

ICONOGRAPHY OF RELIGIONS XIII, 15

# RELIGION IN NEPAL

K. R. VAN KOOIJ

INSTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY  
STATE UNIVERSITY GRONINGEN

LEIDEN E. J. BRILL 1978



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# ICONOGRAPHY OF RELIGIONS

EDITED BY

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and H. BUNING (*Secretary*)

SECTION XIII: INDIAN RELIGIONS

FASCICLE FIFTEEN



LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL  
1978

# RELIGION IN NEPAL

BY

K. R. VAN KOOIJ

With 48 Plates



LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL  
1978

ISBN 90 04 05827 3

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. R. Kloppenborg for taking several of the photographs published in this book during her stay in Nepal and for her useful advice. I am grateful to Mr. Frans Janssen for his companionship and his suggestive remarks, and to Mrs. and Dr. M. Witzel for their kind help and hospitality.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Prins Bernhard Foundation for giving me a grant for a journey to Nepal, and to the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) for making another stay in Nepal possible for me.

I thank the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden and the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam for permitting me to reproduce pieces from their collections.





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(Numbers between square brackets in the text refer to items in the bibliography, in which more detailed information can be found)



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Nepal is a part of the Indian sub-continent, not only from the geographical but also from the cultural point of view. Indian culture has deeply influenced in particular the valley of Kathmandu, which is Nepal in the proper sense of the word. In contrast with the neighbouring mountainous area, where people live in small villages, this large and fertile valley is able to support larger numbers of people, and life in cities has been possible from the first centuries A.D. onwards. Since that time the Indian religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, have been present in the region and they are still the main religions in Nepal today.

Because of its geographical situation at the foot of the Himālayas, Nepal has the position of a borderland. As such it not only shares in Indian cultural developments, but is also linked with a cultural pattern which belongs to the people inhabiting the Himālayan range. The original inhabitants of the valley are at least partly related to the Tibetans and other groups living in the mountain range of the Himālayas and they speak a Tibeto-Burmese language. These people, the Newars, are to a great extent responsible for the culture of Nepal as we know it today. Newar culture, although thoroughly Indianized, has retained certain elements which are non-Indian and which seem to belong to the cultural background of the Himālayan peoples. Particular traits in the religion of Nepal form part of this Newar heritage. Some of these are Indianized, but others have continued to exist in a pure Newar form.

As a borderland of India, Nepal has also preserved many cultural aspects which have long ago disappeared from India itself. As Bendall puts it, the remoteness of the country as well as its political and religious isolation are the cause of many archaisms that have survived up to the present time.

These two factors — on the one hand, the cultural background of the Newars as a Himālayan people and, on the other, the existence of religious archaisms—result in a picture of the religion and iconography of Nepal that is different from that of the rest of the Indian sub-continent.

The historical period in Nepal begins with the Licchavi-kings, who ruled the country from about 400 to 750 A.D. Contacts with northern India were very close, as the Licchavis were related to the Indian Gupta dynasty by marriage. Sanskrit was adopted as the literary language in Nepal, as appears from the inscriptions in Gupta-characters dating from the fifth century onwards. By this time the city of Patan, which was planned as a Buddhist city, had been founded. The city was surrounded by four Buddhist monuments (*stūpas*) at the four cardinal points and it had one *stūpa* in the centre. The four *stūpas* of the four points (XXVa) are still there. Their archaic form is reminiscent of the Indian *stūpas* of the first centuries B.C., and tradition has it that these *stūpas* were built by the Indian emperor Aśoka in the third century B.C. This tradition, however, belongs rather

to legend than to history. Another ancient centre of Buddhism was Carumatī (Chābāhil) near Kathmandu. This place is also traditionally connected with Aśoka, but probably dates from a much later time. Several sculptures in Gupta-style found in Chābāhil indicate that there was a Buddhist community here round-about the fifth century. It seems that Buddhism had a strong position in this period, next to the worship of the Hindu-gods Viṣṇu and Śiva.

There was a shrine on the hill of Chāngu Nārāyaṇa, where sculptures of Viṣṇu have been found. These date from the Licchavi-period. According to an inscription, the first historical monarch of Nepal, Mānadeva I (fifth century A.D.) ordered a stone pillar and images of Viṣṇu to be erected in an ancient Viṣṇu-shrine. Another hill became a centre of Śiva-worship, where Śiva was worshipped as Paśupati.

The Buddhist and Hindu sculptures of this period are not inferior in quality to the best of the Indian sculptures of the same time. This indicates that the Kathmandu Valley was not a backward cultural area [25].

In the course of the next period, when Nepal was ruled by the Ṭhākuris and the early Mallas (750-1480), Buddhism and Hinduism continued to maintain their positions in Nepal, but after the year 1000 Śivaism became more and more important. This rise of Śivaism was due to similar developments in India. Ascetic movements, among them that of the Nāthayogins, spread to Nepal and became powerful promoters of the worship of Śiva. The Nāthayogin sect under the leadership of Gorahknāth (circa twelfth century A.D.) has left its mark on Nepalese religion up to the present day. Several festivals were influenced by Śivaism and consequently renamed. An example of this is the national festival of the god Matsyendranātha, named after the mythical founder of the Nāthayogin sect. Formerly this festival was celebrated in honour of the Newar deity Buṅgadyo, who was associated with the Buddhist Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The influence of the Nāthayogins is also visible in several names of sacred places ending in *-nāth*, even Buddhist ones, for example, Bodhnāth, Svayambhūnāth.

One result of this development was that Buddhism was seriously weakened. In particular, monastic life received a severe check, and in some cases monks were forced to marry, to establish families and to take over Hindu customs. The strength of Hinduism appears from the official introduction of the caste system and the incorporation of the Buddhists as a separate caste. At the end of this period, the monasteries were no longer inhabited by monks, but had become the dwellings of Buddhist families.

A new development from India, moreover, gave prominence to a new aspect of Hinduism and Buddhism, namely a way to reach salvation by using ritual and psychological techniques. The literary works in which these rituals have been laid down are the Tantras and the movement is called Tantrism. It played a prominent part in the Indian religion of this period and led to a tendency to syncretism in particular between Śivaism and Buddhism, as the distinction between the two religions became less important than the knowledge of certain techniques which could bring final liberation. Groups of yogins and "masters" of Tantrism (*ācārya*, *siddha*) spread these systems to countries outside India, including Nepal and Tibet. Eight Siddhas are particularly worshipped in Nepal; this is clear from frequent representations of the group in paintings and wood-carvings. The influence of the great Indian centres of Tantric Buddhism, such as Nālanda and Vikramaśīla, is also clear from the names of the Nepalese monasteries, such as the Vikramaśīlavihāra (Thaṃbāhī) in Kathmandu.

In the thirteenth century, the Buddhist centres in India were destroyed by the Muslims. Buddhism became almost extinct in India and Hinduism was superseded in many places by Islam. Apart from a few raids, Nepal remained free from the Muslims and consequently from Islam and became a refuge for many Indian Buddhists. Nepal was able to continue its religious traditions, in particular Buddhism, and in this way it preserved the picture of India before the coming of the Muslims. During the third period (1480-1768), Nepal flourished. The country was ruled by the Mallas, who divided it into three small kingdoms with the three cities of the valley as their capitals: Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur. In spite of quarrels, the three kingdoms were very active in the fields of architecture, sculpture and painting. Most of the shrines and temples of modern Nepal date from this period, and the present appearance of the cities with their royal palaces, Durbar squares and pagodes is largely the work of the Malla-kings.

During this period, Nepal was in close contact with Tibet. Many Nepalese artists were invited to work in Lhasa to produce bronze images and paintings (*thangka*) for the religious purposes of Buddhism. The influence of Tibetan and East Asiatic styles is very noticeable in the painted scrolls that also became popular in Nepal (*paṭa*). As connections with India were cut off, the native culture of the Newars became more and more important. This is clear from the use of the Newāri language in inscriptions and official documents, in which formerly Sanskrit was used.

In 1768, a new ruling class came to Nepal. The Gurkhas conquered the valley of Kathmandu, united the three kingdoms into one nation and enlarged it to the present area. They were related to the northern Indian peoples and spoke an Indo-Aryan language, which was introduced as the official language in Nepal and called Nepāli.

The Gurkhas, or Nepāli, as they called themselves in order to distinguish their own people from the Newars, were exclusively Hindus. The antagonism between the Hindu ruling class speaking Nepāli and the indigenous population, which was partly Hindu and partly Buddhist and spoke Newāri, further weakened the position of Buddhism. Nevertheless, the Buddhist Newars continued to celebrate their rituals and ceremonies. The Buddhist traditions were maintained within the Buddhist caste, although not always with the original meaning and in the same form. For instance, the ordination of a novice in the order of monks became a caste ceremony. Even today, all boys have to go through this ritual, which involves a vow of monkhood, but only for four days. During this short period they walk in a monk's robe and beg for food. Then it is declared that living as a monk is no longer possible and they are allowed to resume ordinary life as lay Buddhists. After this kind of ordination, which has the function of an initiation, a young man is a full member of the Buddhist caste, and one is called *bare* (or *banra*, that is, the *vandya* or "respected one"). Some of them have the hereditary title of *vajrācārya* ("master of the *vajra*"), recalling the old masters of Tantrism. These *vajrācāryas*, however, do not practise extreme Tantric techniques. They are respectable householders, who act as priests. They are called for when rituals or ceremonies are to be performed [31].

The Buddhist Newars take part in a number of festivals which are also attended by the Hindu Newars as well as by the Nepāli. The new rulers sanctioned such important Newar festivals as paying homage to the "Living Goddess" Kumāri, who is regarded as impersonating the Hindu Goddess Durgā; it is she who gives Nepalese kingship a

religious authorization. The king also attends the festival of Matsyendranātha in Patan and pays homage to the symbol of Śiva in the shrine of Paśupatināth.

In 1951 the political power of the Rāṇā-family, members of which ruled the country from 1845 onwards instead of the king, was broken and King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Jung Bahadur obtained *de facto* supreme authority. From that year onwards Nepal has abandoned its policy of isolation and accepted an increasingly modern way of life.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE RELIGIOUS HERITAGE OF THE NEWARS

It is difficult to say with certainty what is part of the original religion of the Newars, and what belongs to the Hindu or Buddhist traditions coming from India. Hinduism and Buddhism are so much entangled with religious life of Nepal and have been for such a long time that it is hardly possible to distinguish between “original” and “Indian” forms of religiosity. There are nevertheless certain characteristics in the Nepalese religion which are not particularly Hindu or Buddhist or which cannot be satisfactorily explained in terms of syncretism. They seem to point to a common Newar heritage, which has been adopted by Hinduism or Buddhism or by both. These elements of Newar culture have been provided with names and forms belonging to Hinduism and Buddhism, but they have continued to exist as something typically Newar. Certain forms of worship—a number of rituals, festivals and ceremonies—are part of the religious life of every Newar, Buddhist or Hindu, not by reason of the blurring of the dividing lines between Buddhism and Hinduism in Nepal, but because of a common Newar background.

The Newars have kept, for instance, the memory of their ancient sacred places, at the same time continuing to be Hindus or Buddhists. The result is that, in certain places, Buddhist as well as Hindu images can be found by the side of other symbols of the presence of divine power. This does not mean that Buddhism and Hinduism have become more or less one religion, but rather that both religions have left their marks on these places, in other words that every Newar, Buddhist or Hindu, can worship his own gods in the common sacred place.

#### *Springs and Ponds*

Springs situated at the foot of hills or mountains are particularly holy in Nepal and are worshipped by Hindus as well as Buddhists. Sculptures and images belonging to both religions have been set up to mark the sacred character of the place. Near Godāvāri (Ia), in the southern part of the Kathmandu Valley, there is a spring at the foot of a hill and a sacred pond, where the Buddhists worship Vasundharā, the goddess of the earth, and the Hindus pay homage to the goddess Śrīlakṣmī. Images of the Buddha are found next to sculptures of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and others. People also in fact worship the spring itself and the water of the pond in front of it. There is an opening or cleft in the rock near the spring, around which a small shrine has been erected in honour of the divine power providing water for the spring. There are quite a number of such holy springs in Nepal, where primarily the water that comes out of the earth is worshipped, irrespective of the Hindu god after whom the place may subsequently have been named. They are described in some literary works, such as the Nepālamāhātmya [35] and the Svayambhūpurāṇa [14] and they are to be visited by every one who wants to acquire religious merit. Most of them have been associated with a particular Hindu or Buddhist deity and

they have become the scene of a certain mythological event connected with him. Godāvāri is for the Buddhists the place where the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī rested when he visited the valley.

One of the most important of these so-called *tīrthas* is Gosāinkunda, the pond (*kunda*) of the Hindu god Śiva. Another name for it is Śivahluti. It is situated outside the valley in the first high mountain-range of the Himālayas. The place is frequented by yogins and others who want to bathe in its holy water (II). Two rocks submerged in the water are believed to represent Śiva's body and are worshipped as Jalaśayana Mahādeva (the great god lying in the water). A painting in a Buddhist monastery in Kathmandu (the Itumbāhā) pictures this lake of Śiva, and the god Śiva lying in the water [30].

Another name of the place is Nilakaṇṭha, which is one of Śiva's epithets and refers to the myth with which this pond is connected. In Indian mythology it is said that, in primordial times, the gods and the demons together were churning the ocean in order to obtain the drink of immortality (*amṛta*). During the process a dangerous poison was set free and immediately swallowed by Śiva. But the god could not manage to get the powerful poison down his throat, which turned dark-blue (*nilakaṇṭha*). He then tried to get rid of the poison by running to the Himālaya and bathing in the cold water of this lake. In this way Śiva came to lie in the water. The name Jalaśayana (lying in the water) is, however, connected with Viṣṇu, and the posture of the recumbent Śiva is very similar to that of the sleeping Viṣṇu lying on the snake Ananta.

According to tradition the waters of Gosāinkunda are connected with two ponds in the valley of Kathmandu, one in Patan near the temple of Kumbheśvara, and one in a place called Bālāju. The ancient name of Bālāju was also Nilakaṇṭha, or Parameśvara Prāṇālī, that is, the fountain of Śiva [30]. Situated at the foot of a hill, there is a row of twenty-two spouts, the water from which is lead to several ponds, one of which with an image of a god lying in the water (Ib). Because of the connection with the lake at Gosāinkunda the image in the water is meant as a duplicate of the figure of Śiva Nilakaṇṭha, but the iconography also points to Viṣṇu: the figure holds a lotus and a conch in his two lower hands, which are Viṣṇu's attributes; the two upper hands have a rosary and a water pot, which are symbols belonging to Śiva. Of the signs painted on its forehead, the three stripes are a sign of Śiva, but the symbol in the centre is Viṣṇu's. The image seems to be an unusual combination of the two gods.

The sculptor gave the image not only two of Viṣṇu's attributes, but also depicted it recumbent upon a snake, thus making a Viṣṇu lying on Ananta, known as Viṣṇu Jalaśayana.

A complete Viṣṇu Jalaśayana is found in another pond situated at Narasiṃhasthāna, which is a similar kind of *tīrtha*. This place is now called Būḍha Nilakaṇṭha, the relationship with Bālāju being expressed in its name of Nilakaṇṭha. The image in the pond is even larger than the one at Bālāju and it became subsequently known as the "big" or "old" (*būḍha* = Sanskrit: *vr̥ddha*, old) Nilakaṇṭha, whereas the other was called the "small" or "young" (*bāla*, young) Nilakaṇṭha. Both images date from the seventh century A.D. [30] and the Bālāju image is not a later copy of the Būḍha Nilakaṇṭha one, as is commonly believed. In this Viṣṇuite context, the image of Viṣṇu lying on the snake Ananta or Śeṣa refers to another Indian myth, in which the beginning of a new world period is related. Between two world-periods, the god Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa lies upon a snake on the primordial



waters. He is the only one existing and he is asleep. When the world is to be created anew, a lotus rises from Viṣṇu's navel, and upon this lotus the god Brahmā appears as a demiurge. The image of Viṣṇu sleeping on the primordial waters is a rendering in sculpture of this myth of creation.

The whole complex of iconography and mythology round these springs and ponds may easily obscure the fact that it is solely the water that gives the place its sacred character. In spite of the overwhelming presence of Hinduism, it is significant that Buddhists also worship these places and have accordingly set up Buddhist sculptures, for instance at Bālāju, as a testimony to the Buddhists' interest in the place. Like Godāvāri and other sacred springs, Bālāju and Būḍha Nilakaṅṭha comply with the structure of a sacred spring. It is situated at the foot of a hill and provided with a number of ponds, so that the worshippers can bathe in its holy water and acquire religious merit. The sacred character of the water is indicated by the images of Śiva or Viṣṇu lying in the water and its iconography, referring to the primordial waters out of which the world has been created.

In other ponds, the presence of holy water is marked, for instance, by the Śivaliṅga, placed in the middle of the pond. The *liṅga* is the aniconic symbol of Śiva, and in this context refers to another myth of creation, in which the *liṅga* is a flaming pillar rising out of the waters.

All these iconographical variants represent the different possibilities of the influence of Indian religions on the ancient sacred places of the Newars.

### *The Worship of Stones*

In addition to a large number of images representing Hindu and Buddhist deities, the Nepalese people worship various types of unhewn stones. Everywhere in the streets and the squares of the towns, in the monasteries and temples and in the country-side one finds stones serving as objects of worship. Some of them seem to have no particular religious significance for most of the time, but on certain occasions, which are connected with religious events in a family, a district or the whole town, they come to life and are painted red as a sign of their being worshipped [3].

The basis of this stone-worship is not so much the stone itself, but the spot where the stone has been erected. They are to be found on corners and crossings of streets, near thresholds or at the entrance of palaces or temples or on the outskirts of towns or cities. These places are considered to be dangerous because of the presence of demoniacal powers and are therefore marked by particular types of stones. The demons have to be pacified and worshipped by presenting offerings near these stones in order to prevent them from doing harm to the people. In particular, when somebody has fallen ill or in case of death, the presence of the demons is felt and offerings are to be made.

Several types of stones can be distinguished, having slightly different functions. There are stones which have been inserted into the pavement of the street. These are called *dhoka*. There are also flat stones, also inserted into the pavement and erect stones standing at corners or in other particularly dangerous places, where demons are thought to come together. They have partly retained their original Newar functions and names and play a part in particular religious Newar family occasions, for instance, when the deity of the family (*kuladevatā*) is to be worshipped [5].

Others have the names of Hindu deities, mostly of Gaṇeśa or Bhairava, who are popular protector gods in Nepal. The unhewn stone is treated in exactly the same way as the sculptured image of Gaṇeśa (IIIb). Little shrines have been erected over them and people make daily offerings. Rows of such unhewn stones are frequently worshipped as representing the Hindu "Mothers" (*mātṛkā*), a group of seven or eight goddesses with demoniacal traits (IV a, b). Flat stones may be associated with Bhairava. In general the stones and the unnamed demons connected with them have been partly, transformed into minor Hindu deities with demoniacal features.

Another category is formed by cavities [3] in stones or walls. The hollow in a wall of a house or a shrine is worshipped as a place from which the gods emerge. The divine character of this cavity is often stressed by a sculptural arch in the form of a tympanum that can be seen over the cavity, on the same spot as it is found over an image. In the wall of the Caṇḍeśvarī temple in Banepa a dark-blue figure of Bhairava (V) with eight arms and many demoniacal features is painted around four cavities in such a way that one cavity is right in the middle of his forehead, and the other three appear on his navel and his knees. This figure of the terrifying Bhairava protects the wall against evil influences. These cavities are called *nasauṣa* in Newāri and, like the stones mentioned above, seem to form part of the cultural background of the Newars, which is only partly Indianized.

These types of stones can also be found on or near sacred hills, which were ancient cultic places of the Newars. On the hill of Svayambhūnāth near Kathmandu—one of the most sacred places of Nepal, in particular for the Buddhists—there are a number of unhewn stones. Some of them are on the pavement of the terrace round the *stūpa* and others are sunken in the terrace or placed in small shrines. The stones have been associated with the fire, wind, water and earth and are called Agnipura (city of fire), Vāyupura (city of wind), Vasupura (city of earth) and Nāgapura (city of snakes, which represent the element water). The stones are, however, of the same type of unhewn stones that are worshipped everywhere in the valley by the Newars (IIIa). Similar stones are found in the court-yards of temples, for instance in front of the temple of the White Matsyendranātha in Kathmandu (VIc), where the stone has been transformed into a kind of *stūpa*.

Gutschow and Kölver [9; 10] have demonstrated that Bhaktapur is protected on the outside by a series of eight sacred places on the top of hills covered with enormous trees. The main object of cult is a row of unhewn stones (IVa, b), which became associated with one of the Hindu "Mothers" or Mātṛkās. The hills were probably ancient cultic places of the Newars, who paid homage to the presence of the divine powers marked by groups of unhewn stones. The stones are not only associated with the Hindu Mātṛkās, but also with Ajimā, a goddess of Newar origin. Ajimā is worshipped in case of small-pox and as such she may be called Hāritī by the Buddhists and Śitalā by the Hindus. She has also been associated with death and cremation-grounds outside the city. She may be represented by cultic images with a particular iconography [29], namely, a heavily built stature, full breasts, and a sitting posture, but she is frequently worshipped by means of unhewn stones. Many places of cult where the Mātṛkās are worshipped also bear the name of Ajimā. It seems that these different types of stones were the main cultic objects of the Newars before Indian influence brought images to Nepal.

*Festivals* [2]

Among a large number of festivals, for the most part Hindu, two important feasts must be mentioned, namely that of Matsyendranātha and the ceremonies surrounding the "Living Goddess" Kumārī, as they are probably connected with the religious heritage of the Newars.

Matsyendranātha [15] has become one of the most important national deities in Nepal. At the beginning of the monsoon, there is a great festival consisting of initial ceremonies, drawing a chariot with an image of Matsyendranātha through the streets of the city of Patan and the display of a piece of garment which is believed to have belonged to him. The main object is to secure the coming of the rains that are vital for the prosperity of the valley.

It seems that the name of Matsyendranātha, which is also another name for Śiva as well as the name of the first exponent of the sect of the Nāthayogins, was later added to this festival under the influence of the rise of Śivaism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There is evidence that the festival existed at least in the seventh century, when it was sanctioned by King Narendradeva. The centre of the festival was, and still is, Patan and Buṅgamati near Patan and the name of the deity at the time was Buṅgadeva Lokeśvara, Buṅgadyo being the original Newārī name and Lokeśvara the name of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with whom Buṅgadeva had been associated. It is possible that the Buddhist elements in the iconography of Matsyendranātha come from this earlier stage of the cult, in which a rain-god, Buṅgadyo, was taken to be the same as the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

In Nepal, Matsyendranātha is generally depicted as this Bodhisattva in his form as Padmapāṇi, that is, holding a lotus in his left hand. His image is to be found in the interior of the shrine of the so-called Red Matsyendranātha in Patan and of the White Matsyendranātha in Kathmandu. This difference in colour also points to Avalokiteśvara, who can be represented either as red or as white.

