in Koteswar near Balkumari area. Perhaps this area must have been adjusted in the territories of Kathmandu later. Dharmāditya Dharmācārya, one of eminent Buddhist leaders of modern Nepal is a member of this bahi. He is known to have come to settle later in Patan.

⁷⁷ Bajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 75, Pp.3-4.

⁷⁸ Chattopadhyaya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 48, Pp. 271-.272.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, P. 272; For more detail see Līlāvajra of Yagyamānapati Vajrācārya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 85, P. 107; Dhi No. 3 and 1.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, P. 418.

⁸¹ Herakazi Vajracharya, *Yelaya Baudha Vihar (Buddhist Viharas of Lalitpur)*, Lalitpur: Bauddha Vihar Sangha, 2000 A.D, P.125.

3.8.3. Advayavajra:965-1030 A.D.

Advayavajra also known as Maitrigupta, Avadhutipada and Amrtabodha was born in a village Jhotakar near Kapilavastu, Nepal. His family name was Dāmodar and belonged to a Brahmin family. His father was Nanuka and mother was Sāvitri. He went to a village Likati, stayed there for seven years and studied Pāṇi grammar Sāṃskṛita and mastered many Brahmin scriptures at the age of eighteen. At the age of twenty-seven he became a Buddhist Bhikkhu and was named as Maitrigupta. He studied the great Buddhist text Tripiṭaka for one year. After studying the Tripiṭaka he was inclined to Mahāyāni and Vajrayāni and came in contact with Mahāyāni and Vajrayāni Buddhist scholars like Nārōpā, Ratnakara, Jānsrimati etc. He learned philosophical system of Buddhism as Vijñānabhadra, Buddhist logic philosophy of Prajñāpāramitā in Vikramaśīla.

At the age of thirty Advayavajra visited the tantric center mountains of Manabhangā and Cittavāśrama of south India where Siddha Sabarapada resided. Here he recited Tara Sādhana and took fasting. With long and untiring effort he received vision of Bhattacharya Siddha Sabarapada and obtained the Sadhaka on Buddhist Tantrism and was named as Advayavajra from Maitrigupta.

Advayavajra was popular far and wide for his different works. Among them some important works are a) Gurumaitrigitīkā b) Cittamātrikadṛṣṭhi c) Abodha Bodhaka d) Dohatattavanidhitattvopadeśa 5) Chaturmudrapradeśa 6) Chaturvajragitika etc. Besides these important works, Advayavajrasaṃgraha is another important work for Buddhist scholars. It includes twenty one short works dealing with different aspects of Buddhism and life. Dipaṃkarsrijaṇ was his disciple. He came to Advayavajra when he was twelve year old.

3.8.4. Mahākarunā

Mahākarunā was another Nepalese Buddhist scholar.⁸² He was contemporary to Naropā (978-1026 A.D.). He had initiated in Buddhist Tantric system. Tibetan sources state that he had studied under Kanaksri Prjñarakṣita a student of Naropā and Kanaksri. He was a philosopher in the system of Naropā. Go Lotsa ba calls him one among the seventy-two teachers under whom he studied Guhayasamāja Tantra and other Buddhist philosophies⁸³. Another Tibetan Buddhist scholar Rwa-lo-tsa-ba-Do-raje studied under him while he was in Nepal. He invited Mahākarunā his teacher to Tibet⁸⁴. Later, when Mahākarunā returned to Nepal his disciple sent him one thousand Srons of Gold and this offering is described to have continued for thirty seven times.

3.8.5. Vāgiśvarakīrti and his contributions

Vāgiśvarakīrti was one among popular Nepalese Buddhist scholar of eleventh century. He was highly respected in Tibet and China. Tara Nātha mentions him being born in Vāraṇasī⁸⁵. G.N. Roerich in Blue Annals mentions Phamthimpa Vāgiśvarakīrti from Phampi in Kathmandu⁸⁶. He was popularly known by the name Phamthimpa Nag-gi-dban-phyug-grags-pan in Tibetan. The name indicates him as a man from Phamp or Pharping living in Nepal. Tibetan pilgrims visit Pharping in his memory.⁸⁷

Vāgiśvarakīrti was popular as Phamthimpa, and Phampī a popular place for Tibetan pilgrimage as it is assumed that he was from Phampī, Kathmandu. As stated Phamthimpa were three brothers. They were popular as Phamthimpa brothers. Phamthimpa was a student of Naropā (1016- 1100 A.D.). He

⁸²Roerich, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 60, P. 361

⁸³*Ibid*, Pp.360-361.

⁸⁴*Ibid*, P.378.

⁸⁵*Ibid*, P.296

⁸⁶*Ibid*, P.227.

⁸⁷*Ibid*, Phurping is also the place where descendents of Phamthimpa like Yaa-ran –ba, Atulvajra and Nepali Mohanvajra had dwelt.

attended learned under Naropā for nine years. He was initiated on the doctrine of Guheyasamājatantra, Kālacakratantra Saṃvara and Heyvajratantra.

Vāgiśvarakirti was a great scholar of Guhye Samāja system. His outstanding intellectual achievement made him appointed to the post of 'dwāra Pandit' or Head of western gate in the University of Vikramśīla Mahāvihāra. Later he came back to Nepal and made many Tibetan his disciples like Lotsava-ba klog-skyas-ses-rab-rtseggs and initiated them with the mantras of cakrasaṃvara. At the request of Tibetan Buddhist he often visited Tibet. He was taught Tibetan by successful Nepali Buddhist scholar who contributed in expanding Buddhism.

He was one of siddha disciple of Mahā Paṇḍita Naropā. He has learned exposition of many doctrines. Whatever he achieved he taught his disciples, mostly Tibetan, who spread it in their country. It is his contributions in spreading Nepalese Buddhism in other countries. His works⁸⁸ as mentioned in Tārānath's History of Buddhism in India are like vajrapānī sādhanā, pratisthā vidhī, tattva ratna śloka vyākhaṇa etc.

3.8.5. Paṇḍita Kuladutta Sarmā

Kuladutta Śarmā is a Nepali Buddhist scholar of eleventh century.⁸⁹ He was the author of the Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā.⁹⁰ Luciano Petech has mentioned of several texts of Kriyasaṃgraha Pañjika in his Book Medieval History of Nepal⁹¹ copied during medieval period. Although we do not have detailed biographical information of the author he was believed to be contemporary and close associate of Tathāgatavajra who organized Vajrācārya Saṅgha of the Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra of Pāṭan.

⁸⁸ Chattopadhyaya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 48, P. 428.

⁸⁹ Ryugen Tanemura, *Kuladutta Śarmā's Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, Groningen Netherland: Egbert Forsten, 2004 A.D., P.6.

⁹⁰ Purnaratna Vajrācārya (Ed.), *Brihatsuchipatram*, Kathmandu: Bir Library, 2021 B.S. Pp.119-121

⁹¹ Petech, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 12, P.81..

His compositions like Kriyāsaṃgraha, Kriyasaṃgrahapañjikā are still of great importance for Buddhist of Nepal. The ritual practices contained in these texts are still in practice in Nepal Maṇḍala. The Buddhist ritual functions in establishing caitya, Vihāras, initiation or Barechuegu (making śākya bhikhu) are the important contents of the text Kriyasaṃgrahapañjikā composed by him..

3.8.6. Anupamvajra and his contributions

Anupamvajra was a great scholar of medieval Nepal Maṇḍala. Nothing can be said about his birth place and date. A detail work on him is required. But his work has a good influence in Nepalese Buddhist tradition. Among his many compositions, Adikarmapradip composed in the year 1098 A.D. was most influential. It acts as practice manual of beginner Bodhisattvas and deals with their daily practices on various subjects. It includes taking refuge in Triple Gems, reciting Prajñāpāramitā, Bhadracarya Praṇidhāna, Dānagāthā, circumambulating caityas and Buddha statues, performing Bodhisattva practices joyfully, studying Buddhist scriptures, offering food to tutelary deities and to triple gem before eating, offering fivefold prostration to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of ten directions. The text has great impact on Newāra Buddhist Society. Newāra Buddhists still practice rituals prescribed by the author daily.⁹² More about it will be dealt in the coming chapters.

Besides, many eminent Nepalese Buddhist scholars had been working for the promotion of Buddhism in Nepal Maṇḍala amidst this sort of administration at the center.

1. Bodhi Gupta (967 A.D.)⁹³,

2. Santibhadra ()⁹⁴,

⁹² Min Bahadur Sakya, "Monasticism in Newar Buddhism, A Historical Analysis", presented in the Conference On The Buddhist Heritage Of Nepal Mandal-1998, organized by Lotus Research Center, Lalitpur.

⁹³ Joshi, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 54, P.17.

3. Anantasri⁹⁵,
5. RavindraDeva(1063 A.D.)⁹⁶,
6. Bajrakarajiva (1,084 A.D.)⁹⁷,
7. Kirtisri Jyan (1207 A.D.)⁹⁸,
8. Chandrapāla (1248 A.D.)⁹⁹,
9. Bīramati (1253A.D.)¹⁰⁰,
- 10.Ksemendra (1356A.D.)¹⁰¹

Above mentioned Buddhist masters were some among them. They must have belonged to the important Vihāras of Medieval Nepāla like Lam Vihāra, Paravarta Vihāra, Vikramśīla Vihāra, Dharmacakra Vihāra, Ratnākar Mahāvihāra, Kirtipuṇya Mahāvihāra, Taramūla Mahāvihāra, Samyegu Vihāra, Hiranyavarṇa Mahāvihāra, Ratnaketu Vihāra, Ratnakirti Mahāvihāra, Dharmadhatu Vihāra Rajkirti Vihāra, Cakra Mahāvihāra, Ratnākar Mahāvihāra, Rudravarṇa Mahāvihāra, etc. But they need further research on it. However, some eminent Buddhist that comes across in the history of Buddhism who contributed in development and expansion of Buddhism need to be studied with help of available evidences.

⁹⁴Jadishchadra Regmi, *Nepalko Dhārmika Itihāsa(Religious History of Nepal)*, Kirtipur: Pāthyakrama Vikāsa Kendra, 2058 BS, P.178.

The author mentions Shantibhadra one of the Buddhist scholars of medieval period who went to Tibet and translated an important Buddhist text Vigeptimatrāsiddha, P. 177

It was not him who translated Karyakaranbhavasiddhi into Tibetan language as mentioned by Regmi in his book *Nepalko Dharmik Itihas*

⁹⁵*Ibid*, P.178

⁹⁶*Ibid*, P.179.

⁹⁷*Ibid*, P. 178.

⁹⁸*Ibid*, P. 178.

⁹⁹*Ibid*, P. 178.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid*, P.179.

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, P.179.

3.9. Siva Deva III and Śaṃkarācārya Episode

Among the early medieval rulers, Śiva Deva III (1099-1126 A.D.) is described as the king having liberal attitude towards Buddhism. He is also known by the name Simha Deva.¹⁰² Śivadeva has founded a new city called Gunde i.e. Kirtipur. He also constructed a canal at Balakhu. Contemporary Buddhists called him a param sugat or the disciple of Buddha.¹⁰³ Although a follower of Buddhism he had faith on Saivism. Śaṃkarācārya inclined him more towards Saivism. The stone inscription of 1142 A.D (N.S 262) preserved in National Museum, Kathmandu mentioned him as Dandi Swāmi of 'Amarddak' community of *Agnimatha* of Prayāg under Śaṃkarācārya tradition but not as Adhya Śaṃkarācārya. He came to the Nepal valley to have a darśana of Pasuhipati. While in the valley he met Śivadeva, impressed him with his discourses, initiated his son Ānandeva and other princes with mantras and made them his pupil¹⁰⁴. He won a good fame in the capital and earned a lot from the visit. From what he received in Nepal, he built a temple at Kāśī.

Śaṃkarācārya's visit helped to promote Śaivism in Nepal. During his stay he was described to have debated with the local Buddhists on religious matter. As described he challenged the local followers of Buddhism, went to Saṃkhu for the debate. When he found no one to match him, he dismantled the caitya there, compelled the nuns to marry the monks and son. Later while he was going towards the north, he was killed by the hands of a Lama through a miracle. Thus, the visit of śaṃkarācārya to Nepal along with his followers in twelfth century during the period of Śivadeva is a significant episode in the history of Buddhism of Nepal. More about him is dealt in Chapter six.

Sivadeva III was succeeded by Indradeva. It was during his rule that the Vihāra called Indradeva Samskarita Anana (Anandhadi) Lokesor at Covāra was

¹⁰²Dhanavajra Bajracharya, "Madhyakalin Nepal Ka Ek Prakhat Raja Siva Dev (A famous king of Medieval Nepal- Siva Dev)", in Bhadra Ratna Bajracharya (Ed.), *Dhahnnavajra Vajracharyako Itihasik Lekh Sangraha* Lalitpur: Lalit Research Center, BS.2056, Pp.128-141

¹⁰³*Ibid*, P.137

¹⁰⁴Peteach, *Op. Cit.*, f .n. 12. P.65

built. He was succeeded by Mandeva who abdicated the throne in favour of Narendradeva and went to reside at Mana Deva Vira in Pāṭan. Ānandadeva succeeded him. There came a change in the policy of succession from the time of Ānandadeva. He was not succeeded by his son but his brother Rudradeva. Herenovated Rudravarna Mahāvihāra founded by Shivadeva I. at Pāṭan.¹⁰⁵ This sort of change in the law of succession weakened the central administration.

3.10. Coming of Sunayasrimisra

There were other scholars too who came and contributed to the promotion of Buddhism of Nepal. Sunayasrimitra born in Kapilavastu was one of them. Having heard about the fame of the Svayambhu Caitya he came to Kathmandu to have the Darśana of the Caitya. It is described that he stayed for some time nearby the river Bāgamati. There is a controversy about the date of the coming of Sunayasrimisra. The members of Yampi Vihāra believed him 2000 years old¹⁰⁶. On the otherhand Chronicles state that he came to Nepal during the time of Rudradeva Varma, son of Sivadeva¹⁰⁷. Tibetan sources state his date to be 1100 A.D.¹⁰⁸.

Sunayasrimisra had a good knowledge on Buddhist logic and Mādhyamika doctrines. He had a quench of knowing more about Buddhism from Tibetan Gurus. At the invitation of Mi-nag-lotsha-ba he went to Tibet and stayed there for some time. While in Tibet he could impress the Buddhist followers in Tibet by initiating Vajra-valināmā Maṇḍalasādhana and the exposition of Mādhyamika and logic systems. Nepalese sources opine that he went to Tibet for trade purposes. He returned to Nepal with 60 million rupees. With the wealth he brought from Tibet he built Yampi Vihāra. He is believed to have organized Samyek and the image of Dipankar what he made for the Dana purpose is still popular as Khatanju.

¹⁰⁵ Hem Raj Sakya, *Sivadev Sanskarit Rudravarna Mahavihar*, Lalitpur: 2538 Buddha Jayanti Samaroho Samiti, 1994 A.D. Pp.13-18.

¹⁰⁶ John K. Locke, *Buddhist Monastries of Nepal*, Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press Pvt., Ltd, 1985, P. 204

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, P. 203

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, P. 204.

3.11. Buddhist Scholar Ratnarakṣita and his Contribution:

Ratnarakṣita was a great Buddhist scholar of early medieval Nepal Maṇḍala (1160-1230 A.D.). The date was assigned after calculating dates of his Tibetan disciples. He was a scholar of Guheyaśamāja system according to the method of Nāgarjuna. Because of his composition he was popular as Mahāpaṇḍita in Tibet.¹⁰⁹ He was from Pāṭan staying at Svayambhu for practicing and teaching Buddhism. His disciples were mostly Indian, Tibetan and Nepali scholars who visit Svayambhu. He had initiated them with different saṃvara.

Besides the Buddhist scholars, the contemporary artisans also helped Nepalese Buddhism expand in Nepāla and abroad. He was often invited to Tibet by his Tibetan students for further teaching and highlight on Nepalese Buddhism. About the Vihāras the coming chapter will devote on the subject matter. It was during the period that the Buddhist Vihāras were built in the Kathmadu valley. The list of the names of the Vihāras given in the appendix will help to throw light on them.

3.12.1. Tibetan Buddhist scholars in Nepal

Meantime several Tibetan Buddhist scholars visited Nepal. Some of them visited the country en-route to India. Other came here and stayed at different Buddhist Vihāras of Nepal Maṇḍala. They visited holy sites like Phurping, Baudha, Namo Buddha, etc. where they studied and practiced Buddhism. Their activities of Tibetan Buddhists also contributed in Nepal Maṇḍala being established as Buddhist learning center. It will be apt here to throw light about those prominent Tibetan scholars who visited Nepal Maṇḍala and helped to make it a Buddhist learning center.

¹⁰⁹Rocher, *Op.cit.* f. n. 60, Pp.726, 800, and 1057

3.12.2. Visit of Mar-pa-do-pa

Mar-pa-do-pa was a Buddhist scholar from Tibet to visit Nepal. He was born in the family of Yar-brog bla-do and his father was Kalyanamitra Cho-rgyal. G.N. Roerich in his book *Blue Annals* mentions¹¹⁰ that he was born when Marpā (1012 A.D.) was (about 31 and he lived till the age of 95 till 1043 A.D.)

Mar-pa-do-pa was contemporary to Naropā whose period is from 978 to 1026 A.D. He first studied Sanskrit under different scholars in Tibet. Tshul-khrims-rgya was one among them. He then came to Nepal where he met Mar-pa-Lho-brang-pa. He advised him to take initiation of Cakrasaṃbhara of Naropā's system. For this, He went to Magadha and received the initiation from Naropā's disciple Manakasri Prajñārakṣita, Boddhibhadra and Pramudavajra¹¹¹. He came back to Nepal and studied the exposition of Naropā's system from Nepalese scholars i.e. Phamthimpa brothers Vāgiśvara and Kanaksri. He also got opportunity to translate many texts of cycle of Cakrasaṃbhara with the help of Sumatikirti. It is also said that he received initiation Dekhā in Ratna Kirti Mahāvihāra (Hakhā Bahā) Lalitpur, where he stayed for three years, from Nepali teachers Paindapā and Chiterapā¹¹².

3.12.3. Visit of Tibetan Bhikhu Marpā Lho-brag-pa (1012 A.D.-1097 A.D.)

Marpā Lho-brag-pa was born in the year 1012 A. D. He was the second son of Mar-pa dBan-phyug and mother rGyal-mo at Chu-khyer, Tibet.¹¹³ He was naughty in nature. He showed keen interest from the very beginning in the practice of meditation as well as in learning about Buddhism. Mar-pa dBan-phyug sent him to Ven at the age of fifteen. Brogmi Lotsaba learned and practiced doctrines of Buddhism with hope that he may become a good master

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, P. 383

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, P. 384

¹¹²Min Bahadur śākya, *A Short History of Buddhism in Nepal*, Lalitpur: Young Buddhist Publication, 1986, Pp.31-32.

¹¹³Roerich, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 60, P.399

in future. During the period he learned Sanskrit, he decided to visit India for further studies on Buddhism. On his way to India he came to Nepal in the year 1054 A.D.¹¹⁴

Marpā Lho-brag-pa spent three years in Nepal and accustomed himself with its climate. While in Nepal, he studied under sPyi-ther-pa a well versed Nepali scholar some Tantras along with Sricatuhpithamahāyoginītantrarāja. He obtained initiation into the Hevajra Cycle, received instructions on Tantra sādhana, and precepts of the sampannakarma. His teachers were Naropā, Maitrīpā and Kukripā. He learned from many Nepalese teacher and while in Tibet he made many disciples and taught what he learned with Nepalese teachers.

3.12.4. Visit of Milarapā (1040-1021 A.D.)

Among many Tibetan Buddhist scholars who visited Nepal, Bhikhu Millarpā was from a wealthy family. He was born in the year 1040 A.D.¹¹⁵ in Kya-nan-Tsa, Tibet. His father was Mila-shes-rab-rgyal-mtsan and mother Gyan-tra-dkar-rgyan. His father died when Milerapa was just seven year. His uncle captured his ancestral property and made Milerapā and his mother a pauper. His mother sent Milerpā to Gun-ton-stod to be a lama and learn the destructive tantra so that he can destroy his uncle as well as other people who hated them. He learned about the evil tantras from Yun-sTon-pro-rgyal the teacher. As described his destruction of the enemies and their belongings with help of hail storms could not give him mental peace but repentance on what the evil deeds he did against his enemies.

Milerapā, thereafter, came in contact with Marpā. He approached Marpā and requested to accept him as his disciple. In the meeting he briefed truthfully all his past. Marpā got angry at first and put him under several penances for six years. Milerpā left no stone unturned to satisfy his teacher. Finally, he won the

¹¹⁴*Ibid*, P.402.

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, P. 405

heart of his teacher and he was advised by Marpā to bring nine texts Nava Grantha Sutra of Buddhism which was the basis of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Nepal. He taught these nine texts to Milerpā. He directed his pupil not only to lead a strict life and be always vigilant but also informed them about the seriousness of life in the retreat of mountain recesses, lonely caves, and the solitude of wilderness. The Bodhisatto doctrine was very popular in Nepal. Milerapā practiced the doctrine by keeping meditation far and wide in lonely place, caves and Himalayas of Nepal.

Milarapā turned extensively into the interior parts of the Himālayana regions lying between the two extremes from mount Palber falling down from Mangyul in the west to Yolmo-Kangra in the east of Nepal and served the causes of a large number of human beings. The popularity of Milerapā reached to the king of Bhaktapur. The later sent him religious offerings and invited him to the palace.

3.12.5. Visit of Dharmaswāmī (1197-1264 A.D.)

Dharmaswāmī, a Tibetan scholar was another Buddhist personality to visit Nepal in 1226 A.D.¹¹⁶ He was also known by the name C.lotsawa C,os-rje-dpal. He was a staunch follower of Buddhism. At the age of 29 he completed his studies in Tibet and decided to go to Nepal. He came to know that there were many Indian Buddhist scholars residing in the Vihāras of Nepal who had come to settle there permanently after the Muslim devastation of the great universities like Nālandā, Vikramasila etc¹¹⁷. Among them Ratnarakṣita and Ravindra stayed at Svayambhu. Their coming to Nepal developed the Vihāras of the valley as famous centre of higher Buddhist studies. He stayed eight years (1226 to 1234 A.D.) in the capital. During the period he came in contact with Ratnarakṣita a reputed Buddhist scholar of Tantric Buddhism specialized in

¹¹⁶ George Roerich(Tr.), *Biography Of Dharmaswami*, Patna: K.P. Jayasawal Research Institute, 1959, P. xi.

¹¹⁷ J. L. Mehta, *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India* (Vol.1: 1000-1226 A.D.), New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited., 1983. Pp.81-82.

Guheyasamāja of Nāgarjuna method from Nālandā University. He spent some years with Ratnarakshit and learnt about the Maṇḍala-Sādhana and Guheyasamāja works including Vajrāvali texts on various deities as his disciple. He also studied Pitakas in Nepal. It is described that Dharmaswāmī offered a Ghantā to his teacher while he was at Svayambhu. Later, he came in touch with Ravindra another Buddhist expert of the period from whom he learnt the futility of imprecation and magic.¹¹⁸

Dharmaswāmī also visited ThamVihāra built by Atisā. It was popularly known to Indians as Dharmadhātu Vihāra. Tham Vihāra is described as a good Vihāra in the account of Dharmaswāmī. The Vihāra is also mentioned in his travel account as a flourishing one used as a place of asylum of the Indian scholars who had come here to settle permanently to save themselves from the Muslim atrocities. At the time of his visit he found the charitable fund provided to the Vihāra was already stopped¹¹⁹. While in the capital he studied Pitakas also.

Dharmaswāmī had described some interesting details of Buddhist religion-cultural life of contemporary Kathmandu Valley. His graphic account of Bungam Matchendranātha chariot procession is interesting. He found the chariot festival a popular one among the people. He writes that the icon of the Ārayvalokiteśora was made of red sandal wood and the image seemed to be of a five year boy. Dharmaswāmī observed the festival every year for eight years. Dharmaswāmī in his account had highlighted the artistic workmanship of Nepali artists.

Dharmaswāmī left Nepal in 1234 A.D. for India. Having visited different Buddhist sacred places like Buddhagayā, Rajgriha, Nālandā, he came to Nepal via Trihut for the second time in 1241A.D.¹²⁰. He stayed here for a short time. It is described that a certain bharo acted as his dānapati and gave in Dana, gold

¹¹⁸Roerich, *Op. Cit.*, f.n. 116, Pp.iii- xi, 56

¹¹⁹*Ibid.* Pp. 54-9.

¹²⁰*Ibid* , P.88.

and food. It was probable that this event marks the beginning of the Iilhane samyek of Lalitpur. Later, he went to Yari Do monastery in Tibet in 1242 A.D..

3.13. Abhayamalla (1216-55 A.D.)

A new dynasty i.e. the Mallas under Arimalla came to power in 1200 AD. There is lack of historical evidence to ascertain the conditions in which power passed from the old dynasty to the Mallas. Nor were they the dependents of the Mallas who were defeated in the campaign laid by Mānadeva as mentioned in the Cāngu Nārāyana inscription of 464 AD. We have no information at all on them for about five centuries. With the rise of the Mallas, as stated above, a new law of succession was introduced at the center i.e. nominating the heir from another dynasty from Arimalla onward. The later who succeeded Arimalla was enthroned in 1216 A.D..

Abhayamalla enjoyed a long rule. By the time Nepal has become the abode of the refugees coming from India to save themselves from the atrocities of the Muslim invaders after the devastation of Buddhist academic centers like, Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, Odantapuri etc. Many of them got shelter in the Vihāras and others in the surrounding areas of the valley. They enriched the Vihāras with scriptures they brought with them. They seemed busy in copying scriptures, practicing the Dharma or giving discourses to the gathering lay disciples. While others helped towards developing the valley as a center of art and architecture. Available sources tell the flourishing state of Buddhism in the valley. People from all castes were free to become a Buddhist¹²¹. It was during his rule that Dharmaswāmī visited Nepal twice. His biography contains many interesting details on the religious life of the Buddhists, Buddhist scholars and their life and Buddhist cultural and religious activities as well.

Abhayamalla's rule was not without any challenge. Besides internal strife, the country faced serious troubles on her frontiers. Gopālarāja Vaṃśāvālī has

¹²¹Peteach, *Op.cit.* f. n. 12, Pp.87-88.

mentions about the Doya attack under Ramsing in 1224 and 1244. It was followed by the Khasa invasions. Flood, landslide, snowfall, flood, draught remained as natural disasters of the period. There were several famines and epidemics like Kalājor and smallpox. A severe famine occurred in April 1232 A.D. and the following months with an appealing loss of human life; the calamity lasted a whole year. Similar outbreak of the famine and plague took place on January 2nd 1242 A.D. and July 6, 1244 A.D., and the people were greatly impoverished. More about it will be discussed in the sixth chapter.

But the great earthquake of 1255 A.D. (375N.S) was more devastating. The earthquake was so strong that one third of the population was killed along with the then king Abhayamalla. The people of Nepal Maṇḍala had to face difficulties for months. Innumerable Buddhist monuments like Caitya and Vihāras were destroyed or collapsed. It is described that people could not perform even cremation rites properly. Because of famine and draught the peasants had to struggle hard for good crops. Despite these heydays Nepal Maṇḍala could spread its fame in the files of art and architecture abroad

3.14. Exposition of Nepalese Artisans and its Expansion in Foreign Country

Medieval Nepal could equally progress in the field of art and architecture. During the period several Vihāras were constructed within the three cities of the valley Hiranya Varna Mahāvihāra, Padmacakra Vihāra, Indra Deva Vihāra, Rudra Varna Mahāvihāra, were some among the notable Vihāras. Although the names of the Nepalese artists who built these Vihāras are lost, Tucci observed that the eulogies of monasteries and biography of Lamas abound in general allusions to makers of statues and painters from Nepal. Available sources suggest that Tibet since the twelfth century received artists along with learned monks from Nepal. They went to Lhasa and other areas in central Tibet. Among such artisans who helped in spreading Nepalese fame outside the country was Aniko (Arniko).

3.15. Introduction of Araniko and His Works

Araniko was a renowned artisan of early medieval Nepal. It is still confusing to state where the artisan was born. However some believe him born in Lalitpur. Satya Mohan Joshi has published a book about him.¹²² He was known as Anigo in China. Luciano Petech has surmised that Aniko was the Chinese pronunciation of "Anigo", which was a distorted form of Anang, the name of one of the 84 Siddhas belonging to the Vajrayāna sect¹²³. It is difficult to believe whether "Anigo" is a distorted form of "Anang". According to the *Gopālavaṃśāvalī*, the name of the grand-father of King Annatamalla of Nepal, as contemporary of the artist, was Jagadaneka¹²⁴. As stated the word "Jagad" was added to his name simply as a mark of respect, since he belonged to the royal family. At other instances he is referred as Ankhmalla. There is no doubt that "Anekha" was just another form of "Aneka". It was therefore believed that "Aneka" was also the name that the Chinese must have pronounced as "Aniko" in the same way as they used to say Nepal as "Nipolo"¹²⁵.

According to Chinese account he belonged to the royal family. He was only seventeen when he followed Pags-pa the spiritual teacher of Qublai Khan to Lhasa who wanted to build a Stupā of gold in Lhasa. He laid a team of 80 artists at the order of King Bhimadeva (1258- 62 A.D.).¹²⁶ In Tibet, he built a golden stupā (Suvāna-Stupā) around 1261-62 A.D. to the supreme satisfaction of the Head of the Lama. Pleased with him the Lama chose him to join the Imperial service in Peking. Many images in Peking's two monasteries is ascribed to Arniko, Shang-tu and Ta-tu. Later, this Nepalese master sculpture and builder was appointed to the post of General's director of all the workers in bronze in 1274 A.D. and was promoted to the post of Controller of the imperial

¹²²Satyamohan Joshi, *Kalakar Arniko*, Kathmandu: Vijaya Gajananda Vaidya, 2044, P.90

¹²³*Ibid*, P.100.

¹²⁴*Ibid*, P.101 ,

¹²⁵*Ibid*, P.100

¹²⁶*Ibid*, One hundred Nepali artists had been invited from Tibet to visit that country. But Nepal was able to send only eighty under the leadership of Aniko.

manufactures in 1278 A.D.. He died on March 11, 1306 A.D., 12 years after the death of Kublai Khan.

The tomb inscription referred to above mentions the names of members of the artist's family. It gives the name of the Nepali wife of the artist as "Chai-yal-ta-lakmi" (Chinese pronunciation of Jayatalaxmi). In China, he reverted to worldly life and married a Mongol girl. Later he married seven other girls, from who were born 6 sons and 8 daughters. Although he had been estranged from his Nepali wife, his children could not forget their Nepal step-mother. Hence they had her name too inscribed on the tomb, and so immortalized her. The tomb gives the names of the father and grand-father on the artist as La-k-on and "Mi-Ti-Rha" respectively, Chinese pronunciation of the Sanskrit terms Lakṣmana and Mitra respectively. The thousands of manuscripts written on birch bark during that period in Nepal are still found here and there. Since the authors of these works have all Sanskrit names in inconceivable that Aniko and other members of his family possessed non-Sanskrit names.

3.16. Muslim Invasion and its Impact on Development of Buddhism 1349

A.D. (470 NS)

Among the invasions, Muslim invasion under Śamasuddin the sultan of Bengal proved most devastating. In 1349 A.D. (Nepal Sambat 470) the Śamasuddin entered Nepal and plundered the valley. The invasion lasted for seven days. During the period, the local inhabitants were not only looted and the capital plundered, but they also put the whole city on fire. The Gopālarāja Vaṃśāvalī suggests that the invasion had been launched from the east. According to it, Bhaktapur was devastated on the first day of the invasion, i.e. on Mārga 21.¹²⁷ Probably, the invaders demolished the Caṃgunārāyana pillar on the occasion. According to the stone inscription, the SvayambhuCaitya was burnt on Marga 22 and attacked and the Pashupati temple was tumbled down into

¹²⁷ Malla and Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 9, P.84.

three pieces.¹²⁸ Pimbahāla Caitya of Lalitpur was also tumbled.¹²⁹ Many Buddhist Vihāra, Bahi and images of Buddhist deities were uprooted or put on fire. Many images and inscription were damaged. It took years to recover the loss. According to the stone inscription, of Svayambhu, after 25 years of the collapse of the SvayambhuCaitya, Rajaharśa reconstructed it from the very foundations with the permission of King Arjunadeva and the Regent Sthitimalla.¹³⁰

3.17. Rise of Sthitimalla and his Socio Religious Policy (1382-1395)

The Gopālarāja Vaṃśāvalī has references of several raids made by the Doyas from Simraungarh into the capital. Ramsiṃgha's attack it is already discussed above. The raids continued until the fall of Simaraungarh and created panic in the capital. During the raids forts, temples and other places of importance were destroyed. The raids will be discussed later in chapter VI. It would be proper in this context to discuss the situation prevailing to contemporary Nepal Maṇḍala. With the abdication of Anantmalla in 1306, Nepal Maṇḍala faced political crisis. Jayaśaktideva attempted to have his hold in the administration but he failed against Ānandadeva. After the latter's death (1313-1320 A.D.) the reins of administration slipped out of the hands of his dynasty. Rudramalla enthroned Arideva, his brother, and himself became Regent (Uparaj). But the regent could not monopolize the administration long. He died in 1330 A.D. (1387 V.S). His wife, Devaladevi, then assumed the reins of administration. Amidst these political upheavals the fall of the kingdom of Simaraungarh brought another change in political arena of the Nepal Maṇḍala

Thus Arideva had to spend his whole life as a nominal King. Six months before Rudramalla's death, Ghiasuddin Tughlaq, Emperor of Delhi, devastated Simraugadh and occupied Tirhut (Mithila). The Muslim soldiers not only

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, P.84

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, P.108

¹³⁰ Bhadra Ratna Vajrācārya (Ed.), *Dhanavajra Vajracharyako Aitihāsika Lekha Saṃgraha Bhag Ek (A Coolection of Historical articles of Dhanavajra Vajracharya)*, Lalitpur: Lalit Research Center, 2055 BS., P.142-148

defeated the Simraungarh army, but also plundered the whole country compelling the king to leave the country. Hariharsimha, his wife, and son along with the ministers and kinsmen fled to the hills of Nepal where he died at Dolakha. After his death his wife got shelter in the Nepalese capital which changed the socio-religious scenario of the Kingdom of Nepal Maṇḍala.

It has been discussed above that Rudramalla died soon after the fall of Simaraungarh. Devaldevi after the death of Rudramalla acted as regent of his daughter Nayakdevi. Later died living behind Rajjala Devi at a state of chaos. It gave Deval Devi an opportunity to hold the administration in her hand. With Deval Devi, it is said that the Simaraungarh polity entered at the center, with polity also entered the Taleju and with the marriage of Rajalla Devi to Sthitimalla the whole power went in the hands of Sthitimalla and he became the king of Nepal. Later he called the five Brahmins from South India and introduced social reforms restricting people from joining from one occupation to another. It debarred people from changing his or her religion on occupation basis. It became the rule followed until now.

CHAPTER IV

VIHĀRAS AS THE CENTRE OF BUDDHIST ACTIVITIES

Nepal Maṇḍala is popularly known for the Buddhist monuments like Caityas, the temples and the Vihāras. There are innumerable big and small caityas and hundreds of Vihāras around the valley. The Svayambhū Caitya¹, the Dhando Caitya of ChaBahil², the Khasti Caitya of Boudha and the Asokan stupas of Patan³ are some of prime importance. Svayambhū Purana, the highly acclaimed local Buddhist text reflects the gradual transition from an independent Caitya centered Mahayana community to a later monasticized Mahayana organization. According to the text the Svayambhū is self-originated from an eternal light in a lotus flower grown in the lake of the Nepal valley then known as Kālihrad or the Nāgvāsdaha. As described, many Buddhas and Boddhisattvas visited this holy shrine to have a darshan of the Svayambhū. Among them, Manjusri, a Boddhisattva who came from five peaked mountain (Mahāchina), drained the water of the lake and turned it into an inhabitation site. He left his disciples in the valley to help in the propagation of Buddhism. Later, Krakuchanda Buddha, who hailed from the city of Keshāvati visited with his followers including Dharmapāla the king of Saketa, Gunadhoj a Brāhmin and Abhayananda a Kshetriya to have a darshan of the Svayambhū. It was in this place where Krakuchanda Buddha ordained his seven hundred disciples by creating Bāgmati and Keshāvati (Visnumati) rivers to meet the requirement of water for ordination and disposal of cut hairs after ordination. Similarly,

¹(i) Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavi Kal ka Abhilekh (Inscriptions of Licchavi Period)*, Kathmandu: Nepal and Asian Research center, 2030 B.S., reprinted in 2053 B.S, Pp. 370-37; For detail see also Gopālarāja Vaṃśāvalī.

(ii) Kamal Prakasha Malla and Dhana Vajra Vajrācārya, *The Gopalraj Vamsāvali*, Kathmandu: Nepal Research Center, 1985. Gopalraj Vamsabali states Vrishadeva to have built the Chaitya,

²*Ibid. (i)*, Pp, 1-3; Nayanath Paudyal(ed.), *Bhasa Vaṃśāvalī*, Volume I, Kathmandu: Nepal Rastriya Postakalaya, Kathmandu, 2020 B.S., P.56.

Also see Research article by Purushotam Lochan Shrestha, published in *Prachin Nepal*. 184/2014, According to Bhasa Vamsabali this Chaitya was built by Vrishadeva.

³Nayanath Paudyal(ed.), *Bhasa Vaṃśāvalī*, Volume I, Kathmandu: Nepal Rastriya Postakalaya, Kathmandu, 2020 B.S., P.76

Prachandadeva, the king of Gaud later visited Svayambhū, became a disciple of Gunakar, the disciple of Manjusri, and was ordained. Prachandadeva, thereafter, came to be known as Bhikshu Sāntisri. He got instructions about the mantras and Tantras from the Guru and became famous as Santikarcharya. Pleased with his devotion, Gunakar gave him permission to cover the light of the Svayambhū erecting a Caitya above it. As described he also built five sacred puras(monuments) or the caves around the Svayambhū hill.

4.1. Svayambhū as Source of Buddhist Unity

There is no historical evidence to prove that deva covered the light of Svayambhū by erecting a caitya above it. However, it is clear from Licchavi inscriptions that Svayambhū was already developed as a shrine during the period. According to Gopalraj Vamsavali, Vrishadeva consecrated a caitya at Svayambhū. Later many caityas were erected during the period around the valley, either in the open or inner courts of monastery or domestic quadrangles, that stand in the streets and squares. Soon it became one of the most common objects encountered in the precincts of the public places. Already stated in the previous chapters, Svayambhū remained as a favorite habitat to Buddhist scholars both from home and abroad. Foreign monk scholars like Shantarakshita, Padma Sambhava, Kamalsila, Atisa, Ratnarkhita, Ravindra, Dharmaswāmi and others had stayed at Svayambhū to study, practice and deliver discourses on Buddhism. Their activities influenced the local inhabitants towards Buddhism and they entered the Saṅgha as its member and became lay Buddhists.

Impact of Svayambhū Mahacaitya upon Nepalese Buddhists is so much that they developed a local popular indigenous text *Svayambhū Purāṇa* which has given unique definite shape to *Newār Buddhism*. The text glorified Svayambhū. Actually the Nepalese Buddhists adhere to their religious practices as mentioned in the text, *Svayambhū Purāṇa*, that turned into classical Buddhist religious text of Kathmandu, which is highly revered. It is available in long and

short versions. It highlights the importance of Svayambhū, as most sacred Buddhist monument in the *Newār Buddhist* community and serves as the ontological source of the religion, as indicated by textual evidence and ritual practices. The perspectives in *Svayambhū Purāṇa* not envisaging *Buddhism* as soteriology but meeting worldly means, maintaining the ideal of *Bodhisattva*, as being driving force for the Nepalese Buddhists. The *Purāṇa* went on relating the origins of other sacred sites in the valley not only creating a sacred landscape but also propagated the cult and worship of these sites in the valley. *Svayambhū Purāṇa* can serve as a key for a more adequate understanding of Newār Buddhism, correcting many of the misconceptions that have flowed our understanding of this tradition. They formed a vital and energetic community of practitioners who adhere to a set of practices revolving around the narrative of the *Svayambhū purāṇa*. Therefore, it would not be exaggeration to say that Nepalese buddhism revolves around *Svayambhū Purāṇa* which gave unique and definite shape to Newār Buddhism.

4.2. Vihāras (monasteries)

The term Vihāra denotes to a dwelling place for monks and nuns.⁴ They were built to accommodate and facilitate their religious practices. There is a lack of archaeological evidence in Nepal that gives information about the origin of the Vihāras. According to Vamsavalis, Vihāras came into existence in the valley since the third century BC. Wright's vamsavali mentions Charumati Vihāra as the first Vihāra built in Nepal. Emperor Ashoka, who came for pilgrimage in the Nepal valley, founded a new town called Ashokapattan. He built four stupas at the four cardinal points of the city. These stupas are believed

⁴ It is mentioned in Sutta pitak of Kudak Nikaya. These dwelling places are termed as "aramas" in Buddhist literatures. They were built in specific places (prescribed by the monks) as resting place for the monks or nuns to protect them from the rain. Bimbisar was the first King to build such a *Vihāra* and donate it to the Buddha. It was popularly known by the name Belwana *Vihāra*⁴. Later a merchant by the name of Anathpindika presented Jetvan *Vihāra*⁴. Similarly, King Suddhodhan as well as Vissakha presented Nigrodaram *Vihāra*⁴ and Purvaram *Vihāra*⁴ respectively. They were those *Vihāras* where Buddha spent the forty five rain retreats. Later they eventually turned into the dwelling places of the monks and nuns and in due course were called *vihāras*.

representing four epochs viz. Satyayuga, Tretayuga, Dwaparayuga and Kaliyuga. As stated it is also described that he married his daughter Charumati to a Kshetriya prince named Devapala. And, he built a vihāra in the name of his daughter i.e. Charumati vihāra⁵. Similar is the case with Gum vihāra. It is believed to have been built around first century A.D. But, there is no historical evidence to prove the fact.

Inscriptional evidences show that Vihāras were constructed in Nepal Maṇḍala since fifth century A.D. only. In accordance with Licchavi inscriptions 20 names of Vihāras are found mentioned. Māna Vihāra, Rāj Vihāra, Madhyam Vihāra, Chaturvaltasana Vihāra, Khajurikā Vihāra, Sivadeva Vihāra, Varta Kalyāṅgupta Vihāra, Jivavarmma Vihāra, Ajika vihāra, Gandhakuti Vihāra and etc. were some among them⁶. These Licchavi Vihāras were classified into two; Visistha (special class) and samanya (general class) Vihāras. Contemporary inscriptions have information about Visistha vihāras and the privilege provided to them by the government. Vihāras like Gun Vihāra, Madhyam Vihāra, Mānviḥāra, and Khajurikā Vihāra grouped into the visistha Vihāra and was provided with land grants of 6 purana 2 pana. The second category described as Sāmānya Vihāras were provided with 3 puran 1 pana.⁷ According to Jagdish Chandra Regmi mentions, eight Vihāras namely, Shivadeva Vihāra, Ajika Vihāra, Abhayaruchi Vihāra, Chaturtingkhasana Vihāra, Mahapratī Vihāra, Sujataprabha Vihāra, Vartakalyan Gupta Vihāra, Pranidhi Vihāra and Jawatma Vihāra are listed into second category. Among the Vihāras Sivadeva Vihāra is described to have been built to accommodate Shiva DevaI who took refuge in the triple gems and became follower of Buddhism. It is believed that he was ordained there and passed his remaining days in the Vihāra. The Vajradhar and Yāgbahālī inscription of Narendradeva throw light on administrative power

⁵ The *vihāra* is still better known as Manju Bahal.

⁶ The list of the *Vihāras* has been mentioned in the Appendix.

⁷ Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 1(i), P. 320; The third category received 2 puran 2 pana. But there is no reference of it. For details, see Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavi Kalako Abhilekha*, Kirtipur; Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, 2030, P. 320.

bestowed to Sivadeva Vihāra.⁸ Later inscriptions talk about land grants granted by Mandeva, Amsuvarma, Narendradeva, Sivadeva to arrange for both the Bhikshu and Bhikhuni Saṅghas staying in the Vihāra administering the surplus to be spent in the maintenance of the vihāra.⁹

4.3. Vihāras as Residence of Celibate and Household Monks

There is no doubt that the said monks and nuns referred were none other than celibate monks and nuns about which Lichhavi inscriptions did mentioned. Those Bhikshu and Bhikshnis mostly belonged to Mahāsāṅghika sect and were residing in the Vihāras of Sankhu and Lalitpur respectively. Similarly the Yāgbahāl inscription of Narendradeva talks about Bhikshus coming from abroad and residing in the Vihāras constructed after the name of Sivadeva Vihāra.¹⁰ Similarly the inscriptions of Patan Chapa Tole and Kathmandu Musumbahāl have mentions of Bhikhuni Saṅgha¹¹. Among them, the former mentions about land grants donated to the Vihāra (Gandhakuti) by a lady disciple named Mrigani to spend on providing foods for the Bhikshinis coming from all directions. It is clear from the inscriptions that these Vihāras were monastic settlements where the monks and nuns coming from four directions resided and studied Buddhist literature.

Vihāras are therefore classified into two in accordance to the settlement i.e. home leaving and home dwellers. The latter is better known by the term the lay Bodhisattvas. Huien Tsang, who visited India during seventh century, had noted that two thousand monks were engaged in the study of literature concerning both the vehicles.¹² It indicates to both, the celibate monks and nuns as well as the house hold monks. But, the number of celibate monks and nuns is found decreasing during early medieval period. Dharmaswāmi, who visited

⁸*Ibid*

⁹*Ibid*, Pp.320-324.

¹⁰*Ibid*, Pp. 497-498.

¹¹*Ibid*, Pp.382-383, and 507.

¹²Thomas Watters(ed.), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels In India AD 629-645*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1996 Pp. 83-84.

Nepal during 1226-34 A.D., noted the decreasing number of the celibates than the household monks. He stated there were few monasteries in the capital where the monks received shelter and food. What happened to all those ancient Vihāras of the celibate monks after Jayadeva II cannot be said with certainty. It is quite probable that most of them converted to householder monks. Medieval inscriptions do not throw light on it. It is assumed that many of the Vihāras have disappeared due to ravages of time, various attacks launched internally and externally. The remaining Vihāras, later came to be known as Bahis in local vernacular. Probably, the internal strife among the ruling members at the center weakened the administration and the kings could not protect and help the monks with food and shelter¹³. During medieval period, several other Vihāras were made that accommodates the householder monks. They are later known as the Bahās.

4.4. Conversion of Celibate Monks into Householder Monks

Although Lichhavi inscriptions are silent about evolution of householder monks, Ugraparipēccha Sūtra¹⁴, a Mahayana scripture helps to throw light on it. According to the sūtra lay Bodhisattva is as a typical family man living at home and interacting with the organized monastic community. But even as he urged to minimize his ties with his wife and children, he is told to interact with more distant members of his town or village and exhort them to take up Buddhist practice. Like a physician who, if he fails to cure even an ill person, will be

¹³The central administration had weakened and the rulers had lost their hold in the administration. Law of succession followed by the early kings' i.e. eldest son ascending the throne of the father was interrupted when all the sons started declaring themselves joint rulers of the deceased father or brothers inheriting power after the death of a king, or (a king) nominating a heir from another dynasty. As its result the rulers from the Khasa Kingdom in the West and Simraungarh kingdom in the south took benefit of the weak political situation of Nepal Maṇḍala and came into existence in the valley. However, Nepal Maṇḍala remained as the central power. And clash among the members of the ruling family at the center brought internal strife within the country that lasted for years. At such state monks and nuns could get no support from the kings; foods, protection and shelter.

