

## A BUDDHIST GUIDE TO THE POWER PLACES OF THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

*Keith Dowman  
Chābāhil, Kathmandu*

### Introduction

The entire Kathmandu Valley is a sacred place for Buddhists, Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavas alike. The followers of each of these paths relate legends that associate the early human Buddhas, Śiva (Paśupati) or Viṣṇu with the prehistorical Valley. Geographically, geomantically and aesthetically this fertile lake-drained valley with a temperate climate, nestling in the sub-Himalayas, has always been a paradise for reclusive contemplatives, and sometimes martial refugees, from the Indian plains. Over the centuries the devout though practical indigenous people of the Valley and their more fanatical Indian co-religionists have created an incomparably rich legacy of religious art and architecture, legend and parable, at innumerable power spots within this vast holy place (*upachandoha*). The Newari artisans of the Malla period (13th-18th century) who created most of the stone and wooden environment at these power places were barely inferior in skill and conception to their Licchavi predecessors (5th-10th centuries), and rarely flagging in creative imagination the castes of artisans have sustained for 1500 years a height of achievement in religious art that Europe attained only during the Renaissance and China during the T'ang dynasty.

The apparent laxity or indifference of contemporary temple officiants (*deo-pālas*) should not blind the observer to the profound significance of the holy places and the dominant part that they play in the lives of the people. And if Buddhists and Hindus, Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavas, seem to regard the power places and images of each other's sects as equally sacred this is not through ignorance but a real empathy for the unity of the intrinsic noumenal reality and an unusual human tolerance of other men's beliefs. Thus the same stone image (Buṛa Nīlakaṇṭha, for example,) will be worshipped by a Buddhist as Lokeśwara, by a Śaivite as Mahādeva and by a Vaiṣṇava as Viṣṇu.

For the Tibetans, not only has the Valley been a destination of pilgrims but also a source of example, inspiration and knowledge since the 7th century. The first Tibetan Buddhist king, Srong-btsan sGam-po, married a Nepali princess, Bhṛkutī, who took the trappings of her Buddhist culture to Lhasa together with a crew of artisans. A Nepali named Śīla Mañju taught the King the Buddhist doctrine and initiated a long and eminent lineage of Nepali scholars who taught the *dharma* in Tibet. In the 8th century Nepal played an important role in the early spreading of the doctrine in Tibet. Perhaps King Khri-srong lDe-btsan's roving ambassador, sBa gSal-s nang, who came to the Valley to invite the Indian Bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita to Central Tibet to build the first Tibetan *vihāra* at Samye, can be called the first Tibetan pilgrim to Nepal. A few years later the same king's messengers came to Pharping to invite Tibet's Great Guru Padmasambhava (herein called Guru Padma or simply Padma) to succeed where Śāntarakṣita had failed. One of Guru Padma's most eminent disciples, sNubs Sangs-rgyas Ye-she, came to Kathmandu to study with the Nepali 'king' Vasudhara and the Indian *ācārya* Dharmabodhi at a *vihāra* on the site of the present Maru Sattal in Durbar Square, Kathmandu, before returning to Samye to found the *rdzogs-pa anuyoga* lineage of the Old School, the *rNying-ma-pa* school.

But it was in the latter period of propagation of the doctrine in Tibet (*phyi-dar*), beginning in the latter part of the 10th century and lasting for the next 200 years, that Tibet accumulated an enormous cultural and religious debt to Nepal. A stream of scholars and *yogins* arrived from the Land of the Snows in search of texts and instruction from such Nepali adepts as Pham-thing-pa and Ye-yang-pa, and from visiting Indian masters like Atulyavajra, Naropa, Śavara, and Vāgīśvara-kirti. The heinous destruction of the great monastic academies of the fragmented Pāla empire - Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, Jagaddala and Uddaṇḍapura - at the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th had the positive result of throwing a large number of monkish and scholarly refugees into the arms of knowledge hungry Tibetans in their sphere of activity in Nepal. But this was after Marpa the Translator had made his succession of visits here, towards the end of the process of distilling the essential *vajrayāna* doctrine and transporting it over the high Himalayas to be transmitted by the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* and *Sa-skyapa* lineages.

With an intolerant Muslim ascendancy on the plains making the heat only a secondary obstacle to devout Tibetan pilgrims wishing to gain merit at the Magadhan shrines blessed by Śākyamuni Buddha, Nepal became the most important place of pilgrimage for Tibetans outside their own frontiers. The centuries old Buddhist institutions of Chābāhil Cārumatī Vihāra, which is believed to have been founded by Aśoka's daughter Cārumatī, Paśupati itself, one of the 24 *śākta pīṭhas* where the *liṅgam* is worshipped as Sambara, and the sites of Śankhu Bajra Joginī and Pharping Nārāyaṇa Sthān (Yanglesho), which are associated with Guru Padma, these were of great account, but by the beginning of the Malla period (13th century) Swayambhunāth had achieved priority for all Buddhists. As early as 1041 Atīśa could give pilgrimage to the Swayambhu

Dharmadhatu Vāgīśvara Maṇḍala as an excuse to leave the Vikramaśīla academy and reach striking distance of Tibet. As the Turks on the Indian plains gave way to their more tolerant Mogul successors the trickle of zealous Tibetan *yogins* visiting the broken Buddhist power places of Magadha would have increased to a steady flow. In the 18th century we know that many 'Grand Lamas' made the pilgrimage, the 12th Karmapa not the least of them. There was little difference in the length of travel from Central Tibet to Southern Bihar by the direct route through Shigatse, Chumbi and Sikkim and the routes via the Kathmandu Valley through Tingri, Kodari and Śankhu or through Kyirong and Triśūli, which were important towns on the main route from Western Tibet to India. Before the Gorkhāli confrontation with Tibet in the 18th century the links between the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* hierachs and the Valley are attested by the restoration of temples undertaken by these wealthy pilgrims. With the decline of Newari Buddhism in the last 200 years, after the Gorkhāli conquest, it has been the Tibetans whose greater ardour has kept the light of faith burning at the Buddhist power places throughout the Valley; and particularly since 1959 and the Chinese invasion of Tibet, Tibetan faith and wealth have invigorated religious activity at Boudha, Swayambhu, Namo Buddha, Katiśimbhu and Pharping.

To our present advantage the Tibetans have a literary genre that assists pilgrims in their peregrinations throughout the sphere of their activity--Tibet, North India, Western China and Nepal. Like tourist handbooks, guides (*gnas-yig*) and 'chronicles' (*dkar-chag*, which could be more accurately translated as 'register' or 'index') inform the pilgrim of major shrines where merit can be gained and spiritual sustenance secured, and they may give indication of the legends and historical background associated with the power places. The earliest guide to Nepal of which we are aware was written by mNga'-ris Pan-chen who is most

likely *the* mNga-'ris Pan-chen, Padma dBang-rgyal rDo-rje (1487-1543). But although the 18th and 19th century *pandits* Chos-kyi Nyi-ma and bLa-ma bTsan-po were familiar with it, it may no longer be extant, depriving us of an early 16th century Tibetan impression of the Valley.

This present work is based on *The Kathmandu Valley Guide* (*Bal-yul gnas-yig*) of Ngag-dbang rDo-rje, printed in 1774. This guide is a list of 50 power places of the Valley with brief accounts of each shrine and indications of the legends associated with each place. Herein, under each of the 50 heads has been added references from other guides and from chronicles, biographies and other miscellaneous sources. According to the colophon of *The Kathmandu Valley Guide*, Ngag-dbang rDo-rje was a Newari *bhikṣu* living in the Kimdol Vihāra, to the south of Swayambhu, and the printing was done in a wood-horse year. A peculiar feature of the *Guide* is that after the Tibetan name of each power place a phrase is added in transliterated *pahāri* language, the mountain language of the Gorkhālis, giving the Newar name of the shrine according to the Hindu view. Although *pahāri* was known in the Valley prior to the conquest we infer that the text was written after the Gorkhāli invasion of 1768; this *terminus a quo* of the *Guide's* origin is affirmed by the inclusion of Basantapur Kumārī Bāhāl which was built by the last of the Malla kings, Jaya Prakāś Malla. Since bLa-ma bTsan-po used the *Guide* to compile his *World Geography* in 1820, the wood-horse year in which the text was printed must be 1774. It is remarkable however that only six years after the Gorkhāli conquest the author should have such faith in the continued usage of the Gorkhāli language.

Ngag-dbang rDo-rje had an intimate knowledge of the Valley. He makes only one error of fact, and that is in locating the Tilopa and Naropa Caves at Ārje Ghāt, the ghāt immediately below the Paśupati shrine, rather than at Sūrje Ghāt 100 yards upstream. Otherwise, there is some confusion caused by his

reliance upon the popular tradition based on the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*. This tradition reverses the locations of Vipaświ's Stūpa and Śākyamuni's Stūpa, naming Nāgārjuna Hill as Ri gLang-ru (Gośṛṅga Parvata), when according to both the *Swayambhu Purāṇa* and common sense, the Buddha Śākyamuni preached at Parbatsthān on Mañjuśrī Hill and Vipaświ Buddha took his seat beside the primordial lake on Nāgārjuna Hill. Fortunately, however, the author relies on his observation and his Newari heritage rather than the prophecies which identify Nepal with Khotan. Ngag-dbang rDo-rje was probably a *bKa'-brgyud-pa* initiate since he resided in the *viḥāra* associated with that school. But because he gives Guru Padmasambhava the epithet 'Second Buddha' (*Sangs-rgyas gnyis-pa*) on two occasions (in the entries for the Asura Cave and Maru Sattal) we must assume he had strong *rNying-ma* leanings; perhaps he had been ordained by the 6th Drukpa Rimpoche (of the *rNying-ma* influenced '*Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud* school) who spent some time in the Valley and in Kimdol Vihāra during the second half of the 18th c.

It is mere coincidence that the author of the oldest of our three main sources, the *Swayambhu Chronicles* (*Bal-yul mehod-rten 'phags-pa shing-kun dang de'i gnas gzhan-rnams-kyi dkar-chag*), has the same name as the author of *The Kathmandu Valley Guide*. This Ngag-dbang rDo-rje was from Nas-yul, Barley Valley, which could be anywhere in the Himalas above 8000'. He was an initiate of the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* School and a disciple of rJe Rang-rig-ras-pa, who restored both the Boudha and Swayambhu Stūpas and had the *Swayambhu Chronicles* written by his disciple to commemorate the restoration of Swayambhunāth and to record whatever he knew of the Stūpa's history and the other major shrines of the Valley. He was a contemporary of Pārthivendra Malla who reigned from 1680-1688, but the restoration of the Stūpa was not completed, or at least the consecration was not performed, until 1694. Thus we date this text at the end of the 17th c.

Perhaps Rang-rig-ras-pa, who according to Boudha's Chini Lama, was the 5th tulku of his line, hailing from Khams in Tibet, had been cremated and his relics interred in the largest of 31 the small *stūpas* to the east of Boudha by this time.

The text consists of 10 folios. Khams-sprul Chos-kyi Nyi-ma considered it a compilation of old Tibetan stories and by implication unreliable. Unfortunately the extant wood-blocks of this text, the same that Turrel Wylie transliterated in Appendix B of his *Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*, appear to have been carved by an illiterate neophyte doing his first bit of carving, as the text is hopelessly corrupt; words and phrases are misplaced or omitted and sometimes it appears that entire sentences have been rearranged. An older copy of this important text is needed before it can be edited definitively.

However, the work is interesting because it draws heavily upon the *Gośrṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*, and one source of the Tibetans' misguided beliefs about Swayambhu and Nāgārjuna Hill is uncovered. The *Gośrṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* is a 'late' *sūtra*; it consists of a prophetic discourse of Śākyamuni begun in Vaiśālī and continued in Khotan (Li-yul). The prophecies concern the founding of Khotan after the draining of a vast lake (the Lake-River Goma); the evolution of a great Buddhist civilisation focussed upon the Goma Salagandha Stūpa; and advice to the hosts that accompanied the Buddha as to how they should conduct themselves when they were reborn in Khotan etc. (*vide* Appendix I). The quotations in the *Swayambhu Chronicles* supposedly taken from the *Sūtra* have been distorted to serve the purpose of identification of Li-yul with Nepal. However, there certainly are similarities between the legends of the *Swayambhu Purāna* and the prophecies contained in the *Sūtra* that make such an identification possible, and since all sentient beings have benefitted from the sanctity that Swayambhu and

the Valley in general have acquired from this misidentification, and since the alternative set of legends (the Mañjuśrī Cycle) concerning the origin of the valley civilisation contained in the *Swayambhu Purāṇa* are of late and equally dubious origin, there is every reason to stress the similarities that support the thesis that Li-yul is Nepal, and accept the gentle priestcraft that introduced the *Gośrṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* to the generations of Tibetan pilgrims to Nepal. The prophecies of the *Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra*, another of the *Chronicles'* sources (which is not available to me), were interpreted by the Tibetans as Tibetan historical prophecy; 'Gos Lotsawa, who wrote the *Blue Annals*, took the historical prophecies of this *tantra* to concern the history of Tibet rather than that of Nepal when they were more capable of a Nepali interpretation. But again there is no vice in such misinterpretation except the subversion of history; and since one of history's functions is to give meaning to, and thereby boost confidence in, the present through reference to the past, if an efficacious version of the past, however distorted, is sanctified as the Buddha's Word, history's purpose may be served. (*Vide* Thomas, F.W., *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, for a discussion of the Nepal-Khotan confusion)

The most significant guide to Nepal is the Fourth Khams-sprul Rimpoche's *Chronicles of the Kathmandu Valley Power Place, the Paradise of Upachandoha: the Nectar of the Snowland's Ear* (*Yul-chen-po nye-ba'i tshandoha bal-po'i gnas-kyi dkar-chag gangs-can rna-ba'i bdud-rtsi*). The name *upachandoha*, used to designate the whole of the Valley, denotes a category of *pīṭhasthāna* employed in the listing of the 24 great power places of the Deva and Dākinī in the *Sambara* and *Hevajra-tantras*. Its etymology is obscure. On folio 13a of the *Kailash* edition of the text, Khams-sprul Rimpoche says "The Kathmandu Valley itself is renowned as the paradise of *upachandoha*, and the self-sprung symbols which are the heart



of it are the two symbols known as Paśupati and Guhyaśwarī" (*Bal-po yul 'di'-nyid kyang yul-chen-po nye-ba'i-tshandohar grags-pa'i snying-po rten rang-byung ni pashupati dang guhyaswari zhes-po'i rten 'di' gnyis yin*). The *Upachandohas* ('nearby'-*chandohas*) of the *Hevajra-tantra* are Kalinga, Suvarṇadvīpa and Kokarṇa. In the *Sambara-tantra* Grhadeva (Paśupati) is mentioned as a 'meeting place' ('*du-ba*) not an *upachandoha*. The original significance of these categories has been lost, unless it is contained in an unknown tantric commentary, and it is apparent that the names of the categories of *pīṭhasthānas* can be used interchangeably. These categories also refer to classes of psychic nerves (*rtsa, nāḍī*); thus, although the patterns (*maṇḍalas*) of psychic nerves' focal points retain significance, the classes of their external references have lost meaning. Regarding the date of this text, since the author does not mention the Gorkhālis, we must assume that it was written before 1768 and after Khams-sprul Rimpoche was mature; thus we can date it between 1755 and 1768. It was hand written, and it had not been printed until very recently (*Kailash* III (2), 1975).

Khams-sprul Chos-kyi Nyi-ma (1730-1780) was a student of Ka-thog Rig-'dzin-chen-po Tshe-dbang Nor-bu (1698-1755) and Situ Pan-chen (Chos-kyi 'Byung-gnas). He was evidently a learned man. He writes in a complex colloquial style that does not lend itself to facile translation. He seems to have been well-read in his subject, and although it is evident that he has not visited every power place that he mentions, his information is generally reliable with a few unaccountable exceptions. However, he concerns himself with historicity -- a nightmare flaw! -- and his scepticism seems unduly severe and pedantic. He strives to untangle the threads of conflicting belief and extricate himself from the web of ungrounded legend, and he sometimes succeeds. But one may question his motivation. Conflicting beliefs in the minds of different individuals cause no problem for the individuals

themselves; the problem is fabricated by the analytical scholar, comparing and evaluating, searching for an illusive *objective* truth. 'True' and 'false' seem inappropriate labels to apply to beliefs that lead to different individuals worshipping the same image in different ways and calling it by different names. Why question beliefs that induce disparate castes, creeds and races to worship in the same temple? A valuable social function is served by non-sectarian practices and there is no aesthetic virtue in homogeneity. Tolerance and flexibility is one aspect of the Newari religious genius. And concerning legend, variety is the spice; and it should be axiomatic for mythologists that legend or belief should be evaluated, if it is to be evaluated at all, not as to its historicity, its internal coherence, or its moral content, but simply as to its efficacy. If the odd belief that A-Kham (Mīnanāth) projected U-Kham (Macchendranāth) as an iridescent insect ('bu) clarifies their father-son relationship, then let it stand. And if belief in the prophecies of the *Gośringa--vyākaraṇa-sūtra* induces a man to do pilgrimage to Nāgārjuna's peak, then it is a valid belief. However, despite some prejudice in Chos-kyi Nyi-ma's appraisals, since there is a great deal more of value in Chos-kyi Nyi-ma's *Chronicles* than is relevant to the scope of the present work, we hope that Professor A.W. Macdonald's promise to publish an annotated translation will be fulfilled in the near future. (Professor Macdonald's French translation is forthcoming in *Taoist and Tantric Studies*; ed. M. Strickman, Berkeley.)

The concept of bLa-ma bTsan-po (sMin-grol Nomu. Khan, 1789-1838) that induced him to write his *World Geography* ('Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad) in Peking in 1820 was incredibly ambitious for an untravelled Tibetan in xenophobic China. Insofar as he attempted to present fact rather than myth, legend and belief, as geography his work is of dubious value; it was virtually impossible to obtain correct information about Nepal, for

example, while living at the other end of Asia. However, bLa-ma bTsan-po's chapter on Nepal underlines certain important names and places and his breadth of learning gives us several significant bibliographic references.

*The Kathmandu Valley Guide* and the *Swayambhu Chronicles* are transliterated in the appendices of *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*, an edited edition and translation of the Nepali Chapter of Lama bTsan-po's *World Geography* by Turrell Wylie. Unfortunately neither the *Guide* nor the *Chronicles* were edited by him; and neither of these texts are easily available in manuscript form in Kathmandu.

The principal source of Newari legend which *The Kathmandu Valley Guide*, Chos-kyi Nyi-ma's *Chronicles* and our oral sources depend upon is the *Swayambhu Purāṇa*. This *Purāṇa* claims to have  
 11 been delivered as a sermon by Śākyamuni Buddha at Parbatsthān on Mañjuśrī Hill, but scholars believe that it was written in the reign of Yakṣa Malla at the beginning of the 15th c. soon after Kathmandu became a separate city state, and that the oldest extant copy is of the late 15th c. The corpus of myth and legend that it embodies must have been circulating orally for perhaps generations previous to its first written form, a form that gave popular legend the sanctity of the Buddha's Word. The first seven chapters of the *Purāṇa* describe the legends associated with the seven incarnate Buddhas (*manusi buddhas*): Vipaświ, Sikhi, Viśvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni. The first six of these Buddhas are assigned two to each of the pre-historical *yugas*, the *kṛitayuga* (*satyayuga*) *tretāyuga* and *dvāparayuga*, while Śākyamuni is the Buddha of the historical *kaliyuga*. But the chief character in the cosmic drama of the foundation of Nepali civilisation is Mañjuśrī who appears from his Five-Peaked Mountain home (Wu t'ai shan) in China at the time of Viśvabhu in the *kṛitayuga*. Appearing magically with his two consorts, Mañjuśrī drained

the primordial lake that filled the Valley (see map), a lake which was a Nāga abode (Nāg Hrād, Nāgavāsahrada), built a city and installed a government, introduced agriculture, and above all he made the Swayambhu Stūpa accessible to worship by man. This Mañjuśrī cycle of legends was the principal contribution of the *Swayambhu Purāṇa* to scriptural literature. It is now believed that the Mañjuśrī legends came from China via central Asia and Khotan. The *Swayambhu Purāṇa* "has been constructed in comparatively recent times on legends concerning Khotan"... "The cult of Mañjuśrī will invariably be localised on a mountain chain composed of five mountains surrounding a lake" (Macdonald, *Newar Art* pp. 51 & 60). If indeed Khotan was the origin of the Mañjuśrī legends, the tradition must have arrived in Nepal centuries before Yakṣa Malla, as Buddhist Khotan was destroyed in the 8th c. Mañjuśrī became highly popular in Nepal after the *Purāṇa* was written down, and reached his height of popularity in the 18th c.; but these days it is rare to find a fully functional Mañjuśrī temple.

The *Swayambhu Purāṇa* introduces the Swayambhu Stūpa as an image of *Adibuddha*: first, Vipaświ Buddha throws a lotus seed into the primordial lake, and it blossoms as a thousand petalled (*utpala*) lotus; then a *stūpa* in *vyotirūpa* (light-form), shining like a 1000 suns, appears on the lotus; Mañjuśrī covers the lotus's roots and builds a hill for the lotus to rest upon; finally, Śāntikar Ācārya, the first of Nepal's *vajrācāryas*, (and living, therefore, between the 7th and 9th centuries when *vajrayāna* was introduced into Nepal) covers the flame with a stone *stūpa* (c/f Paśupati, No. 35). '*Adibuddha*' refers to the same level of existential reality as '*dharmadhātu*'. Regarding the name Swayambhu, perhaps the authors of the *Purāṇa* were familiar with the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*: "When nothing else was, Śambu was: that is, the Self-existent Buddha Swayambhu, and as he was before all, he is also called Adibuddha" (Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Pt. 1, p. 567). Later, the Swayambhu Hill, which

took a different name in each *yuga*, was called Gośṛṅga Parvata, indicating, perhaps, the influence of the earlier *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*. The *Swayambhu Purāna* is undoubtedly a masterpiece of mythological literature; recently Mana Bajracarya, with Warren Smith as editor, has paraphrased in translation the first few chapters of one of its many recensions in *The Mythological History of the Nepal Valley from the Swayambhu Purāna* (Kathmandu, 1978).

The other significant sources of Newari Buddhist legend and history are the *vaṃśāvalis*. The earliest, the *Gopālarājā-vaṃśāvali* was written in the 13th c. by a Śaivite, so that lack of Buddhist mythological history proves nothing. Later *vaṃśāvalis*, which are essentially political chronicles or annotated lists of kings, give variant versions of the *Purāna's* mythology. Wright's *History of Nepal*, translated in the British Residency in Kathmandu by Newari and Indian pundits in the 1870s, is a late Buddhist recension (ca. 1800) and of dubious historiographical value.

This present work had its genesis in the suggestion that Tibetan texts have much information to offer the Nepali historian. Since Nepali history seems to be compiled from fragments -- colophons (sometimes incomplete), stone inscriptions (sometimes broken), and conflicting and mythical chronicles (sometimes unintelligible) -- and since innumerable Tibetan scholars have visited Nepal over the centuries, many of whom wrote autobiographies or had biographies written of them, it is possible that extremely valuable historical data from Tibetan sources could form the basis of a complete history. But generally speaking the sources employed here are not the stuff out of which such a history could be written. Many legends do not add up to a single historical fact. And although the guides, chronicles and biographies provide many pointers, clues and bases for research, the nature of the

biographies, in particular, being essentially metaphysical, there is little concrete fact to grasp. After the guides and chronicles, principally, I have drawn from *gter-ma* literature. *gTer-mas*, the 'revealed texts' of the *rNying-ma* School, are not highly regarded for their historicity. Briefly and simplistically, if a *yogin* meditates in the ground that Guru Padma and Jo-mo mTsho-rgyal blessed, then entering into the universal plenum of omniscience (into the *ākāś*), the secrets of the past and future are revealed in the form of *Dākinī* cypher (*mKha'-gro brda'-yig*), which is a concise mystical language that is interpreted in modes suited to the needs of specific individuals or communities at the appropriate time. Such an explanation of the origin of *gter-mas* is far more effective in inspiring faith in the written word in the minds of followers of the *rNying-ma* School than knowledge that an author has a *dge-shes* or *rab-byams-pa* degree from an eminent monastic academy, and because the explicit function of all *gter-mas* is to effect a psychotherapeutic transformation of the mind of the reader, such faith is imperative. But that kind of language makes the western scholar intractably sceptical, and he will tend to dismiss out of hand the historical content of the *gter-mas*.

However, although the history in the *Shel-brag-ma* and the *Zangs-gling-ma* (two of the early *gter-mas* treating the life of Guru Padma) should be treated with discriminating circumspection, it should not be dismissed. *Sankhu*, for example, is mentioned thrice in the *Shel-brag-ma*, and if only because there is no reason for Ugyen gLing-pa, the *gter-ston* 'Treasure Finder', to have fabricated Guru Padma's visit there in the 8th century, we should give his evidence historical credence, although, perhaps, we should take as allegory the story of the *yoginī* he discovered there being suckled by monkeys. The *Swayambhu Chronicles* is full of historical data, but unfortunately the state of the text renders it virtually unusable. We have not been able to identify the King gSer-gyi Go-cha (Suvarṇa

Varman?) who plays an important role in Swayambhu's history. And regarding Chos-kyi Nyi-ma's account of the Tibetan beliefs about Tondikhel Bajrabār (*Bod-thang mgon-po*), while D.R. Regmi, the noted Nepali historian and patriot, doubts that a Nepali princess ever went to Tibet in the 7th century (Regmi p. 349 ff.), the Tibetans go so far as to say that the Emperor Srong-btsan sGam-po's ambassadors camped on Tondhikel maidan to await the Nepali King Amśuvarman's delivery of his daughter. Incidentally, one of the earliest historical references in the *Guide* is to Bal-mo bza' Khri-btsun (Bhr̥kutī), Amśuvarman's daughter, whose loom is reputed to be kept in the Śankhu Bajra Joginī Bāhāl.

There are a few recurrent words in the translations that merit special attention. *Bal-yul* (Wool-Land: Nepal) presents no problem. It has always denoted only Kathmandu Valley to the Tibetans just as 'Nepāl' has always done to the people of other valleys and the Terai, although today outsiders infer the modern political unit that is the Gorkhāli empire; thus 'Kathmandu Valley' is the precise translation although herein 'Nepal' has been used occasionally. But '*Bal-po*' (an inhabitant of the Kathmandu Valley) raises difficulties. In general it has been translated as 'Newar' because the Newars have been the principal inhabitants of the Valley during the past millenium; and when speaking of the Valley people, a pre-19th century Tibetan writer would not be referring to the Bhotiya tribes, to the Terai people, and certainly not to the Gorkhālis. In the 8th century the process of miscegenation of the Tibeto-Burman Kirātas and aboriginal inhabitants with the caste Āryans and Dravidians, Licchavis and other groups, was not complete; and insofar as Newari society was as yet unformed, we cannot say that Guru Padma's disciples, Śākya Dema, Vasudeva, Jilajipha, Kun-nas-ku-bzhi, *et al*, were Newars.

'Power Place' is an interpretative translation of the word *gnas*, which in ordinary parlance means 'residence', 'place', 'abode', etc.; *gnas* is also the Tibetan equivalent of both the *sthān* and *pīṭha* of Newari, and of the Sanskrit *pīṭhasthān*. To the Newars, *sthān* indicates a temple residence of a deity, and *pīṭha* indicates any open Devī shrine. In India, the 51 *pīṭhas* are the places where the parts of the body of Śiva's dead wife, Satī, fell, and 'pīṭha' is still used to indicate one of these specific śākta-sthāns, the residence of the Devī. The adjective 'power' is a more appropriate word to describe 'place' than 'sacred' or 'holy', as it implies the dynamic quality that is almost palpable at many Nepali shrines, rather than the passive quality of sanctity and holiness which, particularly at the *devī* and *yoginī* shrines, is conspicuous by its absence.

Regarding the structure of each of the 50 entries in this guide, the heading is the local Nepali place name. The first, italicised paragraph is always a translation of the *Bal-yul gnas-yig* (vide Wylie's *Appendix A*): the Tibetan name of the place is given first, followed by the transliterated Newari name, which has often been corrupted unrecognisably; the translation of these names, or a corrected version, is given in brackets where appropriate. Then succeeding paragraphs, translated from original sources indicated by bracketed abbreviations, elucidate the first paragraph or add further information. The paragraphs in quotes are straight translations, or as straight as I can make them with fluency as the priority and with corrupt manuscripts as a serious impediment. A paragraph concluding with an abbreviation and not enclosed in quotes indicates a paraphrased translation, any addition being bracketed. My comment upon the original source material follows the translation or paraphrase of original sources. Paraphrased translation within these paragraphs of commentary is indicated by an abbreviation before the period. Incorporated into this commentary is information that I received orally from local



informants, both Tibetan and Newari. But material from Newari sources, both literary and oral, has only been included to elucidate points raised in the Tibetan manuscripts, or to fill major gaps in the information provided by the Tibetan sources. Thus I have not attempted to present the Newari viewpoint and I have only picked with discriminate parsimony at the vast wealth of Newari legend. The educated Śākya and Bajrācāryas each have a different book to write about any major power place. Hemrāj Śākya, for instance, has emptied his mind of material on Swayambhu in a recently published 800 page Newari tome (Hemrāj Śākya, *Śrīsvayambhū Mahacaitya*; Swayambhū Vikās Maṇḍal, 1098 NS, Kathmandu). No amount of cynical hyperbole can obscure the Newari religious genius manifest in the depth, breadth, variety and variation in the oral tradition.

Finally I must excuse some peculiarities in spelling. Each Tibetan source has its own orthography for proper names transliterated into Tibetan. As a rule I corrected the original spelling of proper names, with the exception of some Newari place names found mostly at the beginning of each entry from the *Guide*; thus any aberrant spelling or diacritical mark indicates an intentional representation of a manuscript's original orthographical form. And secondly, since there is no standard spelling for Newari place names (Chābāhil, for instance, can be spelt Chābāhil, Chāvel, Chābhil or even Chāwel) I have used the phonetic form with which I am familiar. Diacritical marks on Newari names have been added only tentatively.

I would like to thank all those who assisted me with this work, particularly Ānandamuni Bajrācārya and Hemrāj Śākya for much of the oral tradition related herein; Ian Alsop and Hubert Decler for use of their libraries and for their advice; Jim Goodman for the excellent photography; and Professor A.W. Macdonald and Father John Locke for their advice and encouragement.

If a scholar equipped with a knowledge of both Tibetan and Newari can utilise the fragmentary material of this work to produce a comprehensive guide to the power-places of the Kathmandu Valley, that will be the best possible result of this effort. In the meantime if this guide can help the layman discover the background of the places he visits on pilgrimage its purpose is served.

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Appendix I: Synopsis of Gośṛṅga Vyākaraṇa Sūtra

Appendix II: Maṇḍala Pilgrimage Itinerary

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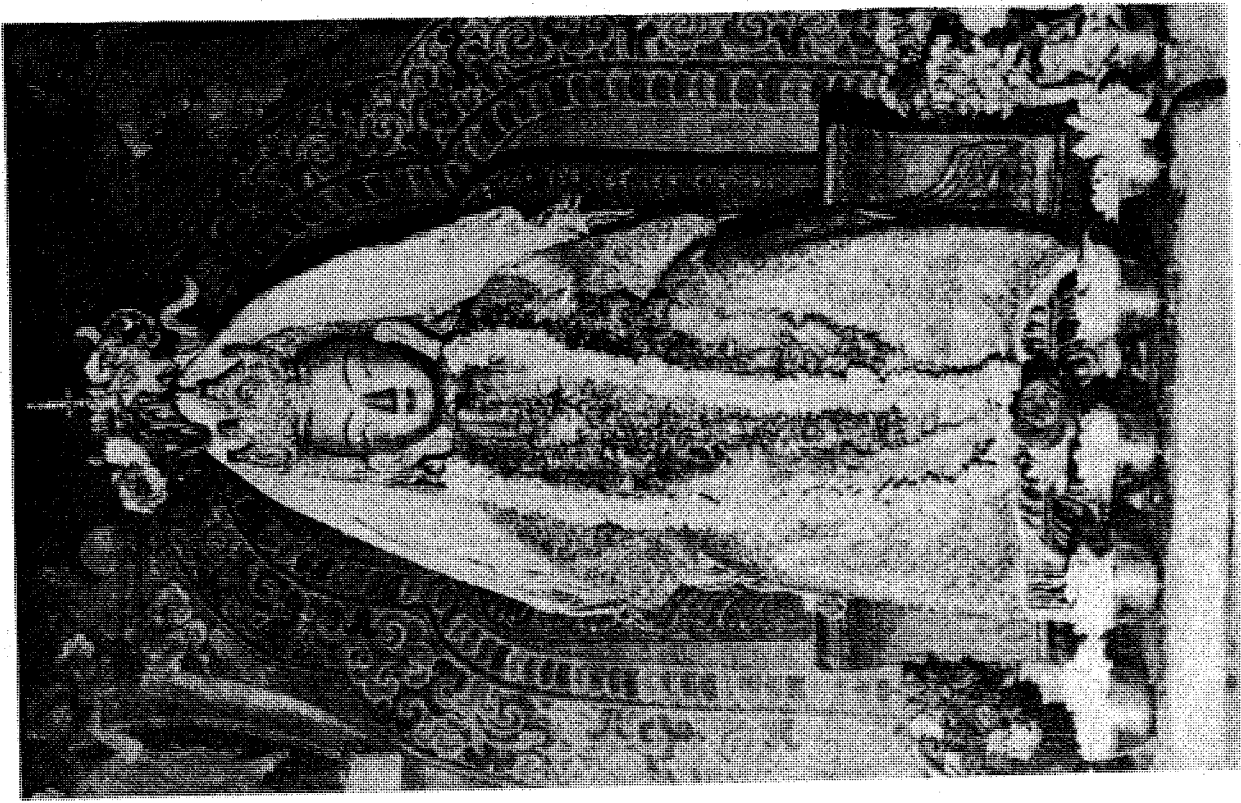
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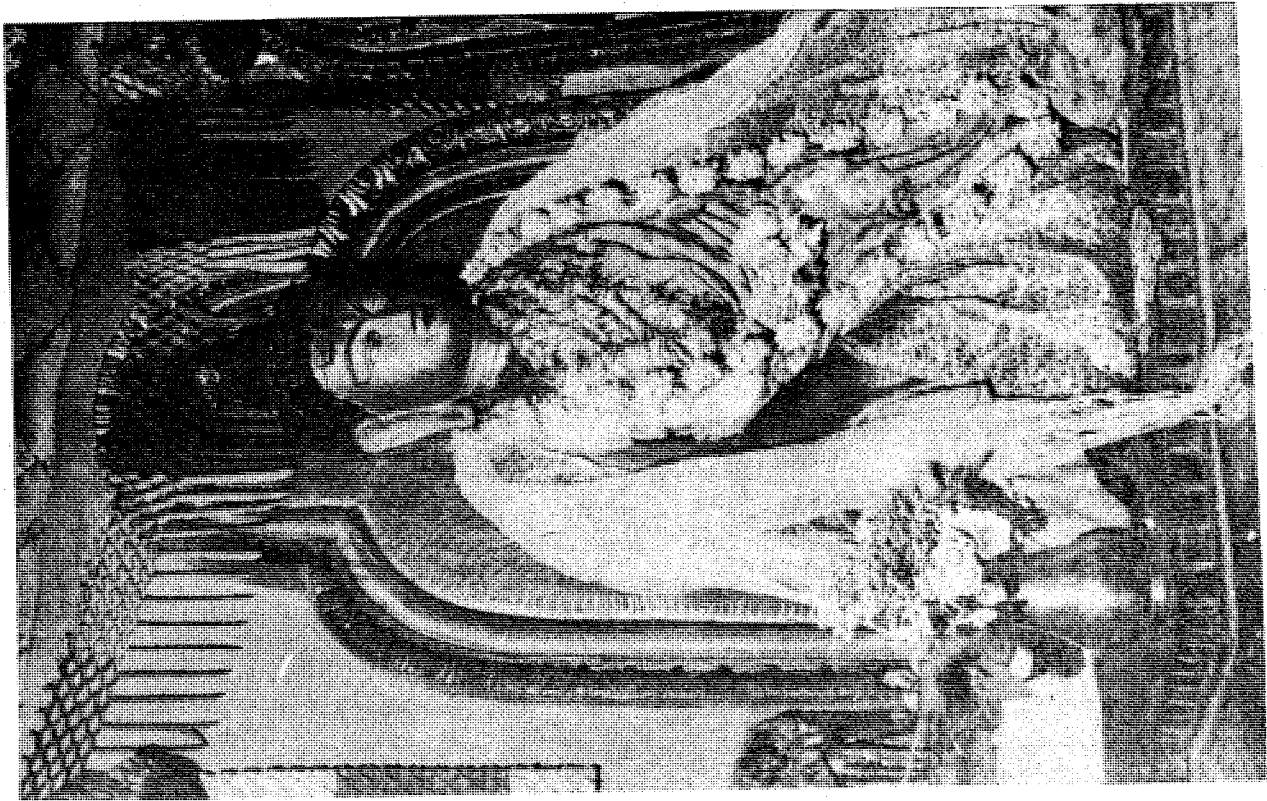
N.B: Numerals in brackets refer to numbers of the entries in the text.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- SK *Shing-kun dkar-chag (The Swayambhu Chronicles)* by Nas-lung Ngag-dbang rDo-rje.
- CN Chos-kyi Nyi-ma: *Bal-po'i gnas-kyi dkar-chag*.
- LT bLa-ma bTsan-po: *'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad*; tr. T. Wylie (*A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*).
- BA *Blue Annals*; tr. G. Roerich.
- CL Orgyan mChog-'gyur gLing-pa: *gter-ston of Orgyan mnam-thar dpag-bsam ljong-shing*; tr. K. Dowman (*The Legend of the Great Stūpa*).
- DS Dharmaswamin: *Chag-lotsawa mnam-thar*; tr. G. Roerich (*The Biography of Dharmaswamin*).
- DW Douglas and White: *Karmapa, the Black Hat Lama of Tibet*.
- JL John Locke: *Karunāmāyā*.
- MA Michael Allen: *The Cult of Kumārī*.
- MG *Mila mGur-bum*; tr. G.C. Chang (*The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa*).
- NO Nyi-ma 'Od-zer: *gter-ston of Guru mnam-thar zangs-gling-ma*.
- SZ Śākya bzang-po: *gter-ston of Bya-rung kha-shor lo-rgyus*; tr. K. Dowman (*The Legend of the Great Stūpa*).
- TND sTag-sham Nus-ldan rDo-rje: *gter-ston of mTsho-rgyal mnam-thar*.
- TM gTsang-myon: *Mila mnam-thar*; tr. L. Lhalungpa (*The Life of Milarepa*).
- UL Urgyan gLing-pa: *gter-ston of Padma bka'-thang shel-brag-ma*; tr. G-C Toussaint (*Le Dit de Padma*).
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- AC Alaka Chattopadhyaya: *Atiśa and Tibet*, Delhi 1981.



