List of Figures

Manik Bajracharya, Christiane Brosius, Simon Cubelic, and Rajan Khatiwoda: Introduction

Figure 1: The route of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot procession in Patan 11

Chapter 1

Christiane Brosius: Heritage Infrastructures as Urban and Sacred Placemaking

Figure 1: A *phalcā* "prototype," Atāḥ Phalcā, Chyasal (LAL4160), March 2017 31

Figure 2: Chariot pulled towards Nugaḥ (Sundhara), May 2025 38

Figure 3: Historical photograph of the two chariots at halt in Thati, 1883 CE (VS 1940) 39

Figure 4: Cābāhāḥ Phalcā (LAL4101), in June 2015, one month after the earthquakes 48

Figure 5: A boy looks at an exhibit of photographs of musical instruments that used to be played at the very site of the remains of Cābāhāḥ Phalcā (LAL4101) before it collapsed in the 2015 earthquakes 48

Figure 6: Cābāhāḥ Phalcā (LAL4101) during the Buṅgadyaḥ Jātrā in 2025, in the evening when the chariots pass by, May 5, 2025 49

Figure 7: Bhajan performance in the Bhajana Phalcā (LAL4111) in front of Taḥ Bāhāḥ, the temple of Buṅgadyaḥ in Patan, March 2022 52

Figure 8: Nugaḥ Phalcā (LAL4045) during the Buṅgadyaḥ Jātrā, April 28, 2023 53

Published in: Manik Bajracharya, Christiane Brosius, Simon Cubelic, and Rajan Khatiwoda (Eds.), When a God Moves the City: Placemaking in the Buṅgadyaḥ Procession of Nepal, Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2026 (Documenta Nepalica: Book Series, Vol. 9). DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1724. CC BY-SA 4.0.

Figure 9:	The Kumārī is seated on her throne in the central bay of Lagankhel Phalcā (LAL4300), May 11, 2022	56
Figure 10:	*Phalcā*s in the Buṅgadyaḥ Jātrā route in Patan	61
Figure 11:	Maṇimaṇḍapa North (LAL1361) ritual at Patan Darbar Square, May 11, 2023	62
Figure 12:	The final stop of the procession where the chariot is placed on top of the abode until it is dismantled, September 23, 2024	63
Figure 13:	Sarāḥ Phalcā, March 21, 2024	64
Figure 14:	Jośī Sataḥ (LAL4032), 2015	66
Figure 15:	Jośī Sataḥ, rebuilt and incorporated into a residential and commercial building, March 2024	66
Figure 16:	Cvalcā Phalcā at Pinchẽ (LAL4007), local residents burn and gather around large lamps in the arcaded platform during the Buṅgadyaḥ Jātrā, May 10, 2019	66
Figure 17:	Wheels and shafts stored in Ghaḥcāḥ Dhukū (LAL4309), Jawalakhel, 2023	67
Figure 18:	View from Labim Mall's roof onto Pulchok, where four *phalcā*s as well as parts of the Jhanāḥkhyaḥ Metro Park (left side) can be seen while the procession has just set off, May 4, 2022	69
Figure 19:	Site map of Pulchok	71
Figure 20:	Historical photograph of Pulchok; ca. 1960	73
Figure 21:	Pulchok, Bus passing the Aśoka Stūpa. Samay Phalcā to the left of Aśoka Stūpa West, 1966	73
Figure 22:	The chariot passes Pulchok, with the Rana architecture of Shree Mahal (built in 1927) in the background, 1967, photo: Phil Chase, Peace Corps Collection	74
Figure 23:	The chariot procession passes by Lalitpur Municipality Building and Metro Park (right) and Labim Mall (left) en route from Pulchok to Patan Darbar Square, May 2022	75
Figure 24:	Dhaḥmā Phalcā (LAL4306), with four stored shafts displaying painted Bhairavas, March 15, 2024	77

