

Further Renovations of Svayambhunath Stupa

(from the 13th to the 17th centuries)

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As I have attempted to show in two earlier articles, it is possible, through the reading and analysis of Tibetan-language inscriptions and texts, to obtain information on the architectural and cultural history of Buddhist monuments such as the stupas of Svayambhunath and Bodhnath.¹ Such an approach has as one of its advantages the uncovering of phases of a monument's history that, for various reasons, are out of the reach of excavation-oriented archaeology; in the second place, an impression is obtained of how these central shrines of the Kathmandu Valley were perceived and described by Tibetan priests and pilgrims. An approach of

this type could perhaps be termed 'literary archaeology.'

One document important for the history of Svayambhunath Stupa is the so-called *'Phags-pa shing-kun dkar-chag* (Inventory of [the Stupa] Venerable All-Trees). This work, which comprises 10 folios, has been familiar to the interested public since the thirties, and a transliterated version was made as early as 1970. Still, study and evaluation of the catalogue remains to be done; the chief reason for this delay may lie in the text's compilational structure and in the proliferation of misspellings in portions of it.²

1) See Ehrhard (1989) and (1990), I should again like to thank Philip Pierce, as I did for the previous two, for undertaking to translate the present article into English. Hubert Decler was the first person to draw my attention, more than 12 years ago, to the Tibetan historical writings on Svayambhunath Stupa; I am grateful to him for this fruitful lead and for many others.

2) Dowman (1981) p. 189: "An older copy of this important text is needed before it can be edited definitively." To my knowledge the catalogue was mentioned for the first time by

Happily an older but – with only five folios – less extensive version of the '*Phags-pa shing-kun dkar-chag* existed at the time, though unnoticed. A comparison of the two versions now available enables the previously existing difficulties to be cleared away and a fresh look to be taken at the history of the stupa of Svayambhunath. As a translation and study of the older version (= *dKar-chag* I) is under preparation, I should like in the following to restrict comparison with the later version (= *dKar-chag* II) to the renovations of the stupa described in both texts.

To give in advance the result of a comparison of the two texts under this aspect; *dKar-chag* I mentions in two places the central mast (*yasti*) being torn down and set up anew with the financial aid of Tibetan rulers from Central Tibet; these renovations can be dated to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 15th century. We can even go so far, in characterizing *dKar-chag* I, as to take it to be a 'catalogue' that was written down on the occasion of the renovation of 1413. Under this prior state of affairs, *dKar-chag* II marks itself out as being an extended version of the

older work, likewise describing two renovations, ones occurring at the beginning of the 16th century and end of the 17th century. The later work, then, is a catalogue that was fixed in writing on the basis of the older version on the occasion of the renovation of 1680. The mangled and warped syntax of the later text, as well as the problems it poses to dating, thus no longer represents insurmountable difficulties.

In order to be able to offer a first assessment of the information presently available on the history of the renovations of Svayambhunath according to Tibetan sources, I first present the two later periods during which restoration work was carried out (in both cases by yogins of the *bKa' brgyud-pa* school), and then, as a supplement to this, the early renovations, which lead over to the interesting topic of the cultural exchange between the Newar kings of the Kathmandu Valley and the southern provinces of Tibet.

1. The Renovation of 1680

The events surrounding the renovation that coincided with the beginning of the reign of Parthivendramalla (1680-1687) are

Tucci (1931) p. 685, who gives a short overview of the geographical literature of Tibet concerned with India and other foreign countries (during the course of which he classifies our text correctly as a 'guide for pilgrims'). In contrast Snellgrove (1957) p. 99 states: "One may note the Tibetan version of the founding of Svayambhunath merely repeats the account of the Svayambhupurana and no attempt is made to appropriate this stupa also as part of their own history." Snellgrove, unfortunately, is wide of the mark on both counts. As will be shown below, the catalogue describes the stupa and its renovations most definitely as a piece of Tibetan history, and no passage refers to the *Svayambhupurana*. In Snellgrove's defence it may be said that the Tibetan translation of the *Svayambhupurana* available today did not exist at the time (for the bibliographical data see Ehrhard (1989) p. 5. Smith (1969) p. 7 also had problems dating a renovation by means of our text: "I have no explanation for the date mentioned in the guide to Svayambhunath."

