

Axel Michaels

From Syncretism to Transculturality

The Dīpaṅkara Procession in the Kathmandu Valley¹

This paper is on the worship of the rare Dīpaṅkara Buddha or Dīpaṅkha² procession in Nepal. The cult of the "Buddha of Light" flourished in the Malla period (14-18th century) among the Newar community and is still practiced today. I will present new material on the history and organisation of the procession and try to demonstrate how a traditional procession is moderately transformed into a public festival and partly sportive event.

The discussion of traditional public rituals of South Asia is dominated by religious and historical questions. This is also due to the fact that traditional terms for procession, festival, or ritual such as *yātrā*, *utsava*, *pūjā*, *melā* etc.³ mostly suggest a sacred and pious background and performance. Thus, priests, myths and ritual details come into the focus of most studies. In recent times, however, such festivals are also important for the identity of a locality in a competitive field, the mediatisation, the influence of globalised ideas and aspects of festivalisation, leisure and sports.

Regarding Religion in Nepal, especially the Kathmandu Valley,

¹ I am grateful to Manik Bajracharya and Niels Gutschow for help with texts and documents, stimulating discussions and providing photos and maps of the Dīpaṅkara rituals in Bhaktapur and Patan. I also like to thank Alexander von Rospatt and Astrid and Christof Zotter for reading an earlier version of the paper and their suggestions.

² *Dīpaṅkhā* is a Nevarī version of *dīpaṅkara*. Both terms appear in the publications though the first is more and more preferred.

³ For a discussion of Sanskrit terms for "ritual" etc. see Michaels 2006. If not otherwise indicated, all Indic Terms in this paper are from Sanskrit. Abbreviations: Nev. = Nevarī, Nep. = Nepālī; NS = Nepāla Saṃvat (CE – 879/880 = NS), VS = Vikrama Saṃvat (CE + 56/57 = VS).

almost every study emphasizes or mentions syncretism as the characteristic feature in religious affairs. The close interconnections between Hindu, Buddhist and folk religions facilitate to see such relationships everywhere at work. The Dīpañkarayātrā, in which many Hindu and Buddhist holy sites are visited, could also be taken as another instance of staged or performed syncretism (thus Allen 1992: 137). However, this again would highlight only the religious connotations. If historical, social and economic aspects are taken into consideration, the Dīpañkarayātrā must be regarded as a transcultural rather than syncretic procession.

Dīpañkaras in Nepal

The Dīpañkara ("Maker of Light") Buddha is said to predate the historical Buddha in a world cycle long past and to have foretold his coming. He is sometimes equated with Ādibuddha, the "first Buddha." He belongs to the category of the *nirmāṇakāya* Buddhas that have a visible body and exist in the world of gross forms (*rūpadhātu*). As such he is listed in the *Buddhavamśa* (2.189) as the first of 24 Buddhas that predate Gautama Buddha. In this text he is supposed to have first lit the lamp (*dīpa*) of the Buddha *dharma*.

The previous Buddhas are mostly worshipped in groups. Dīpañkara, however, has his own legends in various Indian, Tibetan and Chinese texts (Matsamura 2011), most prominently in the *Mahāvastu* (2nd cent. CE, cp. Senart 1899: 193-252): e.g. the legend of Sumeda in the Sumekathā of the Theravāda tradition and the Mahāyanist story of Megha and Meghadatta in the *Mahāvastu* (ed. Jones, pp. 188-203). These stories centre around Dīpañkara' s appearance in the world, the Bodhisattva offering him flowers or spreading his hair on the ground to prevent Dīpañkara Buddha to become impure by touching the soil, and Dīpañkara' s prophecy to the Bodhisattva that he will become a Buddha. More Avadānas related to Dīpañkara came up in Nepal since about the 15th or 16th century (after the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*,

they were especially popular among Nepalese Buddhists who consider him a protector of Newar merchants and associate him with alms giving, especially in Patan (Lalitpur) and Bhaktapur.

According to M.B. Sakya (1975), the earliest documentary evidence of the existence of Dīpañkara images seem to be a palm-leaf document, dated NS 565 (1445 CE) and preserved in the collection of Hemraj Shakya. It says that a donor, Jaya Raja Bhāro, gilded a Dīpañkara Buddha image with gold lent from the *brahmacārya bhikṣu* Śrī Akhayaśrī Thāpajū, of Sripulacho Mahāvihāra. Min Bahadur Sakya also mentions another palm-leaf document, dated NS 599 (1479 CE) from the Dīpañkara Vihāra; it states that the Śākyabhiksus of Hiraṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra had sent an invitation to the Ten Elders of Dīpañkara Vihāra in Bhaktapur to attend a Samyak feast (see below). In the monasteries and museums of the Kathmandu valley one also finds many inscribed alms-bowls, one of the oldest from NS 645 (1525 CE).

"There are scores of Malla Period images of Dīpañkara Buddha in the Kathmandu Valley" (Slusser 1982: 293). The earliest image that can definitely be identified by an inscription as Dīpañkara Buddha dates from the 13th century, and is located at Guita Bahi, Patan." (Fig. 2). The iconography of Dīpañkara in Nepal (Vergati 1982, Brown 2011) follows a common pattern. Typically, he is depicted in standing posture (Figures 1-2) wearing a five-part crown representing five lotus flowers and ornaments and jewellery – allegedly due to the five lotus flowers thrown to him by Megha that "remained fixed as a bright veil covering the circle of Dīpamkara' s head" (*Mahāvastu*, ed. Jones, p. 193).

Larger than life cast statues (Fig. 3-5) are of two types: a) belonging to a monastery representing the central deity of the monastery, usually Śākyamuni, and very similar in appearance; b) belonging to particular families or lineages (representing the donor = Nev. *ājudyāḥ*, "grandfather god") and accompanied by a Tārā figure (= Nev. *ajidyāḥ*, "grandmother god" representing the wife of the donor). Basketry images consist of a large, hollow torso covered with clothing

and ornaments (see below).

Mary Slusser suggests that the cult of Dīpaṅkara Buddha has not been very popular in India, “except in the Gandhāra region whence it spread to Central Asia and China. Given the relatively late date of its prominence in Nepal, the Dīpaṅkara cult very likely came from this direction. Since Dīpaṅkara Buddha is considered, among other things, to be a protector of merchants, one can suppose he came into fashion in the period of the Three Kingdoms as patron of Newar Traders who then so diligently plied the Tibet trade” (Slusser 1982: 293).⁴ Although there is no evidence for this assumption, it is clear that iconographically Dīpaṅkara in Nepal represents a Mahāyānist figure. However, when it comes to ritual, he appears more as a fusion of various transcultural and transreligious strands.



⁴ Cp. Tuladhar-Douglas 2006 for the intensive trade relations between Tibet and Nepal and their influence of „remaking“ Newar Buddhism.

