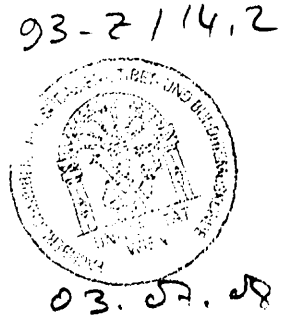


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A Newar Buddhist Liturgy: Śrāvakayānist Ritual in Kwā Bāhāḥ, Lalitpur, Nepal

by David N. Gellner

1. Introduction¹

The rituals and other practices of the Buddhist Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, should be of particular interest to Buddhologists, since the Newars are the last surviving north Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists.² There have been several interesting discussions of the symbolism and functions of Newar Buddhist ritual (e.g., Allen 1973, 1982) but the detailed analysis of Newar Buddhist liturgy is still in its early stages. It is true that Hodgson published one paper which evidently followed a liturgical text, and Wilson translated another, but these were lone and isolated efforts until John Locke published his pathbreaking work *Karunamaya*.³ Following his lead, I have myself published studies of the Newar Buddhist monastic initiation ritual (usually known in scholarly works by its colloquial and non-honorific epithet, *bare chuyegu*) and of the *guru maṇḍala* ritual.⁴ Recently, both Locke and Lewis have published articles on the fasts or observances (*vrata*) of Newar Buddhists.⁵ Related to these recent scholarly works in English, and often acting as the source for them, are two kinds of local literature: (i) handwritten ritual handbooks (*paddhati*) with instructions in Newari and the liturgy itself in Sanskrit (many of these are now available on microfilm, thanks to the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project); (ii) published pamphlets by Vajrācārya priests which are in effect printed handbooks. The most prolific author in this latter category is certainly Badri Ratna Vajracharya of Kathmandu.

The present paper is concerned with the liturgy in one fairly precise context: the shrine of the main deity of a Newar Buddhist monastery. Newar Buddhist monasteries usually consist of a rectangular courtyard, with the shrine of the main deity on the ground floor opposite the main entrance. The main deity is, in the vast majority of cases, Śākyamuni Buddha. This deity is known in Kathmandu as the *kwāpāhdyah*⁶ and in Lalitpur as *kwābāju*, a term which members of Kwā Bāhāḥ and their families tend to use as the proper name of *their* monastery deity (a usage illustrated in section 2 below). Newar Buddhists often explain that the structure of the monastery reflects the three “ways” or “vehicles” of Buddhism: the ground floor, with its shrine to Śākyamuni, is the Śrāvakayāna; the upper side room, with its shrine to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, is the Mahāyāna; and the upper floor hall, with the esoteric shrine to Cakrasaṃvara, Yogāmbara, Hevajra, or one of the other tantric gods, is the Vajrayāna. It is indeed true that this scheme is reflected in the rituals and offerings that are appropriate in each shrine. Thus, sacred space is organized so as to express the hierarchical structure of tantric Buddhism; and this structure is itself both a representation of, and an explanation of, the history of tantric Buddhism, with the latest phase, the Vajrayāna, being given the highest value within it.⁷

It is an interesting fact that the liturgy used for the Śākyamuni shrine seems to have escaped the codification of the Vajrācārya priests. Unlike other Newar Buddhist liturgies, therefore, one does not find numerous manuscripts that record the prescribed form used in particular places. Rather, each monastery has its own oral tradition. As with written liturgies, these vary slightly from monastery to monastery. One account of the morning liturgy in a monastery Śākyamuni shrine, from Bhīchē Bāhāḥ, Lalitpur, has been published in Newari by the respected local Buddhist scholar, Hemraj Sakya.⁸

Membership of Newar Buddhist monasteries is restricted to male Śākyas and Vajrācāryas. These two groups are subsections of a single caste, the Vajrācāryas having slightly higher status because they alone may act as priests for others (*purohit*). Within the monastery, however, Śākyas and Vajrācāryas have equal status; rights and duties are shared equally. Membership of a Newar Buddhist monastery is determined by patrilineal

descent. Only the sons of members by full-caste mothers may go through the monastic initiation ritual in the monastery and thereby become members. In this way, they also become householder monks; that is to say, they fill the role of monks and are treated as monks by other Newar Buddhists on certain specified occasions, such as the annual Pañcadān festival. By tradition, all Śākya and Vajrācāryas are supposed to beg alms on this day from at least seven different houses, although today many feel shame at doing so, and do not participate.⁹