recounted in greatest detail in *dKar-chag* II. This is not surprising, given that the end of the work provided the occasion for the later version of the 'catalogue' being written down. Here is the text particularizing what took place:

"Then, after some time, when the venerable Rang-rig [ras-pa] himself had affixed the great pinnacle (*ganjira*, N. *gajura*) to [Byar-rung] Kha shor [Stupa], he yielded up what was available in leftover gold, [namely] 32 ounces, to King Parthivendramalla and Tse-kur 'bab-chu (?), saying: "As obviously repair of '*Phags-pa shing-kun* Stupa is necessary in connection with the statues of the four cardinal directions, act[accordingly]."

"The king, [however,] did not carry out [the repair] that year; the following year the central mast (*yasti*) broke and tilted to the left.

A prophecy having been communicated to King Parthivendramalla through *Ganapati* (i. e. *Ganesa*), a treasure of gold was unearthed at Kasyapa Stupa. After the craftsmen under the (king's) control had assembled, they erected a sal tree (*spos dkar shing* = *shing sa la Shorea robusta*), that is, the central mast 6 'dom thick and 47 'dom long. Afterwards the 'palace,' the discs, the top and the statues of the four cardinal directions were prepared, together with the backside screens, from (an alloy of) gold and copper."

"The consecration was conducted on the full moon day of the fifth month in the iron-monkey year [= 1680], and during the time all [the participants] observed rainbows, a rain of flowers and the tones of [sonorous] music."³

3) *dKar-chag* II, fols. 7b/6-8b/2: *de nas nam zhig gi tshelrje btsun rang rig de nyid kha shor gyi ganydzira chen po bkal ba'i dus gser lhag ma srang sum cu so gnyis yod nga (=pa) rgyal po pattibhandre ma la dang | tse kur 'bab chu gnyis la gzhag nas | 'phags pa shing kun gyi phyogs bzhi'i sku dang bcas pa zhig gsos dgos pa 'dug pas gyis shig gsungs | rgyal pos de'i lo la ma 'grub | lo rting ma srog shing chag ste g.yon por gyur tshel | rgyal po pattibhandre ma la la tshogs bdag gis lung bstan nas 'od srungs kyi mchod rten mdun nas gser gyi gter bzhes nas | mnga' 'og gi bzo rigs bsdus nas | spos dkar shing la srog shing sbom phra 'dom drug | dkyus 'dom zhe bdun btsug nas khang bzang chos 'khor tog dang phyogs bzhi sku rgyab yol bcas gser zangs las bsgrubs | lcags spre hor zla Inga pa'i tshes bco Inga'i nyin rab tu gnas pa mdzad tshel 'ja' 'od dang me tog gi char rol mo'i sgra sogs kun gyis mthong ba'o.*

Dowman (1981) P. 225 identifies the place where the gold treasure was unearthed as the Kasyapa Stupa on the northern slope of Manjusri Hill. If this renovation in the 17th century is compared with the replacement of the mast by Kah-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755) in the 18th century, then what invites notice is the fact that in both cases work on Bodhnath Stupa preceded the renovation done to Svayambunath; see Ehrhard (1989) pp. 5 ff. According to Riccardi Jr. (1973) p. 337, the wood for a new mast always came from the same sal forest near Bhatgaon. This does not hold true for the renovation, just mentioned, organized by Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu; the lama's biography provides us with the information that the mast was taken from a holy spot in the area of Navakot. (I hope to come back to this episode in the future.)