Fig. 1: Dīpañkara, Nepal, Patan Museum; 17th-18th cent., Bronze, gilt, paint, semi-precious stones (photo: Rupert Steiner)



Fig. 2: The Guitah Dīpañkara Buddha at Gita Bahā, 13th cent.
(photo: Manik Bajracharya, 2002)

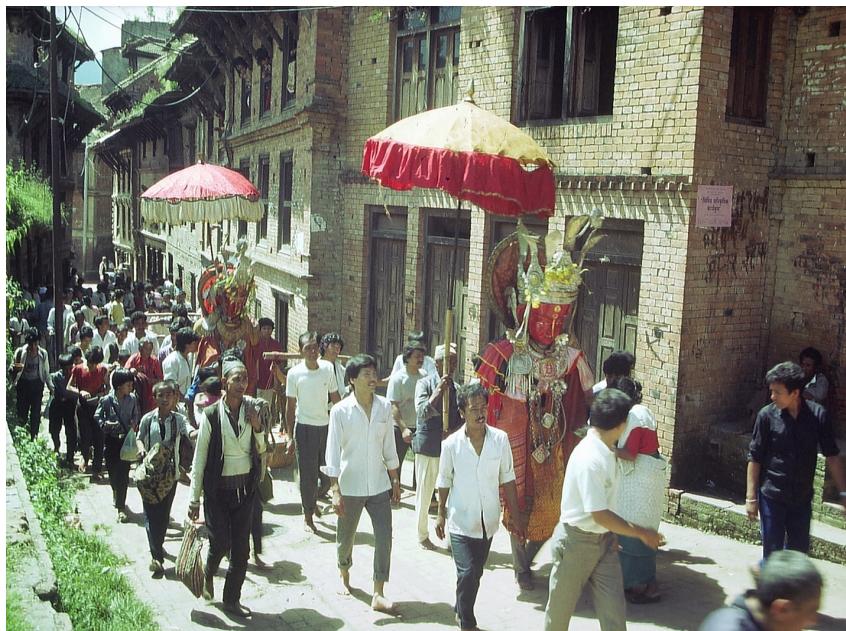


Fig. 3: Dīpañkaras in a Bhaktapur Pañcadāna procession (photo:
Niels Gutschow, 19??)

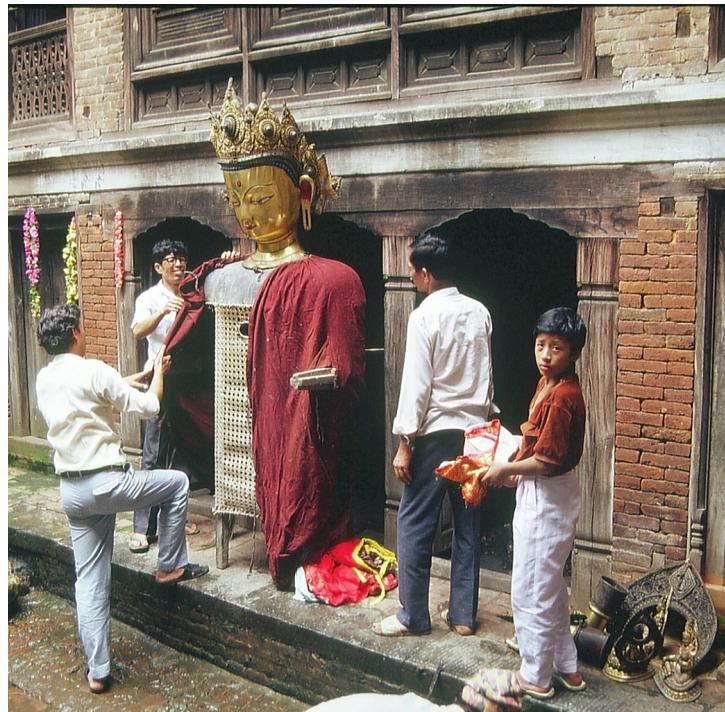


Fig. 4: preparing the Dīpañkara statues for the procession in
Bhaktapur (photo:Niels Gutschow 19??)

Dīpaṅkara worship

The worship of Dīpaṅkara basically concentrates on three rituals: Pañcadān, Samyak and the long Dīpaṅkara procession, which is in the focus of my paper.

The Pañcadān (lit. "five offerings") are part of offerings to monks and/or elders of a monastery. There are several occasions when these persons receive *pañcadān* (Geldner 1992: 180-186, H. Sakya 1979, Lienhard 1999: 179-185), e.g. after funerals or when a donor organises the ritual. However, there is also the regular Pañcadān festival performed in the holy month of Gūla (mid-July/mid-August), which is the new year's day of the Kaliyuga cycle. It is said that one gains special merits by pious deeds done on this day. Lay Buddhists then give five offerings (mostly grains and salt) or rice boiled in milk, lentils or brooms (Gellner 1992: 182, Lienhard 1999: 179) to the Bare, i.e. Śākyas and Bajrācāryas in Patan, Kathmandu, Deopatan, Bhaktapur and other places. For this purpose Buddhist households place Buddha statues, preferably Dīpaṅkara, in an altar or in front of the house. The recipients take the offerings by saying "Om, obeisance to Dīpaṅkara" (Sakya 1979: 75). In front of the altar baskets with cereal grains and salt are placed to be given to the Bajrācāryas and Śākyas.

In Bhaktapur, five Dīpaṅkaras, carried by Bajrācāryas, go around the city to households, accompanied by the Bajrācāryas to collect grains. They go to households that have committed themselves to give to them. Dīpaṅkaras also dance at 22 places accompanied by trumpets (Nev. *pvāgā*) played by oil pressers (Sāymi). In a Hindu context, Dīpaṅkaras dance at Mātṛkā shrines or are worshipped as Five Pāṇḍavas (Gutschow 1982: 69).

The Samyak (lit. "correct or complete (gift ceremony)") is actually a variation of Pañcadān but celebrated less often; in Patan it happens every four years at Kvā Bahā, in Kathmandu every twelve years below Svayambhūnātha (van den Hoek 1996). It centers on imposing Dīpaṅkara figures, which are constructed as a large hollow torso made

from basketry, metalwork and clothing with ornaments capable of concealing a man who animates it in procession (Fig. 4).

The main Samyak ritual takes place in Patan where 121 statues are brought to Nāg Bahā and again Śākyas and Vajrācāryas or the figures themselves receive gifts of rice and other things. Among the many figures, head Dīpañkaras from the main monasteries representing the main deity (Nev. *kvāpāhdyah*). Also represented are Dīpañkaras and other statues belonging to individual households or lineages. This is the list of the Dīpañkaras and other statues, often the accompanying Tārā, given by M.B. Sakya (1975) and also found on the Nāg Bahā homepage:⁵

1. A Svayambhū Caitya , 2. Vajrasattva image , 3. Vajrasattva' s crown, 4. Bhyaga Aju, 5. Kvābahā Āju , 6. Vasundharā, 7. Jaṭādhārī-Lokeśvara karuṇāmaya, 8. Buṅgama-Lokeśvara , 9. Casām-dyo, 10. Embodiment of Lagankhel Stūpa, 11. Aryatārā from Taṅgabahā, 12. Dīpañkara from Taṅgabahā, 13. Dīpañkara from Kobahāl , 14. Dīpañkara from Dhumbahā, 15. Aryatārā from Dhumbahā, 16. Dīpañkara from Cukabahā, 17. Dīpañkara from Kulimbahā, 18. Dīpañkara from Bhalibhāro from Kvabahā, 19. Bahāpā Deva, 20. Dīpañkara from Wambahā, 21. Dīpañkara from Daubahā , 22. Dīpañkara from Tabahā , 23. Dīpañkara from Bubahā, 24. Dīpañkara from Habahā, 25. Dīpañkara from Jyobahā, 26. Dīpañkara from Gujibahā, 27. Bhuṅgama Lokeśvara from Gujibahā, 28. Dīpañkara from Bhinchebahā, 29. Dīpañkara from Ukubahā , 30. Dīpañkara from Subahā, 31. Tārā from Subahā, 32. Dīpañkara from Yacchubahā, 33. Tārā from Yacchubahā, 34. Dīpañkara from Kīrtipur, 35. Tārā from Kīrtipur, 36. Dīpañkara from Jatibahā, 37. Tārā from Jatibahā, 38. Ādinātha Lokeśvara, 39. Dīpañkara from Kīrtipur, 40. Tārā from Kīrtipur , 41. Tārā from Jadebahā, 42. Tārā from Kīrtipur , 43. Tārā from Kīrtipur, 44. Tārā from Okubahā, 45. Tārā from Okubahā, 46. Tārā from Bhinchebahā, 47. Tārā from Gujibahā, 48. Tārā from Gujibahā, 49. Tārā from Jyobahā, 50. Tārā

