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Remarks on the Consecration Ceremony in Kuladatta's *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and its Development in Newar Buddhism*

Introduction

The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (henceforth also abbreviated as “KSgP”), authored by Kuladatta probably in the eleventh or twelfth century,¹ is the foundational work of the ritual tradition followed in the Newar Buddhist tradition of the Kathmandu Valley,

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1 Tanemura (2004: 5–10) has reviewed the various dates that have been proposed for the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and its author Kuladatta, though he does not mention Gustav Roth's certainly untenable assignment of the text “to the category of Kriyā-tantras of the eighth and ninth centuries” (1980: 195). It can be gathered from Tanemura's somehow inconclusive treatment that the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* has been generally placed in either the eleventh or twelfth century, with 1216 being a firm *ante quem* since the oldest manuscript dates to that year. There are at least two further manuscripts dating to the first half of the thirteenth century (one is from 1217), and there are also numerous further manuscripts dating to the latter half of the thirteenth century, not to mention the Tibetan translation from the end of the same century. This relative profusion of manuscripts contrasts conspicuously with the complete lack of manuscripts from the eleventh or twelfth century, but is of course no proof that the text was only produced towards the end of the twelfth or even the beginning of the thirteenth century. Rather, there is various circumstantial evidence that points to an earlier date. Notably the Newar sources produced by Kazumi Yoshizaki (Tanaka & Yoshizaki 1998: 128) suggest that Kuladatta flourished already between 1045 and 1089. A relatively early date would seem to be supported also by the assignment of the *Sitaprajñāpāramitāsādhana* (which survives in a manuscript dating to 1165) to “Kula, son of Saṃghadatta.” The meter of the verse assigning the authorship of this *sādhana* in the *Sāghanamālā* (number 155; vol. 1, p. 314 of B. Bhattacharya's edition) did not allow for more than the phrase *kulanāmnā* (“Kula by name”), but Kula's full name was probably Kuladatta. This Kuladatta could be identical with the author of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, as suggested by the oral communication from the late Ratna Kaji Bajracharya according to which the author of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* was the son of a certain Saṃghadatta, who had supposedly migrated to Nepal from Kashmir. If this identification of Kuladatta is correct, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* must have been produced well before the oldest surviving manuscripts mentioned above. At any rate, whatever the precise date of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*'s composition, the material brought together in this text was most likely already current in the eleventh century and partly even before then.

where it was likely composed.² While it foregrounds the establishment of a monastery, it is in truth a collection (*saṃgraha*) of diverse rites (*kriyā*) that relate in various ways to monasticism and were presumably current at the time of Kuladatta. Thus, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* deals not only with rites like the examination and purification of the building ground, or the laying of the foundation (*pādasthāpana*), but it also includes such elements as the wooden gong used in daily monastic practice (*gaṇḍī*) or the rite of ordination (*pravrajyā*). More to the point here, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* also contains a detailed section laying out how to consecrate an image (*pratimā*) or other object serving as a receptacle for buddhahood (in the widest sense of that term), such as a *caitya*, monastery, cloth painting or book. (In the following I use the term “image” out of convenience to refer to any kind of object undergoing the consecration ceremony.) This procedure consists of a complex sequence of rites that collectively imbue the object with the qualities of buddhahood and enliven it. These rites have not been newly devised by Kuladatta, but were pre-existing in one form or another. In the tradition recorded in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* they were brought together, adapted to a tantric framework and fused into a complex but coherent and interconnected whole. The resultant scheme remains authoritative to this day, and as surviving manuscripts and historical documents prove, has also in the past been the standard in the historic Nepal Valley (which has become the modern Kathmandu Valley).

The consecration ceremony in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* has been the principal object of an excellent monograph by Ryugen Tanemura (which is the revised version of the doctoral dissertation that he submitted in 2002 in Oxford).³ The author provides a critical (and reliable) edition of the consecration section of the sixth chapter,⁴ and of three closely related preceding sections, namely the “examination of the ground” (*bhūmiparīkṣā*), the “preparation of the water jugs” (*kalaśādhivāsana*) and the “casting of the cords” (*sūtrapātana*). His careful translation is accompanied by copious notes in which he adduces much additional textual material that elucidates the more arcane details of the consecration ceremony. In his lengthy introduction the author provides an overview of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*’s consecration ceremony and its historical context. In the process he also considers the employment of the Brahmanical life-cycle rituals as consecration rites (Tanemura 2004: 64–97) and reproduces the findings that he had published previously in a separate paper entitled “One Aspect of the Consecration

2 We know practically nothing about Kuladatta and the circumstances of the production of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. However, it seems obvious that the author captures and records the ritual practices of his time. Given the considerable variety in ritual practice that can be observed in the contemporary Newar tradition, this must have involved choices and allowed for some personal preferences. Even so, such a production is, of course, different from founding a new ritual tradition. Hence the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is only a foundational work in the weak sense that it has come to function as the principal textual basis for the ritual tradition of Newar Buddhism, a role that it initially did not have but later assumed.

3 Ryugen Tanemura: *Kuladatta’s Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of Selected Sections* (2004).

4 All quotations from the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* in this paper refer to the edition by Tanemura (2004).

Ceremony of Images in Buddhist Tantrism: The Ten Rites Prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and their Background” (2001). While Tanemura’s monograph is the first thorough textual study of a substantial part of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and raises the academic treatment of this important but neglected text to a new level, it can, of course, not answer all questions raised by Kuladatta’s exposition of the consecration ceremony.

In the following I want to deal with one particular aspect that Tanemura only touches upon, namely how the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*’s treatment of the consecration ceremony with its employment of the ten *saṃskāras* relates to forms of practice that developed later in the Newar Buddhist tradition.⁵ Though the starting point is different, this is similar to tracing the historical roots of the consecration ceremony current in Newar Buddhism and will shed light on the more general question of how Newar Buddhist practice relates to its historical precursors. A comprehensive treatment of the history of the consecration ceremony in the Newar tradition would require a monograph, and I had to restrict myself here to a selected treatment and focus on particular elements. After an overview of the consecration ceremony and an introduction to the written sources employed for this study, I first analyze the overall structure of the consecration ceremony and its employment of the *saṃskāras*. In the process I pay particular attention to the prenatal *saṃskāras*, and how their treatment in the KSgP differs from Newar practice. Then I proceed to deal with the so-called *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* and the bathing vessels set up on the day prior to the principal day, and their employment for identifying the deity with the lord of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. I will argue that the complex configuration used in Kathmandu evolved from the much simpler setup prescribed in the KSgP. Subsequently I will move on and deal with the wedding rite performed for the deity. This will give occasion to treat the so-called *ihi* ritual performed in unison for girls. I will argue that the *ihi* practice is grounded in the wedding ceremony for deities, but, on the other hand, also has come to shape this ceremony in turn. The wedding ritu-

5 Tanemura’s treatment of this aspect is not informed by a knowledge of the pertinent Newar sources. It is also marred by an insufficient acquaintance with Newar ritual practices on the ground. In particular, Tanemura seems to be unaware of the considerable diversity of practices within the fold of Newar Buddhism. Tanemura relies largely on John Locke’s description of the re-consecration rites for the Karuṇāmaya deity of Jana Bāhāl after its annual renovation (1980: 208–21). However, this treatment does not do full justice to the underlying textual sources, and it is also not grounded in an accurate observation of the rites. An example of the resultant inaccuracies is Locke’s claim that when re-consecrating the image upon conclusion of its renovation, the ten *saṃskāras* are imparted even before the divine life (*nyāsa*) has been re-inserted (ibid.: 219). In the numerous handbooks on renovations that I have consulted the *nyāsa* is invariably transferred back into the sacred object before the rites of passage are performed. This is also the only sequence that makes sense because, were it not so, the image would be “empty” and there would be no subject undergoing the ten *saṃskāras*. I observed and video-filmed the re-consecration of the Jana Bāhāl Karuṇāmaya in winter 1998. As confirmed by the footage, the *nyāsa* was transferred into the statue at the beginning of the re-consecration rituals, *before* the performance of the ten *saṃskāras*. Another example of an inaccuracy in Locke’s account is the (less consequential) claim that the imposition of vows (*vratādeśa*) serves “to send the newly initiated one out around the country to preach the *dharma*” (ibid.: 214), a claim possibly owed to an informant who felt uncomfortable with the role of the Buddhist deity as a student.

al is followed by the rite of *pratiṣṭhā*, and I will attempt to show that this rite originally served as consecration ritual in its own right. This study is concluded by considering Tanemura's contention that the *saṃskāras* came to be employed for the consecration of deities in the Nepalese tradition in imitation of human practice. Against this I will point out that there are substantial divergences between the *saṃskāras* as performed for deities and for humans, something that will lead me to suggest that the origins of the tradition recorded in the KSgP may have to be sought also outside the fold of Buddhism. As a corollary, I will argue that the employment of the *saṃskāras* for the purpose of consecrating Buddhist images necessitated the comprehensive reworking of these rites in a Buddhist idiom, and propose that the resultant format in turn came to influence the performance of the *saṃskāras* for human actors of Buddhist heritage.

For the present study I have consulted various consecration manuals of the Newar tradition, including a modern printed version (see below). I also base myself upon my observation of these consecration ceremonies, which I have had the opportunity to witness and document on a number of occasions over the past eleven years in both Kathmandu and Patan. Finally, I consider the evidence of historical sources recording consecration rites performed in the past for the Svayambhūcaitya of Kathmandu. Even so, the study that I offer here is in various ways incomplete. For a start, I have only managed to study a small fraction of the hundreds of consecration manuals that have been compiled over the centuries and are still extant today. Moreover, I focus here on mainstream practice in Kathmandu and on the tradition attached to one particular monastery in Patan, namely Kvā Bāhāḥ (Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra), while I have not been able to consider the local traditions of Bhaktapur and other, smaller centers of Newar Buddhism. Also, I have only examined in passing how in the Śaiva tradition of the Kathmandu Valley the *saṃskāras* feature when consecrating images, *liṅgas* and other sacred objects. This is a serious drawback since I suspect that this tradition played a crucial role in the formation of the Buddhist practice that I study here.

My treatment of the mentioned aspects of the consecration ceremony goes into considerable detail. At times, these details may seem arcane, but I find attention to such details an indispensable (and often neglected) part of the study of Newar Buddhism. More precisely, I believe that it is essential for the study of Newar Buddhism that the texts underlying the tradition are properly studied. It is not enough to rely on learned local scholars, though they can be a useful resource and often are invaluable conversation partners, being at the same time colleagues and part of the field we study. Rather, we should also study the handbooks and other sources they use, and more generally take into account the literary heritage in which the tradition is grounded. Moreover, it is important that the rituals and other religious practices that survive are studied with sustained care. There is, as this paper will show, considerable variation in practice between Kathmandu and Patan and, to a lesser extent, also within each urban tradition. The study of particular rituals requires that their performance be witnessed again and again. This alone allows one to capture variations in practice, and this alone sensitizes the observer to issues that he or she may otherwise overlook. The paper here is in various

ways lacking and incomplete, but it does, I hope, give a sense of the complexity of the Newar Buddhist ritual tradition and of the need and merits to attend to details.

Overview of the consecration ceremony

I would like to start with a brief overview of the consecration ceremony treated here. From a technical tantric perspective, the core of this ceremony consists in the technique of generating the presence of the deity, projecting it into and binding it to the receptacle in question. This happens principally by way of the deity's seed syllable that the tantric priest first visualizes and then draws down (*ākaraṣaṇa*) with the rays emanating from the same seed syllable that he has visualized likewise in his heart.⁶ As part of the same process the seed syllable that has been drawn down (*ākaraṣaṇa*) is made to enter (*praveśana*) the receptacle, where it is bound (*bandhana*) and pleased (*vaśīkaraṇa* understood as *toṣaṇa*). Initiating this process, the deity is invoked and invited to take up abode in the receptacle (*adhivāsana*). In the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* this method is employed the first time when the image (*pratimā*) is made. Then the materials out of which the object in question is to be fashioned are visualized as having the form of the deity of which the icon is to be made. In a second step the materials are empowered by the heart mantra of that deity, which is then, as “knowledge-being” (*jñānasattva*),⁷

6 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* prescribes, more precisely, that the priest “visualizes the deity's seed [syllable], accompanied by the three essences (i.e. the syllables *om āḥ hum* activating body, speech and mind), as enclosed by a pair of red *hoḥ* syllables on a lunar disk” (163, 3f.: *candramaṇḍalastharaktahoḥkāradvayaagarbhitaṃ tritattvasahitaṃ devatābījaṃ dṛṣṭvā*). As Tanemura explains in his translation (2004: 265f., n. 129), the flanking *hoḥ* syllables signal that the deity is in the intermediate state, which, according to the underlying Buddhist teaching on transmigration, precedes conception. This accords with the syllables' use at the renovation of a *caitya* or other consecrated receptacle. Then the deity is first transferred from the dilapidated object into a water vessel that functions as its temporary abode. Upon conclusion of the renewal work, the deity is transferred back from this vessel into the receptacle, which in the meantime has either been renovated or replaced by an exact copy. From the deity's perspective this process is analogous to transmigrating from one existence (and body) to the next (cf. von Rospatt 2010), with the period of renovation in between corresponding to the intermediate state. Hence, when the priest draws the deity out of the receptacle and later projects it back into it, he likewise visualizes the deity's seed syllable as flanked by the syllables *hoḥ*. The Sanskrit term used to qualify the seed syllable as enclosed by a pair of *hoḥ* syllables is *garbhita*. This literally means “wombed” by these syllables, and points to the association with a state preceding birth, though not conception.

7 The corollary of the *jñānasattva*, the “knowledge-being,” is the so-called “pledge-being,” the *samayasattva*. This is the form of the deity visualized at the beginning of the process of its generation. The *jñānasattva* is summoned and projected into this visualized object. There it is merged with the *samayasattva* thereby making the deity present. In the case of the consecration of an object, the receptacle in question is visualized as the *samayasattva*, and through the attraction of the *jñānasattva* becomes imbued with the presence of the deity. For details of this complex process see Yael Bentor's monograph *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism* (1996).

drawn down and made to enter these materials, where it is bound and pleased.⁸

In addition to this tantric procedure the deity is also animated and consecrated in various other ways. This includes the bestowal of sight (*dr̥ṣṭidāna*), a rite corresponding to the eye-opening ceremony that has been used for the animation of cult images not only in Indian religion but also in other civilizations flung far apart both in space and time.⁹ Moreover, the object is also consecrated by reciting the formula of the *ye dharmā gāthā* over it and blessing it with unbroken and popped rice empowered by this *gāthā*. This was originally a non-tantric consecration technique in its own right.¹⁰ Attesting to its enormous popularity, it survives in Vajrayāna Buddhism where, however, it only plays an ancillary role.

The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* includes yet another technique of consecration, namely the life-cycle rites (*saṃskāra*) of Brahmanical Hinduism. More precisely, it prescribes the performance of a total of ten such sacraments that the deity undergoes in much the same way as “twice-borns” do. They are performed in chronological order, starting with three prenatal rites, namely 1) the purification of the mother’s womb (*yonīśodhana*), 2) the generation of a male (*pūṃsavana*) performed to render the embryo male, and 3) the parting of the mother’s hair (*sīmantonnyana*), a protective and purificatory rite performed likewise during pregnancy. The subsequent rites are 4) the rite of birth (*jātakarman*), 5) the name-giving ceremony (*nāmakarman*), the 6) infant initiation (*upanayana*) consisting in the first feeding of fruits (*phalaprāśana*) and rice (*anna-prāśana*) and the clearing of the throat (*kaṇṭhaśodhana*),¹¹ the 7) rite of tonsure leaving a tuft of hair (*cūḍākarana*), 8) enjoining the vows of disciple-hood (*vrataḍeśa*), 9) the release from these vows (*vrataṃokṣaṇa*) and the return from studies (*samāvartana*), and finally the 10) wedding (*pāñigrahaṇa*). The performance of these ten rites might appear as the deliberate treatment of the deity in human terms. This, however, is not the

8 *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 160, 12–162, 4: *tataḥ pavitramṛtsikthādikaṃ jhaṭiti śūnyatādhimokṣeṇa hr̥dbījena kariṣyamāṇaṃ devatārūpaṃ vicintya,*
tathāgato yatsvabhāvas tatsvabhāvaṃ idaṃ jagat |
tathāgato niḥsvabhāvo niḥsvabhāvaṃ idaṃ jagat ||
anayā vastuśuddhīkaraṇaṃ kṛtvā, nabhasi sarvatathāgatān dr̥ṣṭvā puspādibhiḥ sampūjya
lāsyādibhiś ca <pūjām> kṛtvā sām̐nidhyaṃ kuryāt.
khavyāpīsarvasambuddhā bodhisattvāś ca sarvagāḥ |
iha buddhakṛte vāse sām̐nidhyaṃ kartum arhatha ||
iti paṭhītvā, tato bhaviṣyaddevatāhr̥m̐mantreṇāṣṭottaraśatavāram adhiṣṭhāya jñānasattvam ākr̥ṣya
praveśya baddhvā vaśīkṛtya kalaśodakena ca snāpya pañcabhir upacāraiḥ sampūjya
oṃ vajrasattva aḥ
anena vajrasattvasamayamudrāṃ darśayitvā
oṃ vajrāveśa hoḥ
anena vajrāveśasamayamudrāṃ baddhvā śatākṣareṇa trir dr̥ḍhīkuryāt.

9 For an overview see the chapter “L’Icône Animée” in Michel Strickmann: *Mantras et Mandarins: le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine* (1996). For a concrete example of a particular eye-opening ceremony performed in Sri Lanka see Richard Gombrich’s study “The Consecration of a Buddhist Image” (1966).

10 Cf. Daniel Boucher: “Pratītyasamutpādagāthā and its Role in the Mediaeval Cult of the Relics” (1991).

11 For details see the treatment below on p. 250.

point. These rites serve to purify their subject and endow it with divine qualities. Hence, rather than rendering deities human, they render humans divine, and it is because of their sacralizing qualities that they are adapted for consecration rites in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*.

For the same reason the consecration of the image (or another receptacle such as a *caitya*, monastery or book) in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* also includes the tantric initiations (*abhiṣeka*) that are normally imparted to human initiands, just as the consecration does in the *Vajrāvalī*, an extensive ritual treatise authored outside the fold of the Nepalese tradition by Abhayākaragupta, the celebrated 11th/12th century abbot of Vikramaśīla and Nālanda.¹² More precisely, after the deity has been sacralized by way of the *saṃskāras*, it receives the nine *abhiṣekas* that constitute the standard set in the ritual tradition underlying the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and Newar Buddhism at large. These include the higher initiations that were developed in the tradition of the Yoginītantras. As the initiand would, the deity first receives a set of five initiations, namely the water initiation (*udakābhiṣeka*), the crown initiation (*mukuṭābhiṣeka*), the *vajra* initiation (*vajrābhiṣeka*), the bell initiation (*ghaṇṭābhiṣeka*) and the name initiation (*nāmābhiṣeka*), which are identified respectively with Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Vairocana and the particular Buddha knowledge they each stand for. These five *abhiṣekas* (*pañcābhiṣeka*), which are collectively known as *vidyābhiṣeka* and originally stood on their own as a complete set of initiations, are complemented by the initiation of the master (*ācāryābhiṣeka*). From the perspective of the higher *abhiṣekas*, the fivefold *vidyābhiṣeka* and the *ācāryābhiṣeka* form collectively one form of empowerment known as *kalaśābhiṣeka* (lit. “flask initiation”) and identified with the purification of the body. Upon these elementary initiations the three higher initiations follow, namely the secret initiation (*guhyaḥbhiṣeka*) identified with the purification of speech, the initiation of the knowledge of gnosis (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*) identified with the purification of mind, and the so-called fourth initiation (*caturthābhiṣeka*).¹³ Whether actually enacted or only ritually alluded to, the former two initiations involve sexual practices, whereas the final “fourth” initiation is predicated upon such practices having been performed.¹⁴

In its treatment of consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* foregrounds the ten *saṃskāras*, to which it collectively refers as the “ten rites” (*daśakriyā*). Accordingly it introduces this treatment with the sentence: “Now the ten rites for a cloth painting, book, image etc. are to be set forth.”¹⁵ In the Newar tradition consecration manuals are likewise typically entitled “The Procedure of the Ten Rites” (*daśakriyā-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi* or *-vidhāna* or something similar to this effect). The “ten rites” have

12 Cf. Masahide Mori’s treatment of the *Vajrāvalī*’s consecration ceremony in his paper “The Installation Ceremony in Tantric Buddhism” (2005).

13 Cf. Tanemura (2004: 35–7) and David Snellgrove: *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism* (1987: 229, 243–7). See also, e.g. *Samvarodayatantra* (pp. 308f.).

