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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustrations to “Maṇḍala, Yantra and Cakra: Some Observations” by Gudrun Bühnemann:

1. A yantra for attraction (ākāraṇayantra), described in Mantramahodadhi 20.84cd–85; reproduced from the Mantramahodadhi (edited by R. Prasāda, Lucknow: Smarāhimsakadatta Press, 1872, appendix). The name Devadatta (to be replaced with the intended person’s name) appears in the centre of the pericarp of the lotus, and the krodhabija (that is, the syllable hūm) in the four lotus petals. The yantra should be drawn on a leaf of birch-bark using a mixture of red sandalwood paste and one’s own blood. After the pūjā the yantra is normally soaked in ghee.

2. A supporting maṇḍala for the vardhanī vessel in Tantric pūjā; reproduced from Bühnemann 1988b, Illustration 36.

3. A ca. 17th-century yantra with the Rāmarakṣastotra inscribed on textile (33 x 34 cm); photograph by G. Bühnemann. In 1979 this yantra was part of the collection of Sarabhai Nawab (Ahmedabad).

4. A yantra assigned to stanza 55 of the Saundaryalahari; reproduced from Saundaryalahari 1957: 87. The syllable yam (which is usually the seed [bija] syllable of the element wind) is inscribed thrice in the yantra. According to the instructions (prayoga), the yantra should be drawn on a golden plate or on fish-bone. One should repeat the stanza 20,000 times a day for 45 days to secure freedom from bondage.

5. A yantra for subjugating one’s master, described in Dāmodara’s Yantracintāmani 3.20–26 (Tūrstig 1988: 21); reproduced from Tūrstig 1988, appendix, yantra no. 3. The name Devadatta (to be replaced with the intended person’s name) appears in the centre of the pericarp of the lotus prefixed by the syllables om śrīṁ and suffixed by śrīṁ om. On the lotus petals the syllables śrīṁ and kṣah alternate. The yantra should be drawn on a leaf of birch-bark using yellow pigment. It should then be placed into a vessel and burnt, and its ashes consumed.
6. A *pujāyantra* of Mahāgaṇapati, reproduced and adapted from Bühnemann 1988b, Illustration 40. The yantra features a downward-pointing triangle inside a hexagram, surrounded by an eight-petalled lotus and a square with four gates.

Illustrations to "Maṇḍalas and Yantras in Śmaṛta Ritual" by Gudrun Bühnemann:

*Part I. Selected Maṇḍala-like Structures, Maṇḍalas and Yantras*

Following a common South Asian tradition of depicting mandala-like structures, the east (and not the north) is shown on top of the diagrams.

1. A diagram showing the deities of the *baliḥaraṇacakra*, or *baliḥaraṇamaṇḍala*, reproduced from Kane 1968–1977, volume 2: 747. With minor variations, this diagram is found in a number of contemporary texts, such as the *Rgvedīyabrahmakarmasamuccaya*.

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3. A maṇḍala of the heavenly bodies (*grahadevatāmaṇḍala* or *navagrahamanḍala*); a contemporary print reproduced from the ritual manual *Rgvedīyabrahmakarmasamuccaya*.

4. The (*durgā*)*saptāsatīmahāyantra*; a contemporary print reproduced from the manual *Rgvedīyabrahmakarmasamuccaya*.

5. The *rudrapīṭhamahāyantra*; a contemporary print reproduced from the manual *Rgvedīyabrahmakarmasamuccaya*.

*Part II. Bhadramaṇḍalas*

Table: Constituent Parts of the Bhadramaṇḍalas.

Black and White Prints of Maṇḍalas

The black and white prints of maṇḍalas which are listed below are reproduced from the Bhadramārtanda (BM) edition. The edition does not illustrate all maṇḍalas described in the BM. In addition, some maṇḍala drawings are incomplete and have not been reproduced
here. Since the original numbers of the illustrations as printed in the BM have been retained, some numbers are missing. A complete list of manādalas described in the BM is provided in the appendix to the article. The diagrams use the following scheme to indicate colours other than black and white: one dot in the centre of a square – yellow; two dots – red; and three dots – green.

1. Sarvatobhadra, type 1
2. Sarvatobhadra, type 2
3. Sarvatobhadra, type 3 (= āṣṭaḍalāmanaḍala)
4. Sarvatobhadra, type 4
5. Āktalīṅgotobhadra lāghumārikilaka
6. Āktalīṅgotobhadra bṛhadgauritiḍaka
7. Gauritiḍaka
8. Āktalīṅgotobhadra, type 1
9. Āktalīṅgotobhadra, type 2
10. Āktalīṅgotobhadra, type 3
11. Āktalīṅgotobhadra, type 4
12. Āktalīṅgotobhadra, type 1
13. Āktalīṅgotobhadra, type 2
14. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 1
15. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 2
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17. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 4
   (harihāratmakadvādaśaṅgotobhadra)
18. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 5
19. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 6
   (harihāratmakadvādaśaṅgotobhadra)
20. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 7
   (harihāratmakadvādaśaṅgotobhadra)
21. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 8
   (harihāratmakadvādaśaṅgotobhadra)
22. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 9 (lātiṅgotobhadra)
23. Dvādāsaṅgotobhadra, type 10 (līṅgasvastikabhadra)
24. Śodāsaṅgotobhadra, type 1
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   (śodāsaṁgotobhavahariharamaṇḍala)
26. Saptadaśaṅgotobhadra, type 1
27. Saptadaśaṅgotobhadra, type 2
   (saptadaśaṁgotobhavahariharamaṇḍala)
29. Saptadaśaliṅgaṭobhadra, type 2
30. Saptadaśaliṅgaṭobhadra, type 3
31. Caturvīṃśati-liṅgaṭobhadra
32. Aṣṭāvimśati-liṅgaṭobhadra
33. Paṇcaviṃśati-liṅgaṭobhadra, type 1
34. Paṇcaviṃśati-liṅgaṭobhadra, type 2
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(aṣṭamudrārāma-liṅgaṭobhadra)
45. Navamudrārāmaṭobhadra
46. Dvādaśamudrārāma-liṅgaṭobhadra
47. Trayodaśamudrārāmaṭobhadra
48. Laghudvādaśarāmaudrārāma-liṅgaṭobhadra
49. Śoḍaśamudrārāmaṭobhadra
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75. Catvāriṃśaliṅgaṭobhadra
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Illustration to “The Use of Maṇḍalas and Yantras in the Pāñcarātra Tradition” by Marion Rastelli:

Illustration to “Maṇḍala and Yantra in the Siddhānta School of Śaivism: Definitions, Description and Ritual Use” by Hélène Brunner:

1. The sarvatobhadramaṇḍala reconstructed according to Śāradātilaka 3.106–131ab and Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s commentary.

Illustration to “Icons of Inclusivism: Maṇḍalas in Some Early Śaiva Tantras” by Judit Törzsök:

1. The outline and construction of the śrīmaṇḍala according to the Netratantra with an illustration of some technical terms (see Appendix 1 for a description); drawing by Paul Coatalen.

(In the illustration the bottom is the western direction, for the disciple would enter and see the maṇḍala from the west, facing the auspicious eastern direction.)

Illustrations to “Maṇḍalas in Abhinavagupta’s Tantrāloka” by André Padoux:

1. Outline of the maṇḍala of the three tridents and (seven) lotuses (tritriśūlābjamāṇḍala) prescribed by the Trikasadbhāvatantra; see Tantrāloka 31.10–41b; drawn by and reproduced with the kind permission of Stephanie Sanderson.

2. Outline of the maṇḍala of the trident and lotuses (trīśūlābja-maṇḍala) prescribed by Mālinīvijayottaratantra 9.6–31 (= Tantrāloka 31.62–85b); drawn by and reproduced with the kind permission of Stephanie Sanderson.

3. The maṇḍala throne and the three goddesses enthroned upon it, as visualized along the axis of internal sensation during internal worship; see Tantrāloka 15.295c–328b; drawn by and reproduced with the kind permission of Stephanie Sanderson.
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1. The śrīcakra, reconstructed and drawn by Gérard Huet and reproduced with his kind permission.
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Illustrations to “Vāstupuruṣaṁaṇḍalas: Planning in the Image of Man” by Michael W. Meister:

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   C. Mahādeva temple, Amrol, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 700 A.D. Diagram to demonstrate extension of the brahmasthāna and sanctum to demarcate the central offsets of the outer walls.
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   B. Lakṣmana temple, socle and vedibandha mouldings (after Kramrisch 1946: 259).
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   B. Gargaj Mahādeva temple, Indor, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 750 A.D. Turned-square plan producing 12 bhadras: A–D are Śiva and his family, 1–8 are the eight dikpālas (guardians of the directions).

7. Comparison of the constructing geometry, and the continuing regulative function of odd-numbered grids, in plans based on three and six turned squares: left, Gargaj Mahādeva temple, Indor, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 750 A.D.; right, Udayeśvara Mahādeva temple, Udayapur, Madhya Pradesh, ca. 1081 A.D.

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2. The baliharāṇa of the vaiśvadeva rite performed by a Rg-Vedin; photographed by G. Bühnemann in Pune, Mahārāṣṭra.

3. A domestic śivapañcāyatana in Pune, Mahārāṣṭra; photograph by G. Bühnemann.

4. A rudrapithamahāyantra in which areca nuts representing deities have been placed and which serves as a support for a vessel with the icon of Rudra/Śiva during the rudrayāga; Pune, Mahārāṣṭra; photograph by G. Bühnemann.

5. A sarvatabhadra; a contemporary print reproduced from the manual Rgvediyabrahmakarmasamuccaya.

7. A caturmudrārāmaliṅgato bhadra with 4 rāmamudrās and 8 liṅgas and a sarvatobhadra in the centre; painting from Rājasthān reproduced from Stadtner 1998: 350, no. 353, with the kind permission of Robert Clark, Barcelona. This bhadra corresponds to the bhadra reproduced as Illustration 42 from the Bhadramārtanda (see Illustrations to “Māṇḍalas and Yantras in Śmārta Ritual” [Part II. Bhadramandalas] by Gudrun Bühnemann).


9. A ganeśabhadra with 21 icons of Ganeśa; painting preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, Mahārāṣṭra.

10. A sūryabhadra with 12 icons of the sun; painting from Rājasthān reproduced from Stadtner 1998: 350, no. 352, with the kind permission of Robert Clark, Barcelona. This bhadra corresponds to the bhadra reproduced as Illustration 67 from the Bhadramārtanda (see Illustrations to “Māṇḍalas and Yantras in Śmārta Ritual” [Part II. Bhadramandalas] by Gudrun Bühnemann).

11. The construction of a dviđaśāliṅgatobhadra with a sarvato- bhadra in the centre; photographed by G. Bühnemann in Pune, Mahārāṣṭra.

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19. A tentative reconstruction of the trident maṇḍala of the Siddhayogesvarīmata (long recension) according to the Tantrāloka (see Törzsök’s Appendix 3 for a description); illustration by Guillaume Coatalen.
INTRODUCTION

Gudrun Bühnemann

General Remarks

In recent years maṇḍalas have attracted much interest among a wider public. The main focus of such interest has been directed toward Tibetan maṇḍalas, specimens of which have been included in numerous publications. But maṇḍalas are found across a wide spectrum of South Asian religious traditions, including those of the Hindus and Jains. Maṇḍalas are also part of East Asian Buddhist traditions.

In South Asia, mandalas have been used mainly in occasional rites of worship. In these rites deities are invoked into maṇḍalas with the aid of mantras. The construction of a maṇḍala is specially important in Tantric initiation (dīkṣā) rites. In esoteric teaching, a maṇḍala may be visualized as present in the practitioner’s body by correlating the cosmic symbolism of the maṇḍala with the practitioner’s body parts. Maṇḍala patterns have had other far-reaching influences. They have, for example, had an impact on ancient town-planning. The use of maṇḍalas is also documented in alchemy.¹

The South Asian tradition of preparing and worshipping maṇḍalas and yantras continues up to the present. On the level of folk art the kohbar maṇḍalas, which decorate the walls of the nuptial chamber in the Mithilā region of north Bihar (India) and Nepal, are a good example of this. So are the auspicious floor designs prepared with rice flour or coloured powders and regionally known as rāṅgolī, ālpanā, muggulu or kolam, which have been influenced by maṇḍala and yantra patterns.

Yantras have been employed especially in rites of magic. Their use has been recommended in astrology and, to some extent, in Āyur-Veda. The yantra of a deity is customarily placed under the deity’s statue at the time of its installation in a temple. Patterns of

¹ For a detailed examination of the use of mantras, yantras and maṇḍalas in Āyur-Veda and in alchemy, see Roşu 1986a and 1986b.
yantras, like those of maṇḍalas, have had widespread influence. In the citrabandha compositions in Sanskrit, for example, text can be arranged in yantra-like shapes.²

Like maṇḍalas, yantras continue to be worshipped in South Asia. The šrīcakra or šrīyantra, which is a configuration of a central point and sets of triangles surrounded by lotus petals, circles and a square, is widely worshipped in contemporary India and Nepal. It is installed and worshipped, among other places, in the Śrīgeri maṭha, which claims to uphold Śaṅkara’s tradition. In Nepal, it decorates roofs of shrines. The šrīcakra is now also sold as a pendant to be worn around the neck, and is printed on popular wall calendars. A numerical yantra, the visoyantra,³ is currently worshipped in Ambājī, Gujarāt.⁴ Popular books promote yantras for miscellaneous mundane purposes, including safe driving. Copper yantras from India can easily be purchased over the Internet for similar purposes.

Patterns typical of maṇḍalas and yantras have inspired modern Indian architecture, art and dance. The Mumbai-based contemporary architect Charles Correa has been guided by maṇḍala designs in his layout of buildings, such as the new State Assembly (Vidhan Bhavan) in Bhopal. Inspired by a navagrahamaṇḍala pattern, Correa designed the Jawahar Kala Kendra, a cultural centre in Jaipur. Correa’s Surya Kund in Delhi is said to be based on a maṇḍala plan featuring the šrīcakra in its centre.⁵ Inspired mainly by the šrīcakra, the 20th-century Indian artist Nirad Majumdar created his ink drawing Yantra.⁶ The contemporary dancer Chandralekha acknow-

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² Some authorities do not recognize these compositions as poetry. For an exhaustive treatment of this topic, see Rudradev Tripāṭhi’s study, Saṃskṛt-saḥitya mom sabālānkanār (Dilli: Śrīlīlāhadbhūtānāndānāndā Kendriya Saṃskṛt Vidyāpīṭh, 1972 [in Hindi]).

³ This yantra is reproduced in Bunce 2001: 53, who labels it erroneously ‘Amba Matta Yantra’ instead of ‘Ambā Mātā Yantra.’ It is also known as bisoyantra (Pranavananda <1977>: 52), while Chawdhri 1992: 53, 202–211 classifies it as beysiyantra.

⁴ For contemporary yantra worship in Gujarāt, see the discussion in Padmaja 1985.

⁵ For pictures of the Vidhan Bhavan, see Khan 1987: 134–139; for the Jawahar Kala Kendra, see Khan 1987: 142–143 and for the Surya Kund, see Khan 1987: 105, 159.

⁶ Nirad Majumdar’s Yantra is reproduced in Chakravorty Spivak 1999: 193, Figure 2. Numerous modern maṇḍalas have been created by both Asian and Western artists: see, for example, the oil painting by the Nepali artist Sharda Man Shrestha (reproduced in Singh 2000: 85, Plate XI) and the maṇḍalas by the German artist Lore Bert (reproduced in Singh 2000: 87, Plate XII).
ledges the influence of the Saundaryalahari attributed to Śamkara on her dance piece ‘Yantra: Dance Diagrams,’ a work in which geometrical figures are created by dancers.

Some Problems

While a body of literature is growing in which maṇḍala-like structures of different cultures are compared with one another and their use in therapy is explored, not much solid research has been done on maṇḍalas in the Hindu traditions, and indeed no systematic study has as yet emerged. Descriptions of maṇḍalas in ancient texts are barely studied, and usually left untranslated. Descriptions of them in popular books often appear to be confused, since many authors apply the same terminology to what appear to be somewhat similar structures without differentiating between traditions. Psychoanalysts and psychologists endeavour to interpret the maṇḍala by applying their own categories. These approaches are of limited value for an understanding of the structures and functions of maṇḍalas in the context of South Asian traditions. Since maṇḍalas are not objects of art per se but are embedded in a ritual context, a purely art-historical approach to the subject will not do justice to them either.

Thanks to advances in the study of Tantric texts over the past decades and the increased availability of objects from South Asia, new materials have become available which put us in a better position than previous scholars to carry out research on maṇḍalas and yantras. But museums are usually not the places to look for maṇḍalas and yantras, since the latter are ritual rather than art objects, and so executed by craftsmen rather than artists. An exception is the collection of about 60 copper yantras from Bengal in the Museum für indische Kunst, Berlin. The private collection of yantras and maṇḍalas of Robert Clark, Barcelona, is documented in Stadtner 1998.

Drawings of yantras are often found in South Asian manuscripts and printed books dealing with magical and Tantric rituals, and in art catalogues as well. The yantra designs found in these sources are

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7 See, for example, Sotheby’s London: Catalogue of Islamic, Indian, Tibetan, Nepalese and South-East Asian Decorative and Other Works of Art, also Antiquities. Days of Sale: Monday, 16th February 1981, 2 pm, Tuesday, 17th February 1981, 10.30 am and 2 pm.
often repetitive. One problem is the authenticity of maṇḍala and yantra designs. Yantras are frequently executed on copperplates as ordered by a practitioner. They are copied from drawings in manuscripts, sketchbooks (Nepal) or printed books. Their structures and the mantras inscribed in them often contain errors that go unnoticed due to the ignorance of craftsmen, copyists and practitioners. Pranavananda <1977>: 75–79 examines nearly 200 śrīcakras from various parts of India and concludes that most of them show major or minor flaws in their designs or other irregularities, and so do not tally with the descriptions in ancient texts. According to this author (Pranavananda <1977>: 4, 109), certain changes were made to the structure of the śrīcakra early on and these errors have been perpetuated blindly by tradition. Artists in popular tourist spots in Rājasthān and Nepal paint mostly for the tourist industry. They freely mix elements from different traditions and copy designs from books and museum catalogues printed in the West. Their products often do not represent a continuation of ancient traditions. During a recent visit to Bhaktapur in Nepal I interviewed a painter about the use of the sarvatobhadras and liṅgatobhadras in his country. He had not seen these maṇḍalas, and indeed eagerly photocopied my diagrams. I would not be surprised if painted bhadrmanḍalas are soon being sold in the shops of Bhaktapur as traditional Nepalese maṇḍalas. Customers will then use them as wall decorations, although such maṇḍalas were never intended to be hung on the wall but were traditionally prepared on the ground from powders or grains as supports for deities invoked into them. The Indigo Gallery in Kāthmāndu was already recently displaying a painted liṅgatobhadra which, along with another maṇḍala, had been copied from Madhu Khanna’s book ‘Yantra: The Tantric Symbol of Cosmic Unity.’

Previous Scholarship on Hindu Maṇḍalas and Yantras

Among the early studies of maṇḍalas and yantras the works of H. Zimmer and P.H. Pott should be mentioned. Based on works by Sir J. Woodroffe (alias A. Avalon) (1865–1936) and his collaborators, H. Zimmer (1890–1943) published his influential book ‘Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild’ in 1926. The work contains two

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*For recent research on J. Woodroffe and his team of collaborators, see Taylor 2001: 203ff.*
large sections, dealing with mandalas and yantras, which influenced C.G. Jung (1875–1961), the originator of analytical psychology, in his interpretation of the manḍala.\(^9\) Zimmer’s book, which did not target an academic readership, endeavours to interpret manḍalas and yantras based on both Hindu and Buddhist texts and monuments. Zimmer argues that icons of deities or ‘figurative sacred images’ (pratimā) can be subsumed under the category yantra, and in fact are essentially and functionally identical with yantras, cakras and manḍalas (1984: 28–29). P.H. Pott’s ‘Yoga and Yantra’ (1946) takes a different approach. Even though he recurs to his predecessors J. Woodroffe and H. Zimmer, Pott’s goal is to explain the function yantras have within the context of Tantric Yoga. Like Zimmer, Pott refers to both Buddhist and Hindu texts throughout his work. A classic work is G. Tucci’s ‘The Theory and Practice of the Manḍala, With Special Reference to the Modern Psychology of the Sub-conscious,’ published in 1949 in Italian but translated into English only in 1961. The book’s main emphasis is on the symbolism of Buddhist manḍalas, although the śrīcakra and Hindu parallels are considered.


In 1986 A. Padoux edited ‘Mantras et diagrammes rituels dans l’hindouisme,’ which is a collection of scholarly articles on mantras, manḍalas and yantras employed in the Hindu traditions. The contributions are based on lectures presented at the conference ‘L’Hindouisme—textes, doctrines, pratiques’ of the research team no. 249 of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) organized by A. Padoux in Paris in June 1984. These lectures—some of which have been abbreviated or thoroughly revised—are published along with a summary of the discussion that followed their presentation.\(^10\)

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\(^9\) C.G. Jung’s remarks and observations on the symbolism of the manḍala appear in several sections of his Collected Works; see, for example, Jung 1950 and Jung 1964.

\(^10\) Padoux’s volume contains the following papers that specifically focus on manḍalas and yantras: ‘Manḍala et yantra dans le śivaïsme āgamique. Définition,
Several authors have studied individual manḍalas and yantras. Kramrisch 1946, volume 1: 46–63 was the first scholar to analyze two main types of the vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala, a manḍala employed in the construction of buildings. She was followed by others, including Apte/Supekar 1983 and Apte 1986 and 1987. Apte also conducts research on manḍalas in the Pāñcarātra tradition. Apte 1973 focuses on manḍalas described in the Jayākhya-Saṁhitā. In the introduction to his edition and translation of the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā (Part 1, 1991), the same author analyzes one of four sets of manḍalas described in this Saṁhitā. This set comprises 25 manḍalas, which Apte attempts to reconstruct. The well-known śrīcakra, which is employed in the ritual worship of Tripurasundari, is the subject of several publications.

Bunce’s recent volume on yantras (2001) examines the relationship between numbers and yantras. The book is based on secondary materials, with Johari 1986 as one major source.
My interest in manḍalas goes back to a period in the 1980s when I conducted research in Puṇe, Mahārāṣṭra. The plan to publish a book on manḍalas and yantras in the Hindu traditions took shape over time as I observed the growing popular interest in Tibetan Buddhist manḍalas. Unlike the many Tibetan manḍalas which include pictorial representations of multiple deities, most published manḍalas in the Hindu traditions appear to be simpler and more abstract in design. However, Hindu manḍalas, especially from Nepal and Rājasthān, often include painted images of deities. Complex manḍalas are also described in texts, and the practitioner is instructed to visualize multiple deities in the manḍalas, although these deities may not be represented. This volume reproduces several manḍala designs, some of which have been reconstructed from texts. Since texts often do not specify all details of the manḍalas, such reconstructions necessarily remain tentative.

With the exception of the śrīcakra, which has attracted considerable interest, adequate attention has not been devoted to manḍalas and yantras in the Hindu traditions and their multiple uses. Unlike the approaches of earlier books, which indiscriminately deal with Buddhist and Hindu manḍalas and which often arrive at generalized conclusions, this book attempts to clarify important aspects of manḍalas and yantras in specific Hindu traditions through investigations by specialists. In the present state of research it is best to avoid generalizations and broad comparisons across traditions that rarely take into account existing differences, and often turn out on closer examination to be inaccurate. The complex Buddhist manḍalas for their part merit a separate study. Nevertheless I hope that this book will indirectly contribute to a better understanding of the manḍala in other South Asian traditions, and will lay the foundation for future inquiries.

The essays in this book explore some aspects of manḍalas and yantras in the Smārta, Pāñcarātra, Śaiva and Śākta traditions. An essay on the vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala and its relationship to architecture is also included. It would have been useful to have essays on the use

15 In Nepal, even the śrīcakra occasionally includes painted images of deities; see, for example, Illustration 43 in Kreijger 1999: 110–111. For a 19th-century manḍala from Rājasthān with icons of goddesses, see, for example, Pal 1997: 215, 337.
of yantras in Indian medical systems, astrology or folk traditions, or on geographical space as a maṇḍala. It was, however, not possible to find qualified authors who could write these essays within the given time frame. Thus this book is a contribution to the study of an area of South Asian culture which has hardly been researched, but it is not an exhaustive treatment. This would have been an unrealistic goal, given the extant mass of material on the topic.

In secondary sources, maṇḍalas (and yantras) have been described too uniformly as aids to meditation or visualization. While they certainly function as meditational devices in some traditions (as, for instance, the śrīcakra frequently does), this use of maṇḍalas is but one aspect of a larger picture. In this regard H. Brunner’s paper in this volume is significant, since she sets out to examine some popular notions about maṇḍalas critically and to emphasize other uses of maṇḍalas in ritual. In architecture, the notion of an ‘all-governing maṇḍala’ of symbolically significant dimensions which underlies all buildings is frequently met with in the literature, and has recently been challenged by Bafna 2000: 42–43.¹⁷

The first essay in this book is designed as an introduction to the topic. Referring to H. Brunner and others, I discuss the meanings of maṇḍala, yantra and cakra, and suggest distinctions among these terms. This is followed by a treatment of different categories of maṇḍalas, yantras and cakras and their constituent parts.

In the next essay, I focus on maṇḍala-like structures and actual maṇḍalas and yantras currently employed in the ritual practice in Mahārāṣṭra. In its first part, I discuss maṇḍala-like arrangements, such as the balihaṇaśačakra and pañcāyatana shrines, along with the navagraha maṇḍala as an example of a maṇḍala with a lotus design. A description of two yantra structures follows. Together with the previous essay, this section is intended to introduce the reader to basic concepts and maṇḍala designs in the Hindu traditions. The second part of the essay focuses on a specific category of maṇḍala called bhadra maṇḍalas. These are square-shaped maṇḍalas employed mainly in concluding ceremonies of religious observances (vrata).

¹⁶ For a critical examination of the claim that maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism are aids or ‘supports’ for visualization practices, see Sharf 2001.

¹⁷ See M. Meister’s paper in this volume for a critical assessment of Bafna’s position.
Marion Rastelli’s essay focuses on the use of mandalas and yantras in the Vaishnava Pāncarātra tradition as based on original passages from the Samhitās. It describes the selection, purification and ritual acquisition of the mandala site, guidelines and materials used for drawing mandalas, and the types of mandalas found in the texts. She then discusses the multiple functions of mandalas in Pāncarātra rituals. The choice of a mandala for a rite is guided by the desire to achieve specific results. It depends on the suitability of a mandala for a certain rite and the main deity worshipped in it. The use of mandalas in initiations (dikṣā) is treated elaborately. Some details of the ritual, such as the casting of a flower onto a mandala by the blindfolded initiand, have parallels in Buddhist Tantric initiation rituals.¹⁸ The deity is made to be present in a mandala by imposing the deity’s mantras on the mandala structure. Two important mandalas in the Pāncarātra tradition are the cakrābja-mandala and the navapadma-mandala. The Pāncarātra Samhitās consider the mandala a representation of the deity’s body, and of the universe as well. According to some Samhitās, emancipation is only possible through mandala worship. Rastelli further discusses the significance of yantras in the Pāncarātra tradition. She focuses especially on the saudarśana-yantra¹⁹ which is considered so powerful that the person who wears it requires another yantra, the ‘yantra of the wearer’ (dhārakayantra), to keep its power in check. As in the case of mandalas, the material from which yantras are made is considered essential for the efficacy of the rite. Different materials are believed to produce different results. (The texts of the Śaiva Siddhānta that Brunner examines emphasize the varying efficacy of the materials from which mandalas are constructed, from precious stones on downwards.)

The three following essays deal with aspects of the Śaiva traditions. Hélène Brunner has been researching Śaivāgamas for more than thirty years. Most of her work is written in French and therefore accessible to a more limited readership. For this volume, her French paper, originally published in Padoux’s edited volume, ‘Mantras et diagrammes rituels dans l’hindouisme,’ (1986: 11-35), was translated into English by R. Prévèreau, M.A., and completely

¹⁸ This topic has been dealt with repeatedly; for a description of the disciple’s entrance into the mandala and his casting of a flower, see, for example, Wayman 1974.

¹⁹ The saudarśanayantra appears to be identical with the sudarśanayantra (see section 2.3.3 of the following essay).
revised and enlarged. Brunner’s essay is divided into two parts. The first part attempts to clarify the meaning and use of the terms maṇḍala, yantra and cakra. Her classification of different types of maṇḍalas based on their ritual application is of special interest. (I have taken up Brunner’s discussion of the different types of maṇḍalas in the following essay [section 1.2], as has Törzsök in her own.) The second part describes the use of maṇḍalas in the ritual worship of Śiva. Brunner reconstructs the sarvatobhadramaṇḍala described in chapter 3 of the Śāradātilaka, which is used in an initiation (dīkṣā) ritual, and analyzes its structure in detail. Finally, she discusses the significance of maṇḍalas in the Siddhānta School.

Judit Törzsök examines pre-11th-century Śaiva maṇḍalas as icons which express a relationship between certain branches of Śaivism and between Śaiva and non-Śaiva groups. In the first part of her paper she deals with the uses of the terms maṇḍala and cakra, a topic also taken up by Brunner. This leads into a discussion on how the circles (cakra) of deities are present in a maṇḍala. Törzsök then focuses on two kinds of maṇḍalas: maṇḍalas used in initiations (dīkṣā) and maṇḍalas (and yantras) for the acquisition of supernatural powers (siddhi). Giving examples from the Svacchandatantra, she shows how maṇḍalas can visually represent doctrines of other Śaiva groups and teachings of non-Śaivas. Törzsök specifies three major strategies (specialization, expansion and substitution) which are employed to adapt maṇḍalas to a specific purpose, such as the acquisition of supernatural powers. In the Appendices, Törzsök attempts to reconstruct four maṇḍalas from textual descriptions. The reconstruction of two maṇḍalas (see Colour Plates 18–19) is tentative and does not show the outer boundaries that are characteristic of maṇḍala designs. These boundaries are not specifically mentioned in the texts, but are likely to have been assumed.

André Padoux’s first essay in this volume examines descriptions of maṇḍalas and their use in Abhinavagupta’s Tantrāloka (early 11th century). Basing himself mainly on material from various sections of the text, Padoux portrays the uses of such maṇḍalas as the trisūlābja-maṇḍala and tritiṣūlābja-maṇḍala in rites, including the different forms of the initiation (dīkṣā) and the practitioner’s daily ritual worship, in which the maṇḍala is visualized as being present in his body.

André Padoux’s second essay deals with the śrīcakra as described in the first chapter of the (most likely) 11th-century Yoginīḥṛdaya.
This chapter offers a description of the 'descent' (avatāra) of the śrīcakra as a cosmic process and manifestation of divine power, which the practitioner visualizes and experiences in his body. The cakra is portrayed here as a cosmic rather than a ritual diagram, whose contemplation has a visual/spatial as well as a phonic/mantric dimension and leads to an identification of the Yogin with the supreme level of the word (vāc).

Michael W. Meister measured a large number of ancient temples in the course of extensive research in India. His drawings of ground-plans of temples show how the vastupuruṣaṃāṇḍala was used in practice. Meister's contribution to this volume is concerned with the vastumaṇḍala as described in Varāhamihira's Brhat-Samhitā and its application in temple architecture.

This book contains only one bibliography, in order to avoid repetition of references and to allow the interested reader to find relevant literature on maṇḍalas, yantras and cakras in one place.

The title of this volume contains the much-debated word Hindu, which has been the focus of some controversy. I will not discuss the problems associated with this term here.\(^{20}\) I have decided, for pragmatic reasons, to use it rather than choices such as 'Brahmanical,' a word which would indicate to some that the subject matter is concerned only with the Brahmin community. The equally problematic terms Tantrism and Tantric\(^{21}\) are also used in this book for practical reasons and without further discussion.

**Remarks on the Transliteration**

It is difficult to avoid inconsistencies when transliterating words from different Indian languages. For the names of many places and temples, popular transliterations are already in circulation which may not conform to scholarly standards. I have in many instances retained the popular transliteration of such words in order to avoid burdening the reader with unusual spellings of names. The transliteration of words from Nevāri poses its own problems, since there is often more than one current spelling of a word. I am aware of minor inconsisten-

\(^{20}\) For a discussion of the problems associated with the term Hinduism, see, for instance, Smith 1987.

\(^{21}\) Padoux 1987b, Verardi 1994: 52–53 and Urban 1999, among others, have discussed these problematic terms.
cies in spellings of words from Indian languages used by the different authors, and also their divergent treatment of parentheses. It is difficult to avoid such inconsistencies without interfering too much with the style of the individual contributions.

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MANḌALA, Yantra and Cakra: Some Observations

Gudrun Bühnemann

1 MANḌALA

1.1 The Term MANḌALA

In its most general use, the word manḍala refers to something that is round or circular, such as a ring or circle, further, a region, terrestrial division, domain, assembly or a group.¹ The term is used in Kaúṭilya’s Arthasastra, book 6, in the sense of a spatial configuration of neighbouring states from the viewpoint of a king. In Tantric traditions, the term manḍala often refers to a space with a special structure that is enclosed and delimited by a circumferential line and into which a deity or deities are invited by means of mantras. This space is often a circle, but may also appear as a square, a triangle or another shape.² The various shapes and structures of manḍalas are based on the traditions of the different schools, ritual applications, the deities worshipped and the practitioner’s qualification and goal. Manḍalas themselves are prepared from various materials, including

¹ For a discussion of the uncertain etymology of the word manḍala, see Mayrhofer 1986-2001, volume 2: 294. A religious etymology of the word appears in Kulārṇava-Tantra 17.59:

   mangalatvāc ca dākinyā yoginīgaṇaṃśrayāt/
   lalitatvāc ca deveśi maṇḍalam parākṛitaṁ/

   “O mistress of the gods, it is called manḍala because it is auspicious (maṇgalatva), because it is the abode of the group of Yoginis of the Dakini, and because of (its) beauty (lalitatva).”

² For an etymology of the word manḍala, which divides the word into the components maṇḍa (explained as sāra [essence]) and la (from the verbal root la [to take]), see Tantrāloka 37.21 with Jayaratha’s commentary, referred to in Padoux, p. 227); Buddhist texts also divide the word manḍala into these two components, but different interpretations are given to them; cf. the discussions in Wayman 1999, Lessing/Wayman 1978: 270, note 1, Togano 1971: 150-160, Rambelli 1991: 9-13 and Tribe 1994: 127.

² Brunner, p. 157, note 5 and Törzsök, p. 208 also refer to semi-circular manḍalas and manḍalas having the (triangular) shape of a vulva (yoni), among others.
coloured powders, precious stones, fruits and leaves, and fragrant substances.\(^3\) It must be emphasized, however, that the mandala is not merely a physical structure with a specific design. A mandala is the place in which the practitioner beholds the deities who have been invoked into it and so have become an integral part of the structure.\(^4\) Mandalas figure among the places into which deities can be invoked. These include statues, vessels and fire.\(^5\)

Mandalas are required in occasional (not daily) rituals, such as festivals or religious observances (vrata) and more importantly Tantric initiation (dikṣā) rites, in which latter the viewing of the mandala is an essential element.\(^6\) At the time of initiation the mandala structure functions as a place in which the deities become visible to the initiate for the first time, thereby confirming the initiate’s new identity (Törzsö, pp. 183–184, 189, 190). The mandala structure can function as an important device for representing the pantheon of deities in a system or school, and expressing the hierarchy of deities within the system. This hierarchy can even include deities of other systems as part of a ‘lower revelation,’ and can indicate a cosmic order as well (Törzsö, p. 196). Further, mandalas, like yantras, are used in rituals leading to the attainment of supernatural powers (siddhi).\(^7\)

While most mandalas follow the common pattern of a concentric arrangement of deities in order to express a hierarchy, the trident mandala of the Trika also features a vertical ascent. The mandala’s trident is seen as rising three-dimensionally from a central lotus, as if coming out of the mandala’s surface (Törzsö, p. 196). We do not know whether three-dimensional mandalas were actually constructed. Such mandalas are known from Buddhist texts and traditions. The Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā (cf. Rastelli, p. 123) instructs the practitioner to make the lines of a mandala in varying thicknesses, with the centre

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\(^3\) For materials listed in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, see Rastelli, p. 123; for mandalas made from fragrant substances (gandhamandala), see Padoux, p. 226.

\(^4\) See the discussion in Törzsö, pp. 183–184 for more details.

\(^5\) Rastelli, p. 126 discusses the worship of the deity in four places (catuhsthāna) attested to in the younger Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās. These places are a mandala, a vessel, fire and a statue. Törzsö, p. 193, note 60, quoting the Tantraloka, lists 11 supports of external worship, including a rosary, manuscript and mirror.

\(^6\) Cf. Rastelli, pp. 130ff., Törzsö, pp. 185ff. and Padoux, pp. 227ff. for this aspect of mandalas.

\(^7\) See Törzsö, pp. 201–209 for a description of such use of mandalas in early Śaiva Tantras.
of the maṇḍala its most elevated part, which could be taken to presuppose the concept of three-dimensionality. Three-dimensional yantras are not uncommon in the Hindu traditions, and are described below in section 2.1.

Different theological interpretations have been applied to maṇḍalas, the structural parts and deities being correlated with doctrines of different systems. Interpretations are extremely varied, and even one text may provide more than one interpretation of the parts of a maṇḍala.

Patterns exhibited by maṇḍalas have had widespread influence. Maṇḍala patterns of cities have frequently been described. However, it often remains unclear what the connection between a maṇḍala and a city or temple really means, as Bafna 2000: 26 notes. Problems arise when one attempts to correlate maṇḍala structures and actual building plans. Gutschow 1982: 179, 185 argues that contemporary drawings of maṇḍalas of cities, such as the maṇḍala of the city of Bhaktapur in Nepal, usually do not reflect ancient guidelines for town-planning but rather represent a specific interpretation of existing urban conditions. A maṇḍala pattern is thus projected onto the city by establishing connections between already existing buildings. These connections may not be immediately intelligible to the outside observer, and are indeed open to interpretation.

The terms cakra and yantra are sometimes used as synonyms for maṇḍala, and all three terms are often translated indiscriminately as '(mystical) diagrams.' The fact that the geometric designs of maṇḍalas, yantras and cakras are similar contributes to confusion among the three. Not only Western authors confuse the terms, even later Sanskrit texts often use 'maṇḍala' and 'yantra' rather loosely as synonyms. Occasionally metrical considerations and constraints may have played a role in the choice of a word, as when a text uses the word pura ('city'), for example, as a synonym for maṇḍala. Other

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8 See, for example, Gutschow/Kölver 1975, where the authors describe the layout of the city of Bhaktapur in Nepal; see also Zanen 1986: 148–150, relating to the Nevar town Sankhu. For a critical approach to a maṇḍala as a concept said to underlie town-planning, see Roy 1977, who discusses the layout of Jaipur, and Tillotson 1987: 81–83, who focuses on the palaces of Bundelkhand.

9 For the use of the word pura ('city') as a synonym for maṇḍala, see the discussion among T. Goudriaan, H. Brunner and P. Filliozat reproduced in Padoux 1986: 32, and also Rastelli 2000b: 375, note 57.
Various definitions of the term maṇḍala have been proposed. Kramrisch 1946, volume 1: 11 defines ‘maṇḍala’ as a yantra when she writes about the vāstu-puruṣa-ṇaṇḍala: “The Vāstu-puruṣa-ṇaṇḍala, the diagram of the temple, is a Yantra....” Liebert 1976: 168 does the same when she defines the word as the name “of a kind of yantra.”

Similarly, Renou/Filliozat 1947–1953, volume 1: 568 state that yantras in which a more or less decorated circle predominates are called cakra or maṇḍala. In addition, some authors assume that yantras are the counterparts of maṇḍalas in the Hindu traditions. This erroneously implies that maṇḍalas are rarely part of the Hindu traditions and that yantras are not found in the Buddhist traditions.

Thus Tucci (1949) 1961: 46 states: “in Hinduism, however, yantras, purely linear designs expressing the same principles, are usually substituted for maṇḍalas ...”; and Eliade 1969: 219 writes: “The simplest maṇḍala is the yantra, employed by Hinduism....”

Several scholars have attempted to establish semantic distinctions among the three terms maṇḍala, yantra and cakra. One approach attempts to establish distinctions on the basis of the structure and constituent parts of these objects. Rao 1914–1916, volume 1: 330 states that a cakra “is defined in the Tantras as a figure consisting of

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10 Rastelli, p. 119, note 1, reports that the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā uses the word yāga synonymously with maṇḍala.

11 For a discussion of the terms bhavana/bhuvana, veśman and pīṭha as synonyms for maṇḍala, see Törzsöök, p. 182.

12 A similar statement is found in Bernier 1979: 120: “Every maṇḍala is essentially a yantra....”

13 Bizot 1981 describes Buddhist yantras in South-east Asia, especially Cambodia and Thailand. Yantras are also described in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, such as the Vimalaprabha commentary on the Kālacakra-tantra, chapter 3 (Vimalaprabhāśhāka of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarika on Śrīlaghukālacakrantrarāja by Śrīmaṇjusūriyaśas, volume 2, edited by V. Dwivedi/S.S. Bahulkar, Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1994): 19, 15ff.

14 See also Renou/Filliozat 1947–1953, volume 1: 568 for a similar statement.

15 The following statement by Hoens (in Gupta/Hoens/Goudriaan 1979: 113) illustrates the confusion surrounding the terms maṇḍala and yantra: “In the existing literature yantra and maṇḍala are often considered to be synonyms. This is not correct, because yantra in general means an instrument, an implement. The yantra is often three-dimensional whereas the maṇḍala always is two-dimensional. Maṇḍala and yantra often have the same geometrical forms, but the yantra may also have different forms.... The yantra is more worshipped than meditated upon. As far as the aims are concerned one can say that the yantra is more used for worldly purposes than for liberation, whereas the maṇḍala is used for both purposes.”
angles and petal-like parts; that which consists of angles alone is called a yantra.” It is unclear which text Rao cites here, but this statement can be identified in a quotation in the commentary Saubhāgyabhāskara by Bhāskararāya (18th century) on the Lalitāsahasranāma, p. 171, 4–7. In this quotation the word angle (asra) is synonymous with the Sanskrit word corner (kona) as used in the terms triangle (trikona) or hexagram (satkona). The expression ‘petal-like parts’ renders the Sanskrit word patra. The above distinction between cakra and yantra, however, appears to be purely theoretical and may be applicable only in a specific tradition. It does not account for the many yantras which are commonly described as consisting of petal-like parts. Zimmer (1926) 1984: 28–29 translates the three terms cakra, maṇḍala and yantra as ‘circle-shape’ designs (cakra), ‘ring-shaped’ designs (maṇḍala) and linear figures (yantra). It is not explained, however, exactly what is meant by these terms and what the differences between the ‘circle-shaped’ and ‘ring-shaped’ designs would be. Gaefke 1987: 155 notes that “it has become customary to call the simpler designs for daily worship yantras, and to reserve the term maṇḍala for the larger ones in public ceremonies where the whole cosmos has to be present.” Another approach attempts to establish distinctions between maṇḍalas, yantras and cakras on the basis of the deities invoked into these objects. Woodroffe 1914, volume 2: 285, note 13 makes a very generalized statement, which is applicable only to few maṇḍalas, when he asserts that the “difference between a Maṇḍala and a Yantra is that the former is used in the case of any Devatā, whereas a Yantra is appropriate to a specific Devatā only.” The following formulation by Shankaranarayanan 1970: 9 is a variation of Woodroffe’s statement, and is equally problematic: “The Mandala is used in the case of any deity while the Chakra is specifically intended for a particular deity.” Shankaranarayanan apparently replaced the word yantra in Woodroffe’s definition with the word cakra. Schneider 1988: 100 attempts to make a distinction between maṇḍala and yantra on the basis of the number of deities invoked. He suggests that a maṇḍala represents the microcosm and accommodates a pantheon of deities who are positioned in it according to rank. A yantra, on the other hand, is the domain of a single deity, but may include that deity’s retinue. This distinction

appears to be based on a statement by Pott (1946) 1966: 71, who describes "a maṇḍala as a cosmic configuration in the centre of which is an image or symbolic substitute of a prominent god surrounded by those of a number of deities of lower rank ordered hierarchically both among themselves and in relation to the chief figures, which configuration may be used as an aid to meditation and in ritual as a receptacle for the gods." He adds that a maṇḍala is "distinguished from a yantra by a more graphic representation of the deities or of their symbols and by a richer elaboration of the details.” This last statement by Pott also takes the structure of maṇḍalas and yantras into consideration and is somewhat more satisfactory than the definitions of his predecessors.

Yet another approach looks at the ritual use of maṇḍalas and yantras. Thus Vergati 1986: 37, 44-45 observes that maṇḍalas are used in secret as well as public ceremonies of the Hindus and Buddhists in Nepal, whereas the yantras, which always represent the goddess, have more restricted uses. It has also been noted that maṇḍalas are usually objects for temporary ritual use. The deities are invoked into them and dismissed at the end of the ritual, after which the maṇḍala is dismantled. Yantras made of permanent materials into which a deity has been invoked are usually kept in the temple or shrine for continued worship (Sharma 1994: 423-424). It must be added, however, that many yantras are made for temporary use, like maṇḍalas. Rastelli, p. 144 notes yet another feature that sets maṇḍalas and yantras apart in the Maṇḍūkya tradition. She states that yantras are already inscribed on yantras at the time of manufacturing the yantra. The drawing of the lines of the structure and the writing of the mantras are a single process, which may indicate that a yantra represents one integrated unit in which the deity is worshipped. Maṇḍalas, however, are constructed first and the deities are invoked into them with mantras only later. It must be added, however, that later texts enjoin that yantras be first prepared and then infused with life in a special ritual, the prāṇapratīsthā, with the help of mantras. It is not possible to summarize all attempts at defining ‘maṇḍala,’ ‘yantra’ and ‘cakra’ in the literature. The use and functions of these terms are complex and it will be impossible to arrive at a universally valid definition. An in-depth study of the use of the terms in texts of different religious systems and time periods would be required to
1.2 Types of Maṇḍalas according to H. Brunner

H. Brunner's contribution to this book describes uses of the word maṇḍala based on her study of pre-13th-century Śaiva manuals. Even though she confines herself to an analysis of the texts of the Siddhānta School of Śaivism, her observations on the use of the terms maṇḍala, yantra and cakra appear to have a somewhat wider application. Brunner takes the term maṇḍala to signify a limited, not necessarily round, surface, and distinguishes four basic types of maṇḍalas:

Type 1: Limited surfaces without a clear structure, which are commonly employed as seats for divinities, men or objects during ritual, such as maṇḍalas of cow-dung smeared on the ground. They can be called 'seat-maṇḍalas.'

Type 2: Limited surfaces with geometrical designs prepared from coloured powders, which serve as supports for the regular or occasional worship of deities. These maṇḍalas are for temporary use, being destroyed after the ritual. They are constructed in a ritual, with close adherence to directional orientation. Commonly three, four or five different colours are employed. These maṇḍalas, often called 'powder maṇḍalas' (rajomāṇḍala), may be large-sized and so allow for the priest to enter through the doors and move around in 'streets.' According to Brunner, such maṇḍalas are temporarily constructed divine icons and can be called 'image-maṇḍalas' (the term is not used in any texts).

Type 3: Limited surfaces divided into a certain number of squares or units called padas, domains into which divine or demonic powers are invoked to receive food offerings (bali). Their construction usually does not involve the use of colours. The best known maṇḍala in this category is the vāstumāṇḍala. Brunner also includes in this category geometrical figures divided into boxes among which objects are distributed. She refers to the maṇḍalas in this category as 'distributive diagrams.'

Type 4: The term maṇḍala is also used to designate the symbolic shapes of the five elements and the spheres/orbs of the sun, moon...
and fire. The shapes of the elements are visualized, for example, in the Tantric rite of purification of the elements (bhūnasuddhi) of the performer's body. Since the shapes of the elements and the spheres of the sun, moon and fire are neither concrete material objects nor supports for worship in the way that the previously discussed mandalas are, they do not really fit the present context and are therefore excluded from further discussion.

Concerning Brunner's first category of maṇḍalas, I would like to add that in other traditions 'seat-maṇḍala' appears to be more commonly used for ritual objects than for persons. The function of these mandalas is to protect ritual objects placed on them. Such supports, made of various materials, may feature simple geometric patterns, and can be referred to as maṇḍalas or 'yantras for (establishing) a foundation' (sthāpanayantra) (see 2.2.1).

The name of the second category, 'image-maṇḍala,' may be somewhat misleading, since it suggests the presence of a pictorial representation of the deity in the maṇḍala—which is not intended. What is meant is that the entire maṇḍala is the principal support for worship and is present as an image/icon for the duration of the ritual. These maṇḍalas are also called 'powder maṇḍalas' (rajomaṇḍala) (but they may also be made from other materials, such as grains) and can be characterized as supports into which deities are invited in order to receive worship.

Brunner's classification of types of maṇḍalas and their ritual use in the Śaiva tradition is valuable. In all attempts at classification, however, we need to be aware of the fact that in both texts and ritual practice the distinction among the types of maṇḍalas is not always that clear. Any classification can therefore only be of limited practical value, and is often applicable only within one particular system.

1.3 Some Structural Elements of Maṇḍalas

Maṇḍalas display different shapes and patterns, and are made up of various constituent parts, depending on the tradition they come from. In the following I will describe two basic structural elements of maṇḍalas, the lotus design and square grid. In the next essay, I will provide concrete examples of these structures from the Smārta tra-
dition of Mahārāṣṭra. Geometric figures like the triangle and hexa-
gram, which occasionally also appear in manḍalas, will be described in section 2.3 in connection with yantras. In the following I will look at manḍala patterns of different periods and traditions simultane-
ously, without attempting to treat the topic historically.

1.3.1 Lotus Designs
Lotus designs appear commonly in Indian art as well as in manḍalas and in yantras. The lotus is a common South Asian symbol of creation, purity, transcendence and the sphere of the absolute, but is especially known as a symbol of the female reproductive organ. It has also been connected with water symbolism since ancient times, as already indicated by a statement in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 7.4.1.8: “The lotus is the waters.” Indeed, in descriptions of the symbolic shapes (manḍala) of the elements (bhūta) the lotus represents the element water.

In manḍalas and yantras of lotus design, the central deity is positioned in the pericarp (karnikā), and the emanations or subordinate deities in the petals. A lotus design may have one ring or several concentric rings of petals. The petals of an eight-petalled lotus ideally point in the cardinal and intermediate directions, but we find numerous specimens in books and coins in which it is the spaces between two petals that are oriented to the points of the compass. This orientation may be due to the ignorance of the craftsmen who prepared the yantras. Bunce 2001: 28 explains that this latter orientation signifies power and the feminine element, but I am doubtful whether it is described in ancient texts. The eight-petalled lotus whose petals do the pointing is a shape which is well suited for positioning deities in their respective directions. This purpose is not served when two petals point in each of the cardinal directions and none in the intermediate directions. The relationship between directions and lotus petals is borne out by a statement in Maitrāyaṇīya-

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17 For a recent and detailed discussion of the symbolism of the lotus, see Garzilli 2000; for the lotus motive in architecture, see Gutschow 1997: 248ff.
18 The symbolic shapes of the elements are classified as manḍalas of type 4 in Brunner’s aforementioned classification of manḍalas (see section 1.2).
19 See, for example, Šāradātilaka 1.23–24, where a lotus with a half moon represents water.
20 For a description of the construction of the various shapes of petals, see Bunce 2001: 26.
Upanishad 6.2 which identifies the lotus (of the heart) with space (ākāśa), and its eight petals with the four cardinal and intermediate directions. Eight-petalled lotus designs commonly appear in the centre of Buddhist mandalas, such as in the mandalas of the eight great Bodhisattvas. They are also found on Nepalese coins of the Malla period and on Indian coins. An eight-pointed star can serve the same ritual function as the eight-petalled lotus, but is less common.

In addition to eight-petalled lotuses, lotuses with two, four, 10, 12, 16, 24, 32, 100, 1000 or more petals appear in mandalas and yantras. The number of petals is mostly even, but yantras with an odd number of petals (for example, five) are also found, in which case their directional orientation may not be of any obvious relevance. A special kind of six-petalled lotus is the vajra-lotus described in the Kubjikāmata-Tantra. This is an eight-petalled lotus from which two petals have been removed. Its shape resembles a vajra with three peaks on either side. Nepalese coins of the Malla period also depict four-petalled, five-petalled and six-petalled lotuses.

Some texts prescribe that the lotus petals should have different shapes depending on the purpose of the associated rite. Thus the petals may be curved along their edges, and with or without pointed tips, and so forth (Törzsök, p. 207).

The lotus pattern is commonly found in current ritual practice, for example, in Mahārāṣṭra. An eight-petalled (aṣṭadala) lotus, prepared from grains or coloured powders, frequently functions as a support for ritual vessels. Atop the vessel is 'a dish filled (with grains)' (pūrnapātra), especially uncooked rice, that serves as the seat of the main deity of the rite. In Nepal, lotus designs can also be found on stones.

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21 See, for example, Leidy/Thurman 1997: 26–28.
23 See Sircar 1968, Plate xxiii, nos. 9 and 10 rev.
near thresholds, on roads or in public places. These stones, which have been termed ‘lotus stones’ by some authors (Auer/Gutschow 1974: 29, 32, 33, 124), serve special functions in the Nevār religious tradition.²⁹

A pattern of nine lotuses arranged in groups of three placed one above the other appears in several important maṇḍalas. These include the Pāñcarātra navapadmamaṇḍala (see Colour Plate 15), the Śaiva navanābhamamaṇḍala (Colour Plate 18) and several versions of the Buddhist vajrāhātumamaṇḍala.³⁰

In the context of specific maṇḍalas and yantras, different interpretations of the lotus design and the lotus petals are given. The (most likely seventh-century) Ganesapūrvatāpaniya-Upaniṣad, section 3 gives an interpretation of the constituent parts of a yantra of Ganeśa. The yantra’s innermost ring of eight lotus petals is taken to represent the eight-syllabled gāyatrī; the adjacent ring of 12 petals, the 12 Ādityas and the vowels; and the following ring of 16 petals, the puruṣa who consists of 16 parts (kalā), and the consonants. Miśra 1959: 482–483 interprets an unidentified Śākta yantra as representing the process of creation, and takes the eight petals of its lotus to signify the five elements, manas, buddhi and ahāmkarā. Some

²⁹ We know of several types of stones with engraved lotus designs. One type is described as a guardian stone (Nevārī pikhālakhu, sometimes considered synonymous with Nevārī chetrapālā) in front of thresholds (Gutschow/Kölver/Shresthacarya 1987: 35, 54–55, 92, 120 and Kölver/Shresthacarya 1994: 101, 209). According to Toffin 1999: 42, the pikhālakhu protective stone is considered the abode of the deity Pīkhālakhudayaḥ, whom both Buddhists and Hindus identify with Kumāra/Skanda. This stone reportedly has different functions in ritual: offerings are deposited on it; it receives worship as part of the marriage ceremony, at which time it may be smeared with cow-dung; or else a diagram may be drawn on it (Toffin 1999: 43). For a photograph of one such stone, see Gutschow/Kölver/Shresthacarya 1987: 120, no. 121. Another type of stone is called chvāsa (Gutschow/Kölver/Shresthacarya 1987: 35 and Kölver/Shresthacarya 1994: 105). This is a deified stone found at crossroads on which ritually impure (ucchiṣṭa) objects are discarded (Gutschow 1982: 105). The grandmother-goddess (ajīmā) is propitiated there. For a photograph, see Gutschow/Kölver/Shresthacarya 1987: 92, no. 14. A third type of stone is called mandaha/mandah (Nevārī) because of its maṇḍala-like design (Gutschow/Kölver/Shresthacarya 1987: 65, 120 and Kölver/Shresthacarya 1994: 258). This stone may be covered with brass. For a photograph, see Gutschow/Kölver/Shresthacarya 1987: 120, no. 122.

³⁰ See, for example, the central part of the 12th-century vajrāhātumamaṇḍala from Alchi, Ladak (Leidy/Thurman 1997: 40, Figure 36). The ninefold structure is already seen in the mandala of the eight great Bodhisattvas in Cave 12 in Ellora, Mahārāṣṭra (late seventh to early eighth century) (see Figure 21 in Leidy/Thurman 1997: 31).
Pāñcarātra texts identify the maṇḍala with the deity’s body and its constituent parts with the deity’s body parts. Thus the Sātvata-Saṃhitā (Rastelli, p. 139) takes the lotus to represent the deity’s intellect (*dhi* = *buddhi*). The Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā provides yet another interpretation of the lotus, equating it with the deity’s heart. The central lotuses in maṇḍalas or yantras often have triangles and hexagrams inscribed in their pericarps. In a two-dimensional structure, the lotuses are usually surrounded by a square enclosure, often termed a seat or throne (*pīṭha*), adjacent to which may be a corridor or passage (*vīthi*) for circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*). In a three-dimensional structure, the *pīṭha* would be the support of the lotus and project beyond it. Between one and three concentric circles and a square (with often three nested lines) frequently surround the central lotus on the outside. These geometrical structures will be discussed separately in section 2.3 in the context of yantras. In maṇḍala designs, lotuses also appear in combination with Śiva’s trident(s). A central lotus in a maṇḍala may be replaced by a wheel (*cakra*). The deities are then assigned to the hub and the spokes of the wheel. A wheel can also appear in combination with a lotus design.

### 1.3.2 The Square Grid
A common structural device of certain maṇḍalas is the square grid, which may incorporate a lotus design (made of squares) in its centre. Examples of this structure are the *bhadrāmaṇḍalas* employed in Śaiva ritual, which are analyzed in the next essay. The square grid is obtained by drawing a certain number of vertical and horizontal base lines to form squares on a surface. The squares, called *pada* or *kośṭha*, are assembled into different shapes and parts by filling them with coloured powders or grains. The constituent parts of the *sarva-...
1.3.3 Other Designs

The sarvatobhadra reconstructed by Brunner in this book belongs to a different mandala tradition from the aforementioned sarvatobhadra, and consists of different constituents. Structurally, the mandala represents a combination of the square grid seen in the bhadramandalas and a rounded lotus shape on a throne in the centre. The lotus consists of the pericarp (karnikā), filaments (kesara), petals (patra, dala) and the tips of the petals (dalagra). The throne (piṭha) has four ‘feet’ (pāda) and four ‘limbs’ or ‘bodies’ (gātra), that is, side parts in the form of the bodies of men and animals (Brunner, pp. 167–168). There is a corridor or passage (vithī) for circumambulation which surrounds a throne (piṭha) and miniature creepers (laghuvalī) and miniature chains (laghusrṅkhalā). The characteristic element of the rāmatobhadras is the ‘seal’ of Rāma, which usually consists of the inscribed words rājā rāma. The ganeśa- and sūryabhadrās feature images of Gaṇeśa and the sun respectively.

31 In architectural terminology, the term bhadra designates an offset projection common to North Indian temple plans.

35 This interpretation is also given to mandalas of the Pāñcarātra tradition (see Rastelli, p. 139).

36 For the outer square as part of yantras, see section 2.3.8.

37 These terms are also written sōbhā upasōbhā in the Pauśkara-Samhitā (cf. Rastelli, p. 139). For an explanation of these terms, see Appendix 2 to Törzsök’s contribution. Brunner, p. 169 interprets sōbhā as a ‘door’ or ‘entrance pavilion of the first enclosure of a palace or temple’ and upasōbhā as possibly signifying a ‘pavilion
śrīmāṇḍala and the navanābhamaṃḍala reconstructed in Törzsök (see her Appendices 1–2 and Colour Plates 16 and 18), feature additional constituent parts. These include door segments termed kaṇṭha (the upper part of a door) and upakānta (the lower part of a door). The upakānta is also called kapola in some texts.

Different interpretations are given to the constituent parts of these maṇḍalas. The śrīmāṇḍala reconstructed by Törzsök (see her Appendix 1 and Colour Plates 16–17) is surrounded by a square with five nested lines coloured transparent, yellow, black, red and white from the inside to the outside. These five lines are identified with the five kalās which constitute the Śaiva universe. In the Pāṇḍarātra tradition the maṇḍala is sometimes identified with the deity’s body. Interpreting one of these maṇḍalas, the Sātvata-Saṃhitā equates the śobhās with the deity’s organs of action (karanā), the upaśobhās with the subtle elements (tanmātrā), and the corners and gates with the deity’s sense organs (cf. Rastelli, p. 139). In the Pāṇḍarātra tradition the maṇḍala also becomes a representation of the universe, when its constituent parts are equated with cosmic principles and divine powers. Thus the Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā, for example, identifies the five colours used in the maṇḍala with the five elements (see Rastelli, p. 141).