The temple of the White Matsyendranātha in Kathmandu (VIa) is full of representations of Avalokiteśvara, who is painted in his 108 forms on the templewalls, and whose images in bronze have been set up on top of the stone pillars in front of the temple, together with images of his consort Tārā (VIb). A peculiarity of the temple in Kathmandu is the big white stone lying under a canopy in front of the temple (VIc).

Apart from the white stone, the iconography of the shrine of the White Matsyendranātha in Kathmandu is completely Buddhist and only the name of Matsyendranātha makes it differ from a shrine of Avalokiteśvara. Moreover, the temple is situated in a large court-yard, which was formerly part of a Buddhist monastery.

The temple of the Red Matsyendranātha (VIIa) in Patan was also formerly part of a Buddhist monastery. The image of the god in the iconography of Avalokiteśvara can be found right over the entrance (VIIb) to the court-yard. There are also signs of Hinduism, such as the images on top of the pillars standing on a platform in front of the temple. There are nine pillars supporting the bronze images of various animals (an elephant, a horse, a fish, a peacock, the bird Garuḍa (XIIIa), a snake, a bull and a lion), whereas the ninth pillar supports statues of the five Hindu-gods standing on their respective mounts. It may be suggested that these animals are the symbols of the nine leading ascetics of the sect of the Nāthayogins, who were identified with Hindu gods such as Śiva, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, and others.

Patan and Buṅgamati are the centres of the cult of Matsyendranātha in his aspect of a rain-bringing deity. The god is annually brought from Būṅgamati to Patan in a chariot. One of the culminating points in the festival is the showing of a cloth (*bhoṭo*), which is taken to be the garment of Matsyendranātha [15].

At this moment the king of Nepal comes to the chariot in order to show his respect for Matsyendranātha. The cloth is shown at the four cardinal points. This showing of the cloth may be connected with a Buddhist festivity, which is still celebrated in Nepal and which is called Bahi Dyo Boyegu, "looking at the gods in the Vihāras (monasteries)". It consists of displaying the sacred relics belonging to the various monasteries, including ancient images, Buddhist texts, narrative paintings, ancient costumes, etc. The showing of the garment of Matsyendranātha may be a Buddhist element in the festival, which may take as long as two weeks. It repeats the mythical event of the bringing of the god Matsyendranātha from his mountain to the city of Patan. The Buddhist version of this occurrence gives us the story of a long period of drought lasting twelve years. At last the king, Narendra Deva, followed the advice of a priest to go to Mount Kapotala and worship Avalokiteśvara. The Bodhisattva was then brought from his mountain to Patan by the king and his priest in a procession.

In the Hindu version, the influence of the Nāthayogins is noticeable—the drought is attributed to Gorakhnāth, the first leader of the sect, who is believed to have caused it by capturing the rain-bringing snake-gods (the *nāgas*) and keeping them prisoner. Only Matsyendranātha, his divine teacher, who was to be brought from his mountain to the place where Gorakhnāth stayed, could force him to rise from his feet and to set the snakes free.

The recurring theme is the bringing of a deity from the mountain to the valley in order to secure the coming of the annual rains. It is tempting to see in this element the origin of the whole festival, which perhaps began as a ritual procession to the rain-god on the mountain in order to bring him to the valley for worship, so that the rains would come in time. The Buddhist and Hindu elements may be considered as later developments.

Near the royal palace in Kathmandu is a house (VIIIa) inhabited by the "Living Goddess" Kumārī [1; 2]. She is a young girl who has not yet reached the age of puberty and who is selected at the age of two or three years. Unless some unfavourable signs are discovered on her she remains in function until she starts menstruating. Then she becomes an ordinary girl again, and a new Kumārī is to be chosen. Every day she is worshipped by all kinds of people, Hindu as well as Buddhist, who bring presents to her, while she is seated on her throne in the shrine situated on the first floor of the house. Only on the occasion of certain festivals is she allowed to leave the house, when she is carried in a chariot through the streets of the city, dressed and made up like a goddess.

Kumārī is considered to be an incarnation of the Hindu goddess Durgā in her function of tutelary goddess of the royal family and is called Taleju Bhavānī. Legend has it that one of the Malla kings, Prakāśa Malla, institutionalized the worship of Kumārī, after Taleju Bhavānī had announced that she would only appear to him in the form of a young girl of a Buddhist family, who from then onwards had to be worshipped by the king as his tutelary goddess. From that time onwards, every new king had to worship Kumārī as one of his first acts. On the occasion of the festival of Indrayātrā, the king had also to pay a visit to Kumārī in order to receive the red dot (*tīkā*) on his forehead from her. This enabled him to obtain the protection of Kumārī for another year.

As a living Durgā, she is selected on Durgapūjā, Durgā's great festival in October or November. One of the tests she has to undergo is that she should remain unperturbed when brought into the court-yard adjacent to the Taleju Bhavānī temple in the royal palace, where a large number of heads of buffaloes just slaughtered are placed in rows. The offering of buffaloes is customary on Durgāpūjā, as Durgā's greatest deed was the slaying of the buffalo-demon Mahiṣa. Being Durgā, who is accustomed to buffalo offerings, Kumārī should be used to the sight. Like Durgā, Kumārī has a third eye painted on her forehead.

Although a Hindu goddess, she is also connected with Buddhism. She is chosen from a number of candidates, all coming from the leading Buddhist families, and she lives in a house which is a former Buddhist monastery. It may be possible that king Prakāśa Malla gave sanction to an already existing cult, in vogue with the Newar Buddhists. The character of this worship and the original function of this young goddess may be derived from the particular powers attributed to her. Even now, she is worshipped mainly in order to cure bleeding and infectious diseases. She may, however, also cause these illnesses. For example, she can cause vomiting, bleeding or a miscarriage in a person who looks into her eyes. When Kumārī herself is bleeding, because of loss of teeth or injuries, or when she reaches puberty, she cannot represent the goddess any longer, and a new Kumārī has to be found. From this evidence, it seems likely that it may originally have been a Newar girl impersonating a Newar goddess, whose main function was to cure bleedings, and for whom it was necessary that she herself did not bleed. In this case she was no longer possessed by the divine power. Macdonald describes the cult of Kumārī as a case of institutionalized possession [17].

The royal Kumārī in Kathmandu is not the only one functioning. There are several of these "Living Goddesses" in Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, all living in the more important Buddhist monasteries and coming from Buddhist families. Allen [1] mentions eleven of them. It seems that the cult of Kumārī was regular in Newar Buddhism.

Later on, when Śivaism became more and more the official religion, the girl was named Kumārī, which is the name of the Hindu goddess Durgā as a young girl, and the figure of Kumārī was connected with Taleju Bhavānī. The iconography of Kumārī's house in Kathmandu shows the same Hindu and Buddhist associations. A number of wood-carvings represent the goddess Durgā slaying the demon Mahiṣa (Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, XVIIIa), but one tympanum, which can be found over the entrance to the shrine, has a representation of the five Buddhas (XXXIb - XXXIII) and in the court-yard there is a Buddhist votive *stūpa* (VIIIb).

Kumārī herself seems to be depicted in a wood-carving on a tympanum (VIIIc) in the Hākā Bāhā in Patan, which is a Buddhist monastery and at the same time the house of one of the Kumārīs of Patan. Like the Mātrkā-goddess Kumārī or Kaumārī, she is represented standing upon a peacock. She is accompanied by the figures of Gaṇeśa and Bhairava, the same gods who, impersonated by boys, accompany Kumārī when she leaves the house on the occasion of a festival.

## CHAPTER THREE

### HINDUISM

As we have already seen (see above, p. 1) Nepal clung to ancient religious forms that had been abandoned in India for a long time. This tendency is in particular clear in wood architecture and wood-carving. Whereas architecture and sculpture in stone seem to have followed the Indian styles closely, the wooden shrines present a more conservative view and keep to the early tradition.

The pagoda or tiered-roof temple has become the dominant type of architecture in Nepal, even for secular buildings. This type of architecture was inherited from India in the fourth or fifth centuries A.D., but in India it became extinct a few centuries later. The pagodas still existing in Nepal mostly date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they perpetuate the early models. The shrine is erected on a tiered terrace with stairs leading to the entrance. The core of brick, which is the cella of the temple, has a superstructure of wooden roofs, the number of which is related to the importance of the shrine. The famous Nyātapola temple in Bhaktapur, and the Kumbheśvara temple (XIVa) in Patan belong to the largest shrines of this type and have five roofs. These roofs are supported by rows of beams or struts, decorated with wood-carvings.

The wood-carvings on these struts represent figures of deities belonging to the Hindu pantheon. The deities represented depend on the god worshipped in the central interior chamber of the shrine. The outside of a Śiva temple is decorated with figures of aspects of Śiva, for instance, the eight Bhairavas, Śiva's terrifying forms. The struts of a Viṣṇu temple are provided with his incarnations (*avatāra*) or with figures of Viṣṇu together with his consort Lakṣmī (Lakṣminārāyaṇa).

The religious sculpture forming part of the decoration of the temple has been made according to fixed iconographical rules. The figures carved in the wood of the struts form an iconographical unity, which is determined by the deity to whom the temple has been dedicated. As the decoration of the temple and the religious sculpture belonging to it was continuously kept in repair in order to guarantee the ritual value of the shrine, there are still many monuments in Nepal in which the traditional iconographical pattern has been preserved.

Together with the tradition of wood architecture, the art of wood-carving continued to use ancient patterns. Additional iconographical elements carved in the wood of the struts of the pagodas can be connected with the iconographical features of the early Indian enclosures round shrines and *stūpas* dating from the first centuries A.D. All the deities on the Nepalese struts stand in a particular posture under the foliage of a tree (XXVIIb). The posture is called *śālabhañjikā*, and the gods thus depicted under a tree resemble the early Indian tree-gods (*vrkṣadevatā*), who were mainly worshipped as protective deities. The fact that the Nepalese deities are represented in the same way as the former Indian gods of protection (Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇis) probably points to more than a

continuation of an old tradition connected with the art of wood-carving. It appears that the religious function of the divine figures in this context is not much different from that of the Indian Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs. They are mainly there as protective deities.

Immediately beneath these standing figures erotic scenes (Xb) are often depicted [33]. This eroticism is sometimes explained as an expression of the religious feeling of the worshipper who, when he enters the interior of the temple, experiences a sort of *unio mystica* with his god. Although mystical experiences are often expressed in erotic terms, these scenes show a sense of vitality and of life in its most exuberant forms and this can hardly be connected with mysticism. Moreover they are by their very position not suited to express a mystical experience, as they are carved on the struts on the outside of the temple, which makes them visible to everybody.

These erotic scenes probably continue the Indian motif of the pair of lovers (*mithuna*) depicted on the outside of a temple with the function of a symbol of good luck (*maṅgala*). The scenes on the Hindu temples of Nepal are also auspicious symbols. For the same reason erotic scenes are found on the outside of the royal palace in Kathmandu, immediately below the figures of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. Together with these divine figures, these auspicious scenes indicate that the royal palace is a heavenly abode like a Viṣṇu temple, the king being regarded as a divine incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Over the entrance to the shrine, tympana (*torana*) have been placed, mostly of wood, sometimes of bronze. These mark the entrance to a sacred building. The tympanum has the form of a hemicycle or sometimes a triangle and it is crowned with a small parasol or a small image. The edge is adorned with the Indian motif of the monstrous head and sea-animals with elephant-like trunks. It is called *kālamakara*. Instead of the monstrous head, which is a stylized lion-head, a figure of the bird Garuḍa is frequently found in Nepal. Within the space that is enclosed by this motif, the main deity of the temple is usually represented. The same tympana may be placed over the windows on the outside of the building (VIIIa) and in the court-yard (XXXVa). From the mass of iconographical forms, it is evident that the Nepalese craftsmen were able to reproduce all the exact forms that were demanded. They followed the prescripts laid down in Sanskrit works about iconography. It is known that there were handbooks for the artists, containing drawings of the different forms of the gods together with their names. For nearly every iconographical form found in Nepal, there is a basis in one of these works. Iconography seems to have become a kind of ritual "language", which has to be carefully learned and practised, as faults make the image unfit to be used ritually.

### *Viṣṇu*

Viṣṇu temples can be recognized from the symbols on the pillars erected in front of them. One of these is the bird Garuḍa (XIIIa), which is Viṣṇu's mount, represented as a kind of eagle with a human face and its hands folded in a gesture of adoration. Garuḍa is often depicted in a kneeling posture. Other pillars are crowned with Viṣṇu's attributes such as the disc (*cakra*) and the conch (*śaṅkha*). The struts supporting the roofs are provided with various iconographical representations of Viṣṇu (XIa- XIIb). Three of his incarnations (*avatāra*) often recur and are apparently the most popular ones [23]. First, Viṣṇu is represented with the face of a boar (*varāha*) lifting the earth out of the depth of the ocean in which it had been held by a demon (XIb). Secondly, Viṣṇu has a lion's head

(*narasiṃha*) and destroys another demon named Hiraṇyakaśipu (XIIa). Thirdly, he is depicted making three strides (*trivikrama*), one on the earth, one in heaven and one on the head of the demon Bali, who had taken possession of the universe and is slain in this way by Viṣṇu (XIIb). The *avatāras* show the particular function of Viṣṇu to destroy demons who threaten to overthrow the world. Viṣṇu restores traditional law and order (*dharma*). Other struts are carved with representations of Viṣṇu's incarnation Kṛṣṇa together with his female partner Rādhā.

The Nārāyaṇa temple in Bhaktapur (IXa) is provided with three pillars, which are erected in front of the entrance, one with a sculpture of Garuḍa on top and two others with a disc and a conch. The last two pillars have a base in the form of a tortoise, which represents the bottom of the ocean on which the pillar stands like a cosmic mountain. On the pillar to the right, a small relief (IXb) over this tortoise depicts Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation lifting the earth-goddess on its shoulder out of the ocean.

Another important Viṣṇu temple is the Chār Nārāyaṇa temple in Patan (Xa- XIIb), where the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu appear side by side with other forms of Viṣṇu, all carved on the wooden struts. Along the façade of the building, there are four struts with representations of Viṣṇu standing on his bird Garuḍa (XIa) and the three *avatāras* mentioned above. The Varāha *avatāra* is rendered by a figure standing in a fighting posture (*pratyālīḍha*). Between his feet, the water of the ocean is indicated by the figure of a *nāga* in human form with a snake's hood over his head. The goddess of the earth is carved at his left foot. Viṣṇu has a boar's face and eight arms in this representation. Some of the arms and most of the attributes are lost. Narasiṃha has a lion's face and is also depicted with eight arms and standing in a fighting posture. The demon Hiraṇyakaśipu is visible at his right foot and Prahlāda, who is saved by Viṣṇu, is near his left foot. Trivikrama is taking his third step into heaven by lifting his left leg. He also has eight arms. All the forms of Viṣṇu represented on the struts are depicted standing under the foliage of a tree, like protective deities.

As the kings of Nepal claimed to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the royal palace at Darbar Square in Kathmandu is full of images of Viṣṇu, in particular of his *avatāras* and Viṣṇu together with his consort Lakṣmī. The goddess Lakṣmī embodies good luck and prosperity. She is regarded as the consort both of Viṣṇu and of the king.

In one of the Nepalese chronicles (*vamśāvalī*) [37], it is said that the seventeenth century king Pratāpa Malla made a gate to the royal palace, and "in order to keep away evil spirits, witches and epidemics such as smallpox, set there an image of Hanuman" (XIIIc). Hanuman is the monkey-chief of the Indian epic of the Rāmāyaṇa and assists Rāma, one of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, in his fight against the demon Rāvaṇa. Although the Rāma *avatāra* is not often represented in Nepal [23], Hanuman has become a popular protective deity. He is represented with the face of a monkey, and standing in a fighting posture (*pratyālīḍha*) (XIIIb).

### Śiva

Śiva temples are invariably characterized by the appearance of the bull Nandin, Śiva's mount, sculptured in front of the entrance of the shrine (XIVb). A trident is usually placed on top of the roof or by the side of the entrance of the temple. The trident (*triśūla*) together with the drum (*ḍamaru*) is Śiva's most characteristic attribute, and points to



his function as a divine ascetic. In the interior of the shrine, the symbol of the *līṅga* (XVc) is mostly the main object of cult. It is a phallic symbol indicating male fertility. The *līṅga* stands upon a base with a spout on one side. This base represents the *yoni*, a symbol of Śiva's female partner Pārvatī. Both express the fundamental unity of male and female in primordial time before creation. The *līṅga* may be provided with one face (*ekamukha-līṅga*) (XVc), or with four faces (*caturmukhalīṅga*), representing the faces of Śiva.

The outside of the temple is usually provided with figures of Śiva accompanied by his consort Pārvatī or with figures of the Bhairavas, the terrifying aspects of Śiva. These demoniacal deities are depicted in a dancing posture, and they are provided with a garland of severed human heads and with a snake as their brahmanical cord (XVIb). They have bulging eyes, upright standing hair and a grinning face. All these features belong to the appearance of demoniacal deities. The Bhairavas are distinguished by their mounts (*vāhana*), which consist of lying human figures or various kinds of animals. They are eight in number, and are associated with the eight cardinal points. The literary Sanskrit works in which these Bhairavas are mentioned, e.g. the Purāṇas and the Tantras, mention the following series of names: Asitāṅga, Ruru, Caṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapālin, Bhīṣaṇa and Saṃhāra. Sometimes nine are mentioned, in which case one of them is assigned to the centre and eight to the cardinal points. They may be accompanied by the eight Mātṛkās, a group of mother goddesses related to Śiva's female consort Durgā (Pārvatī) and also appearing as the female partners of the eight Bhairavas.

This iconographical structure is to be seen in most of the Śiva temples in Nepal. In the relatively recent shrine of Śiva Somālīṅgeśvara (that is, the Lord Śiva in the shape of a *līṅga* together with his female consort Ūmā (Pārvatī)), the Śivalīṅga is the main cult-object, and representations of the eight Bhairavas (XVIb) and the eight Mātṛkās adorn the pillars on the outside of the temple (XVIc).

The national shrine of Śiva is situated on the hill of Paśupatināth (XVa) outside Kathmandu, where Śiva has been worshipped at least from the fifth century onwards. Paśupati ("Lord of the animals") is one of the names of Śiva. The sect of the Pāśupatas worship Śiva particularly under this name. This sect spread to Nepal in the second half of the first millennium A.D. Its followers are ascetics who cover themselves with ashes, practice meditation and *yoga*, recite the sacred syllable *Om*, and by these techniques strive to free themselves from the bonds to this world. Other ascetic movements came forth from these Pāśupatas, among which are the Kānphaṭa- or Nāthayogins, who became powerful in Nepal in the twelfth century A.D. They strongly promoted the worship of Śiva Paśupati. Their leader, Gorakhnāth, is worshipped himself in a separate shrine near the temple of Śiva on the hill of Paśupatināth.

This centre of Śiva worship is known as a place of pilgrimage over the whole of the Indian sub-continent. In particular on the occasion of the great festival of Śivarātri in February to March, a great many ascetics from all over India come to the shrine of Paśupatināth in Nepal in order to worship the *līṅga* and to bathe in the holy river Bāgmatī flowing beside the temple complex. The river is regarded as the Nepalese equivalent of the Indian Ganges and it is customary to bathe in its holy water. There are a number of steps (*ghāṭs*) leading to the river and platforms used for the cremation of the dead, whose ashes are thrown into the river in order to secure a better rebirth (XVb). For a Newar Hindu the pilgrimage along the holy places of Nepal begins and ends with a visit to the

temple of Paśupatināth and even the Buddhists pay homage to the *liṅga*, which they regard as a form of the Buddha Akṣobhya.

According to legend, Śiva came to this place in order to hide himself from the gods. He assumed the shape of an antelope. The gods found out that the antelope was actually Śiva and they seized it by its horn, which broke off. This horn was then erected as a sign of Śiva and worshipped as a Śivaliṅga. It is possible that the legend is a reflection of the fusion of the Hindu god Śiva with a local mountain and hunters' deity, worshipped on this hill. This kind of assimilation of Śiva with local deities worshipped on mountains is a well-known phenomenon in the Himālayas [34].

The present temple of Śiva at Paśupatināth dates from the seventeenth century A.D., as do most of the other buildings in the temple compound. The Śivaliṅga standing in the interior of the shrine is a *liṅga* with four faces (*caturmukhaliṅga*) and, together with each face, a pair of hands are sculptured, in which a rosary and a water-pot are held. The *liṅga* is covered with silver plates, jewels and gold ornaments. The whole centre is famous for its wealth.

Other temples belonging to the complex are dedicated to Śiva's consort Pārvatī—for instance the Vatsalā temple, which is known for the human sacrifices that once took place there.

Apart from this Śiva temple on the hill of Paśupatināth, there are other Paśupati temples in the three cities of the Kathmandu Valley.

According to Indian mythology, Śiva had two sons, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. Gaṇeśa is represented with an elephants' head and is worshipped in numerous little shrines (XVIIa, b). Bhairava is one of the most venerated protective deities in Nepal. A huge sculpture of Bhairava is erected in an open shrine in Kathmandu on Hanuman Dhoka Square. The sculpture (XVIIc) is painted blue. The figure has a terrifying appearance, and stands in a posture called *pratyālīḍha* on a prostrate human figure. It is provided with six arms holding different attributes. The image is an object of daily worship by the people of Kathmandu.

Both Gaṇeśa and Bhairava often appear together as protectors of the entrance of a shrine, or on both sides of a divine figure. Also in Buddhist iconography they appear as attendant deities by the side of the figure of the Buddha or a Bodhisattva. This is not a specific development of Nepalese iconography, but their appearance already occurs in later Indian Buddhism.