⁵ <http://nagbahal.com.np/events1.php> as from June 2011.

from Jyobahā, 51. Tārā from Habahā , 52. Tārā from Habahā, 53. Tārā from Bubahā, 54. Tārā from Bubahā, 55. Tārā from Tabahā, 56. Dīpaṅkara from Bubahā, 57. Tārā from Tabahā, 58. Tārā from Daubahā, 59. Tārā from Vambahā , 60. Deva from Micchubahā , 61. Ja Jaymā Dīpaṅkara, 62. Dīpaṅkara from Yatbahā, 63. Dīpaṅkara from Dārikabahā , 64. Dīpaṅkara from Ikhāchembahā, 65. Tārā from Cukabahā, 66. Dīpaṅkara from Cukabahā, 67. Tārā from Cukabahā, 68. Dīpaṅkara from Ānandabahā, 69. Tārā from Mikhābahā, 70. Dīpaṅkara from Akibahā, 71. Dīpaṅkara from Athabahā , 72. Dīpaṅkara from Mūbahā, 73. Cilaṁdeva , 74. Tārā from Thyākā , 75. Tārā from Nyākhāchok , 76. Maitridhvaja Kamala Āju and Tārā, 77. Hilam Āju and Tārā from Tajāpha, 78. Dīpaṅkara from Vambahā: Kun Āju, 79. Dīpaṅkara from Hauga, 80. Tārā from Hauga, 81. Dīpaṅkara from Chapagaon , 82. Tārā from Chapagaon, 83. Dīpaṅkara from Bubahā, 84. Tārā from Bubahā , 85. Dīpaṅkara from Sibahā , 86. Dīpaṅkara from Sibahā-Kacābahā , 87. Tārā from Sibahā-kacābahā , 88. Dīpaṅkara from Sibahā, 89. Dīpaṅkara : Bhaya Āju , 90. Tārā, 91. Dīpaṅkara from Mūbahā, 92. Tārā from Mūbahā, 93. Tārā from Cibahācuka, 94. Dīpaṅkara from Cibahāchuka , 95. Bhikṣu Āju, 96. Dīpaṅkara from Ibahī-Thasamdyah, 97. Dīpaṅkara from Bhinchebahā, 98. Tārā from Bhinchebahā , 99. Dīpaṅkara from Subahā , 100. Tārā from Subahā, 101. Dīpaṅkara from Thakumbahā , 102. Tārā from Thakumbahā, 103. Dīpaṅkara from Ilāybahī, 104. Tārā from Ilāybahī, 105. Dīpaṅkara from Dhumbahā, 106. Tārā from Dhumbahā, 107. Dīpaṅkara from Tabahā, 108. Yatabahā Kami Āju, 109. Dharmasīla Āju, 110. Bhanasi Āju, 111. Dīpaṅkara Munidhan (Dhākhvā), 112. Tārā (Dhākhvā), 113. Dinapani Āju, 114. Dharmadhvaja Āju and Tārā, 115. Dhusa Tārā, 116. Gajendravajra Tārā, 117. Dānamuni Dhākhvā Tārā , 118. Bāgnarsiṁha Tārā Iku, 119. Sākhati Jaymā, 120. Jog Āju Habahā , 121. Dīpaṅkara from Kvābahā Napit, 122. Dīpaṅkara from Cikāmbahī-Dhanad.

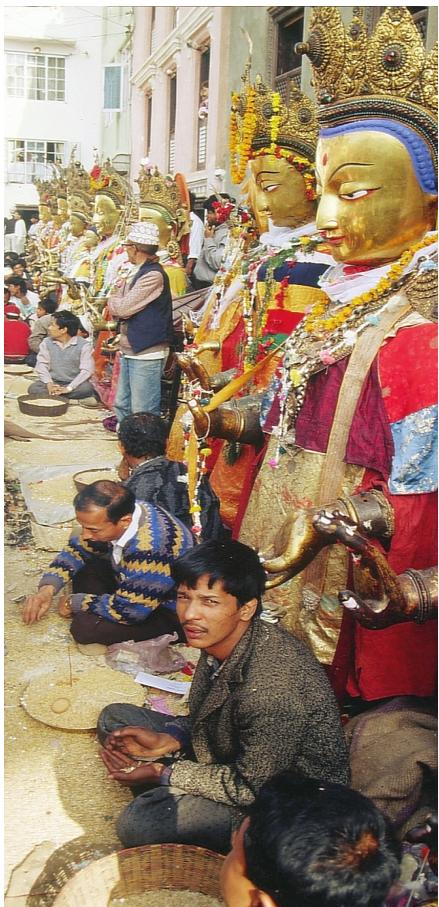


Fig. 6-7: Dīpankaras disposed in Nāg Bahā (Patan) for the Samyak ritual. The statues are numbered and its place of origin is mentioned on small white papers attached to the statues (photo: Niels Gutschow, 19??)

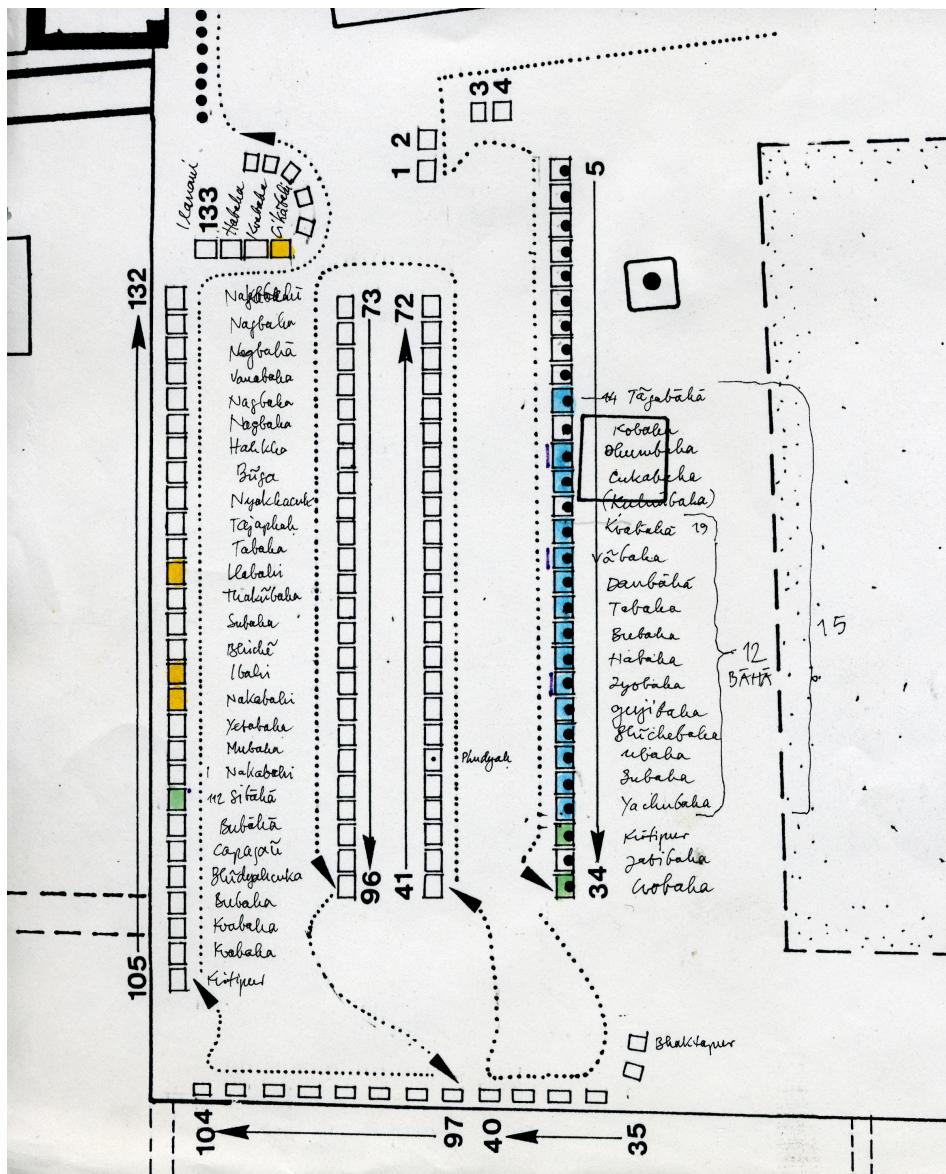


Fig. 8: Map of the positions and order of worship of the Samyak deities in Nāg Bahā, Patan (drawing: Niels Gutschow, 19??)

