

A GODDESS FOR THE SECOND MILLENNIUM: TRANSGRESSION AND  
TRANSFORMATION IN THE HINDU TANTRIC WORSHIP OF TRIPURASUNDARĪ

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# A GODDESS FOR THE SECOND MILLENNIUM: TRANSGRESSION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE HINDU TANTRIC WORSHIP OF TRIPURASUNDARĪ

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In religious and secular spaces, rituals structure time and place, distinguish the special from the mundane, and shape individual and communal identities. But what makes rituals endure? Why do some ritual systems vanish, while others thrive? And what allows traditions to adapt to cultural change? Reading *tantras* and commentaries “against the grain,” as products of historical actors, I have traced the early history of the cult of Tripurasundarī to answer these questions, highlighting innovation and continuity in ritual practice and doctrine.

Analyzing the earliest texts relevant to the worship of Tripurasundarī, I find four distinct stages in its early development: the Nityā Cult, the classical or mature cult, the Kashmirian reinterpretation, and the south Indian exegesis. In the Nityā cult, the principal Goddess was surrounded by an unelaborated retinue of subordinate goddesses with Kāmadeva, the god of love, as her consort. The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* described the ritual configuration of the classical cult, including an addition of a vast retinue of subordinate goddesses within the Śrīcakra, the principal ritual diagram of this tradition. The classical cult also added a new system of tantric (non-Vedic) mantras and *mudrās* (ritual gestures) and Tripurasundarī became associated with Śiva. In the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, yogic and meditative practices were grafted onto the existing ritual and mantric system.

Thirteenth-century exegetes further adapted this tradition to its new environments by reinterpreting it in light of Śaiva non-dualism and Pratyabhijñā philosophy in Kashmir. In south

India, the exotericization and Vedāntization brought the cult of Tripurasundarī into the heart of Hindu temple worship, while the devotional (*bhakti*) practice of chanting carried its most treasured hymns to the forefront of private religious life.

Four factors contributed to this success: the non-threatening and pleasing nature of Tripurasundarī and her associations with love magic; the visually stunning Śrīcakra and the complementary mantra system, both viewed as exceedingly powerful; the tremendous range of practices from external ritual to yogic visualizations built upon a rich foundation of ritual and mantra system; and, finally, a history of creative and skillful exegesis, repeatedly adapting this tradition to its changing environments.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Anna A. (Anya) Golovkova received her B.A. in Linguistics and International Communication at Moscow State Linguistics University. Upon graduation, she worked as a translator and a publishing manager in the Creative Services Department of a major investment bank. She completed her M.A. in Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University and a M.St. with distinction at the Oriental Institute at Oxford University, Linacre College.

To my teachers with gratitude

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This study would not be possible without my teachers. I am thankful to Prof. Somadeva Vasudeva for his encouragement, his invariably delightful choice of texts, and the marvelous, inspiring, and simply odd bits of verse he brought to class for unprepared reading. I am indebted to Prof. Alexis Sanderson for suggesting that we read the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, for pointing me in the direction that eventually led to this study, and for his subsequent comments. I was fortunate to read with Professor Sanderson at Oxford University in 2009–2010 with the support of the Clarendon Fund and in 2013–2014 with the funding from Cornell University Sage Fellowship and Einaudi Center International Travel Grant Award. Professor Sanderson’s colossal contribution to systematizing the study of tantric texts has allowed this generation of scholars to pursue research in new directions and will continue to be felt for many decades.

I am particularly grateful to my Ph.D. advisor, Prof. Larry McCREA for teaching me to be dream big, to be ambitious in scope, and for training me to read as a historian of religion and intellectual historian. I owe my sincere thanks to Prof. Rachel McDermott for her kind presence in my academic life, which has taught me much about mentorship. I am grateful to Prof. Jane-Marie Law for asking difficult questions and for her invariably practical advice. My friends Elizabeth Shedd, Kasia Tolwinski, Andrea Mendoza, Tyran Grillo, Ifan Wu, and Xinwei Xu, thank you for being there. I cannot say how much your support has meant to me.

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## PREFACE

In early January of 2007, at the invitation of a Telugu-speaking south Indian female guru, Amma Sri Karunamayi, I attended a Lalitāsaḥasranāma Mahāyajña in Hyderabad. This massive celebration dedicated to the goddess Lalitā Mahātripurasundarī took place over five days. Priests performed *yajñas*, in which oblations were offered into the fire, and thousands of devotees, mostly women, chanted from memory a hymn consisting of one thousand names of Lalitā, a popular Purānic form of Tripurasundarī (Tripurā).<sup>1</sup> I learned that many devotees, particularly women, in south India chant *stotras* (hymns of praise) dedicated to Tripurasundarī daily. Among them are the *Lalitāsaḥasranāma* (One Thousand Names of Lalitā) from the *Lalitopākhyāna* section of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, which was at the fore of the Hyderabad festivities, the *Saundaryalaharī* (The Wave of Beauty), ascribed by tradition to Śaṅkara, the most famous philosopher of Advaita Vedānta, and the *Khaḍgamālā* (A Sword-Garland), a hymn consisting of names of a vast retinue of Tripurā’s subordinate goddesses. Both in the homes of devotees and in temples, these *stotras* are chanted and used for a simple *arcana* (worship, in which offerings of vermillion *kumkum* powder, flowers, or rice are made with each name of the Goddess) or for a more elaborate *pūjā* (worship). One might even hear names of Tripurasundarī blaring from loudspeakers as Goddess temples stir to life at dawn or after the heat of the afternoon sun subsides.

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<sup>1</sup> Tripurasundarī translates as the “beauty of the three cities.” The shorter form, Tripurā, can be translated as “one belonging to the three cities.” Although various interpretations have been offered to explain what the three cities in the Goddess’s names refer to (e.g., the three worlds, *cakras*), I have not come across early textual sources that would reliably shed light on the origin of this epithet. The cult of Tripurasundarī draws extensively on Trika (see, e.g., Sanderson 1990), so the number three in her name may relate to her triadic nature inherited from that tradition. Lalitā, a popular name for this goddess means “the playful one,” while Rājarājeśvarī, a common name for the same Goddess, can be translated as “the ruler of the kings of kings.”

Later that year, I began my M.A. at Columbia University in New York City with an intention of studying Sanskrit. As the writing sample for my application, I submitted a paper on the *Lalitāsaḥasranāma stotra*. Preparing to write my Master's thesis, I read Douglas Renfrew Brooks' *Auspicious Wisdom*<sup>2</sup> and Madhu Khanna's Ph.D. thesis on three short works in verse by Śivānanda,<sup>3</sup> the only available monograph-length works of secondary literature on this tradition. Both greatly expanded my understanding of encounters with the contemporary tradition in India and generally did not conflict with them. Brooks' work investigated contemporary practice of Śrīvidyā and examined Śrīvidyā's literary tradition retrospectively, emphasizing texts and authors considered important by contemporary practitioners. Śrīvidyā is a fairly recent name for the later Vedāntized tradition,<sup>4</sup> therefore in this dissertation I avoid anachronistically applying it to the early cult of Tripurasundarī. Khanna's thesis discussed three short works by Śivānanda, the symbolism of the Śrīcakra (the principal ritual diagram of this tradition), and the Śrīcakra ritual with insights from contemporary and fairly recent materials, e.g., illustrations based on Rajasthani drawings and bronzes from the 1800s and contemporary photographs of ritual implements and illustrations of *mudrās* (ritual gestures).

At Columbia, I also began to read work by Alexis Sanderson on tantra, but I was puzzled by the contrast between his descriptions of the worship of Tripurasundarī based on earlier Sanskrit texts with what I observed with my own eyes in temples and homes of devotees. The gap

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<sup>2</sup> Brooks 1992.

<sup>3</sup> *Subhagodaya*, *Subhagodayavāsanā*, and *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra* in Khanna 1986.

<sup>4</sup> Śrīvidyā is a Sanskrit compound, in which śrī is an honorific, a polite way to address a deity or a respected elder. Śrī also has the meaning of *saubhāgya*, that is, "good fortune, success, happiness, beauty, charm" (Padoux 1994: 5). Vidyā means knowledge, but also, in this context, refers to specifically tantric (or non-Vedic) *mantras*, condensed ritual formulas used to invoke female deities. I will use the term *vidyā* in this meaning throughout the dissertation.

between the cult of “love magic,”<sup>5</sup> which emphasized rituals to attract a desired partner, referred to by Sanderson in his broader work on tantric traditions, and the contemporary tradition of respected Hindu gurus and middle-class professionals and housewives seemed vast. Even the illustration of the bare-breasted goddess in “Śaivism and Tantric Traditions”<sup>6</sup> differed drastically from the many contemporary representations I have photographed and collected, in which Tripurasundarī was always meticulously and modestly dressed.

While studying Sanskrit in the AIIS summer Sanskrit program and traveling in India, I visited several premodern Goddess temples called the *śakti pīṭhas* (the seats of the Goddess). I learned that in the major south Indian Śākta temples of Śṛṅgerī, Kāñcīpuram, Śrīśailam, Madurai, and the lesser known temples of Akhilāṇḍeśvarī in Tiruchirappalli in Tamil Nadu and of Mūkāmbikā near Mangalore in Karnataka, Tripurasundarī was seen as the esoteric essence of the local goddesses. Many ultra-orthodox brahmin leaders of these temples and the monastic institutions associated with them, the Śaṅkara *mathas*, were Śrīvidyā gurus and initiates. As Smārtas, orthodox Hindu brahmins, they viewed as their legacy *śruti* and *smṛti*, texts prescribing basic rites, duties, and beliefs of Hindu society. Yet they also worshipped Tripurasundarī, whose ritual used tantric, not Vedic mantras, whose early *tantras* and exegesis had no connection to the Vedic corpus, and whose earliest worship began as a cult of love magic, with the majority of rituals aimed at attracting a desired partner. How did this tantric tradition come to be so deeply imbedded in everyday contemporary Hindu religious experience? Why did the cult of

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<sup>5</sup> I follow Alexis Sanderson, e.g., 1988, 2009 and André Padoux, e.g., 2013, in using the term “love magic” to refer to a ritual system in which rites of amorous attraction predominated. Although “magic” in religious studies is a contested term, I use “love magic” here following an accepted use in tantric studies (see e.g., Hatley 2016, Mallinson 2013, Vasudeva 2011, and others), to refer to rites for *ākarṣaṇa* (attraction) and *vaśīkarana* (subjugation).

<sup>6</sup> Sanderson 1988: 688.

Tripurasundarī and its later form of Śrīvidyā flourish, when others, such as Trika and Krama in Kashmir, faded as ritual traditions and became sources of exegetical inspiration<sup>7</sup>? These are some of the questions with which I began this research and which I continue to ask as I move beyond the earliest sources of this tradition.

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<sup>7</sup> Sanderson 2007: 433.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### ***Methods and Scope***

In this dissertation, I investigate the earliest sources pertaining to the worship of Tripurasundarī (tenth to fourteenth centuries CE) to historicize key transformations in ritual practice and philosophical interpretation. Beginning with the oldest texts, I move forward in time, tracing changes in practices, shifts in vocabulary, and divergences in the way practices and soteriology were explained. Instead of presupposing a forward unity or looking back retrospectively from the perspective of the contemporary tradition, I investigate texts individually as well as comparatively, reading them against other texts. Tracking how ritual details, philosophical positions, and the use of terminology changed over time through a large archive of texts, I read my sources against philosophical treatises of relevant systems, such as Kashmirian non-dual Śaivism and Pratyabhijñā. While focusing on innovation, I also pay particular attention to continuities, intertextuality, and common themes. Furthermore, instead of reading commentaries merely as interpretive aids to understanding the *tantras*, I study them as historical documents in their own right, products of real people from specific times and places with their own goals and aspirations, which differed substantially between individual authors and redactors.

My methodology for historicizing texts draws on several theoretical approaches that have been used by historians working on classical and early modern European thought as well as those who study Sanskrit textual traditions, in particular, methodologies that utilize textual sources for writing history. Among these are methods of contextualist intellectual history applied by the

Cambridge School to the study of European political thought, in particular Skinner's focus on authorial intention and Pocock's study of texts in context.

Quentin Skinner, a historian of early modern European political thought, has written extensively on historical methods that rely on a meaningful interpretation of texts. Unlike social historians who often seem to reduce all ideological context to economic realities and social institutions, Skinner was more interested in linguistic contexts, an approach valuable for historians of religion in South Asia. Scholars of Sanskrit intellectual traditions often complain about the scarcity of data and a lack of reliable historical information. Although these sentiments are founded on very real challenges, one way in which I aimed to counteract it in this study was by reading the texts themselves to recover authorial intentions and the rich multi-layered contexts in the greater sphere of relevant texts.

Jayaratha's commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, for example, drew on venerated Śaiva and Śākta-Śaiva *tantras*, a rich scholarly tradition of non-dual Śaivism, and a vibrant commentarial discourse within the cult of the Goddess Tripurasundarī. Reading Jayaratha, my goal was not to use the commentary simply to understand the meaning of the *tantra* he commented on, but to go beyond the dimension of meaning to what Skinner's called "the dimension of linguistic action," asking questions about agency and intentionality.<sup>8</sup> Why did Jayaratha chose the texts that he cited? What work did his citations do beyond explicating the *mūla* (root text)? These were some of the questions that guided my study of his commentary.

Another author whose work was helpful for me methodologically, was J. G. A. Pocock, a historian of political thought, who advocated interpreting texts in context and suggested treating

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<sup>8</sup> Skinner 2002: 2–3.

thoughts and ideas as historical phenomena in their own right. In his *Politics, Language, and Time*, Pocock criticized what he called “the study of classical texts or of perennial problems.”<sup>9</sup> He drew an all too familiar picture of a “non-historic practitioner,” who looked for relevance of the author’s statements and appropriated them to his present, without sensitivity to the historical context. The issues of imposed coherence and reductionism discussed by Pocock continue to be relevant for historians and the scholars of South Asia. Richard King in his “Orientalism and Religion,” published in 1999, remarked that the academic study of South Asian religions, influenced by scientific rationalism and secularism and biased toward a progressive view of history, has often distorted and reduced that which it claims to investigate and explain.<sup>10</sup> King wrote about Orientalist scholars reducing the range and diversity of Indian religious traditions into a more or less unified “Hinduism” with Advaita Vedānta at its core and dismissing the polytheistic ritualism of the actual practice as a corruption of the truth of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. My study looks at tremendous diversity within just one Hindu tantric tradition, studying its early corpus of texts over time. The cult of Tripurasundarī and the later Śrīvidyā all too often have been described as a single monolithic tradition. But as we will see, even texts from the early stages of development record considerably different practices and doctrinal orientation, with many aspects changing over time and space. Each chapter of this dissertation discusses a different step in the early development of worship of the Goddess Tripurasundarī, documenting transformation and continuity of the ritual system and its doctrinal interpretation over time and in the very different environments of Kashmir and south-India.

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*: 11.

<sup>10</sup> King 1999: 42–43.

Pocock's methodological approach to the history of political thought has been productively applied to writing about history of intellectual life in premodern South Asia. In *The Teleology of Poetics in Medieval Kashmir* (2008), Lawrence McCrea employed Kuhn's conceptualization of the pattern of historical development as well as Pocock's application of Kuhn's analysis to the investigation of the theoretical transformation in the ninth-century Sanskrit literary theory in Kashmir. In particular, McCrea's investigation of Ānandavardhana's application of a Mīmāṃsā interpretive paradigm within the realm of Alaṅkāraśāstra was a productive model for my analysis of reinterpretation of the cult of Tripurasundarī in light of Kashmirian Śaivism.

Another major theoretical approach important for my work is Reinhart Koselleck's conceptual history, which focused on the invention of concepts and their development over time, the former being particularly relevant here. Building upon ideas introduced by Saussure and the structuralists, Koselleck suggested investigating historical concepts as synchronic events and diachronic structures that change over time and space. The distinctive kind of historical temporality in modernity emphasized by Koselleck can be usefully compared with the idea of all knowledge being eternal and unchangeable in Sanskrit religious thought. Sheldon Pollock described the typical ideological stance in Sanskrit knowledge systems as one in which "knowledge of every variety ... is fixed in its dimensions ... [and] does not change or grow, but is frozen."<sup>11</sup> With knowledge seen as fixed, "there can be no conception of progress,"<sup>12</sup> which makes historical study of South Asian religious traditions particularly challenging. A further difficulty in working with Sanskrit textual sources lies in the fact that authors tended to present

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<sup>11</sup> Pollock 1985: 515.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

innovation, to use Pollock’s words, as “renovation and recovery,”<sup>13</sup> a clarification, perhaps, but never an addition or a revision.

Similarly, the difficulty in a historical study of tantric texts is that traditionally *tantras* were understood as universal and eternal, a direct revelation presented in the form of a teaching within a framing dialogue (usually between Bhairava and the goddess in the case of Hindu *tantras*). Without a named human author as an intermediary, *tantras* were by design free from specifics, such as chronological or geographic details. And since the teachings they presented were considered divinely revealed, eternal, and unchanging, innovation in both *tantras* and commentaries was routinely framed as elaboration. Thus to read *tantras* and their commentaries as historical documents in their own right, one must “read against the grain,”<sup>14</sup> providing a reinterpretation and a new reading of existing testimonies.

As I will demonstrate in this study, the texts themselves provide rich intellectual and historical contexts, which can be recovered. A rich source of such contexts is what Cezary Galewicz called the “fringes” of texts,<sup>15</sup> or supplementary material which surrounds the main body of the text<sup>16</sup> and is often overlooked. In this dissertation, I pay particular attention to introductory and closing verses of commentaries. Despite their formulaic format, these verses contain valuable factual and expressive content, which I examine in some detail, particularly in the last two chapters of this study.

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> The idea of “reading against the grain” was suggested by Koselleck in *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, 2002: 71.

<sup>15</sup> Galewicz 2009: 24 and 28.

<sup>16</sup> Translation studies favors the term “paratexts” to describe such added elements that frame the main text, although the term is usually used in the context of printed matter.

Writing for me is not only an intellectual endeavor, but also a creative process. In continuing to refine my writing style, I found Daniel Gold's *Aesthetics and Analysis in Writing on Religion: Modern Fascinations* particularly helpful. Gold posits a way of looking at academic writing on religion as a craft, which is not unlike art.<sup>17</sup> For him the best interpretive writers are intent on accurately representing the subject of their inquiry, but are also concerned with their own unique way of presenting their findings.<sup>18</sup> While I would not call my writing truly interpretive in this way, using textual historical work to narrate, reflect, and interpret, here and there I have allowed my own individual perspective to become apparent. Examples of this include a discovery narrative in the *Preface* and sharing the impressions that Jayaratha's writing makes on me as an individual, such as his startling lyricism in the closing verses on the *Tantrālokaviveka*. However, my usual approach is to allow the texts to speak for themselves, highlighting their imagery or originality of expression through citations.

The textual contours of the cult of the Goddess Tripurasundarī, which later came to be known as Śrīvidyā, have been broadly outlined by previous scholars. A number of its major scriptural texts were identified by Goudriaan in his brief digest of Hindu tantric literature in Sanskrit (1981), while Sanderson, in a few pages and footnotes among his vast body of work, located the early *tantras* and commentaries of this tradition and the antecedent cult within the broader context of Śaiva Tantrism (1990, 2007, 2009). However, only a handful of texts from the cult of Tripurasundarī/Śrīvidyā have been studied, described, or translated (Khanna 1986, Brooks 1992, and Padoux 1994 and 2013). And an investigation of a significant corpus of texts in their

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<sup>17</sup> Gold 2003: 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

chronological, geographical, and linguistic specificity has not been attempted to date. Without such an analysis, our understanding of the development of this tantric tradition is limited by the still too prevalent tendency to view texts, authors, and ideas, as if they existed in some timeless realm of abstraction, and to interpret tantric texts by retroactively imposing contemporary perspectives on them. By giving new voice to Sanskrit *tantras* and commentaries, which are rarely treated as religio-historical documents in their own right, my project contributes to a nuanced theorization of tantric and Hindu traditions and a better understanding of how they adapt to cultural change.

### ***Four Stages in the Early Worship of Tripurasundarī***

Analyzing the earliest texts relevant to the worship of Tripurasundarī, I identified four distinct stages in its early historical development.

#### **I. The Nityā Cult**

In the Nityā cult, antecedent to the cult of Tripurasundarī, the principal Goddess Kāmeśvarī was surrounded by an unelaborated, compared to the later tradition, retinue of subordinate Nityā (literally, *eternal*) goddesses and her consort was Kāmadeva, the god of love. My textual sources for this stage of development include three *tantras*: the *Nityākaula*, the only extant text from within the antecedent tradition, and two texts describing variants of the Nityā cult: the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* and the *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairavatantra*.<sup>19</sup> Alexis Sanderson in his work on the broader Śaiva tradition identified and briefly outlined these sources.<sup>20</sup> This study examines the Nityā cult for the first time in detail. Rituals described in the

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<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to Alexis Sanderson, Somadeva Vasudeva, and Kengo Harimoto for making scans of the manuscripts available to me.

<sup>20</sup> Sanderson: 2009, 47–48.

*tantras* of this period aimed at specific mundane goals, such as amorous attraction of desired partners, becoming handsome and eloquent, overcoming death, obtaining immortality, and bringing back the lost youth. The Nityā cult also promised a host of other benefits common for tantric traditions: curing poisoning, producing subjugation, pacification, paralysis, suffering, and fever, ruining, overthrowing, and killing one's enemies. I discuss the Nityā cult in chapter 2 of this dissertation, highlighting continuities with the next stage of development, the classical cult of Tripurasundarī.

## II. The Classical/Mature Cult

In the second stage of development, the classical or the mature cult, Kāmadeva was replaced by Śiva as the consort of the principal goddess, Tripurasundarī. Kāmeśvarī of the Nityā cult was preserved in the classical cult as one of the Nityā goddesses. She is also worshipped as one of the three goddesses closest to Tripurā, located in the corners of the innermost triangle of the Śrīcakra, the new ritual diagram of this system. In the classical cult, a simple configuration of the Nityā cult was greatly enlarged to include a vast retinue of subordinate goddesses, organized within the nine levels of the Śrīcakra. The Śrīcakra is a uniquely complex and visually stunning ritual diagram, which consists of a *bindu* (dot) surrounded by nine intersecting triangles, two circles of eight and sixteen petals, and a rectangular enclosure, modeled on a medieval fortress. The unique visual structure of the Śrīcakra, which was used as a ritual aid and, in later texts, such as the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, for contemplative visualization practices, contributed to the growing popularity of this tradition.

In addition to a new ritual configuration, the classical cult of Tripurā also added a new system of tantric, i.e., non-Vedic, mantras (ritual formulas) and *mudrās* (ritual gestures). The

previously unstudied classical cult is preserved in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata tantra*<sup>21</sup> and in the *Rasamahodadhi*, which Jayaratha, a thirteenth-century commentator from Kashmir, quoted as *āgama* (i.e., scripture). Although the second text is no longer extant, fourteen citations were preserved in Jayaratha's commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Several of these citations are of significant length; most discuss technical procedures, such as the construction of the Śrīcakra and the extraction of mantras.<sup>22</sup> As in the Nityā cult, rituals in the classical cult, which were documented in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, comprised *prayogas* (rites for specific worldly aims). In addition to rituals aimed at attracting all types of human, divine, and semi-divine women, as well as practices for control, subjugation, etc., the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* also included practices for eloquence and wisdom, destruction of the ego, the power to cure snake bites and poisons, and control over ghosts, ghouls, and goblins. I discuss continuities of the classical worship of Tripurā with the antecedent Nityā cult in chapter 2 of this dissertation. In chapter 3, I focus on innovations in the mature cult, while expanding upon additional continuities with the antecedent cult. I refer to the *Rasamahodadhi* in chapter 5 on Jayaratha's commentary.

### III. Kashmirian Reinterpretation

In the third stage of early development, the worship of Tripurasundarī was reinterpreted in light of the broader tantric Śaivism. To discuss this period, I analyze the *Yoginīhrdaya tantra*,

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<sup>21</sup> Louise M. Finn's 1986 translation of this *tantra* with Jayaratha's commentary is available. However the translation should be consulted with caution, particularly with regards to the commentary.

<sup>22</sup> Mantras are usually given in these *tantras* in an encoded way. In order to extract (i.e. decode) a mantra, one must use the correct *prastāra* (a geometrical figure giving the order of letters) that was used for the encoding of a mantra in a specific text. The *Nityākaula* uses a *prastāra*, although I have not been able to find one to match the text. Alternatively, a mantra may be encoded by means of words commonly associated with specific letters. In the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, a word for “fire” usually stands for *ra*, Madana (i.e. Kāmadeva) means *ka*, etc. All three commentators on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* extract the mantras. For an example, see Jayaratha VM 1.93–101, 70–72).

which was likely redacted after the mid-eleventh century)<sup>23</sup> in chapter 4 of this dissertation and the thirteenth-century commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* by Kashmirian Jayaratha in chapter 5. Innovations in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* included radically new meditative and yogic practices with salvific goals and philosophical interpretations based on non-dual Śaivism and Pratyabhijñā philosophy. I discuss a similar reinterpretation of the existing ritual tradition through the lens of broader Śaiva exegesis in Jayaratha's commentary, which recast the worship of Tripurasundarī as an esoteric teaching worthy of the foremost place in non-dual Śaivism.

Since all knowledge was broadly accepted in Sanskrit religious thought as eternal and unchangeable, innovation in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* could not be acknowledged as such and the redactor(s) presented their text as an extension of the dialogue between Śiva and the Goddess in the earlier *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, not as a radically new development. While the *Yoginīhṛdaya* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* are traditionally grouped together as two parts of the whole, there is nothing in the earlier *Vāmakeśvarīmata* that could directly account for the new practices and interpretations in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*.

While I used original Sanskrit texts for my analysis, an excellent translation of the *Yoginīhṛdaya tantra* with fourteenth-century Amṛtānanda's commentary by André Padoux is available in French and the *mūla* with Padoux's analysis of the commentary was recently translated into English with Roger-Orphé Jeanty.<sup>24</sup> Padoux translated the *tantra* and interpreted its practices with the help of and in light of the commentary, while my analysis had a different goal: to evaluate new developments, treating both the primary text and its commentary as

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<sup>23</sup> For discussion of the date of the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, see Golovkova 2010: 19–20.

<sup>24</sup> See Padoux: 1994, Padoux and Jeanty: 2013.

separate historical documents. While Padoux relies on the commentary in his translation of the root *tantra*, I treat *Yoginīhṛdaya* and Amṛtānanda's work as products of different historical actors, with their own goals and aspirations. Studying the *Yoginīhṛdaya* as a separate historical document and comparing it against the earlier tradition, I pay particular attention to the newness of the yogic meditative practices laid out over the existing scheme of the Śrīcakra ritual as well as the entirely novel conception of the worship of Tripurasundarī, construed in this text within the broader tantric Śaivism.

I discuss a similar project of reinterpreting the worship of Tripurasundarī in light of Kashmirian Śaiva philosophy in chapter 5, where I provide a detailed analysis of Jayaratha's commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Again, I highlight here Jayaratha's own ideas that he brings to the analysis of the root *tantra* to update this foundational text in light of non-dual Śaiva exegesis. Jayaratha uses citations from venerated Śaiva *tantras* and prominent thinkers who preceded him (Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta, and Kṣemarāja) to elevate the classical tradition to the foremost place within thirteenth-century Kashmirian Śaivism. Jayaratha also provides an assessment of previous commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* to correct what he sees as misinterpretation and to update the ritual system of the root text to the thirteenth-century ritual practice within his own guru-lineage.

#### IV. South Indian Reinterpretation

During the last stage of development that I outline in this dissertation, the worship of Tripurasundarī was disseminated across the Indian subcontinent from Kashmir to south India. This stage also marked the beginning of the process of reinterpreting the earlier *tantras* in light of the Vedic and Upaniṣadic corpus, suggesting an early use of the Vedas as a source of

authority and legitimization. In chapter 6, I discuss the earliest examples of such reinterpretation, which eventually led to the adoption of a Vedāntized form of worship of Tripurasundarī by the pillars of institutional Hindu orthodoxy in south Indian Śaṅkara *mathas*. These early examples include two thirteenth-century commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* by Śivānanda and Vidyānanda, which I read against Jayaratha's commentary. Both south Indian commentaries have abundant examples of reinterpretation presented as elaboration. Śivānanda's commentary is particularly curious from the point of view of adapting the tantric Kaula cult of Tripurasundarī to its south Indian Smārta milieu by interpreting it in light of the Vedic corpus. Both Śivānanda and Vidyānanda's explanations often ventured far from the original text, given their temporal distance of at least two centuries. Although I will not provide an in-depth analysis of south Indian commentaries in this dissertation, I plan to do so in my revision of this material for publication, in which I will also discuss Amṛtānanda's commentary on the *Yoginīhṛdaya* and other south Indian texts relevant to this project.

My study examines an archive of Sanskrit scriptures and commentaries, previously unstudied, understudied, or studied separately as individual texts, placing them in large-scale intellectual and literary contexts. My research maps a regionally-embodied history of an influential trans-regional Śākta tradition, engaging with and complicating the dichotomies that have dominated the recent study of tantra: philosophical texts vs. ritual practice, texts vs. living traditions, tantra vs. devotion. Instead of black-and-white dichotomies, I consider the development of the worship of Tripurasundarī as continuously evolving within the context of ongoing tensions between tantric and Vedic, orthodox and heterodox, and esoteric and mainstream.

## Chronology

The antecedent Nityā cult is older than the cult of the Goddess Kubjikā<sup>25</sup> and at least some of the Kālīkula texts, the latter describing the worship of goddess Kālī/Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī. The *Ciñcīnīmatasārasamuccaya* of the Kubjikā cult records a variant of the Nityā cult and designates it as the Southern transmission<sup>26</sup> of the Kaula systems. The *Kubjikāmata* with the earliest extant manuscript dated at 1037/8 CE,<sup>27</sup> refers to the deities and a mantra of the Nityā cult.<sup>28</sup> The fourth Śatka of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, one of the largest surviving tantric scriptures, which was quoted by Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1025),<sup>29</sup> included a visualization of Nityākālī.<sup>30</sup> Abhinavagupta himself knew of the cult of the Nityās and referred to it in the *Tantrāloka* and *Parātrīṃśikāvivaraṇa*.<sup>31</sup> This evidence places the cult of the Nityās as prior to the early eleventh century at the very latest and likely earlier than that.

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<sup>25</sup> Mark Dyczkowski has argued that the cult of Tripurasundarī inherited several important features from the cult of the goddess Kubjikā (e.g., 2009: v. 1, p. 2, 242). It is certain that the Nityā cult and the later cult of Tripurasundarī were closely connected with their Kaula sister-tradition of Kubjikā and often drew on it. For example, the later hymn *Saundaryalaharī* is clearly indebted to the cult of Kubjikā. As I show in the next two chapters, some of the prominent features of the mature cult of Tripurasundarī were undoubtedly borrowed from the antecedent Nityā cult.

<sup>26</sup> E.g., *punar anyam pravakṣyāmi daksinām gham uttamam* || CMSS 101 ab || And I will tell you of another excellent transmission of the southern order.

And also on 20r1: *daksinām ghamāmnāyam kathayāmi tava priye* || 146 || I will tell you the teaching of the Southern order, O dear, from which all Nityās arise.

<sup>27</sup> Sanderson 2002: 1–2.

<sup>28</sup> Sanderson 2010: 47–48.

<sup>29</sup> For the discussion of Abhinavagupta's date see Sanderson 2007: 411.

<sup>30</sup> The description in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, probably based on the Nityā cult, includes epithets which would not be out of place in Tripura's visualizations in the texts of the classical tradition, while also adding a terrifying flavor, appropriate to Kālī: *dhyāyet trikonamadhyasthām lākṣarūṇasamaprabhām* | *sukṛśām ekavadanām netratretāgnisannibhām* | *pāśāṅkuśadharām raudrām śaracāpakarodyatām* | (*Śatka* 4, the *Nityākālīvidhipaṭala*, 11c–12 cited in Sanderson 2010: 48, footnote 97).

<sup>31</sup> *nityātantravidah krṣnam kārtikāc caramām dinam* || TĀ 28.123  
*kulasya nityācakrasya pūrnatvam yatra tanmatam* | TĀ 124 ab  
*yathā śrīnityāntaresu aikārātmakamohanabijaprādhānyahetuh* | PTV (Gnoli, 1985: 238).

The two later *tantras* included in this study, the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, are the earliest extant texts of the mature cult of Tripurasundarī, which superseded the Nityā cult. The earlier of the two, the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, likely dates to early eleventh century at the latest. It seems that the text was known to Abhinavagupta, who cited from the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* twice in *Parātrīṁśikāvivaraṇa*.<sup>32</sup> The vocabulary and metaphysics of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* are quite different from the *Yoginīhṛdaya* and suggest that the text was redacted before the time of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja. The *Yoginīhṛdaya* was likely redacted after the mid-eleventh century, when Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja flourished. The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhṛdaya* are traditionally considered to be parts of one text. The dialogue between the Goddess and Bhairava in the very beginning of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* begins by establishing the continuity with the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.

*devadeva mahādeva paripūrṇapratībhāmaya |  
vāmakeśvaratantra 'smiñc ajñātārthāḥ tv anekaśāḥ || YH 1.1 ||*

*tāms tān arthān aśeṣena vaktum arhasi bhairava | YH 1.2 ab |<sup>33</sup>*

O God of Gods, the great God, who is filled with complete expansion (of knowledge). In the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* there are many points that are unknown. O Bhairava, please speak about all these subjects without remainder.

However, the inclusion in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* of non-dualist Pratyabhijñā concepts and terminology, which were completely absent in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, suggests that the

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<sup>32</sup> See Abhinavagupta's *Parātrīṁśikāvivaraṇa* on pages 229–230 of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies edition. The citations are not identified there, but Jaidev Singh identifies them in his edition/translation on page 82. The first is a variant of VM 4.86 ab, and the second is VM 1.83. I am grateful to Professor McCrea for bringing these quotes to my attention.

<sup>33</sup> YH: 4 and 6. I use page numbering from the 2011 reprint of the 1988 edition by Dviveda.

*Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhrdaya* were products of two very different environments.<sup>34</sup> In fact, the *Yoginīhrdaya* marks an important transition in the history of the worship of Tripurasundarī (see chapter 4). In addition, the only extant commentary on both texts is the eighteenth-century *Setubandha* by Bhāskararāya, which raises the question of whether these two *tantras* were considered to be distinct until fairly recently.

Alexis Sanderson comprehensively considered the dates of the early commentators on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhrdaya* with the evidence that is currently available.<sup>35</sup> He dated Jayaratha to c. 1225–1275, based on the autobiographical verses at the end of Jayaratha’s commentary on *Tantrāloka*.<sup>36</sup> Sanderson also suggested approximately the same period for Śivānanda, based in part on the guru lineage given in his commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the *Rjuvimarśinī*.<sup>37</sup> And from Vidyānanda’s commentary on the same *tantra*, the *Artharatnāvalī*, Sanderson estimated Vidyānanda’s date to be very close to Śivānanda’s.<sup>38</sup> Śivānanda’s account of the lineage is also confirmed by Amṛtānanda, the author of the commentary on the *Yoginīhrdaya* (the *Yoginīhrdayadīpikā*).<sup>39</sup> It is likely that Amṛtānanda was also the author of a poetic treatise, the *Alamkārasaṃgraha*, dated by Sanderson to mid-fourteenth century.

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<sup>34</sup> The later provenance of the *Yoginīhrdaya* has been suggested by Goudriaan (1981: 59) and Sanderson (2014: 65, 67–68) and my reading of the two texts thoroughly supports this.

<sup>35</sup> Sanderson 2007: 412–416.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 418–419 and 2014: 31–32.

<sup>37</sup> Sanderson 2007: 416, footnote 620.

<sup>38</sup> “... he may have been a near contemporary of Śivānanda, since his account of his lineage ends with Vāsudeva, disciple of Ratnadeva (YTGM, 223, ll. 20–21) and Śivānanda adds himself as Vāsudeva’s disciple (YTGM, 224, ll. 1–3)” (Sanderson 2007: 414, footnote 610.)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 416, footnote 620.

The key figure for establishing the dates of Śivānanda and Vidyānanda is Dīpakācārya, also referred to as Dīpakanātha, a venerable figure in the tradition, to whom the *Tripurasundarīdanḍaka*, a hymn to the Goddess, is attributed.<sup>40</sup> Śivānanda describes Dīpakācārya as *bhojadevadrṣṭacamatkāraḥ* (“one whose miracles were witnessed by Bhojadeva”) and, therefore, if we trust this account, a contemporary of Bhojadeva, the Paramāra king of Dhārā, who ruled from c. 1018 to 1060 CE.<sup>41</sup> Śivānanda named Dīpakācārya as the last in the line of the *siddha* gurus. The first human guru, Jisṇudeva, the author of the *Samketapaddhati*, according to Śivānanda, was Dīpakācārya’s son and disciple.<sup>42</sup> Dīpakācārya was also venerated by Jayaratha,<sup>43</sup> who named him as the first author of commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*:

ā śrīdīpakanāthato hy aganitair adyāpi vṛttih kṛtā<sup>44</sup>

Commentaries have been produced by countless [commentators] beginning from Śrīdīpakanātha to this day...

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*: 416, footnote 621.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*: 416. On Bhojadeva, see Sanderson 2012–2013: 14, 16, and 37.

<sup>42</sup> NSĀ: 223. I use abbreviation VM for the 1945 edition of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* with commentary by Rājānaka Jayaratha, edited by Shastri, which is the base edition I have used when citing the root text of this *tantra*. My primary focus in this study is to analyze the historical development of this tradition, rather than to provide a close philological study of the root text, therefore as a rule I do not cite variants recorded in either of the editions or different readings found within the two printed editions, unless they are to make a specific point about what different readings might mean. When I specifically comment on south Indian commentaries, I use NSĀ for the 1968 edition of the *Nityāsodaśikārnava* with commentaries by Śivānanda and Vidyānanda, edited by Dviveda. Where an abbreviation (NSĀ or VM) is followed directly by a colon, a page number follows (as in NSĀ: 223). Otherwise, the numbers stand for chapter and verse number, separated by a period (e.g., VM 1.167 ab).

<sup>43</sup> *jayanti... pūrve śrīdīpakaśācāryapramukhā* (em. Sanderson: *śrīdīpikāśācāryapramukhā* KSTS Ed.) *guravo mama* || (VM: 1.) || (Glory to my former [lineage] gurus, beginning with respected Dīpakācārya). I use abbreviation VM for the 1945 edition of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* with commentary by Rājānaka Jayaratha, edited by Shastri.

<sup>44</sup> ā śrīdīpakanāthato (corr. Sanderson: āśrīdīpakanāthato Ed.) *hy aganitair adyāpi vṛttih kṛtā* (VM: 115).

## *Classification*

The Nityā cult was associated with the southern transmission (*dakṣināmnāya*) or the southern order (*dakṣinagharāmnāya*) among the Kaula systems. This system of classification of the Kaula traditions, given in the *Ciñcīnīmatasārasamuccaya*, included Kālīkula/Krama as the teaching of the northern order (*uttaraghārāmnāya*), a system related to Trika as that of the eastern order (*pūrvaghārāmnāya*), and the Kubjikā cult as the tradition of the western order (*paścimaghārāmnāya*)<sup>45</sup> (see Appendix B).

The classical cult of Tripurasundarī was the latest tantric Kaula tradition to emerge<sup>46</sup> (see Appendix A). What particularly sets it apart from the Vidyāpīṭha is the prevalence of the imagery of love magic preserved from the antecedent Nityā cult, which is unlike the Vidyāpīṭha's Kāpālika imagery of the cremation grounds, inherited from the earlier Atimārga traditions.<sup>47</sup> The mature tradition saw itself as transcending the four Kaula teachings associated with the cardinal directions and the four principal Pīṭhas of the Goddess<sup>48</sup> (see VM 1.12, p. 37). A later classification that elevated the cult of Tripurasundarī as the tradition of the zenith (*ūrdhvāmnāya*) was included in the *Parātantra*, a syncretic scripture probably produced in the Kathmandu valley<sup>49</sup> and in a synoptic text of the *Vādavānalīya*, quoted in the *Puraścaryārnava*. Both *Parātantra* and *Vādavānalīya*<sup>50</sup> provided an artificial schema of six transmissions, which

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<sup>45</sup> Sanderson 2009: 48–49.

<sup>46</sup> Sanderson 1988: 689.

<sup>47</sup> For Kāpālika imagery in Mantramārga, see Sanderson 1988: 669–75.

<sup>48</sup> Sanderson 2010: 46–47.

<sup>49</sup> Sanderson 2004: 368.