The context of Newar Buddhism in which monastic values are stressed and acted out is labelled Śrāvakayāna. It is the shrine of the main Śākya muni of a monastery complex which, as we have noted, most obviously exemplifies this context. The daily liturgy in this shrine is the duty of each of the monastery members in turn. The most common system is that by which turns pass down the roster of members from most senior to most junior for a week, a fortnight, or a month at a time. Depending on the number of members and the length of service, one's turn may recur once a year, once every few years, or longer. In the case of Kwā Bāhāḥ, to be considered presently, one's turn comes once in a lifetime. In some Kathmandu monasteries, the membership has dispersed to many parts of the city and beyond, and there is little cohesion. The monastery is simply the place where members must go through what is, in effect, their caste initiation ceremony. In these cases, it is not uncommon for one man to specialize in carrying out the daily liturgy, and to do it for other members for a small fee. This solution has not yet been adopted in the more traditional, and less disrupted monasteries of Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, the other two large cities of the Kathmandu Valley.

The man or youth whose turn it is to tend the main shrine is called the *dyahpāhlāḥ*. This is Sanskritized as *devapālaka*, "guardian of the god," though its Newari meaning is "he to whom the turn [to tend the god] has come." In small monasteries he performs the ritual himself, briefly and without an audience, keeping the shrine open just long enough for local women, mostly from the households of monastery members, to bring offerings. In large monasteries, however, the ritual is much more elaborate. In several of the large monasteries of Lalitpur a young boy, who must be an initiated member of the

monastery, is chosen by the “god-guardian” to carry out the rituals under his supervision; he is called the *bāphā* or, adding the diminutive suffix, *bāphācā*.¹⁰

Kwā Bāhāḥ is the largest Newar monastery anywhere. Its initiated membership is so large (around 3,000) that no one is sure of its exact size. Here, *two* such boy priests are appointed; the younger one is the main one, the elder his assistant. Normally, the god-guardian remains outside the shrine in order to oversee affairs in the whole monastic temple complex and to avoid the strict rules which the two *bāphā* have to follow, but the god-guardian may himself become the elder *bāphā* if he wishes to or if he can find no one to do it for him. The Kwā Bāhāḥ monastic compound is a magnificent temple complex enriched by numerous donations over the years. It has become a focus for Buddhist devotion from throughout the city of Lalitpur, and it is also included in Tibetan pilgrimage routes.¹¹

The two *bāphā* of Kwā Bāhāḥ must follow a strict set of rules for one month, the duration of the god-guardian’s turn. The elder one may not leave the monastery compound for the whole month except to fetch water from the well in Ilā Nani, and his wife, if he is married, may not enter it. The younger *bāphā* leaves the compound twice a day in order to ring a bell around the locality of the monastery. Neither may use soap for a month. They may eat only one cooked meal a day, in the morning, of pure food. This is prepared by a woman designated for the purpose, who must herself follow many purity rules. She must stay at her natal home if she is married, and while she cooks the meal she must change out of her clothes into a towel kept in the monastery for the duration of the month. When she brings a portion of the meal to offer to the Śākyamuni image, she must not be touched by anyone else, and all onlookers are made to stand well back to ensure that this does not happen. In the afternoon, the two *bāphā* eat only fruits and sweets. However, when there is an esoteric ritual in the tantric shrine, at which meat, beans, and alcohol must be offered, and a share also taken to Śākyamuni, then, and then only, the *bāphā* may consume what has been offered. The members of Kwā Bāhāḥ explain the strictness of the rules there, as compared to all other Newar monasteries, by citing the presence of the text and goddess, The Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā). This

text is read on request by Newar Buddhists up to twice a day, almost every day at certain times of year. It is believed to have the power to fulfil the vows of devotees in times of great illness or danger. Many Kwā Bāhāḥ members also have the text read at auspicious times, such as weddings.¹²

2. *The daily round in Kwā Bāhāḥ, Lalitpur*

What follows is an account of the whole daily round in the Śrāvakayānist shrine of Kwā Bāhāḥ. It was written by Bhai Ratna Vajracharya, a member of Kwā Bāhāḥ who lives nearby, and spends every day there as a receptionist and photographer. This description was written in Newari in 1983. I have translated it and added the punctuation, the references to four watches, and notes.

