

*A Study of the Cult of Guhyakālī in the Medieval
Kathmandu Valley through the Manuscripts of the Newars*



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Abstract of DPhil Thesis

This thesis concerns worship in the Krama or the cult of Guhyakālī in medieval Nepal, drawing mainly on unpublished liturgical sources and Tantras for its analysis. A major part of the thesis is the edition of Vimalaprabodha's previously unpublished *Kālīkulakramārcana*, the most elaborate known Krama liturgy. Beyond this edition, the thesis is the first full study of the ritual practice, rather than philosophy, of the Krama and is split into two rough sections. The first (Chapters 1 – 3) deals with the iconography of the Krama as found in the medieval Kathmandu Valley. Chapter 1 provides an analysis of the salient features of the 54-armed, ten-faced Guhyakālī as visualised in several textual and visual sources, allowing us to assess the consistency of Guhyakālī's depiction and decipher problematic elements. This chapter also raises interesting questions on the nature of iconography and the relationship between the worshipper and worshipped in Krama visualisation. A new edition of the supreme Guhyakālī's *dhyāna* from the *Parātantra* benefitting from these findings and new manuscript evidence accompanies the analysis. In Chapter 2, we cover the iconography of the entire Krama pantheon and note important trends concerning both central and ancillary deities. Meanwhile, Chapter 3 attempts to decode the description of some significant yet complex *cakras* of the Krama that warrant independent treatment.

The second section (Chapters 4 and 5) includes an extended exposition of the *Kālīkulakramārcana*'s entire ritual sequence. The commentary in Chapter 4 examines the ritual process of both routine and occasional rites by clarifying cryptic aspects and remarking upon distinctive elements. Chapter 5 is devoted to the last three occasional rites of the *Kālīkulakramārcana*, especially the Mahāśivarātrividhi. These rites find their parallel in another text by Vimalaprabodha still unknown to scholarship - the *Parvatrayavidhāna* – whose edition is also published as part of the thesis. The last chapter also conjectures the social context of the Krama's rites in medieval Nepal. The non-dual theology underpinning Krama ritual is touched upon here and discussed more extensively in the conclusion.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations	i
Introduction.....	1
Contextualisation.....	2
Primary Sources and Secondary Literature	10
Chapter 1: A Study of the 54-armed Form of Guhyakālī	27
1.1 Introduction	27
1.2 The Status of Iconography	32
1.3 The Faces of Guhyakālī	35
1.4 The Hand Attributes of Guhyakālī.....	44
1.5 The Seats of the Goddess	59
1.6 Conclusion.....	72
1.7 Visual Material	73
Chapter 2: The Extended Iconography of the Krama's <i>Nityapūjā</i>	81
2.1 Introduction	81
2.2 How are the Five Kālīs distinct?	82
2.3 Therianthropism in the Cult of Guhyakālī	90
2.4 Inclusivism through Iconography	100
2.5 Conclusion.....	108
2.6 Tables for the Iconography of the Deities of the 16 Nityapūjācakras	109
Chapter 3: Ascertaining the Structure of the Krama's Multi-layered <i>Cakras</i>	119
3.1 The Central Guhyakālīyantra of the PT and MKS	119
3.2 The Svatantrakālīkākramapañcaka of the KKA	142
Chapter 4: A Commentary on the KKA with Emphasis on the Ritual Procedure.....	157

Chapter 5: An Analysis of the Three Last Rites of the KKA in light of the *Parvatrayavidhāna*

.....	203
5.1 Pavitrakavidhi	205
5.2 Damanakavidhi.....	218
5.3 Mahāśivarātri	228
5.4 The context of the rites of the KKA and PTV	254
Conclusion	264
Can we posit a theology of ritual?.....	264
What we have achieved and the way forward.....	273

Appendix: List of Lost Krama Scriptures Recorded Only in the KKA

Edition

- 1 *Kālikulakramārcana* of Vimalaprabodha
- 2 *Parvatrayavidhāna* of Vimalaprabodha
- 3 Guhyakālīdhyaṇa Section of *Parātantra*, Paṭala 7, verses 64 – 122 and Translation

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ac	<i>ante correctionem</i>
em.	Emendation
GNP	<i>Guhyakālīnirvāṇapūjāpaddhati</i> Manuscript, NGMPP B 32/8.
HRT	<i>Hāhārāvatantra</i>
KKA	<i>Kālīkulakramārcana</i>
KKA 1	<i>Kālīkulakramārcana</i> Manuscript, NGMPP A 148/10.
KKA 2	<i>Kālīkulakramārcana</i> Manuscript, NGMPP A 229/9.
KMT	<i>Kubjikāmatatantra</i>
MBT	<i>Manthānabhairavatantra</i>
MKS	<i>Mahākālasaṃhitā</i>
MPP	<i>Mahārthakramapañcamantrapaddhati</i> recorded in two MSS in the University of Cambridge Digital Library (see Bibliography)
MPP 1	Segment of MPP as found in Exposures 1 – 4 of <i>Nityanaimittikavidhi, Śivaśaktisamarasatyamahāmāyāstava</i> MS Add.1412.3
MPP 2	Segment of MPP as found in Exposures 1 – 9 of <i>Amṛtabhairavārcanavidhi</i> MS Add.1412.2
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
pc	<i>post correctionem</i>
PT	<i>Parātantra</i>
PTV	<i>Parvatrayavidhāna</i> of Vimalaprabodha

SP	<i>Somaśambhupaddhati</i>
TA	<i>Tantrāloka</i>
TAK	<i>Tāntrikābhīdhānakōśa</i>
UPV	<i>Uttarāmnāyapavitrārōhaṇavidhi</i>

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to document and examine certain practice-oriented aspects of the Śaiva cult known as the Krama or Uttarāmnāya in its historical form as attested by texts and traditions present in the Malla-period Kathmandu Valley (1200 – 1779). To frame it differently, my work lays emphasis on the lived religion of the medieval *tāntrika* in a specific place and point in time rather than the doctrinal or philosophical undergirding of his worship, although the two are of course intertwined. As such, the thesis has three broad aims:

1) the survey and analysis of the complex iconography of the Krama 2) the study of its ritual procedure as practiced in Malla Nepal and 3) the creation of the first edition and annotation of a Krama *pūjāpaddhati* (liturgy of worship) in the form of the *Kālīkulakramārcana* (KKA).

It is worth stating from the outset that the thrust of this thesis will be largely descriptive since the field we are researching has such paucity of published material that careful documentation must be carried out before any analysis is undertaken. To date, no systematic study of the iconography of the Krama has been made nor is there any scholarship specifically dealing with the ritual activity of this cult or editions of Krama liturgies, although primary and secondary sources tackling Krama exegesis and philosophy, especially its emergence and influence upon the Śaiva traditions of Kashmir, have been published as will be shown below. Due to the scarcity of scholarship, I have refrained from writing a separate literature review but have rather integrated this review into my discussion of the general context of the Krama and of the key primary sources for the thesis.

A little more, however, should be said about the scope of my research. Firstly, by iconography, I do not only mean the mere description of the appearance of deities but all the different forms in which a cult engages with visual culture. Therefore, our treatment of iconography will include all forms of ritual technologies used to manifest deities, such as *nyāsa* and *cakroddhāra*, and will also explore the relationship between visual culture as it

appears in texts and as interpreted by artists. As for our documentation of ritual, I cannot hope to give a comprehensive overview of all literature present in Nepal which deals with the cult of Guhyakālī or Kaula traditions. The Newars were incredibly prolific writers and copyists of liturgies with Śākta Tantric material amongst the most popular subjects. A brief search of the NGMPP catalogue will reveal thousands of unpublished Kaula liturgies which span from palm-leaf texts of the 11th century to paper manuscripts from the 20th. It would require a lifetime to read these works let alone to analyse their contents. Nor is my task concerned with understanding the relationship between this historical material and current Uttarāmnāya practices in Nepal which would be more the domain of the anthropologist. The more modest goal of my thesis is to pinpoint several important texts and to use them as an enlightening but not all-encompassing window into the ritual life of the Krama adept. The thesis as a whole aims to be a small yet handy tool that will allow us to better navigate the largely uncharted landscape of Newar Śākta Tantra.

Contextualisation

Before we turn to these texts, however, it is necessary to do some contextualizing of the Krama and its role in the historical Kathmandu Valley. I only provide a very brief overview of the Krama's place amongst Tantric Śaiva traditions and some of its distinctive characteristics since the contextualisation of Śaiva traditions, including a description of the principal doctrines and practices of each cult, has already been extensively discussed in Sanderson's seminal works mapping Śaivism's development (primarily 1988, 2007b and 2014), works which scholars with an interest in the field will be very familiar with. It is from these studies that I largely draw my summary below.

The Krama is a cult belonging to the stream of initiatory Śaivism known as the Mantramārga, more specifically the Kula division of this stream. The Mantramārga is

pursued mainly by householders and promises both liberation (*mokṣa*) and supernatural attainments (*siddhi*) as opposed to the traditions exclusively pursued by ascetics known as the Atimārga. Within the Mantramārga itself, two broad divisions emerged, that of the Śaiva Siddhānta which was *veda*-congruent in its practice and mostly dualistic in its philosophy centring around the worship of Sadāśiva and, secondly, the division based on the more diverse and heterodox Bhairavāgamas. The Tantras of the Bhairavāgamas are commonly divided into those whose central deities are male (the Mantrapīṭha), the principle cult being that of Svachhandabhairava and those which revolved around goddesses (the Vidyāpīṭha) whose deities are usually forms of Kālī. The closer one moves towards the wholly feminised forms of the Bhairavāgamas, the more transgressive its practices become. However, the division of Śaiva traditions did not end there and out of the Vidyāpīṭha emerges another path known as the Kulamārga which placed an even greater emphasis on transgression drawn, Sanderson proposes, from the Atimārga cult known as the Kāpālikas or Somasiddhāntins. These skull-bearing Kāpālikas were the last out of the three main Atimārga sects to develop and were distinct on account of their “great vow” (*mahāvratā*) which demanded that they roamed the cremation ground adorned with mortuary accouterments. As Sanderson explains:

“As for the Kulamārga, its texts share with those of the non-Saiddhāntika Mantramārga the counter-brahmanical character of its offerings and observances. But it is more extreme in this regard and also departs markedly by following a distinct ritual system, which was inherited, I propose, with some modifications and additions, from the Kāpālika Atimārga III... instead of the elaborate and time-consuming process of initiation through offerings into a consecrated fire (*hautrī dīkṣā*) seen throughout the Mantramārga, we see initiation through possession (*āveśaḥ*) by the Goddess and the consumption of ‘impure’ sacramental substances (*caruprāśanam, vīrapānam*). We also find sexual intercourse with a consecrated

consort (*dūti*) as a central element of private worship, sanguinary sacrifices, and collective orgiastic rites celebrated by assemblies of initiates and women of low caste.”¹

I cite this lengthy quote since we will see many of these practices being repeated in the Krama’s ritual procedure. The Kulamārga/Kaula was known as such on account of the family (*kula*) of *yoginīs* which formed the basis of its worship and at whose centre were the core divine couple of the cult known as the Kuleśvarī and Kuleśvara. The literature of the Kulamārga also commonly read into the above transgressive acts a mystical meaning that tended towards non-dualism. The Kaula was however not a uniform movement and was classified according to four transmissions corresponding to the cardinal points. These comprise the Pūrvāmnāya also known as the Trika on account of the triad of goddesses – Parā, Aparā and Parāparā – at its centre; the Uttarāmnāya, the cult that is the subject of this thesis; the Paścimāmnāya focused on the goddess Kubjikā; and the Dakṣiṇāmnāya, a tradition dedicated to Kāmeśvarī/Tripurasundarī who would eventually become the most popular Kaula goddess².

We shall now go into greater depth concerning the Krama/Uttarāmnāya which can also go by the name Mahānaya, Mahārtha, Devīnaya, or Kālīkula. According to Sanderson, the core extant scriptures of this tradition includes parts of the *Jayadrathayāmala*’s later *Ṣaṭkas*, the *Kālīkākulapañcaśataka*, *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* and the *Yonigahvara*³. Up until recently, all of these texts remained unpublished, making the Uttarāmnāya the least accessible of Kaula traditions to be studied. However, thanks to the work of Lamichhane (VS 2074), we now have editions of the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā* and *Kālīkākulapañcaśataka*. These have been highly helpful in decoding terminology and for comparing lists of names in our edition and annotation of the KKA.

¹ Sanderson (2014), p. 57

² See Sanderson (2014), pp. 58 – 66 for the sources of this classification and a summary of each cult’s texts and deities.

³ Sanderson (2014), pp. 63 – 64 lists the extant texts of the Krama but also lost texts as recorded by the KKA. In Appendix IV, we add to this list by showing the content the KKA derives from each of these texts.

The Krama (literally meaning sequence) is known as such because its worship follows a sequence of phases. A series of deities is worshipped in a fixed sequence of *cakras* which represents, at least in some sources, the “cyclical pulse of cognition”⁴. The classical composition and order of these phases as found in early works such as the *Kālikāstotra* by Jñānanetranātha, commonly considered to be the first propagator (*avatāraka*) of the Krama scriptures revealed to him in Uḍḍiyāna, the sacred seat of the North, is comprised of the following *cakras*: 1) the Five Flows (Pañcavāha) 2) the Circle of Bliss (Ānandacakra) 3) Circle of Light (Prakāśacakra) 4) the Circle of Embodiment (Mūrticakra) 5) the Circle of the Multitude (Vṛndacakra)⁵. The phases culminate in the worship of four (Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Samhāra, Anākhyā) or five Kālīs (with the addition of Bhāsā) depending on the tradition followed⁶. Moreover, it is common to preface these phases with the worship of Uḍḍiyāna alongside four associated elements as a separate step known as the Pīṭhaniketana. The individual deities of each *cakra* represent the various elements of cognition and the sequence of the *cakras* become the cycle by which consciousness is projected towards its object and is eventually withdrawn and dissolves into its ultimate ground of non-duality embodied by the final Kālī⁷. Sanderson thus notes that the Krama is unique for “producing perhaps for the first time in Śaivism a model for a form of contemplative ritual entirely fashioned by and subservient to the terms of a doctrine of liberating gnosis⁸”. It is, however, important to keep in mind that the iteration of the Krama found in our Newar texts, especially those of the late medieval period like the *Parātantra*, *Hāhārāvantra* and

⁴ Sanderson (1988), p. 683

⁵ For an extended discussion of Jñānanetranātha’s work, see Sanderson (2007b), pp. 270 – 273.

⁶ The *Kālikūlakramasadbhāva*, for instance, teaches the sequence of five Kālīs while the *Kālikākūlapañcaśataka* teaches four (See Sanderson (2007b), pp. 306-307).

⁷ A detailed discussion of how the Krama creates this correspondence as described by the Anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa* is found in Sanderson (1988), pp. 696 – 699.

⁸ Sanderson (2007b), p. 273

Mahākālasaṃhitā diverge from this classical formulation both in the composition and order of phases and deities and the correspondence between philosophy and ritual practice.

Now that we have looked at the Kaula and the Krama generally, let us focus on these traditions as found in the medieval Kathmandu Valley. The fourfold classification of the Kaula according to the cardinal directions is reformulated in the Kathmandu Valley to encompass six transmissions. A discussion of the sixfold transmission (Ṣaḍāmnāya) can be found in the work of a number of scholars, including Dyczkowski (2000), Lidke (2004), Sanderson (2004) and Timalina (2006). The main differences between the fourfold system previously described and the Ṣaḍāmnāya is that in the latter, a nadir and zenith are added to the four cardinal points which are respectively occupied by Vajrayoginī and Tripurasundarī/Kāmeśvarī. Furthermore, the Eastern transmission, traditionally the abode of the Trika's triad and the Southern transmission which is usually occupied by Tripurasundarī become in the Newar system the cults of the mysterious Pūrṇeśvarī and Nīśeśvarī. These two deities, Sanderson conjectures, are artificial additions to the Kaula to fit this new schematization and possess no apparent independent cult of their own⁹. Perhaps the most influential source to describe this system is the *Parātantra* which lays out the six transmissions in its first six *paṭalas*.

Amongst the six, the two dominant transmissions were the Northern and the Western. It is the goddesses of these two traditions – Kubjikā (Western) and Guhyakālī/Siddhalakṣmī (Northern) – who are the most common subject of the Śākta Tantra liturgies extant in the NGMPP. Their predominance is further confirmed by how these goddesses were persistently cited amongst the lineage or chosen deities (*kuladevī* or *sveṣṭadevī*) of the medieval kings of Nepal. This fact is itself acknowledged by the *Parātantra* which ascribes

⁹ Sanderson (2004), p. 368

Kubjikā the role of lineage deity of the lunar dynasty and Siddhalakṣmī, invariably spelt Siddhilakṣmī in the Kathmandu Valley, the role of tutelary deity of the solar dynasty. In addition to these statements by the *Parātantra* (v. 3.24 and 7.59), Sanderson affirms Siddhilakṣmī's importance by showing through textual and anthropological evidence that she is the secret identity of Vatsalādevī, a goddess commonly considered the consort of Paśupatinātha, a deity viewed as the *rāṣṭradēvatā* (state deity) of Nepal since at least the 6th century¹⁰. Meanwhile, Dyczkowski (2000) provides additional proof of Kubjikā's importance through her role as the lineage deity “of most, if not all, the higher caste priests of the Hindu Newars” and the pervasion of her *mantra* into the liturgies of all other *āmnāyas*¹¹.

We should also add that the secret goddess, Taleju who appears to be the royal deity of the Malla kings *par excellence* could have either one of or of both goddesses of the Northern and Western transmissions as her esoteric identity as several scholars have pointed out¹². Moreover, the prominence of the Northern transmission is viewed most conspicuously in the religious architecture/sites of the Kathmandu Valley. The Valley's tallest temple, the Nyatapola constructed by King Bhūpatīndramalla (r. 1696 – 1722) is dedicated to Siddhilakṣmī¹³ while the temple of Guhyeśvarī, long considered the most sacred Śākta site of the Valley has strong associations with both Kubjikā and Guhyakālī¹⁴. As for the time period in which the Uttarāmnāya flourished, we should firstly make clear that this is still a living phenomenon in Nepal and that the above-mentioned temples are very much in active use. On the other hand, the entry of the Kaula into the Valley is difficult to document but we can be certain that the cult of Kubjikā was already present in

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 369 - 371

¹¹ Dyczkowski (2000), p. 17 and fn. 38

¹² See Sanderson (2004), pp. 372 – 373, fn. 74

¹³ For a more extensive explanation of the significance of this temple, see Dyczkowski (2000), p. 58 while a list of Siddhilakṣmī temples in the Valley can be found in *ibid.*, p. 11 and Timalina (2006), p. 3.

¹⁴ See Sanderson (2004) p. 372, Michaels (2008) pp. 138 - 143 and Dyczkowski (2000) p. 18, fn. 40 for discussion on the possible identity of Guhyeśvarī.

the Valley at a relatively early date as attested by a MS of the *Laghvikāmnāya* dated to 1037/38 and four MS of the *Kubjikāmata* preceding the 13th century¹⁵. Although the presence of Krama literature in the Valley is not found at this early date, the dating of Vimalaprabodha and the KKA to be discussed later shows us that the tradition was at least known to Nepal from the very beginning of the Malla dynasty when the family of this name emerged from obscurity with the ascension of Arimalla (1200/1201 – 1216)¹⁶.

These Kaula cults continuously received royal patronage, both during the middle of the Malla period following the disintegration of the Kingdom into three city states (Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu) precipitated by the death of Yakṣamalla (1482) as well as after the collapse of the Malla dynasty entirely after the conquest of Pṛthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāha in 1768. Proof for the former is found in the fact that several Malla kings openly advertised their *tāntrika* credentials not only as patrons of temples and rituals but by acting as poets and scribes of Uttarāmnāya-related works. Thus, from Bhaktapur, for example, we have King Jitāmitramalla's (r. 1673 – 1696) composition of the *Siddhilakṣmīmantrayantroddhārastotra*, a hymn which extracts the *mantras* and *maṇḍala* of the Goddess Siddhilakṣmī¹⁷ and the Śākta liturgies copied by his own hand, especially one known as the *Kubjikaguhyeśvarīpūjāpaddhati*¹⁸. In Kathmandu, King Pratāpamalla, celebrated for his many compositions and religious endowments, composed the *Sarvāparādhastotra*¹⁹ to Siddhilakṣmī/Guhyakālī and acted as the patron of the

¹⁵ Sanderson (2002), pp. 1 - 4

¹⁶ For more on the emergence and dominance of the Mallas, see Regmi (2007), Vol. I, pp. 200 – 204.

¹⁷ This unpublished poem is cited by Sanderson (2004), p. 370, fn. 61 and 62 from whom I was made aware of its existence. I have prepared an edition of the poem from 3 MSS sources and hope to publish it along with my notes in the future.

¹⁸ This MSS is catalogued under Reel No. B 181/17 in the NGMPP and was copied by the King in 1688 according to its colophon. There are six other MSS I know of which were copied by Jitāmitramalla, all of which, as far as I am aware, are unknown to scholarship. I therefore plan to do further research on this king's scribal output.

¹⁹ The poem has been edited and translated into English in Bledsoe (2000), pp. 195 - 205.

construction of the Guhyeśvarī temple in its current location²⁰. After the Malla dynasty, this practice of royal compositions of Kaula works continued with the most famous being the humongous compendium of Śaḍāmnāya worship known as the *Puraścaryārṇava* by King Pratāpa Siṃha Śāha (r.1774 – 1777).

Beyond the evidence of patronage at the highest level, proof of the consistent presence of the Kaula in the Valley, especially the Northern and Western transmissions, is found in the existence of innumerable dated manuscripts of these schools. A good snapshot is inadvertently provided in Regmi's *History of Nepal* (2007 (reprint), Volumes I and II) where to ascertain the dates of the reigns of individual Malla monarchs, Regmi has given lists of manuscripts whose colophons proclaim both the date and reign of their copying. A high proportion of the manuscripts from the reign of Arimalla up to the reigns of the last three Malla monarchs of the Valley are Tantras or liturgies from either the Kubjikā or Kālīkula schools²¹. Finally, some of the artworks depicting Guhyakālī which have been included and described in Ch. 1 - 3 of this thesis dating between the 14th – 19th centuries are further material proof of persistent worship in the Valley. A careful overview of all forms of evidence pointing to Krama devotion in pre-modern Nepal would take up a thesis of its own but it is hoped that the brief survey above will at least show that Guhyakālī's presence there was constant and vigorous throughout the centuries.

As is evident in the later medieval Tantras influential in the Kathmandu Valley and as will be pointed out at times throughout the thesis, the Uttarāmnāya of the Newars did not simply mimic the classical version. We see far less emphasis on philosophical speculation and a greater focus on ritual content. Thus, in spite of the vast content of the MKS and HRT

²⁰ See Michaels (2008), p. 132 for the sources of this event.

²¹ This can be observed by examining the colophon evidence section in the chapters on the reign of each Malla king in Regmi (2007), Volumes I and II.

for instance, we do not find a philosophical explanation of the phases of routine worship according to the unfolding of the cognitive process as we do in early Krama literature.

What is stressed are instructions for complex ritual procedures – *yantroddhāra*, *nyāsa* and *dhyānas* and elaborate *kāmya* rites – largely absent in the classical Tantras. The names of the ancillary deities of the Nityapūjācakras documented by the KKA also largely disappear to be replaced by goddesses who are amongst the locally popular forms of Durgā.

Primary Sources and Secondary Literature

The KKA and the Works of Vimalaprabodha

The most important source for this thesis is the KKA which has long been recognised as highly significant for an understanding of Krama worship but for which, bar this thesis, there are surprisingly no editions, translations or studies. For instance, its importance was highlighted as early as in Sanderson (1988) where he calls it “the earliest datable example of a Tantric ritual handbook providing detailed instructions on worship with all the *mantras*”²². Beyond its ritual significance, it is particularly essential to our project since it is the only Guhyakālī *paddhati* I know of which details the visualisation for almost every single deity of the Krama’s *cakras*, comprising 209 deities up to the end of the first 16 Nityapūjācakras and far more if other rites were included. The sources used for our study and edition of this text have been described in the editorial principles. Although the date of composition is not given in any colophon, we are certain that it must have been written some time around the beginning of the 12th century given what we know of Vimalaprabodha, its author, which is outlined below.

Although this thesis aims to be the first systematic study of this text, limited segments of the KKA have been cited and analysed in secondary literature. In Sanderson (2007b),

²² Sanderson (1988), p. 684

the text is used in relation to wider discussions on the Krama's arrangement of deities, especially the composition of the Bhāsācakra (p. 307, fn. 246), the Rakṣācatuṣka (p. 319, fn. 286) and Jñānasiddhacakra (p. 319, fn. 287). In this same work, Sanderson also provides an edition and analysis of close to the entire Cakrākṛīḍā section of the KKA (pp. 282 – 284). Furthermore, Sanderson (2007a, p. 283, fn. 160) has deciphered the *mantroddhāra* at the end of the KKA's Bhāsācakra and shows that it follows the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*.

The KKA is also frequently cited by Törzsök in her entries for the *Tāntrikābhīdhānakośa*. The entries that make more extensive use of this *paddhati* include, from Vol. II, those on *kuladravya* (pp. 123 -124), *kulayoginī* (p. 128), *cakra* (p. 219), *cakrākṛīḍā* (p. 221) and from Vol. III, those on *dikcarī* (p. 157), *dravya* (p. 206) and *pādāṅguṣṭha* (p. 430). Meanwhile, Dyczkowski (2009) draws on the KKA as a point of comparison for the 64 *pīṭhas* found in the *Pīṭhastava* in his edition of the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairavatantra*. His comparison of the KKA with other Tantric sources will be discussed thoroughly later on in this thesis.

With regard to the origins of the KKA's tradition, Sanderson has convincingly shown that it is likely that the form of the Krama pursued by the KKA was influenced by practices in the South of India. This conclusion is principally made through an analysis of the *chommaka* or secretive utterances that the participants are instructed to employ during the worship of the phases of the five Kālīs in the course of the Cakrākṛīḍā. These utterances appear to convey the activities associated with these phases derived from Dravidian languages (Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Tulu)²³. Likewise, Sanderson has also highlighted that the sequence of worship of the KKA matches that of the Krama variation found in the Southern guru Maheśvarānanda's works as well as two Kaula *paddhatis* of

²³ Sanderson (2007b), pp. 283 – 284, fn. 172

South Indian origin²⁴. Bolstering this argument is additional evidence discovered by me and elaborated in our discussion of Vimalaprabodha's bibliography below which shows not only his Krama practice to be of Southern origin but also his tradition of Kubjikā worship.

No matter what the exact origins of the KKA's Krama tradition, it is undeniable that it did become influential in the Kathmandu Valley, which is one of our key criteria for incorporating it as the crux for this thesis. This influence is detected by the fact that its composition of deity names, *mantras* and sequence of worship was copied by a number of other Newar liturgies discussed in this chapter and evidence of its replication in fresh manuscripts for well over four centuries²⁵. More importantly, its centrality is shown by Vimalaprabodha's own role in the Malla court. This is most clearly proven in the colophon of the liturgy known as the *Amṛteśvaranityapūjāvidhi*, a text for the worship of Amṛteśvara/Mṛtyuñjaya attributed to Abhayamalla where we are told that the MS was completed on June 8th, 1216 during the reign of King Arimalla, who had received his royal consecration through the grace of Vimalaprabodha (*śrīmadvimalaprabodhapādaprasādāl labdhābhiṣeka*)²⁶. This fixes both the date and the courtly milieu of Vimalaprabodha. As for the identity between the Vimalaprabodha mentioned in this MS and our Vimalaprabodha, additional evidence will be discussed below which conclusively proves this. This MS seemingly bears no relation to Vimalaprabodha since its professed author is Abhayamalla, Arimalla's son, as proclaimed in the opening verses and its scribe was a certain Brahmin by the name of Harihara from Camatkārapura in Gurjjaradeśa (present day Vadnagar in Gujarat). Nonetheless the colophon highlights the consecration of Arimalla by Vimalaprabodha and marks him out with high praise, describing him as "the knower of the meaning of the

²⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 320 as well as Sanderson's lecture at OCHS titled "Śāktism among the Śaivas" (November, 2020) and handout.

²⁵ See my Editorial Principles of the KKA for a detailed discussion of this.

²⁶ This colophon is noted by Sanderson (2007b), p. 282, fn. 168. It was first transcribed by Petech (1984), p. 81 - 82 and also appears in Dyczkowski (2009), Introduction to Volume II, p. 347. It is more accurately transcribed in Barilits-Gupta (2017).

secret Āgamas and Siddhānta Tantras.”²⁷ We can therefore speculate that Harihara must have had a special kinship with Vimalaprabodha to include him in such a way in the colophon of a seemingly unrelated work and this inclusion could give rise to the possibility that Vimalaprabodha came with Harihara from Gurjjaradeśa since we also have evidence of Vimalaprabodha being from outside of the Valley.

As far as I am aware, there are three works of confirmed authorship by Vimalaprabodha. Out of the three, only the KKA has been discussed in secondary literature. I summarise below the few details that can be gleaned from these works about their author and his background.

1) The KKA The first authorial statement occurs at the beginning of the text in v. 3 of the introductory verses where our author calls himself the student of Alakācārya and an *ekadaṇḍin* as well as “having the nature of Śiva”. Meanwhile, the end of the KKA comprises five concluding verses which is the passage in the three texts by Vimalaprabodha to contain the most biographical detail on the author. The translation of these verses is as follows:

“The routine and occasional rites revered in the Northern Transmission is proclaimed as that which grants *siddhis*, free of obstacles, to those human devotees identifying themselves with Kālī. The fact that this secret oral transmission of the Kālīkula which should not be committed to writing has indeed been caused to descend by me, serving at the feet of his guru known as Ānandaśakti, the grandson of Prakāśaśakti, the blessed teacher, the Ekadaṇḍin ascetic by the name of Vimalaprabodha, also known as Paraśakti, the worshipper of the

²⁷ The compound here is *siddhāntatantrarahasyāgamārthavida* transcribed incorrectly by Petech as *arghavida* rather than *arthavida*. We should note the peculiar use of *vida* instead of *vid* in a colophon that is otherwise largely free of grammatical issues. The *rahasyāgama* most likely refers to the Tantras of the more esoteric (hence *rahasya*) Bhairava and Śākta streams. The pairing of this stream with the Siddhānta thus shows Vimalaprabodha to be learned in the entire Mantramārga. Dyczkowski states that this colophon reveals Vimalaprabodha to be the teacher of Harihara. However, this relationship is not spelt out and the *abhiṣeka* mentioned here quite clearly refers to that of Arimalla as Sanderson (2007b) has interpreted. What is of further interest, though, is the effusive praise attached to Arimalla in the colophon and the date of copying recorded as in the reign of Arimalla (*śrīmadarimalladevapravaraddhamānavijayarājye*), indicating that it must have been written during Abhayamalla’s period as crown prince and that the true patron of the work may have been Arimalla who commissioned it on behalf of his son, the proclaimed author of the work.

Lord of the Śaḍānvaya should be forgiven by the teachers (of the tradition). Here ends the *Kālīkulakramārcana* composed by the Ācārya Vimalaprabodha, the Paramahaṃsa and wandering ascetic (*parivrājaka*).”

2) *Parvatrayavidhāna* (PTV) which concerns three *naimittika* rites of the Uttarāmnāya.

It is as far as I am aware a *codex unicus* (NGMPP B 32-18; palm leaf; Newari script; 14 folios). Sadly, the MS lacks its last folio but contains enough information for us to know for certain that it was by Vimalaprabodha. Its statement of authorship reads:

śrīmadalakācāryacaraṇavallabhena

paramahaṃsavimalaprabodhenākṛṣṭaparvatrayavidhānam utta[end of MS with last folio missing]

A possible reconstruction of the statement of authorship as well as the contents of this MS will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

3) *Paścimārcanapaddhati* This work covers the routine and occasional rites for the worship of the goddess Kubjikā. It is also attested by only one manuscript (NGMPP C 6-15; palm leaf; Newari script; 149 folios). In the same manuscript as the *Paścimārcanapaddhati*, we find another text by the same hand but with no proclaimed authorship known as the “*Śrīkrama* of the *Mahārahasyasampradaya*”. The colophon of the entire manuscript which comes at the end of this *Śrīkrama* gives its date as Samvat 331 (1210) during the reign of Arimalla (*rājādhirājaparamaśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaśrīmadarimalladevasya vijaye*), providing further proof in addition to the colophon of the *Amṛteśvaranīyapūjāvidhi* that Vimalaprabodha was active during the reign of this king. This manuscript also unrecorded in secondary literature. Although a thorough reading of this manuscript has not been undertaken by me, I have found five instances where the authorship of Vimalaprabodha is proclaimed as follows:

- 1) 1v4 - 2r1 (introductory verses): *guroḥ śrīśahadevasya praṇamya caraṇāmbujam/
śrīvimalaprabodho 'ham paścimārcanapaddhatim//
śrutvā śrīśāmbhavaṃ vākyaṃ saddeśikamukhāgatam/
vakṣye hitāya śiṣyāṇāṃ saṃkṣepāt trividhaṃ sphuṭam//*
- 2) 71v1 – 2: *śrīvimalaprabodhena pavitrakārcanakaṃ kṛtam*
- 3) 90r5 – v1: *naimittikaṃ samuddiṣṭaṃ paścimārcanapaddhatau/
srīvimalaprabodhena saṃkṣepā(n) na tu vistarāt //*
paramaḥṣaparivrājakaṣaḍanvayācāryaśrīvimalaprabodhaviracitāyāṃ dvitīyo vidhiḥ
- 4) 100r2 – 5: *iti śrīmatkramoddhāraṃ gaditaṃ svalpato mayā/
ṣaḍanvayasamāmnāyāt samākṛṣya prayatnataḥ//*
*paramaḥṣaparivrājakaṣaḍanvayācāryaśrīvimalaprabodhaviracitāyāṃ
kramoddhāraavidhiḥ*
- 5) 105: *iti paramaḥṣaparivrājakaṣaḍanvayācāryaśrīvimalaprabodhaviracitāyāṃ
dīpacaruvidhiḥ iti paścimārcanapaddhatiḥ samāptaḥ*

Although the details provided in these texts are not sufficient to paint a full account of Vimalaprabodha's cultic and socio-geographical background, a few things can be postulated. Without evidence of the *Paścimārcanapaddhati* examined for the first time here, we can only say that it is highly likely that the Vimalaprabodha referred to in the *Amṛteśvaranīyapūjāvidhi* is the same as the Vimalaprabodha who is the author of the KKA given how we cannot ascertain the date of composition of the KKA from its manuscripts. However, the alignment between the designations of Vimalaprabodha in the KKA and *Paścimārcanapaddhati* as well as the date of the latter's MS (1210 during the reign of Arimalla) show the author of the KKA to undoubtedly be the Vimalaprabodha who was the royal preceptor of Arimalla mentioned in the *Amṛteśvaranīyapūjāvidhi*.

This also discounts one of Dyczkowski's theories concerning Vimalaprabodha's identity. He postulates that Vimalaprabodha could be the same as "the Kashmiri Kālī Krama teacher called Prabodha mentioned in the Mahānayaparakāśa by Arṇasimha as the disciple of Cakrabhānu (verse 163) whom Rastogi (1979: 178) dates to the second half of the 11th century."²⁸ As can be seen from the evidence, our dating does not permit Vimalaprabodha to be active in the 11th century. A Kashmiri origin might also be questionable given the potential Southern origins of his strand of the Krama as well as the very limited contact between Kashmir and the Kathmandu Valley during the medieval period.

We can see that the KKA gives us two names for the author's guru. At the start of the text, we are told that his teacher is called Alakācārya while in the concluding verses the name given to his guru is Ānandaśakti. Two possibilities arise from this. First, he is naming two separate gurus, one who is responsible for his exoteric learning and the other his Krama education. Second, these two names belong to one and the same person, the first being his guru's public name, the second being his initiation name. I am tempted to adopt the second interpretation since Vimalaprabodha also supplies himself with two names at the beginning and end of the KKA, the latter, which is most likely his initiatory name, being Paraśakti. Since his own adopted name is appended with *śakti*, it is probable that that of his guru will end with the same particle, meaning the name Ānandaśakti fits the bill as the esoteric/initiatory epithet of Alakācārya.

Another important clue is found in how he calls himself the grandson of Prakāśaśakti, showing that *ācāryas* with names ending in *śakti* were not only related to Vimalaprabodha through a master-student lineage but also a familial one. This raises the possibility that Alakācārya was both his father and guru. Furthermore, the ambiguous term

²⁸ Dyczkowski (2009), Vol. II, pp. 440 – 445

śivātmaka qualifying him at the beginning of the text could indicate two things. It may denote either his ontological state, implying his true nature is at one with Śiva. However, more prosaically, *ātmaka* can be used to mean “by the name/designation of”, indicating that the name Vimalaprabodha is appended with *śiva* (Vimalaprabodhaśiva). The second possibility would indicate that he belongs to a group of mendicants for whom their public names are appended with *śiva* and their esoteric names are appended with *śakti*. If more evidence on such religious groups was forthcoming, this would help us in narrowing down Vimalaprabodha’s origins. We should additionally note that he possesses a different guru for his Paścimāmnāya lineage known by the name Sahadeva as declared in the opening verses of the *Paścimārcanapaddhati*.

The commonality in declarations of authorship found in all three works by Vimalaprabodha is the description of him as an ascetic. All three texts (in the concluding lines of the KKA and PTV and at three points in the *Paścimārcanapaddhati*) have the author describing himself as a *paramahansa*, a pan-Hindu term used to denote an ascetic of high spiritual attainment. The qualification of *parivrājaka*, which denotes a generic wandering mendicant is found in the KKA and three points in the *Paścimārcanapaddhati* while the descriptor *ekadaṇḍin* (one who bears a single staff) is used at the beginning of the KKA. This term is frequently used in contradistinction to ascetics who are known as *tridaṇḍin* to distinguish between mendicants using one bamboo pole and those using a bundle of three bamboo poles as carrying sticks. However, its exact religious connotation is ambiguous and ascetics from a number of sectarian backgrounds (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and even Ājīvika) identified themselves as *ekadaṇḍins*²⁹. Moreover, the term can be used for certain classes of *yatis* within a single tradition itself as seen in the way the Pāñcarātra *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā* classifies two of its *yatis* as *ekadaṇḍins* and the other two as

²⁹ See for instance Lorenzen (1991), p. 105 and Basham (2002)

*tridaṇḍins*³⁰. Other traditions make a distinction between the intensity of ascetic practice through these two labels with the *ekadaṇḍin* being the stricter. In spite of the vagueness of these terms, they do give further support to the idea that Vimalaprabodha came from outside of the Valley to spread his cult. Wandering mendicants of this period were known to travel great distances, relying on the generosity of patrons, especially kings and pilgrims' *maṭhas*, many of whom, records show, found their way into the Kathmandu Valley before the 13th century³¹.

From his composition of the above texts, we can consider Vimalaprabodha to have been a teacher of both the traditions of Guhyakālī and Kubjikā, the two Kaula schools that would come to dominate Śākta Tantra in Nepal. Vimalaprabodha indeed openly advertises his affiliation with both schools. He calls himself a knower of the Northern Transmission at the conclusion of the Nityapūjā of the KKA (*uttarāmnāyavedin*)³². His self-declaration as an expert of the Western Transmission is not as obvious but can be detected from the description of him in the *Paścimārcanapaddhati* as a *ṣaḍanvayācārya*³³. This designation might at first bring to mind the Newar Ṣaḍamnāya and lead the reader to understand it as a reference to his expertise in the sixfold Kaula transmission. However, a more likely interpretation of this term, especially since it appears frequently in his Paścimāmnāya work, is to see it as the name of a tradition of the Western Transmission prevalent in the South of India. Contemporaneous with Vimalaprabodha, a tradition of Kubjikā worship was flourishing known as the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbava on account of its emphasis on

³⁰ See the entry for *paramahaṃsa* and *prabhu* in TAK, Vol. III, pp. 389 - 390 and pp. 530 - 531 as well as Raghavan (1975), p. 75 for his discussion of *ekadaṇḍin*.

³¹ See Regmi (2007), Vol I., pp. 558 - 559 for the evidence of wandering *nāthas* in the Kathmandu Valley during and before the 13th century

³² It should be noted that this is similar to the title ascribed to Vimalaprabodha in the colophon of a MS (NGMPP A 161-12) of the *Devīdyardhaśatikā* where he is called *uttarānvayācārya*. Sanderson (2007b, p. 438) states that this MS is a descendant of one in the library of Vimalaprabodha, hence his inclusion in the colophon.

³³ This title is used in the colophons of another two MSS of the *Devīpañcaśatikā* belonging to his library as described by Dyczkowski (2009, Volume II of the Introduction, p. 347) who does not seem to be aware of the *Paścimārcanapaddhati*.

Śambhu/Navātman over Kubjikā. This tradition was an influential one as proven by the number of its South Indian liturgies as well as by the fact that it became incorporated into the Tripurasundarī school of the Śaṅkarācāryas of Śṛṅgeri and formed “the esoteric content of the ever-popular *Āṇandalaharī*”³⁴. Although the specific term *ṣaḍanvaya* is not used in the KKA, we have the related characterisation of the author as *śrīṣaḍāmnāyadeveśapūjaka* (the worshipper of the Lord of the Blessed Ṣaḍāmnāya). We may use this as proof that the *ṣaḍāmnāya/anvaya* referred to in the two texts denotes the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbava rather than the Newar sixfold transmission since the term *deveśa* makes clear that the central deity of this cult is male (Śambhu/Navātman) rather than female (the Kaula goddesses of the Sixfold Transmission). This attribution is further supported by our knowledge of the existence of authors who were initiated into both the Krama and the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbava variant of the Kubjikā cult. Such is also the case with Maheśvarānanda who proclaims this dual initiation in the opening verses of *Mahārthamañjarīparimala*³⁵. Since, as already discussed, Maheśvarānanda’s tradition of the Krama is very close to Vimalaprabodha’s, it is probable that the same applies to the Kubjikā lineage they both subscribed to.

Support for this hypothesis also comes in the form of the preliminary verses of the *Paścimārcanapaddhati* which indicates that the primary object of worship in this manual is Navātman rather than Kubjikā, a hallmark of the Ṣaḍanvayaśāmbava. Thus, the initial obeisance before the commencement of the text is made to Navātman (*om namaḥ śrīnavātmāne*) and the final part of the rather perplexing *maṅgalācaraṇa* shows this verse to clearly be dedicated to a male rather than female deity (1v3:...*taṃ vande śrīnaveśaṃ kramakulavibhavaṃ*...). Finally, the cited introductory verses also characterise the entire *paddhati* as pertaining to the speech of Śambhu (*śrīśāmbhavaṃ vākyaṃ*). This Paścimāmnāya aspect of Vimalaprabodha

³⁴ Sanderson (1988), p. 687

³⁵ Sanderson (2014), pp. 300 – 301, fn. 304 and Sanderson (2002), p. 23, fn. 20

has not yet been mentioned by secondary literature and thus forms an important clue in piecing together his background.

The *Parātantra*

The *Parātantra* (PT) is a scripture of the Kathmandu Valley that contains 582 verses mainly concerning the *Uttarāmnāya*; the three final and most prominent Pāṭalas solely cover various aspects of the worship of Guhyakālī and are far longer than the previous six chapters combined. Sanderson has convincingly shown that its date of composition is post-15th century on account of its inclusion of the East-Indian Mahāvidyā goddesses and its description of a purity-congruent form of Tripurasundarī worship advocated by the Śaṅkarācārya Saṃnyāsins who were only present in the Valley from the reign of Ratnamalla (c. 1484 – 1530) onwards³⁶. It is one of our key sources for the iconography sections of this thesis since 1) its widespread reproduction over centuries attests to its popularity among the Newars 2) it describes key features of each transmission of the Śaḍāmnāya and is thus a crucial source for this tradition 3) it is iconographically rich, documenting the visualisation of several forms of Guhyakālī, including rare visualisations of the Five Kālīs as well as an important Guhyakālīyantra. Two editions of the PT have been published so far, the first by Dhan Shum Shere based on a manuscript in his collection, appearing in the periodical *Caṇḍī* in 1959, and another by M. Lamichhane as a critical edition based on 4 manuscripts

³⁶ See Sanderson (2004), p. 370, fn. 60. With regard to its Newar origins, Sanderson states this is almost certain on account of the arrangement of its deities which reflect the *paddhatis* of the Newars, especially the pairing of Siddhilakṣmī and Guhyakālī in the Northern transmission. Moreover, he cites the fact that it agrees with Newar religious art for which he mentions a set of *paubhas* depicting Siddhilakṣmī (in her ten-armed and *viśvarūpa* forms), Guhyakālī (two *paubhas*), Kubjikā and Tripurasundarī in Bhaktapur Museum of Art which mirrors the PT's description of them. On my visit to this museum, I was able to identify the *paubhas* mentioned by Sanderson with one of the *paubhas* of Guhyakālī illustrated as fig. 8 in Ch. 1. Even stronger proof for the mirroring of the PT's *dhyāna* in a work of art is found in an illuminated manuscript (accession number: 1994-148-617) in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art roughly dated to the 17th century which contains paintings of all six goddesses of the PT's version of the Śaḍāmnāya, including the mysterious Nīśeśvarī and Pūrṇeśvarī. This artwork was the subject of my talk presented at the World Sanskrit Conference 2023 (History, Art, Architecture and Epigraphy Panel) in which the links with the PT were highlighted. The proximity between the text and artwork is unmistakable as elements of iconography down to minor details like the adornments on a goddess's head crest or less important aspects of her throne are replicated in the paintings.

and published by the National Archives, Kathmandu (2018). My own edition of the *dhyāna* section benefits from this second edition but uses our analysis of iconography to help correct problematic readings and adds new manuscript evidence as will be explained in the preface to the edition. Furthermore, no translation of this text exists so our *dhyāna* excerpt will be the first translation of an extensive segment of the Tantra. Scholars concur on the importance of the PT for Newar Kaulism³⁷ but no independent studies of the Tantra exist in English beyond the few paragraphs discussing it in Sanderson (2004), its mention in a footnote by Dyczkowski (2000) and a brief summary of its treatment of the Kubjikā tradition in Dyczkowski (2009). This thesis will therefore contribute to a better understanding of the text, especially its 7th Paṭala. However, the other Paṭalas in this Tantra contain content that is also of considerable interest for the study of the Śaḍāmnāya³⁸.

A second text of importance for our study of iconography is the *Mahākālasaṃhitā* (MKS), a vast Tantra whose two main subjects are the Goddess Kāmakālākālī³⁹ and Guhyakālī and was most likely written in Mithila during the late medieval period⁴⁰. This thesis will be concerned with the *Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa* which alone spans over 500 pages in Kishore

³⁷ Goudriaan and Gupta (1981), p. 77 call the PT “a most important source” of the Śaḍāmnāya system.

³⁸ The first three Paṭalas of this Tantra are concerned with the worship of Pūrṇeśvarī, Nīśeśvarī and Kubjikā respectively, recording their visualisations, epithets, ancillary deities and the *siddhis* associated with each goddess. The fourth Paṭala is the first time the Tantra deals with the cult of Uttarāmnāya, which will be elaborated upon fully in Paṭalas 7-9. Here, Guhyakālī is worshipped in her three-faced, eight-armed form with her name undergoing a semantic analysis. Paṭala 5 concerns the Ūrdhvāmnāya of Tripurasundarī and, besides the Paṭalas on Guhyakālī, it is the longest in this Tantra. It discusses extensively the famous 16-syllabled *vidyā* and Śrīcakra of this cult while also visualising her as a four-armed auspicious-looking deity. The brief sixth Paṭala deals with the goddess Vajrayoginī who is said by the Tantra to be worshipped by the Buddhists. Paṭala 7 is by far the work’s longest and its two principal subjects - the *cakroddhāra* and *dhyāna* of the Supreme Guhyakālī - will be analysed in detail in subsequent chapters of this thesis. Besides these subjects, the chapter also discusses the lineage of Guhyakālī worship, the importance of rendering service to a guru and *antroddhāras* of the cult’s key *vidyās*. Paṭala 8 largely concerns the matter of non-duality, prescribing non-dual knowledge as the refuge of mankind and instructing the adept to cast aside his prejudices concerning the pure and impure. The last Paṭala has ritual as its theme, especially *puraścaraṇa* rites and rites for worldly benefits. The *kāmya* rites recorded here are highly diverse and extend well beyond the standard *ṣaṭkarman* (six traditional magical rites).

³⁹ A summary of the contents of the *Kāmakālīkhaṇḍa* can be found in Goudriaan and Gupta (1981), pp. 78 – 80.

⁴⁰ See Sanderson (2014), p. 82 and Sanderson’s lecture at the OCHS titled “Śāktism among the Śaivas” (November, 2020) and accompanying handout 3, p. 17.

Nath Jha's printed edition and covers such topics as the multiple *dhyānas* of the goddess according to the number of her faces and arms; the *mantroddhāras* according to *mantras* obtained by divine and mortal beings and for achieving specific goals; *nyāsas* corresponding to the forms of the goddess, important *mantras*, the six transmissions and ancillary deities like *yoginīs*, *ḍākinīs* and *mātrkāś*, the five Kālīs and the *pīṭhas*; 24 *yantroddhāras*; and an enumeration of ritual apparatus/ offerings and the corresponding *mantras* for their purification.

Although the text is Maithili in origin, we justify its inclusion in our study of Newar Tantrism as it was evidently one of the most influential Tantras in the Valley given the ubiquity of its manuscripts in the NGMPP and the fact that it was a focal scripture for Narasiṃha Thākura who played a key role in King Pratāpa Malla's religious patronage as his royal preceptor⁴¹. In spite of the fact that no studies of this text exist, the highly impressive appendix in Jha's edition goes some way in deciphering the Tantra since it provides the decoded *mantras* for the *mantroddhāras* and *nyāsas* as well as renderings of the 24 *yantroddhāras*. Nonetheless, with the assistance of newly available manuscript and artistic sources, I have been able to supplement and clarify in this thesis some of Jha's suppositions about iconography.

The *Hāhārāvatantra*

The next Tantra under discussion is the *Hāhārāvatantra* (HRT) which is another extensive work, important for our study as it is especially abundant in iconographic content. It includes the visualisation of the supreme 54-armed form of Guhyakālī at three points in the text whereas the PT and MKS only give one such *dhyāna*. Moreover, it contains a highly detailed description of the central Guhyakālīyantra in its 9th chapter and the most elaborate system of *nyāsas* I have so far witnessed in Tantric literature. Other content in

⁴¹ See Michaels (2008), p. 132 - 133.

this Tantra includes the exposition of long *mantras*, instructions for magical rites and for visualisations and worship of a plethora of other Kaula deities. Currently, there are no editions of this text, although a very corrupt transcript has been made available by Muktabodha Indological Research Institute online. This transcript is at points almost unintelligible without comparison with the MS on which it is based (NGMPP A 204-6). Therefore, I have principally consulted manuscripts for evidence required from the Tantra in this thesis. I have used NGMPP C 30-3 (Newari Script), which has more accurate readings, as the principal witness for the iconographic section I call HRT 1 while for the sections HRT 2 and 3, the MS consulted is A 204-6. This is on account of the former MS being incomplete (99 folios) and therefore ending before the beginning of HRT 2. In spite of the state of the Muktabodha transcription, it is helpful more broadly in locating sections in the Tantra as a searchable e-text. Given the fact that no MSS of this Tantra exists outside the Valley and that elements of its content imply a Newar origin, we can be quite confident that it is a work of the Kathmandu Valley⁴².

Other unpublished sources

Numerous other unpublished sources have helped supplement our understanding of the practice of the Guhyakālī cult. Key sources include *paddhatīs* that proclaim a cycle of Nityapūjā that are allied to the KKA. These have been used in the verification of names of deities and their orientation in *maṇḍalas*. Sanderson cites the *Mahārthakramapañcakamantrapaddhati* (MPP) dated 1278 and listed under *Pūjākāṇḍa* MS AD 1412 in the Cambridge University Library as a source for the names and *mantras* of the Nityapūjā alongside the KKA⁴³. This *paddhati* has been frequently consulted in the thesis as well. However, an even more useful MS is

⁴² See Sanderson's lecture at OCHS (November, 2020) and handout 3, p. 13 as well as Dyczkowski's entry for this Tantra in the Muktabodha Catalogue.

⁴³ Sanderson (2014), p. 71

the *Guhyakālīnirvāṇapūjāpaddhati* (GNP) dated 1380 which adds material which the MPP lacks; the latter refrains from supplying the *mantras* for the Bhāsākālīcakra and composition of the Gurumaṇḍala. Moreover, both the orientation and names of ancillary deities are given in the GNP while only their names are found in the MPP. Beyond this, the GNP also contains instructions for a system of *nyāsa* almost identical to what is found in the *paripāṭi* (preparatory rites) of the KKA (Pañcanavātmikanyāsa, Saptadaśākṣaranyāsa, Ṣaḍaṅganyāsa etc.) as well as several *mantroddhāras* and a *yantroddhāra* for the central goddess and five Kālīs and brief *dhyānas* of less complex forms of Guhyakālī.

Finally, another unpublished manuscript frequently consulted is the *Uttarāmnāyapavitrārōhaṇavidhi* (UPV) which contains liturgies, including the *mantras*, *dhyānas* and *cakroddhāras*, primarily concerned with the goddesses of the Northern transmission (Guhyakālī and Siddhilakṣmī), Kubjikā and Tripurasundarī. It is of value to us mainly for its detailed account of the *cakroddhāra* of a core Guhyakālīyantra. However, it is a fascinating text that should be studied in its own right beyond this thesis for containing the *dhyānas* of lesser-known Tantric deities, a witness to the mentioned Siddhilakṣmī hymn composed by Jitāmitramalla and a section dealing with the divinisation of consumable offerings (*caru*). Other manuscripts which have been used to a lesser degree will be described as we go along including the *Guhyakālīdevyarcana* written on palm leaf in what looks like early medieval script and three MSS calling themselves *Guhyakālītantra*.

I will now give a brief overview of the secondary literature relevant to my research, much of which I have already alluded to in relation to the scholarship on our primary sources. Although my thesis deals largely with an undocumented phenomenon drawing on unpublished sources, it would not have been possible without the meticulous groundwork of established scholars. I have already mentioned the importance of Sanderson's work in contextualising the Tantric traditions but equally significant are his works on the development of the Krama

as found in his article *The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir* (2007b) and his brief but valuable discussion on Newar Śaivism in *The Śaiva Religion amongst the Khmers (Part I)* (2004). The former dedicates over a hundred pages to the Krama's primary sources and mainly concerns the Krama's treatment by Kashmiri exegetes. Although its principal topic is the Kashmiri Krama, Sanderson makes reference to much Krama material outside of this region. As for the second article, although its subject is not Newar Śaivism, Sanderson charts in a short section the trajectory of Newar Śākta Tantra, especially the royal patronage of the cults of Kubjikā and Siddhilakṣmī through several scriptures and liturgies. It is from these publications that I came to encounter for the first time much of the unpublished material used for this thesis. Since I have the luxury of dedicating an entire DPhil thesis to the Uttarāmnāya in Nepal, what my work hopefully does is to pick up on some of these previously recorded sources as well as newly discovered ones and give them room to fully expose their richness and value.

Regarding works specifically on Kaula cults in the Kathmandu Valley, beyond the introductions and notes found in editions of texts, these are few and far between. We may however mention the research of Dyczkowski, especially Dyczkowski (2000) which focuses on a textual and anthropological approach to the cult of Kubjikā in the Valley with some references to Guhyakālī and Siddhilakṣmī and useful citations of liturgical material. Of a similar anthropological slant is Timalsina's (2006) study on the interrelation between vernacular and Sanskritic traditions of the Siddhalakṣmī cult, including her relationship with the goddess Taleju. Moreover, Michaels' (2008) work has explored the history of Kaula/Tantric Śākta sites and their modern-day processions. His examination of the Guhyeśvarīyātrā is particularly relevant for the contextualisation of my research. In these works, references or brief descriptions are made of historical ritual practice but none of them treat this subject in a systematic way. This is understandably so because the practical

worship of Guhyakālī is not the principal objective of their research. My thesis therefore aims to cover new ground by providing a systematic treatment of worship in the sense that each and every step of the ritual process, at least as it appears in the KKA and its allied liturgies, will be documented, interpreted and analysed. Original research, especially with regard to the Krama's *naimittika* rites, is importantly also made possible by my discovery of a hitherto unknown ritual work by Vimalaprabodha - the *Parvatrayavidhāna*.

From the perspective of art history, secondary literature dealing with discrete images of Guhyakālī do exist. Many of these are found in the work of Pal, the pioneering art historian who was amongst the first to treat Newar art as an independent field of study. These include a Cosmic Guhyakālī from the Zimmerman Collection in Pal (1991), pp. 81 - 82; the Walters Art Museum Guhyakālī *paubha* in Pal (2001), p. 224 corresponding to figure 2 in Chapter 1 of this thesis; and two folios depicting Guhyakālī from an illustrated manuscript in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Pal (2004), pp. 56 - 57. However, since Pal's project in these publications was to document the course of and contextualise Newar art more generally, little reference to the cultic backdrop or textual sources of these pieces are made. Nor has there been any research comparing groups of artworks depicting Guhyakālī, the multiple *dhyānas* of this goddess and the relationship between these artworks and textual material⁴⁴. This overarching and cross-cutting outlook is exactly the task of this thesis for which our next chapter is a fitting starting point.

⁴⁴ Although studies specifically on Guhyakālī are lacking, it is worth mentioning the work of Timalisina (2015) which lays out helpful frameworks for understanding the symbolism and progression of Tantric iconography, particularly Kaula visual culture.

Chapter 1

A Study of the 54-armed Form of Guhyakālī

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the visualisation of the 54-armed supreme form of the Goddess Guhyakālī by comparing texts containing this *dhyāna* alongside artworks from the Kathmandu Valley that largely date from the Malla period. The key sources are Paṭala 7 of the *Parātantra* (PT), which will be the primary focus of our analysis, the *Hāhārāvatantra* (three passages containing the *nyāsa/dhyāna* of this form of the goddess called here HRT 1, 2 and 3), the *Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa* of *Mahākālasaṃhitā* (MKS) and the *Kālīkulakramārcana* (KKA). The main purpose of this paper is to show that multiple textual sources, especially understudied and unpublished material, must be examined side by side with artworks in order to reach a systematic perspective and holistic understanding of the iconography of this goddess. Through this overarching examination, I hope to achieve the following: 1) to provide an overview across texts of the notoriously complex iconography of Guhyakālī 2) to prepare a translation and more accurate edition of the *dhyāna* section of Paṭala 7 of the PT using this comparative overview 3) to compare textual materials of this period with visual sources to clarify our understanding of texts while untangling the complex relationship between textual and visual traditions and finally 4) to explore how the nexus between *dhyāna* and *nyāsa* in the cult of Guhyakālī achieves a wholly immersive means of transformation for the adept. Before tackling the particularities of iconography, however, I should first explain why emphasis is placed on this particular visualisation of Guhyakālī and why the *dhyāna* from the PT is selected for the edition and translation.

Although the ten-faced, 54-armed form is by no means the only visualisation of Guhyakālī in the texts listed above, it is selected as our subject since our Tantras and

paddhatis see it as the supreme visualisation of the Goddess. The PT for instance also provides visualisations for the three-faced, eight-armed Guhyakālī, the nine-faced, 54-armed Pañcakālīs (*Sṛṣṭi*, *Sthiti*, *Samhāra*, *Anākhya*, *Bhāsā* forms) and another three-faced, eight-armed form known as Bālakumārī. Out of these, however, only the form we are concerned with is declared to be the unexcelled visualisation (*dhyānayogam anuttamam*) embodying the features of all other Kālīs. Her visualisation befittingly takes up by far the most space in the PT. Likewise, the MKS mentions many other forms of Guhyakālī from her one-faced form up to her 100-faced form⁴⁵. However, it is the 54-armed form propitiated by Bharata (*Bharatopāsītā*)⁴⁶ that receives the most attention (vv. 25 – 102), definitively proclaimed as the origin of all other *dhyānas*⁴⁷ and forming the basis of several principle *nyāsas*. The primacy of this form in the HRT is shown by how it is not only the first visualisation but also the first subject matter proper of the Tantra following the preamble. In the same vein, this is the only *dhyāna* given for the central Guhyakālī in the KKA and is the form which the adept is instructed to transform himself into before he is fit to worship the pantheon of the Krama.

As for my choice of placing somewhat more focus on the PT in this chapter, we may justify this on account of the importance of the PT, as already discussed, as a text that epitomises the Newar Śaḍāmnāya and its widespread reproduction. However, the significance of the *dhyāna* found in the PT, at least from a cultural perspective, is the fact that it or the template on which it is based became the most popular visualisation of this goddess, appearing in many other texts and probably acting as the source for artworks as well. For instance, HRT 1 is almost identical to the PT's *dhyāna* and is either drawn directly from it or shares the same source. Beyond this, the *dhyāna* finds its way into other

⁴⁵ The forms that are listed are those with one, two, three, five, ten, 20, 30, 36, 60, 80 and 100 faces.

⁴⁶ The MKS follows the common system of naming *mantras* according to the figure who sought them while the *dhyānas* all correspond to a *mantra*. The 16-syllabled *mantra* sought by Bharata is said to correspond to the ten-faced, 54-armed Guhyakālī.

⁴⁷ MKS 1.129

unpublished material such as visualisation passages unrelated to the KKA in the MS I call KKA 1⁴⁸ and A 150-1⁴⁹. These two manuscripts are mainly used in this thesis as witnesses for the KKA but in fact contain additional liturgical material on the Uttarāmnāya, including this very *dhyāna*, which appears immediately after the end of the KKA in both manuscripts. The visualisation is also found at the beginning of a MS that calls itself *Guhyakālitantra* (see bibliography). Its role as the basis for artworks is shown by how the composition of the animalian faces and thrones of worship in most extant Newar artworks align with its instructions rather than those of the MKS, KKA or HRT 2 and 3, a feature which will be discussed in detail later.

Since an edition and commentary of the entire KKA is appended to this thesis, emphasis need not be placed on this text in this chapter. Further justification comes from the fact that the available Nepali edition of the PT often struggles to make sense of the oblique elements of iconography and frequently makes emendations that go unrecorded in the apparatus as we will show. An accurate translation of this passage of the PT will also be essential for our next chapter since it contains an account of the iconographic distinctness of the Five Kālīs. Moreover, many common translated sources consulted by art historians for models of Tantric deities, such as the *Mantramahodadhi*, *Prapañcasāra*, *Śāradātilaka*, *Tantrasāra* (Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavagīśa) and *Śrīvidyārṇava* amongst others, do not contain this particular form of Kālī. The translation of any Guhyakālī *dhyāna* will be a small but helpful resource for scholars not working in Sanskrit. Finally, because we are dealing with six passages in total, in order to provide an overview of the iconography of Guhyakālī,

⁴⁸ KKA 1, ff. 32v1 – 35r6. The *dhyāna* in both MSS mirror that of the PT almost word for word, omitting the section on the Five Kālīs, making them similar to the content of HRT 1.

⁴⁹ A 150-1, ff. 35v2 – 37r7

a single source needs to be chosen as the primary point of comparison to ground our analysis and to avoid confusion.

However, the comparison of a number of texts will not only benefit an accurate edition of the PT's *dhyāna* but enhance our understanding of every other source as well. This is largely due to the differing styles in the presentation of the *dhyāna*. The MKS and PT present the visualisation in descriptive verses, rich in vivid detail but often obfuscating on account of their poetic form. On the other hand, the KKA describes the goddess in a terse prose passage in which her faces and hands are listed, numbered and separated by individual *mantras*. The directness of the KKA clarifies the verses of the MKS and PT while the elaboration of the latter two adds depth of imagery to the KKA.

As for our analysis of *nyāsa*, I draw largely from both HRT 2 and 3, the KKA and, to a lesser degree, MKS⁵⁰ since these are the texts that amalgamate *dhyāna* and *nyāsa* showing them to be two forms of the same goal of manifesting the divine. The HRT, however, expands greatly upon the basic formulas provided in the KKA and manages to incorporate every aspect of Guhyakālī's appearance into its numerous *nyāsas*. Thus, for the more complex *nyāsas*, the HRT serves as my principal source.

At this point, a brief explanation of the context of the different passages of the HRT is warranted for the sake of clarity. HRT 1 comes at the beginning of this huge text (Paṭala 1, vv. 21 – 54 or C 30-3, ff. 2v1 - 4r2) and appears as a versified *dhyāna* describing the faces, implements, seats and adornments of the goddess very similar in style and content to the PT's *dhyāna* except for the lack of description of the appearance of the Five Kālīs. Meanwhile, my abbreviation HRT 2 corresponds to a chapter known as the *Guhyakālīpūjāpaṭala* (ff. 28v2 – 37r6 in A 204-06) concerned mainly with the *cakroddhāra* of the goddess. The two relevant

⁵⁰ MKS Paṭala 1 contains the principle *dhyāna*. However, Paṭalas 6 and 7 contain *nyāsas* related to this *dhyāna*. The reason why these are consulted less than the HRT will be explained.

parts of this Paṭala are those that precede and succeed the *cakroddhāra*. Before the *cakroddhāra*, we have a number of *nyāsas*, the most important of these being the *vaktranyāsa* (*nyāsa* of the faces of Guhyakālī found in f. 31r5 – 9) and an *āsananyāsa* (*nyāsa* of the seats of her throne of worship in ff. 31r9 – 31v4). Having enumerated the various elements of the goddess's *yantra*, we approach the centre of the diagram where the supreme deity is situated. This part corresponds to the second segment of HRT 2 explored by us. Here, the *mantras* of Guhyakālī's seats, hand implements and faces are given (ff. 34v6 – 35r9).

Meanwhile, HRT 3 appears towards the end of the entire Tantra in a section known as the *Guhyakālīkāṣoḍhānyāsa* (ff.105v9 – 113r5) in which Bhairava proclaims a versified *dhyāna* of roughly 26 *ślokas* and a sixfold *nyāsa* that will enable the three worlds and even the gods to be at the command of the adept. The *ślokas* are very similar to the PT/HRT 1's *dhyāna* but with minor changes to the faces and implements of the goddess as noted in iconography tables 1 - 3. However, HRT 3 is relevant mainly on account of a second *vaktranyāsa* and *astranyāsas* which incorporates all 54 hand implements of Guhyakālī (ff.109r11 – 110r8).

Since, this thesis also examines how text and image are mutually informative, the criteria for the selection of visual sources for this chapter should be stated. These works have been chosen on the basis of several factors that make them relevant to the depiction of Guhyakālī in our texts, including 1) the sources are created in the Kathmandu Valley with estimated dates between the latter half of the Malla period to the early Śāha period (15th – early 19th century), the era in which many of the texts discussed were produced and when this cult reached its apogee; 2) the sources cover a number of media (eight works of sculptures, painted *paubhas* and ink on paper) and functions (cult objects, commissioned paintings, artist manuals and visualisation manuals) giving a cross-section of artistic production on this topic; 3) their subject matter is the ten/nine-faced Guhyakālī, although certain figures

conform to the 8-armed type. Despite the fact that many more artworks depicting this goddess may be uncovered from this period, the figures should be representative of artistic depictions in general. The visual sources alongside their details have been recorded at the end of this chapter as figures 1 – 8.

1.2 The Status of Iconography

Before an analysis of the principal features of the central Guhyakālī, we should take a step back and offer a brief remark on the status of icons in general in the Uttarāmnāya. This is because the attitude of the tradition towards the artistic depiction of the divine might come as a surprise to the reader who is familiar with the proliferation of esoteric Tantric icons in medieval Nepal. At least from the perspective of an early text of the tradition like the KKA, iconography is manifested in routine worship purely through ideation or visualisation rather than the creation of physical images (*mūrti* or *pratimā*).⁵¹ The verbs used when instructing the adept to manifest the forms of deities - *√vicint* (to observe or imagine) and *√dhyai* (to meditate or visualize) – suggest this. The deities are brought into one's presence either by transforming oneself mentally into the central deity as is the case with the 54-armed Guhyakālī in the *sanyāsadhyāna* section of the KKA or by imagining them as present on various parts of the relevant *maṇḍala* as per the instructions at the end of each *cakra*. Remarkably, nowhere in the KKA are we instructed to involve icons in the act of worship, whether as the object of offerings and meditation or as a witness to ritual acts, recitations or vows. However, the *maṇḍala* itself, which forms the support of this visualisation, does seem to be rendered physically as indicated by the verbs used in relation to *maṇḍala*

⁵¹ It is noteworthy that even when the ritual procedure of the KKA closely aligns with that of another text whereby an icon is called for, this feature is removed from the KKA. An example is the worship of the 24 *pīṭhas* (discussed later) for which the KKA shares most of its steps with Kubjikā Tantras. In the latter (see Dyczkowski (2009), Volume I of Introduction, p. 546), worship in front of an icon is one of the alternative locations for this rite. However, this option is missing from the KKA.

construction, such as $\sqrt{nirmā}$ (to create or produce) and $\sqrt{samālikh}$ (to inscribe or draw) which undeniably refer to material creation. This is further bolstered by the description of a paste used for the inscription of the *maṇḍala* in the Maṇḍaloddhāra-vidhi of the KKA or instructions to fill certain features of the *maṇḍala* with colours after they are drawn as shown in the raising of the Prāyaścittamaṇḍala⁵².

If the KKA were solely concerned with the procedure of worship to the exclusion of the materials of worship then it might be plausible to argue that the absence of any mention of icons is due it being outside the purview of what the author considers the subject of his work. However, this is not so since Vimalaprabodha actively engages with the materiality of the cult, giving detailed descriptions of materials and processes for producing cult objects and ritual apparatuses. Thus, a comprehensive list of ingredients/materials and methods for mixing and enchanting them are found in the instructions for the production of the *āsana* (seat), *arghapātra* (water vessel), *akṣamālā* (rosary), *dīpa* (lamp) and *caruka* (dough offering), *damanaka* (plant offering) and *pavitraka* (cord offering) as will be shown in subsequent chapters. If a physical icon were at all involved in worship, we would expect in the very least some extended description of not only its material composition and creation but also references to installation and consecration (such rites as *prāṇapratīṣṭhā* or *netronmīlana*). Unsurprisingly, this apprehension concerning idols seems to extend to the physical spaces that house them (temples or shrines) as well⁵³.

⁵² For instance, we are to fill the drawn seeds inside the pericarp of the *maṇḍala*'s lotus black (*bījam śyāmena pūrayet*) and told to fill the lines demarcating the enclosure with black pigment (*pratīvāraṇarekhāṃ...ca kṛṣṇavarṇena pūrayet*).

⁵³ Thus, on the rare occasions where sites of worship are enumerated, these are usually outdoor spaces free of any purpose-built structures. The Prāyaścittavidhi for instance prescribes cremation grounds, lone trees and the confluence of rivers as appropriate spots for worship. While when *lingas* are mentioned as sites of worship, such as in the Prāyaścittavidhi or the Nisāṭanavidhi, the *lingas* are most likely deconsecrated as their characterisation as lone *lingas* (*ekalinga*) or *lingas* devoid of the marks of worship (*triśūlavṛṣabhojjhita*) show.

Although later texts, such as the PT, might admit the presence of icons, they do so fleetingly without elaborating on them. Thus, the only occasion where icons do feature in the PT in relation to the Guhyakālī cult is in instructions for the *cakroddhāra* where the physical idol (*pratimā*) and the cloth (*paṭa*), which in the context of worship most likely refers to the painted iconic cloth, are listed as the first two supports for the drawing of the *yantra* of the Goddess. Moreover, this apprehension concerning the Goddess's iconism is still present in late medieval Guhyakālī works and their attitude towards *dhyāna* as a whole. The MKS for instance states that the three manners of conceptualising Guhyakālī corresponds to three types of worshippers (1.138). The categories are clearly in descending order of importance as the first class of worshippers comprise Maheśvara, Viṣṇu and Brahmā (1.138 – 1.139), the second class are mostly made up of divine beings and the third are exclusively humans. The first type of “visualisation” is not really a *dhyāna* at all since it characterises the Goddess as formless, transcending all conventional reality and having the nature of pure awareness. The various physical offerings and implements for worship are to be substituted with internal contemplation.

The second type of *dhyāna* is the visualisation of the goddess in her *virāḍrūpa* where Guhyakālī's awe-inspiring form straddles the border between the conceivable and inconceivable or the iconic and aniconic. In this beautiful passage of 21 verses (1.178 – 199), her features are compared to cosmic phenomena. For instance, the top half of the Brahmāṇḍa forms her head and five of the *nāgalokas* constitute five of her toes. It is only in the third type of *dhyāna* where she is associated with a denumerable number of heads and arms and discernable anthropic features and adornments. It is also to this third type of worship that the supreme 54-armed form of the goddess under discussion in this chapter as well as forms of increasing numbers of arms and heads belong. This classification is thus an interesting aniconic streak in a text otherwise heavily involved with iconography and possibly

harkens back to early Krama Tantras which evade iconographic description and use apophatic language to describe the goddess.

Despite certain aniconic trends and the reticence in dealing with idols in earlier texts, the depiction of a variety of forms of Guhyakālī in the plastic arts did become commonplace in the medieval Kathmandu Valley. Likewise, purpose-built structures created to house these idols emerged as the very conspicuous and lavishly patronized temples of the Uttarāmnāya in the Valley attest. This points to a natural tendency for more abstract religion to move towards the tangible but also indicates a complex and by no means imitative relationship between the prescriptive vision of worship in Tantras and the more flexible lived religion of the medieval Kathmandu Valley.

1.3 The Faces of Guhyakālī

Now that we have covered the status of iconography in Krama literature in general and the principal sources for Guhyakālī's iconography, we can begin to grapple with various aspects of Guhyakālī's appearance. In this section, I attempt to compare the depictions of the nine/ten faces of Guhyakālī in the visualisations of the PT, HRT, MKS and KKA in order to understand the patterns in depicting this aspect of Guhyakālī in the textual tradition of the period. The textual depictions will also be compared with figures 1 – 8 to discern how these patterns were translated into visual material, allowing us to assess the uniformity and divergence between textual and visual traditions.

The most conspicuous divergence to note is the difference in the number of faces between certain texts with the PT, MKS and HRT 1 and 2 listing ten faces while the KKA

and HRT 3 display nine by dropping the uppermost flame face⁵⁴. This difference will be explained in detail later but for now, we can argue that the faces are one of the more stable elements of Guhyakālī's iconography with a high degree of uniformity across texts and between texts and visual material as shown by table 1. The texts show a remarkable consistency in both the identity and arrangement of the faces. Although the appellation of each animal face varies according to synonyms preferred by that text (in the case of the lion face, for instance, the PT and HRT use *siṃhavadana* while the MKS employs *kesarimukha*), the identity of seven out of eight animalian faces remain the same, the only difference being the substitution of a bear face (*ṛkṣavaktra*) in MKS, KKA, HRT 2 and 3 for the boar face (*kola/sūkara*) in PT and HRT 1.

This consistency extends to the texts' common scheme of splitting the faces into four tiers (shown in the table) with the flame face at the top (for the texts that contain 10 faces); the lion face in the second tier; the jackal, monkey and boar/bear in the third; and the *garuḍa*, *makara*, elephant and Kālī faces in the bottom tier. Interestingly, this schema is shared exactly, in terms of the identity and location of the faces on each tier, by all the visual material that explicitly depict Guhyakālī in her ten-faced form, whether sculpture or painting. The texts also share the same colour scheme for the faces of Guhyakālī. In spite of the replacement of the bear face for the boar face in certain texts, the colour of this face, whether bear or boar, is said to be grey. Moreover, several of the artworks in which the colour scheme is easily discernible (for instance, figures 2, 7 and 8) largely follow the

⁵⁴ Jha's edition of the MKS reads for the first upper face (v.61b) "*ūrdhvakakṣaṇḍa (dvīpikāśyaṇḍa) caṇḍayogeśvarīti hī*". The parentheses suggest the word is a conjecture on his part. This conjecture (*dvīpika*) seems to be derived from the term *dvīpin*, which means tiger or leopard. At first glance, this appears to be a reasonable conjecture given that the eight other faces are theriomorphic. As such, the tiger/leopard face is also reproduced in his edition's sketch of the goddess on p. 9. However, due to its similarity to the word *dīpaka* and the attestation of both the PT and HRT of *dīpaka*, I have favoured this reading over Jha's. This is bolstered by the fact that all MSS of the PT and HRT have this reading as well as the PT describing this face on two occasions as consisting of light (*jyotirmayamahāvakraṇḍa* in v. 68 and *jyotirmayam vaktraṇḍa* in v. 104). Further proof comes in the MKS's own *vaktranyāsa* where this face is described as *jvaladdīpakārīṇī* (MKS 7.16)

prescriptions of the text. Figures 7 and 8, for example, exactly replicate the textual colour scheme while in figure 2, only the horse face diverges, being white instead of the prescribed dark colour.

Having grasped an overview of the faces of Guhyakālī, we are now in a position to discuss points of divergence beginning with the number of faces. It could be said that the confusion over whether the goddess has nine or ten faces can be put down to the fact that the additional face missing from the KKA/HRT 3 - the flame face - is in fact an inanimate element. Therefore, some texts might not have strictly considered this a face at all but rather an additional iconographic feature. In addition to this, however, I wish to argue that the nine-faced form of the goddess might be considered the original form while the ten-faced one is possibly a later development. Beyond the fact that the KKA is by far the oldest source amongst our texts, the nine-faced form makes more schematic sense than the ten-faced for two main reasons.

The first is that emanations of Tantric deities are associated with particular *mantras*⁵⁵. This association between forms of *mantras* and *dhyānas* of Guhyakālī is also acknowledged at the very beginning of the MKS⁵⁶. Since the core *mantra* of the Uttarāmnāya is the nine-syllabled *vidyā* (*khphrem mahācaṇḍayogeśvari*), we would also expect the number of faces of the supreme form of the goddess to be nine rather than ten. Secondly, more often than not, in ancient Indian iconometry, the number of arms of a deity should be a multiple of the number of faces⁵⁷. This form of the goddess has 54 arms which are divisible by nine but not by ten.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the phenomenon of the correspondence between faces of deities and their mantric syllables, see Törzsök (2013a)

⁵⁶ *guhyakālyās tu mantrāṇām aṣṭādaśabhidāḥ priye/
sarvāgameṣu gopyās te na prakāśyāḥ kadācana// 1
mantrāṇām bhedato dhyānabhedāḥ syur vividhās tathā/*

⁵⁷ Bühnemann (2016), Vol. I, p. 46

Beyond the KKA and HRT 3, there appears to be tacit acceptance of nine rather than ten faces for the goddess. Although HRT 2's *vaktranyāsa* preceding the *cakroddhāra* does include the flame face as the upper face, the *vaktramantras* (f. 35r3 -9) after the *cakroddhāra* do not fully acknowledge this arrangement. In this passage, after the articulation of the *mantra* for each face, the name of that face is given followed by a numeral. While a *mantra* exists for Caṇḍayogeśvarī who, as we will examine, is linked to the flame face, the *mantra* seems to treat her as an iconographic feature rather than a face since there is no explicit appellation of this element as a face nor any numbering after the *mantra* as per the other faces. In fact, the numbering begins with the lion face which is enumerated as “*ūrdhvavaktrasimha 1*” and ends with the *naravaktra* enumerated as the 9th face.

As we have already noted, the main distinction concerning the identity of the faces among texts is the prescription of a bear instead of a boar head on the left face of the third tier in the MKS, KKA and HRT 2 and 3. By examining the available visual material, some examples of which have been enlarged below, we note that all artistic depictions from the Kathmandu Valley we know of depict a boar face which can be easily identified through the presence of a protruded snout, thus preferencing the visualisations found in the PT and HRT 1. The HRT's model being unstable (HRT 1 conflicts with HRT 2 and 3), this seems to indicate that the PT's iconic archetype was the predominant one when it came to artistic templates for the goddess. We can only speculate about why the boar face came to prevail. It is possible that the KKA's bear head represented an earlier model which fell out of fashion. We may also tentatively link the preference of a boar face to the popularity of boar-headed deities in the Kathmandu Valley, especially the goddess Vārāhī who is worshipped by the Newars as part of the ubiquitous Aṣṭamāṭrkās but also as an independent goddess with her own Tantras and temple up to the

present day⁵⁸. It might be the case that it was preferable to have the head of a goddess with a strong cultic backing over one which had no such associations (the bear). Another piece of evidence beyond the boar's predominance that cements the PT as a major source for artists' depiction of the faces is the fact that amongst the artworks where all faces are extant, the great majority of them depict ten rather than nine heads.



Close-ups of the boar face from figures 2, 3, 7 and 8

A final minor aspect where the visualisations differ textually is the number of eyes of Guhyakālī and the way they are ascribed, again highlighted in table 1. Both the PT and MKS describe the goddess as possessing 27 eyes (*saptaviṃśatilocanā*) while HRT 1 states that she is adorned with 30 eyes (*triṃśallocanabhuṣitā*). HRT 2 and 3 and the KKA make no mention of their number. The MKS and PT seem to have different understandings of how her 27 eyes are to be apportioned among the ten faces. The MKS (vv. 61 - 62ab) states that the three faces of the bottom tier (the central Kālī face and those to her immediate left and right) are endowed with two eyes while the seven other faces have three⁵⁹. Meanwhile, the scheme in the PT is by no means clear and we would be tempted to adopt the MKS's system if it were not for a description of the central Kālī face as three-eyed in a later verse⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ See for instance the several texts with the title *Vārāhītantra* in the NGMPP, especially B 144-9. A very active temple dedicated to the Hindu form of this goddess is the Tal Barahi in Pokhara. Meanwhile, Vajravārāhī was also the predominant wrathful Buddhist Tantric goddess worshipped in conjunction with Cakrasaṃvara in the medieval Kathmandu Valley with many MSS and artworks attesting this.

⁵⁹ *dvidvinetrayutām vaktre vāmadakṣiṇasammukhe/
saptasv anyeṣu vaktreṣu tritrilocanasamyutām//*

⁶⁰ In PT 7.72, she is described as "...sarvadaṃṣṭrākārālā ca trinetṛā bhīmanādinī."

A way of solving how the three additional eyes might be subtracted in the PT to make 27 rather than 30 is to imagine the flame face with no eyes as a representation of something inanimate. Moreover, it is notable that the visual material, in the instances where the number of eyes can be discerned, does not replicate the MKS but gives the central Kālī three eyes as per the PT.

Having addressed specific features of the faces, we can discuss whether the texts attach any symbolic significance to these animalian heads. The texts, to a lesser or greater degree, associate the faces with different deities but do so in a highly varied way. The two texts that ascribe a divine identity to all ten faces are the HRT (1 and 2) and KKA 1 (this information is missing in the MS I call KKA 2 in my edition). The HRT links each of the ten faces to ten deities that are all commonly found in the Newar Śākta pantheon. Most of these deities in the HRT's list of associations are names drawn from the most prominent three out of six transmissions - the Uttara, Ūrdhva and Paścimāmnāyas. These include, for the Northern Transmission, epithets for Kālī (Saṃkarṣanī, Pratyāṅgirā) and Siddhilakṣmī (Siddhikālikā and Siddhiyogeśvarī); for the Upper Transmission, the goddess Śrīsundarī; and Kubjikā for the Western Transmission. Newar liturgies commonly combine the worship of these three transmissions in a single pantheon to create a synthesised ritual system⁶¹.

It appears that the HRT is loosely embarking upon this same project of unification through iconographic means. KKA 1 meanwhile has a scheme of associations that is less obvious by linking the nine theriocephalic faces to goddesses whose names end with *īśvarī*.

Moreover, it is hard to discern the logic, if any, behind the HRT and KKA 1's choice of why a certain deity is ascribed a particular animal.

⁶¹ See Sanderson (2004), p. 367.

In the PT and MKS, additional information concerning the animal faces is mostly in the form of descriptors of appearance rather than symbolic associations. Thus, for instance, both texts describe the monkey face as abundantly furnished (*maholbaṇa*); the lion face is radiant (*subhāsvara*) in the PT and terrifying (*vibhīṣaṇa*) in the MKS; while the *garuḍa* face is furnished with a beak in both Tantras (*sacañcuka*). However, there are instances when the names of animals are coupled not just with adjectives but proper nouns. Both texts consider the jackal face the goddess Trailokyaḍāmarā while the flame face is Caṇḍayogeśvarī, an identification common to the PT, MKS and HRT 1 and 2. The divergence in the symbolism of the faces shows that there was no single dominant system for interpreting the meaning behind these animals. What can be said for sure is that a system of divine associations did exist and was no mere afterthought since HRT 2 goes as far as devising distinct *mantras* which extol these animals as specific goddesses as part of the worship of the supreme Guhyakālī following the *cakroddhāra*. We should further note that an attempt to unify several cults by identifying a goddess's multiple faces with multiple deities is not restricted to Guhyakālī. The conceptual basis for this phenomenon has been extensively discussed by Timalisina (2015) using the example of the faces of Kubjikā⁶².

Finally, we can analyse the *nyāsa* associated with the faces of the Guhyakālī to show how they facilitate the transformation of the *sādhaka*'s face into the many heads of the goddess. I wish to prove here that the *nyāsa* is not a haphazard installation of animalian heads onto facial features but a well-considered system which enables the arrangement of heads into columns/ rows in the visualisation to correspond to the *nyāsa* locations on the practitioner's face. The passages where we find a *vaktranyāsa* are HRT 2 and 3 and the Sanyāsadhyanavidhi of KKA 1, all of which share a common scheme with minor variants,

⁶² Timalisina (2015), pp. 87 - 89

and MKS 7.13 – 40⁶³. We can use the example of HRT 2 to show how this physical correspondence between animalian heads and facial features takes place. In this passage, the uppermost flame face of Guhyakālī is deposited on the highest of ten *nyāsa* locations, the *sahasrāra*, here called the *sahasradala*, while the face below that (the lion) is placed on the location directly beneath it, the *brahmarandhra* (the aperture of the cranium). Presumably, this *nyāsa* follows the system that sees the *sahasracakra* as the subtle space above the human head rather than synonymous with its crown or aperture (*brahmarandhra*)⁶⁴ since we cannot have two heads deposited in the same location. Following the *dhyāna*’s scheme of placing the jackal beneath the lion, the *nyāsa* correspondingly deposits this head directly below the aperture of the cranium on the forehead/brow (*bhrū*). To the left and right of the jackal on the brow are, as is the case with the third row of faces in the visualisation, the monkey on the left eye and the bear on the right eye.

The rest of the *nyāsa* with one exception follows the schema of the *dhyāna* with the central-most head – the human face – deposited on the central-most feature, the mouth⁶⁵, and the faces to the immediate left and right of the centre, the *garuḍa* and the *makara*, placed on the left and right nostrils, the immediate left and right of the worshipper’s face’s centre. The anomaly is the elephant and horse faces which, as the outermost left and right heads on the fourth row, are correctly deposited on the ears (the outermost facial features) but instead of the elephant being on the left ear and horse being on the right, the positions are reversed. I understand this to be a mistake since the order in which the faces and features are listed in HRT 2’s *vaktranyāsa* follow exactly the order in which the faces and their positions are described in the PT and HRT 1’s *dhyāna*, showing the

⁶³ I do not delve into the *vaktranyāsa* of the MKS here as it does not possess the system of arranging the installation of facial features to reflect the scheme of heads in the visualisation as I will show with HRT 2.

⁶⁴ See Mallinson and Singleton (2017), p. 138 on potential locations of the *sahasrāra*

⁶⁵ Although HRT 2, most likely by mistake, omits the *nyāsa* location for the human Kālī face, the *nyāsa* in HRT 3 and KKA 1 both proclaim it to be the mouth.

intention of the *nyāsa* to follow the layout of the *dhyāna* step by step. The sole exception to this is the *nyāsas* for the horse and elephant (the eighth and ninth *nyāsas*) which are the reverse of the order found in the *dhyāna* where the elephant is listed before the horse⁶⁶. This means that their positioning in the *nyāsa* is most likely a scribal error. Discounting this error, we can see that the Uttārāmnāya comes up with a very innovative solution for seamlessly turning the practitioner's single head into the multiple heads of the goddess by allowing these animalian heads to emerge naturally in their correct positions.

Table 1

Face	Position	Colour	Number of Eyes		Associated Deity		
			MKS	HRT1	HRT1 and HRT2	PT/MKS	MS KKA 1
1. Flame	- uppermost (top row) for PT, HRT 1, MKS - face missing in HRT 3 and KKA	Flame-coloured	3	3	Caṇḍayogeśvārī (<i>mantra</i> present in HRT 2 but not named as face)	Caṇḍayogeśvārī	-
2. Lion	second row	White	3	3	Siddhikālikā	None	Caṇḍamaheśvārī
3. Jackal	third row, centre	Black	3	3	Samkarṣaṇī	Trailokyāḍamarā	Mahāmaheśvārī
4. Monkey	third row, left	Red	3	3	Kubjikā	None	Rāgacaṇḍeśvārī
5. Boar (PT/HRT) Bear (MKS)	third row, right	Grey	3	3	Trailokyāḍamarā	None	Khagacaṇḍeśvārī
6. Garuḍa	fourth row, left of centre	Red	2	3	Śrīsundarī	None	Caṇḍagaṇeśvārī
7. Makara	fourth row, right of centre	Green	2	3	Mahājhaṃkāriṇī	None	Sāracaṇḍeśvārī
8. Elephant	fourth row, outer left	White	3	3	Pratyāṅgirā	None	Caṇḍacaṇḍeśvārī ⁶⁷
9. Horse	fourth row, outer right	Dark	3	3	Siddhiyogeśvārī	None	Caṇḍayogeśvārī
10. Kālī	fourth row, centre	Multicoloured (MKS)	2	2	Supreme Goddess	Supreme Goddess	Caṇḍacaṇḍeśvārī

⁶⁶ To elaborate, the order in which the faces are listed in the *dhyāna* is row by row from top to bottom and then centre, left and right within each row. The order in the PT and HRT 1 is therefore 1) flame 2) lion 3) jackal 4) monkey 5) boar 6) *garuḍa* 7) *makara* 8) elephant 9) horse 10) human. The order for the *nyāsa* in HRT 2 reverses elephant and horse making them faces number 9 and 8 respectively, meaning the order of listing faces within a row from centre then left and right is disturbed. However, simply switching the names but retaining the *mantras* and *nyāsa* locations for the elephant and horse, as I have done, would result in a consistent order.

⁶⁷ This is a repetition of the name associated with the central human face. KKA 2 has an alternative list of names but since in this MS, the equivalence is not made between the goddess's heads, facial features of the adept and names of goddesses, I have displayed KKA 1's list here. KKA 2's can be found in my edition.

1.4 The Hand Attributes of Guhyakālī

In this section, I will discuss the 54 hand attributes of the goddess by drawing mainly on the list found in the PT's *dhyāna*. I will attempt to discern their identity and meaning through comparison with lists in the three other texts, two of which (HRT 1, 2 and 3 and KKA) are almost identical to the PT's. For the sake of practicality, we therefore use the PT's list as a point of departure to further our understanding of the implements described in the other texts. A comparison of all of the attributes in each text and our findings concerning their identity is found in table 2. However, when individual implements are discussed, their numbering in brackets will correspond to the numbering as it appears in the PT's column of table 2. Although superficially it might seem that finding out the identity of each attribute in the PT is self-evident because we are presented with a list, a closer examination shows that several reasons call for an untangling of the material. Firstly, the hand attributes are often listed alongside descriptors, many of which are descriptive nouns or adjectives that could be mistaken for separate attributes in their own right or vice-versa. A confusion therefore arises about how to distinguish between the descriptors and attributes. This problem is further complicated by the fact that many items on the list are presented in *dvandva* compounds.

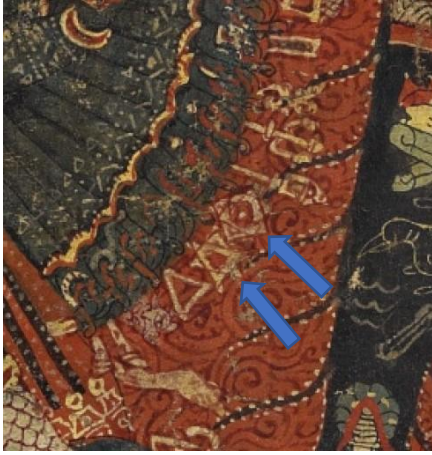
A second issue concerns the obscurity of some of the attributes. The Krama's esotericism means it revels in atypical objects, both in its iconography and as ingredients for rites. The meaning of these attributes is lost on the reader without reference to wider texts and practices. Thirdly, due to the length of the PT's list and its proclivity for such objects, there is a higher possibility for corruptions in the manuscript, some of which have found their way into the Nepali edition unchallenged. The issues listed above would be less problematic for visualisations of deities with four, eight or even 16 hand attributes where the reader can keep count. However, a list of 54 is a different matter. Although fewer artistic sources display Guhyakālī with the full 54 arms and the details are rendered

less distinctly in these sources, correspondence between cryptic attributes in the text and visual representation are useful for clarification. In this section, I will not have space to discuss every attribute independently but the more unclear or interesting cases are explained. These will be discussed according to loose categories of attributes.

Auspicious Symbols

A notable facet of Guhyakālī's iconography is that many of her hand attributes are not utilitarian objects but geometric sacred diagrams. The items in this category include a six-angled shape (left hand, 18 in the table), an eight-angled shape (left, 23), a *svastika* (right, 19) and the *nandyāvarta* (right, 23). Although one finds *nandyāvartas* and *svastikas* in the iconography of other deities⁶⁸, to my knowledge, no other figure has the six-angled and eight-angled shapes as hand attributes. The identity of these two items is by no means obvious by reading the PT alone. The six-angled shape in the PT is presented in a line that reads “*sarpaṃ ca kuṭṭanīvaṃśaṃ śaḍasraṃ ḍoḍikāṃ punaḥ.*” Here, one is tempted to take *śaḍasra* (six-angled) as a descriptor of *vaṃśa* (bamboo flute) since “six-angled” does not seem like a viable object in its own right. However, we can confirm that it is in fact to be taken independently, firstly on account of it appearing in the three HRT passages and the KKA as well as its depiction as an independent attribute in the visual sources (figures 3, 4, 7 and 8). The same argument applies to *aṣṭāra* which is again listed in the HRT and KKA and present in the visual sources (figures 3, 4 and 8). I have highlighted a few examples of these two objects as well as the *svastika* and *nandyāvarta* from this material below.