14 For details regarding the origins and interpretations of the “fourth initiation” see Isaacson’s contribution in this volume, and his paper “Tantric Buddhism in India” (1998).

15 *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 157, 3: *idānīm paṭapustakapratimādīnām daśa kriyā abhidhānīyāḥ*.

come to be equated with the entire process of consecration because they structure it. That is, though only ten rites are mentioned, this appellation includes the other consecration rites, such as the aforementioned bestowal of sight, that are performed in the context of these *saṃskāras*, and it includes by implication also the tantric *abhiṣekas* and other rites of consecration (see below) that are performed after the last *saṃskāra*, namely the wedding.

The structuring function of the ten *saṃskāras* is confirmed impressively by historical documents recording the extensive re-consecration rituals that were performed for the Svayambhūcaitya of Kathmandu upon the conclusion of its renovation. Such extended consecrations are performed in the context of an extended fire ritual that comprises the offering of (nominally) 100,000 oblations (hence the designation *lakṣāhuti*)¹⁶ and lasts accordingly several days and nights (hence the designation *ahorātra*). During the day the main ritual action is performed, while the nights are dedicated to tantric feasts which focus on the performance of dances impersonating in the main particular deities of the Yoginītantras. The *ahorātra* ritual itself is initiated on the preceding day (Newari: *dusaḥ*) by the summoning of the deities (Sanskrit: *adhivāsana*). On the next day the fire is started (*agnisthāpana*) and the rite of birth (*jātakarman*) is performed for the *caitya*. The remaining rites of passage are spread out over the days between the first and last day. In this context the bestowal of sight and occasionally one or two other functions may feature additionally as rituals in their own right. A good example is the consecration performed in 1758.¹⁷ The *ahorātra* fire ritual lasted twelve days and eleven nights. After the first day with the rite of birth and the concomitant establishment of the fire (*agnisthāpana*), the next eleven days were dedicated to 2) the bestowal of sight (*dr̥ṣṭidāna*), the 3) so-called “starting (?) of the fire” (*mi chuya*) (the details of which are unclear to me),¹⁸ 4) the name-giving ceremony (*nāmakaraṇa*), 5) the first nourishment with fruits (*phalaprāśana*) and 6) with rice (*annaprāśana*), 7) the subsequent clearing of the throat (*kaṇṭha khuya*; Sanskrit: *kaṇṭhaśodhana*), 8) the rite of tonsure (*cūḍākaraṇa*), 9) the imposition of vows (*vratādeśa*), 10) the return from the sacred studies (*samāvartana*), 11) the marriage ritual (*pāṇigrahaṇa*) and 12) finally the rites of completion (*pūrṇa*). Another interesting example is the consecration performed in 1595.¹⁹ It lasted for the same number of days and only differed insofar as there was no day dedicated particularly to the *samāvartana* rite. (I presume this rite of returning

16 As a matter of fact, “lakh” (i.e. 100,000) is here understood to be 125,000 (*savā lākh*). The same holds good in other context when a “lakh” items (such as a lakh of lights) is offered. The additional 25,000 units are often understood to be a safeguard, in order to make up for possible errors when counting the 100,000.

17 Details of the consecration ceremony can be found in Vimalaprabhānanda’s chronicle (18v1–19r1) cited in von Rospatt (2001: 221–8).

18 Regrettably, the text does not provide more information than this designation. I have also no other information about the details of this rite. It is tempting to emend *chuya* to *duya*, the verb used commonly for offering into the fire, but the reading *chuya* in the present context is well attested. At any rate, it ought to be different from the installation of the fire, which took place on the first main day coinciding with the rite of birth.

19 For details regarding this renovation see von Rospatt (2001: 207–13).

from studies was performed in conjunction with either the *vrātādeśa* rites as its logical sequel or with the marriage rite as its necessary precursor). The resulting extra day was instead dedicated to the rite of *pratiṣṭhā* that follows upon the wedding and precedes the concluding day. This rite, which originally was a consecration ceremony in its own right (see below), serves to permanently fix the deity in its receptacle and in this sense seals the preceding rites of consecration. (The term *pratiṣṭhā* hence has two different referents referring either to the entire consecration ceremony as a whole, or more narrowly just to the mentioned rite of fixation.)

Textual sources

These two prominent examples from the Malla period confirm the prominence of the *saṃskāras* in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. However, they also show that there are marked discrepancies between this text's prescription and later practice. In the following I want to explore some of these differences. For this it will be necessary to first consider the relevant primary sources. For a start, there are a few other (anonymously) authored Sanskrit texts that prescribe like the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* the performance of the rites of passage as part of the consecration ceremony. The fact that these texts survive in palm leaf manuscripts and are free from Newari suggests that they predate the Malla era. Though presumably originating in the historical Nepal Valley and relatively close in time to the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, they differ considerably in detail. Some of these differences have been pointed out by Tanemura, who has dealt in his monograph on the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (2004: 72–8) with two of these texts, namely the *Bauddhadaśakriyāsādhana* and the *Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi*. However, a thorough study of the mentioned texts and their relationship to the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and later Newar practice remains an important desideratum. I find such a study particularly promising because it may shed some light on the (hardly explored) formative phase of Newar Buddhism. In the present paper I restrict myself to a (partial) comparison between the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and standard Newar practice as it emerged during the Malla era and survives today. However, rather than skipping over the mentioned Sanskrit texts entirely, I would like to give at least a brief introduction to the textual layer situated after the composition of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and before ritual sources came to be composed in the mix of Sanskrit and Newari characteristic for the Newar Buddhist tradition.

For a start, there is the so-called *Bauddhadaśakriyāsādhana*, which survives in a sole incomplete palm leaf manuscript kept in the National Archives at Kathmandu (hereafter: NA) (1-1697) and microfilmed by the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project (hereafter NGMPP) (A 936/6).²⁰ It basically replicates the scheme of the

20 The manuscript is incomplete, with only six folios preserved. It seems that a cataloguer has retrospectively assigned the title. The pagination of the preserved pages also seems to be retrospective. The folio paginated as “2” in fact belongs between the folios paginated as “5” and “6.” This was

ten *saṃskāras* of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*.²¹ However, unlike Kuladatta's text, it prescribes for each *saṃskāra* that a particular form of Agni is to be invoked and worshipped.²² This important feature continues in significantly modified form in standard Newar practice right to the present.

Another prominent text deserving consideration here is the *Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi*. This text has been translated into Tibetan (Tohoku catalogue No. 2499) and also survives in a number of manuscripts in the original Sanskrit.²³ Tanemura has consulted the Tibetan translation and extracted useful material (2004: 74–8), but there is still the

not noted by the contributors to the journal *Dhīḥ: Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project* (vol. 22) summarizing this text, who, as a consequence of the garbled pagination, wrongly read *annaprāsana pañcama* instead of the correct *[nā]makaraṇapañcamavidhi* (3v4; according to the extant pagination 4v4).

- 21 Note that already in the preserved manuscript of the *Bauddhadaśakriyāsādhana* the term *sīmantonayana* (lit.: “the drawing [*unnayana*] of the parting of the hair”) had morphed into the term *sīmantopanayana* (“the initiation [*upanayana*] of the parting of the hair”), which has become the standard expression in the Newar tradition. This terminological shift suggests that the parting of the hair was practically unknown as a *saṃskāra* performed for humans.

The sixth *saṃskāra* is referred to as *annaprāsananopanayana* (1v3), *upanayana* (3v4; according to the extant pagination 4v4) and as *annaprāsana* (4r4; according to the extant pagination 5r4). To my mind this shows that the terms *annaprāsana* (to use the standard spelling instead of the spelling favored in the manuscript) and *upanayana* are two different terms to refer to the same rite (hence I take *annaprāsananopanayana* to be a *karmadhāraya* and not a *dvandva* as Tanemura (2004: 73), namely the infant initiation (known in Newari as *macā jamko*). It consists in the main of the first rice feeding, but also comprises the preceding first feeding of fruits (*phalaprāsana*) and the subsequent cleansing of the throat (*kaṇṭhaśodhana*). (Cf. also Tokyo Ms. 113 of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, which reads, as cited in Tanemura's monograph [2004: 69, n. 47], *iti upanayanānnaprāsanaḥ*, an expression I again take as a *karmadhāraya* compound.)

Unlike the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, the treatment of the wedding in the *Bauddhadaśakriyāsādhana* is followed by instructions for the fire ritual. Surprisingly, both the wedding and this fire ritual are designated as pertaining to the stage of *adhivāsana* (6v1–7: *daśamakriyāvidhānena vivāhenādhi-vāsanaṃ samāptaṃ* || ... 6v7 || ◎|| *tato 'dhivāsana-homa<ṃ> kārayet*). Normally, at this stage the deity is first summoned in order to inform it about the imminent consecration rite and beg for its favor to oblige and comply with the rites to be performed for it. It is of course quite possible that further rites of consecration followed in the lost section of the manuscript, which breaks off with the line instructing to perform the *adhivāsana homa*. Given the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*'s instruction and Newar practice, the *pratiṣṭhā* rites proper (i.e. in the narrower sense of that word) and the tantric *abhiṣekas* would come to mind as possible sequels (see below). However, I find it puzzling that the entire consecration by way of the ten *saṃskāras* should be assigned to the preparatory stage and wonder whether the term *adhivāsana* might be used differently in the present context. It should also be noted that the *pratiṣṭhā* rite proper and the tantric *abhiṣekas* are absent in the next two texts to be discussed here.

- 22 For details see Tanemura (2004: 74).

- 23 At least four copies survive in the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu (NA) and have been microfilmed by the NGMPP, namely:

NA 5-279, NGMPP A 920/9 (dated 1620)

NA 4-905, NGMPP E 1514/5

NA 5-150, NGMPP A 920/8 (it contains Newari translations and explanations).

The oldest (and sole palm leaf) manuscript is NA 3-380 (NGMPP B 30/33). It has been wrongly catalogued as *Karmādhikāraavidhāna*, but the colophon identifies this manuscript as *Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi*.

need of a proper study of the Sanskrit original. The *Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi* does not list the rite of *pūṃsavana* as a separate *saṃskāra*, though it does teach as part of the *sīmantonṇayana* the crucial installation of the heart mantra in the image, which is taught in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* as part of the *pūṃsavana* (pp. 163f.). Instead of the *pūṃsavana* rite, the *Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi* adds a detailed treatment of the fire rituals (entitled *Dvādaśabāhyāgnikriyā*) that are to be performed upon conclusion of the wedding rite as the tenth item. These rites comprise the invocation and worship of twelve kinds of fire (which differ from the ten fires prescribed in the *Bauddhadaśakriyāsādhana* and matched with particular *saṃskāras*). Each fire serves as a form of empowerment bestowing a particular *siddhi*,²⁴ with the consecration image being presumably the recipient here. Thus, even though the thrust of these empowerments is very different from the soteriologically oriented *abhiṣekas* ordained in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, they apparently serve a comparable purpose, namely to complete the consecration by imbuing the image with all further requisite qualities in addition to the sacralization effected by the preceding ten *saṃskāras*.

A further relevant manuscript is again kept in the National Archives (5-278, NGMPP B 106/27). It consists of two parts, the former dealing with rites related to the construction of *caityas*, and the latter (starting at 12r3 with an invocation of Sarvajña and verses in praise) expounding the ten rites of the consecration proper. (It is not clear whether the title *Daśakriyā* given in the last line refers only to the latter part, or whether it is also meant to subsume the first set of rites.) The rites taught in the second part are exactly the same ten *saṃskāras* taught in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, with large chunks of that text being reproduced verbatim. However, despite the great closeness, the text is not identical. It only renders part of the material of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, and unlike that text it includes the invocation of particular forms of fire in the context of each particular *saṃskāra*. In this it agrees with the *Bauddhadaśakriyāsādhana* though the details are not identical. Moreover, unlike the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* the text includes neither the *pratiṣṭhā* rites proper nor the *abhiṣekas*, but ends upon conclusion of the wedding rites.

There is a further, closely related palm leaf Sanskrit manuscript dealing with the establishment and consecration of images and *caityas*. It is kept in the Lingyinsi temple in Hangzhou (located in Zhejiang province in southern China). The Chinese transmission accompanying the mentioned manuscript (and studied by Guangchang Fang)²⁵ suggests that it dates to 1000 CE. If this were correct, it would predate the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and be a possible direct or indirect source. However, the colophon dates the manuscript to the year 520, i.e. 1400 CE, and according to Harunaga Isaacson the script of the manuscript (to which I have no access) confirms this date and does not date back to 1000. The Lingyinsi manuscript prescribes the same ten rites as in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and has a separate first part dealing with the construction of

24 For details see Tanemura (2004: 75).

25 For details of this manuscript see Guangchang Fang's paper "Findings about a Northern Song Dynasty Pattra Sutra Kept in the Lingyinsi Temple" (2008).

sacred structures. As Isaacson informed me, it in fact seems to reproduce the same text as the manuscript described in the preceding paragraph (i.e. NGMPP B 106/27).

No doubt, a sustained survey of relevant manuscript collections will uncover more relevant Sanskrit materials than the texts mentioned here. However, for the present purposes this brief sketch shall suffice in order to give some idea of the range of texts that underly and inform the Newar tradition. The other manuscripts examined as part of the present study have been produced in the Malla era or later. They are written in a characteristic mix of Newari and Sanskrit. The instructions to perform specific ritual acts are written in Newari, while the text to be recited is in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit portions have been mainly (but not exclusively) taken over from the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā*. In addition to invocations and verses of praises they also include *sādhana* instructions pertaining to the visualization of the deity (often in form of its seed syllable) and the process of drawing the deity into the object that is being consecrated (often by means of rays emanating from the *ācārya*'s heart). This shows that *sādhana* instructions in the Newar tradition have since long had a tendency to be treated liturgically, being recited in Sanskrit without being set into action mentally. To be sure, this tendency is not operative in all contexts and not among all practitioners, whose degree of proficiency can vary widely.

The examined manuscripts typically serve as ritual handbooks for practicing priests. They have found their way in large numbers into collections such as the National Archives, but they also continue to be owned privately by Vajrācārya priests, some of who continue to maintain the waning tradition of scribing copies of their own.²⁶ I have sampled a number of these manuscripts and ended up studying in more detail a handful, which are listed in the bibliography. The focus has been on material from the Kathmandu tradition, which I am particularly familiar with through my research on the Svayambhūcaitya. Its texts are more readily available than those of the Patan tradition as they are better represented in the collections of the National Archives and the Āśā Saphū Kuthi, and as they have, as a consequence, been microfilmed to a greater extent by the NGMPP. For the Patan tradition, I have used two near-identical texts, which represent the ritual tradition of Kvā Bāhāḥ (Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra). Hence, it should

26 A good example is the collection of the late Ratna Kaji Bajracharya. It includes a massive manuscript of 198 paginated folios, dated to 1864 and titled *Ācāryapūjākarmasamgraha* on the wooden book cover. It treats not only the consecration rites but also most other rites typically performed by Vajrācārya priests. Ratnakaji purchased it from another Vajrācārya. In addition there is a manuscript scribed by the late Harsha Ratna Bajracharya of Te Bāhāḥ, reportedly one of the last professional copyists operating in the Valley. The manuscript is solely dedicated to the consecration ceremony and on 22 folios reproduces the standard text used nowadays. Moreover, there is a manuscript scribed by Ratnakaji himself in 1974 in traditional Newari script. In addition to the consecration rites (which are treated in standard form), it also includes— separately paginated—the rites performed in the context of establishing a new *caitya*. Ratnakaji continued to use this manuscript for the performance of consecration rituals, even after he obtained a printed copy of the *Daśakarmapraṭiṣṭhā* published in 1989 by Badrīratna Bajrācārya. This printed copy reproduces what appears to be the most common version of the text. Nowadays, the Vajrācāryas of Kathmandu generally use this printed version instead of manuscripts.

be borne in mind that my remarks regarding the practices of Patan only represent one, particularly prominent, tradition and do not take into account the divergent practices at Bu Bāhāḥ (Yaśodhara Mahāvihāra) and at Bhiñche Bāhāḥ (Mayūraṇa Mahāvihāra) or at other ritual centers in Patan with their own distinct traditions. More generally, since I have only studied a small selection of texts, the results presented here can only have preliminary character and call for a more detailed study of the vast body of ritual texts preserved. From my survey it transpires that there are marked differences (on which more below) between the texts used in Kathmandu, on the one hand, and in the ritual tradition associated with the Kvā Bāhāḥ of Patan, on the other. It is clear that, though equally rooted in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, these two principal centers of Newar Buddhism developed and preserved their distinct traditions. By contrast, I have only detected minor deviations among the texts pertaining to the Kathmandu tradition.²⁷ This homogeneity also extends in time, with large conformity between handbooks of the Malla era—the earliest dated text I consulted is from the very end of the seventeenth century—and contemporary handbooks including the above mentioned printed copy that is widely used in present-day practice.

The prenatal *saṃskāras* and their place in the consecration ceremony

The most important differences between the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and Newar practice concerns the overall structure. The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* identifies the first prenatal *saṃskāra* with the initiation of the image's production. More precisely, the rite of *yonīśodhana* is performed here in order to purify the materials for the production of the image and empower the artisans and their tools. As for the subsequent prenatal *saṃskāra* of rendering the fetus male (*pūṃsavana*), the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (162, 12) instructs the ritual master “to have an iron rod fixed (or: fashioned) so that it becomes the deity's strength/essence” (*ayomayīm yaṣṭim devasya sārabhūtam ghāṭayitvā*). Skorupski (2002: 142, 6) has taken *sāra* (strength/essence) to refer more precisely to the deity's spine as which the rod is to function. Tanemura (2004: 265, n. 128), by contrast, has argued that the instruction refers to the lost wax technique of making images, and that the rod is to serve as an armature supporting the casting core. I find the phrase too terse and enigmatic to have confidence in either interpretation.²⁸ In this I am not alone, for the Newar handbooks dealing with the *pūṃsavana* rite have chosen to ignore the critical expression *devasya sārabhūtam* qualifying *yaṣṭi* (rod) and simply render the Sanskrit as fol-

²⁷ As for the case of Patan, see my remarks above.

²⁸ I have discussed the instruction in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* with statue makers in Patan specializing in the lost wax technique. They could not explain the possible use of an iron rod and said that at most they might use iron wire or mesh in order to strengthen the mold.

lows: “set up an iron or copper rod.”²⁹ However, even with his incomplete rendering of the Sanskrit instruction it would still seem that the rite of *pūṃsavana* is to be performed during the production stage, as Tanemura and Skorupski have it. The final prenatal rite, namely the parting of the mother’s hair (*sīmantonayana*), is identified in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* with the phase of *adhivāsana*, when the deity is summoned and invited to enter the completed image. The *adhivāsana* rites are preparatory and performed on the day before the principal rites of consecration. They include the setting up and ritual installation of the bathing vessels (*snānakalāśa*), which are used in the course of the consecration rites to sprinkle water over the image, thereby empowering it. The *sīmantonayana* thus introduces the principal consecration ceremony that spans two days. The second and main day commences with the rite of birth when the deity comes alive in the image, and includes all the following *saṃskāras*, as well as the subsequent rites of consecration.

In the Patan tradition studied here, two of the three prenatal rites are observed, namely the *yonisaṃśodhana* (the standard term used instead of *yonisōdhana*) and the *sīmantopanayana* (as the *sīmantonayana* has come to be known in the Newar tradition)³⁰, while the *pūṃsavana* does not feature. However, unlike in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* these rites are not associated with the initiation of the production process and the preparatory *adhivāsana* day, but are performed in one go together with the other *saṃskāras* on the main day of the consecration ceremony. The preceding *adhivāsana* day in this tradition is limited to the ritual installation of the fire pit, and to the establishment of the nine bathing vessels. These vessels are prepared by imbuing them with the presence of the fifty-three deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (in the standard configuration attested in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*), a topic to which I will return in more detail below. In the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* the bathing vessels are likewise set up on the *adhivāsana* day and identified with the deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, but this happens within the brackets of the *sīmantonayana* rite. It can thus be witnessed that the *sīmantonayana* rites in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and in the Patan tradition differ as to their content.

Similarly the *yonisōdhana* rite prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* differs from the brief *yonisaṃśodhana* that initiates the process of consecration on the main day in the Patan tradition. While the former rite consists in the purification and sacralization of the materials out of which the icon is fashioned, the latter rite entails the summoning of the deity (*adhivāsana*), an act that normally is performed a day ahead of the main

29 *Pratiṣṭhāvidhāna* (B 105/10), 95v2: *nakasaṃ nja sejala, yirasi dayake*. Cf. *Pratiṣṭhādasakriyāvidhi* (E 2571/4, 44v5f.).