Figure 25:	Buṅgadyaḥ chariot on halt in front of Dhaḥmā Phalcā, September 2015	77
Figure 26:	The Śrī Matsyendrānātha Mṛdaṅga Bhajana Maṇḍala performs *dāphā* in Maṇḍaḥ Phalcā (LAL4308) upon the arrival of the chariot, April 24, 2023	80
Figure 27:	Maṇḍaḥ Phalcā (LAL4308), with *dāphā* being played upon the arrival of the chariot, April 24, 2023	80
Figure 28:	Chariot rests between Dhaḥmā Phalcā (LAL4306) and Maṇḍaḥ Phalcā (LAL4308), September 25, 2015	81
Figure 29:	Jhanāḥkhyaḥ Maṇḍaḥ Phalcā (LAL4308), marble inscription from 2020/21 CE (NS 1141) affixed on the wall, January 2024	84
Figure 30:	Lamp holder with inscription (backside), kept in private house in Bhainsepati, 2024	85
Figure 31:	Lamp holder with donor figures and inscription (frontside), kept in private house in Bhainsepati, 2024	85
Figure 32:	Samay Phalcā, situated to the right side of Dhaḥmā Phalcā, March 6, 2022	87
Figure 33:	Samay Phalcā, in front of Laligurans Multipurpose Cooperative, September 2022	87
Figure 34:	Sitemap of Nugaḥ	91
Figure 35:	Nugaḥ Square, 2023	91
Figure 36:	Nugaḥ Square, view from north. Devotees, shop vendors and passers-by mingle between the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot and the Mīnanātha chariot, May 5, 2025	92
Figure 37:	Nugaḥ Square, ca. 1890s, view from South. A crowd of different participants looks at the official photographer	92
Figure 38:	Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Sataḥ (LAL4044), March 2018	94
Figure 39:	Nugaḥ Sataḥ (LAL4046) in front of a painting on the wall of a private house, Nugaḥ, 2023	95
Figure 40:	Nugaḥ Square, view from the North, on the *hiti*. Comparison between ca. 1965 and 2026	97

Figure 41: Bhairava mask exhibited and worshipped during Nugaḥ Yāḥ in front of the house of Haluwai-Rajkarnimar, April 4, 1999 101
Figure 42: Cvalcā Phalcā (LAL4007), large candle lights are lit, following the inscriptions regulations for ritual maintenance during the Buṅgadyaḥ Jātrā, May 3, 2025 103
Figure 43: Dāphā Bhajana Phalcā (LAL4075). Revived celebrations during the Buṅgadyaḥ Jātrā, May 3, 2025 105
Figure 44: Buṅgadyaḥ chariot in front of Thati Sataḥ, June 6, 2019 106
Figure 45: Sitemap of Thati crossing 107
Figure 46: The two chariots circumambulate Buṅgadyaḥ's mother's shrine, located under the tree at the centre, May 11, 2022 109
Figure 47: Historical photograph of the chariots in front of Thati Sataḥ, 1976 110
Figure 48: Lagankhel Phalcā (LAL4300). The Kumārī is seated on her throne as the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot returns from the circumambulation of the mother's shrine and bath, May 2024 112
Figure 49: Lagankhel Phalcā (LAL4300), still encroached by shops, May 30, 2019 113
Figure 50: The view from North of the last stop of the Buṅgadyaḥ Jātrā, at Jawalakhel, June 1, 2025 114
Figure 51: Jawalakhel site plan 116
Figure 52: The Bal Buddha Park, in the background the torso of a new building, with offices and the planned Lāmapāṭī Machhindranātha Museum, September 23, 2024 117
Figure 53: Design poster of the envisaged Phalcā Museum dedicated to Buṅgadyaḥ and the procession at Jawalakhel, 2022 117
Figure 54: The *jāhvalā* ritual, participants trying to catch a rice corn, May 2025 118
Figure 55: Bhujā Phalcā (LAL4312), the preparations for the rice-throwing ritual in Jawalakhel are completed, May 31, 2025 119

Figure 56: Bhujā Phalcā, the ritual gifts are shouldered for the final procession from Pulchok to Jawalakhel, August 3, 2024 119
Figure 57: Historical photograph of Jawalakhel during the chariot procession, 1928/29 120
Figure 58: People welcoming the arriving procession at the last stop, Jawalakhel, May 29, 2025 120
Figure 59: The by now dismantled *phalcā* and the storage place for the chariot's wheels (Ghaḥcāḥ Dhukū), March 2022 121