¹⁴ Jan Nattier, *The Bodhisattva Path* based on the Ugraparipēccha, Mahayana Sutra, Delhi: Motilal Banarasi Das Publishers Private Limited, 2007

Ugraparipēccha Sutra is a Sanskrit text translated into Tibetan and Chinese language. The original text is lost. It deals with Householder Bodhisattvas, their course of conduct including various types of practices viz. ritual, ethical, paramita practices as well as transformation of merit, detachment from people and things, Triskanda ritual, the necessity of being a monk etc.

blamed by the local people, likewise if the Bodhisattva fails to admonish even one being who as a result is born into one of the evil destinies, the Bodhisattva will be held responsible by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.¹⁵

Such householder, Bodhisattvas according to Ugraparipēcchāsūtra follow the course of conduct or the practice of taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. However, understanding of the three refuges seemed distinct. Taking refuge in the Buddha means exerting himself to acquire the roots of goodness. Although the formula is not a new approach, the understanding of the three refuges such as the specific requirements of the Bodhisattva career was distinctive. Taking refuge in the Buddha meant exerting the roots of goodness (kusalamula) that will result in the attainment of those marks, as well as being steadfast in his determination to reach the goal. The exhortations to uphold and to practice the Dharma that comprise of taking refuge in the second jewel offer little that is new, but the distinctiveness of the Bodhisattvas vocation lies in presiding in the future over a Saṅgha of Sravaks.

The fact that Buddhists are divided into home dwelling and home leaving categories does not tell anything specific except that this traditional division reflects an institutional feature of religious life developing at large within the valley. Both were bound with ethical practices. A glimpse on the course exhorted to the lay Bodhisattvas will show it a merger of the five precepts with the longer list of the ten kusala-karmapathas abstaining from (i) taking of life (ii) taking what is not given (iii) wrong conduct with regard to desire (iv) false speech (v) intoxicating drinks (vi) slandering others (vii) speaking harsh words (viii) indulging in idle chatter (ix) covetous thoughts (x) malice and but should constantly grid himself with the amour of the power of endurance. (xi) wrong views.

From Buddhist point of view, it was a gradual shift to a lay centered community of Bodhisattvas, independent of existing monastic communities and

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Pp. 233-239.

assembling at Caitya sites. This began lay oriented monastery form of Mahayana Buddhism in which renunciant Bodhisattvas instigated to emulate their non-Buddhist counterparts, even taking up formal ordination and the observance of the monastic rules. It is probable that the vihāras like Shivadeva Vihāra, Sujataprabha Vihāra, Vartakalyan Gupta Vihāra and others classified into second category (Sāmānya Vihāra) accommodated the household monks. It is described that Shivadeva I took refuge in Buddhism and was ordained in the Shivadeva Vihāra and led a household monk's life at the permission of the teacher. Similarly Sujataprabha, a reputed Government officer seemed to have taken refuge in Buddhism and built a Vihāra under his name. So was the case with Vartakalyan Gupta Vihāra. Lichhavi inscriptions have mention of Sākyabhikshus like Priyapāl, Bandhubhadra, Buddhakirti who were none other than the household monks. Their numbers went on increasing during early medieval Nepal.

It is also mentioned in the Vamsavalis that Shankaracharya and his pupils who visited Nepal during the rule of Sivadeva III compelled monks and nuns residing in the Vihāras to lead married life after they were defeated in a debate with monks and nuns¹⁶. It might be a cause that Dharmaswāmi who visited Nepal found fewer monks and nuns living in the Vihāras of Kathmandu.¹⁷ Min Bahadur Sākya, has rightly marked in his paper that it is very difficult to decide the actual time and cause of disappearance of celibate monks in Kathmandu unless we find authentic documents¹⁸.

Evidences show that these vihāras resided by celibate monks or household monks and nuns during early medieval were called Mahāvihāras and Bahās and Bahis in the local vernacular.¹⁹ Saptapuri Mahāvihāra, Jayasri Mahāvihāra,

¹⁶ The visit of Shankaracharya is discussed in coming chapters.

¹⁷ George Roerich (Tr.), *Biography Of Dharmaswami*, Patna: K.P. Jayasawal Research Institute, 1959, P. xi.

¹⁸ Min Bahadur Shakya, "Monasticism in Newar Buddhism, A Historical Analysis," presented in the Conference on The Buddhist heritage of Nepal Mandal-1998, organized by Lotus Research Center, Lalitpur

¹⁹ D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal Vol. 1*, New Delhi: Rupa and company, 2007, Pp. 561-563.

Kirtipuinya Mahāvihāra, Rajasri Mahāvihāra were some among them. Many of them (Bahis) were built in the time of Ssthitimalla and Yakshamalla such as Uba Bahi and Iba Bahi in Patan, Nhaykan Bahi and Syangu Bahi in Kathmandu. There is no doubt that these Bahis were developed as Newār Buddhist institutions where scholars from abroad came to study Buddhist literature, philosophy and practices. D. L. Snellgrove, rightly marked that Patan one among the principal cities must have been a vast university, differing little in its mode of life from similar town in medieval Europe.²⁰ According to him its traditions, its ways of life, must have been modeled on the great monastic universities of India. It was the place of sanity of early medieval Nepal where monks and pundits were glad to come and visit. Among them some came from India to teach and others from Tibet to learn.²¹ The following lines inscribed in the Dipankar image of Gustal Mahāvihāra “Vikhyata Lalitpur nagari, Dikshu sarvasvapi Vidshyabhyam” stands as a proof of it describing the city as the center of learning²².

Vihāras lost the patronage of the kings essential to maintain, sustain and develop the vihāra community during early medieval Nepal Maṇḍala. It has also been stated above that contemporary Buddhist monks and pundits had to struggle hard for the promotion and protection of Buddhism. Several Indian Pundits i.e. Shantarakshita, Padmasambhava, Kamalsila and Atisa who came to stay in Nepal for some period on route to Tibet worked hard for the promotion of Buddhism in Nepal²³. It was during this period that a new principle that one needs not to be a monk for the attainment of Buddhahood or perfect enlightenment attracted the lay Buddhists. Kuladatta's text Kriyasamgraha and Shantideva's Sichhasammuchaya worked as sublime to it²⁴. After the four days

²⁰Ryugen Tanemura, *Kuladutta Śarmā's Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā*, Groningen Netherland: Egbert Forsten, 2004 A.D., P.10.

David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Kathmandu: Himalayan Book Seller, 1995, Pp.102-103.

²¹Regmi, Op.cit f.n. 19.Pp.628-629

²²*Ibid*,

²³Alka Cattopādhyā, *Atisa and Tibet*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt., Ltd., 1999, Pp.228-236.

²⁴Tanemura, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 20, P.10.

observation of a monk's life Sravakyana was replaced by the practice of ādikarmic Bodhisattava or the beginner Bodhisattava. It helped Vajrayana cult of Buddhism following early Mahayana philosophy to develop as the most dominating religion in Nepal. The texts of Adoyavajra, Kuladatta, Jagadarpanacharya, and Anupamvajra viz Advayavajrasamgraha²⁵ Kriyāsamgraha, Kriyā samuccaya and Adikarma pradeep respectively worked as the practice manual of the ādikarmic bodhisattava.²⁶ At such state it is natural to find account of Dharmaswāmi showing the growing popularity of the Vihāras of the household monks.

4.5. Classification of Medieval Vihāras of Nepal Maṇḍala

It has been already mentioned above that Vihāras of Lichchavi period were classified mostly into two: Vishista and Sāmānya. Later, elaboration and fortification of Vihāra were done in early medieval period and they were promoted to Mahāvihāras. Therefore, early medieval Vihāras were better known by the term Mahāvihāras. Mahā is a Sanskrit word used to bestow the higher status of a Vihāra. It cannot be exactly said when the Vihāras were added with such an epithet like Mahā in front of the names. But it so happened during early medieval period. Reference of Padmacakra Mahāvihāra in the colophon shows that the practice was already in use before 165 N.S.²⁷ Hem Raj Sākya has classified these Vihāras into three categories i.e. Mahāvihāras, Madhyamika Vihāra and Samanya Vihāra. According to him Mahāvihāras denotes the Vihāras of the household monks or the Ādikarmic Bodhisattvas. These Vihāras were later known as Mu Bahās or the principal Vihāras and Sāmānya Mahāvihāra or Kachābahā acted as its branches. More about it will be discussed below. Similarly he called Madhyamaka Vihāras as the Bahis where celibate monks and nuns dwelled. Generally, these Vihāras are distinguished by the term Bahās and Bahis. He has produced a list including the names of around 500 Vihāras of the Nepal Valley.

²⁵Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 1(i), Pp. 541-549.

²⁶Sakya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 18

²⁷Regmi, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 21, Pp. 561-563.

Similarly, John K. Locke has classified the Vihāras into four categories i.e. Mu-bahā, Kachā-Bahā, Mu Bahi and independent Bahā. His classification does not include KachāBahi. He has enlisted the names of 166 Mahāvihāras of Patan (18 main Bahā, 123 Branch Bahās and 25 Bahis), 106 Vihāras (Bahās 90 and 16 Bahis) of Kathmandu, and 23 Vihāras (20 Bahās and 3 Bahis) of Bhaktapur²⁸. Evidences show that the word Bahis were found referred in the inscriptions or the colophons copied during the rule of Sthitimalla and Yakshamalla. UbaBahi and Iba Bahi of Patan, Nhaykan Bahi and Syangu Bahi of Kathmandu were some of them. Whether Bahis existed earlier than bahās, is still a question although it was practiced as an older form of Buddhism. There are no confirmed dates for existing Bahis earlier than 1200 A.D. It shows that the term came to use during the last phase of the early medieval rule. Locke has rightly mentioned that Bahās and Bahis co-existed since the earliest times.

Mahāvihāras where household monks resided were popularly known as Bahās in the local vernacular. The term Bahā is a corrupt word of the Sanskrit term Vihāra which gradually turned to vahara and bahāra to bahāl and then bahā in local vernacular.²⁹In Sanskrit a Vihāra is named after the founder. Bhaskardeva Samskarita Hiranyavarna Mahāvihāra or Indradeva Samskarita Jaya Manohar Mahāvihāra, Rudravarna Mahāvihāra, Yashodhar Mahāvihāra are some of them named after the founders. The local name of these Vihāras indicates the place where it was built. Kwabahā, Subahā, Ukubahā, Bubahā Cobahā etc. were some of the examples. Hiranyavarna Mahāvihāra is also known as Kwathalakhu vihāra or a vihāra built outside the fort of the capital and Kwatha means a fort.³⁰Generally royal palaces were fortified in ancient times to protect from invasions and records show that Patan that remained as the capital of Nepal for long was fortified. Later, the Vihāra where it was built was called Kwalakhu. Kwa is the short form of Kwatha. It shows the Vihāras, as was built outside the fort, was called Kwathalakhu Vihāra. Later the word became defunct and was

²⁸K. Locke, *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal*, Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press Pvt., Ltd, 1985, Pp. 21, 247, 426. See listings of Baha and Bahi in appendices.

²⁹*Ibid.*, P. 3

³⁰Malla and Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 1 (ii), P.89

pronounced Kwalakhu Vihāra and Kwabahā in short. So was the case with Jaya Manohar Mahāvihāra which was locally named Subahā.

Bahās are found built on low plinth or ground level with houses around the central courtyard. Medieval artisans were guided by the rites and rituals as prescribed in *Kriyasamgrahapanjika*.³¹ A site which proved to be auspicious according to the tantric procedure was selected for the construction of a monastery. Kuladatta calls it *bhumiparikshya* in the text and it is followed by purification ritual including the stage of leveling the ground of the site. Extraneous substances were removed from the site to safeguard it from evil spirit. The site is then shaped as *Vajradhatu Mandal*³² and then preparatory religious performances follow for the start of the foundation work. Soil is checked for making bricks while stones and wood are selected which are suitable for making an image or installing doors and pillars. A *Maṇḍala* is thereafter constructed and an image of the deity is consecrated. The monastery will be then decorated inside and outside and with the *Ganachakra* the construction work is completed.³³ Such Bahās stand as Newār Buddhist institutions where one will notice the following unique features.

4.6. General Features of Mahāvihāras (Bahāand Bahis)

- a. Bahās or Bahis are monastic complex developed in a square courtyard. Already stated above, Bahās are found built within the settlement whereas Bahis outside the city. Bahās are built on a low plinth usually at street level whereas Bahis at a raised height mostly built on a raised platform above ground level with main entrance door. It is usually two storied and its structure is surrounded by sunken court yard. Its external walls are of bricks with no windows and doors except the front entrance door. Inside, the ground and first floor of the house is open as a hall

³¹ The oldest manuscript dated Samvat 336 is preserved in the Kaiser Library.

³² D.R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, Dehi: Rupa & Co., in association with Dilli Raman Regmi Memorial Library, 2007 A.D, Pp.17-40.

³³ *Ibid*,

(Da:lan in Newāri) with wooden pillars except for a small quadrangle room for Gandhuri Devata - normally image of Sākyamuni Buddha, with a small passage around it for circumambulating the deity. The first floor is open in all directions where a dark room is reserved for Agam just above ground floor for secret rituals and is open with timber pillars without any doors and closed windows. The structural materials of main and branch Bahis are mostly wood. It has only one staircase made in a corner of the house to go up.

- b. Entrance Gate: The main entrance door of a Bahā is flanked by two lions at both the sides whether of metal or stone while there are no such lions in the case of Bahis. Generally, Bahās and Bahis have two gates with the entrance gate towards the main road facing the principle deity enshrined in the monastery. The back gate leads to an open terrace called Nani where the Sangha members reside and is extended to various chukas and adjoin to the main street. Prayag Raj Sharma has described about the medieval pattern of settlement under the subhead bahā, nani, chukka and lachi in his book. In the case of Bahis the doorway adjoining the garden is in the right or left side of the garden.
- c. Courtyard: Bahās have clearly defined entrance area. The courtyard of a Bahā is surrounded by a pha-cha or a walk-way on four sides and the enclosed quadrangle is paved with brick tiles called chikanapa or the stones to protect the area from moss and lichen. Four narrow staircases lead to four separate groups of rooms. Medieval Saṅgha members used these quadrangles for deliverance of discourses and other religious and traditional purposes i.e. reciting, hymns, Namasangiti and strotras etc. On the contrary, Bahis have one colonnade in both storey and are also used for living purposes. A broad staircase leads to the upper floor.
- d. Toran-. A Bahā has a twayamapau i.e. a toran (semi-circular decorative panel either of wood or metal) hung above the main entrance gate of the bahā and above the sanctum and is decorated symbolizing the three

jewels or the five Buddhas or the deity inside the shrine while a Bahi has no toran.

- e. Protective Deities: Erecting various protective deities is another feature of the Bahās and the Bahis. They are found placed in a dark room beyond the main entrance generally contains images of Ganesh to protect from all bad happenings, the image of Mahānkālto overcome all dangers and a Chetrapāl to protect the shrine. Chetrapāl is the area where all ritual dues are kept and it is believed that the ritual requires special place for it.
- f. Dharmadhatu Vagiswor Mandal: The important element is the Dharmadhatu Mandal in the center of the Bahā and opposite to main caitya. It is used during various functions and may be entirely of stone, brass or copper. The center of this Mandal has a figure of Manjughosh, a form of Manjushree.
- g. Dharmadhatu Caitya: Each Bahā has a Caitya at the center of the courtyard. A caitya is looked upon as the lineage deity of the Saṅgha members especially at Hiranya Varna Mahāvihāra. Already stated above, the house hold monks settled around the Caitya before they founded Bahā and as such evidence shows that Sinagu Vihāra, Gum Vihāra were built where a Caitya existed. It is described that Hiranya Varna Mahāvihāra was also built at the place where a Caitya existed. Later on it became a tradition to erect Caityas in the Bahās and became an important feature. Later, the members of the Bahi Saṅgha, out of their faith, established votive caityas in the Bahis also.
- h. Kwāpā: dyo and Gandhuri Devtā: The shrine is situated in the center part of the building structure. Each Bahā and Bahi have separate shrine for the main deity facing the main entrance. The shrine represents the Muklagandhakuti of Buddha's time. The deity of the Bahā is generally called Kwāpā dyo and of the Bahi, Gandhuri Devta. They are enshrined in the Gandhakuti of the ground floor of the monastery. Images of Sākyamuni, Akshyobhya, Amitabha or Bodhisattvas like

Aryavlokiteswor, whether red or white are enshrined there. This principle deity of the shrine is called Kwāpā dyo or Kwābhāju in case it's abahā. In case of Bahis, the shrine is an isolated room within the portico structure where is enshrined the Gandhuri devta and only the Saṅgha members can visit the Gandhakuti.

- i. Bahā-Bahi Structure: Medieval Bahās and Bahis are found built two-storied. Most of the shrines constructed are usually of two storey. The style represents temples or houses of hierarchal and slopping roofs in tiers, one upon other, standing upon a pavement, with a single or more similar platforms. This unique style is popularly known as the pagoda that had been developed in Nepal during Licchavi period. The architecture of pagoda originated from Nepal to Tibet and thence to China. The constructing materials used are bricks and wood. The center of the front face of the first floor of the main shrine has a triple window i.e. tikijhya. The central triple window inclining forward represents Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha while the five framed windows i.e. Panchajya represents the five Buddhas i.e. Pancha Buddha. At the center of the ground floor, facing the entrance gate, is a room for image of Buddha usually of Amitabha Buddha as Kwāpā: Dyo:, as described above.

Agam ghar tutelary deity: The next important element we find in a Bahā or the Bahi complex is the Agam-chhen or secret room, reserved for secret and rituals like Dekha or Dikshya for higher initiations are performed, in other words for giving Dekha or dikshya, Deshi or Deu rituals etc. In each Bahā or Bahi Vajrayani deity are enshrined there, which is mostly located directly above the main shrine. There are also separate shrines built to locate the deity.

Homa Sacrifice place: Close to the Dharmadhatumandal of a courtyard, a home for sacrifice place called Jogisāla in Newāri is located. It is used for homa or fire sacrifice rituals.

- j. Pinda gā: Pindā Gā: It is a place or area for throwing the pinda or Srādha ritual .dues or remains.

Similarly, the main Bahās or branches are constructed within the settlement area. The occupants of the Bahās are household monks with their families. It is not feasible for them to stay outside the settlement. The Bahās are made on low plinth and in the center of the first floor, just above the Kawapa: Dyo:, there is a small room for esoteric ritual which is continued up to the roof. The house, unlike in Bahi, have doors and windows provided for closing in the first floor. The ground floor is generally closed by using the blind windows or Tikki Jhyās flanking the entrance. Immediately after the entrance gate, raised platforms on both sides are made as resting or meeting place or for singing devotional songs - Bhajan. Image of Mahankāl and Ganesh are erected as protective deities on the right side of the entrance. The Vihāra shrine or Kwāpā:Dyo: will be just on the opposite side of main entrance. Staircases were built on all four corners of the Vihāra.

4.7. Kachā Bahā: (Branch Vihāra)

The branch Vihāra of a principle Vihāra is called Kachā Bahā or branch Bahā. These Kachā Bahās were also known as Mahāvihāras. Kachā Bahā were founded by the members of the main Bahā with his own expenses, guided by his profound faith in Buddhism and non-Buddhist individual who is inclined to Buddhism and became Buddhist by taking initiation or Barechuyegu rites and do not want to expose openly in the public as non-Buddhist. For example, we can take Lagan Bahā, Kachā or branch Bahās built in the line of main Bahā but are usually smaller in size. It consists of a Caitya and a shrine of Buddha and usually tantric shrines are omitted or locked in the adjacent house. No initiations are performed in branch Bahās while initiation for chailakbandyās is performed in front of a Caitya of branch Bahā and they are known as Caitya Bandyā or Bare.

We find two types of Kachā Bahās - one is that whose Saṅgha is independent and pravajyā or Barechuegu rites are performed and it has its own rules and regulations. Second type of Kachā bahāas the Saṅgha which is not independent and Pravajyā or Barechuegu initiation is performed in the main Bahā where his father was initiated. The first type of Kachā Bahā is also called as private Kachā or branch Bahā and the second one is official branch or Kachā Bahā.

4.8. Relation between Mubahā-and Kachā Bahā

The relation between principal bahā and branch bahā is found closely connected since principal Bahā is the founder of branch Bahā. In other words a branch Bahā should be affiliated with the Principal Bahās and accept its rules and regulations of the later. The Saṅgha of such branch Bahā also remain the Saṅgha of principal Bahā. To be member of the Saṅgha the initiation rites are to be done in the principal Bahā where his father was initiated.

In some cases, it is found that branch bahās are given rights to function independently. For example we can take, Hiranyavarna Mahāvihāra or the Kwa Bahā, one of the eighteen main Bahāsof Patan, has many official branch Bahās which are entirely independent like Mu-Bahā, Atha Bahā, Nhu Bahā, Yata Bahā etc. They have separate lineage deities and perform initiation or Barechuegu rites separately at the branch Bahā. Next is private branch bahā which is established by a member of principal Bahā for his own private use without any recognition and affiliation to a main Bahā.

4.9. Pravajyā or Initiation

Pravajyā is a Sanskrit term used from ancient times for the first rite of initiation given to a layman wishing to become a Buddhist monk. The aim of the pravajyā is to go forth in the path of enlightenment and acquiring Buddhahood. For it, a novice needs the guidance of a teacher. Chudākarma vidhi mentions about the proceeding rituals of the observance. According to the text, a novice

has to make request in front of the elders of the Saṅghato initiate him as a parivrajaka and utter Buddhatvapada prapteya.

To become the member of the Saṅgha Pravajyā, initiation or Barechuegu is a must which acts as recognition of being a Buddhist. In other words, it is cutting all obstacles in the path of taking refuge in the triple gems.³⁴ Those who were initiated or conferred with barechyegu initiation possessed the right of becoming a member of the Saṅgha. Vihāras that confer the initiation to its members were generally called Mu-bahā and those conferring initiation at the permission of the Mu- bahā are distinguished as Kachābahā. These vihāras are also distinguished by its Saṅghas i.e. Bare Saṅgha Guva (Bajracharya)Saṅgha and Bare-Guva Saṅgha. The Bare here is referred to Sākyas, Guva to Bajracharyas. Vihāras like Rudra Varna Mahāvihāra, have bare Saṅgha, while some vihārashave only Bajracharya Saṅgha and others have mixed Saṅgha members.

Buddhism practiced by the Newārs of Nepal Valley, had several unique features, not found in other countries. They followed the initiation rites not totally different from ancient rites as described in Buddhist texts. Siksasamuchhaya of Santideva guided them towards four days observation of monk's life called Sravakyana for the practice of beginner Bodhisattva or Ādikarmic Bodhisattva. Pravajyā sambhara deals with Initiation Rites of the household monks. Those who go through the observation become member of the Saṅgha of a particular Vihāra where he was ordained i.e. the principal Bahā or Mu Bahā in local vernacular. They were the custodian of ancient shrines of Buddhism. Although there was no harsh regulation to be a legal member of the Saṅgha in the beginning, later it became apparent of the rites (being priest) and rules that every male member is to be initiated or "Barechuegu" in the same Bahā where his father was initiated. This sort of system and initiation rites may

³⁴ John K. Locke, "Newar Buddhist Initiation" in *Contribution To Nepalese Studies*, Kirtipur: The Institute Of Nepal nd Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Volume II No.2, 2032 BS.

differ between Patan and Kathmandu or Bhaktapur and there are even minor differences among Bahās of Kathmandu.

There is no mention of age bar for the initiation and records show that many of the medieval rulers or other nobles or others took refuge in the Vihāras at ripened age. But it is usually performed at an early age within eight years. As initiation is economically expensive, people wait to form a big group of boys so that its expenses are made economical. This waiting usually crosses the bar within eight year and the age of the boys varies from 11, 13, and 15. Later documents show that it was restricted to a male born from an inter-caste marriage.³⁵

The initiation ceremony takes place on five different days and covers eight days. The main ceremony “barechuyegu” takes place on the third day. Beginning days and later days of 5 days covers time for other rituals. The rites and rituals to be performed on each day are fixed with the function name, functions performed and their purposes and philosophy. The functions are as follows.

1. Goya Dan Tayagu—(offering of betel nuts and money and rice): It is a formal request from the devotee put before the head of the Saṅgha none other than the Thakali who possess the right to permit him to be ordained as a monk or Pravrajya in Sanskrit, meaning for the first rite of initiation for a layman. He needs to approach the sthavir with a Kisali. The inscription of 1440 A.D (561 N.S.) directed that those who approach for ordination in the vihāra should offer Goyadan to triple jems, Sthavir Ajus, Kwāpādyo, Guru and etc. It follows a ritual process on this occasion as introductory pūjā, worshiping of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha Mandal, to offer a kisali (in an earthen pot with rice betal nut, and money.

³⁵ *Ibid*

2. **Dusala Kriya**—(preparatory rites): It is carried on the second day as the first step towards entering into Saṅgha and in Sanskrit it is Purvanga. The pūjā on the day begins by worshiping Ganesh, brought by the Naki or wife of head of the family, into water pot or Kalash from a nearby Ganesh temple, known as “Inakayagu” in Newāri. Various pūjās are performed by the priests. The candidates then perform, Gurumandal pūjā, a basic rite while the priests brief them on the meaning of Gurumandal and teaches how to perform this pūjā. Next, the Thakali goes around on seniority basis and would tie a tuft of hair on the crown of the head with a small white cloth which contains a piece of gold. This is in preparation for cutting of hair on next day.
3. **The Bare Chuyagu**- The function of Bare chuyagu or Pravrajyais done on the third day. The purpose of ordination is to keep a life-long commitment not to escape from the refuge in Triratna i.e. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. It is following the middle way, avoiding two extremes like indulgence in sensual pleasures and self-mortification. In other words, it is self-sacrifice in deed and an urge to be genuine for pleasant fruition. On the morning of the day fixed for the ordination, the candidate would take bath and cutting nails should come to the bahāl with normal dress for the ordination. It is better known by the term Chudākarma. In other words it is making of a bare”. The making of bare or Vandya is a term of respect used for monks or bhiksus. Newār Buddhists have preserved a ritualized practice of refuge. According to Chudākarma vidhi text, the candidate would request the ācārya or the Guru to undertake the observance of going forth and shall go for the rest of his life for the refuge in the Buddha, the foremost among the two-footed men, to the Dharma, foremost among the detached one and to the Saṅgha, foremost among the religious groups. After preliminary puja, the ācārya will explain to the candidate the five precepts and recites a mantra "Om Sarva Jinanavarana Chedya chedya Hum Phat", while the neophyte's top knot is cut off with a gold plated razor and he would be

given civara, sandals, begging bowl and a staff for the observance of a monk's life.

After the ordination, the novices are called Sākyabhiṅṣu. The ordained boys have to lead a monk's life until his disrobing. He must wear the monk's robe and remain as a monk at his home. He must wander for alms to collect food. Traditionally, he gets alms from the Sthavira, followed by their relatives and other neighbors. He should observe the vinaya of taking meals. He needs to be far from dogs, hogs and shoes etc. Moreover he is bound to follow ten precepts. He is now permitted to enter the shrine of the Vihāra where he was ordained and registered as the member of the Saṅgha.

Already stated above, medieval Newār Buddhists had followed a provision for lay Buddhist monkhood in accordance with the text *Sicchhasamuccaya* of Shānti Deva. As stated in the text, there is no harm conferring the status of Ādikarmic Bodhisattva if the novice who had undertaken the vow of triple refuge, had not given up the ten virtuous deeds in accordance with the five and eight precepts and carried out the Sravaka vehicle, wants to follow the path of the Mahayana. To Ācārya Dipankar Srijaṇa lay Bodhisattva life is much more favourable for the Vajrayana disciples as stated in *Bodhipathapradīpa*. This Buddhist tradition developed in medieval Nepal permitting a novice to undertake the practice of beginner Bodhisattva or the Ādikarmic Bodhisattva after the four-day observation of a monk's life in accordance with Sravakayana. The boy has to hand over the civara, begging bowl and the staff and takes off his robe at the permission of the guru. It is the process of disrobing.

Disrobing ceremony does not mean that the boy has abandoned monastic vows. After Chudākarma the ordained person possesses the right to be called Sākyabhiṅṣu and his name is included in the list of the Saṅgha members of the concerned monastery. Thereafter he can undertake initiation called Ācāryabhiṣeka in the esoteric chamber called digi of the monastery and get promoted to Vajrācāryatitle. He would then be included in the list of the

Vajrācārya community. There are several medieval records of conversion to Sākyas and Vajrācāryas from other castes too.

4.10. Saṅgha of Householder Monks

Each bahā and bahi had a Saṅgha. Generally, in ancient times, one desirous of joining the Saṅgha needed to select a teacher to express his wish of joining it. The teacher would accept him as a candidate and leave him in leisure for a certain period after which he would impart him the five Sikhapadas. He would then arrange a pata (simple cloak), a sakaskika, a nivasanna, a bowl and filter and would address himself to the Saṅgha to relate the candidate's desire. At the Saṅgha's permission, the teacher would ask the ācārya to conduct the ceremony. The candidate has to get his head and beard shaved and after taking a bath the ācārya would make him a pravajita. Thereafter, the ācārya would impart the candidate the ten Sikhapadas in the presence of the Upādhyāya. This completes the pravajyā and the recipient becomes the monk. Later, when he attains the age of twenty, he would be conferred Upsampadā following which he has to comply by all vinaya rules³⁶. Maitiachadra's inscription of Svayambhū of 1349 A.D. (N.S. 470) as depicts of filter and staff used by Srāvaks is found symbolized, it is assumed that there were celibate monks in Nepal valley until the period³⁷. However, it is clear that after receiving pravajyā two separate courses of monastic life open to the newly ordained novice i.e. either lead a life of the celibate monk or lead the life of anādikarmik Bodhisattva. In Nepalese context, those who preferred to lead the life of a celibate monk resided in the bahis and those leading the life of anādikarmic Bodhisattva resided in the bahās. It was this reason why Dharmaswami noted increasing number of ādikarmic Bodhisattvas in Nepal during his visit. Evidence equally proves that Buddhists of Nepal Maṇḍala involving in different professions acted as ordained lay monks. Kings or his nobles or other high dignitaries like Bhaskardeva Varman, Rudradeva, Yasodhar and others chose to lead the life of

³⁶ There are 227 rules prescribed in Indian tradition and 253 rules in Tibetan tradition.

³⁷ Hemraj Shakya, *Medieval Colophons*, Edited by Hamraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya, Kathmandu: T.R. Vaidya, 1970 AD, P.56

a lay monk and got pravajita in a particular vihāra. These vihāras where males were initiated were called Principal Vihāras or Mu Bahā. There are at present 44 Mahāvihāras in the Nepal Mandal i.e. 18 in Kathmandu, 18 in Lalitpur including the Mahāvihāras of Chovar and Kirtipur and eight each in Bhaktapur and Thimi.

Association or Saṅgha system of Bahis seemed different. It is interesting to note its functions consolidating all the bahi in one Saṅgha as “Bahi Sarva Sangh”. In the case of Kathmandu, all the sixteen bahis have one Saṅghathat is Bahi Sarva Saṅgha. Five thā:pas: or eldest of all sixteen Bahis should be present as representative of 16 Bahisin Barechuegu or initiation function and initiate novices by cutting the tupi (top knot) and giving water avisekkha. This Saṅgha organizes meeting like Saṅghayana of all the Bahis every year.

The concept is that the Bahi should not be a secret and private place. The occupant monks need transparency in every aspect. It is open to all visitors who want to listen the preaching and learn Buddhist teaching. On the other hand, Bahās need not maintain transparency, it has separate esoteric chamber, agam to carry on secret rituals.

4. 11. Āchā:luyegu or initiation of Āchāryaand other initiations

Ācā luyagu is a technical term meant to an initiation practice that makes a Saṅgha member a Vajrācārya. In other words it is making anācārya. Svayambhūpurāna states that a certain king named Prachandadeva from Gaud who came to Nepal Valley seemed to have developed the tradition of initiating Vajrācāryas.³⁸ He is described to have received his initiation in a cave at Svayambhū from a Siddha Guru Gunakar Ācārya who had attained all the powers of a Vajrācārya by his own yoga. After the initiation, he was named Ācārya Shantikara and he erected five temples for five deities around the Svayambhū stupa. In the temple of Akaspur, he erected a life-sized image of

³⁸Hemraj Sakya, *Sriswayambhu Mahācaitya(Swayambhu The Great Caitya)*, Kathmandu: Swayambhu Vikāsa Maṇḍala, 1098 NS, Pp. 58-59.

Heruk-Cakrasamvar and his consort Vajrabarahi and consecrated the shrine as an agam for the worship of tantric deities. Later, the shrine came to be known as Santipur. It is described that he performed the tantric initiation of those wishing to become Vajrācārya. The lack of historical evidences makes it difficult to point out when the tradition of the tantric initiation started in the Nepal valley. However, the Vajrācāryas of the valley believe themselves to be the descendants of the Vajrācāryas initiated at Svayambhū.

After pravrajyā, the ordained person possesses the right to be called Sākyabhikshu and his name included in the list of the Saṅghamembers of the concerned monastery. After receiving Barechuyagu ordination, the vajrācārya boys undertake next initiation-Achaluegu or making of a vajrācārya or gubhaju. The very next day of disrobing, the pravajita (ordained sons of vajrācārya) are taken to their respective bahā for Āchāluyegu initiation, Ācāryabhiseka, in the esoteric chamber called digi of the monastery and get promoted to Vajrācārya title. He would then be included in the list of the Vajrācārya community. Therefore, boys from Vajrācārya family undergo another initiation process, ācāryāviṣeka which is either organized immediately after Pravrajyā ordination or with some years' gap. In Kathmandu, it is carried on the day following the laying aside of monk's robes, but in Patan it is performed only after reaching particular age that is when one reaches eighteen years or when getting married.

There are several medieval records of conversion to Sākyas and Vajrācāryas from other castes. We have several references of Sākya Bhikus from medieval colophons. Sākya Bhikus are made āchārya by performing panchāviseka rites or five consecrations conferred by elders of Bahā Sangha. It contains five tantric consecrations which are conferred by sprinkling of water with the touch of three main parts of the body as throat, forehead and mind. It is like purifying them from past and preparing them to be fit for the ritual. The five abhisekas are :

1. Kalasābhiseka also known as udakāviseka water flask kalashāviseka. The guruma consecrate the boy presenting ritual bowl or pātra wishing him mahāsukkha of vajrasattva.
2. Mukutāviseka, ritual of crowning with five Buddhas. This ritual cap which is to be worn during performing rituals will be presented by the guruju or priest.
3. Vajrāviseka, vajra or diamond or ritual thunderbolt always used by a vajrācārya during a ritual, a basic symbol of vajrayana, is presented by the priest.
4. Ghantāvisaka, bell consecration
5. Nāmābhiseka or giving name.

The above five are together called Panchāviseka. Besides, the Guhyābhiseka or giving nḥikan also called as patrāviseka or Prasād giving is also performed. After giving abhiseka the candidates are given “mantra” of Herukchakrasamvar from the teacher or guru. Āchāluyegu initiation is always performed in Aganghar of the Bahā. Āchāluyegu rites give the right to be a priest of a family. Those who failed to receive this rite for what so ever the reason, remain as Sākya bhikhu only. Āchāluyegu rite bestow right of being a priest for performing a limited number of vajrayāni rituals like, life cycle or dasakarma vidhi rituals, death rituals and routine rituals. They are entitled to have clients or “Jajamān”. They are not given the right of performing vajrayāni esoteric or guhya rituals. To achieve this right the vajrācārya boys should take further higher initiation of “Dekhā” or dikshyā.

Besides Achāluyegu, several other initiation rituals containing yogā practices are carried out for the attendants including laity. The popular initiations included Hevajra, Kālacakra, Guhyasamāj, Sadkṣeri lokesvara initiation, Cakrasamvara, Vajrabārāhi, Chandramahārosana (Acala) etc. There are several

references showing popularity of these initiation for which even Tibetan Buddhists used to throng into Nepalese vihāras in medieval period.³⁹ At present, initiations like Hevajra, Kālacakra, Guhyasamāj are no more in practice.

4.11. Initiation of elders of Saṅgha or Thāpā:luyegu

Enthronement rituals are done for making elders (Sthavirārohan) of different hierarchy as required in the vihāras. The elder among the members of the Saṅgha is called a Sthavir. Vihāras were officially run by ten Sthavirs. Some Vihāras have 12 Sthavirs also. Hiranyavarna Mahāvihāra is governed by 30 Sthavirs. The eldest or the head among the sthavirs of aSākyaSaṅgha is called Thapa aju where as that of a vajrācāryaSaṅghais called Chakreswor. In case of a mixed Saṅgha, the head of sthavirs will be a chakreswor even if he is junior in age. It was probable that the senior sthavir has not taken higher ordination or diskshyā. Available sources from medieval period throw light on it. The role of sthavirs in the vihāra administration has been discussed above regarding initiation programs.

The head among the Sthavirs was known as Mahāsthavir during early medieval period. Contemporary sources show that a sthavir was well versed in Buddhism both in philosophy and practices. There was no hard and fast rule that a sthavir should in the beginning be a Saṅgha member where he was ordained. Atisa is described to have met a deaf sthavir in Nepal who was reputed in literature. Ratnarakshit who came to stay in Nepal to be safe from Turkish invasion made his abode at Svayambhū, was a scholar of high reputation, specialized in Guhyasamāj tantra. He was very popular during the period and it was under him that Dharmaswāmi learnt about the said tantra and got the initiation. It is described that he had met six other Tibetanscholars still waiting for initiation from him. As mentioned, he presented a vajraghanta to his teacher as a mark of

³⁹H.Hoffman, *The Religion of Tibet*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, London: George Allen & Unwinn Ltd., Pp.45-55.

respect. The popularity of Ratnarakshit is evident by the 300 vajraghantas lying there which shows that he had already initiated 300 students mostly from Tibet.

In the colophon of Pancarakshyā, there is a reference of Ācārya Sthavir Ravindradeva. Also there comes across another sthavir in the colophon of Bodhicaryāvatar panjika, sthavir Bhikshu Buddha Chandra. Similarly, the reference of Sākya Bhikshu Sthavir, Pratham Gupta is mentioned in the colophon of Buddhadohakosa. Sthavirini Akshyama is also mentioned in the colophons. Many of the noted scholars residing in the valley seemed to have left the valley during severe natural calamities causing death.

4.12. Moral Obligation of the Saṅgha Members

Barechuyagu initiation is reduced to asymbolic rite of initiation into monkhood, making of a bare or vandyā or bhikhu. Both children of Vajrācārya and Sākyas are, up to the state, equal and are known as household monks or ādikarmic bodhisattvas. It highlights that the rite initiates the boys into Buddhist traditions covering three great doctrines of Sravakyaana, Mahayana and Vajrayāna which encompass the history of Newār Buddhism or Nepalese Buddhism.

Monastic or Saṅghamember status begins with the completion of initiation in which the Sākya and Vajrācārya boys spend four days as monks⁴⁰ and are called Sākya Bhikhus. There are specified duties and restrictions that are to be carried by ordained boys till disrobing ceremony. They are:

1. Keep ten precepts.
2. Must make visit to Kwāpā: Dyo or main shrine of bahā and pay offering.
3. For four days, they must wear monk's robes, carry utensil like begging bowl or pindapatra, Silaku etc. They must observe strict dietary control.
4. Must live as a Buddhist monk.
5. Must refrain from touching unclean items, like shoes and dog etc.

⁴⁰John K. Locke, *Karunamaya*, Kathmandu: Sahayogi Prakashan, 1980, Pp. 45-46

6. Must observe disrobing day after four days when the boys hands over the robes and all other items. Since then the topknot will never be maintained. It is a symbolic insignia for being a Sākyabhikṣu.

Disrobing ceremony does not mean abandonment of monastic vows, they just shift from celibate monk to household monk, it is rather transition from Srāvakyana to Mahāyāna and remains for the whole life as a householder monk or Ādikarmic bodhisattva which is a harder path. The exact time as regard to when the celibate monk system disappeared and four days of monkhood appeared is yet to be researched though it is obvious that it happened during early medieval period. It is not only a difficult ritual obligation but also a life-long family responsibility to be fulfilled.⁴¹ Household monk or Adikarmic Boddhistva has to follow harder daily functions as specified by Atisa (982-1054) in his treatise *Boddhisattvakarmadimargavatara*⁴², that propounded the concept of the Ādikarmic bodhisattva practice. Atisa was a contemporary of Anupamvajra who composed *Adikarma pradipa* in 1098⁴³ A.D. and Adyavajra (1007-1085 A.D.), the composer of *Advayavajrasamgraha*. Boddhistva path as specified by Atisa is still practiced by Ādikarmic Bodhisattvas in Nepal. They get up early in the morning or 5th pahar, practice in awakening bodhichitta or awakening mind for the benefit of all human being, worship Buddha image by bowing with bent knees, saluting with folded hand. Other activities exercised by Adhikarmic bodhisattva are as follows:

1. Atisa emphasized practice of taking triple refuge and generation of Bodhichitta on basis of sevenfold practice or saptavidhanuttar worship in Sanskrit. They follow this instruction.
2. Adopt particular food habit and food offering to teachers.
3. Should recite Mahāyāni sūtras like *Pragyāpāramitā*, *Nāmsangiti*.
4. Should practice samathā and vipassana and should realize emptiness of all body.

⁴¹David Gellner, *Monk, Householder, And Tantric Priest*, New Delhi: Foundation Books, Pp. 58-59.

⁴²Sakya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 18.

⁴³*Ibid*, Pp. 8-12.

5. Must practice fivefold prostration to triple gem for the liberation of all sentient being
6. Sleep in lion's posture.
7. Offering food to tutelary deities and dharmapāla before eating.

Ādikarmic Bodhisattva practice under Adikarma pradip composed by Anupamvajra is also very popular in Kathmandu valley. It deals with following practices:

1. Taking refuge to triple gem Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.
2. To recite Nāmsangiti.
3. To recite Bhadracary Pranidhān.
4. To offer preta bali.
5. To circumambulate caitya, Buddha statues etc.
6. To perform Gurumandal rites.
7. To meditate on tutelary deity.
8. To recite Pragyāpārmitā and other Mahāyānasūtras.
9. To recite Dānagāthā.
10. To perform bodhisattva practice joyfully.
11. To study Buddhist scriptures.
12. To make offering of food to triple gem and tutelary deity before eating.
13. To offer fivefold prostration to Buddhas of ten direction.
14. To sleep in a lion's posture after mediating on deity yoga.

The householder Bodhisattvas practice following daily activities⁴⁴ besides taking refuge to triple gems and keeping five precepts. They are:

- He arises early in the morning 5th prahar washes himself and recalls triple gems three times. Recites mantra and Nāmsangiti.
- Offers handful of water, food and offerings.

⁴⁴ Glen Wallis, *Rituals in the Manjushreemulka*, New York: State University Of New York, 2002 A.D., Pp.21-30.

- He contemplates on Chaturbrahmavihāra practicing kindness (maîtri), compassion (karunā), sympathetic joy (muditā), and equanimity (upekshā)
- Makes sacred consecrated circle in a ground (making Maṇḍala), evokes pancha Buddha, Manjushree and offers pūjā.
- Recites Buddhist texts like pragyāpāramitā and recites bhadrachary fully concentrated.
- Makes Caitya of earth or sand and pays homage to pancha Buddha, Caityaetc with the recitation of the verse like ye dharmā hetu prabhavā.
- Maintain Perfect awakening.
- Aspire for teaching dhamma to be free from all sufferings.
- Offerbali or naivedya.

4.13. The rites and rituals of Bahā and Bahi

It has already been mentioned above that there were about 600 monasteries (Bahā Bahis) in Nepal Maṇḍala during medieval period. They spread over different areas of Nepal Maṇḍala as the center of Buddhist culture based upon the concept of Svayambhū. So it is necessary to describe the different rites and rituals performed by such vihārs. There are many rites and rituals that a vihāraper forms daily, monthly, yearly, and occasionally. Some vihāras had already been lost and not in existence while some became non-functional due to collapse of their Saṅgha tradition. Among existing and functioning vihāras, monastic as well as non-monastic functions are still going on with performance of rites and rituals. Some major rites and rituals carried out in vihāras are as follows.

4.13.1. Nitya: Pūjā (Daily Rituals)

Daily rituals or Nitya:pūjāin local language include mainly daily worshiping of Kwāpā:dyo: or Śākyamuni Buddha as guardian of Bahā and Bahi, and different deities in the morning and lighting with ritual hymns in the evening. In the

Bahālike Jana Bahā of Kathmanu and Kwābahā of Lalitpur, rituals are performed four times (stages) a day. The stages added are “Khichakigu” or early morning or waking up ritual and late night sleeping rituals. Daily rituals are conducted in every vihāra. The Saṅgha members perform daily rituals on rotation basis. They recite several Mahāyāna sūtra and stotra (eulogia verses) jointly.

4.13.2. Regular Rituals

Some regular functions are carried out in fixed intervals of time period of fortnightly, monthly or six monthly basis. Such functions are performed mostly on Pāro (new moon day), Astāmi, Caturdaśī or charhe (fourteenth day), Pūrṇi (Full moon day) of brighter half month and khaṣṭami (6th day), Aṣṭami, Triyodashi (13th day), Caturdaśī (14th day), Aunsi (no moon day), Daśami (10th day) of darker half month according to Saṅskrit lunar calendar.

Aunsi pūjā is one such regular esoteric ritual conducted on the 15th day of darker half of a month in theāgam of the vihār. Similarly, diśi pūjā, another esoteric ritual takes place on the 10th day of darker half of the month. Now, such esoteric rituals have been reduced to yearly or half yearly or occasional rituals instead of carrying out on regular basis.

4.13.2.1 Vratas or Religious Observance

The vratas or observance of a particular deity is performed in Vihāras. Vrata is a form of devotion, adapted by Mahāyāna Buddhists to venerate the celestial Boddhisatvas, Buddha, stupas and powerful deities. Such Religious vows or voluntary rituals are practiced to please a particular deity.

Vrata is also the occasion of interaction between monastics and lay followers. Rites consist of primarily going into refuge to triple gems that is Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, and other particular deities. It serves as occasion for taking eight precepts at least on a holy day for those who had no time to take

vrata every day as monks do. Those who take vrata had to undergo austere life for certain period. He had to follow asceticism. It is the ritual practice for merit collection for salvation of the sinful acts one had committed. Buddhist scripture Vratavadānamāla describes its regulations and merits. Buddhist Vrata practice ranges from one day to one month. Specific days and dates are fixed for each vrata. The sites for carrying the vrata are sacred and pious land like 12 tirthas or confluence of rivers, eight Baitaragi, vihara (Bahā and Bahi) and caitya. Some of the vrata are also carried in the house.