<sup>50</sup> See Sanderson 2012–2013: 64–67. I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for providing me with these sources via email correspondence on May 17, 2010.

preserved the goddesses associated with Krama as the northern tradition and the cult of Kubjikā as the western tradition, replaced the goddesses of Trika which had become obsolete as a ritual system with Pūrṇeśī in the eastern tradition, and the Nityā goddesses with Niśeśī in the southern tradition. The Nityā cult, which had occupied the southern direction in the previous classification, had been supplanted by the mature system of Tripurasundarī worship. But the mature cult occupied the transcendent, upper tradition of the zenith (not the southern direction of the Nityā cult). In addition, the Buddhist Vajrayoginī, etc. was added as the tradition of the nadir<sup>51</sup> (see Appendix B). The goddesses Pūrṇeśī and Niśeśī have been artificially constructed to fill in the gaps in this classification and, unlike Kālasaṃkarṣinī and Kubjikā, are not well-known or attested outside of this context.<sup>52</sup> A similar schema is also presented in the later liturgical tradition of the cult of Tripurasundarī in the worship of the Āmnāyas (*āmnāyapūjā*).<sup>53</sup> There the goddesses Unmanī and Bhoginī, unknown outside of this context, fill in the vacant slots of the eastern and southern traditions, and the *ūrdhvāmnaya* position is assigned to the system of the *Kulārṇavatantra* based on the *Prāsādamantra*.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*: 6.

<sup>52</sup> Sanderson 2004: 368 and email correspondence on May 17, 2010: 6.

<sup>53</sup> Karapātrasvāmī, *Śrīmaḥātripurasundarīvarivasyā* (Ed. Paṭṭābhīrāma Śāstrī, Calcutta, 1962, 237–261). I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for providing me with this reference in his correspondence on May 17, 2010, 7.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER 2

### THE ANTECEDENT NITYĀ CULT

The cult of Tripurasundarī emerged from the Nityā cult, in which Nityā (lit. eternal) goddesses served as subordinate deities to the primary Goddess, usually named Kāmeśvarī. The Nityā cult flourished prior to the early eleventh century at the very latest (see chapter 1, *Chronology*). The consort of the primary Goddess in the Nityā cult was Kāmadeva (the god of love), not Śiva, as in the classical tradition of Tripurasundarī. Alexis Sanderson outlined the main features of the Nityā cult based on three extant *tantras*: the *Nityākaula*, the only extant text from within the antecedent tradition, the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* of the Kubjikā cult, and the *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the eclectic *Manthānabhairavatantra*.<sup>55</sup> This dissertation contains the first in-depth study of this material, which places the Nityā cult within the context of development of the cult of Tripurasundarī.

In this chapter, I discuss major features of the Nityā cult that were preserved and developed in the classical cult, providing passages from unpublished manuscripts with translations.<sup>56</sup> I argue that the rites of amorous attraction, which occupy a prominent place in the ritual of the antecedent cult, formed the backdrop against which the mature cult of Tripurasundarī developed. Comparing the *Nityākaula* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, I have identified a number of similarities, which strongly suggest a continuity between the Nityā cult and the mature cult of Tripurasundarī. I demonstrate that references to love, desire, and attraction have been preserved in the later tradition in the names of the subordinate goddesses connected with Kāmadeva and *kāma* (love,

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<sup>55</sup> Sanderson, 2009, 47–49.

<sup>56</sup> All translations here and elsewhere in this study are mine, unless noted otherwise.

desire), in the sensual descriptions of the physical beauty of Tripurasundarī, and in the predominance of red imagery, red being the color that is usually vested with amorous connotations in the context of tantric ritual. Although the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* describes a very different ritual tradition with new mantras and a greatly expanded system of subordinate goddesses in the Śrīcakra, parallel passages in these two texts demonstrate a close connection between the antecedent Nityā cult and the mature cult of Tripurasundarī and suggest that the redactors<sup>57</sup> of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* were almost certainly familiar with the *Nityākaula*.

The *Nityākaula* is the only *tantra* dedicated to the Nityā cult in its entirety. Its single Nepalese manuscript is, unfortunately, badly damaged and incomplete, but preserves a marvelous amount of detail about this Kaula cult. The *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, a syncretistic text belonging to the cult of the goddess Kubjikā, is preserved in a number of manuscripts from Nepal.<sup>58</sup> The ritual system it describes in the section on the Nityā cult is similar to that of the *Nityākaula*. The text also contains detailed descriptions of Kāmeśvarī, the principal goddess in that section of the text, her retinue, and her emanation from a triangle of *pīṭhas* (seats of the Goddess). The *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* also includes an early classification of the Kaula doctrines, discussed in chapter 1, which describes the Nityā cult as the southern transmission. The *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairavatantra* describes a different variant of the Nityā cult.

Later *tantras*, the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation, as well as most of the *tantras* on the worship of Tripurā that postdate them,

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<sup>57</sup> I use plural “redactors” to refer to the anonymous author or authors of *tantras* of the cult of Tripurasundarī, though of course each text may have been composed by one person only.

<sup>58</sup> Four manuscripts of CMSS are located in the National Archives at Kathmandu (1/767, 1/199, 1/1560, and 1/245) and there may be others listed in the private collections (Dyczkowski 1988: 175, footnote 93).

were written in predominantly standard Sanskrit (with some occasional exceptions<sup>59</sup>). The *Nityākaula*, on the other hand, was composed in the *aiśa* register of Sanskrit and did not follow the standard Pāṇinian rules of grammar. A number of my citations with emendations in the rest of this chapter record *aiśa* forms. Many of these include non-standard case endings, which I generally corrected for ease in understanding of the root text. The word *aiśa*, a secondary derivational form from *īśa* (lord, Śiva), means *divine*, or, more specifically, *belonging to Śiva*. *Aiśa* Sanskrit was used in some of the scriptural texts framed as divinely revealed, rather than those composed by named human authors, in particular, the earliest surviving Śaiva scriptures, belonging to Atimārga and the early Mantramārga.<sup>60</sup> *Aiśa* Sanskrit was largely abandoned in the classical cult of Tripurasundarī and the later Vedāntized Śrīvidyā, which followed it, which were written in grammatical and, at times, even elegant Sanskrit.

The retinue of the main goddess in all three texts pertaining to the Nityā cult included her consort, Kāmadeva, and a varying number of subordinate Nityā goddesses. In the *Nityākaula*, the main goddess, who is not named in the surviving folios of the manuscript, is accompanied by Kāmadeva and a retinue of eleven Nityās. One of the names of Nityās in the *Nityākaula* is missing due to damage to the manuscript. However, these verses closely follow those in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*. I.e., in the *Nityākaula*:

*hrllekhā kledinī nandā kṣobhanī madanāturā ||*  
*nirañjanā (rāgavatī tathānyā ma)(2v1)<sup>61</sup>danāvatī ||*

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<sup>59</sup> E.g., verse 4.43 in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* is described by its first commentator, the thirteenth-century Jayaratha, as *aiśah pāṭhaḥ*, “divine speech” VM: 113.

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>61</sup> I record the location in the manuscript following the convention of “folio number, *verso* or *recto*, and line number.” Thus 2v1 means folio 2 verso line 1.

*khekalā drāvaṇī caiva tathā vegavatī varā ||  
ekādaśaitā devyas te madano dvādaśah smṛtaḥ || NK 2r7 ||*

(*rāgavatī tathānyā ma*)*danāvatī* ] conj.<sup>62</sup> Sanderson (lacunae filled in from the list in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*) : +  
*drāvaṇī* ] corr. Sanderson : *drāvanī* Cod.  
*dvādaśah* ] corr. : *dvādaśa* Cod.

Hṛllekhā (Heart-furrow or mark), Kledinī (Moistening), Nandā (Delight), Kṣobhanī (Agitator), Madanāturā (Love-sick), Nirañjanā (Spotless), Rāgavatī (Impassioned), Madanāvatī (Passionate), Khekalā (Art of Flying), Drāvaṇī (Liquifying), and the best Vegavatī (Swift) also. These are eleven goddesses and Madana is known as the twelfth. Most names of the Nityās, as the translation above demonstrates, highlight their close connection with love and passion. Other names, e.g., Khekalā and Vegavatī are reminiscent of the cult of *yoginīs* (flying, shapeshifting female deities whose powers were sought by *sādhakas*<sup>63</sup> in visionary encounters).<sup>64</sup>

Here is the list of the Nityā goddesses in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*:

*h(r)llekhā kledanī nandā kṣobhayet madanāturā |  
nirañjanā (rā)gavatī tathā(19r1)nyā madanāvatī || CMSS 123 ||*

<sup>62</sup> I have recorded emendations by listing the proposed reading first, followed by a lemma sign “[”, and by “corr.” to refer to a simple correction, “em.” – to an emendation, and “conj.” – to conjecture. If the emendation is mine, it is followed only by a colon; if it has been suggested by someone else, the last name of the person is included before the colon. Finally, I include the original reading, followed by “Cod.” if it occurs in a manuscript and “Ed.” – in a printed edition. I have used round brackets in the transliteration and the translation to indicate a conjecture in place of missing text in the manuscript, the latter is recorded in the transcription of the original as “+”. I did not mark conjecture in the translation, if it supplied only a missing ending or syllable, which did not produce an alternative interpretation. I also used square brackets in the translation to supply a word not present in the original, but necessary to properly render the meaning in English.

<sup>63</sup> *Sādhaka* in a broader Śaiva tantric context means “a seeker of rewards,” as Alexis Sanderson wrote in, e.g., 1995: 24. *Sādhakas* were a different group from those who were seekers of liberation only and were also assured liberation in addition to an attainment of *siddhis* (special powers). The cult of Tripurasundarī did not make the distinction between *mumukṣu* (seeker of liberation) and *bubhukṣu* (seeker of rewards), at least during the time period that I am examining in this dissertation (nor to my knowledge afterwards), so I am using the term *sādhaka* in a more general sense of a “ritualist” or “practitioner.”

<sup>64</sup> On the cult of *Yoginīs*, see e.g., Hatley 2012 and 2013.

*khekhalā drāvanī caiva tathā vegāvatī smṛtā |  
ekādaśaitā devyas tu madano dvādaśa smṛtā* || CMSS 124 ||

*nandā* ] em. : *dandā*<sup>65</sup> Cod.

*madanātūrā* ] em. : *madanātunā* Cod.

(*rā*)*gavatī* conj. Sanderson : ...*gavatī* Cod.

*drāvanī* ] corr. Sanderson : *drāvanī* Cod.

The *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairavatantra* preserves a variant of the Nityā cult, in which the main goddess is propitiated with her consort and a retinue of nine Nityās. The subordinate goddesses in this text are named Kulavidyā (Knowledge of the Kula), Vajrēśvarī (Goddess of the Thunderbolt), Tvaritā (Swift), Kurukullā,<sup>66</sup> Lalitā (Playful),<sup>67</sup> Bheruṇḍā (Terrible), Nīlapatākā (Blue Flag), Maṅgalā (Auspicious), and Vyomavyāpīnī (Pervader of the Sky).<sup>68</sup>

In the classical cult, the retinue of the Nityā goddesses was extended to fifteen, corresponding to the number of syllables in the main mantra of the mature tradition, with (Mahā)tripurasundarī as the sixteenth. The sixteen Nityā deities of the later tradition came to be associated with phases of the moon. In the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which preserved the ritual system of the mature cult, the list of sixteen Nityā goddesses included Mahātripurasundarī (the Great Beauty of the Three Cities), Kāmeśvarī (the Goddess of Desire), Bhagamālinī (Garlanded with *bhagas*), Nityaklinnā (Always Moist), Bheruṇḍā (Terrible), Vahnivāsinī (Fire-Dweller),

<sup>65</sup> I emended Dandā to Nandā following CMSS 133 and a parallel list in *Nityākauṭa*.

<sup>66</sup> The etymology of Kurukullā is not clear, but it may be a derivative of *kurukulyā*, descendant of the Kuru race, or a vernacular name of a local goddess. Worship of Kurukullā survives in some contemporary Śrīvidyā lineages. In Tibetan Buddhism she became associated with Tārā and retained her connection with love magic. Tibetan Buddhist iconography of Kurukullā portrays her similarly to Kāmadeva in NK 5.39–41, holding a flower bow and standing in the shooting posture (*pratyālīdhāsanasthitā*).

<sup>67</sup> Lalitā was preserved in Śrīvidyā as a common designation for the principal Goddess.

<sup>68</sup> Sanskrit list is from Sanderson 2009: 48 fn. 15.

Mahāvidyeśvarī (the Ruler of Great *vidyā*), Dūtī (Messenger), Tvaritā (Swift), Kulasundarī (one who is the beauty of *kula*), Nityā, Nīlapatākā (Endowed with a Blue Banner), Vijayā (Victorious), Sarvamaṅgalā (All-auspicious), Jvālāmāli (Flame-garlanded), and Vicitrā (Multicolored). This list built on the older lists of the Nityās in the antecedent cult, replacing some and adding others.

In the *Nityākaula* the names of the Nityās were clearly associated with love magic. In the mature tradition, some of the names obviously retained this connection with rites of amorous attraction (Kāmeśvarī, Bhagamālinī, Nityaklīnnā), but other names are reminiscent of the ferocious Mantramārga goddesses of cremation grounds (Bherundā), Kulamārga (Kulasundarī), the Purāṇas (Dūtī, Vijayā), and yet another few names are obscure. Earlier Śākta traditions abounded in groups of goddesses, which were extremely fluid. It was not uncommon for new groups to absorb older ones or for some of the goddesses from such a group to be elevated to a higher position. We notice this fluidity in the three texts of the antecedent cult that have come down to us. While the *Nityākaula* and the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* contained the same group of Nityās, that was not the case in the *Manthānabhairavatantra*. But the configuration of deities in the ritual system of the mature cult, with its eight groups of subordinate goddesses in the Śrīcakra, remained precisely the same from the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* to the *Yoginīhrdaya* and until the present time. I believe this unusual stability is due to the complexity of the Śrīcakra and its unique visual appeal, which also greatly contributed to the popularity of the cult of Tripurasundarī and the later Śrīvidyā.

What is particularly remarkable about the texts of the Nityā cult for a historian of religion, is that they preserve a ritual system in which the main Goddess's consort is Kāmadeva and not

Śiva, as in the mature tradition. It is not surprising that Tripurasundarī, who is described in the later tradition as the supreme Goddess, often referred to as Rājarājeśvarī (the Ruler of Kings), came to be aligned with Śiva, a major Hindu deity perceived as exceedingly powerful and widely worshiped. However, the fact that in the earliest cult the principal goddess was associated with Kāmadeva is significant and suggestive of the importance of the connection with love magic. Downplayed and all but forgotten, this link has remained at the core of Tripurasundarī's worship for more than a millennium. And even though Kāmadeva is no longer propitiated as Tripurasundarī's consort in contemporary practice, and the attraction of a desired partner has long ceased to be the focal point of this tradition, we cannot fully understand its ritual system or its range of goals and aspirations without understanding its early provenance in love magic.

A propensity for imagery in the red part of the spectrum and symbolism connected with love magic is one of the striking similarities between the *Nityākaula*, which describes the Nityā cult, and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the first *tantra* of the mature cult of Tripurasundarī. The use of a particular color is certainly not unusual in descriptions of Hindu deities. The goddess Sarasvatī is portrayed wearing white, the color of purity, while Lakṣmī is typically associated with pink and gold, signifying prosperity. Śiva is associated with white, the color of ashes in the cremation grounds. In later iconography, he is portrayed as blue-skinned, stemming from his sobriquet *nīlakanṭha* (a blue-throated one), an epithet based on the myth in which Śiva drank the poison churned up from the primordial ocean during the extraction of the nectar of immortality. Furthermore, the use of the color red itself is certainly not unique to the descriptions of Tripurasundarī. Durga, the demon-slaying goddess of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, is often portrayed wearing red garments. However, it seems that descriptions of no other deities contain such an

overwhelming preference for a particular color, nor a sheer number and variety of images associated with it.

The connection of Tripurasundarī with the color red has its origin in the visualizations of Kāmadeva. Compare, for example, the verses from the visualization of Kāmadeva in the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, *Kriyāpāda* with the visualization of the Goddess in the *Nityākaula* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*:

*raktam raktāmbadaradham yuvānam mr̄ṣṭakundalam* || ĪSGP KP 22.32 ||<sup>69</sup>

[Kāmadeva,] red, wearing red garments, youthful, with bright earrings...

+ + + + + (2r6) *rāṁ raktapuṣpavirājitāṁ* || NK ||  
*raktāṅgāṁ rāgajanānīṁ rañjayantīm idāṁ jagat* || NK ||

... (2v8) *indragopakasāñkāśā...* || NK ||

*raktāṅgāṁ rāgajanānīṁ* ] em. Sanderson : *raktāṅgarāgajanānīṁ* Cod.

... [The Goddess] resplendent with red flowers, having a red body, [she is] the mother of desire, filling (lit. reddening) this world with passion, ... radiant like a red firefly.

*tataḥ padmanibhāṁ devīṁ bālārkakiraṇāruṇāṁ |*  
*japākusumasañkāśāṁ dādimīkusumopamāṁ* || VM 1.113 ||

*padmarāgapratīkāśāṁ kuṇkumodakasāñnibhāṁ* | VM 1.114 ab |

*tāṁravidrumabimbābharaktoṣṭhīṁ amṛtopamāṁ* || VM 1.119 ab ||

*raktotpalasamākārasukumārakarāmbujāṁ* || VM 1.121 ab ||<sup>70</sup>

Then, the Goddess, resembling a lotus, reddish as the rays of the young sun, like a China Rose, similar to a pomegranate flower, shining like a ruby, like saffron water... whose red

<sup>69</sup> I am grateful to Professor Sanderson for providing me with the text of visualization from *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, *Kriyāpāda* (ĪSGP, v. 3. 222).

<sup>70</sup> VM: 60–61.

lips resemble copper, coral, and the *bimba* fruit, who is like nectar, ... whose lotus hands are tender like the red lotus flowers...

A visualization of the physical form of the Goddess later in the *Nityākaula*, is quite similar to that of the classical tradition, even using the same epithet, “shining like a ruby” (*padmarāgapratīkāśā*), as in the VM 1.114 ab cited above. In the section of the *Nityākaula* that describes visualization of the Goddess for *prayogas* (rituals for mundane aims), she is to be meditated upon as auspicious (*śubhāṁ*), red (*raktāṁ*), wearing red garments (*raktāmbarāṁ*), and holding the goad, noose, bow, and arrows of flowers in her four hands (*pā(sāñ)kuśadharāṁ...* *puṣpacāpodyatāṁ...* *puṣpabāñadharā...* *caturhastopaśobhitāṁ*) (NK 5.38–39). She is mounted on a sun-chariot (*ārūḍhā ādityarūpe rathe*), endowed with four lions of *dharma* (righteousness), knowledge, etc. [power], and dispassion (*dharmajñānādivairāgyam*), with Madana, who holds a flower bow (*puṣpacāpaśaravyagrā*) and is standing in the shooting posture (*pratyālīḍhāsanasthitā*)<sup>71</sup> as the charioteer (NK 5.39–41). The Goddess shines like a ruby (*padmarāgapratīkāśā*) and resembles a glittering lightning (*taḍittaralasaṁnibhā*) (NK 5.43).

The association of Tripurasundarī with desire and passion is not only suggested, but also explicitly expressed in remarkably sensual and erotic descriptions of the physical beauty of the Goddess in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*:

*muktāhāralatopetasamunnatapayodharāṁ |*  
*trivalīvalanāyuktamadhyadeśasuśobhitāṁ || VM 1.122 ||*

*lāvanyaśaridāvartākāranābhivibhūṣitāṁ |*  
*anargharatnaghaṭitakāñcīyuktanitambinīm || VM 1.123 ||*

<sup>71</sup> Although the endings in this half-verse are feminine, I think the last two epithets still refer to Madana, because no feminine subject has been named after the previous line, which introduced Madana. Furthermore, the Goddess had already been described holding the goad, noose, bow, and arrows of flowers just above (NK 5.38 cd – 39 ab). Gender and number of noun endings in the *Nityākaula* are frequently ungrammatical.

*nitambabimbadviradaromarājyaparāñkuśām |  
kadalīlalitastambhasukumārorum iśvarīm ||* VM 1.124 ||

*lāvaṇyakadalītulyajaṅghāyugalamanditām |  
namadbrahmaśiroratnanirghṛṣṭacaraṇāmbujām ||* VM 1.125 ||

*mahāmṛgamadoddāmakuñkumāruṇavigrāhām |  
sarvaśrīngāraveśāḍhyām sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitām ||* VM 1.129 ||<sup>72</sup>

*trivalīvalanāyukta°*] em. Benson : *trivalībalanāyukta°* Ed.

*lāvaṇya°*] em. Dviveda : *lāvaṇaya°* Ed.

*°āvartākāra°*] em. : *°āvatākāra°* Ed.

[The Goddess, endowed with] high breasts decorated with strings of pearls, adorned with a waist with three undulating folds<sup>73</sup> and a navel resembling a whirlpool in the river of beauty, with [large and beautiful] hips endowed with a girdle made from priceless jewels, possessed of another goad which is the line of hair for the elephant of the orbs of her buttocks, with thighs that are delicate like lovely plantain trunks, adorned by a pair of calves which are equal to plantains in their beauty, with her lotus feet scraped by the crest jewels of the bowing down Brahma ... with her body red like vermillion, unrestrained, passionate, like an elephant, endowed with every variety of seductive garb, [and] decorated with all the ornaments.

In the section of the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* describing the cult of the Nityās, the main goddess is referred to as Kāmeśvarī, the goddess of desire, whose consort is Kāmadeva. She is described as full of the radiance of hundreds of newly risen suns, e.g., reddish (*bālārka-satajeḍhya-*<sup>74</sup>) and brilliant [like] millions of bolts of lightning (*vidyutkotisamaprabhā*, both on

<sup>72</sup> VM: 61–62.

<sup>73</sup> Translation by Alexis Sanderson.

<sup>74</sup> Compare to *bālārkakiranārunām* above in VM 1.113.

18r3). The association of the principal Goddess with the reddish color of the early morning sun finds parallels in descriptions of Tripurā as one of three transmissions of the goddess Kubjikā.<sup>75</sup> The triadic nature of Kubjikā is reflected in this system of three transmissions, associated with the three junctures (*sandhyā*) of the day.<sup>76</sup> According to the *Siddhakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairavatantra*, the first transmission of the goddess to emerge at dawn is Tripurā, who is reddish in color.<sup>77</sup>

Red color is less prevalent in the section from the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, but the connection with love and desire is strongly expressed. E.g., Kāmeśvarī's form as a young girl (*bālārūpā*, *kaumārī*, CMSS 108) arises streaming with sexual (lit. seminal) fluids (*śukravāhinī*), from the drenched birth-*maṇḍala* (*drāvitam janmamaṇḍalam*, CMSS 105). The sage who worships Kāmeśvarī (CMSS 113–117) is rejuvenated and filling with vitality by the fusion of sexual fluids resulting from the union of Rudra and Rudrāṇī, granting the divine fruit of desire (CMSS 118). However, the Goddess in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* is also a spiritual being, and sensuality in descriptions of Kāmeśvarī is intertwined with the sublime, just as in the later descriptions of Tripurasundarī in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. In the description of the descent (*avatāra*) of the Goddess in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, “she arises in the center of the three *pīṭhas*, as the embodiment of ultimate reality” (*tripīṭhodbhavamadhyasthā satsvabhāvānurupiṇī* 102), surrounded by her powers, with Kāmadeva and the Nityās arranged in a hexagram around the triangle.<sup>78</sup> She is worshipped by *yoginīs* and *siddhas* (CMSS 108), embodies the ultimate

<sup>75</sup> Dyczkowski 2009: 146–148.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*: 145.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*: 146.

<sup>78</sup> CMSS 102, 111, 147, etc.

reality (*satsvabhāvasvarupinī*, CMSS 102), and devours *kula*, which is the manifest universe (*kulabhakṣinī*, CMSS 104).<sup>79</sup> This image of the primordial Goddess in the middle of a triangle,<sup>80</sup> symbolizing the *yoni* (female sexual organ), continues to be important in the mature tradition (see *Chapters 3 and 4*). From the *bindu* (dot) of undifferentiated awareness in the middle of the Śrīcakra, the principal ritual diagram of the classical cult, as a result of the union of Śiva and Śakti arises the first triangle, marking the first stage of manifestation and the first cakra of subordinate goddesses in the ritual configuration of the classical cult. The shape expands, adding a total of nine intersecting triangles, which form the nine cakras of the Śrīcakra.

In the *Nityākaula*, the lavish red imagery of erotic magic is extended from descriptions of the Goddess to that of the ritualist. The prescriptions for the ritualist are remarkably similar in the *Nityākaula* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, strongly suggesting that the classical cult of Tripurasundarī drew on the material from the *Nityākaula* or a similar text. Both *tantras* prescribe that the ritualist must be dressed in red clothing, adorned with red ornaments, and perfumed with incense and fragrance, while making red offerings to the Goddess. Having installed Tripurasundarī in his own body through *nyāsa*,<sup>81</sup> the ritualist must envision himself as the Goddess, down to her physical attributes, in order to propitiate her. The comparison of parallels marked in bold in the passages below, strongly suggests intertextual borrowing.

**raktāmbadaradharo mantrī raktamālyānulepanah** || NK 3.6 cd ||

*kajjalāñjitanetras tu pādau vā ra(ktarañjitau)* ||

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<sup>79</sup> Compare to *jagadgrasanarūpiṇī*, the embodiment of the swallowing of the world in VM 4.10.

<sup>80</sup> The same triangle is described in *Kumārikākhanda* 42–43ab with Uddiyāna, Jālandhara, and Pūrnapītha in the corners and Kāmarūpa in the front, i.e., in the middle of the triangle (Dyczkowski: v. 1 p. 1, 290–291).

<sup>81</sup> *Nyāsa* is a tantric preparatory ritual, which uses mantras, visualization, and touch to divinize the body of the ritualist.

(*pāśān*)kuśadharo **maunī** dhanuhśarakaro 'thavā || NK 3.7 ||

**tāmbūlapūritamukho dhūpāmodasudhūpitah** || NK 3.8 ab ||

°*anulepanah* ] em. : °*anulepanam* Cod.

*raktarañjita* ] conj. Sanderson<sup>82</sup> : *ra++* Cod.

(*pāśān*)kuśadharo ] conj. Sanderson : ++*kuśadharo* Cod.

*dhanuh*° ] em. Sanderson : *dhanu*° Cod.

... the *mantrin* (one who recites the mantras), clad in red clothing, [wearing] garlands of red [flowers] and smeared with red unguent, whose eyes are smeared with collyrium and whose feet (are tinted red), bearing the (noose) [and] the goad, or with the bow and the arrows in his hands, observing silence, whose mouth is full of betel and spices, who is thoroughly perfumed with fragrance of incense...

*kuṇkumāruṇadehas tu vastrāruṇavibhūṣitah |*  
***tāmbūlapūritamukho dhūpāmodasugandhitah*** || VM 1.103 ||

*karpūrakṣodadigdhāṅgo raktābharaṇamaṇḍitah |*  
***raktapuspāvṛto maunī raktagandhānulepanah*** || VM 1.104 ||<sup>83</sup>

...[the ritualist,] whose body is red with saffron and adorned with red garments, whose mouth is full of betel and spices, who is thoroughly perfumed with fragrance of incense,

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<sup>82</sup> Alexis Sanderson proposed the following explanation for this emendation: “The red substance is evidently *alaktaka* (*Aiśa laktaka*) ‘lac juice’. This fact taken together with the fact that *vā* is inapposite to the point that I take it be an error lead me to propose the following emendation: *pādau laktakarañjita* or *pādālaktakarañjita*. The latter is preferable as Sanskrit because it fits the sentence syntax and though the compound is somewhat disordered—the correct word order would be *alaktakarañjitatapādah*—such reordering is not rare in *Aiśa* compositions (as in *vastrāruṇavibhūṣitah* in VM 1.103). However, the quarter-verse *pādau laktakarañjita* is seen in descriptions of the Mantrin/Sādhaka/Vratin in *Picumata* 21.86 *valayābharaṇam* *divyam pādau nūpurabhūṣitau | keyūrakatīṣūtrañ ca pādau laktakarañjita* || 21.26: *mudrikām anguliś caiva pādau laktakarañjita* | *kapālam dakṣiṇe haste khaṭvāṅgam vāmato nyaset; and 56.95: bhasmasnātō 'thavā mantrī raktacandanacarcitah | lalāṭe tilakam krtvā pādau laktakarañjita; and Niśisamcāra f. 7v: \*cūḍakābharanair* (em. : *cūḍakābhara* Cod.) *yukto mudrāpañcaka\*bhūṣitah* (corr. : *bhūṣitam*) | *nūpurābharaṇair yuktau pādau laktakarañjita*.

It seems that the redactor may have simply inserted a convenient *pāda*-formula here, disregarding the requirement of the syntax. This is a common phenomenon in *Aiśa* and *Mahāyānist* compositions. The point, of course, is that in this way he takes on the appearance of a woman.”

<sup>83</sup> VM: 55.

whose body is smeared with camphor powder, beautified by red ornaments, surrounded with red flowers, and smeared with red fragrances, who is observing silence...

Both the *Nityākaula* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* give significant attention to the magical means for attracting the desired partner, including not only human women, but also the female inhabitants of the heaven and the underworld. The two texts provide similar lists of divine and semi-divine women that the adept is expected to attract through performance of rituals described in these *tantras*. Compare, e.g., *Nityākaula* 3.14–16 ab and *Vāmakeśvarīmata* 2.12 cd–14.

*vratamudrāsamāyuktah sādhakah siddhibhāg bhavet |  
devakanyā tathā nāgī gāndharvī yakṣakanyakā || NK 3.14 ||*

(7v1) *vidyadharīm apsarasm tathā mānuṣayoṣitah |  
sapta ṣat pañca catvāris tridvi-ekaguṇam priye || NK 3.15 ||*

*vratamantraprabhāvena māsataḥ kiñkarī bhavet | NK 3.16 ab |*

<sup>°</sup>*samāyuktah sādhakah ] em. : samāyuktam sādhakam Cod.  
vidyadharīm apsarasm ] em. Sanderson<sup>84</sup> : vidyādhariśvarī  
māsataḥ ] em. McCrea : māsata Cod.*

Engaged in *vratas* (observances) and *mudrās* (ritual gestures), the ritualist will achieve the success of the rite. Maiden of the god, *Nāga* woman, *gāndharva* woman, *yakṣa* maiden, even the foremost of *vidyādhara*s, and likewise human women — [having performed the observance for] seven, six, five, four, three, two [months], or one [month], O beloved, by the

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<sup>84</sup> Alexis Sanderson proposed two possibilities for this reading: “As the text stands, I see no way of understanding why the process should be said to take 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, or 1 month. The author no doubt intended the duration to be determined by the status of the female to be subjected to the *sādhaka*’s will, from *devakanyās* down to human women. The problem is that there are seven durations but only six types of female. Combining this observation with the oddity of the expression *vidyādhariśvarī* I suspect that the seventh (the sixth in the order) is hiding in *śvarī*. I propose *vidyādhary asurī caiva*. Cf. Compare VM 2.13c–14. One might alternatively propose *vidyadharīm apsarasm*. This too would fit the metre (as a *bha-vipulā* prior *pāda*) and the hierarchy, but is less close to the transmitted reading.” I chose the second reading by analogy with the parallel passage in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.

power of the *vratas* and *mantras*, [she] would become [his] slave after one month [etc., according to the list above].

*adṛṣṭāyāś tu saṃyojya nāma cakrasya madhyagam* || VM 2.12 cd ||

*viracya yonimudrām tu tām ākarṣayati kṣaṇāt |  
yakṣinīm cātha gandharvīm kinnarīm vāsureśvarīm* || VM 2.13 ||

*siddhakanyām nāgakanyām devakanyām ca khecarīm |  
vidyādhariṁ apsarasam ṛṣikanyām athorvaśīm* || VM 2.14 ||<sup>85</sup>

*saṃyojya* ] em. Sanderson : *saṃyojyam* Ed.

And having affixed the name of the one who is unseen in the middle of the *cakra* and having formed the *yonimudrā*, he will immediately attract a *yakṣa* woman, a *gandharva* woman, a *kinnara* woman, or a goddess, a *siddha* maiden, a *nāga* maiden, maiden of a god, a *khecera* woman, a *vidyādhara* woman, an *apsaras*, a daughter of a sage, or an *urvaśī*.

These examples of the close similarity of ideas, imagery, and even specific vocabulary in the *Nityākaula* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* demonstrate a strong continuity between the antecedent Nityā cult and the mature cult of Tripurasundarī. While later on the focus has shifted away from the magical rites of attraction, the mature tradition continued to preserve some aspects of the earlier cult connected with *kāma*. I will discuss other continuities in the next chapter on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and chapter 4 on the *Yoginīhṛdaya*.

In the time between the composition of the *Nityākaula* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, Kāmadeva ceased to be seen as the Goddess's consort. It is likely that as the relationship between Śiva and Śakti was becoming the dominant paradigm in the tantric traditions, the cult of Tripurasundarī, having gained in popularity and status, updated its source material by aligning its principal

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<sup>85</sup> VM: 79–80.

Goddess with a more prestigious consort. As the worship of Tripurasundarī came to be accepted by the broader strata of society, it is only fitting that the role of the consort of the Goddess would shift from Kāmadeva to the powerful and widely venerated Śiva.

Although the god of love does not function as the Goddess's consort in the mature tradition, I found that later texts continue to refer to *kāma* and Kāmadeva. For example, *kāma* occupies the most prominent role in the three-fold system of *tattvas* (categories of existence) in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which I will discuss in the next chapter. Given the cult's early provenance in love magic, it is not surprising that the majority of *sādhanas* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* are connected with *kāma* (desire). These include mantra repetition (*japa*), rites involving ritual diagrams (*yantras*), ritual offerings into a consecrated fire (*homa*), and other practices performed for the purposes of amorous attraction. In addition to a conspicuous preference for *sādhanas* related to *kāma*, amorous attraction is also particularly stressed in the section detailing the expected benefits of worship. The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* promises in no uncertain terms that as a result of the prescribed worship the adept will become irresistible to women, e.g.

*yatrānena vidhānena sādhakena prapūjyate |  
deṣe vā nagare grāme jagatkṣobhah prajāyate || VM 2.1 ||*

*jvalatkāmāgnisantāpapratāpottaptamānasāḥ |  
pipīlikāsthinyāyena dūrād āyānti yoṣitāḥ || VM 2.2 ||*

*mantrasamūḍhahṛdayāḥ sphurajaghaṇamāṇḍalāḥ |  
taddarśanān mahādevi jāyante sarvayoṣitāḥ || VM 2.3 ||<sup>86</sup>*

Wherever the worship is properly performed by the *sādhaka* – in the country, in the city, or in the village – there arises agitation among the people. Women come from afar like ants

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<sup>86</sup> VM: 78.

[penetrating into] the bones,<sup>87</sup> with their minds inflamed, pained and afflicted by the blazing fire of desire. On seeing him, O great Goddess, all the women have the orbs of their buttocks quivering, their minds confused, and their hearts infatuated, bewildered by the mantras. Furthermore, the noose, the goad, the bow, and the arrows, weapons distinctive for Tripurasundarī throughout the history of this tradition, are drawn from the iconography of the four-armed Kāmadeva, as can be seen, e.g., in the visualization of the god of love in *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, Kriyāpāda*, which I briefly cited earlier in the discussion of the color red.

*raktam raktāmbaradharam yuvānam mṛṣṭakunḍalam |  
hārakeyūrakaṭakamaulikunḍalaṇūpuraiḥ ||* ĪSGP KP 22.32 ||

*anyaiś ca divyābharanair mālyair gandhaiś ca bhūṣitam |  
puṣpacāpam śarāṁś cātha dadhatam pāśam aṅkuśam ||* ĪSGP KP 22.33 ||

*evam dhyātvārcayet kāmam ... |* ĪSGP KP 22.35 a |<sup>88</sup>

*puṣpacāpam śarāṁś ] em. Sanderson : puṣpacāpaśarāṁś Cod.*

Red, wearing red garments, youthful, with bright earrings, decorated with a pearl necklace, bracelets on upper arms and wrists, a diadem, rings and toe rings, and decorated with other divine ornaments, garlands, and fragrances, carrying a flower bow, arrows, a noose and a goad... having visualized [him] in this way, [the adept] should worship Kāma...

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<sup>87</sup> According to Professor Sanderson.

<sup>88</sup> ĪSGP, v. 3. 222.

These four weapons became the standard attributes of Tripurasundarī both in textual descriptions and visual representations.<sup>89</sup> In the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, they are explicitly referred to as the weapons of Kāma, even though Kāmadeva no longer appears as Tripurasundarī's consort in this text, e.g.:

*cakramadhye catuṣkam tu krameṇa paripūjayed* || VM 1.159 cd ||

*kāmabāṇān maheśāni dhanus tatpāśam eva ca |  
jambhamohavaśastambhapadaiḥ sahitam aṅkuśam* || VM 1.160 ||<sup>90</sup>

In the middle of the *cakra* [surrounding the central triangle, in the four cardinal directions], one should worship the four in order: the arrows of Kāma, the bow, his (Kāma's) noose, the goad, together with the words for crushing, deluding, controlling, [and] paralyzing, O great Goddess.

The connections with love magic remained so deeply engrained in the ritual system of the mature cult of Tripurasundarī, that they continued to be felt even after Kāmadeva ceased to be the Goddess's consort. The explosion of red, the color of eros, in figurative language, references to Kāmadeva embedded in the names of the subordinate goddesses, which I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, and the promise of success in love continued to link the texts of the mature cult with the early rites of amorous attraction, described in the *Nityākaula*. And even after Śiva became Tripurasundarī's consort, it was Kāma's noose, goad, bow of sugarcane, and flower-arrows that remained in the hands of the Goddess, not Śiva's *triśūla* (trident). I believe that this

<sup>89</sup> E.g., the goad, noose, bow, and arrows are prominently mentioned in the very beginning of the *Lalitāsaḥasranāma* (*rāgasvarūpapāśāḍhyā krodhākārāṅkuśojjvalā* | *manorūpeksukodanḍā pañcatanmātrasāyakā*, names 8–11) as well as in the visualization that usually accompanies it: *sindūrārunavigrahām trinayanām māṇikyamaulispurat* | *tārāṇāyakaśekharām smitamukhīm āpīnavakṣoruhām* | *pāṇibhyām alipūrnaratnacaṣakam raktotpalam bibhratīm* | *saumyām ratnaghaṭastharaktacaraṇām dhyāyet parāmāmbikām* || The visualization also highlights the frequent use of red color in descriptions of the Goddess in the later tradition.

<sup>90</sup> VM: 70.

profound connection of the cult of Tripurasundarī with love magic contributed to the popularity of this tradition, particularly in south-India in the later centuries. Ferocious goddesses with their imagery of cremation grounds continued to be a strong presence in Śākta traditions over the succeeding centuries. But a very different background of the cult of Tripurasundarī, combined with an impressive and visually stunning ritual system, which I will discuss in the next chapter, presented a desirable and popular alternative.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE CLASSICAL CULT OF TRIPURASUNDARĪ IN THE VĀMAKEŚVARĪMATA

The ritual system of the classical cult of Tripurasundarī is preserved in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the earliest extant text of this tradition. The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* incorporated the subordinate deities of the antecedent Nityā cult as part of a much larger ritual system, in which Tripurasundarī was surrounded by a host of goddesses, each assigned to a particular location within the nine levels of the Śrīcakra (see Appendix D). The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* does not refer to the Śrīcakra as such, but I will use this later designation, which first appeared in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, for convenience. In the *Nityākaula*, the principal Goddess stood in a triangle of the fire-*maṇḍala*, surrounded by a hexagram, which, in turn, was occupied by her retinue of Kāmadeva and eleven Nityās. Similarly, in the description of the antecedent Nityā cult in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, the principal Goddess, Kāmeśvarī, emerged from the center of a triangle made-up of the *śakti-pīṭhas*, surrounded by her powers, with Kāmadeva and the Nityās arranged in a hexagram around the central triangle.<sup>91</sup> In the mature cult, Tripurasundarī stands alone surrounded by a much larger retinue of subordinate goddesses in the *bindu* (dot) located in the middle of the very same triangle, which is now positioned as the innermost sub-cakra within the total of nine sub-cakras of the Śrīcakra. The Śrīcakra, the principal ritual diagram of the mature cult is formed by nine intersecting triangles, two rings of lotuses, and the enclosure of the Śrīcakra with four doors.

In addition to the vastly expanded ritual configuration, the classical cult also included a new system of mantras, culminating in the fifteen-syllabled root (*mūla*) mantra. In the later history of

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<sup>91</sup> E.g., CMSS 102, 111, 147.

the classical tradition, two slight variations of the mantra were practiced in what came to be known as *kādi* and *hādi sampradāyas*, named so for the first syllable of the *mūla* mantra. The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* appears to precede this distinction. Its principal mantra<sup>92</sup> begins with *ka*, but slightly differs from the *kādi* version preserved by the contemporary tradition, though their total number of syllables is the same.

Although in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* the primary Goddess stands alone, unaccompanied by her consort, in the mature tradition she is clearly associated with Śiva. And it is their dynamic union that gives birth to all of creation, reflected in the emanation of the Śrīcakra and the *mūla* mantra. Although Kāmadeva is no longer Tripurasundarī's consort in the classical cult, practices associated with *kāma* (love, desire) still occupied a predominant place in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, as I discussed in the previous chapter. Following the antecedent tradition, the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* also gave attention to other practices connected with mundane results, as I will discuss here. In this chapter, I will also highlight innovations in the mature cult, as expressed in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.