In the Pañcadān and Samyak⁶ rituals, Dīpaṅkaras are in the focus of attention, even if they are supplemented by other statues or worshipped as Five Pāṇḍavas. This, however, does not hold true for the Dīpaṅkara procession.

The Dīpaṅkara procession

⁶ On the political dimension of Samyak see von Rospatt 2012: 232-4.

The Dīpaṅkhā Yātrā or Dīpaṅkarayātrā is a very large procession lasting 24 to 36 hours around the Kathmandu Valley. It is celebrated approximately every nineteen years when a special constellation has arrived, which is also mentioned in the Dīpaṅkarayātrā manuscript from the Asha Archives (see App. 1): full moon of the month Aśvina, *revatīnakṣatra*, *thula-saṃkrānti*, *haṛṣṇayoga* (or *āyusmānayoga*) and lunar eclipse (Dīpaṅkhā Guthī 2005: 19); the weekday is not fixed.

The Dīpaṅkarayātrā is first mentioned ca. 1831 CE in a manuscript of the Hodgson collection (vol. 9, no. 8 (43/3), foll. 48-51, ed. Brough 1948) called "Ethics and Ritual of Buddhism" by Hodgson:

śrāvaṇa-śukla 8 dīpaṅkara-tathāgata-pūjanam, vāmadya-yātrā,
piṇḍapātrādi-dānam (eṣah-māse kr. 13 kali-ju. evam-vi.)

"On the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa, there is the worship of the Tathāgata Dīpaṅkara, and gifts of begging-bowls and so forth. (on the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of this month [there is the worship of the Three Jewels of] the *Kali-yuga*, as above⁷)." ⁸

The procession is further mentioned 1865 CE. in the manuscript of App. 1 and in a document allegedly kept in the „Golden Temple“ (Hirāṇyavarṇa Mahāvihāra).

According to the list provided in an inscription of the Capila Guthī, the first procession took place in 1845; since then it has been organized nine times. In 1986 it was cancelled because the astrologers could not find a solution for the exact calculation.

Nowadays the procession is organised by the Dīpaṅkhā Vyavasthāpana Samiti (Dīpaṅkara Organising Committee) with members mainly from Nāg Bahā and Kva Bahā. Invitations cards (see Vajrācārya V.S 2062, 61-64) and posters are distributed well in

⁷ That is as described the beginning of the manuscript.

⁸ Brough 1948: 670 and 673 (transl.); he adds in a footnote: "The words in parentheses are a later addition (though by the same hand) in rather small writing."

advance mentioning the place and time of the start, and registered participants receive a card numbered card that privileges them at certain halts providing soft drinks and refreshments. It is said that they can drink and eat as much as they want. Often relatives wait at certain places to feed their participating family members. However, a hand-written notice in Nāg Bahā states that no registration is required, couples and even mourners (Nev. *barhi*) may participate.

The processional route is about 60 kilometers long. It starts from Nāg Bahā at the statue of a “blue” bull (Skt. *nīlamahāvṛṣa*, Nevārī: *nīlīthu*) in the Yogāmbara Temple (see Fig. 9 and below), and ends in Lagankhel at the Mahālakṣmī Temple.



*Fig. 9: The “blue” bull (Skt. *nīlamahāvṛṣa*, Nev. *nīl thu*) in the Yogāmbara Temple, Nāg Bahā, Patan, from where the procession starts (photo: Manik Bajracharya, 2005)*

According to an official plan that lists the places and approximate times when the 2005 procession is to reach there 130 sacred sites have to be visited (App. 1).⁹ However, only 42 sites are explicitly Buddhist (e.g. Svayambhūnātha), about 60 Hindu (e.g.

⁹ See also Dīpaṅkha Yatrā 2005 with a similar list and photos of most places

Paśupatinātha), the rest is of folk or unclear origin. Michael Allen calls them “syncretistic” (Allen 1992: 137). The number of places and the sequences vary in history. Thus in the NS 984 (1864 CE) manuscript, only 121 places are listed (App. 2), and the *pulam caitya* of Nāgbahā is no. 3 in App. 1 but no. 6 in App. 2. Moreover, 22 places of the 2005 list are absent in the 1864 list: nos. 5, 9, 10, 12, 16, 19-23, 26-7, 29, 32, 37, 41-3, 90-1, 110 and 115. Likewise twelve places of the 1864 list are missing in the 2005 list: nos. 17, 24-6, 67, 76-7, 95, 103, 108, 118 and 121.



Fig. 10: Official route map of the Dipaṅkhā Yatrā 2005

In 2005, the procession started on October 17 at 3:15 in the morning with a *Saptavidhānottarapūjā*, i.e. the offering of conical pieces of cooked rice (Nev. *gvajā*), water, lamp, incense and flower to the *Nīl Thu* or Blue Bull statue in *Nāg Bahā* by five Buddhist priests from the *Kvā Bahā Saṅgha* who also head the procession (Fig. 11). Mostly Buddhists but also many Hindus and others, equally male and female, participate in the procession. It seems that the majority belongs to the Newar group of population. The devotees offer bowls of rice for registration at the Blue Bull. More than 500 volunteers and health-care professionals supported by welfare organizations, police and Red Cross are posted along the route to provide their service.



*Fig. 11: Five Bajrācārya priests performing *Saptavidhānottarapūjā* at the beginning of the procession (photo: Manik Bajracharya, 2005)*

The main ritual acts during the procession are prayers, throwing (five or nine forms of) grains or lentils (Nev. *gutā bivāh*, presumably representing the nine *grahas*) on the statues and lighting of lights.

In a small note fixed on a temple the following nine grains are recommended: *svamvā* (unhusked rice), *tuyu hāmo* (sesame seeds), *pahkā* (yellow mustard seeds), *īkā* (red mustard seeds), *tacho* (barley), *cigogu keu* (small dried peas), *gomāy* (unground green lentils), *hāku musyā* (black soybean) and a kind of black lentil (*kvalah*).

According to Allen (1992: 136) who participated in the 1967 Dīpañkarayātrā approximately 7,000 pilgrims participated and 5000 completed the full circuit. In the 2005 procession, which I observed, the estimates of participants range from 60,000 to one *lakh* (hundred thousand). It is said that every step in this *yātrā* equals to one *tolā* gold. Welcome banners by city quarters and private companies with advertisements greet the participants all along the route.

Nothing is known about those who established the procession and their motives. Only legends associated to the Dīpañkhā Yātrā give hint to its implementation. The first one is from the *Vṛṣajanmāvadāna* or Story of the Birth of the (Blue) Bull; the following is a translation of the relevant passages:

[p. 10 and 76] Once Bhagavān was dwelling at the grove of Anāthapiṇḍada in the city of Śravasti. At that time, during a meeting Ānanda asked him about the days on which it is most meritorious to circumambulate the Svayambhū Caitya. The Buddha replied that the circumambulating a *caitya* on the day of Kati-punhi (the full moon's day on the bright half of the month of Āśvina) is meritious.