Chapter 2
Bruce McCoy Owens: Constraining Liminality and Performing Culture

Figure 1: *Haḥpāḥ biyemha* leading the chariot pullers, with the Rājopādhyāya Brahmins standing behind, Poḍe Ṭol, Thati, May 27, 1982 141
Figure 2: Kipū Jyāpunī Yāḥ, Pyangathã, Kirtipur, June 10, 1983 142
Figure 3: Yākaḥ Misā Yāḥ, Poḍe Ṭol, Thati, June 12, 2009 143
Figure 4: The Four principal destinations associated with feasting in Patan 144
Figure 5: Volunteers distributing water from a flatbed truck in the procession, Haugal, Patan, May 14, 2015 148
Figure 6: Mask of Bighna Bighna Bhairava after 1984 restoration, Poḍe Ṭol, Thati, August 24, 1984 148
Figure 7: Mask of Bighna Bighna Bhairava after the twelve-year festival of 2003, Jawalakhel, Bungamati, July 3, 2003 149
Figure 8: New mask of Bighna Bighna Bhairava commissioned in 2012, Poḍe Ṭol at Thati, Patan, June 18, 2014 149
Figure 9: *Hāḥpāḥ biyemha* with officially conferred sashes awaiting their turn to lead the chariot pullers, Jawalakhel, Patan, June 10, 2009 150
Figure 10: Signs imploring festival participants to comport themselves appropriately, Mahābauddha, Patan, May 14, 2016 152

Figure 11: Human chain protecting procession onlookers, Jawalakhel, Patan, June 10, 2009 152
Figure 12: Residents of Chabāhāḷ with T-shirts identifying their locality and shared Newar identity, Jawalakhel, Patan, June 10, 2009 153
Figure 13: Audience attending performance the *mṛdaṅga bhajana* from Taḥ Bāhāḷ, Poḍe Ṭol at Thati Patan, May 31, 2003 153
Figure 14: Taḥ Bāhāḷ Mrdaṅga Bhajan, Poḍe Ṭol at Thati, Patan, May 18, 2016 154
Figure 15: *Pānju* welcoming Buṅgadyaḥ back into his chariot, Cālācheg, Patan, June 4, 2009 154

Chapter 3

Manik Bajracharya: Four Centuries of Service

Figure 1: Front view of the sanctum of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot with *luthāma* components fitted 162
Figure 2: Side view of the sanctum of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot with *luthāma* components fitted 163

Chapter 4

Monalisa Maharjan: Constructing Identity with the Chariot of Buṅgadyaḥ

Figure 1: Ritual offering arranged in *kvataḥ* along with terracotta saucer (*saliṃcā*) sealed with *pasukā*, Yalamula, January 12, 2024 255
Figure 2: *Guthi* members inspecting the conditions of the *dhaḥmā* at Pulchok, January 12, 2024 257
Figure 3: *Hāmvaḥkī* ritual being performed at Yogāmbara in Pulchok by Bārāhī and Yaṃvāḥ, June 23, 2021 259
Figure 4: The wheels being arranged for the construction of the chariot at the Yogāmbara Pīṭha, April 18, 2022 261
Figure 5: The site of the chariot construction on normal days, Pulchok, March 24, 2022 262
Figure 6: Women worshipping the chariot, early in the morning, Pulchok, April 15, 2023 262