⁶⁸ For the presence of the *svastika* as an attribute, see for instance the visualisation of Agni in the *Mantramahodadhi* (Bühnemann 2016, Vol. I, pp. 79 - 80), the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradatilaka* (ibid., Vol. II, pp. 64, 176 and 244)



śaḍasra and aṣṭāra (figure 4)



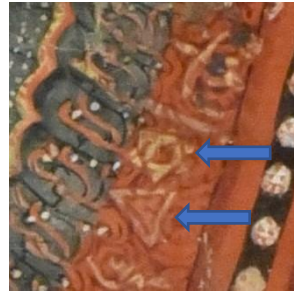
svastika (figure 4)



śaḍasra and aṣṭāra (figure 3)



nandyāvarta and svastika (figure 3)



śaḍasra and aṣṭāra (figure 8)



svastika (figure 8)

The artworks show us how these implements are to be drawn. The *śaḍasra* can be depicted in two different ways, either as a hexagon (figures 4 and 7) or as one triangle embedded in another amounting to six angles as seen in figures 3 and 8 while the *aṣṭāra* is a simple octagon. We should note that the MKS is the only text without these two implements in its list. Finally, we can only theorise about these shapes' significance. A possibility is that they are Guhyakālī's *cakra* reproduced in her attributes since the *śaḍasra* and *aṣṭāra* are two shapes that recur in the PT's Guhyakālīcakra and amongst the many Kālī *cakras* of the KKA and MKS⁶⁹.

Animal Attributes

In line with her theriomorphic faces, the PT's form of Guhyakālī holds many animals in her hands, which include, on her left, the mongoose (14), snake (15) and lion (24)

⁶⁹ For instance, four out of five of the Svatantrapañcakālīcakras contain an eight-sided shape while the Svatantrashitīcakra has both shapes. The *cakroddhāra* in the PT contains the *aṣṭāra* but lacks the *śaḍasra*. Meanwhile, most of the 24 *yantras* of the MKS have the *śaḍasra* while *yantra* 3 has both shapes.

and on the right, the elephant (11) and vulture (18). Most of the attributes in this category are not problematic. However, some deciphering is warranted to establish the elephant attribute. Both the manuscripts and edition of the PT present challenging readings. The compound where this attribute is contained in the Nepali edition reads *padmadvīpamatodgamam* without recording any variants while most of the available manuscripts examined in our edition that diverge from this have what resembles *padmadvīpamatāṅgamaḥ*. The usually unreliable D1 however has the most likely reading of *padmadvīpamataṅgaja*. If we discount *padma* (lotus) which is evidently an attribute on its own since it appears as a separate implement in all *dhyānas*, we are left with the pairing of *dvīpamataṅgaja*. We can be confident that the elephant (*mataṅgaja*) must be at least one of the attributes in this compound and that D1's reading is correct since at the equivalent point in the HRT 1's list of attributes, we also find the term *mataṅgaja* (10, left hand). However, how are we to decipher the ambivalent *dvīpa*? Although the manuscripts all read *dvīpa* with a long ī, I have decided to amend this to *dvipa* which is also a term for an elephant, a common etymology being that it drinks twice (*dvābhyāṃ pibatīti dvipa*) (once with its trunk and again with its mouth)⁷⁰. The use of two terms for elephants might seem tautologous but I see the author possibly using this second descriptor for elephant as a means of adding two syllables for the sake of metre. Moreover, the interpretation of this term as an independent object besides elephant would mean we end up with one too many attributes on the right hand of the goddess and would also lead the PT's list to problematically diverge further from HRT 1, all of whose implements, except those of the two principal hands, seem to match the PT's.

Although the elephant is exclusive to the PT and HRT 1, the visual sources also establish its presence. For instance, in figure 7, the elephant can be quite clearly made out

⁷⁰ See the entry for *dvipa* in Monier-Williams Dictionary

while it is faintly depicted in figure 8. Examples of some other animal hand attributes from the visual sources are also enlarged below.



elephant in figure 7



elephant in figure 8



snake in figure 7



mongoose in figure 3



lion in figure 8

Macabre Attributes

As befits Guhyakālī's status as a cremation ground dweller and the PT's antinomian proclivity for transgressive rites, one of the most significant clusters of attributes in this visualisation is objects related to the Kāpālika milieu. These include on the left, the skull (2), skull staff (6), chopped head (7), dead child (11) and skeleton (13) and on the right, a handful of dust (23) and a lump of meat (25). The purpose and symbolism of most of these objects are obvious. These implements will also be distributed amongst the great majority of the ancillary deities of the Krama, especially the skull, skull staff and chopped head, as the next chapter will show.

However, reference to wider Krama ritual is required to explain the indeterminate lump of meat (*māṃsakhaṇḍa*) and fistful of dust (*pāṃśumuṣṭi*). A piece of meat, as a proscribed food substance, is an essential and common offering to transgressive Tantric deities, forming in its most familiar usage part of the Five Ms which is also prescribed by

the PT (v. 9.5). However, Krama ritual makes especially widespread use of meat in its rituals, including ground with liquid as part of the *arghapātra*, fashioned into *bali* offerings and cooked into comestible lamps as we will observe in the KKA and Ch. 4 and 5 of this thesis. As for the identity of what animal's meat this might be, there are a variety of possibilities. Both generic meat (*māṃsa*) and human flesh (*mahāmāṃsa*) are listed amongst the necessary eatables (*bhakṣyāṇi*) of Kaula ritual at the end of the KKA. Meanwhile, the recipe for the *bali* offerings calls for various kinds of meat (*nānāmāṃsa*). It should be added that artistic depictions of transgressive female deities, especially *yoginīs*, with lumps of meat are also common. The meat is sometimes raised to their mouths portraying the act of eager consumption⁷¹. Although it is difficult to identify the lump of meat in the visual sources of *Guhyakālī*, we can show that artists did give importance to the depiction of her other macabre attributes, which are portrayed in considerable detail as seen below.



Depiction of the chopped head and body of a child (figures 3 and 4)



Skeleton in figure 8

⁷¹ For images of female deities chewing lumps of meat, see for instance the celebrated group of 12 Yoginī sculptures from Kanchipuram now part of several collections around the world including the Musée Guimet and British Museum discussed in Dehejia (1986) or the gilt depiction of Cāmuṇḍā on the gates of the Bhaktapur Taleju Temple.

As for the handful of dust (*pāṃśumuṣṭi*), the compound from which I get this interpretation reads *paśupuṣṭibhayāpāham* in the Nepali edition. The edition fails to record any variants. Variants, however, do exist in the form of N3 and 4's *paśumuṣṭibhayāpāham*. This is the same as the reading in HRT 1 MS C 30-3. Meanwhile, HRT 1 MS A 204/6 reads *paśumuṣṭi ante-correctionem* and *parśuputrīm*, which is even more unlikely, *post-correctionem*. The fact that *paśupuṣṭi/paśumuṣṭi* should be amended to *pāṃśumuṣṭi* is supported by three factors, namely 1) the readings in other textual sources 2) the final number of hand implements and 3) the potential meaning of this term. Firstly, all MSS of the KKA list this implement as *pāṃśumuṣṭi* as do HRT 2 and 3. By following the Nepali edition's reading, we would have to understand *paśupuṣṭibhayāpāham* as adjectival, qualifying *nandyāvarta*, meaning that the *nandyāvarta* "dispels danger and nourishes livestock". In interpreting it as a descriptor rather than implement, we may end up with one too few implements in our final list of 27.

Moreover, a reading of *pāṃśumuṣṭi* also makes sense in a Tantric ritual context. *Pāṃsu*, or its more uncommon form *pāṃśu*, means dust, dirt or soil. The reason why I classify this as a macabre ingredient is because a handful or fistful of dirt or ashes is used as a common ingredient in magical rites in Tantra and these ashes/dust are usually drawn from the cremation ground or from human or animal remains. Thus, in Paṭala 9 of the PT which primarily deals with magical rites, several ingredients that could be classified as *pāṃsu* including gravel (*śarkarā*) from the cremation ground (PT 9.29), earth from the crossroads (PT 9.47) or human ashes (PT 9.50) are used in magical rites for protection, causing harm to others or obtaining supernatural abilities. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound very similar to *pāṃśumuṣṭi* also appears in the HRT in the context of the procedure to cause *uccāṭana* (extirpation), one of the *ṣaṭkarmans* or six classical black magic rites. Here, the practitioner is told to oblate a number of ingredients and to scatter a fistful of ashes (*bhaṣmamumuṣṭi*) of

these ingredients in the house of the victim who is to be extirpated⁷². In a wider Tantric context, the use of this type of ingredient is also ubiquitous. Wenta (2022) has for instance highlighted this in relation to “crow magic” where the charcoal or ashes arising from the burning of a crow in a cremation ground becomes a key component of magical recipes. Furthermore, the description of this fistful of dust as “dispelling danger” (*bhayāpaham*) is consonant with the protective rites in which it features. This implement therefore seems to point to Guhyakālī’s role as the granter of *siddhis*. By deciphering the implications of this implement, we are also able to deepen our understanding of the MKS, which simply lists this implement as a “fist” (*muṣṭi*) without context.

Ritual implements and musical instruments

This is the category with the fewest issues since all attributes, with the exception of the water-jar (*vardhanī*), are shared between the four texts and none of the items are alien to popular iconography. These attributes include on the left, the bell (10), bamboo flute (*vaṁśa*) (17), fire vessel (*vahnipātra*) (20), ghee ladle (22) and *ḍamaru* drum (27) and on the right, the *ḍiṇḍima* drum (17), the water jar (*vardhanī*) (20), water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) (21), a second ghee ladle (22) and needle (27). The only attribute here that at first seems ambiguous is *vaṁśa*, which is listed as a single term in the PT, HRT and KKA and on its own can mean a number of things, including a bamboo cane, any type of cane, a beam or a flute. However, at the exact same point in its left-hand list, the MKS has *unmādavaṁśikā* (17). *Vaṁśikā* in the feminine has the more specific meaning of a pipe or a flute. Paired with *unmāda* (intoxicating or enrapturing), it is likely that the MKS has an instrument in mind. We should therefore identify the other three texts’ *vaṁśa* as a flute as well.

⁷² See f. 81r10 - 12

Flora and other natural phenomena

Under this category, one finds such objects as two pellets that are wish-granting gems (1 on both left and right), a mountain (left, 16), *ḍoḍikā* fruit (left, 19), pot full of gems (right, 6), lotus (right, 9), Indian coral tree (right, 13), garland of flowers (right, 16) and citron fruit (right, 26). The object calling for further analysis is what is described in the PT as the *cidratnavaṭikā*, which I take to mean “pellet of wish-granting gems”. One might be tempted to interpret this compound as a *dvandva* separating the term into two objects (a pellet and a wish-fulfilling gem) rather than a *viśeṣaṇakarmadhāraya* as I have. The reason why this is avoided is because the splitting would result in too many attributes as well as the evidence supplied in a later passage of the PT and from the MKS, KKA and the HRT 2 and 3. The PT itself clearly sees this compound as a single object since when describing the distinctiveness of each of the five Kālīs later on, it instructs the adept to distinguish these five goddesses by dropping the *cidratnavaṭikā* in the Supreme Kālī’s principal left and right hands and to replace them with two of the same objects particular to each of the five.

The *astranyāsas* of the HRT 2 and 3 simply call this attribute a *cidratna*, similarly appearing on the first left and right hands of the goddess. Furthermore, in the MKS’s list, the first objects in the left and right hands are also gem-related attributes, the *ratnamālā* (garland of gems). Although the KKA’s list of implements for the central Guhyakālī lacks a comparable attribute, its instructions for the hand implements particular to each of the Five Kālīs appears to support our interpretation of this compound in the PT because, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Bhāsākālī is said to bear a pair of clusters of blossoms made of wish-fulfilling gems (*cintāmaṇimayamañjarīdvayam*) in her principle two hands. As for how this item might appear visually, I understand it to be a wish granting gem (*cidratna* being a synonym for the more common *cintāmaṇi*) in the shape of a round pellet (*vaṭikā*). The visual sources back this understanding as one of the ancillary Kālīs in figure 4 holds a

round and brightly-coloured object in her first left and right hands which closely fit our description as shown below.



Possible depiction of *cidratnavaṭikā* in figure 4

At this point, it is worth observing that where the three texts that most closely align (the PT, HRT and KKA) differ is the first implements on their lists held in the principal left and right hands. The gesture supplied by the KKA for these two hands – the *abhayamudrā* – in fact is widely found in the visual sources as well. This is easily discernible through the bare, open-palmed hands in figures 3 and 8.



Two principal hands in *abhayamudrā* from figure 8

Weapons

The category in which we see the greatest divergence between the PT/HRT/KKA and MKS is the weapon attributes. In the PT, these include on the left, the sword (3), noose (4), spear (5), discus (9), chopper (16) and mallet (26) and in the right hands, the chopping knife (2), club (5), trident (7), five *pāśupata* arrows (8), lance (12), cleaver (14) and javelin (15).

In this list, only the *pāśupata* arrows stand out as an unconventional attribute not usually found in the typical arsenal of weapons in iconography. For further detail, we have to look to the MKS, which describes the names of each arrow corresponding to its function, namely “withering”, “intoxicating”, “stupefying”, “destroying” and “causing death”⁷³. The elaboration of this attribute in the PT and MKS also deepens our reading of the KKA where the attribute is listed merely as *bānam*. The MKS is more partial than the other texts to depicting weapons and has an additional nine weapons. Although some of these are standard weapons commonly found in iconography such as the axe (*paraśu*) and mace (*gadā*), there are obscure missile-type weapons (*bhuśuṇḍi*, *bhindipāla*, *śataghñī*, *paṭṭīśa*) as well. It is notable that the list of rarer weapons has large overlap with the weapons found in the *Lalitopākhyāna*, a text of the Tripurā school, as part of the arsenal of the *daityas* in their fight against Lalitā⁷⁴. With the attested widespread borrowing of later Uttarāmnāya works from Tripurā sources⁷⁵, it would not be peculiar that the MKS has made use of this list of weapons from the *Lalitopākhyāna* with the logic that the goddess, once victorious, incorporates the weapons of her enemies into her own armory.

Although the three other texts’ inclusion of weapons is less pronounced, weapons remain one of the most dominant categories of implements in all our *dhyāna* material. This might also reflect the greater involvement of the Guhyakālī cult, and indeed Śākta Tantrism generally, in the practice of war magic. As Serbaeva has shown in detail, in the 10th - 12th centuries, the Tantric deities worshipped for the bestowal of attainments in

⁷³ MKS v.79 *pañca pāśupatān bānān śoṣakonmādamūrchakān/*
saṃhārakān mrtyukarān evaṃ nāmapradhārīnaḥ//

⁷⁴ The *Lalitopākhyāna* was eventually included in the fourth section of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and is framed as a dialogue between Agastya and Hayagrīva on the Goddess’s conquest of Bhaṇḍāsura. In it, we also find the *Lalitāsahasranāma* and rites for propitiating Kāmākṣī. The section where these weapons appear is Chapter 22 in the fight between the demon chief Durmada and the Goddess. Linder (2020) dates the text to the 13th century, most likely preceding the MKS.

⁷⁵ Goudriaan and Gupta (1981) p. 79 discuss the influence of the Tripurā school on the MKS, especially on the *Kāmakaḷākhaṇḍa*. The influence of Tripurā texts is also felt in the PT where there is much borrowing from this school, especially the *Jñānārṇavatāntra*.

battle shifted from the male Aghora/Bhairava to goddesses, the Tantric forms of Kālī being predominant as various chapters of *Jayadrathayāmalatantra* concerning war magic show (2.16, 4.21 and 4.45)⁷⁶. It is highly likely that our *dhyānas*, the oldest of which (the KKA) comes directly after this period of transition from male to female war deities, registers this shift iconographically. Further backing this idea of the goddess's weapons being linked to war magic, other material in the Guhyakālī literature examined by us shows a concern with the empowerment of weapons for warfare as seen in the instructions for the inscription of *yantras* onto weapons in the PT, which will be discussed in Ch. 3 of this thesis.

Table 2: The Hand Attributes

	PT	HRT 1	MKS	KKA	HRT 2 and 3
Left Hand					
1	wish-granting gem as a round pellet (<i>cidratnavatikā</i>)	<i>abhaya</i> gesture	rosary of gems (<i>ratnamālā</i>)	<i>abhaya</i> gesture	wish-fulfilling gem
2	skull	skull	skull	skull	
3	sword	sword	shield	sword	
4	noose	skull staff	noose	noose	
5	spear (<i>śaktika</i>)	noose	spear (<i>śakti</i>)	spear	
6	skull staff	spear (<i>śaktika</i>)	skull staff	skull staff	
7	chopped head	chopped head	chopped head	chopped head	
8	bow	bow	<i>bhuśuṇḍi</i> (a type of mythical missile)	bow	
9	discus	discus	bow	discus	
10	bell	bell	discus	bell	
11	dead child (<i>bālapreta</i>)	dead child (<i>bālapreta</i>)	bell	dead child	
12	mountain (<i>śaila</i>)	mountain (<i>parvata</i>)	dead child (<i>bālapreta</i>)	mountain	
13	skeleton	skeleton	mountain (<i>śaila</i>)	skeleton	
14	mongoose	mongoose	skeleton	mongoose	
15	snake	snake	mongoose	snake	
16	chopper (<i>kuṭṭanī</i>)	six-angled shape (<i>ṣaḍasra</i>)	snake	chopper	
17	bamboo (flute) (<i>vaṃśa</i>)	bamboo (flute) (<i>vaṃśa</i>)	bamboo flute (<i>vaṃśikā</i>)	flute	
18	six-angled shape (<i>ṣaḍasra</i>)	chopper (<i>kuṭṭanī</i>)	mallet (<i>mudgara</i>)	six-angled shape	
19	ḍoḍikā fruit	ḍoḍikā fruit	fire vessel (<i>vahnikuṇḍa</i>)	ḍoḍikā fruit	
20	fire vessel (<i>vahnipātra</i>)	fire vessel (<i>vahnipātra</i>)	ḍamaru drum	fire vessel	
21	club	three-pronged staff (<i>tridaṇḍa</i>)	iron bludgeon (<i>parigha</i>)	three-pronged staff	
22	ghee ladle	garment	short javelin (<i>bhindipāla</i>)	ghee ladle	

⁷⁶ Serbaeva (2022), pp. 1 - 3 and 6 - 11

	PT	HRT 1	MKS	KKA	HRT 2 and 3
23	eight-angled shape (<i>aṣṭāra</i>)	mallet (<i>mudgara</i>)	pestle (<i>musala</i>)	eight-angled shape	
24	lion	eight-angled shape (<i>aṣṭāra</i>)	sharp-edged spear (<i>paṭṭiśa</i>)	lion	
25	garment	ghee ladle	dart (<i>prāsa</i>)	garment	
26	mallet	ḍamaru drum	bombarding weapon (<i>śataghnī</i>)	mallet	
27	ḍamaru drum	lion	female jackal cub (<i>śivāpota</i>)	ḍamaru drum	
Right Hand					
1	wish-granting gem as round pellet	<i>varada</i> gesture	rosary of gems	<i>abhaya</i> gesture	wish-fulfilling gem
2	chopping knife (<i>karṭṛ</i>)	chopping knife (<i>karṭṛ</i>)	chopping knife (<i>karṭṛ</i>)	chopping knife (<i>karttikā</i>)	
3	<i>tarjanī</i> gesture	<i>tarjanī</i> gesture	sword	<i>tarjanī</i> gesture	
4	elephant goad	trident	<i>tarjanī</i> gesture	elephant goad	
5	club	elephant goad	elephant goad	club	
6	pot full of gems (<i>ratnapūrnakalaśa</i>)	club	club	pot	
7	trident	pot full of gems (<i>ratnapurnaghaṭa</i>)	pot of gems (<i>ratnakumbha</i>)	trident	
8	five <i>pāśupata</i> arrows	five arrows	trident	arrow	
9	lotus	lotus	five <i>pāśupata</i> arrows	lotus	
10	elephant	elephant	lance (<i>kunta</i>)	book	
11	lance (<i>kunta</i>)	<i>mandāra</i> flower	Indian coral tree	lance	
12	Indian coral tree	cleaver (<i>churikā</i>)	cleaver (<i>churikā</i>)	Indian coral tree	
13	cleaver (<i>churikā</i>)	lance (<i>kunta</i>)	javelin (<i>tomara</i>)	cleaver (<i>churikā</i>)	
14	javelin (<i>tomara</i>)	javelin (<i>tomara</i>)	garland of flowers	javelin (<i>tomara</i>)	
15	garland of flowers	garland of flowers	ḍiṇḍima drums	garland of flowers	
16	ḍiṇḍima drum	ḍiṇḍima drum	vulture	ḍiṇḍima drum	
17	vulture	<i>svastika</i>	water-pot (<i>kamaṇḍalu</i>)	vulture	
18	<i>svastika</i>	vulture	piece of meat (<i>māmsakhaṇḍa</i>)	<i>svastika</i>	
19	water-jar (<i>vardhanī</i>)	water-jar (<i>vardhanī</i>)	ghee ladle	water-jar (<i>vardhanī</i>)	
20	water-pot (<i>kamaṇḍalu</i>)	water-pot (<i>kamaṇḍalu</i>)	citron fruit (<i>bījapūra</i>)	water-pot (<i>kamaṇḍalu</i>)	
21	ghee ladle	ghee ladle	needle	ghee ladle	
22	handful of dust (<i>pāṃśumuṣṭi</i>)	handful of dust (<i>pāṃśumuṣṭi</i>)	axe	handful of dust (<i>pāṃśumuṣṭi</i>)	
23	<i>nandyāvarta</i>	<i>nandyāvarta</i>	mace (<i>gadā</i>)	<i>nandyāvarta</i>	
24	earrings	earrings	staff (<i>yaṣṭi</i>)	earrings	
25	piece of meat (<i>māmsakhaṇḍa</i>)	piece of meat (<i>māmsakhaṇḍa</i>)	handful (of dust) (<i>muṣṭi</i>)	piece of meat	
26	citron fruit (<i>bījapūra</i>)	citron fruit (<i>bījapūra</i>)	corpse (<i>kunapa</i>)	fruit	
27	needle (<i>sūcī</i>)	needle (<i>sūcī</i>)	<i>lālana</i> ⁷⁷	needle (<i>sūcī</i>)	

Since we have now gone some way in deciphering the identity and symbolism of the 54 hand implements of Guhyakālī, I wish to show how the method adopted by texts in

⁷⁷ This attribute appears in compound as *kunapalālanam*. It is necessary to take *lālana* as a separate attribute for the list to amount to 27. The meaning of *lālana* here is cryptic and can mean a number of things including a caressing gesture or, according to the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, a poisonous animal resembling a mouse.

treating these implements prove that the relationship between the *sādhaka* and iconography is far more sophisticated than mere visualisation. This multifaceted engagement – already shown in relation to treatment of the faces of the goddess which harnesses *dhyāna*, *nyāsa* and *mantra* – becomes even more complex in relation to the hand implements since the additional element of *mudrā* is added and also given the far greater number of arms. The texts that display this multi-dimensional approach are the HRT and the KKA. As shown by my edition of the KKA, the implements are listed alongside their own particular *mantras* so that we have a total of 54 *mantras*. This tradition is maintained in the HRT 2 where we find almost entirely the same list of *mantras* with only minor variants in a passage which comes before the articulation of the *mantras* of Guhyakālī's faces (ff. 34v8 – 35r2). For the sake of brevity, I will not remark on all the variants but the main difference in presentation is slight; the KKA presents the *mantras* followed by the implements in the accusative (agreeing with *nyāset*) while the HRT presents the *mantras* with the implements in the dative often appended by the syllable *om* (For instance for the skullcup implement in the KKA, we have *saḥ kapālaṃ* while in the HRT it is *om saḥ kapālāya*). The fact that the ascription of *mantras* to implements is almost identical in two texts that are separated by several centuries in spite of the proclivity of the transmission of long *mantra* passages for corruption shows that a great deal of attention must have been placed on correctly recording them.

The *mudrās* for the hand implements meanwhile are not discussed in the KKA's section on the *nyāsas* and *dhyānas* of the main goddess (Sanyāsadhyānavidhi) but in a section appearing much later called the Mudrāvidhi. The reason we can tell that these *mudrās* do correspond to the *mantras* and visualisation of the hand implements is that they are called the *mudrās* of the 54 hand implements (*catuspañcāśāstramudrāḥ*), *astra* being a common term which, in the context of *dhyāna*, refers not only specifically to weapons but any type of hand implement. Nine *mudrās* are given here while the rest are said to be

known through oral transmission from the guru. Since no equivalent section seemingly exists in the HRT, I am still unable to ascertain the identity of the remaining 45 *mudrās*. However, in this Mudrāvidhi, a tantalising clue concerning the importance of the *mantras* associated with the implements is also given. These *mudrās* are described as “accompanied by the own forms of all of the *mantras* of the Krama” (*sarvakramamantrasvarūpasahitā*), perhaps suggesting that the 54 *mantras* listed are not just a contrived method for creating sonic equivalences of the implements but are those that are already considered integral to the Guhyakālī cult.

Finally, we can tackle the deposition of these implements onto the body of the *sādhaka* which is found in both HRT 3 (ff. 109r11 – 110r8) and MKS 7.70 – 116. I will focus on the HRT 3 as the HRT again follows a more consistent logic governing where these elements are installed⁷⁸, that is to say the body part of the goddess subject to *nyāsa* should be placed on the equivalent body part of the adept. Thus, in the same way the ten faces are placed on the worshipper’s facial features, the 54 arms are placed on 27 parts of the practitioner’s left and right arms. This section in HRT 3 is relatively corrupt with variants existing even between the locations in the left and right arm which we would expect to be identical for the sake of the symmetry of the *nyāsa*. However, without attempting to emend the problematic parts, a rough idea of how this *nyāsa* works can still be gauged; the adept installs the implements one by one on each arm by moving up the arm, alternating between the back and front parts. These locations include, amongst others, the tip of the five fingers, the palm, the nails and the back of the hand, the front and back parts of the wrist, the forearm, the front and back of the elbow and the shoulder. Interestingly, the last implement in each hand should be imagined as deposited from the base of the arm up to the tip of the nails.

⁷⁸ Once again, there seems to be no clear system of correspondence between the *astranyāsa* and *astradhyāna* in the MKS since Guhyakālī’s implements are installed all over the body rather than being restricted to the arms as in HRT 3.

In this manner, the HRT has solved the seemingly intractable task of transforming our two human arms into 54 arms of the goddess.

1.5 The Seats of the Goddess

This section gives an analysis of the various components of Guhyakālī's throne. A throne is often an integral part of iconography in Tantric worship, conceived as a multi-tiered pedestal on which the deity is installed seated or standing. Although called a lion throne (*simhāsana*) in many sources, including the PT, the object need not be an actual chair with lion adornments but can simply be a pedestal whose many levels (*āsana* or *pīṭha*) are made of a panoply of common pan-Hindu figures or concepts, often signifying features of that cult's worship or elements of other cults it has subsumed. A thorough analysis of Guhyakālī's throne of worship has been undertaken by me in a previous publication (Pangsrivongse (2023)). Although some material will be repeated for the sake of the argument, I will try to provide a closer reading of texts in this chapter as well as expand upon the findings made in my previous work. In all of our principal textual sources, except for the KKA, the tiers of the Goddess's throne, besides the lotus on which Guhyakālī rests, principally comprise 1) Śiva/Bhairava 2) the she-jackal 3) the *pañcapretas* 4) the Eight Guardians of the Directions and 5) the twelve (in total) *vedas*, *upavedas* and *yugas*.

The KKA enumerates the goddess's throne in two main sections. The first is in the preamble to the Pañcakālīcakra where the throne matches the model described above except for the absence of the last *veda/yuga* tier. Here, each *kālāsana*, as the tiers are known, also possess a unique *mantra*. The second instance of a throne's description in the KKA is in the instructions for the raising of the five Svatantrakālīcakras to which much of Ch.3 is dedicated. This far more complex throne comprised of 20 tiers will be discussed separately in Ch.2. Therefore, this chapter will focus on this five-tiered model and more specifically,

the versions of the thrones found in the PT and HRT which also happen to be the two models that are the closest to our visual sources.

A further point should be made about the general presentation of the throne in the MKS. The MKS is distinct in providing a more elaborate schema by fleshing out two lotus seats of 16 and eight petals, the first representing 16 types of sacrifices and the second four positive qualities of *buddhi*⁷⁹ and four attainments. The single lotuses of the PT and HRT meanwhile are not described in detail and are not assigned specific numbers of petals.

The Śiva/Bhairava Seat

The main point of divergence between the models of the PT and HRT 1 and the MKS is the prescription of one rather than two seats above the five *pretas*. The MKS describes both Śiva and Bhairava tiers which are divided by the 16-petalled lotus as resting above these *pretas*. Śiva in the MKS is described as one-faced and two-armed, bearing the trident and skull staff while Bhairava below is five-faced and four-armed, holding the skull staff and chopping knife in his left hands and in his right, the skull cup and *ḍamaru* drum. The PT and HRT 1 describe only one seat above the *pretas* but this seat appears to amalgamate the names and appearance of the MKS Bhairava and Śiva. In the PT, this tier is first explicitly assigned the name *śivāsana* but is also secondarily described as the unexcelled Bhairava tier (*bhairavapīṭham...āsanam uttamam*). The figure on this tier also incorporates the iconography of both Śiva and Bhairava from the MKS so like the

⁷⁹ In his work on throne of worship in Śaivism, Goodall (2011, pp. 229 – 230) shows that the association of parts of the throne with the qualities of *buddhi* was common in the form of four positive qualities of *buddhi* or a total of eight qualities, positive and negative. These qualities are linked to either the legs of the throne or parts of the lotus. In the MKS, it is only the petals that are said to symbolise the qualities of *buddhi* but instead of applying the eight positive and negative qualities to the eight petals, the MKS has uniquely opted for the four positive qualities with another list of four comprised of *yaśas*, *kāma*, *viveka* and *mokṣa*. We are unable to tell from the PT's passage whether the lotus supporting the Goddess's feet in the PT is the same as the eight-petalled or 16-petalled lotus in the MKS as the number of petals and their symbolism are not given.

MKS Śiva, he is one-faced yet has the same hand attributes as the MKS Bhairava. Moreover, he is adorned with the ornaments of Bhairava (*bhairavābharaṇānvitam*).

We might posit that the PT and HRT 1's first seat, part of a comparatively simpler throne, is thus a composite of the Śiva and Bhairava models found in the MKS or a source with a similar arrangement. However, the reverse could also be the case and it might be argued that it is the MKS that has in fact elaborated a simpler model, transforming one tier into two. Support for the latter conjecture is found in several older sources such as the 14th century GNP where there is only one tier above the five *pretas* known as the Mahāśivāsana (f. 20r1 – 4) and the KKA where this single tier is interestingly also seen as a composite Bhairavaśivāsana in the prelude to the worship of the Five Kālīs. The reason we know that this compound (*bhairavaśivāsana*) is to be taken as a single seat is because the final number of seats is enumerated as seven at the end of the section (Indra heading the *dikpatīs* as one seat, seats two to six as the five *pretas* and the seventh as Bhairavaśiva). Notably, even in the 20-tiered version of the throne in the KKA, only one tier consisting of a male deity (Pheṭkārabhairava in this case) rests above the five *pretas*. It therefore seems more likely that the MKS's model is the anomaly rather than the reverse.

Interestingly, some visual material (figure 1 for instance) does depict two separate seats directly beneath the Goddess before the *pañcapretas*, showing that the MKS's scheme was at times adopted by artists. Indeed, the proximity of this segment of figure 1's throne to the MKS is remarkable given that the number of faces, arms and identity of implements appear to align for both the Śiva and Bhairava seats. However, our remaining visual sources depict only the single composite Śiva/Bhairava figure and do so with remarkable consistency with the descriptions found in the PT and HRT 1. In these sources, Śiva/Bhairava is one-faced, three eyed and holds the four hand attributes stipulated in these two texts.

Another issue clarified by the visual sources is the characterisation of Śiva/Bhairava in both the Nepali edition and certain manuscripts of the PT as *nādhordhvalāñchanam* (marked by the *nādhordhva* symbol) which I have amended to *nālordhvalāñchanam* (marked with an upward lotus stalk). In several visual sources (figures 2, 3 and 4), the stalk of the lotus on which the Goddess is standing emerges out of Śiva/Bhairava's navel, a concept prevalent in wider Hindu iconography. This is seen in how the navel of Viṣṇu is the locus from which Brahmā's lotus emerges while in the *Śivadharmottara*, the adept is taught to imagine the visualisation of the throne originating from his navel as a lotus stalk⁸⁰. This point is confirmed by the HRT manuscripts where the writing more closely resembles *nālordhva* than *nādhordhva*. This makes us confident that the Nepali edition has a corrupt reading. The similarities of the visual depiction of the Śiva/Bhairava seat to the texts and the lotus stalk's presence can be seen below.



Śiva seat with *nālordhva* in figures 2, 3 and 4



⁸⁰ See the visualisation of the throne of worship in the *Śivadharmottara* included in Goodall (2011), p. 233.

Pañcapretas and the She-Jackal

The depiction of the *pañcapretas* as part of the presiding deity's throne is a common feature in Śākta Tantras and is also found in the cults of Tripurā and Kubjikā. They act as a statement that the cult of the goddess not only includes but also transcends the cults of the male divinities represented by the *pretas* (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva), who are often displayed crushed under the Goddess's throne⁸¹. In the PT, as in many other cults, the order of proximity to the Goddess represents the hierarchy towards the ultimate truth. Thus, the Bhairava seat discussed above is the last to be transcended since the *Bhairavatantras*, considered superior to the orthodox cults of the *veda*-congruent *pretas*, is the stream out of which the Śaktitantras, including the Kaula, arise. The description of the *pañcapretas* in the PT follows established conventions and in all three texts, the colours of the *pretas* and their characteristic weapons (staff, discus, trident, spear, and skull staff) are identical. The artistic tradition shows a high degree of consistency with the texts since it largely follows the colour scheme prescribed. This is proven most clearly by the shorthand Newari abbreviations for colours above the *pretas* in figure 3 which correspond to the colours supplied by our texts, a point which has been elaborated upon in my article⁸². Likewise, although figure 3 shows the five with just the *tarjanī* gesture, other sources display them with their requisite weapons, the clearest example of this being figure 1 as seen below.



An enigmatic element in their portrayal, however, is their pose which the PT and HRT 1 describe as *tarjanīmukhanikṣiptāḥ* and the KKA as *vāmahastatarjanīmukhāni*.

⁸¹ Goodall (2011) aptly characterises this form of syncretism “aggressive inclusivism” and also discusses it briefly in the work cited above.

⁸² Pangsrivongse (2023), pp. 98 - 99

The awkward word order of this compound obstructs easy interpretation but if we examine a similar compound describing the *pretas* in the MKS, the situation is clarified. Here, they are described as *mukhanyastatarjanīkāḥ*. *Nyasta* and *nikṣipta* seem to have the same sense to describe the forefinger (*tarjanī*) being extended/pointed. With the indication from the MKS and evidence from the visual sources, I have therefore translated this pose as “their forefingers pointed (up) in front of their faces”. Most visual sources (figures 1 – 5 and 7-8) depict the *pretas* with their forefingers pointed up as if lifting the throne. I believe that this compound is used to distinguish the *pretas*’ active pose from their more common position of lying crushed and inert similar to what is seen in figure 6.

We might also add that although the *dhyāna* of the PT/HRT/MKS do not supply us with any symbolism behind these five *pretas*, the KKA does give us clues with which to interpret them in its *mantra* for the *pañcapretas*. When these five are summoned in the KKA as part of the Āsanapūjā as well as Damanakavidhi, the *mantra* chanted is *hrīm śrīm samastakālakalāsanapāda*, suggesting that they are identified with the entirety of cosmic principles known as *kalās*. This term is a highly polysemous one in Śaiva texts and in its most general sense suggests the “limited power to act” or “the first of the evolutes of primal matter (*māyā*) and the *tattva* from which all the other evolutes directly or indirectly derive.”⁸³ However, the term later came to connote the four or, more relevant to our discussion, five “modes/activities of the subtle sound-matter *bindu* (*binduvṛttayah*), each of which pervades a section of the cosmos”⁸⁴, namely *nivṛtti*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *vidyā*, *śānti* and *śāntyatītā*. Thus, the 36 *tattvas* or 108 *bhuvanas* can be assigned to each *kalā*. The KKA’s *mantra* for the *pretas* implies that each of these deities can be associated with a *kalā*. This also fits the scheme of ascending power embodied by the throne since these *kalās/pretas* which represent the ever

⁸³ TAK Vol. II, p. 68

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 71

grosser forms of the *māyā* are transcended by Bhairava and the Goddess who denote the non-dual union of *śiva* and *śakti*.

Following the *pañcapretas* in the PT and HRT 1 comes a very notable aspect of Guhyakālī's throne which I interpret as the she-jackal seat. As far as I am aware, this is an element of the throne that is missing entirely in Siddhānta and Bhairavatantra depictions and is perhaps unique to Guhyakālī. The establishment of this element as a she-jackal is not entirely straightforward so I will cite the PT verse in full to assist with our analysis:

*piṅgaraktā triguṇyā hi phetkāravarabhīṣaṇā/
vajradamṣṭrānakhasparsā padmapṛṣṭhe śivottamā//7.92*

The crucial compound here is *śivottamā* which could be translated in two ways other than she-jackal. Firstly, one could understand this term as referring back to Guhyakālī in the sense of “the Supreme Śivā” (Śivā as the feminized form of Śiva and a common epithet of the Pārvatī). However, it would be peculiar to find additional descriptions of her at this point in the *dhyāna* since her appearance has already been discussed at length before the description of the *pretas*. To take it so would make this verse a random insertion of her description into a segment that deals with her throne which still has a remaining six verses for this purpose. Another solution would be to understand *śivottama* as an ancillary form of Śiva because this epithet in canonical literature can refer to Śiva's manifestation as the eight *vidyeśvaras*⁸⁵. This too though is unlikely as the compound is in the feminine and the descriptions of *śivottamā* in the verse do not conform to what we know about these *vidyeśvaras*.

I therefore interpret the compound as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* meaning the “best of she-jackals” (*śivānām uttamā*). The use of the term *śivā* to mean she-jackal is commonly attested, especially a jackal dwelling in the cremation ground. The jackal was also popularly

⁸⁵ *Svacchandatantra* 10.1161–1162

understood in Tantric literature to be the animal form of shape-shifting female deities⁸⁶ and there is evidence to suggest that this manifestation was especially revered in the Kathmandu Valley⁸⁷. In fact, some texts explicitly describe Guhyakālī as the “Goddess with the Jackal as her Vehicle” (*śṛgālavāhanā devī* in the *Guhyakālītantra*⁸⁸). Most importantly, the *śivottamā* of this verse is described as having teeth and nails with touch like lightning (*vajradamṣṭrānakhasparśā*)⁸⁹ and terrifying with howling (*phetkāravarabhīṣaṇā*), both of which are characteristics of a wild animal rather than an anthropic figure. The same description is applied to the *śivottamā* found in the versified section of HRT 3⁹⁰. The description of this animal residing on a lotus (*padmapṛṣṭhe*) is also consistent with most of our visual sources (figures 2 - 8), which show the jackal and the Goddess occupying the same lotus resting above Śiva/Bhairava. The jackal is a ubiquitous presence in artistic depictions with only figure 1 lacking this element. It would therefore be peculiar for textual accounts to be missing a description of a feature so common in visual sources.

Confusingly, a similar figure described as *śivottama* (this time in the masculine) who is likewise seated on the surface of the lotus with similarly fearsome nails and teeth makes an appearance in MKS 1.55ab. This half-verse intervenes the three and a half verses (MKS 1.53 – 56ab) where the highest Śiva seat is described. Since this description of teeth and nails is incongruous with Śiva and the *śivottamā* is a female figure in other texts, I tentatively see the half verse in this passage as misplaced. It is possible that

⁸⁶ This association with jackals is an ancient one and is found in the figure of Śivadūtī in the *Devīmahātmya* whose retinue is hundreds of jackals. See a discussion in Yokochi (1999), p.99, fn. 104. For more evidence of shape-shifting jackals, see White (2003), pp. 210-211.

⁸⁷ Michaels (2008) devotes a chapter to the Newari Vatsalā Festival in which the transgressive jackal god, Dhvādyah is worshipped. He is sometimes considered the mount of Vatsalā much like the role of the jackal here in the PT, pp. 79-107

⁸⁸ C 51 – 2, f. 2v4

⁸⁹ I have translated this compound in this way as it appears in a similar form in v. 15 and 37 of the *Apāmārjanastotra*, part of the the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, when extolling Narasiṃha where it clearly refers to his thunder-like nails that tore apart Hiranyakaśipu.

⁹⁰ f. 108r7

scribe/redactor could have been tempted to embed this half-verse originally describing the jackal (*śivā*) from elsewhere within the several verses on Śiva while masculinising it in the process. This confusion could have arisen from the meaning of *śiva* which can be both a proper noun or the word for a jackal.

The description of the jackal as *triguṇya* (endowed with three qualities) is not entirely clear but could be a reference to the three cosmic *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*). This could suggest that the jackal, in the same vein as the other aspects of the throne which correspond to cosmic principles, represents the three *guṇas*. This would be consonant with the fact that the jackal rests above the five deities who, as the five *kalās*, represent the operation of *mahāmāya* in manifesting ever grosser forms of the cosmos. Traditionally in Indian cosmology, it is only through the participation of the three *guṇas* that the cosmic descent from the pure towards impure realms can come about.

The Guardians of the Directions (*Dikpatis*) and the Vedas and *Yugas*

The final two tiers of the Goddess's throne consist of eight figures for the penultimate tier (the 8 guardians of the directions) and, for the lowest tier, 12 figures (the 4 *vedas*, *upavedas* and 4 *yugas*) according to the PT and MKS and eight (the same figures but excluding the *upavedas*) according to all HRT passages. The guardian of the directions in our texts are the typical group found in pan-Hindu iconography occupying the outer ring of a deity's *maṇḍala* at eight major and intermediate compass points. The deities are assigned colours and insignia consistent with the standard list with these details being the same across the PT, HRT and MKS. Additional information is given by the MKS which lists the *vāhanas* of each guardian. Likewise, the inclusion of the *vedas*, *upavedas*⁹¹ and

⁹¹ The *upavedas* are often a porous category with the classical formulation being Āyurveda (medicine), Gandharvaveda (music and dancing), Dhanurveda (archery) and Artha (administration/governance). The last *upaveda*, however, is sometimes substituted with either Sthāpatyaveda (architecture) or Śilpaśāstra (craft). If

yugas in the throne of a Tantric deity is not restricted to the cult of Guhyakālī and is even found beyond the *Bhairavatantras* in Siddhānta Śaivism and Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavism⁹².

Again, the colour assigned to each *veda*, *upaveda* and *yuga* is the same across texts. Due to the consistency of these tiers throughout our texts and wider pan-Hindu models, there is no confusion over the identity and composition of these bottom two tiers in the PT.

Where confusion does arise is how the non-figurative elements (*vedas*, *upavedas* and *yugas*) should be depicted and their arrangement in three-dimensional space. We can again look to the MKS for solutions since here the positioning of these two tiers is explained. The *dikpatis* are described as located at their respective compass points⁹³, a predictable arrangement while each *veda* is paired with a *yuga*, the pairs being distributed amongst the four corners at the cardinal points of the throne⁹⁴. The locations for the *upavedas* are not given but we can assume they occupy the intermediate compass points at the throne's base. The visual sources, most of which do depict these two tiers below the *pretas*, present their own solution, placing the figures in a horizontal row rather than around the throne. However, it might be noted that the arrangement of the two bottom tiers as two horizontal rows rather than distributed amongst the throne's corners might be down to an inability to represent them with the complex dimensions prescribed by the MKS due to limitations of the artist's medium, especially in a drawing or painting.

The great majority of visual sources are also alike in portraying the *dikpatis* and the *vedas/yugas* as human heads of different colours, which is distinct to other Tantric

we go by the MKS, which names the *upavedas* in its *āsananyāsa*, then the classical formulation should be followed for our throne.

⁹² Goodall (2011) discusses passages from the work of the 12th century Saiddhāntika Aghoraśiva (pp. 224-228) and the Pāñcarātra *Jayākhyasamhitā* (pp. 228 -230), which include these two elements.

⁹³ MKS 1.40 "...svām svām diśam avaṣṭabhya sthitān paramaśobhanān"

⁹⁴ MKS 1.35 *ratnasimhāsanam divyaṃ hīramuktādinirmitam/
dhārayantaṃ catuṣkoṇe yugaṃ vedaṃ ca cintayet//*

sources where the *vedas/yugas* are depicted as the heads of horses and bulls⁹⁵. I have discussed this extensively in my article but wish to repeat that the use of heads to depict the two bottommost tiers is a custom with a widespread textual basis. Indeed, amongst our principal sources for this chapter, the HRT acknowledges the depiction of the *dikpatis* and *vedas* and *yugas* as chopped heads by calling them *muṇḍāsanas* in the *āsananyāsa* of HRT 2 (ff. 31r9 – 31v4). However, this tradition clearly precedes the HRT as it is also found in more ancient liturgies such as the 14th century GNP. In my article, I have also shown how the description of which tiers of the throne should be depicted as chopped heads differed according to textual sources with some prescribing heads for the two bottom tiers and others for only the bottommost tier. Moreover, there are visual sources that forgo entirely the symbolic use of chopped heads. Figure 1, for instance, follows the MKS's prescription of depicting *dikpatis* with their *vāhanas* and weapons. It, moreover, shows the *vedas* and the *yugas* in the bottommost tier as full-bodied figures, the figures representing the four *vedas* distinguishable on account of the manuscripts held in their right hands on their laps.

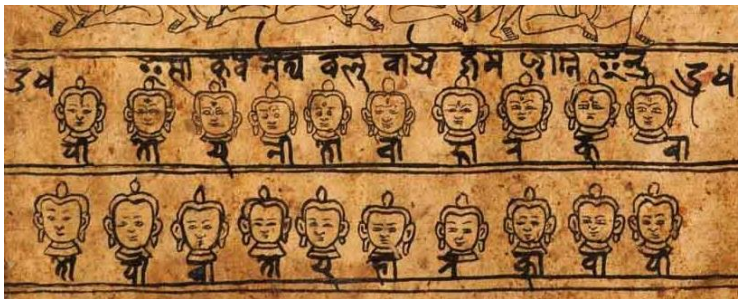
A further point for our attention is that many of the sources differ in the number of heads represented on each tier. The variation on the bottommost tier, the number of whose heads/figures differ between 8 – 12 depending on the visual source, can be accounted for by the dropping of all or some *upavedas* by the artist. As for which *upavedas* are retained, this can often be discerned by the colour of the head. The variation in figures in the penultimate tier is more problematic as all our principal sources agree on their being eight guardians of the directions. However, it becomes evident that the appearance of ten figures/heads is due to the addition of two further directions – upper (*ūrdhvam*) and lower (*adhas*) – to the list of eight. This is confirmed by the annotation in figure 3 which has the names of the *dikpatis* above each head on this tier except for two labels that read *adha* and

⁹⁵ For instance, the *Jayākhyasamhitā* as found in Goodall (2011), p. 229 prescribes this.

udha, abbreviations for the lower and upper directions traditionally presided over by Brahmā and Ananta, above the heads on the furthest left and right. The ascription of this pair to the two additional heads is backed by some liturgies which include ten rather than eight guardians as well as the presence of four faces on the head to the furthest right of figure 4, clearly confirming his identity as Brahmā.



Two lowest tiers from figure 1
(8 on each tier)



Two lowest tiers from figure 3
(10 on each tier)



Two lowest tiers from figure 4
(10 on each tier with furthest right head being four-headed.)

Having surveyed the key aspects of the throne of worship, we can briefly tackle the relationship between *nyāsa* and *dhyāna* with regard to the throne. The *nyāsa* of the five *pretas* as found in the KKA has already been examined in Pangsrivongse (2023), including the method in which the hierarchy of the *pretas* is maintained according to where they are installed on the two feet of the *sādhaka* which serves as the locus for the *āsananyāsa*⁹⁶. It should be added that HRT 2 and the MKS have an *āsananyāsa* that encompass all the elements of the throne

⁹⁶ Pangsrivongse (2023), p. 103

and not just the five *pretas*. The *nyāsa* found in HRT 2 similarly maintains the hierarchy between all tiers by positioning the lowest level of the throne at the lowest point of the body then moving up the lower body from left to right, tier by tier. The *vedas* and *yugas* are therefore installed on features of the left and right foot, the penultimate tier of *dikpatis* is distributed from the ankles up to the thigh while the five *pretas* are installed around the waist. HRT 2 splits the uppermost tier – the Bhairava/ Śiva seat – into two separate seats, the Bhairavāsana and Mahāśivāsana. In line with their importance, they are placed on two points close to the waist associated with the two lowest out of six classical *cakras* – Bhairava at the *mulādhara* and Mahāśiva at the navel, the location of the *svādhiṣṭhāna*. In this way, the consistency of iconography is maintained on two levels; the hierarchy within the throne itself through the ascent from feet to navel and the subordination of the deities of the throne to the goddess by means of locating the throne in the lower body beneath the point of installation (in the arms and face) of the key elements of the goddess’s form (her weapons and heads). The MKS too has an extensive *āsananyāsa* covering MKS 6.620 – 663. However, like its *vaktra* and *astranyāsas*, the scheme for distributing the seats amongst the body parts does not seem to correspond to the logical position of those seats on the human body (the five *pretas* for instance are to be found on the adept’s face) nor is there an ascent from lower to higher body parts following the ascent of the tiers of the throne. What is notable however is the MKS’s *nyāsa* makes room for the installation of the additional features not found in the other texts (the phenomena represented by the eight and 16-petalled lotuses).

Table 3

	Tier 1	Tier 2	Tier 3	Tier 4	Tier 5	Tier 6
PT/HRT 1	Composite Śiva/Bhairava	She-jackal	Five Pretas	Dikpatis	Vedas and Yugas	-
MKS	Śiva	Bhairava	She-jackal (?)	Five Pretas	Dikpatis	Vedas and Yugas
KKA (simplified throne)	Composite Śiva/Bhairava	Five Pretas	Dikpatis	-	-	-

1.6 Conclusion

After an analysis of the major aspects of Guhyakālī's iconography in the PT, we can come to a few conclusions. Firstly, it might be said that in spite of the complexity of her iconography and sheer number of her physical features which could provide ample room for divergence in depiction, there is a notable degree of uniformity in the visualisation of Guhyakālī in the texts examined. This is especially remarkable given the possible time difference of several centuries between these sources. Moreover, the textual archetypes largely find their parallels in visual material counterparts. The consistency of iconography across time and between text and image shows us that in the mind of *tāntrikas*, Guhyakālī did possess a discrete and stable visual identity of her own and that there were common paradigms for her visual worship in the medieval Kathmandu Valley.

Our survey of the evidence in this chapter shows us that for a figure as esoteric and enigmatic as Guhyakālī, it is impossible to rely on a single textual source to gain a comprehensive understanding. Without our examination of the HRT, MKS and KKA, the meaning of cryptic objects, symbolism and language in the PT could not be uncovered and vice-versa. Moreover, the relationship between all these texts and artworks is mutually enlightening, proving that one type of source is often incomprehensible without the other. Images for instance can help us solve text critical issues like corrupt portions in the list of hand implements while texts can clarify the meaning of obscure symbols such as the chopped heads of the throne.

Just as interestingly, our study has shown us that the process of visualisation is not a simple, one-way act but involves different modes of ritual technology in a concerted way that targets the entire body. This is to ensure that the metamorphosis of the adept into the divine is both complete and precise, enabling each feature of the Goddess to be mapped

onto the corresponding part of the worshipper. The implications of this form of visualisation will be revisited in the conclusion to this thesis.

1.7 Visual Material



Fig. 1 Guhyakālī

Nepal; 17th century

Bronze; height 26.5 cm

Pergamon Museum, Berlin

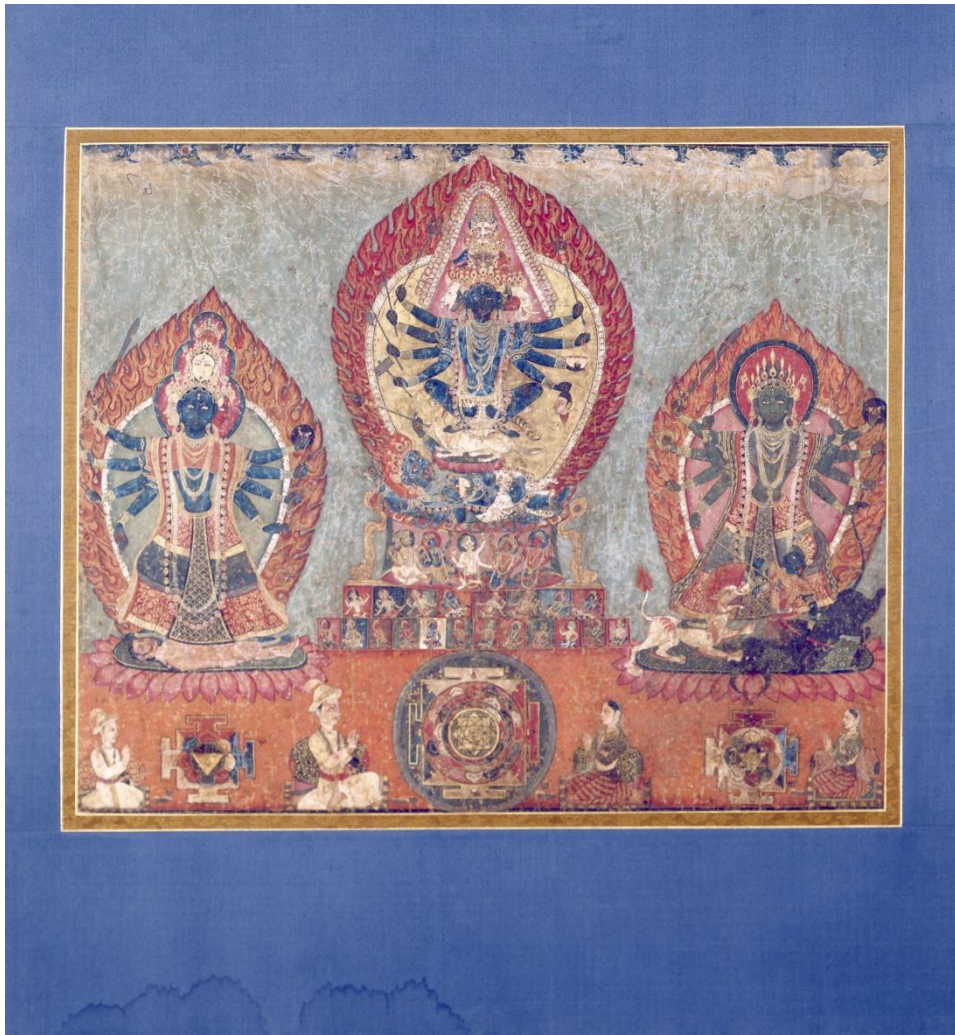


Fig. 2 Guhyakālī *paubha*

Nepal; 19th century

Ground mineral pigment on cotton;
(framed) 98.8 x 91 x 6.8 cm

Walters Art Museum, Baltimore



Fig. 3 Folio from an artist's manual depicting Guhyakālī

Nepal; 18th century

Ink on paper; 27 x 28.6 cm

Rubin Museum of Art, New York



Fig. 4 *Paubha* depicting Guhyakālī

Nepal; ca. 16th century

Distemper on cloth; 68 x 56.5 cm

Lot 906 in the Ernst Collection
Auction, Sotheby's, 2018



Fig. 5 Detail of Guhyakālī from *paubha*
depicting Siddhilakṣmī

Nepal; 1796

Pigments on cloth; 84.5 x 61 cm

Rubin Museum of Art, New York



Fig. 6 Guhyakālī

Nepal; 15th century

Bronze; 38.1 cm

Lot 205 in the Indian, Himalayan and Southeast Asian Works of Art Auction, Christie's, September 2016



Fig. 7 Folio depicting Guhyakālī from an illuminated manuscript

Nepal; 17th century

Watercolour on paper; 17.8 × 23.8 cm per folio (26 folios)

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia



Fig. 8 Guhyakālī *paubha*

Nepal; 18th century

Ground mineral pigment on cotton;
dimensions unknown

National Art Gallery, Bhaktapur

Chapter 2

The Extended Iconography of the Krama's *Nityapūjā*

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to document and analyse aspects of the vast iconography of the Krama cult beyond the central 54-armed Supreme Guhyakālī. The primary subject of this chapter will therefore be the ancillary deities from the eleven Nityapūjācakras of the Krama as well as the Five Kālīs and their *cakras* which succeed these eleven. In exploring the depiction of these figures, the chapter will achieve the following 1) a systematic documentation of the iconography of all 209 deities of the 16 Nityapūjācakras as shown in the table at the end of this chapter 2) a close study of the visualisation of the Five Kālīs and a discussion of their iconographic distinctness 3) a discussion of discernible trends in the Krama's iconography, principally its therianthropism and colonisation of orthodox iconography.

The evidence for this chapter is mainly drawn from the KKA since this is the only text I know which gives not only the names and *mantras* of all the ancillary deities of the Krama but also their visualisation. Alongside the KKA, I will largely make use of supporting evidence from four other texts. These are: the *Parātantra* for a comparison of the depiction of the Five Kālīs; the *Mahākālasaṃhitā* for our discussion of therianthropism; and the *Guhyakālīnirvāṇapūjāpaddhati* and *Mahārthakramapañcakamantrapaddhati* for the accurate names and arrangements of the ancillary deities of the Krama (citations of these two texts are mainly found in my edition).

A few words should be said about the challenges of the first goal of this chapter – the documentation of the iconography of the Nityapūjā. This task is not merely a matter of translating visualisation instructions in the KKA into English given the lack of clarity often found in the writing style of the *paddhati* genre. *Paddhatis* are notoriously difficult to

elucidate since they are written for an audience already conversant with the traditions of the cult. The instructions are frequently incomplete or in short-hand, merely serving as reminders. Much of my research in this chapter has therefore gone into piecing together and interpreting these instructions so that they form a coherent picture. Where difficulties in interpretation do arise, I have described in the footnotes the process of reasoning undergone to reach the conclusions in the table.

2.2 How are the Five Kālīs distinct?

It is well-known that the sequence of worship of the Krama culminates in the propitiation of four (Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Saṃhāra and Anākhya) or five Kālīs (with the addition of Bhāsā) depending on the scriptural tradition with each Kālī representing a distinct phase of cognition from the emission of the object of cognition to its identity with the consciousness that is its ultimate ground. Although these Kālīs have been described as having distinct identities in relation to their cognitive or epistemological function in secondary literature, the distinctiveness of their iconography has not yet been discussed by scholars. In this section, I will show that it cannot be assumed that their iconographies are identical to the central Guhyakālī's and that each of the five Kālīs does indeed have a separate visual identity. This is done by closely comparing sources for their visualisation.

Sources recording the visualisation of the 54-armed, ten-faced central Guhyakālī are relatively abundant but amongst the Tantras and *paddhatis* I have come across, it is only the PT and KKA that shed light on the particularities of each of the five Kālīs. Through these two texts, I will demonstrate how each Kālī is distinct according to four factors, namely 1) their facial expressions 2) their poses (*āsanas*) 3) their bodily appearance and 4) their characteristic hand implements. The findings according to these four categories are recorded in the table below.

Before launching into analysis, we should examine the context of these visualisation passages in the PT and KKA. In the KKA, passages describing the five Kālīs' distinctiveness come at two points in the text. The first is as part of the *Sanyāsadhyānavidhi* of the central Guhyakālī. Following the description of the nine faces of Guhyakālī, the *sādhaka* is instructed to imagine the facial expression of the central human face (*madhyavaktram*) changing according to each of the five phases. Then after listing Guhyakālī's 54 hand implements, we have a section known as the *bhāvanyāsa* in which different poses are imagined for each Kālī. The second point where we are told about the five Kālīs' appearance in the KKA is in the description of the *cakras* of the five Kālīs themselves. Here, after the visualisation of the ancillary deities of each *cakra*, details are given concerning the characteristic implement and distinctive bodily appearance of the Kālī at the centre of the particular *cakra*.

In the PT, the description of the five Kālīs comes after the visualisation of the central Guhyakālī (vv. 7.103 - 119) which is included in my translation and edition of the PT's *dhyāna* appended to this thesis. We are helpfully told by the PT, before it goes into detailed description, that nearly all of the visualisation of the five Kālīs mimics the central Guhyakālī's, the exception being that her upper-flame face is dropped so that she now has nine rather than ten faces and the principal hand implements in Guhyakālī's left and right hands – the pellet of wish-fulfilling gems (*cidratnavaṭikā*) – are to be replaced with two implements particular to each Kālī. By reading the PT alone, one might assume that the distinct portrayal of each Kālī is an imaginative quirk of this Tantra rather than belonging to a well-defined tradition. However, the near identity of the descriptions in the PT and KKA show us that the PT is indeed recording accepted conventions regarding their visualisation.

We shall now turn to an examination of the depiction of each Kālī according to the four factors listed above beginning with Sṛṣṭikālī. The descriptions for this Kālī are almost identical in the KKA and PT. Her facial expression in the KKA is described as

aṭṭāṭṭahāsaṃ hasantaṃ (laughing with very loud laughter) which is reflected in the PT's portrayal of her as *aṭṭahāsasamanvitāṃ* (enjoined with wild laughter), the projection of laughter from her wide-open mouth possibly evoking an act of emission/creation from sound. Her pose in both texts is seen as *samapada* (even footed) while the PT adds that her posture is *ūrdhva* (erect), possibly suggesting that she is standing. As for her two hand implements, both texts unambiguously declare that she holds the sun and the moon (*candrasūryavidhāriṇīm*). Her bodily appearance is depicted as pleasing in both sources, the KKA stating she is beautiful (*lalitām*) and the PT describing her body as slim, lovely and beautiful (*cārulalitām tanuvigrahām*). Her auspicious bodily appearance is perhaps on account of her association with the auspicious act of creation and set up as a contrast to the depiction of the Kālī with the opposite function, *saṃhāra*, who possesses a haggard body.

In the succeeding *cakra*, Sthitikālī's facial expression varies slightly in the two texts, described as *īṣatprahasitānanām* (a face that is mildly laughing) in the PT and the KKA as *lagnausthaputaṃ* (the petals of her lips closed). Both facial expressions suggest the idea that her mouth is no longer wide-open as is the case with Sṛṣṭikālī, reflecting the notion of stasis in conformity with this Kālī's phase. Her poses once examined closely are the same. Sthitikālī's pose is described by the KKA as *vāmapādākuñcitadakṣiṇapādāvalambitaṃ* (the right foot pendant and the left foot bent) while the PT states she is in *rājalīlāsana*. The pose given by the KKA is in fact a detailed description of the *rājalīlāsana*, a pose where one leg is bent perpendicular to the hip while the other is hanging from the seat. Her characteristic implement in both texts is the *vīṇā* made out of the bones of Brahmā (*brahmakaṅkālavīṇā*) while her bodily appearance is crooked and pot-bellied (*kharvām lambodarīm*) in our sources. This recalls the appearance of the *gaṇas* of Śiva who are depicted as such in both visual and textual sources. However, since she is responsible for

the cosmic and cognitive function of maintenance (*sthiti*), her pot belly could also be linked to ideas of plenitude.

The description of Saṃhāarakālī is perhaps the most striking. In the two texts, her facial expression is associated with consuming. The KKA describes her as chewing her lips with her own teeth (*svadantausṭhacarvantam*) and the PT states that a ball of flesh is ground from her lips by her teeth (*dantausṭhaghṛṣṭapiṇḍikām*). The idea these sources convey is that her hunger is so great that she has to consume her own flesh. This connects with the Krama and indeed wider Hindu notion of linking destruction to hunger and the act of consumption. Indeed, the term *carvantam* is redolent of the name certain Krama texts ascribe to the Phase of Withdrawal, which they call *carvaṇa* or *kālagrāsa*⁹⁷ instead of *saṃhāra*. Moreover, sources such as the MKS also use the imagery of consuming to describe Kālī in the act of withdrawing a *kalpa* or epoch. In this text, her mealtime is equated with the apocalypse and her destruction of the universe satiates her hunger⁹⁸. As for Saṃhāarakālī's pose, she is described as having the archer's *āsana* (*pratyālīḍhāsana*) in both texts, a pose associated with warfare and a readiness to strike, befitting her destructive nature. Her characteristic hand implements are said to be Brahmā and Viṣṇu (*ajakeśavau* in PT and *ajaharī* in KKA). Her bodily appearance is that of the archetypical horrifying (*ugra/ghora*) female deity. She is depicted in the KKA as having only skin and bones (*asthicarmāvaśeṣām*) while the PT similarly describes her as without any flesh and hollow bellied (*nirmāṃsām koṭarāmbikām*). Such an appearance chimes with the iconography of Cāmuṇḍā and the Purāṇic Kālī and again emphasises her ravenous hunger.

Anākhyakālī possesses the memorable facial expression in our two sources of licking the tip of her teeth with her tongue (the KKA describes this as *jihvāgreṇa*

⁹⁷ See Dupuche (2003), pp. 59-60

⁹⁸ *pralayo bhojanakālas tṛptis tena ca nālpikā...*(MKS 2.169)

vāmadamṣṭrāgraṃ sparśantam). This might be understood as a gesture typically carried out after eating, the activity associated with the previous phase of *Samhāra*. Her pose in the PT matches that of the KKA where she is described as being in the bound lotus position (*baddhapadmāsanaṃ*). Her two hands are simply in the *varada* and *abhaya* gestures in both texts. Another notable feature of her appearance is the description of her eyes which the KKA describes as extending to her ears, fixed on meditation and rolling about with rapture (*karṇāntāyatamadaghurṇitadhyānalocanām*). The PT has a similar description with the compound describing this meditative rapture being slightly awkwardly arranged (*madaghurṇitadīrghākṣīm dhyānalocanatatparām*). The purpose of this description is possibly to show that she represents the cognitive phase where our vision turns inward and is moving towards identity with the ultimate, all-encompassing consciousness.

Finally, we move on to Bhāsākālī whose description is more problematic than the others'. Firstly, on the surface, there seems to be a lack of correspondence in her facial expression described by the KKA as the act of lolling her tongue while releasing the sound *hūṃ* (*muktahūṃkārarāveṇa jihvām lālayantam*). In the PT, the facial expression for Bhāsā is cryptically missing while the facial expression which is particular to Bhāsā in the KKA is transferred to Samhāra in the PT as an additional facial expression for Samhārakālī. The PT thus describes Samhāra as playing with her lolling tongue, resounding with the released sound of *hūṃ* (*lelihānām lalajjihvām muktahūṃkārarāviṇīm*). The solution I propose is that the half-verse where this activity appears in the PT⁹⁹ is erroneously applied to Samhāra and should in fact apply to Bhāsā as per the KKA's instructions. If this were otherwise, Samhāra would have two facial expressions that cannot be performed simultaneously (the act of chewing and that of releasing the sound of *hūṃ* with her tongue) while Bhāsā

⁹⁹ PT 7.113a. The fact that this is a hanging half-verse in the text without its second line makes its position all the more suspect.

would uncharacteristically lack a facial expression in spite of all four preceding Kālīs being ascribed one. As for Bhāsā's pose, another problem arises since the description of one is missing in the PT. In the KKA, she is portrayed as dancing (*nṛtyamānām*) and I propose this too should be the case with the PT. In spite of the absence of any description, the central Guhyakālī described earlier in the PT is also said to be in this pose¹⁰⁰. Since Bhāsā ultimately has the same identity as this central Kālī, we can ascribe this pose to her as well.

Concerning the hand implements and other aspects of Bhāsā's appearance, however, the two texts do agree to an extent. The PT describes her two central hands as *mañjarīdvayadhārīṇī* or *mañjīradvayadhārīṇī* (a pair of cluster of blossoms/anklets depending on the manuscript). I have adopted the former reading since the *mañjīra* would be an awkward implement and *mañjarī* aligns with the KKA which reads *cintāmaṇimayamañjarīdvayaṃ* (a pair of clusters of blossoms made of wish-fulfilling gems), furnishing us with additional details concerning what these 'clusters of blossoms' consist of. This would also be in line with the two main implements of the central Guhyakālī in the PT who holds pellets of wish-fulfilling gems (*cidratnavaṭikā*). Finally, additional descriptions of Bhāsā's appearance link her to her eponymous light with the KKA describing her as consisting of the light of all rays (*sarvaraśmiprakāśamayīm*) and the PT viewing her as illuminating the universe (*jagad bhāsayate*).

To summarise, we might say that the iconographic identity of each of the five Kālīs is distinct and their distinctiveness is overwhelmingly consistent in the two sources where this iconography appears. If we were to account for the time difference in the composition of the two texts – the KKA can be confidently dated to the early 13th century and the PT more tentatively to the 15th/16th¹⁰¹ – then we can also conclude that the tradition of

¹⁰⁰ *sahasrasūryajvālāgram āsanam parikīrtitam | padmoparisthitām devīm nṛtyamānām sadoditām* || 98

¹⁰¹ See the discussion in the Introduction for the dating of the PT.

visualising these five Kālīs as distinct and of doing so in a highly particular way relating to four main features of their appearance remained important for several centuries.

Unfortunately, visual sources recording all five Kālīs seem to be rare. Since I have not come across such material, we are therefore unable to assess the consistency between the iconography of the five Kālīs in textual and visual sources.

It should also be remarked that another element which is retained throughout the centuries between the PT and KKA is the idea that the five Kālīs are accompanied by the ancillary deities of their *cakra*. This is particularly surprising given how traces of the system of the 16 *cakras* found in the KKA and early Krama canonical literature almost entirely disappear in the PT. Although the bulk of the PT is concerned with the worship of Guhyakālī, the complexity of the pantheon and *maṇḍala* of this cult has been streamlined with only one Guhyakālī *maṇḍala* surviving in Paṭala 7¹⁰². Moreover, the iconographic variety is heavily reduced so that rather than portraying hundreds of visually distinct ancillary deities found in the KKA, we are given a mere seven visualisations from the Guhyakālī cult - the central Guhyakālī, five Kālīs and an eight-armed Kālī known as Bālakumārī.

Nonetheless, an echo of this earlier cult of multiple *cakras* is present in the PT's oblique references when describing the five Kālīs, a feature which would be indecipherable without the help of the KKA or other Krama material. Thus, Sṛṣṭikālī is described as *yonipañcakamadhyasthāṃ* (standing amidst the Five Yonis), a clear acknowledgement of the arrangement of the Sṛṣṭikālīcakra in the KKA where the Five Yonis and their consorts are arranged around Sṛṣṭikālī in the four cardinal directions and the Northeast. Sthitikālī in the PT is said to possess a sixteen-fold nature (*ṣoḍaśātmikām*), a clue to the sixteen petalled lotus that houses the 4 *nāthas* and 16 *rājaputras* of the Sthitikālīcakra. Saṃhāra is enjoined with 10 *śaktis* (*daśaśaktisamāyuktām*), namely the 10 goddesses known as Saṃhārīṇīs in the

¹⁰² PT 7.34-39b. This subject forms half of Ch.3 of this thesis.

KKA while Anākhyā is accompanied by twelve rays (*raśmidvādaśasaṃyuktām*), an allusion to the 12 Kālīs surrounding her ending with Mahāghoracaṇḍabhairavagrasanakālī.

However, the PT's description of Bhāsākālī as *ṣoḍaśāre pratiṣṭhitā* (installed on the 16-sided shape) requires some deciphering. As can be seen from our iconography table, none of the three rings surrounding Bhāsākālī are comprised of 16 petals, the three being the 12 Kālīs in the seeds of the lotus, the 8 Kālīs of the pericarp and the 8 Raśmikālīs. Additional clues, however, exist in the first *pada* of the same verse which strangely tells us that Bhāsākālī is situated at the centre of the Anākhyacakra (*anākhyacakramadhyasthā*). Two traditions of the Anākhyacakra exist, a more common one ascribing it 12 ancillary deities as discussed above and another based on the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva*, where sixteen Kālīs surround Anākhyā with four Kālīs being added to the twelve of the former¹⁰³. This second tradition also makes its way into the Svatantrānākhyakālīcakra of the KKA, a *cakra* discussed in Ch. 3, where sixteen rather than twelve Kālīs are located on the seeds of the lotus surrounding the central Anākhyakālī¹⁰⁴. What the PT therefore implies here is that Bhāsākālī's *cakra* is nothing but the expanded *cakra* of Anākhyā. It has united the Bhāsā with the Anākhyacakra in this way perhaps to create coherence between the distinct Krama traditions that preach four Kālīs and five Kālīs as well as those that teach 12 and 17 figures in the Anākhyacakra, thus attempting to subtly show that there is no real difference between these divergent systems. We might, however, ask where then the ancillary deities of the Bhāsācakra go in the PT if this *cakra* has been supplanted by the 17 Anākhyakālīs. This question is answered in an earlier verse (v. 102) where the central Guhyakālī herself is said to be at the centre of this Bhāsācakra (*bhāsākramasya madhyasthā cakreṣṭi parameśvarī*). The PT has thus assigned each of the six deities (the five Kālīs plus the *mūladevī*) a *cakra*

¹⁰³ For a discussion of these two traditions, see Sanderson (2007b), p. 353, fn. 406.

¹⁰⁴ KKA *Svantrabhāsācakraṇḍapūjāvidhi*: "...ṣoḍaśāraḥ pūrvavat sṛṣṭikālyādidvādaśakam tadante om phām phīm mahākṛṣākālī ambāpāda 13. sarvāntakālī 14. śivakālī 15. krodhakālī 16. pūrvād ārabhya vahnyantaṃ..."

of their own, which is different to the KKA's arrangement where the central goddess does not have a separate *cakra* of ancillary goddesses.

Name	Facial Expression	Pose	Characteristic Implement	Bodily Appearance / Additional Details
1. Sṛṣṭikālī	wild laughter	even-footed	sun and moon	pleasing body
2. Sthitikālī	mild laughter (PT)/lips closed (KKA)	pose of royal ease (<i>rājālīlāsana</i>)	<i>vīṇā</i> made from Brahmā's bones	hunch-backed and pot-bellied
3. Saṃhāarakālī	chewing her own lips	archer's pose (<i>pratyālīḍhāsana</i>)	Brahmā and Viṣṇu	emaciated
4. Anākhyakālī	licking the tip of her teeth	bound lotus pose (<i>baddhapadmāsana</i>)	wish-granting and fearlessness gesture	eyes rolling with rapture
5. Bhāsākālī	releasing the sound <i>hūṃ</i> (KKA)	dancing	two clusters of wish-fulfilling gems	emanating light

2.3 Therianthropism in the Cult of Guhyakālī

Having delineated the distinct iconography of the five central Kālīs, we shall proceed to an analysis of general trends found amongst the visualisation of the Krama's ancillary deities. We begin with the most striking element of Krama iconography - its therianthropism or depiction of animal-human hybrids, which in the KKA is present as theriocephalism or figures possessing human bodies with animal heads. The Krama is by no means alone in its therianthropism as shown by how several therianthropic deities, such as the man-lion Narasiṃha or man-boar Varāha, are the central divinities of orthodox Hindu cults. Moreover, Śākta cults, even in early incarnations in texts such as the *Devīmāhātmya* and original *Skandapurāṇa*, firmly display this tendency which reaches its apogee in the development of *yoginī* cults. This phenomenon is discussed by several scholars, especially Chiara Policardi who has published a thorough outline of therianthropism in early Śaivism¹⁰⁵. In spite of

¹⁰⁵ Policardi (2016) has published an important article examining both textual and visual sources of therianthropism amongst *yoginī* cults while making distinctions between forms of therianthropism/theriomorphism and positing the roots and motivations of this phenomenon. I have largely based my appraisal of the Krama's therianthropism in relation to other *yoginī* cults on Policardi's overview.

the conspicuousness of therianthropism in other cults, I wish to argue, by examining the KKA alongside relevant passages from the MKS, that the Krama is the therianthrope *yoginī* tradition *par excellence*, possibly surpassing other cults in its engagement with human-animal hybrids.

In order to show the intensification which the pre-existing therianthropism of Śāktism undergoes in the Krama, it is helpful to refer briefly to an early instance of this phenomenon found in the original *Skandapurāṇa* 64.19 – 30 for comparison, a text which Bakker believes originated in Benares around the late 6th/early 7th century CE¹⁰⁶. In this passage, a number of theriocephalic goddesses spring from Kauśikī's limbs to battle the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha. Even at this early stage of systematic Śāktism, a wide-range of theriocephalic forms are already found, including the crow, owl, lion, tiger, elephant, peahen, horse, goose, sheldrake, jackal, dog, hawk, heron, diver bird and hen¹⁰⁷. The point of their manifestation seems to be to harness these species' particular strengths to combat the demon army. As we can see, avian species predominate this list, a feature discussed later in relation to the Krama.

In spite of this vibrant therianthropism in early Śāktism, I aim to show that this process is deeply amplified by the Krama through the following means: 1) an unprecedented intensification and proliferation of therianthropism within the figure of the central goddess of the cult; 2) the increase in the overall number and proportion of ancillary deities that are theriocephalic and; 3) the diversification of therianthropism to include many species not deified in other Hindu cults, Tantric or otherwise.

It is to be noted that Krama liturgical sources were not available to Policardi so it is hoped this chapter will add some new evidence to the field.

¹⁰⁶ See Bakker (2014), p. 12 - 25.

¹⁰⁷ *Skandapurāṇa*, Volume III, pp. 293-295

The first point – the dominance of therianthropism in the central deity- is shown clearly by how nine out of ten heads of the supreme form of Guhyakālī are non-human, an element of her iconography already discussed in Ch.1. However, we have not yet examined the forms of Guhyakālī whose faces exceed ten for which the MKS is our most fertile source. Since, as far as I am aware, no secondary literature has recorded the exact composition of such forms and because this element proves the extent of this cult’s theriocephalism while also being of interest to scholars studying Guhyakālī generally, I describe these *dhyānas* in some detail below.

The predominance of animal heads amongst the faces of Guhyakālī continues in the MKS with the 30, 24, 36 and 100-faced forms, which are the forms of Guhyakālī whose faces are articulated in full. The 30-faced form is described in a detailed yet cryptic section in MKS 2.38-70 where the *sādhaka* is required to attach an avian face (*vaikireyam*) to odd faces exceeding the traditional ten (faces 11, 13, 15 etc.) and a quadruped face (*cātuspādam*) to additional even faces (faces 12, 14 etc.)¹⁰⁸. I tentatively record this form’s faces, in addition to the traditional ten faces, as consisting of the peacock, goose, eagle, parrot, crow, owl, an unknown bird of prey, osprey, crane and heron on the odd number faces and the donkey, boar, bull, goat, camel, deer, buffalo, snake, hound and mule on her even faces. MKS 2.74 tells us that the 24-faced form is reached by subtracting six of these

¹⁰⁸ *vaikireyañ ca viṣame same cātuspadaṃ bhavet/
vihāya nāgaśarabhāv anantāṣṭapadau hi tau//38
śikhihaṃsaśyenaśukakākolūkapadāyudhān/
krauñcasārasakaṅkāṃś ca viṣamāsyē tu yojayet//39
kharakolavṛṣājoṣṭramṛgasairibhāpannagān/
viśvakadrumayāṅghrī ca same vaktre vinirdiśet//40*

I have amended *khala* in Jha’s edition to *khara* since the former yields no sense. There are one or two unclear animals listed. The *padāyudha* presumably refers to a bird whose legs are weapons (a bird with talons), I have therefore translated it as “bird of prey” for lack of a more accurate understanding. *Mayāṅghri* similarly poses challenges and occurs in no lexicons. *Maya*, however, according to lexicographers can mean either a camel or a mule. I tentatively translate this term as mule since a camel already appears on our list. It will also be noted that cryptically the snake is not a quadruped but is nonetheless placed amongst the even-numbered faces by the author.

animal faces (osprey, crane, heron, snake, hound and mule) from the 30-faced form.

The 36-faced form constitutes an addition of 6 faces to these 30, comprised of the cuckoo, tortoise, alligator (*nakra*), turtle dove, *kāraṇḍa* duck and *haritāla* pigeon (MKS 2.70)

while the 60-faced form is a simple doubling of the animal faces found in the 30-faced visualisation (MKS 2.80).

The 100-faced visualisation takes this therianthropism to an extreme, making changes to the ten-faced format by subtracting three existing faces and replacing them with the new faces of the camel, *śarabha* and mule then prescribing an arrangement of the faces in ten columns of ten rows, totaling one hundred¹⁰⁹. Since the uppermost flame (*dīpakāśya*) is one of the faces subtracted, this renders the 100-faced Guhyakālī even more theriocephalic than the other forms mentioned. Accompanying this information on Guhyakālī's faces are highly complex instructions on the correspondence between numbers of faces and arms which merit further study¹¹⁰. Aside from the value of this section of the MKS for a deeper understanding of Guhyakālī, we can use this passage to deduce that the cult of Guhyakālī incorporates theriocephalism into its central deity to an extent seemingly unmatched in any other Hindu cult. It might be added that this radical theriocephalism where we find Guhyakālī with animalian heads far exceeding the conventional ten is

¹⁰⁹ *dhyānam asyā vidhehi tvam kathyamānam atah param/*

śatavaktrā guhyakālī doraṇḍāyutamaṇḍitā// 112

simhebhavājiśarabhakapipherugarutmatām/

ṛkṣoṣṭrakharavaktrāṇāṃ prastāro 'dhaḥ kramāt priye// 113

The key problem here is the central human face is not listed. A possibility is that out of the 100 animal faces, the central bottom-most is removed to make way for a single human face.

¹¹⁰ In a highly challenging and long section (MKS 2.32 – 83) on account of the code words used for numbers and possible corruptions in the edition/manuscript, the MKS informs us of the method employed to calculate the number of arms from the number of faces. An example of a particularly complex formula is the 23-faced Guhyakālī for whom we are told, in addition to the existing 54 arms, to attach six arms to each odd face exceeding the tenth face ($8 \times 7 = 56$) and ten arms to each even face ($10 \times 6 = 60$) then to subtract eight arms from one of the even faces ($54 + 56 + 60 - 8$). This gives us the final number of arms, which is 162. For the 24-faced form, we are told merely to add ten arms to the previous form to make 172 and likewise to add another ten arms for the 30-faced form, giving us 182. However, the 60-faced form's arms are calculated by multiplying the arms of the 30-faced form by 32, giving us 5,824 arms. There is a need for further research into the purpose for undertaking such a complicated method rather than directly prescribing the final number of arms.

incredibly rare in artistic depiction. A fine and perhaps unique example of this phenomenon is to be found in a *paubha* in the Zimmerman Collection published by Pal (1991), pp. 81 – 82¹¹¹.

Our second argument for the uniqueness of the Krama's therianthropism – the steep increase in the total number and proportion of theriocephalic figures in the entire cult – is proven by the visualisation of ancillary deities in the 16 *cakras* of the KKA. In many of these *cakras*, theriocephalism is not an anomaly but wholly predominates. This includes deities in the Pañcavāhacakra (*cakra* 3) where all of the deities bar the central deity (Vyomavāmeśvarī) bear animal faces; the Antaḥsiddhacakra (*cakra* 8) where out of the 25 deities, only one has a human face (Antarīkṣaja in the Northeast); the Melāpacakra (*cakra* 9) where 12 out of 13 deities are partially theriocephalic¹¹² (the exception is the central deity) and the Śāmbhavadacakra (*cakra* 11) where only one of five, the central Caṇḍinī, has a human face. This level of pervasion seems to exceed what is found in other *yoginī* texts where this

¹¹¹ Given the importance of this artwork as “one of the largest Nepali *paubhas* known” and “one of the most complex iconographically” as Pal notes and due to the relevance and rarity of its subject matter, it warrants a discussion here. In his notes to this *paubha* in Pal (1991) as well as brief references to it in Pal (1975), p. 105 and (1978), p. 91, he describes its component parts, remarks upon the skill of its artist and makes mention of the importance of the Guhyakālī cult in the Kathmandu Valley. However, no mention is made of the relationship between this artwork and Guhyakālī literature. We can therefore add to Pal's scholarship by showing how the MKS sheds light on the *paubha*'s subject. Although the *paubha* depicts a 54-faced Guhyakālī and thus is not found in any of the literature examined by us, its method of portraying a form with an excess of ten heads appears to follow a similar logic to the MKS. Firstly, the polycephalism is formed by adding heads to the core structure of the original ten heads of the Supreme Guhyakālī. For this *paubha*, the original ten heads are located on the second, third, seventh and eighth (final) rows. Disregarding the other heads, the arrangement of animalian heads in each row conform to the schema discussed in Chapter 1. For instance, in the bottommost row where the human face is located, we see it flanked to the immediate left and right by the *makara* and *garuḍa* and to the left and right of these are the horse and the elephant while the additional heads on this row are placed to the left and right of the original five of the bottommost row. As for the identity of the additional heads, quite a few of these seem to align with the animal species listed for the 30 or 60-faced form in the MKS. For example, in both our textual and visual sources, many horned quadrupeds (bull, goat, deer and buffalo) are added to the original ten heads which lack this type of animal. Moreover, the MKS prescribes a roughly equal divide between the birds and quadrupeds for the additional faces of the 30 or 60-faced form. Likewise, around half of the additional faces depicted in the *paubha* are avian. The instructions for the heads of the 60-faced form calls for a doubling of the 30-faced form and the repetition of heads for some species is also observed in this artwork. Finally, although the depictions of cosmic forms of deities often incorporate a stylised rendering of myriad arms simply to suggest innumerability, the painter of our *paubha* has painstakingly painted each arm so that upon inspection, separate hand implements can be made out. This suggests that the iconic model to which the artist conforms calls for precise correspondence between the number of arms and heads and instructions on the identity of the hand implements, bringing the logic behind this artwork even closer to the way visualisations are presented in the MKS.

¹¹² See the iconography table of this *cakra* for the meaning of partial theriocephalism.

phenomenon is already highly developed, including the *Brahmayāmala*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, the main texts examined by Policardi in her study.

Our third point concerning the distinctiveness of the Krama's therianthropism, which hinges on the unique range of animal species depicted in this cult, is backed by figures in the Antaḥsiddhacakra. First, we should note that some of the animal hybrids deified here are already ubiquitous in mainstream Hinduism. Under this category, we might include Daṁṣṭriṇī, the tiger hybrid whose equivalent in other traditions would be Simhīnī, the elephant-faced Umānandinī (Gaṇeśa), the snake-faced Sarvagā (the Nāgas), the many bird-faced goddesses who are comparable to Garuḍa or the goat-faced Vidyā (certain depictions of Agni or Naigameśa) amongst others. Furthermore, many figures that are not found in the mainstream Hindu pantheon and appear bizarre to those unfamiliar with Śākta/*yoginī* cults do find their counterparts, albeit with different names or unnamed, in other Śākta textual sources. For instance, the bear-faced and donkey-faced deities known in the KKA as Jvālīnī and Viccā¹¹³ are found in several *yoginī* texts while the dog-faced Gāndhārī or cat-faced Dhūmrā already have their predecessors in the original *Skandapurāṇa* passage cited.

However, the Krama also records theriocephalic types that to my knowledge appear in no other known textual sources or whose presence as part of theriocephalic forms cannot be unambiguously established elsewhere. These notably include the rabbit-faced Mahāmāyā, the lizard/alligator-faced Nityā¹¹⁴, the frog-faced Subhagānandinī and the mouse-faced Idāmarīcī¹¹⁵. Some of these animals, such as the frog or mouse, are

¹¹³ See Policardi's (2016) excerpts from the *Brahmayāmala* (p. 132) and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (p. 137) for examples of these.

¹¹⁴ It is to be noted that although the *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya* as found in Bühnemann (2003) does record a deity called Godhāsya (lizard/alligator-faced) as the 183rd deity in its sixth chapter, Bühnemann notes (fn. 150) that the line drawings of this figure depict him as a bull-headed figure, showing the lizard-headed goddess in the KKA to be, if not unique, then rare enough for another text describing such a figure to be altered by the artistic tradition.

¹¹⁵ Refer to iconography table 8 to see where these animalian identifications occur.

associated in other texts with *yoginīs* through a theriomorphic relationship, meaning the *yoginīs* fully shape-shift into these animals, but a theriocephalic association is not found¹¹⁶. It should also be pointed out that the lack of known textual sources depicting these species does not preclude visual representation. For instance, in Dehejia's seminal study of *yoginī* temples, a rabbit-faced *yoginī* is identified in Lokhari¹¹⁷. Another point that might support the view that the Krama pushes the boundaries of iconographic diversity is the incorporation of faces of mythical beings that are not animals. Again, we have examples of this in the *Antaḥsiddhacakra* where three deities have the faces of a *rākṣasa*, *kinnara* and *bhairava*, although clearly not actually being identical to these beings. Likewise, the goddess Vajrapūtanā in the *Śāmbhavasiddhacakra* has the face of *Carcikā*.

We have already noted that even in the early strata of Śākta therianthropism as seen in the original *Skandapurāṇa*, avian iconography predominates. This is an element of the goddess cult discussed by White in relation to Kushana era *mātrī* deities¹¹⁸. A brief remark is warranted on how this phenomenon persists in the Krama. The prevalence of avian imagery is not merely down to the fact that the Krama represents so many species of animals that multiple birds would invariably make it into this pantheon. Birds seem to occupy a central role as proven by a number of factors. Firstly, in *cakras* where the central human-faced deity is displaced by an animal-faced one, the central theriocephalic deity is avian. Such is the case with the *Antaḥsiddhacakra* where the central deity of the *cakra* is the hen-faced Mahācaṇḍinī. Furthermore, we have noted how avian faces have a disproportionately high presence amongst the animal faces of the central Guhyakālī, shown by how all odd faces exceeding the ten-faced form up to the 60-faced form are bird faces. Finally, we might point to nomenclature in the Guhyakālī cult where many important

¹¹⁶ See Policardi's (2016) citation of a passage (pp. 139-140) on shapeshifting from the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*.

¹¹⁷ Dehejia (1986), pp. 156-162

¹¹⁸ White (2003), p. 39

figures are referred to by avian-related names. Guhyeśvarī herself when aligned with her traditional sacred site, the Nepāla/Himālayapīṭha is called Khagānanā (the Bird-faced One), both within the Kaula tradition and outside of it¹¹⁹. Moreover, the first *nātha* of the Kaula transmission, portrayed in the KKA as the first figure in the Sthitikālicakra located on its eastern petal, is Khagendra (Lord of the Birds).

Policardi has already argued that this predilection for the avian might be linked to the primacy of the *khecarīs* (sky-farers) among categories of *yoginīs*¹²⁰ and the belief that *yoginīs* possess the power to take to the skies. This is to an extent reflected in the KKA as well where deities who embody this concept also possess bird faces. Thus, the goddess Khecārī, one of the Pañcavāha deities, is said to have the face of a Bengal kite while Vyomakā in the Śāmbhavasiddhacakra, evidently equipped with sky-faring abilities given her name, has a *garuḍa* face. However, since the pervasion of avian imagery is so high, we would struggle to explain it solely on the basis of its links with this idea. Although the diachronic development of Tantric traditions is notoriously slippery, I therefore cautiously view this element of the Krama as an absorption of an ancient strata of avian imagery, derived from avian *mātrīs/grahas/yoginīs* in earlier sources as well as the possible influence of unknown cults revolving around avian worship.

Having examined the breadth and distinctiveness of therianthropism in the cult of Guhyakālī, we might begin to ask questions about the meaning of this imagery and the function, intended or not, of the cult's active integration of these figures. It is beyond the scope of my current research to reach firm conclusions on this matter but I do wish to highlight a passage in the MKS which might support the quite common idea amongst

¹¹⁹ For an occurrence of this nomenclature in the Krama itself see the deity located in the Northeast in the Śāktasiddhacakra while beyond the Śaiva milieu, we find this in several Buddhist tantric texts, such as the *Vajravārāhīsādhana* of Umāpatideva (Meditation Stage 4, para. 18 (English, 2002)).

¹²⁰ Policardi (2016), p. 141

scholars that, as Policardi phrases it, therianthropism amongst *yoginīs* represents “liminality, wildness and otherness”. This is, in short, the idea that in embodying their animalian forms, these deities are channeling the power and danger associated with what lies beyond the bounds of the civilised world.

Although we can indirectly support this thesis by pointing to the supernatural abilities and antinomian behaviour of deities with therianthropic forms, passages in textual sources that openly express this idea are rare. A passage from the MKS (2.60 -70) that will be discussed is one that comes very close to doing so. This section begins with Mahākāla relating to the Goddess the reason for why the 23-faced theriocephalic form of Guhyakālī disappeared from common worship and was reviled by the Goddess herself. I have cited and translated this passage below:

*śrūyatām devadeveśi tanniṣedhasya kāraṇam/
 adyāpi kenacin naiva rahasyam jñāyate tv idam//
 na yāmalādaḥ kathitam naivedam vāmakeśvare/
 tripuraghnas tu mām prāha rahasyam idam uttamam//
 trayaviṃśatyāsyayā hi guhyakālikayā purā/
 svaśaktibhiḥ samvṛtayā krīḍantyā pitṛkānane//
 dauhitrān gautamasya rṣeḥ jārūthyāṃś trīn munīśvarān/
 pailiṅgam śaralomānam palāśāyanam eva ca//
 saṃścikīrśūn mṛtaṃ tātāṃ samāyātān mahāniśi/
 svecchayopasthitān vīkṣya viprān āpānamattayā//
 bhakṣitāḥ saśavā yadvad dvīpinyā śaśaśāvakāḥ/
 kālacakranṛsimhena devīsannidhivarttinā//*

*tvayā kṛtā brahmahatyā sahāsamukham īritā/
 vimṛśantyā tayā¹²¹ ceṣṭām tataḥ sapitaras trayah//
 te tasya jīvitā viprāḥ sañjātakṛpayā tayā/
 jātānirvedayā proktā cāmuṇḍā bhairavī purah//
 saśavā bhakṣitā viprā yādṛgākārayā mayā/
 na kadāpi bhaviṣyāmi tādṛśākāradhāriṇī// (MKS 2.60-68)*

“Listen, O Goddess, to the cause of the repudiation of this (23-faced form of Guhyakālī). Even now, this secret is not known by anyone. It is not told in the *Yāmalatantras* nor in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. The Destroyer of the Three Cities told me this unexcelled secret. The Goddess with 23 faces who was playing in the Grove of the Forefathers (the cremation ground) surrounded by her own *śaktis* beheld three fleshy Lords of Ascetics - Pailiṅga, Śaralomāna, and Palāsāyana - the grand-children of Gautama Rṣi, who had set out at night desirous of carrying out the funerary rites of their deceased forefather and had approached according to her own wish. She, drunk with liquor, ate them with the corpse (of their forefather) just like a tigress eats rabbit cubs. She was addressed by Kālacakraṇṣimha who was standing nearby with a smile thus, “Brahminicide has been committed by you”. Reflecting upon this behaviour and as one in whom compassion emerged, she brought back to life the three along with their forefather. Cāmuṇḍā Bhairavī (one of her *śaktis*) was (then) addressed by her in whom disgust was born thus, “Henceforth, I shall never again be a bearer of my form by which the Brahmins and the corpse were eaten.”