Ānanda asked him further about the Nīlathu who perfected on the same full moon's day of Kati-punhi. Then the Buddha told him this story:

At the time of Dīpañkara Buddha in Bandhumatī, there was a Brahmin couple. They kept a spotless white cow. The cow gave birth to a blue-coloured calf, which brought many good signs to the couple and to the country. They realised that the calf was an incarnation of a Bodhisattva. The calf was given the name Ratnamaya

Kāntimati. The calf grew into an ox and one day, it went to meet Dīpaṅkara Buddha. The Buddha predicted that the ox would be born as Buddha Śākyamuni in the future. After the death of the ox, the Brahmin built a *caitya* with his bones. On the day when the five auspices coincided – 1. Āśvinśukla-pūrṇimā, 2. Āśvinī-nakṣtra, 3. Ādityavāra, 4. Harṣaṇa-yoga (or Āyuṣmāna-yoga), 5. Sanhu (first day of the month) –, Dīpaṅkara Buddha visited the *caitya* and performed *dāśakarma-pratiṣṭhā*.

From that day on, a festival on the honour of Nīlathu was organized every year on the day of Kati-punhi. On this day the five auspices coincide, people should do following:

- observe the night vigil (*ahorātravrata*)
- make clay *caityas* in front of a temple
- circumambulate *vihāras*, *caityas* or *dharmadhātumandalas*
- take a bath (*īrthasnāna*)
- worship any other deities on the way
- perform *maṅgalotsava-yātrā* (procession) of the Nīlathu image
- make offerings of 18 kinds of grains

Later in the current era Nīlathu was born as Śākyamuni. The Brahmin was born as Suddhodana. The wife of the Brahmin was born as Māyādevī. And so on.

[p. 39-41] According to the chronicle (*vamsāvalī*), after Śākyamuni Buddha had passed away fearing that the Vṛṣa image may be stolen, it was taken to the Piṅgala Vihāra (near Cāyabahil). Then it was taken to the secret shrine of Yogāñvara at the Hiranyaśarṇa Mahāvihāra (Kvābahā). Later on, Śaṅkarācārya took the image of Nīlathu to Paśupati. Then, four Vajrācāryas used their tantric power to bring Nīlathu back. It took the ox three months to reach Nāgabahā. When it reached Nāgabahā, it perfected (into the image).

[p. 61-62] People celebrate the procession of Dīpamkhā in the memory of Dīpaṅkara Buddha when the five auspices coincide.

A popular version of this legend could be found in *The Himalayan Times*.

"Legend has it that Dipankar Buddha breathed life to the idol of a bull named Neel Thu-bodhisattva (blue-horned bull). When Shankaracharya came to know about the power this bull possessed, he stole it from the Yogamber temple at Basu Barna Mahabijar. The priests at the bihar tried to guide the bull back to the bihar with their spiritual powers but Shankaracharya countered this. As such the bull lost its way and in its three-month ramblings, it visited 131 places. Temples have been built at all these sites. It attained salvation soon after returning to the bihar. Its idol was put up on the spot of his salvation." (*The Himalayan Times*, 17.10.2005, p. 12)

The Śaṅkarācārya variant of the legend is also orally transmitted and has parallels in the Nepali Chronicles.¹⁰

"Sankaracarya, when visiting Kwabaha found a white bull there and then took it to Pashupatinath as its proper abode. Pashupatinath is, of course, the principal Hindu shrine in Nepal, which is dedicated to Pasupati, a form of Siva, and hence indeed the proper abode of a bull, which is Siva' s divine mount (*vahana*). But Sankaracarya clearly anticipated trouble from the Nagbahal Buddhists for he put a whole series of magic blocks all around Pasupati so that the bull could not escape. However, the Nagbaha Tantric priests began slowly to draw back to Patan through the power of their Buddhist *mantras*. But because the bull kept getting temporarily blocked by Sankaracarya' s magic traps, the route that traversed from Pashupatinath to Nagbahal was long and circuitous, and it is precisely this route that is today followed by the pilgrims during Dipankara *yatra* (...). During its journey back to Nagbaha the bull circumambulated the 129 gods and goddesses today visited, until

¹⁰ The „Wright Chronicle”, of which Manik Bajracharya and myself are preparing the *editio princeps*, does not list the Dīpankarayātrā, but also records the conflict between the Śaiva- and Bauddhamārgīs.

finally it reached Nagbaha where it turned into stone and where it still stands as an image in Nagbaha' s courtyard." (Allen 1002: 134).

Conclusion

Surprisingly, despite the name of the procession no Dīpaṅkara is to be visited. The only link to Dīpaṅkara is based on the Nil Thu story. The procession therefore has very little in common with the Dīpaṅkara cults of Pañcadān and Samyak. It is organized by Buddhists priests and celebrated mostly by Buddhist Newars, but there are considerable shifts in its development, mainly the inclusion of Hindu places of worship, Hindu participants and the competitive aspect in the Śaṅkarācārya legend.

The 2005 form of celebration demonstrated more changes. It appeared as a community-organized rather than royal patronized festival¹¹ that contributes to the popularization and self-confidence of Newar culture. Like the Pañcakrośīyātrā around Kāśī it partly turned into a sportive marathon-like event. And what once was perhaps to harmonize Buddhism and Hinduism and to promote peace between Buddhist and Hindu religions and castes became now filled with global notions such as world peace and harmony. The main heading from Kathmandu Post of October 17, 2005 reads as follows: „Deepankha Yatra for peace, harmony“. "The *yatra* is an example of religious harmony in Nepal," says Bibhusan Shakya, coordinator of the promotional committee, Dipankha Yatra Management Committee, according to *The Himalayan Times* (Oct 17, 2005, p. 12).

Given all this, the Dīpaṅkarayātrā comprises Newar, Nepalese and Indian, Buddhist and Hindu, Eastern, Western and global, religious

¹¹ This was already noted by Michael Allen (1992: 131): "decline in royal patronage – increase in activities of a more popular kind."

and sacred notions that cannot easily be differentiated any more. This popularisation of elitist Newar culture through pilgrimages and journeys (which, compared to the many Hindu *yātrās*, is rare in Newar culture) might go at the cost of losing Newar identity but has to be seen in the socio-political context. The peace aspect, for instance, corresponds and responds to the continuous political unrest in Nepal.

From a religious studies point of view, the Dīpañkarayātrā as so many other “religious” events have to be reconsidered in another way. Presupposing more or less clear borders of religions, such an assortment of Buddhist and Hindu deities as well as the mixture of high-traditional and popular connotations must look to conservative religious studies scholars as a decline or degeneration of an originally pure Buddhist form of tradition and thus a syncretic development. However, as was aptly argued by Richard Gombrich (1971: 49), “Buddhism in real life is *accretive*”, i.e. other forms or elements of religious practice and belief are supplementing the soteriological path, which remains the main goal open in principle for all, but which is in practice only possible for the religious virtuosi, the monks. Newar life-cycle rituals, for instance, are very similar to their Hindu counterparts.¹² David Gellner aptly says that “(a)s long as Buddhists do not worship Hindu gods *for salvation* they do not break the Buddhist framework” (1992: 101).

The problem in such a theoretical framework of syncretism (e.g. Lienhard 1978) or accretionism (Gellner 1992: 100-2) is that religions or religious concepts and practices are separated and then seen as essentialised cultural entities that are transformed or included in another religion. I would rather argue that such concepts and practices are in an entangled transcultural relationship with previous and contemporaneous concepts and institutions. The dynamics of religious processes and agency makes them constantly appropriating transculturally. This does not mean that hybrid

¹² See Gutschow & Michaels, 2005, 2008 and forthc.

elements cannot become culturally coherent, but it would only be possible in distinction from other, sometimes competitive concepts and practices.