### *Devī*

Apart from being worshipped as the female consort of Śiva, Pārvatī, who is also called Durgā, Umā, Devī, Vatsalā, etc., has her own temples and shrines. One of the most holy places where the goddess is worshipped is Guhyeśvarī, situated near the hill of Paśupatināth. Her name Guhyeśvarī refers to her aspect of "mistress" (*iśvarī*) of the secret Tantric doctrines (*guhya*, secret). In this aspect, the goddess is worshipped by ascetics and yogins. She is at the same time the great mother-goddess, the divine female power, whose symbol is the female sex organ (*guhya*, private parts), and who is worshipped by all the people in Nepal. Her shrine at Guhyeśvarī is visited by Hindus as well as Buddhists. The latter regard Guhyeśvarī as another name of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā (the "perfection of wisdom"). The main object of cult is not an image, but a cavity in the rock, which has

the form of a triangle and which is surrounded by a lotus-flower with eight petals. The Hindus worship the cavity as the female sex organ of the goddess. The Nepalese version of a well-known Indian myth relates that, in a previous existence, the goddess was born as a daughter of Dakṣa with the name of Satī. When her father Dakṣa had offended Śiva, to whom Satī was married, she became enraged and killed herself. Śiva was beside himself with grief, and he took Satī's body on his shoulders to the Himālayas. On the way, several parts of her body fell down on the earth, and each spot where a part of her body came down became a sacred place. The Nepalese believe that the most holy part of her body, her female sex organ (*guhya*) fell on the spot where the goddess is now worshipped as Guhyeśvarī, and the place is considered to be one of the great "seats" (*pīṭha*) of the goddess.

In connection with this shrine of Guhyeśvarī on the left bank of the river Bāgmatī, there are several other Guhyeśvarī temples in Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, mostly in the neighbourhood of Paśupati temples.

As a goddess of victory Devī is worshipped as Durgā, in particular in her aspect of slaying the demon Mahiṣa (or 'buffalo'). There are many reliefs and wood-carvings (XVIIa) of this theme in Nepal. She is represented with sixteen or eighteen arms, and her right foot rests upon her mount, which is usually the lion. Her left foot treads on the buffalo-demon Mahiṣa.

The victorious Durgā also acts as the patroness of the royal family in Nepal. Then she is called Taleju Bhavānī (XXb), and she has temples within the area of the royal palaces in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. Her iconographical form is the same as that of Durgā slaying the buffalo-demon (Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī), with the only difference that her right foot stands on the bird Garuḍa and not on the lion. Garuḍa is the mount of Viṣṇu, and this iconography is meant to express that it is the tutelary goddess of the king who is represented, the king being regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī is worshipped in many Durgā temples as the main deity. As such she is represented on the tympana over the entrance to the shrine. The struts supporting the roof of the shrine are usually provided with the figures of the eight Mātṛkās, who are regarded as aspects of Durgā. Although there are different lists of names, their usual names in Nepal are: Brahmayānī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrayānī, Cāmuṇḍā and Mahālakṣmī. As it appears from these names the Mātṛkās are associated with the gods Brahmā, Maheśvara (Śiva), Kumāra (Śiva's son), Viṣṇu, Varāha (one of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*), and Indra; their powers or energies (*śakti*) obtained independent female forms and became the assistants of Durgā in her fight against the buffalo-demon. This connection with the main male gods of Hinduism is iconographically expressed by the attributes and by the animals upon which the goddesses stand. Each goddess holds the attributes and stands upon the animal that belongs to the god whose name she bears.

The Tāraṇidevī temple (XIXa) in Kathmandu, which is a Durgā temple, has eight struts on the front-side of the building, upon which these eight Mātṛkās (XIXc) are represented. There are two more struts with the figures of Durgā (XIXb) herself. Other temples have struts on the four sides which are provided with this group. In this case the eight Mātṛkās are divided over the eight cardinal points, in the same way as the eight Bhairavas with a Śiva temple. It is in this way understandable that the eight Mātṛkās are also regarded as the female partners of these eight Bhairavas.

In the Vatsalādevī temple (XVIIIb) near the temple of Śiva Paśupati at Paśupatināth the eight upper struts have representations of the eight Mātṛkās and the eight lower ones are provided with carvings of the eight Bhairavas.

A similar pattern is found in the city of Bhaktapur. As it has been mentioned above (see p. 8) there is a series of eight sacred places outside this city, which are roughly situated at the eight cardinal points, and where the eight Mātṛkās are worshipped in the form of natural stones. These places are connected with a place in the centre of the city, where Durgā with her name of Tripurasundarī is worshipped. In the same way as in a temple, the goddess Durgā occupies the place of the central deity, and her eight aspects are distributed over the eight cardinal points (Navadurgā = nine Durgās). There is a second series of places of cult within this series of shrines of the Mātṛkās, where the eight Bhairavas are worshipped. In this way, the whole city of Bhaktapur resembles a shrine of Durgā. The first king of Bhaktapur, who wanted to make his residence a sacred city, arranged the shrines in this way. He placed Tripurasundarī, who is the goddess Durgā in her victorious aspect, in the centre of Bhaktapur. According to the same pattern, the whole valley is protected by shrines of the Mātṛkās, situated at the eight cardinal points [10].

The temple of the goddess Vajravārāhī (XXIa, b, c), situated near Chapagaon to the south of Kathmandu, is a good example of such a shrine. The sacred ground round the shrine is protected by a wall. Within its precincts are lodgings for pilgrims, and there is a court-yard around the shrine itself. The main object of cult is an unhewn stone, in which the goddess Vajravārāhī is worshipped. This shrine is part of a series of eight shrines which together protect the whole valley of Kathmandu, being the territory of the Newars. Hindus as well as Buddhists come to these shrines to present offerings to the goddess. The name of Vajravārāhī not only denotes one of the Mātṛkās, namely Vārāhī—it is also the name of a Buddhist goddess (see p. 21).

The eight Mātṛkās of Bhaktapur are furthermore connected with cremation-grounds. The shrines are situated near the places where the dead are cremated. This association points to another aspect of Durgā, who is not only a goddess of victory, but also a goddess of death. In Indian iconography, her mount is in this case, not a lion, but a buffalo.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### BUDDHISM

The importance of Buddhism in Nepal is reflected by the large number of Buddhist buildings and monuments still in use. They consist of *stūpas*, which are monuments to be worshipped as places where the Buddha is thought to be present, temples and shrines, in which the image of the Buddha is usually the main cultic object, and monasteries built round a court-yard. To these types of Buddhist architecture, iconography is directly related.

The common form of the Nepalese *stūpa* (XXIVa) is a square base with a dome and crowned with a series of parasols having the form of a stepped pyramid. The presence of the Buddha in the *stūpa* is expressed in accordance with the idea of the five Buddhas, which had been developed in later Mahāyāna Buddhism. The four images of the Buddha placed at the four cardinal points against the dome of the *stūpa* are the manifestations of the central Buddha, who himself is present in the body of the *stūpa*. The eyes painted on the square upper part (*harmikā*) on the dome are the eyes of the central Buddha, looking in the four directions. This form of the *stūpa*, including the painting of the eyes, has its origin in the last period of Buddhism in north-eastern India (the Pāla period, eighth to twelfth century A.D.). The prayer-wheels round the basis of the *stūpa*, and the prayer-flags hanging down from the top parasol are found on *stūpas* maintained by Tibetan Buddhists, for example on the *stūpa* of Bodhnath. There are several *stūpas* in which the concept of a six-fold Buddha occurs. It means that over and above the central Buddha there is the so-called primordial Buddha (Ādibuddha), whose name is Vajrasattva, or also Vajradhara. This idea is frequently found in Nepal. It is expressed in a number of *stūpas*, where the central or fifth Buddha is placed in a separate shrine in the south-eastern direction and the sixth Buddha Vajrasattva is believed to be represented by the body of the *stūpa* itself.

The large white-plastered *stūpa* (XXIVa) on the hill (XXIVc) of Svayambhūnāth is the beginning of every pilgrimage for a Newar Buddhist. The place is connected with a legend about the origin of Nepal. It is said that the valley of Kathmandu was originally a vast lake inhabited by snakes (*nāgahrada*) (XXII). The Buddha Vipasyin, one of the legendary predecessors of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, is believed once to have visited the lake and to have thrown a lotus-seed into the water. After some time, a splendid, radiating lotus-flower became visible on the surface of the water, a flame coming out of its corolla (XXII). This flame was a spontaneous (*svayambhū*) manifestation of the primordial Buddha Vajrasattva. Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī came to the place in order to pay homage to this manifestation of the Ādibuddha. It was then revealed to him that he should cleave the mountain with his sword (XXIII), so that the water of the lake could drain away. The place where the lotus-flower appeared is the present hill of Svayambhūnāth, which is crowned with a *stūpa* dedicated to Vajrasattva, in other words, in the body of which Vajrasattva as the sixth Buddha is thought to be present. The main

figures in this story about the origin of the Kathmandu Valley, that is Vajrasattva and Mañjuśrī, are very popular Buddhist deities in Nepal.

The legend is told in the Svayambhūpurāṇa and other Nepalese works of literature. It has also been painted on a scroll published by S. Lévi [14], and it furthermore appears on the walls of a small shrine in one of the monasteries in Kathmandu, the Itum̐bāhā. The story is set in an Indian mythological framework, the lotus and the hill being the mountain of Meru, the cosmic mountain in Indian mythology, rising from the primordial waters. The *stūpa*, which has been built on top of the hill, is again a symbol of the cosmic mountain. As on most of the Nepalese *stūpas*, a big lotus-flower is painted in yellow on the dome of the *stūpa* of Svayambhūnāth, the dome being the symbolic equivalent of the open lotus-flower growing on the surface of the water.

Some votive-*stūpas* in Nepal have a peculiar base which is similar to that of the Hindu Śivaliṅga (XXVb). It consists of a round receptacle with a spout, and it is decorated with the motif of the snake (*nāga*). This type of base is also found on the Śivaliṅga, where it represents the female principle (*yoni*). The *liṅga* itself is the symbol of the masculine principle. It may be provided with the four faces of Śiva, in the same way as the *stūpa* is adorned with the four Buddhas.

As D. Snellgrove has observed [32], this does not mean that Śivaliṅga and *stūpa* became symbols denoting the same idea. The Śivaliṅga is in the first place a symbol of the union of the masculine and the female principle, or of Śiva and his female Pārvatī. Besides, it is a sign of the cosmic centre, the *axis mundi* or the world-mountain. The *stūpa* is in the main a sign of the presence of Buddha, but it is also the cosmic mountain rising from the primordial waters.

The remarkable base of the later Nepalese votive *stūpa* uses the symbol of the female principle to denote the primordial waters, out of which the dome of the *stūpa* rises as a kind of cosmic mountain. The idea of water is again present in the symbol of the snake carved round the receptacle as well as in the lotus, on which the *stūpa* stands. The secondary idea of the *stūpa* and the *liṅga* as symbols of the cosmic centre may have caused a similarity of forms.

A *stūpa* is worshipped by walking around it, keeping the monument on one's right (*pradakṣiṇā*) (XXIVb). The terrace round the *stūpa* serves as a path, along which people perform this circum-ambulation. During festivals votive *stūpas* are covered with garlands of flowers and are painted red. During the circum-ambulation the four Buddhas on the four sides of the *stūpa* are worshipped.

There are a great number of Buddhist monasteries, mainly in the three cities of the valley. The entrance is marked by a tympanum (*torāṇa*) placed over the door and by two lions sitting on both sides of it. This entrance leads to a small porch serving as a lodging (*phalacā*), and behind this there is a court-yard surrounded by buildings on four sides (XXVIa). They were the former residences of the monks. The side of the monastery facing the entrance contains the shrine (XXVIb), which has a pagoda-like structure on the roof or is a complete pagoda itself. The roof of the inside of the monastery, and also that on the street-side, is provided with struts decorated with various groups of Buddhist deities, among whom are the five Buddhas, the five protective goddesses called Pañcarakṣā, groups of Bodhisattvas and so on. On the outside, the struts are adorned with protective gods and

goddesses, such as Yakṣas and Yakṣiṅīs (XXVIIb), or with terrifying deities called Krodhas (XXVIIa).

In the shrine there is an image of the Buddha, which is worshipped daily. The rows of images on the struts form a unity and follow particular iconographical patterns. The order in which the images are placed corresponds with the way in which certain series of sacred formulae are arranged in a group of literary works called Dhāraṇīsamgrahas [12]. These are collections of spells (*dhāraṇī*) meant to protect men from all kinds of dangers, disasters, diseases and so on. The spells are ascribed to the Buddha Śākyamuni and belong to the tradition of early Buddhism. They consist of the name of the deity invoked and a series of sounds without any definite meaning. The order followed in these texts for invoking the different deities of the Buddhist pantheon is the same as the order of the deities represented on the struts. The complete series of images may be regarded as a kind of Buddhist litany. In some monasteries, the names of the gods represented are inscribed underneath the images, probably as another way of invoking them.

The additional iconographical features follow the same pattern as the figures carved in the wooden struts of the Hindu temples. All stand in the *sālabañjikā*-posture (see above, p. 12) under the foliage of a tree in the same way as the early Indian Yakṣas and Yakṣiṅīs (XXVIIb). Both this relationship with the early Indian protective deities and the fact that the images on the struts are put in the same order as in the literary works (Dhāraṇīsamgrahas), indicate that the Buddhist deities are in this context mainly there as protective gods [12].

Over the entrance to the shrine and over the door of the monastery itself are tympana (*torana*) on which representations of the Buddha or other figures of the Buddhist pantheon appear (XXXVa). The edge of the tympanum is provided with the motif of the *kālamakara* mentioned above (see p. 13).

The Buddhist pantheon in Nepal reflects Indian Buddhism between the seventh and the twelfth centuries A.D. The Indian iconographical works which explain most of the iconographical forms are the Niṣpannayogāvalī, the Sādhanamālā and the Kriyāsamgraha. These texts are much influenced by Tantrism. Nepalese Buddhists have taken over the iconographical forms described in these works, together with a number of ritual actions. The Tantric practices proper were not carried out in Nepal by ordinary lay Buddhists. The secret procedures of Tantrism, which are believed to lead to the acquisition of supernatural powers, were performed by yogins. The places where these rituals were accomplished are traditionally situated outside the cities, for example in cremation grounds. The series of eight cremation grounds mentioned above (see p. 18) were famous as places where Tantric practices took place and where the "masters" (*siddha*) initiated their pupils (*sādḥaka*, adept) into the speculations and techniques of Tantrism. The name, Vajravārāhī, which is that of the goddess of a shrine (XXI) situated on a hill near Chapagaon (see above, p. 18), is the name of a Buddhist Tantric deity whose symbol consists of two interlacing triangles, has a terrifying appearance and has a *vajra* or a knife (*karttri*) and a staff with three skulls (*khaṭvāṅga*) as her attributes. The worship of terrifying deities of this kind with the aim of acquiring supernatural powers is particularly well-known in Tibet.

### *The Buddha Śākyamuni*

Standing and sitting figures of the Buddha have appeared in Nepal from the sixth century onwards, made of stone as well as bronze. The style and the iconography is the

same as those of the sculptures from India in the same period. The Buddha stands or sits upon a lotus-flower, his right hand in a gesture of granting wishes (*varadamudrā*) or giving security (*abhayamudrā*) and his left hand holding the end of his robe or lying in his lap. He wears the monk's robe without further ornaments and his head is provided with the sign of Buddhahood (*uṣṇīṣa*) (XXVIIIa, b).

In the wood-carvings of the Malla period, this form of representing the historical Buddha Śākyamuni is frequently found, in particular on the tympana (*torana*) over the entrances to shrines and monasteries. There is a preference for two types, which are recognizable from the gesture of their hands. One is a figure of the Buddha touching the earth with his right hand, thus calling the earth-goddess to witness (*bhūmīśparśamudrā*). This represents the scene in which the Buddha defeats Māra, the exponent of the bonds to worldly life, just before his enlightenment. The other type is a Buddha with his hands in the gesture of preaching (*dharmacakramudrā*). This represents the moment of the first sermon.

### *The Five Buddhas*

As it has been mentioned above, most Nepalese *stūpas* have four Buddha images at the four cardinal points, whereas the central Buddha is represented by the body of the *stūpa* itself (XXIXa-XXXb). These transcendent Buddhas are conceived as manifestations of Buddha-hood. Each Buddha is active during a world-period, in which he manifests himself at the level of the Bodhisattva and on the human plane (Mānuṣibuddha=human Buddha).

The five Buddhas also appear in contexts other than *stūpas*. The group is often found painted on the covers of manuscripts or in illustrations between the text. We also see them painted over the entrance to Buddhist houses (XXXIa), in the same way as a group of five Hindu gods may be painted over the doors of houses belonging to Hindus. They also occur in wood-carvings on the struts supporting the roof of the shrine as part of a monastery and on tympana.

The idea of the five transcendent Buddhas seems in this case to have become changed into a much simpler concept of the five Buddhas as five protective deities. It is not surprising that the Nepalese themselves often confuse them with another group of five protective deities, the Pañcarakṣā, in particular when the Buddhas are represented in 'non-human' form, that is, with more heads and many arms. The concept of the five Buddhas as five protective deities is affirmed by religious literature, especially in the class of works called Dhāraṇīsamgraha. The larger collections begin with formulae to invoke the Ādibuddha Vajrasattva and then go on to the five Buddhas, the eight Bodhisattvas and all the minor deities of the Buddhist pantheon, each deity being invoked by his name and a spell. These texts are recited with the purpose of being protected against all kinds of dangers. The five Buddhas, in this context, do not differ in any way from any supernatural power whatever.

The Buddhas are represented both in 'human' form, that is, with one head and two arms, and in 'non-human' form. They each have their own colour, animal, gesture and symbol. Each is represented at a different cardinal point [8; 31].

The Ādibuddha has the names of Vajrasattva and Vajradhara. In iconography these are distinguished by the position of their hands: Vajrasattva has his right hand in front of his breast and his left hand on his hip (XXXIIb) whereas Vajradhara crosses his hands over his breast (XXXIIc). Both have the same attributes, namely *vajra* (the thunderbolt)



and *ghaṇṭā* (the bell) and wear not the monastic robe of the Buddha, but the royal ornaments and garments of a Bodhisattva. The *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* in the hands of the Ādibuddha symbolize the unity of all dualities, for example, the cycle of rebirth (*samsāra*) and final liberation (*nirvāṇa*), or compassion (*karuṇā*) and wisdom (*prajñā*), male and female, subject and object, and so on [31].

In the wood-carvings, the five Buddhas are also represented in 'non-human' forms, that is, with three or four heads and with six or eight arms (XXXIb - XXXIVb). These representations are partly described in the Sanskrit iconographical works (Niṣpannayogāvalī) [18]. The number of their heads and arms, and the kind of attributes they hold in their hands are determined by the central Buddha [12]. When Vajrasattva is depicted with three heads and six arms, the other Buddhas appear in the same form and take over most of his attributes. Iconography is used here to express the idea of the one Buddha, who is different in the five cardinal points, including the centre.

### *The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī*

The importance of this Bodhisattva is reflected by the legend about the origin of Nepal, in which it is said that Mañjuśrī cleft the mountains of the Kathmandu valley in order to set free the water of the vast lake that once covered the valley (XXIII). Mañjuśrī is associated with the preaching Buddha and wisdom. His distinctive attribute is the sword, which he holds in his raised right hand, ready to cleave the darkness of ignorance. Other attributes are the blue lotus (*utpala*) and the book, which contains a text of the "Perfection of Wisdom" (Prajñāpāramitā) and which is another symbol of his wisdom. The association with the preaching Buddha is iconographically expressed by his gesture, which is often the gesture of preaching (*dharmacakramudrā*). His mount (*vāhana*) is the lion and his colour is white. There are a great number of iconographical forms of Mañjuśrī. They occur in Nepalese bronzes, wood-carvings, sculptures in stone and paintings. As they in fact belong to Indian Buddhist iconography, they are not mentioned here in detail [19].

In Nepal, the Ādibuddha Vajrasattva and the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī are frequently found together. In the legend about the origin of Nepal, it is Vajrasattva who appears on the lotus growing out of the water and Mañjuśrī who pays homage to him before he creates Nepal by cleaving the mountains. In the iconography of the wood-carvings, a similar alliance between the two figures is emphasized. Apart from being carved on top of wooden tympana in which Mañjuśrī has the central position, the image of Vajrasattva is, for instance, placed next to that of Mañjuśrī. The Bodhisattva has an iconographical name in which this relation with Vajrasattva is expressed: Mañjuvajra. The iconographical form corresponding to it consists of a figure with three heads and six arms. The attributes are a sword, a book, an arrow, a bow, the gesture of granting wishes and the blue lotus (XXXVIa).

Another form frequently recurring in combination with Vajrasattva is called Mañjuśrī Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara (XXXVIIa), in which the Bodhisattva is represented with four heads and eight arms. The main hands are in the gesture of preaching (*dharmacakramudrā*), in the second pair are *vajra* (the thunderbolt) and *ghaṇṭā* (the bell), the third pair of hands hold a bow and arrow, and the upper hands have the sword and the book. This iconographical form often takes the place of the central Buddha Vairocana and the Bodhisattva may be surrounded by the four Buddhas at the cardinal points. The Buddhas

take over his iconographical features and are represented with four heads and eight arms. Vajrasattva, who appears on top of the tympanum, usually has the same 'non-human' form with four heads and eight arms and partly the same attributes (XXXVIb).

On a tympanum in the house of Kumāri in Kathmandu, the central Buddha has his right hand in front of his breast and his left hand on his hip in the manner of Vajrasattva (XXXIb - XXXIII). The figure has three heads and six arms. In his right hand in front of the breast he holds not the *vajra*, but the disc, which is the attribute of Vairocana, and in his left hand on his hip he holds the *ghaṇṭā* (the bell) of Vajrasattva. In the middle pair of hands the *vajra* and the jewel are visible and in the third pair, a raised sword and a lotus. The raised sword is the characteristic attribute of Mañjuśrī. This central Buddha (XXXIIa) is surrounded by the Buddhas of the four cardinal points, that is Akṣobhya and the others (XXXIII), each with his own animal depicted in the throne and his own symbol. Their main hands are in the position of the hands of Vajrasattva, the right hand being in front of the breast and holding the distinctive symbol and the left hand on the hip and holding the *ghaṇṭā* or bell. A raised sword is in the right upper hand of each Buddha. In this way, a kind of assimilation seems to have taken place between Vajrasattva as the Ādibuddha and Mañjuśrī Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, who also has the position of the central Buddha Vairocana. The Ādibuddha Vajrasattva is again represented in 'human' form on top of the tympanum (XXXIIb) and below on the lintel a small image of another form of the Ādibuddha, namely Vajradhara (XXXIIc), is carved.