Rules Followed by the Temple Priests (*bāphā*)
of Kwā Bāhāḥ (Hiraṇyavamaṃamahāvihāra), Lalitpur

by Bhai Ratna Vajracharya

First Watch

At about 3 a.m., devotees come to Kwā Bāhāḥ to read the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.¹³ After they have been reading for about five minutes, the older of the two *bāphā* gets up and bathes himself. He goes into the shrine of Kwābāju [spelt “Kwāvāju”] and bows down to the god. He removes the clothes of Kwābāju, takes a waterpot which is inside, and goes to fetch water from the well. Lampā, who lives and works in Kwā Bāhāḥ, goes with him and clears the way so that no one will touch him. The elder priest puts the pure water down at the shrine door and goes to wash his face. Then he takes it inside, bows down to the god, rinses the Worship Plate (*pujābhaḥ*), waterpot, and silver plate (*babhū*), and puts them all in front of Balabhadra.¹⁴ He puts half the pure water into the Flask (*kalaśa*), and then grinds yellow powder (*mhāsu sinhaḥ*). As soon as he has finished this, he lights a ghee lamp inside.

By this time the *Nāmasaṃgīti* will be half way through being read; the younger priest comes into the shrine and bows down to the gods. The elder priest lights wicks along the bal-

cony outside. Then, while the younger priest rings a bell, the elder priest pours water from the Flask onto the silver plate, takes the small flask which stands on it, and washes the faces, first of Kwābāju, then of Balabhadra. After this, he does *pūjā* to the gods while the younger priest shows the mirror to Kwābāju, Balabhadra and, standing at the door, to Svayambhū [the enshrined *caitya* in the centre of the courtyard which is the lineage deity of Kwā Bāhāḥ members]. The elder priest sprinkles pure water on Svayambhū and on the waiting devotees. Meanwhile, the younger priest comes out with rice and flask in hand, and puts rice and water in a circle on the *maṇḍala* on the balcony. Next, the two priests come out to beat the hollow wooden gong (*gāwā*); this has to be done 108 times in all. When this is finished, the younger priest rings the bell, and the readers come up onto the balcony below the shrine of Kwābāju and read the “*Buddhaṃ trailokyanāthaṃ.*”¹⁵ When this is over, the elder priest takes the yaktail whisk and the younger priest takes the silver whisk with peacock feathers, and the two of them ring bells, while the “*Dānabalena*” is recited.¹⁶ Then, the two priests put yellow powder paste (on their foreheads), using the paste from the worship of the gods, and give yellow paste and flowers to the devotees outside. Other devotees will continue arriving for worship until about 8 a.m. or, on important days (full moon, *saṃkrānti* / *sānhū*, eighth, and new moon day), until 9.30 a.m.

Second Watch

At this time, the person who prepares the priests' food will come; she is known as *nikulimha*. She goes into the kitchen and takes off all the clothes she has come in and puts on pure clothes. She fetches pure water, and then smears cowdung on the floor inside and makes the cooking area neat and clean. She next comes to the door of the main shrine, and the elder priest passes her the Worship Plate with one ghee lamp, wicks, and a small waterpot on it. She takes these back to the kitchen, lights the ghee lamp, and cooks the priests' pure food meal (*pālā*).