This aspect of transculturality is illustrated by the Śaṅkarācārya legend above, or, translingually, by Sanskrit terms used for the rituals. Thus, *pañcadāna* or Nev. *pājadām* is most probably a Sanskritisation of Nev. *pam* (<Skt *pandita*, "learned"), *jā* ("cooked rice") and Skt. *dāna* ("gift, donation"), and would then mean according to Lienhard (1999: 179) "the gift of cooked rice to the wise (i.e. Bare)".¹³ And the term *dīpañkarayātrā* is a Sanskritisation of *dīpamkhā(yātrā)*, but given the fact that the procession has very little to do with Dīpañkara(s), it could well be that it originally meant the procession of light without any connection to Dīpañkara.¹⁴ The journey of the Blue Bull is a symbol of the path that one has to follow in order to understand these criss-crossing flows between and within religions.

¹³ The etymology and justification of this term is however debated (see Gellner 1992: 182, Lienhard 1989: 595 and 1999: 179); it is also said to be derived from or related to *punya-jā* (merit-boiled rice (Nev. *jā*)), *pīṇḍa-jā* (rice balls), or *pāṇḍāju-jā* (Buddhist priest rice).

¹⁴ From Skt./Nev. *dīpa* "light".

Appendices

1. Transcript of the official 2005 Dīpañkarayātrā itinerary (Dīpañkhā yātrā 2062 ko anumānita samayatālikā)¹⁵

kra. sa. ¹⁶	sthāna vivaraṇa (description of the places)	samaya (time)	kaiphiyata (remarks)
1.	<u>itilanhe (nāgabahāla):</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. nīlathu 2. delko bhagavāna Buddha 3. pulām caitya 4. vāsukī nāga 5. koyenā gaṇeśa 6. bhamśā gaṇeśa 7. campaka nāga 	bihāna 4:00 baje	<i>miti –</i> 2062 / 6 / 31
2.	<u>jīlanhe (jīnanī):</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. digī cakreśvarī 9. aśoka caitya 		
3.	<u>hiranya vāma mahābihāra (kvābahāḥ):</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. hanumāna 11. sākyamuni 12. ralacaitya (degudyāḥya) 13. vajrasatva 14. yogāmbara 15. mahāmūkāla 16. bheludhvākhā 		
4.	<u>kvālakhu:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17. kvālakhu gaṇeśa 18. harasiddhi (pyakā lāṁs) 		
5.	<u>kumbheśvara:</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. aśoka caitya 		

¹⁵ Identical with the list in Dīpañkhā Yatrā 2005.

¹⁶ krama saṃkhyā, lit. „serial number”, numbering the stations of the procession.

	(kvantipinemisāṁhiṭī kvay) 20. kanti mahādyah		
6.	<u>svamtha ṭola:</u> 21. nārayaṇa, 22. mātaṅgī (bhīdyakvahvanegu lāmy khavay)		
7.	<u>māngalabajāra:</u> 23. maṇiliṅgeśvara mahādeva 24. manigaṇeśa, 25. bhimasena 26. manakvavahā vane thāya 27. kṛṣṇadyah, 28. sākyamuni (lum jhyāḥ kvay)		
8.	<u>kotā:</u> 29. dvīṁmāju (bhāṇḍākeba dune) 30. hapāta siddhi gaṇeśa (adālatayānhayone)		
9.	<u>tamgala:</u> 31. jaṭādhāñ lokaśvara 32. basundharā (tamgah bahā)	bihāna 4:30 baje	
10.	<u>taḥbahāla:</u> 33. balabhadra (taḥbahā mū lokhā nhayone 34. sākyamuni		
11.	<u>laganakhela:</u> 35. jalahari lokaśvara 36. jogāmbara (dolam māju) 37. sākyamuni, laganeśvara cokaya		
12.	<u>thasikhela:</u> 38. mahālakṣmī	bihāna 4:45	
13.	<u>nakhipoṭa (tico):</u> 39. trisvayambhu caitya (tikhyāḥ caitya)	bihāna 5:15	
14.	<u>bumgamati:</u> 40. haymgīva	bihāna 6:00	

	41. <i>chvāsakāmānī</i> , <i>lutābahā</i> 42. <i>ghalacāsiddha</i> 43. <i>īkhā bhairava</i> 44. <i>lanikuni bhairava</i> 45. <i>śñkaruṇāmaya</i> 46. <i>kārya bināyaka (bhrāmaṇī gāneśa)</i>		
15.	<u><i>khokanā:</i></u> 47. <i>rudrāyanī</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 6:30	
16.	<u><i>koyenā:</i></u> 48. <i>naunāga koinhābasī</i> 49. <i>koyenā gāneśa</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 7:30	
17.	<u><i>cobhāra:</i></u> 50. (<i>khasarpaṇa</i>) <i>ānandādī lokeśvara</i> 51. <i>gandēśvara mahādyah</i> 52. <i>gāneśa (cobhākvay)</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 8:00	
18.	<u><i>nekhu (samgama):</i></u> 53. <i>bramhāyanī</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 8:30	
19.	<u><i>palīmgāla (paṭṭagāla):</i></u> 54. <i>mahēśvaṇī</i>		
20.	<u><i>lohamgāla:</i></u> 55. <i>īndrāyanī</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 9:15	
21.	<u><i>hāsāpotā (jhamsikhela):</i></u> 56. <i>hāsāpotā gāneśa</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 10:00	
22.	<u><i>pacalī: (kāṭhamāṇḍauṁ praveśa)</i></u> 57. <i>bhairava</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 10:30	
23.	<u><i>matili (macalī):</i></u> 58. <i>ajimā mahālakṣmī</i>		
24.	<u><i>hyūmata (buddhabāṇī):</i></u> 59. <i>buddhabāṇī kālikā</i> 60. <i>śakyamuni</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 10:45	
25.	<u><i>aṭako:</i></u> 61. <i>aṭako nārāyaṇa</i>		
26.	<u><i>maru (kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa):</i></u> 62. <i>āśokavīṇāyaka gāneśa</i>	<i>bihāna</i> 11:00	

27.	<u>bhimasenasthāna:</u> 63. tabo bhimasena		
28.	<u>vīṣṇumati:</u> 64. tamkeśvara mahādyah,		
29.	<u>khusivahī:</u> 65. vīṣṇumati pāñi bodhisattva	bihāna 11:30	
30.	<u>kinhubahī (kiṇḍola):</u> 66. sākyamuni	madyān ha 12:00	
31.	<u>sītāpāilā:</u> 67. śīdevayā pālikhvā,	diūṁso 12:45	
32.	<u>phekā:</u> 68. harisiddhi bhairava	diūṁso 1:00	
33.	<u>icamgu:</u> 69. ādeśvara mahādyah 70. icamgu nārāyaṇa 71. maṇḍalā caitya (cavsvāmāko)	diūṁso 2:00	
34.	<u>halcoka:</u> 72. vīṣṇudeva (māṇenḍāmāḍā)		
35.	<u>svayambhu:</u> 73. śī mahāmañjuśī 74. pulāṁsyamgu bodhisatva 75. vāyupura 76. vasupura 77. śī svayam̄bhu mahācaitya bhagavāna 78. śī hāratī ajimā 79. syamgubahā 80. agnipura 81. sāntipura 82. nāgapura (vīṣrāma 1 ghanṭā)	diūṁso 3:15	
36.	<u>vījeśvarī:</u> 83. vidyādhañdevī	diūṁso 5:00	
37.	<u>vīṣṇumari pāñi:</u> 84. lutimāju (īndrāyaṇīdevī)		
38.	<u>śīgha:</u> 85. bhagavāna	diūṁso 5:30	