Here, we see all the elements of wildness converging in a single narrative. The Goddess is roaming the paradigmatic liminal space, the cremation ground in the form of a therianthropic predator drunk on liquor and commits the most unpardonable act, that of Brahminicide.

¹²¹ I have taken the liberty of amending the word *akṣayā* which was the original reading of the edition in v.66b to *tayā* here since the former makes no sense in this context.

Brahminicide is of course a common trope in Śaiva mythology but here the Brahminicide is not a response to the disrespect of Brahmā towards Śiva as is the usual impetus in this Śaiva narrative frame but is done out of the Goddess's animal appetites and therefore undeniably linked to her manifestation as a divine beast. This fact is made all the more clear by the *upamā* which describes her act of predation like a tiger feasting on rabbits. Thus, in a rare instance, we find a conscious and undeniable expression in a text of the link between therianthropism and the wildness it is meant to represent. We should also take note that the form which Śiva takes here to chastise Kālī for her act is also a therianthropic one as the lion-headed Kālacakraṇṣiṃha¹²².

2.4 Inclusivism through Iconography

In my discussion of Guhyakālī's throne of worship prescribed by the PT, MKS and HRT in Ch.1, I have already analysed how the throne with its five *pretas* and 8 Brahminical *dikpatis* is a tool by which the cult of Guhyakālī incorporates and subjugates orthodox Brahminical deities, a process which Goodall coins "aggressive inclusivism"¹²³. In this section, I show how this appropriation of orthodox iconography is carried out through three further methods 1) the appropriation of characteristic markers, such as the appearance and location, of orthodox deities by the Krama's goddesses 2) the incorporation of orthodox deities into the hand implements of the Five Kālīs and 3) the construction of an even more elaborate throne of worship comprised of twenty elements.

¹²² See Sanderson (1988), pp. 685-686 for a description of how pairing Narasiṃha with Kālī was an ancient tradition. Therefore, not only a theriocephalic central deity but also a theriocephalic consort was well-established in the cult of Guhyakālī.

¹²³ Goodall (2011)

2.4.1 The Appropriation of Orthodox Iconographic Markers

We should first remind ourselves of the core visual elements of the orthodox deities colonised by the pantheon of the Krama in the KKA to elucidate this process of appropriation, namely those of the five *pretas* and eight *dikpatis*. We briefly covered the description of the five *pretas* stationed at the base of Guhyakālī's throne (Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sadāśiva, Rudra and Īśvara) in Ch.1. These deities are identified in the KKA as well as other texts by their characteristic weapons (*daṇḍacakraśūlaśaktikhaṭvāṅgadharāṇi*), their *tarjanī* gesture on their left hands pointed in front of their faces (*vāmahastatarjanīmukhāni*) and their colours (yellow, dark, red, grey and white (*pītaśyāmaraktadhūmaśvetavarṇāni*)). Meanwhile, the 8 *dikpatis* or guardian deities are characterised by their distinguishing implements and compass directions, namely Indra (East, thunderbolt), Agni (Southeast, spear), Yama (South, staff), Nirṛti (South-West, sword), Varuṇa (West, noose), Vāyu (North-West, flagstaff), Kubera (North, mace) and Īśāna (North-East, trident).

The appropriation of the *dikpatis* and *pañcapretas* occurs through the application of their characteristic weapon and locations (in the case of the *dikpatis*) to Tantric Śākta deities in various *cakras* of the KKA. Thus, this happens in the following 4 *cakras*:

1. Mūrticakra: The *cakra* has 16 lotus petals with two petals in each cardinal and intermediate direction. The traditional location of the eight *dikpatis* are colonised by pairs of Krama deities who also appropriate implements of the Brahminical deity displaced. For instance, Mahāsukhamūrti and Mahāśīlamūrti occupy the Eastern petals of the *cakra* displacing Indra and possessing his *vajra* as their distinguishing implement. Mahāsūryamūrti and Mahāsomamūrti in the South-East bear Agni's spear while Mahānandamūrti and Prabhāmūrti are in the South with Yama's staff and so on. Interestingly, the central deity, Mahācaṇḍamūrti, although not technically a *dikpati* due to her central location, appropriates elements of Viṣṇu's iconography by having among her four implements, the discus and lotus, two objects invariably held by the Caturbhujaṣṇu.

2. Srṣticakra: The ancillary deities of this *cakra* – the Pañcayonis and their five male consorts – have, in pairs, appropriated the characteristic weapons of the *pañcapretas* and are listed in this *cakra* in the sequence in which the *pretas* usually appear in their visualisation. There is one anomaly in the form of Yoni and Yonisiddha, the first couple, who, if we go by the implements of the four other pairs (discus, trident, spear and skull staff), should correspond to Brahmā but instead of bearing the traditional *daṇḍa*, hold a lotus. This however is explicable as the lotus is closely associated with Brahmā as a hand-held implement and his insignia consistent with his epithet as the lotus-born (*padmabhū*).

3. Prāyaścittacakra: This *cakra* will be discussed in detail in Ch. 4. Nonetheless, we should note its active inclusion of the iconographic elements of the *dikpatis*. Amongst this *cakra*'s many shapes are a set of eight three-layered lotus petals on which one is meant to install the personification of various categories of sacred sites (24 *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas* in total). There are eight *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas* each and the figures in each set have appropriated the locations and characteristic implements of the *dikpatis*. Thus, the layer of lotus petals for the *kṣetras*, for instance, begins with Veśyā, the Goddess of Prayāga occupying Indra's Eastern quarter and bearing his thunderbolt and ends with Koṣatī representing Devīkoṭa occupying Īśāna's Northeast with his trident. The distinguishing feature of each category of sacred site deity is an implement in one of the hands of these four-armed figures which changes according to the category of sacred site. These are the lotus for the *kṣetra* deities, blue lotus for *upakṣetras* and a cluster of gems (*ratnamañjarī*) for the *saṃdohas*.

4. Svatantrasthiticakra: This *cakra* belongs to a section where the KKA prescribes the independent worship of the Five Kālīs (Svatantrakramapañcaka) for those who are unable to venerate them alongside all 16 *cakras*, its schema being elaborated in Ch. 3. In the Svatantrasthiticakra, a core component amongst the many layers of lotus petals, is the 64-petalled layer where the original 24 *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas* of the Prāyaścittacakra

are installed alongside an additional 40 sites grouped into 5 groups of 8 sites. We know that the deities personifying these 40 sites also appropriate the iconography of the orthodox *dikpatīs* as the KKA gives us instructions to visualise these 40 in the same manner as the Prāyaścittacakra's *kṣetra* deities (*kṣetrāṣṭakasvarūpāḥ*). Their distinguishing characteristic is also a novel implement for each of the five groups of eight deities (see Ch. 3 for more details).

To sum up our findings, the cult of Guhyakālī colonises the orthodox iconography of the *dikpatīs* in order to show its transcendence of these figures. However, it does not merely replace orthodox central deities such as Viṣṇu or Śiva while retaining the outer circle of pan-Hindu *dikpatīs* to show its penetration of mainstream Hinduism's *maṇḍalas*. The Krama has in fact gone one step further by transforming the *dikpatīs* themselves. Thus, these *dikpatīs* acquire names relevant to Guhyakālī's cult, take on new accoutrements suitable to the cremation ground setting, such as skulls¹²⁴, and often become female to reflect the Śākta nature of their new milieu. They, however, leave clues in the form of their characteristic implements and locations so that a visually literate audience may still recognise their orthodox counterparts. Through this process, the Tantric Śākta transformation of orthodox iconography becomes complete.

2.4.2 Inclusivism through the Hand Implements of the Five Kālīs.

We have shown how the Krama presents its supremacy over orthodox cults by appropriating conspicuous iconographic features. Now, I shall explore a visual method that is even more apparent, the inclusion of orthodox deities themselves as the main hand implements of some of the Five Kālīs. Out of the five, three Kālīs hold implements suggesting the subservience of the orthodox mainstream; Sṛṣṭikālī holds the sun and the moon,

¹²⁴ Unsurprisingly, macabre implements like the skull are highly pervasive in the Krama. Even so, the sheer level of pervasion is impressive. In my definition of mortuary implements, I include the skull (*kāḍya*), skull cup (*kapāla*), chopped head (*muṇḍa*) and corpse (*śava*). Going by this understanding, only two out of 17 *cakras* examined (the Mūrticakra and Jñānasiddhacakra) do not have all or the majority of their deities holding at least one mortuary object.

Sthitikālī the *vīṇā* (lute) made from Brahmā's bones and Saṃhāarakālī holds Brahmā and Viṣṇu. It is notable that the Śaiva deities amongst the *pañcapretas* – Rudra, Sadāśiva and Īśvara – do not become hand implements, perhaps showing that the indignity of being turned into implements is fit only for the lowest *pretas* and not suitable for the Śaiva cults out of which the Kaula itself emerges.

Secondly, we see the incorporation here of a cult not yet discussed in our work on iconographic inclusivism, that of the *Sauras*. The impact of sun worship on the 12 Kālīs of the Krama is thoroughly examined by Wenta (2021) who shows that this sequence of goddesses emerged out of the cult of the Sun-Goddess (*bhānavīkrama*), linked to the mysterious tradition of the Skeleton of Kālī with the solar context of the Krama eventually experiencing a decline. Here, we seem to have a direct acknowledgement of this influence in the form of the sun and the moon appearing as the principle implements of Sṛṣṭikālī. This is bolstered by many more subtle allusions to the *Saura* cult pervading the *cakras* of the Krama, especially in the nomenclature of deities and the imagery surrounding them through repeated metaphors related to the *tryagni* (the Sun, the Moon and the Fire)¹²⁵. The elucidation of this trend would require a study in its own right but particularly evident examples are found in the Mūrticakra where the names of all deities bar four are derived from solar/astrological phenomena and the naming of the circle of 7 ancillary deities of the Bhāsācakra “*raśmis*” (rays), the number seven being symbolic of seven tongues (*saptajihvā*) of the traditional Hindu sacrificial fire.

The hand implement I now wish to focus on closely though is the *vīṇā* of Sthitikālī, which is made out of Brahmā's bones. The presence of the *vīṇā* alongside its material immediately links Sthitikālī to Sarasvatī, a goddess rarely seen without her lute seated in

¹²⁵ This imagery pervades the KKA but is particularly prevalent in the Verse of Obeisance, the symbolic codes for the formulation of *maṇḍalas* in the Maṇḍaloddhāraṇī and the Svatantrakramapañcaka, Arghapātravidhi and Tattvopadeśavidhi as well as the hymn chanted during Śivarātri known as the *Kālīsūtra* discussed in Ch.4.

the *lalitāsana/rājalīlāsana*, the pose also adopted by Sthitikālī. What we see here is a prototypical Vedic goddess transformed through a Krama visual idiom. In a shocking inversion of orthodox norms whereby Sarasvatī is subservient to Brahmā as his consort or daughter depending on the mythical tradition, she now assumes primacy and turns her husband/father's bones into her lute. In orthodox iconography, she is associated with purity and auspiciousness reflected in her beautiful bodily appearance and glowing mien¹²⁶. The Krama now inverts this image, turning her into a disfigured goddess marked by the deformity of a hunch-back, a pot belly and her black appearance. The other iconographic markers of Sarasvatī who typically holds the book, lute, rosary and water pot in her four hands are also represented in the retinue of Sthitikālī, many of whom hold the book and rosary as their distinctive implement. However, they too are a foil to Sarasvatī's auspiciousness, also taking the form of hunchbacks. Thus, the appearance of Sthitikālī actively transgresses orthodox imagery while also retaining its visual markers, thereby showing the rich visual imagination of the Krama and its ability to transform exoteric deities into antinomian ones.

2.4.3 The Expanded Throne of Worship of the KKA

The iconographic inclusivism discussed above is also seen just as clearly through the composition of Guhyakālī's throne, especially the throne of worship found in the Svatantrakramapañcaka section, which is an elaborate version of Guhyakālī's basic throne found elsewhere. The five tiers in the basic version now expand into twenty seats (*viṃśatyāsanāni*) as follows: 1) *ādhāraśakti* 2) *kālāgnirudra* 3) *kuṣmāṇḍa* 4) *hāṭaka* 5) *madirārṇava* 6) *kanda* (lotus bulb) 7) *nāla* (stalk) 8) *granthi* (reed joint) 9) *patra* (leaf) 10) *karṇikā* (pericarp) 11) *kesara* (filament) 12) *bīja* (seed) 13) *pañcayoni* 14) *indrādipretāsana* 15) Brahmā 16) Viṣṇu 17) Rudra 18) Īśvara 19) Sadāśiva 20) Phetkārabhairava.

¹²⁶ For a brief outline of her orthodox appearance, see Kinsley (1986), p. 61 - 62

This throne presents itself as an all-encompassing vision of the cosmos which Guhyakālī rules over by interweaving macrocosmic spheres and phenomena (tiers 1 – 5), the anatomy of the lotus which is Kālī’s traditional seat (tiers 6 – 12) and her subservient deities (tiers 13 – 20). The inclusivism is highly apparent since the throne embeds orthodox deities in a Śaiva universe by bookending these deities with unmistakably Śaiva elements. Thus, below the anatomy of the lotus and the orthodox deities, we find phenomena related to traditional Śaiva cosmology. First, there is the *ādhāraśakti*, the supporting power often invoked at the base of Śiva’s throne in the Siddhānta, conceived of as the seed of the impure worlds and deposited on the cosmic tortoise (*kūrmaśilā*) which bears the load of the universe according to Purāṇic conceptions of cosmology¹²⁷. In the same segment of the throne and above the *ādhāraśakti*, we also find the three Rudras (*kālāgnirudra*, *kuṣmāṇḍa*, *hāṭaka*) associated with the lowest realms amongst the 108 *bhuvanas*.

Although the number, composition and names of these *bhuvanas* vary highly from text to text, we can use the *Mrgendrāgama*’s section on the *bhuvanādhvan* which has a detailed description of these figures as an example of the hierarchy implied by the KKA’s throne. Reflecting the order of our throne, the bottommost Rudra in the *Mrgendrāgama* is Kālāgni (equivalent to tier 2 in our throne) who blazes with ten million rays which shoot upward to consume the universe at the time of its dissolution upon the instigation of Śiva¹²⁸. Above Kālāgni’s golden mansion are found the 32 hells which are ruled over by Kuṣmāṇḍa Rudra (tier 3 in the KKA) who is of terrifying appearance with protruding eyes¹²⁹. Intervening between the hells and the *pṛthvīloka* (the earth) are the seven subterranean *pātālalokas* ruled by the next Rudra (tier 4) in our throne, Hāṭaka¹³⁰. In the *Mrgendrāgama*, after the

¹²⁷ See the entry for *ādhāraśakti* and *kūrmaśilā* in TAK, Vols. I and II respectively as well as SP, Vol. I, 3.47 and Brunner’s notes on this verse.

¹²⁸ *Mrgendrāgama* 13.9 – 12 and see also the entry for *kālāgnirudra* in TAK, Vol. II.

¹²⁹ *Mrgendrāgama* 13.22cd – 24

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.32 – 34

elaboration of these Rudra realms, comes a description of the seven islands and oceans of the *prthvīloka*, which in our throne is represented by tier 5 – the *madirārṇava*. The conception of the earth surrounded by seven oceans made of seven types of liquids is common to most Pūrāṇic accounts. However, we can argue that a Tantric Śaiva slant is added to this idea since the KKA describes the ocean as made out of the most transgressive liquid – liquor (*madirā*) – out of the seven traditional liquids that form this layer of the cosmos¹³¹. Concluding this Śaiva domination of the orthodox universe is Phetkārabhairava lying above the *pañcapretas* who, if we recall from our discussion of their *mantras* in Ch.1, may also be said to represent cosmic levels as the five *kalās*. It can be argued that this throne is more distinctly hierarchical than the five-tiered version as it does not place the *pañcapretas* together in a single tier but layers them one on top of the other so that there is no ambiguity that the exoteric Śaiva deities, Sadāśiva, Rudra and Īśvara, surpass the Brahminical Brahmā and Viṣṇu and are themselves transcended by the esoteric Phetkārabhairava.

We should state that there is some ambiguity concerning the identity of tier 13, which I adopt as *pañcayoni*, due to the variants found in the two manuscript branches. The Stemma of KKA 1 reads *pañcayoginī* while KKA 2 reads *pañcayoni*. I have cautiously selected the latter reading as no explicit grouping of deities known as the *pañcayoginī* are elsewhere recorded in the KKA's pantheon while the *pañcayoni* do exist as the ancillary deities of the Sṛṣṭicakra. A problem does arise, however, in preferencing *pañcayoni* as it begs the question of why these deities who appear close to the centre of the entire sequence of Guhyakālī's worship should be beneath even the *dikpatis*, here called the *indrādikālāsana*. Nonetheless,

¹³¹ The seven types of liquids vary according to sources but many Pūrāṇic accounts contain liquor/wine as one of the liquids. For a comparison of these liquids amongst Pūrāṇas, see Sandahl (2012), p. 153. As for the *Mrgendrāgama*, its list also includes a *madyārṇava* while the six other liquids are *kṣāra* (salt water), *kṣīra* (milk), *dadhi* (curds), *sneha* (grease), *rasa* (juice), and *amṛta* (ambrosia) found in 13.98. It should be noted that a number of deities have the ocean of liquor as their abode including Mātāṅgī and Nityā as per Bühnemann (2016), Vol. I, pp. 139 - 140 and Vol. II, pp. 209 - 210.

no matter how we choose to interpret this tier, we can confidently say that it represents the inclusion of a *Śākta* element into the throne which was previously missing in its basic version.

To conclude, we might say that the 20-tiered throne goes beyond a traditional throne of worship due to its remarkable complexity and more closely resembles a vertical *maṇḍala* in its own right which is then embedded into the horizontal *maṇḍala* that is one of the *cakras* of the Svatantrakramapañcaka. Indeed, Törzsök (2003, p. 196 and pp. 222-224) has a useful discussion on the function of the vertical *maṇḍala*, which is a rare occurrence in wider Hindu iconography but is often represented in Tantric Śākta cults. Due to their verticality, such *maṇḍalas* are more apt at expressing the vision of theological hierarchy of a particular cult, the very function which I interpret our throne of worship to display.

2.5 Conclusion

After undertaking a survey of the overall iconography of the Krama and documenting its trends, we may offer a brief conclusion. Arguably, the strongest thread we find throughout the diverse iconography of this cult is the vigorous dynamism with which it engages with imagery. In a sense, all Hindu cults are dynamic and can recycle old symbols to new ends while introducing novel visual forms. However, we see the Krama stretching the limits of this visual dynamism, whether in its extreme therianthropism, seemingly unmatched by other cults or in the many creative ways it simultaneously appropriates and subjugates the pre-existing visual vocabulary of orthodoxy, using thrones of worship, hand implements or the displacement of orthodox guardians to establish its ascendancy. The daring of the Krama's imagery is such that it seeks to expand and elaborate the already complex ten-faced Kālī, articulating the identities of each face up to the 100-faced form and composing complicated formulae to calculate her arms. It can be argued that the Krama, as a self-consciously antinomian cult located on the far left of householder Tantrism, had the license to disturb orthodox canons of visual representation as it more evidently does with orthodox rituals and ideas of purity.

As a result, we find a cult with a truly uninhibited imagination, showing us the exciting possibilities of Hindu visual culture beyond the norms of mainstream representation.

2.6 Tables for the Iconography of the Deities of the 16 Nityapūjācakras

A. Gaṇādicatuṣkacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Mahākramagaṇapati	South ¹³²	1. axe ¹³³	1. wish-granting	Not specified	Black ¹³⁵
2. Mahākramagaṇapativallabhā	West	2. spear	gesture		Black
3. Mahākramavaṭuka	North	3. sweet	2. fearlessness		Yellow
4. Kramavaṭukavallabhā	East	4. skull (<i>kāḍya</i>)	gesture 3. rosary ¹³⁴ 4. staff (<i>daṇḍa</i>)		Yellow

1. Pīṭhaniketanacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Uḍḍiyānapīṭha	Centre	1. wish-granting	1. skull-cup	Not specified	Yellow
2. Śrīmaṅgalādevī	East	gesture	2. trident		
3. Karavīraśmaśāna	South	2. fearlessness			
4. Saṃhārabalotkaṭa-kṣetrapāla	North	gesture			
5. Kālikāstra ¹³⁶	West	42 hands holding variety of weapons with the <i>tarjanī</i> gesture and thunderbolt specified		Eleven faces adorned with crown of weapons	Black

¹³² The description of the orientation of the guardians is slightly cryptic. I assume that they are oriented around a vessel (*arghapātra*) since the term *arghāgre dakṣiṇe* is used to situate Mahākramagaṇapati. The *taduttare* describing Gaṇapativallabhā should be interpreted in the sense of “immediately succeeding/after that (Gaṇapati)” rather than in its literal sense of to the North so that we can locate her in the West and thus enable each of the guardians to occupy a cardinal position. This assumption is backed by the description of the two latter guardians (Vaṭuka and his consort) being at *arghottare* and *pūrve*, thus completing the four directions.

¹³³ When hand implements are given without specifying whether they belong to the left or right hand, I assume that the first set belongs to the left and the second to the right because in the visualisations where the difference between the left and right hand is specified, most often the left-hand implements are listed first. There are exceptions to this rule, however, which leaves room for ambiguity.

¹³⁴ In the KKA, this implement is described as *jāpya*, which I take as an abbreviation for *jāpa/jāpyamālā* (rosary), a common attribute of Gaṇeśa. For instance, see Rao (1914) pp. 51 – 63 for an overview of different forms of Gaṇapati and their implements, including the *jāpamālā* or Bühnemann (2016), pp. 31 – 34 for Tantric forms of Gaṇeśa.

¹³⁵ We are only given two colours for the four guardians (*kr̥ṣṇapīṭavarṇāṇ*). This is the case in most other *cakras* of the KKA where the number of deities exceeds the number of colours listed. This may lead us to two conclusions concerning the deities’ colour 1) the deities are each multi-coloured and the colours listed belong to different parts of each and every deity in the *cakra* or 2) many deities in the *cakra* share the same colour and sets of deities are grouped under one colour. I adopt the latter since the number of colours listed in these *cakras* is always a divisor of the number of deities, allowing deities to fit neatly into sets of colours. Moreover, when a multi-coloured deity is described, this fact is often made clear (see, for instance, the multi-coloured faces of deities of the Sṛṣṭikālikācakra)

¹³⁶ The personified weapon (*āyudhapuruṣa*) of Kālī is also described as flaming (*jvalantaṃ*) and having an *ūrdhvaliṅga* (erect penis), a common feature of wrathful Tantric deities, Buddhist and Hindu. This *āyudhapuruṣa* however is distinct from the archetypical *āyudhapuruṣa* as he has 42 hands against the conventional two hands (see Rao (1914), p. 288 for conventions of *āyudhapuruṣas*). Moreover, these figures are usually depicted representing one eponymous weapon, which is placed in their hands or on their heads. In the case of the Kālikāstra, the weapons seem to be multiple as per the description of the hand implements. Also notable is how he is both holding them in his hands and is crowned by them (*purvoktāstramaulināṃ*), rendering him an intensified version of the archetype.

2. Pañcavāhacakra

Name of Deity	Location	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Vyomavāmeśvarī	Centre	1. sword	1. skull	Human	White
2. Khecarī	East	2. chopping knife (<i>karṭṛ</i>)	2. lance (<i>śūla</i>)	Bengal Kite	Smoky
3. Dikcarī	South			Boar	Red
4. Gocarī	North			Cow	Dark
5. Bhūcarī	West			Snake	Yellow

3. Mūrticakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L ¹³⁷	R		
1. Mahāsukhamūrti	East	1. thunderbolt 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	Not specified	Yellow
2. Mahāśīlamūrti	East	1. thunderbolt 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Yellow
3. Mahāsūryamūrti	South-East	1. spear 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Red
4. Mahāsomamūrti	South-East	1. spear 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Red
5. Mahānandamūrti	South	1. staff 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Dark Blue (<i>nīla</i>)
6. Mahāprabhāmūrti	South	1. staff 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Dark Blue
7. Mahānabhāmūrti	South-West	1. sword 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Black
8. Mahākṣīramūrti	South-West	1. sword 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Black
9. Mahārcciṣāmūrti	West	1. noose 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Dark
10. Mahāketumūrti	West	1. noose 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Dark
11. Mahākuliśapraharaṇamūrti	North-West	1. flagstaff 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Smoky

¹³⁷ The total number of hand implements given for the first set of hands, which I assume to be the left hands, is nine while for the second set (right hand), it is two. Since in other aspects of the visualisation, including their location in the *cakra* and colour, the 16 deities are split into pairs, I deduce that for the left hands of the goddesses, pairs of deities each share one of eight implements with the *tarjanī* gesture being common to them all, leading to two left hands and two right hands for each goddess. This is consolidated by how each goddess's characteristic implement in their left hand corresponds to the insignia of the *dikpati* of their direction, a feature discussed in my analysis.

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L ¹³⁶	R		
12. Mahāpāṇḍuramūrti	North-West	1. flagstaff 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	Not specified	Smoky
13. Mahātāpakīmūrti	North	1. mace 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Bright ¹³⁸
14. Mahārāsapīmūrti ¹³⁹	North	1. mace 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			Bright
15. Mahārākṣamūrti	North-East	1. lance 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			White
16. Mahāsahasramūrti	North-East	1. lance 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture			White
17. Mahācaṇḍamūrti	Centre	1. discus 2. lotus			Pinkish ¹⁴⁰

4. Prakāśacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Hamsamati	East	1. blue lotus 2. lotus	1 skull cup 2. fearlessness gesture	Not specified	Pale
2. Vimalamati	East				Pale
3. Viṣṇumati	South-East				Pale
4. Siṃhamati	South				Pale
5. Khaṇḍamati	South				Red
6. Vīracakramati	South-West				Red
7. Ahīramati	West				Red
8. Kṣatakharamati	West				Red
9. Vicitramati	North - West				Yellow
10. Vīrasīṃhamati	North				Yellow
11. Bhairavasīṃhamati	North				Yellow
12. Jñānamati	North-East				Yellow
13. Caṇḍaraśmimati ¹⁴¹	Centre				Not specified

¹³⁸ The term used here is *gaura* which could be translated as white in the same way as *śveta* for the succeeding pair of deities. I am not certain of the author's intention in employing different terms but I have translated *gaura* as "bright" to note this distinction.

¹³⁹ Often, we find names of ancillary deities of the Krama without meaning or cultic precedence. When all MSS attest these names or they are attested by KKA 2 and backed by both the MPP and GNP as explained in my editorial principles, I do not emend them to try to make them more meaningful.

¹⁴⁰ The term used is *saindhava* which usually denotes the pinkish hue of Himalayan salt.

¹⁴¹ The implements of the central deity are not given. When this is the case, I assume that they are the same as those of the ancillary deities.

5. Ānandacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Koṅkaṇāmbā	East	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	1. skull 2. rosary	Not specified	White
2. Idāmarīcī	East				White
3. Sarvagā	South-East				White
4. Divyagā	South-East				White
5. Mīnā	South				Red
6. Amṛtā	South				Red
7. Caṇḍinī ¹⁴²	South-West				Red
8. Vidyā	South-West				Red
9. Bhumijā	West				Yellow
10. Antarīkṣajā	West				Yellow
11. Tejā	North-West				Yellow
12. Siddhayogeśvarī	North-West				Yellow
13. Ḍamā ¹⁴³	North				Dark
14. Bhaṭṭinī	North				Dark
15. Āśigaganā	North-East				Dark
16. Lambastanī	North-East				Dark
17. Caṇḍinī	Centre				Dark Blue

6. Jñānasiddhacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Maṅgalā	East	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	1. thunderbolt 2. <i>tarjanī</i> gesture	Not specified	Yellow
2. Śaundikī	East				
3. Jyeṣṭhā	South-East				
4. Kandukī	South-East				
5. Paṭṭakī	South				
6. Kūrmī	South				
7. Dhamanī	South-West				
8. Gandhakālī	South-West				
9. Mātāṅgī	West				
10. Campakā	West				
11. Kaivartanī	North-West				Red
12. Mattakāminī	North-West				
13. Śubhyakī	North				
14. Bhakṣakī	North				
15. Nabhakṣaki ¹⁴⁴	North-East				
16. Śrotikā	North-East				
17. Rūpikā	Centre				Dark Blue

¹⁴² This name is a repetition of the central deity's name but since all MSS report it, I have refrained from emending.

¹⁴³ This curious name is recorded by all KKA MSS and by the MPP (MPP 2, Exposure 1, l.1)

¹⁴⁴ I have kept this irregular name since it appears in all KKA MSS as well as the MPP (MPP 2, Exposure 1, l.6) and the GNP (f. 9v1).

7. Antaḥsiddhacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Daṃṣṭrinī	East	1. sword 2. chopped head	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	tiger	White
2. Dhūmrā				cat	
3. Jvālinī				bear	
4. Gandhārī	dog				
5. Gaganeśvarī	parrot				
6. Māyā	heron (<i>baka</i>)				
7. Mahāmāyā	rabbit				
8. Nityā	lizard			Red	
9. Śāntā	peacock				
10. Viccā	donkey				
11. Kāmanandinī	wagtail bird (<i>khañjarīṭa</i>)				
12. Umānandinī	elephant				
13. Śrīyānandinī	lion				
14. Subhagānandinī	frog				
15. Mahālakṣmī	monkey				
16. Idāmarīcī	mouse				Yellow
17. Sarvagā	snake				
18. Vidyā	goat				
19. Mīnajā	fish				
20. Amṛtā	water-hen (<i>tiṭṭibha</i>)				
21. Caṇḍinī	demon (<i>rākṣasa</i>)				
22. Antarikṣajā	human				
23. Siddhayoginī	bhairava				
24. Vidyādhārī	<i>kinnara</i>			Dark Blue	
25. Mahācaṇḍinī	hen (<i>kukkuṭa</i>)				

8. Melāpacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour	
		L	R			
1. Māruṭī	East	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	1. chopped head 2. chopping knife	cow-eared ¹⁴⁵ (human)	White	
2. Śārvarī						
3. Ulkā mukhī	South-East					
4. Trailokyamukhī	South					
5. Bhīmamukhī	South-West			elephant-eared (human)	Red	
6. Rākṣasamukhī						
7. Madanamukhī						West
8. Caṇḍamukhī						

¹⁴⁵ The two compounds in which the description of the faces appears are *gogajāśvakaṇṇā manuṣyānanā*. Although there is ambiguity concerning its meaning, I interpret it as indicating that all deities are human-faced with their distinguishing feature being their different animalian ears. I follow this interpretation since we would expect three distinct categories of faces to correspond to the three groups of colours and though possession of animal ears with human faces might seem bizarre, this phenomenon does occur in *yoginī* iconography as Hatley (2014, p. 207) attests with the case of Gajakaṇṇa in the *Brahmayāmala* tantra or even with figures in Purāṇic literature such as Gokaṇṇa in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, the namesake of the celebrated pilgrimage site.

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
9. Anaṅgamukhī	North -West	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	1. chopped head 2. chopping knife	horse-eared (human)	Dark
10. Vidyādhārī	North				
11. Manabhī					
12. Namanī	North-East				
13. Caṇḍinī	Centre				

9. Śāktasiddhacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Durmanī	East	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	1. elephant goad 2. skull cup	unspecified	Red
2. Sundarī	South-East				
3. Viśvalakṣī	South				
4. Karālā	South-West				
5. Cipiṭā	West				
6. Bhīmā	North-West				
7. Vikarālī	North				
8. Khagānanā	North-East				
9. Caṇḍinī	Central				Dark Blue

10. Śāmbhavasiddhacakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Śṛgālī	East	1. skull staff 2. trident	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	Jackal	Yellow
2. Vajrapūtanā	South			Carcikā ¹⁴⁷	Dark Blue
3. Śārvarī	West			Owl	White
4. Vyomakā	North			Garuḍa	Red
5. Caṇḍinī	Centre			Human	Dark Blue

¹⁴⁶ If the identity of the central face is left unspecified, I assume that it is a human face since the human face is the most conventional choice and demands no additional comments from the author. When the central face is something other than human then it is remarked upon as seen with the central hen-faced deity of the Antaḥsiddhacakra.

¹⁴⁷ This is the name of a deity often associated with Durgā who takes on different roles depending on the cult. For instance, in Durgāpūja, she is sometimes understood as one of the 64 *māṭṛkās* while in the *Manthānabhairavatantra*, she is the goddess associated with *Oṃkārapīṭha*.

11. Parāṇavasiddhacakra¹⁴⁸

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Maṅgalā	Centre	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	1. skull 2. blue lotus	Not specified	Red
2. Mahāśivānanda					
3. Jñānadīpti	East				White
4. Ānandadīpti					
5. Raktānandadīpti	South-East				
6. Vicitrānandadīpti	South				
7. Sahajānandadīpti					
8. Yogānandadīpti	South-West				
9. Jvālānandadīpti	West				
10. Samayānandadīpti					
11. Nityānandadīpti	North-West				
12. Vimalānandadīpti	North				
13. Ghūrṇānandadīpti					
14. Umānandadīpti	North-East				
15. Svavimarṣānandadīpti	Front of Centre				

12. Sṛṣṭikālīcakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Yoni	North-East	1. wish-granting gesture 2.fearlessness gesture	1. skull 2. lotus ¹⁴⁹	4 faces as follows: Red (Left) Yellow (Right) Black (Upper) White (Central)	Colour of body not stated
2. Yonisiddha					
3. Mahāyoni	East		1. skull 2. discus		
4. Mahāyonisiddha					
5. Śaṅkhaṇḍi	South		1. skull 2. trident		
6. Śaṅkhaṇḍisiddha					
7. Divyayoni	West		1. skull 2. spear		
8. Divyayonisiddha					
9. Padmayoni	North		1. skull 2. skull staff		
10. Padmayonisiddha					
11. Sṛṣṭikālī	Centre	See section on iconography of Five Kālīs			

13. Sthitikālīcakra

¹⁴⁸ It is to be noted that the manuscripts of the KKA record two varying arrangements of presenting the Parāṇavasiddhacakra. KKA 2 and 150-3 list the goddess Maṅgalā as situated on the Southeastern petal and two male deities at the centre of the *cakra*, namely the first deity in the list, Mahāśivānanda and the last, Svavimarṣānanda. Meanwhile, KKA 1 and 150-1 present Maṅgalā in the centre with Mahāśivānanda as a pair and the last deity in the list, known in Stemma B as Vinayānanda, at the front of centre (*madhyāgre*). This is one of the few occasions in which I have adopted KKA 1's orientation over KKA 2's when the schema of their *cakras* conflict. The reason for this is the explanation of the deities' colour at the end of the section in all MSS which reads *devyau raktavarṇe parikrameṇa devyoh siddhāḥ śvetavarṇāḥ*. From the feminine dual, we would expect at least one female deity in the *cakra*'s centre who is surrounded (*parikrameṇa*) by the (male) *siddhas*, an arrangement found in KKA 1 but not KKA 2. Further backing comes from the notion that Maṅgalā as the Krama's lineage progenitor should be in the centre as well as the GNP, which adopts the same spatial arrangement as KKA 1 with the exception of stating the last deity's location as *madhye* rather than *madhyāgre*.

¹⁴⁹ A deduction must be made in order to understand the ascription of implements to deities. The description of implements we are given is two compounds split into three and five implements. We are also told that the deities are four-armed. I have therefore assumed that the first three implements are common to each pair while the remaining five are distinct to each. This would add up to four implements per deity corresponding to the number of arms.

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour		
		L	R				
1. Khagendra	East	skull	blue lotus	Not specified	Red		
2. Bījā		lotus	book		Redish White ¹⁵⁰		
3. Kūrma	South	skull	blue lotus		Black		
4. Maṅgalā		lotus	book		Redish White		
5. Meṣa	North	skull	blue lotus		Pale		
6. Kāmamaṅgalā		lotus	book		Redish White		
7. Mīna	West	skull	blue lotus		White (śveta)		
8. Koṅkanā		lotus	book		Redish White		
9. Bhaṭṭa	North-East	wish-granting gesture	fearlessness gesture		Yellow		
10. Mahendra					Dark		
11. Valkala	North-West				Red		
12. Ahindra					Smoky		
13. Gajendra	South-West				White (śukla)		
14. Mahīdhara					Dark Blue		
15. Amara	South-East				book	rosary	Dark Blue
16. Varadeva							White (śukla)
17. Vicitra							Smoky
18. Ali	South-West	Red					
19. Cintya	North-West	Dark					
20. Guḍika	North-East	Yellow					
21. Sthitikālī	Centre	See section on Five Kālīs					

14. Saṃhāarakālīcakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Mahābhakṣabhakṣaṇī	Not specified ¹⁵¹	1. bow with arrows 2. sword	1. corpse 2. lance	Not specified	Dark Blue ¹⁵²
2. Mahāsaṃhāriṇī					
3. Mahārakteśvarī					
4. Mahākṛtāntanāśanī					
5. Mahāyamabhakṣaṇī					

¹⁵⁰ Here, the four female consorts are described as *raktaḡaurāḥ* which could be interpreted in two ways 1) the consorts are split into two groups, two red and two white or 2) taken as a single colour meaning reddish white. I have tentatively followed the latter interpretation.

¹⁵¹ We are not given the locations for the ten deities of the Saṃhāarakālīcakra. However, if we follow the schema of the Sṛṣṭikālīcakra which also has ten ancillary deities then four pairs of deities would be located in each of the cardinal directions and one pair would be in the Northeast.

¹⁵² Although the deities are all dark blue (*nīla*), the lotus is described as multi-hued (*pītaraktaḡaurāśyāmanakaśyāmaraktarakṣaṇadhūmaśvetasaindhavavarṇadaśapatre sthitāḥ*). The colours of the lotus petals which serve as the deities' seat exceed ten so we have to pair some of them into compounds specifying the particular shade of that colour.

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
6. Mahākālarātrīkālasaṃhārīṇī					
7. Mahācaṇḍacaṇḍeśvarī					
8. Mahāvīravīreśvarī					
9. Mahākālāgnirudrasaṃhārīṇī					
10. Mahābhairavasamhārīṇī					
11. Saṃhārakālī	Centre	See section on Five Kālīs			

15. Anākhyakālīcakra¹⁵³

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
1. Mahāsṛṣṭikālī	North	1. wish-granting gesture 2.trident	1. lotus 2. skull	Not specified	dark like a blue lotus ¹⁵⁴
2. Mahāsthitikālī	North-East				
3. Mahāsaṃhārakālī					
4. Mahāraktakālī	West				
5. Mahāsukālikālī	South-West				
6. Mahāyamakālī					
7. Mahāmṛtyukālī	South				
8. Mahābhadrakālī	South-East				
9. Mahāparamārkakālī					
10. Mahāmārtanḍakālī	East				
11. Mahākālāgnirudrakālī	North-East				
12. Mahākālākālī					
13. Mahāghoraṇḍabhairavi-kālagrasanakālī ¹⁵⁵	Centre	See section on Five Kālīs			

16. Bhāsākālīcakra

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
12 Kālīs Located at Lotus Seeds					
1. Mahāmantrakālī	On the seeds but compass direction unspecified ¹⁵⁶	1. wish-granting gesture 2. trident	1. fearlessness gesture 2. skull	Not specified	Red
2. Mahāhaṃsakālī					
3. Mahākramakālī					
4. Mahājñānakālī					
5. Mahāḍāmarakālī					Yellow
6. Mahācakrakālī					
7. Mahāuṃkarakālī					
8. Mahāgaganakālī					
9. Mahāikabhāsākālī					
10. Mahāśabdakālī					

¹⁵³ For this *cakra*, the KKA furnishes us with rich peripheral details concerning not only the central deity but also the ancillary deities. We are told that the 12 Kālīs have the form of rays of light, are adorned with a garland of seven dried skulls and have the half-moon crest as their headpiece with a *nāga* as the head-band which ties their tawny, flying locks. They are decorated with anklets, *vīra* drums and a net of tinkling bells. Three-eyed, they are seated upon a white corpse.

¹⁵⁴ The colour of the lotus petals which house the deities is said to be red by the KKA.

¹⁵⁵ There is considerable variation in the name of the 13th Kālī (see relevant section in KKA Edition).

¹⁵⁶ Although the exact compass locations are unspecified, in line with other *cakras* with 12 figures, we can assume that there are two deities per cardinal direction and one per intermediate direction, adding up to 12 or vice-versa.

Name of Deity	Location in Cakra	Hand Implements		Number/Identity of Faces	Colour
		L	R		
11. Mahāvarakālī	On the seeds but compass direction unspecified ¹⁵⁵	1. wish-granting gesture 2. trident	1. fearlessness gesture 2. skull	Not specified	White
12. Mahārddhikālī					
8 Kālīs Located in the Pericarp					
1. Mahābhāsākālī	North ¹⁵⁷	1. wish-granting gesture 2. fearlessness gesture	1. lance 2. lotus	Not specified	White
2. Mahābhāsāhaṃsakālī	North-West				
3. Mahābhāsācaṇḍakālī	West				
4. Mahābhāsādāmarakālī	South-West				
5. Mahābhāsāyogakālī	South				
6. Mahābhāsāgaganakālī	South-East				
7. Mahābhāsāsvarakālī	East				
8. Mahābhāsārksakālī	North-East				
7 Raśmicakra (location in lotus not given ¹⁵⁸)					
1. Sūryakālī (caṇḍaraśmi ¹⁵⁹)	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified	Not specified
2. Candrakālī (saumyaraśmi)					
3. Agnikālī (varṇaraśmi)					
4. Vāyukālī (nirgamaraśmi)					
5. Vyomakālī (vyāpakaraśmi)					
6. Manaḥkālī (amogharaśmi)					
7. Sarvakālī (sarvaraśmi)					

¹⁵⁷ The directions are not explicitly given but we are told to begin in the North of the pericarp and move anti-clockwise when visualising (*kesarasthāne uttarād vāmāvartena*). From this instruction, we can ascertain the locations of the other Kālīs.

¹⁵⁸ The location of the Raśmicakra has not been given. We can assume that these deities occupy the petals of the lotus since the petals are the *maṇḍala*'s most conspicuous part and their inhabitants have not been listed in the description of the Bhāsākālīcakra.

¹⁵⁹ The formula for the deities of the *Raśmicakra* is to give the *mantra* followed by the name of the Kālī and the type of rays of light by which they are surrounded. I have therefore also provided the names of these rays.

Chapter 3

Ascertaining the Structure of the Krama's Multi-layered *Cakras*

I have dedicated this chapter to deciphering two sets of highly complex *cakras* from the Guhyakālī tradition. They warrant their own chapter as the process of ascertaining their component parts and their arrangement requires careful unpacking as well as supporting evidence from other texts and artworks. Once their final composition is delineated, we may also detect strata and trends in the Guhyakālī cult which earlier went unnoticed. The first *yantra* tackled here is the cornerstone *yantra* for housing the central Guhyakālī in the PT, MKS and HRT. I refrained from discussing this *yantra* in our chapter on the iconography of the central goddess (Ch.1) which mainly concerns these three texts since the reader must first have a thorough grasp of the Krama's ancillary deities (Ch.2) for an understanding of this *yantra*'s arrangement and anomalies. In the course of reading this section, the reader should refer closely to the tables of ancillary deities found in Ch.2. The second group analysed will be a set of 5 *yantras* found in the KKA known as Svatantrakālīkākramapañcaka (a 'free-standing pentad of Kālīkās'). Out of all the Guhyakālī material examined by me, they appear only in the KKA. Their function is the worship of each of the five Kālīs independently without ancillary *cakras*.

3.1 The Central Guhyakālīyantra of the PT and MKS

The reason for selecting this *yantra* for discussion is its centrality to the worship of Guhyakālī, at least reflected in later medieval texts and works of art. The significance of this *yantra* is shown by how it is the most commonly depicted Guhyakālīyantra in visual sources, three of which are given here for comparison with our textual accounts. It is also described as the "King of Yantras" by the MKS which gives a total of 24 *yantras* for the

worship of Guhyakālī, each purportedly corresponding to a *mantra*. Its primacy in the PT is beyond doubt as it is the only *yantra* described. In a similar vein, the HRT dedicates an entire chapter to its *cakroddhāra* known as the *Guhyakālīpūjāpaṭala* (ff. 28v2 – 37r6) as already explained in Ch.1 of my thesis¹⁶⁰. Although this *yantra* has been published in secondary literature, including an attempt to render it by Kishore Nath Jha in his edition of the MKS (fig. 4), there has been no scholarship so far identifying the inhabitants of its geometric shapes or its symbolism since the published texts, such as the PT and MKS, only provide the bare bones of the *yantra* without assigning specific deities to shapes. This lacunae is surprising given its ubiquity¹⁶¹. We are, however, now in a position to bridge this gap thanks to the availability of unpublished material, namely the HRT and the *Uttarāmnāyapavitrārōhaṇavidhi* (UPV) (ff. 18r5 – 21r1), which gives us detailed instructions on the installation of deities in this diagram. Both sources are arguably required in this task since the instructions in each text are corrupt, containing misspelt names and repetitions. Only by comparing the schema of the two sources can we come to an approximation of the entire *cakra*'s arrangement alongside an analysis of concordance with the traditional list of ancillary Krama deities found in the KKA, all of which is recorded in the table at the end of this section. However, on account of the problematic text of these sources, what is given here is more a rough sketch of the *yantra*'s residents rather than an exact list.

Furthermore, thanks to the greater availability of images of Newar artworks, we can now better understand how artists conceptualised the often oblique *cakroddhāra* instructions found in the PT and MKS. After providing my translation of the general

¹⁶⁰ In Ch.1, I called this passage of the Tantra HRT 2 for disambiguation but since only one passage of the HRT is referred to here, I will simply call it HRT.

¹⁶¹ Khanna (1994) deals mainly with the exoteric Dakṣiṇakālīyantra but publishes an image of this Guhyakālīyantra on p. 151 stating, “Guhyā-Kālī Yantra, used for meditation: the power-diagram of one of the nine esoteric aspects of Kālī with auspicious symbols. Nepal c 1761. Gouache on paper.” She does not expand further on its significance. The image she publishes is fig. 2 in this chapter.

instructions for the *cakroddhāra* found in the PT and MKS, I will first examine the structure of the *yantra* and use our visual and manuscript sources to tackle problematic aspects then go on to investigate its inhabitants. Throughout my description, I also hope to show that the HRT and UPV seem to draw upon a common tradition of ancillary Krama deities which is somewhat divergent from the classical list found in the KKA.

The instructions for raising the *cakra* in the PT are found in 7.34 – 43 and are as follows:

“Now I shall proclaim to you the raising of the *cakra*. Listen, O Blessed One, single-mindedly. He should draw a *bindu* inside a triangle inside a pentagon then a nonagon, an octagon and eight petals, twelve petals as well as sixteen petals. One should draw an enclosure with severed heads. One should draw 54 *kabandhas*. The garland of 54 severed heads should be on spears. One should draw a cremation ground, granting desires, in the eight directions. He should draw the eight cremation grounds that are the destroyer of grievous sin with a burnt corpse in a glowing flame with Bhairavas, jackals and owls and with crows, *vetālas*, *caityas* and *lingas* and funerary pyres in the eight directions. A wise one should, on gold, silver, semi-precious stones or a chiselled slab, make a paste with sandalwood, aloe, camphor, musk, rubber plant and vermilion mixed with red sandalwood and smear it on the surface then inscribe an image pleasing to the mind with beautiful straight lines with a golden needle. (The *cakra* can be) on a physical image, cloth, plinth, book, in one’s heart, on a sword, trident, skull bowl or else on a consort. On these nine objects, the supreme nine *yonis* are to be worshipped.”

The overall description of the bare shapes of the *yantra* in the HRT before we enter into the particulars of its inhabitants is almost identical to the PT’s except for the fact that it lacks instructions on the materials on which the *yantra* can be installed. Since the PT’s description is more extensive, I have therefore refrained from supplying the HRT’s here.

It can however be found in f. 31v5 - 8 which describes the *yantra* up to the eight cremation grounds while a brief summary of the shapes in this *yantra* is repeated in f. 31v8 – 10 of the HRT.

Meanwhile, the following is the equivalent passage from the MKS (5.13 – 17) which closely follows that of the PT:

“(The *maṇḍala* should be drawn with) a *bindu* then a triangle, a pentagon and joined with a split nonagon. Following that, O Beautiful Lady, it should be enjoined with an octagon inside two circles (*vṛttayoh*) then (*tadanu*) surrounded by eight lotus petals (*vasu*), 12 lotus petals (*arka*) and 16 lotus petals (*bhūpa*). It should also be furnished with 8 thunderbolts, 8 heads and 8 spears, outside and inside. It is surrounded, in the remaining part, by a cremation ground with burning fires and is enclosed by a torrent of blood. This king of *yantras* should be constructed for the sake of worship, O Goddess. The five men – Bharata, Cyavana, Hārīta, Jabālaja and Dakṣa – worship the Mother through this.”

As we can see, the passage from the PT furnishes us with additional details on the materiality of and method for inscribing the *yantra*. The idea is that one creates an image by incising onto a paste that has been spread across the entire surface so that lines are formed where the paste has been scraped off. This is the exact same method prescribed by the KKA in the Maṇḍaloddhāraṇī, which uses the skull bowl, one of the nine supports listed in the PT, as the surface for the drawing of its *maṇḍala*. KKA 1 provides us with additional details concerning the ingredients used for the paste which are very similar to the PT’s with the supplement of the antinomian *vīradravya* which will be discussed later. Likewise, the implement for incision is described as a golden quill (*kanakaśalākā*). Examples of *yantras* on the entire range of materials presented by the PT can still be found today in Nepal¹⁶². A peculiarity for those not familiar with Tantric ritual will be the use of the consort

¹⁶² It is also worth noting that the sword which is included amongst the permitted surfaces for drawing the *yantra* is particularly important in a Kālīkula context where a sword embodying the power of the goddess is

as the medium for the *yantra*. This is an allusion to the practice of worshipping the genitals (usually coded as *pīṭha*) of the consort followed by the *nyāsa* of the pantheon of the *yantra* onto this organ before ritual sex. This practice is evidently an ancient one as it is found in the *Brahmayāmalatantra* and precedes almost every instance of ritual sex¹⁶³ in this text.

We can begin our examination of the *yantra* with the outermost feature present in the MKS but not described in the PT. This *yantra* in the former text is described as “enclosed by a sea of blood” (*śoṇitodena veṣṭitam*). Ambiguity arises with the compound *śoṇitodena* which is comprised of the terms *śoṇita* (blood) and *uda* (liquid/water). A natural assumption would be to understand it as referring to the “sea of blood” since compounds with this formula (type of liquid + *uda*) often designates one of the seven seas of different liquids that surrounds the seven concentric island-continent in Purāṇic mythology, a phenomenon discussed in the previous chapter. Examples of this compound include *kṣīroda* to refer the sea of milk or *kṣāroda* to refer to the sea of salt water¹⁶⁴. Although this particular feature is not shown in the illustration of the *yantra* from Jha’s MKS edition, we can further justify our assumption of this compound’s meaning by means of additional passages from the MKS and historic visual sources. In an earlier passage from this Tantra (1.26cd – 31ab), the island which is the home of Guhyakālī’s *maṇḍala* is described. Here, we are told that Guhyakālī’s island is full of blood and meat with bloody shores (*raktabālukam*) amidst an ocean of spurting blood that originates from the goddess’s own power (*devīprabhāvotthaprocchaladraktavāridhim*) with its four quarters filled with lofty waves

often granted to kings as symbols of their royal legitimacy. Evidence of the link between the worship of swords and Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī has been extensively highlighted by Sanderson (2007a), pp. 288 - 295 using inscriptional and historical evidence from Nepal as well as descriptions in the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra*, *Tantrāloka* and *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* amongst other texts. The last of these sources, like the PT, also prescribes a trident as an object on which to worship the goddess. The PT is thus another important piece of evidence for the divinisation of weapons in Nepal.

¹⁶³ Clear examples of this are found for instance in *Brahmayāmala* vv. 45.199 – 200 when the basic ritual of the adept qualified to undertake sexual rites is described. It is again found, for instance, in 45.248 in the context of the ritual carried out to attain supreme powers for the *sādhaka*.

¹⁶⁴ Again, see Sandahl (2012), p. 53

(*uttuṅgottuṅgakallolaprapūritadigantaram*). This is further confirmed by descriptions of this ocean in many of the other Guhyakālīmaṇḍalas in the MKS where the watery enclosure is various described as *raktoda* or *raktārṇava*.

Likewise, our visual sources also suggest the presence of an ocean. In fig. 1, from a pattern that is commonly used to depict stylised waves in Newari *paubhas*, we can discern the sea enclosing the *maṇḍala*, though the ocean is one of water rather than blood while in fig. 2, there is a ring of the same design but coming after the eight cremation grounds. This feature is important as it is another means by which the cult of Guhyakālī renders its iconography more transgressive than other traditions, even other Kaula ones. The visualisation of the central goddess on an island in the middle of an ocean is a common theme in Kaula traditions but whereas the cult of Tripurasundarī famously sees this island as made of gems (*maṇidvīpa*) and that of Kubjikā envisions it as an isle of moonstone (*candradvīpa*), Guhyakālī's abode is fashioned exclusively from the polluting substances of the human body¹⁶⁵. Moreover, the bloody sea becomes a horrifying inversion of the typical composition of mythical oceans in Purāṇic sources, most of whose seven seas are said to be made out of pleasing and edible substances like milk, curds, ghee, sugarcane juice or even simply sweet liquid (*svādūdaka*)¹⁶⁶.



The edge of the *yantra* (figure 1) shows stylized wave patterns

¹⁶⁵ Guhyakālī is not the only goddess said to be situated amidst an ocean of blood. Such a location is also commonly ascribed to Prāṇaśakti and Nityā (see respectively Bühnemann (2006), Vol. I, p. 73 and Vol. II, p. 121 and *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 48 and 212).

¹⁶⁶ Sandahl (2012), p. 154

Following the ocean of blood, the next confusing feature in the MKS's description is the eight thunderbolts, heads and spears. We are not told their exact location but they are said to be outer and inner (*antar bahir*). Jha's edition's illustration shows these symbols on the four sides of the *yantra*'s square with four thunderbolts, heads and spears inside the square and four outside to reflect the sense of *antar bahir*. It seems that artists also had a different understanding of how to arrange these symbols. A careful look at fig. 1 where these three symbols can just about be made out shows the artist placing them at the eight cardinal and intermediate directions of the *maṇḍala*. All of them are contained within the *maṇḍala* walls but the sense of inner and outer is reflected in them being stacked moving outwards – with the thunderbolts at the bottom and spear at the top - from the *maṇḍala*'s last layer (the 16-petalled lotus) towards the final enclosure.



Enlargement of the thunderbolts, heads and spears of fig. 1 showing the Northwestern and Northern points of the *yantra*

However, since these symbols are not shown at all in fig. 2 and 3, it would be difficult to say whether there was an accepted method for their depiction.

The next problematic aspect is the double circle inside which we find the shapes beginning with the octagon. I have interpreted *vṛttayor antare* as “inside the two circles” qualifying *aṣṭāra* (octagon) but the edition's illustration interprets the octagon as being between the two circles (taking *antare* to mean “between”). I justify my translation on the

basis of the visual sources, all of which depict the octagon inside these two circles rather than intervening them. We might also note that the word *ara* in Sanskrit which is compounded with numbers to denote geometric shapes can mean both spokes or sides. Thus, *aṣṭāra* can be an eight-spoked shape or simply an octagon. Although Jha's edition has depicted the three shapes containing this term as three, five and eight-spoked shapes, artists, as seen in all illustrations, have understood them simply as a triangle, pentagon and octagon.

Having examined the bare structure of the *maṇḍala* and resolved some challenging elements, we can now turn to the residents of the *maṇḍalas* whose identities are only hinted at in the PT and MKS but are fully revealed by the unpublished UPV and HRT. The first and perhaps most interesting feature we address are the eight cremation grounds, which are a common trope in Tantric Śaiva and Buddhist art. Little has been written on the depiction of these cremation grounds in Newar Tantra and art. I therefore give a detailed analysis here which will contribute to Bühnemann's (2007a) study of this phenomenon, the only detailed analysis of this subject so far. The UPV (ff. 18r5 – 18v7) tells us that the names of these eight cremation grounds are Karavīra, Jayāvaha, Kāladaṇḍa, Kālapāśa, Lakṣmīvāna, Dhūmākula, Asipatra and Bhūtavāsa. The HRT (f. 33r9 – 3) confirms this list but adds their directions, informing us that the first four are in the cardinal directions moving clockwise from East and the latter four are in the intermediate directions clockwise from Southeast.

Some of these names are resonant with other Buddhist or Śaiva lists of charnel grounds, especially Lakṣmīvāna and Karavīra, while others appear to be particular to the Guhyakālī tradition. These eight names are also not unique to this particular Guhyakālīyantra as they appear in other *cakroddhāras*, an example being a *cakroddhāra* in a Guhyakālīpaddhati that is appended to KKA 1 (see ff. 46v5 - 47r3). The residents of these cremations grounds are described in the PT where we are told to include a cremation fire, burning corpse, Bhairavas,

jackals, owls, crows, *vetālas*, *caityas* and *līngas*. Several of the visual sources I have included for my study of Guhyakālī's iconography in Ch.1 and those found in this Chapter incorporate many of the features from the PT¹⁶⁷. Thus, in figure 2, we have a pyre, *caitya*, *vetāla*, Bhairava, owl and jackal. Meanwhile, in some depictions of these cremation grounds as seen in an illustrated segment of a *paubha* of the Cosmic Guhyakālī from the Zimmerman Collection (illustrated in Pal (1991), p. 81 and discussed in fn. 15 of Ch.2 of this thesis), a *līnga*, burning corpse and additional bird are added to the group of beings found in fig. 2 rendering it almost identical to the PT's description.



Enlargement of segment depicting the cremation ground from the Zimmerman Guhyakālī *Paubha*

Bühnemann explains that the combination of the Buddhist *caityas* and Śaiva *līngas* in textual and visual depictions of the cremation grounds is possibly a uniquely Newar phenomenon that became popularised at least artistically in the 17th century¹⁶⁸. She identifies the earliest recorded instance of this combination as a frieze in Patan's celebrated Tusā Hiti completed in 1647 but states that due to a lack of studies of textual sources, the antiquity

¹⁶⁷ Some of these visual sources are also cited by Bühnemann (2007a), p. 26

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 32

of their appearance in texts is unclear¹⁶⁹. The PT supplements Bühnemann's analysis of the visual sources since the PT is a text that most likely post-dates the 15th century with most of its dated manuscripts written in the 17th century. Going by this evidence, we can tentatively say that the emergence in texts of the combination of *caityas* and *liṅgas* in cremation grounds roughly coincided with its appearance in works of art.

After the eight cremation grounds, we approach the *yantra* proper which, as per the classical depiction of *maṇḍalas*, is furnished with doors on its cardinal directions. The Tantras themselves do not tell us who the door guardians are but the UPV (f. 18v7 - 11) and HRT (f. 32r7 – 11) fill in this gap. For the UPV, the doors are guarded by both the conventional set of *dikpatis* (in this case, the eight at the cardinal and intermediate quarters plus Ananta and Brahmā at the nadir and zenith) as well as a group of eight possibly unique to this tradition. This second group of eight are 1) Muṇḍa¹⁷⁰ 2) Kālākṣa 3) Kālarātri 4) Dhvaja 5) Kaṅkāla 6) Mahogra 7) Mahānanda 8) Caṇḍeśvara. The last four are commonly found amongst other Śaiva lists of door guardians. The distinction in location between the first and second group of eight might be that the former is outside the doors while the latter are in the niches behind the doors. The HRT meanwhile has its own schema assigning pairs of deities, some who share the names of the UPV's list, to left and right of a door in each cardinal direction: Kālākṣa and Kālarātri in the south; Mr̥tyudhvaja and Vāmadhvaja in the East; Kaṅkāla and Mahāśva in the North; and Mahācandra and Candreśvarī in the West.

Our visual and textual sources then record a fence of chopped heads (*muṇḍaprākāra*) enclosing the layers of lotus petals. These 54 chopped heads are called *kabandhas* in the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 28

¹⁷⁰ All eight figures have the *mantra oṃ phreṃ hr̥iṃ* before their name which is suffixed with the honorific *dvārapālaśrīpāda*. A mistake appears in the name of the first figure who is simply called *muṇḍapāla* instead of *muṇḍadvārapāla* and the second figure listed as *kālākṣadvāla* instead of *kālākṣadvārapāla*.

UPV and PT, perhaps because they surround (*bandha*) the earth (*ka*).¹⁷¹ They are arranged, as some visual sources show, by being pierced onto eight spears which form a square fence with two spears on each side of the square, the prongs of the spears crisscrossing at the corners (shown below).



Although the Tantras themselves do not describe this arrangement of two spears per side, the UPV and HRT shows us that the spears are necessarily eight in number and arranged in this crisscross pattern since a protective enclosure of exactly 24 prongs must be formed (six prongs per corner). This is because the *prākāra* is meant to contain not only the 54 *kabandhas* pierced onto its hilt as its resident deities but also 24 figures on the tips of the spears or *śūlāgrasthitakālī* as the UPV describes them. An examination of the names of these Kālīs (ff. 18r11 – 18v7 in UPV and HRT ff. 33r12 - 33v1) show them to be the deities of the Antaḥsiddhacakra. Both texts prefix their names with Mahāmantra and suffix them with *kālī*. For instance, *Daṃṣṭriṇī*, the first deity of this *cakra*, becomes Mahāmantradaṃṣṭriṇīkālī. A few corruptions have also found their way into the list. Thus, in the UPV, both deities 10 and 18 are called Vidyā while the list in the KKA and its allied *paddhatis* show us that the 10th deity should be called Viccā¹⁷². Moreover, although the UPV explicitly says that 24 deities rest on the tips of these tridents (*śūlāgracaturviṃśatikālī*), it adds a 25th deity called Sūrānandinī between Subhagānandinī and Mahālakṣmī. This 25th deity is not found

¹⁷¹ The term *kabandha* usually denotes a headless body epitomised by the famous *rākṣasa* by that name in the *Rāmāyaṇa* but I have interpreted it in the above manner as the visual sources very clearly show the *kabandhas* to be the opposite – a bodiless head.

¹⁷² It is possible that their names are in fact the same, Vidyā being a Sanskrit equivalent of Prakrit Viccā.

in the HRT's list and would disrupt the symmetry of the prongs indicating it is likely a mistake. However, the confusion between *Viccā* and *Vidyā* is maintained in the HRT as well.

Following the list of the 24 *Antaḥsiddhacakra* deities, the UPV and HRT record the *kabandhas* which are represented as chopped heads. The PT's *cakroddhāra* tells us that the *kabandhas* number 54. Two of our visual sources depict this layer of the *cakra* and do so with rows of chopped heads numbering very close to 54 (fig. 1 depicts either 54 or 55 heads with one or two being very faint while fig. 2 depicts 56). The UPV (ff. 18v7 – 19r9) and the HRT (f. 33v1 – 10) both list 57 figures but vary on two names (*Aṣṭakāmeśvarī* and *Ādirāmamati* respectively). The variation in number shows that the list was unstable and the names themselves in the list do not make the final number easily resolvable. The fluidity in names and number of heads might be due to the fact that the *kabandha* fence was not considered an essential feature of the *yantra* since it is absent from both the MKS and fig. 1. However, general groupings can be discerned from the list provided in the UPV and HRT and some errors can also be rooted out through comparison.

The first 16 of the 56/57 *kabandhas* correspond to the 16 deities of the *Mūrticakra* (*cakra* 3 of the *Nityapūjācakras* of the KKA). Some corruptions/alternative names are recorded in the UPV's list, most of which are found in their correct form in the HRT. Curiously though, the variant for the name of deity 12 (*Maṇḍalamūrti* as opposed to the KKA's *Pāṇḍurāmūrti*) is found in both lists, suggesting this change is intentional or interconnected. After these comes a set of eleven (HRT) or twelve (UPV) deities who are also suffixed with the term *mūrtikālī* but are not encountered in the traditional *Mūrticakra* of the KKA, showing the intention of the HRT and UPV to create a new set of *mūrti* goddesses of 27/28 rather than 16 deities. These additional deities are 17) *Rāva* 18) *Bhīṣaṇa* 19) *Jñāna* 20) *Jyotis* 21) *Tattva* 22) *Vīra* 23) *Kāla* 24) *Jñāna* 25) *Ghora* 26)

Trāsabhī¹⁷³ 27) Rākṣasī and 28) Aṣṭamakāmeśvarī according to the UPV. By examining the UPV alone, we might assume that the repetition of Jñāna is a mistake. However, the repeated Jñāna appears as Mahājñāna in the HRT showing deities 19 and 24 to in fact be distinct. Aṣṭamakāmeśvarī however is missing from the HRT. Nonetheless, the HRT makes it clear that these 27/28 deities belong in a single grouping as they are together said to occupy two rows (the Western and Southern rows) of the square enclosure formed by the *kabandhas* (*ete dakṣiṇapaścimapāṅktau*) beginning with the first *mūrtikālī* – Mahāsukhamūrti – in the Southeastern corner (*āgneyād ārabhya*).

Following these 27/28 deities are a group of five that by and large correspond to the Pañcavāhacakra deities of the Nityapūjācakra (*cakra* 2). In the UPV, they are listed as 1) Khecara 2) Dikcarī 3) Khecarī 4) Bhūcarī and 5) Rasacarī. The HRT calls the first figure Vyomavāmeśvarī which is again more likely as this allows us to avoid repetition (Khecara and Khecarī) while also including the central deity of the Pañcavāhacakra missing from the UPV's list. Having established the presence of the four other deities of the Pañcavāhacakra, we can also tentatively propose that Rasacarī (appearing in both the UPV and HRT) is an alternate name or substitute for Gocarī, the traditional fifth Pañcavāha goddess.

The next set of deities from the list of *kabandhas* are a group of 8/9 who are found amongst the 11 deities of the Prakāśacakra. Thus, in line with the presentation of the Prakāśacakra in the KKA, these deities have *mati* appended to their names. In the UPV, we have the following figures: 1) Haṃsamati¹⁷⁴ 2) Vimalamati¹⁷⁵ 3) Viṣṇumati 4) Siṃhamati 5) Khaṇḍamati 6) Vīracakramati 7) Ahīramati 8) Bhairavasīṃhamati. The HRT adds

¹⁷³ This name appears as Trāsabhī in the MS but since the palatal and dental sibilants are often interchangeable in such manuscripts, I have amended to Trāsabhī to make sense of the name.

¹⁷⁴ I have amended this from the UPV's Haṃsacarī since Haṃsa is the first of the Prakāśacakra deities, all of whose names end in *mati* in the UPV and in the conventional list. The *carī* is a mistake that is perhaps caused by the preceding group of deities of the *kabandhas*, the *Pañcavāhacakra*, having *carī* suffixed to their name.

¹⁷⁵ This is amended to Vimalamati from Vimaracamati in the MS as the latter makes no sense while the former is conventionally understood to be the second Prakāśacakra deity.

Ādirāmamati to the list. Both the UPV and the HRT omit three deities of the conventional Prakāśacakra that intervene between Ahīramati and Bhairavasimhamati in the KKA, showing that they possibly draw from an alternative tradition where these three do not feature. These Prakāśa deities are said by the HRT to comprise the Northern row of the square *kabandha* enclosure. After this group, one finds the guru lineage which is comprised of 16 gurus in total. The first eight are the same as the list of eight gurus who are listed alongside their disciples in the GNP after the installation of the Guhyakālīmaṇḍala beginning with Śrīkaṇṭhanātha and ending with Hayagrīva (their names are given in the analysis of the Gurumaṇḍala section in Ch.4). A few minor differences exist between the GNP's list and those of these two texts. Thus, both the HRT and UPV give a male (Vyomeśanātha) rather than female guru (Vyomeśadevī) for the third figure. The UPV also gives the corrupt reading of Kandhaka for the fifth guru with the correct Andhaka found in the HRT. The two texts then add a further eight gurus which I have not seen grouped together in this way anywhere else in Guhyakālī literature with the following names: 9) Garbhānandanātha 10) Bhadragaureśvaranātha 11) Gagananātha 12) Mahendranātha 13) Vyomanātha 14) Jayadrathanātha 15) Khecaranātha 16) Siddhinātha. The HRT says these 16 make up the eastern row of the enclosure (*ete pūrvamaṇḍalapṛākāre*). The square *kabandhas* thus curiously have an unequal number of spiked heads on each side of the square. Although the final number of heads in the visual sources do not match the UPV and HRT, the fact that the heads are divided unequally amongst the four sides in the visual sources as well suggests that a similar idea of groupings of deities could have been at play in the rendering of the *kabandhas* by artists.

What we also see in the use of spiked heads for the representation of deities is an innovation upon an ancient convention. The depiction of impaled heads and bodies was a common feature of the Tantric depiction of cremation grounds found in texts as ancient as

the *Brahmayāmalatantra* where they are sometimes described as criminals¹⁷⁶. This is because it was customary for charnel grounds to be the location where the bodies of wrongdoers were disposed of in gruesome ways¹⁷⁷. The Guhyakālī cult however has not left these impaled figures as merely signs of horror and danger but have imbued them individually with symbolic meaning. The same has been done with the prongs of the tridents which are no longer merely protective but deified as the 24 Antaḥsiddhacakra deities. This again shows the tendency of the Krama to add greater symbolic depth to otherwise conventional iconographic tropes.

After the 54 *kabandhas*, we enter into the three layers of lotus petals, the outermost of which consists of 16 petals (UPV ff. 19r9 – 19v4 and HRT f. 33v10 – 34r5¹⁷⁸). These 16 petals again house the Mūrticakra, a set of deities we encountered at the beginning of the list of *kabandhas* where they were included with an additional 10/11 figures. The UPV prefixes each name with Mahājñāna while the HRT prefixes a few with Jñāna. The names themselves by and large conform to the standard list in the KKA with a few deviations or corruptions. In both texts, the second *mūrti* goddess is now known as Agnimūrti rather than Śīlamūrti while the name of the 9th is Umārci rather than Arciṣā. Meanwhile, the names of deities 10 and 16 in the UPV also deviate from the standard Mūrticakra. Instead of Ketumūrti as the 10th deity, the name listed is Mahājñānaprabhāmūrti which is a repetition of the name of the 6th deity on the list. The HRT distinguishes this 10th deity from the 6th by adding Jñāna before the former and not the latter (Jñānaprabhāmūrti vs.

¹⁷⁶ See *Brahmayāmala*, Vol. II, p. 187 – 195 (vv. 3.63 – 135) for this Tantra's description of the cremation grounds including impaled criminals.

¹⁷⁷ Li (2020), p. 5

¹⁷⁸ The ordering of the text in the MS becomes problematic at this point. Folio 34r (unnumbered) contains for its first few lines, the remainder of a *dhyāna* describing the throne of the goddess before picking up with the deities of the 16-petalled lotus on line 3. This disjuncture could be related to the change in scribal hand between 33v and 34r where the difference in handwriting is very clear. If the general structure of the *maṇḍala* was not previously known then the reader could be easily lost at this point.

Prabhāmūrti). As for the 16th and final deity, the UPV calls her Sukhamukhīmūrti and not Sahasramūrti as per the list found in the KKA. However, this seems to just be an epithet which combines a few of the terms found in the mantra of Sahasramūrti as articulated in the HRT: *om hrīṃ haṃ saḥ śrīmahājñānasukhakāli sahasramukhakāli 2 mūrti ambāpāda huṃ pheṃ namaḥ*. Overall, we can say that the clear difference in three names (Agni vs. Śīla, Umārci vs. Arciṣā and Jñānaprabhā vs Ketu) and which are shared by both UPV and HRT again suggest an alternative list of Mūrticakra deities.

The next layer of lotus petals number 12 and contain the 12 Melāpacakra deities (*cakra* 8 of the Nityapūjācakras). For this level of the *yantra*, the UPV (f. 19v5 – 10) proves considerably more reliable than the HRT (f. 34r4 – 7) where the number of deities is 14 rather than 12, a clear corruption given the fact that the HRT itself proclaims this level of the *yantra* to be twelvefold before and after their articulation (*tato dvādaśadale...iti dvādaśadale*). Moreover, whereas the UPV largely follows the order of the traditional Melāpacakra with three exceptions in nomenclature, the HRT's list, even at points where the names are comparable to the traditional Melāpacakra, are not ordered as they should be while the names that do not align with the traditional list yield little sense. For the purposes of our table, the UPV has therefore been utilised. A common variant shared by both texts is the displacement of the first deity Mārutī of the KKA for one known as Melāpakālī.

After the 12-petalled lotus comes a set enshrined on eight petals not found amongst the Nityapūjācakras of the KKA but which is also a feature of the Guhyakālīcakra found in the GNP¹⁷⁹, showing they are not unique to the UPV and HRT. In both the UPV (ff.19v11 – 20r4) and HRT (f. 34r7 – 10), we are told to install on each petal one from the conventional list of eight Mothers seated on one of the eight Bhairavas, both of whom are surrounded by 64

¹⁷⁹ See f. 29v of the GNP MS.

*yoginīs*¹⁸⁰. The list is as follows: 1) Brahmavatī on Asitāṅga; 2) Rudravatī on Ruru; 3) Kumāravatī on Caṇḍa 4) Viṣṇumatī on Krodha; 5) Ghoṇavatī (Vārāhī) on Unmatta; 6) Mahendrā on Kapāla; 7) Carcikā (Cāmuṇḍā) on Bhīṣaṇa and 8) Mahālakṣmī on Saṃhāra. In the GNP, the exact same pairings are found but the status of the Bhairavas as the *mātrikās*’ seats is missing. It is noteworthy that unlike most Tantric and Purāṇic lists that assign each mother a set of eight *yoginīs* in order to reach the classic number of 64, in this *yantra*, we have all 64 belonging to each *mātrikā* thus giving a total of 512. It can be argued that the *yantra* therefore represents the eight Mothers as a mirror image of the central Guhyakālī. As already discussed, this Guhyakālī is also seated on a Bhairava like the eight Mothers and is similarly surrounded by 64 *yoginīs*, either in the form of the 64 goddesses of the sacred sites or the 64 goddesses known as the Vṛndacakra or the Siddhayoginīs according to the KKA.

After this comes two circles before an octagon (UPV f. 20r5 – 7 and HRT f. 34r10 – 12). On the corners of this octagon are eight Kālīs that I have not encountered elsewhere in Guhyakālī literature. These are: 1) Muṇḍinīkālī 2) Mudgarākālī 3) Daṃṣṭrīṇīkālī 4) Śṛṅgālīkālī 5) Śūlinīkālī 6) Vajriṇīkālī 7) Pāśinīkālī and 8) Aṅkuśinī. The closest list in Kaula literature to these eight Kālīs I know of is a group of nine *dūtīs* who form part of the Dūtīcakra in the *Kubjikāmatatantra*, the second out of the Five Cakras of the subtle body. The Dūtīcakra has 81 deities comprising nine groups of nine goddesses each presided over by a Bhairava. The seventh group of *dūtīs* are mostly named after weapons and implements much like our class of eight Kālīs with three names being identical (Vajriṇī, Pāśinī and Śūlinī). Heilijgers-Seelen in her edition and study of the Five Cakras of the *Kubjikāmatatantra*¹⁸¹ proposes that the names of these *yoginīs* refer to the attributes in their hands as well as their

¹⁸⁰ This arrangement for each of the Eight Mothers becomes clear when examining the formulation of the *mantras*. For instance, Brahmavatī’s *mantras* is as follows: *oṃ hrīm hūṃ cchrīm phreṃ namaḥ asitāṅgabhairavāsanāya aṣṭāṣṭakayoginīsahitāya brahmavatīkālī 2 ambāpāda hūṃ phreṃ namaḥ*.

¹⁸¹ Heilijgers-Seelen (1994), p. 76

association with certain *mudrās* given that their presiding Bhairava is known as Mudreśa. This might also be the case with our list given that two of the names of these Kālīs appear as *mudrās* in the KKA (Daṃṣṭriṇī and Vajriṇī) while the installation of personified *mudrās* in a *maṇḍala* is a common practice in this cult (see for instance the eight-petalled lotus of the Svatantrasthitimaṇḍala described later in this chapter).

Beyond this octagon is a nonagon on which we again find a set of nine deities not encountered in the Nityapūjācakras of the KKA. These are 1) Śvetakālī 2) Raktakālī 3) Jhaṃkālī (UPV) or Jhaṃkāri (HRT) 4) Suvarṇakoṭī 5) Rājarājeśvarī 6) Siddhipadmā 7) Guhyakubjā 8) Vajrakālī (UPV) or Vajrā (HRT) 9) Śrīsundarī (UPV) or Sundarī (HRT) recorded in UPV f. 20r8 – 11 and HRT ff. 34r12 – 34v1. The only goddess who is familiar from the standard sequence of worship of the KKA is Raktakālī who is found in the Anākhyakālīcakra as its third deity. Several of the other goddesses seemingly represent the central deities of other transmissions within the Newari Ṣaḍāmnāya. Therefore, we have the Guhyakubjā/Kubjikā of the Western Transmission, Sundarī of the Upper Transmission and Vajrakālī/Vajrayoginī of the Lower Transmission. If we take Padmā in the name Siddhipadmā as an epithet of Lakṣmī then we can also include the other key deity of the Northern Transmission – Siddhilakṣmī. Two amongst the remaining goddesses meanwhile are those with popular cults in medieval Nepal – Jhaṃkāriṇī and Rājarājeśvarī. We therefore have all the goddesses of the Ṣaḍāmnāya who have active cults, the goddesses Pūrṇeśvarī and Niśeśvarī presiding over the East and South who are missing amongst these nine most likely being artificial additions to the sixfold schema as explained in the Introduction of this thesis. Therefore, much like the ascription of the animalian faces of the goddess to different transmission goddesses seen in Ch.1, the *yantra* is harnessed as a tool for unifying the key Śākta traditions of the Kathmandu Valley.

The description of these goddesses as the *navayoni* in the UPV and HRT allows us to understand the PT's cryptic statement that the *cakra* is dedicated to the Nine Yonis (*navayoniparā*). The fact that the *cakra* is epitomised by this single element in the PT shows that it must have been a key feature of worship in the *maṇḍala*. This element of the *maṇḍala* is described confusingly as *vibhinna* (split) in the MKS. It is only by looking at the visual sources can we grasp what this means. In all illustrated *cakras*, the nonagon is drawn in such a way that it can be split into nine discrete triangles which house the nine deities.

Finally, we move on to the last two elements of the *cakra*, the pentagon enclosing a triangle containing a *bindu*. There is no doubt about the residents of this pentad who are the five Kālīs occupying the five corners of the pentagon as the UPV informs us. They in turn surround the root goddess (*mūladevī*). Like the illustration of the nonagon, the pentagon is drawn so that five discrete triangles emerge. Paired with the central triangle, this allows each Kālī to be housed in a separate triangle of her own as all the artworks show us.

A few words should be said concerning what the composition of deities and the structure of the *yantra* tell us about the tradition pursued by the UPV and HRT as well as the PT and MKS if we are to understand that they had the same arrangement of deities as the two former texts at the back of their minds when raising this *yantra*. The *yantra*, in spite of its significance in these texts and its widespread artistic popularity, does not make an appearance in the KKA or its allied liturgies like the GNP. This is surprising given the number of *cakras* covered by the KKA. There is therefore a strong possibility that this *yantra* was derived from a different tradition whose adoption was relatively late. Further proof of the existence of a divergent tradition of ancillary deities comes from the deviation found in the names of the deities, both in the form of groups of entirely novel deities and alterations made to deities that supposedly belong to ancillary *cakras* already present in the KKA.

Entirely novel groups of deities include the eight or 16 door guardians, the eight gurus who end the list of *kabandhas*, the eight novel Kālīs of the octagon who are personifications of *mudrās/astras* and the nine Yonis on the nonagon. Meanwhile minor changes are made to the nomenclature of the Antaḥsiddhacakra and the Pañcavāhacakra and major changes are found in the Mūrticakra (the addition of 11 or 12 new *mūrti* goddesses) and the Prakāśacakra (the omission of three deities), both of whom are grouped amongst the *kabandhas*. There is also the peculiar repetition of the Mūrticakra for the 16-petalled lotus where several names are also switched. We could alternatively argue that these alterations are only done in order to impose the scheme of classical ancillary deities onto a *yantra* that was not initially designed for this purpose. However, it seems to me that the alterations are more radical than needed for a simple refit. Moreover, the complete absence of many other circles of ancillary deities found in the KKA which could have been helpful in filling in the gaps in this *yantra* also point to a different schema. These clues of a different tradition of ancillary deities is consonant with the contents of the PT and MKS, both of which retain very few traces of the system of 16 Nityapūjācakras of the classical Krama. This evidence again tantalisingly shows us that the Uttarāmnāya was a tradition of far greater diversity than initially conceived.

Feature of the Yantra	Inhabitants		Main Correspondence with/Divergence from KKA
Eight Cremation Grounds	Animals, supernatural beings and objects of worship listed in PT		6 out of 8 names of the cremation grounds not found in KKA
Gates of the <i>yantra</i>	UPV: 8 traditional <i>dikpatis</i> and 8 largely unique guardians	HRT: 8 largely unique guardians in the cardinal directions	Names of the non-traditional guardians not found in KKA
24 prongs of the spear enclosure	24 Antaḥsiddhacakra deities		Almost identical (some possible corruptions)

Feature of the Yantra	Inhabitants	Main Correspondence with/Divergence from KKA
chopped heads impaled on spear (numbers vary between 54 – 57)	South and West rows: 27/28 Mūrtikālīs	16 Mūrticakra deities largely the same with an additional 11/12 novel deities.
	Northern row: 8 Prakāśacakra deities and the 5 Pañcavāha deities	3 Prakāśacakra deities dropped and Gocarī replaced with Rasacarī for Pañcavāha
	Western row: 16 gurus	Guru lineage not found in KKA but half is the same as GNP's
16-petalled lotus	16 Mūrticakra deities	Identical except for 3 main replacements
12-petalled lotus	12 Melāpacakra deities (UPV)	Replacement of first deity and some possible corruptions
8-petalled lotus	8 <i>māṭṛkās</i> atop 8 Bhairavas each surrounded by 64 <i>yoginīs</i>	Not found in KKA but found in GNP
Octagon	8 <i>mudrā/astra</i> goddesses	Not found as a set of 8 in KKA
Nonagon	9 Yonis	Not found in KKA
Pentagon	5 Kālīs	Same 5 Kālīs
Bindu	<i>mūladevī</i>	



Fig. 1 Detail of from a Guhyakālī *paubha*

Nepal; 19th century

Ground mineral pigment on cotton; (framed) 98.8 x 91 x 6.8 cm

Walters Art Museum, Baltimore



Fig. 2 Guhyakālīyantra which is part of MS 10054

Nepal; 1765

Collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī

(negative no. 3-20 of the American Institute of Indian Studies)



Fig. 4 Guhyakālīyantra from an illuminated manuscript

Nepal; 17th century

Watercolour on paper; 17.8 × 23.8 cm per folio (26 folios)

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia

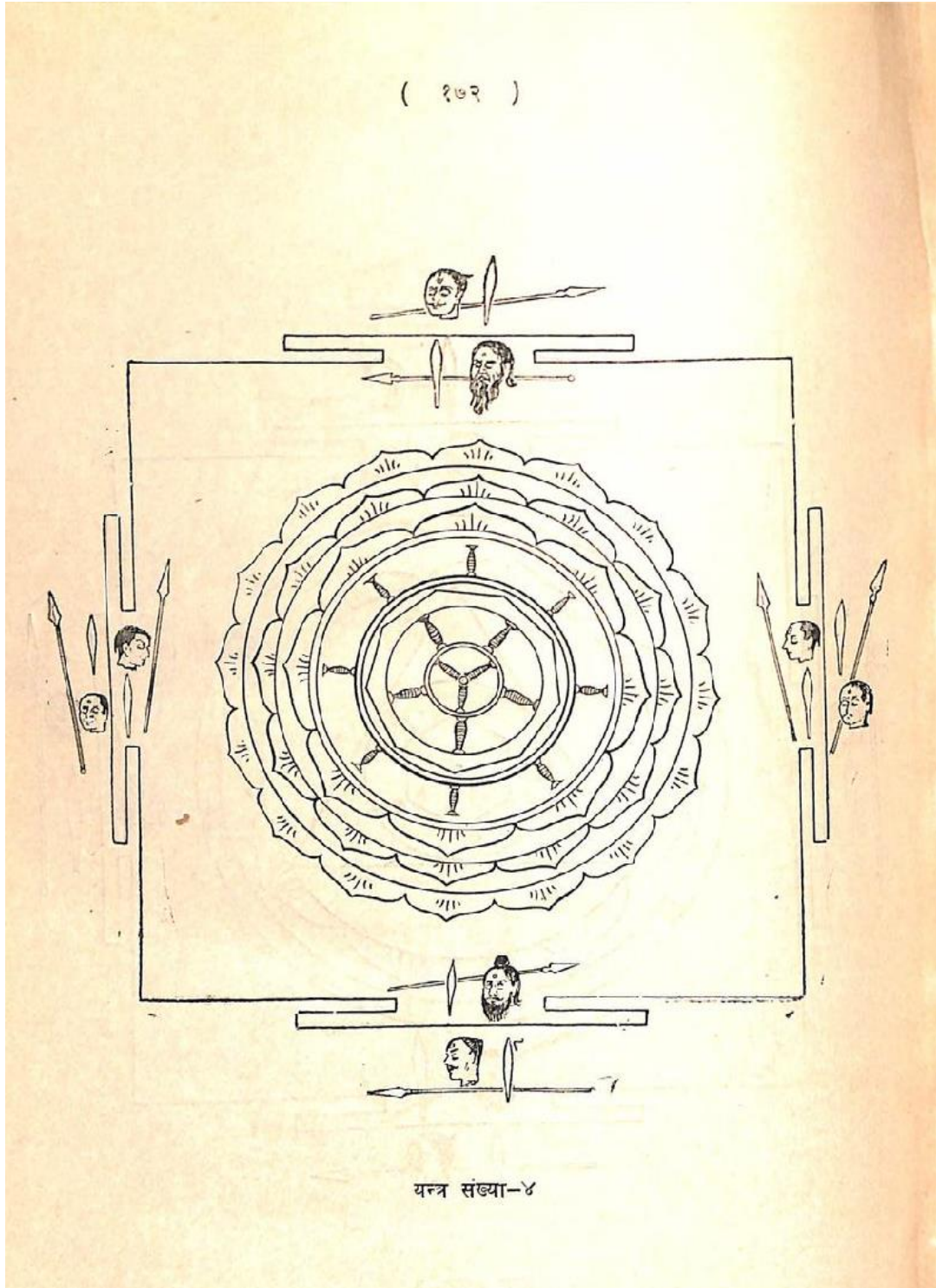


Fig. 5 Illustration of Guhyakālīyantra (4) from Jha's Edition of the MKS (Appendix, p.172)

3.2 The Svatantrakālīkākramapañcaka of the KKA

In this section, we now move away from the key *cakra* of the PT and MKS and turn our attention to the KKA. Here, I will discuss the arrangement and implications of the

most complex group of *cakras* found in the KKA known as the Svatantrakālīkāramapañcaka, possibly even surpassing the earlier discussed Guhyakālīyantra in their intricacy. Since these *cakras* are only described in the KKA amongst the literature surveyed and have no artistic depictions I know of, we will have to rely upon the KKA itself as well as what we know of the Guhyakālī cult generally to unlock their arrangement. However, before tackling the cryptic *cakroddhāra* instructions, let us examine their function. In the two verses introducing these *cakras*, Vimalaprabodha explains their purpose, stating that these Kālī *cakras* are proclaimed for the sake of those who are unable to worship the sequence of five Kālīs alongside the 11 preceding *cakras* as preached by Maheśvara in the *Dvīpamata* (a now lost Krama work) of 24,000 verses. They are therefore designed for the *sādhaka* who wishes to worship the five Kālīs independently, hence their characterization as *svatantra*. Here, I have interpreted the compound *rudracakrasamāyuktam* which qualifies *kālīkāramapañcakaṃ* in the text to refer to the 11 ancillary *cakras* since *rudra* is a common code for 11.

These five *maṇḍalas* are comprised both of elements drawn from the generic five Kālī *cakras* and ancillary *cakras* but also include entirely novel features. Before drawing each *maṇḍala*, the adept is first instructed to carry out three of the four *paripāṭis* (preliminary rites), namely the Ātmapūjā, Āsanapūjā and Sanyāsadyānavidhi. After this, we are told to lay out the *maṇḍala* in a suitable location. The difficulty in ascertaining the arrangement of the *maṇḍala* is due to the fact that the KKA first gives the bare component shapes without their inhabitants then instructs us on the installation of the *maṇḍala*'s resident divinities later, often not in the order in which the shapes are listed and at times altogether missing out the residents of certain shapes. This means that the *maṇḍala* must be reconstructed by matching the number of deities of a certain group with the corresponding shape serving as their abode according to the number of habitable spaces on that shape. At times, the likely relationship of a group of deities to the central Kālī and the subtle

references to their orientation can be helpful. My reconstruction of these *maṇḍalas* is therefore a tentative effort. The justification for problematic pairings of deities and locations as well as unresolved issues will be explained as I go along. Due to the repeated elements of the five Kālī *cakras* of the Nityapūjā, it is advisable for the reader to consult the table in Ch.2 as we progress through the Svatantracakras. For the Svatantrasṛṣṭimaṇḍala, I have understood the arrangement from the centre as follows:

1. A four-petalled lotus housing the Five Yonis in the centre, East, South, North and West. The exact identity of these Yonis is not given but they can only be the *yonipañcaka* of the conventional Sṛṣṭicakra, a group of five goddesses whose names are appended with the word *yoni* and are worshipped alongside their consorts. Nonetheless, a problem arises from a variation in orientation of the Yonis between the Svatantrasṛṣṭicakra and the generic Sṛṣṭikālīcakra. In the latter, the Yonis are arranged in the four cardinal directions and the Northeast rather than the four cardinal directions and the centre as prescribed by the former in order to allow Sṛṣṭikālī herself to occupy the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Since Sṛṣṭikālī's position in the Svatantrasṛṣṭicakra seems to have been displaced by one of the Five Yonis, we have to understand her as either being synonymous with the most important Yoni (most likely the one installed in the Northeast (known simply as Yoni) if we go by the generic Sṛṣṭicakra's schema) or we have to see her as somehow placed above this fifth Yoni in the centre.

2. The *agnimaṇḍala* (a lotus of eight petals) on which we install the eight *ṛddhis* or magical powers. The *ṛddhis* in Tantric literature are usually understood as a group of eight whose exact composition depends on the cult or context involved¹⁸². The KKA's list includes 1) the ability to shrink the body (*aṇiman*) 2) to lighten the body (*gariman*) 3) to enlarge the body (*mahiman*) 4) lordship over phenomena (*īśitva*) 5) the power of attainment (*prāpti*)

¹⁸² For a discussion on the composition of these *ṛddhis*, see for instance Padoux (2013), p. 166, fn. 39 and p. 175, fn. 9.

6) irresistibility (*prākāmya*) 7) the power to enjoy the fruits of the world (*bhukti*) and 8) the power to take on any form at will (*icchā*). The identification of the *agnimaṇḍala* as the locus for these eight is made explicit in the installation instructions “*patrāṣṭake agnisthāne... ṛddhyaṣṭakam*”. The *ṛddhis* can sometimes be personified so they are perhaps installed as such here, although their visualisations are not given. We are told to begin with *aṇiman* in the Northeast and to install them counter-clockwise ending with *icchā* in the East.

3. The *somamaṇḍala* which, in this context, is a lotus of 16 petals on which we find the 16 Ānandacakra deities.

4. The *sūryamaṇḍala*, a layer of another 16 petals on which are found the 16 Mūrticakra deities.

5. Two *maṇḍalas* of five petals each located at the Northeastern and Northwestern corners of the square of the overarching *maṇḍala* on which are installed the Pañcapīṭha and Pañcavāha deities. The identification of these *cakras* as the locus of the Pañcapīṭha and Pañcavāha is established on account of the fact that they are the only two shapes said to possess five petals and thus capable of accommodating these two sets of deities. Moreover, in the instructions for the installation of these two sets of five goddesses, we are told to place them at the back (*prṣṭhabhāge*) of the Svatantrasṣṭīcakra, which concurs with the idea of these two *maṇḍalas* being in the Northeast and Northwest of the Svatantrasṣṭīcakra (*īśānavāyupañcapadmadvayayuktam*), two background locations removed from the overarching *maṇḍala*’s centre.

6. The square on whose (inner and outer) sides are placed the four *dūtīs* said to arise out of a corpse (a new component not encountered earlier in the KKA) and the four *rakṣā* deities headed by Gaṇapati. Although the specific location of the *rakṣācatuṣkam* is not given (they are said to be in their appropriate place [*yathāsthane*]), I justify placing them on the outer

sides of the square by virtue of them being guardians and thus necessarily located at the outermost part of the *maṇḍala*. Meanwhile, the *dūtīs* are explicitly said to be on the square for the Svatantrasrṣṭicakra. The names, locations and visualisations of these *dūtīs* are revealed later in the Svatantrasaṃhāracakra. It should also be said that amongst the five *cakras*, their locations do vary.