Main Vratas in practice performed on specific day, and specific deities worshipped are as follows:

Table 1: Major vratas popular in Nepal, related date, deity worshipped and purpose

Types of Vratas	Specific Day for observance	Deities Worshipped	Purposes
Tārā Vrata	Pratipadā/ 1 st day of BRIGHTER HALF	Ārya Tārā	Long life/ free from unwanted happenings
Vasundharā Vrata, locally known as Gatilā Dhalan	TRITIYĀ/ GATILĀ/ 3 RD DAY OF THE DARK HALF OF ASWIN (Aświn Kṛṣṇa)	VASUNDHARĀ, GODDESS OF ABUNDANCE	Economic prosperity
Manjushree Vrata	Pañcami/ Māgh Sukla 5 th day of brighter half of the month Magh	Manjushree	Wisdom and learning
Astami Vrata	8 th day of Sukla Pakṣa, brighter half of month	Lokeśvar Karunāmaya, Avlokitesvar ⁴⁵	Good health/ Prosperity
Mahānkāl Vrata	14 th day of the brighter half	Mahānkāl	Victory over fear/safety against obstacles
Dharma Dhātu Vrata	Purnimā, full moon day	Bajra/ Dharma-dhātu Caitya	Buddha-hood

⁴⁵ Avalokiteswar was popular since Licchivi time. From medieval period Amongpasa Lokeswar became popular. Earliest reference from Amogpasasutra 1361 A.D., 481 N.S. Luciano Petech, *Medieval History Of Nepal (c.750-1482)*, Rome: Istituto Italiano Peril Meddo Estremo Oriente, 1984, P. 130.

Besides, above mentioned vratas, there is yet another vrata called Ma-opso Vrata, observed in favor of husband by their wives, in Cho-bahā and Kwā Bahā of Lalitpur. This vrata is observed for whole month of Gunla.

4.13.3 Annual Rituals

Annual ritual functions are carried out every year in annual basis in all Bahas and Bahis. There are also special eventful days celebrated with several Buddhist programs like Upoṣatha vrata (fasting), Buddha pūjā, recitation of Buddhist scriptures, Dharma discourse, and so forth.

4.13.3.1 Busadān:(Birth Anniversary)

The Bahā, Bahi, caityas and deities within the area of Baha and Bahi, are established and consecrated with full rituals as per Buddhist texts and scriptures like Kriyāsaṅgraha and many others. As per texts and beliefs, such vihārs or deities should have a yearly anniversary celebration for continuation of consecrated time. These rituals make the alive and worth being worshipped.

4.13.3.2 Annual Assemblies

Saṅgha members of a vihāra gather together at least once a year to discuss on pertinent religious issues. They too have regional meeting of Saṅgha members of several vihārs. Such gatherings are marked with elaborate rituals followed by communal feast, Saṅgha bhojan. These assemblies are addressed differently as Acha Gu: of Baha, Sarva Saṅgh of Bahi.

4.13.3.3 Buddhist Ordination

Buddhist ordination is the main monastic ritual conducted in vihāras. It is carried out regularly when minimum number of novices seeking ordination is fulfilled or when a family wishes it for their eligible sons. A team of sthavirs perform rituals conferring ordination to the novices.

4.13.3.4 Panchadān Offering

In the month of Gunlā, another important function of vihāra is to give Panchadān or giving alms of five items to all Saṅgha members of their respective vihāras. Vajrācārya and Sākya of Bahā and Bahis of Kathmandu valley are openly invited or requested to attend and receive Panchadān. All those members who had been given pravajyā initiation reserve the right of taking Dān. In order to perform this function, the Saṅgha arranges a trust for this. These days we often see such members going in groups from different Bahās and Bahis joining together and receiving panchadan. Several evidences from the period 733 – 1396 shows that panchadān festival was celebrated gaily.

4.13.3.5 Bahidyo Display

Gunlā is the ninth month in Newāri calendar. There is a tradition of displaying Bahi: dyo boyegu or displaying of various detities, artifacts, pauvas and other items of religious or cultural importance in the Bahās and Bahis for a week. Vihāras are proud to display such valuable and rare items. For one week people in their best clothes, with traditional music bands from many areas of Nepal Mandal or Kathmandu Valley come to have a look of such displays. For this visit many Vihars have established a trust as Bahidyo sowonegu guthi or a trust for visiting and observing displayed historical properties, deties, thanks of baha and bahi. On this occasion, Itum Bahāl of Kathmandu and Tham Bahi of Thamel display books of Pragyāpārmitā written in golden letter. Similarly the image of Laxmi Thakuni, who arranged first Panchadān to Dipankar Buddha is displayed in Guita Tole Bahiof Patan. It is believed that this tradition of displaying Buddhist articles or property of monasteries in the name of Bahi: dyo boyegu emerged during early medieval period when the country faced several attacks, invasions, raids, looting due to political weakness and natural calamities. Buddhists taking care of the vihāra began displaying publicly once a year what they had successfully preserved and stored.

4.13.4. Occasional Rituals

Under this category are some of the important Buddhist events like ācārya initiation, Dekhā (higher initiation), Sthavirārohan etc. which are observed occasionally as needed or events optionally as wished by the sponsors like Pañcadān, Samyagdān etc and the festivals celebrated in the intervals of some years like twelve-year cycle festivals of bungadyo, Vajrayogini, Sankatā, Samyagdān, Dipankhā etc. which repeat in every twelve year period and the local name Barha-varshe Melā meaning twelve- year carnivals. In Patan, the Buddhists celebrate Samyagdān festival in the span of every five years. Occasionally performed optional Pañcadān and Samyagdān are observed when a generous able donor comes up to celebrate them.

4.14. Medieval Vihāras as Center of Buddhist Activities

Early medieval Mahāvihāras were the centre of Buddhist activities of household monks or lay Bodhisattvas. Almost all Buddhist activities including daily, regular, monthly, yearly and occasional ones described above and the most important ordination, making of Vajrācārya, various initiation events are carried out in the vihāras. Therefore, Vihāras occupied pivotal position in Buddhism as they were the centre of Buddhist activities. With the growth of activities and responsibilities, the vihāras were elaborated and fortified from every aspect with the addition of embellishments, trust, and fund. This must be the reason that monasteries during early medieval period were called Mahāvihāra instead of just calling them vihāra. The honorific prefix Mahā meaning the great was tagged before the vihāra. Kunu Sharma has described about the fortification of a vihāra ‘Kwathalakhu Vihāra’ in his text⁴⁶. The vihāra he described is now famous as Hiranyavarna Mahāvihār, Kwā Bahā in Lalitpur.

⁴⁶Kunu Sharma, *Kirtipataka*, editor, Yogi Narhari Nath, Lalitpur: Jagadamba Publication, 2018 B.S. , Pp. 39-64.

Finally, the Bodhisattva movement that was institutionally independent, over the course of time gradually accommodated itself to the monastic establishment. And, Buddhists following the tradition, as Ugra suggested, of various types of practices i.e. ethical practices, paramita practices, rituals as well as transformation of merits, detachments from people and things, the necessity of being a monk in the beginning before pursuit of household conditions etc., were followed and continued. What had been followed and fixed during the period 733- 1396 regarding the Buddhist tradition found continuity even today. At this state it will not be an exaggeration to state that Svayambhū remained as a symbol of unity of the Buddhists of Nepal. More about it will be discussed at relevant places.

CHAPTER V

BUDDHIST SOCIETY, CULTURE AND TRADITION

5.1. Buddhist Society

Whether in the world Buddhism goes, there goes its Culture too is a ubiquitous saying. It develops in the local atmosphere assimilating the local elements in such a way that local inhabitants hardly feel that they are following an alien tradition. Buddhism then comes to be known by the name of the locality where it developed. People following a particular culture under Buddhism make up Buddhist society of the region where they inhabit. Therefore, we have today various types of Buddhism like Srilankan Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, Thai Buddhism and etc. and the corresponding culture. Buddhism that developed in the valley of Nepal Maṇḍala is popularly known by Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala and the culture as the Buddhist culture of the Nepal Maṇḍala or the Newār culture. In Buddhism, the term Maṇḍala means an auspicious or sacred place. The valley of Kathmandu is known as Nepal Maṇḍala. A Maṇḍala is a circle; a diagram of varied forms and signifies as a unit of a country. It encircles three cities, Kathmandu in the northwest, Patan in the south and Bhaktapur in the east. These three cities during the medieval period, as stated above, are taken as highly developed cities.

Nepal Maṇḍala (the Kathmandu valley) is about fifteen miles in length and twelve miles in width. It lies at an average of four thousand five hundred feet above sea level and is surrounded by forested peaks scaling, up to nine thousand feet in height. The rich lacustrine contents have been eroded by its' fast flowing Monsoon Rivers Bagmati and Bishnumati. This formed steep sided hills covered by trees that border the swath of terraced paddy fields of Nepal Maṇḍala. It is notable that Buddhist society prevailed in Nepal since the time of the Buddha. It is remarkable that it was unbroken chain since then till

today. Buddhist society, that comprised of only monastic persons like monks and nuns in the beginning later expanded including householders too. At present monastic persons in Nepal Maṇḍala are householders only.

5.2. Newārs as Oldest Inhabitants of Nepal Maṇḍala Newārs

H.A. Oldfield in his book *Sketches From Nipal*, Volume II. had described Newārs as “The original dwellers of Nepal Maṇḍala are predominantly Newārs”. It is but natural that the first settlers of a land just ready for human settlement can not be from the place of distance rather they may be people from nearest countries. The nearest country comes to be India from south and Tibet from the north. Scholars in the past had brought many theories about the origin of Newārs. Newārs, the outcome of ancient intermarriage between Tibetan Mongol from North and Indian or Aryan races from south, formed Newār community. The composition of Nepalese society is complex as it contains migrants from different society. Within Newār community one will find artisans and caste groups ranging from lowest as sweeper group to highest group as priest. This community dominated the valley for most of its history. This community created the beauty of its traditional architecture, art and heritage in the valley as well as in the cities around the valley developed trading and accumulated wealth through trade, in Nepal Maṇḍala. Newār community is known as trading community even today.¹ Later, in course of history various immigrant groups came to settle in Nepal Maṇḍala and absorbed into Newār community.² From whatever caste the migrants belong he is called Newār and speak Newāri language and follows culture and tradition of Nepal Maṇḍala. Their professions are taken as their identification and address them as per his or her profession. Only after fourteen century caste system was legally enforced in the name of social reformation. The term Newāri itself was derived from the name of the country Nepā or Newā. When we refer to Nepal

¹ Bhadra Ratna Bajracharya, “Purva Madya Kalin Nepal Mandaley Buddha Dharma Chagu Adhayan (Buddhism in Early Medieval Period-A Study)”, published in *Buddha Jayanti Golden Jubilee celebration*, Vishwa Santi Mahā Vihar, Patan, 2062, P. 14.

² Mary Shephred Slusser, *Nepal Maṇḍala, Volume I*, Kathmandu: Maṇḍala Book Point, 1998, Pp.7-10.

in association with just the Newār people we usually mean the Nepal Valley, Kathmandu Valley³". It is found briefed in the history that the illustrious rulers and kings, Buddhist scholars, contributors of different periods who had deep inclination toward Buddhism, had established many Buddhist Vihārs in Nepal Maṇḍala. Such Vihārs established are for practicing and studying Buddhism, and also used as shelter for monks and nuns. For continuity and existence of Vihārs, then rulers also established trusts which are handled by the Saṅgha of the Vihārs. Buddhist scholars from Tibet and India kept thronging to Nepal Maṇḍala for studying, hearing preaching, interacting from Nepalese Buddhists. They carried out massive copying and translating Buddhist texts in the Vihārs which thus developed as a center for Buddhist activities.

5.3. Buddhism as a Folk Religion

In the chapter four we have discussed how Buddhism remained as the most influential religion of people from the beginning of history of Nepal Maṇḍala. After the creation of Nepal Maṇḍala as habitable land, people from all sides started to settle in Nepal Maṇḍala and followed Buddhism and Buddhist culture and tradition. Nepal valley has, therefore, been described as a boudha or Buddhist country by many foreign scholars.⁴ That means the original religion of Newārs was Buddhism. Even the rulers and kings followed and patronized Buddhism. They constructed Vihārs and funded them by forming Guthi or trust for learning and practicing Buddhism. In the course of Nepal Maṇḍala's civilization, the settlers, whatever their religion may be, they embraced Buddhism. Buddhist society of Nepal Maṇḍala is basically of Newār Buddhists who followed and practiced Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala or Newār Buddhism under the profound principles of Srāvakyāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. Their principal objective is getting enlightenment or Buddhahood. Sravakyan, tradition of transfer from teacher to student, Mahayana following Buddhist two path and Vajrayana understanding "sunyata".

³ Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal*, Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2004, P.19.

⁴ Brian H. Hodgson, *Essay on The Language, Literature, And Religion Of Nepal And Tibet*, New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1991, Pp.35-43.

It has been stated above that Buddhism was at flourishing state during the Licchavī period. How Buddhist tradition developed during the period can be surmised as follows. (1) The Licchavī Buddhist society was united religiously. This was a major contribution in the task of transforming Nepal into a Buddhist country. From the ancient time, Nepal remained as Buddhist country till Licchavī period due to effort of several Buddhist scholars as mentioned earlier.⁵ This period also saw separate and parallel development of prominent Buddhist sects which had contributed significantly to evolution of what is known today as Newār Buddhism. Sources reveal that Theravāda, Mahāsāṃghikā, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna existed simultaneously in Nepal-Manḍala. Xuan Xāng (Hiuen tsang, 629-645 AD), the great Chinese monk traveler who travelled most of the parts in India and Lumbini of Nepal mentioned that there were around two thousand monks belonging to both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna.⁶ He further mentioned that the Buddhist monasteries and the Hindu temples touch one another and then king Amśuvarma had a sincere faith in the Buddhist religion”.⁷ By Hinayāna it may mean either Theravāda or Sarvāstivāda but here it meant Sarvāstivāda as the deprecatory term ‘Hinayāna’ was applied especially to Sarvāstivāda.⁸ And, by Mahāyāna, it may be Mahāyāna evinced by Lokeśwara cult or the Vajrayāna. Evidences including inscriptions mentioning these prominent Buddhist sects are remarkably contemporary falling in the period between 600 to 750 A.D. Clear indication of presence of Mahāsāṃghikā monasticism is shown by Sāṅkhu inscription of Narendradeva period (after the middle of 7th century).⁹ This is supported by several other evidences.¹⁰ Similarly, Paśupati inscription of

⁵D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal Vol. 1*, New Delhi: Rupa and company, 2007. Pp. 2-3.

⁶Thomas Watters(ed.), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels In India AD 629-645*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1996, Pp. 83-84.

⁷David L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, London: Serindia Publications, 1987, P. 370

⁸Hirakawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism*, Reprint 2007, Motilal Banarasidass Publishers, Delhi, 1993, P. 2

⁹Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Licchavi Kal ka Abhilekh (Inscriptions of Licchavi Period)*, Kathmandu: Nepal and Asian Research center, 2030 B.S., reprinted in 2053 B.S, Pp. 508-9

¹⁰Surendra Man Bajracharya, “Impact of Mahasamghika on Buddhism of Nepal-Manḍala”, *Paleswan*, Lalitpur: Lotus Research Centre, 2013, Issue No 28., Pp. 8-21

Amśuvarma (606-621 AD) mentions Vajrayāna.¹¹ It can be linked to the mention of Vajrabhairava in the Gorkha inscription of Śivadeva II.¹² Both these inscriptions provide testimony to Vajrayāna Buddhism in Nepal. Each monastery whether it belonged to Mahāsāṃghikā or Sarvāstivāda or Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna, had a Saṅgha of monastic. (4) Not only Bhikṣusaṅgha, but Bhikṣuni saṅgha also prevailed during Licchavī period. Besides, Licchavī inscriptions relating to Buddhism provide important information on the Buddhist Saṅgha, donations made to the Vihāras, the consecration of deities, the cult of Avalokiteśvara, Status of Bhikṣu Saṅgha and Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha, jurisdiction of the Saṅgha etc. Besides local participation, monasteries and the Buddhist Saṅgha were supported by the kings. (5) They were classed into categories to facilitate royal support. As revealed from Amśuvarma's Hadigaon inscription, the monasteries like Gūn vihāra, Śrī Māna vihāra, Śrī Rājvihāra, Kharjurikā vihāra, Madhyama vihāra were categorized in specific class, receiving royal fund equivalent to that given to Paśupati shrine. There are evidences as mentioned by the scholars that Nepal had stood as a Buddhist country in the past.

5.4. Buddhist Communities of Nepal Maṇḍala

Newār community and Buddhist community were complimentary to each other. Nepalese Buddhists through the ages developed unique form of social structure. Buddhist society of Nepal Maṇḍala as stated above consists mainly of two communities i.e. the community of household monks i.e. the Ādikarmic Bodhisattvas and the lay devotees or disciples. It has already been stated above that Śākyas and Vajrācāryas belonged to the first group and the general Buddhist people belonging to other castes to the second i.e. lay devotees.

It has been discussed above that the Śākyas were believed to be the descendants of the Śākyas from Kapilvastu and belonged to Buddha's clan.

¹¹Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 9, Pp.379-381,

¹²*Ibid*, Pp. 523-525

One who had taken refuge into Buddha, dharma and saṅgha can be initiated and be member of the saṅgha. In the medieval period, conferring initiation was confined to the males only and people who received such higher initiation were addressed with titles as, Ācārya, Bhikṣurācārya¹³ (Subarnabhadra of Dakṣiṇ Vihār), Vajrācārya and Mahā Vajrācārya¹⁴ (Anandagarbha, Bhikṣu Vajrācārya)¹⁵ etc. Those who followed Buddhist precepts living in a family were called household monks, the Ādikarmic Bodhisattvas. They possessed higher rank in the society. They stayed in Vihārs and practiced the dharma, followed rituals by taking refuge to triple gems. They spent their life as guided by the holy scriptures like Ādikarma Pradīp. They regularly recited Nāmsaṅgīti and Daṇagāthā, performed gurumaṇḍal rite and Bodhisattva practices joyfully, circumambulated caitya and Buddha image, studied Buddhist scriptures, meditated on tutelary deity etc.¹⁶ It is believed that this system continued up to fourteenth century A.D. The advent of Jayasthīmalla and his rules of making all monks staying in such Vihārs, the householder, imposing caste structure and profession according to the caste changed the system of Buddhist practice. With the application of social reformation of Śhītimalla, the members of bāhābāhi also made rules that only Vajrācārya and Śākya would be given the right to become Śākyaabhikṣu and Ācārya.

5.4.1. Śākyaabhikṣu

Śākyaabhikṣu, now converted to various castes like Śākya vamsa, Chailakya Śākya, Buddhācārya, Dhākhwā under Śākya clan were initially monks. They appeared after 4th century in India. Those who received pravrajyā (ordination) under Mahāyāna pantheon were called Śākyaabhikṣu.¹⁷ It

¹³Hari Ram Joshi, *Medieval Colophons*, Lalitpur: Joshi Research Institute, 1991, P. 90. The scripture was the oldest one found in Nepal. For details see the preface written by Hem Raj Sakya, in *Hiranyavarna Mahāvihāra*, by Dharma Ratna Śākya 'Trisuli'.

¹⁴*Ibid*, P.45

¹⁵*Ibid*, P.163.

¹⁶Glenn Wallis, "Advayavajra's instructions on the ādikarma" in *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, Fall 2003, P.20

¹⁷Gregory Scopphen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu:1997, Pp. 37-38

is noticed from the medieval inscriptions that not only Śākyabhikṣus, there was prevalence of Śākyabhikṣuṇis (female) too in Nepal Maṇḍala. An early medieval colophon of the scripture Aṣṭasāhashrikā Prajñāpārāmitā (of early 10th century, 907 A.D. N.S. 28) mentions about Śākyabhikṣuṇī Sthaviraini Akshyayamati of Mahāwatischal Vihāra, Mahāboudha, Okubāhāl, Thaina.¹⁸ Similarly, a colophon of Saddharmapuṇḍarikā tikā (A.D. 1082, N.S. 202,) mentions about Śākyabhikṣuṇī Yemendranathaya of Śrī Indramulasthana sponsoring writing of the scripture at Śrī Chakavarti Mahādevi Mahāvihāra.¹⁹ A good number of Licchavī inscriptions and medieval colophons mentioned about existence of Śākyabhikṣus in Nepal supporting the fact that Nepal was the preferable habitat of Mahāyānists.

Śākya community was classed into different categories during medieval period. Depending upon slight variation in mode of ordination Śākyas are further sub grouped into Sakyābhikṣu or Śākyavaṃśa, Brahmācārya bhikkhu, Cailakabhikkhu, Buddhācārya and sākhā Śākyabhikṣu. Cailaka Bhikṣus are those who are initiated as Buddhist monks in front of a caitya.²⁰ Those who have pravajyā at Svayambhū are called Buddhācārya.²¹ As there is a tendency in modern times to homogenization of caste names, so what used to be subgroups like Brahmācārya Bhikṣu, Śākyabhikṣu and Śākyavaṃśa are all Śākya today. Those who have pravrajyādone in a bahi are called Brahmācāri Bhikṣu.²² Those who have pravajyā in a bāhā are called Śākyābhikṣu or Śākyavaṃśa. Those who have it done in a kacā bāhā are called sākhā Śākyabhikṣu or simply Śākya.²³ At the present Buddhist Saṅghas ignore these divisions and all is treated as Śākya.

¹⁸Joshi, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 13, Pp. 8-9

¹⁹Luciano Petech, *Medieval History Of Nepal (c,750-1482)*, Rome: Istituto Italiano Peril Meddio Estremo Oriente, 1984, P. 47, Cakravati Monastery is mentioned modern Na *bāhā*, also known as Caka *Bāhā-bahi*.

²⁰John K. Locke, *Karunamaya*, Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press, 1980, Pp.21-23.

²¹Pandit Ashakaji Bajracharya, *The Daśakarma Vidhi*, (Kathmandu: Maṇḍala Book Point, 2010), P. 47

²²*Ibid*

²³*Ibid*

5.4.2. Vajrācārya

A Śākyabhikṣu, who desire for higher initiation, i.e. Ācāryabhiseka or Vajrācāryābhiseka must undergo various courses under a well qualified teacher. One must go through various learning and practices as cosmic system, medicine or treatment, art writing, astronomy etc. He remains under the teacher until the later thinks that the pupil is well versed in Buddhistteaching confer him, withdiksyā or dekhā. When the courses are completed, he is given the title of Vajrācārya or Ācārya or priesthood of Vajrayāni system. Criteria of being Vajrācārya are mentioned in Kudristinirdhātan sūtra of Kriyā Samuccaya. Vajrācārya is like a degree conferred on Śākyabhikṣu to become an Ācārya or priest. Vajrācārya did not mean a caste in the beginning. He now becomes the master or an Ācārya or Vajrācārya or priest of the followers of Buddhism. It was this status of the Vajrācārya's that they could lead the Buddhist community in the capacity of a priest or the most honored members of Buddhist community in Sthitimallas's social reformation policy. It provided them equal status of the Brahmins of the Hindu community.

Therefore, it is known that both Śākyabhikṣu and Vajrācārya were the statuses during Licchavī period till the end of early medieval period. Traditionally, the monastic (Śākya/Vajrācāryas) occupied the supreme position in Nepalese Buddhist society both as temporal and spiritual leaders. Any aspirant Buddhist can acquire these statuses by proving required initiation and qualification. There was no cast discrimination among the people of the members of the Saṅgha during the period. Evidences can be taken as testimonies. King Rudradeva (A.D.1098) took refuge in Omkuli Vihār²⁴, King Mandeva III²⁵(1136-1140 A.D.) retired to ChakraVihāra. Similarly, Yasodhar, a Brāhman!¹⁹⁷ (N.S. 318) was initiated in a Bāhā which later known as Yasodhar Mahāvihāra.²⁶ How a person could become a member of a Vihāra is clearly shown by evidences. As stated, a certain Kāyastha by person who came

²⁴Silvan Levi, *Nepal Part II*(translated by Dilliraj Uprety), Lalitpur: Himal Kitab, 2008, Pp.17-19.

²⁵Petech, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 19, P. 60.

²⁶Locke, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 20, P.154.

to reside at Jayamanohar in Lalitpur worked there as a scribe. Later he got permission from the elders of the Vihāra to get initiated and became a Bhikshu. As he promised to remain as a lay monk following the precepts, he was included in the list of Saṅgha members of the Vihāra. He thus became a Kayastha Bhiksu. Later he studied under a Vajrayan Guru and got higher ordination and received the title of Ācārya. It provided him an opportunity to introduce himself as Kāyastha Śākya Bhikshu Ācārya Jyanrakhit and as a scribe he has copied the manuscript Nispannayogavali²⁷. Likewise, Sunyasri Misra, Bhaskardeva etc were initiated and became members of related Vihārs practicing and learning Buddhism. Bare the common term for both Śākya and Vajrācārya are highly structured and hierarchical social system following elaborate and complicated ritual procedures which are difficult to master and to perform. This system is found continued up to fourteenth century A.D.

Caste Discrimination among the Buddhists and their access to saṅgha that was limited to Śākya and Vajrācārya appeared later due to several factors. Conversion of celibate monks to householders must have been the main cause for such development. This began in the early medieval period and there remained no celibate monks by the end of medieval period. It is evident that Śākyas and Vajrācārya have gone a series of changes before they got established as the castes which are in vogue currently. Vajrācāryas and Śākyas got monopoly of pravrajyā (conferring ordination) among themselves only and they discontinued initiating others into the saṅgha. Their saṅgha grew so strong that only their descendants were made eligible to be members of their saṅgha. Although the saṅgha now, had become as patrimonial assets, the members still continued performing the Buddhist practices set by their ancestors who inherited the pattern practiced in the great Indian Buddhist Universities/Mahāvihārs like Nālandā, Vikramsila etc where they were trained

²⁷Petech, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 19, P. 83.

5.4.3. Lay Devotees of Buddhism

Religion harbors faith. One follows religion as per his/her faith without any sort of discrimination. Evidences show that medieval people were free to follow religions of their faith. Bhari Bharo couple of early medieval Nepal would remain best example to cite at. Bhari Bharo was a Buddhist while his wife was a Śaivist. He was not initiated in any Vihāra nor was a Śākya or Vajrācārya. But he had a good faith on the Shrine of Hiraṇya Varṇa Mahāvihāra. According to the Vamsāvali he was a relative of Bhaskardeva the founder of Hiraṇya Varṇa Mahāvihāra. Due to some unknown reason he later turned very poor. He was afraid that his wife might insult him for his poverty; he never left his treasury unlocked. One day his wife got opportunity to visit the treasury where she found it full of gold and other jewels and others. She told her husband about the incident. The news was so astonishing to Bhari Bharo that he could not believe it. Later when he himself saw the treasury he considered it a boon bestowed upon him by the deity of the shrine. The couple, thereafter, decided to lead their life as devotees of Buddhism. They gave wealth in charity. And, the charity what they established is still known as Ilhane Samek.

Secondly, those who have faith on Buddhism, supported, listened and set their life according to the teachings of the Śākya bhikṣus and Vajrācāryas. There are many examples that a ruler or a person, who was not a Buddhist, was initiated to monkhood and accepted Buddhism. John K. Locke states the Pradhāns of Thambahi, Kathmandu, and the Shresthas the Mahāpātras of Lalitpur, who were by profession government officers with faith on Hinduism, followed rites and rituals of Buddhism, offered donations through land grants and spent their life as Buddhist lay devotees. Also, there are other groups as Nikhus, Madhikaris, Rājbandāris, Amatyas, who remained as lay devotees. There are several others who learnt or performed teachings and rituals from Vajrācārya, became Buddhist. The converts settled around vihar localities called nani, Chuka or courtyard, etc. It was only after the implementation of the social

code by Sthitimalla that the people were classified into Hindu and Buddhist sects according to their priest they follow.

Third, those followers who are taken into Buddhist community followed Buddhist Ācārya or Vajrācāryas as priests and performed their birth, death and occasional rituals. These followers were agriculturist, the traders, metal workers, ironworkers, stonecraft makers, painters of Buddhist image etc. They were community of Jyāpu, Urāyas and other casts that Jayasthithimalla introduced in his social referendum program. Later, those who followed Vajrācārya priests were labeled Buddhist while those following Brāhmin priests were considered Hindu. People who followed Vajrācāryas developed themselves various rites and rituals as per their profession also and were categorized to the group of devotees. They were Urāyas, Sāyami, Jyāpus and others.²⁸

5.4.3.1. Urāyas

Urāyas included contemporary peoples of various professions like carpentry, coppersmith, stone crafts, and sweet-dealers. Other Urāyas are medicinal herb dealers, some are traders in various business while some work as technicians. Later they came to be known by their professional identity. An Urāya involved in carpentry was known as a Sthāpit, a coppersmith as a Kansākār, a stone crafter as a Silākār. An Urāya trading business with Tibet was known as a Tulādhar whereas others involved in herbs selling as Baniyā. Some Urāyas are expert in constructing topmost part of Caitya and roof, they are called Sikharākār. Similarly, those engaged in copper utensil making are known as Tāmrākār while the others in mechanical technical profession the Sindhukār and Sweet making profession the Rājarnikār. Urāya represented as influential lay Buddhist community

²⁸K.P. Chattopadhyaya, *History Of Newar Culture*, Kathmandu: Educational Enterprise Pvt. Ltd., 1980 A.D., Pp.75-104.

5.4.3.2. Sāyamis

Sāyami also known as Manandhar involved originally in extracting oils from mustard seeds. They also produce wine. They have their own cultural tradition. Sāyami community is also known as expert in chariot making for which they have separate guthi.

5.4.3.3. Jyāpus

Most of the Jyāpus were involved in agricultural production. They cultivated lands of the kings, their nobles and of the deities. As a Dangol he measures the lands and makes landscaping. Dangol's works are prominent in landscaping and measurement of the land for constructing vihārs and Caityas²⁹. One who served people as a perfect cook was better known by the term Suwāl. Those engaged in agriculture & agricultural trading are Maharjan. They produce various items as rice, cereals³⁰ etc. He produces earthen utensils of clay as a Prajāpati and bricks as a Duwāl. Prajāpati prepares different clay utensils³¹ required for Buddhist rituals. Some Jyāpus are known as Munikār who work on flowers required for Buddhist ritual functions.³² But the Jyāpus of Lalitpur were fine chariot makers.

5.4.3.4. Others

There were other Buddhist communities who shared their responsibility of contributing to Buddhist performance are mentioned below with community name and their profession or duty.

²⁹ Land scaping and measurement of land for ritual function of Sutrapan(land marking, Padsthapan (footing of foundation) for the erection of chaitya or Vihars.

³⁰ Different type of agri products like raw rice, unpolished rice, cereals, fruits and vegetables etc.

³¹ Different clay utensils as Salicha, Kalash, Kalash Inaha: Salapa, Gulpa, Soma, Nagpah, Dhau Bhegas, Mari Kasi, Bhanja, Aapacha, Kayabh: lidless container for Red and Yellow powder required for all rituals, Thapi, Baupa, Bhocha: Kocha, Anpicha: Halichacooking pot for making rice for Nnhenuma, Palcha, Bhocha: water pot required for Sradha, etc.

³² Various types of flowers are required for different Buddhist rituals.

Table 2: Traditional Buddhist communities with their duty/profession

S.No.	Local name	Nepali name	Duty or profession
1	Nau	Nāpit	Barber, Beautician
2	Puh	Chitrakār	Painter artist
3	Chippā	Ranjitkār	Threads/Cloth colouring
4	Kau	Nakarmi	Blacksmith/Ironsmith
5	Khusa	Tandukār	Beaten rice producer
6	Silantha		Weaving cloths as Dhaki&Kweylon
7	Bhamba		Umbilical cord cutter
8	Bhujan		Music: Nayakhincha player in funeral and other functions
9	Jogi	Kapāli	Carrier/Ritual dues collector
10	Pulupulu		Mahadip makers
11	Po		Cleaning crematory ground & ‘chhwāsā’
12	Kāa		Blowing musical instrument
13	Kulu		Maker of musical instruments
14	Thaku	Malla	To act as head in rituals
15	Tatti		Weaver of dead body covering cloth

Role of each lay follower's community is specified to keep the continuity of Nepalese Buddhist tradition. Each of them is the part of tradition. For example, community of Napit or Barber or in the modern approach beautician is required to cut hair during initiation or in death rituals. Art painter or Chitrakar who is must in writing various deities or ritual instrument symbols during Buddhist rituals like purification of house, Saptavidhānuttar pūjā or marriage ceremony, Ihi Karma etc. Tandukār community who makes different kinds of beaten rice required for various Buddhist rituals or community of Ranjitkar who colours the threads required for every Buddhist ritual or coloured clothes. Silantha

community who waves clothes called as Dhaki or curtain for covering secret deities or Kaya:lā: used during ihi ceremony. Similarly the community of Bhamba, Bhujan, Jogi or Kapali, Tatti, Po, Kāa:, Kulu, Tahku, Pa:mās have special jobs in one or Buddhist functions.

5.5. Development of Socio-Cultural Activities

Newār Buddhist culture developed in the Nepal valley is unique, not found in other part of the world.³³ It was influenced by Mahāyān Vajrayān form of Buddhism and its activities were concentrated in the Vihār locally known as Bahā or Bahi. Vihār occupies important place in Nepalese Buddhism. About forty Licchavī inscriptions related to Buddhism are available so far.³⁴ They amply shed light on Buddhism in Nepal. These Licchavī inscriptions divulge that Buddhism was in its full-fledged form during ancient time, and was also favored by the rulers. Licchavīs being the descendants from Vaiśālī, which was a Buddhist city from Buddha's time, had known about Buddhism and had supported it from the beginning.

During Licchavī period, reputed Buddhist ācāryas or monks had played the role of royal advisor or teacher as evidenced from the famous Paśupati inscription of the king Jayadeva II in the middle of 8th century.³⁵ The inscription not only exhibits learnedness of the Buddhist ācārya Buddhakīrti, but also shows the position of monks in that period. Due to liberal religious policy and sincere devotion of the king Jayadeva II, the time became favorable for Nepalese Buddhism. That is why a Buddhist ācārya was given royal dignity in that period. Some scholars also mentioned about a prince who became Bhikṣu and retired to Chakra vihāra at that time and one another prince who followed the example of being monk.³⁶ It can be corroborated with the issue of Baradeva, the

³³Culture is a system of beliefs, value and pattern of behavior of the people of a particular place. It develops according to its geographical atmosphere.

³⁴Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 9.

³⁵*Ibid*, Pp.5 48-562.

³⁶Rajendra Ram, *A History Of Buddhism In Nepal A.D.704-1396*, Patna: Janabharati Prakāśana, 1977, P. 31.

alleged son of Jayadeva II, who was known by the name Aramundi after he became Buddhist monk. Bara deformed to Ara and Mundi is actually Mundit meaning a Bhikṣu with shaved head. There is a description in Rājtarangini of Kalhāna which mentions about a king of Nepal, Aramundi who defended and defeated successfully the attack of ambitious Kaśmiri king Jayapīḍa Vinayaditya.³⁷ Other sources mention Vijayadeva as the son of Jayadeva II.

The culture of Nepal Maṇḍala developed as the Buddhist Viharas grew up in Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur and other places of the valley. Buddhist community composed of different castes, were found engaged in various types of religious activities which can be classified as Buddhist cultural tradition. Mostly whatever had evolved through Licchavī time and developed during early Medieval period had been continued to modern time. Nepali Buddhist scholars/ācāryas had also amended or devised some cultural traditions making them suitable for Nepal, which are now the parts of Nepalese Buddhism. Some might have evolved in India where it could not be continued but they found continuity in Nepal. Some obvious cultural development under Buddhism can be noticed which were prevalent during that period. They are Vihāra cult, Caitya cult, Pañca-Buddha cult, Dīpaṅkar cult, and Lokeśvar cult and related festivals. Cult is mostly defined in dictionaries as a particular system of religious worship, especially with reference to its rites and ceremonies.

5.5.1. Vihār Cult

Vihārs remained the centre for Buddhist activities and also dwelling place of the monks or monastics. They possessed central place in Buddhism. The number of vihārs stands as evidence to throw light on how Buddhism developed in a particular place and were mostly situated within the vicinity of the three cities of Nepal Maṇḍala i.e. Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. As stated in chapter four, these Vihārs built in courtyards were quite distinctive

³⁷Dhundiraj Bhandari, *Nepalko Aitihasika Vivechana*, Varanasi: Krishna Kumari, 2025 B.S, P. 62.

where one will find a principal Vihār deity called Kwāpādyo or Gandhuri located opposite to the main entrance. A caitya (in form of Svayambhū) as the symbol of realization of ultimate truth at the centre of the courtyard. Now, Vihār is sacred and an important pilgrimage site for the Buddhists of the Nepal Maṇḍala. There can be other caityas scattered in the vihār compound. Caityas have symbols or the images of Pañca Buddha. On all the sides of the courtyard, images of Avalokiteśvara and other Bodhisattvas are enshrined. On first floor of main building, just above the kwāpā dyo shrine of the vihār, there is a room in which tantric deities are seated and secret tantric pūjās and meditation are performed. It is called as āgaṃ ghar.

Under a Vihār there is a well organized monastic community called Saṅgha, the backbone of Buddhist activities in Vihār. In other words, each Vihār is associated with a saṅgha. Licchavī rulers had also established many Buddhist Guthis (trusts) and organized Bhikṣu, Bhikṣuṇīsaṅgha. To run such Vihār through saṅghas and to carry out daily functions, they provided land grants to the saṅgha to meet financial need. Those followers, exclusively Sākya and Vajrācāryas residing in particular vihār learning and practicing Buddhism become the members of the Saṅgha. Every male, who took refuge into Buddha, dharma and saṅgha and is initiated, become member of the saṅgha. They introduce themselves as Śākya bhikṣu or Vajrācārya. In the periphery outside the Vihārs, are alleys called lacchi leading to other religiously less important courtyards called nani or chukka where lay Buddhist followers dwell. Thus, Buddhism of Nepal developed during the period with the patronization by the rulers who are inclined to Buddhism. It does not mean all rulers are Buddhist, but their strong support to Buddhism and Buddhists maintained the development. Later in the early medieval period, the conflicts for power among the rulers grew and could not give due attention and this lessened their support to Buddhism. The weakness is being exploited by the followers of Hindu revivalists and hatched conspiracy against Buddhism to throw away Buddhism and Buddhist rulings. The revivalists, focusing religion

formed many rules and regulation against the principal of Buddhism. They tried hard to attract the attention of the rulers for application by attacking regularly Buddhist pilgrimage sites and caityas. But they could not attract the rulers. But, when Jayasthitimalla came into power he begins to upraise Hinduism dominated by Buddhism. It gave new energy for the revivalists. With state power, he invited five Brāhmins³⁸ from India as experts on social and religious reforms.

The Licchavī kings had established many monasteries in Nepal Maṇḍala. King Vrisadevais believed to have constructed SenaguVihār in Svayambhū, and Sankaradeva had established Shree Mayurvarṇa Mahā Vihāra with advice from Buddhistscholar Jayashree Misra. Similarly Dharmadeva had established Rāj Vihāra and Dharmacaitya and Manadevaestablished Mān Vihāra. Amsuvarma is credited for the construction of Rāj Vihār and Narendradeva established Rajkirti Mahavihāra in Tehbahl. Similarly, Shivadev II had constructed ŚivadevVihāraand Bhāskardev had established Hiranyavarna Mahavihār.³⁹Nearly 16 Vihārs including GumVihār, Mān Vihār, Madhyama Vihār, RājVihār, Khajurikā⁴⁰Vihār were known of Lichchavī period in Nepal Maṇḍala. The number of Vihāras grew to hundreds in Medieval period, when Vihārs were graded to Mahāvihārs.

5.5.2. Pañca-Buddha Cult

A group of five Buddhas in squatting position is called Pañca Buddhaalso known as Dhyāni Buddhas. It is the most distinctive characteristic and interesting feature of Buddhism of Nepal. Five Buddhas of the Pañca Buddha are Vairochan, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghsiddhi. They are not mortalBuddhas like Sakyamuni. They are the symbolic figures representing the Buddha nature created through contemplative

³⁸ Names of the *Brahmins* were Kirtinath Jha, Maithahali Brahman Raghunath Jha, Ramnath Jha, South Indian Braman Srinath Bhatta and Madi nath Bhatta.

³⁹ Dor Bahadur Bista, *People of Nepal*, Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2004, P.2.

⁴⁰ Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 19, Pp.72-92.

visualization. PañcaBuddha represents doctrinal body of the Buddha⁴¹ and aggregated form of Pañca Buddha is Vajradhara or Vajrasattwa which is the embodiment of Buddhahood. As such, Buddha nature and qualities can be implicit by knowing the Pañca Buddha.

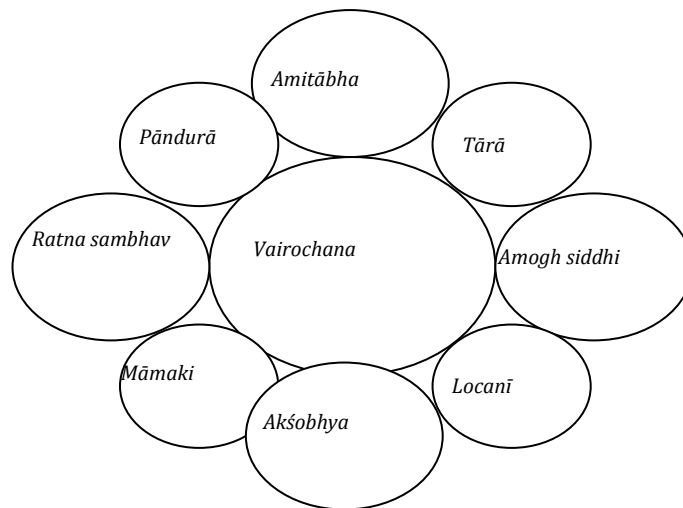
Pañca Buddha cult is practiced in Nepal Maṇḍala from the ancient time. Pañca Buddha is honored and worshiped by the people of Nepal Maṇḍala more than Sakyamuni Buddha. This clearly shows that more importance is given to the qualities of the Pañca Buddha than to the individual Buddha. Whenever auspicious functions are carried out, figure of Pañca Buddha is painted in the entrance gate or in front walls of the building or the door. In the viharas and Mahaviharas (Baha & Bahi), we find the main deity or kwāpā dya of the shrine to be one of Pañca Buddha who represents the Buddha of Triple gems in place of mortal Buddhas in Nepal-Maṇḍala. Similarly, most of the Stupas and Caityas contain Pañca Buddha in four cardinal points and in centre. Akshobhya in the east, Ratna Sambhava in the south, Amitabha in the west, Amoghsiddhi in the North and Vairocana in the centre. Sometimes, Pañca Buddhas are also shown with Śaktīs (female partners) which are peculiar in Nepal.⁴² Vairocana is associated with Vajra-Dhātēśvarī, Akshobhya with Locanī, Ratnasambhava with Māmākī, and Amitābha with Pāndurā and Amoghsiddhi with Tārā respectively. Vajracharya, senior most elders while performing important rituals, wears a special crown with Pañca Buddha called 'Mukha' during religious ceremonies. Navadān (alms of nine varieties) is observed in presence of image of Amitabha Buddha.⁴³ In rituals and Buddhist art, the Buddha is shown through Buddha-Maṇḍala. Pañcāvisēka, an initiation practice is related to PañcaBuddha. The set of deities for BuddhaMaṇḍala are the Pañca Buddhas and four Tārās⁴⁴ (Locanī, Māmaki, Pāndurā, and Ārya Tārā).

⁴¹Naresh Man Bajracharya, *Pancha Buddha*, Kathmandu: Tul Ratna Bajracharya, 2003, P. kha

⁴²Hudgson, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 4, P. 59.

⁴³ Karunakar Vaidya, *Buddhist Traditions and Culture of the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal)*, Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan, 1986P. 86

⁴⁴ John K. Locke, *Karunamaya*, Kathmandu: Sahayogi Prakasan, 1980 A.D., P.191;

Figure 3. Buddha Maṇḍala (diagrammatic)

Recent finding of Licchavī stone inscription of the period around 514 AD, the time of Basantadeva, the grandson of Manadeva recovered from Svayambhu area also indicated the prevalence of PañcaBuddha cult in that period.⁴⁵ Furthermore, it also proves existence of Svayambhū before Manadeva's period.⁴⁶

Pañca Buddha cult is therefore, one of the popular Buddhist cults in Nepal Maṇḍala. The Pañca Buddha can be also considered as Caitya cult for a caitya is later regarded as above of Pañca Buddha. Making of mini images of Caitya from mud is an old and traditional culture conducted during the holy month Gūlā, as auspicious act has relation with this cult. This practice is called Dyāh Thāyeguīn which devotees participate every morning. This practice is carried within Bāhās and Bahis and in private houses. When we link Pañca Buddha cult to caitya cult, its antiquity goes even deeper to far ancient time, as the later had connection to Mahāsaṅghika. Caityavāda is believed to be

Kamal Prakasha Malla and Dhana Vajra Vajrācārya, *The Gopalraj Vamsāvali*, Kathmandu: Nepal Research Center, 1985, Pp.168. ; David Gellner, *Monk, Householder, And Tantric Priest*, New Delhi: Foundation Books, P. 222

⁴⁵ *Nāgarika* daily, dated May 20, 2012 (Monday, Jestha 7, 2069).

(ii) *Abhilekh*, Rastriya Abhilekhalaya, Kathmandu, number 31, 2070 by Shyam sunder Rajvansi)

⁴⁶ *Ibid*

outcome of Mahāsaṅghika which separated from Sthaviravāda nearly a hundred years after Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha.

5.5.3. Dīpaṅkar Cult

Dīpaṅkar cult is dedicated to the Dīpaṅkar Buddha whose image is widely found in Nepal. Dīpaṅkar is the earlier human Buddha. It occupies fourth position among twenty-eight Buddhas who rise in the world.⁴⁷ Dīpaṅkar is one of the popular Buddhas widely held in great esteem in Nepal-Maṇḍala.⁴⁸ Present Śākyamuni Buddha made his first aspiration (Bodhisattva caryā praṇidhān) for Buddhahood to be Buddha in future in front of him when he was Sumedha ṛṣi (ascetic). According to Mahāvamsa Buddhist prototype, tradition of venerating Dīpaṅkar Buddha existed as foremost when remembering past Buddhas. There is the tradition of making offering or Dan (generous donation or giving) in presence of Dīpaṅkar Buddha. Such occasions are called Pañca-dān, Navadān or Nadān, and Samyak Dan Festival. ‘Dān’ or charity is considered a very meritorious act and is believed to be in practice from the time of Dīpaṅkar Buddha and King Sarvānanda of Dipāvati city. The king initiated such ceremony like Samyak dān inviting Dīpaṅkar Buddha. PañcaDān the festival of alms giving which is annually celebrated. Samyak Dan is an elaborate version of Pañca Dān which is celebrated once in 12 years in presence of the head of the state as Dipankar, in Kathmandu. It is organized as “Ilaha Samayak” in Lalitpur in the interval of five years, and annually in Bhaktapur. However, interested rich and generous donors can optionally hold Samyak Dān any time. The organizers of optional Samyak Dan must necessarily make an image of Dīpaṅkar Buddha. Therefore, Samyak Dan and Pañcadān are called as the festival of Dīpaṅkar. During Samyak Dan event, all the Dīpaṅkar images of the valley are invited and displayed at one place and worshipped. Images of Dīpaṅkar are also displayed for public during the month of Gunla (Shravan) in most of the viharas. Furthermore, any activities related to generosity like alms

⁴⁷David Gellner, *Monk, Householder, And Tantric Priest*, New Delhi: Foundation Books, P.180

⁴⁸*Ibid*

giving as done in Samyek Dan, Na-dān, Pañcadān has connection with Dīpaṅkar Buddha and this comes under Dīpaṅkar cult in Nepal.