As soon as it is 9 a.m., the younger priest goes off ringing his bell to Nhū Bāhāḥ, Nyākhācok, Tāpā Hitī, Nāg Bāhāḥ, Ilā Nani, Sarasvatī Nani, and back in the main door of Kwā Bāhāḥ. He stands at the door of the shrine, puts down the things he has been carrying, and the elder priest sprinkles him with holy water (*jal*) and hangs up the things. The younger priest washes his face and goes in to bow down to the gods. The two of them then beat the gong 108 times again, and while the

younger priest rings the bell, the "*Buddham trailokyanātham*" is read. Once again, they bow down to the gods.

After a little time has elapsed, the younger priest takes the silver food carrier to the kitchen and puts it down outside the door. The cook washes it, puts food on three Worship Plates, puts them in the silver carrier, and places it back outside the door [of the main shrine]. The younger priest takes it inside the shrine, puts one plate before Kwābāju, one before Balabhadra, and the other he scatters to left and right for the mice. Then, the younger priest goes to eat; after a little while, the elder priest does likewise. All food, other than milk, rice, green lentils, ghee, molasses, and ginger, is forbidden.

After this, the priests may take a rest and if they are sleepy lie down for an hour and a half, until noon.

Third Watch

Then they have to wash again, and may not touch anyone. At 3 p.m., the two priests go back inside the shrine and bow down to the gods. The younger priest puts on the shoulder piece (*cīvara*) and comes out wearing the monastic sandals (*kwāpā lhakā*). The elder priest takes the gong outside, and they beat [the gong] 108 times again. The younger priest goes inside and rings the bell while the "*Buddham trailokyanātham*" is recited outside. At 4 p.m., the cook goes into the kitchen, takes off her clothes, puts on her pure set of clothes, and goes to fetch pure water. Then, she puts out beaten rice, molasses, cakes, fruit, and yoghurt for the priests. When it is ready, she goes and tells them, and they go to eat.

Fourth Watch

After eating, they take a short rest, and at 5.30 p.m. they wash again. The elder priest goes with two waterpots to the well to take pure water, and Lampā follows him. He puts water down outside the shrine and goes to wash his face. Then he goes in and bows down to the gods. The younger priest likewise washes his face, sweeps the balcony, goes into the shrine, brings the Flask outside, and pours water on the *maṇḍala* there. The elder priest takes the gong, the younger priest puts on the shoulder piece, and again they beat the gong 108 times. By this time, it will be about 6 p.m., and the younger priest goes off ringing the bell as before around the area. On returning, he takes off the shoulder piece and bell, and comes out of the shrine. The elder priest stays inside for those who come to read in the evening.

At 7 p.m., the younger priest washes his face and comes inside the shrine. The readers come and take out the hymn book, and the younger priest rings the bell in front of Balabhadra while they read the "*Buddham trailokyanātham*." ¹⁷ When the reading is finished the priests stand on either side of Kwābāju and ring bells and wave whisks, while the "*Dānabalena*" is read. When this is over, they light the *dīp jvālā* lamp, and, ringing the bell in front of Balabhadra, they wave it around. Both priests then "take light," and so do those who have read. Then they read more verses, while the younger priest rings the bell and the elder priest waves the lamp (*ārati*).

When the reading is over, the *ārati* is put down, and the elder priest takes the Worship Plate, worships Kwābāju with rice, applies yellow paste to him, and then also to Balabhadra and to the other gods around him. Then the younger priest takes yellow powder paste [for himself], then the elder priest [does], then they give it to the readers outside. When everyone has placed a spot of paste on their forehead the paste bowl is passed back inside. The elder priest then covers Kwābāju with a special cloth. The younger priest comes out with the key. The elder priest puts the Flask and silver plate in front of Balabhadra, and then puts out rice for the mice. He puts three piles on the silver plate, and three at the legs of the Flask's tripod. Then he uncovers the pure waterpot, bows down to Kwābāju, and comes out. He locks the shrine door with an old metal lock, checking all around; the shutters and doors are all closed up. Then they go to sleep (by this time it will be about 9.30 p.m.). With this, their daily duties are over.

3. *The morning liturgy in Kwā Bāhāḥ*

The following is an account of the morning liturgy derived from the above and checked with the Betāju (Rituals Officer) of Kwā Bāhāḥ, Bhai Ratna Vajracharya of Nyākḥācuk (no relation of the Bhai Ratna Vajracharya above), who was appointed Betāju for his wide experience and knowledge of ritual. My own observations have also been incorporated.