1.4 The Question of the Origin and Date of Maṇḍalas

Several scholars have suggested that Tantric maṇḍalas are rooted in Vedic traditions. The layout of Vedic altars is taken as indicative of an early interest in geometric designs endowed with cosmological symbolism (Gaefke 1987: 153). The method of determining the lines of the compass for the construction of sacrificial altars, the consecration of bricks on the surface of a cayana altar by means of mantras and the locating of deities on those bricks are essential features of Vedic rituals (Apte 1926: 2–3), and aspects of these rituals recur in the practice of constructing maṇḍalas and invoking deities into their parts. The sacred space of maṇḍalas and yantras can be seen as a continuation of the Vedic sacrificial site (Schneider on top of a secondary door). The translation ‘offset design’ for śobhā and ‘recess design’ for upaśobhā is used by P.P. Apte in the introduction to his edition and translation of the Pauskara-Saṃhitā (Part 1), p. xii. For drawings of these parts, see Törzsök’s Illustration 1 and also Hikita 1991: 319.
1988: 100), and the square enclosure of Tantric maṇḍalas in particular as an analogue of the sacred fire altar (Gupta 1988: 39–41). But the similarities between the two traditions appear to end here. Authors like Mitra 1958: 112–13 are going too far when they assume that patterns displayed by yantras and maṇḍalas can be traced back to the Śulba-Sūtras of the Vedāṅgas (which prescribe the way to construct sacrificial altar diagrams), since the patterns displayed by Tantric maṇḍalas are distinctly different. So are the mantras and the deities invoked into maṇḍalas and the details of the rites. The problem of the similarities and differences between Vedic and Tantric traditions is complex and needs to be explored in greater detail in a separate study. Such an investigation would have to trace the influences of other traditions on maṇḍalas as well.

The oldest Hindu maṇḍalas may date back to before the sixth century A.D. Among the oldest maṇḍalas that can be dated are two types of vāstupuruṣamaṇḍalas described in Varāhamihira’s Brhat-Samhitā. This text is commonly placed in the middle of the sixth century. The two vāstupuruṣamaṇḍalas are described in chapter 53, but were obviously not created by Varāhamihira but rather incorporated from older unidentified sources. Apte 1987: 141 notes that the first type of vāstupuruṣamanda is described in the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā of the Pāncaśīatra, which he dates to ca. 400 A.D. (Apte 1986: 3, 1999: 18) or at least 450 A.D. (Apte 1987), while Matsubara 1994: 34 assigns the Pauṣkara to 500 A.D. However, these early dates are highly speculative, the upper limit for the composition of the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā being only the tenth century. Moreover, dating a Saṁhitā as a whole is problematic, since these texts were constantly revised and reworked by redactors. Sanderson 2001: 38, note 50 states that he found evidence that the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā (along with the Jayākhya-Saṁhitā and the Sātvata-Saṁhitā) were influenced by Tantric Śaiva systems. At this time the complex descriptions of maṇḍalas found in the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā cannot be dated with certainty. We do not have clear evidence for establishing dates for the development of yantras either. Brooks 1992: 34 considers the possibility that the most famous of yantras, the śrīcakra/śrīyaṇtra, developed before the sixth century.

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Chattopadhyaya 1978: 80, too, suggests a connection between yantras and shapes of sacrificial diagrams used in the Vedic tradition.
2 Yantra

2.1 General Remarks

The word yantra designates an instrument, machine, machine, mechanical device or appliance (especially one used in warfare), and also a magic diagram. It is derived from the verbal root yam, 'to control.'

39 For this meaning of 'yantra,' see, for example, Bhagavadgītā 18.61. Mechanical appliances and machines called yantras are described in chapter 31 of the Samarāṅgana-Sūtradhāra, a work on architecture ascribed to Bhoja, which was studied by Raghavan 1956: 21–31. See also the overview in Shukla 1967: 30–52. For different astronomical instruments called yantras for use in observatories, see Volwahsen 2001: 40ff.

40 Mayrhofer 1986–2001, volume 2: 398 explains the word yantra as an instrument for fastening. Kramrisch 1946, volume 1: 11–12, who apparently does not differentiate between the terms mandala and yantra, defines 'yantra' as follows: 'A Yantra is a geometrical contrivance by which any aspect of the Supreme Principle may be bound (yantr, to bind; from the root 'yam') to any spot for the purpose of worship. It is an artifice in which the ground (bhūmi) is converted into the extent of the manifested universe.' For two religious etymologies of the word yantra, see the following verses from two different chapters of the Kulārṇava-Tantra. The first verse derives the word yantra from the verbal root yam with the prefix ni, meaning 'to restrain, prevent, tame.'

kāmakrodhaśīdōṣottothasarvadukhāh khamiyantranāt
yantram ity āhur etasmin devaḥ priyātī pūjitaḥ // 6.86

"Because it restrains all suffering arising from the defects (in the form) of desire, anger and so forth they call it yantra. The god who is worshipped in it graces (the practitioner)."

yamabhādhisarvebhayo bhaye bhayo 'pi kuleśvarī /
yāyaṣat satatam evaṃ tasmād yantram itīraṃ // 17.61

"O mistress of the kula, because it protects always from absolutely all dangers, such as Yama and (evil) spirits (bhūta), therefore it is called yantra."

Pūrṇānanda’s Śrīstavacintāmani 17.2 explains the word yantra in a similar way:
yamayat akhilam pāpam trāyate māhato bhayāt /
sādhakaṃ pūjanād dhyānāt tasmād yantraḥ prakīrtyate //

"It subdues all evil, it protects the practitioner from great danger when worshipped (and) visualized (dhyāna); therefore it is called yantra."

(The masculine gender of yantra here is rather unusual, but see also the citation from the Kālīvīlaṇa-Tantra below.)

Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s commentary, pp. 519, 6–7 on Śāradātilaka 24.1 quotes the following etymology of the word yantra from an unspecified Saṃhitā:

manorāhāraśārīry atra niyantryante tapo dhanāḥ /

"In this the letters of (= conveying) desires are affixed. O ascetics."

He continues with a line reminiscent of Kulārṇava-Tantra 6.86 cited above:
kāmakrodhādidoṣān vā (correct to "doṣottadī") īrghahukhamiyantranāt //
yantram ity āhū / itī

"They call it yantra because it restrains prolonged suffering arising from defects (in the form) of desire, anger and so forth."
A general characteristic of yantras is that they are small in size. In contrast, maṇḍalas vary in size and can be large enough to allow for priests or initiands to enter them through doors and to walk around in them, for example, during an initiation (dīkṣā). With the exception of yantras placed below temple statues at the time of their consecration and yantras installed permanently for worship in mathas or temples, and a few other cases, yantras are generally mobile, whereas maṇḍalas are not. While maṇḍalas can employ different colour schemes, the use of colour is less common if not indeed irrelevant in the case of most yantras. Texts may prescribe that the lines of a yantra be traced with a specific colour, for example, with turmeric or blood, but the space inside a yantra is never filled with colours as it is in the case of maṇḍalas. And while pictorial representations of deities can appear in maṇḍalas, such images are generally not found in yantras. Like maṇḍalas, yantras are believed to be effective only when worshipped. However, some texts claim that the act of merely viewing a maṇḍala or drawing or recollecting a yantra brings about beneficial results. However, according to Kālivilāsa-Tantra 7.9cd–10ab and 27.21ab, worship of a deity in a yantra is not recommended in the present kali era.

Based on an analysis of texts of the Trika School of Kashmir, Brunner, p. 162 briefly defines a yantra as a linear representation on a specific surface, such as birch-bark. She adds that yantras almost inevitably have letters, seed (bija) syllables or mantras inscribed in them. Since mantras frequently employ verbs in the imperative to express an order, Brunner suggests the translation ‘coercive diagrams’ for yantras. Similarly, Rastelli, p. 142 concludes from her study of the Pāñcarātra texts that yantras have inscribed mantras.

Another etymology of ‘yantra’ is found in Kālivilāsa-Tantra 33.1:

\[
\text{bijānāṁ kunavijñānam yatnatas trāyate yataḥ} / \\
tena yantra iti khyāta īśānamukhanihśrtaḥ //
\]

"Because it with effort protects the knowledge of the angles/corners (of the drawing) (reserved) for the seed (syllables), which (knowledge) came forth from Īśāna’s (that is, Śiva’s) mouth, therefore it is called yantra."

(The form śrtaḥ—the text reads erroneously śmṛtaḥ—can be explained as an example of case attraction; śrtaṁ is the expected form.)

41 See Rastelli, p. 143 for yantras described in the Aniruddha-Samhitā, which are drawn and then worshipped on a platform and are therefore not mobile.

42 The saundarśanayantra (see Rastelli, pp. 148–150), which is a combination of a yantra and a figure of Viṣṇu, is an exceptional case.

43 See the Suprabhedā quoted in Brunner, p. 175, note 53.

44 See the description in Rastelli, p. 146.
Authors such as Kṣemarāja consider it characteristic of certain yantras that mantras are inscribed in them. But at least in later texts and in modern practice mantras or syllables are not necessarily part of yantras (see sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2).

Brunner concludes that yantras, like some maṇḍalas, are used for worship in desire-oriented (kāmyai) rites, but their main purpose is magical. She asserts that maṇḍalas are employed in rituals to obtain the deity’s favour, but without the presence of a magical element. This may be true of the limited group of texts Brunner analyzes, but it is not the complete picture, for Törzsök, pp. 201-209 discusses maṇḍalas described in the Bhairava-Tantras which are used in rituals leading to the attainment of supernatural powers (siddhi).

Yantras can be two- or three-dimensional. Two-dimensional yantras are designs on paper, textiles and other materials. Three-dimensional yantras are raised structures usually made of metal. The well-known śrīyantra or śrīcakra can be represented either two- or three-dimensionally. Three-dimensional śrīcakras are classified differently, depending on the author’s use of terminology.46

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46 See Kṣemarāja’s statement quoted by Sanderson in Padoux 1986: 33.
Khanna 1986: 101 lists the following kinds of three-dimensional śrīcakras:
1) bhūprastāra – engraved or embossed on a flat metal surface;
2) meruprastāra – pyramid-shaped, with either two, three or nine elevations rising one above the other; and
3) kailāśaprabhastāra (for kailāśa4), having a slightly raised surface.
For information on meruprastāra-, bhūprastāra- and kailāśaprabhastāra-śrīcakras, see Rao 1990: 116-117 and Shankaranarayanan 1970: 92-94. According to Khanna, the bhūprastāra type of śrīcakra features slightly raised shapes on a flat surface. Other authors assert that the bhūprastāra (also called bhūprastha) form of the śrīcakra has a completely flat surface and is two-dimensional.

Two kinds of bhūprastāra (called bhūprastha) yantras are referred to in Chawdhri 1990: 2 and Chawdhri 1992: 8. This author lists the following kinds of yantras:
1) ’bhoo prishth (= bhūprastha) yantras’ – yantras from materials that indicate the use of earth; they are further subdivided into raised yantras and carved yantras;
2) ’meru prishth (= meruprastha) yantras’ – raised yantras which are shaped like mountains;
3) ’patal (for pātāla) yantras’ – carved yantras shaped like inverted mountains;
4) ’meru prastar (= meruprastar) yantras’ – cut yantras, and
5) ’ruram prishth (misprint for kūrumprastha) yantras’ – yantras that have the shape of a rectangle at their base and that of the back of a tortoise above their base.

Finer distinctions among these categories are not provided. Chawdhri’s classification has been adopted by Beckman 1996: 50-52. A somewhat similar classification appears in Johari 1986: 58:

“1) Bhu-Prashtha Yantra: engraved or drawn on a flat surface.
2.2 Types of Yantras

Attempts to establish a distinction between manḍalas and yantras have already been discussed in section 1.1. This section will discuss attempts to classify yantras. Renou/Filliozat 1947–1953, volume 1: 568 attempt to distinguish between two types of yantras. The first type of yantra is supposed to be purely linear-geometric, and to be employed in temples for purposes of permanent worship. The second type reportedly features a linear design with iconic representations and is used in temporary and individual worship rites. No examples or further details are given, and in the absence of explanations and textural evidence this unusual distinction remains unclear.

In a book on yantras written for a general readership, S.K.R. Rao 1988: 14–15 distinguishes the following three types of yantras:

1. yantras for worship or for actualizing a deity (pūjanayantra),
2. yantras for magical protection (rakṣāyantra) and

2) Meru-Prasātha Yantra: three-dimensional form composed of metal or stone or gem-stones and shaped like a pyramid, having a broad base and narrowing gradually toward the top like a mountain (meru).
3) Patal Yantra: deeply engraved—exactly the reverse of the pyramid yantra.
4) Meru-Prastar Yantra: composed of pieces that are glued or welded to each other instead of being one solid piece.

Metal śrīcākra supported by a tortoise pedestal are commercially sold in India as kūmpārṣṭha-śrīcākra. Brooks 1990: 107 lists only the two-dimensional bhūprastāra (‘spreading over the earth’) śrīcākra as a category along with the fully three-dimensional meru or suเมรุ form and the more flattened, elongated kairesa form. Rao 1990: 118 refers to a classification of śrīcākra into bhūprastha, kacchapaprastha and meruprastha. When a cakra is drawn on a flat surface, it is called bhūprastha. When “supported by a dwarf pedestal, raised like the back of a tortoise” it is referred to as kacchapaprastha. When the cakra has the form of a mountain with different elevations it is known as meruprastha. Umānandaṇātha in his Nityotsava (written in 1745 A.D.), p. 65, 4–9, lists one type of bhūprastāra-śrīcākra in which the lines of the cakra are elevated, and three types of meruprastāra-śrīcākra in which specific parts of the structure are elevated. Pranavananda <1977>: 35–39 classifies śrīcākra into the following three categories:

1) bhūprastāra or bhūkrama;
2) kūmpārṣṭha or kūmpārṣṭha and
3) merukrama, meruprastāra or meruprastha.

According to this author, the first kind is a śrīcākra whose complete design is engraved or embossed. The śrīcākra of the second type all feature nine triangles in a slightly elevated position. Such a cakra may also be placed on the back of a tortoise (and hence the name kūmpārṣṭha or kūmpārṣṭha). The third type of śrīcākra has all its triangles raised like a mountain.
3. yantras which are also called maṇḍalas; they are defined as surfaces on which ritual objects are placed.

In the same book (Rao 1988: 19) the author introduces yet another threefold classification of yantras:

1. yantras for magical purposes, generally called protective yantras (*rakṣāyantra*),
2. yantras for actualizing divinities (*devatāyantra*) and
3. yantras that facilitate meditation (*dhyānayantra*).

The items in the first two categories in both lists are identical, even if their sequence differs. The third type of yantra in the first list will be discussed below. The third category in the second list appears to refer to certain Buddhist maṇḍalas (Rao 1988: 27). Even though descriptive details are missing and the categories are presented in a somewhat unsystematic way, Rao’s classification is helpful, but clearly not sufficient. Rao has pointed the reader in the right direction by taking the ritual function of yantras into consideration when attempting to classify them.

Building on Brunner’s and Rao’s work as well as on the basis of my study of Tantric texts of the later period, I would like to suggest the following tentative classification of yantras as a guideline. This classification, according to the distinctive features and ritual use of yantras, is not intended to be exhaustive and may not be applicable to all South Asian Tantric traditions.

1. Yantras which function as supports for ritual implements during a worship ritual, being referred to as ‘yantras for (establishing) a foundation’ (*sthāpanayantra*),
2. yantras employed in a practitioner’s *regular* Tantric worship of a deity, often referred to as ‘yantras (which are supports) for worship’ (*pūjāyantra, pūjādhārayantra*) and named for their presiding deity, for example, ‘yantra for the worship of Gaṇapati’ (*gaṇapatipūjāyantra*), and
3. yantras employed in optional *desire-oriented* rites, which are performed on special occasions. Yantras used in a special ritual for a certain deity are included here as well as yantras which are prepared for specific magical rites, and which are often named for these rites, for example, ‘yantra for attraction’ (*ākāraṇa-*)
yantra) (Illustration 1). After the ritual is complete, the instructions may recommend that these yantras consecrated for magical purposes be made into amulets and worn on the body (dhārana-yantra) in order to obtain the desired results, such as protection or the acquisition of power and wealth. Among these yantras, the yantras for protection (rakṣāyantra) figure prominently in texts. In the category of yantras for desire-oriented rites I also include magic (number) squares. These are diagrams with numbers inscribed, the sum of which remains the same, regardless of the direction in which one adds them up.

These three categories are detailed below.

2.2.1 Type I: Yantras for Establishing a Foundation
These yantras feature simple geometric shapes, such as a triangle or a circle. They function as supports for ritual implements, such as lamps or vessels, in special desire-oriented (kāmya) or magical rites. Such supports also figure in the regular Tantric pūjā, in which they appear to be referred to as maṇḍalas (see Illustration 2). Their function can be compared to that of the ‘seat-maṇḍalas’ in Brunner’s maṇḍala classification (section 1.2); however, Brunner’s ‘seat-maṇḍalas,’ which are made of cow-dung and similar materials, are without any clearly recognizable structure.

2.2.2 Type 2: Yantras Employed in Regular Worship
Yantras of this type usually feature common geometric shapes, but generally do not have mantras inscribed, at least according to the later Tantric texts that I have studied. However, the deity and her/his emanations are invoked into the yantra with mantras. A few yantras have the names of these emanations or surrounding deities inscribed following the expression ‘salutation to’ (namah). Regardless of whether the mantras are only used to invoke the deity or whether they are also inscribed in the yantra, they are of utmost importance. It is for this reason that the Kulārṇava-Tantra states that a yantra

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47 For magic (number) squares, see, for example, the illustrations in Abbott 1932: 515–521 and the discussion in Cammann 1969.
48 The maṇḍala in Illustration 2 serves as a support for the vardhini/ vardhānī vessel in a Tantric pūjā.
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consists of the deity’s mantra.49 Yantras employed in regular worship are often made of durable materials, such as copper.

In this category of yantras I would also include the śrīcakra, also called śrīyantra. In addition to being worshipped in ritual, this cakra is also visualized and experienced in the practitioner’s body as a manifestation of the cosmic process of creation and resorption with spatial and mantric aspects, as Padoux explains in his contribution to this book.

2.2.3 Type 3: Yantras Employed in Optional Desire-Oriented Rites

The third category of yantras is required for the performance of optional rites, such as specific magical rites, and they are often made of perishable materials, such as birch-bark or paper. These yantras are drawn, according to the instructions, with special writing materials and substances, such as animal or human blood or ashes from a cremation ground. Johari 1986: 63 reports that such yantras may be made from wheat flour, rice paste, beans or (grains of) rice.50 They may also be incised on more permanent materials, such as metal plates. Discussions of the various styluses used and the materials on which protective yantras can be written are commonly found in texts. The materials are considered extremely important for the success of the ritual, and correspond to the nature of the rite performed. Thus cruel rites require repulsive materials, and the yantra used in the rite of liquidation (māraṇa) as described in Mahīdhara’s 16th-century Mantramahodadhi 25.56ab and 25.59ab should be written on human bone with certain poisonous substances.

General instructions for drawing yantras for different purposes, including reducing fever, keeping snakes away and countering the effects of poison, can be found in various texts, such as chapter 24 of Laksmaṇadeśika’s Śaradātilaka (10th-11th century), which is based

49 Cf. Kulārṇava-Tantra 6.85ab and 6.87:

yantram mantramayaṃ proktam devatā mantrarūpiṇī / 6.85ab
śarīram iva jīvasya dipasya sukhavat priye /
sarveśam api devānāṁ tathā yantram pratiṣṭhitam // 6.87

See also the similar quotation from the Kaulāvaliya-Tantra in Woodroffe 1956: 93, note 2:

yantraṃ mantramayaṃ proktam mantrātmā devataiva hi /
dhātmanor yathā bheda yantra devatayos tathā //

50 Two yantras made from beans, rice and coloured stones are reproduced in Plate 2 of his book.
on chapter 34 of the Prapañcasāra (ca. 10th century), and in chapter 20 of the Mantramahodadhi. Yantras for magical purposes (for example, Illustration 5) are described in detail in Dāmodara’s 17th-century Yantracintāmaṇi, also known as the Kalpacintāmaṇi. The applications include the six rites of magic (abhicāra), namely, appeasement (sāntī), subjugation (vaśikaraṇa), immobilization (stambhāṇa), enmity (vidveśaṇa), eradication (uccātana) and liquidation (māraṇa). Depending on their purpose, these yantras are named ‘yantras for subjugation’ (vaśyakarayaṇtra), ‘yantras for attraction’ (ākaraṇayāṇtra) (Illustration 1), and so on. The use of yantras in rites of magic, which has been documented by previous scholars, continues up to the present day and can be observed even in modern Indian cities. Yantras featuring Hanumat are sold in India for the safety of one’s vehicle (vāhanasurakṣayāṇtra). Other yantras are used for curing diseases at the recommendation of astrologers.

Yantras used in magical rites may be ritually destroyed after their use, inserted into a statue of a deity that will then undergo burial, or be crushed and eaten, tied to a tree or concealed in the intended person’s home, depending on the instructions. They may be enclosed in an amulet container, such as a tube or a locket, sealed and then worn around the neck, on the head, in one’s headgear, in a tuft of

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51 See, for example, the list of yantras popular in South India published in Thurston 1912: 185-187 and references in Abbott 1932, s.v. yantra.
52 See, for example, the numerous yantras in Chawdhri 1990, Shubhakaran 1992, Beckman 1996 and Khurrana 2000, and the section on yantras (‘yantra’) in Dietrich 1998: 172-175.
53 For yantras preserved in container amulets, see Untracht 1997: 132.
54 Amulets hidden in hats, turbans and other headgear are documented in Untracht 1997: 89. In his popular books on yantras, Chawdhri (1990: 6, 1992: 10) refers to a category of yantra which is kept under one’s cap or turban or in one’s pocket. He calls them ‘chhatar’ (vernacular form for chaṭṭra [umbrella]) yantras. This category has been borrowed by Beckman 1996: 52. Chawdhri (1990: 4-6, 1992: 9-11 [cf. Beckman 1996: 51-53]) includes ‘chhatar’ yantras as category 6 in his following classification of yantras, which is also summarized in Bunce 2001: xv:

1) ‘sharir’ (= sarīrā) yantras – the yantra designs in the cakras of the human body;
2) ‘dharan’ (= dhārana) yantras – yantras worn on the body;
3) ‘aasan’ (= āsana) yantras – yantras kept under one’s seat (āsana) during worship or under the foundation of houses, temples or a statue of a deity;
4) ‘mandal’ (= mandala) yantras – yantras formed by nine individuals, one of them seated in the centre and the others in the eight directions; the person in the centre performs the worship of the ‘ishat’ (= ista) yantra (that is, any particular yantra), while the others recite certain mantras;
5) ‘pooja’ (= pūjā) yantras – yantras installed in houses or temples for worship;
hair, on the arm, under the armpit, on the wrist or a finger and so forth. A yantra which is to be inserted into a locket is first drawn on a piece of paper or similar material and consecrated in a worship ritual by a specialist. These lockets can be attached to the necks of animals, such as cows, for their protection. Yantras may also be attached to protective dolls hung near the entrance to a home or be placed above a door.

Yantras employed in desire-oriented rites may be similar in design to the yantras for establishing a foundation (type 1), but they often have mantras inscribed. The mantras can be seed syllables (bija) combined with verbs in the second person singular imperative, such as ‘subjugate’ (vaśikuru), which ask the deity to carry out the magical effects of a rite on its recipient. The centre of the yantra is frequently inscribed with the name of the person to be influenced, termed the recipient or intended person (śādhyā). The place in which the person’s name is to be written is often indicated by the name Devadatta. The recipient’s name is either surrounded by, or its syllables are intertwined with, the syllables of the mantra.

Yantras may also contain longer mantras\(^6\) or even well-known hymns (stotra, stuti). The composition and ritual use of hymns or devotional poems in praise of deities has a long history in South Asia. Such hymns are found in the Purāṇa literature and the Tantras, and in independent collections attributed to sages or seers as well. To reinforce the efficacy of hymn-recitation in bringing about the promised material benefits, the practice arose of reciting hymns a given number of times. This practice is modelled on that of repeating powerful mantras. In time, hymns came to be regarded as powerful magical formulas. Whereas the shorter mantras may be repeated millions of times to achieve a particular result, hymns are recited at most hundreds or thousands of times. Hymns employed for such purposes include hymns for protection. These hymns often include in their titles such terms as ‘armour’ (kavača), ‘protection’ (raksā), or ‘cage’ (pañjara). In these hymns the deity is asked to protect each

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6) ‘chhatara’ (= chatra) yantras – see above; and
7) ‘darshan’ (= darśana) yantras – yantras which the devotee beholds in the morning for the sake of auspiciousness.

\(^a\) Rastelli, p. 146 also refers to yantras hidden between the breasts of women.

\(^b\) Compare the practice of inscribing dhāraṇī in mandala-like structures in a Buddhist context, which is documented, for example, in Drège 1999–2000, Figures 1–9.
part of the practitioner’s body. The different parts, from head to feet, are systematically enumerated. For each part of the body, the practitioner addresses the deity using a different descriptive epithet, which is often connected with the respective body part. The deity’s names are assigned to and ‘deposited’ on the body parts of the practitioner, and are believed to protect him like divine armour. As well as being recited, these hymns can be arranged in the form of yantras. For those who cannot themselves recite the hymn, a yantra with the hymn inscribed in it is thought to bring about the same beneficial effects as recitation. An example of a yantra in this category is the Rāmarakṣāyantra, which represents in a graphic mode the Rāmarakṣāstotra ascribed to Budhākauśika. In my study of the Rāmarakṣāstotra I reproduce two yantras in which the Rāmarakṣāstotra is inscribed (Bühnemann 1983: 93 and 107). Another, yet unpublished rāmarakṣāyantra is included here as Illustration 3. The yantra consists of a hexagram with a drawing of Rāma and different seed (bijā) syllables in the centre. The hexagram is surrounded by concentric circles and by squares, the first of which has elaborate gate structures which open in the four cardinal directions. The innermost square contains the text of a version of the Rāmarakṣāstotra.

In addition to yantras containing the text of entire hymns, there are also yantras which are associated with individual stanzas of hymns of praise. Well-known examples are the yantras associated with the Saundaryalaharī and the Bhaktamarastotra. The Saundaryalaharī is a hymn to the Tantric goddess Tripurasundari in 100 (sometimes 103) stanzas. It is traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya, identified with the Advaitin Śaṅkara. The Bhaktamarastotra by the Jain poet Mānatunga is a hymn to the first Jina Rṣabha in 44 stanzas according to the Śvetāmbara version, or 48 stanzas in the Digambara version. Each verse of the Saundaryalaharī became associated with a specific seed (bijā) syllable, which is inscribed in a yantra shape, such as a square, a hexagram, a triangle, a lotus, and so forth (for example, Illustration 4). Only one of these yantras has the name of the intended person (sādhya) of the rite inscribed on it, and only one

57 Different versions of the hymn are presented and discussed in Bühnemann 1983. The text inscribed in the Rāmarakṣāyantra reproduced in Illustration 3 contains an introductory section with miscellaneous verses and verses 2–15 (cf. Bühnemann 1983: 26–27) of the stotra, which latter request Rāma to protect the practitioner’s body parts.
yantra contains a verb in the second person singular imperative. These yantras are worshipped, and the seed syllables inscribed in them are recited a large number of times, for the attainment of desired, usually mundane, benefits. Each individual stanza of the Bhakti Mārasotra is associated with a mantra addressing not the Jina Rṣabha but goddesses, Yaksas and gods, and each mantra is prefixed by seed syllables. The mantras often contain second person singular imperative verbs. In a similar fashion individual yantras are also associated with the 47 stanzas of the Jain Kalyānmandirastotra. The yantras associated with the stanzas of these three hymns were obviously created later, their connection with the stanzas not being evident from the text itself. \(^{38}\)

The general instructions require that yantras be infused with life in the rite of prāṇapratiṣṭhā, which is also performed on statues of deities. According to Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s 15th-century commentary on the Śāradātilaka and texts such as the Mantramahodadhi, the prāṇapratiṣṭhā rite entails that certain mantras are inscribed in the yantras. These mantras can be seen in some yantras which are prepared on permanent materials, such as metal plates. The two rāmarakṣāyantras reproduced in Bühnemann 1983: 93 and 107 also contain them. The mantras include the syllable hsaūḥ, which represents the soul (jīva) of the yantra; the syllables hamsaḥ so ‘haṃ (“I am that goose”), which represent its life breath (prāṇa); the vowels i/i, which represent the yantra’s eyes, and the syllables u/u, which represent its ears; and the seed syllables haṃ raṃ maṃ kṣaṃ vaṃ yaṃ saṃ haṃ hṛīṃ āṃ of the ten directional guardians, beginning with Indra in the east, which represent the heart (hrdaya) of the yantra. In addition to the prāṇapratiṣṭhāmantra, the following yantragayatri, an imitation of the well-known gāyatri (śāvitrī) mantra, found in Rg-Veda 3.62.10, is inscribed in circular form:

\[\text{yantragāyāya vidmahe vāraṇḍāya dhiṃahi /} \]
\[\text{tan no yantraḥ praeodayāti /}\]

\(^{38}\) Regarding the connection between the yantras and the stanzas of the Saundaryalahārī, Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstṛī comments: “There seems to be some mystical connection between each sloka and its Bihākshara. But it is not intelligible; nor has any of the Prayoga Kārtas explained the same” (introduction to his translation of the Saundaryalahārī, 1957: 13).

\(^{39}\) Cf. Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s commentary, p. 519, 33–34 on Śāradātilaka 24.2. The yantragāyātri appears with minor variants in many texts. Brahmāṇandadgiri’s Śāktānandataranini, p. 257, 13–14 gives the following version:

\[\text{om yantragāyāya vidmahe maṇḍyaṇtrāya dhiṃahi /}\]
"We know the king of the yantra; we think of the bestower of boons. Therefore may the yantra inspire us."

Texts such as Brahmānandagiri's 16th-century Śāktānandatarāṅgini, pp. 264, 6ff. also enjoin that certain purificatory rites (saṃskāra) be performed on yantras, just as they are performed to purify mantras.

In this section I have suggested a classification of yantras into three types: 1 yantras for establishing a foundation, functioning as supports for ritual implements; 2 yantras employed in regular Tantric worship; 3 yantras employed in optional desire-oriented rites. The three types of yantras can be distinguished according to their ritual functions. The first and second types have similar geometric designs but usually no mantras inscribed. Yantras of type 2 usually consist of more complex geometric designs than type 1 yantras. Both types differ in ritual function. The first type is used as a support for objects in rituals, while the second type is the main object of worship. Yantras of type 1 are similar in function to the aforementioned 'seat-maṇḍalas' (see Brunner's category 1 described in section 1.2) and are occasionally also referred to as maṇḍalas (see 2.2.1). But they differ from Brunner's 'seat-maṇḍalas' of cow-dung and similar materials which have no clearly recognizable structure. Yantras of type 3 are used in desire-oriented magical rites, usually have inscribed mantras and may have unusual designs.

2.3 Some Constituent Parts of Yantras

Yantra and maṇḍala designs commonly feature a triangle and/or a hexagram, inscribed in one or several lotuses (padma) of four, eight, 10, 12, 16, 100, 1000 or more petals (dala). The lotus petals are often surrounded by one circle or three concentric circles (vṛtta) and a square (caturāsra) with sometimes three nested lines. In yantras of the Śaiva and Śākta traditions the lines of triangles or a square may be formed by tridents whose prongs project beyond the lines of these shapes (see Colour Plate 1).

The main deity is worshipped in the centre of the yantra at a 'point' (bindu) which may be visible or remain invisible/unmanifest, while his/her retinue is worshipped in various parts of the structure (see Illustration 6). These parts include the angles (asra) or corners
of a triangle or hexagram, the points of intersection (samādhī) of two triangles, the lotus petals (daula) and the tips of lotus petals (daulāgra). The most important surrounding deities or emanations are invoked into the parts of the yantra closest to the centre. One obvious advantage of a yantra compared to an icon is that a yantra allows for the deities who surround the main deity in enclosures (āvaraṇa, āvṛti, literally ‘covering’ or ‘veil’) to be worshipped in it as well.

The structural elements of yantras vary, as do the interpretations given to these elements. Some important constituent parts are described in the following, together with examples of interpretations from texts. Most descriptions and interpretations of the constituent parts of yantras found in the literature concern the śriyantra or śrīcakra, the most important and influential of yantras. Preliminary studies of the constituent parts of yantras are found in the works by A. Daniélou. The author’s ‘Hindu Polytheism,’ 1964: 351–354 contains an enlarged and revised version of the section on yantras printed in Daniélou’s older French edition of the book, ‘Le polythéisme hindou,’ 1960: 525–539. Daniélou does not indicate the sources of his interpretations of the yantra designs clearly, but it can be inferred that he draws on articles in Hindi. In his later work on the Hindu temple (Daniélou 1977: 26–28 [2001: 37–38]), the author takes up the discussion of the constituent parts of yantras once again. Daniélou’s interpretations of yantra constituents continue to be

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80 Special terminology is used in connection with the śrīcakra. The three circles outside of the overlapping triangles are referred to as three girdles or belts (valayā); a point of intersection between two lines is called samādhī; a point of intersection between three lines is known as marman (‘vital point’), and a point of intersection between a samādhī and marman is termed granthī (‘knot’); see Bhāskararāya’s Setubandha, p. 31, 9 and Umānandaṇātha’s Nityotsava, p. 64, 4–5.

81 Detailed notes on different interpretations that have been given to the constituents of the śrīcakra and a critical evaluation of these interpretations are provided by Pranavananda <1977>.

82 Devarāj Vidyāväcaspati’s article entitled ‘Tantra mein yantra aur mantra,’ printed in the magazine Kalyāṇ, published by the Gita Press (Gorakhpur), Śakti anka, 1934: 387–397, is cited in Daniélou 1964: 353. The original article does not indicate the sources on which Devarāj Vidyāväcaspati’s interpretations are based. Daniélou 1977: 26 (2001: 37) refers to an article by Daubral, entitled ‘Śrīyantra kā svarūp,’ printed in Śakti anka, 1934, p. 592–609. Daniélou erroneously refers to the author as ‘Kalika-prasāda Daubral’ and specifies the page number as 591. However, the author’s name is Lalitāprasad Daubral and the article is found on pp. 592–609. As the title indicates, Daubral’s interpretation is concerned with the constituents of the śrīyantra.

2.3.1 The Point (bindu)
The point (bindu) is located in the centre of the yantra and may be visible or remain invisible. It is often interpreted as the principle from which all form and creation radiates (for example, Shankaranarayanan 1970: 29). Verses 11–12 of the first chapter of the Yoginīhṛdaya describe the point as “throbbing consciousness whose supreme nature is light and which is united with the flashing flow [of divine power], the seat (baindavāsana) which is the [birth]place of the flow made up of the three mātrkās” (Padoux, p. 241). According to Daniélou 1964: 351, the point represents the element ether. The most likely seventh-century Ganeśapūrvatāpāniya-Upaniṣad, section 3 equates the central point with the void of space.

2.3.2 The Triangle (trikona, tryasra)
The triangle is a common constituent of yantras. It can be either downward-oriented or upward-oriented, and less frequently oriented toward the right or left sides. The downward-pointing or inverted triangle is known as a symbol of the female pubic triangle and the female sex-organ or womb (yoni, bhaga). The letter e is identified with it because of its triangular shape (in certain Indian scripts). This triangle is known as a symbol of the feminine in other cultures as well. In Buddhist Tantric texts the downward-pointing triangle is referred to as the dharmodaya/dharmodaya, "the origin of existents (dharma)." This triangle is visualized in sādhana as the place in which everything originates. The downward-pointing triangle also symbolizes water. This symbolic significance is known from other

63 Bunce 2001: 28 considers triangles whose apexes point to the left or right sides as constituent parts of yantras.
64 See, for example, Jayaratha’s commentary on Tantrāloka 3.94. Cf. also Buddhist texts quoted in Wayman 1973: 172.
65 B. Bhattacharyya has discussed this issue in more detail in his foreword to the second edition of the Jayākhyā-Samhitā (1967: 30) Because of its shape the e is called the ‘womb of the world’ (jagad yoni) and is referred to as a triangle (tryasra), cf. also ibid., Figure 1, p. 34+.
66 For some remarks on the dharmodaya/dharmodaya, see Bahulkar 1979.
67 See, for example, the Vāstusūtra-Upaniṣad, cited in Bäumer 1986: 56.
cultures as well, for which the downward-pointing apex suggests the direction of falling rain. Daniélou 1977: 26 (2001: 37) further explains the downward-pointing triangle as a symbol of Viṣṇu.

Tantric texts commonly describe the reverse triangle, that is, a triangle sitting on its base with its apex upwards, as the symbolic shape of the element fire.66 The apex of the upward-pointing triangle indicates the direction of the flame. In Nepal, upward-pointing equilateral or isosceles triangles cut into stone or metal are frequently seen in shrines and temples. The triangular hole69 is considered a symbol of the Nevār god of music, dance and drama, Nāsāhdyāḥ, who is sometimes identified with Narteśvara or Nṛtya-nātha.

In connection with the śrīcakra, authors such as Bhāskarārāya70 refer to the downward-pointing (adhomukha) triangles as Śakti triangles and the upward-pointing (ūrdhvamukha) triangles as fire (vahni) or Śiva triangles. The inverted triangle is also taken as representing prakṛtī; the upright triangle, puruṣa (Daniélou 1964: 352). Both types of triangles are intertwined in the hexagram (see 2.3.3). In yantras of Kāli, five triangles appear in the centre. In other traditions, triangles are represented with a protruding ‘gate’ on each side.71 These gates are identical in shape with the T-shaped gates of the outer square of yantras (see section 2.3.8).

The triangle is naturally connected with the symbolism of the number three. Its three lines are usually interpreted as tripartite units (most commonly, metaphysical concepts). Thus Shankaranarayanan interprets the lines of the central or primary (mūla) triangle (when understood as the kāmakalā72) in the śrīcakra as representing the powers (śakti) of will (icchā), cognition (jñāna) and activity (kriyā) (1970: 37), following an interpretation already attested, for instance, in Jayaratha’s commentary on Tatrāloka 3.94. In another context Shankaranarayanan 1970: 38 interprets the lines of the triangle as

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66 Cf., for example, Śāradātilaka 1.23cd, where a triangle with svastikas represents fire.
69 For more information and illustrations of the triangular nāsāh holes, see Wegner 1992: 126, Figure 1 and Köbler 1992a: 214, Illustration 1.
70 Cf. Bhāskarārāya’s commentary Setubandha, p. 31, 2–3 (composed in 1741 A.D.) on Nityāsodāsikāraṇava 1.31 (the text is considered to be a part of the Vāma-kēśvara-Tantra) and Umānandanātha’s Nityotsava (1745 A.D.), p. 64, 6.
71 Cf. the yantra of Chinnaṃaṇḍa described in Kubjīkā-Ūpaniṣad 17.5.
72 For a recent discussion of this term and possible translations, see White 1998: 176ff.
representing the three gunas or the three states, waking (jāgrat), dream (svapna) and deep sleep (suṣupti) (1970: 38). The Gaṇeśa-pūrvatāpaniya-Upaniṣad, section 3 interprets the lines of the central downward-pointing triangle in a yantra of Gaṇeśa as the three worlds and the three Vedas.

D. Chattopadhyaya 1973: 300–301 asserts that not only the triangle inside of yantras but the yantra in general represents the female reproductive organ when he writes: “A Tantrika, when he really confides in you, will frankly confess that these diagrams are but representations of the female organ.” In support of this statement, he cites Bhandarkar 1965: 140, who makes the following remark about the ritual worship (pūjā) of the sricakra: “[The Cakrapūjā] consists in the worship of a picture of the female organ drawn in the centre of another consisting of a representation of nine such organs, the whole of which forms the Śricakra.” In a somewhat generalized statement D. Chattopadhyaya 1973: 301 adds that “there are in Tantrism various yantras... bearing different names... but the essential feature in all of them is the same. It consists in the representation of the female organ either by the picture of a lotus (padma) or by the diagram of a triangle, usually by both.” This author is correct when he observes that both the triangle and the lotus are symbols of the female reproductive organ, and that both are important constituent elements of yantras. But he goes too far when he takes every yantra as a representation of the female organ. This claim has rightly been challenged by S. Chattopadhyaya 1978: 81, who emphasizes the fact that not all yantras contain triangles.

2.3.3 The Hexagram (ṣatkoṇa, ṣadara, tāra³⁷)
The hexagram consists of two equilateral triangles with the same centre but pointing in opposite directions, usually upwards and downwards. The apexes of the two triangles of the hexagram can also be oriented to the right and left sides.³⁸ The triangles are shown either lying one on the other or intertwined with one another. The downward-pointing and upward-pointing triangles (see also 2.3.2) symbolize the sexual union of the female and male principles, of

³⁷ The word 'star' (tāra) appears as a synonym for ṣatkoṇa in Aḥirbudhnya-Saṃhitā 26.5 and Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā 23.29, as Begley 1973: 85 notes.
³⁸ For two illustrations, see, for example, Encyclopaedia Judaica (New York: Macmillan Company, 1971), volume 11: 690, Figure 2; and 693, Figure 10.
Śakti and Śiva, of water and fire. In Buddhist Tantrism, the word evam is thought to be represented by two intertwined triangles, symbolizing the union of ‘insight’ (prajñā) and ‘means’ (upāya). The triangular shapes of श and व in certain Indian scripts lend themselves to such an interpretation. In descriptions of the symbolic shapes (mandala) of the elements (bhūta), the hexagram represents the element wind.

In the hexagram the deities are often worshipped at the points of intersection of the two triangles, while in the eight-petalled lotus they are worshipped in the petals, which ideally face in the cardinal and intermediate directions. Occasionally a six-pointed star or a six-petalled lotus, such as the vajra-lotus, can replace the hexagram in rituals (Heilijgers-Seelen 1994: 131). Like these objects, the hexagram is equated with sextuple concepts and groups. Thus Gaṇeśa-pūrvatāpaniya-Upanisad, section 3 interprets the hexagram in a yantra of Ganeśa as representing the six worlds and seasons.

The hexagram has been used for decorative purposes or as a magical sign in many civilizations around the world. It is also

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75 In section 2.3.2 the symbolism of the two triangles is explained: the downward-pointing triangle symbolizes the female principle and water, while the upward-pointing triangle symbolizes the male principle and fire. In alchemy, the two triangles of the hexagram also represent the union of fire and water. For the symbolism of the water and fire triangles in the Tantric āgniḥotra ritual of Nepal, see Witzel 1992: 788.

76 Cf. Sampūta-Tantra, chapter 4 (= Elder 1978: 109 [text], 189 [translation]); cf. also Wayman 1973: 172–173, who discusses three meanings of evam, and Köver 1992b. Köver discusses the shapes of the letters श and व, which were reminiscent of downward-pointing and upward-pointing triangles around the sixth century A.D., and were visualized as intertwined to form a hexagram. The nasal of evam corresponds to the central point (bindu) inside the hexagram. When Vajrāyogini is described as situated ‘in evam’ this means that she is visualized inside a hexagram. In addition, the syllable व is the syllabic of the word vajra, which can signify the penis (English 2002: 150).

77 The symbolic shapes of the other elements are according to Śāradātīlaka 1.23–24: a square with thunderbolts (vajra) – the earth element; a lotus with a half moon – water; a triangle with svastikas – fire; a circle with six dots, that is, a hexagram – wind; and a circle – ether.

78 For Nepalese coins of the Mall period showing the six-pointed star, see Rhodes/Gabrisch/della Rocchetta 1989, Plate 31, no. 724 rev., Plate 33, no. 826 rev.

79 For interpretations of the satkopa current in Nepal, see Joshi 1981 and Deep 1993: 98–100. Joshi summarizes various interpretations which identify the hexagram with well-known groups of six, such as the six systems of philosophy (darśana).
known, for example, as Magen David, the 'Shield of David' or as the 'Seal of Solomon.' It appears on the inside of Hindu yantras and is also seen in Buddhist maṇḍalas of Vajrārāhi/Vajrayogini. The hexagram is a decorative motif in Islamic monuments of North India. Its centre features a point (bindu), a lotus or a dancing peacock (Nath 1975–1976: 74–75).

In Nepal, the hexagram is frequently represented and considered an auspicious symbol of the goddess by both Buddhists and Hindus. It is sometimes found superimposed on the latticework of windows of temples or shrine rooms. The point (bindu) in its centre often bears an image of the deity worshipped in the temple or shrine. The hexagram also appears in mediaeval coins of India and, along with other geometrical designs, on Nepalese coins of the Malla period. Auer/Gutschow 1974: 106 report that the hexagram is also called śrimaṇḍala in Nepal. It is considered a symbol of education, science and of the goddess Sarasvati, and therefore became the logo of Tribhuvan University, colleges and other educational institutions.


For a 13th-century Tibetan maṇḍala depicting the goddess Vajrārāhi standing inside a hexagram, see Béguin 1990: 173; other examples from Tibet are found in Rhie/Thurman 1999: 118 and 440, Kossak/Singer 1998: 97 and Leidy/Thurman 1997: 105. For a photograph of a hexagram representing Vajrayogini in Tibet, see Stoddard 1999, Figure 30. The question needs to be examined whether the hexagram in maṇḍalas of Vajrārāhi/Vajrayogini indicates the maṇḍala's Śaiva origins. While the hexagram is commonly found in Hindu maṇḍalas and yantras, with intersecting upward-pointing and downward-pointing triangles already appearing in the śrīcakra, in Buddhist traditions they appear especially in maṇḍalas of Vajrārāhi/Vajrayogini. The name Vajrārāhi itself indicates a Buddhist version of the Brahmanical goddess Vārāhi.

According to Nath 1975–1976: 78, the hexagram is also found in Indian temples, especially in Rājasthān, where it is believed to have been associated with the worship of Śiva and Śakti.

Bangdel 1999: 464 writes that: "[s]pecifically, the double-triangled yantra in the Tantric tradition is a universal symbol for the goddess's generative and destructive powers ..." and 1999: 540, note 118 that: "[t]he yantra symbolizes the seat/presence of the goddess..." Gutschow 1982: 97, Plate 105 assumes that the hexagram represents Tripurasundari.

For photographs, see, for example, Bernier 1978: 259, Plate 11 and Gutschow/Kövel/Shresthacarya 1987: 203, no. 416.

See, for example, Sircar 1968, Plate xxiii, no. 7 obv., Coomaraswamy (1927) 1985: 45 and Smith 1972, volume 1, Plate xxx, no. 14 rev.

It is found on the king’s headgear and on Nepalese orders, decorations and medals. Bernier 1978: 252 assumes that this design has been borrowed from the Islamic tradition of North India, but Begley 1973: 84 considers it most likely that the hexagram was already an important Tantric symbol before the Islamic hexagram became widely circulated in India. More research would be necessary to trace the history of this important motif. The hexagram is an important motif in the later Tantric iconography of the Sudarśanacakra, Viṣṇu’s sudarśana wheel, which often has a yantra-like structure inscribed on it. This structure consists of a hexagram surrounded by one or more rings of lotus petals. The personification of Viṣṇu’s wheel, the Sudarśanacakrapuruṣa, is shown inside (or standing against) the structure. The reverse side of these icons often depicts Narasimha. If combined with a representation of the Sudarśanacakra, this deity may be represented inside an upward-pointing triangle.

2.3.4 The Pentagram (pañcakona)
The five-pointed star, the pentagram, pentacle or Star of Solomon, is less commonly found in yantras. It is known as a symbol also in other civilizations. The pentagram is a constituent part of some yantras of Guhyakāli (see Colour Plate 1), since the number five has special significance for the goddess Kāli. It is again found on Nepalese coins of the Malla period, as well as being the logo of some educational institutions in modern Nepal. Daniélou 1977: 28 (2001: 38) equates the pentagram with Śiva as ‘the destroyer of love and lust’ (smarāhara). This interpretation is not compatible with another statement by the same author (Daniélou 1964: 353) according to which the pentagram signifies love and lust and the power of disintegration.

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*See Begley 1973: 90 (with Figure 70) for a ca. 17th-century bronze statue of the 16-armed Sudarśanacakrapuruṣa in the Śri-Kālemekaperumāl Temple, Tirumohur, Madurai District. The deity is standing against a hexagram which is surrounded by rings of eight, 16, 32 and 64 lotus petals. These lotuses are supported by an eight-petalled lotus (see also Illustration 1 in Rastelli’s contribution).*
2.3.5 The Octagon (aṣṭakoṇa, aṣṭāra)
The octagon appears less frequently as a constituent part of yantras and can be formed in several ways. A common method to obtain an octagon is to draw two crossed or intersecting squares. The two overlapping squares appear as a symbol in various civilizations.\(^91\) The symbolism of the octagon, like that of the eight-petalled lotus, is connected with the eight directions. The octagon appears on Indian\(^92\) coins and on Malla coins of Nepal.\(^93\) It also decorates a window in a religious building of the Tripuresvara temple complex in Kāṭh-māṇḍu.\(^94\)

2.3.6 The Lotus
The symbolism of the lotus is discussed in section 1.3.1 in connection with maṇḍalas.

2.3.7 The Circle
One circle or three concentric circles frequently surround the inner structure of yantras. According to Daniélou 1964: 352, the yantra’s outer circle, given its revolving tendency, characterizes manifestation. Among the symbolic shapes (maṇḍala) of the elements (bhūta), the circle represents ether.\(^95\)

2.3.8 The Outer Square
The circle or circles in a yantra are usually surrounded by an outer square which often consists of three nested lines. The square, which also appears on the outer part of maṇḍalas, is called ‘earth house’ (bhūgrha), ‘earth city’ or ‘earth citadel’ (bhūpura),\(^96\) since the square

\(^92\) See, for example, Encyclopaedia Judaica (New York: Macmillan Company, 1971), volume 11: 689–690, Figure 3, for this design as used in 13th-century Germany.
\(^93\) See Sircar 1968, Plate XIX, no. 11.
\(^94\) See Rhodes/Gabrisch/† della Rocchetta 1989, Plate 15, nos. 274–275; Plate 20, nos. 391–392, 396, Plate 21, no. 400, etc.
\(^95\) For an illustration, see Gail 1984–1988, volume 2, Plate XVI, no. 2 and p. 97, and Gutschow/Kölver/Shrestacarya 1987: 203, no. 417. The temple is currently being renovated.
\(^96\) See, for example, the description in Śāradātillaka 1.23–24.

For a description of the different stages of constructing a bhūpura, see Bunce 2001: 20–22; for variations in the shapes of bhūpuras, see Bunce 2001: 23–25.
is a symbol of the earth. Among the symbolic shapes of the elements, a (yellow) square represents the earth.\(^7\) The symbolism of the square is connected with that of the number four and the four cardinal directions. The square has a T-shaped gate (dvāra) in the cardinal directions. Like the sides of a square, the gates are equated with groups of four, as in Miśra's interpretation of an unidentified Śākta yantra (1959: 482-483) in which they are taken to represent the four Vedas. Pāñcarātra Samhitās interpret the three nested lines of the outermost square as representative of the three constituents (guna) of primary matter (prakṛti) in the Śāmkhya system, namely sattva, rajas and tamas. This interpretation is also attested for the three nested lines of the outer square of the bhadrāṇaṇḍalas of the Śmārta tradition, which are white, red and dark and symbolize respectively sattva, rajas and tamas.\(^8\) The square also appears on Nepalese coins of the Malla period.\(^9\)

Influenced by C.G. Jung, Dehejia 1986: 42 would have us recognize the mediaeval alchemists' motif of the 'squaring of the circle' (quadratura circuli) in South Asian maṇḍalas and yantras which feature a circle surrounded by a square. Such an interpretation does not find support in the South Asian traditions. Moreover, in mediaeval European drawings of this motif the square always touches the circle. In contrast, South Asian maṇḍalas and yantras show a significant gap between the circle and the square that surrounds it.

Gupta 1988: 39-41 offers the hypothesis that the square enclosure of maṇḍalas represents a Tantric analogue to the sacred fire altar and thus has Vedic origins (see section 1.4).

2.3.9 Other Structural Elements

It is not possible to survey all constituent elements of yantras, which include shapes such as the heptagon.\(^10\) One unusual design is found in a yantra of Guhyakāli from Nepal (see Colour Plate 1). This

\(^7\) See, for example, Śāradāśilaka 1.24ab, where a square with thunderbolts (vajra) represents the earth element.

\(^8\) The symbolism of these three colours is frequently referred to; for more information, see Goudriaan 1978: 166-175 and the Suprabheda, quoted in Brunner, p. 173, note 49.


\(^10\) Some additional shapes are described in Bunce 2001: 27-29.
complex yantra features a pentagram (see 2.3.4) in the centre, surrounded by a shape with nine corners (navakona). The nineangled shape is situated within two overlapping squares (see 2.3.5), which in turn are surrounded by a lotus design with rings of eight, 12 and 16 lotus petals. Outside of this is a square whose four sides are made up of tridents (trisula) surrounded by skulls. Four enclosures surround this structure, which feature (from the inside to the outside): (1) water (here representing the Ocean of Blood [soni-toda]), (2) the eight cremation grounds (śmaśāna), (3) skulls (muṇḍa) and (4) flames (vahniṇīvālā). A circle of flames is also known to surround Tibetan Buddhist mandalas, some of which include a circle representing cremation grounds. According to Macdonald/Vergati Stahl 1979: 91, cremation grounds (śmaśāna) have been part of Buddhist as well as Hindu manḍalas and yantras in Nepal since the 15th century.

3 Cakra

The term cakra, ‘circle’ or ‘wheel,’ has several primary and secondary meanings.
1. ‘Cakra’ can refer to a wheel as the central part of a maṇḍala structure, to whose hub and spokes deities are assigned. In this function, the wheel can either substitute for a lotus or appear in combination with it (cf. section 1.3.1).

2. The term cakra can refer to a group or circle of deities invoked into a maṇḍala or yantra structure.

3. Some later authors appear to use ‘cakra’ synonymously with ‘yantra’ and ‘maṇḍala.’

4. The word cakra also refers to a diagram/tabular device employed in ritual.

5. A well-known use of the word cakra is with reference to the ‘wheels’ or ‘lotuses’ believed to be located in the human body.

In the following, only the meanings 2, 4 and 5 are discussed.

3.1 Cakra as a Circle of Deities

The term cakra refers to a group of deities invoked into a maṇḍala or yantra. At the same time, the term also denotes the support for these deities in the form of a specific surface. This is most likely the reason why the word cakra appears synonymously with yantra and maṇḍala in later texts—a use of the term that requires further investigation. It also explains why the parts of the śrīcakra, which consist of a variety of shapes such as triangles and lotus petals, are referred to as the nine cakras.

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106 See Brunner, p. 163 and Padoux 1987a: 4. Törzsök, p. 181 expresses some reservation about the interchangeability of the terms cakra and maṇḍala in early Śaiva texts. The Śrīvidya’s synonymous use of the terms cakra and yantra in the śrīcakra/śrīyantra indicates a looser use of these terms (cf. Sanderson’s remark in Padoux 1986: 33). The balihaṇaṇacakra described in the next article is also called balihaṇaṇamandala in some texts.

107 Cf. A. Sanderson’s remark reproduced in Padoux 1986: 33: “... the maṇḍala is the ādhistana (locus) and the cakra (of deities/mantras) the ādheya (located)....” Snellgrove 1959, part 1: 135 defines ‘cakra’ similarly as a “circle of divine forms of which the maṇḍala consists.”

108 Heiligers-Seelen 1994: 37 gives several instances from the Kubjikāmatatana Tantra, where ‘cakra’ refers to the seat of a deity.
3.2 Cakra as a Ritual Diagram/Tabular Device

The word cakra also refers to diagrams containing specific arrangements of letters of the alphabet or of numbers. Diagrams such as the akathahacakra, the akadamacakra, the naksatracakra and the rāśicakra, which are used to determine whether a mantra suits a candidate, fall under this category. Unlike the ‘distributive diagrams’, namely, maṇḍalas of type 3 in Brunner’s classification (see section 1.2), which are ritual diagrams divided into squares into which divine or demonic beings are invoked to receive food offerings, these diagrams are simply tabular devices, into which no deity is invoked.

3.3 Cakra as a ‘Wheel’ or ‘Lotus’ in the Body

The word cakra is used with reference to the currently rather popular Tantric concept of the ‘energy centres’ or ‘power centres’ which are believed to be located in the body. They are referred to either as ‘wheels’ (cakra) or as ‘lotuses’ (padma). In some systems these cakras have lotus shapes and are populated by deities. The lotuses may also have inscribed geometric figures (triangle, hexagram). The number of cakras and their location in the body varies according to traditions. Some systems assume sets of four, five, six, nine, 12, 16, 24, 27, 32 or more cakras.

The system of six ‘wheels’ or ‘lotuses’ is particularly well known and listed below according to Śāradātilaka 5.131cd–136 and 20.66cd–67.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lotus</th>
<th>Number of Petals</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Goddess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mūlādhāra</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>va-sa</td>
<td>Brahmā</td>
<td>Dākini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svādhiṣṭāna</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ba-la</td>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>Rākini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manipūra</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>ḍa-pa</td>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>Lākini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anāhata</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka-ṭha</td>
<td>Īśvara</td>
<td>Śākini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viśuddhi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16 vowels</td>
<td>Sadāśiva</td>
<td>Kākini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ājñā</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ha and kṣa</td>
<td>Śīva</td>
<td>Hākini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*108 For an extensive treatment of these diagrams, see Bühnemann 1992.
*109 As in the case of a wheel combined with or in place of a lotus in the centre of a maṇḍala (cf. section 1.3.1), the terminologies denoting parts of a ‘lotus’ and parts of a ‘wheel’ in the body are often used interchangeably.
The *müldhāra* or *ādhāra* is located at the bottom of the spine between the anus and the penis. The *svādhiṣṭhāna* is at the root of the penis. The *manipūra* is located at the base of the navel, and the *anāhaṭa* in the heart. The *viśuddhi* is situated in the throat, and the *ājnā* in between the eyebrows. The thousand-petalled lotus (*sahasradalapadma*), also called the thousand-spoked wheel (*sahasrāracakra*), being located at the top of the head, is added to the six cakras, but is usually not counted as one of them.

Since these cakras are associated with the process of creation, they are connected with the five elements (*bhūta*) and the mind (*manas*), and with the syllables of the Sanskrit alphabet. Specific syllables are inscribed on each lotus, one syllable per petal. Each lotus is presided over by a specific deity and associated with a goddess.

This system of the Śāradātilaka differs from earlier stages of development, which are preserved in sections of the 10th-century Kubjikāmata-Tantra. In one section of the Tantra the cakras are assumed to be five circles of goddesses, located below the navel, in the belly, the heart, the throat and at the top of the head or the *brahmarandhra*. These circles are called the *devīcakra*, *dūtīcakra*, *mātṛcakra*, *yoginīcakra* and *khecarīcakra*, and are believed to be populated by a larger number of goddesses. In another section of the text, the cakras, with the exception of the *anāhaṭa*, are not viewed as ‘lotuses’ with varying number of petals and geometric figures inscribed in the petals. Instead of the term cakra, the word *pada* is used (Heilijgers-Seelen 1994: 38).

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100 See Heilijgers-Seelen 1990: 59 for details on cakra systems taught in sections of the Kubjikāmata-Tantra. The author discusses one system of five cakras as reflected in the Kubjikāmata and two systems (namely, the *uttara* and *dakṣiṇa* varieties) of six cakras.

1. A yantra for attraction (ākāraṇayantra)

2. A supporting maṇḍala for the vardhamānī vessel
3. A yantra with the Rāmarakṣāstotra inscribed
4. A yantra assigned to stanza 55 of the Saundaryalahari

5. A yantra for subjugating one’s master
6. A pūjāyantra of Mahāgaṇapati
MANDALAS AND YANTRAS IN SMÄRTA RITUAL

Gudrun Bühnemann

PART I. SELECTED MANOALA-LIKE STRUCTURES, MANOALAS AND YANTRAS

1 Introduction

This essay describes some manḍalas, manḍala-like structures and yantras that are currently used in the ritual practices of Smärta Brahmins in Mahārāṣṭra. It draws on my observation of rituals in that part of India as well as on the study of ritual manuals. This paper is divided into two parts. Part one is designed to introduce the reader to common structures of manḍalas and yantras in the Smärta tradition. As an example of an early manḍala-like structure, the baliharana-cakra of the vaisvadeva rite is described. This opens the discussion on the directional orientation and basic designs of manḍalas. Describing specific manḍalas and yantras currently used by Smärta Brahmins, I analyze the navagrahamaṇḍala, the saptasatimaḥāyantra (which originally belonged to the Śākta tradition) and the rudrapīṭha-mahāyantra. Part two of this paper describes a category of manḍalas called bhadramanḍalas.

Initially a brief explanation of the word Smärta may be in order. Smärta is a rather loosely used term which refers to a Brahmin who is an 'adherent of the Smṛti' and of the tradition which is 'based on the Smṛti.' The Smärta tradition considers itself to be based on the Vedic heritage and the ancient orthodox texts in the Vedic tradition, such as the Dharmaśāstras and the Smṛtis. It claims to be neither exclusively Śiva-oriented (Śaiva) nor exclusively Viṣṇu-oriented (Vaiṣṇava), and often combines the worship of five deities.1 Despite the rejection of Tantric elements in rituals by some Smärtas

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1 For a discussion of the term Smärta and of the Smärta tradition, see Bühnemann 2003.
authorities, the Śmāra tradition has incorporated such elements, including yantras.