The adept is said to draw this *maṇḍala* while reciting the three own *vidyās* (*svavidyātrayaṇa*). It is highly likely that these refer to the three *vidyās* of the generic Srṣṭicakra which are the standard nine-syllabled *vidyā* accompanied by the 17-syllabled *vidyā* and the 100-syllabled *samayahrdaya mantra* particular to Srṣṭi. The worshipper then installs the *arghapātra* preceded by the *astramantra* and displays the *śaṅkhamudrā* to the *arghapātra*. He recites a Krama inflected version of the Gāyatrīmantra and sprinkles the three *maṇḍalas* (probably a reference to the three component shapes known as the *agni*, *soma* and *sūrya maṇḍalas*). At this point, the installation of the above-mentioned inhabitants of the *maṇḍala* is performed, beginning with layers 3 - 6. This is then followed by the summoning of the central goddess of the *maṇḍala* which starts with the installation of her 20-tiered throne, a feature already discussed in Ch.2. The worship of the central goddess is followed by the installation of the five Yonis and eight *rddhis* (layers 1 and 2). The *sādhaka* should then worship the goddess with various offerings beginning with five substances (unguents, lamps, eatables, betel and *argha*) and four principal *mudrās* (*padma*, *śaṅkha*, *bimba* and *yoni mudrās*) followed by a threefold *bali* offering to Vātuka, the guardians and *yoginīs* (the sequence and *mantra* for these offerings were earlier elaborated in the *balividhi*) succeeded by further recitations. The worship concludes by causing Srṣṭi to dissolve into her resting place, possibly a reference to the practice of dissolving each Kālī into her successive phase (or into Sthiti in the case of Srṣṭi) as was described in similar terms in both the Ātmapūjā and Tarpaṇavidhi.

Svatantrasthitimandala

Like the worship of the Svatantrasṣṭicakra, that of Sthiti begins with the preliminary rites. After this, come instructions for the *maṇḍala*'s component parts which I interpret as follows:

- 1) Six-petalled lotus or hexagon (*ṣaḍasram*). The residents of this shape are not given.
- 2) Eight-petalled lotus inhabited by the four Yuganāthas found in the generic Sthiticakra (Khagendra, Kūrma, Meṣa and Mīna) alongside their *dūtīs* in the cardinal directions. The installation begins with Khagendranātha and Bijā on the Western petal and ends with Mīnanātha and Koṅkanā on the Eastern petal. Note how their locations are the reverse of the generic Sthiticakra's. In the intermediate directions, we are to install four personified *mudrās*. Although the installation of these *mudrās* comes towards the end of the *cakra*'s worship long after the instructions for Yuganāthas, I justify them being on the same lotus since we are given the *mudrās*' location as *aṣṭadala īśānādivahnyantapatre* (on the petals beginning in the Northeast and ending in Southeast on the eight-petalled lotus). Since there are no other eight-petalled lotuses in the description of the *cakra*'s shapes, we must understand them as cohabiting the Yuganāthas' abode. This is consolidated by the fact that the Yuganātha couples each share a cardinal direction, leaving the intermediate directions free for the *mudrās*.

- 3) 12-petalled lotus with the 12 Melāpakas. These are the 12 deities of the Melāpacakra (*cakra* 8) beginning in the West and moving clockwise.

- 4) 64 petals with the 64 sacred sites and their resident deities. The 64 are formed by adding 40 sites to the 24 sites (the 8 *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas*) found in the Prāyaścittavidhi. Since this complex ritual will only be fleshed out in the next chapter, a brief explanation is required. The Prāyaścittavidhi involves the worship of two sets of 24 *pīṭhas* which are, bar a few variants and differences in sequence, largely the same. This set

of 24 is first worshipped through their installation on a *maṇḍala* then as part of a *nyāsa*. The list of 24 (divided into eight *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas*) to which the 40 sites are added to form the 64-petalled lotus are the set worshipped in the *maṇḍala* (beginning with Aṭṭahāsa and ending with Rājagrha as the KKA informs us) rather than the *nyāsa*. These additional 40 sites (*pīṭhas* 25 - 64) begin with Nepālapīṭha occupied by Guhyeśvarī, an important reference since, as Sanderson notes, it aligns Nepal with this patron goddess of the Newars even at this early stage¹⁸³. The list ends with Hiraṇyapura occupied by Mahāparā. The installation begins on the Western petal and the group of 40 can be divided into five classes of eight deities. The appearance of these deities is said to resemble the four-armed *kṣetra* goddesses listed in the *Prāyaścittavidhi* (their iconography has been briefly described in Ch.2) but with the hand bearing the characteristic lotus dropped and replaced with an implement unique to each additional class of eight. Therefore, the fourth class (*caturthāṣṭakasthāḥ*) of eight (deities 25 – 32 out of 64) hold a red cloth, the fifth class (32 – 40) a chopped head, the sixth an owl, the seventh the gesture of threat (*tarjadharāḥ*) and the eighth a bell.

5) 16-petalled lotus occupied by the 12 remaining figures (the 12 Rājaputras) of the generic Sthitacakra alongside the four *pīṭhas* and four *yugas*. The partition of these figures is into four sets of four petals. In each set, three petals are occupied by three Rājaputras while the fourth petal houses both a *pīṭha* and *yuga*. Each set is in one of the four cardinal directions. Thus, for instance, on the four Western petals, three petals house the Rājaputras known as Bhaṭṭa, Mahendra and Valkala while the fourth represents Uḍḍiyānapīṭha and the Satyayuga.

6) A *maṇḍala* of five petals each located at the Northeastern and Northwestern corners within the square of the *maṇḍala* where we find the Pañcapīṭha and Pañcavāha deities.

¹⁸³ See Sanderson in Michaels (2008), p. 134

7) The square on whose sides (inner and outer respectively) are placed the four *dūtīs* and the four *rakṣā* deities. I have assumed that the location of the *dūtīs* remains the same due to the instruction *sr̥ṣṭivat* (“as per the *Sr̥ṣṭicakra*”) after listing the *Pañcapīṭha*, *Pañcavāha* and the *dūtīs* in the description of the *maṇḍala*’s shapes.

Following the raising of the *maṇḍala*, the sequence of worship closely follows that of the *Sr̥ṣṭicakra*. The difference is that the *mudrā* used for worshipping the *arghapātra* is now the *bhagaliṅgamudrā*. There is the additional instruction to sprinkle the liquid from the *argha* while chanting a *mantra* with a snap of the fingers using the forefinger. Meanwhile, the instructions for worshipping the central goddess with various substances and *mudrās*, the threefold *bali* offering, the concluding recitations and the dissolution of *Sthiti* into her resting place remain the same.

Svantantrasaṃhāracakra

Out of the five Svatantracakras, the arrangement of the Saṃhāracakra is possibly the least problematic. It is uniquely described as having the shape of the peepal leaf containing the entire universe (*aśvatthapatrākṛtviśvasahitaṃ maṇḍalam*). I interpret its installation as follows:

1) Pericarp split into ten points, each being the location of one of the ten *Kālīs* of the generic Saṃhāracakra beginning in the South and ending in the Southeast.

2) Eight-petalled lotus occupied by the four personified *mūdrās* in the four intermediate directions, namely *Tarjanī*, *Kapālī*, *Daṃṣṭrīṇī* and *Leliḥā* in the Southwest to the Southeast and the four *dūtīs* on the petals at the cardinal directions. I take the *dūtīs* to share this layer with the *mudrās* since the *dūtīs* are explicitly said to be on petals in the four cardinal directions (*Śavaniṣkramaṇī*, *Śavarī*, *Pāśakuṇḍā*, *Kāloverā* in the South, West, North and Eastern petals respectively) while no separate four-petalled shape is specified.

Moreover, without the *dūtīs*, the cardinal directions of this lotus would be left empty, the *mudrās* occupying only the intermediate directions. We are also given their appearance for the first time at this point; they are said to be black, grey, dark and dust-coloured and two-armed, bearing the *tarjanī* gesture and, respectively, a sword, thunderbolt, discus and axe.

3) A *maṇḍala* of five petals each located at the Northeastern and Northwestern corners within the square of the *maṇḍala* where we find the Pañcapīṭha and Pañcavāha deities.

4) The square on whose sides are placed the four *rakṣā* deities.

All other steps in the worship of the *cakra* after its installation follow those prescribed for Sṛṣṭi and Sthiti.

Svatantrānākhyacakra

I interpret the installation of this *cakra* as comprised of the following:

1) *Nāda*, *bindu* and *ardhacandra*, three symbols which are part of the nine subtle symbol system¹⁸⁴.

2) 16-sided shape with the 12 Kālīs of the original Anākhyacakra and an additional 5 Kālīs known as Kṛṣakālī, Sarvāntakālī, Śivakālī and Krodhakālī installed in the East to Northeast with Mahābhairavaghoracaṇḍagrasanakālī in the centre. The sequence of 17 rather than 13 Kālīs belongs to the tradition of the now fragmentary *Kramasadbhāva* as Sanderson explains¹⁸⁵. Before the installation of the central Kālī, the numeral 3 is given in KKA 2.

When numbers are recorded without further elaboration in the KKA, they usually refer to the number of syllables of the *mantra* to be chanted at particular points. 3 should refer to

¹⁸⁴ These are the symbols that represent nine divisions of sound (often called *kalā*) which are widely believed in Tantric literature to be the elongation of the *anusvāra* at the end of a seed syllable as it becomes increasingly subtle (see the entry for *kalā* in TAK, Vol. II, pp. 70 - 71).

¹⁸⁵ See a discussion on these Kālīs, including a reference to the attestation of the KKA, in Sanderson (2007c), pp. 101 - 102, fn. 20

the syllables *ām phām phīm* since this is the *mantra* given before the names of the Kālīs (13-16) in this *cakra* as well as the previous 12 Kālīs in the original Anākhyacakra.

An additional complication arises concerning the orientation of the central Kālī in relation to the three above symbols. She too is worshipped in the centre of the *maṇḍala* (*madhye sampūjya*) but we are not told whether she appears in the centre of a horizontal row flanked by these symbols, atop them vertically, aniconically represented by them or even embodying the symbols which are imagined sonically but not visually.

3) 64 filaments with the 64 sacred sites found in the Svatantrasthitikrama.

4) 64 petals with the 16 goddesses of the Jñānasiddhacakra, 24 of the Antaḥsiddha, 12 of the Melāpasiddha, eight of the Śāktasiddha and four Śāmbhavasiddha. It is to be noted that all these figures are female and therefore they are collectively called the 64 Siddhayoginīs (*catuḥṣaṣṭisiddhayoginyah*) also known in other sources as the Vṛndacakra¹⁸⁶.

5) Three circles intervening between the petals and the square whose symbolism is not stated.

6) A *maṇḍala* of five petals each located at the Northeastern and Northwestern corners within the square of the *maṇḍala* where we find the Pañcapīṭha and Pañcavāha deities.

7) Although the *raṁṣā* deities are not specifically mentioned in this *cakra*, I assume that they are in the same location on the square. Meanwhile, the instructions also make no mention of the four *dūtīs*.

¹⁸⁶ See Sanderson (1988), pp. 697 - 698

The rites preceding and succeeding the installation of the *maṇḍala* are as per the formula discussed for previous *cakras* with the exception that the *mudrās* shown at the conclusion of the worship are the *nirbhayā*, *varadā*, *śaṅkhinī* and *vajrinī*.

Svatantrabhāsācakra

The design for the Svantrabhāsācakra is more complicated than the previous *cakras* since the matching of compounds describing the shapes with their qualifiers is not entirely clear. With this in mind, my approximation of the *cakra* is as follows:

1. A pericarp with 12 *bindus*, each representing one of the 12 Kālīs which were in the lotus seeds of the original Bhāsācakra. I have interpreted the pericarp in this way as we are told to install the deities beginning with Mantra (*mantrādi*) in the place of the twelve *nādas* (*mantrādi dvādaśanādashāne*). Because the pericarp is described as adorned with twelve *nādabindus* (*dvādaśabindunādakalālaṃkṛtaṃ*) when the elements of the *cakra* are being listed before their installation, the pericarp must be understood as this *nādashāna*. Meanwhile, we are in no doubt that the group “beginning with Mantra” should be these 12 Kālīs of the original Bhāsācakra since we have no other group of 12 beginning with this name in the KKA.

2. 24 filaments representing the 24 Antaḥsiddha goddesses

3. A circle surrounding the pericarp. I understand this to be the case due to the description of the location of the eight-petalled lotus as *vṛttād bahiḥ* (outside of the circle) suggesting that there is a circle separating the petals from the pericarp and the compound *vṛttabindukarṇikam* when listing the pericarp, which I take to mean a pericarp with *bindus* and a circle.

4. Eight petals representing each of the eight Kālīs originally found in the pericarp of the generic Bhāsācakra beginning with Mahābhāsā in the Southeastern petal.

5. Another circle intervening between the eight petals and the final square enclosure.

On this circle are placed the four *dūtīs* in the intermediate directions and a new set of deities known as the *Pratihārikās* in the cardinal direction. These are called 1. *Bhaṭṭinī* 2. *Peśvarī* 3. *Caṇḍinī* 4. *Siddhayoginī*, beginning in the Southeast and ending in the Northeast. I interpret the circle to be located beyond the petals due to the compound *vṛttaikaveṣṭitaṃ* (surrounded by a single circle) used to qualify the eight-petalled lotus. Meanwhile, the locations of the *dūtīs* and *Pratihārikās* are inferred from the description of the former as *agnipatrordhvavṛttasthānād ārabhya* (beginning in the place of the circle above the Southeastern petal [of the eight-petalled lotus]) and the latter as *pūrvapatrād ūrdhvavṛttasthāne* (on the place in the circle above the Eastern petal [of the eight-petalled lotus]). This is consolidated by the fact that these two groups are said to be on the same row as shown by the additional instruction for the *Pratihārikas* that states *dūtīnām pañktau pūrvād dakṣiṇāntaṃ* (on the same row as the *dūtīs* who begin in the East and end in the South (of that row)).

6. A *maṇḍala* of five petals each located at the Northeastern and Northwestern corners within the square of the *maṇḍala* where we find the *Pañcapīṭha* and *Pañcavāha* deities.

7. The square with the four *rakṣā* deities headed by *Gaṇapati*. I have amended the first compound in the listing of the component shapes (*catuṣkoṇāṣṭadalakamalodaraṃ*) by splitting it into two words (*catuṣkoṇam aṣṭadalakamalodaraṃ*) which would suggest that the square is surrounding the eight-petalled lotus and is the outermost shape in the *maṇḍala* as reflected in the *cakras* of all other *Kālīs*.

The worship concludes in a similar manner with the set of four *mudrās*, this time round being the *jvālinī*, *śaśinī*, *bhāsvarī* and *vispharā mudrās*. A further peculiarity is the group of *mantras* by which the goddess is worshipped which is still unencoded by me. We are given the cryptic formula “*mahāmanthānateja 1. khphreṃ ma phaṭ 2. 5. 5*”

followed by the instruction to worship with the Five Paravidyās

(*raśmikevalasthūlasūkṣmamiśraparavidyāpañcakena*).

General Observations on the *Cakras*

As can be seen from the above arrangements, the way in which the Svatantrakālīcakras enable the worship of the entire sequence of the Krama through merely five *cakras* is by embedding the deities from the 11 ancillary Nityapūjācakras in their own *maṇḍalas*. We therefore find several groups of Nityapūjā deities that are common to all five *maṇḍalas*, namely the four *rakṣās*, the Pañcapīṭhas and Pañcavāha, which form the outer structures of each Svatantrakālī *maṇḍala*. Other groups drawn from the Nityapūjā are found in one or two of these *maṇḍalas*. These are the Ānanda and Mūrti *cakras* found in the Svatantrasṛṣṭīcakra alone; the Melāpacakra (Sthiti and Anākhyā); the Antaḥsiddhacakra (Anākhyā and Bhāsa); and the Jñānasiddha, Śāktasiddha and Śāmbhavasiddha *cakras* which appear in the Svatantrānākhyacakra. This leaves only two *cakras* that are not represented –the 12 deities of the Prakāśacakra and the 15 of the Parāṇavasiddhacakra. It is possible that these could have been placed amongst some of the lotuses and circles whose inhabitants are not identified in our five *maṇḍalas*.

Another point of interest is the manner in which the Krama engages with the widespread Śākta concept of 64 *yoginīs*. Although the number of *yoginīs* amongst Śākta cults varied highly to begin with, later texts, both Tantric and Purāṇic, tended to strive for 64 *yoginīs* either as independent goddesses or classified under groups of eight mothers. Serbaeva (2009) has expertly shown this trajectory in her study of the chronology of *yoginī* cults. These 64 *yoginīs* in the KKA are formed by adding 40 sacred sites and their resident goddesses to the existing 24 sites/goddesses found in the *maṇḍala* of the Prāyaścittavidhi. These deities then become part of both the Svatantrasṛṣṭīcakra, where

they are located on a lotus of 64 petals and the Svatantrānākhyacakra, located on the 64 filaments.

A thorough comparison of the mode of worship of the 24 sites of the Prāyaścittavidhi of the KKA with their worship in other Tantric sources, many of which are listed in Dyczkowski (2009), will be fully elaborated in the next chapter. However, we may briefly compare the KKA's approach to the full 64 sites with other sources which call for the worship of such a number here. Although Dyczkowski (2009) records multiple sources containing the worship of 24 *pīṭhas*, he states that there are only two texts in addition to the KKA which he knows of to record a list of 64 sites, namely the *Ambāmatasamhitā* and the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairavatantra* (MBT)¹⁸⁷. Although these two Tantras' lists of the first 24 sites are very close to the KKA's, a significant number of variants are found in the remaining 40 sites of the three sources. It is worth noting then that a text that contains a list with an order and nomenclature that is almost identical to the KKA's not known to Dyczkowski is the HRT which lists these sites in its *pīṭhanyāsa* of the *Guhyakālīkāṣoḍhānyāsapāṭala*¹⁸⁸. The major difference in the two texts' list of 64 is that the HRT omits seven sites (sites 53 and 54 and 60 – 64 on the KKA's list). Other than these seven, the lists are almost identical. Moreover, whereas the KKA has a *nyāsa* for only the 24 sites of the Prāyaścittavidhi, the HRT finds a locus on the body for the deposition of all 57 sites. This again highlights the HRT's tendency to develop the pre-existing models of *nyāsa* found in the KKA as we saw with its treatment of the faces, arms and seats of Guhyakālī.

Furthermore, Dyczkowski does note that the 64 *pīṭhas* in the KKA are split into eight groups of eight. However, he does not elaborate on how this division into eight

¹⁸⁷ Dyczkowski (2009), Vol. II, Part II, pp. 440 – 445.

¹⁸⁸ This is found in ff. 111r2 – 112r6.

categories is achieved. As shown in Ch.2, the division of the first 24 sites into three groups of eight is unproblematic as they are split into the rather natural categories of *kṣetra*, *upakṣetra* and *saṃdoha*. However, since additional site categories are not found for the additional 40 *pīṭhas*, it is through iconography alone that five further groups of eight are created or, as already shown in our description of the Svatantrasthīcakra, each additional group of eight beyond the first 24 are ascribed one distinguishing attribute. Iconography thus plays the key role in allowing the KKA to adopt the idea widespread in *yoginī* literature of classifying the 64 *yoginīs* under eight groups.

Finally, a subtle mirroring of this set of 64 site-specific *yoginīs* with another group of 64 *yoginīs* takes place in the Svatantrānākyacakra. The 64 goddesses of 5 ancillary *cakras* preceding the Five Kālīs known collectively in some Krama literature as the Vṛndacakra and labelled here the Siddhayoginīs are deposited in a ring of petals. They form a natural pair with the 64 *pīṭha yoginīs* who are housed in 64 filaments immediately beyond them as we move closer to the centre of the *cakra*. Although the symbolism is not spelt out, there seems to be a system of equivalence between the esoteric Krama (the Vṛndacakra) and the more generic Śākta conceptualisation of *yoginīs* (the *pīṭha* goddesses). The Vṛndacakra, although not explained as such in the KKA, is commonly considered the sum total of the factors of cognition which are eventually absorbed in the ultimate grounds of pure consciousness¹⁸⁹. They are therefore interior phenomena. The *pīṭhayoginīs* meanwhile are associated with physical locations and gross matter in terms of geographical sites and parts of the body onto which they are deposited. The KKA implicitly suggests that the idea of the 64 exoteric *yoginīs* found in other Kaula texts and common to much of Śākta literature is nothing but the exteriorisation of the esoteric Krama pantheon.

¹⁸⁹ Sanderson (1988), p. 698

Chapter 4

A Commentary on the KKA with Emphasis on the Ritual Procedure

In this Chapter, I aim to provide an exposition and analysis of the entire contents of the KKA in the order in which they appear in this text. The only material that will not be commented upon is topics related to iconography which have been dealt with in previous chapters as well as the three major *naimittika* rites which, on account of their complexity, are discussed separately in Ch.5. As we go along, emphasis will be placed on the ways in which the KKA considerably supplements what we know of Krama worship and the affinities and distinctiveness of Krama rituals with wider Kaula practice.

At this point, it may also be helpful to define the two broad categories – *nitya* and *naimittika* – which Vimalaprabodha uses to classify the rituals of the KKA. As explained by Goodall in the TAK¹⁹⁰, this categorisation adopted by Śaiva literature and common to Hindu works on ritual in general is derived from the Mīmāṃsā system of the “fourfold categorisation of ritual into *nitya*, that which is regularly obligatory (e.g., *sandhyopāsana*, daily worship); *naimittika*, that which is obligatory but enjoined on particular occasions (e.g., *dīksā*); *kāmya*¹⁹¹; and *niṣiddha*, that which is forbidden”. In the KKA, all rites up to and including the Nirālambārcana come under the rubric of *nitya* as indicated by the concluding statement of this section (*iti saṃpūrṇanityārcanavidhiḥ*) while the *naimittika* begins with the Damanakavidhi.

¹⁹⁰ TAK Vol. II, p. 90

¹⁹¹ These are rites performed for specific goals, usually magical attainments involving the transformation of oneself or the transformation of others to one’s benefit. An important class of *kāmya* rites - the eight *ṛddhis* - have already been discussed by us in the previous chapter. See *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 88 - 89 for an extensive definition.

A few notable features of the KKA's system of classification should be remarked upon. Firstly, the understanding of *nitya* as pertaining exclusively to rites that are performed on a daily basis as per some definitions of this term¹⁹² is not valid for the KKA which includes rites, such as the *Cakrakrīḍā*, which given how elaborate and time-consuming they are, could not be replicated daily. A rite such as the *Cakrakrīḍā* may, however, be termed *nitya* as opposed to *naimittika* since the adept was possibly expected to undertake them in a routine manner on several dates throughout the year rather than on a single annual occasion as is the case with the *naimittika* *Mahāśivarātri* for instance. Furthermore, we see that the KKA does not have any instructions for initiation (*dīkṣā*) which is often considered the most important *naimittika* rite. Although this seems perplexing at first, it is understandable given the Kaula tendency to forgo formal *dīkṣā* entirely in favour of recognising initiation merely through the descent of divine power manifest in changes to the adept's behaviour following the consumption of the power substances of the cult as Sanderson (1995) explains¹⁹³. Finally, we see the complete omission of the category of *kāmya* rites. This category will be further discussed in the conclusion of the thesis but since these rites are so diverse and goal-specific, it is possible that Vimalaprabodha has silently delegated the responsibility for them to the numerous cults and liturgies specifically designed to handle matters of *bhukti* (enjoyment/mundane rewards) while seeing his own work as principally related to *mukti* (liberation).

Opening Verses

Following Vimalaprabodha's obeisance to Śiva and Śakti alongside his line of gurus beginning with Śrīnātha¹⁹⁴, the original revealer of the Krama scriptures, and ending with

¹⁹² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 296

¹⁹³ Sanderson (1995), pp. 85 - 86 and 88 - 89

¹⁹⁴ Śrīnātha, as Sanderson (2007b, p. 263 – 265) states, is an alias for Jñānanetra or Śivānanda, considered the promulgator (*avatāraka*) of a number of Krama scriptures in the tradition.

his own guru, he presents an intriguing *maṅgalācaraṇa*. Before examining the meaning of this cryptic verse, it is worth remarking upon its appearance in texts beyond the KKA.

A tradition exists which pairs this *maṅgalācaraṇa* with the five verses that are prescribed as a chant for the Mahāśivarātrividhi in the KKA known to Vimalaprabodha as the *Kālīsūtra* to form a six-versed hymn (the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the KKA acting as v.1 and the five verses of Mahāśivarātri being vv. 2 - 6). This tradition is at least as ancient as the late 14th century GNP since this six-versed hymn appears in this liturgy also under the name of *Kālīsūtra* at the culmination of its sequence of worship¹⁹⁵. The very same hymn is attested in a manuscript which is a collection of hymns known as the *Stotrasaṃgraha* where the six verses are called the *Śrīkālikādevīnityastuti*¹⁹⁶.

It is more likely than not that the six-versed version was the work of a redactor postdating Vimalaprabodha who decided to combine the two verse passages in the KKA rather than its opposite, namely that the *maṅgalācaraṇa* was a verse extracted by Vimalaprabodha from an originally six-versed hymn. Other than the difference in metre between v. 1 and vv. 2 - 6 of the six-versed version of the *Kālīsūtra*, further proof that these two verse segments were once separate is found in the fact that several other Uttarāmnāya liturgies continue to record the hymn as five verses as per its appearance in the Mahāśivarātrividhi of the KKA. These liturgies include the *Siddhilakṣmyadhivāsanasthaṇḍilārcanavidhi* and the *Siddhilakṣmīkramasthaṇḍilārcanavidhi*¹⁹⁷. I will not digress further into the compositional history of the *Kālīsūtra* since this is dealt with in detail in my forthcoming publication but our short treatment here goes to show that the KKA's *maṅgalācaraṇa* did gain widespread influence. We may also note that parts of the *Kālīsūtra* must be far older than the liturgies

¹⁹⁵ GNP, ff. 35r1 – 36r1

¹⁹⁶ *Stotrasaṃgraha*, f. 40v1 – 8

¹⁹⁷ See *Siddhilakṣmyadhivāsanasthaṇḍilārcanavidhi* (ff. 89v3 – 90r5) and *Siddhilakṣmīkramasthaṇḍilārcanavidhi* (ff. 166v7 – 167r7).

of the Newars since a verse that is almost identical to two segments of the first and last verse of this hymn appears as the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* and *Yonigahvara*, three early important Tantras of the Krama¹⁹⁸. This very verse also serves as the first verse of the Mahāśivarātri chant in the *Parvatrayavidhāna* (PTV) and appears as a line in a hymn to Siddhilakṣmī in a *paddhati* called the *Siddhilakṣmyārātrikavidhi*¹⁹⁹. A thorough examination of Guhyakālī literature would doubtlessly uncover far more citations of this verse.

Let us now return to the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the KKA itself, which seems to describe Guhyakālī in her manifestation as each of the Five Kālīs by describing their functions and also connection with the body's *cakras*. My attempt at translating the verse is as follows:

*yā candre bhūtabhinnā ravihavisadane gotracandraiś ca rudrair
hṛnnābhau kandacakre tridahanakuhare dvādaśaikena saṁsthā|
sṛṣṭisthairyāntakartrī trikalakhakhayutām sarvatattvaikavṛttim
tām kālīm naumi nityam paramapadamayīm satsadānandadātrīm||1*

“She is present in the moon (Sṛṣṭikālī) as divided into the Five, in the sun (Sthitikālī) and the abode of the oblation (Saṁhāarakālī) as 17 and 11, (found respectively) in the navel, in the heart and in the root wheel (*kandacakra*), present in the void of the three fires (Anākhyakālī) as 13, the enacter of emission, maintenance and dissolution (Anākhyā), I always pay homage to her who is joined with that which is the void of the void of the three *kalās* (Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Saṁhāra), consisting in the supreme realm, granting the true and eternal bliss.”

¹⁹⁸ The verse can be found in the two former Tantras in their edition by Lamichhane (2017) while a transcription of this verse from the unpublished *Yonigahvara* is found in Dyczkowski (2009), Volume I of Introduction, p. 680. Dyczkowski states that this verse resembles one in the MBT but does not seem to be aware of it being the same as those found in the listed literature above. The exact extent of its similarity with the first verse of the five-versed *Kālīsūtra* is discussed in my forthcoming publication (Pangsriyongse, 2023).

¹⁹⁹ For its appearance in the PTV, consult my edition while its presence in the latter is found in Exposure 46, l. 1-3.

Certain words act as common codes for numbers in this verse²⁰⁰ while the three fires are symbolic of Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti and Saṃhāra. By pairing these veiled terms together, we see that the verse in fact describes the basic arrangement of the *cakras* of the five Kālīs. The links between the three fires and three Kālīs is made explicit at two points in the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* (vv 4.3 - 7 and vv. 7.36 – 39)²⁰¹ where the three Kālīs are imagined in a column with Sṛṣṭi at the top represented as the moon, Sthiti known in this scripture known as Avatāraka as the sun and Saṃhāra at the base as the Fire of Time. The first coded association in the verse is between *candra* (Sṛṣṭikālī) and the numeric code *bhūta*. Since *bhūta* can mean the (five) elements and commonly denotes “five”, we can understand this association as a reference to the Five Yonis who surround Sṛṣṭikālī in her *cakra*. Next is *ravi* (Sthitikālī) which is linked to *gotracandra*. *Gotra*, often denoting 16, and *candra*, which can mean 1, add up to make 17, which is the number of figures in the Sthiticakra if we include the central Sthitikālī (the four Yuganāthas plus the twelve Rājaputras). Meanwhile, *rudra* is a well-known code for 11 and is paired with *havisadana*, literally the abode of the oblation which is another term for Fire. This pairing thus refers to the 11 figures of the Saṃhārakakra.

These three are said in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* to be located in the heart, navel and root *cakra*. Since these three bodily locations are aligned as a column with the heart at the top and the root at its base, they presumably correspond to the vertical arrangement of Kālīs described in the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* 7.36 - 39 with Sṛṣṭi at the top (heart), Sthiti in the middle (navel) and Saṃhāra at the base (root *cakra*). A fourth location – *tridahanakuhara* – is also given in this verse, which must correspond to Anākhya. This is consolidated by

²⁰⁰ The numeric meaning for all of these code words can be found in Monier-Williams Dictionary, except *gotra*.

²⁰¹ Although the entire segments cited contain descriptions of the three Kālīs as the three fires, the most explicit associations come at 4.6b – 7a (*candraṃ sṛṣṭim vijānīyād agniḥ saṃhāra ucyate// avatāro raviḥ prokto madhyasthaḥ parameśvara/*)

the fact that this Kālī is said to be present as thirteen, given in uncoded form as *dvādaśaikena*, in this location, which is a reference to the thirteen Kālīs of the Anākhyacakra. Her location as the void of the three fires also conforms with the Krama idea that each of the Five Kālīs is subsumed by the succeeding Kālī. Anākhyā is thus the void or point of dissolution of the Moon, Sun and Fire or the three preceding Kālīs. Moreover, the descriptor *srṣṭisthairyāntakartrī* should also apply to her as well since being more supreme than the three that precede her, she also absorbs their three cosmic functions.

Where then is Bhāsākālī to be located in the verse? The verse appears to be neatly split so that the qualifiers of the four Kālīs are declined in the nominative agreeing with the relative pronoun *yā* while all descriptors of Bhāsākālī are declined in the accusative becoming the direct object of *naumi* and following *tām*. First, Bhāsā is aptly described as *trikalakhakhayutām*. Following the principle that each Kālī dissolves into her successor, I interpret this as Bhāsā being “the void of the void of the three Kālīs”. We have already seen the use of *tridahanakuhara* (the void of the three fires) as a descriptor for Anākhyā. If we interpret *trikala/trikalā*²⁰² as a reference to Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti and Saṁhāra then *trikalakha* must be the equivalent of *tridahanakuhara* (Anākhyā). Since Bhāsā transcends and absorbs Anākhyā then she can be described as devoid *even* of that void (*khakha*). This doubling of apophatic language may seem strange and redundant at first sight but is actually a common feature in the Krama. Terms describing the supreme Kālī in a synonymous manner, such as *śūnyaśūnyataram* (“more empty than the empty”), are commonly found in Krama canonical literature²⁰³. Moreover, the use of the term *kha* to denote the supreme and ineffable state which can be transcended no further has common currency within the Śaiva system and

²⁰² Across all Śaiva traditions, the *kalās* are often considered the first evolutes of *māyāśakti* from which the other *tattvas* arise. They are therefore associated with the conventional cosmic processes which fit the roles of creation, maintenance and dissolution played by the first three Kālīs. It is therefore reasonable to imagine this *śloka* using *trikala/kalā* to describe the Kālīs whose nature is more immanent than transcendent. See the extended discussion of this term in TAK, Vol. II, pp. 68 - 73

²⁰³ See for instance *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* vv. 2.33 – 34 and 5.21.

indeed outside it²⁰⁴. Meanwhile, the three other descriptors attached to Bhāsākālī merely emphasise her supremacy.

After this verse, Vimalaprabodha goes on to list the gurus of his lineage comprised of Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Śrīkaṇṭha, Kuṇḍaliśvara, Śrīkrodha, Mīna and Tālāṅka and pays obseisance to his own guru Alakācārya. Issues related to this list of gurus will be discussed in greater detail in the Gurumaṇḍala section of my analysis. He then names all 35 sections of the KKA saying that after observing the now lost *Pañcacāmarāśekhara*²⁰⁵, he has been able to proclaim this sequence of worship. These 35 encompass the six preparatory rites (*paripāṭi*), the 11 ancillary Nityapūjācakras, the Viśeṣārghapātrapūjā, the worship of the Five Kālīs, the Gurumaṇḍalapūjā, ten methods of worship associated with the Nityapūjā and finally five *naimittika* rites.

Ātmapūjā

The first part of the *paripāṭi*, the Ātmapūjā requires the deposition (*nyāsa*) of the 11 ancillary Nityapūjācakras onto the body. The adept is instructed to cause the *śakti* in his body to rise from its own resting place, leading it up to the crown of his head (*brahmarandhra*). He should then cause the *śakti*, split into the 11 ancillary *cakras* beginning with the Pañcapīṭhacakra and ending with the fifteen figures of the Parāṇavasiddhacakra, to descend *cakra* by *cakra* into 11 body parts envisaged with various colours as follows: the yellow urethra, the red private parts, the red-white base of the *kaja*²⁰⁶, the red navel, the dark region above the navel, the white heart, the grey region above it, the black cavity of his throat, his joints²⁰⁷ which have the colour of lightning, his palate the colour of lac

²⁰⁴ *Khasvarūpā* (“possessing own nature of the void”) and *khamadhyasthā* (“situated in the middle of the void”) are amongst the descriptors of the supreme Kālī in the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka*.

²⁰⁵ Sanderson (2007b, p. 342, fn. 363) understands *Pañcacāmarāśekhara* as a text.

²⁰⁶ The term *kajādhāra* is not entirely clear but since one of the meanings of *kaja* is lotus and the lotus is associated with the navel, the root (*ādhāra*) of the lotus should be the region directly beneath the navel.

²⁰⁷ This is a polysemous term to denote power centres in the body usually located along the *sūṣumnā* and numbering from five to 16 depending on the tradition (see TAK, Vol II, p. 206). The KKA sadly does not

and the white *bindu* (between eyebrows). He should then imagine these *cakras*, with the exception of the Pañcapīṭhacakra, dissolving two by two with the single utterance of a *mantra* into the Five Kālīs while worshipping them with the *mahāmṛta* whose sequence is the Fire, Sun, Moon, Air and Ether and with offerings such as flowers. The *mahāmṛta* most likely refers to the *pañcāmṛta* which will be explained in this chapter in the section on the Samayaguṭikāvidhi. However, what is meant by the sequence of the Fire, Sun, Moon, Air and Ether is oblique. Later on, this sequence is associated with the five vessels of the Viśeṣārghapātra and here there might be a subtle reference to the laying out of water vessels for the sprinkling of the liquid *pañcāmṛta*. However, this would suggest that we have a third *arghapātra* beyond the Sāmānya and Viśeṣārghapātras. Nonetheless, the next stage of the Ātmapūjā is clear; each of the Five Kālīs themselves should dissolve into the succeeding Kālī (Sṛṣṭi into Sthiti, Sthiti into Saṃhāra and so on) until we reach Bhāsā who is said to be present in all Kālīs (*sarvasthe*). The Ātmapūjā concludes with the worship of the self with a single flower.

Āsanapūjā

We are then instructed on the second *paripāṭi*, the worship of the seat. The seat should be 36 *aṅgulas* in perimeter, three *aṅgulas* thick and with a border of one *aṅgula*, made out of several animal skins. In the absence of these, it can be made out of red cloth. In the absence of all such materials, it should be imagined. One should then worship this seat with the *mantra* – *hrīm śrīm samastakālakālāsanapāda* - and with flowers.

The identity of the animal skins which is listed in a compound as

naragajamṛgabṛhadvyāghracitrakachāgacarmamayam raises some issues. The presence of

give an account of its own system but the location we are looking for would have to be above the throat and below the palate. A *granthi* at the throat is given as one of the locations for the 17-syllabled *nyāsa*, suggesting this could be the location of the unspecified *granthi* of the Ātmapūjā.

br̥had can be understood as qualifying *vyāghra* to mean a large tiger in which case the animals used would be human, elephant, deer, large tiger, leopard and goat. However, the *mantra* used for enchanting the seat suggests that the seat should represent all *kālāsanas* (deity seats of the goddess) of which there are seven consisting of the *dikpatis*, the Five Pretas and Bhairava. It would therefore be preferable if there were seven animal skins each representing an *āsana*. In such a case, we would have to interpret *br̥hat* as an independent animal. A possibility would be to understand it as an abbreviation for *br̥hadrāvin*, a term for an owl. However, this might be unlikely given the small size of this animal and the quantity needed for this large seat. A tentative solution would be to see *br̥hat* as a corruption of an orthographically similar word for another more suitable animal such as *pr̥ṣat* (spotted antelope).

Sanyāsadhyānavidhi

We now come to the third *paripāṭi*, the *Sanyāsadhyānavidhi*, of which there are eight parts as follows: the nine-syllabled *nyāsa* (*navākṣaranyāsa*), seventeen-syllabled *nyāsa* (*saptadaśākṣara*), the sixfold *aṅganyāsa*, the facial *nyāsa* followed by the *dhyānas* for the faces, weapons, poses and seats of Guhyakālī. The first of these is the *nyāsa* involving the nine-syllabled *mantra*, which both the KKA and other Krama texts articulate as *khphreṃ mahācaṇḍayogeśvarī*. The procedure begins with the deposition of this *mantra* five times on to the hand of the adept. The adept then deposits the *mantra* syllable by syllable on to nine body parts as follows: 1) private parts 2) *kandacakra*²⁰⁸ 3) heart 4) throat 5) palate 6) *bindu* 5) crown of the head 8) *tripatha*²⁰⁹ and 9) *dhūmaśikhā*²¹⁰. This deposition

²⁰⁸ See TAK, Vol. II (p. 44) for definition of the *kanda* as the bulb which forms the base of the *susūmnā*.

²⁰⁹ Törzsök has used this *nyāsa* in the KKA to help with her definitions of various bodily locations in the TAK. However, the *tripatha*, traditionally understood as the meeting point of the three *nāḍīs*, seems oblique to her as well (“Tripatha appears to denote a place in or above the body, for it is listed as the eighth place in a series of nine, on which the *akṣaras* of Mahācaṇḍeśvarī should be placed,” TAK Vol. III, p. 125).

²¹⁰ Törzsök understands this term, citing this section of the KKA and Kṣemaraja, as possibly denoting the *dvādaśānta* or a location above that (see TAK, Vol. III, p. 236).

occurs five times for each of the five Kālīs with the sequence of *nyāsa* also changing for each Kālī. For Sṛṣṭi, we are told that the sequence is in reverse (*vyatyayāt*) meaning the *nyāsa* begins with the ninth body part (*dhūmasikhā*) and ends with the first (*guhya*).

The sequence for Sthiti is said to begin at the navel (*nābhyāda*). This is problematic since *nābhi* is not listed amongst the nine body parts. *Kanda* – the base *cakra* – however is commonly understood to be just below the navel. Since all manuscripts read *nābhi*, I have assumed that *nābhi* refers to the *kanda* of our list. Saṃhāra's *nyāsa* follows the listed sequence beginning with the private parts. Anākhyā's sequence starts at the palate while Bhāsā's begins at the *bindu*.

The *nyāsa* for the seventeen-syllabled *vidyā* proceeds along the same lines as the preceding *nyāsa* with the 17 body parts for this *vidyā* said to be: 1) penis 2) *meḍhra*²¹¹ 3) navel 4) heart 5) hollow of the throat 6) the knot (*granthi*) of the throat²¹² 7) base of the palate 8) palate 9) tip of the nose 10) brow 11) forehead 12) the parting of the hair 14) above that 15) the crown of the head 16) *śiraḥsandhi*²¹³ 17) the tip of the head's crest (*śikhānta*). From the term *yathākrameṇa*, we can assume that the sequence for each Kālī is different beginning at the point specified in the previous *nyāsa*. This is by and large unproblematic as the body parts that are the starting point particular to Sthiti and Anākhyā are also on the seventeen-syllabled *nyāsa*'s list (*nābhi* and *tālu*) while for Sṛṣṭi and Saṃhāra, the previous principle of reversing the order and following the listed order can be applied. For Bhāsā, whose sequence should begin at the *bindu* which is lacking in this list, we might understand *bhrū* (the brow) which shares the *bindu*'s location as the substitute.

²¹¹ *Meḍhra* also means penis so the distinction between this term and the preceding *liṅga* is still unclear to me.

²¹² See Hatley (2022), pp. 822 - 826 for elaboration on the meaning of *granthi*.

²¹³ The locations of the *śiraḥsandhi* and *śikhānta* are problematic since the highest point on the head has already been listed (*brahmarandhra*). This means that the *nyāsa* should continue above the head to locations beyond the physical body or that it continues by moving down the back side of the head so that the *śiraḥsandhi* and *śikhānta* are two locations behind the head's crest, possibly the back parting of the hair and the end of the back of the head's hair.

Another problem arises in identifying the seventeen-syllabled *mantra*. The KKA gives five versions of this *mantra* particular to each Kālī as elaborated in the section on the Pañcakālīcakra. Therefore, the author could intend for us to use a separate seventeen-syllabled *vidyā* for each Kālī's sequence. However, if he intended for only one version to be used, this would most likely be the form associated with Bhāsā which is the nine-syllabled *vidyā* with its conjuncts split into seventeen syllables as will be described. It should be noted that this fivefold *nyāsa* of the nine and seventeen-syllabled *vidyās* is found in other unpublished sources as well. For instance, the GNP (f. 2r1-5) has the exact same locations and sequences for the nine-syllabled *nyāsa* and has incomplete instructions for the seventeen-syllabled *nyāsa*. Where the instructions are extant, these are also identical with those found in the KKA.

After this, we have the *ṣaḍaṅganyāsa*, a practice highly prevalent to Buddhist and Hindu Tantras whose purpose is largely protective. The standard list of locations for the *nyāsa* in these sources, including the KKA, consists of 1) the heart 2) head 3) crest of the head 4) armour (*kavaca*) 5) eyes and 6) the directions around the body (*diśāsu*). In the Krama version, the deities deposited are goddesses whose names end with *īśvarī* and preceded by the seed syllable KHPHREM. This is followed by a *vaktranyāsa* in which another set of *Īśvarīs*, this time nine, are deposited on various facial features. Again, both the *aṅga* and *vaktranyāsas* appear in almost identical form in the GNP (ff. 2r5 – 2v4) with some changes to the *mantra*. A point of interest is how some MSS of the KKA associate the nine facial features in the *vaktranyāsa* with the different animalian heads of Guhyakālī. This also features prominently in the HRT and is a phenomenon already discussed in Ch. 1.

Sāmānyārghapātravidhi

Following the *nyāsas*, we have four *dhyānas* on the faces, implements, poses and seats of the central Guhyakālī and the Five Kālīs. Since this forms the subject of Ch.1, I will omit an explanation of these sections here and move on to the instructions for the *arghapātra*. The *arghapātra* in Tantric ritual is an adaptation of its orthodox counterpart which serves as a container for water offered to guests. In the Tantric context, it contains the liquid for the satiation of deities and for the purificatory sprinkling of ritual paraphernalia and participants. Worshippers may also be invited to consume this liquid in certain rites as we will see. In the KKA, two *arghapātras* are consecrated, the first being used for the 11 ancillary *cakras* of the Nityapūjā and the second – known as the *viśeṣārghapātra* – is reserved for the five Kālīs. The KKA gives a list of materials out of which the vessel can be made. These are a human skull, conch shell, coconut shell²¹⁴, tortoise shell, pearl, gold and silver. The vessel should be filled with a mix of orthodox Hindu offerings paired with transgressive ingredients, namely unhusked rice, flowers and sandal paste alongside liquor, meat and blood. It should then be placed at the centre of a square *maṇḍala* accompanied by the chanting of *hrīm*. With his two little fingers, the adept should rotate the vessel three times anticlockwise and clockwise chanting *hrīm* for the former and *hūm* for the latter. He should then draw the *samayahṛdayavidyā*²¹⁵ at its centre, display the *lelihamudrā* and cast five flowers into the centre while chanting the five-fold 100-syllabled *mantras*. These *mantras* are a reference to the 100-syllabled *mantra* particular to each of the Five Kālīs and which conclude their worship in the Pañcakālīcakras. He should then place a

²¹⁴ The term *viśvāmitra* is used here. To my knowledge, there is no common meaning of this term that denotes a material out of which a vessel could be made. I have however tentatively taken it to mean coconut shell due to this sage's reputed invention of the coconut tree (See Ahuja (2014), p. 222 for the myths associated with this plant) and the common use of this material as a *pātra* in Hindu ritual.

²¹⁵ For the identity of this *mantra*, see Sanderson (2007b), pp. 307 - 308, fn. 247

tilaka made from this *argha* on his navel, heart, throat, forehead and head and sprinkle all the ritual implements and ground.

Mandaloddhāraṇī

Succeeding the *arghapātra*, we have one of the most challenging sections of the KKA known as the Maṇḍaloddhāraṇī. The *maṇḍala* we are meant to raise involves the installation of the Sanskrit syllabary divided into groups that fit various geometric shapes and layers of lotus petals. Although the syllabary *cakra* is a common phenomenon in Tantra, I am still unable to unlock the entire scheme of this *maṇḍala* due to the use of code words. Just as problematically, the relationship between this *maṇḍala*, both conceptual and spatial, with the following *cakras* of the Nityapūjā is unclear in spite of instructions preceding the arrangement of some of these *cakras* informing us of their orientation in relation to the former. For instance, before the Pañcapīṭhacakra, we are told *yathāpūrvottaramaṇḍale* and preceding the Pañcavāhacakra, *taddakṣamaṇḍale* is given. The issue is some of these instructions lead to repeated locations while instructions in manuscripts KKA 2 and 1 often conflict. What we can be more certain of is the general physical process by which this *maṇḍala* is inscribed and the arrangement of the first five layers and the periphery of the *maṇḍala*. Having enchanted the space with *mantras*, a square of 36 *aṅgulas* should be installed on top of which one places an *āsana*. We can presume this *āsana* resembles the one we were instructed to construct earlier since the measurements and formula for substitution by means of a red cloth in the case of the absence of such a seat (*tadabhāvād raktavastram*) is the same. On this seat/red cloth is placed an appropriate golden receptacle whose surface is smeared with a paste said by MSS of Stemma A to be made from the *vīradravya* which is a mixture of the *pañcāmṛta* with

seven additional ingredients²¹⁶. Stemma B expands upon this mixture, adding ground camphor, saffron, deer musk, sandalwood and red vermillion. The *maṇḍala* is thereafter inscribed on to the paste with, according to Stemma B, a golden *śalākā*.

We then come to the core of the *maṇḍala* which is where the syllabary is placed. Stemma A, which is preferable as explained in my edition, instructs us to draw a triangle, pentagon, 16-petalled lotus, 12-petalled lotus and another 16-petalled lotus. It seems that instructions for the installation of letters then proceed from outer to inner since we are first given the set of letters beginning with “a” and ending in “r” accompanied by the *anusvāra* (*akārādirephāntaṃ sānusvāraṃ*). This gives us 44 letters if we include “kṣa” to the list of consonants before the semi-vowels beginning with “l” (16 vowels including the *anusvāra* and *visarga*, 25 stops, kṣa and “y” and “r”) , the inclusion of “kṣa” being a convention in the Śaiva syllabary²¹⁷. This fits exactly the number of petals on the three lotus layers (16 + 12 + 16) suggesting each letter can be placed on a petal of its own. We are then told that the remaining six letters of the Śaiva syllabary are deposited at the centre (*madhye śeṣaṣaṭkaṃ*) and at the very centre of those six comes “the letter passed down by tradition” (*madhye pārampariyākṣaram*). The remaining group of six are “l”, “v”, the three sibilants and “h” while the letter at the very centre should be the root *vidyā* of the cult, which is KHPHREM. Going by the remaining shapes in the *maṇḍala*, the six letters and KHPHREM must be laid out on the pentagon and triangle. The most logical arrangement would be to place KHPHREM at the centre of the triangle and to deposit the remaining six elsewhere. Five will most likely be placed on the sides of the pentagon but the location for the sixth (“h”) is not known. Given the importance of the letter “h” in the Śaiva system²¹⁸, often

²¹⁶ See Sanderson (2005), pp. 112 - 113 for the identity of these substances.

²¹⁷ See Törzsök (2016) for the development of the Śaiva syllabary and TAK, Vol. II, p. 152 for the significance of *kṣa*. For a discussion of the composition of this syllabary alongside its deposition, see Padoux (1978), pp. 68 and 82 - 83

²¹⁸ See for instance *Vijñānabhairavatantra* v. 24.

representing the enlivening force as the *apāna*, it is conceivable that it is deposited on one of the sides of the central triangle or even at the centre beside or beneath KHPHREM.

Beyond these first five shapes (triangle, pentagon and three layers of lotus petals), we are told to add a series of shapes which have been given in code as the *vahni*, *sūrya* and *soma cakras*. We can assume that these too are arrangements of letters, possibly specific *mantras*, as they are said to be accompanied by prescribed letters (*upadeśavarṇasahitaṃ*). Even though the terms *vahni/sūrya/soma cakras* or the *maṇḍalas* of the three fires (*maṇḍalatrayam*) have common currency in Kaula texts, their exact meaning varies according to traditions and even within the same tradition²¹⁹. We cannot be sure of the KKA's intention for this terminology. We should note, however, that this terminology of the triple-fire *maṇḍala* recurs in the Svatantrasthīcakra where they refer to an eight-petalled (*agni*) and two 16-petalled lotuses (*soma* and *sūrya*) containing respectively the eight *ṛddhis*, 16 Ānandacakra deities and 16 Mūrticakra deities as already discussed in Ch.3.

Equally puzzling is the next shape beyond these three *cakras*. KKA 1 records the name of this feature as *kṣecakra* while KKA 2 calls it the *khecakra*, the latter perhaps being preferable as an abbreviation of *khecarīcakra* (the confusion of *kṣa* and *kha* being easily made in Newari script). A text that might provide insight into the appearance of a *khecarīcakra* as well as *maṇḍalas* of the three fires is the *Kubjikāmatatantra* (KMT) where the Khecarīcakra is the last and highest out of the Five Cakras of the subtle human body and is comprised of the *maṇḍalas* of the three fires embedded in one another. These three *maṇḍalas* contain multiple Khecarīs on the 24 petals of the *sūryamaṇḍala*, 16 petals of the *soma* and 8 petals of the *vahni*. In addition, similar to the instructions in the KKA to draw these three *maṇḍalas* accompanied by letters, in the KMT, we have the

²¹⁹ See the entry for *dhāmatraya* in TAK, Vol. II which shows how these three circles are variously interpreted (p. 227)

prescription to deposit a series of *mantras* or single letters on each petal of these *maṇḍalas*²²⁰. Although it would be tempting to identify our *khecakra* fully with this scheme found in the KMT, the indication that the *khecakra* is somehow outside of the three fires rather than synonymous with it in the KKA proves a problem (*tadbahiḥ khecakram*). Finally, the *maṇḍala* is completed with a square and three circular *cakras* each in the cardinal directions of this square inscribed with four syllables each (*jūṃ śrīṃ saḥ phaṭ; hūṃ hūṃ āṃ kroṃ; and hrīṃ oṃ kṣauṃ glaum*).

Viśeṣārghapātravidhi and the Pañcakālīcakras

The Maṇḍaloddhāraavidhi is followed by the listing of and instructions for orienting the Rakṣācatuṣka and the 11 Nityapūjācakras. The arrangement and visualisation of these have been discussed in detail in Ch. 2 and will not be examined further here. Vimalaprabodha concludes this section by summarising the deities worshipped whose number totals 133 (*yoginīguruvīraśrīkālīkātrayatrīmśādhikaśataikam*) and by instructing us to prepare the *viśeṣārghapātra* alongside the *gurumaṇḍala*. For the *viśeṣārghapātra*, the adept is first told to chant the *samaya* and *guhya samayahṛdaya mantras*. He then “brings about” (*niṣpādyā*) a flame which is a heap of rays moving clockwise and anticlockwise with the syllable *phreṃ* and prepares the ritual ground with the syllable *hūṃ*. It is likely that this flame, due to the peculiar movement of its rays, is a mental exercise rather than an actual fire. However, if it is physical, then this movement might be achieved by rotating the fire one way then the other. Imagining the contents of the *pātra* to consist of *soma*, *sūrya*, *agni*, *vāyu* and *vyoman*, he lays out five *pātras* representing each of these elements and worships them as follows: Soma in the North; Sūrya in the East; Agni in the South; Vāyu

²²⁰ See Heilijgers-Seelen’s (1994) study of the *cakras* of the *Kubjikāmata* (pp. 161 – 180). Although this text is from a different Kaula tradition to the KKA, much material, especially maṇḍalic, is borrowed from it as we will show in our discussion of the KKA’s list of 24 *pīṭhas*.

in the West; and Vyoman in the Centre. The *pātras* are appended with the honorific *amṛtapāda* suggesting they contain the so-called *pañcāmṛta* of the Kaula. They are then worshipped for a second time, this time seen as the divine couple who commonly represent liquor, Ānandabhairava and Ānandabhairavī²²¹, and three principal *mantras* of the Krama (the *samayahṛdaya*, *guhyasamayahṛdaya* and *mahāsamayahṛdaya*). The adept then chants a 129 syllabled *mantra*²²². Having worshipped the *pātra* again with the *rudramantras* and having perfumed it while chanting the *mahāsamayahṛdayamantra*, he concludes the rite by displaying five *mudrās* (*śaṅkhapadmatarjanīvisphurākaraṅkinīmudrāpañcaka*).

Once the *viśeṣārghapātra* is prepared, the adept is fit to worship the Five Kālīs. We will only touch briefly upon the worship of the phases of the Five Kālīs since the arrangement of their *cakras* and visualisations are discussed at length in Ch. 2. Before the elaboration of these *cakras*, the *sādhaka* is first instructed to worship the seven seats of the goddess accompanied by their *mantras*. The *mantras* for the five *pretas* had already been given in the *āsana* section of the Sanyāsadyānavidhi while the *mantra* for the Bhairavaśiva seat is given here for the first time (*phaḥ phuḥ phreṃ haḥ hūṃ phaḥ*). Then comes a highly cryptic instruction to worship the goddess - probably the Supreme Guhyakālī in the form visualised earlier in the Sanyāsadyānavidhi (*pūrvoktadevīsvarūpam*) - as flashing forth from the five *maṇḍalas* (most likely the *maṇḍalas* of the Five Kālīs) accompanied by the movement of letters (*aṅjikākṣarasamcārapañcamaṇḍalavikaśatpūrvoktadevīsvarūpam*). Particularly problematic here is the seemingly meaningless term *aṅjika* recorded by all MSS. The compound which presumably furnishes more information on subsidiary components out of which this central Kālī is manifested is equally puzzling

²²¹ This deification of liquor contained in the *arghapātra* is a common phenomenon in Kaula practice and is recorded numerous times in the TA. See Sanderson (1995), p. 82.

²²² KKA 1 adds *phaḥ svāha* making the number of syllables 132. It is possible that the original intention was for the *mantra* to be 133-syllabled to mirror the number of deities worshipped in the Nityapūjācakras but some of these syllables have been lost or are corrupt.

(*daśacakranavacakrasaptadaśākṣaranavākṣarasṛṣṭisamhāraprayogeṇa*). As examined in Ch.3, the core Guhyakālīyantra of the HRT, MKS and PT do contain the central Guhyakālī surrounded by the Five Kālīs but do not make mention of any letters from which she emerges.

Although we are unable to fully elaborate its composition as it would require a chapter in its own right, the Guhyakālīyantra of the GNP may provide some clues given the greater proximity in the schema of routine worship between this *paddhati* and the KKA. At the core of the Guhyakālīyantra of the GNP (ff. 14r3 - 26v2), we find a hexagon on whose sides are installed six different *mantras* and at whose internal corners are found the *cakras* of the Five Kālīs beginning with the Sṛṣṭikālīcakra on the Eastern corner and ending with Bhāsā on the Northeastern. The sixth corner in the Northwest is occupied by the Kālīkāstra whose identity we discussed in Ch. 2. The supreme Guhyakālī is at the centre of this hexagon and is encircled by the thousand-syllabled *vidyā*. It would be tempting to see the KKA adopting this system as well. However, without further context, we can only assume that the GNP gives us an approximate idea of how the worship of the central Guhyakālī alongside letters may be conceived.

Following this enigmatic section is the description of each of the Kālī *cakras*. The pattern for their worship and visualisation is common to all five phases. First, the ancillary deities of the *cakra* are listed followed by their visualisation and a description of the central Kālī of that *cakra*. Then comes the 17-syllabled *mantra* and 100-syllabled *mantra* particular to that Kālī and the conclusion of the worship with the generic nine-syllabled *vidyā*. The only divergence from this pattern is the instructions at the end of the Bhāsākālīcakra where a *mantroddhāra* is provided. However, as Sanderson has shown in relation to the KKA and four other texts²²³, this *mantroddhāra* is merely the code for the

²²³ Sanderson (2007a), p. 83, fn. 160 and p. 279

17-syllabled *vidyā* specified earlier which is in the form of the nine-syllabled *vidyā* with its conjunct letters separated (ma-e-kha-pha-ra-ma-hā-ca-ṇa-ḍa-ya-o-ga-e-śa-va-ṛ). At the conclusion of the Bhāsākālicakra, we are told to proceed on to Gurupaṅktyarcanavidhi.

Gurupaṅktyarcanavidhi

The Gurupaṅktyarcanavidhi is problematic on account of the presentation of three separate lists of gurus in the KKA that do not align. The first list occurs as part of the Verse of Obeisance at the very beginning of the text and is comprised of seven figures as follows:

1. Viśvāmitra 2. Vasiṣṭha 3. Śrīkaṇṭha 4. Kuṇḍaliśvara 5. Śrīkrodha 6. Mīna 7. Tālāṅka

The second list occurs in the Gurupaṅktyarcanavidhi itself and comprises the group to be installed onto the Gurumaṇḍala as follows:

1. Anādigurunāthapāda 2. Śrīkaṇṭhanātha/ Śrīkalāmbā
3. Bhīṣmabhairava/Bhīṣmabhairavī 4. Śivanātha/Ambā 5. Vīranātha/Candavīreśvarī
6. Viśvāmitra/Cetanā. 7. Vasiṣṭhaguru/Arundhatī 8. Anantanātha/Kālakaṇṭhā
9. Guhyasiddha/Rakteśvarī.

These are described as the revealers of the *Pañcacāmara*, the scripture on which the sequence of worship in the KKA is based as the opening verses inform us. With minor emendations to the text as discussed in my edition, the scheme for the *maṇḍala* seems to be the installation of the first guru on the pericarp of the lotus followed by the first four couples (2 – 5) on the petals at the cardinal points and the last four on the petals at the intermediate points.

The third list comes immediately after instructions for the Gurumaṇḍala comprising the following five figures:

1. Bhairava 2. Bhairavī 3. Yoginīcakra 4. Mīnanātha 5. Varadeva

In these lists, we find a mix between Vedic *ṛṣis* such as Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and Durvāsas (Krodha is one of his epithets on account of his legendary wrath) as well as important figures of the Kaula. Therefore, in the first and second lists, Śrīkaṇṭhanātha²²⁴, Śiva's manifestation on earth as a human guru to propagate the Mantramārga scriptures, is found. Likewise, in the second and third lists, Mīnanātha²²⁵, the guru of our current age, the Kaliyuga, responsible for saving the Kaula scriptures from the belly of a fish, is also listed. The third list contains Varadevanātha, one of the Rājaputras (prince) who propagate the lineage after Mīnanātha²²⁶ as well as the Yoginīcakra, most likely a reference to the clan of *yoginīs* helmed by Maṅgalā who passed the Krama teaching on to human teachers in the Uḍḍiyānapīṭha.

The main issue is how to reconcile these three lists, especially when the same figures appear in two or more lists in conflicting orders. For instance, in the first list Vasiṣṭha precedes Viśvāmitra who both precede Śrīkaṇṭhanātha. This situation is reversed in the second list. This might be explained by the fact that the way the second list is presented is not chronological but corresponds to the layout of the *maṇḍala*. Therefore, the gurus located in the cardinal directions are named first followed by those in the intermediate directions. The sequence here can possibly be discounted. Nonetheless, since the figures are repeated, we cannot treat these lists as entirely separate and some relationship must exist between them. A possible explanation is that the second list applies specifically to the gurus associated with *Pañcacāmara* scripture while the first and third lists are more generic or that the second list is somehow an elaboration upon the first or third. However, the precise nature of the link can only be confirmed once more relevant material comes to light.

²²⁴ For his role as the semi-divine propagator of Śaiva scripture, see TA 1.9 and TA 37.13-17

²²⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this figure as the promulgator of Kaula scriptures, see Dyczkowski (2009), Intro. 2, pp. 273 - 274

²²⁶ These Rājaputras are found as figures 9 – 20 in the Sthitacakra as seen in table 13 of Ch.2. Moreover, a chart of the Rājaputras and their details can be found in Dyczkowski (1988), p. 70.

The fact that the KKA draws on multiple Krama scriptures for its rites with Tantric scriptures commonly known to have their independent transmission lineages may also explain the complexity of the guru lists in our texts.

These differing lineages are further complicated by the presence of another list of gurus found in GNP who are to be propitiated after the installation of the Guhyakālīmaṇḍala towards the end of the entire sequence of worship (ff. 29r5 – 29v4). As mentioned in Ch. 3, the list corresponds to eight out of the 16 guru figures who are amongst the so-called 54 Kabandhas on the outer enclosure of the Guhyakālīcakra according to the UPV. However, the GNP supplies us with additional information in the form of the number of disciples each guru had. Thus, we are given the following list: 1) Śrīkaṇṭhanātha (eight disciples) 2) Durvāsa (16 disciples) 3) Vyomeśadevī (15 disciples) 4) Vasiṣṭha (20 disciples) 5) Andhaka (16 disciples) 6) Daśakanda (5 disciples) 7) Mīnanātha (three disciples) 8) Hayagrīva (29 disciples). As we can see, four names match those found in other lists while four others are unique to this list.

Mudrāvidhi and Jāpavidhi

Following the worship of the Gurumaṇḍala comes the Mudrāvidhi. Here, the adept is told to display 54 *mudrās* to the goddess accompanied by their specific *mantra*. Since the *mudrās* are called *astramudrā* and they number 54, we can assume that they somehow correspond to the 54 hand implements of Guhyakālī and their *mantras* are also those said to accompany these implements in the Sanyāsadhyanavidhi. Only nine *mudrās* are listed here (*daṁṣṭriṇī*, *leliḥā*, *kapālinī*, *kālasaṁkarṣaṇī*, *samayakarī*, *vikarālā*, *bhramaṇī*, *kuṇḍalā* and *viśvakalā*), the rest being known orally through the lineage of the gurus. More on this rite has already been discussed in the context of iconography in Ch.1.

The adept then performs the Jāpavidhi by which he creates and enchants a rosary used for the counting of *mantras*. He should grasp a rosary with beads alongside the *meru* bead (the central-most bead) made out of human bones and threaded with silk and sprinkled with liquor, the threaded rosary having the form of a necklace (*gopucchākāram*). Or alternatively, the beads are made from other materials (pearl, *rudrākṣa*, crystal, lapis lazuli, coral, *gajamuktā*²²⁷, *putrajīva* seeds). The rosary should have 108 beads or half that number and should be held in the left hand. He should imagine himself from the tip of the toe to the top of the cranium as pervaded *śakti* and flowing with inner channels comprised of *mantras*. He should then recite the 15 or 17-syllabled *mantra* (depending on either KKA 1 and 2) as many times as possible.

Dīpavidhi

The next rite discussed is the Dīpavidhi, the method for making lamps that are offered to deities as well as human recipients for consumption. Both functions will become particularly evident in the *naimittika* rites. The reason why the instructions for the Dīpavidhi and Carukavidhi which will include instructions for the creation of lamps, *piṇḍa*, *mudrā* and *bali* offerings are given at this point is because these *upacāras* will be used in the complex rites that follow this section of the KKA, including the Cakrakrīḍā, Kumārīvaṭukārcana, offerings at the end of the Svatantrapañcakālīcakras and the Mahāśivarātri rites. Likewise, the Tarpaṇavidhi is described here since subsequent rites will often conclude with the libations (*tarpaṇa*) to satiate deities.

First, we begin with the lamps. These lamps in many ways resemble those in other Kaula contexts, including the *Tantrāloka*'s (TA) 29th Āhnika where the lamp is significant enough to be amongst the *trirahasya* (the three core components of Kaula worship which

²²⁷ These were traditionally believed to be pearls found in elephants' heads but are in fact dentine formed in the cavity at the top of an elephant's tusk.

also include the *dhāman* (earth) and *arghapātra*²²⁸). The appearance of these lamps also resemble their description in v. 72 of this chapter of the TA where they are said to be round, furnished with a red wick and fed with ghee²²⁹. The difference seems to be that whereas in the TA, at least according to Jayaratha's commentary, the dough of the lamps is used as a substitute for human flesh (*tatra ca mahāpaśupratidinidhitvāt dīpacaror eva prādhānyam*²³⁰), in the KKA, the flesh becomes an actual core ingredient of the *piṇḍa* offering on which the lamp is eventually placed, although the *māṃsa* mentioned here might refer to beef rather than human flesh. Likewise, the lamp is to be fed with cow ghee in TA 29²³¹ while here, an option for the wick oil is human fat (*naraghṛta*), an ingredient which is no longer optional but essential when it comes to the lamps of the Mahāśivarātri (described there as *mahātaila*). The KKA therefore lays greater emphasis on the antinomian character of the *dīpa*. Indeed, Sanderson has noted the intensification of heteropraxy of the TA's offering of lamps by other Kaula texts (*Kaulāvalīnirṇaya*, *Sarvollāśatantra* and *Uttaracaruvīdhāna*)²³². These versions also approximate the instructions found in the KKA, showing a certain standardisation for the more antinomian methods for the creation of lamps.

To make the five round lamps, the adept first mixes a mixture of three spices known as *trikaṭu* (dried ginger, long pepper and black pepper) with red rice flour mixed together with mead and liquor. Here, I take the term *paridhi* which describes the lamps to mean round, since their roundness (*vartula*)²³³ is also mentioned in the TA. Then the red wick should be lit with oil made from either cow or goat ghee or human fat. I have understood the *nara* in the compound *naragochāgaghṛtena* to mean human fat rather than human ghee

²²⁸ TA 29. 14 - 16

²²⁹ TA 29.72 and commentary

²³⁰ TAV 29.54

²³¹ TA 29.72 – 73 and commentary and TA 29.16a and commentary

²³² Sanderson (1995), pp. 82 - 83 and fn. 234 and 235

²³³ TAV 29.72

as the production of the latter seems implausible while the lamps in the Mahaśivarātrividhi are described as lit with human fat (*mahātailapradīptadīpāṣṭakam*). They are then sprinkled with liquor. The compound *madyāstreṇa* is slightly ambiguous here. It could refer to the liquor itself as an *astra* (weapon), its sprinkling having purificatory or defensive purposes or it might be a *dvandva* meaning that the sprinkling of liquor is accompanied by the *astramantra* (the latter is perhaps more convincing). The worshipper then places the lamps on a container filled with red rice. Next to each lamp, he should then place a *piṇḍa* ground with flesh and its fluids (*māmsarasamarditapiṇḍa*) and containing a list of rare ingredients that include three parts camphor, musk, aloe and *siṃhanāda* (a type of guggul used in āyurvedic recipes) mixed with human, cow, goat, buffalo and rhinoceros semen. He should then light this *piṇḍa* with the flame of the lamp and place each lamp on top of one of the five *piṇḍas*. He should chant the 17-syllabled mantra²³⁴ five hundred times while stabilising the container for the *piṇḍa* and lamps atop his head²³⁵. Once the chanting is complete (*samāptau*), he should move in a circle five times anticlockwise. Each time, he places a pair of *piṇḍa* and *dīpa* in one of five directions (the Northeast, East, South, North and West).

Carukavidhi

We then enter the section known as the Carukavidhi in which instructions for *mudrā* and *bali* offerings are made. These will be paired with the lamps and *piṇḍas*.

The *caru/caruka* is usually understood as “a rice offering, which is then rendered more powerful through the addition of impure substances such as human flesh, meat and wine”²³⁶.

It is possible that the five *carukas* in the KKA are known as *mudrāpañcakam* because

²³⁴ The reason for seeing this unnamed *vidyā* as the fivefold 17-syllabled *mantra* particular to each Kālī is account of the qualification *dīpavat* (“as with the lamps”) after the instructions for the chanting of this now mentioned *mantra* before the installation of the *piṇḍas*.

²³⁵ Although this might seem a peculiar practice, the act of carrying lamps deposited on a tray before their installation is still observable today in the Kathmandu Valley, making this interpretation probable.

²³⁶ TAK, Vol. III, p. 595

the base with which the impure/more rarefied ingredients is mixed is made from grain, *mudrā* being a common Tantric code for grain and cooked grain being one of the admissible primary ingredients for this offering²³⁷. The adept is instructed to create these five offerings from a mixture of various meats, fish, foods, clarified butter, sesame oil, *kaṭu*²³⁸, unguents and alkali, he should place an appropriate flower on top of each *caruka*. He enchants them with the five 17-syllabled *mantras* particular to each of the Five Kālīs and then installs them in the same way as the lamps (*dīpavat*). He does so by first chanting the five 100-syllabled *mantras*. Once complete, he then moves in a circle, this time clockwise, placing the *mudrās* in the same locations as the lamps (the Northeast, East, South, North and West). He forms the *bali* offering by extracting them from the *caruka* (*carukoddhṛtena*), possibly meaning small pieces of *bali* are broken from the *piṇḍa* and *mudrā*. These are then offered alongside the lamps to four groups of deities accompanied by the chanting of *mantras* particular to each group. These *mantras* contain vivid descriptions of the deities and end with a supplication to seize the offering. The first is Gaṇeśa alongside his consort, who is described as an elephant in rut surrounded by the buzzing of a group of bees (*bhramarālijhāṅkāronmatta*). The second *mantra* is to Vaṭuka who is described as having flying tawny locks with wild laughter and drunk on liquor. This is followed by the offering to the Bhūtas, Yoginīs, Mātr̥s, Ḍākinīs and the goddesses of the Pañcavāhacakra (Khecarī, Dikcarī, Gocarī, Vyomeśī and Bhūcarī who is here called Bhūtapatnī). The peculiarity of this *mantra* is it ends with *kraum̐* instead of the traditional *svāhā* found in the other *mantras*. Finally, comes the *mantras* to Kṣetrapāla. It should be noted that the offerings are oriented to face the deity to which they belong as denoted by the preposition *agre*. Moreover,

²³⁷ TAK, Vol. II, p. 232

²³⁸ This term is most commonly used in an adjectival sense to mean “pungent/acrid” but here it likely refers to one of the medicinal plants that go by this name.

the *mantra* for *bali* offering in the KKA very closely resembles what is found in the GNP (ff. 29v4 – 31r4).

Tarpanavidhi

After this comes the Tarpanavidhi. The adept should place all 11 *cakras* on the palm of his hand, each with their own *mantra*, using drops of the *argha*. After invoking them (*prarocya*) with the ring finger and thumb of his left hand, he satisfies the five Kālīs in sequence with his five fingers beginning with Sṛṣṭi associated with his ring finger and ending in Bhāsā represented by his thumb by means of what dwells in the *argha* (*arghasthena*). This most likely means he dips these five fingers into the liquid. The use of each finger to represent one of the Five Kālīs is a common one and is found extensively in the GNP. In this text, following the installation of each Kālī *cakra*, two fingers are used to worship each Kālī, the two thumbs for Bhāsā, the two forefingers for Anākhyā, the two index fingers for Saṃhāra and so on.

After this worship with the fingers, the adept places three drops of *argha* on his tongue. He extols and pays obeisance to the goddesses then carries out the worship of the clan of *yoginīs*. He imagines the five Kālīs as one and recites the *samayavidyā* three times. After grasping a single flower with his left hand, he rotates the flower anticlockwise over the 11 *cakras*, which are presumably on his right hand and represented by the aforementioned drops of *argha*. The act of rotating the flower is perhaps the gesture by which the ancillary deities dispersed on his hand are collected, ready to be unified and absorbed into Bhāsā. Following this comes instructions that are somewhat cryptic (*trikūṭīm dhyātvā parāṇmukham argham dattvā*). I tentatively interpret this as “having meditated upon the tripod (which supports the *argha*), he should then place the *argha* downward (upon the tripod)”. However, the exact purpose of these two gestures and whether he allows the *argha* substance to spill

while placing it downward is left unanswered. He then enjoins all deities in Bhāsā. He thus imagines each of the five Kālīs dissolving into the succeeding Kālī sequence until we reach Bhāsā. The description *bhāsā bhāsāyām* indicating that Bhāsā is absorbed into herself is confusing and seems to be an explanatory statement that since there are no further Kālīs for Bhāsā to be absorbed into, we should see her merging with the central Guhyakālī (*bhāsā guhyakālyām eva*). Meanwhile, the puzzling *ekadhā*, *dvidhā* etc. after each Kālī might be in the sense of “firstly”, “secondly” and so forth or be related to *mantra* recitation, indicating that the *mantra* is recited once for Sṛṣṭi and is increased by one for each following dissolution.

Cakrākṛīdāvidhi

Vimalaprabodha now gives us instructions for one of the lengthiest and most important rites, the Cakrākṛīdā or orgiastic worship. This is carried out by inviting groups of worshippers of different classes to a site occupied by human *yoginīs*. There, they take their specially prepared seats, are offered food and drink and worship the deities of the Krama after which orgiastic activities ensue. I will not describe this rite in great detail as the KKA’s section on it has for the most part been edited and discussed in detail by Sanderson (2007b). The segment not recorded by Sanderson concerns the *mantra* for the *samayabali* which articulates the supplication for three classes of beings to seize the *samayabali* as follows: 1) *vīras*, *bhairavas*, *nāthas*, *kṣetrapālas*, *bhūtas* and *ḍamaras* who are said to dwell in all the various categories of sacred sites 2) a reconfiguration of the Pañcavāha deities so that they become six by excluding Vyomeśī and including Mantracarī and Vidyacarī (these are said to dwell in the *cakras* of worship) 3) the central goddess here called by her archaic names Caṇḍayogeśvarī and Saṃkarṣaṇakālī who is said to occupy the cult’s *maṇḍala* and embodies its *vidyās* and *mantras*. The *mantra* for this *bali* offering shows it moving away from the traditional idea of presenting *bali* as an appeasement to

peripheral but dangerous deities towards being simply another method for the propitiation of the central deity of the cult.

Kumārīvatukārcanavidhi

Vimalaprabodha instructs those who are unable to carry out the *cakrakrīḍā* to undertake worship of Kumārī and Vaṭuka, the source for which he claims is a now lost scripture known as the *Haṭṭa*²³⁹ preached by Śrīkaṇṭhanātha. The worship of Kumārīs was a pervasive practice as seen through the references and descriptions of this worship in multiple scriptures, especially those of the Kubjikā tradition²⁴⁰. The *sādhaka* summons the Kumārī and Vaṭuka who are black and white and leads them to the ritual ground. He then carries out preparatory purification on the seats including sprinkling and wiping and installs them there. He worships the Five Kālas on the Kumārī seat and the sun, moon and fire lotuses on the Vaṭuka seat. The Five Kālas on the Kumārī seat evidently refer to the Five Brahminical deities at the base of Guhyakālī's throne but the identity of the triple fire lotus is not entirely clear. As already noted in the Maṇḍaloddhāraṇī, the symbolism of these three fires is polyvalent. A possibility would be to equate them with the triple fire lotus from the Svatantrasthīcakra representing the Ānandacakra, Mūrticakra and 8 *ṛddhis*.

The adept proceeds to worship the two with the *ānandakūṭa mantra* (*hasakṣamalavarayūṃ*) and invites them to be seated preceded by the washing of their feet. He then worships the Five Flow deities (*cakra* 2) in front of the Kumārī and the Pañcapīṭhas (*cakra* 1) in front of Vaṭuka and offers them a *tilaka* preceded by *argha*. Both are satisfied with substances such as liquor and meat together with the *samayabali*

²³⁹ The peculiar name of this Tantra could be an abbreviation of *Śrīhaṭṭa*, which is the ancient name for the modern district of Sylhet (see the entry for this term in Monier-Williams Dictionary) and thus denote the scripture's place of reputed origin. This is likely given that Sylhet was known to have been a centre of Śākta Tantra worship.

²⁴⁰ TAK, Vol. II, pp. 115 - 116

(possibly the *bali* whose method was prescribed earlier), Vaṭuka being propitiated through the sequence of the 11 Nityapūjācakras that precede the 5 Kālīs and Kumārī with the *cakras* of the 5 Kālīs. Then comes an elliptical statement (*kālāgnirudrasthāne sthirīkṛtya*) which translated literally means “having stabilised/fixed (them) in the place of the *kālāgnirudra* (the toe)”. Given that a similar prescription is found in the Jāpavidhi in which the adept is told to imagine his body from the toe upwards pervaded by *śakti* (*kālāgnirudrasthānād yāvac chivāyatanaṃ śaktijvālāprakāśitaṃ mantranāḍikāsvarūpaṃ dhyātvā*), we might propose an analogous interpretation here. It is possible that the adept should imagine Kumārī and Vaṭuka along with their associated deities as fixed in his toe before the dismissal of the physical pair so that in their absence, they are somehow still present in his body. After the conclusion of the worship, Vimalaprabodha citing the *Dvīpamata*, states the benefits of the Kumārīvaṭukārcana. It is said that the specific fruits derived from worship of Vīras, Bhairavas and Siddhas are also received by worshipping the Kumārīvaṭuka. This is because Kumārī is Kālī and Vaṭuka is Bhairava while all *cakras* are pervaded by their emanations.

Prāyaścittavidhi

Vimalaprabodha then proclaims the method for *vidhilupta* (transgression in practice) spoken of in a text known as the *Rājeśvara*²⁴¹ in order to make amends for a defect in ritual due to the complacency of the *sādhaka*. The worship should be performed where there is a lone tree, lone *liṅga*, cremation ground, the confluence of rivers²⁴² or in front of a sacred scripture²⁴³. This is one of the most complex rituals of the KKA and involves two steps as

²⁴¹ See the Appendix for further discussion on this text.

²⁴² This is my translation for the term *saṃgama* since if it denotes an outdoor physical location, then “confluence” is the likely meaning. However, we should keep in mind the open-endedness of this term.

²⁴³ I understand *vidyāpīṭha* as sacred scripture since worship in front of book on various occasions is known as Vidyapīṭhapūjā. See TAK, Vol. III, p. 488. The compound *kramāgre*, however, is more ambiguous and has not been understood by me.

alluded to in Ch. 3 – the drawing of a *maṇḍala* on purified ground and the deposition of elements of this *maṇḍala* onto the worshipper’s body parts. The arrangement of the *maṇḍala*, as far as I can ascertain, is from the centre as follows:

1) Black seeds. It is possible to understand the Five Kālīs as located on these seeds since we are told in vv. 9 – 11 of the *Prāyaścittavidhi* to worship these Five beginning with the Raśmis, which is another name for Kālīs of the Bhāsācakra, followed by the sequence of Sṛṣṭi to Anākhyā after one has worshipped the Five Kālāsanas who are located on the lotus’s pericarp. Since the location of the Five Kālīs in the *maṇḍala* is not given while the seeds, which are the central–most element of the *maṇḍala*, remain unoccupied, it is highly likely that they are located here.

2) A yellow pericarp comprised of the Pañcakālāsanas.

3) Top, middle and lower filaments that are white, yellow and red occupied by the four *vedas*, four *pīṭhas* of the Kaula inhabited by their resident goddesses (Uḍḍiyāna with Chippinī, Jālandhara with Dhīvarī, Pūrṇagiri with Pulindī and Kāmarūpa with Dombī) and the possibility of another unknown group of four. The clue to the identity of the third element in the filaments might be found in the perplexing compound *gādīn* in v. 9ab. One interpretation is this compound could be an abbreviation due to metre for *yugādīn*. The *yugas* are commonly paired with the *pīṭhas* in other *maṇḍalas* of the KKA (see for instance the 16-petalled lotus in the Svatantrasthīcakra) and are coupled with the *vedas* as part of the goddess’s throne in other texts of the Krama as shown in my discussion of the throne of worship in Ch. 1 of this thesis. Another possible group of four housed in the filaments would be the Rakṣācatuṣka since *ga* according to lexicographers²⁴⁴ can mean Gaṇeśa, thereby causing *gādīn* to mean “the group which begins with Gaṇeśa”, Gaṇapati

²⁴⁴ See entry for *ga* in Monier-Williams Dictionary.

being the first out of the four guardian deities worshipped as the Rakṣācatuṣka (see table A in Ch.2). A final interpretation is to see *gāḍīn* as a shortened form of *ṛgāḍīn* due to the constraints of metre in which case it would correspond to the later compound *vedapīṭhakam*, giving the sense that the four *pīṭhas* and *vedas* ‘beginning with the Ṛgveda’ should be installed on the four filaments. However, with this final interpretation, one level of the threefold filaments would be missing a set of occupants.

4) A circle of eight lotus petals made of three layers representing three categories of sacred sites as follows:

4.1) The *kṣetras* which are 1) Prayāgakṣetra occupied by Veśyā 2) Vārāṇasī with Śaunḍinī 3) Kollāpura with Kaivartī 4) Aṭṭahāsa with Khaṭṭikī 5) Jayantī with Rajakī 6) Caritra with Chippikā 7) Ekāmra with Kandukī 8) Devīkoṭa with Kośaṭī.

4.2) The *upakṣetras* which are 1) Viraja inhabited by Ambikā 2) Eruḍa by Agnivaktrā 3) Hastināpura by Piṅgākṣī 4) Elāpura with Kharānanā 5) Gokarṇa with Gokarṇī 6) Marūka with Maṇī 7) Śrīnagara with Vetrā 8) Pūṇḍavardhana with Cāmuṇḍā.

4.3) The *saṃdohas* which are 1) Purastūra inhabited by Prasannā 2) Pṛṣṭhāpura by Vidyunmukhī 3) Kulūta by Balā 4) Sūrpāra with Brahmānanā 5) Kṣīrika with Lokamatā 6) Māyāpurī with Kapilā 7) Āmrātikeśvara with Maṇī 8) Rājagṛha with Bhagnanāsā.

5) Eight doors presided over by the eight *dikpatis* starting from Indra in the East respectively coloured red, flame-coloured, black, dark (*nīla*), dark (*śyāma*), grey, pale (*pāṇḍu*) and white.

6) On the outer enclosure of the *maṇḍala* is a black protective line (*prativāraṇarekhāṃ*) with golden *gopuras* with red borders.

An additional, eight doors representing the gateways to the *pīṭhas*, *upapīṭhas*, *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras*, *saṃdohas*, *upasaṃdohas*, *melāpas* and *upamelāpas* are also worshipped. The locations of these on the *maṇḍala* are not given so their worship could be purely mental.

Following the drawing of the *maṇḍala*, the adept then installs the 28 sacred sites found in the pericarp (four *pīṭhas*) and the lotus petals of the *maṇḍala* (the 24 *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas*) on his body parts. He starts with the four *pīṭhas* on his face in an order that is different to the way they are listed in the *maṇḍala* beginning with Kāmarūpa on his two eyes and ending with Uḍḍiyāna on his two ears. This is followed by the installation of the eight *kṣetras*, again in a different order and with some variants. Indeed, the jumbled order and existence of minor variants occur in all three classes of sacred sites (*kṣetra*, *upakṣetra* and *saṃdoha*). The *kṣetras* are placed on the body parts beginning with Aṭṭahāsa on the crest of his head and ending with Śrīpīṭha on his two shoulders. After these are the *upakṣetras* starting with Viraja on his throat and ending with Pauṇḍa/Puṇḍavardhana on his left testicle. Finally, he installs the *saṃdohas* which start with Purastīra on the left shoulder and end with Rājagrha on the left ankle.

Among the *kṣetras* in the *nyāsa*, Ujjayinī/Ujjainī²⁴⁵ (5) and Śrīpīṭha (8) replace Ekāmra and Devīkoṭa from the *maṇḍala*. For the *upakṣetras*, we have Alampura (11) instead of Hastināpura, although these could be synonymous. Meanwhile, Kuṇḍakeśi in the *nyāsa* for the *saṃdohas* replaces Kulūta. There are also a few variants in spelling between the two lists which are clearly to be taken as identical sites (Pauṇḍa/Puṇḍa and Supara/Saupāra for instance). These variants are also largely common to both manuscript stemmas. This indicates that the KKA may have employed sets of sacred sites from two near identical but different traditions/Tantras for the *maṇḍaloddhāra* and *nyāsa* sections of

²⁴⁵ This is found with the variant spellings Ujjenī and Ujjanī in KKA 1 and 2 respectively.

this chapter as suggested by the epilogue of the *Prāyaścittavidhi* discussed later. A list of 24 sacred sites whose composition is largely similar to the two groups found in the KKA's *Prāyaścittavidhi* is a prevalent feature of Kaula literature. In the notes to his edition of the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the MBT, Dyczkowski has closely compared seven texts containing the 24 sites – the MBT, *Jayadrathayāmalatantra*, KMT, *Kularatnoddyota*, *Śrīmatottara*, *Ṣaṣṣahasrasaṃhitā* as well as the two versions (*maṇḍala* and *nyāsa*) found in the KKA – in order to discern the variants. I have therefore not undertaken such a comparison myself but have only noted the variants between the two lists within the KKA itself. Those interested can refer to Dyczkowski (2009)²⁴⁶ in which an analysis of sources that also contain 24 as well as the full 64 sacred sites, including the KKA, has also been provided.

I will however discuss two points not yet fleshed out by Dyczkowski – the comparison of iconography of the resident deities of these sites and the context or function for their recitation/installation in other texts. I use the KMT where the *pīṭhas* appear as part of the *Pīṭhastava* (22.23 – 46) as a point of comparison because its list of site names is arguably the closest to the KKA's out of all those examined by Dyczkowski. The iconography of the resident *yoginīs* of the sacred sites has been touched upon in our section on the colonisation of orthodox iconography. It should be further added that the KKA creates a far more systematic and symmetrical scheme in the configuration of the iconography of the 24 deities than other texts. The basic model for the *yoginīs* of the sacred sites in the KKA is to portray them with four hand implements, the two on the right being an implement of a displaced *dikpati* and the boon granting gesture and on the left, the fearlessness gesture and an implement particular to each class of deities (for the identity of each goddess's *dikpati* implement and class distinctive implement, see Ch.2). The KMT has a similar iconographic scheme to the KKA for the first eight goddesses in that they each bear the implements of

²⁴⁶ Dyczkowski (2009), Vol. II, Part II, pp. 421 - 445

the eight *dikpatis*. These eight are the same as the *yoginīs* who are residents of the *kṣetras* in the KKA but they are not labelled under the category of *kṣetra* in the KMT. In spite of this, the remaining 16 *yoginīs* of the KMT are no longer assigned hand implements in accordance with the *dikpatis*. Moreover, most of the KMT's 24 *yoginīs* are described with only one implement and not four like the KKA. This means that the KMT's goddesses cannot be split into three groups of eight according to distinct implements particular to each group as is done in the KKA. The more structured approach of the KKA thus reflects its attempt to categorise the 24 sites into groups of eight, a systematisation seemingly missing in other texts and already highlighted in relation to all 64 *yoginīs* in Ch.3.

As for the function and the method of carrying out this *pīṭha* worship, we can again compare the KKA with the KMT. For certain texts, these *pīṭhas* and their *nyāsa* are incorporated without any reference to *prāyascitta* as shown in Abhinavagupta's prescription for their use in TA 29 in the context of the worship of the Krama's four phases applied to the object of knowledge (*prameya*)²⁴⁷. However, the KMT shows that the expiatory nature of these *pīṭhas* must have been pan-Kaula. Thus, the context for the proclamation of the *Pīṭhastava* in the KMT is Kubjikā's question to Bhairava as to how a *sādhaka* who has caused the *maṇḍala* of the tradition to become defective as a result of his complacency and thus is plagued with obstacles should become pure again.²⁴⁸ The same reasoning is to be found in the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the MBT (16.24 – 27) whose *pīṭha* worship mirrors the KMT's. After the *stava*, the expiatory results of the *pīṭhas* are again emphasised by the KMT which states that even those joined with heinous sins (*yukto 'pi pātakair ghorair*) may be esteemed again²⁴⁹. Such crimes include matricide, patricide, Brahminicide and the killing of cows but also sins pertaining to ritual faults more in line with the KKA's reasoning for

²⁴⁷ TA 29.66 - 67

²⁴⁸ KMT 22.18 – 19

²⁴⁹ KMT 22.47-50

this rite such as breaking a pledge vow (*samayacyutaḥ*) or defectiveness in *mantra* recitation (*mantrācāravilupto 'pi*). Arguably, the KMT and the KKA show that the Kaula draws on the more ancient and pan-Hindu traditions of *tīrthayātrā* whereby travel to a number of pilgrimage sites may expiate one's sins and grant desired boons. However, the Kaula provides a novel solution to this by imposing its characteristic method of mapping the macrocosmic onto the microcosmic or in this case sacred geography onto the body of the worshipper, thus forgoing the need for real pilgrimage.

Interestingly, the KKA hints at an additional benefit beyond expiation to this rite at its conclusion (*sādhakasya śuddhir bhavati. abhīṣṭaphalalābho bhavati*). We are not told what this “desired fruit” that the *sādhaka* receives is but we can turn to other texts for clues. It appears that the KKA has retained the two-fold (expiation and boon-granting) purpose of this rite that features more prominently in the KMT. Here (16.62 – 67), the desired fruits listed include safety from all kinds of dangers, supernatural powers, sons, wealth and knowledge. Since the KMT is close to the KKA in many aspects of this rite, we can assume that the KMT's list is what is also roughly meant by *abhīṣṭaphala* in our text. This list is enumerated more extensively still in the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* (16.30 – 16.37) and *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā* where even communal benefits are included, such as victory in battle for the kingdom and an end to drought and disease (34.59 – 61).

Finally, we may compare the raising of the *maṇḍala* for the 24 sacred sites found in the KKA with the versions of the KMT and *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā*, the latter two being largely similar. Several differences exist in the versions presented by the KKA on the one hand and the KMT/ *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā* on the other. Firstly, according to the KMT (22.55 – 58) and *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā* (34.63-68), the 24 sites are distributed into groups of six, each located at the cardinal directions of the *maṇḍala*. The KKA, however, has these sites arranged on three concentric layers of eight lotus petals. The KKA's solution is more

suited to its schema which sees the 24 sites split into three distinct groups of *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas*, each conforming to an iconographic template.

Another significant difference found in the KKA is that it adds figures unique to the Krama into the innermost layer of the *maṇḍala*. Thus, the centremost space of the *maṇḍala* - the seeds – is occupied by the Five Kālīs replacing the *pīṭha* of Hiranyapura which is at the centre of the *maṇḍala* in the two Kubjikā texts. After this comes the inhabitants of the pericarp also exclusive to the KKA - the Pañcakālāsanas or deities at the base of Guhyakālī's throne. The two known groups in the lotus' filaments – the four principal sacred sites (Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrṇagiri and Kāmarūpa) and the four *vedas* – are likewise absent from the KMT's *pīṭhamāṇḍala*. These four principal sites, however, are found in the *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā* whose *maṇḍala* is more elaborate than the KMT's. In this Tantra, they are arranged on the sides of a square enclosing the *maṇḍala*'s centre. Missing from the two Kubjikā versions are also the eight guardian deities present in the KKA who are placed at the *maṇḍala*'s doors which are coloured according to their compass points. Finally, the Kubjikā versions of this rite prescribe ritual paraphernalia missing from the KKA. In the two Kubjikā Tantras, lamps are installed in the locations of the 24 *pīṭhas* in the outer rim of the *maṇḍala* while a jar is placed at the centre²⁵⁰. All of the above differences prove that although the KKA may have been deeply influenced by the Paścimāmnāya formula for this rite, it came to develop a version uniquely its own.