If the phrase *sārabhūtam* does not refer to an important structural function of the *yaṣṭi*, could it be that it refers to the overt purpose of the *pūṃsavana* rite, namely to imbue the deity with masculinity, the idea being that the erect iron *yaṣṭi* and its strength and hardness render the deity male? Such an interpretation would have the benefit that *devasya* would not need to refer to the physical image (for which the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* generally uses the expression *pratimā* or *pratimādevatā*), but to the deity that is established by the consecration rites inside the image.

30 Cf. n. 21.

ritual function and in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* occurs as part of the *sīmantonayana*. This does not mean that in the Patan tradition the ritual purification of the raw materials is unknown, but that it is performed without identifying it with the *yonisaṃśodhana* rite of passage. In other words, the rites subsumed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* under the rubric of the prenatal *samskāras* are (at least partly) performed, though not under this rubric but as stand-alone rites. This disassociation, which is also attested in the Kathmandu tradition (see below), was possible because these subsumed rites only have a tenuous link with the corresponding *samskāra* performed for humans. This is particularly so in the case of the *sīmantonayana* rite, which in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* does not entail any rite that could be identified specifically as an act performed during pregnancy for the mother or the fetus she is carrying. To my mind, this suggests that not only nowadays but also in the past Newar Buddhists normally did not perform the *sīmantonayana* rite for human actors, a point to which I will return below. On the basis of this I propose that the incorporation of the ten *samskāras* as attested in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* was not motivated by the desire to subject the consecration image to the same set of rites of passage as performed for human actors. I will suggest below that instead the consecration ceremony may have come to include the ten *samskāras* in imitation of Hindu tantric practice where there had long been a tradition of performing the *samskāras*, including the *sīmantonayana*, for the generation of Agni as part of the fire ritual.

Having considered the structure of the consecration ceremony in the tradition of Patan studied here, I now turn to the more complex situation in the Kathmandu tradition. The handbooks that I have surveyed (for details see the bibliography) impose a differentiation between, on the one hand, the principal consecration ceremony performed for the finished image, normally over the course of two days, and, on the other hand, the various consecration rites that are to be performed prior to this final consecration ceremony. Larger compendia of Newar Buddhist rites (bearing such names as *Karmavidhisamgraha* or *Ācāryapūjākarmasamgraha*) treat the prior consecration rites and the final consecration ceremony as two separate parts (or even texts). Briefer handbooks typically only treat the final consecration ceremony. These treatments have become texts in their own right and as such are typically called “The Consecration Ceremony of the Ten Acts” (*daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhi*) or a close variant thereof.³¹ This includes the printed version by Badrīratna Bajrācārya, entitled *Daśakarmapratīṣṭhā*.

31 The title for the consecration ceremony proper mentions ten acts because this had come to be perceived as the standard requisite number for a complete consecration. The absence of the three prenatal rights in this ceremony meant that other rites had to be counted as *samskāras* in their own right in order to yield the total number of ten. Though this is not spelled out explicitly in the sources I studied, it is apparent that the constituent parts of the infant initiation (*upanayana*; Newari: *macā jaṃko*) came to be reckoned separately. This makes sense for the first two elements, namely the first feeding of fruit (*phalaprāsana*) and the first feeding of rice (*annaprāsana*). They are distinct rites in the Brahmanical scheme, and they are also differentiated in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. Thus, the consecration image is bathed separately on the occasion of each of these feedings. What is more, for this consecrated water from two different vessels is used (see n. 37), with the result that in the course of these two rites the image becomes empowered by different dei-

As in the case of the final consecration ceremony, there seems to have emerged one standard version for the prenatal rites that is attested with slight variations across the handbooks I have studied. This version is clearly based on the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* but also deviates significantly. Regarding the first prenatal rite, the *yonisodhana*, the examined manuscripts differ insofar as they do not differentiate between the treatment of cloth paintings and of images made of stone, copper etc. Rather, they have merged the separate prescriptions found in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* for these two types of icons into one ceremony. The Newar handbooks follow the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, however, in treating “books” (*pustaka*) separately, though they deal with the production of books not as part of the *yonisodhana* prescriptions as the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* does, but as an independent section, which is entitled “book-writing” (*puṭhi coya vidhi*) and follows upon the *yonisodhana*.

Though not subsumed under the ten *saṃskāras* of the principal consecration ceremony, the *yonisodhana* is a rite that in one form or another is indeed commonly performed when manufacturing sacred objects. On August 17, 2008 I had the opportunity to witness how the *yonisodhana* ceremony was performed at Svayambhū in order to purify and consecrate the copper sheeting to be used for repairing the Svayambhūcaitya, and in order to empower the artisans and bless their tools. The priests used the same standard text attested in the manuscripts studied here and followed its prescriptions closely. The Svayambhūcaitya is the most sacred shrine of Newar Buddhism, and its renovation obviously means that particular care is taken. More commonly, a much simpler rite is performed in order to bless the building materials and the artisans and their tools.

ties. The identification as a separate *saṃskāra* also works for the third element, namely the rite of cleaning the throat (*kaṇṭhasodhana*; Newari: *kaṇṭha khuye*). However, this is less convincing since this action is closely associated with the preceding rice feeding (cf. n. 21). Counting the first fruit and rice feeding and the cleansing of the throat as distinct rites brings the total number of *saṃskāras* to nine. As for the tenth rite, it seems that the Newar handbooks—for lack of a better solution—reckon *upanayana* as a distinct *saṃskāra* beyond its three mentioned constituent parts. For this they mark off what originally was the concluding section of the infant initiation as a separate rite and entitle it alone *upanayana*. However, this section does not include any *saṃskāra*-like acts and consists only of the praise and worship of the deity present in the image, accompanied by the entreaty to fulfill the sponsor’s wishes and work for all beings (cf. Bajrācārya 1989: 14). Though not entirely satisfactory, this solution allowed for the identification of ten distinct *saṃskāras*, while yet sticking closely to the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and avoiding the addition of rites not prescribed in that text.

Tanemura (2004: 72) takes it that the *Bauddhadaśakriyāvidhāna* also treats the *annaprāśana* and *upanayana* as distinct rites, but as I have argued above (see n. 21) it is better to interpret this text’s key term *annaprāśanopanayana* (1v3) as a *karmadhāraya* rather than a *dvandva* and understand the “the rice feeding initiation.” Tanemura also claims (2004: 288, n. 190) that in the *Hiraṇyamāla-daśakriyāvidhi* the *upanayana* only includes the feeding of fruit and the cleansing of the throat and that the rice feeding is omitted all together. However, as the Newari translation (A 920/8, 3v4–folio 3 has been wrongly paginated as “2”) with its gloss of *upanayana* (*upanayana, śi nako, ja nako, kaṇṭhasodhana*) makes clear, the rice feeding, too, is subsumed in this text under the *upanayana*.

As for the subsequent prenatal *saṃskāra* of rendering the fetus male (*pūṃsavana*), nowadays this rite is, as far as I know, not performed as a separate ceremony on its own, and I suspect that, if known at all, its performance was very rare in the past. Of the handbooks treating the prenatal rites, only some include it, and where I found the rite attested the text simply renders the Sanskrit wording of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* into Newari without any sign that its content has been modified in order to reflect changes in practice.³² This strongly suggests that there was no tradition of performing the *pūṃsavana* in practice as a distinct rite, and that the authors simply included it for completeness' sake in order to comply with the authoritative model of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. The avoidance of performing the *pūṃsavana* as taught in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* may have to do with the difficulty of carrying out this rite during the production stage, as the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* seems to prescribe. As the most crucial part of this rite, the priest draws down the deity's seed syllable into the image and binds it there. This process is clearly identified with conception, as indicated by the use of the syllables *hoḥ* which enclose the seed syllable as it is drawn down (see n. 6), and as also explicitly expressed by the accompanying verses that are recited thrice:

“Just as all the Saṃbuddhas have settled in the *tuṣita* heaven and just as [Śākya-muni stayed] in the womb of Māyādevī, so may [the deity] stay in this image (*ākṛtau*). May the Buddhas in all directions be my witness. I, a *vajra* holder (*vajrī*) named such and such, establish the deity [in this image].”³³

At the end of the *pūṃsavana* rite, the priest does not dismiss the deity. The object hence remains imbued with the divine presence transported by the seed syllable. This raises the question of how the artisans can continue with the production work of the image, which by necessity involves intrusive acts such as chiseling. Such problems are avoided in the Newar tradition where the crucial drawing down of the seed syllable is not performed during the production stage, as the *pūṃsavana* seems to require, but as part of the *sīmantonayana* rite performed once the image has been completed. This accords with the *Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi*. It dispenses with the *pūṃsavana* (but not with the other prenatal rites) as a separate rite associated with the stage of production, and it likewise subsumes the drawing down of the heart syllable under the *sīmantonayana saṃskāra*.

As for the principal consecration ceremony in the Kathmandu tradition, the first *saṃskāra* to be nominally performed is the rite of birth (*jātakarman*). However, the *jātakarman* includes at the very beginning the principal rites of summoning the deity (*adhivāsana*) as set forth in the *sīmantonayana* section in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, with verses 3–12 of that section being reproduced verbatim (cf. Bajrācārya 1989: 4–6). This means that the rites of summoning in Kathmandu practice are performed at the

32 Cf. *Pratiṣṭhāvidhāna* (B 105/10) 94r1–95v1, and *Pratiṣṭhādasakriyāvidhi* (E 2571/4) 44v4–45r5.

33 *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 163, 5–8 (the above translation is Tanemura's, 2004: 266): *yathā hi sarva-saṃbuddhās tuṣite saṃpratiṣṭhitāḥ, māyādevyā yathā kuṅṅsau tadvat tiṣṭhatv ihākṛtau. samanvāharantu māṃ buddhā aśeṣadikṣu saṃsthitāḥ, amuko 'haṃ nāma vajrī devatāṃ kalpayāmy aham.*

same point as in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, the difference being that nominally they pertain to the rite of birth rather than to the prenatal rite of parting the hair, which does not feature. Unlike the Patan case, the rites of summoning the deity (*adhivāsana*) are performed on the so-called *dusaḥ* day preceding the main day (which is commonly known as *pūrṇa* because it sees the completion of all consecration rites). But whereas the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* prescribes that the *sīmantonayana* with the *adhivāsana* rites alone are performed one day ahead of the main consecration rites, in Newar practice not only the *adhivāsana* rite, but also the subsequent rites of birth and all other *saṃskāras* up to the return from sacred studies (*samāvartana*) are performed on the first day. On the main day the consecration rites are completed by performing the wedding rites as well as the subsequent *pratiṣṭhā* rites proper (see below), the tantric *abhiṣekas* that are bestowed upon the image and the concluding sealing of the consecration. It can be seen, then, that both the Kathmandu and the Patan tradition treated here deviate from the model of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, albeit in opposite ways. While in the former tradition rites belonging in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* to the main day are performed on the *dusaḥ* day, in the latter tradition rites belonging to the *dusaḥ* day are performed on the main day. To be sure, these differences do not have to be the result of divergent developments that have the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* as their point of origin. It is also conceivable that they are rooted in closely related but different traditions contemporaneous with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. The quest for an original tradition as the starting point for all later developments seems to me, at least at the present stage of research, an impossible and ill-conceived undertaking. The emphasis should rather be on an accurate description of the different forms of ritual practice and their analysis.

The *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* and bathing vessels

A key element of the consecration ceremony is the bathing of the image with previously empowered water. Kuladatta prescribes in his *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* how on the preceding *adhivāsana* day a bathing platform (*snānavedī*) with bathing vessels (*snānakalaśa*) is prepared for this purpose. These vessels have already been mentioned above, though without providing much information. The constellation of the bathing vessels and their use are crucial elements of the consecration ceremony and in the following I want to present how the scheme laid down in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* has been modified in different ways in the Kathmandu and Patan tradition. Since the consecration practices of Newar Buddhism have hardly been studied, I will attempt as accurate a description as possible and go into considerable detail.

The natural starting point is again the treatment in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. It prescribes that in the center of the bathing platform a lotus flower is drawn on which the consecration image is to be set up. It is surrounded by eight vessels (*kalaśa*) into which the fifty-three deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala as recorded in the *Niṣpanna-*

yogāvalī are summoned.³⁴ They are located in the cardinal and intermediate directions,³⁵ and marked with the signs (*cihna*) of the deities they contain. In course of the consecration the image is bathed with water from each *kalaśa*. In this way the deity is consecrated with water that has been imbued with the presence of all of the deities of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. This serves to identify the deity with the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The details for the vessels' location, the deities summoned into them, and the context of their use are as follows:³⁶

- Northeast: Vairocana together with Sattvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī, and Karmavajrī, i.e. the same goddesses who surround Vairocana in the central chamber of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The image is consecrated from this flask (*kalaśa*) as part of the name-giving ceremony (*nāmakaraṇa*).
- East: Akṣobhya together with Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu, i.e. the same deities who surround Akṣobhya in the eastern chamber of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The image is consecrated from this flask as part of the birth ceremony (*jātakarman*).
- Southeast: the eight worship goddesses (*pūjādevī*), namely Vajralāsya, Vajramālā, Vajragītā, and Vajranṛtyā, as well as Vajradhūpā, Vajrapuṣpā, Vajradīpā and Vajragandhā. In the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, they occupy the intermediate directions of the central chamber and of the circle enclosing the five chambers of the five Buddhas. The image is consecrated from this *kalaśa* as part of the wedding ceremony (*pāṇigrahaṇa*) and possibly also in preparation of the rice feeding ceremony.³⁷

34 Henceforth all references to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala will refer to the version recorded in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (number 19), which is the standard employed in the Newar tradition.

35 The *Vajrāvalī*, too, prescribes that on the bathing platform eight (earthen) vessels be set up in the cardinal and intermediate directions around the center (Mori 2005: 204, n. 17: *snānavedīm ... digvidikṣu sthāpitāṣṭakalaśāṃ mṛnmṛṣṭāṃ ... kārayitvā...*). However, Abhayākaragupta provides no information on which deities are to be summoned into these vessels.

36 Cf. *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 165f.: *saṃprati vitānacchatradhvajapatākākusmādibhiḥ snānavedīm alaṅkṛtya tanmadhye viśvalakamalam abhiliḥya, athavā piṣṭātakair abhiliḥya tadbahir aṣṭau kalaśāni sthāpayet. tatraiśānyāṃ mahāvairocanasattvavajrīratnavajrīdharmavajrīkarmavajrīnām pañcacihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam. pūrvasyām akṣobhyavajrasattvavajrarājavajrarāgavajrasādhuṅām pañcacihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam. āgneye vajralāsya vajramālāvajragītāvajranṛtyāvajradhūpāvajrapuṣpāvajradīpāvajragandhānām aṣṭacihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam. dakṣiṇasyām ratnasambhavavajraratnavajratejavajraketuvajrahāsānām pañcacihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam. nairṛtyām vajrāṅkuṣāvajrapāśavajrasphoṭavajrāveśānām catuścihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam. pṛṣṭhato 'mitābhavajradharmavajratikṣṇavajrahetuvajrabhāṣānām pañcacihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam. vāyavye maitreyāmoghadarśisarvāpāyāñjahasarvaśokatamonirghātanamatiḡandhahastisūraṅgamaganagañjajñānaketvamita-prabhacandraprabhabhadrapālajālīnīprabhavajragarbhākṣayamatipratibhānakūṭasamantabhadraṅām ṣoḍaśacihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam. uttarasyām amoghasiddhivajrakarmavajrarakṣavajrayakṣavajrasamdhīnām pañcacihnāṅkitakalaśam ekam.*

37 The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*'s treatment of the first feeding of rice begins with the phrase "then, after having bathed [the image] with water from the flask over which [the mantra of] Vajragītā has been recited, ..." (187, 2: *tato vajragītābhijaptakalaśodakena snāpya*). Vajragītā is among the eight Pūjā Goddesses. Hence, this phrase implies that the vessel containing these deities is not only employed at the wedding rite, but also at the very outset of the first feeding of fruits or rice. However,

- South: Ratnasambhava and the four surrounding deities Vajraratna, Vajrateja, Vajraketu and Vajrahāsā, i.e. the same deities who surround Ratnasambhava in the southern chamber of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The image is consecrated from this *kalaśa* as part of the ear-piercing ceremony that is performed immediately after the tonsure in the context of the *cūḍākarana* ceremony.
- Southwest: Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa and Vajrāveśa, the four gate keepers of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The second bathing on the preparatory *adhivāsana* day is from this *kalaśa*. It occurs in context of the *saṃskāra* of “parting the hair” (*sīmantonayana*).
- West: Amitābha as well as Vajradharma, Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu and Vajrabhāṣa, the four deities who surround him in the western chapel of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The image is consecrated from this *kalaśa* at the beginning of the tonsure ceremony (*cūḍākarana*).
- Northwest: The sixteen Bodhisattvas Maitreya, Amoghadarśin, Sarvāpāyāñjaha, Sarvaśokatamonirghātanamati, Gandhahasti, Śūraṅgama, Gaganagañja, Jñānaketu, Amitaprabha, Candraprabha, Bhadrāpāla, Jālinīprabha, Vajragarbha, Akṣayamati, Pratibhānakūṭa, Samantabhadra. In the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala they are arranged in sets of four along the four sides of the square enclosing the inner chamber (*garbhakūṭa*). The bathing of the image commences with the waters from this *kalaśa* on the *adhivāsana* day as part of the ceremony of “parting the hair” (*sīmantonayana*).
- North: Amoghasiddhi and Vajrakarman, Vajrarakṣa, Vajrayakṣa and Vajrasaṃdhi, the four deities who surround Amoghasiddhi in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the northern chamber. The image is consecrated from this *kalaśa* as part of the first feeding of fruits (*phalaprāsana*).

This setup is largely preserved in the Patan tradition that I had occasion to witness in

it is surprising that the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* only refers to this bathing in such a cursory manner, without providing details of the *maṅgalagāthā* that normally would go along with the sprinkling of the image from a bathing vessel. Moreover, it is irregular that according to this instruction the bathing vessel with the eight Pūjā Goddesses would be employed twice, while otherwise the bathing vessels are only used once. Given these difficulties, it is tempting to choose the alternate and well-attested reading *vajrakarmābhijaptakalaśodakena* which mentions Vajrakarman (rather than Vajragītā) and hence refers to the Amoghasiddhi flask. If this reading were adopted the text would not refer to the bathing of the image at the outset of the *annaprāsana* rite, but instead it would refer back to the bathing that occurs just before, in context of the first feeding of fruits, when indeed “the waters of the flask that has been empowered with the mantra of Vajrakarman” are employed (*vajrakarmābhijaptakalaśajalāiḥ*; 186, 3f.). However, the Newar sources I have consulted confirm that the image is to be bathed anew at the outset of the rice feeding ceremony, though they do not specify which vessel should be used for this, and thus suggest that this bathing is not equivalent to the sprinkling of the image with consecrated water from a *snānakalaśa* of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Possibly, the Newar tradition is a response to the mentioned difficulties posed by the reading *tato vajragītābhijaptakalaśodakena snāpya*. (To modify the text and read Vajrakarman instead of Vajragītā may have been an alternative attempt to address the same problem.)



Plate 1: The nine bathing vessels (*snānakalaśa*) as they were set up for a consecration ritual performed in Guḥi Bāhāḥ (Jñānakīrti Vihāra) in Patan on the 19th of November 2003. The vessels are covered by small clay saucers containing rice grains, an areca nut and a coin (*kisali*). They are crowned by honorific parasols (*chattrā*) made of round white fabric cut into circular shape and fixed to a wooden stick.

practice, and to study on the basis of two closely related handbooks, as well as interviews with practicing priests. However, there is an important deviation from the prescription of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. The vessels do not encircle the consecration image but are set up to its side.³⁸ The vessels are arranged according to the eight points of the compass in basic agreement with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. However, the center is not left vacant, but filled by the vessel dedicated to Vairocana and the four surrounding Vajrī Goddesses. In the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* this vessel is located in the northeast, but its natural place is indeed in the center in accordance with the constellation of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. The resultant gap in the northeast is filled by an additional ninth vessel. It contains again Vairocana, but apparently without the four surrounding goddesses, possibly to avoid their duplication. While this solution entails the duplication of Vairocana in the central and north-eastern vessel, it has the advantage that it is otherwise faithful to the authoritative tradition of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. Plate 1 shows the nine vessels in the tight square arrangement typically employed in Patan.

³⁸ As the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and *Vajrāvalī* (Mori 2005: 205) explicitly state, the center of the *snāna-maṇḍala* is by need unoccupied if the object to be consecrated is an immovable permanent structure, such as a monastery or non-portable *caitya*. Could it be that this exceptional case had become so common in the Newar tradition that it became the norm for consecration rites generally, with the consequence that the permanently vacant center called for an occupant?