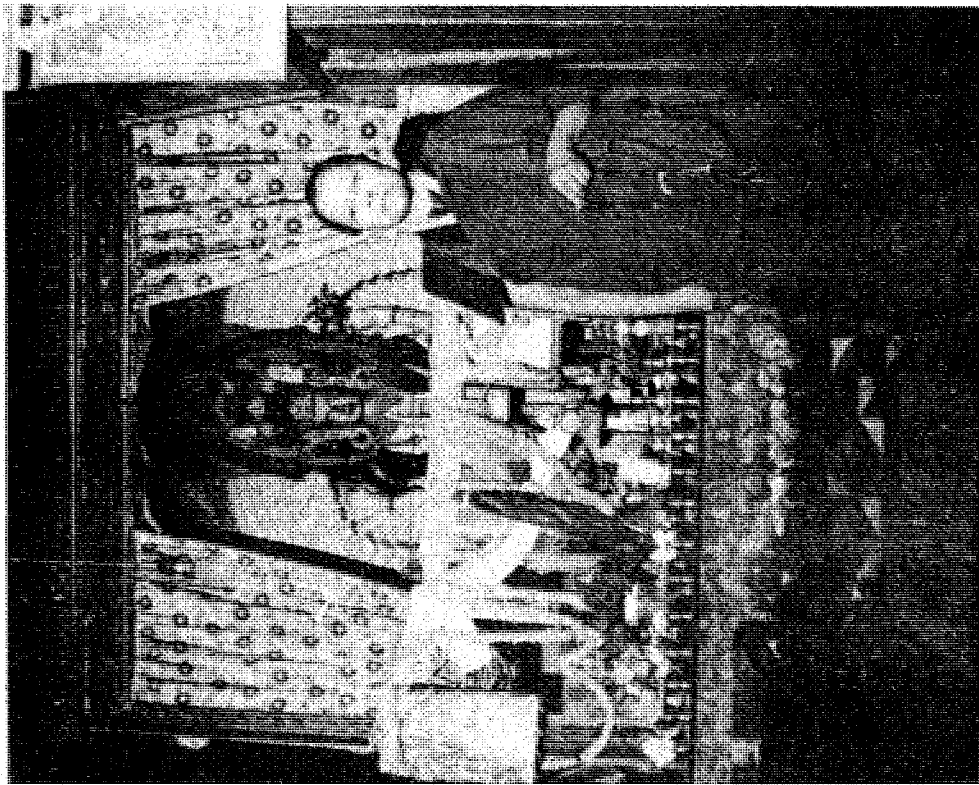
Maitreya Bodhisattva



Munindra, Śākyamuni Buddha

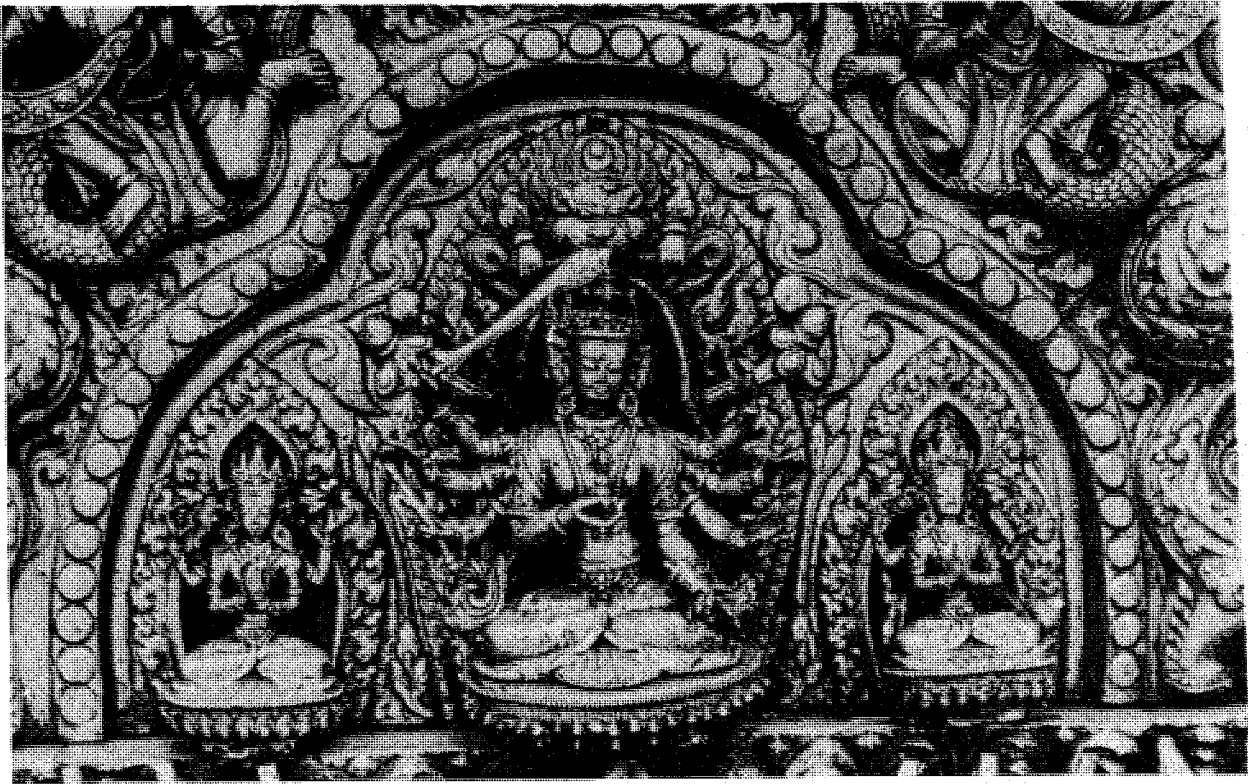


Devīsthān

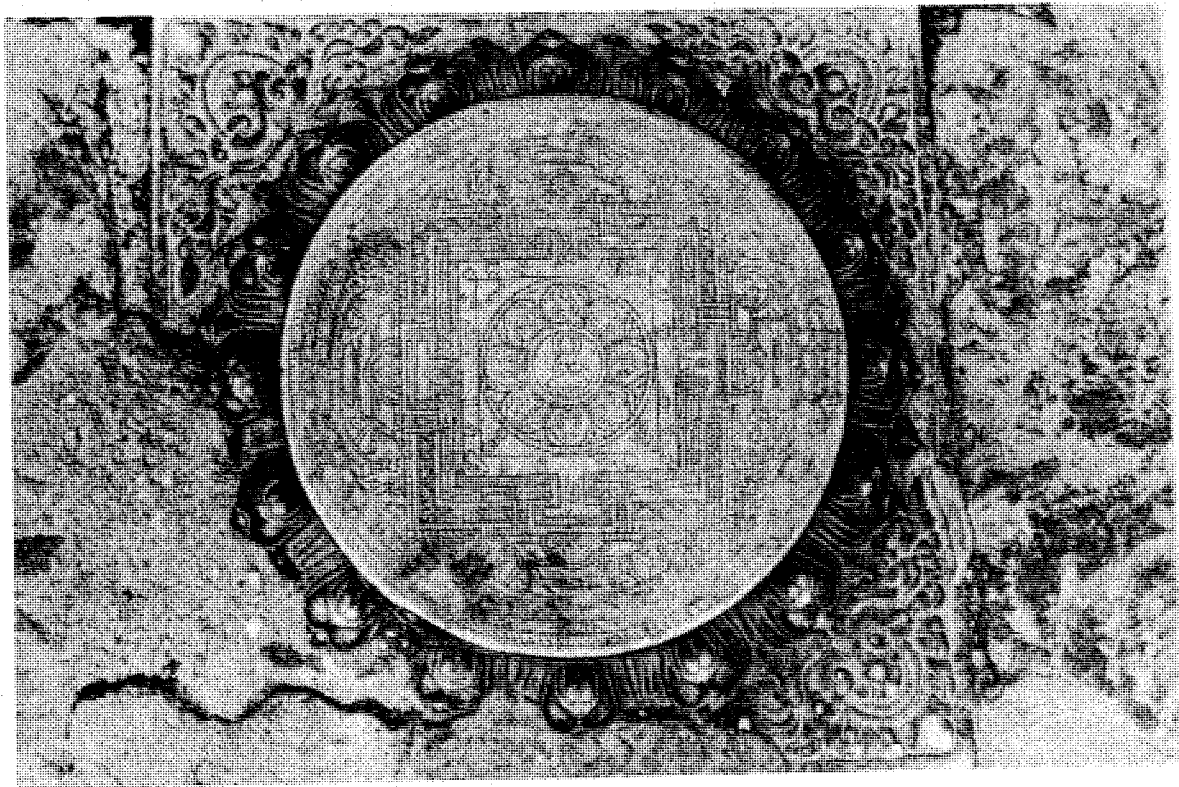


Mahakarunika

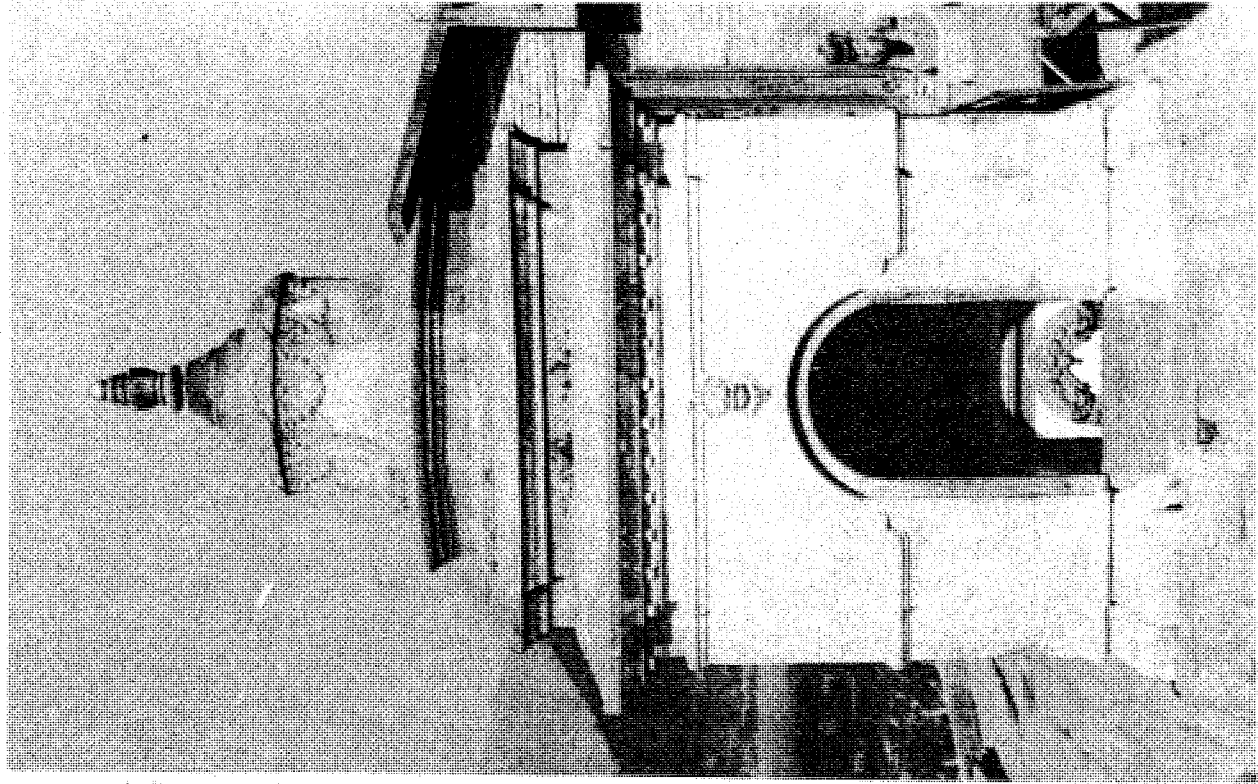




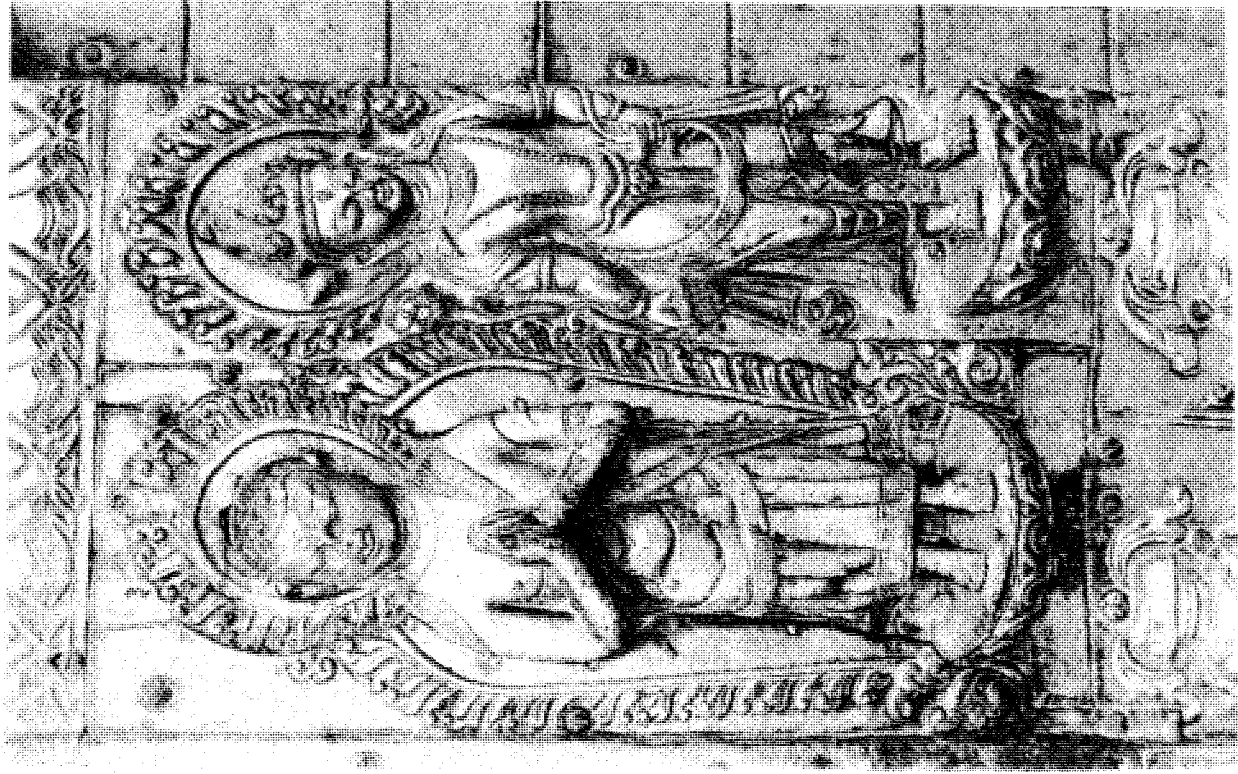
Dharmacakra Mahamañjuśrī with Varadā and Mokṣadā



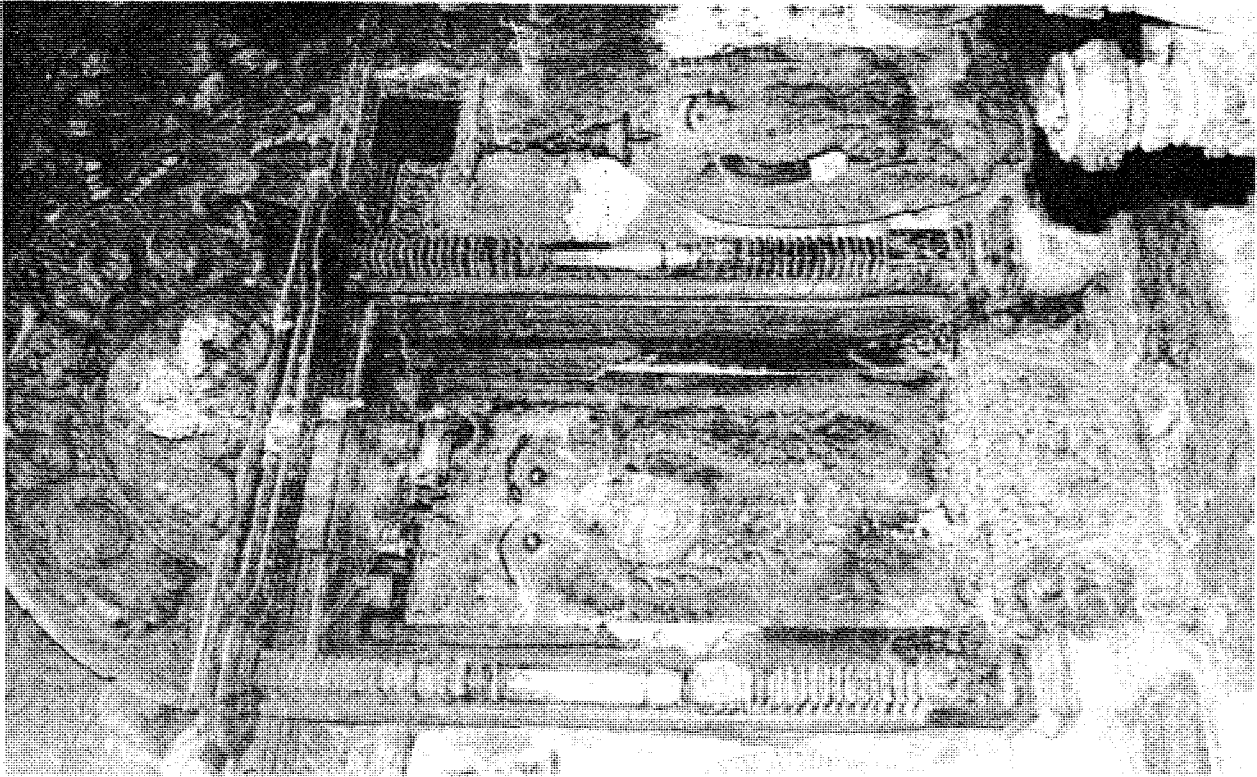
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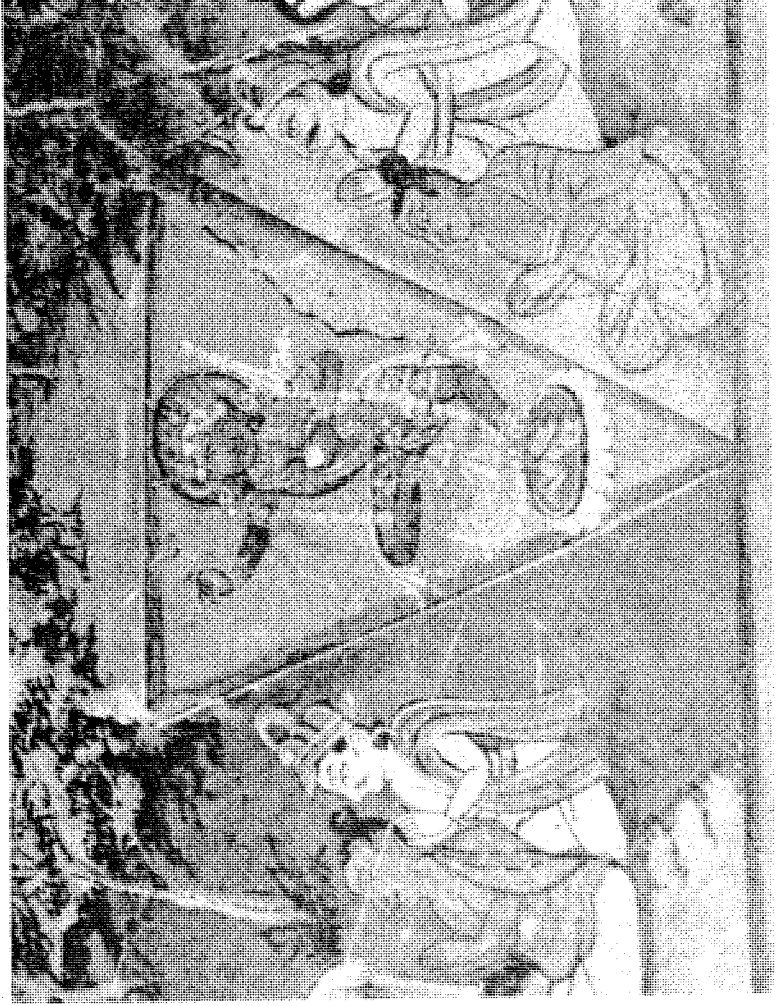
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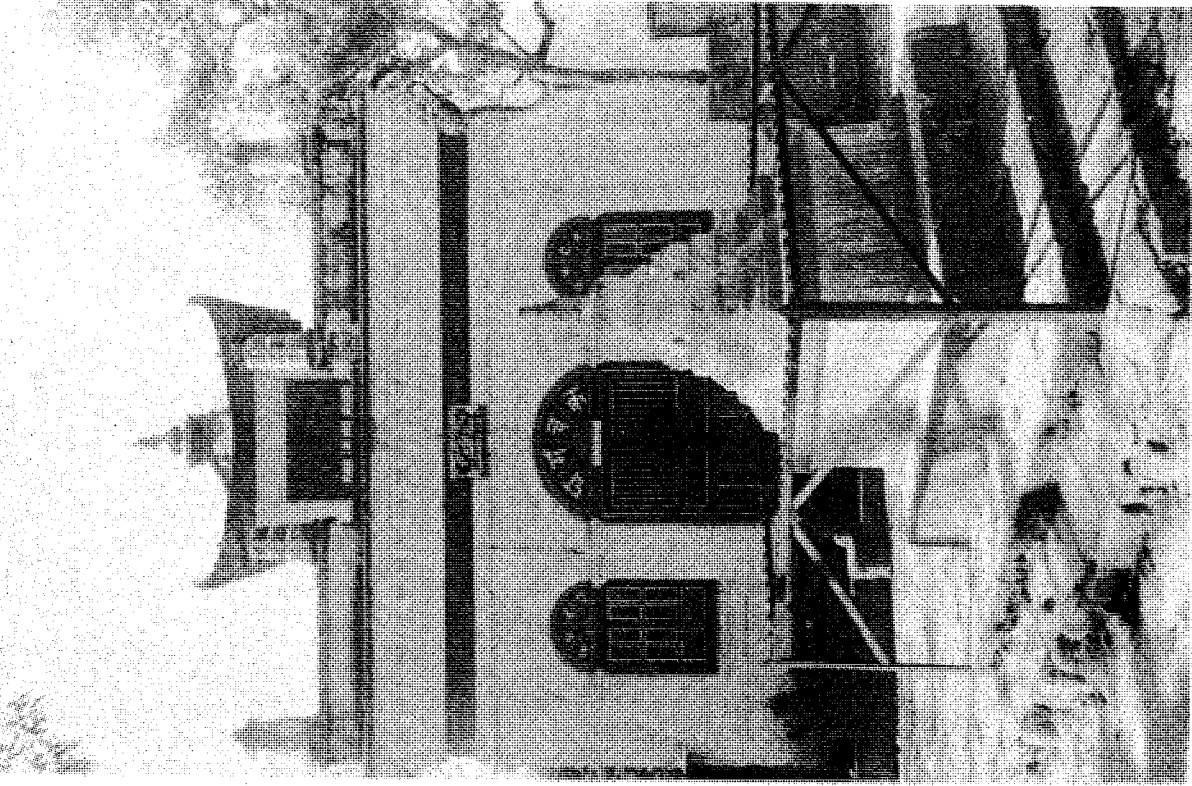
Dīpaṅkara and Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva



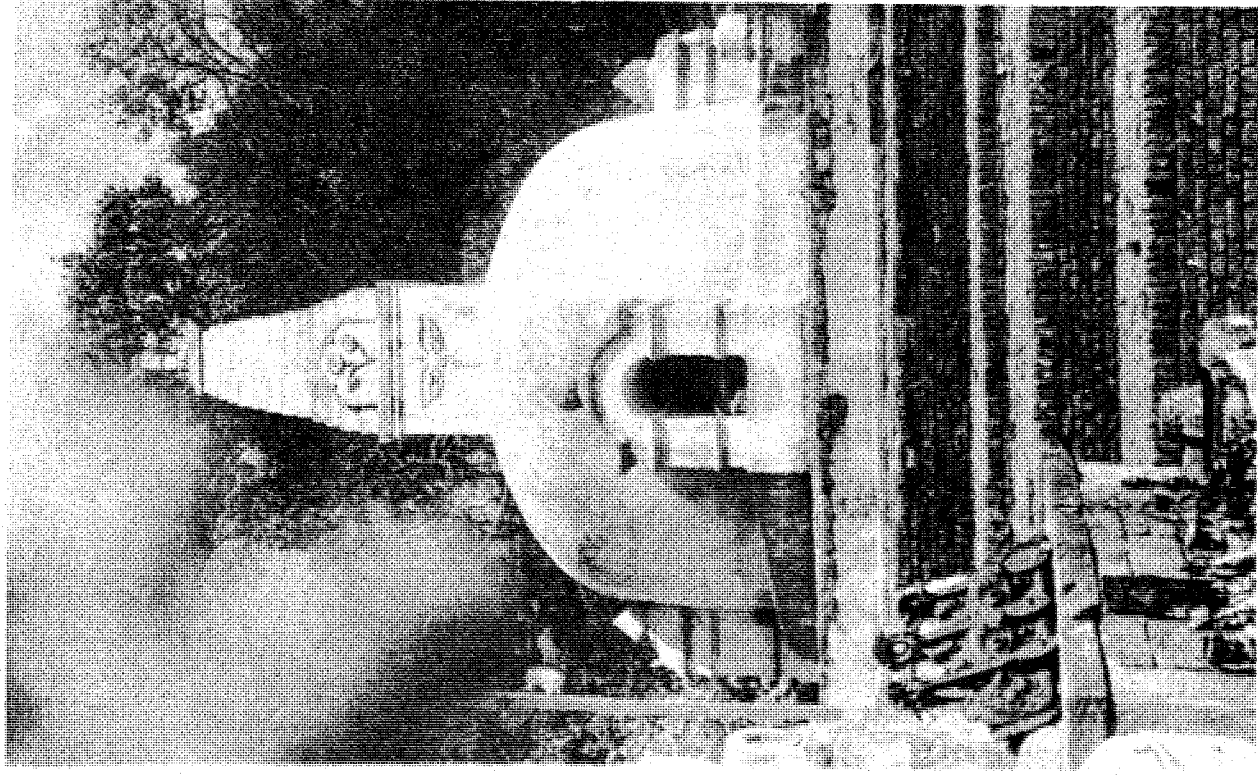
Śāntipur



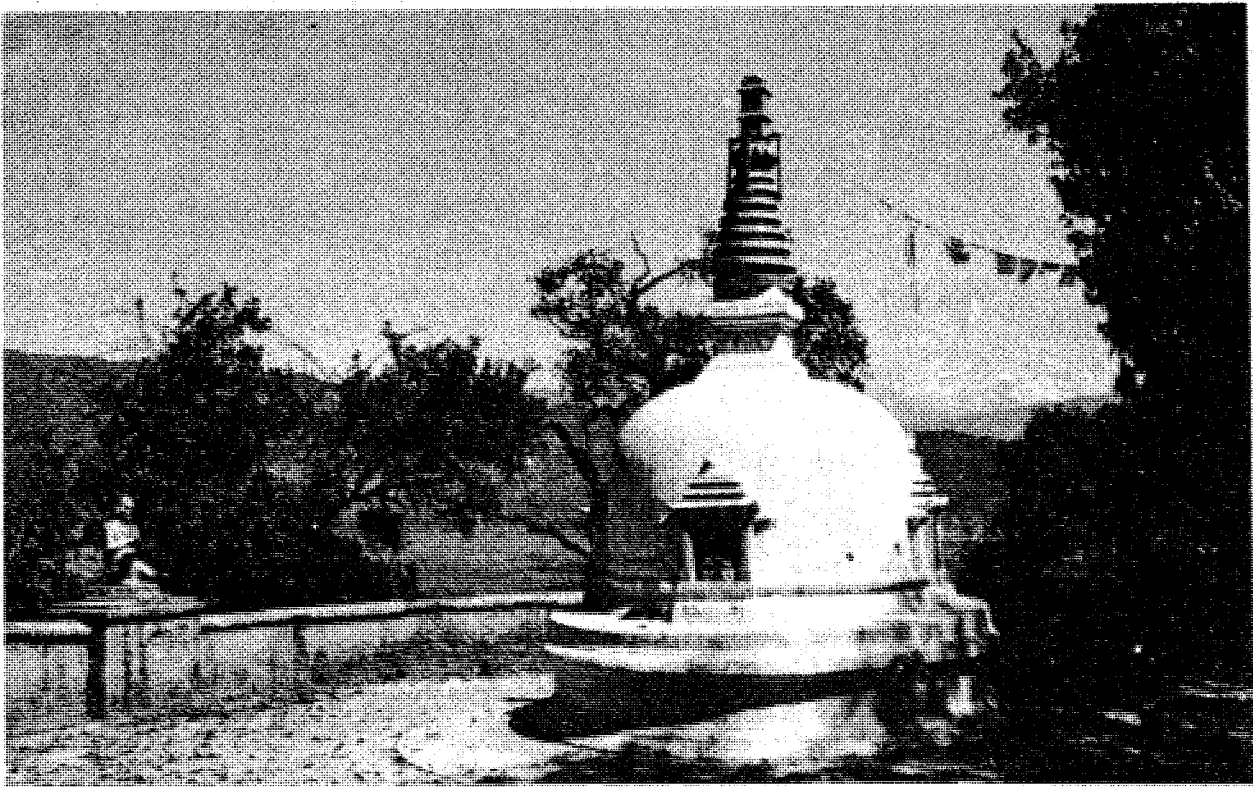
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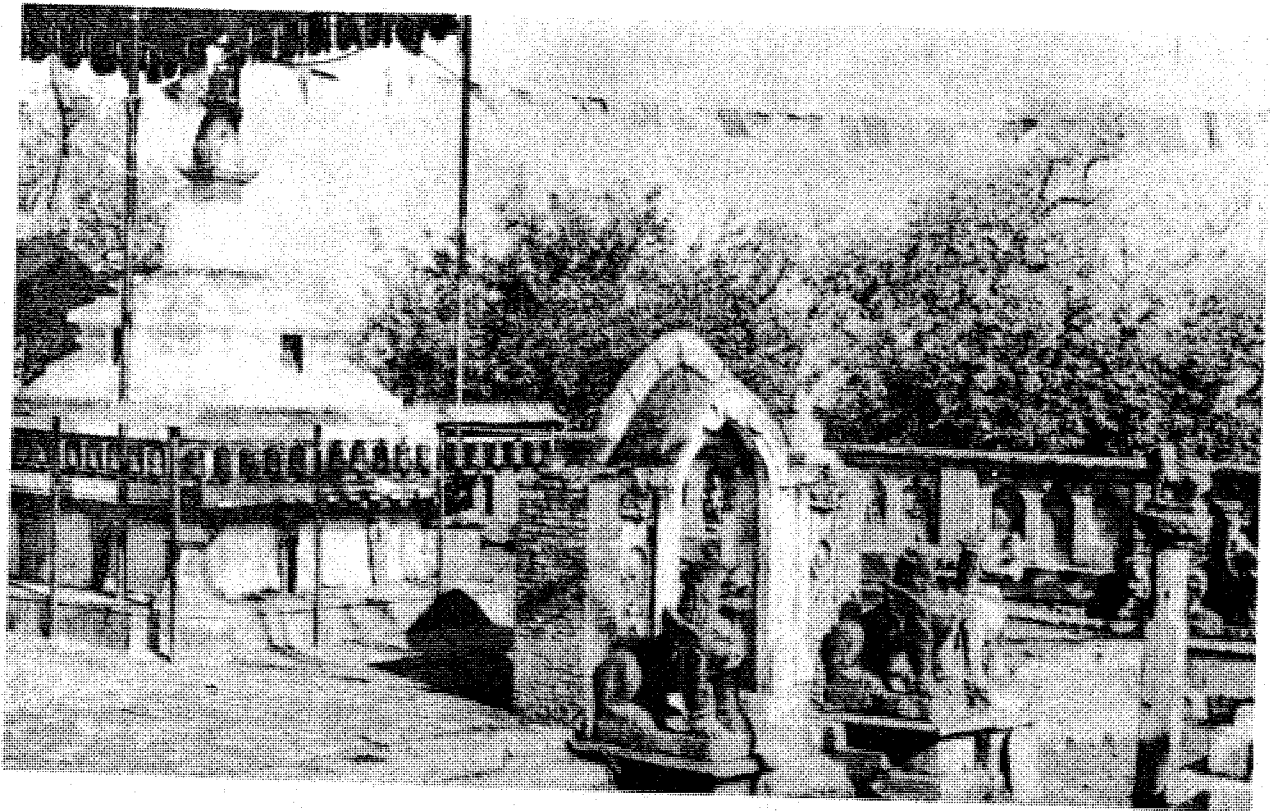
Kāśyapa Stūpa