(i) The elder *bāphā* washes himself, unlocks the shrine, sweeps the shrine, places various containers outside to be washed, and removes the covers which have been over the main deity and over Balabhadra during the night. He then goes to fetch pure

water for the shrine (*nīlaḥ*) from the well in Ilā Nani, and, going back in, pays obeisance to the deity (by bowing down to his feet).

(ii) He washes first the tripods on which they stand and then, in turn, the Worship Plate (*pujābhāḥ*), the Flask, and the *babhū* (a special plate with a small raised flask in the centre); he puts pure water in the Flask (*kalaśa*).

(iii) He grinds yellow powder (*mhāsu sinhaḥ*) into a paste and uses it to write OM̐ on the ritual mirror (*jwalā-nhāykā*) and on the Flask. He lights a hanging ghee lamp inside the shrine; then he lights wicks along the outside of the balcony, reciting the following verse:

*Dipo' yaṃ sarvadikṣvāntaḥ*¹⁸ *dīpajvālātama*⁻¹⁹ *prabhaṃ*
*Dhaukayāmi prasannaṃ taṃ*²⁰ *sarvajñāna*²¹ *-prasiddhaye.*
 This lamp reaches to all directions. I offer it happily,
 with its radiance of the best lamp-flames,
 for the attainment of all wisdom.

(iv) By this time (about 5 a.m.), the younger *bāphā* has got up. All this time, devotees have been assembling outside, coming from the two other major Buddhist shrines of the city, namely, Cākṃwāḥḍyaḥ (also known as Dharmarāj or Mīnnāth, and formally identified as Jaṭādhārī Lokeśvara) of Tanga Bāhāḥ and Karuṇāmaya (Būgadyaḥ/Matsyendranāth) of Ta Bāhāḥ.²² Once devotees have visited all the shrines of the monastery complex, they either wait patiently for the next step of the ritual, or they continuously circumambulate the central shrine to Svayambhū and operate the prayer wheels at its four corners.

When the younger *bāphā* is ready, a chain is put up across the front of the balcony. He then drags a broom across the balcony from left to right. He puts down the broom, washes his feet and face and goes into the shrine, bows down to the feet of the gods, and puts on the monastic shoulder piece. The elder *bāphā* pours pure water from the Flask over the mirror placed in the *babhū* plate. Simultaneously, the younger *bāphā* holds the *vajra* (kept in the shrine) to the *babhū* and rings the bell which he wears around his neck, while devotees outside ring the bells in the courtyard. They recite:

*Yan maṅgalaṃ sakalasattvaḥṛdisthitasya
Sarvātmakasya varadharmakulādhipasya
Niḥśeṣadoṣarahitasya mahāsukhasya
Tān maṅgalaṃ bhavatu te paramābhiṣekah.*

All the auspiciousness of the overlord of all the families of the best *dharma* [i.e., the Buddha], who is in the heart of all beings, who is identical with everything, entirely free of all blemish, and supremely blissful—may all this auspiciousness accrue to you: this is the best consecration.²³

The assembled devotees ring all the bells in the courtyard, creating a deafening noise.

(v) The god's face has just been "washed" by pouring water over his reflection in the mirror. This is the central act of the ritual.²⁴ However, the washing is now reduplicated. The elder *bāphā* takes the small Flask from the *babhū* plate, and mimes the washing of the eyes of the main deity, and of Balabhadra in front; and then also mimes drying them with a towel. The younger *bāphā* now takes the mirror and shows it to the main deity, and to Balabhadra. All this must take place while the bells in the courtyard are being sounded, for they only stop when the *bāphā* finally appears and shows the mirror outside the main door, towards the enshrined Svayambhū *cāitya* opposite.²⁵ He moves the mirror in a circle three times for each. The showing of the mirror outside is the crucial moment as far as the assembled devotees are concerned. They emit sighs of anticipation as it is shown, and throw their offerings of rice towards the main shrine. The mirror is shown with the verse:

*Pratibimasamā dharmā acchāḥ śuddhā hy anāvilāḥ
Agrāhyā anabhilāpyās ca hetukarmasamudbhavāḥ.*

All things are like reflections in a mirror, transparent, pure, and uncontaminated.