I shall supplement this information merely with brief biographical data on the person of Rang-rig ras-pa (17th/18th centuries). There exists a collection of songs and teachings of this yogin of the 'Brug-pa bka'-brgyud-pa school, but it contains - to judge by a first perusal of it - no details on the renovation of Svayambhunath Stupa. Of Rang-rig ras-pa himself we know that he came from Spiti (West Tibet) and, being a tireless wanderer, visited not only the various provinces of Tibet but also the northwest of India, notably the Cakrasamvara centre Jalandhara. According to a historical work of the rNying-ma-pa school, he was also the most important 'master of the teaching' (*chos bdag*) of the tradition of gTer-ston Nyi-ma grags-pa (1647-1710).⁴

2. The Renovation of 1504:

This renovation, too, was carried out by

a wandering yogin of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school; in contrast to Rang-rig ras-pa, however, there exist two detailed biographies of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507), so that ascertaining the dates and immediate circumstances of his activities at Svayambhunath Stupa is not a major problem.

Thus we know that he was called upon to undertake the renovation of Svayambhunath by King Ratnamalla (1484-1520) and his ministers in the year 1504, and that the work was completed three years later during a first act of consecration attended by miraculous signs. Evaluating the extensive source material relating to this renovation at the beginning of the 16th century would be a worthwhile venture; the foregoing details may satisfy the present purpose of providing a preliminary survey.⁵ What should perhaps be specifically noted is that a replacement of the central mast is not explicitly described in this

- 4) See *gSung mgur*, pp. 310 ff. regarding songs of Rang-rig ras-pa composed on the occasion of the pinnacle's being set in place on the Bodhnath Stupa. The colophon of one of the songs mentions sTag-rtse sku-skyes Mi-pham phun-tshogs shes-rab (17th/18th centuries) from gCong gzhi (in Mustang) as a witness to the renovation. This author composed a short text in praise of his teacher (= *sku bstod*); while the myth of Bodhnath Stupa is adverted to there, no notice is taken of the renovation of Svayambhunath. On the role of Rang-rig ras-pa as disciple of gTer-ston Nyi-ma grags-pa see *Chos-'byung*, vol. 3, pp. 353.3-355.5. A meeting of the two at Mount Kailasa is described *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 374.3-5.
- 5) gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka stayed in the Kathmandu Valley on three occasions. The account of the first visit, in 1476, is contained in translation in Lewis and Jamspal (1988) pp. 192-194; already at that early date Vinayaka (= Ganesa) asked him to renovate the stupa at Svayambhunath. Concerning the second visit, in the years 1495/96 see *rNam-thar I*, pp. 101-102. Reference has already been made by Smith (1969) p. 12 to the third stay (from 1501-1504), the work done on Svayambhunath Stupa and the existence of a detailed catalogue. Among the persons mentioned in this list of donors to the renovation are: three brothers bearing the title 'king of Gung-thang' (probably Nor-bu lde (born in 1450), Kun-dga' rnam-rgyal lde (?) and bSam-grub lde (born in 1459)), a king of Gu-gene named Phags-pa lha (concerning whom see Petech (1988) p. 388) and the ruler of Mustang (*smon thang sde pa*).

renovation.

The problems in dating this renovation according to *dKar-chag II*, which have already been touched on by G. E. Smith (see footnote 2), can be explained from the following circumstance: when *dKar-chag II* was written the information relating to the renovation carried out by gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka was made to apply to the renovation of 1413, the one to be presented next. In the process of excerpting from the old catalogue (*dKar-chag I*), the renovation of 1413 was confounded with that of 1504. One result of this was a misdating (the 'serpent year' mentioned in *dKar-chag II* refers to the renovation of 1413); a second was a reassignment of personal names.

Thus sNgags-'chang Sakya bzang-po, the 'treasure finder' of Bodhnath Stupa in *dKar-chag II* is mistakenly associated with the renovation by gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka. If a

comparison is made with the corresponding passage in *dKar-chag I*, it is clearly seen that the name sNgags-'chang Sakya bzang-po was set down in place of a certain Mahapandita Sariputra, and the entire contents telescoped onto the renovation of 1504. The reason for this mix-up may be that at another place in *dKar-chag I* one dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po is mentioned.⁶ The renovations associated with the persons of Mahapandita Sariputra and dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po will concern us in the following.