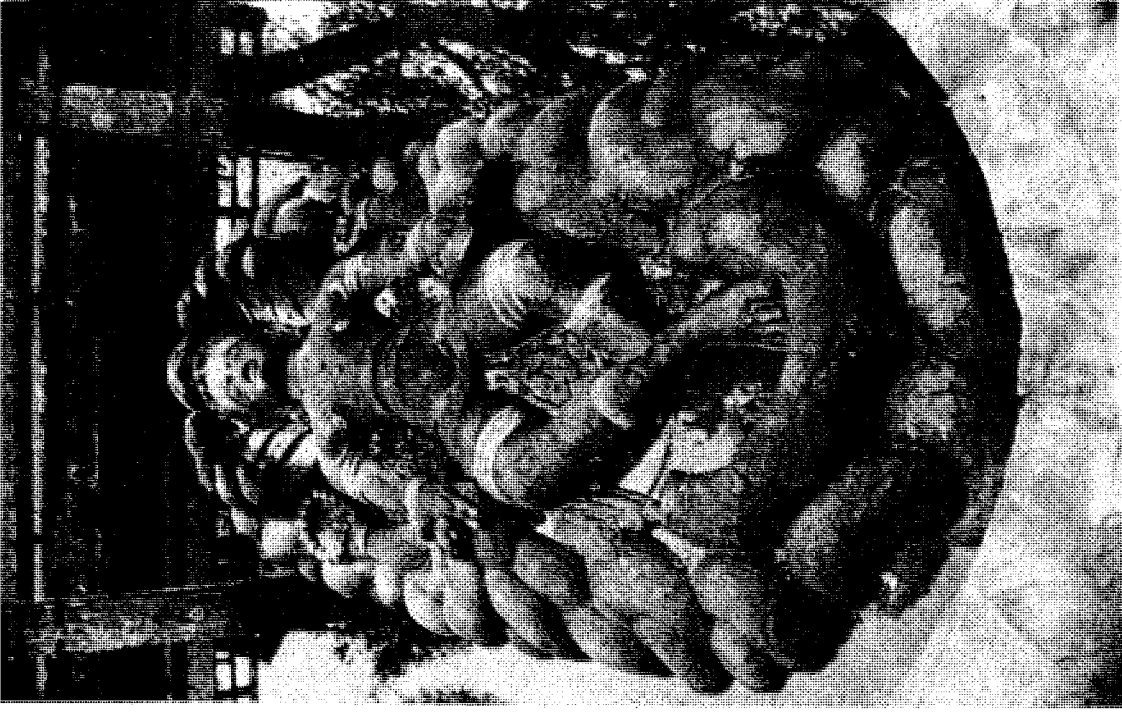
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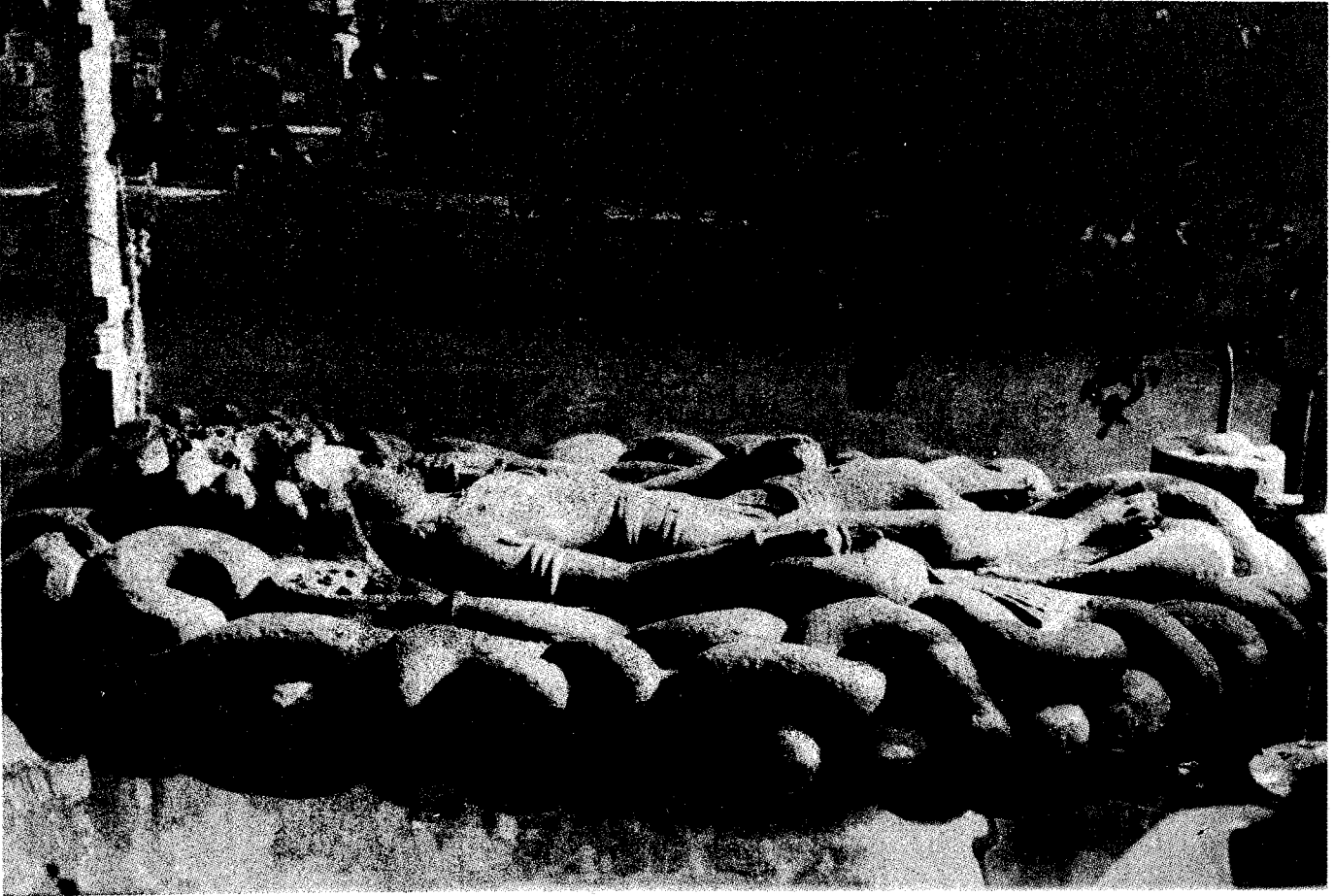
Karnadīp Cremation Ground, Ramadoli



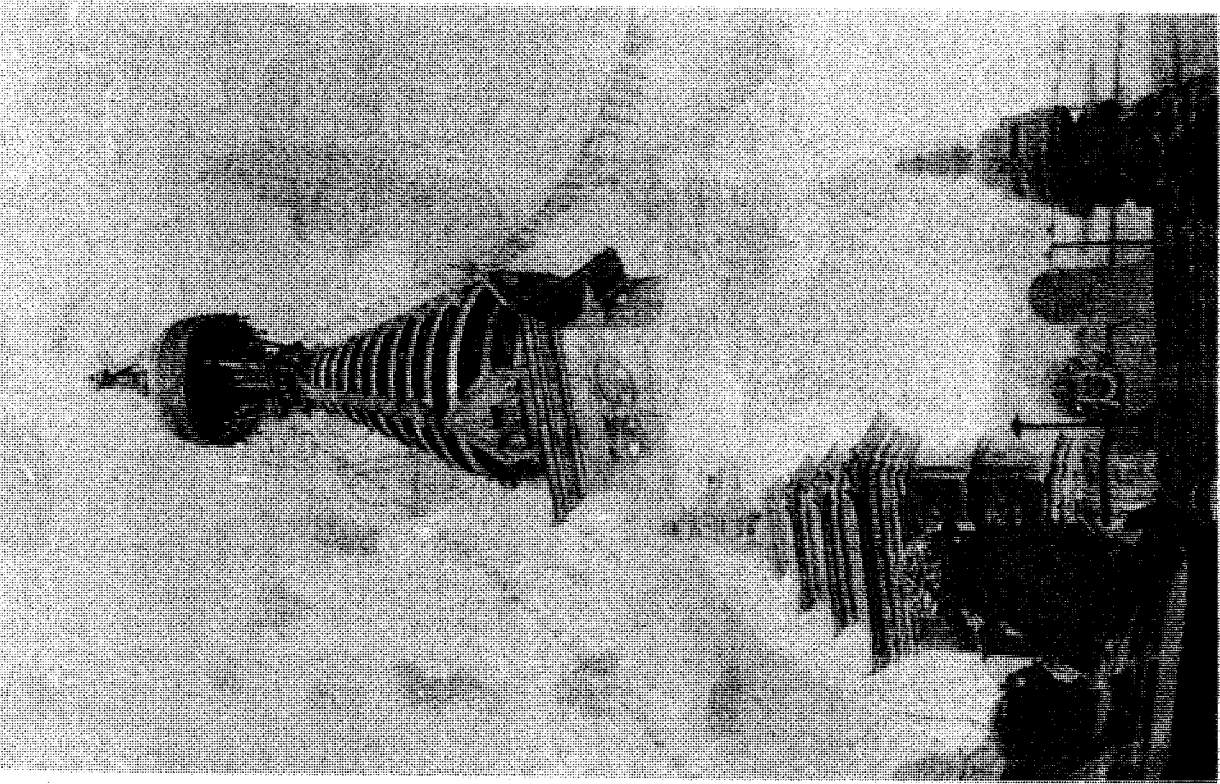
Mañjuśrī Stūpa



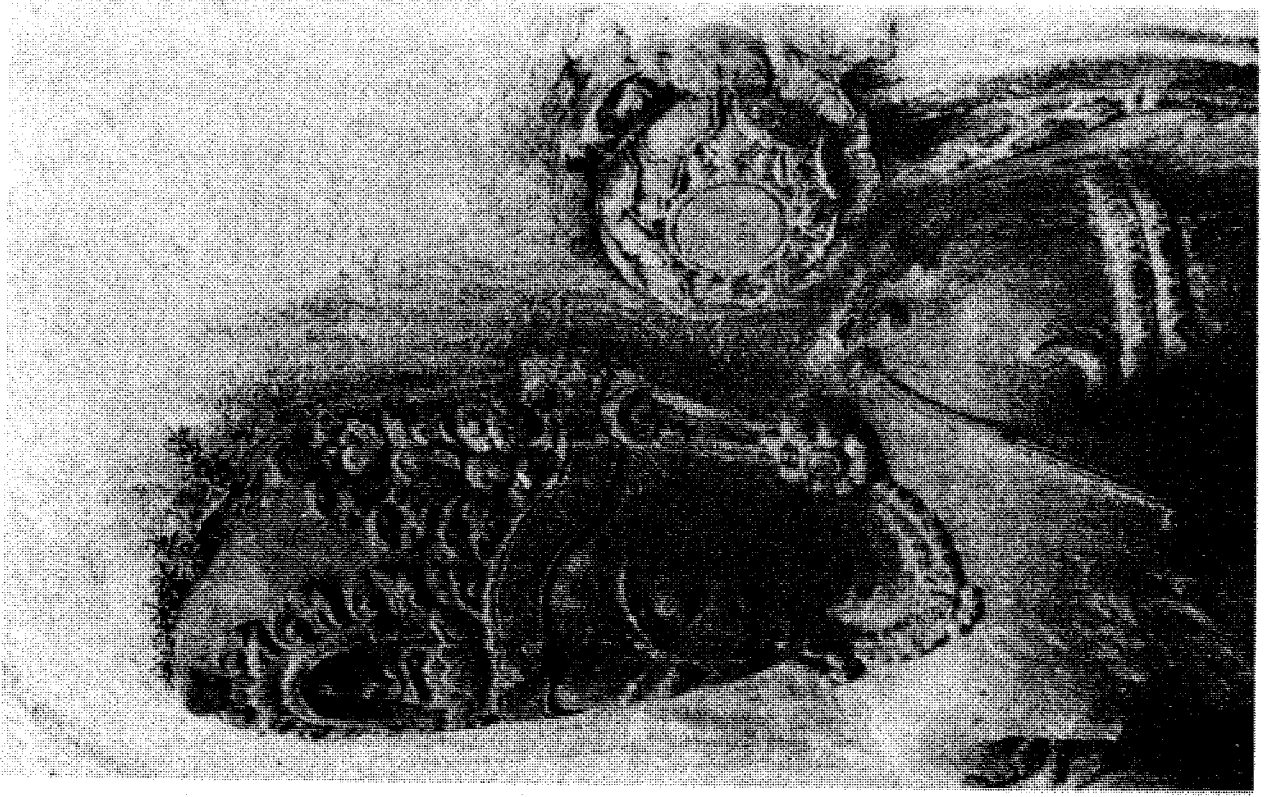
Bālājū Nīlakaṇṭha



Buraṇīlakaṇṭha

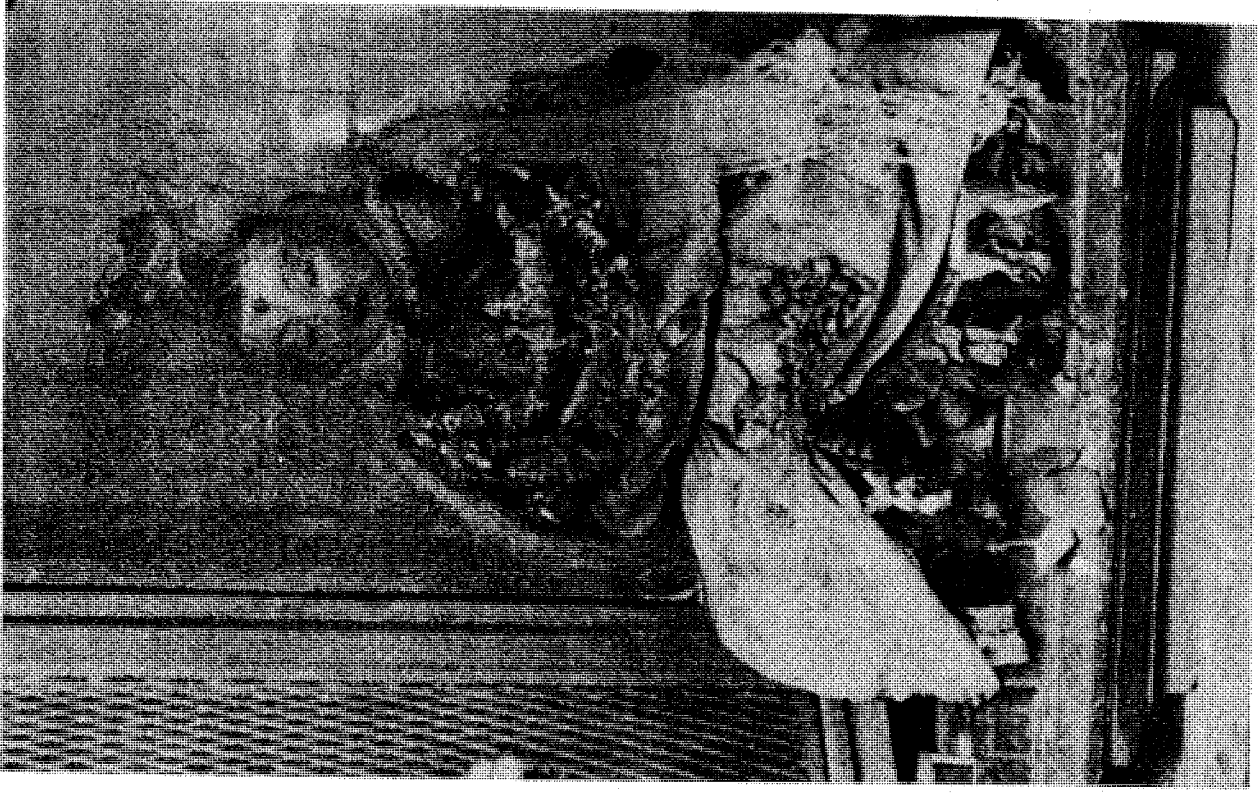


Katiśimbhu Stūpa



Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva





Bolne Tārā



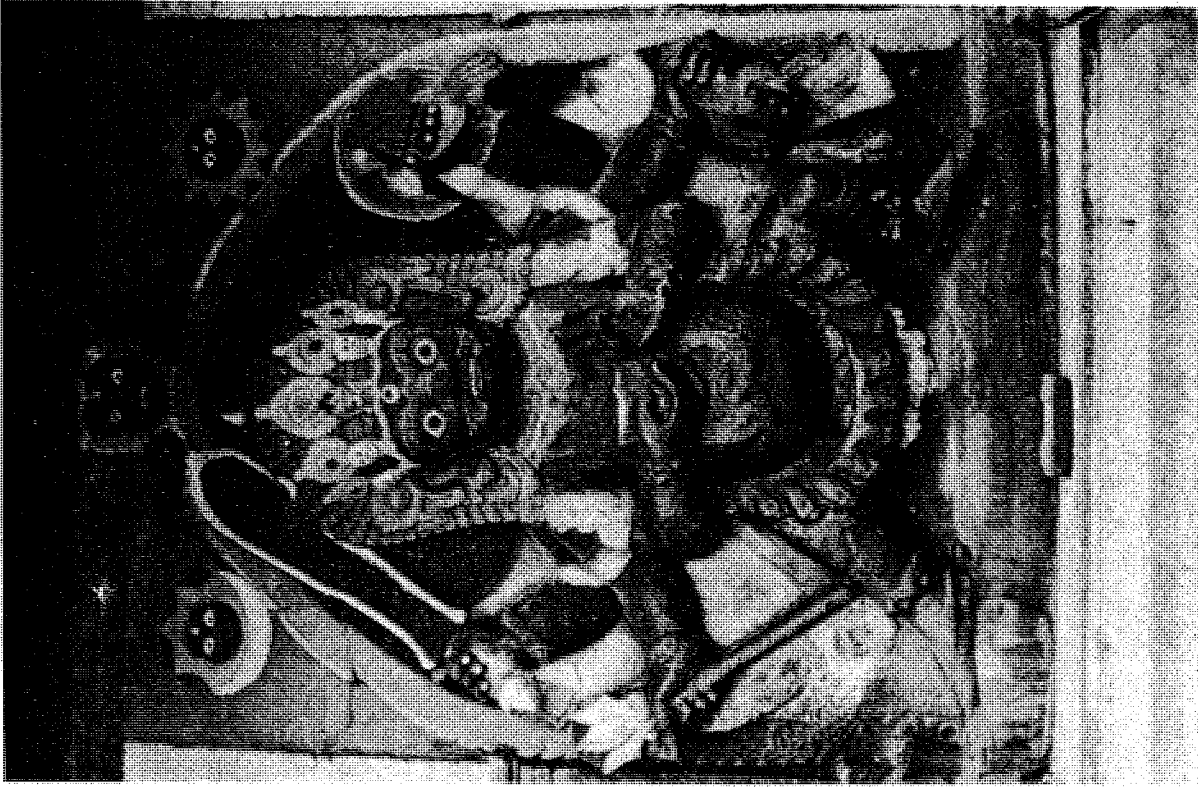
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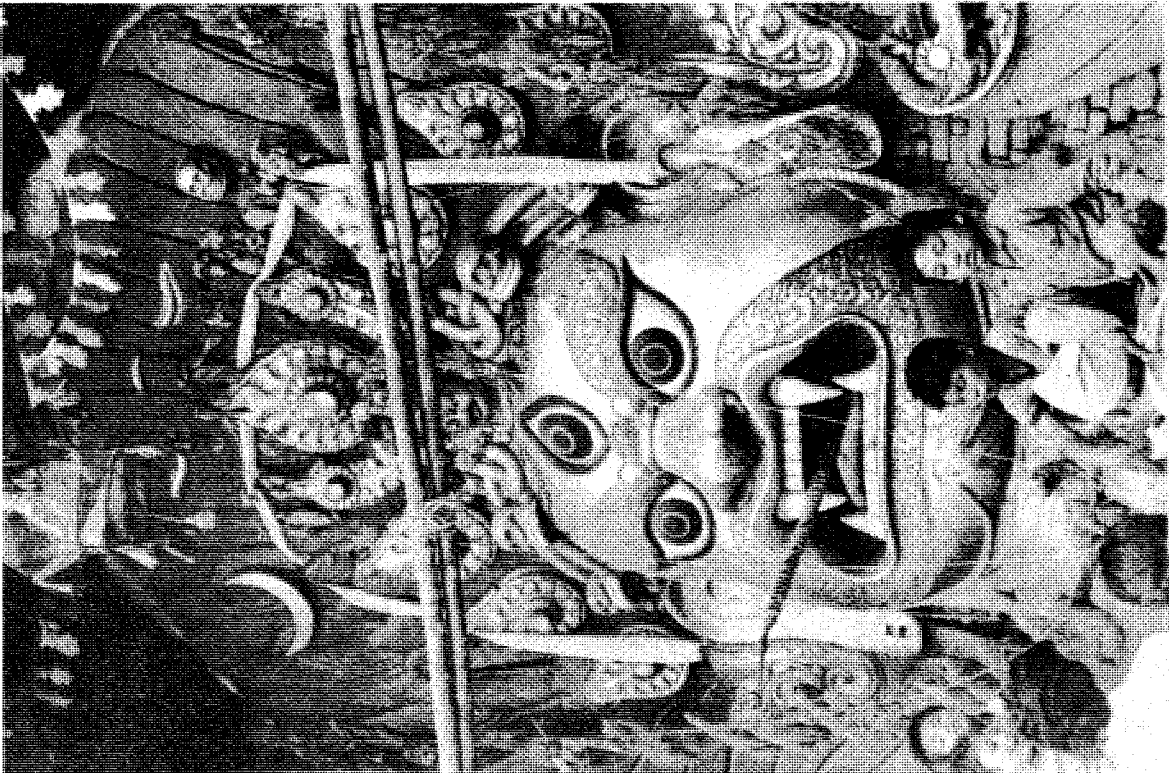
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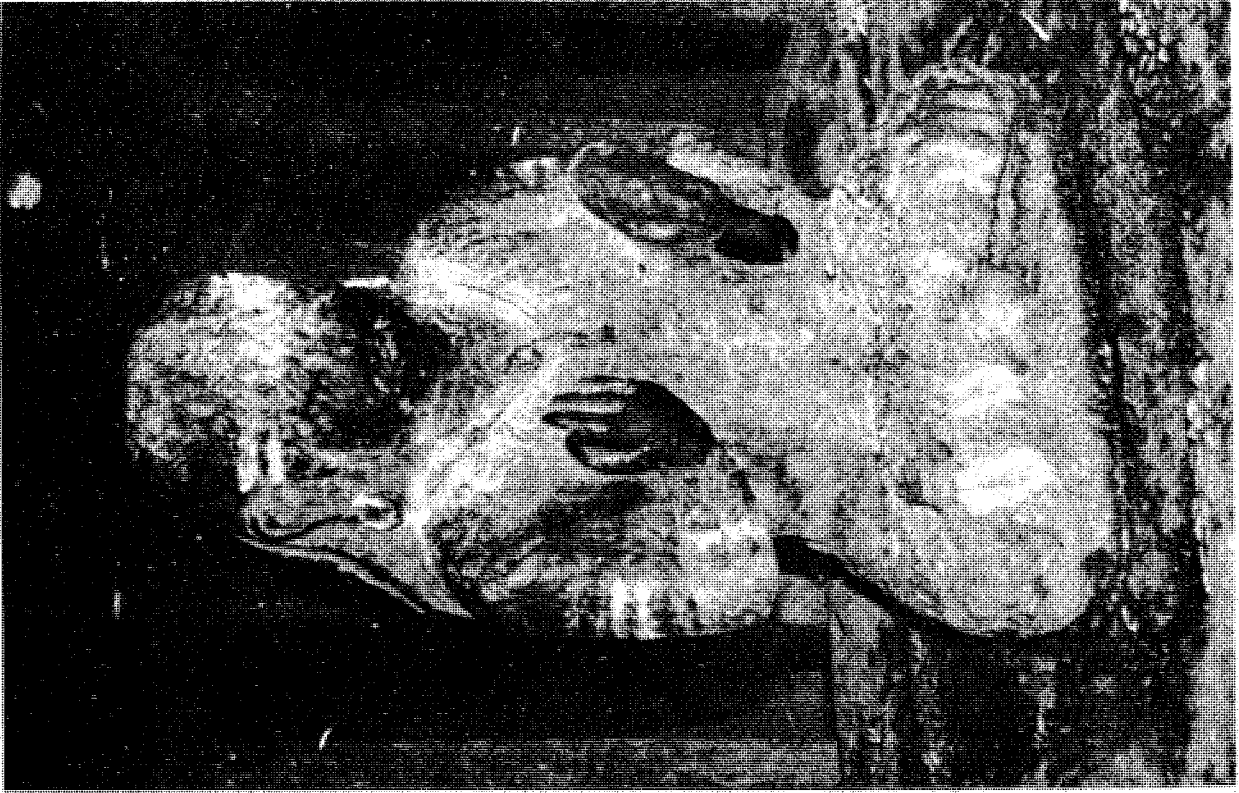
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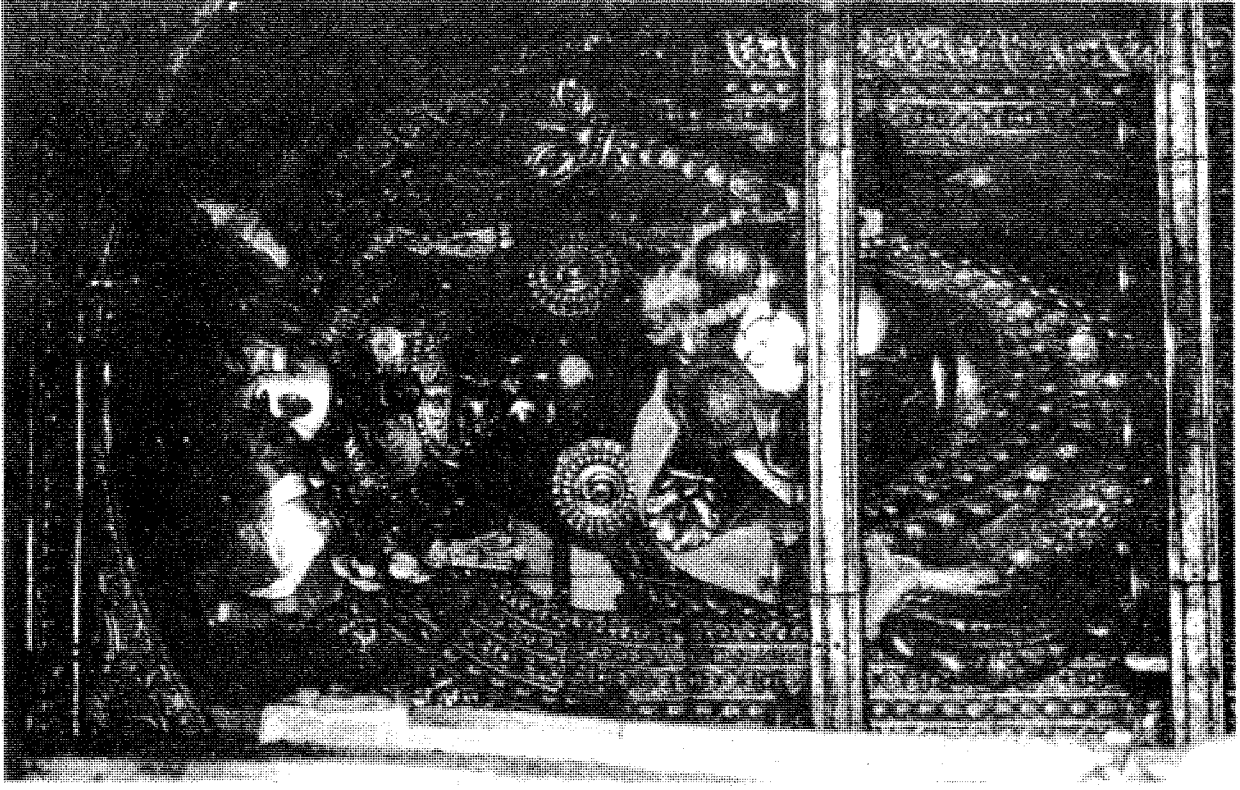
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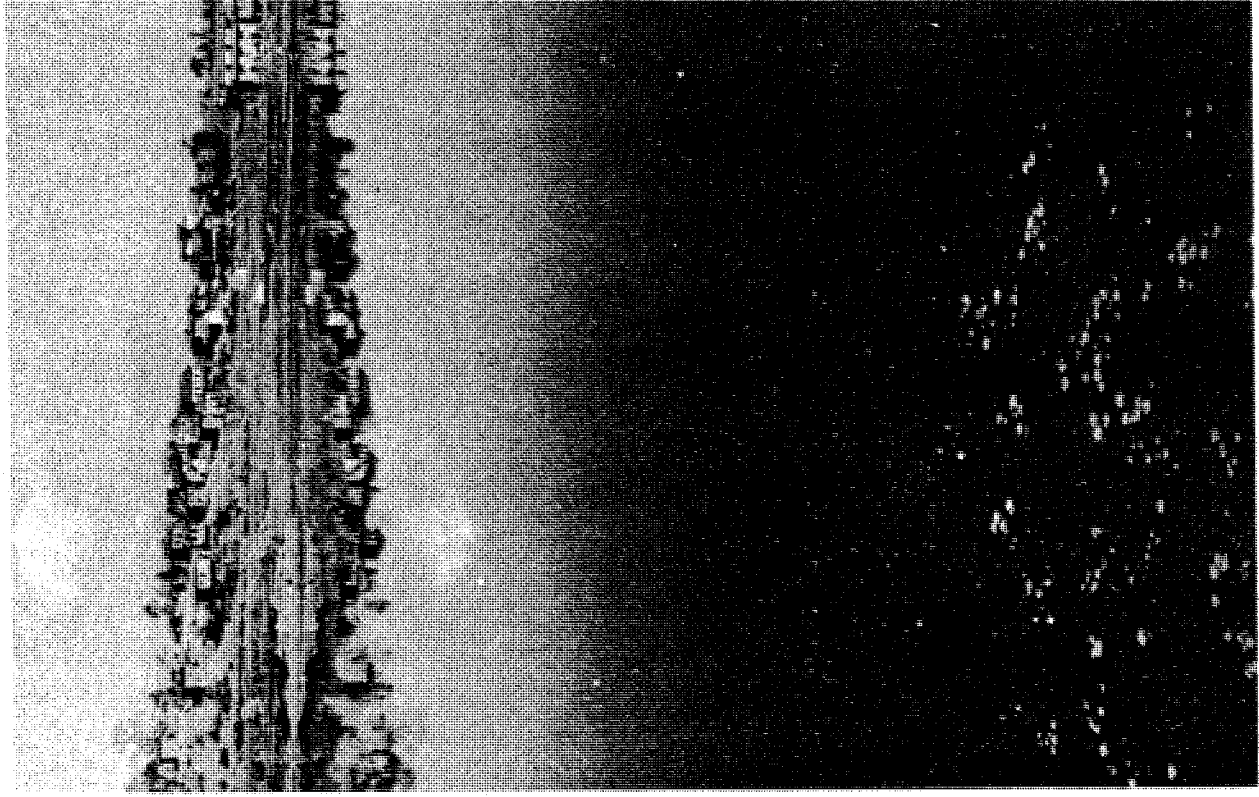
Kāla Bhairab