An attempt should also be made to unpack the concluding section of the rite. According to the KKA, the *nyāsa* of the 24 sites ends with the chanting of the 24 *Pīṭhaśloka*s learnt from the mouth of the guru. This is likely a reference to the versified list of *pīṭhas* known as the *Pīṭhastava* in the KMT. The KKA also provides an alternative to the 24-fold

²⁵⁰ See *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā* 34.125b – 26a and KMT 22.58b -59.

nyāsa in the form of the worship of all 64 sites followed by their extolment in *śloka*s. Presumably, these sites are those that will be enumerated in the Svatantrasthīcakra. Although no *śloka*s are articulated in the KKA, an idea of them can be gained from the hymn praising 64 sites found in *Kumārikākhaṇḍa*²⁵¹. A more cryptic element is the statement that the rewards of the rite will be reaped after the *cakrākṛīḍā* (*cakrākṛīḍānte*). I interpret this to mean the enactment of the Cakrākṛīḍāvidhi to complete the rite. Although Dyczkowski does not note this element of the KKA's worship, he brings to our attention a comparable concluding step in the *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā*'s rite where the adept offers blessings then begins to "play" (*krīḍāṃ samārabhet*), attracting the *yoginīs* and their consorts who possess their human hosts²⁵². The *ṭīkā* to this passage makes it evident that this play is a sexual one. The interpretation that ritual intercourse should complete the Prāyaścittavidhi is backed by the fact that it is also performed at the conclusion of other important rites in the KKA such as the Pavitraka, Damanaka and Mahāśivarātrividhis.

Finally, in the concluding verse (v. 14), the KKA tells us its source for this rite is the fourth *ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmālatantra* where we also find a *pīṭhanyāsa*. However, this Tantra, whose list of 24 sites is also compiled for comparison by Dyczkowski, could not have been its exclusive source for two reasons. Firstly, as has already been noted, there are two lists of 24 *pīṭhas* in this section with the *Jayadrathayāmālatantra*'s list closely corresponding to the second, *nyāsa* list but not the first maṇḍalic one, which is possibly based off the text known as the *Rājeśvara* mentioned at the beginning of this section. Moreover, in spite of its proximity to the KKA's *nyāsa* list, significant differences exist in nomenclature, both regarding variants in spelling and names, as well as the correspondences between body parts and sites. This shows us that amendments were made by Vimalaprabodha to

²⁵¹ See Dyczkowski (2009), Vol. II, Part II, p. 423.

²⁵² *Śaṭsahasrasaṃhitā* 34.127 – 129 and *ṭīkā* as well as the interpretation of this as sexual in Dyczkowski (2009), Vol. II, Part II, p. 341, fn. 184.

the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra*’s list or at least a recension/version of this Tantra divergent from the one now available to us was used by the KKA.

Tattvopadeśavidhi

Following the *Prāyaścittavidhi*, Vimalaprabodha introduces the *Tattvopadeśavidhi*, the only section in the KKA with a wholly mystical or philosophical focus in a text predominantly about ritual. This is also possibly the most elliptical section of the text, meaning I am unable to unpack large parts of it. This mystical knowledge in 11 verses is characterised by the author as akin to a gem churned from the ocean of the *Bhairavāgamas*. The section can be roughly split into two parts. The first part concerns the division of reality into three states of various kinds which arguably subtly mimics the common Kaula classification of reality as *akula*, *kula* and *kaula*. The first two states represent common or false dichotomies and the third state transcends them or is not defined by either. We are therefore given the triads of existence (*asti*), non-existence (*nāsti*) and that which is distinct (*vyatiriktam*); the supportless, that which is with support and that which is other; presence (*bhāva*), absence (*abhāva*) and that which is mind and non-mind (*manonmanas*). The verses which seem to explain how these triads proliferate to become the Krama’s schematisation are 5cd – 7cd. However, there is very little sense I can extract from them. The second part concerns the etymology of the Goddess’s name of which three justifications are given. Again, they contain obscure elements but a general idea can be gauged. First, the Supreme is described as *Kālī* on account of her relationship with the notion of “parts” (*kalā*) since she is both partless (*akalā*) and that in which parts are absorbed (*kalasaṃlīnā*). She is called *Samkarṣaṇī* (dragging/drawing out) since she draws one to the supreme state (*ākarṣayet param sthānam*). She is known as *Parā* because she rests at the highest point of the subtle body (*dvādaśānte sthitā*). Finally, having perceived the different steps in the

process of consciousness, one should correctly identify reality as divided into the five phases of Kālī.

Samayaguṭikāvidhi

In the Samayaguṭikāvidhi, the adept creates a pellet which ensures the success of the pledge-holders' activities (*samayācāra*), the purification of the *arghapātra* and unspecified benefits for the *sādhaka*. The use of pills or pellets, known variously as *vaṭikā*, *guṭikā* or *guḍikā*, is a common phenomenon in Tantric literature and is most commonly associated with the attainment of *siddhis*, such as invisibility, invincibility or the ability to travel great distances²⁵³. In the Krama context, the *Yonigahvara*, an important scripture of this school, also prescribes the consumption of a pellet during the daily preparation of the *arghapātra* similarly made from antinomian substances²⁵⁴. In the case of the KKA, a total of 16 ingredients are given. The first five ingredients are denoted through codes corresponding to the names of the Pañcapretas (Sadāśiva, Īśvara, Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā). As Sanderson has shown with reference to the *Ūrmikaulārṇava* 3.75c -78²⁵⁵, the substances meant by these five deities are the *pañcāmṛta* consisting of semen, phlegm, blood, urine and excrement. Three more ingredients ending v. 2 then form a group of eight, namely mixed seminal fluids, onion and garlic. A second group of eight are listed in v. 3 comprised of wine, liquor, camphor, cow bile orpiment (*rocanā*), saffron, musk, human fat and sandalwood. After listing the ingredients, we have a confusing verse (v. 4) in which the adept is seemingly instructed to split the grasping of the ingredients into two groups, the first group consisting of the first five ingredients and the second the remaining eleven (*pañcādikeyalāntam*). However, the significance of this division is unclear to me as well as

²⁵³ See TAK, Vol. II, p.198

²⁵⁴ Sanderson (2007b), p. 287, fn. 178

²⁵⁵ Sanderson (2005) p. 112

the connotation of the compound “*pūrvamānavat*” (literally “like the previous measurement”).

The finished pellet should be the size of a jujube fruit. Having dried it, he should lay it in unguents. By applying the *vaṭikā*, all defects in ritual will be neutralized. After this,

the instructions again become cryptic, we are told to offer *siddhavṛttāmbu* (most likely another code for an antinomian substance emitted from the body of a worshipper)

to satisfy the deity *cakra* and then told that that the third, fifth and ninth drinks (*pānta* according to KKA 2) or vessels (*pātra* according to KKA 1) are mixed with meat.

We cannot be certain whether these drinks/vessels are synonymous with or contain the *siddhavṛttāmbu* and why they are multiple in number. Moreover, we can only posit the relationship between this *siddhavṛttāmbu* and the pellet including whether the pellet is dissolved in this liquid. Then comes an instruction for the substitution of ingredients compounded as *rudrādityakasturī* with whatever one wishes in the case of their absence.

Rudra is the code for blood but the identity of *āditya* is unknown to me.

Niśātanavidhi and Mahācaturdaśīvidhi

The next three rites after the Samayaḡṭikāvidhi are the three most important *naimittika* rites of the KKA and arguably the most complex (Pavitrakavidhi, Damanakavidhi and Mahāśivarātri). They are also the subject of the *Parvatrayavidhāna* whose edition is submitted as part of this thesis. Since an entire chapter is dedicated to analysing them and their implications, we will move on to the succeeding section, the Niśātanavidhi. The KKA tells us that its Niśātanavidhi (Method for Night Roaming) is proclaimed in the (now lost) *Mahārthakramabheda*. The following five verses describing it are probably a quotation from this text given its non-standard Sanskrit (for instance, the use of the instrumental *candrasūryābhyām* instead of the genitive *candrasūryayoḥ* with *grahaṇe*). The rite is carried out during the eclipse of the sun or the moon for the sake of the union with *siddhas*. The adept should first smear himself with Brahmā and Viṣṇu (the code words for

excrement and urine) in the first watch of the night and be naked, his hair unbound and his eyes coloured with camphor paste. He should face the south (the direction of the cremation ground) at a *līṅga* that is devoid of the *triśūla* and bull. The *līṅga*'s lack of these two signs denotes that it is a desacralised icon and indicates that the rite is undertaken in an isolated place. The adept should then recite the five one hundredfold *mantra* (*pañcaśatika*) until the (end) of the third watch of the night. It is unclear whether these five *mantras* are the five Kālī *śamayavidyāmantras* (each of one hundred verses) that conclude the worship of each of the five Kālī *cakras* or some other *mantra*. It is said that the site of *niśāṭana* worship is perfected for the sake of manifesting a *bhūcarī*²⁵⁶ who arrives in human form. The term *bhūcarī* is likely used here generically to mean a divine *yoginī* who roams the earth. The adept, keeping in mind that there will be trouble if she (*bhūcarī*) is not manifested, should constantly recite (the *mantra*) until she arrives. If she is present, she should be persistently desired²⁵⁷. The rather loose term *kāmayet* is used but could indicate that he should seek out sexual union with her as is the common culmination of such meetings with *yoginīs*. Having roamed about enjoined with this perfected being, he will receive the divine union (*divyamelāpaka*). Presumably, this divine union is the meeting of groups of divine beings such as *siddhas*, *yoginīs*, *ḍākinīs* and *bhūtas* commonly found in Śākta Tantras²⁵⁸ from which the human worshipper can attain *siddhis* and receive revelatory knowledge²⁵⁹.

The next rite follows on from the *Niśāṭana* and appears to describe what occurs once the adept has joined the divine *melaka/melāpa*. Participation in this circle is said to take place on the 14th night of the dark fortnight of Āśvina. The last step of the previous rite is repeated here when the KKA states that the adept roaming with “her” (“*tayā*” denoting

²⁵⁶ The *bahuvrīhi* agreeing with *bhūcarī* should have the reverse word order “*saṃsiddhasthānā*” (one for whom the place is perfected) for this meaning to strictly be possible but no other meaning can be extracted by me in the compound's present state.

²⁵⁷ This segment of the text (4b – 5a) is slightly cryptic so my translation here is tentative.

²⁵⁸ The very beginning of the PT has a vivid account of such a *melaka/melāpa*.

²⁵⁹ See TAK Vol. III, p. 568 (entry for *priyamelāpa*).

the *bhūcarī* of the previous rite) by means of this previously prescribed method (*pūrvayuktyā* referring to the method of *aṭana* in the previous section) should behold the *melaka*. He should then give *argha* (in this case consisting of blood) to the divine beings with effort by piercing the left side of his body. He then receives the boon of being able to take to the skies (*khecaratvam*). The next clause is ambiguous but I take it to mean “or he should receive a group of tasks from (her).” This may suggest that the *yoginī* might not grant him his reward even after the offering of blood as *argha* and challenges him with additional tasks.

The offering of flesh or blood as a form of barter for *siddhis* and as a way of testing the courage and devotion of the adept is a common trope in literature that deals with transgressive Tantric deities. Dezso (2010) has written about what is known as the *mahāmāṃsavikraya* (barter in human flesh) in relation to *vetāla* worship and states that “selling human flesh to the denizens of the cremation ground” for boons is found in both scriptural works, such as the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *Svacchandatantra* and secular works such as Bhavabhūti’s *Mālatīmādhava*²⁶⁰. In fact, in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the sequence for this type of offering is very similar to what appears in the KKA. The rite is likewise said to take place on the 14th night of the dark fortnight and the *sādhaka* is adorned in a similar way to the KKA’s prescription, described as naked with hair unbound. The appearance of the *yoginīs* is also brought about by the repetition of a *mantra*, here the *Parāparā mantra*, while the offering made is *argha* of blood drawn from a wound inflicted on his left limb. It is therefore likely that the framework for soliciting boons from *yoginīs* through night wandering (*niśāṭana*) preceded by a painful offering was a common formula of Kaula traditions with the major difference being the substitution of the cult *mantra* to be chanted. Moreover, other texts support the interpretation of *karmagaṇam* to mean the additional tasks demanded by the *yoginī* of the adept. Another source discussed by Dezso

²⁶⁰ Dezso (2010), p. 397

concerning *mahāmāṃsavikraya* is Uddyotana’s Prakrit novel, the *Kuvalayamālā*. Here, in order to obtain a boon, it does not suffice for King Vajragupta to make a single offering. He is made to present increasingly vital components of his body – a piece of his flesh, his bones, the blood from his chest – until his own head is offered²⁶¹. This hints at some of the additional “tasks” the KKA might have had in mind.

Dravyagaṇavyavasthā

In the next and final section, the KKA deals with the discernment of ingredients used in Kaula rituals alongside types of appropriate consorts for sexual rites and instructions for interacting with these consorts. The 24 ingredients (*kuladravya*) are split into three categories of eight substances (*dravya*), drinks (*peya*) and foods (*bhakṣya*). The KKA tells us that these are to be used for all types of rites (*nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*). Törzsök briefly discusses the eight *dravyas* but not the *peyas* and *bhakṣyas* in her entry for “*dravya*” in TAK as follows:

“The *dravyas* are the following: onion (*palāṇḍu*, for *palāṇḍa* ms.), garlic (*laśuna*), small red onion or garlic (?*grñjana*, for *grja* ms.), *lambuṣa* (? = *alābu*, a sort of gourd), nutmeg or cloves (?*lava*), *tarkvasāṃ* (?), menstrual blood (?*vāmāpuṣpa*) and *puṣpabandha* (something related to menstrual blood?).”²⁶²

As we can see, many of the ingredients have unclear meanings. We might add that KKA 2 supplies a reading which confirms Törzsök’s emendation of *palāṇḍa* to *palāṇḍu* (the MS available to her is KKA 1). Then comes the list of liquids which is easier to interpret and is as follows: urine (*śivāmbu*), wine (*surā*), blood (*rakta*), liquor (*madya*), human fat (*mahātaila*), *sīdhuka* (spirituous liquor distilled from molasses), mixed male

²⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 410 - 411

²⁶² TAK, Vol. III, p. 106

and female seminal fluids (*kuṇḍagolodbhava*) and semen (*śukra*). It should be stated that whereas many of the ingredients in the previous list of eight do not feature in the KKA's rites, almost all of the ingredients in the group of eight liquids do make an appearance. The fact that the tradition distinguishes between various types of alcohol (*surā*, *madya* and *sīdhuka*) rather than listing just one term to cover all types gives an insight into how different alcoholic beverages must have had different connotations²⁶³. The last list of ingredients is the so-called edibles and comprises fish, meat, *mahāgottha* or *goccha* according to KKA 2 and 1 respectively, licorice root, saffron, human flesh and deer meat. Both MSS miss out an ingredient; it is possible that the *caiva* in the verse could have originally been a two-syllabled ingredient while the identity of *mahāgottha/goccha* is unclear to me. Moreover, all ingredients should technically be proscribed substances and since *sthalajā* and *kāsmīraja* are conventional ingredients, it is also possible that they have a coded, transgressive meaning as well.

The next list is a group of women from eight low castes who are to be grasped (*grahyā*), presumably for the sake of sexual rites given that a description of how ritual sex proceeds is briefly given after this. The list of eight are as follows: *mātāṅga* outcaste, collyrium girl (*karjjalī*), butcher (*śauṇḍī*²⁶⁴), barber (*kaṇḍukī*²⁶⁵), a leather-worker (*carminī*), liquor-seller (*dhvajā*), a dyer (*chippī*²⁶⁶) and courtesan (*veśyā*). The involvement of low caste women is a common phenomenon in Kaula rites whereby their caste impurity is meant to heighten the transgression of the act. Many of the names in this group are shared with other Kaula texts that associate women of eight castes with the eight principal sacred sites (*kṣetras*). Interestingly, these eight castes do not correspond directly to the inhabitants of

²⁶³ For the difference in the composition of these types of alcohol, see McHugh (2021).

²⁶⁴ See Sanderson (2007b), p. 282 – 283, fn. 170.

²⁶⁵ In *ibid.*, p. 283, Sanderson translates this as a barber. However, Goudriaan in the TAK entry for this term understands her as a cook.

²⁶⁶ See entry for Chippī in TAK, Vol. II, p. 258.

the eight *kṣetras* found earlier in the KKA in the Prāyaścittacakra. However, a few of the names do align while some others appear as the resident *yoginīs* of other sites amongst the 64 *pīṭhas* listed in the Svatantrasthiticakra. Thus, Śauṇḍī/ Śauṇḍinī is the resident deity of Vārāṇasī (*kṣetra* 2), Kaṇḍukī is the *yoginī* of Ekāmra (*pīṭha* 6) and Veśyā inhabits Prayāga (*kṣetra* 1). Variants of the name Chippī – Chippikā and Chippinī - appear as the resident deities of Caritra (*kṣetra* 6) and Uḍḍiyāna (*mahāpīṭha* 1) respectively while Mātaṅgī is the *yoginī* of Ekavīra (*pīṭha* 41).

Another list of deities in the KKA to contain many of these names is the Jñānasiddhacakra (*cakra* 6 of the Nityapūjācakras) where we find Śauṇḍī (deity 2), Kaṇḍukī (deity 4) and Mātaṅgī (deity 9). Moreover, the Cakrakṛīḍāvidhi of the KKA includes some of these names in the *uttamayoginīkula*, a list of 16 *yoginīs* who should be invited to the rite. These are Mātaṅgī, Śauṇḍī, Carminī, Dhvajā, Chippī and Veśyā. It should also be noted that the eight *yoginīs* found in TA 29's section called the Navayāga as elaborated by Jayaratha is very similar to the KKA's list. The Navayāga is the ritual in which eight deities each associated with a *kṣetra* are installed in a circle around Cakriṇī (the potter) as part of the worship associated with the Krama phase of Sṛṣṭi in relation to the object of knowledge (*prameya*). Going by Jayaratha's commentary, five of the eight share the same names as the KKA while three (Kaṇḍukī, Chippī and Veśyā) are replaced by Kārmukī, Asthividāriṇī and Dhīvarī²⁶⁷.

Once the lists are given, Vimalaprabodha cites a verse passage describing how these substances and consorts should be enjoyed in a Krama context. The location for these activities is said to be a ground for Tantric heroes (*vīrakṣetre*) fit for *siddhis* that is well-hidden, devoid of people and pleasing while the non-dual *kula* worshipper should be

²⁶⁷ TA 29.67 – 70 and commentary

naked and without shame. This fits with the description of both the setting and appearance of the *sādhaka* in a number of rites, especially the Nīśāṭanavidhi and Mahācaturdaśīvidhi. The adept and his consort should worship²⁶⁸ each other's body served with such offerings as food and drink, granting pleasure to each other enjoined with seminal fluids. We are told that the two should be surrounded by the Mīnamaṇḍala²⁶⁹, enjoying each other and sucking food and drinks and granting kisses from mouth to mouth. This statement forms the last instruction in the ritual sequence of the KKA and precedes the statement on authorship and exculpation already discussed in the Introduction of this thesis and with which Vimalaprabodha brings the entire text to a close.

²⁶⁸ The verses are presented in non-standard Sanskrit, we therefore have *yajet* in the 3rd person singular instead of dual but the list of duals that follows as well as the sexual element of the description confirms that the passage is referring to the adept and the consort as a pair.

²⁶⁹ The meaning of this Mīnamaṇḍala is not obvious but Mīṇa could be an abbreviation of Mīṇanātha, the progenitor of the Kaula teaching in which case the couple might imagine themselves surrounded by the Kaula lineage of *siddhas* and *nāthas*.

Chapter 5

An Analysis of the Three Last Rites of the KKA in light of the *Parvatrayavidhāna*

In this chapter, I will examine Vimalaprabodha's treatment of three rites - the Damanakapūjā, Pavitrārohaṇa and Śivarātripūjā. These are the three *naimittika* rites described in the greatest detail in the KKA, clearly rendering them the most significant out of the five (the other two are the Niśāṭanavidhi and Mahācaturdaśīvidhi). These three rituals also happen to be a subject of the PTV, another unpublished work by Vimalaprabodha. This chapter will therefore explore the three rites as found in both the KKA and PTV. Although the KKA's categories of *nitya* and *naimittika* have been explained in Ch.4, it is important to keep in mind that there is variance amongst Śaiva authors as to whether the above three rites were regarded as *nitya* or *naimittika*. For some Śaiva ritualists, there was the further qualification that the term *naimittika* applied to rites that were obligatory but "for which there is no fixed schedule"²⁷⁰. For this reason, Jñānaśambhu classified the Pavitrārohaṇa, a rite with a fixed annual date, as a *nitya* rite²⁷¹. However, the view that rites such as the *pavitraka* are *naimittika* as per Vimalaprabodha's definition are by no means rare in Mantramārgic literature²⁷². It might be added that these rites are not only alike in being *naimittika* but they can also be understood as *utsavas* (festivals celebrated at significant dates in the religious calendar) as the widespread alternative names for the rites (*damanotsava* and *pavitrotsava*) attest. Their status as the principle Krama *utsavas* helps to explain why Vimalaprabodha has grouped them as the subject of a single work in the PTV.

²⁷⁰ TAK Vol. III, p. 336

²⁷¹ Ibid., p. 336

²⁷² In the passages of the TA 28 which will be examined by us, Abhinavagupta treats this rite as *naimittika*. See also TAK Vol. III, p. 337 and 338 which cite the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* and Somaśambhu as seeing the Pavitrakavidhi as such.

The PTV and the KKA claim to derive their instructions for the three rites from the same sources for each rite which are the the *Kramodghāta* for the Damanaka; the *Kharapucchāgama* for the Pavitraka; and the *Kaulakalmala*²⁷³ for the Mahāśivarātri. In spite of this, the PTV and KKA by no means mirror each other. At times, the instructions differ radically while at others, the instructions, though similar, are terse in one text and elaborated in the other. A close comparison of the two will therefore widen and clarify our understanding of the Krama's conception of *naimittika* rites. Despite the PTV's importance for understanding Krama ritual, as far as I am aware, neither its contents nor its authorship by Vimalaprabodha has been discussed in secondary literature. This authorship is confirmed by the PTV's incomplete colophon which tells us that the threefold ritual was "extracted" (*ākṛṣṭa*) by Vimalaprabodha. To this are added the descriptors of the author also found in the KKA denoting that he is an ascetic (*paramahansa*) and naming his guru as Alakācārya (*śrīmadalakācāryacaranavallabha*), meaning that he must be one and the same Vimalaprabodha as the author of the KKA. Sadly, the MS is missing its final folio which would complete the colophon; the text ends with the letters "*utta*" on the MS's last page which might be the beginning of the term *uttarāmnāyavedinā*, a title also found as a descriptor of Vimalaprabodha at the end of the Nityapūjā in the KKA. Further information on the context of writing and dating is therefore unavailable. Nonetheless, a rough analysis of the style of writing which is very similar to the dated MS of the *Paścimārcanapaddhati* whose colophon has been discussed gives us a tentative date of the 13th century, close to when the author was active.

This chapter will proceed through an annotated summary of the rites according to each text followed by an analysis of points of interest. Principal focus will be given to the Mahāśivarātrividhi which on account of its length in both texts show it to be the most

²⁷³ Although the term *kalmala* does not yield any clear meaning, I have not emended the title of this now lost text as it appears in this way in all MSS of the KKA and the MS of the PTV.

important rite. The highly detailed nature of the Śivarātri instructions also help us better understand more general topics related to Krama worship, including the aesthetic experience of ritual, the use of transgression and the social context of Krama practice in Nepal. On account of the complexity of the rites as well as the brevity of the instructions, interpretation is a challenge. The reader should therefore keep in mind that my understanding is at certain points speculative.

5.1 Pavitrakavidhi

As the TAK describes, the *pavitrāropaṇa/pavitrārohaṇa* is “an annual rite of reparation for all omissions and mistakes committed in rituals...The focus of the ceremony is the offering of knotted rings of woven cotton thread”²⁷⁴. We should qualify this definition by noting that the description of these threads as “rings” might be somewhat misleading in certain traditions given that they may be worn in the same manner as a sacred thread across the torso as the lengths of their cords indicate. The rite is by no means an exclusively Śaiva one with its early appearance in the Śaiva canon being in the *Kiraṇatantra* (pre-10th century) and *Mohacūḍottara* according to Goodall²⁷⁵. The KKA discusses this rite after the Damanakavidhi while the reverse is the case in the PTV. I have chosen to treat the Pavitrakavidhi first as it is most likely the basis and precursor of the Damanaka rite. Since few studies and translations of the Tantric Pavitraka have been undertaken²⁷⁶, it is hoped that by presenting the sequence for this rite in full as they appear in the two texts, we will add some primary material for scholars studying this ritual.

²⁷⁴ TAK, Vol. III, p. 416

²⁷⁵ Goodall (2019), p. 395

²⁷⁶ The most extensive study and translation of the Tantric Śaiva version of this rite is found in Brunner’s edition of the SP which will be discussed below. However, for a treatment of the Pāñcarātra version of the Pavitrakavidhi, see Hikita’s (1991) annotated translation of Chapters 14 - 15 of the *Sāttvatasamhitā*.

5.1.2 The Pavitrakavidhi according to the KKA

The KKA begins by proclaiming that the method for the *pavitraka*, held in the rainy season, is declared by the *Kharapucchāgama*, the 6,000 versed scripture, for the sake of the worship of Kālīkā. The worshipper is told to make a *pavitraka* after obtaining a new nine-fold thread²⁷⁷ soaked with human blood and liquor. A total of eight categories of *pavitraka* offerings are described according to the number of cords offered per category as well as the number of knots and finger-lengths per cord. The first to be listed, the *devyadhivāsana pavitraka*, should have 9 cords, each cord containing 1 knot and of 9 finger-lengths. The second, the *sarvadevyadhivāsana pavitraka*, should have 5 cords, 1 knot and be 5 finger-lengths. The third is confusingly known as the “first” (*prathama*) *pavitraka* with 468 cords, 17 knots and of 17 finger-lengths. The “second” (*dvitīya*) *pavitraka* should have 234 cords, 13 knots and be 13 finger-lengths. The “third” (*trītiya*) *pavitraka* has 117 cords, 9 knots and is 9 finger-lengths. These three are to be offered to the goddess. The sixth known as the *sarvadevadevī pavitraka* should have 24 cords, 4 knots and be 5 finger-lengths.

It should be noted that the specifications for the first five *pavitrakas* are numerically significant in the Krama. The number of cords and *aṅgulas* for the first two *pavitrakas* are nine and five which possibly refer to the nine central Kālīs of the Bhāsācakra (the eight Rāsmis and the central Bhāsākālī) and the five core Kālīs of the system. These numbers appear to be no mere coincidence as the specifications (this time the knots and finger-lengths) of the next three *pavitrakas* also hint at important configurations of Kālīs in the Krama, namely five, 13 (the number of Kālīs as per the conventional Anākhyakālīcakra) and 17

²⁷⁷ Here, we should make a distinction between the individual threads that form each string and the string itself. Each category of *pavitraka* offering in the KKA and PTV has a different number of strings/cords but each cord itself has 9 threads. I therefore use the word “thread” to refer to the components of a single string and “cord” to refer to the finished product.

(the expanded number of Kālīs of Anākhyā as found in the Svatantrānākhyacakra).

The number of cords for the *prathama*, *dvitīya* and *trītiya pavitraka* (*pavitrakas* 3 – 5) is reached by multiplying some of these symbolic numbers together. Multiplying 9 by 13, we get 117 which is the number of cords of the *trītiya pavitraka*. By doubling this, we reach the number of cords for the *dvitīya pavitraka* and in turn doubling that, we obtain the number of cords for the *prathama pavitraka*. There is thus an interesting but not wholly deciphered system of numerology operating in the background for these *pavitrakas*' specifications.

The next *pavitraka* (the sixth) described is the *śrīkula pavitraka* which has 81 cords, 81 knots and is of 81 finger-lengths. Finally, the *cakrākṛīḍājana pavitraka* should have 9 cords, 32 knots and be 32 finger-lengths. We can observe that the lengths for the first six *pavitrakas* are such that they cannot be worn by worshippers (they are far too short to fit around the upper body). The remaining two *pavitrakas*, however, do have a length that is sufficient for this purpose. This gives us an implicit scheme of splitting the *pavitrakas* into those that are purely offerings to the divine and those that are wearable. The names of the last two cords also seem to back this division, the name of the 7th suggesting that it can be worn by pledge-holders during the Cakrākṛīḍā rite.

After the creation of the *pavitrakas* comes the instructions for their *adhivāsana*. This is the practice of causing something to dwell overnight in order to invite deities or spirits to inhabit that object. The *adhivāsana* should take place on the 8th or 14th night of the fortnight, the type of fortnight – bright or dark - being unspecified. The process begins with soaking the cords in blood and saffron with the *samayahr̥daya mantra*. The adept should then worship the goddess as per the routine worship according to the prescribed method. Having chanted the *astramantra* of the goddess, he then sprinkles liquor onto the *pavitrakas*. Enchanting each set of *pavitrakas* that are soaked in 16 substances seven times with the *guhyaahr̥daya mantra*, he carries out the *adhivāsana*. I cautiously take the instruction

damanavidhānena pūjākrameṇa (“through the sequence of worship as per the *damana* method”) to refer to the replication of the method of mixing 16 ingredients to make a paste in which to soak the objects of the *adhivāsana* as was described in the *Damanakavidhi* (this will be elaborated by me later).

The perplexing part of this step however comes with the compound *ātmādiṣoḍaśadravya* with ambiguity arising over why the mixed 16 substances should be qualified as “beginning with/such as the self”. A conjecture is that *ātmādi* refers to the group of the ingredients that are produced from one’s self i.e. the impure bodily substances such as blood and seminal fluids. Once the *pavitrakas* have been made to dwell overnight, one is told to satisfy (the deities) with such offerings as *tarpaṇa*. The time prescription for these offerings is ambiguous given the fact that *sandhyāsamaye* could refer to the break of dawn after the *adhivāsana* or the dusk that precedes the night on which the presentation of the *pavitrakas* is to take place²⁷⁸. The adept begins this presentation by perfuming the *pavitraka* with *guggula* mixed with skull powder and by uttering of *satpīṭhavidyā*²⁷⁹ followed by the display of the *yonimudrā*. The next part is somewhat oblique. I understand the text to suggest that the presentation of each category of *pavitraka* to the divinities is intervened by libations (*tarpaṇāntarāntareṇa*). However, it is not entirely clear what the qualification *ātmādikrameṇa* indicates here²⁸⁰. Nonetheless, the practitioner is then enjoined to enact ritual intercourse (*cakrapūjā*) after which he should offer the *kulapavitraka* (the last category of *pavitraka*) with the *samayahṛdaya mantra*. It is thus

²⁷⁸ By *pavitrakam kuryāt*, the KKA most likely means the *pavitrāropana* (the ritual of offering and installation of the *pavitrakas*) as opposed to the *pavitrakādhivāsana* or their creation which was the first step documented.

²⁷⁹ The identity of this *vidyā* is still unclear to me.

²⁸⁰ Since, as we will see later with the PTV, the *pavitraka* worn by the adept himself may be known as the *ātmāpavitraka*, a type that comes under the category of *samayapavitraka*, it is possible that the term *ātmādikrameṇa* suggests that the presentation of the *pavitrakas* to deities begins with one’s own *pavitraka*. In which case, even the *pavitrakas* of the human participants are symbolically offered alongside the divine *pavitrakas* before being presented to and worn by their mortal owners.

probable that the divine *pavitrakas* are offered first before the ritual intercourse after which one presents the human *pavitrakas*. Having satisfied and paid obeisance to the guru, the adept then receives the fruit of the *pavitraka*.

5.1.3 The Pavitrakavidhi according to the PTV

The PVT also begins by telling us about the scriptural sources of its three rites, the *Kharapucchāgāma* again being the basis of the Pavitrakavidhi.

Having made a new nine-fold thread soaked in human blood and liquor, the adept is instructed to create the three-fold *pavitraka* (*akula*, *kula* and *kaula*) with the *hrdaya mantra*. These three terms are highly polysemous in Tantric literature but when found together can denote levels of transcendence. For instance, according to Padoux's entry on *kula* in TAK, *akula* represents Śiva in his supreme form. The *kula* is the imminent aspect of the divine found in the clan of deities while *kaula/kaulika* is liberatory knowledge by which one attains the absolute²⁸¹. The first, the *akula pavitraka*, should have 121 cords, 66 knots and be 66 finger-lengths. The second, the *kula pavitraka*, has 242 cords, 33 knots and should be 33 finger-lengths. The specifications for the third – the *kaula pavitraka* – are 726 cords, 16 knots and 16 finger-lengths. The fourth *pavitraka* is called the *adhivāsapavitraka* (64 cords, 9 finger-lengths and one knot) while the fifth is known as the *samaya pavitraka* (9 cords, 64 finger-lengths and 8 knots). We are told that one's own *pavitraka*, the guru's *pavitraka* and that of anyone that is invited (as a ritual participant) has the same specifications as the *samaya pavitraka* (i.e. the same number of cords, knots and length).

After instructions for their creation, we are then given steps for the *adhivāsana* of the cords. During this process we are told to chant the 108 syllabled *hrdaya mantra*, to sprinkle liquid from the *argha* and then chant the *samayavidyā* followed by the *mantra* for

²⁸¹ TAK Vol. III, pp. 121 -122

adhivāsana. The point of confusion lies with the clause “*adhivāsanapavitrakaṃ gr̥hītvā*” (having grasped the *adhivāsana pavitraka*) which qualifies which *pavitrakas* are to be enchanted. We could interpret the compound to refer exclusively to the fifth category of *pavitraka* which goes by this name or it could be interpreted as denoting all *pavitrakas* which are fit for *adhivāsana*. If we were to understand the compound as referring to only one category of *pavitraka* then this would mean the others do not undergo *adhivāsana* since this is the only point in the PTV’s instructions where we have a *mantra* for overnight dwelling. The picture is further complicated by the fact that earlier Śaiva texts split the *pavitrakas* into two categories – the *śuddhapavitrakas* which undergo *adhivāsana* and the *gandhapavitrakas* which do not dwell overnight but are offered on the day of the *adhivāsana* of the former²⁸². Although this concept may have been at the back of the mind of our texts, the distinction is not made clear here.

The adept, having satisfied each member of the entire sequence of deities by means of this *adhivāsana*, and having perfumed (the cords), should carry out the offering of the *pavitrakas*. He first grasps the *akula pavitraka*, chants the *samayavidyā* and then recites a *mantra* particular to it then offers the *pavitraka* and satisfies the entire sequence of deities, the method of satiation being left unsaid here. This process is then repeated for the *kula*, *kaula* and *samaya pavitrakas*, each with their own *mantra*. It will be noted that the *akula*, *kula* and *kaula mantras* are almost identical for the *pavitraka* and *damanaka* offerings. He then places a *pavitraka* on his own guru with the *gurumantra*, having offered *dakṣiṇā* such as gold and an ornamented consort. Once he has satisfied and paid obeisance to his guru, he puts on his own *pavitraka*, chanting the *mūlavidyā*. He should then carry out *kumārī* worship and the worship of the pledge-holders (ritual participants). Having satisfied

²⁸² TAK Vol. III, p. 415

the pledge-holders, having created the *caruka*²⁸³ and satisfied the pledge-holders with these, he should perform the sexual rite. Then in the morning, he should dismiss the participants and pay obeisance. He should carry out this entire Pavitrakavidhi on the 14th or 8th night of the dark half of Āśvina and never in the bright half. If unable to do so, it should be done on such occasions as in Āṣāḍha. According to the PTV, the rite is proclaimed in the four different recensions of the *Kharapucchāgama* (5,500, 1,300, 300 and 500 verses).

5.1.4 Analysis of the Two Pavitraka Rites.

Before contextualising the Pavitraka rites of the KKA and the PTV amongst literature on this topic in the Śaiva canon, we should first examine the differences in the two texts made all the more confusing by the fact that they are purportedly drawn from the same Tantra and extracted by the same author. As we have seen, the differences apply to the names of the *pavitrakas*, their physical specifications and the process for their enchantment and *adhivāsana*. This puzzling disparity cannot be easily accounted for but a possible solution is offered at the end of the PTV's account where we are told about the four different recensions of the *Kharapucchāgama*, although the PTV remains silent on which version its own account is drawn from. A tentative approach is to understand the two versions of the Pavitrakavidhi as derived from two different recensions of the text that goes by this name. This is also supported by the fact that it is common for recensions of the same Tantra, in both Buddhist and Hindu Tantric literature, to contain heavily divergent material. An additional problem arises, however, with the KKA's proclamation that its version of the *Kharapucchāgama* is 6,000-versed which does not match the number of verses in any of the four recensions listed in the PTV (5,500, 1,300, 300 and 500 verses). This might be solved by how it is common for the number of verses by which

²⁸³ These should be the edible *carukas* that are created alongside the lamps in the KKA's *carukavidhi*.

a recension of an ancient Indian scripture is known to be a merely symbolic number or a denotation of a large size. It is therefore probable that the 6,000-versed *Kharapucchāgama* referred to in the KKA is no different to the 5,500 versed recension listed the PTV. In spite of this, the problem of why Vimalaprabodha would present two different versions in two texts is left unanswered. All we can say is that this divergence does give an interesting glimpse into the range of Krama practice and literature which must have been far more diverse than the extant evidence of this cult.

As for the distinctive aspects of the Uttarāmnāya's Pavitrakavidhi, this can be discussed by comparing it with other published *pavitraka* literature in the Śaiva canon. I use the examples of two Kaula versions as cited by Abhinavagupta in the *Tantrāloka* (28th Āhnika) and commented on by Jayaratha and a Saiddhāntika version found in the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (SP) for this purpose. The former two Pavitrakavidhis are drawn from the now lost Trika works, the *Kularatnamālā* and *Triśirobhairava*, and should at least provide a point of comparison within a similarly Śākta context. Somaśambhu's version, meanwhile, is an early model of this rite and has been thoroughly examined by Brunner, making for a detailed study of what the Pavitrakavidhi is in general.

Firstly, let us examine what these texts say about the function of the Pavitrakavidhi. Both the Kaula and Saiddhāntika versions make frequent and explicit references to the *pavitraka*'s expiatory purpose. In the very first verse of the SP's chapter on the rite, the function of the *pavitraka* as compensating for breaches committed throughout the year is stated. The expiatory character of the rite is again made evident in the *mantra* for the offerings of the *pavitrakas* (1.107cd – 109ab) in which Śiva is beseeched to forgive any faults. Likewise, the introduction to the Pavitraka rite in the *Kularatnamālā* version extols its purificatory power which is more powerful than ten crores of sacrifices (28.19). The *Triśirobhairava* adds to this by giving a list of offenses which the *pavitraka* can

expiate (28.148 – 149). Moreover, the offering *mantras* again principally involve supplications for forgiveness (28.163cd – 166ab and 175b – 176). In them, Bhairava is characterised as the Lord who Fills All Ritual Faults (*samastakriyādoṣapūraṇeśa*). This therefore makes it surprising that not a single reference to expiation is made in our two versions of the rite. This absence cannot be accounted for by Vimalaprabodha's tendency not to mention the functions of rituals as the prelude to other rites in the KKA readily explain their purpose. The only hint of any function is given at the conclusion of the KKA's version where the adept is merely said to receive the fruits of the Pavitrakavidhi (*pavitrakaphalam āpnotīti pavitrakavidhiḥ*). This rather glaring absence could point to the fact that by the time this rite was popularised in the Uttarāmnāya, its earlier expiatory function could have been lost or at least diminished.

We should now turn to a comparison of the dates which are fit for holding this festival in our two versions and wider Śaiva literature. As the TAK explains, amongst Śaiva literature, “the four-month period in which Viṣṇu is said to sleep is typically recommended, particularly the month of Āṣāḍha”²⁸⁴. This is similar to the prescription found in the SP where the 14th of the first fortnight of Āṣāḍha is the preferred date but the 14th or 8th of any fortnight in Śrāvaṇa or Bhādra are also permissible (SP 1.2)²⁸⁵. As for the *Kularatnamālā*, this Tantra does not give the specific date for the festival but states it should be performed on a day during the bright fortnight between Āṣāḍha and Kārttika (TA 28.121 – 122) which corresponds to the traditional four month period. Meanwhile, the *Triśirobhairava* restricts the period to any day in a bright fortnight between Śrāvaṇa and Kārttika. It adds the additional prohibition against holding the rite on a dark fortnight date, warning of suffering for the performer and the state (28.150). The KKA's version

²⁸⁴ TAK, p. 417

²⁸⁵ See fn. 1, p. 6 of Brunner's edition for preference for Āṣāḍha.

which prescribes the rainy season as the appropriate season chimes with the *Kularatnamālā*. It is interesting, however, to note that the PTV overturns the *Triśirobhairava*'s injunction concerning fortnights by stating that only the dark fortnight is permissible. This is perhaps unsurprising given it is a Krama text dedicated to the worship of Kṛṣṇā (the Dark One), a goddess whose rites are mostly performed during the dark rather than bright fortnight. Nonetheless, the fortnights aside, the range of dates which the PTV gives – priority for performance in Āśvina but permissibility of Āṣāḍha amongst other months – means it also subscribes to the *cāturmāsya* system. This shows us that although many components of the rite are changed by the Krama, the association with the rains, however attenuated, does remain.

Our sources, Krama and non-Krama, describe the creation and appearance of the *pavitraka* in diverse ways but what they all agree on is the first step in the creation of the cord. As already seen, the KKA and PTV explain that a single cord or string (*sūtra*) is made with a ninefold thread (*navaguṇīkṛtya*). This is also the case with the SP where the cord is described as three threads tripled (*triguṇam triguṇīkṛtam*) and also the *Kularatnamālā* (28.134b) and *Triśirobhairava* (28.152a) where the triplication of three threads is also mentioned²⁸⁶. This is of course inherited from the *yajñopavīta* which in its classical form, as *Manusmṛti* 2.44 tells us, should also be nine-threaded. Although the material for the *pavitrakas* in the Uttarāmnāya versions are not stated, we should understand this cord to be made out of a fibre since in Vimalaprabodha's accounts, they are soaked/dyed in the process of the *adhivāsana*. This is as opposed to some types of *pavitraka* which are made out of gold or silver mentioned by the *Kularatnamālā* (28.131 and 28.134a). Moreover, we can look to the accounts in both the TA and SP for clues as to what type of fibres the Krama's version might be. For the SP, nine types of fibres are listed in 1.13. The options in the

²⁸⁶ For a detailed account of how this multiplication of threads is undertaken, see p. 20, fn. 2 of Brunner's edition.

Kularatnamālā, if not using precious metals, are silk, linen or cotton while the *Triśirobhairava* account lists 4 common fibres depending on the *āśrama* of the offerer²⁸⁷.

With regards to the physical specifications for each category of *pavitarka* offering (the number of strings/cords as well as the *aṅgulas* and knots for each cord), we have noted how a symbolic numerology is operating in the background in Vimalaprabodha's instructions, especially as found in the KKA. This symbolic numerology also has its corollary in the non-Krama versions of this rite. This is shown for instance in the two alternative sets of numbers of cords for the three principal categories of *pavitarka* offerings in the SP (SP 1.15 – 16). The first set – 108, 54 and 27 strings – is comprised of divisions of the auspicious number 108, which is also cosmologically significant as the number of *bhuvanas*. The numbers in the second option – 81, 50 and 38 – correspond to another cosmological schema. The first two numbers, Brunner explains, are the number of *padas* in the *padādhvan* and *varṇas* in the *varṇādhvan* while the third corresponds to the *kalās* of Sadāśiva²⁸⁸. These *adhvans* or paths are two amongst the six that will come to be known as the *ṣaḍadhvan*, a method of conceptualizing the descent of the creative power of the divine in its manifestation of the cosmos and the ascent of the worshipper through initiation back to the godhead. In the TA, these *adhvans* are sixfold since they are split into three types of two pathways, namely the “pathways of time” (*kalādhvan*) made up of *mantra*, *varṇa* and *pada* and the “pathways of space” (*deśādhvan*) comprised of *kalā*, *tattva* and *bhuvana*²⁸⁹. As for the number of knots for the principal *pavitrakas* in the SP, these correspond to the number of *śaktis* – nine or ten – in the Saiddhāntika system (SP 1.22 – 23). Likewise, the *ṣaḍadhvan* system plays an important role in determining the

²⁸⁷ These four are *pāṭṭasūtram*, *kauśeyam*, *kārpāsam* and *kṣaumam*. The latter two are cotton and linen but the first two both mean silk so the exact distinction is unclear to me. The four materials are said to belong to the four *āśramas* (*cāturāśramikāṇām*) interpreted by Jayaratha to mean the four classes of initiates (*putraka*, *ācārya*, *sādhaka* and *śaṁayin*).

²⁸⁸ See Brunner's edition, p. 22, fn. 4

²⁸⁹ See Padoux (1990), pp. 330 – 371 for an extensive discussion of this system.

specifications of the *pavitrakas* in the *Kularatnamālā* which, at least in the iteration cited by Abhinavagupta and commented upon by Jayaratha, indicates that the possible number of knots should represent the 5 *kalās*, 36 *tattvas* or 108 *bhuvanas* in the *deśādhvan* of the *ṣaḍadhvan*. What we see, however, with the specifications of the *pavitrakas* in the KKA as befits a secretive sect is the move away from a numerology that is shared across Śaiva traditions (*ṣaḍadhvan* cosmology) to one that comprehensible only to the Krama worshipper (17, 13 and 9 *Kālīs*).

Another important component in the appearance of the *pavitraka* is the process of dyeing by which the threads are coloured. The non-Krama texts prescribe dyes that are commonly used for the colouring or soaking of objects in conventional Brahminical rituals. The *Trisirobhairava* (TA 28.144b) prescribes either the use of a mixture of ingredients known as the *catuḥsama*, “a term for an equal mixture of four fragrant substances (sandalwood, *agaru*, camphor, and *kuṅkuma*)²⁹⁰” or simply *kuṅkuma* on its own. The *Kularatnamālā* mentions the perfuming of these cords but does not tell us about the substance for these perfumes (TA 28.137) while the SP lists 9 largely costly ingredients as the options for the dyeing (1.20). Where Vimalaprabodha’s versions diverge from other literature is it sees the dye mixture as an opportunity to introduce impurity into the rite. Thus, initially the nine threads for the cord are coloured by means of liquor and human blood (*mahāraktamadyapraṅśālitasūtram*) then, preceding the *adhivāsana*, the cords are soaked with human blood and sprinkled with liquor and finally undergo *adhivāsana* drenched in the 16-ingredient substance, many of whose components are highly impure. During their presentation, the KKA tells us they should be perfumed with guggul mixed with skull powder, a mixture which is also most likely the unnamed perfume used in the PTV. This transgression is intensified through the instruction to end the rite in both

²⁹⁰ See TAK, Vol. II, p. 227 for the ascertainment of the identity of this mixture.

versions of the Pavitrakavidhi with ritual sex, a step that is also hinted at in the TA's reporting of the *Kularatnamālā*'s ritual which concludes with the *cakrayāga*, a form of worship that often involves orgiastic activity²⁹¹.

Finally, we should examine the categories of *pavitrakas* as well as types of recipients of the offerings in our various texts. Despite the great diversity in the categories of *pavitrakas*, there is a common understanding amongst all the texts discussed that the cords can be given to both human and divine recipients. This has already explained in relation to the two Krama versions where beyond the goddess and the ancillary deities of her *cakras*, those fit to receive the *pavitraka* include oneself, one's guru as well as any ritual participant, especially the attendants of the Cakrākṛīḍā as the KKA highlights. The self (28.139a) and various categories of gurus (28.131 – 132) are similarly understood to be the human recipients in the *Kularatnamālā*. This too is reflected in the *Triśirobhairava* (28.156b – 157) which also adds various categories of initiates and worshippers who each receive different numbers of knots on their cords (28.160b – 161). Similarly, the guru and the self are amongst the worthy recipients of the SP (1.26).

With regards to the categories of *pavitrakas* offered to non-human recipients, the Krama versions have more in common with the SP than the two rites of the TA. Although, as earlier mentioned, the main distinction between the *pavitrakas* that undergo *adhivāsana* and those that are simply offered without *adhivāsana* is not explicitly stated in the Krama version, traces of the categorisation of the principal *śuddhapavitrakas* (those that undergo *adhivāsana*) still remain. In the SP, the three main *śuddhapavitrakas* are known as the *tattvapavitrakas* “because each in some way represents one of the three sections of the universe when divided up into the three *tattvas* (*tattvatraya*) of *ātmatattva*, *vidyātattva* and

²⁹¹ See TAK, Vol. II, p. 223

śivatattva (SP2 1.97-102))”²⁹². In the KKA, we have three unnamed *pavitrakas* simply referred to as the *prathama*, *dvitīya* and *tṛtīya*. The fact that they are conceived as a group of three and also viewed as the principal *pavitrakas* shown by how they have the highest number of cords per category is a strong indication that they are the vestiges of the *tattvatraya* system found in the SP. In the PTV, the idea that the principle *pavitrakas* to be offered are a triad (*pavitrakatrāyam*) in the form of *kula*, *akula* and *kaula* shows such a system is also retained in this text but transformed into a triad more relevant to a Kaula context. To briefly conclude, our analysis of the two *pavitraka* rites in relation to other literature has shown us that the Krama Pavitrakavidhi has many affinities with other Śaiva versions, including the cosmic symbolism, composition of the cords and categorisation of *pavitrakas*. However, these are now overcoded with a Krama idiom alongside the introduction of its characteristic impurity rendering the rite more suited to its new and transgressive esoteric context.

5.2 Damanakavidhi

The Damanakavidhi also known as Damanāropana is a rite common to both the Siddhānta and Bhairava streams of Tantric Śaivism and consists principally in the offering of parts of the *damana* plant (*Artemisia Indica*) to hosts of deities. The justification for this rite, as we will later show, is various and although its purpose is not spelt out in the KKA or PTV, its function in other Śaiva texts appears to be expiatory as a means of countering any transgressions. A full study of this rite across Śaiva traditions has not been undertaken and published sources that include the Damanāropana are much rarer than those featuring the Pavitrakavidhi. A highly useful discussion of this rite as it appears in several Saiddhāntika texts and its place in the wider Mantramārga canon is found in Goodall (2019). Moreover,

²⁹² Ibid., p. 64

Brunner's edition of the SP also contains detailed notes that accompany her translation of the rite, some of which have been corrected by Goodall in the above article. On account of the scarcity of literature, we will therefore use these two studies as a point of comparison for the Krama version of this rite. Before this analysis, however, let us turn to the Damanāropaṇa as it appears in our two texts.

5.2.1 The KKA's Damanakavidhi

Vimalaprabodha states that the Damanakavidhi should be carried out on the fourth night of the bright half of Caitra. The version he adopts is drawn from the *Kramodghāta*. He begins by listing the ingredients used for soaking of the *damanaka* parts during its *adhivāsana* which are shared by the Pavitrakavidhi and are as follows: red sandalwood, camphor, musk, saffron, sandalwood, blood, liquor, mixed seminal fluids, cow's bile, lac, unprocessed vermillion, nutmegs, crepe ginger, *jatukā* (lac) plant and fragrant black aloe wood (16 ingredients in total). A bowl should be filled with these ingredients which are mixed together and enchanted with the *hṛdayamantra*. The *damanaka* that is brought forth should be sprinkled with this mixture three times and, after carrying out the routine rites, the *damanaka* may undergo *adhivāsana*. Although the way the instructions for the *adhivāsana* is laid out is highly unclear, it appears that the KKA intends for the three types of *damanakādhivāsana* (*viśeṣārghapātrādhivāsana*, *devyadhivāsana* and *gurvadhivāsana*) to mirror the sequence of the last three phases of the Nityapūjā. For the *viśeṣārghapātrādhivāsana*, the worshipper soaks parts of the *damanaka* comprised of flowers, fruits and leaves with the aforementioned mixture and recites 18 *mantras* representing the phases of *nitya* worship which precede the worship of the Five Kālīs. This is comprised of *mantras* associated with the three *paripāṭis*, the four *rakṣās*²⁹³ and the 11 succeeding ancillary *cakras* of the Nityapūjā.

²⁹³ The number 18 is reached because the *rakṣās* each peculiarly have their own *mantras*.

At first, it might seem curious that he excludes the 5 Kālīs from this *mantra* sequence. However, upon closer inspection, the text's reasoning becomes clear. In the Nityapūjā, the Viśeṣārghapātravidhi occurs after the propitiation of all 11 ancillary *cakras* as a preliminary to the Five Kālīs²⁹⁴. Since this first *adhivāsana* concerns the *viśeṣārghapātra* alone, it therefore mirrors this sequence. After this comes instructions for orienting the *damanaka*, most probably inside a *maṇḍala* and the enchantment of its parts with *mantras*.

The base of the plant is said to be in the North and enchanted with the fivefold *arghapātra mantra*. The middle of the plant at the *maṇḍala*'s centre is blessed with the Bhairavabhairavī *mantra* and the tip placed in the South is enchanted with the *hṛdayamantra*. These *mantras* all relate to the principal elements of the worship of the *viśeṣārghapātra* in the Nityapūjā. As we will recall, in the Viśeṣārghapātravidhi, the *pātras* are five in number and worshipped twice. The first time round, they are said to represent the three fires together with *vāyu* and *vyoman*. The second time, three of them become the embodiment of three types of *hṛdayamantra* while two are worshipped as the personification of liquor known as Ānandabhairava and Ānandabhairavī. During this second round of worship, each *pātra* is given a unique *mantra* before its name. The enchantment of the base, middle and tip of the plant likely reflects the components of the second round of worship of the five *pātras*. The enchantment at the base of the plant with the fivefold *arghapātra mantra* should refer to the five unique *mantras* that precede the name of the five *pātras*. The enchantment of the middle of the plant with the Bhairavabhairavī *mantra* clearly refers to the two out of the five *pātras* which are installed as the personification of liquor. Finally, the enchantment of the tip with the *hṛdayamantra* connects this *adhivāsana* to the worship of the remaining three *pātras* which are enshrined as the personification of three types of *hṛdayamantras*.

²⁹⁴ It will be recalled that two *arghapātras* are detailed in the KKA, the first used for worshipping the ancillary deities (*sāmānyārghapātra*) and the second for the Five Kālīs (*viśeṣārghapātra*).

For the next *adhivāsana* related to the Goddess, the instructions tell us to cut the *damanaka* plant from top to bottom up to “sixteen” (*ṣoḍaśāntam*) and to offer them to various goddesses. This unqualified “sixteen” is ambiguous but most probably denotes sixteen parts given the instruction to cut the *damanaka*. However we interpret this term, the number sixteen undoubtedly represents the sixteen *cakras* of worship and thus shows the *devyadhivāsana* to follow the same pattern as the *viśeṣārghapātrādhivāsana* of the *damanaka*. In the same way that the previous *adhivāsana* had as many *mantras* as the phases of worship up to the *viśeṣārghapātravidhi* in the Nityapūjā, for the *adhivāsana* of the central Goddess, the number of offerings also reflect the number of phases of worship up to Bhāsākālī ($16 = 11$ ancillary *cakras* + 5 Kālīcakra). The plant or its parts are then enchanted at the base, middle and tip like in the previous *adhivāsana*. However, the text does not tell us how to ascribe a base and tip to the plant after the cutting, which could be done by arranging the cuttings in three groups oriented at different points on the ritual ground. Nonetheless, the *mantras* for enchantment again show that the *adhivāsana* is an attempt to mimic the sequence of the *nitya* worship. The three *mantras* used to bless the three parts of the plant are the nine, 17 and 100-syllabled *mantras*. These very *mantras* and the order in which they appear comprise the steps which conclude the worship of each of the Five Kālī *cakras* of the Nityapūjā.

Just as the Viśeṣārghapātravidhi and the Pañcakālīcakra in the Nityapūjā is followed by the Gurupañktyarcana so too is this the case with the *adhivāsanas* of the *damanaka*. However, unlike the two previous *adhivāsanas*, the steps for the enchantment of the plant in the *gurvadhivāsana* is not given and we are simply instructed to cause the successive lineage of gurus to dwell overnight by means of the *damana* parts (*damanakavikareṇa*). We are also told all three *adhivāsanas* take place after sunset and conclude with offerings of food, drink, scents and unguents. I tentatively take the clause “*atha yathā*

rātrādhivāsīte krameṇa sakṛd damanakataruṇā gurumaṇḍalāntam” to be simply a statement summarising all three *adhivāsanas* since *gurumaṇḍalāntam* indicates the previously described process ending with the *gurumaṇḍala*²⁹⁵. If this is the case then the entire rite should be concluded with the propitiation of the goddess with sixteen substances (possibly the sixteen described as the mixture for soaking the *damana*) and with the replication of the entire cycle of worship up to the Cakrakrīḍā, suggesting that ritual sex should end this rite. Such an interpretation is likely as the PTV explicitly tells us that this rite ends with a sexual element as we will see below.

5.2.2 The PTV’s Damanakavidhi

In the PTV, we are first instructed to fill a vessel with the same ingredients as those used for the *adhivāsana* in the KKA. In the PTV’s MS, numbers are given after each ingredient allowing us to separate the 16 ingredients correctly and thus also clarify the text of the KKA. For instance, the number 1 after *raktacandana* tells us it is a single ingredient *karmadhāraya* (red sandalwood) rather than a *dvandva* (blood and sandalwood). Having enchanted this mixture eight times with the *hṛdayamantra*, a beautiful *damanaka* plant is brought forth again accompanied by (the chanting of) the *hṛdayamantra* a hundred times. Once the *damanaka* is sprinkled with this mixture using the *astramantra*, the adept should worship Kālī as per the routine worship. After this step, the ritual diverges entirely from the framework found in the KKA.

Having chanted the *hṛdayamantra* nine times, the adept should grasp the base of the *damanaka* while chanting a *mantra* specific to this part of the plant and then offer it in

²⁹⁵ We may understand *gurumaṇḍalāntam* in an adverbial sense (“up to the *gurumaṇḍala*”) going with the locative absolute *adhivāsīte* while *sakṛt* (“at once” or “simultaneously”) could suggest that all three *adhivāsanas* take place over the same night. Therefore, a cautious interpretation would be “once the simultaneous dwelling overnight by means of the *damanaka* plant (of all three categories) according to the steps (prescribed) up to that of the *gurumaṇḍala* has taken place...”.

the Northwest. He then grasps the middle of the plant, chants another specific *mantra* and offers it in the Northeast. He does the same for the tip of the *damanaka*, offering it to the South. Each *mantra* is affixed with *oṃ hrīṃ hūṃ phreṃ namo bhagavatī* at the beginning and ends with *śrīguhyakālike hūṃ* (thrice) *phreṃ* (thrice) *adhivāsyaṃi*. The middle two words of the *mantra* change according to the part of the plant being enchanted and describe different aspects of the goddess. The first *mantra* calls her Caṇḍī and Bhairavī. The second describes her with terrifying teeth and names her Raudrī and the third refers to her flying hair and lolling tongue. Since we have *adhivāsyaṃi* in the *mantra*, we can be certain that this is the chanting done during the *adhivāsana*. There is confusion however concerning how the plant is to be oriented in the ritual ground since the compass points associated with the base, middle and tip (Northwest, Northeast, South) do not align in a straight line. This means that the plant must be bent at the middle or has to be cut into three parts at the base, middle and tip with these cuttings then placed in three directions. The *damanaka* said to be 16 *aṅgulas* is then cast into a vessel and offered as *argha* (to the Goddess?) with the *hṛdayamantra*.

Following this comes three further *damanaka* offerings that, like the three principal *pavitrakas*, correspond to the categories of *akula*, *kula kaula*. A number is assigned to the three plants (9, 18, 27) for each category. The ambiguity concerns whether these numbers specify the measurement of the plants (their *aṅgulas*) or the quantity of plants per category of offering. If the latter is the case, then it is possible that this mimics the offering of the *pavitrakas* in which the number of cords for each type of offering can often be a multiple of the preceding category. Moreover, this interpretation might be backed by how the *kaula* is seen as combination of the *akula* and *kula*, a fact that is also acknowledged in the *mantra* for the *damanaka* of Kaulaguhyakālikā who is first addressed as “*akulakulakaulaguhyakālī*”.

Therefore the quantity of its plant offerings (27) could naturally be the addition of the plants for the *akula* (9) and *kula* (18) offerings.

After the offering of these three categories of plants, the adept is told to offer *damanakas* separately to the deities (perhaps the ancillary deities of the pantheon) each with their own *mantras* (the identity of these deities are not given but possibly they are the *cakras* of ancillary deities). Alternatively, having uttered the *samayavidyā*, he may offer (the plants) to all of the deities at once in a single place. Then having uttered the *mūlavidyā*, he should offer *argha* in the form of human blood to the goddess. Having carried out the *lakṣayāga*²⁹⁶ to the best of his ability, he should worship the feet of his guru with a *damanaka* plant. The fact that the term *yathāśaktyā* (to the best of one's ability)²⁹⁷ is included suggests that the figure of one lakh is only symbolic. He then offers a consort adorned with all ornaments to his guru and gifts beginning with *dakṣiṇā*. He is then told to worship the *cakras* such as that of the Kumārī. It is still unclear to me what exactly is meant by the Kumārīcakra and whether or not this refers to the *kumārīpūjā* as found in the KKA. Nonetheless, the ritual ends with a sexual rite (*samarasayoga*) and the dismissal of the *maṇḍala* of worship according to the prescribed sequence.

From the above account, we see that the two versions of the Damanakavidhi share some similarities in the way the plants are prepared. The two texts list the same 16 ingredients for the *adhivāsana* mixture. The concept of orienting the *damanaka* so that the tip, middle and root are placed at a specific compass point and the enchantment of these points with separate *mantras* is also found in both versions. However, as with the Pavitrakavidhi, the differences are striking. Here, the differences are even less accountable as the two Damana

²⁹⁶ This is traditionally understood as the ritual in which a lakh of oblations is offered.

²⁹⁷ We may note the unconventional use of *yathāśaktyā* in the feminine instrumental rather than the more correct *yathāśakti* declined adverbially in the neuter nominative singular.

methods are supposedly extracted from the same text (the *Kramodghāta*) but without the qualifying statement as found in the PTV's Pavitrakavidhi's that the source text for the rite contains multiple recensions. The variation in the material therefore remains a mystery.

5.2.3 Analysis of the Two Damanakavidhis

First, we may examine what Vimalaprabodha's versions of the Damanakavidhi say about the consolidation of this rite in the Mantramārga which according to Goodall is a relatively late addition. Goodall argues that *utsavas* are generally absent from the earliest strata of Mantramārgic literature and that they must originally have had no soteriological function²⁹⁸. According to him, the earliest known textual account of the Damanakapūjā in the Mantramārga appears in the SP, usually dated to the late 11th century²⁹⁹. Since our two texts can be confidently dated to the beginning of the 13th century, we can say that within less than two centuries, this rite which was extraneous to the Mantramārgic Śaivism had not only penetrated the Śaivasiddhānta but was firmly lodged in Śākta traditions as well. This is further reinforced by its elevation by Vimalaprabodha to become amongst the three most important *naimittika* rites in Guhyakālī worship. Given the divergence in the instructions for this rite, not only between the Saiddhāntika and Krama versions but within the Krama itself, the practice was not only swiftly entrenched in the Mantramārga but also became diversified in form.

Moreover, Goodall shows that the Damanakavidhi, as a typically vernal festival, most likely has its origins in the worship of Kāmadeva who is traditionally associated with spring. Vestiges of this association with Kāmadeva are found in both the aetiological justification and the common date for the rite. For instance, the 12th century Saiddhāntika guru, Jñānaśambhu in his *Jñānaratnāvalī* describes the Damanapūjā's origins as linked to

²⁹⁸ Goodall (2019), p. 410

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 389

the episode of Śiva burning Kāmadeva. Meanwhile, most traditions prescribe the 13th day of the lunar fortnight in Caitra or a day close to this date as the appropriate time to carry out *damana* worship. According to the system which ascribes *tithis* (lunar days) to deities as found in *Gr̥hyasūtra* literature, the thirteenth lunar day is associated with Kāmadeva while Caitra is widely known as Kāmadeva's month³⁰⁰. Although in Somaśambu's version of this rite, the plant is connected to a Bhairava known as Damana instead of the God of Love³⁰¹, the prescription of the 13th lunar day of Caitra for the date remains.

In the Krama version of this rite as found in our two texts, this link with Kāmadeva, both calendrical and aetiological, is entirely expurgated. Unlike the Saiddhāntika renderings, the mythological background and the function of the rite is not given. Moreover, although the vernal character is maintained, the lunar day for the rite in the two texts is now the fourth. The types of *damanaka* offered (to three final phases of the Nityapūjā in the KKA and to three manifestations of the Goddess and to Kālī as *akula/kula/kaula* in the PTV) and their *mantras* are also self-referential of the cult of Guhyakālī and do not refer to anything extraneous. Like the Pavitrakavidhi, this rite which was originally an exoteric festival celebrated across sectarian lines³⁰² is transformed by Vimalaprabodha into a closed, esoteric practice by means of transgression. This is reflected in the soaking of the *damanaka* in ingredients that are largely impure, the offering of human blood as *argha* in the PTV and the conclusion of the rite with ritual sex in both versions.

However, the Damanakavidhis of the PTV and KKA still retain some traces of the ritual technique of the earlier SP and, in fact, the latter can supply possible answers to confusing points in Vimalaprabodha's versions. The most notable similarity between the

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 402

³⁰¹ SP, Vol. II, pp. 197 – 201, vv. 1 – 4

³⁰² See Goodall's (2019) discussion of the various sources that proclaim Damana-related worship in Caitra in p. 396, fn. 24.

two is the idea of offering different parts of the plant at different compass points. The SP supplies greater detail for this practice, pairing five parts of the plant with a *vṛtāṅga* and placing them in the West (the roots), North (the stems), South (leaves), East (flowers) and Northeast (fruits), each direction representing the corresponding face of the five-faced Sadāśiva. Each part/compass point is accompanied by a unique *mantra* as found in the PTV and KKA³⁰³. As already mentioned, instructions for orienting the plants in the KKA and PTV pose several issues. The *devyadhivāsana* in the KKA speaks of orienting the base, middle and tip of the plant, although instructions had already been given to cut the plant into sixteen parts. The PTV's first three offerings demand that the plant's base, middle and tip be oriented in a way that would not allow the plant to retain its original shape. If we were to tentatively understand the vague base, middle and tip of the plants in the KKA and PTV as corresponding to cuttings of different parts of the plant's anatomy drawn from its root, middle and tip as per the SP's method of offering the *damanaka* then some of the awkwardness in orienting the plant might be resolved.

Furthermore, the SP provides a further framework for understanding the origins of the Damanakavidhi. On account of the proximity between this rite and the Pavitrakavidhi as well as the latter's earlier appearance in the Śaiva canon, Goodall and Brunner have convincingly argued that the *damanaka* rite is a duplication of the *pavitraka*. Goodall therefore argues that "both its shape and purpose were calqued upon the reparatory Pavitrārōhaṇa"³⁰⁴. Our two texts, especially the PTV, provide additional evidence for this calquing since the basic structure of the Damanakapūjā seems to replicate the Pavitrakavidhi's. Thus, both rites follow the formula of soaking the offerings in the same 16 ingredient mixture, enchanting them with *mantras* and causing them to undergo *adhivāsana* followed

³⁰³ SP, Vol. II, pp. 208 – 210, vv. 12 - 14

³⁰⁴ Goodall (2019), p. 395

by the formal act of offering these objects, the worship of the *cakras* of routine worship and ritual sex. These parallels become more evident with the versions of the rites found in the PTV. In this text, the categories of *akula*, *kula* and *kaula* are both the principal types of *damanaka* and *pavitrakas*. Moreover, the *mantras* during the *adhivāsana* of these three offerings are identical in the two rites of the PTV with the exception of the additional element of the vocatives “*akula/kula/kaulaguhyakālike*” into the *damanaka mantras*.

5.3 Mahāśivarātri

The Mahāśivarātri rite is one of the most significant Krama rites for Vimalaprabodha as shown by how it is the *naimittika* rite described in the greatest detail. Indeed, if we were to judge by the expanded version of this rite found in the PTV then it could be said to even surpass the Cakrakrīḍā, the longest section in the Nityapūjā, in its complexity. It is also important for providing insights into Krama ritualism as a whole since it brings together all the characteristic elements of this cult’s worship which we earlier came across such as the transformation of the adept into the object of worship, the consumption of proscribed substances and orgiastic activity. The PTV claims to present a version of the Mahāśivarātri drawn from the same text as the KKA, the *Kaulakalmala*. However, as we have observed in the Pavitraka and Damanaka rites, the declaration of a common scriptural basis does not guarantee that the rites follow the same framework. Yet due to the large amount of shared material and the common sequence, the Mahāśivarātri rites in the PTV and KKA should be understood as coming from the same source, the PTV’s version being at some points an elaboration of the KKA’s. I will first give a summary of the rite as found in the two texts, commenting on cryptic points and showing how the PTV supplements and clarifies our interpretation of the KKA’s version.

Both texts begin with the date on which this rite is to be performed which is the 14th night of the dark half of the month of Māgha, which is the traditional date for this festival found in pan-Śaiva material. The rite commences by summoning the pledge-holders to the ritual ground. The KKA gives us scant details concerning these pledge-holders describing them as “previously described” (*pūrvoktasamayam*) and instructing us to summon them to the best of our abilities (*yathāśaktyā*). The PTV tells us that the participants are 81 couples of pledge-holders (*ekāśītiyāmalasamayam*). It is important for them to be mentioned as couples since this rite will take on a distinctly sexual element. They are summoned according to the PTV with the *samayahṛdayamantra* chanted 12, 9 or 3 times³⁰⁵. The PTV adds that once summoned, the participants should be offered betel leaf and *tilaka*. It also cryptically describes the sponsor of the sacrifice as holding an unidentified object with his left-hand (*vāmahaste dhṛtvā*). I have interpreted what the sponsor is holding as his own consort since the consort’s position on his left side, grasped by his left hand is made clear later (for instance, seen through the statements “*vāmapārśvāropitapīnonnatapayodharaśaktisamanvitaṃ*” or “*varacaṇḍālīm...vāmakare dhṛtvā*”).

The PTV also adds that the sponsor should then invite *kumārīs* of the same number as the pledge-holders (*samayasamkhyayā*) with the previously mentioned offerings (betel and *tilaka*), having recited the *hṛdayamantra* or the *hṛdaya*. The question raised by the presence of this additional element not found in the KKA is whether these *kumārīs* are to be understood as one half of the 81 couples who are required to perform the sexual rite as an epithet for *śakti* or *dūti* or whether they are independent of these couples. The text itself

³⁰⁵ Here, I have understood the numbers *dvātrimśakam* etc. to have neuter singular endings as adverbs qualifying the chanting of the *samayavidyā*. However, it is also possible to take them as separate *mantras* which are alternatives to the *samayavidyā* in the summoning of the participants with the numbers denoting the number of syllables of those *mantras*.

does not make this clear but in support of the latter interpretation, the consorts of the adepts are nowhere else in the KKA or PTV known as *kumārīs*. They are instead called *śaktis* or *yoginīs* in other sections involving sexual practice. Moreover, there is the widespread connotation of *kumārī* in Sanskrit as not only a girl but a virgin girl. On the other hand, backing the interpretation that this term is indeed a synonym for the consort is the *nyāsa* that will be performed on this group which will be discussed later.

No matter the interpretation we prefer, while examining the passages where these *kumārīs* feature, we should keep in mind both possibilities. In the KKA, this section dealing with the invitation of the *kumārīs* is simply replaced with the instruction to prepare the ritual ground. Following on from this, the two texts are again almost identical. They describe the way in which the adept should adorn himself, which I will return to later in a close analysis. After this the sponsor is told to place a red seat of 36 *aṅgulas* on the ground which has been smeared with liquor and blood. Then, either to its side or above it according to the KKA or PTV, he should place a human skull as the vessel for the *argha* made of blood, liquor and meat. Having placed another eight skulls filled with liquor³⁰⁶ in the eight directions, he should offer eight lamps lit with human fat on top of the skulls. Once he has worshipped the goddess as per the routine worship stated, he should perfume the ritual ground with guggul mixed with liquor, flesh and fat. He should then summon the group of participants for which the KKA uses the causative absolutive *utthāpya* (causing to get up) while the PTV uses *āhuya* (having called), adding that they are preceded by the *kumārīs*. The participants are then offered blood as *argha* and liquor as *ācamana*. The adept causes the entire delegation to enter the *cakra* chanting the *hṛdayamantra*. This shows that earlier, although summoned to assemble, the participants were standing outside of the circular

³⁰⁶ The term here is *madyakandala*, *kandala* being a rare synonym for *kapāla*. See for instance the entry for this term in Boehtlingk Sanskrit-German Dictionary.

enclosure of the ritual space. The KKA's redacted version tells us the sponsor is to offer the participants a suitable seat one by one with the *kamalamudrā*. The PTV elaborates upon the seat and *mudrā*. The seat is made from either goatskin or *mahāmṛdu*. The identity of this material is not clear but since *mṛdu* can refer to any material that is soft or tender while *mahā* added before a term for an ingredient commonly denotes that it is a product of the human body in the KKA³⁰⁷ as well as wider Tantric literature, we can assume that it refers to either human skin or human hair. Indeed, goat and human skins are two out of the six materials used to make the seat in the *Āsanapūjā* of the KKA. Meanwhile, the *mudrā* used is described by the PTV as performed by moving the forefinger and middle finger in a way that is circular (*bimbavat*). The sponsor then orients the participants towards him from the feet up to the head with the *mahāmudrā*.

After this, the KKA tells us obliquely that he should carry out the remaining practice as proclaimed in the previous cakra (*śeṣaṃ yathāpūrvacakroktopacāraṃ*). Since the KKA has omitted the *kumārī* element entirely, it is not surprising that it does not give specific instructions for the next part of the rite as laid out in the PTV which involves *nyāsa* of the *kumārīs*. This constitutes depositing the root *vidyā* on the head of the *kumārī*, the *hṛdaya* on her heart and the *samayavidyā* over her entire body. At this point, the identification of the *kumārī* with the sexual consort becomes more compelling. It could be argued that the male adepts and their consorts imitate Bhairava and the goddess in their love-making and therefore through *nyāsa* transform themselves into the object of their worship. The male adepts have already done this since he was earlier instructed to carry out the routine worship which involves his *sanyāsadhyanā* as part of the preparatory rites. In this passage

³⁰⁷ See the repeated use of *mahārakta/mahākṣataja* for blood, *mahātaila* for human fat and *mahāśaṅkha* for a human skull in the KKA.

of the PTV, it is possible that he is now enacting the same transformation for his consort, turning her into Kālī through the deposition of these *vidyās*.

Then comes the instructions in both texts for the creation of the pledge lamps. The adept is told to knead flour mixed with seminal fluids alongside liquor and human blood, he bakes this mixture in a cremation ground fire, thereby creating the pledge lamps that are triangular and three *anṅulas* in size. He then places the lamps in the four directions where the skulls full of liquor are located and lights them with human fat and a pinch of vermillion. It should be noted that the ingredients for this set of lamps is not entirely the same as those in the Dīpavidhi since there is the addition of blood and seminal fluids here. Moreover, the relationship between this set of four lamps and the preceding eight which had already been installed is not made clear, especially their orientation in relation to the former set. The adept then chants the *samayavidyā* and bends his knees before diffusing the lamps. Here, the PTV very clearly supplies information for which the MSS of the KKA are defective. In all MSS of the KKA, we have the absolutive *bhūtvā* (“having become”) at this point in the instructions but no further term to qualify what the *sādhaka* should become. However, we know *bhūjanukaḥ* (knee bent to the ground) to be the correct missing term as it appears in the identical location of the PTV. The PTV then elliptically uses the verb *sphārayet* with the group of lamps as its object. By using this verb, Vimalaprabodha seems to suggest that the lamps should be moved in such a way as to diffuse its scent since in the KKA, we are told to rotate the lamp anticlockwise after grasping it with one’s two hands while chanting a *mantra*, a description that is missing in the PTV. This is followed by recitation of two different hymns in the two texts. The five-versed *Kālīsūtra*, as already discussed in my treatment of the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the KKA in Ch.4, is prescribed in the KKA. Meanwhile, the PTV provides a two-versed chant, the first verse resembling parts of the *Kālīsūtra* and the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of three Krama

Tantras as also highlighted in Ch. 4. The second verse in the PTV's chant shifts from the Vasantatilakā of the *Kālīsūtra* to Anuṣṭubh and has been seen by me nowhere else in Guhyakālī literature.

After this recitation, the worshipper places the lamps in front of the *cakra*. The KKA gives this location in coded terms as *antarīkṣasthane*, the meaning of which is made clear by the PTV's description of the location as *cakrāgre*. The sponsor then offers the lamps for consumption to each of the participants alongside the skull vessels. The KKA adds that *caru* is also offered alongside the lamps while the PTV tells us the exact steps for sipping the *argha* from the skull: the vessel is lifted with the *hṛdayamantra*, sipped with the *hṛdaya* and deposited again with the *chaṭāmudrā* followed by the chanting of the *samayavidyā*. Following this comes a section that is puzzling in both texts. In the PTV, the literal translation is “envisioning/ manifesting a lakh beginning with one and ending with a lakh, having caused it to fall and having imagined the state of falling to be of three natures, he should perform the *samayamudrā*”. As we can see, without further context, this sentence yields little meaning. As for the KKA, its next sentence is the conclusion of the rite through the satiation of the goddess with seminal fluids (*kundagolodbhavana*). However, the meaning of the compound qualifying the offering to the goddess (*ānandabhedākṣarakṣaṇena*) remains unclear to me.

Unlike the KKA, however, the sexual rite in the PTV is not briefly referred to but is expanded in full. Moreover, following the description of the practical steps of this ritual intercourse is a mystical explanation of the bliss generated from it in 17 verses derived from a text known as the *Kālikāmata*. This explanation is highly obscure and much of it remains unintelligible to me. However, I shall return to these verses and the instructions for the sexual rite itself in full in my discussion of ritual intercourse in this chapter.

After these verses, the PTV's version of the rite is brought to a close. The sponsor is said to satiate all (participants) with the arisen (substances), most likely a reference to the seminal fluids arisen from sex. Having risen up, he pays obeisance to the goddess's worshippers. The description of this sequence of obeisance (*namaskṛtikramam*) is confusingly described as "beginning with one and ending with a lakh" (*ekādīlakṣāntam*) and "eventually nine lakhs" (*navalakṣaṃ krameṇa*). We can only speculate on the meaning. It is possible that the obeisance is some form of *mantra* which one chants up to a lakh times in the ritual itself and potentially up to nine lakhs in the course of one's life as a worshipper. He ends by offering gifts to the pledge-holders according to his capacity and dismissing them as per the prescribed sequence.

After these verses, the PTV adds a further element missing from the KKA – two substitutions in the case of incapacity to perform the elaborate version of the Śivarātri. The first consists of worshipping the goddess as per the correct sequence followed by filling a pitcher with liquor. A black *kumārī* is then placed atop a red eight-petalled lotus and worshipped with the *samayavidyā*. After the *kumārī* is offered such gifts as clothes, ornaments and gold, the adept chants the root *vidyā* three times and creates the set of offerings beginning with the lamp. The *ādi* in the compound suggests that other offerings besides the lamp are made. Basing our interpretation off the Dīpavidhi of the KKA, these additional offerings should refer to the *piṇḍa* and the *mudrā* which are fashioned after the creation of the lamps, enchanted in a similar way and deposited alongside the lamps in the four cardinal directions and the Northeast. The adept then becomes content by satiating himself with the triad of *alibalikali*. The identity of these three are not evident to me but the *bali* could be the conventional *bali* offering which in the KKA is made from pieces of the *piṇḍa*, *mudrā* and *dīpa* while the *ali* can mean, according to some lexicographers³⁰⁸,

³⁰⁸ See the entry in Monier-Williams Dictionary for *ali*.

liquor. The adept then performs either a full bath (*plavasnānam*) or sprinkling (*secanam*) with “that which arises from the pot”, possibly a reference to alcohol which was earlier poured into the pitcher. With this, he concludes the rite and takes leave of the goddess. A couple of similarities with the Kumārīvaṭukārcana in the KKA are observed here. In this section of the KKA, the worship of the *kumārī* is similarly prescribed for the *sādhaka* who is unable to carry out a more elaborate rite involving ritual intercourse (Cakrākṛdā). The *kumārī*’s seat there is also conceived of as a lotus and the *kumārī* is likewise described as dark.

The second alternative carried out in the absence of all ritual materials calls for the adept to simply imagine the ritual. Once complete, he should circumambulate the cremation ground of his own locality at night. The PTV ends with a hint of the mythic basis for Śivarātri and warns against non-performance of the rite which would result in a rupture of the adept’s pledge.

5.3.1 Analysis of the Śivarātri Rite

Before examining the specifics of this rite, we should briefly touch upon popular versions of Mahāśivarātri and the history of this rite in Nepal to locate the place of this Śākta Tantric version in the religious landscape. Axel Michaels has done a brief but helpful survey of the literature surrounding Mahāśivarātri in Nepal³⁰⁹. He notes that the majority of sources contextualising this rite in Nepal are in Sanskrit and belong to the pan-Indian tradition of viewing the festival’s origins according to the celebrated story of the hunter who unwittingly worships a *śivaliṅga* in a forest through fasting, a night vigil and the offering of *bilva* leaves (the three would become the core components of the pan-Indian Śivarātripūjā). According to Michaels, the practice of Śivarātri even outside of

³⁰⁹ Michaels (2008), pp. 183 - 193

Nepal, seems a late development, the earliest inscriptional evidence being 1141 C.E.³¹⁰. Meanwhile, he argues, “it seems a justified conclusion that in Nepal Śivarātri is of a comparatively late origin and is not strongly rooted in her (Newar) tradition” while citing the 18th century date of most sources as proof of this³¹¹. Michaels importantly adds that this dating “perhaps only holds true for the non-dīkṣita i.e. pauranic śaivas since various early manuscripts of āgamic texts can be found in the National Archives, Kathmandu.”³¹² Michaels however does not include any Newari Tantric literature in his examination of the ritual. Our edition of the KKA and PTV are important for an understanding of the religious history of Nepal as it confirms the idea that Śivarātri was performed in Nepal in its Tantric form much earlier than in its Pauranic counterpart if Michaels’ chronology of the latter is correct. Moreover, given Vimalaprabodha’s confirmed dates at the beginning of the 13th century, the attestation of Śivarātri in our sources not only pushes back evidence for Śivarātri worship in Nepal but brings Tantric Śivarātri practice to a date very close to the earliest inscriptional evidence for any form of this rite.

As shown by the above description, the Newar Krama version also diverges entirely in its practice from the Pauranic since the elements of fasting, vigil and *bilva* leaves are absent. Unsurprisingly, the worship has been wholly redirected towards the goddess and no mention of worshiping Śiva or a *līṅga* even as an ancillary is made. Although mythology is notoriously scarce in Tantric sources, the PTV does contain a hint of the Krama’s mythic justification for this festival. At the conclusion of the festival, we are tantalisingly told that the rite gets its name from an occasion in ancient times when the goddess assumed the form of the jackal (*śivārūpaṃ dhṛtaṃ devyā*) as one who was thousand-eyed. I have understood *śivā* as jackal rather than the common epithet for Pārvatī

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 188

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 186

³¹² Ibid., p. 187, fn. 16

as it would hardly make sense for the goddess to turn into herself as the basis for a mythological narrative. Moreover, the site for this ritual is the cremation ground, the stereotypical home of the jackal. Due to the brevity of this explanation, there is an assumption here that the worshipper is already familiar with this episode of Krama mythology. This opens a window into an entire world of Krama mythology that is sadly unavailable to us.

5.3.2 The sensory experience of the rite

Having discussed the background of Śivarātri, we can proceed to the specifics of the ritual. It would perhaps be trite to note that Tantric rituals are an intense multi-sensory experience but we should remark on how this engagement with the senses is amplified yet further in this Krama rite. Beyond the sexual practice which is at the heart of this ritual, the senses are stimulated by the powerful taste of the edible offerings, the sight of the skulls and brightly coloured paraphernalia, the sound of the harmonious chanting of the *Kālīsūtra* and the smell of the burning unguents and human fat from the lamps. However, this is no normal sensory engagement designed merely to sharpen one's attention and meditation upon the ritual. The senses are engaged almost solely through antinomian substances which in any other context would inspire extreme disgust.

What we find here is a rite designed to be enveloped by transgression to the degree that even mundane elements often overlooked in conventional rituals now become charged with transgressive power. Thus, the ritual implements such as the vessels and seats are made from human skulls and human hair/skin. The purification of the ritual ground is done through blood and liquor. The edible offerings consist of *argha* made from blood, liquor and meat while the lamps are crafted from seminal fluids, liquor and human blood and are cooked in a fire from a cremation ground. Even the unguents are mixed with liquor, flesh

and fat. If the purpose of transgression is to generate freedom from disgust or angst (*niḥśaṅkā*) resulting from the dichotomy of pure and impure then there seems to be no greater arena for this than the Krama version of the Śivarātri. Moreover, we again observe in this rite the Krama tendency to take an element already found in Śāktism - such as the use of transgression - and to intensify it to an extreme – the pervasion of transgression into every single act and object in the ritual. Such an intensification is the ritual corollary to the trend found in its visual culture where the Krama picks up pre-existing trends in Śākta iconography such as therianthropism and transforms them into something far more radical as shown in Ch. 2.

A second remarkable facet of the sensory experience of the worship is its ability to conjure an atmosphere through the use of colour. The rite's aesthetics are all the more awe-inspiring by infusing every element with the colour red. The admixture of blood and flesh into many of the ritual objects (for instance, the *argha* and lamps), the prescription for a red seat for the participants and the adornment of the worshipper's body with red (by means of the betel in their mouths, their red clothes and red garlands and vermillion smeared body) show the predominance of red to be intentional. The use of liquor as an ingredient is just as ubiquitous as blood and possibly consolidates this colour scheme. Several types of ancient Indian alcoholic brews would have been red, most famously *āsava*. The predominance of red for certain types of rites is derived from earlier Śākta Tantra practice and is found in sources as ancient as the *Brahmayāmala* where a Red Observance³¹³ is associated with the Goddess Karālī. Here, in a manner very similar to the KKA/PTV, there are instructions for red clothes, garlands, unguents and ornaments. However, the colour red is not only for dramatic effect but also has symbolic/magical implications. The use of red has long been associated in Tantric practice, as Golovkova

³¹³ This is one of the nine *vidyā* observances that the *sādhaka* undertakes at the start of his career. See *Brahmayāmala*, Vol. II, p. 220 - 221

(2020) shows concerning the cult of Kāmeśvarī, with rites which emphasise passion and desire³¹⁴. Likewise, attraction (*ākaraṣaṇa*) is said to be one of the two main boons of the Red Observance in the *Brahmayāmala*. This makes this colour especially apt for the Śivarātri worship, an occasion which culminates in a sexual rite and depends upon its fruits for its offerings.

5.3.3 The Transformation of the Adept and his Consort into Divinities.

We have already seen earlier how various ritual technologies are used in the Krama as part of *dhyāna* and *nyāsa* to transform the worshipper into the object of his worship. In this rite, we find another, more arguably potent, method for this transformation whereby the change does not occur on a purely mental plain but alterations are made to the worshipper's physical appearance. Both versions of the Śivarātri rite contain instructions for how the *sādhaka*'s transformation should take place. They are as follows:

“On that great night, he transforms himself into one whose entire body is besmeared with vermillion, his hair is unbound, covered in red clothes and bearing a red garland, equipped with a dagger on his waist, drunk on liquor, satiated with human flesh, his mouth full of betel leaf, enjoined with a consort whose breasts are prominent and upright on his left side, seated on a red seat that extends 36 *aṅgulas* from the centre.”

The consort is additionally described in the PTV as bearing the same form as the adept (*ātmarūpadhāriṇīm*), which I take to mean that she is dressed and adorned in the same way. I will show that most features of the appearance of the *sādhaka* and consort described here correspond to ways in which Kālī and Bhairava are characterised in Kaula literature. As already shown in Ch. 1, sources beyond the KKA furnish us with additional

³¹⁴ Golovkova (2020), pp. 13 - 14

information concerning minor aspects of Guhyakālī's appearance so these will also have to be consulted in our analysis. The imitation of the divine form includes the following:

1) The pose the adept assumes in relation to his consort. His consort is described as seated on his left side (*vāmapārśvāropita*) and additionally the adept holds the consort with his left hand. This is the most common pose adopted by depictions of divine Śaiva couples, whether in their exoteric form as Umā-Mahésvara or as the esoteric Bhairava-Kālī.

2) The adept's hair which is described unbound (*muktakeśa*). This reflects the depictions of Kālī and other deities' hair throughout the KKA and beyond. Thus, the PT and HRT describe Guhyakālī's hair as "a mass of matted tawny locks flying upwards" (*piṅgalordhvajaṭāṭopa*)³¹⁵ while a similar compound denoting loose hair is ascribed to Sṛṣṭikālī, Anākhyakālī as well as Vaṭuka in the KKA (*piṅgordhvakeśa*).

3) The adept is instructed to wear a dagger on his waist (*kaṭikaṭṭārakānvitam*). This too is an aspect of Guhyakālī's appearance as shown by the dagger adorning Guhyakālī's waist in the PT (*kāñcīkaṭṭārakopetakaṭi*) in v. 7.84ab. It should be noted that this dagger is not symbolic but could also be of functional value since in Mahācaturdaśīvidhi described later in the KKA, the adept is said to cut himself on his left arm as an offering to the *yoginīs*.

4) The red garland worn by the *sādhaka* is a prominent feature of the goddess's appearance. In the HRT, two red garlands adorn her neck, the first being a garland of red *javā* flowers interspersed with freshly-chopped heads flowing with blood (v. 1.30) and the second being a garland of red lotuses with skulls (v. 1.39). Likewise, the PT describes Guhyakālī wearing a red lotus garland and a garland of heads hanging to her feet in v. 7.83 while the MKS list the *javā* flower as one of her adornments (v. 1.82).

³¹⁵ See for instance PT 7.73a

5) The adept is described as satisfied with human flesh, drunk on liquor and his mouth full of betel. These are the substances typically offered to the goddess and her ancillaries and form part of the liquid of the *arghapātra* and the ingredients for the *dīpa*, *piṇḍa*, *caru* and *bali* offerings of the Carukavidhi. White (2003) has argued that the use of betel in sexual rites was important both as an aphrodisiac and as “an “overcoding” of parallel or concurrent transactions involving the male consumption of female discharge.”³¹⁶ He also points to the characterisation of the goddess and human worshipper in Kaula Tantras as having their mouths full of *paan*³¹⁷. In the same vein, in the texts examined by us, descriptions of deities being drunk are commonplace as shown for instance in the mantric formulas for the *bali* offerings or in the descriptions of Sṛṣṭikālī’s appearance in the KKA.

6) Both the KKA and PTV describe the consort as bearing prominent breasts using the compound (*pīnonnatapayodhara*). This same compound was used to describe the appearance of Saṃhārakālī in the KKA as well as the supreme form of Guhyakālī in v. 7.109 of the PT. A similar description also occurs in MKS v. 1.72 (*kaṭhorapīvaratuṅgavakṣojayugalānvitam*).

These factors show that the appearance of the adept and his *dūtī* as similar to the divine couple is not coincidental but intentional. Although the transformation of the human couple into Śiva-Śakti is strongly indicated but not explicitly stated here, other Kaula sources do openly spell out this divinisation. We can for instance cite Jayaratha who quotes an unattributed Tantra to this effect in his commentary on TA 29.102 (Qt 102d.5 “*śivaśaktyātmakam rūpaṃ bhāvayec ca parasparam*”). The *Brahmayāmala* shows that

³¹⁶ White (2003), p. 106

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 104

the practice of the adept adorning himself to resemble his object of worship is an ancient one, a practice described in the Bhairavavrata of the 21st Paṭala³¹⁸.

Moreover, we should observe that other than the positioning of the *dūtī*, the similarities between the goddess and the human worshipper is not restricted by gender. Both the female and male worshippers share aspects of Guhyakālī's appearance. This sexual ambiguity is consistent with prescriptions in other Śākta Tantric texts where the male adept is transvestite in appearance³¹⁹. Meanwhile, the custom of adorning the consort so that she mirrors the divine image represented by the male adept is also prescribed in other texts. This is described in the *Brahmayāmala* during the discussion on the basic ritual of the *tālaka*, the category of adept fit to perform sexual rites, meaning the physical mirroring of the male and female partners in this Tantra appears in a context similar to that of Vimalaprabodha's two works³²⁰.

What is important about this physical change is that it is the final and perhaps the most concrete level in which the adept becomes the object of his worship. This has already been carried out at the purely mental level through *dhyāna* where the mind becomes a fitting receptacle for the goddess. At the subtle bodily level, this is performed through *nyāsa* whereby the touch of the *mantra*-enchanted hands has turned one's body parts into the locus of Guhyakālī and her ancillary goddesses. Now this transformation bursts forth into the material, and manifests itself in one's gross physical body. In this way, there is no part of the adept's being that is not pervaded by the divine.

³¹⁸ See *Brahmayāmala* Vol. II, pp. 225 -226

³¹⁹ Sanderson (2014) cites numerous examples of this, especially from the *Jayadrathayāmala* tantra.

³²⁰ See *Brahmayāmala* Vol. II, p. 258

5.3.4 The Sexual Aspect of the Mahāśivarātri as described in the PTV

The PTV is remarkable for the open and detailed way in which it discusses the sexual rite as part of the Mahāśivarātri. Although Tantric literature is direct in prescribing the need for sexual activity, the precise details of how this is to take place is frequently glossed over with vague generic terms that indicate foreplay, stimulation and the consumption of seminal fluids. This is also the case in most of the KKA where the need for ritual sex is largely only hinted at. We can take the example of the Cakrākṛīḍā where orgiastic activity plays a prime role. Here, it is the simple clause *yathāsukhena śrīkramasadbhāvoktakrameṇa cakrākṛīḍā* (“the *cakrākṛīḍā* is as one pleases through the method proclaimed in the *Kramasadbhāva*”) that is used to indicate this. As Sanderson (2007b) has shown, we must look to other texts such as the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra* to elaborate the activities of this orgy which, this Tantra says, will include copulation and the consumption of its products. Elsewhere in the KKA, when a sexual rite is demanded, usually at the conclusion of a *naimittika* ritual, it is implied by instructing the participants to end the rite with *cakrapūjā* or *cakrākṛīḍā* as is the case with the Prāyaścittavidhi (*cakrākṛīḍānte sādhakasya śuddhir bhavati*), the Pavitraka (*cakrapūjām vidhāya*) and Damanaka (*cakrākṛīḍāntam vidhāya*). Even in the Mahāśivarātri of the KKA, copulation is hinted at through a series of cryptic compounds. The value of the PTV is therefore in showing us the mechanics of this sexual rite as it was actually practiced. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to ground the PTV’s passage in the vast literature on Tantric sex but it would be helpful to examine the PTV side by side with an archetypical text prescribing these practices in order to show how the PTV might be valuable in deepening our understanding of such literature. For this purpose, I have chosen the *Brahmayāmalatantra* whose Chapter 45 largely concerns sexual rites in the course of *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmyaka* worship enacted by the class of *sādhaka* who is qualified to undertake these practices known as the *tālaka*.