3. The Renovation of 1413:

The finishing of a restoration of Svayambhunath Stupa was also in the case of *dKar-chag I* the occasion for the catalogue's being written. As in the year 1680, a new mast was erected, and we learn that these activities fell during the reign of King Jyotirmalla (1408-1428). Further, we are provided infor-

6) The comments of Dowman (1981) p. 212 are thus no longer applicable: "Then in 1505 in another major restoration, which Yol-mo-pa Sakya bzang-po patronised, the wheel and pinnacle were placed on top by gTsang-smyon, the crazy yogin Sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan from West Tibet." Concerning sNgags-'chang Sakya bzang-po and the rediscovery of the stupa of Bodhnath see Ehrhard (1990) pp. 7-9. This setting matters straight should not, of course, detract from the fact that the work done by gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka at Svayambhunath and by sNgags-'chang Sakya bzang-po at Bodhnath Stupa took place at approximately the same time (which may likewise have contributed to the confusion). Cf. *rTogs-brjod*, fol. 16a/2-4: "At this time gTsang-pa (= gTsang-smyon) also came to perform his service at [the stupa of] *Shing-kun*. On account of a test of their magical prowess he [i. e., gTsang-smyon] spoke *phat* into the cloudless sky, and clouds gathered. At the second *phat* there was a clap of thunder; at the third [*phat*] gold rained down. The great mantradhara [i. e., sNgags-'chag Sakya bzang-po] spoke three times [the syllable] *hum* and made three times the gesture of threat, at which the forests of Nepal and all the mountains bowed their heads [to him]." (*de'i tshes gtsang pa yang shthg kun gyi zhabs tog la byon pa dang rdzu 'phrul 'gran pas/kong gi (= gis) nam mkha' sprin med pa la phat ces brjod pas | phrin (= sprin) 'dus | phat gnyis pa la 'brug sgra grag | gsum pa la ser ba phabs so | rigs sngags 'chang ba chen po 'di ni | hum gsum brjed cing phyag 'dzub gug pa gsum mdzad pas | bal yul gyi nags tshal ri bo dang bcas pa thams cad mgo gug gug byed pa byung*).

mation concerning the donors who helped defray expenses:

"Afterwards the mast broke. The great teacher Sariputra set it up [again]. Faithful persons such as the great rulers of Central Tibet, the provincial regents (*khri dpon*) of lHo and Byang, the sher (= shar ?) mkhan-po of Kham me-nyag [all] offered countless wealth and acted as donors."

"The king of Nepal, Sri Jayajotirmalladeva, superintended and, after having praised the assembled *bares* in an official writing, called together the craftsmen under his charge. The parasol together with the accompanying discs was completed in a proper manner on the full moon day of the fourth month in the serpent year [= 1413]."

We can at least identify the person responsible for setting up the mast, Mahapandita Sariputra, from a historical work. In the process we obtain at a stroke some insight into the power relationships in the southern Tibetan provinces at the beginning of the 15th century.

During the division of Central Tibet into 3 regions (*chol kha*, from Mongolian *colge*) with 13 provinces (*khri skor*) undertaken in the 13th century (that is, two hundred

years earlier) under Kubilai Khan and the Sa-skyapa bla-ma 'Phags-pa (1235-1280), two spheres of power were established in gTsang: *La-stod lho* and *La-stod byang*. Provincial regents, or myriarchs (*khri dpon*), exercised control over these territories, having been entrusted with the post in recognition of their political and religious services. Thus we know the first regent of the province of *La-stod byang*, for instance, to have been a servant of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa and subsequently to have exercised the office of spiritual teacher to Kubilai Khan.