Regarding the bathing vessels there is a further important difference between the prescriptions of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṭṭhikā* and the Patan tradition as recorded in the two handbooks I studied. It concerns the context in which these bathing vessels are used for sprinkling the consecration image. In the Patan tradition their employment is spread differently over the *saṃskāras* and they are allocated to different rites than prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṭṭhikā*. The details can be gleaned from the following table, which also includes the equivalent data from the Kathmandu tradition. The first column gives in chronological order the *saṃskāra* or other rite, in the context of which the image is sprinkled with water from one of the bathing vessels. The subsequent columns provide information on the bathing vessel used for a given rite, mentioning the direction in which the vessel is set up, and the deities which have been summoned into it. If no bathing vessel is used this is indicated by a “0.” The table provides this data for the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṭṭhikā*, the Patan tradition and the Kathmandu tradition:

Context of sprinkling from bathing vessel	<i>Kriyāsaṃgrahaṭṭhikā</i>	Patan Tradition	Kathmandu Tradition
First part <i>sīmantomayana</i>	NW (sixteen Bodhisattvas)	NE (Vairocana alone)	0
Second part <i>sīmantomayana</i>	SW (Vajrāṅkuṣa etc.)	East (Akṣobhya etc.)	0
Rite of birth	East (Akṣobhya etc.)	NW (sixteen Bodhisattvas)	First Amitābha vessel then separately Akṣobhya vessel and then later again Akṣobhya
Name giving ceremony	NE (Vairocana etc.)	South (Ratnasambhava etc.)	Vairocana
First feeding of fruits and rice	North (Amoghasiddhi etc.)	SW (Vajrāṅkuṣa etc.)	Amoghasiddhi
Rite of tonsure	West (Amitābha etc.)	North (Amoghasiddhi etc.)	Amitābha
Rite of ear-piercing belonging to tonsure	South (Ratnasambhava etc.)	0	Ratnasambhava
Imposition of vows	0	West (Amitābha etc.)	0
Return from studies	0	SE (Vajralāsyā etc.)	0
Wedding	SE (Vajralāsyā etc.)	0	0
Water consecration first Tantric <i>abhiṣeka</i>	0	Vessel in middle (Vairocana etc.)	0

As can be gathered from this table, even though the Patan tradition operates with basically the same configuration of bathing vessels as prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, the vessels' assignment to specific rites could hardly be more different. This discrepancy (for which I do not have a ready explanation) is even more striking if we consider the Kathmandu data. It shows that the vessels of the five Buddhas (which are the sole bathing vessels employed for sprinkling the deity in the Kathmandu tradition) are—with the exception of the vessel of Amitābha that is used at the start of the birthing rite—assigned to the same rites as prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. On the other hand, the table also shows that in the Kathmandu tradition only the vessels of the five Buddhas are employed for sprinkling the deity. Moreover, these vessels are identified with a single Buddha alone and do not include their entourage.³⁹ These peculiarities are indicative of the fact that in the Kathmandu tradition the constellation and setup of the bathing vessels for the consecration ceremony deviates considerably from the scheme of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* outlined above, a topic that will be treated in the following.⁴⁰

I have found no historical sources that would document the details of the bathing vessels' constellation current in Kathmandu. Therefore, I have to rely here on the ceremonies that I witnessed in practice, on the interviews that I conducted with priests and on one modern publication that provides some details, namely Ratnakāṣī Bajrācārya's *Yeṃ deyā bauddha pūjā kriyāyā halaṃjvalaṃ* (*Materials Required for the Rituals of the Buddhists of Kathmandu* (1980: 48f.)). Though there is broad agreement regarding the basic structure, there are, within contemporary Kathmandu practice, some variations in details. These variations often have their origins with the traditional painters (Citrakāra; Newari: Puṃ) who provide the bathing vessels. Commonly, the priest or patron orders these vessels as a set, with the understanding that the painter knows the precise makeup of this set. This means that deviations between different Citrakāras translate into differently configured sets being used in practice.⁴¹ Since I have not been able to identify one authoritative model the details of which would be accepted by all, I present the case of

39 As a result, the image receives the consecration of the five Buddhas just as it does later on when it is empowered by the *vidyābhiṣeka*, which consists of the five *abhiṣekas* identified with the five Buddhas (see p. 203). However, I presume that the underlying rationale of the Kathmandu tradition is not the emulation of the structure of the tantric *abhiṣekas*, but rather the reduction of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala to its core of the five Buddhas.

40 It is tempting to view the divergences between the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, on the one hand, and the Patan tradition and Kathmandu tradition, on the other hand, as the result of modifications of the original scheme recorded in that text. However, as mentioned above, it is also conceivable that there were divergent traditions already at the time of Kuladatta, and that elements of these traditions survive in the practice of Patan and Kathmandu. Alas, the textual study of Newar Buddhism is still in its infancy, and we do not possess the necessary knowledge of its ritual literature and the historical precursors in order to address such questions of development.

41 The differences in the precise configuration of the vessels do not come to the fore because, as we have seen, in course of the consecration rituals as performed in Kathmandu only the vessels of the five Buddhas are used for sprinkling water over the image. The five Buddhas, of course, constitute the core of the setup and are invariably represented.



Plate 2: Adhivāsana-maṇḍala with surrounding Mahākrodha Deities and bathing vessels. The set-up here was installed by Sarbagnya Ratna Bajracharya for a consecration ceremony performed on September 8 and 9, 2008 in Mhaypi, Kathmandu.

one particular ceremony that I have observed on September 8 and 9, 2008 in Mhaypi, on the northwestern outskirts of Kathmandu. It was performed by Raju Bajracharya and Sarbagnya Ratna Bajracharya. The latter priest acted as *upādhyāya* and was in charge of empowering the bathing vessels. He had also painted these vessels and the *maṇḍala* that was used in addition (see below). In doing so, he had followed the tradition recorded by his father, Ratnakāji Bajrācārya (1980: 48f.). I have chosen this particular ceremony because of its written basis, and the additional information that Sarbagnya Ratna kindly shared with me. Also, the ceremony in question accords with other ceremonies that I had previously witnessed and recorded in Kathmandu. Hence, I believe that its details are in basic agreement with general practice and hence deserve to be published here, in order to inform about this largely unknown tradition.

As prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṇāṅgikā* the water vessels are arranged in the Kathmandu tradition in a circle around the center. However, just as in the case of the Patan tradition, the center is not occupied by the consecration image, which is set up

separately. Instead the center is occupied by a painted *maṇḍala* that is mounted on a tripod and framed under glass so as to allow for offerings to be made onto it. Between this *maṇḍala* and the bathing vessels the ten Mahākrodha Deities are arranged in a circle as protectors. They are represented by iron pegs (*kīlana*), sticking in clay clods together with the matching banner. Plate 2 records this setup as it was employed for the mentioned consecration performed in September 2008 in Kathmandu.

The painted *maṇḍala* in the center is commonly known as *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* in Sanskrit and, as *dusaḥ-maṇḍala* in Newari. The later name is used because the *maṇḍala*'s empowerment is an essential element of the preparatory rites performed on the so-called *dusaḥ* (or *dusala*) day, which precedes the main day when the principal ritual action takes place. In this *maṇḍala* the deities are represented by way of their marks (*cihna*). The center is occupied by Vairocana, who is represented by a stylized wheel (*cakra*). In accordance with the standard configuration of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala*, Vairocana is surrounded—starting in the east and proceeding in clockwise direction—by Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi, who are respectively depicted by a blue *vajra*, three inset jewels, a red lotus and a double *vajra*, the so-called *viśvavajra*. Starting in the northeast and proceeding clockwise, the intermediate directions between the four Buddhas are occupied by the Goddesses Locanā (eye on white water lily), Māmakī (*vajra* upon lotus flower), Tārā (blue water lily) and Pāṇḍarā (red lotus flower). They feature instead of the four Vajrī Goddesses, namely Sattvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī and Karmavajrī, who surround Vairocana in the cardinal directions of the innermost circle of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala*. This deviation from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*'s setup is very common in Newar Buddhism.⁴² It has, for

42 However, the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* differs from the standard constellation used normally in Newar Buddhism, insofar as Tārā and Pāṇḍarā have traded places, with Tārā located in the southeast and Pāṇḍarā in the northeast rather than the other way around. This is also at odds with the standard scheme attested in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* for the Mañjuvajra-*maṇḍala* of forty-three deities, the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-*maṇḍala* and the Pañcāḍāka-*maṇḍala*, as well as for the Mañjuvajra-*maṇḍala*, the Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* of the *Piṇḍīkrama*, and the Vajrasattva-*maṇḍala* of the *Śrīsampūṭatantra*. (Because the latter three *maṇḍalas*' central Buddha is a form of Akṣobhya, the goddesses' location shifts by 90 degrees, with Pāṇḍarā located in the northwest and Tārā in the northeast).

Pāṇḍarā and Tārā's trading of places in the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* removes Tārā by 135 degree from Amoghasiddhi. This is odd because Tārā is commonly matched with Amoghasiddhi (just as Māmakī is typically matched with Akṣobhya, Pāṇḍarā with Amitābha, and Locanā with Vairocana). In the Newar tradition the four goddesses are habitually treated counterclockwise, starting with Māmakī in the southeast, proceeding with Locanā in the northeast and Pāṇḍarā in the northwest, and ending with Tārā in the southwest. If Tārā is treated mechanically as occurring after Pāṇḍarā, then this results in her localization in the southwest after Pāṇḍarā in the northwest. However, the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* starts with Māmakī and not with Locanā when proceeding in reverse order. Hence, it could have also adjusted the sequence of Pāṇḍarā and Tārā. Tārā's position in the southwest would not be odd if Amoghasiddhi had assumed the central position of the *maṇḍala*—in the Piṇḍīkrama-Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* Māmakī is located in the southwest but this is not problematic since Akṣobhya has assumed the center in this *maṇḍala*. However, this is clearly not so in case of the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala*, which has the standard configuration with Vairocana in the center. It is of course possible that there is no deeper rationale to the trading of places. Rather, it might have

instance, become the standard pattern employed for structuring the dome of larger free-standing *caityas* across the Valley, with the four Buddhas occupying the niches of the cardinal directions, and the four goddesses set in the niches of the intermediate directions.⁴³ Similarly, when worshiping the Buddha as the first of the three jewels, this happens typically by way of a simple *maṇḍala* (known as Buddha-*maṇḍala*) with Vairocana in the center, surrounded by the remaining four Buddhas and the four goddesses in the cardinal and intermediate directions.⁴⁴ This configuration is not a Newar innovation, but accords with the general tendency in Indian Buddhism to substitute the Vajrī Goddesses of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* recorded in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* with Locanā and so on. The four goddesses of both sets are related each to one of the five Buddhas in a largely but not completely congruent manner.⁴⁵ They are hence often viewed as alterna-

started as a simple oversight (possibly prompted by proceeding counterclockwise, as mentioned) and then somehow assumed authoritative status. Such accidental creation of a new tradition would not be singular in the fold of Newar Buddhism (nor, for that matter, in the history of religions writ large).

- 43 That this was not always the standard model is suggested by particularly old *caityas*, such as the Pūlaṃseṃgu-caitya at Svayambhū, where the goddesses are not represented in the intermediate directions. Such *caityas*, it seems, represent an earlier stage when the scheme of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* without the goddesses in the intermediate directions was still binding. Nowadays, *caityas* commonly not only have the niches of the goddesses, but also a further niche dedicated to Vairocana and located just to the left (viewed from the outside) of Akṣobhya. Though represented on the eastern side, the depiction of Vairocana there does not signal a departure from the traditional scheme with Vairocana in the center. Rather, conceptually speaking he continues to abide in the center.

Vairocana's depiction in a niche at the periphery is an innovation that probably dates back to the renovation of Svayambhū commenced in 1710 on the initiative of the queen mother Bhuvanalakṣmī and her adolescent son, the king Bhāskara Malla (see von Rospatt 2001: 219–21). The records for the previous renovation of Svayambhū from 1681 to 1683 only mention four Buddha statues. Moreover, in the record of the renovation carried out from 1814 to 1818 when a new Vairocana statue was installed, the replaced original is explicitly identified as “the Vairocana installed by the venerable mother Bhuvanalakṣmī” (*bhuvanarakṣmīnājuṃ tayāhma vairocana*). That Bhuvanalakṣmī had commissioned the Vairocana statue, and that this was indeed an innovation is confirmed by a source recording the renovation of her time (NGMPP B 100/22). It specifies that after the production of the four Tathāgatas of the cardinal directions, a Vairocana statue of smaller size was made (163v4f.). The text then goes on to describe how the *four* old statues in the niches were ritually removed, thereby indicating that there was no previous Vairocana statue that would have needed removal.

- 44 For an example see the handbook of the boy initiation, the so-called *kaytāpūjā*, reproduced in Gutschow & Michaels (2008: 235–6). See also Lienhard (1999: 84).
- 45 Māmakī corresponds to Sattvavajrī and like her is matched with Akṣobhya, Pāṇḍarā corresponds to Dharmavajrī and like her is matched with Amitābha, and Tārā corresponds to Karmavajrī and like the latter is normally matched with Amoghasiddhi. By contrast, Locanā is commonly matched with Vairocana and hence does not correspond to Ratnavajrī, who belongs to the gem family and is matched with Ratnasambhava (or Ratneśa). Reflecting the association of Locanā with Vairocana and of Māmakī with Akṣobhya, the location of the goddesses varies by 90 degrees according to whether Vairocana or Akṣobhya (or a form thereof) occupy the center of the given *maṇḍala*. Note that in the Mañjuvajra-*maṇḍala* as recorded in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* Tārā is not identified with Amoghasiddhi but with Ratneśa.



Plate 3: *Adhivāsana-maṇḍala* in the possession of Sarbagnya Ratna Bajracharya and used by him for the consecration ceremony performed on September 8 and 9, 2008 in Kathmandu.

tive personifications of the same female principle complementing the five Buddhas.⁴⁶ However, leaving the significant lack of complete congruency aside, the substitution of the four Vajrī Goddesses by Locanā and so on constitutes a noteworthy shift that entails the goddesses' relocation within the *maṇḍala* and deserves to be studied properly.⁴⁷ The precise circumstances and dating of this shift are beyond the scope of the present paper.⁴⁸ However, it is noteworthy that the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* preserves the older

46 Such a position has also been adopted by Newar Vajrācāryas I discussed this with.

47 A further noteworthy difference would seem to be that the Vajrī Goddesses are more closely identified with Vairocana, whom they surround in the innermost circle, than Locanā and so on are. Accordingly, in the scheme of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* their presence is invoked in the same bathing vessel in which Vairocana is located, and they do not share the vessel of the Buddha to whose family they belong.

48 The art historian Christian Luczanits relates the four goddesses of the intermediate directions to the four Vajrī Goddesses surrounding Vairocana, viewing them as substitutes who came to the fore in the iconography program of Alchi and related sites around 1200 CE (personal communication).

scheme with the Vajrī Goddesses as recorded in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, while the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* of the Kathmandu tradition reflects the later stage when these goddesses have become substituted by Locanā and so forth.

The inner circle of the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* with the Buddhas and goddesses is enclosed in a square. In its corners there are—again starting in the southeast and proceeding clockwise—Rūpavajrā, Śabdavajrā, Gandhavajrā and Rasavajrā, who are depicted respectively by a mirror, a sitar, a conch shell, and a plate with food. The four gates to this square are guarded by Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa and Vajrāveśa. They are respectively represented by an *aṅkuśa*-style hook, a noose, a *vajra* chain and a five-pronged double *vajra* (*viśvavajra*). Plate 3 shows the *maṇḍala* used at the mentioned consecration ceremony.

As will be seen, the *maṇḍala* reproduced here as plate 3 deviates partly from my description (which follows the mentioned work by Ratnakāṅī Bajrācārya). The lotus flower in the southwest—as is standard, the *maṇḍala*'s bottom points to the east not the south—is yellow rather than blue. According to the painter of the *maṇḍala*, Sarbagnya Ratna Bajracharya, this is a simple mistake. Vairocana in the center is not depicted by his symbol, the wheel, but in his corporeal form. The lotus flower in the southeast is not surmounted by a *vajra*. Moreover, the eight guardian deities of the directions are present in the outermost ring of flames, the *jvalāvalī*. The mentioned painter regards the latter three deviations not as mistakes but as permissible variations. A more standard version without these three variations and the mentioned mistake is the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala*, reproduced as plate 4.

The painted *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* of the Kathmandu tradition may be equated with the lotus drawn in the center of the ablution altar described in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha-pañjikā*. There Kuladatta simply refers to it as a *viśvalapadma* (or *aṣṭadalapadma*), but the closely related *Vajrāvalī* allows for the possibility of expanding this minimal configuration so that it results either in a mediate or an extended *maṇḍala*.⁴⁹ As for the extended version, it bears, starting in the east, the marks of wheel, jewel, lotus and sword in the cardinal directions. They should represent respectively Vairocana, Ratna-saṃbhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. The intermediate directions are occupied by the “four mother goddesses” who are likewise represented by their symbols. This presumably refers to the aforementioned four goddesses of the intermediate directions, namely Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā.⁵⁰ The center is occupied by an eight petaled *viśvapadma* that is not inscribed, presumably because it serves as a seat (*āsana*)

49 *Vajrāvalī* (cited according to Mori 2005: 204, n. 17): ... *ācārya vajrasattvamūrtiḥ savidyas tasyā vedyā madhye viśvapadmaṃ paścimadvāracaturasraikarekhāveṣṭitaṃ rajobhir ālepanādibhir vā likhet | athavā nistoraṇapaścimadvāracaturasramadhyagataṃ | athavā garbhamaṇḍalārthamānaṃ caturasraṃ caturdvāraṃ dvipuṭaṃ nistoraṇaṃ pūrvāḍipattikāsu cakraratnapadmakhaḍgān koṇeṣu caturmātrcihnāni madhye viśvāṣṭadalakamalaṃ ceti saṅkṣiptamadhyavistarabhedāt tridhāsnāna-maṇḍalaṃ |*

50 These four goddesses are also referred to as mothers in Jagaddarpaṇa's *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*. Cf. fol. 289 of Lokesh Chandra's facsimile edition.

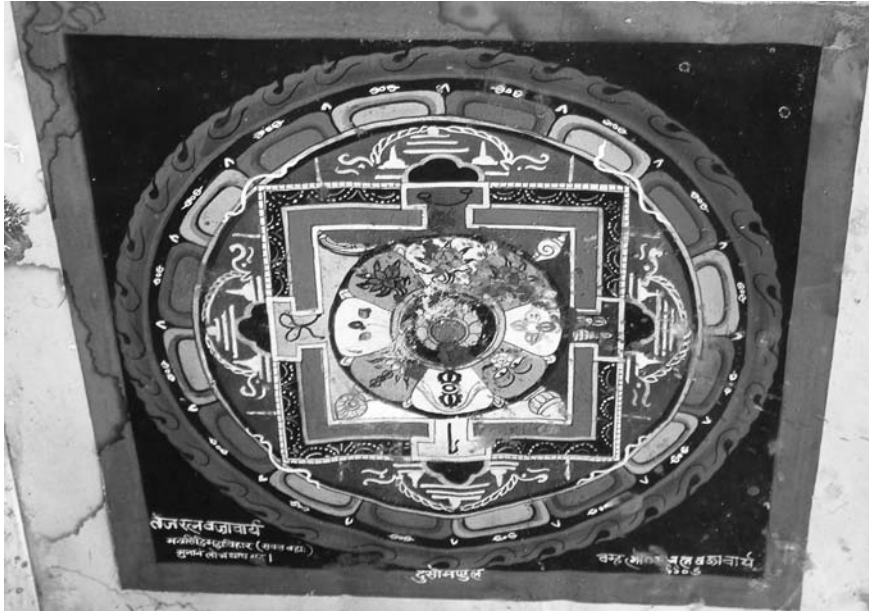


Plate 4: *Adhivāsana-maṇḍala* painted by Gautam Ratna Bajracharya of Kathmandu for Tej Ratna Bajracharya who is one of the most active priests of Kathmandu. The photo was taken when the *maṇḍala* was in ritual use in October 2003, hence the traces of offerings which are sticking to the glass used for framing.

for the consecration image that is set up here. Clearly, the center, and by extension the image set up there, is identified with Akṣobhya who has traded his seat in the east with Vairocana. This constellation is identical with the core of the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala* as attested in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. (I presume that in accordance with this *maṇḍala*, the inversion of Akṣobhya and Vairocana in the *snāna-maṇḍala* of the *Vajrāvalī* implies the localization of Locanā in the southeast, rather than northeast, of Māmākī in the southwest, rather than southeast, and so on.)