Further details on Dīpaṅkar cult are given below while describing festivals like Pañcadān, Samyakdān which are the part of it.

5.5.4. Lokeśvor Cult

Lokeśvors are the Bodhisattvas having immeasurable compassion for all sentient beings. They are also the supremely enlightened ones as the Buddha but have refused personal liberation for benefiting others. From the religious history of Nepal, it can be assured that Lokeśvor cult was prevalent in Nepal from ancient time. Licchavī inscriptions testify this fact. Reference to installation of two images of Lokeśvors (Dharmarāja Lokeśvor and Yamantaka Lokeśvor) by the Licchavī King Vrsadeva (350-390 AD) is mentioned by Wright D.⁴⁹ An inscription of Licchivi king Mana Deva period (464 – 506 AD) found in Yāgabahāla in Patan showed that a devotee named Hun Dharmajiva erected a great stone image of an Avalokiteśvara.⁵⁰ According to an inscription of about 550 AD (approx) it tells about establishment of an image of Avlokiteswara at Lagantol, Kathmandu by Manigupta and his wife Mahendramati. Inscription of 557 AD about the installation of Avalokiteśvara at Brahmatol, Kathmandu and the next one at Bandahiti, Kathmandu also support the popularity of Lokeśvara cult in Nepal since ancient time.⁵¹ Bennoyesh Bhattacharya had mentioned about 15 Lokeśvoras only in his book *Indian Buddhist Iconography*.⁵² In Nepal, some 360 Lokeśvoras are named.⁵³ The number could be much more being the subject of investigation. One hundred eight Lokeśvors are displayed at Kanak

⁴⁹ Naresh Man Bajracharya: *Buddhism in Nepal*, Delhi, Eastern Book Linkers, 1998 A.D. P.19

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, P.23.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, P.24

⁵² Bennoyesh Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Reprint 1987, Pp.124-144

⁵³ Munindra Ratna Bajracharya, *Nepal's Four Famous Karunamaya Lokeswor*, Kathmandu: Padma Harsha Bajracharya, 2002, P.3

For details, see *Lokeswor Parichaya* by Amogh Bajra Bajracharya
Amogha Bajra Bajracharya, *Lokesworya Parichaya (introduction to Lokeswars)*, Kathmandu: Lokeswar Sangha, N.S. 1099.

Caitya Mahā Vihāra (Jana Bāhā) in the form of brass repousse images and framed paintings. The Lokeśvors come under Sangha category of the Buddhist triple gem; Buddha, Dharma and Sangha according to Mahayana/Vajrayana pantheon. Some of the popularly known Lokeśvors are Maitreya Boddhisattva, Gaganganj Boddhisattva, SamantaBhadra Boddhisattva, Vajrapani Bodhisattva, Manjushree Bodhisattva, Sarvanivarna Biskambi Bodhisattva, KshitiGarbha Bodhisattva, and Khagarbha Bodhisattva associated with their sites of abode – Manlingeswara at Sankhu, Gokarneswara at Gokarna, Kileswora at Changu Narayan Hill, Kumbheswora at Konti, Lalitpur, Gopaleswora at Pharping, Phanikeswara at Shesh Narayansthan, Pharping, Gandheswara at Chovar and Vikrameswara behind Svayambhu Hill respectively⁵⁴. These Lokeśvors are taken as members of Sangha Maṇḍala in Nepal. The Lokeśvors are synonymously known as Karuṇāmaya. The Karuṇāmaya are commonly recognized as Avalokiteśvara. Four forms of Avalokiteśvaras, widely worshipped and most popularly known in Nepal are

1. Bungamā Lokeśvora (Padmapāni) or Rato Matchendranath
2. Amoghpās Lokeśvora or Seto Matchendranath
3. Anandādi Lokeśvora and
4. Sristikānta Lokeśvora

These karuṇāmayas are situated in four adjoining sub districts of Kathmandu. Rato Matchendranāth in Lalitpur, Seto Matchendranāth in Kathmandu proper, Anandādiin Kirtipur and Sristikānta Lokeśvora in Nala, Bhaktapur. Each location of the sekaruṇāmayas is in tranquil, beautiful place full of religious atmosphere and are well known pilgrimage site. Annual bathing ceremonies of these four karuṇāmayas and chariot pulling festival of Rato Matchendranath and Seto Matchendra Lokeśvors are celebrated gaily and are worth observing. They are dealt in the paragraphs of festivals below.

⁵⁴Karunakar Vaidya, *Buddhist Traditions and Culture of the Kathmandu Valley (Nepal)*, Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan, 1986, P. 250

Like Lokeśvora, female Bodhisattva equal to Lokesvara are equally venerated. They are Tārā, Vasundharā, Vajrayoginis, also the Bodhisattvas of same status but are distinctively female deities. Presence of such equal status deities may be the proof that Buddhism does not discriminate between male and female. Ārya Tārā, known as goddess for good health, Vasundharā popularly known as goddess of abundance are among the different forms of Tara. Vajrayoginior Ugra Tārāis the terrifying form of Tārā. Tārā is also equally popular in Nepal from ancient time. Shrine of SankhuVajrayogini and its antiquity is supposed to be of ancient period. This is also evident from the fact as mentioned by D.Wright that Vrisadeva(350-390AD) used to make daily offering to Vajrayogini before taking his meal.⁵⁵ This shows prevalence of Tārācult during and before Vrisadeva period. Furthermore, Princess Bhrikuti (617-650AD) is credited to have introduced Tara in Tibet in 633AD by carrying with her the images of Tārāwhen she was given in marriage to the Tibetan king Srong btSan Gampo⁵⁶. Several old monasteries (Bahā and Bahi) of Kathmandu enclose images of Tārā. Like Lokeśvora, Tārās have manifested in innumerable different forms to tackle our worldly problems. Some 108 Tārās are named, remembered and worshipped in Nepal. The Kathmandu Valleyis believed to have been protected by four famous guarding Vajrayoginis. They arey

1. Nairatmā Guhyeśwori(Shapeless) at Guhyeswori, near Pashupatinath temple
2. Khadgayogini or Ākāshyogini at Pharping
3. SānkhuVajrayogini at Sankhu and
4. Vidhyādhari at Bijeswori, Dhalko,

The shrines of these four Vajrayoginis are situated in peaceful, serene places which are also the religious pilgrimage sites.

⁵⁵Harischandra Lal Singh, *Buddhism in Nepal*, Lalitpur: Indu Chhapakhana Pvt. Ltd.,1990, P.20

⁵⁶ Min Bahadur Shakya, *108 Names of Tara*, Lalitpur: Nagarjuna Institute of Exact Methods, 2003, P. iv

5.6. Svayambhū: the Source of Buddhist culture

Svayambhū is the epitome of Newār Buddhist culture and has remained center of Buddhist cultural activities. The Buddhist culture and traditions of Nepal Maṇḍala are developed by the Newārs which is based on Svayambhū Purāṇa, a locally developed Buddhist manuscript. Svayambhū Purāṇa available in several different forms talks about that the origin and the early history of Buddhism in Nepal. According to the text, the Valley surrounded by hills was a holy lake where Svayambhū Jyoti (light) emanated from the one thousand petalled lotus blossomed from the seed planted by the Buddha Bipaswi. The lake turned habitable human settlement after the lake was drained by the bodhisattva Mañjuśree. The term Nepal Maṇḍala denotes settlement area which now encloses three major cities of Kathmandu valley. It has been visited by Saptatathāgatas (seven human Buddhas) namely Vipāśvī, Śikhi, Viśvabhū, Krakuchanda, Kanakauni, Kāśyapa, and Sākyamuni Buddha. They meditated and worshipped in hilltops at Jāmacwa, Dhemačwa, Phūcwa, Śhipūcwā lying around the valley and laid the foundation of Buddhist civilization in Nepal.

It shows that the foundation of Buddhist culture in Nepal is through the Buddhas. So culture of Nepal Maṇḍala is originally a Buddhist culture. Sakyamuni Buddha was born in Lumbini of Nepal. Similarly, Kanakmuni Buddha and Krakucchanda Buddha are also believed to have born in Niglihawa and Gotihawa respectively in the Terai of Nepal. Therefore, Nepal is also known as the land of Buddhas. Pañcabargiyabhikṣus meaning five first bhikṣus who heard Buddha's first preaching, were also from Kapilvastu of Nepal. According to Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, there were Buddhists residing in Kathmandu valley whom Ananda and his business team visited. This shows Buddhist society and culture already existed in Nepal Maṇḍala during the Buddha's period. However, local people believed that Buddhist culture prevailed in Nepal prior to the period of Sākyamuni Buddha on the ground of Svayambhū purāṇa which also mentions activity of Kanakmuni Buddha

conferring mass ordination to general people in the remote past Tretāyug. But all this account was treated as mythological.

It is already stated above that the early settlers of Kathmandu valley were influenced by the Caitya cult.⁵⁷ The Puraṇa states that a certain king named Prachandadeva from Gauda who came to Nepal valley built a Caitya over the Svayambhū Jyoti.⁵⁸ Now, Svayambhū has already taken a form of caitya. Gopalraj Vamsavali writes Vrishadeva had constructed the Svayambhū Caitya.⁵⁹ And, the caitya came to be known by the term of Ādi Buddha during the Lichchavī times.⁶⁰ It gradually became popular among the local inhabitants as the main object for worship.

Svayambhū is also known by different names. Hemaraj Shakya, the author of Svayambhū Mahācaitya, has explained different names of Svayambhū i.e. Ādibuddha, Svayambhū, Jyotirupa, Dharmadhātu, Vāgiśwara.⁶¹ However, the term is found first used in Gunakaranda Vyūha written during third century and has reference about the concept of PañcaBuddhas. Socio-cultural life of people of Nepal Maṇḍala and their traditions are found shaped by the philosophical influence of Svayambhū Jyotirupa. Svayambhū is regarded as PañcaBuddha who were enshrined around the dome of the stupa. The concept of five Buddhas and its five consorts as supreme knowledge was being taken as guiding tools since the Licchavī times since every worldly thing classified under a Buddha family among five Pañca Buddha.⁶² Not only in social life, even art and architecture were influenced. We see carved Pañca Buddha in the windows, doors, pillars, and in the torans kept just above the doors. There is a custom of painting or inscribing PañcaBuddha on above the gates of houses and ritual places, when people carried out auspicious functions like wedding, enthronement of elders etc. In many ritual performances like diksa or secret

⁵⁷Hemaraj Sakya, *Sriswayambhu Mahācaitya (Swayambhu The Great Caitya)*, Kathmandu: Swayambhu Vikāsa Maṇḍala, 1098 NS, Pp.16-18.

⁵⁸*Ibid*, P. 58.

⁵⁹Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 9, P.19-20

⁶⁰ It is described by the said terms at places in Lichhavikalako Abhilekha by Dhanavajra,

⁶¹Sakya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 57.

⁶²Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 9.

initiation, Ācāryabhisheka, other big rituals, the Ācārya or purohit puts on his head Mukut or crown with Pañca Buddha, signifying Svayambhū. Furthermore, during traditional ceremonies like Barechuyegu(chudakarma), Nayoluyegu, Pañcadan, Samyakdan, Nadan etc. the dhyo: or caitya with Pañca Buddha is made present as the main object of worship.

Buddhist childrens of Nepal Maṇḍala begins learning by reading and writing “*om Namo Bāgiśworāya*”. Om Namo means paying homage and Bāgiśwor is Svayambhū Dharma Dhātu. Similarly Buddhist children are also taught praying Svayambhū for their wish to be fulfilled. Likewise, during winter times when Sun rays are very important, children are kept in a place where sun rays comes and to make themselves feel warm. While staying in the sun some time clouds conceals the sun and childrens then use to say rhetorically “*Hunkan dhassa To! To! Thana Dhāsa Mato! Mato, Toela Matoela Shengu dy:yā: pāli bhagiya:*” which means, the sun is there only, I bow to Svayambhū, please send sun here also. It was always being a Buddhist culture that begins from childhood.

Similarly, in stone carving, philosophy of Svayambhū is expressed with the various ornaments revealing the idea of Pañca h Buddha, like Pañca Chusan such as chandi (head ornaments or Luswan in Newāri, Kuṇḍal (earring), Kanthā (neckless), Rochak (pendant), and Mekhalā (waistband).

The importance of Svayambhū Jyotirupa was made so popular by the travelers or businessmen who visited Nepal. It resulted the visit of the Buddhist rulers/scholars of those places like king Prachandadeva of Gauda who renounced his throne and came to Nepal Maṇḍala to worship Svayambhū. Later, Emperor Ashoka of Magadha and Majjhima, the leader of his missionary team in the Himalayan region visited the valley with Svayambhū. Similarly, Nagarjuna, the profounder of Mahāyāna philosophy, Vasubandhu, the author of Abhidharmakośa, also visited Nepal Maṇḍala to pay obeisance to the sacred Svayambhū. Similarly, several other Indian Buddhist scholars like Shantaraxita, Padmasambhava, Kamalsila of eighth century, Dīpaṅkar Srijana

Atisa(1052 AD), Ratnaraxit, Ravindra, Diwakerchand (12th century) etc also extended their visit to Nepal Maṇḍala and practiced the dharma during early medieval period. Not only Indians, many from Tibet including Marpa, Marpa-do-pa, Dharmaswami, etc from eleventh to thirteenth came to Nepal Maṇḍala and visited Svayambhū and went to Tibet and China. They spread the popularity of Svayambhū among the people of their country telling about the importance of Svayambhū which inspired Buddhists of their country to visit Svayambhū in Nepal.

This shows that Svayambhū had inspired people from rulers to lay Buddhists from Tibet China and India to visit Nepal Maṇḍala and this contributed Nepal-Maṇḍala to become center for Buddhist activities. We can still say people from different countries come to Nepal to visit Svayambhū. Thousands of tourists come to Nepal to see the Svayambhū as an historical monument of Nepal-the world heritage site. It shows that Svayambhū religiously and historically stood as a great monument, the most sacred world heritage site as declared by UNESCO. Besides, it is a cultural center for the Buddhist people of Nepal Maṇḍala. Buddhists still recite hymns containing eulogical account of Svayambhū which still is the emblem of Nepalese Buddhist cultures. Tirthas (holy Rivers), pilgrimage sites, Buddhist personages, Buddhist practices are still identified on the basis of Svayambhū purāṇa.

5.7. Access to Nepalese Buddhist Culture

Though various forms of Buddhist traditions like Mahāsāṅghika, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna had remained in practice in Nepal Maṇḍala, they all had merged into Vajrayāna during early Medieval period. And Vajrayāni tradition which persisted assimilating local elements and adapted to then prevalent situation was continued through the periods to modern time. By medieval time the Nepalese Buddhism fully took vajrayāna framework which preferred esoteric practice for higher goal. And the main characteristic feature is its ritualistic approach which was so much intense that vajrayāna is known as

ritualistic Buddhism. Therefore, rituals are paramount in Vajrayāna. A Nepalese Buddhist follows rites and rituals from birth, through growing up, till his death rituals as per Mahāyān Vajrayān Buddhist tradition. Even after death his family members perform after death rituals in his name guiding him to nirvāṇa or celestial abode in Sukhavati bhuvan, the domain of Amitabha Buddha. As even the monastic people do not always wear monastic garb like monk's robe, their Buddhist culture may not be visibly seen. So, to look into Nepalese Buddhist culture is through these rituals which are conducted in daily, regular, annual and occasional basis. While Svayambhū was and still now is the source of Buddhist culture, Vihārs were the centre of Buddhist activities Nepal. It can be said that access or gateways to Nepalese Buddhist culture are the time of display of rituals which can be discussed in three headings for the convenience of study (i) Life cycle rituals (ii) The rites and rituals of Bahā and Bahi (Viharas), and (iii) Festivals of Nepal.

5.7.1. Life Cycle Rituals

Buddhist society of Nepal Maṇḍala followed unique arrangements to carry such ritual functions. It possesses machineries within their own community associated with different professions required for such events. There is no need to hire or request people from other community. For example for completing death rituals function, different types of manpower involve in, like musical player or Kāh Bajja in local word who specialized in playing music in the funeral procession, Napit who specialize in cutting hair and nails of close relatives of the deceased person, tatti who provides clothes to cover death body, Ācārya or priest who carries ritual functions, Kapāli who carries left over remains after death ritual etc. Thus, such required man power is available within Buddhist community itself. This is of course a unique system of Buddhist culture. Life cycle rituals can be divided into two categories.

a. Passage of life

b. Death rituals

5.7.2. Passages of Life⁶³

It mainly includes Daśa karma, ten major events and upa-karma, some subordinate events. Daśa karma or Daśakarmavidhi refers ten important events and related rituals carried from birth to pāṇi-grahaṇ or marriage. In other words they act as social norms to express every stages of life from growing up period to marriage. These ten rites⁶⁴ of passage are performed in two different ways, Jnana sambhara, which refers to basics of spiritual knowledge, and karma sambhara which refers to the basics of action. In other word, to purify and consecrate a human life, either physically or spiritually, the daśakarma vidhi is very important. These daśakarma rites conferred on boys and girls seem to be a natural process marked socially, and religiously in civilized way. The elders, the near and dears of the family are invited to attend the rites. The invitees act as witness to legalize the ritualistic performances of the natural process from birth to marriage. On the basis of events like pravajyāi.e ‘making monk’ among Vajrācāryas and Sākyas, as described in the text Kriyasamgraha⁶⁵, which are known to be prevalent since early medieval period, it can be said that daśakarma rites and rituals must have been in practice since early medieval period or even earlier to that period i.e Licchavī time.

Daśakarmarituals are also conferred to Buddhist deities like Lokeśvors and others assuming them as part of the society. With the completion of this rite also known as pratisthā of the images of Lokeśvor or other deities, the deities are said to have life and became worthy for worship. Viharas, images of Boddhisattvas, caityas are thus consecrated through daśakarma rites. There is a tradition in Nepal MaṇḍalaamongŚākya and Vajrācārya family that IhiKarma

⁶³Ryugen Tanemura, *Kuladutta Śarmā's Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā*, Groningen Netherland: Egbert Forsten, 2004 A.D., Pp.72-95.

⁶⁴Peteach, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 19

⁶⁵*Kriyasamgraha*, the Buddhist ritual manuscript of 12th century

of a girl child are carried along with pratistha or daśakarma vidhi of Lokeśvoror viharas, caitya to make Ihi karma more auspicious.

It is through these performances Nepalese Buddhists are leading their life. It is said that Nepal Maṇḍala, without these ten rites one can not go ahead either for Vajrācāryaabhiseka or empowerment and enlightenment. This system of ten rites is so installed in the life of every Buddhist that it had become a part and partial of the life cycle. It presents as unique cultural traditional which is found only in NepalMaṇḍala.

Ten stages of Daśa Karma Vidhi with Sanskritname, local name and meaning are as follows:

Table3: Ten sacraments, Daśa karma done in Buddhist way

S. No.	Saṅskrit name of rite	Newārī name	Meaning
1	Garbhādhāna	Bārḥā tayagu	Attainment of puberty
2	Puṇṣavan		Wishing for male child
3	Simantonayan	Dhaubaji Nakegu	Hair parting/wish for right foetal position
4	Jātakarma	Machābu byankegu	Birth purification rite
5	Nāmākaran	Nām chuyegu	Naming the child
6	Annaprāśan	Machā Junko	First rice feeding ceremony
7	Cudākarma	Busan Khāyegu	First head shaving
8	Vratadeśana/ Śilapradān	Bare chuyegu Kayatā puja	Monastic ordination/ Beginning of learning, Loin-cloth worship
9	Vrata-mokṣan/ Vrata-samāvartan	Cīvar kotegu	Return to householder life
10	Paṇigrahaṇa	Vivāh yāyegu	Wedding

(Rites from 1 to 3 belong to pre-natal, rites from 4 to 9 to childhood, and 10th rite to adult)

Besides daśakarma, there are some additional life cycle rites called upa-karma which is optionally carried out in one's life. These mostly includes consecration of old aged person on attainment of certain age limit like (i)

Bhimrathārohan- first consecration at the attainment of age 77 years, 7 months, 7 days (ii) Chandrarathārohan- second consecration at the attainment of 88 years, 8 months and 8 days, and (iii) Mahārathārohan- third consecration after crossing 93 years. During these old age consecration rites, elaborate rituals are conducted for divine consecration of the aged person.

5.7.3. Death Rituals (Mritu Samsakar)

Death rites and rituals are next important aspect of Buddhist culture developed during early medieval period. They are not included in the ten rites. It is an universal fact that death is not sudden happening, but it is a process one has to be prepared for. Death must be ritually commemorated. As per belief many ritual functions are carried to commemorate it. After death the deceased one becomes ancestor, forefather, hero, ghost or demon. In order to guide him in right place like Sukhāvūti Bhuvan or pure land of Buddhas or guiding him to nirvana or rebirth in better place, his family members perform various rituals as per death ritual texts.

Death rituals are not meant to be preformed unless death occurred in a family. Different family members have different responsibility to perform during death rite. Married sisters or daughters' participation, role of sons and sons in laws in death rituals and in death procession, procession path, cremation ground, monthly *srādha* (rituals), and their places are all specific and predetermined, uncleaned or lower castes also have role to play in death rituals.

According to Buddhists final passing out of consciousness or “*chyuti citta*” (the separating *citta*) from human body is taken as death. Old age and death “*Jarā-Marna*” is also 12th link in the chain of dependent origination. Buddhist also believes that body is composed of four basic elements “*catu-mahābhut*” - earth(solidity), water(liquidity), fire(heat) and air (mobility). Inactivation of these four elements is death. When earth element ceased to be in function, the body cannot move, solid parts like bones fail to work, as water or liquidity

element seized to work in the body, it will make body dry, cease of fire elements exhaust heat of the body and body becomes cold, the remaining air elements under this circumstances remain attached in the respiratory system and makes respiration system unusual. And finally when air completely comes out from the body or close of respiration, the stage is death.

The Newār Buddhist culture on death is unique. Every function had their own meanings. Death rituals are process of sending back those four elements by which our body is composed of, to their respective places. They are fire ritual under which the body is put on fire and turns it to Kharāni(ashes), under water ritual the kharāni is collected and from it a figure of deceased person is made and finally they are thrown into river as if bodily water is sent back to nature, the third is collection of bones relics of main joints, the process called as “asti:Kayagu”. The asti are worshiped in monthly srādh ritual and are flown in the river, the fourth ritual of sending back the air element is Air ritual under which the collected kharani is taken at different sacred places like Jammacho, for worship where it is dispersed in the air.

Most of the death rituals are performed within two weeks period i.e till 13th day after the death of the family members. The monastic class of Sākyas and Vajrācārya complete most of the rituals within 7 days. Sarva Durgati Paṛiśodhan Maṇḍala worship occupies the central focus in death rituals of this period. Visitors and priests recite Durgati Paṛiśodhan Dhāraṇi. It is believed that Durgati Paṛiśodhan Maṇḍala worship and Dhāraṇi recitation ward off evils and obstacles in afterlife journey of the deceased whom abode of Sukhavati Bhuvan (Pure land state) of Amitabha Buddha is prayed for. Tibetan Buddhist tradition which too has such practice of Durgati Paṛiśodhana (gNova kundol in Tibetan) links it to Padmasambhava (8th century) as the initiator of the practice.⁶⁶ It is known that Padmasambhava also had practiced several years in Nepal before he headed to Tibet. On this ground it can be said that such death

⁶⁶ Surendra Man Bajracharya, *Buddhist Heritage of Northern Nepal, An Introduction*, Lalitpur: Lotus Research Centre, 2008, P. 257

rituals prevailed in Licchavī period. Sarva-Durgati-parisodana Tantra, a Yoga class Tantra, on which Durgati Parisodhan Maṇḍala worship and Dhāraṇi are based was translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit original in 8th century.⁶⁷ Some death rituals are done monthly for a year. 45th day, 6th month and end of a year are considered important and elaborate rituals are carried out by means of the priest by the family members. Other relatives are also invited on such occasions.

5.7.3.1 Utkanti Kriya

It is a function carried after death and not a death ritual. It is not performed on all.

Expression of dying mind or mind during the time of a person's death, may be good or bad, and will be facing by him after death, is the philosophy that Buddhist believes. Deceased person can not be alive to tell his expression. The family members in order to guide him to good path, performs a ritual called as passage of death or "utkanti" in Sanskrit. These rituals are performed only on those who had become head of the Sangha, who is ordained with dikshya or passed through old age pasani or "Janku:" in Newari. This kriya is performed only among Vajracharya, Sakya and Uraya community.

Under this ritual there are many rules and regulation that had to be followed strictly. The expert priest are rare, so also the the rituals. Soon after death, the expert priest is called and he with the help from the assistants keeps the deceased person in squatting position and is shaved in the center of head or in the suture and is treated as living and make him participating in the ritual function. Until the end of the function, weeping and announcing of death is not allowed.

The ritual begins by worshiping mandallike Panchasali Vajrabarahi Mandal. During ritual the priest often recalls the senses or tries to revive consciousness.

⁶⁷Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Sarva DurgatiParisodana Tantra*, P. xxiv

It is said that the rituals are so strong that the deceased person responds the questions asked.

For funeral procession, deceased person is kept in a chariot made of *momordica charannica* tree in a squatting position with ritual umbrella. For women chariot is not used and carries in bier itself. In the cremation ground, homa sacrifice are performed with homa kunda or fire place with the ritual instruments like vajra, bell etc made of *momordica charannica* tree. The death body are being kept upon the the wooden pyre made above such fire place and death body is torched.

5.7.3.2 Lokattar Sradha:

There is a unique tradition of performing Sradha in Buddhist Viharas. It is called .In every Bahas of Kathmanu valley, lokattar sraddha is performed in front of Kwapa:dyo or main shrine making the main shrine as Jajaman or parshionor for the benefit of all those dead people who is not given rightful samskar. The people of Nepal mandal believes that when a person is dead, he should be given proper death ritual, if not he will be facing hardship even after death. It is believed from 1254 A.D.(N.S. 375) this type of sraddha continued according to priests of Hiranyavarna Mahavihara. During the period Nepal mandal people faced many natural calamities like the great earthquake and 2/3 of the population including Licchivi King Abhayamalla was also killed. People, because of shocks and fear could not manage and provide proper death ritual. Long time after such devastation people felt sorrow for such death people and established lokattar sraddha system for all those death people.

5.7.3.3 Medieval Gosthi or Guthi

Guthi, previously known as Gosthi, plays important role in carrying out bier preparation, funeral procession and cremation process. Various types of trust or gosthi for different kinds of rites and rituals in Buddhist society have already

been discussed in earlier chapter. It is Death Trust or Sī Guthi or Sana: Guthithat is related to death rite and rituals.

5.8. Ācārya Initiation and Other Initiation

After having pravrajyāordination, aSākyabhikṣu should undertake ācāryāviṣeka (ācārya ordination) to be Vajrācārya. Therefore, boys from Vajrācārya family undergo another initiation process, ācāryāviṣeka which is either organized immediately after Pravrajyā ordination or with some years' gap. Likewise, enthronement rituals are done for making elders (Sthavirārohan) of different hierarchy as required in the viharas.

Besides, several other initiation rituals containing yoga practices are carried out for the attendants including laity. The popular initiations included Hevajra, Kālacakra, Guhyasamāj, Sadkṣeri lokesvara initiation, Cakrasamvara, Vajrabārāhi, Chandramahārosana (Acala) etc. There are several references showing popularity of these initiation for which even Tibetan Buddhists used to throng into Nepalese viharas in medieval period.⁶⁸ At present initiations like Hevajra, Kālacakra, Guhyasamāj are no more in practice.

5.9. Festivals of Nepal

Festivals in Nepal Maṇḍala are deeply rooted with glorious ancient history, culture and heritage. They are not merely for entertainment and feasts. Every festival is related to a deity and is celebrated with elaborate rituals. Only after formatted and stipulated ritualistic process, feasting is done. Buddhist festivals help to promote Buddhist activities in the Nepal Maṇḍala. It is remarkable that their activities are concentrated mostly within the four walls of the Bāhāhs and Bāhis (monasteries). Therefore, a festival is defined as an institutionalized religious observance. Rituals, prayers and offerings work are essential

⁶⁸Debiprasad Chattopādhyaya, (Ed.), translated from Tibetan Lama Chimpa and A. Chattopādhyaya, *Tārā Nath's History of Buddhism in India*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Ltd., 2010 A.D., P. 421.

components in such festivals. Astrologers fix the dates of major religious festivals according to lunar calendar. The best part about the festivals in Nepal Maṇḍala is that all the events are celebrated with the same enthusiasm and galore. We will find government published calendars mentioning the important festivals and national holiday.

Buddhist festivals are essential part of Nepalese life style garnered with tremendous local participation. They represent specific myths and folklores, legends and the traditions. Such, legends, folk tale, myths inspire the Buddhists of Nepal Maṇḍala valley lead a glorious life.

Every festival has its meaning, philosophical background and is celebrated at fixed occasion and time. The most important characteristic of these festivals is that they are not celebrated without worshipping the concerned deities and likewise, no feasting is arranged without worshipping the said deities. The festival time is the occasion for observing Buddhist culture and tradition. Below given are some of the major festivals which were believed to be prevalent in the period 733 – 1395 AD. They might have evolved before that period and continued to present time.

5.9.1. Chariot Festival

It has been already been discussed above about the popularity of Lokeśvara cult in the previous chapters. As stated, he is known as Bodhisatava, whose mission is to enlighten all the living beings before getting self-enlightenment. Saivites call him Matsyendranath: an incarnation of Lord Shiva and the Vaisnavis Biranci-Narayan: an incarnation of Lord Visnu. Vajrayan Buddhists call him Avalokitesvara. However, as Karunamaya, he is the universal compassionate for all. Buddhists, not only in Nepal, but also in all other countries where Mahayana faith prevails, worship Karunamaya in the name of Avalokitesvara. The tradition of revering Avalokitesvara began a few centuries before the Christian era. Gradually, the deity assumed different names in different

countries such as China, Japan, Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Burma, Tibet. But, the local inhabitants in the valley of Nepal Mandal addresses, as Lokeswor, Karunamaya or god of mercy Bungam Loketeswor and worship for rains during rice plantation time, for good crops at the harvest time, and for good health during the summer and monsoon seasons. People of different sects worship him in different ways and in different names but he is always there for everyone to worship. The most popular among Lokeśvaras are, Padmapāni, Amoghapāsa, Anandādi and Sristikāntā and are venerated taking them to local settlement in chariot or palanquin followed by procession with music band.

The Bramha Tole inscription gives hints to the practice of Lokeswor worship since the Licchavī period. Likewise, the Bandahiti inscription mentions about the trust donated for the puja. However, the inscription of Jayadeva II of Sambat 159 or 727 A.D., can be taken as the earliest reference to Lokeswor. However it is difficult to state when the chariot festival of Karuṇāmaya Bungamā started in Nepal although, commencement of chariot festival of Karuṇāmaya Bungamā is traced to 437 AD to commemorate visit of Karuṇāmaya from Assam in quelling drought famine. According to Gopalraj Vamsabali, Narendradeva, who ruled for 35 years initiated the chariot festival of the Bungam Lokeswor in the valley with the help of Acharya Bandhudatta⁶⁹. Balarjundeva, who ruled about two yers, went to Bungam along with his brother and wife to worship the Lokeswor. It is described that he offered his crown to the god. Bungam was referred as Bugayumigram in Amsuvarma inscription dated Samvat 29. It was in this very place, Dharmaswami, a Tibetan monk who was at Kathmandu in 1226-34AD, describes about the Vihara of Bukham (Bungam) with a miraculous image of Avalokiteswor made of sandal wood of red color in the aspect of a five year boy. As described, he witnessed

⁶⁹ Bungam was referred as Bugayumigram in Amsuvarma inscription dated Samvat 29.

the festival in the valley every year until he stayed. And the festival he described was the chariot festival of Bungam Lokiteswor.⁷⁰

Description of the chariot festival mentioned by Dharmaswami was no different from Indian practice observed in ancient India. Fa-hien, Chinese traveler of 5th century described the custom prevalent in Magadha of annual procession of Buddhist images carried on a four wheeled, five storeyed high cart.⁷¹ His description is very much similar to the Chariot pulling festivals of Bungam Avaloketeswor (Rato Matṣendranātha). It also provides ground for speculation that there existed connection between Mahāsāṃghikā of Magadha of 5th century and Buddhism of the Kathmandu valley. Other descriptions⁷² by Fa-hien like popularity of cult of the former Buddhas, the common ritual of caitya worship, popularity of image worship of various Bodhisattvas such as Avlokiteśwara and Manjuśrī also give cues for such speculation. This practice of chariot pulling is still observed in Nepal Maṇḍala. Through the similarity of description made by Fahien and later by Itsing who witnessed in India, it undoubtedly prevailed in Nepal. References of chariot festivals mentioned in Lichhavi inscriptions also help to throw light on it. Svayambhupurana writes about the chariot festival that Gunakamdeva introduced it in Kathmandu.

There is no doubt that the cult had already won fame among the local inhabitants since the Lichhavi period. and try to connect it with the king Narendra Deva (7th century) in bringing Karunamaya Bungama into Nepal further strengthen the view. So far the festival is concerned, it is celebrated starting with the advent of summer and ending generally with the first showers of the rainy season. It starts with the bathing ceremony in the full moon day of chaitra (March-April). Before the festival of pulling chariot of Karunamaya, ever year it undergoes several rituals as bathing ceremony, rebirth rituals. Each Karunamaya, in the valley at present, has a different date for these ceremony.

⁷⁰George Roerich,(Tr.), *Biography Of Dharmaswami*, Patna: K.P. Jayasawal Research Institute, 1959, P. xi.

⁷¹B.G.Gokhale, *New Light on Early Buddhism*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1994 A.D., P.180.

⁷²*Ibid*, P. 184

Although the ceremony is called ‘bathing ceremony’, it is actually a ‘death and rebirth ceremony’.

For the bathing ceremony of the red Karunamaya in Patan, first, the priest with the use of Tantra transfers the divine spirit from the idol to a golden container called ‘kalasa’ at the temple to Karunamaya. Then, the spiritless idol is taken to the bathing platform at the Lagankhel a few hundred meters to the south of the temple in Patan. A traditional musical band plays a funeral tune when the lifeless idol of red Karunamaya is carried from the temple to Lagankhel for the annual bathing ceremony. Thereafter, the priest takes the idol to a platform specially built for the bathing ceremony and gives it a holy bath before the general public. The Patan Living Goddess Kumari presides over the bathing ceremony of red Karunamaya.

After the bathing ceremony, Buddhist priests cum artisans renovate the idol following the Tantric principles. The body of Karunamaya is made of clay and the legs are of copper. The artisans bring the clay from the special place called ‘mhapi’ following the Tantric principles, if it is necessary to plaster the body and legs with special clay and then paint them. The artisans keep themselves clean refraining from touching anybody during the period of rebuilding the idol to avoid any possible defilement. After the renovation of an idol, the priests perform a ‘life-giving ceremony’ to it on the full moon day. They make an altar at the main entrance to the temple to make offerings called ‘puja’ following various Tantric rituals. Then, the priests transfer the divine spirit from the ‘kalasa’ to the idol giving the idol a new life again. They also perform ‘eye opening’ rituals to bring enlightenment to the idol.

It cannot be exactly said how the chariot festival was observed during early medieval period. Available sources show that the festival continued for weeks. According to Dharmaswami the image was taken out of the temple, and the king and the wealthy people invited the image to their homes where they made offering, and bathed the image in curds, milk, raw sugar, honey and sugar. All

important nobles used to participate in the festival at Bunga despite severe political crisis⁷³. It is also described that Stithimalla went to attain Bungam Jatra with three sons and accompanied by Jayasimha Ram Mahatha stayed there for 14 days⁷⁴. According to Gopalraj Vamsabali, in 1287 A.D.(N.S. 408) Jitarimalla, leading army to the valley, entered for the first time, visited the shrine of Bunga, while people entered the forest after killing eight hundred Khasa at Svayambhu. In the month of Falgun Jitari returned again, visited the Svayambhu and paid homage to the Bungan Lokeswor. In 1289 A.D.(N.S 410) Jitari came again and occupied Nuwakot. In Bugamati he donated a treasure for the maintenance of the temple. Similarly, in 1312 A.D. (N.S.433) on the day of Falgun Pratipada, Ripumalla anointed the god of Bungam and donated treasure, including a horse. He stayed there for eighteen days. He offered puja at the Caitya of Yemde (Svayambhu) and gave a feast at Svayambhu to all the ordained.

5.9.2. Gūnlā

There is a special Buddhist festival, called 'Gūnlā' lasting for one month. It lies between the bright half of Shrāwan and the dark half of Bhādra. During the monsoon period (traditionally in the month of Bhadra i.e August) the monastic do a month long retreat, which is popular as the festival of Gūnlā. It is precisely the sacred month of the Newār Buddhists, a time of special prayer, worship and ritual exercises. The month-long festivity form a part of "rains retreat" initiated twenty-five centuries ago by the Buddha. Most of the Buddhist festivals fall within this month. For the Buddhists, the month of Gunlā is as holy as Chaturmās months to Hindu, Ramadan to Muslim and Lent to Christians. Buddhists observe this month with various religious activities and demonstrate their cultural heritage.

⁷³In N.S. 457 on the date of Jyesth Krisna Amabasya Jagat Simha Kumwar of Tirhut entered Manigal. The next day, Gopalchandra was expelled. The managers of this movements were Abhayaram Mulmi and Thayer Bha. The next day for the Yatra of Bunga all the important nobles were welcomed.

⁷⁴In N.S. 507 on Vaisakha Sukla Chaturthi Jayasthitiraj Malla Deva went to Bungam Jatra with three sons. They stayed on for 14 days. They were accompanied by Jayasimha Ram Mahatha.

People recite the stotras and the Nāmasangiti (Hymes of Buddhist texts), early in the morning, take holy bathes in the river, circumambulate the Vihārs, Caityas and other holy shrines, participate in dāna activities, read Mahayani Buddhist texts like Navagranth and listen the discourses. Others perform fasting in honor of different deities, visit Bahās and Bahis reciting Tutta (Hymes of Buddhist texts) and partake in several meritorious acts. Moreover they rush to Svāyambhū, the emblem to Adī Buddha, to pay homage and participate in religious and cultural activities there. Most of the toles (directions) of Kathmandu valley organize such visits along with traditional music Gūnlā bājā. The following are the main activities that demonstrate Newār culture during this holy month of Gūnlā.

5.9.3. Bāhi Dyāh Bwayegu (Display of Deities of Bahis)

Bāhi Dyāh Bwayegu is a demonstration of various Buddhist Deities in Bahās and Bahis of the Kathmandu valley and is one of the important celebrations of the holy month Gūnlā. Bahis Dyāh means various old Deities stored in Bahis or Bahās. The Buddhists of Kathmandu celebrate the function of Bahi Dyāh Bwayegu on Gūlā Thva 12. In Lalitpur it is observed earlier from Gula thva 7.

The courtyards of the Bahās and Bahis are cleaned before the Deities are displayed around the court. Besides several Deities, old cloth painting or the Thānkās of different Deities, history of their Bahis and Bahas, holy texts, pindapatras and other historical utensils are also displayed on this occasion. The Sanghas members of Bāhāhs and Bahis feel proud to display such antiquities they preserve. To observe these displays, people from all toles (direction) visit Bahās and Bahis in-group with traditional music. This display is continued for seven days.

5.9.4. Gūm Punhī (Nine days festival)

Buddhists celebrate this day as the day of Siddhārtha Gautam conquering the Maras and becoming a Samyak Sambuddha.⁷⁵ It is observed for nine days. In Newāri “Gu” is nine. The celebration starting from Gūlā Thva Punhī to Gūlā Gā Astami lasts for nine days so it is named the festival of Nine Days.

The festival reminds the past agricultural life of the people. It is well known fact that people received lands from the government in terms of grants, salary, donation and etc⁷⁶. Land was, therefore, the main source of their income. They labored hard during the monsoon for better products. At the time of the festival their monsoon works will just be over.

On this day soup of nine varieties of bruited legumes called Quāti is served as the main item of the feast. The soup works as tonic. The Quāti soup is believed to relieve intestinal and stomach problems. During the period they clean their houses, wear new clothes, visit the Bahās and Bahis and listen to the discourses and enjoy with the demonstrations and the exhibitions. The Buddhist community also visits Boddhisattva Vajrapani at Kumbesvor in Patan. They offer their deities the Quāti soup.

5.9.5. Mataya (Festival of Light)

Matayā, a festival of light is celebrated in the holy month of Gūlātwo days after full moon day every year. It is said that the festival is celebrated to commemorate victory over Maras (disturbances) when Śākyamuni Gautam was meditating under Bodhi Tree before his enlightenment.⁷⁷ The festival is mostly participated by those who have their family members passed awaythe same year. It is also celebrated in memory deceased ones.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Chunda Bajracharya, *Newa Tagee Lagee Nakha Chakha*, Kathmandu: Nepal Vasha Academy, 2057 B.S., P. 49.

⁷⁶ The system continued until the dawn of democracy in 2007.

⁷⁷ Mary M. Anderson, *The festival of Nepal*, New Delhi: Rupa and company, 2005, P. 83.

⁷⁸ Vaidya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 54, P. 50.

The Matayā festival is said to be instituted by the King Gunakamdev⁷⁹. To carry the function, area of Lalitpur is divided into ten localities. Every year one locality gets turn, in Newāri it is called Matayā Pā. This locality manages the festival and finance.

On the day of celebration from early hour of the morning, devotees from all area of Lalitpur gather in the localities. The devotees' carry oiled lighted lamps and worshiping materials like rice, coins, red powder, bread of rice powder etc. They set off along pre-decided route alleys, courtyards, markets covering thousands of caityas, images of Buddhist deities, temples for worshiping and offering materials they are carrying. Vajrācārya and Priests guide the devotees along with traditional music. The priest performs pūjā in the main crossroads. As the areas of the routes are long and have to cover by any means, walking speed of devotees becomes faster as the day passes. Throng of the people lined up in every area of the route to see and welcome the devotees offering drinking water and any help to comfort them. Some devotees come in a group with uniforms and traditional music chanting Buddhist hymes. The celebration ends when they arrive in the localities they took off from. The devotees' family will receive them.

5.9.5.6 Pañca-Dāna(Alms giving day)

Pañcadān is another important festival of the Buddhist community celebrated yearly in Gunla. Pañca means five and dān means the alms. Pañcadān is a function giving in alms five different items, husked rice, polished rice, lentil seeds, wheat and salt. Sangha members from different Bahāsand Bahis, are invited openly for the Pañcadān. Howsoever, dates of practices differ according to local traditions. In Patan it is celebrated on Gūlā Thva 8 SravanŚukla Astami and in Kantipur and Bhaktapur on Bhadra Kriṣṇa 13.

⁷⁹Daniel Wright, *History of Nepal*, Delhi: Adarsha Enterprise, 2000, P.155.

Pañcadān is very old practice based on manuscript Pindapātravadān and Kapisāvadān.⁸⁰ On this day the ordained monastic visit house to house begging alms. The devotees offer alms of different articles including money to the monastic (Śākyas and Vajrācāryas). Monastic community of Nepal Maṇḍala takes Dān or alms giving as meritorious act and participate open heartily in the generous practice. Dān carya is described as one among the ten Pāramitās (Perfections) known as Dān Pāramitā (Perfection of Generosity).

The Pañcadān ritual is linked with the life of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. Dīpaṅkara is one of the earlier Buddha. Kapisāvadān, a Buddhist text deals with the former life of lord Buddha. Lord Dīpaṅkara, with monkey's meritorious act, helped the monkey to be born as a human named Dhanashri. While Dhanashri was a child, he came across Dīpaṅkara. He was playing in dust. At that time the Dīpaṅkara was begging alms. Dhanashri, with pure mind, offered a handful of dust to Dīpaṅkara. To the great surprise the dust turned into gold. Dīpaṅkara immediately forecasted that the boy would be reborn as the king of Dipawati nagar.⁸¹ Dhanashri with the blessing of Dīpaṅkara was born as King Sarwananda of Dipawati.

Sarwananda, the king of Dipawati, invited Dīpaṅkara Buddha to his palace to present him with alms-bowls. But an old virgin lady Lakhmi Thaku with a handful of grains approached Dīpaṅkara on his way. The later accepted alms from her. Then, he went to meet the king Sarwananda. The king asked Dīpaṅkara the reason for visiting the old poor lady first. Dīpaṅkara Buddha explained the king the merits of giving alms earned from hard labor whole heartily.

The king soon realized truth. He left the palace and worked hard as a blacksmith to earn something. After enough earning, he invited Dīpaṅkara again and presented the alms-bowl from the bottom of the heart. This

⁸⁰Vaidya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 54, Pp. 73 – 74.

⁸¹David Gellner, *Monk, Householder, And Tantric Priest*, New Delhi: Foundation Books, P. 184.

meritorious act of king Sarwananda won the heart of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. Pleased with the meritorious act he recited explaining importance of alms giving virtues through several stanzas. The verses are still read by the Monks and other Samghas members while they go around cities for the alms. The main attraction of the Pañcadān ceremony is the standing statue of Dīpaṅkara Buddha. On the day Dīpaṅkara Buddha is decorated and carried around the city in Bhaktapur while going for the alms⁸². In Lalitpur it comes at last as the Phu Dyah.

The alms giving procession is interesting to look at. In Kathmandu, the senior members of the Sanghas carries a “Kota”, an auspicious Pujā plate, recites in choral, the Dangatha, verses containing the blessings. A special ancient function is held near the Kāsthāmandap. A square room is temporarily made fenced by wooden logs. Inside the room all the senior Sthavirs of Bāhās and Bahis, and other priests in their special ceremonial dresses and Pañca BuddhaMukha (a crown) take their seats in protocol and then the alms are given by wooden ladle.

It is called regular Pañcadān - Which is, celebrated in the month of Gūlā once in a year. The other Pañcadān carried during the Gūlā is Optional Pañcadān - which takes place on the same day of regular Pañcadān. The organizer or donor arranges separate functions at their house inviting Samgha members and monks for accepting alms. While the Dānagāthā recital verses prove to be ancient, there are several other references which showed this practice of generosity to be very old.⁸³

5.9.7.Samyak

The term Samyak implies the oneness of all sentient beings. It stands one among three forms of Enlightenments i.e. sravak-bodhi (Enlightenment of

⁸² They have the practice of carrying five *Dīpaṅkara*.

⁸³ Chunda Bajracharya, *Newa Tasee Lagee Nakha Chakha*, Kathmandu: Nepal Vasha Academy, 2057 B.S., Pp.69-77.