In spite of the decreasing political influence of the Sa-skyapa school the post of provincial regent remained in the hands of the previously established families, and so it was, in particular, in the case of the province of *La-stod byang*, where at the beginning of the 15th century a pair of brothers shared the task of ruling and administering between themselves: bDag-chen rNam-rgyal grags-bzang (1395-1475) and his younger brother dKon-mchog legs-pa. According to a historical work by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), the elder brother studied principally under two spiritual teachers: 'From Upadhyaya Sariputra of Bodhgaya in India and Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1375-1451) he heard many deep

7) *dKar chag* I, fols. 4b/6 5a/3: *de nas shing chag pa | pandita chen po sa ri bhu tras btsugs ste | dbus pa gong ma chen po lho byang gi khri dpon | sher mkhan po kham me nyag sogs dad ldan rnams kyis nor dpag tu med pa phul nas sbyin bdag mdzad ste bal po'i rgyal po Sri dza ya dzo ma la dhe bos | do dam gyi gtso bo mdzad nas 'khor 'ba' ro rnams gser yig la bsngags nas | mnga' zhabs kyi gzo rigs mkhas pa rnams bsdus te | gdugs chos 'khor rtogs (=gtogs) dang bcas pa sprul lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bco lnga la yang dag par grub.* Concerning the period of Jayajotirmalla's reign (1408-1428) cf. Fetech (1984) pp. 161-168, particularly pp. 167-168: "The inscriptions show that the king made substantial offerings to Pasupati on the one side and to Svayambhunath on the other." One of the earliest inscriptions at Svayambhunath Stupa was erected on the occasion of the renovation just described; see the information provided by Riccardi Jr. (1973) p. 336.

and comprehensive teachings.⁸

I shall forego treatment of other persons mentioned in connection with this renovation and instead merely once again highlight the relation between the Indian teacher Sariputra and the regent of the province of *La-stod byang*. In the future it may be possible to determine whether it was that very bDag-chen rNam-rgyal grags-bzang who acted as donor (in 1413 he was only 18 years old) or one of his predecessors; however, in my opinion, we can take it as certain that a Buddhist teacher from India was responsible for erecting the mast. This is no cause for surprise, in consideration of the fact that Vanaratna (1384-1468), the so-called 'last pandit' to reach Tibet, stayed at the beginning of the 15th century at Svayambhunath, in the vihara of Santapuri.⁹ The stupa of Svayambhu-

nath accordingly continued to be a religious centre during this period, a way station for the transmission of Buddhist teachings from India to the southern provinces of Tibet.

4. The Renovation in the Second Half of the 13th Century:

The last renovation to be presented in this rough survey of Tibetan activities at the stupa of Svayambhunath is the first one specified by *dKar-chag* I. From what I have seen up to now, the information provided pertains to the earliest instance of the mast being replaced at Svayambhunath Stupa:

"After a certain time the mast there broke. *dPon-chen* Sakya bzang-po donated three large dronas and 50 ounces of gold. The *kalyanamitras* from dBus and gTsang, the *bares* from Nepal, [and] the *thakuras* from India having donated much wealth, the [new]

8) *rGyal-rabs*, fol. 66b/2: *rgya gar rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po sha ri pu tra dang | bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal ba la zab rgyas kyi chos mang du gsan*. Concerning the period of the two brothers' rule and that of the other lords of *La-stod byang* see also Tucci (1971) p. 192: "Especially during the time of the two brothers rNam-rgyal grags-pa and dKon-mchog legs-pa .. there was no reason for great disturbances... Besides the Sa-skyapas whom they revered as their own bla-mas, they honoured as their master the Jo-nangpas, the Bo-dong-pas... and impartially they rendered service to the Colleges and to the works of the dGe-lan-pas being under their authority... Their great wealth and the wonderful extent of their devotion to the three jewels still lasts." On the significance of bDag-chen rNam-rgyal grags-bzang as a master of Kalacakra tantra and a founder of one tradition of Tibetan medicine see Stearns (1980) p. 108. Stress is also laid there on, among other things, his patronship of Vanaratna (1384-1468,) concerning whom see also fn. 9.