Although the descriptions of copulation in *Brahmayāmala* 45 are frequent and follow a set pattern, they are also brief, leaving us puzzling over the exact details. These passages typically describe the installation of the pantheon of deities on the *śakti*'s genitalia, the installation of the *śakti* upon a throne, acts of kissing and embracing and stimulation, the insertion of the penis and the collection and consumption of the seminal fluids. We can use the first description of this act in a section that deals with the basic ritual of the *sādhaka* as an example (vv. 45.200 – 202). Here, I use the edition and translation by Kiss (2015):

“He should project the whole pantheon (*yāga*) there (her genitalia) by the aforementioned method. He should make a throne (*āsana*) with a small seat on its top on the ground. The *sādhaka* should make [her] sit down there. He should start kissing and embracing her and stimulating her. He should collect the purifying [substance i.e. the sexual fluids]. Overjoyed, they should consume [the fluids]”

The act of stimulation translated from the causative of the root *kṣubh* in this excerpt and indicated elsewhere through this same verbal form or through its noun derivation *kṣobham* is one of the most common features of such passages (45.250b, 298b, 302a, 333b for instance). In addition to these steps, many of the other passages directly mention the insertion of the penis (the verb *kṣip/vinikṣip/praviś* is used such as in 45.204cd, 249cd, 263ab, 278ab etc.) while many other passages also indicate that after insertion, the penis should move slowly. The Aiśa form *iṣic cālanam* (45.332a, 314a) or conventional *manāk cālanam* (278a) is used. These terms are employed without further elaboration. Thus, by looking at the PTV, we can get some idea of what the actual practitioners of Tantra had in mind when they translated these instructions into action through the course of worship. We will now turn to my tentative translation of the sexual rite in the PTV which comes after the offering of the liquid in the skull-cup to the *śakti*:

“Having held the Best of Caṇḍālīs who is upright and bearing the same form as him in his left hand, having embraced her with the *niyamamantra*, having kissed her with the *hṛdaya*, he should raise his little finger with clipped nails up and down the mouth (of the vagina) as per the size of the (opening) of the vagina at the *aṅkurasthāna*, twelve *aṅgulas* below the fold of the navel. He should cause it (the finger) smeared with camphor to enter up to the fourth joint (equivalent to the entire finger) with the *hṛdaya* then he should rub it in an anticlockwise and clockwise motion 21 times. Having withdrawn his finger, he should insert his penis and reciting the *samayavidyā*, he slowly carries out the churning.”

First of all, we can see that the pattern found in the *Brahmayāmala* is mirrored here beginning with kissing and embracing followed by stimulation then the insertion of the penis. The PTV is helpful in fleshing out what a practitioner's interpretation of the rather vague stimulation (*kṣobham*) before the insertion of the penis might be, which it describes as the use of the little finger, expanding on the action it undertakes as well as the appearance of this finger. Likewise, the term “slow/slight movement” of the penis found in the *Brahmayāmala* is elaborated. The chanting of *mantras* is also shown to take place, the *mantras* being different for each sex act, something not mentioned in the *Brahmayāmala*. More importantly, we gain a general impression of Tantric sex as being something extremely precise. Specific instructions are given at every point concerning the locus for penetration and the movements enacted. This shows Tantric sex as undertaken by medieval practitioners to be highly regulated and perhaps provides a good antidote to the idea of this act being wild and uncontrolled. From the PTV, we get the impression that the Krama's ritualism is highly transgressive but a transgression that is in no way equated with anarchy.

However, not only are the exact instructions for ritual sex provided but so too is the conceptualisation behind it. This is found in 17 extremely challenging verses that appear immediately after the description of the steps of ritual intercourse and seem to be a citation

from another source. The verses themselves claim to be based on the rather vaguely named *Kālikāmata* which at least suggests their Krama origins. I take them to be a citation from a Tantra rather than a composition of Vimalaprabodha himself due to the aberrations in the Sanskrit suggestive of Aśa and the vocative “*maheśvari*” in v. 14d which shows that the narrative frame for these verses must have been a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvaī as is commonly the case for scripture. Although a great deal in this section is unintelligible to me, the little we can make sense of allows us to explore at least two important points concerning ritual sex, namely 1) evidence for the Krama and the Buddhist Yoginītantras’ shared vocabulary for conceptualising ritual intercourse 2) how the Krama justified this transgressive act.

Let us turn to a close reading of this passage to show how strongly the language mirrors that of Buddhist Tantric material. In v. 1 of the 17 verses, four types of bliss are said to be found in different locations in the body; the first being in heart, the second the throat, the third beneath the navel and the fourth on the tip of the nose. This is followed by an important categorisation of bliss into two broad types in v. 2, namely that which is with support (*sādhāram*) and that which is supportless (*nirādhāram*). The former is the product of sexual contact (*yonisamparkāt*) while the latter arises without intercourse (*tadvina*). The former is transient (lasting half a *muhūrta* which is equivalent to 24 minutes, possibly a symbolic designation for the period of intercourse itself) while the latter (without support) is eternal. The former is characterised as “gross” (*sthūlam*) and is at first carried out for the sake of *siddhis*. Meanwhile, according to Bhairava’s words (*bhairavaṃ vacaḥ*), the subtle (*sūkṣmakam*) and supportless bliss is attained by means of that which is with support (i.e. with ritual intercourse as its preliminary). These two types of bliss are said to each be fourfold (*turyadhā* taken here as a non-standard synonym of *caturdhā* formed from *turya*), totalling eight forms of bliss. At this point, the verses become highly esoteric but what can

be said is that both the gross and subtle blisses are split into four categories bearing the same names. Going by their naming as found in the verses on the subtle form of bliss, they can be divided as follows: 1) *ānanda* (bliss) 2) *sahajānanda* (the co-emergent bliss) 3) *paramānanda* (supreme bliss) and 4) *viramānanda* (bliss of cessation). Those with knowledge of Tantric Buddhist sexual practices will immediately see that the names for the four categories are in fact the same as the Four Blissess associated with different stages of ritual intercourse which gained huge doctrinal influence amongst the class of Buddhist Tantras known as the Yoginītantras as well as the Indian and Tibetan exegetes of this canon. According to Sferra and Isaacson (2014), the Buddhist Tantric Four Blissess became established in their popular formulation under the influence of the *Hevajratantra* and became widespread in Tantric Buddhism from the late 10th century onwards³²¹. In this Tantra, we find two different sequences of these blisses which are, according to the first version, 1) *ānanda* 2) *paramānanda* 3) *viramānanda* and 4) *sahajānanda* while the second sequence reverses the order of the last two blisses so that *viramānanda* becomes the ultimate bliss³²². The *Hevajratantra* itself is unclear as to which sequence is the original and this ambiguity became a source of heated debate amongst Buddhist Tantric masters with proponents of the first sequence including the famous Abhayākara Gupta and the masters of the Kālacakra tradition while Maitreyaṇātha, Rāmapāla and Ratnākaraśānti are amongst the followers of the second³²³.

What is more important for our purposes though is that these four types of bliss are associated with the position of the *bodhicitta* (the vital essence or life force) in four *cakras* of the body. As explained in the *Hevajratantra*, the heat emanating from sexual activity as

³²¹ Isaacson and Sferra's examine the sources of the Four Blissess in their 2014 edition and study of Maitreyaṇātha's *Sekanirdeśa* and its *pañjikā* commentary by Rāmapāla, especially p. 97 and p. 99.

³²² See Snellgrove (1959), p. 95 for the occurrences of these two conflicting sequences in the *Hevajratantra*.

³²³ This is extensively discussed in Isaacson and Sferra (2014) since one of the primary aims of the *Sekanirdeśa* is to defend the sequence which ends with the *viramānanda*. See p. 100 for a summary of the proponents of these two views.

it progresses from one type of bliss to the next causes the *bodhicitta* to melt and thus move up or down the body along the *avadhūtī* (the body's central channel) depending on which sequence is followed. Thus, in the descending order, the first bliss is located in the head, the second in the throat, the third in the heart and the fourth in the navel while in the ascending order, the *cakras* are reversed³²⁴. As we can see, the system propounded by the *Kālikāmata*, although not entirely understandable to us, shares both the names of the types of bliss and the locations associated with those blisses as the *Hevajratantra*. Without this Tantric Buddhist background, it would have been quite unclear as to why the PTV's verses locate the four blisses in different parts of the body. We may note that the order of the blisses prescribed by the *Kālikāmata* is closer to the sequence adopted by Maitreyanātha amongst others which sees *viramānanda* rather than *sahajānanda* as the ultimate bliss. However, its main point of difference is in switching the orders of the third and second blisses so that the *sahajānanda* is inferior to the *paramānanda*. Moreover, its sequence of bodily *cakras* does not follow a consistent vertical line of ascent or descent along the body like the Buddhist model as seen in how there is a movement upwards from the heart to the throat between the first and second types of bliss then downward to the navel in the third before ascending again to the head. Although the "vital essence" which moves between *cakras* according to moments of bliss is not named in the PTV, it would doubtlessly have been called something other than the *bodhicitta* of the *Hevajratantra*, which is a distinctly Mahāyānist term.

Having explored the proximity in categories between the two traditions, we can also show how Buddhist Tantrism might help us tackle the section in these verses that explains the moment at which each category of gross bliss occurs. I roughly understand

³²⁴ See Snellgrove (1959), pp. 35 – 39 for a discussion of this phenomenon in the *Hevajratantra* as well as Stenzel (2015) for a summary of the interpretation of this ascent/descent by Nāropa.

these moments in the PTV to correspond to the movement and location of semen on account of the prevalence of the description of the *bindu*. According to the exegetical tradition of the *Hevajratāntra*, the emergence of bliss occurs during different acts of sexual intercourse or as summarised by Isaacson and Sferra “with Bliss being assigned to the phase of kissing and embracing and so on (i.e. the erotic preliminaries to coition), Supreme Bliss to the ‘yoga of the churned and the churning’ (i.e. coition itself), Innate Bliss to the experience of bliss (when Bodhicitta, i.e. semen, is) in the Jewel, i.e. the glans of the penis, and Bliss of Cessation to the falling (of Bodhicitta) in the Lotus of the consort.”³²⁵ Although my interpretation is speculative, a similar scheme might be mapped onto the four categories of the *Kālikāmata*. Thus, in v. 5cd – 6ab, regarding the first category of bliss, the semen is characterized as stable (*bindu sthāne sthiraṃ yadā*) and thus this bliss might be associated with the preliminaries to coition. The terms *udyāme* and *utthāne*, which I take as locative absolutes qualifying the second type of bliss, have the connotation of “stretching out” or “rising” and therefore might describe the moment when the semen begins to rise on account of coition. The description of the third type of bliss more obviously aligns with the Buddhist description. The semen, which is here called the moon (*candra/śaśī* are common codes for *śukra/bindu*³²⁶), is said to reach the peak (*yāti param śaśī*) but does not fall into the vagina (*na pated yoginīvaktre*). The peak likely refers to the glans of the penis also known as its jewel (*maṇi*) while the description of this moment of bliss as being the point when the semen is not yet spilt prior to ejaculation renders it in conformity with the Buddhist definition of Vajrayāna’s third type of bliss. Finally, the fourth bliss of the *Kālikāmata*, again in line with the Buddhist description, occurs when the seed falls into the “mouth” (*adhyuṣṭabindusampatān mukhe*), the mouth being a

³²⁵ Sferra and Isaacson (2014), p. 100 as well as Maitreyaṇātha’s discussion of this in the *Caturmudropadeśa* which is appended to their edition of the *Sekanirdeśa* (p. 395).

³²⁶ See Snellgrove (1959), p. 27 for a table of coded terms related to intercourse.

common code for the consort's vagina. However, it is still unclear to me why different amounts of semen are enumerated for this category of bliss (*ekabindur dvibindus ca...*). It should also be remarked that the *Kālikāmata*, unlike the Buddhist sources, subdivides *virama* into two types, the fifth coming about on account of a state of intense passion (*viśeṣād rāgabhāvataḥ*).

We shall now turn to the characterisation of the subtle bliss. The verses again emphasise that this bliss is received by means of the gross (*anena labhyate sūkṣmaṃ* in v. 11a). Although the subtle is divided into the same categories as the gross, its categorization cannot be related to intercourse since it is said to occur without contact with the *yoni*. The description of each state is even more cryptic to me than those of gross bliss and seems related to a mystical interpretation of consciousness in each stage of bliss. What is evident is that the final stage of *virama* is explained through an etymology of this term. Thus, *virama* is split into the particle “*vī*” as the shortened form of *viyatsthāna* (the place of ether/the sky) and the verbal root “*ram*” in its sense of “play” (*ramukrīḍāprayogena*). The verses become somewhat more comprehensible from v. 15 onwards which describes the state of one who has entered into this *virama* bliss. We are told that for such a person, “there is no I, no you, no śiva, no śakti, no gender, no beauty, no measurement yet the possession of all measurements”. After this, the text for the third time stresses that only through practice with the “gross” form of bliss (*sthūlābhyāsenā*) can one reach this subtle bliss which is the state of supreme emptiness (*khakhatā* or literally the state of being the void of the void).

Although the Buddhist literature as far as it has been examined by me does not help us unpack the explanation behind the categorization of subtle bliss of the *Kālikāmata*, we find another parallel in that Buddhist exegetes understood the four categories of bliss as being applied to both a gross form of practice rooted in union with a consort and a subtle form devoid of ritual sex. In relation to the Tantric Buddhist notion of the Four

Seals (Action, Doctrine, Great and Commitment Seals), which are ever subtler acts and doctrines leading to enlightenment, exegetes like Maitripā asserted that the Four Blisses could be found in both the lowest Seal, the Action Seal, and the superior Doctrine Seal. As found in the Action Seal, it has as its substrate a physical consort while in the Doctrine Seal, it is conceptual³²⁷. We may conclude by saying that the PTV by including these *Kālikāmata* verses is valuable on account of bringing to light new shared material between Buddhist Yoginītantras and the Krama in the conceptualisation of sexual bliss. This is especially the case since the PTV remains the only Krama source I know of to share the influential Buddhist fourfold categorisation of bliss. Without wading into the question of which way this borrowing proceeded and how exactly the exchange came about, we may say that the PTV opens interesting new possibilities into the study of the relationship between Śākta and Vajrayāna traditions.

Before turning to how this passage of the PTV might be said to philosophically or even soteriologically justify ritual sex, we should briefly revisit the common understanding of the function of ritual sex and transgression in Tantric literature. Much has been written on this subject and I am unable to capture all perspectives in this complex and growing field. However, for the sake of brevity, I will largely depend upon the lucid explanations provided in the works of Sanderson (1985 and 1995). Sanderson shows that, preceding the philosophical justifications, ritual sex was largely conceived of as necessary to generate “power substances”- impure offerings of blood and seminal fluids - which would entice and tame the wild deities who could grant magical attainments to the worshipper³²⁸. Once a more systematic non-

³²⁷ Stenzel (2015), pp. 201 – 203 provides an account of Maitripā’s interpretation of the application of these Four Blisses to the Action and Doctrine Seals.

³²⁸ Sanderson (1985), pp. 198 - 202

dualism had been developed, transgression was understood as a method by which the practitioner could cast aside his inhibitions about the pure and impure or as Sanderson states:

“It was explained that the purpose of Kaula transcendence is to enable the worshipper to realize that the purity and impurity which attach to things and persons on the authority of Vedic injunctions are not objective properties of those things or persons (*vastudharmaḥ*) but purely subjective (*pramāṇḍharmaḥ*)³²⁹.”

In this way, once the *tāntrika* is able to renounce the notion that phenomena had discrete identities and qualities, he could come to an understanding of the unity of all things and their ultimate identity with a single, all-pervasive consciousness. Linked to this idea of freedom from inhibition is also the doctrine that transgressive acts such as drinking liquor, eating meat and intercourse were conducive to expanding one’s consciousness and to creating an aesthetic relishing. In this act of relishing synonymous with bliss, the barrier between the subject and object of consciousness is broken down and their unity is realised. Again, we may cite Sanderson³³⁰:

“Wine (*madyam*), meat (*māṃsaḥ*) and sexual intercourse (*maithunam*) – the three Ms – are enjoined in Kaula rituals not simply as a means of transcending the inhibitions of orthodoxy but also because the first two stimulate the vigour of the worshipper so that he may achieve the greatest possible degree of sensual bliss in the third. The greater the intensity of this bliss the greater the self-realisation in one who experiences it aesthetically, centred in consciousness uncontaminated by desire.”

In our summary, we now have three interrelated justifications for ritual sex:

1) using the products of intercourse to satiate deities and empower the adept 2) harnessing

³²⁹ Sanderson (1995), p. 85

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 88

the impurity of the act to cast aside dualistic inhibitions 3) channeling the aesthetic experience of transgression to generate a bliss that is the basis for non-dual consciousness. As per our brief survey of Tantric Śaiva traditions in the Introduction to this thesis, we might classify the first justification as pertaining to a Kāpālika background while the latter two, which are more conceptual, being the outcome of the Kaula reformation.

It seems that although the line of reasoning in the *Kālikāmata* also includes the first justification, it gives greater weight to the third, aesthetic outlook. Its belief that ritual sex may be performed for the production of “power substances” is seen in how seminal fluids from intercourse are collected as offerings to be consumed by the deities and participants of the rite, both in their unadulterated form immediately after the ritual intercourse of Śivarātri but also transformed into processed products such as the *dīpa*, *piṇḍa* and *bali*. Moreover, we are also told at the beginning of the exposition on the gross form of bliss that sexual intercourse is undertaken for the sake of supernatural attainments (*siddhaikahetave*). However, since it is said to only be done for this purpose initially (*ārambhe*), we must see this function of ritual sex as subordinate.

Because the 17 verses based on the *Kālikāmata* primarily concern the experience of bliss, its categorisation and its results, the PTV’s primary justification for ritual intercourse arguably belongs to the third type of justification, bliss being an interior aesthetic rapture rather than an exterior physical product. More importantly, we see three instances in which it is emphasised that the subtle and superior type of bliss is produced by practicing ritual intercourse as its preliminary and by reflecting upon it (in v. 5 and 17). We should therefore understand the gist of the thinking in these verses to be that the *sādhaka* should perform ritual intercourse in order to interiorise and cultivate the bliss that it generates so that he may manifest it spontaneously devoid of the act and, ultimately, to enable it to pervade his existence permanently. Such is the reason for why the subtle bliss is proclaimed as eternal

rather than transient in v. 3b (*nirādhāraṃ sadā bhavet*). Thus, the transgressive fact of intercourse itself is not its essential feature but rather the expansion of consciousness it brings about. Moreover, this expansion of consciousness is akin to that conceived by the Kashmiri exegetes since it is not simply any blissful experience but one in which all sense of duality is dissolved. This is proven in how the supreme *virama* bliss is viewed as that void beyond void or *khakhatā* (v. 17cd), free of the false dichotomies of subjectivity, gender, form or measurement (v. 15cd – 16).

5.4 The context of the rites of the KKA and PTV

Since the *naimittika* rites discussed in this chapter, especially the Mahāśivarātrividhi, are the rites that are the richest in detail, I wish to use them as a starting point to explore wider questions related to the practical concerns of Krama worship in medieval Nepal. Using these details, we may piece together certain considerations of the worshipper not explicitly spelt out in the text itself. Arguably, the *paddhati* genre is more conducive to this task than a canonical Tantra. Tantras claim to have divine authorship and are framed as a divine conversation. What they relate concerning the praxis of a cult are often an ideal rather than an applicable set of instructions. Likewise, minute or problematic practical details which are nonetheless necessary for the ritual to proceed can sometimes be glossed over in Tantras with the justification that such trifling matters are not the primary concern of the gods. However, a *paddhati* as a manual is designed to answer these very mundane questions and must necessarily grapple with even awkward details if it is to serve as an effective tool in guiding ritual practice.

Here, I hope that ritual instructions in our texts will help elucidate two main areas:

- 1) patronage or the question of who is the intended audience of the KKA and PVT
- 2) the reality of the prescribed transgressions or to what extent the worshippers actually

partook of the antinomian substances and practices laid out in the KKA. Perhaps unsurprisingly, in relation to the former query, I will argue that the text quite strongly points towards a wealthy courtly patron, perhaps even the King himself as the ideal audience of our texts. The second question, that of transgression, meanwhile has arisen because some forms of transgression are so extreme that they raise doubts about whether their enactment was possible. In spite of this reasonable skepticism, I will try to show that some but perhaps not all acts of transgression were expected to take place.

Vimalaprabodha's courtly connection has already been mentioned by us as proven by the colophon of the MS of *Amṛteśvaranīyapūjāvidhi* where he is called the royal preceptor to Arimalla. It is likewise probable that the KKA was composed for a similar client. Several features of the work show it to be a highly well-thought out composition, chiefly the sheer length of the KKA on account of ritual minutiae; the erudition involved as shown by the citation of numerous Tantras to justify its rituals; and the quality of the Sanskrit which is largely free from vernacularisation or corruption, a peculiarity amongst medieval Newar *paddhatis*. It is therefore distinct from the more basic type of Newar *paddhati* where only the barebones of ritual and *mantra* recitation are provided without any acknowledgement of authorship or the canonical sources it draws from³³¹. This self-conscious nature of the work strongly suggests it was not written for the private use of Vimalaprabodha or his immediate community as a simple ritual aide-memoire but for an important external audience.

We can consolidate the notion that the KKA's model audience was an important client by arguing that the instructions in the KKA and PTV expose the socio-economic status of the potential patron of its rituals. Our texts assume that the ideal patron for the

³³¹ It might be said that this is the type to which the MPP and GNP conform.

more elaborate rituals possess not only material wealth but also political status. We may, for instance, take the Mahāśivarātri as an example. As seen above, the PTV prescribes three versions of this rite according to one's financial capacity. The preferred and most elaborate version, if actually performed, can only have been aimed at a highly powerful and wealthy individual. It calls for 81 *caṇḍāla* women for the sexual component. The patron of this ritual, who appears at the centre of this ring of 81 couples, must not only have had the power to procure and summon these women but had to be capable of housing them in an appropriately large ritual ground. Moreover, once the rite was underway, he must have had sufficient authority to ensure that no incursions upon the ritual ground took place, interruption being detrimental to the success of any Hindu rite. At the same time, historically, the relationship between Brahminical orthodoxy and Tantric transgression was by no means without tension, the latter often being viewed with hostility. Instances of social reprobation or punishment for Tantric heterodoxy have been widely recorded in history³³². The arrangement of a rite of the scale and expense of the Mahāśivarātri described in the KKA and PTV could not have gone unnoticed. Therefore, the patron of this ritual had to be an individual with enough political status to shield himself from any unwanted social consequences.

Moreover, not only is political capital required but also financial means, which must be used for paying for the costly paraphernalia and ingredients of the rituals. The number of participants in rites like the Mahāśivarātri must have been a significant financial burden on the sponsor. Depending, as discussed, on how we interpret the *kumārīs* in the PTV, the Śivarātri could contain up to 243 participants (162 participants from 81 couples plus 81 *kumārīs*). All participants are to be honoured and worshipped with offerings that begin with betel and *tilaka* upon being summoned followed by liquor and blood as substitutes for *argha* and *ācamana*. This is succeeded by the offering of the pledge

³³² See Sanderson (2007b), pp. 280 – 281 for an example of this in Kashmir.

lamps made from dough, blood and liquor and the sipping of the blood and liquor mixture in the skull vessels. This expense is compounded by the seats that are assigned to each participant which the PTV tells us is made of human hair/skin or goat skin, two materials that are not easily procurable in the volume required for the ritual. Such preparations are clearly beyond the spending power of a ritual patron of middling means. The instructions for the superior type of Cakrakrīḍā, involving 16 *yoginīs* alongside the different categories of pledge-holders in the KKA would have demanded expenditure on a comparable scale.

Elsewhere in the KKA, we have instructions showing the ideal materials for ritual paraphernalia to be very costly ones. Materials listed for crafting the *arghapātra* include tortoise shell, pearl, gold and silver. Likewise, in the *Āsanavidhi*, the seat is ideally made out of seven animal skins amongst which are the skins of tigers, elephants and leopards. Although in both these instances, we do have instructions for substitution which supply cheaper alternatives, the writer must have at least envisioned the ideal audience to be patrons with the means for these luxurious materials. Further confirming the costly nature of these rites are other instances where the expense of the ingredients is evident but cheaper alternatives are not provided at all. Examples include the liberal use of saffron, sandalwood and deer musk for pastes and potions, such as the method for the *Maṇḍaloddhāra*vidhi of the *paripāṭi* where all three of the stated ingredients are used to draw the *maṇḍala*. The complexity and size of this *maṇḍala*, measuring 36 *aṅgulas* on each side, means a large volume of these ingredients was needed. Similarly, the mixture with which one performs the *adhivāsana* for the *damanaka* (musk, saffron, sandal wood are again amongst the ingredients) and *pavitraka* also includes costly or rare ingredients for which no substitutions are given. The amount of objects soaked (up to 468 cords for a single category of sacred cord in the Pavitrakavidhi in the KKA and up to 726 in the PTV) gives an indication of the cost.

Finally, if the evidence in these two texts themselves and from what we know of Vimalaprabodha did not suffice, we can always point to the recorded Tantric patronage of Malla kings. As discussed in my introduction, these kings were not only nominal *tāntrikas* but proudly advertised their Tantric credentials, endowing temples and composing or even copying Śākta Tantra texts. Therefore, writing for a courtly audience was not an aspirational act but an actuality backed by historical evidence. Nonetheless, we should be reminded that the courtly patron may have been the ideal audience for these two *paddhatis* but perhaps not the only audience. The existence of substitution based on wealth shows that those with fewer means could also be expected to sponsor these rites. However, the sparse description of these substitutions compared to the elaborate details for their more costly counterparts do show that these secondary patrons were not at the forefront of the writer's mind.

Now, we shall turn to our second query concerning the extent to which the transgression prescribed in the KKA and PTV was actually put into practice. Before answering this question directly, however, we have to more generally consider how prescriptive the instructions in the KKA, whether transgressive or not, were meant to be by the author. It can be argued that the KKA self-consciously sees itself as a prescriptive text of the *pūjāpaddhati* genre. Vimalaprabodha's statements at the prologue and throughout the work indicating that he has studied various Tantras and extracted this material for conversion into instructions show that he sees his work as a tool for praxis rather than for theological explanation. The presence of details concerning the minutiae of ritual (ingredients, *mantras*, the orientation of maṇḍalic components) proves that the text, at least for someone versed in Krama terminology, could be readily converted into ritual action. This point – that Vimalaprabodha's works are action rather than concept-oriented – is a fairly obvious one but we might further ask whether the intention of the author was maintained i.e. did the text continue to be put into practice?

Here, the manuscript evidence of the KKA is of help. The three dated MSS of our text were written between 1609 - 1698 as discussed in the Editorial Principles of the edition. What we can therefore say is that the practice enjoined by the KKA which dates from the early 13th century must have easily covered over four centuries since there is no reason for why an inactive ritual model would continue to be copied in fresh manuscripts. This is further backed by the interpolations of KKA 1, which show that there must have been an active engagement with the text as it was transmitted. This includes elaboration upon the more terse instructions in KKA 2's version (for instance, additional information on how the *ātmanyāsa* is to be performed or on the ingredients for the paste for the raising of the *maṇḍala*). The frequent insertion of the Newari term *thvate* ("thus is" or "this is") shows the KKA to be part of a lived religion. The active engagement with the text proves that the instructions contained therein were not simply an ideal to be admired and remain calcified but practical steps to be grappled with. This brings us closer to answering our question about the enactment of transgression.

Now that we have established that the KKA was most likely put into practice, we can analyse more specifically the instructions relating to transgression. The most obvious backing for the idea that Vimalaprabodha understood his prescriptions for transgressive acts and substances seriously is found in the *Dravyagaṇavyavasthā*, the section enumerating the substances and categories of consorts to be adopted. Vimalaprabodha warns that those who carry out Krama worship without eating and drinking impure substances and engaging in sexual rites (*khānapānastriyā hīnaṃ*) will not receive the fruit of their activities. This is in line with standard warnings across left-handed Tantric literature that practitioners who display anxiety in the face of transgressive non-dual acts will face obstruction, hell or destruction at the hands of the wild deities he is propitiating. However, we have to examine the specifics

of the usage of these ingredients and acts in greater detail to find out whether or not this statement is mere posturing.

A useful method of exploring the commitment to transgression is to analyse the concept of substitution in a text. If, for instance, all or most impure ingredients in a text possess pure substitutes then we can be fairly certain that the prescription for transgression was not a strongly enforced one. Although this is not the case in the KKA and PTV, substitution does exist in our texts in two forms: 1) the substitution of an entire rite for another ritual procedure in the case that the former cannot be performed 2) the substitution of particular ingredients/materials within a ritual that are not available. I will argue here that both types of substitution may alter the intensity of transgression but do not challenge the idea that radical transgression remains a necessary component of ritual activity.

The prominent example of the first type of substitution features in the KKA in relation to the Cakrākṛīḍā whereby we are told that this rite can be substituted for the Kumārīvaṭukapūjā for those unable to perform the former. Although the substituted rite does not contain ritual sex which is the key element of the Cakrākṛīḍā, its instructions nonetheless heavily involve transgression. The offerings made to the Kumārī and Vaṭuka include liquor, meat and the *samayabali* which is made from a host of highly impure ingredients. Therefore, this substitution cannot be said to be a mere replacement of impurity with purity. Meanwhile, the PTV contains a comparable key ritual substitution. In the case of inability to perform the full Mahāśivarātrividhi, the adept is permitted to worship a Kumārī, a rite which again involves transgressive substances including a pitcher of liquor and the offering of pledge lamps accompanied by *piṇḍa* and *mudrā*, offerings which contain flesh, liquor, seminal fluids and human fat. Although a further substitution for this Kumārīpūjā is given in which the adept merely imagines the full Mahāśivarātri worship, even here an element of transgression remains in the prescription for the adept to circumambulate the

cremation ground at night. We therefore see from the examples of the first type of substitution that they may imply the lessening of transgression but by no means its complete replacement. Since the rites (Cakrakrīḍā and Mahāśivarātri) where substitutions are available also happen to be the most complex rites described by Vimalaprabodha, we might add that the function of these substitutions is perhaps not to diminish transgression but to provide simpler and cheaper alternatives for such rituals while still retaining some elements of transgression.

As for the second type of substitution – that of materials or ingredients – I also wish to argue that this is not primarily done for the sake of diluting transgression. In order to better understand the relationship between the substitution of ingredients/materials and degrees of transgression, we may refer to a study by Törzsök (2014a). In this article, she shows how the substitution of less impure substances in ritual instructions in some early Śākta Tantras is often indicative of how strict a text’s viewpoint on transgression is. For instance, in a seemingly highly transgressive Tantra like the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, substitution for impure substances is permitted but these substitutions are believed to be less powerful³³³. So, for example, the substitution of a vegetarian option (sesame) for a meat one (beef or goat) would require one hundred times the volume of the former³³⁴. This pattern of substitutions in such early *yoginītantras* has led Törzsök to conclude that “the prescription of impurity is not always as strong and exclusive as it is usually assumed.”³³⁵

In the case of the KKA, however, substitution seems to paint a different picture. The substitution that does occur by and large applies to ritual apparatuses and not consumable ingredients. These substitutions of materials are perhaps related to scarcity or cost and seemingly have no implication on the efficacy of the ritual. Thus, the main instances of

³³³ Törzsök (2014a), pp. 202 – 203

³³⁴ Ibid., p. 202

³³⁵ Ibid., p. 220

ingredient/material substitution are to be found in the construction of the *āsana*, *arghapātra* and the *jāpyamālā* where, for instance, luxurious animal skins can be substituted for red cloth or coconut or conch shell can substitute rarer vessels made of human skulls, gold or silver.³³⁶ These substitutions therefore appear to be cost-related rather than purity-related. As for the substitution of transgressive comestible ingredients, this is a far rarer phenomenon. Impure substances – most commonly the *pañcāmṛta* (semen, phlegm, blood, urine and excrement), other products from the the human body (flesh, skulls and fat), animal meat (particularly beef) and liquor – are actively used in the Dīpavidhi, Carukavidhi, Cakrākṛīḍāvidhi as well as the three *naimittika* rites discussed in this chapter. Yet in these six rites, not once is there any mention of substitution of individual ingredients. Indeed, there is only one occurrence of substitution of an edible transgressive ingredient in all of the KKA and this comes at the end of the Samayaṭīkāvidhi where three ingredients – *rudra* (blood), the mysterious *āditya*, and *kastūrī* (musk) – can be replaced with whatever one wishes in the case of their absence. Even if we accept that *āditya* whose identity is unknown is, like *rudra*, a code for a transgressive substance, the presence of musk, a pure substance, in the group of three that can be replaced shows that the substitution is not entirely related to finding less impure options. Furthermore, even without *rudra* or *āditya* in the mix, the pill which includes another 14 largely impure ingredients, such as the five *amṛtas*, wine, liquor and human fat, would hardly be less transgressive.

Finally, a further piece of evidence for the actual use and consumption of transgressive ingredients comes from the specificity of instructions concerning their preparation.

If in reality, the use of transgressive substances was merely symbolic or even of secondary importance to unmentioned substitutes then we would expect scant information on how

³³⁶ This instruction is very similar to the the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* which states that the *kumbha* can be made out of a human skull, tortoise shell, gold, silver or copper without making distinctions between the efficacy of pure and impure materials as cited in Törzsök (2014a), p. 197, fn. 3.

they should be prepared. However, the opposite is the case in Vimalaprabodha's works. This specificity in instructions is evident, for instance, in the formula for the substance used for *adhivāsana* in the Damanakavidhi of the KKA and PTV where not only are the 3 potent impure substances mentioned but also the 13 conventional ingredients with which they are mixed. Likewise, in the Dīpavidhi, we have meticulous instructions on the mixing and cooking of the impure substances in order to produce lamps of a certain colour, size and appearance. The fact that attention is paid to how these ingredients are transformed in the process of preparation makes it unlikely that they were purely symbolic. The same could be said of transgressive acts which contain equally specific directions as we saw with the way ritual sex is described in the PTV. If these acts were only imagined or symbolic, specific instructions on stimulation and penetration such as we find in this text would hardly be necessary.

Conclusion

Can we posit a theology of ritual?

Since this dissertation set out to elaborate a phenomenon rather than to prove a hypothesis, its value lies in the findings presented in each chapter and the fact that these findings coalesce to form a clearer picture of what was otherwise a largely unstudied tradition. The primary contribution of my work is thus found in the careful documentation of key aspects of the cult of Guhyakālī in medieval Nepal and the accompanying editions which provide a new and considerable resource for its study. The descriptive nature of the work renders a conclusion for this thesis a tricky affair since our research contains no pithy thesis statement while it would also be tedious to relist all of our insights into the cult here. Therefore, instead of presenting an unwieldy summary, we might use this conclusion to reflect upon whether our data reveals any common conceptual threads running through the documentation of Krama worship. To put it more simply, is it possible to posit a theology which underpins the bewildering array of Krama iconography and ritual, if not according to all the sources examined by us then at least as found in the KKA?

I believe, albeit in a qualified way, that a common theological thread does bind Guhyakālī worship in the KKA and that this thread appears to be the concept of non-dualism. This may not be a surprising position since the Krama is considered by scholars to be one of the few Śaiva cults to explicitly and consistently express a non-dualistic philosophy³³⁷. Meanwhile, what is often perceived as the non-dualism of other cults, including Śākta ones, may be put down to the interpretative viewpoints of exegetes under the influence of the Pratyabhijñā school³³⁸. It is thus primarily in the Krama where we

³³⁷ This argument is made in Sanderson (1985), pp. 90 – 91 and (1992), pp. 306 - 308

³³⁸ Sanderson (1992), pp. 287 – 36 shows this to be the case even in relation to the doctrine of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* of the Trika which was viewed by exegetes as the essence of non-dualism.

begin to have the classical formulation of associating the godhead with an ultimate consciousness (*cit/saṃvit*) which grounds all phenomena³³⁹. As already touched upon in our introduction, the consistency of this cult's non-dualism in both doctrine and worship is due to the fact that in several of its texts its ritual steps are envisaged as mirroring the steps of cognition as it moves away from its individuated form towards identity with absolute consciousness. In Sanderson's words, the Krama managed to formulate "a fully elaborated, uncondensed ritual which explicitly and uninterruptedly mirrored the theoretical model of consciousness to be internalised as the state of enlightenment"³⁴⁰. Sanderson argues that the consistency of this non-dualism was such that the Krama became a "decisive factor" in the development of the fully-fledged and logically rigorous non-dual philosophy of the Pratyabhijñā³⁴¹. However, more importantly for an assessment of the non-dualism of the KKA, the scriptures of the Krama which are believed by Sanderson and Törzsök³⁴² to contain unequivocally non-dual material – the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka*, *Kālikākulakramasadbhāva* and *Jayadrathayāmala* – are also amongst the sources which Vimalaprabodha cites as the canonical basis for his ritual procedure.

In spite of all this, as has been shown time and time again in the history of religions, the connection between ritual and theology, even if the former is systematically predicated on the latter, can be easily blurred once we enter the realm of lived religion and more organic forms of worship begin to develop. The KKA is a text almost exclusively concerned with practical instructions with very few theological pronouncements.

We therefore may have to tread carefully and seek additional evidence when asserting Vimalaprabodha's non-dualism and in questioning whether this is the key theology

³³⁹ Törzsök (2014a), p. 220

³⁴⁰ Sanderson (1985), p. 91

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 91

³⁴² Törzsök (2014a), p. 217 and Sanderson (1992), p. 307, fn. 89

pervading his work, especially because the equivalences between *cakras* and the phases and factors of cognition so central to Krama non-dualism is not spelt out in this text. Importantly, Törzsök's (2014a) study of early Śākta Tantras has shown that statements of non-dualism, at least in this class of texts, often constitute ritual non-dualism – that is a rejection of the pure-impure distinction for ritual acts and substances based on the idea that all things are the creation of the Lord rather than ontological non-dualism, a position which identifies all things as one and the same as the Lord³⁴³. For a work to qualify as truly non-dual, we need some sort of statement directly renouncing ontological dualism and the proclamation of its opposite, which is that the supreme is none other than his/her creation and that the universal soul/consciousness is the same as that of the individual³⁴⁴.

Although we cannot expect Vimalaprabodha who is a liturgist to have had the same rigorously defended non-dualism as the Kashmiri exegetes, we definitely see statements of the type specified by Törzsök in his work. A rejection of ontological dualism and not just ritual dualism has already been seen in the little we can understand of the *Tattvopadeśavidhi* where the Goddess is said to transcend several sets of false dichotomies. It will be recalled that the KKA's *maṅgalācaraṇa* discussed extensively in Ch. 3 also contains the same theological stance. In this verse, which may be considered the very crux of the KKA, a clear proclamation on the identity between the individual and the universal is made while the singularity of ultimate reality is also affirmed. This is seen in how the verse locates the Kālīs of Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Saṃhāra and Anākhya and their associated cosmic functions within the body of the worshipper. Moreover, these four Kālīs are then said to be ultimately subsumed in the void of the supreme Kālī (*trikalakhakhayutām*) who is characterised as the sole ground of phenomenal reality (*sarvatattvaikavṛttim*). The same mode of expressing

³⁴³ See particularly Törzsök (2014a), p. 206.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 207

non-duality is continued more extensively still in the *Kālīsūtra* of the Mahāśivarātri. Indeed, it is potentially the consistency between the ontological non-dualism of the *maṅgalācaraṇa* and the *Kālīsūtra* that enabled later redactors to combine them into a single six-versed hymn as explained in Ch.3. The fact that these three key segments of the KKA - the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, the Tattvopadeśavidhi and the Mahāśivarātri - display an ontological non-dualism may mean that such a doctrine is the guiding spirit of the entire text.

Since the contents of the *Kālīsūtra* were not examined by us in the previous chapter, we may return to it to show how non-dualism is established there. Since the *sūtra* is translated and analysed in full in a forthcoming publication by me, we therefore discuss just a few of the goddess's descriptors in verses 1 - 2 of this hymn to make our point. In these verses, Guhyakālī is described as both utterly transcendent and immanent. She is said to be “one whose own nature is the light arising from the void of the Fire of Time” (*antakāgnikuharotthitabhāsvarūpā*) in v.1. As with the KKA's *maṅgalācaraṇa*, we see Kālī's association with the void which is commonly used to show that she is the locus into which all things are absorbed and which can be transcended no further. The reference to the Fire of Time (*antakāgni*), a trope which is popular in both Krama scripture and exegetical literature, enhances this idea since the Fire of Time is said to burn its fuel so completely that no trace remains, thus denoting the fact that all phenomenal reality wholly dissolves in the unity of the supreme Kālī³⁴⁵. This is paired with her descriptor as “one whose nature is that reality which is the cause of Emission, Stasis and Dissolution” (*sṛṣṭisthitipralayakāraṇatattvarūpā*) in the same verse. In a similar vein in v. 2,

³⁴⁵ According to Wenta (2021), p. 729, where this concept is briefly discussed, the comparison of the Goddess to the Fire of Time is already present in the canonical *Kālikākramapañcāśikā* which forms part of chapter seven of the twelfth century *Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya*. Wenta (2021), p. 741 also shows the appellation to be present in the early but now lost *Kramastotras* of Eraka. Several exegetes linked this Fire of Time with the activity of nondual consciousness as it consumes the sense object, absorbing external cognition and obliterating the distinction between self and other as Kṣemarāja explains in *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*, Sūtra 14 and autocommentary.

she pervades the phenomenal universe since she is “split into the multiplicity of material existence” (*sakalabhāvavibhāgabhinā*). In short, by seeing the divine as both absolute and singular on the one hand but also the material and efficient cause of creation on the other, the hymn propounds an indisputable ontological non-dualism.

In conjunction with this, non-dualism is further expressed by describing Kālī as the foundation of the individual’s experience of consciousness as well as pure consciousness *per se*. Thus, she is described as consciousness itself (*jñānātmikā*) in v. 2 but also as the basis for the factors of phenomenal cognition. She is accordingly said to be “one in whom the states of cognition (literally “states of the sense and sense object”) arising from mind, its object and thought are dissolved” (*cicetyacittaviṣayākṣavilīnabhāvā* in v. 1). If we interpret *cit*, *cetya* and *citta* as equivalent to the triad of knower (*pramātṛ*), object of knowledge (*prameya*) and means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) that is said by traditional Indian epistemology to be the necessary conditions for cognition then, in fact, the non-dualism of the *Kālīsūtra* comes very close to the classic ontological position of Pratyabhijñā, which argues that this triad are one and the same once unified in the supreme consciousness that is Śiva. Of course, the ambiguous nature of this compound describing Kālī means that this understanding of the terms *cit*, *cetya*, *citta* is not entirely certain. However, whichever way we do choose to interpret the compound, it is undeniable that the ultimate message of this description is that all factors of cognition are dissolved in and thus identical to Kālī³⁴⁶. Without digressing too much, we may also add that the type of non-dualism propounded by the *Kālīsūtra* further parallels Pratyabhijñā in that it seeks to validate the reality of the phenomenal world on account of its pervasion by the divine rather than to see it as illusory.

³⁴⁶ Alternative interpretations of this compound are thoroughly discussed in my forthcoming publication on the *Kālīsūtra*.

Since we have shown that statements undeniably supporting ontological non-dualism can be found in the KKA, we can turn to how this viewpoint may be seen as the thread which binds Krama worship throughout this text. This has already been partly elaborated in our discussion of the thorough use of transgression in ritual. As explained in Ch. 5, impurity pervades almost each and every aspect of the KKA's rituals from the *paripāṭi* right up to the last *naimittika* rite. In this chapter, we showed that transgression, especially pertaining to ritual intercourse, is not impelled by what Törzsök calls "ritual non-dualism" but by ontological non-dualism since its justification rests with the fact that transgression must be accompanied by gnosis and that it foregrounds an aesthetic experience which is the gateway to a non-dual liberatory awareness.

However, non-dualism not only binds Vimalaprabodha's work through the prevalence of transgression but also through its dominance in iconographic practices. This is shown by how the deeper goal of all modes of iconography examined by us is the vigorous and absolute identification of the worshipper with the object of worship, a feature discussed in Ch. 1. I use the term vigorous here since I understand the risk of extrapolating non-dualism from the practice of identifying the worshipper and worshipped in a Tantric context. This is because some notion of identification, of varying degrees of intensity, is present in almost all Tantric cults whether dual or non-dual as Sanderson (1992) highlights³⁴⁷. Where I see Krama practice being distinct and thus faithfully reflecting a non-dual ontology is the manner in which its identification is more comprehensive and concrete than elsewhere. Thus, in the Siddhānta as exemplified by the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, for instance, the instructions for identification between worshipper and worshipped is made but it is perfunctory and performed through a simple statement that instructs the practitioner to see

³⁴⁷ Sanderson (1992), p. 299

himself as indistinct from Śiva³⁴⁸. The identification performed in the Guhyakālī cult, on the other hand, is of an entirely different kind in that it deploys a novel and multimodal practice to effect a synthesised and systematic transformation.

The adept, beyond just stating his divine nature, is engaged in transforming himself into Guhyakālī through image (*dhyāna*), sound (*mantra*), physical gesture (*mudrā*) and bodily identification (*nyāsa*). Although, visualisation in which we find *nyāsa* accompanied by *mantra* is a common feature in many Tantric cults, Guhyakālī worship distinguishes itself through the completeness of this act, mapping not only the main elements of the central deity onto the worshipper but also the minutest elements down to all of her 54 hand implements and each tier of her throne. Furthermore, this cult's visualisation is not only meticulous but also astonishingly consistent, at least as seen in certain texts like the HRT. So the heads, hand implements and throne of the goddess are given natural counterparts in the human face, arms and lower body in such a way that the hierarchy and order of those elements are retained in the worshipper's body. As a result, the Guhyakālī cult is perhaps unique in enabling each and every feature of its deity to be transferred onto the equivalent part of the adept's body so that his entire being becomes the same as hers, a fact made all the more remarkable by the complexity of the goddess's form. Once contrasted against much simpler modes of identification found in other Śaiva cults, it may be reasonable to posit that a non-dual theology does indeed account for the intensity of this transformation.

This same thread of non-dualism which serves to obliterate the distinction between self and other by locating the divine or macrocosmic within the worshipper is evident in ritual procedure beyond iconography. In Ch. 4, we show how the entire pantheon of the Nityapūjā is in fact deposited into eleven locations in the worshipper's body thus rendering

³⁴⁸ SP, Vol. 3, vv. 23 and 26

obsolete the difference between his individuated self and the physical *cakras* of worship drawn before him. In a similar way, the Prāyaścittavidhi sees the worshipper bringing the entire sacred geography of the cosmos (the *pīṭhas*, *kṣetras*, *upakṣetras* and *saṃdohas*) into a diagram before absorbing this cosmos into his own body through the Pīṭhanyāsa. We might note in support of the hypothesis that the Krama and thus the KKA possess a more pronounced non-dualism that, though a similar Pīṭhamaṇḍala is a feature of the Kubjikā tradition, it is only the Krama that prescribes a *nyāsa* over and above the *maṇḍaloddhāra*. It is also no coincidence that this very same Pīṭhanyāsa invoked by Abhinavagupta, who also declares its source to be the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra*, occurs in a telling section of the TA (29.66 - 67). In the TA, this rite appears in the context of the application of the Krama's four phases of worship to the ritual sequence, a section whose principal aim is to explain the function of ritual as bringing about ontological non-duality.

Further support of the idea that non-dualism does indeed run through the KKA is found in how this vigorous identification between the divine and the particular is not restricted to just the worshipper or ritual agent (*karṭṛ*) but also extends to the other factors of ritual (*kāraṇa*). We have already discussed the creation and enchantment of ritual apparatuses, especially the seat (*āsana*) and types of vessels (*arghapātra*), in the KKA in detail and the way in which their particular *mantras* transform these inanimate objects into deities. This divinisation of the other factors of ritual, including both its instruments (*karaṇam*) and the substrate (*adhikaraṇam*), brings the ritual process of the KKA very close to Abhinavagupta's understanding of the ideal goal of ritual as described in TA 15.148 – 155 and *Tantrasāra* 13³⁴⁹. According to Abhinavagupta, ritual grants liberatory knowledge since it forces the factors of ritual to undergo *saṃskāra* whereby these factors are divinised. The ritual sphere forces the worshipper to enter a space where he is immersed in things

³⁴⁹ *Tantrasāra*, Āhnika 13, pp. 133 - 137

which are indistinct from the divine. Arising from this is non-dual awareness which, if repeated and honed, may also be allowed to pervade the worshipper's normal existence beyond the ritual sphere. Sanderson aptly summarises the position of the non-dualist exegetes on ritual thus³⁵⁰:

“To be made fit to participate in the cult of the deity is to be transformed into the deity, or in non-dualistic terms, to be realised *as* the deity, so that the proper awareness of the worshipper should be that he Śiva worships Śiva with Śiva on Śiva etc. Tantric ritual can therefore be interpreted as presenting the initiate with a model of the Absolute which he is to realise as his true identity.”

It is, of course, a given that the non-dualist exegetes would have applied this interpretation of ritual factors to all Śaiva traditions irrespective of their ontological stances. However, on account of the repeated and concerted manner in which the factors of ritual are divinised in the KKA, a nondual interpretation of ritual in this text would be entirely natural.

Finally, even more compelling proof of how non-dualism consciously drives the KKA's ritual procedure is seen in the prevalence of the notion of dissolution or absorption (*layam*) in its various rites. Sanderson notes that in certain Krama works, such as the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa*, the ritual procedure becomes the ideal physical substrate for the philosophy of non-dualism as it “could be thought of as the unfolding of the imperceptible sequence of cognition (*saṃvit-krama*) in the perceptible sequence of worship (*pūjā-krama*)”³⁵¹. Thus, the sequence of *cakras* reflect the projection of consciousness towards its object and its return to its non-dual ground, each *cakra*

³⁵⁰ Sanderson (1985), p. 49

³⁵¹ Sanderson (1988), p. 696

alongside the factors of consciousness being absorbed by its successor until it reaches the absolute which can be absorbed no further in the form of Anākhyā or Bhāsā.

Although the KKA does not explicitly equate its ritual cycle with this cognitive cycle, it does show that it understands these *cakras* as moving towards a final dissolution in the non-duality of Bhāsā. Therefore, in the Ātmapūjā, for example, the *cakras* of routine worship, after their *nyāsa*, are imagined as dissolving into the Five Kālīs and each Kālī is made to dissolve into her successor until we reach Bhāsā who is said to be present in all Kālīs (*sarvasthe*). This worship acts as the ritual corollary to the Krama doctrine that the Supreme Kālī rests in and is the support of all *cakras* as the non-dual substratum present in each phase of creation or cognition represented by the other Kālīs. We see this same pattern of successive absorption or *kramalayam* as the KKA calls it recurring at other points in our text, including the Tarpaṇavidhi and the Svatantrapañcakālīcakra. In the former, we are told to enjoin all 11 *cakras* of routine worship into Bhāsā (*bhāsāyām niyojayet*) and then to repeat the sequence of successive absorption of the Five Kālīs until we reach Bhāsā who can be absorbed no further because she is one and the same as the supreme Guhyakālī (*bhāsā guhyakālyām eva*) or ultimate reality itself. The deployment in ritual of this successive absorption which presupposes a non-dual ontology thus occurs at several crucial junctures in the KKA. This practice of absorption viewed alongside the pervasion of transgression, the intensity of identification between worship and worshipped and the divinisation of all factors of ritual build a strong case for seeing ontological non-dualism as the common thread of the KKA's worship.

What we have achieved and the way forward

Before sifting through the primary sources, I began this DPhil with the rather foolhardy ambition of documenting the two most important transmissions of the Newar

Ṣaḍāmnāya (the Western and Northern transmissions) and of charting their progression in medieval Nepal. The thesis in its current form will show that my understanding of even one transmission – the cult of Guhyakālī – restricted to a small number of sources remains imperfect. The obscurity of the material we are dealing with and the sheer volume of unpublished manuscripts would have made my initial objective impossible within the timespan of a DPhil.

However, what has been achieved is the creation of a solid rubric with which to approach the worship of the Guhyakālī cult. In the area of iconography, a systematic comparison of the core dimensions of the cult's visual culture (*dhyāna*, *nyāsa* and *cakroddhāra*) covering both its central deities (various forms of the central Guhyakālī and the Five Kālīs) and its expansive pantheon (the figures of the Nityapūjācakra, the Prāyaścittacakra and the Svatantrapañcakālīcakras) was undertaken. This examination, which incorporates a variety of texts and artworks deemed important, has established a model for the iconography of the Krama across time and modes of representation that highlight its principal consistencies and divergences.

It is of course evident that the iconography of the Krama is far vaster than what is included in this thesis. Even in relation to the handful of texts used, not to speak of innumerable other textual sources, there remains considerable iconographic material that we could not document. For example, the HRT, which still awaits an edition, describes numerous other visualisations of Guhyakālī besides the central forms recorded by us. Meanwhile, the additional liturgies found in KKA 1 as well as the GNP record *cakroddhāras* for less popular but albeit equally complex *yantras* of the Five Kālīs. Likewise, the visual material presented here is a fraction of the total number of artworks depicting Guhyakālī, many of which remain in undigitised collections in Nepal such as the valuable collection of the Bhaktapur Art Museum or in private hands. Yet the rubric

constructed by this thesis places us on firmer ground since the assessment of this new material, whether textual or visual, can now be done against the context of known trends and patterns of Krama iconography.

The same situation applies to our study of ritual. Due to its basis in the KKA, which is a remarkably complete account of ritual procedure, we now have a basic understanding of all the salient features of worship encompassing preparatory rites, routine worship, rites of expiation and occasional worship. The KKA is also the earliest liturgy of its kind known to us so not only do we now have a basic ritual framework but also one that reflects the state of Krama in the early years of its entry into the Valley. This puts us in a stronger position to approach the proliferation of forms of worship in this tradition which came about in the medieval period.

A few of the important directions taken by the Uttarāmnāya in Nepal not covered in our thesis should be mentioned. They include an increased engagement with *kāmya* rites (rites performed for particular benefits) which is notably missing from the KKA but reflected, for example, in large parts of the the HRT and the entirety of the long 9th Paṭala of the PT. In the later medieval period, we also find a higher degree of specialisation so that liturgies were produced not just for routine or occasional rites as a whole but were written and elaborated for specific purposes such as the installation of vases (*kalaśa*), the offering of *homa* and *bali*, worship using lamps (*dīpayāga*) or instructions for bathing and worship at junctures of the day (*snānasandhyāvidhi*)³⁵². Moreover, we should not fail to mention the large hymnic material which appears to be the output of the Valley's own writers. For example, in just one manuscript– the *Stotrasaṃgraha* – we find nine hymns to

³⁵² See for instance, the MSS known as *Uttarāmnāyasuvāṇakalaśārohaṇapratīṣṭhāpūjanahomapaddhati* (NGMPP B 177-10), *Uttarāmnāyahomavidhi* (NGMPP A 614-4), *Uttarāmnāyanirvāṇaguhyakālīpūjābalimantra* (NGMPP H 243-32), *Uttarāmnāyasnānasandhyāvidhi* (NGMPP H 343-5) amongst many other such specialised liturgies located in the NGMPP.

Guhyakālī (ff. 39b – 50a), giving an idea of how prolific this tradition was. Finally, we have barely touched upon the other deities allied with the Uttarāmnāya, such as Siddhilakṣmī and Ugracaṇḍī, who arguably became even more popular than Guhyakālī and possess pantheons, Tantras, liturgies and artworks of their own. Just from this very cursory sketch, we begin to see how much further there is to go to fully understand the development of the Uttarāmnāya in Nepal.

This thesis has not even begun to grapple with this goal in earnest. What it has done though is to serve as sturdy groundwork for others venturing into this field. As such, it is hoped that this dissertation will be a small step in reconstructing the path of Kaula cults in Nepal so that one day these rich traditions receive the attention they deserve and no longer remain overlooked by scholarship.

Appendix:

List of Lost Krama Scriptures Recorded Only in the KKA¹

Name	Context and Content of Reference	Type of Reference	Additional Details
<i>Pañcacāmaraśekhara</i>	Reference occurs at the prologue of KKA which states that the division of Krama worship by means of 35 sections is derived from this text.	Citation without quote	A list of gurus given in the Gurupaṅktyarcanavidhi is said to be the revealers of this scripture (<i>pañcacāmaraprakāśakāḥ</i>).
<i>Śrīhaṭṭa</i>	Instructions for the Kumārīvaṭukārcana drawn from this scripture	Citation without quote	The Tantra belongs to the Kālikā School (<i>kālikāgame</i>) and was proclaimed by Śrīkaṇṭhanātha.
<i>Dvīpamata</i> 1 ²	Cited in the context of the fruits gained from worshipping the Kumārī and Vaṭuka	Possible quotation of two <i>anuṣṭubh</i> verses (vv. 3 – 4 of Kumārīvaṭukārcana-vidhi)	Tantra belongs to Northern School (<i>uttarāgame</i>) and is six thousand-versed.
<i>Rājeśvara</i> ³	Cited as source for the raising of the 24 <i>pīṭha maṇḍala</i> of the Prāyaścittavidhi	Possible quotation of 11 <i>anuṣṭubh</i> verses (vv. 2 -11 in this section)	-

¹ Most of the names in this Appendix are given in Sanderson (2014), pp. 63 - 64. The new information I have added here is the context of their occurrence in the KKA and additional information on their content.

² It is likely that the *Dvīpamata* referred to in the Kumārīvaṭukārcanavidhi and the Svatantrakramapañcaka are two recensions of a Tantra going by the same name given the differing lengths ascribed to them, the former being perhaps the short version while the latter being expanded. We have also seen this to be the case with the *Kharapucchāgama* as explained in the PTV. A very similar phenomenon involving extant texts is witnessed in the Paścimāmnāya. In this tradition, the six thousand-versed *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* is considered a longer version of the 3,500 verses of the KMT whose version is styled the *Kulālikāmnāya*. Meanwhile, there is evidence to suggest that the MBT considers itself the expansion of the KMT in 24,000 verse. The relationship between these three texts is discussed in Goudrian and Gupta (1981), pp. 52 – 56; Sanderson (2014), p. 61 – 63; and Dyczkowski (1988), pp. 96 – 98. It should be noted that, although the MBT describes itself as 24,000-versed, the actual number is lower. Ascribing 6,000 and 24,000 verses to different recensions of a text from a single tradition therefore seems to be a common convention in the Kaula. The number of verses ascribed to *Dvīpamata* 1 and 2 can therefore also be understood as symbolic.

³ Although this could conceivably be the epithet of several extant Tantras, none that I know of possess content that matches what is found in this part of the KKA. The KKA's Prāyaścittavidhi is split into a *pīṭha maṇḍala* and *pīṭha nyāsa* section as explained in Ch. 4. The latter is said to be derived from the *Jayadrathayāmālatantra*. We may be tempted to assume that the *Rājeśvara* is none other than this text. However, we are prevented from doing so because the *Jayadrathayāmālatantra* contains only a *pīṭha nyāsa* which resembles the KKA's (see Dyczkowski (2009), Notes on Text and Translation, Vol. II, pp. 421) and not a *pīṭha maṇḍala*.

Name	Context and Content of Reference	Type of Reference	Additional Details
<i>Dvīpamata 2</i>	Cited as the source of the Svatantrakramapañcaka at the beginning of this section	Citation without quote	Tantra contains a chapter called the Śāktakhaṇḍa (the source of the Svatantrakramapañcaka) and is in total comprised of 24,000 verses. The interlocutor is Maheśa.
<i>Śaktikaulika</i>	Cited as another source of the Svatantrakramapañcaka at the end of this section (v. 1ab of the epilogue of this section)	Citation without quote	-
<i>Kramodghāta</i>	Cited as source of the Damanakavidhi	Possible quotation of six verses (vv. 3 – 8 in this section)	The text could have had more than one recension as it is said to be the basis of a very different Damanakavidhi in the PTV (see Ch. 6).
<i>Kharapuccha</i>	Cited as source of Pavitrakavidhi	Citation without quote	The version cited by the KKA has six thousand verses. See Ch. 6 for the other recensions referenced by the PTV.
<i>Kaulakalmala</i>	Basis of the Maḥaśivarātrividhi	Citation without quotation	Tantra proclaimed by Bhairava and is also the basis for the PTV's version of this rite.
<i>Mahārthakramabheda</i>	Basis of Niśāṭana and Mahācaturdaśīvidhi	Quotation of four and a half verse (vv. 1cd – 5 of this section)	Tantra contains 1,200 verses ⁴

⁴ The compound from which I derive this figure in the edition of the KKA is *śatadvādaśasaṃkhyake*. Due to its ambiguity, it could denote 1,200 or 112. However, the former figure seems more likely as the 112 verses would make it unusually short for a Tantra.

कालीकुलक्रमार्चनम् The Kālikulakramārcana of Vimalaprabodha

Editorial Policies

The principle editorial policy of my edition, which is not a critical edition, is to record the reading supplied by my principal witness - KKA₂ (A 229/9) - while emending where KKA₂ is problematic. For such emendations, I either supply an alternative reading offered by KKA₁ (A 148/10) or my own emendation when KKA₁ does not present a viable solution. In cases when I preference KKA₁ or my own emendation is provided, variants of both MSS have been recorded. However, where I deem KKA₂ to be accurate and unproblematic, variants among the manuscripts have not been given. Therefore, my edition relies on two main manuscripts, both of which happen to be those consulted by scholars in the past in their citations of the text.ⁱ

The reason for not attempting a critical edition is two-fold. The first is a pragmatic concern. Due to the length of the KKA, a critical edition replete with all manuscript readings would take more time than my DPhil allows. Secondly, the added value of a critical edition may not be much higher than an edition that relies principally on KKA₂ since the manuscripts that are available to me show readings that are by and large highly consistent. A critical edition would not expose or resolve any major divergences in readings nor are there any large segments of the text available to one manuscript and missing in another.

It should be added that an additional two manuscripts of the KKA (A 150-3 and A 150-1) were available to me which have been referred to at certain points in my edition but whose variants are not recorded in full. This is largely down to the fact that A 150-3 very closely mirrors KKA₂ while A 150-1 follows KKA₁. As such, we can split our manuscript sources into two stemmas, namely what is called by me Stemma A represented by KKA₂ and Stemma B represented by KKA₁. This split is confirmed by how each stemma

ⁱFor instance, Törzsök in TAK (Vol. II and III) and Dyczkowski (2009) use KKA₁ while Sanderson (2014) cites KKA₂

shares peculiarities in nomenclature of deities, spelling and grammatical anomalies that can only be accounted for through shared transmission. The clearest examples are the variants in names of deities of the routine worship which will be expanded by me below with the two MSS of each stemma sharing the same variants at every point where there is divergence in the names. Moreover, both KKA₁ and A 150-1 provide the same minor additions missing in KKA₂ and A 150-3. These include for instance spelling out of the nine-syllabled *mantra* before the Sanyāsadhyaṇavidhi (f. 3r5 in KKA₁ and ff. 3r8 – v1 in A 150-1), the correspondence between the Vaktranyāsa (f.3v4 -7 in KKA₁ and ff. 3v8 – 4r2 in A 150-1) and the animalian faces of Guhyakālī and the more detailed list of ingredients for the paste used for the Maṇḍaloddhāraṇavidhi (f.5r1-2 for KKA₁ and f. 5v6 in A 150-1).

Justification for the use of KKA₂

Having briefly explained my editorial principle and the manuscript stemmas, we should now address the reason for why KKA₂ and consequently Stemma A is the main source for the edition. An important justification for selecting KKA₂ over KKA₁ is because the former presents more accurate lists of names, in terms of three elements 1) names of deities involved in routine worship 2) the names of the 64 sacred sites and their inhabitants and 3) the names of the *cakras* of the deities. Since a major part of this thesis is reconstructing the schema of worship of the Krama, the possession of correct names is an essential criterion for our principal witness. The reason why we can be more confident of KKA₂ 's choice of names is the attestation of other sources. Regarding the routine worship, as already mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, two other sources – the MPP and GNP – list the names of deities and *mantras* of the various *cakras*. Since the MSS of the MPP and GNP are relatively early with the MPP MS being written possibly around half a century after the composition of the KKA, we can be sure that their list of names must closely chime with the list found in the original version of the KKA. Variants in names of deities of routine worship between KKA₂ and KKA₁ are a frequent occurrence, the two early sources backing the reading of KKA₂ in the overwhelming number of cases (the location in the MSS of these attestations found in the MPP and GNP are listed in my critical apparatus). Therefore, the MPP and GNP back the variants found in KKA₂ for the following names: Mahārāsapī (12th deity of Mūrticakra)

as opposed to Mahārāsavī; two deities of the Jñānasiddhacakra - Maṅgalā (1st deity) over Maṇḍalā and Kandukī (4th) over Vaṭukī; Namanī (12th in Melāpacakra) over Namabhī; Svavimarṣānanda over Vinayānanda (15th deity of the Parāṇavasiddhacakra); and Varakālī over Balakālī (the 10th Kālī of the 12 Kālīs of the Bhāsācakra).

As for the names of sacred sites and their inhabitants as it appears in the Prāyaścittavidhi (the first 24 sites) and the Svatantra-sthithicakra (the remaining 40 sites), we can confirm KKA₂ 's more accurate reading by looking at the table comparing the *pīṭhas* and their resident deities in Tantric literature compiled by Dyczkowski (2009) and discussed extensively in my analysis of these two sections of the KKA in Ch. 3 and 4 of this thesis. Firstly, we shall deal with the 24 sites of the Prāyaścittavidhi. Only KKA₁ was available to Dyczkowski and therefore he notes significant variants between the KKA's list and those of the six other Śākta Tantra texts which list 24 *pīṭhas*. However, if KKA₂ had instead been used, he would have found far greater similarities in site names and spellings with these texts. Some of the sites amongst the first 24 for which KKA₂ has a reading that conflicts with KKA₁ but which is far closer or in fact identical to the names found in some or all of the other texts examined by Dyczkowski include the following: 1) Aṭṭahāsa (1st site) in KKA₂ over KKA₁ 's Aṣṭahāsaⁱ 2) Eruḍa (10th site) over Eruṇḍa 3) Nagara (15th site) vs Naraṃga 4) Kuṇḍakeśī (19th site) over Kuṇḍakelī 5) Saupāra (20th site) vs Sūryārama 6) Kṣīrika (21st site) over Kṣārikā.

With regard to the remaining 40 sites, Dyczkowski cites two other texts that contain such a list (the *Ambāmatasaṃhitā* and the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the MBT). For some of these sites too, KKA₂ 's readings, which are again unrecorded by Dyczkowski, are more consonant with other literature. For instance, the two other texts agree with KKA₂ in naming the 47th site as Hakkaḍokka while KKA₁ diverges in calling it Hakkaḍa and in calling the 63rd site Arbuda while KKA₁ names it Arvadaṇḍa. However, for these 40 sites, we also see KKA₂ listing names of resident deities that are closer to these two texts than KKA₁. Three amongst several examples include: 1) Chinnamuṇḍā (deity 38) for KKA₂ / *Ambāmata-saṃhitā* / MBT vs Chinnamastā for KKA₁ ; 2) Kamalakṣmī (deity 39)

ⁱThe 24 sites appear twice in the Prāyaścittavidhi as explained in the thesis. For these names and the order in which they appear, I have used the second list.

vs Mahālakṣmī; 3) Tribhuvanā (deity 60) vs Bhuvanāmbā.

Regarding the names of the *cakras* of routine worship, KKA₁ mostly supplies the correct names at the prologue of the text (*up-akrama*) where the contents of the KKA is summarised but gives several wrong names when dealing with these *cakras* individually. Instead of the name Antaḥsiddhacakra as backed by the MPP, GNP and KKA₂, KKA₁ calls this circle of deities the “Antaḥsiddhaca [sic]” (f. 8v2) then simply the “Siddhicakra” (f. 9r5). The next *cakra*, instead of being called the Melāpacakra, is known as the Siddhamelāpacakra (f. 9v3) while the Parāṇavasiddhacakra is called the “Parāṇnavacakra [sic]” (f. 10v2) after its conclusion and is incorrectly called the “Navacakra” in the preamble to the prologue (f. 2r4).

A second reason for selecting KKA₂ over KKA₁ is because my research is largely concerned with iconography, including the raising of *maṇḍalas*. In this area, KKA₂ seems to present a clearer and more precise rendering. This ranges from as simple an issue as providing instructions for the compass points of all deities in a *cakra*, which is not the case with KKA₁ (this is seen for instance in its treatment of the Prakāśacakra (ff. 7r5 - v4) where deities 1 -3 and 10 -12 are not marked with directions) to more complex issues like the synchronisation between the occupants of a *maṇḍala* and the geometric shapes which house them. In relation to the latter, KKA₁ presents problematic readings for the raising of the *maṇḍala* in the Maṇḍaloddhāraṇī (ff. 6r7 – v7) as well as in some of the four latter *cakras* of the Svatantrapāñcaka.

For instance, KKA₁ 's Maṇḍaloddhāraṇī, as my analysis on this section will show, provides too few spaces to distribute the Sanskrit syllabary amongst its shapes, which seems to be the primary purpose of this *maṇḍala* which serves as an *akṣarayantra*. Likewise, in the Svatantrasṛṣṭicakra, it replaces one of KKA₂ 's 16-petalled lotus with a 12-petalled one (f. 23v7), meaning there are insufficient petals for the 16 deities of the Mūrticakra to be installed in the *cakra*. In the Svatantrānākhacakra, the location for the installation of the 64 sacred sites of the *maṇḍala* is vaguely supplied as *catuḥṣaṣṭiṣṭhāneṣu* or “on the 64 places” (f. 27r6) against KKA₂ 's more specific instructions to deposit these sites on the 64 filaments of the lotus of the *maṇḍala*. In this *cakra*, KKA₁ also supplies the incorrect reading of *caturdvayam* (f. 27v5) rather than KKA₂ 's *cakradvayam* in relation to the two shapes that are meant to house the Pañcapīṭhaniketana and Pañcavāhacakra, again resulting in insufficient space for their installation. As for the Bhāsācakra, KKA₁

confusingly amalgamates two discrete sets of deities (the 24 deities of the Antaḥsiddhacakra and the 12 Kālīs of the original Bhāsācakra beginning with Mantrakālī) through the compound *siddhiyoginīmantrādi* (f. 28r2), meaning instructions for their distribution amongst the *maṇḍala*'s shapes cannot be followed.

Finally, beyond these more major points, with the rites that follow the Nityapūjā which become more complex, KKA₂ appears to make considerably fewer orthographical and grammatical mistakes. This is especially the case if we examine the Tarpaṇa and Dīpavidhi as documented in KKA₁. KKA₁ also seems more liable to interpolation given that it frequently includes the Newari term *thvate* ("thus is" or "this is") while KKA₂ contains no Newari terms.

Additional information on MSS

KKA₂ (paper; Newari script; 67 folios) contains a colophon which gives the year of writing in a chronogram (*nepālahāyane jāte vyomavahnimunau*) deciphered as NS. 730 or 1609 C.E., making it our oldest dated MS. There is no additional content in the MS beyond the KKA.

KKA₁ (paper; Newari script; 141 folios) contains no colophon but given its writing style and paper medium, we can also tentatively assign it a 17th century date. Interestingly, this MS has a substantial amount of material beyond the KKA (the KKA ends in f. 33r), the chapter names for which are displayed in the table of contents at the end of the MS. According to the table of contents, KKA₁ is a compilation of several *pūjāvidhis*, which beyond the KKA, covers further ritual procedures for the goddesses Guhyakālī as well as those for Siddhilakṣmī, Tripurasundarī, Ugracāṇḍī, Harasiddhi and Kumārī. The first three goddesses mentioned in the table of contents are often encountered together in Newari *pad-dhatis* concerning the worship of the Northern Transmission (see Sanderson (2003), p.367). In spite of this, the microfilm is missing ff. 60v–102r, meaning that the content on Siddhilakṣmī is lost. The additional content on the Uttarāmnāya in this MS (ff. 33r – 60r) includes a *dhyāna* resembling the PT's, further *mantroddhāras*, *nyāsas*, *yantroddhāras* and methods for *homa*.

A 150-3 (paper; Newari script; 45 folios) contains a colophon which dates it to 1670 C.E as well as the standard refrain about blame not being attached to the scribe in the case of copying er-

rors (*yādrśaṃ pustakaṃ drśtaṃ tādrśaṃ likhitaṃ mayā | yadi śuddham aśuddhaṃ vā mama doṣo na dīyate |*). As per KKA₂ , no additional material beyond the KKA is recorded.

A 150-1 (paper; Newari script; 45 folios) ends with a colophon which dates it to 1698 C.E and names the scribe (Karmācārya Cakra-siṃha). The additional material in this MS is identical to the additional content on the Uttarāmnāya of KKA₁. This means the text in ff. 35v – 61v of this MS mirrors ff. 33r – 60r of KKA₁

The fact that the same additional material is transmitted in A 150-1 and KKA₁ while KKA₂ and A 150-3 have no material beyond the KKA itself is further proof, if any is needed, that the four texts should be split into two stemmas.

Apparatus and Normalisations

The apparatus is divided into two rows. The first marked by Arabic numbers records variants while the second marked by Roman numerals is where further explanation is required. This explanation can involve the justification for an emendation or reading, the explanation of a general editorial principle concerning a textual phenomenon or the noting of additional material or significantly divergent material found in a MS other than KKA₂. Since the distinction between emendation, correction and conjecture is highly subjective, all instances in which the text has been altered by me are listed as em.(emendation). I leave it up to the reader to decide how secure these alterations are.

The normalisation of a few minor orthographical anomalies that are common amongst Newar MSS are silently carried out in my edition, both in the main text and the apparatus. They are as follows:

1) The choice of “m” or “ṃ” (*anusvāra*) at the end of words is haphazard in the MSS without regard for conventional *sandhi* rules. These have been silently normalised in the main text and apparatus to conform to external *sandhi*.

2) The adoption of *anusvāra* where the use of palatal ñ (*pañca* instead of *pañca* or *rañjayitvā* instead of *rañjayitvā*) or velar ṇ (*aṅga* instead of *aṅga* or *liṅga* instead of *liṅga*) is more conventional has been emended to follow the standardised spellings of words.

3) The letters ś and s are often interchangeable in the orthography of Newari MSS. I do not report differences and restore them according to the standard spelling of words.

4) I have not reported any instances of gemination of consonants after the semi-vowel “r” (*āvarta* to *āvartta* or *varṇa* to *varṇṇa* etc.) which is almost normal practice in Newari script and have silently removed the geminations.

5) The letters n and ṇ are at times used interchangeably. Where retroflexion is called for on account of internal *sandhi*, I have silently emended the text.

मङ्गलम्, उपक्रमश्च

ओं श्रीपरमशिवशक्तिश्रीश्रीनाथाशेषपारंपार्यक्रमं स्वगुरुपादाम्बुजं यावत्¹ प्रणौमि ।

या चन्द्रे भूतभिन्ना रविहविसदने गोत्रचन्द्रैश्च रुद्रैर्
हृन्नाभौ कन्दचक्रे त्रिदहनकुहरे द्वादशैकेन संस्था |
सृष्टिस्थैर्यान्तकर्त्री त्रिकलखखयुतां सर्वतत्त्वैकवृत्ति
तां कालीं नौमि नित्यं परमपदमयीं सत्सदानन्ददात्रीम् ॥ (१)

विश्वामित्रं² वसिष्ठं च श्रीकण्ठं कुण्डलीश्वरम् |
श्रीक्रोधं मीनतालाङ्कौ वन्दे श्रीधर्मदेशकान् ॥ (२)

प्रणम्य अलकाचार्यपादपद्मं³ सुभक्तितः |
श्रीविमलप्रबोधोऽहमेकदण्डी शिवात्मकः ॥ (३)

संवीक्ष्य विधिवज्ज्ञात्वा पञ्चचामरशेखरम् |
पञ्चत्रिंशतिं⁴ भेदाख्यं वक्ष्ये श्रीकालिकार्चनम् ॥ (४)

चक्रैकादशसंयुक्तं क्रमपञ्चविभूषितम् |
परिपाटिक्रमेणैव सोपदेशं सुसिद्धये ॥ (५)

आत्मयागविधिः १ आसनपूजाविधिः २ सन्यासध्यानविधिः ३ अर्घ्यपात्रपूजाविधिः ४ मण्डलोद्धार-
विधिः ५ गणादिचतुष्कार्चनविधिः ६ इति परिपाटिः ।

अथ पञ्चपीठनिकेतनपूजाविधिः १ पञ्चवाहचक्रपूजाविधिः २ षोडशमूर्तिचक्रपूजाविधिः ३ द्वादशप्र-
काशचक्रपूजाविधिः⁵ ४ षोडशानन्दचक्रपूजाविधिः ५ षोडशज्ञानसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः ६ चतुर्विंशत्यन्तः-
सिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः ७ द्वादशमेलापसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः ८ अष्टशाक्तसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः ९ चतुःशाम्भव-
सिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः १० पञ्चदशपराणवसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः ११ इत्येकादशचक्राणि ।

७ विशेषार्घ्यपात्रपूजाविधिः ८ अथ श्रीमहार्थसृष्टिक्रमपूजाविधिः १ श्रीमहार्थस्थितिक्रमपूजाविधिः २
श्रीमहार्थसंहारक्रमपूजाविधिः ३ श्रीमहार्थानाख्यक्रमपूजाविधिः ४ श्रीमहार्थभासाक्रमपूजाविधिः ५ इति
श्रीमहार्थपञ्चचक्राणि ९

गुरुपङ्क्तिपूजाविधिः १० मुद्राविधिः ११ जाप्यविधिः १२ दीपविधिः १३ चरुविधिः १४ तर्पणविधिः
१५ चक्रक्रीडाविधिः १६ कुमारीवटुकार्चनविधिः १७ प्रायश्चित्तविधिः १८ उपदेशविधिः १९ समयवटिका-
विधिः २० इति नित्यार्चनविधिः ।

अथ दमनकविधिः २१ पवित्रकविधिः २२ शिवरात्रिविधिः २३ निशाटनविधिः २४ महाचतुर्दशीविधिः
२५ इति नैमित्तिकार्चनविधिः ।

¹क्रमं स्वगुरुपादाम्बुजं यावत्] em., ²क्रमस्वगुरुपादाम्बुजं यावत् KKA₂KKA₁ ³विश्वामित्रं] KKA₁, विश्वामित्रं
KKA₂ ⁴द्वादशप्रकाशचक्रपूजाविधिः] KKA₁, द्वादशचक्रपूजाविधिः KKA₂

⁵It is evident that, for metri causa, the author has dissolved the *sandhi* between
pranāmya and *alakācārya*. ⁱⁱThe conventional form should be *pañcatrinṣat* but
the author has possibly adopted *pañcatrinṣati* on account of metri causa. All
manuscripts record this so I have left it unemended.

आत्मपूजा

प्रथमं तावत् गुरुं नमस्कृत्य यथोपदेशक्रमेण स्वस्थानाच्छक्तिमुत्थाप्य ब्रह्मरन्ध्रं यावन्नीत्वा पुनरागत्य विश्राम्य पीतं गुह्याधारे¹ⁱ १. रक्तं गुह्ये २. रक्तगौरं कजाधारे ३. अरुणं नाभौ ४. श्यामं तदूर्ध्वे ५. हृदि श्वेतं ६. धूमं तदूर्ध्वे ७. नीलं कण्ठकूपे ८. विद्युदाभं ग्रन्थौ ९. अलक्ताभं तालुनि १०. शुक्लं बिन्दौ ११. पञ्चकादिपञ्चदशान्तं चक्रेकादशं निष्पाद्य एकोच्चार्य द्विर्द्विः पीठनिकेतनं विहायोत्पत्ति²स्थितिसंहारानाख्य-भासाक्रमेषु³ लयं कुर्यात् यथाक्रमस्थानानि. अग्निसूर्यसोमवाय्वाकाशक्रमेण महामृतेन संतर्प्य तथा पुष्पादिभिः संपूज्य क्रमलयं कुर्याद् यथा -- सृष्टिक्रमं स्थितौ. स्थितिक्रमं संहारे. संहारक्रमम् अनाख्ये. अनाख्यक्रमं भासायां⁴. भासाक्रमं सर्वस्थ इति⁵ लयं कृत्वा पुष्पैकेनात्मानं संपूज्यासनं पूजयेद्⁶ इति आत्मपूजाविधिः।

आसनपूजा

षड्विंशङ्गुलं सर्वविस्तारं त्र्यङ्गुलोच्छ्रयं एकाङ्गुलान्तं नरगजमृगवृहद्याग्रचित्रकलागचर्ममयासनम्. अभावा-द्रक्तवस्त्रमयं सर्वाभावाद्भावमयं -ह्रीं श्रीं समस्तकालकलासनपाद- इति मन्त्रेण यथापुष्पैः संपूज्य न्यासं कुर्यादित्यासनपूजाविधिः।

सन्यासध्यानम्

रुक्मं महाचण्डयोगेश्वरि. एतेन नवाक्षरेण हस्तयोः पञ्चधा करतलयोर् विन्यस्यⁱⁱ गुह्ये १.⁷ⁱⁱⁱ कन्दे २. हृदये ३. कण्ठे ४. तालुनि ५. बिन्दौ ६. ब्रह्मरन्ध्रे ७. त्रिपथे ८. धूमशिखायाम् ९. एतेषु नवस्थानेषु व्यत्ययात् सृष्टिः. नाभ्यादौ स्थितिः. गुह्यादौ संहारः. ताल्वदौ अनाख्यः. बिन्द्वादौ भासा - इति पञ्चनवात्मिका।

न्यासानन्तरं गुदे १. लिङ्गे २. मेढ्रे⁸ ३. नाभौ ४. हृदये ५. कण्ठकूपे ६. कण्ठग्रन्थौ ७. तालुकाधारे ८. तालुनि ९. नासिकाये १०. भ्रुवाम् ११. ललाटे १२. सीमायाम् १३. तदूर्ध्वे १४. ब्रह्मरन्ध्रे १५. शिरसन्धौ १६. शिखान्ते १७. यथाक्रमेण पञ्चसप्तदशाक्षरन्यासः।

¹पीतं गुह्याधारे] em., पीत गुह्याधारे KKA₂, KKA₁ ²विहायोत्पत्ति] em., विहाया उत्पत्ति KKA₂, विहाय सृष्टि KKA₁ ³भासाक्रमेषु] KKA₁, भाक्रमेषु KKA₂ ⁴भासायां] KKA₁, भासां KKA₂ ⁵सर्वस्थ इति] em., सर्वस्थे ति KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁶संपूज्यासनं पूजयेद्] KKA₂ (MS^{pc}), KKA₁, संपूजयेद् KKA₂ (MS^{ac}). ⁷गुह्ये] em., गुह्य KKA₁, KKA₂ ⁸मेढ्रे] em., मेढ्र KKA₁, मेद KKA₂

ⁱThe manuscripts alternate between presenting the colours for the bodily locations of the *nyāsa* in the uninflected form (*pīta guhyādhāre*) or in the neuter (*dhūmam tadūrdhve*). Since the majority of colours are declined in the latter manner, I have followed this for the sake of consistency. *Nyāsa* locations 1 - 4 have thus been emended accordingly. However, since all manuscripts present *nyāsa* 5 (*hṛd*) with the order of the colour and bodily location reversed, this anomaly is maintained.

ⁱⁱFor the preamble to the *pañcanavātmikānyāsa* section, I have used KKA₁ to provide a fuller understanding for the reader as it states the *navākṣara mantra* and gives additional instructions as opposed to KKA₂'s simplified version (*yathā pañcadhā navākṣaravidyāṃ hastayoh*) ⁱⁱⁱSince this *nyāsa* calls for the depositing of each of the nine syllables of the *navākṣaravidyā* onto nine body parts, I have emended the endings for the body parts from their *prātipadika* forms to loc. The emendation applies to all body parts in the *pañcanavātmikānyāsa* as well as the *pañcasaptadaśākṣaranyāsa* but is noted only once here.

अथ ख्रें महेश्वरि हृदि. ख्रें हंसेश्वरि शिरसि. ख्रें चण्डेश्वरि शिखायां. ख्रें दण्डेश्वरि कवचे. ख्रें योगेश्वरि नेत्रे. ख्रें गणेश्वरि दिशासु इत्यङ्गन्यासः।

ख्रें महाचण्डमोहेश्वरि शिखायाम्. ख्रें महाचण्डहंसेश्वरि विले. ख्रें महाचण्डचण्डेश्वरि¹ मुखे. ख्रें महाचण्डदण्डेश्वरि वामकर्णे. ख्रें महायोगयोगेश्वरि दक्षकर्णे. ख्रें महाचण्डगणेश्वरि वामनेत्रे. ख्रें महास्मरचण्डेश्वरि दक्षनेत्रे. ख्रें महारागचण्डेश्वरि वामनासायाम्. ख्रें महाखगचण्डेश्वरि दक्षनासायाम् इति वक्रन्यासः।¹

एतानि श्वेतसिंहकृष्णशिवनीलनरगौरगजश्यामाश्वपिङ्गरुडहरितमकररक्तमर्कटधूमभल्लूकमुखान्यात्मनो ध्येयानि विकटोत्कटदंष्ट्राकरालानि स्वजातिशब्दमुक्तानि. मध्यवक्त्रं अट्टट्टहासं हसन्तं सृष्टौ. स्थितौ लग्नौष्ठपुटम्. संहारे स्वदन्तौष्ठं चर्वन्तम्. अनाख्ये जिह्वाग्रेण वामदंष्ट्राग्रं स्पर्शन्तम्. भासायां मुक्तहंकार-रावेण जिह्वां लालयन्तं विचिन्तयेत्।

अथ वामे जूकारोऽ भयं १. सः कपालं २. हूं खड्गं ३. आं पाशं ४. ह्रीं शक्ति²ⁱⁱ ५. क्षौं खट्वाङ्गं ६. फ्रें मुण्डं ७. धूं धनुः ८. भ्रुः चक्रं ९. हं घण्टां १०. फें बालप्रेतं ११. श्रीं शैलकं १२. हेः कङ्कालं १३. ह्रीं नकुलं १४. स्फः सर्पं १५. ओं कुट्टनीं १६. ह्रीं वंशं १७. षट् षडस्त्रं १८. आः डोडिकां³ १९. ह्रीं वह्निपात्रं २०. हीः त्रिदण्डं २१. वौषट् सुवं २२. स्त्रः अष्टारं २३. घ्रां सिंहं २४. पौं वस्त्रं २५. भां मुद्गरं २६. खें डमरुं २७. दक्षिणे श्रींकारोऽ भयं १. फट् कर्त्तिकां २. हुं तर्जनीं ३. क्रों अङ्गुशं ४. डं दण्डं ५. प्लूं कलशं ६. खौं त्रिशूलं ७. हूं बाणं ८. हः पद्मं ९. गं पुस्तकं १०. त्रं कुतं ११. श्यां पारिजातं १२. फूः छुरिकां १३. धीः तोमरं १४. शः पुष्पमालां १५. ह्रूं डिण्डिमं १६. च्लीं गुणं १७. भ्रों स्वस्तिकं १८. च्छ्रीं वर्धनीं १९. व्लें कमण्डलुं २०. वषट् सुचं⁴ २१. ग्लों पांशुमुष्टिं २२. ह्रीं नन्द्यावर्तं २३. कट कुण्डलं २४. ओं मांसखण्डं २५. अः फलं २६. ध्रीं सूचिं⁵ⁱⁱⁱ २७. एतानि चतुःपञ्चाशदस्त्राणि मुद्रास्वरूपेण न्यसेत्।

अथ सृष्टौ समपदं ठः. स्थितौ वामपादाकुञ्चितदक्षिणपादावलम्बितं⁶ स्त्रीं. संहारे प्रत्यालीढं क्षौं. अनाख्ये बद्धपद्मासनं⁷ हां. भासायां नृत्यमानं फें. सर्वत्र नीलं ध्येयम् इति भावन्यासः।

अथ हं ब्रह्मकालासनं^{iv} पादमूले. हिं विष्णुकालासनं पादतले. हुं रुद्रकालासनं पादमध्ये. हें ईश्वर⁸कालासनं पादाङ्गुष्ठमूले. हों सदाशिवकालासनं पादाङ्गुष्ठाग्रे. पादद्वये न्यसनीयम् इत्यासनन्यासः. एतानि पीतश्यामरक्तधूमश्वेतवर्णानि दण्डचक्रशूलशक्तिखट्वाङ्गधराणि. वामहस्ततर्जनीमुखानि त्रिनेत्र-मुक्तजटाकलापानि दिग्म्बराणि स्वासने ध्येयानि आसनस्वरूपाणि. अथ पञ्चशताक्षरं संपठन् स्वशिरसि

¹महाचण्डचण्डेश्वरि] KKA₁, महाचण्डचण्डेश्वर KKA₂ ²शक्ति] em., शक्ति KKA₂, KKA₁ ³डोडिकां] em., डोडिका KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁴सुचं] em., सुकं KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁵सूचि] em., सूचिः KKA₂, सूचीः KKA₁ ⁶वलम्बितं] em., °वलम्बितः KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁷बद्धपद्मासनं] em., बद्धासनं KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁸ईश्वर] KKA₁, ईश्वर KKA₂

ⁱKKA₁ gives additional information by linking each of the 9 Īśvarīs to not only a part of the *sādhaka's* face but also the theriomorphic faces of Guhyakālī. This is discussed in my analysis of the iconography of Guhyakālī in Chapter 1. ⁱⁱWhere necessary, I have emended the attributes to accusative singular for the sake of consistency and to agree with *nyāset* as both manuscripts list some in acc. sg. and others in nom. sg. These changes will not be noted individually. ⁱⁱⁱI have emended to *sūciṃ* as this is consistent with the last attribute found in the HRT and PT's right hand list and ś and s are often interchangeable in Newari orthography. ^{iv}I have assumed that the author intends for the *kālāsanas* to be declined in the voc. as part of the mantra as is the case with the *aṅganyāsa* and *vaktranyāsa* so these endings have been left unemended.

तिलकपूर्वकं दत्त्वा अर्घपात्रसंस्कारं¹ कुर्याद् इति सन्यासाष्टध्यानविधिः।²

अर्घपात्रपूजा

यथा नृकपालशङ्खविश्वामित्रकूर्ममुक्तासुवर्णतारमयादिभ्यो मध्ये मद्यमांसरक्तचन्दनपुष्पाक्षतादिभिः पूरितं कृत्वा चतुष्कोणमण्डलोपरि ह्रींकारेण स्थापयित्वा कनिष्ठाद्वयसंयोगेन ह्रींकारह्रंकारेण वामावर्तदक्षिणावर्तेन वारत्रयं आलोडयेत् तन्मध्ये समयहृदयं समालिख्य लेलिहां विधाय पञ्चनवाक्षरेण पञ्चपुष्पाणि मध्ये प्रक्षिप्य तद्रसेन नाभिहृदयकण्ठललाटमुद्भि तिलकं कृत्वा ह्रींकारेण सर्वं सेचयेत् इत्यर्घपात्रपूजाविधिः।

मण्डलोद्धारविधिः

अथ मन्त्रेणाभ्युक्ष्य षड्विंशाङ्गुलप्रमाणं चतुष्कोणं मण्डलं विधाय तदुपरि रक्तवर्णं भद्रासनं समारोप्य तदभावाद् रक्तवस्त्रं तदुपरि यथोचितस्वर्णभाजनं वीरद्रव्येणोपलिप्य तत्र¹ त्र्यस्रं तद्बाह्ये पञ्चपत्रं षोडशपत्रं द्वादशपत्रं षोडशपत्रंⁱⁱ ईशानादिक्रमेणाकारादिरेफान्तं सानुस्वारं मध्ये शेषषट्कं च समालिख्य ईशानादिक्रमेण मध्ये पारम्पर्याक्षरम् ततः पञ्चमण्डलाद् बहिः वह्निचक्रं सूर्यचक्रं सोमचक्रं प्रवेशगत्या उपदेशवर्णसहितं समालिखेत् तद्वहिः खेचक्रं तद्वहिश्चतुष्कोणं समालिख्य पूर्वदक्षिणोत्तरपश्चिमेषुⁱⁱⁱ त्रीणि त्रीणि चक्रमण्डलानि स्वस्वबीजेन जूं श्रीं सः फट् हूं हूं आं क्रों ह्रीं ओं क्षौं ग्लौं संयुतानि वृत्ताकाराणि कुर्यात् तद्वहिः फेंकारेण^{iv} वृत्तत्रयं समालिख्य मध्ये योगिनीहृदयेन पुष्पं दद्याद् इति मण्डलं निष्पाद्य गणादिचतुष्कं पूजयेदिति मण्डलोद्धारविधिः।

¹संस्कारं] KKA₁, संस्कार KKA₂
सन्यासाष्टध्यानविधिः KKA₁

²सन्यासाष्टध्यानविधिः] em., ससन्यासाष्टध्यानविधिः KKA₂,

ⁱKKA₁ gives the composition of the *vīradravya* with which to smear the vessel and the tool used to inscribe the *maṇḍala*, stating '*vīradravayāghrṣṭakarpūtraghṛṣṇakuraṅgamadamalayaajaraktacaṇḍanenopalepya tatra kanakaśalākayā*'. ⁱⁱUp until this point, KKA₁ gives a different design for the *maṇḍala*, instructing us '*tryasraṇ tad-bāhye pañcāśraṇ ṣoḍaśapatraṇ daśapatraṇ dvādaśapatraṇ*'. The reason why I concur with KKA₂ is because, according to the instructions in both manuscripts, we are meant to be left with 6 letters to be installed in the centre out of the 50 of the Śaiva syllabary once we have embedded 44 letters in three circles of petals (16 + 12 + 16 according to KKA₂). Since KKA₁ substitutes one 16-petalled circle with a ten-petalled one, we end up having space for only 38 letters. ⁱⁱⁱThe conventional manner of declining compass points would be in the fem. to agree with the fem. noun *diś*. However, here, as is also the case with the declensions of directions in the *ekādaśacakraṇi*, we find these declined in the neut./masc. I assume this to be so since they are agreeing with a neut./masc. noun, which in this instance might be *koṇa* (the corner of the *maṇḍala*) and in the case of the 11 cakras should be *pattra* (the petals of the concentric lotus). ^{iv}Here, KKA₁ reads *phreṇi* since both *phreṇi* and *phreṇi* are commonly found in the KKA, I have left KKA₂'s reading unemended for the time being.