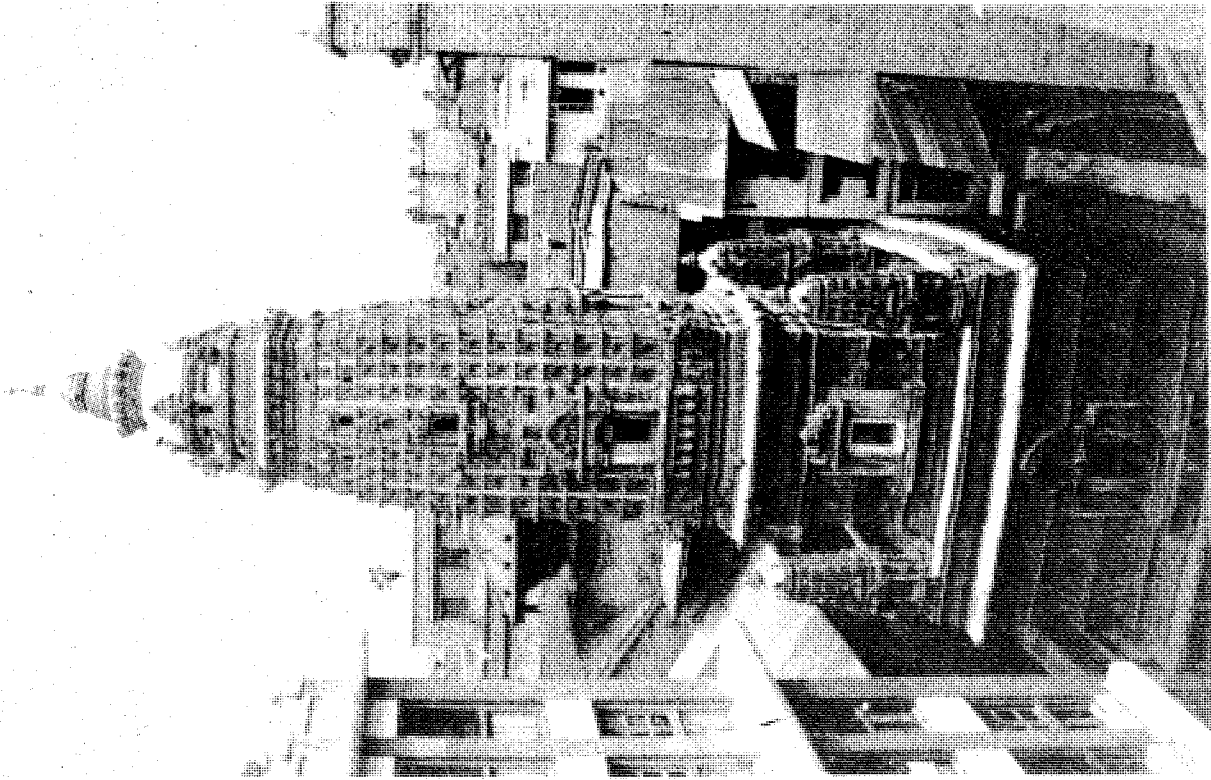
Gorakhnāth



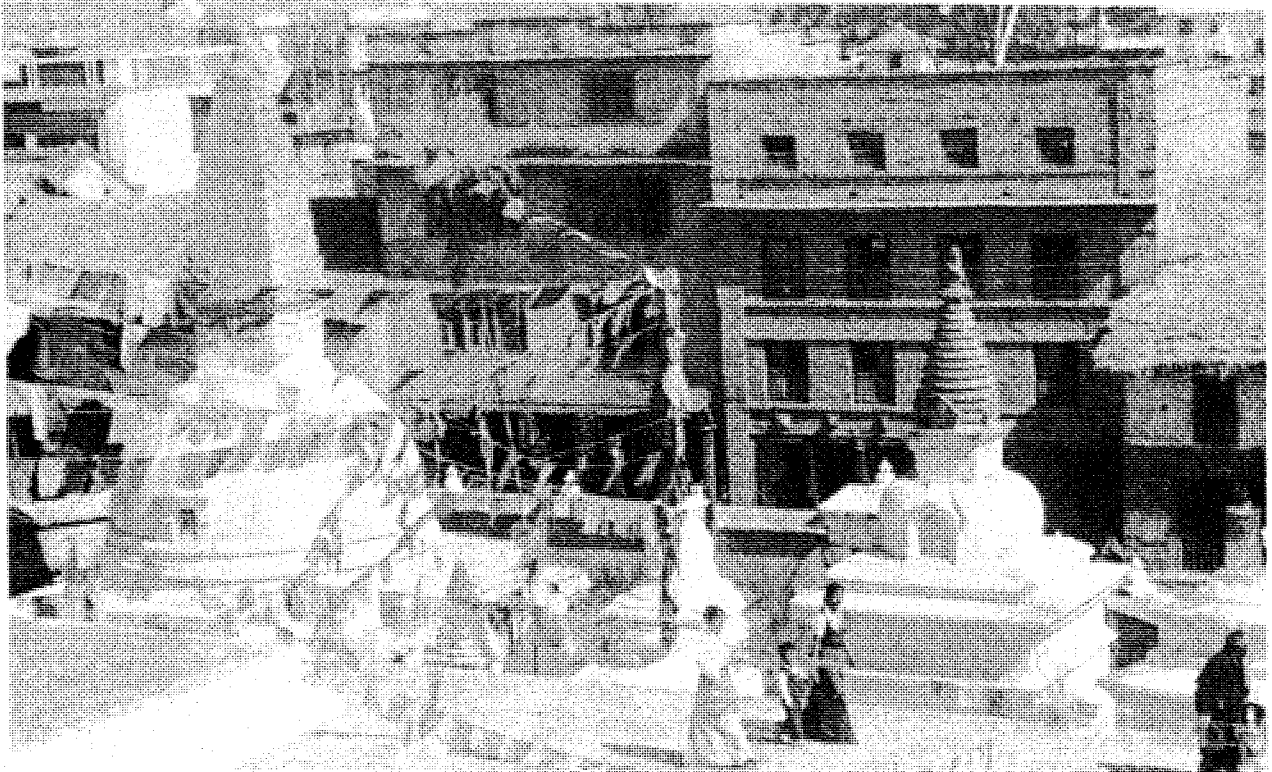
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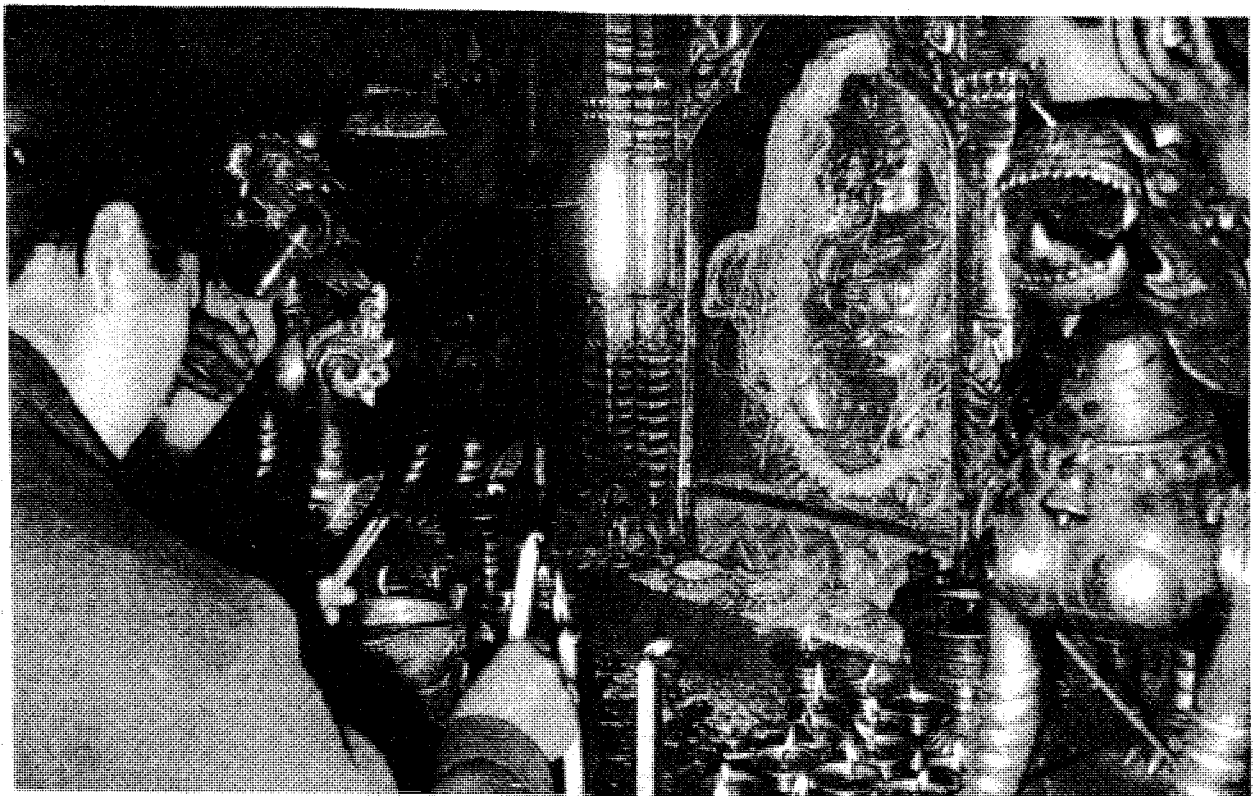
Lake Taudāh



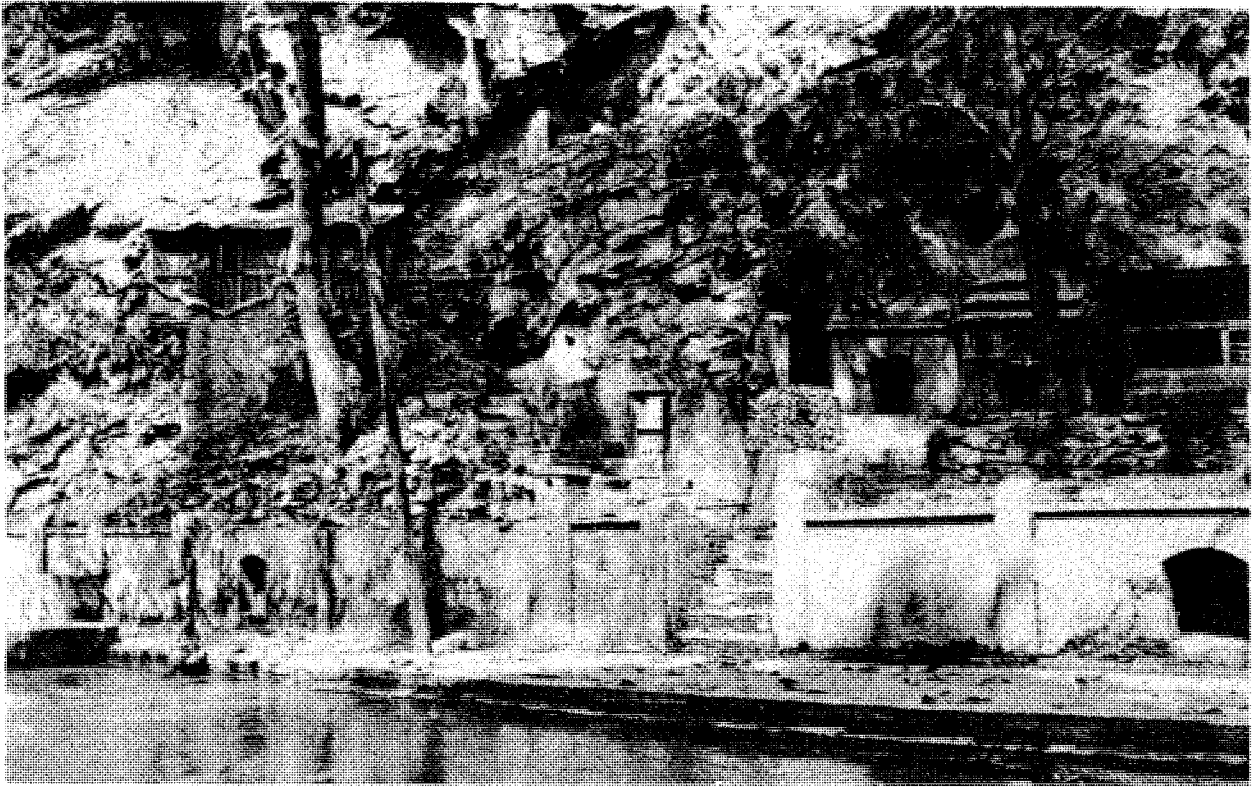
Mahaboudha Temple



Rang-Rig-Ras-Pa's Reliquary Stūpa



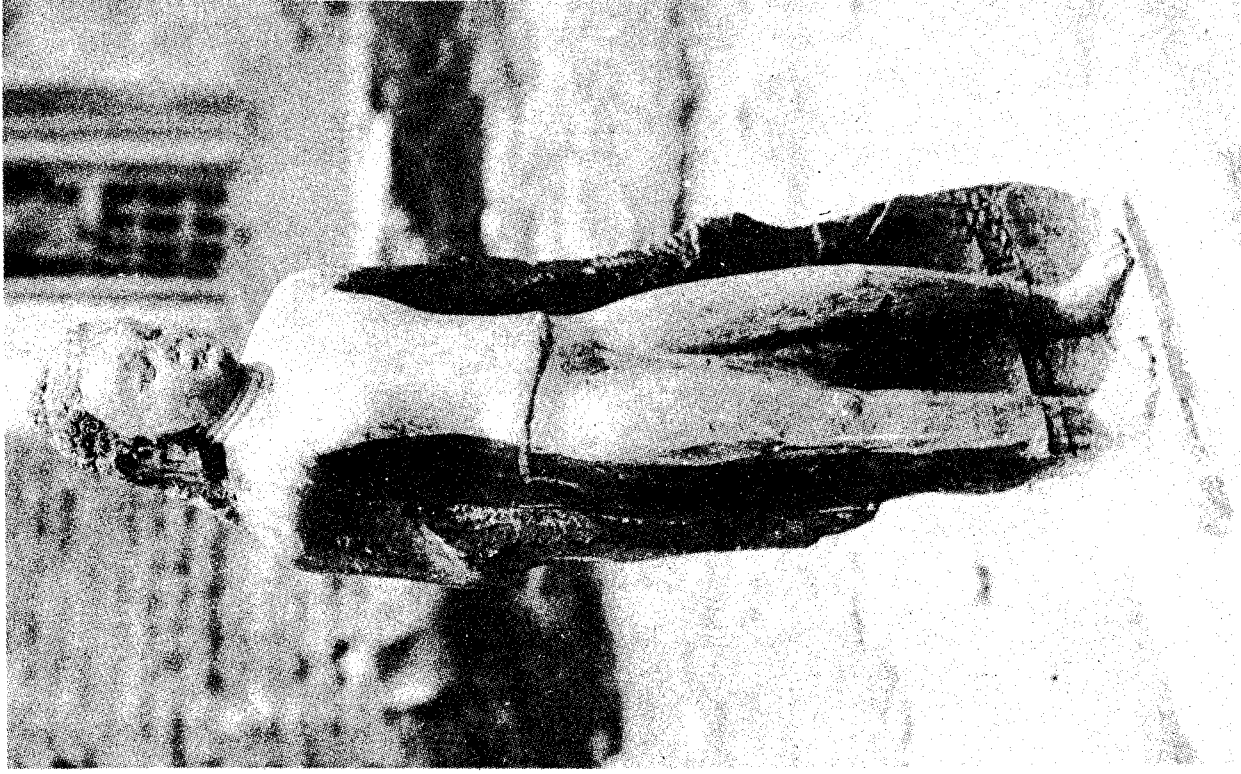
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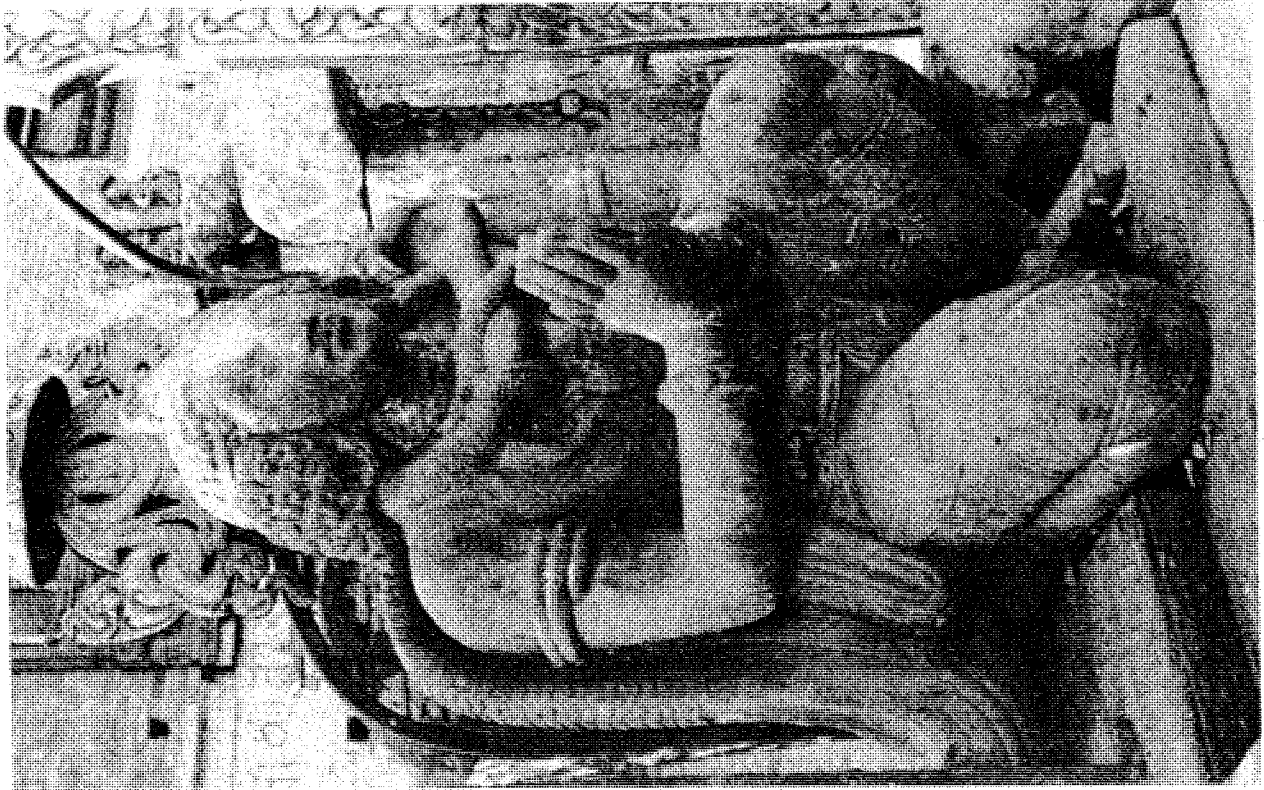
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Eka Mukha Lingam, Mahadev



The Chābāhil Buddha

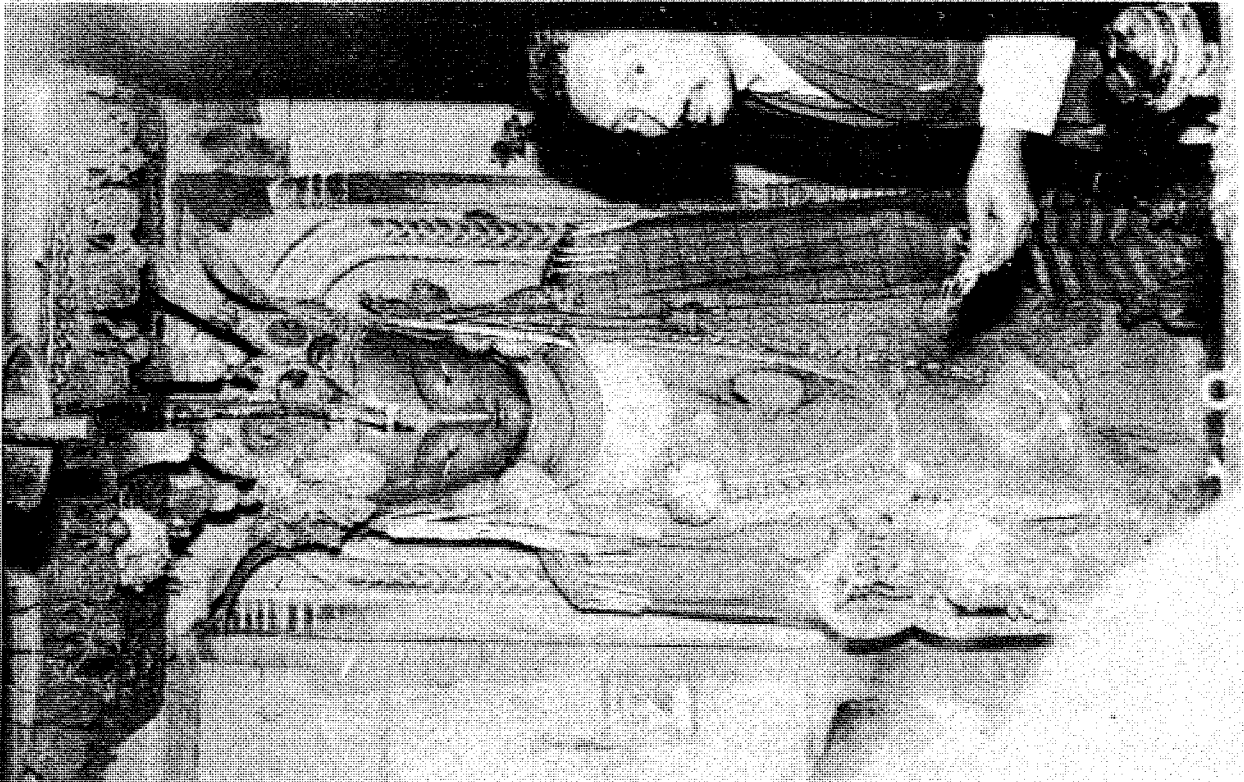


Garuḍa with face of King Manadeva

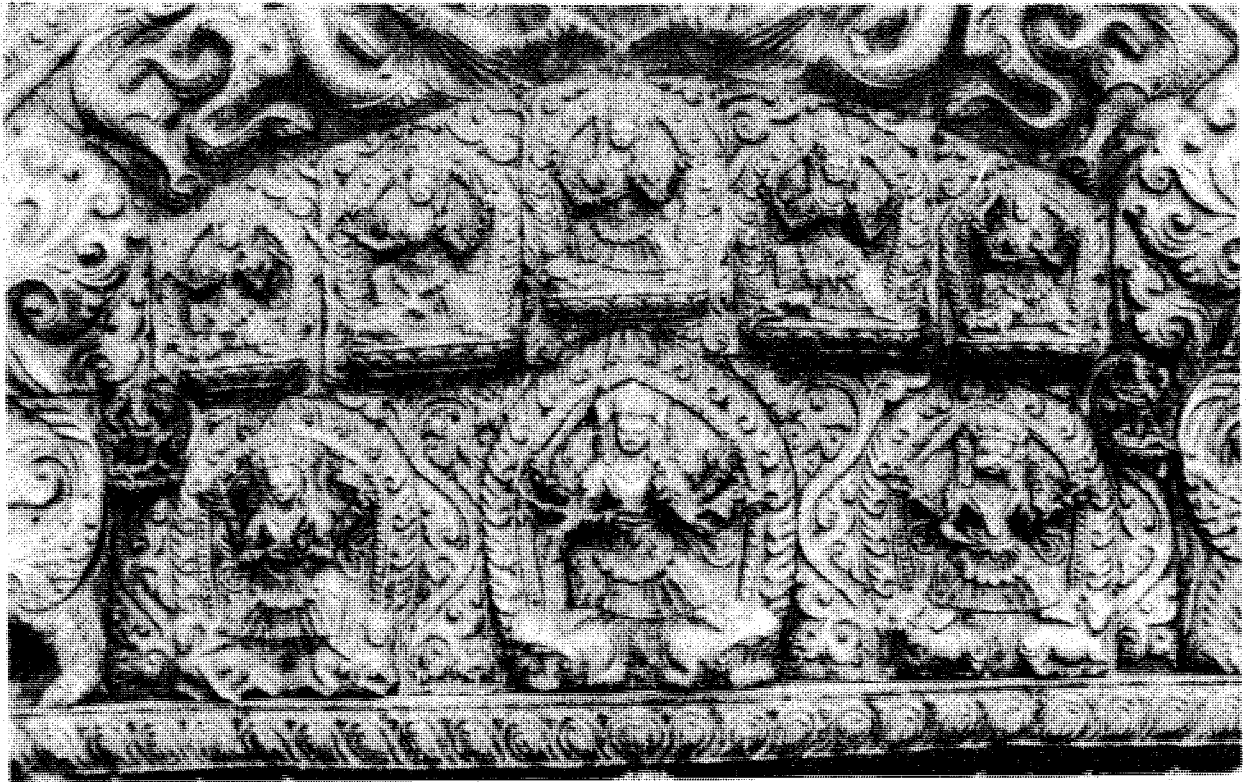




Boy as Cow



Dīpaṅkara Buddha



Aṣṭamātrkā



Bhairab

A BUDDHIST GUIDE TO THE POWER PLACES OF THE  
KATHMANDU VALLEY

*Precious symbols of the Minds of the Conquering Buddhas of the Ten  
Directions,*

*Swayambhunāth, Boudhnāth and Namo Buddha,*

*We pray to you from the innermost depths of our hearts.*

*With an all-embracing relationship with these three supreme symbols,*

*All adversity, troubles and obstacles are removed,*

*All our wishes are actually fulfilled,*

*And ultimately we cross the ocean of saṃsāra with all other beings.*

*By the grace of these three stūpas may we attain the level of the*

*Four Buddha Modes.*

*This is a guide for all pilgrims to the Valley of Kathmandu, for  
both the eminent and the lowly.*

1. KIMDOL VIHĀRA

*When you travel the road to India (from Tibet) you will first come  
to the Vulture Peak Monastery (Bya-rgod phung-po-ri'i dgon-pa,  
Gridhrakūṭa Vihāra. You can honour the chief image of the*

*1 monastery, Munindra, visit the Avalokiteśvara fasting room (smyung-  
2,3 gnas lha-khang) on the first floor, the Maitreya Temple on the  
north side, and other images in the neighbourhood, the chief of which  
is the image of the Buddha in parinirvāṇa posture.*

*"In the neighbourhood of (Ri-bo 'Bigs-byed) is a hill  
called Vulture Peak, and it is said that this is the place  
where a thousand Buddhas of the bhadrakalpa first generated  
enlightened mind, and where the woman Jadzima (Bya-rdzi-ma),  
who built the stūpa at Boudha, attained Buddhahood." (LT)*

"To the south-west of Swayambhu is Vulture Peak..... Then 21,000 *ārhats* from Vulture Peak took earth and deposited it beneath the dome of the Stūpa." (SK) Previously the Swayambhu Stūpa had been resting upon a wooden axis pole and four stone pillars founded on the Valley floor. But the *Swayambhu Purāna* has a different idea (*vide* Mañjuśrī Hill).

The Tibetans call the Kimdo Hill, south of Swayambhu, Vulture Peak, which is the name of the hill in India where Śākyamuni delivered the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*. The Newars call it Kimdo which means 'Heap of Rice' ('bras-spungs) in Newari. (CN)

In front of the gate of the Vihāra, which is considered pre-eminent in Kathmandu (i.e. in the 18th c.), is a sacred 4 bodhi tree (*bodhivṛkṣa*). Many Lamas have stayed in this Vihāra, amongst them the (13th) Karmapa, the (10th) Zhamarpa, (the 6th) Drukpa Rimpoche, (the 8th) Situ, (Ka-thog) Rig-'dzin-chen-po, and others. (CN)

All these Lamas visiting Nepal and staying in Kimdol Vihāra were contemporaries of Chos-kyi Nyi-ma. The 10th Zhamarpa (1742-92), who made the disastrous treaty with King Rana Bahādur Shāh in 1789, after Tibetan forces had been worsted on the border, and then was forced to remain in exile after his monasteries had been seized, his Hat buried and the Zhamarpa line declared defunct, assisted in the major reconstruction of Swayambhu with the 13th Karmapa (1733-1797) and their teacher, the *rNying-ma-pa* Ka-thog Rig-'dzin-chen-po Tse-dbang Nor-bu (1698-1755). This major repair work on the *garbhapīta*, (the Stūpa's bowl) and also on the environs of the Stūpa, was finished in 1750. The 8th Situ (1700-1774), who had come to Nepal much earlier in the century (ca. 1723) with his own generation of young

tulkus on adventurous pilgrimage (the 12th Karmapa, 1703-32, and the 8th Zhamarpa, 1695-1732, who had been born in Yol-mo), was known as Kun-mkhyen Situ or Situ Pan-chen. He stayed on in the Valley and later returned again, gaining a reputation amongst Śaivites and Buddhists alike as a great debator and scholar who translated a short version of the *Swayambhu Purāna*, amongst other Sanskrit works, into Tibetan. Like Ka-thog-pa, he was a Guru of the younger visitors. The 13th Karmapa, bDud-'dul rDo-rje, was received with honour and elephants by Jaya Prakāś Malla (reigned 1722-1768), just as Jagajjaya Malla (reigned 1722-36) had received his young predecessor who, according to his biography, was feted and given a week's royal hospitality, perhaps in return for saving Nepal by magic from the plague and drought which caused many deaths in 1723. In Namō Buddha he was received, again with elephants, by the King of Bhaktapur, Ranajit Malla. In the preceding century the 6th Zhamarpa (1564-1630) had

8 patronised the construction of four golden altars in the four cardinal directions of the Swayambhu Stūpa. An inscription of Śivasimha commemorates the consecration in 1614. We do not know where these earlier visitors stayed, but we do know of Rang-rig-ras-pa's association with the Vihāra in the latter 17th century, and also of the writer of the *Swayambhu Chronicles*' residence there, and it appears that Kimdol Vihāra was virtually a *bKa'-brgyud-pa* establishment in the 17th and 18th centuries. A thorough reading of the biographies of all these *bKa'-brgyud* Lamas and of Ka-thog Rig-'dzin-chen-po would prove most revealing.

(Vide DW.)

1 Śākyamuni Buddha is the principal image in the ground floor shrine-room of Kimdol Vihāra. In the first floor shrine-room, where the abbess of the nunnery presides, is

- 3 an image of 1000 armed Avalokiteśvara (Mahakarunika).  
 2 Maitreya is the main image in the *nani-bāhāl* immediately to the north, and a little further down the hill to the north is the temple containing the *parinirvāṇa* Buddha image.

## 2. SWAYAMBHU STŪPA

*'Phags-pa shing-kun* (Sublime Trees): *Swayambu* (Self-sprung): near *Kindol* (sKyim-grol = 'Liberating Draught') is *Swayambhu*. On top of a jewel lotus blessed by the Buddha *Vipaświ* (gNam-par-gzigs), the *Jina Vajradhara* spontaneously arose from the Pure Land of *Akanisṭha* as a great sacred Tree of Life (mChod-sdong chen-po - a Bodhi Tree or *stūpa*) called *Jñāna Gaṇḍola Swayambhu* (The Self-Sprung Temple of Wisdom) which brings spiritual release by sight of it, hearing of it, reflecting upon it, or touching it. Look into the *Newari chronicles* called the *Swayambhu Purāṇa* for extensive details on the arising of thirteen billion times more merit (for practising mantra etc.) in this place than in other great power places, and other interesting topics.

SK relates fragments of the prophecies made by Śākyamuni in the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* (gLang-ru lung-bstan-gyi mdo) concerning the origin of the *stūpa* *Goma Salagandha*, which is usually confounded with the *Swayambhu Stūpa* by Tibetans of today. As with the *Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra*, the Tibetans have interpreted prophecies concerning another country to concern themselves. "When the Buddha was living in *Vaiśālī* he prophesied in this manner to Śāriputra and Ānanda: 'Hereafter, a town called *Kuśala* (dGe-ba), or *Li-yul*, will arise on the frontiers of India. In the *Gomadeva Lake* is the *Ox-horn Prophecy Mountain* (*Gośṛṅga Vyākaraṇa Parvata*), and in the *Gomadeva Lake* the *Goma Salagandha Stūpa* will arise. In the middle of the lake will be a thousand petalled lotus, and in the centre of the lotus will be an image of Śākyamuni, while on the

petals will be a thousand Bodhisattvas of the Tenth Grade.' Then Śāriputra, the chief of the Buddha's retinue, asked him, 'What will be the cause of such an eventuality?' And the Buddha replied, 'The cause will be the thousand emanations consequent upon my *parinirvāṇa*.'" (SK)

The sceptical Lama bTsan-po says, "It is generally believed that (the Swayambhu Stūpa) is the Goma Salagandha Stūpa that is mentioned in the *Gośṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* (The Ox-Horn Prophecy Sūtra), and that it enshrines the relics of Kāśyapa; but since Goma Salagandha is in Khotan (Li-yul) and the relics of Kāśyapa are in India, it is difficult to believe these stories. However, the Stūpa gives immense blessings." (LT) Chos-kyi Nyi-ma is even more scathing about such Tibetan beliefs.

Concerning the origin of the Tibetan name *Shing-kun* for Swayambhu: "Then after 21,000 *ārhat*s from Vulture Peak had taken earth and piled it beneath the dome of the Stūpa, Nāgārjuna cut off his hair and scattered it about, praying, 'May all kinds of trees grow on this sublime Stūpa!' And after many species of tree had grown tall around the Stūpa, it became known as 'Sublime Trees' ('Phags-pa Shing-kun)." (SK) But it is most likely that since the Stūpa arose spontaneously at the time of the Buddha Sikhi (gTsub-gtor-can) and became known as Swayambhu (Self-Sprung), and that since the old Newar rendering was *Sihmanggu*, currently *Singgu* (i.e. in the 18th c), the Tibetan *Shing-kun* is a corruption of the Newari name. (CN)

SK describes the Stūpa like this: "Beneath the Stūpa of Swayambhu is a palace of the Nāgas. Above that is a live turtle, and upon the back of the turtle stands the Tree of Life axis (*tshogs-shing*) which is 7 fathoms (42') in circumference at its root and 42 fathoms (252') in height. In the western lattice of the axis are the self-manifest 5,408 gods. In the cardinal directions are one Magadha measure of the relics of

the *jina* Śākyamuni. The skin of the King Suvarṇavarman (gSer-gyi Go-cha), upon which is depicted the *maṇḍala* of Samvara and the 62 gods, is to be found therein. It is said that the outer, inner and secret fields of synchronicity can be devined therefrom....." (SK)

"When the Buddha (Śākyamuni) was alive King Suvarṇavarman (gSer-gyi Go-cha) was (the Stūpa's) patron." (SK) No king with a name resembling this can be found in the lists of the Newari chronicles. Perhaps the name is derived from the *Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra*.

There appear to be more references to the Swayambhu Stūpa than to any other power place in the Valley in the annals of all Tibetan sects but the *rNying-ma-pa*. For instance, regarding the annals of the lineage of Ma-gcig Zha-ma, this great *yoginī*'s brother 'Khong-bu-pa (1069-1144), one of many Tibetan scholar-*yogins* to come to Nepal during the *phyi-dar*, the second spreading of the doctrine, took instruction from Pham-thing-pa, Ye-rang-pa (the Patan Man) and the Bengali Atulyavajra, who were Nepal's finest teachers of that day. He had his mortal remains brought to Nepal with those of his sister by his son, Khang-gsar-pa, who had them consecrated by his Guru Jayasena. This Khang-gsar-pa had "the parasol hoisted above the Swayambhu *caitya* on numerous occasions" and "gathered about him many *yoginīs* and ascetic *yogins* who were residents of Swayambhu, and performed *gaṇacakras* on many occasions." (BA) The Śaivites were flourishing at this time, and like the great translator Rwa-lo, the Tibetans fought many magical battles with them, although, according to the Tibetan chronicles, the Buddhists were inevitably victorious. (BA) Atīśa used a pilgrimage to Swayambhu as an excuse to leave Vikramaśīla Monastery in Bengal and escape his students, who would rather that he stay, so that he could run across the border to Tibet and expiate his jealousy of the monastic tradition by reforming and purifying Tibetan monasticism.



The Abbot Atīśa had given his ex-Guru, the *yogin* Maitripa, a room at his monastery of Vikramaśīla, and later was astonished to discover that Maitripa had been performing *pūjā* with meat and wine within the monastery's confines. Atīśa asked him to leave, whereupon with a sniff Maitripa took up his bed and walked off through a wall. Later, Atīśa apologised to Maitripa who told him that the way to expiate his sin was to go to Tibet and reform Tibetan monasticism. (But see AC p.134.)

Our basic guide describes the origin of the Stūpa very simply and concisely. Adapting the metaphor of the *Swayambhu Purāna*, Ngag-dbang rDo-rje mentions Buddha Vipāświ who threw the seed of the original thousand-petalled lotus into Lake Nāg Hrad during the *satya* or *kṛitya-yuga*, and he mentions the jewel, the ruby (*padmarāga*), that was at the centre of the lotus, diffusing the great light that pervaded the world. The *jina* Vajradhara is the anthropomorphic representation of the *dharmadhatu* that is self-arisen and self-existent. He arises as the Stūpa out of Akaniṣṭha ('Og-min), the pure-land of the *dharmakāya*, the *dharmadhatu* as paradise here and now. The Bodhi Tree, the Tree of Life, the Stūpa, these are all symbolic variations upon the same theme. The *gaṇḍola* is the form of the *stūpa* and wisdom (*jñāna*, *ye-shes*) is its nature.

The Tibetan sources give some historical clues concerning the foundation and history of restoration of the Stūpa. If we accept Śāntikar Ācārya as the actual builder of the concrete Stūpa and accept SK's assertion that Aṃśuvarman was Śāntikar's contemporary, since Aṃśuvarman reigned between 576 and 615 the *Stūpa* dates from the early 7th century. But because Śāntikar is associated with the establishment of the *vajrayāna* this date assumes a very early arrival of Tantra in Nepal. There is only 1 early inscription at Swayambhu, and we have only incidental literary evidence that the Stūpa was worshipped by countless devotees from all over the Buddhist world, among

them some of the most famous names in Buddhist history -- Nāgārjuna, Śānti Deva, Naropa, Vāgīśvarakīrti, Śavari, Jālandharipā, Padmasambhava et al.