39.	<u>thambahila:</u> 86. bodhisatva		
40.	<u>pakanājola:</u> 87. gaṇeśa	sāṃjha 5:45	
41.	<u>mhyepī:</u> 88. jogāmbara	sāṃjha 6:30	
42.	<u>porepā (rānīvāñī):</u> 89. porepā ajimā (candrasurya)	sāṃjha 7:15	
43.	<u>lājimpāta:</u> 90. dayāśvara mahādyah		
44.	<u>lainacaura (śiva mārga):</u> 91. kālināga		
45.	<u>sākhonā:</u> 92. nīla sarasvatī	sāṃjha 8:00	
46.	<u>nārāyaṇamhitī:</u> 93. nārāyaṇa	sāṃjha 8:30	
47.	<u>naksāla:</u> 94. nandikēśvara mahādyah 95. bhagavāna vahā (jyāpuṭola) 96. naksāla bhagavatī	sāṃjha 9:00	
48.	<u>tamgāla (bhāṭabhaṭenī):</u> 97. mopatā joginī (ākāś joginī)		
49.	<u>nakadeśa (hāḍigāumī):</u> 98. vaiśnavī tumḍāladevī (vāluvāṭāra)	belukā 9:45	
50.	<u>candola:</u> 99. dhumbārāhī	belukā 10:15	
51.	<u>cāvahila (lvamsāla):</u> 100. rakta vināyaka 101. cārumatī vihāra (bhagavāna) 102. dhando caitya	belukā 11:00	
52.	<u>mahāmkāla (pānī ṭyāmki):</u> 103. jhuvā mahāmkāla	belukā 11:45	
53.	<u>bauddha (khāstī):</u> 104. khāstī chvāsakāmuni 105. bhagavāna caitya (biśrāma2	rāṭī 12:00	

	<i>ghāṇṭā)</i>		
54.	<i>bāgmati:</i> 106. <i>bāgmati</i> 107. <i>śī guhyeśvarī</i>	rātī 2:30	
55.	<i>mrgasthalī:</i> 108. <i>gorakhanātha</i>		
56.	<i>pāśupati kṣetra</i> 109. <i>rājēśvarī</i> 110. <i>bodhisatva</i> 111. <i>śī vachalādevī</i> 112. <i>lucalā (nhavamghāṭa)</i> <i>nilathusā</i> 113. <i>śī pāśupatinātha</i> 114. <i>vāsukī nāga</i>	rātī 2:45	
57.	<i>pīmgalā bihāra (kuṭīvahāla,</i> <i>sīphalagallī)</i> 115. <i>dathu manḍala caitya</i>	rātī 3:15	
58.	<i>devapāṭana (golam):</i> 116. <i>jayabāgeśvarī</i>	rātī 4:00	
59.	<i>gauśālā:</i> 117. <i>vanakālī</i> 118. <i>manīlakhu bodhisattva</i> <i>dohacā (mamgala gallī)</i> 119. <i>guthaloham mahālakṣmī</i> <i>(pīmgalāmā)</i>	rātī 4:15	
60.	<i>kotēśvara (dharmasthala mārga):</i> 120. <i>kotēśvara mahādyah</i> 121. <i>kuṭibihāra bhagavān</i>	bihāna 5:15	miti – 2062/7/1
61.	<i>sikabahila: (pāṭana praveśa)</i> 122. <i>cāmuṇdrādevī</i>	bihāna 5:45	
62.	<i>ivahila:</i> 123. <i>yampithura caitya</i>		
63.	<i>cyāsala:</i> 124. <i>pañca caitya</i>		
64.	<i>kvāchem:</i> 125. <i>bālakumārī</i>	bihāna 6:15	

65.	<u>dupāta:</u> 126. siddhilakṣmī bhamgī		
66.	<u>lukhusī:</u> 127. mahādeva		
67.	<u>kanivahāla:</u> 128. sūryavināyaka		
68.	<u>matikva</u> (vaṭuka bhairava): 129. matiko bhairava 130. lagamthura (stupa) mahālakṣmī	bihāna 7:00	

2. The NS 984 (1864 CE) manuscript from the Asa Archives, Kathmandu¹⁷

samvat 984 miti āśvināśudi pūrṇimā revatinakṣatra śaniścaravāra tulāsamkrānti khunhu itilamnheyā śrīdīpamkha ṭhāyakā jula //¹⁸

Śrīthucāvāhāla itilamnhe	— 1
Śrīśākyamunibhagavāna itilamnhe	— 2
Śrīvālasukināgarājā itilamnhe	— 3
Śrīgaṇeśa bhasā	— 4
Śrīnāgarājā cidhikamha itilanhe	— 5
Śrīpulām cibhā ināyalamnhe	— 6
Śrīkvābhadeva	— 7
Śrīdigavāhādeva kvābha	— 8
Śrīvajrasattva kvābha	— 9
Śrīyogāmvara kvābha	— 10
Śrīmahākāladeva kvābha	— 11
Śrīgaṇeśa kvālakhu	— 12
Śrīhalasiddhibhairava jalhadeva kvālaṣu	— 13

¹⁷ Thyāsaphū, folded paper with coat of hartāla on both sides, 22 pages, 14.5 X 6.5 cm (access no. 2234)

¹⁸ The third folio has an additional note according to which the scribe of the manuscript had to prepare 141 sets of offerings for the Dīpañkhayātrā of NS 1041: sam 1041|| katipunhi || dipañkhā sāladāma jvalam 141mā thva saphule 121 jakavala.

<i>Śībhīmasyena māṃgala</i>	— 14
<i>Śīmanigāṇeśa māṃgala</i>	— 15
<i>Śīśākyasimha māṃkvavāhā māṃgala</i>	— 16
<i>Śīmahārāja rājagrīha</i>	— 17
<i>Śīsidhīgāṇeśa sahagapāta</i>	— 18
<i>Śījatādhārīlokeśvara</i>	— 19
<i>Śībalibhadra-āju tamga</i>	— 20
<i>Śībhagavāna tamgavāhā</i>	— 21
<i>Śīmahālakṣmi thacche</i>	— 22
<i>Śītrisvayambhūcaitya tico</i>	— 23
<i>Śīsvayambhūcaitya tico</i>	— 24
<i>Śīmamjuśī tico</i>	— 25
<i>Śīśābhairava</i>	— 26
<i>Śīhayagibhairava devanani bumga</i>	— 27
<i>Śīlutāvāhā bumga</i>	— 28
<i>Śīkaruṇāmaya bumga</i>	— 29
<i>Śīgāṇeśa bhaṭṭāmule</i>	— 30
<i>Śīrudrāyanī khvanā</i>	— 31
<i>Śīgāṇeśa konhā</i>	— 32
<i>Śīnavanāga konhāvasi</i>	— 33
<i>Śīkhasarppalokeśvara covāhā</i>	— 34
<i>Śīmahādeva covāhā</i>	— 35
<i>Śīgāṇeśa covāhākva</i>	— 36
<i>Śībrahmāyanī nyakhuhva</i>	— 37
<i>Śīmaheśvari palīmgā</i>	— 38
<i>Śīgāṇeśa hāśāpota</i>	— 39
<i>Śī indrāyanī lohamgala</i>	— 40
<i>Śībhairava pacalī</i>	— 41
<i>Śīmahālakṣmi matele</i>	— 42
<i>Śīkālikā buddhavāli</i>	— 43
<i>Śīśākyamuni</i>	— 44
<i>Śīnārāṇa athaka</i>	— 45
<i>Śīgāṇeśa madu</i>	— 46
<i>Śībhīmasena tavo</i>	— 47
<i>Śīmahādeva tamkeśvara</i>	— 48
<i>Śībodhisattva khusīvahī</i>	— 49