#### *The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*

Ever since the Licchavi period, this Bodhisattva has been represented in sculpture. His connection with the national deity Matsyendranātha (see p. 9) made him one of the favourite Bodhisattvas (XXXVIIa). Moreover, Avalokiteśvara is regarded as a kind of saviour, who may rescue his devotees from danger and may even appear in hell in order to help those who are being punished. Scenes of hell are found in wood-carvings on the temple of Matsyendranātha in Patan. They are carved in small panels underneath the figures with representations of Avolokiteśvara on the struts supporting the roof of the temple. The same scenes are also found in the wood-carvings of one of the main monasteries of Bhaktapur, the Caturvarṇamahāvihāra, which is dedicated to Avalokiteśvara. The tympana over the entrance to the monastery and the door to the shrine have representations of this Bodhisattva in his form with eleven heads and a thousand arms (rendered by a kind of nimbus). This form is well-known in the later northern form of Buddhism found in Nepal and Tibet. Two-armed forms are carved on the struts on the outside of the building, each of these forms with its name inscribed under the representation (XXXVIIb). The name appears in the dative ending and is preceded by an auspicious syllable, for example, "*Śrī lokanāthalokeśvarāya*", i.e. "Honour to the Lord Lokanātha" (= Avalokiteśvara). The names of the Bodhisattva are used as formulae in order to invoke him and the whole series of images with their names inscribed under the visual representation functions as a kind of litany. Inside the building, we find a series of other Buddhist figures, among whom are the five Buddhas and Vajrasattva, depicted with four heads and eight arms.

The scenes of hell appear under these figures. In one scene, the tongue of the victim is cut off with a pair of scissors (XXXVIIIa), and, in another, the figure of Avalokiteś-

vara is giving nectar to the ghosts (*preta*) (XXXVIIIb). The scenes illustrate one of the main characteristics of Avalokiteśvara, namely his compassion (*karuṇā*). Avalokiteśvara is also frequently found on paintings, in particular in his aspect of Padmapāṇi, holding a red lotus (*padma*) in his left hand. His right hand is in the gesture of granting wishes (*varadamudrā*) (see XXXVIIIb). In Nepalese iconography, Avalokiteśvara is usually red in colour. This colour and the image of the Buddha Amitābha in his crown (XXXVIIa) indicate that he is related to the Buddha Amitābha [8].

#### *Pañcarakṣā* [4]

The function of this group of five goddesses is to protect people from all kinds of misfortune (the root *rakṣ-* is "to protect"). The group originated as visual representations of spells (*dhāraṇī*) to which the same function was ascribed. These spells are part of ancient Indian Buddhism, but their deification came into being only in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., and their popularity as deities increased with the rise of Tantric Buddhism. The goddesses appear in Nepalese wood-carvings and paintings. There are many manuscripts containing the formulae for the worship of these goddesses and illustrations of their visual forms. In every Nepalese Buddhist house, a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* is found, which has more or less the function of an amulet. Moreover, the manuscripts are used in court for swearing in a Buddhist witness. It is furthermore said that merely hearing the names of one of the *Pañcarakṣā* or hearing her spell pronounced brings about deliverance from all sins.

The iconography of these figures is partly determined by the character of the spell, of which the goddess is a deification. Mahāmāyūrī, for instance, is the "great peacock-spell"—as a goddess she holds a jar with peacock-feathers in one of her hands. The spell (and the goddess) protects against snake-bites and the attribute of the peacock-feather can be explained from this particular function of the spell, as peacocks are the natural enemies of snakes.

On the other hand, the iconography of the *Pañcarakṣā* is clearly adapted to that of the five Buddhas. The five goddesses are each connected with one of the five Buddhas and take over their iconographical features. Pratisarā (XLa) is the first goddess of the group. She usually has a disc for her attribute, is painted white and stands on lions, thus assuming the characteristics of the Buddha Vairocana, with whom she is connected. In the same way, the others are associated with the other transcendent Buddhas. Sāhasrapramardiṇī (XXXIX), who has a demoniacal appearance, is, for instance, associated with Akṣobhya, Mantrāṇusāraṇī (XLIa) is associated with Amitābha, Mahāmāyūrī (XLb) with Ratnasambhava and Sītavati (XLIIb) with Amoghasiddhi. Because of this relationship with the five Buddhas, the group of the *Pañcarakṣā* are sometimes regarded as the female partners of the Buddhas or are even put in their place. In some Nepalese monasteries, we do not find the five Buddhas, but the five *Pañcarakṣā* on the struts supporting the roof of the shrine. It seems that the two groups have not been clearly distinguished in the course of time (see p. 22).

#### *Minor Goddesses*

On the same level as the *Pañcarakṣā* there are seven other goddesses, who seem to have developed as a group in Nepal, although they are known as individual deities in

Indian iconography. Nepalese manuscripts and wood-carvings give prominence to a separate group of seven female protective deities, sometimes under the common name of Saptavāra, "the seven days of a week". Each goddess is connected with one day and is associated with one of the seven planets. It may be possible that the goddesses were originally separate, but came to form a group of seven for astrological reasons [12].

The seven goddesses are Vasudhārā, Vajravīdāraṇī, Gaṇapatiḥṛdayā, Uṣṇiṣavijayā, Parnaśabarī, Māricī and Grahamātrkā. Iconographical descriptions and representations of Vasudhārā, Uṣṇiṣavijayā, Parnaśabarī and Māricī are sufficiently well known from Indian literary works and sculptures [8, 18]. The other three, however, only occur in Nepalese sources. Vajravīdāraṇī symbolizes the destructive power of the *vajra*, as her name indicates. The *vajra* is also her main attribute (XLVb). She may be represented in 'human' form, that is, with one head and two arms, but she may also have three heads and sixteen or twenty arms [8]. Gaṇapatiḥṛdayā (XLVc) is a female rendering of Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) and has the same iconographical features. Grahamātrkā (XLVic) holds her hands in the gesture of preaching and has, when painted, a red colour. She may have another four arms with different attributes [8]. The manuscripts in which these seven goddesses occur are again Dhāraṇīsamgrahas [12], consisting of series of spells giving protection against specific dangers, misfortunes, etc. The goddesses are identified with these spells and have the same functions.

Some of these goddesses occur independently and appear in bronzes and paintings on cloth (*paṭa*). Vasudhārā (XLVa), who is the same as Vasundharā (see p. 5), is the Buddhist goddess of the earth and is associated with wealth. Her main symbol is accordingly either a jar out of which ears of corn are growing or a bundle of ears of corn held in one of her hands. She usually has six arms and she is painted yellow. Vasudhārā may be represented in a *maṇḍala* as the central figure, and is then surrounded by a group of related gods and goddesses [24] (XLIII). Uṣṇiṣavijayā not only appears as a Dhāraṇī-goddess (XLVd) in the Saptavāragroup, but is also represented in paintings. She appears in the centre of the dome of a *stūpa* (XLIV) and is accompanied by two attendant Bodhisattvas. Her presence in the *stūpa* can be explained by her association with the Buddha Vairocana, who is thought to be present in the body of a *stūpa*. Uṣṇiṣavijayā is considered to be an emanation of Vairocana and has taken over his white colour. In the painting of Fig. XLIV, Vairocana is pictured immediately above the *stūpa* and is surrounded by the Buddhas of the four cardinal points. Immediately below Uṣṇiṣavijayā, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and his female partner (*prajñā*) are depicted against the base of the *stūpa*. Like Uṣṇiṣavijayā, Mañjuśrī is related to Vairocana. In this way the central Buddha Vairocana and his emanations occupy the central part of the painting. The central Buddha is flanked by two figures, which are painted under the five Buddhas on the outside and which represent the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. At its base, the *stūpa* is surrounded by four terrifying deities (Krodha) which are believed to protect the outside of a sacred area [19]. The row of deities round the top of the *stūpa*, forming the inner row in the painting, consists of the group of the nine planets (Navagraha) (see p. 27), together with the Hindu god Śiva. This group of ten protects the sacred area in the upper regions, in the same way as the ten guardians of the cardinal points (Lokapāla), to whom they are iconographically related [26].

The whole painting forms an iconographical unity, which is found not only in paintings, but also in architecture.

The goddess Prajñāpāramitā may appear in the group of seven goddesses (Saptavāra) instead of Parṇaśabarī (XVLIa) [12] or together with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Both are frequently depicted on either side of the figure of the Buddha, in paintings as well as in wood-carvings, and form, together with the Buddha, the "three Jewels" (*triratna*), that is, the Buddha, the doctrine (*dharma*), which is symbolized by the figure of Prajñāpāramitā, and the community of the Bodhisattvas (*saṅgha*), which is represented by Avalokiteśvara. Prajñāpāramitā also appears independently. She is the personification of "the perfection of wisdom" (*prajñāpāramitā*), and she may be surrounded by a group of five other "perfections" (*pāramitā*) (XLII) [12].

#### *Astral Divinities*

As astrology plays an important role in daily life in Nepal, it is to be expected that the worship of the heavenly bodies (the sun, the moon, the planets and the fixed stars) was quite popular. The stone sculptures of the sun-god Sūrya continue the Indian iconographical formula [26].

The moon-god Candra may appear in the centre of a painting (XLVIII). He is surrounded by the sun and the seven planets, the sixteen phases of the moon (from new moon to full moon or the other way about), all deified, the deified 'Lunar Mansions' (Nakṣatra), which are constellations of fixed stars through which the moon passes in the course of a year and which are twenty-eight in number, four guardians of the sky (Lokapāla) and a row of auspicious symbols (*mangala*). It is clear that the painting is Buddhist from the figures of the five Buddhas painted in the upper part and also from the Buddhist story (Śaśajātaka) [12] depicted in the lower corners [24].

The group of the planets can also be found in reliefs and paintings (XLIV). According to Indian mythology there are nine planets. These are the sun, the moon, the five usual planets, a separate 'planet' of the eclipse, which is called Rāhu, and a 'planet' of the meteor called Ketu. Nepal has taken over the Indian tradition of illustrating the group of the nine planets (Navagraha) on lintels (XLVIIb). The planets are worshipped both by Buddhists and by Hindus. Representations of the 'Lunar Mansions' (Nakṣatra) are sometimes found on the lower parts of struts supporting the roof of Buddhist monasteries (XLVIIa). They are represented in human form and sit on various mounts or thrones and have different colours. The attributes are lotuses and the gestures of the hands are the same for all the figures, although they may differ from one series to another [12].

## EXPLANATIONS TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS

### *Plate I*

a. — Pond with small shrine, Godāvārī. The small shrine has been erected over a natural cavity in the rock, which is worshipped as the goddess of the earth. There are several other little shrines with images of Hindu and Buddhist deities.

b. — Stone sculpture of Śiva Nilakaṅṭha, Bālāju. The sculpture is also provided with iconographical features of Viṣṇu and probably dates from the seventh century A.D.

### *Plate II*

Wall-painting on a shrine in the Itum Bāhā, Kathmandu; sixteenth century A.D.

### *Plate III*

a. — Stone as an object of worship, Svayambhūnāth. The stone is painted white, like a *stūpa*. Two lion figures on both sides indicate the sacred nature of the stone.

b. — Unhewn stone representing Gaṇeśa, Bhaktapur. The faint resemblance to the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa is accidental, cp. IV c.

### *Plate IV*

a. — Worship of Cāmuṇḍā.

b. — Rows of stones on top of a hill, where the Mātṛkā-goddess Cāmuṇḍā is worshipped, Bhaktapur.

c. — Unhewn stone in a shrine against a wall. The stone is worshipped as Kumārī. Note the small cavity in the wall behind the stone. Bhaktapur.

### *Plate V*

Painted figure of Bhairava round four cavities in the wall of the Caṇḍeśvarī temple, Banepa.

### *Plate VI*

a. — Entrance to the temple of the White Matsyendranātha, Kathmandu. The temple dates from the sixteenth century A.D.

b. — Bronze image of Tārā upon one of the pillars in front of the temple of the White Matsyendranātha.

c. — White stone worshipped as a *stūpa*, situated in front of the temple.

### *Plate VII*

a. — Temple of the Red Matsyendranātha, Patan; seventeenth century A.D.

b. — Image of the Red Matsyendranātha, placed over the entrance to the court-yard of the temple of the Red Matsyendranātha, Patan.

### *Plate VIII*

a. — The house of Kumārī at Basantapur, Kathmandu; eighteenth century.

b. — The court-yard of the house of Kumārī.

c. — Tympanum with wood-carving of the Goddess Kumārī in the Hākā Bāhā, Patan, eighteenth century A.D.

*Plate IX*

a. — Temple of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa at Taumādhi, Bhaktapur. The temple is called Tilamādhava. There are three pillars in front of the entrance, which support the emblems of Viṣṇu: the disk, the conch and Viṣṇu's bird Garuḍa.

b. — The base of one of the pillars with a representation of the Boar (*varāha*) Avatāra.

*Plate X*

a. — Chār Nārāyaṇa-temple at Darbar Square, Patan; sixteenth century A.D.

b. — Lower part of a strut of the roof of the temple. Erotic scene.

*Plate XI*

a. — The same temple. Wooden strut with representation of Viṣṇu standing on his bird Garuḍa.

b. — Wooden strut with representation of the Varāha Avatāra.

*Plate XII*

a. — Wooden strut with representation of the Narasiṃha Avatāra.

b. — Wooden strut with representation of Viṣṇu Trivikrama.

*Plate XIII*

a. — Bronze image of Garuḍa, supported by a pillar. Court-yard of the temple of the Red Matsyendranātha, Patan; nineteenth century A.D.

b. — Sculpture of Hanuman in a little shrine, Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu.

c. — Worship of an image of Hanuman near the entrance of the former royal palace, Kathmandu. The sculpture is placed upon a high pedestal and is covered with clothes and garlands.

*Plate XIV*

a. — Temple of Śiva Kumbheśvara, Patan; constructed 1392 A.D.

b. — Entrance to the temple. The figure of the bull Nandin, which is Śiva's animal, is placed in front of it. There are two tridents with drums on both sides of the door and struts with representations of Śiva and Pārvatī.

*Plate XV*

a. — Temple of Śiva Paśupatiṇātha on the hill of Paśupatiṇāth, near Kathmandu. seventeenth century A.D.

b. — The river Bāgmatī streaming along the temple-complex, and platforms for cremation.

c. — Śivaliṅga at Paśupatiṇāth. Licchavi-period, fifth century A.D. The base in the form of a *yoni* is modern. The three stripes, which are a symbol of Śiva, have recently been painted on the forehead.

*Plate XVI*

a. — The temple of Śiva Somālīṅgeśvara, Kathmandu. Modern construction built with the materials of an older temple.

b. — Figure of Bhairava carved in one of the pillars of the same temple.

c. — Figure of a Mātṛkā-goddess carved on a pillar in the same temple.

*Plate XVII*

- a. — Small shrine of Gaṇeśa, Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu.
- b. — Worship of Gaṇeśa in another shrine of Gaṇeśa, Kathmandu.
- c. — Image of Bhairava in an open shrine, Hanuman Dhoka, Kathmandu.

*Plate XVIII*

a. — Tympanum with wood-carving representing the goddess Durgā slaying the demon Maḥiṣa in the form of a buffalo (Durgā Maḥiṣasuramardīnī). House of Kumārī at Basantapur, Kathmandu.

b. — Tympanum with wood-carving representing the goddess Vatsalā. Vatsalā Devī-temple, Pasūpatināth.

*Plate XIX*

a. — Tāraṇī Devī-temple, Kathmandu; seventeenth century A.D.

b. — Wooden strut of the same temple. Representation of Durgā standing upon a pair of lions.

c. — Wooden strut of the same temple. Representation of one of the Mātṛkā-goddesses, Vaiṣṇavī.

*Plate XX*

a. — Entrance to the former royal palace in Bhaktapur.

b. — Tympanum with relief of the tutelary goddess of the royal family, viz. Taleju Bhavānī. Detail of XXa.

*Plate XXI*

a. — Court-yard and shrine of Vajravārāhī, Chapagaon.

b. — Worship of Vajravārāhī in the shrine.

c. — Tympanum with representation of Vajravārāhī, which is placed over the entrance to the shrine.

*Plate XXII*

Wall-painting of the lake that once was the valley of Kathmandu. Itum Bāhā, Kathmandu. In the middle of the lake, which is inhabited by snakes (*nāga*), a small *stūpa* on a radiating lotus-flower is represented.

*Plate XXIII*

Wall-painting, Itum Bāhā, Kathmandu. The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī cleaves the mountains with his sword in order to set free the water of the lake and to create the valley.

*Plate XXIV*

a. — *Stūpa* on top of the hill of Svayambhūnāth.

b. — Worship of the *stūpa* with a festive procession.

c. — Stairs leading to the top of the hill. Modern statues of the Buddha on either side.

*Plate XXV*

a. — So-called Aśoka-*stūpa* near Lagankhel, Patan. The *stūpa* represents the beginning of the development of the *stūpa* and dates from the first centuries A.D. The niches at the four cardinal points and the pinnacle are later additions.

b. — Votive *stūpa*, near Ashoka Vināyaka, Kathmandu. Probably 18th century. The base is in the form of a receptacle used for a Śivaliṅga and is surrounded by a snake.



*Plate XXVI*

- a. — Court-yard of a Buddhist monastery with votive *stūpas* and *maṇḍalas*. Hākā Bāhā, Patan.  
 b. — Entrance to the shrine of the same monastery.

*Plate XXVII*

- a. — Outside of a Buddhist monastery with wooden strut, which has been carved with the figure of a Krodha, Sumbharāja. Chuṣya Bāhā, Kathmandu.  
 b. — Buddhist protective goddess (Yakṣiṇī) standing in *śālabhañjikā*-posture under the foliage of a tree. Carving in a wooden strut supporting the roof on the outside of a monastery. Woku Bāhā. Patan; thirteenth century A.D.

*Plate XXVIII*

- a. — Standing Buddha, Svayambhūnāth; seventeenth century A.D.  
 b. — Figures of the Buddha standing against the base of a votive *stūpa*.

*Plate XXIX*

- a. — Votive *stūpa* in the court-yard of the Woku Bāhā, Patan. On the four sides of its base the four Buddhas are represented, whereas the fifth Buddha is represented by the *stūpa* itself. The Buddha Akṣobhya is sculptured in relief.  
 b. — The Buddha Amitābha from the same votive *stūpa*.

*Plate XXX*

- a. — The Buddha Amoghasiddhi from the same *stūpa*.  
 b. — The Buddha Ratnasambhava from the same *stūpa*.

*Plate XXXI*

- a. — Painting of the five Buddhas over a door. Chuṣya Bāhā, Kathmandu.  
 b. — The five Buddhas, carved in a wooden tympanum over the entrance to the shrine in the house of Kumārī, Kathmandu. The Buddhas are represented in 'non-human' form.

*Plate XXXII*

- a. — Detail from the same tympanum with the Buddha Vairocana.  
 b. — Detail of the top of the same tympanum with Vajrasattva.  
 c. — Detail of the figure below the Buddha Vairocana with Vajradhara.

*Plate XXXIII*

- a, b, c, d. — Details of the same tympanum with the Buddhas Ratnasambhava (a), Amitābha (b), Akṣobhya (c) and Amoghasiddhi (d).

*Plate XXXIV*

- a. — Wooden strut with carving of the Buddha Amoghasiddhi in 'non-human' form. Chun Bāhā, Kathmandu.  
 b. — Wooden strut with carving of the Buddha Akṣobhya in 'non-human' form. Itum Bāhā, Kathmandu.

*Plate XXXV*

- a. — Tympana with wood-carvings of Mañjuśrī (centre) and Mañjuvajra (left). Hākā Bāhā, Patan.  
 b. — Detail of the tympanum with Mañjuvajra as the central figure. Hākā Bāhā, Patan.

*Plate XXXVI*

a, b. — Detail of another tympanum in the Hākā Bāhā with Mañjuśrī Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara as the central figure (a) and a 'non-human' form of Vajrasattva on top (b).

*Plate XXXVII*

a. — Avalokiteśvara, Kathe Sim Bhu, Kathmandu. Stone sculpture, early ninth century A.D.

b. — Avalokiteśvara. Wood-carving in a strut in the Caturvarṇa Mahavihāra, a Buddhist monastery in Bhaktapur; probably seventeenth century A.D.

*Plate XXXVIII*

a. — Lower part of a strut in the Caturvarṇa Mahāvihāra, Bhaktapur. Representation of a punishment in hell.

b. — Lower part of another strut in the same monastery. Relief of Avalokiteśvara giving nectar (*amṛta*) to *pretas* (ghosts).

*Plate XXXIX*

Wooden strut in the Itum Bāhā, Kathmandu. Representation of one of the Pañcarakṣā-goddesses, Sāhasrapramardiṇī.

*Plate XL*

a, b. — Two other struts in the same monastery with wood-carvings of Pratisarā (a) and Mahāmāyūrī (b).

*Place XLI*

a, b. — Two struts in the same monastery with wood-carvings of Mahāmantrāṇusāraṇī (a) and Sītavatī (b).

*Plate XLII*

Tympanum over the entrance to the Chuṣya Bāhā, Kathmandu. Representation of Prajñāpāramitā (central figure) surrounded by five other female figures representing other "perfections" (*pāramitā*).

*Plate XLIII*

Painting on cloth (*paṭa*), Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Nr. MAK 1247; ca. 1500 A.D. The central figure is Vasudhārā.

*Plate XLIV*

Painting on cloth (*paṭa*), Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. Nr. 2798/11. Representation of the goddess Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the centre of a *stūpa*.

*Plate XLV*

a, b, c, d. — Wooden struts in the Chuṣya Bāhā, Kathmandu, with carvings of Vasudhārā, Vajravidāraṇī, Gaṇapatihṛdayā and Uṣṇīṣavijayā. In the lower parts 'Lunar Mansions' (*nakṣatra*) are represented.

*Plate XLVI*

a, b, c. — Wooden struts in the Chuṣya Bāhā, Kathmandu, with carvings of Parṇaśabarī, Māricī and Grahamāṭṛkā. The lower parts have 'Lunar Mansions'.

*Plate XLVII*

a. — Detail of the lower part of one of the struts in the same monastery with the 'Lunar Mansion' Revatī (inscription: *rejoti*).

b. — Stone relief of the Nine Planets. Near Nyātapola-temple, Bhaktapur.