Undoubtedly between the 7th and 14th centuries the structure was restored many times, as earthquakes assure that no building in the Valley can survive for even a century without attention, but the first evidence of restoration informs us that the damage just repaired was not caused by nature but by man. An inscription records the ravages of the Muslim Shams Ud-din's armies in 1349 and that the principal patron of the repair work was a certain minister, Śaktimalla Bhalloka. We identify him as the 'Ba'-ro (Bhalloka ← Bhallo ← Bharo ← 'Ba'-ro, which was an honorific title) of SK. He was assisted by governor (*dpon-chen*) Śākya-bzang-po, who was perhaps a scion of the 'Khon of Sa-skya, a Tibetan scholar (dbU-gTsang dGe-shes) and Lama dbU-pa. The 'axis' of the stupa was replaced at this time. Then in 1505 in another major restoration, which Yolmo-pa Śākya bzang-po patronised, the wheel and pinnacle were placed on top by gTsang-sMyon, the crazy yogin Sangs-rgyas rGyal-mtshan from West Tibet. The 6th Zhamarpa had the four gilt shrines placed at the cardinal directions in 1614. Rang-rig-ras-pa had a new pinnacle (*gañjira*) erected during the reign of Pārthivendra Malla, the consecration taking place in 1694. The next major restoration was consecrated in 1750, probably in the wake of an earthquake, as the extensive restoration included the environs of the Stūpa. Ka-thog Rig-'dzin-chen-po, the 13th Karmapa and Situ Pan-chen were the patrons of this restoration. The Tibetan inscription on the pillar on the S.E. side of the Stūpa commemorates this event. SK would mention only names that have meaning for the writer's Tibetan readers and we should not assume that the Stūpa has been kept in repair through the devotion and wealth of the Tibetans alone. Both Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavas, kings and

commoners, have paid homage to the Stūpa down the centuries, and we can be certain that without a king's permission and support nothing could have been achieved. I have no data on the history of the Stūpa since 1750 except to note that in the past decade attempts to shore up the eastern flank of the hill have failed, and unless the most recent undertaking involving the demolition of the buildings on the south side succeeds, after 13 centuries the Self-Sprung Temple of Wisdom is likely to fall victim to the accelerating pace of the *kaliyuga*.

A story of Padma Sambhava at Swayambhunāth related in Dudjom Rimpoche's *Yid-kyi mun sel* tells how the greatest of exorcists transfixed the Lord of the Earth sPrul-lto-nag-po with a *phur-ba*, and how seven bats and a stone image of gShin-rje-nag-po flew there as protectors. It is said that this image is still worshipped although sunk into the ground (p. 40).

### 3. SHANTIPUR

'Od-zer Go-cha (Aṃśuvarman): Śāntipuri: within the confines of the path which encircles the sacred area of Swayambhu are one hundred temples. In the (temple called Śāntipuri) Mañjuḥṣa's emanation, the Dharmarāja Aṃśuvarman ('Od-zer Go-cha), met Vajrasattva's emanation, the Ācārya Śāntikar, who had obtained the Body of Immortality. Herein is the maṇḍala drawn in the heart-blood of the Eight Great Nāgas. Further, here is a temple-palace of Mahādeva and Gaṇapati.

There was once a king of Gauḍa (in Bihar), an emanation of Vajrasattva called King Pracanda Deva, who decided to make pilgrimage, and leaving his kingdom in the hands of his son, Śakti Deva, having arrived at

Swayambhu and taking ordination there, he began the ascetic practices of Vajrasattva. His religious name was Śānti Śrī (Zhi-ba'i dpal, Śāntikar). In order to protect the Dharmadhatu 6 Vāgīśvara Swayambhu Stūpa (*chos-dbyings gsung-gi dbang-phyug rang-byung mehod-rten*) he covered it with earth and produced the form of a *stūpa*. Also, as an indication of Mañjudeva's power, he 16 built a *stūpa* at the place where the Bodhisattva had sat for so long. Thereafter it was called Mañjuśrī's Stūpa. Then he built the five shrines of Śāntipuri (Ākāśapuri), Agnipuri, 7 Nāgapuri, Vasupuri and Vāyupuri. In a year of great misfortune, after no rain had fallen for seven years, the King Guṇakāmadeva entered Śāntipur and met the Ācārya Śānti Śrī, begging him to make rain. Śānti Śrī propitiated the Nāgas, summoning them with *mantra*, and forced them to bring rain. Opposed to this Newari account is the false Tibetan belief that Nāgārjuna was the *siddha* who propitiated the Nāgas to make rain. (CN)

The Newari chronicles speak of a King Guṇakāmadeva who entered the inner sanctum of Śāntipur to meet Śāntikar to make rain. Guṇakāmadeva is said to have been a puppet of Aṃśuvarman, an interloper who seized power at the beginning of the 7th century and became the greatest of the Nepali Kings of the Licchavi era (Regmi p. 161 ff.). The Guṇakāmadeva of the chronicles is a king of the *dvāpara-yuga*. An historical Guṇakāmadeva reigned between 987-990, but if Śāntikar was his contemporary the Ācārya could not have established Tantra in the Valley; the 9th c. is the latest that Tantra arrived here.

There was another, later, king who entered Śāntipur to make rain. He was Jaya Pratāp Malla (reigned 1641-1674), 9 whose inscription upon a stele outside the inner door of Śāntipur proclaims that he entered in 1658 to bring out into the sunlight the Nāga Maṇḍala drawn in the blood of the Eight

Nāga Kings, together with the *Mahamegha-sūtra*, in order to bring rain. The King caused a map to be drawn describing his peregrinations beneath Śāntipur. The map shows four levels to the temple. On the ground floor are six empty rooms into which "His Majesty, King of Kings, Lord of Poets, Jaya Pratāp Malla Deva entered with *pūjā* materials, a fish, black soya beans and cow's milk". There is no indication of a way down to the first subterranean level, and no way out of the room into which he entered on that level except a small niche in the wall. However, in the central room of the first floor he found the *Mahasambara-tantra*, a painting in a copper cylinder, two swords and the Śūnyakaru Yantra, and here he discovered the presence of Śrī Śrī Śrī Mahasambara himself. All the other rooms on this level were empty. The King proceeded alone, since "the *gubarjus* (priests) would not go further as they could not see the way", through a stone door and down into the second subterranean level. In the first room "bats as large as kites or hawks came to kill the light". In the second room "ghosts, flesh-eating spirits and hungry ghosts came to beg. If you are unable to pacify them they clutch at you". In the third room, "if you cannot pacify the snakes by pouring out milk, they chase and bind you. Having pacified them you can walk on their bodies". In the central room the "the King met Śāntikar Ācārya, who had become a *siddha*, sitting in *samādhi*. He was alive with no flesh on his body. He gave the King instruction, and here the King found the *mandala*, written in the Nāga King's blood, which he took out to make rain". In the next room he sat and meditated and "all things were shown unto him". In the last room was "a hole through which the water of a fathomless lake could be seen (at a third subterranean level). The waters splash and ripple and the wind blows." The King was below for three hours, and his entourage waited impatiently and in fear for their King who dared to go where no priest dared. Tigers roared and the earth writhed, but finally the King returned and the rains came.

The harvest of 1658 was plentiful. (The original map is in private hands)

"In Śāntapuri there is an entrance to three tunnels: a tunnel to Swayambhu Stūpa; a tunnel to the Nāga Realm; and a tunnel to the realm of obstructive spirits (*bgegs*). At present there is a six foot square stone covering the entrance. The sixteen volumes of the *Prajñāpāramitāmā* written upon lapis lazuli paper with ink of gold from the Jambu River brought from the Nāga Realm by Nāgārjuna is to be found in the Thang Baidhari of Kathmandu (Thamel Bāhāl)." (SK) A volume of this 'original' *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is now to be found in the Thamel Bāhāl (q.v).

"Nāgārjuna was custodian and King Aṃśuvarman was patron.... Śāntapuri was Nāgārjuna's place of mediation.... In each of the four cardinal directions of Swayambhu is a treasure trove. These treasure troves were hidden by Nāgārjuna for the future restoration of the Stūpa.... On the eastern flank of the (Vindhyā Mountain) is Nāgārjuna's meditation cave and the spring he brough forth." (SK) Nāgārjuna ('Conqueror of the Nāgas') may have been an epithet of Śāntikar Ācārya, who is not mentioned in the *Swayambhu Chronicles*; or Śāntikar Ācārya may have been a title of Nāgārjuna when he was custodian. The Nāgārjuna associated with Śāntipur may or may not be the same *siddha* who died in his cave on the hill named after him.

"Śāntapuri, or Zhi-ba'i grong, is so called because the Vajrācārya Śānti Deva (God of Peace) called down the god of space (Ākāśa) and pacified him, and when he remained calm and quiet this place was known as Śāntapuri. The Śāntapuri temple was founded during the lifetime of the Ācārya Ngag-dbang-grags-pa (Vāgīśvarakirti), this being the power place where the Ācārya attained Rainbow Body and where he remains until this day. The temple has two lower levels, and I have heard that in the deepest of the levels is an image and *mandala* of Śrī Kālacakra....

In the environs of Swayambhu many ordinary men have seen what appears to be a stalking tiger who appears out of nowhere and who does no harm to any creature until it vanishes into nothingness; this is generally believed to be Ācārya Ngag-dbang-grags-pa revealing his apparitional form..... It is said that in one of the *Swayambhu Purāṇas*, either the extensive one or the version of middle length, is Ācārya Ngag-dbang-grags-pa's biography and other fragments concerning his life. However, this Ācārya is numbered amongst the Six Doorkeepers, the Sages of Magadha. Later, at the end of his life, he attained Rainbow Body and still remains here in (Śāntipur) until this day." (CN)

It is unfortunate that CN is poorly informed about Śāntipur, because we are led to doubt his information concerning Vāgīśvarakīrti. Śāntipur is, of course, Ākāśapur, (Space-ville). CN is alone in believing that the deity of the secret shrine (the *āgama-chē*, usually located on the first floor of the pagoda temples of the *vihāras*) is Kālacakra. This is one of the Valley's principal residences of Cakrasambhara. And Śānti-deva is not mentioned in any other source as having visited Nepal. Vāgīśvarakīrti's identity is problematic. Pham-thing-pa's personal name was Vāgīśvarakīrti, and his title was 'Indian', probably indicating that he spent much time on the Plains; he was a master of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and the *Cakrasambhara-tantra*; he lived in the 11th century; his Gurus were Naropa and Śavari dBang-phyug (amongst others). But did he live in Śāntipur? We agree with 'Gos Lotsawa that this second Vāgīśvarakīrti was quite distinct from Pham-thing-pa. The Ācārya of Śāntipur is the lineage holder of the *Ṣaḍāṅgayoga* (*sbyor drug*) of the *Guhyasamāja*, the six *rDzogs-rim* practices which lead, not to the Rainbow Body of the *rNying-mapas*, but immortality in a state of suspended animation, all outflows extinct. His predecessor in the lineage was Śākyadhvāja, and his successor was Ratnakīrti, also of the

11th century. The Newars believe that Śāntikar Ācārya has remained immured in Śāntipur since earliest tantric times. Is it possible that Śāntikar Ācārya was a title of the principal *vajrācārya* of the oldest *guṭhi* (circle of initiates) in the Valley?

There is no shrine of Mahādeva or Gaṇapati in the Swayambhu area, but some Hindus will worship the deity of Śāntipur as Mahādeva.

#### 4. MAÑJUŚRĪ/SARASWATĪ HILL

*'Jam-dbyangs bzhugs-khri* (Mañjughoṣa's Throne): *Saraswasti Sthan: at the first, when the Kathmandu Valley was still a lake, Ārya Mañjuśrī and his two consorts, arriving in the Valley and failing to see (how human beings could worship the Stūpa in the middle of the lake), drained the waters in three days, and thereafter took their seat upon this spot. (This last line is hopelessly corrupt in the Tibetan)* *The relics of Mañjughoṣa and his two consorts, which remained after their spiritual return to the Five Peaked Mountain in China, are* 16 *enshrined in a magnificent stūpa there. (This line is also a reconstruction)*

At the time of the Buddha Viśvabhu (the third of the six Buddhas preceding Śākyamuni) Ārya Mañjuśrī's emanation Vajrācārya Mañjudeva, who was endowed with the five extraordinary powers, came to Nepal from the Five Peaked Mountain in China 5 together with Varadā (mChog-sbyin-ma), an emanation of Kesinī (sKra-can-ma), and Mokṣadā (gZugs-thar-sbyin-ma), an emanation of Upakesinī (Nye-ba'i sKra-can-ma), in order to see the Swayambhu Dharmadhatu Stūpa. Seeing that beings without supernormal powers were unable to worship the *stūpa* in the middle of the lake, he cut a gorge and drained the waters in four days, only a small lake remaining. Then through the



Great Master's magical power the lotus, which was the sacred base of the attainment of the Swayambhu Stūpa, was transformed into the *stūpa* we know today. At the time of the Buddha Kanakamuni (gSer-thub, the fifth of the seven) the great scholar Dharma Śrī Mitra (Chos-dpal bshes-gnyen), lacking knowledge of the Twelve Syllables (?) and on his way from Vikramaśīla to Mañjuśrī's Five Peaked Mountain for knowledge, found Mañjuśrī himself in the form of Vajrācārya Mañjudeva and received initiation into the *Maṇḍala of Dharmadhatu Vāgīśvarī* as the Swayambhu Stūpa itself. At the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa ('Od-srung, the sixth Buddha), Mañjudeva, having accomplished his aim in the form of a *vajrācārya*, took the body of a god and vanished into the sky like a flash of lightning, and returned to the Five Peaked Mountain..... Śānta Śrī built a *stūpa* to mark the spot where he had sat. (CN)

Mañjuśrī Sthān is the western of the twin peaks of the Swayambhu Hill.

#### 5. VIPAŚWI'S STŪPA

*mGo-shing prabhat ko cirba* (The Gośṅga Parvata Stūpa): where the first of the Seven Buddhas (Vipaświ) had his throne, today a *stūpa* has been erected. In a new monastery in front of this *stūpa* you can see an image of Munindra, the principal image (of five).

Our text locates the Vipaświ Stūpa in front of the Dharmacakra Monastery on the north-east side of Mañjuśrī Sthān. The Newars believe that it was Śākyamuni who sat and taught at this spot, which they call Parbatsthān, and that the *stūpa* on the peak of Nāgārjuna Hill is Vipaświ's Stūpa. This is certainly more rational; but the geography of Li-yul was such that Śākyamuni sat on Gośṅga Parbat and contemplated the Stūpa Goma Salagandha from a considerable distance (*vide*

Appendix I). This mis-identification and the mis-naming of Nāgārjuna Hill as Ri gLang-ru are both derived from the Gosṛṅga Vyākaraṇa Sūtra.

The *Swayambhu Purāṇa* tells us that when the Buddha Vipāświ came to the Valley he took his seat upon the hill west of the Lake Nag Hrad, the hill which is now called Jamacho or Nāgārjuna, and that from that place he threw a lotus seed into the lake, the seed that would eventually grow into the thousand petalled lotus upon which the flame of the Swayambhu Dharmadhatu would appear. He foresaw at that time that in the *dvāpara-yuga* the hill of the Swayambhu Maṇḍala would be called Gośṛṅga Parvata (Ri glang-ru), the Ox-Horn Mountain.

#### 6. NĀGĀRJUNA HILL

*Ri glang-ru lung-bstan* (Ox-Horn Prophecy Mountain): *Nāgārjuna*: on top of this mountain, today, a *stūpa* has been built to mark the throne of the Buddha. The Mountain is called *Nāgārjuna* because *Nāgārjuna's* cave-residence is found there.

Again following the *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa-sūtra* our text identifies the *stūpa* on Nāgārjuna Hill as Śākyamuni's Throne marker, rather than Vipāświ's *Stūpa*. The other sources (SK, CN, LT) call the mountain Ri-bo 'Bigs-byed (Vindhya), but also identify the *stūpa* as Śākyamuni's Throne marker.

"About half a day's journey north of Kathmandu is the Vindhya Mountain." (LT)

"To the north-west of Swayambhu, on the peak of the Vindhya Mountain is the throne of the teacher (Śākyamuni) and the thrones of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. On the eastern flank of the mountain is Nāgārjuna's meditation cave and the spring he brought forth. Very close on the north side are

the *stūpas* of Śākyamuni's father, Sudhodāna (Sras-gtsang), and his mother, Mayadevī (sGyu-ma Lha-mdzes). On the eastern side of the peak is the place of the Buddha Madhye (Mahe, the Buffalo Buddha). Here is the soil which Halumanyju (Hanuman), the Monkey King, brought from Vulture Peak (?). There are five *stūpas* here. Today there is a Tibetan charnal ground here." (SK) "In accordance with the prophecy of the Bhagavān (given at Vaiśālī), at the Lake Gomadeva on the frontier of India, Śāriputra and Ānanda (Vaiśrāvaṇa in the original *Sūtra*) arising from their thrones, raised their staffs in the air and the lake drained away. Gaṇapati drained the small amount remaining and then vanished into a rock, and this rock, similar in shape to an elephant, is even now to be seen in the vicinity of the Bungadeo Temple in Patan." (SK) The *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* also reports that the Buddha Śākyamuni's favorite disciple, Ānanda, visited the Valley (*vide* Regmi p. 279). Maudgalyāyana's visit is mentioned in several legends (*vide infra*).

The Vindhya Mountain is called Jamacho in Newari. In front of the Buddha's Throne on the peak is a local cremation ground. In the middle of dense forest beneath the Throne of Śākyamuni is the cave of Nāgārjuna in which are stone images of Nāgārjuna and Śākyamuni. Nearby are the tracks of the Mahe Buddha (the Buffalo Buddha). Also nearby is the cave of Ācārya Vasubandhu. The two *stūpas* said to be the reliquaries of the father and mother of the Buddha are found on the face of the hill behind (the Bālāju) Nīlakaṇṭha. (CN)

"Nāgārjunapād had made a cave on the Jāt Mātroccha mountain (Jamacho), where he had placed an image of Akshōbhya Buddha, to worship Swayambhū. As the water filled the valley (during the Nāgas' attempt to reclaim it from man), it rose up to the navel of this image, whereupon Nāgārjun caught the Nāg that was playing in the water and making it rise, and

confined him in the cave. Whatever water is required in this cave is supplied by this Nāg to the present day, and for this reason the Nāg is called Jalpūrit ('Making Full of Water'). This Nāgārjunapād Āchārya made an earthen chaitya, and composed or compiled many *tantra shāstras*, and discovered many gods. He died in the cave. The mountain then became known as Nāgārjun, and it is considered very sacred. People who are anxious to gain salvation leave orders with their relatives to send their skull-bone (the 'frontal-bone') to this mountain, where it is thrown high in the air, then buried, and a chaitya built over it." (Wright, p. 96)

There are innumerable caves on the flanks of Nāgārjuna Hill. Nāgārjuna's Cave still survives high up on the eastern side in a gully. Water flows out of the cave in the monsoon. Images of Nāgārjuna and Akṣōbhya are within. I have not located the Vasubandhu Cave. Nāgārjuna's Cave is known to some Tibetans as the cave of Guru Rimpoche (Lakṣmī Gūpha, with its new image of Nāgārjuna, being considered as Nāgārjuna's cave). On the north side of the eastern spur, which runs to Bālāju, above Raniban Village, is the cave of Bhagavān Buddha. Inside at the back is a seemingly new image of Śākyamuni in *bhūmisparsā-mudrā*, a broken image of Bajrabīr Mahakāla and a stone inscription. Outside is a broken figure in *lalita-mudrā*, probably a form of Tārā. There are two empty caves further up the spur. On the north side of the spur is Lakṣmī Gūpha. Inside a steeped chamber within the cave entrance is a relatively new image of Amoghasiddhi or Nāgārjuna. During the monsoon of 1980 a large boulder fell from the roof and broke an old image of Vajra Yoginī now still visible behind the boulder. Two tunnels barely large enough to allow the passage of a crawling adult lead off from the cavern. One twists and turns for 150' before ending at a figure of the Buddha. The other is equally as long and leads to a chamber with an image

of Lakṣmī. She is visited in times of dire need of wealth. Rumours of caves on Nāgārjuna abound. There is reputed to be a cave on this same spur containing a twelve foot high crystal Buddha accessible by rope down a 40' pit and through a narrow tunnel. Further exploration of these caves is needed.

"Nearby the (Nāgārjuna Cave) is a cave said by the Tibetans to be the cave of the Buffalo Buddha (*Mahe sangs-rgyas shul*), which all pilgrims go to see. I asked the Newars the story of the Buffalo Buddha: a long time ago when Ācārya Nāgārjuna was living in his cave, an idiot buffalo herdsman from Kathmandu became possessed by faith in the Master, and came to him frequently offering curds, milk, etc. Once when he asked Nagarjuna to come to town, the Master refused, saying, "If you are able to meditate upon perfect reality, sit down here." So he did as he was told, but obsessed by his work of guarding buffaloes he could think of nothing but buffaloes. "Visualise yourself as a buffalo." instructed the Ācārya. So he meditated in what today is called the Cave of the Buffalo Buddha, and after a while he actually became a buffalo. His horns struck the rock above him and the holes which today are known as his horn-prints appeared. Then Nāgārjuna told him to contemplate his body in its natural state of total relaxation. Meditating accordingly, his body became as before and his senses became sharp and alert, so he was given initiation and precepts. After he had accomplished the aim of his meditation, it is said that he shot through the roof of the cave and went straight to the Dākinī's Paradise (*mKha'-spyod*). At this power place the horn-prints and the cave with the hole in its roof are clearly visible." (CN)

In style and content this story of the Buffalo Buddha is reminiscent of Abhayadana Śrī's *Legends of the Eighty Four Mahasiddhas*, which recount the *mahamudrā sādhanas* of the Indian *siddhas*. Many of the *siddhas* were simple folk, artisans and

labourers whose habit patterns (*bag-chags*) prevented them from meditating on Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and were given creative visualisation (*bskyed-rim*) of their habitual tasks. Then after the visualisation had become actualised they would be instructed to dissolve their perfect image in the fulfilment process (*rdzogs-rim*) of identification with their original nature (*gnas-lugs* or *chos-nyid*) until they attained *mahāmudrā-siddhi* and a transubstantiated body in *mKha'-spyod*. The thief, Nāgabodhi, for instance, was instructed by Nāgārjuna to visualise a red horn of avarice protruding from his forehead. When the pain became very severe, he was instructed to meditate upon Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and he quickly gained release.

#### 7. KĀŚYAPA'S STŪPA

- 13 *The reliquary-stūpa of the Perfected Buddha Kāśyapa lies at the distance of an arrow's flight from Sarasvastī Sthān. A secret entrance to the path*  
 14 *to the Nāga Realm (Sa-spyod), a naturally formed stone image of a Nāga, Ācārya Nāgārjuna's reliquary-stūpa, and reliquary-stūpas of other saints are to be found in the vicinity.*

SK indicates that the Kāśyapa whose *stūpa* this is, was the Buddha's disciple, the first Zen Patriarch, rather than his Buddha predecessor: "After the Buddha Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa*, Kāśyapa was custodian (of the Swayambhu Stūpa). Thereafter, Kāśyapa attained *parinirvāṇa*, and to the west of  
 12 Swayambhu are the *stūpas* of both Kāśyapa and Vasubandhu." (SK)

Relics of Kāśyapa Buddha are said to be enshrined in Boudhnath (SZ), in Katiśimbhu (q.v.), in Swayambhunāth itself (LT & SK), in India (LT) and in this *stūpa* on Mañjuśrī Hill.

Vasubandhu, the younger brother of Asaṅga, came to Nepal with a thousand disciples after he had finished his work in India (towards the end of the 5th century). Once when he saw

a householder ploughing the fields clothed in religious robes, feeling most disconsolate he recited the *dhārāṇi* of Uṣṇīśavijaya backwards three times and passed out of his body. His disciples built his *stūpa* at that spot. (CN)

"In each of the cardinal directions of Swayambhu is a treasure trove hidden by the Master Nāgārjuna for the later restoration of the Stūpa.... (When the axis of the Swayambhu Stūpa broke) the King Pārthivendra Malla (reigned 1680-1688) received a communication from Gaṇeś and in front of the Kāśyapa Stūpa he discovered gold treasure." (SK)

Kāśyapa's Stūpa is on the north side of Mañjuśrī Hill.

- 14 Here also is an image of Bāsuki, or Bālasuki Nāgārāj, in rough painted stone. Bāsuki's stone is believed to cover an entrance to the Nāga Realm (*sa-spyod?*). There are no other
- 12 *stūpas* in this compound. Vasubandhu's Stūpa is identified by some as the large *stūpa* on the saddle between the Swayambhu and Mañjuśrī Hills (Pulan Swayambhu). In the courtyard on top of the Mañjuśrī Hill and further east down to the saddle are many unidentified *stūpas*. The relics of Bhāvaviveka (early 6th century?), the dialectician, are believed to be enshrined hereabouts. The Newars, apparently, have no legend concerning the mortal remains of Nāgārjuna, although he died in his cave on Nāgārjuna Hill (Wright p. 96).

#### 8. BIDJEŚWORĪ

*rDo-rje mal-'byor-ma* (Vajra Yoginī): *Biješwari Sthan* (Vidhyeśvarī): *on the banks of the river* (Biṣnumatī) *just below Swayambhu is a group of four Yoginīs who spontaneously arose from mkha'-spyod.*

The Bāhāl of Bidješworī (the Newari form of Vidhyeśvarī) is in the centre of the extremely powerful and power-bestowing Varahī cremation ground above which vultures hover during the

day and in which jackals howl at night. The chief image in the temple of the Bāhāl is Devī Bhagawānī Vidhyadharī Viramante (?) (rJe-btsun bcom-ldan-'das rig-pa-'dzin-ma rnam-par-rtsen-ma), the Divine Pleasure-Giving Knowledge Holder. She is in a flying position, her right leg bent up at the knee behind her, and her left leg pulled up high against her breast with her left arm, which presents a thousand petalled lotus to her nose. Her right arm is outflung behind her holding a *vajra* above the sole of her right foot. She holds a *khatvāṅga* (trident) in the crook of her arm while it rests on her left shoulder. The image is of vast power in bestowing blessings. She is the heart SAMAYA of Maitripa who carried this symbol of his samādhi in *sūnyatā* from India. On her right side is Uddhapāda Vārāhī (Phag-mo gnam-zhabs-ma, Foot-in-the-Sky Vārāhī); one foot is extended to Brahmāloka (high in the sky), while the other treads furiously down upon a golden Maheśvara. She holds the same emblems as Vidhyeśvarī. On her left side is the Two Headed Vajra Vārāhī (rDo-rje Phag-mo zhal-gnyis-ma); this is the well-known form of Vajra Vārāhī. These three images are eighteen inches high. To the left of these is Vajra Yoginī Naro Khecarī (rDo-rje rNal-'byor-ma Na-ro mKha'-spyod-ma) in the form of Cakreśvarī ('Khor-lo'i dbang-phyug-ma, the Consort of Mahasambara) as a twelve year old virgin. (CN)

Chos-kyi Nyi-ma's above description is precise but for the unaccountable description of Vidhyeśvarī's emblems as thousand petalled lotus and *vajra*. In this temple and in the standard iconography she carries skull-cup (*kapāla*) and curved-bladed knife (*kartikā*, *gri-qu*); perhaps the Fourth Khams-sprul Rimpoche practised a unique *sādhana* that employs the symbols he describes. The Vārāhī cremation ground is none other than  
 15 Ramadoli (*vide* Karnadīp). The four Ḍākinīs are associated with the *Cakrasambara-tantra*, which is probably the *tantra* most commonly practised by the Newars, besides being the principal



*yi-dam* of the *bKa'-brgyud-pas*. At some time several centuries ago, a separate *tantra* concerning these four *Ḍākinīs* must have been revealed. However, this *tantra* is highly secret and little is known about it outside the caste initiates of *Sambara guṭhis* (the covens of *tantrikas*). *Vidhyeśvarī* is also known as *Ākāś Yoginī*; *Uddhapāda Vārāhī* is *Pham-thing Yoginī* or *Indra Yoginī* or 'The Indian *Pham-thing's Vārāhī Khecarī*' (CN); *Naro Khachoma* is, of course, *Naropa's Ḍākinī*. *mKha'-spyod* is the *Ḍākinī's Paradise*, and synonymous with '*Ḍākinī*' is *Khecarī*, meaning 'Sky-Dancer'.

#### 9. KARNADĪP CREMATION GROUND

- 15 *Dur-khrod Rāmadoli: Karabir Mamān (Kālavīra Śmarśāna):* at the confluence of the *Bishṇumatī* and *Bhagwatī* Rivers is the temple of *Bhagawānī*, who is both demanding and dutiful, and a naturally formed stone image of *Mahāmāyā*.

"In the lower west of the town (of Kathmandu) is an image of the *rGyal-po sku lagna (pañcamurtirājā* or *pañcakāyarājā)* made from *jhekshi* and called 'The Obstacle Remover'. Besides it is the *Ramadoli Cremation Ground*." (SK)

Contrary to the *gNas-yig* and SK, CN locates *Ramadoli* between *Kathmandu* and *Patan*. In his day (18th c.) it was used by *Newars* who called it *Ramadoli*. We must assume an error on his part. He calls *Karnadīp* the *Vārāhī Cremation Ground (vide Bidjeśworī)*. The name *Ramadoli* is unknown to contemporary *Newars*, who may recognise the name *Kārabīr Mamān* but who use the name *Karnadīp*. It is located just south of the confluence of the *Bhagawatī* stream and the *Biṣṇumatī*, below the *Bidjeśworī Bāhāl*. *Bhagawānī* or *Bhagawatī* is a powerful form of *Durgā*, known locally as *Swōbar Bhagawatī*, and known to the *Tibetans* as *Ekajāṭī*. *Mahāmāyā* is an epithet of *Durgā* as the *Mother*

Goddess who is the Creatrix, the Universal Illusion, and the Nemesis and Destroyer. The Pañcakāyarājā made from *jhekshi(?)* is most probably a *stūpa* representing the Five Buddhas. Judging from CN's terrific description of the Ramadoli Cremation Ground, that has such an important place in the mythology of the Tibetan's Nepal, it has undergone a radical transformation since the 18th century. Today the Newars cremate their dead on both sides of the river, and for both Buddhist Newars and Tibetans it is the most important cremation ground in Kathmandu; but it is no longer a more fearful place for the *sādhaka* to meditate than any other cremation ground.

In 1096 Ma-gcig Zha-ma, 'the sole eye of the practitioners on the path of sexual *tantra*', presented her niece and gold to Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas in return for curing her sexual ailments. Dampa took the niece to Ramadoli where many monks and *siddhācāryas* were living. (BA) Obviously Ramadoli was a hive of tantric practice.

In the 15th century, the *Mahapaṇḍita* Vanaratna, 'the last of the *paṇḍitas*', was cremated at Ramadoli. He had taught many Tibetan disciples many different doctrines, including the *Kālacakra-tantra* in which he was a realised master. He lived in Śāntipur Temple on Swayambhu Hill and in the Gopicandra Hermitage (in Patan). (BA)

#### 10. *BURĀNĪLAKANṬHA*

- 17 *kLu-gan-rkyaḷ* (Supine Nāga): *Nārāyana Sthan: Burānilakanta* (The  
18 Old Blue-Throat): *the supine image of Viṣṇu at the base of Ox-Horn Mountain (Nāgārjuna Hill) was made at a later date by the hand of man, while that on the road to Bāgdwār is said to be naturally formed. It is the figure of Viṣṇurāj (Khyab-'jug).*

Here is a stone image of Viṣṇu Deva bathing, lying supine in Nāga Śeṣa's bathing pond. (CN)

Lama bTsan-po's description of the Gausain Thān Mahādēva fits the Buṛa Nīlakaṇṭha Viṣṇu: "Where the stream widens into a pond there is a stone image of a man formed naturally in the rock. It is sky blue in colour and its face is covered with a saffron shawl. It appears to be sleeping on its back (protected by) the hoods of a nine-headed cobra." (LT)

"The Rāja (Jaya Pratāp Malla, reigned 1641-1684) had a dream in which he was told by Budhā Nīlakaṇṭha that he or any of his descendants or successors who went to visit Nīlakaṇṭha would die. Hence, from that time, no Rāja ever visits Budhā Nīlakaṇṭha." (Wright p. 215)

Wright's chronicles tell how Śiva's throat gained a patch (*kaṇṭha*) of blue (*nīla*): "Oh Mahārāj, in the Satya Yuga the thirty three crores of gods, *dēvatās*, and *daityas*, churned the ocean, and first of all there came out the Uchchaisravā, which Indra took, saying that it was his luck. After the horse came out Lakshmī, whom Vishṇu took. Then came out the Kālakūta poison, and began to destroy the world. The thirty-three crores of *dēvatās* began to pray to Mahādēva, who alone was able to destroy the power of the poison. Mahādēva, being easily propitiated, appeared, and asked what they wanted from him. They replied that the Kālakūta poison was destroying the world and themselves, and they sought protection, and implored it with joined hands and tears in their eyes. Mahādēva said that he would instantly destroy its power; and so saying, he put it into his mouth, but, instead of swallowing it, he kept it in his throat, which became blue from the effects of the poison, and hence Mahādēva is named Nīla Kaṇṭha. Feeling now very hot he went close to the snowy range of mountains, but the cold there was not sufficient to

cool him. He then struck his triśūl into the mountain, from which sprung three streams of water, and he lay himself down and let the water fall on his head. There (in the Gosain Kund Lake, north of the Kathmandu Valley) lies Sadāśiva, who takes away the sins of man, and exempts him from rebirth." (Wright, p. 165)

It is widely believed that the water of both the Budhā (Old Budha in Sanskrit, Bura in Newar) Nīlakaṇṭha and Bāla (Young) Nīlakaṇṭha (at Bālāju) springs originate at Gosainkund. Although contemporary legend has it that King Jaya Pratāp Malla had the Bālāju image made after his dream, like the larger Budhā Nīlakaṇṭha it may well be 7th c. Licchavi.

18 The Bālāju image is composite Viṣṇu/Śiva: the standard iconography of Jalaśayana Viṣṇu (Submarine Viṣṇu) is modified to put Śiva's rosary and water-pot in his two upper hands. We have no legend explaining Viṣṇu's association with the Nīlakaṇṭha story. The Buddhist Newars worship the image as Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśwara, and a false etymology makes Budhā Nīlakaṇṭha mean Buddha Nīlakaṇṭha (P. Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal*, p. 17).

#### 11. THAMEL BĀHĀL, VIKRAMAŚĪLA MAHAVIHĀRA

*The Prajñāpāramitā in One Hundred Thousand Slokas (Sher-phyin bum) lies in Thamel Bāhāl. The sacred manuscript text written in gold which Ārya Nāgārjuna brought from the Nāga Realm is to be found in the Bāhāl Temple.*

"The sixteen volume *Prajñāpāramitā* written upon paper of lapis lazuli with ink of gold from the 'Dzam-bu River and brought by Nāgārjuna from the Nāga Realm is to be found in the Thang Baidhari of Kathmandu." (SK)

The temple of Stham Vihāra was founded by Jowo Atīśa; *Pandit* Bibhuti Candra lived and taught there; and Śavari

dbang-phyug taught there. Pan-chen Nags-rin (Vanaratna) also stayed there for some time. (CN)

"Also in Nepal is the Tham Vihāra, called the First Vihāra or the Upper Vihāra. Every evening a light glowed upon a *stūpa* (in this vihāra), and when Jowo Atīśa saw it he asked everyone what it was but received no information until an old woman told him that it was the red powder of the *maṇḍala* constructed by the Buddha Kāśyapa. Jowo Atīśa erected a temple in which to worship the *stūpa*. In front of this *stūpa* is a golden image of Śākyamuni called Lord Abhayadana. Indians call this place the Dharmadhatu Vihāra." (DS, folio 6b).