In the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, Tripurasundarī, whose very name suggests her three-fold nature, is characterized by various sets of three. This is not a completely new development. Already in the *Nityākaula*, the Goddess was described as having three forms: “with thought,” “with and without thought,” and “beyond thought” (NK 5.35). This is similar to the more familiar descriptions of deities as *saguṇa*, with attributes, and *nirguṇa*, beyond attributes, but here an intermediate stage is added. For her form to be visualized “with thought” (given as *saṃcintya* and once as *saṃcittah*), NK gives a detailed physical description of her attributes as well as those of her

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<sup>92</sup> *ka e ī la hrīm ha ka ha la hrīm ha sa ka la hrīm* (VM 1.93–101, 70–72).

entourage, chariot, etc. (NK 5.38–39), which I cited and translated in the previous chapter of this dissertation. Her second form for the “with and without thought” (*cintyācintya*) meditation is described in that text as shaped like *kundala* (coil), i.e., *kundalinī* (NK 5.45). And her last form is beyond thought (*niścintya*) (NK 5.45c–47). In the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, Kāmeśvarī arises in the middle of a triangle (e.g., CMSS 102, 111, 147), representing the three-fold nature of the Goddess and the *yoni* (female sexual organ). *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* states that the triangle has three *pīṭhas* in its corners: Jālandhara, Pūrṇapīṭha, and Uḍḍiyāṇa. Kāmarūpa is the fourth *pīṭha* located in the middle of the triangle, which is the abode (*dhāma*) and *maṇḍala* of Kāmeśvarī (CMSS 102–104). And the very same *pīṭhas* is where the Goddess is said to abide in VM 1.12:

*kāmapūrṇajakārakhyasrīpīṭhāntarnivāsinīm |  
caturājñākośabhūtām naumi śrītripurām aham || VM 1.12 ||*<sup>93</sup>

I worship Śrītripurā, residing in Kāmarūpa, Jālandhara, Pūrṇapīṭha, and Uḍḍiyāṇa (śrīpīṭha), who is the treasure-house of the four commands (*ājñās*, i.e., teachings).

The triadic nature is mentioned again later in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, emerging from the sprout (*ankura*) of undifferentiated consciousness as the three-fold (*trividham*) Kledanī, who encompasses Śakti, Śiva, and Rudra (CMSS 132). We will see that this imagery of the sprout is also preserved in VM 4.9 and in YH 1.37. Bhagamālinī, one of the powers of the principal Goddess in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* is similarly three-fold (CMSS 145). And Paraśakti is described at the very end of the section on Nityās in this text as having three natural states (*viṣa*, *kāma*, and *nirañjanā*, CMSS 147), terms that were later applied to the Goddess in the

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<sup>93</sup> VM: 15.

*Vāmakeśvarīmata* (with the paraphrase of *nirañjanā* to *mokṣa*), as we will see later in this chapter.

In the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the three-fold nature of the Goddess, which had already been expressed in the Nityā cult, is broadly developed and embellished upon. Triad is one of the most common structures in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. The main mantra (*mūlavidyā*) of the Goddess is threefold, consisting of fifteen syllables divided into three stages of emanation. The stages are the same for the condensed three-syllabled form of the *vidyā*. They are:

1. *vāgbhava*,
2. *kāmarāja*, and
3. *śakti*.<sup>94</sup>

*Vāgbhava* is mentioned in the CMSS (144) as one of the powers of the Goddess, but without reference to *kāmarāja* or *śakti*. However, all three are referred to as syllables of Tripurābhairavī in the *Yogakhaṇḍa* of the *Manthānabhairava*.<sup>95</sup> The condensed form of the *vidyā* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which corresponds to the three stages of emanation, is likewise threefold and consists of three *bījas* (seed syllables).<sup>96</sup> These correspond to three stages of emanation (creation, preservation, and dissolution), and to *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā śaktis* (the potentialities of creative impulse/desire, knowledge, and activity).

In addition to using such various sets of three, the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* occasionally refers to the fourth, transcendent aspect of the Goddess. In the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, Tripurasundarī is

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<sup>94</sup> See verses 1.93–101 (VM: 70–72) on the extraction and the stages of emanation of the root *vidyā*.

<sup>95</sup> Dyczkowski 2009: v. 3, p. 1, 179.

<sup>96</sup> *Bīja* mantras are the so-called seed-syllable mantras, said to contain energy in a condensed form. They consist of one syllable ending with an *anusvāra*.

described as the primal, transcendent Goddess, whose subtle (*sūkṣma*) form is the causal latent state of all creation.

*tripurā paramā śaktir ādyā jātāditah priye |  
sthūlasūkṣmavibhāgena trailokyotpattimātrkā || VM 4.4 ||*

The supreme *śakti* is Tripurā, O dear one, first-born from the primal one. She is the Mother who is the origin of the three worlds, with [their] gross and subtle constituents.

The text goes on to reflect on the supreme nature of this primal *śakti*.

*paro<sup>97</sup> hi śaktirahitah śaktaḥ kartum na kimcana |  
śaktas tu parameśāni śaktyā yukto yadā bhavet || VM 4.6 ||<sup>98</sup>*

Indeed, devoid of *śakti*, the Supreme Lord would not be able to accomplish anything, but when he is united with *śakti* — he is capable, O Supreme Goddess.

This transcendent primal Goddess, emerging from her latent state, manifests the universe in three stages of emanation.

*kavalīkṛtaniḥśeṣabījādyāṅkuratāṁ gatā |  
vāmā śikhā tato jyeṣṭhā śrīṅgāṭkāratāṁ gatā || VM 4.9 ||*

*raudrī tu parameśāni jagadgrasanarūpiṇī |  
evam sā paramā śaktir ekaiva parameśvarī || VM 4.10 ||<sup>99</sup>*

The primal [one], Vāmā, has become the sprout of the seed in which all is swallowed up.

[As] Jyeṣṭhā [she is] the flame, and as Raudrī<sup>100</sup> [she is] the triangle,<sup>101</sup> the embodiment of

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<sup>97</sup> *Para* here is used in the meaning of *parameśa*, according to Professor Sanderson.

<sup>98</sup> VM:101.

<sup>99</sup> VM:103–104.

<sup>100</sup> According to Professor Sanderson, these three goddesses are equated with the three parts of the emanation of the first letter of the alphabet, which is the source of all manifestation in this phonemic mysticism. This section can also read as the description of the writing of letter ‘a’ in the Siddhamātrkā script.

<sup>101</sup> *Śrīṅgāṭa*, meaning *triangle*, is derived from the word denoting water nuts, common in Kashmir (botanical name — *Trapa Bispinosa*, common name — Singhara nut) which have a roughly triangular shape.

the swallowing of the world. Thus, she indeed is the only supreme *sakti*, the supreme Goddess.

The primal Goddess (*ādyā*) is unmanifest, but contains the seeds of everything to be manifested. Once she reaches manifestation, the three stages of *sṛṣti*, *sthiti*, and *saṃhāra* are presided over by her three aspects: Vāmā, who emits, literally spews forth the Universe, Jyeṣṭhā, the stabilizer, and Raudrī, the destroyer. And later in the text, Tripurasundarī is described as not only embodied in the three *saktis* of creation, sustaining, and dissolution, but also in the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra, who are traditionally associated with these roles.

*tripurā trividhā devī brahmaviṣṇvīśarūpiṇī |  
jñānaśaktih kriyāśaktir icchāśaktyātmikā priye || VM 4.11 ||*<sup>102</sup>

She is the threefold Tripurā, the Goddess in the form of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra; her

nature is *jñāna*, *kriyā*, and *icchā* *saktis*, O beloved!

Later on in the same section of the fourth *paṭala* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the redactors correlated the stages of emanation (*vāgbhavā*, *kāmarājā*, and *sakti*) with *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā* *saktis*.

*vāgīśvari jñānaśaktir vāgbhavā mokṣarūpiṇī |  
kāmarājā kāmakalā kāmarūpā kriyātmikā<sup>103</sup> || VM 4.17 ||*

*śaktibījā parā śaktir icchaiva viṣarūpiṇī |  
evam devī tryakṣarā tu mahātripurasundarī || VM 4.18 ||*<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> VM: 104.

<sup>103</sup> Professor Sanderson brought to my attention a variant cited in the edition, which uses locative case endings instead of nominative feminine ones: *vāgbhave* for *vāgbhavā*, *kāmarāje* for *kāmarājā*, *śaktibīje* for *śaktibījā*. The same reading with the locative endings is accepted in the south Indian edition. I am using the more awkward reading of the KSTS edition, because the variant with the locative endings may have been a later correction. Regardless of which reading I use, the correlation between *saktis*, *tattvas*, and aspects of the Goddess remains the same and does not impact my argument.

<sup>104</sup> VM: 107–108.

[She is] Vāgīśvarī (the goddess of speech), the *jñāna śakti*, the *vāgbhava*, whose nature is liberation; [she is] *kāmarāja*, *Kāmakalā*, her form is desire, [and] her nature is *kriyā*; she is the *śakti* syllable, the supreme *śakti*, who is precisely *icchā* and whose form is *viṣa*,<sup>105</sup> and thus the great Tripurasundarī is the Goddess of three syllables.

The fact that the word *śakti* is used in different meanings in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* is confusing, so I will parse these meanings here. As is common in Śākta traditions, the redactors of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* use the word *śakti* to denote generic feminine energy, the potentiality that allows Śiva to act, which is referred to as *parā* or *paramā śakti*, or simply *śakti* (as in VM 4.6 c, 4.10 c, and 4.18 a above). Using the word *śakti* to describe three types of such potentiality, *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā* (as in VM 4.11, 17, and 18) is also common. However, using this word (as in *śakti-bījā* in VM 4.18 a above) to name the third stage of emanation of the *vidyā*, which symbolizes the greater process of creation, is idiosyncratic for the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Correlation between the latter three (stages of emanation and *śaktis*) is also made with what *Vāmakeśvarīmata* calls *tattvas* (*kāma*, *viṣa*, and *mokṣa*) and three different aspects of the Goddess (Vāgīśvarī, Kāmakalā, Parā Śakti). Lastly, I should clarify that the use of the word *tattva* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* is different from the usual thirty-six categories used in Śaivism, which were not mentioned in this text. The three *tattvas* of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* (*kāma*, *viṣa*, and *mokṣa*) were correlated with the three-fold nature of Tripurā, and her *vidyā*, etc. E.g.,

... *seyam avyaktā tripurā vyaktim āgatā |*  
*tattvatrayavinirdiṣṭā varṇaśaktitrayātmikā || VM 4.16 ||*<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> One of the three *tattvas* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the term *viṣa*, which normally means “poison,” is used here in the meaning of the domain of knowledge related to poisons.

<sup>106</sup> VM: 107.

Tripurā is unmanifest, having become manifest, possessing three *tattvas* and consisting of three syllables (in the condensed form of the mantra) and *śaktis*.

*sarvam eva tvayā proktam̄ tripurājñānam̄ uttamam̄ |  
kāmatattvam̄ viṣajñānam̄ mokṣatattvam̄ trayam̄ tathā || VM 5.1 ||<sup>107</sup>*

You have told me everything about the supreme knowledge of Tripurā and the triad of *kāmatattva*, the knowledge of *viṣa*, and *mokṣatattva*.

The three *tattvas* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* are akin to domains of knowledge. *Kāmatattva* is related to knowledge of love magic and rites of attraction and *viṣa* encompasses knowledge of cures from poisons and effects of supernatural creatures. The *tattva* called *mokṣa* refers to speech and knowledge. Although the term *mokṣatattva* was used in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the redactors of this text did not include any practices for liberation. Soteriological practices did not appear within the cult of Tripurasundarī until the composition of the *Yoginīhṛdaya*.

I have summarized the three stages of emanation with corresponding *śaktis*, *tattvas*, and aspects of the Goddess referred to in the verses discussed above, in *Table 1* below.

Table 1. Three Stages of Emanation				
Stage of emanation	Vidyā	Śakti	Tattva	Aspect
<i>vāghbava</i>	<i>aim;</i> <i>ka e ī la hrīm̄</i>	<i>jñāna</i>	<i>mokṣa</i>	Vāgīśvarī
<i>kāmarāja</i>	<i>hrīm;</i> <i>ha ka ha la hrīm̄</i>	<i>kriyā</i>	<i>kāma</i>	Kāmakalā =Kāmeśvarī
<i>śakti</i>	<i>sauh;</i> <i>ha sa ka la hrīm̄</i>	<i>icchā</i>	<i>viṣa</i>	Parā Śakti

<sup>107</sup> VM: 129.

I will now discuss how these three stages of emanation were envisioned as a manifestation of the universe, the *vidyā*, the *Śrīcakra*, and different aspects of the Goddess in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Whenever possible, I will highlight parallels with the antecedent and the later classical cult. I will discuss these three aspects in the same order in which they were given in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*: beginning with *vāghbava*, followed by *kāmarāja*, and concluding this chapter with the third aspect designated as *śakti*. However, since I already discussed features of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* connected with *kāma* in the previous chapter, I will not spend as much space on this aspect here. I will only highlight how *kāma* is expressed in the names of subordinate goddesses in the new system of the *Śrīcakra* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.

The *vāghbava* stage of emanation is associated with speech. The Goddess in this stage of emanation is white, pure, and blemishless.<sup>108</sup> In the later classical tradition, this aspect of the Goddess was described in the form of Bālā<sup>109</sup> Tripurasundarī, a form that is still worshipped as a girl Goddess in the contemporary tradition. The association of the Goddess with the power of speech is highlighted in the very first verses of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. In fact, it is this aspect and her cosmic, transcendent nature which are most prominent in the invocation. She is described as Mātrikā (the Mother-of-Speech, the transcendental source of sounds) and Siddhamātrikā (the mother energy embodied in the North-Indian post-Gupta alphabet of that name). Knowledge of even one of her letters is said to grant the *sādhaka* equality with Gods. She is embodied in the eight *vargas* (groups of sounds) which are distributed in the eight substrata in the microcosm of the human body and associated with eight *siddhis*, beginning with *animā* (minuteness). And she

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<sup>108</sup> See Sanderson 1988: 673 and 1990: 32–36.

<sup>109</sup> See Sanderson 2014: 35.

is also em She resides in all the principal seats of the Goddess and transcends the four Kaula *āmnāyas*, including the southern transmission (*dakṣināmnāya*), also called the tradition of the southern order (*dakṣinaghārāmnāya*), a direction associated with the antecedent Nityā cult (see Appendix B).

*gaṇeśagrahanakṣatravayinīrāśirūpiṇīm |  
devīm mantramayīm naumi māṭrkām pīṭharūpiṇīm || VM 1.1 ||*

*praṇamāmi mahādevīm māṭrkām parameśvarīm |  
kālalohollokalanāśamakāriṇīm || VM 1.2 ||*

*yadakṣaraikamātre'pi saṃsiddhe spardhate narah |  
ravitārkṣyendukandarpaśaṅkarānalaviṣṇubhiḥ || VM 1.3 ||*

*yadakṣaraśaśijyotsnāmaṇḍitam bhuvanatrayam |  
vande sarveśvarīm devīm mahāśrīsiddhamāṭrkām || VM 1.4 ||*

...  
*akacādiṭatonnaddhapayaśākṣaravargiṇīm |  
jyeṣṭhāṅgabāhuhṛtpṛṣṭhakaṭipādanivāsinīm || VM 1.7 ||*

*tām ikārākṣaroddhārasārādhārām<sup>110</sup> parāparām |  
praṇamāmi mahādevīm paramānandarūpiṇīm || VM 1.8 ||*

...  
*vande tām aham akṣayyakārākṣararūpiṇīm |  
devīm kulakalollolaprollasantīm paraulijām || VM 1.10 ||*

*vargānukramayogena yasyā māṭraṣṭakam sthitam |  
vande tām aṣṭavargotthamahāsiḍḍhyāṣṭakeśvarīm || VM 1.11 ||*

*kāmapūrṇajakārākhyāśrīpīṭhāntarnivāsinīm |  
caturājñākośabhuṭām naumi śrītripurām aham || VM 1.12 ||<sup>111</sup>*

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<sup>110</sup> *īkāra*° in NSĀ.

<sup>111</sup> VM: 1–15.

I praise the Goddess, who has the form of Gaṇeśas,<sup>112</sup> the planets, the *nakṣatras* (asterisms), the *rāśis* (signs of the zodiac), embodied as mantras, the Mother-of-Speech, who has the form of the *pīṭhas* (seats of the Goddess). I bow to the great Goddess, the Mātṛkā, the supreme ruler who brings about the cessation of the rushing waves of the force of time.<sup>113</sup> If one masters even a single letter of her, he will rival the sun, Garuḍa, the moon, Kāmadeva, Śiva, fire, [and] Viṣṇu. I honor the Goddess, the moonlight of whose letters adorns the three worlds, who is the great venerable Siddhamātṛkā, the ruler of all... I bow to the Great Goddess who possesses the groups of sounds “a,” “ka,” “ca,” “ṭa,” “ta,” “pa,” “ya,” “śa,” residing in the head, arms, heart, back, hips, [and] feet, whose highest substratum is in the extraction of the syllable ‘i,’ who is both transcendent and immanent,<sup>114</sup> [and] the embodiment of the highest bliss... I honor that Goddess, who has the form of the undecaying “kṣa” sound, who shines forth in the waves which are the constitutive powers of totality, who arises from the highest transmission of knowledge.<sup>115</sup> I praise the one who presides over the eight great *siddhis* which arise from the eight *vargas*, whose eight Mothers are established through the association with her sequence of *vargas*. I praise the venerable Tripurā, who is the treasure-house of the four teachings (*āmnāyas*), the one who resides within Kāma[rūpa], Pūrṇa[giri], that which is named by the letter “ja” [Jālandhara], [and] the Śrīpiṭha (Oḍḍiyāna).

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<sup>112</sup> For multiple interpretations of the word *gaṇeśa*(s) in the first compound of VM 1.1, see chapter 5 and 6 of this dissertation.

<sup>113</sup> Translation of verse 1.2 cd by Professor Sanderson.

<sup>114</sup> Translation by Professor Sanderson.

<sup>115</sup> Translation of verse 1.10 cd by Professor Sanderson.

The *vāc* aspect is further expressed through the eight alphabet goddesses, associated with the groups of sounds in the Sanskrit alphabet (*vargas*). The names of these goddesses, called *yogīnīs*, and the *vargas* associated with them are summarized in *Table 2* below.

Table 2. The Alphabet Goddesses		
Name	Varga	Bija
Vaśinī	a	rblum̥
Kāmeśvarī	ka	klhrīm̥
Modinī	ca	nvlīm̥
Vimalā	ṭa	ylūm̥
Aruṇā	ta	jmrīm̥
Jayinī	pa	hslvyūm̥
Sarveśvarī	ya	jhmryūm̥
Kaulinī	śa	kṣmrīm̥

Several names of the goddesses to be worshipped on other levels of the Śrīcakra were also connected with the *vāc* aspect, e.g., the goddess who embodies all the mantras (*sarvamantramayī devī*) in the fourth *cakra*, one who is all-knowing (*sarvajñā*), and the goddess who is filled with all the knowledge (*sarvajñānamayī devī*) in the sixth *cakra*, etc.

The fourth chapter of the text provides instructions for the ritual practice of the supreme Goddess in her aspect of Vāgīśvarī with the *vāgbhava* syllable.

*dhavalāṁbarasamvīto dhavalāṁbaramadhyagah* || VM 4.21 ||

*pūjayed dhavalaiḥ puṣpair brahmacaryarato naraḥ* |  
*dhavalair eva naivedyair dadhikṣiraudanādibhiḥ* || VM 4.22 ||

*samkalpadhavalair vāpi yathākāmam yathā labhet |  
saṃpūjya parameśāni dhyāyed vāgīśvarīm parām || VM 4.23 ||*

*bījarūpām ullasantīm cidānandaprabodhinīm |  
brahmagrānthīm vinirbhidya jihvāgre dīparūpiṇīm || VM 4.24 ||<sup>116</sup>*

Clothed in white garments in the midst of white cloth, observing celibacy, one should worship her with white flowers, white food offerings, such as curd, milk, and boiled rice, etc., or with offerings visualized as white,<sup>117</sup> according to [his] desire, or as he can obtain. O Supreme Goddess, having performed the worship, he should visualize Vāgīśvarī, who is transcendent, blazing up in the form of the [*vāgbhava*] *bīja* awakening the bliss of consciousness, [and] having pierced the Brahma knot,<sup>118</sup> shining like a lamp on the tip of [his] tongue.

Verses 4.25 through 4.33 give a protracted description of how even ignorant dull-witted mindless individuals who can become as eloquent as the Lord of Speech himself through the worship of the supreme Goddess in this aspect. An extensive list of disciplines that can be mastered through the *sādhana* with the *vāgbhava* syllable is given, including (I paraphrase) the doctrines of the six philosophical systems, meanings of words and sentences, poetics, composition of classical poetry, knowledge of scriptures and various sciences, magical procedures, painting and crafts, mastery of eloquent speech and sophisticated grammar, knowledge of all languages, scripts and the

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<sup>116</sup> VM: 109.

<sup>117</sup> Translation by Professor Sanderson.

<sup>118</sup> *Brahmagrāntha* (the Brahma knot), which Jayaratha locates between the *ādhāras* (lit. supports) of *vahni* and *vīśa*, is the first of three knots (the other two being Viṣṇu and Rudra) that *kundalinī* pierces on its way upward through the *cakras*. Although the system of *ādhāras*, also referred to as *cakras* (lit. wheels) or *padmas* (lit. lotuses) has undergone changes in this tradition, the three knots have been preserved in the later texts. See, e.g., *Lalitāsahasranāma* 100 (*brahmagrānthivibhedinī*, one who pierces the Brahma knot).

language of birds, weaponry, and, finally, knowledge of all speech and omniscience.<sup>119</sup> This passage suggests another profile of a potential initiate this *tantra* aimed to attract, in addition to a love-starved bachelor unable to find female company — a courtier who may have felt he needed magical assistance in improving his eloquence and courtly graces, so that he could move up in the hierarchy, leaving his opponents behind.

Although *kāma* aspect was more in the foreground in the Nityā cult, as I discussed in the previous chapter, the aspect of the Goddess associated with speech had also been developed in the Nityā cult. Modeled on Trika's Parā,<sup>120</sup> Nityā Devī in the NK was visualized as white, with a face like a full moon (NK 4.13), adorned with a book and a rosary, and residing in the middle of the *kadamba* grove (NK 4.14). Procedures that included *jāpa* of her mantra were said to grant various boons to the *sādhaka*, while robbing his adversaries of the very same qualities and more.

Here are some examples of benefits the NK promised in this section:

... *māsād vācām patir bhavet* || NK 4.16 cd ||

... he will become the lord of speech after a month.

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<sup>119</sup> *cintayen naṣṭahṛdayo grāmyo mūrkho 'tipātakī |*  
*śaṭho'pi yah pādam ekam suspaṣṭam vaktum akṣamah* || VM 4.25 ||  
*jaḍo mūko'pi durmedhā gataprajño'pi naṣṭadhīḥ |*  
*so'pi samjāyate vāgmī vācaspatir ivāparah* || VM 4.26 ||  
*satpaṇḍitaghaṭāṭopajetā'pratihataprabhāḥ |*  
*ṣaṭtarkapadavākyārthaśabdālaṅkārasāravat* || VM 4.27 ||  
*vātorddhūtasamudrormimālātulyair upanyaset |*  
*sukumāratarasphārarītyalaṅkāpūrvakaiḥ* || VM 4.28 ||  
*padagumphair mahākāvyakartā deveśi jāyate |*  
*vedavedāntasiddhāntavedāṅgajñānapāragaḥ* || VM 4.29 ||  
*jyotiḥśāstretihāśādimīmāṃsāsmṛtivākyavit |*  
*purāṇarasavādādigāruḍānekamantravit* || VM 4.30 ||  
*pātālaśāstravijñānabhūtatantrārthatattvavit |*  
*vicitracitrakarmādiśilpānekavicaksanah* || VM 4.31 ||  
*mahāvyākaraṇodāraśabdasamāskrtasarvagīḥ |*  
*sarvabhāśārutarajñānasamastalipikarmavit* || VM 4.32 ||  
*nānāśastrārthaśilpādivedavedāṅgaviśrutah |*  
*sarvavāñmayavettā ca sarvajño devi jāyate* || VM 4.33 || (VM: 109–111.)

<sup>120</sup> For description of Trika's Parā, see Sanderson 1988: 673 and 1990: 32–36.

*sarvavāñmayavettāsau* śa/ga? + + + + + (9r2)vat |  
*kāvyakartā mahādevi* lakṣajāpād bhaven narah || NK 4.17 ||

A man [who completes] a jāpa of 100,000 [repetitions of mantra] will know all that consists of speech... and will become a poet, O great Goddess.

The wording of NK 4.16 above is similar to VM 4.26 cited earlier (*so'pi samjāyate vāgmī vācaspatir ivāparah*), while NK 4.17 finds a close parallel in the following verses from the same passage as VM 4.26:

*sukumāratara-sphāra-rīty-alāṅkārapūrvakaih* || VM 4.28 cd ||

*padagumphair mahākāvyakartā deveśi jāyate* || VM 4.29 ab ||<sup>121</sup>

He becomes the author of epic poetry with arrangements of words that use styles and figures whose expressive power is delicate in the highest degree,<sup>122</sup> O ruler of the gods.

*sarvavāñmayavettā ca sarvajño devi jāyat* || VM 4.33 cd ||<sup>123</sup>

... he will know all adthat consists of speech and will be omniscient...

The second stage of the threefold emanation of Tripurasundarī, Kāmarāja, which is associated with love, desire, attraction, etc. has been given the most prominence in this *tantra*. I have cited a number of examples from the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* providing a variety of magical means for attracting a desired partner in the previous chapter. I have also discussed the assimilation of the Nityā goddesses into the mature cult, including the analysis of their names, and a number of other continuities, including similarities in the appearance of the principal Goddess and the *sādhaka*, which borrowed from visualizations of Kāmadeva, and the proliferation of red imagery preserved from the antecedent cult of love magic. I will now discuss

<sup>121</sup> VM: 110.

<sup>122</sup> Translation by Professor Sanderson.

<sup>123</sup> VM: 111.

how the connection with *kāma* was expressed in the names of other subordinate goddesses within the new ritual system of the Śrīcakra in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.

The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* gives little explanation of the functions of subordinate goddesses, organized in eight groups around Tripurasundarī, the latter located in the *bindu* (dot) in the middle of the Śrīcakra. However, their names are suggestive and many of them are connected with *kāma*. The later part of the first chapter (verses VM 1.132–168), which outlines the worship of the Śrīcakra, lists names and locations of the deities to be propitiated in all the nine levels of this ritual configuration. All the goddesses in the two rings of petals, located outside of the intersecting triangles of the Śrīcakra (i.e., the second and third levels from the outside in, in the order of dissolution) have clear associations with love magic. This is also true for Tripurasundarī’s weapons invoked outside of the innermost triangle and the *bindu* (eighth and ninth levels). In addition, some of the deities in the forth and fifth levels are also clearly linked to the *kāma* aspect in the nature of the Goddess.

In particular, verses VM 1.138–143 name the deities of attraction (*ākarṣa*) located in the sixteen outer petals within the second level of the Śrīcakra. Their names evoke all types of attraction — physical, mental, verbal, attraction of the senses, attraction of the mind and memory, etc.

*kāmākarṣaṇarūpā ca buddhyākarṣasvarūpiṇī |  
ahaṅkārākarṣiṇī ca śabdākarṣasvarūpiṇī || VM 1.138 ||*

*sparsākarṣaṇarūpā ca rūpākarṣaṇakāriṇī |  
rasākarṣakarī devī gandhākarṣakarī tathā || VM 1.139 ||*

*cittākarṣaṇarūpā ca dhairyākarṣasvarūpiṇī |  
smṛtyākarṣaṇarūpā ca nāmākarṣaṇakāriṇī || VM 1.140 ||*

*bījākarṣanarūpānyā ātmākarṣasvarūpiṇī |  
amṛtasyākarṣanī ca śarīrākarṣanī parā || VM 1.141 ||*<sup>124</sup>

One who is the attraction of desire, One who is the embodiment of the attraction of *buddhi* (wisdom), One who attracts the ego, One who embodies the verbal attraction, One who is the attraction of touch, One who produces the attraction of form, One who creates the attraction of taste, and One who attracts by smell, One whose nature is the attraction of the mind, One who is the embodiment of the attraction through constancy, One who attracts through memory, and One who produces the attraction of name, One who attracts by the *bījas* (seed syllables), One whose very nature is the attraction of the self, One who is the attraction of nectar, and the highest One who is the bodily attraction.

In the inner eight petals of the third level of the Śrīcakra, the names of all the eight deities are connected with Kāmadeva. The first name is the flower of Anaṅga,<sup>125</sup> next is his ornament, his stirring, excellence, and furrow (or mark) follow. The list is concluded with a goddess who abides in Anaṅga, his goad, and his garland. Compare the last name (Anaṅgalekhā) with Hṛllekhā, which was the name of one of the Nityās in the *Nityākaula* and the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*.

*anaṅgakusumāṁ pūrve dakṣine 'naṅgamaṅgalām |  
paścime 'naṅgamathanām uttare madanottarām || VM 1.143 ||*

*anaṅgalekhām āgneye nairrte 'naṅgavāsinīm |  
anaṅgāṅkuśām vāyavya iśāne 'naṅgamālinīm || VM 1.144 ||*<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> VM 64–65.

<sup>125</sup> This epithet of the god of love, which literally means “limbless,” is based on the popular legend of his destruction through the wrath of Śiva, burning Kāmadeva to ashes with the fiery glance of his third eye, to restore him later in an incorporeal (i.e., limbless) form at the request of the goddess. The story is retold in numerous Purāṇas, including the *Lalitopākyāna* section of *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and in poetry, e.g., Kalidāsa’s *Kumārasambhava*.

<sup>126</sup> VM 65–66.

She who is the flower of Anaṅga in the east, who is the ornament of Anaṅga in the south,  
who is the stirring of Anaṅga in the west, who is the excellence of Madana in the north,<sup>127</sup>  
who is the furrow (i.e., mark) of Anaṅga in Agni's [direction, in the southeast], who abides in  
Anaṅga in [the direction of] of Nr̥ti [in the southwest], who is the goad of Anaṅga in Vayu's  
[direction, in the northwest], who is the garland of Anaṅga in Īśāna's [direction, in the  
northeast].

The list of the fourteen *śakti* goddesses worshipped in the fourteen spokes of the fourth *cakra* (verses 1.145–148 ab) also includes some goddesses whose names are associated with love magic, e.g., *sarvākarṣakarī* (one who attracts all), *sarvāhlādakarī* (one who delights all), *sarvarañjanaśaktih* (the *śakti* who pleases everyone), etc. The names of other subordinate goddesses on this level establish their governance over *siddhis* which may have been particularly attractive at the time of war (e.g., one who puts all to flight, one who produces paralysis). The list becomes more grandiose toward the end of this set, including such names as *sarvārthaśādhakī* (one who accomplishes all aims), *sarvāśāparipūrakī* (one who fulfills all hopes), *sarvamantramayī devī* (the goddess who encompasses all mantras), and *sarvadvandvakṣayāṅkarī* (one who causes the dissolution of all dichotomies).

*sarvasamkṣobhinī śaktih sarvavidrāvaṇī tathā |  
sarvākarṣakarī cānyā sarvāhlādakarī tathā || VM 1.145 ||*

*sarvasammohanī śaktih sarvastambhanarūpiṇī |  
sarvajambhanarūpā tu sarvato vaśakāriṇī || VM 1.146 ||*

*sarvarañjanaśaktiś ca sarvonmādasvarūpiṇī |  
sarvārthaśādhakī śaktih sarvāśāparipūrakī || VM 1.147 ||*

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<sup>127</sup> According to Professor Sanderson, NSA reading of *madanātūrām* (Love-sick) is preferable.

*sarvamantramayī devī sarvadvandvakṣayāṅkarī* | VM 1.148 ab |<sup>128</sup>

The *śakti* who agitates all, who puts all to flight, the one who attracts all, and another who delights everyone, the *śakti* who deludes all, who produces everyone's paralysis, one whose form crushes all, who controls all, the *śakti* who pleases everyone, one who is the embodiment of all madness, the *śakti* who accomplishes all aims, one who fulfills all the hopes, the goddess whose nature consists of all the mantras, [and] one who causes the dissolution of all dichotomies.

Some of the names of the ten Kulakaulika Yognīs in the fifth *cakra* (verses 1.149 cd –151) are associated with various *siddhis* and benefits, while others evoke beauty and auspiciousness.

*sarvasiddhipradā śaktih sarvasampatpradā tathā* || VM 1.149 ||

*sarvapriyaṅkarī cāpi sarvamaṅgalakārīṇī* |  
*sarvakāmapradā devī sarvaduhkhavimocinī* || VM 1.150 ||

*sarvamṛtyupraśamanī sarvavighnavināśinī* |  
*sarvāṅgasundarī devī sarvasaubhāgyakārīṇī* || VM 1.151 ||<sup>129</sup>

The *śakti* that bestows all *siddhis* and one who grants all accomplishment, one who endears all and one who is the creator of all auspiciousness, the goddess who produces all desires, who liberates from all suffering, one who produces the cessation of all types of death, who destroys all obstacles, the goddess whose every limb is beautiful, one who effects all types of attractiveness and good fortune.

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<sup>128</sup> VM 66–67.

<sup>129</sup> VM: 67.

Outside of the innermost triangle, the Goddess's weapons are worshipped (verses 1.159–160, see Appendix D, p. 75). The text explicitly refers to the arrows as the arrows of Kāma (verse 1.160 a, p. 75).

*cakramadhye catuṣkam tu krameṇa paripūjayet* || VM 1.159 cd ||

*kāmabāṇān maheśāni dhanus tatpāśam eva ca |  
jambhamohavaśastambhapadaiḥ sahitam aṅkuśam* || VM 1.160 ||<sup>130</sup>

In the middle of the *cakra* [surrounding the central triangle, in the four cardinal directions], one should worship the four in order: the arrows of Kāma, the bow, his (Kāma's) noose, the goad, together with the words “crushing,” “deluding,” “controlling,” [and] “paralyzing,”<sup>131</sup> O great Goddess.

And, finally, in the innermost triangle, Kāmeśvarī, Vajreśī, and Bhagamālā, as well as Tripurasundarī herself in the *bindu* are former Nityā goddesses of the antecedent cult, inherited from it and placed in this most exalted position in the Śrīcakra.<sup>132</sup>

*sarvamadhyatrikoṇe'pi pūjayen mūlavidyayā |  
kevalākṣarabhedenā samastavyastayeśvari* || VM 1.161 ||

*kāmeśvarīm agrakoṇe vajreśīm dakṣiṇe tathā |  
vāme'pi bhagamālām tu madhye tripurasundarīm* || VM 1.162 ||<sup>133</sup>

And in the triangle which is in the middle of all, one should worship with the root *vidyā* as a whole pertaining to all, and separately with their own syllables, Kāmeśvarī in the forward triangle [the Western direction], Vajreśī in the Southern [right

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<sup>130</sup> VM 70.

<sup>131</sup> These actions correspond to the four weapons sequentially.

<sup>132</sup> See chapter 2 for correspondences with the lists of Nityā goddesses in the antecedent cult.

<sup>133</sup> VM 70–71.

triangle], Bhagamālā in the left [Eastern triangle], and Tripurasundarī in the middle, O Goddess.

It is clear that the Kāmarāja aspects of the Goddess drew extensively on the antecedent cult of the Nityās. By incorporating names of goddesses associated with love magic and Kāmadeva into the configuration of the Śrīcakra, these connections became permanently embedded in the ritual system of the mature tradition.

The third stage of emanation is referred to in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* as the *śakti* stage. It is associated with *icchā śakti* and its *tattva*, which I understand here to mean the essential nature of knowledge for this stage, is named *viṣa*. *Viṣa* is not a new term for the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. In the passage describing Paraśakti's three powers (*prabhavas*) in the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya*, it was given together with *kāma* and *nirañjanā* (CMSS 147). In the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, *viṣa* is used for the first time in VM 1.167 (below) in the context of the *kāmakalā* visualization.

*kāmādiviṣamokṣāṇām ālayam paramām dhruvam |  
tad eva tattvapravaram nijadehaṇ vicintayet || VM 1.167 ||*<sup>134</sup>

[The syllable] is the supreme [and] unchangeable repository of *kāma*, etc., *viṣa*, [and] *mokṣa*.

Indeed, one should contemplate that very eminent *tattva* as one's own body.

I will first explain the meaning of the term *viṣa* based on my close reading of the relevant verses of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and then show how early commentators of this text struggled with interpreting this concept. In the common usage, *viṣa* of course means “poison.” In verse 1.54 destroying poisons is referred to as one of the benefits granted by the Śrīcakra. Similarly, in verse 2.44 one of the benefits of the *yantra sādhana* is described as being able to counteract the effects of poisons by merely a glance. However, as *tattva* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, *viṣa* denotes

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<sup>134</sup> VM: 76.

the quintessence of the *śaktibīja* stage of emanation, the same as *mokṣa* and *kāma* are for the *vāgbhava* and *kāmarāja* stages. According to verse 1.167, confirmed by verse 4.18, it is the essence of the first stage of emanation, which comes after the primordial Goddess exercises her autonomy and manifests according to her desire. This threefold system is also maintained in the fourth chapter, which details *sādhanas* utilizing all three parts of the *mūlavidyā*, associated with three stages of emanation, individually. First, the text gives *sādhanas* for speech and eloquence with the *vāgbhava* syllable, then *kāma sādhanas* and practices for attaining various *siddhis* with the *kāmajāja* syllable, and, finally, *viṣa sādhanas* with the *śaktibīja* (verse 4.47). The latter aimed at counteracting the effects of poisons and snake bites as well as gaining control over *bhūtas* (ghosts), *pretas* (ghouls), and *piśācas* (goblins) (4.48–50). This section culminates with the *sādhana* that uses the entire *vidyā*. Thus, as as a *tattva*, *viṣa* refers to knowledge of poisons, snake bites, and control over supernatural beings. It is this suggested ability to counteract the effects of poisons that characterizes the essential nature of benefits at this stage, just as the benefits of eloquent speech and of amorous attractiveness are associated with the other two stages. The order in which these practices are described in the fourth *paṭala* (i.e., *vāgbhava*, *kāma*, and *śakti*) follows the order of emanation laid out in verses VM 4.17 and 4.18, which I cited these earlier in this chapter when I introduced the threefold nature of the emanation of the Goddess (see *Table 1*). Verse VM 1.167 changes the order to “*kāma*, etc., *viṣa*, [and] *mokṣa*,” but despite this modification, the threefold structure is nevertheless maintained. Although articulated in a cryptic and unsystematic manner, the scheme of the threefold emanation and its associated *tattvas*, including *viṣa*, is an essential part of this *tantra*.

The meaning of the word *viṣa* in the text of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* has been a cause of some confusion for the commentators. The term *viṣa* is not explained clearly anywhere in the root text and I think the meaning in which it was used in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* was obscure for all three commentators. One of the places where this confusion becomes obvious is in Śivānanda and Vidyānanda's commentaries on VM 1.167 ab (NŚA 1.187 ab).<sup>135</sup> Dviveda, who edited of the YTGM edition, which contains south Indian commentaries, opted for a reading that omits this difficult word. His version reads *kāmārthadharmamokṣāṇām*, despite the occurrence of *kāmādiviṣa*<sup>o</sup> in two of the manuscripts consulted by the editors. Another reading provided in the critical apparatus of the YTGM edition is *kāmādisukhamokṣāṇām*. The change of *viṣa* to *dharma* probably goes back to Śivānanda who records and glosses both readings. The first reading he comments on is what must have been a much more familiar list of four *puruṣārthas* (aims of man) (*kāmādidharmamokṣāṇām*). Śivānanda explains that the syllable *ī*, which is the very nature of *kāmakalā*, is what grants the attainment of the four *puruṣārthas*, not the practice of mantra repetition or the worship of the Śrīcakra.<sup>136</sup> The second reading that Śivānanda quotes is *kāmādiviṣamokṣāṇām*:

“*kāmādiviṣamokṣāṇām*” iti pāṭhe kāmaḥ kāmabījam, ādir vāgbhavam, viṣamokṣah  
śaktibījam iti |<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> VM: 76, NŚA: 137–138. I am continuing to use abbreviation VM for the 1945 edition of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* with commentary by Rājānaka Jayaratha, edited by Shastri and NŚA for the 1968 edition of the *Nityāśodasikārnava* with commentaries by Śivānanda and Vidyānanda, edited by Dviveda. Where an abbreviation is followed directly by a colon, a page number follows (as in VM: 76). Otherwise, the numbers stand for chapter and verse number, separated by a period (e.g., VM 1.167 ab).

<sup>136</sup> “*kāmārthadharmamokṣāṇām alayam*” iti asya abhiprāya — svātmata�ā bhāvitam kāmakalātmakam  
īkārākṣaram eva puruṣārthacatuṣṭayasya sthānam, na tu vidyājapacakrādhanādīni | *kāmārthadharmamokṣāṇām*  
(NŚA: 137).

<sup>137</sup> NŚA: 138.

In the reading *kāmādiviṣamokṣānām*, *kāmah* is the *kāmabīja* (i.e., *hrīm*), [the word] *ādi* (i.e., *first*) stands for the *vāgbhava* syllable (i.e., *aim*), and *viṣamokṣah* stands for *śaktibīja* (*sauh*). Śivānanda’s explanation contradicts VM 4.17 and 4.18 cited earlier, which pairs *viṣa* with *śaktibīja* and *mokṣa* with *vāgbhava*. It is clear that Śivānanda did not know what to make of this verse and struggled with its explanation. But instead of acknowledging that this knowledge has been lost and was no longer available to him, he plunged right in, doing the best he could with an obscure usage, but also providing an easier reading, which made much more sense to him from his Vaidika perspective.