9) See Vajracharya (1987) pp. 35-36. The *Blue Annals* of 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba gzhon-nu dpal (1392-1481), which he draws on, mention invitation proffered by prince Rab-brtan kunbzang 'phags-pa (*1389) to Vanaratna to visit rGyal rtse. in the biography of this prince who built the famous sKu 'bum in rGyal-rtse in 1427, Mahapandita Sariputra is also referred to: *rNam thar* II, pp. 49-52. Further, we find mentioned there not only the year 1413 and a renovation of the stupa 'Phags-pa shing-kun but also an invitation offered in the following year to Pan-chen Sakya-sri sa-ri pu-tra to visit the royal court of rGyal-rtse.

mast was set up by the bla-mas from Central Tibet, father and son. The base of the mast had [a circumference of] 7 'dom the length was 72 'dom¹⁰.

In order to identify dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po we must recur to the political situation during the period of Kubilai Khan and Sa-skyapa bla-ma 'phags-pa in the 13th century. The division of Central Tibet into 3 regions with 13 provinces led to the appointment of a chief administrator (*dpon chen*), who was responsible for governing the whole of the kingdom of Central Tibet, and was answerable to the Mongolian leader. In the dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po mentioned as a donor in connection with the renovation of Svayambhunath we have, in my opinion, the first chief administrator appointed Bla-ma 'phags-pa.

An important piece of evidence suppor-

ting this identification is the presence of dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po at the royal court of Gung-thang in the second half of the 13th century. One of the two most important trade routes to Tibet ran through this kingdom, which at the time bordered directly on Nepal, and it is quite that, during his stay in Gung-thang, dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po established contact with the royal court at Kathmandu.¹¹

In order to arrive at a rounded assessment of the cultural exchange between the Kathmandu Valley, the chief administrator of Tibet and the Mongolian kingdom we must, in conclusion, refer to a well-known event from the year 1260. In that year Kubilai Khan put to his spiritual teacher 'Phags-pa the request that a 'Golden pagoda' be built at the monastery of Sa-skya. The Newar king Jayabhimadeva (1258-1271) thereupon sent 80 craftsmen from the Kathmandu Valley to

10) *dKar-chag* I, fol. 3b/2-5: *der te shig nas srog shing chag ste | dpon chen shakya bzang pos gser bre gsum dang gser (=srang) lnga bcu phul | gzhan yang dbus gtsang gis (=gi) dge bshes bal po'i 'ba' ro gyia gar gyi khra kur nams kyi (=kyis) mang pos phul nas | bla ma dbus pa yab sras kyis srog shing btsug | srog shing gi rtas ba la mdom (=dom) bdun srid du mdom (=dom) bdun cu rtsa gnyis yod do.* Data such as these on the length of the mast may have caused confusion among later authors with regard to the measurement of particular parts of the stupa. See, for example, Wylie (1970) p. 19: "Bla-ma-Btsan-po was obviously misinformed as to the height of the spire of circular disks surmounting the stupa. high; He says it was seventy 'dom, or fathoms, but that would make it 420 feet whereas the actual height is about 120 feet." The lama evidently confounded the figure giving the length of the entire mast with the length of the mast containing the 13 discs.

11) See Jackson (1978) p. 211: "The importance of Gung-thang during this period in the eyes of the Sakya rulers of Tibet is indicated by the fact that when the young Gung-thang king, 'Bum-lde²mgon (1253-1280) returned home from Sakya after visiting his uncle 'Phags-pa, he was accompanied to Ngari by an army headed by the famous official Sakya bzang-po." The source of this information is the text *Deb gter* of Kah-thog Rig-'dzin Tshé-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755). Concerning the rule of King 'Bum-lde mgon it is further stated that the latter in 1270 completed the palace of rDzong-dkar and shortly afterwards also invited Nepalese craftsmen to build a stupa for it. The stupa was later filled with relics deriving from the treasure of Nepalese kings; *ibid.*, p. 106.

Tibet under the leadership of the promising artist Arniko (1244-1306). As the most recent research has established, the task involved the building of a *gser-thog* (temple with a golden roof) at Sa-skya Monastery, the funds for which were managed by dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po. Work took place in the years 1261-1262.