2 The Maṇḍala-like Arrangement in the Bāliharanaṇacakra

The bāliharanaṇacakra or bāliharanaṇamāṇḍala appears to be among the earliest maṇḍala-like arrangements of the Śmāras. In current ritual practice of Mahārāṣṭrian Rg-Vedins, it is a circular arrangement formed by food offerings (bali) (see Colour Plate 2) placed on the ground in the bhūtayajña, pītryajña and manusyayajña rites. These three rites are variously considered parts of, or appendices to, the vaisvadeva rite. The vaisvadeva, which is a ritual offering of cooked food before eating, is prescribed twice daily, in the morning and in the evening. There is little difference between these two ritual procedures. In current Mahārāṣṭrian practice, the cooked food, usually rice, is divided into three portions. The offerings from the first portion of food are made to the sacred domestic fire to deities as part of the sacrificial worship of deities (devayajña) of the vaisvadeva rite. The offerings of the second and third portions of food are balis, that is, offerings made outside the sacred fire. They are placed, strewn or thrown on the ground. Bali offerings are made to deities and other beings as part of the sacrificial worship of beings (bhūtayajña), and to the ancestors as part of the sacrificial worship of ancestors (pītryajña). The final offering forms part of the honouring of guests (manusyayajña). The ten deities worshipped as part of the devayajña are identical with the first ten of the group of 32 deities,

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2 The nyāsā rite, for example, which forms part of the current Śmāra pūjā, is rejected by some as Tantric; see Bühnemann 1988a: 121.

3 In the previous essay the terms maṇḍala, yantra and cakra are discussed. Section 3 deals especially with the meanings of the word cakra. The term cakra in the compound bāliharanaṇacakra appears to refer both to the circular layout of the offerings of rice which are placed on the ground and to the group of deities and other beings who are invoked while setting down the offerings. In some texts the term bāliharanaṇamāṇḍala is used synonymously with bāliharanaṇacakra but is more appropriate in the context of the Yajur-Veda tradition in Mahārāṣtra, where its layout is square. In that tradition fewer deities are invoked and some of their names vary.


5 I follow here the text printed in Rgyediyabrhamakarmasamuccaya, fols. 29a.10–30b.3. The number and names of beings differ slightly from those listed in the ancient texts, such as Manu-Śmṛti 3.84–86. Some of these differences are
beings and ancestors who receive offerings made as part of the bhūtayajña. The 32 deities and beings who receive offerings made in the baliḥaraṇacakra of the Rg-Vedins (see Illustration 1) are the following:

(as part of the bhūtayajña, in a circle, beginning from the east:)
(1) Sūrya, (2) Prajāpati, (3) Soma and Vanaspati, (4) Agni and Soma, (5) Indra and Agni, (6) heaven and earth, (7) Dhanvantari, (8) Indra, (9) the ViśveDevas, (10) Brahmā, (11) the waters, (12) herbs and plants, (13) house, (14) deities of the house, (15) deities of the site (vāstu); (outside the circle, in the cardinal directions, in groups of two) (16) Indra, (17) Indra’s men, (18) Yama, (19) Yama’s men, (20) Varuṇa, (21) Varuṇa’s men, (22) Soma, (23) Soma’s men; (inside the circle, in the cardinal directions, beginning from the north) (24) Brahmā, (25) Brahmā’s men, (26) the ViśveDevas, (27) all beings that move by day; (outside the circle, in the intermediate directions, beginning from the north-east:) (28) Rakṣasas;
(as part of the pitṛyajña:)
(29) Svadāpītṛs, (30) Śyāma, (31) Śabala;
(as part of the manuṣyayajña:)
(32) Sanaka and other humans.

The practitioner presses together a small number of rice grains between the fingers and the thumb of his right hand. Invoking the deities and other beings, he first places the offerings so that they form of a circle. He then places some offerings inside and outside the circle, always proceeding in a clockwise direction. This clockwise movement represents the usual order of movement in rituals, counter-clockwise movement being used, for example, in rites for the dead.

In the maṇḍala-like structure of the baliḥaraṇacakra, offerings are placed in a circle, attention being paid to directional orientation. However, there is no single deity in the centre. This arrangement differs from later maṇḍala structures which follow the concentric


* In the evening ritual, Agni is invoked instead of Sūrya.

† Brahmā appears again in 24.

§ In the evening ritual, the beings that move by night are invoked instead.
pattern in which one central deity is surrounded by other entities on the outside.

3 The Maṇḍala-like Arrangement in Pañcāyatana Worship

A maṇḍala-like pattern with one central deity surrounded by four other deities in the intermediate directions or corners appears in the Śrāvaka pañcāyatana worship. The pañcāyatana worship focuses on the icons or aniconic representations of five deities, and became popular in the mediaeval period. In modern times, the five deities are the Vedic sun god Śūrya; the goddess called Devī or Durgā; Viṣṇu; the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa (Gaṇapati); and Śiva (Maheśvara). In earlier sources we find evidence for the worship of Brahmā instead of Durgā or Gaṇeśa. Worshipping these five deities is referred to as the five-fold worship (pañcopāsanā), or the pūjā of the five shrines (pañcāyatana-pūjā). The concept of the five-fold worship is also reflected in temple architecture. Pañcāyatana temples in North India⁹ place the main deity in the central shrine and four subordinate deities in smaller shrines at the corners of the square. In domestic worship, the positions of the four other deities vary with the central deity⁹⁰ (see Illustration 2). A contemporary Śiva-pañcāyatana in a Mahārāṣṭrian home, for example, may feature a śivalīṅga in the centre and the icons of Bālakṛṣṇa (representing Viṣṇu), the sun, Gaṇapati (a red stone) and the goddess (a ‘metallic’ stone) respectively in the north-east, south-east, south-west and north-west (see Colour Plate 3). When Gaṇeśa occupies the centre, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śūrya and the goddess will be placed respectively in the north-east, south-east, south-west and north-west.

It is remarkable that in this pattern one deity is positioned in the centre and the four others in the intermediate rather than the cardinal directions, as is commonly seen in maṇḍala-like structures. Perhaps the practitioner wanted to be able to face all the deities at the time of worship. One should keep in mind that the four deities who are worshipped along with the central deity are not considered to be

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⁹ For a study of pañcāyatana temples in North India, see Reitz 1998.
⁹⁰ The arrangement of the deities in domestic worship follows patterns prescribed in a stanza which has been attributed to Bopadeva’s Yamārakāśa and is cited in many texts, such as Mitramiśra’s Puṭārakāśa, Kamalakarabhaṭṭa’s Niṃayaśindhu and contemporary ritual manuals. For details, see Bühnemann 1988a: 50–51.
manifestations of the latter, even though their position at the time of worship is clearly subordinate.

4 Lotus Designs and the Navagrahamāṇḍala

A different directional orientation is followed in lotus designs, which often form the core of maṇḍala and yantra structures. The lotus pattern and the symbolism of the lotus have already been described in section 1.3.1 of the previous essay. In this structure, the main deity is positioned in the centre and the surrounding (āvaraṇa) deities are placed on the petals, and sometimes also on the filaments of the lotus. The surrounding deities are positioned in the four cardinal and intermediate directions, and occasionally they are also placed at the zenith and nadir of the maṇḍala. The zenith and nadir are then indicated by special markings placed near two of the intermediate directions in the maṇḍalas. The surrounding deities may form one or several circles around the central deity, following the common concentric pattern. Frequently the deities are not invoked into icons but into areca nuts (puṅgīphala), which are readily available and can be used repeatedly.

A commonly employed maṇḍala with an interior lotus design in the contemporary Mahārāṣṭrian Smārta tradition is the navagrahamāṇḍala, which features the nine heavenly bodies. The navagrahamāṇḍala is constructed and worshipped to propitiate the evil constellations of heavenly bodies and to remove obstacles. It is employed in the grahanakha or grahayajña, the ‘sacrificial worship of the heavenly bodies,’ a preparatory rite preceding major rituals, such as the vāstuśānti or the life-cycle rituals (samskāra).

In this maṇḍala, each heavenly body (graha) is typically represented by a specific symbolic shape and is prepared from grains or coloured powders. The grains used for each shape may be a different colour. The grahas (listed in the order of the weekdays) with their symbolic shapes, colours and associated directions are usually:

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The sun is positioned in the centre of the maṇḍala, which contains another lotus. In Illustration 3 a circle drawn outside the central lotus contains instructions for the sequence and placement of the heavenly bodies. Here each heavenly body is accompanied by one deity on either side. The Vedic sun god Savitr appears in the centre with Agni and Rudra on either side. The moon is accompanied by the waters and Umā; Mars by the earth and Skanda; Mercury by Viśṇu and Nārāyaṇa; Jupiter by Indra and Brahmā; Venus by Indra and Indraṇī; Saturn by Prajāpati and Yama; Rāhu by snakes and Kāla; and Ketu by Brahmā and Citragupta.¹²

The maṇḍala is surrounded by a square called the 'earth city' or 'earth house' (bhūpura, bhūgrha), already described in section 2.3.8 of the previous essay. The square has four protruding gates in the cardinal directions. Inside the gates and in the four corners of the square, the eight directional guardians (dikpāla) are invoked:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional Guardian</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indra</td>
<td>east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agni</td>
<td>south-east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirṛti</td>
<td>south-west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varuṇa</td>
<td>west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāyu</td>
<td>north-west</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soma (= Kubera)</td>
<td>north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īśāna</td>
<td>north-east</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹² The description of the maṇḍala’s deities is found in Rgvedyabrahmakarma­samuccaya, fols. 132a.2–137a.9 (this description is said to be based on an unspecified ‘Pariśīṣṭa’).
The *navagrahamandalā* is a good example of the lotus pattern commonly seen in manḍalas and yantras which use a concentric arrangement of deities. The eight-petalled lotus with its petals pointing in the directions is especially well suited for placing the deities in their respective directions. The group of eight (and sometimes ten) directional guardians is also invoked into parts of the outer structures of other yantras, such as the two yantras described below.

5 Yantra Structures

I will now address the structure of two yantras, the *saptasati-mahāyantra* and the *rudrapīṭhamahāyantra*, in some detail. Both yantras belong to the category of yantras which are employed in optional desire-oriented rituals (see type 3 described in section 2.2.3 of the previous essay).

5.1 The *Saptasati-mahāyantra*

The *durgāsaptasati-mahāyantra*, abbreviated *saptasati-mahāyantra*, is a yantra which originally was exclusive to the Śākta tradition. It is comparatively well known in Mahārāṣṭra and is printed in the *Ṛgvediyabrahmakarmasamuccaya*, the manual commonly used by priests in the Ṛg-Vedic tradition (Illustration 4). The yantra became increasingly important as the popularity of the Durgāsaptasati (also called Devimāhātmya or Cāndī) grew. This text eulogizes the deeds of Durgā in approximately 700 stanzas. It dates back to ca. 500–600 A.D. and is attributed to the Mārkandeya-Purāṇa. The yantra is employed in the ritual worship of the goddess known as *cāndīyāga*, especially for Durgā worship during the Navarātri festival.

Although used by Smārtas, the yantra shows typical Tantric elements both in its structure and in the use of the seed (*bijā*) syllables inscribed in it. As noted in section 2.2.3 of the preceding essay, yantras employed in optional desire-oriented rites often contain seed syllables. These are one-syllabled mantras frequently derived from the first letter of a deity’s name to which a nasal sound, the *anusvāra* or *anunāsika*, is added. A total of 85 deities are invoked.

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13 For a simpler version of the yantra, cf. Coburn 1991: 115 (Figure 5.3) and 138–139.
into the yantra.\textsuperscript{14} In the centre, a downward-pointing triangle (\textit{trikona}) is found containing salutations to the three principal emanations of the goddess, namely, Mahākāli (1), Mahālakṣmi (2) and Mahāsarasvatī (3), along with the goddesses’ respective seed syllables, \textit{aīm}, \textit{hrīm} and \textit{kliṃ}. This triangle is located inside a hexagram (\textit{sațkona}) in whose six corners the names of two groups of deities are inscribed. Group 1: Sarasvatī and Brahmā (4), Gaurī and Rudra (5), Lakṣmī and Hṛṣikeśa (6), Aṣṭādaśabhujā (7), Daśānanā (8), Aṣṭabhujā (9); group 2: Nandajā (10), Raktadantikā (11), Śākambhari (12), Durgā (13), Bhimā (14) and Bhrāmarī (15). Group 1 consists of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu with their consorts and the three great manifestations of the goddess in the Devimāhātmya, namely, Aṣṭādaśabhujā (‘the Eighteen-Armed One,’ that is, Mahālakṣmi), Daśānanā (‘the Ten-Faced One,’ that is, Mahākāli) and Aṣṭabhujā (‘the Eight-Armed One,’ that is, Mahāsarasvatī). Group 2 consists of special manifestations of the goddess described in Devimāhātmya 11.42–55. Jayā (16), Vijayā (17), Jayantī (18), Aparājitā (19) and the two vehicles of the goddess, the lion (\textit{simha}) (20) and buffalo (\textit{mahīsa}) (21), are invoked into the points in which the sides of the two triangles forming the hexagram intersect. The hexagram is inside a lotus into whose eight petals again two groups of deities are invoked. The first group consists of the mother goddesses (\textit{mātrkā}): Brāhmi (22), Māheśvari (23), Kaumāri (24), Vaiṣṇavi (25), Vārāhi (26), Nārasimhī (27), Aindrī (28) and Cāmuṇḍā (29).\textsuperscript{15} The second group consists of the eight Bhairavas: Asitāṅgabhairava (30), Rurubhairava (31), Candaḥbhairava (32), Krodhabhairava (33), Unmattabhairava (34), Kapālabhairava (35), Bhiṣanabhairava (36) and Samhārabhairava (37). Outside the eight-petalled lotus, a lotus with 24 petals is found. In it the following saktis are invoked: Viṣṇumāyā (38), Cetanā (39), Buddha (40), Nidrā (41), Kṣudhā (42), Chāyā (43), Śakti (44), Trṣṇā (45), Ksānti (46), Jāti (47), Lajjā (48), Śānti (49), Śraddhā (50), Kānti (51), Lakṣmī (52), Dhṛtī (53), Vṝtī (54), Smṛṭi (55), Dayā (56), Tuṣṭī (57), Puṣṭi (58), Mātṛ (59), Bhrāntī (60) and Citi (61). Outside this lotus is a square (\textit{bhūpura, bhūgrha}) with four protruding gates. Into the

\textsuperscript{14} For a text listing almost the same names as those inscribed in the yantra sketch, see \textit{Rgvediyabrahmakarmasamuccaya}, fols. 349a.12–350b.8.

\textsuperscript{15} The names differ slightly from those in the \textit{rudrapīṭhamahāyantra}. In that yantra, Candikā replaces Nārasimhī and the sequence of the last three names in the list differs.
corners of the square and the four gates two groups of deities are invoked. The first group consists of the ten directional guardians (dikpāla), who are invoked into their respective directions beginning from the east:16 Indra (62), Agni (63), Yama (64), Nirṛti (65), Varuṇa (66), Vāyu (67), Soma (= Kubera) (68) and Rudra (Īśāna) (69). Bramhā (70) is assigned to the zenith, which is located between the north-east and east in the yantra. Śeṣa (71) is assigned to the nadir, which is located between the south-west and west. The second group consists of the attributes (āyudha) of the directional guardians, which are assigned in the same sequence (cf. also the rudrayantra described below): the thunderbolt (vajra) (72; east), the spear (śakti) (73; south-east), the staff (danda) (74; south), the sword (khadga) (75; south-west), the noose (pāśa) (76; west), the goad (aṅkuśa) (77; north-west), the mace (gadā) (78; north), the trident (triśūla) (79; north-east), the lotus (padma) (80; assigned to the zenith) and the wheel (cakra) (81; assigned to the nadir). Outside the gates Gaṇapati (82), Kṣetrapāla (83), Batuka (84) and the ‘Yoginis’ (85) are found.

Even though the number of deities invoked into this yantra is rather large, its design is common: a downward-pointing female triangle inside a hexagram which is in the pericarp of an eight-petalled lotus. The lotus is surrounded by another lotus and a square with four gates. In addition to specific deities connected with Durgā, groups of deities appear which are often found in other yantras. They are the group of eight mothers, the Bhairavas, the ten directional guardians and behind the latter their attributes.

5.2 The Rudrapithamahāyantra

The rudrapithamahāyantra (‘great yantra of Rudra’s seat’), or simply rudrapīṭha/rudrayantra (see Illustration 5), is employed in connection with the recitation of the Rudrādhyāya of Taittirīya-Samhitā 4.5.1–11 of the Yajur-Veda. The Rgvediyabrahmakarmasamuccaya ascribes this yantra to the Skanda-Purāṇa17 and prescribes it for all rituals worshipping Rudra. After the deities are invoked into the yantra, a vessel (kalāsa) is placed on it to serve as the seat for Śiva, the principal deity of the ritual (see Colour Plate 4).

16 The names of the directional guardians and their directions are listed in section 4 in connection with the navagrahamandala.

17 See Rgvediyabrahmakarmasamuccaya, fols. 315a.1–318a.8 for the description.
The yantra consists of a lotus pattern with five rings of petals that contain five major groups (divided into subgroups) of surrounding deities. Outside the petals is a square (bhūpura) with three nested lines and four protruding gates. The lines of the square are coloured, from inside to out, white, red and black. They are called sattva, rajas and tamas and identified with the three constituents (guna) of primary matter (prakrti) in the Sāmkhya system.\(^\text{18}\) Outside the gates are depicted the eight great snakes. In this yantra, a total of 141 deities are invoked (the diagram numbers them only up to 121), generally beginning in the west. The five-faced Rudra (1) is invoked into the pericarp of the lotus and worshipped with the mantras corresponding to his five aspects, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna. The first group of surrounding deities is assigned to the innermost ring of eight petals: Nandin (2), Mahākāla (3), Gañeśvara (4), Vṛṣabha (5), Bhaṅgirīti\(^\text{19}\) (6), Skanda (7), Uma (8) and Caṇḍīśvara (9). In the adjacent ring of 16 lotus petals the following aspects of Śiva are invoked: Ananta (10), Śūkṣma (11), Śiva (12), Ekapāt (13), Ekarudra (14), Trimūrti (15), Śrīkaṇṭha (16), Vāmadeva (17), Jyeṣṭha (18), Śreṣṭha (19), Rudra (20), Kāla (21), Kalavikaraṇa (22), Balavikaraṇa (23), Bala (24) and Balapramathana (25). The third group of deities is positioned in the next ring of 24 lotus petals. This group consists of three subgroups: the supernatural powers (siddhi), the mother goddesses (mātṛkā) and the Bhairavas. The eight supernatural powers\(^\text{20}\) are: atomization (ānimā) (26), magnification (mahimā) (27), levitation (laghīmā) (28) heaviness (garimā) (29), extension (prāpti) (30), efficacy/non-obstruction of desire (prākāmya) (31), sovereignty (iśitā) (32) and mastery (vaśītā) (33). The eight mother goddesses are Brāhma (34), Māheśvari (35), Kaumārī (36), Vaiśṇavī (37), Vārāhi (38), Aindrī (39), Cāmuṇḍā (40) and Caṇḍikā (41).\(^\text{21}\) The eight Bhairavas (42–49) are identical with the ones listed above for the saptasatīmahāyāntra, namely Asitāṅga-bhairava and the others. To the fourth ring of 32 lotus petals are assigned several subgroups of deities. The first subgroup consists of

\(^{18}\) See also my remarks in section 2.3.8 of the previous essay for these three lines.

\(^{19}\) I.e., the two attendants of Śiva.

\(^{20}\) These supernatural powers are explained in Vyāsa’s commentary on Yogasūtra 3.45.

\(^{21}\) The names differ somewhat from those in the earlier list for the saptasatīmahāyāntra. In that yantra, Nārasiṃha appears in place of Caṇḍikā and the sequence of the last three names in the list differs.
the eight manifestations (mūrti) of Śiva: Bhava (50), Sarva (51), Ishāna (52), Paśupati (53), Rudra (54), Ugra (55), Bhima (56) and Mahat (57). The second subgroup consists of the eight great serpents: Śeṣa (58), Ananta (59), Vāsuki (60), Takṣaka (61), Kulīra (62), Kārkoṭaka (63), Śaṅkhapāla (64) and Kambalāśvata (64). The third subgroup consists of the kings:22 Vainya (66), Prthu (67), Haihaya (58), Arjuna (69), Śākuntaleya (70), Bharata (71), Nala (72) and Rāma (73). The fourth subgroup consists of the eight principal mountain ranges (kulācala): Himavat (74), Niṣadha (75), Vindhyā (76), Mālyavat (77), Pāriyātra (78), Malaya (79), Hemakūṭa (80) and Gandhamādāna (81). The fifth ring has 40 lotus petals with the following five subgroups of divine beings: the eight directional guardians, their consorts, the guardians’ attributes, the guardians’ vehicles and the directional elephants. The eight directional guardians are—as in the navagrahamandala and the saptasati mahāyantra—Indra (82), Agni (83), Yama (84), Nirṛti (85), Varuṇa, (86), Vāyu (87), Kubera (88) and Ishāna (89). Their eight consorts are: Śacī (90), Svāhā (91), Vārāhi (92), Khadgini (93), Vāruṇi (94), Vāyavi (95), Kauberi (96) and Ishāni (97). The eight guardians’ attributes are as in the saptasati mahāyantra: the thunderbolt (vajra) (98), the spear (śakti) (99), the staff (daṇḍa) (100), the sword (khadga) (101), the noose (pāśa) (102), the goad (aṅkuśa) (103), the mace (gadā) (104) and the trident (trīśūla) (105). The guardians’ vehicles (vāhana) are Indra’s elephant Airāvata (106), the ram (meṣa) (107), the buffalo (mahīṣa) (108), the corpse (pretā) (109), the sea-monster (makara) (110), the deer (harīna) (111), the man (nara) (112) and the bull (viṣabha) (113). The directional elephants (dīgga) are specified as

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22 These names appear to have been taken from the following verse which is traditionally recited by Mahārāṣṭrian Brahmins upon rising in the morning. This verse, which is believed to secure wealth and victory, is printed in texts such as the Bhaktimārgadīp (edited by G.N. Dāṇḍekar, Mumbai: Majestic Book Stall, 1978 [third edition]): 2:

vainyāṁ prthuṁ hāthayaṁ arjunāṁ ca
śākuntaleyaṁ bharatāṁ nalaṁ ca /
rāmaṁ ca yo vai smarati prabhāce
tasyārthālabho vijayaṁ ca haste //

Actually, the verse lists only the names of five kings: Prthu, the son of King Vena (also spelled Vena); Arjuna (Kārtavirya) of the Haihaya family; Bharata, the son of Śākuntalā; Nala and Rāma. In the yantra, the names are clearly interpreted as eight separate names. The individual who first assigned the names to the yantra did not realize that three of the epithets (vainya, haihaya and śākuntaleya) are adjectives that modify three of the names (Prthu, Arjuna and Bharata).
Airāvata (114), Puṇḍarīka (115), Vāmana (116), Kumuda (117), Aṇjana (118), Puṣpadanta (119), Sārvabhauma (120) and Supratīka (121). In the gates of the square outside the lotuses, the eight directional guardians (122–129) appear for the second time in the yantra. Four additional deities, who represent forms of Śiva, are invoked into the intermediate directions: Virūpākṣa (130) (south-east), Viśvarūpa (131) (south-west), Paśupati (132) (north-west) and Ūrdhvalīṅga (133) (north-east). The eight great serpents outside the square are: Śeṣa (134), Taksaka (135), Ananta (136), Vāsuki (137), Śaṅkhapāla (138), Mahāpadma (139), Kambala (140) and Karkotaka (141). They appear here for the second time with variants for some of their names.

This yantra features a lotus design with five rings of petals, surrounded by a square with three nested lines. Among the deities invoked are special groups associated with Rudra/Śiva. In addition, common groups of deities who are also assigned to other yantras appear. These are the mother goddesses, the Bhairavas, the eight great serpents, the directional guardians, their consorts and their attributes. The groups of directional guardians and great serpents appear twice in the yantra, each time in a different part of the yantra, which is not unusual.

The second part of this paper introduces a structure quite different from the lotus designs described here. It deals with types of bhadramanḍalas, all of which share the square grid.
A diagram showing the deities of the Pathvamukha.

1. A diagram showing the deities of the Pathvamukha.
2. The arrangement of the five deities in (domestic) pujaśrayatana shrines

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<td>Sūryapāścāyatana</td>
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<td>Siva (1)</td>
<td>Devī (5)</td>
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<td>Viṣṇupāścāyatana</td>
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<td>Siva (2)</td>
<td>Devī (5)</td>
<td>Sūrya (4)</td>
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3. A mandala of the heavenly bodies
4. The (durgā)saptaśatiṃahāyantra
5. The *rudrapīṭhamahāyantra*
PART II. BHADRAMANDALAS

Introduction

Bhadramandalas are square-shaped mandalas that are divided into a grid of squares. Specific shapes are traced within the framework of these squares. In the course of the ritual, deities are invoked into different parts of these shapes. The manḍalas are used mainly as supports (piṭha) for vessels (kalaśa). The vessels function as seats for icons of deities. The bhadramandalas are employed mainly in the concluding ceremonies of religious observances (vratodyāpana). It is believed that a ritual performed without the support of a bhadra is fruitless, whereas a ritual employing such a support is thought to yield excellent results (Bhadramārtanda, fol. 2a.5–6). The construction of the bhadramandalas is still alive in Mahārāṣṭra and described in ritual handbooks of priests. In the following I will explore the different types and structures of these manḍalas. My main textual source here is the 19th-century Bhadramārtanda written by Harikṛṣna, a text which has not been analyzed previously. Most of the manḍalas found in the printed edition of the Bhadramārtanda have been reproduced in this book.

1 In my paper entitled ‘Bhadramandalas in the Ritual Practice,’ published in the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens in 1987, I discuss sarvatobhadras and several types of liṅgaobhadras, the deities invoked into them and the ritual employment of the bhadramandalas. The paper includes diagrams of manḍalas and photographs of stages in their construction, together with translations of text passages and numerous references in the notes. This information has not been duplicated here. While the earlier paper refers only briefly to some modifications of these manḍalas, such as the rāmatobhadras, these modifications are described here in greater detail. Thus this essay complements my earlier paper.

2 The square grid is described in section 1.3.2 of the previous essay.

3 The printed edition does not illustrate all manḍalas described in the text. Illustrations of manḍalas 36, 38, 53–65 are missing. Moreover, some mandala drawings are incomplete (24–25, 39–40 and 50–51) and have therefore not been reproduced in this book.
The Bhadramārtanda (BM) is, to my knowledge, the most comprehensive compendium on bhadrāṇḍalas. The text describes as many as 76 bhadrās, which are to be employed by the ‘followers of the Veda’ (vaidika).

The BM forms chapter (adhyāya) 17 of the sixth skandha of the Bṛhajjyotiśārṇavā, written by the astrologer (jyotirīd) Harikṛṣṇa in 1871 A.D. Harikṛṣṇa’s father was Veṅkaṭarāma, an audīcya Brahmin of Gujarat of the audīcya-sahāsra branch who resided in Aurangabad. Veṅkaṭarāma belonged to the vājasaṇeṣa-sākhā of the White Yajur-Veda and the gautama-gotra.

To date, only parts of the comprehensive Bṛhajjyotiśārṇavā have been printed by the Veṅkaṭeśvar Press (also known as Khemrāj Śrīkṛṣṇadās). The printed parts of the text include the Bāṭukabhairavopāsanā (Bombay 1909), the 124th adhyāya in the dharma-skandha of the work; the Cakrāvalisamgraha (Bombay 1900), included in the sixth skandha; the Kriṣṇākauśalya (Bombay 1901), the 20th adhyāya in the sixth skandha, the Hanumadupāsanā (Bombay 1899), the 114th adhyāya of the upāsanāstabaka in the eighth skandha; and the Durgopāsanākalpadruma (Bombay 1907), the 128th adhyāya in the eighth skandha. Harikṛṣṇa is also the author of the Kārttikamāśaṁāṁatmyāṭikā and the Vaiśākhamāśaṁāṁatmyāṭikā.

Although Harikṛṣṇa’s compilation is recent, descriptions of most of the maṇḍalas included in the BM can be traced back to older sources, such as the vrataḥkaṇḍa of Hemādri’s Caturvargacintāmaṇī (ca. 1260–1270 A.D.), the manoharākāṇḍa of the Ānandarāmāyaṇa (AR) and to several other texts on vrataḥ and dharma. Among these texts, the AR is the most important source for the BM. Bulcke 1962: 73 assigns this text to ca. 1500 A.D. According to Raghavan (†) 1998: 121, the AR was most likely produced during the Maratha rule.

1 Harikṛṣṇa names the following texts as his sources: the <Ānanda->Rāmāyanā; the Vratarāja; the Śaṁtiśāra; the Tattvasaṅgara-Samhitā; ‘the Pāṇcarātra,’ Hemādri’s vrataḥkaṇḍa in his Caturvargacintāmaṇī; ‘the Purāṇas,’ especially ‘the Skānda’ and ‘the Laiṅga;’ the Maṇḍalasamgraha; ‘the Tantra,’ especially the Rudrayāmala; the Rudrapaddhati, a text that may be identical with the Mahārudrapaddhati, or the Rudrāṇuśṭhānapaddhati (Aufrecht 1: 530), which was authored by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, son of Rāmesvarabhaṭṭa; and the ‘Kaumudi,’ which may be identical with the Vratodyāpanakaumudi.

2 For a summary of the narrative contents of the AR, see Raghavan (†) 1998: 72–124.
in South India, between the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. This later date is more likely. Several of the maṇḍalas Harikṛṣṇa describes are detailed in contemporary ritual handbooks of priests in Mahārāṣṭra, and are currently employed in rituals.

3 The Structure of the Bhadramārtanda and its Maṇḍalas

The BM has been out of print for a long time and it is difficult to obtain copies. The work, comprising 36 printed folios, is written in verse with occasional brief prose explanations. Most verses consist of quotations from other texts. The work begins with a general section that provides definitions and explanations (paribhaṅga), and then proceeds with technical instructions for drawing the maṇḍalas. The 76 bhadras described in the text are divided into the following main categories:

1) sarvatobhadras
2) lingatobhadras for Śiva, including bhadras for Gaurī
3) bhadras for Rāma
4) the paṇcābhadra
5) bhadras for Sūrya
6) the bhadra for Gaṇapatī/Gaṇeśa
7) the cakrāravindamanḍala
8) the svastikamanḍala.

A complete list of maṇḍalas described in the BM is found in the appendix at the end of this paper.

Sarvatobhadra means ‘auspicious from all sides’ and most likely refers to the symmetry of the maṇḍala design. The name has been

6 Dakshinaranjan Shastri 1940: 171 translates the name as ‘beautiful in every aspect,’ Brunner, p. 167 as ‘thoroughly auspicious’ and Rastelli, p. 124 as ‘auspicious in every way.’

7 Sarvatobhadra is also the name of a bandha composition in literature, in which verse quarters can be read in all four directions, forwards, backwards, horizontally and vertically. As Lienhard demonstrates, names of bandhas can be traced back to certain army formations (vyūha). A sarvatobhadra can attack an enemy from all sides (Lienhard 1997: 346, 350, 351). For a drawing of a sarvatobhadra stanza, see Lienhard 1997: 353. The term sarvatobhadra is used in architecture to denote a house with a veranda all around (Brhat-Samhitā 53.31) and a type of temple (Brhat-Samhitā 56.18, 56.27). In town-planning the term refers to an oblong or square-shaped town. For a sarvatobhadra town plan, see Lienhard 1997: 358.
used by different texts to designate distinct types of maṇḍalas. For example, the variations of this maṇḍala in the BM differ from descriptions in some other texts, for example, the sarvatobhadra according to the third chapter of the Śaradātilaka, which Brunner reconstructs in her contribution. The sarvatobhadra, of which four types are explained in the BM (Illustrations 1–4), is the most versatile of all the bhadras in application. It can be employed in all the religious observances (vrata), regardless of whether the principal deity is Viśṇu, Śiva or another deity. But it is believed to be particularly well suited for Vaiṣṇava rites. One type of sarvatobhadra described in the BM (Illustration 3) is an eight-petalled (aṣṭadala) lotus, which functions as a substitute for a bhadramandala.

The terms liṅgatobhadra, rāmatobhadra and so forth are derived analogically from the term sarvatobhadra. The term liṅgato<bhadra>, ‘<auspicious> because of a liṅga/liṅgas,’ is used synonymously with liṅgasamudbhava, ‘<auspicious(less)> arisen from a liṅga/liṅgas.’

The liṅgatobhadras described in the main section of the BM fall into many subcategories. The subcategories are named according to the number of phallic symbols of Śiva (liṅga) they depict, ranging from one to 1,008. In addition to their number, the arrangement of the liṅgas within the maṇḍalas is significant, as is the number of lines drawn while constructing the maṇḍalas. As one would expect, the liṅgatobhadras are employed in vratas connected with deities of the Śaiva tradition. Three liṅgatobhadras that are named gauritilaka (Illustrations 5–7) are prescribed for vratas connected with Śiva’s

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For other types of sarvatobhadra, see the references in Bühnemann 1987: 43, note 2 and, in addition, the colour diagram in Banerji 1978: 176; and the line drawing in V.V. Dwivedi/J. Pandey/S.S. Bahulkar (Bhāratīya Tantraśāstra, Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1995): 682. A sarvatobhadra is included in the sketchbook of the painter Vishnu Bahadur Chitrakar of Bhaktapur, Nepal, which is reproduced in Vergati 1982: 56. Gaeffke 1987: 154 states that the sarvatobhadra is identical with the navapadmamandala; these maṇḍalas, however, usually differ considerably in structure. For a sketch of a navapadmamandala reconstructed according to the description in the Jayākhyā-Saṁhitā of the Pāñcarātra, see Apte 1973: 514, illustrated Figure 1. His sketch is based on a colour print prefixed to the foreword of only the first edition of the Jayākhyā-Saṁhitā (1931); see also Colour Plate 15. The navapadmamandala is also described in the Laksmai-Tantra. A colour diagram is appended to Gupta’s translation of the Laksmai-Tantra (= Diagram III), which is reproduced in black and white in Khanna 1979: 92. The Tantrasadbhāva (see Törzsökö, p. 205, note 95) apparently refers to a type of śrimaṇḍala as sarvatobhadraka.

For drawings of two different gauritilakamanḍalas each with four liṅgas and five lotuses, see SP3, Plate XV and also p. 696; see also Sabarathinam 1995: 62.
consort Gauri, also referred to as Śakti. Combinations of the sarvatobhadra and the lingatobhadra are frequently termed harihara (atmaka)lingatobhadras, ‘lingatobhadras (consisting) of Hari and Hara’ (for example, Illustrations 19–21). The sarvatobhadra, which usually appears in the centre of these manḍalas, represents Hari/Viṣṇu, while the lingatobhadra on the outside represents Hara/Śiva. The harihara-lingatobhadras can be employed in both Vaiṣṇava and in Śaiva rites. Lingatobhadras are also combined with the auspicious svastika symbol. Five additional lingatobhadras, which are used on special occasions, such as festivals, and in rites performed for the attainment of specific goals, are described separately in the final section of the BM. The total number of lingatobhadras described in the text is 41.

The 25 bhadas for Rāma, called rāmatobhadras, ‘auspicious because of <the ‘seal’ of> Rāma,’ are employed in rituals for Rāma and Viṣṇu. They are manḍalas inscribed with one or several ‘seals’ (mudrā). ‘The seal’ is defined as the words rājā rāma (‘King Rāma’) (see Table, Figure 9), or, in reverse order, rāma rājā. The bhadas for Rāma may also be inscribed with the name (nāman) rāma rāma. In such cases, they are classified as rāmanāmatobhadras (cf. AR, manoharakāṇḍa 4.49–45). Alternatively, they can be inscribed with the names ramā rāma, in which rāma refers to Rāma’s wife. Some bhadas are inscribed with the seal rājā rāma together with liṅgas. These bhadas are termed rāmalīṅgatobhadras (see Colour Plates 6–7). Various bhadas for Rāma, such as rāmatobhadras and rāmalīṅgatobhadras, many of which contain a sarvatobhadra in their centre, are elaborately described in sargas 4 and 5 of the manoharakāṇḍa of the AR. Combining a rāmamudrā and a śivaliṅga in the same manḍala poses no doctrinal problems. Rāma is said to have worshipped Śiva and established liṅgas (cf. AR, sārakāṇḍa 10.124), which are often called rāma-liṅgas in Mahārāṣtra and Karnātaka. Śiva, on the other hand, is said to utter a rāmamantra called tārakamantra for the benefit of those who pass away in Vārānasi. AR, rājyakāṇḍa 18.19 refers to a stone inscribed with the rāmamudrā in Rāmanāthapura, a site close to Rāmeśvara. According to legends, the stones used to build the bridge to Lanka were inscribed with the

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10 Of these two paintings, which come from private collections, the pattern of the first bhadra cannot be identified in the BM. The second bhadra bears the inscription caturmudrārāmalīṅgatobhadra and corresponds to Illustration 42 from the BM. It features four rāmamudrās, eight liṅgas and a sarvatobhadra in the centre.
rāmamantra or with Rāma’s name. In the ĀR the power of the rāmamudrā is eulogized repeatedly. When a maṇḍala that combines rāmamudrās and sivalingas is employed for the worship of Rāma, the rāmamudrā becomes the object of worship and the liṅga/Śiva acts as the worshipper. But when the same maṇḍala is used in a ritual worshipping Śiva, the liṅga becomes the object of worship, and the rāmamudrā, the worshipper. A rāmatobhadra is employed in rites for Viṣṇu, while a rāmaliṅgatobhadra is suitable for either Viṣṇu or Śiva. A bhadra inscribed with the ‘seal’ rāmā rāma is used for the goddess.

Two types of sūryabhadrās (Illustrations 67–68) are described for use in vratas connected with the sun. Each one contains 12 images of the sun, 12 being the number that symbolizes the sun, since it corresponds to the 12 months of the year and the 12 zodiac signs. The two bhadrās differ in the number of lines drawn and in the way the icons are placed. The bhadra (Colour Plate 10) from Rājasthān can be identified as the sūryabhadra with 20 lines corresponding to Illustration 67 from the BM.

The BM describes only one bhadra for Gaṇapatī/Gaṇeṣa (see Illustration 69). It is a bhadra with a total of five icons of Gaṇapatī, four in the cardinal directions and one in the centre (see Colour Plate 8). But we know from other texts that several other types of gaṇapatībhadrās exist.

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11 Cf. ĀR, manoharakānda, 4.6 and 5.90cd-91ab.
12 Cf. ĀR, manoharakānda, 5.375; BM, fol. 3a.8–9.
13 The maṇḍala is reproduced from Ganeškoś (edited by A. Gādjil, Pune: Śrīrām Book Agency, 1981): 477. The ganeśabhadra reproduced in the BM features four icons of Ganeśa in the cardinal directions but no icon (only a lotus) in the centre. This ganeśabhadra is reproduced in colour in S.D. Deśikar (Gaṇapatī, Tirvāvaṭutoryai Adiṇam, 1984 [second edition] [in Tamil]): 141+.
14 For gaṇapatībhadrās, see also Bühnemann 1987: 48–49, 59, 63.
Other manḍalas in the BM include the cakrāravinda, a lotus encircled by a wheel, and the svastikamanḍala, which features the auspicious svastika symbol inside a square. The svastika also appears in other manḍalas, such as some liṅgatobhādras in combination with liṅgas, lotuses or other symbols. It is an ancient auspicious symbol which Auer/Gutschow 1974: 22, 38 consider an abstract form of a manḍala whose ‘arms’ establish the unity of the manḍala’s four parts.

### 4 Constituent Parts of the Bhadras

Bhadras are constructed by drawing a certain number of vertical and horizontal base lines (rekhā) that form square grids. The squares are called pada or kośtha (see Table, Figure 1). The manḍala is made up of padas that are assembled to form different shapes. The sarvato-bhādra usually has the following parts (see Table, Figures 2–9):

- ‘enclosure’ (paridyā) (Figure 2)
- ‘well’ (vāpi) (Figure 3)

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15 A more complex manḍala of this type is the cakrābjanmanḍala. The Pauskara-Saṃhitā, which contains a description of the manḍala in chapter 8, states in verse 2ab that multiple variants of this manḍala exist. For a description of the cakrābjanmanḍala, see Pādma-Saṃhitā, caryāpāda, chapter 2. The manḍala is discussed in volume 1, Appendix 10: 53–54 of the edited text (with references to parallel texts) and in volume 2: 569–571; see also Colour Plate 14 in this book (reproduced from a plate inserted in the back of volume 1) and the sketch in volume 2: 568. Another variant of the manḍala is reproduced in the appendix to Gupta’s translation of the Lakṣmī-Tantra (= Diagram IV); in the manḍala reproduction the tips of the lotus petals are not oriented to the points of the compass. Gupta’s diagram is reprinted in black and white in Khanna 1979: 93. For a sketch of a somewhat different cakrābjanmanḍala, see Rao 1988–1992, volume 5: 27. The cakrābjanmanḍala is also known as bhadrakamanḍala (see Rastelli, p. 124, note 28) because it is similar to a type of sarvato bhādra, namely the sarvato bhādra reconstructed by Brunner. One mark of distinction between the cakrābjanmanḍala and the sarvato bhādra is that a conch shell is drawn in each of the four corners of the cakrābjanmanḍala. For a bhadrakamanḍala, see the line drawing printed in Nārada-Saṃhitā, p. 576. The same line drawing also appears in an article by R.P. Chaudhary (in V.V. Dwivedi/J. Pandey/S.S. Bahulkar: Bhāratīya Tantrasastra, Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1995): 682. For a sketch of a simpler bhadrakamanḍala, see Rao 1988–1992, volume 5: 20.

16 For a different svastikamanḍala reconstructed from the Siddhāntasāravali, see SP3, Plate XVI and p. 696; see further Pausā2, appendix, p. XI and Rao 1988–1992, volume 5: 25 for different types of this manḍala.
'offset' (bhadrā)\(^{17}\) (Figure 4)
'creepers' (vallī) (Figure 5)
'chain' (śrīkhalā) (Figure 6)
'crescent moon' (khaṇḍendu) (Figure 7).

In the centre is usually a lotus with a pericarp (karnikā).

In addition to these parts, the liṅgatobhadrās contain one or several phallic symbols (liṅga) of Śiva (see Figure 8).\(^{18}\) The liṅgas are also referred to as Rudra or Śiva in the BM. The number of liṅgas ranges from 1 to 1,008. Other constituent parts found in some liṅgatobhadrās are a passage (vīthi) for circumambulation, which surrounds a throne (piṭha), miniature creepers (laghuvallī) and miniature chains (laghuśrīkhalā).\(^{19}\)

As noted before, a rāmatobhādra may contain liṅgas and/or a sarvatobhādra, but it mainly depicts the 'seal' of Rāma (Table, Figure 9), usually the words rājā rāma. The gaṇeśa- and sūryabhadrās feature images of Gaṇeśa and the sun.

The parts of the maṇḍala are usually one of five colours:\(^{20}\) the enclosure is yellow; the well, white; the bhadrā, red; the creeper, dark green/blue; the chain, black; and the crescent moon, white. On the outside, the maṇḍala is enclosed by a square with three nested lines which are named after the three constituents (guna) of primary matter (prakṛti) in the Sāmkhya system: sattva, rajas and tamas. These lines are coloured white, red and black in accordance with the symbolism of the gunas. The lotus in the centre of the maṇḍalas often has a yellow pericarp and white petals, while the liṅgas are black and the rānamudrā is white.

The BM recommends that one construct these maṇḍalas from powders or grains. The grains include unbroken rice grains (akṣata) (white), red lentils (red), chick-peas (yellow), black beans (dark) and moong gram (mudga) (Phaseolus mungo) (green) (BM, fol. 3a.1–2). The use of both coloured powders and grains in the construction of

\(^{17}\) In architectural terminology, bhadrā designates an offset projection common to North Indian temple plans.

\(^{18}\) For additional constituent parts of the liṅgatobhadrās, see Bühnemann 1987: 55.

\(^{19}\) These parts are described and illustrated in Bühnemann 1987: 54–55.

\(^{20}\) The significance of the five colours in ancient Indian culture is elaborately discussed in Goudriaan 1978: 190ff.
the bhadras can be observed in contemporary ritual practice in India (see Colour Plate 11).

5 The Ritual Employment of the Manḍalas

In Mahārāṣtra, the bhadras are mainly employed in concluding rites (udyāpana) of religious observances (vrata), which frequently consist of a pūjā followed by the giving of a gift. This tradition has continued until the present. The size of the manḍalas can vary. In Mahārāṣtra, the bhadras are frequently prepared on a low square table used in worship (cauraṅga) and are comparatively small in size. After the manḍala is constructed, the deities are invoked into areca nuts (pūgiphalā) that have been placed in parts of the manḍala (see Colour Plate 12) and worshipped with such offerings as flowers. According to BM fol. 3b.1, the deities invoked into the rāmatobhadras and the liṅgatobhadras are said to be the same as those in the sarvatobhadra, but other texts appear to differ. The group of deities invoked into the sarvatobhadra is a specific group led by Brahmā (brahmādī-mandala-devatā). After the offerings, a vessel (kalaśa) filled with water and auspicious objects is placed in the centre of the manḍala; additional vessels may be placed in the four corners. A flat dish filled with unbroken rice grains is placed on top of the vessel, which becomes the throne of the principal deity of the vrata (see Colour Plate 13).

In addition to being used in concluding rites of vrata, a bhadra can be employed as a seat for a deity in a pūjā ritual. The sarvatobhadra can be used in the rite of infusing life (prāṇapratīṣṭhā) into a statue, in rites for the heavenly bodies (such as the graha-makha) and in rites of pacification (sāntī). Vergati 1982: 57 reports that in Nepal the sarvatobhadra is covered with a piece of cloth on which a vessel (kalaśa) is placed. The manḍala is used in the seven-day ritual recitation of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (bhāgavata-saptāha) and in the nine-day ritual recitation (navāhā) of the Rāmāyana and other texts for Rāma. As noted above, the sarvatobhadra is employed for rites centring on Viṣṇu, but it can also be used for any other

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21 For the deities invoked into several liṅgatobhadras, see Bühnemann 1987: 58-59, 65-70.
22 Their names are listed in Bühnemann 1987: 63-65.
23 For detailed references, see Bühnemann 1987: 49-50 and 61.
deity. The lingatobhādras are employed in Śaiva rituals, and a subcategory of them, the gaurītilakas, in rituals for Śiva’s consort, Gauri.

The tradition of constructing bhadrānāḍalas is still alive in Mahārāṣṭra and other parts of South Asia, including Nepal, although it is disappearing fast. The time-consuming construction, from the drawing of the lines with the help of threads to the filling of the squares with powders or grains of different colours, is now often obviated by the use of commercially produced charts, which can easily be called back into service.24 Such coloured charts of one or more types of sarvatobhādra, lingatobhādra, grahamāṇḍa, kṣetrapālānāṇḍa and mātrkānāṇḍa are reportedly sold in shops in Vārāṇasi for use by priests. The printing and distribution of such charts promotes the standardization of certain variations of these maṇḍalas, just as the printing of a certain recension of a text does.

6 Concluding Remarks

It appears that the Śaṅkaras included the bhadrānāṇḍalas in their ritual practices under the influence of maṇḍala rituals performed by Tantric practitioners and maṇḍala patterns described in Tantric texts. The Pāñcarātra and the Tantras are referred to among the sources for the BM. One such source may have been the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati by Īśānaśivagurudevamiśra, an 11th- or 12th-century Śaiva manual of temple worship in four sections (pādu). This text describes maṇḍalas named bhadrāka, sarvatobhādra, pārvatikānta (aśṭa-liṅgalatāpadmāvithīprākāra), latālingodbhava, pañcabrahmamāṇḍala-gaurītilaka, svastikābjadvaya, svastikasarvatobhādra, cakrabija,25 māyācakra and tripūrānāṇḍa.26 Some of these names are also included in the BM. One can observe structural similarities between some bhadrānāṇḍalas and the maṇḍalas reconstructed by Apte in his

24 Brunner makes a similar observation regarding the maṇḍala tradition in South India (Brunner, pp. 165–166, note 28).
25 These maṇḍalas are described twice in the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, in two very similar passages. The first description appears in sāmāṇyapāda 6.36–152 (= volume 1, pp. 51, 10 – 62, 2), and the second one in kriyāpāda 8.31–123 (= volume 3, pp. 77, 8 – 85, 6). The Aśita(-Āgama) and the Tattvasāgara(-Saṃhitā) are among Īśānaśivagurudevamiśra’s sources.
26 The last two maṇḍalas are only described in sāmāṇyapāda 6.132–152 (= volume 1, pp. 60, 8 – 62, 2).
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edition of the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā (Part 1). A detailed comparative study of maṇḍalas described in the Āgama texts has not been undertaken, but would be a prerequisite for tracing the development of the bhadramaṇḍalas.

7 Appendix: List of Maṇḍalas Described in the BM

Because the BM appears to be the most comprehensive text on bhadrās, a complete list of maṇḍalas described in it is provided here.

0 General explanations (paribhāṣā) (fols. 1a.1–3b.3)
1 Sarvatobhadras (fols. 3b.3–10a.9)
1.1 Type 1 (fols. 3b.3–4b.6) (Illustration 1)
1.2 Type 2 and list of deities invoked into the maṇḍala with their respective mantras (fols. 4b.6–8b.12) (Illustration 2)
1.3 Type 3: The aṣṭadalamaṇḍala as a substitute for the sarvato-bhadra and the deities invoked into it (fols. 8b.12–10a.2) (Illustration 3)
1.4 Type 4 (fol. 10a.2–9) (Illustration 4)
2 Liṅgatobhadras (fols. 10a.9–24b.11)
2.0 Deities invoked into the liṅgatobhadras and their mantras (fol. 10a.10–10b.11)
2.1 Gauritilakamaṇḍalas employed in vratas connected to goddesses (fols. 10b.11–11b.4)
2.1.1 Eka-liṅgatobhadra laghugauritilaka (fols. 11b.11–11a.3) (Illustration 5)
2.1.2 Catura-liṅgatobhadra bhaddgauritilaka (fol. 11a.3–9) (Illustration 6)
2.1.3 Gauritilaka (fol. 11a.9–11b.4) (Illustration 7)
2.2 Catura-liṅgatobhadras (fols. 11b.4–12a.7)
2.2.1 Type 1 (fol. 11b.4–10) (Illustration 8)
2.2.2 Type 2 (fol. 11b.10–14) (Illustration 9)
2.2.3 Type 3 (fols. 11b.14–12a.4) (Illustration 10)
2.2.4 Type 4 (fol. 12a.5–7) (Illustration 11)
2.3 Aṣṭaliṅgatobhadras (fols. 12a.8–13a.5)
2.3.1 Type 1 (fol. 12a.8–12b.4) (Illustration 12)
2.3.2 Type 2 (fols. 12b.4–13a.2) (Illustration 13)
2.3.3 Two minor variations (fol. 13a.2–5)
2.4 Dvādaśaliṅgatobhadras (fols. 13a.5–18a.11)
2.4.1 Type 1 with a list of the names of deities invoked into the manḍala (fols. 13a.5–15a.3) (Illustration 14)
2.4.2 Type 2 (fol. 15a.3–13) (Illustration 15)
2.4.3 Type 3 (fol. 15a.13–15b.6) (Illustration 16)
2.4.4 Type 4 (hariharātmakadvādaśaṇīṇaḥbhadra) (fols. 15b.6–16a.3) (Illustration 17)
2.4.5 Type 5 (fol. 16a.3–10) (Illustration 18)
2.4.6 Type 6 (hariharātmakadvādaśaṇīṇaḥbhadra) (fols. 16a.10–16b.2) (Illustration 19)27
2.4.7 Type 7 (hariharātmakadvādaśaṇīṇaḥbhadra) (fol. 16b.2–10) (Illustration 20)
2.4.8 Type 8 (hariharātmakadvādaśaṇīṇaḥbhadra) (fols. 16b.10–17a.6) (Illustration 21)
2.4.9 Type 9 (tattāṅgaḥbhadra)28 (fol. 17a.6–12) (Illustration 22)
2.4.10 Type 10 (liṅgasvastikabhadra) 1 (fol. 17a.12–17b.5) (Illustration 23)
2.4.11 Type 11 (liṅgasvastikabhadra) 2 (fol. 17b.5–18a.4)
2.4.12 Type 12 (navanābhatpadmāsvastikamanḍala) (fol. 18a.4–11)
2.5 Śoḍaśaṇīṇaḥbhadras (fols. 18a.11–19a.3)29
2.5.1 Type 1 (fol. 18a.11–18b.10) (Illustration 26)
2.5.2 Type 2 (śoḍaśaṇīṇodbhavahariharamanḍala) (fols. 18b.10–19a.3) (Illustration 27)
2.6 Saptadāśaṇīṇaḥbhadras (fol. 19a.3–19b.12)
2.6.1 Type 1 (fol. 19a.3–13) (Illustration 28)
2.6.2 Type 2 (fol. 19a.13–19b.3) (Illustration 29)
2.6.3 Type 3 (fol. 19b.3–12) (Illustration 30)
2.7 Caturvimśatilṅgaḥbhadra (fols. 19b.12–20a.6) (Illustration 31)
2.8 Aṣṭāvimśatilṅgaḥbhadra (fol. 20a.7–8) (Illustration 32)
2.9 Paņcavimśatilṅgaḥbhadras (fol. 20a.8–20b.13)
2.9.1 Type 1 (fol. 20a.8–20b.3) (Illustration 33)
2.9.2 Type 2 (fol. 20b.3–13) (Illustration 34)
2.10 Aṣṭottaraśatilṅgaḥbhadras (fols. 20b.13–22a.6)
2.10.1 Type 1 (fols. 20b.13–21b.10) (Illustration 35)
2.10.2 Type 2 (fols. 21b.10–22a.6)

27 A variation of this manḍala is reproduced in Monkerjee 1971: 54 (plate 32).
29 Vergati 1982: 58 reproduces a śoḍaśaṇīṇaḥbhadra from the sketchbook of the painter Vishnu Bahadur Chitrakar of Bhaktapur, Nepal. The bhādra differs from the two types explained in the BM and is erroneously labelled sarvatobhadra on p. 59.
2.11 Ekaviṁśottaraśatālīṅgatobhadras (fols. 22a.6–23a.14)
2.11.1 Type 1 (fols. 22a.6–23a.4) (Illustration 37)
2.11.2 Type 2 (fol. 23a.5–14)
2.12 Aṣṭottarasahasrāṅgatobhadras (fols. 23a.14–24b.11)
2.12.1 Type 1 (fols. 23a.14–24a.8)
2.12.2 Type 2 (fols. 24a.8–24b.11)
3 Rāmabhadrās (fols. 24b.11–32a.9)
3.0 List of deities to be invoked (fols. 24b.11–26a.8)
3.1 Ekamudrārāmatobhadra (fol. 26a.8–26b.7) (Illustration 41)
3.2 Caturmudrārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fol. 26b.7–10) (Illustration 42)
3.3 Ātamaudrārāmatobhadras (fols. 26b.10–27a.7)
3.3.1 Type 1 (fols. 26b.10–27a.4) (Illustration 43)
3.3.2 Type 2 (aṣṭamudrārāmalīṅgatobhadra) (fol. 27a.4–7) (Illustration 44)
3.4 Navamudrārāmatobhadra (fol. 27a.7–10) (Illustration 45)
3.5 Dvādaśamudrārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fol. 27a.10–27b.8) (Illustration 46)
3.6 Trayodaśamudrārāmatobhadra (fol. 27b.8–10) (Illustration 47)
3.7 Laghudsāśarāmamudrārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fols. 27b.10–28a.7) (Illustration 48)
3.8 Śoḍaśamudrārāmatobhadra and śoḍaśamudrārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fols. 28a.7–10) (Illustration 49)
3.9 Catuvimśatimudrārāmatobhadra (fol. 28a.11–13)
3.10 Paṇcavimśatimudrārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fol. 28a.14–28b.1)
3.11 Aṣṭottaraśatārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fol. 28b.2–9) (Illustration 52)
3.12 Śatārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fol. 28b.9–11) (Illustration 53)
3.13 Śatamudrārāmatobhadra (fol. 28b.11–13)
3.14 Aṣṭottarasatārāmatobhadra (fols. 28b.13–29a.3)
3.15 Aṣṭottaraśatārāmalīṅgatobhadras (differing from 3.11) (fol. 29a.3–29b.10)
3.15.1 General description (fol. 29a.3–14)
3.15.2 Variation 1 (fol. 29a.14–29b.5)
3.15.3 Variation 2 (fols. 29b.5–10)
3.16 Aṣṭottarasahasrārāmanāmatobhadra (fols. 29b.10–30a.12)
3.17 Hariharārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fol. 30a.12–30b.6)
3.18 Aṣṭottarasahasrārāmatobhadra (fol. 30b.6–14)
3.19 Aṣṭottarasahasrārāmalīṅgatobhadra (fols. 30b.14–31a.11)
3.20 (Aṣṭottara)ahasrārāmatobhadra (fol. 31a.11–12)
3.21 Aṣṭottaraśatatarāmatobhadras (fols. 31a.12–32a.8)
3.21.1 Type 1 (fols. 31a.12–32a.2)
3.21.2 Type 2 (fol. 32a.2–8)
4 Pañcabhadra (fol. 32a.9–13) (Illustration 66)
5 Sūryabhadras (fol. 32a.13–32b.12)
5.1 Type 1 (fol. 32a.13–32b.6) (Illustration 67) (see also Colour Plate 10)
5.2 Type 2 (fol. 32b.6–12) (Illustration 68)
6 Gaṇapatibhadra vighnamardha (fols. 32b.12–33a.3) (Illustration 69)
7 Cakrāravindamaṇḍala (fols. 33a.3–34a.1) (Illustration 70)
8 Svastikamaṇḍala (fol. 34a.1–34a.5) (Illustration 71)
9 Lingatobhadras for special occasions and for the attainment of specific objectives (fols. 34a.5–35b.9)
9.1 Trayodaśaśaśamudbhavamanḍala (fol. 34a.5–10) (Illustration 72)
9.2 Caturdaśaśaśatobhadra (fol. 34a.10–34b.6) (Illustration 73)
9.3 Vimsatīlingatobhadra (fols. 34b.6–35a.1) (Illustration 74)
9.4 Catvārimśallīṅgatobhadra (fol. 35a.1–10) (Illustration 75)
9.5 Śaṣṭīśaśatobhadra (fol. 35a.10–35b.9) (Illustration 76)
0 Colophon (fols. 35b.9–36a.3)
Figure 1. Basic square unit (*pada, kośtha*)

Figure 2. ‘Enclosure’ (*paridhi*)

Figure 3. ‘Well’ (*vāpi*)

Figure 4. ‘Offset’ (*bhadra*)

Figure 5. ‘Creeper’ (*vallī*)

Figure 6. ‘Chain’ (*śrīkhalā*)

Figure 7. ‘Crescent moon’ (*khaṇḍendu*)

Figure 8. Phallic symbol (*līnga*) of Śiva

Figure 9. Rāmamudrā *rājā rāma*

Table: Constituent Parts of the Bhadras
1. Sarvatobhadra, type 1

2. Sarvatobhadra, type 2
3. Sarvatobhadra, type 3

4. Sarvatobhadra, type 4
5. Ekalingatobhadra laghugaurtilaka

6. Caturliṅgatobhadra brhadgaurtilaka
7. Gauriśilaka

8. Caturliṅgatobhada, type 1
9. Caturliṅgatobhadrā, type 2

10. Caturliṅgatobhadrā, type 3
11. Caturlingatobhadra, type 4

12. Aṣṭalingatobhadra, type 1
13. Astalingatobhadra, type 2

14. Dvādaśalingatobhadra, type 1
15. Dvādaśalīṅgatobhadra, type 2

16. Dvādaśalīṅgatobhadra, type 3
17. Dvādaśaśaṅgatobhadra, type 4

18. Dvādaśaśaṅgatobhadra, type 5
19. Dvādaśālingatobhadra, type 6

20. Dvādaśālingatobhadra, type 7
21. Dvādaśaliṅgobhadra, type 8

22. Dvādaśaliṅgobhadra, type 9
23. Dvādaśaliṅgobhadra, type 10

26. Śoḍaśaliṅgobhadra, type 1
27. Śoḍaśalingatobhadra, type 2

28. Saptadaśalingatobhadra, type 1
29. Saptadaśaliṅgatobhadra, type 2

30. Saptadaśaliṅgatobhadra, type 3
31. Caturvīṣatilīṅgatobhadra

32. Aṣṭāvīṣatilīṅgatobhadra
33. Pañcaviṃśatilingatobhadra, type 1

34. Pañcaviṃśatilingatobhadra, type 2
35. Aṣṭottaraśatālīṅgatabhadra, type 2
37. Ekaviṃśottaraśatālaṅgaḥatobhadra, type I
41. Ekamudrārāmatobhadra

42. Caturmudrārāmaliṅgatoobhadra
43. Aṣṭamudrārāmatobhadra, type 1
44. Āṣṭamudrārāmatobhadrā, type 2
45. Navamudrārāmatobhadra

46. Dvādaśamudrārāmallingatobhadra
47. Trayodaśamudrārāmatobhadra

48. Laghuṣaḍarāmaudrārāmaingatobhadra
49. Śoḍaśaṁudrāramaṭobhadra
52. Aṣṭottaraśatārāmalīṅga-bhadra
66. Pañcabhadra

67. Sūryabhadra, type 1
68. Sūryabhadra, type 2

69. Gaṇapatibhadra vighnamardha
70. Cakrāravindamāṇḍala

71. Svastikamāṇḍala
72. Trayodaśaliṅgasamudbhavamāṇḍala

73. Caturdāśaliṅgatobhadra
74. Vīṃśatilingatobhadra

75. Catvāriṃśallingatobhadra
76. Śaṣṭiliṅgatobhadra
MANḌALAS AND YANTRAS IN THE PĀŃCARĀTRA TRADITION

Marion Rastelli

This paper deals with the preparation and use of maṇḍalas and yantras in the Pāńcarātra tradition. The sources for this investigation are the Pāńcarātra Saṃhitās as far as they have been edited and were available to me.