Vidyānanda also seems to find the meaning of *viṣa* obscure. Neither does he shy away from making guesses. Like Śivānanda, in his commentary on NSA 1.186<sup>138</sup> Vidyānanda takes *viṣa* in compound with *mokṣa* (*viṣamokṣah*) within the larger compound in the verse, ending with *ālayam* (repository, abode, receptacle). First he glosses *viṣam* as *samsāra* (i.e., mundane existence, characterized by repeated succession of birth, life, death, and reincarnation), glossing *samsāra*, in turn, as *janaṇamaraṇādilakṣaṇa* (characterized by births, deaths, etc.). For Vidyānanda the *sādhaka* is released from *samsāra* by means of *mokṣa*.<sup>139</sup> Thus *viṣamokṣah* for him means “liberation from poison [of *samsāra*]”. However, not fully satisfied with this explanation he provides two more, neither of which seem particularly convincing, connecting each of them to the previous by means of conjunction *athavā* (or else). In the second, he explains *mokṣa* as *vimarśānandalakṣaṇaparāhambhāvasthitir* (“abiding in the state of the supreme self, which is characterized by the bliss of referential awareness”). It is for reaching this goal of

<sup>138</sup> NSA: 137–138.

<sup>139</sup> “*kāmādiviṣamokṣānām ālayam*” iti | *tad idam akṣaram uddhṛtam abhyas tam kāmakalākṣaram kāmālayam | “kāmam” iti saundaryādilakṣaṇam tat sādhakāya sādhayati | “viṣamokṣah” | viṣam samsāro jananamaranādilakṣaṇah, tasmād enam sādhakam mocayati iti viṣamokṣālayamuccyate | (NSA: 137–138.)*

*mokṣa* that a *sādhaka* performs his *sādhana*. *Viṣa* in this meaning refers to the obstacles that the *sādhaka* encounters.<sup>140</sup> His third gloss of *viṣa* is *jalam*, which he further explains as *amṛtam* (nectar). Diving into his best and most comfortable Pratyabhijñā mode, Vidyānanda further describes *viṣa* as the supreme ocean of nectar, splashing with the state of being unaffected by dualities<sup>141</sup> (lit. that in which [everything] tastes the same, *sāmarasya*) of the bliss of *ānanda*, in which the *sādhaka* floats.<sup>142</sup> And, finally, Vidyānanda concludes his explanation by proposing a different reading, “*kālādiviṣam*,” (*viṣa* is *kāla*, etc.) which goes yet further away from the list of *tattvas*.

Jayaratha does not go into detail regarding the meaning of *viṣa*, but he does mention that it is one of three *tattvas*. E.g., in his commentary on VM 1.166 cd –167,<sup>143</sup> Jayaratha explains that the *kāmakalā* syllable shines forth in an uninterrupted way, even though in the form of three *tattvas*.<sup>144</sup> Furthermore, he interprets the word *ādi* in *kāmādiviṣa* as referring to minor *siddhis* described in the second chapter.<sup>145</sup> This explanation is supported by the structure of the *tantra*, which lists minor *siddhis* immediately after the benefits of attraction (verses 2.31–79).

<sup>140</sup> athavā vimarśānandalakṣanaparāhambhāvasthitir mokṣah | ta[m]smi sādhakāya sādhayati iti mokṣālayam | tasya tadapekṣāyuktasya tad vighnarūpatayā kālāgnyādīśivāntatattvabhūmiṣu yo mahābhogaḥ sa evāsyā viṣam ucyate | vighnarūpenāgataṁ viṣarūpam tad api sādhakāya prayacchati iti viṣālayam ucyate | (NSA: 138.)

<sup>141</sup> According to Professor Sanderson.

<sup>142</sup> athavā viṣam jalam, viṣam amṛtam iti viṣaśabdasyāmṛtāparyāyatvam asti | tadālayam amṛtālayam iti bhāvah | paramāmṛtasamudre prakāśānandasāmarasyalolībhūte enām sādhakam plāvayati iti yāvat | kālādiviṣamokṣānām ālayam iti pāṭhāntaram | tatraivam yojanā - kāla-mokṣālayam viṣamokṣālayam cetyevamādi draṣṭavyam || (Ibid.)

<sup>143</sup> VM: 76.

<sup>144</sup> evam uktena prakārena tritattvarūpātve'pi prādhānyāt kāmakalārūpam akṣaram pravrttav aviratena rūpena avabhāsamānam... (VM: 76.)

<sup>145</sup> ādiśabdaś cātra dvitīyapatālādipratipādayisyamānakṣudrasiddhyādisamgrahaparatayā prakārārtha iti vrthātitam vāgagocaratadarthānvesane... (Ibid.)

However, there is another meaning of *viṣa* that Jayaratha introduces in his commentary. It is a yogic meaning not known to the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which serves as a good example of the necessity to differentiate between the distinct meanings of the *mūla* and its commentaries. In this meaning, *viṣa* refers to an energy center (*ādhāra*, *cakra*, and *padma*, depending on the source). According to Jayaratha, it is located in the area of the reproductive organs, corresponding to the later term *svādhiṣṭhāna*. This usage occurs in his commentary on VM 4.23–24, which describe the visualization of Vāgīśvarī with the *vāgbhava* syllable. Here Jayaratha supplements his commentary with quotes from the *Netratantra* and another source, unknown to me, to bring out this meaning:

*meḍhrasyādhah kulo jñeyo madhye tu viṣasamjñakah |  
mūle tu śāktaḥ kathito bodhanādapravartakah ||*

*agnisanmjñas tataś ca ...*

*vahner viṣasya madhye tu brahmagrānthis udāhṛtah |  
sarvārthaśāstravettā ca kavir bhavati tadgataḥ ||<sup>146</sup>*

Know that beneath the penis is *kula* and in the center is what is called *viṣa*, but at [its] root, the *śākta* is said to reside, which activates the resonance of understanding, and beyond that is what is called fire...

And what is between fire and *viṣa* is called *Brahmagranthi*. One who concentrates on that becomes a poet and entirely conversant with [all] the *śastras*.

Following the two citations, Jayaratha's commentary is as follows:

*ityuktyā vahniviṣādhāradvayamadhyavartinam janmādhāramūlāvasthitam brahmagrānthis  
śāktam ādhāraviṣeṣam viṣeṣena sāvaṣṭambham niḥṣeṣena na tu kiṃcittvena bhittvā  
ullasanītī parām madhyaśaktīm tattvād eva cidānandaprabodhinīm bodhanādapravartikām  
bijarūpām vāgīśvarīm*

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<sup>146</sup> VM: 109.

*vāgīśvarī jñānaśaktir vāgbhave bījarūpiṇī |*

*ityuktyā jñānaśaktisphārasāroccaradvāgbhavāvibhinnasvarūpāṁ jihvāgre dīparūpiṇīṁ tadvat jvalantīṁ dhyāyet tadekatānatayā anusandadhyaā ityarthah |<sup>147</sup>*

The meaning of this, is that he should "meditate" on her, that is, he should concentrate on her continuously, as a constant stream of cognition [visualizing her] as blazing up in the form of the lamp on the tip of the tongue, her nature being not separate from the *vāgbhava* syllable, which is flowing up, being uttered [internally] as the essence of the manifestation of the *jñānaśakti*, in accordance with the statement:

[She is] Vāgīśvarī, the *jñāna* śakti, who is the embodiment of the *bīja* in the *vāgbhava*.

Vāgīśvarī in the form of the *bīja* is the one who activates the resonance of awareness, namely one who awakens the bliss of consciousness, simply because she is that supreme power rising through the central channel (*parām madhyaśaktiṁ*, lit. “the supreme central power”), flashing up, after having pierced totally, without a remnant, firmly, [and] not partly the *brahmagranthi*, that specific *ādhāra*, which is the *śākta* [*ādhāra*], located at the base of the center of generation, [and] found between the two *ādhāras*, called *vahni* and *viṣa*.

Śakti sadhanas are definitely in the minority in this text, compared to *kāmarāja* and *vāgbhava* practices. It is also clear that they became even less important with the development of the tradition after the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, so that by the time when our south Indian commentators flourished, the understanding of the sphere of *viṣa tattva* had already become obscure.

To sum up this chapter, my analysis demonstrates that at the early stage in the development of the cult of Tripurasundarī, the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* incorporated love-magic material inherited

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<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

from the Nityā cult, articulated a complex ritual system of the Śrīcakra, which became the most characteristic and influential feature of the developed tradition, and set up a threefold structure of *sādhanas*, corresponding to the threefold nature of the cult's principal Goddess and the three stages of her emanation. *Kāma sādhanas* vastly overshadowed all others in this text. Kāma-related *siddhis* were also given the most emphasis among the desired results of worship. In addition to the *kāma* aspect, the Vāgīśvarī aspect of the Goddess and her *sādhanas* related to speech and eloquence were also well-developed. Although in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* the *tattva* of the *vāgbhava* stage was called *mokṣa* and the transcendent nature of the Goddess was fairly well emphasized in descriptive and structurally important passages, the text did not provide *sādhanas* for liberation, which reflected the nature of its ritualists at that time — *sādhakas* in search of *siddhis* of attraction, courtly graces, and eloquence. Finally, practices connected with the *śakti* stage of emanation in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* included those aimed at counteracting poisons, snake bites, and defense from supernatural beings.

In the history of classical tradition, practices for specific goals came and went, undergoing changes in emphasis. In the later *Yoginīhṛdaya*, new meditative practices for yogic awareness and liberation came to the fore and eclipsed those that aimed at mundane results. But the underlying ritual system of the Śrīcakra, formulated in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, continued to serve as a matrix for ritual and meditative practices, variously inflected depending on the goals of the *sādhaka*, throughout the history of the tradition. Although the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* recorded an early stage of the classical cult of Tripurasundarī, its ritual configuration of the Śrīcakra has been preserved unchanged into the present time as the cornerstone of Śrīvidyā, providing a remarkable stability to the ritual system of this tradition throughout the second millennium.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE YOGINĪHRDAYA

The *Yoginīhrdaya*, the second earliest extant scripture of the classical cult of Tripurasundarī, marked the next major development in the early history of this tradition—the reinterpretation of the mature cult in light of Kashmirian Śaivism and Pratyabhijñā philosophy. This development meant a doctrinal reorientation on a major scale. For the first time in the history of this tradition, Śaiva non-dualism was unequivocally articulated in its scriptures and commentaries.

The creative explosion in the non-dual Śaiva exegesis, which began toward the end of the first millennium of the common era and continued into the first centuries of the second millennium, is indebted in large part to the inspiration of the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta (fl. c. 975–1025 CE) and his student Kṣemarāja (fl. c. 1000–1050).<sup>148</sup> Both Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja wrote on Pratyabhijñā philosophy, continuing the legacy of Somānanda (c. 900–950)<sup>149</sup> and Utpaladeva (fl. c. 925–975).<sup>150</sup> Abhinavagupta commented on Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* and its self-commentary, while Kṣemarāja summarized the doctrine of this philosophical corpus in forty-one succinct and memorable verses of the *Pratyabhijñāhrdaya*. Abhinavagupta's writing was the work of a brilliant intelligence, prodigious erudition, and extravagant flights of fancy, dazzlingly executed. But it was the quieter genius of his student Kṣemarāja that cemented the dominance of philosophical non-dualism in Śaiva tantra by articulating these views succinctly, clearly, and with elegance and concision.

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<sup>148</sup> For the discussion of the dates of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, see Sanderson 2007: 411.

<sup>149</sup> Sanderson 2007: 418.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* For a brief history of Pratyabhijñā, see *Introduction* in Torella 2002: i–xxvi. See also Ratié 2007 and 2009.

Among Abhinavagupta's exegeses, of particular relevance to us is the *Tantrāloka*. In this masterful text of monumental proportions, Abhinavagupta developed a style that reverberated throughout the domain of Śaiva literature. As I discuss in the next chapter, Jayaratha frequently turned to this text, which he had commented on, in his *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*. Among Kṣemarāja's exegetical work that has come down to us, of particular importance to the study of reinterpretation of the cult of Tripurasundarī in light of non-dual exegesis are his commentaries on the *Netra* and the *Svacchanda tantras*.<sup>151</sup>

The ideas of these giants of the Kashmirian commentarial tradition reshaped the landscape of Śākta Śaiva exegesis. Their influence was felt in the centuries to come in the commentaries produced not only in Kashmir, but also in south India and throughout the subcontinent.<sup>152</sup> In Abhinavagupta's exegesis of Trika's *Mālinīvijayottara* and what Alexis Sanderson described as Kṣemarāja's "extension" of this exegesis to the *Svacchanda* and the *Netra tantras*,<sup>153</sup> these authors succeeded in creating a method to approach a variety of scriptural texts. Both authors reinterpreted their texts, infusing them with non-dualist Śaiva interpretations based on the Krama-influenced Trika and Pratyabhijñā. Jayaratha's commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* was a similar undertaking—a creative non-dualist reinterpretation of a ritual text that was neither dualistic nor non-dualistic in itself. As I discuss in the next chapter, Jayaratha backed up his assertions by frequent citations from Śaiva tantras, Pratyabhijñā philosophical texts, and commentaries of earlier exegetes, both from within the cult of Tripurasundarī and outside of it.

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<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*: 48.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*: 56–57.

<sup>153</sup> Sanderson 2007: 427.

The redactors of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* attained a similar goal of reinterpretation by grafting these new ideas onto the ritual framework of the cult of Tripurasundarī. The new structures of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* rest on the existing system of the Śrīcakra ritual and the *mūla* mantra, which had already been articulated in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.<sup>154</sup> Upon this existing framework, the redactors of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* constructed a new network of yogic practices, filling them with new meanings. So what exactly did this transformation within the cult of Tripurasundarī entail? In the remainder of this chapter, I will demonstrate how some of the fundamental principles of Pratyabhijñā were assimilated by the cult of Tripurasundarī and creatively adapted in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*. And in the next chapter, I will discuss a similar reinterpretation of the cult of Tripurasundarī in Jayaratha's *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*.

André Padoux explained the meaning of the term *pratyabhijñā* as follows:

The term *pratyabhijñā* is usually translated as “recognition.” The word has been explained as knowledge (*jñāna*) of an object to which one turns back (*prati*) and which then faces (*abhi*) the knower. It is the knowledge regained of the identity of the individual self and of the world with the Supreme Source of all.

For this school, to quote Kṣemarāja, “it is the divine Consciousness alone, self-shining absolute free will, that flashes forth in the form of the multitudinous universe.” It is the unique cause, the inner reality and the substratum of cosmic manifestation, which it projects as a shining forth (*ābhāsa*) on itself as on a screen.... The world is insubstantial—though not illusory, for it is, in its ultimate nature, of the same stuff as consciousness, from which it has evolved and with which it remains merged.<sup>155</sup>

Let us compare Kṣemarāja's description of cosmic manifestation in his *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, which Padoux refers to above, with its articulation in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*. The similarity of

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<sup>154</sup> The Śrīcakra, which is a principal ritual diagram of this tradition, was laid out in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, but not referred to as such. The *Yoginīhṛdaya* calls it by this name. But the fifteen-syllabled main mantra of this tradition was not yet referred to in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* as Śrīvidyā. That designation, whether used to refer to the mantra or the overall tradition is a later development.

<sup>155</sup> Padoux: 1987.

expression suggests that the redactors of the *Yoginīhrdaya* were not only familiar with Pratyabhijñā ideas,<sup>156</sup> but also with the text of the *Pratyabhijñāhrdaya*:

*citiḥ svatantrā viśvasiddhīhetuh* || PH 1 ||  
*svecchayā svabhittau viśvam unmīlayati* || PH 2 ||<sup>157</sup>

Consciousness is autonomous, being the cause of the functioning of the Universe.

According to her own free will, on herself as the screen, she manifests the Universe.

*cidātmabhittau viśvasya prakāśāmarśane yadā |*  
*karoti svecchayā pūrṇavicikīrṣāsamavitā* || YH 1.56 ||<sup>158</sup>

When [the supreme radiance] is endowed with desire to completely transform by her own will, she creates manifestation and contemplation of the Universe on the screen of the self, which is consciousness.

Then how can human beings recognize this supreme consciousness, manifested as the world, according to Pratyabhijñā? And, once remembered, how can a permanent awareness of the supreme be attained? Prior to the *Yoginīhrdaya*, an adept of the cult of Tripurasundarī was focused primarily on controlling the material world. Although visualizations of inner processes were used in the antecedent Nityā cult, their aims were mundane, not otherworldly. In the *Ciñciñīmatasārasamuccaya*, a *kuṇḍalinī* form of the Goddess was mentioned, but it was not articulated in any detail and no yogic practices were prescribed. The redactors of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* included a number of metaphysical verses on the emanation of the Goddess, as I discussed in chapter 3. In particular, VM 4.12c–16a can be interpreted on several levels,

<sup>156</sup> For further evidence that the *Yoginīhrdaya* is indebted to the Kashmirian Śākta Śaiva non-dualism, see Padoux 2013: 12–14 and Sanderson 2012–2013: 67–68, footnote 257.

<sup>157</sup> Kṣemarāja 2011: 46 and 51.

<sup>158</sup> YH: 67.

including the description of the awakening of the *kundālinī śakti* on the level of the microcosm.

But extended practices connected with consciousness and awareness (*bhāvanās*) did not find expression in the worship of Tripurasundarī until the composition of the *Yoginīhrdaya*. In addition to its emphasis on consciousness and awareness, the *Yoginīhrdaya* stressed the supreme non-duality (*paramādvaita*) of the Goddess and the universe, as well as the Goddess, guru, *cakra*, mantra, and the Self.

The Śrīcakra in the *Yoginīhrdaya* was viewed not only as an external ritual diagram, but a cosmic emanation linked with cognition and speech. While the earlier *Vāmakeśvarīmata* presented the levels of the Śrīcakra and the subordinate goddesses in its exposition on the external ritual, in the *Yoginīhrdaya* they were contemplated in the ritualist's own body. Within its descriptions of meditation and visualization practices, the text provided a template of the cosmos and a soteriological system, highlighting a correspondence between the macrocosm and the microcosm (of the human body), and providing instructions for elaborate visualization techniques (*bhāvanās*) in which their integrated awareness could be achieved. Following Pratyabhijñā, the redactors of the *Yoginīhrdaya* articulated the necessity of divine grace (*anugraha*) to achieve *samāveśa* (a merging with divinity). And the aim of internal visionary practices prescribed by the *Yoginīhrdaya* was to experience the merging of the adept's awareness with the highest consciousness while still in the body (*jīvanmukti*). I will not spend time discussing specific practices here. The reader can consult for this Padoux's translation of *Yoginīhrdaya*, which is now available in English with Padoux's explanations drawing on Amṛtānanda's commentary. I will, however, examine several characteristic excerpts from the

*Yoginīhrdaya*, to show how Pratyabhijñā concepts were adapted by the redactors of the

*Yoginīhrdaya*.

Updating the cult of Tripurasundarī with Kashmirian Śaiva conceptions, the redactors of the *Yoginīhrdaya* articulated an expressly non-dual view of reality. E.g., the passage below from the *Mantrasamketa*<sup>159</sup> clearly expresses a belief in the oneness of the self with the supreme divinity, the Śrīcakra, the principal *vidyā*, and the guru. E.g.,

*nigarbho 'pi mahādevi śivagurvātmagocarah* || YH 2.48 cd ||

*tatprakāram ca deveśi diṇmātreṇa vadāmi te |*  
*śivagurvātmanām aikyānusandhānāt tadātmakam* || YH 2.49 ||

*niṣkalatvam śive buddhvā tadrūpatvam guror api |*  
*tannirīkṣaṇasāmarthyād ātmanaś ca śivātmatām* || YH 2.50 ||

*bhāvayed bhaktinamrah san ṣaṅkonmeṣākalaṅkitah |*  
*kaulikam kathayiṣyāmi cakradevatayor api* || YH 2.51 |

*vidyāgurvātmanām aikyam ... |* YH 2.52 a |<sup>160</sup>

And the inner meaning, O great Goddess, concerns Śiva, guru, and the self. O Ruler of the Gods, I am merely indicating these types because of the synthesizing awareness of the unity of Śiva, guru, and the self. Having comprehended the undividedness of Śiva and the fact that the guru has the same form, having the capacity to see that, one should meditate on the self having the nature of Śiva, bowed down in devotion and unblemished by the appearance of doubt. And I will tell you the Kaulika [meaning] of the *cakra* and the deity and the oneness of the *vidyā*, guru, and the self...

<sup>159</sup> The *Yoginīhrdaya* is divided into three sections, or *samketas*, on *cakra*, *mantra*, and *pujā*. *Samketa* in Sanskrit means “agreement, engagement, convention, or a short explanation.” Goudriaan (1981) translated it as the “Esoteric Meaning” and Padoux (2013) as “Encounter in the...” (*cakra*, etc.).

<sup>160</sup> YH: 152–155.

In the beginning of its third *samketa* on *pūjā*, the redactors of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* again stressed the place of non-dual awareness in the worship of the Goddess and prescribed the means by which an adept must cultivate it. In this passage, the state of non-duality was likened to ambrosia emitted by guru's feet.

*tava nityoditā pūjā tribhir bhedair vyavasthitā |  
parā cāpy aparā gauri trtīyā ca parāparā || YH 3.2 ||*

*prathamādvaitabhāvasthā sarvaprasaragocarā |  
dvitīyā cakrapūjā ca sadā niṣpādyate mayā || YH 3.3 ||*

*evam jñānamaye devi trtīyā tu parāparā<sup>161</sup> |  
uttamā sā parā jñeyā vidhānam śṛṇu sāmpratam || YH 3.4 ||*

*mahāpadmavanāntasthe vāgbhave gurupādukām |  
āpyāyitajagadrūpām paramāmr̥tavarṣiṇīm || YH 3.5 ||*

*sañcintya paramādvaitabhāvanāmṛtaghūrnitah|  
daharāntarasamsarpannādālokanatatparah || YH 3.6 ||*

*vikalparūpasamjäl pavimukho 'ntarmukhah sadā |  
citkalollāsadalitasamkocas tv atisundarah || YH 3.7 ||<sup>162</sup>*

*mahāpadmavanāntahsthe ] em. : Sanderson *mahāpadmavanāntasthe* Ed.*

Your *pūjā*, eternally performed, is established with three divisions: transcendent and immanent, and the third is mixed. The domain of the first is all activity in the state of non-duality. The second one is the *cakrapūjā*, which is constantly performed by me [Bhairava]. And the third one, O Goddess, which is mixed, is when [the adept] is filled with knowledge. Transcendent is known as the highest. Listen now to its method. Having visualized in the

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<sup>161</sup> Padoux's reading for *tu parāparā* in YH 3.4 is *svaprathāmayī* "[pūjā] consisting of spontaneous arising of knowledge." In this instance, I followed *tu parāparā*, which is also the wording Amṛtānanda refers to in the commentary.

<sup>162</sup> YH: 191–199.

Vāgbhava [stage of speech] within the forest of the great lotus, guru's feet nourishing the form of the world, and pouring forth supreme nectar, having meditated, he delights in the ambrosia of the supreme state of non-duality. Absorbed in the contemplation of *nāda* (pure sound), proceeding from within the heart, turning away from the chatter of thoughts, in the form of *vikalpa*, always directed inward, exceedingly beautiful, his contraction burst by the shining forth of the power of consciousness.

Various other triads were frequently used in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*. Another pattern that the redactors of this text turned to quite often was three plus a transcendent fourth. E.g., the cosmic consciousness was described in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* as four-fold, manifesting as Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrī, and the supreme Goddess, Ambikā (YH 1.36–40). These goddesses are familiar to us from the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* (e.g., VM 4.10 and 11, discussed in the previous chapter). A new development in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* was equating the four goddesses with the four levels of speech, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā*, *vaikhari*, and *parā vāc*, concepts inherited from the later Pratyabhijñā, which drew on Bhartṛhari and the philosophy of the Sanskrit grammarians.<sup>163</sup> Another innovation in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* consisted of drawing a correspondence with yet another triad of utmost importance for Pratyabhijñā — the cognizer, object of cognition, and cognition itself. For example, this triad was used to describe the descent (*avatāra*) of the Śrīcakra and the manifestation of the three goddesses from the undifferentiated consciousness of the *bindu*.

*etaccakrāvatāram tu kathayāmi tavānaghe |  
yadā sā paramā śaktih svechhayā viśvarūpinī || YH 1.9 ||*

*sphurattām ātmanah paśyet tadā cakrasya sambhavah |*

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<sup>163</sup> For the conceptions of speech of the Sanskrit Grammarians, see Bhartṛhari and Iyer 1965, Iyer 1969, and Coward and Raja 1990.

*sūnyākārād visargāntād bindoh praspandasamvidah* || YH 1.10 ||

*prakāśaparamārthatvāt sphurattālahariyutāt |  
prasṛtam viśvalaharīsthānam mātrtrayātmakam* || YH 1.11 ||

*baindavam cakram etasya trirūpatvam punar bhavet |  
dharmādharmau tathātmāno mātṛmeyau tathā pramā* || YH 1.12 ||<sup>164</sup>

And I [will] tell you, O faultless one, of the descent of this *cakra*. When this highest *śakti* in the form of the universe, through her own free would perceive the vibration of [her] self, then the *cakra* appears from the void of “a” ending in *visarga*, from the *bindu*, the consciousness that is vibration, joined with the trembling wave of vibration because it is the real object of the manifesting cognition, the Baindava *cakra*, the abode of the waves of the universe, which has the nature of the three mothers, issued forth. And this [*cakra*] is of a three-fold nature of *dharma*, *adharma*, and the self, and also of the cognizer, of the object of cognition, and of cognition.

The description of the cosmic emanation of the Śrīcakra in the order of creation (from *bindu* to the outer enclosure) is followed by instructions for a complex meditative procedure, in which an adept mentally transposes parts of the Śrīcakra onto his yogic body (in the order of dissolution, from the outer enclosure to the *bindu*). *Yoginīhrdaya* prescribed visualizing the Śrīcakra within the adept’s body by installing its nine *subcakras* in the *padmas* (lit. lotuses, i.e., subtle energy centers of this system, similar to the better-known system of *cakras*). The direction of visualization was upwards, going from more gross to progressively more subtle energy centers.

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<sup>164</sup> YH: 14–20.

The second stage of this *bhāvanā* followed the same process augmented with an even more complex “aural” meditation, involving the *bīja hrīm* visualized at different degrees of subtlety.<sup>165</sup> In this *bhāvanā* (verses 1.25–35),<sup>166</sup> an aural meditation was added for the adept to cultivate an awareness of progressively more subtle vibration of this syllable in each *padma*. At the end of this set of verses (in 1.35),<sup>167</sup> the adept is guided to reach the *mahābindu*, in which everything is hidden in its potentiality, but before manifestation. The *mahābindu*, located at the very top of the ladder of *padmas*, is beyond space and time and consists of pure undifferentiated bliss. From there, the *sādhaka* visualized the self as the manifestation of Ambikā as the supreme word (*vāk*).<sup>168</sup>

Descriptions of *bhāvanās* occupy a significant part of the first chapter in the *Yoginīhrdaya*. However, here, as well as throughout the rest of the text, detailed instructions for visualizations are punctuated by metaphysics. Verses 1.36–49,<sup>169</sup> which immediately follow the procedures for the *bhāvanās* discussed above, describe the sequential manifestation of the universe as a cosmic process developing along the pattern of the Śrīcakra, providing a larger context for the earlier visualizations. Building upon the existing sets of correspondences, i.e., Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, Raudrī, and Ambikā, mentioned earlier, and the four levels of speech (*paśyantī*, *madhyamā*, *vaikhari*, and *parā vāc*), *icchā*, *jñanā*, and *kriyā śaktis* (for every stage except *parā vāk*), the four weapons of

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<sup>165</sup> For a detailed explanation, see Padoux 2013: 35–37.

<sup>166</sup> YH: 23–48.

<sup>167</sup> YH: 47–48.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> YH: 48–58.

the Goddess, and the four primary *pīthas* (seats of the Goddess) are now correlated with the existing sets.

*deśakālān avacchinnam tadūrdhve paramam mahat |  
nisargasundaram tat tu parānandavighūrṇitam || YH 1.35 ||*

*ātmanah sphuraṇam paśyed yadā sā paramā kalā |  
ambikārūpam āpannā parā vāk samudīritā || YH 1.36 ||*

*bījabhāvasthitām viśvaṇam sphuṭikartum yadonmukhī |  
vāmā viśvasya vamanād aṅkuśākāratām gatā || YH 1.37 ||*

*icchāśaktis tadā seyaṇam paśyantī vapuṣā sthitā |  
jñānaśaktis tathā jyeṣṭhā madhyamā vāg udīritā || YH 1.38 ||*

*rjurekhāmayī viśvasthitau prathitavigraphāḥ |  
tatsamṛhtidaśāyāṇ tu baindavāṇ rūpam āsthitā || YH 1.39 ||*

*pratyāvṛttikramenaivam śrṅgāṭavapur ujjvalā |  
kriyāśaktis tu raudrīyaṇ vaikharī viśvavigraphā || YH 1.40 ||*

*bhāsanād viśvarūpasya svarūpe bāhyato'pi ca |  
etāś catastraḥ śaktyas tu kā pūjā o iti kramāt || YH 1.41 ||<sup>170</sup>*

Above that [*unmani*] is the supreme and great [*mahābindu*], which transcends space and time, naturally beautiful and overflowing with supreme bliss. When that supreme *kalā* sees the throbbing effulgence of the self, she assumes the aspect of Ambikā, which is called *parā vāk* (supreme speech). When she looks up to manifest the entire universe, which abides in the seed-state, she is Vāmā because she emits the world (*vamanāt*), having become the goad. And she is Icchāśakti abiding in the form of Paśyantī. Likewise, as Jñānaśakti she is called *madhyamā vāg* (the intermediate form of speech). When she sustains the world, her form extends in a straight line. But in the stage of dissolution, she attains the form of the *bindu*.

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<sup>170</sup> YH: 47–51.

When she proceeds back, luminous, her body — a triangle, she is Kriyāśakti. As Raudrī she is *vaikhari* (the articulated speech), embodied as the universe. Because she manifests the Universe within herself and externally, these four *saktis* are in sequence as *kā pū jā o*.<sup>171</sup> The image of the sprout (*aṅkura*) of undifferentiated consciousness manifesting as a triad is familiar to us from the *Ciñciṇīmatasārasamuccaya* of the antecedent cult (e.g., CMSS 132 and also 102, 111, 147, see chapter 2) and from the VM 4.9–10, translated in the previous chapter 3 of this dissertation.

In the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, the goal of all of these visualizations and practices was to guide the adept toward an intuitive spontaneous awareness of the supreme consciousness. As a result of such awareness, the adept was meant to attain *jīvanmukti*, liberation while still in the body, another crucial concept inherited from Pratyabhijñā. In the beginning of the *saṃketas* in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, two out of three named *jīvanmukti* as the highest goal. E.g., at the end of the first *saṃketa*, following the exposition on Śrīcakra:

evam esa mahācakrasaṅketaḥ parameśvari |  
kathitas tripurādevyā jīvanmuktipravartakah || YH 1.86 ||<sup>172</sup>

In this way the *mahācakrasaṅketaḥ* (the great esoteric meaning of the *cakra*), which grants *jīvanmukti*, has been told by Tripurādevī, O Parameśvari.

Similarly, in the beginning of the third *saṃketa*:

pūjāsaṅketam adhunā kathayāmi tavānaghe |  
yasya prabodhamātreṇa jīvanmuktah pramodate || YH 3.1 ||<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Kāmarūpa (Assam), Pūrnagiri (West-Central Deccan Plateau/Sahya mountains), Jālandhara (Kangra valley in the Himalayas), and Odḍiyāna (Swat valley, west-north-west of Kashmir) (Sanderson 2007: 255, 299).

<sup>172</sup> YH: 91.

<sup>173</sup> YH: 191.

I will tell you the *pūjāsanāketa*, O faultless one.  
Its (mere) knowledge delights the liberated in life (*jivanmuktah*).

And as a result of the mantra practice in the second *samketa*, the adept was expected to identify with Śiva, Lord of the *cakra* of heroes. By the *cakra* of heroes were meant the Kaula adepts who have attained their highest goal. Thus, even though *jīvanmukti* was not mentioned here directly, liberation was certainly implied in identification with Śiva, the Lord of all liberated yogis.

*mantrasanāketakam divyam adhunā kathyāmi te |  
yadvettā tripurākāro vīracakreśvaro bhavet || YH 2.1 ||*<sup>174</sup>

I will tell you now the divine *mantrasanāketa*. He who knows that takes on the form of Tripurā and becomes the Lord of the cakra of heroes.

The *Yoginīhṛdaya* revitalized the cult of the Goddess Tripurasundarī in a way that appealed to its new, sophisticated, and philosophically-inclined audience. From a collection of *prayogas*, practices aimed at manipulating the world of the ritualist on the mundane level, the cult adapted to encompass a well-developed array of soteriological practices. The redactors of the *Yoginīhṛdaya* greatly extended the breadth of available resources within the tradition. They added yogic practices, visualizations, and aural meditations etc. based on the existing structure of the Śrīcakra, which could now be mentally superimposed onto the yogic body of the practitioner. In addition, the *Yoginīhṛdaya* reinterpreted existing metaphysics of the cult of Tripurasundarī by enhancing them with Pratyabhijñā conceptions of cognition and ideas adapted from non-dual Śaivism. The new array of practices and vastly enhanced metaphysics did not replace, but enriched the existing ritual system. As a result, the cult of Tripurasundarī now boasted not only a

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<sup>174</sup> YH: 92.

visually stunning and complex ritual configuration of the Śrīcakra, seen as uniquely powerful, but also a tremendous range of yogic practices, enhanced with sophisticated doctrinal conceptions.

The *Yoginīhrdaya* marked a turning point in the course of the mature tradition. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century commentators on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhrdaya* continued to elevate this ritual tradition, establishing additional linkages and connections with the Kashmirian non-dual exegetical tradition and, later on, with the Vedic and Upaniṣadic corpus. From an obscure cult with humble origins in love magic, the cult of Tripurasundarī has developed into a doctrinally and ritually sophisticated tradition with aspirations to a place of grandeur in the hierarchy of tantric Śaiva systems.

## CHAPTER 5

### RENEWAL THROUGH ELABORATION

In this chapter, I discuss a thirteenth-century commentary by Kashmirian Rājānaka Jayaratha on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the earliest extant *tantra* on the worship of the Goddess Tripurasundarī. I begin by reading in the “fringes,” places in the text that often get overlooked, by analyzing Jayaratha’s introductory verses on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.<sup>175</sup> I continue by analyzing in detail Jayaratha’s comments on VM 1.1 as one of the most elaborate and detailed, but also a characteristic section of his commentary. Here I pay particular attention to his use of citations and what they could tell us about his hierarchy of texts. These citations also preserve valuable information about texts that are no longer extant. I conclude by looking at Jayaratha’s passionate engagement with previous commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. In the next chapter, I will continue the task of reading on the “fringes,” investigating Jayaratha’s closing verses on the *Tantrāloka* and proceeding to south Indian commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.

In introductory verses of the *Vivarana*, Jayaratha’s persona is that of an unquestionable authority, someone whose explanations are erudite and precise, but also a vicious critic of what he sees as mistakes in the interpretation of ritual, who cannot bear any fuzzy thinking or loose metaphors on the part of other commentators on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Explication is one of the key activities the author undertook in the *Vivarana*, providing an explanation of the root text, expanding cryptic passages, and glossing difficult terms. However, Jayaratha’s exegesis went beyond explication of the original meaning. Jayaratha’s commentary reinterpreted the root text by making it consistent with the non-dual Śaiva ideas and the ritual as it was practiced in his

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<sup>175</sup> See Appendix E for Jayaratha’s opening and closing verses.

lineage in the thirteenth-century Kashmir, without ever making the changes explicit. Jayaratha's three opening verses at the beginning of his commentary, in addition to serving as a benediction, point out some of the additional work that he meant for his commentary to accomplish.

Our commentator opens his *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa* with a verse invoking the principal Goddess, whose nine-fold nature is embodied in the Śrīcakra and the Cakreśvarīs, goddesses who preside over each *subcakra* within the nine levels of the Śrīcakra. The verse asserts the intimate connection of Cakreśvarīs with phonemes and their role in the manifestation of the world and removal of impurities. The names of Cakreśvarīs as well as names for each *subcakra* were not listed in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and appeared in the *Yoginīhṛdaya* for the first time. The second *maṅgala* verse in *anuṣṭubh* pays obeisance to the gurus of Jayaratha's ritual lineage, whom he described as "abounding in the nectar of knowledge of the supreme non-duality." And the final, third, verse proclaims Jayaratha's goal of illuminating the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* in order to remove the ignorance resulting from falsehoods created by others.

svasvāmibhāvaparijñmbhaṇasāracakracakreśvarīmayatayā navadhā svarūpam |  
ābhāsayanty aghanude tripurāstu sarvasarvātmakatvakalanena nijākṣarāṇām || VM 1 ||

jayanti paramādvaitavijñānāmṛtanirbharāḥ |  
pūrve śrīdīpakaśāryapramukhā guravo mama || VM 2 ||

parakṛtakukalpanāmayatimirāndhyāpohanāya manāk |  
śrīvāmakeśvarīmatam uddyotayitum mamodyamo 'dhyāyam || VM 3 ||<sup>176</sup>

*dīpakaśāryapramukhā* em. Sanderson : *dīpikāśāryapramukhā* Ed.

May Tripurā remove [our] impurities, manifesting her innate nature, which is ninefold, because it contains the cakra and the Cakreśvarīs [goddesses presiding over each level of the

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<sup>176</sup> VM: 1.

Śrīcakra], which are the essence of the expansion of manifestation of the relation of master and dependent by constructing her innate syllables so that each consists of all. Glory to all the earlier gurus, led by Dīpakācārya, abounding in the nectar of discerning the supreme non-duality. Today I undertake to illuminate *Śrīvāmakeśvarīmata*, in order to remove some of the blindness of darkness, produced by false fabrications made by others.

Despite this seemingly formulaic form of appeal for benediction to Jayaratha's personal deity and his guru lineage for the undertaking of this commentary and the rather trite-sounding metaphors, a harder look at these verses reveals valuable insights about the author's ritual tradition, his goals for this commentary, his method and statement of purpose, and a declaration of eligibility to comment on this text as a student of his learned gurus. The first verse firmly situates the text within the ritual tradition of the cult of Tripurasundarī, naming elements of its ritual system, i.e., the principal Goddess and her retinue in the Śrīcakra. The second verse mentions Jayaratha's guru-lineage and its connection with Śaiva non-dualism, the latter serving as the exegetical framework for Jayaratha's commentary, where it goes beyond clarification of ritual specifics. And the third verse indicates Jayaratha's commitment to provide a detailed discussion of incorrect interpretations by other commentators, which he carries out in significant detail and with great passion, as we will see further in this chapter. In the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarana*, Jayaratha builds upon previous interpretations provided by teachers in his lineage, whom he frequently cites, and reinterprets the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which is neither explicitly dualistic nor non-dualistic and which takes limited interest in supra-mundane matters, in light of the Śaiva non-dualism. Although written in the form of benediction, Jayaratha's opening verses to the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarana*, served as a kind of map — a manifesto of

purpose of what Jayaratha skillfully accomplished in his commentary: explicating ritual details, declaration of eligibility, “recovery” of non-dualist Śaivism in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which was neither dualistic nor non-dualistic in itself, and correcting what he believed to be mistakes in interpretation in the previous commentaries.

Jayaratha’s *Vivarana* is a learned work of exegetical brilliancy, drawing upon venerated Śaiva and Śākta-Śaiva *tantras*, a rich scholarly tradition of non-dual Śaivism, and a vibrant commentarial discourse within the cult of the Goddess Tripurasundarī. While *Rasamahodadhi*, a text by a known author elevated to the status of *āgama*, was the text that Jayaratha turned to most often for backing up his views on the more technical matters and the established ritual practices within his lineage, the Śaiva *Svacchanda* and the Trika’s *Mālinīvijaya* were used to situate the text within the universe of Śaiva *tantras*. And passages of the commentary that infused the ritual tradition of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* with non-dual Śaiva exegesis most commonly drew on Utpaladeva’s *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* and Abhinavagupta’s *Tantrāloka*.

Jayaratha frequently began his discussion of a verse from the root *tantra* in a more general way by referring to Śaiva *tantras* and exegesis he considered authoritative. Most common among these were the venerated *Svacchandatantra* (sixth–seventh centuries CE) and the Trika’s *Mālinīvijayottara* (probably no later than the eighth century CE). The *Svacchandatantra* was an early text of the Bhairava corpus, which came to be known collectively as *Mantrapīṭha*, in which Svacchandabhairava was worshiped together with his consort Aghoreśvarī.<sup>177</sup> The worship of Śiva with a consort was a new development from the dualist and more exoteric Śaiva Siddhānta tantric tradition that took no interest in feminine divinity. And the *Mālinīvijayottara*, an

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<sup>177</sup> Sanderson 2012–13: 32, 39.

important text for Kashmirian Śaivism, was one of the main *tantras* of Trika, a cult that taught an assimilation of the power of a triad of goddesses. Abhinavagupta based three of his works on the *Mālinīvijayottara*, reinterpreting its doctrine in line with his own non-dualism. And Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, on which Jayaratha also wrote a commentary, is one of the most cited texts with known authors in the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa*. Jayaratha also cited other texts from Kashmirian Śaiva exegesis and Pratyabhijñā philosophy, particularly Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*.