Śñśākyasimha kīm̄dovāhāla	— 50
Śñdevayā pālikhā	— 51
Śñbhairava	— 52
Śñ-ādeśvaramahādeva	— 53
Śñnārāyaṇa icamgu	— 54
Śñcaitya	— 55
Śñviṣṇudevi holaco	— 56
Śñmañjuśñ	— 57
Śñśyamgu purācaitya	— 58
Śñśākyamuni vahi	— 59
Śñhārati	— 60
Śñsvayambhū	— 61
Śñvasumdhara	— 62
Śñvāyupura	— 63
Śñ-agnipura	— 64
Śñsāmtipura	— 65
Śñnāgapura	— 66
Śñsvayambhūyā pālikhātako ipāte	— 67
Śñvidyādhari verāsa	— 68
Śñ-indrāyaṇi	— 69
Śñcaitya sigala	— 70
Śñbodhisattva thavahila	— 71
Śñganeśa pakānājo	— 72
Śñjogāṇvala mhasapithadva	— 73
Śñcadramā ṣonāpā	— 74
Śñsurya ṣonāpā	— 75
Śñnārāyana	— 76
Śñnāgarājā sāśvanā	— 77
Śñsarasuti sāśvanā	— 78
Śñnārāyana nārāhiti	— 79
Śñnandikeśvaramahādeva namśā	— 80
Śñbhagavāna namśāvāhā	— 81
Śñbhagavati nasā	— 82
Śñbrahmāyanimaheśvari mopatāde	— 83
Śñviṣṇudevi	— 84
Śñdhamvāhā	— 85

Śī́caityaganasa lvośarādyo	— 86
Śī́vajrapānilokeśvara cāvahi	— 87
Śī́dhadvacaitya	— 88
Śī́mahākāla dvāla	— 89
Śī́hālatimāju khāsāti	— 90
Śī́ratnasambhava svayambhūtirthayā dvāla khāsatirtha	— 91
Śī́vāgmati śāmṛtatirtha snānapūjā	— 92
Śī́guhyaśvarimāju	— 93
Śī́gora(kha)nātha mrgathuli	— 94
Śī́vīśvarūpa mrgathuli	— 95
Śī́rājyeśvari	— 96
Śī́vacchalādevi	— 97
Śī́mṛgathusā nhaoghāta	— 98
Śī́paśupatinātha	— 99
Śī́vāsukināgarājā	— 100
Śī́jayavāgeśvari	— 101
Śī́vaṇakāli	— 102
Śī́matbodhisattva thula	— 103
Śī́manilakhu	— 104
Śī́ghuthulvotha	— 105
Śī́kotyaśvala mahādeva kutivā	— 106
Śī́caitya kutivā	— 107
Śī́samṣamolanā(rā)yana	— 108
Śī́cāmuṇḍā sikavahi	— 109
Śī́vajracaitya thula ikuvahi	— 110
Śī́paṁcacaitya cyāsa	— 111
Śī́bālakumāri kvācche	— 112
Śī́siddhilakṣmi bhagi	— 113
Śī́gadheśvarimahādeva luṣucā	— 114
Śī́sūryavināyakagāneśa luṣucā	— 115
Śī́jalaharikeśvara lagasyala	— 116
Śī́dvalamāju	— 117
Śī́laganeśvali māhādeva	— 118
Śī́bhairava matiko	— 119
Śī́ragathula śribhagavāna	— 120
Śī́māhārakṣmi	— 121

References

- Allen, Michael. 1992. "Procession and Pilgrimage in Newar Religion" , *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* (TAJA) 1992 (3:3): 130-141.
- Brough, John. 1948. "Nepalese Buddhist Rituals" , *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12: 668-676.
- Brown, Kerry Lucinda. 2011. "An Art Historical Analysis of Dipankara Buddha in Nepal. Unpublished paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Buddhist Heritage of Nepal Mandala 2011, organized by Lotus Research center on April 24, 2011, Lalitpur, Nepal.
- Buddhavāṃśa*. Ed. Richard Morris. London: Pali Text Society, 1882.
- Dīpamkhā Guthī. 2005. *Dīpamkhā Yātrā*. Yala (Patan): Dīpamkha Guṭhī.
- Gellner, David. 1992. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and its hierarchy of ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gombrich, Richard F. 1971. *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gutschow, Niels. 1982. *Stadtraum und Ritual der newarischen Städte im Kathmandu-Tal: Eine architekturanthropologische Untersuchung*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Gutschow, Niels, and Axel Michaels. 2005. *Handling Death. The Dynamics of Death and Ancestor Rituals Among the Newars of Bhaktapur, Nepal*. With Contributions by Johanna Buss and Nutan Sharma and a Film on DVD by Christian Bau. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag (Ethno-Indology; 3).
- . 2008. *Growing Up – Hindu and Buddhist Initiation Rituals among Newar Children in Bhaktapur, Nepal*. With a Film on DVD by

- Christian Bau. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag (Ethno-Indology; 6).
- . forthc. *Getting Married. Hindu and Buddhist Marriage Rituals Among the Newars of Bhaktapur and Patan*, Nepal. With Contributions by Manik Bajracharya, Christiana Brosius and Tessa Pariyar, and a Film on DVD. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag (Ethno-Indology; 13).
- van den Hoek, Bert. 1996. „Gender and Caste in the Perfect Buddhist Gift: The Samyak Mahadana in Kathmandu, Nepal“, *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 23.1: 195-211.
- Lienhard, Siegfried. 1978. „Religionssynkretismus in Nepal“, in: H. Bechert (ed.), *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 146-177.
- . 1989. „The Monastery and the Secular World: Saṅgha-Buddhism and Caste-Buddhism“, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110.4: 593-6.
- . 1999. *Diamantmeister und Hausväter. Buddhistisches Gemeindeleben in Nepal*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Mahāvastu. Translation from the Buddhist Sanskrit* by J.J. Jones, 1949-1956. vol. 1. London: Luzac and Company, 1949.
- Matsumura, Junko. 2011. „The Story of the Dīpaṅkara Buddha Prophecy in Northern Buddhist Texts: An Attempt at Classification“, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 59.3: 63-72.
- Michaels, Axel. 2006. “Sanskrit” in: M. Stausberg (ed.), ‘Ritual’ : A Lexicographic Survey of Some Related Terms from an Emic Perspective, in: Jens Kreinath, Jan Snoek, and Michael Stausberg (eds.), *Theorizing Rituals. Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*. Leiden: Brill, 86-90.
- Rospatt, Alexander von. 2012 (???). „Past Continuity and Recent Changes in the Ritual Practice Of Newar Buddhism: Reflections

on the Impact of Tibetan Buddhism and the Advent of Modernity ", in:

Sakya, Hemraj. 1979 (N.S. 1100). Samyak Mahādān Guthi. Kathmandu: Jagat Dhar Tuladhar.

Sakya, Min Bahadur. 1975. „Samyak Festival of Lalitpur ". Lalitpur: Nagarjun Institute of Exact Methods (http://www.niem.com.np/newararticles/samyak_festival.htm as from 23 September 2011).

Senart, Emile. 1899. *Le Mahavastu*. Paris: 1882.

Slusser, Mary. *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of The Kathmandu Valley*. 2 vols. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tuladhar-Douglas, Will. 1996. *Remaking Buddhism for Medieval Nepal: The fifteenth-century reformation of Newar Buddhism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Vajrācārya, Hiranyaśāraṇa. 2005 (NS 2062). *Dīpañkhā Yatrā. Saṃkṣipta Paricaya*. Lalitpur: Lotus Research Centre.

Vergati, Anne. 1982. „Le culte et l' iconographie du Buddha Dīpankara dans la vallée de Kathmandou ", *Arts Asiatiques* 37: 22-2; engl. transl.: „The Worship and Iconography of Dīpankara Buddha in the Valley of Kathmandu ", in: *A. Vergati, Gods, Men and Territory: Society and Culture in Kathmandu Valley*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1995, 189-200.

Vṛṣajanmāvadāna, ed. Paṇḍita Vaidya Āśākājī Vajrācārya, *Vṛṣajanvāvadāna: Dīpañkhā*. Bhaktapur: Maṅgala-dharma-dvīpa Vihāra. 1970 (NS 1101).