They are ungraspable, inexpressible, and arise from causes and actions.²⁶

(vi) The elder *bāphā* touches the *babhū* plate, containing the holy water (*jal*), to the main deity, then goes outside and throws the water, first towards Svayambhū, then right and left on the assembled devotees. Men sometimes shout "Over here!"

if they have not felt spots of water falling on them. The priests should recite:

*Abhiṣekaṃ mahāvajraṃ traidhātukanamaskṛtaṃ
Dadāmi sarvabuddhānāṃ triguhyālayasambhavam.*
I give that consecration of all the Buddhas, which is the great adamantine [Truth], which is honoured in all three realms of the universe, and is born from the realm of the triple secret.

The regular group who recite the *Nāmasaṃgīti* now recite the “*Tutam api*” verses.²⁷ As soon as the water has been thrown, devotees begin to receive the yellow powder from members of the god-guardian’s family stationed on the balcony, and then depart.

(vii) The younger *bāphā* pours rice and pure water in a circle on the small lotus-*maṇḍala* (*dhāmanda*) outside the door of the shrine and recites:

*Protsāre hūṃ sarvaviḥnān sāre hūṃ vajrabhūme hūṃ vajralekhe hūṃ
sulekhe sulekhe śarvatathāgata guru adhiṣṭhanṭu svāhā.*
Remove HŪM remove all obstacles HŪM, on the *vajra*-ground
HŪM which is written with the *vajra* HŪM well written,
well written: May all the Attained Ones, Oh *guru*, be present
SVĀHĀ.

(viii) Now the two *bāphā* come out with the long wooden gong (*gambhāsī*, *gāwā* or simply *gā*; Skt. *dharmagaṇṭhī*).²⁸ The younger *bāphā* wears metal monastic shoes (*kwāpā lhakā*) and takes the gong on his right shoulder. The elder *bāphā* stands behind him and supports it. The younger *bāphā* beats the gong 108 times with a wooden hammer (*mugaḥcā*). They should recite the *Aparamitā dhāraṇī*, which has 108 syllables. While the gong is being beaten, it is forbidden to speak or move about in the monastery. Those devotees who have not yet left, or who have just arrived, stand still until it is over.

(ix) Next, they offer worship of the Five Offerings (*pañcopacāra*) to the deity, finishing with rice. With each offering they should say *oṃ vajragandhe svāhā*, etc.

- (x) The younger *bāphā* rings two bells while members of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* group come up onto the balcony and recite the “*Buddhaṃ trailokyanāthaṃ*” verses.
- (xi) The two *bāphā* then wave the whisk and yaktail while reciting the “*Dānabalena.*”

This marks the end of the morning liturgy. Devotees continue to arrive and to receive blessings in the form of yellow powder and leaves all morning; during the day, pilgrims and tourists visit, and the former also receive blessings on request. The degree to which the two *bāphā* actually do recite the verses as prescribed no doubt varies. I suspect also that steps (vii), (ix), and (x) are often omitted. It will be seen that the written account given above is somewhat idealized, in that the devotees should only receive yellow powder blessing after the two *bāphā* have taken it for themselves (as part of step ix); but in fact the powder is brought out and distributed earlier than this.

4. Conclusion

It has already been mentioned that the daily ritual of a main monastery deity differs from monastery to monastery. In this, it is similar to other rituals. There is no body or institution capable of promulgating a single model or enforcing uniformity. The Śrāvakayānist ritual of the main monastery deity is even more likely to vary, since it is not written down. An account collected from the Lalitpur monastery, Cikā Bahī, as well as Hemraj Sakya’s published version from Bhīchē Bāhāḥ (mentioned above), both illustrate this potential for variation.