For clarification of ritual matters, Jayaratha usually turned to the *Rasamahodadhi*, other verses from the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, and occasionally to the *Yoginīhrdaya* or a similar source<sup>178</sup> to supplement the ones he was commenting on. The *Rasamahodadhi*, a text on the worship of Tripurasundarī, is attributed to Īśvaraśiva, the propagator of this tradition in Kashmir, according to Jayaratha. In addition, to clarify technical points Jayaratha cited teachings of his *guru* and *paramaguru* for this ritual tradition. In these instances, he frequently turned to alternative interpretations by previous commentators, most of which he denounced. This criticism of other commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* provides a unique view into the ritual world of this tradition in Kashmir. None of the older commentaries Jayaratha cited were known to or acknowledged by south Indian exegetes, nor did they come down to the present time. Thus Jayaratha's citations provide the only source of information on these texts, evidencing a lively commentarial tradition of the cult of Tripurasundarī, which existed prior to the thirteenth century in Kashmir.

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<sup>178</sup> E.g., VM: 64 (YH 3.117 cd – 118 ab), VM: 136 (YH 2.15 cd – 16 ab).

## *Vāmakeśvarīmata 1.1 — the Mirror of Vivarana*

The length of Jayaratha's comments on the verses of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* was unevenly distributed. The commentator gave the first *paṭala*, which introduced and described Tripurasundarī and laid out the configuration of deities in the Śrīcakra, more space than the following four combined. And Jayaratha's comments on the very first lines of the *tantra* comprised one of the longest sections of commentary in his work. The beginning of the commentary is a place to impress, so it is not surprising that VM 1.1 is the longest and most carefully laid out among Jayaratha's comments on a single verse. Therefore, I will take some time to analyze this section here in detail, because it presents a characteristic example of Jayaratha's method and because its pattern of citations is characteristic for the rest of the commentary.

Here, as elsewhere in the text, Jayaratha starts out with the most general manifesto-like citations on the nature of the Goddess, establishing his scriptural and exegetical allegiances. Then he proceeds to a more detailed and technical discussion, which includes detailed criticism of previous commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. The first verse of the *mūla* praises the Goddess venerated in this *tantra* as one who is intimately connected with mantras, the Alphabet Goddess Mātṛkā, who embodies the *śakti pīṭhas* (seats of the Goddess), and, in a somewhat cryptic style, the embodiment of Gaṇeśas and various celestial bodies:

*gaṇeśagrahanakṣatravayinīrāśirūpiṇīm |  
devīm mantramayīm naumi mātṛkām pīṭharūpiṇīm || VM 1.1 ||*<sup>179</sup>

I praise the Goddess Mātṛkā, consisting of mantras, embodying the *śakti pīṭhas* [as well as] Gaṇeśas, planets, asterisms, yoginīs, [and] the signs of the zodiac.

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<sup>179</sup> VM: 1.

As is common for many commentators who like to dazzle the reader from the start, Jayaratha shows off his mastery, displaying an impressive array of texts at his command, most of which he continues to draw upon throughout this work. He begins with quotations from the *tantras*. The first one is *pāda* b from *Svacchanda* 11.199, stating that “there is no knowledge (*vidyā*) higher than Māṭrkā (the alphabet Goddess).”<sup>180</sup> Judit Törzsök in her article discussing the appearance of the Goddess Māṭrkā in the early Śaiva *tantras* writes that the exegetes describe this goddess as “the matrix or source (*yoni*), i.e., the source of all mantras, all *śāstras*, and in general, of everything that is made of words” and also “paraphrase her name with synonyms for Mother, *mātr̄*.<sup>181</sup> Jayaratha’s citation picks up on the mention of Māṭrkā in the *mūla* in a similar fashion. And the word *vidyā* in this citation, which also has the meaning of mantra of a feminine deity, echoes the description of the Goddess in VM 1.1 as “consisting of mantras” (*mantramayī*). Jayaratha’s brief comment on this quotation states that the Goddess as Māṭrkā is unknown to *paśus*<sup>182</sup> (those uninitiated humans, who, like cattle, are preoccupied with material existence), mirroring Kṣemarāja’s comment on *Svacchanda* 1.31.<sup>183</sup> Jayaratha’s second citation in this passage is from the *Mālinīvijaya* 3.5.<sup>184</sup> Jayaratha concludes this passage with quotations from *tantras* by citing the description of Tripurasundarī in the beginning of the fourth chapter of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* itself. This passage eulogizes her unmanifested form and her eventual emanation in three stages. This third citation (VM 4.4) describes Tripurā as the supreme Śakti,

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<sup>180</sup> SvT 11.199: *na vidyā māṭrkāparā*. VM: 1.

<sup>181</sup> Törzsök 2009: 1.

<sup>182</sup> *iti paśubhir ajñātasvarūpāṁ bhagavatīṁ māṭrkāṁ* VM: 1.

<sup>183</sup> Kṣemarāja on SvT 1.31: *māṭrkāṁ paśūnāṁ ajñātāṁ viśvamātarāṁ sarvamantratanrajananī*.

<sup>184</sup> *yā sā śaktir jagaddhātuḥ kathitā samavāyinī* | (MāVi 3.5 in VM: 1).

the primordial Goddess, and the matrix for the origin of the three worlds, with their subtle and gross subdivisions.<sup>185</sup>

So what is the purpose of including in the beginning of the commentary these fairly general quotations from *tantras*? While the three citations above ostensibly expand on the meaning of Māṭrkā and *mantramayīm* in the *mūla*, it seems that their primary role is to assert that the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* must be understood in line with Śaiva tantras as understood by Kṣemarāja and Abhinavagupta. Jayaratha, proceeding from the venerated Śaiva *Svacchanda* to Trika's *Mālinīvijaya* to the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, sets out his scriptural hierarchy and affirms his affiliation as a Śaiva Śākta, his double identity as a non-dual Śaiva exegete and an adept of the cult of Tripurasundarī.

Having first drawn on citations from scriptures, Jayaratha turns next to the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* of Utpaladeva (fl. c. 925–975),<sup>186</sup> the text which lent its name to the Pratyabhijñā school. *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* is one of the most frequently cited exegetical texts in Jayaratha's commentary. The citation is introduced as written “by the guru” (*gurubhir*), the plural number in Sanskrit serving as an honorific. Further in the text, Jayaratha refers to *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* and *Utpalasvotrāvalī*<sup>187</sup> as pronounced by the great guru (*mahāguruūdita*), further highlighting the special significance of Utpaladeva's work for Jayaratha's exegetical heritage.

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<sup>185</sup> *tripurā paramā śaktir ādyā jātāditaḥ priye | sthūlasūkṣmavibhāgena trailokyotpattimāṭrkā || VM 4.4 || (VM: 2.)*

<sup>186</sup> Sanderson 2007: 418.

<sup>187</sup> VM: 3 and 6.

citih pratyavamarśātmā parā vāk svarasoditā |  
 svātantryam etan mukhyam tad aiśvaryam paramātmanah ||  
  
 sā sphurattā mahāsattā deśakālāviśesiṇī |  
 saiṣā sāratayā proktā hrdayam parameṣṭhinah || IP 1.5.13–14 ||<sup>188</sup>

Consciousness, having the nature of reflective awareness, is the Supreme Speech, which arises freely. Its free will is foremost, the supremacy of the supreme self.

She is pulsation, the absolute being, undifferentiated by space and time. She is pronounced to be the quintessence of the Supreme Lord, being his very heart.

With these two verses from Utpaladeva's masterwork, Jayaratha deftly brings the Pratyabhijñā world-view and terminology into his interpretation of a Tripurā *tantra*. On the surface, the citation appears to expound upon *mantramayīm mātrikām* in VM 1.1, but its deeper work is recasting the Goddess of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* in quintessential Pratyabhijñā terms. The Goddess here is described as *parā vāk* (the fourth transcendent level of the emanation of speech, which Somadeva, Utpaladeva's guru and the founder of the Pratyabhijñā school, added to the three-fold system of the Grammarians). The Goddess is also the reflective awareness (*pratyavamarśātmā*) and possesses her own free will (*svātantryam*). While the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* itself is devoid of Pratyabhijñā ideas and terminology, Jayaratha's exegesis follows in the footsteps of Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, consistently reinterpreting the *mūla* through the lens of the Trika-influenced, Pratyabhijñā-dominated non-dualist Śaiva conceptions of his time.

Jayaratha completes this section of the commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* 1.1, which establishes his doctrinal alliances and his eligibility to comment on this text, with two citations

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<sup>188</sup> VM: 3.

pertaining to the connection of Śiva and Śakti. First he gives a quarter verse from an unknown source, or perhaps a slight paraphrase of *Bṛhadāranyaka*<sup>189</sup>:

... *ekākī na ramāmy aham* |<sup>190</sup>

... alone I do not delight ...

The idea of pairing is furthermore strengthened by the quotation from the *Tantrāloka* 3.100cd–101ab, which asserts the inseparability of Śiva and Śakti.

*athāsyad ekarūpeṇa vapusā cen maheśvarah* || TĀ 3.100 ||

*maheśvaratvam saṃvittvam tad atyakṣyad ghaṭādivat* | TĀ 3.101 ab |<sup>191</sup>

And if Maheśvara were to assume a single bodily form, he would abandon his capacity for sovereignty and consciousness like a pot [i.e., an inert object].

If we view Jayaratha's commentary on VM 1.1 as a representation of his Śākta Śaiva allegiances as well as a statement of his qualifications, it is significant to note that the first among these two citations on divine union has been quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on 1.86 of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*.<sup>192</sup> And it is followed by his citation from *Tantrāloka* itself, another text by a named author that is most frequently quoted throughout his commentary. The importance of *Tantrāloka* for non-dual Śaiva exegesis by the time of Jayaratha cannot be overestimated and for Jayaratha to quote *Tantrāloka* is not only to establish his own affiliation as a non-dual Śaiva, but to claim that the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which focuses on the worship of Tripurasundarī, belongs to a broader Śaiva tradition. And the fact that Jayaratha himself had

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<sup>189</sup> *ekākī na ramate*; alone he does not delight (BrĀ 1.4.3, 1958: 185).

<sup>190</sup> VM: 2.

<sup>191</sup> VM: 2.

<sup>192</sup> TĀV, v. 1. 108–110.

already commented on this prodigious and authoritative text serves to establish his credentials as a respected commentator, who is highly eligible to comment on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.<sup>193</sup>

Following this broad exposition on the nature of the Goddess, Jayaratha proceeds to the more technical discussion to elucidate the meaning of the rest of the *mūla* verse. First, he glosses the *bahuvrīhi* compound, which takes up *pādas* a and b of VM 1.1. “[I worship] her, who is the embodiment of Ganeśas, planets, asterisms, yoginīs, and the signs of the zodiac” (*ganeśagrahanakṣatrāyoginīrāśirūpiṇīm*),<sup>194</sup> by referring to the aphoristic *sūtra* text by Naravāhanadatta, whose name he prefaces with an honorific *śrīman*. Naravāhanadatta’s citation follows the order of the VM 1.1:

*akacatapatayaśaganeśagrahādhīśanakṣatrāśīśvarīyoginīvācyagarbhā*<sup>195</sup>

She contains those who are referred to as lords who are the planets, [i.e.] Ganeśas, who are, associated with the groups of phonemes, [beginning with] *a, ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa, ya*, and *śa*, and the yoginīs, who preside over asterisms and the signs of the zodiac.

According to this citation, Ganeśas (lords of the *gaṇas*) are the planets, since the latter rule over the classes (*gaṇas*) of phonemes. Each *gaṇa* is represented in the compound with its first phoneme, i.e., vowels (*a*), gutturals (*ka*), palatals (*ca*), retroflex (*ṭa*), dentals (*ta*), labials (*pa*), semivowels (*ya*), and sibilants (*śa*). The yoginīs are said to rule asterisms and the signs of the zodiac. And the Goddess encompasses both the lords of the *gaṇas* and the *yoginīs*.

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<sup>193</sup> My conclusion that Jayaratha’s commentary on TĀ preceded VM stems from the fact that in the closing verses on TĀV, which I discuss in the next chapter, the author does not mention his commentary on the VM. Since this set of verses is highly detailed in listing accomplishments of Jayaratha and his patrilineal ancestors, I suggest that the VM postdates the TĀV. Otherwise, Jayaratha, who includes other details pertaining to his family’s devotion to Tripurasundarī, would certainly have mentioned it.

<sup>194</sup> VM: 1.

<sup>195</sup> VM: 2.

Naravāhanadatta is one of the few authors specifically mentioned here by name, perhaps suggesting that Jayaratha did not expect his readers to be familiar with his work, but found him important enough to include. Naravāhanadatta's is also one of very few citations by the previous commentators which Jayaratha mentions favorably. As I will show in this chapter, this positive presentation is quite unlike Jayaratha's customary modus operandi with regards to commentators outside of his lineage, which is to criticize and ridicule.

The sources of the next two quotations in this passage are unknown to us. Both of them are in verse and dive further into astrological manifestations of the Goddess. The first identifies the association of each of the eight groups of phonemes, in order, with the six planets (the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, and the moon's light and dark side governing the last two groups)<sup>196</sup> and the second specifies that the Sun and the Moon each govern half of the twelve constellations forming the signs of the zodiac.<sup>197</sup> Jayaratha's commentary summarizing this subsection further glosses the asterisms (*nakṣatras*) as the lords of the *gaṇas* and the *yoginīs* as the lunar days (*tithis*),<sup>198</sup> an association prevalent in the cult of Tripurasundarī because of the numerological significance of the fifteen lunar days in connection with the fifteen syllables of the *mūla* mantra.

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<sup>196</sup> *arkārajīvabudhaśukraśanaiścarādyā vargāḥ krameṇa kathitā grahaṣṭakayuktāḥ | indor mukhasya ca sitāsitapakṣayogād hlādopatāpajanakau kathitau yaśau tu || VM: 2.*

The [first six] groups [of phonemes] are said to be associated with the six planets in order, beginning with Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, while *ya* and *śa* [groups] are said to give pleasure and pain as they are connected with the bright and dark sides of the moon.

<sup>197</sup> *dvādaśamandalabhaṇḍaḥ tatrārdhe simhato ravir nāthah | karkatataḥ pratilomāc chaśī tathānye 'pi taddānāt || VM: 2.*

There are twelve constellations [of the zodiac]; half of them, from Leo on, is governed by the Sun. And, from [the Sun's generosity] in the opposite direction, from Cancer, the moon [presides].

<sup>198</sup> VM: 5.

Having explained that the Goddess is embodied in the movement of celestial bodies, Jayaratha states that as such she manifests in time, quoting *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārika* 2.1.3. “time is the movement of the sun, etc.” (*kālah sūryādisamcārah...*)<sup>199</sup> But in addition to being the embodiment of time, Jayaratha, commenting on her “embodimenting the *śakti pīṭhas*” (seats of the Goddess) (*pīṭharūpiṇīm*) in the *mūla*, states that she is also the embodiment of place.<sup>200</sup> Here, the commentator once again refers to *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, which organizes divine manifestations according to temporal and spatial successions:

*mūrtivaicitryato deśakramam ābhāsayaty asau |  
kriyāvaicitryanirbhāsāt kālakramam apīśvaraḥ ||* ĪP 2.1.5 ||<sup>201</sup>

The Lord causes the spatial succession to appear through the variety of forms and also the temporal succession through the variety of actions.

The section of the commentary on VM 1.1, which serves as transition between ĪP 2.1.5, mentioned above, and TĀ 6.34–36,<sup>202</sup> which Jayaratha cites next, plunges deeply into Pratyabhijñā philosophy. In his comments, Jayaratha makes abundant use of its distinctive vocabulary, which I underlined in the quotation below for the reader’s convenience. In his

<sup>199</sup> VM: 3.

<sup>200</sup> *pīṭhas tu māṭrkā proktā ...* And Māṭrkā is said to be the seat. VM: 3.

<sup>201</sup> VM: 3.

<sup>202</sup> *tatra kriyābhāsanam yat so 'dhvā kālākhya ucyate |  
varṇamantrapadābhikhyam atrāste 'dhvatrayam sphuṭam ||* TĀ 6.34 ||  
*yas tu mūrtiyavabhāṣāṇśah sa deśādhvā nirūpyate |  
kalātattvapurābhikhyam antarbhūtam iha trayam ||* TĀ 6.35 ||  
*trikadvaye 'tra pratyekam sthūlam sūkṣmam param vapuh |  
yato 'sti tena sarvo 'yam adhvā ṣaḍvidha ucyate ||* TĀ 6.36 || (VM: 3.)

There is a manifestation of action there, which is called the path [of] time. The three-fold path, described as [consisting of] of phonemes, mantras, and words is evident here. And the manifestation of form is described as the path of space, within which are the three *kalā*, *tattva*, and worlds (*bhuvana*). Here in the two [sets] of three are the corresponding gross, subtle, and the highest forms. Therefore, in entirety they are called the sixfold path.

Note that Jayaratha’s citation of *Tantrāloka* in the printed edition differs slightly from the KSTS edition. E.g., in 6.36b it reads *kālākhya* for *kālāhva* and in 6.35b it reads *nirūpyate* for *nigadyate*.

explanation, Jayaratha elaborates upon the two-fold nature of manifestation through space and time, as it was outlined in ĪP 2.1.5. He explains that manifestation also includes a threefold division into the highest (*para*), subtle (*sūkṣma*), and gross (*sthūla*).

*itidiśā mūrtivaictryāvabhāsanena parasūkṣmastiūlatayā kalātattvabhuvanātmā sphurantī deśādhvānam avabhāsayati, kriyāvaictryanirbhāsanena api varṇamantrapadātmā kālādhvānam apīti ṣaḍvidhādhvamayanikhilaviśvarūpatayā sphuratīti |<sup>203</sup>*

According to this view, shining forth with the manifestation of the variety of forms, which are the highest, subtle, and gross and have the nature of *kalā*, *tattva*, and *bhuvana*, she projects the path of space. Shining forth with the manifestation of the variety of actions, which have the nature of phoneme, mantra, and word, she projects the path of time. In this way, she projects the form of the entire world, which consists of the six-fold path.

Following the citation of TĀ 6.34–36, Jayaratha delves further into the Trika-influenced non-dual Śaivism. This section of the commentary is an excellent example of Jayaratha reading into the *mūla* text Pratyabhijñā interpretations that the redactors of the Vāmakeśvarīmata undoubtedly did not intend. I will show other examples of this tendency later in the chapter.

*etadadhishṭhātṛtvena api iyam eva avabhāsate ity āha “mantramayīm” iti | mantraśabdena ca atra sapta api śivādayah sakalāntāḥ pramātāra upalakṣyante iti nikhilarudraksetrajñādimayatayā api ābhāsamānām ityarthah | tad evam pramātrprameyādikṣobhamayatve ’pi apracyutaprācyasvarūpaiva iyam iti uktam “devīm” iti evam api parapramātrekarūpasvapraprakāśa-parasamvid ātmānaiva dyotamānām “naumi” dehādimitapramātrtāguṇībhāvena citpramātrtayā samāviśāmīty arthah |<sup>204</sup>*

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<sup>203</sup> VM: 4.

<sup>204</sup> VM: 4.

Also he says “consisting of mantras”,<sup>205</sup> since she manifests, having that authority. By the word *mantra* here are implied seven cognizers from Śiva to *sakala*.<sup>206</sup> And she manifests all the Rudras and knowers of the field, etc. That is the meaning. She is called the “Goddess” because her own form remains unshaken amidst the disturbances of cognizers (*pramātr-*) and objects of cognition (*prameya-*, etc.) And “I bow” to that “shining” self, which is the supreme consciousness (*parasamvid*), illuminating (i.e., manifesting) of her own accord (*svaprakāśa-*) being one with the supreme cognizer (*parapramātr*); [“I bow” (“naumi”) means] I enter into (*samāviśāmi*) by means of being a cognizer, which is consciousness (*citpramātrtayā*), to which delimited awareness, such as awareness at the level of the body, etc. is subordinate (*dehādimitapramātrtāguṇībhāvena*).

Having repainted the *mūla* verse using the palette of non-dual Pratyabhijñā and Trika, Jayaratha proceeds to demolish rival interpretations at great length and with vicious enjoyment. He is utterly disgusted with the unknown to us author of the next commentary he cites. In particular, it is that commentator’s fanciful interpretation of the list in the *mūla* verse as referring to the Śrīcakra, with the syllable *ga* in Gaṇeśas as referring to the inner triangle of the Śrīcakra, that attracts his ire. Jayaratha himself interprets Gaṇeśas in the *mūla* in plural, referring to lords of the planets, in agreement with Naravāhanadatta cited earlier. This final section of commentary on VM 1.1 is a superb example of Jayaratha’s sarcasm and ridicule of what he sees as an incorrect interpretation.

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<sup>205</sup> Here and elsewhere I am using quotations to indicate words from the *mūla* (i.e., the root text, the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*) being glossed.

<sup>206</sup> The seven *pramātrs* (cognizers) according to the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* are 1. *sakala* 2. *pralayākala* 3. *vijñānākala* 4. *mantra* 5. *manṭreśvara* 6. *mantramahēśvara* 7. Śiva (Vasudeva 2004: 199).

*iha prakrtasya arthasya aviśrāntatāyām upakṣepyasya arthasya abhidhānam eva tāvan na nyāyyam, tatrāpi aśabdārtham kaṣṭakalpanābalopanītam asaṅgataprāyam ca tad iti kaṣṭāt kaṣṭam yat gaṇeśaśabdākhyāne gakārasya tāvat ṛṭīyātmakasaṃkhyeyamātrābhidhāyitve tritvalakṣaṇasamkhyābhidhānābhāvāt na tryarārthapratyāyakatvam | tatrāpi svāmipadenaiva gatārthatvāt vyartham etad upādānam | eka evahi tryaralakṣaṇaś cakrāvayavah pratipādyo vartate | sa ca etāvataiva siddha iti kim etad upādānena |<sup>207</sup>*

Here, the mention of implied meaning before the main meaning has been developed is not proper. Moreover, it is an incorrect interpretation, forcibly introduced by tortured imaginings and unconnected with the main meaning. And going from bad to worse, is considering *ga* in the word “Ganeśa” here as having the nature of the third [cakra], since there is nothing described here that can be considered to have a characteristic of a triad and no proof of the meaning of three. Moreover, this is a useless statement, which makes no sense because of the very mention of the word indicating the lord (*i.e.*, *īśa* in *gaṇeśa*). The portion of the cakra which is to be discussed, characterized by the three spokes is one. That much is correct, so why does this need to be mentioned.

Jayaratha supports his criticism by a quotation from the *Rasamahodadhi*, a text that is no longer available to us. The *Rasamahodadhi*, which Jayaratha quotes as *āgama* (scripture), clearly belonged to the cult of Tripurasundarī and covered a lot of the same ground as the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Although this citation consists of a single *śloka*, elsewhere Jayaratha quotes significant sections from this text to back up the more technical portions of his commentary on drawing the Śrīcakra and extracting the mantras. The *śloka* quoted here, which is repeated in a much longer passage later in the commentary,<sup>208</sup> describes the structure of the Śrīcakra. In the first two *pādas*, it provides a list of all the *subcakras* in the order customarily referred to as the

<sup>207</sup> VM: 4–5.

<sup>208</sup> VM: 33–34.

order of creation (i.e., from inside out, beginning with the *bindu*), and in the second line — in the order of dissolution, from outside in. Jayaratha uses this citation, to further discredit the interpretation of the previous commentator, since the latter interpreted *ga* in Gaṇeśas as three, equating it with the inner triangle, and the *Rasamahodadhi* refers to the inner triangle as one.<sup>209</sup>

Continuing to disparage, in a similarly pedantic way, the correspondence drawn by previous commentator between the text of the VM 1.1 and the Śrīcakra, Jayaratha further asserts that nothing in the verse can account for the two ten-spoked *cakras*,<sup>210</sup> as well as the fourteenth-spoked and the sixteen-spoked ones.<sup>211</sup> Jayaratha quotes from the *Mālinīvijaya*<sup>212</sup> to further support his rejection of this interpretation. While this author himself is prone to reading things

<sup>209</sup> *tatraikam aṣṭakam madhye dviḍaśāntē caturdaśā | caturdaśā daśadvandvam aṣṭāvekaṁ maheśvari ||* (VM: 4.) In the middle there is one, eight, two tens, and fourteen, O Great Goddess, there is fourteen, two tens, eight, and one.

<sup>210</sup> *atha svāmipadena madhyamātram ucyate varnapadena tu tryaram iti cet, na ubhayathāpi madhyāvyatirekenaiva asyārthasya svayam siddheḥ | nāpi akṣapatiṭvena ekatarā-daśārāvagama astasya dikpatitvavat daśatva-lakṣaṇa-saṃkhyābhidhāyitvābhāvāt | mana eva daśānām api akṣānām ekaḥ patiḥ |* (VM: 4.)  
asyārthasya ] em: asyarthasya Ed.

Now, if the word “lord” [i.e., *eṣa*] here refers to only the middle [cakra] and the “syllable” [*ga*] to the three-spoked one, both of them separately cannot successfully indicate the middle one. And neither of the ten-spoked cakras are understood as being the lord of the senses because of the absence of anything referring to ten being mentioned, like the lords of the directions. In fact, the mind is the only lord of the ten senses.

<sup>211</sup> *buddhīndriyaganapatiṭitā manasah ity api bhavataiva uktam | gaṇapatitithir api saṃkhyeyasya abhidhāyikaiva, na tu saṃkhyāyā iti na asyā api caturdaśāravācakatvam iti uktaprāyam | gaṇayor iśārṇatayā ity anenāpi ṣoḍaśāradvayam ucyate | na ca atra etat vivakṣitam ekasyaiva ṣoḍaśārasya iṣṭeh | gaṇeśaśabdaś ca kena vyāpāreṇa enam artham abhidhatte iti tāvat bahuvaktaryatvād āstām |*  
*tatrāpi saṃkhyeyam eva avagamayati, na saṃkhyām iti punar api prakṛtārthānupapattir eveti na sākṣat nikhilacakrāvayavapratipādanam siddhyet | kim ca gaṇeśā aṣṭau, grahāś ca aṣṭau, nakṣatrāni ca saptavimśatiḥ | katham navacakrakalāḥ |* (VM: 5.)

And even you, Sir, have said that the mind is the overlord of the groups of organs of senses and perception. Moreover, the lunar day of Ganapati indicates what is to be enumerated, and not a number, and neither is there a reference to the fourteen-spoked [cakra], according to the previous statements (*uktaprāyam*). And the lordship over the groups [of letters] is said [to refer to] the two sets of sixteen. It does not signify the one sixteen-spoked [cakra], which is sought here [since there is only one sixteen-spoked *cakra* within the Śrīcakra]. And how can the word *ganeśa* indicate this meaning? Enough of this, there is so much [else] to be said. Moreover, what is to be counted is to be understood, not the counting. And also this meaning cannot be proved; he should prove his assertion of the *subcakras* of the entire cakra [referred to in verse 1.1], as it is not evident. And what of eight Gaṇeśas, eight planets, and twenty-seven asterisms. How are there nine cakras?

<sup>212</sup> *tat tridhā taijasāt tasmān mano 'kṣeśam ajāyata || MāVi 1.31 ||* (VM: 4.)

From that three-fold radiance the mind caused the lord of the senses to be born.

The passage from which quote is taken refers to the existence of Śiva as the highest experient in three phases and the half-verse quoted discusses last distinct phase of Śiva, corresponding to Sadāśiva, as “partless and with parts” (*sakala-niṣkala*) (Vasudeva, 2004, 11 and 153). I corrected the numbering of the verse in the VM edition according to Vasudeva’s.

into the *mūla* text (such as his consistent reinterpretation of it in light of Pratyabhijñā), he takes strong objection to the vague and mysterious symbolism and the feeble numerology being read into the text by the previous commentators.

At the end of the commentary on VM 1.1, Jayaratha gives two more citations, consisting of one and three verses each. Both citations are in the *āryā* meter and were composed by a previous commentator whom Jayaratha vehemently criticizes. The first citation, consisting of a single *śloka*, lists ten *siddhis* (supernatural powers).<sup>213</sup> In a brief comment on this verse, Jayaratha points out that the previous commentator “endeavors (*utsahante*) to describe ten *siddhis* and *mudrās* and eight *vidyās*,” probably hinting by his choice of the verb at his faulty numerology.<sup>214</sup> But it is the second and longer citation, consisting of three verses, that is the target of particular ridicule by Jayaratha. And who can blame him, with the citation being a disordered jumble of

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<sup>213</sup> *anīmā laghimā mahimeśitvavaśitve prakāmatā bhuktih | icchāmokṣarasāś cehoktāḥ siddhayas tanre ||* VM: 5. And the *siddhis* in the *tantra* are stated here as *anīmā* (minuteness, i.e., ability to take on a minute form), *laghimā* (lightness), *mahimā* (greatness), *īśitvā* (supremacy, lordship), *vaśitvā* (subjugation), *prakāmatā* (attractiveness), *bhukti* (enjoyment), *icchā* (desire), *mokṣa* (liberation), and *rasa* (sentiment, elixir).

Note that this list expands upon the traditional list consisting of eight *siddhis*. Eight *siddhis* are mentioned in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* itself in 5.15 (*anīmādyāṣṭasiddhīśo*, the Lord of eight *siddhis* beginning with minuteness). While Jayaratha refers to the list of eight (e.g., VM: 15, 64 referring to YH 3.118, 73, 74, 128), he supports the addition of *mokṣasiddhi* (*siddhi* of liberation) and *rasasiddhi* (*siddhi* of sentiment, elixir), which he associates with the ninth *cakra* (VM: 73).

<sup>214</sup> *ityādyuktyā daśa siddhīr mudrāś ca vidyāś ca aṣṭāv abhidhātum utsahante iti |* (VM: 5.) By the statement beginning with this, he [previous commentator] endeavors to be describe ten *siddhis* and *mudrās* and eight *vidyās*.

vague mysticism and numerology, containing lists of deities and attributes without so much as an explanation of how they are connected with the nine cakras.<sup>215</sup>

In response to this citation, Jayaratha unleashes a volley of ridicule, equating the “worldly greatness” (*lokamahattayā*) of such writers with “everyone’s thorn in the ear” (*sarveśām karnakaṭukam*), and “half-eaten leftovers” (*ardhocchiṣṭaprāyam*), i.e., something useless and impure.<sup>216</sup>

Jayaratha’s lengthy commentary on VM 1.1, carefully laid out, brilliant, and pedantic, serves as an excellent sample of his commentary. Here Jayaratha draws on the texts that continue to be important to him throughout this work, beginning with venerated Śaiva *tantras*, proceeding to Kashmirian Śaiva and Pratyābhijñā texts with known authors, and concluding with a technical discussion, in which he cites the *Rasamahodadhi* and demolishes rival interpretations. I will now look in depth at two particular themes that came to the fore in the analysis of Jayaratha’s commentary on VM 1.1. First, I will discuss reinterpretation of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* in light of

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<sup>215</sup>svāmitayā varṇatayā nandyāditayākṣadikpatitvena |  
gaṇapatitithirūpatayā vidyeśatayā kramākramataḥ ||  
gaṇayor tśārṇatayā lokeśatayā tathā ca navacakryām |  
śāsiṇuṇavasudaśadaśamanuvasupativasuvāg gaṇeśapadam ||  
cakrakalāsu gaṇeśāś cakreśu ca vācakā grahā navasu |  
nakṣatrāṇi navasv api siddhiṣu mudrāsu vidyāsu || (VM: 5.)

The word *ganeśa* [signifies] the moon [i.e., one, the *bindu*], qualities (*gunas*) [i.e., three, the inner triangle], Vasus [i.e., eight-spoked cakra], ten- and ten(-spoked cakras), Manus [i.e., fourteen-spoked cakra], lords of the Vasus [i.e., twenty four petals (eight inner and sixteen outer)], Vasus [i.e., eight (four doors and four corners)], and speech [i.e., sixteen Nityās] by means of its lordship, colors, Nandi, etc., presiding over the organs of the senses and the directions, having the form of the the lunar day (*tithi*) of Gaṇapati [which is on the fourth lunar day], governance over the *vidyās* [which are eight in the Vāmakeśvarīmata], in sequence and against the sequence, by presiding of the two groups (*gaṇas*), by the governance over the worlds, there is a [correspondence to] the nine *cakras*. Gaṇeśas are in the spokes of the cakra, the speakers, who are the planets are in the nine cakras. The asterisks are also among the nine *siddhis*, *mudrās*, and *vidyās*.

<sup>216</sup>ityādyuktam iveti lokamahattayā saṃbhāvyamānānām evam ucyamānam sarveśām karṇakaṭukam iva  
pratibhāsata iti sthālīpulākanyāyena iyad eva āstām | evam gaṇeśādigaṇanayā tricatvāriṁśatkonatvādīvākhyānam  
ardhocchiṣṭaprāyam eveti kim anenāpi granthavistarākāriṇā prakṛtānupayoginā paryālocitena | (VM: 5.)

Just like this, from this passage on, the statements of those very ones who are being honored with greatness in the world, are like a thorn in the ear for everyone. Reminded of the proverb of the bit of rice in the pot, [showing] this much is sufficient. This explanation of forty-three spokes through counting of Gaṇeśas, etc. is like half-eaten leftovers. What is the use of investigating the ramblings of the author of this voluminous composition, which are irrelevant for the text under discussion?

Pratyabhijñā. And after that, I will examine Jayaratha's animated engagement with previous commentaries on this text through his citations and his comments on them.

### ***Pratyabhijñā Themes in the Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa***

As I have begun to discuss in my analysis of Jayaratha's commentary on VM 1.1, this author's interpretation is heavily indebted to non-dual Śaivism. Already in the *mangala* verses, which I have discussed in the beginning of the chapter, Jayaratha demonstrates the preeminence of non-dualism in the philosophical teachings within his lineage. There Jayaratha lauds teachers who came before him, including Śrīdīpakācarya, as “abounding in the nectar of knowledge of the supreme non-duality” (*paramādvaitavijñānāmṛtanirbhārāḥ*).<sup>217</sup>

A series of searches reveal that while the text of Jayaratha's commentary and, of course, his citations from such texts as *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* and *Tantrāloka* abound in terms associated with Pratyabhijñā, the *mūla* text of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* does not utilize the same terminology. Thus, we find such terms as *pramāṭra/pramāṇa* in the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa* twenty-nine times, *prameya* — ten times, *abhāsa* — twenty-five, *vimarṣa*, *parāmarṣa*, and *pratyavamarṣa* — eighteen total, and *svātantrya* — fourteen. None of these terms appear in the *mūla*, with the exception of the term *pramāṇa* used in VM 5.15 in the non-technical meaning of “number/quantity” rather than “means of knowledge,” in which it is used in Pratyabhijñā and other philosophical texts.

Although non-dual Śaiva ideas and terminology are simply not expressed in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* itself, Jayaratha brings them into his commentary from the very first pages.

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<sup>217</sup> *jayanti paramādvaitavijñānāmṛtanirbhārāḥ | pūrve śrīdīpakācāryapramukhā guravo mama || VM 1.2 || (VM: 1.)*

In his section of the commentary on VM 1.1 cited earlier, Jayaratha interprets *mantra* in “*mantramayīm*,” not as “ritual formula” (a reading that would be the most intuitive given the subject-matter of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*), but rather as indicating the “seven cognizers (*pramātara*) from Śiva to *sakala*.<sup>218</sup> He describes the Goddess as one “whose own form remains unshaken amidst the permutations of cognizers and objects of cognition” and as “the supreme consciousness illuminating (i.e., manifesting) of her own accord being one with the supreme cognizer.”<sup>219</sup>

This kind of creative re-interpretation of the root text through the lens of Śaiva non-dualism is common throughout the more theoretical discursive sections of Jayaratha’s commentary, many of which occur in the beginning of the first chapter. We find one of the examples in Jayaratha’s interpretation of VM 1.2. The *mūla* verse, pays obeisance to the Supreme Goddess, who is described poetically as one “who brings about tranquility amidst the impelling of the powerful rolling waves of time.”

*pranamāmi mahādevīm mātrkām parameśvarīm |  
kālahallohalollokalanāśamakāriṇīm || VM 1.2 ||*<sup>220</sup>

I bow to the supreme ruler, the great Goddess Mātrkā, who brings about tranquility amidst the impelling of the powerful rolling waves of time.

The mention of time in the *mūla* leads Jayaratha to a discussion that touches upon Śaiva hierarchical conceptions of time, quoting three times in succession from the *Svaccanda*<sup>221</sup> and

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<sup>218</sup> VM: 4.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> VM: 6.

<sup>221</sup> VM: 6.

twice from the *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā*.<sup>222</sup> The section of Jayaratha's comments after the first quote from the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā* abounds in key Pratyabhijñā terms to reinterpret VM 1.2, including (*pra*)*matr(tā)* (cognizer, state of being cognizer), (*ā*)*bhāsa* (manifestation), *bhāta* (manifested, appearance), *śūnya* (void), *anusandhāna* (synthesis), *parasamvid* (supreme consciousness), and *svātantrya* (possessing free will). I am continuing to underline Pratyabhijñā terminology in my citations.

*sarvatrābhāsabhedo'pi bhavet kālakramākaraḥ |  
vicchinnabhāsah śūnyāder mātūr bhātasya no sakṛt || ĪP 2.1.6 ||*<sup>223</sup>

And the distinctions of manifestation (*ābhāsabhedo*) would have the form of temporal succession everywhere; the manifestations [for cognizers] from the void up are fragmented.

But not so for the cognizer (*mātūr*)<sup>224</sup> who shines on for ever.

*ityādyuktayuktyā parimitaśūnyādipramātrtāvilāpanena ityādy anusandhānabhājam  
anugrāhyajanam akhaṇḍapariपूर्णपरासमविदात्मानि akālakalite pare dhāmni  
viśrāmayantīm, ata eva mahādevīm mahattvena aparicchinnaपरासमविदेकाग्नातया  
dyotamānām, ata eva parameśvarīm atidurghaṭakāris्वातन्त्र्याशालीनीं “mātrkām  
prāṇamāmi”iti vākyārthah || 2 ||*<sup>225</sup>

In connection with what was said above, with the dissolution of the state of being a cognizer delimited from the void and up, from then on causing the group of people to be graced [*anugrāhyajana*], who are intent on synthesis, to come to rest in the supreme domain, unimpeded by time and having a nature of completely full and undivided supreme consciousness, hence she is the “great Goddess,” i.e., she shines forth by virtue of her

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<sup>222</sup> VM: 6–7.

<sup>223</sup> VM: 6.

<sup>224</sup> *Mātūr* is the Genitive Singular of (*pra*)*matr* (cognizer, which is of masculine gender), but also of *mātr* (mother, which is feminine), which is rather convenient if one is conflating these two meanings, as Jayaratha is doing by bringing in Pratyabhijñā understanding to the interpretation of the verses about the Goddess.

<sup>225</sup> VM: 7.

magnitude, which is the state of being a single mass of undivided supreme consciousness, thus to that Supreme Goddess, who, established in her own free will, creates what is extremely difficult to accomplish, “I bow to [that] Alphabet Goddess,” that is the meaning of the verse.

Jayaratha continues to reinterpret the *mūla* in light of Pratyabhijñā in his commentary on VM

1.4. The *mūla* verse reads as follows:

*yadakṣaraśaśijyotsnāmaṇḍitam bhuvanatrayam |  
vande sarveśvarīṁ devīṁ mahāśrīsiddhamāṭrkām || VM 1.4 ||*<sup>226</sup>

I honor the Goddess, who is the ruler of all, the great venerable Siddhamāṭrkā,<sup>227</sup> by the moonlight of whose letters the three worlds are adorned.

Jayaratha’s commentary on VM 1.4 is unusual because here he cites from sources that he does not turn elsewhere in the text, viz. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Bhartrhari’s *Vākyapadīya*, and the *Kāvyādarśa* of Dandin, the latter two indicating Jayaratha’s broad interest in language and poetics. These are the only citations from the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vākyapadīya* in this commentary. It is possible that he returns to Dandin later in the text, but I have not found other citations from him and the editor did not attribute even this citation.

*yacchrutih  
astam ita āditye yājñavalkya candre 'stam ite kiṁ jyotiḥ puruṣah, vāgjyotir iti hovāca samrāt  
| (Bṛ. U. 4.3.5)*<sup>228</sup>

As it is said in the *śruti*,

O Yājñavalkya, when the sun has set and the moon has set, what light [does] a man [have]?

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<sup>226</sup> VM: 9.

<sup>227</sup> Siddhamāṭrkā is an abugida (alphasyllabary) Brahmi-based post-Gupta script, closely related to Śāradā.

<sup>228</sup> VM: 9.

It is the light of Speech, O Lord, he said.

*iti | pūrvācāryā api  
saiśā samsāriṇām samjñā bahir antaś ca vartate |  
yadutkrāntau visamjño 'yam drṣyate kāṣṭhakuḍyavat ||* (VP 1.128)<sup>229</sup>

And also, [by] the previous teacher [Bhartṛhari]:

She, who is the consciousness of transmigrating [souls], exists inside and outside; when she departs, [a person] appears unconscious, like a piece of wood.