Both maṇḍalas and yantras are diagram-like, often symmetric drawings that are invested with mantras. A maṇḍala, also called pura, yāga, and cakra,¹ is usually prepared by means of applying powder upon an immobile place. It serves as a place of worship. The deity is made present in the maṇḍala by imposing mantras that represent him and his aspects upon it, and he can then be ritually worshipped there.

A yantra is usually drawn upon a mobile material and can thus be carried around. Mantras are written on it, and the drawing and the mantras form an integrated whole that represents the deity or one of his aspects. Yantras are often used as amulets, which protect their wearers and help them to the fulfilment of their wishes.

The Construction of Maṇḍalas

Before drawing a maṇḍala, the practitioner must determine a suitable place and prepare it. The Pauśkara-Saṃhitā, which is to a great part

¹ I am grateful to Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek for reading the English manuscript and suggesting various corrections.

¹ For the usage of the term pura for maṇḍalas, cf. Rastelli 2000b: 375, note 57. The term yāga is used mainly in the Pauśkara-Saṃhitā, see, e.g., PausS I 2.8c, 4.13d, 14d, 96a, 5.5n. If not indicated otherwise, I use the Pauśkara-Saṃhitā’s edition from 1934, as the new edition from 1991 contains only the first 26 adhyāyas. The usage of cakra in the sense of maṇḍala is rare (examples are Parama-Saṃhitā 7.68b, 8.7c, 8c, Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā 17.499a, 501a). In the context of maṇḍalas, cakra more often designates a circle that forms a part of a mandala (Jayākhya-Saṃhitā 30.51c, Parama-Saṃhitā 6.23b, Pādma-Saṃhitā, caryāpāda 25.134a).
devoted to mandala construction, provides very elaborate instructions on how this should be done. Places that are suitable for the construction of a mandala are a mountaintop, a cave at the mountaintop, a pleasant forest abounding with trees and herbs, a lovely grove, a lotus-lake, a riverbank, a confluence of two rivers, a ford (tīrtha), a temple (devatāyatana), a meeting place (goṣṭha), and a hermitage of Brahmīns that is free from evil beings, thieves, diseases, and dangers. In general, these places are considered sacred, and similar lists are also given for places that are suitable for worship of the deity’s descents (avatāra).

It is important that the chosen place is without any faults as otherwise worship performed there would not bring the desired results. Free from any faults means, according to the Pauṣkara-Samhitā, that the place should be provided with auspicious trees, fruits, flowers, soft young grass, tender herbs, and various species of lotuses. It should be pleasant to the touch and be supplied with cooling water, fragrances, and good flavours. It should not be saline, burnt by fire, a meteor or sunrays, or vile-smelling. The place should bestow ease, peace, and delight like the sight of one’s beloved. It should be inhabited by beautiful birds, cows, deer, tigers, elephants, and human beings, and should be free of evil creatures. East of the place there should be a lake, west of it a forest of mango trees, north of it a large thicket and south of it a mountain. Moreover, in the north or north-east of it there should be a well or a water tank. The soil should be even and inclined to the north-east, of a single colour and free of serpents and similar creatures. In the summer it should be as cool as the moon, in the winter, hot, and in the rainy season, without moisture.

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2 Mandala construction has been given the same attention in the Pauṣkara-Samhitā as temple construction has been given in the later Pādma-Samhitā.
3 PauṣS 2.4–7b. For necessary emendations in this passage, see Rastelli 2000a: 120, note 75.
4 Cf. PauṣS 34.1–2 and 36.238–239c. For translations of the three passages of the Pauṣkara-Samhitā mentioned here and in note 3, see Rastelli 2000a: 120f.
5 Cf. PauṣS 2.10cd: “However, a faulty soil may produce many obstacles.” (sā tu dosavatī bhūmir vighnān utpādayed bahūn //) and 2.26: “Therefore, a different [soil with the] opposite [qualities] always bestows undesired results. [It] should be refused from afar since it inhibits success.” (ato ‘ṣyā vipūlī ca sāniṣṭapaladā sadā / dūrataḥ parisvavāyāt siṃḥhānānikārā yatāḥ //)
6 PauṣS 2.7c–20b and 24ab. PauṣS 2.20b rasānvā: ‘rasā yā. Apte’s emendation rasānvītā is not possible on account of the metre.
As described, this place is certainly an ideal and found only rarely if at all. Other Samhitās, being more realistic, make less heavy demands on the place for a maṇḍala and only prescribe that it should be pleasant, even, oriented toward the north-east, and free from thorns and other faults. Even the Pauśkara-Samhitā concedes that if one cannot find a place with all the described qualities, one can also make do with an ordinary one.

Before the construction of the maṇḍala, the soil is tested and prepared just as before the construction of a building. The Pauśkara-Samhitā describes several methods for testing the suitability of the soil (bhūparīkṣā). One of these methods is digging a hole and filling it again with the earth taken out of it. The best result is if the earth overfills the hole. It is acceptable if the ground is even after filling the hole, but if the hole cannot be filled with the earth again, the place should be avoided. Another method is to sow a seed. The soil is most suitable if it shoots forth within three days, a medium result is if it shoots forth within five days, the worst if it shoots forth within seven days.

The place is to be worshipped with mantras and oblations and, on an auspicious day, ritually acquired. For this ritual acquisition, one must first distribute bali offerings for the cruel beings who are present there in all quarters, and ask them to go away. Then one digs the ground to the water limit and fills it again. After that one grows grass, rice, and shoots of trees. Then one puts a herd of cattle out to pasture for three days. After the three days, the ground is ploughed and filled with burnt bricks. Upon them one scatters gold dust, silver dust, and jewel dust, fragrant flowers, grain, rice, fruits

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7 E.g., Jayākhyā-Samhitā 23.69cd, Viṣṇu-Samhitā 9.2.
8 PauśS 1 2.27.
9 Cf. PauśS 1 2.7e–8: “At the beginning, he should test if the soil there, which [he has] examined well, is endowed with favourable signs for the sake of a house of gods, for the sake of a village for Brahmins, etc., for the sake of worshipping yāgas (i.e., maṇḍalas), for the sake of a house of a householder.” (tatra bhūmiṃ parīksyādau laksanādhyāṃ sulakṣitām // 7 devānāṃ ālayārtham tu grāmārtham brāhmaṇādīśu yajānārtham tu yāgānām grhārtham grhamadhihām // 8)
10 This procedure is meant to test whether the land is very loose or sandy; cf. Acharya 1946: 384.
11 PauśS 2.21e–23. Pādma-Samhitā, kriyāpāda 1.32–36 gives the same methods for testing the soil before constructing a temple; cf. also Acharya 1946: 383–385.
12 PauśS 1 2.30–34c. Cf. Pādma-Samhitā, kriyāpāda 1.40–49a for this rite before the construction of a temple.
and other substances. The ground is made even, sprinkled with water, rammed by means of pestles, besmeared with clay, cow-dung, and water and swept with the hand or a cloth.

The maṇḍala is to be constructed in a pavilion (maṇḍapa) that is adorned with canopies, banners, etc. In the centre of the maṇḍapa, a platform (vedi) is made of wood and clay and besmeared with the five products of the cow (milk, sour milk, butter, and the liquid and solid excreta) or with cow-dung and water. On the platform, one first draws the x-axis, then the y-axis, the diagonal lines, and the boundary lines in order to obtain a square. This square is divided into several other squares in which the various elements of the maṇḍala are drawn. The preliminary grid is made by means of threads that are besmeared with a substance and thus leave lines on the floor when laid on it. The maṇḍala is drawn by means of strewn powder (rajas). First the lines are drawn, and then the pattern is filled with powders in various colours.

While strewing the powder, one must be very careful to apply it evenly. The Viṣṇu-Saṁhitā describes in detail how the maṇḍala should be drawn and which mistakes are to be avoided: “Many faults [arise] through protuberances, [lines that are] crooked, [too] thin, and [too] thick, cavities, elevations, irregularities, and holes. In no case [should] the lines [be] interrupted. If there are protuberances, etc., on

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13 PauṣS 2.34d–39. The text is corrupt and thus not always intelligible.
14 PauṣS 2.42c–44. For similar rites before the construction of a temple, cf., e.g., Pādmbi-Saṁhitā, kriyāpāda 3.1–37.
16 Jayākhyā-Saṁhitā 13.15c–16, Pādmbi-Saṁhitā, caryāpāda 7.2–7b, Viṣṇu-Saṁhitā 9.5b, Viśvāmitra-Saṁhitā 15.2–6a. For the vedi as support of the maṇḍala, see also Jayākhyā-Saṁhitā 18.36a, Īśvara-Saṁhitā 11.133c, 18.171c, Aniruddha-Saṁhitā 7.3c and 8a.
18 Cf. Pādmbi-Saṁhitā, caryāpāda 7.9c: caṇḍanārdrāṇi sūtrāṇi, “threads moistened with sandalwood.” Not all Saṁhitās mention the substance for besmearing the threads explicitly. Jayākhyā-Saṁhitā 13.16c gives only: “having first besmeared the thread” (upalipyāgratas sūtram) and Lakṣmi-Tantra 37.5a mentions a “very white thread” (susitam sūtram), which probably means a thread besmeared with a white substance. For the manner of drawing lines and circles by means of threads, cf. also Brunner 1986: 26 (cf. Brunner, p. 170) and Apte 1973: 503f. or Apte 1987: 130f.
19 Jayākhyā-Saṁhitā 13.25–40, Lakṣmi-Tantra 37.13c–19, Īśvara-Saṁhitā 11.141–161b. According to the Parama-Saṁhitā, the maṇḍala used in the samaya-dīkṣā can also be drawn with paint (varnaka) (Parama-Saṁhitā 8.7c–8b).
account of carelessness when the manḍala is drawn by disciples, then the competent teacher\(^{20}\) [should be] alert. He should have [the disciples] position the lovely pericarp, the filaments and the other [parts of the manḍala's lotus] by applying [the powder] only once and not by moving [it] to and fro.\(^{21}\) In addition, the various constituent parts of the manḍala should be applied in varying thicknesses: “He should make the pericarp and the lines of the leaves around [it] elevated. The elevated lines are threefold, namely, equal to the little finger, to the middle finger, and to the thumb. The diminution of the [lines] with regard to the highest, the middle, and the lowest [elevation] should be modified in the order beginning with the lotus.”\(^{22}\)

The powders used for drawing the manḍala are made of various materials such as herbs, jewels, stones, leaves, fruits, seeds, fragrant substances, wood, metals, and minerals.\(^{23}\) The Nāradiya-Śamhitā and the Bhārgava-Tantra state in detail which materials should be used for which colours: ground rice or sandalwood powder for white, safflower for red, pure turmeric or turmeric mixed with a bit of white substance for yellow, burnt rice or sacrificial charcoal for black, and green leaves for green (śyāma).\(^{24}\) Apart from powder, materials such as whole seeds (mustard seeds, sesame seeds, grain) or flowers can also be used.\(^{25}\) Flowers are especially used for manḍalas employed during initiation (dikṣā) or a festival (utsava).\(^{26}\)

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\(^{20}\) Drawing manḍalas is primarily a task of the teacher (guru, ācārya), who belongs to the highest level of initiation (cf. Rastelli 1999: 153–158); cf. Jayākhyā-Śamhitā 17.56ab, Sātvata-Śamhitā 21.49, and Ahirbudhnya-Śamhitā 20.6c.

\(^{21}\) Viṣṇu-Śamhitā 9.39–41:

\begin{verbatim}
granthvāktrakṛṣṭaṁśāhaṁṇoṁnantāviniścaraṇaṁ/
chidraṁ ca bahavo doṣiḥ rekhācchedo na sarvathā // 39
pramādātā yatra sīsyāṁ māndalasya tu lekhane/
gramhīyādi sīyāḥ atāndri tu samaye kuśalo guraḥ // 40
karnikākeśarādinī laṅkāni prayojayet/
sakṛḍaṁpaṇāṁśāsya na punah parivartanaṁ // 41
\end{verbatim}

\(^{22}\) Viṣṇu-Śamhitā 9.42–43b:

\begin{verbatim}
karnikāṁ uccṛṭiṁ kuryāt patrakṛhāṁ ca sarvataḥ /
kaniśṭhānāmāḥ māṁguṣṭhaditāṁ rekhāṁ triḍhocchritāṁ // 42
mukhyā madhye 'dhāme 'bjādikramād uḥyaś ca tatkṣayāḥ /
\end{verbatim}

This means that the manḍala's centre is the most elevated and its edge the lowest.

\(^{23}\) Parama-Śamhitā 7.61, Viṣṇu-Śamhitā 9.37.

\(^{24}\) Nārādiya-Śamhitā 8.59c–61b, Bhārgava-Tantra 13.17–18.

\(^{25}\) Sātvata-Śamhitā 17.50c–51.

\(^{26}\) For flowers used for manḍalas employed during the initiation, cf. Sanatkumāra-Śamhitā, indrārātra 9.87c–88c, ṛṣīrātra 5.1–17, Nārādiya-Śamhitā 10.6b; for flowers
There are many different forms of manḍalas. The Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā, for example, gives a great choice of varying manḍalas. The manḍala that is most often mentioned in the Pāñcarañṭra texts is the cakrāmbamaniḍa, also called bhadrakanaṇḍa. The centre of this manḍala consists of a combination of a wheel (cakra) and a lotus (abja) that is then surrounded by three square enclosures with doors in the four quarters. The central combination of a wheel and a lotus is made up of five concentric circles. The innermost circle is the pericarp (karnikā) of the lotus. In the second circle are the lotus' filaments (kesara), its petals (dala), and the hub (nābhī) of the wheel. In the third and the fourth circle are the spokes (ara) of the wheel, and the fifth circle is the felly of the wheel. In the two inner enclosures around the five circles, there are twelve lotuses each, one in each corner and on the left and right of the doors (dvāra). Conch shells (saṅkha) are drawn in each of the corners of the outermost enclosure.

The use of different manḍalas in worship effects different results. Thus, the kind of manḍala may be chosen according to the result one desires to achieve. The Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā, for example, distinguishes the manḍalas described in it as follows: “The first manḍala is known as ‘auspicious in every way’ as it causes prosperity. The second [manḍala] is called ‘liberating from sins’ as at the sight of it, the sin acquired in many births comes to an end. The third [manḍala] is the ‘good path’ and shows the way of the dharma. The fourth [manḍala] is called dharma. On account of [its] worship, it bestows the dharma. The fifth [manḍala] is the ‘womb of wealth’ [and] effects the increase of the bhaktas’ wealth. (…)"

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27 See PauṣS 5–19.

28 See the usage of the designation bhadraka for this manḍala in Pādma-Saṁhitā, caryāpāda 7.38c, Nāradiya-Saṁhitā 8.53a and Viśvāmitra-Saṁhitā 15.34d.

29 Pādma-Saṁhitā, caryāpāda 7.12b–38b, Nāradiya-Saṁhitā 8.2–53b, Viśvāmitra-Saṁhitā 15.6c–34b, Bhārgava-Tantra 13.5–26b. PauṣS 8 describes various kinds of cakrāmbamaniḍalas. For a drawing of the cakrāmbamaniḍala according to the younger Samhitās, see Colour Plate 14. Another example of a manḍala often used is the navapadmamaniḍala (see Colour Plate 15).

30 PauṣS 5.2–4:

* mandalam sarvato bhadrastam bhadrakrt prathamam smrtam /
  aghanirmocanam nāma dvitīyaḥ yasya darśanai// 2
  anekajanuspatī tam tu kalmaṇam kṣayam cīt eva /
  sadadhvaṁ syāt itītyaṁ ca dharmamārgapradhāraṇam // 3
Another reason to choose a particular manḍala may be the kind of ritual that is to be performed, as some manḍalas are considered particularly suitable to certain rituals: "When [the god] is sent to sleep (prasvāpe) one should prepare the best yāga (i.e., manḍala) called svastika, a twice-born, when [he] is awakened, [the manḍala] called ‘distinction’ or one of the design-complexes, at the festival, the cakrapānkaja (i.e., cakrabṛja) with one or more lotuses."31

Finally, the manḍala differs according to the deity that is worshipped on it. This is relevant especially with regard to the ritual of the sādhaka who worships a particular mantra or deity in order to gain siddhis. The manḍalas used here are specific to the mantras worshipped, and sometimes their shape even corresponds to the mantra that is worshipped in it. Thus, the manḍala of the śāṅkha-mantra, for example, has the shape of the conch shell or the manḍala of the gādāmantra is surrounded by eight maces.32

The Use of Manḍalas

A manḍala serves as a place where the deity can be invited and then worshipped.33 In addition to a manḍala, there are several other places that can be employed for this purpose. Pots (kumbha, kalaśa), statues (bimba, pratimā), and fire (vahni, agni) are most often used, but also other places are possible such as the disk of the sun or a rosary (akṣasūtra).34 Often the deity is worshipped in several places one after the other. In the daily ritual described in the Jayākhya-Samhitā,
In younger Sāṃhitās, a hierarchy of suitable places for worship has been established, especially of the ‘four places’ (cātuḥśūnaḥ), as maṇḍala, pot, fire, and statue are called. Worship of the deity in a maṇḍala is considered the best, then follow the pot, the fire, and finally the statue. On the other hand, maṇḍala worship is necessary only on special occasions; in other cases one could be content with the deity’s worship in fire and a statue or only in a statue: “At an initiation, a festival, an ablution, the fruit festival, the ‘raising of the damana [flowers],’ the great flower festival, a special ‘festival of the purifying thread,’ the jayanti [festival], at the time of the kṛttikā festival, at a lunar or solar eclipse, an equinox, a solstice, particularly on the twelfth day of a half-month, in all expiations, and at the spring festival one should perform the worship in a maṇḍala. Otherwise, [the ritual] may cause faults. Worship [of the deity] in a maṇḍala is the best one, worship in a statue the lowest. Worship [of the deity] in a pot, a maṇḍala, a statue, and fire is the very best. Through the very best worship, all faults are destroyed, all sins of men are removed, [and] the king’s country is promoted. A ritual without worship in [all] four places may be fruitless. Therefore, with all [one’s] effort one should perform the worship in the four places. Four places are the best, three places medium, two places the lowest, the remaining single place mere appearance. A statue is taught as the single [place], a statue and fire are the two places, [these two] together with a pot are the three places, [all these and] a maṇḍala are the four places.”

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38 Cf. Aniruddha-Sāṃhitā 22.7cd and 23.1–10b.
40 Cf. Aniruddha-Sāṃhitā 22.16cd and 25.28–49.
41 Aniruddha-Sāṃhitā 6.36c–64b:

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diśyāyāṁ utave caiva snapane ca phalotsave // 56
damanāraṇaṁ caiva tathā puspamahotsave/
pavitrotsave viśeṣe jayantīyāṁ ca tathaiva ca/
kṛttikotvakāle tu grahaṁ somaśūryayoh // 57
viśuve cāyane caiva dvādaśāyīṁ tu viśeṣatah /
prāyaścitteṣu sarvesu vasantaṁ eva ca ca // 58
maṇḍalāraṇḍhanam kuryād anyaḥ dosakṛd bhavet /
maṇḍalāraṇḍhanam śreṣṭham jaghanyam bimbapūjanam // 59
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As in the other places that are suitable for the deity’s worship, the deity must be made present on the maṇḍala. This is achieved by the imposition (nyiṣa) of the mantras of the deity and of his various aspects such as his retinue, his weapons, and his ornaments. The deity’s main mantra is usually placed in the maṇḍala’s centre and the mantras of his retinue, etc., around him. An example is the cakrābjamanḍala (cf. p. 124) described in Nārada-Samhitā 8.61c–73. Viṣṇu is in the maṇḍala’s centre, that is, the pericarp (kāṇṭīkā) of a lotus. His consorts Śrī and Puṣṭi are on his right and left side, that is, south and north of him. Viṣṇu’s twelve limbs (aṅga), viz., heart (hrdaya), head (siras), tuft of hair (śikhā), armour (kavaca), weapon (astra), eye (drś), belly (udara), back (prṣṭha), arms (bāhu), thighs (ūru), knees (jānu), and feet (pāda), are on the petals of the lotus.42 Viṣṇu’s quiver (iṣudhi) and sword (aśi) are south of the lotus, his bow (dhanu) and shield (kheṭaka) north of it. The garland of forest flowers (vanamālā) is east of the lotus, and śrīvatsa (a curl of hair on Viṣṇu’s breast) and kaustubha (a jewel on Viṣṇu’s breast) are north and south of the garland of forest flowers. The conch shell (śaṅkha) is at the directional points. Garuḍa is at the eastern and western door, Viṣṇu’s discus (cakra) at the southern door, his mace (gada) at the northern door. The eight guardians of the quarters (dikpāla) are outside the maṇḍala.43 The 25 tattvas arising from the primary matter

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42 Cf. Naradīya-Samhitā 13.88c–89: “With regard to the principal rule, one should worship the all-pervading one in a pot, a maṇḍala, a statue, and fire. With regard to the secondary alternative rule, one should worship [the deity] in a pot, etc., with the exception of the maṇḍala, or one should worship [him] in a statue and in fire.”

43 For their names, see, e.g., Naradīya-Samhitā 13.318–319.
(prakrti) are in the vithi.\(^4^4\) Śiva, Brahmadeva, and Visṇu are in the hub of the maṇḍala’s wheel, the twelve lords of the months (māsēṣa), Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmanā, Śrīdhara, Ṣrṣikeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, and Govinda\(^4^5\) on the spokes, the moon with its sixteen digits (kalā) and its light and dark half between the spokes (?), the sun (sūrya) on each spoke at the edge as well as the twelve Ādityas, viz., Dhātṛ, Ārayama, Vidhātṛ, Mitra, Varuṇa, Bhaṣa, Indra, Vivasvata, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭr, and Viṣṇu.\(^4^6\)

Since the maṇḍala is a place for the deity’s worship, it is used in many different rituals. According to the Jayākhyā-Samhitā,\(^4^7\) the daily ritual (nityakārmaṇa) consists of preliminary rites such as the bath (snāna), the purification of the elements (bhūtaśuddhi), and the imposition of mantras (mantranyāsa) upon one’s body, of the mental (mānasayāga, antaryāga) and the external worship (bāhyayāga), and of the fire ritual (agnikārya).

Mental worship is composed of the same parts as the ensuing physical worship. Mental worship, however, consists only of visualization. During this process mantras are imposed upon the lotus visualized in the practitioner’s heart in the same manner as they are upon a maṇḍala, and subsequently visualized and worshipped there.\(^4^8\) Thus the lotus of the heart serves as a maṇḍala in mental worship.

In external worship, a maṇḍala is drawn as described above (pp. 122f.). Like the other materials used for worship, the maṇḍala is ritually purified before worship. According to the Jayākhyā-Samhitā this ritual purification consists of sprinkling water upon the maṇḍala and burning and inundating it mentally by means of mantras.\(^4^9\) After

\(^{4^4}\) The vithi(kā) or vithi is the passage surrounding the pīṭha. The pīṭha surrounds the inner lotus wheel; cf. Nārādyā-Samhitā 8.10ed, Apte 1973: 504 and the drawing ibid. Figure 1.

\(^{4^5}\) Cf. Parama-Samhitā 2.83–86.

\(^{4^6}\) For other examples of mantra impositions, see the drawings in Apte 1973: 513ff. according to Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.107–125b or in Hikita 1990: 172 according to Sātvata-Samhitā 17.65c–72b.

\(^{4^7}\) The following description of the use of the maṇḍala in the daily ritual relates to the Jayākhyā-Samhitā. For a detailed description of the daily ritual as given in this text, see Rastelli 1999: 193–322.

\(^{4^8}\) Jayākhyā-Samhitā 12.81c–102b; cf. also Rastelli 1999: 264f.

\(^{4^9}\) Having anointed [his] hands with fragrance, having sprinkled [water] that is drawn up from the arghya vessel over the entire maṇḍala, pavilion [and] offering substances, he should cause [them] to burn by means of the astra mantra [and] then
the purification, the mantras are imposed upon their places on the manḍala while imagining that they are arising from Viṣṇu\(^{50}\) and thus made present there. Then the mantras are mentally visualized in anthropomorphic forms and worshipped by offering various things such as arghya,\(^{51}\) water used for washing the feet (pādya), flowers, fragrances, various kinds of food, etc.\(^{52}\) This kind of worship in which the mantras are imposed upon different places on a manḍala, visualized in a concrete shape, and worshipped is called bhogayāga, the ‘offering of objects of enjoyment.’\(^{53}\) Accordingly, the manḍala is called bhogasthāna, the ‘place of the objects of enjoyment.’\(^{54}\)

At the very end of the daily ritual, i.e., after the fire ritual, the mantras made present upon the manḍala are sent forth again: The practitioner offers arghya and fragrances again, takes the arghya and flowers offered during the external worship from the manḍala as his prasāda, puts them on his head, and draws a mark (tilaka) on his forehead with yellow and red powder from the manḍala. Then the practitioner visualizes that the mantras being present upon the manḍala enter the gross (sthūla) body of the main mantra, i.e., that of Viṣṇu himself. The main mantra’s gross body enters its subtle (sūkṣma) body and the latter, its highest (para) body. This highest body enters the heart-lotus of the practitioner who then visualizes his body as shining and starts to tremble on account of the mantra’s

\(\text{imundate [them] by means of the mūl[mantra]. Then the substances are pure and fit for the offering.}^{\text{Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.73c–75b:}}\) (Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.73c–75b: \text{gandhadigdhau karau kṛtvā arghyapāṭrodhīrtena ca // 73 manḍalam maṇṭapam proksya yāgadravyāny aśeṣatāh / dhāayed astramantrena maṇḍeṇa pāvayet tataḥ // 74 nirnalo davyasanghaḥ ca yāga-yogyo bhavet tādā //}) Cf. also Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.89 for a repeated ritual purification of the manḍala.

\(\text{Cf. Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.105c–106b:} \text{“Then he should visualize that Lākṣmī and the other [mantras] are coming forth as splendour from the venerable Viṣṇu’s shining body like a mass of sparks.”}^{\text{(tato bhagavato viṣṇor bhāsā bhāsvaravigrhaḥ // laksmyādir nisṣṭā dhīyeyet sphulīnganiṣayā yathā)}}\)

\(\text{Arghya is a mixture of varying ingredients. According to Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.65c–66b, it consists of white mustard, sesame seeds, dhūrvā grass, white rice, barley, water, milk, and fruits.}^{\text{Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.106c–178b.}}\)

\(\text{Jayākhyā-Samhitā 12.83c–84b, 20.341ab (= Pārameśvara-Samhitā 15.839ab). For the use of the term bhogayāga, see also Pauṣṭī 19.59c and Lākṣmī-Tantra 38.84a.}^{\text{Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.106c–178b.}}\)

\(\text{See, e.g., Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.106c and Lākṣmī-Tantra 38.28c. The bhoga­} yāga \text{is differentiated from the layayāga, ‘the offering in dissolution,’ in which the mantras are worshipped without visualizing their concrete form and without imposing them upon a particular place (see Jayākhyā-Samhitā 12.75c–81b and Rastelli 1999: 261–263).}^{\text{Jayākhyā-Samhitā 13.106c and Lākṣmī-Tantra 38.28c. The bhoga­}}\)
power. Next the food that was offered to the mantras (naivedya) is distributed among the persons who have participated in the ritual. Visvaksena is invited into the mandala and the substances previously offered to the main mantra (mūlamantra), i.e., Viṣṇu, are offered to him. After sending forth the mantras also from the fire pit, where they were worshipped during the fire ritual, and inviting and worshipping Visvaksena also there, the devotee worships him again in the mandala, asks his forgiveness for any mistakes that have been made during the ritual, and sends him forth. The mandala is left after having brought a vessel that is filled with milk, water, honey, and clarified butter and in that the astramantra has been imposed. This vessel probably serves as the mandala’s safeguard, as protection is one of the functions of the astramantra.

In other rituals, the mandala is treated like any other place where the deity is invited and worshipped. So, mandalas are used for the deity’s worship in different rituals such as festivals (utsava), consecrations (pratiṣṭhā) of statues, temples, etc., or magic rites. In the annual rite of pavitrāropana, which is performed in order to make good all faults accumulated in the rituals during the past year, the mandala is invested with threads as the other places where the deity is present during worship are, such as the pot, the statue, and the fire pit.

The mandala is of particular importance in the initiation (dikṣā). Although it is possible to perform the dikṣā ceremony without a mandala if one does not have the means for it, using a mandala

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57 Cf. its employment in the digbandha rite in Jayākyha-Samhitā 9.21e–24, 11.6–7b, 16.91e–92b.
58 Cf., e.g., Pārameśvara-Samhitā 17.89cd, Īśvara-Samhitā 10.275ab, Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 11.232–233c (utsava; Jayākyha-Samhitā 20.137a, Nārada-Samhitā 15.23cd, Pādma-Samhitā, kriyāpāda 31.41 (pratiṣṭhā), Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 32.218ab (for the purpose of expulsion [uccālanā]), and Rastelli 2000b: 325f.
61 Cf. Jayākyha-Samhitā 16.4c–6: “For rich [people] he should cause to perform [the initiation] by means of an offering [to the god] in a great mandala. For a person who is deprived of property and wealth [or] possesses very little property [but] is
during the initiation is often considered better\textsuperscript{62} and sometimes even so essential that the term ‘one who has seen a manḍala’ (\textit{manḍala-dr\text{"{\i}}\text{\textasciitilde{a}}}) serves as a designation of one who has undergone the first initiation and thus has become a \textit{samayin}.\textsuperscript{63}

An examination of the different Pāncarātra-Saṁhitās shows that the role of the manḍala in the initiation was not always the same. It was used in diverse rites of the \textit{dikṣā} and so the meaning ascribed to it also varied.

The Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā distinguishes four kinds of manḍalas according to the rank of initiation. The \textit{padmodaramaṇḍala} is used for the \textit{samayin}, the \textit{aṇekakajagarbhamaṇḍala} for the \textit{putraka}, the \textit{cakrabjamaṇḍala} for the \textit{sādhaka}, and the \textit{miśracakramanḍala} for the \textit{ācārya}.\textsuperscript{64} At the beginning of the initiation, the teacher draws the respective manḍala, worships it, and then shows it to his disciple.\textsuperscript{65} His hand, upon which he has visualized and thus made the manḍala present,—manḍalas comprising all aspects of the deity in the form of the mantras imposed on them,—is subsequently laid on the disciple. Through this act, the teacher, who is identified with the deity himself,\textsuperscript{66} liberates the disciple from transmigration: “Having recognized that the devotee is helpless and plunged into the ocean of sorrow, he should draw [him] out by means of the \textit{yāga} hand afraid of transmigration [and] is truly a devotee of Viṣṇu, the teacher should be gracious (i.e., perform the initiation for him/her) only with seeds, sesame, and clarified butter [that are oblated to the god who is present] in the fire, [and] for [a person] who is deprived of any substances, [he should be gracious] only by means of a word (i.e., a mantra).” (\textit{mahāmandalayāgenea vittādhyānām tu kārayet // 4 vittayogavimuktaśya svalpavittasya dehinah / samsārabhayabhitasya viṣṇubhaktasya tattvataḥ // 5 agnau cāyāṃvītār bijaḥ satilait kevalaiḥ tathā / dravyahitasya vai kuryād vācaivānugraham guruh //} 6) Cf. also Lakṣmi-Tantra 41.9–10b for a variant of this passage. Possessing the necessary material means is an essential prerequisite for obtaining the initiation by means of a manḍala. Also according to the Pauṣś, the first thing that the teacher asks from a disciple who has come for the initiation is to acquire the necessary means (PauṣŚ 1.1–4).

\textsuperscript{62} Cf. Bhārgava-Tantra 24.28: “The principal initiation in the \textit{cakrābjamandala} is praised for the [person who is devoted to the twelve syllable mantra]. The secondary alternative initiation is [performed] only near the fire.” (\textit{cakrābjamandale dikṣā tasya mukhyā prakīrtītā / anukalpā bhaved dikṣā kevalam vahinīm adhau //})

\textsuperscript{63} Śee Sātvata-Saṁhitā 20.2a (= Iśvara-Saṁhitā 21.464c) and Alāśinga Bhaṭṭa’s commentary on this passage (Sātvata-Saṁhitā-Bhaṭṭya, p. 410, 9–11).

\textsuperscript{64} PauṣŚ 1.8b–11. For different procedures with regard to the use of the manḍala in the \textit{dikṣā} for the different ranks, cf. also Parama-Saṁhitā 8.7c–11b, Viṣṇu-Saṁhitā 2.40–47 and 11.3–6.

\textsuperscript{65} PauṣŚ 1.6–8a.

\textsuperscript{66} For the identification of the teacher with the deity, cf. Rastelli 1999: 168–170.
It is known that this teacher is similar to me (i.e., Viṣṇu). This procedure is called yāgadikṣā, 'initiation into the yāga (i.e., maṇḍala).' After it, the teacher destroys the disciple's past, present, and future bonds by sacrificing them into the fire, and causes the disciple to become identical to the deity. The dikṣā is completed.

After the dikṣā, the devotees belonging to the various ranks of initiation vary in their worship of the maṇḍala. The samayin only looks at and worships the maṇḍala on the twelfth tiṭṭhi of every half (pākṣa) of a lunar month. After one year he may become a putrā. A putrā should look at, worship and visualize the maṇḍala within his heart for another year. Then he may become a sādhaka. He should worship and visualize the maṇḍala for three months minus five days. If he is successful in this, he may undergo the initiation for an ācārya. After having worshipped and visualized the maṇḍala for four years, he may reach final emancipation. According to the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā, emancipation can be attained only by means of maṇḍala worship: "The ocean of worldly existence is not passable by any other [means] than the yāga."

In the dikṣā according to the Sanatkumāra-Saṁhitā, the maṇḍala plays an even more central role than in the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā. In this text, 'one should undergo the initiation' is expressed by the phrase praviśed dikṣām cakramandale, 'one should attain the initiation in the cakramandala,' which shows the centrality of the maṇḍala in the dikṣā. The initiation ritual as described in the Sanatkumāra-Saṁhitā is very simple. After constructing a maṇḍala by means of flowers and distributing various offering substances on it, the teacher worships it, takes the disciple's right hand with his right hand, and, carrying a handful of flowers (puṣpāñjali), leads him

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67 PauṣS 1.28: jñātva bhaktam anātham ca nimagnam śokasāgarc udhāred yāgahastena sa gurur matāmasa smṛtah\!/ 28

For the visualization of the maṇḍala on the hand, see below, pp. 137f.

68 These are often symbolized by a thread; cf., e.g., Jayākhyya-Saṁhitā 16.131-134b and 260c-274.

PauṣS 1.37d-41. This passage is corrupt and not intelligible in all details.

PauṣS 1.13-23.

PauṣS 1.26ab: bhavārjavo hy alāṅghyas tu vinā syād yāgato 'yakaiḥ /

Sanatkumāra-Saṁhitā, indrabhūtra 4.1cd, 3ab, 4ab, 5ab, 6ab, etc.

Cf. above, p. 123.

Sanatkumāra-Saṁhitā, tṣīrātra 5.1-30b.
around the maṇḍala while turning their right sides towards it (pradaksīna). Then the teacher has the disciple approach the maṇḍala and worship it with offerings of fragrances, flowers, etc. Following this he teaches him the rules that must be observed and makes him enter the maṇḍala. How far he may enter into the maṇḍala depends on his varṇa and his/her sex. A Brahmin may enter into the innermost enclosure (prathama-varaṇa), a kṣatriya into the second enclosure, and a vaiśya into the third enclosure. Śūdras and women must stay outside the maṇḍala and are not allowed to enter it. In the maṇḍala, the disciple is told three mantras, a Vedic one (vaidika), a Tantric one (tāntrika), and one that is both Vedic and Tantric (vaidikatāntrika). These mantras can be used in the various rituals henceforward. With this the initiation is completed.

In other Samhitās the initiation ceremonies are much more elaborate. In the following description, only the rites concerning the maṇḍala will be discussed. A rite in the dīkṣā that is described very often in the texts is the tossing of one or more flowers, and sometimes also other substances such as fragrances and arghya, onto the maṇḍala. Usually, the disciple is led blindfolded around the maṇḍala and then given two handfuls (aṇjali) of flowers and other substances, or only one flower, which he must toss onto the maṇḍala. Then the blindfold is removed and the disciple may see the maṇḍala.

The older Samhitās do not clarify explicitly the meaning of this rite. The Jayākhyā-Samhitā reads: “Having prepared an aṇjali of flowers (puspāṇjali) [for each of the disciples] in sequence, he should have [the disciples], whose eyes are blindfolded as before, toss [the flowers] that are endowed with gold, jewels, and pearls. Then he should unveil [their] eyes and show [them] everything.” The Śārvatara-Samhitā states: “Taking the [disciple] by the hand, he should go near the god’s abode (i.e., the maṇḍala). Having placed [him] on his left side and again blindfolded [his] eyes, he should have [him], who is deprived of [his] eyesight [now], toss arghya [from] the aṇjali. [Then the disciple] may see the mantra’s highest abode, which

75 Also the kind of maṇḍala varies with regard to the disciple’s varṇa or sex; cf. Sanatkumāra-Samhitā, ṛsi-rātra 5.40c–43.
76 Sanatkumāra-Samhitā, ṛsi-rātra 5.30c–40b.
77 Jayākhyā-Samhitā 16.217c–218:
\[\text{kramāḥ puspāṇjam kṛtvā baddhanetramś ca pūrvvat // 217}
\text{kṣepayec ca hiranyādhyam manimuktāphālānīvatam /}
\text{udghātyā nayane paścād akhilaṁ sampradarśayet // 218} \]
bestows the fruit of [the fulfillment of every] wish.\(^7^8\) The reason for tossing flowers and other offerings onto the manḍala may be that the disciple, prior to seeing the manḍala, must worship the deity present in it in order to dispose him favourably, and that only then does he grant him his favour. This can be concluded from the Sātvata-Saṃhitā’s statement that the manḍala that has been looked upon by the disciple, fulfills every wish.

A passage in the Īśvara-Saṃhitā also shows that the tossing of flowers, etc., brings the disciple into contact with the deity present in the manḍala. This contact causes or increases his devotion (bhakti) and purifies his internal organ (antahkaraṇa) as a result of the deity’s grace: “He should have him, with a bowed head, toss the aṁjaliḥ’s contents] into the god’s abode. If he sees that [the disciple], whose eyes have [then] been unveiled, who has not been seen by any other person [and] who has entered the auspicious path, [shows] the sign of devotion (bhaktilakṣaṇa), which involves bristling of the hair, eagerness, joy, tears of bliss, prostrations, exclamations of ‘victory’ (jaya), and circumambulations in [all] quarters (?dikpradakṣina), [and] if he has understood that [the disciple’s] internal organ is purified, he should recognize that he is suitable. When [all this has happened], then [the disciple] has received grace (anugṛhit) through this (i.e., the teacher’s) thought, which is named Acyuta (i.e., Viṣṇu).”\(^7^9\) A passage from the Tantraloka, although from the Kashmirian Trika tradition, may help further to understand the idea that is behind the described ritual. According to this text, when the blindfold is removed the mantras present in the manḍala enter the disciple

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\(^7^8\) Sātvata-Saṃhitā 19.39c–41b:

tam adīya karād devadhāmašamnīkaṁ vajet // 39
kṛtvātmano vāmabhāge bhūyaḥ saṃcechādyā locane /
prakṣeṇet tathā sārghyam aṁjaliṁ muktaślocanam // 40
sampaśye paramaṁ dhāma māntraṁ ičchāphalapradam (v.1.) /

\(^7^9\) Īśvara-Saṃhitā 21.131–134b:

prakṣeṇet devadhāmīni natamśurdhāṃśajalī ca tam /
tasvodgāñjanetraṃ tv ādṛṣṭasaṃtarair janaḥ // 131
kuśalāḥdvaṇviśāṣya dṛṣṭvā vai bhaktilakṣanam /
romāñcautsukyanahsādhyaḥ ānandāśrusamanvitam // 132
saprāṇāmayāyaśpadikprasadaśasamnyutam /
pūraṇaṁkaraṇam buḍ-dhīva yogyo 'yam iti bhāvant // 133
yadā tadācayatākhyā yānugṛhitō dhīya tayā /

Through the identification of the teacher’s thought with the deity, the identity of the teacher with the deity is also emphasized here.
in an instantaneous possession (āvesa). Perhaps the author of the Īśvara-Samhitā did not consider the ‘signs of devotion’ (bhakti-laksana) as possession, but it is obvious that also according to the Īśvara-Samhitā, the disciple, when seeing the maṇḍala for the first time, comes into contact with the deity’s power.

In many Samhitās, the tossing of a flower onto the maṇḍala is considered a means to determine the initiand’s mantra or name. As described above (pp. 127f.), varying mantras are placed on the different constituent parts of the maṇḍala. The mantra that is present on the place where the flower tossed by the disciple falls is then his personal mantra or gives him his name. The Parama-Samhitā describes the first variant: “He should blindfold the disciple by means of a cloth, take [his] hand and enter the maṇḍala through its door. He should lead [the disciple around the maṇḍala,] turning their right sides towards [it] and have [the disciple] bow down before the guardians of the quarters. On which flower this flower falls by chance, this [flower’s] mantra is for his protection and prosperity. Having effected [his] faculty of seeing [again], he should show him the cakramaṇḍala.”

Several younger Samhitās indicate that the purpose of tossing flowers onto the maṇḍala while blindfolded is to give the disciple a name (namakaraṇa). Among these texts is the Pādma-Samhitā, which states: “Directed by the teacher, [the disciple] should toss the flowers onto the maṇḍala. [The teacher] should assign to the disciple the names of the manifestations (mūrti) such as Kṛṣṇa, etc., that are the sovereigns of that place upon which most of the flowers fall of their own accord. The word bhāgavata or bhattāraka is to be joined to the end of the name if [the disciple] is a


\[^{81}\] Obviously, the mantras are invoked in flowers being placed on the various parts of the maṇḍala. Bühnemann 1987: 47 describes a similar method using areca nuts for invoking mantras. This passage presumably does not mean that the maṇḍala is made of flowers (cf. p. 123), because the verses Parama-Samhitā 8.7c–9b prescribe that the maṇḍala is to be drawn with paint in the case of a samayadikṣa and with powder during the tantradikṣa (Parama-Samhitā 8.9b tatra dikṣitaḥ em. tantradikṣitaḥ).

\[^{82}\] Parama-Samhitā 8.44–46:

\[\text{vastram ekam upādāya śīyam ba<ś}>dhvā mukhāntare} /
\text{haste grhitvā praviṣet svena dvāreṇa maṇḍalam} // 44
\text{nīvā pradaśkīnm caiva dikpālaṁ pranipātayet} /
\text{tat pusaṁ nipatet puspam yasmān eva yadṛcchayā} // 45
\text{sa mantras tasya raksāyāṁ udaye ca vidhiyate} /
\text{utpādyā caṇṣuṣi caṇam darśayec cakramaṇḍalam} // 46
Brahmin. He should assign a name ending with *deva* to a *ksatriya*, one ending with the word *pāl* to a *vaiśya*, and a name ending with *dāsa* to one who is born from [the Puruṣa’s] feet. Then he should remove the blindfold and show [him] the *cakramandala*.

Although most of the Śaṃhitās examined connect the ritual of tossing flowers upon the *manḍala* with the name-giving, this was not its original purpose. This can be seen in the Jayākhyā-Śaṃhitā that prescribes the name-giving ceremony as being at another moment of the initiation than that of the first showing of the *manḍala*, and prescribes the ceremony being done with the help of a platform made of earth (sthala) upon which a *manḍala* is only imagined. In the Śātavata-Śaṃhitā, although the name-giving immediately follows the tossing of the *puspāṇjali* upon the *manḍala*, the purpose of the tossing act is not to give a name. It is just done on the same occasion. The passage Śātavata-Śaṃhitā 19.39d–41b quoted above (pp. 133f.) continues as follows: “On this occasion, he should give [him] a

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63 *I.e.*, a *śādra*; cf. Rg-Veda 10.90.12d: *puddhayeṇ śādroy ajāyata*. For the choice of the names for the members of the different *varṇas*, cf. also Manu-Sūtra 2.31-32. I am thankful to Professor Bühnemann for this reference.

64 Pādma-Śaṃhitā, *caityapāda* 2.57-60:

   *puspāṇi viṃśe tat manḍale gurucoditaḥ/
   yasmin pataṭi bhūbibge puspāṇām uktaras svayam// 57
   tadbhāgādhipamūrtimām nāmāny asya vinirṇiṣṭaḥ/
   śiyasya keśāvādini padaṃ bhāgavateti ca// 58
   nāmāṇante prāyoktivyayaḥ vā bhāttarākte ca/
   brāhmaṇaḥ cet ksatriiṣasya devyāntaṃ nāma nirdiṣṭaḥ// 59
   vaiśyaśasya pū烂abāḍāntam dīṣaṃtaṃ pādajanmanah/
   tato vimucya dṛgbandhām darśaye ca cakramandalam// 60

See also Viśṇu-Śaṃhitā 10.61–64b, Śripaśa-Śaṃhitā 16.106 and 136–137, and Viśvāmitra-Śaṃhitā 9.65–67.

65 Cf. Jayākhyā-Śaṃhitā 16.124e–127b: “He should blindfold the disciple’s eyes by means of a new, pure, white cloth upon which the *netramantra* has been used. Then he should have [him] cast for Viṣṇu a *puspāṇjali* that is not invested with a mantra upon the platform. He should brand him with the name of the mentally imagined lotus upon which the [puspāṇjali] falls—before [this] he should divide [the platform] into nine parts (here obviously the *navapadaṃmanḍala* consisting of nine lotuses is meant [cf. note 29])—[together with the words *viṣṇu* or *patī* o Brahmin.” (vāsīṣāḥ *bhyaḥatanāḥ suḥduḥṣaṇaṃ suṣṭena ca// 124 netramantrābhirajāptena netre śiyasya bandhyet/ amantaṃ kṣepayec cātō viṣṇoḥ puspāṇjalim sthale// 125 yatra sā pataṭi brahmaḥ buddhāsāṅkalpitāḥ ṭibhuṣaḥ navadāḥ vibhaṣajat prāgyat tannāmanāṃ tum aṇkayet// 126 viṣṇuṣabdāṇvītaiva paṭisaṃjñāyate ca// The text is corrupt.) It is unknown if the branding of the name is to be taken literally. Usually in the dīkṣā, a *cakra* mark is branded on the right shoulder and a *śāṅkha* mark on the left one (cf. Śātavata-Śaṃhitā 22.9d, Isvara-Śaṃhitā 21.284c–292b, and Rangachari 1930: 35).
suitable name of a [deity] who has a secret primary name and a secondary one accordant with circumstances. According to the Īśvara-Saṁhitā, the disciple’s name is determined with the help of tossing a puspānjali upon the maṇḍala. This is described by means of the passage from the Sātvata-Saṁhitā quoted above, which the Īśvara-Saṁhitā has adopted from this text like many other passages. However, the name-giving rite is performed one day after the first viewing of the maṇḍala, which occurs during the preparations for the initiation (dīkṣādhivāsana). Thus, the rite of name-giving originally was not connected with the act of tossing flowers onto the maṇḍala.

At the end of this section on the dīkṣā, I would again like to consider the placing of the teacher’s hand on the disciple that was mentioned above (pp. 131f.) as being part of the initiation. This placing of the teacher’s hand can be done either before revealing the maṇḍala to the disciple or after. The hand is mentally invested with the deity’s power that is then transferred to the disciple. Investing with the deity’s power is done either by imposing a mantra or visualizing a maṇḍala on the hand: “On [his] right hand, he should visualize all principal deities as illuminating [it] by their rays of light [and] being in their respective supreme abodes in the centre of the cakrābja[maṇḍala]. He should [then] touch the [disciple] with this

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8 Sātvata-Saṁhitā 19.41c–42b: 
tasmin avasare kuryän nāma yasya yathocitam //
rahasyaṣaṁjitāṁ mukhyam ca gaunām vāsya yathāsthitam //

87 Īśvara-Saṁhitā 21.319–325 ~ Sātvata-Saṁhitā 19.39c–46b. The Īśvara-Saṁhitā introduces this passages with the following words: “He should give a name to the disciple. The rule for this is given here.” (Īśvara-Saṁhitā 21.318cd: nāma kuryāc ca śīṣyasya-tadvidhiḥanam ihocayate //)


90 Cf. Jayākhyā-Saṁhitā 18.82c–83: “Having thus spoken, the teacher himself should visualize the supreme Viṣṇu who is the supreme one [and] who consists of parts and is without parts (cf. Rastelli 1999: 101–105), in the form of the mantra on [his] right hand, worship him with fragrances, flowers, etc., and lay it on the [disciples] head.” (ity uktvā dakṣiṇe hastyā svayaṁ saṁcintyai vai guruḥ // 82 mantramānāṁ param viṣṇum param sakalaniskalam / sampūya gandhapūpyaṁ dasyāṁ tasya ca mastake // 83) and Sātvata-Saṁhitā 19.38c–39b: “He should touch [him] from the feet with the mantra hand and then he, who conquers the seed of suffering, should lay the mantra hand, which has a blazing form, on [his] head.” (apādāṁ mantrahastena parāṁṣyātha mūrdhāṁ // mantrahastam jvaladrūpaṁ dadyād yo dukhhabhajīt)
Acyuta hand that was [previously] wetted with water. If a mantra is imposed upon the hand, it is called mantra hand (mantrahasta). If a maṇḍala is visualized on the hand, it is called yāga hand (i.e., maṇḍala hand; yāgasasta). In both cases it can also be called Viṣṇu hand (viṣṇuhasta) (or Acyuta hand as in the passage just quoted) as in both cases Viṣṇu is present on the hand: “The hand on which Viṣṇu is present is called Viṣṇu hand.” According to the Viṣṇu-Samhitā it destroys all sins that were ever accumulated: “All sins that were formerly accumulated in thousands of other births are dissolved without doubt by the mere touch.” According to the Pauṣkara-Samhitā it liberates one from the world of transmigration (cf. pp. 131f.).

All the examples of various Samhitās given show that the maṇḍala plays a central role during the initiation, although its meaning and function vary in the different texts. First of all, the first viewing and first worship of the maṇḍala is the initiation into maṇḍala worship, which is in the centre of the devotee’s religious practice in the Pauṣkara-Samhitā especially but also in other Samhitās. But the maṇḍala as a place of the deity’s presence is also a means for encountering the deity: by worshipping him there in order to dispose him favourably, but also by experiencing his favour by the mere sight of the maṇḍala, by obtaining a name and a mantra that were not chosen by a human being, but by the powers present in the maṇḍala, and last but not least, by the physical contact with him through the Viṣṇu hand.

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91 Īśvara-Samhitā 21.134c–136b:

smared daksinapāṇau tu cakrāmburahumahadhyagam // 134
pradhīnadevatābhindam sve sve dhāmini pare sthitam /
svamārīcigāṇenaśa dyotayantam tu cākhilam // 135
tenācyutakareṇaiva sodakenālabheten tam /

Cf. also PauṣS 1.28 (quoted on pp. 131f.), Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 2.66–67b, Viṣṇu-Samhitā 10.46c–52b, Viśvāmitra-Samhitā 9.75c–76a.

92 Cf. Śāivata-Samhitā 19.38e–39b (quoted in note 90) and PauṣS 1.28.

93 Viṣṇu-Samhitā 10.50cd: haste viṣṇuh sthito yasmin viṣṇuhastas tu sa smrtah //
For the use of the term viṣṇuhasta, cf. also Jayākhya-Samhitā 16.335a, Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 2.67a, and Viśvāmitra-Samhitā 9.75d.

94 Viṣṇu-Samhitā 10.51:

janmāntarasaḥrasais tu yat pāpaṁ saucitaṁ purā /
sarvaṁ tat sparṣaṁatraṇa vilayaṁ yāty asamkayaṁ // 51
The Symbolic Meaning of the Mañḍala

As mentioned several times above, the mañḍala is a place where the deity and his various aspects are made present by imposing their mantras upon it. Invested with mantras, the mañḍala is very powerful and merely looking at it has an effect. 95

However, the Pāncarātra Samhitās not only assign a meaning to the mañḍala but also to its constituent parts. As a place of the deity’s presence, the mañḍala is considered to be his body and thus, the mañḍala’s constituent parts are considered to be the constituents of the body. Since the body’s constituents, i.e., the principles (tattva) arising from the primary matter (prakṛti), also constitute the universe, the mañḍala is also a representation of the universe.

Such a conception is found in the Śatvata-Samhitā, which is also adopted by the Īśvara-Samhitā: “Having thus constructed [the mañḍala], he should consider [it] as having the nature of the universe like a body. Know that the white, yellow, etc., powders are the [five] elements (bhūta). The upaśobhas 96 are the subtle elements (tanmātra), the šobhas 97 the organs of action (karana), and in the same way, all the corners and doors are the sense organs. The outer enclosures are the three [constituents of the primary matter] sattva, etc. The wide viṭṭi 98 is the mind (manas); the pītha 99 is called conceit (garva = ahamkāra). The intellect (dhi = buddhi) is the lotus. Its ruler is the puruṣa who consists of pure thought in the form of a seed syllable (bij'atma), and the Lord (iśvara), who is characterized by bliss [and] whose mere sight pleases the mind forever, is present there without a concrete form.”100

95 Cf. Pauṣṭi 10.34d–35b: “I explain to you [now] the entire [great mañḍala], through which, if it is merely looked at, the fetters of worldly existence are destroyed.” (tāṁ ca kṛṣṇam vādāmi te / yena sandrṣtamātṛena bhavabandhakṣayo bhavet /) Cf. further Viṣṇu-Samhitā 10.64cd: “If a mañḍala is merely looked at, the accumulated sins are destroyed.” (dṛṣṭamātre praṇāṣyanti mañḍale pāpasūcayāh //)

96 Apte 1973: 504 and 1987: 131 explains upaśobha as ‘re-entrants or the inverted counterparts of the offsets occupying the space in between offsets and corners of the enclosures.’ For a better understanding of this explanation, cf. the drawing in Hikita 1991: 319.

97 The šobha is the space between the upaśobhas; cf. the drawing in Hikita 1991: 319 (here the feminine forms śobhā and upaśobhā are used).

98 Cf. note 44.

99 The pītha is the part of the mañḍala which surrounds the lotus(es); cf. Figure 1 in Apte 1973 and also Nārādyā-Samhitā 8.10c.

100 Śatvata-Samhitā 11.32c-36:
A similar conception can be found in the Viṣṇu-Samhitā. In this text, the maṇḍala’s constituent parts are seen as parts of the body on one hand, and as cosmic and divine powers on the other. Possibly, two texts that were originally different are joined here as the two conceptions are combined without a real inner connection. In addition, some principles (tattvā) and deities appear twice: “He should consider the maṇḍala as a human being (puruṣa). The lotus is its heart. [The maṇḍala’s] centre is between the arms. The stalk of the lotus is at the base of the navel. The two back doors in the south and the north are to be known as the two feet. The stalk of the lotus, which has nine holes, is the seat of the kalās Vimalā, etc.101 Its root is the subtle Janārdana in the form of a seed syllable (bijārūpa), since one should know that the root of the lotus, which supports everything, is based on his greatness. The phonems a, etc.,102 became the winds [of the body]. On the stalk are the finger-nails.103 The knot (?granthi) is the ‘great one’ (i.e., the intellect [buddhi]) consisting of the [three] constituents [of the primary matter]. The eight petals are then the various [modifications of] the intellect, dharma, adharma, etc. Within the stalk is the endless ego principle that carries the subtle elements, the sense organs, and the elements. The lotus [of the god’s throne (āsana) visualized upon the maṇḍala] is the unevolved [primary matter]. Some [teach] that the circles of sun, moon, and fire104 are the different phonems a, etc.,105 and others consider them

101 These are Viṣṇu’s nine śaktis, viz., Vimalā, Utkarṣṇi, Jānā, Kriyā, Yogā, Prahvī, Satyā, Īśā, and Anugrahā (Viṣṇu-Samhitā 6.44c–45).
102 Here, phonems imposed upon the maṇḍala are probably meant.
103 The finger-nails are identified with the thorns on the stalk, both of which are called kantaka in Sanskrit.
104 These also belong to the throne (āsana) that is visualized upon the maṇḍala. For the mental visualization of an āsana upon the maṇḍala, cf. also Āhirbudhnya-Samhitā 28.17c–18. For the constituent parts of the āsana, cf. Rastelli 2002.
105 The phonems are considered as parts of the worldly creation; cf. Viṣṇu-Samhitā 9.53: “[The universe] is to be known as being pervaded by the first sound in
as born of the eight saktis Vimalā, etc. The lotus that is the great support of the universe is in the centre of the egg (anāta).106 The Māyā is in the egg-shell below the egg, Vidyā is above it.107 He should consider the border (prativāraṇa) as the pericardium of the heart-lotus. Out of the [border], god Vairāja (i.e., Brahmā) is taught as [being present] in the shape of the rampart. In the yellow, white, red, black, and dark powders are the [five elements of] the earth, etc. The Vasus are on the tips of the lotus’ petals; the Rudras and Ādityas are the filaments, the Maruts are on the junctures of the petals; the planets and stars are the powders. On the lines of the petals’ upper [edges] and between [them] are the rivers and oceans. [Mount] Meru is in the pericarp, the munis are on the seed syllables. Viṣṇu is in sun, moon and fire. (...) The thorns are Yakṣa, etc., the hairs on the stalk are known as the Apsaras. The thread is Prajāpati; the roots of the leaves are the winds [of the body] such as prāṇa, etc. The ātman, who is the lord of the universe, who is Hari, who is known as having no parts (niṣkala), [and] who abides in the supreme abode, is [present] in the centre of the cakramandala. He who has thus recognized that the god is present in the mandala leaves Viṣṇu’s Māyā behind and attains the supreme abode. He who worships or visualizes (paśyey) the god as present in the mandala, even if it is not prescribed directly, beholds the lord of the gods forever. In the mandala, the one who has all forms is eternally near here [in this world]. Therefore, worship in the mandala is better than [worship in] auspicious places such as tīrthas, etc.108 In both passages quoted

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106 Here, the lotus arising from Viṣṇu’s navel on which Brahmā sits and creates the world, is possibly meant.

107 Māyā and Vidyā are constituents of the universe; cf. Viṣṇu-Saṁhitā 3.48cd and 6.42ab.

108 Viṣṇu-Saṁhitā 9.58c–76b:

purusam mandalam vidyāt padnam hrdayam asya tu // 58
bālvantaragatam madhyam nābhimule 'bjanālakam /
pade dve paścinadmadvāre jāñātavye daksinottare // 59
padmanālam navacchidram vimalādikālahārayam /
tasya mūlam bhaveti sūkṣmo bijarūpo janārdayah // 60
ādhīrābhūtam sarvasya mahinni sve vyavasthitam /
padmanālam vijñāyād yato 'kārādyo ‘bhavan / 61
marutah kaṇjakā nāle granthir guṇamayo mahān /
buddhīhṛdayā daññayi aśtu dharmādharmādayas tataḥ // 62
nālinte 'hamkṛto 'nantas tannātrendriyābhūtabhīt/
here, the manḍala is seen as the body of the deity. Like any other body, it consists of the tattvas, of limbs, and of organs. However, the manḍala also consists of principles, and of cosmic and divine powers that constitute the universe. Thus it is also a representation of the universe. Again, the universe is a manifestation of the deity. Thus, the manḍala, even if it is not yet invested with mantras, is considered here as being a representation of the deity.

Yantras

Like manḍalas, yantras consist usually of diagram-like drawings and mantras made present in them. There are, however, essential differences between manḍalas and yantras.