One significant way in which the influence of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna context of Newar Buddhism has made itself felt on the Śrāvakayānist ritual considered here is the incorporation of elements from the *guru maṇḍala* ritual. Since the latter is the most basic Newar Buddhist ritual, the first item committed to memory by any young Vajrācārya priest and also included in the daily practice of many other pious Newar Buddhists, this is hardly surprising.²⁹

In spite of these variations, however, the daily liturgy has many similarities in different monasteries. Most of the eighteen main monasteries of Lalitpur perform the beating of the wooden gong, the waving of the yaktail and of the whisk to the accompaniment of the “*Dānabalena*,” the bathing with water, and the showing of the mirror. These ritual acts are also performed to Buddha images with royal connections in Sri Lanka (Evers 1972: ch. 4). Several of the large monasteries of Lalitpur have, like Kwā Bāhāh, a “younger” *bāphā* to go round the locality ringing a bell twice a day. This and the wooden gong no doubt marked out the monastic day at one time. Now, the bell is interpreted as giving the signal to eat, and the wooden gong is believed to be telling the god that he may leave or enter (*līn juyē*) the image.³⁰

The present paper by no means exhausts the topic of the morning liturgy in Newar Buddhism. A more in-depth study, including a survey of many more monasteries and a systematic comparison of them, might lead to some qualifications to what has been asserted here. It is possible also that manuscript evidence is in fact available for this type of ritual, and this would greatly increase the chances of essaying some conclusions about the historical development of such liturgies.

NOTES

1. This article is adapted and improved from a section of my thesis (Gellner 1987a), which was based on two years' fieldwork in Lalitpur, Nepal, from 1982–4. This was funded by a Leverhulme Trust Study Abroad Studentship. Further research was carried out in 1986 supported by the Spalding Trust.

2. On this point, see further Lienhard (1984), Gellner (1989b). On Newar ethnic identity see Toffin (1984), Quigley (1987), and Gellner (1991a); the relationship of Buddhism to it is specifically discussed in Gellner (1986).

3. Hodgson (1972 [1874] I: 139–45), Wilson (1862: 1–39). See Locke (1980: 74–121) for descriptions of the *guru maṇḍala* ritual, the *kalaśa pūjā*, and the Fire Sacrifice.

4. On the former, see Gellner (1988) and on the latter, Gellner (1991b). Descriptions of other rituals (*ācāḥ luyegu*, *nitya pūjā*, and, without liturgy, Tantric Initiation) may be found in Gellner (1987a).

5. See Locke (1987), Lewis (1989). For brief accounts of the daily liturgy in Newar Buddhist monasteries of Kathmandu, see Lewis (1984: 227–8) and Shima (1991: 13–15).
6. For a discussion of the possible etymology of this term, see Gellner (1987b: 368, fn. 4).
7. For this scheme as a key structuring feature of Newar Buddhism, see Gellner (1987a, 1989a, in press a). On the Newar Buddhist monastery the indispensable source is Locke (1985), which lists every monastery, and provides a photograph and available historical information on each. For my interpretation of the use of space within the Newar Buddhist monastery, see Gellner (1987b).
8. For translations of H. Sakya's account (1973: 61–4), see Gellner (1987a: 559–61), and Locke (1985: 489–91; 1989: 83 fn. 16).
9. The way in which this monastic status was reflected in the titles used by Śākya in the past (Śākyabhikṣu, Śākyavaṃśa, and others) is discussed in Gellner (1989b). There is some evidence which may be interpreted as indicating that even traditionally Śākya felt some ambivalence about their claim to monastic status.
10. The etymology is uncertain; *bāphā* may derive from “monastery-turnholder” (*vihāra* plus *pāḥlāḥmha*) or from “half-turner” (*bā* plus *pāḥlāḥmha*).
11. For Tibetan pilgrimage in the Kathmandu Valley, see Dowman (1981). For details of Kwā Bāhāḥ's shrines, see Gellner (in press a).
12. On this practice and its associated ritual, see Gellner (in press b).
13. In my experience, the *Nāmasaṃgīti* actually starts between 3.45 and 4.00 a.m. in summer and later in winter.
14. All main monastery deities have a small deity, a Buddha of some kind, in front of them. In Uku Bāhāḥ, he is identified as Rāhula, Śākyamuni's son. In Kwā Bāhāḥ he is thought to be Balabhadra, brother of Kṛṣṇa. One or two informants told me that the statue is in fact of Vajradhara, and accounted for the identification with Balabhadra by saying that it was a means of attracting Hindu devotees and increasing the god-guardian's income, just as statues of Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra are displayed during the Buddhist holy month of Gūlā. Locals often say that the statue of Balabhadra was placed there by the wife of the Thaku Juju (Ṭhakurī king) of Nhū Bāhāḥ (a branch of Kwā Bāhāḥ): he insisted on sponsoring Buddhism, although she preferred Hinduism, and this was her way of getting even (the story occurs in the chronicle Wright had translated: Wright 1972: 174).
15. For this verse, see Gellner (1988: 83).
16. For the “*Dānabalena*,” see Locke (1980: 465).
17. In addition to the praise verses mentioned here, the “*Snigdhanīla*” (pronounced “*Sanidhani*”) is usually read, and at least one other optional set of verses.
18. Correction of *dikṣāntaṃ*.
19. Variant: *-sama-*.
20. This reading was suggested by Richard Gombrich. Of the two versions available to me, both were unmetrical here, one reading *prasannaśāntaṃ*, the other *prasamaśāntaṃ*.
21. Variant: *dīpadāna-*.