Hearers, prateka sambodhi (Solitary Realizers) and samyak-sambhodhi (perfect Enlightenment or the Path of Bodhisattavas to samyak sambodhi). It is practicing dana-parmita (the practice of giving specially to monks i.e. household monks and to Buddhas especially to Dipankar Buddhas predicting Sakyamunis enlightenment in previous lifetime. Antiquity of Samyak festival is easily known from various sources. Vamśāvali mentions Licchavīking Vrisadeva presided over at Samyak festival organized at NakaBahil, Lalitpur in 400AD.⁸⁴ A Licchavī inscription mentions about Samyak bhojan, feast arranged during the time of Samyak.⁸⁵ Similarly, Gopalraj Vansavali corroborates association of Śivadeva at the Samyak of Nandasala Vihara in 1014 A.D.(135 NS).⁸⁶

There is another evidence that shows commencement of Samyak festival in 1014 AD (N.S. 135) as known from colophon in a Buddhist text Aryastasahasrika Prajnaparamita which mentions about Samyak during the reign of King Bhojdeva, Rudradeva and Laxmikamadeva.⁸⁷ There is the tradition of celebrating Ilhane Samyak⁸⁸ in the interval of every five years in Patan. The Sangha members of Hiranya Varna Mahavihara believe this festival observed by a certain bharo called bhari some 700 years ago. There are several references of bharos having similar names like Phu Bharo, Fo bharo and bhari bharo. It comes to the period of Abhaya Malla. As stated above Dharmaswami was in Kathmandu at that time. In his biography it is stated that a certain bharo gave him in dana an ounce of gold. It was probable that bhari bharo had invited the monk scholar for the occasion. In is described in the chronicle that bhari bharo has established a (gosthi) trust still run by the twenty sthahvirs with land grants for the purpose. It is learnt from the trust that the samyak was run yearly

⁸⁴(i) *Ancient Nepal* No.14, 2027 Magh, Kathmand, The Department of Archaeology, Jan, 1971, Pp.18 - 21,

(ii) Kamal Prakasha Malla and Dhana Vajra Vajrācārya, *The Gopalraj Vamsāvali*, Kathmandu: Nepal Research Center, 1985

⁸⁵Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 9, Pp.1-8.

⁸⁶Malla and Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 84(ii), P. 76

⁸⁷ Hemraj Shaky, *Samyak Mahadan (Samyak Grand Offering)*, Kathmandu: Jagat Tuladhar, 2036 BS. P.16.

⁸⁸*Samyak* is a kind of grand *Pañcadān* ceremony

until 1674 A.D. (1731 V.S.) According to them as the income from the land grants could not meet the cost of the same it was observed at every five years since the date. Details of the Samyak festival are given in the rites and rituals prescribed by the Vihara. On this occasion, eighteen principal Bāhā monasteries, eighteen Bahi monasteries and the past organizers of Samyak actively participate by displaying their kwāpā-dyo, Samyak-Dīpaṅkar images, other images of Tārā, Buddha, Bodhisattva, Caityas. Besides, dāna is offered to all the Vajrācārya, Śākyabhikṣus, Brahmācārya Bhikṣus, Cailaka Bhikṣus who gathers at the samyak venue. Such Samyak is another regular Buddhist gathering in Lalitpur.

It is also stated that after the attack of Samsudin, Mukunda Sen, the ruler of Palpa came to Nepal Maṇḍala to see its effect in 1349 A.D. (N.S. 470). At that time he offered a chatra on Dīpaṅkar Buddha at Itumbahāl. According to Nepalese Buddhist tradition, it is mandatory to establish a fresh image of Dīpaṅkar by the chief organizer/sponsor of optional Samyek. A stone inscription dated 1381 A.D. (N.S.502), shows Jayasingharam Vardan's brother Madansinghram established an image of Dīpaṅkar Buddha.⁸⁹ Jayasinghaaram was the minister of the king Jayasthitimalla. Also there is another event called Bārha barṣe Samyak observed in every 12 years in Kathmandu. In Bhaktapur, Samyek festival is observed every year.

In one such occasion of Samyak, Prajnapāramitā text was written during the period of Bhodeva, Rudradeva at Lhām Vihār.⁹⁰

5.10. Religio-Cultural Conduction through Guthi

Social activities whether cultural or religious were collectively performed and completed successfully during early medieval period. The period continued the

⁸⁹Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Purvamadhyaalka Abhilekh(Inscriptions of Early Medieval Period)*, Kirtipur:Nepal Ra Asialy Anusandhan Kendra, Tribhuvan University, 2068 BS., Pp.165-167.

⁹⁰*Op. cit.*, f.n. 2, P.36.

Gosthi system developed by the Lichhavis. There were several gosthi⁹¹ formed for carrying various religious and cultural works for celebrating different Buddhist feasts and festivals. Differently titled gosthi were formed subject to run with income due to donations of lands. The gosthi members or “Guthiyārs” of such gosthi are the workers from different professional community. The obviously known gosthi are Pradīp (Lighting), Pāniya (water), Dhup (Incense), Bāditya (music), Ārcha, Dhoja (flag) gosthis. Similarly, gosthi established during King Rudra Deva by a devotee Jaychandra with land donation are Jaldrony (clean water line), Margoujan ((sweepers and road cleaning) gosthis for the benefit of the people of the area.

Gosthi or Guthis (the modern trust) stands as a characteristic features of Buddhists for carrying out various religious and cultural activities like festivals in the valley. For grand festivals like Rato Machendra Nāth Jātrā, Seto Machendra Nāth Jātrā, and many others the Buddhist societies had established separate Guthis or trust. Every year such trust arranges the festivity. Similarly, Bahās and Bahis have various Guthis established by the members of the Sangha to run the festivals and other monastic activities.

5.11. Concluding Remarks

In spite of political instability and adverse condition caused by natural calamities during early medieval period, Buddhism continued in Nepal due to support of local Newār Buddhists with adoption of some major changes to suit the changing situation of that time. Otherwise, the religious situation in NepalMaṇḍala for a long time was similar to that of pre-Islamic India, before 12th century. There were many schools and sects of late Buddhism at work in Nepal and the country experienced a great and final influx of Buddhist forces in the 12th and 13th centuries when Islam invaded northern India. On one side while Buddhism finally ceased to exist in Indian soil, Nepal, on the other side, became a central sanctuary for monks, scholars and artists from India, who had

⁹¹Vajracharya, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 9, Pp. 284-285.

crucial effect on both the religions and artistic life of the Buddhist Newārs. Though Buddhist contact with India collapsed, this period was marked with the revival and growth of Buddhist cultural activities in Kathmandu Valley. Buddhists in Nepal were enjoying an era of progress and fresh lease of life as the mass migration of Indian Buddhists ousted by the Turkish invasion was mostly destined to Nepal. In this way Nepal played the unique role of a cultural buffer land between India and Tibet(China). Thus Nepal later emerged as the custodian of the Buddhist scriptures, since it became an abode of Buddhist learning and art for Northern Buddhist regions.

Thus, in early medieval period Buddhism flourished, providing a new dimension to both the material and spiritual life of the people of NepalMaṇḍala. Probably the growing isolation of Buddhist Newār communities constantly strengthened and nourished by new stimuli that led to the unique development of the Nepalese form of Buddhism.⁹² During the period Buddhism had undergone notable changes that had wide-ranging consequences. By then, Vihārs grew in number and turned to Mahāvihāras which had become the centre of all sort of religious activities led by household monks. The Vihārs, Bahās, Bahis occupy important role in Newār Buddhism during the medieval period⁹³. Outcome was disappearance of Hinayāna (Sarvāstivāda) while Mahāyāna continued to prosper as it easily assimilated new stimuli and “the blend of monastic Buddhism with the Mahāyāna and the Vajrayāna principles, with the quaint mixture of Tantric Tradition. This is now known as Newār Buddhism. This is a unique form of Buddhism in Nepal Maṇḍala.”⁹⁴

Therefore, early Medieval period can be called the period of assimilation as Nepalese tradition assimilated various tenets from then existing Buddhist sects

⁹²Siegfried Leinhard, “The Survival of Indian Buddhism in a Himalayan Kingdom”, in *Henz Bechert and Richard Gombrich (Ed), The World Of Buddhism, Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Society and Culture*, London: Thames And Hudson Ltd., 1984, Reprint 2007, P.109.

⁹³Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Gopalraj Vamsavalika Attihasik Vivechana*, Kirtipur: Nepal Ra Asialy Anusandhan Kendra, 2064 BS, Pp.162-180.

⁹⁴Harischandra Lal Singh, *Buddhism in Nepal*, Lalitpur: Indu Chhapakhana Pvt. Ltd., 1990, P. 45

mainly Mahāsāṃghikā, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna and so forth, and gave rise to its unique form of Buddhism . Nepalese Buddhists formatted and designed their own tradition, yet based upon then available śāstras.

It has been already mentioned above that Lokeśvaras are popular deities in Nepal. The most popular among Lokeśvaras, Padmapāni, Amoghapāsa, Anandādi and Sristikāntā are venerated taking them to local settlement in chariot, followed by procession. Similar practice observed in India in ancient time. Fa-hien, Chinese traveler of 5th century described the custom prevalent in Magadha of annual procession of Buddhist images carried on a four wheeled, five storeyed high cart.⁹⁵ His description is very much similar to our Chariot pulling festivals of Rato Matṣendranātha and Seto Matṣendranātha. It also provides ground for speculation that there existed connection between Mahāsāṃghikā of Magadha of 5th century and Buddhism of the Kathmandu valley. Other descriptions⁹⁶ by Fa-hien like popularity of cult of the former Buddhas, the common ritual of caitya worship, popularity of image worship of various Bodhisattvas such as Avlokiteśwara and Mañjuśrī also give cues for such speculation. This practice of chariot pulling is still observed in Nepal Maṇḍala. Through the similarity of description made by Fahien and later by Itsing who witnessed in India, it undoubtedly prevailed in Nepal Maṇḍala.

There is no doubt that the cult had already won fame among the local inhabitants since the Lichhavi period. However it is difficult to state when the chariot festival of Karuṇāmaya Bungamā started in Nepal. Although, commencement of chariot festival of Karuṇāmaya Bungamā is traced to 437 AD to commemorate visit of Karuṇāmaya from Assam quelling drought famine⁹⁷ and try to connect it with the king Narendradeva (7th century) in bringing Karunamaya Bungama into Nepal further strengthen the view.

⁹⁵B.G. Gokhale, *New Light on Early Buddhism*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1994 A.D., P.180.

⁹⁶*Ibid*, P. 184

⁹⁷Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *History of Nepal*, Michigan: V. V. Research Institute Book Agency, 1970, P. 22

CHAPTER VI

HINDRANCES IN DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM

Early medieval period was the glorious period of Mahāyāna Vajrayāna Buddhism. As described in the above chapters, people of the period regarded it in high esteem. The joint efforts of the rulers, their nobles, and Buddhist scholars from home and abroad were evident which helped in flourishing the religion. Their efforts and contributions inspired the people of the valley to work further in expanding and promoting Buddhism within the country. Contemporary kings acted as patrons, encouraged the peoples towards building Vihāras, donated land grants and led their fellowmen in different Buddhist activities. However their activities could not continue smoothly for long as several hindrances soon arose challenging the Buddhist practices. Even though Buddhism sustained and continued incorporating some essential changes caused by the hindrances, an attempt is made here in this chapter to highlight the hindrances that had to be faced in the development and promotion of Buddhism in early medieval Nepal Maṇḍala.

The hindrances on one side were detrimental to smooth continuation and spread of Buddhism while on the other they had been the factors for consolidation of the Buddhists and an impetus for incorporation of some major changes in their religious practices. The hindrances can be categorized into two divisions (1) Direct and (2) Indirect, both casting long lasting consequences in Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala.

6.1 Direct Hindrances

These were the hindrances that had taken place in Nepal and were easily noticeable through many evidences. The major ones are as follows.

6.1.1 Multiple Ruling

Evidences show that early medieval Nepal Maṇḍala witnessed several ups and downs in the political arena. As described above, conflicts among the members of the ruling families that brought political instability in the country was one of the causes.¹ Especially after the rule of Guṇakāmamdeva², the pace of development could not be continued. A diverse track of traditional law of succession of power transfer was followed and that became one of the principal reasons for political unrest. The stone inscription of NS.132 of Tyagalatole of Pāṭan mentions about the joint rule of Rudradeva and Bhojdeva who were in relation uncle and nephew.³ Three years later, Rudra Deva was found ruling the country jointly with Nirbhayadeva and Laxmikāmadeva.⁴ Probably, Kathmandu was under the dominion of deva. He seemed later ruling the country solely and it was during this period the civil war broke out. It is still not known what happened to Laxmikāmadeva while evidences later show that Bhāṣkaradeva was ruling the country alone for some time followed by a joint rule of Bhāṣkaradeva and Jayadeva. It is also seen that younger brothers jointly took over the power succeeding the elder as proved by the sons of Shivadeva III.⁵ The system of dual or multiple ruling gained prominence begun since rule of Anandadeva and discontinued after the death of Amritadeva.⁶ The Rānā prime ministers also exercised the power in a similar way until 1950-51.

With the advent of Arimalla, founder of Malla dynasty in Nepal, another practice of power shift was followed.⁷ He succeeded Vijayakāmadeva and since then, a new system of appointing the crown prince from another family emerged. Deva kings were found nominating the Mallas as the crown prince and the Malla kings nominating the Devas as their successors. This practice

¹Luciano Peteach, *Medieval History Of Nepal (c,750-1482)*, Rome: IstitutoItaliano Peril MeddioEstremoOriente, 1984, P. 24.

²Hari Ram Joshi, *Mediaval Colophons*, Lalitpur: Joshi Research Insitute, 1991, Pp.35-36.

³*Purnima*30, Trimonthly Magazine, Kathmandu: SanshodhanMandal, 2030 B.S, P. 168

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵DhanavajraVajracharya, MadhyakalKa- suru- KaKehiAbhilekh, , CNS 5/1/8, 1977, Pp. 94-100.

⁶*Ibid.* Pp.70-71.

⁷Uniformity in choosing ruler was disturbed

however caused fragmentation of the royal family into two power blocks with two centers of power symbolized by two palaces in Bhaktapuri.e, Tripura in the eastern half of the town and Yuthonimum in the western half.⁸ The former was initially occupied by the Devas and the later by the Mallas.⁹ This sort of alternative succession to the throne between these two rival houses continued until the rise of Jayasthitimalla to the power.

In other words, medieval political order was feudalistic in character where the nobility and feudatories were going their own way owing marginal loyalty to the crown. These feudatories whether they were Rama family of Banepa, the Rabuts of Pharaping, the Varadhānas of Pāṭana, the Pales of Kathmandu and Lalitpur were powerful families of mini-Caesars. These feudal rulers were ruling heedlessly their little share of the valley, not caring of whoever was on the throne in Devapaṭana, Pāṭana, Tripura and Yuthonimum.¹⁰ Nāyaka Varapala Bharo stands as a fine specimen of such king makers ‘a very influential person, able to make and unmake both the royal houses of Nepal.’¹¹ Kamal Prakāśa has rightly commented “The fabric of this feeble political structure was, moreover, drenched with a passion for killing, pillaging, and genocide.”¹² As a result, most of the time, the royalty and nobility were busy in campaigns of mutual extermination. Alliances were ruptured as soon as they were formed. There are several references in Vaṃśāvalī where Pāṭan devised to destroy DeoPāṭan; DeoPāṭan tried to destroy Saṃkhu; Tripura, to demolish Tokhā; Tokhā to set fire on Nuwakota; Palānchok encircles Panauti, and so on.¹³ The shareholders of the power spent most of their time in plotting for power possession and so remained distracted from paying attention to development policies. Under such political disorder, neither the central

⁸Tulsi Ram Vaidya and Purushottam Lochan Shrestha, *Bhaktapur Rajdurbar*, Kirtipur: Tribhuvan University: Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, 2002 A.D. Pp. 1-30.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Kamal Prakasha Malla and Dhana Vajra Vajrācārya, *The Gopalraj Vamsāvali*, Kathmandu: Nepal Research Center, 1985, P.xvii.

¹¹*Ibid.*, P.87

¹²*Ibid.*, Pp. i-xvii Introduction by Kamal P.Malla,

¹³*Ibid.*

administration could pay proper attention towards promotion of Buddhism nor could the public feel secured in participating in Buddhist activities.

6.1.2 Emergence of Doya and Khasa Kingdoms and their Raids in the Nepal Valley

Amidst these political disorders within the country, the central administration lost their hold in farther regions leading to such a situation that Nāgarāja and Nanyadeva established two new independent kingdoms i.e. the Khasa Kingdom in the West¹⁴ and the Simaraungarh Kingdom in the South.¹⁵ Nāgarāja declared Sinja the capital of the Khasa Kingdom while Simaraungarh became the capital of the Doyas. At that time, when Nanyadeva was consolidating his hold on the newly established kingdom, Harshadeva was ruling the center.¹⁶ Neither he nor his successors could raise a strong army to check the rising powers which resulted in the center having to face repeated attacks from the Doyas and the Khasas. The following sub-heads discuss how the attackers plundered the capital cities. The public could not give their due attention toward the development and expansion of Buddhism as they were themselves busy in protecting themselves from such attacks while the rulers were busy in saving their state, with no attention toward repair and maintenance of destroyed Buddhist monuments.

6.1.2.1 Doya Raids over Nepal Maṇḍala

There are several references in Gopālarāja Vaṃśāvalī describing several attacks made by the kings of Simraungarh. They are found to be referred as Doyas in Gopālarāja Vaṃśāvalī describes how the early Doyas invaded the capital in 1111 A.D., and 1244 A.D but were defeated. Ramsingh is described to have led the Doya army in which many lost their lives and the invaders were held back. They invaded again two years later, invading from Kampa (Kapan) and

¹⁴ The Khasa kingdom was established around the second half of the eleventh century AD.

¹⁵ The Doya Kingdom was established in 1096-97 AD (1154 B.S.)

¹⁶ Dhanabajra Vajracharya, "Karnali Pradeshko Itihasako Ak Jhalak (A Glimpse of History of Karnali Region), Kathmandu: Bholanath Paudyal", *Purnima*, Issue 2, Year 2, Pp.14-37.

beheaded a lot of people and became victorious. Although they attacked the capital in many occasions, their motive of invasions was not clear.¹⁷ Later they were found taking side in the political tug of war between Anantamalla, the contemporary reigning king and Jayasaktideva, the son of the crown prince Jayadityadeva. It is evident that the Doyas were supporting King Anantamalla. Jayadityadeva who was designated the crown prince was senior to King Anantamalla by 8 years. They attacked Kathmandu Valley several times in December 1291 A.D.. The later's interference in the administration was not liked by the king. Meantime he apprehended some threat from his brother Anandadeva and arrested the later and imprisoned him in Palāncoka. However, he fled from the exile some five months after the crown prince died in 1293 A.D.. This gives the picture of the internal conflict prevailing in the royal family. It shows that Anantamalla was of weak temperament and was not able to control other members of the family and the nobility. Thus, during the period Doyas attacked the Nepal valley at times and created panic in the capital.

Among the invasions, those of 1300 and 1312 A.D. were the most crucial ones. According to Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī, Paṇḍita Jayaju of Salachen, Bhonta Jayaśakti Deva and Sri Anantamalla had asked the Doyas for the invasion. The Doyas entered the capital (Bhaktapur), lay siege of Asanimum on the black moon of Paush 1300 A.D. (420 NS) occupied Tripura and Asanimam on Phalgun (bright moon 7) and entered Bramhapur. At this stage Tripura agreed to pay tribute and the government raised 6 dramma per ropani and 4 dramma per house and handed it over to the Doyas. The next invasion led on 1312-13 was more forceful. The invasion was concentrated towards Lalitpur. The Doya army occupied the areas between Thanthibi and Manigal; destroyed forts, temples and other places of importance, extorted ransom in compensation for all the expenses undergone for the campaign. They also took away 21 treasures of Gvala. The local habitants resisted the invading army. However, being unable to govern the country, the Doya army returned home

¹⁷Malla, Vajracharya, *Op.cit*, f.n.10, Pp.89-97.

massacring people they met on way. The loss caused by the Doya invasions cannot be estimated.

6.1.2.2 Khasa Raid over the Nepal Valley

The Khasa rulers were comparatively strong in military power. Sinja was the capital of the Khasa kingdom. After the establishment of the Khasa kingdom in the second half of the 11th century, the successors of Nāgarāja, especially Krachalla and Aśokchalla expanded their kingdom towards west and south. The former annexed Katripur (Kumaon) into their kingdom in 1223. Jitari Mall, son of Ashokchalla was equally ambitious and wanted to extend his kingdom towards the east. He led the army towards Nepal Maṇḍala in 1287 A.D. at the time of Anantamalla reign. Already stated above, the central administration under his rule was not strong enough which weakened his position when the central administration sought help of the Khasa and Doyas. It must have cost a lot when the economic condition of the country was not good. At such a state, the Khasaarmy led by JitariMalla marched towards the valley thrice. According to GopālarājaVaṃśāvalī, they entered the valley from the west, encircled the Svayambhu hillock for six months creating panic to the people of the valley. There was a great battle between the Khasa army and the people of Nepal Maṇḍala in which about 800 Khasias were killed.¹⁸ It is said that the peoples of the valley, entered the forest and the Khasa army was debarred from food supply and other daily necessary items compelling them to return home¹⁹. The people of the Valley had hidden their store of paddy (rice grains) underground which later gave rise to use HākuJāki(black rice grains) in the valley because underground storage turned the grain into black color. Similarly, prevalence and use of gundruk and sinke (a kind of vegetable mixture of leafy plants like mustard, radish etc.) formed after long storage in the valley also have root in storage practice forced during that situation.

¹⁸*Ibid.* P. 82.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, P. 82.

Fourteen months after the first attack, Jitarimalla again invaded Nepal Maṇḍala in the year 1289 A.D.²⁰. This invasion was more severe as the Khasa army torched many villages which caused people to hide or flee into the forest. This time, he visited the shrine of Svayambhu, BungamLokesvara and Paśupati and paid homage and went back.²¹ His next attack took place in the year 1290 A.D.²² when he occupied Nuwakot. He also entered Deopāṭan from the eastern gate, putting all the villages on fire and laid siege on Yrha (Lalitpur). Before he left the capital he visited the shrine of BugamLokesvara²³ and donated a treasure for the maintenance of the temple and also worshipped the image at Paśupati.

After 23 years of Jitarimalla's last entry into Kathmandu, another Khasa king Ripumalla entered NepalMaṇḍala in the year 1312 A.D.²⁴ and visited BungamLokesvar to perform puja. Later he visited Svyambhu and offered puja to Svyambhunath and offered a feast to all initiated members of Svyambhu²⁵ bahal. He stayed 18 days in Nepal Maṇḍala and went back to his state. This visit was his religious visit.

In the year 1327 A.D., King Adityamalla came to invade Nepal Maṇḍala from the west²⁶. He first occupied Nuwakot and five days later he took possession of Sakharkot and thereafter entered the valley. He torched all three cities of Nepal Maṇḍala and stayed at PulBahil in Lalitpur for twenty two days.

6.1.2.3 Natural disasters

Medieval Nepal equally suffered a lot from natural calamities. Kala jor, dysentery, smallpox were yearly epidemics killing thousands of people. In some years, flood, landslide, icefall, draught caused serious disasters. From

²⁰Vajracharya, *Op.cit f.n.10*.

²¹*Ibid* P.82

²²*Ibid*, P.96

Petech, Op. cit., f.n. 1, P.102.

²³Malla, Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n., 10, P.99,

²⁴Vajracharya, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 18, P. 23; *Op. cit.*, f.n. 10, P.99.

²⁵Malla, Vajracharya, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 10, P.99

²⁶*Ibid*, P.102.

epidemic point of view Abhayamalla's period was the worst one. During his rule of 39 years i.e. between 1215 to 1254 A.D.(336 NS-375NS), the country faced several natural disasters. It is described that during the early phase in 1218 A.D.(339 NS), there was no rainfall between Asāra and Bhādra which caused a severe famine in the country and as stated in *Vaṃśāvalī*, half of the population perished in it.²⁷ The following year saw heavy shower in 340 NS and people could not come out of their houses for days. The famine that continued from the previous year affected the country and the market price rose to maximum level. From the month of Kartik to the month of Jestha 1219 A.D.(340 NS) one dramma brought four manas of rice only. A decade after the country faced another disaster due to heavy snowfall in the year 1229 A.D.(350 NS.) took the life of half the population of livestock animals and birds.²⁸ *GopālarājaVaṃśāvalī* has reference of yet another severe famine that dated 1231 A.D.(352 NS). As its result one drama fetched two kuruvās of rice, one drama fetched only one pāla of salt, and oil, one pala of gold cost 2.75 drammapāla. Onekarsa (25% of a pala) silver costed 20 dramma. The price level continued for the whole year. It is described that one third of the population perished due to the famine.²⁹ Similar snow fall is recorded in the *GopālarājaVaṃśāvalī* that continued for seven days from the night of fifth dark moon of the month Magha in 1241 A.D.(362 NS) which took innumerable lives of the animals.

Among the natural calamities, the earthquake that occurred during 1254 A.D.(N.S.375) was most devastating and within a fortnight to a month in the month of Asār all the people had to leave the country and live outside. Many houses and temples collapsed. *GopālarājaVaṃśāvalī* writes that one-third of the total population perished in the earthquake of 1254 A.D.(375NS). King Abhayamalla was also killed in the earthquake.³⁰ Despite several disasters,

²⁷ *Ibid*, P. 95

²⁸ *Ibid*, P.89

²⁹ *Ibid*, P.95.

³⁰ *Ibid*, P.94,

Nepal Maṇḍala developed as a center of Buddhist activities. Hundreds of small and big Vihāras and innumerable caityas and Stupās were constructed during the period. It made the Nepal Valley popular as the cities of the temples.

6.1.2.4 Muslim Invasion in Nepal

Among the foreign invasions, the Muslim invasion of November 19, 1349 (470 N.S.) was the most destructive one. The invasion was launched by Śamsuddin, the sultan of Bengal. Until 86 years before this invasion, Bengal was inhabited by Buddhists and Hindus only, and there was no trace of Islam. His former name was Hazilliyas and came to power in 1346 as the ruler of Bengal. As a result of the Muslim conquest of Bengal, Bengali Hindus had started converting themselves to Islam. Systematic arrangements were made to convert Hindus to Islam. It is described that scores of monasteries had been set up for the purpose. The Fakirs living at these monasteries employed clever tactics to convert Hindus to Islam. However, the number of orthodox Hindus who were converted in this manner was very small, because Hinduism had kept its spirit alive. Only the adherents of Buddhism, which had already lost its essence, were converted to Islam. In fact, nearly all of them had become Muslim while Śamsuddin also used to propagate Islam.

It is described that Buddhists from Bengal used to visit Svayambhu while adherents of Hindus (from Bengal) used to visit the Paśupatinātha temple on the occasion of the Śivarātri festival. The gilded Caityas, temples, water-taps, etc in Nepal attracted the visitors and they regarded the gilded portions of these structures as really made of gold. It was this reason that the Bengalis and Bihāris believed that Nepal was a prosperous country. In those days two routes from Bihar led to the capital; one through Sindhuli, running along the banks of the Kamala river to the capital and the next to Lalitpur via Harharpur along the banks of the Bāgamatiriver. However, as there existed dense forests along the route from Hariharpur, travelers from western Bihar used to visit the capital through Sindhuli. Historians believe that it was through this route

that Śamsuddin reached the contemporary capital i.e. Bhaktapur. Śamshuddin probably intended to annex Nepal. As the newly converted Muslims accompanying the Muslim troops led by Śamsuddin were familiar with the routes leading to Nepal and its holy sites like the Svayambhu and the temple of Paśupatinātha, the invasion proved to be the most devastating one.

Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī had given details of Śamsudin's attack. According to Dhanavajra Vajrācārya³¹, the description given in Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī can be taken as evidence as it was composed after around 40 years of this attack during Sthithi Malla period and composer was found to be well acquainted with the attack. According to the Vamśāvalī, the invaders entered Bhaktapur on Marga 21 and houses of the people were burnt, the temples were plundered and people were slaughtered. The chronicler writes that he had to undergo untold hardship on the day. The Muslim troops seemed to have reached Caṃgun and the stone pillar inscription was cut into pieces at the time of invasion. The invading troops penetrated Kathmandu the next day and they not only plundered the temple of Paśupatinātha at DeoPāṭana but also cut the images into pieces. Later the image was found in the jungle cut into three pieces. Thereafter, they marched towards Svayambhu and demolished it into dust. The stone inscription of Svayambhu Caitya marked this event taking place on Marga 22. The invading troops entered Pāṭan and plundered the Caitya of Pimbahāla. It was not clear for how many days the Muslim troops stayed in the capital. It is described that they returned home having plundered the capital for three days. Thus, the invasions of Śamsudin burnt the city, plundered the Svayambhu Caityas and others. It took a long time to renovate them.

It cannot be said how the people of Nepal Maṇḍala faced the storming Muslim troops and whether they could resist against the Muslim troops who were setting everything on fire- for seven consecutive days.³² Vamśāvalī only

³¹Bhadra Ratna Vajrācārya (Ed.), *Dhanavajra Vajracharya ko Aitiḥāsika Lekha Saṃgraha Bhāga Ek (A Collection of Historical articles of Dhanavajra Vajracharya)*, Lalitpur: Lalit Research Center, 2055 BS., P.143.

³²Malla, Vajracharya, *Op.cit.* f.n. 10, P.108

writes that the whole Nepal valley was reduced to ashes. People ran in panic though there is no means to ascertain the exact number of men and women slaughtered in this massacre.³³ On the other hand, it was also probable that both the king and the people might have entered the forests in a similar way when King Jayatarimalla invaded their country 60 years ago and saved themselves from the Muslim atrocities.⁷ Entering the forest left the Muslim troops free to do what they liked. The entire treasury of DeoPāṭan was emptied; they plundered the Caityas, public houses, the temples and the Viharas. As described they put the whole Nepal Maṇḍala to ashes.

Samsudin attacked targets which were mostly religious monuments, The reason may be that they knew the Buddhist culture of keeping valuable materials like, gold coins, and gems etc. inside the garva of a Caitya, stupās and temples. It was also the culture to keep Buddhist deities and images around the caitya which may have been gold or gold gilded. Even some parts of caityas, stupās like Gajur or top part, water taps and temple roofs were gold gilded. Nepali artists were so skilled that any part gilded looked like gold and remained as it is for long periods. The details of the invasion are mentioned on a stone inscription dated 1371 A.D.(492 N.S) found behind the great Swyambhustupa³⁴. It was put there to commemorate the restoration of stupā by a Mahāpatra of Kantipur, RajharśaBhalok, after twenty three years of disaster at the permission of King Arjunadeva and Regent Sthitimalla.

The Muslim invasion proved to be a hurricane of great havoc and the loss born from it cannot be examined. It has been rightly marked that if the destructive Muslim troops could reduce the main Caityas and temple of Nepal to such pitiable condition, they would not have spared the stupās, Caityas, buildings, water-spouts, etc in other towns and villages as well. It must have hurt the morale of the people plundered by the invaders since it took long time to recover the loss or destruction. Seven years after the invasion, the Caitya of

³³*Ibid*

³⁴*Bajracharya, Op. cit., f.n. 31, P.145.*

PimBahal was reconstructed. According to the stone inscription, Meghapāla, a local chieftain reconstructed the demolished Caitya in 1356 A.D.(477 NS).³⁵ JayasimharamVardhana is described to have repaired the image of Paśupati.³⁶

6.1.2.5 Śaṃkarācārya's Visit to Nepal Maṇḍala

The visit of Śaṃkarācārya that took place during the rule of Śiva Deva III has been discussed in short in the earlier chapter. He is believed to be an incarnation of Shiva. He moves on a bull, marks his forehead with grey powder called bibhuti and practiced yoga. Śaṃkarācāryas follow and practice tantric rituals.³⁷ It is believed that with the advent of the first Śaṃkarācārya misunderstanding created by other religions could be erased and he with the followers preached for the propagation of Śaivism. It is rightly said that although Śaṃkarācārya came to Nepal valley to have a darśana of Paśupati, the principal objective of the visit was to propagate Śaivism and he is described to have visited the valley twice. While in the valley he was to learn that Śaivism could be revived in the valley at the patronization of the rulers. He came in contact with the king and other members of the royal family and became successful in impressing the king on Śaivism through discourses.³⁸ At the permission of the king, he initiated Ānandadeva³⁹ and other princes namely Vasantadeva⁴⁰ and Somersworth, both sons of the yuvrājaMahendra Deva⁴¹ along with other princes YasoMalla,⁴² and Arjun Deva⁴³ with mantras and

³⁵DhanavajraVajracharya, *PurvamadhyakalkaAbhilekh(Inscriptions of Early Medieval Period)*, Kirtipur:Nepal Ra AsialyAnusandhan Kendra, Tribhuvan University, 2068 BS., P.150

³⁶Malla, Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n.10, P.110

³⁷Bajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 31, P.138

³⁸*Ibid*, P.139.

³⁹Ānanda Deva was declared the crown prince by Narendra Deva.He was also known as Nanda Deva. He became the king of Nepal Maṇḍala after the death of Ānanda Deva in the year 267 NS(MaghaVadi 1). He was the son of Simha Deva or Siva Deva.

⁴⁰Vasanta Deva was the son of Mahendra Deva nephew of Ānanda Deva'

⁴¹Somerswordeva was the son of Mahendra Deva and the grandson of Siva Deva. He ruled the country for six years (296-301NS).

⁴²It cannot be exactly said who he was. He is believed to be a prince from Simarangarh.

⁴³Petech, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 1, P.65

made them his disciples⁴⁴. Likewise he attracted people of the valley towards Śaivism and made them his disciples. It is therefore believed that he had come to Nepal to suppress practices of the Buddhist monks and convert them to Hinduism. In the valley he built a temple and enshrined in it the image of Siva and also founded a matha in the valley for the propagation and spread of the religion soundly and systematically. As described in above chapters, he challenged the local followers of Buddhism and called them for the debate at Śāṃkhu. When no one came to confront him for the debate, he dismantled the caitya there, compelled the nuns to marry the monks. It is said that thereafter he went towards the north and was killed at the hand of a Lama through a miracle. Buddhist progress howsoever was disturbed by some of the influence of Saṃkarācārya. The alleged activities of Saṃkarācārya, like burning Buddhist texts, destroying Caityas located at ŚāṃkhuVajrayogini, misbehaving with Buddhist monks and nuns and forcing them to marry each other demoralized the people and had negative impact on Buddhism.

Saṃkarācārya's visit helped to promote Śaivism in Nepal. Members of the royal family and the general people who became his disciples left no stone unturned for the cause. Indradeva, Narendradeva, Ānandadeva and other later kings preferred to introduce themselves as Saivists. They are found to be mentioned as paramśaiva in their long epithets.⁴⁵ As stated above, Ānanda who became king of Nepal Maṇḍala in 1146 A.D.(267 NS) not only declared Bhaktapur the new capital of Nepal Maṇḍala and developed it in the form of a fort enshrined with eight Śaivatantric deities around the fort to protect it from the enemies. It was during his reign that the royal palace Tripura was built. Institutions namely Uttar sala, Dakṣiṇāsala, and Dakṣiṇ Vidyāpitha were founded to study Madhyandiya branch of Yajurveda, branch of Tṛitīya and Vedānta or other courses respectively. More mathas were built to accommodate the scholars and thus Bhaktapur turned into the center for Śaivism.

⁴⁴*Ibid*; The other princes who were initiated were none other than the sons of Someswordeva, the Yuvarāja.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, P. 64.

6.1.2.6 Advent of Sthitimalla and his policy of Hindu evangelization

Six months before the death of Rudramalla, there occurred a great devastation in the south. Gayasuddin Tughlaq, Emperor of Delhi, while returning from Bengal was passing through Simaraugadha. Harisimhadeva, King of Simraungadh, was misinformed that the emperor had come to invade his kingdom. He attacked the Muslim troops but failed to defeat them. Gayasuddin then crushed the Simaraungarh army, plundered the city and annexed it to his dominion. Harisimhadeva had to flee towards the hills in the north with his family members and other followers. Harisimhadeva died on the way at the place called Teen Pāṭan in Dolkka. Rudramalla gave his wife Devaldevi asylum in Bhaktapur.

Arrival of Devaldevi and her kinsmen in the capital was a turning phase in the history of Buddhism during early Medieval Nepal. She entered the capital as a refugee but died as a regent of Nayakdevi. A few months after her coming to the capital, Rudramalla died in 1325 A.D. (446 NS) leaving behind a daughter named Nayakdevi. In the beginning, she supported Padmuldevi the mother of Rudramalla in declaring Nayakdevi the successor of her son Rudramalla. As its result, the affairs of the State passed into the hands of Nayakadevi. It provided Devaladevi an opportunity to interfere in Nepalese politics. Later, Nayaka Devi was married to Hariśacandra in 1329 A.D. (450 NS). Two years later Padmuldevi died in 1329 A.D. (452 NS) and a year after Hariśacandradeva was also poisoned to death in 1334 A.D. (453 NS).⁴⁶ Now Devaladevi as the caretaker of Nayakdevi handled the state administration. She was shrewd and left no stone unturned to maintain her hold in the administration. After the death of Hariscandra, she got her son Jagatsimhadeva married to Nayakdevi. But contemporary society did not accept the marriage. Gopālarāja Vamśāvalī writes that Jagatsimhadeva of the Karnat dynasty made Nayakdevi her concubine.⁴⁷ However, as the husband of Nayakdevi he tried to usurp the

⁴⁶ He was assassinated in a year after in 453 NS.

⁴⁷ Malla, Vajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n.10, P.84

power into his hand but could not succeed and was imprisoned.⁴⁸ The tranquil atmosphere that followed Jagatsiṃha's takeover of the administration thus came to an end. However, 7 months later, in 1350 A.D. (1404 B.S), Arideva died without any heir which led to a struggle for succession. Finally, on the advice of all, RajādDeva, son of Anandadeva, was enthroned. However, power was shared by Devaladevi and Rajadeva. Nayakdevi also died in 1346 A.D.(467 NS) leaving behind her daughter who was born ten days ago.

As the husband of Rajjalādevi, Sthitimalla came to power. According to Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī he was brought from the south to the Nepal valley as the bridegroom to marry Rajjalladevi in 1355 A.D.(474 NS ĀswinsuklaNavami). As stated, he entered Bhaktapur, stayed in Tyamkho and five months later got married to her.⁴⁹ He was gentle in nature. Contemporary Buddhists seemed to have expected a lot from him but King Rajdeva was not a capable ruler. He was succeeded by Arjundeva in 1360 A.D.(481NS) who wanted to capture the central administration with the support of Jayasiṃharāma, the Mahāsamanta from Banepā. People who were mentally and physically tired of internal strife and foreign invasion wanted peace in the country, Sthitimalla's personality and his gentleness seemed to have won the faith of the people. They might have thought that he could rescue them from all sorts of miseries that they have been facing. It is therefore said that Sthitimalla's reign meant the end of a long period of troubles and restoration of order.⁵⁰

After the death of Devaladevi in the year 1365 A.D.(486 NS), Sthitimalla took hold of the administration, crushed the rebels and maintained peace in the country. The following line from GopālarājaVaṃśāvalī stating that "He was an incarnation of Buddha, blessed with the grace of Svayambhu in the Kali yuga, as well as an incarnation of the eight Lokapālas-the eight protectors of all sentient beings"⁵¹ helps to throw light on it. He was brought to Manigal, present

⁴⁸*Ibid*

⁴⁹*Ibid*

⁵⁰Petech, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 1, Pp.137-146

⁵¹Malla, Vajracharya, *Op. cit.*, f.n. 10, P.84

Mangalbazar in Lalitpur for the Jātrā of Lokeśora in the year 1369 A.D.(490 NS). He was welcomed by displaying the golden torana and by spreading cloth on his passage to Manigala. As described the leading personalities and influential persons of Lalitpur gladly offered him oblation from the golden water-pot.⁵² Having won the favour of Jayasiṃharam, he became successful to dethrone Arjunmalla in 1386 A.D.(501 NS).⁵³ The later died the next year. After the death of Arjundeva though he became the sole ruler of the country, but as Dhanavajra writes he thought it proper to rule the country in the capacity of a husband of Ralalladevi.⁵⁴ It was only after the death of Rajalladevi that he took the title of RajādhirājaParameśoraParambhattaraka.⁵⁵

From religious point of view contemporary Buddhists could win no favor of Sthitimalla. At two occasions in 1365 and 1369 A.D.(486 and 490 NS), he is described to have attended the jatra of BungamLokeśora one at Manigal and the second at Bunga where he spent 14 days with his three sons and other nobles. Sthitimalla was a staunch Hindu grown up in the Simaraungarh culture. He worshipped Goddess Manesvarī.e. Taleju as the istadevatā(tutelary deity) or the protecting deity. She is believed to have been introduced to Bhaktapur by Harsimhadeva.⁵⁶ Her temple was first erected in Bhaktapur and later it was constructed in Pāṭan and Kathmandu. It has been discussed above that Śaivism has received a fillip from the arrival of Saṃkarācārya. Anandadeva and other princes who took religious initiation from Saṃkarācārya worked hard to revive Śaivism. But it was Sthitimalla who intended to tighten the social system of Nepal Maṇḍala in line with the theoretical rules laid down by the Dharmasastras. By faith Sthitimalla was a Saivist. He, together with Devaldevi received dikṣā, the religious initiation, from the royal preceptor ŚivadasUpadhyāya.⁵⁷ After the later's death DvirajUpadhyāya was made his

⁵²Gyanmani Nepal, *NepalkoMadhyamikKalkoItihas*, Nepali language, Kathmandu: Makalu Books and Stationers, 2062 BS, P. 235.

⁵³Petech, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 1, Pp.129-136

⁵⁴*Ibid*, P.133.

⁵⁵*Ibid*, P.137.

⁵⁶*Ibid*, P. 204.

⁵⁷*Ibid*, P.146

Guru⁵⁸. Probably at their advice, he invited five Brahmins from South India⁵⁹ and formed an advisory Board for observation and compilation of the old and forgotten Dharma rules. He attempted to reduce the whole structure of Nepalese society into an orthodox Hindu frame. It divided Nepalese society into four varnas and 36 castes and redefined the status and duties of the castes. This social reform of Sthitimalla remained theoretically valid till recent times although modified through the centuries.

The social reforms divided Nepalese society in various ways. First it divided the Nepalese society into two on the basis of religion. They were distinguished by virtue of their religion and were grouped under priesthood. Those who followed Bajracharya as priests were called Buddhists and others following Brahmins were known as Hindus. Second, it reorganized the society into the ruling classes and the common people through orthodox rules. In short, it is the ruling classes and the ruled. The common people were divided into sub castes in accordance with their occupation.

6.2 Indirect Hindrances

Besides, above mentioned direct hindrances there were indirect hindrances too. The actual place of incidence was outside Nepal but it made immense decisive impact in Nepal that cannot be neglected.

6.2.1 Collapse of great Buddhist monastic Universities in India (1197-1205 A.D.)

The incidence was collapse of great Buddhist monastic Universities like in Nālandā, Vikramsika, Odantapuri and Jagadala etc. in India which were the famous religious academic learning centers where every aspirant Buddhist wished to pursue his study. Their fame spread far and wide attracting Buddhists

⁵⁸ *Ibid*,

⁵⁹ There were KirtinnathUpadhyāyaKanyakubj, RaghunāthaJhaMaithali, RamnāthaJhaMaithali, SrināthaBhatta, MahināthaBhatta,

from neighboring countries like Nepal, Tibet, and China. They played tremendous role in the spread of Buddhism till early medieval period.

Before and during early medieval period, popularity of Nālandā and Vikramśīla Monasteries in Nepal grew to such an extent that a tendency was seen among the Nepalese Buddhists to study and be trained at these centers. It was regarded prestigious to be educated at Nālandā and Vikramśīla Buddhist monasteries/ Universities. Several Buddhist masters were known for having been educated at those centers. To name a few examples, they were Līlāvajra, Mahākarunā, ŚāntiŚrī, Chitherpā, Paindainpā, Advayavajra, Vagisvarakīrti, Phamthinpā and brothers- Dharmamati, Duskhorpa etc. Many renowned Nepalese Buddhists of that period are known from Tibetan source, like Phamthinpā, Dharmamati, Duskhorpā, Thamchunpā, BhadantaBodhidharma, Śāntibhadra, Sunyasri, Vāgiśvara, Vajrapāṇī, Maitripā, Kṛṣṇapāda, Dzo-hum, Indraruchi and so forth. All these Nepalese Buddhist scholars were well known to Northern Buddhist countries and all were the Vajrācāryas.⁶⁰ Mahākarunā, the teacher of Rwālotsāvā visited Tibet and likewise many other also had visited Tibet. Advayavajra (978-1030 AD) who was a Nepalese Buddhist scholar contemporary of Nāropā⁶¹ and Mārpā⁶², had spent his early life in Kapilvastu. His work, Advayavajra *Samgraha* having guidelines for Nepalese Buddhists is a popular text in Nepal.

As for Nepalese, the great Indian Buddhist monasteries were also an attraction for Tibetan Buddhist masters to learn more in Buddhist teaching. They too kept coming to Nepal for having interaction and guidance from Nepalese masters and also for traveling to India.

In short, it can be said that most of the Nepalese Buddhist masters were educated and trained at Nālandā and Vikramśīla monastic centers and they

⁶⁰Rajendra Ram, *A History Of Buddhism In Nepal A.D.704-1396*, Patna: JanabharatiPrakāśana, 1977, Pp. 98-99.

⁶¹Renowned Indian *siddha* of 11th century, who had hundreds of Nepalese and Tibetan disciples.

⁶²A notable Tibetan disciple of Nāropā, and founder of *Kagyū* tradition in Tibet.

were the influential personalities in shaping Nepalese Buddhism in early medieval period. Getting education and training at Nālandā and Vikramśīla continued till the collapse of these learning centers. After the destruction of those centers from the hands of Muslim invaders led by Bakhtiyār Khilji in the beginning of thirteenth century, Nepalese Buddhists too lost their centre of higher Buddhist education. Furthermore, they also lost their vibrant connection with Indian Buddhist masters and were left isolated, devoid of any further interaction but to decide on their own in the future. Considering the situation, most of the scholars held the view that in Nepal the Indian Buddhist tradition of Nālandā still survive in the form of Nepalese Buddhism (now known as Newār Buddhism) which is the continuation of the Nālandā Buddhist tradition. However, the collapse of Nālandā and Vikramśīla had a remarkable effect on Nepalese Buddhism. It needs a separate research to find out full details of impact.