रक्षाचतुष्कम्

हीं श्री महाक्रमगणपतिनाथपाद. अर्घाग्रे दक्षिणे. हीं श्री महाक्रमगणपतिवल्लभा-अम्बापादⁱ. तदुत्तरे. हीं श्री महाक्रमवटुकनाथपाद. अर्घाग्रोत्तरे. हीं श्री महाक्रमवटुकवल्लभा-अम्बापाद. पूर्वे. एतान् कृष्णपीत-वर्णान् परशुशूललङ्घुकाद्याभयवरदजाप्यदण्डधरान् गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपनैवेद्यादिसहितैः संपूज्य पीठनिकेतनं पूजयेदिति गणादिचतुष्कार्चनविधिः।

एकादशचक्राणि

यथाⁱⁱ पूर्वोत्तरमण्डले. हीं श्री हूं महा-उड्डियाणपीठपाद. मध्ये १. हीं श्री हूं महाप्रदीप्तिकेश्वरी-श्रीमङ्गलादेवी-अम्बापाद. पूर्वे २. हीं श्री हूं महाकरवीरश्मशानपाद. दक्षे ३. हीं श्री हूं महासंहारबलोत्कट-क्षेत्रपालनाथपाद. उत्तरे ४. हृज्ज्मौ महाकालिकास्त्रपाद¹ पश्चिमे ५. एतान् पीतवर्णान् वरदाभयकपालत्रि-शूलहस्तान् किं त्वस्त्रं कृष्णवर्णं एकादशमुखं पूर्वोक्तास्त्रमौलिनं द्वाचत्वारिंशद्²भुजं ऊर्ध्वलिङ्गं नृत्यमानं वज्रतर्जधरं नानाप्रहरणसहितं ज्वलन्तं ध्यात्वा पूजयेद् इति. अर्घपात्रेण एवं सन्यस्य³ महासमयहृदयं चेति पीठनिकेतनचक्रपूजाविधिः।

अथ तदक्षमण्डले. हीं श्री हूं महाव्योमवामेश्वरी-अम्बापाद मध्ये. हीं श्री हूंⁱⁱⁱ महाखेचरी-अम्बापाद पूर्वे २. हीं श्री हूं महादिकरी-अम्बापाद दक्षे. हीं श्री हूं महागोचरी-अम्बापाद उत्तरे ४. हीं श्री हूं महाभूचरी-अम्बापाद पश्चिमे ५. एता नरचिह्नवराहगोसर्पास्याः श्वेतधूम्ररक्तश्यामपीतवर्णाश्च चतुर्भुजाः खड्गकर्तृकाद्यशूलधारिणीश्च⁴ चिन्तयित्वा मूर्तिचक्रं पूजयेदिति पञ्चवाहचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा हीं श्री हूं महासुखमूर्ति-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्री हूं महाशीलमूर्ति-अम्बापाद २. हीं श्री हूं महासूर्यमूर्ति-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्री हूं महासोममूर्ति-अम्बापाद ४. हीं श्री हूं महानन्दमूर्ति-अम्बापाद ५. हीं श्री हूं महाप्रभामूर्ति-अम्बापाद ६. हीं श्री हूं महानभोमूर्ति-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्री हूं महाक्षीरमूर्ति-अम्बापाद ८. हीं श्री हूं महार्चिषामूर्ति-अम्बापाद ९. हीं श्री हूं महाकेतुमूर्ति-अम्बापाद १०. हीं श्री हूं महाकुलिशप्रहरणमूर्ति-अम्बापाद ११. हीं श्री हूं महापाण्डुरमूर्ति-अम्बापाद १२. हीं श्री हूं महातापकीमूर्ति-अम्बापाद १३. हीं श्री हूं महारासपीमूर्ति-अम्बापाद^{iv} १४. हीं श्री हूं महात्रक्षमूर्ति-अम्बापाद १५. हीं

¹ महाकालिकास्त्रपाद] KKA₁, महाकालिस्त्रपाद KKA₂ ² द्वाचत्वारिंशद्] em., द्वाचत्वारिंशति KKA₁, KKA₂

³ एवं सन्यस्य] KKA₁, एन सन्यस्य KKA₂ ⁴ धारिणीश] em., धारिण्यश्च KKA₂, KKA₁

ⁱThe manuscripts do not observe *sandhi* in the formulas for the mantras and names of the deities. Since *sandhi* is observed on other occasions, this is clearly intentional, perhaps to enunciate each component of the deity's name and is thus left unemended by me. As with the declension for certain *nyāṣas*, I have assumed that the endings of *pāda* throughout the *ekādaśacakraṇi* are voc. and are also left unemended. ⁱⁱThe author's usage of *yathā* can be confusing as it is not employed to expand upon/explain the preceding clause as is usually the case but to mark a new section of the text. ⁱⁱⁱInstead of repeating *hrīmī śrīmī hūmī* before each name, KKA₂ writes '3' to denote the number of syllables. The substitution of the repeated mantra with a number denoting its syllables in front of each name is adopted by KKA₂ in several *cakras*. Further occasions have not been noted while I have given the full mantra each time to avoid confusion. ^{iv}KKA₁ records the name of this deity as Mahārāsavi. However, the MPP1 (Exposure 3, 1.5) and GNP (f. 7v2) agree with KKA₂'s reading of Rāsapī.

श्रीं हूं महासहस्रमूर्ति-अम्बापाद १६. हीं श्रीं हूं महाचण्डमूर्ति-अम्बापाद १७. एता इन्द्रादीशानान्तं एकैकस्थाने द्वे द्वे पीतरक्तनीलकृष्णश्यामधूम्रगौरश्वेतवर्णाः. वज्राशक्तिदण्डखड्गपाशध्वजगदाशूलतर्जकरा वरदाभयहस्ताः. मध्ये सैन्धवाभां चक्रपद्मवरदाभयकरां ध्यात्वा प्रकाशचक्रं पूजयेदिति मूर्तिचक्रपूजा-विधिः।

यथा हीं श्रीं हूं महाहंसमतिनाथपाद¹ १. हीं श्रीं हूं महाविमलमतिनाथपाद पूर्वे २. हीं श्रीं हूं महाविष्णुमतिनाथपाद अग्नौ ३. हीं श्रीं हूं महासिंहमतिनाथपाद ४. हीं श्रीं हूं महाखण्डमतिनाथपाद दक्षिणे ५. हीं श्रीं हूं महावीरचक्रमतिनाथपाद नैर्ऋते ६. हीं श्रीं हूं महा-अहीरमतिनाथपाद ७. हीं श्रीं हूं महाक्षतखरमतिनाथपाद पश्चिमे ८. हीं श्रीं हूं महाविचित्रमतिनाथपाद वायव्ये ९. हीं श्रीं हूं महावीरसिंहमतिनाथपाद १०. हीं श्रीं हूं महाभैरवसिंहमतिनाथपाद उत्तरे ११. हीं श्रीं हूं महाज्ञानमतिनाथ-पाद ईशाने १२. हीं श्रीं हूं महाचण्डरश्मिमतिनाथपाद मध्ये १३. एते शितरक्तपीतवर्णा नीलोत्पलपद्म-कपालाभयकराः. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्यानन्दचक्रं पूजयेदिति प्रकाशचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा मण्डलदक्षिणे पूर्वमण्डले. हीं श्रीं हं सः महाकोङ्कणा-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्रीं खः खः महा-इडामरीची-अम्बापाद २. पूर्वे. हीं श्रीं हि हि महासर्वगा-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्रीं हीं हूं महादिव्यगा-अम्बापाद ४. अग्नौ. हीं श्रीं वाहि वाहि महामीना-अम्बापाद ५. हीं श्रीं काहि काहि महामृता-अम्बापाद ६. दक्षिणे. हीं श्रीं खाहि खाहि महाचण्डिनी-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्रीं खे हूं महाविद्या-अम्बापाद ८. नैर्ऋते. हीं श्रीं ला खां महाभूमिजा-अम्बापाद ९. हीं श्रीं खां लां महान्तरीक्षजा-अम्बापाद १०. पश्चिमे. हीं श्रीं इं हूं महातेजा-अम्बापाद ११. हीं श्रीं हां वां महासिद्धयोगेश्वरी-अम्बापाद १२. वायव्ये. हीं श्रीं हीं श्रीं महाडमा-अम्बापाद १३. हीं श्रीं हूं सौं महाभट्टिनी-अम्बापाद १४. उत्तरे. हीं श्रीं फ्रं हूं महाशिगगना-अम्बापाद १५. हीं श्रीं हूं हूं महालम्बस्तनी²-अम्बापाद १६. ईशाने. हीं श्रीं महाचण्डिनी-अम्बापाद १७. मध्ये. एताः श्वेतरक्त-पीतश्यामवर्णा वरदाभयकाद्याक्षसूत्रधराः. मध्ये नीलवर्णा. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्य ज्ञानसिद्धचक्रं पूजयेदिति षोडशानन्दचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा पश्चिममण्डले. हीं श्रीं महामङ्गला-अम्बापाद³ १. हीं श्रीं शौण्डिकी-अम्बापाद पूर्वे २. हीं श्रीं ज्येष्ठा-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्रीं कन्दुकी-अम्बापाद अग्नौⁱⁱⁱ ४. हीं श्रीं पट्टकी-अम्बापादⁱⁱⁱ ५. हीं श्रीं कूर्मी-अम्बापाद दक्षिणे ६. हीं श्रीं धमनी-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्रीं गन्धकाली-अम्बापाद नैर्ऋते ८. हीं श्रीं मातङ्गी-अम्बापाद ९. हीं श्रीं चम्पका-अम्बापाद पश्चिमे १०. हीं श्रीं कैवर्तनी-अम्बापाद ११. हीं श्रीं मत्तकामिनी-अम्बापाद वायव्ये १२. हीं श्रीं शुभ्यकी-अम्बापाद १३. हीं श्रीं भक्षकी-अम्बापाद उत्तरे १४. हीं श्रीं नभक्षकी-अम्बापाद १५. हीं श्रीं श्रोतिका-अम्बापाद ईशाने १६. हीं श्रीं रूपिका-अम्बापाद मध्ये १७. एताः पीतरक्ता वरदाभयवज्रतर्जनीधराः. मध्ये नीलवर्णा. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्यान्तःसिद्धचक्रं पूजयेदिति ज्ञानसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा तन्मण्डलोत्तरे पूर्वमण्डले. हीं श्रीं दंष्ट्रिणी-अम्बापाद^{3iv} १. हीं श्रीं धूम्रा-अम्बापाद २. हीं श्रीं

¹ महाहंसमतिनाथपाद] KKA₁, महाहंसमतिनाथ-आम्बापाद KKA₂ ² महालम्बस्तनी] KKA₁, लम्बस्तनी KKA₂

³ दंष्ट्रिणी] em., दंष्ट्रिणी KKA₂, KKA₁

ⁱHere, KKA₁ records Maṇḍalāmbā instead of Maṅgalā. However, both the GNP (f. 9r2) and MPP1 (Exposure 3, l.3) record Maṅgalā ⁱⁱHere, KKA₁ has Vaṭukī but KKA₂ 's version seems more likely as this is the name also found in the GNP (f. 9r2) and MPP1 (Exposure 3, l.4). ⁱⁱⁱKKA₁ has Paṭukī and so does the MPP1 (Exposure 3, l.4) but Paṭṭakī is also found in the GNP (f. 9r3). ^{iv}I have emended her name to Daṃṣṭrinī since this is a common name for yoginīs and the *anusvāra* is often inadvertently dropped in such manuscripts. It is to be noted that GNP (f. 9v3) records Daṃṣṭinī while MPP2 (Exposure 1, l.1) appears to read Daṃṣṭrinī but the *anusvāra* is very faint.

ज्वालिनी-अम्बापाद ३. पूर्वे. हीं श्री गन्धारी-अम्बापाद ४. हीं श्री गगनेश्वरी-अम्बापाद ५. हीं श्री माया-अम्बापाद ६. अग्नौ. हीं श्री महामाया-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्री नित्या-अम्बापाद ८. हीं श्री शान्ता-अम्बापाद ९. दक्षिणे. हीं श्री विद्या-अम्बापाद १०. हीं श्री कामनन्दिनी-अम्बापाद ११. हीं श्री उमानन्दिनी-अम्बापाद १२. नैर्ऋते. हीं श्री श्रियानन्दिनी-अम्बापाद १३. हीं श्री सुभगानन्दिनी-अम्बापाद १४. हीं श्री महालक्ष्मी-अम्बापाद १५. पश्चिमे. हीं श्री इडामरीची-अम्बापाद १६. हीं श्री सर्वगा-अम्बापाद १७. हीं श्री विद्या-अम्बापाद १८. वायव्ये. हीं श्री मीनजा-अम्बापाद १९. हीं श्री अमृता-अम्बापाद २०. हीं श्री चण्डिनी-अम्बापाद २१. उत्तरे. हीं श्री अन्तरिक्षजा-अम्बापाद २२. हीं श्री सिद्धयोगिनी-अम्बापाद २३. हीं श्री विद्याधारी-अम्बापाद २४. ईशाने. हीं श्री महाचण्डिनी-अम्बापाद २५. मध्ये. एता व्याघ्र-मार्जारभल्लूकश्वानशुकबकशशकगोधामयुररासभखञ्जरीटहस्तिर्हिमेकमर्कटमूषकछागसर्पमीनटिट्टिभ¹-राक्षसमनुष्यभैरवकिन्नरवदना मध्ये कुक्कुटमुखा. श्वेतरक्तपीतवर्णा मध्ये नीलवर्णा. खड्गमुण्डवरदाभयकराः. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्य मेलापचक्रं पूजयेदित्यन्तःसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा तत्पश्चिमे. हीं श्री मारुती-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्री शार्वरी-अम्बापाद २. पूर्वे. हीं श्री उल्कामुखी-अम्बापाद ३. अग्नौ. हीं श्री त्रैलोक्यमुखी-अम्बापाद ४. हीं श्री भीममुखी-अम्बापाद ५. दक्षिणे. हीं श्री राक्षसमुखी-अम्बापाद ६. नैर्ऋते. हीं श्री मदनमुखी-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्री चण्डमुखी-अम्बापाद ८. पश्चिमे. हीं श्री अनङ्गमुखी-अम्बापाद ९. वायव्ये. हीं श्री विद्याधरी-अम्बापाद १०. हीं श्री मनमी-अम्बापाद ११. उत्तरे. हीं श्री नमनी-अम्बापाद १२.ⁱ ईशाने. हीं श्री चण्डिनी अम्बापाद १३. मध्ये. एताः श्वेतरक्तश्यामवर्णा गोगजाश्वकर्णा मनुष्यानना वरदाभयमुण्डकर्तृकराः. मध्ये नीलवर्णा. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्य शाक्तसिद्धचक्रं पूजयेदिति द्वादशमेलापचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा तत्पश्चिमे. हीं श्री दुन्मनी-अम्बापाद पूर्वे १. हीं श्री सुन्दरी-अम्बापाद अग्नौ २. हीं श्री विश्वदलकी-अम्बापाद दक्षिणे ३. हीं श्री कराला-अम्बापाद नैर्ऋते ४. हीं श्री चिपिटा-अम्बापाद पश्चिमे ५. हीं श्री भीमा-अम्बापाद वायव्ये ६. हीं श्री विकराली-अम्बापाद उत्तरे ७. हीं श्री खगानना-अम्बापाद ईशाने ८. हीं श्री चण्डिनी-अम्बापाद मध्ये ९. एता रक्तवर्णा वरदाभयाङ्कुशकपालहस्ताः. मध्ये नीला. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्य शाम्भवसिद्धचक्रं पूजयेद् इति शाक्तसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा मण्डलपश्चिमे उत्तरमण्डले. हीं श्री शृगाली-अम्बापाद पूर्वे १. हीं श्री वज्रपूतनी-अम्बापाद दक्षिणे २. हीं श्री शार्वरी-अम्बापाद पश्चिमेⁱⁱ ३. हीं श्री व्योमका-अम्बापाद उत्तरे ४. हीं श्री चण्डिनी-अम्बापाद मध्ये ५. एताः शृगालचर्चिकोलूकगरुडमुखाः पीतनीलश्वेतरक्तवर्णाः खट्वाङ्गत्रिशूलवरदाभयकराः. मध्ये नीला. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्य पराणवसिद्धचक्रं पूजयेद् इति शाम्भवसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा दक्षिणे. हीं श्री महामङ्गलादीप्ति-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्री महाशिवानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद २. मध्येⁱⁱⁱ.

¹टिट्टिभ] KKA₁, टिट्टिभ KKA₂

ⁱKKA₁ has Namabhī for deity 12. It should be noted, however, that GNP (f. 10v5) and MPP2 (Exposure 2, l.3) records Namanī in line with KKA₂ ⁱⁱKKA₂ records Śarvarī in the North and Vyomakā in the West while their locations are reversed in KKA₁. I have chosen the latter reading as this would conform to an anti-clockwise movement. This is confirmed by the GNP which describes the locations of this cakra as 'pūrvādimadhyāntam' ⁱⁱⁱKKA₂ has two points of difference with KKA₁, the location of Maṅgalā which is recorded as in the centre in KKA₁ and the name and location of the fifteenth deity on the list. Since the GNP (f. 12r3) and MPP2 (Exposure 3, l.6) both back KKA₂'s reading of Svavimarśānandadīptinātha, I have adopted this name. However, I follow KKA₁ in its ascription of locations, my reasoning for which is explained in the deities' iconography table for the Parāṇavasiddhacakra.

हीं श्री ज्ञानदीप्ति-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्री आनन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद ४. पूर्वे. हीं श्री रक्तानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद ५. अग्नौ. हीं श्री विचित्रानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद ६. हीं श्री सहजानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद ७. दक्षिणे. हीं श्री योगानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद ८. नैर्ऋते. हीं श्री ज्वालानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद ९. हीं श्री समयानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद १०. पश्चिमे. हीं श्री नित्यानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद ११. वायव्ये. हीं श्री विमलानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद १२. हीं श्री घूर्णानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद १३. उत्तरे. हीं श्री उमानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद १४. ईशाने. हीं श्री स्वविमर्शानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद. मध्याग्रे¹ १५. देव्यौ रक्तवर्णे परिक्रमेण देव्योः सिद्धाः श्वेतवर्णाः. वरदाभयकपालनीलोत्पलधराः. एवं संचिन्त्य पूजयित्वा गुरुमण्डलं पूजयेद् इति पराणवसिद्धचक्रपूजाविधिः।

यथा दक्षिणे. रक्ते अशेषपङ्क्तिगुरुमण्डलपाद. त्रिधामस्वरूपं चिन्तयित्वा गुरुमण्डलं पूजयेदित्येकादशसमयसिद्धयोगिनीगुरुवीरश्रीकालिकात्रयत्रिशाधिकशतैकं चक्रकुलं संपूज्य गुरुमण्डलसमेतं विशेषार्घ्यपात्रं कुर्यात् यथा

विशेषार्घ्यपात्रपूजा

समयहृदयं गुह्यसमयहृदयं समुच्चार्य वामावर्तदक्षवर्तरश्मिकदम्बं फ्रेकारेण ज्वलनं हंकारेण पीठं निष्पाद्य सोमसूर्याग्निवायुव्योममयं चिन्तयित्वा अर्घ्यपात्रमध्ये पञ्चधार्घ्यपात्रं पूजयेत्. हीं श्री सोमामृतपाद. उत्तरे. हीं श्री सूर्यामृतपाद. पूर्वे. हीं श्री अग्न्यमृतपाद. दक्षिणे. हीं श्री वाय्वमृतपाद. पश्चिमे. हीं श्री व्योमामृतपाद. मध्ये. पुनः. रक्ते हसक्षमलवरयू² आनन्दभैरवपाद. हस्वरक्ते आनन्दभैरवीकाल्यम्बापाद. रक्ते समयहृदयपाद. फ्रे हसवक्त्रे महासमयहृदयपाद. फ्रे गुह्यसमयहृदयपाद. हीं श्री चक्रयोगेश्वरि चन्द्रपीठ व्योमकालि मातङ्गिनी भीमकालि कामरूपिणि सिद्धकालि पूर्णगिरि चन्द्रकालि जालन्धरि चण्डकालि उड्डियानि रक्तकालि सर्वसमयचक्रलाभं कुरु कुरु सुसिद्धे सुप्रसर सुप्रसर श्रीप्रसर श्रीप्रसर हँ सः खः खः हि हि हीं हूँ वाहि वाहि काहि काहि खाहि खाहि खे हूँ लां खां खां लां ई हूँ हां वां हीं श्री हूँ सौं फ्रे हँ हूँ हूँ फ्रेⁱⁱ. रुद्रमन्त्रैः पात्रं संपूज्य महासमयहृदयेन धूपयित्वा शङ्खपद्मतर्जनीविस्फुराकरङ्किनीमुद्रापञ्चकं विधाय श्रीमहार्थक्रमपञ्चकं पूजयेदिति विशेषार्घ्यपूजाविधिः।

श्रीमहार्थपञ्चकपूजा

यथार्णं इन्द्रकालासनाय पूर्वपञ्चकं च फः फुः फ्रे हः हूँ फट् भैरवशिवासनाय - इति सप्तासनानि यष्ट्वा दश³चक्रनवचक्रसप्तदशाक्षरनवाक्षरसृष्टिसंहारप्रयोगेणाञ्जिकाक्षरसंचारपञ्चमण्डलविकसत्पूर्वोक्तदेवीस्वरूपं

¹स्वविमर्शानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद. मध्याग्रे] em., स्वविमर्शानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद. मध्ये KKA₂, विनयानन्ददीप्तिनाथपाद. मध्याग्रे KKA₁ ²रक्ते हसक्षमलवरयू] KKA₁, हरक्षमलयू KKA₂ ³यष्ट्वा दश...] KKA₁, यद्वादश... KKA₂

ⁱI have chosen KKA₁ 's reading since hasakṣamalavarayūm is a common mantra found in both Buddhist and Śaiva tantras while KKA₂ 's version is unfamiliar.

ⁱⁱKKA₁ and KKA₂ have significantly different versions of this mantra with KKA₁ 's ending in the traditional *phaṭ svāhā* thus adding three syllables.

क्रममण्डलमध्ये सक्रमं ध्यात्वा¹ विद्यात्रयेणार्चयित्वा क्रमं पूजयेद् यथा--

हीं श्रीं क्रें योनि-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्रीं क्रें योनिसिद्धनाथपाद ईशपत्रे¹ २. हीं श्रीं क्रें महायोनि-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्रीं क्रें महायोनिसिद्धनाथपाद पूर्वे ४. हीं श्रीं क्रें शङ्खयोनि-अम्बापाद ५. हीं श्रीं क्रें शङ्खयोनिसिद्धनाथपाद दक्षिणे ६. हीं श्रीं क्रें दिव्ययोनि-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्रीं क्रें दिव्ययोनिसिद्धनाथपाद पश्चिमे ८. हीं श्रीं क्रें पद्मयोनि-अम्बापाद ९. हीं श्रीं क्रें पद्मयोनिसिद्धनाथपाद उत्तरे १०. एते रक्तपञ्चपत्रस्था-श्वतुर्मुखाश्चतुर्भुजा ललिताः. वामे रक्ता दक्षे पीता ऊर्ध्वे नीला सम्मुखे श्वेतवर्णा²ⁱⁱ वरदाभयकपालधराः सर्वे पद्मचक्रत्रिशूलशक्तिखट्वाङ्गधरा विलोमेन देव्युत्सङ्गसहिताः सर्वतेजोनिधानाः. सृष्टिक्रमेण संचिन्त्य मध्ये देवीं ललितां वरदाभयकरेण चन्द्रसूर्यविधारिणीम्, पिङ्गोर्ध्वकेशजटाबन्धशुष्कमुण्डमालाधरींⁱⁱⁱ यावद्-रत्नास्थि³सर्पस्वर्णा⁴भूषणां महाकालकृतोत्तरीयां⁵ व्याघ्रचर्मपरीधानां संचिन्त्य पूजयेत्, यथा आं ख्रें फ्रीं फ्रां महासृष्टिकालि कालग्रसनकालि १७. ख्रें महाचित्रामृते निराचारे चिच्छण्डे खेचरचरे शिवे अकुले कुले भरितभैरविरवे निस्तरङ्गे परे परापरे सर्वाधिके कलाकले शून्ये शान्ते मनोन्मनि कैवल्ये केवले निर्वाणे शुद्धबुद्धे नैरूप्ये उपमारहिते निरवकाशप्रकाशिके सृष्टीश्वरि ख्रें फट् स्वाहा १००. अनया समयविद्यया त्रिधा संपूज्य नवाक्षरेणापि यथान्यायेन पूजयित्वा स्थितिक्रमं पूजयेद् इति सृष्टिक्रमपूजाविधिः।

हीं श्रीं खगेन्द्रनाथपाद १. हीं श्रीं बीजा-अम्बापाद पूर्वे २. हीं श्रीं कूर्मनाथपाद ३. हीं श्रीं मङ्गला-अम्बापाद दक्षिणे ४. हीं श्रीं मेषनाथपाद ५. हीं श्रीं काममङ्गला-अम्बापाद उत्तरे ६. हीं श्रीं मीननाथपाद ७. हीं श्रीं कोङ्कणा-अम्बापाद पश्चिमे ८. हीं श्रीं भट्टनाथपाद ९. हीं श्रीं महेन्द्रनाथपाद ईशाने १०. हीं श्रीं वल्कलनाथपाद ११. हीं श्रीं अहीन्द्रनाथपाद वायव्ये १२. हीं श्रीं गजेन्द्रनाथपाद १३. हीं श्रीं महीधरनाथपाद नैऋत्ये १४. हीं श्रीं अमरनाथपाद १५. हीं श्रीं वरदेवनाथपाद अग्नौ १६. हीं श्रीं विचित्रनाथपाद अग्नौ १७. हीं श्रीं अलिनाथपाद नैऋत्ये १८. हीं श्रीं चिन्त्यनाथपाद वायव्ये १९. हीं श्रीं गुटिकनाथपाद ईशाने २०. एते पीठषोडशार्धक्रमपद्मस्थिताः. पूर्वदक्षिणोत्तरपश्चिमदलसिद्धा रक्तकृष्णगौर-श्वेतवर्णा द्विभुजैकमुखाः कपालनीलोत्पलधराः. देव्यो रक्तगौराः पद्मपुस्तकधराः. भट्टादिषट् निरधिकाराः-पीतद्रयामरक्तधूमशुक्लनीलवर्णाः. अमरादिगुटिकान्ताः षट् साधिकारा विलोमवर्णाः. चतुष्कोणपत्रेषु त्रयस्त्रयः. आद्याः षट् वरदाभयहस्ताः शेषाः पुस्तकाक्षसूत्रधराः खर्वलंबोदराः. मध्ये देवीं खर्वलम्बोदरीं ब्रह्मकङ्कालवीणां वादयन्तीं ध्यात्वा पूजयेत्, यथा फां ख्रें फ्रीं फीं महास्थितिकालि कालि क्रमणकालि १७.

¹ईश] em., ईश KKA₂, ईशान KKA₁ ²वामे रक्ता दक्षे पीता ऊर्ध्वे नीला सम्मुखे श्वेतवर्णा] em., वामे रक्त दक्षे पीत ऊर्ध्वे नील मुखाः श्वेतवर्णा KKA₂, KKA₁ ³यावद्भलास्थि] KKA₁, यावद्भलास्थे KKA₂ ⁴स्वर्णा] KKA₁, स्वर्ण KKA₂ ⁵महाकालकृतोत्तरीयां] em., महाकालकृतरीयां KKA₂, महाकालकृतोत्तरीयां KKA₁

¹In the prelude to the worship of the Five Kālīs, the *sādhaka* is instructed to venerate the 7 *kālāsanas* of Kālī followed by the visualisation of a central goddess emerging from a *maṇḍala* of letters. The latter half is still unclear to me, especially the usage of the term *añjikākṣara* present in all manuscripts. The GNP does provide more straightforward instructions for the visualisation of a *maṇḍala* composed of letters and the arrangement of the central Guhyakālī and Five Kālīs in such a *maṇḍala* in its section on the *śrīmahārthapañcaka*, which I briefly delineate in my DPhil Thesis, although the GNP's version might diverge significantly from the KKA's. ⁱⁱHere, I have emended the case ending of the colours to masc. pl. as they most likely refer to the colour of each of the four faces of the the 10 ancillary deities of the *śṛṣṭīcakra*. I have also added the prefix 'sam' to *mukha* and rendered it in the loc. because the position that is missing in the ascription of four colours to faces is the central face. ⁱⁱⁱI have amended this compound to acc. sg. in line with KKA₁.

ख्रें महाभैरवि सर्वाप्यायनकारिणि स्थितिबोधसंपूर्णलक्षणि भवबन्धनिसूदनि¹ परमसिद्धे शुद्धबुद्धस्वरूपे मनोन्मनि शिवे शाश्वते शान्ते सर्वेश्वरि घोरे विच्चे ध्रुवे अपरिमिते तेजोनिधाने महाबलपराक्रमे परे व्योम-वाहिनि अवताररूपे ऐं ह्रीं सौः स्वाहा १००. अनया समयविद्यया नवाक्षरेणापि त्रिधा पूजयित्वा यथोक्त-क्रमेण संहारक्रमं पूजयेद् इति स्थितिक्रमपूजाविधिः।

यथा ह्रं फट् महाभक्षभक्षणि-अम्बापाद १.ⁱ ह्रं फट् महासंहारिणि-अम्बापाद २. ह्रं फट् महारक्तेश्वरि-अम्बापाद ३. ह्रं फट् महाकृतान्तनाशिनि-अम्बापाद ४. ह्रं फट् महायमभक्षणि-अम्बापाद ५. ह्रं फट् महाकालरात्रिकालसंहारिणि-अम्बापाद ६. ह्रं फट् महाचण्डचण्डेश्वरि-अम्बापाद ७. ह्रं फट् महावीरवीरेश्वरि-अम्बापाद ८. ह्रं फट् महाकालाग्निरुद्रसंहारिणि-अम्बापाद ९. ह्रं फट् महाभैरवसंहारिणि-अम्बापाद १०. एताः पीतरक्तगौरश्यामकनकश्यामरक्तरक्तकृष्णधूमरुणश्वेतसैन्धववर्णदशपत्रे स्थिताः. नीलवर्णाश्चतुर्भुजाः सशरधनुःखड्गशवशूलधराः. मध्ये भगवती अस्थिचर्मावशेषां हस्ताभ्यां अजहरी विभ्राणां ध्यात्वा पूजयेत्. ख्रें फां फीं महासंहारकालग्रसनकालि ह्रं फट् १७. ख्रें महाचण्डेश्वरि चण्डकर्मसाधनि सर्वग्रासघस्मरि जगत्कोडीकरणि महाकालविग्रहसंक्रमणि महाभक्षभक्षणि रुद्रक्रोधनि सर्वशत्रुग्रमर्दनि महापापप्रमोचनि योगसिद्धिप्रदायिनि भोगमोक्षप्रदे हीं फट् ख्रें फट् ह्रं ऋज्त्रीं फट् भगवति संहारेश्वरि ख्रें फट् स्वाहा १००. अनया समयविद्यया नवाक्षरेणापि यथोक्तविधिना त्रिधा संपूज्यानाख्यक्रमं² पूजयेद् इति संहारक्रमपूजाविधिः।

यथा ख्रें आं फां हीं महासृष्टिकालि कालि-अम्बापादⁱⁱ उत्तरे १. ख्रें आं फां हीं महास्थितिकालि कालि-अम्बापाद वायव्ये २. ख्रें आं फां हीं महासंहारकालि कालि-अम्बापाद वायव्ये ३. ख्रें आं फां हीं महारक्तकालि कालि³-अम्बापाद पश्चिमे ४. ख्रें आं फां हीं महासुकालि कालि-अम्बापाद नैऋते ५. ख्रें आं फां हीं महायमकालि कालि-अम्बापाद नैऋत्ये ६. ख्रें आं फां हीं महामृत्युकालि कालि-अम्बापाद दक्षिणे ७. ख्रें आं फां हीं महाभद्रकालि कालि⁴ⁱⁱⁱ-अम्बापाद अग्नौ ८. ख्रें आं फां हीं महापरमार्ककालि कालि-अम्बापाद अग्नौ ९. ख्रें आं फां हीं महामार्तण्डकालि कालि-अम्बापाद पूर्वे १०. ख्रें आं फां हीं महाकालाग्निरुद्रकालि कालि-अम्बापाद ईशाने ११. ख्रें आं फां हीं महाकालकालि कालि-अम्बापाद ईशाने १२. ख्रें आं फां हीं महाघोरचण्डभैरविकालि ग्रसनकालि कालि-अम्बापाद^{iv} मध्ये १३. एता रक्तवर्णद्वादशारपद्मस्था नीलोत्पलदलश्यामाः. चतुर्भुजा वरत्रिशूलपद्मकायधराः. रश्मिरूपा

¹भवबन्धनिसूदनि] KKA₂^{pc}KKA₁, ववन्धनिसूदनि KKA₂ (MS^{ac}). ²संपूज्यानाख्यक्रमं] KKA₁, संपूज्यानाख्यक्रमं KKA₂ ³महारक्तकालि कालि] KKA₁, मरक्तकालि कालिका KKA₂ ⁴महाभद्रकालिकालि] KKA₁, मरुद्रकालिकालि KKA₂

ⁱIt will be noted that unlike previous cakras, the names of deities appearing before the honorific *ambapāda* for the following three cakras are declined in the vocative. Since this is the convention in all manuscripts with the exception of only a few names from A 150-3, I have left these case endings unemended. ⁱⁱOur main witnesses add an extra *kālī* to the name of all of the goddesses of the Anākhya-cakra. This has therefore been left unemended. ⁱⁱⁱI have emended the name to Bhadrakālī as attested in KKA₁ as she is the 8th Kālī in the standard list of 12 or 13 Kālīs that appears elsewhere in Krama literature. The adoption of KKA₂ 's reading would also result in the problem of 2 Rudrakālīs on our list. ^{iv}KKA₁ records the name and mantra for the 13th Kālī as 'khphreṃ āṃ phāṃ phīm mahāghora-caṇḍabhairavikālī kālī grasanakālī kālī ambāpāda', thereby adding an extra *kālī*, a formula shared by A 150-1 while A 150-3 drops *grasanakālī* from her name. Our manuscripts therefore present a version of the name of the 13th Kālī that is slightly different from how it appears in other sources (See Sanderson (2007), p. 353 for the 13th Kālī's name as Mahābhairavaghoracaṇḍagrasanakālī).

गलन्मुण्डमालोपशोभिताः¹ शुष्कसप्तकपालशिरोमालाधराः पिङ्गोर्ध्वकेशनागबन्धमौलिचन्द्रार्धभूषिता नू-
पुरवीरघण्टाकिङ्किणीजालमण्डितास्त्रिनेत्रा व्याघ्रचर्मनिवसना गौरशवारूढाः. ईदृग्रूपं पीठनिकेतनादिसंहार-
क्रमपर्यन्तं देवदेवीनां च बोद्धव्यम्. द्वादशैवं संचिन्त्य मध्ये भगवतीं कृशोदरीं पीनोन्नतपयोधरीं² कर्णान्ता-
यतमदूर्णीतध्यानलोचनां वरदाभयकरां ध्यात्वा त्रयोदशमन्त्रेण ऊर्ध्वसिंहाननं यष्ट्वा देवीं पूजयेत्. ख्रें
फां फीं महाचण्डयोगेश्वरि कालि कालि ह्रूं फट् १७. ख्रें फट् महाचण्डे चण्डमुखि चण्डयोगेश्वरि
फट् चण्डमुखविमोचनि सर्वसमयलोपविघातनि तेजोमयि अमृतमूर्ते असिद्धसाधनि सिद्धिऋद्धिप्रदे नाशय
सर्वदोषान् अभिमतं मे प्रयच्छ सर्वे सर्वगे अरूपे सर्वरूपे ह्रीं फट् ख्रें फट् ह्रूं क्रां क्षां सर्वविघ्नेश्वरि फट् स्वाहा
१००. अनया समयविद्यया नवाक्षरेणापि यथोक्तविधानेन त्रिधा संपूज्य पञ्चकालाद्यङ्गपर्यन्तं पूजयित्वा
लयस्थाने. यथान्यायेन संपूज्य भासाक्रमं पूजयेद् इति अनारख्यक्रमपूजाविधिः ।

यथा द्वादशबीजस्थाने वामावर्तेन. ख्रें महामन्त्रकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें १. ख्रें महाहंसकालि-
अम्बापाद ख्रें २. ख्रें महाक्रमकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ३. ख्रें महाज्ञानकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ४. ख्रें
महाडामरकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ५. ख्रें महाचक्रकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ६. ख्रें महा-ओंकारकालि-
अम्बापाद ख्रें ७. ख्रें महागगनकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ८. ख्रें महा-एकभासाकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ९.
ख्रें महाशब्दकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें १०. ख्रें महावरकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें¹ ११. ख्रें महा-ऋद्धिकालि-
अम्बापाद ख्रें १२. एता रक्तपीतश्वेतवर्णाश् चतुर्भुजा वरदत्रिशूलाभयकपालधारिण्यः. एवं ध्यात्वा
पूजयेत् मन्त्रप्रभाभेदेन चतुर्विंशतिर्वा ।

ततः केसरस्थाने उत्तराद्वामावर्तेन. ख्रें महाभासाकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें १. ख्रें महाभासाहंसकालि-
अम्बापाद ख्रें २. ख्रें महाभासाचण्डकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ३. ख्रें महाभासाडामरकालि-अम्बापाद
ख्रें ४. ख्रें महाभासायोगकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ५. ख्रें महाभासागगनकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ६. ख्रें
महाभासास्वरकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ७. ख्रें महाभासा-ऋक्षकालि-अम्बापाद ख्रें ८. एताः श्वेतवर्णा
नृत्यमाना वरदाभयशूलकमलधारिण्यः पूजयित्वा रश्मिचक्रं पूजयेत् ।

ओं फां फीं लः सूर्यकालि-अम्बापाद चण्डरश्मिषु १. ओं फां फीं वः चन्द्रकालि-अम्बापाद सौम्य-
रश्मिषु २. ओं फां फीं शः अग्निकालि-अम्बापाद वर्णरश्मिषु ३. ओं फां फीं षः वायुकालि-अम्बापाद
निर्गमरश्मिषु ४. ओं फां फीं सः व्योमकालि-अम्बापाद व्यापकरश्मिषु ५. ओं फां फीं हः मनःकालि-
अम्बापाद अमोघरश्मिषु ६. ओं फां फीं क्षः सर्वकालि-अम्बापाद सर्वरश्मिषु ७. सर्वरश्मिप्रकाशमयीं
वरदाभयहस्ताभ्यां चिन्तामणिमयमञ्जरीद्वयं³ विभ्रतीं ध्यात्वा समयहृदयेनार्घ्यं⁴ गुह्यसमयहृदयेन पाद्यं महा-
समयहृदयेनाचमनं नवाक्षरेण धूपं सिंहेन दीपं भैरवेण नैवेद्यं ह्रींकारेण पात्रं दत्त्वा श्रीकारेण पुष्पादिकं
गृहीत्वा. म-ए-ख-फ-र-म-हा-च-ण-ड-य-ओ-ग-ए-श-व-ऋ १७. ख्रें फट् महातेजोवति सर्वाप्यायन-
कारकि सर्वप्रकाशकि सर्वेश्वरि एह्येहि कला द्वादश परिवर्तय मन्त्रतेजःस्वरूपे परे ज्ञानप्रदे रश्मिरूपे तत्त्वातीते
अवर्णे वर्णविग्रहे विद्यावभासकि भासय भासय खे रे री खा रे खे फुः फुः फः फः हठ हठ पूज्ये भासान्ते
स्वाहा १००. अनया समयविद्यया नवाक्षरेणापि यथा. वराङ्ग विहग शूर पुञ्ज पुरुष काल सर्वगत दारण

¹शोभिताः] KKA₁, शोभिता KKA₂ ²पीनोन्नतपयोधरीं] KKA₁, पीनोन्नतपयोधरी KKA₂ ³मञ्जरीद्वयं] KKA₁,
मञ्जरीद्वय KKA₂ ⁴अर्घ्यं] KKA₁, अर्घ्य KKA₂

¹Here, KKA₁ records Mahābalakālī while the GNP (f. 20v3) and MPP2 (Exposure
8, 1.9) follows KKA₂ in calling the 10th Kālī Varakālī.

तृतीयाद्य तुरग डाकिणीमर्म पवननवम तेजस् तेजोगृह लक्ष्मीवेश्म उदधि सोमसप्तमयोगात्¹ पञ्चचक्र-
सामान्यनवाक्षरविद्यां समुच्चार्य त्रिधा संपूज्य गुरुपङ्क्तिं पूजयेद् इति भासाक्रमपूजाविधिः ।

गुरुपङ्क्त्यर्चनविधिः

यथा गुरुमण्डले सप्तादश. कर्णिकायां. हीं श्रीं अनादिगुरुनाथपाद १.¹ⁱⁱ पूर्वदले. हीं श्रीं श्रीकण्ठनाथगुरु-
श्रीकला-अम्बासहितपादⁱⁱⁱ २. उत्तरदले. हीं श्रीं भीष्मभैरवभीष्मभैरवी-अम्बासहितपाद ३. पश्चिमदले.
हीं श्रीं शिवनाथगुरुपङ्क्ति-अम्बासहितपाद ४. दक्षिणदले. हीं श्रीं वीरनाथगुरुचण्डवीरेश्वरी-अम्बासहितपाद
५. अग्निदले. हीं श्रीं विश्वामित्रगुरुचेतना-अम्बासहितपाद. ६ नैऋत्यदले. हीं श्रीं वसिष्ठगुरुर्वरुन्धती-
अम्बासहितपाद ७. वायव्यदले. हीं श्रीं अनन्तनाथगुरुकालकण्ठा-अम्बासहितपाद ८. ईशानदले.
हीं श्रीं गुह्यसिद्धनाथगुरुरक्तेश्वरी-अम्बासहितपाद. ९. एते पञ्चचामरप्रकाशका ज्योतिःस्वरूपा एकस्य
शिष्याः. एषां सन्ततिः² स्वस्वदेवतागमन्यायेन गुरुक्रमो बोधव्यः.³ हीं श्रीं श्रीभैरवनाथपाद १. हीं श्रीं
श्रीभैरवी-अम्बापाद २. हीं श्रीं श्रीयोगिनीचक्रपाद ३. हीं श्रीं मीननाथपाद ४. हीं श्रीं वरददेवनाथपाद
५. एतत्पङ्क्त्याम्नायेन पारम्पर्यक्रमेण स्वगुरुपर्यन्तं पुष्पधूपदीपगन्धनैवेद्यादिभिर् यथास्थाने पूजयित्वा मुद्रां
बन्धयित्वा जपं कुर्याद् इति गुरुपङ्क्त्यर्चनविधिः ।

मुद्राविधिः

यथा दंष्ट्रिणी १. लेलिहा^{iv} २. कपालिनी ३. कालसंकर्षणी ४. समयकरी ५. विकराला ६. भ्रमणी ७.
कुण्डला ८. विश्वकला ९. चतुष्पञ्चाशास्त्रमुद्राः⁴ सर्वक्रममन्त्रस्वरूपसहिता गुरुमुखपारम्पर्यक्रमेण ज्ञात्वा
देव्यै दर्शयेत् ।

¹ यथा गुरुमण्डले सप्तादश. कर्णिकायां. हीं श्रीं अनादिगुरुनाथपाद १.] em., यथा गुरुमण्डले. कर्णिकायां. हीं श्रीं
सप्तदशानादिगुरुनाथपाद १. KKA₁KKA₂ ² सन्ततिः.] em., सन्तति KKA₂, KKA₁ ³ गुरुक्रमो बोधव्यः.]
em., गुरुक्रमं बोधव्यं KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁴ चतुष्पञ्चाशास्त्रमुद्राः.] em., चतुःपञ्चाशास्त्रमुद्राः KKA₂, चतुःपञ्चाशत्मुद्राः
KKA₁

ⁱ I have followed Sanderson (2007a, p. 283, fn. 160) in recording this mantra. He has accurately noted it by comparing the version found in KKA₁ with that of four other sources (p. 279). The unemended version found in KKA₂ is as follows: *varāṅga vihaṅga sūra puñja puruṣa kāla sarvagata dāru tṛtiyādya turaga dākinī pavana navama tejas tejah śrīveśma somasaptamayogāt*. See my analysis of this section for how the *mantroddhāra* should proceed. ⁱⁱ In order to make sense of the schema of the *gurumanḍala*, we have to reorder the structure of the instructions. If we place the term *saptādaśa* after *gurumanḍale* then we can make sense of the number 17 and clarify the location of each guru. Positioned there, it would imply that there are 17 gurus in total which is indeed the case since there are 8 couples of gurus plus *Anādi* who is without a partner. Moreover, we could then interpret *karnikāyāṇi* preceding the *Anādiguru* as his position on the lotus, meaning each and every guru is assigned a location. The GNP (ff. 11v4 - 12v1) also seems to suggest that the *Anādiguru* should be placed on the pericarp and the other gurus on the petals.

ⁱⁱⁱ Again for most cases, *sandhi* between the names of the consorts and the honorific *ambāsaḥitapāda* is not observed in the MSS for the clear articulation of the name so this convention is followed. ^{iv} In KKA₁, the mantras - *hrīṇ śrīṇ* - are given before the *mudrā* which are appended with the honorific *mudrāpāda* missing from KKA₂ so for the second *mudrā* for instance, we have *hrīṇ śrīṇ leliḥāmudrāpāda*.

हं फट् स्वाहा क्रौं . तत्पृष्ठे हीं श्रीं क्षेँ स्थानक्षेत्राधिपते मम सिद्धिप्रदो भव सर्ववीर्येण रक्ष रक्ष इमां पूजां बलिं गृह गृह स्वाहा इति बलिचतुष्कं चरुकोद्धृतेन दीपसहितं दातव्यम् इति चरुकविधिः ।

तर्पणविधिः

अथ संस्थितार्घद्रव्येण स्वस्वमूलविद्यया पीठनिकेतनादिपञ्चदशान्तं दक्षहस्ततले कृत्वा वामपाणिनाङ्गुष्ठा-
नामयाⁱⁱ प्ररोच्यानन्तरम् अर्घस्थेन कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यमातर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठाक्रमेण सृष्ट्यादिभासान्तं यथाक्रमेण
तर्पयित्वा स्वजिह्वाग्रे बिन्दुत्रयं दत्त्वा स्तुत्वा नमस्कृत्य कुलयोगिनीचक्रपूजां कृत्वा श्रीक्रमपञ्चकमेकीभावेन
संचिन्त्य समयविद्यां त्रिधा समावर्त्य वामहस्तेन पुष्पैकं गृहीत्वा भासासप्तादशाक्षरेण एकादशचक्रं विलोम-
क्रमेण वामहस्तम् संभ्राम्य त्रिकूटीं ध्यात्वा पराङ्मुखम् अर्घं दत्त्वा भासायां निजोयजेत्. उत्पत्तिरेकधा
स्थितौ.¹ⁱⁱⁱ स्थितिर्² द्विधा संहारे. संहारस्त्रिधानाख्ये. अनाख्यश्च चतुर्धा भासायां. भासा भासायामेव.
भासा गुह्यकाल्यामेव. सबाह्याभ्यन्तरक्रमेण संनियोज्य लीनं चिन्तयेद् इति तर्पणविधिः ।

चक्रक्रीडाविधिः

अथाचार्यसाधकपुत्रकसमयिजनानां^{iv} योगिनीकुलसहितान् आमन्त्रयेत्. यथा ब्राह्मणी पोक्कसी ध्वजिनी
अन्त्यजा चक्रिणी छिप्पिणी सोनकी क्षत्रिणी मातङ्गी चर्मकारी धीवरी महामतिः^v शूद्री वैश्यी वेश्या
धावकी नर्तकी इत्युत्तमयोगिनीकुलं. धीवरी ध्वजिनी छिप्पिणी पोक्कसी चर्मकारी अन्त्यजा नटी वेश्या
इति मध्यमयोगिनीकुलं. धीवरी ध्वजिनी छिप्पिणी पोक्कसी इत्यधमयोगिनीकुलं. यथा शोभनगृहे कुंभं
सम्थाप्य स्वेष्टक्रमसहितां तत्र देवीं संपूज्य पञ्चवाहमण्डलोपरि बलिपात्रं निवेश्य समयहृदयेन ताडनप्रोक्षणा-
निरीक्षणाभ्युक्षणसमीकरणादिकं स्थानस्य कृत्वा आसनानि संस्थाप्य प्रत्येकैकासने पञ्चकालासनान् संपूज्य
गुह्यहृदयेन पादप्रक्षालनपूर्वकं तत्रासने उपवेशयेत्. उपविष्टे सति महासमयहृदयेन वामावर्तक्रमेण द्वाराद्

¹उत्पत्तिरेकधा स्थितौ] em., उत्पत्तिरेकधा तौ KKA₂, सृष्ट्यैरेकधा KKA₁ ²स्थितिर्] em., तिस्थिर् KKA₂, स्थिति
KKA₁

ⁱ*svāha* usually signifies the end of the mantra so it is peculiar to have *kraum* after it but I have recorded it as per the MSS. ⁱⁱIf this compound were an *itaretaradvandva*, we would expect the dual declension *anāmikābhyām* but the singular feminine *anamayā* is possibly due to it silently qualifying the feminine *mudrā*. ⁱⁱⁱI have amended this way since the other *Kālīs* dissolve into the succeeding one until we reach *Bhāsā* who is absorbed into *Guhyakālī* herself while KKA₁ 's reading does not make sense. ^{iv}The MSS read *athācāryasāmayikajanān* but this has been amended to *athācāryasādhakaputrakasamayijanān* as per Sanderson (2007b), p.282 - 283, fn. 168 since the two other categories of worshippers do feature later in this section and to conform with the conventional names of the four categories of initiates. However, the source for Sanderson's reading of this passage has not yet been identified as the folio numbers given by him and the MS's reading do not conform to KKA₁ which is listed as the source for the KKA in the bibliography of Sanderson (2007b). I have largely emended the text in line with Sanderson's. However, where the MSS available to me have a different reading that amounts to the same meaning as the reading selected by Sanderson (e.g. Pokkasī (MSS) vs. Paukkasī (Sanderson's source) or Sonakī vs. Saunakī) then I have kept these to remain faithful to the MSS. ^vSee the fn. 170 in Sanderson (2007b) for why *Mahāmāti* in this list should not be understood as one of the *yoginīs* but rather an epithet for *devī* declined in the vocative.

प्रायश्चित्तविधिः

प्रमादात्समयलुप्तसाधकस्य¹ⁱ विशुद्धये² |
 उक्तं राजेश्वरे चैव पूजनं तद् भणाम्यहम् ||(१)
 एकलिङ्गे श्मशाने च एकवृक्षे च संगमे |
 विद्यापीठे³ⁱⁱ क्रमाग्रे वा तत् पूजनं समाचरेत् ||(२)
 सुशुद्धे भूप्रदेशे च अष्टपत्तं सर्गाणिकम् |
 द्वारोपद्वारसंयुक्तं लिखेद् गुरूपदेशतः ||(३)
 कर्णिकायां पीतं कार्यं⁴ बीजं⁵ श्यामेन पूरयेत् |
 रक्तपीतसिताश्⁶ चैव मूलमध्याग्रकेसराः ||(४)
 अष्टपत्तं भवेद् रक्तं कर्णिकामानसमितं |
 प्रतिवारणरेखां⁷ च कृष्णवर्णेन पूरयेत् ||(५)
 पुरं च हेमवर्णाभं पट्टिका रक्तिका भवेत् |
 पूर्वद्वारं भवेद् गौरं रक्तवर्णं च वह्निजम् ||(६)
 कृष्णनीलौ दक्षरक्षौ श्यामधूमौ जलानिलौ |
 पाण्डुश्वेतौ यक्षरुद्रौ द्वारौ चैव प्रकल्पयेत् ||(७)
 यथाशोभं बहिः कृत्वा ततो यजनम् आरभेत् |
 आत्मपीठन्यासपात्रचतुष्कार्चाख्यवत्⁸ⁱⁱⁱ पुरः ||(८)
 कृत्वा समर्चयेत् गादीन्^{iv} केसरे वेदपीठकम् |
 पूजयित्वा पञ्चकालान् कर्णिकायां प्रपूजयेत् ||(९)
 रश्मीश च पूजयेत् पश्चात् सुष्यादि ह्युपदेशतः |
 शताक्षरीं अनाख्येशीं कालीं संपूजयेत्तिथा ||(१०)
 क्षेत्रोपक्षेत्रसंदोहा अग्रे मध्ये च मूलके |
 दलं प्रति त्रयः पूज्यास्तासां मन्त्रं च लिख्यते ||(११)

¹समयलुप्तसाधकस्य] em., समयलुप्तस्य साधकस्य KKA₁ , KKA₂ ²विशुद्धये] KKA₁, वशुद्धये KKA₂
³विद्यापीठे] em., विद्यापीठ KKA₁ , KKA₂ ⁴पीतं कार्यं] em., तिका कार्या KKA₂, पीत कार्या KKA₁ ⁵बीजं] em., बीजा KKA₂, बीज KKA₁ ⁶सिताश्] KKA₁, शिवाश् KKA₂ ⁷प्रतिवारणरेखां] em., प्रतिवारणरेखा KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁸चतुष्कार्चाख्यवत्] em., चष्कानाख्यवत् KKA₂, चतुष्कानाख्यवत् KKA₁

ⁱI have compounded *samayaluptasya* and *sādhakasya* so that this half verse conforms to metre. ⁱⁱI have tentatively separated *vidyāpīṭha* as a separate locus since carrying out worship in front of a book denoted by the term *vidyāpīṭha* is a common occurrence (see TAK, Vol. III, p. 488) ⁱⁱⁱAlthough this is a heavy-handed emendation, it seems to me that the author intends for the four rites of the *paripāṭi* (*ātmapiṭhanyāsapātra*) to be carried out before the worship of the other features of the *maṇḍala*. The term *arcā* is the only word I can find which fits both metre and meaning without being too divergent to variants found in the MSS. ^{iv}All MSS read *gādīn* here but the term yields little sense. See my analysis of the *Prāyaścittavidhi* for further elaboration on the possible meanings.

हीं श्री-उड्डियानमहापीठे छिप्पिणी-अम्बापाद १.¹ हीं श्री श्रीजालन्धरमहापीठे धीवरी-अम्बापाद २. हीं श्री श्रीपूर्णगिरिमहापीठे पुलिन्दी-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्री श्रीकामरूपपीठे डोम्बी-अम्बापाद ४. एताः पीतश्यामरक्तधूमवर्णा वज्रपाशशक्तिध्वजवरदाभयकराः कपालहस्ताश्च चतुर्भुजाः पीठदेव्यः पूर्वदक्षिणोत्तरपश्चिमकेसरेषु पूजयेद् इति पीठचतुष्कम्।

हीं श्री श्रीप्रयागक्षेत्रे वेद्या-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्री श्रीवाराणसीमहाक्षेत्रे शौण्डिनी-अम्बापाद २. हीं श्री श्रीकोल्लापु्रमहाक्षेत्रे कैवर्ती-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्री श्री-अट्टहासमहाक्षेत्रे खट्टिकी-अम्बापाद ४. हीं श्री श्रीजयन्तीमहाक्षेत्रे रजकी-अम्बापाद ५. हीं श्री श्रीचरित्रमहाक्षेत्रे छिप्पिका-अम्बापाद ६. हीं श्री श्री-एकाग्रमहाक्षेत्रे कन्दुकी-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्री श्रीदेवीकोटमहाक्षेत्रे कोशटी-अम्बापाद ८. एताः पीतरक्तनीलकृष्णश्यामधूमपाण्डुशुक्लवर्णा वज्रशक्तिदण्डखड्गपाशध्वजगदाशूलवरदक्षिणबाहुयुगले धारिण्यः. वामे अभयपद्मधराः पूर्वादीशान्तपत्रे चिन्तनीयाः. इति क्षेत्रकुलाष्टकपूजाविधिः।

हीं श्री श्रीविरजमहोपक्षेत्रे अम्बिका-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्री श्री-एरुडमहोपक्षेत्रे अग्निवक्त्रा-अम्बापाद २. हीं श्री श्रीहस्तिनापुरमहोपक्षेत्रे पिङ्गाक्षी-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्री श्री-एलापुरमहोपक्षेत्रे खरानना-अम्बापाद ४. हीं श्री श्रीगोकर्णमहोपक्षेत्रे गोकर्णी-अम्बापाद ५. हीं श्री श्रीमरूकमहोपक्षेत्रे मणी-अम्बापाद ६. हीं श्री श्रीनगरमहोपक्षेत्रे वेत्रा-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्री श्रीपुण्डवर्धनमहोपक्षेत्रे चामुण्डा-अम्बापाद ८. एताः क्षेत्राष्टकस्वरूपाः¹ किं तु पद्महस्ते नीलोत्पलधराः पूर्वादिपत्रमध्ये संस्थिता ध्येयाः. इत्युपक्षेत्रयोगिन्यष्टकपूजाविधिः।

हीं श्री श्रीपुरस्तीरमहासंदोहे प्रसन्ना-अम्बापाद १. हीं श्री श्रीपृष्ठापुरमहासंदोहे विद्युन्मुखी-अम्बापाद २. हीं श्री श्रीकुलूतमहासंदोहे बला-अम्बापाद ३. हीं श्री श्रीसूर्यारमहासंदोहे ब्रह्मानना-अम्बापाद ४. हीं श्री श्रीक्षीरिकमहासंदोहे लोकमता-अम्बापाद ५. हीं श्री श्रीमायापुरीमहासंदोहे कपिला-अम्बापाद ६. हीं श्री श्री-आम्रातिकेश्वरमहासंदोहे पूतना-अम्बापाद ७. हीं श्री श्रीराजगृहमहासंदोहे भग्ननासा-अम्बापाद ८. एता उपक्षेत्राष्टकस्वरूपाः किं तु नीलोत्पलहस्तरत्नमञ्जरीधारिण्यः पूर्वादिपत्रमूलसंस्थिता ध्यातव्याः. इति संदोहशतत्यष्टकविधिः।

एवं क्रमेण संपूज्य अष्टाविंशतिमातरः |
द्वारांश्च पूजयेत् पश्चात् मन्त्रैर्ह्येतैः क्रमेण तु ||(१२)

हीं श्री पीठद्वारपाद १. हीं श्री उपपीठद्वारपाद २. हीं श्री क्षेत्रद्वारपाद ३. हीं श्री उपक्षेत्रद्वारपाद ४. हीं श्री संदोहद्वारपाद ५. हीं श्री उपसंदोहद्वारपाद ६. हीं श्री मेलापद्वारपाद ७. हीं श्री उपमेलापद्वारपाद ८.

पूर्वादीशानपर्यन्तं संदोहाम्बास्वरूपिणः |
ध्यात्वा पूजा प्रकर्तव्या संख्यापञ्चोपचारकैः ||(१३)
मध्ये संपूज्य तां देवीं अष्टोत्तरशतं जपेत् |
जपान्ते न्यासकं कूर्याद् यथा तत्कथयाम्यहम् ||(१४)

¹स्वरूपाः] em., स्वरूपः KKA₂, स्वर्पाः KKA₁

¹I have not given KKA₁ 's variant names for sacred sites and goddesses since all of them can be found in the list comparing sacred sites in Dyczkowski (2009) which relies solely on KKA₁ for the names from the KKA. This list is analysed in the section on the Prāyaścittavidhi of this thesis and mentioned in the Editorial Principles for this edition of the KKA.

सर्वाङ्गे विन्यसेद् देवीं. कामरूपं चक्षुर्द्वयोः १ⁱ. पूर्णगिरिं नासिकायाम् २. जालन्धरं मुखे ३. उड्डियाणं कर्णयोः ४. अट्टहासं शिखायां १ⁱⁱ. चरित्रम् ब्रह्मरन्ध्रे २. कोल्लागिरिं दक्षकर्णे ३. जयन्तीं वामकर्णे ४. उज्जनीं भ्रूमध्ये ५. प्रयागं वक्त्रे ६. वाराणसीं हृदि ७. श्रीपीठं स्कन्धद्वये ८. विरजं कण्ठे ९. एरुडम् उदरे १०. अल्लपुरं नाभौ ११. एलापुरं मेदसि १२. गोकर्णं गुदे १३. मरुं लिङ्गे १४. नगरं दक्षाण्डे १५. पौण्डवर्धनं वामाण्डे १६. पुरस्तीरं वामस्कन्धे १७. पृष्ठापुरं दक्षस्कन्धे १८. कुण्डकेशीं जानुमध्ये १९. सौपारं तदधः¹ २०. क्षीरिकं वामहस्ते २१. मायापुरं दक्षहस्ते २२. अम्नातिकेश्वरं दक्षगुल्फे २३. राजगृहं वामगुल्फे २४ इति न्यस्त्वा चतुर्विंशतिस्तुतिस्लोकानि गुरुमुखलब्धानि पठनीयानि. अथवा चतुःषष्टिपीठानि संपूज्य पठनीयानि. इति निवर्त्य चक्रक्रीडान्ते साधकस्य शुद्धिर्भवति. अभीष्टफललाभो भवति।

प्रायश्चित्तविधिश्चैव उदितो देविकाकुले |
श्रीमज्जयद्रथे तन्त्रे चतुर्थषट्के स्फुटम् ||(१४) इति प्रायश्चित्तविधिः।

तत्त्वोपदेशविधिः

अथ लब्धं मुखाम्नायं भैरवागमसागरात् |
निर्मथ्य रत्नवत् ज्ञानं षट्संवन्धराविणम् ||(१)
अस्ति नास्ति मुखज्ञाने व्यतिरिक्तं च केवलं |
त्रयाणां मध्यतः किञ्चिच्चिच्छेत्तश्चित्तधर्मिणां ||(२)
निरालम्बं च सालम्बं इतरं तत् क्रमत्रयम् |
भावाभावद्वयोर मिश्रं यत् तृतीयं मनोन्मनः² ||(३)
मनोन्मनस् तदा प्रोक्तं यदा योगम् द्वयोर भवेत् |
चन्द्रसूर्यात्मको गौरि यद् अग्निसोमवान् इति ||(४)
क्रमभेदाच्च च सालम्बं चतुःषष्टिप्रभेदतः |
निरालम्बश्च चरुविधौ रुद्रसंख्यं³ तथेतरं ||(५)
सिद्धधूम्राथसंहारकलात्रितयपूर्वकं |
चतुस्त्रिकेण सम्भिन्नं चतुर्थं यत् प्रकीर्तितम् ||(६)
क्रमसंज्ञाविभेदेन कलात्रितयविग्रहा |
सुखायामस्य मध्ये तु कलयेत् कालिकाक्रमम् ||(७)
अकला कलसंलीना आरुढा⁴ ईश्वरे पदे |
महाव्योमात् समुत्पन्ना तेन कालीति चोच्यते ||(८)
आकर्षयेत् परं स्थानं खेयन्नात् पीडयेत् यदा |
प्रबोधं कुरुते यस्मात् तस्मात् संकर्षणी स्मृता ||(९)
व्याप्ता च वर्तते यस्मात् प्राणापानविवाहकी |
द्वादशान्ते स्थिता यस्मात् तस्मात् काली परा स्मृता ||(१०)

¹तदधः] em., तदधसि KKA₂, तदधे KKA₁ ²मनोन्मनः] KKA₁, मनोन्मनम् KKA₂ ³संख्यं] em., संख्य KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁴आरुढा] KKA₁, अरूपा KKA₂

ⁱKKA₁ appends *hrīṃ śrīṃ* to each of the 24 *nyāsas*. Moreover, it declines the *pīṭhas* in voc. Since KKA₂ declines most of the *pīṭhas* in acc. which is preferable to conform with it being the object of *vinayaset*, I have emended all endings to acc. without noting these emendations individually. ⁱⁱAfter the list of 4 principal *pīṭhas* comes the 24 additional *pīṭhas*, after each of which KKA₁ suffixes *pīṭhapāda*.

संज्ञाभेदात् क्रमं ज्ञात्वा भासानाख्येयसंहति- |
-स्थैर्योत्पत्तिविभागेन यत्तत्त्वं तद्विलक्षयेत् ||(११) इति तत्त्वोपदेशविधिः ।

समयगुटिकाविधिः

नित्यार्घपात्रशुद्ध्यर्थं समयाचारसिद्धये |
समयाख्यां वटी¹ वक्ष्ये साधकानां हिताय वै ||(१)
ब्रह्मा विष्णुस् तथा रुद्र ईश्वरश् च सदाशिवः |
कुण्डगोलं पलाण्डुं च लसुनं चाष्टमं स्मृतम् ||(२)
सुरा मद्यं च कर्पूरं रोचना कुङ्कुमं तथा |
कस्तूरी च महातैलं चन्दनं चापि चाष्टमम् ||(३)
पञ्चादिकेवलान्तं तु गृहीयात् पूर्वपञ्चकम् |
शेषत्रिकं त्रिपूर्ववच्च छेशाष्टौ पूर्वमानवत् ||(४)
एवं कृत्वा वटीं कूर्याद् बदरास्थिसुसंमिताम् |
शुष्कीकृत्य² सुगन्धस्य सदा मध्ये निधापयेत् ||(५)
अच्छिद्रं भवते सर्वं यत् किञ्चित् क्रियते विधौ |
तुष्यते देवताचक्रं सिद्धवृत्ताम्बुदानतः ||(६)
तृतीयं पञ्चमं पान्तं³ नवमं पलमिश्रितम् |
रुद्रादित्यकस्तूरी च अभावात् स्वेच्छया वटी ||(७) इति समयगुटिकाविधिः ।

स्वतन्त्रक्रमपञ्चकम्

स्वतन्त्रसृष्टिचक्रम्

रुद्रचक्रसमायुक्तं कालिकाक्रमपञ्चकम्³ |
चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रे श्रीमद्वीपमतोदितम् ||(१)
शाक्तखण्डे महेशेन न शक्नोति हि पूजितुम् |
सततं यस् तस्य वक्ष्यामि स्वतन्त्रं क्रमपञ्चकम् ||(२)

तत्रादौ सृष्टिक्रमेण स्वयागासनन्यासचतुष्कं विधाय यथोचितस्थाने चतुर्दलाष्टदलाग्निमण्डलषोडश-
चन्द्रमण्डलषोडशसूर्यमण्डलत्रयवेष्टितचतुष्कोणमध्य⁴ ईशानवायुपञ्चपद्मद्वययुक्तं सृष्टिमण्डलं निर्माय स्व-
विद्यात्रयेण कालिकास्त्रपूर्वकं अर्घपात्रं विधाय शङ्खमुद्रां कृत्वा शङ्खार्घ्यमध्ये⁵ खण्डे महामातु विद्महे काल-
संकर्षणि धीमहे योगेश्वरि प्रचोदयात् इति गायत्री⁶ स्मृत्वा त्रितयं सेचयित्वा ह्रीं श्रीं पूर्वकं पूर्ववद् रक्षाचतुष्कं

¹वटी] em., वटी KKA₂, KKA₁ ²शुष्कीकृत्य] KKA₁, शुष्काकृत्य KKA₂ ³पञ्चकं] KKA₁, पञ्चक KKA₂
⁴चतुष्कोणमध्य] em., चतुष्कोणमध्ये KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁵शङ्खार्घ्यमध्ये] KKA₁, शङ्खाग्रार्घ्यमध्ये] KKA₂ ⁶गायत्री]
em., गायत्री] KKA₂, KKA₁

¹Here, KKA₁ reads *pātram*. The meaning of the instructions at this point is still unclear but the use of either *pāntam* or *pātram* backed by the *siddhavyrttāmbudānataḥ* appearing in both MSS suggest that the pellet is deployed by being placed in liquid.

पीठनिकेतनं पञ्चवाहचक्रं पृष्ठभागे पारंपर्यगुरुक्रमं षोडशमूर्तिचक्रं षोडशानन्दचक्रं सूर्यसोममण्डले शव-
निक्रमणीं दूर्ती¹ चतुरस्रपूर्व² आधारशक्ति-कालाग्निरुद्र-कुष्माण्ड-हाटक-मदिरार्णव-कन्द-नाल-ग्रन्थि-
पत्र-कर्णिका-केसर-बीज-पञ्चयोनि-इन्द्रादिप्रेतासन³-ब्रह्म-विष्णु-रुद्र-ईश्वर-सदाशिव-फेत्कारभैरव-विंश-
त्यासनानि⁴ संपूज्य देवीं समावाह्य त्रिधा त्रिविद्यया संपूज्य मध्यपूर्वदक्षिणोत्तरपश्चिमपत्रे योनौ योनिक्रमं
पूजयित्वा बहिःपत्राष्टके ऽग्निस्थाने ऽणिमा⁴-लघिमा-महिमा-ईशित्व-प्राप्ति-प्राकाम्य⁵-भुक्ति-इच्छा-ईशा-
नादिपूर्वान्तंⁱⁱⁱ ऋष्यष्टकं संपूज्य देवीं च धूपदीपनैवेद्यताम्बूलार्घपद्मशङ्खबिम्बयोनिमुद्राचतुष्कं दर्शयित्वा
वटुकक्षेत्रयोगिनीबलित्रयपूर्वकं जपं कुर्यात् यथास्थाने लयं विधायेति सृष्टिक्रमपूजासूत्रविधिः ।

स्वतन्त्रस्थितिचक्रम्

पूर्ववच्चतुष्कं स्थितिक्रमेण कृत्वा यथोचितस्थाने षडस्रं अष्टास्रं तद्वहिः षोडशारं द्वादशारं चतुःषष्टिदलं
चन्द्रमण्डलमध्ये गतं चतुष्कोणान्तसंस्थितिक्रममण्डलं विधाय भगलिङ्गैकमुद्रां वामहस्तेनार्घपात्रमध्ये
निक्षिप्य तज्जलं तर्जच्छोटिकया स्वमन्त्रेण निक्षिप्य ह्रीं-हूं-श्रीं-पूर्वकं रक्षाचतुष्कं यथास्थाने शबरीदूतिकां
पञ्चवाहचक्रं पीठनिकेतनं च सृष्टिक्रमवर्तिशत्यासनानि संपूज्य द्वादशार⁶पश्चिमदलादारभ्य दक्षिणावर्तेन
द्वादशमेलापकं संपूज्य सत्ययुगे खगेन्द्रनाथविजाम्बापादं पश्चिमदल⁷ एवं अष्टदलकमले मीनकोङ्कणान्तं
संपूज्य ततश्चतुःषष्टिदले ऽट्टहासादिराजगृहान्तं⁸ चतुर्विंशतिक्षेत्रोपक्षेत्रसंदोहस्थाने महापीठशब्दं देवीपूर्वं
च पूर्ववद् अपरचत्वारिंशतिपीठानि ज्ञेयानि. यथा ह्रीं श्रीं हूं नेपालमहापीठे महागुह्येश्वरी-अम्बापाद २५.ⁱⁱⁱ
काश्मीरे शारदा⁹-अम्बापाद २६. गर्दिहरणे पार्वती-अम्बापाद २७. कुलूते जयेश्वरी-अम्बापाद २८.
सिन्धुतीरे कुलाली-अम्बापाद २९. भोजपुरे हलिनी-अम्बापाद ३०. स्त्रीराज्ये अम्बिका-अम्बापाद ३१.
महेन्द्रे महामया-अम्बापाद ३२. अन्तर्वेद्या¹⁰ रक्ता-अम्बापाद ३३. कुरके महाकाली-अम्बापाद ३४.
महाश्मशाने घण्टालि-अम्बापाद ३५. कदम्बे चिञ्चिणी-अम्बापाद ३६. करवीरे ऊर्ध्वकेशी-अम्बापाद ३७.
लगुडे छिन्नमुण्डा-अम्बापाद ३८. कामेश्वरे कामलक्ष्मी-अम्बापाद ३९. एककोणे त्रिकोणा-अम्बापाद ४०.
एकवीरे मातङ्गी-अम्बापाद ४१. डोहरे शिवदूती-अम्बापाद ४२. श्रीपर्वते सिद्धा-अम्बापाद ४३. ओणके
शक्ति-अम्बापाद ४४. छायाछत्रे चण्डा-अम्बापाद ४५. शैले त्रिजटा-अम्बापाद ४६. हक्कडोके त्रिशक्ति-
अम्बापाद ४७. देविकोटे महामातृ-अम्बापाद ४८. महामातृवने कापालिनी-अम्बापाद ४९. मत्स्येन्द्रपुरे
कुलमालिनी-अम्बापाद ५०. मलये मन्त्रेश्वरी-अम्बापाद ५१. मालवे उग्रकाली-अम्बापाद ५२. केदारे

¹शवनिक्रमणीं दूर्ती] KKA₁, शवनिक्रमणीदूर्ती] KKA₂ ²चतुरस्रपूर्व] em., चतस्रपूर्व] KKA₂, चतस्रं पूर्व
KKA₁ ³इन्द्रादिप्रेतासन] KKA₁, इन्द्रप्रेतासन] KKA₂ ⁴बहिःपत्राष्टके ऽग्निस्थाने ऽणिमा] em., बहिःपत्राष्टके
अग्निस्थाने अणिमा KKA₂, बहिःपत्राष्टके अग्निस्थानादिषु अणिमा KKA₁ ⁵प्राकाम्य] em., प्राकामा KKA₂,
KKA₁ ⁶द्वादशार] KKA₁, द्वादश KKA₂ ⁷पश्चिमदल] em., पश्चिमदले KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁸दले ऽट्ट...]
em., दले अट्ट... KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁹शारदा] em., सारदा KKA₂, KKA₁ ¹⁰अन्तर्वेद्या] em., अन्तर्वेद्या
KKA₂, अन्तर्वेद्या महामण्डलपीठे KKA₁

ⁱI have written this compound without *sandhi* as per the MSS which perhaps do so for ease of *vigraha*. ⁱⁱAs is the case with the compound for the *vimśatyāsanāni*, I have followed the MSS in dissolving *sandhi* for ease of *vigraha* and the discernment of the *ṛddhyaṣṭakam*'s component parts. Note also how the first three *ṛddhis* are declined as nominatives rather than in their compound forms. ⁱⁱⁱAfter Guhyeśvarī, KKA₂ has shortened the honorific *ambāpāda* for the other goddesses to merely *aṃ*. I have however given the suffix in full to avoid confusion. It is also to be noted that KKA₁ has the term *mahāmaṇḍalapīṭhe* affixed to each place name but this has not been recorded by me. Once again, the sites and deities according to KKA₁ can be found in Dyczkowski (2009) so I have refrained from giving them.

रतमालिनी-अम्बापाद ५३. महालक्ष्मीवने महालक्ष्मी-अम्बापाद ५४. चन्द्रद्वीपे कुलाली-अम्बापाद ५५. उड्डियाणे रक्तचण्डा-अम्बापाद ५६. जालन्धरे कामलक्ष्मी-अम्बापाद¹ ५७. पूर्णगिरौ महाग्रीवा-अम्बापाद ५८. कामरूपे मनोद्भवा-अम्बापाद ५९. त्रिश्रोत्रे¹ त्रिभुवना-अम्बापाद ६०. एकचूते सुभट्टा-अम्बापाद ६१. कामकोटे मनोहरा-अम्बापाद ६२. अर्बुदे अस्वरा-अम्बापाद ६३. हिरण्यपुरमहापीठे महापरा-अम्बापाद ६४. एताश्चतुःषष्टिपीठयोगिन्यः क्षेत्राष्टकस्वरूपाः. किं तु पद्महस्ते रक्तवस्त्रधराश्चतुर्थाष्टकस्थाः. मुण्डधराः पञ्चमाष्टकस्थाः. पेचकधराः षष्ठाष्टकस्थाः. तर्जधराः सप्ताष्टकस्थाः. घण्टाधरा अष्टमाष्टकस्थाः. एवं चतुःषष्टिदले पश्चिमादारभ्य पश्चिमान्तं चतुःषष्टिकमले ऽट्टहासपीठाद्² आरभ्य हिरण्यपुरपीठान्तं यावद् व्यापिनीः पूजयेत्. ततः षोडशारपश्चिमदले सत्ययुगे उड्डिपीठपाद तच्छेषत्रिके भट्टमहेन्द्रवल्कलत्रिकम्. दक्षिणपत्रे त्रेतायुगे जालपीठपाद अहीन्द्रगजेन्द्रमहीधरत्रिकम्. पूर्वदले द्वापरयुगे पूर्णपीठपाद अमरवरद-विचित्रत्रिकम्. उत्तरदले कलियुगे कामपीठपाद अलिबिन्ध्यगुटिकत्रिकम्. संपूज्य अष्टदल³ ईशानादिवह्न्यन्तपत्रे योनिमुद्रापद्ममुद्राशङ्खमुद्राकुम्भमुद्राचतुष्टयं संपूज्य देवीं विद्यात्रयेण संपूज्य धूपादिकं दत्त्वा बलित्रयं दत्त्वा मुद्राचतुष्कपूर्वकं जपं विधाय स्वस्थाने लयं कुर्याद् इति स्थितिक्रमपूजाविधिः।

स्वतन्त्रसंहारचक्रम्

अथ संहारक्रमपूजाविधौ प्रथमं संहारक्रमेणात्मयागासनन्यासत्रिकं विधाय अर्घपात्रं च पूर्ववच्च चतुरस्रमण्डलं⁴ तन्मध्ये अष्टदलं दशारचक्रकर्णिकं मध्ये अश्वत्थपत्राकृतिविश्वसहितं मण्डलं निर्माय. फ्रे-हू-फङ्कारक्रमेण रक्षाचतुष्कं चक्रद्विकं संपूज्य दक्षिणदले हें हूं फट् शवनिष्क्रमणीदूती⁵-अम्बापाद फ्रे हूं फट्. एवं पश्चिमदले शबरीदूती उत्तरदले पाशतुण्डादूतीⁱⁱ पूर्वदले कालवेरादूती कृष्णधूमनीलधूसरवर्णा द्विभुजाः. वामहस्ते तर्जनीधराः. दक्षहस्ते खड्गवज्रचक्रपशुधारिण्यः. एवं ध्यात्वा संपूज्य आधारशक्त्यादिविशत्यासनानि च देवीं समावाह्य त्रिविधया यष्ट्या दशारके दक्षिणारकं समराभ्य अग्र्यन्तपर्यन्तं स्थानेⁱⁱⁱ कालिका-दशकं यथाक्रमेण पूर्ववत् संपूज्याष्टदले रक्षवाय्व⁶ ईशानान्निदलेषु तर्जनीकपालीदंष्ट्रिणीलेलिहामुद्राचतुष्कं संपूज्य धूपदीपादिवलिमुद्रापूर्वकं जपं विधाय संहारचक्रं लयं कुर्याद् इति संहारचक्रपूजासूत्रविधिः।

स्वतन्त्रानाख्यचक्रम्

अथानाख्यक्रमार्चनविधौ अनाख्यक्रमेण आत्मार्चनादिचतुष्कं विधायार्घपात्रं च. यथोक्तस्थाने चतुष्कोणं तन्मध्ये वृत्तत्रयं चतुःषष्टिपत्रकमलोदरं तन्मध्ये षोडशारचक्रं नादबिन्द्वर्धचन्द्रोदरं समालिख्य ओं-फां-

¹त्रिश्रोत्रे] KKA₁, त्रिश्रोत्रे KKA₂ ²ऽट्टहासपीठाद्] em., अट्टहासपीठाद् KKA₂, KKA₁ ³अष्टदल] em., अष्टदले KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁴चतुरस्रमण्डलं] em., चतस्रमण्डलं KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁵शवनिष्क्रमणीदूती] em., शवनिःक्रमणीदूती KKA₂, शवरिःक्रमणीदूती KKA₁ ⁶वाय्व] em., वायु KKA₂, KKA₁

ⁱAlthough this name is repeated from the 39th deity, this repetition is also made by the other texts recording the 64 pīṭhas recorded by Dyczkowski (2009). I have therefore left it unemended. ⁱⁱKKA₁ records the name of this dūtī as Pāśakuṇḍā.

ⁱⁱⁱKKA₂ repeats the word sthāne. I have removed the repetition.

फी-महा-पूर्वकं चतुष्कं ईशे वायव्ये पूर्वोक्तचक्रद्वयं मध्ये विंशत्यासनानि यथाक्रमेण यद्वा द्विरष्टज्ञानाश¹ⁱ चतुर्विंशत्यन्तःसिद्धा द्वादशमेलापसिद्धा अष्टौ शाक्तसिद्धाश्चतुःशांभवसिद्धा एवं चतुःषष्टिसिद्धयोगिन्यः पूर्वदलादारभ्याग्निदलान्तं चतुःषष्टिदले पूर्वस्वरूपाः संचिन्त्य पूजयेत्. तदनन्तरं स्वचक्रस्थानात्समावाह्य विंशत्यासनोपरि संस्थाप्य देवीं विद्यात्रयेण त्रिधा यद्वा चतुःषष्टिकेसरस्थाने पूर्वोक्तचतुःषष्टिपीठगणं संपूज्य षोडशारके पूर्ववत् सृष्टिकाल्यादिद्वादशकं तदन्ते ओं फां फींⁱⁱⁱ महाकृशकाली-अम्बापाद १३. सर्वान्तकाली १४. शिवकाली १५. क्रोधकाली १६. पूर्वाद् आरभ्य बह्व्यन्तं. ३. महाभैरवघोरचण्डग्रसनकाली १७ मध्ये संपूज्य. ख्रं फट् कालि कालि फट्. पूर्वविद्यात्रयेणार्घपाद्याचमनधूपदीपादिभिः संपूज्य निर्भयावरदा-शङ्खिनीवज्रिणीमुद्राचतुष्कं च बलित्रयपूर्वकं जपं विधायार्घं नवाक्षरेण निवेद्य यथाक्रमस्थाने लयं कुर्याद् इत्यनारव्यक्रमपूजासूत्रविधिः ।

स्वतन्त्रभासाचक्रम्

अथ भासाक्रमविधानेनात्मयागासनन्यासार्घपात्रसंस्कारं कृत्वा चतुष्कोणमष्टदलकमलोदरं²ⁱⁱⁱ वृत्तैकवेष्टितं वृत्तबिन्दुकणिकं द्वादशबिन्दुनादकलालंकृतं समालिख्य. ख्रं फट् ह्रं महापूर्वक्षचतुष्कं चक्रद्वयं च. अग्निपत्रोर्ध्ववृत्तस्थानादारभ्य ईशान्तं दूतीचतुष्कं विंशत्यासनानि यद्वा देवीं समावाह्य त्रिर् महामन्थानतेज १. ख्रं म फट् २. ५. ५. ^{iv} रश्मिकेवलस्थूलसूक्ष्मश्रपरविद्यापञ्चकेन पूजयित्वा पूर्वपत्राद् ऊर्ध्ववृत्तस्थाने भट्टिनी १. पेश्वरी २ चण्डिनी ३ सिद्धयोगिनी ४. दूतीनां पङ्क्तौ पूर्वाद् दक्षिणान्तं प्रतिहारिकाचतुष्कं पीतश्वेतश्यामकृष्णवर्णं द्विभुजं तर्जकपालधरं ध्यात्वा संपूज्य केसरस्थाने हुताशादिहुताशान्तं चतुर्विंशत्यन्तःसिद्धयोगिनीगणं मन्त्रादि द्वादशनादस्थाने ऽश्यादिपत्रे महामहाभासाकाल्यद्यष्टकं^v वृत्ताद् बहिः पूर्वादिक्रमेण ज्वालनीशशिनीभास्वरीविस्फरामुद्राचतुष्कं यद्वा बलित्रयपूर्वकं सोपचारं जपं विधाय यथाक्रमेण प्रणम्य स्वस्थाने लयं नयेदिति भासाक्रमपूजासूत्रविधिः ।

एवं पञ्चक्रमं प्रोक्तं स्वतन्त्रं शक्तिकौलिके |
सूचितं द्वीपसंज्ञे च पूजार्थं साधकात्मनाम् ||(१)
इति नित्यार्चनं प्रोक्तं सालम्बं श्रीक्रमागतम् |
अलकाचार्यशिष्येण उत्तराम्नायवेदिना ||(२)
आत्मनः पुण्यलाभाय नृणां सिद्धैकहेतवे |

¹द्विरष्टज्ञानाश] em., द्विरष्टमूर्त्यः KKA₂, द्विरष्टमूर्त्यश्च KKA₁ ²चतुष्कोणम् अष्टदलकमलोदरं] em., चतुष्कोणाष्टदलकमलोदरं KKA₂, KKA₁

ⁱAlthough this may seem a heavy-handed emendation, I justify it on the basis that we are told that the 64 petals should house the Siddhayoginīs. These should be the 5 groups of 64 female deities collectively known as the Vṛndacakra and whose group names end with *siddha*, namely the Jñānasiddha, Antaḥsiddha, Melāpasiddha, Śāktasiddha and Śāṃbhavasiddha, the first of these being the only group amongst the Siddhayoginī which is missing in this section. Moreover, the fact that the Mūrticakra and Jñānasiddhacakra both have 16 deities (dviraṣṭa) makes the confusion between the two possible. ⁱⁱKKA₁ adds *om phām phām* in front of all the additional Kālīs while this mantra is given only once in KKA₂ ⁱⁱⁱSee my analysis of this cakra for why I have chosen not to compound *catuṣkoṇa*. ^{iv}Usually, the appearance of numbers after mantras denote the number of syllables in that mantra or the number of times it is to be chanted. Here, we perplexingly have three numbers separated by *danḍas* in all MSS. ^vThere is the repetition of *Mahā* in all MSS, which is retained by me.