22. On the cults of Cākṛwāhdyah and Karuṇāmaya, see Locke (1980) and Owens (1989).

23. This verse is often used in Newar Buddhist rituals of consecration. For its use in monastic initiation, where it is expanded to three verses, one for each of the Three Jewels, see Gellner (1988: 81). For its expansion to five verses for the Five Buddhas in tantric initiation, see Kriyā Samuccaya (Chandra 1977: 341–2). For its expansion to eight verses for the Eight Auspicious Signs, see R.K. Vajracharya (1980: 64–5). For another version, see Locke (1980: 218, fn. 21).

24. One piece of evidence for this is the fact that the morning ritual of a deity is called in Newari *dekhe cāykegu*, which derives from *dyahyā khwā cāykegu*, “to wash the god’s face” (S.M. Joshi 1983: 59). Since the expression uses the old Newari *khe*, “face,” its derivation is probably opaque to most Newars.

25. This shrine is normally known as *digu dyah*, because it is the lineage deity of all members of Kwā Bāhāḥ.

26. This is a common verse in Newar Buddhist ritual, whether of the Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna, or Vajrayāna. One sometimes sees the reading *svacchāḥ* for *acchāḥ*.

27. These are also known as the *Daśabalastava Stotra* (see Locke 1980: 454–5, and for edition and translation, Sharkey 1991).

28. Edgerton (1953: s.v.) gives *dharmagaṇḍī*: “gong . . . (fig. the gong of the *dharmā*); esp. as a sign of meal-time.” In his *Kriyā Saṃgraha*, Kuladatta makes various scholastic correspondences between Mahāyāna concepts and the four beatings of the gong (Rani 1977: 246–7); he also describes the rite for the first beating of the gong (ibid.: 247–9). Hemraj Sakya (1977: 16) explains the four beatings of the gong in terms of telling the monastic community when to meditate, when to eat, etc.; but he does not cite his source. A.K. Vajracharya (1985: 34) articulates the modern interpretation, noting that, including *om̐*, there are exactly 108 syllables in the Aparamitā *dhāraṇī*, and that the gong is beaten in order to invite the god.

29. In the Kwā Bāhāḥ liturgy just given, this is so of the long mantra of section (vii). The liturgies of Cikā Bahī and Bhīchē Bāhāḥ also include the recitation of the Puspaketu *dhāraṇī*. In addition, the Bhīchē Bāhāḥ liturgy prescribes the recitation of the “*Adya Mahādāna*,” which specifies the time, place, and identity of the ritual actor; then the worship of the conch shell; in the middle of the liturgy, the purification of the image with rice grains and the mantra *om̐ sarvatathāgata kāyaviśodhane svāhā*. For all these details of the *guru maṇḍala* ritual, see Gellner (1991b).

30. See n. 28 above.

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