The *Kālacakrasupraṭiṣṭhopāyikavidhi* confirms that a *maṇḍala* for bathing may bear the marks of deities in the cardinal and intermediate directions. The text refers to the deities summarily as “Amoghasiddhi and so on”. While it is likely that four of the five Buddhas occupy the central directions, it is less obvious whether Locanā etc. or some other set of goddesses occupy the intermediate directions.⁵¹

Like the *snāna-maṇḍala* of the *Vajrāvalī*, its functional equivalent, namely the painted *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* employed in the Kathmandu tradition, corresponds in numerous ways to the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-*maṇḍala*. Unlike the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala* (but like the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-*maṇḍala*), it too includes the five Buddhas and the

51 *Kālacakrasupraṭiṣṭhopāyikavidhi* (cited by Tanemura 2004: 269, n. 137): *phyogs dai mtshams rnams la don yod grub pa la sogs pa'i mtshan ma rnams rdul tshon gyis bya'o*.

four goddesses of the intermediate directions, though it does so, while retaining the supremacy of Vairocana in accordance with the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Because it does not follow the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala in privileging Akṣobhya over Vairocana in accordance with the Guhyasamāja tradition, the resultant shift of the goddesses' location by 90 degrees clockwise is likewise absent. However, other than that there is close agreement. Thus, the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala*, too, includes the four Vajrā Goddesses of the sense objects, namely Rūpavajrā, Śabdavajrā, Gandhavajrā and Rasavajrā. They are located in the intermediate directions, just as they are in the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala. (By contrast, these four goddesses feature neither in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, nor—in this precise constellation and with these names—in the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala recorded in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.) Furthermore, just as the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala (and the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala, but not the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala) is protected by the ten surrounding Mahākrodha Deities, so is the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala*, though in its case the Mahākrodha Deities are arranged around the painted *maṇḍala* as iron pegs, rather than appearing in it. This covers all deities of the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala except for the eight Bodhisattvas Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Lokeśvara, Mañjuḥṣa, Sarvanivaraṇa-viṣkambhi and Samantabhadra, who in that *maṇḍala* surround the four sides of the rectangle enclosing the circle with the five Buddhas and four Goddesses. Reportedly, there is a tradition, only recently discontinued, where these Bodhisattvas feature—with one alteration (instead of Lokeśvara, Gaganagañja is represented)—by way of the bathing vessels that surround the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* and the Mahākrodha Deities.⁵²

Unlike the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* and the establishment of the bathing flasks, the ritual establishment of the ten Mahākrodha Deities (see plate 5) is treated in the standard short *daśakarmapraṭiṣṭhā*, when dealing at the beginning with the preparations for the *adhivāsana*.⁵³ For the intermediate directions and for the upwards and downwards direction the configuration of the ten Mahākrodha Deities accords with the standard that is attested, for instance, in the *Vighnakīlanavidhi* of the *Vajrāvalī* (which in this text follows upon the *Bhūmiparigrahaavidhi* and precedes the *Vasundharādhivāsanavidhi*), and in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (for the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala, the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala, etc.), that is, Acala is located in the SE, Ṭakkirāja in the SW, Nīla-daṇḍa in the NW, and Mahābala in the NE, while Uṣṇīśacakravartin guards upwards, and Sumbharāja downwards). There is, however, the following oddity. After Yamāntaka has been installed in the east, the priest is instructed to proceed counterclockwise and install Viḡṇānataka in the north, Prajñāntaka in the west and Paramāntaka in the

52 Cf. de Mallmann (1986: 124f.), where the set of the Eight Bodhisattvas of the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala is juxtaposed to the set that is also used in the Newar tradition.

53 Bajrācārya (1989: 2–4) and identical *Pratiṣṭhāvidhāna* (B 105/10, 71r3–v6) and *Daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhāna* (Āśā Saphū Kuthi scan number 2228; running number 2668: 3r1–4r5), but not so in the *Daśakarmakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhi* scribed by Harsha Ratna Bajracharya.



Plate 5: Basket containing the ten Mahākrodha Deities. Before they are pegged into clay clods in order to encircle and protect the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala*, they are prepared by rubbing red sandal onto the face, applying three eyes, and tying around the neck a pouch containing unbroken and parched rice, yellow and black mustard, *ṭikā* powder, etc.

south. The name Paramāntaka is uniformly attested in the Newar sources I consulted, but I presume that it originated as a simple orthographic variant of Padmāntaka (resulting from the phonetic equation of “d” with “r” and the consequent operation of *svara-bhakti*). However, this still leaves the oddity that in Kathmandu practice Prajñāntaka and Padmāntaka (to use the standard name) are located in the west and south, and not the other way around as is the normal standard. This inversion of places is similar to the one of Pāṇḍarā and Tārā, and it again occurs in the context of proceeding counter-clockwise, which would seem to fit the assumption that the inversion of the goddesses’ locations may be the direct or indirect result of not proceeding in the standard clockwise order.

As for the surrounding bathing flasks, at the previously mentioned ritual performed in September 2008 the following flasks were employed and set-up as indicated in the captions:



Plate 6: The Five Buddhas: Three inset jewels (*ratna*) for Ratnasambhava, blue *vajra* (*nīlavajra*) for Akṣobhya, [stylized] wheel (*cakra*) for Vairocana, red lotus (*raktapadma*) for Amitābha, double *vajra* (*viśvavajra*) for Amoghasiddhi.



Plate 7: The Four Goddesses of the Intermediate Directions (arranged in counterclockwise order in which they are treated in Newar ritual): Blue lotus flower (for prescribed “*vajra* upon lotus flower”) for Māmakī, eyes upon white water lily (*utpala*) for Locanā, red lotus for Paṇḍarā, blue water lily for Tārā.



Plate 8: The Four Vajrā Goddesses of the Sense Objects (located in the intermediate directions, starting in the SE): Mirror (New.: *jvalānhāykaṃ*) for Rūpavajrā, sitar for Śabdavajrā, conch shell (*śaṅkha*) for Gandhavajrā, plate with food (*naivedyathalac*) for Rasavajrā.



Plate 9: The Four Pūjā Goddesses (located in the intermediate directions starting with the SE): Metal bowl holding flowers (New.: *kotaḥ*) for Puṣpā, incense holder (New.: *dhūpa makaḥ*) for Dhūpā, lamp (*dīpa*) for Dīpā, conch shell (*śaṅkha*) for Gandhā.



Plate 10: The Four Door-Keepers (Dvārapāla) (located in the cardinal directions starting in the east): hook for Vajrāṅkuṣa, a noose for Vajrapāśa, lock and key (an alternative of the *vajra* chain) for Vajrasphoṭa, and a five-pronged double *vajra* (*viśvavajra*) for Vajrāveśa (crossed *vajra-ghaṇṭā*).



Plate 11: The Four Guardians of the Cardinal Directions (starting in the east): Yellow *vajra* for Indra, a staff with the head of Yama (*yamaḍaṇḍa*) for Yama, a serpent (*nāga*) for Varuṇa, the *hiṃsī* fruit for Kubera.



Plate 12: The Four Guardians of the Intermediate Directions (starting in the SE): Ladle (*sulupā*), for offerings into the fire, for Agni, sword (*khaḍga*) for Nairṛti, banner (*dhvaja*) for Vāyu and Trident (*triśūla*) for Īśāna.



Plate 13 and 14: Moon (Candra) and Sun (Sūrya), flask (*kalāśa*) for Mother Earth (Pṛthvīmātā).



Plate 15 and 16: Vessels marked respectively by a stylized wheel, characteristic of Vairocana, and by a double *vajra*, the sign characteristic of Amoghasiddhi.

On the eastern side, the circle with these flasks is augmented by two larger vessels, one dedicated to Vairocana, and one to Amoghasiddhi, as depicted on plate 15 and 16. Though set up in a circle together with the other bathing flasks, the two larger vessels are not used for bathing. According to one opinion the vessel of Amoghasiddhi forms the starting point and the vessel of Vairocana (which is located just to its right) the ending point of the circle of flasks. They bracket and in this sense enclose all these flasks, because they represent the last and first of the five Buddhas. Whatever the merits of this explanation, the importance of these two vessels is borne out by the fact that after the rite the main priest gets to keep the Vairocana vessel and the *upādhyāya* the vessel of Amoghasiddhi.

Proceeding clockwise and starting in the east just to the left (if looking on from outside) of the large vessel dedicated to Amoghasiddhi, and finishing just to the right of the large vessel of Vairocana (which was adjacent to the one of Amoghasiddhi), the bathing flasks were, at the mentioned ritual in September 2008, distributed in the following way over the circle they describe:

- Moon (flanking, together with the sun on the other side, the two large vessels of Vairocana and Amoghasiddhi)
- Vairocana (located in the east but standing for the center)

- Akṣobhya (located in the east)
- Agni (introducing the southeastern segment of the circle)
- Māmakī
- Puṣpā
- Rūpavajrā
- Yama (introducing the southern segment of the circle)
- Vajrapāśa
- Ratnasambhava
- Nairṛti (introducing the southwestern segment of the circle)
- Dhūpā
- Śabdavajrā
- Pāṇḍarā
- Varuṇa (introducing the western segment of the circle)
- Vajrasphoṭa
- Amitābha
- Pṛthvīmātā⁵⁴
- Dīpā (introducing the northwestern segment of the circle)
- Rasavajrā
- Tārā
- Vāyavya
- Kubera (introducing the northern segment of the circle)
- Amoghasiddhi
- Vajrāveśa
- Īśāna (introducing the northeastern segment of the circle)
- Gandhavajrā
- Gandhā
- Locanā
- Vajrāṅkuśa (introducing the remainder of the eastern segment of the circle)
- Indra
- Sun

Unlike in the constellation reproduced here, there is, as mentioned above, an alternate tradition in Kathmandu that includes in addition eight further vessels, who are marked by the eight auspicious signs (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) and represent the eight Bodhisattvas featuring commonly in Newar Buddhism as a set. They are, in accordance with standard Newar practice, distributed over the eight points of the compass as depicted on plate 17, starting with the endless knot (*śrīvatsa*) representing Maitreya in the east and proceeding clockwise with the white lotus (*punḍarīka*) for Gaganagañja, the banner (*dhvaja*)

⁵⁴ Pṛthvīmātā is likewise located in the west of the Mahāvairocana-maṇḍala employed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* for the sanctification of the building ground (cf. Tanemura 2004: 21).



Plate 17: Vessels marked by the eight auspicious signs (*aṣṭamaṅgala*). Apparently, there was until recently a tradition to include this set among the bathing vessels.

for Samantabhadra, the flask (*kālāṣa*) for Vajrapāṇi, the pair of yak whisks (*cāmara*) for Mañjuḥoṣa, the pair of fishes (*matsya*) for Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, the honorific parasol (*chattra*) for Kṣitigarbha and the conch shell (*śaṅkha*) for Khagarbha.

The constellation of bathing vessels can be regarded as an expanded version of the painted *adhivāsana-maṅḍala* that these vessels surround. It accommodates all deities of that *maṅḍala*, and in addition it includes the eight guardian deities of the directions, the four Pūjā Goddesses Dhūpā, Puṣpā, Dīpā and Gandhā, as well as moon and sun, and Mother Earth. Furthermore, following the mentioned alternate tradition, it includes in addition also the mentioned eight Bodhisattvas. The bathing vessels thus constitute a *maṅḍala* in their own right. This is comparable to the manifestation of the Vajradhātu-*maṅḍala* by vessels (which are to be marked with the same signs), as prescribed in the third section of the third chapter of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (cf. Tanemura 2004: 20–5). Given this parallel, it is possible to view the vessels used in the Kathmandu tradition not primarily as bathing vessels but as iconic representations of the *maṅḍala*'s deities. In support one could point out that of all the flasks only five (namely those of the five Buddhas) are used for sprinkling water over the image. On the other hand, since these vessels apparently take the place of the bathing vessels prescribed in the *Kriyā-*

saṃgrahapañjikā, it would be prudent not to discount the purpose of providing empowered water for bathing the consecration image.

With the above mentioned eight Bodhisattvas made present by water vessels and the ten Mahākrodha Deities represented by pegs, the *snāna-maṇḍala* of the Kathmandu tradition represents all deities of the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala (that is, with the exception of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara instead of whom Gaganagañja is present). It does so, however, without copying the crucial inversion of Akṣobhya and Vairocana that is the hallmark of this *maṇḍala*. Moreover, the presence of the eight guardian deities, of the four Pūjā Goddesses, and of moon and sun, and Mother Earth cannot be explained on the basis of the Piṇḍīkramokta-Akṣobhya-maṇḍala. By contrast, these deities feature—with the exception of Mother Earth—in the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala. On the other hand, the mentioned set of eight Bodhisattvas only overlaps somehow with the sixteen Bodhisattvas of that *maṇḍala*. It is, hence, not possible to align the set-up employed in Kathmandu for the bathing of consecration images one to one with one of the standard *maṇḍalas* as recorded in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. This includes the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. For, as we have seen above, contrary to the prescriptions of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and unlike in Patan practice, the configuration employed in Kathmandu differs considerably from the layout of this *maṇḍala* as recorded in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Most importantly, it does not include the set of four deities surrounding each of the five Buddhas in that *maṇḍala*, while it does include the four goddesses of the intermediate directions. Though it is noteworthy that the core of the *adhivāsana-maṇḍala* beyond the five Buddhas deviates from the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and hence from the instructions of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, it has to be borne in mind that in most other contexts the consecration rituals performed in the Kathmandu tradition follow the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*'s prescriptions closely and hence accord in detail with Abhayākaragupta's version of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. This applies to the *maṇḍala* traced on the ground as part of the sanctification of the building ground (*sūtrapātana*), to the *maṇḍala* employed for the laying of the foundation (*pādasthāpana*), as well as to the *maṇḍala* operative when the jewels are deposited (*ratmanyāsa*) in the base of the sacred structure that is being newly erected (cf. von Rospatt 1999: 122–5). The fact that in the course of constructing and consecrating sacred structure two differing versions of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala come to be employed—one with the Vajrī Goddesses in accordance with the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and one with Locanā and so on in their stead—bears out their functional equivalence. While there is some scope for variation, what really matters is the immutable core of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, namely the five Buddhas with Vairocana in the center and Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi in the cardinal directions around him. Accordingly, in the Kathmandu tradition, of all the deities represented by way of bathing vessels, only those of the five Buddhas are employed in the course of the consecration rites in order to sprinkle water over the image.

The wedding rite

After having dealt with the structure of the consecration ceremony and the underlying *maṇḍala* constellation, I would like to consider two particular rites, belonging to this ceremony, namely the wedding (*pāṇigrahaṇa*) and the subsequently performed rite of *pratiṣṭhā*, which I believe to have been originally an independent rite of consecration in its own right. I will touch upon some further *saṃskāras* in the final part when I will reflect upon the background of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*'s employment of the ten *saṃskāras* for the consecration ceremony.

The wedding rite prescribed in the KSgP is performed with the assumption that the consecration deity is male. In preparation the priest generates Vajradhātviśvarī as the deity's consort in his heart and then mentally places her on a lotus seat to the left of the consecration image, just as the bride is seated to the left of the groom at the outset of the wedding rite.⁵⁵ Vajradhātviśvarī is the consort of Vairocana. Her function as bride underlines that the consecration image is treated as lord of the Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala*. In the *gāthā* concluding the wedding, the bride is less specifically identified as "seal" (*mudrā*), that is consort, of the Tathāgata. After Vajradhātviśvarī has been made present, the consecration image is anointed, dressed and decked with ornaments. It is blessed, receives wedding gifts and further auspicious offerings. The image is made to circumambulate the fire—an act only carried out in actuality for portable objects which the sponsor carries around the fire. It has a headband (*paṭṭa*) tied to its forehead and a *bel* fruit placed in its hand.⁵⁶ After further protective and auspicious rites the wedding is concluded with the following *gāthā*:

"This is the seal (consort) of the Tathāgata (*tāthāgatī mudrā*), who produces the splendor of the light of knowledge. Take her hand in yours and commence the task of a Buddha."⁵⁷

In Newar consecration practice the wedding rites are not only performed for the image, but commonly—though according to older handbooks not necessarily—also for a number of young girls who undergo these rites at the same time as the image, in unison with

55 *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 194, 9–195, 2 (the translation is by Tanemura 2004: 293): "Then having visualised the syllable *āḥ* on a lunar disk of his own heart, and having transformed it into the Lady of the *vajra* realm as the consort of the deity of the image etc., he should emit [her] from his own heart, and cause her to sit on a lunar disk on a lotus [placed] on the left side of the image etc. Then he should mark her head with the pledge seal of Vajrasattva [uttering] the mantra 'Om Vajrasattva! Āḥ' and perform the marriage ceremony following the rule." (*tataḥ svahṛccandrastha-āḥkāraṃ vibhāvya pratimādivatāmudrātmikavajradhātviśvarīrūpeṇa niṣpādya svahṛdayād utsṛjya pratimāder vāmapārsve padmacandrāsane niṣādya om vajrasattva <ā>ḥ iti mantreṇa tasyā mūrdhni vajrasattvasamayamudrayā ca mudrya vidhivad vivāham anuṣṭhet*).

56 *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 197, 3f.: ... having protected the image deity, one fastens a headband with a *phaṇānikā* and places a *bel* fruit in the [deity's] hand ... (... *pratimādivatām saṃrakṣya phaṇānikayā paṭṭabandham kṛtvā haste śrīphalaṃ dattvā* ...).

57 KSgP 197, 9f. (the translation above is, except for a minor modification, by Tanemura 2004: 295): *iyam tathāgatī mudrā jñānalokaprabhākārī | gṛhītvā pāṇinā pāṇim buddhakṛtyam pravartyatām*.

it. This complicates the procedure and raises a number of pertinent issues I want to deal with here. For the girls these rites are known in Newari as *ihi*. They do not wed the girl to a human spouse. Rather, the girl is in a sequence of rites that includes the parental gift of the virgin (*kanyādāna*) tied to a *bel* fruit, supposedly symbolizing wedlock.⁵⁸ The *ihi* serves primarily as a life-cycle rite of initiation for the girls, making them full-fledged members of the caste into which they have been born. This function of the *ihi* is not a radical innovation but in line with Brahmanical practice where the wedding functions as the *saṃskāra* par excellence for females, and in this corresponds to the *upanayana* performed for boys.⁵⁹ As a consequence, the *ihi* subjects them to the given caste's purity restrictions and obliges them to observe death pollution in case someone in the family dies. Conversely, their death henceforth necessitates, at least in theory, full-fledged funerary rites including the subsequent observation of *śrāddha* offerings. In all this the *ihi* corresponds functionally to the boy's initiation, the so-called loincloth worship (*kāyātāpūjā*), which is a modified version of the Hindu *upanayana* rite and like the latter preceded by the rite of tonsure (*cūḍākaraṇa*).⁶⁰ In other words, the *ihi* brings the wedding rite forward to roughly the same age at which the *upanayana* is performed—though crucially without entailing actual marriage to a human spouse—so that boys and girls undergo at about the same time the initiatory rites that transform them into proper members of their parental caste with all the privileges and obligations this entails.⁶¹ Fittingly, the *ihi* rite is sometimes referred to as the *upanayana* for girls.⁶² (This usage of *upanayana* bears out that in the Newar ritual system it may assume the

58 For a documentation of the *ihi* rite as performed nowadays for girls in Bhaktapur, see Gutschow and Michaels' study *Growing Up: Hindu and Buddhist Initiation Rituals among Newar Children in Bhaktapur, Nepal* (2008).

59 Cf. Joachim Sprockhoff "Die Alten im alten Indien: Ein Versuch nach brahmanischen Quellen" (1979: 376).

60 For details of the so-called *kāyātāpūjā* see again Gutschow & Michaels (2008). In case of the Śākya and Vajracāryas, the loin cloth *pūjā* is performed as a preparatory element of the temporary monastic ordination that the boys pass through in order to become members of the monastery to which they belong by patrilineal descent. Cf. my article "The Transformation of the Monastic Ordination (*pravrajyā*) into a Rite of Passage in Newar Buddhism" (2005).

61 One may hence view the institution of *ihi* as an ingenious move to put girls on the same footing with boys without marrying them off in childhood. This interpretation has certainly more currency than other explanations for the *ihi* rite commonly put forward, such as that it protects girls from widowhood when their human spouse later dies (it does not; Newar widows are viewed and treated as widows, no matter whether they underwent the *ihi* rite or not), or such as that it allows for easy divorce and remarriage since the human spouse never quite attains the status of first husband (he does, and divorce is initiated by women only under extreme circumstances, precisely because they are not viewed as fit for remarriage). Even so, it would be precarious to conclude from the function of the *ihi* rite highlighted here that the *ihi* rite was introduced in the first place to serve this purpose. Rather, the historical origins of this rite are obscure and call for detailed research that also takes into account how the *ihi* rite relates to the consecration ceremony treated in this paper. It is to be hoped that Christoph Emmrich's ongoing engagement with the *ihi* rite will shed some light on this complex issue.