संपूर्णविधिना सम्यग्¹ देशिकेनैकदण्डिना² ॥(३)

निरालम्बार्चनम्

निरालम्बार्चनं यच्च केवलं ज्ञानमात्रकम् |
चिन्नभः परमसूक्ष्मं खेचरीणां मुखागमे ॥(१)
नात्र पूजा नमस्कारं¹ न जपो ध्यानम् एव च |
न मुद्रा नैव चोच्चारं नाह्वानं न विसर्जनम् ॥(२)
अङ्गासनविनिर्मुक्तं अरूपं रूपलक्षितम् |
कौलिकं कल्पनामात्रं निरालम्बम् उदाहृतम् ॥(३)
सालम्बार्चनाशक्तस्य³ निरालम्बा गतिः स्मृता⁴ |
कुलाकुलविभागेन कौलिकं⁵ श्रीक्रमार्चनम् ॥(४) इति संपूर्णनित्यार्चनविधिः ।

दमनकविधिः

पुनः प्रणम्य तां देवीं कालीम् कालक्षयंकरीं⁶ |
नैमित्तिकपर्वगणं लेशतः कथयाम्यहम् ॥(१)
चैत्रमासि सिते पक्षे चतुर्थ्या चैव दामनम् |
क्रमोद्धातागमे प्रोक्तं कृष्णाया विधिपूर्वकम् ॥(२)
रक्तचन्दनकर्पूरं कस्तूरीकुङ्कुमं तथा |
श्रीखण्डं रक्तमद्यं च कुण्डगोलाष्टमं स्मृतम् ॥(३)
गोरोचनम्⁷ अलक्तं च हिङ्गुलैकादशं स्मृतम् |
जातीफलं च कुष्ठं च ग्रन्थिपर्णं चतुर्दशम् ॥(४)
एला कृष्णागुरुं चैव द्विरष्टौ परिकीर्तितम्⁸ |
एभिर् मिश्रीकृतं पात्रं आपूर्णं मन्त्रितं हृदा ॥(५)
दमनं यत् समानीतं तेन तं प्रोक्षयेत् त्रिधा |
नित्यवत् पूजनं कृत्वा ततस् तेनाधिवासयेत् ॥(६)
आत्मासने ह्यर्घपात्रगणादिपीठकेतनम् |
पञ्चवाहमूर्तिचक्रं प्रकाशानन्दज्ञानकम्⁹ⁱⁱ ॥(७)
अन्तर्मलापकं चैव शाक्तं शाम्भवम् आणवम् |

¹सम्यग्] em., सम्यक् KKA₂, KKA₁ ²देशिकेनैकदण्डिना] em., देशिकेनेकदण्डिना KKA₂, KKA₁

³सालम्बार्चनाशक्तस्य] em., सालम्बार्चनशक्तस्य KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁴गतिः स्मृता] em., गतिः स्मृतः KKA₂, गति स्मृता KKA₁ ⁵कौलिकं] em., कौलवं KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁶कालीम् कालक्षयंकरीं] em., कालीम् कालक्षयंकरी KKA₂, कालीम् काक्षयंकरी KKA₁ ⁷गोरोचनम्] em., गोरोचनं KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁸परिकीर्तितं] KKA₁, परिकीर्तिता KKA₂ ⁹प्रकाशानन्दज्ञानकं] em., प्रकाशानन्ददायकं KKA₁, षोडशानन्दज्ञानकं KKA₂

ⁱNamaskāra is conventionally masc. but since all MSS attest this reading and this passage may be an unattributed quotation from a Tantra where there is the common Aīśa phenomenon of mixed genders, the original reading is retained. The same is also the case with uccāra in this verse. ⁱⁱI have amended in this way as by following either KKA₂ or KKA₁'s version, we would be missing one cakra, the Prakāśacakra in the case of KKA₂ and the Jñānasiddhacakra in the case of KKA₁

शक्तिमन्त्रं समुच्चार्य स्वनाम्ना दशपञ्च वै ||(८)

यथा हीं श्रीं क्लीं आत्मज्ञानभैरवपाद १. हीं श्रीं क्लीं समस्तकालकलासनपाद २. हीं श्रीं क्लीं अर्घपात्रपाद ३. हीं श्रीं क्लीं महाक्रमगणपतिनाथपाद ४. हीं श्रीं क्लीं महाक्रमगणपतिनाथवल्लभाम्बापाद^१ ५. हीं श्रीं क्लीं महाक्रमवटुकनाथपाद ६. हीं श्रीं क्लीं महाक्रमवटुकनाथवल्लभाम्बापाद ७. हीं श्रीं क्लीं पञ्चनिकेतनचक्रपाद १. हीं श्रीं क्लीं पञ्चवाहचक्रपाद^२ २. हीं श्रीं क्लीं षोडशमूर्तिचक्रपाद ३. हीं श्रीं क्लीं द्वादशप्रकाशचक्रपाद ४. हीं श्रीं क्लीं षोडशानन्दचक्रपाद ५. हीं श्रीं क्लीं षोडशज्ञानसिद्धचक्रपाद ६. हीं श्रीं क्लीं चतुर्विंशत्यन्तःसिद्धचक्रपाद ७. हीं श्रीं क्लीं द्वादशमेलापसिद्धचक्रपाद ८. हीं श्रीं क्लीं अष्टशाक्तसिद्धचक्रपाद ९. हीं श्रीं क्लीं चतुःशाम्भवसिद्धचक्रपाद १०. हीं श्रीं क्लीं पञ्चदशपराणवसिद्धचक्रपाद ११. दमनकपुष्पफलपत्रविकरं षोडशद्रव्यप्रोक्षितं गृहीत्वा अष्टादशमन्त्रैर् यथाक्रमेणाधिवासयेत्. ततस् तथैव मूलं गृहीत्वा अर्घपात्रमन्त्रपञ्चकेन उत्तरे पुनर् मध्यं गृहीत्वा भैरवभैरवीमन्त्रेण मध्ये. पुनर् अग्रे गृहीत्वा हृदयमन्त्रेण दक्षिण^३ इति विशेषार्घपात्राधिवासनं कुर्यात्. अथ दमनकतरुं षोडशान्तं ऊर्ध्वान् मूलं यावत् प्रत्येकक्रमं देवीनां छित्त्वा दापयेत्. ततो नवाक्षरेण मूलेन सप्तदशाक्षरेण मध्येन शताक्षरेणाग्रेण देव्या अधिवासनं^४ कुर्यात्. ततो गुरुमण्डले पारंपर्यगुरुपङ्क्तिं दमनकविकरेणाधिवासयेत्. ततः खानपान-गन्धधूपादिभिस् तोषयेद् इति विगतार्ककाले^५ अधिवासनं कुर्यात्. अथ यथा रात्रावधिवासिते^६ क्रमेण सकृद् दमनकतरुणा गुरुमण्डलान्तं संपूज्य षोडशद्रव्येण भगवतीमर्चयित्वा पूजाक्रमेण चक्रक्रीडान्तं विधाप्य गुरुं यथाप्राप्तनानाद्रव्यैः प्रतोषयेद् इति दमनकविधिः ।

पवित्रकविधिः

खरपुच्छागमे प्रोक्तं षट्पञ्चाभिधानके |
कालिकार्चनहेत्वर्थं प्रावृद्धाले^७ पवित्रकं ||(१)

यथा महारक्तमद्यप्रक्षालितसूत्रं नवं नवगुणीकृत्य समयहृदयेन पवित्रं कुर्यात्. नवसूत्रम् ९ नवाङ्गुलम् ९ एकग्रन्थि १ देव्याधिवासनपवित्रकम्.ⁱⁱ पञ्चसूत्रम् ५ पञ्चाङ्गुलम् ५ एकग्रन्थि १ सर्वदेवदेवीनां अधिवास-पवित्रकम्.^८ अष्टषष्ठ्यधिकशतचतुःसूत्रैः ४६८ सप्तदशाङ्गुलैः १७ सप्तदशग्रन्थियुक्तं १७ प्रथमपवित्रकम्. चतुर्विंशत्यधिकशतद्वयसूत्रैः २३४ त्रयोदशाङ्गुलैः १३ त्रयोदशग्रन्थियुक्तम् १३ द्वितीयपवित्रकम्. सप्तदशा-धिकशतैकसूत्रैः ११७ नवाङ्गुलैः ९ नवग्रन्थियुक्तम् ९ तृतीयपवित्रकम् इति देव्यै पवित्रकत्रयम्. चतुर्विंशति-सूत्रैः २४ पञ्चाङ्गुलैः ५ ग्रन्थिचतुष्टयोपेतम् ४ सर्वेषां देवदेवीनां पवित्रं⁹ⁱⁱⁱ कुर्यात्. एकाशीतिसूत्रैः ८१

^१वल्लभाम्बापाद] KKA₁, वल्लभापाद KKA₂ ^२पञ्चवाहचक्रपाद] KKA₁, पञ्चहचक्रपाद KKA₂ ^३दक्षिण] em., दक्षिणे KKA₂, KKA₁ ^४देव्या अधिवासनं] em., देव्यै अधिवासनं KKA₂, देव्य अधिवासनं KKA₁ ^५विगतार्ककाले] KKA₁, विगताकाले KKA₂ ^६अधिवासिते] KKA₁, अधिवासे तं KKA₂ ^७प्रावृद्धाले] em., प्रावृद्धाले KKA₂, KKA₁ ^८अधिवासपवित्रकं] KKA₁, अधिवासपवित्रकान् KKA₂ ^९पवित्रं] em., पवित्राणि KKA₂, KKA₁

ⁱIt should be noted that KKA₂ and KKA₁ have different *mantras* with KKA₂ 's being *hrīṇ śrīṇ hrīṇ* and KKA₁ *hrīṇ śrīṇ klīṇ*. I have adopted the latter as it is a more common formulation in Tantric texts. ⁱⁱIn the instructions for the first two types of *pavitrakas*, I have amended *sūtra* and *aṅgula* (these words appear in their *prātipadika* forms in KKA₂ and KKA₁) to their neuter forms as *bahuvrīhis* to agree with *pavitrakam* as per their declension in the formula for the last *pavitrika* known as the *cakrākṛtājanapavitrika*. In the formulas for the other *pavitrakas*, *sūtra* and *aṅgula* appear in the MSS in the instrumental plural which I have kept. ⁱⁱⁱI have amended the ending to sing. so that it agrees with the formulas for the other *pavitrakas* as well as *granthicatuṣṭayopetaṃ*

एकाशीत्यङ्गुलैः ८१ एकाशीतिग्रन्थिभिर्¹ युक्तम् ८१ श्रीकुलपवित्रकम्, नवसूत्रम् ९ द्वात्रिंशत्यङ्गुलम् ३२ द्वात्रिंशतिग्रन्थियुक्तम् ३२ चक्रक्रीडाजनानां पवित्रम्² इति पवित्राणि निर्माय महारक्तकुङ्कुमादिभिः समयहृदयेन रञ्जयित्वा अष्टम्यां चतुर्दश्यां वा अधिवासनं कुर्यात्, नित्यवद् देवीं यथोक्तविधानेन संपूज्य देव्या अस्त्रं³ समुच्चार्य पवित्रकान् सुरादिभिः प्रोक्षयेत्, गुह्यहृदयेन सप्ताभिमन्त्रितं⁴ आत्मादिषोडशद्रव्याक्त-पवित्रकम् एकैकेन⁵ दमनविधानेन पूजा⁶क्रमेणाधिवास्य सन्ध्यासमये तर्पणादिभिः संतोष्य रात्रौ पवित्रकं कुर्यात्, महाकपालचूर्णसहितगुग्गुलं धूपयित्वा षष्ठीविद्यां समुच्चर्य योनिमुद्रां बद्धात्मादिक्रमेण तर्पणान्तरान्तरेण पवित्रकैः पूजयित्वा चक्रपूजां विधाय कुलपवित्रकं समयविद्यया दद्यात्, ततः स्वगुरुं संतोष्य नमस्कृत्य पवित्रकफलमाप्नोतीति पवित्रकविधिः ।

महाशिवरात्रिविधि

कौलकल्मलसंज्ञे च आगमे विधिपूर्वकम् ।
उक्तं भैरवनाथेन शिवरात्रविधानकम् ॥ (१)

माघकृष्ण⁷चतुर्दश्यां पूर्वोक्तसमयं यथाशक्त्या समामन्त्र्य विगतार्ककाले सामग्रीं आनीय⁸ⁱ देव्या विशेषयागं कुर्याद् यथा, महानिशायां सिन्दूरोद्धूलितसर्वाङ्गमुक्तकेशरक्तवस्त्रावृतं रक्तमालाधरं कटिकटारकान्वितं मद्येन्मत्तं महाफलगुप्तुसं ताम्बूलमुखपूर्णं वामपार्श्वारोपितपीनोन्नतपयोधरशक्तिसमायुतं रक्तषड्विंशाङ्गुलप्रमाणासनोपविष्टमेवंरूपमात्मानं निर्माय महाक्षतजमद्यमिश्रितविलिसभूमौ षड्विंशाङ्गुलप्रमाणं रक्तासनमारोप्य तत्पार्श्वं महाकरोटं महारक्तमद्यमांसपूर्णम् अर्घार्थम् आरोप्य दिशाष्टकेषु मद्यकन्दलाष्टकम् आरोप्य कन्दलोपरि महातैलप्रदीप्तदीपाष्टकं दद्यात्, ततो यथोक्तक्रमेण नित्यवद् देवीं संपूज्य मद्यमहामांसतैलविमिश्रितगुग्गुलेन धूपयेत् ।

तत आमन्त्रितसमयगणमुत्थाप्य महारक्तेनार्घयित्वा मद्येनाचमनं दत्त्वा हृदयमन्त्रं⁹ समुच्चार्य समयचक्रे सर्वान् प्रवेशयेत्, प्रत्येकैकं यथोचितासनोपरि कमलमुद्रया¹⁰ संस्थाप्यापादमूर्धान्तं¹¹ महामुद्रया समयहृदयेन समुखीकृत्य शेषं यथापूर्वचक्रोक्तोपचारं कुर्यात् ।

ततः कुण्डगोलविमिश्रितं गोधूमवर्णं मद्यमहारक्तेन संमर्द्य श्मशानाग्नौ निष्पाद्य समयप्रदीपकगणं त्र्यस्रं त्र्यङ्गुलं निर्मायारोप्य भाजनोपरि मद्यपूर्णमहापात्रस्य चतुर्दिक्षु दीपकगणं निवेश्य सिन्दूरछटायोगेन महातैलेन प्रज्वाल्य समयविद्ययाभिमन्त्र्य भूजानुकोⁱⁱ भूत्वा कालीसूत्रम् उच्चरन् हस्ताभ्यां गृहीत्वा वामावर्तेन भ्रामयेत् - एं रक्त्रं ह्रीं रक्त्रं श्रीं रक्त्रं स्फुः फट् हूं रक्त्रं फुः ।

या सान्तकाग्रिकुहरोत्थितभास्वरूपा सोमार्कवह्नित्रिपथोदरमध्यसंस्था ।

¹एकाशीतिग्रन्थिभिर्] KKA₁, एकाशीतिभिर् ग्रन्थि] KKA₂ ²पवित्रं] em., पवित्राणि KKA₂, KKA₁ ³देव्या अस्त्रं] em., देव्यास्त्रं KKA₂, देव्या अस्त्र KKA₁ ⁴सप्ताभिमन्त्रितं] KKA₁, सप्ताभिमन्त्र्य KKA₂ ⁵पवित्रकम् एकैकेन] em., पवित्रकैकेकेन KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁶पूजा] em., पूज्या KKA₂, पूजाया KKA₁ ⁷माघकृष्ण] KKA₁, माघकृष्ण KKA₂ ⁸सामग्रीं आनीय] em., समानीय KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁹हृदयमन्त्रं] em., हृदयमन्त्र KKA₂, KKA₁ ¹⁰कमलमुद्रया] KKA₁, कमलमुद्राया KKA₂ ¹¹मूर्धान्तं] KKA₁, मूर्धान्त KKA₂

ⁱI have supplied *sāmagrīm* as we need an object for the verb *samānīya/ānīya*. There is the possibility that a syllable was dropped in the process of recording. Restoring a syllable (*grīm*) would give us a verb and object. ⁱⁱIn all MSS of the KKA, we have no word acting as the object of *bhūtvā*. However, we know *bhūjānuko* (“knee bent to the ground”) to be the correct missing term as it appears in the identical equivalent passage of the PTV.

चिच्चेत्यचित्तविषयाक्षविलीनभावा¹ⁱ सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयकारणतत्त्वरूपा ॥(१)
 ज्ञानात्मिका सकलभावविभागभिन्ना आनन्दनन्दितसदापरमार्थलीना |
 नाडीकलाकलितविग्रहमन्त्ररूपा सप्तदशाक्षरगता खलु छिद्रवर्णा ॥(२)
 विद्याशताक्षरवरा कुलकर्मचण्डा त्रैलोक्यलम्पटवरा कुलसंघसिद्धा |
 एका ह्यनेकगतिचक्रवरप्रपूज्या सत्सङ्गसिद्धवरⁱⁱभैरवपूजिता या ॥(३)
 काली कलाकलितकालकलोर्मिवाहा श्रीचक्रमध्य²निलया नवभेदभिन्ना |
 पूर्णा शशाङ्ककलिता कुलभानुरूपा विज्ञानसिद्धिवरवहिकुलप्रसिद्धा ॥(४)
 आलम्बखेचरपदा परमप्रचण्डा चक्रक्रमे गदितमन्त्रमहार्थवेला |
 सत्सङ्गयोगनिरता कुलसिद्धिदात्री स्वाभावभाविकिपरां प्रणमामि कालीं ॥(५)

अन्तरीक्षस्थाने संस्थाप्य नमस्कृत्य सचरुं सपात्रम् एकैकस्योपयोगार्थं समयहृदयेन दद्यात्, तत
 आद्ययागक्रमेणानन्दभेदाक्षरक्षणेन कुन्दगोलोद्भवेन देवीं संतर्प्य शुभं कुर्याद् इति शिवरात्रविधानम्।

निशाटनविधिः, महाचतुर्दशीविधिश्च

महार्थक्रमभेदाख्ये प्रोक्तं निशाटनक्रमम् |
 ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां सिद्धमेलापहेतवे ॥(१)
 संलिप्य ब्रह्मविष्णुभ्यां प्रथमे चन्द्रिकागमे |
 दिग्वासा मुक्तकेशश्च कर्पूराञ्जितलोचनः ॥(२)
 दक्षिणाभिमुखे लिङ्गे त्रिशूलवृषभोज्झिते |
 आवर्तेत् पञ्चशतिकां यावद् अध्युष्टयामकम् ॥(३)
 आयाति स्थानसंसिद्धा भूचरी नरधर्मिणी³ |
 यदा स्थाने च सा नास्ति तदा स्वके च वेदना ॥(४)
 इति मत्वाभ्यसेज्जप्यं अस्ति चेत् कामयेद् भृशम् |
 अटनं सिद्धायुतं कृत्वा दिव्यमेलापकं लभेत् ॥(५) निशाटनविधिः ।
 आश्विने कृष्णपक्षे या महा प्रोक्ता चतुर्दशी |
 तया सह भ्रमन् पश्येत् पूर्वयुक्त्या च मेलकम् ॥ (६)
 अर्घ्यं देयं प्रयत्नेन भित्त्वा वामाङ्गम् आत्मनः |
 खेचरत्वं लभेत् वाथ वक्यात् कर्मगणं लभेत् ॥(७)
 इत्युपायद्वयं प्रोक्तं साधकानां हिताय वै |
 महार्थक्रमभेदाख्ये शतद्वादशसंख्यके ॥(८) इति महाचतुर्दशीविधिः ।⁴

¹चिच्चेत्यचित्तविषयाक्षविलीनभावा] em., चिच्चेतचित्तविषयाक्षविलीनभावा KKA₁ KKA₂ ²श्रीचक्रमध्य] KKA₁,
 श्रीचक्रचक्र KKA₂ ³नरधर्मिणी] KKA₁, रधर्मिणी KKA₂ ⁴महाचतुर्दशीविधिः] KKA₁, महाचर्दशीविधिः
 KKA₂

ⁱThis compound is amended so that it conforms with the way it appears in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the critical editions of the *Kālikākulapañcaśataka* and *Devīvyardhaśatikā*, a verse which two segments of the *Kālīsūtra* closely mirror. See my article on the philosophy of the *Kālīsūtra* (Pangsrivongse, 2023b) which is an expansion of my analysis of this Sūtra in the conclusion of this thesis for my reasoning behind this emendation, possible interpretations of this compound and my conjecture of the relationship between the Sūtra and the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the two Tantras. ⁱⁱKKA₂ is missing *vara* which is present in KKA₁. We need these two syllables here for the half-verse to be metrical.

द्रव्यगणव्यवस्था

अथ नित्यनैमित्तिककाम्यार्चने कुलद्रव्यगणं लिख्यते ।

पलाण्डुं लशुनं गृञ्जं¹ⁱ लम्बुषं लवतर्कसौ²ⁱⁱ |
 वामापुष्पं पुष्पबन्धं अष्टौ द्रव्यानि कौलिके || (१)
 शिवाम्बुं च सुरां रक्तं मद्यं तैलं³ⁱⁱⁱ च सीधुकं |
 कुण्डगोलोद्भवं शुक्रं पेयान्यष्टौ कुलागमे || (२)
 मत्स्यं मांसं महागोत्थं स्थलजा काशमीरजं^{iv} |
 महामांसं मृगं चैव भक्ष्याण्यष्टौ कुलक्रमे || (३)
 मातङ्गी कर्जली शौण्डी कण्डुकी चर्मिणी ध्वजा |
 छिप्पी वेश्या सुसम्बद्धा ग्राह्यैताः कालिकाकुले || (४)
 निःशङ्काचारमार्गेण पूजनं च भवेद् यदि |
 तदासौ सिध्यते देवि तैर्भुक्तं भावितं यदि || (५)
 तत्पानस्पर्शनाहारात् पाशछेदकरी स्मृता |
 गोपितं⁴ तन् मया पूर्वं अद्वैताचारशोभनम् || (६)
 कौलोपदेशयुक्ता ये गुर्वाचाररताश्च ये |
 ते च शुद्धाः पवित्राश्चापवित्राः पशवः स्मृताः || (७)
 अनेनाहारयोगेन^v अज्ञात्वा नरकं व्रजेत् |
 ज्ञानभावगताः सम्यक् व्रजन्ति गगनान्तरम् || (८)
 खानपानस्त्रिया हीनं⁵ यः कुर्यात् क्रमपूजनम् |
 स न सिध्यति देवेशि विरुद्धं च फलं लभेत् || (९)
 सुगुप्ते निर्जने रम्ये वीरक्षेत्रे ऽथ सिद्धिषु |
 दिग्वासो ह्रीविनिर्मुक्तो अद्वैतकुलपूजकः || (१०)
 परस्परं यजेद् देहौ खानपानादिसेवितौ |
 परस्परं तु रतिनौ कुण्डगोलादिसंयुतौ || (११)
 मीनमण्डलं⁶ संयुक्तौ भोक्तारौ च परस्परौ |
 वक्राद् वक्रेषु चोष्यन्तौ भोजनं पानचुम्बनम् || (१२)
 ईदृशं कालिकाचक्रं पूजयेद् विधिपूर्वकम् |
 व्याख्यादीक्षाधिकारं च यागं कुर्यात् सुसिद्धये || (१३) इति द्रव्यगणव्यवस्था ।

¹गृञ्ज] em., ग्रजं KKA₂, गृज KKA₁ ²लवतर्कसौ] em., लवतर्कसां KKA₂, KKA₁ ³तैलं] em., महतैलं KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁴गोपितं] em., गोपितैस् KKA₂, KKA₁ ⁵हीनं] em., हिनं KKA₂, हीन KKA₁
⁶मण्डल] KKA₁, मण्डक KKA₂

ⁱI have emended this way as *grñja* or *grñjana* is a small red onion usually prohibited for consumption and thus likely to be one of the antinomian substances of the Krama while the readings supplied by the MSS do not make sense. ⁱⁱI have emended this to the dual as we need this compound to consist of two ingredients for the list of eight to be complete. ⁱⁱⁱI have dropped *mahā* in front of *tailam* to ensure the verse is metrical. Although, we can keep in mind that this ingredient refers to human fat on account of the *mahā*. Moreover, it is to be noted that *madya* is missing from KKA₁ meaning it has accidentally dropped one ingredient. ^{iv}The peculiarity in the spelling of *kāśmīra* is due to metri causa. ^v*Sandhi* is dissolved here for metri causa.

उपसंहारः

नित्यनैमित्तिकं प्रोक्तं उत्तराम्नायसम्मतम् |
निर्विघ्नं सिद्धिदं पुंसां भक्तानां कालिकात्मानाम् ||(१)
श्रीमदानन्दशक्त्याख्यगुरुपादनिषेविना |
प्रकाशशक्तिनम्ना श्रीदेशिकेनैकदण्डिनाⁱ ||(२)
विमलप्रबोधनाम्ना परशक्तिसुसम्झिना |
श्रीषडाम्नायदेवेशपूजकेन मया खलु ||(३)
क्षन्तव्यं देशिकैश्चात्र गुह्यं यद् अवतारितम् |
कालीकुलमुखाम्नायं यन्न लेख्यं हि पुस्तके ||(४)
स्वस्त्यस्तु सर्वजगतां छिद्रं मा भूद् अकिंचन |
सा एव रक्षतु जनान् देवदेवी करङ्किणी ||(५)

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीविमलप्रबोधपादविरचितं कालिकाकुलक्रमार्चनं समाप्तम् ॥

ⁱFrom *aikadaṇḍinā* up to *deśikaś* of verse 4b, the writing in KKA₂ is inserted at the very bottom of the folio.

पर्वत्रयविधानम्

The Parvatrayavidhāna of Vimalaprabodha

Editorial Policies

The PTV is, as far as I am aware, a *codex unicus* meaning that the editorial principle for this edition is straightforward. Where I feel the MSS abbreviated PTV supplies a defective reading, I have emended the text and noted both the emendation and MS reading in the apparatus. As with the KKA, no distinction has been made between an emendation, correction and conjecture while the normalisations follow those set out in the KKA edition.

Introductory Verses

ओं नमो महाभैरवाय ।

खरपुच्छागमे प्रोक्तं श्रीगुह्यायाः पवित्रकम् ।
क्रमोद्धातागमे चोक्तं दामनं भैरवेण तु ॥(१)
तदेवं स्पष्टमाकृष्य^१ लिख्यते विधिवन् मया ।
शिवरात्रिविधानं च यथोक्तं कौलकल्मले ॥(२)

पवित्रकविधिः

तद्यथा महारक्तमद्यप्रक्षालितसूत्रं नवं नवगुणीकृत्य हृदयेन पवित्रकत्रयं कुर्यात्, एकविंशाधिकं शतसूत्रं १२१^१ षट्षष्ट्यङ्गुलप्रमाणं ६६ षट्षष्ट्यन्धिसमेतं ६६ श्रीप्रथमं अकुलपवित्रकम् । द्वाचत्वारिंशाधिकं द्विशतसूत्रं २४२ त्रयस्त्रिंशाङ्गुलप्रमाणं ३३ त्रयस्त्रिंशद्वन्धिसमन्वितं ३३ द्वितीयं कुलपवित्रकम् । षट्त्रिंशाधिकसप्तशतसूत्रं ७२६ षोडशाङ्गुलप्रमाणं १६ षोडशान्धिसमन्वितं १६ तृतीयं कौलपवित्रकमिति अकुलकुलकौलपवित्रकत्रयम् । चतुःषष्टिसूत्रं ६४ नवाङ्गुलप्रमाणं ९ एकग्रन्थिसमेतं १ अधिवासपवित्रकम् । नवसूत्रं ९ चतुःषष्ट्यङ्गुलप्रमाणं ६४ अष्टग्रन्थिसमेतं ८ समयपवित्रकम् । आत्मपवित्रकं^२ गुरुपवित्रकं^३ यावदामन्त्रितपवित्रादिकं समयपवित्रकवज्ज्ञातव्यमिति ।

निर्माय अष्टोत्तरशतहृदयेन अभिमन्त्र्य अर्घाम्भसा संप्रोक्ष्य अधिवासनपवित्रकं गृहीत्वा समयविद्यां समुच्चार्य तदन्ते - ह्रूं समयां अधिवासयामि ह्रूं ३ फ्रे ३ नमः - इति दत्त्वा समस्तचक्रं पृथक् पृथक् क्रमेण

^१आकृष्य] em., अकृष्य MS ^२आत्मपवित्रकं] em., आत्मपवित्रक MS ^३गुरुपवित्रकं] em., गुरुपवित्रक MS

^१Since the numbers appear both as words and numerals in the MS, this is recorded by me in the edition.

अधिवासनेन संतर्प्य संधूय पवित्रकं कुर्यात्। ततोऽ कुलपवित्रकं¹ गृहीत्वा हृदयमन्त्रं समुच्चार्य तदन्ते - हूं कुलकाली चण्डरोषिणी हूं ३ फ्रे ३ नमः - इति दत्त्वा समस्तं संतर्प्य ततः कुलपवित्रकं गृहीत्वा समयविद्यां समुच्चार्य तदन्ते - हूं चण्डकराली किटि २ हूं ३ फ्रे ३ नमः - इति दत्त्वा संतर्प्य ततः कौलपवित्रकं गृहीत्वा मूलविद्यां समुच्चार्य तदन्ते - हूं अकुलकुलकौलगुह्यकाली हूं ३ फ्रे ३ नमः - इति दत्त्वा संतर्प्य ततः समयपवित्रकं गृहीत्वा समयं संभाव्य हृदयेन दद्यादिति प्रतिपवित्रके² समयतर्पणं कुर्यात्। ततः स्वगुरोः पवित्रकं यथागुरुमन्त्रेण आरोप्य स्वर्णादिदक्षिणां सालंकारां शक्तिं च समर्प्य संतर्प्य नमस्कृत्यात्मनः पवित्रकं मूलविद्याया विधाय कुमारिकार्चनं कुर्यात् समयार्चनं च। समयं संतर्प्य चरुकादिकं निर्माय संतर्प्य समरसयोगं कुर्यात्। ततः प्रभाते वा पूजाचक्रं विसर्ज्य प्रणमेदिति। सर्वं पवित्रकविधानं आश्विनकृष्णपक्षस्य चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां वा करणीयम्। सर्वथा शुक्लपक्षे न करणीयम्। अभावात् आषाढादिषु कर्तव्यम्।

सार्धपञ्चसहस्रे च खरपुच्छागमे मतम् |
त्रयोदशशते चैव त्रिशते पञ्चशते तथा³ ||(२)

इति खरपुच्छागमचतुःप्रस्थानोक्तं पवित्रकविधानं समाप्तम्।

दमनकविधिः

चैत्रमासि शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्थ्यां चैव दामनम् |
क्रमोद्धातागमे प्रोक्तं कृष्णाया⁴ⁱ विधिपूर्वकम् ||(१)
रक्तचन्दनं⁵ १ कर्पूरं २ कस्तूरी ३ कुङ्कुमं तथा ४ |
श्रीखण्डं ५ रक्तं ६ मद्यं च ७ कुण्डगोलाष्टमं स्मृतम् ८ ||(२)
गोरोचनं ९ अलक्तं च १० हिङ्गुलैकादशं स्मृतम् ११ |
जातीफलं च १२ कुष्ठं च १३ ग्रन्थिपर्णं चतुर्दशम् १४ ||(३)
एला १५ कृष्णागुरुं चैव १६ द्विरष्टः परिकीर्तितः |

एभिर्मिश्रीभूतैः पात्रमापूर्य हृदयमन्त्रेणाष्टधा अभिमन्त्र्य हृदयेन शतधा तेनानीतं दमनकं शोभनं अस्त्रे-
णाभिषिच्य नित्यवत् कृष्णां संपूज्य हृदयं नवधा चोच्चार्य दमनकमूलं गृहीत्वा - ओं ह्रीं हूं फ्रे नमो भगवती
चण्डि भैरवी श्रीगुह्यकालिके हूं ३ फ्रे ३ अधिवासयामि - वायव्ये दद्यात्. दमनकमध्यं गृहीत्वा - ओं
ह्रीं हूं फ्रे नमो भगवती विकटोत्कटदंष्ट्रा रौद्री श्रीगुह्यकालिके हूं ३ फ्रे ३ अधिवासयामि - ईशे दद्यात्ⁱⁱ
. दमनकाग्रं गृहीत्वा - ओं ह्रीं हूं फ्रे नमो भगवती ऊर्ध्वकेशी लोलजिह्वे श्रीगुह्यकालिके हूं ३ फ्रे ३
अधिवासयामि - दक्षिण⁶ इति दत्त्वा दमनकतरुं हृदयेन षोडशाङ्गम् अर्घपात्रे⁷ⁱⁱⁱ निक्षिप्य हृदयेनार्घयेत्.
ततो नवतरुं गृहीत्वा हृदयमन्त्रं समुच्चार्य तदन्ते - हूं कुलकाली चण्डरोषिणी हूं ३ फ्रे ३ अकुलगुह्यकालिके
नमः - इति पठित्वा मध्ये दद्यात्. ततो अष्टादशतरुं गृहीत्वा समयविद्यां समुच्चार्य तदन्ते - हूं चण्डकराली

¹ततोऽ कुलपवित्रकं] em., ततः अकुलपवित्रकं MS ²प्रतिपवित्रके] em., प्रतिप्रतिपवित्रके MS ³पञ्चशते तथा]
em., पञ्चशत इति MS ⁴कृष्णाया] em., कृष्णाय MS ⁵रक्तचन्दनं] em., रक्तचन्दन MS ⁶दक्षिण] em.,
दक्षिणे MS ⁷षोडशाङ्गम् अर्घपात्रे] em., षोडशाङ्गार्घपात्रे MS

ⁱ*kṛṣṇāyā* is also the reading found in the equivalent section of the KKA. ⁱⁱA finite verb is required here so I have supplied *dadyāt* in line with the instructions for the root and tip of the *damanaka*. ⁱⁱⁱI am cautiously splitting these two terms so that *ṣoḍaśāṅgam* can agree with *damanakataruṇi* since in the *Damanakavidhi* of the KKA, the plant is conceived as having 16 parts, possibly corresponding to the 16 *Nityapūjācakras*.

किटि किटि हूं ३ फ्रे ३ कुलगुह्यकालिके नमः -इति पठित्वा मध्ये दद्यात्, ततः सप्ताविंशतितरं गृहीत्वा मूलविद्यां समुच्चार्य तदन्ते - हूं अकुलकुलकौलगुह्यकाली हूं ३ फ्रे ३ कौलगुह्यकालिके नमः - इति पठित्वा मध्ये दद्यात्, ततः पृथक् पृथक् देवेभ्य एकैकं दमनकतरं स्वस्वमन्त्रेण दद्यात्, अथवा समयविद्यां समुच्चार्य एकस्मिन् स्थाने सर्वेभ्यो दद्यात्, ततो मूलविद्यां समुच्चार्य भगवतीं महारक्तेन अर्घयेत्, लक्षयागं यथाशक्त्या कृत्वा गुरोः पादौ दमनकेनार्चयेत्, शक्तिं सर्वाभरणभूषितां गुरवे समर्प्य दक्षिणादिं दत्त्वा कुमार्यादिचक्रं संपूज्य समरसयोगं विधाय यथाक्रमेण पूजामण्डलं विसर्जयेदिति।

क्रमोद्धातागमोक्तं श्रीकृष्णादमनकविधानं समाप्तम्।

महाशिवरात्रिविधिः

अथ कौलकल्मलागमोक्तं शिवरात्रिविधानं कथ्यते। माघे कृष्णचतुर्दश्यां एकाशीतियामलसमयमामन्त्र्य द्वात्रिंशकं वा नवकं वा त्रिकं वा समयविद्यां पठित्वा वामहस्ते धृत्वा ताम्बूलं तिलकं दद्यात्। समयसंख्यया कुमारीगणं हृदयमन्त्रमावर्त्य हृदयं वा पूर्वप्रकारेणामन्त्रयेत्। ततो महानिशायां सिन्दूरोद्धूलितसर्वाङ्गं मुक्त-केशं रक्तवस्त्रावृतं रक्तमालाधरं कटिकटारकान्वितं मद्योन्मत्तं महाफल्गुषतुप्तं ताम्बूलमुखपूर्णं वामपार्श्व-रोपितपीनोन्नतपयोधरशक्तिसमन्वितं रक्तषड्विंशाङ्गुलप्रमाणासनोपविष्टमेवंरूपम् आत्मानं निर्माय महाक्षत-जमद्यविमिश्रितविलिप्तभूमौ षड्विंशाङ्गुलप्रमाणं रक्तासनमारोप्य तदुपरि महाकरोटं महारक्तमद्यमांसपूर्णम-र्घार्थमारोप्य दिशाष्टकेषु मद्यकन्दलाष्टकमारोप्य कन्दलोपरि महातैलप्रदीप्तदीपाष्टकं दद्यात्। ततो यथोक्त-क्रमेण नित्यवद् देवीं संपूज्य मद्यमहामांसतैलविमिश्रितगुग्गुलेन धूपयेत्। तत आमन्त्रितसमयगणं कुमारि-कापूर्वमाहूय महारक्तेनार्घयेत् मद्येनाचमनं दद्यात्। हृदयं समुच्चरन् समयचक्रे सर्वान् प्रवेशयेत्, प्रत्येकं महामृदुपीठोपरिस्थं छागोपरिस्थं वा तर्जमध्यचालनेन बिम्बवत् हृदयेनोपवेश्य आपादमूर्धान्तं¹ महामुद्रया हृदयेन संमुखीकृत्य योनिमुद्रया हृदयेन संधूय समयविद्यया पूजयेत्। ततः कुमारिकामस्तके मूलविद्यां न्यासेत्, हृदये हृदयमन्त्रं न्यासेत्। सर्वाङ्गे समयविद्यां न्यसेत्। नियममन्त्रेण संपूज्य प्रणमेत्। ततः सर्वेषां चरुकादिकं दत्त्वा दीपसमयं कुर्यात्। कुण्डगोलविमिश्रितं गोधूमचूर्णं मद्यमहारक्तेन संमर्द्य श्मशानाग्नौ निष्पाद्य समयप्रदीपकं त्र्यङ्गुलं त्र्यस्रं निर्माय मद्यपूर्णमहापात्रस्य चतुर्दिक्षु दीपकगणमारोप्य सिन्दूरच्छटा-योगेन महातैलेन प्रज्वाल्य समयविद्यया अभिमन्त्र्य भूजानुको भूत्वा दीपौघं स्फारयेत्।

या सान्तकामिकुहरोत्थितभास्वरूपा
सोमार्कवह्नित्रिपथोदरमध्यसंस्था |
चिच्चेत्यचित्तविषयाक्षविलीनभावा²ⁱ
स्वाभावभाविकिपरां प्रणमामि³ⁱⁱ कालीं || (१)
कालिका कलनासक्ता षट्कारकलोद्यता |
नमामि शिरसा देवीं⁴ गुह्यभैरववल्लभां⁵ || (२)

¹मूर्धान्तं] em., मूर्धान्तं MS ²चिच्चेत्यचित्तविषयाक्षविलीनभावा] em., चिच्चेत्यचित्तविषयान्तविलीनभावा MS
³प्रणमामि] em., नमामि MS ⁴देवीं] em., देवी MS ⁵वल्लभां] em., वल्लभा MS

ⁱI have emended this compound so that it conforms with my emendation of the equivalent segment of the *Kālisūtra* in the KKA as well as the way this compound appears in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the critical editions of the *Kālikākulapañ-
caśataka* and *Devidvyardhaśatikā*. See my article on the philosophy of the *Kālisūtra* (Pangsriyongse, 2023b) for my reasoning behind this as well as the several inter-
pretations of this compound. ⁱⁱThis is amended for the sake of metre as the MSS
supplies one too few syllables.

इति पठन्नावर्त्य चक्राग्रे स्थापयेत्। ततः स्वस्वक्रमेण निवेद्य हृदयेन समयमुद्राप्रकारेण आहरेत्। हृदयमन्त्रेण पात्रमुत्तुल्य हृदयेनोपयुज्य छटामुद्राप्रयोगेणारोप्य समयविद्यां आवर्तयेत्। ततो लक्षादिम् एकान्तं लक्षं विभाव्य निपात्य पतनावस्थं त्रिस्वरूपं विभाव्य समयमुद्रां कारयेत्। ततो वरचण्डालीम् उत्तानाम् आत्मरूपधारिणीं हृदयेन वामकरे धृत्वा नियममन्त्रेण आश्लिष्य हृदयेन संचुम्ब्य स्वकनिष्ठां निर्नखां त्रिवलीद्वादशाङ्गुष्ठाधो ऽङ्कुरस्थाने शक्तिमुखप्रमाणेन मुखाधोर्ध्वं ऊर्ध्वीकृत्य कर्पूरविलिप्तां चतुर्थ-पर्वणि यावत् हृदयेन प्रवेश्य एकविंशतिवारान्वाभावर्तदक्षावर्तक्रमेण हृदयेन घट्टयेत्¹। ततः स्वगोलं कनिष्ठामाकृष्य प्रक्षिप्य समयविद्यां आवर्तयन् शनैः शनैर्मथनं कुर्यात्।

हृदये प्रथमं विन्द्यात् कण्ठे चैवं द्वितीयकम् |
तृतीयं नाभिकाधारे नासान्ते तु चतुर्थकम् ||(१)
साधारं च निराधारं आनन्दं द्विविधं मतम् |
साधारं योनिसम्पर्कान्² निराधारं च तद्विना ||(२)
साधारं च मुहूर्तार्धं निराधारं सदा भवेत् |
आरम्भे तु सहाधारं³ⁱ कर्तव्यं सिद्धिहेतवे ||(३)
साधारेण निराधारं प्राप्यते भैरवं वचः |
साधारं तुर्यधा स्थूलं निराधारं च सूक्ष्मकम् ||(४)
एवं वाष्टविधं प्रोक्तं आनन्दं कालिकामते |
पतनात्पतनावस्थं बिन्दुः स्थाने स्थिरं यदा ||(५)
सहजानन्दस्य लक्ष्यो ऽयं प्रथमः परिकीर्तितःⁱⁱ |
सहजस्यादौ आनन्दः स द्वितीयोऽत्र गीयते ||(६)
उद्यामे चैव चोत्थाने एकमात्रं महेश्वरि |
आनन्दसहजयोर्मध्ये यदा याति परं शशी ||(७)
न पतेद्योगिनीवक्त्रे परमानन्दं तृतीयकम् |
एकबिन्दुर्द्विबिन्दुश्च त्रिबिन्दुश्चार्धकं प्रिये ||(८)
अध्युष्टबिन्दुसंपातान् मुखे विरमⁱⁱⁱ तुर्यकः |
पञ्चमं विरमं प्रोक्तं विशेषाद् रागभावतः ||(९)

¹घट्टयेत्] em., घातयेत् MS ²योनिसम्पर्कान्] em., योनिसम्पर्कात् MS ³सहाधारं] em., सदाधारं MS

ⁱI have amended to *sahādharam* which would be the equivalent of *sādhamam* as the preceding half-verse and the following verse seem to suggest that the bliss which is with support has to be attained first before one can reach the groundless bliss which can be maintained in perpetuity. This emendation is also in line with the widespread Kaula idea that a key function of the sexual rite is to generate *siddhis*. Both of the above ideas are discussed in Ch. 5 of the thesis. The corruption is also made possible by the very similar method of writing “h” and “d” in the style of script used for this MS. ⁱⁱHypermetricality can be observed in several *padas* in this segment (6a, 7c, 8b and 14b). I have left these unemended. ⁱⁱⁱThere is the use of the *prātipadika* form of the subject noun in several verses of this passage, including *lakṣaṇa* in v. 13 and *ānanda* in v. 14. A few other peculiarities of Sanskrit in line with common deviations in Aīśa are also found. These have been left unemended by me as the passage is a quote from a scriptural source rather than Vimalaprabodha’s own composition which is usually in classical Sanskrit. See Ch. 5 of my thesis for more information.

अक्षयं तद्भवेदेवि पञ्चमं कालिकामते |
 इति स्थूलं समुद्दिष्टं तुर्यधानन्दलक्षणम् ||(१०)
 अनेन लभ्यते सूक्ष्मं लक्षणं तस्य चोच्यते |
 स्थिरीभूतस्य वातस्य आनन्दैकः प्रशस्यते ||(११)
 चित्तेन सहसं योगात् सहजानन्दकं भवेत् |
 व्याकुलत्वं यदा नास्ति तदा योगं तयोर् भवेत् ||(१२)
 लक्षणैतत् समाख्यातं निश्चितं कालिकामते |
 उभाभ्यां च समायोगात् यदा चन्द्रोदयो भवेत् ||(१३)
 आनन्दं तनुतां याति परमानन्दः प्रकीर्तितः |
 रमुक्रीडाप्रयोगेण वियत्स्थाने महेश्वरि ||(१४)
 महानन्दपदं विद्धि विरमं तन्महासुखम् |
 एतन्मध्ये प्रविष्टस्य नाहं न त्वं प्रजायते ||(१५)
 न शिवो नापि शक्तिश्च न स्त्रीपुरुषकल्पना |
 न षण्डो रूपवान् कश्चित् अमात्रः सर्वमात्रवान् ||(१६)
 एतत् सूक्ष्मं समाख्यातं स्थूलाभ्यासेन लभ्यते |
 तस्मात् स्थूलं महेशानि प्राक् चिन्त्य खगतां लभेत् ||(१७)

ततस्तेन संभूतेन सर्वान् तर्पयेत् ततश्चोत्थाय भगवतीसमयं नमस्कुर्यात्। एकादिलक्षान्तं नवलक्षं क्रमेण नमस्कृतिक्रमं ततः समयं यथाशक्त्या दक्षिणया अभ्यर्च्य यथोक्तक्रमेण चक्रं विसर्ज्य सुखी भवति। अथवा यथोक्तक्रमेण देवीं संपूज्य कलशं मद्येन संपूर्य अष्टदलरक्तकमलोपरि चारोप्य कुमारीं कृष्णां समय-विद्यया संपूज्य वस्त्रालंकारस्वर्णादिदक्षिणां दत्त्वा मूलविद्यां त्रिरुच्चार्य दीपादिगणं कुर्यात्। ततस्तृप्तिपर्यन्तं अलिबलिकलित्रिप्रकारेण सुखी भूत्वा ततः कुम्भोद्भवेन प्लवस्त्रानं वा सेचनं वा कुर्यात्। यथा क्रमेण देवीं विसर्जयेत्। अथवा

अभावात् सर्ववस्तूनां ध्यात्वैवं परिकल्पयेत् |
 रात्रौ प्रदक्षिणां कुर्यात् स्वस्थानस्य श्मशानके ||(१८)
 माघफल्गुनयोर्मध्ये कृष्णा या च चतुर्दशी |
 शिवारूपं धृतं देव्या सहस्राक्ष्या पुरा इति ||(१९)
 तदर्थं कारयेद्यागं शिवासमयमण्डलम् |
 अकृते समयभङ्गः स्यात् भैरवेणोदितं पुरा ||(२०)

इति श्रीकौलकल्मलोक्तं शिवरात्रिविधानं समाप्तम् ।

श्रीमदलकाचार्यचरणवल्लभेन परमहंसविमलप्रबोधेनाकृष्टपर्वत्रयविधानं उक्त folio lost.

परातन्त्रोद्धृतं गुह्यकालीध्यानम्
Guhyakālīdhyāna Section of the Parātantra
(Paṭala 7, Verses 64-122)

Editorial Policies

In the creation of this edition, the variants from all selected sources (six in total) have been recorded by me in the apparatus. My justification for compiling my own edition of the PT's *dhyāna* in spite of the presence of Lamichhane's recent edition (2018) is threefold. Firstly, my examination of *dhyānas* from three other texts (HRT, MKS, KKA), many excerpts of which closely mirror the PT, has allowed me to solve problematic readings whose solutions are not found in the manuscript witnesses of the PT themselves. This is discussed extensively in Chapter 1 of my thesis. Secondly, additional MSS of the PT have been made available to me which were not used in the 2018 edition which utilised only four MSS (called क, ख, ग, and घ by Lamichhane). Three of these new MSS are in Newari script and are labelled by me N²(NGMPP A 182-5: paper; dated 1686 in the colophon), N³(NGMPP A 181 – 6: paper; undated) and N⁴(NGMPP A 181-4: paper; dated 1761). Another MS in Devanāgarī script has also been consulted which I call D¹(NGMPP A 167-18: paper). Although its dating is not given, we can assume that it was written in the late 18th century or 19th century when Devanāgarī started to become popularised in the Valley. These four additional witnesses record the entire PT from start to finish, although considerable damage has been sustained by the microfilm of N². One of the reasons why some of these MSS might not have been utilised by previous editions of the PT is because they are catalogued in the NGMPP under the title *Kālīkulakrama* rather than *Parātantra*.

Finally, we should add that the compilation of the Nepali edition was done under time constraints and therefore the recording of variants from its four witnesses are highly erratic while emendations by the editor are often made silently. This leaves the reader uninformed about the extent of divergence in the sources for the

edition. Therefore, beyond including the Nepali edition's readings in my own edition (abbreviated here as Ed), I have also recorded all the variants supplied by what the 2018 edition considered its principal witness which is called MS क by Lamichhane but listed as N¹(NGMPP A 180-11: paper; dated 1602) by me. By and large, this is the most reliable out of five manuscript witnesses recorded in my edition as my preferred readings will show. It is therefore useful to supply all the variants of N¹ left unrecorded by the 2018 edition.

In the majority of cases where variants do occur, my edition agrees with the Nepali edition. However, from the additional MSS and intertextual evidence, besides corrections pertaining to grammar and orthography, readings more accurate than the Nepali edition have been restored in three main areas: 1) the hand implements of the central Guhyakālī (six implements are emended in the Nepali edition) 2) the description of the tiers of Guhyakālī's throne (see for instance, emendations to the description of the Śiva / Bhairava seat in v. 86 or of Vāyu in v. 94) 3) the distinctive appearance of the Five Kālīs (these include amongst others more meaningful readings related to instructions for dropping the *cidratnavatīkā* of the Supreme Guhyakālī in v. 110, the replacement of the *brahmavīṇā* attribute by *Śṛṣṭikālī* in v. 117 as well as descriptions of her pose in v. 116). Without these emendations to the 2018 edition, our understanding of the appearance of Guhyakālī would be incomplete. Therefore, this *dhyāna* edition and its translation may be used as a framework for further study of the complex iconography of the Goddess. It should be noted that the policy for normalisations in this edition is the same as my edition of the KKA. Although the phenomenon of Aiśa is far less pronounced in the PT than in many other Śākta Tantras, deviations from classical Sanskrit do exist. These are noted and explained as we go along and, if deemed to be a standard feature of the text rather than a corruption, are left unemended by me.

Edition:

तासां¹ ध्यानं प्रवक्ष्यामि शृणु पापभयापहम् |
अथ वक्ष्ये महादेव्या ध्यानयोगमनुत्तमम् ॥ (६४)

¹तासां] Ed N¹N²D¹, एषां N³, एके N⁴

योग¹ⁱविज्ञातमात्रेण साधकः सिद्धिभागभवेत् |
 नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा नीलरत्नविनिर्मिता ² || (६५)
 ज्ञानरश्मिच्छटाटोपा ज्योतिर्मण्डलसम्भवा^{3*} |
 दशवक्त्रा महाकाली सप्तविंशतिलोचना || (६६)
 अष्टोत्तरशतार्द्धैश्⁴ च भुजदण्डैर्⁵ नरानना |
 दीपकमूर्ध्वकं वक्त्रं⁶ चण्डयोगेश्वरी मतम् || (६७)
 ज्योतिर्मयमहावक्त्रं निर्वाणपददायिनी⁷ⁱⁱ |
 तदधः⁸ सिंहवदनं⁹ श्वेतवर्णं सुभास्वरम् || (६८)
 फेरुवक्त्रं च तदधः¹⁰ कृष्णं त्रैलोक्यडामरम् |
 कपीन्द्रस्य मुखं वामे रक्तवर्णं महोल्बणम् || (६९)
 कोलवक्त्रं भवेद् दक्षं धूम्रवर्णं भयानकम्¹¹ |
 ताक्ष्यवक्त्रं च वामं च¹² पिङ्गवर्णं सचञ्चुकम् || (७०)
 दक्षिणे मकरास्यं च हरिताभं प्रकीर्तितम्¹³ |
 गजास्यं वामके प्रोक्तं गौरवर्णं महोल्बणम् ||
 हयास्यं दक्षिणे काल्याः¹⁴ श्यामवर्णं विचिन्तयेत् || (७१)
 सर्वदंष्ट्राकराला¹⁵ च त्रिनेत्रा भीमनादिनी |

¹योग] N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, येन Ed ²विनिर्मिता] Ed N¹N²D¹, विभुषिता N³N⁴ ³ज्योतिर्]
 Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, ज्योति D¹ ⁴शतार्द्धैश्] em., शतार्द्ध Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, शतार्द्ध N² ⁵भुजदण्डैर्
] Ed N³N⁴, भुजादण्डैर् N¹N²भुजदण्डै D¹ ⁶ऊर्ध्वकं वक्त्रं] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, ऊर्ध्ववक्त्रं च N²
⁷निर्वाणपददायिनी] N¹N²D¹, निर्वाणपददायकम् Ed, निर्वाणपददायीतत् N³N⁴ ⁸तदधः] Ed N³N⁴, तदध
 N¹D¹, दधतः N² ⁹वदनं] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, वक्त्रं च N² ¹⁰तदधः] Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, तदध D¹
¹¹धूम्रवर्णं भयानकम्] Ed N¹N²N³D¹, धूम्रवर्णं भयानकम् N⁴ ¹²वामं च] N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, वामे स्यात् Ed
¹³प्रकीर्तितम्] Ed N¹N²N³D¹, प्रकीर्तिता N⁴ ¹⁴काल्याः] Ed N³N⁴, काल्या N¹N²D¹ ¹⁵सर्वदंष्ट्राकराला
 (in comp.)] N¹N⁴D¹, सर्वदंष्ट्रा कराला Ed, सर्वदंष्ट्राकराला N², सर्वदंष्ट्राकराला N³

ⁱThe Ed does not record the reading *yoga* shown by N¹ ⁱⁱThe Ed has not listed
 the more feasible reading *nirvāṇapadadāyini* found in N¹. If we apply the *matam*
 from the previous verse, it is still possible to keep the feminine (*dāyini*) without
 emending to neuter (*dāyakam*) as the Ed has done.

^{*}In this row, I record the parallels between near-identical verses of the PT and
 MKS while the verses that merely paraphrase each other have not been listed or
 else the entire edited text could be considered a parallel. I also only compare
 the verses on the generic appearance of the Goddess as a comparison of specific
 features (faces, hand attributes, seats) has been carried out in the analysis. The
 parallel for this verse is MKS 1.58cd

भ्रूभङ्गकुटिला भीमा कालास्या श्रीमुखोत्तमा || (७२)

पिङ्गलोर्ध्वजटाटोपचन्द्रार्द्धकृतशेखरा¹ |*

नानारत्नैश्च घटिता² श्वेतकाद्यालिमालिनी³ || (७३)

सप्तविंशतिमुण्डैश्च⁴ रक्तविप्रुषसंयुता⁵ |

वज्रालिपुष्पसंयुक्ता⁶ शिरोमाला प्रकीर्तिता || (७४)

चिद्रत्नवटिकाकाद्यं खङ्गपाशं च शक्तिम् |

खट्वाङ्गमुण्डधनुषं चक्रं⁷ⁱ घण्टां च सुस्वना⁸ || (७५)

बालप्रेतं च शैलं च कङ्कालनकुलं⁹ तथा |

सर्पं च कुट्टिनीवंशं षडस्त्रं¹⁰ डोडिका¹¹ पुनः || (७६)

वह्निपात्रं च दण्डं च सुवं अष्टारकेशरी¹²ⁱⁱ |

वस्त्रं¹³ⁱⁱⁱ मुद्गरडमरुं¹⁴ बिभ्रती वामबाहुभिः || (७७)

चिद्रत्नवटिकाकर्तृतर्जन्यङ्कुशदण्डकम् |

रत्नपूर्णं च¹⁵ कलशं त्रिशूलं दुष्टनाशनम्¹⁶ || (७८)

पञ्च पाशुपतान् बाणान्¹⁷ पद्मद्विपमतङ्गजम्^{18iv} |

¹शेखरा] Ed N¹N²D¹, शेखरा N³N⁴ ²घटिता] Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, घटिका D¹ ³मालिनी] Ed N¹N²N³D¹, लिमानी N⁴ ⁴सप्तविंशतिमुण्डैश्च] N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, सप्तविंशतिमुण्डाश्च Ed ⁵रक्तविप्रुषसंयुता] em., रक्तविप्रुषसंयुता: Ed, रक्तविप्रुषसंयुता N¹N²N³N⁴, D¹ ⁶वज्रालिपुष्पसंयुक्ता] Ed N²N³, वज्रालिपुष्पसंयुक्तं N¹D¹, वज्रापुष्पसंयुक्ता N⁴ ⁷चक्रं] N¹D¹, चक्र Ed N², N⁴N³ ⁸घण्टां च सुस्वनां] em., घण्टा च सुस्वना Ed N¹N³, घण्टा चरस्वना N², घण्टा च सुस्वा N⁴, घण्टं च सुस्वना D¹ ⁹कङ्कालनकुलं] N¹N²N³N⁴, कङ्कालं नकुलं Ed, कङ्कारनकुलं D¹ ¹⁰कुट्टिनीवंशं] N²N³N⁴, कुट्टिनीवंश N¹, D¹, कुट्टिनीवंश Ed • षडस्त्रं] N¹D¹Ed, षडस्त्र N²N³N⁴ ¹¹डोडिका] em., डोडिका Ed N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ¹²श्रुवं अष्टारकेशरी] Ed N²N⁴D¹, श्रुवष्टारकेशरी N¹, श्रुवं अष्टादकेशरी N³ ¹³वस्त्रं] N¹, वक्रम् Ed, वस्त्र N²D¹, वक्र N³, वक्र N⁴ ¹⁴मुद्गरडमरुं] Ed N¹N²D¹, मुद्गरडमरुं N³N⁴ ¹⁵रत्नपूर्णं च] Ed N²N³N⁴D¹, रत्नपूर्णं N¹ ¹⁶त्रिशूलं दुष्टनाशनम्] Ed N²N⁴D¹, त्रिशूलदुष्टनाशनम् N¹N³ ¹⁷पाशुपतान्] em., पाशुपता N¹N²N³N⁴, पाशुपदा D¹, पाशुपतं Ed • बाणान्] em., बाणं N¹N²N³N⁴D¹Ed ¹⁸द्विपमतङ्गजम्] em., द्वीपमतोद्गमम् Ed, द्वीपमताङ्गजः N¹N², द्वीपततोद्गमः N³, दीपततोद्गमः N⁴, द्वीपमतङ्गजः D¹

ⁱAs long as it does not constitute a major emendation, I have tried to keep all hand implements in the accusative to agree with the present participle *bibhrati* in vv. 77 and 80. ⁱⁱThe author of the PT often puts two words together as an *itaretara dvandva* but the peculiarity of his Sanskrit register is that they are not declined as duals. This is seen several times in this list and will only be noted once. ⁱⁱⁱ*Vastram* is preferred since one finds the parallel in the HRT 1, 2 and 3 and KKA (see the table comparing the hand attributes) and a *munḍa* is already listed in the left hand. It is unlikely for her to have two of the same items on one side of her hands. ^{iv}See my explanation for emendation to *dvīpamataṅgajam* in hand attributes section of analysis.

*MKS 1.90ab

कुन्तं च पारिजातं च छुरिकातोमरं तथा ॥
 पुष्पमालाडिण्डिमं च गृध्रं स्वस्तिकवर्धनी¹ⁱ ॥(७९)
 कमण्डलुश्रुवं² चैव पांशुमुष्टिभयापहम्³ⁱⁱ |
 नन्द्यावर्त⁴ कुण्डलं च मांसखण्डसुशोभनम्⁵ ॥
 बीजपूरफलं सूची⁶ⁱⁱⁱ बिभ्रती दक्षबाहुभिः ॥(८०)
 व्याघ्रचर्मपरीधाना कालचर्मोत्तरीयका |
 किङ्किणीजालशोभाढ्या वीरघण्टानिनादिनी * ॥(८१)
 नूपुरा⁷ रावनिर्घोषा घर्घरावभीषणा |
 कटकाङ्गदकेयूरा^{8iv} महास्थिकृतशोभना[†] ॥(८२)
 मुण्डमाला गले⁹ देव्या आपदान्तावलम्बिनी¹⁰ |
 रक्तपद्मययी माला¹¹ शुष्ककाद्यालिका¹² तथा[‡] ॥(८३)
 काञ्चीकट्टारकोपेतकटिर्देव्या¹³ विराजिता¹⁴ |
 ब्रह्मसूत्रोज्ज्वलत्कण्ठा योगपट्टोत्तरीयका[§] ॥(८४)
 सौम्याग्रभूषणैर्¹⁵ युक्ता नागराजाद्यलङ्कृता¹⁶ |

¹वर्धनी] N¹N², वर्द्धिनी Ed, वर्धिनी N³N⁴D¹ ²कमण्डलुश्रुवं] N¹N²N³D¹, कमण्डलु श्रुवं Ed, कमण्डलुश्रुवं
 D¹ ³पांशुमुष्टिभयापहम्] em., पशुमुष्टिभयापहम् Ed N¹N², पशुमुष्टिभयापहम् N³N⁴, पन्द्रमुष्टिभयापहम्
 D¹ ⁴नन्द्यावर्त] em., नद्यावर्त Ed N²N³D¹, नद्यावर्त N¹N⁴ ⁵सुशोभनम्] Ed N¹N²N⁴D¹,
 सुस्वभानं N³ ⁶सूची] em., सूची Ed N², ची N¹, सूची N³N⁴D¹ ⁷नूपुरा] Ed N²N³N⁴, नौपुरा
 N¹D¹ ⁸कटकाङ्गदकेयुरा] N², कनकाङ्गदकेयुरा Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹ ⁹गले] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, गला
 N² ¹⁰आपदान्तावलम्बिनी] N²N³N⁴, आपदान्तविलम्बिनी Ed D¹, आपदान्ताविलम्बिनी N¹ ¹¹माला]
 Ed N³N⁴, मालां N¹N²D¹ ¹²काद्यालिका] em., काद्यालिकास Ed N¹, N²N³, वाद्यालिकास N⁴,
 काद्यालिकास D¹ ¹³काञ्चीकट्टारकोपेतकटिर् (in comp.) devyā] em., काञ्चीकट्टारकोपेता कतिदेव्या (in
 comp.) Ed N²N³N⁴D¹, काञ्चीकट्टारकोपेन कतिदेव्या N¹ ¹⁴विराजिता] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, विराजिताः
 N² ¹⁵सौम्याग्रभूषणैर्] N³N⁴D¹, सौम्योग्रभूषणैर् Ed, सौम्याग्रभूषणैर् N¹N² ¹⁶नागराजाद्यलङ्कृता]
 Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, नागराजद्यलङ्कृता N²

ⁱThe Ed takes this term as a descriptor meaning “increasing well-being” but in doing so, we would have one too few attributes. The evidence from HRT 1, 2 and 3 and the KKA also suggests *vardhanī* is the correct reading. Again note the peculiar declension of the *itaretara dvandva* as per *aṣṭārakeśarī* in v. 77. ⁱⁱSee my analysis of this implement as well as its appearance in all MSS of the KKA for the reasoning behind the emendation. ⁱⁱⁱFor my reasoning behind this emendation, other than three MSS’s attestation, see *sūcī* in the HRT 1, 2 and 3, MKS and KKA in the hand attributes table in the analysis. ^{iv}I have gone with N²’s reading of *kaṭaka* as opposed to *kanaka* as this is the term also found in the parallel verse of HRT (1.38) and MKS (1.87)

^{*}MKS v.86cd - 87ab [†]MKS v.87cd - 88ab [‡]MKS v.87cd is a combination of PT 83ab and 83cd [§]MKS v.89

रक्तकुण्डलकर्णश्रीः पञ्चकालासनस्थिता* || (८५)

शिवासनं तदूर्ध्वं च नीलं¹ नालोर्ध्वलाञ्छनम्²ⁱ |
महार्घरत्नमालं³ⁱⁱ च कृष्णवर्णं चतुर्भुजम् || (८६)

एकवक्त्रं त्रिनयनं⁴ भैरवाभरणान्वितम् |
कर्तृकपालहस्तं च डमरुखट्वाङ्गधारिणम्⁵ || (८७)

एवं भैरवपीठं तु देव्या आसनमुत्तमम् || (८८)

पञ्चप्रेतं च तदधो⁶ ब्रह्माद्याः पञ्चकारणाः⁷ |
ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्च ईश्वरश्च सदाशिवः || (८९)

पीतश्यामरक्तधूम्रश्वेताभाः⁸ पञ्चकारणाः |
दण्डचक्रशक्तिशूलखट्वाङ्गायुधधारकाः⁹ || (९०)

तर्जनीमुखनिक्षिप्ताः¹⁰ शिवाधस्थास्¹¹ त्रिलोचनाः || (९१)

पिङ्गरक्ता त्रिगुण्या हि¹²ⁱⁱⁱ फेत्काररवभीषणा¹³ |
वज्रदंष्ट्रानखस्पशां^{iv} पद्मपृष्ठे शिवोत्तमा¹⁴ || (९२)

¹नीलं] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, नीलां N² ²नालोर्ध्वलाञ्छनं] em. , नादोर्ध्वलाञ्छनं Ed N¹N³N⁴, नादोर्ध्वलाञ्छिता N², नालोर्ध्वलोचनं D¹ ³महार्घरत्नमालं] N³N⁴, महार्घरत्नमांसं Ed N¹D¹, मर्घरत्नमांसं N² ⁴त्रिनयनं] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, त्रिनेत्रं च N² ⁵धारिणम्] Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, धारिणीम् D¹ ⁶तदधो] Ed N¹N³N⁴, दधतः N², तदधः D¹ ⁷पञ्चकारणाः] Ed N¹N⁴D¹, पञ्चभुतयः N², पञ्चकारणा N³ ⁸पीतश्यामरक्तधूम्रश्वेताभाः] Ed , पीतश्यामरक्तधूम्रं श्वेताभा N¹, पीतश्यामं रक्तधूम्रं श्वेताभा N², पीतश्यामं रक्तधूम्रं श्वेताभं N³, पीतश्यामरक्तधूम्रं श्वेताभं N⁴, पीतश्यामरक्तधूम्रं श्वेताभावं D¹ ⁹दण्डचक्रशक्तिशूलखट्वाङ्गायुधधारकाः] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, दण्डचक्र शक्तिशूलं खट्वाङ्गायुधधारका N² ¹⁰निक्षिप्ताः] em. , निःक्षिप्ता Ed N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ¹¹शिवाधस्थास्] N³, शिवाधस्था Ed N¹N²N⁴D¹ ¹²पिङ्गरक्ता त्रिगुण्या हि] em. पिङ्गरक्तत्रिगुण्या हि N¹D¹, पिङ्गरक्तत्रिगुणा हि Ed , पिङ्गरक्ता त्रिगुण्यादि N², पिङ्गरक्त त्रिगुणः स्यात् N³N⁴ ¹³भीषणा] Ed N¹N²N³D¹, भीषणाः N⁴ ¹⁴शिवोत्तमा] Ed N³N⁴, शिवोत्तमाः N¹N²D¹

ⁱSee the analysis in the section on the Śiva / Bhairava seat for reasoning behind this emendation. ⁱⁱOther than N³'s reading, see paralell with MKS 54cd for my reason behind emendation. Moreover, it would be strange for his flesh to be said to be made out of jewels. ⁱⁱⁱI have selected this reading *trigunya* due to its appearance in the equivalent verse of HRT (1.46) as well as it making more sense in the context of this seat as explained in the relevant section of Chapter 1. ^{iv}All MSS read *vajradanṣṭrānakhasparsā* but I have chosen not to split the compound as the Ed has done. For my preference of this reading in compound, see my reasoning in the analysis of the she-jackal seat.

*MKS v.90

शचीपत्यादि रत्न¹ च दिगवर्णसवर्णकम्²ⁱ |
 इन्द्र³ⁱⁱ पीतभं⁴ वज्रं च वह्नि रक्तं सशक्तिकम्⁵ || (९३)
 यमं कृष्णं च दण्डाढ्यं⁶ धूम्रं⁷ निर्ऋत्यः⁸ⁱⁱⁱ खड्गकं |
 वरुणं⁹ पाशशुभ्रास्यं¹⁰ वायुं¹¹ श्यामं करध्वजम्¹² || (९४)
 कुबेरं कुङ्कुमः¹³ गदाम्¹⁴ शुक्लमीशानः^{15iv} शूलकम् |
 दिगष्टपतयो ज्ञेया¹⁶ आसनं परिकीर्तितम्¹⁷ || (९५)
 शुक्लं कृतयुगं¹⁸ ज्ञेयं¹⁹ पीतं²⁰ त्रेतायुगं²¹ स्मृतम् |
 द्वापरं²² चारुणं वर्णं श्यामं²³ चैव²⁴ कलि²⁵ स्मृतम्²⁶ || (९६)
 ऋग्वेदं शुक्लवर्णं²⁷ च यजुः²⁸ पीतं²⁹ सुवर्णवत् |
 सामं³⁰ रक्तम्³¹ इति ख्यातं कृष्णाथर्वणमुच्यते ||

¹शचीपत्यादि रत्नं | N¹N²N³N⁴, शचीपत्यादिरत्नं (in comp.) Ed ²दिगवर्णसवर्णकम् | N¹N²D¹, दिग्वर्णं च सवर्णकम् Ed, दिगवर्णं सवर्णकम् N³N⁴ ³इन्द्रं | N²N³N⁴D¹, इन्द्रः Ed, इन्द्र N¹ ⁴पीतभं | em., पीतभ Ed N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁵वह्नि रक्तम् सशक्तिकम् | N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, वह्नि रक्तः सशक्तिकः Ed ⁶यमं कृष्णं च दण्डाढ्यं | N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, यमः कृष्णः च दण्डाढ्यः Ed ⁷धूम्रं | em., धूम्रो Ed, धूम्र N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁸निर्ऋत्यः | N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, निर्ऋति Ed, निर्ऋत्यः N⁴ ⁹वरुणं | N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, वरुणः Ed ¹⁰पाशशुभ्रास्यं | Ed N²N⁴, पाशशुभ्रास्य N¹D¹, पाशशुभ्रास्यं N³ ¹¹वायुं | N², वायुः Ed, वायु N¹N³N⁴D¹ ¹²श्यामं करध्वजम् | N¹, स्यान्मकरे ध्वजे Ed, श्यामं करे ध्वजं N², श्यामं करे ङ्कुशं N³N⁴, श्यामं कलध्वज D¹ ¹³कुबेरं कुङ्कुमः गदाम् | N¹N²D¹, कुबेरः कुङ्कुमगदः Ed, कुबेरं कुङ्कुम गदं N³N⁴ ¹⁴दिगष्टपतयो ज्ञेया | Ed N³, दिगष्टपतये ज्ञेयं N¹N², दिगष्टपतयो ज्ञेयं N⁴, दिगष्टपट्टय ज्ञेयं D¹ ¹⁵परिकीर्तितम् | Ed N¹N²N³, परिकीर्तिता N⁴, पतिकीर्तितं D¹ ¹⁶कृतयुगं | Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, कृतं युगं D¹ ¹⁷ज्ञेयं | Ed N²N³N⁴, ज्ञेय N¹D¹ ¹⁸पीतं | Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, पीत D¹ ¹⁹त्रेतायुगं | Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, त्रेतायुग N² ²⁰द्वापरं | Ed N³N⁴, द्वापर N¹N²D¹ ²¹श्यामं | Ed N¹N², श्याम N³D¹, श्यामश N⁴ ²²चैव | Ed N²N³N⁴D¹, चै (without va) N¹ ²³कलि | N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, कलिः Ed ²⁴स्मृतम् | Ed N¹N²N³, स्मृता N⁴ ²⁵ऋग्वेदं शुक्लवर्णं | N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, ऋग्वेदः शुक्लवर्णः Ed ²⁶यजुः | Ed, यजुर् N¹N², यजु N³D¹, यजु N⁴ ²⁷पीतं | Ed N¹N², पीत N³N⁴, पीत D¹ ²⁸सामं | N¹N²N⁴, सामं Ed, स्याम N³ ²⁹रक्तम् | Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, रक्तम् D¹

ⁱI have kept the original as found in certain MSS as it seems the author intends to compound the term, which is better semantically than splitting it into two terms as per the Ed. The word *diga* is brought about by the addition of a syllable to *dig* to fit the metre. Since all MSS have this additional “a” I have chosen not to emend it as the Ed has done. ⁱⁱThe witnesses vary between having the figures in the bottom two tiers of the throne in their *prātipadika* form or in the accusative. Meanwhile, the Nepali edition has left some in the *prātipadika* form (*pitabha* in v.92), the accusative (*pāśaśubhrāsyam* in v.94) or nominative (most instances). This inconsistency might have arisen due to the confusing syntax of this *dhyāna* and whether to see the figures of these seats as being the object of the verbs indicating visualisation coming a lot later in the text (*smaret* or *vicintayet*) or to see them as parts of pronominal sentences. For the sake of consistency and because it is also metrically correct, I have amended all figures and their descriptors to the accusative. ⁱⁱⁱ*Nirrtiya* seemingly has its *anusvāra* removed for metrical reasons as the author needs a light syllable here. This is a phenomenon that occurs several times. ^{iv}In the cases of both *īśāna* and *kuṅkuma*, we see the dropping of the *anusvāra* for metri causa as noted previously.

उपवेदास्¹ तथावर्णा² एवम्³ आसनम् उच्यते⁴ ||(९७)

सहस्रसूर्यज्वालाग्रमासनं परिकीर्तितम् |

पद्मोपरिस्थितां देवीं नृत्यमानां सदोदिताम्^{5*} ||(९८)

अथवा सुखमासीनां⁶ सर्वदेवाधियन्त्रिताम्^{7†} |

सहस्रसूर्यप्रतिभां⁸ दुर्निरीक्ष्यां⁹ दुरासदाम्¹⁰ ||(९९)

सर्वदेवाश्रयां¹¹ नित्यां मालिनीं¹² जयमङ्गलाम्¹³ |

मुक्तहृङ्कारजिह्वाग्रं¹⁴ लालयन्तीं¹⁵ विचिन्तयेत्^{16‡} ||(१००)

प्रत्यालीढपदां¹⁷ वापि नृत्यमानामपि¹⁸ स्मरेत् |

सर्वमन्त्रमयी धीरा सर्वलक्ष्मीर्¹⁹ जयेश्वरी²⁰ ||(१०१)

एवं ध्येया महाकाली-म्²¹ⁱ उद्भिन्ननवयौवना^{22ii§} |

भासाक्रमस्य²³ मध्यस्था चक्रेक्षी परमेश्वरी²⁴ ||(१०२)

पञ्च कालीप्रभेदास्²⁵ तु विशेषं शृणु पार्वति |

नववक्त्रा²⁶ महाकाली सप्तविंशतिलोचना ||(१०३)

ऊर्ध्वं ज्योतिर्मयं वक्त्रं चण्डयोगेश्वरीऽभिधम्ⁱⁱⁱ |

चिद्रत्नवटिकामुद्रा²⁷ मूलदेव्यास्तु एव सा ||

¹उपवेदास् | Ed N²N³N⁴, उपवेदस् N¹D¹ ²तथावर्णा (in comp.) | N¹N²D¹, तथा वर्णा Ed, तथावर्णान् N³N⁴ ³एवम् | Ed N³N⁴, नवं N¹N²D¹ ⁴आसनम् उच्यते | Ed N¹N²D¹, N³omits उच्यते, आसनम् उत्तमं N⁴ ⁵देवी and all descriptors in acc. | Ed, devī and all descriptors in nom. in N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁶आसीनां | Ed, आसीनं N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁷अधियन्त्रिताम् | N¹, अभिवन्दिताम् Ed, अधियन्त्रिता N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁸प्रतिभां | Ed N¹N³N⁴, प्रतिभा N², प्रतिभि D¹ ⁹दुर्निरीक्ष्यां | N¹, दुर्निरीक्षां Ed N²N³N⁴, दुर्निरीक्षा D¹ ¹⁰दुरासदाम् | Ed N¹N²N⁴D¹, रुदासदाम् N³ ¹¹सर्वदेवाश्रयां | Ed N¹N³, सर्वदेव्याश्रयां N², सर्वदेवाश्रया N⁴, सर्वदेवाश्रयी D¹ ¹²मालिनी | Ed N², मालिनी N¹N³N⁴D¹ ¹³जयमङ्गलाम् | Ed N¹N²N³, जयमङ्गला N⁴D¹ ¹⁴जिह्वाग्रं | Ed N¹, जिह्वाग्रे N²N³, ज्वाग्र N⁴D¹ ¹⁵लालयन्तीं | Ed, लालयन्तं N¹N²N⁴D¹, लालयन्त N³ ¹⁶विचिन्तयेत् | Ed N¹N²D¹, विचिन्तये N³, विचिन्तितम् N⁴ ¹⁷प्रत्यालीढपदां | Ed, प्रत्यालीढपदा N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ¹⁸नृत्यमानाम् अपि | em., नृत्यमानापि वा Ed N¹N²D¹, नृत्यमानादि वा N³N⁴ ¹⁹सर्वलक्ष्मीर् | Ed, सर्वलक्ष्मी N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ²⁰जयेश्वरी | Ed N²N³N⁴D¹, जयेश्वरी N¹ ²¹महाकाली-म् | N¹N³N⁴D¹, महाकाली Ed N² ²²उद्भिन्ननवयौवना | N¹N³N⁴D¹, उद्भिन्ननवयौवना Ed, उद्भिन्नजौवना N² ²³क्रमस्य | Ed N¹N²N³D¹, चक्रमस्य N⁴ ²⁴परमेश्वरी | Ed N¹N²D¹, भुवनेश्वरी N³N⁴ ²⁵पञ्च कालीप्रभेदास् | N¹N²D¹, पञ्चकालीप्रभेदस् (in comp.) Ed N³, पञ्चकालीप्रभेदस् N⁴ ²⁶नववक्त्रा | Ed N²N³N⁴D¹, नववक्त्रा N¹ ²⁷चिद्रत्नवटिका | Ed N¹N²D¹, चिद्रत्नवटिका N³N⁴

ⁱThe author most likely added the extra “m” so that we would not lose a syllable due to *sandhi* preceding *udbhinna* in the form of *mahākālyudbhinna* ⁱⁱ*udbhinna* is preferred as seen in HRT 1.54 ⁱⁱⁱThe “a” in *abhidham* has been dropped for metri causa.

*MKS v.91ab †MKS v.91cd ‡MKS v.92ab §MKS v.101ab

वक्रैकं¹ⁱ रत्नमुद्रां च विहीना पञ्चकालिका || (१०४)

वक्रं शस्त्रं भुजं माला² आसनानि क्रमेण³ च |

भूषणादीनि वर्णानि यथा श्रीगुह्यकालिका || (१०५)

सृष्टिः⁴ स्थितिश्च⁵ संहार अनाख्येया⁶ⁱⁱ महेश्वरी |

भासा काल्यास्⁷ तु रूपाणि⁸ विशेषं सर्वतः⁹ शृणु || (१०६)

विशेषिका¹⁰ विशेषेण तद् वक्ष्यामि क्रमेण तु || (१०७)

नीलजीमूतसंकाशा नववक्रा¹¹ महेश्वरी |

पूर्वोक्तध्यानराजैस्तु तुल्या चान्या महेश्वरी || (१०८)

बद्धपद्मासनां देवीं पीनोन्नतपयोधरां¹² |

जिह्वाग्रेण वामदंष्ट्रां¹³ⁱⁱⁱ स्पर्शयन्ती¹⁴ त्रिभङ्गिकां¹⁵ || (१०९)

मदघूर्णितदीर्घाक्षी¹⁶ ध्यानलोचनतत्पराम्¹⁷ |

चिद्रत्नवटिकां त्यज्य^{18iv} वरदाभयपाणिनीम्¹⁹ || (११०)

तर्जन्यग्रे स्थितं वज्रं मूर्तिज्वलनसप्रभाम्²⁰ |

रश्मिद्वादशसंयुक्तामनाख्येशी²¹ स्मरेत् सदा || (१११)

¹वक्रैकं] N²N³N⁴D¹, वक्रैक Ed, वक्रैकैव N¹ ²भुजं माला] Ed N², भुजं मालां N¹D¹, भुजा मालां N³, text between भु and आसनानि missing in N⁴ ³क्रमेण] Ed N¹, क्रमाणि N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁴सृष्टिः] em., सृष्टि Ed N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁵स्थितिश्च] N³N⁴, स्थिती च Ed N¹, स्थित्यन्तश्च N² ⁶अनाख्येया] em., अनाख्या या Ed, अनाख्यायां N¹N², अनाख्याया N³N⁴D¹ ⁷भासा काल्यास्] N¹N³N⁴, भासाकाल्यास् (in comp.) Ed, भासा काल्या N²D¹ ⁸तु रूपाणि] Ed N¹N²N⁴, तुल्यरूपा N³D¹ ⁹सर्वतः] Ed, सच्चतान् N¹D¹, यच्चता N², सर्वत N³N⁴ ¹⁰विशेषिका] Ed N¹N³N⁴D¹, वैशेषि N² ¹¹नववक्रा] Ed N³D¹, नवक्रा N¹N²N⁴ ¹²बद्धपद्मासनां देवीं पीनोन्नतपयोधरां] Ed, बद्धपद्मासना देवी पीनोन्नतपयोधराः N¹N²N⁴, बद्धपद्मासना देवी पीनोन्नतपयोधरां N³, बद्धपद्मासना देवी पीनोन्नतपयोधरा D¹ ¹³वामदंष्ट्रां] Ed N¹N⁴D¹, वामदंष्ट्रा N², वामदंष्ट्रा N³ ¹⁴स्पर्शयन्ती] Ed N¹, दशयन्त्रि N², स्पर्शयन्ती N³N⁴, दर्शयन्तं D¹ ¹⁵त्रिभङ्गिकां] Ed N²D¹, त्रिभङ्गिकां N¹, त्रिभङ्गिका N³N⁴ ¹⁶मदघूर्णितदीर्घाक्षी] Ed, मदघूर्णितदीर्घाक्षी N¹N³N⁴D¹, महाघूर्णितदीर्घाक्षी N² ¹⁷तत्पराम्] Ed, तत्परा N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ¹⁸-वटिकां त्यज्य] em., -वटिकास त्यज्या N¹N²D¹, -वटिकां ह्याज्यां Ed, -कोटिका त्यज्या N³N⁴ ¹⁹वरदाभयपाणिनीम्] Ed, वरदाभयपाणिनी N¹N²N³D¹, वरणिनी N⁴ ²⁰मूर्तिज्वलनसप्रभाम्] Ed N³N⁴D¹, मूर्ति ज्वलनसप्रभम् N¹, मूर्तिज्ञं ज्वलनप्रभम् N² ²¹अनाख्येशी] Ed, अनाक्षेशी N¹D¹, अनाक्षेशी N², अनाख्येशी N³N⁴

ⁱI have adopted *vaktraikam* since N¹'s reading has too many syllables and, given the following *ca*, it makes more sense not to compound this term with *ratnamu-drāṇ*. ⁱⁱⁱIt appears that *visarga sandhi* between *saṃhārah* and *anākhyaeyā* has not been observed for metri causa. ⁱⁱⁱThe text between *payodharām* and *vāmadamsṭrāṇ* missing in N⁴ ^{iv}I understand this as a shortened form of *parityajya* which the author has decided to use instead of the conventional *tyaktoā*

संहारचक्रमध्यस्था¹ निर्मासां कोटराम्बिकाम्² |
 प्रत्यालीढपदां देवी³ दन्तोष्ठपृष्ठपिण्डिकाम्⁴ ||(११२)
 लेलिहानां ललज्जिह्वां मुक्तहृकारराविणीम्⁵ |
 वरदानं परित्यज्य विभ्राणाम्⁶ अजकेशवौ⁷ ||
 दशशक्तिसमायुक्तां विश्वसंहारकारिणीम्⁸ ||(११३)
 स्थितिक्रमस्य मध्यस्थाम्⁹ ईषत्प्रहसिताननाम्¹⁰ |
 खर्वा लम्बोदरीं देवी¹¹ राजलीलासनस्थिताम् ||(११४)
 अजकृष्णौ परित्यज्य¹² ब्रह्मकङ्कालवल्लकीम्¹³ |
 वादयन्तीं महाकाली¹⁴ स्थितिस्थां षोडशात्मिकाम्¹⁵ ||(११५)
 सृष्टिक्रमस्य¹⁶ मध्यस्थाम् अट्टहाससमन्विताम्¹⁷ |
 ऊर्ध्वा समपदां¹⁸ⁱ चारुललितां तनुविग्रहाम्¹⁹ ||(११६)
 विहाय²⁰ ब्रह्मवीणां²¹ⁱⁱ च विभ्रती²² चन्द्रभास्करो |

¹मध्यस्थां] Ed , मध्यस्थं N¹D¹, तेमध्यस्था N², मध्ये स्था N³, text between संहार and निर्मासां missing in N⁴ ²कोटराम्बिकाम्] Ed N¹D¹, कोटराम्बिका N²N³, कोतलांबिका N⁴ ³प्रत्यालीढपदां देवी] N¹, प्रत्यालीढपदा देवी Ed N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁴दन्तोष्ठपृष्ठपिण्डिकाम्] Ed N², दन्तोष्ठपृष्ठपिण्डिका N¹D¹, रक्तोष्ठपृष्ठपिण्डिका N³N⁴ ⁵N¹, N², N³, N⁴ and D¹ have all these in the nom. I have amended all three words to acc. in line with the Ed. Moreover, the text between ह्रं and नीम् is missing in N⁴ ⁶विभ्राणाम्] N¹N²D¹, विभ्राणाम् Ed, विभ्राणा N³N⁴ ⁷अजकेशवौ] Ed N¹N²D¹, ब्रह्मकेशवौ N³N⁴ ⁸विश्वसंहारकारिणीम्] Ed, विश्वसंहारकारिणी N¹N³N⁴D¹, विसंहारकारिणी N² ⁹मध्यस्थाम्] Ed, मध्यस्था N¹N²N³D¹, text between स्थिति and मध्यस्था missing in N⁴ ¹⁰ईषत्प्रहसिताननाम् (in comp.)] em., ईषत् प्रहसिताननाम् Ed, ईषत्प्रहसितानना N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ¹¹Again I have amended देवी and her descriptors in this verse, which are in the nom. in N¹N²N³N⁴ and D¹ to acc. in line with Ed ¹²परित्यज्य] Ed N³N⁴D¹, परित्यज्यं N¹N² ¹³ब्रह्मकङ्कालवल्लकीम्] Ed N¹N²N³, text after ब्रह्मकङ् missing in N⁴, ब्रह्मकङ्कारवेलकम् D¹ ¹⁴वादयन्ती महाकाली] Ed, वादयन्ती महाकाली N¹N²N³D¹, वादन्ती महाकाली N⁴ ¹⁵षोडशात्मिकाम्] Ed N¹N²N³D¹, षोडशात्मिकां N⁴ ¹⁶सृष्टिक्रमस्य] Ed N¹N²N³N⁴, सृष्टिक्रमस्य D¹ ¹⁷अट्टहाससमन्विताम्] Ed N³, अट्टहाससमन्विताम् N¹, अट्टहाससमन्वितम् N², अट्टहाससमन्विताम् N⁴, अस्तहाससमन्वितां D¹ ¹⁸ऊर्ध्वा समपदां] em., ऊर्ध्वा समपदां Ed, ऊर्ध्वा समयदा N¹N²D¹, ऊर्ध्वा समपदा N³, ऊर्ध्व पदा N⁴ ¹⁹चारुललितां तनुविग्रहाम्] em., चारु ललितातनुविग्रहाम् Ed, चारुललिता तनुविग्रहा N¹N⁴D¹, चारुललिततनुविग्रहा N², चुललिता तनुविग्रहा N³ ²⁰विहाय] Ed N¹N²N³D¹, विग्रहाय N⁴ ²¹ब्रह्मवीणां] N¹N²N³N⁴D¹, ब्रह्मविणुं Ed ²²विभ्रती] N¹N³D¹, विभ्रती Ed, विभ्रती N²N⁴

ⁱI have amended to *samapadāṇi* (even-footed) in line with N³ but rendered in the acc. since in the KKA, this is the posture ascribed to Sṛṣṭikālī. Moreover, in adopting the Ed's *samayadāṇi* over our reading, a description of Sṛṣṭikālī's posture would be missing which would make her inconsistent with the other Kālīs whose postures are all listed. ⁱⁱ*Brahmavīṇāṇi* is preferable since each goddess is meant to discard the preceding goddess's distinctive attribute which in this case would be the *vallakti/vīṇā*.

योनिपञ्चक¹मध्यस्थां ध्यायेत् सृष्ट्यैकहेतवे² ||(११७)

अनाख्यचक्रमध्यस्था³ भासादेवी⁴ जगन्मयी |
सर्वकालीसृता⁵ देवी षोडशारे प्रतिष्ठिता ||(११८)

चन्द्रसूर्यौ⁶ परित्यज्य मञ्जरीद्वयधारिणी⁷ |
जगद् भासयते भासाकाली विष्णुसमुद्भवा ||(११९)

बाला कुमारी या काली सर्वसंसृतिरूपिणी⁸ |
त्रिमुखाष्टभुजा⁹ देवी कपालमालसंयुता ||(१२०)

पिबन्ती¹⁰ रुधिरं दिव्यं कृष्णवर्णा¹¹ त्रिलोचना¹² |
पाशाङ्कुशं वज्रशूलं खट्वाङ्गं मुद्गरं तथा¹³ ||(१२१)

मृतबाल¹⁴मुण्डहस्तं कपालं रक्तपूरितम् |
एवं ध्यात्वा महादेवी नानाभोगफलप्रदा ||(१२२)

¹योनिपञ्चक] Ed N¹N²D¹, योनिपञ्चम N³N⁴ ²सृष्ट्यैकहेतवे] Ed N³D¹, सृष्ट्यैकहेतवे N¹, सृष्ट्यैवहेतवं N², सृष्टिकहेतवे N⁴ ³अनाख्यचक्रमध्यस्था] Ed N²N³N⁴D¹, अनाख्यचक्रमध्य N¹ ⁴भासादेवी] Ed N¹N²N³D¹, सासादेवी N⁴ ⁵सर्वकालीसृता] N⁴D¹, सर्वकालीश्रिता] N², सर्वा कालीसृता Ed N¹,N³ ⁶चन्द्रसूर्यौ] Ed, चन्द्रसूर्य N¹N²N³N⁴D¹ ⁷मञ्जरी] N², मञ्जीर Ed N¹N³N⁴, मञ्जीरे D¹ ⁸सर्वसंसृतिरूपिणी] Ed N³N⁴, सर्वसंसृतिरूपिणी N¹N²D¹ ⁹त्रिमुखाष्टभुजा] Ed N²D¹, त्रिमुखाष्टभुजा N¹N⁴, त्रिमुखाष्टगुया N³ ¹⁰पिबन्ती] Ed N⁴, पिबन्तु N¹D¹, पिबन्ति N²N³ ¹¹कृष्णवर्णा] Ed N³N⁴, कृष्णवर्ण N¹D¹, कृष्णवर्ण N² ¹²त्रिलोचना] Ed N³N⁴, त्रिलोचनं N¹N²D¹ ¹³N⁴ misses मुद्गरं ¹⁴मृतबाल] Ed N¹N²N³, वृतबाल N⁴

ⁱmañjarī is preferred as it is the term used in the visualisation of Bhāsākālī in the KKA.

Translation:

64: I shall now proclaim the visualisation of these (the five Kālīs). Listen to that which removes sin and danger. Now, I will (first) declare the unexcelled visualisation of the Great Goddess.

65: By mere knowledge of its application, the *sādhaka* should become an enjoyer of attainments. She (Guhyakālī) is dark like the petals of the blue lotus and made of sapphires.

66: Mahākālī is the expansion of the multitude of rays of knowledge arising out of a *maṇḍala* of light and is ten-faced with 27 eyes.

67: She who is (in reality) human-faced is with 54 hands. One should (first) visualise the the upper flame face regarded as Caṇḍayo-geśvarī.

68: That great face consists of light and grants the stage of Nirvāṇa. Below that is the lion face which is white and radiant.

69: Below that is the black jackal face, the Subduer of the Three Worlds. To its left is the Monkey King face, which is red and very abundantly furnished.

70: To its right is the boar face, the colour of smoke and warding off danger. (Below those), to the (immediate) left (of the central Kālī face) is the Garuḍa face, red and with a beak.

71: To the (immediate) right, the green *makara* face is declared. To the (outer) left, the elephant face is proclaimed, white and abundantly furnished. To the (outer) right of Kālī is the dark horse face.

72: The most important blessed face, the face of Kālī gapes open (showing) all her fangs and is three-eyed, making a terrifying sound and crooked with a frown.

73: Her mass of matted tawny locks that are flying upwards are adorned with the half-moon crest. She is decorated with various gems and garlanded with rows of white skulls.

74: She has a garland of heads said to be made out of 27 craniums, joined with dripping blood and rows of *vajrālī* flowers.

75: She holds with her left hands 1) a pellet of wish-granting gems 2) a skull 3) a sword 4) a noose 5) a spear 6) a skull staff 7) a chopped head 8) a bow 9) a discus 10) a loud-sounding bell

76: 11) a dead child 12) a mountain 13) a skeleton 14) a mon-goose 15) a snake 16) a chopper 17) a bamboo (flute) 18) a six-angled shape 19) a *ḍoḍikā* fruit

77: 20) a fire vessel 21) a club 22) a ghee ladle 23) an eight-angled shape 24) a lion 25) a garment 26) a mallet 27) a *ḍamaru* drum

78: She bears with her right hand 1) a pellet of wish-granting gems 2) a chopping knife 3) the *tarjanī* gesture 4) an elephant goad 5) a club 9) a pot full of gems 7) a trident destroying evil

79: 8) five *pāśupata* arrows 9) a lotus 10) an elephant 11) a lance 12) an Indian coral tree 13) a cleaver 14) a javelin 15) a garland of flowers 16) a *ḍiṇḍima* drum 17) a vulture 18) a *svastika* 19) a water-jar

80: 20) a water-pot 21) a ghee ladle 22) a handful of dust that removes danger 23) the *nandyāvarta* symbol 24) earrings 25) a splendid piece of meat 26) a citron fruit and 27) a needle.

81: Her lower garment is a tiger skin while her upper garment is the skin of Mahākāla.¹ She is furnished with the lustre of a net of tinkling bells and resounds with the sound of the *vīra* drums.

82: She is rattling with the noise of anklets and terrifying with the chiming of her cymbals. She has bangles, bracelets and armlets and is beautified with human bones.

83: The garland of heads on the Goddess's neck hangs to her feet. (Another) garland consists of red lotuses while her forehead is (adorned) with dried skull bones.

84: The Goddess's hips, furnished with her dagger and girdle, are splendid. Her throat is gleaming with a sacred thread while her outer garment is bound with a *yogaṭṭa*.

85: She is endowed with beautiful and prime ornaments and is adorned with such things as the Nāga King. The resplendence of her ears is from her red earrings and she is seated on the 5 Kālas.

86: At the top is the Śiva seat, dark and marked with an upward lotus stalk. He is four-armed, dark-skinned and has a garland of very valuable jewels.

87: He has one face, three eyes and is furnished with the ornaments of Bhairava. (Two of) his hands have a chopping knife and a skull bowl and (he is also) holding a *ḍamaru* drum and a skull staff.

88: Thus is the excellent Bhairava seat of the Goddess.

89: Below him are the five *pretas* who are the Five Causes beginning with Brahmā - Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva.

90: The Five Causes appear yellow, dark, red, grey and white, bearing weapons which are a club, discus, spear, trident and skull staff.

¹The description of her upper garment as *kālacarmottariyakā* is ambiguous and might simply imply that it is made from a dark skin. However, we know *kāla* to be a proper noun referring to Mahākāla since this garment is elaborated upon in the KKA as *mahākālakṛtōttariyāṇi*

91: They have their forefingers pointed in front of their faces, stationed beneath the She-jackal (*śivā*) and are three-eyed.

92: While the Best of She-jackals, tawny red and representing the three *guṇas*, is on the surface of the lotus, terrifying with her howling, the touch of her fangs and nails like lightning.²

93: (The next seat is) the group beginning with Indra alongside their gems, their colour being the colour of their respective directions.³ Indra is yellow with a *vajra*; Agni is red with a spear.

94: Yama is black and furnished with a staff; Nirṛti is grey with a sword; Varuṇa has a noose and is white; Vāyu is dark and in his hand is a flagstaff;

95: Kubera is orange with a mace; Īśāna is white with his trident. These are known as the eight guardians of the directions. The next seat is declared (as comprised of the following):

96: The Kṛtayuga is known as white; the Tretā is remembered as yellow; the Dvāpara red in colour and the Kali indeed recalled as black;

97: the R̥gveda white, the Yajur golden yellow; the Sāma declared to be red and the Atharva is said to be black. The Upavedas follow these colours. In this way is the (final) seat described.

98: The throne is declared to be topped by the flames of a thousand suns. One should imagine the Goddess situated on top of the lotus, always upraised, dancing.

99: Or she by whom all the deities are controlled⁴ is seated with ease. She appears like a thousand suns, difficult to behold and to attain.

100: She is the refuge of all deities, eternal, garlanded and is Victorious and Auspicious, lolling the tip of her tongue with a continuous roar.

101: One can also recall her in the archer's (*pratyālīḍha*) pose or dancing as well. She consists of all *mantras*, the profound one,

²The description *piṅgaraktā triguṇyā* is highly cryptic. My translation conjectures that the she-jackal is meant to represent the three *guṇas* since it is common for the different levels of the throne of worship to symbolise cosmic functions as described in my analysis of the Goddess's seats.

³The jumbled grammar in this verse makes my interpretation of the above half-verse tentative.

⁴The PT's register of Sanskrit often displays *bahuvrīhi* compounds with the correct order of components reversed. Thus, instead of *adhiyantritasarvadevām*, we have *sarvadevādhiyantritām* but since this is a common grammatical anomaly, we can assume the above interpretation. Another instance of such a compound is the description of Bhāsākālī as *sarvakālīśrītā*

possessing all fortune, the Goddess of Victory.

102: Thus, the Supreme Goddess, the Mistress of the Circle, situated in the middle of the Sequence of Light should be worshipped as Mahākālī, she whose bloom of youth has just broken forth.

103: But (as for) the five divisions of Kālīs, O Pārvatī, listen to the distinction (of their forms)! (They are) the Great Kālī (but) with nine faces and twenty-seven eyes.

104: The upward face consisting of light known as Caṇḍayo-geśvarī and the attribute which is the pellet of wish-granting gems belongs alone to the original Goddess; the five Kālīs are without that one face and that gem attribute.

105: The (other) faces, weapons, arms, garlands, seats in their sequence and such aspects as her ornaments and colours are the same as the Blessed (original) Guhyakālī.

106: Emission, Maintenance, Withdrawal, the Nameless and the Great Goddess who is Light are but the forms of Kālī. Listen to their distinction in all (divisions)!

107: She (each form of the goddess) is particularised through a distinctive characteristic. I will proclaim that (characteristic) in sequence.

108: The Great Goddess has the hue of a dark cloud and is nine-faced. She is (all but) the same as the previously described supreme *dhyānas* (of Guhyakālī) but different (as follows).

109: One should always recall the Mistress of the Nameless as a goddess seated in the lotus pose, her breasts a prominent mass, licking her left fang with the tip of her tongue, her body in *tribhaṅga*.

110: Her long eyes are rolling with intoxication committed to illumining meditation. Having cast aside the pellet of the wish-granting gems, her (top two left and right) hands instead bear the *varada* and *abhaya* gestures.

111: A *vajra* is fixed to the top of the hand that is in the *tarjanī* gesture. A flaming aureole surrounds her form and she is enjoined with 12 rays of light.

112: One should recall she who stands in the middle of the Circle of Withdrawal as emaciated, the Hollow Mother. This goddess is in the archer's pose with a ball of flesh ground from her lips by her teeth.⁵

⁵My reasoning for interpreting the confusing compound *dantoṣṭhaghṛṣ-taṇḍikām* in this way as well as its significance is explained in Chapter 2 of my thesis.

113: She licks her lolling tongue and releases the roar *hūṃ*. Having abandoned the *varada* and *abhaya* gestures, she, enjoined with 10 *śaktis* and the cause of the withdrawal of all, instead holds Brahmā and Kṛṣṇa.

114: She who stands in the middle of the Circle of Maintenance, her face marked with slight laughter, is crooked and has sagging breasts. She is seated in the pose of royal ease.

115: Having cast aside Brahmā and Kṛṣṇa, she is playing a lute made out of the bones of Brahmā. This Mahākālī situated in Maintenance has a sixteen-fold nature.

116: She who is standing in the Middle of the Sequence of Emission is full of wild laughter. She is erect and even-footed with a slim body that is beautiful and lovely.

117: Casting aside the Brahmā lute, she holds the sun and the moon. One should meditate upon her standing in the middle of the fivefold Yonis for the sake of Emission alone.

118: The Goddess Bhāsā, consisting of the universe, stands in the middle of the Sequence of the Nameless. She is the goddess out of whom all the Kālīs are emitted and is enshrined upon the 16-petalled lotus.

119: Having cast aside the sun and the moon, she bears a pair of cymbals. Bhāsākālī illumines the entire world as the one out of whom Viṣṇu emerges.

120: That Kālī who is the Virginal Girl takes the form of the emission of all. This goddess is three-faced, eight armed and enjoined with a garland of skulls.

121: She is drinking divine blood, dark-skinned and three-eyed. (She bears) 1) a noose 2) an elephant goad 3) a thunderbolt 4) a spear 5) a skull staff 6) a mallet

122: (As well as) 7) the head of a dead child in her hand and 8) a skull full of blood. Thus the Great Goddess, granting the fruits of numerous enjoyments, should be visualised.

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