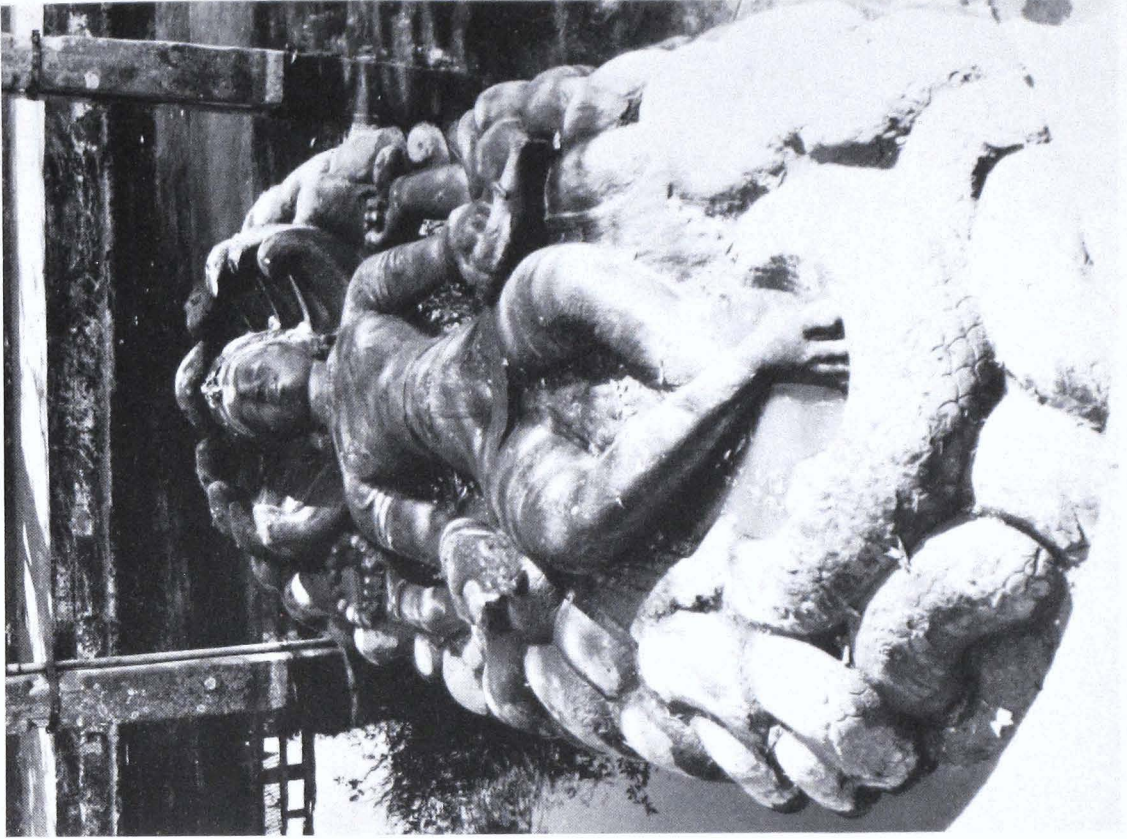
*Plate XLVIII*

Painting on cloth (*paṭa*). Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Nr. MAK 1246. 1525 A.D. The central figure is Candra, the moon-god, who is surrounded by astral deities.

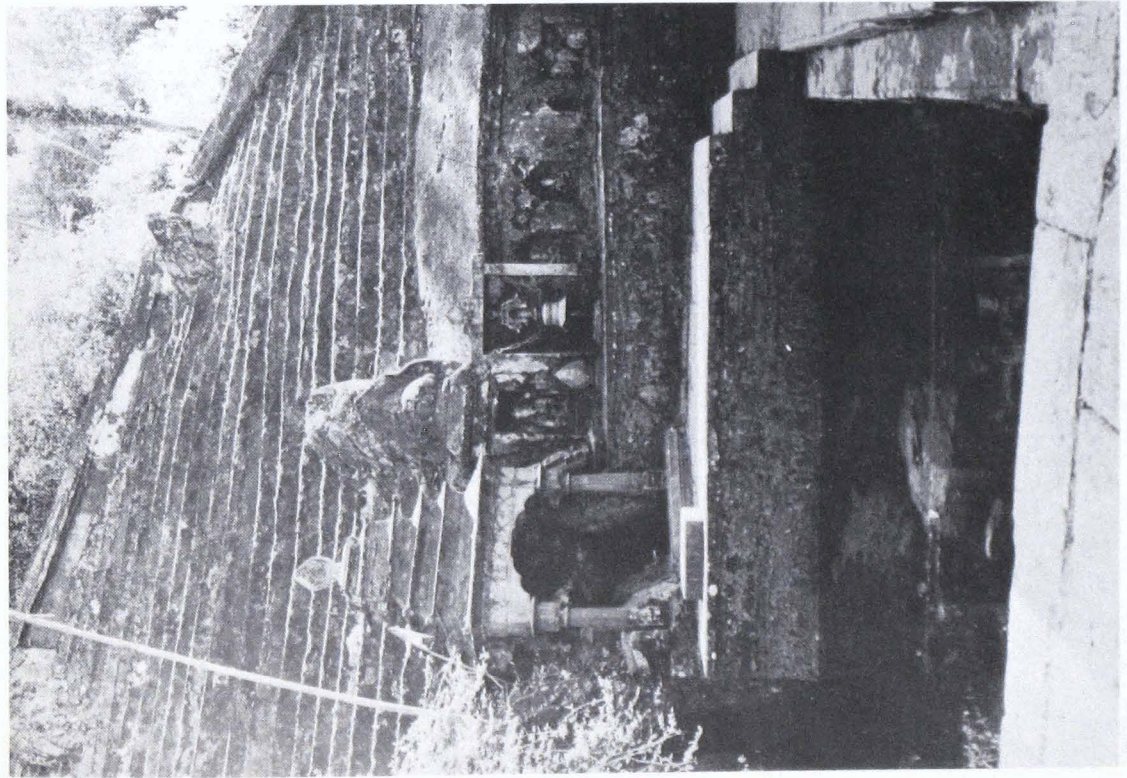


## PLATES





b. Sculpture of Viṣṇu/Śiva in a sacred pond

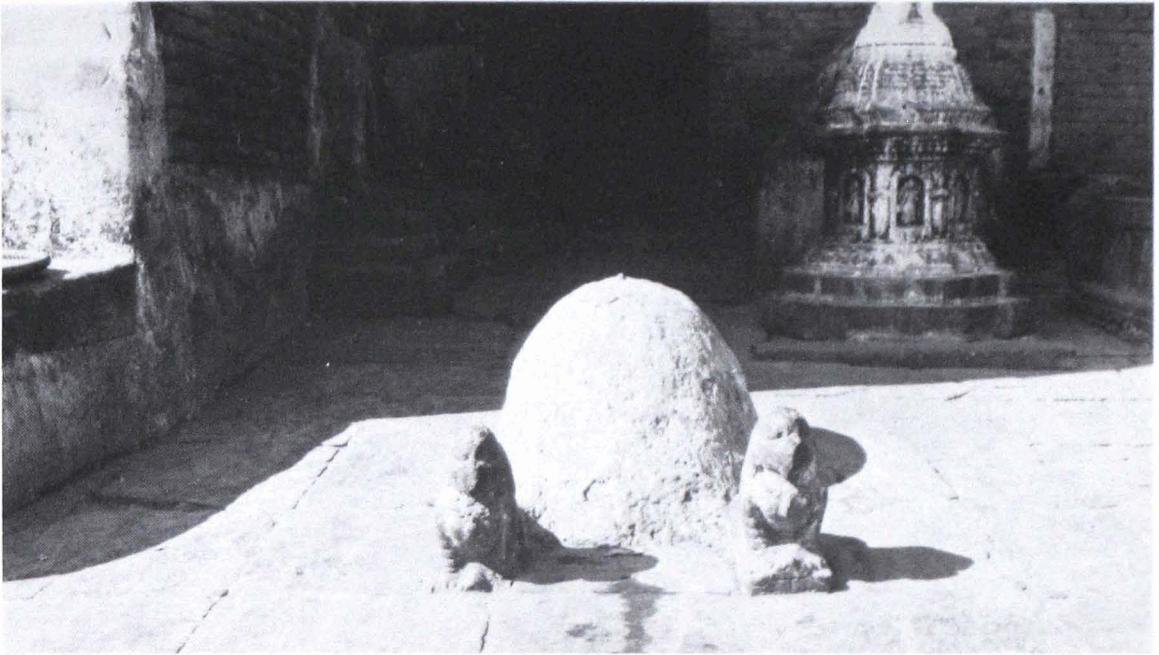


a. Pond with small shrine, Godāvarī



Bath in a sacred lake





a. Stone as an object of worship, Svayambhūnāth



b. Stone representing Gaṇeśa



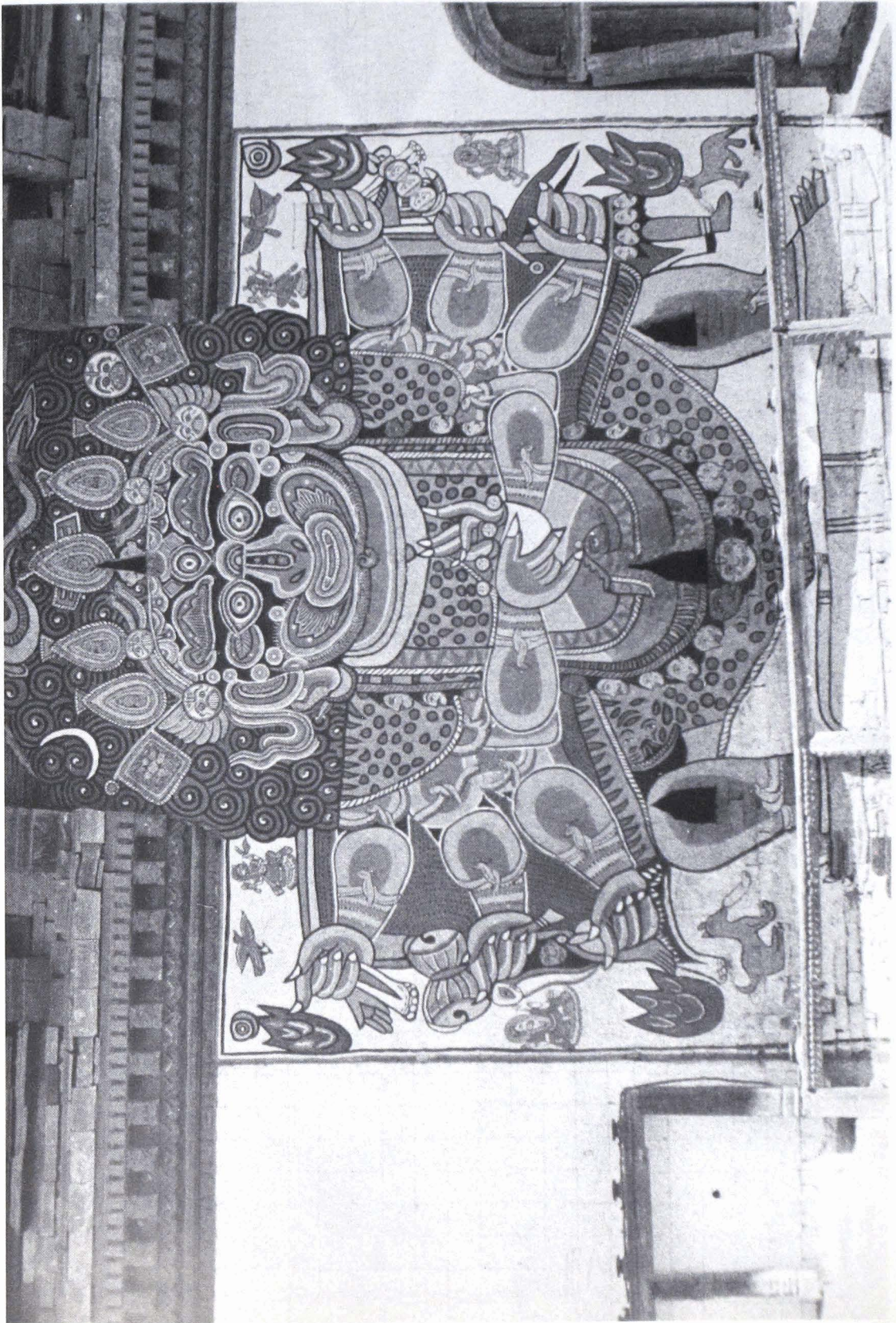
a. Worship of the Stones



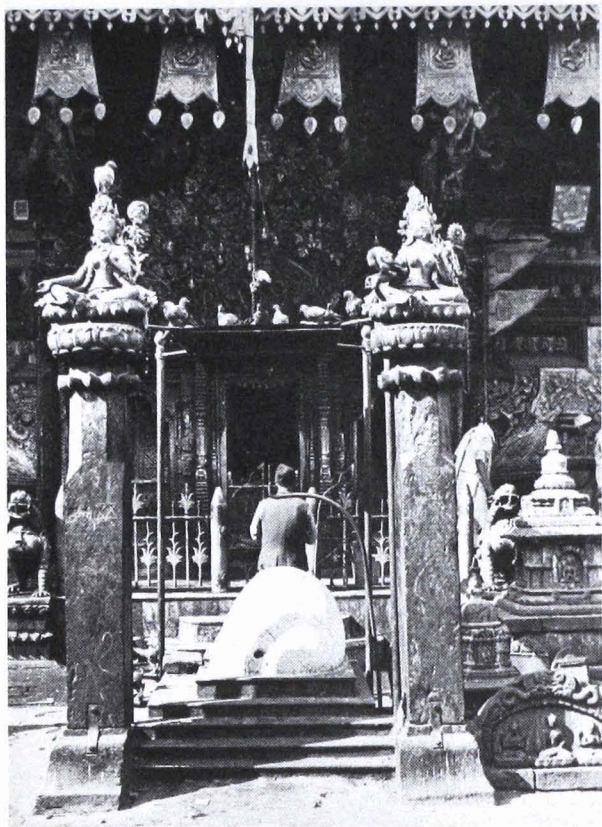
b. Stones representing a Mātṛkā-goddess



c. Stone representing a Mātṛkā-goddess



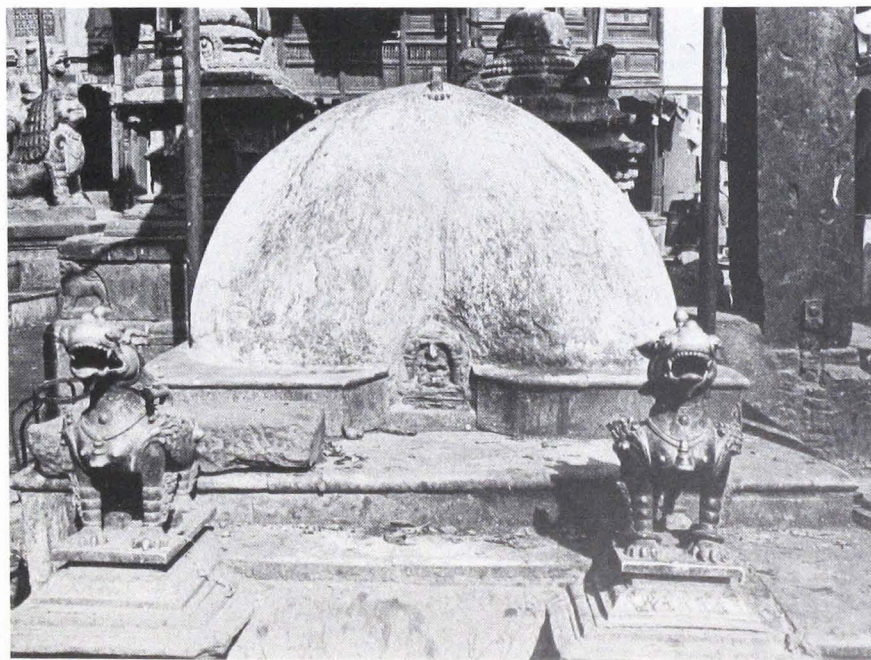
Painted figure of Bhairava round four cavities.



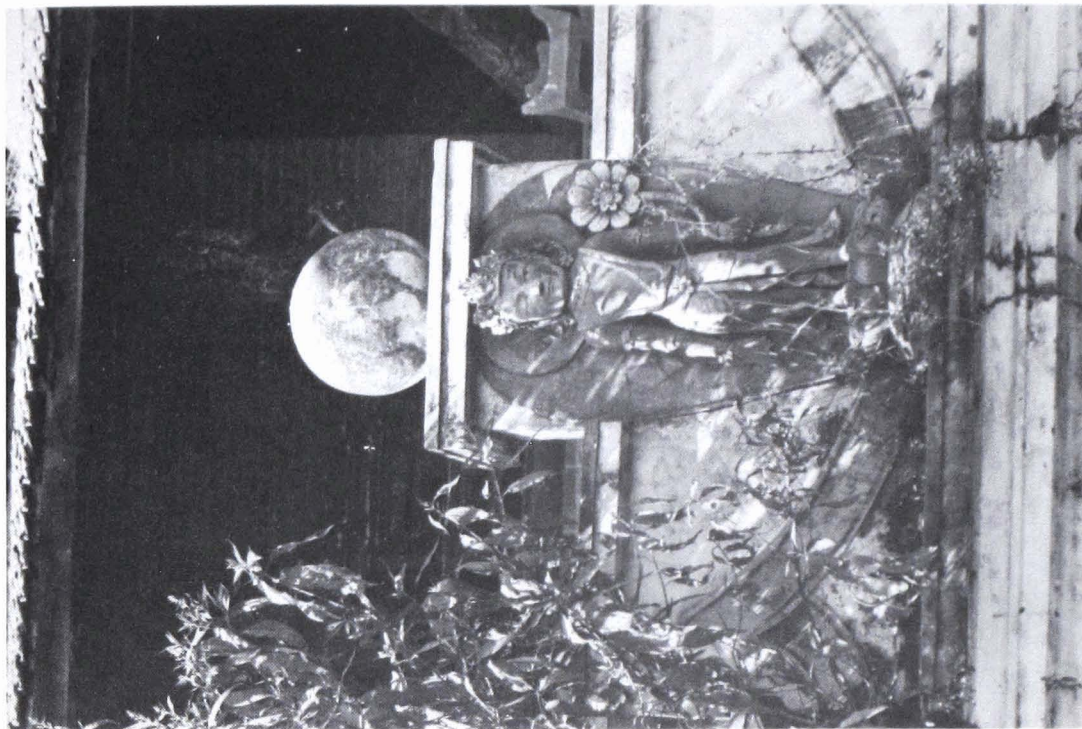
a. Entrance to the temple



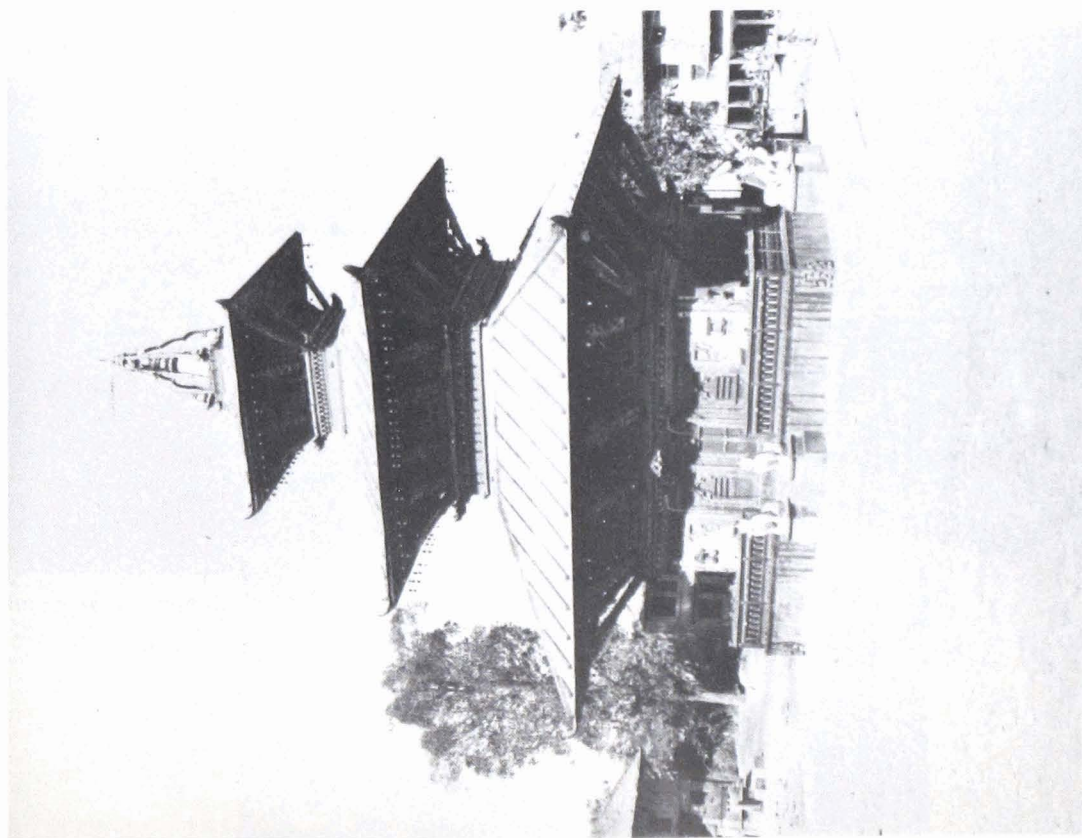
b. Bronze image of Tārā upon one of the pillars