*idam andhaṁ tamah kṛtsnaṁ jāyeta bhuvanatrayam |  
yadi śabdāhvayam jyotir āsaṁsāram na dīpyate ||* KD 1.4 ||<sup>230</sup>

If the light, which is known as the word did not shine as long as the mundane world lasts, these three worlds would become the blind black darkness.

These citations from the *Upaniṣads*, *vyākaraṇa* (philosophy of the grammarians), and *alaṅkāra śāstra* (poetics) pick up on the theme of divinity as light and speech expressed in the *mūla* (“the great venerable Siddhamāṭrkā, by the moonlight of whose letters the three worlds are adorned” *yadakṣaraśāśijyotsnāmaṇḍitam bhuvanatrayam... mahāśrīsiddhamāṭrkām*<sup>231</sup>) and bring out the connection between light, speech, and consciousness, which are so meaningful for Pratyabhijñā. And it is this connection that Jayaratha highlights.

*iti ca | evam evam vidhām tām mahatyā “sakṛdvibhāto ‘yam ātmā” itidṛśā vidyudādivat  
vicchidya vicchidya bhāsamānatvābhāvad ekarasatayā pravṛttayā aviratena rūpena  
avabhāsamānayā samvitsphuranalakṣaṇayā śriyā |*<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> VM: 10.

<sup>230</sup> VM: 10.

<sup>231</sup> VM: 9.

<sup>232</sup> VM: 10.

And that is exactly how she is; by her greatness “the self is always illuminated.”<sup>233</sup>

According to this view, her light is not like a lightning, which comes in jolts, [but] has the form of a radiance, which is like the pulsation of consciousness, shining forth with unchangeable uninterrupted flow.

The section of the commentary cited above serves as a transition to Jayaratha’s citations from *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* and *Tantrāloka*, the two texts that exemplify non-dual Śaivism to which this commentator turns most frequently.

*pramātari purāne tu sarvadābhātavigrahe |*  
*kim pramānam navābhāsaḥ sarvapramitibhāgini ||* ĪP 2.3.16 ||<sup>234</sup>

And what new manifestation can be authoritative with regards to the ancient cognizer, who has the form eternally shining forth and who partakes of all cognition.

Having cited *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, Jayaratha connects this understanding of the supreme cognizer as the highest consciousness with Siddhamāṭrīkā, which is how the Goddess is described in the *mūla*:

*ityādinayena apūrvārthavīṣaya pramāṇāgocaravād ādita eva svataḥ “siddhāṁ”*  
*mahātripurasundaryādiśabdavyapadeśyāṁ “māṭrīkāṁ” parāṁ śaktiṁ*<sup>235</sup>

By the statement beginning with this, the supreme Śakti is “Māṭrīkā,” known by the name Mahātripurasundarī, etc., who is established a priori (*siddhāṁ* referring to Siddhamāṭrīkā in the *mūla*), from the very beginning, because she is beyond the range of the senses, which have only new things as their objects.

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<sup>233</sup> “*sakṛdvibhāto ‘yam ātmā*” is a common expression in Upāniṣadic, Vedantin and Pratyabhijñā sources.

<sup>234</sup> VM: 10.

<sup>235</sup> VM: 10.

Jayaratha's final section of commentary on this verse, which follows the citation from *Tantrāloka*, completes his commentary on the nature of the Goddess in VM 1.4 in terms familiar from non-dual Śaivism. Īśvarī, for him, is one who commands all “cognizers, cognitions, and things to be cognized, etc.” and Devī’s divine play consists of taking on the roles of the conscious subject at various stages of cognition:

*ityādyuktyā “sarvesām” pramātrpramānaprameyādīnām api jīvitādhāyitvād “īśvarīm,” ata eva “devīm” tattatpramātrādirūpatayā kṛidanaśīlām “vande” samāviśāmītyarthah*<sup>236</sup>

According to that statement, “of all” [in the *mūla*] refers to cognizers, cognitions, and things to be cognized. Having constituted their existence, she is the “Ruler” (Īśvarī), therefore “I worship” means “I entrust myself” to the “Goddess,” who engages in play by means of taking on the form of various cognizers, etc.

The close connection of consciousness, speech, light, and manifestation, investigated in the commentary on VM 1.4, is further developed in a dense section of the commentary on VM 1.6–8, one of many discursive sections that reinvent the *mūla* as a philosophical teaching.

*tām prakrāntām mātṛkām bhagavatīm mahādevīm mahattvena samanantaroktanirūpitena cittvena dyotamānām cicchaktipradhānādivarṇātmikām citāś ca “ānando brahmaṇo rūpam” iti śruter ānandarūpatām antareṇa cittvam eva na syād ity āha ānandarūpiṇīm ānandaśaktipradhānadvitīyavarṇasvarūpām, ityevam cidānandayor lolībhāvena sisṛkṣātmakaparāmarśodayād icchāśaktyātmana ikārākṣarasya tṛtyabijasya uddhārena sārādhārām sakalajagadullāsanāśālitayā utkṛṣṭādhārām, ata eva śaktidaśādhiśayitayā parāparām tadrūpām paramaty arthaṁ prāṇamāmi |*<sup>237</sup>

*adhiśayitayā conj. : śidhiyataya Ed.*

“She” (*tām*) is understood as the blessed “great Goddess” (*mahādevīm*) Mātṛkā, shining forth with the majesty that is consciousness, as she was described just now, having the nature of

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<sup>236</sup> VM: 10.

<sup>237</sup> VM: 11.

the first letter (*a*), due to the predominance of the power of consciousness (*cicchakti-*). And consciousness would not exist without having the form of bliss, since the scripture states that “bliss is the form of brahman”; therefore [the text] says that she has the form of bliss, i.e she has the form of the second vowel (*ā*) in which the power of bliss (*ānanda*) is predominant. Therefore, with the wavering nature of consciousness and bliss, consisting of the power of desire (*icchāśakti*), from the arising of reflection (*parāmarśa*), which is the desire to create, she is the exalted “support,” beautifying by her radiance the entire world, the “support” which is the essential part, by the extraction of the third seed syllable *i*. Therefore, I deeply “bow to her,” who is supreme, whose form is like that, and who is both transcendent and immanent, by resting in the state of śakti.

As we can see from this small sample of commentary, even the gloss of the simplest words, such as “all” or “the Goddess,” allowed Jayaratha to weave in Pratyabhijñā philosophy where surely nothing remotely similar had been meant by the redactors of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. What was Jayaratha’s motivation? Was he aware of his drastic reinvention of this simple ritual text? Or was the language of Pratyabhijñā so deeply familiar to him, that it was the most natural and obvious form of expression, a translation to the language of his day, which made the original comprehensible? The effect reminds me of a symphony for a full orchestra, picking up a simple country tune, repeating it with more and more elaboration and careful orchestration, until the tune, barely recognizable soars into silence. Or a graceful line drawing, transformed into an ornate wall-hanging by an artful craftsman, the original lines barely visible beneath an explosion of color and textures. We will probably never know for certain, but I believe that Jayaratha’s creative reinterpretation was conscious. Updating this *tantra* with the elevated language of

Pratyabhijñā non-dualism and creating rich and deeply layered levels of meaning for a simple and unambitious original, Jayaratha made this text, foundational for his own ritual tradition, worthy of the attention of any cultured Śaiva of his time.

### ***Previous Commentaries on the Vāmakeśvarīmata in Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa***

One of the most prominent themes in the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa* is Jayaratha's continued engagement with authors of previous commentaries on this text. I will give several examples of his animated responses here, because they shed light on earlier commentaries that no longer exist and give us a sense of the Kashmirian cult of Tripurasundarī in the thirteenth century. Jayaratha's reaction to the opinions of the other commentators, be it mockery or occasional expressions of esteem, also give us an insight into the author's personality and what was most important to him.

After Jayaratha's extended commentary on VM 1.1, his next citation from an earlier commentary comes in his comments on VM 1.3.

*yadakṣaraikamātre'pi samsiddhe spardhate narah |  
ravitārkṣyendukandarpaśaṅkarānalaviṣṇubhiḥ || VM 1.3 ||<sup>238</sup>*

Even when merely a single syllable of hers has been mastered, a man will rival the Sun, Garuda, the Moon, Kāmadeva (the god of love), Śiva, fire, [and] Viṣṇu.

In his commentary on this verse, Jayaratha quotes verses from further in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which state that performance of various procedures detailed in this *tantra* will make the ritualist equal to Garuda (VM 4.48),<sup>239</sup> Kāmadeva (VM 4.38), Śiva (VM 4.50), fire

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<sup>238</sup> VM: 7.

<sup>239</sup> The reference in the edition to 4.45 is incorrect.

(VM 3.46), Viṣṇu (VM 4.67), and Jupiter (VM 4.26).<sup>240</sup> The author of the five verses quoted by Jayaratha provides numerology associated with each of the divine personages listed in the *mūla* verse, stating that this numerology corresponds to the *subcakras* of the Śrīcakra, thus asserting that VM 1.3 contains a reference to the Śrīcakra in a coded form.<sup>241</sup> Jayaratha explains his rejection of this interpretation by the fact that the *mūla* verse refers to rituals using individual syllables of the *mūlavidyā*, which are separate from the Śrīcakra ritual. Therefore, there is no occasion to evoke the correspondences to the Śrīcakra ritual here.<sup>242</sup> Given the obsession of this

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<sup>240</sup> VM 4.48 on Garuda — *śakti sādhana*, VM 4.38 on Kāmadeva — *kāmarāja sādhana*, VM 4.50 on Śiva — *śakti sādhana*, VM 3.46 on fire — the *khecarī mudrā*, VM 4.67 on Viṣṇu — visualization practices for the *mūlavidyā* in its entirety, and VM 4.26 on Jupiter — *vāgbhava sādhana*. For more context, see Appendix C for the summary of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which includes verse numbers for reference.

<sup>241</sup> *vaiśvānaro daśakalo daśakiranaśatānvito dineśānah |  
bhuvanāhlādakṛd indur daśajātivīśakṣayo garuḍah ||  
madano'pi daśāvastho vidyāsthānānvito'pi vāgīśah |  
daśadiksvāmī śambhur daśadhā śatarudradhṛtadehaḥ ||  
viṣṇur daśāvatāro vividhamahābhūtasṛṣṭikrdvedhāḥ |  
kamalajavākpatiyāmalam anuktam apyūhanīyam iha ||  
daśadaśacaturdaśākr̥tikalānācakratrārayam samārādhya |  
dhāmagurukāraṇatayā trayam trayam siddham etad iha ||  
pindatritayātmava hi devī viśvasya yonitām prāptā |  
tasmād yonīnām api piṇḍagatāḥ siddhayah proktāḥ ||* (VM: 8.)

The fire has ten parts, the sun is endowed with ten times one hundred rays, the moon delights the world, Garuda destroys the ten kinds of poison. While Madana has ten states, the Lord of Speech (i.e., Jupiter) is endowed with (fourteen) branches of knowledge, Śambhu (Śiva) is the Lord of ten directions, his body, which supports one hundred Rudras, is tenfold. Viṣṇu has ten incarnations; the creator (Brahma) creates various *mahābhūtas* (gross elements), the pair of “one born from the lotus” (i.e., Brahma) and the “Lord of Speech” (i.e., Jupiter) is not mentioned, it is to be inferred here. Having propitiated the three-fold cakra, producing the ten, ten, and fourteen[-fold] shapes; the three [and] three here are attained with the power of *guru*. And the Goddess, consisting of the three *bindus*, becomes the source of the Universe, therefore the siddhis are known as being contained in the *bindus* of the *yonis*.

<sup>242</sup> *ata eva ca atra vākpatityābhīyūhanena nирnibandhanam ananuguṇatvam na vācyam, kin tu  
akṣaramātrasaṁsiddhiphalapratipadane prakrāntasya kāñḍakūṣmāñḍanyāyena  
cakratrāyasamārādhanaphalābhidhānasya ko 'vasara iti vācyam yato 'tra |*

Moreover, it should not be said that inferring *vākpati* is not appropriate or not helpful here. However, why is this the appropriate place to discuss the result of propitiating the triple cakra [i.e., the Śrīcakra] according to the root and gourd rule, when only the fruit of the accomplishment in just one syllable is illustrated.

*ityādyuktasya daśakalatvādeḥ piṇḍatrayātmadevīyonitāprāpteś ca asamañjasam hetutvam iti sarvam idam  
ālajālaprāyam iti kim ucyate mahātmanām |*

The logic of the statements, mentioned above, pertaining to the ten-fold [cakra] etc. and understanding of the yoni of the Goddess from her consisting of the three *pindas*, is faulty. This is all just nonsense. Things these great souls say!

unnamed author with Śrīcakra’s numerology and the fact that this section of cited verses is also in *āryā* meter, this quotation is likely from the same work as the one reviled by Jayaratha earlier, in his commentary on VM 1.1 (VM: 5). The order of this commentator’s verses reflects the order of VM 1.3, confirming that this composition was an earlier commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Commenting on another verse by this commentator (this one written in *anuṣṭubh*),<sup>243</sup> Jayaratha further accuses him of incongruity (*ayauktikatvāt*) and artificiality (*kṛtakatvam*).<sup>244</sup>

While Jayaratha is full of acerbic sarcasm discussing the writing of this commentator, calling him a “great soul” (*mahātma*), he accords greater respect to the next author he quotes.<sup>245</sup> The citation is clearly by a different author, since Jayaratha introduces it with this statement:

*yac ca atra anyaih*<sup>246</sup>

And here is what others have said on this [VM 1.3].

<sup>243</sup> *tatrāpi tejo balam prasādaś ca rūpam jñānam viśuddhatā | parārtham udyamaś ceti sapta sarvottamā guṇāḥ ||* (VM: 9.)

And there also:  
Radiance, strength, grace, form, knowledge, purity, and efforts on behalf of others - these are seven of the best qualities.

<sup>244</sup> *ityatra tathā prācuryābhāvād ayauktikatvāt ravyādikramasamāśrayanāsadbhāvāc ca kṛtakatvam iva sanbhāvyate iti āstām etat |* (VM: 9.)  
Here also because of brevity, incongruity, and the dependence of the description on the order [of the list] beginning with the Sun, there is an artificiality about [how the correspondences with the Śrīcakra] are brought together. Let’s drop this subject!

<sup>245</sup> *kālahallolasūtreṇa ravitārkṣyādisūtrataḥ | ekākṣarā tryaksarā ca dve vidye sūcīte mayā ||* (VM: 9.)  
By the statements “strung by the thread of the oscillation of strife” (*kālahallola*) and “the Sun, Garuḍa, etc.” (*ravitārkṣyādi*), the one-syllabled and the three-syllabled *vidyās* [i.e., *aim* and *aim klīm sauḥ*] were indicated by me.

Note that I am not clear on the meaning of *kālahallola* out of context. It is probably connected with *kālahallohalollolakalanāśamakārinīm* in VM 1.2, but some corruption may have crept in either here or in the *mūla*.

<sup>246</sup> VM: 16.

Jayaratha compares this commentator to sage Viśvāmitra and refers to him as “wretched” (*tapasvin*),<sup>247</sup> although it is not clear whether this author was in fact a renunciant or if this is only an allusion to Viśvāmitra’s legend. According to Jayaratha, this commentator’s fault was seeing allusions to the mantras in the *mūla* verse where none existed. So just like Viśvāmitra, described in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the Valmiki’s *Rāmāyaṇa* to have created another set of constellations in the southern direction so that King Triśaṅku could attain heaven in his physical body (an endeavor that was not entirely successful, since Triśaṅku ended up hanging head down in this celestial replica),<sup>248</sup> this commentator created an illusory universe, consisting of words and their referents (*vācyavācakamayīṁ srṣṭīm*).

ityādi jiṣṇūkurvat viśvāmitranyāyena navām eva vācyavācakamayīṁ srṣṭīm vidhāya  
ravyādiśabdaiḥ krameṇa kakārahakārāv ekārakakāramakārā īkārahakārakārā lakāro  
rephaīkārāś cetyākṣiptā iti mukhyamantrasamketo ’pi atra kaṭākṣita iti uktam, tatra vayam  
niṣeddhūm vidhātum vā na pragalbhāmahe iti kim abhidadhmah; yad vā kim amuṣmai  
tapasvine ruṣyate yat vārtikakāreṇa api evam eva pratipadaṁ mantroddhāraḥ kṛta iti alam  
anālocyālocanena |<sup>249</sup>

From here on, on the analogy of Viśvāmitra when he was seeking victory [over Indra], having created a new universe, consisting of the indicated and the indicator, cast with the letters *ka ha e ka ma* and *ī ha ka la ra ī*, according to the sequence of sun, etc. and, it is said that there is also an allusion to the principal mantra here, we do not dare to reject or accept this. What shall we say? Shall we be displeased with the ascetic when this kind of extraction of mantras is practiced at every step by the author of the commentary (*vārtikakāra*)? Enough talking about what need not be discussed.

<sup>247</sup> According to Professor Sanderson, the term *tapasvin* here is pejorative, meaning “wretched, pitiable, unfortunate, miserable.”

<sup>248</sup> The story of Viśvāmitra can be found in Valmiki’s *Rāmāyaṇa*, Book One translated by Goldman, 2005: 297–311.

<sup>249</sup> VM: 9.

A similar type of extraction of mantras as by “the ascetic,” was apparently practiced by the author of another commentary (*vārtikakāra*).<sup>250</sup> This author is mentioned two more times in the *Vivarana*. In the commentary on VM 1.7 cd,<sup>251</sup> Jayaratha attributes a quote in *āryā* meter to him,<sup>252</sup> so it is possible that he is the same commentator as the one Jayaratha critiques in his comments on VM 1.1 and VM 1.6.<sup>253</sup> However, in this instance, Jayaratha agrees with this citation and is quoting this author to support his own interpretation.<sup>254</sup>

In his commentary on VM 1.12, which describes Tripurā dwelling in the four seats of the Goddess (*pīthas*) and as the treasure-house of the four teachings (*caturājñākośabhūtām*), elsewhere referred to as the *āmnāyas*, Jayaratha once again takes the occasion to criticize one of his predecessor, who is reading the symbolism of the *pījā* (ritual worship) of the eighth and ninth *cakras* of the Śrīcakra into this verse. The meaning of the *mūla* verse is in fact quite clear:

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup> *jyeṣṭhāṅgabāhuhṛtpṛṣṭhakaṭipadānivāsinīm* || VM 1.7 || (VM: 11)  
... residing in the head, arms, chest, back, hips and buttocks.

<sup>252</sup> *yat vārtikakārah*  
*bhrūmadhyabhalacūlā jyeṣṭhāṅgam bāhumūlagah kaṇṭhah* |  
*hṛddhṛdayam tatprṣthe yasyāḥ sā proditā nābhiḥ* ||  
*janmāsthānam ca kaṭir nyāsakramatas tathohakah pādah* | (VM: 12.)  
*tathohakah* em. Sanderson : *tathāhakah* Ed.

As the author of the commentary (*vārtikakāra*) says,

The “top limb,” i.e., head (*jyeṣṭhāṅga*) consists of the middle of the forehead, the brow, and the topknot, in the middle of the “arms” (*bāhu*) is the throat, the “heart” (“*hṛd*” means *hṛdayam*), her “back” (“*prṣtha*”) indicates her navel, the “hips” (“*kaṭir*”) indicate reproductive organs, and according to the order of *nyāsa* (installation of the deity in the body by means of mantras accompanied with touch), and Ūhaka and the feet.

According to Professor Sanderson, who cites Jayaratha on 1.112, Ūhaka is the Rudra who presides over the feet.

<sup>253</sup> VM: 5, 8.

<sup>254</sup> *jyeṣṭhāṅgam śiras tena śikhālalāṭabhūmadhyātmakam avayavatrayam āksipyate, bāhubhyāṁ svamūlagataḥ*  
*kaṇṭhah, hṛcchabdasya āvṛtyā hrtpṛṣṭhaśabdena nābhiḥ, kaṭyā ca janmādhārah* | (VM: 12.)

The “top limb” (*jyeṣṭhāṅga*) means “head;” by that the three points, consisting of the middle of the forehead, the brow, and the topknot are indicated. By the two “arms,” the throat, which is in the middle of them. ... the word “heart” (“*hṛd*”) ... by the “hips” the reproductive organs [are indicated].

*kāmapūrṇajakārakhyāśrīpīṭhāntarnivāsinīm |  
caturājñākośabhūtām naumi śrītripurām aham || VM 1.12 ||*<sup>255</sup>

I praise the venerable Tripurā, who resides within Kāma[rūpa], Pūrṇa[giri], named by the letter “ja” [Jālandhara], [and] the Śrīpīṭha (Oḍḍiyāna), one who is the treasure-house of the four teachings.

And it is these two meanings — the connection of the Goddess with the four principal seats (*pīṭhas*) and the four teachings — that are the subject of Jayaratha’s interpretation, which he reinforces with references to *Tantrāloka* 1.132 and a variant of *Kubjikāmata* 2.62 cd–63 ab.<sup>256</sup>

Jayaratha concludes his commentary on VM 1.12 with a scathing discussion of a previous commentator’s symbolic interpretation of the verse, referring to it as “poor explanations by others of each and every word, which are not based on the correct meaning of words, are forcibly imposed tortured constructions, and are ungrammatical.”<sup>257</sup> Jayaratha states that he cannot possibly address every wrong interpretation [implying a profusion of them] and that his disagreement, even when it is not explicitly stated, should be understood when his commentary provides a different interpretation.

*yac ca atra anyaiḥ pratipadām kaṣṭakalpanābalopanītam aśabdārtham vyākhyātām  
apabhāṣitām ca, tat sarvair alpaśrutair api svayam eva avagamyate iti upekṣitām iti  
paramatām apratiṣiddham anumatām eva iti na vidvadbhir āśaṅkanīyām yat tat pratipadām  
anūdya dūṣyamāṇām prakṛtānupayogitvāt granthavistaramātrādhānaphalam eveti asmābhīr*

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<sup>255</sup> VM: 15.

<sup>256</sup> *jñānabhrāṁśāvasāne tu saṃjñābhedād varānane |  
karāle tava santāno bhaviṣyati tavājñayā ||* (VM: 15.)  
But when there is a decline or pause in the [transmission] of knowledge due to a rupture of consciousness, O One with a Beautiful Face, O Dreadful One, there will be a continuation by your teaching.

<sup>257</sup> VM: 15–16.

*asthāne na abhiniviṣṭam, kiṁtu tad viruddhābhidhānenāiva tat dūṣitam bhavatīti mantavyam  
iti alam atiprasaṅgena, prastutam eva abhidadhmaḥ ||<sup>258</sup>*

*prastutam evābhidadhmaḥ* em. Sanderson : *prastutamava abhidadhmaḥ* Ed.

And those [are] poor explanations by others of each and every word, which are not based on the correct meaning of words, are forcibly imposed tortured constructions, and are ungrammatical. It is understood for themselves by all people, even of minuscule learning; thus this is ignored by me. It should not be thought by smart people that the opinion of another, even though it is not [explicitly] denied [here] is in fact approved. [Repeating] what other people have said about each word and then refuting it would result in merely prolonging the length of the text because it is not relevant to the matter at hand. But rather it is to be taught that this [incorrect interpretation of previous commentators] is to be considered false by stating what is contrary to it.

Several of Jayaratha's remarks on VM 1.28cd–59, describing the construction of the Śrīcakra (29–41) and the boons bestowed by its worship (42–59ab), give us plenty of opportunities to examine Jayaratha's preoccupation with correcting mistakes in the previous commentaries. It is here that Jayaratha's criticism of previous commentaries shifts from the critique of Śrīcakra symbolism being read into the early verses of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* where none existed to the censure of a divergent understanding of technical issues. Thus, in his commentary on VM 1.29cd–1.30ab, which is part of a set of verses giving instructions for laying out the central part of the Śrīcakra, Jayaratha mocks a passage by a previous commentator, who gives instructions for drawing only a downward-facing triangle where both downward- and upward-facing triangles are mentioned in the verse.

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<sup>258</sup> VM: 15–16.

*anyaiḥ punah śaktivahnyor bhedapratipipadayiṣayā yat*  
*tribhiś chittvā tu paridhim sakale caturaśrake |*  
*tryaśram kṣetram prakurvīta sūtraiḥ prāgādisaṁsthitaiḥ ||*  
*tryaśravat paścimāś āgrakoṇam kṣetram bhagākṛti |*  
*iti saṁvāditam, tadatra tathā na saṁgacchate yatas tu*  
*tryaśrasiddhimātrapratipadanaparativam eva sākṣat lakṣyate | tad api haṭhavihēthanikayā*  
*yadi aśabdārtham api ūrdhvādhomukham tryaśradvayaṁ vyākhyāyate, tad api tatra*  
*siṣādhayiṣitam vahniśaktivyapadeśyatvam na siddhyet |<sup>259</sup>*

Now others, wishing to explain the difference between the downward- and upward-facing triangles [said]:

Having divided the boundary of the square into three [parts], having made a triangle with threads in the east, etc. [i.e., starting with the upper portion of the triangle]. The space has the form of a downward-facing triangle (*bhāga*) three-spoked, with the tip pointing westward [i.e., downward].

But this statement does not harmonize here [with this verse], since it is clearly intended to explain only the method for [drawing] a triangle. Moreover, if someone is forcing it to interpret two triangles (upward- and downward-facing), even though it is contrary to the meaning of the words, then he does not succeed in his wish that these should be designated as “fires” and “powers,” respectively.

And in his lengthy commentary on VM 1.40 cd–41, which describes the drawing of the Śrīcakra and its *subcakras*, Jayaratha mentions the *vārtikakāra* again, disagreeing with him in no uncertain terms. In the first section of the commentary on these verses, Jayaratha describes the *subcakras* listed in the *mūla* text, gives their names and their association with creation,

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<sup>259</sup> VM: 19.

maintenance, and destruction. Jayaratha then proceeds to denigrate a previous commentator who must have had a different opinion on how the *subcakras* related to the three divine functions.

*yat punar atra anye pāthādau vipratipadyante, tat yattatprāyam iti upekṣyam eva yataḥ pāthabhedas tāvad atra sthitah sa ca adhyetṛbhramopakalpita eva, na maulah; tatparigrahāparigrahau ca sādhutvāsādhutvanibandhanau, prakriyāgauravaparihārena prakṛtarthanirvāhanaipuṇyam ca nāma sādhutvam anyat tu anyathā |<sup>260</sup>*

The fact that others disagree about the reading of the text and other such matters here is mostly trivial and should be overlooked; since the difference of reading here is postulated through the reader's error, and does not come from the source [i.e., as handed down through the tradition]. Whether [the reading] should be accepted or not [is determined by] whether the composition is excellent or not. Skill in rendering appropriate meanings while avoiding cumbersome argumentation is excellence; that which is otherwise is not.

Jayaratha supports his criticism of this earlier commentator (*vārtikakāra*) with a passage from an unknown source, on which his previous statement had been based,<sup>261</sup> prior to launching into this new burst of derision:

*iti ca | tacca iha astīti kiṁ pralapyate bhavadbhīr auttarādharya-svapāṭha-lābhādīti, pratyuta bhavatām eva ayam doṣo yad asmābhīr yāvatā granthena cakraniśpattis tadvyāptiś cety ubhayaṁ vyākhyātaṇ, tāvataiva gurvyā prakriyayā bhavadbhiś cakraniśpattimātram iti*

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<sup>260</sup> VM: 27.

<sup>261</sup> *yad āhuḥ*  
*pāṭhabhedo 'tra sādhur vā tad anyo vā na mūlataḥ |*  
*kintv adhyetṛbhramāt tena tatpradarśanam ajñataḥ ||*  
*iti,*  
*athaikāḥ pustakābhyaśe pāṭho grāhyo vicārya cet |*  
*sādhur eva tu sa grāhyah sādhūnām avigānataḥ ||* (VM: 27.)

As they say,  
Here the difference in the reading is good, otherwise, it is not, because it does not come from the source, but derives from the reader's error. Therefore, teaching this is ignorance. Therefore, only one reading in the recitation of the text is worthy of acceptance and worth commenting on; the good one is precisely one which is unanimously understood by the good people.

| santi ca atra granthagauravam parihaarantah pare sāksīna iti alam taccintayā api yad idam  
eva atra pratisamādhānam iti |<sup>262</sup>

And here also. Why do you, Sirs, prattle on about the acceptance of your own confusing readings? On the contrary, the defect, committed by you, Sirs, is that the text describes both the drawing of the *cakra* and that which pervades it, but according to you — only the drawing of the *cakra*, and with such cumbersome argumentation. And since others who here avoid cumbersome interpretation are our witnesses [for this], enough with considering this; this alone is a sufficient answer [to your objections].

Following the section in the *mūla* dedicated to the glory of the Śrīcakra and the various *siddhis* and benefits granted through its worship (1.29–57 ab), the redactors of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* discuss the physical construction of the Śrīcakra. Verses VM 1.57 cd–58<sup>263</sup> are dedicated to drawing the outer sections of the *yantra*: two circles, consisting of eight and sixteen petals, and the enclosure with the four doors, surrounding the inner portion. In his commentary on these verses, after clarifying the terminology used in the *mūla* text, Jayaratha quotes a large section from the *Rasamahodadhi*. This selection, which includes seventeen verses in the *anuṣṭubh* meter, paints a detailed description of the drawing of the Śrīcakra with the help of threads used to map out the outline, prior to constructing the *yantra*. After a brief explanation, Jayaratha quotes a verse from what seems to be another source, which refers to the drawing of the three major sections of the Śrīcakra mentioned in the *Rasamahodadhi*: the outer enclosure, the two circles of petals, and the inner section in which the triangles are drawn, called the pericarp. In his explanation here, Jayaratha clarifies how the three main sections are to be drawn

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<sup>262</sup> VM: 28.

<sup>263</sup> VM: 32.

and adds that it is necessary to make a division into twenty-four before drawing the perimeter, in order for the explanation of the use of threads in the *Rasamahodadhi* to make sense. Then comes the drawing of the lines within the pericarp itself, which form the main section of the Śrīcakra, consisting of the upwards- and downwards-facing triangles. Here Jayaratha unleashes a volley of scathing mockery on another commentator, Caryānandanātha, the “foremost of the gurus” (*gurupuṅgavasya*), whose “ignorance in drawing the lines” (*rekhākarmānabhijñatva-*), illuminated by “the power of whose insight was [made] pure by the instruction of Caryānandanātha” (*caryānandanāthopadeśaviṣadapratibhāvibhavaiḥ*) is “exceedingly laughable” (*atīva hāsyāvahatām*).<sup>264</sup>

Jayaratha completes his explanation of the method laid out in the *Rasamahodadhi* by supplying additional instructions that were not included there. Here he takes another opportunity to criticize an opponent. According to Jayaratha, his predecessor’s method of laying out the Śrīcakra is “not based on the text” (*asabdārtham*) and “is not successful for drawing the *cakra*” (*cakranispattau tāvat na sādhakam*), “but rather hinders by ruining everything, results in confusion of the *cakras* and intersections [literally, vital points], and is to be overlooked” (*pratyuta cakrānām sāṅkaryotpadanādinā marmāṇām ca sarvatovighaṭanena bādhakam iti upekṣyam*).<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> evāpi ca brahmasthāne bindum vinyasya tadanusāraṇi karṇikāpadmadvayārtham bhramatrayavidhānam, tadanu caturaśravidhīḥ parataḥ karṇikāyām sūtrais tricatvāriṇśattrikoṇaviracanam ityādivyakhyānam rekhākarmānabhijñatvapratipādanaphalam atīva hāsyāvahatām gurupuṅgavasya prakāśyatīty alam caryānandanāthopadeśaviṣadapratibhāvibhavaiḥ saha saṃbhāsitena, cakranispattyupayogitāmātrapratipādanaparam tu niyatātropādānam | (VM: 34–35.)

<sup>265</sup> VM: 35–36.

And at the conclusion of the section in the first chapter, which provides the main mantra for this scripture (*mūlavidyā*) in its coded form (1.93cd–102ab), in his commentary on 1.101 cd–1.102 ab (p. 53), Jayaratha sharply criticizes another opponent by the name of Allaṭa. Here Jayaratha quotes several verses from Allaṭa, discussing an alternative extraction of the mantra and Allaṭa’s view on how the mantra fits into the scheme of the transmission. Allaṭa acknowledges that this extraction is different from those that are accepted within the tradition, but asserts its importance.

*iti caturanvayasantatibhedenāyaṁ samastavidyānām |  
iha nigadita uddhāras tacchāsanam gurumukhaprāpyam ||*<sup>266</sup>

Here the extraction of all the *vidyās* is different from those taught in the four lineages and the instruction should be obtained directly from the guru.

Jayaratha vehemently rejects this alternative extraction of the mantra, claiming that it was made up by Allaṭa himself.<sup>267</sup> Moreover, Jayaratha does not stop at merely rejecting Allaṭa’s teaching. He passionately denounces the source of Allaṭa’s knowledge and authority and his motives, accusing him of being interested only in the sale of mantras and acquisition of worldly goods.

*yato ’dyo yataḥ kutaścana asthānād anayena antataś cauryādinā api  
āśāditakhaṇḍitapatrikāmātrāḥ sarva eva yathāsthitam gurvādi parivartya,  
tatra ājñām api svapitrādi ca gurutayā parikalpya śāstrārthānuṣṭhānaparāṇmukhā  
mantravikrayamātratātparyā dhanasamgrahaṇaparāyanāḥ sakalam lokam viplāvayanto  
drśyante |*<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> VM: 54.

<sup>267</sup> *iti vidyāntaraparikalpanam ca śrīmatsvagurvanabhimatam api svotprekṣitam kṛtvā* (VM: 55).

<sup>268</sup> VM: 55.

And now, having merely bits of ritual manuals, [obtained] who knows from whom, unsuitably, imprudently (or unsystematically), and, in the lowest way, even by trickery, having turned away from guru, etc., and the proper way of doing things, having fashioned together authority in this matter with the father as the guru, avoiding ritual practices according to the precepts of the *śāstras*, set on merely the sale of mantras, and intent on gathering riches, they are seen flooding the whole world [with them].

This portrait of Allaṭa is a kind of caricature of a *tāntrika*, ignorant, corrupt, and greedy, which became a stereotype, probably because it reflected a common reality. And as much as Jayaratha mocked vague analogies with Śrīcakra being inserted into the root text, he was disturbed by far the most by incorrect interpretations that had implications for improper ritual practice. Erudite and elitist, Jayaratha had no patience to spare for those who obscured the proper extraction of mantras and the drawing of the Śrīcakra.

Analysis of citations from previous commentators makes it clear that the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* had been an established authoritative text in Kashmir for some time before Jayaratha, given the extent of the commentarial debate it had produced by his time. A proliferation of various interpretations suggests a popular tradition that was still defining itself, with a number of competing lineages vying for control and influence. Jayaratha's passionate engagement with ritual details in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and his withering sarcasm aimed at other commentators suggests that he was an initiate of the cult of Tripurasundarī with a deeply personal involvement in this ritual tradition. And his denigration of other lineages and their incorrect (according to Jayaratha) transmission of ritual specifics demonstrates the existence of a significant competitive network of gurus and lineages within the cult of Tripurasundarī in Kashmir. This well-populated

world of Kashmirian exegesis of the cult of Tripurasundarī was quite unlike the south Indian tradition, captured in the commentaries by Śivānanda and Vidyānanda, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 6

### READING IN THE “FRINGES” AND READING “AGAINST THE GRAIN”

In this chapter, I continue to read in the “fringes” of the early commentaries of the cult of Tripurasundarī, investigating places in the texts that often get overlooked, but which can provide the reader with valuable insights. I begin by analyzing Kashmirian Jayaratha’s closing verses on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and *Tantrāloka* (see Appendix E), which conclude my exploration of the Kashmirian exegesis in this dissertation. From Jayaratha, I proceed to south Indian commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, opening up a new avenue of research I plan to pursue in my next project. Here I examine titles, opening verses (see Appendix E), and other places in the texts which are easy to miss but contain valuable information about these authors’ intentions and how they saw their project. Aiming to see beyond the formulaic format, I investigate what insights — informative or expressive — they reveal about their authors and the authors’ lineages, their views on their work and their overarching goals. In this chapter, I also continue to “read against the grain,” taking a close look at several passages in Śivānanda and Vidyānanda’s commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. Here I concentrate on the first *paṭala* on *pūjā* and compare south Indian commentaries to Jayaratha’s when relevant. In addition, I examine what different readings of the *mūla* in the commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* might reveal about their authors, using close textual reading to examine authorial intentions of the early commentators on the cult of Tripurasundarī. What changes appear intentional on the part of the commentator or the scribe and what did these changes achieve? How do the commentators deal with scribal errors? Was the grammar in the *mūla* polished to make it more Pāṇinian? Did a bland word substitute for a phrase that was hard to understand or that a commentator may have wanted to downplay?

The closing verses of the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarana* are brief, just like his opening verses to this commentary, which I discussed in the beginning of the previous chapter. And just like the opening verses, these too reflect a theme vital for Jayaratha in that text. Three out of four of them chastise previous commentators.

*uccityoccityam niyataṁ kutaś cana kutaś cana |  
yathāgurumukhaṁ kaiścid etad vyākṛtam alpakam || VM Closing 1 ||*

*sarvataḥkaṣṭaduhśliṣṭamliṣṭaśabdārthavartmanā |  
kena tāvan nimittaṇa kair apy etad vivecitam || VM Closing 2 ||*

*pitṛpitāmahakalpitakalpanārasamahodadhimātrakadāśayā |  
vivṛtam apy aparair na yathārthatāṁ śrutabahiṣkr̥tabuddhitayā gatam || VM Closing 3 ||<sup>269</sup>*

Some [commentators] here and there kept collecting insignificant interpretations from here and there, limited to what has been said by their gurus. By whom and for what purpose has this [text] been investigated, with confused word meanings and completely tortured interpretations, poorly expressed? Resting on the *Rasamahodadhi* alone to dream up the interpretations by [their] fathers and grandfathers, these explanations cannot be correct since they go against the scriptures.

Correcting what he considered to be misinterpretations by previous commentators was in fact such an important theme for Jayaratha that he returned to it again and again throughout the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarāṇa*, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter. Jayaratha was annoyed by vague symbolism, numerology, and reading in allusions to the Śrīcakra into verses that described the Goddess. But what infuriated him the most were mistakes in the interpretation of ritual (drawing of the *yantras*, extracting the mantras, etc.), his concern originating from a deeply personal engagement with this ritual tradition.

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<sup>269</sup> VM: 140.

The final verse at the closing of *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarana* attributes the insights expressed in the commentary to Jayaratha's guru and with exaggeration common in such cases begs the future wise readers for lenience.

śrīmadguruvarād evam avadhārya yathārthah |  
mayā jayarathenaivam kiṃcid etat prapañcitam ||  
  
tat kṣaṇasyāvadhātavyam atra sadbhīr avajñayā |  
avicāryaiva vaktavyo na doṣo na gunāḥ punah || VM Closing 4 ||<sup>270</sup>

Having been ascertained from the very best of gurus, true to the meaning, by me, Jayaratha, some of this [text] has been explained at length. Therefore the wise should pay attention to it for a moment, not treat it with contempt, nor speak about its defects and accomplishments without deliberation.

But it is the two sets of Jayaratha's closing verses on the *Tantrāloka* that provide the most valuable insights into the author's inner world. The first set of closing verses to the last (thirty-seventh) chapter of the *Tantrāloka* discusses Jayaratha's conception of his ideal audience.

yad acakathad amuśmin śrīmadācāryavaryo  
bahuparikaravṛndam sarvaśāstroddhṛtam sat |  
  
tadatulapariyatnenaiksya saṃcintya sadbhīr  
hṛdayakamalakośe dhāryam āryaiḥ śivāya || TĀV 37.1 ||  
  
yo 'dhītī nikhilāgameṣu padavid yo yogaśāstraśramī  
yo vākyārthaśamanvaye kṛtaratiḥ śrīpratyabhijñāmṛte |  
  
yas tarkāntaraviśrutaśrutatayā dvaitādvayajñānavit  
so 'smīn syād adhikāravān kalakalaprāyam pareśām vacah || TĀV 37.2 ||<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> VM: 140–141.

<sup>271</sup> TĀV, v. 12: 428.

What the best of *ācaryas* [Abhinavagupta] has said here, extracted from all the exegetical works [and] a multitude of auxiliary works [e.g., in grammar, poetics, etc.], having been examined and contemplated by the good [and] noble people with unequalled effort, should be carried in the center of the lotus of the heart. That scholar, learned in all the *āgamas*, making great efforts in *yoga-śāstra*, who knows grammar, who delights in construing the meanings of sentences in the nectar of *Pratyabhijñā*, who has the knowledge of duality and non-duality through being learned in the texts of all other philosophical systems, he possess eligibility [to study] this [text]. What the others say is just babbling.

Jayaratha's own encyclopedic knowledge, his ease of citing from a tremendous variety of sources, and the gracefulness and precision of his commentarial style suggest that this description was no mere exaggeration. While Jayaratha was certainly a brilliant polymath, an author equally proficient in vast libraries of sources when commenting on a *tantra* of the cult of Tripurasundarī (*Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarana*), an exegetical text of tremendous complexity and extraordinary stature in Śaiva non-dualism (*Tantrālokaviveka*), and even a text on poetic theory (his *Vimarśinī* on Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva*), in each case he addressed an audience with erudition and background knowledge comparable to his own.