Figure 7:	Dil Kumar Bārāhī worshipping the Yogāmbara Yogāmbara Pīṭha, April 9, 2023	262
Figure 8:	Palisthā Pūjā being performed at Sundhara, April 29, 2023	267
Figure 9:	Mahābali Pūjā being performed at Lagankhel, May 11, 2022	269
Figure 10:	The head of the Jośī Guthi calculating the auspicious date at Maṇimaṇḍapa, Patan Durbar Square, May 30, 2024	271
Figure 11:	The preparation of the ritual plate and offerings arranged by the wife of the *thakālī* at their house, Yalamula, May 11, 2023	273
Figure 12:	A *guthi* member weighing *catāmarī* brought by members to the Thakālī's house in Yalamula. May 30, 2023	273
Figure 13:	The *homa* ritual being performed by priest along with members of the Bārāhī *guthi* in front of Pūrṇacaṇḍī temple, May 30, 2024	274
Figure 14:	The offerings that have been brought by each *guthi* member in *kalaḥ* for the ritual, location, August 1, 2024	275
Figure 15:	*Guthi* members eating *samaybaji* at the house of Dil Kumar Bārāhī, Yanāmugala, August 1, 2024	276
Figure 16:	Dil Kumar Bārāhī during the Kvaynā Pūjā ritual at Kvaynā Gaṇeśa temple, June 6, 2023	277
Figure 17:	*Guthi* members taking a group picture in front of Gaṇeśa Temple of Tyāgal, September 8, 2024	279
Figure 18:	G*uthi* members calculating the yearly expense after the midday feast, Yalamula, September 8, 2024	279
Figure 19:	Ritual offerings presented by the Yaṃvāḥ *guthi* to the Bārāhī Guthi, Yanāmugala, August 1, 2024	283
Figure 20:	Offerings brought by the *pāneju* to the Bārāhī Guthi, Yalamula, June 5, 2023	284
Figure 21:	The division of the *patāḥ* being done in the presence of Pānejus at the *thakālī's* house, *Yalamula,* June 5, 2023	286
Figure 22:	Felicitation program organized by the Bārāhī Samāja in 2024 for the recent graduates and seniors, Yanāmugala, August 24, 2024	289

Chapter 5
Simon Cubelic and Rajan Khatiwoda: Inscriptions in Motion

Figure 1: Tympanum inscription inside the sanctum dated, NS 990 303
Figure 2: Inscription on the back of a metal moon figure, dated NS 965 305
Figure 3: Inscription on the back side of the *cūḍāmaṇi* (pinnacle), dated ŚS 1772 307
Figure 4: Inscriptions on the four directional flags, dated NS 831, 2021 311
Figure 5: Inscription on the *brahmakõ*, dated VS 1990 313
Figure 6: The *brahmakõ* being painted by a Citrakāra painter, 2022 314
Figure 7: Close-up details of the inscription, dated VS 1990 315
Figure 8: Top: the Hayagrīva-Bhairava mask fixed to the tip of the shaft (*dhaḥmā*); below: inscription, dated VS 2069, on its reverse side, 2022 316
Figure 9: Top: inscription, dated VS 2047, composed by Hemarāja Śākya affixed to the right-side railing of the chariot's balcony, 2022; below: a sketch depicting the lower section of the chariot 318
Figure 10: Close-up details of the inscription, dated NS 1077, on the silver handle of a pair of fly-whisks (*cāmara*), 2022 320
Figure 11: Inscription on the canopy of the sanctum, dated NS 989 321
Figure 12: Inscription, dated VS 1886, on the silver plate, 2022 322
Figure 13: Inscription, dated VS 1960, on the silver flag, 2022 323
Figure 14: Inscription on the silver tray, dated VS 2018 323

Chapter 6
Bibek Basukala: The Buṅgadyaḥ Chariot

Figure 1: Manuscript containing drawing of the various components of the Chariot, 2022 421
Figure 2: Components of the Chariot 425
Figure 3: Longitudinal section with structural terms 426

Figure 4:	Buṅgadyaḥ chariot; details of the lower side structure	427
Figure 5:	Exploded view of the wheel showing its various components	427
Figure 6:	*Dhaḥmā khvāḥpāḥ*, the mask of the shaft, 2022	428
Figure 7:	Painting on the front end of the shaft representing a *makara*, 2022	429
Figure 8:	Left: detail of the finial. Right: detail of front elevation	430
Figure 9:	Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, horizontal section of sanctum (*dyaḥkhaḥ*)	431
Figure 10:	The assembled base of the Chariot at the end of day 2, the bearing beams and the structural columns have been fixed, April 9, 2023	434
Figure 11:	The 16-cubit long columns after being fixed to the superstructure of the chariot	436
Figure 12:	The inner and outer columns linked by vines and the apex of the outer columns tied with rattan vines with decorative motifs, 2023	437
Figure 13:	The bearing beams and the columns of the structure wound in rattan vines, 2023	439
Figure 14:	The skeletal structure of the chariot after the installation of the ninth and last lattice frame, 2023	440
Figure 15:	The skeletal frame of the chariot being covered and bound with paddings of rattan vines, 2023	441
Figure 16:	Tree trunks (*laḥsī*) being installed onto the spire and the shrine, April 20, 2023	442
Figure 17:	Jute ropes tied around the 16 tree trunks surrounding the skeletal frame of the spire, the ovular volume (*gvārā bāymvaḥ*) is visible at the apex, 2023	443
Figure 18:	Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, front elevation	446
Figure 19:	Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, elevation right side	447
Figure 20:	Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, horizontal section of sanctum (*dyahkhaḥ*)	448
Figure 21:	Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, cross section	449