Atīśa visited the Valley in 1041, and although he was certainly responsible for establishing the Tham Vihāra as a centre of reformed monasticism in a tantric climate, it is certain that there was some foundation there in preceding centuries. Dharmaswamin visited Nepal in the 13th century. For his Tibetan monks Atīśa later evoked this *vihāra* as a model of discipline and study. Throughout the centuries a strong link has been maintained with the Tibetan reformed schools, their pilgrims using the Vihāra as a resting place. It seems that the *dGe-lugs-pa* school had the same relationship with Tham Vihāra as the *bKa'-brgyud-pas* with the Kimdol Vihāra. However, of the plethora of names - Thang Baidhari, Stham Vihāra, Tham Vihāra, Vikramaśīla Mahavihāra, and Thamel Bāhāl - which have been used to describe this supposedly same Vihāra, only the last two are known to the Newars of today, and more research is necessary before we can definitely identify Thamel Bāhāl with Atīśa's *vihāra*.

## 12. KATISĪMBHU

19 *Sa-lhag rdo-lhag mchod-rten: Katishimbu* (The Small Swayambhunāth): *it is said that the stūpa of Katishimbu was constructed with the earth and stones remaining from the Swayambhu Stūpa, and it is also said that it spontaneously arose through the power of an Indian siddha. The hair of Śāriputra's head is believed to be enshrined therein.*

"There is also a *stūpa* (in Kathmandu) said to contain the turban of Ārya Śāriputra." (LT)

"In front of the (old) Kathmandu Palace is a gilt copper *stūpa*, the largest of many in Kathmandu, containing the turban of Śāriputra and the relics of Kāśyapa." (SK)

Katiśimbhu stands in Sighabāhā, about half a mile north of the old palace. Its dome is of concrete and its superstructure gilt copper in the same design as Swayambhu Stūpa. The meaning of its Tibetan name would presumably indicate that it was built at the same time as the Swayambhu Stūpa, i.e. at the time of Śāntikar Ācārya, who was a contemporary of Aṃśuvarman if we trust the *Swayambhu Chronicles* (*vide* Śāntipur) and assume that the Guṇakāmadeva who is associated with Śāntipur is the same as the early 7th century king. Thus we could date Swayambhu and Katiśimbhu as 7th century constructions. SK tells us that in the late 17th century Katiśimbhu was the 20 largest *stūpa* in Kathmandu. Magnificent Licchavi stone statues attest to the very early glory of Katiśimbhu.

## 13. ANNAPŪRNĀ

23 *Nor-bum* (Vase of Wealth): *Lachamikalasa* (Lakṣmī Kalaśa): *in the middle of Asantole Market is a naturally formed stone vase covered in silver in a pagoda temple. Nearby is a temple of Gaṇapati.*

Annapūrṇā is a form of Lakṣmī, the Consort of Viṣṇu, and the goddess of wealth and prosperity. A pot or pitcher (kalāśa) is often found as a representation and symbol of the Devī in her temples. The Annapūrṇā Temple is, perhaps, the most sacred and efficacious of Lakṣmī's shrines in the Valley.

14. JANA BĀHĀL - THE WHITE MACCHENDRANĀTH

*Jo-bo 'dzam-gling dkar-mo (po?) (The White Lord of Jambudvīpa):*

21 *Jana Bhāl: this image of Avalokiteśvara arose from Buddhafiels blessed with the power of speech. It is also referred to as Machindharanāth (Seto Matsyendranāth).*

"The White Lord Jamali (Jo-bo 'Ja'-ma-li dkar-po) is one of the Five Exalted Brothers ('Phags-pa mched lnga), and the divine essence of these five Brother divinities is Avalokiteśvara. The two Brothers who reside in Patan (A-Kham and U-Kham) are red in colour while this one is white, so some believe that he is Mañjuḥṣa, which is erroneous." (CN)

"In Kathmandu is the Sandalwood Well (Chandan-gyi khron-chu) out of which the Four Exalted Brothers were born, the White Jamali and Bod-thang mgon-po." (SK)

The 14th-15th c. Tibetan chronicle *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long* (folio 40bff.), presumably based on the *Mani bKa'-bum* account, relates the origin of the Four Exalted Brothers: The Emperor Srong-btsan sGam-po (7th c.) sent a priest to Nepal to bring back an image of Avalokiteśvara. In a forest on the edge of the Valley the priest discovered a sandalwood tree that was being nurtured with the milk of a buffalo. This magical tree commanded the priest to cut it down, and then four images appeared out of it: 'Phags-pa Wa-ti, 'Phags-pa U-Gang, 'Phags-pa Jamali, and 'Kaśyapāṇi' Buddha (Kharsapana Lokeśvara?). The priest took the first to Mang-yul (Kyirong),

the second to Yam-bu (Kathmandu, though U-Gang is in Patan), the third to the border (Kojarnāth?), and the fourth to Lhasa.

In the traditional Tibetan accounts the Four Exalted Brothers are associated with the Emperor Srong-btsan sGam-po who is credited with bringing the cult of Avalokiteśvara to Tibet, but there appear to be varying opinions as to the identification of the fourth Brother. The three upon which all sources can be made to agree are 'Phags-pa U-Gang in Patan, 'Phags-pa Wa-ti in Kyirong and the Lhasa Lokeśvara in the Potala. The fourth Brother, 'Phags-pa Jamali, is located both in Kojarnāth near Taklakot, N.E. of Almora in Tibet (*vide* Wylie n. 20), and in Kathmandu in Jana Bāhāl. CN counts five Brothers by adding A-Gang (q.v.) in Patan. The Lama of Kojarnāth avers that the fourth Brother is the Kathmandu Jamali (Wylie n. 20). The local Newari legends associate King Guṇakāmadeva with the origins of the Jamali cult, and one king of that name was a contemporary of King Aṃśuvarman and the Emperor Srong-btsan sGam-po. Furthermore, the Newari legends mention that Jamali was stolen by 'a Magala King from the west'. The western Mallas ruled over Kojarnāth from the 10th to the 13th centuries and it is possible that Jamali was taken hostage by a Malla King and later reclaimed by the Valley people - the *vamśāvalis* mention other cases of images being stolen by invading Tibetans. Jamali appears again in Kathmandu in Yakṣa Malla's time (1428-1480), when he was found in a well (or in a field) in Jamal, which is the area south of the present royal palace. It was probably in Yakṣa Malla's time that Jamali was taken from its Jamal location and placed in its present position in Jana Bāhāl (Kanaka Caitya Mahavihāra) near Indra Chowk. (*Vide* JL p. 147 ff.)

The plastered image in the free-standing Jana Bāhāl Temple is of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, white in colour, about 4' high. He wears the Bodhisattva crown and ornaments, and the



figure of Amitābha is painted in the centre of his *jata*. On his right and left are the White and Green Tārās. The *kwāpa-deo* (principal deity of the Bāhāl) is Aksobhya. The Newars call Jamali 'Jama Deo' or 'Karunāmāyā Lokeśwara'. To the Hindus this deity is the patron saint of the Valley, Seto Matsyendranāth. He is given suitable honour by the entire town in Kathmandu's greatest *khat* festival. An interesting feature of the Jana Bāhāl temple is the glass-framed paintings of Avalokiteśvara's 108 forms hung below the first floor of the pagoda temple. (*Vide* JL)

15. THE ITUM BĀHĀL TALKING TĀRĀ

22 *sGrol-dkar* (White Tārā): *Sheto Tārā*: she is located in Itum Bāhāl. She is said to have flown there from Tibet and is called the Talking Tārā.

This White Tārā is found in a side courtyard (*nani bāhāl*) of the vast Itum Bāhāl, which is north of the old palace. Itum Bāhāl is one of Kathmandu's oldest bāhāls. It is associated with the cannibal demon Guru Mapa and a certain Keścandra who traded with him (*Vide* Wright, p. 169). The name Mahāsantasvetadharmacakratārā is enscribed on the temple wall.

16. THE MAKHANTOLE STONE ARROW

*Sang-rgyas rdo-mda'* (The Buddha's Stone Arrow): *rMa-khan tol ko sa trag ko dhung ga* (the stone satrag(?) of Makhantol).

"In the middle of the town of Kathmandu there is a stone arrow thrown from the top of the Vindhyā Mountain by the Bhagavān, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana that has remained there until this day." (SK)

According to the Newar tradition, Mañjuśrī shot three arrows from the peak of Nāgārjuna to determine the depth of the lake that filled the Valley. One landed in Chābāhil where it wounded a Nāga, who after Mañjuśrī's successful ministrations became Gaṇapati's vehicle at Chābāhil Gaṇeṣṭhān, healing sick supplicants; one landed in Asantole; the third landed in Makhantole where it is visible in a shallow hole on the western side of the road beside the lion guarding the entrance to the square from the Indra Chowk side. Another local Newar informant believed that the arrow had been shot by a Buddha in Lhasa.

#### 17. KĀLA BHAIKAB

- 25 *mGon-po phyag-drug-pa* (Six-Armed Mahākāla): *Kāla Bhairab: this is located in front of Hanuman Doka. Behind this image within a lattice screen of red wood which is part of the palace wall, (and which is*  
 26 *built upon) a long straight stone, is a likeness of Mahākāla's face fashioned by the hand of the Lord Karmapa.*

Bhairab, as in this Hanuman Doka image, holds the skull-bowl (*kapāla*) in the right hand while his left hand shows the *vyākhyāna-mudrā* (holding ring finger to thumb). Mahākāla holds the skull-bowl in his left hand and the knife-lid (*karpatra*) in his right. Nepalis come to Bhairab to swear oaths, for if a lie is told in his presence the victim will die vomiting blood. At the Desai festival hundreds of buffaloes are sacrificed to Kāla Bhairab. 'The head of Mahākāla' is known to Nepalis as Bhairab's head, and no connection with Karmapa is known. Pratāp Malla (reigned 1641-1674), Kathmandu's great beautifier, the hero of Śāntipur, claims in one of his numerous inscriptions to have built Kāla Bhairab. However, Mahākāla is the principal protector of the Karmapas.

## 18. THE GREAT BELL

*Dril-chen; ṭhulo ghanti: near the great bell is a large drum.*

Located on the west side of the old palace is the great bell, and nearby in a covered, three-walled shed is a pair of large kettle drums.

## 19. KUMĀRĪ'S PALACE

*mKha'-'gro-ma'i pho-brang (The Dākinī's Palace): Kumari Bhāl: to the south of the (old) palace resides a virgin who is a living Dākinī. Go there rendering prostration and offering and solicit the omens of her speech.*

The Kumārī is worshipped as a living emanation of Taleju Bhawānī, a form of Durgā and the patron goddess of the Valley's kings. Her palace in Basantapur was built by Jaya Prakāś Malla, the last of the Malla kings, who initiated royal worship of the Virgin. The Gorkhāli Shāha kings continued her worship, and this virgin, pre-pubescent girl may be considered the only human being superior in status to the king. After she bleeds in any way, she is replaced. She then marries into the Śākya caste as any other Śākya maiden. She is known as the Rāj Kumārī, the Royal Virgin. Insofar as Hindus identify Tārā as an aspect of Durgā as in the *daśamahavidhyā*, the Kumārī is sometimes referred to as Tārā. The Bhaktapur Taleju is sometimes confounded with Tārā. Buddhists worship Kumārī as Vajra Yoginī, whose image is found in the inner temple of Kumārī Bāhāl. As the śakti of the virgin youth Kumāra, the son of Śiva, also known as Skandha and Karttikeya, Kumārī is identified with the *mātrkā* Kumārī. (Vide MA.)

20. *MARU SATTAL*

*Mahaguru Sang-rgyas gnyis-pa'i bzhugs-khri* (The Throne of the Second Buddha, the Mahaguru Padmasambhava, Gūru Padma): *Maru satal ko asan* (The Maru Sattal Seat of Meditation): *this temple was constructed out of a single tree trunk. Inside is an amazing bean-stalk pillar, an image in the likeness of Guru Gorakhnāth, and four images of Gaṇapati.*

In the centre of the ground floor of this large pagoda temple cum rest-house is the image of Gorakhnāth with long hair, large ear-rings, his left arm resting upon a stick, and sitting in *padmāsan* - the archetypal *kaṇphaṭa yogin*. In the corners of the inner forum are the four Gaṇapatis -- Sūrya Vināyaka, Karya Vināyaka, Jal Vināyaka and Aśoka Vināyaka. Perhaps the 'bean-stalk pillar' refers to the several thin 20' high pillars that support the upper floors of the pavilion; otherwise, it must refer to something that has vanished in the last 150 years. The present structure is a *maṇḍapa* or *sattal* called *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa* because, according to the Newar legend, it was constructed from a single tree trunk; the year was 1143, before the Malla ascendancy, and the mainspring in its construction was a Śaivite *siddha* called *Lōpipāda*. It is among the oldest structures in the country and the largest of its type. *Maṇḍapa* is best translated as 'pavillion' since its floors are open and raised on pillars, and it functions as a rest-house, temple and village hall. A *sattal* has virtually the same functions, but it is usually partly enclosed and without a shrine. This *maṇḍapa-sattal* has three floors, the ground floor being used as a community meeting place with the shrine of Gorakhnāth in the centre, and the second and third floors were employed by the *nāth ākara* as living space for itinerent *yogins* until the government evicted them in 1966 when the *maṇḍapa* was fully restored for the umpteenth time. Literary evidence exists that the site was

occupied by a religious foundation in the 11th century, during the time of Gorakhnāth, and if indeed this is the E Vihāra of the Tibetans' tradition a Buddhist *vihāra* occupied the site at least as long ago as the 8th century. The *mandapa* was given to the *nāth ākāra* in the 14th century and has remained in its hands ever since. (Vide Mary Slussor, "Two Nepalese Medieval Buildings", *Artibus Asiae* Vol XXXVI 3.)

"The E Vihāra Temple, known as the Kathmandu Valley E Vihāra (*Bal-yul E-yi gtsug-lag-khang*), is the place referred to in the *bKa'-thang gter-mas* where the Great Master Padmasambhava taught the Newari girl, Kusali, stories about hell." (CN) I have been unable to discover this reference in the biographical *bKa'-thang-yigs*.

"The Great Saint of Uḍḍiyāna spent three lunar months in Nepal./ After granting great benefactions to the Nepali Vasudhara and many others in Nepal,/ He hid a treasure in the monastery of E Kara. Then in the grotto of Yanglesho (q.v.), in that of the Asura (q.v.) and other grottoes,/ In the monastery of Shanku (q.v.) and other Nepali monasteries,/ At the crag called Mighty Soil and other places round about, he hid 1000 other treasures." (UL p. 365) "gTsug-lag dPal-dge will reveal the treasure of the E Vihāra." (UL p. 621)

Ye-she mTsho-rgyal, Guru Padma's Consort, visited Kathmandu Valley in the 8th century soon after Guru Padma had passed through on his way to Tibet and had encountered Vasudhara. She was accompanied by her recently purchased partner in *yoga* called Sa-le, an Indian slave owned by a Bhaktapur household. She met Vasudhara in the E Vihāra. (TND)

The *rdzogs-pa amuyoga* lineage began with King Dza, who received instruction from Vajrapāṇi (gSang-ba'i bdag-pa) himself, and it descended through the Indian *siddhas*: Indrabodhi, Kukurāja,

dGa'-rab rDo-rje, Prabahasti, Śākyamitra, Dhanarakṣita, Humkāra and bDe-ba gSal-mdzad. The latter had four disciples of whom two were gTsug-lag dPal-dge and Vasudhara. Both of these taught Sangs-rgyas Ye-shes of gNubs who was the progenitor of the Tibetan lineage. The *gter-ston* of E Vihāra, gTsug-tag dPal-dge, must have been a later incarnation of the *anuyoga* lineage holder who himself studied in Nepal and knew the E Vihāra, he followed soon after the first *gter-ston* Sangs-rgyas bLa-ma, who lived in the 11th century. Vasudhara is referred to as 'King of Nepal'; but he was more likely to have been a renunciate feudatory prince, or simply a *Kṣatriya*. His Gurus were Guru Padma, Dhanarakṣita and Che-btsan-skyes of Gilgit (Bruša). Vasudhara must have been an outstanding scholar-*yogin* of his time (8th c.), and the E Vihāra an important centre of *vajrayāna* when the new cult of *tantra* was still the prerogative of visiting Indian *siddhas* and a few Nepali *yogins*. (*Vide* Dudjom Rimpoche's *Chos-'byung*, folio 56a ff.)

This Vasudhara may well be the same Newar who visited Tibet during Khri-srong lDe-btsan's reign, at the same time as Vimalamitra, Buddhagupta, Kāmalaśīla, *et al.*, to assist in the work of translation and in the instruction of the Tibetan neophytes. However, no Nepali is counted amongst the 25 *paṇḍitas* invited to Tibet from the Indian sub-continent by Khri-srong lDe-btsan.

Gorakhnāth is known in Tibet from the *Legends of the Eighty Four Mahasiddhas* (*Grub-thob brgyad-bcu tsa bzhi'i lo-rgyus*), a translation into Tibetan of the *Paṇḍit* Abhayadana Śrī's stories of the *siddhas*. Gorakhnāth was a cow-herd who was called upon by the *siddha* Jālandhara to tend an unfortunate prince who had had his legs cut off and who had been left to die in the jungle. Gorakhnāth performed this task with devotion and assiduity for 12 years, and this practice of selfless service being the equivalent of preliminary purificatory yogic *sādhana*,

after he had received instruction from his Guru Jālandhara he soon attained mundane *siddhi*. However, he never attained *mahamudrā-siddhi*, the acme of Buddhahood attained by 82 of the 84 *mahasiddhas*. He achieved immortality, and was exhorted to spend his days in the conversion of sentient beings, with the rider that he should not teach those who were not prepared or karmically matured. Thus this legend agrees with the common belief amongst Indians that Gorakhnāth is still alive, like other great *siddhas* who achieved immortality during the flowering of *tantra* between the 9th and 12th centuries, and that he is still teaching in the Himalayas to those fortunate beings whose *karma* is ripe and have eyes to see him.

21. TONDIKHEL BAJRABĪR MAHĀKĀLA

- 28 *Bod-thang mgon-po: Mahākāla: in Tongtikhel is a particularly sacred, naturally formed stone image of Mahākāla.*

"Some say that the Bod-thang mgon-po is naturally formed. Others believe that he was constructed by the very hands of the Great Master Nāgārjuna, that Nāgārjuna made 108 images of Mahākāla and that amongst the protectors he appointed to guard the great power places such as Vajrāsana (Bodh Gaya), this was the one he appointed to protect the Swayambhu Stūpa. However he was formed, this amazing image possessed of superior powers of conferring grace is a climactic attainment. This protector of the Innate (*sahajā*), this Root Protector, is made of black stone. He has one face and two hands holding a skull-cup (*kapāla*) of blood and a curved-bladed knife (*kartikā*) at his heart. He carries a trident (*kaṭvāṅga*) on his shoulder, and he stands with his feet together evenly placed on a corpse. A long time ago, an invading army of Muslims came to this Valley, and although they began to destroy this image they were unable to complete his destruction, and in this land

of Nepal the Muslim doctrines never made any inroads. However, there was slight damage done to the image at that time, to some parts of the corpse, to Mahākāla's body and to the tip of his nose.... This image previously sat on the top of the Phullado Hill (Pulchowk) close to Patan, and because it came flying through the sky (to this spot) it became known as 'the arrival in Tibetan Fields' (*Bod thang-du phebs*). Concerning the name Bod-thang (Tibetan Fields), the site of the temple was the spot to which the King Aṃśuvarman sent his daughter, Bhṛkutī (Bal-mo bza' khri-btsun); the Tibetan messengers, some ministers of the Dharmarāj Srong-btsan sGam-po and others, waited for her there: thus 'Tibetan Fields'." (CN).

*The Red Annals*, a 14c. historical work based on highly regarded Chinese originated sources, reports that Aṃśuvarman (Od-gser Go-cha) gave Srong-btsan sGam-po his daughter Bhṛkutī in marriage, and that the image of Buddha called Jo-bo Mi-skyod rDo-rje and a sandalwood statue were given as dowry. The Nepali image of Jo-bo was housed in the so-called Lhasa Cathedral (*sDeb-ther dmar-po* f. 16b).

The detailed account of the manner in which Bhṛkutī was procured from Aṃśuvarman found in the 12th chapter of the important history *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long* (15 c.) is based on the legendary account of the *gter-ma Mani bka'-bum* (or an older source common to both). The Emperor sends his minister mGar-ba to Nepal with a large force of cavalry (rTa-dmang=Tamang). He finds Aṃśuvarman in Bhaktapur (Kho-khom). Having presented 5 square gold coins and a suit of armour inlaid with turquoise the minister makes his request. Aṃśuvarman is at first scornful but upon the receipt of correct answers to his three questions, which the Emperor had anticipated, regarding the moral law, temples and mineral wealth of Tibet, and threatened by Tibetan military invasion, Aṃśuvarman accedes to mGar-ba's request. Bhṛkutī takes an image of Mi-skyod rDo-rje (Kāśyapa



Buddha), a *dharmacakra*, a turquoise begging bowl and a sandal-wood image of Tārā to Tibet as dowry. In Lhasa she is responsible for the construction of the Potala palace and the Ra-sa 'phrul-snang temple on the site of a drained lake. Many other temples in Tibet are attributed to her. It is noteworthy that Nepali craftsmen cast and carved images in Lhasa at this time, and that the Nepali Śīla Mañju was amongst the scholars that the Emperor invited to Tibet.

Regarding the Tibetan legends of Aṃśuvarman's daughter, Bhr̥kutī, marrying King Srong-btsan sGam-po of Tibet, Nepali and some western historians are incredulous. Some difficulties of chronology support their scepticism; but the *Mani bka'-bum* was almost certainly based on a much earlier, authoritative text. If the early date for Srong-btsan's birth, 569, is rejected, and we assume that he was born in the now generally accepted year 617, Bhr̥kutī must have been born the daughter of Aṃśuvarman's old age between 617 and the year of his death, 620/21, to be a suitable 16 year old bride for the Tibetan king. This is consistent with the 634/5 date (*vide rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me'-long* f. 46b) given as the time of Bhr̥kutī's arrival in Tibet (she founded the Potala palace in 635), and the texts' unanimous assertion that she married the king before her rival, the Chinese princess Wencheng Kongjo, arrived in 642. It has been suggested that Bhr̥kutī was the sister of Narendradeva, the great Licchavi king of Nepal (*vide Macdonald, Newar Art* p. 19, and also Regmi p. 186). Narendradeva was placed on the throne by Srong-btsan's invading Tibetan forces who in 642 defeated and killed Jīṣṇugupta (*vide Gedun Choephel, The White Annals*, p. 65), an Indian Avir King who had conquered the country in the wake of Aṃśuvarman's death. If Bhr̥kutī had come from Narendradeva, obviously she would not have been Aṃśuvarman's daughter and she could not have arrived in 634/5 or before the Chinese princess; however, it would have been highly expedient politically for Narendradeva to have given

a wife to Srong-btsan, the scourge of Central Asia. The only difficulty of accepting that Bhr̥kutī was Aṃśuvarman's daughter and that she arrived in Tibet in 634/5 is that Aṃśuvarman was not alive to negotiate the marriage settlement. A son of Aṃśuvarman ruled for a time during the troubled and undocumented period after his father's death, and he may provide the answer. But until more evidence is available there is no good reason to reject the evidence of so many Tibetan legends and deny Bhr̥kutī's Tibetan marriage.

According to an inscription found on Swayambhu Hill set up to commemorate the restoration of the Stūpa, in the year 1349 Nepal was invaded by an army of iconoclastic Muslims led by the Sultan Shams Ud-din of Bengal. On its short tour of spoilage, rape and plunder, this army burnt the *vihāra* town of Patan, the principal town of the Valley, broke the Paśupati *liṅgam* into four pieces and seriously damaged Swayambhunāth.

## 22. BĀGDWĀR

*Sangs-rgyas 'khor-ba-'jig-gi gnas* (The Power Place of the Buddha Krakucchanda): *Bāgdwār*: at this place the Buddha brought forth water from a rock with his index finger. It is called (Bāgdwār because the rock from which the water flows) is shaped like a bhaga (vagina).

This entry refers to a story from the Swayambhu Purāṇa: in the *tretāyuga*, the fourth Buddha, Krakucchanda, appeared on earth and came to Nepal to pay homage to Guhjeśworī, the Swayambhu Dharmadhatu and Mañjuśrī's Throne. He then went to Śankha Parvata (Śivapuri) to preach the *āryasatya*, the sublime truth, and many people came to hear him, all of them requesting to be ordained and initiated. Since there was no water on Śankha Parvata, Krakucchanda created a spring through the power of his voice, and this stream was called the Bāgmatī

(*Vak-matī* = stream of word or *mantra*). Its waters have the power to cure leprosy and to wash away sin. Krakucchanda gave Bāgmatī the freedom to flow where she would, and ordained that wherever another stream entered hers there should be a sacred bathing place and a spot where the Nāgas would be propitiated (a *tīrtha*). Then wherever the hair of Krakucchanda's disciples fell a spring sprung forth, springs which combined to form the Kesavatī (the Biṣṇumatī), the second major river of the Valley.

Bāgdwār is located on the north side of Śivapuri Hill. The Bāgmatī flows east to break through the ridge bounding the Valley on the north side at Sundarijal. The power places where ritual bathing is regularly performed along its course are Gokarṇa, Guhjeśworī, Gaurī Ghāt, Paśupati, Saṅkhamul, the confluence of Bāgmatī and Biṣṇumatī, and at Chobar. The twelve *tīrthas* of the twelve Nāgārājas are also located at confluences along the Bāgmatī and Viṣṇumatī; but the Nāgas are sadly neglected these days. Besides the etymology of *Bal-po gnas-yig* and that of the *Swayambhu Purāna* there is a third definition of Bāgdwār: because the water flows out through a gargoyle shaped like a tiger's mouth, Bāgdwār means 'Tiger-Gate'. Thus we have a triad of definitions: tantric, mahayanic and animistic.

### 23. THE GOLDEN TEMPLE OF PATAN

*Ye-rang shakya-thub-pa* (Patan Śākyamuni): *Shākyamuni Buddha*: there is a wonderful temple in the Bāhāl of *Shākyamuni Buddha*.

The Vihāra of Śākyamuni Buddha is known as Hiranyavarna Mahavihāra (The Golden Temple) in Sanskrit and Kwabāhāl in Newari. The *Kwāpā-deo* (principal image) is Śākyamuni Buddha arrayed in *Sambhogakāya* ornaments.

## 24. MAHABOUDHA OF PATAN

29 *Ye-rang sangs-rgyas stong sku* (The Thousand Buddhas of Patan):  
*Mahabuddha: this is an attractive stūpa made of stone and mud.*

*Stūpa* here refers to the Indian style of temple which has a tower or *stūpa* (*gaṇḍola*) above the shrine. The Mahaboudha Temple in Oku Bāhāl "is a replica of Vajrāsan (LT)". It was built in the 17th century (1601) by a certain Abhayarāja. Contemporary descendants of Abhayarāja belong to the Śākya caste.

"Concerning the Vajrāsan *gaṇḍola* structure (of Mahaboudha), an ancestor of the contemporary (i.e. 18th c.) *Pandit* Ramānanda, a Brahmin, in order to increase his power and wealth, actually went to the Holy Land of Vajrāsan (Bodh Gaya), and after he returned from his pilgrimage he built a replica of the Vajrāsan *gaṇḍola* (*dri gtsang khang*). The blessed stone image of Buddha brought from Vajrāsan itself resides here in the mode of enlightenment (*byang-chub-sems-po*)." (CN)

## 25. MĪNANĀTH AND MACCHENDRANĀTH OF PATAN

*Ye-rang A-khang U-khang: Minanāth and Machindharanāth: there is an amazing story of Nṛtyanāth's* (Gar-gyi dbang-phyug's) *emanation* (of Bungha Deo).

"In Nepal is the sublime Bu-kham temple in which is an image of Avalokiteśvara, naturally formed in sandalwood, as a five year old boy, red in colour. This sublime Bu-kham is well known in India while in Tibet the Sublime Swayambhunāth is extolled." (DS, folio 6a).

U-khang, Bhu-kham or 'Bu-kham is known as Bunga Deo or Karunāmāyā to the Newars; and also as Lokeśwara and Karu-juju (LT). To the Nepali Hindus he is known as Rāto

Matsyendranāth, the Guru of Gorakhnāth and the patron *siddha* of the Valley. His original residence is Bungamatī (hence Bungadeo), but for six months of the year he lives in Tabhāl in Patan. His image is of roughly hewn wood, 3' high, with detachable arms, a standing figure covered with clay, and painted red annually. His *ratha* festival is one of the most significant *jātrās* of the year. (Vide JL) Both A-kham and Bu-kham belong to the family of the Five Exalted Brothers (*Jo-bo mched lnga*), both being forms of Avalokiteśvara (CN) (*vide* Jana Bāhāl). The *Mani bka'-bum* dates the Four Exalted Brothers as 7th c. images.

"Some Tibetan chronicles, based on Newari oral legend, say that Bu-kham is actually 'Bu-kham ('bu = insect) since this Jowo was born from light emanating from the heart of A-kham in the form of an insect." (CN) This legend probably indicates the greater antiquity of the A-kham cult, a supposition supported by Newari legend and the fact that Mīnanāth is Macchendranāth's Guru. A-kham is Padma Nṛtyanāth, who takes central place in the *torāṇa* above the main door of the temple, and he is Jatādhari Lokeśvara indicating Avalokiteśvara as a *siddha*. His image is a small red Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, standing with his right hand in *varaḍa-mudrā* and his left hand holding a white lotus (*vide* JL).

Mīnanāth, like Gorakhnāth, is known to the Tibetans from Abhayadana Śrī's *Legends of the Eighty Four Mahasiddhas*. Mīnanāth was a Bengali fisherman who hooked a fish at the end of his line that was too heavy to handle. The fish pulled him into the ocean and swallowed him, and he lived in the fish's belly for twelve years. One day the fish swam close to Mahādeva who had settled himself at the bottom of the ocean in order to teach Umā, his Consort, a secret *dharma*. Mīnanāth overheard the instruction. Soon after the fish was caught and the *sādhaka* liberated from its belly. Mīna found that he had

gained *siddhi*, but like Gorakhnāth the ultimate realisation of *mahamudrā* escaped him.

There is a Nepali cycle of legends that treats the relationship between the three great Gurus of the Valley (Mīna, Gorakṣa or Gorakhnāth, and Macchendranāth) which is a lore unto itself. In the Indian tradition of the *siddhas*, Macchendranāth or Matsyendranāth can be identified with either Luipā, the fish-gut eater, or Mīnanāth. Unfortunately we do not have any authoritative biographical data that could form a framework for a coherent story based on the legends provided by the different Indian, Tibetan and Nepali cultural traditions.

#### 26. LAKE TAUDĀH

- 30 *mTsho ral-gri* (Knife Lake): *Ta'uda*: when the Kathmandu Valley was drained, the water remaining settled in this lake. *Pal-rgyal* (King Pala?) set out for the Nāga realm from here.

Lake Taudāh is the residence of the Nāgārāj Karkoṭaka.  
(CN)

The ancient name of this lake was Mādhāra (Kun-'dzin); in CN's time the Newars called it Dhanādaha (Gift-Lake) and the Tibetans Ral-gri (Knife-Lake); today it is called Taudāh (Great Lake). It is one mile south of the Chobar gorge on a broad terrace considerably above the river level. It is strange that earthquakes have not emptied it. The local belief is that the wealth of Karkoṭaka and his Nāgas lies concealed within the lake, which is of profound depth. It is said that the Rana overlords of the last century attempted to drain this lake to gain its treasure and were foiled only by its vast depth.

The story of Karkoṭaka and the Baid (Vēda = doctor) describes the Nāgārāj's palace. Karkoṭaka in the guise of a Brahmin sought help from a Baid to heal his wife's affliction of the eye. The Baid agreed to lend his assistance and accompanied the Nāga to Taudāh. "The pond was so deep, and the water so black, that it was frightful to look at. It was shaded by trees, large fish played in it, and it was covered with waterfowl. The Nāg told the Baid to shut his eyes, and in a moment he jumped with him into the water and they arrived at the Durbar of Nāg-rāj in Pātālpurī. The walls of the palace were of gold, the windows of diamond, the rafters and beams of sapphires, the pillars of topaz adorned with rubies. The darkness of the subterranean palace was dispelled by the light of large jewels in the heads of the Nāgas. They entered the palace, and saw the Nāginī, sitting on a throne studded with jewels of several sorts, shaded by three umbrellas of white diamonds, one above the other, and surrounded by beautiful Nāginīs. Karkoṭak, assuming his proper form, took the Baid by the hand, and gave him a seat near the throne." The Baid cured the Nāgarājā's wife's eye disease and was suitably rewarded, but before he left the palace he promised that his descendants would be equally good eye doctors. (Wright p. 179.)