6.2.2 Exodus of Indian Buddhist monks and masters

Destruction of great Indian monasteries like Nālandā, Vikramsikā, Odantapuri and Jagadala etc. not only put halt to opportunity of higher Buddhist education for Nepalese Buddhist masters but it also caused exodus of Indian Buddhists to Nepal. Nepal Maṇḍala saw the influx of Buddhist monks and masters from India, mainly from Bengal side in the beginning of thirteenth century. They were those who fled from India (mainly from Bengāl and Bihār) to save themselves from the cruelty of Turkish Army led by Ikhtiyarudin Mahammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji who sacked and destroyed the Buddhist monasteries including Nālandā and put thousands of Bhikṣus to the sword.⁶³ Many Mahantas (monastic heads), Puṇḍits and renowned Buddhist scholars like Ratnārakṣita, Raviśrībhadrā, Vibhūticandra came to Nepal for asylum after Muslim invasion in Eastern India including Bihār and Bengal during the period of first half of thirteenth century. They made their abode in the Vihāras of the

⁶³ J.L. Mehta, *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*, (Vol. I: 1000–1526 A.D.), Reprint 1983, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1979, P. 81

valley permanently.⁶⁴ They brought along with them Buddhist manuscripts and texts which added to the store of Saṁskṛit Buddhist literature in Nepal. Now, Nepal had the glory of the possession of Saṁskṛit Buddhist literature, most of which were lost from other parts of the globe. Vibhūticandra, disciple of KāśmiriMahā PaṇḍitaŚākyaśrībhadra, the last abbot of the Vikramśīla Monastery studied under Ratnarakṣita and Nepalese Buddhist master Buddhāśrī. Later he became the abbot of Thambahi in Nepal.⁶⁵ The incidence of influx of Indian Buddhist monks and masters contributed to strengthening Buddhism in Nepal-maṇḍala. Contemporary Buddhists gathered in Nepalese Vihāras to attend their discourses on Buddhism. Among them include the Tibetan scholars who were in the valley to learn from them. It was in these Vihāras where the scholars both from home and abroad interacted, practiced and copied Buddhist scriptures.

However, it also seems that some non Buddhist Muslims seeking migration also took advantage from the Indian Buddhist exodus. Some Muslim intentionally migrated to Nepal valley from India (Bengal and Bihar) and settled here. That's why a Muslim Mosque (Masjid) was established in the centre of Kathmandu valley through their activities just within the time span of 175 after the destruction of Nālandā and resultant exodus. After that, the number of Muslims grew in later period, once the Masjid was established.

6.3 Period of hardship

The early medieval period in the history of Nepal had a remarkable and decisive impact on Buddhism though period was also known for fatal upheavals like internal and external scuffles among the rulers and political instability. Disturbance resulting in dual or triple ruler-ships, natural calamities like famines, epidemics, devastating multiple earthquakes killing even the

⁶⁴Shankar Thapa, *Historical Context of Newār Buddhism, The Vajrayāna Tradition of Nepal*, Lalitpur: Nagarjuna Publication Pvt. Ltd, 2005

⁶⁵RyugenTanemura, *KuladuttaŚarmā's Kriyāsaṁgrahapañjikā*, Groningen Netherland: Egbert Forsten, 2004 A.D., P.7.

rulers like Abhayamalla (in 1255 AD N.S. 375.), successive Khasiya invasions led by Jitārimalla (1287-1288 AD), by Ripumalla (1313 AD), and by Adityamalla (1328 AD) and Karnata Doya invasions (1291-1324 AD) led by Cadreśwara, a minister of Harsimhadeva and by Harasimhadeva himself (1324-1325 A.D.), and Muslim attack led by Samsuddin (in 1346 and 1350 AD).⁶⁶ Such critical situation brought by several factors must have compelled the people take refuge in Buddhism, the Dharma serving mankind and alleviating worldly suffering. Buddhist adherents repaired their monasteries, rebuilt their artifacts devastated by multiple attacks by Samsudin in 1349 A.D. and revived their popular festivals. All repair works were accomplished by the Buddhist communities, mainly merchants and monks. Several inscriptions like Lalitpur Pimbahāl inscription⁶⁷ 1368 A.D. (of 479 N.S.) on a caitya, Lalitpur Nhubahāl inscription⁶⁸ of 1360 A.D. (481 N.S.) on a caitya, Svayambhū inscription of 1371 A.D. (492 N.S. on stone plates arranged in a row towards north of Svayambhū etc), shed light on repair works done after destruction by Samsudin attack upon Buddhist shrine. Khasa rulers in the western Nepal, being themselves Buddhists though they had made multiple invasions on the valley, have proved to be less devastating. Implicitly they have benefited in some ways to the Buddhist practices of Kathmandu Valley.

6.4 Consolidation of Buddhism amidst Several Hindrances

In early medieval period, Buddhism flourished, providing a new dimension to both the material and spiritual life of the people of Nepal though the period is often highlighted as dark period in the history. Probably the growing isolation of Buddhist communities constantly strengthened and nourished by new stimuli that led to the unique development of the Nepalese form of Buddhism.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Bajracharya, *Op.cit.*, f.n. 31, Pp. 142-148.

⁶⁷Vajracharya, *cit.*, f.n. 35, Pp. 150-151.

⁶⁸*Ibid*, P. 153.

⁶⁹Siegfried Leinhard, "The Survival of Indian Buddhism in a Himalayan Kingdom", in Henz Bechert and Richard Gombrich (Ed), *The World Of Buddhism, Buddhist Monks*, P. 109.

Buddhist practitioners adopted some new changes to cope with the difficult situation. Some notable changes were reducing the actual monk life to four day practice, adoption of adikarmic bodhisattva concept, Buddhist practice in household setting (because total monastic practice became nearly impossible in that prevailing situation), emphasis on adoption of group oriented practice like performance of mass Astamīvrata, festivals, growing movement of syncretism etc. The people also learnt some new techniques like Sorhasraddha, production of Hākujāki, sinkemani or sinke. Practice of Sorhasraddhawishing emancipation of all the deceased relatives or persons killed in numbers during the period of natural calamities like earthquake or epidemics, was introduced as performing sraddha for individual dead person became less practical. Performance done for the mass benefit with mass involvement drew more attention and priority than those done individually. This nurtured the feeling of unshakable togetherness for the Buddhists. Besides, a tradition of annual public display of Buddhist articles/properties of the monasteries, including valuable images, artifacts, manuscripts etc that had been hidden in fear of robbery/theft at the time of valley invasion also started. The tradition is still followed in the Kathmandu valley in the name of Bahidyobwayegu during Guṃlāmonth. To keep vigilance of intruders and possible attacks from outside, the people learnt building houses with Varandās and open Kausis for safety purpose so that they can arrange timely escape from the houses. Therefore, when all was falling down in terms of political situation, economics and other development, Buddhism prevailed with new zeal and reinforcement. Buddhism was further strengthened through the activities of refugee Indian Buddhists who fled India facing Muslim attack in Bengal. The local Buddhists helped them and in return they participated actively in local Buddhist activities. The changes that occurred in Buddhism during early medieval period had wide-ranging consequences. Out of the many changes, three developments are worth mentioning.

- (1) During the early medieval period, Buddhism already incorporated Tantra. This development led to the establishment of the fast growing Buddhist sect called Vajrayāna based on the concept of mystical power derived from ritual exercise in the form of siddhi.
- (2) Secondly, the period saw decline of celibate monks, disappearance of Bhikṣuṃs and growth of house-holder monks.
- (3) Thirdly, early medieval period witnessed the efflorescence of Buddhist Mahāvihāras which led to firm institutionalization of Buddhism as a different current of religion. By then, these Mahāvihāras had become the centers of all sort of religious activities led by house-holder monks. Outcome was disappearance of Hinayāna while Mahāyāna continued on the basis of Vajrayāna principles, with the quaint mixture of Tantric Tradition. This is now known as Newār Buddhism. This is a unique form of Buddhism in Nepal.⁷⁰

It can be surmised that in spite of political instability and adverse conditions during early medieval period, Buddhism continued due to support of local Newāra Buddhists with adoption of some major changes to suit the changing situation of that time. The result is that while Buddhism was declining till it finally ceased on Indian soil, Nepal was turning into a central sanctuary for monks, scholars and artists from India, who had crucial effect on both the religions and artistic life of the Buddhist Newāras. Though Buddhist contact with India ceased, this period was marked with the revival and growth of Buddhist cultural activities in Kathmandu Valley. Buddhists in Nepal were enjoying an era of progress and fresh lease of life as the mass migration of Indian Buddhists ousted by the Turkish invasion was mostly destined to Nepal. In this way, Nepal played the unique role of a cultural buffer between India and

⁷⁰Harischandra Lal Singh, *Buddhism in Nepal*, Lalitpur: InduChhapakhana Pvt. Ltd., 1990, P. 45

Nepal. Thus Nepal later emerged as the custodian of the Buddhist scriptures, since it became an abode of Buddhist learning and art for Northern Buddhist regions. Therefore, the period 733 – 1396A.D. remained glorious not only in the history of Buddhism in Nepal but also in the history of Buddhism in totality.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Though the period 733 A.D. to 1396 seems politically a dark period, it has remained culturally and religiously an age of significance in the history of Buddhism of Nepal. It was the liberal attitude of earlier Licchavī kings (386-733AD) that helped to promote Buddhism in the country. Although Śaivists or Vaisnavists themselves by faith, the Licchavī kings kept the people's faith on Buddhism alive and treated Buddhism in the same esteem. Gum Vihāra, Man Vihāra, Senegu Vihāra, Madhyama Vihāra, Khajurika Vihāras were some specific Vihāras built during the period. They founded Gosthīs (trusts), donated lands to meet the expenses. Such trusts were named after Bhikhu Saṅgha, Bhikhunī Saṅgha, Ārya Saṅgha, Mahāsaṅghika Bhikhu or Bhikhuni Saṅgha etc. It is remarkable that even bhikhunī sanghas existed in the Licchavi and early medieval period. Vihāras were entrusted with judiciary rights and were facilitated with the collection of fines raised from penalties against unlawful acts.. Besides Vihāras, the great caityas like Dhandodaya Caitya, Khasti Caitya and Pimbāhāla Caitya were established in the valley. The Svyambhu caitya was renovated. The later acted as a unifying factor for Newār Buddhist.

Nepāla Maṇḍala or the Nepal valley was not only the administrative center but also the culture and religions of Licchavī dominion. There was steady flow of cultural influences from India directly countered with Hinduism and Buddhism. Although, it is difficult to mention definitely that which school of Buddhism was prominent during the period, the strongest influences came from Mahasanghika, Sammitiya, Sarvāstivāda, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. Huien Tsang, the Chinese traveler in the mid-7th century in his travel account had already mentioned that

there were two thousands Buddhist ecclesiastics or monks belonging to both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna. It is understandable here that by Hinayana, it did not mean Theravada but it might be Mahasanghika or Sarvastivada. Indian sources say they were Sarvastivada. Buddhist Vihāras were developed as centers of Buddhist activities, interaction, dwelling places of Buddhist practitioners, monks and scholars coming from all directions.

The glorious years of Licchavī rule was intercepted by a gap of nearly 146 years i.e. the period after Jaya Deva II A.D. i.e. 733AD to the period of Rāghav Deva, 879 AD. Although nothing can be said about the political history, the period remained equally remarkable from Buddhist perspective. The period (733 – 1396) witnessed the visit of Indian and Tibetans scholars to Nepāla Maṇḍala and the Nepal valley being established as center for Buddhist study and practice. From many aspects, early medieval period of Nepal is also taken as one of the important periods in the history of Buddhism in Nepal. It is true that the period lack adequate historical documents to throw light on the role of the kings and their contribution to the promotion of Buddhism. Available sources point out that Buddhism flourished during the period. It was in the beginning of this period that the renowned three Indian Buddhist scholars i.e. Śāntarakṣita, Padamsaṃbhava and Kamalāsila who came to Nepal on their way to Tibet worked hard for the promotion of Buddhism in the valley. With the coming of the trio-scholars the Nepal valley turned eventful from religious and socio-cultural view point. Those who came here from India delivered discourses and those coming from Tibet listened to them.

The trio who played significant role in establishment of Buddhism in Tibet also had contributed a lot in Nepal. They also enriched the Vihāras with Buddhist scriptures. They worked with truly Buddhist motive and compassion for all in India, Nepal and Tibet and became successful in spreading Vajrayāna keeping its sway over all existent Buddhist sects. The trio had brought significant

changes in the Nepalese Buddhism while they stayed in the Valley. Their contribution helped Buddhism to flourish in the country.

The trios are found addressed in Tibetan history as medieval scholars. Following the trio, many Siddhacaryas like Saharpāda, Kanha, Dombi, Kambalambara, Kabiri, Tulasi etc. worked along with Nepālese Buddhist masters in Nepal. They were best known for their composition of caryā songs which are still sung during Buddhist ceremonies. Among them contribution of Saharpāda is the most memorable one.

Atisā, another renowned Buddhist monk scholar from Vikramasila Mahāvihāra of India visited Nepāla Maṇḍala during eleventh century A.D. He stayed for one year in Nepal. He had reformative approach towards Buddhism and had composed many texts. Among his works, Caryāsaṃgrahapradīpa, Vimalalekharatnanāma, Bodhisattvādīmārgāvatāra-deśanā were believed to have been written for Nepalese Buddhists. Buddhists of Nepāla Maṇḍalastill practice following the instructions contained in these composition even today. His magnum opus text, Bodhipath-pradīpa written for Tibetan Buddhists is equally relevant to Nepalese Buddhism. Similarly several other Indian Buddhist scholars visited and stayed in Nepal and contributed to the Buddhism in Nepal. Among them, Diwākara Chandra, Ratnarakṣita, Dharmaswāmī, were remarkable. Their accounts are also notable in the development of Buddhism.

During the period many Nepalese Buddhist scholars contributed in its development. Some of the noticeable ones are Leelavajra (743), Mahāpaṇḍita Gautamasri(923 A.D.), Gautamasri (924), Bodhi Gupta (967), Śāntibhadra, Anantasri, Advayavajra:(965-1030), Mahākaruṇā(11th century), Ravindra Deva(1063), Bajrakarajiva (1,084), Vagiśvarakīrti, Paṇḍita KuladattaŚarmā, Tathāgatavajra, Anupamvajra (1098 A.D.), Sunyasrimisra (1100 A.D), Mahapaṇḍita Ratnarakṣita(1160-1230 A.D.), KirtisriJñāna (1207), Candrapāla (1248), Birāmati (1253). Among them Advyavajra composed

Advyavajrasaṃgraha containing short works dealing with different aspects of life of the Buddhists. Paṇḍita Kuladatta Śarmā is another Buddhist scholar who composed Buddhist texts like Kriyāsaṃgraha and Kriyāsaṃgrapañjikā that contained aspects of ritual practice for Buddhist initiation, ritual procedure for construction of Buddhist Vihāras etc. which are still in practice today. Similarly, Vagiśvarakīrti from Pharping initiated many Buddhists including Tibetans on Guhyasamājatantra, Kālacakra, Saṃbhara and Heyvajratāntra and contributed to Buddhism of Nepāla Maṇḍala and spread Buddhism to Tibet. Many other eminent Nepalese Buddhist scholars had worked for the promotion of Buddhism of Nepal Maṇḍala in the projected period.

Similarly, some Tibetan monks/scholars had also worked in Nepal for the cause of Buddhism. They mostly came for having Buddhist teachings from Nepalese masters and Indian masters residing in Nepal. Some notable Tibetan scholars are Tibetan Mar-pa-do-pa(1012 A.D.), MarpaLho-brag-pa(1012-1097), Milārepā (1040-1021 A.D.), Dharmaswāmī (1197-1264 A.D.) who worked in Nepal for substantial period and made contribution.

It becomes obvious from the available evidences that Svayambhuhas been already established in the period as Source of Buddhist Unity and locus or base of Buddhist cultural activities. Svayambhu, the self-originated one is regarded as abode of Pañcabuddha, and emblem of Dharmakāya, Ādibuddha. It was so famous that it attracted scores of foreign Buddhists. Whosoever foreign Buddhist master/scholar visited Nepal; he did not fail to pay obeisance to Svayambhu. It seems the purpose of his sojourn in Nepal was to visit Svayambhu. Svayambhu's representation at every Vihāra was made mandatory. Local Vihāras were elaborated, fortified and promoted to Mahavihāras.

Actually the Nepalese Buddhists adhere to their religious practices as mentioned in their locally popular text, *Swayambhu-purana*, a classical

Buddhist religious text of Kathmandu, highly revered, available in various long and short forms. It highlights the importance of *Svayambhu* which is the most sacred monument in the *Newār Buddhist* community and serves as the ontological source of the religion, as indicated by textual evidence and ritual practices. The perspectives in *Svayambhū Purāṇa* not envisaging Buddhism as soteriology but meeting worldly means, maintaining the ideal of Bodhisattva instead of the celibate monk had served as driving motivational force for Nepalese Buddhists. There formed a vital and energetic community of practitioners who adhere to a set of practices revolving around the narrative of the *Svayambhū purāṇa*. It would not be exaggeration to say that Nepalese Buddhism revolves around *Svayambhū Purāṇa* that gave a unique definite shape to Newār Buddhism.

Early medieval Nepal Maṇḍala had to face repeated attacks from the neighboring countries and was full of up and down. Political instability due to the conflicts among the rulers was one of the reasons. As the consequence of the conflicts, the central political power weakened and it was exploited by neighboring states i.e. Khasa and Doya. They began attacking Nepāla Maṇḍala repeatedly. The Khasa rulers were strong in military power. Although they attacked Nepal Maṇḍala in 1287 A.D. and 1327 A.D. it is unique to find them spending months in Nepal worshiping Svayambhu and organizing Saṅgha Bhojan to those initiated at Svayambhu, observing Ratha Jātrā of the Lokeśvara. They offered gold and silver to the image of Paśupati also. Irrespective of their victory and right to occupy, they returned with the ransom they raised from the people.

Similarly, the Doya kingdom established by Nanya Deva in Simrongadhain the South also exercised strong military power attacking the valley. As such, the Doyas, from beginning targeted Nepāla Maṇḍala for extension of their state and attacked Kathmandu Valley several times beginning from 1111 A.D. to 1291 A.D. Their repeated attacks destroyed many Buddhist monuments.

Arrival of Śaṃkarācārya from Agnimatha of Kaśi, India along with his followers in twelfth century during the period of Śiva Deva with the motive of Hindu evangelization in Nepal, also posed threatening to Buddhism. His influence is mentioned negatively in Nepālese history regarding Buddhism. Mentions were made on his activities like burning Buddhist texts, destroying Caityas located at Saṃkhu Vajrayoginī, misbehaving Buddhist monks and nuns and forcing to them to marry each other demoralized the people and so forth.

Muslim army led by Samsudin, the sultan of Bengal attacked Nepāla Maṇḍala through Bhaktapur. It was most destructive and dangerous attack to Nepāla Maṇḍala. On the first day of their invasion they plundered Bhaktapur. On the same day the army destroyed Paśupatinātha Temple and looted the treasure. Next, Samsudin's army attacked and destroyed the Svayambhu Stupā. They uprooted the monument, looted the valuables from the garva(bosom) and put the city on fire for seven days. The Muslim army marched towards Lalitpur, next important Buddhist city of Nepal. They destroyed Pimbāhāla caitya of Lalitpur and pillaged away the valuables.

The period witnessed not only scuffles among the rulers for power possession, internal raids from Khasa and Doya states, and external invasion of Samsudin, but also some of disastrous natural calamities like earthquakes, drought famine and epidemics of cholera claiming lives of thousands of people and loss of property.

Hindrances one after another caused difficulty to practice dharma. They became busy in self-protection than devotion in religious activities, the natural calamities as earth quake of N.S B. 375, drought epidemics of cholera, invasion by Doya and Khasa king in the year N.S. 431, 432 and Samsudins attack of N.S.430 devastated many Bāhās, Bahī, including Buddhist monuments like other Caityas, kwapādyo etc. The country saw a great loss of lives and property. Buddhists maintained their traditions with their indefatigable efforts.

For example, dismantled and destroyed monuments were later restored. All that happened during the period disturbed the country during the period, and could not give their due attention in writing inscriptions or their history as continued by their predecessors after Licchavī rulers. Their attention seems diverted to protecting and defending the country from such attacks.

The Turkish attack of twelfth century on different great Buddhist monastic institutes of India like Vikramśīla, Nālandāetc made both negative and positive impact on the development of Buddhism of Nepal. Nepalese Vihāras turned as safe place for them as they took refuge in the valley. They brought with them Buddhist manuscripts. It made Vihāras as store house of Buddhist manuscripts/scriptures.

As the rulers and the government officers were busy with minor restoration work of devastated state, people involved themselves in protection their life and arranging foods for urgency to avoid starvation. Only after a long gap of time Buddhist devotees could make major renovations e.g. Rajharsh Bhalok restored Svyambhu and Meghapāla of Lalitpur restored Pimbāhālacaitya several years later. Many Vihāras and Buddhist monuments were lost. They were either buried under ground or burned to ash in the face of devastating attacks. These obstacles during the period put the pace of development and expansion of Buddhism into setback for some time and people were making their efforts to come into normal situation. However, the period was passed with many changes aiming at coping with the adverse situation.

Even in difficult situation full of hindrances, Buddhists did not cease to carry on their religious activities including celebration of the festivals. Their motivation and enthusiasm towards Buddhism grew much stronger so that they played even active roles with feeling of togetherness activated by hindrances. Festivals like Kumari Jatra or Bungadyo: or red Matchendranātha festival, Pañcadāna festival, Samyaka festivals were continuously celebrated with

involvement of kings, and people. They respected and offered obeisance to deity's irrespective religion they followed. Buddhists worked with wider view of syncretism between Buddhism and Hinduism. Hindu deities are viewed as bodhisattvas meant for benefits of all. There was closeness between Buddhists and Hindus which grew with time. This was the system of the period that made then society free from any bigotry and illiberal attitude. Medieval hindrances though detrimental to development taught Nepalese Buddhists bear with difficult situation, to work in group unifying their power in positive way. There are many such inspiring instances we find in the history of Nepal.

And, the Nepalese Buddhists of the Nepal Maṇḍala adopted several changes in their religious practices and developed a unique tradition i.e. the Mahāyānī and Vajrayānī Buddhist tradition based on profound principles of Sravakayana, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna in conception of tolerance. The tradition was focused on laity. Later it came to be known by the term Newār Buddhism. During the period Nepal remained as the center of Buddhist activities where Indian Pundits came to preach the dharma to the people and the Tibetans monks came to learn from them. Trade with Tibet was promoted, art and architecture was developed, many new Vihāras were built and doors of the Vihāra were made open to all laities without any caste bar. Bāhā and Bahī developed and became popular as center for Buddhist learning. Impact of these activities also influenced then ruler and followers of Buddhism. Many new Bāhās and Bahī were made, while existing ones were renovated, fortified, decorated with added embellishments. Interaction with the visiting scholars, the local inhabitants i.e. the Newār Buddhists developed a unique tradition i.e. the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna tradition based on profound principle of Srāvakayana, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna in conception of tolerance. In long run it became popular by the term Newār Buddhism maintaining the valley as the homeland of Mahāyāna Vajrayāna form of Buddhism. And it developed early medieval period as the golden age of Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna form of Buddhism. However, the celibate monasticism totally declined as the buddhist practices centered around

household setting. Similarly, Bhikkuni tradition also waned for the same reason.

The medieval rulers continued their patronization in Buddhism as in early medieval period and Buddhism was flourishing. The Buddhist Vihāras and caityas were constructed in maximum numbers during the period and they were more artistic. Similarly, Buddhist culture and tradition also continued with more new events or festivals added. However, decline in Buddhism was noticed after the rule of Sthitimallai.e after the period 733 – 1396 AD. Hindu evangelization grew due to partiality of the ruling government favoring Hinduism causing Hindu conversion of the Buddhists. However, the people were somehow attached to Buddhism as revealed from then inscriptions. Itumbāhāla inscription of N.s. 502, Jayashimḥarāma and his brother established statue of Dipaṃkara Buddha and Āryavalokiteśvara of Bunga. The inscription also highlights main objective of his work is to inaugurate the image of Ārya Tara and invocation of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and Tara.

The waning further continued when Nepal Maṇḍala was divided into three separate kingdoms- Kantipur, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur during the period of King Yakṣa Malla (1485-1537), son of Jyotī malla. As the rulers of the three kingdoms vied one another with their priorities of importance. Lalitpur gave priority to promotion of Ratomatchendranath, Kantipur stressed upon cult of Kumāri tradition while Bhaktapur gave importance to Taleju Bhawānī tradition. Due to such separate priorities among the rulers regarding the religious practices of royal choice, a state of confusion prevailed in Buddhism. Finally after unification of the country through the leadership of Prithvi Nārāyana Śāha, the rulers one-sidedly supported Hinduism persecuting Buddhist revolutionists during Śāha or Rānā regime. They even did not hesitate to declare the state as the Hindu country. But, Buddhism never died out as it so happened in India. It is still continuing with the efforts of local people in Nepal

In conclusion, the following points can be considered as the highlights of the period (733 – 1396) regarding the state of Buddhism in Nepal Maṇḍala.

1. The period received Buddhism in fully flourished condition as it was in India. Licchavī rulers, being themselves devotees of Śaivism, also patronized Buddhism. Many Vihāras were established as the center for Buddhist activities, interaction, dwelling place for all the Buddhist and Buddhist monks and Buddhist scholars coming from all direction. Besides, Saṅghas of some Vihāras were given judiciary rights in local affairs and were authorized to receive income through taxes or penalties to add income of their trust. From every aspect Licchavī period is considered golden period.
2. The period saw further proliferation of Vihāras and growth of Buddhist activities, mostly during early medieval period. Vihāras were elaborated, fortified with decorative art and promoted to Mahāvihāras which became the center of all sort of religious activities led by house-holder monks.
3. Still, most of the existing Vihāras of Kathmandu in approximately 400 are believed to have been built in that period. However, most of them were renovated in later medieval period or modern period.
4. Svayambhu emerged as the symbol of Buddhist unity and the source of Buddhist culture. Its popularity attracted all the Buddhists. Therefore, foreign Buddhist masters/scholars kept visiting Nepal Maṇḍala and engaged in Buddhist activities. It occupied central position and the Buddhist activities were centered towards it.
5. Buddhism developed as a lay oriented folk religion. Non practitioners could also get benefits through the help of practitioners, Vajrācārya and Śākyas. Practices were made lay oriented by popularizing/introducing colorful cultures like Dipamkara cult, Lokeśvara cult, Pañcabuddha cult, Caitya cult, Guṃla ceremony etc. which involve public involvement.

6. The period witnessed decline in Bhiksuni tradition and celibate monasticism. The practitioners' preferred Buddhist practices in household setting.
7. Introduction of Daśakarma rites:

Daśakarmarites and rituals followed as rites of passage of life also seem to have originated during early medieval period after the formation of the guiding manual texts like Kriyāsaṃgraha, Kriyāsamuccaya etc. of 12th century.

8. Similarly Newār Buddhist death rituals based upon DurgatipariśodhanaMaṇḍala, and Utkāntīalso seem to have originated within 733-1396 period.
9. It was the period when Buddhism was established in Tibet. In this movement several Nepalese and Indian Buddhist masters helped the campaign. In this connection, contribution of the trio Indian Buddhist masters- Śāntarakṣiita, Padmasaṃbhava and Kamalaśīla was most remarkable. Their works in Nepal was also not less worth-mentioning. They strengthened Buddhism and due to their effort, all extant Buddhist sects of that time transformed into Vajrayāna which ruled successfully then after.
10. In the middle of 11th century, Buddhism went on another round of reformation due to effort of Atisā Dipaṃkara Srijnana in Tibet and Nepal. He stayed in Nepal for a year in 1041 AD.
11. The period witnessed disappearance of different Buddhist sects like Mahāsaṃghika, Sarvastīvāda, Sammitiya, Mahāyāna etc. and their final transformation into Vajrayāna with Nepālese style.
12. Probably the growing isolation of Buddhist Newār communities constantly strengthened and nourished by new stimuli that led to the unique development of the Nepalese form of Buddhism.

13. On one side while Buddhism finally ceased to exist in Indian soil, Nepal, on the other side, became a central sanctuary for monks, scholars and artists from India, who had crucial effect on both the religions and artistic life of the Buddhist Newārs. Though Buddhist contact with India collapsed, this period was marked with the revival and growth of Buddhist cultural activities in Kathmandu Valley. Buddhists in Nepal were enjoying an era of progress and fresh lease of life as the mass migration of Indian Buddhists ousted by the Turkish invasion was mostly destined to Nepal.
14. Nepal emerged as the custodian of the Buddhist scriptures, since it became an abode of Buddhist learning and art for Northern Buddhist regions.
15. The period is full of direct and indirect hindrances or obstacles in the path of development. Buddhism could have declined. But it did not. Amidst several hindrances Buddhism thrived and continued successfully incorporating some changes through the period. Buddhism did not wipe out as it was in India by the end of the period. The major hindrances that posed during that period are as follows.
 - a) Beginning of multiple ruling causing internal scuffles for power sharing.
 - b) Emergence of the Doya and Khasa Kingdoms causing competition among the rulers of the separate kingdom.
 - c) Internal invasions by Khasa and Doya chieftains that caused destruction to public life and Buddhist monuments.
 - d) Natural Calamities like earthquakes, famines, epidemics
 - e) Samsuddhin's attacks that are supposed to be most devastating when most of the Buddhist monuments were damaged.
 - f) Śankarācārya's Visit to Nepāla Maṇḍala that began Hindu evangelization.
 - g) Advent of Sthitimalla and his policy of Hindu evangelization

- h) Collapse of great Buddhist monastic Universities in India(1197-1205) that closed the door for connection between Nepalese and Indian Buddhists and their access to higher Buddhist education/training in academic way.
- i) Exodus of Indian Buddhist monks and masters causing their inflow into Nepal. Some Muslims took advantage of migration into Nepal and later they established Mosque in Kathmandu and their activities further grew.

Conclusion and the Findings

Though the period 733 to 1396 A.D. seems politically a dark period, it has remained culturally and religiously an age of significance in the history of Buddhism of Nepal. It was the liberal attitude of earlier Licchavi kings that helped to promote Buddhism in the country. Although Saivists or Vaisnavists themselves by faith, the Licchavi kings kept the people's faith on Buddhism alive and treated Buddhism in the same esteem. They laid the foundation of vihar culture and built Vihars during the period. They founded Gosthis (trusts), donated lands to meet the expenses. Such trusts were named after Bhikhu Sangha, Bhikhunī Sangha, Vihars were entrusted with judiciary rights. Besides Vihars, the great caityas like Dhandodaya Caitya, Khasti Caitya and Pimbhala Caitya were established in the valley. The Svyambhu caitya which acted as a unifying factor for Newr Buddhists was repeatedly renovated.

1. The history of early mediaval Nepal was not a dark period as described by the scholars.

The period (733 – 1396) witnessed the visit of Indian and Tibetans scholars to Nepal Mandala. Indian Buddhist scholars Santaraksita, Padmsambhava and Kamalsila, connected with Buddhist University like Nalanda, Vikramsila, Odantpuri, came to Nepal Mandala during 8th century A.D. on their way to Tibet. They stayed in Nepal Mandal and worked hard for the development and

promotion of Buddhism. With the coming of the trio-scholars, the Nepal valley turned eventful from religious and socio-cultural view point. Tibetan Buddhist monks came to Nepal Mandala to learn and hear preaching on Buddhism from the trios. Vihars of Nepal Mandala where they stayed, soon became popular as a center for Buddhist learning and Buddhist activities in Tibet and India. The credit for continuity of Buddhism in Nepal through Licchavi period to early medieval period can be assigned to the trio- Santaraksita, Padmsambhava and Kamalsila.

2. The period of early mediaval Nepal introduced new approach in Buddhist practices.

Buddhist scholars of the early mediaval period introduced new approach in Buddhist practices. Atisa, Anupamvajra, Adoyavajra, Kuldutta Sharma were among them. Atisa, who stayed in Nepal Mandala and composed different Buddhist texts for Buddhist practices. He is known to have stayed here at Tham Bahil for a year in 1041 A.D. Among his works, Charyasamgrahapradip, Vimalalekharatnanma, were believed to have been written for Nepalese Buddhists for Adikarmik Bodhisttwo practices.

Similarly, Anupamvajra composed Adikarmik Pradip in the year 1098 A.D. that had profound impact on daily practice of Newar Buddhists till to-day. It contains fourteen different steps to be carried out daily. Pandit Kuldutta Sharma composed Kriyasangraha and Kriyasangrapanjika which are still of great importance for Buddhists of Nepal. The texts contain important ritual practices for establishing caityas and Vihars, and for conduction of initiation or Barechuyegu or Making of Sakya Bhikhu.

Adoyavajrasmgrah, composed by Buddhist scholar Adoyavara provides a training course for newly initiated or adikarmic boddhisttwos. It having twenty one short works deals with refutation of false view and different aspects of Buddhism which are still applied by Newar Buddhist. Ugraparipaccha sutra, a

Mahayan Sanskrit scripture that deals about evolution of householder monk, guides lay buddhists in practicing and generating boddhichitta or bodhi mind.

3. Svayambhu: stood as the source of Buddhist culture and Newar Buddhist identity.

It becomes obvious from the available evidences that Svayambhu has been already established in the period as Source of Buddhist Unity and locus or base of Buddhist cultural activities. Svayambhu was popular as Adi Buddha since the Licchivi period. Socio-cultural life of people of Nepal Mandala and their traditions are found shaped by the philosophical influence of Svayambhu. Panca-Buddha enshrined around its dome, is regarded as the concept of five Buddhas and its five consorts which represent guiding tools towards supreme knowledge. As such Svayambhu is given so much importance that every ritual practice or festival or any big functions, like, Acharyavisak, wedding, enthronement of elders etc or ritual performances like diksa or secret initiation etc are performed in presence of Svayambhu, abode of Panca Buddha. We find, Panca Buddha carved in the windows, doors, pillars, torans kept just above the doors. When people carry out auspicious functions the Ācārya or purohit puts on his head Mukut or crown with Panca Buddha, signifying Svayambhu. Furthermore, during traditional ceremonies like Barechuyegu(chudakarma), Nayoluyegu, Pancadan, Samyakdan, Nadan etc. a caitya with Panca Buddha is made present as the main object of worship. In this way, not only in social life, even art and architecture were influenced.

4. Repeated local and foreign invasion could not hurt people's inclination towards Buddhism.

Early medieval Nepal Mandala had to face repeated attacks from the neighboring countries like Doya and Khas destroying Buddhist monuments, vihars and political situation was not stable. Arrival of Samkaracharya of Kaśi,

India in twelfth century, with the motive of Hindu evangelization in Nepal, also posed threatening to Buddhism. Attack of Samsudin, the sultan of Bengal and looting of the valuables from the garva(bosom) of the Svayambhu stupa and treasure from Pasupatinath put the city on fire for seven days, but they could not distract public attachment to Buddhism.

As the rulers and the government officers were busy with minor restoration work of devastated state, people involved themselves in protection of their life and arranging foods for urgency to avoid starvation. Only after a long gap of time Buddhist devotees could make major renovations of destroyed monuments like Svayambhu and Pimbāhāla caitya. Many Viharas and Buddhist monuments were lost. Even in difficult situation full of hindrances, Buddhists did not cease to carry on their religious activities including celebration of the festivals. Their motivation and enthusiasm towards Buddhism grew much stronger so that they played even active roles with feeling of togetherness activated by hindrances. Medieval hindrances though detrimental to development taught Nepalese Buddhists bear with difficult situation, to work in group unifying their power in positive way. There are many such inspiring instances we find in the history of Nepal.

5. People struggled for reconstruction of Buddhist monuments after the great earthquake of 1254 A.D.(N.S.375.).

The period also witnessed natural calamities like great earthquakes during the period of ruler Abhayamalla. Two third of population including ruler Abhayamalla was killed and property was destroyed. Many vihars were turned into dust, monuments and public houses were damaged. It made foreign Buddhist scholars, living in Nepal Mandala, feel unsafe and returned to Tibet or India and settled there. Although it was a great loss for Nepal still the local inhabitants left no stone unturned for the reconstruction of these destructed monuments and development Buddhism regained in later medieval period.

6. The period witnessed viharas of Nepal Mandala developed as store house of Buddhist scriptures and center for Buddhist activities.

The Turkish attack of twelfth century on different great Buddhist monastic institutes of India like Vikramsila, Nalanda etc. made both negative and positive impact on the development of Buddhism of Nepal. Indian Buddhist scholars of such great monastic institutes felt Viharas of Nepal Mandala a safe place from muslim attack and took refuge in the viharas and stored Buddhist manuscripts which they brought along with them. It made Viharas as store house of Buddhist manuscripts/scriptures. The situation made, Buddhists from Tibet and India, to visit these viharas to learn and practice Buddhism from such great teachers and the viharas turned into Buddhist learning center. Buddhist pupils used to feel proud in having Nepalese Viharas as their learning center with teachers from Nalanda or so forth, like some one feels when admitted to Oxford university or Harvard university these days.

7. The period brought changes in religious practices.

The Nepalese Buddhists of the Nepal Mandala adopted several changes in their religious practices and developed a unique tradition i.e. the Mahayani and Vajrayani Buddhist tradition based on profound principles of Sravakayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana. In conception of tolerance Viharas were made open to all laities without any caste bar. However, the celibate monasticism totally declined as the Buddhist practices centered around household setting. Similarly, Bhikkuni tradition also waned for the same reason.

8. Hindu evangelization, hindered the developing state of Buddhism.

The medieval rulers continued their patronization in Buddhism as in early medieval period and Buddhism was flourishing. The Buddhist Viharas and caityas were constructed in maximum numbers during the period and they were more artistic. Similarly, Buddhist culture and tradition also continued with

more new events or festivals added. However, Hindu evangelization grew due to partiality of the ruling government favoring Hinduism causing Hindu conversion of the Buddhists. But, the people were somehow attached to Buddhism. Although Sthithimalla had not interfered directly in the Buddhism, his caste system, Hindu partiality and rule of not changing religion made Buddhism to decline later after the period of Sthitimalla i.e 1396 AD. In other words, it is to say that Buddhism remained significant and influential during the period 733- 1396 AD.

9. The period witnessed the formation of several mass centered rituals.

The period witnessed formation of Sorahsradh or ancient rituals performed in the name of known and unknown victims of natural devastation like earthquake of N.S. 375. Those who died in the earthquakes could not be served with proper death rituals as per rules and regulation and tradition. In order to give them eternal peace and Nirman, Buddhist of the period introduced performing such rituals (lokatar sradha) once in a year in vihars (Baha and Bahi) in the name of such deceased people. This practice is still continued in some vihars of Nepal Mandal. Recitation of Namsangiti, a Buddhist texts, observance of Astami Vrata, Mataya or festival of light are other ritual that are performed in the name of deceased persons, in Vihars.

The changes that occurred in Buddhism during early medieval period had wide-ranging consequences. In short Buddhist traditions that has been introduced during the period 733 -1396 AD still continued through later medieval and modern period.

Therefore, the period from 733 A.D. to 1396 A.D. had been significant in the history of Buddhism of Nepāl from several aspects. The rulers and Buddhist practitioners had contributed much to the preservation and spread of Buddhism, Buddhist culture, tradition, arts and architecture. Without joint efforts from all concerned, Buddhism could have extincted as in India

APPENDIX-I

List of Bahas and Bahis of Patan, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Thimi and Sankhu

Bahas of Patan			
s.no	Local vihar name	Main vihar name	Address
1	Pām Bāhā	Kanaka datta vihāra	Natola
2	Kwātha Bāhā	Kotta vihāra	Natola
3	Na Bāhā	Padmavati vihāra	Natola
4	Dune naka Bāhā	(Padmavati) Yokulivarna vihāra	Natola
5	Gabahā	Gada vihāra (Sri nimna sri visvasanti vihāra)	Gabahā
6	Khwaybahi, tadhaṅgu	Kamuka Nāma mājāvihāra	Nabāhā, tola
7	Khwaybahi, cidhaṅgu		Natola
8	Sir Bāhā	`sri vaccha mahavihāra	Si Bāhā tola
9	Bacha Bāhā	`sri vaccha vihāra	Si Bāhā tola
10	Yāka Bāhā	Dharmakriti vihāra	Si Bāhā tola
11	Devarāja Bāhā	Devarāja vihāra	Bubāhā
12	Sija Bāhā	`sri vatsa duṇḍubhi vihāra	Bubāhā
13	Kisi cok	Sukhāvatitiprasāda triratnayoga hihāra	Bubāhā
14	Māka Bāhā	(śri vatsa) Kanakavarna vihāra	Si Bāhā tola
15	Chāya Bāhā (Cchwāca Bāhā)	Ratnamuni Samskārita vihāra (Chatravarma vihāra)	Chāya Bāhā
16	Ganes Bāhā (Tuṇ nani)	Cakramukta vihāra	Chāya Bāhā
17	Baāhācā	Chāya vihāra	Chāya Bāhā
18	Mu Bāhā	Mula śri vihāra (sri Gavarma Pinta Vihāra)	PimBāhā
19	Pim Bāhā	mahāpinta vihāra	PimBāhā

20	Duru nani Bāhā	Cūka vihāra	PimBāhā
21	Mikhā Bāhā	Suprekṣaṇa vihāra	Patandhoka
22	Wanlā Bāhā	Harsavīra Saṃskārita Wolānāma vihāra	Walā tola
23	Nhū Bāhā	Nava vihāra	Bubāhā
24	Ha Bāhā	śrī lakṣmī kalyāna varna saṃsārita ratnākara mahavihāra	Hakha Bāhā
25	Wāchwñ nanī Bāhācā	Dhanavata simha vihāra	Walā tola
26	Jyena Bāhā	`sri jñāna nāma vihāra	Jyena Bāhā
27	Nalacchī Bāhā	Jagat Maṇḍala vihāra	Agni math
28	Bhelaku Bāhā	Dharmakīrti mavihāriya Bhairava Kuṭa vihāra	Daubāhā
29	Nyākañ Bahī	Surascandra mahāvihāra	Ikhālakhu tola
30	Icchā Bāhā	Ikanāma vihāra	Ikhālakhu tola
31	Bubaha	Vidyādhara sarma saṃskārita yaśodhara (Bratma)mahāvihāra	Gābāhāla
32	Ibāhā	Yokuli Nāma vihāra	Gābāhāla
33	Nandaya Bubāhā	Devajyoti vihāra	Gābāhāla
34	Wanku DuBāha	vṛṣarāja vihāra	Gābāhāla
35	Jiswān Bāhā	Devarāja vihāra	
36	Bhagwān chok	Sukhāvati (Kalpa prasāda) vihāra	
37	Wana Bāhā	Udayadeva vihāra	wana Bāhā
38	Wangata Bāhā	Bhairava vihāra	Bubāhā
39	Dau Bāhā	Rudredeva Gargagotra varma Saṃskārita śrī Dattanāma mahavihāra	Dau Bāhā
40	Yoku Bāhā	Yokuli mavihāra	Dau Bāhā
41	Yeñkuli Bāhā (Keku	Sukhāvati prasāda vihāra	Dau Bāhā

	Bāhā)		
42	Wala Bāhā Datu Nanī	Yanta vihāra	Dau Bāhā
43	Joga Dhusa	Jagajoti vihāra	Dau Bāhā
44	Atha Bāhā	Ānandadeva Saṃskārīta Srī vatsa vihāra	Naka Bahī
45	Naka Bahi	Gangadeva Saṃskārīta Lokakīrti mahāvihāra	Naka Bahī
46	Thyāka Bāhā	Ratna Jyoti vihāra	Khāchen Bāhā
47	Khāchen Bāhā	Jyotivarna vihāra	Khāchen Bāhā
48	Nhū Bāhā	Navakrti vihāra	Dhalāychā
49	Dhauga Bahī	Manimaṇḍapa Mahāvihāra	Patuko
50	Yatā Bāhā	Hemapuri Vihāra	Balipha
51	Nākhācuk	Bhāskaravarna Vihāra	Nākhācuka
52	Unacabhājubala Bāhā	Bhaājubala Vihāra	Nākhācuka
53	Aki Bāhā	Atasakīrti Vihāra	Nyadha
54	Mati Bāhā	Mati Vihāra	Naka Bahī
55	Mati Bāhācā	Govinda Simha Vihāra	Naka Bahī
56	Nāg Bāhā	śrī Sajaya jitenā samsthāpita Vasuvarddhana Vihāra (Yitilan Vihāra)	Nāg Bāhā
57	Michu Bāhā	Caityavarna Vihāra	Eiā Nanī
58	Baidya Bāhā	Dvārikā Vihāra	Elā Nanī
59	Kwā Bāhā	Bhāskara Deva Saṃskārīta Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Kwālakhu
60	Sasu Nanī (Mañjusri Lanhe)	Vāgisvara Vihāra	Kwālakhu
61	Kutī Bāhā	Kwaniyam Vihāra	Nāg Bāhā

62	Ikhācheñ Bāhā	Suvarṇa Vihāra	Ikācheñ
63	Duntu Bahi	Gobardhana Miśra Nāpicandra Mahāvihāra	Ikhācheñ
64	Pintu Bahī	Gobardhana Miśra Nāpicandra Mahāvihāra	Ikhācheñ
65	Āna Bāhā	Ānanda Vihāra	Ikhācheñ
66	Yokhācheñ Bāhā	Sunananda Vihāra	Yokhācheñ
67	Konti Cidhaṅgu Bahī	Lalicavarṇa Vihāra	Konti
68	Konti Bahī	Kāsyapa Miśra Samskārita Lalitavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Konti
69	Konti Bāhā		Kumbeśvara
70	Ko Bāhā	Ituṃ vihāra	Ko Bāhā
71	Kwalin Bāhā	Kulin vihāra	Kulim tole
72	Bāhācā		Swantha Tola
73	Dhum Bāhā	Guṇlakṣmī Saṃskārita Guṇalakṣmī Mahāvihāra	Ko Bāhā
74	Sika Bahī		Sika Bahī
75	Yampī Bahī		
76	Yampī Bahī		
77	Yampī Bahī		
78	I Bahī	Sunaya śrī Miśra Saṃkārīta Yampī Nāma Mahāvihāra	IBahī
79	I Bahī	Yampīkarunacūka	I Bahī
80	śaṅkha Bāhā	śaṅkhadhara saṃkārīta Triratna Vihāra	Chyāsal
81	(Cikañ) Bahīcā	Triratna Vīra Vihāra	Chyāsal
82	Cikañ Bahī Buddhimān	Maṇikuṭa Vihāra	Chyāsal
83	Cikañ Bahī	Saptapurī Mahāvihāra	Chyāsal
84	Kulratna Bāhā (Hodola Bāhā)	Suaṅgala Vihāra	

85	Swantha Bāhā	Swantha Vihāra	Swantha
86	Bhaisajyarāj Bāhā	Bhaisajyarāja Vihāra	Chyāsal
87	Hoda Bāhā	Hodola Nāma Vihāra	Chyāsal
88	Ci Bāhā Nanī		Olākhū Bhindya Lashi
89	Wam Bāhā	Suryavarma Saṃskārīta Vajrakīrti Mahāvihāra	Olākhū
90	Wam Bāhā Dune Nanī	Dharmakīrti Vihāra	Wam Bāhā
91	Lakhidhan Bāhā	Suryadharma Vihāra	Wa~m Bāhā
92	Jyo Bāhā	Rudredeva Naṅgapāla Saṃskārīta Jyoti Mahāvihāra	Olākhū
93	Hauga Bāhā	Hastināga Vihāra	Hauga
94	Jom Bāhā	Jagat Kalyāṇa Vihāra	Hauga
95	Iku Bāhā	Iku Varṇa	Ikhālakhu
96	Ikhālakhu Bāhā		Ikhālakhu
97	Ibā Bahi	Rājaśri Mahāvihāra	Chaka Bāhā
98	Ibā Dune	Bhājūdhana Simha Vihāra	Chaka Bāhā
99	Ta Bāhā	Bhuvanākara Varma Saṃskārīta Dharmakīrti Mahāvihāra	Taṅgal
100	Kinu Bahī	Lokakīrti Mahāvihāra	Iti
101	Thati Bāhā	Thaitināma Vihāra	Thati
102	Cūka Bāhā	Mānadeva Saṃskārīta Cakravarna Mahāvihāra	Taṅgal
103	Taṅga Bāhā	Yampi Bālārcana Saṃskārīta Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Taṅgal
104	Triratna Sim Bāhā	Triratna Simha Vihāra	Hakhā
105	Harsa Bāhā	Dharma Kīrti Vihāra	Hakhā
106	Dhandya Bāhā	Dhanavīra Vihāra	Hakhā