Yantras are generally drawn on mobile materials. For drawing and writing, powders are not used, but rather liquid substances; metal

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Viṣṇu-Saṁhitā 9.69d–71b is an insertion that does not make sense with regard to the contents of the passage.

109 All constituent parts of the universe are manifestations of the deity (cf. Rastelli 1999: 98f.); thus the universe is also his representation.

110 The Saṁhitās teach similar notions with regard to the temple; cf. Rastelli 2003.
yantras can also be engraved. Thus yantras can be carried everywhere and also worn as amulets.

When maṇḍalas are prepared, a diagram is drawn and only then are the mantras made present upon it by imposition (nyāsa). When preparing a yantra, drawing and writing of the mantras are done in a single process, and, as just mentioned, the mantras are written. This is not the case with maṇḍalas.

This is probably connected with the fact that in most cases yantras are not considered to be just places where the deity can be made present and worshipped as maṇḍalas are, but are considered to be representations of the deity himself (see below pp. 144f.).

Yantras are used mainly for worldly purposes (see below pp. 146ff.).

The writing materials most commonly used for the preparation of yantras are birch-bark (bhūrja) and cloth (vastra, karpata). Other materials mentioned in the texts are gold (sometimes embellished with jewels, corals, and pearls), silver, copper and other metals, wood, and stone. The writing paint is prepared from rocanā, saffron (kuṅkuma), sandalwood (candana), talc (ghana), camphor (tusāra), musk (kastūrīkā), milk, agaru and dew. The writing utensil is a golden needle (hemasūci). The yantras described in Aniruddha-Samhitā 5 seem to be special cases. According to the prescription of this text, the yantras should be prepared and worshipped on a platform (vedi) in a pavilion (maṇḍapa). These yantras are, of course, not mobile.

111 These differences between maṇḍalas and yantras have emerged from my study of the Pāñcarātra-Samhitās. For a list of differences that varies slightly from mine, cf. Brunner 1986: 19 (cf. Brunner, pp. 162–163). The differences noted by Brunner may also apply to Pāñcarātra, but I have not yet found evidence for this in the texts.

112 Jayākhyā-Samhitā 26.97b, 29.96b, 164a, Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 25.102c, 32.46b.

113 Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 32.92c, Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 26.3ab, 74cd, 85cd.

114 According to Apte 1957 (s. v. gorocanā), rocanā is "a bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine or bile of a cow, or found in the head of a cow."

115 Aquilaria agallocha. Perfumes, ointments, and oil are obtained from its fragrant wood (Syed 1990: 31).

116 Jayākhyā-Samhitā 26.89c, 97a, 106ab, 29.95c–96a, 163cd, Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 26.4ab, 75d, Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 25.102d–103, 32.45–46a.

117 Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 26.4c, Pādma-Samhitā, caryāpāda 25.103c, 32.45a.

118 See Aniruddha-Samhitā 5.1c–3 and 59.
According to the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā, the yantra’s material is determined by the qualification (adhiśāra) of its user.19 In addition, different materials lead to different results following the yantra’s worship. For example, a yantra made of gold, jewels, corals, and pearls bestows sovereignty, or a yantra made of birch-bark and drawn with saffron and sandalwood, when worn on the head, effects the fulfilment of all wishes.20

As already mentioned, when a yantra is prepared, drawing the diagram and writing the mantras are done in a single process. The following is an exemplary prescription for the preparation of a yantra that is used for paralyzing (stambhana) divine beings: “Furnished with rocanā and saffron, he should write [the divine being’s] name intertwined with the [mūla]mantra in the centre of a [drawn] kaustubha that contains sixteen sixteenths parts (kalā). Previously each sixteenth part has been provided with nectar, o sage. Above the sixteenths parts of nectar he should place [the mūla]mantra, which resembles the moon’s rays, resting on the viśvāpyāya (= ta). Outside of the [mūla]mantra, he should draw an eight-petalled lotus with a pericarp. [Then] he should write the god’s aṅga[mantras] on the petals just as in worship.”

The drawing and writing of the yantra are seen as a unit. The drawing is not just a place for making the deity present by means of mantras, but the yantra’s drawing and writing as a unit is a representation of the deity. The deity assumes the form of the yantra.

19 Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 26.3.
20 Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 26.74c–77.
12 There are several interpretations of what vidarbha or vidarbhīta means. Generally, it means that parts of the name and of the mantra, i.e., one or two syllables of each, are alternated. Cf. Padoux 1977 and 1986–1992: 69f.
12 That is, the letter sa. Each letter of the Sanskrit alphabet has several names that are used as codes in the description of mantras; cf. Jayākhya-Samhitā 6.32c–57.
12 Jayākhya-Samhitā 26.89c–92:
rocanākunākumair yukto nāmamantravidarbhitam // 89
likhet kaustubhamadhye tu kalāsodaśasamānyute /
ekaikā tu kalā vipra purā yuktamṛtena tu // 90
sāṃrtaṇaṁ kalānāṁ ca vojaye ca tathopari /
viśvāpyāyasthitam vāpi candraśaṃsaṃaprabham // 91
tadbhūya śatadalau paṇḍmaṁ vilikhe ca sakarnīkam /
devyo 'ṅāgāni (en. divyāṅgāni) yathāreṣyaṁ daleśy abhyantare likhet // 92
Thus, the installation (pratiṣṭhā) of the saudarśanayantra (which is established and worshipped like a statue; see below pp. 148ff.) is prescribed with the following words: “Having established the god, [who is] the Lord having the shape of a yantra, in the centre (...).”\textsuperscript{124} Further, the deity is described as ‘consisting of all yantras’ (sarva-yantramaya).\textsuperscript{125} Thus, a yantra is a representation of the deity on one hand, and the deity encompasses all yantras on the other.

Two other kinds of mantric safeguards (rakṣā) that are described in the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā are closely related to yantras. One is called jyotirmayī, ‘consisting of light,’ and the other vānmayī, ‘consisting of language.’

The first is a wheel (cakra) whose constituent parts are represented by divine beings and their activities. The brahman is considered as being the wheel’s axle, the sakti as its hub, the sakti’s five activities, viz., disappearance (tirobhāva), creation, maintenance, destruction, and favour, as its spokes, the Vyuhas and Vyūhantarās as its felly, and the Vibhavas as flames outside the felly. It is obvious that this kind of rakṣā can only be visualized mentally.\textsuperscript{126}

The safeguard that consists of language (vānmayī rakṣā) is a wheel (cakra) whose shape is formed by writing mantras instead of drawing lines. The Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā describes several forms of this kind of safeguard.\textsuperscript{127}

Nowhere in the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā’s text are these two kinds of safeguards called yantra. The term yantra is mentioned in the title lines of chapters 23 and 24 of the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā and in two subtitles on p. 218 of the first volume of the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā’s edition,\textsuperscript{128} but not in the body of the text itself. Thus the two kinds of rakṣā probably cannot be interpreted as yantras in the actual sense.

However, these safeguards, which are very similar to yantras, can help to clarify the meaning of yantra as representation of the deity. Both the rakṣā ‘consisting of light’ and the one ‘consisting of language’ are direct representations of the divine power, the first having divine beings as its constituent parts, the latter consisting

\textsuperscript{124} Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 47.21cd: 
\textit{madhye devaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya yantrarūpapadharām prabhum //}

\textsuperscript{125} Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 47.56d and 65a.

\textsuperscript{126} Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 47.56d and 65a.

\textsuperscript{127} Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 21.4–29b.

\textsuperscript{128} Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 22–24.

\textsuperscript{129} Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 23 is called vāsudevādiyantranairūpaṇa, Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 24, yantradevatādhyāyanairūpaṇa.
merely of mantras that are manifestations of the deity and his aspects. These raks̄as are not places where the deity can be made present, but they are the deity’s presence itself. The same is true of yantras, which, in this aspect, are much more similar to the two kinds of raks̄as just described than to maṇḍalas.

However, seeing yantras as representations of the deity is not the only notion found in Pāṇcarātra Saṃhitās. According to the Pādma-Saṃhitā, after the preparation of a yantra, the deity should be invited into it in order to worship him there.\textsuperscript{129} Here, similar to a maṇḍala, the yantra is treated as being a place for the deity’s worship.

What purpose do yantras have and how are they used? It is often emphasized that mere visualization of a yantra or concentration upon it is enough to reach a certain goal; for example: “He who recollects it in danger, in a battle, or in a dispute has victory in his hands; here there should not be any doubt.” Or: “This yantra, o excellent sage, destroys all calamities. There is nothing that cannot be obtained by wearing, recollecting, [and] visualizing [it].”\textsuperscript{130} Also the yantra’s mere drawing can have effect: “Everything accrues to the people through its mere drawing.”\textsuperscript{131} In general, however, worshipping it with offerings, oblations and ablutions is seen as the prerequisite for the effect of a yantra.\textsuperscript{132}

Yantras are frequently worn on the body as amulets, often bound with thread and/or covered with metal. Using them in this way, yantras are considered to protect and to have positive effects: “He should wrap this yantra with a five-coloured thread [and] put it into a golden casket. [If] he puts [it] on [his] right arm or a woman between [her] breasts he/she is liked forever, even among enemies. The sādhaka can easily cross female and male rivers or the oceans for many purposes by means of its power, and he does not sink in the..."
MANDALAS AND YANTRAS IN THE PĀNCARĀTRA

water. Fear of beings of the jungle or the forest is unknown [to him]. Inauspicious planets bestow favourable [things]. Manifold terrific and exceedingly frightening poisons do not trouble [him]. Weapons of thieves, etc., do not enter the joints of [his] body. (...) The demons who injure children, etc. (bālagrahādayaḥ), leave the child and go far away if this yantra is present on its body. A pregnant woman bears easily on account of wearing [this yantra]. A barren woman [and] a [woman] whose new-born children die will have children.”

Likewise, it is considered auspicious to have a yantra in one’s house: “He who has placed a yantra in his house accomplishes everything.”

The yantras’ protecting and auspicious effects are also used on other occasions. So, at a funeral, the dead body is put upon a yantra that is covered by a cloth. A pill (gulikā) that has been prepared for the acquisition of supernatural powers must be purified with incense in a casket upon which a yantra has been drawn (yantrasaṃpuṭa).

Other than protection, a yantra may bestow anything one wishes as already indicated in the passage quoted above: elimination of sorrow, diseases and obstacles, attainment of children, friends,
consorts, kingship and wealth.¹³⁷ Yantras are considered to be so powerful that even antidotes against them could be necessary in the case of an enemy using them against one. Such antidotes are presented in the Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā: the ṭarāhamudrī and the jayāmantra are successful in destroying the power of yantras.¹³⁸

A particular yantra is the saudarśanayantra, which is described in the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā and, based on the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā, also in the Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā.¹³⁹ It not only contains linear diagrams and writings of mantras, but also pictorial representations of various deities.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the writing material, which should be solid such as metal or stone, is covered with a yantra diagram not only on the obverse side but also, with a different drawing, on the reverse.¹⁴¹

The saudarśanayantra is used especially by kings and those who want to attain kingship. They should install it in a temple and worship it daily in order to secure their kingship: "Hear the peculiarity of the protective prescription for kings, o Nārada. He who desires kingship, he who is deprived of kingship, or he who is overpowered by [other] kings, having realized that the most distinguished teacher who bestows the yantra of Sudarśana exceeds all, should worship this [teacher] with great wealth and then should worship the four-armed Nārāyaṇa, the god, whose eyes are as large

¹³⁷ E.g., Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā 26.104c–105b, 110c–113b, Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā 26.73, 36.26c–30b.
¹³⁸ Jayākhyā-Saṃhitā 8.30a, 27.131a.
¹³⁹ The description of the saudarśanayantra in Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā 23 is based on that in the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā. The Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā even refers explicitly to the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā as its source. Compare Pāremeśvara-Saṃhitā 23.2c–3: "In former times in order to appease the great sin of cutting Brahmā’s head Nārāyaṇa taught, at the auspicious Badarikāśrama, [the yantra] that removes all sins to Śaṅkara, who was asking for it." (purā nārāyaṇenoktaṃ punye badarikāśrame // 2 brahmaṇaḥ śīrasvīcedamahāśīpatakaśāntaye // prechataḥ śaṅkarasyāthyā sarvapāpapāpanodanam // 3) with Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā 25.14c–15: "In order to appease the great sin of cutting Pitāmaha’s head Nārāyaṇa taught me [the yantra] that pacifies all afflictions [and] keeps off all pain at the auspicious Badarikāśrama." (mama nārāyaṇenoktaṃ punye badarikāśrame // 14 pitāmahaḥśīrasvīcedamahāśīpatakaśāntaye // sarvaduḥḥāparśamanam sarvaduḥḥāparśamanam / prechataḥ nārāyaṇaḥ ahitā tāḥ ahitāḥ ēśvaranam / yathopaṭistām vidhīvate.)
¹⁴⁰ Cf. also Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā 26.43abc: "(...) according to the rule, as Ahirbudhnya has taught it at length to Nārāda, who has asked [for it] (...)" (prechate nārāyaṇayaśad ahitāḥ bhūtāḥ ēśvaranam vistarit / yathopaṭistam vidhīvate.)
¹⁴¹ The most important deities on the saudarśanayantra are Sudarśana, Viṣṇu’s discus to whom the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā is especially devoted, and Nṛsiṃha.

¹⁴² Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā 26.5–72, Pārameśvara-Saṃhitā 23.16–117b.
as a lotus, who is dark-coloured, who [wears] yellow garments, and who is adorned with all [kinds of] ornaments according to the prescriptions as taught by the teacher. He should have an excellent yantra made, which is made of gold, is decorated with jewels and corals, and furnished with all [kinds of] ornaments. Only with this instrument does he attain sound kingship. Having installed [this yantra], which bestows the attainment of everything, he should worship it respectfully. Then he will obtain the earth with [its] seven divisions (saptadvipām) [and its] towns.  

In the Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā, the temple (vimāna) for the sau-darśanayantra and the prescriptions for worship to be performed there are not described in detail. However, the author of the younger Pārameśvara-Samhitā, who strongly emphasizes temple worship in general, has elaborated the descriptions of the temple (prāśāda) or pavilion (maṇḍapa) that should be built for the sau-darśanayantra’s worship, and also the prescriptions for its worship. The yantra’s worship is very similar to the common daily ritual in a temple. This means that this yantra takes the position of a place for the deity’s worship, similar to, e.g., a statue or a maṇḍala.

142 Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 26.82–87:

rājānāṁ rakṣāvidhānec tu viśeṣam śrīnārada /
rājyārthī hṛtarājyo vī paribhūto ‘thavā ārpaṁḥ // 82
sau-darśanasya yantrasa pradānāram gurum param /
sarve-bhūtyo hy adhi-kānta matvā tam abhyarceya mahādhanāḥ // 83
tato nārāyanaṃ devam pundra-kāyate kṣaṇam /
śyāmalaṁ pītavasaṇaṁ sarvābharaṇābhūṣitam // 84
ārādhyeyec caturbīllum ścāryoktavidhāṇātaḥ /
taptajāmbūndhamayamanāṁ manividdrumacitrītum // 85
sarvālaṁkārasanuyuktaṁ kārayed yantram uttamam /
etat caraṇa-mātṛcena āryam āpnoty anāmayaṁ // 86
pratiśṭhāpyārcayed etat sādaram sarvasiddhidham /
tato bhūmiṁ avāṇoti saptadvīpāṁ sapattanām // 87

Cf. also Pāremeśvara-Saṁhitā 23.8c–9b: “Kings who are disposed to protect [their] people are to perform continuously this worship. Otherwise a lack of firmness arises.” (prayāpālaṁśiśāṁ bhūpānam etad arcanam // nairantaryena kartavyam anyathā jāya-te ’dhrītāḥ)

The temple is mentioned only in Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 36.35c, 36c, and 40c.

144 See Pāremeśvara-Saṁhitā 23.12–18b for the temple and Pāremeśvara-Samhitā 25–26 for the ritual prescriptions.

145 There is much inscriptive and literary evidence that images of Sudarśana were worshipped in Pāncarātra temples, often in special shrines. Several such images have been preserved (cf. Begley 1973: 68ff.). Illustration 1 shows a bronze image of Sudarśana within a yantra. This image is dated by Begley 1973: 90 to about the 17th century. Although it does not look exactly like the saudarśanayantra
The *saudarśanayantra* is not the only yantra that is worshipped in a temple or pavilion. As already mentioned, yantras are worshipped in a *maṇḍapa* also according to the Aniruddha-Samhitā. Here, however, they are drawn directly on a platform (*vedi*) and not upon a mobile material. According to the Parama-Samhitā, a yantra is used in place of a statue during the procession that is a part of the consecration (*pratīṣṭhā*). The yantra that represents Viṣṇu is carried around the temple. After this, it is installed in the temple, and only then is the statue of Viṣṇu established.

Finally, a particular yantra that is related to the *saudarśanayantra* should be mentioned. This is the *dhārakayantra*, the ‘yantra of the wearer,’ i.e., the wearer of the *saudarśanayantra*. The power of the *saudarśanayantra* is considered to be so great that a human being cannot wear it without additionally having a *dhārakayantra*: “[Nārada:] ‘Who wears this very wonderful divine ornament? If it is worn, I do not notice the power (*śakti*) of anything. Please remove [my] doubt [that has arisen] on account of its excessive power.’ Ahirbudhnya: ‘Truly, no one can wear this [yantra] of great splendour without [also wearing] the following, other yantra that is full of power, o divine seer. Hear now its nature [and] energy, o best sage.’ (...)”

The *dhārakayantra*’s most exterior part is the square earth maṇḍala with the seed syllable (*bijā*) of the earth on each corner and two Nāgas on each side. Within the earth maṇḍala is the fire maṇḍala having the shape of a hexagram with the fire seed described in the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā, it gives an idea of what it may have looked like.

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14 Cf. p. 143.

146 Cf. Parama-Samhitā 19.62–63b: “He should then prepare a yantra of the great god and, after having asked for permission, have the initiated guardians of the statue lift the yantra that is Hari onto a comfortable palanquin that is endowed with an arch.”

Cf. also Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 27.24c–26.
syllable. The round wind manḍala with its seed syllable is within it, and within the latter, a wheel with ten spokes. Two syllables each of the saudarśanamantra and the nārāsimhamantra are written on nine spokes, and on the tenth spoke, the word hana, ‘kill.’ Obviously, this combination keeps the saudarśanayantra’s power in check. An eight-petalled lotus with the mantra om and the names of the desired object and the person the yantra is directed to (sāḍhya) is in the centre of the wheel. The penultimate item seems strange in the case of the dhārakayantra whose only purpose is the fitness for wearing the saudarśanayantra. The person it is directed to can only be its wearer. The example of the dhārakayantra shows how powerful yantras were considered to be, and that their power could get out of control if they were not treated properly.

\[\text{For the shapes of the elements' manḍalas, cf. also Jayākhyā-Samhitā 10.26, 36c–38a, and 43c–44b and Gupta/Hoens/Goudriaan 1979: 172–174. The bijas of the elements vary in the different traditions. According to the Jayākhyā-Samhitā, the earth’s bija is śām, the fire’s srām, and the wind’s hām (Jayākhyā-Samhitā 10.17c–20b), cf. also Gupta/Hoens/Goudriaan ibid.}
\[\text{Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā 27.5c–16.}\]
1. The 16-armed Sudarśanacakrapuruṣa in the Śrī-Kālamekaperumāl Temple
It is common to refer to the ritual use of more or less complex drawings among the defining characteristics of every denomination of Tantrism. Generally, such drawings are called maṇḍalas, but also yantras and cakras, with little consideration as to whether these terms are synonyms or not.

This paper essentially aims at clarifying this terminology, and this will be done in the first part. In the second part, I will discuss the maṇḍalas used in the cult of Śiva: analyzing a simple example, I will describe their general structure and indicate how exactly they are used in the rituals.

It is first out of personal interest that I began investigating the subject on which I here report my conclusions. Perplexed, undoub-
tedly like many other scholars, by the coexistence of three terms that modern authors rarely distinguish and often translate, in English, as well as in French, by the same word 'diagram,' I had developed the habit over the years of taking note of the ritual contexts in which those terms appeared. Soon enough, I realized that mediaeval authors did not use the terms so freely as we do and thought that it would be good if we imitated their precision instead of creating confusion where it did not exist by using a single word in our translations (and I also accept this criticism). I was therefore pleased to seize the opportunity provided by a conference held on this theme in Paris in 1984 to expand my research and submit the result of my reflections to the participants. Their reactions inspired some of the additions that I have made to the original French paper.

I must insist at the outset on the fact that my research does not cover all Hindu schools, not even all Tantric sects. Rather, I limited myself to the following texts:

(1) the fundamental texts of the Siddhānta School,¹ those that have come to be called Śaivāgamas or even simply Āgamas (Mūlāgamas and Upāgamas), but could just as well be called Tantras since they often present themselves as such.² I looked at

¹ We must stop calling this school the 'Southern School,' for while it is true that it is the South of India that has kept its heritage alive, we now know that its most ancient texts come from the North (including the pāddhati of Somaśambhu, see my introduction to SP4, pp. xlii–xlv). We could call it the Śaiva-Siddhānta School, but since this term was borrowed from the Sanskrit School of that denomination by the Tamil School that followed it and profoundly modified it, and since the name has remained attached to the latter, we should call it more precisely: 'Śaiva-Siddhānta School of Sanskrit expression' or simply 'Sanskrit Śaiva-Siddhānta School.' That is what I keep repeating (see, for example, Brunner 1977: 114–115 and 1992: 38, note 2). This appellation is here shortened into 'Siddhānta' for the sake of simplicity.

² See, for example, p. xix of the introduction to my translation of Mrgendra-gāma, kriyāpāda and caryāpāda, and more recently Goodall’s introduction to his edition of the Kīrana-vṛtti, pp. xxxvi–xxxix. It is useful to note here that, among the Tantras of the Siddhānta that have reached us, rare are the texts that date from before the ninth century. Except for the Kīrana, the Mrgendra and the Mataṅgāpārāmeśvara, those that were published in India, including those excellently edited by N.R. Bhatt and published by the Institut Français d’Indologie, belong to a later period, even though some of them borrow the name of a work previously known and cited. For the Kāmika, see the introduction to my translation of the Mrgendra-gāma cited above, pp. xii–xv. I will, however, have to refer to such works, which in fact, with regard to the subject here under investigation, most probably repeat the traditional instructions.
all the ones that were at my disposal, namely about ten of them, plus some preserved fragments of lost treatises;

(2) some Śaiva Tantras of the Trika: Svacchanda (SvT), Netra (NT) and Mālinīvijaya;

(3) a fair number of handbooks (paddhati) of the Siddhānta, the most important of which being the Somaśambhupaddhati (SP), called Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī, written in Kashmir in the 11th century, and of which I have published a complete translation. The following handbooks, written in the South, depend more or less directly on this work: the Aghoraśivācāryapaddhati, called Kriyākramadyotikā, of the 12th century; the yet unpublished Jñānaratnavālī, the Siddhāntāśekhara and the Siddhāntāsārāvalī, all three probably dating from the 13th century; and finally the Iśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, a later work which is nonetheless better known since it was edited early in the 20th century and reprinted in 1988;

(4) some handbooks from the Trika School, such as the Tantrāloka (TĀ) of Abhinavagupta and the Śāradātilaka (ŚT) of Lakṣmanadeśika.

All these sources converge, so much so that the results of my research do not only concern the Śaivism of the Siddhānta School, as the title of this paper carefully suggests, but could probably apply to a wider range of traditions. It is not certain, however, that my conclusions could, without further precautions, be extrapolated to all Tantric schools, for example, to Śāktism or to Pāñcarātra, nor to all periods, for example, to the more recent Tantrism.

Nonetheless, I should note that the non-synonymity of the terms maṇḍala and yantra is accepted by the Śabdakalpadruma (s.v. yantra) which quotes the following passage from the Yoginītantra,³ where the possible supports for the cult of the goddess are discussed:

\[
\text{linga\textthām pujayed devim pustaka\textthām tathaiva ca /} \\
\text{maṇḍala\textthām mahāmāyām yanatra\textthām pratimāsu ca //} \\
\text{jala\textthām vā śīlāthām vā pujayet paramēśvarim /}
\]

³ Text dating from the 16th century (see Goudriaan in Goudriaan/Gupta 1981: 85–86).
I. Occurrence of the Three Terms in the Ritual Texts

A. Maṇḍala

Let us now look at the first point, which concerns the occurrence of the terms maṇḍala, yantra and cakra in the ritual texts. I will begin with the one that is by far the most frequent in the standard rituals: ‘maṇḍala’—a term that we spontaneously associate with those splendid drawings so characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism and of which we have seen a large diffusion over the last decades.

When and how do the Śaiva texts use this word? We must obviously set aside right from the start the rather banal meaning of ‘circle’ (construction circle or any other disk) as well as that of ‘territory’ or ‘province,’ with which we are not concerned here, at least not directly. I shall therefore consider only the specific ritual objects that the texts call ‘maṇḍalas.’ All appear as limited surfaces, of which I find three main types:

First type: a limited surface deprived of structure.

For example: the ‘cow-dung maṇḍala’ enjoined on numerous occasions to serve either as the seat for a god (for example, Naṭeśvara, when he is called to preside over the dances performed by the Devadāsis in front of Śiva), for a man (the disciple, before his initiation), or for a revered object (the cooking pot for the deity’s rice, when it is removed from the fire and placed on the ground). Such maṇḍalas are made by smearing a generally circular portion of the ground with a semi-liquid paste made of cow-dung or sandalwood. I will call them ‘seat-maṇḍalas.’

Second type: a limited surface showing a drawing generally made of the accumulation of coloured powders.

This is the most interesting type of maṇḍala, one that we must most carefully distinguish from those other drawings called ‘yantras,’ because they bear some resemblance. Here are its characteristics:

- These maṇḍalas serve as supports for the worship of divinities. They have no other use.
- They are temporary, being destroyed once the ceremony for which they were built is completed.

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4 See SP3, Index, p. 737, s.v. “maṇḍala (quelconque).”
They are constructed on a plane and purified area, and oriented. The drawing (made with strings and compass) is geometrical; it often shows a central symmetry (or, if one prefers, an axial symmetry, with reference to an axis perpendicular to the plane and going through the centre);\(^5\) and it is entirely covered with coloured powders (three, four or five different colours)—hence the exact name of these objects: rajomandalas.\(^6\)

Their dimensions are sometimes considerable since they vary, depending on the type or the text, from one to eight (according to the Mrgendra)\(^7\) or even eighteen cubits (according to the Maṭaṅga-pārmeśvara), that is to say from half a metre to about four or even nine metres. The officiant is there described entering and leaving through ‘doors,’ moving around along ‘streets’—instructions that must be taken literally for the bigger structures.

Let us go over the first of these characteristics; namely, that these mandalas serve as supports for worship. The way to perform this cult will be described in the second part of this paper, but it will be good at this point to specify the nature of the worship in question. Here the texts from the Siddhānta diverge from those of the Trika. While the latter recommend doing all the cults, including the daily cults,\(^8\) on a mandala, the vast majority of the texts of the Siddhānta insist on using the mandala only for the occasional (naimittika) rituals—such

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\(^{5}\) The square mandala, of central symmetry, with, at its centre, an eight-petalled lotus, is by far the most common mandala, at least in the normal cult of Śiva. For the other gods, the mandala may take other shapes. For example, according to the Mrgendrāgama (kriyāpāda 8.36c–37b), the mandala of Caṇḍa is semi-circular, and that of the goddesses invoked to seduce women takes the form of a vulva, an eye or an arc. The shape and colour also vary according to the purpose of the ritual (Mrgendrāgama, kriyāpāda 8.37c–38).

\(^{6}\) There are, as we will see, drawings that, by their aspect and their use, partake of the nature of the mandala, but that are not constructed by the accumulation of powders.

\(^{7}\) See Mrgendrāgama, kriyāpāda 8.30 and Maṭaṅga-pārmeśvaraṅgama, kriyāpāda 1.26a.

\(^{8}\) See, for example, SvT1, chapter 2, introduction to verse 155. It is the same for the Mrgendrāgama (see note 11).

\(^{9}\) According to the Vedic classification, which in fact does not apply well at all to Tantric rituals. The pratisthā is generally taken as an example of occasional (naimittika) rites; but since it is performed on the initiative of a person who wishes to acquire merit, it is sometimes classified among the optional (kāmya) rituals. The utsavas may be spoken of as ‘occasional’ if one considers their periodicity, but they should be called ‘optional’ on account of their being performed with a definite aim
as the dikṣā, the pratiṣṭhā, the pavitraḥoṇa, the utsava—and the optional (kāmya) cults, that is to say all the rites performed for a desire-oriented purpose. For the daily (nitya) cult of Śiva, even for the private one, they prefer the liṅga. It is therefore with regard to

in view. The pavitraḥoṇa (see SP2, section II) belongs to the ‘prāyaścitta’ category, which is associated with the occasional rituals out of convention only. Finally, the dikṣās are said to be ‘occasional’ only from the point of view of the guru performing the rite; those that are conferred upon the sādhakas to let them acquire siddhis should logically count among the kāmya rituals. One should note that these long rituals (which spread over several days, of which the first days are used for preparatory rites designated by the general term adhivāsā) can be performed only by the ācārya, if they are public rituals, or by the sādhaka, if they are private cults (on the sādhaka, see Brunner 1975), and that it is only these high ranked initiates who can trace and use the rajomandala.

10 The only maṇḍala described in the Sārdhatriśatikālottara (7.1ab) is presented in the context of the kāmyakarman, and this shows, according to its commentator, that it concerns only the sādhaka. The interpretation expressed in this work seems unusual, however. Indeed, it must be noted that some of the desire-oriented rituals that concern a group of people and not just one person, such as the purification or pacifying (sānti) rites, can be and usually are performed by the ācārya.

11 With a few exceptions, for example, the Mṛgendra, which describes the daily cult of Śiva on a sthāndila before considering the possibility of using a liṅga (Mṛgendrāgama, kriyāpāda 3.54c–56b). It is the opposite elsewhere, see, for example, SP1, pp. 226–229, verses 102–103, where Somaśambhu, after describing the cult on a liṅga, gives a list of equally acceptable supports (for the private cult), but concludes: liṅga ‘py atyantam uttamam. The later works take in general a more radical position. Quoting the Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama, chapter 30, will suffice. In the first passage (30.2c–3b), that text lists the different supports for the private cult: the personal liṅga given by the guru; the sthāndila; oneself; a temporary (kṣaṇika) liṅga; a maṇḍala; the water. Immediately afterwards (30.3c–4b), and in a somewhat different list, it assigns a value to the cults performed on these supports: the cult performed on a mandala is rated at 100; at 1000 if performed on a sthāndila; at 10,000 on a kautuka (probably a narrow stripe of cloth with drawings, later called pata), and at 10 billion on a liṅga.

datte ca gurunā liṅge sthāndile svayam ātmāna //
kṣaṇike maṇḍale toye ‘py ātmārthayajanānaṁ smrtam /
maṇḍale tu śātm pamyam sthāndile tu sahasrakam //
ayutan kautuke liṅge kōṭikotigunam bhavet /(30.2c–4b)
The same work takes up again the problem a little farther (30.7–8), and establishes the following series, listing the cults in an increasing order in terms of their value: the mental cult; the cult on a mandala; on a temporary liṅga; on a stripe of cloth (with drawings? pata); on a painted image (? ābhāsa); on an image in the round (bimba); on a liṅga (with faces, to distinguish it from the next one); on a liṅga deprived of anthropomorphic traits (niskala-liṅga).

mānasān maṇḍalām śreśṭham maṇḍalāt kṣaṇikaṁ param /
kṣaṇikāt phalam utkṛṣṭam pataṁ caiva tataḥ param //
pāṭaḥ ābhāśam utkṛṣṭaṁ ābhāśaṁ bimbam ucyate /
bimbāṁ vai liṅgam utkṛṣṭaṁ liṅgād vai niskalam param // (30.7–8)
the occasional rituals, especially the *dīkṣā*, that the Siddhānta texts give a description of the mandala: some will describe only one, like the Mrgendra (*kriyāpāda* 8.25c–53) and the Sārdhatriṣatiālottāra (chapter 7), but in general several kinds of *māṇḍalas* are suggested for the officiant to choose from (see below). All these *māṇḍalas* have a complex structure, are rather long to elaborate, and remain present for the complete duration of the ritual for which they are used. When one considers using a *māṇḍala* for the daily cult of Śiva, the *māṇḍala*, which will have to be drawn each day, is of course much simpler. It is limited to the eight-petalled lotus that occupies the centre of the larger *māṇḍalas*. According to the Suprabheda (*kriyāpāda* 8.8), it is drawn on a portion of the ground previously smeared with cow-dung, while according to other texts it is drawn on a square platform made of sand and grains named *sthamāṇḍila* (thus the frequent confusion between *sthāndila* and *māṇḍala*). But there is never any mention of coloured powders. The same instructions apply to the *māṇḍalas* used in the daily cult of the secondary divinities, such as Śūrya (see SP1, p. 71, under [I d]).

In all cases, this second type of *māṇḍala* corresponds to the following definition: it is a temporary divine image traced, with some exceptions, by the accumulation of coloured powders and which must be beautiful to rejoice men and gods. I will call it the ‘image-*māṇḍala*.’

**Third type:** a limited surface that is squared but has no drawing.

We also find under the name *māṇḍala* some square surfaces suitably squared and in the boxes of which the officiant (rapidly) invokes

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The idea, as we can see, is to exalt the *liṅga* as the ideal support for the private cult. As for the temple cult, the question does not crop up: it can only take a permanent image as its support, that is to say a fixed *liṅga* for Śiva, a sculpted image for the goddess.

12 There are circumstances when one has to. That is what Īśānaśivagurudeva explains (see Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, *kriyāpāda* 20.23–27 [= volume 3, p. 200, 6–15]): if the adept is affected by a family impurity, he cannot touch the *liṅga*, nor the fire; he must therefore have someone else perform the public cult, while mentally reciting the mantras; then he must himself perform his daily cult (compulsory) on a *māṇḍala*, always mentally reciting the mantras. One could ask if that rule can be explained by the fact that, the *māṇḍala* being temporary, no impurity coming from the officiant can impinge on it definitively, while it would have a lasting effect on the permanent *liṅga*; or if it can be explained simply by some essential inferiority of the *māṇḍala* compared to the *liṅga*: the simple *māṇḍala* used here would be less precious than any *liṅga*, even the temporary *liṅga* that would be allowed in the first hypothesis. See also note 55.
some divine or evil powers in order to make them favourable to his cause with a food offering called \textit{bali}.

These \textit{balimandala}s are found in many rituals, including the daily ritual. The best known of these is certainly the one called \textit{vastumandala}, where 45 gods and 8 demons are worshipped (and fed) before any construction, as well as at some critical moments associated with a given site. The works of Stella Kramrisch\textsuperscript{13} made it famous and loaded it with a symbolism that I for one have some difficulty seeing but on which I do not have to elaborate here. What I would like to emphasize, however, is that the term \textit{vastumandala}, which we use systematically, is rare in the texts with which I am most familiar.\textsuperscript{14} In the vast majority of cases, these texts prefer the terms \textit{pada} and \textit{padavinyasa} to refer to these squared surfaces and their construction; the same terms are used when they describe the division of any square area (the ground of a sacrificial pavilion, the site of an agglomeration, etc.) in four concentric zones destined to serve as guides for the ulterior arrangement of the site.\textsuperscript{15} In all these cases, we must take the term \textit{pada} in the sense of `<domain' and understand \textit{padavinyasa} as the attribution of their respective domain to different entities. However, it will happen that the term \textit{mandala} be used in this context, and that is why I refer to these squared surfaces as a third type of \textit{mandala}—the only one, in fact, for which the translation `diagram' is appropriate.

I will include in the same category some simple geometrical figures allowing for the distribution of objects, for example, the square divided in nine boxes which, according to some texts, serve to fix (with the fall of a flower) the name of a \textit{Saiva} initiate;\textsuperscript{16} or the

\textsuperscript{13} See Kramrisch 1946, volume 1: 29–97.
\textsuperscript{14} It is not found in this context in the following \textit{Agamas}: the \textit{Purva-K\=ami\=ka}, the \textit{Suprabhedha}, the \textit{Ajita} and the \textit{Kiran}a nor is it found in the \textit{Mayamata} or the \textit{Bhrat-Samhita}. We find the word \textit{mandala} twice in the description of the \textit{Purva-K\=ara\=na}, once \textit{balimandala} in the \textit{S\=ara\=d\=ati\=lak\=a}, once “\textit{ma\=ndal\=ad balye}” in a handbook dealing with \textit{pratisth\=a}, and twice the term \textit{vastumandala} (once abbreviated to \textit{mandala}) in the \textit{Som\=asambhupaddh\=a} (see SP4, pp. 46 and 386).
\textsuperscript{15} The name of these four zones are, starting from the central zone: \textit{br\=ahmmapada}, \textit{daivikapada}, \textit{ma\=nu\=syapada} and \textit{pai\=shacapada}. A fifth zone called \textit{r\=ak\=asapada} is sometimes added, see \textit{Mayamata}, volume 1, p. 126, note 56 and Figure 9; and SP2, pp. 332–333 and Plates I and II. The term \textit{pada}, while referring here to the entire zone, does not lose the meaning of `unit box.'
\textsuperscript{16} See \textit{Suprabhedigama}, \textit{cary\=ip\=ada} 4.12–15b. The central box and the four boxes of the principal directions are those of the five \textit{Brahmans}; the corners belong to four
squared surfaces on which the *pañcagavya* and other mixtures are prepared. We can call these *maṇḍalas* ‘distributive diagrams.’

**Fourth use of the term:** There is finally one last use of the term, but it is totally heterogeneous with the preceding ones and does not correspond to a category of objects that could be integrated into our classification. The *maṇḍalas* of which I am thinking are not, by the way, material objects used for concrete rituals. Even though we can draw them, they are mental objects that the imagination must create and which, under certain specific circumstances, serve as supports of meditation. This is the case with the *maṇḍalas* of the five elements mentioned in the descriptions of *bhūtaśuddhi* as well as the descriptions of the subtle body; this is also the case with the three *maṇḍalas* of the moon, the sun, and fire (to which a *saktimaṇḍala* is sometimes added) that appear at the upper end of the throne of Śiva. The idea of cosmic domain is there inseparable from that of a geometric symbol, so that the inclusion of these *maṇḍalas* with the preceding ones becomes impossible and all attempts at a translation fail.

We therefore arrive at three well defined types of *maṇḍalas*: the seats, the divine images and the distributive diagrams.

**B. Yantra and Cakra**

I now resume my terminological exploration by looking at the terms *yantra* and *cakra*, on which I will not elaborate so much. But first, here are two preliminary remarks.

The first one is negative: to my knowledge, the *maṇḍalas* that I have just discussed, no matter the type, are never called *yantras* or *cakras* in the *Agamas*. I, however, found one exception: the Upā...
gama named Vātulasuddha describes in its third chapter, under the title cakrabhedapatala, what is, in fact, an image-mandala; it calls it cakra throughout the description, even once yantra. The explanation for this infringement is doubtlessly contained in the final lines of that section, where it is said that the cakra can be drawn on a bark and kept as an amulet. The śrīcakra represents a better known exception.

My second remark will again contrast the texts of the Siddhānta with those of other schools: the terms yantra and cakra are rarely encountered in the Siddhānta (these terms do not appear in the lists of appropriate supports for the cult of Śiva), while they are frequent elsewhere. It is therefore from the Tantras of the Trika, in particular the SvT and the NT, that I draw the characteristics of these objects. 19

1) Yantras are drawings that differ in several ways from mandalas:

- They serve only for the kāmya rituals, the desire-oriented rites, and therefore concern essentially the sādhaka. The cult based on yantras in fact only marks the first stage of their use. Indeed, the yantras are generally kept after the cult and worn as amulets; or buried for subsequent magic rituals; or eaten, after crushing the support and mixing the resulting powder with milk or honey.
- They are traced on durable materials: birch-bark (bhūrjatvac, bhūrjavattra), copperplates, pieces of cloth, and now paper; they are therefore small and mobile.
- The representations they carry are linear.

19 On the basis of these same two Tantras and their commentaries by Kṣemarāja, Professor Alexis Sanderson commented, at the conference mentioned above (see Padoux 1986: 33), that they confirmed the distinction that I made between mandala and yantra: "...Your precise distinction between yantra and maṇḍala is confirmed by Kṣemarāja who defines the former (in its more complex form) as a collection of mantras written in a particular pattern (on NT2 20.59c: yantracakram viṣiṣṭa-saṃviveśalikhito mantrasamāhah), while in its most basic form it is simply a spell written on a piece of birch-bark (bhūrjavattra)...." And he continued with a very pertinent remark concerning the more subtle distinction between maṇḍala and cakra: "As for the subtler distinction between maṇḍala and cakra if the maṇḍala is the ādiḥaraḥ (locus) and the cakra (of deities/mantras) the ādiḥeyam (located), then it would follow that it is only the former that one can ‘trace’ and that when one speaks of the maṇḍala to include the circle of deities (devatācakram) or mantras (mannaka cakram) worshipped in it, then this is by extension of the primary sense."

We find a number of drawings of yantras in the handbooks of popular Tantrism, in Hindi, abundantly distributed by Indian bookstores. Of more refined art, the drawings of the Balinese sorcerers (see the posthumous book, Hooykaas 1980) also have something of the yantra.
The drawing is engraved (rare) or (more often) traced with a liquid—some ink—made from a variety of often surprising substances, such as blood and the bile of a corpse in some cases of black magic.

The drawing is always completed with the inscription of letters, of bijas, each of which makes a divinity present, and of mantras often containing imperative orders such as: "Kill such and such!", "Heal such and such!"

Their layout and use are secret.

The dominant idea of the yantra is contained in its name, derived from the root yam: with a yantra, the sādhaka 'constrains' a divinity to carry out a certain action for him. Just as those other machines bearing the same name, the ritual yantra is first an ingenious instrument.

The NT keeps mentioning these yantras among the sovereign remedies (for example, NT 19.198b) and among the weapons of magicians or sorcerers (NT 18.88c).

2) The use of the term cakra is much less precise. Apparently, it does not refer to a category of objects different from the maṇḍalas and the yantras.

Sometimes, the idea of 'wheel' is obvious, as in the case of the cakra of thirty-two Śaktis included in the maṇḍala of the Svacchandatantra (9.16ab and 9.24). But the term often simply expresses the idea of a 'collection' or a 'mass;: the mass of the divinities assembled on the same limited surface. Finally, cakra is frequently used as a synonym for yantra, though we cannot always tell if this practice is due to a lack of rigour in the vocabulary or to a change of perspective. In those cases, the author may be talking of cakra to refer to the mass of the divinities that are present, or to their configuration, while using the word yantra to refer to the use of the object. But more research than what I was able to do would be necessary to arrive at a convincing conclusion on this point.

Let us note, however, that the term maṇḍala is never used in the designation of these magic figures (will we call them 'coercive...
diagrams—except, of course, for the construction circles or round elements of the total yantra.

II. Description and Ritual Use of the Image-mandalas

A. Importance

I mentioned earlier that the mandalas were quasi indispensable elements in the occasional rituals. The chosen mandala is constructed on the altar (vedi) that stands in the centre of the pavilion (mandapa, more exactly yagamandapa) where the ritual is taking place and it serves as the principal support for the worship of Siva during the few days of the ceremony. It is therefore present as a divine image, and only as a divine image; that explains why, though that would not be considered a good solution, the mandala can be substituted with a mobile linga placed on a sthāndila.

B. Varieties

There are tens of well differentiated forms of mandalas, each being designated with a specific term that sometimes expresses a characteristic of the drawing, sometimes the virtue of the object. The list found in Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, kriyāpāda 8.31–123 (= volume 3, pp. 77, 8 – 85, 6) comes down to seven terms: bhadra, sarvobhadra, pārватikānta, latāśīngodbhava, svastikābjadvaya, svastikasarvobhadra and cakrābja. But some other texts are more prolix, such as the Amśumat, which gives twenty names or so.

21 'Principal,' since there are other supports on which Śiva must be worshipped during the ceremony that uses the mandala. In the mandapa itself, aside from the guru and eventually the disciple, there are, firstly, a vase of water placed on the north-eastern corner where Śiva is installed as the guardian of the sacrifice and, secondly, the fire (see SP2, pp. 58–80; pp. 86–88 and Plates 1–IV). If the ceremony is organized by a temple, the god of the sanctuary nonetheless continues to receive his cult, so that the priests often feel the need to remind through a special ritual the essential identity of all these apparently distinct Śiva(s).

22 The list of the Rauravāgama (kriyāpāda 25,59–62) also counts seven terms, but is somewhat different. There, N.R. Bhatt gives in the notes the construction of each of these mandalas, as found in the hitherto unpublished Śaivāgampaddhati.

23 See Amśumat 43,40–47, quoted in Rauravāgama, volume I, p. 158, note 11. The Siddhāntasāravali, verses 78–91, describes ten mandalas: latāśīngodbhava (in two sizes), navanābha, anantavijaya, bhadra, purākāra (two sizes), latākāralinga, subhadra, umākānta and svastika—plus another one used for the cult of Caṇḍa: and
These numbers quickly multiply if we take into consideration all of the possible variations on a same theme, so that we finally arrive at hundreds of different maṇḍalas.

Some Āgamas maintain that the choice of the maṇḍala to be used in a given ritual is not arbitrary but depends on the type of ritual to be performed (for example, dīkṣā or pratiṣṭhā). The selection is even more limited if we distinguish the private (ātmārtha) pratiṣṭhā from the public (parārtha) pratiṣṭhā and, in the case of the public pratiṣṭhā, if we take into account the nature of the līṅga, which can be self-manifest (svāyambhuva), established by the gods or other supernatural beings (daivikādi), or established by men (māṇuṣa). Elsewhere, we are asked to take into account the season or other contingencies of that order or, if it is a dīkṣā, the social class of the initiate. But even if we accept all these restrictions (which not all texts do mention), the definitive choice theoretically remains quite vast, and in the end it is probably some traditions of the schools that were decisive, each master most probably mastering the construction of only a small number of these structures.

C. Description of a Particular Maṇḍala Destined for a Dīkṣā

If I just spoke in the past tense, it is because the maṇḍala tradition is not so alive in South India anymore. We are left with the texts,

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we find a list of eleven in Īṣānaśivagurudevapaddhati, sāmānyapāda 6.36–152 (= volume 1, pp. 51, 10 – 62, 2). At the opposite end, the Maṭaṅgaśāramsvarārāgama (kṛṣṇapāda 1.26–57) describes only two maṇḍalas for Śiva and the Kirāṇa (paṭala 20) only one, as is the case for the Mṛgendrāgama as mentioned earlier.

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24 See Amāśumat, loc. cit.

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25 See Amāśumat, loc. cit.

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26 See, for example, Pūrva-Kāraṇāgama 11.0.15c–17:

maṇḍalam vedikordhe tu vasantādi ca śaḍ rutu //
vasante svastikābjaṇam ca griśme tu sarvabhadraḥkam /
prāviṭ ca bhadrakāme kāhyātanī līṅgābjaṇam svastikam tathā //
sarady eva tu hemante pāvatiṃkāntamaṇḍalam /
padnavasistham kāhyātanī śiśre tu viśesatāḥ //

26 See the Sāradātilaka, quoted in a South-Indian handbook called Dīkṣādārśa (p. 96, transcript no. 76 of the Institut Français d’Indologie, Pondicherry); the stanza is not found in the printed editions of the Sāradātilaka:

viprānām sarvatobhadraṁ gauritilā napasya tu /
vaiśyānāṁ tu latālīṅgam śadānāṁ svastikam bhavet //

27 Financial considerations were also present, see note 47.

28 Most of the officiants now use some drawings prepared in advance on cardboard or cloth, which will seem aberrant if we think of all those passages in the
which are rich in long and apparently very detailed descriptions, and should in principle suffice. But alas! Whoever takes with enthusiasm his ruler and pencil to translate these instructions into drawings will soon be disappointed: the descriptions, as long as they may be, are everything but clear. Therefore, all of the attempts that I have seen of constructing a maṇḍala strictly on the basis of textual indications have been disappointing: when they were not purely whimsical, the drawings that were proposed were often hypothetical and always incomplete, because a number of constituting elements could not be identified.\(^1\) I know the problem quite well for having wrestled with it when translating the *kriyāpāda* of the *Mṛgendra*.\(^2\) I still have to situate correctly the thirty-two doors of the big maṇḍala that is described there, and until recently, more exactly until the conference in Paris that I mentioned earlier, a series of technical terms found in that description remained mysterious to me. To most of the problems left unanswered up to that point I found the key in a very clear text that I had ignored until then. It is the *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmīnādeśika (chapter 3) and its commentary by Rāghavabhaṭṭa.\(^3\) The maṇḍala that I could draw (see Illustration 1)\(^4\) and on which I will

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\(^1\) For example, the *sāṅkhyamāṇḍala* of which Gnoli gives the ‘essential structure’ in his translation of the *Tantrāloka* (1972, beginning of p. 520) \[note by G. Bühnemann: In the version published in 1999 the diagram appears on p. 614. For a diagram of the maṇḍala, cf. also Sanderson 1986: 171 and Illustration 2 in Padoux’s first paper in this book\]; and the *mahāmaṇḍala* given by N.R. Bhatt in *Matangapāramesvaragīmā*, volume II, Figure 6.

\(^2\) See Mṛgendrāgīmā, *kriyāpāda* 8.47e–51.

\(^3\) This commentator, who wrote at the very end of the 15th century, quotes many sources, in particular several handbooks from the Siddhānta School.

\(^4\) Note by G. Bühnemann: Brunner’s reconstruction of the maṇḍala is almost identical with the *survatobhadramāṇḍala* reproduced in colour (but not analyzed) in Dakshinaranjan Shastri 1940: 170 and 1963, opposite p. 1 and Banerji 1978: 176+. Both of these books reproduce the same maṇḍala drawing. This must be a popular drawing since it also appears on the book cover of an Indian edition and translation of the *Devimāhātmya* (Devi Mahātmyam [Glory of the Divine Mother]. 700 Mantras Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, fifth impression, no date). Brunner’s drawing can further be compared to the coloured print of the *survatobhadra* in Ghoshal Sastri 1983: 56+ and to a drawing in manuscript A 246/25 (labelled *tāntrikakarmakāṇḍa*) preserved in the National Archives, Kāṭhmāṇḍu. The same manuscript also contains a simpler variant called *laghusurvatobhadra*. For a simpler *survatobhadra/bhadraka*, see the sketch in the appendix, p. i in Apie’s edition of the *Pauḍāra-Samhitā* (Part 1) and the description of the maṇḍala in chapter 5.21–28 of the text. For a colour print
comment is one of the manḍalas enjoined there for the dikṣā, the 'thoroughly auspicious' one (sarvatobhadra). I chose it not only because I had succeeded in tracing it using only the textual instructions and the commentary (to tell the truth, this was not so difficult at all), but because its simple structure allowed me to show an immediate symbolism equally applicable to the other manḍalas.

The drawing starts with a squaring of the initial square in 256 (16 x 16) boxes, indifferently called pada or kośṭha. These boxes are grouped in four zones, the exact dimensions of which are given in padas in the text and reproduced in the legend that accompanies my drawing.

1) The central zone (A) is called 'lotus' (padma) because its space is fully occupied by an eight-petalled lotus, the full geometrical description of which is found in the text. Like all of the lotuses appearing in the manḍalas, this one counts four parts; namely, starting from the centre: the pericarp (kaṛṇikā); the stamen (kesara), covering the base of the petals; the petals (patra, dala), or rather the region where they are visible and knitted together; and the tips of the petals (dalāgra), not knitted together and whose form varies in accordance with the goal in view.

2) The next zone (B), the width of a pada, is called pitha, a term that must be translated, as we will see, by 'throne.' This pitha is made of four padas and four gātras, and it is the interpretation of these terms that will give its meaning to the whole structure.

Indeed, while pada evidently means 'foot,' the meaning of gātra is far from obvious. I understood it only when I found a text (Siddhāntasārāvali, verse 76) that gives the colours of these parts as follows, starting from the east: black and white; white and red; red and yellow; yellow and black. That reminded me of the description of the second section of the throne of Śiva, the simhāsana which rests upon the anantāsana. That āsana is similar to a low square table of the same manḍala, see: Prakṛtī: The Integral Vision. Volume 3: The Āgamic Tradition and the Arts (edited by B. Bäumer, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 1995): 193+, 'Illustration's P.P. Apte 1.1.'

The big manḍalas, such as the one found in the Mṛgendra (see note 30) or the mahāmanḍala of the Matanga, usually contain many lotuses: a central lotus for Śiva, eight peripheral lotuses for the divinities of the first 'circle' (most of the time the Vidyeśvaras), and sometimes still others.
whose four legs (pādas), situated at the corners, each take a different colour. It has on its sides four edgewise boards, named gātras (because they are imagined as the bodies of men or animals), that are often referred to as bicolour because each half borrows its colour from the leg to which it is attached. We should therefore understand the pītha of the mandala to correspond to the sinthāsana of the throne constructed for the cult of Šiva. A full confirmation of this parallelism is given in the Śāradātilaka, since upon following its instructions to draw the mandala, we find the pādas and gātras appearing where we would expect them to appear if we accepted the preceding hypothesis.

It is worth noting that, if the pītha is equivalent to the sinthāsana, it is the entire square that should be called this way, and not only the zone that projects beyond the lotus. And this is indeed what we find in many works.

Now to come back to the lotus itself, one will understand that it is nothing other than the lotus in full bloom, with eight petals, that forms the upper part of the throne of Šiva, the one generally called padmāsana (see SP1, p. 154, note 1) on which the god is seated in order to be worshipped. We therefore arrive at a first conclusion: the central part of the mandala (the lotus and its pītha) represents the throne of Šiva reduced to its two essential parts; not as it could materially be constructed, but as the practitioner mentally creates it during the cult to project it on the material pedestal of the image that he uses. Except for that—a better faithfulness to the ritual model—this central part is equivalent to the pedestal (pītha) of the linga, in particular the linga of a sanctuary. And since the plane projection of the linga itself would superpose on the karnikā, we can

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34 See SP1, p. 162, note 1, quoting Aghorasivācāryapaddhati, nityakarmavidhi 35 (p. 88 of the grantha edition).

35 In fact, to justify the colours of the gātra of the mandala, the commentator of the Siddhāntasārāvalī (a certain Anantaśambhu) quotes two lines appearing in the paddhati of Aghoraśiva in the context of the āsanapūjā and which we will find quoted, with the half-sloka that follows them, in SP1, p. 163, under [50b]. Also, Nārāyaṇakanṭha, while commenting on Mrgendrāgama, kriyāpāda 8.34–35, which discusses the central lotus of the mandala, refers, for another technical term, to a line of the SvT taken from the description of the throne of Šiva. It is therefore certain that the Šaiva masters of old were fully aware of the identification at which I painfully arrived—that the pītha of the lotus in a mandala represents the sinthāsana.

36 See the āsanapūjā in SP1, pp. 154–176 or SvT 1 2.55c–82. The imaginary throne, made of mantras, must overshadow the concrete pedestal, just as the form of Sadaśiva that will be visualized will overshadow the material linga.
even say that the lotus and the *pīṭha* of our maṇḍala are equivalent, from the point of view of the ritual, to the *liṅga* of a temple, provided with its *pīṭha*.

3) Zone (C) is the ‘street’ or ‘lane’ (*vithi*) where the officiant moves around during his cult. It is therefore equivalent to the inside space within the *garbhagṛha* of a temple, where movement is possible.

4) Finally, zone (D) represents the enclosure, constituted here of four kinds of elements:
   a) the doors (*dvāras*), that is to say the passages for entrance and exit;
   b) the *sobhās*, which are not just any ‘embellishments’ (like I used to believe, and like some later commentators also suggested), but the monumental doors themselves (*dvāra-sobhās* in architecture);\(^{37}\)
   c) the *upaśobhās*, of which I do not know if there exists an architectural model;\(^{38}\)
   d) the ‘corners’ (*koṇas*), first called ‘weapons’,\(^{39}\) and which in fact vaguely have the form of a *vajra*.

All in all, the maṇḍala of the Śāradātilaka represents, very schematically of course, a minimal temple, with its unique enclosure. And, just as the architecture of a temple can become complicated with the addition of successive enclosures, so the maṇḍala can become complicated, the bigger ones presenting up to four enclosures (with two doors on each side, for a total of 32).\(^{40}\) In the end we get a kind of citadel.

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\(^{37}\) The *dvāra-sobhā* is the entrance pavilion of the first enclosure of a palace or temple, see Acharya 1946: 158, 243 and Mayamata 24.2–22 (the word is sometimes abbreviated to *sobhā*).

\(^{38}\) Since *sobhā* is sometimes used for *dvāra-sobhā*, the word *upaśobhā* probably refers to the pavilions that top the secondary doors (for the *upadvāras*, see Mayamata 9.58–59b), which should be called *upaadvāra-sobhās*.

\(^{39}\) In ST 3.112a, which announces that the two most external zones of *padas* are reserved for *dvāras*, *sobhās*, *upaśobhās* and *astras*. Can we invoke here the tridents often seen on the walls of temples, at the corners?

\(^{40}\) We must be careful not to push the parallelism too far. In particular, the successive enclosures of a mandala host the circles’ divinities (*āvaraṇadевadatās*) that the ritual places around Śiva, not those that, according to our Āgamas, reside in the enclosures of temples. Anyway, it is clear that the maṇḍala is not made in the image of the temple (the opposite would be more likely); there are simply between the two a certain number of essential correspondences that have to be kept in mind.
Such an assimilation is warranted by the usual appellations of the mandalas that are presented as ‘houses’ (bhavanas) of Śiva; and, for the bigger ones, as towns or citadels (paras). It is confirmed also by the fact that many names given to particular mandalas are also the names of some types of towns. It is not likely, however, that we would have arrived at any result in trying to interpret our manḍala and explain the technical terms that come up in its description if we had started from that observation, since we would not have thought of trying to understand the central part of the manḍala via the ritual.

As far as I am concerned, the work of interpretation is not complete. However, a clarification of the technical terms which have not yet been explained would essentially not modify the general vision of the manḍala that I was keen to present.

D. Construction of the Manḍala

I now leave the narrow context of the Śāradātilaka to present in a more general manner the ritual activity associated with manḍalas.

First, their construction. This must be done on the same day of the ceremony that requires them and includes the following steps:

1. The acīrya must first purify the ground (leveled and prepared beforehand) and locate appropriately the north-south and east-west directions.

2. He or his assistant carefully then traces the axes of the future square, then its sides, and finally the chosen drawing, all of this with the help of simple instruments: a cord, white powder and a piece of chalk. For the straight lines, one stretches between two fixed points the cord covered with powder and, pulling it up by its middle, immediately lets it go so that it hits the ground, leaving a trace; for the circles, one improvises a compass with a cord of the desired length and a piece of chalk attached to one extremity, the other being held fixed. The drawing must be precise and respect scrupulously the given measurements.

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41 So, for the big rituals, after the adhivāsa, see SvT 3.90c–91b with commentary and 4.34–35; or SP3, p. 228, note 155.

42 This instruction is not incompatible with the fact that the manḍala is generally traced on a vedī: the vedī is made of beaten earth and must undergo the same purification process as any portion of the ground destined to a ritual use.
3. The ācārya then pours some coloured powders on the drawing, in sufficient quantity to form a notably thick layer. Each part of the lotus and each of the other elements of the whole receives a particular colour, duly specified in the text that is followed. Finally, everything must be covered, even the lanes, according to some of our texts.

The fingers used to pour the powders and the way in which to proceed depend on the goal in view. The same principle applies to the materials used to get the three, four or five necessary colours. While some Āgamas, such as the Kirāṇa, have modest demands in this regard (cereal flour for white, minium or crushed cooked bricks for red, coal or burnt chaff for black, curcuma or ochre for yellow, crushed leaves for green), others, like the Mrgendra, accept these substances only in the case of ordinary dikṣās, adding that if one wishes for special powers or good fortune (and this must be applicable to other rituals than the dikṣā for which this is said), precious materials must be used; namely, pearls, coral, gold and cat’s eye for white, red, yellow and black respectively; whereas some impure or harmful substances are well indicated for black magic. Finally, some works offer different solutions (a good one, a middle one and an inferior one) according to the financial possibilities of people, but we are then brought back to the opinion of the Mrgendra since it is agreed that in all these cases the one who wishes to get a precise favour from a divinity must not mind the expenses.

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43 See, for example, Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, kriyāpāda 8.45c–47b (= volume 3, p. 78, 16–21) (emend the first word bhukty- to mukty-).
44 See Kiranāgama 20.15–17b:

\[
yavagodhumajais cūnaś śālītaṇḍulajais sitam //
dhātusindurajam raktam mṛdghi pakṣestakair bhavet //
krṣṇam rajas tuṣair dagdhair āngārair vā sucūṇitam /
haridrāsamabhavam pitaṃ gairikodbhavam eva vā //
haritam cūmitaḥ patrair haritaḥ tat prakalpayet //
\]

45 See Mrgendāgama, kriyāpāda 8.39–40.
46 For example, Suprabhedāgama, caryāpāda 3.61c–65 successively proposes for white, red, black and yellow:
- a) pearls, rubies, sapphires, gold;
- b) shells, jātiṅga (?), collyrium (krṣṇājana), realgar (manaśsilā);
- c) rice flour, cooked bricks, burnt cereals, curcuma.