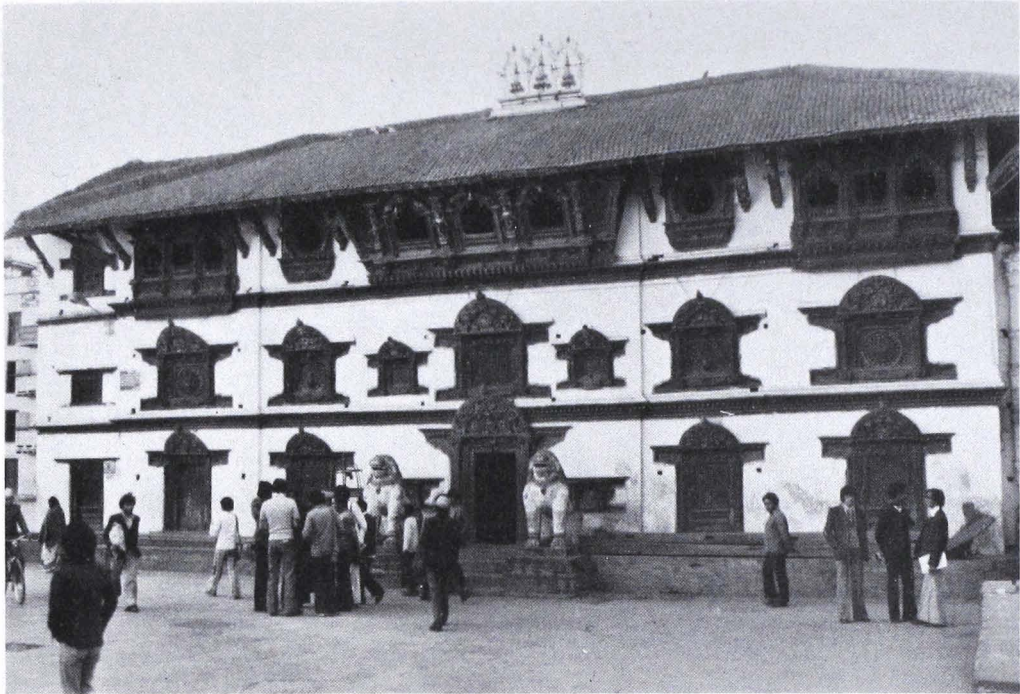
c. White stone in front of the temple



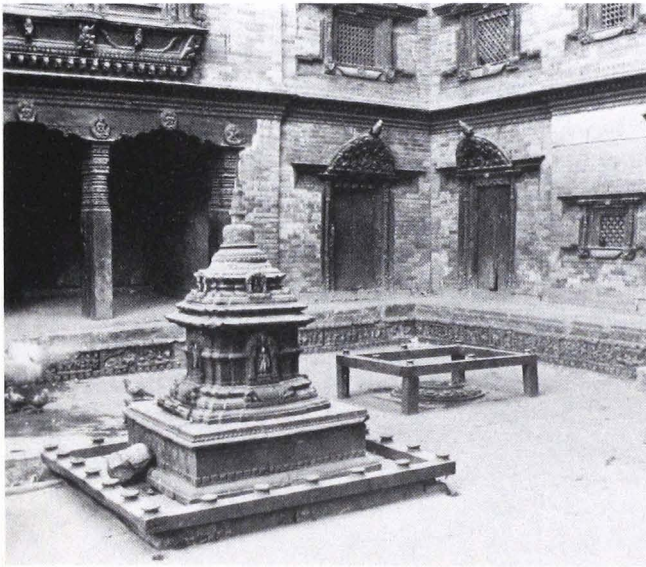
b. Image of the Red Matsyendranātha



a. Courtyard and temple



a. The house of Kumārī in Kathmandu



b. Court-yard with *stūpa*



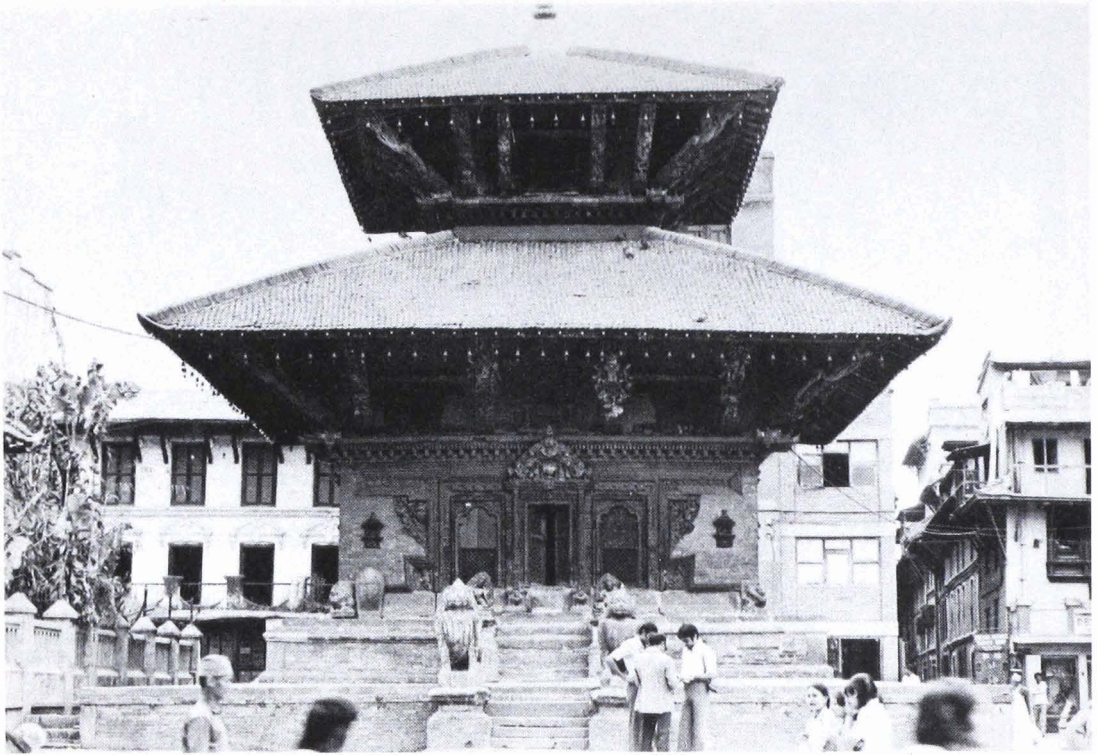
c. Tympanum with wood-carving of Kumārī



a. Temple of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa, Bhaktapur



b. Base of pillar with relief of Varāha Avatāra



a. Chār Nārāyaṇa temple, Patan

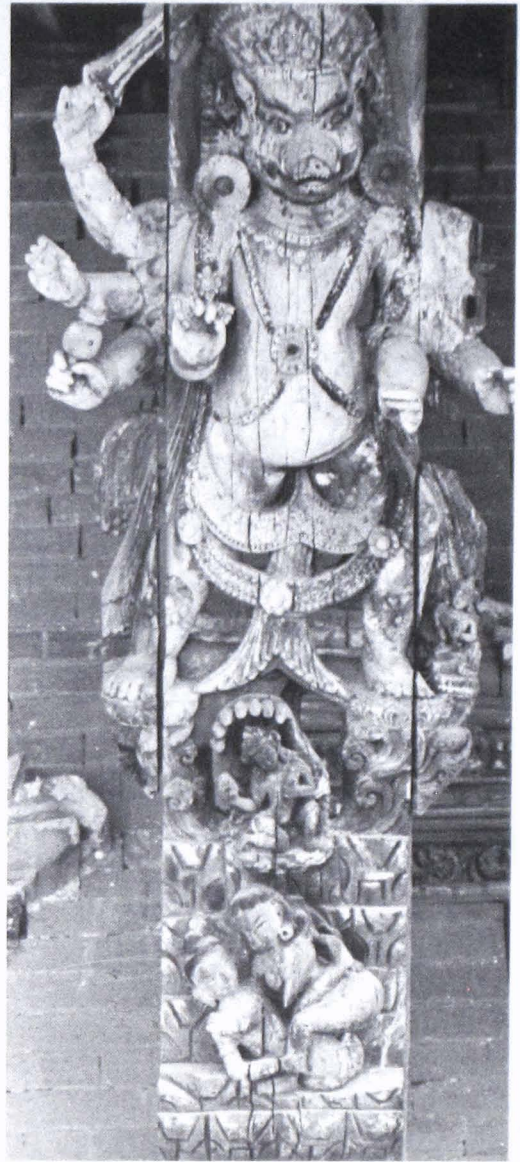


b. Lower part of strut with erotic scene

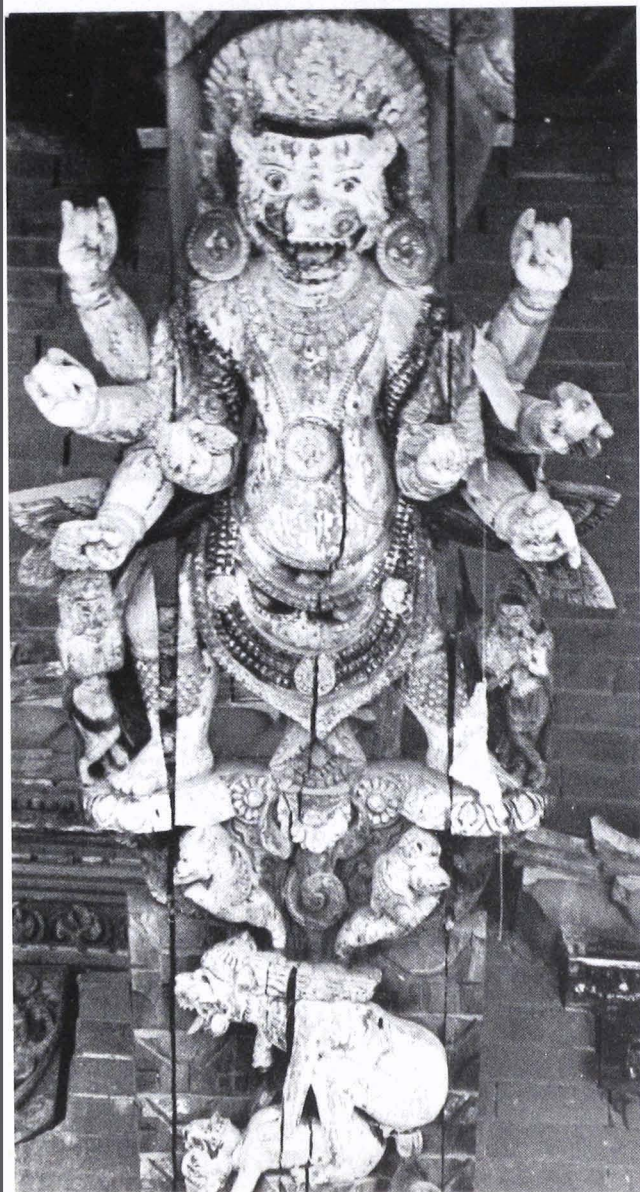




a. Wood-carving of Viṣṇu standing upon Garuḍa



b. Wood-carving of Varāha Avatāra



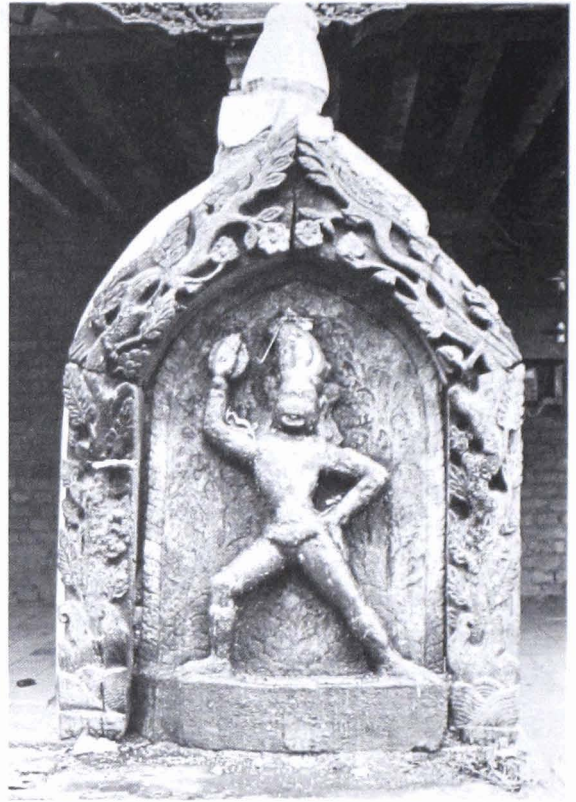
a. Wood-carving of Narasiṃha Avatāra



b. Wood-carving of Viṣṇu Trivikrama



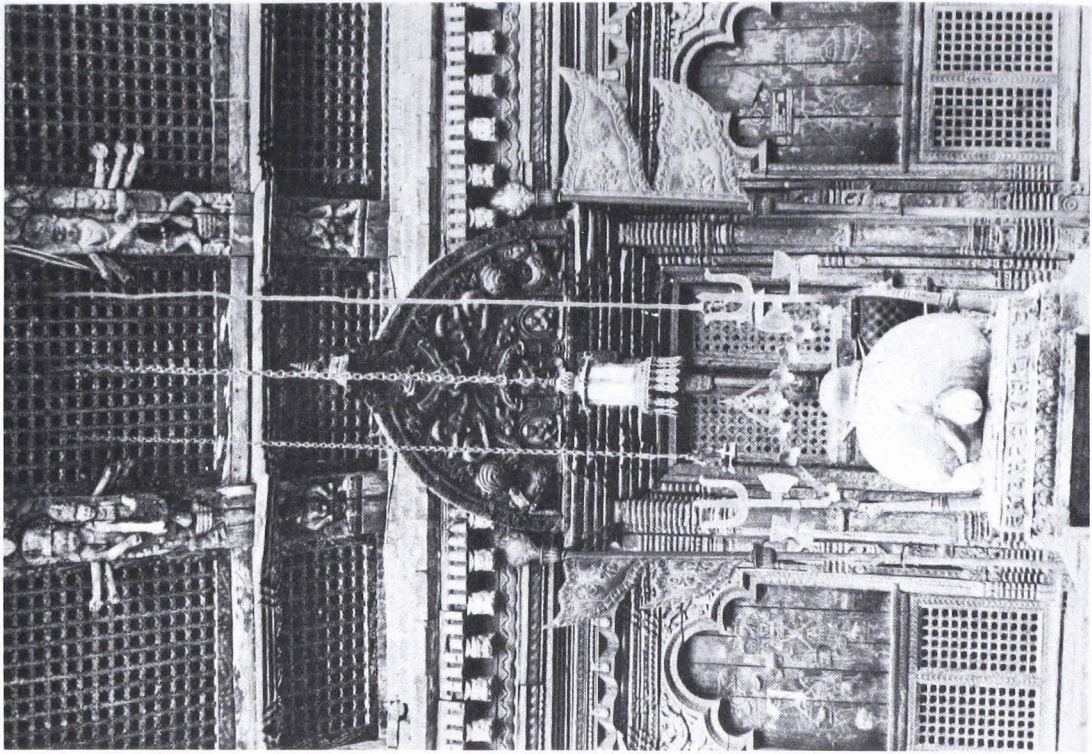
a. Bronze image of Garuḍa on a pillar



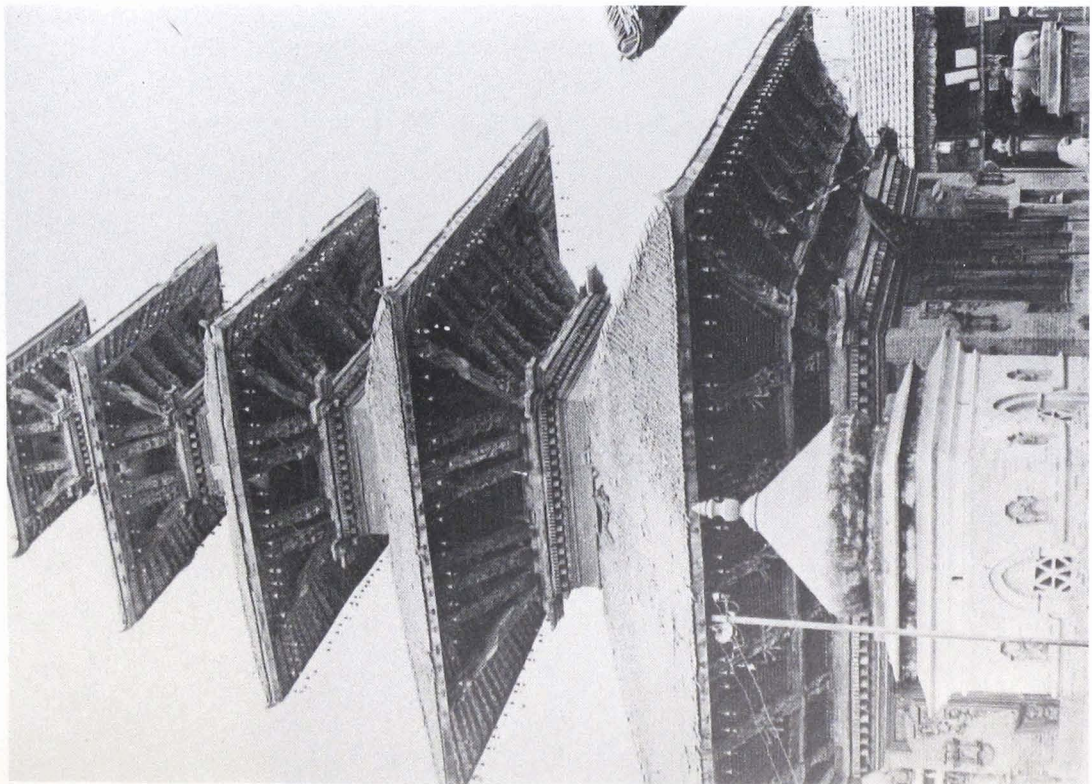
b. Relief of Hanuman



c. Worship of Hanuman



b. The entrance to the temple



a. Kumbhēśvara temple, Patan



a. Temple of Śiva Paśupatinātha



b. River Bāgmatī at Paśupatināth



c. Śivaliṅga



a. Temple of Śiva Somālingeśvara



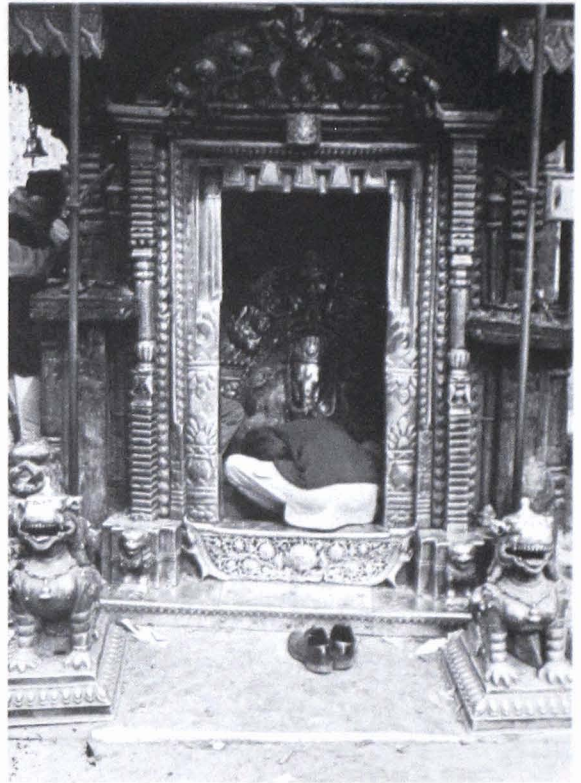
b. Wooden pillar with figure of Bhairava