Chapter 7

Bruce McCoy Owens: Photography, Ethnography, and Photographic Repatriation

Figure 1: Buṅgadyaḥ's Mother's hand, Kvaduvāḥ Daha, May 13, 1983 — 459

Figure 2: *Pānjus* Purni Rāj Vajrācārya and Kapil Muṇi Vajrācārya conducting ritual at Buṅgadyaḥ's mother's hand, Kvaduvāḥ Daha, May 13, 1983 — 459

Figure 3: Poster for the exhibition at Patan Museum, 2016 — 460

Figure 4: Mālīnī bringing Buṅgadyaḥ's life from Kvaduvāḥ Daha, July 5, 2016 — 461

Figure 5: Composite photographs of *haḥpāḥ byepī* (encouragement givers) over the years (1982–2003) — 464

Figure 6: Previous Mālīnī, Rita Mālī, bearing the life of Buṅgadyaḥ concealed in an ewer under her shawl, being welcomed by the *thakālī nakī* (the wife of the eldest *pānju*), "Yela Aji", at Taḥ Bāhāḥ upon her return from Kvaduvāḥ Daha, May 13, 1983 — 466

Figure 7: *Pānjus* Nuche Rāj Śākya (L) and Nim Śākya (R) in the chariot sanctum while returning to Bungamati during the twelve-year festival of 2003, Ekanta Kuna, Patan, June 23, 2003 — 466

Figure 8: Pānju Kapil Muni Vajrācārya presenting burning incense to a *pānju*'s entranced wife during *nakī bhū* ritual, when the *pānjus* summon mother goddesses for a feast held by the chariot late at night, June 21, 2003 — 467

Figure 9: Yãvāḥ rath builders, who bind the wooden pieces of the chariot together with vines, rope, and split bamboo, during the twelve-year festival of 1991, Jawalakhel, Patan, July 4, 1991 — 467

Figure 10: Yãvāḥ *rath* builders' former leader (*Nāyaḥ*) Pākaḥ (left) and his second in charge, Māchya (right), Patan, June 19, 2003 — 468

Figure 11: Rājopādhyāya urging the chariot pullers on Poḍe Ṭol at Thati, Patan, May 21, 2003 — 468

Figure 12: Narendra Śākya of Bungamati leading the chariot pullers in bringing Buṅgadyaḥ back to Bungamati during the twelve-year festival of July 2, 2003 — 469

Figure 13:	Chariot being pulled across the Nakhu River on its way back to Bungamati during the twelve-year festival, July 10, 1991	469
Figure 14:	Fallen chariot in Khalīkā, Bhaisipāṭī, during the twelve-year festival of 1991, Bhaisipāṭī, Lalitpur District, May 21, 1991	470
Figure 15:	Hymn singers from U Bāhāḥ, who sing hymns in front of the chariot each morning, Poḍe Ṭol at Thati, Patan, July 1, 1991	471
Figure 16:	*Mahādīpa* ("large lamp") *pūjā* concluding, an all-night vigil by Buṅgadyaḥ's chariot in Sundhara, Patan, May 1, 1982	472
Figure 17:	Nemkul Nārān Nekū repainting the image of Buṅgadyaḥ in Taḥ Bāhāḥ, Patan, April 20, 1982	472
Figure 18:	*Citrakār* painting clay pots used to house deities to protect the process of re-installing life into Buṅgadyaḥ's image after it has been repainted, Taḥ Bāhāḥ, Patan, May 9, 1983	473
Figure 19:	Brakemen (*gaḥkū*s) who control the speed and path of the chariot with brakes (*ghaḥ*) made of blocks of wood attached to peach tree branches that they here hold by their sides. Right side: Former leader (*nāyaḥ*) Ram. Left side: former *gaḥkū*, Bagaca. Jawalakhel, Patan, July 4, 1991	473
Figure 20:	Brakemen (*gaḥkū*s), Gwaracha (R) and Lachla (L), who control the speed and path of the chariot with brakes (*ghaḥ*) made of blocks of wood attached to peach tree branches. July 4, 1991	473
Figure 21:	*Gaḥkūs* Narayan Byanjankar, *Nāyaḥ* (leader), left, and Shyam Maharjan, right, Kumari Pati, Patan, June 24, 2009	475
Figure 22:	Former attendants (*dyaḥlāju*) to Hayagrīva Bhairava at his shrine in Bungamati, Candra Muṇi Śākhya (L), Sukhu Śākya (R), August 7, 1991	475
Figure 23:	Jagat Pratap Joshi, former *subbā* (director) of the Lalitpur District Guṭhī Saṃsthān, displaying Buṅgadyaḥ's vest during the Bhoṭo Jātrā, Jawalakhel, Patan, June 16, 1983	475