## 27. YANGLESHO

*Yang-le-shod: Seg Nārāyana Sthan: on the road to Pharping is the great power place where the Second Buddha Mahaguru subdued gods, spirits and demons.*

"Yanglesho in the Kathmandu Valley is the power place of the Great Master Padma 'Byung-gnas (Padma Sambhava), and the name of this place is blown on the wind to all, to the wise and the ignorant in the valleys of Tibet, the Land of Snow Mountains. And since the Buddhists of Nepal accept this as

the power place of the Uḍḍiyāna *vajrācārya* Padmākara, they are in agreement with the Tibetans. The Hindus believe that this is the residence of Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, both the Nāga 'Remainder' (kLu lhag-ma-can) and Viṣṇu. However, the *Gubarjus* have only this legendary indication of the place which relates to the Buddhist ethos: "when the Great Master Padma 'Byung-gnas himself was sitting at this place in *samādhi*, through the Nāga's magical devices a plethora of venomous snakes appeared, hanging down from above; disturbed by this temptation, the Guru, with a fixed gaze, struck the Nāga on the crown of his head with a *vajrakīla* (*rdo-rje phur-bu*) and turned the menacing serpents into stone. Even today on the crag (overhanging the temple) many serpentine shapes are to be seen struggling downwards. From the trace of the *kīla* on the crown of the head of the central snake, water emerges at certain auspicious moments. The Hindus have many legends, supposedly edifying, which I have listened to with reservations in my mind; amongst the stories of Paraśuram, dGra-sta(?) Rāmaṇa (=Vāmaṇa?) one (or two?) of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, the emergence of water from the trace of the *kīla* is said to be the emergence (of milk?) from the cow which gives milk eternally," and so on....."The Great Master Padma 'Byung-gnas, having previously practised various ascetic *yogas* in cremation grounds, took to wandering, and at that time he received initiation from Vajra Vārāhī, attaining the Knowledge Holder of Spiritual Maturity (*rnam-par-smin-pa'i rig-'dzin*) and gaining victory over the 'devil of corporeality'. At the cave of Marātika (Heileshe, east of Okaldunga and south of Mt. Everest) he attained the Knowledge Holder of Immortality (*tshe-la dbang-ba'i rig-'dzin*), gaining victory over the devil 'Lord of Death'. At Yanglesho he attained the Mahamudrā Knowledge Holder (*phyag-chen rig-'dzin*), gaining victory over the 'devil of emotivity'. At Vajrāsan (Bodha Gaya) he attained the Knowledge Holder of Spontaneity (*lhun-gyi-grub-pa'i rig-'dzin*), gaining victory over the 'godling devil'. Amongst



these four Knowledge Holder attainments the mastery of Mahamudrā is the ultimate, unsurpassable, supreme attainment, and since the Guru achieved it in Yanglesho, this place is of equal significance to Vajrāsan (where Śākyamuni attained enlightenment) for the Guhyamantra rNying-ma-pa school." (CN)

In Guru Padma's biographical *bKa'-thangs* it is not made clear exactly how he divided his practice between the cave at Yanglesho and the Asura Cave; but it may be inferred that his *mahamudrā* practice is associated with the former, and the practice of Yang-dag and Phur-ba with the latter. This is an adaptation of the 5th chapter of the *bKa'-thang zangs-gling-ma*, a revealed text (*gter-ma*) of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'Od-zer (1124-1192 A.D.), which describes Guru Padma's accomplishment of the Mahamudrā Knowledge Holder, by means of Yang-dag and Phur-ba combined, at Yanglesho: "Then the Guru thought to himself, 'Although I have attained the Knowledge Holder of Immortality, there is no advantage unless I attain the Mahamudrā Knowledge Holder.' So he came to the meditation cave at Yanglesho between India and the Kathmandu Valley, to the Tree of Generosity that never withers in winter. Here he captivated a highly qualified *yoginī*, called Śākya Devī (Śākya bDe-mo), and began his practice with the *Maṇḍala of Glorious Yang-dag's Nine Lamps*. Obstacles immediately arose. The Nāgas, Rākṣasas and Sky-Demons conspired to cause a three year drought and famine in Nepal, Tibet and India, and plague struck both men and cattle. The appearance of Death provoked Guru Padma to the realisation that he must destroy the power of those demons if he was to attain *mahamudrā*, and giving an ounce of gold dust to his Nepali disciples Jila Jisad and Kun-la ku-bzhi, he sent a plea to his *pandita* Gurus in India to send the means to achieve the subjection of the obstructing spirits. He was instructed to apply to Prabhahasti, which he did, and he received the text of the *Phur-ba Vitotama*, which two men could barely carry. Immediately upon the appearance of the text in

Yanglesho, the ocean threw up gifts, the earth was suddenly fertile and clouds gathered in the sky. Rain fell upon the parched soil and simultaneously shoots, leaves, buds and fruit matured. By eating this fruit both men and cattle were cured of disease and the Kingdom was filled with happiness and laughter. At this time, Guru Padma had a vision of the retinues of both Yang-dag and Phur-ba. Attaining identity with Yang-dag he gained great *siddhi*, but obstacles arose too; then upon rDo-rje Phur-ba's entourage's manifestation all obstacles disappeared. Then practising their combined rites (*Yang-dag phur-ba 'brel-ba*) he attained Supreme *mahamudrā-siddhi*. Through that night, at evening, at midnight and before dawn, various spirits came to him offering their life-essence, and he bound them all to pledges to serve as rDo-rje Phur-ba's Logos Protectors (*bKa'-srung*). The Four bSe-mo Sisters, the Four Sho-na-ma Sisters, the Four Remati Sisters and the families of the Four *bSe-yi skyes-bu*, the Four Iron Beings (*lCags-kyi skyes-bu*), and the Four Conch Beings (*Dung-gi skyes-bu*) were all bound in this way. Thus Guru Padma overwhelmed the arrogant spirits of the Maṇḍala of Divine Form; he brought all sound and vibration of the Maṇḍala of Mantra under his control; and every mental construct and thought, and all of the five poisons, were rendered void as they arose into the Maṇḍala of the True Nature of Mind, into the reality of indeterminate, non-conceptual purity. In the plenum of innate purity he entered the Unchangeable Mind of Mahamudrā."

Another account tells of how Ting-lo-sman of the north, sTag-sman-zor-bar-gdong and Byang-phug bsTan-ma-bcu-gnyis sent a storm down upon Guru Rimpoche while he was staying at Yanglesho, paralysing his entourage with cold. The Guru pointed his fingers in *mudrā* of threat and a firestorm emanating from his fingers raged around the snow and shale mountains

where the gods dwelt. Then they all came to him offering him their lives. (Dudjom Rimpoche, *Yid-kyi mun sel*, p. 44a)

If you look through the lattice at the side of the Hindu Temple (underneath the hanging serpentine forms) you can see the golden image of the Nāga Śeṣa, Śeṣa Nārāyaṇ. This temple is forbidden to non-Hindus and zealously guarded. Outside the door (to the right of the temple and to the left of the Guru Rimpoche Cave) is a stone image of Viṣṇu's *avatār* Balarāma (Stobs-ldan). (CN)

Since CN's time the golden image of Śeṣa has disappeared and the temple is anything but well-guarded. The image of Śeṣa Nārāyaṇ (Newari: Seg Nārāyaṇ) is a wreath garlanded stone painted fire-engine red to the right of the central image of Nārāyaṇ. Śeṣa is 'The Remainder' of the cosmic ocean after Viṣṇu has created the universe. He is identical to Viṣṇu. Upon the dissolution of the universe he becomes Ananta, the Endless, upon which Viṣṇu reclines at the end of his 'day'. Here the Nāga is elevated to symbolise all Life Force, or the element water in its cosmic context where as the source of life it is pre-eminent. To the right of the temple are two stone friezes of Viṣṇu's *avatārs*, Balarāma and Viṣṇu Vikrānta (Vāmaṇa). In Guru Rimpoche's Cave the Guru's hand holes and head print can be seen in the roof. This cave is usually occupied by a *yogin* associated with Guru Sangye Dorje's retreat centre which is just to the north.

Ye-she mTsho-rgyal visited Śākya De-ma (Śākya Devī), Jilajipha (Jilaji-sad), and others at Yanglesho and Asura during her first visit to Nepal (ca. 780-90). Śākya Dema was Guru Padma's mystic partner. (TND) Her mother died at childbirth and she was left at the cremation ground after the cremation of her mother. She was reared by monkeys until Guru Padma discovered her and took her from Śankhu to Yanglesho to practise the Yang-dag and Phur-ba meditation rites. (UL) When

mTsho-rgyal met her she was a fully matured *yoginī* in her own right and passed on the precepts which she had received. (TND)

28. PHARPING BAJRA JOGINĪ

*Pham-thing rDo-rje rNal-'byor-ma: Pharping Bajra Jogini: this image of Vajra Yoginī is the embodiment of pure awareness (jñāna, ye-shes), and is a speaking Yoginī. She is an image of the heart-vision of Pham-thing-pa and others.*

"In the vicinity of Yanglesho is the Speaking Vārāhī of the Indian Pham-thing-pa." (SK)

"Close to the village of the Indian Pham-thing in a temple is an image of Vajra Yoginī. This is Indra Khecarī who defeats all opposition. However, her colour needs to be white while this image is red. Drukpa Rimpoche (the 6th 'Brug-chen) told me that although this image was made at the time of Pham-thing-pa it was restored and reconsecrated by a Buddhist *Vajrācārya* at a later date." (CN)

Pham-thing Yoginī, Uddhapāda Yoginī, Indra Yoginī, or Nīl Tārā (to the Hindus), call her what you will, is red in colour with one foot firmly planted upon Maheśvara on the ground, while the other is raised straight into the sky pulled up by her left arm which presents a skull-cup to her mouth; a *khaṭvāṅga* (a trident protruding from a skull on a stick) rests on her shoulder; and in her right hand she holds a hooked knife (*gri-gug, kartikā*) slightly away from her side. To her right and left are Bāghinī and Singhinī, the Tiger and Lion Headed *yoginīs*. Another three images with identical iconography are found in the N.E. corner of the same first floor of the Bāhāl.

CN believed that the Nāgārāj Śeṣa's epithet *Phanathinggu*, 'the Nine Hooded Cobra' had been corrupted into Pham-thing,

which was then (i.e. 18th c.) the name of the village or district, and that 'Indian' Pham-thing-pa took his name from his birthplace. Presumably, 'Pham-thing' has been corrupted into 'Pharping' according to this theory. (But Regmi gives 'Phanappi' as the medieval name of the village.) We can speculate that Pham-thing-pa gained his epithet 'Indian' from Indian ancestry or, more likely, from a prolonged sojourn in India itself. Or perhaps the Tibetans made no distinction between India and Nepal and called him Indian Pham-thing-pa to distinguish him from Tibetans, because Pham-thing could be a Tibetan name. This great *yogin* of the *Guhyasamāja*, *Sambara* and *Hevajra* traditions was the spiritual son of Naropa who may have spent some time in the Kathmandu Valley.

Pham-thing-pa lived in the 11th century and was renowned as one of the great teachers of his day. He studied under Naropa for 9 years, receiving the transmission of the *Sambara* and *Hevajra-tantras* amongst others. His brother Dus-'khor-ba studied under Naropa for 5 years and his youngest brother Thang-chung-pa was also a practising *tantrika*. (BA) Roerich adds that Pham-thing-pa was also known as *Vāgīśvarakīrti* (Ngag-gi dbang-phyug grags-pa); that his remains are said to be preserved at Lo-chia-t'un in Kan-su where he died on his return from the Five Peaked Mountain Paradise of Mañjuśrī (Wut'ai shan); and that pilgrims visit the village of Phambi (Pharping) near Kathmandu where descendants of Pham-thing-pa live.

## 29. ASURA CAVE

*Asura-yi brag-phug: Gorshanātha Gūphā* (Gorakhnāth's Cave): in the upper meditation cave of Yanglesho, *rDo-rje Phur-ba* (Vajrakīlaya) destroyed obstacles and obstructing spirits (in the meditation of Guru Padma) who gained mahamudrā-siddhi there. This place possesses the blessings of supreme Buddha Speech.

"In the upper meditation cave of Yanglesho I began the process of becoming aware of Glorious Yang-dag Heruka in order to obtain the relative powers and the ultimate compassion of *mahamudrā*. But the suffering of the people of India and Nepal became such an obstacle to the consummation of my meditation that I begged my Gurus for the means to allay the people's suffering. The text of the *Phur-ba Vitotama* was sent me. Immediately after it arrived in Nepal the obstacles to my *sādhana*'s progress were removed, and I attained the relative and ultimate compassion of *mahamudrā*." (CL) This record of Guru Padma's practice in Yanglesho is a virtual precis of the *Zangs-gling-ma* description (*vide* Yanglesho). It seems most likely that Guru Padma performed his *mahamudrā* retreat in the Asura Cave, the Upper Cave of Meditation of Yanglesho, as the lower cave near Śeṣa Nārāyaṇ Sthān appears geomantically ill-placed for a prolonged retreat, it being entirely shaded by the crags above it and trees around it, and very damp, facing north, never receiving the light of the sun. However, although the texts are ambiguous and in conflict, it should not be dismissed that he practised in the lower cave.

"This is the place where (Guru Padma) accepted the pledges of the Twelve bStan-ma to protect Tibet: with regard to the Tantric rites of the rNying-ma School, on the occasion of protecting the essence of the teaching, /In coming hither from India/ Or going hence from Nepal,/ In the Asura Cave /The Master Padma 'Byung-gnas/ And gLang-chen dPal-gyi Seng-ge/ Upon the *yantra* Throne of the Ten Spheres (*zhing-chen snol-pa'i gdan*)/ An offering of 'red water' (blood) was prepared / And the *vajra* was turned in the hand;/ The secret initiatory name was uttered / And they (the demons) were absorbed in the level of Vajradhara." Thus the description in ritual terms of the subjection of spirits, which Guru Padma performed not only in Yanglesho but in all parts of Tibet before beginning the building of Samye and attempting to convert the Bon-po Shamans

to the Buddhist *dharma*. "This is also the place where in the past many of the greatest of *siddhas* coming to and from India, Nepal and Tibet on foot would celebrate the *Gaṇacakra* rites and other *pūjās*." (CN)

The name of the spirits called Phur-srung (Phur-ba Protectors), subjugated by Guru Padma at Asura, is significant in its implication that the *phur-ba* was an important local spiritual force. (Dudjom Rimpoche, *Yid-kyi mun-sel*, p. 40b)

"I have heard Drukpa Rimpoche (the 6th 'Brug-chen) say that in the eye of a Knowledge Holder there is an entrance to the path which leads to the realm of the Asuras (anti-gods) from here, so that (by a *yogin* entering their realm) the Suras and Asuras can be converted." (CN)

"The Hindus have made this place into a power place of Viṣṇu; but inside the small cave shaped like a lion there is no image or symbol (of the god) whatsoever. However, outside the door is a horizontal stone, and carved in that stone are the complete set of Viṣṇu's symbols, his footprints, his *cakra* and sword etc." (CN)

In the Asura cave are images of Guru Padma, Yang-dag Heruka and rDo-rje Phur-ba. In the rock above your head as you enter is a bulge seemingly about to split open: the story has it that quite recently a *yogin* was on the point of discovering one of the many Hidden Treasures (*gter-ma*) concealed by Guru Padma in the Asura Cave, when realising that the time was not auspicious for the disclosure of this secret, he broke his meditation, and the rock, which was about to break and give up its treasure, regained its intractability.

Outside, to the left of the entrance, is the handprint of Gorakhnāth; and, likewise, the footprints in the rock in front of the entrance are said by some to be those of Gorakhnāth.

At some distance below the cave is a *pīṭha* of Gaṇeś where the Remover of Obstacles can be seen struggling to free himself from the rock, while to his right is a small, exquisite self manifest image of Tārā. In the cliff behind the cave the magical mineral *jong-zhi* can be found. This semi-crystallised form of calcium is employed in *rasayāna yogins'* alchemical, dietary *sādhana*, & also by naturopathic and ayurvedic healers.

### 30. DAKṢIN KĀLĪ

*Lha-mo nag-mo* (Mahākālī): *Dhakina Kāli*: this fearful cremation ground is close to Pharping. The practitioner of 'Severence' (gcod) will certainly find his ambiance here.

"To the south-west of the town of Patan, not far from Thankot, there is a terrifying, predatory image of Ma-gcig 'dod-khams bdag-mo (Kāmalokeśvarī, The One Mother, Queen of the Sensual Realm) called Dakṣiṇa Kālī." (LT)

Dakṣiṇ Kālī is the 'Southern Kālī'. There are four principal Kālīs in the Valley according to the classical Hindu lists: Vatsala, Mahākālī, Dakṣiṇ Kālī and Guyhakālī. Dakṣiṇ Kālī is patroness of the village of Pharping, but the most popular object of blood sacrifice in the entire Valley. The main shrine by the river is forbidden to non-Hindus; on the hillside above it is the site of a *dhūni* and the temple in which Tibetans pay homage.

### 31. KATOWA

*Dang-po chu-bshar-ba'i gnas* (the place of the first gorge): *Kaṭowa*: south of Pharping is the place where Mañjughoṣa caused the water (of the original lake) to drain away.

The Kaṭowa gorge is where the River Bāgmatī breaks through the Śivalik range, a range rising to 8000' that separates Kathmandu Valley from India and is responsible for its cultural isolation and moderate monsoon.



## 32. THE BOUDHNĀTH STŪPA

*mChod-rten bya-rung-kha-shor* (Chorten Jarung Khashor): *Bahuda*: a long time ago Jadzimo (Bya-rdzi-mo) and her four sons built this stūpa with money saved from their wages. When the stūpa was consecrated 100 million Buddhas dissolved into it, and it has the glory of being filled with their sacred relics (ring-bsrel). Whatever prayer is offered to it is fulfilled, and if you meditate upon your personal deity (yi-dam) here, at the time of your death you will be reborn in *Sukhāvātī*. Here is the cremation ground *Spontaneously Amassed* (Lhun-grub brtsegs-pa), one of the Eight Great Cremation Grounds.

The Tibetans call the Boudhnāth Stūpa simply Chorten, The Stūpa, or Chorten Chempo, the Great Stūpa, or Jarung Khashor. This last name refers to the legend of its origin, which is related in the *Padma bKa'-thang* and also, at much greater length, in a *gter-ma* discovered by Rig-'dzin Yol-mo-pa Śākya-bzang-ṅo in 1518. This revealed text, called *The Legend of the Great Stūpa* (*mChod-rten-chen-po bya-rung kha-shor-gyi lo-rgyus*), tells the story of the whore who wounded the pride of the wealthy and powerful by building a magnificent monument to the Buddha with, of course, the king's permission. When the jealous lords petitioned the king to have the Stūpa demolished, the king replied that 'once authority to build has been given it cannot be rescinded', which is the implied meaning of 'Jarung Khashor' (*bya-rung kha-shor*). But the story is related in *Samye* by Guru Padma who is asked by King Khri-Srong lDe-btsan to tell him and the other disciples what the fruit of the aspiration of the builders of the Jarung Khashor Stūpa was. And by relating the prayers of the benefactor Jadzima's sons, the past rebirths of the principal actors in the drama of spreading the Doctrine in Tibet - Guru Padma, the King, Śāntarakṣita and sBa gSal-s nang - is described. When these four meet in Nepal and Tibet, their encounters are described as reunions. Two chapters in the

*gter-ma* are devoted to prophecy, predictions concerning Tibet in general and the Great Stūpa in particular. Guru Padma foresees the ruin of the Stūpa and its restoration by a tulku who fulfils certain spiritual qualifications. According to CN this tulku is none other than Śākya - bzang-po himself who in the 16th century discovered the Stūpa in ruins and undertook to restore it to its original state of glory. In 1505 he contributed wealth for the restoration of Swayambhu (SK). Again, according to CN, it was Śākya-bzang-po's third reincarnation, the *gTer-ston* *bsTan-'dzin* Nor-bu who propagated the doctrine he propounded in his first existence as a realised emanation of Guru Padma, that the Stūpa was attached to the Spontaneously Amassed cremation ground, one of the Eight Great Cremation Grounds.

"It is written that (Jarung Khashor) is one of the eight *stūpas* built at the Eight Great Cremation Grounds of the Eight 39 Ma-mo (the Eight Mother Goddesses = *aṣṭamātrīkā*) of Kāla Bhairava's retinue when long ago Bhairava was vanquished by Cakrasambara... ..Not far from the Stūpa is a cremation ground lake called Nāga Talāpa; on the banks of that is a cremation ground tree; very close to the Stūpa is a cremation ground fire, that has remained alight for ever and a day, called Agamātha; and ordinary people have seen clouds of *Ḍākinīs* from time to time in the vicinity of the Stūpa. For these and other reasons this is described as a cremation ground *stūpa*." (LT)

Possibly, the tree mentioned above is the *bodhivṛkṣa*, the peepal tree, outside the main gate of Guhjeśworī. Upstream from here is a broad lake bed to the north of the Bāgmatī. The fire, Agamātha, is perhaps the eternal fire of Śankhu Bajra Joginī.

"In the Spontaneously Amassed Cremation ground in Nepal dwells the blood-sucking serpent-witch Kaśmalī. Surrounding the *stūpa* are funereal birds, sepulchral creatures, a cremation

ground, ghouls brandishing skeletons, and creatures of the tombs. A flashing cloud of airy regions lifts heaps of men, fire, skins and pulverised organs; a Yakṣa vomits tigers, wolves and other wild beasts. Here Padma subdues the eight classes of demons, reduces the three worlds, subjugates the three domains, and turns the wheel of *dharma* for five years. Here he is known as Seng-ge sgra-sgrogs, He Who Teaches With A Lion's Roar." (Adapted from UL p. 176 ff.)

"We definitely accept that the Protectress who is at the front side (the north side of the Stūpa) is Puṣkā, red and gold, sucking up entrails and devouring them, and that she is one of the Eight Ma-mo of this power place." (CN)

- 32 The Ma-mo (*mātrkā*) Puṣkā or Kaśmalī (UL), known also as Pukāsī, is to be found in the shrine opposite the residence and shrine room of the Abbot of Boudha, the Chini Lama. She squats with a corpse on her knees devouring its intestines. She is treated with great respect by her devotees, most of whom are Bhotiyas, Tamangs and Tibetans, and therefore initiated into the Maṇḍala of the Eight Ma-mo attendant upon the Cremation Ground. By the Newars she is known by the generic name Ajimā (grandmother), a name applied particularly to the *aṣṭamātrkā* but also to other fierce goddesses. Some Newars identify her with Hārītimā, a demoness who inflicted smallpox upon children until converted by Śākyamuni preaching
- 12 the significance of Swayambhu at Puran Swayambhu (Vasubandhu's Stūpa). Thereafter she fulfilled her vow to remain within her shrines that were located close to the Buddha's temples, and so long as she was propitiated she would refrain from inflicting disease. In Swayambhu, and likewise in Katiśimbhu, she appears in her usual form of a benign mother with children on her knees. The Hindus call her Sitalā. Cāmundā is the *aṣṭamātrkā* of the Hindus who is depicted devouring a corpse's guts. Whatever her name this goddess is a force to propitiate to prevent

her malicious devices infecting one rather than to coerce and employ her *siddhi*. Regmi agrees that the Boudhnāth Stūpa, otherwise called Khāsti, has been associated with Bhotiyas from a very early time. He suggests that the name Khāsti is derived from Khāsā, a town near Kyirong inside Tibet (Regmi, D.R., *Medieval Nepal*, Pt.1, p. 571). We know that in the 17th-19th centuries the Tibetan government had some jurisdiction over the Stūpa and that it has been, and is still, worshipped principally by Tamangs, Gurungs and other Bhotiyas. When the 13th Karmaṇa visited Nepal in 1723 he first paid homage to Boudhnāth. The 6th Zhamarpa also went first to Boudha in his 1614 visit.

The Newars also call the Boudha Stūpa Khās or Khāsti, and their story of the Stūpa's origin is quite different from that of the Tibetans. The implication of *The Legend of the Great Stupa* is that the Stūpa had been built many generations before the birth of Guru Padma, Khri-Srong lDe-btsan and the others, in the *dvāpara-yuga* at the time of Kāśyapa, since his relics are enshrined therein, but there is no more specific intimation of its birth date. The Newari story fixes the century of its foundation, the 6th century, because it was the great King Mānadeva, the military conqueror and patron of the arts, whose deeds are recorded on the Chaṅgu Nārāyaṇ pillar, who built it. Mānadeva, one of the greatest Licchavi Kings, died in 505 A.D. (Regmi).

During the reign of Vikramajit, the Nārāyaṇa Hiti, the fountain opposite the old gate of the new palace, ran dry, and a drought struck the land. The King consulted his astrologers, and was informed that the gods required the death of a virtuous man, such propitiation being the only means to end the drought. The King searched his kingdom but discovered that only he and his son qualified as victims. The old king decided that he himself must die, and instructed his son to decapitate with

one stroke the shrouded form that he found lying beside the Nārāyaṇa Hiti on a certain moonless night. The son, Mānadeva, obeyed his father's command, and was horrified to see the head of his own father fly up from the corpse and away in the direction of Śankhu. The parricide found his father's head at the Bajra Joginī Temple, where the Dākinī told him that the only way to expiate his sin was to let fly a cock, and wherever the bird landed he should build a reliquary *stūpa* for his father's remains. The cock alighted at Boudha. Some say that the Great Stūpa itself is Mānadeva's penitential monument; others that the largest of the five *stūpas* to the east of the Great Stūpa is Vikramajit's reliquary.

- 31 "On the east side of (Jarung Khasor) is a *stūpa* enshrining the relics of Rang-rig-ras-pa." (SK) Rang-rig-ras-pa was a highly respected Lama of the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* school who lived in the 17th century. The Chini Lama believes that he was a Khams-pa, the 5th and last of his line of incarnations and that his remains were interred in the largest of the *stūpas* on the east side. Chini Lama had a vision of Rang-rig-ras-pa who instructed him in tantric practice. The Chini Lama also believes that the second largest of the *stūpas* to the east is the reliquary of rTogs-ldan Śākya Śrī, the famous Lama active in western Tibet during the last century, who restored the Boudha Stūpa at one time. Śākya Śrī was the Guru of the late Abu Rimpoche's teacher.

### 33. CHĀBĀHIL STŪPA

*Sa-lhag rdo-lhag-gi mehod-rten* (The *stūpa* of Earth and Stone Remnants): *Cabhel ko cāyite*: this *stūpa* was constructed from the gloriously consecrated earth and stone remnants of the Boudha Stūpa.

The Chābāhil Stūpa is of great antiquity. The Newar tradition asserts that it was built by the Mauryan Emperor

Dharma Aśoka's daughter, Cārumatī, who stayed behind to marry a local prince when Aśoka visited the Valley in the 3rd century B.C. Cārumatī's husband, Devapāla, is credited with building Deopatan. A very early Licchavi inscription attests 36 to the age of the site and an early Licchavi standing Buddha and a later Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara are important monuments to exquisite Licchavi craftsmanship. The name Mañju Bāhāl indicates that in centuries past a Bāhāl existed around the Stūpa; today the Stūpa area is known as Bhagawān Thān. To the west of the Stūpa is the Cārumatī Vihāra of which Dīpaṅkara Buddha is the *kwāpā-deo*. Regmi calls the Stūpa Dhañju Caitya, perhaps a misreading of 'Mañju' (Regmi, D.R. *Medieval Nepal*; p. 564).

#### 34. GUHJEŚWORĪ

*Phag-mo mngal-chu* (Vārāhī's Womb-Fluid): *Guhyashwari* (Mistress of the Secret): *the Stupa of Self-Sprung Wisdom, Swayambhu, appeared upon the pollen bed of a flower growing from the womb of Vajra Vārāhī; and because here is the root of Swayambhu, which is beautified by so many kinds of trees, this root is said to be the umbilical cord which nurtures Kathmandu. Beside (the Temple of Guhjeśworī) flows the Bāgmatī, one of the four great rivers (of the Valley), the auspicious waters of which purify all sin and obscuration.*

"Near Paśupati is a symbol of Umā called Guhjeśwarī where there is also a spring which has the taste and smell of *chung* (fermented grain liquor)." (LT).

In the central shrine of the temple complex are two circular wells with rims slightly raised above the floor. The larger and shallower well is employed in rites of worship as the symbol of Umā, the *yoni*, while the other well, supposedly 30' deep, and smaller in diameter, is the receptacle of *chung*, *arak* and red powdered water (blood or a substitute)

offered in worship. A spring overflows onto the temple floor from this well, an outflow that is considered to be the sexual nectar of the *Yoginī*-Goddess herself.

"On the banks of the *Vākmatī* (*Bāgmatī*), the *gSung-ldan-ma*, is *Guhyaśvarī* (Sanskrit), which means the Secret Goddess, (*gSang-ba'i dbang-phyug*, where 'Secret' means 'Private' as in 'Private parts'), a sound that has been corrupted so that both Indians and Nepalis pronounce it *Gutiśvarī* (The Rectum Goddess or Hidden Goddess), and thus the Tibetan's say '*Vārāhī*'s Womb-Fluid' (*Phag-mo mngal-chu*)." (CN)

These days the Nepalis pronounce it *Guhjeśworī*. The ambiguity of the name is compounded by the Hindu legend of *Satī*: it was the anus or rectum (*gūda*) of *Satī*'s corpse that fell here while *Śiva* was flying around the sub-continent insane with grief, allowing parts of the decomposing corpse of his beloved wife to fall at the 51 *Śākta pīṭhasthānas*. However, it is clear that at *Guhjeśworī* the Buddhists worship the 'lotus' as a symbol of *Vajra Vārāhī*, red in colour, the Consort 10 of *Cakrasambara*, or as *Nairātma* (*bDag-med-ma*), blue in colour, the Consort of *Hevajra*. *Guhjeśworī* is also the Bird Headed *Ḍākinī* (*vide Paśupati*). In the *tantra* and iconography of the Four *Ḍākinīs* as found in *Bidjeśworī Bāhāl*, *Guhjeśworī* is the Two Headed *Vajra Vārāhī*. The Hindus worship the *yoni* as the symbol of *Umā* and *Parvatī*, the Consort of *Śiva* and *Bhairav*. *Karmācārya Śreṣṭha* priests are the custodians of the shrine and strictly enforce the exclusion of non-Hindus.

The lotus seed thrown by *Vipaświ* Buddha from *Nāgārjuna* Hill fell at this spot, and from that seed bloomed the vast lotus upon which the magical flame of the *Swayambhu Dharmadhatu* shone forth. After the lake was drained, *Mañjuśrī*, inspecting the lake bottom, discovered the root of this lotus, and having received a visitation of *Guhyeśvarī*, he built the first shrine

to her in the form of a triangular *yantra*. Then he covered the root, and taking earth and stone from Guhjeśworī he made the first support for the Swayambhu Lotus (*Swayambhu Purāna*).

### 35. PAŚUPATI

*Lha-chen dbang-phyug-gi gnas* (The Power Place of Lhachen Wongchuk-Mahādeva Iśvara): *Paśupati Sthan*: Mahādeva came from the realm of the gods (Kailāś) and established this residence called Gu-lang (by the Tibetans). A bull manifest in stone can be found there, and nearby is the path to hell and other marvels.

"In the middle of the town of Gu-lang is Paśupati, the Lord of the Beasts, a self-manifest *lingam* of Maheśvara with four faces within an extremely beautiful pagoda style temple full of all kinds of offerings. To one side of the temple is an iron *triśūl* as high as a two-storied house. Since blood sacrifice is made to both Gutiśwarī and Paśupati, they are both very terrible gods. It is said that long ago the *siddha* Jālandharipā (Gorakhnāth's Guru) revealing his psychic energy, burst the Paśupati *lingam* apart through magical means. Unquestionably that was supposed to have occurred here, but I do not know whether the *lingam* is actually cracked or broken because it is covered and obscured by many ornaments and one is not permitted to go close to it. However, making the necessary enquiries as to whether the Paśupati *lingam* is the original self-manifest symbol or a substitute, nowadays some people will say that the Siddha's curse destroyed it long ago and that at a certain time it was put into a wooden Buddhist *stūpa*, so that, covered up, it was preserved. Whatever happened, this power place is immensely famous, and each year at a certain time of a certain month (Mārg kṛṣṇa 13) a very large number of Indian people congregate to perform worship (on Mahaśivarātri). This custom is still very much alive." (CN)



"East of Kathmandu and between Kathmandu and Bhaktapur is the village of Debapatan (Deopatan) and this place is numbered among the Twenty Four Great Power Places as the northern spoke of the Wheel of Buddha Body (*sKu'i dkyil-'khor*) called Grihadebada (Gr̥hadeva), or, as it is more widely known from the *Śrī Hevajra-maharājātāntra*, Naipāla. The Paśupatiśwara *lingam*, which is raised as a symbol for worship of Mahādeva, who is protector of the land of the Nepalis, is called Gu-lang by the Tibetans." (LT)

In the *Cakrasambhara-tantra* and in the *kLong-chen sNying-thig* tradition Gr̥hadeva is listed amongst the 24 *pīṭhasthānas* as the external reference symbolic of the anus, or the anal nerve, in the *Yogin's* identification with the Dākinī, and as the northern spoke of the Wheel of the Buddha's Body. Satī's anus or rectum landed at Guhjeśworī.

CN affirms that the essential mark of a great power place is a spontaneously arisen *lingam* and *yoni* (*svayambhu lingam* and *yoni*), and since both Paśupati and Guhjeśworī possess these self-manifest symbols, like Ti-se (Kailāś) and Pretapuri Tsāritra (Tsa-ri) in Tibet, they are indeed the heart of the paradise *upachandoha* (*yul-chen-po nye-ba'i tshandoha*) that is the Kathmandu Valley (*vide* Intro.). However, CN continues, while the exotericists understand the gross symbolism of the *lingam* and *yoni* as the passive and active symbols of power, and worship them as Mahādeva and Umā (or Parvatī) and are their slaves, the esotericists understand the ultimate nature of the symbols and worship that as Śrī Cakrasambhara and Vajra Vārāhī in indissoluble union (*yab-yum*) and so control Mahādeva and Umā (this is a nice non-sectarian interpretation, as surely the Nāth *yogins*, for instance, are esotericists). The Buddhist *tantrika* who takes refuge in the symbol rather than its absolute reality breaks his SAMAYA. Thus Guhjeśworī must be realised to be either the Vagīna of Vajra Vārāhī or the

Dākinī Queen, the Bird-Headed Yoginī (one of Cakrasambara's protecting *yoginīs*) who is the spirit of the earth, a dance of thoroughly enjoyable material illusion, accompanied by her vast retinue (*sa-la spyod-pa'i dpa'mo'i dbang-phyug bya-gdong-ma 'khor grangs-med-pa*). In mythological terminology, in the distant past, long long ago, Caṇḍa Bhairav and Umā projected themselves as their *liṅgam* and *yoni* symbols into the 24 *pīṭhasthānas*. Later, Glorious Heruka Yab-yum, Cakrasambara and Vajra Vārāhī, with their boundless retinue arrived at these power places and vanquished the god and goddess, blessing the *liṅgam* and *yoni* as themselves. (CN) In metaphysical terminology, the fundamental, dualistic principles of existence, *Śiva-śakti*, passive and active, male and female, are dominated and controlled by the realisation of the essential Emptiness (*Śūnyatā*) of all phenomena, and in the consequent unitary reality, passivity becomes skilful means (*upāya*) and activity becomes insight (*prajñā*) - compassion (Heruka) and wisdom (Vārāhī) coincident (*yuganaddha*). In historical terms, to infer from this passage that Śaivism preceded Buddhism into Tantra (it probably did not) would be an overly simplistic interpretation. But the ancient orthodox Śaivite and the Śākta cults were in existence when the *siddhas* popularised the *Sambara* and other Buddhist *tantras*. Thus the *Sambara sādḥaka* would utilise the already existing facilities at the 24 (or 108) power places (*pīṭhasthānas*). Further, we may surmise that the geomantic qualities of these *pīṭhas* had marked them from time immemorial as foci for all hues and persuasions of rishis, *yogins* and contemplatives, the majority of whom were not Buddhist monks.

In answer to Chos-kyi Nyi-ma's question as to whether the present Paśupati *liṅgam* is the original image or the one broken by Jālandharipā (whose name derives from the *pīṭha* of Jālandhara, Mandi, H.P., India), an inscription at Paśupati records the consecration of a new image to replace that broken

into three parts by the Muslims in their 14th c. invasion (*vide* Regmi, D.R. *Medieval Nepal Pt.1*, p. 316). Regmi also claims that the original 3rd century *lingam* lies amidst ruins close to the sanctuary. I have been unable to confirm this.

Chos-kyi Nyi-ma uses the name Gu-lang to describe the village of Deopatan which surrounds the Paśupati shrine and which was built by the Emperor Dharma Aśoka's son-in-law. Others call Paśupatināth himself Gu-lang. In Tibet Gu-lang was a deity who blessed women with conception, a boon often begged of Paśupati by local women.

The four faced *lingam* (*caturmukha-lingam*) is said to suppress Siva's *jyotir-lingam*, the endless pillar of fire Śiva projected so that in the contest between Viṣṇu and Brahmā to find the height and depth of it, Brahmā could falsely claim that he had reached the top, thus proving himself unworthy of worship. As proof of the tolerance in Newari religion, the four faces of the *caturmukha-lingam* of Paśupatināth are generally believed to represent Śiva, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Buddha. Orthodox Brahmins, however, believe that the four faces represent the four *vedas*.

The path to hell is said by local people to begin at a door in the cliff between Ārje Ghāt and Sūrje Ghāt, or on the flank of the hill Kailāś Parbat near a *sādhu's kuti* (meditation hut) where a spiral stairway descends to a brick wall. Overly zealous Buddhists say that it exists only in the minds of *ātmavādins*.

### 36. TILOPA AND NAROPA'S CAVES

33 *Telopa'i phug-pa*: Ārje Ghat Gaṇeshsthan (Ārya Ghāt): here (Mañjuḥṣa) cut a third gorge. Later it became known for Telopa and Naropa's Cave.