Jayaratha closed his commentary on the *Tantrāloka* with a second set of verses, forty-seven in number. They are written in the *praśasti* (panegyrical) style, polished, showy, and clever, but not on the same level as the best *kāvya*. Nevertheless, they are remarkable for their expression of an intellectual, philosophical, and yet very personal world-view. The passage provides a fabulous trove of facts, a boon for an historian of religion: details of Jayaratha's patrilineal lineage, courtly contributions of his ancestors and their achievements in scholarship and asceticism, and family

and local legends which tally with Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. Alexis Sanderson has summarized the information about Jayaratha's lineage described in this set of verses as evidence of the date of Jayaratha,<sup>272</sup> so I will not discuss it here. But in addition to the wealth of factual information, what is extraordinary in the closing verses of *Tantrālokaviveka* is their lyricism, otherwise uncharacteristic for Jayaratha. Extraordinary erudite, a skillful śāstri, dry, sarcastic, and pedantic in turn in his commentary on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, here Jayaratha is almost sentimental, letting his poetic disposition run over with uncommonly earnest love for Kashmir and its intellectual world, a rhapsody for the scholarly world that has not quite passed, but even then seemed fragile.

Beginning with the first verse, the passage reads:

*yah kartum viśvam etat prabhavati nikhilam sarvavittvāt pranetā  
sarveṣāṁ āgamānām akhilabhabhavabhayocchedadāyī dayāluh |  
  
tasyendrādyarcitāñghrer gurur acalasutāvallabhasyāpi loke  
sarvatrāmutra tāvattuhinagirir iti khyātimān parvatendrah || TĀV 37 II:1 ||<sup>273</sup>*

He who has the power to create this whole world in its entirety, the creator, due to his omniscience, of all the *āgamas*, the compassionate one who destroys the fear of rebirth, whose feet are worshipped by the gods headed by Indra, the guru even of him who is the beloved of the daughter of the mountain, is renowned as the snowy mountain (Himalaya) everywhere in this world and as far as even the world beyond.

The verse is skillfully constructed to appear at first glance to be a eulogy of Śiva. However, toward the end of *pāda c*, the focus suddenly shifts to the Himalaya, a natural feature of Kashmir, personified and praised as superior even to Śiva. And the closing verses of

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<sup>272</sup> Sanderson 2007: 621, footnote 416, 632–35, footnotes 418, 419.

<sup>273</sup> TĀV, v. 12: 428–429.

*Tantrālokaviveka* are Jayaratha's elegy to Kashmir, giving one a measure of this land's past glory and of a tremendous pride on the part of the author. Jayaratha lauds the “realm of Śrī Śāradā” (*śrīśāradāmaṇḍalam*, TĀV 37 II:1), an ancient seat of knowledge, known as Kashmir (*vidyāpiṭhe kāśmīranāmni*, TĀV 37 II:2), praising its scholars, whose rivals are unable even to contradict them (TĀV 37 II:2).<sup>274</sup> He describes the Himālayan mountains and the land between the rivers Madhumatī and Candrabhāgā (i.e., Kashmir) as “respected for every knowledge,” (*akhilavacasāṁ mānabhāvāṁ viditvā*), and supported by the entirety of the philosophical systems (*nikhilaiḥ saṁśritam darśanair at*).<sup>275</sup> Jayaratha identifies Kashmir specifically, describing it as the abode of knowledge (*vidyāpiṭhe kāśmīranāmni*), where all language is celebrated widely (*prathīyahprathitanikhilavāg*) and a seat of Śāradā *pīṭhadevī*, who [consists] primarily of awareness (*bodhapradhānā*) and who impels (*parikalitavatī*) the real nature of the essence of reflective awareness (*yadvimarśātmatattvāṁ*), which is the very soul even of consciousness (*bodhasya apy ātmabhūtām*).<sup>276</sup>

Thus Jayaratha accomplishes different aims in his closing verses of the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivaraṇa* and *Tantrālokaviveka*. In the first, he highlights one of most important agendas in this text — to correct mistakes in ritual and mantra *sāstra* for the cult of the Goddess Tripurasundarī. The closing verses of *Tantrālokaviveka*, by contrast, are Jayaratha's

<sup>274</sup> *yadvādināṁ uttaradiinniveśād iva śrayanti prativādivācaḥ | anuttaratvāṁ tadanuttararddhi śrīśāradāmaṇḍalam asti yatra ||* TĀV 37 II:2 || (vol. 12: 429.)

<sup>275</sup> *jāmātrevāmr̥takarakalākṣptacūlāvacūlenādiṣṭam drāg akhilavacasāṁ mānabhāvāṁ viditvā | dadhre śailaiḥ śritamadhumatīcandrabhāgāntarālaṁ saddeśatvāccirasi nikhilaiḥ saṁśritam darśanair yat ||* TĀV 37 II:3 || (Volume 12: 429.)

<sup>276</sup> *bodhasyāpy ātmabhūtām parikalitavatī yadvimarśātmatattvām | mukhyatvena stutātah prabhavati vijayeśena pīṭheśvareṇa | yuktā bodhapradhānā sthitanijamahasā śāradā pīṭhadevī | vidhyāpiṭhe prathīyahprathitanikhilavāg yatra kāśmīranāmni ||* TĀV 37 II:4 || (vol. 12: 429.)

elegy to Kashmir, pouring out his love of that land and its scholarship, and his perception of himself as a lone polymath on the precipice of history. This perception, sentimental as it might seem, was sadly correct. Jayaratha was, in fact, the last great Kashmirian intellectual until the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

While Jayaratha's work marked an end of an era, his south Indian counterparts who commented on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* were at the beginning of a new one. In this new era, the worship of Tripurasundarī was brought to the south of the subcontinent. A number of changes resulted as this tradition was adapted to its new milieu. In comparison with Jayaratha's active engagement with other commentators, the earliest south Indian discussion of the cult of Tripurasundarī demonstrated a lack of exegetical debate. Neither Śivānanda nor Vidyānanda cite previous commentaries on the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. But by Amṛtānanda's time, south Indian tradition acquired some of the richness and density, which it seemed to have lost in its initial dissemination.

Both Śivānanda and Vidyānanda wrote long *maṅgala* verse passages to introduce themselves, their commentaries, the text of *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, and their preceptorial lineages.<sup>277</sup> It is worth pointing out that Śivānanda called his commentary *Rjuvimarśinī*. *Vimarśinī* as the second part of the compound is common for names of commentaries. Some that come immediately to mind in this context are texts important for the Kashmirian Śaivism, i.e., Abhinavagupta's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivrtivimarśinī*,<sup>278</sup> and Kṣemarāja's *Śivasūtravimarśinī*. *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī* was known to Śivānanda and cited by him in this commentary. I think the choice is significant, not only because of the earlier precedents in

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<sup>277</sup> See Appendix F for Śivānanda's and Appendix G for Vidyānanda's opening and closing verses.

Kashmirian exegesis, but also since *vimarśinī*, derived from *vimarśa* (reflective awareness), is an important term for Pratyabhijñā. By the time of Śivānanda, Pratyabhijñā had become an indispensable part of Śaiva exegesis in south India. His familiarity with Kashmirian Śaivism is conspicuous in the very first *maṅgala* verses,<sup>278</sup> which abound in Pratyabhijñā vocabulary and concepts, e.g., *bhāṣana* (manifestation), *samvitti* and *cit* (consciousness), *śivādikṣitiparyantah* *saṭtrimśattattvāni* (thirty six *tattvas* beginning with Śiva and ending with Earth).<sup>279</sup>

*sthitaṁ yatraidam akhilam yanmayam cāsyā bhāsanam |  
yataḥ samudayaś cāsyā tatsamvittipadam numah || RV 1 ||*

*śivādikṣitiparyantah saṭtrimśattattvasaṁcayah |  
yasyormibudbudābhāsas tam seve cinmahodadhim || RV 2 ||<sup>280</sup>*

That in which all this world, which consists of it abides, and whose manifestation consists of it, from which it arises, that abode which is consciousness, we worship. I serve that great ocean of consciousness, in whose waves, the accumulation of the thirty-six *tattvas*, from Śiva to Earth are merely bubbles.

Let us also note the word *rju* in the title, which I find significant. *Rju* means “straight, proper, upright,” which is most appropriate for the title of Śivānanda’s commentary. There is a self-conscious “uprightness” about Śivānanda’s writing style. While Jayaratha elevated the cult of Tripurasundarī to a place within the broader Śaiva tradition, Śivānanda downplayed its Kaulism and “straightened” it. In his commentary, Śivānanda generously used citations from the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, and even from the *Bhagavadgītā* to support his

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<sup>278</sup> See Appendix F for full text and translation.

<sup>279</sup> *sthitaṁ yatraidam akhilam yanmayam cāsyā bhāsanam |  
yataḥ samudayaś cāsyā tatsamvittipadam numah || RV 1 ||  
śivādikṣitiparyantah saṭtrimśattattvasaṁcayah |  
yasyormibudbudābhāsas tam seve cinmahodadhim || RV 2 || NSĀ: 1.*

<sup>280</sup> NSĀ: 1.

reinterpretation of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* as acceptable for an adept from a Vaidika background.

Although Śivānanda cited some *tantras*, as I will discuss briefly in this chapter, Vedic citations were much more numerous in his commentary.

In his introductory verses, Śivānanda brings up a few other topics worth mentioning. Unlike Jayaratha and Vidyānanda, who refer to their root text as the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, Śivananda calls it the *Nityāśodaśikārnava* (*The Ocean of the Sixteen Nityās*) and states that it as an essential part of a larger text called the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*.<sup>281</sup> It is not clear what exactly that larger text meant for Śivānanda. It is possible that what he called the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* included the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, but I have not yet found convincing evidence to support that hypothesis. However, I am still in the early stages of work on south Indian commentaries and more evidence may come to light in the future. Śivānanda also mentions the length of the text, i.e., four hundred verses (*sūtraiś catusśatair yuktaḥ*, RV 7). This length is also mentioned in Vidyānanda's colophons at the end of each chapter, which give the alternative name of the *tantra* (*catusśatī*). This is almost exactly the length of the text in the south Indian edition and slightly longer than Jayaratha's *mūla*. In the *māngala* verses, Śivānanda also correlates the five chapters of this *tantra*, which he refers to as *Nityāśodaśikārnava* in colophons, to five types of ritual action discussed herein: *pūjā*, *prayoga*, *mudrā*, *vidyā*, and *japa*.<sup>282</sup>

A few epithets in introductory verses 13 and 14 provide a good indication of what goals Śivānanda set for his commentary. It was to be correct and proper (*samyag*) with language deep

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<sup>281</sup> śrīvāmakeśvaraṁ nāma śāstraṇ tantra prakāśitam |  
śivena samvidam devīm lakṣyīkṛtya nijātmikām || RV 6 ||  
madhye śāstrasya tasyāsti nityāśodaśikārnavah |  
*sūtraiś catusśatair yuktaḥ kaścid bhāgo rasāvahah* || RV 7 || NSĀ: 2.

<sup>282</sup> sa ca pañcapatalyātmā karmapañcakabhbhāsakah |  
*pūjā prayogo mudrā ca vidyāvyāptir japastutih* || RV 8 || (NSĀ: 3.)

with scriptural quotations (*gambhīrāgamabhāṣayā*). For Śivānanda, *āgama* (scripture) meant Vedic texts or what is called *śruti*, not Śaiva *āgamas*. This is clear from his consistent references in his commentary to Vedic sources as *śruti*. It is also possible that verses 13 and 14 provided a subtle criticism of the Kashmirian tradition.

*tataḥ śivānandamuniḥ śisyair abhyarthito bhṛśam |  
samyaṅ vṛttividhānāya gambhīrāgamabhāṣayā || RV 13 ||*

*lopāmudrākramāyātasampradāyād ayaṁ punah |  
akarod āgamasyāsyā vyākhyām ṛjuvimarśinīm || RV 14 ||<sup>283</sup>*

Then Śivānanda muni, whose students fervently begged him for a commentary with language deep in scriptural quotations to properly explain performing procedures. This commentary from the tradition that follows the Lopāmudrā sequence [called] *Rjuvimarśinī* is a sweet and exalted composition, stringing together one thousand three and five hundred more plus five *granthas*.<sup>284</sup>

An important factual statement in RV 13 is that Śivānanda's lineage belonged to Lopāmudrā Sampradāya (*lopāmudrākramāyātasampradāyād*).<sup>285</sup> This branch of the cult of Tripurasundarī distinguished itself by its use of the so-called *hādividyā*, i.e., it extracted the fifteen-syllabled *mūlavidyā* starting with 'ha.' As I mentioned earlier, the *mūla* of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* extracted its *mūlavidyā* starting with 'ka,'<sup>286</sup> although it was slightly different from what came to be known as *kādividyā* later on. *Yoginīhṛdaya* uses *hādividyā*, but does not call it that, although

<sup>283</sup> NSĀ: 4.

<sup>284</sup> *Grantha* is a unit of 32 syllables, a south Indian term, which was usually used by scribes for payment.

<sup>285</sup> *lopāmudrākramāyātasampradāyād ayaṁ punah |  
akarod āgamasyāsyā vyākhyām ṛjuvimarśinīm || RV 14 || (Ibid.)*

<sup>286</sup> VM 1.93–101, see also *Table 1*.

Amṛtānanda in his commentary on YH 2.33 did designate it by that name. Neither *Yoginīhṛdaya* nor Amṛtānanda described the extraction of the *vidyā*.

Śivānanda concluded his introduction with a curious verse that played on the name of this doctrine as Saubhagya *sampradāya*, i.e., auspicious, benign, and pleasant teaching, bestowing all auspicious things.

*saubhāgyaviṣayā vāṇī saumatyodayadāyinī |  
saugatyāptir mahāpadyā sausthityam labhatām asau || RV 16 ||<sup>287</sup>*

May this great composition on the topic of auspiciousness, which grants wisdom and fitness for the auspicious path (i.e., *mokṣa*), be well-regarded.

The syllable *sau*, with which each of the four *pādas* of the verse starts, is a play on *saubhagya*. It also encodes the *bīja* mantra *sauḥ*, the third and final syllable of the condensed form of *mūlavidyā*. This association of the cult of Tripurasundarī with auspiciousness is an important theme for Śivānanda. His three short works in verse, *Subhagodaya*, *Subhagodayavāsanā*, and *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra*<sup>288</sup> all contain a variant of this root in their title. A later Śrīvidyā *stotra* called *Triśatī* takes this format to a new height and begins each of three hundred names of Lalitā, contained within it, with a syllable of *kādi pañcadaśākṣarī* (Śrīvidyā) mantra, using the same *bīja* to start each name of twenty, then the next *bīja* for the next set of twenty, and so on through all the fifteen syllables. This *stotra*, together with the *Lalitāsaṃskritā*, is from a *Lalitopākhyāna* of *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, a later insertion into this text. Both *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhṛdaya* refer to the Goddess and the Śrīcakra as

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<sup>287</sup> NSĀ: 1.

<sup>288</sup> See Khanna 1986.

auspicious,<sup>289</sup> but I believe it was Śivānanda’s liberal use of *saubhāgya*, etc. and the play on the mantra *sauh* that led to auspiciousness becoming so closely associated with this tradition in the following centuries.

Unlike Śivānanda, Vidyānanda appears to have been primarily interested in ritual. His work, which he called *tippaṇī* (a gloss or comment), appears to have been a less ambitious project than either Jayaratha or Śivānanda’s commentaries. Vidyānanda’s *mangala* verses also introduce his gurus, Vaneśāṇa, Priyānanda, and Ratneśa (AR 1–5),<sup>290</sup> who are mentioned again in his commentary on “*pāramparyēṇa*” (by means of a lineage) in 4.19 ab.<sup>291</sup> His lineage is the same as Śivānanda’s, which the latter gives in the commentary on the same verses. In fact, they share the same guru, Vāsudeva, disciple of Ratneśa, which makes the very different style of their commentaries even more curious. Śivānanda’s account of the guru lineage begins with divine and *siddha* gurus and ends with the human gurus (*divyakrama*, *siddhakrama*, and *mānavakrama* respectively), the latter including himself, “Śivānandamahāyogī, the author of the *Rjuvimarśinī*.<sup>292</sup> Alexis Sanderson used this passage to estimate the dates of Śivānanda and Vidyānanda.<sup>293</sup> Śivānanda’s account of the lineage is also confirmed by Amṛtānanda, the author of the commentary on the *Yoginīhṛdaya* (the *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā*).<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>289</sup> *mahāsaubhāgyadāyakam* VM 1.55, *sarvasaubhāgyasundarīm* VM 1.131, *sarvāsaubhāgyadāyakam* YH 1.83, *saubhāgyadāyake* YH 3.142.

<sup>290</sup> NṣA: 1–2.

<sup>291</sup> NṣA: 223.

<sup>292</sup> *Rjuvimarśinī* (NṣA: 218–224). For the last group of gurus, beginning with Dīpakācārya and ending with Śivānanda, see NṣA: 223–224.

<sup>293</sup> Sanderson 2007: 418–419 and 2014: 31–32. See chapter 1.

<sup>294</sup> Sanderson 2007: 416, footnote 620.

In addition to Vedāntization, another new south Indian development is the appearance of devotion in this tantric tradition and the expansion of the cult of Tripurasundarī into the *stotra* genre. *Bhakti* is mentioned in the last of Vidyānanda’s introductory verses, which reads:

*artharatnāvalīty esā khyāta 'stu bhuvanatraye |  
bhuvaneśvari te bhaktyā kriyate tippaṇam yataḥ || AR 11 ||*<sup>295</sup>

Let it be known as Arthatnāvali in the three worlds, since this commentary is made with devotion to you, O Bhuvaneśvari (Queen of the Worlds).

André Padoux called the *Yoginīhrdaya* “mainly metaphysical and devotional,” in contrast to *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, which he described as “a work of erotic magic and ritual.”<sup>296</sup> However, to my mind, neither the shift from external ritual to the predominance of internal yogic practices nor the greater interest in metaphysics make the *Yoginīhrdaya* a devotional text. Nor do I see enough evidence to confirm a shift in attitude. The word “devotion” is used in the text once in a compound “bowed in devotion” (*bhaktinamrah*) in YH 2.51. But that alone does not suggest a devotional attitude and the context is quite similar to the prelude to ritual described in VM 1.132 and 133.<sup>297</sup>

While the *Tripurasundarīdandaka*, a hymn to Tripurasundarī, is attributed to Dīpakācārya, I believe it was particularly in Śivānanda and Vidyānanda’s generation of south Indian exegetes

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<sup>295</sup> NSA: 4.

<sup>296</sup> Padoux 2013: 8.

<sup>297</sup> mahātripuramudrāṁ tu smṛtvāvāhanarūpayā |  
vidyayāvāhya subhage namaskāraniyuktayā || VM 1.132 ||  
pūrvoktayā sādhakendro mahātripurasundarīm |  
cakramadhye tu samcintya tataḥ pūjanam ārabhet || VM 1.133 || (VM: 70–71.)

The best of practitioners, having contemplated Mahātripurasundarī in the midst of the cakra, as previously described, having summoned her with the *vidyā*, which is an invocation, and having added *namaskāra* [gesture], O charming one, he then should begin the worship.

that the idea of *bhakti* seriously took root. It is Śivānanda who authored the first unambiguously attributed devotional hymn to Tripurasundarī, the *Saubhāgyahṛdayastotra*. Another key *stotra* for the early cult of Tripurasundarī is Puṇyānanda’s *Kāmakalāvilāsa*, which his disciple Amṛtānanda frequently quoted in the commentary on the *Yoginīhṛdaya*.

Let us now consider what Śivānanda and Vidyānanda’s citations can tell us about these authors. While Jayaratha began his commentary with citations from venerated Śaiva *tantras*, non-dual Śaiva exegesis and Pratyabhijñā, Śivānanda’s citations reflect a very different set of foundational texts he brings to this project. His first quotation is from *śruti*, firmly situating himself in the Smārta Śaiva mainstream.

īśānah sarvavidyānām (*Taitirīyāranyaka* 10.47.1)<sup>298</sup>

Īśāna of all knowledge...

In *pañcasrotas* (the five streams of transmission in the Śaiva Āgamas), Īśāna was one of five faces of Śiva: Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, and Īśāna. From the evocation of the auspiciousness of this tradition and its mantras, to the reference to all the knowledge, belonging to īśānah, Śivānanda moves on to expansively describe the Goddess as she is invoked in the first twelve *ślokas* of the mūla. The style of Śivānanda’s interpretation of the nature of the Goddess described in the *māngala* verses of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* is common for his expressive passages, which are quite different stylistically from those that gloss the text. In these, Śivānanda uses exceedingly long compounds as large brushstrokes to paint a sweeping outline. The Goddess here is speech, she is vowels and consonants, words, syllables, and everything that is to be expressed, she is Māṭrka, the “Mother-of-Speech” (the mother energy of phonemes by contrast to

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<sup>298</sup> NSA: 4.

the phonemes themselves).<sup>299</sup> She is also the very self of the supreme Śiva. She is Paraśakti, indivisible and uninterrupted. She is mother to hundreds of thousands of mantras, the real non-created self, and in Pratyābhijñā terms she is *parāmarśa* (reflective awareness) and bliss.<sup>300</sup> Interestingly, for Śivānanda, she is also the distillation of all Vedic, tantric, and worldly knowledge, the Itihāsas, the Purāṇas, and the philosophical systems.<sup>301</sup> From the Śaiva mainstream Śivānanda moves to the heart of Vaidika's understanding of anything that is worth knowing. And tantric knowledge inserted into this common Vaidika list of the branches of knowledge seems quite out of place.

Śivānanda's understanding of tantric knowledge as part of a larger system, which also includes *śruti* and *smṛti*, is quite different from Jayaratha's and even Vidyānanda's commentary. Jayaratha barely mentions any Vaidika literature, quoting only once from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. His primary interest is in Śaiva *tantras* and non-dual Śaiva exegesis, and, of course, in demolishing rival commentators. Vidyānanda's primary interest in this text is its ritual application. His citations are sparse and he most frequently quotes *Samkettapaddhati* by Jīṣṇudeva, a text that was also favored by Amṛtānanda in his commentary on the *Yoginīhrdaya*. Most of the other citations by Vidyānanda are from the *tantras*, including the *Uttaraśatka* (*Rudrayāmala*), *Śrīmatottara* of the cult of Kubjikā (*Kubjikāmata Uttaratantra*), and *Jñānārṇava* (a Śrīvidyā *tantra*, which postdates the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* and the *Yoginīhrdaya*). Vidyānanda's entire commentary on the first *paṭala* of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* has only two Vaidika citations, including

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<sup>299</sup> NSA: 4–5.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>301</sup> *laukikavaidikatantrikaitihāsapurāṇadarśanasārabhūtām* (NSA: 5).

one from the *Rgveda* 1.23.8<sup>302</sup> and another from *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.<sup>303</sup> As we will see, however, Śivānanda has three Vedic citations commenting on the first word alone.

Glossing the first word in the long compound of VM 1.1 ab in the first verse of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, Śivānanda interprets Gaṇeśas, as the Rudras, beginning with Śrīkanṭha, the foremost among the Vedic gods, who lead groups of other gods, such as the Maruts, the Adityas, etc.<sup>304</sup> As I explained in the previous chapter, Jayaratha followed an earlier commentator, Naravāhanadatta, and interpreted Gaṇeśas as presiding deities of planets, since the latter rule over classes (*gaṇas*) of phonemes. A lack of agreement between south Indian and Kashmirian commentators here or in many other places in their commentaries, demonstrates the fluidity within the tradition.

The meanings of a number of the verses in the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* have obviously become obscure by the time of Śivānanda and Vidyānanda. On numerous occasions in his commentary, Vidyānanda gave a whole string of possible explanations linked with *athavā* (or else), just as he did in comments on NSĀ 1.186, which I discussed in chapter 3. It seems quite likely that this commentator simply did not know how to interpret the text in those instances. But in commenting on the word “Gaṇeśas,” Vidyānanda’s interpretation was identical to Śivānanda’s:

“*gaṇeśāḥ*” śrīkanṭhādayo rūdrāḥ pañcaśatsaṃkyākāḥ |

Gaṇeśas are Rudras, beginning with Śrīkanṭha, fifty in number.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> NSĀ: 6.

<sup>303</sup> NSĀ: 139.

<sup>304</sup> NSĀ: 6.

<sup>305</sup> NSĀ: 5.

To support his Vedic interpretation, Śivānanda quotes from the *Taittirīya Āranyaka, Samhitā*, and *Brahmana*. In the same passage, he also cites *Prapañcasāra*, a text he quotes from often in this commentary. *Prapañcasāra* was one of the earliest digests on Mantraśāstra, a Śakti-oriented text, which mentioned Śrīvidyā.<sup>306</sup> In his 1981 summary of Śākta literature, Goudriaan described *Prapañcasāra* as “a convincing case of the acceptance of tantric methods and speculations in circles of learned Brahmins proficient in the classical style of Sanskrit.” It sounds like what the *Prapañcasāra* managed to accomplish was remarkably similar to Śivānanda’s aims for his commentary.

In addition to establishing himself as Vaidika, Śaiva, and Tantrika, Śivānanda goes on to highlight his connections with non-dual Pratyābhijñā. He glosses *mantramayīm* in the *mūla* as “uncreated self consisting of *parāmarśa* (reflective awareness)” and *mātrikā* as “the body of Paramaśiva, whose nature is Anāhata Baṭṭāraka, the Supreme Speech (*parāvāc*), the cause of manifestation of the thirty-six tattvas, and the supreme consciousness.”<sup>307</sup> Śivānanda’s citations in this section of commentary include the most famous texts of Śaiva non-dualism and Pratyābhijñā. One such citation is verse 2 of *Pratyābhijñāhṛdaya*, a text that popularized Pratyābhijñā and made its vocabulary a common lexicon for the non-dual tantric Śaivism. Śivānanda refers to its author, Kṣemarāja, as *abhiyukta*, his highest designation of established teachers, a term which he also uses for Śaṅkara and Kālidāsa later in the commentary. Here Śivānanda also quotes from *Parātrīṁśikā*, a Trika tantra that worshiped Parā, which

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<sup>306</sup> Goudriaan 1981: 131.

<sup>307</sup> *mantramayīm akr̥trim āham parāmarśamayīm | mātrikām parāvāgātmanā parābhāṭṭārikātmakaparamaśivasvarūpām ṣaṭtrīṁśattattvaprasaraṇahetubhūtām parām samvidam ity arthah |* (NSA: 9.)

Abhinavagupta had commented on, *Īśvarapratyābhijñākārika* by Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta's own *Tantrāloka*, and *Spanḍakārikā* by Vasgupta.

Finally, let us look at several variant readings in the two editions containing Kashmirian and south Indian commentaries as well as those verses that are only found in south Indian texts, to see what kind of insights they offer. Quite a few of the readings in the “south Indian”<sup>308</sup> edition by Dviveda contain corrections that aim to standardize grammar to Pāṇinian and to make the *mūla* easier to understand. I will give just two examples of these here. E.g., VM 1.6 ab reads *yadekādaśam ādhārabījakonatrayodbhavam*, while in the NṣA we find: *yadekādaśam ādhārabījam koṇatrayodbhavam*. In the latter version, the word *ekādaśam* (eleventh) is modifying the compound *ādhārabījam* (the seed, which is the *ādhāra*, i.e., *cakra*, lit. support), while in the first (and probably original) version, it modifies the entire compound *ādhārabījakonatrayodbhavam* (arising from the triangle, which is the seed and the *ādhāra*).<sup>309</sup> Another example is NṣA 1.165 correcting *sarvavidrāvanī* in VM 1.145, which is probably the original reading, with the more standard *sarvavidrāvinī*.<sup>310</sup> Here, it is only Śivānanda’s, but not Vidyānanda’s commentary that supports this reading. These kinds of substitutions in the south Indian edition are quite numerous and most of these readings are found either in both or in one or the other commentary. Most often in the latter case the standardized version is found in Śivānanda’s text.

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<sup>308</sup> I am calling this edition “south Indian” for convenience, because it contains two south Indian commentaries. This edition was actually published in Varanasi.

<sup>309</sup> NṣA: 18, VM: 11.

<sup>310</sup> NṣA: 128, VM: 66.

More telling is when a new reading substantively changes the meaning of the original verse. For example, NŚA 1.10 has *parām śivām* (supreme [and] auspicious) modifying *devīm*, instead of *paraulijām* in VM:10.<sup>311</sup> *Paraulijām* is an old tantric term meaning “transmission, flood of knowledge”<sup>312</sup> and this change of an obscure term to a clear but generic substitution robs the verse of its specificity and texture. In this case, both of the south Indian commentators read *parām śivām* and do not mention the other reading. Occasionally certain key words are inserted by the south Indian commentators into the *mūla* to reflect the new environment for the cult of Tripursundarī. In a move characteristic for Śivānanda’s Vedāntization project, *sarvadevamayam* (consisting of all the deities, in the description of the Śrīcakra) in the Kashmirian edition was replaced with *sarvavedamayam* (consisting of all the Vedas) in the south Indian edition and in the body of Śivānanda’s commentary.<sup>313</sup> Śivānanda also used this reading when commenting on verse 1.9. Vidyānanda has a slightly different *mūla* for verses 47–50 and reads *sarvardhipradam* (one that grants all growth).

Another example of a difference in the *mūla* is an addition to the south Indian edition of verses, which were not given in the Kashmirian text. This is a common occurrence. While the first *paṭala* in the south Indian edition contains 188 and 1/2 verses, the Kashmirian *mūla* has only 168. For example, the south Indian edition inserted two and a half verses on *siddhis* (supernatural powers) to the *mūla* in its description of the first outer *subcakra* (the doors and the intermediate directions of the enclosure) within the Śrīcakra. The insertion occurs just before VM 136–137, corresponding to NŚA 156–157 ab.

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<sup>311</sup> NŚA: 25, VM: 13.

<sup>312</sup> As Professor Sanderson explained to me.

<sup>313</sup> NŚA: 74 (verse 1.49), VM: 31 (verse 1.49 also).

*aṇimāṁ paścimadvāre laghimām api cottare* || NSĀ 1.153 ||

*mahimāṁ pūrvadvāre tu īśitvākhyāṁ tu dakṣinē |  
vaśitvākhyāṁ tu vāyavye prākāmyāṁ īśadesake* || NSĀ 1.154 ||

*bhuktisiddhim tathāgneye icchasisiddhim tu nairṛte |  
adhas tāt prāptisiddhim tu sarvakāmāṁ tadurdhvataḥ* || NSĀ 1.155 ||<sup>314</sup>

Aṇimā (minuteness) in the Western door, Laghimā (lightness) in the Northern one, Mahimā (greatness) in the Eastern door, īśitvā (superiority) in the Southern. One called Vaśitvā (dominion) in the Vāyu's [direction] (Northwest) and Prākāmyā (freedom of will) in īśāna's direction (Northeast). Bhukti (enjoyment) in the Fire's [direction] (Southeast) and likewise Icchā (Wish) in Nirṛti's (Southwest).

Verses VM 136–137, corresponding to NSĀ 156–157 ab, which follow the insertion of verses on *siddhis*, give locations of the eight mother goddesses (Brahmaṇī, Māheśvarī, Indrāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Mahālakṣmī) in the first external *subcakra*. There are slight variations in the names in the list given in south Indian edition.

In his commentary on VM 1.136–137, where the south Indian edition inserts additional verses, Jayaratha refers to the standard number of eight *siddhis* starting with *aṇimā* (minuteness) and ending with *kāmāvasāyitvā* (dominion over desires) in the commentary. The south Indian edition's *mūla* reads *sarvakāmā* (all desires) for *kāmāvasāyitvā* (dominion over desires) and adds *bhukti* (enjoyment) and *icchā* (wish, desire), bringing the total number of *siddhis* to ten. In the commentary, Jayaratha explained that the *siddhis* were to be worshipped with the *mudrās* of Tripurā and with the appropriate Cakreśvarī (ruler of each group of subordinate goddesses) in every cakra. This is one of several places of divergent readings, where it seems that the south

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<sup>314</sup> NSĀ: 125–126.

Indian commentators were familiar with Jayaratha's commentary, but the evidence is not definitive. My impression from reading these commentaries is that Śivānanda knew Jayaratha's work and took it as a source of additional material without acknowledging it, but I cannot prove this at the present time.

It is worth looking into Jayaratha commentary on VM 136–137 in more detail because it shows just how careful Jayaratha was with his *mūla*. It also gives a good example of elaboration presented as a recovery of the original meaning in his commentary. Jayaratha begins his comments by acknowledging the abrupt switch from the first to second case in the *mūla*, which is unusual for the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. This switch seems to be caused by a simple scribal error. Perhaps, the verses were borrowed from another text and not all the endings were corrected. But Jayaratha cannot allow that a divinely revealed *tantra* may have a grammatical inconsistency, so he acknowledges the issue, but gives it a rather unhelpful explanation:

*prathamāntā pūjyeti sambandhaniyā, dvitīyāntāṁ pūjayed iti* |<sup>315</sup>

Those referred to in the first case are “to be worshiped,” those in the second case [also].

The south Indian edition has a slightly different version of the *mūla* here, in which all the endings have been corrected to the second case. As this and many other examples show, south Indian commentators, particularly Śivānanda, were quite comfortable with rewriting the *mūla* when it served their needs, while Jayaratha made every effort to explain his original as he found it, even if it required some very awkward interpretations.

Another issue regarding presenting additional information that is not in the *mūla* arises when Jayaratha uses the *Yoginīhṛdaya* or a similar text to supplement the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*. In the

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<sup>315</sup> VM: 64.

commentary on the same verses, he quotes YH 3.117 cd – 118 ab, which gave the name of the first *subcakra* within the Śrīcakra (*trailokyamohana*) and stated that this was the location of the eight *siddhis*.<sup>316</sup> In this same section of the commentary,<sup>317</sup> Jayaratha also indicated with a quote (*tatrādibhede tripurā*) that this and other divisions were governed by a Cakreśvarī with a name beginning with Tripurā, i.e., Tripurā, Tripurīśvarī, Tripurasundarī, Tripuravāsinī, etc., see Appendix D. However, since knowledge was understood as eternal and unchanging Jayaratha could not be explicit in presenting this as additional information. Instead, Jayaratha provided the following interpretation, lest he (or the text he was citing) be accused of “newness.”

*ityādinā brāhmaṇyādaya eva tatkāritvād aṇimāditvena vyapadiṣṭā iti na kaścid virodhaḥ | āśāṁ cakreśvarītvena tatraiva*<sup>318</sup>

There is no inconsistency, because Brāhmī, etc. are designated as *aṇima*, etc. because they govern these [*siddhis*]. And they designated as Cakreśvarīs (goddesses presiding over each *subcakra*) only there [in the *Yoginīhṛdaya*].

As we can see from these characteristic examples, exegesis played a vital role in providing a mechanism for the cult of Tripurasundarī to adapt to its new environments. In Jayaratha’s case, it was updating the *Vāmakeśvarīmata* to doctrinal and philosophical positions of Kashmirian non-dualism. South Indian exegetes built on the existing foundation to adapt this ritual tradition to Smārta Brahmanism. The most prominent new features that became important for future Śrīvidyā, which we begin to see already in Śivānanda and Vidyānanda’s commentaries, are the

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<sup>316</sup> *tatra prakatayoginyāś cakre trailokyamohane | aṇimādyā mahādevi siddhayo'ṣṭau vyavasthitāḥ ||* YH 3.118 (*Ibid.*)

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>318</sup> VM: 64.

reinterpretation of this tantric ritual tradition through Vaidika knowledge systems and the appearance of *bhakti* (devotion).

## CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have investigated the early textual development of the cult of Tripurasundarī, a popular trans-regional Hindu Goddess tradition, now known as Śrīvidyā. Reading early *tantras* and commentaries “against the grain,” as products of historical actors rather than as timeless truths or the recovery and elucidation of a putative original meaning, I have traced the early history of this tradition by highlighting innovation and continuity in ritual practice and doctrine. I have also discussed several shifts in the development of the early cult of Tripurasundarī from its origins in the obscure cult of the Nityās to its dissemination across the Indian subcontinent from Kashmir to south India.

In the antecedent Nityā cult, the Goddess was associated with Kāmadeva, the god of love, and surrounded by an unelaborated retinue of Nityā Goddesses, compared to the later tradition. The antecedent cult focused primarily on external ritual to effect mundane results, such as amorous attraction, eloquence, and protection, etc. The classical cult preserved and developed many of the features already in present in the Nityā cult. Among them were the triadic nature of the Goddess and the deeply embedded connections to love magic. The language of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the earliest extant *tantra* of the classical tradition, was steeped in erotic imagery. The memory of Kāmadeva as the Goddess’s consort in the antecedent cult became an inseparable presence in the iconography and the ritual system of the mature tradition. The triangle from which the primary Goddess emerged in the Nityā cult, was now placed in the center of a new and complex ritual diagram of the Śrīcakra. The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* described this new and visually stunning ritual configuration, which included ninety-seven subordinate Goddesses arranged on nine levels. The Śrīcakra and its configuration of the subordinate deities has been

preserved unchanged from at least early eleventh century into the present time, an extraordinary example of ritual stability among the sweeping changes in metaphysics.

Following the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, the *Yoginīhrdaya* built a new system of meditative and yogic practices upon the existing ritual and mantric structures of the mature tradition. The redactors of the *Yoginīhrdaya* revitalized the cult of Tripurasundarī with ideas steeped in Pratyabhijñā philosophy and Śaiva non-dualism. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century exegesis adapted the doctrine of the cult of Tripurasundarī to its new environments. Kashmirian Jayaratha reinterpreted this ritual tradition in light of Śaiva non-dualism and Pratyabhijñā philosophy, and south Indian commentators, while fluent in the language of Pratyabhijñā, began to adapt the cult of Tripurasundarī to south Indian Smārta Brahmanism.

As the cult of Tripurasundarī/Śrīvidyā gained in popularity and status, it became widely influential within the realm of the Hindu religious mainstream. While the exotericization and Vedāntization eventually brought the cult of Tripurasundarī into the heart of Hindu temple worship, the devotional practice in time carried the most treasured hymns of this tradition to the forefront of private religious life in south India. Śrīvidyā continues to occupy a significant place in contemporary religious practice. Four factors contributed to the success of this tradition: first, the non-threatening and pleasing nature of Tripurasundarī and her associations with love magic, which presented a popular alternative to the ferocious goddesses; second, the visually stunning Śrīcakra and the complementary mantra system, both of them viewed as exceedingly powerful; third, the tremendous breadth of practices from external ritual to yogic visualizations built onto the existing ritual and mantra system; and, finally, creative and skillful exegesis, which allowed this tradition to adapt to its changing environments.

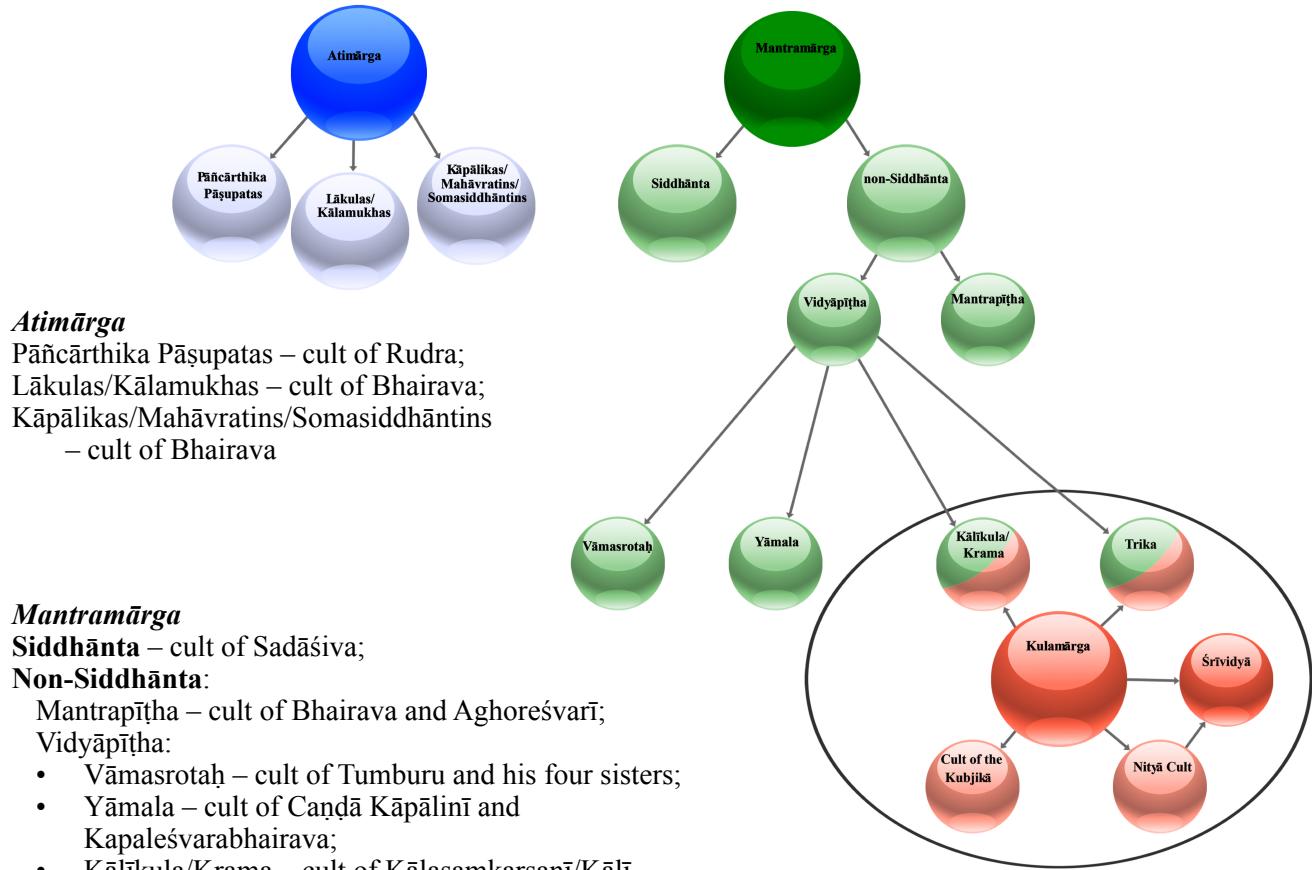
In my next project, I plan to examine a later corpus of texts, focusing on the systematic purging of antinomian elements and the pervasive attempts of south Indian exegetes to reread the tradition in the light of Advaita Vedānta philosophy. I will also investigate a new devotional shift, which was already felt in Śivānanda and Vidyānanda's time. I will analyze hymns composed by known exegetes as well as a new corpus of devotional compositions attributed by this tradition to some of the most venerated figures in Hindu thought. Most prominent among the latter is Śaṅkara, an Advaita Vedānta philosopher, whose provenance in the eighth century CE significantly predates the proliferation of the cult of Tripurasundarī/Śrīvidyā. The *Saundaryalaharī*, a hymn to the Goddess, which draws on Śrīvidyā and a south Indian variant of the cult of Kubjikā, is among such attributions to Śaṅkara by the later tradition.<sup>319</sup> The *Lakṣmīdhari*, a non-Kaula commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* by Lakṣmīdhara, is a further example of the Smārta adaptation of the cult of Tripurā, which I would like to investigate as part of this research. I look forward to studying the overlapping literary worlds of south Indian commentators and the expansion of the cult of Tripurasundarī/Śrīvidyā into varied literary domains in my post-dissertation project.