Without wishing to posit a direct connection between the work of Arniko at Sa-skya and the renovation of the stupa at Svayambhunath, I should nevertheless like to point to the figure of dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po, who acted as financial backer in both cases, thus remaining true to his role as chief administrator.¹

With these remarks concerning the oldest renovation work at Svayambhunath according to Tibetan sources¹³ I conclude this first presentation of the so called '*Phags pa shing-kun dkar-chag*'. This catalogue should be able to provide still further insight for the work of assessing the relation between Tibetan pilgrims and scholars and the stupa.

Tibetan Texts

1. o *dKar chag I* = *Dus gsum sangs rgyas tham cad kyi thugs kyi*

rten 'phags pa shing kun dkar chag, 5 fols. In *Rare Tibetan Texts from Nepal*. Dolanji: Tashi Dorji, 1976, pp. 81-90.

2. o *dKar-chag II* = *Balyul mchod rten 'phags pa shing kun dang de'i gnas gzhan mams kyi dkar chag*, 10 fols. In Wylie 1970 pp. 43-48 (Appendix B).

3. o *sKu bstod* = sTag-rtse sku-skyes Mi-pham phun-tshogs shes-rab (17th/18th cent): *Grub dbang rig ras pa'i sku bstod kyi 'grel bshad rdo rje gsung ei mdzes rgyan*, n.p., n.d.

4. o *rGyal rabs* = Fifth Dalai Bla-ma Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgyal-mtsho (1617-1682) *Gangs can yul gyi sa la dpyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gsto bor brjod pa'i deb ther | rdzogs ldan gzhon nu dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*, n.p., n.d.

5. o *Chos 'byung* = sTag-sgangmkhas-mchog Ngag-dbang blo-gros,

12) Concerning the invitation made to the Newar craftsmen to go to Tibet see, among other sources, Lo Bue (1985) p. 265. In a very recent work Vitali (1990) pp. 103-105 refers at length to the relation between the Sa-skya-pa rulers, the Kathmandu Valley and the rulers of the Yuan dynasty; there too documented evidence is given for the first commissioned work done by Arniko at Sa-skya Monastery.

13) According to Snellgrove (1961) p. 96, the oldest inscription at the stupa of Svayambhunath is datable to the year 1372; it documents the stupa's renovation after it was destroyed in the wake of the Muslim invasions (1346 and 1349). See also Petech (1984) p. 125. Dowman (1981) p. 212 describes this in the following words: "the first evidence of restoration informs us that the damage just repaired was not caused by nature but by man." Dowman's identification of this renovation with that made by dPon-chen Sakya bzang-po approximately 100 years earlier is no longer tenable in light of the remarks just made.

- Gu-ru bKra-shis (18th/19th cent.): *bsTan pa'i snying po gsang chen sngā 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi 'byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*, 5 vols. Delhi: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimed, 1986.
6. o *rTogs brjod* = Yol-mo-ba sPrul-sku bstan-'dzin nor-bu (1598-1644): *rTogs brjod mkhas pa'i rna rgyan*. In *The Autobiography and Collected Writings of the Third Yol-mo-ba sPrul sku*, vol. 1. Dalhousie, H. P.: Damchoe Sangpo, 1977.
7. o *Deb gter* = Kah-thog rig-'dzin Tshedbang nor-bu (1698-1755): *Bod rje lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mnga' ris smad gung thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul deb gter dvangs shel 'phrul gyi me long*. In *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga*, vol. 9. Hsinhua, 1990.
8. o *rNam thar I* = Brag-dkar Lha-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1473-1557): *Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu slong g. yo-ba*. In *Ras chung snyan brgyud*, vol. 1. Leh: S. W. Tashigangpa, 1971.
9. o *rNam thar II* = Bo-dong Pan-chen 'Jigs-med grags-pa (1375-1451): *rGyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub char 'bebs*. Hsinhua, 1987.
10. o *gSung mgur* = Rang-rig ras-pa (17th/18th cent.): *rJe btsun khyab bdud chen po rang ras chen gyi gsung mgur dang zhal gdams 'du med bdud rtsi'i rlabs chen*. Leh: S. W. Tashigang, 1982.

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