Two hundred yards up river from Paśupatināth, on Sūrje Ghāt (Sūrya Ghāt), are the two *siddhas'* caves, amongst others, carved out of the living rock. The river cuts through a ridge that would have contained a lake spreading east beyond Śankhu.

Ārje Ghāt is immediately below the Paśupati Shrine; this is the *ghāt* upon which the Kings of Nepal, Paśupatināth's principal votaries, are cremated. Gaṇesthān is a few yards down stream and enshrines seven images of Gaṇapati.

### 37. CHOBAR GORGE

*Cowar: the second gorge was cut at Chobar on the road to Taudah Lake.*

On the west side of the gorge are several meditation caves. An enclosed overhang forms a *kuti* where Gorakhnāth himself (or one of his lineage) is reputed to have meditated. Rwa Lotsawa is also said to have meditated in one of these caves. Behind the caves is a labyrinth of tunnels that penetrate to an underground lake. There are no images within. One of the tunnels that are now bricked up leads up to the Adhināth Temple of Karunāmāyā/Macchendranāth in the Co Bāhāl of Chobar Village high on the ridge. Gaṇeś dug it after he had been omitted from a meeting of the gods at the Bāhāl. Leaving his Jalavināyaka residence at the south end of the gorge, he arrived enraged at the centre of the convocation and demanded an explanation of the slight.

Rwa Lotsawa rDo-rje grags-pa (Rwa-lo) was one of the luminaries of the *phyi-dar*, the later spreading of the *dharma* in Tibet. He came to Nepal to receive initiation from 'Ba'-ro (probably Bharo, an honorific title) who gave him the Vajra Vārāhī and Vajra Bhairava transmissions. 'Ba'-ro lived in the Nyi-ma stong (Thousand Suns) Vihāra in Patan. Rwa-lo defeated the heaviest of 300 Hindu *yogins* at Swayambhu; and he did *pūjā*

and meditation at Yanglesho, Jarungkhashor, Godavari, Tsha-ba tsha-shod (Gung-thang), Namō Buddha, Maṇicūṛa and Swayambhu. This was in the 11th century. (*Rwa-lotsawa rnam-thar*.)

### 38. GOKARṆA

*The fourth gorge was cut at Gokarṇa on the road to Yolmo and one league from the Boudha Stūpa.*

### 39. CHEMCHOK HERUKA

*Che-mchog Heruka (The Supreme Sovereign Heruka): Bisorup: this image is found at Gu-lang (Paśupati).*

Viśorūp is enshrined in a temple courtyard two hundred yards east of the Śivapuri Kailāś complex on the hill between Paśupati and Guhjeśworī. The central image is of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa; but since Viśvarūpa is taken by Buddhists to express the universal, manifest, inchoate form of divinity, the deity is conceived of in various ways. Thus the Tibetans worship this image as Che-mchog, and some Bhutanese as the Thousand Armed Avalokiteśvara (*Thugs-rje-chen-po dug lnga rang-grol*). Che-mchog is one of Guru Padma's *sGrubs-pa bKa'-brgyad* Deities.

"To the south of Boudhnāth is... Orgyen's Throne and his *sādhana* spring." (SK) The exact location of the Lhun-grub brtsegs-pa Cremation Ground where Guru Padma of Orgyen was transmogrified into Senge sGra-sgrogs is not known. CN mentions a cremation ground tree with an image of Gorakhnāth in its vicinity; this could possibly be the tree near the *nāth yogins'* *ākāra* in Śivapuri Kailāś, or, alternatively, the tree outside the entrance to Guhjeśworī. Both these trees are close to the Che-mchog Temple. It is likely that the Che-mchog shrine is Orgyen's Throne.

## 40. MANICŪRA STHĀN

*Grub-thob brgyad-cu'i gnas* (The Power Place of the Eighty Siddhas):  
*Maṇicutā sthān*: the place where the righteous king Maṇicūṛa (gTsug-na  
 Nor-bu) made a gift of his jewel, and the power place of the Eighty  
 Siddhas, is called Maṇilinga, the jewel that was sawed off (from his  
 head). You will see many bathers in the river.

"To the north of Śankhu is a place blessed by the Eighty  
 Siddhas." (SK)

"I have heard that in the neighbourhood of Śankhu is a  
 cave of the Eighty Four Mahasiddhas, and images etc." (LT)

"On the top of the mountain behind (Śankhu Bajra Joginī)  
 is what is known as Maṇilinga. The name of the mountain is  
 'Jewel Pile' (Nor-bu brtsegs-pa'i ri, Maṇicūr Dāra), and long  
 ago on this peak the Bodhisattva Maṇicūḍa (Nor-bu'i gtsug),  
 after sitting in *samādhi* for a very long time, cut off his  
 jewelline *jata* (the protuberance that emerges from a Buddha's  
 fontanelle at enlightenment) on one occasion; this offering  
 turned into stone, and it is now called Maṇilinga (Jewel  
 Phallus). Further, not far away from the Maṇilinga is a  
 waterfall called Maṇiloḥa (Bloody Jewel), because blood which  
 poured forth from the Bodhisattva's crown when he performed  
 his great act of generosity mingled with the waters there."  
 (CN)

There is no single cave here in which the 84 Mahasiddhas  
 gathered; there are four or five caves located between the top  
 of the Maṇicūṛa Dāra and Śankhu Bajra Joginī in which, over  
 the centuries, many *siddhas* both Tibetan and Indian practised  
 their meditation. The cave of Nāgārjuna, close to Bajra  
 Joginī, contains an image of the Master. Śankarācārya, the  
 arch rival of Dharmakīrti, lived in a cave here, and CN claims  
 to have heard many stories about his stay from Indians; the

Nepalis also have many legends of his association with Nepal, and particularly Śankhu. There is a Ye-she mTsho-rgyal Cave near Bajra Joginī, but Śankhu is not mentioned in mTsho-rgyal's biography. In Peking, Lama bTsan-po was informed that there was a cave of Pha Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, wherein the saint had left his hand and foot prints and where there was an image of him, located near Camkhu, which could be either Chaṅgu Nārāyaṇ or Śankhu. No doubt at least 84 *siddhas* have practised their meditation in this area.

The legend of the Buddha Śākyamuni's previous rebirth as King Maṇicūḍa is told in the Newari text *Maṇicūḍavadānoddhṛta*, which is probably based on the account of Kṣemendra in the Sanskrit *Bodhisattvavadānakalpalata*. The King Maṇicūḍa was born into the royal family of Sāketa (Ayodhyā in N. India) and after he assumed the throne he became the model Bodhisattva monarch. Indra, to test him, transformed himself into a Rākṣasa and demanded that the King feed him. Scorning human food the Rākṣasa insisted upon the King's flesh, which Maṇicūḍa gave him without stint. Later on he gave his beautiful and loving wife and her son to a *ṛṣi* who begged them in order to offer them to his Guru as the fee for learning. Then Maṇicūḍa abandoned the world, and was carried by two *pratyekabuddhas* to the Himalayas where he began practice of *yoga* and meditation. But still dissatisfied, wishing to attain enlightenment, the King sought an opportunity to give his body as an ultimate gesture in his practice of generosity. When five Brahmins appeared and asked for the jewel in his head to take to their plague-afflicted country, so that the water in which it was bathed could cure the diseased, Maṇicūḍa felt himself most fortunate and instructed the Brahmins to cut out the jewel. The stone on which the King's head was cut open was covered with blood, and the stream into which the blood flowed was called Maṇirohini. Indra healed the King's wounds with the remedy *saṃjivāni*, the *ṛṣis* paid him homage, and a jewel twice

as bright as the one he had given away appeared in his head. After his body had been restored to its previous wholeness, his queen and son arrived at his mountain fastness to beg him to return to his kingdom, and upon the advice of the *pratyekabuddhas* he again took up the reins of government. (*Vide* Siegfried Lienhard, *Manicūdavadānoddhṛta*: Stockholm, 1963).

41. ŚANKHU BAJRA JOGINĪ

*gSangs-gu kya (?) rnal-'byor-ma: Sakhu Bajra Jogini: with the radiance of mKha'-spyod remaining (mKha'-spyod gdongs bzhugs), here is an extraordinary, sublime image of Yoginī, and an eternal flame.*

"Just off the road from gNya'-nang to the Kathmandu Valley is a village called Śankhu Bajra Ḍākinī, which is known to the Hindus as Śankhu Nārāyaṇī, where there is an image of the venerable Vajra Ḍākinī which gives extraordinarily powerful blessings." (LT)

"The chief symbol of this power place is the Goddess Ugratārā, or Ekajatī, inside a pagoda temple with a gilt copper roof. She is red in colour with one face and four arms, two of which hold a skull-cup (kapāla) and knife (kar-patra) at her heart, and the remaining two hold a sword (khadga) and an *utpala* lotus. In the upper temple is an identical image of Ugratārā in bell metal, in which her left leg is outstretched (in *pratyālīdha* ?); to the left and right of her is a hollow copper vessel and the head of Bintirāja.... In the upper temple is the loom of the Nepali Princess Bhṛkutī... In another room is a stone Swayambhu Stūpa. I know neither the builder nor the dates of these artefacts. Both Buddhists and Hindus have their separate *tantras* and *sādhana*s of Ugratārā. She is accounted as a superior goddess of wisdom (*Shes-rab-kyi lha*). The Hindus perform blood sacrifice to her. There is reputed to be an eternal fire and an eternal spring here." (CN)



"In the Kathmandu Valley Padma Sambhava did pilgrimage to Śankhu where he met Śākya Devī and took her to Yanglesho (p. 315).. Vairotsana, leaving Tibet after his *dharma* was slandered, stopped in Nepal and offered a golden icon to the monastery of Śankhu (p. 454).. In the monastery of Śankhu and other Nepali monasteries... and other places round about, (Guru Padma) hid one thousand other treasures (p. 365)." (UL) According to the Newari tradition, the Śankhu Bajra Joginī is the elder of the four sister *yoginīs* of the Valley - Śankhu Khaḍga Joginī, Guhjeśworī, Pham-thing Joginī and Bidjeśworī. Since she is associated with Mañicūḍa (q.v.) she is called Maṇi Joginī; since she holds a blue *utpala* lotus in her left hand she is called Nīl Tārā (?); since the sword is her distinctive emblem, she is popularly known as Khaḍga Joginī; though she is of serene mien she is Ugratārā, Tārā in angry mood, according to the Buddhist *tantra*; because her iconography is commensurate with the Goddess Protectresses and she is a form of Durgā (Śankhu Nārāyaṇī: Nārāyaṇī is a name of the *mātrkā* Vaiṣṇavī or Viṣṇuśaktī, the Consort of Viṣṇu, i.e. Durgā), CN calls her Ekajatī. The Hindus also count her amongst the *Daśamahavidhyā* (the ten aspects of the Mother Goddess's wisdom) where she is worshipped as the personification of spiritual hunger. But the Hindu tradition acknowledges that she was originally a Buddhist deity, and even today a Hindu Guru will direct his *chela* to practise ritual meditation according to the Buddhist liturgy.

When Śankarācārya, or one of his ardent disciples, was living in Śankhu, there was conflict with the followers of the Buddhas' path. Ugratārā's necklace of skulls (*muṇḍamālā*) is composed of the heads of Śankarācārya's Brahmin followers. The sword that she carries was borrowed from her younger sister, Guhjeśworī, (where did Guhjeśworī keep this sword?), in fulfilment of Śankarācārya's petition after he had been humbled by her for arrogantly upturning a *swayambhu stūpa* to

demonstrate his power to his Brahmin followers. The blood in her *kapāla* is the blood of Brahmā collected when she severed his head at the behest of a reluctant Mahādev after Brahmā had lost his contest with Viṣṇu to discover the height and depth of Śiva's *jyotir liṅgam*.

In both the upper and lower temples, Yoginī is flanked by Bāghinī and Siṅghinī, the Tiger and Lion-headed *yoginīs*. In the same upper room in the upper temple is a solid bronze standing Buddha and a standing Lokeśwar. Below this shrine room is a small room containing a *swayambhu stūpa* flanked by a Buddha's head, which is known as the head of Vikramajit (or Vṛsadeva) who is CN's Bintirāja, the parricide Mānadeva's father (*vide* Boudhnāth), and an upturned frying-pan to which is attached an irrational moral legend. The casting of the bronze figures is reputed to be of outstanding quality (*vide* Slussor, *Kathmandu*).

Indisputably, Śankhu Bajra Joginī is one of the Valley's oldest shrines. There is the 5th c. association with Mānadeva; an Aṃśuvarman inscription of the 7th c. mentions a Gum Vihāra which may be identified with the Gvam Vihāra of Bajra Joginī (Regmi p. 278); Urgyan gLing-pa's *Padma bKa'-thang* mentions Śankhu thrice in the history of the 8th c.; Śankarācārya may have visited in the 9th c. However, there is a mystery associated with Bajra Joginī herself. Tārā was originally a Buddhist deity, but in her Śankhu form the Gvam Vihāra Licchavi Buddhist bronze casters would never have worshipped her. If we discount the legend associated with Śankarācārya (see above), it would seem possible that a long time before the present temple was built by Rāja Pratap Malla in 1655 the site was usurped by Hindu priests who established the Devī as the chief image (*kwāpā-deo*) for worship and instituted blood sacrifice to her. A *devī pīṭha* is an unlikely site for the establishment of a *hinayāna vihāra* and

blood sacrifice is never performed for Buddhist *yoginīs*. Today, Buddhist Newar priests again attend the temple, and blood is shed at the Bhairabī *pīṭha* below. If the name Bajra Joginī has a Buddhist provenance, and a Buddhist goddess was in power in the 9th c., unlikely it is that she was Ugratārā; perhaps she was a different deity, such as Naro Khecarī (Naropa's *Dākinī*), who of the four *yoginī*'s associated with the *Cakrasambara tantra*, is the only one without a sthan of her own. More research into this very interesting shrine is necessary.

#### 42. CAṄGU NĀRAYĀN

*Khyung rang-byon* (The Self-Manifest Garuḍa): *Cangu Nārāyana than*: this Garuḍa is generally believed to have grown out of Ārya Nāgārjuna's rosary. It is highly praised for the relief of Nāga related diseases.

"At Chaṅgu (Chang-khung) there is a self-manifest Garuḍa holding a Nāga before it." (SK)

"In the middle of a large town (*grong-khyer*) that in Newari is called Cang-khung and by the Tibetans corrupted to Sa-'go is a self-manifest Garuḍa. The story concerning the emergence of this Garuḍa from Nāgārjuna's rosary is well known in Tibet." The legend known to Indians and Nepalis is that this Garuḍa (*mKha'-lding*), the vehicle of Viṣṇu, is self-manifest from a gigantic ruby (*Padmarāga*), and its name is Garuḍa Nārāyaṇ, or the 'Garuḍa Self-Manifest from a Jewel'. Furthermore, in summertime here, a real Garuḍa appears from gathering rainclouds and picks a Nāga out of the Śaṅkhadaha lake below), and anyone can see the Garuḍa devour the Nāga. At this time, in the temple, the image of Garuḍa perspires, and many people come here to moisten scarves with the exuding perspiration to gain protection from the ravages of Nāga spirits. It is said that last year (i.e. some time in the middle of the 18th century) when an invading army was threatening the Valley,

the image of Garuḍa Nārāyaṇ was taken to the King's palace in Kathmandu and a replica set up in its place. Anyhow, the present image is of gilt copper. (CN)

Leprosy is the most dangerous disease inflicted by the Nāgas; also abscesses, consumption, ulcers, itch, sores and swelling of the limbs, and all diseases related to excessive indulgence, or lack of the element water.

Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ is located between the Śankhu road and Bhaktapur. It is one of the oldest sites in the Valley. A pillar inscription of Mānadeva (dated 464) records his 5th century exploits.

The Garuḍa, or the replica that is held to be so sacred, is found within the central temple. Another Garuḍa, with hands held in prayer, found in front of the temple, is believed to have the face of Mānadeva and is certainly of great antiquity. Some of the Valley's best sculpture is to be found at Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ.

#### 43. BHAKTAPUR DĪPAṆKARA

*Kho-khom sangs-rgyas mar-me-mdzad: Bhadgha'um Dīpaṅkara: in Bhaktapur you will see many images of Dīpaṅkara and the Five Buddha Aspects (rigs-lnga) etc.*

There are five Dīpaṅkara Brothers in Bhaktapur: in Jhaurbhai (Maṅgala Dharmadvīpa Vihāra), in Tadhunchen Bāhāl 37 (Caturvarna Mahavihāra), in Kothubhai, in Tatubhai (Sayakirti Mahavihāra), and the principal of the five that Tibetans are in the habit of visiting is called Ajudyo and is found in the Adibuddha Vihāra in Kwatandau. During Gunla on Pañchadan the five Dīpaṅkaras visit Laska Deo (*vide* Bhaktapur Lokeśwara), their younger sister (*bahini*), and present her with a *tola* of gold.

## 44. BHAKTAPUR TALKING TĀRĀ

*sGrol-ma gsung-byon (Talking Tārā): Bolne Tārā: this is the Talking Tārā who told the King of Bhaktapur to invite the venerable Milarepa to the city. It is found in the palace.*

"In Bhaktapur is the Talking Tārā (sGrol-ma gsung-byung-ma), exceedingly great in blessings." (SK)

The Taleju Temple complex in Bhaktapur Palace is closed to non-Hindus, and a mystery surrounds the nature of the images within. It is evident, however, that it was not the Taleju image that was brought from Ayodhyā in 1323 by Hara Singha Deva fleeing from the Muslim Tuklak Shah who spoke to the Bhaktapur King in the late 11th or early 12th centuries. Yet this Taleju image subsequently became the protecting Deity of Bhaktapur and later of all Nepali Kings, and is believed to take pride of place in the *āgama-che* (the secret shrine) of the palace temple complex. I have heard it said that there is an image of Green Tārā in this *āgama-che*, and if this is true then this must be the older deity who spoke of Milarepa. The most likely king to have sent an invitation to Milarepa is Hāsadeva (ca. 1090-1097), or perhaps Śivadeva (ca. 1101-1123) or Singhadeva (ca. 1111-1121), the last two kings ruling concurrently.

According to local informants there are other Talking Tārās in Bhaktapur.

## 45. BHAKTAPUR ŚĀKYAMUNI

*Shakya thub mgon: Bhagawān: this image is to be found in the Śākyamuni Vihāra in Bhaktapur.*

The Bhaktapur Śākyamuni visited by Tibetans is to be found in Jhaurbhai (Maṅgala Dharmadvīpa Vihāra) in Golinādhitol.

The central image (*kwāpā-deo*) is Śākyamuni in *dhyanamudrā*. One of the five Dīpaṅkaras also resides here.

## 46. BHAKTAPUR LOKEŚWARA

*sPyan-ras-gzigs: Lokeswara thān: this is in Bhaktapur.*

The principal Bhaktapur Lokeśwara is Laska Deo, otherwise known as Annapūrṇā Lokeśwara, who is to be found in the Marilāchen Temple of Itachentole. He is an image of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, and is also known as Rāto Matsyendranāth like his brother in Patan.

## 47. NYISHANG KURTI

*gNye-shang kurti: Bāgishwari Saraswasti Sthan: this is a mile and a half from the long guest house, and is the place where the venerable Milarepa meditated.*

"At Nyishang Gurta in Mon, (Milarepa) met Repa the Hunter (Khyi-ras-pa). It was he who spread the renown of the Master in Nepal. Prompted by a message from the Goddess Tārā the King of Bhaktapur (Kho-khom) honoured the Master." (TM p. 150).

In *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa* two chapters relate stories of Tibet's Great Yogi in Nyishang. Milarepa is meditating in a cave on the Nyi-shang Gurda Mountain when a deer appears and drops exhausted at Mila's feet. Immediately afterwards the hunting dog that had been chasing it appears and also lies down in peace and contentment. Finally, the hunter arrives and shoots an arrow at the Master, which he deflects. The hunter (Khyi-ra-pa) is converted by Milarepa and given the name Khyi-ras-pa (Chirepa). This vignette is illustrated in the popular *thang-ka* showing Milarepa sitting

in front of his cave with his hand to his ear, surrounded by deer, dog and hunter. The second story finds Mila meditating in the same cave, the Gurdaya Cave ('the cave of Nyishang on the Gadaya Mountain in Mon'), where he is physically abused by local hunters. Unable to break his *samādhi*, though they throw him into a river gorge, their contempt changes to devotion and respect. Mila's fame reaches the ear of the King of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur who prompted by the Talking Tārā invites him to the palace. The Master declines the King's invitation with a homily on the virtues of the ascetic life. (MG Ch. 26 & 27 p. 275 ff.)

"In gNyi-shang kurti is the residence of rJe-btsun bZhad-pa rDo-rje, and here Khyi-ra-pa mGon-po rDo-rje was converted and became his disciple. The footprints of a deer are to be found clearly marked in a rock. The fame of rJe-btsun-chen-po's name spread widely in Nepal where he is known as Hāsa Vajra, and in a detailed biography, unknown to me, are his famous songs and utterances, some of which are translated into Sanskrit and sung. To the Newars this power place is known as Vāgīśvarī." (CN)

'The long guest house' remains unidentified. Nyishang Kurti and the nearby Saraswatī Sthān are to the east of Bhaktapur one mile off the road to Nāgārkot. Both the *Songs* and the *Biography* locate it in Mon; there is no contradiction here as Mon can mean the entire cis-Himalayas, but usually if the Kathmandu Valley is indicated then Bal-yul is specified. 'Kurti' may be a corruption of Gurta or Gurda or Gurdaya-ri, but as we have no indication as to this mountain's location that is immaterial. We do know, however, that gNye-bshang means 'intestine' and is the name of the Marśyandi Kola river valley, the land of Nyeshang, where there is a Milarepa cave that is the Manangpa's most sacred power place. There is a cave in Yol-mo, which is close to the Nepal-Tibet border, as

mentioned in the *Songs*, that is also associated with these stories of Mila; and Yol-mo is close enough to the Valley for the King to hear of a well-known *yogin* meditating there. Nevertheless, we will plump for the Bhaktapur Nyishang Kurti being the authentic Milarepa cave. To add slight weight to that decision, Khyi-ra-pa means not only 'hunter' but also a member of the Kirāti tribe (*vide* Chandra Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* p. 100), a people that dominated the Valley from their city south-east of Bhaktapur and east of Panauti in the pre-Licchavi era and thereafter became scattered throughout the Valley and the area to the east of it. Although Hāsa Vajra is less well-known than the Indian *siddhas*, even today his songs are said to be known by some *vajrācāryas*.

#### 48. CANDIŚWARĪ

40 *Ekajatī: Caṅṭishwari: this shrine is in visual range of Banepā. Ekajatī and Devī Candikā have one essence.*

Caṅḍeśvarī or Caṅḍikā is a form of Durgā or Gaurī, the Consort of Śiva; she is one of the *aṣṭamātrkā* and the *navadurgā*. A composite form of Durgā, she is young, beautiful, seductive yet angry, depicted with various numbers of arms to destroy her demonic offspring, the Asuras, and particularly the buffalo demon, Mahiṣāsura. As the slayer of the buffalo demon she is called Mahiṣāsuramardini. Her temple is located a mile north east of Banepa.

#### 49. NAMO BUDDHA

*sTag-mo lus-sbyin* (Takmo Lujin, Tigress Body-Gift): *Namo Buddha* (Homage to the Buddha!): *at this power place the King Mahasattva (sNyings-stobs chen-po) gave his body to a tigress. His reliquary-stūpa remained underground until the Bhagavān (Śākyamuni) clapped his hands, and miraculously the stūpa spontaneously appeared.*



"At a place as much as a day's walk to the east of Bhaktapur is a *stūpa* that is said to enshrine the remains of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni when on the Path of Learning he gave his body to a tigress." (LT)

"We need to examine more deeply the validity of stag-mo lus-sbyin's claim to be the actual place that is mentioned in the *Jātaka* Stories (the ancient legends of Śākyamuni's previous births). If we are to believe in popular fable, the *stūpa* here enshrines the bones and hair of the Bodhisattva who, when practising the deeds of a Bodhisattva (the Six Pāramitās, giving, etc.), was moved to such pity at seeing a tigress ravaged by hunger about to devour a small boy, who she had been stalking, that he sacrificed his body to her. In this place there is such fear of the tiger that the people will not utter the real name of the *stūpa*, and since to speak the name of the Buddha is to be free from fear, and since the notions of the Hindus and Buddhists are the same, the Nepalis call this place Namō Buddhaya! If you ask for directions to the Stūpa, the local people will not understand you if you ask for Takmo Lujin; you must ask for Namō Buddhaya." (CN)

Namō Buddha is one of the principal places of pilgrimage for the Tibetans south of the Himalas. The Newars pay it little attention, but the Bhotiyas worship there in large numbers during the pilgrimage season. LT states categorically that this is not the *stūpa* relating to the story of the Buddha's sacrifice of his body as told in the *gSer-'od dam-pa'i mdo*, the *Suvarṇaprabhasottama Sūtra* (J. Nobel, *Das Goldglanz Sūtra*, Erster Band, Leiden 1944).

#### 50. RISHIŚWARA

*Chu-mig byang-chub-la* (The Spring of Wisdom): *Rishiswara*: *this*

*spring is on the path to India. Upon auspicious days of worship in the first month of the year, you can see a naturally formed image of the Guru in a rock.*

"At a place one days march to the south-west is the Spring of the Ambrosia of Wisdom (*Chu-mig byang-chub bdud-rtsi*). (SK)

This power place is a short walk from the main Kathmandu-Raxaul road close to the top of the watershed ridge of the Śivaliks.

*In the Vulture Peak Monastery (Bya-rgod phung-po'i dgon-pa) of Kimdol (sKyim-grol), the Newari Bhikṣu Vagindra Bajra or Ngag-dbang rDo-rje nas (?) printed these new blocks (of the Guide to the Power Places of Nepal, Bal-yul gnas-yig) on the auspicious 14th day of the month of Saga Dawa in the wood-horse year (1774 A.D.).*

SARVA MAṄGALAM

## APPENDIX I

SYNOPSIS OF THE *GOŚRĪṄGA VYĀKARAṆA*  
*SŪTRA*

*Ārya Gośrīṅga Vyākaraṇa Mahayāna Sūtra: 'Phags-pa glang-ru lung-bstan zhes-bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo.*

Homage to the Bhagavān Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta !

"Thus have I heard at one time: the god of gods, the Buddha Śākyamuni, after three innumerable kalpas, through the maturation of his accumulated merit, attained complete and perfect Buddhahood. After he had evolved the beings who assembled in other areas of the lands of Jambudvīpa, in the palace of Muni Maharishi in the vicinity of Vaiśālī, (Bodhisattvas, Śravakas, Nāgas, Rākṣasas, Gandharvas, Kinaras, Kings and their subjects) on one occasion gathered. Then at that time, the god of gods, Śākyamuni Buddha, visualised the land of Kuśāla (dGe-ba) in a future time and brought that vision into reality. Then he addressed the vast assembly, 'Noble Sons, in the north, on the banks of the River Goma, which is near the Ri glang-ru (The Ox-Horn Mountain) is what is known as the Muni Maharishi Palace, the Stūpa Goma Salagandha. Verily, in that place there is essential work to be done, and the time is propitious to go there.' Then, at that time, the god of gods the Buddha Śākyamuni and his vast retinue, arose into the sky.... and departed for the Ox-Horn Mountain."

Arriving in Khotan on the Ox-Horn mountain, the Buddha looks north and sees a vast lake stretching into the distance. Then taking his throne on Ox-Horn Mountain he looks west and sees the Buddha's palace, the Goma Salagandha Stūpa. The Buddha, the Bodhisattvas and ārhats then bless the Land of

Khotan and pray for the establishment of many monasteries, a rich land, a religious people etc., praying to be reborn there in the future to fulfil their own wishes.

"Then in an instant, from within the great lake, 350 lotuses arose, and on top of each lotus was an effulgent image of a Buddha and Bodhisattva." The Buddha explains that in the future a vihāra will be established wherever one of these lotuses bloomed.

In answer to the question of who will establish this paradise, the Buddha predicts that a Chinese King will have 1001 sons, all of whom will leave home and establish kingdoms. The youngest son will be sent by his father to Khotan to establish a righteous government in that land. The country will be populated by Indians from the west.

Most of the Sūtra is concerned with the Buddha's predictions of the vicissitudes of the *dharma* in Khotan, its rise and fall, the importance of the Goma Salagandha Stūpa and the Kāśyapa Stūpa and of the *Gośrīṅga Vyākaraṇa Sūtra* as a panacea for all misfortune, war, poverty, famine, etc. And, also, a large portion is concerned with directions for the religious life, and how the country will be protected from outside threat, from the Chinese and Tibetan armies.

Then at the end, "The Buddha spoke to Śāriputra and Vaiśrāvana, 'Noble sons, you both go and empty this great lake. Draining it into the River Gyi-sho in the north, do not harm any living creature existing in the water, and reveal the area of this land.' Then Maḥāśravaka Śāriputra and Vaiśrāvana, having asked permission to leave, through their magical power they set out in the sky for the Mountain Sha-ri (Flesh Mountain). Śāriputra wielding a monk's staff and Vaiśrāvana wielding a spear, half (*phyed-stam?*) of the mountain was moved and deposited in the east, so that a vast

dried up lake bed was created, the lake together with the living creatures existing in it draining into the Gyi-sho River. In this way Khotan was revealed together with the Goma Salagandha Stūpa and the Ox-Horn Mountain."

The Sūtra ends with the divine hosts again blessing the land and its future inhabitants, and finally, praising the Buddha.

## APPENDIX II

## ITINERARY FOR MAṆḌALA PILGRIMAGE

The Tibetans are fond of the circular pilgrimage starting at Swayambhu and then going east and around the Valley in a clockwise direction. This itinerary is based on the first part of CN's *dKar-chag*.

Swayambhunāth ('Phags-pa shing-kun): Mahākāla (*dGon-po'i sku*) and the Buddhas (*De bzhin-gshegs-pa'i rdo-sku*) on the eastern stairway; the gilt vajra at the top (*gSer-gyi rdo-rje*), the Swayambhu Stūpa (*Chos-kyi dbyings gsung-gi dbang phyug-gi dkyil-'khor*).

Bidjeśworī: the Karnadīp Cremation Ground (*Ramadoli, Phag-mo dur-khrod*); and the Bidjeśworī Bāhāl's Four Yoginīs.

Kathmandu: Jana Bāhāl (*Jo-bo 'Ja'-ma li dkar-po*); Tondhikel Bajrabīr (*Bod-thang mgon po*); Thamel Bāhāl (*sTham Vihāra'i gtsug-lag-khang*); the stūpa built by Aśoka (*rGyal-po Mya-ngan-med-kyi mehod-rten* - in private hands); the Maru Sattal (*E Vihāra, the Kāṣṭhamandapa Temple*).

Chābāhil Stūpa (*Sa-lhag rdo-lhag gi mehod-rten*).

Paśupati (*Gu-lang*); Visorup (*Che-mchog*); Guhjeśworī (*Phag-mo mngal-chu*).

Boudhnāth (*Bya-rung kha-shor*).

Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ (*Khyung rang-byung*).

Śankhu: Bajra Joginī (*rDo-rje rnal-'byor-ma'i sku = Ugratārā*), the Swayambhu Stūpa (*Rang-'byung mehod-rten*), Vikramajit's Head (*rGyal-po'i dbu*), the Frying Pan (*Zangs-kha sbubs*), the Eternal Flame (*bSkal-pa'i me*), the Eternal Spring (*bSkal-pa'i chu*); Maṇilinga, Maṇiloḥa, the Caves of the Eighty Four Siddhas (*Grub-thob brgyad-cu tsa bzhi'i gzims-phug*), Nāgārjuna's Meditation Cave and Image (*kLu-sgrub-kyi sgrub-khang*).

Bhagavānī Sarasvatī Sthān (*gNye-shang Kurti*), Cave and Deer's footprints.

**Bhaktapur:** The Royal Palace and Taleju Temple (*Kho-khom-gyi grong-kher rgyal-po'i pho-brang*), the Talking Tārā (*sGrol-ma gsung-byung-ma - Bolne Tārā*).

**Banepa:** Candeśwarī (*Ekajatī*).

**Namo Buddha:** Takmo Lujin (*Byang-chub-sems-dpa' stag-mo lus-sbyin*).

**Patan (Ye-rang):** Bungha Deo - Rāto Matsyendranath (*U-Kham*): Mīnānāth (*A-kham*); Mahaboudha (*rDo-rje gdan-gyi gandola'i bkod-pa*); Gopicandra Bāhāl (*Gopicandra gtsug-lag-khang*), images of Vajradhara and Tārā (*rDor-rje Chang dang sGrol-ma'i sku*); Golden Temple, Hiranyavarna Mahavihāra (*Sākyamuni gtsug-lag-khang*).

**Chobar:** Gorakhnāth's Cave: (*Rwa-lo'i sgrub-phug*); Adināth Temple in Cho Bāhāl (*Chobar Lokeśwara*).

**Yanglesho:** Guru Padma's Cave (*Sangs-rgyas gnyis-pa'i sgrub-phug*), Nāga Śeṣa's Temple (*kLu Lhag-ma'i lha-khang*); Pham-thing Bajra Joginī Temple (*rGya-gar Pham-thing rDo-rje rnal-'byor-ma'i gtsug-lag-khang*); the Asura Cave (*Asura'i brag-phug*) and the Yang-dag and Phur-ba images (*Yang-dag dang Phur-ba'i rdo-sku*).

**Lake Taudāh and the Black-White Lakes** (*Danādaha dang mtsho dkar-nag ni klu-rgyal Karkota gnas rnams*).

**Daḥsin Kālī** (*'Dod-khams-bdag-mo*).

**Kimdol Bāhāl** (*Bya-rgod phung-po ri'i gtsug-lag-khang*): The Bodhi Tree (*Shing-sdong-chen-po*), and on the first floor of the Temple the Fasting Room (*sMyung-gnas lha-khang*) and on the ground floor, Munindra (*Sakya thub-pa*).

**Nāgārjuna** (*Ri-bo 'Bigs-byed*): The Buddha's Throne (*Sangs-rgyas-kyi bzhugs-khri*); Nāgārjuna's Cave (*kLu-sgrub-kyi sgrub-phug*); Vasubandhu's Cave (*dByig-gnyen-gyi sgrub-phug*); Lakṣmī Gūpha; The Buffalo Buddha's Cave and hornprints (*Mahe Sangs-rgyas shul*).

**Buraṇīlakaṇṭha** (*kLu-gan-rgyal Khyab-'jug nyal-ba'i rdo-sku*).

**Śivapuri:** the source of the Biṣṇumatī (*sKra-can-ma*); and the Bāgmatī (*gSung-ldan-ma*) at Bāgdwār.

Then returning to Gośṛṅga Parbat (*Ri glang-ru*): Mañjuśrī Sthān (*'Jam-dpal bzhugs-khri*) and Mañjuśrī's Stūpa (*'Jam-dpal mehod-rten*); Kāśyapa's Stūpa (*'Od-srung mehod-rten*); Vasubandhu's Stūpa (*dByig-gnyen mChod-rten*); and Vipaswi's Stūpa (*rNam-par-gzigs-kyi mehod-rten*). And again to Swayambhunāth: Sāntapuri and Sānta Śrī's four elemental temples, Vāyupuri, Nāgapuri, Agnipuri and Basupuri.

Thus all the major shrines in the Valley are visited. Such a pilgrimage should take two weeks on foot.

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