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<sup>319</sup> Sanderson 2002: 3.

## APPENDIX A

### Classification of Śaiva doctrines



**Figure 1.**

#### **Kulamārga (cult of Kuleśvarī)**

- Kālīkula/Krama – cult of Kālasamkarṣaṇī/Kālī
- Trika – cult of Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā
- Cult of the Kubjikā;
- Nityā Cult
- Śrividya – cult of Tripurasundarī

(Source: Sanderson 2006 and 2008)

## APPENDIX B

### Classifications of the Kaula systems

#### 1. Classification in the *Ciñciñimatasarasamuccaya* of the Kubjikā cult

	<p>Kālīkula, Krama – the tradition of the northern order (<i>uttaragharāmnāya</i>)</p>	
<p>Kubjikā – the tradition of the western order (<i>paścimagharāmnāya</i>)</p>		<p>a system related to Trika – the tradition of the eastern order (<i>pūrvagharāmnāya</i>)</p>
	<p>Nityā cult – the tradition of the southern order (<i>dakṣinagharāmnāya</i>)</p>	

Source: Sanderson 2009: 48–49 and 2010: 46–47.

2. Later Classification of the Kaula systems according to the *Vādavānalīyatantra*

<p>Tripurasundarī, Kāmeśī, Lalitā, Bālā, Tripurabhairavī – the upper tradition (<i>ūrdhvāmnāya</i>)</p>		
<p>Kālasaṃkarṣinī, Guhyakālī, Siddhilakṣmī, etc. – the northern tradition (<i>uttarāmnāya</i>)</p>		
Kubjikā, etc. – the western tradition ( <i>paścimāmnāya</i> )		Pūrṇeśī, etc. – the eastern tradition ( <i>pūrvāmnāya</i> )
<p>Niśeśī, etc. – the southern tradition (<i>dakṣināmnāya</i>)</p>		
<p>Vajrayoginī, Nairṛteśvarī, etc. – the lower tradition (<i>adharāmnāya/ūrdhvāmnāya</i>)</p>		

Source: *Vādavānalīya* in *Puraścaryārnava*, Ed. M. Jha. Delhi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishtan, 1985.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> The relevant portion of the text was kindly provided by Professor Sanderson in an email correspondence on May 17, 2010.

## APPENDIX C

### The Structure of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*

The *Vāmakeśvarīmata* consists of five chapters. The first chapter is the longest, consisting of 168 verses, using the count of the KSTS. This chapter is concerned with the configuration of deities to be worshipped within the Śrīcakra (see Appendix D). The Goddess is first introduced as a supreme Mātṛkā goddess in the invocatory verses (1.1–12).<sup>321</sup> The teaching is presented in the form of a conventional dialogue between Śiva and the Goddess. The Goddess details a list of sixty-four *tantras* which have already been taught (1.14–21) and requests the teaching of the names and the *vidyās* of the Nityā goddesses, the complete description of the Śrīcakra pūjās, and the worship of each individual *cakra* (1.22cd–23). The names of the Nityā goddesses follow (1.25–28), although their *vidyās* are not given, as had been requested in the epilogue. Then the instructions for the drawing of the Śrīcakra are presented and the various *siddhis* and benefits granted through its worship are described (1.29–57). Next in the chapter, the names of the alphabet goddesses are given and their *bījas* are extracted (1.60–79 ab). Further, the supplementary *vidyās* (*vidyāṅgas*) are extracted (1.79 cd–93 ab) and the *mūlavidyā* is presented in a coded form (1.93 cd–101). This *mūlavidyā* of Tripurasundarī with a slight modification came to be referred to in the mature classical tradition as the *pañcadasākṣarī* or Śrīvidyā mantra. Then follows the description of the *sādhaka* (1.101–106 ab) and the instructions on the preparation of the ground and the drawing of the Śrīcakra (1.107 cd–108), as well as its worship with the supplementary *vidyās* and the practice of *nyāsa* (1.109–112). A visualization of the Goddess, including the description of her physical characteristics and a brief commentary on her grace and

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<sup>321</sup> All verse numbers according to the KSTS VM edition.

her supreme nature follows (1.113–131). A large section of the chapter gives the names of the subordinate goddesses in the nine levels of the Śrīcakra (1.132–162) (see Appendix D). The chapter is concluded with the instructions for the order of worship (offerings, *mudrās*, the *kāmakalā* visualization, and the conclusion of worship) (1.163–168).

The second chapter of seventy-nine verses begins with the description of benefits of amorous nature attained through the worship of the Śrīcakra (2.1–3) and the *japa* of the *mūlavidyā* (2.4–6). It provides several additional *yantra sādhanas* and methods for inscribing a yantra for attraction (2.7–2.29), including subjection (2.11–14), and wearing it for protection and for the attainment of various *siddhis* (2.31–79).

The third is a short chapter of twenty-eight verses providing instructions on how to produce *mudrās* and describing their expected benefits. These are: *sarvasaṃkṣobhakāriṇī* (one who agitates all), *sarvavidrāviṇī* (who puts all to flight), *trailokyākarṣakāriṇī* (who attracts the three worlds), *sarvāveśakarī* (who possesses all), *unmādinī* (one who maddens), *mahānkuśā* (the great goad), *khecarī* (the flying *mudrā* said to enable the *sādhaka* to have *samaya*, or to come together, with śākinīs, dākinīs, and other yoginīs), *bīja* (the seed *mudrā* said to activate all *siddhis*), and the *yonimudrā*. While all the *mudrās* described are meant to be used during worship, it is specified that the *khecarīmudrā* can be used at any time.

The fourth chapter of seventy-one verses explains the *sādhanas* pertaining to the three stages of emanation of the *mūlavidyā* (*vāgbhava*, *kāmarāja*, and *śakti*, or *aiṃ hrīṃ sauḥ* in the contracted form of the *vidyā*). The first section of the chapter eulogizes Tripurasundarī, describing the glory of her unmanifested aspect, and her eventual emanation in three stages in the microcosm of the body (verses 4.2–18). The summary of benefits of the worship of Tripurā is

given, including liberation, freedom from poverty and illness, and the removal of all obstacles (4.19–20).

After the introduction, follow the descriptions of the specific *sādhanas* for each stage of emanation and for the entire *vidyā*. The *vāgbhava* practice involves white offerings and includes a visualization of the Goddess as the *vāgbhava* syllable, blazing on the tip of the tongue (4.21–24). This *sādhana* is said to grant the benefits of eloquence and wisdom (4.25–33). The section on *kāmarāja* (4.34–46) gives instructions for visualization practices (4.41 cd–43) with this *vidyā* to destroy the ego (4.36), overcome Kāmadeva himself (4.38), and to attract all types of human, divine, and semi-divine women (4.38–41). The *śakti sādhana* grants the power to cure snake bites and poisons and the control over *bhūtas* (ghosts), *pretas* (ghouls), and *piśācas* (goblins) (4.47–50). The last section of the chapter describes visualization *sādhanas* for the *mūlavidyā* in its entirety and their benefits, including becoming the Lord of Speech and another Kāmadeva (4.51–71).

The fifth chapter includes only thirty-three verses and discusses the mantra *sādhana* of Tripurasundarī with regards to *japa* and *homa*, and the benefits of these methods. The first section is dedicated to *japa*, providing information on the type of *mālās* (rosary beads) to be used (verses 5.8–10), benefits expected to occur depending on the number of repetitions (5.11–17), types of *japa* (5.17), and the auspicious places for *japa* to be performed (5.19–20). Once the *sādhaka* completes his goal of mantra repetitions, he is instructed to perform a *homa* (verse 21). The section on *homa* specifies the types of flowers to be offered (5.22), types of *homakūṇḍas* (fire-pits) and the benefits said to accrue from their use (5.23cd–27ab), as well as the rewards to be expected from the use of particular oblations (27 cd–33). With this section the

*Vāmakeśvarīmata* ends. There is no conclusion of any sort; and the dialogue between Bhairava and the Goddess, with which the *tantra* starts, is not revisited, which makes for a rather abrupt ending.

## APPENDIX D

### The Deities of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*

#### I. Sixteen Nityā Goddesses<sup>322</sup>

tatrādau prathamā nityā mahātripurasundarī || VM 1.25 cd ||

tataḥ kāmeśvarī nityā nityā ca bhagamālinī |

nityaklinnāpi hi tathā bheruṇḍā vahnivāsinī || VM 1.26 ||

mahāvidyeśvarī dūtī tvaritā kulasundarī |

nityā nīlapatākā ca vijayā sarvamaṅgalā || VM 1.27 ||

jvālāmāli vicitrā cety evam nityās tu ṣoḍaśa |

First is the principal Nityā, Mahātripurasundarī. Then Kāmeśvarī (the goddess of desire), Bhagamālinī (who is garlanded with *bhagas*), Nityaklinnā (always moist), Bheruṇḍā (terrible, formidable), Vahnivāsinī (dwelling in the fire), Mahāvidyeśvarī (the ruler of great *vidyā*), Dūtī (messenger), Tvaritā (one who is swift), Kulasundarī (one who is the beauty of *kula*), Nityā, Nīlapatākā (one who is with a blue banner), Vijayā (the victorious one), Sarvamaṅgalā (the all-auspicious one), Jvālāmāli (garlanded with flames), and Vicitrā (charming, multicolored). These are the sixteen Nityās.

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<sup>322</sup> Although I would not usually translate proper names, I provided their literal translation here for purposes of analysis.

## II. The Deities of the Śrīcakra

In the following listing of the nine levels of the Śrīcakra ritual, I will first provide the level of the *cakra* (proceeding in the direction of *samhārakrama*, from outside in),<sup>323</sup> then the name of the *cakra*, the aspect of the supreme Goddess it is said to reflect (as given in Jayaratha's commentary drawing on the *Yoginīhṛdaya*), and, finally, relevant verses (with their translation) providing the names of the goddesses included in each level.

**The First Cakra. Name: Trailokyamohana (one who deludes the three worlds). Aspect: Tripurā. Eight mothers in the four doors and four corners of the outer enclosure:**

brahmāṇī paścimadvāre māheśvary api cottare |  
pūrve caiva tathendrāṇī kaumārī dakṣiṇe tathā || VM 1.136 ||  
vaiṣṇavī api ca vāyavye vārāhīm īśadiggatām |  
cāmuṇḍām devi cāgneye mahālakṣmīm tu nairṛte || VM 1.137 ||

Brahmāṇī in the western entrance and Māheśvarī in the north, Indrāṇī in the east, [and] Kaumārī in the south; Vaiṣṇavī in Vāyu's [direction, i.e., in the northwest], Vārāhī in Iśa's direction [i.e., in the northeast], Cāmuṇḍā in Agni's [direction, i.e., in the southeast], Mahālakṣmī in Nirṛti's [direction, i.e., in the southwest].

<sup>323</sup> For the graphical representation of the nine *cakras*, see Shima, Iwa, *How to Inscribe the Śrīcakra and the Method for the Extraction of the Vidyā: NSA 1.1–119ab*.

**The Second Cakra. Name: Sarvāśāparipūraṇa (one who fulfills all hopes).**

**Aspect: Tripurīśvarī. Sixteen goddesses of attraction in the outer petals:**

kāmākarşaṇarūpā ca buddhyākarşaṇasvarūpiṇī |

ahaṅkārākarṣiṇī ca śabdākarşaṇasvarūpiṇī || VM 1.138 ||

sparśākarşaṇarūpā ca rūpākarşaṇakāriṇī |

rasākarṣakarī devī gandhākarṣakarī tathā || VM 1.139 ||

cittākarşaṇarūpā ca dhairyākarşaṇasvarūpiṇī |

smṛtyākarşaṇarūpā ca nāmākarşaṇakāriṇī || VM 1.140 ||

bījākarşaṇarūpānyā ātmākarşaṇasvarūpinī |

amṛtasyākarṣaṇī ca śarīrākarṣaṇī parā || VM 1.141 ||

One who is the attraction of desire, the embodiment of the attraction of *buddhi* (wisdom), one who attracts *ahaṅkāra* (the ego), who embodies the verbal attraction, one who is the attraction of touch, who produces the attraction of form, the goddess who creates the attraction of taste, and who attracts by smell, one whose nature is the attraction of the mind, who is the embodiment of the attraction through constancy, one who attracts through memory, and who produces the attraction of name, another who attracts by the *bījas* (seed syllables), whose very nature is the attraction of the self, one who is the attraction of nectar, and the highest — one who is the bodily attraction.

**The Third Cakra. Name: Sarvasamkṣobhakāraka (one who agitates all).**

**Aspect: Tripurasundarī. Eight goddesses in the inner petals:**

anaṅgakusumāṁ pūrve dakṣine'naṅgamaṅgalām |  
paścime'naṅgamathanām uttare madanottarām || VM 1.143 ||

anaṅgalekhām āgneye nairṛte'naṅgavāsinīm |  
anaṅgāṅkuśām vāyavya īśāne'naṅgamālinīm || VM 1.144 ||

She who is the flower of Anaṅga in the east, who is the ornament of Anaṅga in the south,  
who is the stirring of Anaṅga in the west, who is the excellence of Madana<sup>324</sup> in the north,  
who is the writing of Anaṅga in Agni's [direction, in the southeast], who abides in Anaṅga  
in [the direction of] of Nrṛti [in the southwest], who is the goad of Anaṅga in Vayu's  
[direction, in the northwest], who is the garland of Anaṅga in īśāna's [direction, in the  
northeast].

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<sup>324</sup> Epithet of Kāmadeva, also denotes passion, intoxication, and spring.

**The Fourth Cakra. Name: Sarvasaubhāgyakāraka (the creator of all-around auspiciousness). Aspect: Tripuravāsinī. Fourteen Śakti goddesses worshipped in the outermost spokes created by the intersections of the nine triangles:**

sarvasamkṣobhiṇī śaktih sarvavidrāvaṇī tathā |

sarvākarṣakarī cānyā sarvāhlādakarī tathā || VM 1.145 ||

sarvasammohanī śaktih sarvastambhanarūpiṇī |

sarvajambhanarūpā tu sarvato vaśakāriṇī || VM 1.146 ||

sarvarañjanaśaktiśca sarvonmādasvarūpiṇī |

sarvārthaśādhakī śaktih sarvāśāparipūrakī || VM 1.147 ||

sarvamantramayī devī sarvadvandvakṣayaṅkarī | VM 1.148 ab |

The *śakti* who agitates all, who puts all to flight, the one who attracts all, and another who delights everyone, the *śakti* who deludes all, who produces everyone's paralysis, one whose form crushes all, who controls all, the *śakti* who pleases everyone, one who is the embodiment of all madness, the *śakti* who accomplishes all aims, one who fulfills all the hopes, the goddess whose nature consists of all the mantras, [and] one who causes the dissolution of all dichotomies.

**The Fifth Cakra. Name: Sarvāthasādhaka (one who accomplishes all goals).**

**Aspect: Tripurāśrī. Ten Kulakaulika Yognīs:**

sarvasiddhipradā śaktih sarvasampatpradā tathā || VM 1.149 ||

sarvapriyāṅkarī cāpi sarvamaṅgalakāriṇī |

sarvakāmapradā devī sarvaduhkhavimocinī || VM 1.150 ||

sarvamṛtyupraśamanī sarvavighnavināśinī |

sarvāṅgasundarī devī sarvasaubhāgyakāriṇī || VM 1.151 ||

The *śakti* that bestows all siddhis and one who grants all accomplishment,  
one who endears all and one who is the creator of all auspiciousness, the goddess who  
produces all desires, who liberates from all suffering, one who produces the cessation of  
all types of death, who destroys all obstacles, the goddess whose every limb is beautiful,  
one who effects all types of attractiveness and good fortune.

**The Sixth Cakra. Name: Sarvarakṣākara (one who grants all types of protection). Aspect: Tripuramālinī. Ten goddesses:**

sarvajñā sarvaśaktiś ca sarvaiśvaryapradāyinī |  
sarvajñānamayī devī sarvavyādhivināśinī || VM 1.153 ||

sarvādhārasvarūpā tu sarvapāpaharī tathā |  
sarvānandamayī devī sarvarakṣāsvarūpiṇī || VM 1.154 ||

punar eva maheśāni sarvepsitaphalapradā |

She who is all knowing, who is the *śakti* of all, who bestows supremacy over all, the goddess who is filled with all the knowledge, [and] who destroys all sickness, one whose very form is the support of all, who removes all sins, the goddess who is filled with every bliss, whose very form is the protection of all, [and] the one who bestows the fruit desired by all.

**The Seventh Cakra. Name: Sarvarogahara (one who removes all disease).**

**Aspect: Tripurā siddhi. Eight goddesses of the alphabet *vargas*:**

avargah prathamo devi vaśinī tatra devatā || VM 1.60 ||

tatparas tu kavargo yas tatra kāmeśvarī sthitā |

modinī tu cavargasthā ṭavarge vimalā tathā || VM 1.61 ||

arunā tu tavargasthā pavarge jayinī sthitā |

sarveśvarī yavarge tu śavarge kaulinīti ca || VM 1.62 ||

etā vargāṣṭake devi aşṭāv evahi devatāḥ |

arcitāḥ puruṣasyāśu prakurvanti vaśam jagat || VM 1.63 ||

The first is the “a” *varga* and Vaśinī is the deity there, Kāmeśvarī is established in the “ka” *varga* which follows, Modinī resides in the “ca” *varga*, whereas Vimalā is in the “ṭa” *varga*, Arunā resides in the “ta” *varga*, and Jayinī in the “pa” *varga*, Sarveśvarī is in the “ya” *varga*,

and Kaulinī in the “śa” *varga*. These eight deities in the eight *vargas*, indeed, [when] worshipped immediately make [everyone in] the world [subject to] that person's power.

**The *Subcakra* outside of the innermost triangle (eighth level)**

**The weapons of the Goddess:**

kāmabāṇān maheśāni dhanus tatpāśam eva ca |  
jambhamohavaśastambhapadaiḥ sahitam aṅkuśam || VM 1.160 ||

O great Goddess, the arrows of Kāma, the bow, the noose, the goad  
together with the words for crushing, deluding, controlling, [and] paralyzing [are to be  
worshipped in this cakra].

**The Eighth and Ninth Cakras (the innermost triangle and the *bindu*).**

**Sarvasiddhimaya (one who contains all the *siddhis*). Aspect: Tripurāmbikā.** Three goddesses in the innermost triangle.

**Sarvānandamaya (one who contains all bliss). Mahātripurasundarī in the bindu**

sarvamadhyatrikoṇe'pi pūjayen mūlavidyayā |  
kevalākṣarabhedena samastavyastayeśvari || VM 1.161 ||  
kāmeśvarīm agrakoṇe vajreśīm dakṣiṇe tathā |  
vāme'pi bhagamālām tu madhye tripurasundarīm || VM 1.162 ||

And in the triangle which is in the middle of all, one should worship with the root *vidyā* as a whole pertaining to all, and separately with their own syllables, Kāmeśvarī in the forward triangle [the Western direction], Vajreśī in the Southern [right triangle], Bhagamālā in the left [Eastern triangle], and Tripurasundarī in the middle, O Goddess.

## APPENDIX E

### Selected Framing Verses to Jayaratha's

#### *Tantrālokaviveka* and the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarāṇa*

##### 1. Opening verses from the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarāṇa*

*svasvāmibhāvaparijṛmbhaṇasāracakracakreśvarīmayatayā navadhā svarūpam |  
ābhāsayanty aghanude tripurās tu sarvasarvātmakatvakalanena nijākṣarāṇām || VM 1 ||*

*jayanti paramādvaitavijñānāmṛtanirbharāḥ |  
pūrve śrīdīpakācāryapramukhā guravo mama || VM 2 ||*

*parakṛtakukalpanāmayatimirāndhyāpohanāya manāk |  
śrīvāmakeśvarīmatam uddyotayitum mamodyamo 'dhyāyam || VM 3 ||*

*dīpakācāryapramukhā* em. Sanderson : *dīpikācāryapramukhā* Ed.

May Tripurā remove [our] impurities, manifesting her innate nature, which is ninefold, because it contains the cakra and the Cakreśvarīs [goddesses presiding over each level of the Śrīcakra], which are the essence of the expansion of manifestation of the relation of master and dependent by constructing her innate syllables so that each consists of all. Glory to all the earlier gurus, led by Dīpakācārya, abounding in the nectar of discerning the supreme nonduality. Today I undertake to illuminate *Śrīvāmakeśvarīmata*, in order to remove some of the blindness of darkness, produced by false fabrications made by others.

##### 2. Opening verses from the *Tantrālokaviveka*

*yasmād eṣaṇavitkriyā yaduditā hy ānandacidbhūmayo  
yasyaivoddhuraśaktivaibhavam idam sarvam yad evam vidham |  
taddhāma trikatattvam advayamayam svātantryapūrṇapratham  
citte stāc chivaśāsanāgamarahasyācchādanadhvaṇsi me || TĀV 1 ||*

That from which desire, knowledge, and action, with the stages of consciousness that is bliss have arisen, of which there is the glory of unrestrained śakti, what the entire world is exactly like, that realm is the real nature of Trika, consisting of non-duality, and with the full manifestation of freedom, which destroys the concealment of the secret of the *āgamas* of the doctrine of Śiva, may it abide in my mind.

*dehe vimukta evāsmi śrīmatkalyāṇavāridheḥ |  
yasya kāruṇyavipruḍbhīḥ sadgurum tam hr̥di śraye || TĀV 2 ||*

*mūrdhnyuttamṣa iva kṣmāpaiḥ sarvair yasyānuśāsanam |  
hr̥daye bhavaśambhārakarkaśe 'py āśu śiśriye || TĀV 3 ||*

I have indeed been liberated in the body due to “the ocean of auspiciousness” [Kalyāṇavarman], with the specks of whose compassion I honor that *sadguru* in my heart. And I immediately worshipped in my heart, which is dried out from the burden of transmigration, his instruction, like a wreath of flowers [borne] by all the kings.

*yātāyātāḥ sthitāḥ kecid ajñā matsariṇah pare |  
saṃdigdhāḥ ke 'pi kiṁ brūyāṁ śrotāro yadanāgatāḥ || TĀV 5 ||*

*tadanākarṇya gūḍhārtham svādu svāśayakauśalam |  
sākūtam uktam anyair yat tena dolāyate manah || TĀV 6 ||*

*atra madvāg aśaktāpi yan niryantaṇam ullaset |  
tat pārameśvaraṇ śrīmanmahānandavijṛmbhitam || TĀV 7 ||*

Some remain wandering to and fro, others are ignorant [and] envious, some are confused. Why would I speak to those listeners who have not attained this [teaching]? Not having heard that sweet hidden meaning through their own intellect, [their] minds are caused to oscillate by [the words] of others, stated emphatically. May my speech, even though it is incapable,

illuminate here the freedom, which is the blessed manifestation of the glorious bliss of the Supreme Lord.

### 3. Closing verses from the *Vāmakeśvarīmatavivarana*

*uccityoccityam niyataṁ kutaś cana kutaś cana |  
yathāgurumukham kaiścid etad vyākṛtam alpakam || Closing VM 1 ||*

*sarvataḥkaṣṭaduhśliṣṭamliṣṭaśabdārthavartmanā |  
kena tāvan nimittaṇa kair apy etad vivecitam || Closing VM 2 ||*

*pitṛpitāmahakalpitakalpanārasamahodadhimātrakadāśayā |  
vivṛtam apy aparair na yathārthatām śrutabahiṣkṛtabuddhitayā gatam || Closing VM 3 ||*

Some [commentators] here and there kept collecting insignificant interpretations, limited to what has been said by their gurus. By whom and for what purpose has this [text] been investigated, with word meanings closely clinging to incorrect interpretations and poorly expressed? Resting on just a tiny bit of the *Rasamahodadhi* that was used to dream up the interpretations by [their] fathers and grandfathers, these explanations make no sense and go against the scriptures.

*śrīmadguruvarād evam avadhārya yathārthah |  
mayā jayarathenaivam kiṃcid etat prapañcitam ||*

*tatkṣaṇasyāvaghātavyamatra sadbhīr avajñayā |  
avicāryaiva vaktavyo na doṣo na guṇāḥ punah || Closing VM 4 ||*

Having been ascertained from the very best of gurus, true to the meaning, by me, Jayaratha, some of this [text] has been explained at length. The wise should not just throw it away immediately, nor treat it with contempt, or speak about its defects and accomplishments without deliberation.

### 4. Closing verses from the *Tantrālokaviveka*, Chapter 37

*yadacakathad amuśmin śrīmadācāryavaryo  
 bahuparikaravṛndam sarvaśāstroddhrtam sat |  
 tadaṭulapariyatnenaikṣya saṃcintya sadbhīr  
 hṛdayakamalakośe dhāryam āryaiḥ śivāya || Closing TĀV 37:1 ||*

*yo 'dhītī nikhilāgameṣu padavidyo yogaśāstraśramī  
 yo vākyārthaśamanvaye kṛtaratiḥ śrīpratyabhijñāmrte |  
 yas tarkāntaravīśrutaśrutatayā dvaitādvayajñānavit  
 so 'smīn syād adhikāravān kalakalaprāyam pareṣām vacah || Closing TĀV 37:2 ||*

What the best of ācaryas [Abhinavagupta] has said here, extracted from all the exegetical works [and] a multitude of auxiliary works [e.g., in grammar, poetics, etc.], having been examined and contemplated by the good [and] noble people with unequalled effort, should be carried in the center of the lotus of the heart. That scholar, learned in all the *āgamas*, making great efforts in yoga and śāstra, who knows lexicography, who delights in construing the meanings of sentences in the nectar of Pratyabhijñā, who has the knowledge of duality and non-duality through being learned in the texts of all the other philosophical systems, he possess eligibility [to study] this [text]. What the others say is just babbling.

#### 4. Closing verses from the *Tantrālokaviveka*

*yah kartum viśvam etat prabhavati nikhilam sarvavittvāt praṇetā  
 sarveṣām āgamānām akhilabhabhayocchedadāyī dayāluḥ |  
 tasyendrādyarcitāṅghrer gurur acalasutāvallabhasyāpi loke  
 sarvatrāmutra tāvat tuhinagirir iti khyātimān parvatendraḥ || Closing TĀV 1 ||*

He who has the power to create this whole world in its entirety, the creator, due to his omniscience, of all the *āgamas*, the compassionate one who destroys the fear of rebirth, whose feet are worshipped by the gods headed by Indra, the guru even of himawan who is the beloved of the daughter of the mountain, is renowned as the snowy mountain everywhere in this world and as far as even the world beyond.

*yad vādinām uttaradiinniveśād iva śrayanti prativādivācaḥ |  
anuttaravam tad anuttararddhi śrīśāradāmaṇḍalam asti yatra || Closing TĀV 2 ||*

Where rests the realm of Śrīśāradā, of unrivaled accomplishment for the speakers,  
whose opponents as if from entering into the realm of answers/the Northern direction [attain]  
non-answers/[inauspicious] Southern direction.

*jāmātrevāmṛtakarakalākṛptacūlāvacūle-  
nādiṣṭam drāg akhilavacasām mānabhāvam viditvā |  
dadhre śailah śritamadhumatīcandrabhāgāntarālam  
saddeśatvāc chirasi nikhilaiḥ samśritam darśanair yat || Closing TĀV 3 ||*

The mountain praised by every knowledge, bore that place, on which rests the land between  
the river Madhumatī and Candrabhāga, served by all the philosophical systems, on the head,  
as if it had been pointed out as a good place by a son-in-law, whose crown has the topknot  
decorated with the sliver of the moon.

*bodhasyāpy ātmabhūtam parikalitavatī yad vimarśātmatattvam  
mukhyatvena stutātah prabhavati vijayeśena pīṭheśvareṇa |  
yuktā bodhapradhānā sthitānijamahasā śāradā pīṭhadevī  
vidhyāpiṭhe prathīyaḥprathitanikhilavāg yatra kāśmīranāmni || Closing TĀV 4 ||*

In that abode of knowledge named Kashmir, all knowledge is celebrated widely, where  
Śāradā, the goddess of the pīṭha, who is essentially consciousness by means of her own  
innate stable knowledge prospers, praised by the victorious Lord of the *pīṭha* [Śiva] as having  
the most importance, creating the *tattva* whose nature is reflective awareness, which is the  
soul even of consciousness.

*yan maireyam kalayatitarām kasya necchāspadatvam  
jñānātmatvam prathayati param śāradā yac ca devī |  
yac cādhatte paṭīm aghaṭanām satkriyāyām vitastā  
tad yatra itat trikam avikalām popuṣīti praśastim || Closing TĀV 5 ||*

Where the drink is so good — who would not want to have it, where the Goddess Śāradā reveals the highest state of self, which is knowledge (*jñānātmatvam*), and Vitastā (Jhelum River) offers the accomplishment in the skillfulness in ritual action, that is the place where these three faultless things (Trika) make the fame greatly flourish.

*tathyābhikhyam pravarapuram ity asti tasmin sadehah  
kartā yasya pravaranṛpatih svābhidhāṅkeśvarāgrāt |  
lekhādeśād gaṇavarasamāsāditāt prāptasiddhiḥ  
śaivam dhāmāmaragṛhaśirobhāgabhedād avāpa || Closing TĀV 6 ||*

There is a famous [city] justly called Pravarapura (Śrīnagara), whose embodiment, king Pravara [Pravarasena II], who was successful because of an encounter with the best of *gaṇas*,<sup>325</sup> built a Śaiva temple, shooting out from the peak of immortals' dwelling [Himālaya].

*śrīsomānandapādaprabhrtiguruvarādiṣṭasannītimārgo  
labdhvā yatraiva samyak paṭimani ghaṭanāmīśvarādvaitavādah |  
kaśmīrebhyah prasṛtya prakataparimalo rañjayan sarvadeśān  
dese 'nyasmīn adraṣṭo ghusṛṇavisaravat sarvavandhyatvam āpi || Closing TĀV 7 ||*

Where, having attained the development of true skillfulness, having spread out from Kashmir the fragrance delighting all the lands, unknown anywhere else, like the diffusion of saffron, the Śaiva doctrine of non-duality (Īśvarādvaitavādah), whose path of true precepts was taught by the finest gurus, beginning with the exalted Somānanda, was hallowed by all.

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<sup>325</sup> A rakṣasa, who promised the king success if he built a city where he showed him a measuring line (Kalahana, 3rd book, verses 336-349, summarised in M.A. Stein's *Kalhana's Rajatarangini: a chronicle of the kings of Kasmir*, Volume 2, p. 442).

## APPENDIX F

### Opening Verses to Śivānanda's *Rjuvimarśinī*

*sthitaṁ yatredam akhilam yanmayaṁ cāsyā bhāsanam |  
yataḥ samudayaś cāsyā tatsaṁvittipadaṁ numah || RV 1 ||*

*śivādikṣitiparyantah ṣaṭtrimśattattvasaṁcayaḥ |  
yasyormibudbudābhāsaḥ tam seve ciṁmahodadhim || RV 2 ||*

*svātmānandamaheśānacaraṇāntenivāsinā |  
śivānandena muninā rasyate traipuro rasah || RV 3 ||*

*asamañjasatāṁ dṛṣṭvā vṛttīnāṁ iha tattvataḥ |  
vyākaromi manāk śrīmannityāśoḍaśikārṇavam || RV 4 ||*

*sarvānugrāhakāṁ tantraṁ sarvopāyāvabhāsakam |  
sarvādhikārasaṁsiddhyai bahvavātārayac chivaḥ || RV 5 ||*

*śrīvāmakeśvaraṁ nāma śāstraṁ tantra prakāśitam |  
śivena saṁvidāṁ devīṁ lakṣyīkṛtya nijātmikām || RV 6 ||*

*madhye śāstrasya tasyāsti nityāśoḍaśikārṇavah |  
sūtraiś catuśśatair yuktaḥ kaścid bhāgo rasāvahah || RV 7 ||*

*sa ca pañcapaṭalyātmā karmapañcakabhāsakah |  
pūjā prayogo mudrā ca vidyāvyāptir japaśtutih || RV 8 ||*

*avāntarabhidah santi katicit tatra tatra ca |  
pradhānakarmaśeṣatvān na tā gaṇyāḥ pṛthak tayā || RV 9 ||*

*adhītya cācāryamukhāc chāstraṁ vidyāpurassaram |  
gurūṇāṁ nyavasat pārśve śivānandamahāmuniḥ || RV 10 ||*

*kālena mahatā so 'yam gurubhiḥ karuṇotkātaih |  
sthāpito 'nugrahavidhau sābhisekam sahābhidham || RV 11 ||*

*tataḥ sampādayāmāsa śiṣyān ācārabhūṣitān |  
deśakālavišeṣajñān bhaktiratnamahodadhiḥ || RV 12 ||*

*tataḥ śivānandamuniḥ śiṣyair abhyarthito bhṛśam |  
samyag vṛttividhānāya gambhīrāgamabhāṣayā || RV 13 ||*

*lopāmudrākramāyātasampradāyād ayam punah |  
akarod āgamasyāsyā vyākhyām ṛjuvimarśinīm || RV 14 ||*

*granthāḥ sahasram triśatam pañcāśac caiva pañca ca |  
madhurodārasandarbha seyam ṛjuvimarśinī || RV 15 ||*

*saubhāgyavīṣayā vāṇī saumatyodayadāyinī |  
saugatyāptir mahāpadyā sausthityam labhatām asau || RV 16 ||*

*saugatyāptir mahāpadyā<sup>326</sup> em. McCrea : saugatyāptimahāpadyā Ed.*

That in which all this world, which consists of it abides, and of whom it is a manifestation, from which it arises, that abode which is consciousness, we worship. I serve that great ocean of consciousness, whose appearance is ripples of waves, rich in the thirty-six *tattvas*, from Śiva to Earth. Śivānanda muni, dwelling near the feet of the great Lord Svātmānanda, has savored the elixir of Tripurā. Having seen the incorrectness of other commentaries, I will now accurately explain the *Nityāśodaśikārnava*. Śiva, having brought down innumerable *tantras* into the world, compassionate to everyone, illuminating all the means for the perfecting all kinds of eligibility, revealed a *śāstra* called the *Vāmakeśvarīmata*, having elected the Goddess, who herself is consciousness and is his own self, its recipient. In the middle of that *śāstra*, there is the essential part [*rasāvahah*, lit. bringing juice] [called] the *Nityāśodaśikārnava* (The Ocean of the Sixteen Nityās), which consists of four hundred verses. It consists of five chapters, which illuminate five [ritual] actions, [including] *pūjā*, *prayoga*, *mudrā*, accomplishment in *vidyās*, and praise by *japa*. Here and there [within these devisions] there are other parts, which are not to be counted separately, because they are subordinate to principal [ritual] actions. And having learned the *śāstra* from the mouth of the

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<sup>326</sup> This emendation of the edition is based on a manuscript variant.

Ācarya, preceeded by the *vidyās*, Śivānanda Muni, who lived by the side of the guru [respectful plural], after a long time by his guru, possessing abundance of compassion, was consecrated by *abhiṣeka* and the [initiation] name in the procedures for grace [i.e., allowed to take on students and given authority to initiate]. Thereafter he produced students, who were ornamented by proper conduct, knew appropriate time and place, and were great oceans, [containing] jewels of devotion. Then Śivānanda muni, whose students fervently begged him for a commentary with language deep in scriptural quotations to properly explain performing procedures. This commentary from the tradition that follows the Lopāmudrā sequence [called] *Rjuvimarśinī* is a sweet and exalted composition, stringing together one thousand three and five hundred more plus five *granthas*.<sup>327</sup> May this great composition on the topic of auspiciousness, which grants wisdom and fitness for the auspicious path (i.e., *mokṣa*), be well-regarded.

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<sup>327</sup> *Grantha* is a unit of 32 syllables, a south Indian term, which was usually used by scribes for payment.

## APPENDIX G

Opening Verses to Vidyānanda's *Artharatnāvalī*

*śrīman mahāvaneśāṇapādaṅkeruhadvayam |  
yogīndramadhupavrātasevitam sarvadā bhaje || AR 1 ||*

*priyānandam ahaṁ vande sadānandaprakāśakam |  
prapannajanatāduḥkhadhvanta-viccheda-bhāskaram || AR 2 ||*

*sadānandaprakāśakam em. McCrea : sadānandaprakāśitam Ed.*

*ādhyām mithunam ārabhya svagurvantaṁ krameṇa tu |  
vande gurvaugham iśānyāḥ karuṇātaruṇipriyam || AR 3 ||*

*yatpādāmbujasambhūtam rajo vimalayan manah |  
prasādaṁ tanute mahyaṁ tam ratneśam gurum bhaje || AR 4 ||*

*yanmukhāmnāyam āsadhyā vidyāsiddhir abhūn mama |  
mahātripurasundaryās tam ratneśam gurum bhaje || AR 5 ||*

*śivam kāmeśvarīm siddhān trividhān api dampatīn |  
kaṅkālaprabhṛtīn vande gurūn kalyāṇarociṣah || AR 6 ||*

*gaṇanātham ahaṁ vande viśvavandyaiḥ prapūjītam |  
sarvavighnaughanāśārtham sarvābhīṣṭaphalāptaye || AR 7 ||*

*vaṭukam yoginīvrndam bhairavān amitaujasah |  
praṇamāmīṣṭasampattisampādanasamutsukān || AR 8 ||*

*mantramaṇḍalavarṇātmārūpiṇīm karuṇāparām |  
dhāmasaṇvitsvarūpām tām vande tripurasundarīm || AR 9 ||*

*sampradāyadvayajñena vimalasvātmaśambhunā |  
kriyate tippaṇam samyag vāmakeśvaraśāstragam || AR 10 ||*

*artharatnāvalīty eṣā khyāta 'stu bhuvanatraye |  
bhuvaneśvari te bhaktīā kriyate tippaṇam yataḥ || AR 11 ||*

I always worship the lotus feet of the great Vaneśāṇa, which are waited on by the best of yogīs [like] swarming bees. I worship Priyānanda, who reveals the true bliss, a sun piercing the

darkness of misery for those who resort to him. I venerate in due order the Goddess's torrent of gurus, which begins from the primal couple and ends with my own guru, dear to the compassionate young girl. I honor guru Ratneśa, the dust from whose lotus feet cleanses the mind, and extends the grace to me. I worship guru Ratneśa, having attained the teaching from whose mouth, I attained the perfection of knowledge (or *vidyā*, i.e., feminine mantra) of Mahātripurasundarī. I praise auspicious radiant gurus beginning with Kaṅkāla Śiva, Kāmeśvarī, and the threefold *siddha* couples. I praise the Lord of the Gaṇas, who is worshipped by those who are lauded by everyone, for the sake of removal of floods of all obstacles and for obtaining everything desired. I praise Vaṭuka, a host of yoginīs, and Bhairavas, whose glory is unmeasured, eager to bestow [every] desired accomplishment. I worship Tripurasundarī, whose very form is majesty and consciousness, who is intent on compassion, whose nature is the phonemes in the *maṇḍala* of mantras. This gloss of the *Vāmakeśvarīmata śāstra* is made properly by Śiva, whose soul is pure, who knows two *saṃpradāyas*. Let it be known as Artharatnāvali in the three worlds, since this commentary is made with devotion to you, O Bhuvaneśvari (Queen of the Worlds).

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