All of this must of course be crushed.
47 That is why the passages that enjoin the use of precious stones and gold must not be considered merely as theoretical. To be sure, most of the adepts, in order to meet with these textual injunctions, must have been satisfied with mixing, for each
These precisions provide us with a double teaching. The first is that the use of maṇḍalas was a standard practice for the desire-oriented rituals. This is amply confirmed by a number of other instructions concerning the form of the tips of the petals, the thickness of the lines, the number of ‘circles’ of divinities to be worshipped around Śiva, etc. The insistence on these details could lead one to believe that despite the Āgamic passages systematically associating the maṇḍalas with occasional rituals, it is for the kāmya rites that these multicoloured drawings were first conceived. But that does not assimilate the maṇḍalas to the yantras. Contrary to the yantra, the maṇḍala used in a kāmya ritual certainly is not the direct instrument in the action to be performed: it is not a magician’s tool, but simply a means, for the sādhaka, to obtain the favour of a chosen deity. By worshipping it on a splendid and costly support, he improves his chances of pleasing the deity and, as a consequence, of obtaining the boons that he craves.

The second teaching to get from these same passages is essential: our authors believed in the intrinsic virtue of the materials used in the fabrication of the powders. In general, they seem to consider as obvious the fact that precious substances bring good fortune, and harmful substances misfortune. In addition to that, some texts give a more precise teaching concerning the correspondence between the colour, a pinch of a precious material with a cheaper one; but there must have been others rich enough to cover at least a small, or even a big, maṇḍala with these costly powders. We must recall, when reading our texts, that there was no lack of money in Middle Age India, especially among the kings or princes who, more often than not, were those who sponsored the important rituals. That is why I tend to believe that maṇḍalas made of precious stones were actually constructed; not frequently of course, and they were probably not very big, but I do not believe that their descriptions are purely theoretical. We should also note that these materials were not lost for everybody; they became the property of the main officiant, like all the rest of the material used in the yāgamāṇḍapa (see SP4, p. 251, verse 72bc). To think that some aśārya could have pushed their rich disciples to engage in such sumptuous expenses is a step that we may or may not want to take.

Note also that financial considerations already play a role in the choice of the maṇḍala, the bigger and more complex ones requiring bigger quantities of coloured powders. See Rauravāgama, kriyāpāda 25.60d which, after describing seven maṇḍalas, adds that one will choose a maṇḍala according to his own means (yathā-vibhavam).

It must be noted here that each of the precious stones possesses a given virtue, but that does not seem to be the first reason for their use in the maṇḍala.
colours, some deities and some fortunate effects;\textsuperscript{49} but these indications vary too much between the sources to speak of a solid tradition and a real conviction. The only point on which everybody agrees is that these powders make the manḍala powerful—an idea repeated over and over.

\textit{E. Worship of Śiva on the Manḍala}

No mantra is enjoined during the construction of the manḍala. Once completed, the manḍala therefore is not yet a divine image—no more than a carved \textit{liṅga}, before the \textit{pratiśṭhā} ceremony. It will become one when the cult will have brought Śiva and the powers that accompany him down on the manḍala.

That cult, again, is a cult of Śiva on the mandala, not a cult of the manḍala as such, despite the term \textit{manḍalapūjā} sometimes used. It is performed like the \textit{liṅgapūjā}, a cult of Śiva on a \textit{liṅga}:\textsuperscript{50}

\begin{itemize}
  \item The stages of the \textit{pūjā} are the same, with the difference that, the support being temporary, the invitation (\textit{āvāhana}) and the dismissal (\textit{visarjana}) of the god must be understood in the strictest sense. It goes without saying that the ablutions are made mentally.
  \item The mantras recited are also the same, most especially the phonic seeds (\textit{bijas}) that are their essential part since, properly pronounced, they make present the divinities of which they are
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{49} See, for example, the passage of the Mahākapilapāñcarātra quoted by Rāghavabhāṭṭa (p. 123, 17–22) in his commentary on ST 3.124. Each colour—five, in that text—is connected with an element, placed under the influence of a divinity and supposed to bring a specific effect. These effects, in reality, are all of the same order, that is to say the destruction of demonic powers; the result is simply that “the gods are happy.”

The position of the Suprabhedāgama (\textit{caryāpāda} 3.56c–59) is different but not much more convincing. That text, even though it suggests five colours for the manḍala, only speaks of the symbolism of the colours white, red and black, which it naturally connects to the three \textit{gūnas} and the three goddesses (Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā and Raudrī). In a last passage it says that the yellow is added “in order to obtain the fruit from the \textit{yāga}.”

On the symbolism of colours and their magic use, see Goudriaan 1978, chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{50} That cult is described in all the Tantras and handbooks. See the numerous references given by N.R. Bhatt in his edition of the Ajita, chapter 20, note 1. Among the texts quoted there, only the Kirana, the Matanāgapārameśvara and the Mrgendra are earlier than the Somaśambhu-paddhati whose description (SP1, section III), though concise, is complete, logical and one of the most reliable ones we have.
the sound body. The officiant imposes them (by means of flowers) unto the manadala as he would do on a linga and its pedestal. The result is that the group of divinities that inhabit the manadala when all the invocations are completed is identical to the group of divinities who inhabit the sanctuary of a temple (or what stands for it in a private cult) during the cult of Siva. That these divinities be represented or not on the manadala by a particular symbol (lotus, svastika, etc.) is of no importance whatsoever.

- The meditations and visualizations are those involved in any cult; they have no special features that would link them to the particular structure of the manadala. Moreover, the texts do not mention any mental ‘course,’ leading, for example, from the periphery to the centre, as is enjoined in other traditions. There is indeed a motion, but it is on the whole a centrifugal one imposed by the normal enacting of the pujā. Starting from the central lotus, where the throne of the god, then the god, are successively worshipped, the cult progressively includes the peripheral deities by enlarging each time the concerned circle (āvaraṇa). These remarks remain true in the case of a dikṣā: though said to be indispensable, the manadala is treated like any other cult support, without any particular role; and it is used as it would be in the context of another ritual, a pavitrārohaṇa, for example. In other words, the Śaiva dikṣā does not take advantage of the particular form of the manadala of which it requires the construction.\(^5\)

**F. Virtues and Symbolism of the Manadala**

If the Śaiva manadalas are neither privileged means of reintegration, nor direct instruments of initiation, then what proper quality do they possess that makes them more appropriate for some rituals than other cult supports?

I already mentioned the particular virtue attributed to the powders of which they are made, and the incessantly repeated affirmation that, because of them, the manadala is a powerful image. Another characteristic often advanced is its beauty, due to the brightness and

\(^5\) Some texts, such as the Mṛgendra and the SvṬ, suggest the use of the big manadala to fix the name of the initiated disciple. But this ritual can be done on a very simple ‘distributive’ manadala, and it is certainly not for this purpose that the rajomandala is constructed.
the richness of the colours used. The initiate who constructs the maṇḍala is asked to make it "as beautiful as possible." Through the fineness and exactitude of the drawing, the precision of the colouring and the good taste evinced in the confection of the ornaments that are left to his initiative, the officiant must strive to create a perfect image. Is it to rejoice men, as it is sometimes suggested—or to charm the gods, as other texts would have it? Probably both. Faced with a splendid maṇḍala, men are happy and feel their love of the gods growing, and the gods are better disposed toward men. We must admit that for cults that are performed in an open pavilion, exposed to the view, beauty and brightness of the support are no negligible qualities. However, it seems that a statue or a richly draped liṅga would be just as impressive to the spectators (and probably also to the gods ...); and I tend to believe that, despite the importance given to aesthetics in the Āgamas, the choice of a maṇḍala as the support of a cult is more dictated by faith in its intrinsic power than by the desire to create beauty.

Or could there be more pertinent reasons? One would hope to find further justification for the eulogy of the maṇḍala through other considerations than the nature of the pulverized materials and the brightness of their colours, to dig out of the arid texts the profound signification of these objects that other traditions have loaded with so many virtues.

We naturally think of the cosmic symbolism on which all the authors who discussed the question have insisted. And, certainly, we cannot deny that even the very simple maṇḍala that I tried to analyze possesses one. But that same symbolism exists in the pair formed by

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52 See TĀ 31.41 ed.
53 The Suprabhedāgama goes further: the mere vision of the maṇḍala cleanses from all sins (caryāpāda 3.2); the soul is delivered from all the fetters that turned it into a paśu (caryāpāda 3.41ab). Such passages, which of course must not be taken literally, at least show the importance of the vision of the maṇḍala—never equated, to my knowledge, to the darśana of the god who inhabits it: the idea is to see the exterior form itself.
54 Just as the maṇḍala, but contrary to the fixed liṅga of the sanctuary of a temple, these mobile images can be seen by all.
55 Why then is the maṇḍala disqualified for the daily ritual, at least in the Siddhānta? I can only see one logical reason for this: the fact that the maṇḍalas used for daily rituals are, as we have seen, necessarily simple, probably deprived of coloured powders, and therefore share none of the virtues attributed to the rajonmaṇḍalas. The question, however, merits further investigations.
56 On the symbolism of colours, see note 49.
a *linga* and its *pitha*, in the temple, in the city; and it is not expressed here with any more precision or enthusiasm than there. We must be careful not to give in to our imagination or our desires and add to the texts that we have at our disposal; and these texts do not encourage us to do so. To my knowledge, they do not even make explicit the immediate symbolism that makes the *mandala* a miniature temple or even a city, though it is suggested by their vocabulary. They dwell even less on that cosmic symbolism with which we Westerners are so obsessed. It is not that they ignore it, but they leave it to the description of the ritual as such to bring out the correspondences between the different parts of the *mandala* and the cosmic realities, and it seems vain or even dangerous to want to add more. It is by orienting the research in that direction, that is, by analyzing closely the rituals that have *mandalas* as their support or pretext, that we must attempt to bring some precision to those symbolisms, instead of desperately trying to make them come out of the static structure of these same objects.

**Conclusion**

I am afraid that many readers will be disappointed, or even shocked, by my stripping the ancient Śaiva *mandalas* of everything that the imagination, drawing from other sources, had superimposed on them. However, by bringing them back to what I consider their real status, that of divine images, no more and no less charged with symbolism than the others, but characterized by the special power provided by the powders of which they are made and by the power of seduction that results from their beauty, I have not deprived the *mandalas* of all signification. Rather to the contrary. However, I did separate them, much to my regret, from our mental model of the *mandala*, the one found in Tibetan Buddhism.

I will not try to explain this troubling disparity between the two schools, but hope that future research will bring some light on this point. My purpose here was simply to bring out the testimony of the Śaiva texts on the nature and ritual function of the *mandala*.
4 zones: A = main lotus (6 x 6 = 36 squares)  
B = pitha (1 unit wide: 28 squares)  
C = vithi (2 units wide: 80 squares)  
D = dvāras + sobhās + upaśobhās + koṇas (112 squares)  
(The entire manḍala consists of 256 squares.)

1. The sarvatobhadramanḍala reconstructed according to the Śāradātilaka and Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s commentary
ICONS OF INCLUSIVISM: MANḍALAS IN SOME EARLY ŚAIVA TANTRAS'

Judit Törzsök

Introduction

This study is very much inspired by and indebted to A. Sanderson’s excellent article (Sanderson 1986) on the way in which various texts of the Trika school of Śaivism encoded their superiority to other schools in their manḍalas. It aims at examining some Śaiva manḍalas not examined by Sanderson, most of which are not based on the trident image used in the Trika. I shall try to explore how these images represent the relationship of certain branches of Śaivism with other Śaivas as well as with non-Śaivas and how these relationships are visually translated in the image of the manḍala. The discussion on manḍalas as icons of inclusivism is preceded by a short terminological investigation and a summary of some problems concerning initiation manḍalas.

Most of the texts considered here and consequently the manḍalas they describe date from before the Kashmirian exegetes, i.e., before the 10th-11th century A.D. Occasional reference is made to later texts such as the Īsānaśivagurudevapaddhati. Although evidence has been brought together from various branches of Śaivism, there are a number of demonstrably early Tantras that have been omitted from the discussion. Thus, this study does not present a synthesis of all

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1 I would like to thank Paul and Guillaume Coatalen for having prepared the manḍala illustrations, and I dedicate this essay to them. I thank Professor Alexis Sanderson for a printout of a draft article on manḍalas he gave me some years ago, which I have lost unfortunately and thus cannot cite. I have tried to avoid topics I remember he discusses there in detail and hope not to have plagiarized anything unconsciously. I thank Professor Gudrun Bühnemann for drawing my attention to and correcting awkward points in my argument and style; I am fully responsible for whatever remains uncorrected, of course.

1 From the demonstrably early Siddhāntas, two important texts have not been included in the discussion, although they contain relevant information: the Sarva-
the material one could have access to, but is to be considered the summary of a work in progress. This, to some extent arbitrary, choice of sources means that whatever conclusion is drawn here is limited and needs to be tested on further evidence. Moreover, the discussion on manḍalas as icons of inclusivism focuses only on two texts teaching the worship of Bhairava: the Svacchandatantra (ŚvT) and the Netratantra (NT).

1 Manḍalas and Cakras

The Sanskrit term manḍala and its several meanings have been analyzed in detail in the Śaiva context by Brunner 1986: 13–18 (cf. Brunner, pp. 156–161), and the word has been subjected to some analysis in almost everything that has been written on manḍalas. Without reiterating the arguments and all the meanings here, there is one point which is perhaps not unnecessary to reconsider: the question of the difference between the terms manḍala and cakra. Both words have the general meaning of circle, and thus by extension they can both denote a circle of deities or mantras (which are the same, since Tantric deities are mantras and spoken of as such): devatācakra. That in this meaning the two words are interchangeable can be shown by a number of passages, for instance, in the Siddhayogesvarimata, in which both terms are used when the visualization of a circle of Yoganīs or mothers (mātṛ) is prescribed. But the interchangeability of these terms is reflected in more than their use in the same context. Looking at the description of the circles of Yoganīs in the same text, it is somewhat confusing for the reader that in the same passage, the central deity—usually a Bhairava—is described as placed on the pericarp of a lotus or on the hub of a wheel, and the surrounding deities are said to be on the petals of a lotus or on the

\[\text{jñānottara, whose full text is available only in manuscripts to which I have no access; and the Kīrāṇa, whose only edition (Devakōṭṭai 1932) is also unavailable to me at present. For the dating of early Siddhāntas, see Goodall's introduction to his edition of the Kīrāṇavṛtti, pp. xxxvii. I have also omitted manḍalas of two texts teaching more esoteric Yāmala and goddess worship: the Brahmayāmala and the Jayadrathayāmala. They teach several manḍalas, some of which have been discussed in Sanderson 1986. Moreover, no Kaula sources are included.} \]

\[\text{2 The Siddhayogesvarimata is one of the root-texts of the Kashmirian Trika, which I have very tentatively dated to around the seventh century A.D. in Törzsök 1999a: vii.} \]

\[\text{3 See, for instance, verses 22.23 and 28.40 for manḍala and 21.1 for cakra.} \]
spokes of a wheel. The words describing the circle of deities as a wheel or as a lotus are mixed up, showing that what matters here is simply a circular arrangement: the lotus terminology recalling a typical mandala with the lotus in its centre and the wheel terminology confirming that the same arrangement can be called a cakra.

However, in spite of this confusion of lotuses and wheels only the word mandala is commonly used when an actual drawing is described or referred to in a text, i.e., one following a rather precise outline and coloured with powders. This confirms what was stated by Sanderson in a discussion recorded in Padoux 1986: 33: the fact that mandala normally denotes the locus of worship (ādhāra) and the cakra [of deities or mantras] is what is located on it (ādheya). Therefore, instructions to trace or draw (likh-) a diagram and to fill it with coloured powders are given for mandalas, but not for cakras. This is not contradicted by the fact that the circle of deities is sometimes called mandala as an alternative, for that can be considered a metaphoric usage as noted above. But the consistent use of mandala and the lack of the word cakra in contexts of elaborate drawings show that the former does indeed denote the locus of worship, at least in an early stratum of texts.

There are nevertheless a few examples in which it seems that instruction is given to draw a cakra. However, in these cases the cakra is not the full circle of deities, for what is enjoined is that one is to draw an actual wheel with a hub, spokes and a circumference. Such instruction is given, e.g., in SvT 9.16ff., prescribing that a wheel is to be drawn outside the central lotus of the mandala. Thus, this cakra is an equivalent image of the lotus rather than that of the

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4 See, for example, a description starting with verse 22.25 mentioning a lotus (padma) and finishing with the wheel terminology in verses 28-31.

5 As noted in the same discussion by Sanderson, the terminology of the Śrīvidyā is a special case, and probably reflects a later and looser use of the terms cakra and yantra.

6 This was questioned by Brunner in the same discussion, referring to the SvT and the NT, which allegedly use the word cakra for the drawing itself. Since no references are given there, and since I myself have not found any appropriate examples—only actual wheels which are to be drawn inside a mandala or yantra and which are discussed below—it seems doubtful whether such confusion of cakra and mandala is present in these texts. Nevertheless, no firm conclusion can be drawn until all these texts are available in electronic form to facilitate such terminological searches.

7 This passage is mentioned as an example for the meaning ‘wheel’ in Brunner 1986: 20 (cf. Brunner, p. 163).
mandala, and when its drawing is enjoined, it forms part of a mandala, but does not replace it.

A similar idea may underlie the combined lotus-wheel image described in the Isānāśivagurudevapaddhati, kriyāpāda 8.106–123, which calls it a mandala of the wheel and the lotus (cakrāmbuja-mandala). The text is rather corrupt and appears to give several alternatives at the same time. However, it is clear from verse 109 that at least in one of the versions, there is a lotus in the centre, and the lines drawn from the centre to the tips of the petals and to where the petals are joined are to be lengthened further, outside the lotus, to form the spokes of a wheel. Here again, one has to draw a wheel just as one is to draw a lotus, but the result, the whole of the image, which includes the passageway outside it (viṭṭha), the doors, etc., is called a mandala.

That the mandala is the whole of the drawing itself is also confirmed by the synonyms used for it: bhavana, veśman, and pura—words denoting house or abode, i.e., the place where the deities reside. It appears that the mandala is also identified as the seat (piṭha) of the deity or deities, probably in the sense that it is the locus of the deities, although this very word also denotes a central part of the mandala.

^8 Note that it is pointed out in verse 106 that in this case there is no piṭha in the sense given in Appendix 1, i.e., the central circular image is not surrounded by a square-shaped seat. This is probably because the lotus is surrounded by the wheel itself, which may be considered to replace the seat.

^9 Mentioned in Brunner 1986: 25 (cf. Brunner, p. 170) without examples; see, e.g., SvT 5.34d. A similar word, bhuvana is used in the Niśvāsa, fol. 25v5ff., which I understand to be a varia lectio for bhavana.

^10 E.g., SvT 2 5.19.

^11 See, for example, SvT 2 5.19.

^12 While the first two words mean abode or residence in their first sense, pura denotes a town or city as its first meaning. This may be the reason why Brunner 1986: 25 (cf. Brunner, p. 170) interprets the term to denote larger mandalas (without giving examples). However, as Brunner remarks, larger mandalas do not show any special relation to city plans or anything related to towns. Therefore, it seems quite possible that pura is used in the sense ‘abode’ rather than ‘town’ in the context of mandalas, especially if we consider that as the above examples show, the SvT uses pura as a synonym of other designations without any apparent distinction. Moreover, Siddhayogeśvarimata 25.8 and Mrgendra, kriyāpāda 8.29c use the term pura to denote square mandalas of 2, 3 or 4 hastas on each side, which are definitely not of extraordinary size.

^13 This is how I understand the use of the word in apposition to mandala in a citation of the Siddhayogeśvarimata given by Jayaratha ad TĀ 31.8b. The Siddhayogeśvarimata seems to identify piṭha with mandala in a metonymic way. Note that
In short, the term cakra does not seem to be particularly vague and its use does not appear particularly inconsistent; it has primary and secondary as well as metaphorical meanings just as the term manḍala. But as far as the terminology of manḍalas as more complex images is concerned, I think it can be safely affirmed that manḍala usually denotes the whole of a particular image onto which deities are placed. Cakra either denotes an actual wheel as part of such drawings or refers to the deities themselves. Moreover, cakras are not necessarily associated with yantras—small drawings on durable material including mantra syllables, used as charms—in particular. They are only associated with yantras inasmuch as mantra-deities or rather their seed syllables (bijā) can be incised in a circular design (caktra) on these charms.

This short terminological investigation leads us to the question of how these circles of mantra-deities are present on a manḍala. This subject, the visualization and placement of mantra deities on the manḍala, is usually treated as a topic distinct from the drawing of the manḍala, for indeed the manḍala is only one of the supports onto which deities can be projected and visualized. Moreover, the way in which deities are to be seen or meditated upon does not depend on the support, but on the purpose of the ritual. The same deity or deities can be visualized as more frightful for rites to acquire lower supernatural powers and as milder for appeasement and the like. Even if the visualization of deities can vary considerably for siddhis, there appears to be a standard visualization for initiation. And in the context of initiation, it should be remembered that what the practitioner of a ritual is supposed to see in a manḍala is not only the geometric drawing, but the deities placed on it. Consequently, when texts emphasize how the initiate is impressed by seeing the manḍala for the first time, especially at the time of his preliminary initiation (samayadikṣā), it is not the precision of the drawing or the beauty of the colours that produce this effect, but the fact that the initiate sees

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14 See Appendix 1, Illustration I and Colour Plates 16–17.
16 See, e.g., Siddhayogeśvarimata 28.29–30 and 22.27–29 and 38 for the sāttvika/ rājasa/tānasa visualizations of Yoginis. See also various forms of Bhairava, alongside Svacchandabhairava, such as Kotarākṣa, etc., in ŚVT2 9.3ff. and forms of Sādāśiva in Mrgendra, kriyāpāda 3.41ff. and commentary. See also Sanderson 1990: 68.
the deity or deities.\textsuperscript{17} This is clear from passages which do not prescribe an elaborate and colourful maṇḍala at the time of this initiation, but one drawn up quickly with sandalwood paste (maṇḍalaka).\textsuperscript{18} Such a simple maṇḍala surely cannot impress the initiate by its exceptional beauty. Furthermore, Kṣemarāja also explains \textit{ad} SvT\textsubscript{2} 3.128 that when the blindfold of a new initiate is removed and he sees the maṇḍala, he is enlightened, and is thus able to see the deity.\textsuperscript{19} The text of the Tantra itself suggests the interpretation that the removal of the blindfold is symbolic, as if it was the removal of the darkness of ignorance. The Tantra also states that what the initiate sees are the deities.\textsuperscript{20} Kṣemarāja goes on to say that since this is the first time the initiate sees the Lord after thousands of births, he is very much surprised, looks at him again and again and falls on the ground. This shows that he can be possessed by Śiva, for he has discarded the [false] perception of identifying his self with the body and so forth [instead of Śiva].\textsuperscript{21}

What is important in the above lines of the SvT and its commentary is not simply the fact that the deities are present in the maṇḍala (which is quite obvious), but that for initiates they are visible there. Therefore the deities should be considered to form part of the visual appearance of the maṇḍala once they are installed on it.\textsuperscript{22} Moreover, it must also be remembered that these deities are normally not represented by icons because they are too powerful and consequently too dangerous to be depicted.\textsuperscript{23} Thus, it is when they are installed on a maṇḍala that their visual aspect seems to be the

\textsuperscript{17} This aspect is worth emphasizing, for Brunner 1986: 30 (cf. Brunner, p. 175) tries to argue that it could be the external appearance of the maṇḍala that makes it special.

\textsuperscript{18} See, e.g., SvT\textsubscript{2} 3.90.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{prāga\' va stho yah pā\' uh sa idānīm eva prabuddhaḥ . . . punah punar bhagavantam iṅṣate.}

\textsuperscript{20} . . . \textit{mukham udghātya dārṣayet} /\textit{vidyāmantragaṇaṁ sārdham kāraṇam sasadaśivam} /\textit{ajānapaṭanirmuktaṁ prabuddhaṁ pāşur iṅṣate} /\textit{daṇḍavad dharmaṁ gatvā pranīpyata punah punah} /\textit{daṇḍaśad gaṁgavam yājñamaṁ puruṣottamaṁ vismayāvistāḥ} . . . \textit{punah punar bhagavantam iṅṣate} /\textit{daṇḍāvagamanena dehādipramāṇaṁ pahastanāṁ śrīśivajjanadānaṁ yogyatāsya dārṣītā.}

\textsuperscript{21} Such an image, including the deities, is reconstructed in Sanderson 1986: 187 (the drawing is reproduced as Illustration 3 in Padoux's first contribution to this book).

\textsuperscript{22} This point is discussed briefly below, in subsection ii of section 2.
most prominent. It is there that each of them is represented in drawing by his or her distinct place such as a petal of a lotus, which serves not only as a locus or support of worship, but perhaps also as a crutch for those who perform the elaborate visualization.

The moment of seeing the maṇḍala with the deities is considered so important that its mention can metaphorically refer to the whole ritual of initiation. However, maṇḍalas are not used exclusively at the time of initiation, although for some—or possibly even for most—initiates the ritual of initiation may actually be the only time they see a maṇḍala. As pointed out in a number of studies, maṇḍalas are mentioned as optional supports for daily worship and they figure quite prominently in rites to acquire supernatural powers (siddhi). No special maṇḍalas are prescribed for regular worship: the maṇḍalas used in regular worship are just small-size reproductions of initiation maṇḍalas. In what follows, focus will be laid on initiation maṇḍalas and maṇḍalas used for the acquisition of supernatural powers.

2. *Initiation Maṇḍalas and their Role*

i. *The Two Initiation Maṇḍalas*

It has been pointed out in various discussions that just as there are two major parts of Śaiva initiation, there are two different maṇḍalas...
drawn for these occasions. It seems that according to most ritual manuals, the first maṇḍala, which is drawn for the preliminary initiation or samayadikṣā, is not at all elaborate. It is made without coloured powders, including only a basic outline, for which sandalwood paste is used. The details of this basic drawing usually dubbed as gandhamanḍala (‘scent maṇḍala’) or mandalaka (‘small maṇḍala’) are not given. However, one can often read detailed descriptions of what is called the powder maṇḍala (raja maṇḍala). This is a larger drawing filled with coloured powders, to be used for what is initiation proper, sometimes also called nirvāṇa maṇḍala, for it bestows final liberation.

While manuals seem to share their opinion on these two maṇḍalas as given above, canonical texts differ on several points. These differences concern not only the maṇḍalas, but to some extent also the way in which the two initiation rituals are performed.

The first or preliminary initiation—which is not always named initiation—consists mainly of a symbolic rite of entry into the Śaiva community. It involves the seeing of the maṇḍala and ends with the announcement of the rules (samaya) the neophyte is to observe as a new member of this community. This initiation can be termed preliminary initiation because it is a prerequisite to initiation proper, which follows after a night spent on the grounds of worship together with the guru (adhiṇḍa). Initiation proper is performed next day for those who can and want to receive it. It involves the rites of purification, deification of the body, etc., as well as a rite of prognostication, which is based on paddhati as well as in South Indian manuals. As Brunner points out in SP3, p. xxxv, it seems to be a ‘rite bastard’ containing elements of the dikṣā itself.

See, e.g., TĀ 15.387.

See, e.g., SvT2 3.90e.

3 It would require a separate study to discuss all the details and problems concerning the samayadikṣā. Therefore I shall only point out problems pertaining to the use of maṇḍalas. For a more detailed discussion, see Brunner in SP3, pp. xxxff. and Törzsök 1999b.

31 I have shown elsewhere that this rite is not called initiation (dikṣā) in a considerable number of early texts including the Śvāyambhuvaśītrasaṅgraha, the Brahmāyāmala, the Siddhayogcśvarimata and the Mālinivijaya. For details of alternative terminology, see Törzsök 1999b.

32 An important exception is the Viṇṇāśikhatantra, which knows only of one initiation, preceded by the adhiṇḍa. In this text, the rite of entry using the maṇḍala is performed on the same day as initiation proper, and the rules (samaya) are announced only at the end of the latter (verse 49).
the neophytes’ dreams and on the way in which their tooth twigs fall on the ground. Then another manḍala is prepared and another variant of the same kind of rite of entry is performed as the day before, but this time without being followed by the announcement of the rules. It is then that the main part of initiation is done. This is basically a rather complex ritual of purification of the ‘bound soul’ and its detachment from lower levels of existence. The rite involves fire offerings at the completion of which the soul of the initiand is joined to Śiva.

As even this brief summary shows, there is a repetition with variants of what appears to be essentially the same rite, whose culmination is the seeing of the manḍala. Most texts agree that there are two manḍalas and two rites, the first of which usually gives people the right to perform Śaiva worship using the mantras of the cult they are initiated into. However, the texts diverge on very significant details.\(^{35}\)

Some texts\(^ {36}\) prescribe that the first manḍala should be the simple one drawn with sandalwood paste as mentioned above. When the initiand is led to it blindfolded, he is to throw a flower or flowers there. He then sees the manḍala, which has a profound effect on him. The manḍala drawn up the following day is larger, more elaborate and decorated with coloured powders, etc. The same person or persons are led to it blindfolded, but this time they toss one flower on the drawing each. The name of the deity on whose part of the manḍala the flower falls will form part of the person’s initiatory name, thus suggesting that the initiate was chosen as it were by the deity who attracted his flower on the empowered diagram.

Some other texts, which may prescribe a smaller manḍala for the first rite, clearly envisage a colour manḍala even for the first rite of entry. This manḍala is probably identical to the second manḍala except perhaps for its size. Moreover, the guru is instructed to perform the name-giving as part of the first rite, while nothing particular is said about the second manḍala.\(^ {37}\)

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34 These are twigs used for cleaning one’s teeth.
35 The Vīṇāśīkhā differs as pointed out above, knowing only one manḍala rite.
36 Such as SvT, chapter 3.
37 The Siddhayogesvarimata, for instance, prescribes a colour manḍala for the samaya rite as 6.13 shows. But the second manḍala—although seemingly elaborate, for it can be double the size of the former—is not described in detail; the reader is referred to a manual instead (8.11).
There are yet other versions of these twin-rites. They involve a sandalwood paste mandala in the first rite, which is nevertheless used for performing the name-giving.\(^\text{36}\) It is tempting to argue\(^\text{39}\) that the second version given above, which prescribes the use of the colour mandala and the name-giving in the samaya rite, appears more functional\(^\text{40}\) and is perhaps the primary version. However, it may be more important to consider the fact that the first version of the rites appears in the SvT, a text which is relatively old among the demonstrably early Tantras.

Without trying to establish which order and method of performance of the twin-rites is primary, it can be stated that the two rites resemble each other very much and thus may reflect the doubling of a ritual which was originally one.\(^\text{41}\) Moreover, since there is an early Tantra, the Vināśikha, which knows only of one combined initiation ending with the announcement of samayas, it may represent a very early stage of development, when even the samaya rite was not yet independent or separable.\(^\text{42}\) Judging from the stage represented by this text, it seems a possible development that first the mañḍala rite and initiation proper became separated, which was followed by the doubling of the mañḍala rite. An additional argument for the theory of doubling could be that as some later developments show, a further extension of the preliminary initiation occurs\(^\text{43}\) under the name of viśeṣasamayadikṣā. To this a new repetition of the mañḍala rite is added by Aghoraśiva’s commentator, Nirmalamaṇi, who prescribes it if too much time has elapsed since

\(^{36}\) As in SP3, pp. 37 and 103.
\(^{39}\) In Törzsők 1999b I tried to establish a possible chronology and development of this rite in various texts, but I am no longer sure if there is enough justification for all my hypotheses. An attempt at reconstruction has been made by Brunner in SP3, pp. xxxi–xxxiii in a more general way, omitting details of the mañḍala.
\(^{40}\) I.e., it seems to be more appropriate to draw up an elaborate mañḍala for a rite which focuses on this instrument. Furthermore, it could be argued that the seeing of the uncoloured mañḍala in the SvT, without the name-giving ritual, appears to be odd. Why should one be impressed by the sandalwood paste mañḍala rather than by the coloured mañḍala? What is the point here in casting flowers on the diagram if the name-giving is omitted? For a discussion of these problems, see Arraj 1988: 144ff. and Törzsők 1999b.
\(^{41}\) For this hypothesis and arguments in the case of the Siddhānta, see Brunner in SP3, pp. xxxi–xxxiii.
\(^{42}\) This confirms Brunner’s hypothesis in SP3, pp. xxxi.
\(^{43}\) This is the case, for example, in the Somaśambhupaddhati and the Aghoraśivapaddhati.
the performance of the samaya ritual. Thus, the samaya rite seems to be particularly liable to doubling and expansion.

In spite of these possibilities, it must be reiterated that no early Tantra apart from the very brief Viṇāśikha seems to refer only to one mandala. If a redoubling took place at some point, we have no way of knowing how exactly it happened and through what stages.

This means that the role of initiation mandalas cannot be determined in general by covering the descriptions and versions of all early texts. However, a number of significant points can be summarized concerning their nature and importance in this ritual.

1. It is the mandala—either in its simpler or its more colourful and elaborate version—and the ritual connected to it that usually determine the initiation names of initiates and thus not only qualify them to use the mantras of the cult, but also give them a new identity in their Śaiva community. The initiate comes to be chosen as it were by one particular deity of that tradition, who attracts the flower he casts on the mandala.

2. After the disciple's blindfold is removed, the seeing of the mandala—no matter which kind is used—with the deities on it is usually considered to have a profound effect on him, for this is

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44 See Aghoraśivapaddhati 254.
45 It must also be added that the Viṇāśikha does not mention the name-giving itself, but the editor of the text, T. Goudriaan, supposes that it was understood (cf. p. 139 and p. 16).
46 In what follows, I assume that the more elaborate mandala is a larger and expanded version of the colourless or smaller one. This is suggested in all texts which describe only one of them. To my knowledge, the only text according to which the two mandalas are explicitly very different is the Tā. But that exceptional choice is probably motivated by Abhinavagupta's intent to integrate various levels of the Trika in a hierarchy of initiations. For more information on this topic, see Sanderson 1986: 196.
47 While texts contradict each other on whether the elaborate colour mandala or the simpler gandhamandala is used for this rite, one could perhaps find more evidence by examining initiation names. From initiation names found in inscriptions in Darasuram, it seems that names of the Vidyeśvaras, aṅgamantras and mantras of the throne were used as well as the brahmamantras (see Srinivasan 1987, and the evidence summarized in Goodall 2000: 207). The name of Somaśambhu may show that even lokapālas were perhaps included in the initiation mandala, which was then probably a more elaborate one. But since the above inscriptive evidence comes from the tradition of the Siddhānta in the Côja country of the 12th century, its testimony cannot be taken for what happened in other regions and periods.
his first contact with the deities of his chosen school.48 In the daily rites which he is obliged to perform ever after the initiation, the disciple is in fact supposed to recreate this first sight of the deities in visualizations.49

3. The seeing of the deities in the course of initiation is not the privilege of some, but is experienced by all categories of initiates. In a number of texts, the name-giving is also performed for all candidates as part of the initiation.

4. While there are Vedic parallels to initiation proper (dikṣā) as a whole, the central part of the samaya rite performed at the maṇḍala has no such obvious Vedic predecessor.50

ii. The Initiation Maṇḍala as the Largest Detailed Representation of Esoteric Deities

The paragraphs above do little more than summarize what has already been analyzed in detail in Sanderson 1986 concerning the Trika, namely the fact that the maṇḍala plays a particularly important role in creating and maintaining a new, Śaiva and sectarian, identity of the initiate. This identity is then repeatedly confirmed in the course of the performance of daily worship. This must be one of the reasons why the moment of seeing the maṇḍala is considered so important. But in addition to this, there may be yet another reason. It is not mentioned or expressed explicitly, but is perhaps still an important factor here, at least as far as early texts and practices of Bhairavatantras51 are concerned. The initiation maṇḍala, in addition

48 Even if only the name-giving version is described for the samaya rite, as in the Tantrasadbhāva, for example, it is made clear that the initiate is duly impressed and falls on his knees. See 9.124d, where the subject must be the initiate or the initiate with the guru.

49 For this process in the Trika, see Sanderson 1986: 169–170.

50 Brunner in SP3, pp. xxxvi draws a parallel between the samayadikṣā and the upanayana rather than between dikṣā proper and Vedic rites. However, what is similar in the upanayana and in the samayadikṣā is not the nature but the function of the two rites, for both bestow the qualification to study the scriptures. Moreover, it is only the viṣeṣasamayadikṣā that creates a twice-born in the same way as the upanayana does, and this is not common to all versions of the samayadikṣā. My point in drawing a parallel between dikṣā proper and Vedic rites is that fire ritual has obvious Vedic predecessors, while the rite involving the maṇḍala is rather unique to the Tantric context.

51 The term is used here for Tantras teaching the worship of Bhairava as well as for Yāmalatantras and Tantras teaching goddess worship. For details of these
to being the paradigmatic image, is probably also the largest or one of the largest images representing esoteric deities in detail which is used in communal worship (in the sense that several people use it, but not at the same time). This point requires a brief investigation into the question of what objects were used for the worship of esoteric deities and how: the nature of worship and what substrates it may require, the role and scope of liṅga worship, the question of anthropomorphic images and what size various substrates were prescribed to have.52

Most Bhairavatantric ritual prescriptions envisage that ritual is performed in an abandoned place specially prepared for this purpose, and not in a permanent building with permanently installed images in it. This suggests that at least in the case of some esoteric cults (in the Bhairavatantras and ‘above’) and at a relatively early period, near the composition of the earliest Tantras, no permanent building or image was used to perform ritual.53 It must also be noted that the list of supports for daily worship given by Abhinavagupta54 mostly includes various small objects as supports for visualization which do not actually depict the deities of the cult. He mentions, for instance, a rosary, a mirror or a sword-blade as well as a private liṅga. When images are mentioned, they are small ones made of painted clay (perhaps what is meant is terra-cotta), deodar wood or gold or images painted on a piece of cloth or drawn on a skull. They are images of small size for private worship, never larger ones made of stone. Moreover, early Bhairavatantras do not normally include references to rituals which empower icons made for common worship (pratiṣṭhā).55

categories, see Sanderson 1988. For the fact that Tantras teaching goddess worship also categorize themselves as Bhairavatantras in a broader sense, see, e.g., Siddhayogesvarimata 1.19d and 8.4cd, the latter passage reading mahābhairavatantre 'smin siddhayogesvarimate.

52 An appropriate treatment of the subject would require a monograph. Therefore, what is presented below is only a brief summary of a few points relevant to the present discussion on maṇḍalas in some early Śaiva Tantras, without a full presentation of all the evidence. It is hoped that the study ‘Idols and Other Substrates of Worship in the Trika’ announced in Sanderson 1990 shall be soon available.

53 This hypothesis would of course need further investigation and a full presentation of the early sources on the subject.


55 The only such text I know of is the unedited Piṅgalāmata referred to in Sanderson 1990: 40 and cited on the visualization of the deities of the Trika. It's...
It must be mentioned that in the demonstrably early sources of the Siddhānta, even if the installation of deities in permanent, durable images is commonly discussed, these images were not used for public rites. They were used only by members of the particular community (matha) for individual worship. As Brunner observes in her study and translation of the pratiṣṭhā section of the Somaśambhu-paddhati (SP4, p. v), at the time of the writing of this manual, no public temple rites were performed. What is envisaged by Somaśambhu is that when a śūlgi is established in a matha, for example, it is worshipped by several people one after the other.

Private, portable (cala) śūlgi were also used in more esoteric cults, as mentioned above, even if the worship of larger, shared śūlgi does not seem to be mentioned in Bhairavatantras. Moreover, as Abhinavagupta writes in Tantraloka (TA) 27.2–3, these shared śūlgi—even if envisaged for Bhairavatantric worship—are not to be installed with secret, i.e., esoteric, mantras; for those mantra-deities possess their power in their esoteric nature and once

Nepalese manuscript is reported to be dated A.D. 1169–1170. The same title occurs in the list of the Bhairava canon as cited by Jayaratha from the Śrikānṭhiya ad Tā 1.17, but it is not cited by Abhinavagupta or Jayaratha himself. Although the text claims to be part of the Bhairava canon as Goudriaan 1981: 46 points out, it mainly deals with temple construction and installation of śūlgi. Goudriaan 1981: 46 also observes that “Śākta tendencies are almost completely absent” in this work, which would explain why a Saiddhāntika author, Vidyākantha II (pupil of Rāmakantha II), refers to it many times in his Bhāvacūḍāmani (for details, see Goodall’s introduction to his edition of the Kiranavṛtti, pp. xxvi–xxvii). From the above cited accounts of the contents of this text, it seems that only its chapter 5 on painting (and possibly some passages in its chapter 4 on icons) could be relevant in a Bhairavatantric context. These passages seem to give the iconography of paintings made on cloth, a substrate for private worship mentioned by Abhinavagupta in the above citations. The NT also gives some details in a few verses, which are discussed below.

One of the few, relatively detailed, surviving passages about the installation of śūlgi and small size statues is found in the Matalīga, kriyāpāda 13–14, the only longer passage pointed out in the above edition as a parallel. For some additional texts in manuscript form which also deal with the subject, see, e.g., Niśvāsatantra, Guhyasūtra, chapter 2 and Sarvajñānottottara summarized in Goudriaan 1981: 36, 39. See also two Pratiṣṭhātantras, the Mohaśrottara and the Mayasamgraha described in Goodall’s introduction to his edition of the Kiranavṛtti, pp. x–xi and referred to as sources of Somaśambhu’s account in Goodall 2000: 216.

This is also what Abhinavagupta refers to in TĀ 27.53–54.

This lack of interest in commonly worshipped large śūlgi may also be related to the fact that Bhairavatantras seem to focus on the acquisition of supernatural powers, which requires private rituals in secluded places in most cases, i.e., rites performed ‘without one’s companions.’ The solitary performance of these rituals is enjoined, e.g., in Siddhayogavarimata 12.14, 13.11, 18.18 and 19.17.
installed, they would lose their real nature as well as their power. Therefore, stable or larger lingas are to be installed with the mantras of the Siddhānta, even if other deities can be invoked in them temporarily. Furthermore, following the Sarvajñānottara, Abhinavagupta adds that secret mantras should be avoided especially in case one installs a so-called manifest (vyaktarūpin) image—a warning which shows that what is to be avoided here is first of all an anthropomorphic or figurative image.59

Nevertheless, there was one, undoubtedly ‘anthropomorphic image’ which was not excluded from communal esoteric worship and even recommended for certain days: the body of the guru, that of other Śaivas and certain women. In the list of 11 possible substrates of external worship given in TĀ 6.3,60 the last one, mūrti, a word that could possibly refer to an icon in similar contexts, is glossed by the commentator as “the body belonging to the guru or others” (mūrtir gurvādisambandhīṇī). The long description of what is called ‘The Worship of Embodiments’ (mūrtiyāga) or ‘The Worship of the Circle’ (cakrayāga), which makes this somewhat enigmatic gloss clearer, is then given in chapter 28.60ff. by Abhinavagupta: it is a rite in which the preceptor, various other practitioners, their wives

59 The exceptional installation of a Bhairavāgamic mantra in NT2 18.119–121 is discussed by Sanderson 1990: 78, who understands the passage of the Tantra to prescribe the installation of an esoteric mantra of Śvachchandabhairava in the icon. He then argues that Abhinavagupta in TĀ 27.8 in fact contorts the intended meaning of the Tantra by interpreting the passage to refer to the installation of a non-Bhairavāgamic mantra such as that of Netranātha, so that the prescription should conform to the fundamental rules of pratiṣṭhā. Although Abhinavagupta’s interpretation does seem forced, it must be noted that the passage of the Tantra itself refers back (by saying prāgvidhānataḥ) to some previous verses on general rules about pratiṣṭhā. These verses, 18.104c–109, prescribe the installation of the non-esoteric Amṛtāda/Netranātha alone or with the also non-esoteric goddess Mahālakṣmi. Even if this is not enough to support Abhinavagupta’s interpretation, it is significant that installation is generally envisaged here using non-esoteric mantras, in spite of the general tendency of the NT to mix up various Āgamic prescriptions (for which see NT2 13.45–46).

60 These substrates are a mandala, leveled ground, a vessel, a rosary, a manuscript [of Śaiva scripture], a linga, a skull, a piece of cloth (no details given), a clay/terracotta image (not discussed in any detail, but mentioned in 27.19 as coloured [citra]), a mirror (or any mirror-like surface, such as a sword mentioned in 27.44) and a mūrti:

mandalāṃ sthānālām pātram aksāśūtram sapustakam /
lingam tūram paṭah pustam pratimā mūrtir eva ca //
and women of lower castes or prostitutes are propitiated by alcohol and offerings which include meat and fish.\textsuperscript{61}

Even when an apparently figurative image or anthropomorphic icon seems to be mentioned in a Bhairavatantra, such as a ‘Dakṣiṇā-
mūrti’ in the SvT, commentators understand such references as denoting something which is different from an icon as an embodiment.\textsuperscript{62}

As for the size of images used, icons of deities in the Siddhānta are described, e.g., in the Mataṅga, kriyāpāda, chapter 14 as being between ten angulas and one hasta (0.2–0.45 metre).\textsuperscript{63} The size of a līṅga is said to be three hastas (1.35 metre) in the same text (13.9),\textsuperscript{64} which would be the size of the smallest maṇḍalas.

The initiation maṇḍala used by all the initiands is thus the largest image (as envisaged in a number of Bhairavatantras) or one of the largest images (if we consider shared līṅgas) a Tāntrika may see and use, for its side usually measures at least three or four hastas (eight or nine is also recommended), that is at least 1.35–1.8 metres. But unlike the other communal or shared support of a relatively large size, the līṅga, it contains a clear visual mapping of the esoteric deities of one’s tradition.

Among objects used as supports for the worship of esoteric deities, portable images used for private worship are small. Therefore, even if kept over a longer period of time, they can be hidden from the uninitiated. Other supports such as a mirror or a sword are not easily recognizable as religious objects. But an image as large as an initiation maṇḍala is not so easy to hide, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why it has to be temporary: a maṇḍala drawn up for the occasion and effaced ritually after it has served its purpose.

\textsuperscript{61} Note that according to Abhinavagupta his summary of this yāga is based on the Siddhayogeśvarimata. However, the short recension of that text does not contain anything on this particular subject. For more information, see Törzsök 1999a: 229–230.

\textsuperscript{62} See Kṣemarāja ad SvT\textsuperscript{2} 3.129, who remarks on dakṣiṇāṁ mūrtim: na tu pāśaviniḥ dehamayim. However, it is not clear to me what image Kṣemarāja had in mind.

\textsuperscript{63} One hasta is the distance between the tip of one’s middle finger and the elbow. I have taken one hasta to be equal to at least 0.45 metre and rounded up the figures.

\textsuperscript{64} Somasambhu envisages līṅgas of up to nine hastas, but it is questionable if such large līṅgas were common or if they were in use at an earlier date as well.
3 The Inclusion of Lower Revelation in the Maṇḍala from the Vedas to the Siddhānta: The Case of the Svācchandaṭantra

The way in which the trident image of the maṇḍalas of the Trika encodes the supremacy of that school has been analyzed in detail by Sanderson 1986. He points out firstly, how scriptural sources represent the superiority of their system by raising the throne of their deities higher, and secondly, how Abhinavagupta’s exegesis adds further hierarchies by stretching what is implied in the scriptural sources of the Trika and related schools. Thus, when the trident image, which includes the full cosmic hierarchy from earth up to the three goddesses on the tips of the trident, is installed in the line of inner sensation in regular worship, it reveals “the Trika’s supremacy by taking [the practitioner] through and beyond the maṇḍala-thrones of all other Śaiva claimants to the worship and assimilation of absolute power.”

In the same article, reference is made to the ranking of the doctrines of outsiders, i.e., non-Śaivas, in scriptural sources as well as in the Kashmirian exegetical literature. In what follows, I shall take up this line of inquiry with special reference to the SvṬ, which gives a particularly detailed account of its relation to other doctrines, in order to illustrate the following two features of its initiation maṇḍala.

1. While the trident image of the Trika creates its hierarchy and encodes its supremacy to others in a vertical ascent, the SvṬ as well as a number of other texts and their maṇḍalas use a concentric image and arrangement of deities to express their domination; they place the supreme deity of their system in the middle of the maṇḍala, surrounded by other deities often representing other schools of thought. This method of concentric encoding seems to be more common than that of the trident image of the Trika, whose maṇḍala is in fact quite exceptional in that it is to be seen as three-dimensional, building its central trident upon the usual concentric image of other Tantras. For in the trident maṇḍala, the central lotus is not the seat of the

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65 For an illustration of one of the several versions of the trident mandala of the Trika, see Colour Plate 19.
67 This idea is also referred to briefly in Sanderson 1986: 172.
principal deity but is the lotus of gnosis, from which the trident of the three goddesses arises and is seen as coming out of the surface of the mandala.

2. The example of the SvT also shows that the mandala can visually represent and include not just other branches of Śaivism, but also non-Śaiva doctrines or traditions in the form of lower revelation. In this respect, the SvT is a special case, because it seems to be the only Bhairavatantra to include a relatively detailed discussion of other, non-Śaiva and early Śaiva (Pāśupata, etc.), doctrines and to include them in its cosmic hierarchy.

The SvT ranks the doctrines of outsiders in its 11th chapter (11.68ff.), which seems to have become something of a *locus classicus* on the subject later on, judging from the series of citations given by Jayaratha *ad TĀ* 1.33. In this passage of the Tantra, schools of thought are assigned various levels of the universe or principles (*tattva*), from intellect (*buddhi*) to Sadāśiva. The equivalences with the *tattvas* are not explained in a fully systematic way, for while some *tattvas* are not assigned to any school, others are said to represent the level of liberation or consciousness of several schools at the same time. In addition, there are also principles which are not *tattvas* but are nevertheless said to be the place of certain schools. It should be noted that these inconsistencies may be due to the fact that it is not uncommon in early Tantras that the number of *tattvas* fluctuates. Such fluctuations can be explained on the one hand as a result of redactional cutting-and-pasting, on the other by the fact that it was perhaps not felt to be necessary to fix the number of *tattvas* at an earlier stage of doctrinal development.

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68 The citations are not identified in the edition. Jayaratha quotes SvT2 11.68c–71d.
69 None of the five coverings (*kañcaka*) is mentioned explicitly in the list, nor is the level of pure knowledge (*śuddhavidyā*) above *māyā*.
70 Two sects, the Mausulas and the Kūralas are both given the 30th level, that of *māyā* and the level of Īśvara also represents several sects.
71 Thus, the Jainas are said to be established in the three strands of material existence (*guna*), which do not form a *tattva*. However, *guna* is sometimes listed as a *tattva*, such as in the Parākhya recorded in Goodall’s introduction to his edition of the Kirāṇavṛtti, pp. liii.
72 For a detailed discussion on the number of *tattvas* in the Siddhānta and what they may imply, see Goodall’s introduction to his edition of the Kirāṇavṛtti, pp. li–lv.
In spite of these inconsistencies, a number of elements of the hierarchy are very clearly defined and some of them correspond to other ranking systems. Thus, while Kṣemarāja adopts a different hierarchy in his Pratyabhijñāḥṛdaya (ad sūtra 8), he also assigns the level of intellect (buddhi) to the Buddhists.

In the ranking of the SvT, non-Brahminical schools are placed the lowest, below the 24th level, that of material cause (prakṛti): the Buddhists are made to reside in buddhi and the Jainas are at the level of the three guṇas of sattva, rajas and tamas. Now it could be said that the guṇas and material cause are at the same level, for the guṇas are the three strands of prakṛti. However, in this passage, they seem to be treated as separate from and inferior to prakṛti. It should also be noted that in verse 68ab, buddhi itself is said to be produced from the three guṇas, suggesting a direct relationship between these two principles and possibly between the schools placed at these levels.

The 24th principle, prakṛti, is assigned to ‘Promulgators of the Veda,’ which is interpreted to allude to the Vedānta by Kṣemarāja ad loc., but could just refer to anyone for whom the Veda is the highest revelation. The 25th principle, puruṣa, is the highest reality for the Sāmkhya, which seems quite natural. Above them, the 26th principle is the highest level for the Yoga. This is normally the level of niyati, causal determination, but in this passage, the SvT does not speak explicitly about any of the five coverings, of which niyati is normally the first.

This exposition is followed by the placement of various schools of the Śaiva Atimārga, schools of Pāśupatas and Lākulas, in the cosmic hierarchy. First, the pāśupata-vrata is equated with the 33rd level of Īśvara. Following Kṣemarāja, this expression refers to the doctrine expounded by Lakulīsa. Then the text returns to a lower level, the 30th. It is the level of māyā, which is the highest level for Mausulas

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73 In the same way, the Kriṇātantra also lists the guṇas below prakṛti, as reported in Goodall’s introduction to his edition of the Kriṇavṛtti, pp. Iv.

74 Note that Buddhist schools are distinguished, but in fact all are placed at the level of māyā in TĀ 4.29–30. Kṣemarāja puts the Saugas together with the Mīmāṃsakas, Naiyāyikas and Cārvākas at the level of buddhi, while the Vedāntins and Mādhyamakas are above them.

75 This can be inferred from the fact that he cites the Śvetāsvatara-Upaniṣad.

76 However, Kṣemarāja upgrades them to the level of mahāmāyā in the Pratyabhijñāḥṛdaya.

77 That Yoga must be then at the level of niyati is also confirmed by Jayaratha ad TĀ 1.33: teṣāṃ [i.e., pātaṇjalanāṃ] pumśtatadvardhavartiniyātittvatvapraśātī ukta.
and Kārubkas, who are followers of disciples of Lakuliśa, according to Kṣemarāja. They are said to identify this level with the deities Kṣemeśa and Brahmāsvāmin respectively. It is then stated that Vāimala and Pramāna (or Pañcārtha) Pāśupatās can reach up to the level of Iśvara, identified with their highest deities, Tejēsa and Dhruveśa. After this, Śaivas—probably in the general sense meaning Saiddhāntikas as well as those of other currents—are mentioned and declared to be above the rest.

Further in the same chapter, another passage discusses doctrines of other schools, this time without ranking them in an unambiguous way. The categorization of other doctrines is based on their relation to dharma/adharma, detachment/lack of detachment (vairāgya/avairāgya), knowledge/ignorance (jñāna/ajñāna) and powerlessness/lack of power (aiśvarya/anaśvarya). According to verse 186, these eight concepts make the wheel of the samsāra turn round incessantly as eight spokes. In this passage, non-Śaiva and other Śaiva schools are hierarchized in the following way. Verses 174–179b describe treatises of logic (hetuśāstra) and declare them to be characterized by adharma, lack of detachment, ignorance and lack of power. It seems they receive the lowest grade here; for, as the SvṬ says: they are devoid of knowledge, Yoga and deities, and are useless for the attainment of any of the four goals of men in life.78 After this, all the other schools are described mentioning at least one good point about their teachings. Mundane or common knowledge—covering agriculture, politics, etc., as Kṣemarāja points out—is characterized by dharma, while the doctrines of both the Pañcarātrikas and the Vaidikas involve dharma as well as knowledge. Buddhist as well as Jaina doctrine is endowed with detachment, while the school of Śāmkhya possesses both detachment and knowledge. The best-placed of the non-Śaivas is again the doctrine of Yoga, which is associated with knowledge, detachment and power at the same time. The only doctrine exhibiting all the good characteristics, and which thus goes beyond (ati-) the others, is the Śaiva doctrine of the Atimārga. For

78 This particularly low ranking of the science of logic is not followed by the exegetes. Kṣemarāja places the Nyāya in the same group as the Mīmāṃsā and the Buddhists both in the Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya and in Spandānirñaya ad 4 and 12–13. In the latter work, he places even the Śāmkhya and the Vedānta at the same level. It could be argued that Hetuśāstra is not the same as the school of Nyāya. Nevertheless, in general statements of the above kind, they may not be differentiated in a very precise manner.
adherents of the Atimārga, i.e., those who practice the Skull observance, and the Pāsūpatas (verse 184), there is no further creation, they are established inĪśvara/Dhruvesa. The ranking stops here, and no other Śaivas are mentioned.

This way of ranking of other doctrines reveals two important distinguishing features of the SvT. One is that it includes all Brahminical schools of thoughts from the level of prakṛti upwards. Now, it may be argued that the Pāñcarātrikas are omitted from the hierarchy of levels. However, it is arguable that they are understood next to the Vaidikas, which is demonstrated in two other passages. One is the verse referred to above, which states that the doctrine of both Vaidikas and Pāñcarātrikas is characterized by dharma and knowledge. Another passage (5.44–46) prescribes that one should not condemn Bhairava, his and other Śāstras, the latter including the Sāmkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra and the Vedas, for they have all come forth from Śiva himself and bestow liberation.79 These passages show that the Vaidikas, Pāñcarātrikas and the adherents of the Sāmkhya and Yoga are all consciously felt to be very closely related to Śaiva doctrine, and consequently they are placed at the level of prakṛti and above.80

Secondly, the SvT also gives a particularly detailed account of how it sees itself in relation to the Atimārga. Judging from the number of Pāsūpata branches, they must have been flourishing or recognized at the time of the redaction of this Tantra. It is also noteworthy that the SvT particularly insists on the superiority of the Atimārga, leaving the doctrine about the superiority of Bhairavatantras vis-à-vis other Śaivas implicit. It sees itself as the continuation of the Atimārga rather than the Siddhānta.81

The whole issue of ranking other doctrines according to the tattvas gains particular significance in connection with the worship of the deities on the maṇḍala. The drawing of the maṇḍala of nine lotuses

79 Kṣemarāja reports a reading from ‘old manuscripts,’ which states in the last line that everything comes forth from Śiva and bestows the fruit of [reaching] Śiva’s abode.

80 Although doctrinal affinities remain important, other texts do not state this relationship so explicitly.

81 Kṣemarāja (commenting on 11.184c) seems somewhat uncomfortable with the fact that the ranking stops at the level of the Atimārga. He supplies an additional statement to the effect that if followers of the Atimārga are liberated, then how much more the Śaivas. He also understands the word ca in the sense of api in order to read this meaning into the text.
(navanābha) for initiation is described in chapter 5 (from verse 19), followed by an explanation concerning the deities to be worshipped on it (from 5.37c). The nine lotuses are arranged in a concentric design in such a way that the lotus in the centre is surrounded by eight others, and each lotus has eight petals. On the pericarp of the central lotus, one is to place and worship the supreme deity of this system, Svacchandabhairava, surrounded by eight Bhairavas on the eight petals. The eight Bhairavas are placed on the petals as eight mantra-syllables extracted from the navāmabija. In what follows (verse 40), the text points out that one should recognize these deities as standing for [the principles] from Sadāśiva down to prakṛti, and they are also worshipped on the pericarps of the surrounding lotuses. By including the principles from prakṛti up to Sadāśiva in the mandala as secondary deities, the Brahminical schools from the Vedāvādins upwards are also implicitly included and their levels represented by Vidyāraja and the other Bhairavas.

Thus, doctrinal inclusivism also appears implicitly in a cult image in a fairly consistent way, since non-Brahminical schools, the Buddhists and the Jainas represented by tattvas below prakṛti, are left out of the mandala and its deities. The SvT’s example also illustrates the common way to express the superiority of a tradition in a concentric icon, in which the supreme deity of the school is worshipped in the centre, surrounded by its retinue of deities (parivāra) standing for lower levels of the universe and lower revelation.