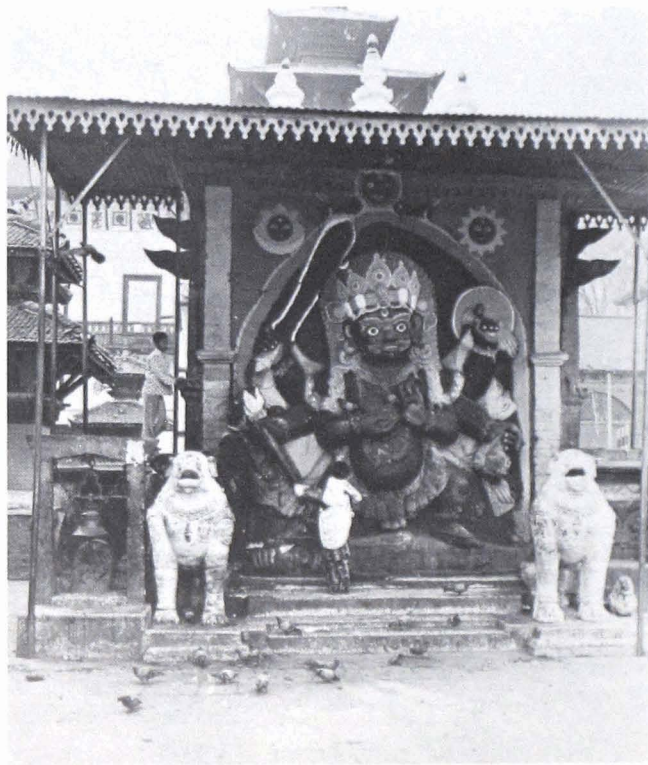
c. Wooden pillar with figure of Mātṛkā



a. Shrine of Gaṇeśa



b. Worship of Gaṇeśa



c. Image of Bhairava

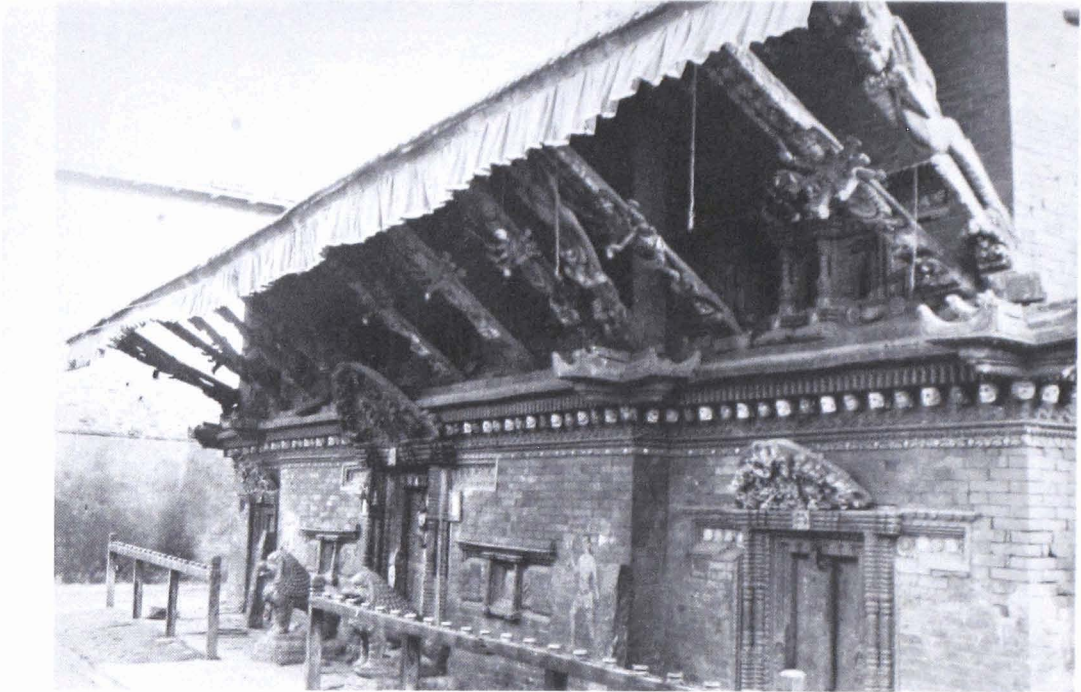


a. Tympanum with representation of Durgā

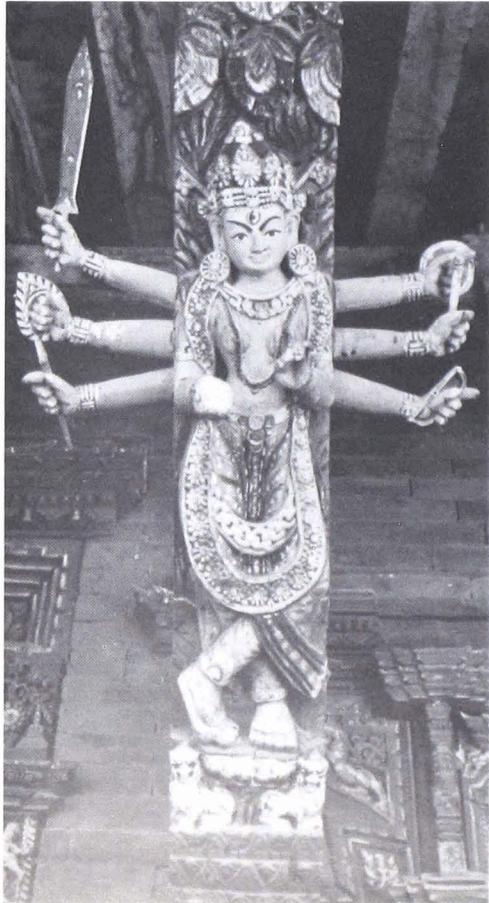


b. Tympanum with carving of Vatsalā Devi

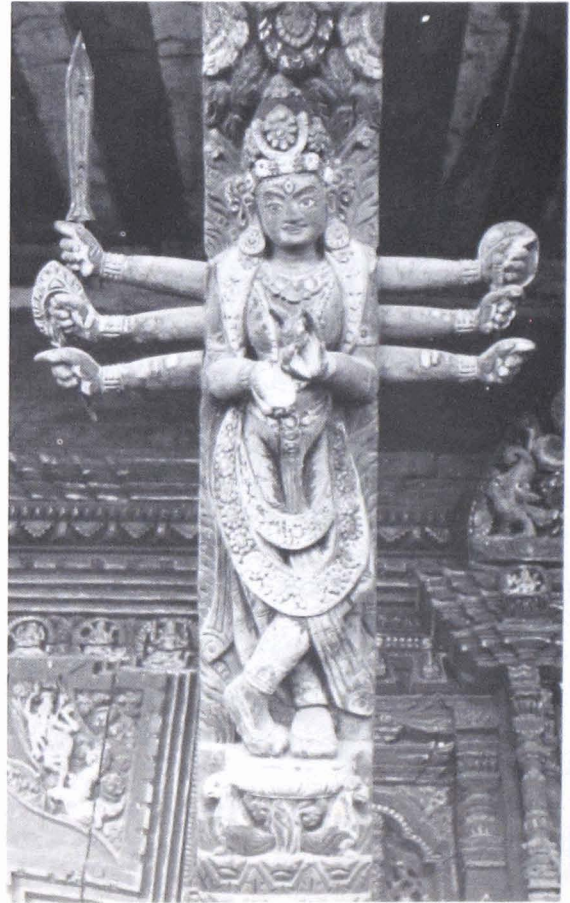




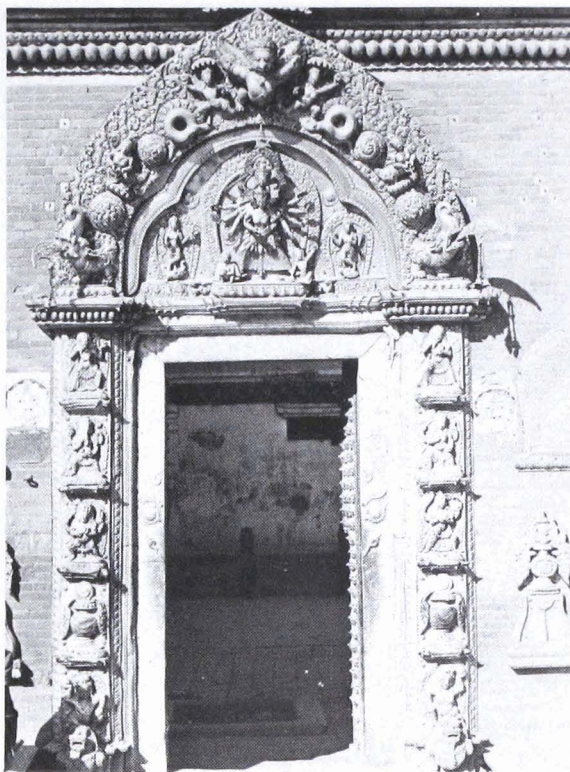
a. Temple of Tārāṇī Devī



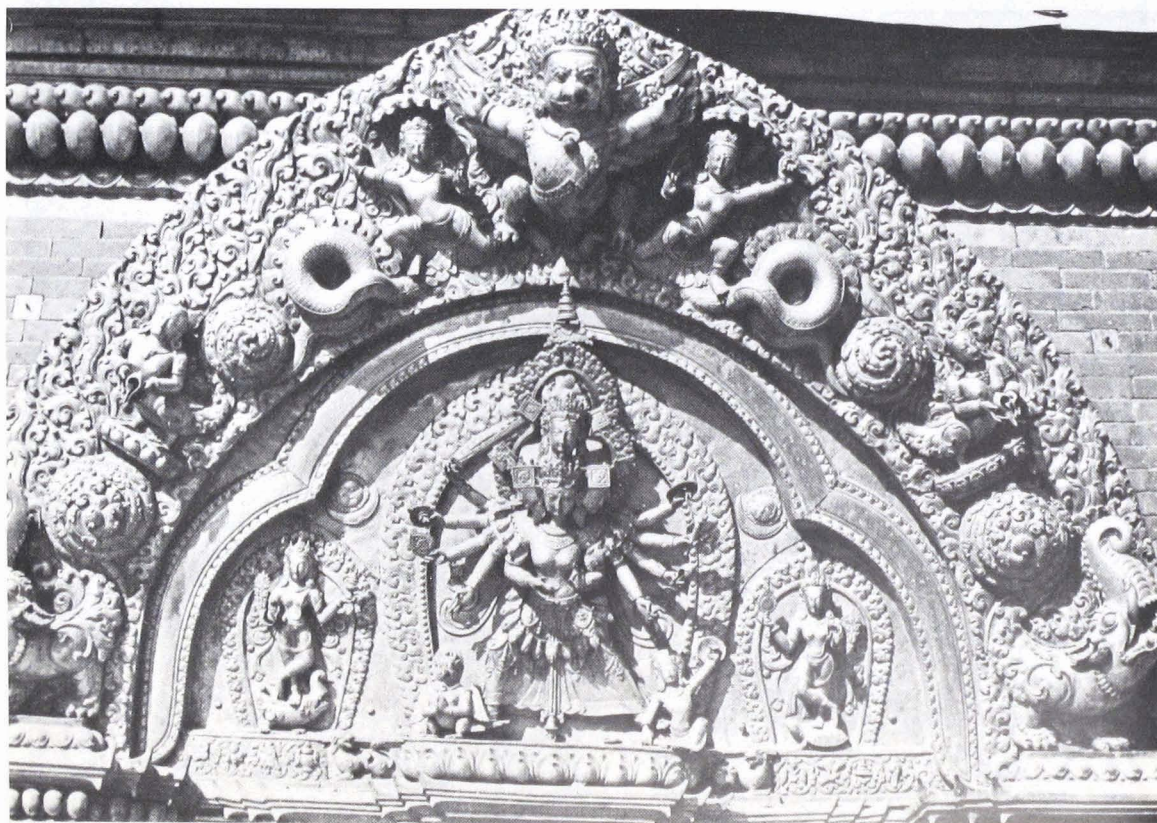
b. Wood-carving of Durgā



c. Wood-carving of a Mātṛkā



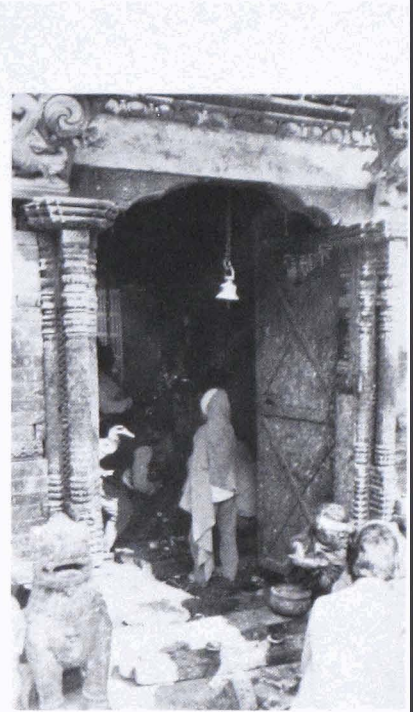
a. Entrance to former royal palace, Bhaktapur



b. Tympanum with carving of Taleju Bhavānī



a. Court-yard and shrine of Vajravārāhī, Chapagaon



b. Worship of Vajravārāhī



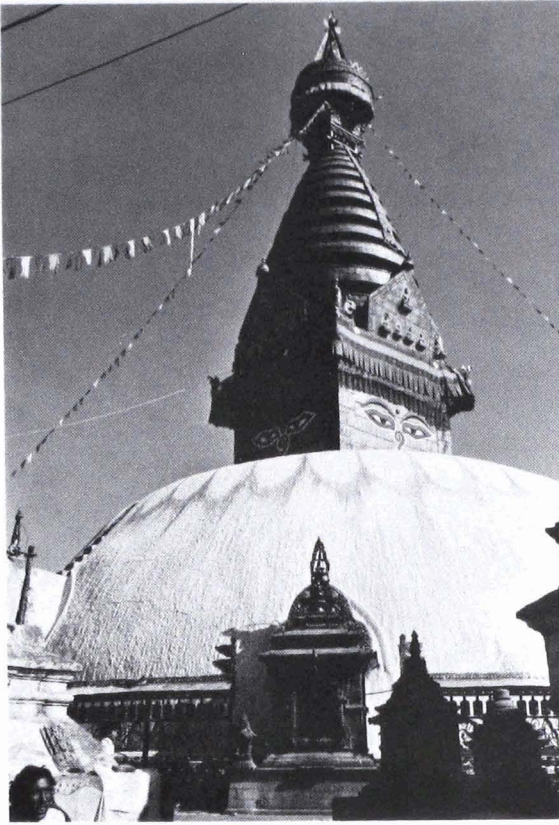
c. Tympanum with representation of Vajravārāhī



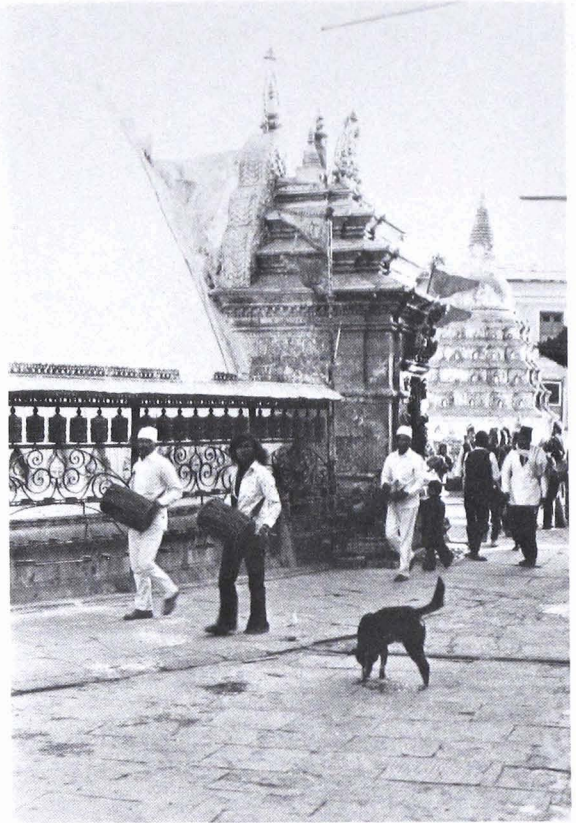
Painting of the *stūpa* of Svayambhūmāth rising out of the water



Painting of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī cleaving the mountains