62 See for example page 5 of the handbook reproduced in Gutschow & Michaels (2008: 258ff.).

general meaning of “initiatory life-cycle rite of passage” rather than referring specifically to the boy’s initiation.⁶³)

The procedure of the *ihī* ritual is grounded in the prescriptions recorded in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṇīkā* for the wedding of the consecration deity. This includes the adornment of the girl’s forehead with a block print called *moḍakī* or *mokī* for short.⁶⁴ But the *ihī* also incorporates numerous other elements that do not form part of the consecration ceremony for deities. The girls don a yellow-threaded garland with knotted pouches (known nowadays as *śatabhedikā*) that measures a multiple of their height. Moreover, they are also presented with a bowl (*salāpā* or *ihīpā*) containing the *bel* fruit, a rope and further items used for the crucial act of tying their hands to the fruit in order to wed them. The rites for the girls and the consecration deity are performed in unison, and the deity is also offered the block print for the forehead,⁶⁵ the *śatabhedikā* garland (the length of which is in identical manner a multiple of the deity’s height) and the *salāpā* bowl. In this way, the wedding of the girls is not only patterned on that of the consecration deity, but in turn has also come to shape this ceremony in Newar Buddhism.

The analogous treatment of the deity, and in particular the offering of the *salāpā* with the items for the *bel* fruit wedding, suggest that the deity undergoes the wedding like the *ihī* girls as bride.⁶⁶ This impression is shared not only by common onlookers, but also by priests who frequently claim that the deity is treated as female during the wedding, in order to endow it in the course of the consecration rites also with supposedly female qualities, such as compassion. While it is indeed true that many of the initiatory rites for the girls are also performed for the consecration deity, such an interpretation is yet problematic. It is so because the above-cited instructions from the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṇīkā*, which clearly treat the deity as the groom wedded to a female consort, are reproduced almost verbatim in the Newar manuals and enacted accordingly during the ritual. Moreover, the crucial act of tying the girl’s hands around the *bel* fruit is not simulated for the consecration deity. Hence, the deity retains its male identity

63 Another example is the term *vṛddha-upanayana* used at times for the *bhīmarathārohaṇa* old age ritual mentioned in n. 66.

64 For examples of the block print used for the *ihī* rite, see Gutschow & Michaels (2008: 119). Instead of *mo(da)kī*, the designation commonly used in Kathmandu or Patan, the authors report that the block print is known in Bhaktapur as *sapākhvāḥ*.

65 In Kathmandu practice the block print used for the consecration image differs from the one used for girls by depicting a *vajra* rather than a *kalaśa*. In Bajracharya’s printed handbook (1989: 23f.) it is accordingly called *vajrakī* rather than *moḍakī*.

66 The *bhīmarathārohaṇa* ritual as performed in Kathmandu for someone reaching the august age of 77 years, 7 months, 7 days and 7 minutes (for details see von Rospatt 2005b) entails the consecration of a new icon, typically a scroll painting with one or two commemorative registers at the bottom. When the *ihī* ritual is performed on this occasion, the block print for the forehead, the *śatabhedikā* garland and the *salāpā* bowl are offered to the female celebrant just as they are to the *ihī* girls and to the consecration deity. By contrast, they are not offered to the male celebrant. Therefore, the presentation of these items to the consecration deity implies its treatment as female in this context. This, however, does not distract from the fact that at the crucial moment of marriage the consecration deity is male and functions as groom.

even while it undergoes some of the same initiatory treatment that the *ihī* girls do in preparation of their role as bride.

In the following I want to deal in more detail with two particular elements that play a prominent role in the *ihī* ritual and already feature in the consecration ceremony recorded in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, namely the *bel* fruit and the tying of the headband. Their presence might be regarded as evidence suggesting that the rite of *ihī* with the so-called wedding to the *bel* fruit (*bel vivāha*) was current already at the time of Kuladatta. It seems more likely to me, however, that the *ihī* rite developed only later, and, because of its initiatory character, came to incorporate elements of the wedding rite as performed for deities.⁶⁷ (As I will suggest at the end of this paper, it seems also in the case of other *saṃskāras* that the method of performing them for humans was influenced or even shaped by the procedure developed previously for consecration images.) The most important element incorporated from the wedding procedure for consecration images is the *bel* fruit, or, more precisely, the specific way in which it is employed. To shed more light on its role I like to turn to a particular tradition of performing the wedding ritual for human spouses current among Buddhists of Patan. As the parents hand over their daughter to the groom, the girl grasps a *bel* fruit in her hands which has been wrapped in a leaf (*jyonālapte*), just as happens during the *ihī* rite. The mother and father lay their hands around the girl's hand, and then the father recites the appropriate Sanskrit stanzas of gifting the daughter to the groom. Afterwards the girl's hands are laid into the grooms and the *bel* fruit is handed over to him.⁶⁸ The same rite is found among Buddhists of Kathmandu. However, it is not performed as part of the *kanyādāna*, but rather as part of the so-called *hvaṃkegu vidhi* in the groom's house after the *kanyādāna* has been performed and the bride has been brought home. Instead of the bride's parents, the groom's father and mother enclose her hands clasping the *bel* fruit. As they entrust her right hand to the groom (in what looks like a reenactment of the *kanyādāna*), the *bel* is handed over, too.⁶⁹ This role of the *bel* fruit in the mentioned

67 There is no evidence in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (or any of the other early Sanskrit sources mentioned above) that the wedding for the consecration deity was to be performed simultaneously for the image and for girls, as is commonly the case in present-day practice, and as is also attested as an option in earlier Newar sources. Cf. *Daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhāna* (Āśā Saphū Kuthi scan number 2228; running number 2668: 16r5: *ihī yāyapiṃ datasā, ...*) and *Pratiṣṭhāvidhāna* (B 105/10, 111r4: *ihimacāta datasā, ...*). Note that according to an unpublished survey by Christoph Emmrich of some 58 *ihī* manuscripts microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project the earliest such manuscript dates back only to the beginning of the seventeenth century (cf. Gutschow & Michaels 2008: 93, n. 19).

68 See Buddharatna Bajracharya's *Bajrayāna pūjāvidhi saphu. Part 2* (2008: 50): *thana jyonālapte byāḥ chagva pvacinā mhyāymacāyā hlātī tayā māmha, baumhanaṃ mhyāymacāyāgu lhāḥ jvanā varayāta dāna biye || vākya || adya dānapatityādī || mama putrī amukanāmnī, śubhalagne, śubhadīne, śubharātrī, sudhana kumāra svarūpa varebhy[o ']jhaṃ dadāmi || thuli baumhaṃ dhāye || varam dhāye || dadasva 3 ||*

69 Cf. Vajracārya 1983: 16. The wedding ceremony detailed in this text is extended and includes the elaborate blessing of the couple (imparted in tantric terms as *abhiṣekas*) by the eight auspicious signs, the *aṣṭamaṅgala*. The first sign, the endless knot known as *śrīvatsa*, is identified with the *bel* fruit. It is the very *bel* fruit that the bride later clasps in her hand as she is entrusted to the groom.

cases⁷⁰ suggests that in the consecration ceremony of the KSgP the fruit is placed in the hand of the consecration image to simulate its presentation by the bride Vajradhātviśvarī. In this way the fruit points to the bride and arguably even represents her. In support of such an interpretation it can be noted that after the *bel* fruit has been placed in the hands of the image (and after subsequent protective rituals have been performed in between) the aforementioned wedding *gāthā* is recited, namely “This is the seal (consort) of the Tathāgata. ... Take her hand in yours and commence the task of a Buddha.” The same *gāthā* is, following the *Pāṇīgrahaṇavidhi* (Vajrācārya 1983: 17), recited after the bride has presented the *bel* fruit to the groom (and after a few intervening ritual acts have been performed). The matching employment of the *gāthā* strengthens the interpretation that in the consecration ritual the *bel* fruit is associated with the bride, just as it appears to be when the wedding rite is performed for humans. Such a function of the *bel* fruit is also in broad accord with the *ihi* rite, which enacts the *kanyādāna*, the parental gift of the virgin, and by implication also entails that the girl is united via the *bel* fruit with a divine spouse. Here, too, the *bel* fruit is identified with the bride’s transfer to the groom and points to the physically absent spouse, who in the *ihi*’s case is female, rather than male, as in the consecration ceremony.⁷¹

I would like to move on and consider the second item of the *ihi* rite featuring already in the KSgP, namely the fastening of a headband (*paṭṭa*) to the consecration image. It corresponds to the adornment of the forehead of the *ihi* girls and the consecra-

70 Note that, more commonly than the *bel* fruit, areca nuts are offered by the Newar bride to the groom. Outside a Newar context, instead of nuts or the *bel* fruit, the bride may grasp a small conch shell with sanctified water as she is gifted to the groom and has her right hand placed into his hands. Cf. the Hindu ritual prescribed by Ṛṣirāmaśarmā Ghimire in his *Vivāhapaddhatiḥ* (2000: 150).

71 While the *bel* fruit points to the groom, it is another matter whether it actually represents him. Even though this is a common perception—hence the term *bel vivāha* used in Nepali—this is not as straight forward as it may appear. To start with, this identification obviously does not tally with the *bel*’s above mentioned function in the wedding rite among humans. Moreover, when performing the *ihi* in a Hindu context, the *bel* fruit is regularly supplemented by a minute piece of gold or even a small golden image that stands for the divine groom instead of the *bel* (for an example see Gutschow & Michaels 2008: 157). Furthermore, in conversation with me some Vajrācāryas in Patan have claimed that the *bel* fruit used for the *ihi* rite should afterwards ideally be kept by the girl, until she is married to a human spouse. Then she should use this very *bel* fruit in the wedding rite and present it to her spouse. I have not been able to confirm this claim. However, whether actually in accordance with practice or not—and there are good reasons to be skeptical—the claim itself would make little sense if the fruit were perceived to represent the divine spouse wedded by way of the *ihi* rite. Rather this claim seems to identify the *bel* fruit, in accordance with its overt function in case of the wedding rite among humans, with the transfer of the bride to the groom, rather than the groom himself. All this goes to show that the function of the *bel* fruit and the meaning attached to it are a complex issue, and that it cannot be taken for granted that the *bel* fruit in the *ihi* rite stands for the divine spouse the girl is supposedly marrying.

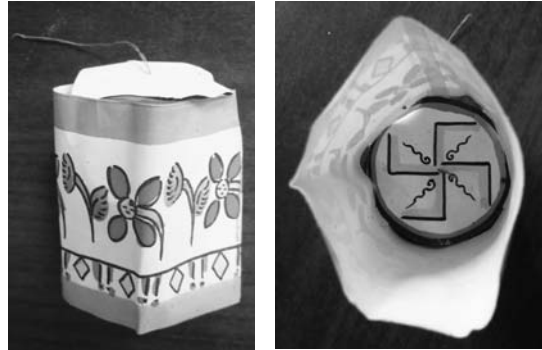


Plate 18 and 19: Sample of a *cākrapaṇi* as used in Kathmandu with a *svastika* painted on the inside of the cover.

tion image with the block print.⁷² The precise details in the KSgP are not clear, because the act of binding the headband is qualified by the obscure word *phaṇānikayā*.⁷³ In Newar handbooks this word survives as *phaṇin* or *phaṇinī* (and also *phalini*)⁷⁴ apparently meaning serpent (lit. hooded one). Unfortunately, it is not obvious what this term refers to. I will devote some space in quest of an answer for the remainder of this section because I believe it is a particularly instructive example for the ways in which ritual elements in a Newar context can change their role and assume new meanings. Some of the details are admittedly arcane and may not be of equal interest to all readers.

In order to probe into the meaning of the term *phaṇin* (or one of its derivatives), I would like to start with the so-called *cākrapaṇi* used in Kathmandu. This is a rotund cylindrically shaped paper device (see plates 18 and 19) that is used when imparting the crown *abhiṣeka* at the time of the *cūḍākaraṇa* rite for the consecration deity (but not for boys undergoing this rite). It is not used as a crown and attached to the head but rather suspended above the deity. Because of this and its shape, which is not crown-like, it is commonly identified as honorific parasol (*chattra*) and not as crown. However, the texts do not identify it as such, and it seems more prudent to stick to the literal meaning, “circular hood” (or “circular hooded one,” if *-phaṇi* is derived from *phaṇin* [“hooded one,” i.e. serpent] rather than being taken as an abnormal i-stem formation of *phaṇa*). It is tempting to interpret this as a snake hood spread over the consecration deity. This is a prominent motive featuring in the iconography of Amoghasiddhi or the legend of the serpent Mucalinda, who spread his hood over Śākyamuni Buddha in order to protect him shortly after his supreme awakening. However, there is nothing serpen-

72 This is somewhat confusing because rather than being a headband itself, the block print is in fact tied to the forehead with a headband. For this a particular band, the so-called *aḍawa* (cf. Vajracharya & Vajracharya 1998: 2) tends to be used.

73 Tanemura (2004: 294, n. 212) conjectures that the term *phaṇānikayā* may refer to a goddess Phaṇānikā who is made to tie the headband. This is not unreasonable given that immediately before the phrase cited above the goddess Aiśānikā is made to protect the deity. However, I am not aware that there is such a goddess as Phaṇānikā. Moreover, this interpretation is not supported by the Newar tradition.

74 The form *phali* instead of *phaṇi* may owe to the fact that the two *akṣaras la* and *ṇa* look similar in the Newari script and are prone to confusion.

tine about the *cākraphaṇis* I have seen, nor do I have any other corroborating evidence from within the tradition that would corroborate such an interpretation.

In the Kathmandu tradition some handbooks mention a *phalinī* as a distinct item when instructing that the *moḍakī* is to be fastened to the forehead as part of the wedding rite,⁷⁵ i.e. in exactly the same context in which the KSgP mentions the obscure word *phaṇānikayā*. It is tempting to dismiss the lack of the qualification as circular (*cākra*) and surmise that the *phalinī* likewise refers to a hood held over the consecration deity. In support one could point out that the *phalinī* item features in the wedding rite in the same context as the *cākraphaṇi* does in the *cūḍākarāṇa* rite, namely when the crown *abhiṣeka* is imparted.⁷⁶ However, I have not been able to ascertain this, as no hood-like object is used as part of wedding rituals in the living tradition. The text almost always used nowadays, namely Badrīratna Bajrācārya's *Daśakarmapraṭiṣṭhā*, conveniently omits the critical word *phaṇi* (or *phalinī*) (1989: 23f.). So does the near-identical version scribed by Ratna Kaji Bajracharya (3v2).⁷⁷ Other texts preserve the word *phaṇi* (or one of its variant) but seem to equate it with the *moḍakī* block print. This is possibly also the situation in the Śaivite *Puṣkaraṇīpraṇālīpraṭiṣṭhāvidhi* which only prescribes the mounting by the *phaṇin* (or of the *phaṇinā*?) and does not mention separately the block print headband which should be fastened at this point around the forehead.⁷⁸ Accordingly, questioned Rājopādhyāya priests opined that the term *phaṇin(ā)* must be an alternative designation for the block print otherwise known as the *moḍakī*.

In Patan, too, there is the tradition of employing the cylindrical paper device as part of the consecration ceremony in context of the *cūḍākarāṇa* and wedding rite. The device is here known as *phaliṃdyah* (lit. *phaliṃ* deity) instead of *cākraphaṇi*. It does not feature as part of the *cūḍākarāṇa* performed for boys undergoing the *kāyāpūjā* outside the context of the consecration ceremony. By contrast, it is an indispensable element of the *ihī* rites performed for girls, no matter the context. The *phaliṃdyah* is employed when the crown *abhiṣeka* is imparted, just as the *cākraphaṇi* of Kathmandu when this *abhiṣeka* is given as part of the *cūḍākarāṇa* rite. Though the texts I have seen do not make this clear, the *phaliṃdyah* seems to be identified as the crown itself (the role seemingly played by the *moḍakī* in the Kathmandu tradition) and not as an additional hood. More precisely, in the tradition of Patan the association of the Five Buddhas' consorts with the crown comes to the fore, and the *phaliṃdyah* becomes identified with

75 So the *Daśakarmakriyāpraṭiṣṭhāvidhi* scribed by Harsha Ratna Bajracharya (13v6: *moḍaki taye* || *au vajrasattva hūṃ* || *phalinī taye*), and the *Pratiṣṭhādasakriyāvidhi* (E 2571/4, 64r5: *morakini tayeke* || *ida<ṃ> tat sarvabuddhānāṃ traidhātuka ... pañcakurodhabhavaṃ* || *phalinī taya* || *oṃ vajrasattva hūṃ*).

76 The *moḍakī* seems to function as crown when this *abhiṣeka* is given as part of the wedding rites. To bestow this *abhiṣeka* in the context of the wedding rites is an important departure from the tradition of the KSgP, where it does not feature as part of the wedding rites.

77 So, for instance, the *Karmavidhisamgraha* kept in the Āśā Saphū Kuthi (23v: ... *phani moḍakina ciyake*), the *Ācāryapūjākarmasaṅgraha* (43r7: *thana thakalinamḥ phani moḍaḥ molasaḥ cināo viya*). Cf. also the Buddhist *Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi* handbook from Bhaktapur (p. 11: *thana panini (!) chāya*) reproduced in transliteration in Gutschow & Michaels (2008: 258ff.).

78 *Puṣkaraṇīpraṇālīpraṭiṣṭhāvidhi* (Āśā Saphū Kuthi scan number 186) [40a]: *phaṇinārohaṇam*.

these consorts, just as is the case in the crown *abhiṣeka* attested in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. It is used not only to bless both the deity and the *ihī* girls as part of the wedding rites, but it functions also as the female equivalent of the *alimḍyaḥ*, that is the portable *caitya* modeled from fresh clay that the potter in charge of preparing the ritual clay vessels provides on the main day of the consecration ceremony.⁷⁹ Just as the clay *caitya* is provided by the potter, so the *phalimḍyaḥ* is provided on the same day by the Citrakāra who has painted the ritual utensils. And just as the *alimḍyaḥ* is set up in line with the other sacred items as part of the *kalasārcana* ritual and consecrated for the purposes of this rite as a *pañcabuddha caitya*, so the *phalimḍyaḥ* is set up towards the other end of the same line (cf. the sketch in Gutschow & Michaels 2008: 166) and imbued with the presence of the five goddesses corresponding to the five Buddhas (in the common configuration Vajradhātviśvarī, Sattvavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī and Karmavajrī).⁸⁰ Moreover, just as the *alimḍyaḥ* is taken in procession around the fire together with the girls—an honor shared by a few more prominent ritual items such as the flask of Gaṇeśa—so the *phalimḍyaḥ* is. Though it is possible to account for the term *phalimḍyaḥ* on its own terms (*phalim* is a variant of *phaṇim*, and *dyah* is suffixed frequently to deified entities), it may well be that the term *phalimḍyaḥ* was coined in imitation of *alimḍyaḥ* in order to reflect their close association.

The rite of *pratiṣṭhā* and its place in the consecration ceremony

The ten *saṃskāras* conclude with the wedding rite. This, however, is not the end of the consecration ceremony. Afterwards the deity receives the nine tantric initiations as if it were a human initiand. The prescription of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and the manuals derived from it largely accord with the instructions found in Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī*.⁸¹ There is, however, one significant difference. Unlike in the *Vajrāvalī*, in the tradition of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* there is a brief sequence of two originally independent consecration rites that is inserted in the beginning of the series of tantric initiation rites. These tantric rites are prefaced in both the *Vajrāvalī* (cf. Mori 2005: 211–3) and *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (p. 198) by the generation of the *maṇḍala* with Vajrasattva in the center who subsequently imparts the initiations for the deity in question. (The deity is made to enter this *maṇḍala* as an initiand; hence in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* this section is entitled *maṇḍalapraveśavidhi*.) Whereas in the *Vajrāvalī* this section is followed directly by the water consecration (*udakābhiṣeka*), the *Kriyāsaṃgraha-*

79 For a depiction of the Hindu version of the *alimḍyaḥ*, see Gutschow & Michaels (2008: 142).

80 The *phalimḍyaḥ* also features in Bhaktapur practice as part of the *ihī* rites. It is reportedly identified with “Pañcatārā” (Gutschow & Michaels 2008: 166), which I take to refer to Vajradhātviśvarī, Locanā and so on. Though this has not been captured in Gutschow and Michaels' study, it might function as female equivalent of the *alimḍyaḥ*, in the same way as in Patan.