Figure 24: Chariot pausing on its return to Bungamati, having crossed the Nakhu River during the twelve-year festival of 1991, July 10, 1991 476
Figure 25: Nakhu River crossing, (*Nepali Times*) July 8–14, 2016 476
Figure 26: Women from Bungamati waiting to welcome Buṅgadyaḥ home with burning straw torches upon his return to Bungamati at the end of the festival of 2014, Bungamati, June 22, 2014 477
Figure 27: *Photo Kathmandu* 2016 crew setting up Taḥ Bāhāḥ exhibit in Patan, October 18, 2016 479
Figure 28: Sujan Citrakar (curator of Taḥ Bāhāḥ and Bungamati exhibits) and crew, Taḥ Bāhāḥ, Patan, October 18, 2016 480
Figure 29: Self-recognition: boy playing on guardian lion thirty-four years later, at *Photo Kathmandu* 2016, Taḥ Bāhāḥ, Patan, October 18, 2016 480
Figure 30: Self-recognition: Photo vendor Ratna Kaji Maharjan, twenty-five years later, at *Photo Kathmandu* 2016, Taḥ Bāhāḥ, Patan, November 2, 2016 481
Figure 31: Protective deities are drawn into seventy-two clay pots in preparation for the delicate process of returning Buṅgadyaḥ's life to his image. These pots are no longer made of clay, but copper. Taḥ Bāhāḥ, Patan, April 21, 1982 482
Figure 32: Cākuvādyaḥ, known as Mīnnāth by Nepali speakers, being welcomed back to his temple in Taṅgaḥ Bāhāḥ after having been removed from his chariot at the conclusion of the chariot festival, Patan, June 17, 1983 482
Figure 33: *Photo Kathmandu* 2016, Taḥ Bāhāḥ installation, Patan, October 31, 2016 483
Figure 34: *Photo Kathmandu* 2016, Bungamati installation, Amarapur, October 31, 2016 484
Figure 35: *Photo Kathmandu* 2016, Bungamati installation, with Buṅgadyaḥ's temporary temple (since rebuilt in time for the festival of 2025), Amarapur, October 31, 2016 484

Chapter 8
David C. Andolfatto: Far-away Visitors of Buṅgadyaḥ

Figure 1:	Map of Nepal	491
Figure 2:	The Kīrtikhambhā of Dullu Installed by King Pṛthvīmalla in 1357 CE (ŚS 1279), View from the south, 2014	492
Figure 3:	Inscription of King Ripumalla in Sera, near Sinja, Jumla district. Ca. 1312–1314. The mantra "*Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*" is inscribed in Tibetan and followed by four lines in Nāgarī script, 2014	503
Figure 4:	Damaged stone Buddha statue in Pādukāsthān, ca. fourteenth century, near Dullu, Dailekh district, 2022	504
Figure 5:	Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara discovered in 2016 in the foundations of the Buṅgadyaḥ (Bungamati). Gilt copper. H. approx. 10 cm. Ca. twelfth century	508
Figure 6:	Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. *Paubhā* dated 1842 CE. Pigments on cloth. 76 × 57 cm	509
Figure 7:	Ripumalla and his son Saṃgrāmamalla worshipping the goddess Tārā. *Paubhā* from ca. 1312/13. Pigments on cloth. 29.8 × 24.8 cm	512