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82 For a reconstruction and illustration of this mandala, see Appendix 2 and Colour Plate 18.
83 See Kṣemarāja's commentary on hakāreṇa: HA for Kapālīśa, RA for Šikhi-vāhana, KSA for Krodharāja, MA for Vikarāla, LA for Manmatha, VA for Meghānāda, YA for Somarāja and Ī for Vidyāraja.
84 They swap places with Svacchanda as the text and the commentary clarify further on.
85 We do not necessarily need to follow Kṣemarāja here, who assigns the tattvas of Sadāśiva, Īśvara, vidyā, māyā, kalā, niyati, purusā and prakṛti to the eight deities, for the text itself simply specifies that they represent levels from Sadāśiva down to prakṛti. The author(s) of the Tantra may not have had an exact distribution in mind, just as the distribution of tattvas to schools is uneven. It is also to be remarked that Kṣemarāja (ad 5.19) understands that the size of the mandala, which measures 224 inches on each side, symbolizes the 224 bhuvanas or worlds of the universe. This is an interesting idea, but again one that the Tantra itself does not teach.
86 The disadvantage or imprecision of this arrangement compared to the hierarchy expressed in the vertical arrangement of the trident icon is that the surrounding deities are not arranged in a hierarchy in relation to each other: Vidyāraja standing
4 Maṇḍalas bestowing Supernatural Powers

Although initiation maṇḍalas—whether they are used for the samaya rite or for the dīkṣā—appear to be the basis and model of maṇḍalas used for acquiring supernatural powers (siddhi) as well as for daily worship, siddhimandalas\(^7\) seem to differ sometimes from their model in several ways. The ways in which maṇḍalas are transformed or visualized differently for siddhi can be divided into three groups:

i. Specialization

Some maṇḍalas become reduced in that an element and a deity is taken out of the more elaborate version and the deity is then worshipped separately for specific supernatural powers.

ii. Expansion

By contrast, some other maṇḍalas are expanded with a set or sets of other deities not necessarily present on the basic version, who seem to increase the power of the deity-circle without disturbing the hierarchy of the central deities of the cult.

iii. Substitution

Lastly, some maṇḍalas are retained in their form as described for initiation except that the deities installed and worshipped on them are changed; thus the maṇḍala as a drawing is considered some kind of framework.

i. Specialization

A good example of how a maṇḍala is reduced, or rather, how one of its deities is focused on for specific purposes can be found in the ninth chapter of the SvT. The chapter starts with the description of the worship of Svācchandaḥbhairava and how his maṇḍala of one lotus and four doors is to be constructed (9.12ff.). The drawing of the

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\(^7\) The term siddhimandala is used in the colophon of the Siddhayogeśvarimata, chapter 25, which thus distinguishes between this maṇḍala and the trident-based one used for the name-giving samaya rite. However, the Siddhayogeśvarimata seems to envisage this very siddhimandala for dīkṣā, judging from an aside in 25.16cd: dīksāyām sādhaneḥ leśmān evam manavikalpa. This usage may reflect the view of the Siddhayogeśvarimata on the subject, namely that liberation is just one of the siddhis (sec 29.8–11). It should also be noted that the Niśvāsa, on the other hand, uses the term 'maṇḍala bestowing liberation' (mukti-mandala) on fol. 20r4.
maṇḍala begins with a single lotus, on whose pericarp Svacchanda is later to be installed with mantra-syllables and worshipped. This lotus is then surrounded by a wheel of 32 spokes (9.16), on which the practitioner worships a set of 32 goddesses, starting with Arunā. The size of this square maṇḍala can vary. Verse 14 envisages maṇḍalas of one, two, four or eight hastas on each side; while the one with nine lotuses for initiation is prescribed as measuring nine hastas on each side.

This maṇḍala of Svacchanda is said to bestow all kinds of supernatural powers, especially power over all the worlds. Some of these worlds are well-known from Purānic cosmography; they include the various hells, underworlds (pātāla) and the seven lokas. Others are identical with principles (tattvā) of the universe in the Śaiva sense from prakṛti and puruṣa up to Sadāśiva and Śakti. The diagram translates into an image of what is elsewhere insisted upon in doctrinal passages: the idea that the supreme deity ultimately controls the whole universe, even if lower levels are assigned to other Bhairavas as their regents, and thus it is this supreme deity that is able to bestow full power upon the practitioner.

However, the other eight Bhairavas of the initiation maṇḍala are not forgotten in the context of siddhi, either. But while the worship of Svacchanda is prescribed on a maṇḍala as a support, the other Bhairavas are placed and worshipped on small charms written on pieces of birch-bark (yantras or raksās). They are worshipped for the attainment of much more specific goals than the control of the whole universe.

The first yantras described are those of the first and last Bhairava, Vidyārāja and Kapālīśa, who can protect the practitioner from death. Their mantras are to be incised in the centre of a wheel, and the spokes are occupied by the 32 goddesses starting with Arunā, just as in the maṇḍala of Svacchanda above. The other yantras are based on the same model, with one Bhairava in the middle and the goddesses around him, except that in each case, some additional details are

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88 Following verse 16, which states that the wheel is outside the lotus, Kṣemarāja remarks at verse 24 that there are four goddesses in each of the eight directions, and that they are outside the lotus. However, the text of verse 24—contrarily to 16—suggests that the lotus and the wheel somehow overlap, because it says that the goddesses are on the petals and the spokes at the same time.

89 As the examples below show, raksā is not always a protective amulet, despite its name.
given. These include instructions to incise the name of the person who is to be protected, controlled or killed in the middle; or the addition of other mantras to the whole yantra which envelope or inflame it, or the use of substances collected in the cremation ground (9.64–65). Among the other Bhairavas, Śikhivāhana is employed to cause one’s enemy to suffer; Krodharāja can kill someone or make him mad; Vikarāla can frighten one’s enemy; Manmatha is invoked for subjugation; Meghanāda to exile someone and Somarāja to acquire wealth.

The resemblance between the mandala of Svachchanda and the yantras of the other Bhairavas shows that in spite of the differences between manḍalas and yantras, they are closely related, especially in the context of siddhis. Just as Svachchanda represents the truest doctrine of all Brahminical doctrines which are included in the initiation manḍala, so here, too, he stands for all-encompassing power. Other Bhairavas are seen as specializing in more specific tasks. The initiation manḍala of the nine lotuses includes all these Bhairavas as different levels of reality, for its purpose is to bestow qualification upon the initiate who can subsequently employ any of these Bhairavas for whatever goal he may want to. But for specific aims, he is to use only the Bhairava most appropriate for his purpose. Judging from the construction of these manḍalas and yantras in the SvT, siddhi is viewed here as the specific application of the power acquired in an all-inclusive way at the time of initiation.

ii. Expansion

This view of the SvT is not shared unanimously by all Tantras. In a number of texts, the manḍalas prescribed for siddhis contain several circles of deities who are not necessarily present in the initiation manḍala. The Mṛgendratantra, for instance, allows an initiation manḍala of just the central group of five deities or brahmamantras. This is referred to in kriyāpāda 8.44 as an option, although it is emphasized in the preceding verse that one should try and make a manḍala with several circles of deities. Verses 8.52–53 also suggest that all the deities may not be present inside the manḍala, which should ideally include three circles of deities (āvarana) around the central group. In case of these smaller manḍalas, one can worship the outer circles on ornamental elements, such as svastikas, lotuses or dots, or one can just worship Śiva on the four-petalled lotus. This last solution is interpreted by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha to be used in case of lack of time, place or material means.
but prescribes additional outer circles of deities to be worshipped for certain supernatural powers. For the acquisition of knowledge, it is sufficient to worship the Vidyeśvaras around the central group of five brahmamantras. For ‘divine’ supernatural powers one should add the circle of the Gañeṣas. For ‘middle’ siddhis—probably meaning attracting women and the like—the guardians of directions should be further added outside the Gañeṣa circle. For ‘lower’ powers—such as killing—all the gods should be there, extending outward to the guardians’ weapons on the periphery of the maṇḍala.¹¹ Moreover, according to kriyāpāda 8.46, in case the practitioner has various aims of different kinds, he is to worship the central deity surrounded by three or four outer circles of deities on a saktimandala, which is endowed with an additional circle of the mothers.¹² These mothers are not present on any version of the initiation maṇḍala, yet they are employed for siddhis of all kinds, in an extension of what is or could be the same as the initiation maṇḍala.¹³

These prescriptions of the Mrgendra show that the outer circles of deities in its maṇḍala are responsible for siddhis of increasingly low kinds. However, they are not worshipped on their own for these specific functions, but always remain in the outer circles of the maṇḍala whose centre is occupied by Śiva in the form of the five brahmamantras. This visual arrangement implies that various siddhis are not specific functions of the central deities (as was the case in the SvT), but rather that the bestowing of supernatural powers is seen as an extended function of these deities, who do not bestow siddhis themselves, but delegate lower gods, lokapālas and the like, for these tasks.¹⁴

¹¹ Cf. kriyāpāda 8.45. Note that according to Nārāyaṇakanṭha, in each case only one circle is to be worshipped around the centre and not several circles extending outward to the circle including those deities. The centre with the five mantra-deities and the guardians, for instance, should be worshipped for ‘middle’ siddhis, omitting the Vidyeśvaras and Gañeṣvaras in between. However, the text of the Tantra does not support this interpretation, for it uses compounds such as patiprāntah and ganāntah (qualifying yāgaḥ).

¹² See also commentary ad loc: saktināṃ mātṛnāṃ sambandhi yan maṇḍalo tatra...

¹³ The addition of female deities for siddhis is also a feature of the SvT as shown above, which positions the goddesses around the central Bhairavas.

¹⁴ It may be tempting to speculate on the basis of this that the Mrgendra’s above arrangement reflects its dualistic position, while the SvT’s way of attributing powers corresponds to a non-dualistic view. However, it is unlikely that cults, especially
iii. Substitution

The third way of changing the initiation mandala for siddhi can be illustrated by two examples taken from the Siddhayogesvarimata. Chapter 25 first describes the initiation mandala in a rather cursory way. Its side measures three or four hastas and it has a 32-inch lotus with eight petals in the middle—thus resembling the basic type reconstructed in Illustration 1 and Colour Plates 16–17 (following the more detailed prescriptions of the srīmandala in the NT). \(^5\) After a brief statement of how the placement of mantras is to be performed on the body, the text appears to shift subject to give details of rites to acquire supernatural powers which are to be performed in the cremation ground. The placement of the mantras is followed by the filling of the mandala outline with powders. Verse 34 specifies that white powder is to be produced from powderized human bones and red from blood. Then, the practitioner is to place a human skull on the pericarp of the lotus and on the eight petals and should write the mantra of Bhairava with his consort on the central skull with blood taken from his left arm. This Bhairava holds a trident in his right hand, on which the three principal goddesses of the Trika, Parā, Parāparā and Apara, should be projected. On the remaining eight skulls the eight mantra-goddesses who form the retinue of Parāparā should be written, starting with Aghora.

So far, this siddhimandala basically follows the arrangement of deities prescribed in chapter 6 for the samaya rite: the three goddesses occupy the prongs of the trident and the group of eight is early ones, were based on such principles. For the problem of dualism and nondualism in scriptural sources, see Sanderson 1992: 282ff.

\(^5\) The same type of mandala is given in another Trika text, the Tantrasadbhāva (9.104ff.), which calls it the sarvatobhadra(ka). Although the Siddhayogesvarimata seems to agree with the Tantrasadbhāva on this matter rather than with a third surviving Trika text, the Mālinivijaya (which gives a mandala of a trident and the lotuses), the subsequent verses on siddhi show that there is a trident present on the mandala of the Siddhayogesvarimata, too: but instead of being drawn on the ground inside the mandala, it is drawn in blood on a skull placed in the middle. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that the text does not give an unambiguous account of the mandalas. This chapter as well as chapters 7 and 8 suggest that the initiation mandala (dīkṣāmandalā) may well resemble the Tantrasadbhāva’s sarvato-bhadra, without the trident, even though chapter 6 clearly prescribes the mandala with the trident for the samaya rite. Moreover, Abhinavagupta’s summary of the principal mandala of this text—on the basis of which I have attempted to reconstruct the mandala in Colour Plate 19, but which is not included in the surviving short recension—unambiguously gives one with the trident.
placed on the petals of the lotus. However, after giving the bijamantras for the goddesses and promising the successful invocation of Yoginis, verses 53-55 give a new set of eight goddesses one can equally worship with the same or other bijas on the diagram. Their names indicate that they are probably recommended for lower siddhis such as killing.\textsuperscript{66} The diagram itself becomes a framework which can accommodate various groups of deities depending on the siddhi envisaged.

A procedure similar to this seems to be at work in chapters 21 and 22 of the same text. Chapter 21 describes, again very briefly, a wheel-diagram with 12 spokes, which appears to be recommended for worship in various months of the year. Twelve Rudras of different names are placed on the spokes, and a Bhairava, identified with one’s self, performs the churning of the nectar of immortality in the middle. Subsequently, the text gives a summary in a few verses of a samaya type ritual, in which this very wheel-diagram is employed to determine the gotra name of the initiates (verses 20-21), implying that the wheel is used as the central image of a mandala. The wheel is to be drawn red, with a mixture including blood. Now a passage in the next chapter prescribes the visualization of the same kind of wheel as the one mentioned for the gotra attribution. However, this time the wheel, whose basic colour is red and which is to be visualized in the middle of an Ocean of Blood, is mentally projected in the air. Instead of 12 Rudras, 12 frightening Yoginis—or optionally six Yoginis accompanied by six Rudras as consorts—\textsuperscript{97} are to be placed on the spokes. They churn amrita from the Ocean of Blood and bestow success upon the practitioner.

The wheel-diagram used for a gotra name-giving initiatory rite and recommended for monthly worship is thus employed as a framework on which more fierceful deities are installed to gain supernatural powers, just as the lotus mandala of the main goddesses can also accommodate goddesses associated with black magic (abhicāra).

Although the above examples are fairly representative of the major ways in which the initiation mandala can be transformed to bestow siddhis, they are not exhaustive. Two additional common

\textsuperscript{66} The first of them is called Jambhani and the last, Pramathani.

\textsuperscript{97} This is how the conjunction vā may be interpreted in verse 34, followed by the mention of the two sets of six in verse 35.
types of procedure should be mentioned in this context: certain
graphical differences which are associated with particular siddhis
and the change of materials with which the manḍala is prepared.

As for graphical changes, after describing the principal manḍala,
whose base is square-shaped, the Niśvāsatantra mentions briefly how
to draw the outline of circular (vartula) manḍalas, manḍalas of a
semi-circular (ardhacandra) type and triangular (trikona) ones. This
is followed by the statement that for rites of propitiation or
appeasement as well as for prosperity, one should use the square or
circular type; the semi-circle should be used for the manḍala of
Cāṇḍeṣa and the triangular type, for black magic.98

A different sort of graphical change is prescribed for the worship
of various deities and for the acquisition of siddhis in the Mṛgendra,
which draws the shape of the petals of the lotus in the manḍala
differently for different purposes.99 For supernatural powers in
general (bhūti), the petals should have curled-up tips; they should be
even for liberation (mukti).100 For the worship of Kāmeśvara and
other deities bestowing good fortune, the petals are to have pointed
tips, while if one worships the lokapālas, the grahas, the ganas,
Cāṇḍeṣa or Gaṇeṣa, the petals must be broad and curved at the
edges.101 The ganas are also given round-shaped petals in another
verse. The worship of the Vidyeśvaras requires petals shaped like
cow’s ears, and Gauri, the goddess of speech (vāk) and the Rudras
are to be worshipped on lotuses whose petals look like the leaves of
the Aśvattha tree.

In the subsequent verses, the Mṛgendra gives yet more
alternatives, which concern the shape of the manḍala and its colour
according to the deities or the purpose of the worship. Thus, agreeing
with the Niśvāsa, it prescribes a semi-circular manḍala for
worshipping Cāṇḍeṣa, but it adds the worship of the Amṛtavidyās102
to this category and specifies that the colour of the diagram should

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98 vartulam caturasram vā śāntike pauṣṭike tatha/
   ardhacandram tu caṇḍeṣe abhicāre trikoṇaṃ / fol. 26r3.
   (The reading of the manuscript caṇḍiṣe has been emended to caṇḍeṣa.)
99 See Mṛgendra, kriyāpāda 8.31–33.
100 I follow Nārāyaṇakānta’s interpretation of the verse, who understands the
    somewhat enigmatic sputam to mean anīmnoonatāgram samam.
101 Following Nārāyaṇakānta’s interpretation of the word mantharaṃgrakam.
102 These are female mantra-deities bestowing immortality and the like.
be white. The manḍala of the Saubhaṅgyavidyās\textsuperscript{101} is said to be red and vulva-shaped or bow-shaped. The description continues with further options for purposes of well-being, for rain and for the worship of the Vidyēśvaras.

The materials used for the preparation of the manḍala should also be different when used for liberation and when employed for lower supernatural powers (\textit{abhičārā}) according to the same passage of the Mṛgendra (\textit{kriyāpāda} 8.40).\textsuperscript{104} the coloured powders are to be made from pearls, corals, gold and the like for liberation, but they are to be produced using substances from the cremation ground for the lower powers.

However, if the same manḍala is used for liberation as well as for the acquisition of supernatural powers,\textsuperscript{105} the Mṛgendra instructs practitioners to make white powder from rice flour, red from red mineral from mountains—vermillion or red chalk according to the commentator—, yellow from yellow orpiment or turmeric\textsuperscript{106} and black from burnt barley and the like. Since initiation manḍalas used for several people should not be made for a specific \textit{siddhi}, this general type is probably what the text envisages for \textit{diśa}.

It must also be noted that a more esoteric text teaching goddess worship, the Siddhayogēśvarimātā, does not prescribe impure substances for specific \textit{siddhis} as obligatory. At the same time it allows these substances as alternatives for initiation as well. Thus, in 6.12, the text gives the choice to the \textit{guru} if he wants to use ashes (probably meant to be collected in a cremation ground) or flour for the samayama manḍala, and in 8.8 it also gives alternatives without restriction for the making of the thread to be used to prepare the outline of the manḍala: it can be made of human hair (\textit{narakesa-samutthena}, again probably obtained from corpses) or of cotton and the like. On the other hand, even for rites to acquire supernatural powers, the instructions state that flour or rice-powder may be used,

\textsuperscript{101} According to Nārāyanakaṇṭha these are mantra-goddesses bestowing the powers of subjugation and attraction.

\textsuperscript{104} It may be noted that as the above passages show, the Mṛgendra appears to mention a number of details about manḍalas which do not concern only initiation manḍalas, although the main subject of the passage is indeed initiation manḍalas. Therefore the distinction between \textit{mukti} and \textit{abhičārā} may not refer to initiation manḍalas of initiates with different purposes, but rather to \textit{siddhimaṇḍalas}.

\textsuperscript{105} This is what the commentary suggests at the beginning of the passage, saying \textit{bhukti-mukti-visayānāṁ yāgānāṁ}.

\textsuperscript{106} I again follow the commentator on \textit{haridrakādinā}, \textit{haridrāharitālādinā}. 
although preference is given to impure substances, such as powderized human bones for white and blood for red.\textsuperscript{107}

5 Substitution and Change:\textsuperscript{106} The Worship of Viṣṇu and the Inclusion of the Buddha in the Netrantana

The \textit{siddhimaṇḍalas} examined so far show that the pantheon worshipped on them can vary significantly and in several ways from the pantheon of the initiation maṇḍalas. However, in all these cases the deities worshipped remain those taught in the Śaiva systems: forms of Śiva or Bhairava, various YOGinis or groups of deities forming their retinue such as the \textit{lokapālas}. It could be argued that for \textit{siddhis}, the SvT employs Bhairavas who embody lower levels of the universe in the initiation maṇḍala, and who consequently represent lower, non-Śaiva revelation: Vidyārāja who is employed to conquer death, for instance, stands for the level of \textit{prakṛti} and by implication embodies the level attributed to Vedaṇāins. However, the deity remains a Śaiva mantra-deity with a visual appearance and name of a Bhairava. In this respect, the NT stands apart from other early texts in that for \textit{siddhis} it prescribes the alternative worship of deities who clearly belong to other systems, by substituting the central god of the cult, Mṛtyumjaya/Netranātha (as well as his consort), with non-Śaiva deities.

After describing the drawing and decoration of the maṇḍala, the NT lists the deities to be worshipped in its centre, on the pericarp of the lotus. First, the principal deity of the cult, Mṛtyulījaya is mentioned (18.62), who is to be worshipped with the goddess of prosperity, Śri, as his consort. Secondly, an alternative is given

\textsuperscript{107} Siddhayogeśvarimaṇa 25.34cd: \textit{sitaṁ nṛśāṅkahāyāṁ cūrtam kṣatājabhāvitam}. I have conjectured \textit{nṛśāṅkahāya} for the reading of the manuscripts \textit{tri-śāṅkahāya}.

\textsuperscript{108} By this subtitle I intend to evoke the principal argument in Eivind G. Kahrs's unpublished dissertation entitled "Substitution and change: foundations of traditional Indian hermeneutics" (Oslo, 1996). I have not got direct access to this work, whose main thesis was summarized by the author in personal communications and in lectures at the University of Cambridge. The idea is also referred to briefly in Kahrs 1998: 278, who states that "change is achieved through substitution in that new meaning may be encoded into old terms by means of a substitutional model." In what follows, I hope to show that substitution is applied in the NT in a ritual context, not as a hermeneutic device, but as a method to include deities of other cults in its pantheon.
whereby Śrīdhara, that is Viśṇu, can be substituted for the principal deity. Visualizations of Viśṇu are described at the beginning of chapter 13, in which a number of Vaiṣṇava forms are listed which include various incarnations such as the Man-lion (Narasimha), the Boar (Varāha) and the Dwarf (Vāmana). But the list of alternatives does not stop here, for the text continues by giving the visualization of Śūrya, forms of Rudra, Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Brahmā, and finally the Buddha, who is said to specialize in granting liberation to women. The commentator, Kṛṣṇarāja, introduces this passage by saying that the text enumerates various alternative forms of Mṛtyumjaya. They can all be worshipped on a maṇḍala, too, which is first shown in the prescription according to which Śūrya is to be placed in the middle of a lotus (verse 23), and later by the mention of various loci of worship in 28. These deities or—following Kṛṣṇarāja—forms of Mṛtyumjaya can be visualized on the ground, in fire or water, on the top of a mountain, or in any other place which is pleasing to the mind and shall all bestow the desired success. This is further confirmed in another passage of verses 37–43, which states that all kinds of deities lead to success if they are worshipped as prescribed. The text explicitly says that deities of other Tantric traditions can be invoked as well as those of the Nyāya, the Buddhists, the Yoga, Vedic deities, etc. The list shows that the Buddha is not visualized and regarded as a manifestation of Viṣṇu—which could also be the case—but is considered to be the Buddha of the Buddhists and is invoked as such.

What is most striking in the inclusivism of the NT is that it does not stop at the level of Vedic revelation and Brahminical darśanas, but includes the Buddhists, and that it allows the worship of forms of Viṣṇu and the Buddha as principal deities.

Now the SvT also includes the visualization of Brahminical deities who are not Śaiva strictly speaking, and who represent lower levels of the Śaiva universe situated below forms of Śiva. An example for such inclusion can be seen in the description of internal worship, in the course of building up the Śaiva universe internally. When visualizing the lotus of gnosis (vidyāpadma) on top of the

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109 Cf. the commentary before SvT2 13.17.
110 The NT2 uses the irregular or aśa form āraññata as does the SvT.
111 The 'etc.' in the text is interpreted by Kṛṣṇarāja to mean Purānic deities. This may include the worship of deities such as Durgā-Vindhyavāsini mentioned subsequently.
throne, which is nailed together by the four Vedas and the four aeons (2.64c–65b), first a circle of Śaktis is described, which is to be placed on the petals with the goddess Manonmani on the pericarp. This is followed by the placement of three circles (manḍalas/mandalakas) on this lotus of gnosis: the circle of the sun on the petals, that of the moon on the filaments and the circle of fire on the pericarp. Then the visualizations of three deities (of Purāṇic appearance) as regents of these three circles or spheres are prescribed: Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra placed on the outer, middle and inner circles of the petals, filaments and the pericarp respectively. It is on top of Rudra, still on the pericarp, that the laughing Sadasiva/Mahāpreta is then to be projected before the visualization and worship of Svacchanda’s throne and of Svacchanda himself.

The difference between the place and role of Viṣṇu in the NT compared to the SvT is that on the one hand, the NT prescribes the worship of forms of Viṣṇu as the central deity, and on the other that it gives several alternative forms of Viṣṇu, which indicates its somewhat unusual interest for this deity in a Śaiva context. Moreover, the appearance of the Buddha as central deity is undoubtedly unique here. By prescribing the worship of these deities, the NT goes much further than the SvT in including other cults. This may be considered not only another element showing the NT’s relative lateness, but also a feature that may reflect a different religious scene of its time.

According to Kṣemarāja (avatāranikā of 2.72cd–73ab), these three circles represent the instrument, the object and the subject of gnosis (māna, meya, mārt) respectively as well as the three powers of knowledge, action and will (icchā, jñāna, kriyā).

Although Vaiṣṇava inflections of Śaiva deities may be often encountered, the NT’s interest in several such forms may be considered unusual. For a Vaiṣṇava version of Kāli worship, see the example from the Jayadrathayāmala teaching the worship of Kāli Mādhavesvari with Narasimha, given in Sanderson 1988: 154.

That the NT belongs to a relatively later layer of the early, pre-10th century, scriptural sources has been argued on the basis of ample evidence in Brunner 1974: 126ff., who also cites Madhusūdana Kaul’s introduction to the first edition.

Ritual eclecticism and changing attitudes towards such phenomena were analyzed in a series of papers by Professor Phyllis Granoff at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris) in April-May 2000, especially in her first paper entitled “Other people’s rituals: ritual eclecticism in early medieval religions.” I am grateful to Professor Granoff for giving me a version of the final draft of her study and for drawing my attention to the ritual eclecticism of the NT. In the meantime part of this material has been published (Granoff 2000 and 2001).
What is perhaps less striking, but almost equally surprising, is the inclusion of the ‘deity of the Nyāya’—whoever it is supposed to be.\textsuperscript{116} The inclusion of the Nyāya is surprising because the SvT, which can probably be regarded as something of a reference work for the NT,\textsuperscript{117} categorically rejects treatises of logic (hetuśāstra) and condemns them in a relatively long passage.\textsuperscript{118}

At the same time, the NT can be said to follow a kind of logic already established in other Tantras. For the substitution of principal deities of the cult with less central ones in manḍalas employed for siddhi is a practice also seen in the example of the non-syncretic Siddhayogēśvarīmatā. The NT applies the same procedure of substitution, except that it goes a step further and includes Vaiṣṇava and non-Brahminical deities or cult figures, who do not form part of its basic pantheon. The substitution can be justified in the same way as the SvT justifies its recognition of other scriptures: all scriptures as well as all deities and doctrines are created by and identical with the supreme deity of this Tantra.\textsuperscript{119}

\textit{Conclusion}

Instead of summarizing the major points of the above analysis of inclusivism or eclecticism—points which may well change in the light of further evidence—I would like to mention two particular features of the mandala as \textit{locus} of worship that may have contributed to inclusivism or ritual eclecticism in Bhairavatantras: the

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\textsuperscript{116} Kṣemarāja \textit{ad loc.} interprets this reference to mean that the supreme deity of the Nyāya is one endowed with qualities of omniscience and the like, but who is ontologically different from men.

\textsuperscript{117} For the NT’s relying on the SvT, see Brunner 1974: 126ff.

\textsuperscript{118} As mentioned above, even if Nyāya and Hetuśāstra (the latter possibly meaning any work questioning the authority of revelation) may not exactly cover the same branch of Śāstra, it is unlikely that they are strictly differentiated in these scriptural passages. The above mentioned passage about treatises of logic is long in that no other school of thought is treated or criticized in such detail in the text. See SvT 11.167–179b on what it calls Hetuśāstra, while all other traditions are dealt with in verses 179e–185.

\textsuperscript{119} Something to this effect is stated in 13.44–46. This passage confirms that the principal deity of this cult is the soul of all mantras, and therefore there is no infringement of the rules prescribing that rites of different schools should not be mixed up. Kṣemarāja’s commentary \textit{ad loc.} adds a more strongly non-dualistic interpretation of this statement.
cosmic symbolism of the mandala, and the fact that the drawing itself is an empty framework.

Although the initiation mandala may not depict the Śaiva cosmos in a more explicit way than other supports of worship, its concentric or vertical image of a hierarchy of deities and other elements is often seen as representing a cosmic hierarchy, too. Thus, the image of the mandala is identified with the cosmic hierarchy in scriptural sources: the trident of the Trika is understood to represent the universe from earth to Śiva, the deities of the SvT represent levels from prakṛti up to Śiva-Bhairava and the five outer lines drawn around the mandala of the NT stand for the five kalās which constitute the Śaiva universe (see Appendix 1). This identification is continued by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the SvT, in which he states that the 224 inches of the side of the mandala represent the worlds of the Śaiva universe. Since the mandala is seen as representing the cosmic hierarchy, it includes lower revelation. Thus, at least for purposes of siddhi, deities of these lower revelations may be used effectively. They of course do not fully deprive the central deities of their importance and place in the hierarchy: for example, employing the Buddha’s power is recommended mainly for women.

A second feature of mandalas which may have contributed to the substitution and inclusion of non-Śaiva deities is that they do not actually depict the deities themselves. Although Tantric deities can be visualized for worship, their identity lies first and foremost in their mantric form, as pointed out in Sanderson 1990: 78. In a number of texts, this means that they can be visualized in somewhat

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120 As Brunner 1986: 30 (cf. Brunner, p. 175) points out. However, as I have tried to argue above, the mandala is a special case compared to the linga or a temple in that it gives a mapping of the deities of one’s tradition.

121 I think there is a practical reason for this, apart from the doctrinal reasons already mentioned. Since these mandalas are mostly made of coloured powders, it would require an extremely large-size mandala to be able to depict deities in detail on it. Such figurative images in coloured powders are made even today in Kerala. An example is the Kālam Eluttu, which depicts Bhadrakāli before the performance of a Mutiyettu. This shows that even a single deity requires a rather large diagram. The construction of such a diagram would be quite unpractical for rites such as the name-giving samaya ritual. However, what is missing on the Śaiva Tantric image can be amply provided by detailed visualization, the result of which may not be as different from some Tibetan Buddhist mandalas as Brunner 1986: 31 (cf. Brunner, p. 176) claims. Without trying to draw too many parallels between these two traditions, I would just like to emphasize again that the Śaiva mandala is not simply the drawing itself, but the drawing and the visualization.
differing forms according to one’s purpose, and thus the goddess Parā, for instance, is given a rosary and a manuscript as attributes—similarly to the goddess of speech, Sarasvatī—when visualized to obtain eloquence, but she is pictured as pouring out the nectar of immortality to conquer death. Taken to the extreme, this principle implies that any visualization can suit a mantra-deity, who may well take up the appearance of the Buddha if needed. The manḍala is quite well-adapted for such radical changes in visualization, for it does not depict the deities in their concrete forms. If one uses the geometrical framework of the manḍala, changing the deity’s appearance in visualizations does not necessitate any change in the traditional manḍala, drawn according to Śaiva scriptural prescriptions.

In a final remark, it could be concluded that what renders the identity of Bhairavic mantra-deities weak is in fact their powerfulness. It is because they are too powerful and dangerous to be depicted with their iconographic features (TĀ 27.23) on objects such as the manḍala that their visualized images can be changed or replaced by the images of other deities; and it is this iconographic interchangeability that allows ritual inclusivism or eclecticism.

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122 For this identification, see Sanderson 1990: 43.
123 See Siddhayogeśvarinata, chapters 11 and 12.
124 It would require an altogether separate paper or monograph to explore why such eclecticism takes place in the NT in particular, which exhibits a somewhat lax attitude towards mixing prescriptions of different traditions (tantrasaṅkara in 13.46). In addition to an investigation into the changing religious scene of different periods, a rather precise chronology of the scriptural sources would also be needed.
Appendices

Appendix 1: The Construction of the Śrīmandala

Below is a brief description of how a simple maṇḍala is constructed, following the prescription of the NT with Kṣemarāja's commentary. Note that without the commentary it would be impossible to reconstruct the maṇḍala. Technical terms are given with illustrations so that this summary can serve as a basis for the reconstruction of other maṇḍalas. Their descriptions seem to follow mostly the same general terminology with a few minor differences. Some of these differences will be pointed out below. Ways in which the cardinal directions are determined on the ground, details concerning measurements, some problems pertaining to the actual drawing with the help of threads and the colouring with powders are not discussed here. However, it must be born in mind that these factors, too, form part of the process of maṇḍala construction, and are sometimes detailed in the middle of the description of the drawing. A good example is the discussion of how to establish the directions in SvT2 5.29ff. What follows concerns only the actual drawing and the colours applied according to NT2 18.31ff. A similar maṇḍala was reconstructed in Brunner 1986 (cf. Brunner, p. 177) on the basis of a later text, the Śāradātilaka and Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary, but without explanations of all the technical terms. For the construction of the śrīmaṇḍala, see Illustration 1, while the final result of the construction can be seen in Colour Plates 16 and 17 according to two versions.

The drawing of the maṇḍala starts with the construction of a grid, in which the size and number of the cells vary. The shape of the grid is square (caturaśra) and its lines are always drawn along the north-south and east-west axes. A cell is called a kośtha or kośthaka, and the length of one of its sides is a bhāga. In the NT, the grid of 324 cells has 18 bhāgas on each side. There is an eight-petalled lotus in the middle occupying eight times eight cells.

In most maṇḍalas, the construction of a lotus follows the way in which this central lotus is produced in the NT. First, four concentric circles are drawn in the middle of the central square of the lotus. The first one has a radius of one bhāga and is the circle of the pericarp of the lotus (kaṇṭikā). The second circle has a radius of two bhāgas and
marks out where the fibres will end (kesarāgra). The third circle has a radius of three bhāgas to show where the petals will be joined to one another (dalasamdhī). The last circle has a radius of four bhāgas, to mark where the tips of the petals should end (dālāgra).

This is followed by the drawing of the lines where the petals of the lotus will meet. This means that first, one should draw eight lines from the centre in the cardinal and intermediate directions. These lines will intersect the outermost circle at the points where the tips of the petals are to be. Then one draws eight additional lines which must be in the middle of those eight radii. This halving is done in the same way as at the establishing of the square of the maṇḍala. In this case it is done by halving the line which one could draw between two petal tips, starting with the tips of the north-eastern and the northern petals. It is obvious from the description that since these latter lines represent the sides of the petals, they will be visible from outside the circle of the pericarp up to the third (dalasamdhī) circle. It is also mentioned that the petals have three fibres each (drawn from the pericarp up to the second circle).

The next step is the drawing of the outlines of the petals outside the dalasamdhī (i.e., the third) circle. Kṣemarāja says that one should draw two arcs with the help of a thread, fixing the thread with the left hand in between the line in the middle of the petal (madhyasūtra) and the line on the side of the petal (pārśvasūtra). Then one should draw two arcs on both sides [of the petal] with the right hand, starting from the point where the petals should intersect (already established by the intersection of the third circle and the pārśvasūtras).

After the description of the lotus, the text gives the colours for its various parts. It continues by stating that a white circle is to be drawn, its thickness measuring one inch, around the lotus. This is the so-called ‘air-line’ (vyomarekhā). Outside this circle, a square should be made, with a yellow line which is one inch (aṅgula) thick. This is the inner part of what is called the ‘seat’ (pīṭha), which is a square band occupying one bhāga outside the inner square. (The width is mentioned by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on 43cd.) Then this surrounding band is to be divided into the corners (kona) and the so-called ‘limbs’ (gātraka). These limbs are formed here by leaving two bhāgas on each side for the corners. Thus the ‘limbs’ occupy four cells each, as Kṣemarāja makes it clear. He also gives a brief definition of the ‘limbs:’ they are particular segments which should
fall in between corners, outside the ‘air-line’ (gātrakāṇi koṇāntarā-lagā avayavaviśeṣā vyomarekhāyā bāhyec kāryāṇī).

Next, one should leave a band which is two bhāgas wide around the ‘seat.’ This is the terrace or passage (vithī). In Kṣemarāja’s explanation the passage is the place to conduct the pūjā. Outside of this is the area where the doors are to be drawn, on a surrounding two bhāga wide band.

The door has two parts, here called kaṇṭha and upakaṇṭha. The former is the upper part, i.e., the part closer to the centre of the maṇḍala. In this maṇḍala it occupies four cells, as Kṣemarāja explains. He understands the prescription of two cells in the text to apply on both sides. Colour Plate 16 reproduces the maṇḍala according to Kṣemarāja’s interpretation, while Colour Plate 17 gives the basic structure without the ornaments and without considering Kṣemarāja’s remark about the size of the doors.

The base or lower part of the door is one cell wider on each side here. Kṣemarāja gives a definition of both kaṇṭha and upakaṇṭha: kaṇṭham dvārordhvagam avayavaviśeṣam...; upakaṇṭham kaṇṭhādhogam avayavaviśeṣam. Note that in a number of texts, this base is not called upakaṇṭha, but kapola.125

Next to the door, there is an ornamental part which has the shape of the door turned upside down.126 The smaller and outer part of this element is called the sobhā and the wider upper part is the upasobhā. Again, their measurements are based on Kṣemarāja’s commentary, who himself mentions that some details are left out and understood to be supplied by the reader. Note that the sobhā and upasobhā are called kapola and upakapola in the Isānaśivagurudevapaddhati (kriyāpāda 8.58), in which they are also defined as having the shape of doors turned upside down and being placed next to them (tatpārśvatās tadviparītavaktrās tadvat kapolopakapolakāh syuh).

When the doors are ready, the text mentions that one is to draw three circles (inside the doors?), leaving out the western door, which faces the deity. This is not commented upon by Kṣemarāja, but there is a brief mention of a circle in the context of the door in TA 31.83, in which the door is said to be circular optionally. In the context of the NT, however, it seems that the function of these circles is to

125 See, e.g., Svīṭ 5.34ff., Mālinivijaya 9.31ab and TA 31.39, 31.84cd.
126 See Kṣemarāja on 44d: dvārapārśvayoh parāvṛtadvārasamnīveśākāreneva “tathā sobhopasobhake” kāryayet.
close, cover or seal the doors, and this is probably the reason why the western door facing the deity has no circle. For this idea, see, e.g., the Lakṣmikaulaṇava quoted by Kṣemarāja *ad* SvT2 5.35ab: *dvāratrayam pidhātvayam paścimaṁ na pidhāpayet*. Nothing is said about the exact position or size of these circles in the NT.

This maṇḍala, being that of Śrī, is decorated with conch shells and lotuses in the *vīthī*, in the outer corners and outside. All colours are given in detail except those for the outer corners; and it is also not clear if the decorations in the *vīthī* should be black or the *vīthī* itself. Since all parts of a maṇḍala have to be covered with coloured powder so that the ground should not be seen, it can be assumed that the corners also had some colouring. I have applied white for the *vīthī* as well as for the corners. The former is said to be always white in Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, *kriyāpāda* 8.73, and as both the *vīthī* and the corners have the decorations of conch shells and lotuses, I assume they are also of the same colour. Consequently, the outlines of the conch shells and lotuses are mainly black, understanding that the NT refers to the outlines of ornaments when prescribing the black colour and not to the *vīthī*. Verse 47cd–48ab prescribes the drawing of five lines around the maṇḍala, which represent the five kalās, the lowest (*nirṛti*) being the outermost one. According to Kṣemarāja *ad loc.*, they are white, red, black, yellow and transparent, starting from the outermost line.

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127 See, e.g., a brief aside in Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, *kriyāpāda* 8.61b: *yathā bhūmir na dṛṣyate*.
128 This passage states that the doors and the petals should also be white, which agrees with the NT.
129 It is also unlikely that it should refer to the ornaments themselves, for it would be very odd to require conch shells and lotuses to be black.
1. The outline and construction of the *śrimandala* according to the Netratantra
Appendix 2: The Navañābhamañḍala

The mañḍala of the nine lotuses (Colour Plate 18) has been reconstructed according to SvT₂ 5.19.34 and Kṣemarāja’s commentary thereon. The grid measures 224 x 224 aṅgulas and is divided into 7 x 7 large bhāgas. Kṣemarāja remarks that the number 224 reflects the number of bhuvanas. Here again, the drawing starts at the centre, where one is to draw a lotus in the same way as described in the NT above in the central kośtha. The difference is that the seat of the lotus here is the outline of the central kośtha itself without the construction of the gātrakas. The eight other lotuses are constructed in the same way around the central lotus, leaving one kośtha in between them. The various parts of the surrounding area, the sōbhā, upaśobhā, and kaṇṭha are all said to be half the size of the vithi. Kṣemarāja understands this to refer to the vithi around the lotuses, which has been obtained by halving the space between the lotuses and the edges (see 33cd–34 and commentary). The text itself must refer to the height of these elements, while their varying widths are given by Kṣemarāja. The two parts of the doors are termed here kaṇṭha (the thinner, i.e., inner part) and kapola (the wider part). The elements next to the door are termed upaśobhā (the wider or inner part next to the kaṇṭha) and sōbhā (the thinner or outer part being next to the kapola). According to Kṣemarāja, the height and the width of the kaṇṭha is the same, measuring half of the vithi. This means it is a small square whose side is equal to the quarter of the side of a lotus-seat. Although the size of the kapola is not defined by the text, Kṣemarāja—referring to other scriptural prescriptions—understands it to be of the size of half a vithi by one vithi. This means it occupies twice the space of the kaṇṭha as reconstructed in Colour Plate 18. Verse 34ab informs us that there are eight doors, and Kṣemarāja explains that they are in between the lotuses. Since the size and places of the doors are determined, what is left between two doors on each side is the sōbhā with the upaśobhā. After constructing the sōbhās and the upaśobhās of the same size on each side of each door, the remaining parts form the four corners.

However, it is possible that in the text, kapola means what is added to the size of the kaṇṭha outside the kaṇṭha. This is suggested by the name kapola, ‘cheek.’ In that case, what is outside the kaṇṭha measures three times the square of the kaṇṭha. This would result in
slightly different door-shapes, and the forms of the śobhās, upaśobhās and corners would also change.

As for the colours, Kṣemarāja points out that since they are not specified, one has to resort to other Āgamas. On the colours, he cites the Saiddhāntika Parākhya, which has the same prescription for the lotuses as the NT, but adds that the space between lotus petals is green and the corners are red. The fibres are slightly different, having the colours white, yellow and red starting from inside. I have made the doors and the viṭhi white, as in the case of the NT’s maṇḍala, and the śobhās and upaśobhās red and yellow. Kṣemarāja mentions that the western door, facing the deity, should be left open or uncovered, but since the covering is not explicitly prescribed in any graphic form, I have not tried to supply it.
Appendix 3: The Trident Maṇḍala

For the construction of the trident maṇḍala in the Siddhayogeśvarīmata, I have followed TĀ 31.155 with commentary as far as I have been able to. The outline is to be made on a square of three hastas on each side, to which a surrounding band of 12 anīgulas is added for the doors. The square of three hastas on each side is divided into nine large cells, one square hasta each, and these are further divided into 6 x 6, i.e., 36 small cells each, so that each small cell measures four anīgulas on each side. The lotus in the middle, similar to the one described in Appendix 1, measures one hasta on each side.

The trident is drawn in the large cell in the middle, i.e., leaving three small bhāgas untouched below. On both sides, two half circles are to be drawn downwards, in the neighbouring two bhāgas. This implies that the radius of the smaller half-circles is half a bhāga, and the radius of the larger half-circles is one bhāga. The smaller half-circles continue in small arcs of quarter-circles above. The tip of the middle prong should end halfway inside the large kosiṭha above the kosiṭha of the central lotus, i.e., half a hasta below the door. The tips of the two other prongs should fall on the side-lines of the large kosiṭhas, i.e., on the lengthened side-lines of the square of the central lotus. I have made these tips by lengthening the lines that could be drawn between the centre point of the maṇḍala and the points where the two small arcs end. The two points where these lines intersect the side-lines of the large kosiṭha are the tips of the side-prongs. However, the exact drawing of the tips of the prongs are left to the reader’s decision to some extent.

In addition to problems concerning the formation of the prongs of the trident, I have also had problems in interpreting the way in which the staff is to be drawn. As for its length, it reaches down as far as the edge of the outer square. It is said to be three hastas long counting from the tip of the middle prong, if I understand the text correctly. This means that the distance between the top of the trident and the bottom end of the staff is three hastas, which is indeed the case if the staff reaches down to the edge of the outer square. Its thickness is two anīgulas, which is probably to be applied on each

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130 Jayaratha states: tatra madhyād adhastanam bhāgatrayam tyaktva.
131 See Jayaratha’s statement: parivarjitaḥhyadvāduśīṅgulāntam.
side, i.e., its full thickness is four angulas. The staff should not cover the lotus, of course. It is not mentioned that the bottom end of the staff has got the thick ring called āmalasāraka as in the Mālinī-vijaya’s version of the mandala, nor that the staff is pointed below. However, it is unlikely that the staff ended abruptly at the bottom, and one is probably to draw the pointed tip as well as the āmalasāraka. I have done so, assigning one bhāga to the pointed tip as well as to the āmalasāraka.

The lotuses on the tips of the trident measure half a hasta, i.e., their radius is half of the radius of the central lotus. Jayaratha mentions that the doors and the rest are to be fashioned as before. The last uncertainty concerns the central seat or pitha, which is not mentioned, but which I have supplied, for to my knowledge there are no occurrences of a central lotus without a pitha around it. I have chosen the seat to be one bhāga thick, which would be a standard measurement, similar to the measurement of the pitha in the NT, which is described in Appendix 1. I have not drawn the small stick-like element under the central prong called gāndikā, which is prescribed for the Mālinīvijaya’s trident in 31.67cd-68ab.

The colours are set out in verses 147ff. The colours for the central lotus are the same as in the NT. I have also followed the NT when colouring the doors and their surroundings. The pitha is coloured again as in the NT, for its prescription is the same as that of the Mālinīvijayottara in TĀ 31.80–81. I have followed verse 31.82 for the colouring of the trident, which is to be red, while its staff is black and the āmalasāraka is yellow. However, the vīthi is prescribed red in verse 149 following the lost Trisirobhairava. For the lotuses on the tips of the prongs, there may be two possibilities. One is that they are the same colours as the central lotus. The other is that their colours agree with the colours prescribed in the Trisirobhairava: red, red-black/brown and white for Parapara, Aparā and Parā respectively, i.e., on the right, left and in the centre.133 I have followed the Trisirobhairava concerning the colours of the small lotuses, but I

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132 I interpret the text to prescribe that the two vertical lines which form the staff are to be marked out on three points: in the lower, middle and upper part. Then these points are probably to be connected in one single line on each side, but I am not sure if this interpretation is correct.

133 See TĀ 31.118. The three colours basically agree with the colours of the three goddesses in the Siddhayogesvarīmata; see also Sanderson 1990: 51–53. Left and right are to be swapped in the drawing, see Siddhayogesvarīmata 6.24.
have not followed its prescriptions concerning the forms of these lotuses. For the Triśirobhairava envisages the three small lotuses with different numbers of petals.

There is an alternative interpretation of the description of the trident, which is equally possible. This interpretation would change the shape of the upper part of the trident, which would somewhat resemble the reconstruction in Sanderson 1986: 171, except that it would be much broader than the central lotus and that the side-prongs would be curved. If this interpretation is followed, the thickness of the upper part of the trident is not determined at all in the text, therefore I have followed the first alternative.
In the Tantrāloka (TĀ), 'Light on the Tantras,' the vast treatise Abhinavagupta composed during the first years of the 11th century, where he expounds his own interpretation of the notions and practices of the non-dualist Śaiva system of the Trika, maṇḍalas are mentioned a number of times. However, while the whole of chapter 31 in this work is devoted to these ritual diagrams, no general view is given there of the theory and practice of the maṇḍalas. It is only through his descriptions of how maṇḍalas are made use of in different rituals, and especially in the initiation (dikṣā) ritual, that Abhinavagupta's conception of the nature of these devices appears.

Chapter 31 (163 slokās), on the nature of maṇḍalas (maṇḍalasvarūpam), does not describe their nature, merely how to draw them. It consists almost entirely of quotations from earlier Tantras. It describes five different types of maṇḍalas, four of which are made of tridents and lotuses (śūlābja-maṇḍala), while one includes a svastika. The descriptions are those of four different Tantras, three of which have not come down to us: the Trikāsadbhāva (also called Tantra-sadbhāva), the Devyāyamalatantra, and the Trisirobhairavatantra. The fourth description is taken from chapter 9 (6-30) of the Mālinivijaya, the Tantra on which according to Abhinavagupta the teaching of the TĀ is based; this text is still extant. While the descriptions of the Trikāsadbhāva and the Mālinivijaya are clear enough, those drawn from the two other Tantras are difficult to understand (even with the help of Jayaratha's commentary). Only two forms of the śūlābja-maṇḍala can therefore be drawn with any

* The English of this paper has been checked by Mrs Barbara Bray whose kind help I wish (once more) to acknowledge very gratefully.

1 See Bibliography. "There is nothing here," says Abhinavagupta in the first chapter of the TĀ (1.17) "that is not clearly said, or implied by the gods in the venerable Mālini[vijayottaratantra]."
certainty. The method for drawing the manḍalas given in these Tantras is the usual one, that is, to draw their lines with a powdered string on a pure, consecrated and oriented square surface, divided usually into small square sections. Coloured powders may be added once the pattern is drawn, so as to make it more beautiful, which is something the deities like (9.41–42): "one who knows how to do this is a real master of the Trika," says sīkā 51. There are also manḍalas made of perfumed substances, called gandha manḍala, and less frequently used.

What strikes one when looking at these diagrams is that they do not conform to the pattern generally considered as normal for manḍalas, which are usually centred geometrical structures which the user is to contemplate—and/or to use for his worship—by going mentally from their outward portion to their middle point; that is, ontologically, from an outer lower plane to the higher central plane of the deity: it is a centripetal move. Here the manḍalas are of a different type. On a square ground the main element is Śiva's trident (śūla or triśūla), whose staff goes vertically from the lower part of the manḍala to its centre, where it expands in the form of a lotus, above which its three prongs rise. On the tips of each of these is a full blown lotus—this is the triśūlābjamaṇḍala, the manḍala of the trident and lotuses described in the Mālinīvijaya. Or else it may consist of a vertical trident blossoming, in the centre of the diagram, into a lotus from which emerge on top and on the sides three lotus-topped tridents, thus forming the triṃtiṣūlābjamaṇḍala, the manḍala of the three tridents and [seven] lotuses (see Illustration 1). The mental movement of the user thus appears as an ascending one, or as centrifugal: the manḍala does not draw the user who meditates it to its centre, but appears to invite (and induce) a fusion through ascent to a higher level, or absorption into the shimmering luminousness of a radiating divine surface (a manḍala being always the receptacle—the ādhāra—of mantras/deities who are by nature luminous). While these manḍalas are different in their pattern, their ritual (and

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1 This was done by Stephanie Sanderson for Professor Alexis Sanderson's 1986 article 'Maṇḍala and Āgamic Identity in the Trika of Kashmir.' This very erudite paper is to date the only thorough study of the subject: the present brief survey is very largely indebted to it. Mrs Sanderson's drawings are reproduced here with her permission (see Illustrations 1–3).

2 There seems also to be a four tridents and [eight] lotuses manḍala (catustri-śūlābjamaṇḍala).
Méditational) role is not different from that of other diagrams: they are structures on which to focus one’s attention, in which to perceive the presence of the deity or deities, in which to worship them and finally unite with them: the aim is the same even if the mental and ritual course is different. This role of manḍala as a means of fusion with the godhead is underscored by Abhinavagupta who—for the manḍalas described in the TĀ—goes as far as to identify the manḍala and the supreme deity in TĀ 37.21 where he says: “because the term manḍa [forms the word] mandala this word expresses the essence, it means Śiva” (manḍalam sāram uktam hi maṇḍaśrutyā śivāhvayam). As Jayaratha explains, the manḍala gives (lāti—because of la) the essence which designates Śiva: manḍalam iti maṇḍaṁ śivāhvayam lātiḥyarthaḥ.

The TĀ prescribes the use of manḍalas in various rituals. The manḍala is mentioned in TĀ 6.2–4 as one of the sthānas, the ‘places’ on or with which rites are performed or mental concentration is practiced (the case in this chapter being the transcending of time). For the TĀ as for all other Tantras, the manḍala is the ritually delimited and consecrated surface where deities and supernatural entities are installed by their mantras and on which rites are to be performed. If, however, a manḍala is to be used in various rituals and in ritual worship (pūjā), its more important use, in this treatise, is in initiation (dikṣā) rites. Its role is so essential to initiation that seeing the manḍala may mean being initiated. TĀ 4.49 and 13.152 quote thus from sloka 18 of the Parātrīṃśikā: adṛṣṭamandaḥ ‘pi, “even if he has not seen the manḍala,” which can be understood as meaning ‘even if he is not initiated.’ In this case, however, as Abhinavagupta explains in his commentary of the Parātrīṃśikā, the word may be given several interpretations: it can be taken as referring to the system of bodily cakras or wheels of power where deities reside; or to the secret ritual meeting of Tantric initiates and Yoginis (melaḥaka), where the participants usually form a circle; or to the triśūlabja- manḍala seen during worship or initiation, or perceived in one’s body (as we shall see below). These interpretations all refer to cases where the adept experiences mental cum bodily identification with the deity or its radiating power.

Since only an initiated (male) person can perform rites, we shall look at the role of the manḍala first in initiation (dikṣā), then the
occasional obligatory (*naimittika*) and the regular obligatory (*nitya*) ritual worship. Chapter 15 of the TĀ describes in its latter part (436ff.) the *samayadiksā*, the first degree of initiation, by which one becomes a *sannyāsin*, an initiate who abides by the rules (*samaya*) of the sect but cannot perform rites. The procedure is a comparatively simple one. For this, the sacrificial surface, the *sthānila*, is prepared by placing mantras on it and worshipping them, installing powers and offerings in vases, and then tracing a *trisūlābjamandala*, a maṇḍala of one trident and lotuses (described in TĀ 31.62–85, see Illustration 2), which in this case is a *gandhamandala* (15.387), not traced with coloured powders but with perfumed substances. The initiating *guru* is to worship on it the three goddesses of the Trika “alone or with their consorts, or a *mantradetavatā*” (388), which he has installed there by their mantras. He must then blindfold the initiand with a cloth on which mantras have been placed and lead him to the maṇḍala, make him fall on his knees and cast flowers on the maṇḍala, after which the cloth is swiftly removed: “The initiand, suddenly seeing the sacrificial area illuminated by the supernatural power of the mantras (*mantraprabhāvollasite sthale*), is possessed by them and identifies with them” (*tadāvesavāsač cchiṣyas tanmayatvam prāpyate*) (15.451b–452a). “As a lover perceives directly the virtues of his beloved, in the same way [the initiand], made perfect by the descent of divine grace (*saktipātasamskṛtā*), experiences the presence of the mantras (*mantrasannidhi*)” (452). This direct luminous and purifying vision of a mantra pantheon enclosed in the maṇḍala is only the first step in the initiation ritual, but it can be seen as the basic one since this initial empowerment of the initiate will not only make him a member of the sect, but will also induce a permanent state of identification with the deities of the maṇḍala, a state that will henceforth form the basis of his initiatic spiritual life. Though one of the terms used here to denote the condition of the initiand is *āveśa*, possession, he does not appear to be expected to fall in trance—as is the case in the Kaula initiation described in chapter 29, where the

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4 A *gandhamandala* is also used in the worship of the *guru* which takes place before the *samayadiksā* (TĀ 15.387).

5 Tantric pantheons are as much (or perhaps more) structured groups of mantras as groups of deities.
mantras are so powerful that the initiate, merely by seeing them, is possessed and falls unconscious on the ground.

The next step in the Śaiva initiation is that of the putrakadikṣā, (also named viśeṣadikṣā, special initiation, or nirvāṇadikṣā, liberating initiation) which transforms the samayin into a ‘[spiritual] son’ of his guru. It is examined in chapter 16 of the TĀ, whose description (based on the teaching of the Mālinīvijaya and other Tantras) is more detailed than the preceding one. The ritual begins with the drawing of a tritiśūlābja-maṇḍala: “When the master wishes to promote a samayin to the state of putraka, of sādhaka, or of master (deśika), he must first perform the preliminary purification, then, the next day, draw the maṇḍala in the same way as for the composed sacrifice (sāmudāyikayāga) and elsewhere” (1–2a). The use here of this more complex maṇḍalic structure, where more deities are installed, may be taken as showing that this initiation is of a higher order than the first one. Once the maṇḍala is drawn, the triad of the Trika supreme goddesses, Parā, Parāparā and Aparā, are to be placed (by their mantras) on the prongs of the three tridents and be fully worshipped (pūrṇam sampūjitam). Then, the maṇḍala (which is apparently not made with powders) must be cleaned with a perfumed cloth (7b). After which the master, having bathed, worships, in front of the maṇḍala, the deities of the external retinue, then, on its ‘doors,’ the deities of the doors (dvāradevatā), then, going from the north-east to the south-east, he worships Gaṇeṣa and other gods “down to the kṣetrapālas” (8–9). We may note here that such prescriptions as these show that the maṇḍala is a rather large structure. The guru is now to worship with flowers, incense and other offerings the deities installed in the maṇḍala, starting with the ādhāraśakti, at the base of the trident, and up to Śiva at the tip of the tridents, the ritual being performed on each of the three tridents. Parā, Parāparā and Aparā with their accompanying Bhairavas are thus worshipped on the lotuses which are on the tips of the three tridents, then the transcendent goddess Mātrṣadbhāva—who is also Parā—in the central lotus where she abides accompanied by Bhairavasadbhāva. Parā, the supreme divine power, being thus centrally placed on all the tridents, is conceived as pervading the

6 This refers to the maṇḍala used in the so-called inner sacrifice described in chapter 15 (295b–365) of the TĀ. This ritual is called composed, or complex, since it brings together several different elements.
mandala, which “is entirely full of her presence” \( (susāṃpūrṇas taddhiṣṭhānamātratāh—16) \). Several deities present in the mandala are now to be worshipped. Several other rites follow, meant to infuse in the initiand the power of the goddesses of the mandala\(^7\) and bring him to enter the path of non-duality. A practice is also described (23–26) by which the initiating master, penetrating then leaving mentally (through a prānāyāma practice) the deity present in the mandala, experiences an identification of his self with it (maṇḍa-lātmāikyānusandhāna), to use Jayaratha’s expression (volume 10, p. 10). Thus pervaded with the power of the mandala,\(^8\) that is, the power of the mantras placed in this diagram, he will be all the more able to transmit this transforming power to the initiand, leading him from the lower condition of a samayin (or samayadikṣita) to the higher one of putraka (or to the state of sādhaka, if he is a bubhukṣu, one who seeks power or supernatural rewards through the mastery of a mantra).

Mandalas are also used in other forms of initiation described in the TĀ. A mandala is used, for instance, in the funeral rite (antyeṣṭi), a kind of initiation rite, where it is to be drawn in the house of the dead person (24.10–12) before the funeral rites are performed. It is used, too, in the initiation of somebody who is absent (whether away or dead), briefly described in chapter 21. In this case, after preliminary purifications of the ritual place, of the rice used in the ritual, of the disciple and of the mandala, the latter is used to bring about the presence of the mantras and to satisfy them (mantrasamān̄dhisamāpti), since these are the powers that are to be propitiated to initiate the disciple who is absent: as Jayaratha comments, the mandala protects the disciple even if it is not seen by him. It is useful in spite of the fact that it is only one among eleven elements used to perform that initiation (21.13–15), the ritual having to be performed as richly as possible so as to satisfy fully the powers invoked in the mandala. This mandala is the tritriśūlābjamaṇḍala, which, Abhinavagupta says (21.19–20), is so powerful that simply by seeing it, without even propitiating the mantras placed on it, [the disciple] becomes a samayin (mantramandale anāhute ‘pi drṣṭam sat

\(^7\) Sanderson 1986: 197 shows how Abhinavagupta superimposes on the Trika deities of the mandala the fourfold sequence of the Krama tradition and even the system of the twelve Kālis.

\(^8\) TĀ 17.1–3 underlines the identification of the initiating guru and the mandala.
—this sentence, however, is probably not to be taken literally. The likeness of the missing person used in the rite, as well as the mantras, must be luminous (ākṛtir diptārūpā yā mantras tadvat). After the maṇḍala has been drawn and the deity worshipped, adds the TĀ (22b-24), the guru must make with kuśa grass and cow-dung an image of the disciple he is to initiate, in which he will instil that disciple’s mind (citta) so as to liberate him from his fetters before the rest of the ritual is performed.

The same maṇḍala is used for the initiation described in chapter 29, which is that of the Kaula Trika. This initiation is different from the one given to ordinary disciples. It is given by the Kaula guru to a few chosen disciples only—one in a hundred thousand, according to TĀ 29.187—that is, those who are able to perform rites (the Kaula sacrifice, kulayāga) where a feminine partner (dūti) plays a role and where the offerings include meat and liquor, and also sexual secretions. Such rites are in contradiction to the generally admitted rules of purity the Trika adept is supposed to respect in his outer social behavior. It is therefore to be kept secret. This is repeated several times in this chapter by Abhinavagupta, who states before describing the part of the ritual where the maṇḍala is used (29.169): “this cannot be described clearly by me because it is secret” (na pathyate rahasyatvat spaśtaih śabdair mayā). The passage which follows (170-174) is indeed quite obscure. I have not been able to render it very clearly in spite of the help extended to me by Professor Alexis Sanderson whom I consulted on the subject. As Jayaratha explains in his commentary on a preceding śloka (p. 114), Abhinavagupta refers here implicitly to the doctrine that the teachings of Bhairava have four foundations, namely mantra, vidyā, mudrā and maṇḍala, the case here being that of the maṇḍala, which is identified with the body of the performer of the rite. In the section of chapter 29 (ślokas 166–177), concerning the secret practice with a dūti, the divinized body of the Yogin is the substrate on and with

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9 Kulayāga, according to a common use of the term yāga in such texts, means also the pantheon of the Kula.