81 Tanemura (2004: 9f.) discusses the relationship between Abhayākaragupta and Kuladatta. Though the discussion is not conclusive, it seems rather likely that the two masters are indebted to the same source(s) and did not borrow directly from each other.

pañjikā here inserts the mentioned sequence of originally independent consecration rites, which are immediately followed by the *udakābhiṣeka*.⁸² The details of this sequence in the Kathmandu tradition (the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* deviates slightly from this)⁸³ are as follows: Holding a five-stranded thread (*pasūka*) that is connected to the consecration image together with a *vajra* and flower garland in his hands, the priest recites 108 times the mantra *om hūṃ hrīḥ vajrībhava dṛḍhaṃ tiṣṭha bhrūṃ khaṃ hūṃ svāhā*. He then gets up and, taking the one-pointed *vajra* step,⁸⁴ walks to the consecration image, while holding the *vajra* in his hand ringing the bell. He recites the *ye dharmā* verse and scatters unbroken and popped rice over the image. Finally he garlands the image, touches its head with his *vajra* and recites *om supratīṣṭhitavajrāya svāhā*.⁸⁵ The first and last action serve to permanently fix the deity in its receptacle. This accords with the literal meaning of *pratiṣṭhā*,⁸⁶ which hence has two different referents, namely either the consecration ceremony as a whole, or more narrowly just this rite of fixation. As mentioned, the enclosed empowerment of the receptacle with the ancient *ye dharmā* verse corresponds to an old pre-tantric form of consecration. The verse

82 In the Kathmandu tradition the *pratiṣṭhā* rites are embedded somehow confusingly within the *udakābhiṣeka*. On the one hand, there is an additional bath (which is dispensed from a conch shell) that is separate from the water consecration (*udakābhiṣeka*), which follows immediately upon the *pratiṣṭhā* rite and is dispensed from a flask (*kalaśa*). On the other hand, the invocation *om vajrodakābhiṣiñca hūṃ* (“*om vajra* water, sprinkle, *hūṃ*”), which typically accompanies the *udakābhiṣeka*, has been shifted and no longer accompanies the ablution dispensed from the flask as it does in the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā*, but the additional bath dispensed from the conch shell.

83 *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* 199, 2–11: ... *ācārya dakṣiṇahastena vajraṃ pañcasūtraṃ kusumamālāṃ ca dhārayan, ‘om hūṃ hrīḥ vajrībhava dṛḍhaṃ tiṣṭha bhrūṃ khaṃ hūṃ svāhā,’ ‘om supratīṣṭhitavajrāya svāhā’ ity anenāṣṭottaraśatavāram adhiṣṭhet. ‘ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṭṭeṣāṃ tathā-gataḥ | hy avadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ’ evaṃ pratimāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya ...*

The instructions given here by Kuladatta differ from the standard Newar procedure insofar as the mantra *om supratīṣṭhitavajrāya svāhā* is recited together with the mantra *om hūṃ hrīḥ vajrībhava dṛḍhaṃ tiṣṭha bhrūṃ khaṃ hūṃ svāhā* when the priest is sitting. This means that there is no separate act where the priest gets up and walks to the image in order to empower it by touching its head with a *vajra*.

84 The priest does not walk ordinarily because he moves within the framework of the ritual. Thus, when he gets up he at this critical juncture of the rite and walks to the image, he steps with the empowering “gait of the one-pointed *vajra*” that helps overcome “all bad *asuras*” and other malign forces. Cf. *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā*, section 6-3-4-1 (following Tanemura’s unpublished segmentation and edition): *evaṃ sarvottarasādhakā api paribhrameyuḥ. kiṃtu pūrvadīgavasthita uttara-sādhaka ekasūcikavajrapadaṃ hūṃkārajaṃ pādātale vicintya, dakṣiṇacaraṇena pṛṣṭhe ‘gre tathaiva vāmacaraṇena bhūmau cākārayan, ‘om ekasūcikavajrapada vajramahākrodha bhañja 2 sarvaduṣṭāsurān hūṃ phaṭ’.*

85 *Pratiṣṭhādasakriyāvidhi* (E 2571/4) 69r4–v5 (I reproduce the Newari text as it is, but I have emended the Sanskrit slightly without marking my changes; cf. Bajrācārya 1989: 29f.): *thana pratiṣṭhā yāya || ācāryāna makutaṇa pusaṃ java rāhātana pañcasūtrakā, vajra tvāka svānamālā tāya akṣatra joṇaṃ, pañcasūtrakāna pratiṣṭhāde, vanesaṃ hayāva khava rāhātana jāpa yāya || mantra pva || om hūṃ hrīḥ vajrībhava dṛḍhaṃ tiṣṭha bhrūṃ khaṃ hūṃ svāhā || dhāra 108 || thana murācārya vajra joṇāva ghantha thāsem ekasūcina parikramana nāyāva deva hñevane || thana ye dhammā gāthā paḍapaṃ tāyana lucake || tvāka svānamālāna kokhāyake || vajrana deva thiya || om supratīṣṭhitavajre svāhā || iti pratiṣṭhāvidhi.*

86 Cf. Gonda’s article “Pratiṣṭhā” (1954).

is understood to contain the essence of the teaching of the Buddha, and hence it has been employed since old in numerous contexts to imbue objects with the power of the *dharmā*.

I presume that the *pratiṣṭhā* rite and the *ye dharmā gāthā* were integrated into a single ceremony already before their incorporation into the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. At any rate, whether they had already been merged into one sequence outside the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* or not, it is clear that these rites of consecration had a prior existence, independently of the ceremony set forth by Kuladatta. It accords with their original independence that the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* introduces them with a phrase instructing that the image should be set up “on a throne made by a skilled artist in the perfume chamber or elsewhere in the abodes of deities,” and that this should happen “when the lunar and solar day and the lunar mansion and the moment are auspicious.”⁸⁷ These instructions indicate that the following rites stood originally on their own, because they make hardly any sense when they occur (as they do in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*) in the middle of a sequence of rites that has long begun.

This original independence is also confirmed by another consideration. When a consecrated structure such as a *caitya* is deconsecrated for the purposes of renovating it, the drawing out of the divine essence by way of the deity’s heart mantra is not sufficient. Rather, after the structure has already been deconsecrated in this way, it is necessary to release the object in a further step from the fixation that was effected by the *pratiṣṭhā* rite discussed here. For this, a bull—or in modern practice a cow—is connected by way of a rope to the structure’s finial. The bovine is then driven away so that the rope pulls down the finial, thereby dislodging the structure. This act of deconsecration, which is prescribed already in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (Facsimile edition in the Śatapīṭaka Series, 1977: 269, 9–271, 3) and also the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* (26, 6–28, 4), has been performed in the past and continues to be an integral part of deconsecration rituals also in contemporary Newar Buddhism. It correlates with the rite of fixation as effected by the mentioned *pratiṣṭhā* mantras and confirms the independence of the *pratiṣṭhā* from the tantric consecration that is effected drawing down the heart mantra (and merging the *jñānasattva* with the *samayāsattva*). It may be added that the weight of the *pratiṣṭhā* rite is also borne out by the fact that at the re-consecration of the Svayambhūcaitya in 1758 an entire day was dedicated to this rite (see above).

The point of insertion of the *pratiṣṭhā* rite (in the narrower sense) with the *ye dharmā gāthā* consecration has been carefully chosen. It accompanies the *udakābhiṣeka*, which itself is associated with the bath of the newly born Buddha, as expressed by the accompanying verse.⁸⁸ They are thus related to the moment of birth, which covertly is replicated by the *udakābhiṣeka*. This is in accordance with their original function as

87 *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 198, 12–199, 2: *tato gandhak[u]ṭyām anyatra vā devāyataneṣu śikṣitāśilpi-ghaṭītasundarasimhāsane śubhatithivāranakṣatramuhūrte pṛthvīsthānagate prāṇe pratimādīkaṃ saṃsthāpya, ...*

88 *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 200, 4f.: *yathā hi jātamātre[ṇ]a snāpitāḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ | tathāhaṃ snāpayiṣyāmi śuddhaṃ divyena vāriṇā.*

independent consecration rites that bring about the animation of the image and in that sense correspond to its birth. In the *Vajrāvalī* the *udakābhiṣeka* is linked by the same *gāthā* with the birth of the Buddha (Mori 2005: 213). Here this makes more sense than in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* as the tantric initiations are not preceded by the rite of birth and the other *saṃskāras*. The *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*'s repetition of the Buddha's birth, albeit covertly, by way of the *udakābhiṣeka*, is an indication that Kuladatta has merged separate consecration rites into an overall ceremony without purging the resultant product of duplications. Clearly, the integrity of the constituent parts mattered to Kuladatta too much to allow for such purging. Besides, it is questionable whether duplications such as considered here, and such as pointed out by Tanemura (2004: 90), would have been viewed as problematic in the first place. While from a western perspective duplications may appear to be unwelcome incoherencies, they may have been accepted by the tradition as welcome reinforcements of a process that only gains strength and momentum if reiterated.

Whence the employment of the *saṃskāras* for consecrating images?

I am not aware of any Buddhist works not associated with the tradition of the Nepal Valley that would prescribe the performance of the ten life-cycle rituals as part of the consecration ceremony. This includes the voluminous Tibetan literature on consecration (*rab gnas*), which, as far as I know, does not bear witness to the explicit employment of the *saṃskāras*. Significantly, the *saṃskāras* are also conspicuously absent in the otherwise closely related section on consecration in the *Vajrāvalī*. As for the *Samvarodayatantra* (22.15), it mentions the performance of ten rites (*daśakarman*), presumably the *saṃskāras*, in the context of its treatment of consecration,⁸⁹ but it appears this text originated in the Nepal Valley.⁹⁰

However, it seems that the concept of performing Brahmanical life-cycle rites for the consecration image is indirectly operative in the Kālacakra tradition. This tradition has a complex system of initiations.⁹¹ It includes seven preliminary initiations imparted to the student as a prerequisite for the higher *abhiṣekas* starting with the *kalaśābhiṣeka*. The seven preparatory initiations are modeled upon events in infancy and childhood in the following way. The water initiation corresponds to washing the newborn baby, the crown initiation to arranging the child's hair, the silk ribbon initiation to piercing the

89 A later commentary, the *Padminī*, opines that these ten rites are tantric empowerments. If not grounded in actual ignorance of the true context, this appears as an attempt to explain away the role of the *saṃskāras*, presumably because they did not feature in the consecration tradition represented by *Padminī*. Hence, I concur with Tanemura who has treated the critical passage in the *Samvarodayatantra* and the commentary and concludes that "the ten rites" could well refer to the *saṃskāras* (2004: 92f.).

90 Here I follow the learned opinion of Harunaga Isaacson (oral communication).

91 For the following I draw largely upon Jeffrey Hopkins' introduction to *The Kālacakra Tantra: Rite of Initiation for the Stage of Generation* (1985: 68f., 118f.). I am grateful to Yael Bentor for bringing this material to my attention.

ears and adorning the child, the *vajra* and bell initiation to the child's laughing and talking, the conduct initiation to the child's enjoyment of the five sense objects of the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*), the name initiation to naming the child, and finally the permission initiation to the father giving reading and so forth to a child. While the washing of the newborn baby and the name giving are arguably events that take place in a child's life as a matter of course, this can hardly be said for the rite of fixing up the hair on top of a child's head, or for the rite of piercing the earlobes and bedecking the child with ornaments. Rather, these two rites closely correspond to the Brahmanical rite of *cūḍā-karaṇa* and *kaṛṇavedhana* and are clearly related. What is more, the Kālacakra tradition equates the rite of tying the hair with the crown *abhiṣeka*, just as happens in the case of the *cūḍā-karaṇa* rite in the KSgP. It is also noteworthy that there are exactly seven initiatory rites starting with birth, just as there are seven *saṃskāras* starting with the rite of birth in the scheme of the KSgP. Moreover, in the form of the four "internal initiations" the Kālacakra tradition also includes rites corresponding to the prenatal phase. In similitude to the fetal development, these initiations purify the student's body, faculty of speech, sense powers and pristine consciousness. Since there was the well-established tradition of bestowing the higher *abhiṣekas* upon consecration images in imitation of the disciple's career, it made sense to perform these preparatory rites also for images. Accordingly Kālacakrapāda in his *Śrīkālacakrasupraṭiṣṭhopāyikavidhi*⁹² prescribes with regard to the consecration of an image that the priest "performs the water consecration and others according to the consecration of a disciple" (cited according to Mori 2005: 231). The expansion of the higher *abhiṣekas* by preceding preparatory rites that correspond to the prenatal phase and childhood of the student is, therefore, comparable to the KSgP's employment of the *saṃskāra* life-cycle rites. However, the scheme of the Kālacakra does not include the fruit and rice feeding ceremonies, nor the imposition of vows and the subsequent release thereof, nor the wedding. Moreover, the prenatal *saṃskāras* do not feature as such. What is more, the *saṃskāras* that occur in the Kālacakra initiation scheme do so only implicitly because they have been transformed into tantric initiations. The result is that the Kālacakra scheme only indirectly reflects the concept of performing the *saṃskāras* for the sake of consecrating deities. (Whether this was a deliberate move to veil the Brahmanical background or not, this allowed for the easy spread of the Kālacakra scheme beyond the realm of Indic culture and civilization.)

As we have seen, despite significant parallels, the Kālacakra's scheme of preparatory initiations differs markedly from the explicit employment of the *saṃskāras* in the KSgP. As mentioned, such unveiled employment of the *saṃskāras* is not prescribed in any known work outside the fold of the Newar tradition. However, there is scant literature from the late phase of Buddhism in India that has survived outside Nepal. Hence, it is perilous to draw any conclusions from the fact that particular traditions are not attested in the extant corpus of texts. On the other hand, this does not mean that we should ignore the (little) evidence we have and refrain from engaging with the definite

92 As Mori (2005: 228–232) has argued, the *Śrīkālacakrasupraṭiṣṭhopāyikavidhi* may have been the principal source for the treatment of the consecration ceremony in the *Vajrāvalī*.

possibility that the tradition of consecrating images (and other objects) by way of performing the complete set of *saṃskāras* for the deity, starting with conception and ending with the wedding, may have been unique to Nepal. This, to be sure, does not imply that this form of practice would have been completely unknown elsewhere in the Buddhist world. Rather, even if unique to the Nepalese tradition it seems likely that knowledge of such practice would have spread beyond the Valley, though without finding approval.

Tanemura is less guarded and takes it for granted that the *saṃskāras* came to be incorporated into the consecration ceremony in the Nepalese tradition. More concretely, he advances the hypothesis that the ten *saṃskāras* were added to the *abhiṣekas* in imitation of the practice that was supposedly current then among the Buddhists of the Nepal Valley (2004: 91). Since, as the *Vajrāvālī* already prescribes, the deity to be consecrated receives the *abhiṣekas* just as human initiands do, it made sense—so Tanemura’s argument—to add the ten *saṃskāras* as a precursor to the *abhiṣekas* because this supposedly reflected the situation among the Buddhists of Nepal at the time. I find this hypothesis problematic on a number of counts. To start with, a key element is the assumption that already at the time of Kuladatta in the eleventh or twelfth century, Buddhists of the Kathmandu Valley routinely went through the Brahmanical *saṃskāras* including marriage and only thereafter received higher tantric *abhiṣekas*, essentially as is the case today.⁹³ In support of this assumption, Tanemura points to text-internal evidence from the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, bearing out that this text is set in a milieu dominated by married tantric practitioners. As a ritual compilation, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* indeed draws together the rites typically performed by such practitioners. Even though these rites center around the construction of a monastery, they do not cater specifically for celibate monastics.⁹⁴ Rather, they treat the monastery much like a temple

93 In contemporary Newar Buddhism tantric *abhiṣekas* are conferred upon unmarried male and female candidates, but this is not considered ideal because, even if not acted out, the secret initiations presuppose the presence of a sexual partner. Moreover, in the tradition of Kathmandu the “master consecration” (*ācāryābhiṣeka*) is bestowed upon sons of Vajrācāryas (typically when they are somewhere between four to ten years old) as a rite of passage. This happens on the very day that they disrobe, upon conclusion of the temporary ordination, which the boys take upon themselves for three days as part of their initiation into the monastery to which they belong by patrilineal descent. In the tradition prevalent in Patan, by contrast, the presence of a partner is considered indispensable, and hence the *ācāryābhiṣeka* is only bestowed upon hereditary Vajrācāryas once they are married and have access to a spouse with whom they can undergo the initiation rites.

94 This may even include Kuladatta’s treatment of the rite of ordination, which is followed—almost word for word—when performing the temporary ordination that characterizes Newar Buddhism (cf. von Rospatt 2005). Granted, in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* the rite of disrobing is not included, but there are other indications, such as the lack of differentiation between the novice and the full ordination, which suggest that the ordination rite prescribed in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* was not to serve as a permanent ordination into a celibate monastic community. This does not mean that the Buddhist tradition current in the Nepal Valley in the twelfth century had already then lost the tradition of celibate monasticism. Rather, this means that the sole form of monasticism surviving in Newar Buddhism seems to have been current already at Kuladatta’s time, albeit without being necessarily the exclusive or even dominant monastic tradition.

and are also in other ways in accordance with the social structure and peculiarities that have characterized Newar Buddhism since at least the Malla era. However, if the *saṃskāras* had indeed become part of mainstream Buddhism by the time of Kuladatta, why is their performance not treated in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*? In this Kuladatta's compendium differs significantly from later ritual compilations, such as the *Karmavidhisamgraha* or *Ācāryapūjākarmasaṃgraha* consulted for this study, that reproduce—in adapted form—the rites of consecrations set forth in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, and alongside also include a section treating the *saṃskāras* as performed for humans.⁹⁵ Indeed, the performance of the rites of passage for their clients is the principal occupation of priestly Vajrācāryas in Newar Buddhism, and there are numerous historical and modern handbooks dedicated to this theme. Hence, given the comprehensiveness of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* otherwise, it is conspicuous that these rites do not feature.

The main objection to Tanemura's hypothesis, however, is different. Contrary to Tanemura's poorly substantiated claim that the “ten rites listed by Kuladatta are identical ... with the life-cycle rites gone through by a Newar man” (2004: 91), there are numerous discrepancies between the *saṃskāras* performed for the consecration of deities and performed for human actors. Most importantly, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* prescribes the performance of the three prenatal rites *yoniśodhana*, *pūṃsavana* and *sīmantonayana*. However, the latter two rites are not performed by Newar Buddhists, and the case of the *yoniśodhana* is also problematic. The only prenatal rite Newar Buddhists perform during pregnancy is the presentation of curd and beaten rice to the mother (cf. Gutschow & Michaels 2008: 39f.). Sometimes this rite is identified with the *pūṃsavana* rite of rendering the fetus male, but this is a fanciful association (possibly owing to the identification of curd with semen) that does not take into account that the *pūṃsavana* is commonly performed in the early stage of pregnancy, while the mentioned offering of curd is clearly apotropaic and presented shortly before delivery. As for the *sīmantonayana* rite, it has been pointed out above (cf. n. 21) that the practice of parting the pregnant woman's hair is unknown and that accordingly this *saṃskāra* came to be known as *sīmantopanayana* (“the *sīmanta* initiation”) instead. This happened already at an early stage because the term *sīmantopanayana* is attested even in some of the Sanskrit texts examined here. It could, of course, be argued that the *pūṃsavana* and *sīmantonayana* have simply been lost, but were indeed performed for human actors at the time of Kuladatta. However, I am not aware of any evidence to this effect. On the contrary, the mentioned sections of the *Karmavidhisamgraha* and *Ācāryapūjākarmasaṃgraha* commence their treatment of the *saṃskāras* performed for human actors with the removal of birth pollution (*macā bu byanake vidhi*) and do not mention any prenatal rites in this context.

As for the purification of the womb (*yoniśodhana*), there is no such rite separately performed among the Newars. However, this rite is sometimes identified with the *bārḥā tayegu* ritual, when girls, upon the onset of their first menstruation (or, out of convenience, prior to this) are confined for ideally twelve days in a room shielded from

95 Cf. *Karmavidhisamgraha*, fols. 1–14 and *Ācāryapūjākarmasaṃgraha*, fols. 1–32.

the sun and from males, who are barred from entering (cf. Gutschow & Michaels 2008: 173–87).⁹⁶ Though this rite deals with the first menstrual pollution of the future mother and in this way indeed serves the purification of her womb, I find it hard to believe that this *saṃskāra* with its focus on menstrual pollution could have inspired the performance of the rites prescribed by Kuladatta under the rubric of the *yoniśodhana*. Rather, while it makes sense to identify the purification of the materials from which the object in question is to be fashioned as well as the empowerment of the artisans' hands with the “purification of the womb” (*yoniśodhana*) that arguably is effected by the *bārāḥ tayagu* ritual, it seems improbable that these purificatory rites were developed in the first place in imitation of the *saṃskāra* of confinement necessitated by the first onset of menstruation, as Tanemura's hypothesis would seem to imply.