107	Gwaṅga Bāhā	Bhājumān Kīrti Vihāra	Caka Bāhā
108	Sum Bāhā	Suvarṇa Vihāra	Sauga
109	Saga Bāhā	Ratna Jyoti Vihāra	Sauga
110	Yaṅgala Bhuja	Yaṅgra ugra Nāma Vihāra	Yamu Bāhā
111	Twāya Bāhā	(Nogalabhota) Mitravarṇa Vihāra	Nuga
112	Dathu Bāhā	Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra	Nugha
113	Nuga Nhū Bāhā	Amṛtavajra Saṁskārīta Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra	Nuga
114	Yachu Bāhā	Bāladhara Gupta saṁskārīta Bāladharagupta Mahāvihāra	Yacchu
115	Bhindya Bāhā	Hendupati Vihāra	Nuga
116	Hyana Bāhā	Layanacaitiyabimba Mahāvihāra	Nuga Bāhā
117	Tana Bāhā	Jayamaṅgala Viharā	Chanaki
118	Su Bāhā	Indradeva Saṁskārīta Jaya Manohara Varma Mahāvihāra	Subāhā
119	Purṇasundar Bāhā	Purṇasundar Vihāra	Su Bāhā
120	Thanuñ Bāhā	Ratnajaya Vihāra	Su Bāhā
121	Piñche Bāhā	Jñāna Candra Vihāra	Piñche
122	Guita Bahī	Dīpāvati Nagare Sarvānandanṛpa Saṁskārīta Padmoccasrī Mahāvihāra Guita Bahi	
123	Mūl Guita Bahī	Saptapure Mahāvihāra	Guita Bahī
124	Gustala Bahī	Gustala Vihāra	Guita Bahī
125	Bhiñche Bāhā	śaṅkaradeva Saṁskārīta Mayūrvārṇa Mahāvihāre	Bhiñche Bāhā
126	Tadhañ Bāhā	Jñāna Kīrti Vihāra	Gujī Bāhā
127	Pilācheñ Bāhā	Mayūrvārṇa Mahāvihāriya Pilācheñ Vihāra	Pilācheñ
128	Pilācheñ Cidanñ Bāhā	Pilākse Nāma Vihāra	Pilācheñ

129	Pilācheñ Dathu Bāhā	Bhimacandra Vihāra	Pilācheñ
130	Ilā Bahī	Itirāja Mahāvihāra	Nuga
131	Pānda Bāhā	Pāndava Vihāra	Lunkhusi
132	Yanga Bāhā	Yogalākhyā Jihāra (Sumaṅgala Vihāra -recent name)	Lunkhusi
133	Kani Bāhā	Kanakavarṇa Vihāra	Uku Bāhā
134	Nhū Bāhā	Dhanavajra Vihāra	Uku Bāhā
135	Mahābuddha	Bodhimaṇḍapa Vihāra	Mahābuddha
136	Dhanananda Bāhā	śrī Gaṇa Vihāra	Mahābuddha
137	Jati Bāhā	Jayativarṇa Vihāra	Uku Bāhā
138	Duni Bāhā	Purṇacandra Vihāra Uku Bāhā	
139	Ubā Bahī	Jaya Simṇa Vīrabhadra Saṃskārīta Jayaśrī Mahāvihāra	Uku Bāhā
140	U Bāhā	śivadevavarṇa Saṃskārīta śrī Rudravarma Unkuli Nāma Mahāvihāra	Uku Bāhā
141	Ubā Gathicā	Khanda Cūka Vihāra	Uku Bāhā
142	Tago Cibaga	Yantalivi	Uku Bāhā
143	Taja Bāhā	Bhāju Kīrti Hiranyalābha vihāra	Uku Bāhā
144	Cidhañ Taja Bāhā		Uku Bāhā
145	Taja Bāhā	Ikṣuvarṇa Vihārā	Uku Bāhā
146	Nagu Bāhā	Rupavarṇa Vihāra	Uku Bāhā
147	Dhana Bāhā	Dhanavīra Simṇa Vihāra	Jyātha
148	Basu Bāhā	Vasavarṇa Vihāra	Jyātha
149	Jyātha Bāhā	Padmavarṇa Vihāra	Jyātha
150	Hitiphusa Bāhā	Jinavarṇa	Thapāhiti
151	Cidhañ Gujī Bāhā	Amṛtavarṇa Vihāra	Gujī Bāhā
152	Gujī Bāhā	Vaiṣya Śrī Divākara Varma (Saṃskārīta) Mahāvihāra	Gujī Bāhā
153	Maṇrāj Bāhā	Maṇirāja Vihāra	Gujī Bāhā

154	Siddhi Bāhā	Vaiśravarṇa Bhāskara Varna Vihāra	Gujī Bāhā
155	Thapā Bahī	Sthavirapātra Mahāvihāra	Thapā tola
156	Pālu Bāhā	Samantabhadra Vihāra	Thapā tola
157	Sikucha Bāhā	Simha Cūka Vihāra	Thainā tola
158	Kwātha Bāhā	kūṭa Simha Vihāra	Thainā tola
159	Jothā Bāhā	Jayaśri Vihāra	Thainā tola
160	Yatalibi Nhūcheñ Bāhā	Bhimkr̥ta Ratnalābha Vihāra	Uku Bāhā
161	Kuldev Bāhā	Kulacaitya Kīrti Vihāra	Thaina
162	Naudo Bāhā	Devadatta Vihāra	Naudo
163	Jyābā Bahī	Jyeṣṭavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Chaka Bāhā
164	Naha Bāhā (Khwākhañ Bāhā)	Cakra Kīrti Mahāvihāra	Chaka Bāhā
165	Cwecwangu Pucō Bahī (Coya Bahī)	(śilapuravanagiri) Akṣeśvarā Mahāvihāra (Pucō Mahāvihāra)	Pucho
166	Kwecwangu Pucō Bahī (Koya Bahī)	Rakṣeśvara Mahāvihāra	Pucō
167	Co Bāhā	Indradeva Saṃskārīta Isri Asanalokeśvara Mahāvihāra	Cobhār
168	Cithuñ Bahī (Kyapu Bahī)	Padmakīrtigīri Mahāvihāra	Kirtipur
169	Yāka Bāhā	Jivadharma Vihāra	Kirtipur
170	Kusi Bāhā	Mahākīrti Vihāra	Kirtipur
171	Kwe Bāhā	Karṇāṭaka Vihāra	Kirtipur
172	Chwe Bāhā	Harṣakīrti Vihāra	Kirtipur
173	Tuñjalayacwaṅgu Bāhā	Padmocca Vihāra	Kirtipur
174	Cilañco Bāhā (Kyapu Bāhā)	Jagatapālavarma Saṃskārīta Padmakāstha Gīri mahāvihāra	Kirtipur
175	Buṅga Bāhā	Narendradeva saṃskārīta Amarāvatināma Mahāvihāra	Buṅgamati

176	Kwaācheñ Nanī Bāhā	Nijapati Vihāra	Buṅgamati
177	Buṅga Bahī	Amarāvatipura Mahāvihāra	Buṅgamati
178	Coya Bahi		Cobhar
179	Duru khya Bāhā	Hemavarna Mahāvihāra	Durukhya Cgāpāgaum
180	Ikhā Bāhā	Kalyāna Mahāvihāra	Chāpāgaum
181	Wā Bahī		Chāpāgaum
182	Kwā Nanī		Baregāum
183	Phaṁpī Bāhā Vajrajoginī	Gaganaksara Majhavihāra	Pharping
184	Phaṁpi Bahī		Pharping
185	Bare Nanī		Buṅgamati

Bahas and Bahis of Kathmandu			
s.no	Local vihar name	Main vihar name	Address
1	Kwā Bāhā	Maitripura Mahāvihāra	Tha Hiti Kwā Bāhā
2	Chusyā Bāhā	Guṇākara Vihāra	Tyāthā
3	Musyā Bāhā	Karuṇapura Vihāra	Jyāthā
4	Jhwā Bāhā	Ratnaketu Vihāra	Thahiti
5	Jyotiya Bāhā	Triratnaketu Vihāra	Jhwā Bāhā
6	Dhwākā Bāhā	Henāakarā Mahāvihāra	Tyauda Dhwākā Bāhā
7	Gaṁ Bāhā	Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Nasa tola
8	Sigha Bāhā	Sāntighata Caitya Mahāvihāra	Nagha Tola
9	Nagha Bāhā	Ratnamaṇḍala Mahāvihāra	Nagha tole
10	Nhū (Jhwā) Bāhā	Ratnaketu Mahāvihāra	Thāya Madu

11	Cā Bāhā	Karṇaketu Vihāra	Nhāyakañtalā tola
12	Dhālisikwa Bāhā	Gautam śrī Vihāra	Asan Dhālisikwa
13	Hāku Bāhā	Harṣacaitya Vihāra	Asan
14	Kwatu Bāhā	Aśokavṛkṣa Vihāra	Asan
15	Takse Bāhā	Surataśrī Mahāvihāra	Asan Taske Bāhā
16	Kwaskhā Bāhā	Aśokaśrī Vihāra	Asan
17	Assan Bāhā	Aśokacaitya Mahāvihāra	Asan Jaruchēñ
18	Dagu Bāhā	Raṅgabhūvaṇa Vihāra	Bhotāhiti
19	Tekañ Bāhā	Bodhiprasthāna Vihāra	Konāya tola
20	Mahābuddha Kacā Bāhā	Bodhiprāṇiddhi Vihāra	Mahābuddha
21	Mahābū Bāhā	Mahābuddha Mahāvihāra	Mahābuddha
22	Dugañ Bahī	ṣaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra	Dugañ Bahī
23	Kothu Dugañ Bahī (22a)	(ṣaḍakṣari Mahāvihāra?)	Dugañ Bahi
24	Te Bāhā	Rājakṛti Mahāvihāra	Te Bāhā
25	(Te Bāhā)	Bandhudatta Vihāra	Te Bāhā
26	Gaṇa Bahī	Gaganasaṅgam Mahāvihāra	Gana Bāhā
27	Bhoṭe Gaganasaṅgam	Brahmacakra Vihāra	Bhote Gaganasaṅgam Central Jail
28	Kusāñ Gaganasaṅgam	Ratnākarā Mahāvihāra	Hymat Tole
29	Tamu Gaganasaṅgam	Ratnākara Vihāra	Hymat Tole
30	Tamu Bāhā	Ratnākara Vihāra	Hymat Tole
31	Tukam Bāhā	Ratnākara Vihāra	Hymat Tole
32	Lhugha Bāhā	Maitri Uddhara Vihāra	Jaisī Deval
33	Ko Hiti Bāhā	Kīrtipuṇya Mahāvihāra	Ko Hiti Tola

34	Ko Hiti Kacā Bāhā		Ko Hiti Tola
35	Yo Bāhā	Nadīsaṅga Rāja.kṛta Vihāra	Ko Hiti Tola
36	Chwasapā Bāhā	Sukhāvati Vihāra	Maru Tole
37	Maru Bāhā	Sakyaketu Mahāvihāra	Maru tole
38	Mukum Bahī	Muktipura Mahāvihāra	Yatakā Mukum Kewa
39	Dhanasimha Bāhā	Samantabhadra Vihāra	Yatakā Bāhā
40	Yatakā Bāhā	Bhāṣkarakīrti Vihāra	Yatakā Bāhā
41	Tamuga Bāhā	Ratnākara Vihāra	Tamuga Galli
42	Tamu Bāhā	Dharmacitta Vihāra	Tamuga Galli
43	Arakhu Bahi	Italampu Kṛta Mahāvihāra	Yatakhā Tola
44	Māhānkā Bahī		Yatakhā Tola
45	Makhañ Bāhā	Ratnakīrti Mahāvihāra	Makhañ Tola
46	Makhañ Bahi (41a)	Ratnakīrti Mahāvihāra	Makhañ Tola
47	Itum Bāhā	Bhāṣkara Deva Saṃskārita śrī Keśavacandra Kṛta Pārāvata Mahāvihāra	Itum Bāhā
48	Kāyu Nani (44a)	Aśoka Maṇḍapa Vihāra	Itum Bāhā
49	Baku Nanī (44b)	Kutum Vihāra	Itum Bāhā
50	Tātā Nani (44c)	Dharmacakra Vihāra	Itum Bāhā
51	Sasu Nanī (44d)	Saraśvati Mahāmañjuśrī Vihāra	Itum Bāhā
52	Dhanaj.u Caitya (44e)	Dhavala Caitya Vihāra	Itum Bāhā
53	Jana Bāhā	Kanaka Caitya Mahāvihāra	Kel Tola
54	Nū Bāhā	Mūla śrī Mahāvihāra	Wotu Tola

55	Oinche Bāhā Manijū Bāhā Khuñ Bāhā	Jambunadavana Vihāra	Wotu Tola
56	Cidhañ Bāhā	Jina uddhāra Vihāra	Wotu Tola
57	Tadhñ Bāhā	Dharmacakra Mahāvihāra	Wotu Tola
58	Sawal Bāhā	Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra	Guccā Tola
59	Āju Bāhā	Daśabala Vihāra	Guccā Tola
60	Pyukhā Bāhā	Aśoka Caitya Vihāra	Pyukhā Tola
61	Tuñcheñ Bāhā	Tutakṣam Vihāra	Makhañ Galī
62	Lāyku Bahī	Rājakula Vihāra (śrīnaka Vihāra)	Hanūmān Dhokā
63	Sikhamu Bāhā	Tarumūla Mahāvihāra	Basantapur
64	Kumāri Bāhā (Kumāri Cheñ)	Rājakīrti Manoram Vihāra Rājalakṣmikūla Vihāra	Basantapur
65	Basantapur Bāhā	Desasumantra Vihāra Basantapur	
66	Jhocheñ Bāhā	Vasundharākīrti Vihāra	Jhocheñ Tola
67	Nabahī	Udyotakīrti Mahāvihāra	Nabahī
68	Na Bahīcā	Dharmodhyāyana Vihāra	Nabahi Tola
69	Waku Bāhā	Indrapuranagara Vihāra	Jor Ganesh
70	Puncheñ Bāhā	Parvacandana Vihāra	Poḍe Galli Om Bāhā
71	Nhū Cheñ Bāhā	Vajradhātu Vihāra	Jor Ganesh

72	Twākewa Bāhā	Amrtakānti Vihāra	Om Bāhā
73	Gubhā Bāhā	Brahmacakra Mahāvihāra	Om Bāhā
74	Bikamā Bāhā	Mañjuśrīnaka Mahāvihāra	Om Bāhā
75	Khasā Cheñ Bāhā (Wam Bāhā)	Varsacandana Vihāra	Om Bāhā
76	Pakhā Cheñ Bāhā		
77	Mimnanī Bāhā	Nimha Nimha Vihāra	Om Bāhā
78	Ganthi Nanī Bāhā	Buddhagaṇṭho Vihāra	Gācheñ Nanī Om Bāhā
79	Ratnapur Bāhā	Ratnapura Vihāra	Gācheñ Nanī Om Bāhā
80	Bhawa~m Bāhā	Bhwanta Vihāra	Om Bāhā
81	Thāna Bāhā	Sthānavimba Vihāra	Cikamuga Tola
82	Nhū Bāhā	Dharma Yasodhara Vihāra	Cikamuga Tola
83	Mikhā Bāhā	Munisangha Vihāra	Mañjesvari Tola
84	Jyā Bāhā	Jagavanda Vihāra	Jyā Bāhā
85	Lku Bāhā	Vajraśīla Mahāvihāra	Yangal Tola
86	So Bāhā	Dharmadhatu śrī Mahāvihāra Yangal Tola	
87	Kacā Bāhā	Caitanya Vihāra	Jyā Bāhā
88	Khalā Cheñ Bāhā Parvacandana Vihāra	Jyā Bāhā	
89	Lagañ Bāhā	Kīrtipuṇya Mahāvihāra	Lagañ tole
90	Wantā Bāhā	Vajradhātu Vihāra	Lagañ Bāhā
91	Jog Bāhā		Lagañ Bāhā

92	To Bāhā	Kīrtipūṇya Vajradhātu Vihāra	Lagañ tole
93	Nhāyakañ Bahi	Kīrtipūṇya Mahāvihāra	Lagañ tole
94	Cwākañ Bahī	Kīrtipūṇya Mahāvihāra	Lagañ tole
95	Yatā Bāhā	Kīrtipūṇya Bhūvana Sundara Vihāra	Gopal Tola
96	Na Bāhā	Siddhivara Vihāra	Gophaḥ tola
97	Pikhā Bāhā	Parvacandana Vihāra	Brahma Tola
98	Musum Bāhā	Manisaṅgha Mahāvihāra	Musu~m Bāhā
99	Musum Bāhā	Manisimha Mahāvihāra	Musu~m Bāhā
100	Dhancakra Bāhā		Musu~m Bāhā
101	Khusī Bahī	Nadisaṅgam Mahāvihārā	Tāhācal
102	Bilāsa Bahī	Udayagīri (Nilagīri) Mahāvihāra	Bijeśvari
103	Syaṅgu Bahī	Jyotikīrti Mahāvihāra	Svayambhū
104	Kinnu Bāhā	śrī Kirttana Vihāra	Svayambhū Kiṇḍol
105	Tham Bahī	Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra	Thamel
106	Kwathu Cā Bahī	Gaganaganja Mahāvihāra	Cābahi
107	Thatu cā Bahī	Samadhimandapa Mahāvihāra	Cābahīl
108	Jamo Bāhā	Dharmakīrti Vihāra	Jamal
109	Teku Dobā Bāhā	Cintāmanī Vajradīpa Mahāvihāra	Teku Dobān
110	Ratnākara Bāhā	Ratnākara Vihāra	Gācheñ Nani Ombāhā

111	Cā Bahī	Dhamadevacaitya Mahāvihāra	Cābahīl
112	Cidhangu Kinnu Bāhā	Tajakīrti Vihāra	Svayambhū Kiṇḍol
113	Jogmuni Bāhā	Jagattooddhāra Vihāra	Svayambhū Bhuīkhel
114	Syangu Bāhā	Samhyengū Mahāvihāra	Svayambhū Mahācaitya
115	Thāya Mahu Bāhā	Sthāna Maṇḍapa Mahāvihāra	Thāya Madu tola
Defunct Bāhās an Bahīs			
A.	Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa Bāhā	Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa Mahāvihāra	Maru Tola
B.	CikanMuga Bāhā	Guhyakuksa Vihāra	Cikañmuga
C.	Bhonsika Bāhā	Vandakṛta Triratna Nāma Vihāra	Dugañ Bahī
D.	Kwathu Bahī	Gaganagana Mahāvihāra	Thāya Madu Tola
E.	Bakai Bahī		Iku Bāhā
F.	Buddha Bārī	Dipaṅkara MahāBauddha Mahāvihāra	Hyumat Tola
G.	Wotu Bāhā		Wotu Tola
H.	(Sawal Bāhā Mantrasiddhi Mahāvihāra)		Sawal Bāhā
I.	Bakañ Bahī		Yangal Tola
J.	Sāmā Khusī Bāhā	Dharma śrī Mitra Mahāvaiihāra	Sāmā Khusī
K.	Sukum Bāhā		Lājimpat
L.	Lām Bāhā	Mañjugīri	Pakanājole

		Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra	
M.	Pim Bāhā	Sarvasiddhi	Mahāvihāra
N.	Takhācheñ	Yogasadhana Vihāra	Kel Tola
O.	Majyuya Bāhā	Siddhinagara Mahāvihāra	Itu~m Bāhā
P.	Kacā Bāhā	Aśoka Caitya Vihāra	Mahābauddha
Q.	Vajrabīra Mahākal	Buddha Sāsana Rakṣak Mahāvihāra	Tuṇḍhikhel
Bhaktapur			
s.no	Local vihar name	Main vihar name	Address
1	Laksadyayā Bāhā	Lokeśvara Mahāvihāra	Itācheñ Tola
2	Ni Bāhā	Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Tekhāco Tola
3	Akhan Bāhā	Akhaṇḍasīla Mahāvihāra	Nāsamanā Tola
4	Lum Bāhā	Lumbavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Sukul Dhokā Tola
5	Jhaur Bahī	Maṅgaladharma Dvīpa Mahāvihāra	Golamadhī Tola
6	Innco Bāhā	Indravartta Mahāvihāra	Ināco
7	Muni Bāhā	Dharma Uttara Mahāvihāra (Munivarṇa Vihāra)	Ināco
8	Tom Bāhā	Ādipadma Mahāvihāra	Suūryamadhi
9	Biku Bāhā	Viśva Vihāra	Kwātha,n,dau
10	Pasu Bāhā	Pasupati Mahāvihāra (Prasannaśīla Mahāvihāra)	Kwāthaṇḍau

11	Ājudyayā Bāhā (Dya Nanī Bāhā)	Dipankara (Ādibuddha) Mahāvihāra	Kwāthaṇḍau
12	Wam Bāhā	Mañjuvajra Mahāvihāra (Mahamanjuśri Mahāvihāra)	Kwāthaṇḍau
13	Yen Bāhā	Yaṅgalāvarṇa Mahāvihāra	Kwāthaṇḍau
14	Ka Ma Bāhā	Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Ināco
15	Tadhicheṇ Bāhā	Caturbrahma Mahāvihāra	Lāyku
16	Tekhāco Bāhā	Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Tekhāco Tola
17	Thatu Bahi	Jayakīrti Mahāvihāra	Itācheṇ Tola
18	Kutu Bahī	Sukravarṇa Mahāvihāra	Bharvacho
19	Gacchī Bāhā		
20	Khwanhe Khusī Bāhā	Sukravarṇa Mahāvihāra	Hanūm,ān Ghāt
21	(Tom Bāhā)		Kamal Pokharī
22	Nāsamanā Bāhā		Nāsamanā Tola
23	Karuṇāmaya Cūk		Kwāthaṇḍau

Vihāras in Villages near Bhaktapur, Thimi			
s.no	Local vihar name	Main vihar name	Address
1	Ta Bāhā	Hemavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Maru Tola
2	Digu Bāhā	Gunakīrti Mahāvihāra	Digu Bāhā Tola

3	Yācin Bāhā	Heranilavarṇa Mahāvihāra	Kuticibha
4	Bāku Bāhā	Guṇavyākaraṇā Vihāra	Capāco Tola
5	Nhū Bāhā	Herasuvarṇa Vihāra	Capāco Tola
6	Dathu Bāhā	Jetavaṇa Vihāra	Kusum Tuchi Tola
7	Jiswān Bāhā	Purvasthita Mahāvihāra	Gādacā Tola
8	Gunga Cibhā	Navacaitya Vihāra	Pāco Tola
9	Pātī Bāhā	pātī Vihāra	Pācto Tola

Sankhū			
s.no	Local vihar name	Main vihar name	Address
1	Gaṁ Bāhā	(Padmagīri) Dharmadhātu Mahāvihāra	North of village
2	Thatu Bāhā	Siddhikula Vihāra	Dhwanla Tola
3	Duccheñ Bāhā	Henākara Vihāra	Dhwanla Tola
4	Waṁ Bāhā	Dharmacakra Vihāra	Dhwanla Tola
5	Opī Bāhā	Vajracakra Vihāra	Salkha Tola
6	Suī Bāhā	Dharmadhātu Vihāra	Dugā Hitī
7	Na Bāhā	Jñānacakra Vihāra	Dugā Hitī
8	Mansu Bāhā	Jayamakara Vihāra	Pukhulachī Tola
9	Ko Bāhā	Guṇākara Vihāra	Suna Tola

APPENDIX-II

Copy of social reformation introduced by King JayaSthitimalla

Extracted from JayaSthitimallako Sudhar, Dr. Chandra Bikram

Budhathoki

यी राजा जयस्थिति मल्लले वर्ष . . . राज्य गरे यी राजाले भोग गर्दा जयत नाउँ गरेका मन्त्री र कीर्तिनाथ उपाध्याय मैथील रघुनाथ भ्वा, रामनाथ भ्वा, दक्षिण श्रीनाथ भट्ट, महीनाथ भट्ट महीनाथ भट्ट ई पाँच ब्राम्हणहरु सर्वशास्त्रज्ञ थुला बुढीमान हुनाले तनीहरुका निर्णयले ठहरे बमोजिम अधी अधी लोप भई रहेका आचार आदी विषयको र जातका विषयको समेत यथाशास्त्रोक्त लेख गरी आफ्ना राज्यका विषयमा धेरै स्थितिको बन्दस्त गरी प्रजाहरुलाई त्यस विषयमा वर्तन गराई धर्म नीति शास्त्रानुसा धर्मोपदेश गरी राज्य शासन गरे । अब ई राजाले बाघेको स्थिति संक्षेप :

१. प्रजाहरुले आफ्नो घर खेत वीर्तहरु दीक धीटो राखी ऋण ग्रहण गर्न र विक्री गर्न समेत हुने नियम बाध्यः ॥
२. चारवर्ण छत्तिस जातको निर्णय गरी पृथक् जातिको भेद छुटे ई जात अनुसार कर्मकाण्डको नियम गरेः ॥
३. यी राजादेपी अधीका राजाका पालामा अपराध गर्नेलाई हस्त प्रहार र धीककार वचन यति दुई सजाय मात्र गर्दथे यीनका पालादेपीकालका प्रभावले वस्तासामान्य डण्डले प्रजाहरुको रक्षा नहुने थानी सो हस्तप्रहारधीकार वचन डण्डको प्रवृत्ति गरी रुपैया लिने डण्डको प्रवृत्ति गरी व्यवहारमा चलन गरेः ॥
४. राजा र राजसंतती परलोक हुँदा सबै प्रकारका आफ्ना प्रजाहरुलाई जम्मा गरी जातिका क्रमले मानिसहरुको दुई दुई चार चार जोडीको पंक्ति गरि नयाँ पलंग बनाई त्यस पलंगमा मृतक शरीर राषी स्व जातले बोकी डीप कराग गाई बाजा बजाई श्मशानमा लैजाने र घातमा लगी मृतकलाई अग्नी संस्कार गर्ने नियम बाँधे प्रजाहरुका मृतकका वीखयेमा छत्तीस जातमा कसै कसैलाई काहार बाजा बजाई स्मसानमा लगी चलाउने नियम बाध्यः ॥
५. फेरी आफ्ना जातले गरी आएको कार्य छोड्ने र अर्काका जातले गरेको कार्य स्वीकार गर्नेलाई अपराधी सरह डण्ड गर्ने नियम गर्ने गरेः ॥
६. जात चीन्हालाई साना साना जातहरुलाई पहीरन गहना घर इत्यादि यस्तो यस्तो बनाई व्यवहार गर्नु यस्तो यस्तो व्यवहार नगर्नु भनि जातै पीछे बेगल् बेगल् नीयम गरी चलनको स्थिति गरे - जस्तो पहिरनका विषयमा : कसायी जातले बाहांकटे को लुगा लाउनु : पोढे जातले टोपो लबेटा जुट्टा, सुनको गहना यति नलाउनु: कसायी: पोढे चर्मकार : इनिले भीगटीको छांना भएको घर नबनाउनु त्यस्त घरमा नबस्नु फेरी आफुभन्दा थुला जातलाई साना जातले नरम भई मान्नु नियमको स्थिति गरे यस्ता प्रकारले जात जताको पृथक् पृथक् स्थिति बाधी व्यवहारको सबै यथाशास्त्रोक्त नियम गरी चलन चलाई देश देशमा यस कीर्ति

चलाये । ई राजालाई राज गडी कुन हिसाबले मिलेको हो भने ई राजा बालष छुडैमा अस्वक मल्ल परलोक भएपछि यी राजाले बालषैमा राज्यगदी पायथे तैपनि ईनका पीताका भीत्रेनी पट्टीका छोराहरु ३ जनाले सषराज्य भोग गर्न नडीदा भागी पनौती सहरमा गई लुकीरहेका थिए । त्यसवषतमा वर्ष ६ सम्म ईनितीन भाई भीत्रेनी पट्टीकाले राजकाज चलाई रहेका थिए । त्यस्तै वाषतमा ती तीन भाई राजाले एकै कालमा ज्येठाले थुलो पोष्री बनाउनु : माहीलाले सहर वीवपारी परी उचोपरखाल बनाउनु ? कान्छाले डरबार चोकहरु बढाउनु : ई तीन थोक बनाउनाको नीश्चये गरी प्रजाहरुलाई यस कालमा तीनैजनाले भारा आउनु भनि उर्डी गरे त्यस सहरका भला मानिसहरुले पनि यस्तो बिचार गरी सम्मत गरेको अहीले आमीहरुले पटराज्ञी पट्टीका राजा जयमल्लको आज्ञासीर उपर गर्न नपाई देवले गर्दा यीनी भीत्रेनी पट्टीका साना बुदी भएक मानिसहरुका हुकुममा चलनु पय्यो । अब प्रजाहरुलाई दुषडीन पनि लाग्यो । एकैकालमा तिन तीरको काम भई प्रजाहरुलाई पनि तीन वीभाग गर्नुपर्ने भयो भनी असल पट्टीका जयमल्ललाई ल्याई राजगडीमा राषनाको सम्मत गरी सबै प्रजाहरु जम्मा भई घुराउठी हातमा सबैजनाले यक यक लथी लीई पनौती सहरमा गई राजा जयमल्ललाई पीधमा बोकी ल्याई राज गडीमा राखी फेरी राज्य भीखे गरी राजा गराये भीत्रेनी पट्टीका राजाहरु ३ भाईलाई लठीले हानी सीर फोडी मारे त्यसै वषतमा सबै जम्मा भई माहाराज हामीहरुको घरषेत सुनागरी हाम्रो षुस् गर्न डीई वक्सीयोस भनि विन्ति गर्दा राजा जयमल्ले पनि खुसीले प्रजाहरु माथी बहुत प्रसन्न भई भलनका हकमा काटा ढक पाथी करुवा यसले नाप जोखगरी कीन्ने बेचने व्यवहार गर्नु आफ्नो जातको रकम नछोडनु जात नछीपाउनु, तिमि प्रजाहरुका घर खेतका हकमा तिमीहरुको सुनाघर, सुनाखेत, सुनावारी भन्ने नाउ गरी घर षेत पाषाहरु तिमि प्रजाहरुलाई वक्स्यौं बेच्नु दान गर्नु, देवतालाई, चढाउनु, बन्धक, गर्नु समेत आफ्नो खुसगर भनि घर षेत प्रजाहरुलाई वक्सडीय प्रजाहरुले पनि घर षेत सुनावीर्तापाई बहुत खुसी भए फेरी ई राजाले शिल्पवीड्यामा प्रवीण भएक कालीगढाहरुलाई डाकी बाग्मति आर्यातीर्थको पारी राम लव हरि कुस हरि भन्ने तीन मूर्ती बनाई स्थापना गरी प्रति वर्ष पुजा गरी ईष्ट देवमाने मृगस्थलीमा गोरखनाथको पाहुका मर्ती तुल्याई सीद्ध जगाए, फेरी गोकर्णेश्वरमा नीत्यपुजाको सामग्रीको बन्दोबस्त गरी नीत्य पूजा गराई जीर्ण उद्धार गरे ललीत पटनमा कुंभेश्वरको देवालय दु तला छाना गरी बनाई गजुर चढाय सो देवाल यकासनी धानका तलाउ सोहरी सफा गर्दा सोलाको नारायण मूर्ति १ गणेश मूर्ति १ सीतला मूर्ति १ बासुकीको मूर्ति १ गौरीको मूर्ति १ बसाह १ कीर्तिमुष भैरव मूर्ति १ आगम मूर्ति १ जम्मा ८ मूर्ती पोषरी भीत्र पाउँदा तीनीहरुलाई स्थान सथनमा जीर्ण द्वारपूर्वक स्थापना गरी शीतला शान्तिका निमित्त त्याहा उन्मत भैरवको मूर्ती प्रतिष्टा गरी मंत्रका प्रभावले जगाई स्थापना गरे तीनिका माथि त्यस आगम मूर्ती स्थापना गरी नेपाली संम्बत ५१२ मा समाप्त गरे यो वीस्तार भैरव सीलामा लेषेको छदैछ, फेरी ई राजाले नेपाली संम्बत ५१५ साल माघ शुल्क दसमी रोहीनी नछेत्रका डीन वीहान १३ घडीमा गणेश पूजा कलस स्थापना ईत्याडी पुर्वाह पुर्वकको साहनती (शान्ति ?) यज्ञको प्रारभ गरी यज्ञ समाप्त गरी ब्राम्हणहरुलाई दान दक्षिणी भोजनहरु गराई त्यसै वषतमा ब्राम्हण आडी सबै प्रजाहरुलाई वृत्ती गर्नालाई जात वीशेखको बेगले बेगलै वृत्तीको व्इवस्था बाधी बन्ड बस्तगरी प्रजाहरुलाई वृत्तीमा प्रवृत्ती गराए फेरी साहुरीणीका वीषयको दीक भौग कील भन्ने नाउले व्यवहारले चलं चलाए यो राजाले लेखिएका मंत्री पण्डीहरुका सम्म तले जातमाला जातनीनेय क्षेत्रनीर्नय नर गृहनीनेय कार्या बली डण्डमाला भन्ने लेखगरी ई लेखले वीसेखले स्तिती बाधनालाई नेपाली संम्बत ५३९ सालमा सो बमोजिम श्री श्रीश्रीश्रीश्री जयमल्ल नेपालेश्वर जयस्थिति राजदेवमल्ल भन्ने प्रसस्ती थप प्रख्यात गरी आफ्ना

नाउको सुन श्रृंगीरुपैया बनाई लेखिएका आफुले बाढेका स्थितिमा प्रजाहरुलाई प्रख्यात गरी प्रवृत्ती गराए त्यो स्थीती अबयाहा लेपीन्छ ॥

१. घरका बीखयेमा : बुढी अगुलाको चौबीसे अगुलीका प्रमाणको हात १ आफ्नो हातकृ प्रमाण गरी बनाएको स्थीटी गल्लीका घरका प्रमाण खायक घरको चौरौतरफ नापी हात पंचानव्य ९५ गल्ली भीत्रका घरको प्रमाणखा १ घरको चारैतरफ नापी हात एकसय इकहात १०१ सहर पट्टका घरको प्रमाण हात पचासी ८५ यस्ता हीसापले घरका बीखयमा तीन प्रकारका नापीको नीयम बाध्ये : ॥
२. ब्राम्हणक्षत्रीय बैस्य सुद्र यतिजालाई घर बनाउने कार्यका बीखयमा : वास्तु प्रकार णोक्त क्रमर अष्ट वर्गका बीचारले यथो विधि पूर्वक शीलान्यास गरी बनाउनु : ॥
३. जातक कार्यका बीखयमा : ब्राम्हण क्षत्रीयले ब्राम्हण बाट र बैस्य सुद्रहरुले दैवज्ञबाट जाटक शास्त्रहरुको बीचार गरी डीनको यथेष्टकालाडीर फलनीर्णय समेतको जात कपत्रिलेखाउनु : ॥
४. खेतका वीषयमा : अबल् डोयम सीम चाहार चार प्रकारको व्यवस्थाबाधी संख्याको स्थीती गरे जस्तो : अबल षेतमा चारैतरफ नापी प्रमाण यकसय नउ हातको कर्ष सीम खेतमा चारै तरफ नापी प्रमाण यकसय बाह्र ११२ हात कर्ख १ चाहार षेतमा चारै तरफ नापी यकसय पचीस १२५ को कर्ख १ गराए बुढी अगुलाका चौबीस अगुलीको यस हातका प्रमाणले साढे सातहात ७ ॥ हातको प्रमाण भएको टागो नाउ गरेको खेत नापनेमान डण्ड बनाए अधी खेत आडी नापी कार्यका बीखएमा साढे दस १० ॥ हातका प्रमाणको मान डण्ड थियो यी राजाका पाला त्यो मैती आफ्ना हातको प्रमाण गरी ७ ॥ हातको मान डण्डलाई नापी गर्नालाई डंगुल भन्ने नाउ भएको क्षत्रकारक जात प्रसीध गरी व्यवहार गरे घर नापी गर्ने कार्यका बीखयमा तक्षकार बाडाहरु मध्ये पीछु भन्ने नाउ भएको गृहकारक जात प्रसीध गरे : ॥

नेवारलाई छतिस जातको भेद गरी श्रेष्ट भन्ने नाउ भएको नेवार जात प्रसीद गरे यस्तै अरुहरुको जातको पनि पृथक् पृथक् भेद गरे जस्ते जैसीको जात ८ आचारको जात ८ बैडयको जात चार इत्यादी : ॥

श्रेष्टका ३६ जात मध्ये तागाधारी जात १३ चन्देरी, सुबेडी, भडारी, आचार, दैवज्ञ यी आडी ब्राम्हणको जातः पंचगौड पंचद्रावी द्यति १० मुल जात हुन ईनैबाट ब्राम्हणको जातको नाउ धेरै हुन गयो जैसी ब्राम्हणलाई अपुज्य गरे : ॥

ज्यापुको जात बत्तीस ३२ कुमालको जात आठ ८ षसको जात चौसाथी ६४ कसाहीकै नडकातने जात बहतर ७२ बाडाको जात ४ कुसलेको जात ४ पोडेको जात ४ चर्मकार कुलुको यती सब जात जम्मा गरी सातसय पचीस ७२५ पचीस जात थहरे : ॥

यस्तो जातको व्यवस्थाबाधी साना जातका हातबाट अधिकार नभएको उतम कार्यहरु गराउनाले कुलको नासर आयुदीनास हुन छन् गराउनु भन्ने सबै जातमा नीयम बाध्ये : ॥

फैरी थुला जातका स्त्रीले आफु भन्दा साना जातका पुरुष जातसंग र साना जातका पुरुषले आफुभन्दा थुला जातका स्त्रीसंग र विक्री हान गर्नु गरे जात बीसेषको व्यवस्थाले जाति भएर अरी डड प्रायश्चित समेतको भागी हुन्छ भन्ने पनि सबै जातका नियम बाध्ये : ॥

फैरी आफ्नो जातको परापूर्व देखिन् गरी आएको काम नगर्नेलाई डण्ड गर्ने विशयेमा: ब्राम्हणले आफ्नो पुजा पाठर : यज्ञमानी काम गर्नु काम गर्न वीराय ब्राम्हणलाई तुरु हजार १००० डण्ड गर्नु त्यस्तै आचारले काम वीराए आचारलाई पाचशय ५०० त्यस्तै गुमाललाई ५०० ज्यापुलाई २५ सुढीनीलाई २५ पीछीनीलाई १२ नाउलाई १२ भाटलाई १२ कहारलाई १२ कुहमाललाई १२ चीत्तकारीलाई १२ कसायीलाई १२ पोढेलाई १२ पोढेलाई १२ डण्ड गर्नु यजमानले वीराय तुरु १००० हजार यजमानलाई डण्ड गर्नु राजाले पनि सबै जातको कुलचार कार्यहरुको परापूर्वमा चले बमोजीम गरी थीति बाधी बराबर प्रवृत्ती गराउनु भन्ने स्थिति गरे : ॥

अब जात जातले गर्ने र गर्न नहुने वृत्तीका वीषयको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणको यजमानी : क्षत्रीयको राज्यकाजको स्थीती : श्रुद्धमारको वेपार यती हरुले गर्नु हुँदैन उसै यसै जातले गर्नु भन्ने १ त्यस्तै चीत्रकारले चीत्रकार काम गर्नु : सालमीले तेल पेलनु : छीपाले कपरा कराउनु : भाट जातले नबुर गाउनु : गठरमाली जातले फुल बेचनु : खुसलले डोली बोक्नु : योगी भेखधारीले मागी खानु : लोहकमीले ढुंगाको काम गर्नु : नकर्मिले फलामको काम गर्नु : सीकर्मिले काठको काम गर्नु : जोतीखिले जोतीस वीखयेको काम गर्नु : कुमालले माटाको भाडा बनाउनु : टती जातले कात्रो बुनु : कसायीले रांगो मारु मासु बेचनु : नाउले कपाल खौरनु नड कातनु : भडेलले पाक गर्नु : कसतले कासाको काम गर्नु : तमोटले तामाको काम गर्नु : बाडाहरुले सुन चाडीको काम गर्नु : बौद्धाचार्यगुमालले चीत्तकारी : साल्मी : छीपा, भाट : गठ : लाहकमी कुमाल : नाउ : बाडा : यीनै जातको यजमानी गर्नु : ॥

अबपन्च प्रजाहरुलाई बाधेको स्थीती : सीपाहीलाई ढाल तरवार : खाली प्रजालाई डोको बोकी सबैले आफ्ना कर्ममा रहनु ब्राम्हणलाई सीपाहीले पाव लागी गर्नु : कल्लयाण स्वस्ती दीर्घायु यस्तो ब्राम्हणले आसीरवाद डीनु : ॥

सीपाही र नेवारले परस्पर राम राम गर्नु : ॥

अब चारै वर्ण छतीस जातलाई बाधेका स्थीती : पहिले मानीस जन्मदा सुठीनीलाई दीने डस्तुर : च्यूरा कुरुवा १० चाबल कुरुवा १० जन्मै देखीनुवारान सम्म बालषलाई डीएको वस्तु त्यस सुठीनीले पाउछे डाकदा नआउने सुठीनीलाई तुरु १२ सावीक सुठीनीलाई नडाकी अरु सुठीनीलाई डाकने र आउने सुठीनीलाई पनि तुरु २४।२४ डण्ड गर्नु जन्म भएको डीन अजीमाहरुलाई सीन्दलुर सुपारीको पोका चढाउनु फैरी सुपारीहरु नातादार इष्टमीत्रहरुलाई पनि डीनु देवताहरुलाई सीन्दुरको पोका र दक्षीणा चढाउनु गुरु प्रोहीतलाई पनि डीनु खीचुपालु पनि चढाउनु डीन डीन वीचार गरी बधिया डीनमा पीटीनीलाई डाकी नालकटाउनु जुवानू चाकु ई वस्तु येकै थाउमा मीसाएको सुत्केरी हेर्न आएका ईष्टमित्रहरु सबैलाई बाड्ने बालग्रह सान्त गर्न बिखयेको डान गर्ने पडार्थ फैरी सीचु पालु बाडनु क्काठर ईसीमुग चढाउनु खुबाउनु सेतो भोट पहेलो रुमाल मीमीरा अगुठी यक कुरुवा चाबल पदार्थ र वुक्नुवा तेललाई डीनु प्रेहीतले सोभो काम गर्नु यजमानले डक्षीणा भेटी २४ डामुडीनु यसमा

सावीक प्रेहीतलाई नडाकी अर्को प्रेहीतलाई डाकने यजमानलाई र आई काम गर्ने प्रेहीतलाई तुरु ५१५ डण्ड गर्नु हर्षबाडा यी जो सकेको र सीचु पालु समेत गाउने बजाउनेलाई डीई पथाउनु फुफुले त्यहा आउने नाताडारहरु र पुत्र परीयारहरु सबैलाई खुवाउनु काम सीद्धिय पछि फुफुलाई चोलाहरु डीई बीडा गरी पथाउनु प्रेहीतलाई सीद्धा पथाउनु दसौं डस्नमा नाउलाई डाकी नडकेस बनाउनु काममा लागेको नाउ नाउनीलाई पेट भरी धूवाउनु त्योनाउने (आफ्नु २) आफु पाउने बाष् डोनको ठेकवाली अडकेवालीलाई मात्र काम गर्नु त्यसकारणले यजमानले पनि नाउ नाउनीलाई डीनु पर्ने ठेक वाली नअडकाई अगाडी नै डीनु डाकडा आएन भने त्यस नाउलाई तुरु १२ डण्ड गर्नु यजमानले सावीक नाउ छोडी अर्को नाउ डाकी काम लगाए भने काम लाउने गर्ने दुबैलाई तुरु १२१२ डण्ड गर्नु हरबखत बर्खडीनसम्म काम गर्ने नाउलाई डीयसो खाना खाजा च्यूरा डीनु : ॥

देव पातनमा बस्येका लुगा धुने सघट भन्ने जातलाई लुगा धुन डीडा यक पाथी च्यूरा चौधडाम डास्तुर डीनु डाकन जाडा नआउने सघटलाई तुरु ३ डण्ड गर्नु सघटलाई छाडी अरु लाई डाकी काम लगाए सो गर्ने गराउनेलाई तुरु ३३ डण्ड गर्नु : ॥

सुतक भोत्रमा ज्योतीसीलाई डाकी बंधिया डीन हेरी चीन्हा चीटा गर्नु जोतीसीलाई बाह्र दाम दस्नु र डीनु ब्राम्हण रजपुतको १२ दिनमा नाम कर्ण गर्नु अरु जातको १० दिनमा गर्नु अरु जातमा १० दिनमा गर्नु प्रेहीतले कलश पुजा गरी नाम थहराई पन्चसुगन्ध पदार्थले जन्म पत्रीका नाउलेषी नाम बाची बालषलाई सुनाउनु सो गर्दा सुढीनीले बालषलाई स्नान गराउनु घृत प्राशण गराउनु फेरी मीमीरा अगुथी मोटो बुकुवातेल लगाई डीई त्यसलाई डस्तुर च्यूरा कुरुवा ५ चावल कुरुवा ५ डाकन जाडा नआउने पीधीनीलाई तुरु १२ डण्ड गर्नु बालख जन्म भएको चौथा डिनमा गर्ने : अजीमा लाई सीचू पालु चढाउनु सीचु पालु भनेको सुत्केरी हुँदानून अदुवाको तुक्रा रुमाल डीनु कलस पुजाहरुमा र अजीमाको काम गर्दामा सीचु पालु चढाउनु त्यस काममा लाग्ने मानीसहरुलाई पनि सीचु पालु बाडनु माईत्वाट ल्यायको तीकाकोसराजामसोपनु माइतबाट आउने मानीसलाई पेट भरी खुवाई दाम दीई बीडा गर्नु फेरी बाटोमा अजीमालाई डीने पदार्थहरु लगी फालनु यति भएपछि त्यस डीन डेषी बालषलाई महमा घोटी औषद पुवाउनु : ॥

तेस्रो महीना लागेपछि बंधीया डीनमा कलसार्चन गरी सुभलग्न मुहुर्तमा कुलका मान्ये स्त्री वा पुरुषले नरीबलकपुर गुलीयो फल उषु कोरसहरु पुवाउनु अनि सुढीनीले बली फालनु यजमानले ब्राम्हणले सिन्धा दक्षीणा डीई बीडा गर्नु फेरी माईत बाट आउनेलाई खुवाई २१२ दाम दस्तुर डीई गर्नु त्यस बखत डेषीन बालषलाई फलसातु चल्थो : ॥