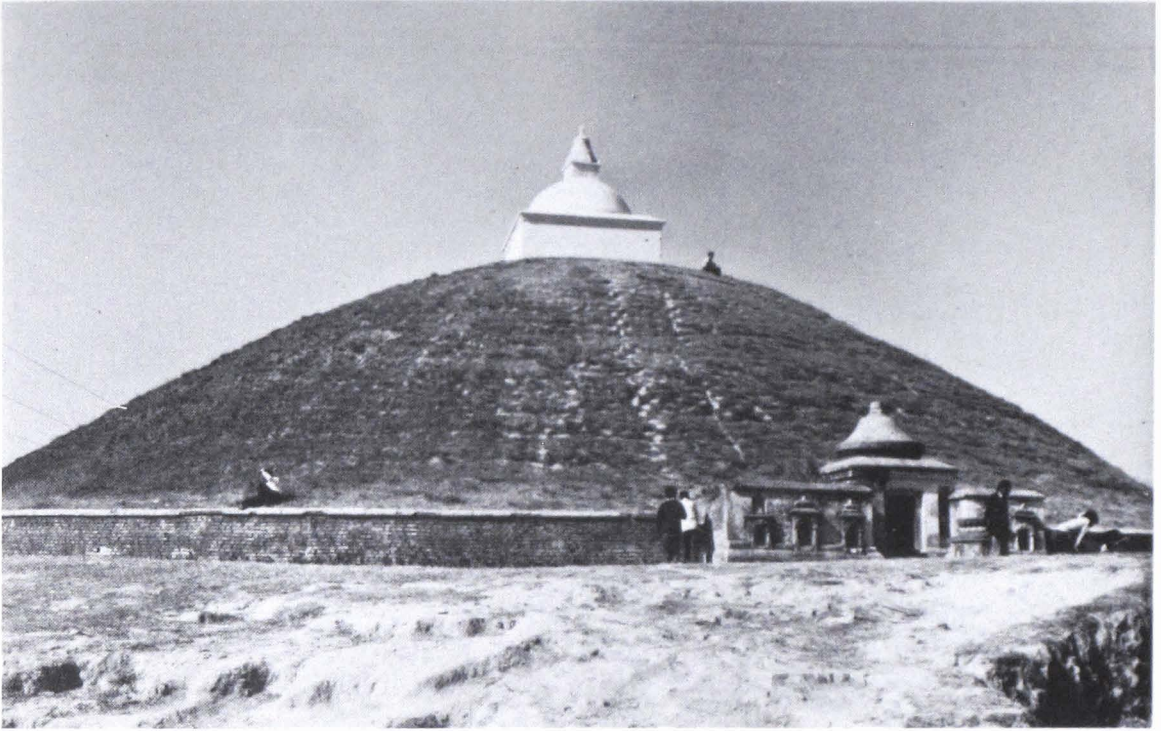
a. The *stūpa* of Svayambhūnāth



b. Festive procession round the *stūpa*



c. Stairs leading to the top of the hill of Svayambhūnāth



a. So-called Aśoka stūpa, Patan



b. Modern votive stūpa near Ashoka Vināyaka, Kathmandu



a. Court-yard of Hākā Bāhā

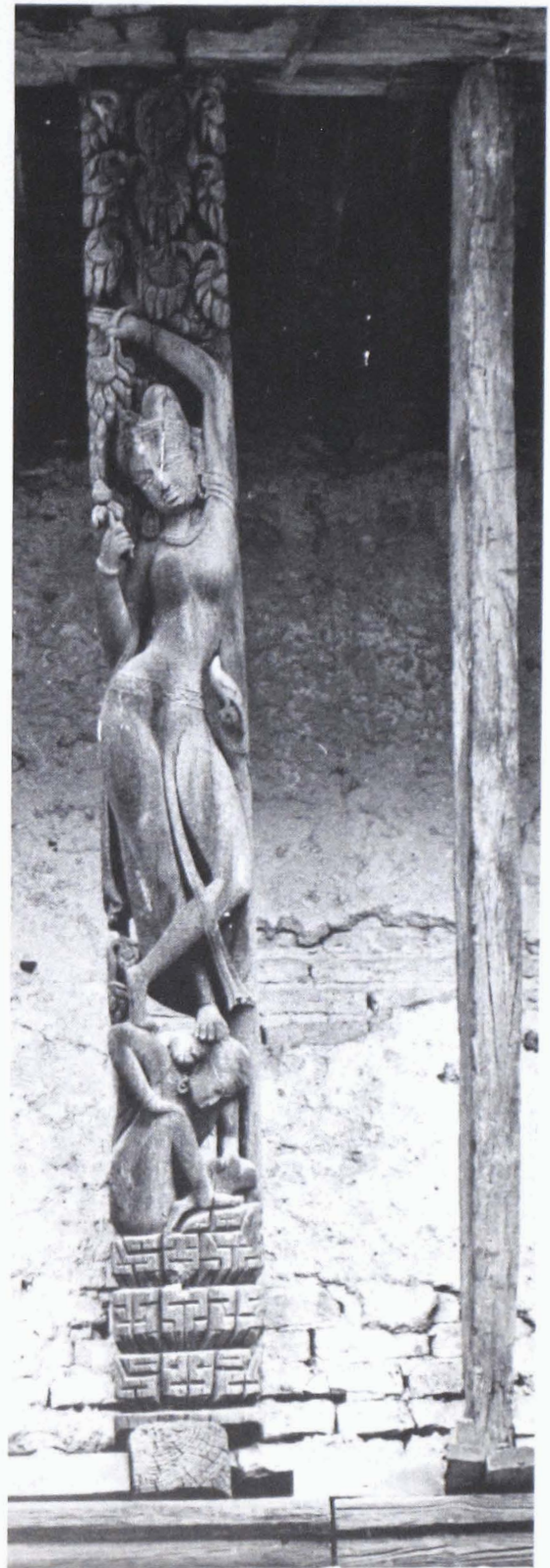


b. Entrance to the shrine





a. Strut with figure of a Krodha



b. Strut with figure of Yakṣiṇī



a. Standing Buddha, Svayambhūnāth



b. Figures of the Buddha standing against the base of a *stūpa*



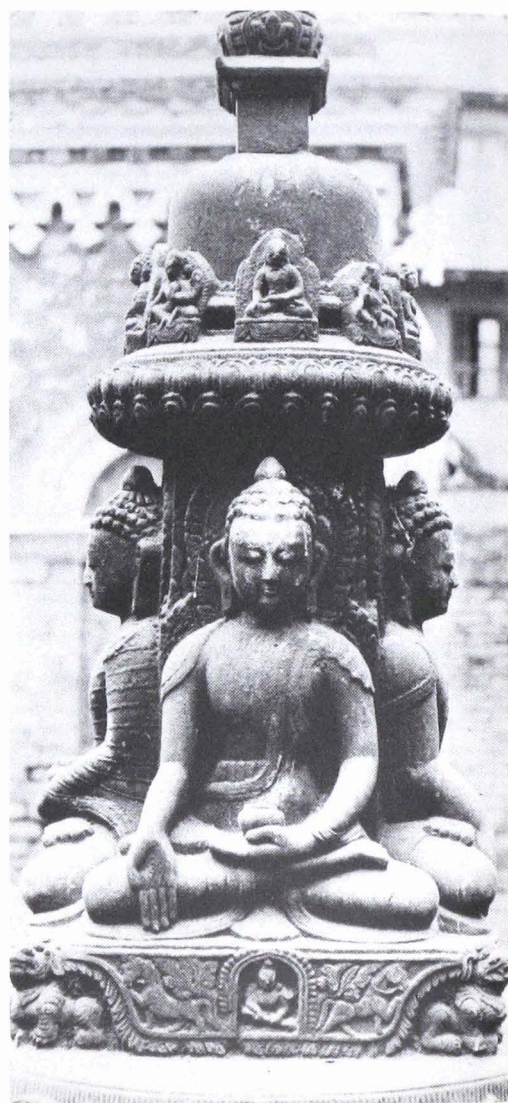
a. The Buddha Akṣobhya



b. The Buddha Amitābha



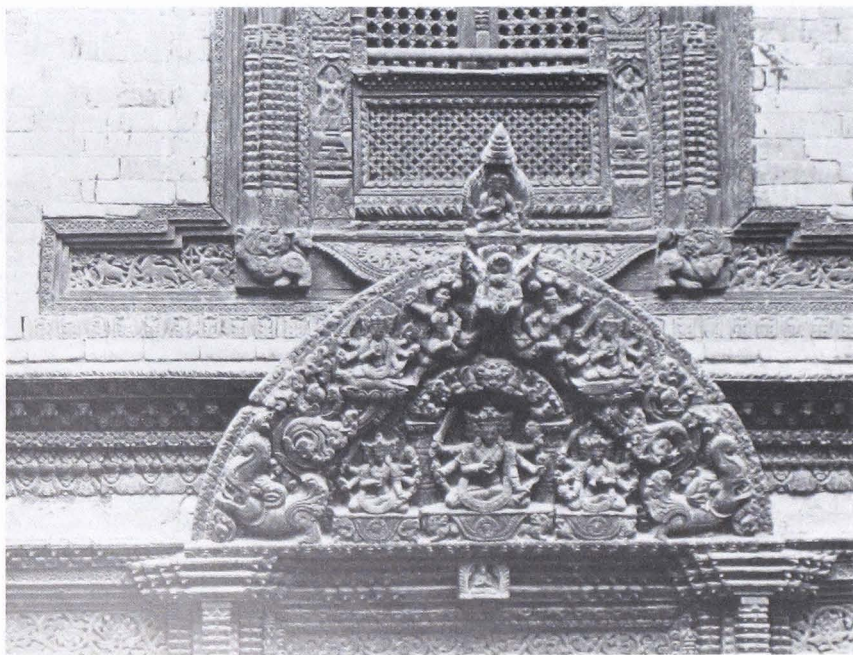
a. The Buddha Amoghasiddhi



b. The Buddha Ratnasambhava



a. Painting of the five Buddhas over a door



b. Wooden tympanum with the five Buddhas



a. Detail from XXXI b: Vairocana



b. Detail from XXXI b: Vajrasattva



c. Detail from XXXI b: Vajradhara



a. Detail from XXXI b: Ratnasambhava



b. Detail from XXXI b: Amitābha



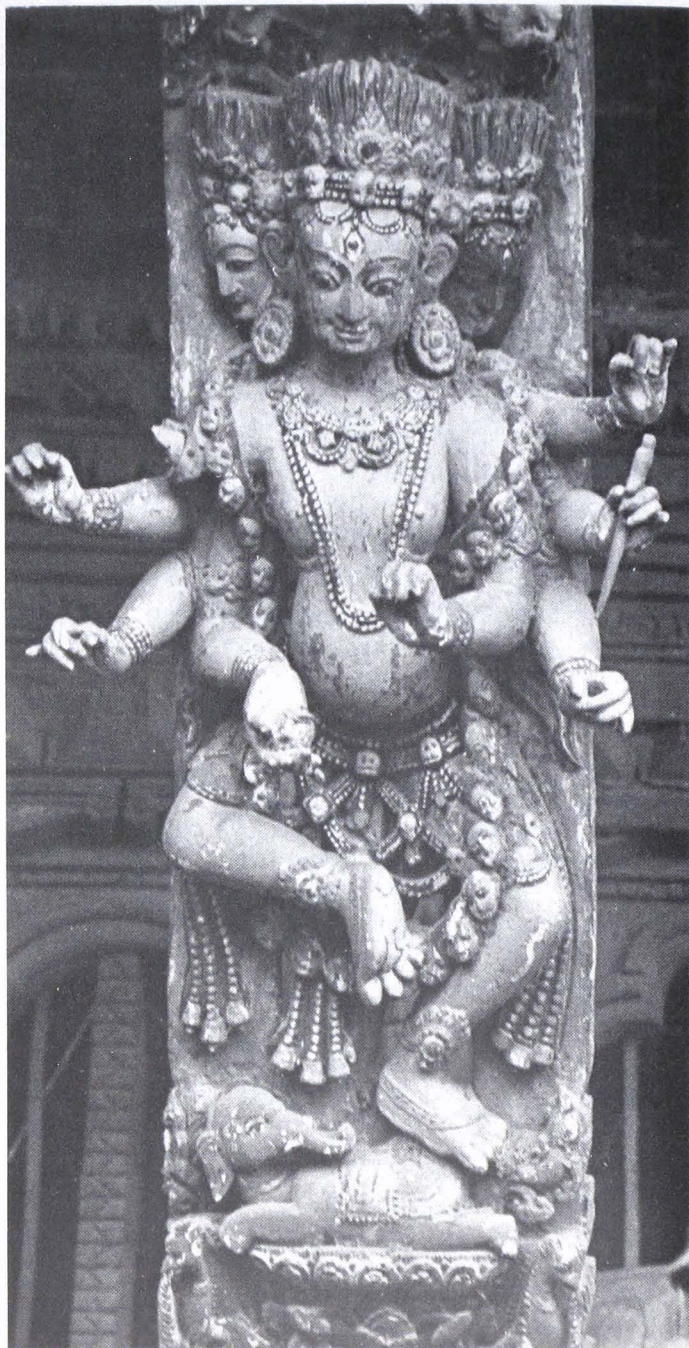
c. Detail from XXXI b: Akṣobhya



d. Detail from XXXI b: Amoghasiddhi

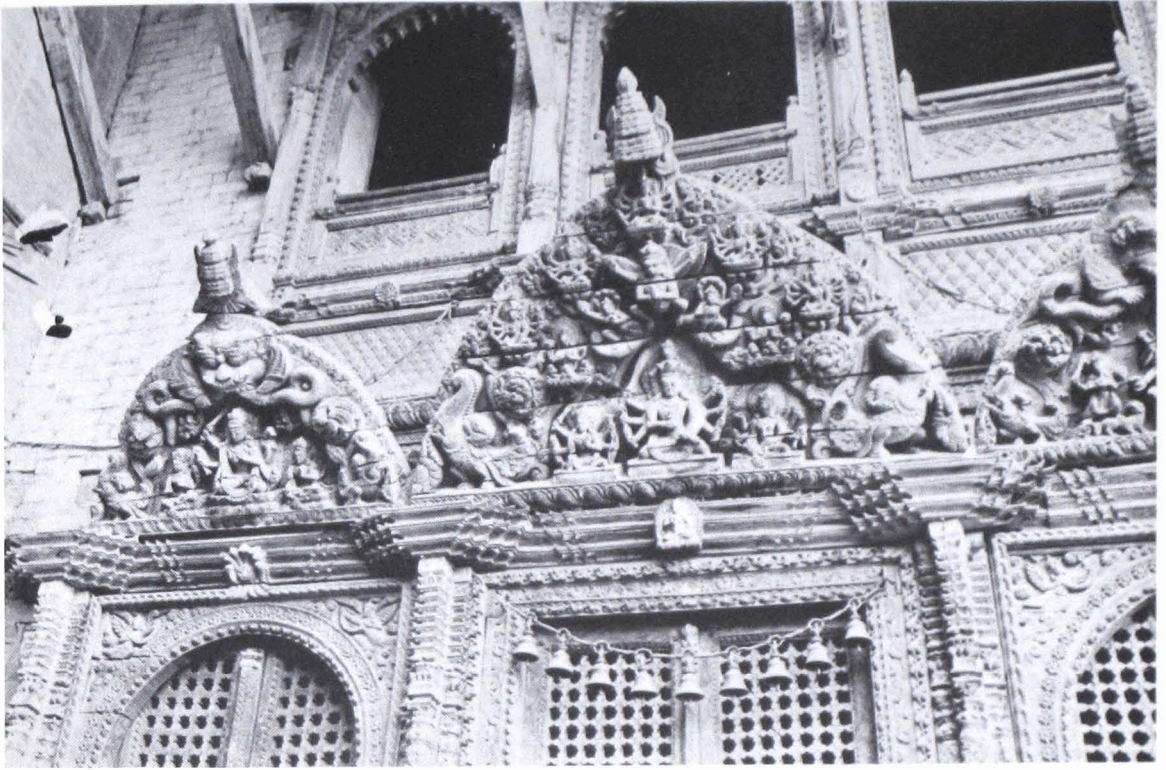


a. Wooden strut with carving of Amoghasiddhi



b. Wooden strut with carving of Akṣobhya





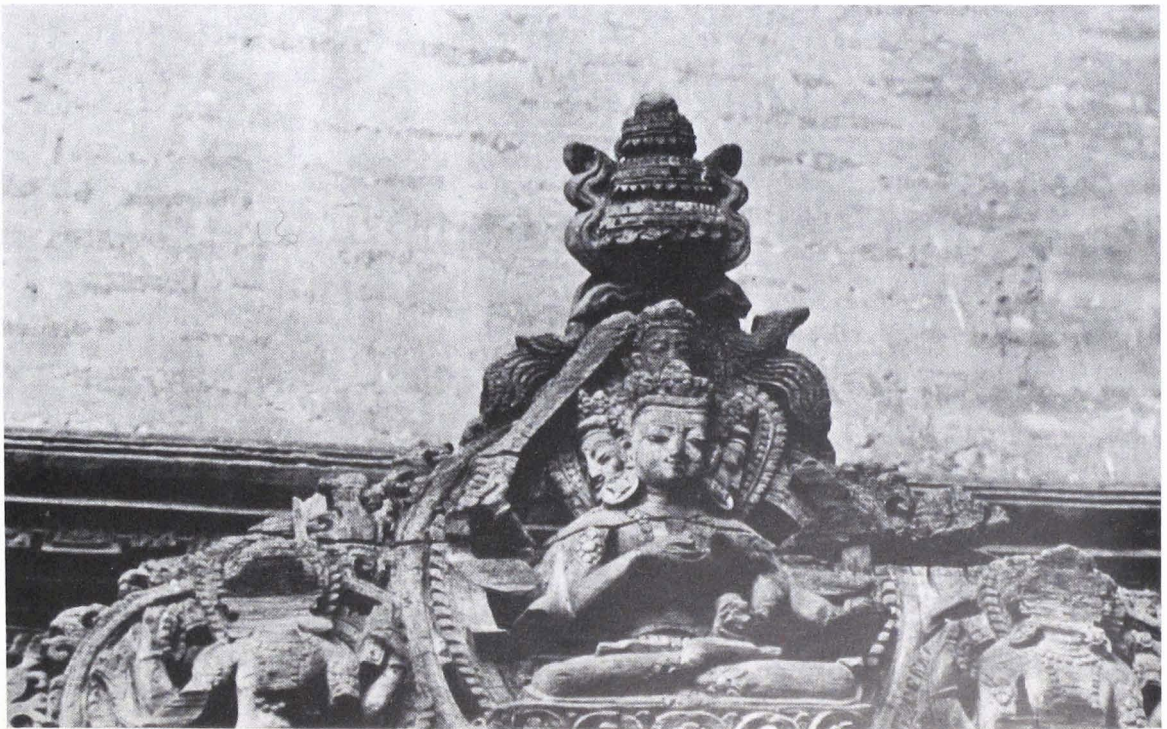
a. Wooden tympana, Hākā Bāhā.



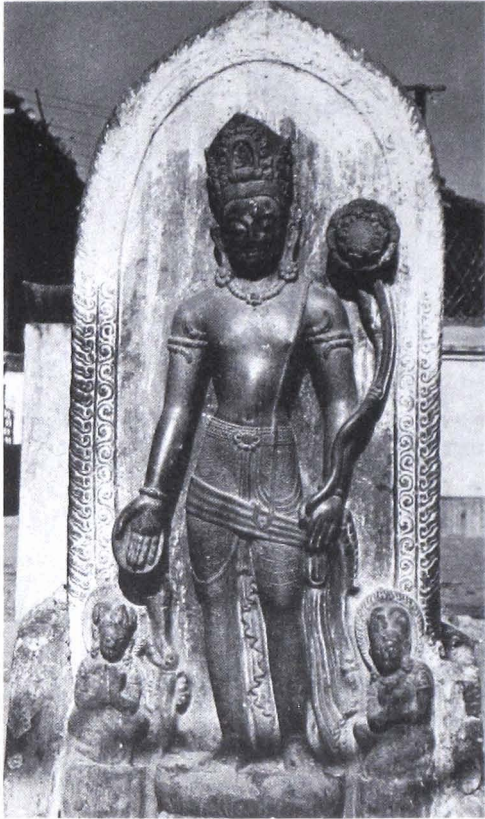
b. Tympanum with carving of Mañjuvajra



a. Carving of Mañjuśrī Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara



b. Carving of Vajrasattva with features of Mañjuśrī



a. Avalokiteśvara, 9th century A.D.



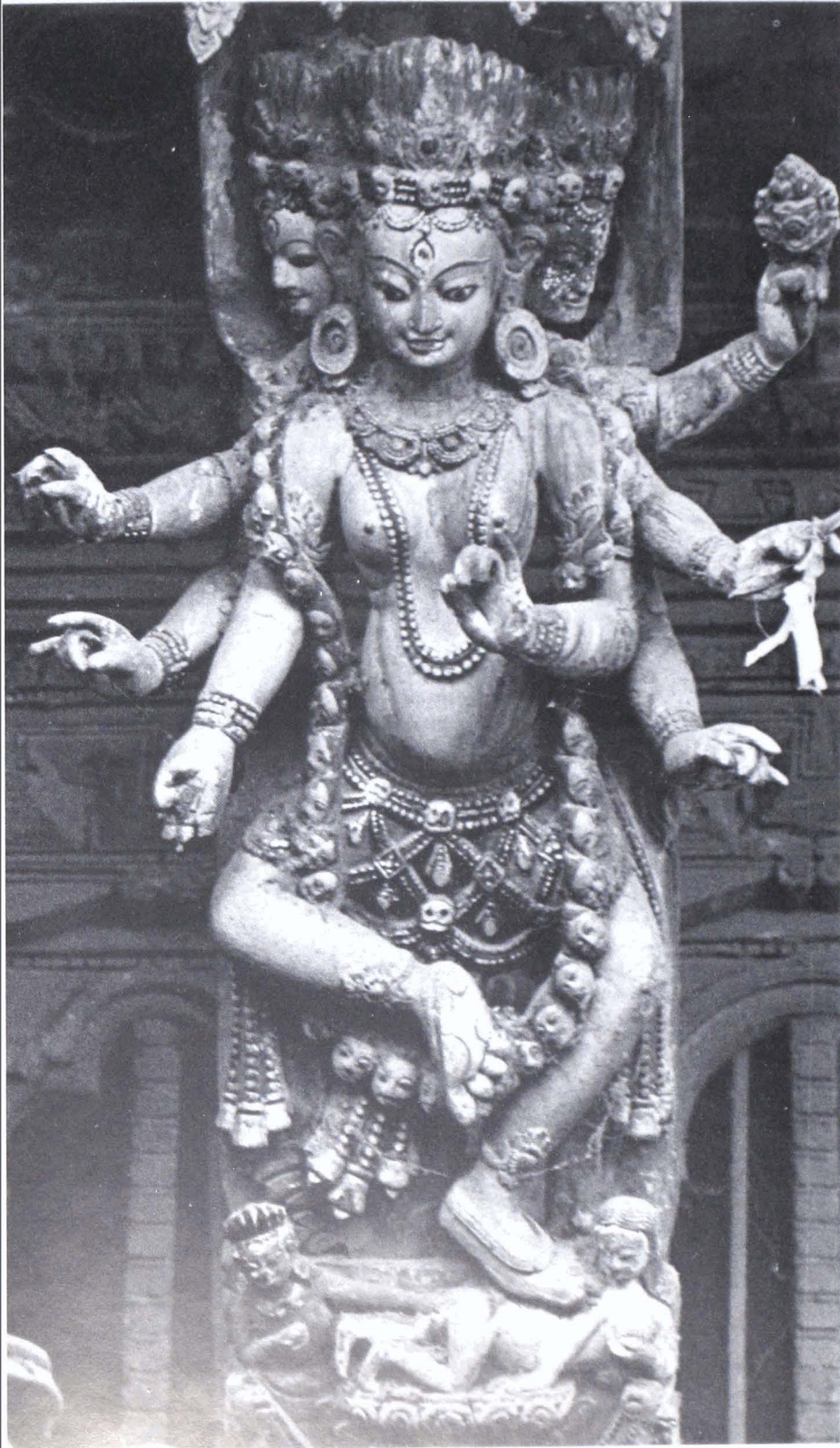
b. Avalokiteśvara,  
ca 17th century A.D.



b. Lower part of strut: scene in hell



a. Lower part of strut: scene in hell



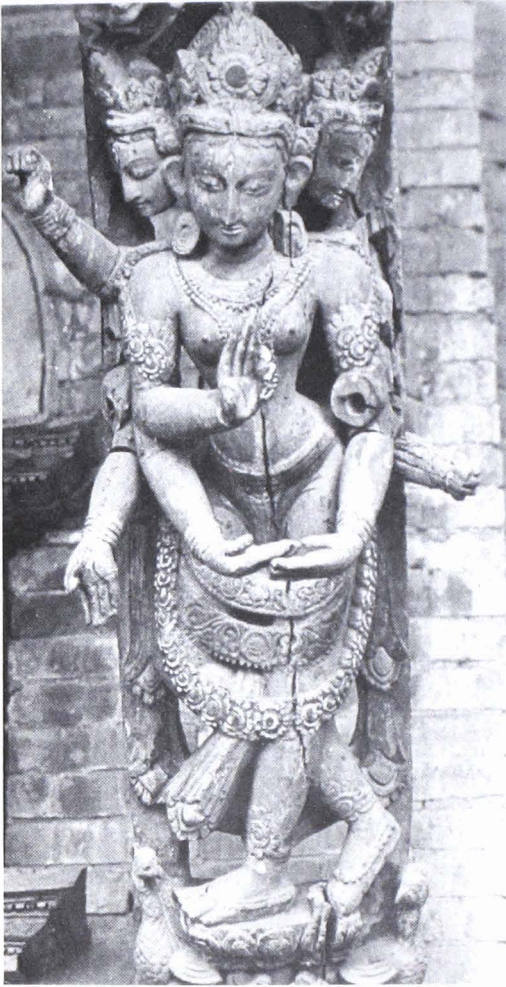
*Sāhasrapramardinī*



a. Pratisarā



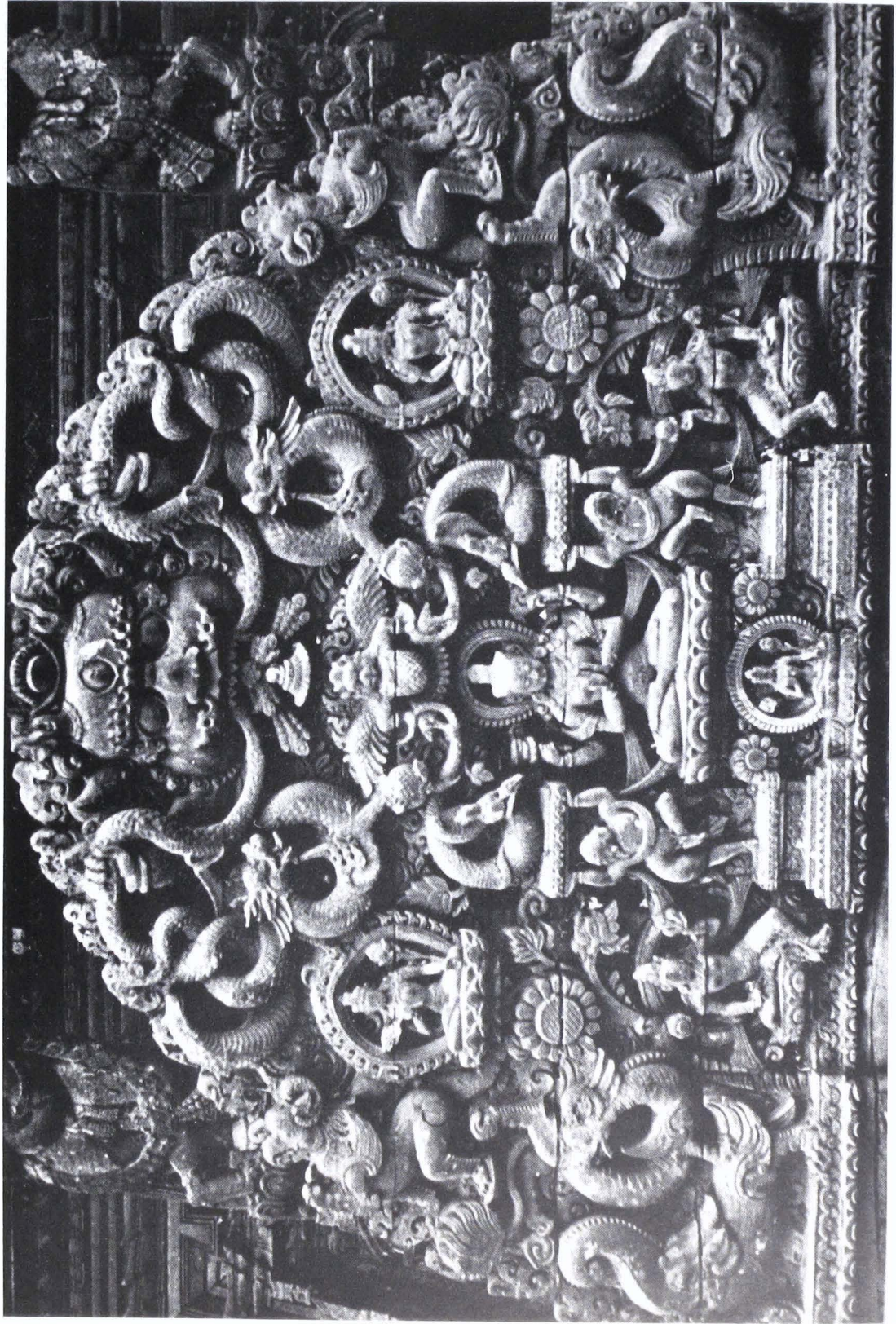
b. Mahāmāyūrī



a. Mahāmantrāṅusāraṇī

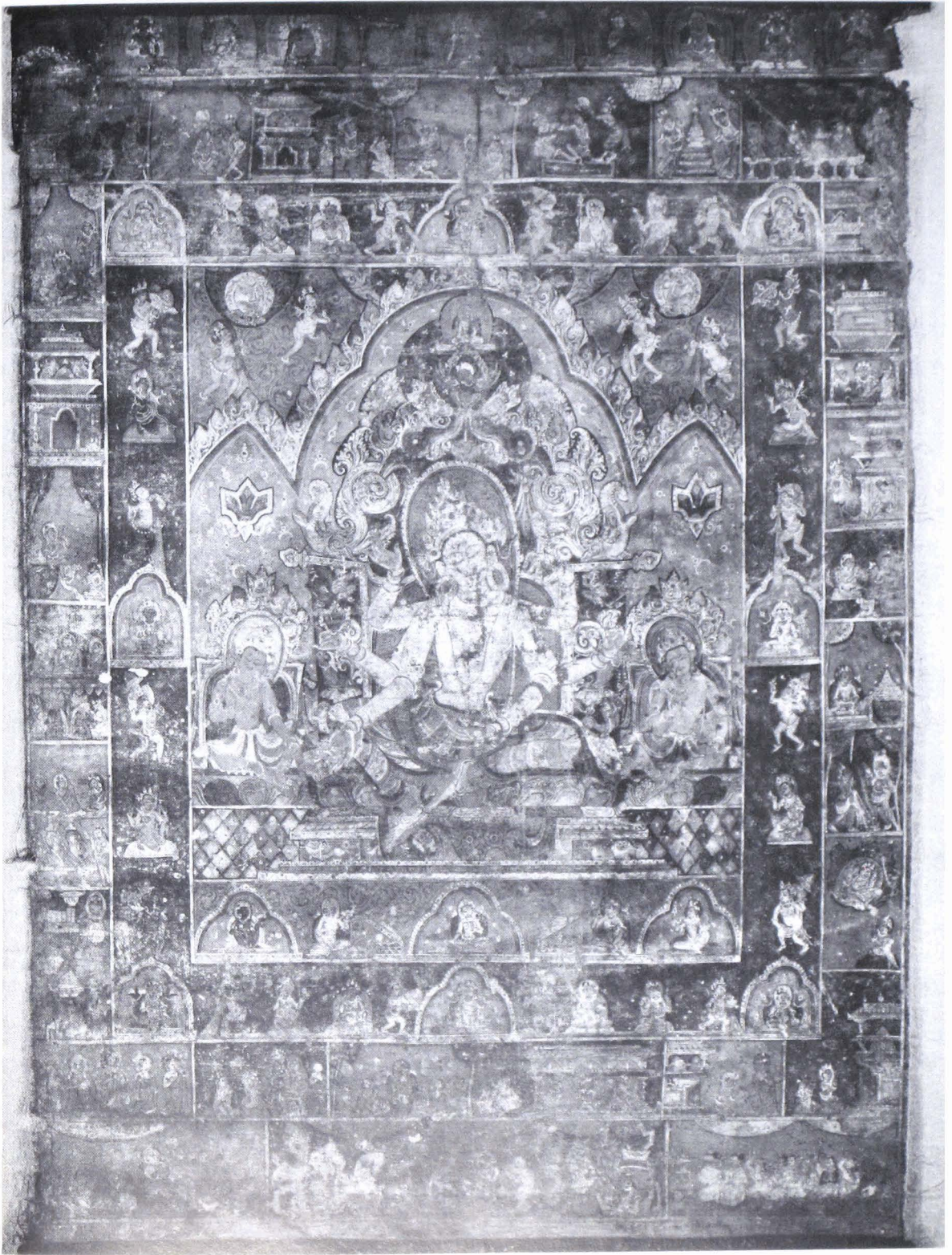


b. Sītavatī



Wood-carving with *Prajñāpāramitā* in the centre





Painting of Vasudhārā



Painting with Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the centre of a *stūpa*



a. Vasudhārā



b. Vajravīdārānī



c. Ganapatihṛdayā



d. Uṣṇīṣavijayā



a. Parnaśabari



b. Māricī



c. Grahamātrkā



a. Lunar Mansion (*nakṣatra*)



b. Relief with the Nine Planets



Painting of the moon-god Candra surrounded by astral deities