A further discrepancy between Newar practice and the prescriptions of the *Kriyā-saṃgrahapañjikā* concerns the rite of “cleaning the throat” (*kaṇṭhaśodhana*) which is known in the Newar tradition as *kaṇṭha khuye* (literally: “tearing the throat”). It is performed for infants after they have undergone the rite of the first feeding of rice (*annaprāśana*). Nowadays rarely performed, the beak of a live male duck is inserted by the priest into the mouth of the child so as to “tear the throat” open (*kaṇṭha khuye*). This rite is to be performed on the day after the *annaprāśana* (cf. Bajrācāryya & Bajrācāryya 1963: 6). In the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* there is no mention of a duck, and the text merely teaches that as part of the *annaprāśana* ritual one should feed roasted [meat] (*bhrāṣṭra*) and deep fried cake made of ground lentils (*vaṭaka*; New.: *vah*) “so as to purify the throat” (*kaṇṭhaśodhanāya*) (188, 1). This discrepancy, however, is not a strong argument since the roots of the Newar practice with the drake are not clear and may well have to be sought in developments posterior to the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*.⁹⁷

A final point to consider here is the custom of Newar Buddhists with inherited monastic links to undergo as their boyhood life-cycle rite the temporary ordination rite (*bare chuyegu*). This is instead of the *vratādeśa* and *samāvartana* rite that Kuladatta prescribes for the consecration ceremony along Brahmanical lines (cf. von Rospatt 2005: n. 38).⁹⁸ It is of course possible that only after the time of Kuladatta the

96 The purification rites performed upon the first onset of the menses are identified also in other Indic tradition with the *saṃskāra* of *garbhādhāna*, which is equivalent to the *yoniśodhana* (see Kane 1974: 210ff.).

97 The practice of inserting a drake's beak into the infant's mouth is not attested in Rajbali Pandey's *Hindu saṃskāras* (1987) or in Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra*. The testimony of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* suggests that there may be a link between this Newar practice and the Brahmanical feeding of specific foodstuffs as part of the first feeding of rice (*annaprāśana*). In *Pāraskaragrhyasūtra* (1.18.7) it is taught that on this occasion the meat of the *bhāradvājī* bird is to be fed if one wants to render the infant fluent in speech (*bhāradvājyā māmsena vākprasārakāmasya*). This accords with the explanation popular among Newars that the insertion of the drake's beak is to open the throat and induce the gift of speech. However that may be, further research is needed in order to explore the origins of this Newar custom.

98 In the textual traditions of Kathmandu and Patan studied here, the *bare chuyegu* rite does not feature as part of the consecration rituals. The Vajrācāryya priests with whom I have discussed this also insisted that there was no place for the ordination rite. Among the numerous consecration rites that I have witnessed, there was, however, one consecration ceremony, performed in Guji Bāhāḥ

ordination came to be employed as a rite of passage in lieu of the *vrātādeśa* and *samāvartana saṃskāras*. However, this is by no means certain and would also be in tension with Tanemura's own claim that the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* originated in a milieu dominated by married tantric practitioners. Rather, it would seem much more likely that the Buddhist tradition captured by Kuladatta deliberately bypassed the temporary ordination as not appropriate for the purpose of the consecration ceremony and instead chose the *vrātādeśa* and *samāvartana*. Even though it is conceivable that these two *saṃskāras* were already then performed in a Buddhist idiom for boys without inherited links to a monastery (as happens today in the case of families whose hereditary priest is a Vajrācārya), this choice would seem to have been dictated by different considerations than the mere wish to imitate practice current among human protagonists. For, if that had been the dominant motivation, why not mimic the much more prestigious practice of the temporary ordination imparted to boys in order to initiate them into the community (*saṃgha*) of the monastery to which their fathers belong? This then appears to be yet a further instance where the employment of the *saṃskāras* was not simply modeled on the practices actually current among Buddhists.

The foregoing shows that the *saṃskāras* performed for the purposes of consecration as prescribed in the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* differ in considerable detail from those performed for human actors. This, to my mind, makes it unlikely that they were designed in simple adaptation of practice current among the Buddhists of that time, as Tanemura has proposed. This raises the question what else may have influenced Kuladatta or his precursors when they prescribed the performance of the *saṃskāras* as part of the consecration ceremony. Though I am not able to furnish any proofs, I would like to raise the possibility of Hindu influence. Crucial for this suggestion is the assumption that at the time of Kuladatta there was a flourishing tradition in the Hindu fold of performing the *saṃskāras* in order to consecrate images and other objects. Regrettably, I am not aware of any evidence that would prove this either for the Nepal Valley or for any other tradition on the subcontinent. However, in the Śaiva tradition of the Nepal Valley it is indeed standard to perform the ten *saṃskāras*, starting with the three prenatal rites of conception (*garbhādhāna*), *pūṃsavana* and *sīmantonayana*, for the purpose of consecration. This has clearly been a hollowed practice for long, but I have not done the necessary research to trace this tradition back in time. Presuming it dates back some thousand years—this is of course highly speculative—it would have been current in the Valley at the time when the Buddhist consecration ceremony recorded in the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* took shape. Crucial for the hypothesis that at that time the Hindu tradition

(Jñānakīrti Vihāra) Patan on the 19th of November 2003, when the *cūḍākarman* ritual included the main principal elements of the *bare chuyegu* rite. Standing in for the consecration deity, one of the ritual's patrons (*yajamāna*) received monastic robe, staff and begging bowl (*piṇḍapātra*), and after taking the seven steps, departed. Having circumambulated the ritual arena, he returned and formally returned the robe, staff and begging bowl to the officiating priest. This sequence of rites was carried out not instead of, but in addition to, the *vrātādeśa* rite performed subsequently. This deviant tradition is a good example for the proliferation of variations in the ritual practice of Newar Buddhism.

may have influenced or even inspired the incorporation of the *saṃskāras* into the Buddhist consecration ceremony is the fact that in the Kathmandu Valley, then as now, Buddhism existed alongside with Hindu tantric traditions. Sharing the same constrained urban spaces, these traditions were not hermetically sealed but open to mutual influence, such as mediated through the participation in some of the same cults, something that can still be witnessed today.

The Hindu and Buddhist traditions in the Valley influenced each other mutually, and it is, therefore, *prima facie* not clear why the Buddhists should have been inspired by Hindu practice rather than the other way around. A possible reason would seem to be that the *saṃskāras* are by nature Brahmanical and alien to Buddhism. However, by the time of Kuladatta, Buddhism had embraced so much of the ritual vocabulary and practices originally Brahmanical, that it is questionable whether the *saṃskāras* would have been perceived as alien—a perspective that certainly would be at odds with later Newar Buddhism when the performance of the life-cycle *saṃskāras* for humans became one of the principal elements of this tradition. There is another, stronger reason to believe that in the Hindu fold the *saṃskāras* were first employed for consecrating images, namely the fact that by the time of Kuladatta, Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavas had for several centuries employed the three prenatal *saṃskāras* (*garbhādhāna* functions as the equivalent of *yonisodhana*) together with the rite of birth and the name-giving ceremony, in order to generate the fire deity when installing the sacred fire as part of the *homa* ritual.⁹⁹ This tradition is first attested in some early Śaiva works, starting with the *Niśvāsaguhyasūtra*, which, however, only mentions the use of these five *saṃskāras* summarily without listing them individually. The full names of the *saṃskāras* to be performed for the fire deity, namely *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana*, *sīmanta*, *jātakarman* and *nāmakarman* are given—here I am particularly indebted to Diwakar Acharya—in the *Svāyambhuvāgama* (c. early 7th century), the *Mataṅgakriyāpāda*, the *Brahmayāmala*, the *Svacchandatantra* and the *Netratantra* (c. 850). The use of these five *saṃskāras* for the generation for Agni is—together with other *saṃskāras*—also attested in an early Vaiṣṇava source, namely the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, which is, according to Acharya, an extended version of the *Jayottaratantra*, most probably authored in Kashmir in the first half of the ninth century. While the focus was first on the prenatal and natal *saṃskāras* which were performed in order to generate Agni and bring the God of Fire to life, the principle of using the *saṃskāras* in this way was eventually extended beyond the prenatal and natal phase to include also the subsequent *saṃskāras* up to and including the wedding. The result of this process can be witnessed in an early Śaiva manuscript of the Newar tradition (NA 5-433, NGMPP B 24/8), which dates back to the second half of the fourteenth century. It lists twelve *saṃskāras*¹⁰⁰ to be performed for the genera-

⁹⁹ For the following I draw heavily upon information that Diwakar Acharya of Kyoto University generously provided in a fruitful e-mail exchange in fall 2008.

¹⁰⁰ The text refers to these twelve *saṃskāras* as *dasakriyā* (3v6–4r1). It is tempting to emend the text and read *dvādasakriyā* (or *dvādaśakriyā*), since twelve *saṃskāras* are listed and this had indeed become the standard number in the underlying tradition. However, it is not impossible that the text deliberately reads *dasakriyā* because this had become the stock expression for the perfor-

tion of Agni at the beginning of the fire ritual, namely *garbhādhāna*, *pūṃsavana*, *sīmantonayana*, *jātakarman*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *niṣkramana* (sic.), *phalaprāsana*, *anna-prāsana*, *cūḍākarana*, *vratibandhana*, *samāvarttana* and *patnīsaṃyojana* (3v6–4r1).¹⁰¹ Given the evidence sketched here, I find it much more likely that the application of the *saṃskāras* to images in the Hindu tradition is rooted in this practice of generating Agni,¹⁰² than that it was derived in imitation of Buddhist practice. However, I am in no position to substantiate this point because I am not aware of textual evidence that would attest to the practice of performing the *saṃskāras* for images in the Hindu fold before Kuladatta.

Rather than offering a fully worked out and substantiated hypothesis, I here do little more than point in a particular direction and raise the possibility that the tradition recorded in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* was influenced by the application of the *saṃskāras* for the purposes of consecration in contemporaneous Hindu traditions. To be sure, such influence would have been complex and not reducible to a simple, one-dimensional taking-over of a ritual procedure. This is confirmed by the significant differences between the Buddhist scheme recorded by Kuladatta and the standard scheme used in the Śaiva Newar tradition. For instance, as we have seen above, in Kuladatta's scheme the first two prenatal rites are identified with the stage of production and divorced from the principal consecration ceremony. By contrast, in Hindu practice all *saṃskāras*, including the prenatal ones starting with the rite of the purification of the womb, are performed together, on a single day, as part of one elaborate sequence of rituals, in order to consecrate the completed image. There are more such deviations which bear out that the Buddhist tradition recorded by Kuladatta is the result of a complex and original process of formation that cannot be reduced to the wholesale import of Hindu practice. I accordingly concur with Tanemura that the Buddhist practice of imparting tantric initiations for images, and possibly also the performance of *saṃskāra* life-cycle rites by contemporaneous Buddhists, may well have played an important role in this process of formation. What I object to is the, in my eyes, simplistic notion that these two factors alone can explain this process. Rather, I believe that any attempt to account for the scheme of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* should take into account the Hindu parallels. This, incidentally, is not an exceptional instance but exemplary for the principal need to view Newar Buddhism—the same holds good for other forms of Buddhism—not in isolation but as a religious tradition embedded in a larger socio-religious field and context.

mance of the *saṃskāras*, no matter their real number.

101 For another example see the aforementioned *Puṣkaraṇīpraṇālīpratiṣṭhāvidhi* (ASK 186, folios 38–40) where however, the sequence of *niṣkramana* and *nāmakaraṇa* is inverted.

102 It is also conceivable that there was an even earlier tradition (of which no testimony survives) of performing the *saṃskāras* for images and that the application to the fire deity happened only in a second step. Such an earlier tradition would need to be so early that it could not have been influenced by Buddhist practice. Hence, the issue raised in this note has no bearing on the hypothesis proposed here.

I would like to conclude this paper by briefly returning to my contention that the employment of the *saṃskāras* for the consecration ceremony as recorded in Kuladatta's *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṇīkā* was not simply modeled on the practices current among Buddhists at that time. This point I would now like to take one step further and suggest that, on the contrary, the *saṃskāras* performed for Newar Buddhists were shaped to some extent by the procedure prescribed for deities in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahaṇīkā*. Such a hypothesis does not imply that the *saṃskāras* were not performed for lay Buddhists before, but rather that they were not performed in the same way in a specifically Buddhist idiom, as they later came to be in Newar Buddhism.¹⁰³ Instead most rites—think of the purification after birth, the first feeding of fruits and rice, the first formal coiffure or the wedding—may have appeared as acts that were naturally given and in no need of explicit buddhization. This, I suggest, changed once these rites became performed as part of the consecration ceremony for Buddhist deities. Then there was the need to adapt them to the pronounced purpose of this ceremony, namely to endow the object in question with the qualities of buddhahood. This led, I propose, to a thorough adaptation of the *saṃskāras* to a Buddhist framework, more precisely to a framework which happened to be dominated by the Yogatantras and notably the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*. Once the *saṃskāras* had been buddhized in this way, there was a tendency, so my hypothesis, to apply this new format also to human actors. Such a step not only offered the advantage of cladding the *saṃskāras* in an explicit Buddhist idiom, but it also made sense because the purpose of the *saṃskāras* is to deify their subjects. Thus, I propose that the Buddhist versions of the different *saṃskāras* current among the Newars owe, to differing degrees, to the adaptation of practice that was initially developed with regard to deities. To be sure, the formation of the *saṃskāras* as performed for Buddhist Newars was clearly a complex and lengthy process that was also shaped by many other factors and considerations. Accordingly, it is to be expected that there was great variation in the extent and manner in which the performance of specific *saṃskāras* for human actors was influenced by consecration practice. For instance, while I believe the *ihi* ritual to be much indebted to the wedding rites developed for consecration images, the temporary ordination current among high caste Newars as a rite of passage is grounded in the monastic ordination prescribed in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* and shows no such influence (cf. von Rospatt 2005b). Further research is needed to ascertain the historical origins of the individual *saṃskāras* performed in the Newar Buddhist

103 By the time of Kuladatta in the eleventh or twelfth century, the Buddhist tradition of the Kathmandu Valley (as Buddhist traditions elsewhere on the subcontinent) inhabited a larger socio-religious world that was shaped by Brahmanical concepts and institutions. Part of this world must have been the practice of imparting the *saṃskāras* as life-cycle rituals, even as it is today. It seems likely that members of this society would have felt the need to undergo these rites, no matter what their religious identity. Rather than leaving this domain of religious activity entirely to Brahmans, it must have made sense for Buddhist practitioners to offer their own priestly services for the performance of these rituals. It is less obvious, however, to which degree, if any at all, they would have adapted these rites to a Buddhist framework. I am not aware of material that would shed light on this issue, but I suspect—and here my hypothesis really takes off—that initially the degree of deliberate “buddhization” was moderate.

tradition for human actors, and to examine how precisely they relate to consecration practice. Even so, I think it is safe to propose that the employment of the *saṃskāras* for the purpose of consecrating images did not only imitate human practice but also changed that practice in turn.

References

Abbreviations

ASK	Āśā Saphū Kuthi Collection, Kathmandu
KSgP	<i>Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā</i>
NA	National Archives, Kathmandu
NS	Nepāla saṃvat, i.e. the traditional lunar calendar of Nepal that began on October, 20 879 CE
NGMPP	Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project

Texts – unpublished manuscripts¹⁰⁴

1) Sanskrit

Bauddhadaśakriyāsādhana. Incomplete palm leaf manuscript with six extant folios (NA 1-1697, NGMPP A 936/6).

Bauddhadaśakriyāvidhāna. Sanskrit manuscript of 23 folios, which is closely based on the KSgP (NA 5-278; NGMPP B 106/17).

Hiraṇyamālādaśakriyāvidhi. The following four manuscripts were consulted:

NA 5-279, NGMPP A 920/9: 30 extant fols., dated NS 740 (= CE 1620).

NA 4-905, NGMPP E 1514/5: 46 extant fols.

NA 5-150, NGMPP A 920/8: 159 extant fols., contains Newari glosses and explanations.

NA 3-380, NGMPP B 30/33: palm leaf manuscript of 18 folios, catalogued as *Karmādhikāravidhāna*.

2) Newari

a) Kathmandu

Ācāryapūjākarmasaṃgraha. 198 paginated folios, dated to NS 984 (= CE 1864) and kept in the private collection of the sons of Ratna Kaji Bajracharya from Kathmandu. The title is taken from the wooden book cover; the manuscript is a compendium that includes a wide array of Vajrācārya rituals including the extended consecration ceremony entitled *Daśakarmmapratisthāvidhi* (fols. 37r2–46r6).

104 Cf. the more detailed description of the principal manuscripts used for this study on pp. 205–8.

- Karmavidhisamgraha*. 109 folios, kept in the Āśā Saphū Kuthi Collection (running number 2587), the title is given according to Vaidya & Kansakar (1991: 50–4). The manuscript has been scanned by the Āśā Saphū Kuthi (scan number 2174) and microfilmed by the NGMPP (E 1109/30). The manuscript is again a compendium that includes the extended consecration ceremony, here entitled *Daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhi* (fols. 14r5–28v2).
- Daśakarmakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhi*. 22 folios, copied by Harsha Ratna Bajracharya, of Te Bāhāḥ of Kathmandu in 1925. The copy was obtained by Ratna Kaji Bajracharya and is kept in the private collection of his sons.
- Daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhāna*. 28 folios, has no prenatal section and is undated. It is kept together with the *Daśakriyāvidhi* (see below) in the Āśā Saphū Kuthi.
- Daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhi*. 21 folios, scribed by Ratna Kaji Bajracharya in 1974 and kept in the private collection of his sons.
- Dāsakriyāvidhi*. 29 folios (paginated 1–[9] dealing with prenatal consecration rites and 1–20 dealing with the main ceremony starting with the rite of birth); the manuscript contains subsequently (fols. 21–4) a text on *grhapratiṣṭhā* that is scribed in the same hand. I take it that the date at its end (NS 819 = CE 1699) refers to the entire manuscript and hence also to the *Daśakriyāvidhi*. The manuscript is kept together with the differently scribed *Daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhāna* in the Āśā Saphū Kuthi (running number 2668) and has been scanned together with this text (scan number 2228). Presumably reflecting the wrong sequence in which these manuscripts seem to be kept together, the *Daśakriyāpratiṣṭhāvidhāna* has been scanned after the first part of the *Dāsakriyāvidhi* and before its second part.
- Devapṛatiṣṭhāvidhi*. Pp. 1–24 of a notebook that also includes other rites; scribed by Dharmaratna Bajracharya of Ratnakīrti Mahāvihāra (= Makhan Bāhāl) in Kathmandu in *vikrama saṃvat* 1985 (= CE 1929).
- Pratiṣṭhādasakriyāvidhi*. 82 folios; NGMPP E 2571/4.
- Pratiṣṭhāvidhāna*. Compendium of rituals related to the establishment of sacred structures and other objects, and to their consecration. Folios 91r1 to 120r5 reproduce the *Daśakriyā* which falls into two parts, viz. the prenatal rites (up to 100v2) and the subsequent rites (starting at 101r1). The text is kept in the National Archives (4-1368) with other, differently paginated texts and has been microfilmed together with them by the NGMPP (B 105/10 and A 918/9). The set of texts have been collectively entitled *Digbandhanapūjāvidhi* by the cataloguer(s) because of the last item in the set. One of the texts united here has a colophon stating that it was scribed by Vajrācārya Cittamuni of Maitripurī Mahāvihāra in Kathmandu in the month of *mārgaśira* in *saṃvat* 953 (CE 1832). Another included text portion is dated to *saṃvat* 996 (CE 1875/6). It is hence most likely that the imbedded *Daśakriyā* dates to the nineteenth century. The texts assembled here may have been written by the mentioned Vajrācārya at different times in his career, though it is also conceivable that more than one generation contributed to the collection.

Puṣkaraṇīpraṇālīpratiṣṭhāvidhi. 98 folios. This Śaiva text on the consecration ceremony is kept at the Āśā Saphū Kuthi (scan number 186). According to the title list, it dates to NS 827.

b) Patan

Daśakarmavidhi. I have used two different manuscripts to which I had access in the form of photocopies, one being a *thyāsaphū* of 55 folds and 109 pages, the other being a *thyāsaphū* of 55 folds and 110 pages.

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— *Vajrāvalī*. See Mori 2005.

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