६ महिना लागेपछि बढीया डीन मुहुर्तमा ब्राम्हणले कलस पुजा गराई चौरासी जातको पाकीतयार भएको व्यन्जन पदार्थ रसालीधानको यककुरुवा बाबलको मातई त्याडीखाने पदार्थहरु थुलो थालमा त्रीपुडी समेत राखी पस्कीपहीलेतेही हीसाबको व्यन्जन भाट दही आडी षाने पदार्थहरु अजीमलाई परसारी असल बेलामा कुल कामान्ये पुरुष बास्त्रले पंचग्रास खुवाई थुलोगास गरी तीनगास खूवाउनु देवदेवतालाई ९ भाग भेटी र ब्राम्हणलाई सीघाडक्षीणा डीई बीडा गर्नु त्यस डीन डेषी बालषलाई अन्न चल्थो : ॥

अबुचुदाकर्म : अधील्लाडीन कुलकामान्ने पुरुषले नंड कपाल बन्नाई खलीले नुहाई शुद्ध हुनु भोली पलट्टातीनले गणेश पुजानान्दी श्राद्ध पीठ पुजाहरु पुर्वान्ह र गुरुनाथको पुजासमेत आचार्य काहात बातगराई त्यहापछि बटु (बालक) का सीरदेखी पाद सम्म सुत्रले नापी यकसये आठ आवृत्ती गरी कुमारीका हातले बेन्ही बनायेका अधिवा सन सुत्र र सुगन्ध द्रव्यस्वस्ती चीन्हीत पदार्थहरु र अग्नी संस्कृतलोहको क्षुर रक्ष्यांश कुतफल समेत जम्मा गरी अभीसेक दिई नवरत्न मुद्रीकाले बटुकामध्ये केसमा बाधनु देवतालाई भेटी चढाउनु कुमारीको पुजा गरी ब्राम्हणजोखी आचार्यहरुलाई पुजा गरी सीधा दक्षीणा डीनु त्यहाँपछि त्रीगुडीसहीत्को थुला थालमा सालीधानकायक कुरुवा चाबलको भात जम्मै पस्की चौरासी व्यन्जन समेत राखी त्यस बटुलाई, पंचग्रास पुर्वक भोजन गराउनु त्यहाँ पछि उच्छीस्तलुख फालनु भोली पलत प्रातकालमा यज्ञमण्डलमा सामग्री तयार गरी गणेश कलस आडी पुर्वान्नकर्म सीध्याई ब्रम्हाच नगरी होम गर्नु सुलगमहुर्त बखत्मा तुलक्षुर सूवर्णसुची चन्द्रमण्डल थलीयामा राखि पुजा गरी सर्वोखध युक्त जलले बालकको कपल भीजाई केसमा पन्चपलुववाधी मावलीका हातले पहीले पूर्वतीरको केस उहाँ पछि दक्षीणतरको यस्तै क्रमले बालकको केसछेडन गर्नु फुफुले चन्द्र मण्डल थलीयामा थापनु कानमा मामाले सुवर्ण सुचीले सुगन्दले चन्दनले चीन्ह लगाई डीनु उहापछि संपुर्ण केस नाउ बाटखौराउनु कानछेडन सीधीए पछि स्नान गराई कपालमा खण्डले सेतोतीलक लगाई दीई स्वस्ती लेखी शकुन आसीरबाडहरु गाई पढी बस्त्र पहीराउनु थाडो चण्डन लगाउनु देवतहरुलाई भेटी ब्राम्हणलाई सीधादक्षीणा डीई यज्ञ वीसर्जन अभीसेष गरी सुर्य गणेश आडी देवहरुको दरसन गराउनु फेरी मामाका घरबाट ल्याएको टीका लगाई डीनु टीकहरु ल्याउनेलाई खुवाई २१२ डाम डस्तुर डीनु फुफुलाई चोलोएकर चन्द्रमण्डलको थाली दीनु नाउलाई चार दीनक्षोर कार्यमा लगाएको बस्त्र खाने कुराको भाग बाढ्न दाम दस्तुर समेत बीनु वीडा गर्नु यसमा ई काममा लाग्ने सावीक मानीस छोडी अरुलाई डाकी काम गराउने यजमानलाई र गर्नेलाई पनि तुरु २४।२४ डण्ड गर्नु दाकदा नआउने ईनिहरुलाई प्राहीतलाई तुरु १२ जैसी अचारलाई तुरु ६ फुफुलाई तुरु ८ मामालाई तुरु ८ चीत्तकारीलाई तुरु २ कुमाललाई तुरु १८ नाउलाई तुरु ३६ यस्दरले डण्ड गर्नु यो ब्राम्हण क्षेत्रीयको चुढाकर्मकोव्यवस्था हो अरु जातकाहरुमा कलस पुजामात्र गरी क्षीर गर्नु डण्डकाहकमा माथी लेषीया बमोजिम गर्नु : ॥

अब ब्रतवन्ध : ब्रत वन्धका पूर्व डीनमा अधीवास र गणेश वरुण कलस स्थापना नान्दी श्राद्ध पुजाहरु चुदा कर्मका गरे बमोजिम सीद्धा गरी गुरुले हामे गरी सुभमूहुर्त, बेलामा यथाक्रमले गुरु मण्डल ईन्द्रादी देवहरुको पुजागरी डण्डादी ग्रहण भूखणधारणा पुर्वक मौजीबन्द गरी अन्यमा डोडानहरु गर्नु आरम्भ काल ब्राम्हणको माद्धादी : आषाडादी : भद्रसुल्क ईनमा आरम्भ गर्नु बढीया हुन्छ क्षीयको असल सायतमा आरम्भ गर्नु बढीया हुन्छ मौजी बन्धनमा अष्टमडीनमासमावर्तन कार्य गर्नु त्यहा पछि कुलदेवता पुजागरी अभीसेक भोजनहरु गर्नु यो ब्राम्हण क्षेत्रीयको हो अरु जातलाई कलस पुजा मात्र गरी ब्रतवन्ध गर्नु अरु पदौन एती कर्म भएपछि त्यहा देखि स्वजातको धर्म मज्यादामा रहनु : ॥

खुसल देखि उपल्लाजातले खुसल देषी कुलसम्मका जातका हातको पानी नषानु कडाचीत थुलीखाए चान्द्रायण गरी पंचगर्वेषा इ ब्राम्हणलाई सीधा दक्षीणा डीई गोदानगरी रात्रीमा तारादरसन गर्नु भोजन गर्नु शुद्ध हुन्छ अकला पर्दा जानी जानी खायो भने प्राजाप्रत्य जान्दायण गरी गोदान गरी ब्राम्हणलाई सीधा दक्षीणा दान

दीई सर्कारमा तुरु १२० दण्ड तीरी पन्च गव्य गंगाजलषलाई आफ्नो जातलाई तुरु १२१२ दीई तीनीलाई भोजन गराई रात्रीमा ताराको दरखन गरी जातसंग भात मीलाउनु : ॥

बाबु ब्राम्हण आमावीधवा रजपुत्रीबाट जन्मेका जैसीलाई जनैदीई सीखा गायत्री डीनु ती जैसी ब्राम्हणले संकल्प पढ्नु श्रेष्ठ जातसंग वीवाह कार्य गर्नु जोतीस शास्त्र पढ्नु पात्रो बनाउनु ग्रहण योग स्नानादीयोगहरु कहनु चीन्हा लेखनु यतिकार्य गर्नुहुन्छ ई बाहेक अरु ब्राम्हणले गर्ने कार्य हुदैन कदाचित यस्थितिको मज्यादानाघी जैसी जातले अरु ब्रह्म कर्ममा प्रवृत्त भए त्यस जैसीलाई तुरु १२ डण्ड गर्नु : ॥

बाबु ब्राम्हण आमा स्ववर्ग क्षेत्रीणी जात जन्म हुने कर्माचार्य भन्ने जातले शीखा गायत्री पाइ तुजजादेवीको टहल गर्नु कथयित केही कारणले देवीको कामहरु अडकाउ हुने भए पनि पूजा नअडकाउ हुने भए पनि पूजा नअडकाउनु अरुले छुन नहुने टी देवतालाई बोकी राज हुने थाउ षडमा ल्याउनु ती कर्माचार्यले आफ्ना पुरुषामा नचलेको बलमीची जणै ल्याए जनै टीनाली डीई त्यस कर्माचार्यलाई आगामा लाल गरी पोलेका फलामका तारको जनैलाई डीनु यस देषी अरु कुरामा माथीकै सदर थान्नु : ॥

जैसी जातले आफुले गर्न हुने कर्महरु बाहेक बल मीचायी गरी उपल्ला जातले गर्ने कर्म गरे त्यस जैसीको जनै छीनाई श्रेष्ठ जातमा मीलाई डीई तुरु २४ डण्ड गर्नु : ॥

ब्राम्हणले षुसलनीलाई स्वास्नी तुल्याए भने तुरु १२० डण्ड गर्नु प्राजाप्रात्य चान्द्रायण गरी आफ्ना जात वर्ग (?) लई तुरु २४।२४ दस्तुर डीई भोजन गराइ पंच गव्य गंगा जलशाली ग्राम जल तुलसी जषाई रात्रीमा ताराको दर्सन गरी भोजन गर्नु सुद्ध हुन्छ : ॥

तपीनी, मुसलनी, शाल्मीनी, चीत्रकारीनी, भटीनी, पुलापुलीनी, यीनीहरु, यीनीहरु स्त्री जातलाई ब्राम्हणले स्वास्नी तुल्याएका हकमा खुसलनीसंग वीग्रदा हुने बमोजिम कार्य गरी सुद्ध हुन्छ : ॥

नाउनी, सद्वरनीसंग ब्राम्हण वीग्रे तुरु १४० डण्ड गर्नु अरु माथी लेषीये बमोजिम गरे सुद्ध हुन्छ : ॥

लोहकर्नी, कौनी, माहुतीनी, छीपीनी, मातीनी, कलीनी, कसाहीनी, गठीनी, संखुनी, छत्रकर्नी, सुढीनी, कुसलीनी, बलामीनी, माभीनी, यती स्त्री जातलाई ब्राम्हणले स्वास्नी तुल्याए तुरु ४८० दण्ड गर्नु चामुन्द्रायणका हकमा माथी लेखिएको डोवर गरी अरु कमै लेषीए बमोजिम गर्नु शुद्ध हुन्छ : ॥

पोडेनी, कुलुनी, च्यामेनी, इनलाई देखी उपलला जातका पुरुषले स्वास्नी तुल्याए भने उही जात हुन्छ प्रायश्चित छैन नजानि भूर परि विग्रे तुरु २४० डण्ड गर्नुतिन प्राजाप्रात्य चान्द्रायण गरी अरु कर्म माथी लेषीय बमोजिम गर्नु सुद्ध हुन्छ : ॥

यी सबै जातमा लोकने भएका स्वास्नीसंग वीग्रे सुनश्रृंगी मोहर रुपैया ६० डण्ड गर्नु अरु माथी लेषीएकै सदर गर्नु : ॥

लासा जानेका सुवासनीसंग वीग्रे लेखीयाका डण्डको दोबर डण्ड गर्नु यी माथी लेपीयाका कसुरहरु क्षत्रिय जातले गरे त्यसको आधा दण्ड गर्नु प्रायश्चित्त पनि आधा गर्नु अरु कुरा ब्राम्हणलाई हुने बमोजिम गर्नु वैश्य जात वीग्रे भने डण्डका हकमा क्षीयलाई हुने बमोजिम गर्नु प्रायश्चित्त आधा गर्नु अरु लेपीयकै सदर सुद्र जात वीग्रे भने छेत्रीयलाई हुने डण्डको आधा डण्ड गर्नु चान्द्रायण माथीकै सदर : ॥

प्रायश्चित्त गर्नु नपर्ने लोकने हुने स्वजातका स्वास्नीसंग वीग्रे सुन श्रृंगी रु ६० डण्ड गर्नु : ॥

असल जातका स्वास्नी संग उ भन्दा कम जातका स्वास्नीसंग उ भन्दा कम जातका पुरुष वीग्रे भने जातको पकि बढाई स्वास्नीको गर्भ रहेको छैन भने भूलपरि विग्रेको भए चौथा डण्ड गर्नु चान्द्रायण प्राजापत्यहरुका हकमा माथीकै सदर गर्नु जानी जानी विग्रेको भए डण्ड चान्द्रायणका हकमा लेपीयकाको डोबर बढाई गर्नु अरु माथि लेखिएकै सदर गर्नु ।

लोकने हुने ब्राम्हणीसंग ब्राम्हण विग्रे सुन श्रृंगी रुपैया ३० डण्ड गर्नु ती ब्राम्हणी आफ्ना जात भातबाट भ्रष्ट हुन्छीन लोकने भएका ब्राम्हणी संग क्षेत्रीये वीग्रे लीड काटी सुन श्रृंगी रु ३० डण्ड गरी फेरी खोला मार लगी त्यस क्षेत्रीलाई चान्द्रलका हातबाट यक चोतमा मर्ने गरी हानी मार्नु वीधवा ब्राम्हणी संग क्षेत्रीय वीग्रेका हकमा लीड मात्र काटी सुन श्रृंगी ३० दण्ड गर्नु त्यस ब्राम्हणीसंग वीग्रने क्षत्रियले आफ्ना जातमा जात भातमा जानु परे प्राजापत्य चान्द्रायण गर्नु अनि अपराधबाट सुद्ध हुन्छ : ॥

लोकने भएका ब्राम्हणी संग वैश्य जात वीग्रे भने लीडकाति दिनु सुन श्रृंगी १२० दण्ड गर्नु दुवै लोकने स्वानस्नीलाई चान्द्रायणहरु छैन अपराधी थहछर्न वीधवा ब्राम्हणी संग वैश्य विग्रे लिड काटी सुन श्रृंगी रुपैया ६० दण्ड गर्नु ब्राम्हणी चान्द्रायण छैन अपराधी हुनेछ वैश्यका हकमा त्यस्ता वैश्यले आफ्ना जात भातमा चलनु परे १० प्राजापत्य चान्द्रायण थगर्नु अनी शुद्ध हुन्छ : ॥

लोकने हुने ब्राम्हणी संग सुद्र वीग्रे लिड काटी खुवाई चण्डालको हातले तेसलाई कटाउनु ब्राम्हणीलाई चान्द्रायण छैन लोकनेको जातमा मील्ल : ॥

अब जात जातले गर्ने जात जातको वीसेख वीशेख कार्यको व्यवस्था सानु थलो जात छुतीने गरी तल्ला जात देखि क्रमै लेखिन्छ : ॥

कुलु जातले गर्ने कामको व्यवस्था : आफ्ना जातका हात बान कपाल खोरनु नड कातनु फेरी बृधी सुतक मृती सुतकहरुको कर्म पनि आफु आफुले गर्नु आसौच १० दिन वार्नु फेरी पैतालिस दिन पीड कर्म सपीण्ड कर्महरु पानी आफ्ना जातका नाइकेका वचनले आफ्ना जातका जान्ने मानीसका मुषबाट वाक्य पढी गराउनु छालाका कुवा गाग्रो थैला थैली आडी गरेका मालाहरु बनाउनु फेरी बाजा पेटाराका गोलामा छाला लगाउनु आफ्नो जातले गर्ने छालाको रकम छोडी अरु जातका इलम गरे त्यस कुलुलाई तुरु १२० दण्ड गर्नु यस जातले आफ्ना जातमा बिहागर्न पाएन भने आफ्नो जात नदवाई स्वास्नीलाई राजी गराई श्रेष्ठ देषी कुसलेनी सम्मका स्वास्नी ल्याउनु बात लाग्दैन ।

अब पोडे जातले गर्ने कामको व्यवस्था : आफ्ना जातका हात बातै कपास खौरनु न कातनु, आफु आफुले बचन पढी सुतक पीण्डहरु गर्नु जाट पोसाक जोडी नलाउनु सुनको गहना नलाउनु बीना कामले सूर्य नारायण अष्ट भए पछि सहर भीत्र नपसनु पीठदेवताका समीपका बसी डेवताका गहनाको संभार गरी नैवेड मागी षानु माछा मारी भगेरा समातो बेची षु आफु भन्दा थुला जातलाई नछुनु गाई नखा सूरुर षानु मुर्दाका लुगाहरु बटोली लिनु श्मशानको दस्तर एक दाम लीनु पोडेनीले सती जाने स्वास्नी संग धुप प्रेम पूर्वक मागी जोर पोसाक लिनु सती जाने स्वास्नीले लोग्नेसंग नमरी चीता बात भरी जान्न भनी भने त्यस स्त्रीले पोडीनीसंग मीली सोही जात भइ बस्नु : ॥

डुम जातको व्यवस्था : ॥ कुसले जात संग भई ढोलक बाजाउनु स्वास्नी नचाई कमाई गरी खानु सुतक मृत्तीक कमै रत्रै पछीक कर्महरु आफैले गर्नु : ॥

टटी जातको व्यवस्था : यो जातले प्रजाहरु मरे पछि श्मशानमा लैजाने बखतमा चाहिने कात्रो बुनी टका एक मोल लिई बिक्री गर्नु सतिका कात्रोको मोल भने दुई तका लिनु सुतक ६ दिन जुथो १० दिन बार्नु पुरोहित गुबाल गर्नु : ॥

कुसले जातको व्यवस्था : यस जातले सबै प्रजाहरुका मंगल कार्य गर्दामा बाजा बजाउनु दस्तरका हकमा सामान्य कार्य गर्दामा भए बाह्र दाम लिनु विवाह कार्यमा भए जनही रु ॥ दस्तर लिनु पास्नी ब्रत बन्ध चुदाकर्महरुमा भए दस्तर जनही दाम ६६ को हीसापले लीनू ।

कुलुकुलु जातका व्यवस्था : दुनियाहरुका मृतकलाई श्मशान घाटमा लैजादा अधि अधि लागी मजुरा आरती बजाई आफ्नो डस्तर चार दाम र यक कुरुवा चावल लीनु कसाजीबाट कपाल नड वणाउनु सुतक जुथो गैपटीक पुरोहित माथि लेखीये बमोजिम गर्नु : ॥

मंगल कार्य गर्नेले इनहरुलाई पेटभरी षुवाउनु यस जातले दाकदा नआई काम अडकाए तुरु १२ डण्ड गर्नु आफ्नो साविकको कुसले लाई छोडी हरुलाई डाकि काम लगाउनेलाई तुरु १२ डण्ड गर्नु फेरी टोल टोलमा दुनियाको चोकहरु बढारी खानु फेरी कपालीक भेष भई दबरु बजाई मागी खानु सुतक ६ मृतुक ७ दिन बार्नु मृतक गाडनू पुरोहित आफ्नो जातको हुनु मरे मात्रै पछीक कार्य गर्नु खते बारी कमाउनु : ॥

कसाही जातको व्यवस्था : आफ्ना जातका हातले नड केस बनाउनु दुनियाको सबलाई श्मशानघाटमा लैजादा सतिको बाजा बजाएकोमा एक एक टका र अरुमा भया तीन दिन दिम दस्तर लीइ बाजा बजाउन दुनिया का काममा रागा काटदा यक दाम वा एक पैसा दस्तर लिई रागा मातनु भित्र तीका बाल रागा न काटी बाहीर रागा न काटी बाहीर रागा न काटनु भला मानिसलाई त्यो मासु नबेचनु चौरमा प्रजाहरुको रागो कातनु परे राज दस्तर एक पैली मात्र रागो काटनु मासुको मातनु परे राज दस्तर एक पैली मात्र रागो काटनु मासुको बेपार गर्नेले राज दस्तर डोबर डीनु डूनियकाले बडेल काटनु पट्टयो भने सरकारमा टाउको चढाई आफ्नो दस्तर आथ पैसा लिई मासु छुत्याई डीनु आफु भन्दा थुला जातलाई दही दुद नबेच्नु, घ्यू पनि नदिनु, सुतक ६ दिन जुथो बार्नु रत्रं पछी उकर्महरु माथी लेखिएकै सहर खेती गर्नु पुरोहित गुबाल गर्नु : ॥

नरी जातको व्यवस्था : भीतामा चीत्रकार लेषनु फेरी फरमायसी चीत्र पनि लेखनु, कसाई बाट नड कटाउनु च्यूरा कुटने मुसल नसमाटनु सुतक ६ दीन जुथो डस डीन बार्नु त्रै पछिक कर्म गर्नु पुरोहित गुबाल गर्नु : ॥

माली जातको व्यवस्था : ॥ फुल बेची साटी षानु, सुतक जुथो पुरोहितहरु नरी जातका बमोजिम गर्नु : ॥

छीपाको व्यवस्था : ॥ : नीर आडी रडले धाकां कपडाहरु रगाउनु कसाही बाट कपाल खौराउनु, नड कटाउनु सुतक जुथो त्रै पछिक उपेतहरु नरी जातका बमोजिम गर्नु : ॥

नकमी जातको व्यवस्था : फलामको काम गर्नु सुतक ६ दीन बार्नु नापीत कसाई गर्नु, जुथो त्रैपटीक पुरोहित माथीकै सदर गर्नु : ॥

पीछीनीको व्यवस्था : दुनियाको बालक जन्मदा बढीया दीनमा नाल फालि डोबाटमा लगी गाडनु सुधीनीले पाउने दस्तुरको आढा दस्तुर लीनु सुतक ६ दीन जुथो १० दिन बार्नु पुरोहित गुभाल गर्नु त्रैपछिक गर्नु नाउ कसायी गर्नु षेत कमाउनु : ॥

सघत जातको व्यवस्था : दुनियाहरुको लुगा धोई वर्ष डीनको कबुल बमोजिम बाली वा महीनावारी खानू सुतक जुथो परेमा त्यो परेका बीष्टावाट ६६ कुरुवा च्यूरा १६१६ दाम दस्तुर भाग लिई खानु खेत कमाउनु जुथो सुतक प्रोहीतहरु माथी कै सदर : ॥

नाउको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हण देशी ज्यापू पर्यन्तका जातको कपाल खौरनु नड काटनु सुतक जुथो परेमा ६६ कुरुवा च्यूरा दस्तुर लीनु, अरु कार्यमा बीष्टले जोडीएको भाग लिनु फेरी माहुर लाउनु एनो देषाउनु चूडा कर्म ब्रतवन्धहरुमा भने १२१२ दाम दस्तुर लिई भोज षानु, फेरी खेत कमाउनु, सुतक जुथो १० दीन बार्नु त्रै पटीक लत्याकर्म पनि गर्नु पुरोहीत माथी कै सदर : ॥

कोनालको व्यवस्था : नेपाल धुप बनाई काथ कुंडी बेची खानु अरु कार्य माथी कै सदर : ॥

माहा ब्राम्हण (भात) जातको व्यवस्था : पारखी पतुकाहरु रगाउनु, मृतक परेमा यकादसाहका दीन दिएको भोजन गर्नु फेरी खेत कमाउनु पसल नराषनु जुथो सुतकहरु माथी कै सदर : ॥

चीत्रकारीको व्यवस्था : देवताको चीत्र लेख्नु गुबालसंग दीक्षा ग्रहण गर्नु, रक्सी जाडहरु बेचनु, षेत नकमाउनु नाउ कसायी गर्नु, जुथो सुतकहरु माथी लेषीकै सडर : ॥

साल्मीको व्यवस्था : तेल पेली बेचनु, बाबीयाले षत बाधनु, अरु कर्म माथी कै सडर : ॥

मुसल जातको व्यवस्था : कसायीले मासु बेच्ने ठाउमा मासु पोका डीई दिएको आफ्नो डस्तुर लीई खानू, सुतक जुथो माथी कै सदर : ।

टेपोट जातको व्यवस्था : पालुगाको साग रोपी व्यवस्था सीत बेचनु, बुचदा श्री ५ सरकारमा दस्तुर डीनू, काहार बाजा बजाउनु, खेटी गर्नु, सतक गैह्र माथी कै सडर : ॥

खुसल जातको व्यवस्था : काहार बाजा बजाउनु, षत बाधदा साल्मी जातले नपुगे गुहार गर्नु षेती गर्नु, सुतक गैह्र माथी कै सडर : ॥

सीकर्मको व्यवस्था काथको काम गर्नु, सुतक ६ दिन जुथो १० दिन बार्नु त्रैपछोक गर्नु पुरोहित समेत माथी कै सडर : ॥

ग्वाल हेलको व्यवस्था : गाई पालनू, दुद दही घीउहरु बेचनू श्री ५ सरकारलाई अरु प्रजाहरुलाई कार्य गर्दा चाहीयेका गाईहरु तयार गरी मोल लीई डीनू सुतक १० दिन जुथो १२ डीन बार्नु त्रैपटीक पुरोहित ब्राम्हणहरुका हकमा माथी कै सघर : ॥

कहमाल जातको व्यवस्था : मातामा भाडा बनाई सर्कारलाई दस्तुर दिई बेचनु, सुतक १० दिन गर्नु, जुथो १० त्रैपक्षीक माथी कै सडर प्रोहीत गुवाल अचार गर्नु : ॥

तदास जातो व्यवस्था : लासामा कोठी थापी बेपार गर्नु, सुतक ६ डीन जुथो १० डीन बार्नु त्रैपछाक गर्नु प्रोहीत गुवाल गर्नु : ॥

तती जातको व्यवस्था : कात्रो बुन्नु जनै बनाई बेचनु सुतक जुथो १० डीन बार्नु, त्रैपक्षीक गर्नु पुरोहित ब्राम्हण गर्नु : ॥

तमोत जातको व्यवस्था : टामा कासा आडी गरेका धातुका भाडा बनाउनु सुना चाडीको जलप् सार्नु सुतक ६ डीन जुथो १२ डीन बार्नु त्रैपक्षीक कर्म माथी कै सडर उप्रेतका हकमा ब्राम्हण जोसी आचारहरुमा गर्नु यजमान बुद्ध मार्गी भय प्रोहीत गुवाल गर्नु : ॥

सुलमी श्रेष्टको व्यवस्था : रानीका माईतीजनभए माईतीले गर्ने काम त्यसले गर्नु बेपार गर्नु सुतक जुथो त्रैपक्षीहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

कीसानीको व्यवस्था : देवदेवताका पुजासामाग्रीहरु बोकनू बली फालनू प्रोहीत गुवाल गर्नु खेत कमाउनु जुयो सुतक त्रैपटीकहरु माथी कै सदर : ॥

बैड्यको व्यवस्था : दुनियाको नडी हेरी व्यथात हटाई ओषधी गरी आडीदानहरु गराई तीर्थ पुऱ्याउनु औषड पुवाउदा अनुपाम पथय् मुनासीब विचार गरी प्रयोग गर्नु डस्तुर एकतकालीनु : ॥

लोहकमीको व्यवस्था : सास्त्रोक्त प्रमाण पूर्वक देवदेवताहरुको मुर्तीहरु बनाउनु सुमेरु पेली दुहु फोर्नु सुतक १० डीन जुथो १२ डीन बार्नु बैपछिक कर्म गर्नु उप्रेट गुभाल गर्नु : ॥

बराही जातको व्यवस्था : काटको फरमायसी काम गर्नु चरपाउयीटा धुप आडी काठका मालहरु बनाई बेची षानू सूतक जुथोहरु माथी कै सडर प्रोहीत ब्राम्हण गर्नु बुद्ध मार्गी भए गुभाल गर्नु : ॥

हलवार्यीको व्यवस्था : रोती बनाउनु गुभाल संगमंत्र सुन्नु सुतक १० डीन जुथो १२ डीन बार्नु त्रैपक्षीक कर्म पनि गर्नु : ॥

बीषुवाडाको व्यवस्था : मूला अदुवाको घेती गरी बेचनु पन्च पटाका डीनू शीषा मुण्डन गर्नु गुभाजसंग मंत्र सुन्नु सुतक १० डीन जुथो १२ डीन बार्नु त्रैपटीक कर्म पनि गर्नु पुरोहीत गुवाल गर्नु : ॥

बाडाको व्यवस्था : सुन चाडीको गहना बनाउनु ढलवत धातुको भाडा बनाउनु धातुको बुता काट्नु सुन चाडीको जलपसानू कासाका कचउरा बनाउनु पुरोहीत गुभाल गर्नु सुतकाडी कार्यहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

वज्राचार्यको व्यवस्था : यी गुभाल जातले श्रेष्ठ ज्यापु हलवायी बरहि सीकर्म लोक्कर्म चोत्रकारी सम्मका अधी देषीनआफुले मंत्र डीईआएक बुद्ध मार्गीलाई मंत्र डीनू सुतक ६ डीन जुथो ७ डीन बार्नु, प्रोहीत गुभाल गर्नु पैतालीश डीने कार्य पनि गर्नु : ॥

कसालको व्यवस्था : काशो कृतिपीटी भाडा बनाउनु सुतक १० डीन जुथो १२ डीन बार्नु पैतालिस डीने कार्य पनि गर्नु : ॥

पीथाचार्यको व्यवस्था : पीठ पीठमा डेबताको पुजाहरु गर्नु आफुले अधी डेषी गरी आएका अधिकार पाएका महाबली आडी गरेका बली बीधानहरु गर्नु ब्राम्हणबाट मंत्र सुन्नु जनै धारणा गर्नु बीधीकाहरुमा आफ्ना जातका शीष्ट पुरुषले गर्नु सुतक १० डीन जुथो बार्नु पैतालीस डीने कार्य पनि गर्नु बीबह कार्यम भैष्ट जात दुनियाको घर पवीत्र गर्नु : ॥

शिवाचार्यको व्यवस्था : सीबलीन्हुको पुजा गर्नु आफ्ना अधिकार भएका जात सम्ममा यजमानी गरीयज्ञाडी कर्म गर्नु फेरी गृह सुधी कर्म पनि गर्नु ब्राम्हणबाट मंत्र सुन्नु जनै धारण गर्नु आफ्ना जातका कर्महरु आफ्ना जातका शीष्टका हातबाट गर्नु सुतकाडी माथी कै सडर प्रोहीत ब्राम्हण गर्नु श्रेष्ठ जातसंग बीवाहाडी व्यवहार चलाउनु : ॥

कर्माचार्यको व्यवस्था : श्रीतलेजुको तहल गरी चौकी बस्नु ब्राम्हणबाट मंत्र सुन्नु जनै धारणा गर्नु बीधी आफुले नै गर्नु आफ्ना अधिकार भएका जात सम्ममा यजमानी गर्नु प्रोहीत ब्राम्हण गर्नु सुतकाडीमाथी कै सडर : ॥

गुवाचार्यको व्यवस्था : श्रेष्ठलाई डीक्ष्या सुनाउनु ब्राम्हणबाट मंत्र सुन्नु आफ्ना अधिकार भएका जातमा यजमानी कार्य गर्नु सुत्र कर्मा होम गर्नु प्रोहीत ब्राम्हण गर्नु सुतक जुथो माथी कै सडर : ॥

देवाचार्यको व्यवस्था : आफ्ना जातका शीष्टबाट मंत्र सुन्नु आफ्ना सुभ कार्यमा होक गर्नु यजमानी पनि गर्नु प्रोहीत सुतकहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

पात्रवंशथकुलवत्का व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणबाट मंत्र सुन्नु ढाल तरबार भीरनू राजसेवामा नीरन्तर रहनू प्रोहीत सुतकहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

राज लवतको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणबाट मंत्र सुन्नु ढाल तरबार भीरनू राजासेवामा रहनू पुरोहीहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

कायस्थ जातको व्यवस्था : सर्कारको दस्कटर मोहर लेषनू फेरी राज दुनीया सबैमा डान पत्र सुक्री वीक्री पत्र तमसुक भाषापत्र गैह व्यवहारीक लेखत जति लेखनू त्यो लेख लेखेको डस्तुर लीनु ब्राम्हण संग मंत्र सुन्नु प्रोहीत सुतकहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

भारो श्रेष्ठको व्यवस्था : शीव मार्गीले ब्राम्हणसंग मंत्र सुन्नु बुद्ध मार्गीले गुभाजुसंग मंत्र सुन्नु वेपार कार्य गर्नू पुरोहीतका हकमा शीव मार्गीको ब्राम्हण बुद्ध मार्गीको गुभाजल गर्नु अरु सुतकाडीहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

अमात्य माहाजुहरुको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणसंग मंत्र सुन्नु उत्तम श्रेष्ठसंग बीवाह गर्नू राज्यकार्य गर्नू प्रोहीत सुतकहरु थारो श्रेष्ठ कै सडर : ॥

जोसीको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणसंग मंत्र सुन्नु जनै शीखा गायत्री धारणा गर्नू : संकल्प वाक्य पढीनीत्य कर्महरु गर्नू उत्तम श्रेष्ठसंग बीवाह गर्नु जोतीष सास्त्र पढनू पात्रो बनाउनू ग्रहण ग्रहयोग स्नानदान प्रासस्त्य योग गह्वको मेलक सुभा सुभ योग इत्यादी ठीकठीक निर्णय गरी प्रजाहरुलाई कहनू जन्म पत्री चीन लेषनू साईत हेनू लेषनू यस डेषी उपल्ला श्रेणिका ब्रम्हाकर्महरु नगर्नू आफ्ना अधीकार सम्मको यजमानी कार्य गर्नू प्रोहीत सुतकहरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

थकुरीको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणसंग मंत्र सुन्नु जनै धारणा गर्नू सीव मार्ग बुद्ध मार्ग मान्नु ढालतरबार भीरनू राजकाज गर्नू अरु माथी कै सडर : ॥

थाकुरको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणबाट दस कर्म गराउनू जनै धारणा गर्नू मंत्र स्वीकार गर्नू ढालतरबार भीरीसदा राजकाजमा रहनू बाणीज्य वेपार गर्नू प्रोहीत सुतकाडी माथी कै सडर : ॥

श्री ५ सर्कार राजाको व्यवस्था : ब्राम्हणबाट दस कर्म गरी गायत्री जनै धारणा गर्नू दीक्षया मंत्र स्वीकार गर्नू ढालतरबार भीरनू आफ्ना नोतीमा रहनू अरुलाई पनि चलाउनू प्रोहीत सुतकाडी माथी कै सडर : ॥

देव ब्राम्हणको व्यवस्था : स्वजात वक्त मंत्र सुन्नु सुनाउनू राजालाई मन्त्र डीनू श्रेष्ठसम्मका जातमा यजमानी कार्य गर्नू वेद मंत्र स्मृती पुरा णाडीबाट कृत्यमागनती भएक कार्यहरु गर्नू गराउनू नीषेध गरेका कार्यहरु नगर्नू नगराउनू राजगुरु घरेल पुराण नवाचनू राज गुरुले अरुलाई मंत्र नसुनाउनू प्रोहीत स्वजातीय ब्राम्हण गराउनु सुतक १२ डीन जुथो १२ डीन बार्नु पैतालीस डीनमा गर्नेमा सीक श्राद्ध समीडीकरण श्राद्धहरु पनि गर्नू : ॥

ब्राम्हणजातका छोरा नभई ब्राम्हण परलोक भएमा तीनकी ब्राम्हणीले स्वधर्मम रहन जेल भो भएको चल अचल धनहरु षान बेहोर्न पाउछीन ति ब्राम्हणी छंन् अपुताली भनी दाज्यू भाईले लीन पाउडीनन् कार्यहरु पनि अरुले गर्न हुँदैन ती ब्राम्हणीको अधिकार छ : ॥

यस्ता हीसाबले यी राजा जयस्थीति राजमल्ल देवले स्थीती बन्दोवस्त बाधी सबै प्रजाहरुलाई वर्तनगराई आफु पनि त्यसै स्थीतीमा रहे यो स्थीतिपछि हुने राजा र प्रजाहरुमा जसले जसले नासगर्ला उसलाई पाप लाग्ला जसले थामी उन्तर उन्तर उन्नती गराउला उसलाई पुन्ये हुने छ भनि श्लोक समेत लेखी प्रचार गराए : ॥

APPENDIX-III

From Medieval Nepal, Colophons and Inscriptions¹Colophon No 15

OBJECT : One page of a palm-leaf manuscript.

SIZE : 14.5 inches long by 1.5 inches.

LOCATION : Private collection of Sri Hemaraj Sakya.

SCRIPT : Bhujimol.

LANGUAGE : Newari.

DATE : Nepal Era 561.

CONTENT : The page describes the rules governing the ordaining of a novice (CUDA-KARMA ceremony) in the Vajrakirti Mahavihara.

¹ Sakya, Hemraj. *Medieval Nepal*, Edited by Hamraj Sakya and T.R. Vaidya, Kathmandu: T.R. Vaidya, 1970 AD, Pp. 29-31

- (१) श्रैयोऽस्तु ॥ सम्बत् ५६१ कार्तिक शुक्लः प्रतीप-
दयान्तिथौ ॥ श्री सृजयवर्ह्यं शङ्कराकारित महाविहार
वज्रासनकीर्ति भट्टारकास प्रमुखन श्रीवतवहार
वज्राचार्य श्रीग्रन्थय थव-
- (२) पाजुसः साक्यविक्षु श्रीलुंतयिजुस थ्वस उभे प्रमुखनः
सर्वसङ्ग समूहस वन्देछुयया सम्प्रधान भाषा थ्वते
जुरो ॥ भाषा वन्देछुयेसः सर्वसङ्गसके हवते चेत
स्वान ग्वा-
- (३) ल दम्म २ वो थ्वते ग्वालक्रिया ॥ वन्देछुकोन्हुया
दक्षिणा बुद, धम्म, सङ्गस दम्म १ जवा २ थ्वतेन
स्वंबोस छिबो थरपासः छिबो आचार्यसः छिबो
सङ्गस जुरो ॥ शिक्षा-
- (४) व्रतया दक्षिणा दम्म १ होमया दक्षिणा दम्म २ जन-
प्रति आचार्यस जुरो ॥ सम्पूर्णस सर्वसङ्ग समूहस्के
दक्षिणाबियेत्वं जनप्रति गणच्चाके कुन्हु जुछि धारे
वो जवा
- (५) २ धारो बो जुरो ॥ श्रीकाचपाह श्रीश्रीभट्टारकास
दक्षिणा वहारपाललाक्कस्यं कायजुरो ॥ वन्देछुकोन्हु
समयम्बण्डीप्रति धरिपाट ४ फलके गाछि समय लाकु-
- (६) लं जिपथ्व कुन्हु ३ कतुवा गाछि शियाफलके ॥
भोह्कोन्हु वनवकनन क्यंता १२ अमसता ६ मूलला-
हटन लडनव कुलं जिपथ्य फं २ कतुवा गाछि । ।

थ्व भोह व--

- (क) सपेया नितारदीनमास २ थ्वदिनन ह्यायाच माल्वः
थ्वदिनन ह्यामयाकाले--
- (ख) विहंचदाम सलंनशि १२ थ्वते ल्हुस्यंतु बोह्णायके
दोः राजादेविक जुस्यश्व--
- (ग) सपकाले विहंचक्यग्व धायेमदोः भोह्णकोन्हू लिया-
चाव आदिसमय माल्व--
- (घ) परिभाषा थ्वते सङ्गसमूहस सुया जुरसनो थव-
जाति उमजुकाले रविति--
- (ङ) या मोचाजुकाले वन्देछुयेः धायेमदोः थ्वते भाषाजा
संफुह्णि आचरनचो--
- (च) तास ल्हेस्यं थ्वचोना जुरों सावि सयेव वहार
यतागृह गुणभारोश ॥ शुभं ॥

APPENDIX-IV

From Medieval Nepal, Colophons and Inscriptions²

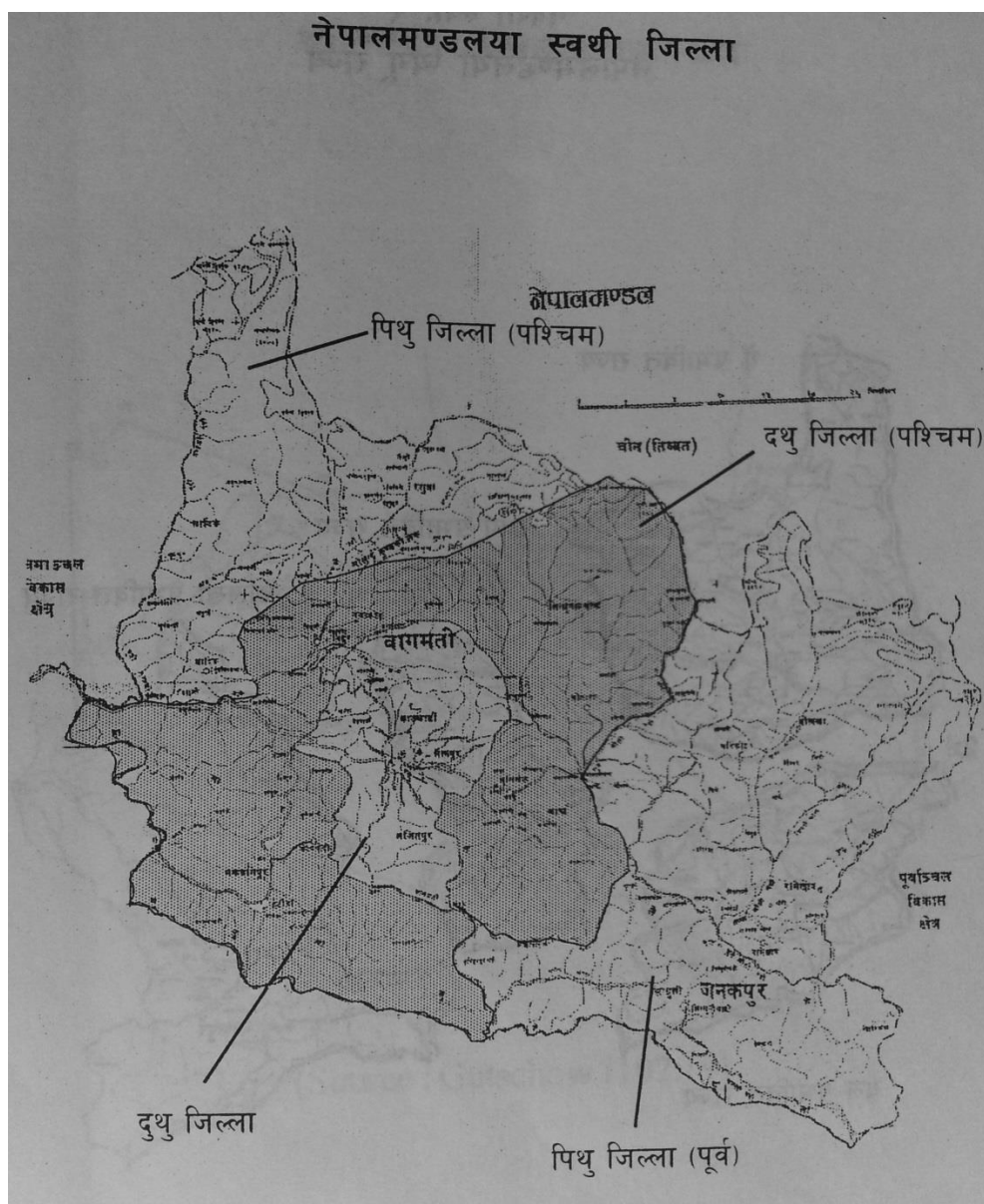
Colophon No. 16

OBJECT	: A <i>Paubha</i> , or painting on cloth from Nepal, depicting Vajradhara and the eighty-four Siddhas.
SIZE	: 537, inches high by 27.5 inches wide.
LOCATION	: National Art Gallery Bhaktapur.
SCRIPT	: Newari
LANGUAGE	: Newari and Sanskrit.
DATE	: N. E. 633 in the time of Raja Ratna Malla.
CONTENT	: Saktiraj Simha of Yothala Jholanche, Kathmandu, has dedicated this painting, together with another of Vasundhara, for the welfare of his teachers, parents and all living beings.

²*Ibid.* P. 32

APPENDIX-V

Three Districts of Nepal Maṇḍala



APPENDIX-VI

Photo of Ston Inscription

Photo 1: Chauni museum Stone Inscription, NS 262



Photo 2: Pimbaha Lalitpur Stone inscription



Photo 3: Stone Inscription Svayambhu



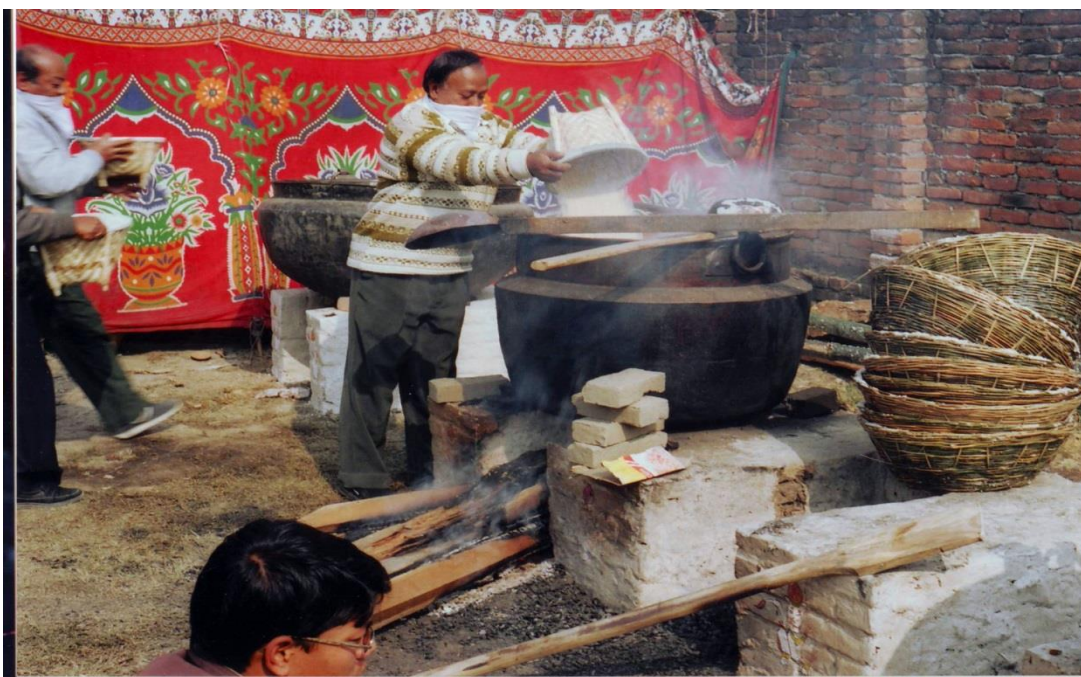
APPENDIX-VII**Photo 4: Samyak Festival Attended by King Gyanendra****Photo Courtsy: Suresh Sakya****Photo 5: Ritual of Samyak Festival****Photo Courtsy: Suresh Sakya**

Photo 6: Moulding of clay caitya (Dyo: tha:gu)

Photo Courtesy: Prachin Siddhi



Photo 7: Svayambhu Caitya in Samyak Daan

Photo Courtesy: Suresh Sakya



Photo 8: Horning blowing (Neku: puegu)

Photo Courtesy: Prachin Siddhi



Photo 9: Circumambulating Svayambhu Caitaya during the Horn Blowing Function (Neku: puegu)

Photo Courtesy: Prachin Siddhi



Photo 10: Reciting Naam Sangiti infront of Kwapa dyo: (Tutaa: bwaney: gu)

Photo Courtesy: Prachin Siddhi



Photo 11: Old Man Janko (Budha Janko).

Photo courtesy: Lotus Reasearch Center



Photo 12: Ilhan Samyak of Patan
Photo Courtsy: Lotus Reaserch Center



Photo 13: Ilhan Samyak of Patan
Photo Courtsy: Lotus Reaserch Center



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