10 It is the offering (arghya, argha) called kundagolā or kundagolakā which includes the sexual secretions produced during the ritual by the adept and his feminine partner.

11 Mantras (or vidyās, which are feminine mantras) are phonic forms of the deity. Mudrās, in Abhinavagupta’s view (see TĀ, chapter 32) bring about the identification of the performer with the deity which is made present by arising from the image (pratibimba) thus produced. On this see Padoux 1990: 66-75.
which the ritual is performed. The passage we are concerned with runs as follows: “As all have [a body], so have the god and the goddess [that is, the Yogin and his dūtī]. This [body of theirs] is the supreme wheel (tac cakram paramam) by which the goddess and the pantheon (yāga) are made present (170). The body is indeed the supreme icon (deha eva parama liṅgam), made of all the tattvas. Auspicious, it is the highest place of worship for it is occupied by the wheel of all the deities (171). It is this [body] which is the supreme maṇḍala, made of the three tridents, the [seven] lotuses, wheels or voids (kha). There and nowhere else must the wheel of deities be constantly worshipped, externally and internally (172). [The performer] should first concentrate mentally on the mantra of each [deity] (svasvamantraparāmarśapūrvam), then touch [himself] with the richly blissful fluids that are produced from [the body, this being done] following the order of emission and that of resorption (srṣṭisambhāravidhīna) (173). By these contacts, the field of one’s consciousness is awakened and, becoming the master of that [field], one reaches the highest domain (paramam dhāman), having satisfied all the deities [which animate his senses and body] (174). [Then the Yogin] should gratify these [deities] in [his body] with all the heart-ravishing substances and by concentrating on each of their [mantras], following for this the procedure laid down for the auxiliary worship (anuyāgoktavidhinī)” (175). Abhinavagupta then sings the praises of the maṇḍala-body: “In the divine abode of the body (deha-deva-sadane), I worship you together, o my god and goddess, night and day, with the blissful nectar that fills the vase of offering of the heart, with the unmediated flowers of the spirit which spread their native natural fragrance, and by sprinkling over the world, bearer of all, with the pure essence of my wondering ecstasy (camatkṛtirasa).”

The use of maṇḍalas is prescribed not only for initiations but also for the performance of other rituals. For instance, for the worship of the newly consecrated master, the gurupūjā, which is to be per-

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12 Jayaratha glosses khaby vyoman which means space, void. Which void is this? I do not know.
13 That is, by making offerings (meat, liquor, sexual fluids) to the deities on the mandala, and by consuming them.
14 This refers to the kundagolaka, see note 10.
15 That is to say, beginning with the highest deity at the crown of the head and progressing downward, or beginning with the outermost deities of the mandala, at the feet, and progressing upwards.
formed at the end of the initiation or consecration (abhiṣeka) ritual, the guru is to be seated on a seat ‘of gold, etc.’ (haimādikāsanaṃ), placed on a maṇḍala on which a svastika is drawn (TĀ. 28.425–426). What is the pattern of this svastikamaṇḍala is not specified there, but it is probably the pattern described in chapter 31, 132–154. Ślokas 147–154 of that chapter give precise details of the aspects and colours of the lotus petals and svastikas of the maṇḍala, which must not only be brightly coloured but also adorned with precious stones. The passage ends: “the sanctuary of the god of gods who satisfies all desires must be outwardly all red and shining (jvalārūṇa).” That the maṇḍala should be bright, shining, is often said, but it is difficult to gauge how ‘bright’ these diagrams really were. To be sure, they were brightly coloured, adorned with flowers, perhaps also gold and precious stones, but often the ‘brightness’ or even the fulguration mentioned in the texts is that of the mantras placed in the maṇḍala, not that of the diagram itself: a brightness, therefore, which was probably mentally perceived (shall we say imagined?) rather than actually seen.

Another, more interesting use of the maṇḍala, perceived as present in the body of the adept, is described in the 15th chapter of the TĀ. There, the maṇḍala is not identified with the body. It is felt to rise within it and then to overgrow it, thus bringing about a total surpassing of bodily existence and consciousness. This takes place during the first part of the daily ritual worship of the Śaiva adept, who, before performing the external phase (bāhya) of the worship, the pūjā, is to place mentally in his body the pantheon of the maṇḍala and to identify himself mentally with it: as the saying goes, nādevo devam arcayet: the officiant cannot worship a deity if he is not first formally deified. Here, however, the deification is of a very particular and especially intense sort since the adept is expected to transcend mentally his identity and limited consciousness by realizing it to be identical with the non-individual divine consciousness, a process that will fuse him with the unlimited power of the supreme godhead. Through this practice, to quote Alexis Sanderson, the performer “ritually internalizes a metaphysical ontology.” The diagram which is used to this end is the triśūlābjamandala (Illustration 2), to be visualized by the adept as present in his body,

16 Sanderson 1986: 172; pp. 172–182 of this study describe and explain thoroughly the process and meaning of this ritual mental worship.
with all the cosmic entities and deities present in it. The procedure is as follows: first, controlling his vital breaths, the adept fuses his prāna and apāna breaths in the samāna breath, which is then burnt by the ascending udāna breath blazing up from below his navel along the suṣumnā up to the dvādaśānta (or ārdhvakunḍalinī), the subtle centre deemed to be placed twelve finger-spaces above the brahmārandhra, therefore above his body. This awakening and rising of the kunḍalini is the preliminary condition for the internal installation of the maṇḍala and for the worship of its deities. In this Yogic state of trance, which cuts him off entirely from the surrounding world, the adept is to visualize the triśūlābjamāṇḍala as present in his body (see Illustration 3). Four fingers below his navel, he places mentally the swelling at the base of the trident and worships it as being the adhārāsakti, the power which supports the cosmos which he feels as present within him. Then he imagines (and worships as an ascending movement toward the deity) the staff of the trident which he sees mentally as rising in his body above the navel along the vertical axis of the suṣumnā up to the subtle centre of the palate (tālū) through the 25 tattvas constituting the world, from the earth-tattva to those of puruṣa and the kañcukas, which are tiered along it. Thus all the constituents of the manifest, impure (aśuddha) world are present in the adept, constituting the throne of the Trika deities. Above the palate, he visualizes the ‘knot’ (granthi) of the trident, identified with the māyā-tattva, then he visualizes its ‘plinth’ (catuskīka) together with the suddha-vidyā-tattva, the first level of the pure universe (suddhadhvān) which begins there and extends above māyā up to Śiva. On this plinth he imagines an eight-petalled ‘lotus of gnosis’ (vidyāpadma) as the īśvara-tattva. In the centre of that lotus the adept now mentally installs Sadāśiva (the 34th tattva), visualizing him as a blazing corpse (the so-called Mahāpreta), emaciated because he is void of the cosmos, gazing upward toward the light of the absolute and laughing boisterously (atthāhāsa). Sādāśiva must be worshipped as made up of two and a half syllables and as dominating everything. The adept is now to visualize the three prongs of the trident rising up through his cranial aperture (on the phonic level of nādānta) from Sadāśiva’s navel and

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17 This mad laughter is a characteristic trait of fearsome Tantric deities. It is also to be used by adepts during certain rituals. The practice goes back to the Pāṣupatas.
18 As noted before, deities are mantras—or mantras deities.
going up to the *dvādaśānta*. These prongs are deemed to go through the subtle levels of resonance and consciousness named *śakti*, *vyāpini* and *samanā*.\(^9\) On the tips of the three prongs of the trident (on the level of the *dvādaśānta* and on that of *unmanā*, the trans­mental plane), he visualizes three white lotuses. On these he first enthrones the mantras of three Bhairavas, conceived of as lying on the lotuses, and then, seated on the Bhairavas, the three supreme goddesses of the Trika: first, on the central prong, Parā, the supreme, white, luminous, benevolent, pouring *amṛta*; then, on her left, Parā­parā, the intermediate, red and wrathful; and on her other side, Aparā, the lower, dark-red, furious, terrifying. The three goddesses are garlanded with skulls, hold the skull-staff, etc. Now, the adept, seeing these goddesses mentally, must worship them together with their retinues, offering them (since this is a purely mental process) the transcendental consciousness he has of the fact that the universe is an expansion of the divine power and that his own consciousness is totally fused into this divine, omnipresent reality. To perform this Yogic practice of the maṇḍala is thus to experience the identity of the self and of the absolute. All the fantas­magory visualized in this way leads the Yogin to feel dissolved into the transcendental void of the absolute whilst being also inhabited in his body by the cosmos and its presiding deities. It is an interesting, but strange, process. If we consider that this Yogic, visionary trance-like state of bodily consciousness is to be experienced every day by the Śaiva adept, we may well wonder what psychological condition is thus induced in him, what kind of perception of the world he lives with. Can one feel fused with the absolute after having filled one’s mind with such a fantastic scenery and still behave ‘normally’? Of course, these ritual prac­tices may have been performed merely in imagination without any real inner participation of the Yogin. They may even have been limited to the mere recitation of the mantras evoking the *tattvas* and the deities (*mantraprayoga*). But what if they were really experienced? What if the Kaula adept, practising the ritual at least once every day, carried always in him this scenery? This is an interesting question—but not one to be answered here.

\(^9\) On the subtle levels of enunciation (*uccāra*) of a *bijamantra*, from *bindu* to *unmanā*, see Padoux 1990a: 404–411. Here as in other cases the planes (*kala*) of phonic utterance (*uccara*) are taken as a subtle prolongation of the levels of the cosmos (*tattvas*).
1. Outline of the maṇḍala of the three tridents and (seven) lotuses (triritrīśālābjanamāṇḍala) prescribed by the Trikasadhāvatantra
2. Outline of the maṇḍala of the trident and lotuses (trisūlāhjamanḍala) prescribed by the Mālinīvijayottaratantra
3. Visualization of the mandala throne of the three goddesses of the Trika
THE ŚRĪCAKRA ACCORDING TO THE FIRST CHAPTER OF
THE YOGINĪHṚDĀYA

André Padoux

The śrīcakra—the maṇḍalic form of the goddess Tripurasundari, symbolic of her cosmic activity—is too well known to need describing here. It is indeed so well known that ritual diagrams are often believed to be all of the same type—i.e., centred maṇḍalic cosmic symbols—though, as Hélène Brunner explained in her article, this is not at all the case. The maṇḍalas of the Tantrāloka, also described in this book, are likewise of a different type. Cosmic diagrams of the same sort as the śrīcakra are to be found in the Kubjikāmatatāntara, chapters 14–16, where they are to be visualized in the body, but not, apparently, to be materially drawn and used for worship. This resemblance may be due to the links existing between the ancient Kubjikā tradition and the somewhat more recent Śrīvidyā, to which the Yoginīhṛdāya (YH) belongs—it being, together with the Vāmakeśvarimata/Nityāśoḍaśikārṇava, one of its two basic texts. The description of the śrīcakra in the first pāṭala of the YH is worth mentioning because, rather surprisingly, it does not say how the diagram looks and how to draw it, but describes its apparition, its ‘descent’ (cakrāvatāra), as a divine cosmic process, an outward cosmic manifestation of the power of the godhead which is to be meditated, visualized, and even bodily experienced by the adept. The śrīcakra is shown here as a diagrammatic cosmic vision rather than...
as a ritual diagram. The theological, metaphysical bias of the YH’s
description is emphasized by the earliest of the three known
commentaries of the YH: the Dipikā of Amṛṭānanda (13th or 14th
century), whose thought was very much influenced by the
Kashmirian non-dualist Pratyabhijñā system, though he was
probably from South India. The YH itself is in all likelihood a work
from Kashmir, and may date from the 11th century.4

The śrīcakra, as is well known, is made up of a central triangle
with a dot (bindu) in the middle, surrounded by four concentric
series of triangles, themselves encircled by two concentric rows of
lotus petals which in turn are encompassed by a threefold circle
enclosed in a square ground forming the outer portion (see
Illustration 1): nine parts altogether, each of which is called a cakra.
These nine constitutive parts of the śrīcakra are regarded as an
expansion of the divine power of the goddess, wherein abide all her
different energies and all the deities emanating from her and forming
her retinue. (These supernatural entities embody and relay her power,
infusing the śrīcakra with it and therefore somehow constituting it.5)
The śrīcakra as shown here is thus not a mere outline, nor a mere
consecrated area, but a cosmic event and reality, to be meditated,
realized, interiorized by the adept through the practice of bhāvanā;
that is, by creative identifying meditation, a practice the fundamental
importance of which in this context must be emphasized: the cosmic
event, the expansion and unfolding of power of the cakrāvatāra is to
be so intensely visualized, imagined, and felt to unfold in the cosmos
as well as in the adept’s mind and body, that he identifies with it.

An interesting aspect of the YH’s approach to the śrīcakra is that
its three chapters are called samketa, the first one being the
cakrasamketa. The use of this term, which means agreement,
appointment, meeting, underlines the fact that what is being
described there is not a mere diagram, but the diagrammatic aspect
and result of the meeting, the union of the goddess Tripurasundari

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4 See Padoux 1994: 42ff. The YH may have been influenced by the Pratyabhijñā.
5 Kashmirian Śaiva authors, such, for instance, as Kṣemarāja, tend to distinguish
between yantra, conceived of as a pattern of mantras/deities, and maṇḍala as the
actual, visible structure. This, as suggested by Sanderson in his comments on
Brunner’s contribution to Padoux 1986: 33, would have as a consequence that it is
only the structure that one can ‘trace,’ that is the maṇḍala, and that (I quote) “when
one speaks of the maṇḍala to include the circle of deities (devatācakram) or mantras
(mantracakram) worshipped in it, then this is by extension of the primary sense.”
and of her consort, Śiva/Bhairava, the common united presence of these two aspects of the supreme godhead in the śrīcakra bringing about its apparition and endowing it with their unlimited glory and power.

After eight introductory stanzas, the first chapter begins: “When she, the supreme power, [becoming] by her own free will embodied as all that exists (viśvarūpiṇī), perceives her own throbbing radiance (sphurattā), the cakra is then being produced.” It is a cosmic event: the goddess is taking on her cosmic form. The YH then describes the development and play of the divine energies of the goddess, from the bindu in the centre to the outer square delimiting the śrīcakra. The bindu is said to issue from the initial, void (śūnya) phoneme a, which is the absolute. It is described (ślokas 11–12), not as a mere dot, nor as the place in which to visualize the goddess, but as “throbbing consciousness whose supreme nature is light and which is united with the flashing flow [of divine power],” being “the seat (baindavāsana) which is the [birth]place of the flow made up of the three mātrkās.” It thus assumes the form of the ‘threelfold mātrkā,’ which is to say the three planes of the word, paśyanti, madhyamā and vaikhari which appear together with the inner triangle of the śrīcakra. Then appears the cakra of eight triangles known as navayoni because it is considered as being made up of the central triangle plus the eight that surround it, nine in all, and because it is the origin, the yoni from which the following cakras are born. It is described as a huge compact mass of consciousness and bliss (cidānandaghanam mahat), absolutely pure, transcending time and space: a cosmic vision, not a mere outline. Then, by an inner process of transformation and interaction, the other constituting cakras of the śrīcakra appear, each described as luminous, in each of which goddesses or mantras and phonemes are deemed to abide (and are to be imagined as present), each also associated with tattvas down to the level of the earth tattva, on the outer square. The cakras correspond, too, to the divisions of the cosmos called kalā, from the śāntyatitakalā, the highest, in the centre, to the nivṛttikalā, that of the earth, in the square part. This is to be expected since the śrīcakra as it appears or unfolds is an image

6 yadā sāi paramā śaktiḥ sveccchayā viśvarūpiṇī /
  sphurattāṁ ātmānāḥ paśyet tādā cakrasya sambhavāḥ //

7 In the non-dualistic vision of Śaivism, the cosmic manifestation (sṛṣṭi), though ‘emitted,’ results from an act of consciousness of the godhead and remains ontologically within it.
of the cosmos in statu nascendi, extending from the godhead to this world. The ‘descending’ cosmic structure of the śrīcakra appears also in the fact that its nine cakras are regarded as forms or creations of the powers (śakti) of Śiva and from this point of view are considered as divided into three groups, deemed respectively to correspond to the powers of will (icchā), knowledge (jñāna) and activity (kriyā) of the deity. “The cakra,” concludes śloka 24, “is thus threefold. It is an aspect of kāmakalā and is in reality and essence expansion (prasārapamārthataḥ).”

After this first cosmogonic phase, this cosmic vision, the adept must now (ślokas 25–36) turn to a different sort of mental exercise. He is to ‘meditate’ (bhavayet), that is, visualize the nine portions of the śrīcakra, from the outer square to the central bindu, as present in nine centres (here called padma) of his Yogic ‘subtle’ body. These nine centres are to be visualized with their shapes, colours and residing deities as tiered along the susumnā, from the akulapadma, situated at its base, where he mentally places the outer square (called the trailokyamohanacakra), to the ājñā, between the eyebrows, where he imagines the central bindu. The movement is therefore now centripetal: the adept not only feels identified with the śrīcakra and imagines or perceives it in himself, he also follows mentally, linked with his Yogic imaginary inner structure or ‘body,’ an ascending movement towards the centre of the śrīcakra and thus to the supreme goddess. The movement does not, however, stop in this centre but takes on a different and more subtle (nīskalā) form, for the adept is now to meditate the kalās, the subtle phonic ‘parts’—the subtle

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8 These are—in this order of decreasing status—the three powers or energies of Śiva through which he manifests the universe.
9 To say that the śrīcakra is kāmakalā is to say that it is made up of the combined presence of Śiva (kāma) and Śakti (kalā).
10 The pattern of centres (cakra or granthi) and canals (nādi) which the Yogin is to visualize as present in his body and where the prāṇa or the mantras flow, is often called the ‘subtle body,’ because it is a visionary, not an anatomically existing structure. But this is wrong because ‘subtle body’ is a translation of sūkṣmadeha (or sūkṣmaśarira), the transmigrating portion, made of tattvas, of the human being: something quite different.
11 This centre is specific to the YH (or to the Tripurā tradition). Since there are nine constituting cakras in the śrīcakra, to be visualized in the bodily centres, these must of necessity be nine in number. Above the akulapadma there is thus a kulapadma, a lambikapadma (on the uvula) being added between the viśuddha and the ājñā (see Illustration 2).
forms of phonic energy, that is,—of the bijamantra hrīm, starting with the bindu (the anusvāra following the m of the mantra). He must visualize and meditate all the other kalās: ardha, nāda, nādanta, śakti, vyāpini, samanā and unmanā of the uccāra of hrīm, to which is added in fine the so-called mahābindu, which “transcends space, time and form:” an utterly transcendent aspect of the phonic vibration. In this mental practice the adept, having meditated and visualized each of the nine parts of the śrīcakra as present in each of his bodily centres, is now to perceive the central bindu not as the centre of the śrīcakra but as the first phonic kalā of hrīm, thus shifting from a spatial type of meditation to a more subtle, phonic one. This meditation is in fact not purely phonic since all the kalās have a visual aspect or symbol which is also to be evoked: these aspects are described in slokas 27–34, which also mention the length of time during which they are to be mentally ‘uttered’ (uccāraṇakāla). These fractions of time are so minute (ranging from 1/4th to 1/256th of a mātra) that they cannot possibly correspond to any actual utterance. They rather suggest the uccāra’s growing degree of subtleness. They express or correspond to a progression of the Yogin towards a total transcending of all empirical reality either of form or of sound/word. The adept is indeed finally to reach the transcendent plane of what is called mahābindu, where he is to meditate and fuse with (to quote Amṛtānanda) “the supreme Śiva, supreme light, the power of supreme awareness that is the supreme goddess Mahātriipurasundari.” It is therefore a totally non-material (niskalā), mystical experience of the supreme godhead. This transition from a diagrammatic, spatial or visual dimension of meditative practice to a phonic, mantric one, with the attainment of the supreme plane of the deity, is expressed in sloka 36, which is as follows: “When this supreme energy (paramā kalā) sees the effulgence of the self (ātmanah sphuraṇam), she assumes the aspect of Ambikā: the supreme word (parā vāk) is being uttered.”

The notion that the meditation of a mandala should lead the adept to see or participate in the power of a deity is not uncommon. The

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12 The Tripurā/Śrīvidyā tradition has both a particular cakra and a particular mantra, the 15 phonemes śrīvidyā, the three parts of which all end with the bija hrīm.
13 On the kalās of hrīm, on, etc., see Padoux 1990a: 402–411.
14 A mātra or ‘mora’ is, in Sanskrit, the duration of a short vowel.
15 ātmanah sphuraṇam paśycod yadā sā paramā kalā / ambikāryāpayāppannāparāvāksamudṣrīṭā //
notion that it should bring about an identification (śāmarasya, says the commentary) with the supreme plane of vāc is less frequent; this is perhaps a further proof of the Śaiva Kashmirian origin of the YH.

Ambikā, being the supreme mother and supreme level of the word, is the source of the cosmos. The sādhaka having mentally attained this level is now (ślokās 37–49) to imagine again the supreme goddess’s intent on manifesting the universe with all it contains, a cosmic process conceived, however, as developing along the pattern of the śrīcakra. To quote ślokās 37–40, “When she is about to manifest the universe which [she holds within herself] as a germ, assuming an oblique aspect, [she becomes] Vāmā because she vomits the universe (viśvasya vamanāt). Then, as the energy of will (icchāśaktī), she has the visionary [word] (paśyantī) as her body. When she is the power of cognition (jñānaśaktī), she is Jyeṣṭhā, and the intermediate word (madhyamā vāk) is then uttered. When the maintaining of the universe prevails, her figure spreads out into a straight line. Then, in the state of resorption she takes on the shape of the bindu. When the reverse process takes place, her body becomes [shaped like] a śrīgātaka. She is then the power of activity (kriyāśaktī): she is Raudrī, the corporeal [word] (vaikhari), appearing as the universe.”

What the adept is to realize here is the first creative movement of the supreme goddess manifesting the inner triangle, together with four forms of energy and four divine forms of herself, while retaining all this within herself—hence the fourth goddess, Raudrī, and the return to the inner bindu.

In or around this central triangle other entities are now to appear, who like the preceding ones are to be conceived of both as existing in the cosmos and as abiding in the śrīcakra. First (ślokās 41–43) are produced the four pithas, the sacred seats of the goddess, Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri, Jālandhara and Odyāna, described here not as abiding in the central triangle (called the sarvasiddhimayacakra) but as being in the Yogic imaginary body (in the mūlādhāra, the heart, the bhrū-madhyā and the brahmaraṇḍhāra) of the adept: the process, as we have already noted, is inseparably cosmic, diagrammatic and Yogic, these three aspects being both imagined, visualized (the colours and shapes of the pithas are described) and bodily experienced.

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16 The śrīgātaka is the trapa bispinosa, the water-chestnut, whose fruit is triangular in shape. The word śrīgātaka is therefore used to mean a triangle.
Then four different liṅgas (svayambhū, bāna, itara and para) are imagined as being each in one of the four pithas, each being of a different colour and aspect, and each associated with different sets of Sanskrit phonemes, so that the whole power of vāc in the form of the Sanskrit alphabet abides in them (41–44). All these elements, the mātrkā, the pithas and the liṅgas, are described as being ‘expressed’ (vācyā) by (that is, as produced by) the mantra of the goddess, the śrīvidyā, which is taken as being fourfold (that is, the mantra as a whole plus its three parts), and are considered as corresponding to the five conditions or states of consciousness (avasthā, jāgrat, svapna, susupti, turya and turyāṭīta. The adept thus has a vision of the śrīcakra in its cosmic diversity and power. This is expressed by śloka 50: “[This] universe which has come forth as the cosmic outline born from her own will is consciousness, the [visible] form of the self, uncreated bliss and beauty.” Then the goddess herself, supreme consciousness, is to be visualized in the centre of the śrīcakra embracing her consort Kāmeśvara, both holding the goad and the noose “made up of the energy of will” (icchāsaktimaya), the bow and the arrow “which are energy of action” (kriyāsaktimaya), so that the two, male and female, aspects of the supreme deity are seen as present in the diagram which they pervade and animate, as they do the cosmos, by their united power and will. To quote śloka 55: “Such is the supreme splendour, the śrīcakra as her cosmic body (vāpaḥ), surrounded by the dazzling waves of her multitudinous power,” a vision which fills the adept with wonder and awe.

Having thus visualized the śrīcakra in its cosmic aspect overflowing with the glory of the goddess, the adept is now to visualize and understand the role of another group of powers or deities residing in this diagram, the Mudrās, which are ten in number (ślokas

17 A Śaiva liṅga is not necessarily of a more or less phallic shape. Here, for instance, the itaraliṅga is said to be round like a kadamba flower. The best liṅga is often said to be a tūra, an incised skull. As for the four liṅgas listed here, they are the usual four types of sīvaliṅgas.

18 *svecchāviśvamayololekhakhatiṃ viśvarūpakam / caityanyām ātmano rūpaṃ nisargānandāsundaram /*

19 Tripurasundari with Bhairava as her consort is also conceived as Kāmeśvari with Kāmeśvara, these latter being in fact the basic deities of the Dakṣināmāya (Padoux 1994: 38). On Kāmeśvari, see, for instance, Bühnemann 2000–2001, volume I: 131.

20 *evamṛūpam param tejah śrīcakravapuṣā sthitam / tadyaśaktinikarasphurūdurmāṃvatam /*
Though this is another phase in the vision and practice of the śrīcakra by the adept, it is not described by the YH as something he is to do, but as a development taking place in the supreme consciousness, in the goddess, who now takes on the aspects of these ten goddesses, the Mudrās, who incarnate and express ten different phases of her cosmic activity and power. To quote ślokas 56–57: “When [the goddess] becomes luminously aware of the universe [appearing] on the screen of her own consciousness (cidātmabhiṣṭau prakāśāmarśane), being fully possessed by the will to act, she acts by her own free will. [Such is] the power of activity which, because it gladdens the universe and causes it to flow, is called mudrā.” The last sentence of this stanza explains the name mudrā: these deities are so called because they gladden (modanāt [√ mud]) and cause to flow (rodanāt [√ ru]), hence mud-rā.

The first Mudrā is said to pervade (vyāpaka) the whole śrīcakra. The nine others abide each in one of the constituting cakras of the diagram, going from the outer square to the centre: the movement is centripetal because these deities, born from the play of the powers of the goddess, incarnate or symbolize nine stages of the return of the cosmos to its unmanifest source. The adept, therefore, visualizing them and identifying somehow with each of them, realizes that “this is how the play of the godhead’s energy of activity (kriyā), whose nature is pure consciousness, is identical with the śrīcakra” (kriyā caitanyarūpatvād evaṃ cakramayaṃ sthitam—śloka 71). But what the adept must first and foremost always intensely meditate (sarvada bhavayet) is the supreme luminous power (paramā tejas) which is the willpower (icchā) of the godhead—his attention is to be focused on the supreme, on the source of all that exists. The YH merely describes these Mudrās as luminous deities to be visualized as they are described, and quotes their cosmic functions. What is prescribed here is therefore only one more perception and realization of the presence and play (here tending toward the resorption of the cosmos [samhāra]) of the goddess in and as her cakra: the practice by the adept remains a purely mental, meditative one. It is, however, worth noting that in his commentary on these stanzas Amṛtānanda describes the mudrās as hand gestures the adept is to display so as to identify with the role of each of the Mudrās, so that these mudrās, in practice, are at the same time deities to be visualized and worshipped and hand-gestures—an act of mental and bodily participation and identification.
of the adept with the deities: this aspect of the practice of the śrīcakra should not be overlooked.

The chapter ends by prescribing two other ways of perceiving the śrīcakra in meditation, first by considering it as divided into three portions each comprised of three cakras, going from the centre to the outer part, and then as consisting of its nine cakras, going from the outer part to the centre. The adept thus follows the process first of emanation then of resorption.

The chapter concludes (ślokas 85–86): “This is where the great goddess Mahātripurasundari is to be worshipped. [Such is] in its absolute fullness the great cakra, giver of eternal youth and immortality. Thus has been said, o supreme goddess, the practice (samketa) of the great cakra of the goddess Tripurā, bestower of liberation while still in life.”

To conclude, we may note that this chapter, which at first sight looks rather disorderly, is in fact rationally constructed, emanation and resorption succeeding each other and every successive moment increasing the awareness of and identification with the cosmic dynamism of the śrīcakra. First is expounded the succession of the different parts of the śrīcakra (8–21), then the play of energies that manifest the cosmos (22–24): this is an outward tending movement manifesting the world. After which, the bhāvanā of the kalās of hrīm (25–36) and eventually the Mudrās (56ff.) turn the attention of the adept towards resorption, towards the centre of the diagram that is, towards liberation. The description of all the deities and entities present in the śrīcakra also manifests its power of creation and of resorption. The adept, by visualizing and meditatively identifying with this cosmic play, progresses towards liberation. As an active cosmic symbol (or as a display of the goddess’s creative and salvific action and power), the śrīcakra appears very efficacious.

We may finally note that the origin of the śrīcakra remains shrouded in mystery. This ritual diagram is to be found in the older texts of the Traipuradarśana (which is the less ancient of the Kaula traditions), but where does it come from and when did it appear? We do not know. The source is probably to be looked for in the older Kubjikā tradition, though this is not certain.21 A South Indian origin,

21 Mark Dyczkowski (personal communication) believes that some aspects at least of this cakra come from the Śrītāntarasadbhāva, a long (about 5000 stanzas) and yet unedited text which he is currently studying.
too, has been suggested by some, but this theory has so far not been conclusively proved. Whatever its origin, the śrīcakra, which we have just seen as it is shown in a chapter of an ancient text, is still very much in use (in ritual and meditation) in India today: not only in the South Indian ‘de-tantricized’ Śrīvidyā but also in the centre and the north of the sub-continent.  

It therefore deserves some attention.

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1. The śrīcakra
2. The bodily cakras according to Amṛtānanda’s commentary on the Yoginīḥṛdaya
VĀSTUPUṆAṆĀ MALAS: PLANNING IN THE IMAGE OF MAN

Michael W. Meister

Diagrams for planning and meditation permeate South Asia, as tools for praxis, practical and religious. Psychedelic or pragmatic, they remain utilitarian at their core. They do not constitute a single reality, but have a history that makes of each a palimpsest. By the sixth century A.D., these layers had been combined to provide a tool, both religious and practical, for the constitution of a shelter for deities and worshippers—the temple—as a new form of Hindu worship began. This paper explores evidence found by recent scholarship in built monuments for the application of such diagrams to the construction, validation, proportioning, and designing of such shelters for the first early centuries of their use.

Indus Valley cities, with their gridded street plans dating from the third to second millennium B.C., have been cited as early examples of the city as ‘pivot of the four quarters’ (Wheatley 1971) even though their rhomboidal layouts and orientation only approximate a cardinal grid. They should perhaps remain in the pre-history of South Asian urban planning (Kenoyer 1998).

The mystic cosmogony of the Atharva-Veda, on the other hand, from early in the first millennium B.C., does provide us with a paradigm for cosmic planning in South Asia. In book 15 of the Atharva-Veda, cosmic speculation and the body of man were made into a formal homology, as well as being described as if a three-dimensional maṇḍala.1 There a vrātya ascetic ‘belonging to an unorthodox order’2 is described as confronting his own divinity as

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1 Whitney 1905: 769 comments that the Cūlikā-Upaniṣad “reckons the vrātya as one among the many forms in which Brāhmaṇ is celebrated in AV., mentioning in the same verse with vrātya (celebrated in AV. xv.) also the brahmacārin and the skambha and the palita.”

2 Heesterman 1962: 36, on the other hand, concluded that the vrātyas were “authentic Vedic Aryan ... predecessor[s] of the dikṣita.”
'Ekavṛāyā, the sole Vṛāyā' (Kramrisch 1981: 472, 486). In Stella Kramrisch’s retelling, "[t]he transfiguration of the Vṛāyā has three phases: the birth of the god, the vision of that god, and the building of his monument" (Kramrisch 1981: 89). She describes the ‘Sole Vṛāyā’ as “a choreographed monument of deity built up by the words of hymns,” having “a maṇḍala for a pattern” (Kramrisch 1981: 95, 93): “He moves out on his vehicle, the mind, first toward the east, then toward the south, toward the west, and finally toward the north.... [He] incorporates into his presence the four directions of the extended universe” (Kramrisch 1981: 93).

Kramrisch saw this vision of the vṛāyā ascetic—already in the second millennium B.C.—as a forecast of her dictum that the Hindu temple of a much later period could be described as a ‘monument of manifestation’ (Kramrisch 1946: passim), characterizing what the vṛāyā saw as the “lord of the space-time universe, himself the central pillar of a four-sided pyramid” (Kramrisch 1981: 96). Yet such a ‘vision’ did not then constitute architecture nor represent a developed practice.

Of several versions of the origin of the universe in the Vedas, “the simplest is that the creator built the universe with timber, as a carpenter builds a house” (Encyclopædia Britannica on-line; Brown 1942, 1965). Indeed the rituals surrounding the making of Vedic shelters provide a vocabulary for wood and reed construction (Renou 1998) and suggest the presence of a cosmography (Bodewitz 1979) by having central and cardinal orientations, but do not define a ‘generative tool’ (Bafna 2000: 45) for architecture, as may maṇḍalas of a later period.

In the building of altars (Staal 1984), bricks were laid to form an orthogonal frame, and altered to make a variety of shapes to suit different ritual purposes. Perhaps the grid of later maṇḍalas has one source in the piled bricks of such sacrificial surfaces. We have few texts to suggest this. We do, however, have quite early texts, Śulba-Sūtras (Datta 1932), of ca. the third-fourth centuries B.C., that provide the geometric construction, using cords to draw circles, needed to locate the square and cardinal orientation essential for the plot of a sacrificial altar (Apte 1926; Bag 1971) (Illustration 1). These geometric manuals scrupulously avoid interpretation, yet we know that their function was in part to assure that an altar would
conform as a homologue to an oriented and therefore square universe (Menon 1932: 94–95).

It is in fact only in the time of Varāhamihira’s Brhat-Samhitā, written in the sixth century A.D., that the use of something like a vastupurusamāndala to plan cities and buildings was first designated, in his chapter 53 ‘On Architecture.’ A distinction must be made between a diagram as a ritual tool or a ‘constructional device’ (Mosteller 1988) for architecture; Varāhamihira, however, had compiled in this text many earlier layers of knowledge as well as contemporaneous practice, as he had also assembled rival systems of astronomy in his Sūryasiddhānta. As he introduced his project (53.1), “[t]o gratify clever astrologers, I now proceed to compose a work on the art of building, such as it has been transmitted from the Creator to our days, through an unbroken series of sages.” He first invokes a Vedic description of the original act of sacrifice (53.2–3): “There was ... some Being obstructing ... both worlds ... [who] was subdued by the host of gods and hurled down. Of the several parts of his body, each is subjected to the particular deity by which it was attacked. It is that Being of immortal substance, who ... was destined to be the dwelling-house personified [the vastupuruṣa].” He then goes on for a number of verses (53.4–41) to describe a variety of house structures, their class linkage, orientation, storeys, balconies, etc., as if this architecture were an elaboration of the vernacular shelters of Vedic India (Renou 1998).

Only at 53.42 does he introduce the division of the plan into squares to fit the rite of sacrifice and the placement of deities from the older myth (Illustration 2): “In order to divide (the ground-plan of a house) into eighty-one squares, draw ten lines from east to west, and ten others from north to south.” He discusses the placement of 45 deities over the body of the vastupuruṣa for 13 verses (53.42–

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1 I refer to Kern’s translation throughout.
2 Kramrisch 1946: 79 comments that the “symbolism of the Vastupuruṣa-māndala” was “a residue of traditions still known and practiced though no longer realized in all their import.”
3 Kramrisch 1946: 73, 78 makes the important distinction that “Vastupuruṣa as support of the building ... is described as lying with his face down ... whereas Agni Prajāpati of the Vedic altar lies facing upwards.” His head should lie to the north-east.
4 He does not describe the location of the square required by the geometry of the Śulba-Sūtras.
54), then introduces an alternative practical maṇḍala for construction: “One may also, should one prefer it, divide the area into sixty-four compartments” (53.55).

For the remainder of this chapter (53.57–125) Varāhamihira discusses vulnerable crossings (marman), displacement of pillars, and a range of magical associations and consequences still part of traditional wood architectural practice today (Libersat 1988), with the significant dictum that “[t]he householder ... should carefully preserve Brahman, who is stationed in the centre of the dwelling, from injury ... ” (53.66).  

I take this time to lay out Varāhamihira’s order of presentation because it is he who first puts together vāstu (building), puruṣa (‘man,’ but as a trace of sacrifice), and maṇḍala (diagram), summing up many centuries of speculation on the rituals of building (53.98): “At a period indicated by the astrologer, let the householder go to a piece of ground which has been ploughed, abounds with seed grown up, has served as a resting-place of cows, or has got the approval of the Brahmans.” He gives us a sense of the range of caste patrons (53.100): “Then—touching his head, if he be a Brahman; the breast, if a Kshatriya; the thigh, if a Vaiṣya; the foot, if a Śūdra—let him draw a line, the first act when a house is to be built ... ” and of the important role of a proficient “holder of the measuring line,” the architect or Sūtradhāra (53.110): “By the measuring line snapping asunder may be predicted death; by the plug drooping its top, great sickness; by the house-owner and architect falling short in their memory, death.” Kern, Varāhamihira’s translator, accused him of having “the habit of un-critically copying his authorities” (1872: 292, note 1), and yet he is not merely summing up a millennium of building, but marking a major transition. A new practice of stone construction to make temples to shelter images of deities was just beginning (Meister 1986) and the utility of the vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala was about to be given a new life (Meister 1979).  

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7 Alternative arrangements of deities do exist in other and later texts (Apte/Supekar 1983). Kramrisch 1946: 19–98 best synthesizes the multiple layers of significance laid over the maṇḍala by a variety of sources: sacrificial, zodiacal, chronometric, astronomic, mythological, etc., a palimpsest or mosaic, at best, not ever a whole fabric.

8 Pāñcarātra diagrams used for worship significantly exchange Viśvarūpa for Brahman (Apte 1987: 143).
Before writing of temples explicitly, however, Varāhamihira provided two chapters (54–55) ‘on the exploration of water-springs’ and ‘culture of trees,’ things essential to the establishment of a sacred landscape. Then, in a chapter (56: 1–31) with only 31 verses, he provided a brief ‘description of various temples,’ which he begins (56.1): “Having made great water reservoirs and laid out gardens, let one build a temple, to heighten one’s reputation and merit.” “The gods used to haunt those spots which by nature or artifice are furnished with water and pleasure-gardens” (56.3), he writes, then describes these in loving detail (56.4–8). He comments that the soils he had indicated “when treating of house-building ... are likewise recommended to persons of the different classes, when they wish to erect temples” (56.9), and then, in a significant verse, he specifies (56.10): “Let the area of a temple always be divided into sixty-four squares, while it is highly commendable to place the middle door in one of the four cardinal points.” It is this dictum that seems to define a new millennium of vāstupuruṣaṇaṇḍalas, to be used in practice (Illustration 3) as well as ritual.

Most remarkable to me, at the time of Varāhamihira’s writing in the sixth century, is how few stone temples—and how experimental their architecture—had by then been built (Meister 1981a). Varāhamihira was on the forward cusp of a new, even ‘modern,’ architecture meant to shelter newly manifest images (Meister 1990).

The remainder of Varāhamihira’s chapter is a listing of ‘twenty kinds of shrines’ (56.17), with varied plans, storeys, turrets, and dormer windows that probably existed not in stone but in wood. As he casually concluded (56.31): “Herewith are the characteristics of temples described in compendious form.... Of the voluminous works by Manu, etc., have I, in writing this chapter, only taken notice in as much as I remembered.”

The distinction between a proportional system, which the ritual vāstupuruṣaṇaṇḍala is for the universe, and a constructional device, such as Varāhamihira stipulates for the temple, was drawn some time ago (Panofsky 1955). “The notion that magical diagrams called

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9 Bafna 2000: 38 is not correct in stating that Varāhamihira’s chapter on temples “does not even mention the diagrams.”

10 At least one engineer (Pramar 1985) has attempted to analyze and apply a mandala designed for wooden structures to the building of stone temples.

11 Panofsky distinguishes between a theory of proportions and a practical system of construction.
mandalas,” according to one recent analysis (Bafna 2000: 26), “underlie most traditional Hindu [I would prefer Indic] architectural production has become well entrenched within current thought.... [F]ew scholars have attempted to describe the precise manner in which the mandala could have acted as a generative diagram.” Stella Kramrisch, whose ‘The Hindu Temple’ (1946) had collected a wide body of references to the Śāstric texts on the building of temples that followed Varahamihira’s, had in fact concluded that “the Vāstu-mandala is the metaphysical plan of the temple primarily; its cosmological and magical implications are derived from it” (Kramrisch 1946: 37, note 40).

The attempt at the literal mapping of the vāstu-puruṣa-mandala onto buildings by modern architects, both Western (Volwahsen 1969: 44) and Indian (Kagal 1986; Correa 1996), or the recent resurgence of ‘Shilpa Shastrins’ orienting houses as an Indian astrological equivalent of Chinese feng shui (for example, Rao 1995), however, are no test to the use of vāstumandalas as a constructional tool in the past (Meister 1997). Bafna 2000: 31 has put it another way: “[W]hat connection could be posited within diagrams associated with a marginal religious cult [he is referring to Tantrism] and those associated with a practical profession [architecture]?” Yet it is precisely about the division of the plan that Varahamihira is most explicit and practical (53.42): “[D]raw ten lines from east to west, and ten others from north to south.” He is writing about a constructional device related to a proportioning system.

Kramrisch herself was unsure how such a device might have worked (Kramrisch 1946: 58): “The Vāstu-mandala is a prognostication, a forecast and ‘tonic’ of the contents that will be built up in the temple; it is in a literal sense, its programme. This does not imply an identity of the actual plan of the temple, with the mandala.” While she found some relationship between the simplified 16-square grid in the Matsya-Purāṇa (Kramrisch 1946: 228), “here, it seems to have been suggested by the simplicity of the shrine; its plain, thick walls, without buttresses, belong to small structural temples in central India of the Gupta Age ....,” of later temples she had little doubt: “When the great temples were built, after the ninth century and which still stand, the drawing of the Vāstu-puruṣa-mandala had become an architectural rite without necessarily coinciding with the laying out of the ground plan of the Prāśāda.” Her conclusion was
not so different from one scholar’s recent attempt to compare square Tantric painted mandalas to the elaborated ground plan of a temple in Orissa, “[i]f we were to accept that the mandala was typically used as a design tool, then actual built examples must show evidence of planning based on the mandala” (Bafna 2000: 38).

It is, of course, this sort of evidence, collected in the field, that has gradually been accumulating over the past half century (Meister 1979, 1985; Pichard 1995; Thakur 1996). Buildings have perhaps proved more reliable than texts as historical documents recording the methodologies that built them (Meister 1989). This is in part because of the multiple uses over time to which the Vāstupuruṣa-mandala was put—ritual, astrological, meditational, devotional, but also constructional.

Referring to the Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā, Apte 1987: 129 comments that “Mandala worship, in those days was not a part of the temple ritual only, but often maintained its independent existence like the sacrificial institution (Yajna). And for that ritual ... a special pandal used to be erected on a chosen site—may be on a mountain or in a forest or by the side of a hermitage or on the bank of a river or inside temple premises” (Pauṣkara-Saṁhitā 2.4–5). This is not so much different from the shelter set up for the ritual painting of dhuṣicitra in Kerala—a form of ‘bhaumika citra’ or ‘earth painting’ (Jones 1981: 71): “[T]he ceremonial drawing in powders may also be performed at night in an appropriate space within the precincts of a Nambūtiri Brāhmaṇa household or in a palace of a Sāmanta or Kṣatriya ruling family. The designated area ... is traditionally covered by a canopy constructed of four slim areca logs, wrapped in new unbleached cloth, supported by pillars of the same wood, similarly wrapped, which form the boundaries of the sacred drawing.” The image of the goddess or another deity is built up in coloured powders, then destroyed through ecstatic dance.

A small but significant side current of stone temple architecture that may reflect such temporary pandals are the thin-walled maṇḍapikā shrines set up as funereal memorials in Central India.

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12 See also, however, my cautionary review (Meister 1999).
13 A recent review (Bafna 2000: 47) is correct to conclude that we must “look upon the Vāstupuruṣa-mandala as an idea that has been constantly redefined and exploited through history” but his caveat that “what we have made of it now is merely a recently constructed understanding” may best be applied to himself.
from the sixth to tenth centuries A.D. (Meister 1978). These stand in sharp contrast to the thick-walled “temples ... of the Gupta age” (Kramrisch 1946: 228), their inner sancta only twice in width the thickness of their walls. Those, at the very beginning of the stone tradition, measured their inner sacred space by the demands of the mandala, not their walls by the efficiencies of stone (Illustration 3 A).

Actual physical yantras or metal mandala plaques are buried in the foundation of structures as tools to sanctify the building. As the label to two such metal plaques recently on display in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, put it (Huyler 1999), “Yantra are specific mandala created to attract Divine Energy of a deity into a sacred space. Made of metal or stone, yantra are buried beneath a temple’s inner sanctum during construction.” Such yantras are also drawn at significant points of the plan in late Orissan practice (Boner 1975), but should not be confused with the vāstu puruṣamandala as a whole.15

To look for the application of the vāstu puruṣamandala introduced by Varāhamihira as a constructional tool or planning device in the sixth century, it is necessary to measure standing temples. Bafna 2000: 41–42 is mistaken in claiming “a troubling lack of corroborating evidence from surviving built structures.” There have been both ‘detailed studies of individual plans’ as well as what he calls ‘comparative morphological studies’ that go well beyond imposing a ‘constraining orthogonality’ (Meister 1982, 1983a; Thakur 1990).

From my own experience, however, certain procedures are important (Meister 1979, 1999). The square Gupta temples of Kramrisch’s reference—Sanchi 17, Tīgawa, Nachna, even Deogarh—use thick masonry walls to surround an inner sanctum ca. half the width of the whole (Meister/Dhaky/Deva 1988). Early seventh-century shrines in Orissa (Illustration 3 A) with developed latina nāgara superstructures and a cross-plan with closed doorways on

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14 An inscription on the seventh-century maṇḍapikā shrine at Mahuā refers to a ‘stone maṇḍapikā’ set up in honour of a local ruler’s deceased parents.

15 “The square grid would then simply be an instrument—a yantra—used for the depiction of the vāstu deities” (Bafna 2000: 45). Bafna’s reference to “yantras embedded within the traditional drawings of temple plans,” however, begs the issue that no such drawings survive before the modern period.
three walls,\(^{16}\) precisely fit a constructing grid of 64 squares when measured at the root of their wall mouldings (the *khura* hoof of the *vedibandha*)—that is, where the mandala could be drawn on the stone foundation that formed the floor level of the sanctum. These shrines well fit Varahamihira’s dictum to let “the area of a temple always be divided into sixty-four squares” and “to place the middle door in one of the four cardinal points” (56.10).

In my own fieldwork (Meister 1979) I first began to measure temple plans thinking they would only confirm Kramrisch’s intuition that the *vāṣṭumandalas* specified by Varahamihira and by later texts “had become an architectural rite,” as temples became more elaborate after the ninth century, “without necessarily coinciding with the laying out of the ground plan” (Kramrisch 1946: 228). However, directly measuring the mouldings of a group of seventh- and eighth-century temples in Madhya Pradesh—in particular the seventh-century *nāgara* temple at Mahuā—first gave me evidence that architects of this region and in this period were using a new procedure (Illustration 3 B). Standing above two levels of a stone foundation, the sanctum walls of this Śiva temple measured ca. 556 cm from corner to corner (ca. 114 cm for *karna* and *bhadra* piers; 57 cm for intermediate *pratirathas*) at the *khura* hoof of the *vedibandha* mouldings, which was the floor level of the sanctum. The inner space of the sanctum measured ca. 228 cm in width.

These measurements embody a new paradigm for both the concept and construction of the multiplying wall offsets that distinguish *nāgara* temples in this period (Illustration 3 C). Central *bhadras* on the outer walls project the measure of the *brahmasthāna*, flanking *pratiratha* offsets mark the dimensions of the inner sanctum. Such a system I found also rigorously applied to other temples in the Gwalior region (Meister 1979). Such a use of the mandala was new, practical, and expanded the mandala’s meaning to the temple, as a physical expression of its plan.\(^{17}\)

As a test of the ‘constraining orthogonality,’ as Bafna 2000: 41 put it, I also measured and analyzed rectangular temples in this region and century, as well as those beginning to experiment with

\(^{16}\) Kramrisch 1946: 271 interprets *ṣaḍaśra* to be this type: “[T]he ground plan ... has six faces, for each of its three sides has a central buttress which is set off from the wall....”

\(^{17}\) Sinha 2000 has extended this analysis of the ‘*bhadra* cluster’ to vesara temples in the Deccan.
octagonal and turned-square plans (Meister 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1984). In both cases, the maṇḍala continued to control the width of walls, location of corners, and to project sanctum and brahmasthāna dimensions through the walls as measured offsets (Illustration 6).

Not all temples across all of India yield similar results, but increasingly regional understandings and misunderstandings of this system of planning become clearer, as more temples have been adequately measured and analyzed (Meister 1985; Pichard 1995; Thakur 1996). In South India, for example, use of an odd-numbered grid, centring the sanctum on a square, made rings of expansion possible (Illustration 4). In the north, separate sacred spaces might overlap (Illustration 5).

Bafna 2000: 41 confuses the role of measure and proportion in his conclusion that such variation makes of the vāstu maṇḍala “not so much a constructional aid as a tool for the designer, one that was used to control the proportions of the design rather than its measure.” Measure in the Indian context was relative, determined by the height or hand of the donor, architect, or image; proportion was the ‘constructional aid’ (Meister 1985).

He also, it seems to me, is wrong to conclude that “the Vāstu maṇḍala cannot be rotated without losing all its significance” (Bafna 2000: 41). Rotating plans superimpose one turned square on the other, moving toward the circle (Illustration 7) that constitutes a maṇḍala’s pre-existent form (and which surrounds the square gated palaces in the painted maṇḍalas of Bafna’s article).18

Kramrisch 1946: 62, while pointing out that “earlier texts ... do not record circular Vāstus” reported that “Utpala, the tenth century commentator of the ‘Brhat Samhitā’ describes in detail the construction of circular sites.... This appears a development around the principal Vāstu, which is and must remain square....” She also cited Agni-Purāṇa 93.40: “In the middle of the six sided, three sided, and circular plan, should be the square.” Referring to Vāstuvidyā 7.6 and 10.15, she also observed (Kramrisch 1946: 62, note 105): “as the months advance the Vāstu maṇḍala moves ... The spatial order of the 8 directions simultaneously denotes a temporal order; the Vāstu is the time piece.... This rotating Vāstu is called Caravāstu and is

18 Kramrisch 1946: 41 remarked that the “square symbol of the extended world in its order has precedence over the circle of time, the second ornament.”
distinguished from the Sthira-vāstu, whose position is fixed....

Temples are meant to last and are always built [i.e., founded] on the Sthiravāstu.

Experiments with embedded octagons—from the octagonal stone temple at Muṇḍeśvarī and brick temples in Dakṣina Kosala of the seventh century (Meister 1981b, 1984) to the great misraka superstructure of the Chola temple at Gaṅgaikōṇḍacōḻapuram (Pichard 1995)—might suggest that architects at an early period also thought in such terms of their temples (and their construction).

My own work for a period of time focused on measuring and analyzing monuments that could provide test cases for the limits of maṇḍala planning. I had thought that the application of the grid of the maṇḍala and its significance to the proportioning of temples in the seventh and eighth centuries could not explain the variations found in the ninth and tenth. What I discovered, however, in Central India was a shift in construction of the temple that preserved the relation of bhadra and pratirathas to sanctum and brahmasthāna while pulling the bulk of the temple within the grid (Illustration 3 D).19 This bhadravyāsa measure allowed the fabric of the temple to be reduced, proportions in the wall to be more balanced, and new plans to emerge (Meister 1979, 1985). That the grid of the maṇḍala could continue to have a practical utility, even in complex and huge temples of the 11th century, as at Khajuraho, was startling (Illustration 5).20 No longer fixed at the foundation as in earlier shrines (Illustration 3), yet still governing the walls enclosing the inner sanctum, the continuing presence of these proportions in the fabric of these stone monuments is perhaps our strongest surviving evidence for the “notion of a geometrical device with symbolic dimensions underlying all architectural production” (Bafna 2000: 42).

I think Bafna 2000: 43 is right that “[p]ractically speaking, a grid is a cumbersome and complicated tool for the laying out of plans; it

19 Bafna 2000: 41 mistakenly attributes this change to the seventh century instead of the ninth.
20 “Meister’s argument is sophisticated and pursuasive: the grid is only a regulative tool and the very act of embedding it is auspicious.... But in formulating this idea, he seems to have moved a good deal away from the strict orientation and hierarchy of the Vāstupurusamandala” (Bafna 2000: 41).
21 Bafna, however, resolves that the “idea of the governing mandala” ... “is merely a recently constructed understanding” (Bafna 2000: 42, 47).
is extremely susceptible of errors unless checked by diagonals,” yet find his alternative—“the centerline system ... still used ... to compute the proportion of statues”—an odd choice (see Mosteller 1991). From the time of the Śulba-Sūtras, the geometry and tools for laying out a plan were known. If the Śūtradhāra was controller of the cord—“let him draw a line, the first act ...” as Varāhamihira 53.100 had put it—he also controlled the geometry that the use of the compass made possible (Illustrations 1, 7). Such geometric construction gives precision; a grid establishes proportion; reference to the vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala maintains ritual authority.

Bafna 2000: 39, 41, however, calls such construction “an alternative ‘peg-and-string’ geometry” and comments that “[t]here are no indications within the literature on the history of Indian mathematics, or within vāstuśāstra texts, that there were two separate techniques of geometrical constructions prevalent at any time.” Yet the constructive geometry prevalent from the time of the Śulba-Sūtras must itself be seen as the source both of the maṇḍala’s ‘constraining orthogonality,’ in Bafna’s terms, and of a certain freedom from it. Bafna 2000: 41 admits, “some śilpa manuals specifically record peg-and-string operations to ensure a precisely oriented construction of the square perimeter of the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala itself.”

My analysis of temples with turned-square plans (Meister 1982, 1983b, 1984, 1989) beginning with the remarkable mid-eighth-century Gargaj Mahādeva temple at Indor in Madhya Pradesh (Illustration 6 B), can demonstrate both the continuing ‘orthogonality’ of temple planning and its freedom from constraint. Bafna 2000: 41 refers to ‘stellate’ plans with a ‘nonorthogonal profile,’ yet the angled buttresses of these temples must be observed as right-angled corners of turned squares22 (that is, as orthogonality unconstrained).

The ground plan of the Gargaj Mahādeva temple at Indor combines what Kramrisch 1946: 62, using Vāstuvidyā, has identified as sthiravāstu and caravāstu, marking the temple’s functions as both cosmogram and chronogram. On the walls of the temple at Indor, Śiva and his family mark fixed cardinal directions; eight dikpālas,

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22 Previous scholars have often not observed this. Willis 1997: 60, for example, describes Indor as having a “stellate shape” with “square and acute projections” while his plans show obtuse corners rather than right-angled ones.
guardians of the quarters, stand on the intermediate rotating bhadras, facing sub-cardinal points (Illustration 6 B).\(^{23}\)

That architects—from the seventh century in Dakṣiṇa Kosala to 11th- to 13th-century Karnataka, Maharashtra, and 16th-century Rajasthan—took the great trouble to build such complexly constructed turned-square monuments in brick and stone (Illustration 7) must be the best evidence for “some special symbolism associated with the composition.”\(^{24}\) It cannot be in doubt that the constructional mechanism making possible such compositions was the simple geometry of the Śulba-Sūtras—not the grid itself, which is consequent—that had located sacred ground for so many centuries. Perhaps that is what the vāstupuruṣa-मण्डल hid. Bafna’s comments that “buildings can both provide a structure for an embedded mandala, and also serve to hide it” (Bafna 2001: 46) is valid, but I would reverse his conclusion.\(^{25}\) It is the building that acts in place of the grid, becoming the maṇḍala. As Kramrisch, citing the Mahābhārata, had pointed out for the palaces of the three worlds the temple mimics, “[t]hey revolved, each on its own level; they were part of a revolving universe” (Kramrisch 1981: 414).

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\(^{23}\) This geometry, as with all pṛṣāḍas, is interrupted by the prāggriva entrance to the interior sanctum.

\(^{24}\) Bafna 2000: 44, however, calls this “problematic.”

\(^{25}\) “The grid acts in place of the building, rather than serving as the basis of it” (Bafna 2000: 44).
1. The geometric construction of a cardinally oriented square locating an altar as defined in Śulba-Sūtra texts
2. Vastupuruṣamaṇḍala of 81 squares, as described in the Brhat-Samhitā
3. Ground plans and constructing maṇḍalas: A. Bharatesvara temple, Bhubaneswar, Orissa; B. Śiva temple no. 2, Mahuā, Madhya Pradesh; C. Mahādeva temple, Amrol, Madhya Pradesh; D. Naktimātā temple, Bhavanipur, Rajasthan
4. Brhadisvara temple, Gangaikonda Cholapuram, Tamilnadu
5. Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh: A. Viśvanātha temple; B. Lakṣmana temple, socle and vedibandha mouldings; C. Kandariyā Mahādeva temple
6. A. Śabarī temple, Kharod, Madhya Pradesh; B. Gargaj Mahādeva temple, Indor, Madhya Pradesh
7. Comparison of the use of constructing geometry and odd-numbered grids in plans based on three and six turned squares
COLOUR PLATES
1. A yantra of Guhyakāli
2. The balihareṇa of the vaiśvadeva rite

3. A domestic śivapāñcaiyatana
4. A rudrapiṭhamahāyantra
5. A sarvatobhadra

6. A rāmalingatobhadra with 26 rāmamudrās and 28 liṅgas

7. A caturmudrārāmalingatobhadra with 4 rāmamudrās and 8 liṅgas and a sarvatobhadra in the centre
8. A ganeśabhadra with five icons of Ganeśa

9. A ganeśabhadra with 21 icons of Ganeśa

10. A sūryabhadra with 12 icons of the sun
11. The construction of a dvādaśalingatobhadra with a sarvatobhadra in the centre

12. The invocation of deities into areca nuts placed on a sarvatobhadra
13. A vessel of plenty placed on a sarvatobhadra
14. The *cakrābja-mañḍala* according to the Pādmapāṇi-Sambhata
15. The *navapadma-maṇḍala* according to the Jayākhya-Saṃhitā
16. The śrīmāṇḍala of the Netratantra following Kyemarāja’s commentary
17. An alternative structure of the śrīmāṇḍala of the Netranātra
18. The mandala of the nine lotuses (*navanabhama mandala*) according to the Svacchandatantra and Kṣemarāja's commentary.
19. A tentative reconstruction of the trident mandala of the Siddhayogēśvarīmata (long recension) according to the Tantrāloka
Texts and Translations

Aghorasivacaryapaddhati. Aghorasivacaryapaddhati (= Kriyakramadyotikā), with Commentary (Prabhā) by Nirmalanāmi. Edited by Rāmaśāstrin and Ambalavānijānasambhandhaparāśaktisvāmin. Cidambaram, 1927 (in grantha characters).


Atharva-Veda

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ĀR. Ānandarāmāyana


1 I regret that some bibliographical entries pertaining to Brunner’s contribution remain incomplete. I was unable to add or confirm names of some editors and/or publishers quoted in her contribution since the books were not accessible to me. The transliteration system from South Indian languages in the references to Brunner’s article follows the system she has used in her earlier publications.


Tantrasadābhāva. A draft edition of selected passages prepared by J. Törzsöök based on two manuscripts from the National Archives, Kathmandu (5-1855 and 5-445).


NT. Netratantra


Pārāmeśvara-Sāṃhitā. Śrī Pārāmeśvara Saṃhitā Śrī Govindācāryaṁ samskrita, anekavidhi darśidhibhī samyojita ca. Śrīraṅgam: Kodandamar Sannidhi, 1953.


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Pratīyāhārdaya of Ksemarāja. Edited by J.C. Chatterji. Srinagar: Archaeological and Research Department, 1911.

Brhat-Saṃhitā


BM. Bhadramārtaṇḍa


Mālinīvijaya/Mālinīvijayottara
Mālinīvijayottara. Electronic text prepared by S. Vasudeva, containing his unpublished critical edition of chapters 1–4, 7 and 11–17.²

Mr̥gendrāgama


Lakṣmi-Tantra


Sabdakalpadruma. See Deva, Raja Radha Kanta 1961.

² J. Törzsők would like to express her thanks to S. Vasudeva for making this electronic text available to her.
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ŚT. Śrādatātilaka


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Śūrayasiddhānta by Varāhamihira

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Śvayamabhūvāsūtrasamgraha. Electronic text prepared by D. Goodall, based on the Mysore edition of 1937 (edited by Venkatasubrahmanyāśāstri), with corrections and notes.³

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³ J. Törzsöök would like to express her thanks to D. Goodall for making this text available to her.


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